

**BANDA SINGH BAHADUR:
STRATEGY OF WAR AND IDEOLOGY**

A Thesis

*Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Award of the Degree for*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

**BY
KARAMJIT KAUR
UNI. ROLL NO. 156821004**

**SUPERVISOR
DR. DALJIT KAUR GILL**



**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF BASIC SCIENCES & HUMANTIES
GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY TALWANDI SABO
(PUNJAB) INDIA**

2021

CHAPTER- 1

ANCESTORS AND LIFE OF BANDA SINGH BAHADUR

Many historians have written about Banda Singh Bahadur's early life, his encounters with the Mughals in the Punjab and his accomplishments. However, most of them have used different approaches whether in the Persian, Punjabi or European languages. The accounts of Persian historians include those of Muhammad Shafi Warid's *Mirat-i-Waridat*, Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Muhammad Qasim's *Ibratnama*, and Hadi Kamvar Khan's *Ibratnama*. These works related to Banda Singh Bahadur are generally characterized by a Pro-Islamic approach. The works of Punjabi writers are Rattan Singh Bhangu's '*Prachin Panth Parkash*', Giani Gian Singh's *Panth Parkash*, Koer Singh's *Gurbilas Patshahi Dasvin* and Sarup das Bhalla's *Mahima Parkash*. Among the European writings M James Browne's *History of the origin and Progress of Sikhs* (1787), John Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* (1812), W.L.M Gregor's *The History of the Sikhs* (1846) and J.D. Cunningham's, *History of the Sikhs* (1849) gives references regarding the Banda Singh Bahadur in the form of letters, tracts, Papers and travelogues. However, the western Scholars were confronted with several problems, some of which included the authentic source of materials, absence of incessant personal contact, and limited knowledge of Punjabi language. They also faced difficulties in interpreting the language in which the Sikhs scriptures had been written.

Neither the contemporary nor the modern historians have written about the life of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur before he joined the *Khalsa Panth*. There is no information about his earlier life in any historical books of Persian accounts. Only in some works, the authors of the Persian literature have used the word *Bahurupia*¹ to describe him. The use of this word shows the hate in the minds of the Persian authors towards him. However, there is no clear evidence about it. Some historical books of the English suggest that the birth of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur took place in the Jalandhar-Doab region of Punjab in a village called *Biragi Sadh*. On the Other hand, we don't have much information about Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's earlier life. The information provided about Baba Banda Singh Bahadur prevalent today in the form of stories and legends have been from the Gurmukhi literature of the ancient times.

1. Muhammad Qasim's, *Ibratnama*, (ed., J.S. Grewal and Irfan Habib), *Sikh History from Persian Sources*, New Delhi, 2007, p.115.

Most of the information of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur are derived from Ratan Singh Bhangu and Giani Gian Singh's literature. The Gurmukhi literature that existed before their work did not contain much information about this.

Bansavlinama, by Kesar Singh Chhibber, was written in 1769 A.D. However, Banda Singh Bahadur died on 1716 A.D. So, it can be said that, this book was written 53 years after his death. Hence, amongst the authors who have written about him, Kesar Singh Chhibar was the first and the closest to the era of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. Due to this reason the statement made by Kesar Singh Chhibar in this book seems to be true. However, this book does not contain any information about the Banda Singh Bahadur's birth, parents and childhood life. Kesar Singh Chhibber started his book from the *Sadhgiri*. The statements made in the *Gurmukhi* literature after Chhibber are not reliable because of their mythological style of writing. However, the information of his birth has only given in these ancient books.

He was born on the 16th of October, in 1670 A.D. According to this, he was only 4-5 years younger than Guru Gobind Singh.² Even Ganda Singh states that his birth was on the date of *Kartik Sudi 13 Samat 1727 Bikrami* on Sunday, 16 October 1670 A.D.³ This concept is acceptable to most of the authorities which include Rattan Singh Bhang,⁴ Gianni Gian Singh,⁵ Koer Singh,⁶ Irvine.⁷ Mata Joginder Kaur⁸ of Dehra Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, Riasal Jammu, states that a male child was born on *Kartik 13, Samat 1727 Bikrami*, and 27 Oct 1670. Sardar Ranjit Singh Kharg also told us the birth date of Banda Singh Bahadur was 27 October, 1670. His (Banda Singh) name was Lachhman Dev.⁹ Hence, unless proved otherwise the date 16 Oct 1670 will continue to be used. Other than this, different historians have contradicting views regarding the birth place of Banda Singh Bahadur. According to Karam Singh historian, he was born in the Rajori, District Punch of western Kashmir,¹⁰ Mata Joginder Kaur of Dehra Baba Bahadur, Riasal Jammu, states he was born in a small

². Sukhdial Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur- ik ithasik Adhaiyan*, Sangam, Samana, 2018, p. 55.

³. Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala 1987, P.10.

⁴. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, (ed Jeet Singh Sheetal), Sikh Itihas Research Board, SGPC, Amritsar, P.120.

⁵. Giani Gian Singh, *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, Language Department Punjabi University, Patiala 1987, P.1.

⁶. Koer Singh, *Gurbilas Patshahi Dasvi*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968, P.314

⁷. William Irwin, *The Later Mughals*, Volume 1 & 2, Oriental Books, New Delhi, 1971, P.93

⁸. Mata Joginder Kaur, *Baba Banda Singh Bahadur*, Vishav Jyoti, Chandigarh, 1964, P.1.

⁹. Sardar Ranjit Singh, *The spokesman*, weekly, New Delhi, Jalandhar, 1965, p.12

¹⁰. Karam Singh Historian, *Jivan Birtant Banda Singh Bahadur*, SGPC, Amritsar, 1982, Pp 19-20.

village Jore- Ka- Garh which is a lovely place of great scenic beauty in Shivalik hills, below the Pir Panjal range.¹¹ Mr. James Browne writes that he was the native of a village called Pondori in the Doab Bist of Jalandhar of Punjab.¹²

According to the Giani Gian Singh, the story of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur before he met Guru Gobind Singh was written in an old book which stated that he was a Rajput in the towns of Rajauri, Pargana of Punchh.¹³ The entire account of this has been given in *Shamsher Khalsa*. The account given by 'Giani Gian Singh' about the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur is wholly different from information provided by the first four *Gurmukhi* works. The works which has done by 'Giani Gian Singh' comparatively very old so they cannot be compared to the works of the contemporary authors. He wrote this book in 1892. Hence, he wrote about him, 175 years after his martyrdom (1716). He also provided the information on the date of birth of Banda Singh Bahadur's, father's name and his birthplace. The whole story that he wrote about Baba Banda Singh Bahadur before he became an egoist sadhu was new. Although Giani Gian Singh stated that he had got the information from the old book, he did not mention the name of that book.

There is no information of these facts stated by Giani Gian Singh in the *Gurmukhi* literature that existed before his works. Hence, the only two outcomes can be that either this information provided by Giani Gian Singh is wrong or that he was the only one who had this old book, from where he got this information. Due to this reason, there is no historical authenticity of these statements made by him. He used three dates to describe the childhood of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. One of which was the date of birth which he stated to be 1727 *bikrami*, the second being the date when he went to the camp of Ram Thaman to become his devotee *Samat* 1727 *Bikrami* and the third being the book of magical spells and *mantras* which was 1748 *Bikrami*. These dates are respectively 1670, 1686, 1691 A.D. However, Giani Gian Singh also did not mention the source of this information. There was no mention of any such dates in the *Gurmukhi* literature before this.

Hence, just as there is no historical relevance of the works of Ratan Singh Bhangu, in the same way this is also mythological. The only importance of *samats*

¹¹. Mata Joginder Kaur, Op.cit.

¹². M. James browne, *History of The Origin and Progress of the Sikhs*, Today& tomorrow's , New Delhi, 1973, P.568

¹³. Giani Gian Singh, Op.cit, P.1.

was because they were mentioned for the first time.

According to Sukhdial Singh, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's birth place was not in Rajouri but at a distance of about 25-26 km from Rajouri in Tachhal.¹⁴ Moreover, this statement made by Sukhdial Singh can be said to be logically true because this region was populated by a majority of Rajputs and most of these Rajputs had converted to Sikhism after the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur. This statement made by Sukhdial Singh was based on the meeting between him, the Sikh leader of Kashmir, Sant Singh Teg and Akali Kaur Singh. Both of these leaders did the very important research about the Sikh religion.¹⁵

He was from the Rajput family, His father Ramdev was a castellan (*Kiledar*) and an important military officers, belong to Bhardwaj tribe. He was a farmer by occupation.¹⁶ According to Giani Gian Singh, he was born in house of Ramdev Shatri.¹⁷ The Sikh society of that period witnessed many changes. Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom had a great influence on the Kashmiri Brahmins especially on the Hindus. So, a large number of Brahmins converted to Sikhism. Many young boys from the families of the Kashmiri Brahmins and Rajputs came to Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur Sahib. Upon getting the news of this, the Mughal Badshah ordered the Mughal arbitrators to identify the families of the Youngers that had gone to Anandpur Sahib and take strict action against them. This strictness was very severe in Kashmir. So, in order to save themselves the families of this region started making many excuses. Many of the Kashmiris said that, their son had become the *sadh* and not a Sikh. This excuse was started by Lachhman Dev's family. Lachhman Dev was Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's name before he became a Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh,¹⁸ the authenticity of this fact has been proved by Giani Gian Singh,¹⁹ Ratan Singh Bhangu,²⁰ Ganda Singh,²¹ Karam Singh Historian,²² etc. Son of a commander had gone to Anandpur Sahib to join Guru Gobind Singh. It was due to this reason they spread the false information that their son had become a *sadh*. Later, the lies of killing *adeer*, changing his name to Madho Das and becoming an egoistic *sadh* were also

¹⁴. *Ibid*, P. 54.

¹⁵. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P.10

¹⁶. Giani Gian Singh, op.cit, P.2.

¹⁷. Sukhdial Singh, op.cit, P.54

¹⁸. Giani Gian Singh, op.cit, P.10

¹⁹. Rattan Singh Bhangu, op.cit, P.120.

²⁰. Ganda Singh op.cit, P.10

²¹. Karam Singh historian, op.cit, P.20

²². Sukhdial Singh, op.cit., P.54.

spread.²³

Although there are many stories regarding the life of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur as a *Sadh*, the information about his early life has only been written in the *Gurmukhi* literature. So, it is difficult to find out the truth without doing the scrutiny of these writings. These books mention the date of birth, name of the parents and birth place of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur.

According to Kesar Singh Chhibber, in the beginning the name of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur was Lachhman Dev. He lived as a 'Bairagi'. He had a *dera* which was also described as a Gurdwara and Mandir Kesar Singh. This Dera was located between the villages of Sehri and Khanda. Both these villages were located in the area of the *Toors*.²⁴ Lachhman Dev and his disciples lived in this *Dera*. Kesar Singh Chhibber also writes that before coming here, Lachhman Dev also lived in Piroja Nagar which was towards the East. Later he moved to the area of the *Toors* and started residing in an area between the villages named Sehri and Khanda. While returning from Malwa Guru Gobind Singh reached at this place and set up his *Dera* near the *Dera* of Lachhman Dev. Guru Gobind Singh had a lot of Sikh *sangats* including women with him come at that place. After setting up their camp Guru called Diwan Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand to meet him. They were responsible for the maintaining the records of the Darbar and the Sikh *sangats*. While Guru summoned for these two Bhai Nand Chand was also there with him. Guru held a dialogue with them about handing over the responsibility of the Guru ship and taking the revenge of the death of the *sahibzadas*. According to Kesar Singh Chhibber, during this meeting Guru said, that the *sadh* in the nearby shrine (Lachhman Dev) was a stoic of a sacrificing nature and a world detached person. Guru proposed to hand over the responsibilities of the Sikh religion in his hands if he would agreed to be Guru's Sikh. All the Sikh leaders agreed to Guru's proposal. Guru further added that he might feel insulted if they called him here, so Guru Gobind Singh proposed that they would go to his shrine in order to meet him.

In this way Guru went to meet him in his shrine. Lachhman Dev had established a great Gurdwara and Mandir in his shrine. Guru only took a handful of

²³. Sehri and Khanda are two separate villages. These villages are situated between Rohtak and Sonipat in Haryana. There are lived *Toor* and *Nain Jats* these days now. According to survey, there are 52 villages of *Toor* and *Nain Jats*.

²⁴. Kesar Singh Chhibar, *Bansavalinama Dasan patshahi ka* ed. Ratan Singh Jaggi, *Parakh* magazine, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1972, P.169.

Sikhs along with him. After entering inside, Guru ordered his Sikhs to put his seat close to Lachhman Dev's seat. So, the Sikhs followed his orders and arranged his seat. At that time Lachhman Dev was on the other side of the garden looking at his flowers and shrubs. Guru's seat was placed by the Sikhs as ordered. But the seat flew outside. But Guru again ordered his Sikhs to place in his seat at the same location. This time, the seat did not fly away and Guru sat on the seat. Upon seeing this Lachhman Dev came to meet Guru. Guru Gobind Singh asked him to sit but Lachhman Dev did not sit on his chair, he instead sat in the floor beside Guru Gobind Singh.

Guru Gobind Singh sent all the Sikhs that he had brought alongside him away. The two then talked amongst themselves alone. After talking to him, Lachhman Dev became the Sikh of Guru after being baptised by Guru himself. Hence, in this way Guru handed over all the responsibilities to him. After doing so Lachhman Dev accompanied Guru to the gate of the Gurdwara. While bidding farewell from Guru Gobind Singh, he asked Guru how much more time will be required by him to fulfil his responsibilities. Upon this, Guru answered that he would be free to do his work after nine months and nine days. After this, Guru Gobind Singh began his journey to Burhanpur.²⁵

This is the total account of the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur which was given by Kesar Singh Chhibber in his book *Bansavlinama*. This is the first writing that contained this account of information about him. Although there are many Persian literary works like: Muhammad Qasim's *Ibaratanama*, Mirza Muhammad's *Ibaratanama*, Mohammad Hadi Kamvar Khan's *Tazkirit-Us-Salatin-Chagata*, Khafi Khan's writing *Muntkhab-ul-Lubab*, Muhammad Sufi Varid's writing *Mirat-i-Varidat*, etc. All of the above books are the contemporary and near contemporary books about Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. However, none of these books contain the information about the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur. Only one English tourist, Major James Brown wrote and provided some knowledge of his earlier life. He wrote that he was a *Bairagi fakir* and was born in the Pandori village of Jalandhar. Major James Brown wrote this fourteen years after Kesar Singh Chhibber's *Bansavlinama* in 1783.

So, it can be said that Kesar Singh Chhibber was the first historian to write about the early life. Its historical relevance naturally increases because of the first writing about the early life of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. However, some of the facts

²⁵. According to the survey there are not any old *Dera* or *Thakurdwara* these days made peoples made houses on old places of *Mandir* or *Deras*.

written in this book cannot be verified and held true because of the method in which they have been written. Other than this, some of the facts written in this book are against the ideologies of the Sikh religion.

It is important to note that Guru Gobind Singh had not proposed to give the Guruship to Banda Singh Bahadur and neither had he appointed him to take the revenge of the death of the *sahibzaade*. Guru Gobind Singh appointed him as the Jathedar of the *Khalsa Panth* and the *Guruyai* had been given to the Guru Granth Sahib and the *Khalsa Panth*. Guru has made this clear in the writing of his *Darbari* poet Senapat. This has also been confirmed by Bhai Chaupai Singh in his, *Rahitnama* and Kesar Singh Chhibber himself. The basic information which can be obtained from the works of Kesar Singh Chhibber that his name before he joined the *Khalsa Panth* was Lachhman Dev. He had set up his shrine between the two villages of Shehri and Khanda. These villages are located in Haryana today between Rohtak and Sonapat near the province of Khar khanda. According to Kesar Singh Chhibber, this area belongs to the *Toor* Tribe Jatts. This information provided by Chhibber is fully correct as even today the majority of people in this area belong to the *Toor* and *Nain Jats* Tribe. During a survey, it was found out that the entire 52 villages belonged to the *Toor* and *Nain Jats*. Other than this, *Toor* and *Nain Jat* Tribe are also present in some other villages of this region. According to History *Toor* and *Nain* were two brothers. The offspring of these two brothers became popularly known as *Toor* and *Nain* tribe. Hence, it can be concluded that *Toor* and *Nain* are two branches of the same tribe. According to Kesar Singh Chhibber; Lachhman Dev was not the *Deradarat* Nanded (Nanded Sahib), instead his Dera was between the villages of Sehri and Khanda which are in the village in the state of Haryana nowadays.²⁶

The writings have mentioned that Banda Singh Bahadur's childhood name was Madho Das and was born in Rajouri who later formed a Dera on the banks of the Godavari were written before Kesar Singh Chhibber. These facts were only written in the works of Ahmed Shah batavli²⁷ and Giani Gian Singh.²⁸ Ahmad Shah wrote his book in 1824-25 while Giani Gian Singh wrote his books in 1889 and 1892. Surely, the historical relevance of the work done by Chhibber is more than of these two

²⁶. Ahmad Shah Batalvi, *Teerikh-i-Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, P. 31-32.

²⁷. Giani Gian Singh, *Shri Guru panth Prakash*, (Pathar chhap), Amritsar, 1889, PP. 247-50.

²⁸. Giani Gian Singh, *Shamsher Khalsa* (Pathar chhap), Sialkot, P. 1, 2

ancient books.

The second work in the Gurmukhi literature regarding Banda Singh Bahadur after Kesar Singh Chhibber was done in 1769 AD. While the *Mehima Parkash* was written seven years later. So, it can be said that these writers were contemporary because the difference of seven or eight years is not considered to be large when talking about history. However neither of the historians were influenced by the other's work i.e. there is nothing common between the statements made by Sarup das Bhalla and Chhibber. So, this concludes that though these authors were contemporaries they were not in each other's contact.

Kesar Singh Chhibber was a resident of Kashmir while Sarup Das was a resident of Goindwal (Punjab). Both of their families were associated with Guru House. Both Kesar Singh Chhibber and Sarup Das wrote that all their statements were based on the accounts of their respective families. However, it is interesting that even though the two were from Sikh ancestry, they gave contradicting accounts of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. However, even after the Sikh misalshah established their rule in Punjab in 1776, Sarup Das Bhalla had not converted to Sikhism, he was known as Sarup Das instead of Sarup Singh.

In the end of this book, *Mehima Parkash*, he briefly wrote about him. But he did not mention the complete name of Banda Singh Bahadur i.e. he only referred to him as Banda. According to Sarup Das Bhalla, the childhood name of Banda Singh Bahadur was Madho Das. He added on saying that he travelled towards the South without giving complete details about where he was heading. He also did not mention about the place where Madho Das established his shrine (*Dera*). He mentioned that Guru Gobind Singh met Banda Singh Bahadur on his way to Nanded without giving detailed information. Sarup Das Bhalla referred to *Zafarnama* as *Shoaknama*. He wrote a brief story about Madho Das without mentioning about his birth and parents and neither he mentioned about his hunting of Deer. Sarup Das also did not mention about him living in various shrines. He started his account by saying that Guru went to the *Dera* of Madho Das while traveling towards the South.

The only statement which can be used historically from the account given by Sarup Das was that Guru told Madho Das *jo to ab Akal Purakh ka banda hua*.²⁹ This can be used to prove that Madho Das joined the Khalsa Panth as the Khalsa Panth was

²⁹. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mahima Prakash* (poetry) Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patiala, 1960, P. 883-84 (Sakhi 24)

considered the army of the Akal Purakh (Almighty). But it would not right to say that Madho Das was baptized.

The first contradicting fact between Chhibber and Sarup Das was that Sarup Das stated that before becoming a Sikh the name of Banda Singh Bahadur was Madho Das instead of Lachhman Dev. According to Kesar Singh Chhibber he established his shrine in North India while Sarup Das believed it was established in the South. The third being that Sarup Das mentions *langot band* while Kesar Singh doesn't. As there are a lot of differences between the two compositions, they cannot be used to verify the other.

The third book which provides information about the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur is, *Shri Guru Panth Parkash* by Rattan Singh Bhangu. It is also popularly known as the *Prachin Panth Parkash*. This book was written in 1841 A.D. While writing about the early, Bhangu did not mention about the birth, parents, village and the historical background of his family. He started his account from the Naraina village of Rajasthan the location of that where the leader of the Dadu Panthia, Jait Ram had established his Dera. The whole historical account given by Bhangu is in the form classical poems. According to Bhangu, Guru Gobind Singh met Jait Ram in Naraingarh while he was traveling through Rajasthan. While talking to the Guruthe Mahant mentioned. He added on saying that he was known of preaching those who would come to meet him. Jait Ram said that he behaved in the same way with him too. In the 38th Stanza of this book Guru Gobind Singh told to Mahant that he had lost from that egoist because he had fed the birds of the Guru. Jait Ram sent a servant of his with Guru so that he would give him an account of the meeting between the two.³⁰

This entire account of the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur was given by Ratan Singh Bhangu in his classical poetry. It is also important to note that there was no such account in both the Persian and Punjabi language of this kind before the work of Bhangu. This means that this account given by Bhangu is unique. According to this account by Bhangu, Guru stayed at the place of history of the leader of the Dadu Panthi of Narain, Mahant Jait Ram. The whole story about him was told by the Mahant. However, Bhangu was neither a contemporary nor a near contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh. He was born many years after the

³⁰. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Shri Guru Panth Prakash*.

Guru Sahib. Hence, there were many contemporary writings about the life of Guru Gobind Singh which include *Shri Guru Sobha* by poet Senapat, *Gurukia Sakhia* by Surop Singh, *Guru Bilas* by Bhai Kour Singh and Bhai Sukha Singh etc. Ratan Singh Bhangu became a historian many years after, so there is no authenticity of the work done by Bhangu the entire accounts considered the mythological. The two literal works prior to the one done by Bhangu *Bansavlinama* and by Kesar Singh Chhibber and *Mehima Parkash* of sarup Das Bhalla have no accounts as those mentioned by Ratan Singh Bhangu. Hence, the source of Bhangu's information is not found. He did not mention the source of his accounts. Hence it can be stated as the fiction and mythological. There is no account of any book till date which contains the knowledge on attaining magical powers. Even the magical spells shown by magicians in shows just include the art of deceit. Hence, no individual can attain magical powers and defeat his enemies using them. If the accounts mentioned by Bhangu are regarding a saint, only then there is a possibility of their authenticity. But if he means to say that magic can be used to defeat and threaten enemies then one can conclude that his work is mythological. It is evident from Bhangu's composition that this stoic had magical powers which he used to insult and poke other Saints. Hence, it is difficult to prove the validity of Ratan Singh Bhangu's work. Therefore, there is no place for Bhangu's work in history.

Bhai Santokh Singh's work is different from the writings of the authors before him. The entire account is of about 250pgs in the 14th Chapter of the *Shri Guru Partap Suraj Granth* ranging from page number 6240 to page number 6243. This whole account has been written in the poetical. However, it is important to understand the words towards the end of this poem to understand the Views of Santokh Singh which are as follows *Nander de ilake vich bairagi sadha nalrhenda si, Guruji ne Madho Das nal mulakat kiti, Singha ne bakre chatka ke patilerijne dhar dite, mulakat doran Guruji ne Madho Das de Gurunu ik falde vichlekidhe de roop vich darsayahai.*³¹

The above statement is fictional and mythological. Other than this, the accounts that exist before of Santokh Singh (*Bansavlinama*, *Mehima Parkash* and *Prachin Panth Parkash*) also tell about the early life of Banda Singh

³¹. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Shri Guru Partap Suraj Granth* (ed. Bhai Vir Singh)Vol. XIV, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patiala, 1992, P.6240-62

Bahadur. Bhai Santokh Singh's account completely different from the ones stated above which also means that the accounts of the description of the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur in the *Gurmukhi* literature until 1843 A.D. did not match with each other. It seemed as if these authors were not aware of the work that had been done by their contemporaries and near contemporaries. Hence, it can be concluded that the authenticity of the works done by these authors could not be proved. Hence, it seems as if they (Sarup dasBhalla, Ratan Singh Bhangu and Santokh Singh) based their creations on the basis of the rumours in the society. The dialogue presented by Bhai Santokh Singh between Madho Das and Guru Gobind Singh has no historical relevance. In this dialogue, Bhai Santokh shows Guru insulting Madho Das and his shrine. According to him, Guru showed Madho Das that his Guru had become a bug in the fruit of a nearby tree after his death. Hence, Guru insulted Madho Das and his post humous *Guru*. Hence, this dialogue written by Santokh Singh is fiction and mythological. He further portrayed that when Madho Das came to visit Guru, Guru ordered him to take revenge from his enemies in the following way;

Desh Punjab jau mam badla, bemukh hoye mere man badla.

These lines portray that Guru was only interested in taking his revenge. However, this fact proves to be contradicted by the ideologies of the Guru and the Sikh religion. The main ideologies of the Sikh religions have always been against repression and oppression. However, Guru Gobind Singh fought to end these two evils from the Society. Nevertheless, he had come to Nanded Sahib for the fulfillment of this objective. Hence, it can be concluded that the literal works of Bhai Santosh Singh have the tainted the personality and image of the Guru. This writing also proved to be useless in providing any new information regarding Baba Banda Singh Bahadur.

Giani Gian Singh is the newest author to have wrote about him. He had given the account of Banda Singh Bahadur in his two writings. The first is *Guru Panth Parkash*, which was written in 1889 and is also known as *Panth Parkash* while the second is *Tawarikh Shamsheer Khalsa*, which was written in 1892. This is the second part of the, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*. The first document has been written in a very typical and influent Punjabi prose in the form of a poem while in the form of narration that has been written in typical Punjabi language. The narrative accounts of the *Panth Parkash* and the *Shamsheer Khalsa* are both very

comprehensive. However, the interesting fact is that the account of *Sadhgiri* given in the *Panth Parkash* is completely different from that in the *Shamsher Khalsa* even though the two books were written only about three years apart. However, because of the fact that the whole account in the *Panth Parkash* is in the form of a poem, some things have been added according to the rules of the poem. Hence, many accounts that have been added in the *Panth Parkash* are additional and not related to the topic. Due to this Bhai Santokh Singh and Giani Gian Singh have given a lot of unnecessary details in their books.

Because of the facts that in the both books *Shri Guru Panth Parkash* and *Tawarikh Shamsher Khalsa* have been written recently, they have been written in prose and have been written completely in the historical perspective. Due to this reason only the *Tawarikh Shamsher Khalsa*, has been considered here. Between the two books, the only difference lies in the narration during the life of Banda Singh Bahadur as a stoic. Hence, there is not much difference between the books. So, if both books are discussed here, it will just act as a repetition and will lead to the compilation of unnecessary detailing. Therefore we will only discuss about the accounts of the *Shri Guru Panth Parkash*. This text is Giani Gian Singh's new and revised writing. The accounts of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's early life in this book have been described below:

Before the meeting Guru Gobind Singh, the story of Banda Singh Bahadur according to an old book is as follows. He was a resident of the town Rajuari and a Rajput of Pargana Punch. He was born to Ramdev Shatri in 1727 *Bikrami Katik Sudi 13*. He was named Lachhman Dev. He had a hobby of hunting. It was powerful and quick wit from a very young age. He became an expert in using arrows and spears at a very young age. One day, he shot an arrow in the stomach of a deer while he was hunting. That deer was pregnant, hence the deer died along with its children in front of his eyes. This incident made him sad. Hence, his mind was filled with sympathy. After that he decided to join a group of stoic saints. With this, he became a disciple of Guru Janaki Parsad. He went to attend the fare of Vaisakhi in *Samat 1743 Bikrami*, 1686 A.D. While he was there, he met the disciple of Hari Das and Ram Das. He became his disciple. So, this was the incident when he got the name Naryan Das. At that time there was a custom of having a war exercise between the *stoics* and the *monastics*. Later, he became the devotee of Augadh Nath. Then he created a garden near the banks of

the Godavari River at a distance of about 50 kilometers (18 Kos) from the Nagoli town of Nanderin 1748 *Bikrami* 1691 A.D. He had the habit of insulting the saints who come to visit him. However, the account in the, *Guru Khalsa Tawarikh* begins with a dialogue which occurred when Guru reached Buhanpur while he was heading toward the South. The dialogue is as follows; Jait Ram told Guru that there was a Saint who lived towards the South who possessed magical powers and mocked the people who would go to visit him. Guru went to this place with the objective to persuade him to go to Punjab.³²

The above statements which have been given by Gian G Singh about the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur are completely different from the first four *Gurmukhi* writings. However, Giani Gian Singh is the most recent author to write about him so he cannot be compared with the contemporaries of that time. The inscription was written by Giani Gian Singh in 1892. So, it can be said that Giani Gian Singh wrote his book 175 years after the martyrdom of Banda Singh Bahadur (1716). However, he was the first to mention his date of birth, father's name and birthplace. The fact that he began hunting from a very young age was also only written by Giani Gian Singh. According to him he had become a stoic after killing a pregnant deer. Even after becoming a sadhu, he kept his name Lachhman Dev. But as he was of a very young age, he was known as '*Lachhman Bala*'. He became a disciple of Ram Das at the age of 16. Hence, after this, he became to known as Narayan Das. Later, he went to reside on the banks of the Godavari River in Nasik towards the South. Then he got a book on magical spells at the age of 21 years in 1691 A.D. after which he became an egoist Saint.

The above information provided by Giani Gian Singh was complete in itself. Although Giani Gian Singh stated that he had gained the information from an old book, he did not mention the name of that book. There was no mention about the prior writings of the *Gurmukhi* literature. Hence, this information provided by Giani Gian Singh is wrong or he was the only one who had this old book, from where he got this information. It is due to this reason there is no historical authenticity.

These statements made by Giani Gian Singh. He used three dates to describe the childhood of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. One of which was the date of birth which he stated to be 1727 *Bikrami*, the second being the date when he went to the camp of

³². Giani Gian Singh, Op. cit, P.1.

Ram Thaman to become his devotee *Samat 1727 bikrami* and the third is the book of magical spells and *mantras* which was 1748 *Bikrami*. These dates are respectively 1670, 1686, 1691 A.D. However, he also did not mention the source of this information. The writing prior to this did not contain any dates.

Giani Gian Singh drove the accounts after this from Bhangu. Bhangu presented the dialogue between Jait Ram and Guru Gobind Singh from the words of Jait Ram. Giani Gian Singh narrates the story that took place at Burhan while the rest is the same as narrated by Bhangu. Just as there is no validation of Bhangu's works. In the same way the authenticity of Giani Gian Singh's works also cannot be proved. The only importance of the dates was because of the reason they were mentioned for the first time.

Banda Singh Bahadur was just a baptized Sikh. According to Karam Singh historian, Banda Singh Bahadur was a true Sikh, but unfortunately could not be baptized because of the death of Guru Gobind Singh.³³ This dispute was raised because of the contradicting views of some modern scholars who have many different opinions and have controversy on it. According to Hari Ram Gupta, There is no contemporary or near contemporary source which proves that he was baptized.³⁴ In regard to this, Hari Ram Gupta says, that Banda Singh Bahadur was not baptized according to the new ceremony. According to him Banda Singh Bahadur was an ordinary disciple.³⁵

Guru Gobind Singh did not support the Banda Singh Bahadur's emergence as the religious leader of the Sikhs because he considered him as an abolisher of the masses and systems and not a leader. Guru Gobind Singh was against the creation of another *masand*. Other than this, he had changed the Guru Gobind Singh's salutation from

Wahe Guru Ji ka khalsa Wahe Guru Ji ki fateh to '*Fateh Darshan*'.

According to the description by Hari Ram Gupta, we come to the conclusion that Guru Gobind Singh had feared that Banda Bahadur would claim for the *Guru ship* with the time if he had been baptized. Hence, Guru Gobind Singh did not baptize to Banda Bahadur.

Gokal Chand Narang writes that Banda Bahadur was only a devotee of Guru

³³. Karam Singh Historian, Op. cit, P. 27-28.

³⁴. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1978, P.6.

³⁵. *Ibid*, P.46.

Gobind Singh or a follower. He says that both Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Bahadur shared very close friendship with one another. Guru's elegant speaking, religious love and passion was able to create a deep impression on the mind of Madho Das in such a way that he became a follower of the Guru, and not only considered himself as his Banda (slave) but also presented himself completely at his services.³⁶ Gokal Chand Narang states that Banda Singh Bahadur was not a baptized Sikh. As Guru found out the qualities of the *Bairagi*, he appointed him as the future leader of the Khalsa Panth. Guru believed he had the qualities to lead the Sikh community.³⁷ Hence, it can be said that the sources which Gokal Chand Narang studied perhaps did not confirm of the baptism of Banda Bahadur in to Sikhism but there are instances in his work where he writes that Banda Singh was appointed as the leader of the Khalsa Panth which show that Banda Singh was a Sikh of the Guru. Bhai Sohan Singh *Sher-i-Baba*, writes that he was a true devotee of the Sikh religion i.e. a *Sehajdhari bhagat* but he did not taste *amrit*.³⁸ Khazan Singh claims that he became the follower of Guru Gobind Singh, but Guru Gobind Singh did not consider it preferable to initiate Banda Bahadur with *Pahul*.³⁹ Sir Denzil Ibbetson writes that he was not commenced with the *Pahul*.⁴⁰

The reason given by the above scholars are manifestly fatuous and far from reality or truth. They are based on patently biased accounts. Therefore, it becomes pertinent to write about the scholars who wrote that Banda Singh Bahadur was baptized. Bhatt Vahian considers to have ample proof that Banda Bahadur being a baptized Sikh. According to Bhatt Vahi Multani Sindi Guru Gobind Singh, renamed Madho Das as Banda Singh by giving him the holy *amrit* and the instructions of becoming a true Sikh.⁴¹ He has consistently been mentioned as the soldier of Guru Nanak's worshippers. This was only because he was widely recognized as Guru of the Sikhs, who were known as Nanak worshippers.⁴²

³⁶. Gokal Chand Narang, *Glorious history of Sikhism*, New Book Society of India, Delhi, 1972, P.136.

³⁷. *Ibid*, P. 136.

³⁸. Bhai Sohan Singh, *Shar-e-Baba, Banda The Brave, Orlife and Exploits of Banda Bahadur*, Lahore, 1915, P.P. 27-28.

³⁹. Khajan Singh, *History of the Sikh religion*, Department of language, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1914, P. 213.

⁴⁰. Denzil Ibbetson, *A Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North West frontier province*, language department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, P.698.

⁴¹. Piara Singh Padam, Giani Garja Singh (ed.) introduction, *Guru Kian Sakhiya*, Kala Mandir, Patiala, 1968, P.14

⁴². Akbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Court news of Mughal Darbar, English translation by Bhagat Singh

There are many evidences and proofs that prove the Banda Singh Bahadur was *amritdhari* (baptized). Because Kesar Singh Chibbar's was the closest near contemporary writer of him. According to him both of them kept on speaking with each other inside the camp. Guru then made Lachhman Dev a Singh by giving him *amrit*.

*Pahul Guruki chak ke baniya Singh hatiya*⁴³

Mufti Ali-Ud-Din writes that Banda Bahadur prepared himself for the battle by taking the *Pahul* from Guru Gobind Singh.⁴⁴ Ahmed Shah Batalia claims that Guru Gobind Singh provided the *Amrit* to Banda Bahadur in order to make him a Singh.⁴⁵ Syed Muhammad Latif writes that Both Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Singh Bahadur become close friends. Guru Gobind Singh's impressive speaking skills and religious devotion was enough to make a deep impression on his mind. So, he was initiated in to the *Pahul* and converted in to a follower of the *Guru*.⁴⁶

Sharda Ram Phillauri also claims that, After Guru Gobind Singh's death, a *Bairagi Sadhu* has taken the *Pahul* for a certain reason and came to be known as Banda.⁴⁷ According to Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha in Samat 1765 (1708 A.D.) on the arrival of *Dashmesh* (Guru Gobind Singh) at Nanded, Madho Das became a Sikh after being influenced by Guru. He was baptized by the *Kalgidhar Patshah* and was given the name Gurbaksh Singh but he continued to be known as Banda in the Khalsa Panth.⁴⁸ Ganda Singh writes that he was dressed by Guru Gobind Singh as a Sikh who was administered. He was baptized after performing all the rites and rituals of the custom which are usually performed at the *Amrit* or the *Pahul* ceremony.⁴⁹

Various European writers such as M.A. Macauliffe,⁵⁰ M. James Browne,⁵¹ W.L.M Gregor⁵² and C.H Payne⁵³ claim that Banda was a baptized Sikh. Other than this, there are other early and contemporary authorities that mention that he was a

presented in Punjab past and present, Apr. 1984, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1984.

⁴³. Keser Singh Chhibber, opcit, P.170.

⁴⁴. Mufti Ali-ud-din, *Ibratnama*, Department of Punjab. Historical studies, Pbi. University, Patiala, P.194

⁴⁵. Ahmad Shah Batalia, op. cit, P.37.

⁴⁶. Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of Punjab*, Eurasia, New Delhi, 1964, P.274.

⁴⁷. Sharda Ram phillauri, *Sikha de Raj di Vitheya*, Sharda Ram Philauri, Amritsar, 1888, P.70.

⁴⁸. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1960, P. 669.

⁴⁹. Ganda Singh, op. cit, P.15

⁵⁰. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Volume 5, Low price, Delhi, 1909, P. 238.

⁵¹. Mr. James Browne, op. cit, P.568.

⁵². W.L. M. Greagor, *The History of the Sikhs*, James Madan 8, London 1846, P.106

⁵³. C.H. Payne, *A short history of the Sikhs*, Department of language Punjab, Patiala, 1970, P.43.

disciple of Guru Gobind Singh and a devoted follower of Sikhism. This fact weighs heavier because if Banda Singh was not a baptized Sikh, then how did the *Khalsa Panth* accept him as their leader to command them during various battles? Other than this, if Banda Singh was not a baptized Sikh then why did he have a full-grown beard, moustache and hairs on the head? All these are prerequisites for becoming a Singh. Bhai Parma Nand one of the Successors of Bhai Mati Das who later on became an *Arya Samaji*, tried to prove that Banda Singh Bahadur had not embraced the Sikh faith as he was a *Hindu bairagi*.⁵⁴ However, Karam Singh had a different perception. According to him he was a Sikh, a martyr for the Sikh cause and the movement under him was a Sikh movement. In regard to this, Karam Singh referred to Muhammad Ahsen Ijad's *Shahnama* which bore the reference and inscriptions of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's official seal engravings. The inscriptions were as follows:

Degh o tegh o fateh Nusrat-i-Bedirang, Yaft as Nanak Guru Gobind Singh

Karam Singh also refers to an eye witness account that the words of above couplet are in the stamp of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur of Damdama Sahib such References prove that he was a Sikh. Later, Karam Singh in one of his articles that was published in Prakash Amritsar wrote that, *I read more history, I come to know about my mistakes. Now I am clear that Bandahe was a baptized Sikh*. Hence, on the basis of a special references to, *Banda Bahadur Kaun Si?* It becomes clear that the view of the scholar was that he was a baptized Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh.

