

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EULOGISTIC WORKS OF BHATTI, BHAI GURDAS AND BHAI NAND LAL

(With Specific Reference to the Sikh Gurus)

THESIS

Submitted to Faculty of Languages

For the award of the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Persian



Supervised By :

Dr. Aziz Abbas

Submitted By :

Hardev Singh

**Department of Urdu and Persian
Guru Nanak Dev University
Amritsar- 143005
India
(2010)**



Dedicated
to
My Beloved Wife
Narinder Kaur



CERTIFICATE

The work included in the thesis entitled "**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EULOGISTIC WORKS OF BHATTS, BHAI GURDAS AND BHAI NAND LAL (With Specific Reference to the Sikh Gurus)**" submitted to the faculty of Languages (Persian), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**, was carried out by **Hardev Singh** at the Department of Urdu and Persian, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, under my supervision. This is an original work and has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree/ diploma at this or any other university/ institute. This thesis is fit to be considered for the award of degree of Ph.D.

Supervisor

Dated: _____

(Dr. Aziz Abbas)
Reader
Department of Urdu & Persian
Guru Nanak Dev University,
Amritsar.

DECLARATION

The work embodied in the thesis entitled "**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EULOGISTIC WORKS OF BHATTS, BHAI GURDAS AND BHAI NAND LAL (With Specific Reference to the Sikh Gurus)**" has been done by me and not submitted elsewhere for the award of any other degree. All the ideas and references have been duly acknowledged.

Dated: _____

(Hardev Singh)

Researcher

Supervisor

(Dr. Aziz Abbas)
Reader
Department of Urdu & Persian
Guru Nanak Dev University,
Amritsar.

CHAPTERISATION

- Chapter-I** **Theory of Comparative Study**
- Chapter-II** **Authors and Their Times**
- Chapter-III** **Text Solidarity and Life Background of the Authors**
- (a) The Bhatts-Life Background and Works.
- (b) Bhai Gurdas-Life Sketch and Works.
- (c) Bhai Nand Lal -Family Background, Life Sketch and Works
- Chapter-IV** **Review of Literature**
- Chapter-V** **Poetic Forms and Techniques of the Authors**
- (a) The Bhatt -Bani
- (b) Bhai Gurdas-Varan and Kabitt-Swayye
- (c) Bhai Nanad Lal-Ghazaliat, Mathanavis and other Works
- Chapter-VI** **Eulogistic Approach and Comparison**
- Conclusion
 - Names of Relevant Persons and Places
 - Bibliography

CONTENTS

Chapter No.	Title	Page No.
I.	Theory of Comparative Study	1-14
II.	Authors and Their Times	15-34
III.	Text Solidarity and Life Background of the Authors	35-82
	(d) The Bhatt-Life Background and Works.	
	(e) Bhai Gurdas-Life Sketch and Works.	
	(f) Bhai Nand Lal -Family Background, Life Sketch and Works	
IV.	Review of Literature	83-120
V.	Poetic Forms and Techniques of the Authors	121-156
	(a) The Bhatt -Bani	
	(b) Bhai Gurdas-Varan and Kabitt-Swayye	
	(c) Bhai Nanad Lal-Ghazaliat, Mathanavis and other Works	
VI.	Eulogistic Approach and Comparison	157-184
	Conclusion	185-188
	Names of Relevant Persons and Places	189-198
	Bibliography	199-205

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

*The research work, **COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EULOGISTIC WORKS OF BHATTAS, BHAI GURDAS AND BHAI NAND LAL** (With specific reference to the Sikh Gurus) was a difficult task.*

*I am highly indebted to **Dr. Aziz Abhas**, the Senior Lecturer in Urdu & Persian Department, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, who provided me guidance in this arduous and tedious work especially due to the involvement of Persian language.*

*I do have deep gratitude for **Dr. Barkat Ali**, the head of Urdu & Persian Department, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, who rendered me moral support to go ahead in this field of research.*

*I also owe my thanks to my life companion **Mrs. Narinder Kaur** and my children who took the family responsibilities and provided me help as well as sufficient time to complete the research work.*

Undoubtedly, it was a difficult task for me since it was based upon the dialectical study of languages. Bhai Nand Lal has accomplished most of his works in Persian while the Bhattas have written in medieval Panjabi. Bhai Gurdas also has lingual differences with Bhattas as well as Bhai Nand Lal. So, with a view to go through a comparative study, though from a single aspect, it was required to study deeply the whole text of the referred authors. I undertook this topic since it was not only interesting but also a rare one. I could accomplish this hard work, by the grace of the Almighty as well as the co-operation of the concerned scholars especially my guide.

HARDEV SINGH

PROLEGOMENA

The art of Poetry is an outcome of human taste. It emerged in each culture, region and civilization in each epoch - the ancient, medieval and modern. People have been transferring and developing deferent poetic-specimens from one generation to another. The poetic forms emerged with needs and tastes of human beings and its specimens vanish with the passage of time. To remain in existence, a poetic form needs the under mentioned elements:

(A) Proximity with Masses

The poetic specimens which were subjected to the needs of common man remained alive for a long time. The poetic works which could quench the spiritual thirst of the masses earned the status of scriptures. It is notable that the scriptures of major religions and numerous sects are found originally in poetry and were translated in prose accordingly. The "*Psalms of Solomon*", "*the Psalms of David*" and even other chapters of Old and New Testaments were originally compiled in verse. The Holy Quran, compiled in the rhythmic prose, earned high status due to many facts including its rhythmic values. Similarly, Sri Guru Granth Sahib took the status of a holy scripture since the poetic works therein satiate the human beings spiritually. So, they are deeply rooted in the minds of devotees. The holy Quran deals with the human nature and propounds the solution of human problems. Its laws are beneficial for the poor as well as the rulers but they specifically deal with the problems of the common man in the same way, Sri Guru Granth Sahib propounds human values which are acceptable in each sphere of life and satisfies the spiritual quest not only of the Sikh community, rather of the whole humanity for its universal approach. It is even not wrong to say that Sri Guru Granth Sahib is highly practical and scientific in its subjects.

B) Political Patronage

The poetic works though scriptures got long life due to political patronage. The religion due to non-availability of political patronage prevailed in the shape of sects. The self dominative communities or their political patronage provided long life to their favorite holy scriptures. The Arabs after the emergence of Islam got political hold in numerous countries and inspired and even compelled the public to embrace their religion and pay homage to its scripture. Similarly, the Sikh community acquired political hold in Panjab and the public of the time was inclined to pay respects to Sri Guru Granth Sahib. The Christians in the twentieth century AD exhorted the political power in Asia and its missionaries scattered in Asian countries and successfully propagated Christianity there. The Sikh chronicles remind us of the following lines:

Raj bina na dharam chale hai

Dharma bina sab dale male hai

Therefore, Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji pronounced to his disciples that they must struggle to acquire the political hold of the country for the survival of their religion.

C) Poets from the Masses

Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas etc: in the Indian context got no political patronage but their theology was supporting the downtrodden classes who were continuously oppressed by Brahminical ideologies as well as the ruling classes. In their poetic works they favoured the general masses and the public provided a long life to their works. In the same way, the awesta of the Zoroastrian reduced to a minority community and its status was exalted by the Quran. The Anjil (New Testament) acquired the place of the Zabur which had succeeded the status of pentateuch (Torah).

Religions did flourish neither in a day nor by a single attempt. The Christianity emerged from Jewish religion and the historical aspects evince that

Christ emerged with teachings after a long time span of fourteen to fifteen centuries after Moses. During these times Ezekiel, Ruth, Solomon, David, Judges, Daniel and many more personalities emerged in Jewish religion who provided a solid background to Christianity. The Hindu religion acquired development step by step by the efforts of its kings, scholars, rishi-munis and Brahmins. Similarly, the *Caliphates* played a dominative role to propagate the theology of Islam. Afterwards, the Islamic scholars with continuous efforts brought this religion on a global level.

So far as the Sikh theology is concerned, it is propounded by Guru Nanak in the fifteenth century, passed through different stages and acquired its finalization during the seventeenth century by the endeavours of Sri Guru Gobind Singh. There were some homosapiens who being the disciples of the Sikh Gurus; helped to propagate the teachings of the Gurus among the masses.

The poets under study were also from the same personalities who played an influential role to popularize the messages of the Gurus and attracted the public to assemble in the holy congregation. The bards being the disciples of Guru Arjan composed *swayyas*, Bhai Gurdas their contemporary chose the local form of *var* and Bhai Nand Lal being a Persian scholar and a devoted Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh preferred to compose Persian *mathnavis* in the glories of the Gurus. They played the successful role of media of their times and provided eye witness to numerous historical facts.

Thus the above mentioned literature is not a form of Brahmanic incantations but a solid and confirmed document of their ideologies. They versified whatever they thought about the Sikh Gurus. Therefore, the works are forceful testimonies which highlight the significance and merits of Sikh religion especially in the context of present times.

The study of the referred works encouraged the homosapiens to go through them by different view points. There are various spiritual, natural and ethnic subjects narrated in them. The Panjabi scholars have studied the referred Panjabi

works and evolved commendable findings. The scholars engaged in the studies of the Sikh religion have put forth their studies but Bhai Nand Lal being a Persian scholar was being neglected. So herein the study in hand I have endeavoured to undertake the referred poet along with the other two.

CHAPTER-1

THEORY OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

The term 'Comparative Literature' is difficult to define for it evolves not one but two or even more than two literatures in comparison at the same time. It becomes still more difficult task when the comparatist has to take into consideration the multi-dimensional aspects of comparative literature such as-linguistic, cultural, religious, economic, social and historical factors of different societies.

In order to understand the term "comparative literature" we must analyse its nomenclature. Etymologically, the term comparative literature denotes any literary work or works when compared with any other literary work or works. Hence, comparative literature is the study of inter-relationship between any two or more than two significant literary works or literatures. It is essential that while making comparative study we must take the sources, themes, myths, forms, artistic strategies, social and religious movements and trends into consideration. The comparatist with his critical approach and investigations will find out, the similarities and dissimilarities among various works that he has undertaken for the purpose of comparison and justification lies in the fact that his approach must be unbiased and unprejudiced to reach the ultimate truth. It is only his earnest and sincere approach which will bring forth the naked truth or natural results and this really is the purpose of comparative study.

Taken broadly, comparative literature is a comprehensive term. Its scope encompasses the totality of human experiences into its embrace, and thus all internal human relationships among the various parts of the world are realized, through the critical approach to literatures under comparative study. It helps to vanish narrow national and international boundaries, and in place of that universality of human relationships emerges out. Thus the term comparative literature includes comparative study of regional literatures, national literatures, and international literatures. However, there are many over-lapping terms in this concern such as - Universal literature, General literature, International literature and World literature. Repeatedly, we can mention here that comparative literature includes experiences of human life and behaviour as a whole. In the conception of world literature the works of Homer, Dante,

Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Emerson, Thoreau, Valmiki, Vyas should be taken as one for comparison.

Virgil's Aeneid, Homer's Iliad, Milton's Paradise Lost, Indian Epics-the Ramayana and the Mahabharata can be studied in comparison as world literature.

If taken psychologically, human nature is undoubtedly, the same all over the world. That is why, human expressions in all literary works or literatures are bound to have deep-rooted similarities and affinities. Hence there lies affinities between the masterpieces of different literary works of different nations. Human nature, no doubt, is very complicated, and this complexity in different kinds of literary works makes comparative study a complex phenomenon.

As mentioned above, the comparative study is not different from a critical approach of a particular literature except the fact that here we deal with two or more than two literatures side by side. In this way, the subject matter becomes vaster and perspective wider. Boundaries of comparative literature have to be extended to encompass the entirety of human life and experiences in one's embrace.

The definition of comparative literature given by Bijay Kumar Dass is very simple vivid and understandable:

The simple way to define comparative literature is to say that it is a comparison between the two literatures. Comparative literature analyses the similarities and dissimilarities and parallels between two literatures. It further studies themes, modes, conventions and use of folk tales, myths in two different literatures or even more.¹

Tagore refers to comparative literature by the name of '*Vishvasahita*'. Broadening the scope of comparative literature he remarks:

"From narrow provincialism we must free ourselves, we must strive to see the works of each author as a whole, that whole as a part of man's universal creativity, and that universal spirit in its manifestation through world literature" (Quoted in Buddhadeva Bose, "*Comparative Literature in India, "Contribution to Comparative Literature ; Germany and India, Calcutta, 1973*).²

If taken historically, comparative literature has been a result of a reaction against the narrow nationalism of the 19th century scholarship in England. Though it was an occasional tradition, the comparative study of literary works was in vogue, right from the beginning of the Christian era. Romans were the pioneers in the field of comparative study. They out did the Greeks in the development of comparative study. The Romans worked out the tradition of comparing the works of great orators and poets of Greek and Roman and found out many similarities among their studies of literary works. No doubt, Quintillion was the pioneer in this concern, but Longinus endeavoured to set the comparative study in systematized discipline. If he had preceded Quintillion he would have been the pioneer in this field. He brought forth the names of Homer and Plato etc. In Indian comparative approach the Sanskrit critics emerged out during the 6th century A.D. It is clear from the commentaries on Kalidasa's *Meghduta* and *Abhijnanasakutala*. After that the critics like Kuntaka and Abhinavagupta with their qualitative approach paved the way for modern comparatators.

R.S. Pathak, giving the historical development of the new discipline, comparative literature says:

Mathew Aronold made meaningful efforts in English world and emphasized strongly the significance of the comparative approach to literary works. He wrote in a letter in 1848, "Every critic should try and possess one great literature at least besides his own and more the unlike his own, the better."³

Thus, he pioneered the comparative criticism in England and gave inspiration to other critics to work on this new discipline. It is hearby suggested that the comparatist should undertake the master pieces of creative writers, whose works have cosmopolitan status in literary fields. That is why, Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot called for a criticism of poetry on parameters of universal world-poetry, or the works of maximum excellence. This type of approach will direct comparative study of literature towards international level.

In his article, "Comparative Literature and Aesthetics: the search for a significant order" R.S. Pathak has indicated well-known aspects of traditional comparative studies i.e. Folklore, Influence, Genres and Themes:

Folklore

Folklore offered the starting point and in some cases the frame work, for successful studies in thematology.

Influence

Mazzini once said that a developed, cultivated literature, nurtured by itself, without influence from a foreign literature, is something unthinkable, centuries before him the Indian Poetician Rajasekhara had maintained that it is not that poets are not thieves. Writers have borrowed and even plagiarized occasionally in all ages, and some points of affinity between masterpieces of different literary traditions can be established on comparison.⁴

In the support of above mentioned facts we can give details from Indian National and Regional Literatures.

Sanskrit being the language of ancient Hindu scriptures had its influence on Indian literatures especially on Northern Indian languages leaving aside Urdu, which is a language of the recent origin. Undoubtedly, it had not influenced much on Southern. Indian literatures Still being the language of Hindu religion and culture, it did play a significant role in the process of development of Southern languages.

The Perso-Arabic influence had its effect due to political infrastructure. With the advent of Muslim rule in India, Persian though a foreign language highly affected the Indian literature as well as Indian culture, art, architecture, music, dance etc. A hybrid cultural came into existence. The Kathak dance, the form of Ramlila was enjoyed at the Mughul Court. Muslim monuments acquired Hindu temple motifs. Urdu, a dialect originated from the barracks, became a highly sophisticated and sweet language of literary expressions having no religious text at its support.

It is a fact that Arians and Muslims settled in India and made India their home. They influenced Indian culture and also adopted the Indian ways of life. The English ruled Indian from abroad and did not follow the main stream of Indian culture. Influence of the west could be seen in all aspects of Indian life, Indian culture, philosophy, politics, educational policies even medical sciences. English schools were opened and they taught English to the Indian people for communication purposes and

they also propagated their religion on Indian soil. On the other side when Raja Ram Mohan Roy visited Europe in 1830, it was just the first attempt of an Indian scholar to explore Europe and the process of give and take continued.

Initially, Americans came to India for trade and commerce, with the passage of time they began to take interest in cultural exchange, and further this closeness resulted into a keen American interest in the literary and philosophical heritage of India. When western world was indulged in material prosperity, the American scholars looked upon the east as their only hope for their spiritual rejuvenation. The Transcendentalists like Emerson, Alcott and Thoreau found a close kinship with ancient Hindu philosophy. Indian classics were translated into English by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Sir William Jones and the Charles Wilkins and Americans responded to these translations enthusiastically. Even Mahatma Gandhi was highly impressed by the philosophical views of Thoreau and found many similarities between their thoughts.

Genre

Genre has been an important element of comparative literature curriculum. Ferdinand Brunetiere was the first showing deep interest in the evolution of genre. According to him every literary type has a birth, hayday and its wane.

Theme

The term themes literally interpreted would include various thematological categories such as motif, recurrent images etc. The study of themes may also take into account 'associations' of all types governed and directed by a variety of psychological and cultural factors which establish rules and patterns for them.⁵

Moreover, Hudson is of the view that the comparative method will be of great service when it will deal literature historically. After his return to Russia in 1870, Alexander Veselovsky brought out a series of studies on the migration of themes, ranging all over the western and eastern world. Similarly, Richard Price, in his preface to the new edition of Warton's History of English Poetry (1824) regarded literature as a huge treasure house of themes which spread, multiply and migrate. French scholars also collected evidences about literary relations and migrations of themes and motives all over the world.

The two other important aspects of comparative literature are literary criticism and translation.

Criticism

Criticism is an important factor in the field of comparative study. Criticism of literary work does not mean to find out its weaknesses or shortcomings only. Critics should highly eulogize the good qualities of the work 'if discovered'. To Renan-The comparative method is a "grand instrument of criticism" (*L' Avenir de la science*) (*Paris, 1890 p.269*).⁶

Translation

One thing more is worth mentioning here that in comparative studies translation has a significant place. Translations are valuable in bringing about similarities and dissimilarities between significant works of literature and are very helpful in the field of research. Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam's Rubaiyat is an important point to be considered. Translation should be as close to the original work as possible. Only and only then, it is possible to understand and evaluate the original literary work. Translation can be used as a tool for comparative study. English translation of European classics will help Indian students to make their comparisons with Indian literatures. Similarly, Indian classics in English translation will be helpful for European students in comparative study with their own literatures. Thus translation helps the students of comparative literature to develop an international approach in different spheres such as literary, economic, social, philosophical, religious, cultural, historical and artistic values.

Translation is of paramount importance in comparative studies of world literatures as well as regional literatures. Without successful translation the comparative approach will miscarry. Moreover, the comparatist who compares two literary works written in two different languages must be bi-lingual as well as a successful translator. If a literary work is written in Persian and the other is in Punjabi, the task of comparison will be easy if he knows both the languages, Again if he knows even a third language (suppose English) the work of comparison will be easier.

It is true that translation of a literary work of literature cannot render the original taste yet it can convey the very message the author wanted to express and thus

it imparts a sense of discovery and hold together the body of world literature. On rare occasions a translation may be better than the original and at times it may have remarkable qualities to survive for a longer time.

According to Henry Gifford:

- ✓ A work translated can never be more than an oil painting reproduced in black and white.
- ✓ A translation, however impressive, cannot truly coexist with the original.
- ✓ The original works and their translations are not obviously one and the same.
- ✓ Translation is an instrument however fallible, without which vast areas of world literature would be lost to us.⁷

In the present era the interest of comparative studies especially in multilingual countries is ameliorating. In Canada there are two main comparative literatures - English and French. The famous Canadian comparatists whose names are worth mentioning here are - Northrop Frye, Victor Graham, D.G. Jones, Ronald Sutherland etc. They have contributed much in the field of comparative literature. The name of Canadian Comparative Literature Association who founded the journal - The Canadian Review of Comparative Literature published by the Deptt of Comparative Literature, the University of Alberta, can be taken with pride. We can mention here the name of leading Australian comparatists like David Myers and many others of Queensland University. Their job in the sphere of comparative literature is praiseworthy. In India there are many leading comparatists namely, R.K. Dhawan R.S. Pathak, Viney Kirpal, O.M. Anujan, K.V.S. Murti, A. Ramakrishana Rao, O.P. Bhatnager, Bijay Kumar Das, Avadhesh Kumar Singh etc. have made significant contribution in the field of comparative literature. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, has done an efficient job in this field by organizing a seminar on Comparative Literature, Theory and Practice. in June 1987.

Broadening the horizon of comparative literature Bijay Kumar Das comments:

Comparative literature transcends the narrowness, provinciality and parochialism of national and general literatures. The complacency of regional writers are shaken when the comparatists study their writings along with the

writings of other writers in different other languages.⁸

1. According to Max Muller "all higher knowledge is gained by comparison and rests on comparison"
2. According to Bosanquet "comparative literature can be of immense value ... in freeing the mind from the shackles of provincialism and literary myopia."⁹

Hence, comparative studies will brighten the perspective of literary criticism and research. But still, the scope and methodology of comparative literature have been a subject of dispute for many critics:

It has been felt difficult to define precisely the content of comparative literature and to determine its scope. That is why, Wellek and Warren found the term 'troublesome' (Wellek & Warren, P - 46) Lane cooper goes to the extent of saying that comparative literature is a 'bogus term and "makes neither sense nor syntax." (*Experiments in Education* (Ithaca, Ny, 1942) (P - 75).¹⁰

Broadening the scope of comparative literature Henry Gifford explains in detail:

The study of literature is increasingly bracketed with that of philosophy and history. It has always been difficult to set precise limits round the subject, and more and more other disciplines have thrown their shadows across literary studies. To interpret the great works of the past or for that matter of the present, the most multifarious knowledge will be required. Nearly all the subject taught in a faculty of arts will be laid at some time under contribution.¹¹

According to Posnett:

Comparative literature means the general theory of literary evolution, the idea that literature passes through stages of inception, culmination and decline.¹²

According to Rene Wellek:

Comparative literature will study all literature from an international perspective, with a consciousness of the unity of all literary creation and experience (*Discriminations*, p. 19).¹³

From the above discussion, we can conclude that the concept of comparative literature should be taken neither by too narrow, nor by too comprehensive out look. A

comprehensive and workable methodology will facilitate the comparatists to reach their goals. Otherwise he is prone to delusions more easily than other research scholars or critics because comparative literature has not yet fully established or founded a viable means of comparative study. Rene Wellek goes to the extent of saying:-

Comparative literature is still a controversial discipline which has not yet been able to establish a distinct subject matter and specific methodology (Discriminations, p.1).¹⁴

So, boundaries of comparative study must not be defined so that it may not distract from its way to uncontrolled extension. A comparatist should not depend upon comparison but only also make use of description, characterization, interpretation, narration, explanation and evaluation of different works.

Manikar has explained the phenomena in different words by saying:

Comparative literature studies can include the application of the usual aesthetic values to a literature an understanding of the different literary movement and tendencies of an age, studies of themes and idea that appear in different literatures, and finally the study of genre, of structures and patterns. But perhaps the most important of all are the literary relations.¹⁵

So in comparative literature, as a subject of study the comparatist must keep a balance between expansion and concentration, make use of new tools and techniques for analysing the features of a work, get benefit from the insight formed in the discoveries of other disciplines such as Anthropology, Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology, History of Art and most important of all in this field - Linguistics, Bijay Kumar Das while giving his opinion about the nature of study of comparative literature remarks that:

Comparative literature analyses the similarities and dissimilarities and parallels between two literatures It further studies themes, modes, conventions and the use of folk-tales, myths in two different literatures or even more.¹⁶

Comparative literature is a study of relationships between two or more literatures. For example - English literature, American literature, Canadian literature, Australian literature, Indian English literature and Caribbean literature - all are written

in English language. The study of comparative literature encompasses all these literatures in its scope.

Now let us think of the prospect of comparative literature in India a multi-lingual, multi-cultural, and multi religious country. The critics argue that Indian literature though written in many languages yet it is one. The fact is that Indian culture has a certain kind of unity in diversity. This unity in cultural, social and religious background of Indian society, makes all literatures to be one i.e., Indian. Here the views of R.K. Gupta and Priyalakshmi are worth quoting:

If languages were in fact the decisive factor in determining the unity of a literature, then literatures written in a single language but in different nations would be regarded as one not as many literatures. But we know that this is not to be the case, English is primary vehicle of several national literatures - British, American, Canadian and Australian to name just a few and also a secondary vehicle of literary expressions in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. If there can be several national literatures written in a single language, there can also be single national literature (including Indian literature) written in several languages.¹⁷

The ultimate truth is that it is not language that renders unity to a literature/literatures rather the social, cultural economic, philosophical and religious movements and political environments play their role in this concern. Uniformity of theme is one of the main factors among Indian regional literatures. Language is a cultural phenomenon conditioned by its locale and socio - historic forces that are in operation through ages.

Every literature has its own specific character of form, style, images, symbols, nuances and associations etc. Having this thing in view, we realize the fact that French literature is dissimilar from English literature, from German literature and Russian literature. Similarly, if closely seen Bengali literature differs from Marathi, Tamil or Hindi literatures. They are not different just because the fact that they are written in different languages but because the fact that all these literatures developed under the influence of different socio- historic environment. There are many similarities and dissimilarities among them. For justification, Bijay Kumar Dass quotes Sunit Kumar

Chatter Ji and Dr. Radha krishnan respectively:

1. A fundamental unity does prevail in all Indian literatures types, genres and expressions among all the medieval and modern literatures.
2. There is unity of outlook as the writers of different languages derive their inspiration from a common source or face more or less some kind of experience, emotional and intellectual.¹⁸

Even Tagore and Sisir Kumar Das give emphasis on internal unity/uniformity in diversity in Indian literatures. The fundamental principle in comparative study is based upon the inter relationship between two or more than two literatures. The most essential aspect of comparative literature is the problem of method of studies. Comparative Literature can be studied fruitfully and purposefully in Indian context under the following heads, sources, themes, myths, forms, movements and trends etc.

Movements and Trends during the composing period should be given equal weightage while comparing any two literary works or literatures.

Comparative literature demands the most multifarious knowledge, world wide farsightedness, comprehensive awareness, unbiased critical sensibility, meticulous susceptibility from the comparators to literary works or literatures so that he may collect the fact about sources, forms, themes, myths and movements and trends and vividly.

He should not waste his energy on the trivial, banal or pap material.

- (i) The Bhakti movement strongly influences almost all the regional literatures of India during the middle-ages. It had deep impact on Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi and Oriya and many more regional literatures of our country. It brought Hindus and Muslims closer. They began to live together. Cooperation and toleration developed among two religions.
- (ii) Yearning for freedom from the foreign yoke during the 19th century, has its profound impact on all the regional literatures of India. Patriotic songs were composed and sung. Influence was found in every form of literature, poetry, novel, drama etc.

- (iii) Four Varunas in Indian society, especially in Hindu religious scriptures have been in operation for centuries. After the advent of Sikhism, the Sikh Gurus tried their best to equalize the human beings. Being the children of one God, Guru Gobind Singh while creating Khalsa Panth in 1699, created a casteless society. Since then untouchability has been a recurring theme in various regional literatures including Indian English literatures.
- (iv) Due to religious thinking partition of the country had an important effect in determining the theme of several regional literatures especially novels. Indian English literature such as - Train to Pakistan by Sh. Khuswant Singh - 'A Bend in the Ganges by Malgonkar - The Dark Dancer, by B - Rajan - Sunlight on a Broken Column, by Attia Hussani - The Rape, by Raj Gill and Azadi, by Chaman Nahal and so on.
- (v) Myth is an other important element in different regional and national literatures. Myth forms an excellent area of comparative study in Indian literatures especially the religious ones. Hindu puranic literatures and Sikh scriptures have hundreds of mythological characters Sikh Gurus, Bhagtas, Bards, Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal have made much use of them:

Comparative literature's a relatively is a new discipline but it is a happy augury that most of the Indian universities have included it in Master's Degree curriculums. (V.R.N.P. Prasad's, Essay: The Concept of Comparative Literature in the Indian Context).¹⁹

English being international language will prove very helpful in this tremendous task. English Departments of our universities can prove beneficial by Translating regional literatures into English. In this way, widening the scope of comparative study of different Indian literatures on national and international level. Comparative literature has been a part of syllabus at post graduate level at various universities. Thus broadening the scope of comparative study these universities may facilitate the task of literary criticism. Moreover, Indian English literature can be compared with Anglo American literature. Ancient Indian critical theories can be studied at par with western critical theories. Rasa-Dhvani theory can conveniently be compared with Reader - Response theory of the West.

At last we can quote the hopeful views of Henry Gifford: for the progress of comparative study:

On the one hand, the reciprocity between national literatures is constantly growing; and more and more a common fund is being built up on which writers in any language may draw. The master pieces that have hitherto stayed the possession of one people are becoming available to the world.²⁰

I am hereby taking the comparative study of three significant poets of 16th and 17th century A.D. Firstly, the Bhattas have eulogized the first five Sikh Gurus in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Secondly, the works of Bhai Gurdas are also subjected to the eulogy of six Sikh Gurus (from Sri Nanak Dev Ji to Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji) and interpretation of the different concepts of Sikh theology. The bards have used classical Punjabi. Their language, more or less is similar to the language used by the Sikh Gurus and the saints whose Bani is included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. The third poet taken for comparative study is Bhai Nand Lal who has also praised the Sikh Gurus and their doctrines and principles of Sikh theology. He has been devout Sikh of Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji. He has eulogized all the ten Sikh Gurus. Most of his works are in Persian.

The poetic style, meters and language similarities and dissimilarities all compared and contrasted. Bhai Gurdas used the medieval Panjabi of the Majha dialect. All the three poets have a single motif i.e to praise the Sikh Gurus and preach the Sikh theology. Though they have a single aspect of their study i.e. eulogy of Sikh Gurus yet differences are calculated in their approach to praise their patrons. Thus, the research work, propounds an interesting comparative study of the works of poets referred above.

References

1. Bijay Kumar Dass, (ed), *Comparative Literature*, Atlantic Publishers and distributors B-2 Vishal Enclave, Opp. Rajouri Garden New Delhi-27, Year-2000 p.1.
2. R.K. Dhawan, (ed), *Comparative Literature*, Behari Publication, New Delhi, 1987 p. 2.
3. Ibid, p. 22.
4. Ibid, pp. 23-24.
5. Ibid, pp. 23-24.
6. Ibid, p. 26.
7. Henry Gifford, *Comparative Literature*, Humanities Press New York. 1969, pp. 45, 49-50.
8. Bijay Kumar Dass, *Comparative Literature*, Atlantic Publishers and distributors B-2, Vishal Enclave, Opp, Rajouri Garden New Delhi-27, Year-2000, p. 4.
9. R.K. Dhawan, (ed), *Comparative Literature*, Behari Publication, New Delhi, 1987 pp. 27-28.
10. Ibid, p. 28.
11. Henry Gifford, *Comparative Literature*, Humanities Press New York. 1969, p.58.
12. H.M. Posnett, *Comparative Literature*, London, 1886, p. 86.
13. R.K.Dhawan, *Comparative Literature*, Behari Publication, New Delhi, 1987, p. 28.
14. Ibid, p. 29.
15. T.G. Manikar, "Comparative Literature for India, Jadavpur/ Journal of Comparative Literature", 1976-77, p. 52.
16. Bijay Kumar Dass, (ed) *Comparative Literature*, Atlantic Publishers and distributors B-2, Vishal Enclave, Opp, Rajouri Garden New Delhi-27, Year-2000 p. 1.
17. Ibid, p. 160.
18. Ibid, p. 161.
19. G.S. Amur, B.V.N. Nematikde, P.S. Deshpande, K.R.Shirwedkar, *Essays on Comparative Literature and Linguistics*, 1984, p. 18.
20. Henry Gifford, *Comparative Literature*, Humanities Press New York, 1969, pp. 77-78.

CHAPTER-II

AUTHORS AND THEIR TIMES

It is but natural for a common human being to adapt himself according to the social environment in which he lives. He can not help adopting the influence of social conditions in which he is encircled. He follows the socio-religious and political phenomena. Only a reformer tends to reform the life values of society, while the scholars, the poets and the homosapiens try to point out their pros and cons. Thus, the human nature has deep relations with the society in which it is shaped. To undergo the reality of the verses of the Bards, Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal it is necessary to have a look into the social environment in which they accomplished their works. The study deals with the personalities who lived in 16th and 17th century A.D. Punjab. Though the referred poets had no direct concern with the socio-political infrastructures of their times but certainly they admitted the effects of the referred factors on their lives and works. Undoubtedly, socio-religious influences had been a major factor in the composition of their works.

A) SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Bhattas, Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal were the outcome of 16th and 17th century AD. They were brought up in almost similar social, religious and political infrastructures. The contemporary social life factors effected their works naturally and the referred elements are found in their works fragrantly. The monarchical socio-political infrastructure and the contemporary prevalent religious values made them established poets of their times. To go through the significance and achieve a complete approach to their ideologies, it is necessary to go through the religious as well as the socio-political phenomena of their times.

Social Environment of Punjab:

The social environment of the Punjab in 16th and 17th century was pernicious. The Sikh religion was in its beginning stage. There were mainly two social orders based on two main religions. The society was divided into two major classes the Hindus and the Muslims. Being the ruling class the Muslims were the favorite subjects of the emperors. The Muslims basically hated Hindus severely. Undoubtedly, the Hindus were in majority in population still they were deprived of almost all privileges

and rights. *Jaziya* and pilgrimage taxes were forcibly charged from them. They were so bitterly treated that most of them were compelled to embrace Islam. The condition of the women in the society was worse than that of animals.

When Guru Nanak appeared on the horizon the Indian society had already become static and decadent.¹

The Muslim Society:

The Muslim society in the Punjab had been divided into three main groups.

- a. **Upper Class:-** All Amirs, Khans Maliks, Sheikhs, Iqtadars, Ulemas Qazis etc, were the higher stratum of Muslim society. Main political offices were headed by them. They lived in grand palaces and led a life of luxury and over indulgence. They had a large number of women in their '*Harms*'. They kept women of exceptional beauty. These women entertained their masters, up to their maximum satisfaction. Women and wine had become indistinguishable part of their life.

Ulemas and qazis being the religious heads did unholy activities surreptitiously. They took bribe for providing justice. They had gone astray from their real path.

Kazi hoe rishvati wadhi lai ke haq gavaee²

The qazis who were to dispense justice to the public had become corrupt and took bribe to give decisions in favour of the offenders.

- b. **Middle Class:-** The middle class consisted of the soldiers, traders, peasants and subordinate officials of the rulers. Their standard of living had a lot of difference than that of the upper class still they were far better than the status of Hindu society.
- c. **Lower Class:-** It consisted of servants, slaves and labour class. They were large in population. They had to earn their living by working hard in fields or by carrying building materials, making roads etc. The slaves working in the royal courts were better than those of working in houses. The house servants were oftenly treated badly. Obviously, their position in society was pitiable. Oftenly, the emperors and nobles fond of living in magnificent palaces used to employee Hindu servants to work for them.

Status of Women:

Women were considered an object of lust and merrymaking. Women of the upper class enjoyed some facilities. The women of middle class and lower class lived a life of misery and suffering. The *purdah* system was strongly in vogue. Although, the Hindu religion does not compel ladies to be strict in *pardah* but rulers had compelled them to live in veils. Institutions like polygamy and divorce had made their lives sympathetic and rather pitiable. They were mostly uneducated.

Dietary:

The upper class Muslims enjoyed palatable and delicious food. It consisted of meat, halva, puri, butter, fruits and vegetables. Drinking was common among the upper class and the middle class. Even the upper class women also taste wine. The lower classes used opium and hemp. The Muslims enjoyed chewing beetle and beetle nut. Numerous kinds of cold drinks or *sharbats* were drunk in summer season. The lower class ate simple food. Some of them even could not get food to their fill. The main ingredients they used were flour of oats and rice. Wheat was costly and was out of their reach.

Dress:

The men and women of upper class used to wear costly dress especially of silk and velvet, studded with precious stones and jewels. They also wear costly ornaments made of precious stones, jewels, gold and silver. The women of lower classes wore simple dress and cheaper ornaments. The upper class ladies used many kinds of cosmetics and perfumes. The '*Barbarvani*' of Guru Nanak evinces that the middle class ladies had all sources to live a luxurious life.

Education:

The rulers were always busy in local wars and battles. Since the country was situated on the gateway to India. No proper arrangements were made to promote the field of education. The princes were provided education and training in all spheres of life. Special teachers were arranged for their education at the palaces *Ulemas* and *Maulvis* taught the children of general public in *mosques*, *maktabs* and *madarasas*. Primary education was rendered in *mosques* and *maktabs* whereas higher education was given in *madarasas*. A small amount of grant was allotted for education by the rulers. Lahore and Multan were the prominent centers of education in the Punjab. Other

important centres were at Jalandhar, Sultanpur, Samana, Bhatinda, Sirhind, Qasur, Sialkot and Kangra in the Punjab.

We find no evidence but the economic status of the menial caste evinces that there was no scope for them to acquire education. They were expected to serve the upper classes while the children of ruling families, religious heads and the state functionaries were allowed to acquire education in proportion to their economic and social status. The main social life of the public was based on the maxim. "Might is Right".

Means of Entertainment:

The Muslims were fond of hunting and polo horse-riding and animal fights were enjoyed. People took part in fairs and festivals enthusiastically. Musicians and dancers entertained the people in fairs. *Id-e- Nauroz* and *Shab-e-Barat* etc. were celebrated as the religious fairs. While there was also a tradition to arrange fairs on the sepulchers of the Muslim saints and faqirs establish in specific regions. Such occasions were allowed the terminology of *Urs*. Due to extensive influence of *Sakhi Sarvar* on the Panjab society the people used to burn oil lamps on the sepulchers on Thursday nights while the *Qadiri* sect of the Muslim *Sufis* engaged themselves in the art of music and poetry. Shah Hussain as well as Sheik Braham are the solid examples to evince the fact. The Qadiri school of Qasur, Shah Sharaf of Batala had been the established and popular places of learning and music.

The Hindu Society:

The social status of Hindus was different from that of the Muslims. They were under the rule of Muslim, who hate them considering infidels. The ruling class i.e. Muslim hegemonies cognized it their right to turn them towards Islam. By this way, they thought that they were serving for the welfare of Islam. There was no concept of untouchability in Islam, which was a curse for Hindu menial castes. Although the Islam could not provide the converted Hindus an equal status to Muslims and they were called *Kammis* (workers). They were deprived of numerous human rights. They were called *Kafirs*, the non believers in the Islamic terminology. Some Hindus were treated so badly that they embraced Islam under pressure. Besides, these problems, the Hindu society was itself filled with numerous vices especially the Brahmanic class.

Caste System -*Varana Ashram Dharma:*

The Hindu society was mainly divided into four castes and further sub-castes and clans-severe victim of higher and lower groupism. The Brahmans occupied the topmost position in the society. Their supremacy received a set back with establishment of Muslim rule in India. Some Khattris got good jobs as state functionaries like *divan*, *munshi* and *kardars* whether the lower caste Hindus were hated by the upper caste Hindus and Muslims. Moreover, the Sikh Guru's also, criticized the *Brahmans* for their moral degeneration and degradation. With the passage of time they had become corrupt, avaricious and knavish. They always tried to fleece the common man:

On their forehead they had sacrificial mark and on their waist the ochre coloured loin cloth. In their hand they had knives, and enacted as butchers of the world.³

Kashatriays were the second among the upper castes. Their social duty was to fight for the nation. But under the changed circumstances they adopted new professions and occupations such as trade and agriculture. The *vaishayas* were at the third place in caste strata. They continued with their old occupations as trade, agriculture and animal husbandry. The *shudras*, the fourth one in the caste-phenomena were treated badly by the upper classes. Untouchability, was really a blot on the face of Hindu society. Now the lower class people began to hate the higher classes for their disgrace in society.

If you claim the higher status of Brahmin by birth, why did not you take birth through some other passage? How are you Brahmin of high status and why am I from the lower caste? Does milk run in your veins different from that of blood running in my arteries?⁴

Status of Woman:

The status of woman in the Hindu society was miserable. She was supposed to be a man's shoe. The birth of a girl-child was considered inauspicious Oftenly, the people used to kill the female child at the very time of her birth. If not killed no attention was paid to her education. The girls remained uneducated. Muslim rulers used to take away young Hindu girls forcibly, Therefore, they were married at an early age. The poor parents even married their young girls to the old men for want of money. They were compelled to live in the four walls of the house. The custom of *Sati* was in

vogue. It was the most cruel act to burn the living widow forcibly with the dead body of her husband in the same pyre. The re-marriage of the widow was not permitted. A widow was cursed with bitter words like 'husband-eater' or 'unchaste'. Her life became worse than that of hell. At several places, women were sold and purchased like animals.

The Hindu people, undoubtedly used to worship she-gods but insult their daughters by depriving them of the right to live like boys. Actually the Muslim rulers were habitually womanizers and used to abduct the Hindu girls forcibly. The Hindus who used to call Muslims *malachh* but bound to tolerate their oppression since the Muslim Pathans, Mughals and Afghans were the rulers of the day. Some of the Rajput Hindus also had married their daughters with Muslim nobles to acquire respectable status in administration but never liked to accept Muslim girls as their wives. Their religion did not permit them. The nobles used to consider their right to chaste Hindu girls since the latter were being subjected.

The Sikhs who were in a minor community were in efforts to reform the Hindu society and help them to get rid of the referred evils:

Man is begotten from woman, to woman he conceives and again receives a daughter, he again is betrothed a woman and marry her. He creates interrelation with woman and by her interrelation the system to retain the generation is survived. If one's wife dies he runs after another. Thus man has no value without woman. Why should woman be cursed who endows birth to kings?⁵

Dress & Dietary:

The Hindu ladies of upper classes put on beautiful and costly cloths and wore ornaments of silver, gold and diamond. The *shudras* and *vaishayas* wore very simple clothes. The diet of the Hindus was very simple. Most of them were vegetarians. They ate wheat, rice, vegetables, ghee and milk. They avoided meat, garlic and onion, supposing that these things were not allowed in their religion.

Education:

The Hindus belonging to the rich class sent their children to the madarasas of the Muslim. Though hated by muslim students the Hindus were anxious to occupy state

jobs. So they sent their wards to muslim madararas. Most of the Hindu children got education in *pathshalas* which were run by Hindu scholar.

From the above discussion it is crystal clear that the Hindu and the Muslim societies had drawbacks in the beginning of the sixteenth century. In both the societies, falsehood, deception, intrigues and hypocrisy were prevalent. Moral and ethical degradation had touched the highest peak. Humanism was found nowhere:

It was a long dark age of uncertainty and restlessness, leaving its ugly scars on all aspects of people's life.⁶

The religious deterioration and confusion is quite vivid from the following quotation:

The *qazi* misinterprets *Shariate* and eats filth. The Brahmin enacts like a butchers and takes holy ablution. *Yogi* does not cognize the values of renunciation due to ignorance. All the three kinds of people became the root cause of the destruction of the social life.⁷

B) RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT

Religious atmosphere during the 16th and 17th century Punjab was worst. The two main religions Hinduism and Islam were predominately prevailing, in Punjab. Guru Nanak's "*Asa di var*" throws lights on the religious phenomena of the day.

Hinduism:

Hinduism was the religion of majority in the Punjab. The Hindus believed in *Vedas*, *Puranas* and *Simaritis*. They believed in the theory of transmigration of soul in the cycle of life and death. They believed in *Karmic* theory by which a living man receives woes and pleasures. They had four castes. The Brahman's held the supreme position. All the rites from birth to death were considered incomplete without the cooperation of Brahman. Worthless traditions, incantations and beliefs were being preserved by Brahmins in the Hindu society. They were polytheistic in their religious ideologies. The false rites and rituals had got prevalence in Hindus due to their ignorance and nonscientific approach towards religion. Actually, they were being misguided by the Brahmans. The Brahmans, to loot and plunder the wealth of people were misinterpreting the holy scriptures. They were living a life of luxury by looting and duping the innocent people. Thus, the Brahman class, which was the learned and holding a high status had gone astray from the real path of religion.

Because of the *Varna ashram dharma*, the *sudras* and menial caste Hindus were suffering to the utmost. The Brahman class had not allowed them to worship or take part in the religious affairs. They were hoped only to serve the upper three castes-- *Brahmans*, *Vashyas* and *Khatris*. Moreover, they were being compelled by Muslim refers to embrace Islam. Having them selves converted to Islam, there was more curse for them. Firstly, they were not considered equal to other original Muslims. Secondly, they were to face insult from the Hindu society. They were not allowed to enter schools, temples and other social institutions. Penalties were severe for them in case of breaching rites and traditions. During these times the religiously bigoted emperor's life became hell for them. It was a matter of grief that the referred caste system was based upon the birth measures and not upon the occupation or the activities of men.

Due to wrong directions the Hindus had become superstitious and materialistic. The Hindus began to believe, that religion means only the cognition of the caste system, ways of eating, bathing in pious rivers, listening to the holy discourses (*kathas*) etc. Idolatry had been very common. People had forgotten the Almighty God. Numerous gods and goddesses were being worshipped. Trees, tombs and graves were made the images of adoration. The hypocrite Brahmans used to- read holy-books, recite evening prays, sit in meditation like cranes utter falsehood like false shining ornaments, recite *gayatri mantra* three times a day, wear rosary around their neck, put sacred mark on forehead, place a towel on the head have two lion-clothes (*one for the daily routine and the other for prayer*), know not the nature of the Lord. Guru Nanak advised them to meditate on the name of Lord. Without the true guru, man cannot find the right path.⁸

The Hindu Society had been divided in many sects like:

Shaivism (those who are the devotees of god Shiva).

Vaishnavism (those who are the devotees of god Vishnu).

Saktism (those who worship the godless of Shakti Durga or Kali Devi).

Sacred thread:

According to the *Varna Ashram Dharma* the four castes of Hindu traditionally, used to wear sacred thread denoting their caste. Brahmin used to wear the sacred thread of wool, *Khatries* of cotton, *Vashaya* that of jute while the *Sudra* were bound to wear that of reed called (*munj*), Generally, the *Brahmans* and *Khatries* of the referred centuries used to wear the sacred thread but did not preserve the real life accordingly.

The tradition wearing such thread, really meant to provide a token of class and had no religious value. The Brahmins had made it a part of religious like as well as a system of identification. The Brahmins used to observe the religious rites hypocritically and their actions were quite against their religion and social duties. They used to call Muslims the impure (*Malechh*) but also derive good use of them.

Buddhism:

Buddhism was once the biggest religion in Asia especially during the time of Ashoka the great. It was spread in Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Barma, Sri Lanka, China Malaya, Japan, Central Asia, Sayeberia etc. There were two main reasons which helped its extension. (i) the high moral and truthful character of its followers (ii) the political support of powerful kings of the time. The religion suffered a set back when the political patronage was withdrawn by the Brahim Hindu kings during the seventh century A.D.⁹

Buddham was against Vedas. He did not believe in the worship of gods and goddesses. He was quite silent about God. According to Buddha, our desires are the causes of our woes. For fulfilling our desires we do actions, actions unchains the cycle of life and death. The aim of life is *Nirwana*. It is possible only when we follow the *Ashtang Marg* (Eight Points). In 16th Century Buddhism had little religious effect in society.¹⁰

Jainism:

There was a more sect Jainism, though in minority, living in Punjab. Brahmins as well as Jainis had cognized the concept of impurity and purity. They hated meat eating and preach nonviolence among the public. There preservations and precautions in practical life were much hard:

The Jainism has two sects *Shavetambar* and *Digambar*. They used to keep their mouth covered with clean cloth. They were vegetarians and did not believe in God.