The Guru gave him this Manteer of Satnam and it has instance made him his disciple by the summary performance of the optimal ceremony. Kalgidhar gave him a bow and five arrows as a gift. As you know these weapons were always with the Guru at all places.⁵⁵

He was married only with Rani Ratna. The couple gave the birth to only one son named Ajay Singh. He was a bachelor when he was a General and he was in the age of about 41 or 42 years. Hence, it was the desire of the Khalsa to get him marry. Therefore, the marriage of his took place with the Princess of Chambal with this the province of Chamba and the Khalsa Dal joined hands.⁵⁶

⁵⁴. Bhupender Singh Grover, *Karam Singh Historian: Jivan Te Rachna*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala 1986, P.40.

⁵⁵. M.L. Peace, *The spokesman weekly*, New Delhi, Jalandhar, 1956, P.15.

⁵⁶. Karam Singh Historian, *Banda Bahadur Kaun Si*.

CHAPTER-2

BANDA SINGH BAHADUR S RELATION WITH GURU GOBIND SINGH

The meeting and relationship of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur *with* Guru Gobind Singh has been described by various authors throughout plethora of periods.

This *Khalsa* Life of *Baba Banda Singh* has its great importance because Guru Gobind Singh assigned him to lead *The Khalsa Panth* and developed it. It can be said in other words that in 1708, the tenth Guru Gobind Singh gave him the responsibility to raise the level of the *Sikh Religion* which was the combined efforts of the ten *Gurus*. In this way a great responsibility was provided to Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. He had to maintain the level of Sikhism according to his intellectual level after the end of *Guru's* period. At that point it was a great responsibility for Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. The death of Guru Gobind Singh marked end of the *Gurus'* period. After this period, it was time for *The Khalsa Panth* to start undertaking the responsibility of the Sikh community. He was appointed to lead the community through this period. So it is important to see how it was written about in the earlier *Gurmukhi* scripts. In these scripts all the four writings of *Gurmukhi* were written in a poetic manner. As it has been explained in the poetic way in the *Gurmukhi*, these scripts are very difficult to comprehend. Therefore, the meaning of each writing is explained *invartaka*.

Kesar Singh Chhibber is one of the writers who has written about the sources of *Baba Banda Singh Bahadur* with Guru Gobind Singh and the *Khalsa Panth*. This information was in brief however not in serial order. Some parts of information are known to all while the other parts have been mentioned in Phase-11. The complete information after combining the knowledge of both phases is explained asunder.

According to Kesar Singh Chhibber the earlier name of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur was "Laxman Dev". He met with Guru Gobind Singh at Kharkhoda town near village Sehari Khanda between Sonipat and Rohtak in Haryana. This area is known as the region of *Chhibber Jatts*. It is a place known as the Thakurdwara of Laxman Dev. Guru was already aware about Laxman Dev before arriving here. Guru called him as Valli Ravali etc. Valli means a person with higher spiritual values. According to Chhibber Guru was fully aware about his spiritual displaces and his true life. This is why Guru wanted to assigned him responsibility to act as a Panthak Leader in the form of politics after him. But Laxman Dev was not ready for this. So

Guru made his mind to take this responsibility.

Valli Ravali Sanakhat Kahey sab koi

Sahib Puran Singh Nu Is di Pehchaan Si Hoi Sahib Is De Gal

*Mamla Si Paya Eah Nahi Si Chukda Par Sahib Chukaya*¹

When *Guru* gave him the responsibilities, Laxman Dev bowed his head at the feet of *Guru*. *Guru* gave the *amrit* to him. After taking *amrit* from *Guru*, Laxman dev became a follower of *Guru Gobind Singh*. In this way after assigning him responsibilities, *Guru* started his journey ahead. After meeting *Guru*, Laxman Dev asked him when he could start his work as the leader of the *Khalsa*. Upon this *Guru* told him that after the period of nine months and nine days he could start his work. With this who moved to Sehri-Khanda Burhanpur and then finally to Delhi with the remaining people.

Aakhar Sadhu udke Lok Aye Delhi nu Tur/

It is evident from the above lines of Kesar Singh Chhibber and the other statements that *Guru* knew Laxman Dev from a long time ago and after considering his abilities, *Guru* wanted to assign him with the responsibilities of the religious leader of the *Khalsa Panth*. This is the reason that *Guru* himself went to meet him so as to get persuade him to take these responsibilities. Earlier Laxman Dev was hesitant to take such big responsibilities but with *Guru*'s encouragement he made up his mind. Secondly, it is clear that *Guru* gave him *amrit* and baptized him. It has great historical importance. Thirdly, he showed his etiquette by saying goodbye to *Guru* at door when *Guru* was leaving his house and with this Laxman Dev asked *Guru* when he would be free to act independently. However, there is something which is not clear that when to start counting of nine months and nine days i.e. does this time started before moving from Thakurdwara or at the time of the *jyotijot (Death)* of *Guru Gobind Singh*. *Chaupa Singh* had been a part of *Guru Gobind Singh*'s life since his childhood and he was also the uncle of Kesar Singh Chhibber. So his writings were of far more historical relevance than those of Chhibber's. Bhai Chaupa Singh explained that *Guru Gobind Singh* gave the answers to his disciple. One of the questions asked by his disciples was that what would happen to Sikh struggle after *Guru*. *Guru* answered that he would send one person who would take all the i r revenge. Moreover *Guru* further

¹. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahiya ka* (editor Rattan Singh Jaggi) *Parakh Magazine*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1972, *Charan* 2, P. 170.

added that that person would come after nine months and nine days of his death.² So it is clear from the *Rehatnama* of Bhai Chaupa Singh that this time started after Guru Gobind Singh.

It is clear from the report of *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* which stated that Banda Singh Bahadur started his activities in the month of January. The first such report was dated between January 1709 and 20 February 1710.³

He moved from Nanded from October, 1708 i.e. after the *Jyoti Jot* of *Guru*. After leaving Nanded he started his activities. After about four months, there were a lot of misunderstandings which were common amongst the previous historians and writers.

The fourth view from Chhibber's statement is clear that *Guru* made Laxman Dev a Singh and prepared his mind to take responsibilities as a '*Panthak* leader' and *Guru* moved from Nanded to Sehri-Khanda, Haryana. It is clear that before moving to the South, *Guru* handed Baba Banda Singh Bahadur with the responsibilities of the '*Panthak* leader'. During this journey *Guru* was accompanied with his family and some other Sikhs along with their luggage.

This statement given by Kesar Singh Chhibber has its own importance. This point needs to be taken into consideration that Kesar Singh was the first writer who wrote about Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. First of all as a writer the statements given by Kesar Singh Chhibber had their own importance because of him being the pioneer writer. Other than this, Chhibber's age at the time of martyrdom of Baba Banda Singh (1716) was fifteen years. According to this, Chhibber himself had some knowledge about Baba Banda Singh and had also heard about Baba Banda Singh Bahadur from his elders. During this period many people had seen Baba Banda Singh Bahadur while many others knew about him. Chhibber was a resident of Jammu. The struggle started by Baba Banda Singh Bahadur later spread up to Jammu. So it is certain that Chhibber had gained some information from himself and some from his elders. In this way, Chhibber was either a contemporary writer or a near contemporary writer.

From the contemporary writers of the Punjabi language, Saroop Das Bhalla is the second name. Saroop Das Bhalla wrote about Banda Singh Bahadur in the following way; "Guru Gobind Singh told Banda Singh Bahadur that he had now

². Bhai Chaupa Singh *Rehatnama Hazori* (Editor), Piara Singh Padam, *Rehatname*, Patiala, 1984, P.2.

³. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, Mughal Court News, Manuscript, translated in English by Dr. Bhagat Singh presented in Punjab Past and Present oct. 1984, Punjabi University, Patiala, P. P. 25-26.

become a Banda of the *Akalpurkh*. Then he ordered to Banda Singh Bahadur go to Punjab and take revenge from the enemies. On this, he told Guru Gobind Singh that his interference in the *Khalsa Panth* would lead to its downfall. Guru Gobind Singh told him that nothing could lead to the downfall of the *Khalsa Panth*. After hearing this Guru Gobind Singh told him that he had become his *Banda* and would do as he was commanded. Guru Gobind Singh said the following words;

*langotband rahiyo tuj ko koi beet na sakega,
ar jo tu langot kholega to esa galega jesa kuthali mai soine ko
galayita hai*

Upon saying this Guru Gobind Singh sent Baba Binod Singh, Baba Kahn Singh, Baj Singh and some other Sikhs and commanded them to follow the orders of Banda Singh Bahadur. He told the Sikhs to assist him in his mission. Then he took these Sikhs alongside him to Punjab.

In *Gurumukhi* Saroop Das Bhalla is the second person who has written about Baba Banda Singh. The way of writing of Saroop Singh was less reliable than that of Chhibber's. *Langot band rehna* or *Langot Na kholi* is not a custom of the Sikh culture as the Sikhs did not wear drawers. All Sikhs after 1699 wore *kachera*. It was compulsion for Sikhs to wear *kachera* and without it they could be *patit* (low moral standard). Having lower moral standard was considered a curse for a Sikh. But Saroop Das was talking about *langotband*. *Langot* is the dress for *sadhus* while in *Khalsa Sikh rehat maryada* there was no space for the customs adopted by *sadhus*. Saroop Das could use the word '*kachera*' in place of '*langotband*'. This word is popular in Sikh culture. In this way Saroop Das's own mentality reflected from his own writings. His thinking does not match with the customs and ideologies of the Sikh religion.

The names of only three people who went with Baba Banda Singh Bahadur were given instead of five. But Saroop Das was the first person to mention the names of these three individuals. According to Saroop Das the names were as follows; Binod Singh, Kahn Singh and Baaz Singh. Saroop Das was the first person who mentioned about the given five arrows. However, the complete name of Banda Singh was not mentioned as he has only used half of his name.

Rattan Singh Bhangu gave the information about the relationship between Baba Banda Singh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh in his entry about the *Khalsa Panth*. According to that information, when Narayan Das got un-success, he came to⁴

Guru by considering Guru as a big miracle. By bowing his head in the feet of *Guru* he called himself as *Guru's Banda*. With this *Guru Gobind Singh* added him in the *Khalsa*.⁴

Three things are clear from the statement given by *Bhangu*. The first being that *Guru* made him Sikh by changing his name from *Narayan Das* to *Banda Singh*. But he did not mention about the *amrit* being given to him i.e. he did not mention whether he was baptized or not. Secondly, when *Guru* gave him the *Khanda*, the Sikhs did not approve this. The reason for this was that the Sikhs had stayed to their *Guru* for a long time, they believed that the *Panth* should be the owner of the *Gurgaddi*.

Bhangu wrote this book 125 years after the demise of *Banda Singh Bahadur*. However, he also did not tell about the source of his information. Therefore, it is due to this reason that the statements made by *Bhangu* hold very less relevance about the Sikh history.

The next *Gurmukhi* writer is *Bhai Santokh Singh*. He wrote about how *Banda Singh Bahadur* was admitted in the *Khalsa Panth*. According to *Santokh Singh*, When *Madho Das* became unsuccessful from every aspect, he touched the feet of *Guru Gobind Singh* and asked him to make him his *Banda*. He said that, he would execute any order that *Guru Gobind Singh* would give him. Upon this, *Guru Gobind Singh* ordered him to go to Punjab and take the revenge of the Sikh community from the *Mughals*. *Guru* also made him the leader of the *Khalsa Panth* in order to fulfill this mission. He also added on saying that when *Guru* offered to give him the *Khanda*, the Sikhs did not approve and instead requested *Guru Gobind Singh* to give him the *teer*. *Guru Gobind Singh* also told the *Singhs* to spread his *Hukamname* (orders) to the other Sikhs.⁵

Therefore, this is how *Banda Singh Bahadur* met *Guru Gobind Singh* at *Nanded Sahib*. It was here that *Guru Gobind Singh* added *Banda Singh Bahadur* in the *Khalsa Panth*. The main points of the description by *Santokh Singh* about the meeting between *Guru Gobind Singh* and *Banda Singh Bahadur* are as follows. The first being that *Santokh Singh* did not add the word 'Singh' to *Banda's* name at any point. Neither did he use the name *Banda Singh Bahadur* nor did he explain how *Guru Gobind Singh* gave him the title of *Bahadur*. He also did not mention whether *Banda*

⁴ Ratan Singh Bangu *Prachin Panth Parkash* (ed. *Bhai Vir Singh, Bhai Vir Singh Sahit Sadan*, New Delhi, Feb. 2008, P. 55.

⁵ *Bhai Santokh Singh, Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth* (ed.) *Bhai Vir Singh Vol. XIV, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patiala, 1992, P. P. 6240-6244.*

Singh Bahadur was baptized or not. Santokh Singh mentions that when Guru Gobind Singh offers his *kadha* to Banda Singh Bahadur, the Sikhs who were present there were Bhai Daya Singh and Bhai Dharam Singh who opposed this and instead were in favor of Guru giving him the *teer*.⁶ Therefore, according to Santokh Singh, the first decision of Guru Gobind Singh was to give him his *kadha*. However, Santokh Singh did not mention about the difference between giving the *kadha* and the *teer*. Normally in the Sikh religion at the time of choosing the successor, the formers were given a *talwar* (sword) which was later given the name *kirpan* after the formation of the *Khalsa*. However, there was no such custom of giving the *teer* (arrow). Bhai Veer Singh explained the difference between the *kadha* and the *teer* in his book, *Suraj Parkash*. According to Veer Singh, giving the *kadha* meant that handing over the *guryai* while giving the *teer* meant that Guru Gobind Singh made Banda Singh Bahadur earthly leader of the *Khalsa*. However, the source of this information was not given by Bhai Veer Singh. According to Bhai Veer Singh, when the Sikhs did not approve of this, Guru Gobind Singh said,

*eh banda tah kamah hai,
Khalsa puteer hai
Khalse nu kmah kekhavaiga.”
Si mukh rahyo jati reh javit/
Rho tej tero vdhitavit/
Brahmcharj te mukh nhi muroh, brahmcharj te ripneh aroh/
Brahmcharj te tej savaya/ Brahmcharj te sabhi kichh paya/
Banda bhyo je bandi baya hai/ tab in sarni tej ghat jaho/⁷
Je langot band nahi raho/ Singhan sang dosta lho/
Jim Kanchan bhu pro kuthali/ galih agn Te tao utayi/⁸*

The above statements are with relation to the Hindu religion or a *Brahmcharya* lifestyle. The above lines include the mention of castes, *brahmcharya*, *Langotband* etc. All of which have no relation to the Sikh religion. If the lines above are related to living a *Brahmcharya* lifestyle not living a family-oriented life, then they do not hold a place in the Sikh religion. As according to Bhai Santokh Singh, Guru married three

⁶. Bhai Santokh Singh, Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth (ed Bhai Vir Singh) Vol. XIV, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patiala, 1992, pp 6245.

⁷. *Ibid*, pp 6246.

⁸. *Ibid*, pp 6247.

times.⁹

Moreover, these lines state that Guru Gobind Singh ordered Banda Singh Bahadur to go to Punjab and started looting and destroying the villages and then later to destroy Sirhind and the hilly areas.¹⁰ Therefore, according to Santokh Singh the mission of Banda Singh bahadur was completely opposite to the ideologies which was started by Guru Nanak Dev and about taking the revenge of Guru Gobind Singh. Therefore, the statement made by Santokh Singh are mythical and hold not truth in relation to the Sikh religion.

Santokh Singh also mentioned that Binod Singh and Kahn Singh were along side Guru Gobind Singh. They were responsible to protect the Sikh community from the enemies and punished those who committed crimes.¹¹ He also stated that Binod Singh and some other Sikhs were against him. Santokh Singh wrote that he reached Punjab after crossing the Yamuna River. Then he established his camp in Kapal Mochan. However, this is not true as Banda Singh Bahadur established his first camp in two villages named *Sehri-Khanda in Kharkhoda* which was located between the districts of Sonipat and Rohtak. This has been very clearly given in the book, *Mirat-i-Varidat* by the contemporary writer of Banda Singh Bahadur, Muhammad Shafi Virat.¹² Moreover, Chhibber and Bangu have also mentioned that he established his first camp at Sehri-Khanda. Therefore, these statements made by Santokh Singh hold no relevance in the Sikh history.

The fifth *Gurmukhi* writer who wrote about Banda Singh Bahadur was Giani Gian Singh. He writes about the meeting between Banda Singh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh. The most important fact about Giani Gian Singh's work is that he was the first writer to mention about the dates of various events.¹³ According to Giani Gain Singh the meeting between Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Singh Bahadur took place in August, 1707. However, this is not the correct date. According to Giani Gian Singh, Guru Gobind Singh went to Nanded Sahib either towards the end of August, 1707 or the starting of September, 1708. However, Guru Gobind Singh died on the 7th of August of the same year. Hence, there is a high probability that Guru Gobind Singh

⁹. *Ibid*, pp, 6248.

¹⁰. *Ibid*, pp, 6244.

¹¹. *Ibid*, pp, 6245.

¹². Muhammad Shafi Warid, *Mirat-i-Waridat* (1734) in J.S Grewal, Habib,(ed) Sikh History from Persian Sources, New Delhi, 2007, P. P.160-161.

¹³. Giani Gian Singh, *Shri Gur Panth Parkash* (ed. Singh Sahib Giani Kirpal Singh) , Bhai Chateer Singh, Bhai Jiwan Singh, Bazaar Mai Sewan, Amritsar, 1974, P. 1790.

appointed him as the leader of the *Khalsa Panth* and sent him towards Punjab in any particular date in the month of August, 1708. Therefore, the dates given by Giani Gian Singh are not correct.

First of all, Giani Gian Singh talks about Guru Gobind Singh giving Banda Singh Bahadur his *Talwar* (sword) while the other historians have mentioned about *Guru khanda*. Secondly, he was the first writer who gave the names of the five Singhs who were; 1. Baba Binod Singh, 2. Baj Singh, 3. Kahn Singh, 4. Bijay Singh Mukhta and 5. Ram Singh Hajuri. Hence, in this way there are only two statements of relevance in Giani Gian Singh's work, the first being that he gave the names of the *Panj Pyare* and the second being that he also mentioned that he established his first camp in Sehri-Khanda.

Chhibber writes that after the death of Guru Gobind Singh, Banda Singh Bahadur left for Punjab from Nanded Sahib.¹⁴ He came to Punjab along with some group of people from Nanded Sahib. Upon reaching Punjab, he established his first camp in the twin villages of Sehri-Khanda. While he was here, he met a group of merchants who were known as the *lubane*. He encouraged these group of traders to fight for him. The merchants sold their goods. After which they took their families to secure places and bought weapons from the Malwa region in Punjab. Then they went and joined his army. Koir Singh, Baj Singh and Bhagwant Singh were the leaders of the *lubane Sikhs*.¹⁵ So, after this the news quickly spread throughout Punjab that the person appointed by Guru Gobind Singh had arrived in Punjab.¹⁶

The traditional accounts which have elaborated about the meeting between Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Singh Bahadur on the banks of the Godavari River are all mythical because none of the contemporary writers of the period of Banda Singh Bahadur mentioned about the details of the discussion and neither did they mention that he was a *sadhu*. The writing which contain the above information have all been written after the death of Banda Singh Bahadur.

He was a soldier in the army of Shahzada (Muajam). The *hukamnama* given by Guru Gobind Singh to the Shahzada Muajim dated 24 *samat*, 1755 *bikrami* i.e. 24th July, 1698 is as follows;

¹⁴. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *opcit*, pp.173

¹⁵. *Ibid*, band-5 to 12, P. P.-170-171, P. 171

¹⁵. Ganda Singh, *Hukumname*

¹⁶. *Ibid*, band-13,14, P. 171

ੴ Sat Guru Ji Bhai Muhkam Singh Ji

*Sati Das sarbat sangta Shahzada Ajimudin de lashkar di Guru
rakhega sao tole sona farmaish kar bejan Gurusangat de
rojgar andar barkat karega.*¹⁷

Shahzada Ajim was the earlier name of Badshah Bahadur Shah. Shahzada Ajim had a Sikh regiment under his control. Kesar Singh Chhibber also mention about this. According to Kesar Singh Chhibber, at the time of Bahadur Shah (Shahzada Ajim) was the *Subedar* of Kabul, some Sikhs worked under him. These Sikhs got the *hukamnama* sent by Guru Gobind Singh regarding the *Khalsa* with in the *lashkar*. The Sikhs went and congratulated Bahadur Shah (Shahzada Ajim).

*Bahadur Shah aha Kabul da subedar/
Sikh aho chakar Bahadur Shah di Sarkar Hukumname vich
likhia sarbhat Khalsa Vali Lashkar badshahi/
Sikha jai Mubarak diti Bahadur Shah*¹⁸

The battalion of the army of Shahzada Muajam which comprised of the Sikhs was also led by a Sikh commander. The name of this Sikh commander was Banda Singh Bahadur. In the army of the Shahzada, he was known as *Guru Ka Banda* while the army of the Sikhs were known as *Guru Ki Sangat*.¹⁹ Sarup Das Bhalla in his book, *Mahima Parkash*, mentions that he was not only a true devotee of Guru Gobind Singh but also was an official at a high level in the army of Bahadur Shah.

According to Sarup Das Bhala, when Banda Singh Bahadur was sitting along side Guru Gobind Singh the other Sikhs did not have any knowledge about him. So, Guru Gobind Singh told him to hold himself with high regard as he was an important official in the army of Bahadur Shah.

*Alam Singh sou kahiyo biyan
Mir bareh Miratabdan/
Mir Miratabdan hai Badshah ke pass
Tum toh moti baat kar Karte hass bilas*²⁰

After the death of Aurangzeb, Shahzada Muajam (Ajim), became the badshah.

¹⁷. Ganda Singh, *Hukumname* Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2013, pp. 136-137

¹⁸. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *op.cit*, pp. 173.

¹⁹. Sukhdial Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur- Ik Ihtisak Adian*, Sangam Publication, Samana, 2018, pp-56.

²⁰. *Op.cit*.

On his way from Kabul to Delhi, he passed from Punjab. He increased the size of his army while passing through Punjab. During that period, Munium Khan was the Governor of Punjab (Lahore). Munium Khan was also the prime minister of Bahadur Shah. However, Munium Khan was a devotee of Guru Gobind Singh. Bahadur Shah had to engage in a battle with his brothers in order to get the throne. It was due to this reason that he ordered Munium Khan to recruit soldiers from Punjab. Many Sikhs were willing to join the army of Munium Khan because of the fact that he was a devotee of Guru Gobind Singh. These Sikhs were under a commander who later went on to be known as Banda Singh Bahadur. However, according to some historical books of the Sikh community, Guru Gobind Singh also participated in one of the battles of Bahadur Shah against his brothers. Guru Gobind Singh took part in the battle between Bahadur Shah and his brother, Teera Ajam at the place of Jajao. Moreover, according to some historians Teera Ajam was killed by Guru Gobind Singh himself.²¹ However, there is not much evidence present to prove this hypothesis that Guru Gobind Singh participated in the war and killed Teera Ajam. The reason for this misconception can be because the common people may have confused the commander of this army with Guru Gobind Singh. Hence, they might have thought that Guru Gobind Singh himself engaged in Bahadur Shah's battle. However, the fact that Bahadur Shah's army had a *battalion* that comprised of the Sikh forces led by a Sikh commander cannot be denied. One of the main reasons why Bahadur Shah took Guru Gobind Singh alongside himself from Agra to Rajputane and towards the South was that the presence of Guru would increase the enthusiasm and belief of the Sikh and Punjabi soldiers in the battle against their enemies.

Guru Gobind Singh stayed at Nanded while Bahadur Shah moved ahead but Guru Gobind Singh was injured by Pathanas. This news spread to Bahadur Shah and his army which was comprised of Sikhs getting this news, Bahadur Shah sent many doctors to treat Guru. Moreover, the Sikh battalion of Bahadur Shah's army came to visit Guru as soon as they got the news. Therefore, thousands of the Sikh soldiers came to see Guru Gobind Singh. They came to Nanded along with their commander's, Banda Singh Bahadur. Upon seeing the wounds of their Guru, the Sikhs got enraged at the Pathans who attacked on Guru Gobind Singh. He died four days after being wounded. During these four days, Guru Gobind Singh discussed with

²¹. Giani Gian Singh, *Shri Guru Panth Parkash* (Pathar Chap), Amritsar, 1869, P. P. 237-238.

his Sikhs about the important matters. The commander of the Sikh forces was an experienced veteran who was appointed by Guru Gobind Singh himself. He was appointed as the *mukhi* of the Khalsa under Banda Singh Bahadur. Guru Gobind Singh also asked the Sikh *sangats* to comply with the orders of their newcommander.

A council comprised of the *Panj Piyare* was appointed to give advice and council to Banda Singh Bahadur at the time of need. The members of this council included; 1. Bhai Baj Singh, 2. Bhai Fateh Singh, 3. Bhai Haridas Singh, 4. Baba Binod Singh and 5. Bhai Sangat Singh Bangesari. In the beginning Banda Singh Bahadur was known by the name, *Guruka banda* or just Banda Singh, Bahadur was added to his name upon becoming the leader of the *Khalsa Panth*. Banda Singh Bahadur was a well-known general himself. He also commanded an army of his own. So, he did not face any problem in leading the Sikh in an armed rebellion against the Mughals. He had thousands of soldiers with adequate number of horses and weapons who hadjoined by the army of the Sikh forces.

However, according to some historians, Banda Singh Bahadur was sent to Punjab while Guru Gobind Singh was still alive. Giani Gian Singh and Bhai Santokh Singh are amongst these authors. However, this concept cannot hold true because no ruler or religious leader appoints his successor while when he was and then sends him away on a mission. Normally, a leader appoints his successor while he is still alive,in two cases,first being his inability to walk or undertake the administrative actions due to some unability and the second being affected by such a disease which is incurable. Even in such situations a leader only appoints his successor and does send him away. Although, the previous Gurus appointed their successors while they were still alive, the succeeding Gurus only took up the leadership of the religion upon the death of the current Guru.

Guru Gobind Singh died at the age of 42. He was a healthy person and did not suffer from any acute disease. The attack on Guru Gobind Singh was an unfortunate incident. He could not recover from the injured he suffered. Hence, the Khalsa Panth has fromed Guru Gobind Singh because of his early death. However, before his death, Guru Gobind Singh appointed Banda Singh Bahadur as the leader of the Khalsa Panth. Banda Singh Bahadur began his journey from Nanded Sahib only after completing all the customs of the cremation of Guru. Therefore, neither could Banda Singh Bahadur leave Guru Gobind Singh's side while he was wounded nor could Guru Gobind Singh send him away while he was still alive.

The proof of this is present in the *rehatnama* of Bhai Chaupa Singh. He writes, “Dalle Brar asks Guru Gobind Singh that who would lead the Panth after Guru. He also added that as the Sikhs were the enemies of the Turks and the Turks were known for being adamant, so how could the Sikhs survive from the Turks. Guru Gobind Singh gave him the following answers.

Dalle age manji nhi rakhni/

Dasah jamia da Bachan si/

Is vaste masand kadhsadhe/

Piche sadhe mata apu Guruban behan/

*Guriayi sarbat Khalsa di te asra Guruka shabad da ate
valipurakh/*

Ik banda bhejange/

While listening to this answer, Dalla asked Guru Gobind Singh when this person would arrive. Guru answered by saying, *asade asvare kitia nou din nou mihnia picho pragat hosi.*²² This showed that Banda Singh Bahadur could join the Sikh forces nine months and nine days after the death of Guru Gobind Singh. It also proves that Banda Singh Bahadur left Nanded only after the death of Guru Gobind Singh.

The second evidence of the above fact is given in the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*. The *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Muallashares* about the events carried out by Banda Singh Bahadur during the period of 31 January, 1709 to 20 February, 1710 i.e. approximately one year.²³ This book gives information about the earlier actions undertaken by Banda Singh Bahadur. According to the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, Banda Singh Bahadur steerted his struggle only after the 31st of January, 1709. However, Guru Gobind Singh died on the 8th of October, 1708. Hence, there was a gap of three to four months between these events. There is no mention of any event done by Banda Singh Bahadur before the 31st of January, 1709 in any of the historical books.

According to Bhat Multani Sindhi, Guru Gobind Singh gave Banda Singh Bahadur the orders to go to the Punjab on the banks of the Godvari River at Nanded. He was accompanied by some Sikhs named; “Binod Singh, Kahn Singh, Bhagwant

²². Bhai Cheopa Singh, opcit, P. 127

²³. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, Op.cit, P. P. 25-32.

Singh, Koir Singh, Baj Singh. *Sheeye Sikh Banjara Tanda Mai Punjab Aye*.²⁴

Dr. Amanpreet Singh Gill writes in his research paper that attack on Guru Gobind Singh was not a random or a spontaneous one. It was rather planned as they waited for Banda Singh Bahadur to leave. Therefore, there is the possibility that the Mughals were behind this attack.²⁵

He entered in the area of Rohtak destroying all the villages that came in the way of his army. The majority of the residents in that area were Hindus. The Rajputs allowed his army to pass from the area between Rohtak and Sonipat through the village, Kharkhoda Pargana (Tehsil). His army stopped after reaching in the twin villages of Sehri and Khanda. After reaching here, he reunite and reinforced his supplies of food and weapons. Sehri and Khanda were two twin villages which were at a distance of about five kilometers from each other. While travelling from Patiala to Delhi, one had to pass through Sonipat. Kharkhoda is at a distance of eighteen kilometers from Sonipat. Kharkhoda Sahib is a *tehsil* in Sonipat. The Sehri village is at a distance of eleven kilometers from Kharkhoda. While Khanda is located about five kilometers from here. However, there is no mention about this place. This village was mostly populated by the Sikhs of the Jat caste. A group of bandits made plans to loot this village during the night. But they could not carry out their plans because the army of Banda Singh Bahadur had set up a camp in this village. It was due to this reason that the people of the Sehri-Khanda village held him and his army with high regard. As a token of their appreciation, they offered large amounts of food and water to him. He emphasized the people of this village to fight against crimes, he also urged them to make themselves capable of protecting their own community.

During his stay in this village, a group of merchants were passing by wearing disguises. He was convinced that these merchants were not Sikhs, so he summoned this group of merchants to come and meet him. He asked them about their identity. However, fearing from the consequences of reviling their true identity, they lied to Banda Singh. Moreover, when he got the same answer from the merchants after asking them about their identity on multiple occasions, he used a stricter approach.

Upon this, the merchants started reviling their true identities. They told to him that they were Sikh merchants but we wear disguises because the Turks are very

²⁴. Pyara Singh Padam, *Guru Kia Sakhian*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1995, P. 17.

²⁵. Dr. Amanpreet Singh Gill, The Guru and His Banda: History and Mythology before Nandhed, Paper Presentation in Tri Centenary of Martyrdom.

strong. Upon hearing this Banda Singh Bahadur told them that “if they felt pride upon being Sikhs, he would stand in their support. He urge them to go to sell their goods in Asbab and return to him after buying weapons. The merchants complied with his advice, hence they went to Asbab, where they sold their goods and bought weapons. After which they sent their families to hide in the mountains while they went to join his army.”²⁶

The truth of this event can be confirmed from the writing of, *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*. The *Badshah* got the news that some people were giving horses and weapons to their enemies. They also came to know that they were taking them through the mountains. However, upon being asked to where they were taking them, they answered that they were taking these horses and weapons to offer them to the *hakam* of this area. Nevertheless, the *badshah* ordered for an investigation on this matter.²⁷ Hence, an important fact about the political life of Banda Singh Bahadur was that he was not only converted them and also *lubani* merchants to Sikhism but also encouraged them to pick up arms against the rulers. The mention of the nomadic people suddenly came up in the *Darbars* of the rulers. The people were merchants by profession. They possessed a large number of carts, camels, horses and donkeys. Due to their work, these people spent most of their time far from their homes. Normally they provided supplies to the royal armies. Basically, most of the members were from the Sikh religion but they travelled in different states under separate identities. Upon reaching Punjab, he added these people in his army. It has been mentioned in the, *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, that the *badshah* ordered to capture these nomadic people from Multan and bring them to Delhi. Kotval Sarbrah Khan was given the order to execute these people as they refused to accept *Islam*.²⁸

Kafi Khan was a contemporary of Banda Singh Bahadur. He too mentioned about the *No-mads* in his books. He mentions that the *senomads* were true to the Sikh religion and its movement. They engaged themselves in providing food and other supplies to the Sikhs even while the Sikhs were surrounded by the enemies in their forts. The Sikhs got their necessary supplies from these traders by the use of ropes and pieces of cloth. The Sikhs would throw these pieces of cloth towards these trader who would fill them with food and other necessities, these pieces of cloth were then pulled

26. Kesar Singh Chibbar Bansalvinama (Sampadhak Ratan Singh Jagi) Chandigarh, 1972, pp. 170-171

27. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, pp. 88.

28. *Ibid*, pp. 88.

over the walls in to the forts by the Sikhs with the help of ropes.²⁹ There is another statement made in the, *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* that proves that the nomads were a part of Banda Singh Bahadur's army. It has been mentioned in the, *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, that most of the merchants of Guru Nanak's religion. These traders took residence in the areas of the *jamidhars*; Daya, Damah and Hira Chand. It was also mentioned that these traders supplied the revolted Sikhs with food, bullets and other weapons. Hence, when the badshah came to know of the merchant's actions, he sent orders to the *najim* of Lahore, the *faujdar* of Kangda and *jamidars* of the hilly areas. He ordered them not to allow these traders to pass through their respective areas and upon being captured; he ordered them to take strict action against the traders. This action was also made to curb the revolt of the Sikhs as they would no longer receive food and other supplies. Therefore, the *Badshah* ensured that necessary actions were taken to carry out his orders.³⁰ Nevertheless, these entries proved that Banda Singh Bahadur had been successful in recruiting these merchants in to his revolt. They also prove that Banda Singh Bahadur was in the army before becoming the leader of the Sikh community because it was there that he came to know of these nomadic traders and merchants.

During his stay in Sehri- Khanda, he sent letters to various leaders of Punjab. He urged them to send armed men as soon as possible to him. Therefore, a large number of Sikhs joined his army. This news spread throughout the whole of Punjab very quickly. It was believed that Guru Gobind Singh had sent a manto fight against the rulers. So, the Sikhs got hold of whatever weapon was present and began their journey to his camp. Almost all the members of the youth of the Sikh community joined this movement. The Sikhs brought along with themselves swords, knives, sticks and many other weapons to Sehri-Khanda. A near contemporary writer of Banda Singh Bahadur, Kesar Singh Chhibber writes that

*Singha dia foja bohut ho gayia/
Sanghata bhi dur dia didar nu avat Bhaiya/
Singha nu banda eh kahe Gareeb di rakhya karo,
gabroo na koi rahe/
Pap tajoh dharam chal raj kro*³¹

²⁹ . Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, pp,58

³⁰ . Kafi Khan, *Muntkhab-ul-zubab*,(ed. Elliot and Dowson), Volume-8, Allahabad, 1964, pp,426.

³¹ . *Op. cit.*

Many Singh leaders joined Banda Singh Bahadur in his rebellion. Amongst some of the Singh leaders who had joined Banda Singh Bahadur's army are; Ali Singh and Mali Singh from *Singha di Sakroundi*, Bhai Fateh Singh, Bhai Rupa and Bhai Karam Singh from Bhaikia, Chaudhary Rama and Tilokah from Fulkia. The Bhullar, Brar, Dhillon, Dhaliwal, Mander and Randhave also came along with their leaders to join this revolt.

The Sikhs of Majha and Doaba also formed large groups and began their journey to him. It was easier for the Sikhs of the Malwa region to reach to him because there where nearer to him and the route was clear of any obstruction. However, this could not be said about the Sikhs of Majha and Doaba they were not only at a large distance from him but they also had to cross the Sutlej on their way. Moreover, the Mughals got the news that he was recruiting Sikhs for the revolt. So they sent soldiers to various places throughout Punjab. The Mughal forces also blocked the routes through the rivers. It was due to this reason that the Sikhs from the Majha and Doaba regions of Punjab stopped after reaching the banks of the Sutlej River at Kirtpur Sahib as the Mughal forces had blocked the path on the other side of the river. Although the Sikhs were large in number, they lacked a leader. However, it was due to the large number of the Sikhs on the other side of the river that the Mughals did not attack on them. On the other side, the Sikhs did not attack the Mughals because they believed that they could not do so without the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur. During this seize, the Sikhs managed to sneak some Soldiers through the Mughals. These Sikhs went to him and told him about the situation. He told them that he would going towards Sirhind with his forces and hence would let them know of when to attack. The distance between Shehri-Khanda and Sirhind was quite large. Ropar was in between these two regions. The Sikhs would have to go through strong Mughal army settlements before they could reached Sirhind. Therefore, the Sikhs who were at the banks of the Sutlej River decided to engage the Mughals on their own. After which, they waited for his arrival or message. On the other side, the Sikhs that had begun their journey from the Majha region of Punjab had reached to him.

The arrival of Banda Singh Bahadur in Punjab filled the Sikhs with a new enthusiasm. Under the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur, they believed that they could engage the Mughal forces. Upon the receipt of the messages and letter from

him, the Sikh leader collected the Sikh beneath them and began their journey to join the army of Banda Singh Bahadur. Two years had passed since the death of Guru Gobind Singh in Talwandi Sabo. The Sikhs were still enraged because of the death of their Guru and considered the Mughals to have played a part in the attack on Guru Gobind Singh by the Pathans. So, when the Sikhs got the news that the person appointed by Guru Gobind Singh to lead the *Khalsa Panth* had reached Punjab along with his army, they began their journeys to join him in the rebellion. Therefore, this movement turned out to be a revolution. The Sikhs sold all their belongings to buy weapons and horses. After which, they formed groups and moved towards Sehri-Khanda because Banda Singh Bahadur had set up a camp in that area. The border of Sirhind was towards the North-West direction of Sehri-Khanda. Banda Singh Bahadur wanted to attack on Sirhind with the utmost strength of all his forces.

The wealthy Sikhs bought and collected horses and weapons which they then distributed amongst the Sikhs who could not afford them. In this way, all the Sikhs that were capable of engaging in battle proceeded towards Banda Singh Bahadur. Contemporary author, Kafi Khan Writes, that he had an army of about 40,000 Sikhs.³² However, according to, *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, he had 70,000 Sikhs in his army. Upon reaching the Malwa region, this number increased to 100,000. The Sikhs progressed forward looting the treasures of the Mughal Government and killing the officials.³³

These events show that he had united the people of Punjab to fight against a common cause. The Sikhs in Majha kept on sending warnings to the Mughal officials in Lahore. While in the Doaba region of Punjab, the Sikhs gathered in Anandpur Sahib and Kiratpur Sahib. Many books of the Sikh history have mentioned about these events regarding the Sikhs and Banda Singh Bahadur. According to Giani Gian Singh, The Sikhs gathered in Sehri-Khanda. Upon reaching here the Sikhs read the *Hukamname* of their *Guru*. With this the Sikhs began their preparations of the attack. Many of the Sikhs donated various animals like buffalos, cows, goats, sheep etc. While the others sold their lands and jewelry to buy weapons for the soldiers. The wealthy Sikhs also bought horses and weapons for the ones who could not afford them. So, in this way, groups of five to seven Sikhs began their journeys towards him. The Sikhs of the Malwa region were the first to reach him because they were nearer to

³². *Op. Cit*,

³³. *Ibid*, P. 26.

the place, he had set up his camps. Ram Singh, Teerlok Singh and Ala Singh and others did not join the battle out of fear of emperor but sent them their men. The Sikhs from many different castes joined him in this revolt. Some of which were; Grewal, Dhaliwal, Chahal, Bhullar, Mahil, Brar etc. Moreover many brave warriors of that period including Jiwan Singh Randhava, Naghahia Singh Dullat, Chuhad Singh and Sagar Singh joined Banda Singh Bahadur.³⁴

Bhai Santokh Singh writes;

*Paryo roh bhari vich desh/
Bhag chale nar nari vishes/
Bande sang maha dal bhayo/
Lutan ke alamb ik Lyo/
Kai hajar chamu hoye gaye/
Jit kit dhoom dham pargatayi*³⁵

According to Molvi Butah, Banda Singh Bahadur stayed at Sehri-Khanda for a very long time preparing for battle. During his stay at Sehri-Khanda, many Sikhs joined his army. He was also able to get a large number of horses, clothes, weapons and other equipment required for battle. Therefore, he was able to establish a strong army.³⁶ According to William Irvin, “Banda Singh Bahadur sent letters to different parts of Punjab stating that Guru Gobind Singh had been murdered in the camp of Badshah by an Afghan. However, he also wrote that before Guru Gobind Singh died, he stated that he would come in humanly form to fight for the independence of his community. Therefore, he urged the people of the Sikh community to respond when that *banda* (Banda Singh) asks for their support. He asked the Sikhs to provide him with weapons and money at the time of the revolt. So, people waited the new program. There were many rumors going on in the Sikh community at that time. Some belief that Guru Gobind Singh was still alive and that he would come to Punjab after his wounds had healed. While some others believed that Guru Gobind Singh’s soul had entered in to Banda Singh Bahadur’s body.

However some people also believed that some holy spirit had entered into Banda Singh Bahadur he had the powers of Guru Gobind Singh. It was due to these thoughts that he was given the name. *Guru Banda*. With this the struggles for the

³⁴. Giani Gian Singh, 2007, pp,160-161.

³⁵. Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Khalsa* (Pathar Chap), 1892, pp.4

³⁶. *Op. Cit.*

revolts began by the Sikhs. Then he entered into such an areas, the people of which had served Guru Gobind Singh for many years. They recognized this *Guru Banda* because he resembled Guru Gobind Singh. Therefore, the *jamidars* of this areas put their faith in his hands and hence complied with his orders. They were the ones who spread the concept that Guru Gobind Singh himself had returned. After listening to them, many people armed with weapons gathered and with time their number increased to five hundred. They attack on Sonipat which was at a distance of five miles from Delhi in the North. The *faujdar* of Sonipat was taken abuk as they did not anticipate the attack. Therefore, many escaped to Delhi hence the confidence of the Sikhs increased with this victory. After this victory, Banda Singh Bahadur went towards the hills in the North-Eastern direction of Sirhind. Guru Gobind Singh had previously resided in that place. Upon reaching here, it did not take much time for forty thousand Sikhs joined him. Most of these people were form lower and under privileged castes and sections of the society.³⁷

Therefore, after studying the works of various authors it can be said that after reaching Punjab, Banda Singh Bahadur united the people of Punjab to such an extent that not only the youth but the children and elders of the Sikh community joined this revolution against the Mughals. Other than this, a large number of Hindus had also joined his army. The people treated him as their *Guru* and leader as they saw their *Guru* through him. They were willing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their *Guru* and community. The memories of the sacrifices and hardships that their *Guru* had to make were still alive in the minds of these Sikhs. By this time, a large number of people from various areas of Punjab had joined the army of Banda Singh Bahadur. Therefore, Banda Singh Bahadur and the Sikh were ready to attack on the Mughals.

The twin villages of Sehri and Khanda which were located near Kharkhoda had become the center of the revolutionary movement of the Sikhs. Large numbers of Sikhs were coming to this area from all directions. The whole village was filled with the *kesari* flag of the Sikh community. The Sikh were filled with enthusiasm and the area was filled with the religious chant of the Sikhs;

Bole Soh nihal Sat-Sri-Akal.

The sound of the hoofs of the horses could be heard throughout the area. The enemies were frightened at this sight of the Sikhs Amongst the large army was their

³⁷. William Irvin, *The Later Mughals* (1891-1911), pp, 91-94

leader, he was proudly standing at this sight. He was ready to attack on the enemies with his forces. Henceforth, the Khalsa forces in Sehri-Khanda were ready to fight with the Mughal army.³⁸ He was ready to uproot the foundation of the Mughal reign. This war could also be called as the first battle of independence for the Sikhs.

The Sikhs that had joined the army of Banda Singh Bahadur were ready to give up their lives for the sake of their Guru, Guru Gobind Singh and the Sikh religion's ideologies. Most of the people in this army were labourers and peasants. The people from the lower and deprived castes constituted the majority of the army while the wealthy and higher caste people were smaller in number. However, the wealthy provided their support in a different way. They supported the revolt of Banda Singh Bahadur behind curtains by providing funds to buy weapons, food and horses for the soldiers. Hence, most of the soldiers willing to sacrifice their lives were from the deprived section of the society. Many of them had brought weapons after selling their houses and other belongings. Other than this, the nomads also constituted a large part of the army. They not only supplied food and other supplies to the Sikh soldiers but also took part in the battle in large numbers. Therefore, the majority of the people in this army were from the *Amritdhari Khalsa* descent. Although, the hearts of the Sikhs were filled with the *Simran* of the *WaheGuru*, their minds were focused in the religious battle.

Karam Singh Historian and Ganda Singh state that a large number of bandits were present in his army, however there is no evidence to back this statement. The source of this information is not well-known. Nevertheless, an established historian should not give such statements without proof. Who did not come to Punjab with the intentions of looting and destroying villages? There is no mention of the hypothesis that his army comprised of a large number of bandits in any of the trustworthy historical books of that period. Ratan Singh Bangu and Muslim writers like Bute Shah and Ahmad Shah Batalvi have not made any such statements in their books. Therefore the contemporary *Muslim* and *Farsi* historians of that period did not mention of Banda Singh Bahadur being a *bandit* or forming an army of *bandits*.

There were no bandits in this army. Most of the soldiers in this army were the Sikhs who lost their lives while fighting for their community. While the others that were caught alive were taken to Delhi by Mughals. None of the Sikhs changed his

³⁸. Sukhdial Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur Ik Itihasik Adhian*, Sangham Publication, Samana, 2018, pp, 65

religion upon being told to do so in Delhi. They were willing to sacrifice their lives for their religion. He was determined to overthrow the Mughal reign in Punjab. He wanted to establish a Punjab that was the foreign rule of the Mughals. He encouraged the Sikhs to join the army by saying;

Dharam di chal chalo

koi bhi gabbro foj toh bahar nah hove.

After receiving the reports sent by Wajir Khan, Nijam-ul-Mulak ordered the *faujdar*s in his fort to assist Wajir Khan. The armies of these *faujdar*s were sent to Lahore where they engaged the common people. Therefore a large number of citizens of Lahore were killed in these riots who had been successful on various occasions by now i.e. February, 1710.that had managed to surround Saharanpur.³⁹

It is evident from this report that Banda Singh Bahadur began his revolt in 1709 A.D. The first action taken by him was to wire the bandits in the nearby areas of Kharkhoda. These bandits looted these villages on multiple occasions and the residents of these villages were teered of these loots. This area was located near Sonipat and Rohtak. It was mostly a desert filled with sand dunes. Other than this, some part of this area was engulfed in jungles. However, these jungles were not dense due to which these bandits had set up their camps in these jungles. When the *Khalsa* forces reached this area, he sent his soldiers to find the hiding places of these bandits. The residences of these bandits were destroyed by the *Khalsa* forces. This event has been mentioned in all the old historical book of the Sikh religion.

Sonipat was near Kharkhoda (Sehri-Khanda). The *faujdar* of this area worked under the Delhi administration. The area of Sirhind extended from Karnal to Kunjpura. Moreover, the villages of Sehri-Khanda were under the control of the *fojdhar*i of Sonipat. Therefore after attacking on the bandits, Banda decided to attack on the *fojdhar* of the area of Sonipat. So, he began his journey to Sonipat along with his army. The *faujdar* was neither capable of sustaining the attack of the *Khalsa* forces nor was he prepared. With the victory in Sonipat, who handed over the administration of the region of Sonipat to the *Khalsa*?

Therefore, he starts taking actions and the *Khalsa* army was progressing towards Punjab in large numbers. No official had the boldness to take on the *Khalsa* forces on their way. The *faujdar* of Kaithal was the next in their way. However, he

³⁹. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, the Punjab Past and Present, Punjabi University. Patiala, Oct, 1984, pp, 25-26

escaped without even engaging in battle. Hence, the Sikhs got the hold of the horses and the treasures of this area. In this way, Kaithal was also added into the Khalsa's administration. Therefore, the administration of these area were being handed to the locals of the respective areas. This was the first time that the people believed that they had a chance of attaining their freedom. It was due to this hope that they joined his army in large numbers.

After the death of Guru Gobind Singh the political leadership of the Sikhs came into the hands of Banda Singh.⁴⁰

When *Guru* was injured then he come for seeing (Visiting) Guru Gobind Singh, being the commander of the Sikh army, Guru had a meeting with him appionted him general of the entire Khalsa army. He was aware of the weakness of the Mughals by living with the mughal army .He was an *Amritdhari Sikh*. He followed the footprints of Guru Gobind Singh and went to Punjab after the decree (Hukamnama) of Guru GobindSingh.

⁴⁰. Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, A short History of the Sikhs, (Bombay) 1950, P. 76.

CHAPTER-3

BANDA SINGH BAHADUR 'S STRATEGY OF WAR AND IDEOLOGY

Samana is a city and a Municipal Council in Patiala district in the Indian state of Punjab. Before independence, Samana was a part of Patiala kingdom. Now a days it is part of Patiala district of Punjab.

After the successful victory, Banda Singh Bahadur now marched towards the town of Samana. There was a *Sarkar* of sub province Sirhind with nine *parganas* under it. Sikhs received the *Hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh. The cold-blooded murder of the innocent younger children of the *Guru* had given the shock to Sikhs and they were burning with rage against *Sarkar*. Khafi Khan Writes, in two or three months' time, four or five thousand horsemen and seven or eight thousand foot-soldiers joined him and their number soon rose to 40,000.¹

After few months brave *Jhodhas* (*Soldiers*) Joined Banda Singh Bahadur. They were desirous for sacrifice and wins. They collected military with in period of two and three months. The numbering of Sikh people in his coherent was increasing day by day. Thousand horse riders came with him. Overall many thousand horse riders came together under the flag of him (Banda Singh Bahadur). The *Sikh* rose in everyvillage.

Mohamad Hadi writes, "Some people say that God Almighty had promised him victory and success over the Muslims, and he was going to conquer all the territories of India."²

Ali Singh, Mali Singh and other Sikhs of Salaudi were in the service of Wazir Khan of Sirhind. One day Wazir khan, ordered Ali Singh to bring Banda Singh to Sirhind in the killas of the previous Guru's sons. Guru Gobind Singh had been driven away to die in the Deccan, but Banda Singh *bones* would be scattered in Sirhind itself. This cutting remark of the proud Wazir Khan was too insulting to be tolerated by self-respecting Sikh, and Banda desired to be paid off. Wazir Khan was not prepared for

¹. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-lubab*, (ed. Balwant Singh Dhillon, *Banda Singh Bahadur Farsi Sarot*), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2011, P.184.

². Muhammad Hadi Kamvar Khan, *Tazkirat-Salatin-Chuggatta*, (ed. J. S. Grewal and Irfan Habib), Sikh History from Persian Sources, Tulika, New Delhi, 2007, P.133.

this replay. Who ordered Ali Singh and the other Sikhs to be chained and thrown into prison. But to get out of prison in those days, was as easy as to be locked up in it. They managed to escape through the instrumentality of their jailor and were out of the Faujdar's reach by the time he was informed that they had forced upon the prison and fled. "Dr. Ganda Singh stated this.³ Ali Singh and Mali Singh with other singhs met Banda Singh Bahadur and joined his army. Thousands of Sikhs joined him from Doaba (District of Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur) Majha (District Amritsar and Gurdaspur) and Malwa (District of Ludhaiana).⁴ (William Irwin holds this view) soon he had forty thousand armed men gathered round him required chiefly from the lower caste Hindus.⁵ As soon as the devout Sikhs received the edicts of the Guru, they abandoned especially in Majha, Malwa and Doaba and Marched out to join Banda Singh's Forces.⁶

Ali Singh and Mali Singh, came from the court of Wazir Khan with some more Sikhs after their escape from the prison of Sirhind joined the Sikhs. They requested to Banda Singh Bahadur call all those Sikhs who are expected to join him that he should do this operations. He replies that he was waiting for someone who had been specially summoned and who were coming from great distance.⁷

At first he had attacked on Samana. Ganda Singh writes that "on the morning of 26th November, 1709, Banda Singh and his men rushed upon the town of Samana. Ten thousand lives (persons) are believed to have to lose their lives.⁸ Giani Sohan Seetal claims that he attacked Samana on 26th November, 1709.⁹ Kushwant Singh,¹⁰ Gopal Singh,¹¹ Gokal Chand Narang¹² and The Phulkian Gazetteer¹³ supports this view. Karam Singh¹⁴ does not mention the date about his attack upon Samana. He writes that about five thousand men and women lost their lives when Samana was

³. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University. Patiala 1999, P.23.

⁴. S.S. Kapoor, *The Sikh religion and Sikh people's*, Hemkund Publishers, New Delhi, 1992, P.195.

⁵. William Irwin, *The later Mughals*, P.94.

⁶. William Irwin, *History of Sikh religion*, Vol. 2, P.94.

⁷. Ganda Singh, *op.cit*, P. 25.

⁸. *Ibid*, P.39-40.

⁹. Giani Sohan Singh Seetal, *Banda Singh Saheed*, Lahore book, Ludhiana, 2011, P.25.

¹⁰. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol 1, Oxford uni. Press, Bombay, 1973, P. 104.

¹¹. Gopal Singh, *A history of the Sikh people*, 1469-1988, World Book Centre, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 336.

¹². Gokal Chand Narang, *Glorious History of Sikhism*, P.139

¹³. The Phulkian Gazetteer, 1905, P.205.

¹⁴. Karam Singh Historian, *wan Birtant Banda Bahadur*, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar, 1907, P.45.

stormed.

Some of Modern scholars have different views. Harbans Kaur Sagoo gives the date of 20th November, 1709 for an attack upon Samana.¹⁵ Sukhdial Singh writes that Banda Singh Bahadur captured the Samana in 16 Nov 1709.¹⁶ But no authentic evidence proves it. So the 26th November, 1709 date was all over acceptable.

Samana town was known as a town of *Butchers*. The executioners of Guru Tegh Bahadur, named Sayyed Jalal-ud-din, the executioners of the younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh named Shashal Beg and Bashal Beg were lived there Ali Hussain Khan was also lived there, who said to Guru Gobind Singh to vacate the Anandpur. Guru Gobind Singh relied on him but he had deceived the Guru. Piara Singh Data, holds this view.¹⁷

Bazeda kara jab kiyo, samanayo bhi the nal//

Faujdar oh Bhi Rahe, Palanquin Bai Var//

Couplet means when Bazida had committed the foul deed, those of Samana had been with him. They had there twenty two soldiers entitled to ride in a palanquin.¹⁸

In that area there were four sides coat like fort. Big Haveli like a big street. He did not give attention regarding attack. They come to know that day on 26th November, 1709 when they attacked. Banda Singh and his men suddenly rushed upon the town from a distance of about ten Kos and entered from all sides before the gates could be closed against them.¹⁹ The crowd of Sikhs had made the People helpless. All people ran away to leave their houses. When this (*fasad*) released all over the town then quivering the hands of people and Sikhs shout the *Fateh Darshan*. They cried like as tycoon.²⁰ The soldiers of Samana was very proud of the brave Samana army. Army of Banda Singh Bahadur were not to stand against the well experienced army of Samana. Sayyids and Mughals fought together but they could not stand against them. The rich people (*Amirzadas*) hidden in their own *Havelies* (houses).

¹⁵. Harbans Kaur Sago, *Banda Singh Bahadur and Sikh sovereignty*, Deep and Deep. New Delhi, 1979, P.125.

¹⁶. Sukhdial Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur da Khalsa Inqulab*, Sangam publication, Samana 2011, P.120

¹⁷. Piara Singh Data, *Mahabali Banda Singh Bahadur*, National Book Shop, New Delhi, P.48.

¹⁸. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, Wazir Hind Press, Amritsar 1914, P.P.194-195.

¹⁹. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P.27.

²⁰. Gulam Muheyudin, *Fatahnama-i-Samdi*, (ed. Balwant Singh Dhillon), op.cit, P.100.

Sikhs spread all over the city and killed who comes in front of them including men and women. While the Sikhs were frightened the Shashal Beg and Bashal Beg searching for the treasures of the *Faujdar* and the Mughal *Amir*.

Rich people could not take care of poor people and peasants, but when they get opportunity then they fought with him as well as they fired their *Havelies* and kept their mind calm. The rich people were the landlords of land but poor people worked under them.

Every long pillar of Samana destroyed in the earth. All the *Havelies* were wet in the blood mix over. Ten thousand Muslims were killed. Some people were save in this battle who left Samana. Those people who were pestered by the Mughal officers mixed with Sikh army. "Plunderer destroyed too much because they were known about Samana verywell."²¹

Banda Singh was very much impressed by the bravery of Fateh Singh, which deserved the credit given to him. Fateh Singh was appointed the *Faujdar* of Samana.²² At though Kaithal, Bhuna had also conquered. Samana is generally referred to as the first regular conquest of Banda Singh Bahadur.²³ Since he was yet to evolve a regular system of payment to his forces, he distributed the booty among his followers and kept the surplus resources for future and kept the surplus resources for future expeditions. Samana is very powerful crowd for Sayyeds and Mughals which was broken by Sikh and destroyed the Mughals in Malwa. 31 January, 1709 (Beginning with first Zil-Hijja, 3rd Bahadur shahi, A. H. 1120-21) A report were sent to Emperor that the Sikhs have created disturbances in the surrounding areas of Sirhind and in the Punjab province.²⁴ How many places could be referred to they had often plundered the prosperous *parganas*. Sikhs have looted the *parganas* of Buria and Sadhaura. The Wamla Afghans who enjoyed positions of high status had been leveled with the ground. Wazir Khan's men had been killed. The *vakil* (lawyer) of Wazir Khan told that sect's riots should not be considered in significant. About 70 thousand of them had assembled at Sadhaura. At times they invoked the name of Banda Singh Bahadur

²¹. Surt Singh Panchi, *Banda Singh Bahadur, wan Sangrash and Praptia*, Udan Publication, Mansa 2006, P.39.

²². Rattan Singh Bhangu, op.cit. P, 102.

²³. Karam Singh Historian, op.cit., P,45

²⁴. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, A manuscript of Emperor's Court news. Ganda Singh Collected it. Bhagat Singh translated it into English in the Punjab, Past & Present and Punjabi University, Patiala, Oct. 1984, P. 26.

and they also told that Sayyid had joined them. They had laid waste the parganas of the Doaba and had spread up to river Fatehabad. After getting acquainted with the contents of dispatches of Wazir Khan, *Nawab* Nizam-ul-Mulk had issued instruction to the *faujdar*s of the forts to join him (Wazir Khan) These people had themselves, become helpless God knows what was in store for them.

Many people in Lahore who are get opportunity had picked up riotous with the people. Many people had been killed on 25 Feb, 1710 Saturday (7 *Muharum*, 4th Bahadur shahi 1127 A.H.). A petition sent to his majesty by Wazir Khan *Faujdar* of Sirhind come to the Emperor's notice.²⁵ Wazir Khan of Sirhind was much alarmed at the news of the Sikh invasions. He started taking every possible precautionary measures to guard from Sikhs.

28 April, 1710 Friday (10 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 4th Bahadurshahi, 1122 A. H.) A *Farman* of the Emperor sent to Wazir Khan the *faujdar* of Sirhind. Urgent orders should also sent to the *faujdar* of Emnabad that in collabouration with Rustam Khan, the Diwan of Lahore province, he should beat all the Sikhs.²⁶ This report show the preparation of Wazir Khan against the Sikhs. On May 12, 1710 Friday (24 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 4th Bahadurshahi, A.H. 1122) Parteet Roa the harkara brought it to the notice of the emperor that in the *Subrubs* of Sirhind and Lahore a person had declared himself as Guru Gobind Singh (Banda Singh) and had collected a large number of men around him.²⁷ He had also attacked Saharanpur. The emperor ordered the *faujdar*s be urgently told to take action against him. After occupied of Samana by Sikhs Wazir Khan wondered. Wazir Khan sent his spies to Samana get the purpose of information.

One of them was without an eye and the other without a hand. Both of them were given a terrible shoe-beating. Then sent away with a message for Wazir Khan, asking him to get ready to meet the advance Khalsa like a brave soldier.²⁸

Banda Singh Bahadur wanted to attack on Sirhind After use a diplomatic

²⁵. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, A manuscript of Emperor's Court news. Ganda Singh Collected it. Bhagat Singh translated it into English in the Punjab, Past & Present, and Punjabi University, Patiala, Oct. 1984, P.26.

²⁶. *Ibid*, P,26.

²⁷. *Ibid*, P,26.

²⁸. Bhai Veer Singh, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, Rattan Singh Bhangu (ed. Bhai Veer Singh), Sahit Sadan, New Delhi, Feb 2008, P.64.

method. Firstly he conquered the surrounding areas of Sirhind. He knew he was not strong enough to risk a battle with a much greater force of the *faujdar*.²⁹

He had zamboorks, heavy guns and *Rehakals*. Wazir Khan's forces were far better equipped than the army of Banda Singh Bahadur. The Sikhs have only swords and spears and small matchlocks. Their victory depended on self-sacrificing Sikhs, numbering of men and bravery of Sikhs because "Wazir Khan possessed a long train of field artillery."³⁰

Due to less war material his success mostly depended upon the increase in strength of his men, brave and self-sacrificing *Panthak* group. This he thought it could only be affected on arrival of the *Majha* and *Doaba* Sikhs from across the Satluj. Where they were held up by the Malerkotla and Roper detachments and Council of five members. They wanted to meet Sikh brothers. To apply this strategy, he set out in the eastern direction towards Kiratpur by a long circuitous route, Sikhs sent some Singhs towards Banda Singh Bahadur for his next order. In reply "he advised them to come towards Kharar."³¹

They were stopped at Kiratpur to wait for his next order. Kishora Singh, Pishora Singh and Ram Singh were traders of Kiratpur. They helped a large number of *Majha* Sikhs to assemble at their places.³² As compared to eastern way was very easiest then western way. So Banda Singh Bahadur and Sikhs liked it. On the way of Ghuram, Pathans opposed Banda Singh but they could not stand in front of him and way gets clear. The first place that offered any resistance to the progress of Ghuram.³³ *Sikhs* conquered the Ghuram. The town was plundered and was annexed in Sikh *Raj* and it was given to Bhai Fateh Singh.³⁴

Sikhs possession on a thaska and attacked on the Shahbad Mughals, Sayyids and *Sheikhs* lived here. The rulers of it resisted the Sikhs but they could not stand the valour of Sikhs. They occupied the Shahbad. Wealthy Muslim, *jagirdars* and the the

²⁹. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P.29.

³⁰. Gokal Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, New Book Society, New Delhi, 1960, P. 106.

³¹. Sohan Singh, *Life and Exploits of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Pbi, Uni. Patiala, 2000, P.38.

³². *Ibid*, P.38.

³³. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P. 30.

³⁴. *Ibid*, P. 30.

people fell at his feet, begging mercy which was granted.³⁵ Mughals resistance was strong but it could not stand the valour of the Sikhs and the town fell an easy pray to Sikh.³⁶

Then Banda Singh Bahadur reached Kunjpura. It was the village of Wazir Khan. Muslim Ranger were defame for pestered to women. The victorious *Khalsa* turned towards Kunjpura, could resist.³⁷

Mustafabad: Faujdar of Mustafabad came for attack with 2000 soldiers and canons and city people, when the canons were firing, the plunderers ran away, but it did not attack on the Sikhs. After the war, enemies hands up. After listening his story of victory plunderers came back and rubbered the city and they burnt the rich houses.

Kapoori: When Banda Singh was going towards Sadaura, some people requested him to protect from the ruler of Kapoori.³⁸ His attention was drawn towards the *Zullam* which was people of the neighborhood were subjected to at the hands of Qadam-ud-Din the ruler of Kapoori.

He was the son of Amanullah who had been the Governor of Gujrat during the time of Aurangzeb and had much money. Karam Singh writes that Qadam-ud-Din, son of Amanullah, was terror to the people of the region. There was hardly a beautiful Hindu woman whose chastity had not been attacked by the depraved ruler Qadam-ud-Din by his force of arms and money. Karam Singh gives the reference of a brief story told by Shahwani Sayyids that Qadam-Ud-Din was said to have forcibly carried away a Sikh woman from the city of Amritsar by entering her house in the disguise of a Sikh.³⁹ Gian Singh also claims that Qadam-ud-Din son of high ranking noble known as Amanullah, was responsible for the devastation of Kapoori. He also writes that Qadam-ud-din not only inherited a huge fortune from his father, but also became a tyrant and especially awomen-baiter.⁴⁰

Ganda Singh,⁴¹ Giani Sohan Singh Seetal⁴² also agreed that Qadam-ud-Din of

³⁵. Sohan Singh, *Life & Experts of Banda Singh Bahadur*, P. 40.

³⁶. Karam Singh Historian, op.cit, P. 51.

³⁷. Sohan Singh, op.cit, P. 41.

³⁸. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P. 31.

³⁹. Karam Singh Historian, op.cit, P. P. 53-54.

⁴⁰. Giani Gian Singh, *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, Part 2, Guru Gobind Singh , Sialkot, 1891.

⁴¹. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P.31.

⁴². Giani Sohan Singh Seetal, op.cit, P.45-46.

Kapoori was a tyrant libertine of the worst type. There was hardly a family in the town of Kapoori whose honour had not been destroyed by his lust. Much money spoiled the life of Qadam-ud-Din. He behaved like an animal. He carried the young girls from the closed and far away areas. Newly married girls were presented to Qadam-ud-Din.

So by hearing this Sikh fell upon Kapuri, overpowered the resistance offered and set fire to the strong holds of Qadam-ud-Din. He perished in the General conflagration and with him ended his dark deeds.⁴³ Stories of his proverbial are still current in Kapoori and its neighborhood after over two centuries and a quarter. There was hardly a handsome Hindu woman whose chastity had not been attacked by this depraved ruler by his force of arms.

Sadhaura: He was next to fell Sadhaura has been corrupted from Saduwara or the place of sadhus. It was for some time residence of the 'Tusi Pathans' who were driven out from here by Sayyid Nizam-ud-Din of Siyana (Karnal district). During some year Sayyid *Khiazar Khan* ascended it. In the Jagir at least sixty thousand given to Nizam-ud-Din Shah Badar-ud-Din (Budhu Shah) was the ninth in succession to Nizam-ud-Din.⁴⁴ Giani Gian Singh⁴⁵ confirms these views of Karam Singh regarding Sadhaura. The ruler of Sadhaura Osman Khan killed peer 'Budhu Shah' because he helped Guru in the battle of Bhangani. In Sadhaura, the grave of Kutbal Akhter had myth that if any dead body passed by it then fire did not touch his body.

It was heard about the town of Sadhaura that there had lived a Muslim holyman with miraculous powers. Fire did not touch even his shadow, Banda said, I will burn her.

Sehar Sadhaura Tin sun leyo, Pir Kramati Tih Meh ayo

*Use parchhave chhuhe na Aag, Kehyo Bande" Us diyo mai dag*⁴⁶

Usman Khan commanded that the Hindus would pay unsuitable taxes like *zaziya*, Muslim slaughtered the cows and thrown in the front of his doors he did not tolerate this injustice. Banda attacked Sadhaura.

⁴³. Sohan Singh, *Banda The Brave*, Government Printing Press, Lahore, 1915, P. 69,

⁴⁴. Karam Singh, op.cit, pp,51-52.

⁴⁵. Giani Gian Singh, op.cit, P.18.

⁴⁶. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Sri Guru Panth Parakash*,(ed. Gurtej Singh, Singh Brothers), Amritsar, 2015, pp,198-199.

Before few month (2 Rabi-ul-sani 1122 Hizri, 20 may 1710) is that a person who was an ignorant false in religion and an outcast had previously appeared in the Shiwalik hills. A large number person belonging to the class of sweepers and tanners the community of Banjaras and other of lowly castes assembled around him and became his disciples. He returned to township of Sadhaura.⁴⁷

There is a vivid eye witness description of battle between his forces and Mughal troops under Emperor Bahadur Shah himself in hills near Sadhaura.⁴⁸ Guru after having collected an abundant with the pirzadas of which place of plunder and rapine.⁴⁹ According the royal court news 31 January, 1709 to 20 January, 1710 (Beginning with I Zil Hizari, 3rd Bahadur shahi H. 1720). From the crime of Usman Khan, people were very grieved. When people came to know about attack on Sadhaura, they met with Banda Singh Bahadur. They did not care about him for getting their revenge. They flamed the Mazar of Kutbul Aktab and steerted the cold-blooded war between them. “By the will of God and great almighty, he became victorious and fumed with flames by the people.”⁵⁰

Sayyids, Sheikhs and nobility sheltered the Haveli of Peer Budhu Shah to protect their lives because Peer Budhu Shah had helped the tenth Guru. They thought Sikhs were pardoned him. Banda Singh and Sikhs did not want to burn Haveli. But the grieved population did not impound. So, they are flamed this. All the nobility killed in this flame. They fulfilled their revenge. All mates of the Haveli were indiscriminately put the swords and on this account the place is upto this day called the *Qatal Garhi* or slaughter house.⁵¹

There is nothing on record, even in Muslim histories, to support the exaggerated statements of the *Shamsher Khalsa* and the *Prachin Panth Parkash* about the desecration of the graves of *Pir*, exhumation of the deed and their consignment to the flames. Giani Gian Singh gives different views about the name of *Qatal Garhi*. He wrote that in order to arrest Banda Singh Bahadur, the Amirs of Sadhaura put a letter in a wooden pipe and sent it to the Wazir of Sirhind. There was a full-fledged plan for

⁴⁷. Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat-Slatin-Chagata*, (ed. Dr. Balwant Singh Dhillon), P.155.

⁴⁸. Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, op.cit, P.142

⁴⁹. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, *Ibratnama*,(ed. J.S. Grewal and Irfan Habib), Sikh History from Persion Sources, Tulika, New Delhi 2007, P.13.

⁵⁰. Mirza Harsi, *Ibratnama* ed. Dr. Balwant Singh, op.cit, P.68.

⁵¹. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P. 34, Karam Singh Historian, op.cit, P.55

arresting him. On the way, this letter has come into hands of a camel driver and further it was sent to Banda Singh Bahadur. He got annoyed after knowing the content of letter and massacred the people in the *haveli*. That haveli came to be known as *Qatal Garhi*.⁵²

But the actual thing is that in the words of Ganda Singh. He write that, Sikhs Sadhaura, the aggrieved peasantry and many others of the neighborhood who were waiting for a favourable chance for rising, swelled the number of the invaders and rushed into the town. He further writes that it was angry mob which uncontrolled even by Banda Singh, set fire to the mausoleum of Qutab-ul-Aqtab and a bloody battle ensued in the streets.⁵³ And the most evident proof of their being false in that the Mausoleum of Qutab-ul-Aqtab and Gun flames are still in the same condition as they were before the invasion. It was only slightly smoked as a result of the fire set to it by revengeful mob.

Roper is a city and a Municipal Council in Roopnagar district in the Indian state of Punjab. Since at that time, his (Banda Singh) power was in ascendant his Sikhs also appeared in some villages of Punjab and became dominant there and these wicked beasts penetrated into the *Doaba* as well. Wazir Khan, Amin and *Faujdar* of *Chakla* (territorial division) Sirhind (Sirhind) was unable to extinguish his conflagration and the Guru (Banda Singh) went on gaining strength day by day. He sent out his force in every direction and brought many rich parganas under his control.⁵⁴ Many Sikhs of *Majha* and *Doaba* were stayed on the other side of Sutlej near Kiratpur (situated on the eastern bank of the River Sutlej, in Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur district. Banda Singh arrived from the north western direction to relieve the northern Sikhs. On his way, Hindus of town Chhat requested him for their protection. The Amil of Chhat had bullied the weaker Hindus. So, Banda Singh Bahadur captured the Chhat and appointed there a Sikh Amil. In this time, by getting opportunity the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej and came to Kiratpur. Wazir Khan heard that news and he quivered. Because he knew that Banda Singh had attained very important victories. With the reinforcement of bravest *Mujhails* and *Doabiyes* his strength increased four times. Wazir Khan determined that Banda Bahadur will attack Sirhind in his next expedition. So, Wazir Khan run a diplomatic strategy and thought

⁵². Giani Gian Singh, op.cit, P.15.

⁵³. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P. 48.

⁵⁴. Miza Muhammad Hassi, op.cit, P.134.

about the stop meeting between the two forces. He deputed Sher Muhammad Khan of Malerkotla to deal with the Sikhs coming down from the north before they could join the main force of Banda Singh.⁵⁵ So according to orders of Emperor Sher Muhammad Khan, with his brother Khizar Khan, his cousin Nashteer Khan and Wali Muhammad Khan marched towards the Sikhs. *Dilaver Khan* joined this battle with five thousand horse riders and five canons. Singhs had reached Ropar. Sher Muhammad Khan had attacked on them. This while, on the one side there were all the worldly resources and on the other only the true spirit of Guru.⁵⁶ Besides of Pathans, Rapariya, Ranghed and Sarhandies had reached there. The Afghan fought a delaying action and then retreated before they could be crushed between the joins of the *Majhail* Malwa nutcracker.⁵⁷

The fight continued for the whole day. Sikhs were facing hardness because the lack of war equipment. But the darkness of night spreaded and closed the fighting. Many Singhs were joined from north-eastern direction. Singhs know about the tactics of enemies. Sher Muhammad Khan was quite confident of a decisive victory the next day. The Sikhs were reinforced by a fresh batch from the north east. At the rising Sun, the Khizar Khan attacked.⁵⁸

He led near the Sikhs and the battle was reached to a hand to hand fight. He said put down their arms. Singhs replied to his shoutness with a heavy shower of arrows and shots. A bullet struck Khizar Khan and he fell down on ground. His companions rushed back. Sher Muhammad Khan came forward now to give courage to his men. But Singhs rushed upon them with swords. Sher Muhammad Khan and his cousin rushed forward to take the body of Khizar Khan, Nashteer Khan and Wali Muhammad Khan were both killed in this battle and Sher Muhammad Khan was severely wounded.⁵⁹

Sikhs had won the battle. Some of scholars give only clue of the battle of Ropar M.A. Macauliff writes that, when Banda Bahadur marched towards Banoor, he was encountered by Wazir Khan's army which had marched from Sarhind to oppose him.⁶⁰ But they were Sikhs of Banda Singh. Sikhs had received their war equipments. Their main aim was to meet him.

⁵⁵. Ganda Singh, op. cit, P.36.

⁵⁶. Sohan Singh, op. cit, P.51.

⁵⁷. Khushwant Singh, op. cit, P.101.

⁵⁸. Ganda Singh, op. cit, P.36.

⁵⁹. Karam Singh Historian, op.cit, P.58

⁶⁰. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol 5, S Chand Company Ltd, New Delhi, 1985, PP. 247-248

They rushed forward to southwards. He was very pleased to hear about the glorious victory of his Sikhs at Ropar. He marched out a few miles from his camp to receive him. Sayed Muhammad Latif writes that when Wazir Khan of Sirhind was informed about the victory of Sikhs. He marched toward Sikhs to stop joining the forces.⁶¹ But he rushed forward in hurry before reached the Wazir Khan. This meeting was held in Chapper-Chiri near Landran.⁶² The memorable junction took place between Kharar and Banur on the Ambala-Ropar road. This plain full of *Chhappers* (water tank) and *Chiris* (small heards of trees) Hunsla river wasgoing in this area. This is called *Patiala Wali Choe* these days. There is a high sand mountain. These areas are suitable for battle.

William Irwin writes that both forces met on a plain between *Alwan Saray* and the town of Bannor some ten to twelve miles north-east of Sirhind.⁶³ Sukhdial Singh had given a first hand knowledge of plains of Chapper Chiri. He writes that the plains of Chapper-Chiri are about twenty-four km to the north of Sirhind. There are two villages known as Chapper and Chiri having distance about one and half or two kilometers. The battle field is slightly away from the village. The scholar makes mention about the sand dunes on which Banda Singh Bahadur used to sit to watch the activities on the battle field. Apart of that sand dune is kept as a memory of Banda Bahadur Sayed Muhammad Latif writes, that a sanguinary battle was fought in the neighborhood of Sirhind.⁶⁴ The evidence confirms that the battle was fought on the plains of chapper- chiri. Battle because of water and heards of small trees. Banda Singh Bahadur captured this side for preparations about of war.