The Sikh Religion:

During the period of religious confusion and deterioration, Bhai Gurdas describers that the position of Hindu-Muslim relationship was quite awkward:

Hindus and Muslims had gone astray from their primary aim. They were selfish jealous, proud, prejudiced and oppressors. For Hindus Haridwar and Kashi were Holy places. Muslims revered Mecca and Kaba. God is One. For the Hindus, He was Ram. For the Muslims, He was Rahim. It was all misconception. The Hindus loved the Vedas; the Muslims respected the Quran. They had become avaricious and evil minded, quarrelling on the efficiency of their faiths. They could not realize the purpose of religion. The cycle of birth and death remained continued for them.¹¹

It was during this time that the Sikh religion came into existence the founder of which was Guru Nanak Dev. The ten spiritual teachers, the ten masters of Sikhism were promoting their religious ideology which was quite different from that of Hinduism and Islam. The fifth Master had compiled the holy scripture, the Adi Granth which was being preached equally among Hindus and Muslims, Briefly, the referred religion was teaching the Hindus to be true Hindus and Muslims to become faithful to their religious guidelines:

Extorting the right of other is like eating swine for him (*Musalman*) and the cow for the other (Hindus). The guru or prophet shall stand surety only if a man does not eat carrion.¹²

The Sikh religion had propagated the under mentioned ideologies:

Rejection of *Varna Ashram Dharma*:

The Sikh Gurus promoted the ideology of Bhagat Kabir by which all men ought to be equal without the distinction of higher and lower castes, creation of a single creator called God. No one is untouchable since the blood with similar qualities runs through the veins of high and low. Man's status should be calculated by the parameters of his actions and not by birth.

Rejection of False Brahmanical Rites:

Since the age of Manu, the Brahmans had undertaken the religious duties in the Hindu society. They were called at the occasion of birth and death, marriage, *yagopavit* and *yajna* etc. Without his presence, all the occasions were considered incomplete. Therefore, they had also structured their own code to earn bread. Moreover, most of the rites they pronounced had no scientific value. The Sikh religion rejected the *yajna*, sacred thread and false rites popularized by Brahmins. It was direct challenge to

the status of Brahmin in the Hindu society. The duties and obligations pronounced by Manu were not observed by Brahmins but they had considered their first right to guide the Hindu society.

It is due to the propagation of the Sikh theology that no one wears sacred thread in Punjab. Similarly, the Sikh rejected other ceremonies of idolatry, fasts and so called prayers.

Rejection of Futie Muslim Rites:

The Sikh religion not only rejected the superiority of Brahmins but also strike upon the Muslim rites which were based upon ill will of *maulavis* it conferred a new definition to *Namaz* (prayers) *zakaat* (tithe) as well as pilgrimage:

- (i) The five Namasis have five names.
The first is for truthfulness.
The second is for honest earning.
The third is for charity in God's Name.
The fourth is for purity of mind.
Fifth is for Lord's admiration and praise.¹³
- (ii) Make mercy your mosque,
Faith your prayer mat,
Justice and lawfulness your Quran,
Modesty your circumcision,
Politeness and civility your fast,
Right conduct your Mecca,
Truth your spiritual guide,
Pious deed your creed and prayer,
Rosary is that pleases Him in this way,
The Lord shall preserve your honour (says Nanak)¹⁴
- (iii) A Muslim ought to be kind hearted,
Free from sin, having no attachment towards
Mundane pleasures, pure like flower, silk, deer skin¹⁵

Rejection to the Political Infrastructure:

Since the age of Guru Nanak the Sikh religion has paid no weightage to the monarchical infrastructure. It followed and propagated the theory of Sant Kabir:

There is no king equal to God (Being Eternal). All the worldly lords are mere temporary (for a number of days). They make false display of their pride.¹⁶

It also undertook the concept of *Beghampura* propounded by Saint Ravidas: *Beghampura* is the name of the town (heavenly abode).

At that place, there is no pain or worry.

There is no fear of paying tax on goods.

There is neither, error nor dread, nor decline is possible there.

I have now found an excellent abode.

My brothers, everlasting life is found therein.¹⁷

According to the Sikh theology the worldly kings and nobles are inferior to the reign of the Almighty which is Eternal. A man is born to serve the Almighty, but not to the false kings. It is the reason that the Sikh spiritual Gurus were conferred upon the title of 'Sache Patshah' by the congregation and the devotees. They were ever ready to sacrifice their lives obeying the orders of the 'Sache Patshah'. It is the reason for which the Sikh community always pinched like a thorn to the monarchic nobles.

Guru Hargobind Sahib turned the life style of Sikhs and their distinction from Hindus and Muslims became clearer.

Guru Nanak and his successors had propagated the theology of a true man, a true theist in the religious environment of bigoted Muslim rulers. At the same time the Sufi school was prevailing in Punjab who had a theology of liberal man. Since it was not a school of atheist and due to political dominance remained attracted itself with Islam. The sufies knew that their theology cannot speak against the rulers. The Sikhs Gurus encouraged the people of liberal ideology to speak against religious bigotry as well as the oppression. Therefore, the way for liberal natured people was opened to join the Sikh religion and closed for sufies who could never dare to speak against Islamic values. It is notable that Sufism was not an *Ijara* of Islam:

- (a) The Sakhi Sarvar (12th-13th century) attracted Hindus and Muslims who had to live liberally with tolerable behaviour towards each other.
- (b) Farid Shakar Ganj propagated the Islamic values with a cognition to Islamic law.

(c) Shah Hussain was quite liberal, '*ghair sharai*' giving no weightage to rigidity and he was a contemporary of Guru Arjan. His ideology has similarities with the Sikh thought. Even his works have terminology of the Sikh scriptures.

(d) Bulleh Shah Lahori was quite liberal and a propagator of liberal thought. We find in his work a good amalgamation of Islamic, Judaic and Hindu theology. He not only uses Islamic and Judaic stories in his narratives but also reveals the popular hearsays from Puranic and Vedantic literature with favourable as well as unfavorable comments.

Conclusively, it is opined that in Panjab the emergence of Sikhism closed the doors for entry in Sufism and called the people of the similar nature with new ideologies and the concept of *Beghampura*.

Islam:

Islam during the 16th and 17th century Punjab was prevailing under the monarchy of Mughals. After the demise of Akbar (1605) the liberal emperor, his successors proved religiously bigoted towards Hindus. They themselves along with their nobles had forgotten the true spirit of Islam and had become habitual of drinking and other anti Islamic affairs. According to the proverb (Yatha Raja Tatha Praja) The public follows the King. The nobles and functionaries engaged in Islamic law (*shariat*) and religious duties also had become corrupt. Undoubtedly, they perform Namaz (prayers), pay *Zakat* (tithe) and some of them visit Hajj but such affairs had become mere formalities. The bribery, women chastise and gambling had become their daily routine. They used to take the religious obligations lightly but pay more stress to convert Hindus to Islam even by force. Generally, the Muslims used to hate Hindus and people of other religions.

During the life time of Bhai Nand Lal, Aurangzeb was the emperor of the day. He demolished numerous temples including gurdawaras and got constructed mosques in place of them. *Jazia* and pilgrimage tax was imposed by the emperors upon Hindus.

Some of the upper caste Hindus also began to speak the language of Mughals the rulers of the day. The *mullahs* used to teach the lesson of *Hame-ost* and *Hama-az-ost* but used to abstain the non Muslims as well as the poor class Muslims.

Like the Hindus a feeling of upper and lower class took place among Muslims. Qazis used to sell justice by rate of bribery. They had proved butchers slaughtering the public.

The continuous process of conversion gave birth to a new class who were neither Muslims nor Hindus. Since Islam was a religion of alien so the local converts were quite unable to follow the spirit of Islam nor they could revert themselves since the Hindus had not allowed them to regain the Hindu religion. Thus they were in the state of confusion. They could neither perform *namaz* having no knowledge of *Kalma* is Arabic. So the Muslims also hated them.

Generally, Hindus used to call Muslims *malechh* (dirty) while the Muslims used for them the terminology *but prasat, kafir*. Even the eponym of Hindus which was rendered by Muslims meant for dacoits, thieves and uncultured people. Hindus used to hate Muslims due to the under mentioned causes:

- a. People of uncultured nature.
- b. Muslims were iconoclasts.
- c. Their proximity with butchers, leather workers and untouchable Hindus.
- d. Religious rivalry.
- e. Freedom of lower castes.

The upper caste Hindus considered their right to avail the services of lower and menial caste Hindus. This right was endowed to them by their scriptures:

Pashu dhor shudar aur nari.

Yeh sab taran ke adhikari

Therefore, under the influence of Islam the downtrodden class of Hindus embraced Islam. By this way they got freedom from the yoke of Brahmins and Kshatries. Therefore, the fact became a cause of hate of Hindus for Muslims.

During the century understudy, the Brahmins got refuge under the Sikh Gurus. The Sikh Gurus were not in favour of their malafide practices but they accepted them in their fold. The Mughals had extorted the rule of India from Pathans who were less bigoted with Hindus. The Khatri class of Hindus had made reconcile with the ruling class i.e., Muslims and most of them had accepted their services as functionaries.

Due to the influence of Buddhism and Jainism, the Hindus had become non-violent. They generally used to eat vegetarian food and hate killing of animals especially for food. The Punjab lands produced enough food for them. While Muslims considered religiously their right to eat meat. The Hindu religion does not allow such persons to deal with.

The gap between Brahmins and Muslims was hollow due to the referred facts. Conversions from the other Hindu castes were more but very few from the Brahmins. However, they found some way to live in the critical environment.

Sufism:

Sufism was also another sect associated with Islam. This sect was very popular in Punjab. This sect was divided in twelve schools (*silsilas*). The Chishti, Qadiri and Suhrawardi schools were commonly found in the region. They believed only in one Allah. They paid respect to all religions. They considered the service of mankind as their first responsibility. They were fond of music and spiritual poetry. The Sufis inspired the Hindus and Muslims to maintain cordial relations. They always encouraged the emperors to give up orthodoxy and fanaticism. Their contribution in music and literature was appreciable. They did not speak much about social & political injustice. But Sikh Gurus fought bravely against social, political and religious injustice and sacrificed even their lives for the cause.

As mentioned above both the Hindus and the Muslims had preservation indulged in several false religious rituals such as ash bath on the body, preservation fasts, nudity, marking sign on the forehead, piercing ears and wearing *kundals*, holy baths, observation of *rozās* (fasts) dead worship and worship of gods and goddess and goddesses, and natural bodies like the *moon* and the *sun*. They had completely forgotten the true spirit of the religion.

Briefly speaking, the religious phenomenon of the 16th and 17th century comprising of Islam, Hinduism and other sects had merely reduced to minor groups. The religious priests did not validate the reality of religious duties and functions but performed the relevant activities formally.

C) POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Monarchical political infrastructure had been established throughout India and Panjab during the centuries under study, and it was directly under the control of Mughals emperors. The Mughal dynasty had divided the administrative jurisdiction in numerous states called Subas, chaklas and Tehsils. The Panjab was divided in three Subas-Lahore, Doaba and Sirhind. Each of the Suba was administered by a subedar who was deputed by the Delhi Sultanate. They were allowed by the emperor to have some troops as well as also authorised to maintain their own army according to their status conferred by the Emperor.

The Mughals had already established their dynasty on firm footing. Jahangir was the emperor during the life time the bards and Bhai Gurdas.

Jahangir was a staunch Muslim and envious towards the other religious communities of his times. He was religiously bigoted and had an mimical intentions towards the Sikhs. He has related about his polity about Hindus and Sikhs in his book- *Tuzak-e-Jahangiri*.

A Hindu named Arjan lived at Goindwal on the banks of river Beas in the garb of a *pir* and shaikh. As a result many of the simple minded Hindus as well as ignorant and foolish Muslims had been persuaded to adopt his ways and manners..... This business had been flourishing for three generations. For a long time it had been in my mind to put stop to this vain affair (dukan-e-batil) or to bring him into the jury of Islam.¹⁸

And he further says:

I ordered that he should be summoned. His houses; camps and sons given over to Murtza Khan. His property and cash were confiscated. I issued instructions that he should be put to death by torture¹⁹

The chronicles convey that before his martyrdom Guru Arjan sent a message to his son, Sri Hargobind Sahib to follow the life styles of a warrior and become martial. Guru Hargobind Sahib also felt that the Sikhs must learn the art of weapons for their survival. They must be ready to face bravely the tyrannical rulers and follow the life style of a soldier as well as a saint. He practically prepared the Sikhs and managed training for them to fight battles. Bhai Praga, Bhai Bidhi Chand and a few more Sikhs

proved brave soldiers and they accompanied the Guru in a few battles fought against the local functionaries deputed by the emperor. Therefore, the new ideology of the Guru became a turning point in the Sikh history.

Jahangir was not only against Sikhs but even had an irritative behavior towards Muslims of rival other sects. According to his version in *Tuzak-e-Jahangiri* he issued order to put Sheikh Ahmed Sarhandi behind bars:

.... I considered it better that the fellow should be put behind bars for a few days. So that the pround and ambitions of his propagation may arrive to a cease. By this way the public following him also will learn a lesson. So I ordered Ani Rai to put him chained in the Gwalior fort.²⁰

Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib (1595-1644 AD) who was called by the Sikhs a *Sacha Patshah*, adopted a royal umbrella, wore two swords-of *Miri* and *Piri* and a hawk. He also built a terrace called the *Akal Takhat* Sahib (the throne of the Almighty) in front of the Harimandir. He kept an army of trained troops and musketeers. He had created a state within a state. Jahangir did not tolerate the militant policy of the Guru. So, he was arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. The Guru was released after 12 years with the intervention of Mian Mir and Vazir Khan, the governor of Gwalior. Afterwards, the Guru and the emperor remained friendly. A few local battles were fought with Mughal officials and the Guru moved towards the hills to live a peaceful life and propagate his religion.

Guru Hargobind Sahib was succeeded by his grandson, Har Rai. He followed a policy of peaceful living. When Prince Dara Shikoh asked for military aid and blessing of the Guru and the Guru obliged him, Aurangzeb became his bitter enemy. He called for the Guru who sent his son, Ram Rai into the royal court. Ram Rai was asked some questions about Sri Guru Granth Sahib to which he misinterpreted. Guru Har Rai became angry with his son, Ram Rae and he appointed his minor son, Har Krishan as his successor.

The development of Sikhism continued to gather momentum under the successors of Guru Nanak. The stern ethical tone distinguished Sikhism from other movements in India. The spirit of non-compromise with imperialism and religious values was responsible for the martyrdom of Guru Arjan.

The suba of Lahore was being administered by the governor Kalich Khan during the rule span of Jahangir while the Sirhind suba was under the administration of Wazir Khan II during the life time of Bhai Nand Lal. The referred subedar had also the status of a faujdar who had also accomplished the duties as a governor of Lahore in 1628 AD deputed by Jahangir and remained during the ruling span of Shah Jahan also.²¹

During the life time of Bhai Nand Lal at Anandpur the Sirhind suba was being administered by Wazir Khan-II of Kunjpura origin. He had envious relations with the Sikh Guru ie, Guru Gobind Singh and a few battles were fought between the two.

The latter had also killed the two sons and the mother of the said Guru. The suba had the status of faujdar during the time of Aurangzeb (1618-1707). The Delhi Sultanate was being administered by Aurangzeb the staunch Sunnite emperor of his times.²²

The political environment of Panjab as well as the Delhi Sultanate was not solid. The suba governors as well as the emperor had to fight against rebellions arising throughout the country. Due to the strict and religiously bigoted policies of Aurangzeb the whole country had reduced to terror. The Rajput chiefs had become against Mughals. Some of the Hindu nobles had left the support of the Delhi emperor. A letters of Jai Singh a noble evinces as under:

Your ancestors had tolerable relations with and Hindus, Muslims, Jews and Christians. They dealt them without distinction but during your reign all of them have been compelled to leave their homes. Some of them have left the country. An environment of hell is prevailing everywhere, the people are dying hunger stricken. Your subject is being crushed in poverty. The armies are distressed, businessmen are crying. If an emperor charges tax from such a poor subject, how his reign may prolong?²³

If you have really faith in your scripture go through it again you will find that Khuda is equal to all and not of Muslims alone. The same is worshiped in mosque and temple. When we deface the production of an artist it means, we call for his curse. If you want more tax from poor Hindus the desire is unjustified. They have no money to pay it. You have no other way to charge from me and Maharaja Ram Singh. It is a matter of curse for you to kill the

minor people. I am confused due to the reason that why your functionaries do not inform you about the real facts.²⁴

The state was not only against the Sikhs but also against Hindus, dancers, damsels, musicians and all other non muslim sects. Even public was not in favour of the emperor who has put the Sarmad to death.

Aurangzeb the emperor enforced his orders strictly to collect tribute. He was a greedy and cruel towards his public. He had levied heavy taxes upon Hindus and also compelled them embrace to Islam. Under the similar circumstances the ninth Guru of Sikhs refused to embrace Islam. He was killed along with his followers with severe tortures. His son Gobind Rai was in his childhood.

The Hindu nobles of the Mughal darbar had good relations with Sikhs and their Gurus. Guru Tegh Bahadur passed days with Rajput nobles but the religiously bigoted Aurangzeb was absolutely blind to cognize friends and foes. He had already killed his real brothers and even his father. It is impossible to calculate what kind of services he rendered to Islam by his cruelty and treachery.

The tenth Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh put to a cease the previous traditions of the Sikhs. He closed the *masand* system and directly took the Sikhs in his concerns. He united all castes of Hindus and Sikhs in an institution of Khalsa and trained them to crush the oppressors. He deputed a few scholars to translate the *puranic* literature subjected to martial affairs with a view to remind the Indians about their heroic culture. The Khalsa established by him in 1699 A.D was infused with a new spirit to live the life of a saint and soldier. He infused among them a spirit to fight for justice and lay their lives to abolish oppression.

Bhai Nand Lal stayed in Guru's court and compiled his works. Before the Guru initiated battle against the oppressors, Bhai Nand Lal was asked to return towards his native land.

Finally, it may be concluded that the Sikh community had a changed form, a class of saints to take part in politics and enact bravely to change the oppressive phenomenon of the Mughal politics.

References

1. Jasbir Singh Ahluwalia (Dr.), *Creation of Khalsa. Fulfillment of Guru Nanak's Mission*, Patiala, (1999). p-19
2. Bhai Gurdas Var 1, *Pauree* 30.
3. Sri Guru Granth Sahib, pp- 471-72.
4. Ibid, pp-324-25
5. Ibid, p- 473
6. A.C. Banerjee (Dr.), *Guru Nanak and His Times*, Patiala, 1984, p- 19.
7. Sri Guru Granth Sahib. p-662
8. Ibid, p- 470
9. Rattan Singh (Giani), *Sansar De Dharam*, Mehar Singh Surinder Singh Bazar Mae Seva, Amritsar, 1960 p-162.
10. Bhai Kahan Singh, *Gur Shabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, Language Department, Punjab, 1974, p- 882.
11. Bhai Gurdas Var I, *Pauree* 21.
12. Sri Guru Granth Sahib, p-140
13. Ibid, p-141
14. Ibid, pp- 140-41
15. Ibid, p-1084
16. Ibid, p- 856
17. Ibid, p-345
18. *Shah Jahan, Mughal Emperor's Autobiography Tuzak-e-Jahangiri*, p-34
19. Ibid, p- 35
20. Ibid, pp-274-75
21. Bhai Kahan Singh, *Gur Shabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, Language Department, Punjab, 1974, p-1080
22. Ibid, p- 164
23. Raja Jai Singh's, letter towards Aurangzeb, p-110
24. Ibid

CHAPTER-III

TEXT SOLIDARITY AND LIFE BACKGROUND OF THE AUTHORS

The authors undertaken in this study belong to the Sikh school which came into existence with the advent of Guru Nanak. There is a time difference of five to six decades between them. They were keenly related with the Sikh Gurus. The social, religious and political infrastructure influenced their thoughts. Although, they all had socio-religious background with Hinduism but the newly emerged Sikh theology had effected them on various levels. There was a difference in the Sikh phenomena during the times of the bards who were the contemporaries of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lall the keen devotee of Guru Gobind Singh. The bards and Bhai Gurdas were the outcome of early sixteenth century A.D. while Bhai Nand Lal lead his life in the late seventeenth century.

Guru Arjan Dev the fifth Sikh Guru had edited the works of numerous *bhagats* and added them in Sri Guru Granth Sahib under the different titles. The *bardsvani* also got respectable status in the Sikh scripture. It is edited under the title *Sawayie*. The edited *vani* does not provide sufficient information about their authors. We find no information's about their authors as internal evidence. Moreover, Guru Arjan laid more emphasis on the works of *bhagats* and bards. He was not a biographer but a spiritual guide. Thus, it is necessary for us to find out the demographic and other information from other sources.

A) THE BHATTS-LIFE BACKGROUND AND WORKS

The Bhatt is a caste of Hindu people populated in the northern states of India. Generally, they are Brahmins and engaged in the socio-religious duties of the same caste.

Bhai Kahan Singh Nahbha revealing about their origin states:

1. A Bhatt means a poet who extols the king and his brave men in the royal court.
2. A man having deep knowledge of Vedas.
3. A group of Bhattas who eulogized the first five Sikh Gurus; and their *Bani* got the terminology of *Swayyas*. In the *Suraj Prakash* they are called the incarnation of Vedas.

4. A caste (of Hindus) begotten from the womb of a Brahmin lady with the semen of a Kashatria. Some people opine that the referred caste was begotten by a shudra lady and vaishya man.¹

The referred quotation reveals that:

The people of Bhatt caste were Hindus by origin.

- a. They might be from parents of different castes but due to their occupation they were dealt as Hindu pandits.
- b. They had good status in Hindu religious societies as well as were respected in monarchical courts.
- c. By profession they were engaged to disperse higher education.

According to the version of Bhai Kahan Singh some of the learned Bhattas earned respectable status in Indian education system. Kumaril Bhatt a contemporary of Shankra Charya earned a respectable name equal to the referred Hindu scholars.²

Since in this chapter we ought to study the life sketches of the Bhattas whose *Bani* is included Sri Guru Granth Sahib. It is confirmed that Bhatt is the caste of Hindus populated in the Northern India. Generally, Brahmins who were carrying the social duties to teach the spiritual education, to perpetrate religious rites to keep a harmony between the public and the monarchy. They, generally were highly educated persons of their times still, wandered from place to place in search of spiritual studies and to earn their livelihood. It is the cause that when Guru Arjan Dev Ji populated the city Amritsar, a group of Bhattas visited him and settled in the same city. Since the religious theology of Sikhism was a quite image of monarchy, the bards not only resided in the city but also had developed their concerns to the Guru family. They continued the attachment in their next generations. By this way they were capable to serve the Gurus with numerous purposes:

- a) They were quite able to get alms for their livelihood. Since the Sikh disciples used to pay homage to the Guru families in the shape of cash and commodities. In the same way they were paid their subsistence sources by the Guru or by the congregation. There are some chronicles in the Sikh religion that the Guru used to pay them some portion of the money which the devotees used to present to the Guru.

- b) The fifth Guru, Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji was keenly devoted to give a separate theological identity to Sikhism. He had to study, analyze and collaborate the prevailing schools of thoughts and the Bhattas, generally being adroit in Hindu puranic as well as vedic literature found enough chance to propagate their views about the forthcoming ideology of the Sikh religion. Due to their presence a scholarly environment got place in the Guru family. It is the reason that Guru in his own compositions has utilized to the maximum the Hindu literary parameters i.e. *Visanpade*, *Ashtapadi* etc. Which are less found in the *Bani* of Guru Nanak Dev Ji and Guru Angad Dev Ji, Guru Amar Dass and Guru Ram Dass.
- c) The third notable function that the Bhattas practiced in the Sikh congregation of the Guru's time was that of *Shabad* chauntingi. The Bhattas were keenly adroit in the school of Shastri *Sangeet*. They were perfectly able to sing hymns in Indian classical ragas. But undoubtedly they were good composers as well as devotional singers but they eulogized the Sikh Gurus choosing the poetic form *swayya'*.

The Bhattas passed a long span of time in Guru's house. If the prevailing routine of Sri Darbar Shaib remained unchanged, we may say that they might remain attached with Darbar Sahib even during the times of Guru Hargobind Sahib.

It is a matter of fact that the Bhattas could not earn the status like the Sikhs Baba Budha, Bhai Gurdas, Baba Bidhi Chand or other devoted Sikhs. The Sikh chronicles reveal that they were staunch to the Hindu Brahminic life values.

Undoubtedly, the Guru was sufficiently influenced by their scholastic approach as well as the poetic talents. He, therefore, accepted their eulogistic *shabads* to add in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. It was a respectable status which even Bhai Gurdas could not attain:

Prof. Sahib Singh aviewed that the Bhattas of Panjab were related to Kashyap rishi and they primarily settled by the river sides of Sarsvati. They had also genealogical relations with Bhattas. There were six notable brothers Bhikha, Sekha Tokha, Gokha, Chokha and Toda. The Sikh school Bhattas were the genealogical outcome of the referred six brothers. Mathura, Jallap and Kirat all

the three brothers were begotten by Bhikha, Sal and Bhall were the sons of Sekha, Harbans was the son of Gokha while Kalsahar and Gyand were the sons of Chokha.³

The question how the Bhattas came into the Guru's court is also notable. The historical facts evince that this Hindu class was generally dependent upon the subsistence got by alms. They were not pure Brhamins. They were dependent upon alms provided by the religious society and public. Even during these days most of them learn astronomy and generally befool the public and extort money from them. They make gangs and collect tithes for religious purposes like *Karseva* and *langar* at *gurdwaras* and take out a major portion of the collection for their subsistence. They have deep knowledge about the puranic literature and read out text from them to influence the simple minded public.

The Bhatt Bani included in the Guru Granth Sahib testify that they had deep knowledge of Indian classical literature as well the Indian classical music. Their verses bear a respectable status in the Sikh literature and some of their stanzas are generally read when the *Sikh-granthis* go through a *Hukam Nama* in Sri Guru Granth Sahib after each prayer. The *swayyas* of Bhatt Tall received a specific status in this matter. While praising Sri Guru Angad Dev Ji the Bhatt Tall says in Sri Guru Granth Sahib (p-1392)

Su kaho Tall gur seviai ahinis sahej subhae
Darshan parsiai guru kai janam maran dukh jae.

The bhatt, Tall says that serving the Guru (Angad Dev Ji) spontaneously, day and night and beholding the vision of the Guru the pain of birth and death vanishes.

Since we have concluded that the Sikh scholars have not sufficiently tried to search more about their life. Some of the Sikh scholars have explained them the incarnation of Vedas while they themselves have least knowledge about Vedas text while the others failed even to calculate their total number.

After the martyrdom of the fifth Guru, Guru Arjan, Guru Hargobind Sahib succeeded the seat the Guruship. The Sikh chronicles explain that he began to patronize *dhadis* who used to sing heroic ballads/*vars* in the Sikh congregation. Here is no

evidence about the Bhattas where did they go but we may calculate their status at Amritsar from the undermentioned factors:

- a. The Bhatt *swayyas* compiled in Guru Granth Sahib bring before us, generally, the scenario of the Hindu cult. They reveal puranic characters and they have used the referred characters to eulogize the first five Gurus. Before the hold of the SGPC on, Sri Darbar Sahib the previous environment of the sight was like that of a Hindu Temple. It is evinced that there were numerous priests who had idols on the banks of the *Sarovar* and they used to perform prayers like Hindus.⁴
- b. After the martyrdom of the fifth Guru in (1606 AD) his successor Guru Hargobind Sahib established a terrace in the precincts of Sri Darbar Sahib, called *Sri Akal Takhat* Sahib. The referred Guru got very short time to stay at Amritsar and was compelled to leave the region due to political skirmishes with Mughals. He settled at Kiratpur and Sri Darbar Sahib remained out of his personal touch.⁵

In the light of the above mentioned facts it is opined that the bard-generations settled around the holy temple and they, being staunch Hindus began to practise the Hindu modes of worship. They kept idols of Rama, Krishana or other incarnations of Vishnu and made a routine to fumigate and make sacrificial food for them. Later on, the Sikh community found it quite different from the basic tenets of Sikhism and cleared the precincts from them.

The bards settled in the city, grew in number generation to generation. Some of them embraced the Sikh theology while the others began to pass their lives as Hindus. Different Bhattas took different sorts of business.

The Eastern side of the walled city has a colonies of business men and traders called Qitas. Some of them, even now make groups and wander in the rural areas and suburbs to collect alms on the name of *Gurdwaras* or *Karseva* but they generally spend such money for their own use. Undoubtedly, they consider it their birth right to live on alms like Hindu Brahmins. They may be seen in the robes of *Nihangs* and *Udasis*.

Whatever the life style of Bhattas may be now- a-days, the practice they initiated in the time of Guru Arjan is prevailing even till now. They used to sing hymns in the praises of *Palki Sahib*. The same practice is continue even now. The Sikh devotees who have no relation with them sing the holy hymns in the praise of the Guru when the

Palki Sahib is brought into the Darbar Sahib in the morning. The Sikh community renders a great respect to those Bhattas whose *Bani* is included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. The under mentioned Sikh devotees one by one chant the Bhatt *swayyas* daily quite in the morning:

- a. S.Surinder Singh
- b. S.Narinder Singh
- c. Bhai. Mohan Singh
- d. S.Tejinder Singh
- e. S. Lakhwant Singh
- f. S. Amarjit Singh
- g. S. Ravinder Singh
- h. S. Upkar Singh
- i. S. Har Iqbal Singh
- j. S. Avtar Singh

According to the version of referred follows they are not from the referred bard generations. Their faith is wholly based on devotion. They are performing this service voluntarily since years except during, the Blue Star operation.

In this study, the Bards who were present in the court of Guru Arjan Dev have been undertaken. The Sikh scholars have different views about them.

Prof. Sahib Singh in his work (*steek*) has quoted a reference from Giani Gurdit Singh whose views are admixture of assumptions. According to the version of Giani Gurdit Singh the Punjabi bards were from the genealogy of Kashyap rishi. They are low caste Brahmins and their elders were settled along the river-basin of Saraswati, the river. The Punjabi bards were termed Sarsut Brahmins while those on the other side to the river were called gaud Brahmins. I opine that there is no concern of the river Sarswati with Sarsut or Gaud Brahmins. Infact, the Brahmins who were devotees of the goddess Sarswati were called Sarsut and the devotees of the goddess Gauri were allowed the eponym of Gaud just like the case of Vashnavis who generally worship the god Vishnu.

Giani Gurdit Singh had got the genealogy of the Bhattas from Bhai Sant Singh of village Kar Sindhu, Tehsil Jind. Even now some of the families of Bhattas live in U.P.

and H.P. The genealogy of the Bhattas that was attained from Bhai Sant Singh is based on *Punjab wali wahi*; According to this 'wahi' the following Bhattas come to the forefront. It begins with the name of Bhatt Bhagirath. After nine generations the name of the Bhatt Rayya came to the forefront. He had six sons Bhikha, Sekha Tokha, Gokha, Chokha and Toda.

Bhika had three sons : Mathura, Jallap and kirat.

Sekaha had two sons : Sall and Bhall.

Tokhas had his son : Ball.

Gokha had his son : Harbans.

Chokha had two sons : Kalsahar and Gyand.⁶

According to Dr. Krishan Lal Sharma and Dr. Narinder Kaur:

The bhattas were seekers of Truth, well versed in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Upbhrans. Their *swayyas* are included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib by Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji. After wandering all over India they reached the Darbar of Guru Arjan Dev. They got spiritual satisfaction and began to eulogize, the Sikh Gurus. Numerous references about these facts are available from their own Bani.⁷

According to Giani Kirpal Singh the Sikh Gurus were the incarnations of Siva. Once, when Shiva entered the assembly of gods, Brahma and the four Vedas did not stand up in respect. They were cursed. They asked for forgiveness. Siva told them that he would incarnate as Sikh Gurus in *Kalyuga (the ironage)*. They would have to take birth and eulogies the Sikh Gurus to get rid of this curse. Brahma took birth in Kalyug in the name of Bhikha. The four Vedas took birth as Bhattas. Each Veda had to take birth in four Bhattas.

Name of Vedas	Name of the Bhattas
Sam Ved	Jallap, Ball, Harbans, Jallan, Null.
Rig Ved	Kal, Kalsahar, Jallan, Null.
Yujar Ved	Tall, Sall, Jall, Bhall
Athrav ved Atharban ved	Kirat, Gyand, Das, Ganga. ⁸

In the above reference Giani Kirpal Singh revealed the bards with the background of a puranic touch, which is mere supernatural revelations and have no concern with factual reality.

The total number of bards calculated by the internal evidence of Bani, is eleven. Bhai Santokh Singh, Dr. Charan Singh, and Dr. Surinder Singh Kohli argue that the number of bards is 17- Kal, Kalsahar, Tall, Jallap, Jall, Kirat, Sall, Ball, Null, Bhikha, Jallan, Das, Gyand, Sewak, Mathura, Ball and Harbans by names.

According to Prof Sahib Singh Kall, Kalsahar and Tall are not three persons it is the name of a singal man i.e. Kalsahar. Parath is no Bhatt at all (page-45). Das and Jallan are not the names of Bhatt (page-42) Sewak is not the name of a Bhatt (page-43). Jallap's second name is Jall (page-45). The total number of Bhatt in Sri Guru Granth Sahib is only eleven.⁹

Works and Solidarity

The bards selected *swayya* a poetic metre from Sanskrit poetry. The language they used is an admixture of Braj, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Upbhransh. They were well versed in the Indian classical literature, puranic literature as well the prevalent languages. They wrote 123 *swayyas*. They extolled the spiritual personalities of the Sikh Gurus and significance of Sikh tenets in their verses.

The works they wrote in praise of the Sikh Gurus, were included in the holy scripture of the Sikh religion which was later bestowed upon the title of a Living Guru or Shabad Guru by the Tenth Master. Their *swayyas* were never adulterated since they had been included in the referred scripture alongwith the *swayyas* written by Guru Arjan Dev himself. Their text was given a specific space and names of bards are also mentioned in their verses, may be seen from page 1389 to page number 1410 of the Holy Granth.

The Subjects of Swayas;

The bard's swayas are not merely the praise of the Sikh gurus, but they reveal some more subject by product. They were quite learned persons well versed in Indian classics. They had also the knowledge of puranic literature. The study of their writings evince that they were expert in the art of Hindi and the Sanskrit poetry. The subjects they undertook in their swayas had significance in the Indian culture of their times.

The need of a spiritual guide;

In the Indian religions a seeker of metaphysics require the guidance of a spiritual guide. Then he should serve him to attain teachings from him. Undoubtedly, devotion has much role in this sphere but a spiritually enlightened guide make easy for his devotee to step advance in his path. A man diverted from the path of divinity can not attain his goal and losses the reward of the labour he bears in this way. A true spiritual guide teaches his follower in a way that he may avail the sweet fruit of his endeavours. The services rendered by a seeker please his guru and then he endows his follower the discipline of the true path. The bard Tall writes;

Su kaho Tall gur seviai ahinis sahej subhae

Darshan parsiai guru kai janam maran dukh jae.

SGGS, p.1392

According to the version of Kalsahar the bard, mere the sightview of the True guru provides the seeker the reward of 68 pilgrimages;

darsan parsiae guru ke athasath majan hoe

Ibid, p.1392

It is noteable that in the Hindu religion the holy dip in the 68 pilgrimes is considered sacred .

The bard Jallan said that at the threashold of such a guru the stream of nectar flows continously. Saints and followers take holy dip in the nectar of gnosis and enjoy the bliss;

Amrit parwaah chhutket sad duaar

jis giaan gur bimal sar sant sikh naayai

Ibid, p.1401

Propagation of the Concept of Recitation;

Since the concept of Recitation of the absolute God has much importance in the Sikh religion, the bards in their works have propagated the concept of recitation of His holy Name. Kalshar said that the practice of recitation was performed by gods, heavenly singers, the strivers, adepts and Shiva (the Hindu god). It was also practised by Narad, Prahlaad and good people. This holy practice provides the bliss of emancipation.*

Sikh Guru the *Sacha Patshah*:

The Sikh congregation in respect to their gurus used to call them the *sacha patshah*. The word *patshah* is the bastard form of the word *baadshah* of Persian which strikes the meaning of a king. According to the view of the Sikh congregation their gurus were the true kings very different from the Mughal or Hindu kings of their times. The bards, Bhai Gurdas as well Bhai Nand Lal lead their lives in the Panjab under Monarchical infrastructure. Moreover, the Sikh Gurus were not faquires like Sufies. They lead household lives enjoying its all pleasures. But they were not avaricious, revengeful, proudy, oppresors, and lustful like the worldly kings. Bhagat Kabir too picturised the characteristics of the kings of his times, “koi har samaan nahin raaja, ih bhupat do chaar divas ke jhoote karat kukaaja”. The revelation evinces that the kings the of Panjab during the life times of the Sikh Gurus were indulged in moral turpitude. They had no good character. Their fuctionaries following their orders were also cruel towards the public. The Sikh religion inculcated among the public a sense to call them wolves. It created among them a dare to term them "The False King".

The *bardvani* affirms the reason for which the Sikh public took their gurus as the *sacha patshah* i.e. True Kings. Kall the bard, conveyed that the gurus propagated the the Name of the Almighty and he had also overcome the five vices, greed, ego, anger, attachment and lust. They were fearless even from death:

Satgur dayaal har naam darirhaaya
tis prasaad vas panch kare.

SGGS, p.1397

----- ----- -----
Metiaa janamaant maran bhau bhaaga
chit laaga santokh sare.

Ibid

The Sikh gurus were fearless from the mundane kings who were always tyrenous cruel towards the people .They assembled the public on one stage to ponder upon the issues for the betterment of the society. Kall the bard, wrote;

Satgur khema taanyan jug jooth samaane
anbhau neja naam tek jit bhagat aghaane.

SGGS, p.1398

Confirmation to the Puranic Culture

In the Panjabi as well as the Hindstani culture, only the upper castes were allowed to read and follow the scriptures. The Hindu scriptures were written in

Sanskrit. The lower caste strata was unable to go through or understand the religious values. The social -life hold was dominated by the Brahman caste who never allowed the Vaish and Shudras to partake in religious activities or enter the temple. In such a critical Hindu society, it was the first time when Puranic and Vedic values were composed in Panjabi. The *bardvani* was the first work narrating the Hindu religious values in Gurmukhi Panjabi script.

The Sikh chronicles convey that the fifth Guru compiled the *Bani* of previous Gurus and Bhaktas so that the forthcoming or his contemporary poets could not adulterate it by means of their own writings. The Sikh community keenly took care of such adulteration and by this way the *Bhatt-Bani* with its under mentioned features is quite solid and absolutely reliable:

- a. The *Bhatt-Bani* is a non-raga measure and has its own variations of style.
- b. It evinces the proficiency of Bards on the Indian languages with its dialects and classical lingual infrastructure. *Swayya* is a poetical form generally used by the poets of the medieval age. It is written in Sanskrit, Sahaskrit, Hindi, Punjabi and their dialectical glossary and lingual infrastructure.
- c. The Bards were basically Hindus and well versed with Puranic characters and chronicles. They wrote with view to exaggerate Gurus including Guru Arjan who patronized them and provided livelihood by means of maintenance.
- d. The Bhatt verses not only extol the Sikh Gurus but also deal with numerous other aspects of Hindu and Sikh theology.
- e. The *Bhatt-Bani* consolidates the concept of the single *swaroop* of the Sikh Gurus. According to their version all the Gurus had different physical personalities but they were working under the single plan that was ordained by Guru Nanak Dev Ji or the Almighty himself.
- f. Every Bhatt before starting his eulogistic verses about any Sikh Guru, he must invoke God. For them God is all powerful and Omnipresent.
- g. The Name of God has been a source of spiritual power in all Yogas-Satyug, Treta, Durpar and Kaljog. That power of God now resides in Sikh Gurus.

B) BHAI GURDAS-LIFE SKETCH AND WORKS

Bhai Gurdas has been called the first Sikh scholar but neither about his date of birth nor birth place and nor about his parents is vividly clear till now. Even his writings do not convey such information's that may help us in this concern. It is generally accepted that Bhai Gurdas was related to Guru Amar Dass as the son of his brother. By this way, he was a cousin of Bibi Bhani, the daughter of Guru Amar Dass and the wife of the fourth Guru, Guru Ram Dass Ji. Consequently, he was the maternal uncle of Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji.

Though, Bhai Gurdas who lived nearly four hundred years ago and is termed as the first exponent of Sikh doctrine was an amanuensis of the Adi Granth under the guidance of Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji taking the dictations from the Guru. When Guru Arjan Dev Ji thought of compiling the compositions of his predecessors as well as that of some prominent saints and rigorous poets of great repute, Bhai Gurdas had done considerable work in propagating principles, doctrines and tenets the of Sikh Masters. Really he did his best and many people became followers of the Sikh faith. Some people who were against the Guru House were composing false *bani* to delude people. The 5th Guru talked to Bhai Gurdas in this concern Bhai Gurdas also held the same view that *Sikh Masters'* works (*Gurbani*) must be compiled in a singal volume to avoid any interpolation:

Bhai Kahan Singh reveals the different aspects of his life as under:

Bhai Gurdas was a true Sikh. He was cousin to Bibi Bhani Ji. Bhai Gurdas was initiated into Sikhism by the 4th Guru in 1579. Under the watchful guidance of Guru Arjan Dev Ji Bhai Sahib carried out a thorough and deep study of Sikh ideology. Very soon he gained proficiency in contemporary languages, particularly-Punjabi, Braj, Hindi, Sanskrit and Persian. He was also well acquainted with the theology of Islam and Hinduism. No code of conduct (*Rahitnama*) is more important than his compositions (*Vars and Kabilt Swayyas*). Bhai Gurdas expired during the Guruship of Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib in *Bhadon Sudi & Samvat* 1694 (1637 AD) at the ripe age of 88 years at Goindwal. His last rites were performed by Guru Hargobind Sahib himself.¹⁰

According to Sarup Dass Bhalla:

Bhai Gurdas ko aagia karee,
Sabh karo ikatar banee ih ghree,

Auh banee bhagtan kee sabh melo
Sachee raakho jhoothee pelo.¹¹

The above version affirms that Bhai Gurdas was directed by Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji to collect Gurbani of the previous Gurus and the hymns of saints, keep the true and reject the fake.

Similarly Kesar Singh Chhibbar in his Bansavalinama reveals:

Bachan keeta Bhai Gurdas Guru di bani juda kariye,
Meene pande ne rala se wich rala na dhariye.¹²

The Guru asked Bhai Gurdas to compile the *Bani* of the Gurus. The Meene are interpolating *bani*, so let it not be done. Thus, Bhai Gurdas worked as the writer of the divine composition, the *Adi Granth*. In course of compilation Bhai Gurdas assisted the Guru in screening the collected compositions. This marvelous task made him fully contestant with each and every verse of the *Adi Granth*.

His verses find an echo to *Gurbani*. He used simple language to explain the eulogies of the Gurus. He did not make use of brahmanical terminology or difficult words of Sanskrit, although he was a great scholar of Sanskrit and well informed of Hindu religion. He drew his imagery from daily life so that a common man may understand the meaning converged by the divine revelations. When the 5th Guru asked him to include his verses in the *Adi Granth* he humbly refused that he could not stand equal to his Master. Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji blessed his *Bani* as the *key to the divine compositions*.

That is why his verses have got scriptural status among Sikh community and are recited and sung along with the divine verses. He did not anchor his thoughts on the Vedas and Shastras for the interpretation of Gurbani though his comments on six schools of Indian philosophy are complete proof that he was well versed in Hindu religion. He used religious terminology and folk idioms prevalent in society in order to identify himself in common masses. Since we could not get any exact clue or indication about his date of birth. We had to depend upon the views of other reliable scholars.

The name 'Gurdas' in Punjabi means 'the servant of the Guru'. As said above he had been the great scholar and calligrapher of the Sikh scripture, Sri Guru Granth Sahib when it was dictated by the 5th Master during the period 1601 to 1604 AD.

Some of the scholars hold that he was born in 1551 AD. Whereas S. Sardul Singh and others are of the view that the year of his birth was 1558. A.D.¹³

According to Bhai Vir Singh Bhai Gurdas was born on 1553 AD. According to the version of Kesar Singh Chhibber, (Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian) Bhai Gurdas was the son of Ishar Das Bhalla who was the first cousin of Guru Amar Das. Thus Bhai Gurdas was the nephew of Guru Amar Das Ji.¹⁴

His father died when he was mere a child of only three years and his mother passed away in his childhood.

Main points indicted in Punjab Kosh about the biography and composition of Bhai Gurdas are as under:

- a. A great scholar and interpreter of Gurbani.
- b. Date of birth 1559, village Basarke, Distt, Amritsar.
- c. Relation as nephew to Guru Amardas (Bhalla Khatri clan)
- d. Initiated in Sikhism during the Guruship of Guru Ram Dass in 1579.
- e. Well versed in Sikh ideology under the guidance of Guru Arjan Dev Ji, Propagated Sikh religion in Lahore, Agra, Kashi etc.
- f. Protected Sikhism against the wicked policies of Prithi Chand.
- g. Served the four Gurus and got profound knowledge of Sikhism.
- h. Guru Arjan Dev Ji declared his compositions as key to Sri Guru Granth Shaib.
- i. A great scholar of Punjabi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Braj, Persian and Arabic.
- j. Dr. Mohan Singh compared him to Saint Paul. He was well informed of sociology, history and Hindu mythology and puranic literature.
- k. Taking in view of Sikh doctrines and principles he wrote 39 *vars* (actually 40 *vars*) and 556 *kabitt swayas* (actually 675 *kabitt swayyas*).
- l. Images taken from daily life, used simple language for the common people.
- m. His first *var* is biographically *Janam Sakhi* of Guru Nanak.
- n. He went to heavenly abode on August 1637. Funeral rites were performed by Guru Hargobind Sahib.¹⁵

Dr. Dalip Singh Deep commented on the *compositions* of Bhai Gurdas as under:

Bhai Sahib had written his composition in verse. His subject was to interpret Gurbani. From this point of view his *Bani* is called key to *Gurbani*. It is a treasure of Sikh ways of life. It is not wrong if we call it a *Rahitnama* of Sikhs. Guru Arjan said

that he who reads the compositions of Bhai Gurdas, he will gain Sikhism. His *kabitt swayayas* are in Braj and *Vars* are in Punjabi. Formerly, the *kabitt swayayas* were counted to be 556. After the research made by Bhai Vir Singh he found 119 more *sawyyas*. Now total is 675. These are 40 *vars* of Bhai Gurdas.¹⁶

The historical records reveal that Bhai Gurdas did not undertake a marriage life. It might be that celibacy would enable him to serve Guru's house whole heartedly. He might be free to spread Guru's precepts and Sikh doctrines with profound devotion. He was not actually against house holder's life. In his *kabitt* 376 he says:

Among lakes *Mansarovar* is great, among mountains Summer is the highest, among vegetation Sandal tree is the finest, gold is costliest among metals, Swan is supreme among birds, Lion is the strongest among animals, among stones, the philosopher's stone is the best, among the musical measures *sri rag* is the chief one meditation upon the knowledge given by the Guru is sublime, similarly life of a householder is supreme among all dharmas.¹⁷

Bhai Sahib was not only a learned theologian and commentator of *Gurbani*, he was highly skilled in stabilizing a system. When Prithi Chand showed animosity and grudge against Guru Arjan, Bhai Sahib openly guided the *Sikh sangat* against the misleading activities of Prithi Chand.

Guru Hargobind who was on the seat of Guruship, decided to re-affirm the humility of Bhai Gurdas. He gave him a large sum of money to buy horses for Guru's house from Kabul. Bhai Sahib went there and struck a deal. When he was asked for payment he found the coins turned into stones. He felt ashamed and left Kabul and stealthily reached Benaras. The Sikhs there welcomed him. The Raja of Banaras became his admirer. It was now that Bhai Sahib understood the meaning of the line of *var* 35th, *pauree* 20th, and repented over it.

Je gur saang vartada, Sikh sidad ne haare

35/20-6

When the pandits of Benaras asked Bhai Sahib to worship god Shiva. He answered:

As a virtuous woman does not cheat her husband by going to another man, so I will not abandon my Guru to worship Hindu god. If a calf goes to a cow other than its mother-cow he receives kicks only (not milk). If a swan abandons *mansarovar*, it will receive only shells not pearls for food. If the guard of a king leaves his door and serves another one he loses his respect and honour. So the

Guru's Sikhs cannot leave God to worship gods and goddesses (who are created by Him).¹⁸

When the pandits questioned Bhai Sahib for not using Sanskrit as the medium of his composition because according to them it was the language of gods. They also criticized Sikh Guru's for using general language for ordinary mortals. In response to the above criticism, Bhai Sahib replied:

The Gurus used the spoken language in order to communicate and propagate their precepts to a common man. Sanskrit was merely the language of priests..... speech can only be uttered by body form. God has no body form. God has no language. Thus Sanskrit was not composed by him. It is now found in books. It is a dead language. It is like a tree which bears no fruit, while the current language on the contrary is like a tree with fruit bearing branches. The Gurus, seeing that human life span was limited, compiled the Granth Sahib in public language which is understandable. It is accessible to all and sundry unlike Sanskrit Hindu scriptures, the knowledge of which was denied to people of low caste.

After a great penance in Benaras Bhai Gurdas decided to return to Amritsar to seek Guru's grace. Bhai Gurdas recited the 22th *pauree* of 35th *var* and revealed:

je gur bharmaye saang kar kya Sikh vicharaa 35/22-6

Bhai Gurdas settled back to Amritsar. The Guru forgave the great Sikh scholar. He accompanied Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib and went to Goindwal along him. One day he told Guru Sahib that his death was near. He recited *Japji* and *Sukhmani* Sahib very lovingly and when the recitation ended he lowered his head in Guru Ji's lap. His soul went to the heavenly abode. The Guru covered him with a sheet of cloth, performed his funeral rites with his own hands. On the fourth day his ashes were thrown into the river *Beas* and the Guru returned to Amritsar.¹⁹

Works

Bhai Gurdas chose three forms of poetry from Indian classical poetry to convey his message- 1 *Kabit*, 2 *Swayya*, 3 *Var*.

A *kabit* is a form poetry. Generally, it bears four stitches and each stitch comprises of 31 letters. It bears three pauses each after eight letters, while the last stitch ends with seven letters.²⁰

A *swayya* is a popular metre having four lines with numerous names and is mainly of two types i.e. matrik and Varnik. The best form is metric *sawayya* where all the four lines alliterate. Two lines must alliterate. In a Varmik *swayya*, all the four the four lines must alliterate.²¹

Most of the Brahamical works were written in it. A few *Nirmala* writers also followed this meter to propagate their views. Use of *swayya* is also found in the holy verses of Sri Guru Granth Sahib and Sri Dasam Granth. The Bhatt *Bani* is totally in the form of *swayyas*. Influenced by the Bhatt *bani* Bhai Gurdas also made a successful use of *swayyas* in different forms.

Var is taken from the local cultural tradition of Punjab which, generally, is subjected to heroic poetry of Punjab just like Jangnamah. Generally, in this poetical form the poet portrays the heroic activities of two combatants fighting in the warfield. There are numerous *vars* in Punjabi from the literary tradition like, *Asa-di-var*, *Maajh-di-var*, *Sialan-di-var* etc. It is purely a regional poetical meter of Punjab which is generally sung by *dhadis*, *ragis* and composed by bards and *mirasis*.

In the *gurmat* literature the terminology of *var* is slightly different from that of the Panjabi literature. In the *gurmat* poetry, good man and wicked person (*gurmukh* & *manmukh*) are generally taken as two rival characters. Guru Nanak and Bhai Gurdas have composed *vars* in this technique. According to Bhai Santokh Singh the author of *Gurpartap Suraj Granth*, Bhai Gurdas wrote 675 *kabit sawyys*, (8 *doharas*, 8 *sorathas* and 8 *chhants*). Moreover, he wrote 40 *vars*, subject to the Sikh theology. The subject of his *vars* is not merely revelation or eulogy of the Sikh gurus but also to bring forth the author's ideas about significant tenets of Hindu-Sikh religious values and some narratives as internal evidence and extensive scenario of the Sikh cult of its times. Bhai Gurdas wrote six *salokas* in Sanskrit the text of which is not available.

The language of the *kabitts swayyas* is mainly Braj while the *vars* are written in Panjabi dialect of the central Panjab. According to the Sikh chronicles, Guru Arjan bestowed upon the works of Bhai Gurdas the title of keynote to *gurbani*. The *vars* of Bhai Gurdas, since the very day, became an integral part of the *gurmat* literature and the Sikh congregation considered it a spiritual guide to understand *gurbani* and its present form is undertaken as a solid and reliable source matter.

Out of 675 *kabitt-swayya*, more than 656 are *kabitts*. Out of the rest, 8 are *sorthas*, 8 are *dohras* and 8 are *chhants*. *Swayyas* are only 6 in number. Hence the appropriate name of this composition should be *kabitts* by Bhai Gurdas. Moreover, no Arabic or Persian words have been used in them and this shows the extent of command that Bhai Gurdas had over Braj Bhasha.

When we go through the text of *kabitts* after the first 8 groups.(24 pieces of stanzas are counted 8 steps or units in all). These are full of praises of first six Gurus from Guru Nanak Dev Ji to Guru Hargobind Sahib. *Kabitts* start from number 9 and go on to 675. Out of 675 *kabitt-swayyas*, *swayyas* are only 6. Three are in *Jhulana chhands*. All the rest are *kabitts*. Therefore, it will not be wrong to call this composition *Kabitts* of Bhai Gurdas.

In his *kabitts* one finds a description of the all pervading omnipresent, fathomless, wonderful and sublimity of God. The significance of Guru's service and meditation on His Name is the purpose of a true Sikh. Through his *kabitts* he tried his best to simplify and clarify what the Sikh Gurus have explained in Gurbani. These *kabitts* attract the people towards Sikhism. Bhai Sahib differentiates the traits of *Gurmukh* and *Manmukh*. He inspires people to collect all the good moral qualities in them. The persons whom the Guru has blessed are called *gursikhs*. They are *gurmukh*; they are saints; they are *bhagats*. An assemblage of such persons is called *Sadh Sangat* (Holy-Congregation).

The Guru resides in Holy congregation. And where there is Guru there is God Himself. Bhai Sahib has mentioned the unaccountable qualities of God. He suggests to renounce ego and self conceit. Meditation on the Name of God makes one's mind stabilized. The mind stops wavering and acquires continuous concentration. This happens only when a devotee denounces ego, listens to guru's teachings, absorbs His Name in his mind and recognizes the self. By profound and deep meditation and contemplation a Sikh gets divine bliss and reaches eternal ecstasy. This is the highest stage of God-realization. Such a person is called *Jivan- Mukat*.

Bhai Gurdas has been great preacher of Sikh theology. He elaborates and illustrates numerous concepts of Sikhism. In the following *kabitt* he advises Sikhs to be practical in Sikhism:

One cannot enjoy the sweetness by reciting the name of sugar.

By recitation of fire one does not feel warmth.

The continuous recitation of physician does not procure from disease and the memory of wealth cannot fulfill the need of money.

By repeating the word sandal tree one cannot enjoy the sweet flavors of sandalwood and the call for the moon does not extend light.

In the similar way, the verbal recitation of gnosis can produce no benefit and is necessary for man to enact deeds. *Kabitt -437*

Similarly the concept of self realization has much significance in the Sikh theology. The spiritual teacher by means of his teachings the seekers to cognize their self. Bhai Gurdas writes:

A washer man rubs soap to a dirty cloth and then strikes it again and again on a slab to make it clean.

A goldsmith heats up the gold continuously to remove its impurity, just as fragrant wind of Malay mountain shakes other plants violently making them sweet smelling like sandalwood.

Similarly, the spiritual guide teaches his followers to save themselves from the ill effects of mundane wealth (*Maayaa*) and conveys gnosis to enable them for self realization. *Kabitt -614*

According to Bhai Gurdas the meditation of the Almighty is significant for a seeker of truth. It transforms man completely. A man of lower caste may acquire high status in society by means of meditation. According to the Sikh fold one must live a simple life with humbleness and sublimity. The Sikh theology teaches man to discard off hypocritical life style, pride, ego and avarice. According to the Sikh fold one must live a simple life with humbleness and sublimity:

The soil is the more sublime than the other elements.

So every one emerges from it and lastly falls in it.

The last finger of hand is the smallest in size but avails the grandeur when wears costly ring.

Honey bee and silk worm are the minor creations of the universe but one provides sweet honey and the other endows comfortable silk clothes.

In the same way Ravidass, Namdev, Bidar and Kabir were outcome of lower castes but due to meditation they acquired high status and benefitted the masses.

Kabitt- 632

Bhai Sahib elaborates the concept of humility. A humble person is always honoured and respected:

Head is the highest limb of the body.

Eyes glance the universe.

Ears listen to sweet music.

Nostrils help to enjoy sweet scents and flavors.

One speaks melodious tones with mouth and hands feed the whole body.

But none of them is worshipped.

Feet though the lowest limbs of the body are generally worshipped because of their humility.

Kabitt-289

Bhai Gurdas explains the significance of a holy congregation for the spiritual development of a human being. Emphasizing his views with parabolae he writes:

A cow eats grass and provides milk.

Milk when processed butter and curd emerge from it.

Sugarcane is crushed in machine and then its juice is processed to make sweet sugar candy.

The proximity of sandal tree provides fragrance to the neighboring plants.

By this way the congregation of saints endows good virtues in the nature of man and he becomes well wisher to all.

Kabitt-129

In the Sikh theology man's deep attachment with mundane wealth is always condemned. Bhai Gurdas elaborates:

A poppy eater condemns poppy verbally and calls it a bad thing but it is never possible for him to leave its use.

A gambler weeps at the hour of defeat, even then he can't get rid off his bad habit.

A thief feels fear in heart when he breaks into the house of others but does not leave his habit unto death.

Similarly, everyone cognizes that mundane wealth is the root cause of sufferings, even then, non may overcome its attachment. *Kabitt 591*

Here are numerous authors who have written and commented upon the *kabitt-swayyas* in Punjabi, we may quote the name of Sant Sampuran Singh. His annotation on *kabitt-swayyas* is written in a scholarly style. It is named *Sidhant Bodhni* i.e. understanding of doctrine. There are various authors who have commented on *vars* of Bhai Gurdas such as Bhai Vir Singh, Pandit Narayan Singh, Akali Kaur Singh, Dr. Jodh Singh, Gobind Singh Mansukhani, S. Amar Singh Chaakar (Published by S.G.P.C. Amritsar) Dr. Dalip Singh, Deep, S.J.S Pall, Prof. Bikram Singh Ghuman (GNDU, Amritsar), but less is available subjected to the *Kabit Swayyas*. Shamsher Singh Puri has made an endeavour to simplify and translate them into English.

The *var* is a poetic composition subjected to the martial activities subjected to the martial activities of medieval Punjab a hero or a warrior. In the medieval Punjab, *vars* were sing praises to eulogize a king, a leader or a prominent person. In Punjabi, to sing praises '*var 'gauna'* means singing praises of a particular personality. In Punjabi literature *var* is a part of hero literature. The *vars* were sung before the advent of Guru Nanak Dev Ji. He is the first poet to write spiritual *vars* in which the Almighty God is eulogized. Similarly, Guru Amar Dass, Guru Ram Dass, Guru Arjan Dev Ji also wrote spiritual *vars* which are found in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. After the martyrdom of Guru Arjan, Guru Hargobind Sahib propagated singing *vars* in the Sikh congregations. Such *vars* produced martial spirit among the Sikh community. Spiritual enthusiasm was the need of the hour. During that time Natha and Adbulla were the prominent bards who used to sing heroic *vars*. Vital importance was given to this poetic form by Bhai Gurdas. He preferred to convey his spiritual message to the people by this forms of poetry. His *vars* occupy a tremendous significance in Punjabi literature as well as in *gurmat* literature.

Subjects of Vars of Bhai Gurdas:-

The first *var* contains 48 *paurees*. It begins with invocation to the Almighty God. Bhai Sahib describes about the creator of the universe, the four *yugas-Satyug (Goldage) Treta (Silverage), Duapur (Brassage) and Kalyug (Ironage)*, four *varnas - Brahmin, Khatri, Vaish and Shudra*. The *Kalyug (Ironage)* was an age of anarchy. Everyone is busy according to his own whims and fancies. The Hindus and Muslims had become orthodox. They are selfish, jealous, arrogant provocative and bigoted. Hindu temples were being demolished replacing with mosques by the ruling class of the medieval age. The poor were being trampled and butchered. It was natural fact that in such a period of oppression and anarchy, the advent of a prophet like Guru Nanak Dev Ji was of utmost need. It was purposefully decided by the Almighty God to send Guru Nanak Dev for the services and protection of the suffering humanity. In this *var*, prominent events of Guru Nanak's life are described in brief verse. All the six Gurus (from Guru Nanak Dev Ji to Guru Hargobind Sahib) are highly eulogized for their serving and protecting the poor and the oppressed class.

The second *var* has 20 stanzas. This *var* describes the omnipresence and omnipotency of God. The third *var* with 20 *paurees* deals with the qualities and attributes of a *gurmukh* (a guru oriented man), and throws light on the subjects of significance of a true *guru* and holy congregation.

The fourth *var* consists of 21 *stanzas*. Here, Bhai Sahib describes that human life is supreme of all 84 lakh species of life on earth. Human life is the only period in which acquaintance with God is possible for the purpose of eternal ecstasy (*Mukati*). It is possible for a *gurmukh* with the bliss of God.

The fifth *var* consists of 21 *stanzas*. It agains throws light on the attributes of an ideal Sikh (*a gurmukh*). He transcends all sorts of doubts and suspicious rituals and keeps in mind the teachings of the Guru. He believes in one God. A *gurmukh* burns the fire of egotism. The Guru helps the *gurmukh* to swim across the dread ful ocean of life.

The sixth *var* consisting 20 *stanzas* deals with the significance of holy-congregation (*satsangat*). God himself resides in *satsangat*.

The seventh *var* having 20 *stanzas* again constitutes systematically the personality development of a *gurmukh*. This *var* also puts light on Bhai Sahib's deep knowledge about Hindu theology and their scriptures-vedas, shastras and puranas etc.

The eighth *var* of 24 *stanzas* unfolds the reality of limitlessness of universe as is shown in the 35th *pauree* of Jap Ji Sahib. There are countless heavenly bodies in the universe. It is all unaccountable. In the end the of *var* the poet throws light on two prominent faiths of his times, Hinduism and Islam. The revelation highlights the root cause of the emergence of the Sikh fold.

The ninth *var* with 20 *stanzas* opens with the elaboration of the grace of *Waheguru* (the wonderous supreme Being) Bhai Sahib exalts the importance of Guru's teaching (*Gurshabad*) and extols the holy congregation (*satsangat*). In the next phases of the *var*, Bhai Sahib portrays the virtues of an ideal Sikh (*gurmukh*), his life style, his virtuous dealings with fellow beings and his submission to the Guru. He accompanies only with saints and noble souls, reciting the glories of '*Waheguru*'.

The tenth *var* with 23 *stanzas* is called the (*Bhagat Mala*) because this *var* has been devoted to the subject of bhagats and saints of Indian sub-continent. Puranic personalities such as Prehlad, Dhru, Raja Ball, Ambrik, Raja Janak, Hari Chand, Tara Rani, Vidur, Duryodhan, Dropadi, Sudama, Jaidev, Trilochan, Dhanna Bhagat, Beni, Kabir, Rama Nand, Sain, Ravidas, Ahiliya and Gautam have been extolled for their divine virtues.

In *var* 11 with *stanzas* 21, Bhai Sahib again characterizes *gurmukhs* and their relations with the Guru. The names of some prominent Sikhs of Guru Nanak Dev Ji, Guru Ram Das Ji, Guru Arjan Dev Ji and Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji are remembered respectfully. It indicates that some other devout Sikhs of Punjab who were (dwelling in different towns) busy in their professions were spiritually attached to the House of Guru.

The *var* 12 has 20 *stanzas*. The subject matter of this *var* describes the daily routine and code of conduct of a Sikh. He must be polite, humble, wise, free from avarice, lust, anger, not listening to slander or indulging in it, submissive to the will of his Guru. He must not speak out insulting words to others, sleep a little, eat a little, never fall in the paws of mammon and arrogance.

The Bhai has solidified his views by elaborating the cases of Shiv Ji, Indra, Brahma and Narad. Bhagat Dhruv and Namdev are respectfully praised, though some of them belonged to lower strata of the society.

The thirteenth *var* comprises of 25 *stanzas*. It explains the significance of the word- *Waheguru*, (*the Gurmantar*) of the Sikhs. He who meditates on '*Wahaguru*' or recites *Waheguru*, his ego is destroyed. Guru is the manifestation of God. Guru's word (*Gurbani*), *shabad* is an elixir if recited with deep concentration. This *var* closes by revealing the glories of the six Gurus.

The *var* 14 has 20 *stanzas*. According to this *var* Guru's Name is truthful. It resides in *holy congregation*. It endows respect to the unrespected. In *pauree* 4th the three Hindu gods are criticized for their contradictory deeds. Narad is termed a back-biter. Revealing the examples of earth, water, tree, sesame seed, domestic animals, cotton, sugarcane, iron, sandalwood, etc. Bhai Sahib justifies that Guru-oriented Sikh has all these traits in him. That is why he is supreme. A *gurmukh* is always at the disposal of service of others that helps him in the recitation of God's Name.

The *var* 15 is based upon 21 *stanzas*. It begins with praises of the Guru. Human life is supreme among the 84 species. The basic purpose of recitation (*Nam-Simran*) is to acquire the bliss of God. The life of demons and human beings relies upon the blessings of God, who is omnipotent. Guru alone is a true friend. He dispels tribulations of human mind. He is an honest guide, a true doctor, a pious pilgrimage, a philosopher's stone (*Paras*), and *Kalap-Variksh*. He emancipates his followers.

The *var* 16, with 21 *stanzas*, begins with the basic principles of Sikhism such as non-attachment, altruism, humility, service of humanity and the Guru, the pious-congregation etc.

The *var* 17 has 21 *stanzas*. Bhai Sahib describes the nature of *manmukh* with the parables of frog, heron, owl, elephant, *tumma* (a bitter fruit) etc. He has bitterly criticized as a hypocrite, an arrogant, a betrayer, a cruel, a back-biter, a liar, an ungrateful, a faithless, an imitator, an apostate, a defrauder, a bastard person who indulges in evil company.

The *var* 18 is based upon 23 *stanzas*. Bhai Sahib explains that the limitless universe is the creation of God. He resides in His creation. He is not aloof and detached from his creation. All the five elements, fire, air, water etc. function in His Orders (*Hukam*). Bhai Sahib cautions the seekers repeatedly not to indulge in materialistic world. He reminds the human beings of their ultimate goal. For becoming *sachiar*

(truthful human being), the blessings of the true Guru are of utmost importance for all human beings.

The *var* 19 has 21 *stanzas*. Bhai Sahib basically deals with the glories and traits of a Guru - conscious-man. The *gurmukh* knows that his life in this world is temporary. He does not know the time of his death. He lives in family but has no deeper attachment with the transient world. The grace of the Guru the *gurmukh* people are very powerful but they do not demonstrate their power.

The *var* 20, consists of 21 *stanzas*. It deals with the single conglomeration of the Sikh Gurus. Though they carry different names and physical bodies yet a single divine light radiates among them. Bhai Sahib also describes purity and chastity of a *gurmukh* who spends his life in the will of the Almighty. He always concentrates on the feet of the true Guru.

The *var* 21 is extended in 20 *stanzas*. The subject of this *var* is the worship of God. The virtue of infinity of God is revealed. It is said that ego and vanity are perpetual impediments in the way of realization of God. Due to these evils the human soul becomes impatient and dissatisfied; always craving for more and more worldly luxury. Hypocrisy and dogmatism are two other vices which lead human beings away from God.

The *var* 22, with 21 *stanzas* deals with the invocation of supreme reality which is beyond the perception of *Vedas* and *Katebas*. The Omnipotent Lord forming the creation of the universe permeates in it and enjoys Himself. The importance of holy congregation and characteristics of guru – orientate man are again discussed. The *var* ends with the message of Guru Angad Dev that principles of Sikhism should be followed strictly.

The *var* 23, with twenty one *stanzas* deals with different subjects such as:(i) Hindu mythology, (ii) attitude of *gurmukh* towards illusionary world, (iii) The prevailing morals of Hindus or Muslims (iv) humility and life style of Guru oriented person have been thoroughly elaborated. Selflessness leads one to attain respect from the masses. Examples of devotees like Dhru Prahlad, Ambrik, Ball, Janak, Jai Dev, Nam Dev, Trilochan, Bhagat Dhana, Sadhna, Bhagat Kabir, Ravidas, Bidar etc. from the low caste are elaborated.

The *var* 24 contains 25 *stanzas*. It is full of paeans (songs of praises) of Sikh Gurus (from Guru Nanak Dev Ji to Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji). Bhai Sahib deals with the concept of conglomeration (*ek joat*) of the Gurus. They were separate personalities physically. They were assigned a single mission. They were working a single program allotted to them by God.

The *var* 25 has 20 *stanzas*. Bhai Gurdas describes the personality of Guru Hargobind Sahib. He compares the nature of kings and *faquirs*. Because of ego two kings cannot dwell in one country but twenty *faquirs* who are free from ego can live in one hut. A person from low caste can achieve union with God by virtue of his good deeds. A few examples of devotees are elaborated to solidify the concept like Namdev, Dhanna, Bhikhan and Ravidas.

The *var* 26, with thirty five *stanzas* begins with the obeisance to the true Guru and the Lord. Much has been said about the characteristics of the Iranage (*Kalyug*). *Stanzas* 16, 21, 22, 30, 31, 33, 34 are written in glory of the first Guru. *Pauree* No. 32 deals with the life and daily routine of Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib.

The *var* 27 with 23 *paurees* deals with internal relationship of the Guru and his follower. He reminds us of the immortal tales of love between *Laila Majnu*, *Sassi Punnu*, *Sohni Mahiwal* and *Hir Ranjha*. Fire of love between the two lovers should be full of intensity, selfless union without any deceitfulness. One sided love cannot achieve the goal. Love between the Guru and the follower should of such nature that they should become one spiritually.

The *Var* 28 comprises 22 *paurees*. It throws light on the characteristics of Sikhism. Sikh religion is supreme of all other faiths. It is the path of love and brotherhood. It preaches selfless service, humility, sweetness of tongue, honest labour, life without enmity etc.

The *Var* 29, with 21 *stanza*, Bhai Sahib puts emphasis on holy congregation. The guru is compared with a sailor who is responsible for traversing the ship full of passengers (followers) across the worldly ocean. Bhai Sahib once more asks the sikhs to keep themselves away from illusory world, slanderers and backbiters.

The *var* 30, with 20 *stanza*, the poet has puts forth comparison between good and evil, truth and falsehood, *gurmukh* and *manmukh*.

The *var* 31, having 20 *paurees* puts light on various subjects such as persons full of vice, and virtuous persons, true seekers of truth and persons who only pose to be true. Numerous examples have been taken from Hindu semi historical and historical characters. Rama and Ravana from Ramayana and Putana, an evil soul who tried to kill Krishna by feeding him on her breast coated with poison.

The *var* 32, with 20 *paurees* brings forth differences between the foolish and the wise the friend and the foe etc. Bhai Sahib forbids us not to have any friendship with fools. A foolish friend is like a coal, when it is hot it burns the hand, and blackens the hand when it is cool.

The *var* 33, consists of 22 *paurees*. It describes *manmukh* having double faces, like two faced mirror, spinning wheel, a two mouthed snake and a prostitute. It is difficult to change the life style of such a person.

The *var* 34, with 21 *paurees* is subjected to the persons who have given up to day the teachings of the Guru. They are impertinent indiscreet and unmannered. It is useless to have any spiritual conversation with such apostates. A non-believer is like a young bride who advises others to go to their in-laws while she does not reside with parents impenitently. A non believer is like a hot piece of iron which can acquire any shape the strikes of hammer.

The *var* 35, containing 23 *paurees* warns us against slanderers, ungrateful backbiters and dishonest people. According to the poet such persons are incorrigible, like as a dog who licks the millstone and cannot change his nature.

The *var* 36, of 21 *paurees* deals with the rivals of Guru's house called *Minnas*. Baba Prithi Chand, the elder brother of Guru Arjan Dev, claimed for guruship. He is compared with a heron, an owl, a bamboo etc. He was mean, ill mannered and ill informed. He was a culprit, a sinner, an apostate, a thief, a bad friend, a gambler, a slanderer, an ungrateful deceiver, full of anger, greed and unworthiness.

The *var* number 37, is composed of 31 *stanza*. It deals with various wonderful creations of God. Human form is the supreme creation which alone enables the human soul to merge with its Creator. The child takes birth and cries. The members of the family become happy at his arrival. They bring it up putting aside their own comforts. It grows up, but does not take care of his parents. Bhai Sahib actually wants to convey the message that we are the children of God. He is our father. We are no better than a

child who does not care for his parents. Thus we are ungrateful and self created children (*manmukh*).

The *var* number 38 consists of 20 *paurees*. It elaborates the features of a noble, pious, devoted follower of Sikhism. The poet terms it is superior to all other Indian faiths. According to version is a religion of the world. A *gursikh* remains away from luxury, lust of worldly attraction and sexual pleasures. He always endeavors to gain Guru's happiness and bliss. Guru's happiness leads him to a state of ecstasy and permanent equipoise. The pleasures of spiritual love can be attained from holy congregation, meditation on *Nam* and renunciation of egotism. In the last *stanza* once again, Bhai Sahib reminds of the single *mission* of all the six Gurus. They had separate personalities to the outer eye, in spirit they were all one.

The *var* 39 has 21 *stanzas*. The first stanza starts with the invocation to God. The next stanza eulogises of first five Gurus. The third exclusively deals with the eulogy of Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib. These *paurees* mentioned above also vividly explain the concept of conglomeration of Sikh Gurus. In the farther *paurees* the importance of *gurmukh*, *sadhsangat*, *such khand* (the realm of Truth and Eternity) is elaborated in brief. After that the description of three main deities of Hindus are described and the Sikhs are advised to adore only the true Guru (*Satguru*).

The last *var* i.e 40th *var*, containing 22 *paurees* is the gist of thoughts expressed in the previous 39 *vars*, as well of description of all the fundamental tenets of Sikhism. Bhai Sahib advises us to meditate on the formless God. He advises to have faith in monotheism. Only the true Guru is able to cut off the shackles of the cycle of the transmigration of soul i.e. birth and death.

C) BHAI NAND LAL -FAMILY BACKGROUND, LIFE SKETCH AND WORKS

Bhai Nand Lal Goya was the court poet of Guru Gobind Singh, He was an adroit in Persian, Panjabi and Hindi. He composed numerous works with a view to eulogize the Sikh Gurus. He also put forth a commendable picture of the contemporary Sikh-world. He was equally an admirable poet as well as prose writer of Hindi, Punjabi, Persian and Arabic. Therefore, his works evince his hold on this art. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha has put forth various aspects of his life as under:

Bhai Nand Lal's father, Munshi Chhajoo Ram was khatree by caste. He was a great scholar of Persian and Arabic. In search of job, he went to Ghazani in 1630 A.D. Basically, he belonged to Punjab. On the basis of deep studies he occupied the office of Mir Munshi in the court of Moyyun-udin. Bhai Nand Lal took birth in 1633A.D. His father managed good arrangements for his son's studies. When Nand Lal was 12 years of age, Chhajoo Ram who believed in -- *Bairagi* tradition, invited the Guru of the sect to perform the ceremony of *yagopavit* in which a male child is allowed to wear a sacred thread according to the caste group. Nand Lal humbly requested them not to force him to put on the thread against his will. He declared that he would not follow a religion without his own satisfaction. His father passed away in 1652 A.D. Bhai Nand Lal, being highly qualified wanted to occupy the office of his father. But the regional ruler wanted to grant him a lower ranked post to gain experience. He left Ghazani disappointedly, reached Multan and built a house near Delhi darwaja. The people of the area called him by the name of 'Agha.' So, the locality gained the terminology of Aghapur. He was married with the daughter of a Sikh family. After his marriage his mind inclined towards Sikhism. In 1682 A.D, Bhai Nand Lal visited Amritsar and then from here he went over to Anandpur Sahib to get spiritual bliss from Sri Guru Gobind Singh. Prince Mauzzam had friendly relations with the Guru. The Guru recommended the referred Prince to grant some employment to Bhai Nand Lal. He was employed as Mir Munshi in his court and settled in Agra in 1683. One day hearing the correct interpretation of an *ayat* of the *holy Quran*, Aurangzeb wished Bhai Nand Lal to become a Muslim. To save himself from the ill intentions of the emperor, the Prince allowed him to go to Anandpur Sahib and have refuge, under Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji the Tenth Master. At the *darbar* of the referred Guru he was highly respected as a great poet. Most of his compositions are written in Persian and Punjabi language in the eulogy of the Sikh Gurus especially in the glory of the 10th Guru. When Guru Ji left Anandpur Sahib, Bhai Nand Lal returned to Multan where he preached Sikhism till his death in 1705 A.D. According to the versions of Dr. Ganda Singh, Bhai Nand Lal established an institution in Multan to preach the Sikh religion. The referred institution rendered its services until the British occupation in Multan in 1849.²²

Prof. Ujagar Singh Bawa reveals that Bhai Nand Lal was married in Multan. He got his first, son Lakhpat Rai in 1673 A.D, Leela Rai in 1675 A.D. Both his sons acquired their studies and received good status in their lives. Bhai Lakhpat Rai died childless. His brother Leela Ram begot Naunidh Singh who arose to an army officer. Munshi Paras Ram, the second son of Naunidh Singh got the status of a court official of Nawab Muzzaffar Khan, the governor of Multan and had three sons Lala Naib Raj, Chaylea and Lala Karam Chand.²³

Works

Bhai Nand Lal composed the undermentioned works which is a commendable addition in the Sikh literature:

1. **Zindagi Namah (Persian Verse):** The first writing of Bhai Nand Lal Ji was under the title of ‘Bandagi Namah’. When he presented it to Guru Gobind Singh Ji, Guru Sahib felt very happy to go through it and asked Bhai Sahib to change its name to ‘Zindagi Namah’. The major subject of the work is the “devotion for the Almighty (Akaalpurakh) and ‘complete submission to the Guru. Infact, some significant tenets of Sikhism revealed in Sri Guru Granth Sahib are fully explained in beautiful and sweet mathnavi.

(a) **Significance of Guru:-**

Mahan Singh Gyani, *Tasnifat-i- Goya*,

- (i) Murshad-e-Kamil hamaa ra aarzoo’s
Ghair Murshad Kas na yaabad rah badoo’s

Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963,
pp. 46

مُرشد کامل ہماہ را آرزوست
غیر مُرشد کس نیابد رہ بدوست

Every one seeks for a true Guru without a true Guru no one can reach the Akalpurakh.

- (ii) Murshad-e-kaamil hamaan’ bashad hamaan,
Kaz kalaamash booy-e-Haq aayad ee yaan.

Ibid, p. 47

مُرشد کامل ہمان باشد ہمان
کز کلامش بوی حق آید عیان

It is only a perfect Guru whose Gurbani emits the divine fragrance in the world.

- (iii) Har ke aayad pesh-e-shaan' choon' jorravaar,
Rood gardad hamchoon mehar-e-noor baar. Ibid, p. 47

ہر کہ آید پیش شان چون ذرہ وار
زود گردد ہم چون مہر نور باار

A person who genuflects before the true Guru in humility shines like the sun to enlighten the whole world.

(b) Significance of Recitation (Nam-Simran):

- (i) Yaade oo gar moonish-e-jaanat baved,
Har do aalam jer-e-farmaanat baved. Ibid, p. 42

یاد او گر مونس جاننت بود
ہر دو عالم زیر فرماننت بود

If the recitation of God's Name becomes your daily routine, then both the worlds will be under your command.

- (ii) Bas bajuragi hast andar yaad-e-oo.
Yaad-e-oo, kun yaad-e-oo, kun yaad-e-oo. Ibid, p. 42

بس بزرگی ہست اندر یاد او
یاد او کن یاد او کن یاد او

The greatness of a person lies in the remembrance of God. Remember the Name of Lord again and again. (Continuously).

(c) Significance of holy congregation (Satsangat)

- (i) Aan hajoom-e-khush ke oo dafaa-e-balaa'st
Aan hajoom-e-khush ke az behr-e-khuda'st. Ibid, p.60

آن ہجوم خوش کہ بہر بنگی ست
آن ہجوم خوش کہ محض زندگی ست

The holy congregation is full of divine bliss. It dispels all our mental and physical pains.

- (ii) Aan' hajaom-e-khush ke behr-e-bandagee'st
Aan' hajoom-e-khush ke bunyaad-e-oo'st. Ibid, p. 60

آن ہجوم خوش کہ بہر یاد اوست
آن ہجوم خوش کہ حق بنیاد او است

The holy-congregation is overwhelmed with divine ecstasy it is based on the foundation of Truth.

(d) Omnipresence and Oneness (Tauheed) of God:-

(i) Qaad're mutlaq b'qudarat zaahar ast.

Dar miyaan-e-qudarat khud qaadar ast.

Ibid, p. 59

قادر مُطلق بقدرت ظاهر است
در میانِ قدرت خود قادر است

The Creator of the Universe dwells in His Own Creation. He exists in His Own Nature or Creation.

(ii) Qaadar-o-qudarat b' hum aameekhtand.

Aan' multaaay ghair haq ra reekhtand.

Ibid, p. 59

قادر و قدرت بهم آمیختند
آن مطاعِ غیر حق را ریختند

The Creator and his Creation are one and the perfect human beings (Gurumukh) renounce everything without the Name of God.

(e) The concept of God-oriented-man (Gurmukh):-

(i) Jahar-o-batan shudai yaksaan-e-oo

Har do aalam bandaa-e-farmaan-e-oo

Ibid, p. 62

ظاہر و باطن شدہ یکساں او
ہر دو عالم بندۂ فرمان او

The God-oriented-man is same internally and externally. Both the worlds obeys his command.

(ii) Ham badil yaad-e-khuda va barjubaan'

Een' jubaanash dil shudaa dil shud jubaan

Ibid, p. 62

ہم بدل یادِ خدا و بر زبان
این زبانانش دل شدہ و دل زبان

The God-oriented-man cannot separate his heart from his tongue. What is in his heart, is on his tongue.

(f) **The concept of self-oriented-man (Manmukh):-**

(i) Har ke ghafil shud chira aakal bavad.

Har ke ghafil gashat oo jahil bavad.

Ibid, p. 41

ہر کہ عاقل شد چرا غافل شود
ہر کہ غافل گشت او جاہل شود

If a person forgets the name of God, how can he be wife some one who does not remember God, is foolish.

(ii) kufar hashad az khuda ghafil shudan

Dar libass-e-dunyeevee ma'el shudan

Ibid, p. 41

کفر باشد از خدا غافل شدن
بر لباسِ دنیوی مایل شدن

Being non-cognizant about God, if some one is allured by worldly luxuries it is nothing less than lilas phemy and paganism.

(g) **The concept of prayer (Ardaas):-**

(i) Aai Khuda har be adab ra deh adab.

Ta guzarad umar andar yaade rab.

Ibid, p. 60

ای خدا ہر بی ادب را ده ادب
تا گذارد عمر اندر یادِ رب

O ! God bestow your kindness even on the ill mannered so that they may live their life in the remembrance of Your Pious Name.

(ii) Yaa Alahi yaavari kun banda ra

Surakharoo kun har dil-e-sharminda ra.

Ibid, p. 73

یا الہی یاوری کن بندہ را
سرخ رو کن ہر دلِ شرمندہ را

O ! Akalpurakh, you are requested to help your servants who are otherwise very ashamed of themselves for their shortcomings.

- (iii) Yaa Alahi har dil-e-puzmurda ra Sabaz kun har khaatr-e-afsurda ra. Ibid, p. 73

يَا اَللهِ هِي هِرْدِلِ پِزْمُرْدِه رَا
سَبَز كُن هِرْخَاطِرِ اَفْسُرْدِه رَا

O ! God, it is our humble request to rejuvenate the withered souls of human beings with Your Pious Name and bliss.

2. **Diwan-e-Goya (Ghazaliyat):** This work endowed a long life to Bhai Nand Lal engaged in devotion and literary world for sharpness of his poetic dissertation, sublimity of style, purity and austerity of thought, profound love of beauty of all comprehensive imagination. The revelation of his sentiments and beauty of style and technique are the notable features of the work. It is an impressive work both from the spiritual and virtuosity points of view. Moreover, it is a highly successful attempt to interpret the theology of *gurbani* after Bhai Gurdas. The work has been accomplished in Persian school beyond the concept of Kanta Bhagati prevalent in Indian devotional literature.

The work comprises of 59 ghazals, 19 robayat and 4 baits. The ghazals have numerous themes. Bhai Sahib has highlighted the significance of God's Name, his devotion towards the Gurus, significance of religious discipline and divine knowledge, the importance of the holy congregation and recitation of Lord's Name. He has also revealed the virtues of the Almighty like the infinite, graceful, omnipotent, omnipresent, unique and adorable which are admitted in the Sikh theology. The author has tried to follow the school of the Persian Sufi poetry. Iranian Sufistic style has been adopted which is far away from the Qadry and Chishty Sufi-Schools of the medieval Punjab.

3. **Tausif-o-Sana va Khatma (Persian):** This work is subjected to the admiration and greatness of the Almighty. It is in prose, only the ending portion called 'Khatma' is in verse. It is the most significant writing of Bhai Nand Lal because of the frequent use of extremely difficult glossary and metaphors in Persian and Arabic. That is why, most of the scholars have not given much attention towards it. The work deals with decent paras of prose as well as excellent qualities of verse distiches like the *Lawaiah* of Jaami.

The author accomplished its verse in *behar ramal* using the poetic form of *mathnavi*.

It is also possible that Bhai Nand Lal went through the *bani of bards* written in praise of the Gurus and tried to bring out a specimen of the same kind in Persian with view to accomplish the work initiated by the bards.

5. **Jot Bikas (Persian):** The work is accomplished in *mathnavi* and the author has tried to put forth the Persian translation (liberal) of his Hindi work. The thesis he could not complete in equal number of distiches and it is longer than the Hindi work subjected to the same theme.
6. **Jot Bikas (Hindi):** In this work Bhai Nand Lal has eulogized the Sikh Gurus subsequently. He has revealed that all the Gurus have same theological view. They are equally studded with natural and supernatural qualities. In the worldly affairs they are dedicated to the welfare of humanity. He has also compared them with the Hindu deities and called them the outcome of a single soul. The work comprises of 43 distiches. The concept of theological unanimity (*single swaroop*) of Sikh Gurus is revealed as:

- Nanak so Angad Gur devna
- So Amar Das Har sevna
- So Ram Das So Arjna
- So Hargobgind har parsna
- So karta Har Rai dataarning
- So Har Krishan agham apaarning
- So Tegh Bahadur Sat Saroopna
So Guru Gobind Singh Har ka Roopna
- Sabh eko eko ekna
Nahi bhed na Kachhu bhi pekhna²⁴

- 1) Guru Angad got whatever Nanak endowed him.
- 2) Amar Dass worshipped the Almighty.
- 3) Ram Dass and Arjan had no differences. Hargobind also enjoyed His bliss.
- 4) Har Rai endowed salvation to his devotees.

- 5) Harkrishan had unaccountable verves. Guru Teg Bahadur was the *swaroop* of the Almighty.
- 6) Guru Gobind Singh was also an image of God.
- 7) All of them were similar. Don't calculate any difference among them. Here the poet is consolidating verse *the concept of single swaroop of Sikh Gurus*.

7. **Rahat Namah and Tankhah Namah (Punjabi verse):** According to Bhai Kahan Singh these are not the compositions of Bhai Nand Lal. Dr. Ganda Singh indicate that the referred two works are quite at par with the thoughts of Bhai Sahib and those of Guru Gobind Singh. Moreover, the successors of Bhai Sahib claim that these works belong to Bhai Nand Lal Ji. S. Attar Singh Rysis Bhadaur published *Rahit Namah* in Punjabi in 1876 from Albert Press, Lahore. The date given at the end of the *Rahit Namah* shows that it is a composition before the creation of Khalsa. There is no word “Khalsa” used in this composition.

Tankhah Namah was written after the creation of Khalsa (i.e. 1699 A.D) because there are a few references subjected to ‘Khalsa’. The ecology of ‘Khalsa’ exists in this work.²⁵

8. **Dastoor-ul-Insha (Persian prose);** This work contains some of the letters and writings of Bhai Nand Lal which were written to his relatives and friends. It is a valuable source of historical background of Punjab and Multan.
9. **Arz-ul-Alfaz (Persian verse);** This work of Bhai Nand Lal evinces his hold on Persian and Arabic glossary. Devotion of God and eulogy of Guru Sahiban are the subjects of this composition. It is a commendable literary approach and denotes spiritual quality of Bhai Nand Lal. It contains glossary which is typically Persian and Arabic. Only those who are highly proficient in these languages can enjoy the contents. Dr. Ganda Singh in his book, “*Bhai Nand Lal Granthavali*” has compiled a few couplets as specimen.

Invoking and thanking the Akaalpurakh Bhai Nand Lal writes respectfully:

Hazaraan’ sataayaish hazaaraan’ sapaas
B’dargahe dadaare paak az haraas.

Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nanad Lal Granthavali*,
Publication Bureau, Punjabi University,
Patiala, 1989, p. 242.

ہزاران ستائش ہزاران سپاس
بدرگاہِ دادارِ پاک از ہراس

Ke Alfaaz-e-a'en' itmaam yaafat,

Ze rooye maa'nee choo khursheed taafat

Ibid, p.242

که الفاظ آئین اتمام یافت
ز روی معانی چو خورشید یافت

Hamaan' beh ke aagaaz az aafareen'

Shavad bar khuday-e-jahaan' aafareen'.

Ibid, p.243

همه به که آغاز از آفرین
شود بر خدای جهان آفرین

Binaa-e-hoo javeed valkayemaa.

Va hoo mustdaam-o-hual-diyemaa.