Chapper Chiri:- Willian Irwin writes on the base of manuscript 'Farukhsiyarnama'. He writes the battle of Sirhind fought in the plains of Chapper- Chiri.

There are two villages name Chapper Chiri. Chapper Chiri Kalan and other is Chapper Chiri Khurd. These are situated in Indial Allas streat no. 48. This is for away from Sirhind to 16 miles North-East Patiala Rou and from Bnoor to East-Southern.⁶⁵ Major James brown write about this is near the east southern *Alwa Srai*.⁶⁶

⁶¹. Sayed Muhammad Latif, *History of Punjab*, P.274

⁶². Ganda Singh P. 37, Macauliffe, op.cit, P.P. 247-48. Latif, op. cit, P.27.

⁶³. Jadunath Sarkar (ed.), *Later Mughals*, Vol. I & II, P.95.

⁶⁴. Syyed Muhammad Latif, op. cit, P. 274.

⁶⁵. Wiliam Irwan, op.cit, P.95.

⁶⁶. Major James Brown, op.cit.

In these days the area of Chapper-Chiri is on the side of eastern 18 or 19 kilometer from Sirhind. This is situated on the Banoor-Kharor link road near Swaraj factory. This is far away from one and half kilometer from the main road. The two villages are, one is Chapper Chiri Kalan and other is Chapper Chiri Khurd. Distance between both two kilometers. Field of battle far away from two villages. That mound (*Tibba*) where are Banda Singh Bahadur had been watched the situation of battle were also present there.

There are many ponds (water tank) in this field. So, this field is called as an area of (chapters) ponds and mangroves (Chapper and Chiri). So, these are known as Chapper Chiri. *Patiala Ki Roa* River is called *Hansla Nadi* those days. One side on the river lived Muslim and other side lived Hindus. These villages are named Khumbri, 'Suhana' Matour, Manouli and Manak Mazra etc. On the western side of river are Muslim villages Chapper and Chiri are also the Muslim villages. These villages have two mosques which are present these days. Banda Singh Bahadur captured the area of Banoor to Chapper Chiri and Wazir Khan surrounded on the side of Sirhind which road lead to 'Landran' and 'Kalley'. Wazir Khan protected Sirhind from there. But with the aim to stop the *Khalsa* Dal. But he failed to stop their joining. *Khalsa* dal and Banda Singh Bahadur met on the place of Chapper Chiri. He occupied the good battle place on the height of 35-40 feet. Rattan Singh Bhangu says this (*UchhiRori*).⁶⁷

What were numbering of army of both Wazir Khan and Banda Singh Bahadur? The Royal courtier Khafi Khan writes, when he heard how districts in his charge had been revenged and plundered. He set about collecting troops and warlike equipments. He joined with him four or five faujdars and *Zamindars* of name prepared lead and gun power, mustered five or six thousand horse and seven or eight thousand musketeers (*bar kandaz*) and archers and with these and some artillery and elephants he marched out to give battle and to punish that perverse sect. After marching three or four *Kos* he came up with the enemy.⁶⁸ He had proclaimed jihad which is a religious war fought against *Kafirs* (Non- Muslims). The number of *Ghazis* are about seven to eight thousand. *Ghazis* had applied no rule of forces. They fought only for martyrdom or victory.

⁶⁷. Rattan Singh Bhangu, op.cit, P.92

⁶⁸. Khafi Khan, *Muntkhab-ul-Lubab*, (ed. Elliot & Dowson), *History of India as told by its own historian*, Vol. VII, Kiatab Mahal, Allahabad, 1956, P.414

He had counted force. Whole Sikh community with him. Every man who can fight can join him. The strength of Banda Singh Bahadur consisted of three classes of men. The first class consisted the true and loyal Sikhs. That had given their lives to Guru Gobind Singh. They are very devotional Sikhs and they sacrificed for the *Khalsa Panth*. They had no will of money, booty, Kingdom and anything. They purchased armed and joined their new leader. They wanted martyrdom. The second class Consisted of soldiers which take salary Ram Singh, Tilok Singh of the *Phulkian* family helped the *Khalsa Panth* by giving money and men.

The third class was entirely irregulars who were with Banda Singh for the love of *Khalsa Panth* and common man. Ganda Singh Writes These are dacoits and robbers.⁶⁹ But Sukhdial Singh writes they are not robbers. Because every Sikh wanted to attack on Sirhind. They take revenge from Wazir Khan who killed the younger sons and mother of Guru Gobind Singh. When they heard the attack on Sirhind they reached in hurried in Sirhind and joined him.⁷⁰

The army of Banda Singh Bahadur is less than Wazir Khan. But there were no lack of Courage, he had Bhai Baz Singh, Bhai Fateh Singh, Ali Singh, Mali Singh Bhai Karam Singh, Bhai Dharam Singh, Bhai Gulab Singh, Bhai Ram Singh and Sham Singh brave Soldiers with him Bhai Bhagwant Singh Bangesri and Banjara Singhs are also with him. Bhai Nigahia Singh Bhullar of village 'Sanete' are joined the army of Banda Singh.

Elephant army in front of Wazir Khan and Peddle army behind on him. Horse riders were both sides. Wazir Khan Ride on elephant in between the troops. Diwan Sucha Nand and Nawab Malerkotla stood on his right and leftside. Muhammad Kasim has written in *Ibratnama*,⁷¹ especially was heroism displayed in this battle by Sher Muhammad and Khwaja Ali Afghans of Kotla Maler, who in this *Sarkar* were masters of a host and commanded trust. But Wazir Khan had a lack of courage and advancement of Banda Singh Bahadur had broken his bull work by conquered, Samana, Sadhaura, Banoor etc. When the battle of Chapper Chiri was fought?

Historians gave some different views about this. Same views are about Hizari Samat. But they are different in A.D. Hizari *Samat* of this battle is (24 Rabi-ul-

⁶⁹. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P. 41

⁷⁰. Sukhdial Singh, op.cit, P.40

⁷¹. Muhammad Kasim, *Ibratnama*, (ed. J. S. Grewal and Irfan Habib), *Sikh History from Persian Sources*, Tulika, New Delhi, 2007, P.116.

Awwal Samat 1122 Hiari) William Irwin writes this is 22 May, 1710 A.D.⁷² Ganda Singh write about the date is also 22 May, 1710.⁷³ But the book of Ganda Singh which are published by *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbhandhak Committee*, Amritsar 1964. It tells the date 12 May 1710. Which are published by Punjabi University, Patiala is mentioned the date 12 May, 1710. But it is not clear about this change. Bhagat Singh written in *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, The battle against Wazir Khan of Sirhind, the murderer of the younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh was fought on the plain of Chapper Chiri on 12 May, 1710.⁷⁴ There is a reference, of a report of 12 May, 1710 sent to the emperor of Delhi by Parteet Rao, the harkara in the contemporary source *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i- Mualla*. It is written in the report that in suburbs of Sirhind and Lahore, a person had declaired himself as Guru Gobind Singh (Banda Singh) and had collected a large number of men around him. He had also attacked Saharanpur. The Emperor ordered that the *Faujdar*s be urgently told to take action against him.⁷⁵

This report of 12 May, 1710 was sent before starting the battle and makes clear that Wazir Khan was helpless. As for as the date for the battle Chapper Chiri is concerned according to the report of *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, 12 May, 1710 appealed the most but there are clear but description about the battle of Chapper Chiri. Rattan Singh Bhangu had given the date (Jeth Saudi pakh, Samat 1767 Bikarmi). Hewrites

*It Bazira Mariyo jeth sudi kemah,
Satra sai Stasath chapper Chiri ke Pah*⁷⁶

Balwant Singh write, that on 22 May 1710. Karam Singh historian writes, that Banda Bahadur and Wazir khan engaged against each other in the battle on May 30, 1710.⁷⁷

Gokal chand Narang writes about the date of battle 30 May, 1710.⁷⁸ According to Kesar Singh Chibber the battle was fought in *Samat 1769* (1712 A.D.) *Samat Sateeran Sai Unateerue* Sadhaura Sirhind Mari.⁷⁹ Hari ram Gupta given the

⁷². William Irwan, op.cit, P.95.

⁷³. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1935, P.93.

⁷⁴. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit, P.4.

⁷⁵. Ibid, P.26.

⁷⁶. Ratan Singh Bhangu, (ed.Balwant Singh Dhillon),*Sri Guru Panth Parkash*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2004, P.44.

⁷⁷. Karam Singh Historian, op.cit, P.65.

⁷⁸. Gokal Chand Narang, op.cit, P.102.

⁷⁹. Kesar Singh Chhibber, *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka*, (ed Piara Singh Padam) Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1997, P. 199.

date 12 May, 1710.⁸⁰ Ahmed Shah gives the date 24 May, 1710.⁸¹ Sohan Singh Sheetal gives the date 22 May, 1710.⁸² But we see the page no 104 of Akhbar-i-Mualla clear cut shows, it had been traced upto the time when Wazir Khan stood in the way of Sikh community. It had been learnt from the letters of Sikh community. It had been learnt from the letters of *Sahukars* (bankers) that the fight between the Sikhs and Wazir Khan took place on 22 May, 1710.⁸³ There are two dates is come 22 May or 30 May. So according to cotemporary accounts and William Irwin (Farsi Knowing) person give the 22 May 1710 Date is the acceptable overall.

Next morning Banda Singh Bahadur ordered Singhs to attack on the Wazir Khan. The accursed wretches had got warning of the movement of Wazir Khan and advanced to meet him. All his followers kept shouting *Sacha Padshah* and *Fath daras* (*Fateh Daraj*). The battle began and great bravery was shown on both sides, by especially by the confederate secteerians.⁸⁴ The two armies come face to face with each other on the plain of Chapper Chiri on the 24th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1122 (22nd May 1710 Ad.). He delivered the command of his Malwa Sikhs to Bhai Fateh Singh, Karam Singh, Dharam Singh, Ali Singh, Sham Singh and he himself occupied a place on a mound nearby to watch and direct the movements of the army. As soon as the battle began and the artillery of nawab opened fire and Banda Singh rushed forward to the forefront for his army and boldly led them on to attack. The Sikhs were very encouraged by this bold movement of their leader and with the shouts of, *Wahe Guru ki Fateh*.⁸⁵ Turkan's shouts, *Ali Ali*. The Muhammadan force was notstandin front of Sikhs. Every Sikh wanted to kill the Wazir Khan. They revenged of younger sons and mother of tenth Guru from Wazir Khan who are the cold blooded murdered of Fateh Singh and Zoravar Singh. Any power could not resist the Singhs. They planed Wazir Khan should not be escaped in any situation Wazir khan was seeing the tactics of war of Sikhs. They attacked boldly and sorrunds the Wazir Khan. He came to near the Baj Singh and rushed upon him. In the hand to hand fight Banda Singh Bahadur shouted on Wazir khan and said, oh Sinful person, you are the enemy of my Guru Gobind Singh. You are murdered of his innocent sons. You are culprit of Guru. I will give

⁸⁰. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of Sikhs*, Vol. 1, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal , 1984, P.12

⁸¹. Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Twarikh-i-Punjab*, Kitab-I-Hind, P.106.

⁸². Sohan Singh Sheetal, *Banda Singh Saheed* (1946), Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana ,1966,P.42.

⁸³. Akhbar-i-Darbar-i- Mualla, op.cit, P.104.

⁸⁴. Khafi Khan, op.cit, P.414.

⁸⁵. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P. 44, Ganesh das, *Resalah-i-Sahib Nama*, Chahar-Bagh-i-Punjab, P.189.

punishment you for your crime. I will destroy your army and country.⁸⁶ Banda Singh so bravely drew his sword and the Nawab's head fell on the ground Mughal army ran away from the battlefield.

Historians have different views about the death of Wazir Khan. Khafi Khan writes, Many Muslims found martyrdom and many of the infidels went to sink of perdition. The Muhammdon forces were hardly able to endure the repeated attacks of the infidels, when a musket-ball made a martyr of Wazir Khan and they were put to flight.⁸⁷ Mirza Muhammad Harsi writes, Wazir Khan attained martyrdom. A large number of people were killed. Everyone who breathes shall taste death.⁸⁸ Qasim writes, but once the boat of hope is destroyed by an accident. When the chiefs of army (Wazir Khan and others by the will of God were sent to their deaths.⁸⁹

Ganda Singh writes, Wazir Khan then came face to face with Baj Singh shouting, Be careful you dirty dog and rushed upon him with a lance. Baj Singh snatched the lance from Wazir Khan and struck it upon his head and wounded it. After a while Wazir Khan pulled out an arrow from his quiver and flung it open the arm of Baj Singh. Fateh Singh, who was standing nearby drew his sword and so bravely and strongly hit Wazir Khan at his sword belt that his sword passed through from his shoulder to his waist and the Nawab's head fell to the ground.⁹⁰

Karam Singh writes that, Wazir Khan was shot by an arrow all of a sudden and fell from his horse. The wounded Wazir Khan was tied behind a team of bullocks. He was dragged through the market and was hung on tree so that the vultures and crows could eat his flesh.⁹¹ Rattan Singh Bhangu⁹² holds this view.

Khuswant Rai writes that Wazir Khan was shot dead with an arrow.⁹³ Major James Browne claims that" he was killed and was cut into pieces.⁹⁴

So, Wazir Khan's death is variously described and Singh's view that wazir khan was wounded with an arrow and died during the battle of Sirhind. Wazir khan's

⁸⁶. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion, its Gurus Sacred Writings and Authors*, Vol 6, New Delhi, 1963,P.235

⁸⁷. Khafi Khan, op.cit,P.414.

⁸⁸. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, op.cit,P.134.

⁸⁹. Muhammad Qasim, op.cit, P.116.

⁹⁰. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P.44.

⁹¹. Karam Singh Historian, op.cit, P.P. 77-78.

⁹². Rattan Singh Bhangu, op.cit, P.147.

⁹³. Kushwant Rai, *Twarikh Halate Sikhan*, P. 50

⁹⁴. History and origin and prograss of the Sikhs, P. 568

army was defeated. Banda Singh and his Sikhs entered into Sirhind with victorious swag. Wazir Khan's own eldest son did not bother about (his father) treasure and hoard, but taking the young and old of his household with him took the road to Shahjahanabad (Delhi). "Everyone who, with in that short time abandoned goods and property and took to exile with every humiliation and dishonor at least saved his own life."⁹⁵ According to Khafi Khan, "Money and baggage house and elephant, fell into the hands of infidels and not a man of the army of *Islam* with more than his life and the clothes he stood in. Horse men and footmen in great numbers fell under the sword of infidels (Sikhs) who pursued them as far as Sirhind.

Sirhind was an opulent town with wealthy merchant's bankers and tradesman, men of money and gentlemen of every class and there were especially learned and religious men in great numbers residing there. No one found the opportunity of saving his life or wealthy or family. The evil dogs (Sikhs) fell to plundering murdering and making prisoners.⁹⁶

They specially plundered the goods and houses of Sucha nand, Chief Clerk (*Peshkar*) of the late Wazir Khan. You may say he had gathered and set up these for this day, So that the flower garden may become the ground for the growth of thorn bushes and paradise turn into the nursing ground of the vile crow. Praiseto be God, in the court of the divine avenger, a helpless and can be the cause of the death of the man killing snake. What has been heard from trust worthy persons of that area is this unjust, noxious raw man. In the time of the Government of Wazir Khan had with held no cruelties from being inflicted on the poor and had laid every seed of tumult for his own advantage, So he reaped the fruit of the it all. It is well known to contemporaries and eye-witness. In short that flood, which over threw the foundations of the house of a whole world, left nothing under in destroying that city. Who did not let anyone else retain arms, horses other goods and chattel of chiefship. They called upon most people to adopt their own faith, some willingly and others under compulsion obeyed.⁹⁷ Wazir Khan and Sucha Nand both of them were put to an end with every circumstances of cruelty which savage revenge could dictate. Even the Muhammeden writer had nothing writes and have nothing to say in favour of them especially in the case of Sucha Nand. They are the principle object of Sikh vengeance. What about the

⁹⁵. Muhammad Qasim, op.cit, P.116.

⁹⁶. Khafi Khan, op.cit, P.P.414-415.

⁹⁷. Muhammad Qasim, op.cit, P.116-117.

treasures of Sirhind. It was ascertained from the bankers the tehsil of Doaba yielded no taxes. The Sikhs realized the state share of produce and took it Dabar (Mukhlispur) the place of their staying. One day loaded three hundred waggons and took away the same. None obstructed their way. It was heard from a person that they (the Sikhs) intended to occupy Kashmir also.⁹⁸

So the battle of Chapper-Chiri is first Indian battle which are won by the Indians, and defeat the foreigner Mughal Raj. This was fought on 22 May, 1710 in the plains of Chapper-Chiri. The next day 23 May 1710 were called the Darbar in the *Bag-i-hafzi* (Aam- Khas Bagh). A jatt called, Baz Singh one of the wretches from *pargana* Haibatpur, belonging to the *Suba* of Punjab had the accursed turban-tail of pseudo-chiefship tied on his load to assume the *Subedari* of Sirhind, appoint officers over the *parganas* and carry out destructive activities.⁹⁹

After the victory of Sirhind, Sikhs established the Sikhs Raj. People are trusting over Banda Singh. All this could not be tolerated by Muslim authorities surrounding Sirhind. Jalal Khan and Ali Hamind Khan the Faujdars of Deoband and Saharanpur had taken Sikh prisoners. He wrote a letter as a Sikh ruler to release the Sikhs. If they did not do this, then Singh justified to make an assault. A report received by the emperor on 27 May, 1710 Saturday (A Rabi-il-sani 4th Bahadurshahi, A. H. 1122).¹⁰⁰ The rank breaking khan requested that if he was appointed the *Faujdar* of the *Chakla* of Sirhind along with a force and ammunition he would punish (Banda Singh) who had created disturbances. The emperor enquired that how much material he needed. *Bakhshi-ul-Mulk* conveyed the required information to the Emperor. This report is clearify that the emperor and other Mughal authorities are alerted for Banda Singh Bahadur.

A report sent to in Mughal court June 22, 1710 Thursday (6 Jamad-ul-Awwal 4th Bahadurshahi, A.H. 1122).¹⁰¹ Banda Singh riding a horse, wearing a brocade dress and carrying in this hand a gun and a spear came out early in the morning. He was then encamped at Gulab Nagar, also known as Buria, which was situated and five hundred horse men and ten thousand foot soldiers accompanied him. A news had reached Gulab Nagar also called Saharanpur. The Afghans had dispossessed the Sikhs

⁹⁸. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit, P.117.

⁹⁹. Muhammad Qasim, P.117.

¹⁰⁰. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit, P.27

¹⁰¹. *ibid*, P.27

of their artillery and fourteen thousand rupees. He told his followers that Jalal Khan would be captured in a few hours time.

Jalal Khan did not care the letter of Banda Singh Bahadur. So Singhs decided to punish the Jalal Khan. Mirza Muhammad writes as for the fierce force of those Banda's followers, who had marched towards Saharanpur, the moment they crossed the Yamuna River, Ali Hamid Khan, The *faujdar* of that *Chakla*. Immediately upon learning the news, became so distracted and desperate fled by rapid marches to Delhi. The Sikhs coming to know that the city was empty (of Troops), quickly betook themselves there, and as was the case of Sirhind, the people of that place too either tasted martyrdom or took to flight. In short after Sirhind and Saharnpur came under the possession of the Banda Singh Bahadur.¹⁰²

A Party was detached northwards to Behat, a small town of Saharnpur. After facing Sikhs decided to march southwards to the town of Jalalabad. The Sikh forces replenished their treasury with the riches of Ambala town inhabited by rich Pathans and Gujjar. They declared themselves to be the followers of Guru Nanak annexed with six forces Saharanpur, Buriya, Sadhaura, Chhat Ambala, Shahbad, Thanesar, Sarhind, Pail, Roper, Bahlolpur, Machhiwara, and Ludhiana etc. All territory from Thanesar to the bank of river Sutlej excepting the territory of Lakhi Jungle came at one stroke under the control of those cruel, people Half of *Chakla* of Saharanpur was annexed to the dominions of that arrogant ignoramus. In the country of the Punjab, too many villages came into the hands of these errors smitten Sikhs.¹⁰³ Khafi Khan writes After Sirhind Ali Muhammad Khan *Faujdar* of Saharanpur to protect boldly but it was of no avail, they went off to Delhi with his property and family. After a large booty of money jewels and goods of Sarangpur had fallen into the hands of enemy. Jalal Khan, *Faujdar* of Jalalabad sent out Ghulam Muhammad Khan, His own grandson Hizar Khan. The enemy (Sikhs) fought with great courage and daring and Hizar Khan Muhammadans and peasants were killed. Sikhs raising their cry of *Fath Daras*. The Afghans threw open the gate.¹⁰⁴

Rahon

Sikh went off to reduce Sultanpur and the parganas of the Jalandhar Doab.

¹⁰². Mirza Muhammad Harsi, op.cit, P.134

¹⁰³. Op.cit, P.135

¹⁰⁴. Khafi Khan, op.cit, P. P.416-417.

Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur and Kangra district were known as Jalandhar Doab. We get information from contemporary sources Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, *Ibratnama*,¹⁰⁵ *Akhbar-i- Darbar-i-Mualla* for Jalandhar Doab and Rahon and other battles. These Muslim unless had done the good explanation of the battles of Banda Singh Bahadur. In *Ibratnama Harsi* writes that at that time the Guru (Banda Singh) appointed an army of these evil acting Sikhs, to cross the Sutlej and seize Jalandhar Doab. That force first captured the township of Rahon and acted there in their own unpraise worthy way. The Muslim of those towns, abandoning their goods and property to the enemy sought help from Shams Khan *Khweshgi*, the *faujdar* of (Jalandhar) doab. That brave man, collecting a large number from amongst his own servants as well as a big force from amongst people who had joined him with the intention of waging holy war, marched towards Rahon and expelled by force those Sikhs from that town, in this battle nearby six or seven thousand faithless Sikhs were killed but of Muslims only a few person attained Martyrdom After this they (the Sikhs) abandoned the idea of the conquest of Jalandhar *Doab* and turned their attention to the seizure of other territories.

Khafi khan writes, Sikhs sent a letter to Shams Khan the *Faujdar*, calling upon him to submit, to carry out certain instructions, and to come to meet them with his treasure. So, Shams Khan with four or five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot armed with matchlocks bows and all kinds of weapons which they had possessed for a long time or newly acquired, went forth accompanied by the Zamindars. Gentlemen of every tribe Peasants principally weavers, mechanics came forth boldly to stoke their lives and property in resisting the infields. They pledged themselves to support each other and contributed their money for the general good. Thousand means so assembled and went forth from Sultanpur with great display Shams Khan moved with his force. Sikhs came Rahon seven Km from Sultanpur. There they had halted and took post by brick-kiln, all the bricks of which they used for making a sort of fort and having thrown up lines all round, they ready for battle. They sent out patrols in all directions.¹⁰⁶

The battle started at Rahon in the Jalandhar Doab with guns and muskets. The Sikhs were used Guerrilla tactics. They leaved the fort of Rahon, which they occupied. The fort was besieged by the forces of Shams Khan. But the Sikhs slipped

¹⁰⁵. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, op.cit, P.135.

¹⁰⁶. Khafi Khan, op.cit, P.418.

away in the darkness of the night. But the Sikhs were stopped near by Rahon. In the morning Sikhs rusted upon and attacked the fort of Rahon which occupied by shams khan. The Sikhs occupied the fort again. This tactic of war which is peculiarly a Sikh tactic and has no often been used by them in their wars with Mughals, the Durranis and the local officials has generally been misunderstood and mistaken for their actual flights.¹⁰⁷ About a thousand of the enemy attacked the garrison which shams khan had placed in Rahon, drove then out and occupied it themselves.¹⁰⁸ Rahon was captured on 3rd october to 1710. Bahadur Shah received this news while he was encamped near Sonipat. After the victory of Rahon the Sikhs moved towards Jullundhar. The Pathans hands up in front of Sikhs. Hoshiarpur and Phagwara were also occupied by the Sikhs.

The Sikhs in the (Ganga-Yamuna) Doab who after capture of Saharanpur, entertained the ambition of conquering that entire territory, suffered much punishment from the swords of the sons and relatives of Jalal Khan Ruhela the master of Jalalabad 7 *Kurohs* from Deoband. They turned back from there. The Sikh force that had advanced from Thanesar towards Delhi faltered owing to the fighting strength of Sardar Khan Rajput *Zamindar* of Narok a large number of them being killed by that renowned commander God forbid, of Jalan Khan from that side and Sardar Khan from this side had not intercepted them, There was none in Delhi, who had courage and the force to repel those ill-fated ones (Sikhs).¹⁰⁹

Banda Singh Bahadur established their posts (Thanas). Bahadur Shah who returned from Deccan and arrived in Punjab. Sikhs went to Sirhind and strengthening the fort there. Bahadur Shah reached at Darbar. Sikhs took refuge in hills for two days. The fort of Sirhind was captured by Amim Khan Chin Bahadur. After three months Guru (Banda Singh) appeared out of hill near Rampur and Bahrapur and in Bari Doab. Shams khan Khweshgi was going with three hundred housemen and fighting, Shams Khan attained martyrdom.¹¹⁰ Sikhs went Batala and Kalanaur and set up their Thanas Banda Singh Bahadur and his Sikhs a crossed the river Ravi and reached the Rachna Doab. There are they appointed new army under Amin Khan Chin Bahadur, Ghazi Khan Bahadu,r Rustam Jang and Hamid Khan Bahadur. In the beginning of 1124 A.H. (1712) chin Bahadur engaged a holy war against the Sikhs

¹⁰⁷. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P.119.

¹⁰⁸. Khafi Khan, op.cit, P.419.

¹⁰⁹. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, op.cit, P.P 135-136.

¹¹⁰. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, op.cit, P. 137.

and destroying them.

Lohgarh

A news received by emperor on 21 November, 1710¹¹¹ (10 Shawwal 4th Bahadur Shah, A. H. 1122) Banda Singh Bahadur were encamped the other side of Sadhaura on the bank of a tank Bahadur Shah was issued a form to Rustam Dil Khan Bahadur that the (Pesh Khana) an advanced camp against the Banda Singh Set up. On the fourteenth (6 Dec.) it was reported to the emperor that as per orders, Jumdat-ul-Mulk Khan Bahadur and Mahabat Khan Ghalib Jang, along with their troops and Afzal Bakshi along with the retainers of prince Rafi 'u' sh Shan had proceeded in escort of the Advance Camp.¹¹²

A report submitted by Jumadat-ul-Mulk on 25 Nov, 1710 Saturday (14 Shawwal 4th Bahadurshahi, A.H. 1122).¹¹³ Shams khan had sent to the emperor as an offering the booty of Sirhind two ensigns one flag four arrows two spears and four waggons which were fully loaded with the heads of rebels (Sikhs).

One incident when Rustam Dil Khan Bahadur took the camp to a distance of two *Kohs*. Sikhs suddenly appeared and attacked with arrows rockets and musket shot. Khan said that, Sikhs like a falcon falling on a pigeon. This was a heroic attack.¹¹⁴ Hadi Kamvar was a Muslim writer. But he praised the bravery of Sikhs. Sikhs tasted martyrdom and many of them are wounded. But they received the reinforcement.

Hadi Kamvar Khan writes that, I was present in the Prince's army and saw with my own eyes that each person from amongst the rebels (Sikhs) Came out and engaged in battle with the brave soldiers of the imperial army and after much end endeavour and effort was put to sword by the holy warriors (Mughal troop).¹¹⁵ Sikhs were alarmed about the preparation of Bahadur Shah. Sikhs collected from all direction and they captured the Qila Bhagwant Rai (A Haveli of Quango of that place) in Pargana Tappa Pharli and strengthened it. They killed many *Ghazis* and Muslims. But in the Darkness of night they leave the *Haveli*. Then they (Sikhs) gathered in Kotla Begam near the town ship of Chamarhi. Singhs received victory. All *Ghazis*

¹¹¹. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit, P.43.

¹¹². Hadi Kamvar Khan, op.cit, P.145.

¹¹³. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit, P.44.

¹¹⁴. Hadi Kamvar Khan, op.cit, P.145.

¹¹⁵. *Ibid*, P.145

returned to Lahore but Sikhs have an attack. All Ghazis were died. When was the Bahadur shah coming towards Sadhaura on the other hand Firoz khan engaged in the battle. Kheda (Amingarh).¹¹⁶ Firoz Khan Mewati was victorious in this battle.

When the Bahadur shah encamped in Darbar (Lohgarh). Banda Bahadur strengthening the fort of Lohgarh. The royal forces were formed in following fashion. The Prince led the van of imperial forces a head at a quarter of a *Kuroh*. Rao Udit Singh Bundela commanded the van of the army of the Bakhshi-ul-Mulk. Jamdatu-i-Mulk Khan-i-Khanan (Munim Khan) along with his sons Bakhshi-ul-Mulk Mahabat Khan and Khan-I-Zaman marched in the right wing under the guidance of some persons acquainted with that tract. In their way were the force of Rao Satrsal Bundela and Islam Khan Bahadur, the Mir-i-Atish (head of artillery) Hamid-ud-din khan and prince 'Azimush Khan's officers and Jhan shah's men also marched with him.¹¹⁷ Bahadur shah ordered to the troops not to attack on sieged the fort. But one fourth quarter of the day had not passed when Munim Khan rushed forward. Sikh had been established on the hill tops. He attacked with cannon and muskets. Sikhs attacked with arrows and musket fire. Many soldiers were died from both sides. There was a windy freezing environment. Fire gave no heat except the heat of heart and brain. The period of the siege extended to two Months.¹¹⁸

Afternoon the Munim Khan rushed forward to the fortified seat of Sikhs. Mughal forces crossing over the plain ground and reached at a distance of a quarter Koh from the wall of Lohgarh. One or two canon shots fired from the top of hill fell on the imperial army. Imperial army stopped for little to take meal. At the time of prayers, they heard a terrible noise and heavy smoke from the fort of Lohgarh. Hadi Kamvar present in this royal army writes, we drew our reins when cannon ball fired from (a gun) Made from a tamarind tree came from the top of hillock and fell on the neck of the horse of friend of me. But due to the grace of God horse not heart. For a moment both the horses and its riders were rendered senseless, But soon recovered.¹¹⁹ This was a Gun powder explosion.¹²⁰ Royal forces had attacked the fort. Many devotee Sikhs were killed. Some of them had come into the building at a top of a hill whom Banda Singh had named Sitaragarh, and from where he was shooting arrows

¹¹⁶. Muhammad Qasim, P.121.

¹¹⁷. Hadi Kamvar Khan, op.cit, P.147.

¹¹⁸. Muhammad Qasim, P.122.

¹¹⁹. Hadi Kamvar Khan, op.cit, P.148.

¹²⁰. *Ibid*, P.148.

and musket. Hadi says I along with my companions entered in the fields (Sikhs) entrenchments and had the sight of what in plunderers were doing. When the imperial army reached to top on hills they saw some Sikhs who were fought with Mughal troops. All the wealth goods women and children horses' camels fell into the hands of the victorious army. Hadi writes no one knew what had happened to Banda Singh. He reported that he was taken prisoner and was being brought to captive. Munim Khan received praise from the emperor. When I reached the imperial camp that the prince and Amir'u-i- Umara Bahadur telling about the terrifying sound heard at night. The imperial Harkara sent a report that the noise was due to the bursting of wooden Gun which had constructed from tamarind wood. At midnight they filled in with gun powder exploded that Gun and fled.¹²¹

On 12 Dec, 1710 Rustam Dil khan captured the Sikhs. They brought from there five elephants, three cannon pieces seventeen gun carts, one canopy and a few silver sticks. Sarbrah Khan Kotwal captured the twelve Sikhs and their leader. Tobacco seller named Gulab Singh. The emperor said in great anger. The Jackal has escaped from the grasp of so many Dogs.¹²² Bahadur shah was in ill those days. Rustum Dil Khan Bahadur informed the imperor that Munim Khat was captured the 'false Guru'. According to Mughal court news emperor gave the tent and silver pole to Hadi Khan Musharaf of Farash Khana and the Chauri Khas Khan.¹²³ A report 11 Dec., 1710 Monday (1st ziqada 4th Bahadurshahi, A.H. 1122)¹²⁴ presented from Kesho Roa Harkara to the emperor that the rebel *Guru*(Banda Singh) had gone thirty kos to the other side of the order of the territory of the *zamindar* of Nahan.

Khafi khan writes a tobacco seller from Khari tribe dressed himself as Banda Singh and seated on his chair. Munim khan caught him. But the truth was the hawk had flown and an owl had been caught. Khan Khana was greatly vexed, Munim khan died with shame and fell ill.¹²⁵

On 14th December 1710 Thursday (4th Zi Qada, 4th Bahadurshahi, and A.H. 1122) Jumdat-Ul-Mulik sent a report enclosed an envelope to the emperor Bhup Parkash *zamindar* of Nahan presented gifts and met him. Bahadur Shah gave respects

¹²¹. *Ibid*, P. 149.

¹²². Muhammad Qasim, op.cit, P.122.

¹²³. Khafi Khan, op.cit, P.429.

¹²⁴. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit, P.46.

¹²⁵. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit, P. 132.

to him. 17th Dec. 1710 Sunday (7 Zi Qada 4th Bahadurshahi, A.H. 1122). Bahadur shah ordered that Sikhs were be released.

But 4 January, 1711 Thursday (25 Zi Qada 4th Bahadurshahi A.H.1122). The emperor issued an orders that *zamindar* of Nahan be put into captivity.¹²⁶Hamid khan Bahadur brought to Bhup parkash son of Hari Parkash Jamidar of Nahan. According to court news the mother of Bhup Parkash requested that he promised to capture the Sikhs and sent them to Bahadur Shah. He released his son. He prisoned in the fort of Salimgarh.

According to court news of Mughal Darbar struck their own coin, Samat and Batai system in villages and land given to the preasnts.

Battle's Strategies of Banda Singh Bahadur

Banda Singh Bahadur was doing diplomatic work in every field. He made a special battle strategy for the establishment of Khalsa Raj. He had meager resources in men and materials, requisite number of trained soldiers arms, ammunition and for supplies he fought numerous battles against Mughal forces having much larger and trained armies with un ending supply lines of soldiers, arms ammunition and food stocks etc. In spite of these disparities Banda Singh Bahadur won many Battles. Sikh Gurus had breathed an undying spirit of sacrifice in the Sikh volunteers. These Sikhs fighting and dying for the faith. He gave his battle strategies to the valoure of Sikhs which resulted in the triumphs of the Khalsa.

With the coming of the Muslim rulers in India a large number of Muslim camp followers also came to India and were looting and harassing the common public. To counter them the Hindu *Deras* and Maths, who were having ascetic warriors for their protection greatly increased their strength. Hindu ascetic warriors used certain military strategies which were very essential when their numbers were lesser then the armies against whom they had to flight.¹²⁷

The *Guerilla* action in the battles had been used early ages, and also used the surprise tactics and would make lightning attacks on their enemies during the nights. Banda Singh Bahadur also used of these strategies. *Guerilla* action was very much liked by him. By using this *Guerilla* action Banda Singh Bahadur made Sikhs win

¹²⁶. *Ibid*, P.150.

¹²⁷. Surinder Singh, *Baba Banda Singh Bahadur*, Anand publishers, Delhi, 2009, P.59.

wars against much larger Mughal forces. It shows in the battle with Mughal when Rustam Dil khan Bahadur took the advanced camp. The Sikh army of Banda Singh Bahadur suddenly appeared in the plain and attacked with arrows rockets and musket shot.¹²⁸

Then he fights like a falcon falling on pigeon.¹²⁹ Then the Bahadur Shah encamped in Sadhaura, Sikhs alarmed heavy damaged and took time for fight with emperor. They had gone. The army of Sikhs fled and took shelter in the hills.¹³⁰ One more examples given in persion sources. In the fourth regnal year of *Farrukhsiyar* during these times. Around 15 Rabi 1-2- march (1713) The news constantly arrived from the Punjab that in field of false religion (Banda Singh Bahadur) who in the late reign of Khuld Manzil (Bahadur Shah) having suffered much chastisement had hidden himself in the ravines of the hills, had now come out of the mountains with a huge host and rezed many of Punjab towns to ground.¹³¹ These battle strategies had been used by Banda Singh bahadur. This was the retreat-reattack. After him this strategy also used in their battle with the Mughals and Afghanas. It was called, *Dhai-Path* meaning two and half steps. Satbir Singh writes Sikhs make no noise and nabbed as a lion and when they retreat they were not seen.¹³² The strategy (Guerrilla action) was used by Banda Singh Bahadur in many battles. Rattan Singh Bhangu write about this strategy;

*Pve Achanak Singh Aan ve Akasho ill*¹³³

It means they caught his enemy as a jackal. He carried on a gurilla warfare against the Mughals with varying success for some years.¹³⁴ Banda Singh seems to have travelled in disguise and by circuitous routes to avoid detection. The distance between Nanded and Hissar in Haryana by the road route was 1600 km. At the rate of 16 km or 10 miles a day an average, Banda Singh Should not have taken more than 100 days during his journey. But he actually took about a year. It means that he might have been frequently in hiding.

¹²⁸ . Hadi Kamvar Khan, P.145.

¹²⁹ . *Ibid*, P. 145.

¹³⁰ . *Ibid*, P. 145.

¹³¹ . *Ibid*, P.152.

¹³² . Satbir Singh, *Sada Ithas*, New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1962, P.110

¹³³ . Rattan Singh Bhangu, P.

¹³⁴ . A.H Bingley, P. 23.

The Mughal spy system was most elaborate during Aurangzeb's period. Had Banda Singh and his party come to their notice, it would have been eliminated. That is why Banda Singh travelled right across Maharashtra and Rajasthan, both of which were in revolt against the Mughals.¹³⁵ Banda took precautions to avoid contact with the Mughal espionage network and a distance of about 1600 kms was covered in a year's time which ordinarily could have been covered in about three months. He took circuitous routes and reached the town of Kharkhoda about 30 kms short of Delhi, the Mughals capital.¹³⁶ To win the trust of people it was the part of his strategy. He became popular with the people by giving blessing of Dudh, Put (milk and son) to the locals. Who would seek his blessings?¹³⁷

In the Bhangar area (Hissar) he used his strategy, Sudden Attack' captured the dacoits to gain the sympathy and confidence of the villages is also strategy of the Banda Singh Bahadur. He proclaimed the Khalsa brotherhood. In Samana victory he also used this strategy they entered in Samana before closing of the gate and saved many lives of Sikhs.