Ibid, p.244

بنائمه جاوید و القائم
هوال مستدام و هوالدائم

The Concept of Omnipresent God

The Sikh religion follows the concept of Omnipresent God .It was also the basic value of the Sufi cult that the Almighty is not confined in temples and mosques but he is present everywhere and in each situation. A seeker needs to create capability in himself to feel His presence. Idols and Pilgrims may be the image or center for man mere to concentrate his mind but not God. Undoubtedly, it is a Quranic concept which it borrowed from Mosaic and Christian cults. The Sufies also congised it significant for spiritual development. While the Sikh theology is based upon the same religious value. Bhai Nand Lal Goya narrates;

Khuda hazir bawad daayam babeen deedar-e-pakish ra
Na girdaab-e-daroo haayal na darya wa na saahelaha²⁶

Maha Singh Gyani, *Tasneefaat-e-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963, p.4

خدا حاضر بود دایم بین دیدار پاکش را
نه گردابی درو حایل نه دریا و نه ساحل ها

Har ja ke banigarand Jamaal-e-to banigarand

Sahib-e-dilaan nazaaraa-e-rue tow mee kunand²⁷

Ibid, p.21

هر جا که بنگرد جمال تو بینند
صاحب دلان نظاره روی تو می کنند

According to the version of Bhai Nand Lal The Almighty is omnipresent but a seeker lacks eyeview to feel His presence;

Khuda ke dar hama haal haazir ast-o-naazir

Kujast deedah ke beenad ba har taraf deedar²⁸

Ibid, p.19

خدا که در همه حال است حاضر و ناظر
کجاست دیده که بیند بهر طرف دیدار

In the path of God realisation human ego and numerous affairs of mundane life and attachments prove a bar. The poet said;

Jammal-e-oo haman ja behijaab jalwagarast

Tu dar hijab khud ee yaar-e-maliqa che kunad²⁹

Ibid, p.16

جمال او همه جا بے حجاب جلوہ گر است
تو در حجاب خودی یارِ مه لقا چه کند

The Concept of the Recitation of His Name;

In the Sikh religion the recitation of Almighty's Name has great importance as in the Discipline Sufis. A Sikh by his Guru is instructed to make it his daily routine to practise His Name early in the morning. Moreover, in his activities he must remember His name. This practice in the Sikh cult is called 'Naam Abhiaas'. It is similar to the concept of 'Ziker' of the Sufi culture. Bhai Nand Lal emphasises on recitation as under;

Khush ast umar ke dar yaad biguzrad warna

Che haasilst azeen gumbad-e-kabood mara³⁰

Ibid, p.3

خوش است عمر که در یاد بگذرد ورنه
چه حاصل است ازین گنبدِ کبود مرا

Baghair-e-yaad-e-tow Goya nami tawaanam zeesat

Ba soo-e-dosat rihaai dahand zood mara³¹

Ibid, p 18

بغیر یاد تو گویا نمی توانم زیست
بسوی دوست رهسای دهند زود مرا

Bayaad-e-dosat tawaan umar ra basar bordan
Ke dar baraabar-e-aan heech kimia na rasad³²

Ibid, p.16

بیادِ دوستِ توانِ عمر را بسر بردن
که در برابرِ آن هیچ کیمیا نرسد

A seeker when becomes habitual to recite His Name regularly, it becomes a matter itself for him to enjoy and receive His bliss. The seeker needs to remember his virtues to enjoy the pleasures of Naam Abhiaas. In the words of Bhai Nand Lal;

Ziker wasafash bar zabaan bashed laziz
Naam-e-oo andar jahaan bashed laziz³³

Ibid, p.18

ذکرِ وصفش بر زبان باشد لذیذ
نامِ او اندر جهان باشد لذیذ

Har ke baashad daaima dar yaad-e-oo
Yaad-e-Haq har dam bawad irshaad-e-oo

Ibid, p.39

هر که باشد دائم یادِ او
یادِ حق هر دم بود ارشادِ او

Gar tura yaad-e-khuda baashad mudaam
Ta shawi ai jaan-e-man mard-e-tamaam³⁴

Ibid, p.39

گر تورا یادِ خدا باشد مدام
تا شوی ای جان من مرد تمام

Yaad-e-oo sarmaaya a-e-imaan bawad
Har gada az yaad-e-oo sultaan bawad³⁵

Ibid, p.42

یادِ او سرمایه ایمان بود
هر گدا از یادِ او سلطان بود

The concept of polytheism is rejected in the Sikh religion like Islam .A Sikh should devout himself to only one God. This concept is an advanced form of "la Ilaha Ilallah". Bhai Nand Lal describes as under;

Dar haqeeqat ghair haq manzoor neest

Kisti ko jaan sarapa noor neest³⁶

Ibid, p.43

در حقیقت غیر حق منظور نیست
کیستی جان کو سراپا نور نیست

According to the version of the Bhai recitation of His Name is the solution of each confusion. One must concentrate on his Name and discard off the feelings of self. He may arise himself above the feeling of pains and pleasures only by the mode of recitation. A man is mere a minor most water-drop segregated from an endless ocean. The poet calls Him an Ocean and the human being a poor drop which may lose its existence if falls upon bare earth but lives if again gets space in its origin. One must try to attain a source to exist its being which is possible by means of recitation. In other words he indicates that man is a part and he must endeavour to have its place in the lap of the absolute Almighty;

Hal-e-har mushkil hameen yaad-e-Khudaast

Har ke yaad-e-Haq kunad zaat-e-Khudaast³⁷

Ibid, p.43

ہل ہر مشکل ہمیں یاد خداست
ہر کہہ یاد حق کند ذات خداست

Qatra-e-noori sirapa noor baash

Biguzar az gham daaima masroor baash³⁸

Ibid, p.43

قطرہ نور سر اپا نور باش
بگذر از غم دائم مسرور باش

The Significance of Guru (Murshid)

The Sikh religion cognises that for a seeker to step further in metaphysics must have some spiritual guide. In the regional and Sikh culture he is called Guru. This concept was also prevalent in the *Sufi* cult where such personality is termed '*Murshid*'. In the Sufi cult a seeker has '*ishaq*' for his *murshid* and loves him heartily but in the Sikh culture he serves his Guru, obeys his orders and wishes as his pleasures. He pays regard to his Guru and has a sense of respect for him. According to Bhai Nand Lal;

Suhbat-e-mardaan-e-Haq bas anwer ast

Talibaan ra hast chandeen ihatiaaj³⁹

Ibid, p.10

صحبتِ مردانِ حق بس انور است
طالبان را هست چندین احتیاج

Murshad-e-kaamil-e-ma bandgiat furmaid

Ai zahe phaal-e-mubaarak ke kunad sahib-e-haal⁴⁰

Ibid, p.26

مرشدِ کاملِ مابیند گیت فرماید
اے زہی فالِ مبارک کہ کند صاحبِ حال

Hamesha suhbat-e-mardaan-e-Haq talab Goya

Ke taalibaan-e-Khuda waasilaan-e-Allah and⁴¹

Ibid, p.15

همیشه صحبتِ مردانِ حق طلب گویا
کہ طالبانِ خدا واصلانِ اللہ اند

Baghair aarif-e-maula kasi nijaat na yaaft

Ajal zameen-o-zamaan ra garifta dar minqaar⁴²

Ibid, p.19

بغیر عارفِ مولا کسی نجات نیافت
اجل زمین و زمان را گرفتہ در منقار

Suhbat-e-nekaan agar baashad naseeb

Daulat jawid yaabi ai habib⁴³

Ibid, p.39

صحبتِ نیکان اگر باشد نصیب
دولت جاوید یابی اے حبیب

The Epicurean Philosophy;

Bhai Nand Lal was a traditional Persian poet. Like the traditional Persian poets he has also versified the Epicurean philosophy in his ghazals. According to his version the world is unreal perishable and will come to an end;

Az guzashtanha che mi pursi dareen dehar-e-kharaab

Baadashah khawahad guzasht-o-ham gada khawahad guzasht⁴⁴

Ibid, p.8

از گذشتن ها چه می پرسی درین دهرِ خراب
بادشہ خواهد گذشت و ہم گدا خواهد گذشت

The Poetic Techniques;

Bhai Nand Lal has used the poetic technique of *talmeehaat* to clarify his views. Generally, Persian and Urdu scholars denote the historical semi historical or mythological facts in poems by the name of *talmeehaat*. In Panjabi literature such techniques bear no weightage. Bhai Nand Lal being a follower of traditional Persian poets has used this technique in large measures. He has borrowed *talmeehaat* from Persian classical literature which have no relevancy with the cultural heritage of Panjab. All of them are related with Jewish, Islamic or Sufi traditions:

Dar kucha-e-ishq arch-e-muhaalst raseedan.

Mansoor sifat ba qadam-e-daar tawaan raft⁴⁵

Ibid, p.8

در کوچه عشق ارچه محال است رسیدن
منصور صفت با قدم دار توان رفت

Khabar dahand ba yaaraan-e-mudai ke imshab

Ana ulhaq zadeh mansoor soo-e-daar aamad⁴⁶

Ibid, p.11

خبر دهند یاران مدعی که امشب
انالحق زده منصور سوی دار آمد

Magu az haal-e-Leilla ba dil-e-shoreeda-e-Goya

Ke sharah qissa-e-Majnoon mara diwana mi saazad⁴⁷

Ibid, p.12

مگواز حال لیلی با دل شورپیده گویا
که شرح قصه مجنون مرا دیوانه می سازد

Awaaz-e-lan tarani ba har dam ba gosh-e-dil

Moosa magar ba deedan-e-deedar mi rawad⁴⁸

Ibid, p.15

آواز لَن ترانی به مردم بگوشِ دل
موسیٰ مگر بدیدن دیدار می رود

Az nida-e-naqa-e-Leilla dil-e-shoreedah am

Hamchoo Majanoo mast gasht-o-reh soo-e-sehra giraft⁴⁹

Ibid, p.9

از ندای ناقه لیلی دل شوریده ام
همچو مجنون مست گشت و ره سوی صحرا گرفت

Finally, it is concluded that Bhai Nand Lal not only eulogised the Sikh Gurus but his works are subjected to preach the Sikh theology, to propagate the Sikh as well as Sufi values and most probably the concept of devotion which he had learnt in Sikhism.

Devotion but not Love

The Sikh religion has a difference from Sufism on the matter of *guru* and *murshid*. A Sikh has no love but respect for his spiritual as well as teacher in other spheres of life. Bhai Nand Lal in the congregation of the Tenth Guru learnt this aspect. The Sikh community took his works as devotional poetry. The poet has deep reverence and regards for *Guru*. He conveys that the object of life was mere to embrace the slavery of his spiritual guide;

Hawa-e-bandagi awurad dar wujud mara

Wagar nah zouq-e-chunin amdan na bood mara⁵⁰

Ibid, p.3

هوای بندگی آورد در وجود مرا
وگرنه ذوق چنین آمدن نبود مرا

He is frequently so devoted to his *guru* that he is ever ready to sacrifice his life for those who provide information regarding to Holy threshold;

Fida ast jaan-o-dil-e-man ba khaak-e-muqadam-e-paak

Har aan kas-e-ke basoo-e-tow rah namood mara⁵¹

Ibid, p.3

فداست جان و دل من بخاک مقدم پاک
هر آن کسی که بسوی توره نمود مرا

Historical Significance;

Bhai Nand Lal passed a few years in the patronage of the tenth Guru. He accomplished his works during the same days but his works do not provide sufficient informations about his contemporary society. The cultural analysis of his works provided two facts *Firstly*, the daily routine of the Sikh congregation and *Secondly*, the character sketch of his patron Guru Gobind Singh. Bhai Nand Lal's works inform that there was a tradition in the Sikhs that they used to assemble twice a month in the form of the holy congregation. On the referred days they used to perpetrate their religious duties. It is opined that he refers towards the *Masya* and *Sakranti* days. The same

tradition is prevalent even now. The Sikhs assemble on the referred days, take a Holy dip at pilgrim centers and listen to the words of their Gurus.

About the character sketch of the tenth Guru, Bhai Nand Lal has versified his poem "Nasro Mansoor Guru Gobind Singh". The referred poem provided the poet a long life since it gain high appreciation from the Sikh Community. In the poem the poet has a devotional eye view about the Guru, even then it provided the undermentioned facts which are significant in the field of history as under;

The Sikh Gurus were not faquirs like sufies. The people used to call them *Sacha Patshaah* i.e. the true king. They lead their lives with wealth and mundane pleasures. Guru Gobind Singh was a saint as well as a soldier. He was master in martial activities. He fought bravely against the oppressive rulers of his times. His followers were ever ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their Guru. "Saltanat-e-Daham"⁵² *Ibid p113-114.*

Solidarity and Reliability;

The text of the works of Bhai Nand Lal may be termed original without amalgamation and quite same as it was composed by the author due to the under mentioned facts:

- a) Generally, the Sikhs during the time of the compilation of the works were having mere knowledge of *Gurmukhi Panjabi*. There were least in number who could read and compose in Urdu or Persian. So the question of amalgamation from outside does not rise.
- b) Bhai Nand Lal left the Panjab regions and settled at Multan during the life time of the tenth Guru. Therefore, he would have carried his works along with him.
- c) The non Sikhs of Multan had no interest to go through such text or felt no need to add their own writings in it. Thus it is saved from the amalgamation by the local scholars.
- d) The author was a court-poet of Guru Gobind Singh so the Sikhs considered his writings sacred and safeguarded its originality.

Conclusively, in the light of the above studies the under mentioned facts are found:

- a) The bards led their lives in a monarchical infrastructure where the socio-religious values were gone away from the upper strata of the society. They have portrayed the gurus in monarchical infrastructure.
- b) They were patriarchally Hindus and in their verse they have used adjectives and similes from the ancient classical literature.
- c) Their language cannot be said purely Panjabi but an admixture of Braj and Prakrit amalgamated with the Panjabi of their times.
- d) The text of their verse is quite pure since it became a specific part of the Sikh scripture and the Sikh tradition never allowed any indulgence in it.
- e) Bhai Gurdas had family relations with Guru Arjan Dev. Though his verse is not included in Guru Granth Sahib, yet the Sikh traditions have guarded its text and each subject of the author undertook assimilates with the Sikh traditions.
- f) The referred Bhai composed *kabitts* and *swayyas*, following the verse of bards especially the eulogistic stanzas of the work. The *vars* were composed and finalized during the time of Guru Hargobind Sahib when the referred Guru managed to propagate the *var* singing in his court.
- g) Bhai Nand Lal composed his works in Hindi, Panjabi as well as in Persian.
- h) The works of Bhai Nand Lal are unique in the medieval Persian literature. None of the Sikhs or other tried to accomplish such subjects in Persian.

References

1. Kahan Singh Bhai *Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, Language Department, Punjab, 1974, p-904.
2. *Ibid*
3. Sahib Singh, *Bhattan de Swayye, Steek*, Publishers, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007 pp-7, 8.
4. Partap Singh Giani *Akali Lehar*, Publishers, Khalsa Brothers, 1983, p-72.
5. Ghulam Mohayuddeen Bute Shah, *Tarikh-e-Punjab*, M.S. SHRL, pp-366-69
6. Sahib Singh, *Bhattan de Swayye, Steek* Publishers, Singh Brothers Amritsar, 2007, pp-7, 8.
7. Krishan Lal Sharma, Narinder Kaur Bhatia, Guru Nanak Adhyan Vibhag, GNDU, Amritsar, *Bani Bilas*, 1982, p-307.
8. Kirpal Singh Giani, *Bhattan de Swayye, Steek*, Publishers, Bhai Chattar Singh Jivan Singh, Amritsar, 2006, p-4-6.
9. Sahib Singh, *Bhattan de Swayye, Steek*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007, pp-42-45
10. Kahan Singh Bhai, *Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh* Language Department, Punjab, 1974, p-416.
11. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mehma Prakash*, Bhasa Vibhag Punjab, 1989, p-358.
12. Kesar Singh Chhibber, *Bansavalinama* 2006, Rai Jasbir Singh, (Ed) pp-50, 51.
13. SJS Pall, *Bhai Gurdas, the First Sikh Scholar*, Bhai Chatter Singh Jivan Singh, Amritsar, 2002, p-11
14. Shamsheer Singh Puri, *Varan Bhai Gurdas Vol (I)*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2009, p-15.
15. Rahspal Singh Gill, *Punjab Kosh*, Language Department Punjab, 2004, pp-737-738.
16. Dalip Singh Deep, *Bhai Gurdas di Pehli te Dasvin Var*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, pp-27, 28.
17. Shamsheer Singh Puri *Varan Bhai Gurdas Vol (I)*, Singh Brothers, 2009, pp-15-31
18. *Ibid*
19. *Ibid*
20. Rashpal Singh Gill, *Punjab Kosh Vol (I)* Bhasa Vibhag Punjab, 2004, p-538.
21. Kahan Singh Bhai *Encyclopedia of the Sikh Literature Vol (I)* (English Translation), *Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, 2006, p-432.

22. Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand Lal Granthavali*, Publication Bureau Punjabi University, Patiala 1989, p-13.
23. Ujagar Singh Bawa, *Bhai Sahib Bhai Nand Lal Ji, Biography and Writings*, 2006, p-12
24. Bhai Nand Lal, *Jot Bikas* (Hindi) Couplet No. (27-31).
25. Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand Lal Granthavali*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, p-15.
26. Mahan Singh Gyani, *Tasnifat-i-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Soceity, Amritsar, 1963 p. 4.
27. *Ibid*, p.21
28. *Ibid*, p.19
29. *Ibid*, p.16
30. *Ibid*, p. 3
31. *Ibid*, p.18
32. *Ibid*, p. 16
33. *Ibid*, p. 18
34. *Ibid*, p. 39
35. *Ibid*, p. 42
36. *Ibid*, p.43
37. *Ibid*, p.43
38. *Ibid*, p. 43
39. *Ibid*, p. 10
40. *Ibid*, p. 26
41. *Ibid*, p. 15
42. *Ibid*, p. 19
43. *Ibid*, p. 39
44. *Ibid*, p. 8
45. *Ibid*, p. 8
46. *Ibid*, p. 11
47. *Ibid*, p. 12
48. *Ibid*, p.15
49. *Ibid*, p. 9
50. *Ibid*, p 3.
51. *Ibid*, p.3
52. *Ibid*, pp. 113, 114

CHAPTER-IV

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The works under study have been the integral part of the Sikh literature. They were accomplished by the poets under the patronage of the Sikh Gurus. The bards were the court poets of Guru Arjan Dev Ji. Bhai Gurdas a nephew of Sri Guru Arjan Ji while Bhai Nand Lal had been a devout Sikh who passed many a year under the patronage of Guru Gobind Singh. His works were applauded by the Guru and the Guru must have gone through his compositions. Therefore, the Sikh community holds a deep sense of reverence for the works of the poets mentioned above even the poets as well. The modern scholars have gone through the referred works with different view points. The verses of bards, *vars* and *Kabitt-swayyas* of Bhai Gurdas and Persian and Panjabi works of Bhai Nand Lal were initiatives of author's to propagate the Sikh theology. Therefore, the further scholars, with an objective to undergo the virtues of the works have studied them and wrote translations, annotations and commentaries. They have brought out their findings from various aspects. This chapter is an effort to calculate the weightage as well as to explore their validation in the modern context.

Giani Lal Singh Sangroor, in his book "*Vaishnav Matt te Sikh Dharam*" is deadly against the inclusion of the Bani of Bhagats and the Bani of Bhatts in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. He criticizes them as the worshippers of Vishnu and other Avatars. He is also against including the Bani of Baba Seikh Farid, A Muslim Sufi Faqir. According to him, it is just out of false sychophancy of Vaishnavs and Muslims that Bhatt Bani and the Bani of Seikh Farid have been included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib with intrigue to harm Sikhism and Gurbani (The Bani of Sikh Gurus). He makes many questions to prove his convictions (view-points). Taking examples from Gurbani he tries to prove that the concepts of the Bhagat Bani and the Bhatt-Bani are quite different from the theology of sikh Gurus. On the basis of his book he presents ten questions to answer:

1. Is khalsa the worshipper of the Akaalpurakh or of Vishnu like the Bhatts?
2. Were the Gurus devotees of Vishnu or his worshippers?
3. Did Guru Sahiban only supported the Bhagati Movement or did they give any new theology?
4. Is Avtarvad Praiseworthy as according to the Bhagats?

5. Were Guru Sahiban the supporters of idolatry like that of Bhagat Namdev, Bhagat Dhana etc?
6. Is it right to place these Bhagats equal to the Gurus?
7. Were the Bhattas eulogizing the Gurus or trying to equalize them to Vishnu?
8. Were the Sikh Gurus also the preachers of Muslim theology?
9. Is the Bani of Sri Guru Gobind Singh ji, inferior to the Bani of the Bhattas and the Bhagats?
10. What is the purpose of including the Bhatt-Bani and the Bhagat-Bani in Sri Guru Granth Sahib?

But the above mentioned view-points are bitterly criticized by the coming scholars. Giani Lal Singh being highly narrow-minded in his thought and short sighted in his vision, could not understand the vastness of ideology of Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji who carefully included the Bani of Bhagats and Bhattas in Sri Guru Granth Sahib.

(A) The Bhattas

Prof. Sahib Singh in his work '*Bhattan de Swayye*' elaborated the grammar infrastructure of the Bani of the Bards which he has evolved from the internal evidences of their works. In the preface of the work he has provided preliminary information about them. The notices provide answers to some questions that may arise about their emergence in the court of the Guru, their origin, the causes of compiling the Bani in the Holy Scripture, the sequence of their verses and their subjects. His study brings forth some notable informations about the changing aspect of language:

The scholars who keenly go through the changing nature of a language, may conclude the language of each region changes with the passage of time. The form of words, conjunctions, genders and their sequence process meet with change automatically. If we find an admixture the referred qualities in a writing, we cannot affirm that the author was in a confusion¹.

There are some confusing revelations in the work specially where the author has tried to reveal the nature of adverbs and glossary borrowed in homogeneous and exogeneous forms from Sanskrit and Prakrits. It is opined that the reason behind this lacking is due to the deficiency of vocal system which the Gurmukhi script could not express as compared to Devnagari. The author avIEWS that the grammar system of the

bards' poetry is quite similar to that of the Gurbani. He has also brought forth the names of some notable bards. He concludes that the total number of Bhatts in the Holy Scripture is eleven only. His narratives are well emphasized with specific and suitable references. It also clarifies some facts misconceived by the former scholars. Moreover, the subject, the glossary as well as the theology put forth by the Bhatts are explained in useful way but the author has emphasized to propound the lingual phenomenon of the subject matter:

The author revealing emergence of the bards in the Guru's court opines that after the demise of Guru Ram Dass his son got investiture. A large number of devotees attended the function of (*Dastar-Bandi*). The bards in the leadership of Kalsahar entered along with the congregation and they eulogised the Guru on the occasion².

In the prolegomena the remarkable notes provided by Prof. Sahib Singh bring forth pros and cons of the former research as under mentioned:

- (A) The scholars who contradicted the Bhakat Vani also disapprove the bard vani considering that the bards were in reality, an outcome of beggarly class who professionally eulogize their patrons and earn their livelihood. In this way the work compiled with this objective must be termed as blasphemy and not eulogy.
- (B) The Bards eulogizing the Sikh Gurus have attached some anecdotes from the Hindu Puranic literature. They have used adjective, phrases for the Gurus and have propounded the name of Hindu incarnations and deities which are condemned by the Sikh theology.
- (C) Under the heading '*chhalio bali*' attached with Guru Nanak is condemnable.
- (D) It is a matter of confusion to consider that Guru Nanak was a man like the character of Vishnu depicted as the 'Bawan Avtar'.
- (E) The bards have designed the characters of the Gurus in adjectives like those of Rama and Krishna, who according to the Indian classics had wavering behaviour and self-contradictions. Therefore, the Sikh-traditions do not allow to picturise the Guru's character in this way³.

Rattan Singh 'Jaggi' has analyzed the subjective matter of the bards' bani. He has highlighted numerous questions about the personalities of the bards and their arrival in the Guru's court. He admits that verse compiled by the bards has the under mentioned qualities:

- (A) No Sikh traditional or historical information is available about the arrival time of the bards in the Guru's court.
- (B) The language used by the bards is admixture of Braj and Panjabi of their time.
- (C) The bards were living a religious and pastoral life as well as intensive seekers of spiritual bliss-that they received in the Guru's congregation.
- (D) They arrived in the court of Guru Arjan and felt themselves satisfied spiritually. They reached in the Guru's court in the headship of Kalsahar.
- (E) The bhatt works (verses) are the first efforts in Gurmat literature in which they have tried to use the Puranic symbols to eulogies the Sikh Gurus.
- (F) Total number of *swayyas* written by the Bhattas is 123. Kalsahar-54, Jallap-5, Kirat-8, Bhikha-2, Sall-3, Bhall-1, Null-16, Gyand-13, Mathura-14, Bhall-5, Harbans-2.⁴
- (G) They used *swayya* as a poetic form for their verses. In some *swayyas* like *radd* and *jhulna* they could apply the features of *swayya* with difficulty.

In the light of historical perspectives and the socio-political infrastructure, it is opined that there were mainly two reasons why the bards joined the Guru's court:

- (A) By profession the bards resembled the characters of *mirasis* of Muslims. They conveyed the patriarchal informations (Vocal historical record) of nobles; convey and propagate it to earn their livelihood. For this motif such people used to approach rulers, *Jagirdars*, (the farmholders), social leaders generally the rich men.

Undoubtedly, the Guru, though, was not a worldly leader yet had enough riches to provide them alms.

(B) Due to the religious bigotry of the political infrastructure the Hindus who were annoyed by the Muslims used to take shelter in the Guru's court⁵.

Bhai Joginder Singh Talwara has propounded his study about the *swayyas* of bhatts. He has revealed the grammar which was prevalent in Punjabi during the time span of the Bards (16th and 17th century). In the preface of his work entitled "*Parveshka*" he has analysed the subjects of the *swayyas*, highlighted the puranic characters used in their Bani and evinced the themes with the help of other specimens of their Sikh literature specifically *Varan Bhai Gurdas* and *the Dasam Granth*.

The works of Bhai Randhir Singh, Sri Kalyan Dass Udasi, Bhai Man Mohan Singh of Canada, briefly propound their personal views about the referred works. Actually, the authors have accomplished the explanation (*steak*) of the Bard-Bani but they also have explained the vocal technique to utter numerous words used in the Bani i.e. the nasal-sounds, stresses, vowels, consonants which denote his approach on the phonology⁶.

Dr. Wazir Singh, in his article, "*Bhatt Bani in Sri Guru Granth Sahib*," brings forth that;

- a) The bhatts were seekers of truth. When they met Guru Arjan, they found in him the true Guru. They believed that Sikh Gurus were Ram and Krishana reborn.
- b) They belonged to Brahmin community. They were followers of the Vaishnav faith.
- c) The Bhatts who wrote Bani in the eulogy of the first five Gurus were eleven in number and they wrote in *swayya-metre*. They composed 123 *swayyas* in total.
- d) The Bhatt Bani is written in non-Raga measure. They used, three types of metres of chhand mentioned in *swayyas-radd*, *jhulna* and *sortha*.
- e) Their language is admixture of Sanskrit and Bhagat Bani diction.
- f) While singing encomiums to the Gurus they indulge in exaggeration and made use of glittering phraseology in their verses.
- g) Having close contact to the Guru house a number of references of life history of the Gurus can be obtained from their Bani.
- h) In their verses they have emphasized on the theological unanimity of Sikh Gurus to the concept of conglomeration of Sikh Gurus.
- i) The use of mythological characters is too much in their verses.

- j) Bhatt Bani has ideological affinity with Gurbani and Bhagat-Bani as well.
- k) Though they may have knowledge of Indian classical *ragas* used in Gurbani, still, they chose the poetic metre *swayya* to eulogize the Sikh Gurus. Their eulogistic approach is highly sentimental and devotional.
- l) They did not actually compare the Gurus with Puranic characters rather they had tried to prove them superior to the Vishnu incarnations. They convene that the Gurus did the public welfare especially in the field of spiritual and social life.⁷

S. Bhag Singh Ankhil has contributed much to the service of Sikh community in the field of research and information by editing the work "*Bhatt Bani*", Dharam Parchar Committee Central Khalsa Zateem Khana, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar, 2010. The work, "*Bhatt Bani*", has been a significant collection of articles of important authors and scholars who have thrown light upon the biography of the bhatt's, their ideology, technique and services to the Guru House and the Sikh community.

Giving the importance of the work "*Bhatt Bani*" the editor S. Daljit Singh Bedi comments:

The Bhattas might have been representatives of any Brahminic class, undoubtedly, they were great scholars and literary persons. Kumar Bhutt was one of the most famous Sanskrit Scholars of the world. Similarly, Chand Bhatt was the most important Punjabi poet who composed *Prithvi Raj Raso*. Giani Garja Singh was one of those researchers who tried to find the background of the Bhattas of Punjab. Gyani Gurdit Singh brought forward the whole Bansavalinamah of the Bhattas.

Daljit Singh Bedi,
Editor "*Bhatt Bani*".

Gurnam Kaur Bedi (Dr.) in "*Bhatt Bani*" strongly advocates that:

The ideology and diction of bhatt bani is similar to that of the bani of Sikh Gurus and even the Bhagats whose bani has been included in Shri Guru Granth Sahib.

Gurnam Kaur Bedi (Dr.),
"*Gurbani De Sandarbh Vich Bhatt-Bani Di Prasangitaa*", pp. 18-21.

Gurmukh Singh's Version about bhatt bani:

The bhatts visualized the Sikh Guru connecting them to the Puranic tradition of *Avtaar Vaad*. They eulogized the Sikh Gurus as significant spiritual personalities, representatives of social development and reformation and politically in favour of the welfare of general public. The butts view that :

1. *Guru* is the form of *Parbraham*, whose emergence has been visualized since *Yugas* for the welfare of human beings; for the spread of Religion (Dharama) and destruction of irreligious activities (Adharama).
2. *Naam* is bestowed upon by *Guru* only. The method of recitation (Naam Simran) is taught by the Guru and the ambition is to mingle one's soul with the Almighty.
3. *Dharamraj*, the god of death, genuflects in the feet of the Guru.
4. *Guru* is capable of fulfilling all the desires of human beings—mundane as well as divine. He is the only Master of salvation.

Gurmukh Singh (Dr.) also gives his viewpoints about the poetic technique of the bhatts in their verses.

1. Though the bhatt bani is written under the title of *Swayye* yet *Chaupayee*, *Radd*, *Jhulna*, *Kabitt*, *Dohra* and *Sortha* can be seen in their verses.
2. They have used *Upma Alankar*, *Roopak Alankar*, *Anupraas* and *Yamak*.
3. Their language is an admixture of Braj and Sanskrit. It is throughout sweet and musical.

Gurmukh Singh (Dr.),

“*Bhatt Banikaar*”, pp. 23-28

Simranjeet Singh, Editor, Gurmat Parkesh Dharam Parchar Committee, SGPC, Amritsar has briefly described the verses of different bhatts in the eulogy of Sikh Gurus. The internal relations of bhatts has been explained. He clarified that though the bhatts has used mythological

figures while phrasing the Gurus, yet prominence has been given to the Sikh Gurus.

Simranjit Singh,

“Bhatt Kavi te Ohna Di Bani”, pp. 29-36

Jaswinder Kaur Dhillon (Dr.) Guru Nanak Adhyan Vibhag, GNDU, Amritsar has highlighted the personality and verses of Guru Arjan Dev Ji and her viewpoints about the bhatts in the eulogy of Guru Arjan Dev Ji. The Butts feel no difference between the Guru and the Akaalpurakh.

“Bhan Mathura kachh bhed nahi Gur Arjan partakh Har”

Jaswinder Kaur Dhillon (Dr.),

“Bhattan diaan Nazraan Vich Shri Guru Arjan Dev Ji, pp. 37-41

S. Bhag Singh Anakhi, The Chief Editor of the Work, of *“Bhatt Bani”* explains the views of the Bhatts:

Guru Amardas controlled the five vices “Sexuality, Wrath, Avarice, Attachment and Pride”. Guru Amardas blessed Guru Ramdas with indestructible treasure of God’s Name with which the Guru emancipated the people of the world in all the four directions.

“Too Satgur chau Yugi aap aape Parmesher”.

Bhatt Sall Ji Considers Guru Ram Das to be the manifestation of God Himself.

S. Bhag Singh Anakhi,

“Bhatt Sall Ji”, pp. 42-44

Balbir Singh Saini (Dr.) explains his views how Bhatt Null Ji eulogies the Sikh Gurus.

According to Dr. Balbir Singh:

As in Sikh Religion the central point is *“Guru”*, similarly in bhatt bani the eulogy of the Sikh Gurus is given prominence to the utmost. He explains the *Sawayyas* of Bhatt Null who calls Guru Ramdas Ji to be a *Rajjogi* and Goindwal Sahib to be a pious place as *Begaumpura* (Heavenly Abode)

Balbirt Singh Sani,

“Bhatt Null Ji”, pp.45-48

Jaswinder Kaur Mahal (Dr.) points out that:

There is quite similarity in the verses of Bhatt Jallap Ji and the verses of Bhagat Kabir Ji and Namdev Ji. Actually, the diction and ideology of bhagat bani and gurbani is similar to the ideology and diction of bhagat bani and gurbani.

Jaswinder Kaur Mahal (Dr.),
“*Bhatt Jallap Ji*”, pp.52-56

Jatinder Pal Singh Jolly (Dr.) has given the *Bansavalinamah* of Bhattas and compares the divine verses of bhattas and *Ramkali Ki Var* written by Satta Doom and Rai Balwand.

Historically, these two persons were skilled in playing on musical instruments especially *Rabaab*. They were well-versed in classical *ragas*, hence, Guru Arjan Dev Ji allowed them to recite *Shabads* in Shri Harmandir Sahib in the presence of Sikh congregation. Once they got angry with Guru Sahib on matters of money. Guru Sahib ordered to stop doing *Kirtan* in Shri Harmandir Sahib and also asked the Sikhs not to give attention to their *kirtan*. Poverty and starvation compelled them to beg pardon from the Guru by the help of Bhai Ladha Singh. After that they wrote this *Var* as forgiveness (*Mufinamah*). There are total eight stanzas (*paurees*). The first three stanzas are composed by Rai Balwand where we find eulogy of first two Gurus. The next four stanzas are written by Satta Doom in the eulogy of the next Gurus. In the eighth stanza they reach the climax of the *Var*. Here, Dr. Jolly proves that though the bhattas have used the *Sawayya* as their poetic metre and Satta and Balwand have used *Var* as their poetic form yet the ideology and subject is quite similar i.e. the eulogy of the Sikh Guru.

Jatinder Pal Singh Jolly (Dr.),
“*Bhattaan De Saayye ate Satta Balwand di Var*”, pp. 57-68

Balwinder Singh, Jaurasingha, has taken up Bhatt Kirat Ji's verses and explains his views:

“The five vices, Sexuality, Wrath, Avarice, Attachment and Pride become an impediment in the way of human beings, mingling up with the Akaalpurakh. The refuse of the guru and holy congregation can save

human beings from the above mentions the vises and of the bliss of Guru one can swim across the ocean of the worldly pains and worries to meet the Lord”.

Balwinder Singh Jaurasingha,

“*Bhatt Kirat Ji*” p.83

Satnam Singh Bhai, reminds us of the services and martyrdoms of the bhatts. After giving historical background of Bhatt Bhikha Ji, Bhatt Mathura Ji and Bhatt Kirat Ji, he explains that:

Besides serving the Guru House with their contribution of bani in the form of eulogistic *Swayyas* in the favour of Sikh Gurus they also sacrificed their lives for the development of Sikh community. Bhai Mathura Ji died fighting on 03 Oct, 1621 AD. in the Battle of Ruheela (Shri Hargobindpur). Similarly Bhai Kirat Ji sacrificed himself on 13 April, 1634 AD. in the Battle of Amritsar. In the same way during the reign of Bahadar Shah, when the emperor ordered :

“Nanak Prastaan ra ja bayaband b’qatal rasaanad”.

Forty sikhs were caught at Aalowal near Lahor and were martyred on 11 Oct, 1711 AD. Seven out of them belonged to the family of Bhai Bhikha Ji. Therefore, nine members of Bhai Bhikha’s family sacrificed their lives for Sikhism. From the ninth generation of Bhai Bhikha Bhatt Sawroop Singh and Bhatt Sewa Singh compassed to significant works for Sikh community- ‘*Guru Kiaan Saakhiaan*’ (Prose) and ‘*Shaheed Bilas Bhai Mani Singh*’ (Verse).

Satnam Singh Bhai,

“*Bhattaan di Sewa ate Shaheedeeaan*”, pp.87-89

Bhi Santokh Singh in his composition, “*Gur Partap Saruj Granth*”, Gyani Gyan Singh in his work, “*Tawaareekh Guru Khalsa*”, Dr. Charan Singh in his composition, “*Bani Beora*”, Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana in his work, “*Punjabi Sahit di Itihaas Rekhaa*”, are unanimous on the view that the bhatts whose bani has been included in Shri Guru Granth Sahib are 16 in number. Some scholars even are of the view that they

are 17. But the modern scholars and researchers like Principal Teja Singh, Prf. Sahib Singh, Dr. Taaran Singh and Shri Joginder Singh Talwara are of the right view that they are only 11 in number. They based their research on the bases of *Number-System of Shabads (Ankavali)* in Shri Gur Granth Sahib.

Had there been anything against Sikh ideology in their Bani, they could not have the recommendation of the Guru for including their verse in Sri. Guru Granth Sahib? What is accepted by the Guru himself, who had the right to say anything against that? Being true Sikhs, it is our first and foremost duty never to begin such critical matters concerning Gurbani.

(B) Bhai Gurdas Ji

The works of Bhai Gurdas earned equal weightage in the field of Sikh studies as well as in the studies of Punjabi language and literature. He has been considered a notable figure in the Punjabi literature. Therefore, we find works compiled on his writings in three categories:

- (a) Anonations and commentaries on *Vars* and *Kabitts*.
- (b) General studies in the history of Punjabi literature.
- (c) Articles written by numerous scholars from different aspects of his works.

Dalip Singh 'Deep' in his work entitled "*Bhai Gurdas di Pehali te Dasvin Var: Alochanatmik te Tulnatmik Adhyan*" (Punjabi) has portrayed the life sketch of Bhai Gurdas, his literary contributions, the socio-religious environment of times, Guru Nanak's tours and an analytical study of the referred *vars*. He has used as sources *Purana Makhion* (Harnam Singh Shan), *Changer* (Prof. Mohan Singh), *Nanak Prakash* (Bhai Vir Singh), *Kabitt Bhai Gurdas* (Bhai Vir Singh), *Guru Granth Sahib*, *Mahima Prakash* (Sarup Dass Bhalla), *Mahima Prakash Vartik* (Gurdas Singh), internal evidences from Gurdas Vani and *Mahankosh* Kahan Singh Bhai. He has also extracted facts and figures from Sikh traditions and annotated and edited works compiled on the subject. He holds that there are differences in records about the birth time of Bhai Gurdas which ranges from a difference of one or two years and affirms that the author was the son of a brother of Guru Amar Dass, Datar Chand by name. He passed major part of his life in the services of the Sikh gurus. He learnt, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Braj, Persian and Arabic which were the integral part of the education system of his times.

He transcribed Guru Granth Sahib and composed *vars* and *kabitts* also. The author has revealed that Bhai Gurdas' literature picturizes the socio-religious and political infrastructure of the day. Dalip Singh has pointed out that there is also difference in opinions of scholars about the odasis of Guru Nanak. Some aview that the Guru accomplished five odasis, while the others opine that they were four in numbers, while some more scholars aview that Guru Nanak had made three odasis only, and two local tours in Punjab. Moreover, the author has tried to justify the events narrated in the first *var* of Bhai Gurdas. He evinces the narrative with the help of anecdotes and discourses held by Guru Nanak⁸.

The very first *var* of Bhai Gurdas has been called "*Guru Nanak di Var*" by the author. Dr. 'Deep' had tried to portray the life and achievements of Guru Nanak and brief history of the Sikh Gurus in the light of *vars*. He has also tried to define numerous concepts of Hinduism in the light of Bhai Gurdas' views, i.e. epoches, Khat Shaster, Saankh, Vaisekhak, Patanjali Shastra as well as the forms of Brahm. Salvation, Genesis, Devotion, Yoga, Recitation, Services to the Spiritual Teachers, cycle of death and birth, etc. The referred concepts have been explained with quotations and references. Lastly, the author has explained the forms of poetry, poetical techniques, similes, eulogies, exaggerations, tastes (*rasa*) proverbs, including the details about the puranic characters revealed by the poet. The work brings forth numerous aspects of the *vars* of Bhai Gurdas except the *kabitts* and *swayyas* of the poet.

Sant Sampuran Singh in his work *Sidhant Bodhini (Kabitt Swayye Bhai Gurdas, Steek)* has attached an alphabetically arranged table of content in the beginning of his commentary. In the prolegomena he has also revealed some facts dealing with the life of Bhai Gurdas, but his revelations are based on hearsays and traditions prevailing in the Sikh society.

In the commentary the author has revealed the homogeneous and heterogeneous borrowed words in the modern Punjabi. The words borrowed from Prakrits and Sanskrit are repeated at numerous places. Each form of poetry has been identified with sub headings. The object of the author seems to propagate the Sikh theology narrated by Bhai Gurdas in simple and attractive way. It may be concluded that the work is a traditional commentary⁹.

Vir Singh Bhai in his edited work "*Varan Bhai Gurdas*" has added headings and sub headings to clarify the subjects undertaken by the poet. The work puts forth in easy Punjabi language the meanings of words and the object of the author in each stanza is clarified in simple sentences. The editor had ensued serial number to each stanza (*pauree*) of the *vars*. To make the meaning clear and an easy approach of the reader, each line of each stanza (*pauree*) has been differentiated with serial number. The author Hazara Singh is said to be a notable scholar of the Giani School of Sikhism¹⁰.

Amar Singh Chaakar and Shamsheer Singh Ashok in their commentary subjected to "*Varan Gian Ratnavali Bhai Gurdas ji*", have noted down mere the difficult words to make them easily approachable. In the prolegomena Shamsheer Singh Ashok has used commentaries and manuscripts on the edited by Bhai Vir Singh, *Bansawalinama* of Kesar Singh Chhibar. *Gurbilas Patshah Chhevin* and numerous manuscripts from the shelves of Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, has been used as the source material and tried to picturise the life sketch of Bhai Gurdas. The editor has added that Sodhi Prithi Chand failed to acquire the seat of *Guruship* by means of force and though he tried to attract the Sikhs. He by help of his son Sodhi Manohar Dass alias Meharban got some *Bani* compiled on the pattern of that of the Sikh Gurus. Therefore, Bhai Gurdas helped the Guru to compile the authentic version of Gurbani so that the rival could not succeed in their objective¹¹.

The editors have highlighted the lingual, literary as well as poetic techniques of Bhai Gurdas. They view that the work of Bhai Gurdas is helpful to study the history of Gurus and Sikhism. They have also quoted the commentary of Bhai Mani Singh entitled the *Janam Sakhi Guru Nanak* which is absolutely based upon the narratives of the first *var*. The eleventh *var* provides brief revelation subjected to the contemporary Sikhs, while the 10th *var* narrates the life sketches of saints and bhagtas. Similarly, 20th, 24th and 26th, 39th, *vars* bring forth the historical and eulogistic facts about the Sikh gurus.

Denoting the style of the works of Bhai Gurdas the editors have a view that the glossary and other lingual techniques of the *var* writer are adequate and exemplary. The poet has capability to reveal the universal truth even to the minor most extent. Being a perfect scholar he has perfect knowledge to write in Braj as well as in Punjabi.

S.J.S. Pall elaborating the personality of Bhai Gurdas as the first Sikh scholar has compiled his work in question-answer style. The author firstly arises a question and then responds it. The work elaborates numerous aspects from the life of Bhai Gurdas, i.e. early life relations with Guru family, services in compilation of the Adi Granth as a writer of merit, as missionary of the Sikh faith, visits on numerous cities and development works. The questions and their answers are arranged in such a way that the author easily could picturize the ideology, scholarly achievements and his approach towards other religions Indian classical literature, religious sects, the Indian scholastic schools and his contemporary poets. The author could provide a list of phrases used in Gurbani as well as in the works of Bhai Gurdas.¹².

Bhai Gurdas echos Gurbani in most of his verses:

1. Haumai garb nivaareeai...	SGGS, P-790
✓ Haumai garb nivaareeai	
Gurmukh ridai gareebi aavai	29/13-1
2. Haqq paraiaa Nanaka us	
sooar us gaaye	SGGS, P-141
✓ Par dhan Hindu Musalmani	29/11-2
3. Jaise jal meh Kamal alep...	SGGS, P-272
✓ Jal vich Kamal alapt hai	16/3-1
4. Ghaal Khaae Kichh hathohn deh...	SGGS, P-1245
✓ Ghaal Khaae Sewa Karai gur	
Updesh aves Visekhai	28/6-4
5. Sachoh urai Sabh ko	SGGS, P-62
✓ Sachhoh urai Sabh Keho	18/19-7

In the Chapter “*Bhai Gurdas as an interpreter of Gurbani*” the author has tried to evince successfully that the *Varan* by the referred poet are undoubtedly, key to the divine word. To confirm his conclusion he has noted the quotations from *Mehma Parkash* of Sarup Dass Bhalla.¹³

Bhagwant Kaur has described Bhai Gurdas the interpreter of Gurbani She has put quotations from the *vars* of Bhai Gurdas and similar and equalizing quotations from Sri Guru Granth Sahib proves that Bhai Sahib has simplified the thoughts and concepts of Gurbani:

Sri Guru Granth Sahib

Varan Bhai Gurdas

- | | | |
|---|--------------|---|
| 1. So pandit jo man parbodhai Ram naam
aatam meh sodhai | SGGS-p 274 | 1. Gur much pandit hoe hag parbodhiai
Gurmukh aap gavae andar sodhiai
Var No. 19, pauree - 18 |
| 2. Gur Satgur ka jo Sikh akhawai.
So bhalke uth Har Name dhiavai. | SGGS p-305 | 2. Gursikh bhalke uth kar amrit wele sar
nahvanda.
Gur kai bachan uchaar kai dharamsaal di
surat karanda.
Var -40, pauree -11 |
| 3. Tinah gursikhaan kaun haun variyaa,
Jo behdiaan uthdiaan Har Nam dhiaavehn. | SGGS-p-590 | 3. Kurbani tinah gursikhaan hoe
ek mann gurjaap japanade.
Var -12, pauree -2 |
| 4. Nanak mer sarir ek rath ek rathvaho. | SGGS, p-470 | 4. Jug jug mer sarir ka bashna badha avai
javai.
Var -1, pauree,15 |
| 5. Lakh sianap je karee lakh sion preet
milaap. | SGGS, p-124 | 5. Sehas Sianap lakh kam na avhi." Var -21,
pauree -7 |
| 6. Arbad narbad dhundhu kara | SGGS, p-1034 | 6. Prithmai sas na mas Var-1, pauree 2 |
| 7. Ram gur paras pars krijai | SGGS, p-1324 | 7. Gurmukh paras pars daras hoiai Var -
19 Pauree -17,p- ¹⁴ |

It is opined that Bhai Gurdas composed *swayya* and *kabitts* during the life time of Guru Arjan and followed the poetic style of the bards but he composed his *vars* during the Guruship of Guru Hargobind Sahib when he managed to patronize the ballad singers (*dhadhis*) for singing *vars* at Sri Akal Takhat Sahib. The referred *dhadhis* wrote *vars* with a view to recite to the Sikh corengregation. It is not confirmed whether the *dhadhis* undertook his compositions in their holy singing or not.

The author has also highlighted the mythology in his works with a view to explain his ideology. There is abundant use of mythological anecdotes and narratives which he has versified to make his Guru's message more clear. Briefly speaking, Surinderjit Singh Pall has scholarly elaborated numerous aspects of the works of

Gurdas but he has laid more emphasis on the vars, not much has been quoted from *kabitt-swayyas* of Bhai Gurdas Ji.

Bikram Singh Ghuman related that Bhai Gurdas earned the same status in Sikhism which was acquired by Saint Paul in Christianity and Ved Vyas in Hinduism. His works are allowed to be undertaken in the daily devotional singing in the Sikh temples. The *vars* and *kabitt salokas* earned the status as the third scripture after Guru Granth and the Dasam Granth. Bhai Gurdas had vast studies of *Khat Shaster*, Four *Vedas*, 27 *Smrities* and 18 *Puranas* including a commendable hold in Arabic, Persian and Hindi & Languages.

The authors opines that the referred Bhai being a relative of the Guru family had lived under their patronage for years. When Bhai Prithi Chand the elder brother of Guru Arjan and rival of Guruship created troubles for the Guru the Bhai helped the latter. He pacified Prithi Chand, condemned the claim of the rival and played the role of a shelter to the Guru family.

Dr. Bikram Singh Ghuman has studied the text of *vars* with an academic motif. Therefore, he has put forth the reliable and scientific facts about the biographical notes of the author.

Bhai Gurdas eulogized Guru Nanak and termed him the shining Sun which arose and abolished the mist and darkness enlightening the whole universe. The lines evince the socio-religious as well as the political scenario of the contemporary society. Similarly, he has used the symbol of a roaring lion who causes the minor animals of forests to run away and seek shelter in pits. Moreover, numerous attributes of emergence of the Guru are recalled as he propagated the theistic values, devotional life and bestower of salvation, alone, in the whole universe.

Satguru Nanak Pragatia miti dhund Jag Chanaan hoaa.

Jeo kar Suraj nikaliaa taare chhap(i) andher paloaa.

The true guru Guru Nanak took birth the fog of sins cleared off. And the universe became enlightened just as the darkness and stars vanish on the rise of the Sun.¹⁵

He, by the means of recitation of God's Name could arrive on Summer and defeated Gorakh the chief sidh in spiritual discourse. The ascetics (*yogis*) tried to influence him by numerous supernatural powers but could not.¹⁶

The Guru could inform them about the worst condition of the society. Bhai Gurdas has brought forth the true picture that the referred Guru explained to the yogis. He said that Hindus and Muslims without good action will have to repent on the doomsday.

Bhai Gurdas has also mentioned some unreliable facts relating with the personality of Guru Nanak i.e. the Guru used to eat sand, rubbish plants and sleep on pebbles; and penetrate in the recitation of the Almighty's name like an ascetic. It is impossible to believe that a spiritual guide who always preached to live household life may enact as an ascetic.

The Guru initiated the rite to make Sikhs by providing them some draughts of baptism. According to him the Guru used to wash his feet with water and ask his disciples to drink it. The same fact is found in Sikh chronicles that the Sikh Gurus used to endow baptism by *Pahul*.

According to Sikh chronicles the referred rite was prevalent upto the Guruship of Guru Teg Bahadar Singh. It is opined that the referred rite had no spiritual significance. It was the social rite we listen to the stories of Krishna and Sudama, Krishna being the king welcomed his friend Sudama when the latter visited him. Thus it may be concluded that it was a mode for hosts to welcome their arrived guests especially to whom they used to pay reverence. Obviously, it is mere the Sikhs who would have taken the *Charan pahul* to regard their Guru.

Bhai Gurdas has depicted Guru Nanak at Mecca where he slept with feet towards the arch. A man Jiwan by name turned his feet towards the other side and found that the Mecca also turned along with his feet. Herein Guru Nanak evinced the public that God is omnipresent.¹⁷

The narrative also has been found in anecdotes. It is quite impossible that a man with Hindu name Jiwan may be an attendant of Mecca. Moreover, the fact of turning the Mecca is also unnatural, but it is quite possible that the said Guru had explained

them the virtue of Omnipresence of the Almighty since such verses are abundantly found in the holy Quran and the Guru had complete knowledge of the Muslim scripture.