The strategy adopted by Sikhs in the battles of Ropar was not going in their favour by Usman Khan. In Ropar which was not going in their favour in Sadhaura he used peasants who are harassed by Usman Khan. In Ropar the strategy adopted by Sikhs in this battles which was not going in their favour till evening was to spend the night lying in the trenches and be able to take a lead on them in early morning.¹³⁸ In the battles of Chappar Chiri he had chosen a mound (*Tibba*) with mangroves on both sides and a pond (*Chhaparh*) in front them when the Sikhs were feeling the pressure of enemy attack Banda Singh Bahadur rushed to fore front. He changed the whole scene of battles. In Jalalabad Sikh used a tactics of retreat because of unfavorable weather.

During the proclamation of Jihad, Singh used the Gurrilla tactics. Large number of Jihadis besieged the Qila Bhagwat Rai. In spite of great bloodshed Sikh measured a tactics and moved out of the fort on a night cutting through the lines of crusaders and went out of their reach. The Jihadis were disappointed. Sikhs had an

¹³⁵ . Piara Singh Data, *Mahabali Banda Singh Bahadur*, National Book shop chandni chowk, Delhi, 1986, P.46.

¹³⁶ . Hario Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. 2, 1978, P.7.

¹³⁷ . Ganda Singh, op.cit, P. 27.

¹³⁸ . Surinder Singh, op.cit, P.114

upper hand. The crusaders stopped at fort Bilowal for night rest. Sikhs hid themselves in some bushes and trees. Early next morning the Sikhs come out of their hiding places and attacked on crusaders. They lost many men and horses Sikhs were now in possession of whole of Majha and Rearki.

In the battles of Rahon the Sikhs thought of tricking the enemy with tactics. They slipped away from entrenchment. They turning and rushed upon suddenly on the *Thana* of Rohan and occupied the fort this was the Retreat and reattack. Which was only a tactics of Sikhs. They used this in their wars with Durrani and local officials, their trick of flights were many time a mistaken for their actual flights and enemy understand their actual.

In Lohgarh he used a tactic to throw the cannon ball from a Tamarind tree and retreat there he used a strategy to give flight to a very large army Sadhaura-Lohgarh-Sitaragharh axis was used by him in 1713-14 When a very large Mughal force under the top commander's invaded the areas reoccupied by the Sikh forces with the directions from Farrukhsiyar that they must finish the Sikh forces with the directions from Farrukhsiyar that they must finish the Sikh Forces and their commanders once for all. The distance between Lohgarh and Sitaragharh was one kilometer on the top of hill. Sitaragharh is a mud Hut. H.G. Keener has put and applied. A few invasions each less successful than its predecessors. The famous Khalsa was to settle down like wall of concrete, a dam against the encroachment most off the northern flood. Mughal armies were more 2 lacs soldiers whereas the Sikh army was about 20000-30000 only. Sikhs forces left during Night time in the reserve forest of Haripur. The Sadhaura-Lohgarh axis was very effectively planned by Banda Singh Bahadur to give a fight to a very large army and then get out of the same unscathed.¹³⁹

Military strategy has been used since ancient times in large and small battles. Good strategies are helpful in winning a battle. He was a great Indian General who used this strategies. He succeeded everywhere and established a great Sikh Kingdom.

Abolition of Zamindari

The time when Banda Singh Bahadur reached in the Punjab, the condition of

¹³⁹ . Surinder Singh, op.cit, P.114

the Punjab was very pitiable hence local Rulers used cruel and unfair means for the people. The people were too much grieved whereas the Government of Delhi weakened then the local rules become dictators'. Power of Mughal emperor decreased day by day. They were very careful for their wives (Begams) in spite of to care of their people's. Every ruler had hundreds of wives and servants but Grieved people had cried with hunger. Total income of the area was collected by rulers.

Remaining share had been taken by the *zamindars* of villages. Every *zamindars* behaved like a King now. Law forced upon *zamindars* after Sirhind victory Banda Singh Bahadur had started his operations to remove the grives of people, after captured the Sirhind first of all he broken the *zamindari* system.

Mughal *zamindars* were responsible for a fixed amount of land revenue from the peasants. They collected from the peasants they liked. So the poor peasants were reduced to the position of slave. He set a Darbar (office) at a *Hafzi Bag* and proclaimed a historical declaration land for the peasants (*Jamin Vahak Di Hai*) According to local tradition once farmers from the neighborhood of Sadhaura came to complain to Banda Singh about their suffering at the hands of the landlords. He ordered Baj Singh to open fire on them. On being asked he told them that they deserves no better deal. They were thousands in number and still they allowed themselves to be harrassed by a handful of landlords. They acted on the suggestions and did away with the big zamindars of Malwa and Jullundur Doab¹⁴⁰ large estates were given into the hands of Sikh or Hindu or Muslims peasants. Peasants became master of their own lands.

He was posing a serious challenge to the zamindari system in Punjab, which was a source of endless exploitation of the poor peasantry. Majority of modern writers have termed Banda Singh's movement as an agrarian uprising, but which only partly true. Khuswant Singh agree this view as saying Banda's movement as a peasants upsurge. The peasants of Malwa rose against the zamindars and local officials. He opened the flood gates to sea of pent-up hatred, and all he could do was to ride on the crest of the wave of violence that he had let loose.¹⁴¹

He named the total Singh as peasants, Khuswant Singh writes armed peasants

¹⁴⁰. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit, P,10.

¹⁴¹. Khuswant Singh, op.cit, P,99

coming from all over the central districts of the Punjab.¹⁴² His arrival was a signal for Gujjar herdsman rise against the zamindars. The news of Banda's return put heart into the Malwa peasantry. This is proved that the peasants could broke the administration. But this is only one side of movements of Banda Singh Bahadur. Basically, it was of secular and political nature. It is no doubt that from the river Yamuna of River Ravi. He was the only person who give respect of the peasants.

In all the Parganas the Banda Singh Bahadur reversal of previous customs was striking. A low scavenger or leaders-dresser, the lowest of the law in Indian estimation, had only to leave home and join the Guru, when in a short space of the time he would return to his birth place as it's ruler, with his order of appointment in his hand, as soon as he set foot within boundaries the well born and wealthy went out to greet him and escorts him home. Arrived there they stood before him with joined palms awaiting his orders.¹⁴³

Mughal Government extorted from peasants half of income as land revenue. But in the kingdom of Banda Singh Bahadur the share of revenue was one third. Muhammad Shafi writes that Sirhind become the resident of Sikhs and they sent their forces all around. They took the smoked of landlords (*zamindars*) that were wealthy in ancient times.¹⁴⁴

Banda Singh Bahadur gave the freedom to the people from their Oppressors and distributed large feudal holdings among them.¹⁴⁵ He knew that the *ryots* (Mughal term for peasants or rural subjects) suffered heavily. The solution lay only in its abolition. Landlords were mostly the Mughal officers and acted as mini kings. The Sikhs mostly from the peasant classes, knew fully about the corruption. Harpreet Kaur hold this view that "Banda Singh mainly supported by the zamindars and opposed by the zamindars."¹⁴⁶ In Punjab the zamindars of Northern Bari Doab, Majha & Malwa are provided arms and horses. Zamindars of hills provided him shelter. King of Kehlur block the way of Mughal troops. Zamindars of Jammu, Kehlur, Srinagar Garwal Mandi, Kalu, Wadial, Samana and Kaithal were so sympathetic with him.

¹⁴². *Ibid*, P. 100.

¹⁴³. William irwan, op.cit,P, 99.

¹⁴⁴. Muhammad Shafi warid, *Mirat-i-Waridat*, (ed J.S. Grewal & Irfan Habib), Sikh History from Persian sources, Tulika, New Delhi, 2007, P.211

¹⁴⁵. Tarlochan Singh Gill, *History of the Sikhs*, National Book Shop, Dehli, 1996, P. 20.

¹⁴⁶. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit, P. 14.

Zamindars of Kamaon, Bhattis, Kharals, Gujjar of Rachna Doab, and Kasur Shamas Khanwere all fought against Banda Singh Bahadur. Banjaras provided the food grains during of battles to Sikhs. Although all peasants were not along with him. Due to this bold step Bandawas very popular among the zamindars. So many zamindars helped him against the Royal forces. The bulk of Banda Singh's Sikhs were the Jatt Sikhs. They were belonging mostly with the rural area. Mostly rural area connected with agriculture. They had beared heavy land revenue. Which he reduced it Banda Singh Bahadur had given the view of socialism. Which had no place in India those days. Their vision is a scientific vision. He has declared the democracy in Punjab. He got decision with the Khalsa *panth*. With in short time he brought a social as well as political revolution. He deserves full credit for the destruction of zamindari system and making the cultivators of the soil the actual proprietors of their holdings in the areas under his occupation. Later during the period of Sikh *Misls*, the reform was carried out to its logical end, making the Punjab peasants enjoy the fruits of his labour to fullest extent. In all area Sikhs were occupied old custom were reduced.

Fight Against in Justice

He was that man which is condemned by contemporary historians. They are all Muslim court historians. They had lack of courage and cannot write opposite the Mughal Government. After seven hundred Dark Age the kingdom of Banda Singh Bahadur was established. People had complained about the injustice. He won trust of people to apply the justice. Kasar Singh Chhibber writes in, Bansavalinama;

*Banda Sab Nu Eh he Kahe Garib di Rakhya Kro Pap Tzo,
Dharam chal chalo,¹⁴⁷*

It means protect the poor and run the administration with justice after victorious Banda Singh Bahadur ordered to his Sikhs

*Istri Tan Jo Gahena Hoi Tako Hath Na Lave Koi Pursh
Pashak or, Sir Ki Pag, In Khi Koi Hath Na Lag.¹⁴⁸*

It means you did not touch the any women, his jewelry and turban of a man. Banda Singh Bahadur issued a proclamation offering protection to any one, “threatened by thieves, dacoits or highway robbers, troubled by Muhammadan bigots,

¹⁴⁷ . Kasar Singh Chhibber, op.cit, P.199.

¹⁴⁸ . Satbir Singh, op.cit, P.

or in way subjected to injustice or ill treatment.¹⁴⁹ When Jalan khan *Faujdar* of pargana Deoband. Imprisoned the Sikhs and Sikh missionaries they appealed to him for help. Sikhs across Jamuna River and save the people. In Sharanpur a rich family of Peerzadas opened slaughters of cows in streets of town-Hindus requested Banda Singh Bahadur to stop this. So the Sikhs put the Peerzadas to sword these victims were solemnly executed after conviction on the capital charge of cow slaughter, an offence easily proved against them, one which actually became the subject of prohibitory proclamation under our own Government before we knew our strength.¹⁵⁰ Karam Singh Historian¹⁵¹ agree by this view.

He liked justice, His justice was expeditious and he sometimes went to extent of relent lessness in his punishment of tyrannical officials. The rank and position of the offender never influenced his spirit of justice and his summary method of dealing with criminal cases made him a terror to the tribe of petty functionaries. He used to tell his men.¹⁵² The best worship for a king is to be just is written in holy *Granth*. Those who do not administer justice are cast into hell. A king should practice justice. This spoke to me the Great man (Guru Gobind Singh) if you call your selves, do not practice sin, *adharma* and injustice. Raise up true Sikhs and smite those who did acts like Non-Sikh. Bear the saying of the great man in your hearts.¹⁵³

Kasar Singh Chhibber writes "once a corrupt Sikh who killed a women's husband and to take the women in his house. He was not a Sikh Sardar and woman requested to Banda Singh Bahadur for justice. He ordered Sikhs to kill him with fire shot. According to Mughal court news 7th Dec., 1707 Sunday (23 Ramzan, first Bahadursahi) an order of the emperor was issued that his majesty's kotwal, Sorfroz Khan, should be told that the Hindus should not be allowed to travel in palanquins or ride horses of Arab an Iraqi breeds and not to celebrates holi. It was the injustice of the Mughal tyranny. Banda Singh Bahadur could not beared this injustice. He reduced it and so many battles fought against the Mughal he had done the struggle of the oppressed against their oppressor. He was not against the Muslims. No doubt his struggle was between the unequals.

¹⁴⁹ . Sohan Singh, op.cit, P.99.

¹⁵⁰ . Mr. G.R.C milliams, *The Sikhs in Upper Doab*, culcutta review, LX 235.

¹⁵¹ . Karam Singh Historian, op.cit, P. 85-86.

¹⁵² . *Sakhi pothi*, P. 290.

¹⁵³ . *Ibid*, P. 292.

He was a leader of progressivism. He preaches the religious toleration. He gave his Riyaya (people of his state) secure freedom of worship. If he had taken arms it was purely with the object of self-defense. He weakened the Mughal's power but also to replace it by a better one. Muslims of Kalanaur and Bahrapur had supported him. He had no will power and Rule. He sent his orders in the name of Guru. He struck his coins and seals in the name of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh. It is cleared by Hukamnama of Banda Singh addressed to Jaunpur *Sangat*. He wanted to establish a justified Sikhs Raj for the people, by the people.

CHAPTER-4

THE SIEGE AND FALL OF GURDAS NANGAL

After capturing of Lohgarh by Mughals, Banda Singh centered all his attention to establish his power in areas of Gurdaspur, Hushiarpur, Jammu, Kalanour, Batala and *Chanab* area. In the military point of view, fortress of Gurdaspur is place of commanding all over the areas. The actual place of the old village of Gurdas Nangal, now a heap of ruins, known as *Bande-wali-Theh*, lying one mile to the west of the present village of Gurdas Nangal, about fourmiles to the west of the town of Gurdaspur and about one mile from the villages of Nawapind, Purowal Rajputana, Purowal Jattan, and Kalianpur to the north-east, north, north- west and south-west repectively. It had no regular fort.¹ This was the fortress of Duni Chand. Duni Chand was a *Jagirdar* and *Faujdar* of this area. He was a servant of *Mughal* Goverment. There were so many *deras* of *Baraige Sadhus*. These *deras* were very helpful for the *Mughal* Goverment.

Mughal Goverment was presented Jagirs to the *deras*. All the *Deradars* worked as a spy for the *Mughals*. Duni Chand was a Brahmin. All the *Deradars* were well wisher of Duni Chand. He occupied the fort Gurdas Nangal from Duni Chand. He had fled away and also all *Deradars*were fled away. Now they were under the *Khalsa*. Gurdas Nangal was situated on high place and this was the new centre for him. First centered area was Lohgarh which was situated between Sudhaura and Nahan. He had established many fortress surroundings the Gurdas Nangal. One fort was situated in Gurdaspur. At present there is situated a *jail* of Gurdaspur district. One fort was situated in Kalanaur. Batala were encamped by some Sikhs by a military point of view.

That had won these territories on 1711 but which had been made a capital in 1713. Suddenly hearrised from the *Teerai Pardesh* of Northern hills, and killed Nawab Bazid Khan of Kasoor and his nephew Samash Khan who belonged to rich nobility and strengthened his military residency.

Giani Gian Singh said that Banda Singh Bahadur had repaired the old fortress of *Gurdaspur* and deposited all military equipments.²Giani Gian Singh said very

¹. Malcolm L.T. col., *Sketch of the Sikhs*, John Murray, London, 1812, P. 81.

². Giani Gian Singh, *Twarikh Shamsher Khalsa* (Pathar Chhap), Sialkot, 1892, Pp.32-33.

important things that, once the chief of Mandi come to meet Banda Singh Bahadur. At first, he had fought a battle with *Mughal* army at Naina Kot. After this he had reached Gurdas Nangal with twenty-two thousand Singhs. There they were gathered with more than seven thousand Singhs.³

The historians writes about this battle of Naina Kot is referring as a Kot-Mirza-Zan. Kot Mirza Zan is situated on ten kilometres away from Gurdas Nangal via Kalanaur. Naina Kot is on side of Mukerian to Gurdaspur. So, Banda Singh Bahadur had occupied the whole area of surrounding of Gurdas Nangal and situated his military force. By this cause he had been fought continually eight months with his enemies. There are no examples of any battle in Indian history which was fought on sieged on place for a time period of eight months.

The reports of the re-appearance of the Sikhs and the activities in the Punjab were now regularly keeping in at the court at Delhi to the great alarm of the king Farrukhsiyar and his nobles. The news received from the *Chakla* of Sirhind to Emperor, Nanak worshippers (Singhs) encamped at Lakhat. Khidmat Talab Khan *Faujdar* sent his Bakhshi. He urgently wrote to *Zamindars* of hill areas that they should not allow the rebels to go away alive.⁴ Asfand yar sent a letter to the emperor about the events of *Chakla* of Jammu in the province of the Punjab the Sikhs had gone from Sirhind to the hills toward Suket and Mandi. He was in doubt the Singhs do the collabouration with the *Zamindar* of Kehlur, etc. They reached in Dun areas and fought against Ramzani Beg, Amil of the jagir of Fateh-Ullah-khan. The Emperor ordered that Taqarub Khan write to Khidmat Talab khan urgently.⁵

On 2 March, 1715 (7 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 4th Farrukhsiyar A.H. 1127)⁶ a report submitted to the Emperor that Banda Singh Bahadur had came to the foot of the hills and had become the source of rebellion. He plundered the imperial territories. Emperor ordered that the mace –bearers be sent to Abdul Samad khan Bahadur. The Nazim of the Lahore that he should take the necessary action against the Sikhs. A news from Jammu 14 March, 1715, Monday (19 Rabi-Ul-Awwal, 4th Faurrukhsiyari, A.H.1127) that received by the emperor (Banda Singh) came along with his forces and plundered Kalanaur, Batala, Raipur none from the *Faujdar* and the *Thanedar*

³. Giani Gian Singh, *Twarikh Shamsher Khalsa* (Pathar Chhap), Sialkot, 1892, P.34.

⁴. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, (manuscript) English translation Dr. Bhagat Singh in Punjab Past and Present, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1984, P.143.

⁵. *Ibid*, P,144.

⁶. *Ibid*, P,145.

come for chastising the Sikhs. Abdul Samad Khan the Nazim of the province of Lahore, had gone to punish the Bhattis and Dogars who had created disturbances. The Emperor ordered that Bakhshi-ul-mulak Muhammad Amin Khan Bahadur should write in Abdul-Samad- Khan that wherever he might be he should reach back to give condign punishment to the Banda Singh Bahadur. Qamd-ud-Din son of Itmad-ud-Daulah, Muhammad Amin Khan that he should lead his forces to punish Banda Singh. A *Khillat* and *Farman* were sent to him through two mace-bearers including Maqsood Beg.

15th March, 1715 Tuesday (20 rabi-ul Awwal, 4th Farrukhsiyari, A.H. 1127) The emperor ordered to Afrasiyab Khan Bahadur Rustam Jang, Raja Udeep Singh, Raja Gopal Singh Bhadauria, Prithi Chand Son of Raja Daleep Singh Bundela and three hundred *mansabdars* should accompany them. The roll of the army should be prepared. This was clearly show in the writings of contemporary Muslim writer Hadi Kamwer Khan.⁷

Before this commandars of *Tehsil* of Kalanaur and Batala Suhrab Khan, Santokh Rai Qanungo, Sheikh Muhammad Dalim fought against Banda Singh bahadur with heart and full capacity but Muhammand Dalim reteered to his native place Piruwal and sat there, Most of them fled to Lahore some because of lack of resources went in distress to the mountains of Chamba, Dasuha and other places.⁸

After this Farrukhsiyar orders were issued to Diler Jang, all *faujdar*s, Saiyyid, Iradatmad Khan *Faujdar* of Aimanabed, Nur Muhammad Khan from Aurangabad and pasrur Shaikh Muhammad Daim Hafiz Ali Khan from *Pargana* Haibatpur Patti, Suhrab Khan. From Kalanur, Raja Bhim Sen Katoch, the troops of Dhrub Dev Jasrotiya, Arif Beg Khan Deputy- Governor of the Suba coming out of the city (Lahore) encamped near Shahganj. This was clearly write in the Muhammad kasim's Ibratnama.⁹

A report was presented to the emperor through Mirza Ghulam Muhammad on 19 March, 1715 Saturday (24 *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, 4th *Farruksiyari* A.H. 1127)¹⁰ the Sikhs

⁷. Ibid, P. 146, Hadi Kamwar Khan, *Taz kirat-us-Salatin* Irfan Habib, *Sikh history From Persian Sources*, Tulika, New Delhi, 2007, P.152.

⁸. Muhamad Kasim, *Ibratnama*, ed. J.S. Grewal and Irfan Habib, *Sikh history From Persian Sources*, Tulika, New Delhi, 2007, P.124.

⁹. *Ibid*, P. 125.

¹⁰. Op cit, P.146.

were encamped in certain parganas. They had reached up to a distance of twelve *Kos* from the city of Lahore. The *faujdar*s of that district had fled away. The people had gone away from their *parganas*. In the *mahals* or territories referred to above the Sikhs had set up their own Government. The Naib Nazim of the province sent *Hasan Beg* with a force of swars and foot- soldiers for the punishment of Sikhs. Mutasaddis to send Soldiers to Hasan Beg from wherever they were available. Naib Nazim told the Peshkar of the Nazim and Mir Nazim and that one thousand *swars* and the one thousand-foot Soldiers should come from the Nazim and two thousand swars and the same number of foot-Soldiers be kept ready to be sent to chastise the Sikhs. The Emperor ordered that Umdat-ul-Mulk should submit to him a report about the situation. A despatch sent by Asfand Yar of the Chakla of Jammu, informed the emperor that a person from the ferry of Hargobindpur situated on River Beas had told him that some of the Sikhs held two Boatmen and enquired from them the fordable places in the said river on the side of the Doaba Bist Jullundur. The Emperor ordered that Bakhshi-ul-Mulk Muhammad Amin Khan Bahadur should write to Abdul Samad Khan Bahadur that he should reach soon to punish the Sikhs.¹¹ On 30 - 31 March, 1715- Wednesday, Thursday. (5/6 Rabi-ul-Sani, 4th Farrukhsiyari, A.H. 1127) A report sent to emperor that the mace bearers including Hamid Beg reached there along with the imperial order under the seal of Qutab-ul-Mulk in the name of Daulat Khan Muin for the punishment of Banda Singh. They were to accompany Abdul Samad Khan. The Said Khan along with a force of five thousand swars and foot soliders reached Goindwal from Sultanpur on, 20 March, 1715. He took his men on the other side of rive Beas. The emperor ordered that Jamdat-ul Mulk should submitted the report to him. 3 April, 1715, Sunday (9 Rabi-ul-sani, 4th, Farrukhsiyar, A.H. 1127) Askar Roa harkara submitted the report or under his agent wrote from the province of Lahore that Sher Ali Khan kaka was at Lahore at that time. In the meantime, the rebel Sikhs had gone to attack the fort of 'Teeragarh'. Muhammad Yunus was firing with guns from the fort. Many of the rebles were killed. At that time the reinforcement of Sher Ali Khan reached Muhammad Yunus. Hearing the news, the said army fled away. The Khan said that till then he had not received that sanad of the auspicious reign of the Emperor. He worked in his own *Jagirs*. The Emperor

¹¹. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op cit, P.146.

ordered that Qutab-ul-Mulk should submit the report to him.¹² The *harkara* of Jalandhar Doab was submitted a report on 3 April, 1175-Sunday (9 Rabi-ul-sani, 4th *Farrukhsiyar* A.H. 1127)¹³ To the Farrukhsiyar that ,Muhammad Diam Khan, faujdar of Batala, came to the town of Jalandhar in a wounded condition. He collected an army and sent a force of five hundred swars and five hundred-foot soldiers in the direction of village of the said *pargana*. In the mean while Yusuf Beg and other mace bears went to the Nazim to give him cooperation. An army of one thousand swars and three thousand-foot soliders decided to proceed towards Lohore. The Farukhsiyar ordered that Bakhshi-ul-Mulk Muhammad Amin Khan Bahadur Should Diam Khan with whatever available should join army. He should send a report about his army to the emperor.

Farrukhsiyar received a report from the Kesho Rao¹⁴ harkara of the capital of Shahjahanabad on 7 April, 1715 Thursday (13 Rabi-ul-Sani, A.H. 1127) through the *Doroga* of the *harkaras* name Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad Khan that Qamar-ud-Din Khan Bahadur had marched away from the bank of river Jamuna. The rioters appeared from the Chakla with two thousand swars and five thousand-foot soldiers. The Sikhs suffered defeat and went inside the fortress. The soldiers of the Mughal army pulled out the Sikhs from there and they disappeared in the Chakla Khan. *Khan Bahadur* was to stay there till victory was achieved. After punishing the Sikhs in the fortress Khan Bahadur was tostartedtowards Lahore for the punishment of Banda Singh Bahadur The farrukhsiyar ordered that Muhammad Amin Khan Bahadur should send the report tohim.

Every Day fought mini battles between the Banda Singh's followers and Imperial troops. He prepared himself for any difficulty. He knew about the preparation of *Farrukhsiyar*. So, he had built a mud fortification at Kot Mirza Jan, a small village, between Kalanaur and Batala at Gurdaspur in Punjab. It made in ten or twelve days, Journey from Delhi, and extented its limts so that fifty or sixty thousand horse and foot could find protection. They strengthend the towers and walls of the place, took possession of all the cultivated land around and ravaged the country from Lahore to Sirhind.¹⁵ Banda Singh not succeeding in the short time, in digging a trench

¹². *Ibid*, P.147.

¹³. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op cit.,P. 148.

¹⁴. *Ibid*, P.148

¹⁵. Khafi Khan, *Muntkhab-ul-Lubab*,(ed.Eilliot & Dowson)*History of India As Told by its own*

and accompanied and building a mud fort to his satisfaction, fled from there, accompanied by two thousand men took to Gurdaspur which is a peasants place, founded By Bhai Duni Chand *Dervesh*. He stationed himself there, and by cuts from the Shah Nahr (Shahjahan's canal) and one or two sub Mountain streams, he drew water to the front of and around, his fort (*Garhi*) creating excessively swampy land. Neither man nor horse could go across it, and one could only after much exertion reach the foot of the fort.¹⁶ A news reached to emperor on Sunday 10 April, 1715 (16 Rabi-ul-Sani, 4th Farrukhsiyar A.H. 1127) from the Jammu Asfand Yar Khan that Banda Singh Bahadur, his son and wife were also in fort of Gurdaspur. In the Afternoon the news reached to emperor the Banda Singh Bahadur and his Sikhs returned to the old village of Gurdas Nagal and he was still besieged in the fort of Gurdaspur.¹⁷ Abdus Samad khan and all the commanders of royal troops were ready on all sides of the fort to fight with arrows and rifles. The Farrukhsiyar ordered that Abdul Samad khan, should be captured the dead or alive. The emperor received the news on 14 April, 1715 Thursday (20 rabi-ul-saini A.H. 1127)¹⁸ that Abdul Samad khan Bahadur Daler Jang, Nazim of Lahore, reached the village of Gurdaspur at the command of twelve thousand *swars* and the same number of foot-soldiers and a bigger *Topkhana*. He covered the 40 km distance between Lahore and Gurdaspur (Gurdas Nangal) in three days. He released from the possession of the Sikhs and occupied station, Kalanaur, Batala, Khalsa *Mahals* and *Jagir* of the people. Some of the Sikhs fighting with the Mughal Soldiers fled away. The Muslim royal forces besieged the fort. There was fight between rival forces with arrows.

20 April, 1715 Wednesday (26 Rabi-ul-Sani, 4th Farrukhsiyar, A.H. 1127)¹⁹ The news from the Chakla of Jammu was submitted to the Farrukhsiyar through Mirza Ghulam Muhammad that Abdus Samad Khan Bahadur Daler Jang and the faujdar of Tehsil (*Paraganas*) and the *Zamindars* of hill areas rode their horses to have a scene of the fortress of Gurdaspur. Sikhs came out of the fort and were made captives. The remaining fled inside the fort. Most of Islamic forces were either killed or wounded. It was found that a companion of the Sikh leader was injured who later died. The Sikhs came out of the fort and brought pieces of wood from the village of

Historians, Vol. VII, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1956, P. 456

¹⁶. Muhammad Kasim, op cit., P.125.

¹⁷. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op cit, P.146.

¹⁸. *Ibid*, P.148.

¹⁹. *Ibid*, P.150.

Kotli and they strengthened their entrenchments. Hearing this Khan Bahadur deputed Dharat Dev and other Zamindars to fight against the Sikhs and that they did. Some of the Sikhs were wounded and that others went inside the fort. It became known that there were *pyada* match-lockmen and the archers inside the fortress. Most of the swars moved away towards the fort of Banhwan etc. Farrukhsiyar ordered that Bakshshi-ul-Mulk Muhammad Amin Khan Bahadur should write to Abdul Samad Khan Bahadur that Banda Singh Bahadur should be killed or caught alive. Arif Beg Deputy-Governor said about the bold actions of Sikhs, every day twice or thrice, forty or fifty of those came out of the fortress and carry back fodder for their animals from the outside when the soldiers of royal army tried to stop them. Sikhs cut the Mughals down with muskets, arrows and the shoot arms and went on their way.²⁰ The Sikhs fought so fiercely and they showed the greatest bravery Great numbers was killed on both sides. Sikhs were defeated but they made their stronghold. The men of the Islamic forces lacked courage and bravery to facethem.

A News from Jammu was submitted on 23 April, 1715 Saturday and 25 April, 1715 Monday (29 Rabi-ul-Sani and 2 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, A.H. 1127)²¹ to Farrukhsiyar that Banda Singh had come out of the fortress of Gurdaspur. But it was a false gossip. He moved about whenever he wanted to plunder the villages. The Sikhs also took inside the fortress the grass for the consumption of their horses. Whenever Sikhs came in the entrenchment they were either killed or wounded in the fighting with arrows and rifles. A person from the Sikhs was made captive and brought to the Mughal camp. He disclosed that the insolent Sikhs had collected from the surrounding villages a lot of iron inside the fortress and they had also secured the guns and had a lot of gun-power with them. Farrukhsiyar ordered that Itmad-ul-Daulah should write an express letter to Abdul Samad Khan (inquiring about the situation there).

This time was favourable for the Mughal army. They succeeded day by the day over the Sikhs but Sikhs did not loose courage. The period of siege three or five month continued. The officials at the Imperial court attributed the delay to the negligence and the briskness of the market (of self-interest).

The Lahore news from Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq was presented on 28 April 1715 Tuesday (5 jamadi-ul-Awwal, A.H.1127) to the emperor through Hadi Khan the

²⁰. Muhammad Kasim, op cit, P.125.

²¹. *Ibid*, P. 150

news reader that Abdul Samad Khan, Nazim of the Suba of Lahore, had requisitioned a big Gun from the fort for battering the fortress (*Garhi*) of Gurdaspur where Banda Singh be sieged. The Gun with its accessories were sent through the transport Department. Farrukhsiyar ordered that Bakhshi- ul-Mulk Itmad-ud-Daulah Bahadur should write to Abdul Samad Khan Bahadur about operations against the Sikhs.²²

In the meantime, those Sikhs who had not join the Banda Singh Bahadur, they have started their activities all over in Punjab. The news received to the emperor that there was no law and order in Punjab. The robber's had dacoity in the villages. Nobody can cash hand over with him. Therewas robbers were dispossessing the travellers. They took away along with the goods of travellers. Singh's wanted to loose the courage of Mughals. But Abdus Samad Khan did not move anywhere. Isa Khan Muin also joined the Abdus Khan. It removed the Sikhs that had strayed away Nurple. Daulat Khan Muin tookfighting with the Sikhs. The royal forces were victorious, Sikhs fledaway.

The siege lasted a long time, and the Sikhs exhibited great courage and daring.²³ To relate all the struggles and exertions of Abdul Samad and his companions in arms would exceed our bounds. Suffice it to say Abdus Samad Khan cutting off from Banda Singh his followers his supplies of corn and fodder, and the stores in the fort were exhausted. But the Sikhs every day twice or thrice, forty or fifty of those black faced (Sikhs) ones would came out (*Garhi*) and from outside carry back fodder for their animals. Every time men of this army reached up to them and tried to stop they cut the Mughals down with arrows, muskets and shoot arms and went on their way.²⁴

Muhammad Qasim who pursued a Goverment accountant in Delhi Darbar writers about him. He saw the fear from the Mughals force of the Sikhs. The commanders of this army that all the time they raised their hands in prayer begging of God that Banda Singh come out of his *Garhi* (fort) and take to flight as on Lohgarh seiged.²⁵ Because they are all Mughal employees but their lives was in much danger. But the period of three or four months passed away. The siege of *Garhi* continued. Abdus Samad Khan besieges the Banda Singh Bahadur and his followers for one year

²². Muhammad Kasim, op cit, P.151.

²³. Khafi Khan, op cit, P.457

²⁴. Muhammad Qasim, op cit, P.125

²⁵. *Ibid*, P.125

in such a rigorous manner that from nowhere could they receive food, lead, or gun powder. During this period heavy battles took place between the Muslims and the infidels around the lines of the siege. In these battles countless people from amongst those (Sikhs) were slain or captured. This event clearly show in the writings of the contemporary Persian writer Mirza Muhammad Harsi.²⁶

In the surrounding areas, Sikhs were fighting with the royal troops Bakht Singh and his companions had entered in the Nurpur which was the area of Dayadhta. They were plundered the food grains for the sieged Sikhs Brar sub-caste attached the Bahadurpur, Seona. Rebels fighting with arrows, muskets with the royal forces. The Royal army was victorious. A news received on 21 May, 1715 Saturday (28 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 4th Farrukhsiyari, and A.H. 1127) in Mughal Court. Safwi Khan was in the fold of Abdus, Samad Khan's army their belonging were to be confiscated and 22 May, 1715 Sunday (29-Jumadi-ul-Awwal, 4thFarrukhsiyar.

A.H. 1127) Sikandar Khan was honoured with a khillat and sent to join the army of Bakhsi-ul-Mumalik. In this up down's on 14 June, 1715 Sunday (22 Jamadi-ul-sani, 4th Farrukhsiyar A.H. 1127). A news from the army of Abdul Samad Khan Bahadur was sent by Haider Quli Khan and and submitted to the emperor through Hadi Khan.²⁷ The news reader said in the Mughal court that a large numbers of the Sikhs were more killed or made captive. More than two hundred heads of the slain Sikhs were counted. Abdul Samad Khan Bahadur gave a reward of rupees ten for each head with (full grown) hair brought to him. He who brought a head without hair (or with hair cut) was given five rupees-Later also the same practice of paying cash awards for killing the Sikhs continued. Abdu's Samad Khan started fighting with the Sikhs who came towards the entrenchment of him. Many Sikhs was injured, killed. The Emperor ordered that rainy season had approached. They should quickly condign punishment to the Sikhs. Banjaras were also Nanak-worshippers in the Mughal court.²⁸A News received from the Chakla of Kangra to the Farrukhsiyar Banjaras were staying in the *taqlluqas* of Heer chand and Daya Dhamma and those of Zamindars of the Khalsa Mahals (land). The spies provided the Sikhs with food-grains, arrows and rifles, Banjaras should bepunished.

²⁶. Mirza Mohammed Harsi, *Ibratnama*,(ed.J.S. Grewal and Irfan Habib)*Sikh history from Persian sources*, Tulika, New Delhi 2007, P.138.

²⁷. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op. cit., P.154

²⁸. *Ibid*, P. 157.

In spite of the all Abdus Samad Khan did not far away from Gurdas Nangal- They tight the besieged every day. Abdus Samad Khan no less than many mens would be required to prevent escape of the besieged, Qamr-ud-din were also Join the royal army. He succeeded in capturing the ditch. A line were made with the cannon shot surrounding the fortress (*Garhi*) by the various commanders. One side Qamr-ud-din, Abdus Samad Khan and Zakriya khan or two sides fourth made over to the Faujdars and Zamindars Tents pitched close together all-round he roped the fort.²⁹ Abdus Samad Khan now forward his approaches. His approaches had reached the main gate. Sikhs maintained great courage. From the news received from the Punjab it reported that the Imperial forces had driven the besieged to drive straits, and every day as a party of the Sikhs comes out it gets slain. For protect themselves and their horses they threw up basements ten or twenty yards long and they sheltered in it. Sikhs did not aware of it. They built a wall surrounding the *Garhi*. Baba Binod Singh carried away Shirni and other eatables from the bazaar of the besieger's camp.

The whole of the camp was struck at the boldness of the old Sikh.³⁰ All efforts of Abdus Samad Khan proved fruitless. Sikhs did not loose their courage Abdus samad khan had lost all hopes of success even they want to capture Baba Binod Singh. If they watched him in the evening, he attacked morning, if they see him morning Baba attacked him in the afternoon. They impressed with bravery their and respect for their fighting qualities. Imperial troops had been rushed forward. one men had been cutting the trees. They made a circle round of woods around the *Garhi*. The trunks of the tree laids on the every distance and put a dig at the foot of the stockade. In spite of all blockades and obstacles the Sikhs of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur continued his efforts and do heavy losses of their enemies Before Abdus Samad Khan had reached main gate, Qamar-ud-din had reached near the ditch and a bastion from where the musket balls threw up. Zakriya Khan succeeded in capturing the second gate. Which one chiefly used other commander rushed forward their destination. Sikhs hammed in from all sides.³¹

This became impossible for the Sikhs to bring in anything from outside. Their imprisonment for eight long months had finished their already small stock of

²⁹. William Irvin, *Farrukhsiyar Namah*.

³⁰. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1999, P. 138.