According Bhai to Gurdas, Guru Nanak could leave his sandle at Mecca as a remnant and the regional people used to worship it. The history is silent about the fact.¹⁸

The Guru got respect at Baghdad as a Muslim ascetic. He derived feast (*Prasad*) from heavens and showed infinite skies to the son of the *Pir* of Baghdad:

Lakha akas pataal lakh akh furk vich sabh dikhlaee

Bhar kachkaul parshad da dhuron patalon laee krahee

The Guru showed (Him) within seconds innumerable skies and under words. He presented than a bowl full of sweet dish which he divided from the Almighty's Court.¹⁹

The narrative is a symbol that the Guru explained the environment of hell and heaven in his devotional singing. He presented the devotional songs in the shape of grace.

Bhai Gurdas has also used puranic terminology to exaggerate Guru Nanak. Therefore, he narrates that the Guru got regards from deities, demons, Indra, the dancers of Indra's court. Even the angels of dooms day (*Chitra Gupta*), deputed to note the good and bad activities of the human beings, genuflected before the Guru.

Guru Nanak's personality in regards to his dealings with Muslim faquirs of Multan has been depicted liberally. The *pirs* of Multan offered a vessel full of milk to the Guru and he, therefore, put a flower on it silently and returned. The authors has used a symbol denoting that the Guru has no intention to disturb the faquirs of Multan.

Conclusively, it is opined that Bhai Gurdas eulogizing Guru Nanak has narrated supernatural and natural facts. According to him the Guru was a great scholar, worshipable, mandatory and socio-religious reformer. He was bestowed by the Almighty with commendable and rare virtues. The author has used the puranic characters but only to exaggerate the personality of Guru Nanak.

In the very 1st *var* except Guru Nanak, Bhai Gurdas has written a few lines about the other Sikh Gurus. He provided minor information about Guru Anagd, Guru Amar Dass of Goindwal, Guru Ram Dass and Guru Arjan and then moved to depict the sixth Guru. Thus, it is opined that he composed or finalized the *var* during the time of Guru Hargobind to whom he has picturized in monarchical shape, i.e., brave and strong, victorious over enemies and having a psyche of social welfare.²⁰

Ram Singh has put fourth the subjective analysis of the first *var* of Bhai Gurdas. He concludes that Bhai Sahib tried to bring a change in the social environment of his times. He also tried to inculcate a new awareness among the people. Thus his works are superior to those of Damodar, Hasham, Waris and Bulleh Shah who did not suggest in their works to change the socio-religious phenomenon but narrated the prominent love stories of their times or of earlier times. Bhai Gurdas was a part of a mission which had to face the oppressive and forceful powers of the monarchical strata. He along with, his co-partners struggled and narrated the socio religious phenomena as well as the changes that he thought better to bring out. *Var* the form of poetry he chose to propagate his mission was adequate and he performed the subject matter successfully.

To explain the study in a better way Ram Singh has divided the *paurees* of this *var* in three sections:

- a) Paurees 1 to 21
- b) Central six paurees 22 to 27
- c) Last 22 paurees 28 to 49

Ram Singh has based the referred categories on the basic of the subjects of the stanzas (*paurees*) and revealed that Bhai Gurdas in the first category has picturised the social infrastructure of his time. In the second category he has indicated the emergence of a new socio-religious movement named Sikhism. While the third category deals with the ancient socio religious values and are compared with the new trends. The author has concluded superiority of the new trends of Sikhism of his age.

Ram Singh has also propounded his studies subjected to the literary evaluation of *vars*. He concludes that the narratives of the *vars* putforth a dramatic style which is commendable especially when the poet narrates the emergence of Guru Nanak. The author has supported his fending with quotations and references adequately.²¹

Gurcharan Singh has highlighted the literary value of the *vars*. He reveals that the originality of Panjabi language that we find in the *vars* of the Bhai is rarely found in the works of other Panjabi *vars*. The poet has borrowed his glossary, similes and adjectives from Braj or Persian. Bhai Gurdas lived in the proximity of Guru Arjan and the bards who wrote their works in *Sadhukari* (language of Saints) and he did not follow the prevalent language of scholars but explained his views in the general language of the mob. His verse is free from duplicacy of thoughts and other poetic shortcomings. In a single stanza he successfully narrates the stories of numerous characters. Bhai Gurdas has used three types of the *var* metres with different syllables and pauses. The author has compared Bhai Gurdas with John Milton and also confirmed the greatness of Bhai Gurdas in the words of Sant Singh Sekhon.²²

Dr. Jeet Singh Seetal has tried to calculate the status of Bhai Gurdas as a Punjabi ballad writer of sixteenth century AD. He avies that the word *var* was derived from Sanskrit word *vrit* and is generally used to accomplish the narrative poems. The scholar also indicates the two forms of *vars*, (a) egotistic *vars* and (b) theoretic *vars*. The subjects which are generally undertaken in both forms are also indicated by the author.

It is opined that the *var* in Punjabi has no relevancy with '*vriti*' word of Hindi or Sanskrit but it is basically a Panjabi regional word striking the meaning of attack. It is a bastard form of the word '*waahar*' in which the people of clan used to attack the other clan, loot and plunder their riches. The root cause, generally for the '*waahar*' was considered personal grudges of a clan chief, abduction of women or animals or the custody of cultivable land. Thus a *var* does not mean only to narrate the gun and sword but also meant to narrate the causes, results and the whole phenomenon of a *var*. It must be noted that the ancient Panjabi *vars*, i.e., *Lalla Bahlima di var*, *Musa di var*, *Sikander Ibraheem di var*, even *Chathian di var* deal with the similar subjects. Undoubtedly, it assimilates with Jangnamah of Persian literature. Guru Nanak was the pioneer who undertook the numerous theological concepts as character of *vars*. i.e. *Gurmukh v/s Manmukh*, or he accomplished his verse in *var* because it was the familiar form of poetry during his times. The Sikh Gurus followed this form of poetry (since most of their disciples were uneducated and far away from the Indian classical literature) i.e. the *var*, the popular form of folk literature of their times. Guru Arjan had

extended his sphere in educated people also like bards and accepted as well as left his scholastic influence upon them.

In Panjabi literature only two forms of *Vars* have been written firstly narrating in incidents of battle and secondly the spiritual *vars* composed by the Sikh Gurus.

According to Dr. Jeet Singh Seetal Bhai Gurdas had a distinct as well as significant status in Panjabi especially in Gurmat literature. He served as a historian, interpreter, annotator, scholar, linguist, as well as a poet. He enriched the Panjabi language with a new stock of glossary, proverbs, adjectives and similes.²³

Bhai Jodh Singh in his studies has highlighted the political scenario of the day narrated in the *vars* of Bhai Gurdas. The author evinced that the saints who criticized the political hegemonies of their time were tortured and oppressed like the version of Kabir and Namdev. Guru Nanak also aroused his voice against the imperialism of the day who crushed the public and led a luxurious life with the riches extorted from them (p.125). According to the author the sixth Guru felt it necessary to turn the ideology of Sikhs from asceticism to a martial life. Therefore, he threw away the fear of the emperor and trained his disciples also to live like brave soldiers.

The other fact, picturesqueness of the corrupted politicians made by Bhai Gurdas also has been studied by the author Bhai Gurdas has criticized policies of the rulers who enacted like butchers to slaughter the public and they never liked to provide justice. The masters began to swallow the dead bodies while the kings became sinners and instead of providing shelter to the public began to ravage them. The third notable aspect the author has propounded is a slogan raised to reject the mundane kings. According to the author Bhai Gurdas called the Guru a true king and the others false ones. It is the first evidence that we find in the Sikh *Gurmat* Panjabi literature that testify the respect and regards of the Sikhs that they owed towards their Gurus. The author has not indicated even a hint to the *kabitt-swayyas* of Bhai Gurdas and his study is limited to his *vars* only.²⁴

Sant Singh Sekhon studying the metaphysics in the works of Bhai Gurdas has categorized his verse in four sections a) Spiritual b) Religious c) Ethical and d) Social. In the first category specifically in his first *var* Bhai Gurdas has brought forth numerous philosophical aspects. The numerous stanzas of *var* explain the story of genesis; origin

of the universe the process by which the five elements i.e. air, water, fire, soil and the sky, became the source of existence of human life. According to Sekhon the facts revealed by Bhai Gurdas are even now being cognised by half of the universe since they are based upon scientific and natural parameters. The Indian school of philosophy is based upon numerous philosophical aspects i.e. four ways of birth, eighty four lakh species of lives, their inter-relations and supremacy of the human life. Bhai Gurdas has borrowed the referred terms from the Indian philosophy. The universe is comprised of the referred five elements but it has no limit, i.e. spread in infinity. Sekhon in this study has tried to define the origin of the four castes of Hinduism with specific reference to the revelations of Bhai Gurdas. He has defined the word Brahmin and opines that it may be the clan of those people who recite the word of Brahmin i.e. prayers and he does not approve them as rulers. He has analysed the word Kashatriya as Kashat+Tran viz a man who secures others from attacks or harm. Vashya means the people of Vishav i.e. worldly affairs. About Shudras Sekhon reveals that the Aryan invaders while arrived in India they found two clans as defeated one the Shudra to whom they took as slaves and accepted in services but at the lowest status. The other group was of *Pancham* with whom the *Aryans* did not like to have concerns and condemned them as non-touchable.²⁵

Besides, Sekhon has also explained the theory of epoches propounded by Bhai Gurdas. The author has used as resource work of S.A. Dauge, *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery*. The epoches of the Gold age (Satjug), the Silver age (Duapar), the Brass age (Treta) and the Iron age (Kalyug), with the nature of their people, deities, occupations, political environments are briefly narrated in the words of Bhai Gurdas. Four Vedas, Rig, Sam, Athrav and Ayur, Mimansa (Gemini), Yagvalika, Nyay Shastra, Saankh of Kapil, Vaisheshik of Kanaad and Yoga of Patanjali, Vedant of Vyas which have been indicated by Bhai Gurdas, Sekhon has explained them with details. The critical approach of Sekhon toward the works of Gurdas is descriptive, analytical and scientific.

In his other article subjected to the language of Bhai Gurdas, Sekhon has tried to evince that Bhai has used the simple and pure Punjabi. Bhai Gurdas has also cast new words to meet with the need of *Kafia* (rhyme of couplet) and for this purpose he has used the style of Apbhransh (old Panjabi). Undoubtedly, Bhai Gurdas has also

borrowed numerous words from Braj and Hindi but he successfully turned them in (*Sadh Bakha*) ascetic language of the northern India and used to meet with the needs.

In the *vars* Bhai Gurdas has used the narrative style since he felt it useful to explain the philosophical and theological subjects. Especially in *vars* 1, 10, 11, 12, 24 and 25 the author has versified the facts in narratives.

The language of Bhai Gurdas has proximity with the language of the general public. He had to explain the imperceptible and ethereal thoughts of Gurbani in solid and gross forms of *vars*. So he undertook numerous similes and rhetorics like sweetness of sugarcane, calamity of the earth and even love stories of Punjab.

Except the philosophical terminology of the religion the Bhai has undertaken the subjects quite relative to human life. In such relations he explains numerous concepts i.e., the inter relation of a Sikh and his Guru, the character of a Sikh, the significance of ethical values for man, the praise of a true spiritual teacher, life sketches of Gurus and their prominent devotees.

The most significant aspect of the language of Bhai Gurdas is that it is the commonly spoken by the masses in the Majha tract. This quality distinguishes the language from those of the Punjabi Sufism as well as from the ascetic language Dr. Sekhon has deeply studied the works of Bhai Gurdas and facts and figure that he found are reliable. The approach of the scholar towards the subject is scientific and analytical.²⁶

Sita Ram Bahari evinces that the works of Bhai Gurdas are ideal and the objective of the author is to search *theosophical* facts and finds conclusion. He has no view to criticize or struggle to ensure his findings.

Bhai Gurdas had a large stock of glossary and knowledge about the Indian classical literature, Vedant, Shariat, Botany, Medicine, Geography, Casteism, numerous occupations etc. At the same time he had good knowledge about classical music and rhetorics. He has used the glossary justifying the subjects.

Elaborating the early background of Punjabi *var*, Bahari narrates that the mother language of Bhai Gurdas was the dialect being spoken, generally, into the distant lands

of Goindwal which he could never forget throughout his life. Thus in his works composed in the Braj dialect, he has also used the words from Punjabi rustic dialect i.e. unsophisticated.

The author has used as sources, the commentaries on Bhai Gurdas compiled by Prof. Sahib Singh, Bhai Vir Singh, Bhai Naranjan Singh Giani, Gurbilas. Moreover, he has tried to go through the reasons for which the poet was attracted towards Braj and used the borrowed words of Sanskrit and Persian. Bhai Gurdas has used at least 700 words of Persian in his works especially *vars*. Bahari has also promulgated lists of glossary used in exogeneous as well as from homogenous forms. He has also brought into notice several words which are not commonly used during the medieval Panjabi but are found in *vars*. The use of phrases is found too much in his bani.

The referred works provide information about numerous fabrics of cloth which are not found in this age. *Chautar, Chauasi, Sirisaaf (Malmal) Ganga-Jal; Moharfkuli (Valvet)* etc. He used numerous distiches in such an excellent way that they became proverbs and phrases in Punjabi. The study propounded by Dr. Bihari may be termed a micro study explaining numerous aspects of Bhai Gurdas.²⁷

(C) Bhai Nand Lal

The works of Bhai Nand Lal acquire significance in the Sikh (*Gurmat*) literature since the author was especially patronized by Guru Gobind Singh. Therefore, Sikh authorities respectfully allowed his writings to be sung in the holy congregations. His Hindi, Panjabi and Persian works are admitted as a decent specimen of the Sikh devotional poetry. Since the socio-political upheaval, there are only a few scholars in the Sikhs community who have knowledge of Persian. So the works of Bhai Nand Lal, though, explain the socio-religious culture of the Sikhs, could not become popular like those of Bhai Gurdas. The works of Bhai Nand Lal are also beyond the understanding of a common Sikh because of their language but being a part of the Sikh literature, his verses are recited in Gurdwaras in congregations though the ragis or listeners do not follow their meanings. They invented new transcriptional mode in which they wrote Persian in Gurmukhi script which successfully could fulfil the lingual requirements.

The numerous works of Bhai Nand Lal have been studied by Panjabi scholars and are found in the forms of annotations, translations and transliterations. The object of this chapter is to evaluate the studies accomplished by Sikh scholars.

Ganga Singh in his work '*Preet Reet*' has transliterated '*Zindagi Namah*'. He has also undertaken 60 *ghazaliat*, for this purpose. Firstly, he translated the meanings of the difficult words and then propounded the distiches in simple Panjabi *ghazal*. Including annotations and brief notes the author has successfully translated each *ghazal* from Persian to Panjabi *ghazal*. He has tried to accomplish the long vowel in Panjabi *ghazal* rhyme, but at several places he failed and has completed the rhyme in short vowel i.e.

Bideh saqee mara yak jam-e-jaan rangini-e-dilha....

بدہ ساقی مرا یک جامِ جان رنگینی دلہا

The poet has translated it as:

Bhar ke prem pyala menu saqee deh siane hun...²⁸

The *ghazal* translation does not accomplish the rhyme with short vowel the word 'delha' ends with the long vowel. Moreover, the distiches do not perpetrate a word to word translation.

In *ghazal* number 5 in Persian, Bhai Nand Lal has explained the word "suhbat-e-bazurgan" in the meaning of the company of 'Gurus' while the translator reveals in the meaning of the 'Congregation of devotees i.e.

Har kuja dideem anwar-e-Khuda.

Baske az suhbat-e-bazurgan shud jazab.²⁹

ہر کجا دیدیم انوارِ خدا
بسکہ از صحبت بزرگان شد جذب

Jit wal nazar tite wal sajjan apna noor dikhaeeda.

Par eh noori darshan mil ke saadh sangat vich paeeda.

In the very first stanza of *ghazal* number 3 distich second the word 'Chasham-e-Pak' of Persian strikes wrong meaning in the Panjabi translation. In Panjabi culture the word '*Matwala*' strikes the meaning of a drunkard, or intoxicated. While Bhai Nand Lal

urged to describe the meaning of 'sacred eyes'. In the prose translation Ganga Singh succeeded to define the adequate meaning of sacred eyes.

In the same *ghazal* the translator, with a view to cast the meaning more attractive, has used the simile of Heer and Ranjha from the Panjabi folk love story.

In *ghazal* number 7 in the very first stanza the poet in the verse translation could not differentiate between “need” and “ambition” Bhai Nand Lal has not used the word “*topi*” but only “*taj*” the royal turban.

The very first stanza of *ghazal* number 8 propounded a difference in intensive love (*Ishq*) and reverence (*Prem*) even Bhai Nand Lal has used the word “*Bute Na Meharban*” which is beyond the love concept of Sikhism. Whereas a Sikh ought to love the Almighty considering Him kind hearted and does not call Him pitiless.³⁰

Similarly, Bhai Nand Lal has used the words “*Bedard*” (*ghazal* number. 19), *Mashooq* (*ghazal* number. 20), *bute na meharban* (*ghazal* number 8), which are not justified with the Sikh theology and Ganga Singh could not allocate justified glossary in verse translation as well as in prose.

The author has tried to solidify a few concepts of Bhai Nand Lal with the help of Gurbani. The revelations evince his approach towards the Sikh scripture as well as the Persian works of Bhai Nand Lal. Here are numerous examples where Principal Ganga Singh failed to versify the adequate meanings of *ghazals* but he has successfully translated and annotated the prose sections.

Gurdev Singh 'Pandohal' has translated *Zindagi Namah (mathnavi)* in Panjabi poem. The poet has himself selected the *mathnavi* form in Panjabi and in the same meter i.e. *behar ramal*. Each complete couplet of Persian follows Panjabi translation in Gurmukhi script.

The author has also promulgated the family tree of Bhai Nand beginning from Dewan Chhaju Mal to Param Dayal Singh who died in 1962 A.D. He has not quoted the source by which he has accomplished the referred family tree. In the family context of back ground and biographical note Pandohal quoted that Bhai Nand Lal explained an *Ayat* of the Holy Quran and the emperor Aurangzeb was impressed by his revelations.

Therefore, the emperor asked him to embrace Islam. Bhai Nand Lal being a firm Sikh denied to accept the offer. The emperor annoyed by his denial ensured death sentence for him. Bhai Nand Lal sought refuge in the court of Guru Gobind Singh.³¹

The translator has accomplished the liberal translation revealing the word as well as meaning translation. Undoubtedly, the work has some weaknesses as under:

Har ke gird-e-ku-e-shaan gardid yaafat.

Har do aalam hamchu mehar-o-badar taafat.³²

هر که گرد کوی شان گردید یافت
 هر دو عالم هم چو مهر و بدر یافت

The author writes:

Jo koi us kuche duale ho gaya.

Do Jahani Suraji kar lo gaya.

Bhai Nand Lal in the second distich meant to reveal the words mehar-o-badar i.e. the Sun and the Moon both while the author has expressed the word meher-o-badar i.e. the Sun.

In the translation of the stanza, *Suhbate nekaan agar bashad naseeb. Doulat jawed yaabi ae habeeb*. The author has translated the word "Jawed" i.e. imperishable to 'anginat' i.e. countless.³³

Pandhol in translation to the undermotioned:

Bu-e-haq mee ayad az har mu-e-shaan.

Zindah me shud har kas az bu-e-shaan.

He has written the word
 'Waal' in place of 'Rome'
 which exactly strikes here
 the meaning of 'mue'. In Persian the word 'mue' is generally used for hair on head or beard but in Panjabi specially the words, 'Rome' or "rongte" is used for body hair.³⁴

Obviously, the translation has some misinterpretations but being a rare work it has earned familiarity. The appreciable fact is that the translator has used the same *behar* i.e. *Ramal* in Panjabi verse.

Ganda Singh in his *Bhai Nand Lal Granthavali* (Panjabi Gurmukhi) has compiled a detailed study in which he has composed the biographical notes of Bhai Nand Lal and translated and transliterated his Hindi, Panjabi and Persian works. The *Jot Bikas* is termed as Hindi work by other scholars; it has been noted as the Panjabi work by the author.

Ganda Singh was the prominent scholar of the Sikh history. His works on the History of Panjab are also solid and valuable. He was not a linguist and so he had not sufficient knowledge about the medieval Panjabi and its dialectical forms.

The detailed notes on the biographical facts bring forth some notable facts which we could not find in other research works undertaken on the subject:

- a. Bhai Nand Lal was deputed on the services of a clerk (*munshi*) in the office of Nawab Wasaaf Khan the ruler of Multan (1652 AD).
- b. Bhai Nand Lal was promoted as a Head Clerk (*mir munshi*) and then the Fort Keeper and the Army Commander at Bhakar.
- c. After that he was appointed as the Administrator (*Nazim*) at Dina Kahrur, Fatehpur and the *pargana Muhiyudeenpur*.
- d. He was also promoted as the *Naib Subedar* of Multan by the above mentioned ruler.

Ganda Singh being a reliable and responsible historian has sought historical facts in the light of reliable sources and documents. He has pictured the socio-religious as well as the political scenario of the times of Bhai Nand Lal. Elaborating the significance '*Tankhah Namah*' of Bhai Nand Lal he writes:

It is true that from the geographical and historical view Guru Gobind Singh united the Panjab public under the name of '*Khalisa*'. It was a significant endowment to the public of Punjab... and Bhai Nand Lal saw the whole scenario of creation of Khalsa personally. He has applauded as well as elaborated the duties of *Khalisa* in his *Tankhah Namah*.³⁵

Historically, Ganda Singh has evinced that Bhai Nand Lal left Guru Gobind Singh when the latter left Anandpur fort. He again appeared in 1707 AD in the court of Shahzada Muazim Shah Alam.³⁶

The author has used '*Sri Gur Pratap Singh Suraj Granth*' of Santokh Singh, *Gurmat Sudhakar* of Kahan Singh Bhai, *Bhai Nand Lal Nistara*, by Bhai Vir Singh. *Life of Bhai Nand Lal Goya* of Ram Dyal Bhai, *Prem Phulwari* by Megh Raj. *Halaate Khandan Bhai Nand Lal* by Deen Dayal Singh, *Life and works of Bhai Nand Lal Goya* by Parma Nand Arora as the source books.

Ganda Singh has translated the Persian works of Bhai Nand Lal. *Ghazaliat*, *Zindagi Namah*, *Rubaiat*, *Ganj Namah*, *Jot Bikas*, *Arzul Alfaz*, *Dastural Insha* and annotated the Panjabi works i.e. *Tankhah Namah*, *Rahat Namah* and *Jot Bikas* (Panjabi). The Persian works are translated in Panjabi prose. Since the author was a well established historian and had a good knowledge of Persian. There are some misinterpretations in his translation. In the translation of *Zindagi Namah* stanza number 89. The author ought to use the word "rome" in place of hair (*wal*).

Mi chakad az harf-e-shaan qand-o-nabaat

Barad az har mu-e-shaan aab-e-hayaat³⁷

می چکد از حرفِ شان قند و نبات
بارد از هر موی شان آبِ حیات

Unah de shabdan vichon Khand te Mishari jhardi hai

Unah de wal ton amrit di varkha hundi hai

Moreover, the word chakeedan/chakad has a specific word in Panjabi *Tapkana/Tapakadi* (NgeDk, Ngedh) and for 'harf' the adequate word is 'gall' (rZb). Since the word shabad is specially prevalent to indicate the holy psalms of the Sikh gurus as well as prevails with same meaning in the Nath culture. Dr. Ganda Singh has a rich store of glossary of spiritual terminology. He has successfully used Panjabi terms and words for Persian glossary used in *Ganj Namah* and *Jot Bikas*. In the prose of *Ganj Namah* Bhai Nand Lal has used the Indian sabq and it has a large stock of Arabic glossary. Dr. Ganda Singh has translated it adequately:

Tissa ulavi khaaq Gur Gobind Singh
Chakar-e-chalaak Gur Gobind Singh³⁸

تسع علوی خاک گور گوبند سنگھ
چاکر چالاک گور گوبند سنگھ

The author has not elaborated the Persian text in the prose portion of *Ganj Namah* while the verse is also transformed in Panjabi prose. From *Arjul Alfaz* some selected stanzas from the beginning and the end have been selected by the author for translation.

Conclusively Ganda Singh having the spirit of a historian and being well versed in Persian, has used simple Panjabi language to explain the tough and mysterious ideology of Bhai Nand Lal. He has used Panjabi prose and could successfully translate, keeping in view that the works of Bhai Nand Lal bear respectable status in the Sikh literature.

Ujagar Singh Bawa has indicated that the father of Nand Lal was Chhajoo Lal by name who was a follower of the Rama Nand school. The author in the next stanza again has recalled him as Chhajoo Mal because he is not confirmed about the difference of Mal and Lal.³⁹

Bawa has used the works of Ganda Singh and Bhai Parma Nand, *Dastural Insha*, *Dabistan-e-Mazahib* etc. as resource material.

The author has translated as well as transliterated the Persian works of Nand Lal in English and in Punjabi (Roman and Gurmukhi script).

The author in Panjabi translation has used the x (B) in place of noon of Persian i.e. AzImulSwx (AzImulSwn), Awswx (Awwsn), AwSkwx (AwSkwn), inko (nkU) rMgI (rMgIn), nobhwr (nO/nvbhr), bgrdy (bigrdy), cUnwsq (cunwnsq), **fponkD;s** (ibirAwnsq), eIx (eIn), bInvw (byinvw), sunIdw (SunIdh), krdweI (krdh eI), lwAliq (lAlIq), the author could not differentiate the difference in tu and to {qU, qoN} and caselessly used one in place of the other i.e.

AY ruiK qU (qo) rOinik bwzwir SmA[

.....

ibAw ik bulbulo gul hr do ieMqzwry qUM (qo) AMd[

.....

igrid ruKswir qU (qo)Az bihir inswr[

.....

Undoubtedly, at each place the word is written with *te* and *vau*, but there is difference in pronunciation which changes according to the conjunction and adverb. In Panjabi, especially in the Gurmukhi script there are vowels to indicate correctly the pronounce in both situations.

In the Panjabi translation of *Ganj Namah* Prof. Bawa has followed the style of Ganda Singh and has similar glossary. Ujagar Singh has undertaken the Panjabi translation and transliteration from *Bhai Nand Lal Granthavali* of Ganda Singh and transliterated the matter in Roman script. This fact has been seen by comparing the text of both the works:

a) Both the translators have used similar adverbs in Panjabi.

b) The style followed to translate the prose portion of *Ganj Namah* is the same, with same glossary and adverb with minor most changes of conjunctions. i.e. *Brosw* (Bharosha), used by both *cmkwauxw* (Chamkaunan), *AsmrQ* (asamrath), i.e. are used similarly instead of *vishwas (ft;atk;)a*, *lishkaunan (fb;æekT[Dk]*, and *ayog (nk:'r)*. Even Ujagar Singh could not copy correctly and has committed a few mistakes.

aus sdIvI jwxkwrI dw JMfw aucw krn vwlI
Aqy igAwn dy AMnHyry f dUr krn vwlI,

It is notable that Ganda Singh has used the correct word '*Agyan de Adhere (nfrnkB d/nzX/o/)*'.⁴⁰

Ujagar Singh has added word meanings to his translations with Persian, English and Panjabi and propounded word to word translation. The work is significant since it is a rare translation in English with its transliteration in Roman script.

Mahan Singh Giani in *Tasnifat-e-Goya* has edited only the Persian works of Bhai Nand excluding the Panjabi *Tankhah Namah* and *Arzul Alfaz*. The studies include a prolegomena (dibacha) revealing the biographical notes and a brief acknowledgement of each work. The editor has indicated about *Arzul-Alfaz*, *Dasturul Insha va Khatima* though he has not added these works in his study in *Tausif-o-Sana* Mahan Singh Giani

has noted the meanings of difficult words and also indicated the required mythological and puranic concepts to make the meaning more clear i.e.

Ashar az behar paasbaani-e-shaan

Ruba sargaram wasaf khawani-e-shan.

عشر از بهار پاسبانی‌اشان
ربیع سرگرم وصف خوانی‌اشان

They have been clarified by indicating the meaning of ten incarnations and four Vedas (*deh yani, deh avatar, chahaar baid*).⁴¹

The work evinces that the editor has good knowledge of Hindu Puranic literature and for the same cause he could justify with ideology of Bhai Nand Lal. He could easily follow the new cast words by the poet i.e. See how the poet makes plural from singular:

<i>Plural</i>		<i>Singular</i>
Shivaat	-	Shiv
Pandtaat	-	Pandit
Santokhiat	-	Santokhi (satiated)
Gopiat	-	Gopis (Beloveds of Krishana)
Andjat	-	Andj(of species born from eggs)
Sadhaat	-	Sadh (ascetic)
Raja Dharmaat	-	(the king of religions)
Rikhisarat	-	Rikhisar (researchers)

The author has not indicated the source from which he could find the manuscript of the text. It is opined that being a part of the Sikh (*Gurmat*) literature it remained untouched and none dared to disturb its originality.

Mahan Singh Gyani has also added a '*Tuarif'-o-'Tabsrah'*, (acknowledgment and evaluation) written by Lakhshvir Singh Muztar. In the referred study, Muztar had compared numerous aspects from the poetry of Bhai Nand Lal with Sheikh Saadi, Attar Nishapuri, Maulavi Jalaludin Roomi, Hafiz Sherazi, Mirza Bedil, Umar Khayam, Khaqani etc. Adequate examples and extracts have been quoted to justify the poetic strategies of the poet.

Amarwant Singh in his Ph.D. thesis GNDU, Amritsar, 1983” entitled '*Bhai Nand Lal Goya Ki Tasaanif Ka Tanqidi Mutalia*' has brought forth the subjective analysis of the works of Bhai Nand Lal. He has highlighted the works of Bhai Nand Lal due to their significance as Sikh literature and literary values of the poetical texts. The poetical strategies used by the author are elaborated with quotations and references. The poetical strategies are also compared with other important Persian poets like Hafiz, Saudi, Nizami etc.

Amarwant Singh has used the edited works of Ganda Singh, Bhai Ram Dyal and *Mahan Kosh, Mehama Prakash* of Sarup Dass Bhalla as the resource material. The Punjabi works are excluded from his studies. Amarwant Singh used quotations from Sri Guru Granth Sahib in order to clarify his view points about the works of Bhai Nand Lal, which are highly religious in nature. He has proved Bhai Sahib to be a great interpreter of Gurbani having deep-rooted love for Sikhism. His eulogistic approach to the Sikh Gurus has not been elaborated because it was not the main subject of his study.

The Sikh traditions have given the works of Bhai Nand Lal Goya an equal status to the works of Bhai Gurdas and the Bard bani since the devotional singers who recite *shabads* in the court of Sri Guru Granth Sahib have no knowledge of Persian. It has been seen that rarely some extracts of Goya are sung in Sri Darbar Sahib and other Sikh congregations. Persian language in the emergence of the twentieth century began to suffer a downfall in Panjab during the reign span of the British due to some socio-religious as well as political upheavals which compelled the Panjab society to leave the studies in Persian literature and language.

Though, Bhai Nand Lal has used Persian language, forms of poetry and even similes including the poetic strategy, but the social background of his works is absolutely Hindustani. His subjects, characters and adjectives are Indian and Panjabi. He used numerous characters from Islamic and Jewish ancient literature but less than those of the Indian culture.

The Persian language had been the court language of Panjab during the Mughal empire. It is said that a few Sikhs requested in the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to change it to Panjabi. The Maharaja referred the case to Faquir Azizudin his courtier, who put the case pending. Obviously, the court language of Panjab even during the

reign span of the Sikh rulers remained Persian. Numerous local words and concepts were added to it. But the main lingual infrastructure was absolutely Persian Arabic script. The orders of the Maharaja and civil deeds were recorded in the same language. Though the regional language of Panjab had emerged with remarkable symptoms. Panjabi Muslims and Hindus including Sikhs had composed in Panjabi notable works. Sikh Gurus, Damodar, Gurdas, Piloo, Waris, Hashim, Qadiryar, Fazal Shah produced applaudable works in Panjabi but the regional language could not acquire its status as a court language.

In the year 1849 A.D. The British company annexed Panjab in its jurisdiction and the political, administrative policies were forced on the Public of Panjab. In the sphere of education Minto, Munaro, Hastings and Elphinston aviewed that the Indian education system could not be promoted if they follow the medium Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. To propagate the European education they must be educated in modern languages. Charles Grant had a different view that the Indian people can be endowed the modern knowledge in English only. While in 1854 A.D. the Education Dispatch of Wood opened a new way to acquire Indians who had desire for modern education. It allowed the schools to teach in the regional languages.⁴²

In Panjab there were three communal groups. The Sikhs demanded Panjabi in Gurmukhi script. The Hindus in Devnagri script raised demand for Hindi and then turned to use Panjabi in Devnagri script. The Muslims who were in large number emerged with dimensions. Some of them demanded Urdu while others in favour of Panjabi written in Persian script.⁴³

The Sikh demand of Panjabi in Gurmukhi was opposed by the migrants of U.P. who were employed in courts, tehsils and other administrative offices. These migrants put an imperishable influence on Panjabi especially in functional Panjabi of administrative offices. Even now a large number of official deeds are transcribed in Urdu language or Urdu in Gurmukhi script.

The Singh Sabha Movement and the *Chief Khalsa Diwan* played prominent role to propagate Panjabi in Gurmukhi script. The referred Sikh Organisations established a large number of schools in which Panjabi in Gurmukhi script was taught and medium for other subjects was also managed Panjabi. Panjab university, Lahore, established a

series of colleges for higher studies in which the European styled education was dispersed in English. The Sikh especially the Jats and Khatries being the prosperous classes got their children educated in Chief colleges, Montgomery College, Lyallpur Khalsa College, Khalsa College Amritsar etc. Moreover, DAV colleges and SD colleges were also established by Hindu Panjabis. The students emerged from the referred colleges had no interest in Panjabi, Persian or Sanskrit. Only a few intellectual emerged with a soaring spirits having love for their native language and religion. Persian and Sanskrit were considered as dead languages. Hindi, Panjabi and Urdu took their places.

Since the works of Bhai Nand Lal were a part of the *Gurmat* literature, the Sikh scholars of the day composed their commentaries to make the referred works considerable: Principal Ganga Singh, Ganda Singh and Mahan Singh Gyani were the devoted Sikhs who highlighted the significance of the poetic works of Bhai Nand Lal.

The twentieth century Sikhs had no interest in Urdu and Persian but the numerous scholars wrote commentaries on the works of Goya since the referred works were given an equal status to those of Bhai Gurdas. This being a part of the *Gurmat* literature the Persian works of Bhai Nand Lal got long life.

Conclusively it may be said: In the light of the above it may be concluded that:

- A) There are a few scholars only who have put forth their studies on the Bard-bani like Sahib Singh (Prof.), Joginder Singh Talwara, Rattan Singh Jaggi (Dr.), Wazir Singh (Dr.) etc.
- B) Generally, the Panjabi scholars have written commentaries and explanations on the works compiled by Bhattas and they too, have not brought out some deep studies since the language of the bard is an admixture of Sanskrit, Prakrit and medieval Panjabi.
- C) The bard vani lacks the indepth study. There is much scope to search more aspects since it is a descent specimen in the field of language literature as well as religion and comparative religions.

- D) Conclusively speaking, Bhai Gurdas acquired prominence as a Sikh scholar, annotator, propagator of the Sikh theology as well as calligrapher of Sri Guru Granth Sahib.
- E) Less attention has been paid by Panjabi scholars to propound studies about his *kabitts and swayyas* of Bhai Gurdas.
- F) The *vars* composed by Gurdas have been studied by well established critics and scholars from different aspects and bear weightage in the history of Panjabi literature.
- G) Being subjected to Sikh religion the works are considered notable in religion as well in Panjabi literature.
- H) The studies on Bhai Nand Lal Goya are limited and they, too, based upon, translations and transliterations.
- I) The works of Goya propound socio religious aspects of his times as well as provide eye witness to some historical facts. Especially, they provide solid evidences on the emergence of the Khalsa as well as the contemporary Sikh values of his times.
- J) Undoubtedly, Bhai Nand Lal could not establish himself in the history of the Persian literature but he could avail a respectable status in the Sikh (Gurmat) literature due to his devotional poetry.
- K) The studies propounded on the poetic works of Bhai Nand Lal are accomplished by poets who have tried to versify his works in Panjabi poetry.

References

- 1 Sahib Singh Prof, *Bhattan de Swayye Steek*, Singh Bothers, Amritsar, 2007 p. 53
- 2 Ibid, p. 73
- 3 Ibid, pp.74-75
- 4 Dr. Rattan Singh 'Jaggi' *Sri Granth Sahib Prichai*, Gobind Sadan Institute of Advanced Studies in Comparative Religion, Mehroli Road New Delhi, Dec. 1991, pp-140-143
- 5 Dr. Ganda Singh (ed)*Nanak Panthi, Makhiz Tarikh-e- Sikhan*, Khalsa College Amritsar.
- 6 Bhai Joinder Singh Talwara, '*Bhattan de Swayye, Steek*, Singh Brothers 2006 pp-13-24,28
- 7 Jaspal Singh (Dr.) (Ed.) *Guru Granth Sahib, the Sikh Scripture*, 2010, pp-157-163
- 8 Dalip Singh (Dr.) *Bhai Gurdas di Pehali te Dasaeen Var*, Lahore Book Shop Ludihana (nd) pp. 46-76.
See, Kohil, S.S, *Travels of Guru Nanak*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1969.
See, Bhai Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, The Khalsa Samachar, Amritsar, 1965
- 9 Sant Sampuran Singh, *Kabit Swayye Bhai Gurdas Ji Steek*, Bhai Chattar Singh, Jewan Singh, Amritsar, 2003.pp
- 10 Vir Singh Bhai, *Varan Bhai Gurdas*, Bhai Vir Singh Sahib Sadan, Bhai Vir Singh Marg, New Delhi, 2007 pp-
- 11 Amar Singh Chaakar and Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Varan Gian Ratnavali, Varan Bhai, Gurdas*, pub. SGPC, Amritsar, 1981.pp
- 12 J.S.J Pall, *Bhai Gurdas, the First Sikh Scholar*, Bhai Chattar Singh, Jivan Singh, Amritsar, 2002, pp-76 to 78
- 13 Ibid, p. 61
- 14 Bhagwant Kaur, *Gurbani ate Varan Bhai Gurdas*, Sambhavi Sarokar, Gurbax Singh, 68, Hazel Close Twickenham, (U.K) pp-12-15, 26,27,126,127, 176, 177, 230, 231
- 15 Bhai Gurdas, Var No. I, Pauree,27

- 16 Kahan Singh Bhai, Gurshabad Ratnakar, *Mahan Kosh*, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patial, 2006 p. 218
- 17 Bhai Gurdas, Var No1, Pauree 32-33
- 18 Bhai Gurdas, Var No. 1, Pauree No. 34
- 19 Bhai Gurdas, Var No. 1, Pauree No. 36
- 20 Bhai Gurdas, Var No. 1, Pauree No. 46-48.
- 21 "Bhai Gurdas di Pehli Var," *Punjabi Duniya*, Sept-Oct-1968 pp. 26-27
- 22 "Mahan Kavi, Gurdas", *Punjabi Duniya*, Sept-Oct-1968, pp-83-88
- 23 "Panjabi var Sahit vich Bhai Gurdas da Sthan," *Panjabi Duniya*, Sept-Oct. 1968 pp-98-99
- 24 *Bhai Gurdas Ji de Rajs Vichar*, "Panjabi Duniya, Sept-Oct. 1968 pp. 125-29
- 25 "Bhai Gurdas da Adhiatamvad", *Panjabi Duniya*, Sept-Oct. 1968 pp. 33-35
- 26 "Bhai Gurdas Di Boli", *Panjabi Duniya*, Sept-Oct. 1968 pp. 151-56
- 27 "Bhai Gurdas di Boli te Shaili", *Panjabi Duniya*, Sept-Oct. 1968 pp. 157-192
- 28 Ganga Singh Principal, Preet Reet, Bhai Jawahar Singh Kirpal Singh & Co., Amritsar, 2005, p. 14
- 29 Ibid, pp. 23-26
- 30 Ibid, pp. 33-36
- 31 Gurdev Singh Pandohal, *Zindagi Namah* (mathnavi), *Bhai Nand Lal Goya*, Sangam Publications Samana, 2008 p.21
- 32 Ibid, p.35
- 33 Ibid, p. 34
- 34 Ibid, p.97
- 35 Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand Lal Granthaval*, Punjabi University Patiala 1989 p-8
- 36 Ibid, p.10
- 37 Ibid, p. 101
- 38 Ibid, p. 187
- 39 Ujagar Singh, Bawa, *Bhai Sahib Bhai Nand Lal Ji, Biography and Writings*, Hemkunt Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi 2006 pp. 1, 3
- 40 Ibid, p. 324
- 41 Mahan Singh Gyani, "*Tasnifat-e-Goya*", Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963 p. 170
- 42 Maula Bakash Kushta, "*Panjabi Shaeran da Tazkira*" p. 12
- 43 Ramdhari Singh Dinkaar, "*Sabhaachaar de Chaar Adhiaye*", pp. 284-86

CHAPTER V

POETIC FORMS AND TECHNIQUES OF THE AUTHORS

A profound study of the works of the poets under study, shows various similarities and dissimilarities in the poetic forms they used in their works. So far as the Bhatt verses are concerned, they have used *the classical non-raga-measure-swayya* and its related forms such as *Radd* and *Jhulna Chhands*. Undoubtedly, they were well informed in classical music still they used 'swayya' to eulogize the Sikh Gurus.

Bhai Gurdas, the first Sikh scholar too has used the *kabitts* and *swayas* to propagate and illustrate the thoughts of Gurbani. He also remained successful in using *var* as a poetic form which he borrowed from the Panjabi folklore prevalent during his times. He was also well versed in using other poetic forms such as *sortha*, *dohra*, and *chhant*.

Unlike, the above referred poets Bhai Nand Lal being a poet of Persian language used *ghazal*, *mathnavi*, *rubayee* and *baint* which he undertook from the medieval Persian literature. He tried to present local subjects in Persian poetic forms.

All the poets mentioned above have been great scholars and extremely popular among the Sikh congregations. Their verses are highly adorned and respected and devotionally sung in Sikh congregations along with the holy verses of Sri Guru Granth Sahib in Sikh Gurdwaras with musical instruments allowed for *Gurmat Sangeet*.

History of poetics affirms that, the different forms of literature evolved according to the need of societies. It is difficult to calculate which form of poetry emerged when and who founded it, but literature itself evinces that each form emerged and developed with a long passage of time. The art of poetry is found in all ages ancient, medieval as well as modern. The poetic forms emerged in each civilization and like the discipline of language they passed through different stages and got their existence in present phenomenon. The poetic specimens changed with passage of time due to their relativity and concerns with society. The forms which were felt unnecessary by the changing orders perished and those which fulfilled the requirements

of society remained alive. But the poetical forms are found in literature in each language and in each civilization.

Literary forms did exist even when there was no tradition of written literature. I mean to say, when there was nothing to read and write. Some poetic forms did exist even then only in spoken language as being oral literature and they transferred from one generation to another. In India, classical literature emerged from the Aryan cult but it is not confirmed whether, the native people of the country of Punjab had concept of literature or not, or had they knowledge of this art or not, or they could not secure their literary specimens.

So far as we think about the Indian classical literature, it was basically founded on the footprints of Vedas composed in Devnagri script in Sanskrit language. The referred Vedas were composed in spondees called *slokas*. The form of *sloka* (spondee) was borrowed by the Hindi poets and it became popular with *Ram Charitarmanas* of Tulsidas and Balmiki the author of *Utrakhand Ramayana*. Chand Bardai the author of *Prithavi Raj Raso* also used this metre. *Gorakh* and other *nath yogis* (700 AD to 1200 AD) too used this form in the ninth century A.D., while the Indian saints of the *Bhakati Movement* undertook this form to propagate their ideologies even before the advent of Guru Nanak Sahib. Thus the form spondee (*sloka*) which was generally used in narrative poetry got notable place in the devotional poetry.

Kahan Singh Bhai defines “Sloka” as under:

The word *sloka* is borrowed from Sanskrit. It contains two lines. Each line has two pauses after eight characters. A complete *sloka* contains 32 letters.¹

The great epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabhart* of Vyas are the decent examples evincing that the Indian poets were adroit to versify their thoughts in this form of poetry. A few centuries earlier in panjab people in general had no knowledge of script. Those who had its knowledge were generally respected in public. Moreover, the political monarchical infrastructure of the country allowed respectable status to the homosapiens and patronized them. Hindu kings and Mughal emperors had followed this tradition and helped them to develop their arts.

Sri Dasam Granth related with Guru Gobind Singh evinces that upto its compilation age the Sanskrit and Hindi poets had developed this art to the extreme. They had invented more metres and forms or poetry like chhandas like Chhapai Chhand, Bhujang Prayat Chhand, Chachri Chhand, Charpat Chhand, Rual Chhand, Madhubhar Chhand, Bhagvati Chhand, Rasaval Chhand, tomar Chhand, Laghu Naraj Chhand, Totak Chhand, Naraj Chhand, Ruamal Chhand, Diragh Tribhangi Chhand, Manohar Chhand, Bije Chhand, Ek Achhari Chhand, Bridh Naraj Chhand, Mritgat Chhand, Bridh Naraj Chhand, Mritgat Chhand, Anke Chhand, Apurab Chhand, Anaka Chhand, Trigata Chhand, Apurab Chhand , Mohani Chhand, Mandolari Chhand, Utangan Chhand, Sukhda Chhand, Bahara Chhand, Sangeet Bahara Chhand, Hoha Chhand.

Besides, the undermentioned poetic forms were also in vogue – Kabit, Swayye, Dohra, Chaupae, Sortha, Phunha, etc.

Sri Guru Granth Sahib also evinces that Dupde, Chaupade, Apsphatpade, vars etc. were popular forms of poetry in Punjab and northern India which were prevalent in public and the literary society. The *baint chhand* of Heer and *dawyya* and *dohras* of Hashim Shah provided the authors an eternal life. Similarly, in the case of *Shah Namah*, a limited number of people know about Firdausi Tusi but the characters revealed in his verse will always be remembered and studied in the history. This *Maha Kav* is written in *behar ramal* which further influenced many poets. The Sikh literature especially of the Guru Sahiban borrowed one more form of poetry from *naths* and *jogis* which had similar form of *shabad* infrastructures with a pause (*raha*). There is no evidence whether the jogis used to compose *shabadi* in *ragas* (metres) but the *shabads* composed by the Sikh Gurus were found in different ragas of Guru Arjan while editing the *Bani* of his previous Gurus placed Gurbani in different ragas (metres of musical system). The aforesaid Guru also noted down instructions with specific *Bani* to sing in specific *ragas*.

The form of *kafi* is less found in Guru Granth Sahib. It was borrowed from the Muslim Sufi Panjabi literature. Baba Farid has used this poetic form in his Bani. The Gurus did not take interest in it and preferred to compose in the forms of Indian classical literature. The *Bani* compiled by the Sikh Gurus was provided the terminology

of *Dhur Ki Bani* i.e. message sent by the Almighty. The Gurus did not claim that it was sent by means of a messenger of God or angel like Gabriel. It was result of intuition. The Indian classical poets while verifying some subject used to under take *ragas* (meters) with their specific order of syllables, pauses and tones. They had also invented more poetical metres on the base of the subject of literature and their needs. Similarly, they had acquired the significance of short and long vowels. The Indian literature of Hindi and Prakrit languages had numerous specimens of these forms in Upanishadas and Puranas. The tradition of the chhand system remained popular among Indian scholars and they had taste to compose and read in it. For the general public spondees (*slokas*) proved useful.

The general public was ignorant from script to write and read so they transferred the teachings of the Indian scholars from mouth to mouth. Spondee was easy to learn by heart since it had no intricate scheme. *Spondees* attracted the listeners and the narratives undertaken in this form had long life in memories. Due to the same reason *slokas* of Kabir and Tulsi got deep place in the hearts of people. *Hanuman Chalisa*, *Durga Stotras* all are found in this form. In the Indian classical tradition some forms of poetry got specific name according to the subject, *Bishanpade* composed in the glory of *Bishnu*, a specific metre *raga* gained the eponym of *Gauri* in which glories of Gauri, the goddess were generally composed. Similarly, a few more forms got their eponyms based on distiches or stitches like *ashatpadi*, (8 line) *dupade* (2 lines) *chaupathe* (4 lines). Since in Hindi *pada* means a poetic sentence.

Bhai Kahan Singh in explanation to the referred metre chhand has propounded its 34 forms in details on the basis of numbers of distiches, phases, vowels and rhymes. Even the long and short vowels in the end of the distiches also have been considered in the categorization. Thus the referred scholar has defined *swayya* and indicated the forms of *swayya* as under:

Swayya:-

He has categorized its each form: A *swayya* is a popular metre consisting four lines with numerous names and is mainly of two types i.e. Matrik and Varnik. The best form is matrik *swayya* where all the four lines alliterate.

1. bir 2. baan 3. somaya 4. dand kala 5. malind 6. saman 7. drumila 8. lalit 9. madira 10. matgayand 11. chakar 12. arsaat 13. ramaya 14. kireet 15. doomil 16. sundari 17. rattamalika 18. kundalata 19. surdhun 20. manoji 21. manidhar 22. gangdhar 23. utankan 24. sundar 25. vaam, makrand, madhavi, manjari 26. matakaira 27. aabhaar 28. surmukhi 29. karonch 30. jhulana 31. mukatdhara 32. lavanglata 33. saravgaarni 34. sharda.²

(a) The Bhatt -Bani

The Bhatt Bani is based upon the Indian classical poetry. They were well versed in classical music. They have used the *non-raga-measure* 'Swayya' as the medium to expressing their devotional thoughts in praise of Sikh Gurus (the first five Gurus). They were the outcome of the Hindu society and deeply concerned with its culture and literature. So they followed the poetical form *swayya* and its related forms as *radd* and *jhulna chhands*.

The bards used the objectives of great puranic kings and saints for the Sikh Gurus. They, in their similes have recalled Rama, Krishana, Ugarsen, Kans, Sukhdeo, Parichhat, Janak etc. Similarly, they have used the adjectives them perfect devotees of the Almighty-of Trilochan, Namdev Kabir, Jaidev, Sanak. Udho, Skrur, Jamdagani Bidar. The bards called the Sikh Gurus even superior and advanced to the referred characters. They also denoted that the Hindu deities like Shiva (Mahadev), Bramah and Vishnu praise the glories of Guru Nanak. In praise of Sri Guru Ram Das Ji, Bhatt Null used *radd* and *Jhulna*.

Radd:- Kahan Singh Bhai denoting the definition and characteristics of *Radd* writes:

A *radd* is a *chhand* having four clauses (*charans*). The first *charan* has 41 syllables (*matras*), three pauses at 15-11-15 *matras*. The second clause (*charan*) has 26 syllables (*matras*). Two pauses at 11-15 *matras*. In the end there are two *charans* with *doha*. This is an uneven *chhand*.³

ijsih DwirHa Driq Aru ivaumu,	15
Air pvxu qy nIr sir,	11
Avr Anl Anwid kIAau]	15

sis iriK inis sUr idn, 11
 sYl qrUA Pl Pul dIAau] 15
 sur nr spq smudR ikA DwirE iqRBvxu jwsu]
 soeI tyku nwmu hir nwmu siq, pwieE gur Amr
 pRgws] SGGS,p- 1399

Transliteration:

Jiseh dhareo dharat ar viom,
 ar pawan te neer sar.
 Avar aral anaad keeyo,
 sas rich nis sar din.
 Sail trooa phal phul deeyo,
 sur nar sapat samundar kia daaro tribhavan jaas.
 Soyee tek naam har naam paeen gur Amar paragass,

The earth and skies (air, water and pools) the sun, the truth seekers, days and nights trees with flowers and fruits, deities and men, seven oceans and the under world all recite the name of the Absolute God. Guru Amar Dass got the favour of the name of the same Absolute and emerged in the Universe.

Jhulna:- A *chhand*, having four *charan* each ‘*charan*’ with eight *yagan*. It is the form of *mandhar swayya*.⁴

gurU gur gurU guru, gurU jpu pRwnIAhu]

 sbd hir hir jpY, nwmu nviniD ApY,
 rsn Aihinis rsY, siq kir jwnIAhu]
 Puin pRym rMg pweIAY, gurmuKih iDAweIAY,
 AMn mwrq qjhu, Bjhu hir gwnIAhu]
 bcn gur irid Drhu, pMj BU bis krhu,
 jnmu kul auDrhu, dÍwir, hir mwnIAhu]
 jau q sB sUK, ieq auq qum bMCvwhu,
 gurU guru gurU guru, gurU jpu pRwnIAhu]
 SGGS, p.1400

Transliterating:

Guru gur guru gur, guru jap paranioh
shabad har har japai, naam navnidh apai,
Rasan ahnis rasai, sat kar jaanioh.
Fun Prem rang paayei, gurmukhai dhiayeah,
ann marag tajoh, bhajoh har gaanioh
Bachan gur rid dharoh, panch bhoo bas karoh,
Janam kul udhroh, dwaar har maanioh
Jaut sabb sookh et ut tum banchhavoh,
Guru gur Guru gur, Guru gur Guru jap paraanioh

The bard advisers his fellow beings to recite the name of the Guru. The recitation of the Guru's name is the recitation of God's name. In this way they would get nine stores of riches, and there would be all pleasures day and night. The bard again advises them to leave all other ways of reaching God. Recitation is the only way to control the five vices. The words of the Guru should be kept in mind. In this way their life would be purified and they would be recognized at the threshold of the almighty God, where there is eternal ecstasy.

The above *chhand* actually has four clauses (*charans*). The first one is only the base the 'refrain' or 'burden' of the verse.

The analysis of the referred two *swayyas* evince that the bards preferred to propound applaudable subjects and did not bothered about the minor discrepancies in the structure. Their *swayyas* though are not accurate and do not fulfil the infrastructural conditions strictly but put forth a decent specimen on the subject. The bards have also used other form of *swayya* called *radd* and *Jhulna Chhand* that too bears the same merits.

Rattan Singh Jaggi writes about their use of *Swayya* as a poetic form as under:

No doubt, in their *swayyas* the bhatts have used *radd*, *jhulna* as well as *sortha*. But in the poetic forms the technical features of *swayya* are not perfectly correct. Features of *radd* and *jhulna* are used and completed with difficulty. Actually, *sortha* is not a form of *swayya*.⁵

(b) Bhai Gurdas-Varan and Kabitt-Swayye

Bhai Gurdas has been well-versed in using the metre *var* in his eulogies and narratives. The word *var* has been borrowed from ‘*Wahar*’ (the old Punjabi word) i.e. attack of one clan on the other. When the Aryan people used to live in tribes and a pastoral life they used to attack the other clans and extort their riches, ladies, animals. The cultivators used to take away the possession of lands by force. This tradition still prevails in the form of grouped men who burn the crops, kill the rival land holders and try to capture the fields of others on gun points. Even law can not help easily the poor cultivators who loose their hold, “*Kabza*” by the hands of grouped rivals perfect and adroit professionally.

In the past centuries the root cause of such tribal battles were considered ladies and the animal property including the golden and silver ornaments, and the acquisition of lands.

The *var* poems were generally composed by bards and *mirasis* of Panjab who were patronized by the rulers and rich farmers. In the medieval Panjab Mughals, even Maharaja Ranjit Singh due to their monarchical administration had ensued fiefs and cultivable lands to rich farmers along with some official duties. Thus, the referred chief enjoyed high status in the society. They were also avaricious and had personal enmity with each other. Their internal battles were recorded by *mirasis*. Moreover, *var* had been the local prominent form of poetry in Panjab.

This form of poetry was popular during 13th and 14th centuries A.D. Guru Nanak and his successors also followed the same tunes of *vars* like. *Lall Bahlima di var*, *Ibrahim Sikandar di Var*, *Musa di Var* etc. During the later Mughal rule some more *vars*, *Chathian di Var*, *Najabat di Var*, etc. were composed in Panjabi.

During the twentieth century A.D. some Panjabi poets wrote *vars* in Bait Chhand-Ram Narayan Singh Dardi, Harsa Singh Chattar, Vidhaat Singh Teer earned good fame in this art.

During the medieval age of Panjab the *var* writing phenomenon had the under mentioned aspects:

- (A) The mirasis (a low caste people) used to compose *var* to earn their livelihood by pleasing their patrons. So they versified their bravery and degraded their rivals. The pleased patrons used to pay them rewards in the shape of commodities. Their *vars* were in local shape.
- (B) The *vars* proved a good source of oral history record that transferred information from mouth though we cannot believe that all the facts versified in them are factually correct or not.
- (C) Being a popular form of poetry the *vars* proved good source to carry on the cultural, tribal and regional traditions.
- (D) In the modern context of criticism their text propounds various aspects in the field of social, literary and religious studies. This form of poetry was so popular in Panjab that the Sikh Gurus considered it fit to propagate their ideologies in public by means of this literary form. The Sikh Gurus changed its mode, subject and objectives. They created a new form of *var* which became popular with the name of *Adhiatamak varan* or spiritual *varan* (the spiritual *vars*).

Technically, a *var* needs two characters rival to each other who combat and compete using various strategies. The Sikh Gurus took the tunes of popular *vars* and in place of characters put human virtues and evils rival to each other. They also composed narratives and theological *bani* on the referred tunes. For example *Asa di Var* of Guru Nanak puts forth and socio-religious traditions prevalent during the time of Guru Nanak. The Gurus wrote *vars in ragas* (metres) i.e. *Majh di Var* etc. *Var*, since has its strong relation with music, generally these are sung by mirasis and dhadhhis with *dhad* and *sarangi*.

Bhai Gurdas wrote spiritual *Vars* but not in specific ragas. He chose a single metre with six to eight line (*pauree*) stanzas with a half stitch in the end evolving the whole theme of the stanza. Moreover, he selected rival characters such as Guru-oriented-man (*gurmukh*) and self-oriented-man (*manmukh*), rival virtues as truth and falsehood etc. as subjects various concepts of Sikh theology have been undertaken in his *vars*, such as the holy congregation, relation of the Name of God, the importance of Guru, the daily routine of a Guru's disciple (*gursikh*) and so on.

Bhai Gurdas has written his *vars* in stanzas called *paurees* in regional language. He also propounded different parables to clarify his themes. He has put more emphasis on the last stitch of each stanza and most of his stitches earned the status of proverbs in Panjabi language i.e.

- | | | |
|--------|--|---------------------|
| (i) | Gidarth daakh na upjai aakhe thooh kauri-
<i>The grapes are sour</i> | 34/6-1 |
| (ii) | Chareh soor mit jae andhera.
<i>The darkness vanishes when the Sun rises</i> | 1/17-7 |
| (iii) | Nekee badee na lukai lukae.
The goodness and evil cannot be concealed | 8/16-7 |
| (iv) | <i>Jag ayeaa sabh koe marsi</i>
Everybody who takes birth will die one day. | 25/17-7 |
| (v) | <i>Sach sacha koor koor vikhoaa</i>
Truth is always truth, falsehood is always falsehood. | 30/11-7 |
| (vi) | <i>Beejai vish na khave choori</i>
Evil begets evil | 30/19-8 |
| (vii) | <i>Jo beejai soee phal khaae.</i>
What you sow, so shall you reap. | 30/20-7 and 31/15-6 |
| (viii) | <i>Moorakh naal changerree chupaa.</i>
Avoid the company of foolish people. | 32/20-7 |
| (ix) | <i>Kutta raj bahaliai phir chukkee chattai</i>
Badmen cannot leave their bad habits. | 35/1-1 |
| (x) | <i>Ausar chukka hath na aavai.</i>
Time once gone cannot be recalled. | 1/15-8 and 5/18-7 |
| (xi) | <i>Anna aagoo saath muhae.</i>
An unwise leader destroys the future of his companions. | 37/28-8 |

Bhai Gurdas, generally, has narrated the gist of the pauree in the last stitch. The study concludes that:

- (1) Bhai Gurdas eulogising the Sikh Gurus recalled their glorious deeds and teachings. He did not use exaggeration to highlight the Gurus nor he pictured them in the context of puranic characters.
- (2) He portrayed the Gurus endowed by the Almighty and representatives of truthfulness and the true religion. He emphasized that they were benefitted with superpowers by which Guru Nanak could turn the doors of *Kaba*. He could produce the sweet dish received from the court of the Almighty.
- (3) According to Bhai Gurdas Guru Nanak Dev Ji had a great influential and convincing power. He could realize the people diverted from truthfulness, showing them the right path of religion and guided them accordingly. He could make the *sidhas* realize that they were not on the right path.
- (4) The poet has used exaggerations in revealing the word '*Waheguru*' in which he has recalled the incarnations of *Vishnu* i.e. 'V' (v) Vasudev, Vishnu 'H' (h) Hari, 'G' (g) Gobind, and 'R' (r) Ram. Ya Allah, Vah Allah (*Waheguru*).

In the Sikh theology the human intuition which motivates man to do good deeds has been given more importance and is also called teacher i.e. guide of a man. In Persian and Arabic the same concept is called '*Zameer*' and in English the *Holy Spirit*. It is an enchanting element which resides in each man and is antagonized by the bad spirit called '*Satan*' in Islamic & Christian phenomenon. In Sikh theology, when we call *Waheguru*, we remind the holy spirit lying in our mind.

So, *Waheguru* strikes the meaning of the enchanted holy spirit but Bhai Gurdas since was an outcome of Hindu theology so he has called the names of Vishnu incarnations while explaining the meaning of '*Waheguru*'.

- (5) The '*vars*' composed by Bhai Gurdas are decent specimens of the spiritual *vars* and propagated the tradition forward.

As in his vars, Bhai Gurdas has taken the same subjects in his *Kabitts* and *Swayyas*. In this work he has made a perfect use of *Swayya*, *Kabitt*, *Sortha*, *Dohra* and *Chhand*. We can quote here various examples of his poetic art:

In the following swayya Bhai Gurdas has elaborated the traditional concept of eighty four *laks* of species in which the human being carries on moving for epoches. All the efforts to get salvation go in vain. Nobody can break this cycle of birth and death till he surrenders himself to the refuge of the True Guru.

^g imRg mIn pqMg crwcru,
 join Anyk ibKY BRim AwieE[
 suin suin pwie rswql BU-ql,
 dyvpurI pRiq lau bhU DwieE[
 jog hU Bog duKwie suKwidk,
 Drm ADrm sukrm kmwieE[[
 hwir pirE srnwgq Awie,
 gurU muK dyiK guru suK pwieE[[

(Swayya No. 422)

Transliteration:

Khag mrig meen patang chrachar,
 jon anek bikai bhram aio.
 Sun sun paae rasaatal bhootal,
 devpuree preet lau bhau dhaio.
 Jog hoo bhog dukhaae Sukhaadik,
 daram adaram sukaram kamaaio.
 Haar pario surnaagat aae,
 Guru mukh dekh guru sukh paaio.

(Swayya No. 422)

Kabitt:- Kahan Singh Bhai had defined the characteristics of Kabitt as under:

Generally, all the poetic metres can be said kabitt but as a specific kind of poetic form it consists of four lines- Each line consists of 31 characters with three pauses after 8 characters and fourth pause after 7 characters.⁶

We can quote an example from the *kabitt* that, Bhai Gurdas used to eulogise Guru Nanak:

pUrn bRhm Awip Awpn hI Awp swij,
Awpn rica hY nwau Awp hI ibcwr kY[[
Awid gur duqIAw goibMd nwm kY khwiea,
gurmuK rcnw Akwr EAMkwr kY[[
gurmuK nwd byd gurmuiK pwvY Byd,
gurmuK lIlwDwrI Aink Aauqwr kY[[
guru goibMd Aau goibMd guru eyk-myk,
Eiq-poiq sUqR giq AMbr aucwr kY[[
Kabitt-(54)

Transliteration:

Pooran braham aap aapan hee aap saaj,
Aapan rachio hai nao aap hi bichaar kai.
Aad gur dutiaa gobind naam kai kahayeo,
Gurmukh rachna akaar oankaar kai.
Gurmukh naad beid gurmuk pavai bheid,
Gurmukh leelaadhaaree anik autarkai.
Guru Gobind au Gobind Guru ek-mek,
Ot-pot sutar gat anbar uchaar kai.

In the above mentioned *kabitt* Bhai Sahib proves that Guru Nanak, whom God Himself created were not two different personalities. The Transcendental Lord took the immanent form to appear as the first Guru, Guru Nanak.

While praising the Sikh Gurus Bhai Gurdas has also used *sortha*, *dohra* and *chhand* as his poetic metres. An example from each poetic form will be shown here.

Kahan Singh Bhai defining the characteristics of *Sortha* reveals:

Sortha: A *sortha* is a poetic metre consisting two lines, each line having two parts 11 syllables (*matras*) in the first part with pause on short vowel, 13 syllables (*matras*) in the second part and pause on the long vowel.⁷

Bhai Gurdas has written eight stanzas in this meter which is subjected to the praise of Guru Angad. The poet reveals:

jgmg joiq srUp,	11	
prm joiq imil joiq mih,	13	
AdBuq Aiqih AnUp,	11	
Prm qq qqih imilE[[13	Sortha (7)

Transliteration:

Jagmag jot sroop,	
param jot mil jot meh.	
Adbhut atehe anoop,	
Param tat tateh milieu.	Sortha (7)

A shining soul like a flame became perfect by its amalgamation with the enchanted one, became wonderful in perfection since met with the perfect. Bhai Gurdas has used the poetic metre of Dohra.

Kahan Singh Bhai indicates the characteristics of Dohra as under:

Dohra: A *dohra* has numerous, generally 8 which are categorized on the bases of short and long vowels. Generally, it consists of two lines, each line has 24 letters. The first pause at 13 letters and the second on 11.⁸

See the specimen of dohra used by Bhai Gurdas in his *Kabit-Swayyas*:

Awpw Awp pRgt huie,	13	
pUrn bRhm ibbyk	11	
gur goibMd bKwnIAY,	13	
nwm doie pRB eyk	11	Dohra-(20)

Transliteration:

Appa aap pargat hoye,
pooran braham bibek.
Gur Gobind bakhaaniyai,
naam doye prabh ek.

He manifested himself with virtues perfect likewise the absolute. Gobind is said his name but he and Absolute are similar.

Chhant:- So far as chant is concerned, Bhai Gurdas has made the best use of this poetic meter. It is a poetic form composed within the framework of certain rules relating to characters and their combination. This form has been used in Sri Guru Granth Sahib as well as in Sri Dasam Granth. While praising the Sikh Guru, Guru Amar Das Ji he writes:

siqgur Amr pRgws, qws crnwimRq pwvY]
 11+13=24
 kwm-nwm inhkwm, prm pd shj smwvY] 11+13=24
 gurmuK sMiD sugMiD, swD sMgq inj Awsn]
 11+13=24
 AMimRq idRsit invws, AMimRq suK bcn pRgwsn]
 11+13=24

Chhant-12 (4)

Transliteration:

Satgur amar pagaas, tas charamrit pavai
 Kaam naam nihkaam, param pad sehaj samaavai
 Gurmukh sandh sugandhi, saadh sangat nij aasan.
 Amrit drist nivaas, amrit such bachan pargasan.

Like Bhatt Nall, Bhai Gurdas has also used *Jhulna Chhand*. There are three *jhulna chhands* in his work *Kabitt Swayya* number 144,145 and 580.

Awid Drmwid ibsmwd gurey nmh,
 pRgt pUrn bRhm joiq rwKI]
 imil cqur brn iek brn huie swD sMg,
 shj Duin kIrn sbd swKI]
 nwm inhkwm inj Dwmu gurisK sRvn Duin,
 gurisK sumiq AlK lwKI]
 ikMcq ktwC kir ikRpw dY jWih lY,
 qWih Avgwih ipRA pRIiq cwKI] Jhulna Chhand-144

Transliteration:

Aad dharmaad bismaad gureh nameh
 pargat pooran bhraham jot rakhi
 mil chaatar baran ek baran hoye radd sang,
 sehaj ddhun keertan shabad sakhee
 Naam nihkaam nij dhaam gursikh sarwan dhun,
 gursikh sumat alakh laakhee
 kinchat kataachh kar kirpaa dai
 taahen avgaathe priya preet chaakhi

Salute to the true Guru, the wondrous form of God. God Himself has placed his Divine Light in him, The Sikh congregation, in the presence of the True Guru, where the praises of the Lord are sung and recited melodiously, where the four castes integrate into a casteless society, a gursikh gets benedictions of the Guru and relishes elixir-like love of the Almighty.

Elaborating the hardships of an ascetic which he forebears to earn his status in generosity, Bhai Gurdas reveals:

jYsy iql pIV qyl kwFIAq kstu kY,
 qW qy hoie dIpk jrwey aujAwro jI]
 jYsy rom rom kir kwtIAY Ajw ko qn,
 qW kI qwq bwjY rwj rwgnI so ipAwro jI]
 jYsy qau autwie drpn kIjY lost syqI,
 qW qy kr gih muK dyKq sMswro jI]
 qYsy dUK BUK suD swDn kY swD Bey,
 qW hI qy jgq ko krq insqwro jI]

Jhulna

Chhand-580

Transliteration:

Jaise til peer tel kadiat kast kai,
 taan te hoe Deepak jaraaye ujiaaro jiee
 Jaise rom rom kar kateesai ajaa ko tan,
 taan kee taat bajai raag raagani so piaro jee
 Jaise tan utae darpan kajai losat setee,
 taan te kar geh mukh dekhat sansaro jee

Taise dookh bhookh sudh sadhan kai saadh bhai

Taa hee te jagat ko karat nistaaro jee.

Oil seeds are crushed with hard labour and then its oil burns the wick and eliminates the darkness. A goat is slaughtered in pieces. Then its intestines are used in instruments to create melodious music. A lumpsum of sand is melted to cast mirror and then people can see their faces in it. In the similar way an ascetic faces troubles and hunger in his meditation and only then becomes able for the welfare of humanity.

(c) Bhai Nanad Lal-Ghazaliat, Mathnavis and other Works

So far as the poetic forms used by Bhai Nand Lal are concerned, he has used quite different poetic style than those of Bhattas and Bhai Gurdas. Bhai Nand Lal basically was a Persian poet. No doubt, he has been devout Sikh of Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji. He was a Hindu, devotional love attracted him to the services of Guru Gobind Singh Ji. He loved, adorned and propagated Sikh theology.

He was a great scholar of Arabic and Persian. He was also well versed in Punjabi, Hindi and Sanskrit. He was fully adroit in different poetic forms such as *Mathnavi*, *Ghazal*, *Rubbaee* and *Baint*.

Kahan Singh Bhai defines and denotes the infrastructure of mathnavi as under:

Mathnavi:- The word mathnavi is derived from Arabic and is a form of poetry in which each pair of two stiches are found assimilating. Its stitch has 19 (matras) syllables with a single pause after 12 syllables.⁹

A few ash'ar taken from the works of Bhai Nand Lal:

1. Gar tura dar yaad-e-khuda baashi mudaam

Ta shavee ai jaan-e-man mard-e-tamaam.

گرترا یادِ خدا باشدمدام

تاشوی ای جان من مرد تمام

Mahan Singh Gyani, *Tasnifat-i-goya*,
khalsa tract society, Amritsar, 1963-p.39
(*Zindagi Namah*).

If you continuously remain imbued in Akaalpururakh's meditation. O my soul, you can become a perfect human being.

2. Dar haqeeqat gair haq manjoor neesat.

Kisate jaan ko saraapaa nor neesat. ? *Ibid, p.63 (Zindagi Namah)*

در حقیقت غیر حق منظور نیست
کیستی جان کو سراپا نور نیست

There is no such entity that can be accepted without God. O my mind, there is no such person, who does not reflect rediance of the Almighty from head to feet.

3. Deeda az deedaar-e-Haq pur-noor kun.

Ghair Haq az khaatr-o-dil door kun. *Ibid, p.514 (Zindagi Namah)*

دیده از دیدارِ حق پر نور کن
غیر حق از خاطر و دل دور کن

O God, kindly make my eyes refulgent with light by blessing them with a glimpse of the Lord. Kindly take away everything from my heart without the entity of God.

To watch the technique and style of vocabulary Bhai Nand Lal, let us see a few ash'ar from Ganj Namah in the eulogy of Sikh Gurus.

About Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji:

Naam-e-oo shahe Naanak Haq Kesh.

Ke na'aayad Chanoo digar darvesh.

نام او شاہِ نانکِ حق کیس
کہ نہ آید چون دیگر آن درویش

Mahan Singh Gyani, Tasnifat at-i-Goya,
khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar-1963, p.
101. (*Ganj Namah*)

His name is Patshah Nanak. His religion is Truth. No Faquir like him is found in the whole world.

About Sri Guru Angad Dev Ji:

Choon Vashaaf-e-oo zaat-e-Haq aamdaa

Vajoodash ze kudasee varak aamdaa. Ibid, p. 104. (*Ganj Namah*)

چو ووصف او ذات حق آمده
وجودش از کُداصی ورق آمده

He who praised him, actually praises the Lord. His disposition is a page from the holy Granth of gods.

About Sri Guru Amardas Ji:

Jahaann raushan az noor-e-arshaard-e-oo

Zameen-o-zamaan gulshan az daad-e-oo Ibid, p. 105. (*Ganj Namah*)

جهان روشن از نور ارشاد او
زمین وزمان گلشن از داد او

This world is shining with radiance of his message. This earth and the world have been blessed with his bliss.

About Sri Guru Ramdas Ji:

Hamm az salatnat az furkash nishaan'

Giraan maayaa tar afsar-e-afsaraan' Ibid, p. 106. (*Ganj Namah*)

هم از سلطنت از فرکش نشان
گران مایا تر افسر افسران

His personality includes symbols both of royalty and renunciation. He is the king of kings.

About Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji:

Azo nazam kaal-e-haq andeshaa ra

Bado nasq illam-e-zaqeen peshaa ra. Ibid, p. 107. (*Ganj Namah*)

از او نظم کالِ حق اندیشه را
بدو نسق علم یقین پیشه را

His verses and essays are full of divine thoughts and spiritual enlightenment.

About Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji:

1) Do aalam munnavar ze anvaare oo.

Hamaa tishnaay-e-faiz-e-deedar-e-oo. *Ibid, p. 108. (Ganj Namah)*

دو عالم منور ز انوار او
ہمہ تشنہ فیض دیدار او

Both the worlds are illuminated with his spiritual (*noor*) light. All are anxiously thirsty of his bliss and kindness.

About Sri Guru Har Rai Ji:

Fayaazul daarain Guru kartaa Har Rai

Sarvar-e-kaunen Guru Kartaa Har Rai *Ibid, p. 109. (Ganj Namah)*

فیاض الدارین گورو کرتا ہر رای
سرور کونین گورو کرتا ہر رای

Guru Har Rai is showering both the worlds with his blessings. He is the spiritual chief of both the worlds, mudane as well as divine.

About Sri Guru Har Krishan Ji:

Tufailash do aalam khud kaamyaab

Azo gashtaa har zarraa khursheed taab *Ibid, p. 110. (Ganj Namah)*

طفیلش دو عالم خود کامیاب
از او گشتہ ہر ذرہ خورشید تاب

Both the worlds are successful due to his blessings. Even a dust particle shines like the sun with his blessings.

About Sri Guru Tegh Bahadar Ji:

Guru Tegh Bahadar aan' saraapaa afzaal,

Zeenat-aaraay-e-mehfal-e-jaah-o-jalaal. *Ibid, p. 111. (Ganj Namah)*

گورو تیغ بہادر آن سرپا افضل
زینت آرا محفل جاہ و جلال

Guru Tegh Bahadur was the store house of moral and ethical values. His elevated virtues were instrumental to enhance and enliven the enrichment of divine parties.

About Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji:

In the eulogy of Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji Bhai Nand Lal has composed a long poem. Which got ever-lasting popularity in the Sikh community:

2) Daavr-e-aafaaq Guru Gobind Singh

Dar do aalam taaq Guru Gobind Singh. *Ibid, p. 114. (Ganj Namah)*

داور آفاق گورو گوبند سنگھ
در دو عالم طاق گورو گوبند سنگھ

Guru Gobind Singh is the ruler of both the worlds. There is no rival of Guru Gobind Singh in both the worlds.

3) Haq Haq andesh Guru Gobind Singh

Baadshaah darvesh Guru Gobind Singh *Ibid, p. 114. (Ganj Namah)*

حق حق اندیش گورو گوبند سنگھ
بادشاہ درویش گورو گوبند سنگھ

Guru Gobind Singh is an observer of truthfulness. He is both a medicant and king.

4) Qaadire har kaar Guru Gobind Singh

Beykasaan ra yaar Guru Gobind Singh *Ibid, p. 115. (Ganj Namah)*

قادر ہر کار گورو گوبند سنگھ
بیکسان رایار گورو گوبند سنگھ

Guru Gobind Singh is capable of tackling all problematic affairs. He is the supporter of the weak.

Dr. Aziz Abbas in his studies subjected to the historical background of Persian *Mathnavi* pointed out: *Mathnavi* as a poetic form emerged first of all in Iran. It is a substitute of drama. In *Mathnavi* the narrator controls the situations himself and presents them to the readers accordingly, whereas in drama the situations and incidents are written and handed over to the characters to perform them on the stage. Dr. Sahib has put forth five forms of *mathanavi*:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1) Ishqia <i>Mathanavi</i> | Romantic <i>Mathanavi</i> |
| 2) Akhlaqi <i>Mathanavi</i> | Ethical <i>Mathanavi</i> |
| 3) Tarikhi <i>Mathanavi</i> | Historical <i>Mathanavi</i> |
| 4) Razmia <i>Mathanavi</i> | Warfare <i>Mathanavi</i> |
| 5) Waqiati <i>Mathanavi</i> | Narrative <i>Mathanavi</i> ¹⁰ |

Author's approach towards the *mathanavi* is historical and subjective. He has also tried to narrate the techniques of *Mathanavi* and denoted its 7 *bahars* (metres) Undoubtedly. Bhai Nand Lal's works propound some historical aspects about the Sikh Gurus but his *mathanavi Ganj Namah or Jot Bigas* cannot be included in the categories mentioned above. Some important Indian *Mathanavi* authors are Assmi, Urffi, Faizi, Zahuri, Kaleem, Saleem Tehraani, Bedil, Aafreen, Ghalib, Iqbaal Lahori etc.

Ghazal:- *Diwan-e-Goya* consists of *ghazals*, *rubaayees* and *baints*. Ghazal had been the most popular form of Persian poetry in medieval as well as the modern times. Kahan Singh Bhai has defined the infrastructure of *ghazal* as under:

In Arabic *ghazal* means talking with beautiful ladies i.e. romantic poetry. This poetic metre is of various types. Just like *swayya*. Bhai Nand Lal has composed *ghazals* of 10 and 12 stanzas in *Diwan Goya*, which vary in metre depending upon the number and position of *matras*. The even verses must rhyme. They must alliterate¹¹

The Bhai in the referred definition has highlighted the subject of *ghazals* prominent in Urdu literature. Urdu had been the language of cantonments where the Mughal or Hindi troops used to live segregated from their families. Because of

nostalgia they used to enjoy the feminine lust in words. They turned the Urdu literature towards the romanticism and made the romantic *ghazal* an integral part of the cantonment culture.

In Persian literature Sheikh Attar Nishapuri, Saadi Shirazi and Hafiz have left ethical, moralistic and philosophical ghazals but the Urdu poets rarely traversed the limitations of the romantic *ghazals*. The Punjabi and Hindi poets also followed the traditions initiated by Urdu poets.

Ghazliat of Bhai Nand Lal are subjected to eulogize the Sikh Gurus and interpret the thoughts of Gurbani. Bhai Sahib had profound study of Sikh theology which is quite vivid from the text of his works. In the eulogy of Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji Bhai Sahib writes in a *ghazal*:

- (i) Deen-o-duniyaa dar kamand-e-aan paree rukhsaar-e-maa
Har do aalam keemat-e-yak taar mooy-e-yar-e-maa.

دین و دنیا در کماند آن پری رخسارِ ما
ہر دو عالم قیمتِ یک تارِ موی یارِ ما

Mahan Singh Gyani,
Tasnifat-i- goya,
Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar,
1963-p.39. (*Diwan-e-Goya*)

Both, the mundane and the spiritual worlds are under the control of my fairy-faced friend. The price of the both the worlds is less than that of one hair of my beloved friend-Guru Gobind Singh Ji.

God is omnipresent. He is not bound to live in any *Mandar*, *Masjid* or *Gurdwara*. Human heart is the living place of God. Bhai Sahib writes:

- (ii) Harr Kujjaa deedaym anvaar-e-khudaa,
Baske az sohbate bazurgaan shud jazab. Ibid. p. 5. (*Diwan-e-Goya*)

ہر کجا دیدیم انوارِ خدا
بس کہ از صحبت بزرگان شد جذب

I have seen the light of God in the company of noble souls i.e. the holy congregation. In this couplet the poet has shown that God is omnipresent and he can easily be found in the holy congregation. Here the poet is signifying the importance of *Satsangat*. His radiance and manifestation spreads everywhere. When gods is present everywhere man should not be worried about anything.

- (iii) Dil agar daana bavad andar kinarash yaar hasat.
Chasham garr beena bavad darr har taraf deedaar hasat.

دل اگر دانا بود اندر کنارش یار هست
چشم گر بینا بود در هر طرف دیدار هست

Ibid. p. 5.
(*Diwan-e-Goya*)

If our mind is conscious then the beloved friend (God) is in our embrace. If our eyes are capable of seeing reality God is everywhere.

- (iv) Choon Khuda hazar ast dar hamaa haal.
Too chiraa mee zanee digar par-o-baal. Ibid. p. 27. (*Diwan-e-Goya*)

چون خدا حاضرست در همه حال
تو چرا می زنی دگر پر وبال

His thoughts echo Gurbani:

- (a) Raaj naa chahun mukat na chahun man preet charan kumlare.

SGGS-p 534

- i) Gadaaye kooye turaa mail-e-baadshahee neest.

Havaaye salatnat-o-zauk-e-kajkulayye neest. Ibid, p-8. (*Diwan-e-Goya*)

گدای کوی ترا میل بادشاهی نیست
هوای سلطنت و ذوق کج کلاهی نیست

- ii) Hazaar takht-murasaa fataadaa dar rahand

Qalandran-e-to taaj-o-nageen name khahand. Ibid, p. 15. (*Diwan-e-Goya*)

هزار تخت مرصع فتاده در راه اند
قلندران تو تاج و نگین نمی خواهند

- Tis das piare sir dhari utare ek bhoree darshan deejay.
Nain hamare priya rang rangre ek til bhi na dhirjai. SGGS, p. 534.
- iii) Yakk lehzaa bia vaa dar do chashmam b-nashee
Darr deeda nishashtaa dilrubaayee che shawad. Ibid, p. 14
(*Diwan-e-Goya*)
يك لحظه بيا و در چشمم بنشین
در دیده نشستہ دل ربای چہ شود
- (b) Gur Parmesher eko jaan
Jo tis bhavai so parvaan SGGS-p. 864
- iv) Harf-e-digar neest ghair az yaad-e-Haq.
Yaad-e-Haq, haan yaad-e-Haq, haan yaad-e-Haq. Ibid, p. 73.
حرفِ دیگر نیست غیر از یادِ حق
یادِ حق کن یادِ حق کن یادِ حق
- (c) Dhan dhan bhaag tinaa bhagat janaa,
Jo Har Nama Har mukh kehtaa. SGGS (649)
- v) Aarifaan-o-kaamilaan-o-vaasilaan.
Nam-e-oo daarand diayam bar jubaan Ibid, p. 58.
(*Zindagi Namah*)
عارفان و کاملان وواصلان
نام او دارند دایم بر زبان
- (d) Faridaa chaar gavayaa hand kai chaar gavayaa samm.
Lekhaa Rabb mangaysiaa to aahon' kehre kamm. SGGS (p. 1379)
- vi) Daan' zaqqeen, taa chand een' duniaan' bavad.
Aakharish kar-e-to ba Maulla bavad. Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand Lal*,
Granthavali, Publication Bureau ,
Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989,
p.103.
دان یقین تا چند این دنیا بود
آخرش کار تو بامولا شود

Rubaayee:- Kahan Singh Bhai has defined the nomenclature of the word *rubaayee* as under:

In Arabic, *rubaayee* is meant for arrangement of four letters in a word or a *chhand* of four lines i.e. '*chaupada*'. Like other poetic forms *rubaayee* also has numerous forms. The famous form has been seen in the works of Bhai Nand Lal. It has four lines. The first and second separately consists of 22, 22 matras. The third line comprises 19 matras and fourth line consists of 20 matras. The first, second and fourth line alliterate.¹²

Bhai Nand Lal has been one among various poets who have written *Rubaayees* such as Omar Khayyam, Abul Khair, Abu Saeed, Mirza Ghalib, Sarmad Shaheed and in Punjabi Bhai Vir Singh. *Rubaayees* of Bhai Nand Lal are very connotative and expressive. They look like romantic but the theme of his *ghazals* is rather moral and spiritual.

Bhai Nand Lal Ji writes:

- 1) Koor asat harr aan deeda ke haqq raa na shanaakhat
Een umar-e-giraan maayaa ba ghaflat darbaakhat.
Oo gireeyaan kunaan aamad ba has art murad,
Afsos dareen aamad shudd kaar-e-na saakha.

Mahan Singh Gyani,
Tasnifat-i- goya,
khalsa tract society,
Amritsar, 1963-p.32.
(*Diwan-e-Goya*)

کورست ہر آن چشم کہ حق را نہ شناخت
و این غم‌گران مایہ بغفلت در باخت
او گریا کُنان آمدہ و بحسرت مُرد
افسوس در این آمد و شد کار نہ ساخت

Everyman (every eye) who could not recognize God, can be considered blind. He wasted his precious life in negligence. He came to this world crying and passed away without fulfilling his purpose. It is a matter of regret that he could not break the cycle of birth and death.

Nobody can be happy without the grace of True Guru:-

2) Een umar-e-giraan-maayaa ke barbaad shaved.

Eva khannaaye veeraan va-cheh abaad shaved

Taa Murshad-e-Kaamil na dehadd dasat brahamm

Goya dil-e-gamgeen to choon shaad bavad. Ibid. p. 34. (*Diwan-e-Goya*)

این عمر گرانمایا که بر باد شود
و این خانۀ ویران و چه آباد شود
تا مُرشد کامل نه دهد دست با رحم
گویا دل غمگین تو چون شاد شود

Without the grace of True Guru, this precious life goes waste. The human heart is always filled with pains and worries. It can be made free when it meets the complete Guru.

Baint:- Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha comments:

According to the poets of Arabic and Persian literature, a baint has two lines. It has various forms on the basis of matras. There are eight different kinds of baint. Bahi Nand Lal, Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji, Waras Shah, Hafiz etc. have used this poetic form successfully.¹³

Describing the importance of *Satsangat* (the holy aggregation) Bhai Nand Lal writes:

(i) Sohabat-e-nekaan agar baashid naseeb

Dolat-e-jaavid zaabi ai habeeb.

Ibid, p.39. (*Zindagi Namah*)

Giving the significance of *Nam Simran* (*bandage*), recitation of God's Name, he says:-

(ii) Daulat-e-jaaveed baashed bandage.

Bandagee kun bandage kun bundagee.

Ibid, p. 40. (*Zindagi Namah*)

دولت جاوید باشد بندگی
بندگی کن بندگی کن بندگی

(iii) Yaad kun haan taa tawaani yaad kun.

Khanna ra az yaad-e-Haq abaad kun, *Ibid*, p. 66. (*Zindagi Namah*)

یاد کن ہاں تاتوانی یاد کن
خانہ را از یاد حق آباد کن

(iv) Ghair harf-e-khudaa mago Goya

Ke digar pooch hasat keel-o-makaal. *Ibid* p. 72. (*Diwan-e-Goya*)

غیر حرف خدا مگو گویا
کہ دیگر پوچ است قیل و مقال

Explaining the concept of Sikh theology that God is every where, he is not confined in so called religious places; he is omnipresent, everying living or non-living belongs to Him. All are his creation.

(v) Neesat ghair az aan sannam dar parda-e-dair-o-haram,

Kai bavad aatish-e-do rang az ekhatlaaf-e-sang ha

Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand Lal*,
Granthavali, Publication Bureau,
Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989,
p.87. [*Diwan-e-Goya*, (bait)]

نیست غیر از آن صنم در پرده دیرو حرم
کہ بود آتش دورنگ از اختلاف سنگ ہا

It is very interesting to note that in his Persian works Bhai Nand Lal has used *Ghazal*, *Rubaayee*, *Mathanavi* and *bait*, but in his Panjabi works like *Rahit-Namah* and *Tankhah-Namah* Bhai Sahib has used the poetic forms as *Chaupayee*, *Dohra* and even *Sortha*. The works mentioned above are in form of dialogue between Sri Guru Gobind Singh and Bhai Nand Lal.

Mentioning the daily routine of a Gur Sikh concerning religions obligations, Bhai Nand Lal writes the views of the Guru in the form of *Dohra*:

hwQ joV kr Adb soN bYTo moih hzUr,
sIs tyk gur gRMQ jI bcn suxy so hzUr]

Ibid, p.222.

(Rehat Namah)

Transliterate on :

Haath jor kar adab son' baitho mohe hazoor.

Sees tek Gur Granth Ji bachan sune so hazoor.

Translation : It is the duty of every Sikh to go to Gurdwara daily and genuflect before Sri Guru Granth Sahib and hear the teachings of the Shabad Guru attentively.

Using the poetic form of *Chaupayee* Bhai Nand Lal writes in Rahit-Namah. He asks the Guru:

qumrw inrgux rUp Apwrw,
so iks dyKY dIn idAwrw]
jgq gurU qum kho suAwmI,
Git Git vwsI AMqrjwmI]

Ibid, p-223. (*Rehat*

Namah)

Transliteration:

Tumra nirgun roop apaaraa,

So kis dekhai deen diaaraa.

Jaggat Guru tum kaho swaamree,

Ghat Ghat vaasee antarjaamee.

Translation :

The people of mundane world cannot see and understand the formless existence of the Guru. Guru Gobind Singh is called the world Guru and He knows the internal wishes of the heart of men.

Tankhah Namaha again, is in the form of dialogue between the Guru and Bhai Nand Lal. Asking the Guru what are the dos and don'ts for the Sikhs, He asks in the form of a *dohra* :

pRSn kIAw nMd lwl jI gurU bqweIey moih]
kOx krm ien jog hYN kOx krm nhIN soih] Ibid, p.225.

(*Tankhah Namah*)

Transliteration:

Prashan Kiaa Nand Lal ji Guru bataayeeye mohe,
Kaun karam en jog hain kaun karam nahi sohe.

Translation :

Then Bhai Sahib writes in the words of the Guru using the *Dohra* form :

That a Sikh should not eat anything without taking bath and reciting the Name of the Almighty.

In the worlds of the Guru Bhai Nand Lal writes the answer:

nMd lwl qum bcn suxhu isK krm hY eyhu,
nwmu dwnu iesnwn ibn kry nw AMn isauN nyhu] Ibid, p. 225.

(*Tankhah Namah*)

Transliteration:

Nand lal tum bachan sunoh Sikh karam hai eiho,
Namm daan ishnaan bin kare na ann sihon niho.

In the words of the Guru, Bhai Nand Lal forms a *Chaupayee* saying that a Khalsa (a Singh of Guru Gobind Singh) should give up back-biting, he should fight bravely against tyranny, kill the five vices and burn the bad deeds. He should give up pride, and avoid illicit relations with other body's woman. A Khalsa should not have a bad look

on the belongings of others. He should recite the Name of God and love Gurbani and fight bravely with enemies.

^wlsw soie jo inMdw iqAwgY,
^wlsw soie lVy hoie AwgY]
^wlsw soie jo pMc ko mwrY,
^wlsw soie krm ko swVY]
^wlsw soie mwn jo iqAwgY,
^wlsw soie priqRAw qy BwgY]
^wlsw soie pRidRSit ko iqAwgY,
^wlsw soie nwm rq lwgY]
^wlsw soie gurbwxI ihq lwie,
^wlsw soie swr muMih Kwie]

(*Tankhah Namah*)

Ibid, p.228.

Transliteration:

Khalsa soye jo ninda tiaagai,
Khalsa soye jo larai hoye aagai.
Khalsa soye jo punch ko maarai,
Khalsa soye karam ko saarai.
Khalsa soye maan ko tiaagai,
Khalsa soye jo partriaa te bhaagai.
Khalsa soye pardrisht ko tiaagai,
Khalsa soye Naam rat laagai.

Bhai Nand Lal also makes use of *Sortha* when he reminds the Sikhs of their daily dos, to comb hair and dress turban daily. He must brush his teeth daily.

kMGw dovyN vkq kr p`g cuxY kr bWDeI,
dwqn kry inq nIq nw duK pwvY lwl jI[

(*Tankhah Namah*)

Ibid, p.226.

Transliteration:

Kanghaa doven waqat kar pagg chunai kar bandhayee,
Daatan kare nit neet na dukh pavai Lal ji.

In ancient times, in Indian monarchical system a *rajyogi* had the higher status than *rajas*. *Rajmata*, *rajpita* or *raj guru* were responsible for the activities of rulers and Hindu kings used to receive guidance from their *rajgurus*. But this system was abolished by the Mughals. The court poets also used to play an important role in the political hold of the empire because he always used to eulogize the activities of his patron. Thus he could influence the ideologies of the king.

In Hindu epic literature Narad Vishva Mitter, Vishavpati, durbasa, Shunkracharya being *rajrishis* and *rajgurus* enjoyed the highest status in the Hindu monarchical system. Not only gods and even public paid them regard. Even demon gods had reverence for their gurus like Shunkracharya of the Puranic literature.