³¹. William Irvin, P. 314.

provisions. Not a grain being left in their store house. Scarcity of food now commenced its damaging effects amongst the besieged Sikhs. Sikhs were reduced to great boundaries. They are said to have made introduction to the Muhammadan Soldiers, from over their walls, to buy a little cereal from them at the price of two or three rupees a kilogramme.³²

The Fort had besieged by the Mughal forces in the month of April now passed the eight months. A Difference of views produced between the Baba Banda Singh Bahadur and Binod Singh wanted using their old tactics of trimming through the enemy's lines for a safe place Banda Singh was not favour of it. Because he know best logic fort of it. So, the Binod Singh cut through the surrounding and was off in immediate. Baba Binod Singh, Baba Kahn Singh and adopted son At Singh had been Joining hands with the Mughals. Baba Kahn Singh made a commander in army Subedar Lahore.³³ So, Banda Singh Bahadur had well known about their cheating But the Suffering of steervation increasing day by day. In the absence of grain, horses, asses and other animals were converted into food and eaten. They slaughtered oxen and other animals and not having any firewood, ate the flesh raw. Many died of dysentery and privation.³⁴ When all the grass was gone, they gathered leaves from tress. When these were consumed, they stripped the park and broke off the small shoots, dried them, ground them and used them instead of flour, thus keeping the body and soul together. They also collected the bones of animals and used them in small way. Some assert that they saw a few of them cutting flash from their own things, roasting it and eating it. In spite of them the infernal Sikhs chief and his men, with stood all the military force that the great Mughal Empire coumuster against them for the eight-long month.³⁵

The fear of the Sikhs pressurised the mind of soldiers of Mughal army.³⁶ All the time they raised their hands in prayer begging of God that the (Banda Singh) come out of the his fort (*Garhi*) and take to flight as a previous occasions, so that the need for employment (Hangama- i-Naukari) and the credit and prestige of the (imperial)

³². Khafi Khan, op.cit., P. 457, Ratan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, William Irvin, *later Mughals*, P.314

³³. Ratan Singh Bhangu, *Shri Guru Panth Prakash* (ed.jeet Singh Sheetal), S. G. P. C., Amritsar, 1981, P.P.227-28

³⁴. Khafi Khan, op.cit, P.P. 762-63, Ratan Singh Bhangu, opcit, P.P.182-184

³⁵. Hadi kamwar Khan, op.cit,

³⁶. Muhammad Qasim op. cit., P.125

servants might continue to be on the increase (without involving much danger to the themselves. After long besiege the store of grain were empty. How long could this continue, Duni chand the owner of the hawali was joined the Mughal Forces. He knew about the all the ways of Hawali: with the help of Duni chand Mughal authorities shut the all the ways of ups and downs. No hope of help came outside the *Hawali (Garhi)*. The coming time of Banda Singh Bahadur and his followers was too hard. The families of Banda Singh Bahadur and his Sikhs were also there. It was very sad that how children could can alive without food. But they had all accepted the will of God. Giani Giyan Singh says in *Panth Parkaash* a letter of Banda Singh Bahadur had been written to Bhai Mani Singh,

Guru fateh // Man jog Bhai o veri ne jabar dast Ghera Ghatios //

Anaz pani di koi Amad nahi // privar sakhat mushikil mein hain //
Niane roe jat hai // Sikh sangata Nu sabhi hathiar dekher bhejo kisi
vakat ka Bhrosa nahi // Bunge Sahib Ardass Karan // Khalse ke Fateh
Hog// Asa Antim sme teek Jujhne Da Name Kistos//

This letter shows the endless bravery of the Banda Singh Bahadur and he continued his connection with in Bhai Mani Singh. The siege was getting very hard every day. The common man of villages and towns were also joined the Mughal Army. Surroundings of Gurdas Nagal many Sikhs were killed Sikhs were very helpless. They had not been searched to his Guru.

He had accepted that it is the will of God. It was the time to sacrifices. He had been assured that not to surrender in front of enemy. On the 26 (1 May 1715) from the news received from the Punjab to the emperor that the imperial forces had driven the besieged to dire straits, and every day as a party of the rebels comes out it gets slain.³⁷

Their never ending steervation and the devouring of uneatable and unconsumable things, like the shoots of trees and dry bones of dead animals wrecked their physical system and produced a bloody flax which carried them away by hundreds and thousands. The obnoxious smell of putrid bodies of the dead and dying

³⁷. Hadi kamwar Khan op cit, P.52

men and animals made the place uninhabitable.³⁸ The survivors were reduced to mere skeletons. There were all half-dead, unable to use their muskets. Their magazines were emptied of the content and it became practically impossible for them to offer any resistance and continue the defence any longer.

But agree by this view that he was a great warrior. He had wanted to die in the battlefield in spite of die with hunger. So, the Banda Singh Bahadur and his followers had been attacked on the Mughal army and fell into the battlefield.

Banda Singh Bahadur had come out from the fort (*Garhi*) with his four thousand followers.

They started the fight against the enemies.³⁹

Ahmed Shah Batalvi said that, a fort was made by the Sikhs, where twenty-five thousand Sikhs were present, food and fodder was empty. Mughal army attacked on four sides and entered the fort and captured the Banda Singh and his followers.⁴⁰

Very favourable writing of the James Browne. Writes by the time the siege had lasted a month, the besieged finding their provisions and ammunition fail them and being determined to sell their lives as soon as possible, they sallied out of the fort sword in hand. A desperate, but unequal conflict ensued, the greater part of the Sikhs were cut in pieces on the spot many were taken prisoners, in which number was their leader Banda Singh Bahadur who was confined in an iron cage and together with the other prisoners was sent to Delhi.⁴¹

Asrar Samadi is a contemporary writing. This was written by Munshi Jyot Parkash. He was the Munshi was eyewitness of this moment. He was not write about the eaten ass and oxen by the Sikhs anywhere. This happened due to the mercy of God.⁴²

Keser Singh Chibber written about the siege of Gurdas Nangal.

*Lok Girde De Pahariye Bulaye, Sablana nal Gurdaspur nu Ghera
Paye Roj Larai Hove nit / Banda Nahi Nikle Mal Betha vich ander
Na Anaz Na Ghah Na Lakri Hove Dik Naale Bhukhe, Duni Chand
una aye pakri Kuthali Baai Gurdaspur, Bachan Bande Sahib Da*

³⁸. Ganda Singh op cit, P.141

³⁹. Gyani Gyan Singh, op cit, P.35.

⁴⁰. Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Teerikh-i-Punjab*, Punjabi University Patiala 1969, P.P.33-34.

⁴¹. Major James Browne, *History of Oregon and progress of the Sikhs*, (ed. Ganda Singh) Calcutta, 1962, P.30.

⁴². Gurbaksh Singh, *Asrar samdi*, Punjabi translation, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, P.P.12-13

*Aye chnura.*⁴³

Means Gurdaas Nangal had sieged by the Mughals. He was fought inside the fort and not to come out of fort. There was not only food, grass and sticks, by steervation they left their horses which were caught by Mughal Army. The Siege of Gurdaas Nangal made hard shell for the Sikhs. It was the time of examination.

So, all this writing prove this Banda Singh Bahadur was fell down in the time of conflict. Between the Royal troops and Banda Singh. It anywhere written about to eat ass and oxen in these writings.

At the end on Wednesday the 21st zi-ul-Hijja, 1127 (17th December, 1715) the Sikh enclosure at Gurdas Nangal the *Garhi*, fell into the hands of besiegers.⁴⁴ The surviving Sikhs inthe *Ihata*, as we know, had been physically incapacitated and disabled to continue the defence. Abdus Samad Khan holding a piece of good fortune and confirmation of imperial glory, took it as a gain and after giving a pledge and promise of sparing his life summoned him (Banda) to his presence and reassured him. Abdus Samad Khan was not fufill to keep his promise. The Islamic soldiers fell upon the half dead Sikhs like hungry wolves. Muslim soldiers along with over two thousand armed person came out of the fort. He saw Khan Ghazi who made all of them, including their deceitful leader, prisoners and posted thus worthy men as guards over them. This incident took place on Wednesday, 21, zil hijja 1127 A. H. (18 December, 1715).⁴⁵

Abdus Samad Khan had captured the Banda Singh Bahadur and his followers.⁴⁶ 13 December, 1715 Monday (26 zil-Hijja 4th Farrukhsiyar, A.H.1127) Abdus Samad Khaan Baahadur Daler Jung, Nazim of the province of Lohore, who had besieged Banda Singh Bahadur in the fortress of Gurdaspur sent a report to the emperor. It was presented to him through Bakhshi-ul-Mulk Itmad-ud-Daulh Muhammad Amin khan chin Bahadur Nusrat Jang. The emperor was informed that he (Abdul Samad Khan Bahadur) had captured he alive and taken possession of the fortress. They had achieved Great victory. After the submission of the report Emperor ordered that they should celebrate the victory over Banda Singh Bahadur by beating

⁴³. Kesar Singh Chibber, *Bansawali Namah Dasan Patshahyi ka*, Magazine Ratan Singh Jaggi (ed.) *Parakh*, Punjabi University, Chandigarh.

⁴⁴. Mohammad kasim, op cit, P.126

⁴⁵. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, op cit, P.139

⁴⁶. Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, op cit, P.154

the drums. Therefore, the necessary compliance was made. An elephant symbolising the auspicious victory was presented to the emperor. He ordered that four gunny bags filled with paisas should be thrown over the elephant by Way of charity.

Ganda Singh and Karam Singh historian writes about the numbers of capturing Singhs approximately two hundred. Abdus Samad Khan had some two hundred of them bound hands and foot. But I am not agree with this views. It (capturing Sikhs) was the numbers of Sikhs two thousands. It proves by the royal court news. On December 13, 1715 Tuesday (27 zil-Hijja, 4th farrukhsiyar, A.H. 1127) Muhammad Amin Khan Bahadur informed the emperor that Abdul Samad Khan had captured Banda Singh Bahadur with a thousand of Sikhs.⁴⁷ Mirza Muhammad Haarsi.⁴⁸ Says about the numbers of capturing Sikhs two thousands.

The letter of John Seman and Advard Siephehson gave an authentic numbers. Firstly this letter presented by C.R. Wilson in his book some days ago they entered in the city leden with fetters, his whole attendants which were left alive being about seven hundred and eighty.⁴⁹ Ganda Singh tells that they were seven hundred forty.⁵⁰ In actual this was the seven hundred eighty. Wife of Banda Singh Bahadur, Rattan Kaur and his son Ajay Singh also included in this.

At the very time when Farrukhsiyar was celebrating the anniversary of his victory over Jahandar Shah. It was by the grace of God and not by wisdom or bravery says Kamvar Khan that this came to happen. Otherwise it is known to everyone that late emperor Bahadur Shah, with the four royal price and numerous high officials, had made efforts to repress this rebellion, but it was all fruitless, and now that infidel of the Sikh and a few thousand of his companions have been steerved into surrender.⁵¹

The dead bodies of the Sikhs were ripped open in search of gold coins supposed to have been swallowed by them, and their heads were then stuffed with hay and mounted on spears.⁵² From Gurdas Nangal, Banda Singh and other Sikhs were taken to Lahore. Although he had been captured and prisoned, yet the dread of his supernatural powers was so indelibly impressed upon the minds of his enemies that

⁴⁷. Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, op cit,P,159

⁴⁸. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, opcit, P.139.

⁴⁹. C.R. Wilson, *early annals of the English in Bengal*, volume 2, part 2, culcutta, 1911, P.P.96-98.

⁵⁰. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Amritsar, 1938, P.219.

⁵¹. Hadi kamwar Khan, opcit, P.152.

⁵². Ibid, pp. 178-179.

every moments they were afraid of his escape on the road. All the Sikhs were brought in chains to Delhi and leading them were the royal forces who were having about 2000 slaughtered Sikh heads with them and which were being displayed all along the way right on top of their spears and even on the bamboo sticks. Mirza Muhammad Harsi says that Farrukhsiyar ordered that khan Ghazi should despatch those accursed people under the escort of Qamr-ud-din Khan Bahadur son of Nawab Itmad-ud-Dulla, the son of Chin Bahadur and Zakariya khan, Bahadur, his Abdus Samad Khan's own son, to the court and so according to the imperial order, this was done.

The order was issued by Farrukhsiyar that Itimad-ud-Dalula Bahadur should go there and bring that doomed crew, in the manner that is suitable for this, to the imperial presence.⁵³

On the 15th Rabi-ul-Awwal 1128 (25 Feb, 1716)⁵⁴ the arrival of the prisoners at Agharabad was reported to the emperor at Delhi. Itmad-ud-Daula Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur was at once sent out by him to make necessary arrangements for bringing the Sikh chief and his followers in procession from Agharabad to the imperial palace.

On Thursday, the 17th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1128 (27 Feb 1716) Banda Singh and the other Sikhs prisoners were conducted in a procession to the city of Delhi.⁵⁵ The ceremonial on this occasion was copied from that observed after the capture of the Maratha Sambha. Malice did its utmost to cover the vanquished with ridicule and shame first came the heads of the executed Sikhs, stuffed with straw and stuck on bamboos, their long hair streaming in the wind like a veil and long with them to show that every living creature in Gurdaspur had perished a dead cat on a pole.⁵⁶

Banda Singh himself came next, seated on an iron cage placed on an elephant and dressed out of mockery. Wearing a Kim Khwab jama (long heavy skirted court dress) a Pomegranate flowered Gold brocade, and a Gold embroidered turban of fine red cotton cloth, one of the Soldiers from amongst the Turani Mughal retainers of Muhammad Amin Khan with a drawn sword stood behind him.⁵⁷ After Banda Singh's

⁵³. Syed Mohammed Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 1891, New Delhi, 1964, P. 279

⁵⁴. Hadi kamwar Khan, op cit, P.153

⁵⁵. *Ibid*, P.179

⁵⁶. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, P.180

⁵⁷. C.R. Wilson, opcit, P. 13-14, William Irwan, *The political history of the Sikhs*, (Asiatic)

elephant, came the other Sikh prisoners, seven hundred and forty in number, tied two and two saddleless camels. Some of the main leadership who rode nearest to their chief's elephant, were dressed in sheep-skins with the woolly side turned outward so that the people might compare them to bears. One hand of each man attached to his neck by a two-armed wooden frame, closed by an iron pin on their heads were high caps of ridiculous shape made of sheep-skin and wooden frame. To see this doomed crew (Banda) many people gathered from the city and suburbs that it was difficult to move in the roads and streets and hard to breathe. Hadi Kamwar Khan had written his eye witness account.

He said, on this day (of their arrival) I went to the Salt Market to witness the event and accompanied them from there to the imperial fort of the people of the city there were few who did not come to see the humbling of those Sikhs. Large crowds gathered in every lane and market such as had seldom appeared before. The Muslims were happy and in a festive mood. Yet many of those Sikhs, who had come as prisoners in this condition, insisted on standing fast by their villainy. There was no sign of humility and submission on their faces rather most of them, riding on the camel's backs, kept singing and reacting melodious verses. If anyone in the lanes and bazaar reminded them of the cruelties they had committed, which brought them to this condition, they gave immediate and manly retorts, and attributed their capture and humiliation to the doings of fate. If anyone told them that they would now be executed, they replied, let them kill us! We do not fear death. Had we feared it, how could we have fought so many battles with you? We have fallen in your hands only because of hunger and lack of provisions, otherwise, you would have come to know of our bravery for more than has been witnessed till now.⁵⁸ One another Muslim writer Sayyid Muhammad Ali presented there. In his book *Tabsirat-ul-Nazirin*, He says, that was the result of their arrogance and insolence. He put his hand on his forehead to express that it was predestined. The expression of his meaning at that time pleased very much.⁵⁹

Not all, the insults of their enemies had inflicted could rob the brave disciples of Guru Gobind Singh of their natural dignity. It expressed is very well in *Siyar-ul-mutakhrien* without any sign of dejection shame they rode on, calm and cheerful, even

quarterly, 1894, pp, 420-31.

⁵⁸. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, opcit, P.P.140-41

⁵⁹. Ganda Singh, op cit, P.148

anxious to die the death of martyrs.⁶⁰ Emperor Farrukhsiyar ordered that Banda Singh, Baj Singh, Fateh Singh and a few other Ibrahim-ud-din Khan Mir Atish to be imprisoned at *Teerpoliya* and his three-year old son, his wife and the son's nurse were handed over to Darban Khan, Nazim (superintendent) of the Harmand in take care of mother of Farrukhsiyar (*Dakhni Began*).⁶¹ Six hundred and ninety four persons amongst his followers were handed over to Sarbarah Khan, the *Kotwal*. In a report of 5 March, 1716 Monday (22 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 5th Faruksyar, A.H. 1128) write about this.⁶² The Emperor ordered that one hundred men be murdered every day and they should be free from this massacre in a week's time Sarbarah Khan Kotwal killed one hundred companions of the Banda Singh Bahadur in front of the plat from of the *Kotwali*. On 6 March, 1716 Tuesday (23 Rabi-ul-Awaal, 5th Farrukhssiyar, and A.H 1128) emperor ordered that out of the seven hundred companions of Banda Singh who in the *chabutra* of *Kotwali* seventeen companies of the Sikhs should be brought inside the auspicious fort and handed over to Tikka Ram who held the rank of one thousand in a cavalry. The order was executed.

A letter dated Delhi, 10 March, 1716 written by Messrs John surman and Edward Stephenson to the Hon'ble Robert Hedges, President and Governors of fort William, etc. council in Bangal. These gentlemen and their secreteery Hugh Barker, were then present in the Mughal capital as ambassadors of the East India Company's council in Bengal to the court of emperor Farrukhsiyar. They maintained a regular Diary of the events. so this letter is an eyewitness account. They had seen the massacre of the Sikhs at Delhi in 1716 with naked eyes. They write in this letter.

Letter XII

The Honourable Robert Hedges Esq.

President Governor of fort William, Council in Bengal Honourable sirs, etc.

We wrote your honour on the 7th Ultime since which have received no letters.

The great Rebel Gooroo (Banda Singh) who has been for these 20 years so troublesome in the subaship (*suba*) of Lahore bis at length taken with all his family and attendance by Abdus-samad- Khan cawn the *suba* (subedar, i.e. Governor) of that province. Some days ago that entered the city laden with fetters, his whole attendants

⁶⁰. Ganda Singh, op cit, P. 149

⁶¹. Hadi kamwer Khan op.cit, P.153

⁶². *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op cit, P.161

which were left alive being about seven hundred and eighty all severally mounted on camels which were sent out of the city for that purpose, besides about two thousand heads stuck upon poles, being those who died by the sword in battle. He was carried into the presence of the king and from thence to close prison. He at present has his life prolonged with most of his mutsuddys in the hope to get an account of his treasure in the several parts of his kingdom and of those that assisted him, when afterwards he will be executed, for the rest there are 100 each day beheaded. It is not a little remarkable with what patience they undergo their fate, and so the last it has not been found that one apostatised from his new formed Religion.

Dilly Honourable sir & sirs

*Your most obedient humble servants. John Surman, Edvard Stephenson
Cojee Seerhaud assenting Hugh Barker, Secrteary.*⁶³

This letter shows the actual seen of the massacre of Sikhs at Delhi by Mughals. This was so terrible. The *chabutra* (platform) in front of the *Kotwali* was the place meant for carrying out executions of rebels and criminals Earlier it was here that Guru Tegh Bahadur and his large number of followers were martyred, one hundred of the Sikh prisoners were taken out of their prison every day and were seated in lines in *qatalgah* (platform used for executions') None of them proved false to his Guru and welcome death with undaunted spirit. Each presented his head before executioner with cheerful face and with the words *WaheGuru* on his lips William Irvine writers, all observers Indian and European, unite in remarking on the wonderful patience and resolution with which these men met their fate. Their attachment and devotion to their leader were wonderful to behold. They had no fear of death, and they called their executions, *Mukta* (deliverer).⁶⁴ These people would dispute with each other for priority in execution. All Muslim writer was praise them for this emotion of sacrifices for unequality and faith in Guru. For a whole week, the sword of executioners worked on the Sikhs. All the Sikh prisoners were beheaded. After their heads had been severed from their bodies, the bodies were thrown into a heap, and at nightfall they loaded in carts taken out of the city and hung up the trees. Harsi also says about this On Wednesday 23rd of the month, I went witness their execution but by the time I reached there, the executions were over the bodies of those person has

⁶³. Ganda Singh opcit, P. 55

⁶⁴. William Pawan op cit, P. 315.

just fallen, however, and were writing in blood and dust.⁶⁵

Many stories are told about the sacrifices of the Sikhs their decorations to their faith and their leader (Banda Singh Bahadur). The author Khafi Khan elaborates what he saw with his own eyes. The story in his views are when the executions were going on the mother of one of the prisoners, a young man just arrived at manhood, having obtained some influential support, pleaded the cause of her son with great feeling and earnestness before the emperor and said 'Abdu-allah Khan. She represented that her son had suffered imprisonment and hardship at the hands of the sect. His property was plundered, and he made prisoner. While in captivity he was, without any fault of his own, introduced into the sect, and now stood innocent among those sentenced to death. Farrukhsiyar commiserated this artful woman, and mercifully sent an officer with orders to release the youth. That cunning woman arrived with the order of release just as the executioner was standing with his bloody sword upheld over the youngman's head. She showed the order for his release. The youth then broke out into complaints saying, my mother tells a lie hood. I with heart and soul join my fellow-believers in devotion to the Guru send me quickly after my companions.⁶⁶ The story of this young man was not written by any Hindu writer even this was written by a Muslim writer who were the prejudiced with the Sikhs. He tells the Sikhs like as a dog so all this prove that courage and feeling of sacrifices is remarkable part of the Sikhs. On the half of month of March all the Sikh prisoners were executed. Zakriya Khan then went to the fort and delivered to the Tahsildar, or the officer in charge of the royal treasure the following Sikh arms and valuable that he had brought with him from Lahore sword one thousand, shields-two hundred seventy eight, Bows and quivers one hundred seventy three match locks one hundred eighty Daggers (jam dhar) Mohars twenty four, long knives (kard) two hundred seventeen, Gold ornaments few. The list of arms taken and money seized, does not give a very exalted notion of either the military strength or the wealth of the Sikh leader.⁶⁷ In the fortress of Gurdas Nangal and it is really astonishing that with so scanty resources the Sikhs so determinedly resisted the greatest Empire of the day for such a long time.⁶⁸

This list of arms had given by Kamwar Khan. This was those objects which had

⁶⁵. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, P. 141.

⁶⁶. Khafi Khan, op.cit., P.P. 458-459

⁶⁷. William Irwin, op.cit, P.315

⁶⁸. Hadi Kamwar Khan op.cit, P.179

been deposited in the treasure of emperor. But the writer does not tell about those objects which are taken from the fortress (*Garhi*). On this bases Ganda Singh and Karam Singh Historian says about less numbers of the Sikhs. Remember these arms and object does not show the numbers of Sikhs in the fortress. Ten thousand Sikhs were joined the Banda Singh with the fortress. Arms, weapons and object are too much. This list of arms and object which were stored in the *Toshakhana* (store). On 9th June, 1716 (29 Jmadi- ul-sani, 1128 SammatHijri) Banda Singh Bahadur and his seventeen companions were taken to Mehroli from the fort of Tripolia, for execution ‘Tropolia’ means fortress of three gates. 9 June is last day of martyrdoms. In which the time period between the 15 march to 9th June⁶⁹ Banda Singh bahadur and his followers had been tortured. The Mughal emperor Farukhsiyar, Mughal *Vazirs*, commanders, *Kazis*, *Mallunas* had been paid total attention to the Banda Singh and his followers.

All the bones of prisoners were broken. He was taken through the streets of old city to the shrine of Khwaja Qutab-ud-Din Bakhtiyar kaki, where he was paraded round the tomb of the late emperor Bahadur Shah. It was very likely that the execution of Banda Singh his Infant son and seventeen leaders of his camp had been shifted on the last day to a more or less deserted place near the town of Mehrauli, perhaps to commit the ghostly crime out of public gaze. 9 June, 1716 Saturday (29th Jamadi-ul-sani, 5th Farrukhsiyari A.H.1128) the emperor ordered that Ibrahim-ud-din, Mir-i-Atish and sarbarah khan kotwal should take Banda Singh from the fort of Tripolia to the mausoleum of Khawaja Qutab-ud-Din opposite the mausoleum of Emperor Bahadur Shah. His tongue and eyes should be pulled out and skin be torn off from his flesh. His bones be separated from his flesh and his son be also killed.⁷⁰

After Banda Singh dismounted and seated on the ground he offered the usual choice between Islam and death. But the chosen disciple of Guru Gobind Singh, as the author of the *Teerikh-i- Muzaffari* calls him, chose to lay down his life like a devoted follower then to abjure his faith for the sake of enjoying a few more years of life.⁷¹ The emperor ordered that first by his son should be killed with lack of mercy.⁷² But a father cannot kill his son. He refused and said that he saw how Islam can kill

⁶⁹. M.L. Ahluwalia, P.20

⁷⁰. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op cit, P.165

⁷¹. Munshi Ghulam Hussain, *Seir-ul-Muktakharin*, Elliot & Dowson (ed) *History of India as told by it is our historians*, Volume 7, Kitab Mahal., Allahabad ,1956, P.91

⁷². Khafi Khan, op.cit, P.158

innocentchild.

The executioner hacked the child and cut his body into pieces with a long knife, dragged out his quivering heart and thrust it into the mouth of his father Banda Singh Bahadur and he stood unmoved like a statue and completely resigned to Guru's will.

A news sent to Emperor that he has not accepted the Islam. Emperor had gone to Banda Singh Bahadur personally and asking the questions after all what do you want. Your son was killed. You will be killed now. Ismad-ud-Daula Muhammad Amin khan having had the opportunity to come close and to look at Banda Singh, surprised at the nobleness of his features and could not help addressing him, it is surprising that one, who shows so much acuteness in his features and so much acuteness in his features and so much of nobility in his conduct, should have been guilty of such horrors and of such detestable actions to Hindus and Musulmans. Banda Singh Bahadur replied, "in all religions and sects, whenever disobedience and rebellion among mortal men passes all bounds the great avenger raises up a severe man like me for the punishment of their sins and due reward of their words.

When he wishes to disolate the world, He places dominion in the hands of a tyrant. Means when he desires to give the tyrant the recompense of his works, he sends a strong man like you to prevail over him, and to gave him his due reward in this world as you I can see.

First of all, his right eye was removed by the point of a butcher's knife and then his left. His left foot was cut off next and then his two hands were severed from his body. His flesh was then torn with red hot pincers and finally he was decapitated and hacked to pieces limb by limb. Banda Singh remained calm and serene amidst these tortures completely resigned to will of God and the Guru and died unshaken constancy. Elphinstone says, Gloring, in having been raised up by God to be a courage to the iniquities and oppressions of the age.⁷³ This report submitted in Mughal court on 10 June, 1716, Sunday (1 Rajab, 5th Farrukhsiyari, and A.H. 1128).⁷⁴ According to his orders Ibrahim-ud-din khan Mir-i-Atish and Sarbrah khan kotwal took away Banda Singh Bahadur along with his son and his eighteen companions towards the

⁷³. Khafi Khan, op.cit, P.P. 458-59.

⁷⁴. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, op. cit, P. 62.

mausoleum of khawaja Qutab-ud-Din adjacent to the tank of khoja fatu. Muhammed Amin Khan had sit there. The parts of body was packed in box by Amin Khan. The wife of Banda Singh Bahadur Ratna (Sushil Kaur) had been suicided in the *mehal* of *dakhni begam*. Bhangu Ratan Singh and Bhai Gian Singh gave a information, Banda Singh was dragged behind a horse and thrown away in a unknown state which he recovered and disappeared.⁷⁵ The imaginary stories of Banda Singh Bahadur may be dismissed as incredible in the face of clear accounts of eye-witnesses and contemporaries, who all declare that he was executed at Delhi, have been subject to untold tortures and hacked to pieces limb by limb. His companions were also killed.

How this martyrdom of Banda Singh Bahadur is very attributed and remarkable. The families that were arrested all attained the martyrdom then Banda Singh Bahadur has seen sacrifices of them and at last he had attained martyrdom.⁷⁶ This was a great massacre. It has a great importance in the history.

⁷⁵. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, op.cit. P.166.

⁷⁶. Rattan Singh Bhangu, op. cit, P. 352.

CHAPTER-5

PERSONAILITY AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The career of Banda Singh Bahadur undoubtedly proves that he was a man of bold spirit and undoubted courage. An able and enterprising leader, he was rightly selected by Guru Gobind Singh not as his successor, but as an agent for chastising the tyrant and shaking the very foundations of the tyrannical Mughal rule.

The writings of Muslim courtiers written by pro-Islamic prejudice. Banda Singh Bahadur has been explained by them in the blackest colours. On the other hand the Sikh writers have written about him with jealous feel of his ancestors. But he was a far different man.

In personal appearance Banda Singh had a strange resemblance with Guru Gobind Singh. He sent off a Hindustani, a conjurer (Banda Singh) who had great identity of appearance with him.¹ He was a man of medium height, having long beard, moustaches and long hair on his head. He spoke the language which was a mixture of Punjabi and Hindi. He possessed a commanding voice and manners which resulted in implicit obedience from his followers. He was of light brown complexion. The nobleness of his features, with sharp and shining eyes, impressed his greatness even the minds of his enemies.² Itmad-ud-Daula Muhammad Amin came close to him at the time when he was tortured by executioners, he praise him so much of acuteness in his features and so much of nobility in his conduct.³ He was very active and a good humanbeing and he was a fonder of using his sword and bow. As perfect horseman, he could ride for any number of days continuously. In field of battle, he was most daring. However, even while waging war under the greatest provocations, he did not resort to any excess. Which characterized his enemies. His dare devilry and bravery, coupled with coolness, which he exhibited, during his execution, elicited praise even from his adversaries like Khafi Khan.⁴ He had attacked the enemies so boldly and confidently that the imperial generals would believe as he possessed supernatural powers. The very appearance of Banda Singh amidst his fighting forces during a crisis, inspired courage and a sure sign of success-supreme commander of the Khalsa army shows

¹. Muhammad Shafi Warid, *Mirat-i-Waridat* (ed.J.S. Grewal and Irfan Habib) Sikh history From Persian Sources, Tulika, New Delhi ,2001, P.161.

². Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur* ,Publication Bureau, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1999, P. 159.

³. Ibid, P. 160.

⁴. M. Gregor, *The History of Sikhs*, James Madden, London, 1846, P,111.

Banda Singh's inner abilities and qualities of head and heart-Indeed he proved true to the confidence reposed in him by Guru Gobind Singh and compelled a mighty imperialism to live in hearts for a long time.

As a devout Sikh, Banda Singh's devotion to his Guru remained unshaken throughout. At the top of his power, his coins and seal bore the inscription of, Guru Nanak- Gobind Singh, whom he proclaimed to be source of his *deg* and *tagh*(plenty and power). In the *hukamnamahs* issued by him, Banda Singh explicitly says that he who lives according to the *Rahit* of *Khalsa*, shall be saved by the *Guru* (and not himself). Thus, by injecting faith in his *Guru*, he brought the *Khalsa* under his banner so force fully that till the end, not a single Sikh deserted him. He had a spotless morality and led a very pure life and true to the *Rehet* of the *Khalsa* which he himself inculcated in his *Hukamnamahs*, he enjoined upon his men never to attack the honour of women of the conquered enemy.⁵

Banda Singh Bahadur was married. Rattan Singh Bhangu in *Prachin Panth parkash*,⁶ *Mahima parkash*⁷, *Suraj Parkash*⁸ and Giani Gian Singh⁹ writes about him that Guru Gobind's ordered Banda Singh Bahadur will not be married but this cannot stand the test of historical scrutiny. Firstly, marriage is not prohibited in Sikh religion. Secondly Guru Gobind Singh was not forbidden to do Marriage by Banda Singh Bahadur. He had adopted five *Kakars* (symbols) of the *Khalsa* (a true Sikh) He was a *Syc* (Sikh) by profession, that is one of those attached to the tenets of Guru Gobind (Singh) and who from their birth, or from the moment of their admission, never cut or shave either their beard or whiskers, or any hair whatever of their body.¹⁰ He never used any kind of drugs. He treated well to all women. He was not guilty of toucheing with a woman, not fomally and legally married tohim.

He never used the word *Guru* for himself. He introduced *Fateh Darshan*. Sikh historians like Rattan Singh Bhangu, Giani Gian Singh criticised Banda Singh Bahadur because he introduce a new word *Fateh Darshan* at the replace of *WaheGuru*

⁵. Ganda Singh, op.cit, P.163.

⁶. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*,(ed. Bhai Veer Singh), Bhai Veer Singh Sahit Sadan, New Delhi, 2008, P.89.

⁷. Sarup Das, *Mahima Praksh* (Kavita) *Bhasha Vibhag*, Punjab, Patiala, 1960, P.608.

⁸. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Gur Partap Suraj Garanth*,(ed. Bhai Veer Singh),Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patiala, 1992, pp,6240-6243.

⁹. Giani Gian Singh, *Shamsher Khalsa*, Pathar Chhap Pehli, Sialkot, 1892, P. 4.

¹⁰. Gulam Hussian, *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 'Translation' Bringgs, Landon, Pp. 92-93.

ka Khalsa, WaheGuru ki Fateh. But this is a fact that *Fateh Darshan* was only a war slogan. It means they had seen only victory over their enemies in the battle field 'Fateh' means 'victory' and 'Darshan' means 'see'. He had been given after some time and replace the usual Sikh salutation "*waheGuru ka khalsa waheGuru ki Fateh.* Khafi Khan is apparently the only Persian writer who records *Fateh Darshan* as the war cry of Banda's followers.¹¹ He always called the 'Banda' or the master's slave and always emphasis the Sikhs to follow the teaching of Guru Gobind Singh. It was cleared, in his letter (Hukanamah) of 12th December 1710, *Poh 12 Samat 1767*, B) addressed to the Sikhs of Jaunpur.

*Shri Sache Sahib ka Hukam hai Sarbat Khalsa, Jaunpur ka Guru Rakheya,
GuruGuru Japna,*

*Janam Saverega, Tusi shri Akal purkh ka Khalsa Ho Panj Hathiya Ban ke
Hukam Dekhediya Darshan Aavna Khalse Di Rahit Rehna Bhang Tambacoo
Hafim pasat*

*Daru Amal Nahi Koi Khana, Mas Macchali, Piaza Nahi Khana Chori Nahi
Krni Asa Satyug Vartaya Hai Aap vich piyar karna mera,*

Hukam Hai, Jo Khalse di Rahit Karega Tisdi Guru Bahuri Karega.

Miti poh 12 Sammat pehla Satra 10¹²

It means Banda Singh writes, The Guru will protect you. Call upon the Guru's name on seeing the letter repair to my presence, wearing five arms. Observe the rules of conduct laid down for the Khalsa. We have brought about the golden age (Satya Yuga), Love one another. This is my wish, He who lives according to the rules of the *Khalsa* shall be saved by the Guru.¹³ This very significant letter strongly recommends the conduct of the *Khalsa*. Principles laid down by Guru Gobind Singh is strictly confirmed. No evidence is available to us to show that there was at any stage any quarrel between Banda Singh and his companions about religion or that his comrades parted company with him for any of his struggle against the Government desertion from Gurdas Nangal proves nothing more than a difference of opinion about tactics and strategy to be followed in a particular situation.¹⁴

Banda Singh had received 'Nectar of sword' from the hands of Guru Gobind

¹¹. Khafi Khan, *Muntkhab-ul-Lubab*, (ed J.S Grewal and Irfan Habib), *Sikh History from Person Sources*, Tulika, New Delhi, 2007, P.156

¹². Ganda Singh, *Hukamname*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2013, P.180

¹³. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, New Sletter of Mughal, Punjab Past and Present, Vol X Viii-ii, P.9.

¹⁴. *Ibid*, P.12.

Singh and throughout his life he believed in Guru's mission. He used to point out to his officials that according, to the holy Granth, the best worship for a ruler is to be just. If you call yourselves Sikhs of the great man (Guru Gobind Singh) do not do anything that is sinful, Irreligious or unjust. Advance the cause of true Sikhism and smite those who behave in a non- Sikh manner.¹⁵ The negligible difference of opinion, if at all, that arose in view of any innovation envisaged by Banda Singh, seems to have been immediately patched up. From a constitutional point of view all this goes to assert the supremacy of the khalsa over individual members, however great or popular they might have been, and no Sikh ever had the courage to challenge the Khalsa and its *Rehat* (rules of conduct).¹⁶

As a religious leader, the ideas laid down by the Guru Gobind Singh were the source of inspiration for Banda Singh Bahadur. He was blessed by his master with courage and determination, unshakable faith in Divine and absolute acceptance of the will of God.

The way Banda Singh Bahadur and his companions faced death shows that the spirit which the *Guru* infused among their disciples had radically transformed them into Saint- Soldiers. Banda Singh fought and died like a Saint-Soldiers in accordance with the martial and spiritual tradition blended in him by the *Guru*. His courage and death-defying fearlessness and the role that he played as a saviour, attracted people to become Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh. It was not surprising therefore, that within one year of his arrival in Punjab, A lakh of people embraced Sikhism.¹⁷ His thought of Justice shows his devotion and attachment with Guru Gobind Singh.

He was a baptised Sikh. If Banda Singh have not been arisen who takes *pahul* and who makes Chhajja Singh.¹⁸ Banda Singh had converted a large number of Hindus and Muslims into Sikhism but he does not seem to have used any force to propagate his religion. Some people might have joined the Sikh fold to escape punishment for their former misdeeds or to promote their prospects of livelihood.¹⁹ If we seen through the history oftenly the rulers had been adopted the policy of non-tolerance about any other community and religion. Banda Singh was no exception to it. When he reached

¹⁵. Kasar Singh Chhibber, *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahiya Ka*, (ed. Piara Singh), Singh Brothers Amritsar, 1997, P, 136.

¹⁶. *Akhbar-i Darbar-i-Mualla*, Op.cit. P,12.

¹⁷. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Munshi Ram Monohar, 1978, P. 15.

¹⁸. Gobal Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhs*, New Book Society, New Delhi, 1960, P. 242.

¹⁹. Khuswant Rai, P. 96.

Kalanaur, Batala, the Muslims paid taxes to him and joined his army. This shows to be the religious toleration in the Muslim population of the place.

A similar reference was made by Amin-ud-Daula in June 1710 that, the authority of that deluded sect (of the Sikhs) had reached such extremes that many Hindus and Muhammadans adopted their faith and ritual. Their chief (Banda Singh) captivated the hearts of all towards his inclinations and whether a Hindu or a Muhammadan whosoever came into contact with him was addressed as a Singh. Accordingly, Dindar Khan, a powerful ruler of the neighbourhood was named Dindar Singh and Mir Nasir-ud-din, the official reporter of Sirhind, became Mir Nasir Singh. In the same way a large number of Muhammadans abandoned Islam and followed the misguided path (of Sikhism) and took solemn oaths and firm pledges to stand by Banda.²⁰

Thus see that the policy of religious freedom preached by the Sikh Gurus was strictly followed by Banda Singh. The one point charter of Banda Singh was to work for national awakening and liberation from the oppressive Mughal rule of course, his dormant spirit of nationalism was aroused and put into practical application by Guru Gobind Singh whose sufferings and sacrifices assured his mind that Sikhs, even in minority, would win, because they would fight, as it has been enjoined upon them, in the name and on behalf of the oppressed people. Banda Singh's success or defeat and limitations at the end has to be seen and appreciated in that context.