This concept of reverence towards Guru continued in Hindu and Sikh communities. According to the version of Guru Nanak:

Balhari gur apne deohari sadvaar
Jin maanas te devte kie karat na lagi var

Asa di Var SGGS pp, 462-63

Guru Nanak in Jap Ji again endowed the status of deities to the Guru:

Gur Isar, gur Gorakh, Brahma gur, Parbhathi Mai. SGGS-p. 3

So, it may be said that *rajyogi*, *rajguru* and *rajrishi* was a status which earned high esteem in Hindu and Sikh society. The Sufi literature conferred this status upon *murshid* with a minor conceptual change. The status of *murshad* has high rank in Sufi literature. The poets understudy termed the status of *rajguru*, *rajyogi*, *rajrishi* to the Sikh Gurus but not that of a *Murshid* about Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji Bhai Nand Lal writes in *Ganj Namah*.

Baad bar murshad tareeq nisaar
Az sar-e-ejaz sad hazaaraan baar
Murshad-e-paak noore Haq aamd

Zaan sabab dar dilam sabq aamd

Mahan Singh Gyani,

Tasnifat-i- goya,

khalsa tract society,

Amritsar, 1963-p.99.

بـاـد بـر مـر شـد طـر یـق نـثـار
اـز سـر اـعـجـاـز صـد هـزاران بـار
مـر شـد پـاک نـور حـق اـمـد
ز ان سبب در دل م سبب سبق آمد

Similarly, he extolled Sri Guru Angad Dev Ji in *Ganj Namah*

Guru Angad ann murshadul aalmeen

Ze fazal-e-ahd rahamtul muzanbeen

(55)

Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand Lal,*

Granthavali, Publication Bureau,

Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989,

p.171.

گـور و انـگـد آن مـر شـد العـالـمـین
ز فـضـل اـحـد ر حـلـت المـز نـین

He did not describe them as they are dealt in Sufi literature. Bhai Nand Lal had deep respect for Gurus. He eulogizes Guru Gobind Singh in *Ganj Namah*.

Sayal az inam Guru Gobind Singh

Khaak-e-paak Iqdaam Guru Gobind Singh

Baad Jaanish fida-e-Guru Gobind Singh

Fark-o-bar pai Guru Gobind Singh.

Ibid, pp. 189,190.

سـایـل از انـعام گـور و گـوبـنـد سـنـگـه
خـاک پـاک اـقـدام گـور و گـوبـنـد سـنـگـه
بـا د جـانـش فـدای گـور و گـوبـنـد سـنـگـه
فـرق او بـر پـای گـور و گـوبـنـد سـنـگـه

Bhai Nand Lal has not portrayed the Gurus mere the spiritual guides like that of Bhai Gurdas. He had full understanding of the monarchical system of the day. He also had knowledge of the dominative life of rulers of the day. So he called the gurus with similar adjectives like *jahaan bane Akleem*

Guru Ram Dass *aan milaaul wara*

Jahan ban-e-Akleem sidq-o-safaa

Ibid, p. 173.

گورو رام داس آن مطاع الوری
جهان بان اقلیم و صدق و صفا

Emperors of the both lives. Even the emperors of the worlds genuflect to pay them regards. He portrays the features of kings as well as ascetics in the Sikh gurus

Ham az saltnat ham az fukrash nishan.

Giraam Maya tar afsar-e-afsaraan

Ibid, p. 173.

هم از سلطنت هم از فقرش نشان
گران مایه تر افسر افسران

According to his version the Sikh Gurus are brave, truthloving and rulers of both the worlds temporal and spiritual. They had treasures and riches like emperors and also they were graceful towards their disciples. The poet uses similar adjectives for the Gurus ie *daaware aafaq, dar do aalim taaq. khazin, muin muta'I, darwesh, sarvarannra tag,*

By this viewpoint the poet differs from the poetical strategies of Bhai Gurdas, but assimilates with bards who called the gurus *Rajyogi*.

(i) kibkl sujsu gwvau gurU nwnk rwju Xog ijin mwixEu]11

SGGS p1389

Kabkal sujas gavo Guru Nanak rajyog jin maanio.

The Bhatt Kalsahar sings the subline praise of Guru Nanak who enjoys the taste of spiritual union of God.

(ii) iehu rwj jog gur rwmdws qum hU rsu jwxy]

Ehu rajyog Gur Ramdas tum hoo ras jaane.

The relish of divine union with God is enjoyed by Guru Ramdas.

From the above study it may be concluded that:

1. The bards, Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal have portrayed the Sikh Gurus in Indian context. None of them described like Murshid of Sufi literature or prophet or messenger of Semitic religions.
2. The bards have used Puranic and Vedic characters as adjectives for the Gurus and eulogized them as a part of the lineage to them.
3. Bhai Gurdas has eulogized the activities and graceful nature of the Gurus. He has used minimum supernatural narratives or similes to portray their personalities.
4. Bhai Nand Lal though has undertaken the Persian language as a form of poetry but described the Gurus in Indian context.
5. The bards have used the *swayya* a form of Sanskrit classical literature. Bhai Gurdas has eulogized the Gurus in the regional form of poetry i.e. *var* while Bhai Nand Lal has used *bahar ramal* from the Persian literature.
6. The language used by Bhai Gurdas is quite proximate to the language of mob of his time. His eulogies helps to propagate the Sikh theology.
7. The above referred works acquire a status of high esteem in the Sikh literature. These are cognized to be undertaken in the devotional singing of the Sikh cult.
8. The technique to exaggerate the meanings of *Waheguru* used by Bhai Gurdas has also been followed by Bhai Nand Lal. In the eulogy of each Guru he tried to exaggerate each spelling of their names in prose sections of *Ganj Namah*.
9. The bard poetry due to their art and language is a decent specimen of the Indian classical poetry. The *vars* of Bhai Gurdas are key and exemplary specimens of the spiritual *vars* while the works of Bhai Nand Lal is a good specimen from the Court of the Tenth Guru who had engaged 52 poets in literary activities.
10. Bhai Gurdas in his *vars* and *Kabbit Swayyas* unlike the other poets had mission to propagate the Sikh theology. He undertook more theological aspects of the

Sikh philosophy. The Bhattas concentrated only on the subject of eulogizing the Sikh Gurus. Bhai Nand Lal has concentrated on both the subject i.e. to praise the glories of the Sikh Gurus as well as he has explained the importance and significance of different concepts of Sikh theology.

11. All the bards, Bhai Gurdas as well as Bhai Nand Lal endeavored to explain the development of the Sikh theology which proceeded further by the series of Gurus step by step. Though they called them *Ek Jot* (Single swaroop) but it did not mean to consider them like the Halulia School of Stifles. They meant that all the Gurus had a single mission to develop the virtues among mankind. The Sikh Gurus were working under a mission that was ordained by God and Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji was the first Guru who laid the foundation stone of the theology. The further Gurus worked for the development of the theology. Incited by the Guru Nanak Dev.

References

1. Bhai Kahan Singh, *Encyclopedia of the the Sikh Literature Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh, Vol. 1*, publication Bureau, Punjabi, University, Patiala, 2006, p-148.
2. Ibid, pp-432-436.
3. Ibid, p- 1018.
4. Ibid, p-546.
5. Rattan Singh Jaggi, *Sri Guru Granth Prichai*, Gobind Sadan Institute of Advanced Studies in Comparative Religion, Mehroli Road, New Delhi, 1991, pp-140-141.
6. Ibid, vol. II, p-754.
7. Ibid, vol. I, p- 594.
8. Kahan Singh Bhai, *Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, 2006, p- 652.
9. Ibid, p- 931.
10. Dr. Aziz Abbas, *Farsi Mathnavi Ka Iratqa*, Shaheed Publications, Azaad Market Delhi, 2007, pp-12-16.

11. Kahan Singh Bhai, *Encyclopedia of the the Sikh Literature Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh, Vol. 1*, publication Bureau, Punjabi, University, Patiala, 2006, p-993.
12. Kahan Singh Bhai, *Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, 2006, p- 1043.
13. Ibid, p-890.

CHAPTER –VI

EULOGISTIC APPROACH AND COMPARISON

Bhai Nand Lal in his ghazals has propounded the different forms and virtues of the Almighty, his adoration towards Him, significance of holy congregation and divine love. In his *Zandagi Namah* he has repeated the same subjects changing the poetic metre. In *Tankhah Namah* (Punjabi) a few aspects of the discipline of true Khalsa have been explained. He has eulogized the Sikh Gurus in *Jot Bigas* and *Ganj Namah*. Undoubtedly, Bhai Nand Lal was the contemporary and devotee of the tenth Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh yet he has eulogized all the ten Sikh Gurus. Guru frequently in all his works. *Ganj Namah*, *Jot Bikas (Parsion)* and *Jot Bikas (Panjabi)* are specifically subjected to the eulogies of the Sikh Gurus.

Eulogizing the first Sikh Guru, Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji, Bhai Nand Lal mentioned that the Guru Sahib was an image of all powerful God. He was to raise the flag of eternal spiritual bliss and eliminate the darkness of ignorance with the divine enlightenment that he had received from the Almighty. He took responsibility to propagate the message of the Almighty (*Akaalpurakh*) in the world. All his words, messages and orders are supreme and sacred for the people. Both the 'noons' of his name depict 'nurturer and nourisher'. The 'alif' in between the two 'noons' which symbolize the absolute (*Akulpurakh*) and the last 'kaaf' represents 'the ultimate great prophet'.

Bhai Nand Lal in the glory of Guru Nanak has composed eulogy (*Qasida*) and called him a superhuman being beyond the mundane personalities. Even he was an image of the Almighty (*Narayana*). The Almighty created him and made him superior to all human beings as well as head of His Messengers. He himself entitled him as the guide of mundane life and the life after death. He was studded with qualities to endow salvation, blessings and pity. God Himself decorated his seat and granted him all virtues and qualities of social welfare. Here, Bhai Nand Lal has infrastructured the image of a monarch. According to the version of Bhai Nand Lal, the empire of Guru Nanak is eternal. As a spiritual being Bhai Nand Lal calls Guru Nanak superior to those of the Hindu gods like Brahma, Ishar (Shiva) and Vishnu .

Hazaaran Brahmaan sana khwaane oo.

Zi har bertareen bertareen shaane oo.¹

ہزاران چون ناسوت و ملکوت ہم خون او
ہزاران چون جبروت و لاہوت ہم سان او

The Guru was superior to all the incarnations of Vishnu. The Hindu demigods all genuflect before him in respect:

Hazaar Ish Inder dar pae oo.

Zi har bertareen bertareen jae oo.²

ہزار ایش و اندر در پے ای او
زہر برتر ترین برترین جای او

Numerous incarnations of Vishnu and Krishana and devotees like Dhru, Rama, and Krishna are ready to sacrifice themselves for the minor foot dust of the Guru. Besides the Hindu gods, semi gods and Vishnu incarnations and devotees, Bhai Nand Lal explains that the other creations of the worlds, skies, are also devotees of Guru Nanak.

Hazaaran sipahar-o-hazaaran sama.

Hazaaran zameen-o-hazaaran sara.

Hazaaran chun kurasi hazaaran chun arsh.

Bapaayash dil-o-jaane khud kardeh farsh.³

ہزاران سپہ و ہزاران سماع
ہزاران زمین و ہزاران ثری
ہزاران چون کرسی ہزاران چون عرش
بپاایش دل و جان خود کردہ فرش

Bhai Nand lal has also undertaken the Jewish, Islamic as well sufistic concepts and termed Guru Nanak Ji superior to them:

Hazaaran chun naasut-o- malkut ham.

Hazaaran chun jabrut-o-lahut ham.⁴

Numerous angels, great men and characters like Adam and Eve are explained serving as slaves on the threshold of the Guru since the Almighty has bestowed upon him superiority:

Hazaaran chun Adam hazaaran Hava.

Hazaaran bazurgan' bipaish fida.⁵

ہزاران چون آدم ہزاران چون حوا
ہزاران بزرگان بپایش فدا

Guru Nanak was superior to all human beings, the deputed messenger of the Almighty on earth and all gods of heaven. They genuflect before Guru Nanak:

Khaasgaan jumla khaaqe pai oo.

Hamah malkution fidaai oo.

Sad hazaaran mureedash zi malkoot.

Sad hazaaran mureedash zi nasoot.⁶

خاصگان جملا خااک پای او
ہمہ مالکوتیان فدای او
شاد ہزاران مریدش ز مالکوت
شاد ہزاران مریدش ز ناسوت

Bhai Nand Lal exaggerating the greatness of Guru Nanak feels himself incapable of eulogize all qualities of Guru Nanak and reveals that 'the Almighty Himself has extolled the Guru:

Haq chun khud waasifash chi goyam man.

Dar rahe wasifashe oo chi poyam man.⁷

حق چو خود واصلش چگویم من
در رہ وصف او چہ پویم من

Bhai Nand Lal adds that Guru Nanak was a spiritual guide and his instructions ought to be followed. His sight view endowed pleasures and minds follow to yield his blessings. Those who recited his name got rid of the pains of hell:

Inbasaat aidash az aan deedan.
Bar shatabad zi behare bar cheedan.
ki zi dozakh shawand rusta ham.
Warna uftand dasat-basata ham.⁸

انبساات آیداش از آن دیدن
بار شتاداد زی بهاره بار چیدن
کی زی دوزخ شاونند رسته همه
ورنه اُفتانند دسات بست همه

The bard, Kalsahar portraying the personality of Guru Nanak writes that the Guru had enjoyed the temporal as well as the spiritual kingdom. The great kings like Janak and saints like Sanak as well as *Jogis* Kaplad, Jamdagani, Udho, Akrur, Bidar, praised his glories. Moreover, Sesnag with numerous tongues praised his personality. Four Vedas, six Shastras of Hindus and even Shiva himself extolled his virtues. His glories are equally extolled in both the worlds. In the Epoch of Gold age (Satyuga) he emerged as Bawan, in Silver age (*Duapar*) as Krishana, in Brass age (*Treta*) as Ram and in the Iron age of (*Kaljuga*) he acquired the name of Nanak. All the historical bhagatas and mythological bhagats, gods and semi-gods like. Ravidas, Kabir, Jaidev, Trilochan, Beni, Sukhdev, Brahma, Vyas, Bharthari, Durbasa, Parus, Angré, Bal etc. sang the praises of Guru Nanak.

In the above mentioned revelations the bards have taken the names of devotees, and bhagatas who even had passed away before the birth of Guru Nanak, ie Ravidas/ Beni and Jaidev. Thus, they extolled Guru in *mubaligha*.

Bhai Gurdas has extolled Guru Nanak and picturised his significance in his contemporary social, religious and political phenomenon. He described that Guru Nanak's emergence was the need of the day since the whole social phenomenon of the time was upset. Guru Nanak by his spiritual values propounded a life style which was

followed and appreciated by Hindus and Muslims alike. The jogis, theists and ascetics accepted his greatness. He taught the lesson of equality between the social groups by which rulers and the ruled could become friends to each other and accept the significance of each other. Bhai Gurdas adds that Guru Nanak put before the society an example of simplicity, soberness, austerity and restraints:

Rana rank barabary paireen pavna jag vartaia

- - - - -

Ret akk aahar kar rorran ki gur ki vechhae

Bhari kari tapasiaa vade bhag har sion ban aayee⁹

He firstly himself practiced the referred life values, acquired success and then moved to propagate them. He explained the significance of good deeds in human life and their importance in religious life:

Puchhan fol kitab nu Hindu vada ke Musalmanoe?

Baba akhe hajian shubh amlaan bajhon dono roe¹⁰

Bhai Gurdas portrays Guru Nanak victorious in discourses with Jogis, Maulvis, Qazis etc. and added that he condemned their hypocritical religious practices. Similarly, he condemned the rulers, who oppressed the poor public and jurisprudence away from human value and pronounced the justified definitions to their duties. Bhai Gurdas, though has used the symbols of Puranic characters to eulogise Guru Nanak but the referred characters used by him are merely general, like deities, demons, Indra, dancers of his court (Inder loka) a few in number. Consequently, it may be said that the bards who were basically Hindu Brahamins have used more Puranic characters in their eulogies. Bhai Gurdas has portrayed the significance of Guru Nanak in his social, religious and political context while Bhai Nand Lal having a vast knowledge of Islamic studies used Hindu Puranic as well as Islamic characters to calculate the glory and greatness of the Guru.

Kalsahar, the Bard addresses Guru Angad and calls Guru Nanak a blessed personality who placed his hand on the former's brow. With the touch of his hand on the brow the stream of nectar began to flow to fumigate the rishis, mundane people as

well as prophets. The bard added that it was his moral duty to propagate the glory of Sri Guru Angad Dev in seven global continents.

According to the version of Kalsahar the bard, Guru Angad had a glorious glance that was able to wash out the sins and the very sight of the Guru illumined the universe by eliminating the darkness of ignorance. The aggregation of the Guru was true, divine and sublime while his personality was imbibed with the love of God.

Kalsahar calls Guru Angad an incarnation of king Janak and termed him a man with nature who provided refuge to the pious and the noble. The Guru was able to procure the griefs and sufferings like the supernatural tree (Kalap Tree). He had controlled upon the mundane desires, pardoned the sinners as well as provided shelter to the refugees. He had powers temporal as well as of spiritual worlds. Moreover, the bard added that the minor most persons by the glance of Lehna received the grace of unity with the Almighty.¹¹

Kalsahar called Guru Angad a great person who always took the shelter of God's Name, remained engaged in His recitation and acquired peace. His holy sight view bestowed the merit of ablution of 68 pilgrimages and nine stores of riches.

Darshan parsiai Guru kai ath-sath majan hoe¹²

Kalsahar the bard, revealed that the services of Guru Angad must be undertaken continuously day and night because his vision protects the sinners from the pains of birth and death.

Kalsahar the bard, indicated one's attention towards the pain of birth and death which are considered most painful occasions in human beings and animals. Generally, it is opined that the death in human beings as well as animals occurs due to the failure of limbs. But in religion it is not so. Since one becomes adult or acquires consciousness in childhood he begin's to feel pains and pleasures but in too minor age or in the shape of foetus nothing can be said about feelings. The modern science has not proved whether a foetus has consciousness or not. Due to the growth of body, one forgets the incidents of his life as lad or lass. The Hindu classical scriptures reveal that the foetus also feels pleasure and pain.

When a man becomes adult his feelings become more sensitive. He fears from unknown facts and feels pains. The life after death becomes the most painful feeling for him because he always think about the life after death. Moreover, the Hindu mythology and scriptures have revealed dangerous and dreadful scenario of hell. Thus the concepts of life and death are painful.

Bhai Gurdas was a contemporary of Guru Arjan and Guru Hargobind Sahib. He had learnt about the previous Gurus by means of oral records or the Bani to which he got chance to transcribe at the occasion of editing work of Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Similarly, he had not seen Guru Angad. He did not write more about Guru Angad and the 45th stanza of his 1st var informs that he was granted the spiritual Guruship by Guru Nanak himself during his life time. In four stanzas (5 to 8) of var No. 24 are subjected to Guru Angad Dev Ji. The poet reveals that Guru Angad emerged from the physical body of Guru Nanak just like waves emerge from the river Ganga. He, by nature, was serious, responsible, full of good qualities and termed the master of the field of Guru Nanak. He remained keenly attached in the name of the Almighty. He passed successfully through the tests taken by the Guru and proved an adroit pilot of the Sikh congregation. He was master in spiritual and temporal life and overcame all the five evils. He was studded with the qualities of truth, contentment, pity and religious feelings. He had discarded off lusts, anger and the felling of rivalry.

Bhai Gurdas in the praise of Guru Angad has not used the similes of the Puranic characters and his words about Guru Angad evince the latter a common man of the earth studded with the virtues of humanity and socio religious values.

In praise of Guru Angad, Bhai Nand Lal opines that the referred Guru is similar to Guru Nanak. Both the Gurus were sparks from a single source. The poet has defined the name of 'Angad' *alif+noon+gaaf+daal*. 'Alif' means 'ihatadar', kindness towards the poor and the rich, 'noon' means 'nivazanda' (endowing), 'gaaf' means 'kamran' and 'daal' means 'dawaa' i.e. medicine of each pain.

The poet adds that Guru Angad was the guide for both worlds i.e. spiritual and mundane. He was a cause of forgiveness for the poor. This praise was quite equal to the praise of the Almighty.

Formatted: Font: 12 pt, Complex Script Font: 12 pt, Superscript

Formatted: Font: 12 pt, Complex Script Font: 12 pt, Superscript

Do aalam che bashad hazaaran' jahan'
Tufaile karamhaaye oo kaamraan.¹³

دو عالم چه باشد هزاران جهان
طفیله کرمهای او کامران

Obviously, it is concluded that Bhai Nand Lal has portrayed the Guru in a human being studded with virtues. The poet has not used adjectives and similes those of supernatural character and called him forgiving, kind, justice liking, a selected personality of the Almighty as well as a part of the physical body of Guru Nanak.

Kalsahar the bard, in praise of Guru Amar Das wrote that the glory of the referred Guru was manifest in the East, the West, the North and the South i.e. in all directions of the universe. He has in his mind the Name of the Almighty which is undeceivable and helps the saints to across the dreadful ocean of the mundane life. The Guru is so great and glorious that sublime gods, strivers, adepts him and Shiva recites the glories of his name.

The Moon as well as the Sun urge to recite the name of the Guru since his name has emancipated ranges of mountains spread in extensive categories. Eighty four miraculous men, Budha, Ambrik, Udho, Akrur, Trilochan. Namdev Kabir, 33 crore deities all received the benefits by means of recitation of his name. The undeceivable Name of the Almighty got place in the heart of Guru Amar Das. It was the name which endowed pleasures to Bhisham Pitama. The son of Tej Bhan an outcome of the Bhalla clan Guru Amar Dass was praiseworthy. Those who serve the true Guru are endowed with comforts. His right hand had the symbol of lotus while his frontal view had supernatural powers. He spoke the words full of devotion and had the store of nectar in his heart. He was above the feelings of richness and poverty.

Jallap, the bard, revealed that Guru Amar Dass believed in monotheism. He meditated on the one God and cognized Him one only. He marched towards the indestructible God in the age of 72. Guru Amar Das had the same virtues which were found in Jaidev and Namdev. He had a nature away from greed, anger and ambitions. His sight view endowed men the blisis of emancipation. The Guru provided fearlessness from the assumptions of the fear of life and death.

Jallap adds that Guru Amar Dass propagated the teachings of Lehna, Guru Angad Dev. The Guru born in a high esteemed family the bard feels helpless to narrate his glories. Kirti the bard, has narrated that the Almighty Himself entered into the universe in the form of the true Guru Amar Dass. By assuming the form of the said Guru the Almighty illumined the whole universe. He was a river of spiritual diamonds and saved the drowning ones. His services imparted freedom from pains and penury.

Bhikha the bard, praised the nature of Guru Amar Dass and revealed that the Guru had overpowered his lust and wrath and never allowed these vices to touch him. The poet pictured the Guru in the form of a troop, who wore an amateur of trance climbed on the saddled horse of spiritual knowledge. He took in hand the bow of faith and shot the arrows of recitation and humility. By the grace of Guru Nanak he received the empire of a spiritual teacher.

Sall the bard, completed the theme initiated by Bhikha, who portrayed the Guru in the form of a troop and added that the Guru like a brave soldier defeated his enemies. Bhall the bard, extolled and said that in order to count the gnosis of the Guru one needs concentration of mind like Shiva, the Hindu god of death.

Obviously, It may be concluded that Kalsahar used maximum puranic characters and concepts to eulogize the Gurus while Jallap, Sall, Bhall and Bhikha portrayed the Guru like a human being with a nature of spiritual richness. Moreover, their language has proximity with the Punjabi prevalent during their times.

Bhai Gurdas termed Guru Amardas eternal like his name. In Punjabi the word Amar means, eternal or deathless. The Guru founded the city of Goindwal which became a notable centre of Sikhism. Bhai Gurdas has also repeated the eulogy of Guru Amardas in *var*, 24 where he added that the Guru opened the stores of Divine Word and distributed the riches of devotion. The four Hindu castes influenced by his nature paid him regards and bowed before him. The Guru had no ambition for worldly riches. Most of the thoughts provided in this matter are similar to the words of bards:

- 1 The bards propagated their homage in typical language with curious glossary and mythological characters. While Bhai Gurdas has paid his homage to the Gurus in quite simple Punjabi which was easily understandable to the simple minded Sikhs of that time.

- 2 The objective of writings of Bhai Gurdas was to propagate the socio religious phenomenon of the Sikh faith. He composed countable stanzas in praise of the Gurus and it is opined that he followed the ideas of the bards to glorify the Gurus.
- 3 Bhai Gurdas propagated the extract of the curious *swayyas* the of bards in simple *vars*. Guru Arjan Dev rightly said that his writings are a key to Gurbani.

Bhai Nand Lal eulogizing the Guru Amardas in *Ganj Namah* versified following details about different letters of his name. The letter ‘*alif*’ stands for ‘*aram bakhsh*’, ‘*mim*’ symbolizes, ‘blessings of sweet verses’ *re*’ denotes richness or “*raunak*” of his immortal face, the word ‘*daal*’ is described as the ‘*dastgir*’ the helper of the helpless, the second ‘*alif*’ is meant for “giving shelter to sinners” and the ‘*seen*’ at the end stands for ‘God’s grace’ on him.

Do aalam ghulaamash che hazda hazaar

Fazaal-o-kraamash fazoon’ az shumaar.¹⁴

دو عالم غلامش چه ہزار
فضال و کرامش فزون از شمار

The poet composed only four couplets about Guru Amardas in *Ganj Namah* and eulogised him in brief.

Guru Amardas begot from a noble family and he received endowments from the graceful Almighty. His words illumined the universe. He extended justice by which the earth i.e. the world took the shape of a green garden. Not only eighty thousand people, even both the present and the next world accept his slavery since his grace, kindness and endowment were limitless.¹⁵

Obviously, it is concluded that the bards, Kalsahar, Jallap Kirat, Bhikha, Sall and Bhall wrote 22 *swayyas* in the Guru’s praise. Kalsahar eulogised the Guru more but his narrative portrayed the Guru as a human being whose nature was full of virtues. The narratives of Bhai Gurdas and Nand Lal are brief but denote the glory of the Guru completely as a perfect spiritual Teacher.

Eulogizing the virtues of the fourth Guru, Sri Guru Ramdas Ji, Bhai Nand Lal in his work Ganj-Namah (Prose Section) points out that every unfortunate, ignoble, immoral, debased, sordid and mean person who has come under his refuge is blessed and is made a blessed soul. Every sinner and immoral person who had recited his name, could easily shake of the fifth of his mind and soul. The 're' of his name is very fortunate and it stands for the soul of every human being, the first 'alif' of his name is above every other name in the world. Mim symbolizes benevolence and kindness. 'Daal' including second 'alif' in his name resides in the Naam of Waheguru. The 'seen' of his name symbolize help and support of the destitute in both the words.

In the eulogy of Sri Guru Ramdas Ji the poet has written five distiches.

Ze tausaf-e-oo qaasir zabaan.

Azo rubaa hum sudas gauhar fishaan.¹⁶

ز ت وصيف او ث ل ث ق ا ص ر ز ب ا ن
 ا ز و ر ب ع ه م س د س گ و ه ر ف ث ا ن

All the three worlds (the earth, the under world and the skies) are incapable of eulogizing his virtues. The four Vedas and six shastras utter his pearl like messages in the world.

Kalsahar the bard, portrayed Guru Ram Das a blessed creature by Guru Amar Das. He explained that the name of the Almighty was deeply enshrined in his heart and he being the lord of virtues also proved like a sprouting source of justice. He got constructed the pool of nectar (*Amit-sarovar*) so that the devotees may have a sacred bath in elixir. The son of Hardas Guru Ram Dass had profound understanding and his association made the souls blotless. He was illumined with divine knowledge and had a fearless heart by which he attained the immaculate Lord.¹⁷

Kalsahar extols Guru Ram Dass by saying that the manful Guru by means of the recitation of Name of God controlled all the major five vices. He had detached himself from worldly affairs. He, by the grace of the previous Gurus received a high and eternal status and became the lord of stores of recitation and meditation. He cured the pains of human beings by means of recitation and awakened the sleeping souls of people. He, by means of recitation attained the nine stores (*Nau Nidh*) of riches, prosperity and the

supernatural powers became his slaves. He was begotten by wisdom and contentment. By this way he became the embodiment of the unborn and self illumined Almighty.

He has the couch of faith, bedding of equipoise and canopy of contentment and well embellished in the arm our of humility. He strikes the drum of the Almighty's Name. Kalsahar picturises the Guru in a monarchical structure. He provides a new definition to the concept of spiritual emperor.¹⁸

Kalsahar extols Guru Ramdas, narrating that the Guru was birth free and sublime. Abiding in the ocean of the spiritual knowledge he raised the banner of intuition. Therefore, the poet admitted his inability to write down the glories of the Guru. Nall the bard, called the Guru-philosopher-stone which by its mere touch converted the glass to gold. Again he termed the Guru a tree of sandalwood which imparts its fragrance to the neighboring trees. By this way the company of the Guru transmuted the mortals. Whosoever touched the feet of the Guru became spiritual men from animal or demons. Some authors have misunderstood the word 'Jallan' and they think that Jallan was the name of some bard. Prof. Sahib Singh has the name of Jallan in the list of bards.¹⁹

Bhai Nand Lal eulogizing Guru Arjan has explained the meanings of his name Arjan, *alif +re+ jeem+noon* and elaborated that '*alif*' of his name denotes him as '*arrant bakhsh*'(assistance provider) to his devotees, '*re*' stands for "*raandah*" (steward) of his congregation towards the Almighty "*jeem*" strikes the meaning of "*Jaan-fiza*" (rendering courage)to his disciples while "*noon*" stands for "*nivazandah*"(endower)the man of holy nature.

The poet added that prophets and gods were the minor dust particles of his threshold. He was the beloved of the Almighty and semi-gods received shelter from him. He sought the reality of the glory of the Almighty. His physical body was absolutely an endowment of God and it extended virtues. Besides two worlds, millions of people followed his teachings and got the draughts of nectar. He received the message of God in shape of his compositions which extended general as well as spiritual knowledge. He, therefore, could illumine more the glories of the Almighty.

Jalaay-e-maqaale Haq aamad azoo.

Frogh-e-jamaale Haq aamad azoo.²⁰

جلاى مقـالِ حق آمد ازو
فـروغ جمـالشِ حق آمد ازو

Obviously, Bhai Nand Lal has evinced the editing work about Gurbani by Guru Arjan. Though the other narratives are similar as to the previous eulogies.

Eulogising the Guru, Kalsahar the bard, reminds the readers of Krishna the incarnation of Vishnu who had eyes like lotus and uttered sweet words enjoying sweets, rice and curd from Jashoda.

When he played games the mother listening to the sound of loin chain enjoyed herself. The bard called the Guru even greater than Shiva and Brahma who urged to recite his name. He visualizes the Guru in form of Krishna with huge stature. It was the Guru who took the form of Nar Singh and saved Prehlad the saint. the bard, Kalsahar, and other had seen personally Guru Ramdas. Though they wrote the bani during the life time of Guru Arjan but they had also enjoyed the physical meeting with Guru Ramdas and picturised his personality:

You wear yellow robe, had teeth clear like Jessamine flower abide in memory of the Almighty, rosary upon your neck and embellished your head with the crown of peacock feathers.²¹

The Sikh traditions do not evince whether Guru Ramdas used to wear the crown as referred above. Even the wearing of the yellow robe is also doubtful since it was generally worn by the ascetics and *yogis*.

The most of the Bhatt Bani is subject to the praise of Guru Ramdas and Guru Arjan Dev Ji. The fact evinces that they had though versified the Bani during the life time of Guru Arjan but they also wrote a large portion of their eulogies in praise of the fourth Guru. Thus the fact is clear that they enjoyed the sight view of Guru Ramdas and entered the Gurus court during the times of Guru Ramdas. Generally, the bards initiated the Gurus eulogy by the name of the Almighty, then paid homage to the pervious Gurus in a few lines and then turned to accomplish *swayyas* in the glory of the present Guru. According to the tradition the Bard bani was composed during the life time of the fifth Guru, Guru Arjan Dev Ji who asked them to praise the Sikh gurus. Thus the bards were

the contemporary of Guru Arjan Dev and they composed more *swayyas* in the praise of the said Guru.

Kalsahar called the Guru, the incarnation of Raja Janak. And he by the grace of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad Dev Ji and Guru Amardas received the highest status. Born in the family of Guru Ramdas, Guru Arjan extended the ruling phenomena of Raja Janak. He was born in the caste of Sodhis, held the banner of piety. He had nine stores of reputation and the divine word.

He easily obtained union with the Lord. His words sprinkled Nectar and his mouth blessed gifts. In the *soratha* Kalsahar recalled him by the name of Arjan, the son of Kunti who stood firmly in the holy battle (of Kurukshetra). He erected a bridge of Almighty's name so that the people may traverse the dreadful ocean of the world.

Mathura the bard, said that Guru Arjan was Omnipresent. For this reason he remained attached in his services. He was merciful towards the meek and he blessed the saintly people. The Almighty created him his own image. There was none more like the Guru. Those who drink the nectar of his name by the Guru become free from millions of sorrows and pains. Whosoever meditates Guru Arjan Dev Ji does not pass through the pains of birth. The Name of the Almighty in the ironage manifested in the embodiment of the Guru. There was no difference between Guru (Arjan) and Waheguru i.e. Guru Arjan himself was the God.²²

The above mentioned facts evince the bani of the bards is not mere subjected to the eulogy of the Sikh Gurus. They have also revealed the glory of the Almighty, the significance of recitation of God's Name, the significance of the services rendered towards Guru as well as the portrayal of transcendental God. It was the reason for which the fifth Guru justified and allowed their verse a specific place in Sri Guru Granth Sahib.

Bhai Nand Lal portrayed two aspects of the personality of Guru Hargobind. The Sikh history evince that the referred Guru was adroit in martial art and he also fought several battles against his rival Mughal rule. Bhai Nand Lal has portrayed the Guru as a saint and a soldier. Eulogizing the Guru as a brave soldier the poet said that he had sword to defeat the enemies as well as his arrows had strength to break stones. He was a man of spirituality and perfection. His threshold was graceful and illuminating,

brighter and higher than the skies. He cultivated in himself the knowledge of the former five Gurus. Denoting the significance of the letters of his name *he+re+gaaf* +*wau+be+noon* and *daal*, he produced that the letter 'he' denoted him the 'Hadi' i.e. guide of the people of spiritual as well as the mundane world. 're' denoted the 'reumat' the grace he had on the universe. 'Gaaf' denoted him as a 'gauhar' i.e. diamond. The word 'wau' stood for 'Wardah' say the rose 'be' stands for "baqi" (eternal) with the Almighty, 'noon' stands for *nam* favorable to the eternal life while the letter 'daal' indicated him 'dana' i.e. intelligent in studying the manifested and unmanifested secrets of the Almighty.

Ham az faqar-o-ham saltmat namvar.

Ba farmaan-e-oo jumlah zer-o-zabar.²³

ہم از فقرو ہم سلطنت نامور
بنفیرمان او جمالہ زیروزبر

Bhai Nand Lal was attached with the Sikh congregation since his childhood so he knew each and every aspect of the Gurus and their policies towards social and political phenomenon as well as their religious activities. He stayed at Sri Anandpur Sahib and must have learnt about the activities of the sixth Guru. So he portrayed successfully the saint- soldier personality of Guru Hargobind Sahib. Moreover, the concept of *Miri* and *Piri* which was initiated by Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib took perfection in the hands of Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji when he created Khalsa in 1699. The Khalsa fought bravely against all evils at social as well as at political level.

In the praise of the seventh Guru, Guru Har Rai, Bhai Nand Lal said that the Gurus empire was more extensive than the seven continents and nine skies. The people of seven directions and geographical boarders who are millions in numbers stood in the services of the said Guru.

Here Bhai Nand Lal deviated from the Sikh theology. The referred concept of nine heavens (skies) is not accepted in the theology of Guru Nanak and his successors. The Sikh theology explains that there are countless skies, continents and worlds created by the Almighty. It is opined that. Bhai Nand Lal borrowed this concept from Islamic theology and repeated in his words as a classical hearsay.

Further, the poet added that the Guru had pious angels faithful to him and they admitted his services. The dreadful angel of death (Yamma) also was frightened by listening to the glories of the Guru. The name of the Guru was Har Rai. Explaining the meaning of different letters of karta Har Rai=(*kaaf+re+te+alif,+he+re, re_alif+ye*) the poet denotes that:

‘*Kaaf*’ symobizes generosity for his devotees.

‘*Re*’ is meant for riah qudusian for gods

‘*Te+Alif*’ stand for (*Tahmatane falq*) a brave that can defeat the warriors like Rustum and Bahman of the sky.

‘*He+Re*’ denote that he can defeat armed men of great power.

‘*Re+Alif*’ stand for his agility to make the wild lion a domestic animal.

‘*Ye*’ stands for giving refuge to each sufferer

In the eulogy of the seventh Guru, Guru Har Rai, Bhai Nand Lal has used the Punjabi word as *kafia* i.e. '*karta*', the doer which in Punjabi or Persian or Arabic is meant for a '*fael*' Kunindah the word is a new addition in Indo-persian-literature and evinces that the Indian poets of the eighteenth century began to borrow the regional words in exogeneous as well as homogeneous forms.

Haq parvar Haq keeh Guru Karta Har Rai.

Sultaan' ham darvesh Guru Karta Har Rai.²⁴

حَق پَرور و حَق کیش گورو کرتا پَر رای
سلطان ہم درویش گورو کرتا پَر رای

In the praise of the eighth Guru, Bhai Nand Lal had touched the highest peak in the art of mubaligha. He wrote that there was a minor difference between Guru Harkrishan and the Almighty. The minor most creatures of the universe got high respect by the grace of the Guru. Here in the distiches the poet has hinted towards the incidence in which the Guru, according to the tradition touched his stick with the head of a dumb and foolish waterman (*Jhivar*). By the grace of the Guru the referred person follow began to explain the difficult spondees of Gita, the Hindu scripture. The Guru performed this miraculous action to strike the pride of the Pandit, Krishan Lal who had challenged the Guru that he was more intelligent .

Guru Harkrishan aan hamaa fazal-o-jood.
Haqash az hamaa khaasgaan' bar satood.²⁵

گورو ہرکشن آن ہمہ فضل وجود
حقش از ہمہ خاصگان برستود

Denoting the meaning of each letter of Har Krishan the poet narrated that the letter 'ha' strikes the meaning of 'Hazeemat Afghan'. 'Re' describes 'raasti numai', 'kaaf' stands for 'kshaayandah-e-ibwab-e-karam' and 'sheen' stands for "shikayat" glory and 'noon' the last letter allowed symbolizes the meaning of 'nazahat ifza.' The referred description of the Guru's nature propounds the hold of the poet on language and thought. The poet's approach to narrate his thought is applaudable for adoration.

Bhai Nand Lal met Guru Gobind Singh after the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur. It is opined that for the same cause he wrote only five distiches in *Ganj Namah* in his glory. Bhai Nand Lal had gone through the nature and activity of Guru Tegh Bahadur and his glorious sacrifices. He depicted the Gurus capability to accept the will of God and dare to keep His secrets.

Dharam hait saka jin kia
Sis dia par sirar na dia²⁶

(The Guru evinced the recordable incident for the sake of religion. He sacrificed himself but denied to disclose his secrets).

The emperor Aurangzeb called him (Guru Tegh Bahadar) in his court and said, "O, Tegh Bahadar, you claim for greatness and seat of a spiritual guide. Show some miracle which may evince your claim of greatness. Guru Sahib remained silent. The emperor had no more interest to put such a question but Ram Rai due to envy and jealousy emphasised to see some miracle. The Guru thought for a while and said, "The emperor should not ask for miracles from a faquir. I know no miracles but prayers."²⁷

Exaggerating the Guru the poet has given new terminology to the eponym of Guru Tegh Bahadur. He adds that the letter 'Te' of his name denoted 'Tawakul' and *Taslim* (admittance) to the will of Almighty. The letter 'ye' denoted his 'yakeen'(Faith) in Him whereas the letter 'kaaf' represented the quality of 'Karim unnafas' graceful

spirit in his nature. The poet added that the letter 'be' indicated him as 'bazam aaraa' of 'hidayat' (organiser of the holy congregation), 'he' for 'hidayat' 'alif' for the 'aikan-e-yakeen-e-izadi', 'daal' stands for justice in both the worlds and 'he' denotes realization of the path and secret of God.

The poet has studied the eulogy with adjectives and evinced his commendable approach in 'Mubalighaarai'. Bhai Nand Lal in the glory of Guru Teg Bahadur added that the divinity of the divine was glittering because of the pious manifested body of the Guru. His discourses were more valuable than the words of the Almighty.

Anvare Haq az vajoode pakash raushan

Har do aalam ze fez-e-fazalash raushan.²⁸

انوارِ حق از وجودِ پاکِ روشن
ہر دو عالم ز فیضِ پاکِ روشن

Bhai Nand Lal was the contemporary of Sri Guru Gobind Singh. He has personally seen the Guru and passed some time in his congregation. Even he got shelter under the custody of the Guru when emperor Aurangzab issued the orders to punish him. The poet eulogized the Guru saying that he was the torch to show the light of the previous nine Gurus. He raised the banner to liberate the people from the curse of pains of life and death. He was the first and the last king of the Sikh world. His troops are the victorious tigers. Millions of deities like Isar, Brahama in the skies and paradises urge to seek his shelter. They are his devotees and millions of heavenly powers obey his orders.

In exaggeration explaining the meanings of Gobind the poet undertook each letter 'gaaf+wau+be+ye+noon+daal'. The *gaaf*, according to the version of the poet denoted the meaning of 'Gaeti sataan' (victorious of the universe) 'wau' for *vaasta* for 'qayaam-e-zameen' (a source for the earth to exist) 'be' 'bika bakhshida-e-panahandgan' (provider of shelter to the refugees) 'noon', 'nawazandah' (endower) and 'daal' denoted his nature as the 'daam gusaal-e- marg' the breaker of the net of death.

The version edited by Mahan Singh Giani includes the terminology of Singh in this matter but Dr . Ganda Singh's version has no revelation of the word.²⁹

Bhai Nand Lal Goya has versified the personality of Sri Guru Gobind Singh and called him a guard, a treasure of truth, a beam of grace, seeker of the Almighty and popular among the public, lord of crowns, empire and gnosis. He was a cloud raining kindness. He was being blessed by the omnipotent Almighty, eternal, with good fortune. Those who kissed his threshold were admitted in his kindness. He worshipped God as a devotee and himself was worshiped like a deity by his followers.³⁰

It may be concluded that Bhai Nand Lal who passed some time in the services of Sri Gobind Singh got good chance to study the nature of each Guru. He also studied the Gurbani composed by each of them. Moreover, while living in the Sikh congregation he listened numerous traditions and hearsays popular in the Sikh community. According to the informations he got by these sources he made an image of each Guru and then versified couplets in their glories.

The Sikh Gurus were not sycophants but each of them had devotion for the pervious Guru. In the Sikh community a Guru received a high status and is adorable like a ‘murshid’ in Sufi literature. Bhai Nand Lal depicted the real picture of each Guru as he had called them gnosis, illumined, with divine knowledge, prophet, adorable, lords of mundane and divine world, provided shelter to refugees, the true emperors, victorious lords of grace, kind hearted, blessed by the Almighty and endower of riches, raising banners of liberation from life and death, true thinkers, followers of divine orders, studded with contentment, above the feeling of friends or foes. The status increased day by day. He was the guide of mundane as well as the spiritual world. All the deities were minor as compared to Sri Guru Gobind Singh.

Tegh ra fattah Gur Gobind Singh.

Jan-o-dil ra rah Gur Gobind Singh.³¹

تِیغِ رَا فِتْحَاحِ گُورِ گُوبِنْدِ سِنِگِ
جَانِ وِ دِلِ رَا رَاهِ گُورِ گُوبِنْدِ سِنِگِ

In this way Bhai Nand Lal eulogized the tenth Guru. The poem “Nasaro mansoor Guru Gobind Singh” became so popular in the Gurmat literature. The Sikhs of the eighteenth century Punjab specifically from the sikh congregation had least knowledge of Persian. The *qafia* of the poem “Guru Gobind Singh” became so popular

and Bhai Gurdas 2nd wrote in the same pattern “Wahu Wahu Guru Gobind Singh ape gur chela”

Bhai Nand Lal was the second person who introduced the theology of the Sikh Gurus with the Persian world. Firstly, this was tried by Kaikaus the author of *Dabistan-e-Mazahib*. Kaikaus in his referred work has written about the Sikh Gurus but his work remained confined upto the biographical informations upto the fifth Guru. Moreover, his informations are not more than factual revelations. He has least knowledge about the second to the fourth Guru. Therefore, Bhai Nand Lal has encompassed the eulogies of all the Sikh Gurus as we has explained the tenets of Sikh theology.

Bhai Gurdas 2nd whose *var* number; 41 is generally seen included in the manuscripts of Bhai Gurdas 2nd remained an unknown figure. I opine that Gurdas Singh who wrote *Mehma Pakash Vartik* was the author of the referred *var*.³²

Bhai Gurdas Singh in his eulogy composed in the glory of the tenth Guru has also exaggerated Sri Guru Nanak Dev and used the similes of Krishana, Raghunath (Ram) Paramhans, Bhagwant. The poet added that the Guru emerged as the tenth incarnation and thwarted the oppressors. He waved sword in a way that none could face its strike. He ravaged sepulchers, temples of Hindus and mosques. He killed emperors and banned the traditions of Islamic as well as the Hindu cult and created a new religion called ‘Khalsa. Bhai Gurdas Singh eulogizes of Sikh Gurus:-

1. Guru Nanak sab ke sir taja.
2. Dutie Angad har gun gae.
3. Tisar Mehal Amar pardhana
4. Guru Ram Das chautha pargasa
Jin ratte niranjan prabh abhinasa
5. Guru Arjan pancham thehraeo
Jin shabad sudaar Granth banaeo
6. Gur Hargobing khastam avtare
Jin pakar teg bau dushat pachhare
7. Saptam Mehal agam Har Raia
Jin sunn dhian kar jog kamaia
8. Harkrishan bhayo ashtam balbira
Jin paunch dehli tajio sarira

9. Gur Tagh Bahadur swang rachaing
Jeh apan sis de jag thehraing
10. Gur Gobind dasvan avtara.
Jin Khalsa panth ajit suahara.³³

Translation :

1. Guru Nanak is the head of all Gurus.
2. The second Guru Angad sang the praise of the Almighty.
3. The Third was chief Guru Amar (Das)
4. Guru Ram Dass emerged as the fourth Guru.
He was devout to the eternal God
5. The fifth Guru was made Guru Arjan,
Who compiled the holy Granth.
6. Guru Hargobind was the sixth incarnation,
Who handled sword and thwarted oppressors
7. The seventh Guru was called Har Rai,
Who meditated and earned yoga
8. Guru Harkaishan proved the brave eighth Guru,
Who arrived at Delhi and passed away
9. Guru Tegh Bahadur did the exhalted
He sacrificed himself and saved Dharma.
10. Guru Gobind was the tenth incarnation,
Who established the undefeatable khalsa

Sri Guru Gobind Singh created a community in which the Mohammadan and the Hindu traditions were abolished.

Eon tisar majhab Khalsa upjio purdhana.

Tab sunnat koe na kar sakai kanpat Turkana

By this way the third religion Khalsa Panth emerged as a chief religion of the word. It banned the tradition of circumcision and the Turks frightened by its names.³⁴

Therefore, his followed, banned the Islamic tradition as well as Hindu rites. Similarly, they banned the recitation of the Holy Quran, Namaz, the Islamic law (*Shariat*) and pronounced the slogan of '*Akal*'. The Guru's

followers following his teachings extended the environment of True epoch, (*Satjuga*), in the Iron age. They took the political hold of Punjab.

Consequently, it may be said that Bhai Gurdas 2nd has not only eulogized the Guru but his followers also. Who extended the teaching of their spiritual teachers and took the hold of lands with new environments of the dominance of Khalsa. The poet has not left his sign and the earlier research does not provide sufficient information about him. There are a few minor evidences which indicate some aspects about the author:

- (a) The facts revealed in the *var* propound the political environment of Punjab from 1699 AD to the establishment of the Khalsa Raj ie late eighteenth century.
- (b) The incidents narrated in this poem indicate informations about Maharaja Ranjit Singh's sovereignty as well the establishment of Satlej states.
- (c) The ravage of Muslim rulers of Punjab has been depicted. The fear of the Muslim subject in Punjab in the times of the attacks of Banda Bahadur is devoted.³⁵

The following distiches clarify the political and religious phenomena as under:

Marrih deval, gaur maseet, dhahe kie maidana.
Bed puran khat sastra fun mite Qurana.
Din Mohammadi uth gaeo Hindic therae.
Yeh raho sariat met kar Muslim bharmae.

They ravaged sepulchers, temples, mosques and cleared the ground. The teaching of the Vedas, Eight Hindu Philosophies and the Quran were abolished. The Islamic laws of Sharite was and Hindu laws were abolished. The muslim were afraid of Khalsa.

- (d) The poet in the beginning stanza has paid homage to '*Kalika*' the Hindu diety *kali*' whose worship was common in '*Nirmla Sikhs*'³⁶

'Gurdas manae Kalka Khanda ki vela.'

- (e) There are distiches in the poem revealing the environment of the Khalsa Raj in which tradition of *yagas* and *homs* were flourished. Moreover, the *udasis* sect of Sikhs and *nirmalas* also used to perform the referred rites.³⁷

Fir jag hom therae kai nij dharam swara

- (f) The poet himself has named the poem '*Var Bhagwati*' and *Bhagwati* Hindu deity was commonly worshipped in Hindu as well as in Nirmlas set of the Sikhs.³⁸

Yeh var bhagauti jo parraih amra pad pae.

He who goes through this balled named var Bhagauti attains emacipation.

In the light of the above mentioned facts it is evinced that Bhai Gurdas Singh or Gurdas Singh was an ascetic of the Sikh Nirmla sect with Hindu mentality.

According to the version of Rashpal Singh Gill:

Bhai Gurdas Singh was a devoted Sikh poet who attached his *var* in the *vars* of Bhai Gurdas. The 'burden' /'refrain' of is *var* is:

'Wah Wah Gobind Singh aape gur chela'

He was an udasi saint, dwelling in Shikarpur whose Dharmshala in Sindh, is very famous. He has also written commentaries *paryays* of Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji.³⁹

Bhai Gurdas Singh was one of the 52 poet of the court of Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji. He was the son of a Guru devotee -Bhai Durgu, a Rajput of Chohan caste. Bhai Gurdas Singh was an intelligent person and lover of literature. When Guru Gobind Singh left for heavenly abode, he became an ascetic and went towards Shikarpur and Sindh. He lived a long life of 150 years and breathed his last there. There is his monument can be seen in Shikarpur in Khatwali dharamshala. Before partition his anniversary was celebrated at his dwelling place Duburji, Distt, Sialkot on 15 Jeth.

His three compositions are famous:

- 1 Var Patshahi Dasvin ki
- 2 Baran Maha Sri Ram Chandra Ji
- 3 Paryas Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji.

Bhai Gurdas Singh was the first poet who wrote *var* on self perceived activities of bravery of the Guru Gobind Singh Ji. It has been attached with the *vars* of Bhai Gurdas.⁴⁰

During the medieval times Persian was the court language of Punjab. The Mughals after defeating the Hindu rajas made it prominent in Punjab regions. It was used in royal court and official work were transcribed in the same language. It was taught in Muslim schools (*maktabs and madrasas*). The same practice remained continue upto the end of the Sikh empire (1849 AD). Even then the Panjab lands could not produce some well established poet or prose writer during the medieval centuries. The Persian writers or poets who emerge from Punjab were quite few in numbers. Undoubtedly, the city of Sirhind situated in Malwa produced a specific sect of Sufis who put remarkable additions in Persian literature but in 1764 AD. The referred city was ravaged by the Sikhs due to the struggle for political hold.

During the times of British rule in Panjab a specific education system was ensued in Panjab in which Persian language had no chance to establish. Urdu took its place in courts, tehsils and other offices of administration. In the British educational infrastructure the English became the preferential media of instructions. The Panjab youth during the late nineteenth and first twentieth century had no love for Persian. They were in race to get good jobs and for this motif they had to learn English language and literature. The policies of the Panjab University Lahore propagated the Modern Indian languages. It launched new programmes to promote studies in Panjabi, English and Urdu while Persian and Sanskrit were put aside.

Therefore, no scope for the promotion of Persian language and literature was left behind. We find not even a single poet prose writer who would have emerged in Panjab or its vicinal states.

Bhai Nand Lal was a religious personality personally attached with the last Sikh Guru. His works were subjected to the preaching of Sikh faith. Undoubtedly, due to his works the Sikh faith became prevalent in North frontier and Western regions of the then India. He revealed the Sikh theology as well as preached the tenth guru's tenets in his poetry in a way that they became acknowledgeable in the above mentioned regions. He

undertook the Persian mode devotion, left aside the concept of *Kanta Bhagati*. His works propagated the Sikh theology in Persian language and its style.

The Sikh homosapiens who had knowledge of Persian invented new mode of transcription with view to propagate his message; they found the mode to write Persian in *Gurmukhi* script which could accomplish the lingual needs by its letters and vowel. Undoubtedly, Bhai Nand Lal could not prove an established poet in Persian literature but in the Sikh literature, he got a respectable status like Bhai Gurdas.

Conclusively we can say that:

- A) All the poets understudy had their socio-religious background with Hinduism. They picturised the nature and personality of each Guru in the context of the regional phenomenon. Bards, since are called an outcome of Brahmins so they had good knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit classics like Upanishads and Puranas. They saw the Gurus from the Hindu viewpoint. They compared them with Hindu deities Shiva, Brahma and Vishnu. Moreover, they also used Hindu classical characters like Sanak Sanadan, Indra, Janak, Dhru Prahlad and evinced the Sikh Gurus superior to them. They called the Gurus the supreme powers with a nature studded with politeness, a sense of sacrifice, dutifulness adorable and Lords of mundane as well as spiritual worlds. According to their versions the Sikh Gurus were the true kings.
- B) In the context of Bards and Bhai Gurdas it may be concluded their objective was not merely to eulogizes the Sikh Gurus. They also brought forward the notable concepts of the religious phenomenon i.e. Significance of recitation, the manifested and unmanifested Almighty, the glories of the Almighty, significance of truthfulness and submission towards the will of God. They solidified their views with established anecdotes popular in the Hindu public of their times.
- C) Bards as well as Bhai Gurdas had a similar objective to propagate the theology of the Sikh religion, the teachings of the Gurus and the discipline of the Sikh fold. They appreciated the Gurus since the latters were founder and motivators of new human ideologies.

- D) The Sikhs of their times even their Gurus, who had no political power or share in administration increased more in population but gradually.
- E) All the poets understudy cognized the real spirit of Sikhism in which the ten Gurus propounded their ideologies in the context of the contemporary environment but even then they had similarities in ideologies like the Namdev lineage of Maharashtra.
- F) Bhai Nand Lal portrayed the personality of the Gurus more effectively but he put more emphasis on the glories of Sri Guru Nanak as the founder of the Sikh religion and the Tenth Guru in whose services he had passed a few years and to whom he was the eyewitness.
- G) Bhai Gurdas Singh, since had enjoyed a long life of near about one and half a century not only eulogized the tenth Guru but also had picturised the political and social infrastructure of his times. It is opined that he finalized his *Var* during the reign span of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

References

1. Mohan Singh, Gyani, *Tasnifat-i-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963, p.84.
2. Ibid
3. Ibid
4. Ibid
5. Ibid
6. Ibid, p. 99, 101.
7. Ibid, p.101.
8. Ibid, p. 100.
9. Bhai Gurdas, Var, 1/23, 24.
10. Ibid, 1/33.
11. SGGS, pp.1391-92.
12. Ibid, p.1392.
13. Mohan Singh, Gyani, *Tasnifat-i-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963, p.104.
14. Ibid, p.105.
15. Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand lal Granthavali*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989, pp.170-171.
16. Mohan Singh, Gyani, *Tasnifat-i-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963, p.106.
17. SGGS, p.1396.
18. Ibid, p.1398.
19. Sahab Singh (Prof.), *Bhattan de Swayye, Steek*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007, pp.174-175.
20. Mohan Singh, Gyani, *Tasnifat-i-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963, p.107.
21. SGGS, p.1402.
22. SGGS, pp.1407-1410.
23. Mohan Singh, Gyani, *Tasnifat-i-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963, p.108.
24. Ibid, p.109.

25. Kahan Singh 'Bhai' *Gur Shabad Ratnagar Mahan Kosh*, Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, 2006, (See the word Panjokhara), p.793.
26. *Sri Dasam Granth, Bachitra Natak*, Adhiaye (5, 14-1)
27. Ghulam Muheedin Khan, *Tarikh-e-Punjab*, M.S. SHRL, Amritsar, Vol. (1). p.395.
28. Mohan Singh, Gyani, *Tasnifat-i-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963, p.111.
29. Ibid. p.112.
30. Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand lal Granthavali*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989, pp.181-190
31. Mohan Singh, Gyani, *Tasnifat-i-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 1963, p.113.
32. M.S. Sikh History Research Library, Khalsa College, Amritsar.
33. Bhai Gurdas Singh, Var No. 41.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid, Var No.41/16, 17.
36. Ibid, Var No.41/1.
37. Ibid, Var No.41/18.
38. Ibid, Var No.41.
39. Kahan Singh Nabha Bhai Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature Vol.(II), *Gur Shabad Ratnagar Mahan Kosh*, Publication Berau Punjabi University Patial, 2008, p.1050.
40. Rashpal Singh Gill, *Punjab Kosh*, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, 2004, pp. 734, 735.

CONCLUSION

In this study the works of the authors have been gone through from different facets i.e. lingual, textual, poetic strategy etc. The subject related and unrelated works also have been gone through to calculate the approach of the poets towards their objective. To find out more information's the studies were extended to primary and secondary resources. The works which were compiled by various writers in the modern times, annotations, translations, transliterations and commentaries have been studied from different view points. The works of the modern scholars about the authors, composed in Persian Panjabi and English have been studied. The facts and figures found in the subject to related works have been analyzed and corroborated to find out true and reliable information's. Therefore, the study has brought out the under mentioned facts:

- A) The poets under study have propounded the Sikh religious values in their contemporary phenomena. The bards, Bhai Gurdas as well as Bhai Nand Lal Goya have revealed the numerous facts of the Sikhism evincing that it was different from the Hindu culture as well as Islam. In the light of their narratives they have proved that the aforesaid religion with its theology was superior to the contemporary socio -religious phenomena.
- B) The bards, undoubtedly, by means of their works have introduced the Brahamanic culture with Sikh Gurus and their religious values. Their language, an admixture of Sanskrit, Prakrits, Braj etc. narrated the behavioral nature of the Gurus and put forth influential characteristics for the Brahamanic classes beyond Panjab.
- C) The Gurus were not sycophants, we got no evidence proving that they liked eulogies but each Guru considered his moral duty to praise his earlier Gurus like the relation of *murshid* and *murid* of Sufism. There is no difference in the interrelations of *murshid* - *murid* as well as that of Guru and his Sikh. A Sikh pays full respect to his Guru and is always affectionate towards him while a *murid* loves his *murshid* to the utmost.

- D) Bhai Gurdas by means of his heroic ballads (*vars*) has narrated the Sikh theologies in simple Panjabi language which was followable for the common Panjabi mob. He had also made significant place in Brahman scholars by means of his *Kabits* and *Swayyas*. By this way he is equally known in scholars as well as the general Panjabi masses of his times.
- E) Bhai Gurdas in his eulogies subjected to the Sikh Gurus has used *puranic* characters as well as mythological characters. But his such usage is less than that of the bards who were keenly related with the Brahmanic class.
- F) Bhai Gurdas took the art of spiritual ballads initiated by Guru Nanak and brought it to the highest peaks. In the history of the Panjabi literature he was the poet who accomplished this technique and left no scope for the forthcoming Panjabi poets.
- G) The Bhattas, Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal in their works written in the eulogy of Sikh Gurus justify that all the Sikh Gurus had Single Swaroop
- H) Bhai Gurdas following the works of the Bhattas wrote *Kabitts* and *Swayyas*. He was equally influenced by the tradition of heroic ballads singing during the times of Guru Hargobind Ji and compiled heroic ballads subjected to the Sikh theology. Bhai Gurdas has been a great interpreter of Gurbani. His *Vars* and *Kabitt-Swayyas* simplify the terms and doctrines given in Gurbanil. That is why, his writings were honoured by Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji “Key to Gurbani”.
- I) The bards may be termed as the professional eulogists but Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal had true devotion for his Gurus and his works proved helpful for the propagation of the Sikh religion and its religious and moral values. And still we have no doubt about the devotional aptitude of the bards about the Sikh Gurus.
- J) There is much difference in the languages used by the bards and Bhai Gurdas. In the *Kabitts* and *Swayyas*, the latter has used similar language to that of the formers. The fact reveals that the bards were scholars for scholars while Bhai

Gurdas was a poet of common people who preached the Sikh tenets and theology by means of his poetic works, especially *vars*.

- K) The bards as well as Bhai Gurdas put forth works that have significance in the contemporary socio-religious phenomena. Their works are certainly eye witness to the Sikh Gurus of their times. The profound study of the texts of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal shows that they are aware of contemporary political happenings. But this element is least found in the Bhatt Bani.
- L) Theologically as well as artistically the writings of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal outdo the works of Bhatts. The Bhatts in their verses sing only and only the praises of the Sikh Gurus whereas the works of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal encompass many other aspects of their times such as religious, social, political, historical and literary ones. Bhai Nand Lal proves himself a poet of great skill exercising many poetic techniques in the eulogy of Sikh Gurus as well as propagation of Sikh religion. His use of prose for the eulogy of the Gurus is excellent.
- M) Bhai Nand Lal Goya was the first poet who acknowledged all the Sikh Gurus and the Sikh theology with the Persian worlds. The facts he produced about the Sikh disciplines are true and reliable as well as eye witness, especially he had revealed the evidences about the tenth Guru by whom he was patronized for years to stay in the court of the tenth Guru. Bhai Nand Lal has also been an interpreter of the doctrines of Sikhism but his works like *Tansif-o-Sana Va Khatma*, *Dastoor-ul-Insha* and *Arz-ul-Alfaz* make him a scholarly poet. Only a scholarly person with deep knowledge of Persian and Arabic can understand the works fully.
- N) Bhai Nand Lal, though could not make his place well established in the history of the Persian literature. Due to his traditional poetic style yet he could acquire a respectable status in the field of Sikh (*Gurmat*) literature due to his devotional poetry. He was well devoted to the Sikh religion and for the same reason he could narrate his experiences about the Sikh culture.

- O) Bhai Nand Lal Goya successfully presented the Indian Sikh culture of his times in the Persian wraps. His forms of poetry are Persian while subjects and narratives are purely Indian.
- P) The history of the Sikh (Gurmat) literatures is incomplete without the specific role of Bhai Nand Lal that he owed by means of his poetical works.
- Q) There is much scope to study the works of Bhai Nand Lal like to compare him with Chader Bhan Brahaman, Sarmad and Guru Gobind Singh and more poets who wrote their works in Persian during the same time.

NAMES OF RELEVANT PERSONS AND PLACES

- Akrur : He was the uncle of Krishna. He brought invitation of yajna. He took Krishna and Balram from Gokal to Mathura where Krishna fought bravely with Kans and killing him endowed the throne of Mathura to his maternal father Ugar Sain.
Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Gur Shabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, Language Department, Punjab, 1974, P-904.
- Ambrik : According to Valmik Ramayan, he was the son of Parshushrak and the king of Ajudhyapati Surya Vanshi, 28th generation from Ikak. Krishan with an object to save him from Durbasa launched the Sudarshan Chakra. *Ibid,p-116.*
- Angra : i) The author of numerous *mantras* of Rig Veda.
ii) One of the seven great rikhis and Ten parjapatis.
iii) He is also accepted as the priest of the gods.
iv) Some scholars opine that he was the child of Uroo and Aagnei. He is also supposed to take birth from Brahama's mouth. According to Mahabharta, he was the son of Agni (fire) *Ibid,p-112.*
- Bahman : A king of Iran, the son of Asfandzar. His name his found mention in 8th century A.D. *Ibid,p-826.*
- Beni : An Indian saint, whose verse is included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Nothing is available about his life history. Bhai Gurdas has mentioned his name in 10th var. *Ibid,p-886.*
- Ball : The grandson of Prahlad who defealed the gods and captured the seat of Indra.. Vishnu incarnating himself as Dwarf got the empire for Indra. Ball was made the king of underworld. *Ibid,p-844.*
- Bammah : The short name for Brahma or Braham *Ibid,p-895.*
- Bedas : (Vedas) The Ancient Hindu Scriptures-the Rigveda, the yajurveda, the Saamveda and the Atharavveda *Ibid,p-886.*
- Bepas or Beas : One of the five rivers of Punjab *Ibid,p-872.*

- Bharthari : The king of Dhara Nagri, the brother of Maharja Bikramditya a great pandit of Sanskrit. He was disappointed due to the immoral conduct of his wife. He became an ascetic and wrote a few religious work on the art of yoga. *Ibid,-p-906.*
- Bidar : He was the son of Vyas. He was by nature virtuous, truthful a devotee of Vishnu. In the war of Mahabhartta he favored the Kaurvas. He gave good advice both to Pandvas and Kaurvas to reconcile. Attracted by his morality land conduct Krishna stayed in his house and left the services of, Duryodhana. *Ibid,p-1100.*
- Bishan : One of the three Hindu deities also called Vishan or Vishnu. *Ibid,p-861.*
- Brah : In puranic reference Brah or Boar is the incarnation of Vishnu. *Ibid,p-1085.*
- Brahma : According to Puranas-the god of creation of the universe (one among the three deities of Hinduism) *Ibid,p-897.*
- Brahmadak : Brahma and other gods like him. *Ibid,p-897.*
- Brinch : The other name for Brahma the creator of the universe. *Ibid,p-875.*
- Caesar : A king of Rome. *Ibid,p-348.*
- Chaurasi Lakh Joon : According to Hindu theology, there are eighty four lac species a soul passes through them and again receives the body of human being. *Ibid,p-480.*
- Chavrasi Sidhs : Significant yogis of Gorakh panthi whose number is supposed to be 84. *Ibid,-p-479.*
- Chhand : The famous Vedic rishis who composed *mantras* of vedas. *Ibid,p-494.*
- Munishar : The prominent six theologies of Hindu religion. *Ibid,p-363.*

- Daropadi : The daughter of king Darupad. She was the wife of five Pandvas. When Yudhishtira lost her in gambling. Duryodhan ordered to divest her. She called Krishanaand he helped her with more and more robes. The Pandvas could not diviest her.
Ibid,p-658.
- Darr : The king of France of Kaiyan dynasty who is known in history as Drayus, Daryarus and Darius.
Ibid,p-630.
- : A major character of Ramayana father of Rama, whose Rath used to move freely in all the ten directions. It is said that he had 353 queens of whom Kaushalya, Kakayi and Sumitra were the chief ones.
Ibid,p-616.
- Dhom Atal : The son of Dhom rikhi and teacher of Udlak and the younger
Mandlvai brother of Dawal rikhi, who was the priest of the pandvas.
Ibid,pp-49,673.
- Dhru : According to the narratives of Bhagwat as well as Vishnu puran in the childhood of Dhru his step mother ill treated him. He went to forest and meditated on the name of God and could get the throne of his father.
Ibid,p-674.
- Doorba : (Durbasa scholar) According to the narratives of the Vishnu puran Durbasa was very angry. He gave Indra a rosary which was tarnished by the elephant 'Aairavat'. He cursed Indra that he would lose his kingdom. The monsters attacked Indra's Kingdom. The gods were losing the battle. They went to the refuge of Vishnu who guided them to churn the sea and attain amrit (nectar). Vishnu told them that by taking the nectar they would become mortal and win devils.
Ibid,pp-645-648.
- Ieh : The other name for Shiva.
Ibid,p-127.
- Fagfoor : The King of Russia.
Dr. Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand Lal Granthavali* Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989, *p-146.*
- : The king of the ancient Egypt (Mussar).
Ibid, p-146.

- Fanind : The serpent king.
Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh*, language Department,
Punjab, p-809
- Gan : The subject of the empire of gods. *Ibid,p-394.*
- Gandharb : The singers of heavens, the people who deal with scents and
flavours. According to Atharavveda, they are 6333 in number.
Ibid, p-434.
- Ganga : A famous river of India, very pious for the Hindus. It emerges
from Gomukh lake. It takes the form of a big river at Hardwar.
After passing through long route of 1550 miles falls in the bay
of Bangal. *Ibid,p-432.*
- Gangav Pitamah : The son of Ganga, also called Bhisham. He was the grandfather
of Kaurvas and Pandavs. *Ibid,p-433.*
- Ganika : There are two references about Ganika in Sri Guru Granth
Sahib.
i) She was a prostitute. One night after waiting for a long time
she got no person for her sexual satisfaction. She felt of
God. The feeling changed her life and began to live a pious
life.
ii) She was also named Ganika whom a sadhu gave her a parrot
to teach it the name of God. During the practice on the
Name of God she herself become a pious soul.
Ibid,p-396.
- Gautam : A Hindu puranic character. He had a beautiful lady Ahaliya. He
was father of Janak's priest called Satya Nand.
Ibid,p-428.
- Gorakh : The chief spiritual guide of Yogis and Nathas. He was born in
Gorakhpur Nagar. He was follower and son of Machhendra. He
is one of the nine famous Nathas. *Ibid,p-431.*
- Harnakash : A puranic character, father of Prehlad. *Ibid,p-262.*
- Inder : The chief of gods, deputed to rain. *Ibid,p-124.*
- Indrad : Indra and other gods like him. *Ibid,p-125.*

- Jai Dev : The son of Bhojdev Brahman. Name of his mother was Ramadevi born in Distt. Birbhoom in Bangal. He was devoted to Vashnavism and a keen worshiper of Sri Krishna. In relation with contemporary saints, he became avid servant of God. He was well versed in Sanskrit and Prakrit. There are two *shabads* of Jaidev included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. *Ibid,p-534.*
- Jakh : A class of gods, appointed for the service of Kuber the gods of wealth. *Ibid,p-1005.*
- Jamadgan : A brahman from Bhring clan, who was the son of Rachik (father) and Satyawati (mother). Jamadgan was a great warrior according to version of Vishnu Puran. *Ibid,p-507.*
- Jamuna : A famous river of northern India. In puranas it is supposed to be the daughter of Sun. It is the belief of Hindus that after taking bath in Jamuna the god of death does not punish for sins. *Ibid,p-507.*
- Jankad : (Jankad) (like Janak) The father-in-law of Ramachandra and father of Mata Sita. He was a sant by nature. He was very famous among rikhis and other scholars. *Ibid,p-503.*
- Jasod : (Yashoda) The wife of Nand Gop (milkman) who brought up Sri Kirshna. *Ibid,p-497.*
- Jatharagin : Blood heat of the womb which is necessary for the digestion of food and working of physical system of child in the womb. *Ibid,p-502.*
- Kabir : A famous saint of northern India. It is said that a widow Brahmani, left the new born child near Banaras at the place called Lehar Talao on JethSudi 15, Samvat 1455. The weaver Niru kept the child home and his wife Nima brought him up like their own son. *Ibid,p-298.*
- Kachh : As referred in puranas Vishnu, took the form of a tortoise, when gods and devils were to churn the sea in search of nectar. They got 14 precious things in addition to their object. *Ibid,p-290.*
- Kahn Kuar : A name of Sri Krishna. *Ibid,p-319.*

- Kans : The maternal uncle of Sri Krishna. He was informed that he would be killed by seventh child of his sister. Sri Krishna was the seventh nephew and he killed Kans. *Ibid,p-354.*
- Kaplad : According to the version of Bhagwad he was the fifth incarnation Vishnu. Kapal was the author of Sankhya shastra. He was the son of Devhut (mother) and Kardam (father). There was many like him. *Ibid,p-294.*
- Kiblash : A white mountain shining like a piece of glass due to snow. It is twenty five miles away from *Mansarovar* towards the north. According to puranas this sliver coloured mountain is in the west of *Sumer*. It is a dwelling place of Shiva. *Ibid,p-298.*
- Kiners : Men of hateful form having body of men and heads of horses. According to the Hindu theology they dance in heavens. In the bastard Punjabi they are called *kanjars*. *Ibid, (p-329).*
- Kirshan : The 8th incarnation of Vishnu, the son of Devaki and Vasudev. Born in imprisonment in Mathura, was brought up in the village of Gokal, in the family of Nand Gop under the care of Yashoda. *Ibid,p-347.*
- Kaous : The king of Iran.
Dr. Ganda Singh, *Bhai Nand Lal Granthavali*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989,p-196
- Kumbkaran : A devil having ears like pitcher, the younger brother of Ravana. With the boon of Brahma, he used to sleep for six months and get up for one day to eat. He was killed by Rama. According to the version of purana he worshipped Brahma and urged to receive Indrasan (the status of Indra) but he spoke wrongly and begged for Nindrasan i.e. the bed to sleep.
Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Gur Sabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, Language Department, Punjab,1974, pp-340-341
- Laila Majnu : A famous love story of Laila Majnu in Panjabi Kishakav. *Ibid,p-1072.*
- Machh : 1) The mundane world (*Maat Lok*)
ii) A specific incarnation of the Vishnu *Ibid,p-941.*

- MahaDeo : The other name for Shiva *Ibid,p-935*
- Mandaata : The son of Raja Yuvnashav (a puranic character), took birth from the right side of Yuvnashav and Indra fed him with milk from his finger. *Ibid,p-964.*
- Nama : A Indian saint, chhimba by caste, born in samvat 1328 in Bombay, Sitara. In the first stage of his life he worshipped Shiva and Vishnu. He got gnosis from Vishoba and Jnandev. His *bani* is included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. *Ibid,p-697.*
- Narad : A Hindu researcher, who wrote numerous incantations in Rigveda. According to Rigveda he was from Kannu Lineage. Some opine that he took birth from the eyebrow of Brahma. In Vishnu *puran* it is mentioned that he was the son of Kashyup. Once he was cursed by Dakash. He was also called Braham and Dev Braham. Narad was the thief of all the singers of the heavens. *Ibid,p-698.*
- Nausher Van : A famous and just king of Iran of Sasanid dynasty. He was the son of Kubad and follower of Zorostarism. He sat on the throne on 531 A.D. He ruled very strongly and justly for 48 years. Mohamamd the prophet took birth during his period. *Ibid,p-721*
- Nav Nath : Nine famous yogis Ad Nath, Mashendra Nath, Udey Nath, Santokh Nath, Kanthar Nath, Satya Nath, Achanbh Nath, Chaurangi Nath and Gorakh Nath. *Ibid,p-686.*
- Nav-Nidh/ Nidhi : Nine treasures which are mentioned in Sanskrit. Granths: Padam, Maha Padam, Shunxh, Makar, Kashap, Makund, Kand, Neel, Vanch. *Ibid,p-675.*
- Parasramesur : Paras Ram, in Puranas, is accepted to be the incarnation of Vishnu. He was the fifth son of Jamdgan who destroyed *Kashtriyas*. His anecdote is elaborated in the Mahabarta, the puranas and the Ramayana. *Ibid,pp-743-744.*
- Parthao : A name of Arjun, the son of Kunti. *Ibid,p-764.*

- Prahald : The son of Harnakash (the devil king) and father of Ball. According to the purana Harnakesh snatched the throne of heavens from Indra and his companions. His son Prahald was a devotee of Vishnu. Harnakash disliked it. He was tortured too much by his devil father. Vishnu killed Harnakesh to save Prahald. *Ibid,pp-795-796.*
- Prikhiat : A chandrvanshi Raja, father of Janmeja and grandson of Arjana. *Ibid,p-753.*
- Prurau : The son of Budh and grandson of Chanda (the moon). The first Chandra Vanshi king, with high mortality and of theistic nature. *Ibid,p-753.*
- Puran : Ancient Hindu religious scriptures, composed by Vyas and other scholars. These are 18 in number with 4 lakh *slokas* in them. *Ibid,p-778.*
- Rahitnama : A work subjected to the daily routine duties and obligations necessary for a Sikh. There are numerous works written by different authors especially during the eighteenth century A.D. *Ibid,p-1015.*
- Ram : The son of *surya vanshi* Raja Dasratha, the husband to Seeta, lived in forest for 14 years by the orders of his father. He killed Ravana and returned to Ayudhia and got the throne. *Ibid,p-1032.*
- Ramayan : A Hindu epic subjected to the life history of Rama written by Balmik having 24000 spondees, in 647 chapters. Tulsī Dass a Hindi poet of medieval age also composed in Hindi. *Ibid,p-1036.*
- Rav Sut : The son of the Sun-Yamma. *Ibid,p-1025.*
- Ravi Das : A saint of Kanshi, shoe maker by caste, the follower of Ramanand. His Bani has been included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. *Ibid,p-1025.*
- Rudradik : According to the version of Vishnu Purana, Rudradik was the son of Brahma. When he was created he began to weep. He was also named 'Rundu' *Ibid,p-1042.*

Rughubans	: The people of Raghu Dynasty also called Surya Vanishi <i>Ibid,p-1017.</i>
Rukmanagad	: A great king and father of Dharmangad. <i>Ibid,p-1041</i>
Rustum	: A famous warrior of Faars (Persia), son of Zal and grandson of Sam, Governor of Jabulstan, died while fighting with Bahman. He appeared in the universal stage nine centuries before Christ. <i>Ibid,p-1041.</i>
Sankad	: The four sons of Brahma-Sanak, Sanandan, Snatan, and Sanat Kumar. <i>Ibid,p-152.</i>
Sapat Smund	: Seven Seas: There are seven seas written in Puranas of milk, of curd, of ghee, of juice of sugar cane, of honey, of sweet water and of salty water. <i>Ibid,p-154.</i>
Sekh	: i) Sesnag, the serpent king as referred in Puranas. ii) A class of Muslim society. <i>Ibid,p-226.</i>
Ses	: The serpent king of the underworld with his thousand tongues. <i>Ibid,p-226.</i>
Shiv	: Mahadev, the husband of Parvati. <i>Ibid,p-201.</i>
Sri Niwas	: God, in whose feet the wealth dwells. <i>Ibid,p-2</i>
Sudama	: A poor Brahmin, a friend and class-mate of Sri Krishna. <i>Ibid,p-213.</i>
Sukhdeo	: According to Mahabhart- he was the son of Suk-Vias-Muni. His famous name is Sukdev. <i>Ibid,p-207</i>
Sut Bhan	: The god of Death, (<i>Yamma</i>) Dharam Raj- supposed to be the son of the Sun. <i>Ibid,p-211.</i>
Tetis Kor	: Refers to thirty crore gods (in Hinduism). <i>Ibid,p-601.</i>
Trilcohan	: An India saint whose Bani is included in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. He belonged to Vashiya class. He was born in <i>Samvat</i> 1325 in Distt. Shollapur. <i>Ibid,p-609.</i>
Udho	: The son of Devbhag Yadav. He was the uncle and friend of Kirshna. He took message from Krishna (from Dwarka) for the Goppies and reached Bindraban to convey it. <i>Ibid,p-20</i>

Ugar Sain : Ugar Sain was the saintly king of Mathura. He was dethroned by his cruel son called Kans. Devki was the daughter of Ugar Sain. Krishna, the son of Devki, killed his maternal uncle Kans and re-stored the throne of Mathura for his maternal father, Ugar Sain. *Ibid,-p-3.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A.C. Banerjee (Dr.) *Guru Nanak and His Times*, Patiala, 1984.
- Aiphonso-Karkala John B., *Comparative World Literature; Seven Essay* Bombay, Nirmala Sadanandh, 1974.
- Amar Singh (Giani), *Jivan Bhai Gurdas Ji*, Bhai Chattar Singh Jivan Singh, Amritsar (India), 2000.
- Amar Singh Chaakar, Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Varan Gian Ratnavali, Bhai Gurdas Ji* Publication SGPC Amritsar 1981.
- Anand B. Patil, *The Whirligig of Taste: Essays in Comparative Literature*, 2007.
- Anup Singh (Dr.), *Darshnik Jodha-Guru Gob md Singh Ji*, Bhai Chattar Singh Jivan Singh, Amritsar (India), 2004.
- Avtar Singh (Dr.), *Mera Dharam, Mera Ithas*, SGPC, Amritsar, 1996.
- Aziz Abbas (Dr.), *Farsi Mathnavi Ka Iratka*, Shaheed Publication, Azaad Market Delhi, 2007.
- Baiwinder Pal Singh, *Sikh Naitakchar Ate Smajik Arthik Vikas*, - SGPC, Amritsar, 2003.
- Balwant Singh (Dr.), *Early Sikh Scriptural Tradition*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1995.
- Bhagwant Kaur, *Gurbani Ate Varan Bhai Gurdas-San7bhavi Sarokar*, Pub:-Gurbax Singh, 68, Hezel Close, Twinkenham, (U.K.)
- Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Encyclopaedia of the Sikh Literature Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2006.
- Chakar, Amar Singh (ed.) *Varan Gian Ratnavali-Bhai Gurdas*, SGPC- Amritsar (1981).
- Dalbir Singh (Dr.), *Sri Guru Arjan Dev*, SGPC, 006.
- Dalip Singh (Dr.), *Gurbani Chintan*, SGPC, Amritsar, 2001.
- Daljeet Singh, *The Sikh Ideology*, Singh Brother, Amritsar, 2000.
- Daljit Singh, *Essentials of Sikhism*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2004.
- Daljit Singh, *Sikhism: A Comparative*, Singh Brothers Amritsar, 2004.
- Das, Bijay Kumar, *Comparative Literature, Essays in Honour of Processor M.Q. Khan*, New Delhi, 2000.
- Deep, Devinder, *Guru Granth Sahib Vich Sankrit Bharti Sabhyachar Da Chitran*, Punjab University, Chandigarh, Ph.D. Thesis-1979.
- Devan Singh (Dr.), *Sikh Religion & Culture*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2004.
- Dhawan, R.K., *Comparative Literature*, New Delhi, Bahri, 1987.

- Dhillon, Balwant Singh, *Sri Guru Amar Dass Abhinandan* (P), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1985.
- Ganda Singh (Dr.), *Makhiz Twarkhe Sikhan*, SHRL, Amritsar, 1950.
- Ganda Singh (Dr.), *Sikh Itihas Bare*, SGPC, Mritsr, nd.
- Ganda Singh (ed.), *Bhai Nand Lal Granthavali*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989.
- Ganda Singh (Principal), *Sikh Dharam Philosophy*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2008.
- Ganesh Dass Wadehra, *Chahar Bagh-i-Punjab*, Sikh History Research Deptt., Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1965.
- Ghulam Mohay-ud-deen Bute Shah, *Tarikh-e-Punjab*, MS SHRL.
- Giani Rattan Singh, *Sansar de Dharam*, Publication Mehar Singh Surinder Singh, Bazar Maeewa Sewa, Amritsar, 1960.
- Gifford, Genry, *Comparative Literature*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Gobind Singh Mansukhani (Dr.), *The Quintessence of Sikhism*, SGPC, Amritsar, 2003.
- Gobind Singh Mansukhani, *Hymns of Bhai Gurdas Composition*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1996.
- Gurbax Singh, *The Message of Gurbani*, Singh Brother, Amritsar, 2007.
- Gurbax Singh, *The Sikh Faith: Universal Message*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007.
- Gurcharan Singh Zire (Dr.), *Baith Khadure Jot Jagayi*, Bhai Chattar Singh Jivan Singh, Amritsar, December, 2001.
- Gurdev Singh "Pandohal", *Zafar Nama*, Pub. Jivan Singh M.A., 2-Lajpat Market, Ludhiana 1993.
- Gurdev Singh "Pandohal", *"Zindagi Namah (Mathnavi) Bhai Nand Lal Goya"*, Jangam Publications, Samana, 2008.
- Gursharanjit Singh (Dr.), *Guru Nanak Bani da Samaj-Sashtri-Paripekh*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1998.
- H.S. Posnett, *Comparative Literature London*, 1969.
- Harbhajan Singh (Principal), *Sachi Preet Ghazalan Bhai Nand La/-Steek*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, Feb. 2008.
- Harbhajan Singh, *Bhai Gurdas Dian Varan Vich Gurmat Vichardhara*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Ph.D. Thesis, 1978.
- Hardev Singh Virk, *Scientific Vision in Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007.

- Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs* vol (i) *The Sikhs Gurus*, (1469-1708) 2000, Publication Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi.
- Harnam Singh Shan (Dr.), *Sayings of Guru Nanak*, SGPC, Amritsar, 2002. Hazara Singh Giani, *Varan Bhai Gurdas*, Khalsa Sarnachar, Amritsar, 1960.
- J.S. Grewal and Irban Habib (ed), *Sikh History from Persian Sources*, 2007 Publication Tulika 35 A/1 (third floor) Sahpur Jat, New Delhi.
- Jancy James, Chandra Mohan, Subha Chakraborty Das Gupta and Nirmal Kanti Bhattacharjee, *Studies in Comparative Literature* Theory, Culture and Space, 2007.
- Jasbir Singh Ahiuwalia (Dr.), *Sikh Phalsphe Di Bhumika*, Raghbir Rachna Parkashan, Guru Ram Dass Nagar, Sultanwind Road, Amritsar, Oct. 1976.
- Jasbir Singh Ahluwalia, (Dr.) *Creation of Khalsa, Fulfillment of Guru Nanak's Mission*, Patiala, 1999.
- Jaspal Singh (Dr.) ed. Guru Granth Sahib, *The Sikh Scripture*, 2010 K.K. Publication, New Delhi.
- Jaswant Singh (Master), *Jindgi Narna Kirt Bhai Nand La! Goya*, 2007.
- Jatinder Pannu, *Tuk Tatkrach- Varan Bhai Gurdas Ji*, Trinity Educational Ad. Jalandhar, 2000.
- Jodh Singh (Dr.), Dharam Singh (Dr.) *Sri Dasam Granth Sahib, (Text and Translation) vol (i) and vol (ii)* (at the commemoration of the tercentenary of the birth of Khalsa Panth) April 1999, Heritage Publication, Patiala.
- Joginder Singh (Prof.), *Khalse di Jot te Jugat*, - Sundar Saroop Parkashan, Janak Purl, New Delhi, 1999.
- Joginder Singh Talwara, Bhai, *Bhattan Dc Sawiye* (Steek), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2006.
- Joginder Singh Talwara, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Bodh Bhag Bani Bioraa*, 1996, Publication Singh Brother, Amritsar.
- Kahn Singh Bhai, *Gur Sabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, Languages Deptt. Punjab, Patiala, 2006.
- Kesar Singh Chhibber, *Bansavalinama*, (ed. by) Rai Jasbir Singh, 2006.
- Khazan Singh, *History and Philosophy of Sikh Religion* (2 Vols), (E J Prithi Pal Singh Kapur, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2005.
- Kirpal Singh Bandugar, *Gurmit Vichar Te Sikhi Jivan*, Singh BrotL Amritsar, 2007.

- Kirpal Singh Giani, *Bhattan de Swayye Steek*, Publication Bhai Chattar Singh Jivan Singh Amritsar, 2006.
- Kohli, Harnek Singh, *Bhai Gurdas: Kayita-Bimb Vidhan da Adhyan*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Ph. D. 1977.
- Krishan Lal Sharma (Dr.), Narinder Kaur (Dr.) Guru Nanak Adhyan Vibhag, GNDU, Amritsar *Bani Bilas*, 1982.
- Kulwant Singh Gill, *Saint Soldier Supreme Guru Gobind Singh*, SGJ C, Amritsar, nd.
- Kulwant Singh, *Bhai Gurdas Dian Varan Vich Myth*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1979.
- Lal Singh Giani, *Vaishnav Matt te Sikh Dharam*, Punjab Giani Press Bhadaur House, Ludhiana, 1968.
- Lal Singh Director, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab (ed) '*Punjabi Duniya*' (Vishek Ank) Bhai Gurdas Sep, Oct, 1968.
- Madanjit Kaur (Prof.), *Guru Gobind Singh Chintan te Nizrane*, SGPC: Amritsar (Indian), 2000.
- Mahan Singh Giani, (ed.), *Tasnfat-i-Goya*, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, April 1963.
- Mani Singh (Giani), *Kabit Sawyee Bhai Gurdas Ji* (Steek, 2 Vols), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1995.
- Narain Singh, Sikh, *Dharam Dian Bun iadan*, Dr. Inderjit Kaur (Ed.) President All India Pingaiwara Charitable Society (Regd.) Amritsar, 2000.
- Neki, Jaswant Singh, *The Spiritual Heritage of Punjab*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar (2000).
- Onkar Singh, *Kabit Sawyee Bhai Gurdas*, Bhai Chattar Singh Jivan Singh, Amritsar (India), 1993.
- Partap Singh Giani, *Akali Lehar*, Publication Khalsa Brothers Amritsar, 1983.
- Pathak, R.S. *Comparative Poetics*, Creative Books, New Delhi, 1998.
- Piara Singh Padarn (Prof.), (ed.), *Zafar Nama*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2001.
- Piara Singh Padarn (Prof.), *Kirt-Bhai Saroop Singh Kaushih Guru Kian Sakhian* (Bhatt Wahian te Adharat), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2003.
- Piara Singh Padarn (Prof.), *Sri Guru Granth Parkash*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2004.
- Praver, S.S., *Comparative Literary Studies; An Introduction*, London, Duckworth, 1973.
- Rai Jasbir Singh (ed.), *Bansavali Name Dasan Patshahian Ka* (By Chhibar) Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2000.

- Rao, A. Ramakrishna, Ed., *Comparative Perspectives on Indian Literature*, New Delhi, 1992.
- Rajinder Singh (ed), "*Punjabi Duniyan, Sri Guru Granth Sahib Vishesh Ank*", Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Jan, Feb, Mar, 1988.
- Rashpal Singh Gill, Punjab Kosh vol (i) and (ii) Publication Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, 2004.
- Rattan Singh Jaggi (Dr.) *Sri Granth Prichai*, Publication Gobind Sadan institute for Advanced Studies in Comparative Religion, Gadayeepur, Mehroli-Mandi Road, New Delhi.
- S.P. Singh, *Inner Dynamics of Guru Granth Sahib*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2004.
- Sagar, Sabinderjit Singh, *Humam Namas of Guru Tegh Bahadur*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002.
- Sahib Singh (Prof), *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Darpan*, (1 to 10 Pothian), Raj Publishers, Jalandhar, nd.
- Sahib Singh (Prof.), *Ad Bir Bare*. Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007.
- Sahib Singh (Prof.), *Bhattan de Sawyye* (Steek), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007.
- Sahib Singh (Prof.), *Dharam te Sadachar*, Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1951.
- Sahib Singh (Prof.), *Gurbani te Ithas Bare*, Singh Brothers Amritsar, 2006.
- Sahib Singh (Prof.), *Satte Balwand di Var* (Steek), - Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007.
- Sampuran Singh (Sant), *Kabitt Sawyye Bhai Gurdas Ji* (Steek), Bhai Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar (India), 2003.
- Sarup Dass Bhalla, *Mehma Parkash*, Publication Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, 198.
- Satbir Singh (Principal), *Guru Arjan Vitohan Kurbani*, SGPC, Amritsar, nd.
- Satbir Singh (Principal), *Sada Ithas* (Vol.1), New Book Company, Mai Hiran Gate, Jalandhar, 1970.
- Sehgal Manmohan, *Guru Granth Sahib da Sabhiachark Adhyan*, Languages Deptt. Punjab, Patiala, 1972.
- Sewa Singh (Ed.), *Kabit Sawyye Bhai Gurdas Ji*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2006.
- Shaharyar, *Zafar Nama*, (Kay Anuvad) — Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2003. Shamsheer Singh Pun, *Kabitt Swayye Bhai Gurdas Ji*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007.
- Shamsheer Singh Puri *Kabitt Swayye Bhai Gurdas Ji*, Publication Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007.
- Sharma, Krishan Lal (Ed.), *Bani Bilas*, GNDU, Amritsar, 1970.

- Shashi Bala, *Relevance of Guru Granth Sahib in the Modern Context*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007.
- Sher Singh (Prof.), *Gurmat Darshan*, Pub. SGPC, Amritsar, 2004.
- Saiyid Ahmid, Aligarh, (ed. In 1864) *Tuzak-e-Jahangiri*.
- Sher Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Te Panth*, SGPC, Amritsar, nd.
- Surinder Singh (Dr.), *Guru Granth Sahib: An Analytical Study*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar.
- Surinder Singh (Dr.), *The Sikh Philosophy*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2002.
- Surinder Singh Kohli, *Punjabi Sahit da Ithas*, (third edition 1950), Mehroli, Delhi.
- Surinderjit Singh "Pall" *Bhai Gurdas Ji*, (The First Sikh Scholar), Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar (India), 2002.
- Surinderjit Singh, *ZafarNama*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2007.
- Swami Rain Tirath Dandi Ji Saniasi, *Sarvotam Granth Ad Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, SGPC, Sri Amritsar, 1975.
- T.G. Manikar, *Comparative Literature for India*, *Jadavpur Journal of Comparative Literature*, 1977.
- Taran Singh (Dr.), *Sikh Sikhi Ate Sidhant*, SGPC, Amritsar, 2007.
- Tatley, Santa Singh, *Gurbani Tat Sagar* (6 Vols), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.
- Teja Singh (Principal), *Sikh Sabhiachar Ate Hor Lekh*, SGPC, Amritsar, nd.
- Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs, vol (i) (1469-176)* 2006, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala.
- Teja Singh, *Martyrdom of the Innocents and Guru Gob/nd Singh 's Zafarnamah*, 1999.
- Ujagar Singh Bawa (prof.) *Bhai Sahib Bhai Nand Lal Ji, Biography and Writings*, Hemkunt Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi 2006.
- Vazir Singh, *Phaispha Ate Sikh Phaispha*, Madam Publishers Purani Kotwali Chowk, Patiala, 1980.
- Vijay N. Shankar, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: A Universal Scripture for Mankind* (Illustrated), 2000.
- Vir Singh (Bhai), *Varan Bhai Gurdas* (Steek), Pub. Bhai Vir Singh Sahit Sadan. Bhai Vir Singh Marg New Delhi, 2007.
- Misc.
- Maula Bakhsh Kushta, *Punjabi Shaeran da Tazkira*
- Ramdhari Singh Dinkar, *Sabhiachar de char Adhiaye*

Seminar Proceedings- National Seminar on Guru Granth Sahib: Different Perspectives, Oct. 26-28, Guru Nanak Dev University Amritsar, Sponsored by — Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Govt. of India, 2005.

Sikh Sakhshiat Vishesh Ank Gurmat Parkash, SGPC, Amritsar, 1991.

Tuzake Jahangiri