His excesses were limited to killing his enemies seizing the enemy's property and setting up his own Government in the conquered territories. Through his ceaseless warfare, he tried to bring not only the decline but also the downfall of the Mughal administrative structure.

It was the good fortune of Banda Singh that he had received initiation from Guru Gobind Singh and had adopted Sikhism following in the footsteps of Guru Gobind Singh, Banda Singh worked towards the popularity of Sikhism, not through force, but through his own example of bravery and generosity. In less than a year through his efforts, more than one lakh persons became Sikhs and joined the Khalsa fraternity. There is not a single instance when he used force in the propagation of Sikhism. On the contrary his arrival in Utter Pradesh territory was a signal for the

²⁰. Yar Muhammad Qalandar, *Dastur-ul-Insha*, (ed. Balwant Singh Dhillon), *Banda Singh Bahadur* Farsi Sarot, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2011, P. 37.

exploited *Gujjar* herdsmen who readily accepted Sikhism and declared themselves as *Nanakprasth*. The number of Sikhs grew rapidly. Persons who had never heard of the Sikh Gurus became devout Sikhs. Many Hindus and Some Muslims, like Dindar Singh and Mir Nasir Singh, willingly adopted the Sikh faith.

Was Banda Singh Bahadur Anti Muslim? He was not against to the Muslim nor was he opposed to Islam. He was, however, against the Muslim State because it inflicted injustice on others. As a matter of fact, despite the anti-Hindu and anti-Sikh policies of the Mughal Government, Banda Singh did not reduce the struggle to the level of communal strife. He was not fighting against Islam or Muslims. He fought against fanaticism and cruel insensitive state. He cannot be considered to be a blood thirsty warrior who wished to shed the Muslim blood to quench his thirst for revenge. His mission was to punish Muslim ruling classes as well as their Hindu collabourators for their atrocities against the common Hindus, who had been denied their right to live with dignity. The Mughal rulers despite their right feudal and matrimonial alliances with the Rajputs, could not shed its essential partisan character and could not tolerate any opposition to its policy of conversions to Islam. 28 April, 1711 Saturday (21 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 5th Bahadurshahi, A.H. 1123) Bhagwati Das, harkara presented the followings report to the Emperor, through Hidayat-ullah-khan. Banda Singh Bahadur was encamped at Kalanaur up to April 26. He had given a word and expressed his resolve not to harass the Muslims. Therefore, all those Muslim who joined him (Banda Singh) were given daily allowance and wages and were properly looked after, He had permitted them to read *Khutba* and offer prayers. Thus, five thousand Muslim had joined his service with freedom of 'Azan' (call for prayer) and the 'Namaz' (daily prayer) these Muslim were feeling comfortable in the army of Sikhs.²¹ Although the Mughal State had declared a policy of genocide against the Sikhs, Banda Singh, when in power, not even once treated the Muslims as his enemies.

As a social reformer, Banda Singh broke down the barriers of caste, creed and religion. He elevated the position of the untouchables and downtrodden to that of officers, before whom even the high caste Hindus stood with folded hands. He was opposed and prohibited the use of all types of intoxicants.

Although Banda Singh was offered pardon if he renounced his faith and

²¹. Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Op.cit, P. 63.

accepted Islam, he did not renounce the Sikh tenets till death. His associates too exhibited remarkable resistance to tortures during the executions and it is not a small wonder that not even one apostatized from the Sikh religion. This shows sincerity, honesty indomitable spirit and highest type of nobility of character of Banda Singh and his followers. To illustrate the point, it would be enough to quote one instance. One of the Mughal nobleman, Itmad ullah Amin khan Chin Bahadur who was an eye witness to Banda Singh's execution, could not suppress his feelings and remarked "It is surprising that one who shows so much acuteness in his features and so much of nobility in his conduct should have been guilty of such horrors.

Banda Singh Bahadur took full advantage of the decaying and fragmented state of the Mughal Empire. He united the scattered Sikhs and galvanised them into an invincible army which won several battles against the *faujdars* of the Mughal *Subas* of Delhi and Lahore as well as the combined and repeated on slaughts of the imperial forces. His war tactics included features like speed and mobility, concentration, economy of force and above all, his offensive guerrilla type of warfare called, *dhaitup*.

As a reformer, Banda Singh will also be remembered for posing a serious challenge to the *zamindari* system in the Punjab, which was a source of endless exploitation of the poor peasantry. Although the objectives of the agrarian groups rallying behind Banda Singh are still to be fully analysed, the majority of modern writers have termed Banda Singh's movement as an 'agrarian uprising', which however, is only partly true. Indeed, Banda Singh's movement, though territorially limited and resisted by some dominant *zamindars* having vested interests, was basically political innature.

There is no doubt that from the river Yamuna to the river Ravi, he was the only person who commanded respect of the peasants. To make a common cause, Banda Singh, through his tactfulness and statesman ship and even use of force made almost all the hill chiefs as his allies or supporters of the Sikh movement. Even the imperial 'farmers' and *khillats* could not dissuade the hill chiefs to support the Sikh cause. Had Banda Singh succeeded in getting the support of the Rajput, who were already in open revolt, he could captured Lahore and Delhi, and a Sikh empire might have succeeded the Mughals which could have changed the entire course of the Indian

History.²²

Although the state of *Khalsa* established by Banda Singh Bahadur in November, 1709, After the victory of Samana, when he had made *Khalsa panchyant* and appointed Fateh Singh as a governor of Samana. When first state change into new state with our employees which is known as the establishment of kingdom. In other words, the establishment of *Khalsa* Republic had steerted at Samana, because of that time Samana was not capital of the state though it was the centre of a *Pargana*. So, it was only local change in Samana with changing the old state. Sirhind was the capital of *parant* (state). When the Mughal rule finished in Sirhind then finished the Mughal dynasty all over *parant* (State or *suba*). The head of different *Parganas* (regions) fought in Chapperchiri, Their destiny was already decided at 22 May, and the others were not fought in his battle and few of them were surrendered in front of Banda Singh Bahadur. Some of them were punished by Singhs. So after the victory of Sirhind Khalsa Republic had properly established in wholestate.

According to William Irwin, he had sent military all around in the centre of Sirhind.²³ After keeping the peace in the city of Sirhand, Banda Singh Bahadur had called the first Khalsa Darbar in *Bag-i-Hafzi* in these days Bag-i-Hafzi known as *Aam-khas-bag*. This name had been steerted during the time period of the kings of Patiala. In the time period of Mughals, it was known to be Bag-i-Hafzi, because this Bag-i- Hafzi had been made by ‘Hafiz Rakhna’ of Hirat. In this Darbar, Firstly declared that Mughal Government moved into the province of Sirhind. On the Grand Truck road of Delhi other side of ‘Thanesar’ had been putt in a (Minar) of wood with the hight like a minar of mousleum. In Persian language its means is *Satun-i-jung* (minar of Battle) Emperor can not to come in this place.²⁴ God Almighty had promised him about victory and success over the Muslim, and he was going to conquer all the territories in India.²⁵ Saharanpur, Buriya, Sadhaura, Chhat, Ambala, Shahabad, Thanesar, Sirhind, Pail, Rupa Bahlolpur, Machhiwara, Ludhiana and all territory from Thanesar to the bank of river Sutlej excepting the territory of *Lakhi*

²². Willam Irwin, *Later Mughals*, Satish Chandra, Parties and politics at the Mughal Court, New Delhi 1972, pp,36-37.

²³. William Irwin, Op.cit.vol. I, P.98.

²⁴. Gulam Muhudin, *Fatuhmama-i-Samadi*, (ed. Dr Balwant Singh Dhillon), *Banda Singh Bahadur Farsi Sarot*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2001, P.99.

²⁵. Mirza Muhammad Harsi, *Ibratnama* (edJ.S.Grewal and Irfan Habib), Sikh History From Persian Sources, Tulika, New Delhi, 2001, P.133.

Jungle. "In the course of three or four months, he appointed *Thanedars* and *Tehsildars* to collect the revenues. He wrote order to the imperial officials and the managers of the Jagirdars, calling upon them to submit to him, and to relinquish their posts."²⁶

Second proclamation declared that the land is only for the cultivators. Jagirdar is not owner of land. He is the owner of land (*Jagir*) who are cultivated and sown to it. *Khalsa Jamin (land)* was divided into the cultivators. *Khalsa Jamin* was under the Emperor. All around the Sadhaura, there are reserve areas to hunting for emperors. All the Jungle had been opened for than whom there is no caste (*qaum*) in Hindustan, went to attend on that rebel. He would be appointed to govern his own town and would return with an order (*sanad*) of office of Government in his hand. The moment he stepped into the territory, or town; or village, all the gently and notables went out to received him, and his alighting at his house, stood with folded hands before him.²⁷ No person could oppose his orders.

During Banda Singh's period, there was a revolution effected in the minds of the people of which history often fails to take note. A will was created in the ordinary masses to resist tyranny and to live and die for a national cause. The example set by Banda Singh and his companions in this respect was to serve them as a beacon light in the days to come. The idea of a national state, long dead, once again became a living aspiration and although suppressed for the time being by relentless persecution, it went on working underground like a smouldering fire and came out forty years later with a fuller effulgence, never to be suppressed again.²⁸

This revolution under Banda Singh Bahadur had strong social base in all over Punjab mainly in villages. In the struggle under Banda Singh peasants and *zamindars* played a marked role. At first *zamindars* had accepted the Banda Singh Bahadur as their leader. They are in hundreds and thousands rallied around him During the Sikh struggle, the *zamindars* of Punjab supplied arms and horses to Banda Singh. Hill chiefs are also provided shelter to Banda Singh. Despite the all efforts of the emperors of Mughal Dynasty to curb the struggle of Banda Singh. Most of villages remained

²⁶. Khafi Khan, *Munthkhab-ul-Lubab*, (ed. Elliot and Dowson), P.414.

²⁷. Muhammad Shafi Warid, *Mirat-I-Varidat*, (ed. J.S Grewal and Irfan Habib), Sikh History from Persian Sources, Tulika, New Delhi, 2001, P.162.

²⁸. Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A short History of the Sikhs*, (1469-1765) publication Burea, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1999, P.P107-108.

under his control till as late as the middle of 1714. The faujdar of Kangra had to set up special *chowkis* (out posts) to deal with zamindars who collected food-grains and other provisions for the Sikhs. The zamindars of Kehlur had invariably rendered help to Sikhs whenever they needed it. According (to a news- letter an agreement was concluded between) the Sikhs and the ruler of Kehlur that at the time of need the latter would provide asylum in his territory to Sikhs and block the passage of the royal forces. He always rose equal to the terms of agreement.²⁹ A little earlier news also confirms the association of the zamindars of Jammu and Kehlur with the Sikhs. The Sikhs had set up a few chowkis in the Kehlur hills so that during their fleeing nobody was able to obstruct their way.³⁰ We were noticed in royal court news that the hill chiefs very helpful to him. They were sympathetic to Banda Singh. Zamindars of Jammu, Srinagar-Garhwal, Kehlur, Mandi, Kulu wadial, Samana and Kaithal were with this peasants upsurge 6 July to 10 July, 1710 (20 Jamadi-ul-Awwal to 24 jamadi-ul-Awwal, 4th Bahadurshahi, A.H. 1122) a message was conveyed to emperor that the Zamindars of *Pargans* of Samana and Kaithal had Joined the Sikhs.³¹ This was clear that Banda Singh was hidden in the Shivalik hills without any difficulty. Bhup Parkash son of Hari Parkash (Barfi Raja) of Nahan had sympathy with Banda Singh Bahadur Jat Sikh peasantry Had helped mainly to Banda Singh Bahadur within one-year Banda Singh's army increased thirty to forty thousand men. The banjaras (a class of grain carriers) are very helpful to Sikh struggle under Banda Singh Bahadur. They always tried maintain the supply to the Sikhs when they in hardtime.

The struggle between Banda Singh Bahadur and Mughal empire was unequalled, but many secret agencies provided them, food grains, arms and horses and information of the Royal army-even *bairagis Sadhus Faqirs, Yogis*, sanyasis are very helpful to Banda Singh had been murdered by the Mughalempire.

According to Indu Bhushan Banerjee, Guru Arjun is said to have converted almost the entire Jatt peasantry of the Majha tract and there could be little doubt that by the time of Guru Hargobind the Jat formed by far the preponderant element in Sikh community. The character of the Jats imperceptibly modified the Sikh system as it was bound to do.³² Mostly Jat Sikhs are followers of Banda Singh Bahadur belonging

²⁹. Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Op.cit. , 1711, P. 14, 30.

³⁰. *Ibid*, P. 711, P.14.

³¹. *Ibid*, P, 30.

³². Indu Bhushan Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I, 1963, PP. 21-33.

to the villages. Almost all writers are more or less agreed that one of the fundamental traits in the Jatt character has been the instinct of tribal freedom and of tribal kingship.³³ It is a common Fact in India Jats are a rural and agrarian community consisting largely of peasants and landlords. During the period of Guru Gobind Singh shift from Khatri to Jatt leadership in the community. The new features of Sikhism came to represent the dominance of that Jatt culture. The role of Jats was of considerable importance in the evolution of Khalsa *Panth*.³⁴ Guru Gobind Singh was completed this in 1699. Love of freedom and war like spirit of the Jatts could no longer be denied a place within the system.³⁵ Although the Gurus had been Khatri, they have made the *Khatri*s subservient to the Jatts who are the lowest caste among the Vaishya, this most of big *Masands* of the Guru are Jatts.³⁶ The Jatts were peasants and the one out standing problem of the peasants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that they had to bear a very heavy burden of land Revenue and a great degree of oppression of the ruling classes of the Mughal Empire. This situation was bound to provoke peasant revolts. Thus the militant development of the Sikh community during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can have one major explanation in this resort to armed violence by the Jatt peasantry when the economic pressure became increasingly intolerable.³⁷ The economic pressure on the Jatts could be one of the reasons for arraying themselves on the side of Banda Singh Bahadur but more powerful reason was the religious persecution suffered by-the-Sikhs at the hands of Mughal Government. It led them to take up arms under the leadership of Banda Singh to replace the tyrannical Government. Banda Singh was lucky to have such spirited and fearless people, known for their intrepidity and sacrifice, as his followers.

So Banda Singh Bahadur was responsible for the abolition of zamindari system peasants were become masters of their land. Large estates were broken into smaller holdings in the hands of Sikh or Hindu peasants. These proclamation a good news for poor peasantry. He ousted the Mughal officers from the various parganas of Sirhind division and put hisown men in their places.³⁸ Hindu *qanungos* and *amils* that

³³. Ibid, Vol 2 (1947), P. 36.

³⁴. W.H. McLeod, *The Evolution of the Sikh Community*, P. 10.

³⁵. Indu Bhushan Banerjee, Op.cit, P.124.

³⁶. Gulam Mohiyudeen, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, (ed.Ganda Singh), Punjab, past and present vol 1 (b) Part 1, 1967, P.57.

³⁷. Irfan Habib, Presidential Address to the Medieval Section, Proceeding of the Punjab History Conference (1972) Punjabi University, Patiala, P.54.

³⁸. Khafi Khan, *Muntkhab-ul-Lubab*, (ed.Elliott and Dowson),Allahabad, 1964, P.4/5

had been replaced by Muslim under Aurangzeb were dismissed and the jobs of the displaced Hindus were restored to them.³⁹

Banda Singh was almost like a king with large army. The capital of his state was at Lohgarh and an army take care and standing at his beck and call. He had conquered many territories and governed them through his deputies. He commanded a large army of devoted followers and had a capital and palaces to live in. He now struck a coin in name of his saviours Guru Nanak-Gobind Singh with the Persian inscription.

*Sikka zad bar har do alam, Tegh-i-Nanak
wahib ast, Fateh Gobind Singh Shah-i-
Shahan, Fazal-i-Sacha Sahib Ast*

It means by the grace of True lord is struck the coin in the two worlds. The sword of Nanak is the granter of all boons and the victory is of Guru Gobind Singh, the king of Kings. Two years later some Sikhs again pointed out that the word Gobind is not correct, it should be Gobind Singh. In the third year coin the word Gobind Singh is placed on the coin on the reverse is written.⁴⁰

*Zarb ba Aman at dohr, Masawarat shahr
zinat al takht Khalsa Mubarak bakht*

It means that minted at the place of perfect peace, picture of a beautiful city where the fortunate throne of the Khalsa is should located. This legend gives the clear indication that he did not make his capital at the small fortress of lohgarh. He had expressed the coin what kind of capital he wanted, a place of perfect peace, picture of a beautiful city where the fortunate throne of the Khalsa should be located. No historians has compared that ideas of his capital city with perfect peace and picture of a beautiful city are being satisfied by the small fortress on a hill and they have kept on saying that he set up his capital at Lohgarh. This aspect of his achievement has been explained in detail by any Sikh historian except by the author in his book 'Sikh coinage' symbol of Sikh sovereignty.⁴¹

At first Banda Singh Bahadur is also stated to have struck a coin with the legend:

³⁹. Karam singh, *Banda Bahadur*

⁴⁰. Surinder Singh, *Sikh Coinage*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 2004, P.P.40-41.

⁴¹. Sukhidal Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, (on the canvas of History) Gurmat Prakashan, Patiala, 2005, P.161.

*Uzmat-i-Nanak Guru Ham Zahir o' Hum Batan ast,
Badshah din-o-Duniya Aap sachha Sahib ast.*

It appears that Sikhs wanted the coin to be in the name of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh also and hence this legend was dropped. Legend on the coin which was selected next has been on the Sikh Coins.

Banda Singh Bahadur introduced a state seal for the official documents and letters patent. The inscription on the seal is shows of a deep sense of unflinching devotion and loyalty to the Gurus:

*Deg-o-Tegh-o-Fateh-o-Nusrat-i-bedirang;
Yaft az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh*

Means that the *Degh* free Langar (economic power), *Tegh* (The sword), *fateh*(the resultant victory) have been received from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh. The recipient of all these blessings is the Sikh community who has made the seal for running the Government of their state.⁴²So, the meaning of *Degh* and *Tegh* is the symbols food for hungry and protecting the weak and helpless.

Like the Sann-i-jalus of the Mughal Emperors he introduces his own *Sammāt* or year commencing with his victory at Sirhind. All this was produced in the minds of Sikhs a spirit of equality with the Mughal Government. But the differences between the Khalsa emperor and Mughal emperor was too high. The Mughal rulers struck coins and seals and ruled in their own name. But he struck his coin and seal in the name of Guru Nanak and tenth Guru Gobind Singh Banda Singh always declared himself to be Banda or slave of the Guru. But there is no way to show when he mentioned himself as Guru. We see letter (*Hukamnamah*) 10 the *Sangat* of Jaunpur dated 12th *poh*, 25-26th Dec. 1710. He used for Guru the word 'Sri Sacha Sahib and say Guru will protect you. According to Ganda Singh the establishment of his power had assumed legal state.⁴³

He wanted to establish the welfare state. He strictly recommends that the good conduct of the Sikhs. He gives the authorities of state management of Sirhind to the Three *Sardars* Kaur Singh, Baj Singh, and Bhagwant Singh Bangesary. *Sikh Sangat* reached there all over Punjab. The Khalsa army had been increased. It was

⁴². Surinder Singh, Op.cit., Pp,40-41.

⁴³. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala 1999, P.60.

order of Banda Singh Bahadur to protect the poor and helpless people. He says according to Kesar Singh Chhibber: -

*Singha nu Banda eh kahe,
Garib Di Rakiya Kro, Gabroo Na koi Rhe Pap Tzo Dharam
Chal Raj Karo Sikh Guru da Soi jo Malesh Nal Hat Na Kre
Panth Da Vadha Chahe Dharam Chal Chale Papo Fire sach
Kamave Vadha Pave Menu us Purakh Da Hai Bachan Tudh
Dharam Nu Lave.*⁴⁴

Means state is running according to *Dharma*. He was the actual Sikh of Guru who does not connection with the Turaks (*Malesh*) It was ordered of my Guru that I was walks with you on the path of *Dharma*.

Banda Singh was the supreme commander. Bhai Baz Singh was appointed the governors of Sirhind. Bhai Ali Singh and Bhai Ram Singh was appointed as a Deputy of him. Now Sirhind was a sovereign state under Banda Singh Bahadur, Samana, Thenesar, Anandpur Sahib and Jallunder Doab accepted as its sub provinces. Every state had its own governors, Each Governor had five members' councils (*Khalsa panchayats*). These rulers managed administration with the discussion of local people and *panchayats*.

Kesar Singh Chhibber writes, All the Sikh authorities was run over the administration. Emperor Bahadur Shah do not any activities because he was afraid of Banda Singh Bahadur. He had no will of anything.

*Rak Payeke Sab Apo Apne Tikane Bath Gye Bahadur Shah Ade
Picha Bande Da no Kore Tab eh Panth Guru Ka Berir Hoi Gayi
Paye Chugli Pap Karta Bhaya.*

*Banda Si Nirlep Khe Sahib De Pand Si Chayi Eh (Singh Aagoo) Hoi
Basir Lage Kaaran Burai Burayhiyo Fal bura Hi Pavana
Oh Pukar Pukaar Khe Sach Nu Laga Pap Nhi Kamavna.*⁴⁵

Kesar Singh Chhibber give an example of justice. Once a Sikh appointed a sardar of thirty, thirty-five villages by Banda Singh but he done an evil work. A women complained to Banda Singh Bahadur. She told about that Sardar that he killed his husband and he arrest her in his house. But that women hidden the head of her

⁴⁴. Keser Singh Chhibber, *Bansavalinama*, (ed. Piara Singh Padam) Singh Brothers, 1997, P. 199.

⁴⁵. *Ibid*, P, 199.

husband. When she got opportunity to run away and reached in front of him. She demand the justice from Banda Singh. Banda Singh heard his complaint and he called to catch the Sikh Sardar by his police men. He stood with him in front of that woman and asked the questions. In conversation Sikh Sardar proved wrong. Banda Singh ordered to killed him with artiller But the authorities of Banda Singh hidden this Sardar and gave false information to Banda Singh Bahadur But that woman did not trust upon him She reached in the Darbar of Banda Singh Bahadur and said that authorities did not killed that sardar and hide him. He killed with artillery and tell loudly to the people. It was duty of king to give justice to his people . In the actual words at Kesar Singh Chhibberit.

*Tab Bande Di Bedi Kalpna kiti. Vo wat Mangaya Top Bhar liti Dia
udai Mukh te Ino kehya,*

*Raje chuli Niyake Granth Likia Rahiya, Naio Na Kere Ta Narke-
Jaye/*

Raj Hoyeke Naia Kamaye /

Purakh Bachan Mugh Ke Aase Hai Kita

*Mar Papi Me Har Purakh Da Lita Je Tusi Vs Purabh Ke Sikh
Akanyo To Pap Adarm anoio Na Kamooan.⁴⁶*

He read this, Dohra Raj Karege Khalsa, Aaki Rahe Na Koi, Khuar Hoi Sab Millenge, Bache Sharan Jo Hoyein in the Darbar. He always said to Sikhs you do not protect the religion without established a kingdom. It established by the support of sword.

*Raj Bina Na Dharam Chale Hai, Dharam Bina Sab Dale Male
Hai, Ko Kaho Ko Raj Na De Hai, Jole Hai Niz Bal Sa le Hoi.⁴⁷*

Every day Sikh Sangat has reached to in ‘Darbar’ of Banda Singh Bahadur. He gave the *Khande Da Pahul* to hundred, thousands people.⁴⁸ So Banda Singh Bahadur established the Sikh State which is purely based on theory of Guru Granth Sahib.

The Institution of the Panj Piyaras has greatly affected the culture thought, social values, and political behaviour of the Sikhs. Panj piyaras has helped to nourish the continuity of the democratic traits of the collective responsibility was put into practice by Banda Singh Bahadur, who gave militant leadership to the Sikh, fought

⁴⁶. Keser Singh Chhibber, *Bansavalinama* (ed. Piara Singh Padam), Singh Brothers, 1997, P.200.

⁴⁷. *Ibid*, P.200.

⁴⁸. Giani Gian Singh, *TwariKh Shamsher Khalsa*, Guru Gobind, Sialkot, 1891, P.14.

against the Mughals and established the first Sikh Raj in the Punjab (1710-1716) the rule of Banda Singh Bahadur was established on the basis of an egalitarian society. The landless peasants were granted lands. Even the seal and coins of Banda Singh do not bear the name of the ruler and are true replicas of the democratic tradition of the Sikhs. This republication spirit continued to prevail in the political setup of the misls, when all the matters of the common interest of the Sikh community were discussed in the assemblies of the Sarbat Khalsa at Akal Takhat Sahib Amritsar. In the assemblies of the Sarbat Khalsa decisions were taken by passing the Gurmatas (resolutions) in the holy presence of Guru Granth Sahib for collective action of the Sikhs.

According to author of *Asrar-i-Samadi*, Rahubo Sultani Roo Rafta.⁴⁹ Means He (Banda Singh) had been totally washed the grace of Mughal Emperor.

Analysis of early Sikh Historians

Banasvalinamah of Kesar Singh Chhibber is the first writing of *Gurmakhi* script. In this book wrote about Banda Singh Bahadur in eleventh part. The Book *Banasvalinamah* wrote in seventeen sixty-nine (1769). The date of martyrdom of Banda Singh Bahadur is seventeen sixteen. This Book had written about fifty-three years later after the date of martyrdom of Banda Singh. Kesar Singh's birth is approximately 1715. He was lived in Kariala. So Kesar Singh Chhibber was very close to Banda Singh Bahadur. Its writing are mentioned as an authentic source. In this Book he does not provide information about birth and parents of Banda Singh. Kesar Singh Chhibber started his time period of *Sadh Giri*.

According to Chhibber the name of Banda Singh Bahadur is Lachhman Dev. He lived as a *bairagi*. The *Dera* of Banda Singh was situated in between two villages situated in area of Toor Jats. Lachhman dev and his follower was lived in there. Chhibber also writes that, some years ago he be settled *Piroza Nagar*. Then he was reside in village Haripur in Deccan. After living some years three he was pit up in Sehri-Khanda of country of 'Toor Jats'. Sehri and Khanda are two different villages. These are two or three kilometres far away from each other. These villages are situated on the main road of Sonapat and Rohtak in Haryana near *Kharkhoda*. *Khanda* village have small population and Sehri is a small village *Khanda* is come first from

⁴⁹. Gurbaksh Singh, *Asrar-i-Samadi*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, P. 35.

Kharkhoda.

Kesar Singh Chhibber writes Guru Gobind was stayed near Gurdwara of Lachhman Dev. Sikh *Sangat* (followers of Guru) and their families are also along with Guru. Guru Gobind Singh called the Diwan Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand who maintain the audit and debit of Darbar and house hold. Guru discussion with them about the responsibility of Guruship and take revenge of murder of younger sons of Guru Baba Joravar Singh and Baba Fateh Singh Guru tells the Sikhs that this Bairagi Sadhu is have good Temperament and not interested in the world. If he became my follower then total responsibility thrown on him. All the Sikhs agreed with Guru You called him there or you're visited at his *Dera*, Then Guru says that we will visit at his residence.

Guru Sahib arrived at his *Dera. Thakurdwara* situated in the Garden. Guru Sahib put come only four Sikhs with him Guru had been taken place his bed on this devotional place. A pillow set up on bed. Lachhman Dev go outside and Guru's Bed flew away outside. Then Guru occupied that place again. Second time this also flew away but Guru revised all this. Guru pressed the bed. Then bed cannot fly. Guru Sat on this Lachhman Dev to see and reached to Guru. Guru caught his hand and sat him. But Lachhman Dev did not sit with Guru even he sat on the ground. Guru conversation with Lachhman Dev. And Lachhman Dev bows his head on the feet of Guru. He became a baptized Sikh Guru gave responsibility to him (Banda Singh) and went away.

Guru said before leaving him your work will be started after nine months and nine days. Now Guru leave for 'Burhanpur' Kesar Singh Chhibber writes this account in his own words as it.

*Sahib Tur Gye Pahute Tura mdara De Desh the Lachhman Das
Chiranjeet Aha Bairagi De Phekh Khanda Sehri Nirbana Ahe
Doe Tin Pind Tina De vich Si Thaurdwara Tis Ka Ek chela ik
Apni nd Ti the Sahib Jai Kita, Pas Tis Ke Dera Sikh Sangat Nal
Lok Jane Bhutera Sade Diwan Sahib Chand Dharam Chand.
Lage Beth Ko Karan Salah, In Pand Guryayi Di Hai Deni Lena
Ha Ver kha-Makha /
Sahib Bachan Kita eh jo Hai Fakir Bairagi Hai Nirlep*

Charnjeet Atit Tiyaagi /

*Je eh Mane Ta Sab Mamla Gal Is De Payea Sabna Hath Jod
bhana Changi Isnu Sade ik Aap Jayea. Bachan Kita Sadya Us
da Bharu nahi rehnda.*

*Asa Gal Pana Hai Mamla Aap Javoge Dekhea Ago Ke Hai
Kehnda Sahib Gye Aap us de Bag Annder, Achha Thakurdwara
ur Mandir Nal Char Sikh Le Ke Sahib bag Annder charpai
Chouri gao takiya le lye the us da Hasi Bethan Da Aasan, Uthe
Sahib Janye Lage Karn Siganson Sahib Bethe tis upper Aap
Jaye, oh bhe duro dekh ke puchhya Aye Pakar tis ka Hath
Sahib Apne pas bithaya So pas Na betha tis Aasan thle Laya
Sahib Kar Ditter door, Doha Gala kitiya aapas vich beth ke
mashoor Aakhir Sadhu uth ke charni Dhatyia phahul Guru ki
Chhak ke baniya sikh hathiya mamla gal used paya ke tur
pye.⁵⁰*

This is the total account of early life of Banda Singh Bahadur which is given by Kesar Singh Chhibber, and also this is the first account which provides the more detail ostensibly there are more contemporary and contemporary Persian accounts, like as *Ibratnama* by Muhammad Kasim, *Ibratnama* Mirza Muhammad Harsi, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-chagatta* by Muhammad Hadi Kamvar Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-lubab* of Khafi Khan, *Mirat-i-waridat* of Muhammad Shafi warid etc. Only an English writer Major James Browne gave the information very little about the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur. He writes, that Banda was a *Bairagi* Fakir and the native of a village, pundory at Jalandhar.⁵¹ But kaser Singh chhibber is the first account which gives the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur. It has ahistorical importace because it is first account. But this didnt accept as it. In this writing chhibber used words in same events are not acceptable some information are anti with Khalsa (Rahit) code of conduct and some words are anti like as these linesare:

In Pand Guraee Di Hai Deni, Lena Hai ver Khah Makha

Means responsibility of Guruship had to give and take revenge of murder of youngster children of Guru Gobind. He should notice of this Guru Gobind Singh was

⁵⁰. Kesar Singh Chhibber, Op.Cit., P.196.

⁵¹. Major James Browne, *History of the origin and progress of the Sikhs*, (ed. Ganda Singh), Calcutta 1962, P.28.

not given next *Guruship* to Banda Singh Bahadur and nor his appointment only for take revenge. He had been appointed as a political leader of *Khalsa panth*, by tenth Guru's *Guruship* was given to the both Shri Guru Granth Sahib and *Khalsa Panth*. The courtier poet *Sanapat* of Guru Gobind Singh give as a clear information in his account.

*Tah Same Gur Ban Sunago, Khalsa Anurupan Bataya /
Khalsa he so Hai mum kama /
Bakash Diyo Khalsa Jana /
Khalso mero roop Hai Khols be pas And Ant he hot Hai Khalsa ke
pas Khalsa Khas Kahanve soi, ja ke hirde Bharam Na Koi
Bharam Bhekh te rahe naira, so khalsa Hamara.*⁵²

Means Khalsa is everything. I give Guruship my spirit to the *Khalsa Bhai Nand Lal* in the *Rehatnama* is written very clearly hold this view.⁵³

In the *Rehitnama* of Bhai Chaupa Singh is clearly define this. Kasar Singh Chhibber be also agree with this view.

On the basis of this clear and authentic proofs can say that Banda Singh Bahadur was only the political leader of *Khalsa panth*. So the Lines of Chhibber have not any importance. One next thing to say Chhibber is wrong that. *Je In mane ta Sabmamla is de gal payea.*⁵⁴ This is not a correct vacabellery. It seems to be Guru are too much teered and he says good bye to the *Khalsa panth* hurry up. This responsible is not a little work. There was should have to profect successor for the *Sikh Quam*(Sikh people) who was a great warrior and take care the *Khalsa panth* protect the *Khalsa panth* by Mughals. So this line of Chhibber is not acceptable.

Only the dera of Banda Singh Bahadur is between the village Seheri and Khanda. There are lived 'Toor' and *Nain jats*. This was a historical account of Chhibber. Secondly Guru Gobind Singh Come from 'Dina Kangar' with his family and Sikh Sangat when they reside in *Malwa*. Bhai Sahib chand, Dharam chand *Mama Kirpal* and Diwan Nand Lal were also with him. It means his meeting with Banda Singh in the time period of tour of *Malwa and Lachhman Dev* is not the owner of the *dera* in Nanded but also his *dera* is on the Sehri and Khanda.

⁵². Kavi Sanapat, Sri Guru Sabha (ed Ganda Singh) Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1967, P.128.

⁵³. Bhai Nand Lal, *Rahitnama*, (edPiara Singh Padam), Rahitname, Punjabi. University, Patiala 1984, P.54.

⁵⁴. Kesar Singh Chhibber, Op.cit. P.128.

Those writings coming after Chhibber which are given the account that the name of Banda Singh Bahadur is Madho Das native of 'Rajouri' and his *dera* on the bank of 'Godavri'. These views are only of the Ahmed Shah Batavi⁵⁵ and Giani Giyan Singh Both are written in Batalvi 1824-25 and Giani Giyan Singh 1889-1892. So the account of Chhibber is much important than these writings. But Chhibber say about the magic coat. This is myth but we can leave it.

Secondly, he say Gurusaid Lachhman Dev dig into foot on Guru and drink the nectar of sword. *Pahul Guru Chhak ke Baniya Singh Hathiya*.⁵⁶ About the drink of *pahul* Rattan Singh Jaggi give a footnote. This was not in original account of Chhibber. Even this was brought from the account of Khalsa collage.⁵⁷ Editor is not cleared the lines are wrong or of Chhibber. The stlye of lines are different.

The account of Chhibber about appointed as a leader is not suitable. If Gurumetwith banda Singh Bahadur at Sehri and Khanda. This time was time of Malwa visit. This time period predicted from 1705 to 06. Guru was passed away October 1708. The Appointed as leader of Khalsa may not be correct 2 years ago Guru's assassination. In this no fact was given about killing of goats and no discussion between the Guru and Banda Singh no doubt these are stroks of hearsay. Ramains are reasonable.

After Chhibber, second writing is the *Mehima Parkesh* of "Sarup Das Bhalla". It is in the form of a poem and written in 1776 AD. It had been written seven years later than the writing of Chhibber both writing had no effect on each other Chhibber of native of Kashmir and Saroop Das was the resident of Goindwal. Both has background related with *Guru-Ghar*. Both had written on the basis of *vahi* accounts of his families. Both had Sikh but they gave information opposite to each other. At the end of *Mehma Parkash* gave a brief detail about Banda Singh Bahadur. In this the name of Banda Singh Bahadur is called only Banda. Sarup Das says the first name of Banda Singh is Madho Das who lived in Deccan and metting between both at the arrival of *Gurutowards* Deccan. No place of Dera showed. After the metting with Banda Singh *Gurureached* to 'Nanded' and then Guru wrote *Zafarnamah*. Sarup Das

⁵⁵. Ahmed Shah Batalvi, Op.Cit.

⁵⁶. Kesear Singh Chhibber, Op.cit., P.198.

⁵⁷. Rattan Singh, Jaggi, (ed. Parakh Kesar Singh Chhibber), *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahiya Da*, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1972.

says it is *ShockNamaat* the place of *Zafarnamah*. No account had given about the parents of Madho Das no information given about the hunt, in the various 'Deras' dig the bed etc. He says it was the ordered of tenth Guru Banda Singh will not be married.

*Hamesha Langote Band Rahe and not separated the Khalsa panth.*⁵⁸

Comment: Only one thing is in the whole account which is used for as a true historical truth. That is *Ju tu Ab Akal Purakh Ka Banda Hua*. It proves that Banda dranked the nector *Amrit* of sword from *Guru and chibber* says Banda Singh lived in northern India and Bhalla says the Dera of Banda Singh is in Deccan India.

According to writing period the third writing about Banda Singh Bahadur *Sri Guru panth Parkash* of Rattan Singh Bhangu. Its famous name is *Prachin Panth Parkesh*. It has been written in 1841 AD. Bhangu has given no information about the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur. He started his account about the Mahant Jait Ram, Narayana of *Dadu Panthi Dera* isin Rajasthan.

He writes, when *Guru* was travelled in places of Rajasthan, he reached 'Narayana'. He met with Mahant Jait Ram. Mahat jait Ram told the Guru that Narayan Das *Bairagi* has made a beautiful coat, and he jeered the others. He abused the saints you (*Guru*) should not go there. He was very poor. The he visited with the saints. Aughar Nath gave him a *Pothi* (Book) and he said not to tell about this anyone, Rajas and Maharajas are snatched this. This *Pothi* was of the *Anoonia Sadh* (saint) *Jantor* and *Mantor* is written in this *Guru* visited the dera and sat on this magic coat. The coat did not move. Singhs killed the goats. and fell upon the foot of *Guru*.⁵⁹

Comment: All the details are in simple poetry but it is very important to observe that the explanation of early life of Banda Singh Bahadur in First account. There are not received any other account. This explanation of, Bhangu's own view. As it *Guru Sobha* of Sanapat, *Guru Kiya Sakhyian* of Saroop Singh Koushish, *Gurbilas* of Bhai Koer Singh and *Bhai Sukha Singh* are the previous works than Bhangu. So there are no reliability in account of Bhangoo. Its explanation was a myth. The account of Bhai Santokh Singh are different explanation than the other writings. All the account gives

⁵⁸. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mehama Parkash* (poem,) Bhasha Vibang ,Patiala, 1960, P. P. 883-84.

⁵⁹. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, (ed. Bhai Vir Singh) Bhai Vir Singh Sahit Sadan, New Delhi, 2008, P.P. 75-76.

in shri Gur Partap Suraj Garanth of fourteenth edition. It has two hundred fifty pages. This was on the page no 6240 to 6243; poetry is very difficult and long.

He writers, one day Guru were hunting. He went far away into forest where the 'Aashram' are of *Bairagi Sadh*. He talks about the slaughtered, Goats. Banda Singh thought that was a great man. Banda Singh said to the Guru that it was the aashram of his Guru and he lives alone. Guru Plucked the fruit and give emancipation to his Guru. Then Saint said, *Tusi Malak ho, or me tuhada Banda ha*. Means I am your slave you are my owner. Which you have ordered me I have followed it. If you ordered me to fight the battles. I will do it. So Guru ordered Banda Singh to take revenge from Mughals.

Comment: The writing of Bhai Santokh Singh does not similar writings. This a myth. It lightened the personality of Guru Gobind Singh *Shri Guru Panth Parkesh* had been written in 1889 A.D and *Twarikh Shamsheer Khalsa* in 1892 A, O by Gian Gian Singh. It was second part of *Twarikh Guru Khalsa* poetry was very impressable. He writers Banda was the native of village Rajouri, *Pargana* Punchh. He was belonged Rajpal clan. Lachhman Dev (Banda Singh) was born in samat 1727 Kartic Sudi 132 in the house *Ramdev Kashatri*. He was sharp temperament in childhood and very fond of hunting. Giani Gian Singh talked about doe. Janaki Parsad lived in Rajouri. His Gurdwara *Rahatnamais* situated near about to 'Kasour'. Once in Sammat 1743 Bikrami (1686 A.D) Lachhman Dev went to fair of Ram thamman on Basaikhi with Janaki Parshad. Where he met Ramdas the follower of Mahant Hari Das. Then he called *Narayan Das* because Lachhman Das is a new Saint so he called him Lachhman Bala. Then he travelled with Saints all around. *Bairagi Sadhus* are practised *Ptebazi*, *Teer Anda*, and every marshalls art for their protection. These *Sadhus* are fought on the occasion of *Kumbh Mela* at Haridwar, and other festivals. Tenth Guru met with Jait Ram. Guru went do sevan chhapra, Nagpur, Balapur Akola, Banera, Amravati, Basmat, and Rangoli. Guru reached at Nanded in *Harh Sammat* 1734 *Bikrami* (1677 A.D) Guru Ment Banda Singh at Garden where a Gurdwarara Sangat Sahib is situated.⁶⁰

Comment: This is of 1892 A.D information of Giani Gian Singh is new. But the story of *Pothi* is a myth. Where he take sammat he does not tell about them. But Gian Singh

⁶⁰. Giani Gian Singh, *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*

is not write the name “Madho Das”. He told about of Guru met him at Burahanpur. Sammat is released at first so it was significant. Bhai the late Sardar Karam Singh Historian attempted a scientific biography of Banda Bahadur. He studied person writings and he could find and made local enquiries on his subject but with all this some errors unavoidably crept into his work.

The Banda Bahadur of Lala Daulat Rai, though an honest attempt, is not free from the errors of its sources, the *Panth Parkash* and *Shamsher Khalsa* of Gian Singh and the Banda Bahadur of Karam Singh.

The works of Sikh writers on the subject, particularly of Bhai Gian Singh though they are a great value in supplying us with details, are sometimes teaernished by their love for poetic exaggeration. Not merely do they sometimes adopt a partism attitude but they allow their judgement of men and matters to be clouded by secteerian partiality. The life history of Banda Singh has suffered the most at their hands under wrong notions. He has been slandered for and accused of things of which he was never guilty.

**BANDA SINGH BAHADUR:
STRATEGY OF WAR AND IDEOLOGY**

A Thesis

*Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Award of the Degree for*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

**BY
KARAMJIT KAUR
UNI. ROLL NO. 156821004**

**SUPERVISOR
DR. DALJIT KAUR GILL**



**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF BASIC SCIENCES & HUMANTIES
GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY TALWANDI SABO
(PUNJAB) INDIA**

2021

CONCLUSION

Various historians have written vast theories about the earlier life of Banda Singh Bahadur based on many different sources. After a survey was conducted in the Rajori (Kashmir) and the nearby areas, it became evident that the martyrdom of GuruTegh Bahadur had a huge influence on the minds of the Kashmiri Brahmins. After this, a large number of Kashmiri Brahmins and Rajputs converted to Sikhism. The childhood name of Banda Singh Bahadur was Laxman Dev. Banda Singh Bahadur came along with the group of Kashmiri youths to meet Guru Gobind Singh. He reached Anandpur Sahib, where Guru Gobind Singh was residing at. All these young Kashmiris converted to Sikhism and joined the army of Guru Gobind Singh. Shahzada Muajam had very good relations with Guru Gobind Singh. It was due to this reason, that many Sikhs joined the army of Shahzada Muajam. Banda Singh Bahadur was also among these Sikhs. However, it is believed that the birth place of Banda Singh Bahadur was not Rajori, instead it was a village named Tachan which is at a distance of about 25 to 26 kilometers from Rajori. This village was mostly populated with Rajputs, who later converted to Sikhism upon the martyrdom of the ninth Guru of the Sikhs, GuruTegh Bahadur. Banda Singh Bahadur's father was appointed as a Qiladhar. Therefore, his father had an important position in the army. Moreover, though it is believed that Banda Singh Bahadur was a Sadh in his earlier life, this is not true as he adopted Sikhism in his childhood. The martyrdom of GuruTegh Bahadur had a huge influence in his mind. He was born on the 16th of October, 1670 A. D.

Guru Gobind Singh reached Nandher Sahib towards the end of the month of September in 1708 A.D. Upon reaching here, Guru Gobind Singh sent a hukamnama to the sanghats in the army of Shahzada Muajam. During that period, Shahzada Muajam had a Sikh battalion in his army. He was the commander of that battalion. In the army of Shahzada Muajam, Banda Singh Bahadur was known by the name 'Guru Da Banda' while this battalion of the army was also known as 'Guru Di Sanghat'. While Guru was at Nandher, Banda Singh Bahadur regularly visited Guru's Darbar. According to the contemporary sources, Banda Singh Bahadur's appearance resembled to that of Guru Gobind Singh's. During that period, Bahadur Shah parted with Guru Gobind Singh and moved forward. It was

during this period that the news of the attack on Guru Gobind Singh by some Pathans spread. Guru Gobind Singh was severely injured in this attack. This news also spread within the Sikh in the army of Bahadur Shah. After getting the news of the attack on their Guru, the Sikhs in this army travelled to Nandher Sahib to meet Guru Gobind Singh.

This attack by the Pathans enraged the Sikhs causing the Sikhs to revolt. After this attack, Guru Gobind Singh did not leave for long and died within some days. However, during these days, Guru Gobind Singh established his General as the leader of the Khalsa Panth after giving him the name Banda Singh Bahadur. With this Guru urged the Sikh sangats to support him in his activities. Other than this Guru Gobind Singh also composed a five-member council to advise Banda Singh Bahadur. The members of this committee included; Bhai Bhaj Singh, Bhai Fateh Singh, Bhai Haridas Singh, Bava Binod Singh and Bhai Sanghat Singh Bangesuri. Banda Singh Bahadur was an experienced General and the Sikhs in his army were also well-trained soldiers. It was due to this reason that Banda Singh Bahadur did not face many problems in his revolt and battle against the Mughals in Punjab.

Guru Gobind Singh died on the 8th of October, 1708 A. D. Banda Singh Bahadur complete the last rites of Guru Gobind Singh with the help of Bhai Daya Singh, Bhai Dharam Singh along with some other Sikhs. He left them at Nandher Sahib to take care of the Guru's *angitha*. With this, Banda Singh Bahadur then began his journey to Punjab along with the Khalsa forces. He destroyed the villages in his way and finally reached Rohtak. Then he established his camp in between the two villages of Shehri-Khanda which were located in the region of Kharkodha Pargnain Sonipat and Rohtak. He saved the people of this area from the bandits who looted their villages. This had a huge influence on the people of this area. With this they supported the Khalsa forces and provided them with food, water and other amenities. Moreover, the *Lubhane* merchants of this area sold their good and bought weapons in exchange, after which they joined Banda Singh Bahadur's army. When the Mughals came to know of this, they ordered for the imprisonment and interrogation of these Sikhs. However, the order given by Guru Gobind Singh had already reached to the Sikhs in various areas of Punjab. Upon reaching Punjab, Banda Singh Bahadur wrote letters to the Sikh sardars asking

them to begin their preparations and join him. There was no family in Punjab at that time, which did not have at least one member to Banda Singh Bahadur. The Sikhs from different tribes and castes for example the Chaudharies of the Fulkias, Rama, Tilokha, the tribes of Bagadha, Bhullar, Dhillion, Dhaliwal, Mandher, Randhavas and many others joined this army of Banda Singh Bahadur. Due to this the Mughals also became prepared. Although the Mughals blocked the routes through the Rivers, the Sikhs supported Banda Singh Bahadur in any manner possible. He was very proficient leader as he was able to unite the whole Sikh community in this revolutionary movement.

He won most of the regions which was under the Mughal government in the Punjab in between the period of 1709 A. D and 1710 A.D. Wazir Khan was the enemy of the Gurughar. All his allies were overthrown. He reached Fatehabad after numerous victories. Then Banda Singh Bahadur went on to win over Sonapat and Karnal. After the victory of Samana, Banda Singh Bahadur appointed Fateh Singh as the *hakam* of this region. Therefore, the administration of the city went in the hands of the Khalsa *Panchayat*. Banda Singh Bahadur also went to win over the areas of Kudham, Kapuri, Taska, Shahbad and Mustafabad in a comprehensive manner. The Mughal administrators were also defeated in Sadhora and Banudh by Banda Singh Bahadur.

The biggest battle fought by Banda Singh Bahadur was the battle of Chappar Chiri. The Sikhs were quite agitated and determined to overthrow the Subedhar of Sirhind, Wazir Khan. Banda Singh Bahadur defeated Wazir Khan after surrounding him from every direction. Wazir Khan was defeated in this battle. With this victory, the Sikhs won Sirhind. Wazir Khan was an enemy of the Sikh community. He and his soldiers were killed just as they killed and tortured the Chotte sahibzaade. After the victory in Sirhind, the fear of Banda Singh Bahadur and the Khalsa forces grew in the minds of the other Mughal Administrators.

During that period, the process of victory over and overthrowing the existing Government was known as the establishment of the new rule. The establishment of the Khalsa rule took place in 1709 A. D with the appointment of Bhai Fateh Singh as the governor by Banda Singh Bahadur. After the win in Sirhind, Banda Singh Bahadur strived to restore and maintain peace in the area. He constructed the first *darbar* in Bagh-eh-haf in Sirhind. Today this garden is

known by the name 'Aam Khash Bagh'. Banda Singh Bahadur won most of the part of Punjab from the Mughals setting up the Khalsa rule in these areas within a period of two years. The office and departments up by the Mughals such as the subedhars, army, police and many other departments were decommissioned. The Mughals office and courts were closed. In their places, the Khalsa officers, army, courts and police were setup. Two contemporary writers, Mirja Muhammad and Muhammad Kaim write that Banda Singh Bahadur overthrew the Mughal Government from Karnal to Ludhiana and the Sutlej River.

After the establishment of the Sikh rule, the new Khalsa coins and stamps were started. These coins were started in the names of Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanak Dev. The stamps were also introduced in the names of the Sikh Gurus. The started of the use of Khalsa coins and stamps marked the beginning of the rise of the Sikh rule. Banda Singh Bahadur fulfilled the dream that Guru Sahibs of the Sikh religion had i.e. the establishment of the Sikh Rule

The reign of Banda Singh Bahadur was aimed to safeguard the rights of the people. The administration was indirectly run by the people which was established with the help of the Khalsa. Banda Singh Bahadur openly announced that he was going to seize the *jangirs* and the *bisvedhars* from the *jangirdhars* and the *bisvedhars*. Powers were given to the small and poor classes and castes. The rich and wealthy of the villages were bound to listen to and answer these people. Food, water clothes, horses and other amenities were provided to the poor and underprivileged who could not previously afford food and clothes. Both the rich and poor ate food (*langar*) together in the Khalsa rule. Therefore, the administration of Banda Singh Bahadur was for the people and administered by the people.

Banda Singh Bahadur was a very able and experienced commander. He was able to establish the Sikh rule in Punjab because of his strategies of war. Banda Singh Bahadur was able to emerge victorious in many battles because of his Guerrilla action technique. He also used the *gate gate reatek* style to defeat the *hadhis*. Banda Singh Bahadur was very proficient with the two-and-a-half-foot method. He won the fort of Raho using this method. The meaning of this two-and-a-half-foot method is moving two steps forward and then taking a step back. He used a tamarind tree as a cannon. He fired it on the enemies, clearing everything

that came in its path. Banda Singh Bahadur stopped and eliminated all the allies and sources of help that Wazir Khan had before defeated him.

He had a very progressive and far-sighted mindset. The thought of independence at that time was a dream for the people of India. With the establishment of the Khalsa rule in Punjab, Banda Singh Bahadur installed such a feeling in the minds of the people of Punjab that they were willing to fight for their freedom. The Sikhs continued their fights with the Mughals even after the formation of the *Missals*. Maharaja Rant Singh used this foundation built by Banda Singh Bahadur to establish the Sikh rule in Punjab. The women were considered equal to men during the Sikh reign. They did not have any form of restrictions. During the rule of Banda Singh Bahadur, both the rich and the poor enjoyed the same rights. The lands were taken from the *jamidhars* and distributed to the labourer and the farmers. These are some of the examples of his progressive and revolutionary thinking of Banda Singh Bahadur.

He never considered himself to be above the Khalsa and always took the advice of the Sikhs before any action. It was due to the advice of the Sikhs that he left the fort of Lohgarh. He appointed Sikhs as governors at the places where he won. The decisions were taken through the Khalsa Panchayat.

He was married only once in his lifetime i.e. to Rani Ratana Kaur. The couple had a son named Ajay Singh. However, in order to weaken the Sikh revolt and impart conflicts in the minds of the Sikhs, the Mughal officials spread the rumor that Banda Singh Bahadur had two marriages. He was a part of the Khalsa Panth. Moreover, Banda Singh Bahadur's wife, Ratan Kaur and Son, Ajay Singh were also martyred along with Banda Singh Bahadur by the Mughals.

Kesar Singh Chhibar was in his youth during the struggles of Banda Singh Bahadur. Therefore, he is the oldest historian to write about Banda Singh Bahadur in the Gurmukhi script. He was a contemporary of Banda Singh Bahadur, therefore he was an eye witness of some of the events and heard about the rest from others. Kesar Singh Chhibar was a resident of Kashmir. Being a contemporary of Banda Singh Bahadur, his entries were very close to the truth. Some of the other historians who wrote about Banda Singh Bahadur include; Sarup Das Bhalla, Rattan Singh Bhangu, Giani Gian Singh, Bhai Santokh Singh, Karam Singh Hitorian etc. These writers included rumors in their works as they considered them

to be true. The rumors on which they based their works upon were spread by the enemies of Banda Singh Bahadur to dissuade the Sikh from his revolt. Moreover, if Banda Singh Bahadur was against the Panth as stated by these historians, he would not have sacrificed his life and family for the Sikh community. He would have come to an agreement with the Mughals. Baba Binod Singh and Baba Kahn Singh proved to be traitors of the Sikh religion as they came to an agreement with the Mughal Government in order to save their lives.

He had a strong army in the last battle at Gurdas Nangal but he became a victim of two traitors in his army. The Mughal army surrounded the fort of Gurdas Nangal for eight months. With time, the Mughals managed to block all the sources of food, water and other amenities to the fort from outside. With this, the Sikhs began suffering of hunger. The Mughal forces capitalized on the opportunity and captured the Sikhs. However, the Sikhs were very determined and hence were not willing to give up. He was covered in a red cloth and was brought to Delhi under a strong guard. Although, the Sikhs along with Banda Singh Bahadur were tortured, they did not show any fear at the sight of death. Banda Singh Bahadur's four-year-old son, Ajay Singh was sacrificed in front of his eyes. The heart of his son was cut out and put in Banda Singh Bahadur's mouth. However, Banda Singh Bahadur accepted his fate as written by God and did not show any fear or remorse. Banda Singh Bahadur's eyes were removed and his skin was also peeled off. Banda Singh Bahadur's wife, Ratan Kaur also gave up her life by committing suicide by jumping into a well. He was killed after removing his eyes, peeling off his skin and breaking his bones near the *sarovar* of Khoja Dattu. The other Sikhs that were brought to Delhi along with Banda Singh Bahadur were also killed.

Banda Singh Bahadur's battle and revolts were against the Mughal Government not against Islam. His fight was against the torture and exploitation by the Mughal rulers. His aims were to safeguard the rights of the poor and the underprivileged. The fact that Banda Singh Bahadur was not against Islam or did not have any hate for the Islamic religion and community can be understood from the fact that when Banda Singh Bahadur won the region of Kalanaur, he convinced and reassured the Muslims that they would not torture or give any form of injustice. He ensured them that they would be paid as according to the others and

their work. Other than this, Banda Singh Bahadur had about five thousand Muslims in his army. These Muslims did not have any restrictions i.e. they could read the Namaj according to their wish.

Various historians have written vast theories about the earlier life of Banda Singh Bahadur based on many different sources. After a survey was conducted in the Rajori (Kashmir) and the nearby areas, it became evident that the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur had a huge influence on the minds of the *Kashmiri Brahmins*. After this, a large number of *Kashmiri Brahmins* and Rajputs converted to Sikhism. The childhood name of Banda Singh Bahadur was Laxman Dev. He came along with the group of *Kashmiri* youths to meet Guru Gobind Singh. He reached Anandpur Sahib, where Guru Gobind Singh was residing at. All these young *Kashmiris* converted to Sikhism and joined the army of Guru Gobind Singh. *Shahzada Muajam* had very good relations with Guru Gobind Singh. It was due to this reason, that many Sikhs joined the army of *Shahzada Muajam*. He was also among these Sikhs. However, it is believed that the birth place if he was not Rajori, instead it was a village named 'Tachhal' which is at a distance of about 25 to 26 kilometers from Rajori. This village was mostly populated with Rajputs, who later converted to Sikhism upon the martyrdom of the ninth Guru of the Sikhs, Guru Tegh Bahadur. Banda Singh Bahadur's father was appointed as a Qiladar. Therefore, his father had an important position in the army. Moreover, though it is believed that Banda Singh Bahadur was a Sadh in his earlier life, this is not true as he adopted Sikhism in his childhood. The martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur had a huge influence in his mind. He was born on the 16th of October, 1670 A.D.

Guru Gobind Singh reached Nanded Sahib towards the end of the month of September in 1708 A.D. Upon reaching here, Guru Gobind Singh sent a Hukamnama to the sangats in the army of Shahzada Muajam. During that period, Shahzada Muajam had a Sikh battalion in his army. He was the commander of that battalion. In the army of Shahzada Muajam, he was known by the name 'Guru Da Banda' while this battalion of the army was also known as 'Guru Di Sangat'. While Guru was at Nanded, Banda Singh Bahadur regularly visited Guru's *darbar*. According to the primary sources, Banda Singh Bahadur's appearance resembled to that of Guru Gobind Singh's. During that period, Bahadur Shah parted with Guru Gobind Singh and moved forward. It was during this period that the news of

the attack on Guru Gobind Singh by some *Pathans* spread. He was severely injured in this attack. This news also spread within the Sikh in the army of Bahadur Shah. After getting the news of the attack on their Guru, the Sikhs' army travelled to Nanded Sahib to meet Guru Gobind Singh. This attack was by the two Pathans; this was caused the Sikhs' revolt. After this attack, Guru Gobind Singh did not live for long life and died within some days. However, during these days, Guru Gobind Singh established his General as the leader of the Khalsa Panth after giving him the name Banda Singh Bahadur. With this, Guru urged the Sikh sanghats to support him in his activities. Other than this, Guru Gobind Singh also composed a five-member council to advise Banda Singh Bahadur. The members of this committee included; Bhai Bhaj Singh, Bhai Fateh Singh, Bhai Haridas Singh, Bava Binod Singh and Bhai Sangat Singh Bangesri. He was an experienced General and the Sikhs in his army were also well-trained soldiers. It was due to this reason that Banda Singh Bahadur did not face many problems in his revolt and battle against the *Mughals* in Punjab.

Guru Gobind Singh died on the 8th of October, 1708 A.D. Banda Singh Bahadur completed the last rites of Guru Gobind Singh with the help of Bhai Daya Singh, Bhai Dharam Singh along with some other Sikhs. He left them at Nanded Sahib to take care of the Guru's *angitha*. With this, Banda Singh Bahadur then began his journey to Punjab along with the *Khalsa* forces. He destroyed the villages in his way and finally reached Rohtak. He then established his camp in between the two villages of Shehri-Khanda which were located in the region of Kharkodha Pargana in Sonapat and Rohtak. He saved the people of this area from the 'bandits' who looted their villages. This had a huge influence on the people of this area. With this, they supported the *Khalsa* forces and provided them with food, water and other amenities. Moreover, the *Lubhane* merchants of this area sold their goods and bought weapons in exchange, after which they joined Banda Singh Bahadur's army. When the Mughals came to know of this, they ordered for the imprisonment and interrogation of these Sikhs. However, the order given by Guru Gobind Singh had already reached to the Sikhs in various areas of Punjab. Upon reaching Punjab, he wrote letters to the Sikh sardars asking them to begin their preparations and join him. There was no family in Punjab at that time, which did not send at least one member to Banda Singh Bahadur. The Sikhs from different tribes and castes for

example the *Chaudharies* of the Fulkians, Rama, Tiloka, the tribes of Bagadha, Bhullar, Dhillion, Dhaliwal, Mandher, Randhavas and many others joined this army of Banda Singh Bahadur. Due to this the Mughals also became prepared. Although the Mughals blocked the routes through the rivers, the Sikhs supported Banda Singh Bahadur in any manner possible. He was very proficient leader as he was able to unite the whole Sikh community in this revolutionary movement.

Banda Singh Bahadur won most of the regions under the Mughal government in Punjab in between the period of 1709A.D and 1710A.D. Wazir Khan was the enemy of the *Gurughar*. All his allies were overthrown. He reached Fatehabad after numerous victories. Then Banda Singh Bahadur went on to win over Sonipat and Karnal. After the victory of Samana, Banda Singh Bahadur appointed Fateh Singh as the *hakam* of this region. Therefore, the administration of the city went in the hands of the Khalsa *Panchayat*. He also went to win over the areas of Ghuram, Kapuri, Taska, Shahbad and Mustafabad in a comprehensive manner. The Mughal Administrators were also defeated in Sadhaura and Banoor by Banda Singh Bahadur.

The biggest battle fought by Banda Singh Bahadur was the battle of Chappar Chiri. The Sikhs were quite agitated and determined to overthrow the Subedhar of Sirhind, Wazir Khan. Banda Singh Bahadur defeated Wazir Khan after surrounding him from every direction. Wazir Khan was defeated in this battle. With this victory, the Sikhs won Sirhind. Wazir Khan was an enemy of the Sikh community. He and his Soldiers were killed just as they killed and tortured the *Chhotte sahibzaade*. After the victory in Sirhind, the fear of Banda Singh Bahadur and the *Khalsa* forces grew in the minds of the other Mughal administrators.

During that period, the process of winning over and overthrowing the existing Government was known as the establishment of the new rule. The establishment of the *Khalsa* rule took place in 1709 A.D with the appointment of Bhai Fateh Singh as the Governor by Banda Singh Bahadur. After the win in Sirhind, Banda Singh Bahadur strived to restore and maintain peace in the area. He constructed the first *Darbar* in *Bagh-eh-haf* in Sirhind. Today this garden is known by the name '*Aam Khas Bagh*'. Banda Singh Bahadur won most of the part of Punjab from the Mughals setting up the *Khalsa* rule in these areas within a period of two years. The office and department set up by the Mughals such as the

subedhars, army, police and many other departments were decommissioned. The Mughals office and courts were closed. In their places, the *Khalsa* officers, army, courts and police were set up. Two contemporary writers, Mirja Muhammad and Muhammad Kamvar write that Banda Singh Bahadur overthrew the Mughal Government from Karnal to Ludhiana and the Sutlej River.

After the establishment of the *Sikh* Rule, the new *Khalsa* coins and stamps were started. These coins were started in the names of Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanak Dev. The stamps were also started in the names of the *Sikh Gurus*. The start of the use of *Khalsa* coins and stamps marked the beginning of the rise of the *Sikh* rule. Banda Singh Bahadur fulfilled the dream that *Gurus Sahibs* of the *Sikh* religion had i.e. the establishment of the *Sikh* Rule.

The reign of Banda Singh Bahadur was aimed to safeguard the rights of the people. The administration was indirectly run by the people which was established with the help of the *Khalsa*. Banda Singh Bahadur openly announced that he was going to seize the *jagirs* and the *bisvedars* from the *jagirdars* and the *bisvedars*. Powers were given to the small and poor classes and castes. The rich and wealthy of the villages were bound to listen to and answer these people. Food, water, clothes, horses and other amenities were provided to the poor and underprivileged who could not previously afford food and clothes. Both the rich and poor ate food (*langar*) together in the *Khalsa* rule. Therefore, the administration of Banda Singh Bahadur was for the people and administered by the people.

He was a very able and experienced commander. He was able to establish the *Sikh* rule in Punjab because of his strategies of war. Banda Singh Bahadur was able to emerge victorious in many battles because of his Gurrilla action technique. He also used the 'reattack-retreat' style to defeat the *hadhis*. Banda Singh Bahadur was very proficient with the two-and-a-half-foot method. He won the fort of Rahon using this method. The meaning of this two-and-a-half-foot method is moving two steps forward and then taking a step back. Banda Singh Bahadur used a tamarind tree as a cannon. He fired it on the enemies, clearing everything that came in its path. Banda Singh Bahadur stopped and eliminated all the allies and sources of help that Wazir Khan had before defeating him.

Banda Singh Bahadur had a very progressive and far-sighted mindset. The thought of independence at that time was a dream for the people of India. With the

establishment of the *Khalsa* rule in Punjab, Banda Singh Bahadur installed such a feelings in the minds of the people of Punjab that they were willing to fight for their freedom. The Sikhs continued their fights with the Mughals even after the formation of the *Misals*. Maharaja Ratan Singh used this foundation built by Banda Singh Bahadur to establish the Sikh rule in Punjab. The women were considered equal to men during the Sikh reign. They did not have any form of restrictions. During the rule of Banda Singh Bahadur, both the rich and the poor enjoyed the same rights. The lands were taken from the *jamidars* and distributed to the labourer and the farmers. These are some of the examples of the progressive and revolutionary thinking of Banda Singh Bahadur.

He never considered himself to be above the *Khalsa*. Banda Singh Bahadur always took the advice of the Sikhs before any action. It was due to the advice of the Sikhs that he left the fort of Lohgarh. He appointed Sikhs as governors at the places where he won. The decisions were taken through the Khalsa Panchayat.

He was married only once in his lifetime i.e. to Rani Ratan Kaur. The couple had a son named Ajay Singh. However, in order to weaken the Sikh revolt and impart conflicts in the minds of the Sikhs, the Mughal officials spread the rumor that Banda Singh Bahadur had two marriages. Banda Singh Bahadur was a part of the Khalsa Panth. Moreover, Banda Singh Bahadur's wife, Ratan Kaur and Son, Ajay Singh were also martyred along with Banda Singh Bahadur by the Mughals.

Kesar Singh Chhiber was in his young age during the struggles of Banda Singh Bahadur. Therefore, he is the oldest historian to write about Banda Singh Bahadur in the Gurmukhi script. He was a contemporary of Banda Singh Bahadur, therefore he was an eye witness of some of the events and heard about the rest from others. Kesar Singh Chhiber was a resident of Kashmir. Being a contemporary of Banda Singh Bahadur, his entries were very close to the truth. Some of the other historians who wrote about Banda Singh Bahadur include; Sarup Das Bhalla, Rattan Singh Bhangu, Giani Gian Singh, Bhai Santokh Singh, Karam Singh Hitorian etc. These writers included rumors in their works as they considered them to be true. The rumors on which they based their works upon were spread by the enemies of Banda Singh Bahadur to dissuade the Sikh from his revolt. Moreover, if Banda Singh Bahadur was against the Panth as stated by these historians, he would not have sacrificed his life and family for the Sikh

community. He would have come to an agreement with the Mughals. Baba Binod Singh and Baba Kahn Singh proved to be traitors of the Sikh religion as they came to an agreement with the Mughal Government in order to save their lives.

He had a strong army in the last battle at Gurdas Nangal but he became a victim of two traitors in his army. The Mughal army surrounded the fort of Gurdas Nangal for eight months. With time, the Mughals managed to block all the sources of food, water and other amenities to the fort from outside. With this, the Sikhs began suffering of hunger. The Mughal forces capitalized on the opportunity and captured the Sikhs. However, the Sikhs were very determined and hence were not willing to give up. Banda Singh Bahadur was covered in a red cloth and was brought to Delhi under a strong guard. Although, the Sikhs along with Banda Singh Bahadur were tortured, they did not show any fear at the sight of death. Banda Singh Bahadur's four-year-old son, Ajay Singh was sacrificed in front of his eyes. The heart of his son was cut out and put in Banda Singh Bahadur's mouth. However, Banda Singh Bahadur accepted his fate as written by God and did not show any fear or remorse. Banda Singh Bahadur's eyes were removed and his skin was also peeled off. Banda Singh Bahadur's wife, Ratan Kaur also gave up her life by committing suicide by jumping into a well. Banda Singh Bahadur was killed after removing his eyes, peeling off his skin and breaking his bones near the *sarovar* of Khoja Fatu. The other Sikhs that were brought to Delhi along with Banda Singh Bahadur were also killed.

Banda Singh Bahadur's battle and revolts were against the Mughal Government not against *Islam*. His fight was against the torture and exploitation by the Mughal rulers. His aims were to safeguard the rights of the poor and the underprivileged. The fact that Banda Singh Bahadur was not against Islam or did not have any hate for the *Islamic* religion and community can be understood from the fact that when Banda Singh Bahadur won the region of Kalanaur, He convinced and reassured the Muslims that they would not torture or give any form of injustice. He ensured them that they would be paid as according to the others and their work. Other than this, Banda Singh Bahadur had about five thousand Muslims in his army. These Muslims did not have any restrictions i.e. they could read the Namaz and khutba according to their wish.

ABSTRACT

It is said that History is a series of Biography. The life of any famous person includes much of the History of the period in which he lived. Banda Singh Bahadur was one of the great warrior who left his footprints on the sand of time. But unfortunately, no account of Banda Singh Bahadur written by a contemporary or any later writer so far-Muslim, Hindu, or Sikh exhibits his true character. The accounts of Historians like Muntakhib-ul-Lubab of Khafi Khan etc. are under this impression, influenced by their pro-Islamic prejudices against the non-Muslims. The account of Sikh Historians like Kahan Singh Nabha, Giani Gian Singh, Rattan Singh Bhangu about Banda Singh Bahadur gives unreliable information because a lot of misaldars were against to him for personal reasons. Therefore the present work will be an attempt to fill up this gap in the History of Punjab as well as the History of Banda Singh Bahadur. First chapter throw light on detail history of Banda Singh Bahadur's early life and influences with shaped his personality. He was born on 16 October 1670. The Birthplace of Banda Singh Bahadur is not the Rajori rather it's the place called 'Tachhal' which is 25-26 km from away from Rajori. He was married only once and was a 'Baptised' Sikh. He was married to Rani Ratna, she gave the birth to a son named Ajay Singh. Rani Ratna was the princesses of Chamba.

Second chapter is based on the Circumstances of the meeting between the Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Singh Bahadur. Mughal emperor Shehzada Azim (Bahadur Shah) was the first name of the King. There was a Sikh regiment under the king. The Sikh platoon that was under the king was headed by Sikh only. He was the great Soldier. He and his Sikh Army went to Nanded Sahib to visit their injured Guru Gobind Singh. Before his death, he told the followers to stand hand in hand with Banda Singh Bahadur at the time of need. The activities of Banda Singh Bahadur started on 31 January 1709 AD. He reached at Sehri Khanda. It was the first time when people got the feeling that they become independent. This was the positive reason due to which they were joined with the Banda Singh Bahadur in large numbers.

In the third chapter, discussed about the detailed history of the Battles of Banda Singh Bahadur and the strategy of the wars of him. He was conquered the Samana, Sadhaura, Chapperchiri, Rahoan, Lohgarh and many territories in Punjab. He used the techniques of 'Dhai Foot', Guerrilla technique and retreat-re-attack style of battles. Banda Singh Bahadur had won a large portion of the area of Punjab and instates of Sikh

**BANDA SINGH BAHADUR:
STRATEGY OF WAR AND IDEOLOGY**

A Thesis

*Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Award of the Degree for*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

**BY
KARAMJIT KAUR
UNI. ROLL NO. 156821004**

**SUPERVISOR
DR. DALJIT KAUR GILL**



**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF BASIC SCIENCES & HUMANTIES
GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY TALWANDI SABO
(PUNJAB) INDIA**

2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Compilation of this doctoral thesis was possible with the support of several people. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all of them. first of all, I am extremely grateful to my research guide Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill, Head of History Department, Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo for her valuable guidance scholarly Inputs and consistent encouragement. I received throughout that research work. A person with an amicable and positive disposition, my guide has always made himself available to clarify my doubt.

I am extremely thankful to Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo for providing me infrastructure facility to work in without which this work border not have been possible.

I express my gratitude to Dr. Kamaljeet Singh (Deputy dean Research) and Dr. Satnam Singh Jassal (College dean of UCBS&H), Dr Hardeep Kaur, Dr. Harpinder Kaur of Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo for their stimulating guidance continuous encouragement and supervision throughout the course of present work.

Dr. Surajit Brar are also worth mentioning that helped in quality improvements in this work.

No research is possible without the library, the centre of learning resources. I take this time to express my gratitude towards the library staff of Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo, Punjabi University, Patiala, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Bhai Veer Singh library, Amritsar, Sikh reference library, Amritsar, Dr. Ganda Singh reference library, Patiala, Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha library, Patiala, National archive, Patiala, Central library Patiala, Reference library Khalsa College Amritsar.

I also acknowledge the efforts of Director S.Avtar Singh Khosa who helped me in collection of material.

Last but not the least, I am grateful to my mother Rajender Kaur, father S.Tej Singh, my husband S. Jatinder Brar my son Noorpreetinder Brar, my brother Avneet Pal Khosa, friends and almightily God for their blessing and helping me in completing this work.

Karamjit Kaur

ABSTRACT

It is said that History is a series of Biography. The life of any famous person includes much of the History of the period in which he lived. Banda Singh Bahadur was one of the great warrior who left his footprints on the sand of time. But unfortunately, no account of Banda Singh Bahadur written by a contemporary or any later writer so far-Muslim, Hindu, or Sikh exhibits his true character. The accounts of Historians like Muntakhib-ul-Lubab of Khafi Khan etc. are under this impression, influenced by their pro-Islamic prejudices against the non-Muslims. The account of Sikh Historians like Kahan Singh Nabha, Giani Gian Singh, Rattan Singh Bhangu about Banda Singh Bahadur gives unreliable information because a lot of misaldars were against to him for personal reasons. Therefore the present work will be an attempt to fill up this gap in the History of Punjab as well as the History of Banda Singh Bahadur. First chapter throw light on detail history of Banda Singh Bahadur's early life and influences with shaped his personality. He was born on 16 October 1670. The Birthplace of Banda Singh Bahadur is not the Rajori rather it's the place called 'Tachhal' which is 25-26 km from away from Rajori. He was married only once and was a 'Baptised' Sikh. He was married to Rani Ratna, she gave the birth to a son named Ajay Singh. Rani Ratna was the princesses of Chamba.

Second chapter is based on the Circumstances of the meeting between the Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Singh Bahadur. Mughal emperor Shehzada Azim (Bahadur Shah) was the first name of the King. There was a Sikh regiment under the king. The Sikh platoon that was under the king was headed by Sikh only. He was the great Soldier. He and his Sikh Army went to Nanded Sahib to visit their injured Guru Gobind Singh. Before his death, he told the followers to stand hand in hand with Banda Singh Bahadur at the time of need. The activities of Banda Singh Bahadur started on 31 January 1709 AD. He reached at Sehri Khanda. It was the first time when people got the feeling that they become independent. This was the positive reason due to which they were joined with the Banda Singh Bahadur in large numbers.

In the third chapter, discussed about the detailed history of the Battles of Banda Singh Bahadur and the strategy of the wars of him. He was conquered the Samana, Sadhaura, Chapperchiri, Rahoan, Lohgarh and many territories in Punjab. He used the techniques of 'Dhai Foot', Guerrilla technique and retreat-re-attack style of battles. Banda Singh Bahadur had won a large portion of the area of Punjab and instates of Sikh

Rule Because of his strategies and experience. Banda Singh Bahadur also had a very motivated and determined Sikh Army that was totally fearless.

In fourth chapter, explained about the sacrifices of ignored Maha Nayak (Banda Bahadur) in Sikh history. After the loss of Lohgarh, He shifted his whole focus in establishing his power and influence in present day areas of Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Jammu etc. He made a '*Kachi Garhi*' (mud hut)in Kot Mirza Zan. After the great Siege of eight month by Mughals, the Sikhs got injured. Mughals arrested the Banda Singh Bahadur and his Khalsa army. At the 9 June 1716 Mughal Emperor Farukhsiyar ordered to execute the Banda Singh Bahadur. Hisson Ajay Singh and his wife Rani Ratan Kaur was executed before him then Banda Singh Bahadur himself was killed after enduring various tortures and finally the other Sikh commanders were also killed.

Fifth chapter is based on the vast contribution in the establishment of democratic rule in Punjab and about the personality of Banda Singh Bahadur. He is considered the one of the most important leader of the Sikh religion. He was a Baptised Sikh, The personality, face, body structure and way of talking of Banda Singh Bahadur resembled to the Guru Gobind Singh. He was very brave and intelligent army general. He laid the foundation for the establishment of Khalsa rule. He was not the enemy of Islam. He gave lands to the poor so that they could earn their living by showing them. He was a great revolutionary leader.

In sixth chapter the conclusion of the study of strictly based on facts and figures as yielded by the primary and contemporary sources.

Date

Karamjit Kaur

CONTENTS

S. No.	TITLE	PAGE No.
01	CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION	i
02	ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	ii
03	ABSTRACT	iii-iv
04	CONTENTS	v
05	GLOSSARY	vi-xiii
06	INTRODUCTION	1-24
07	CHAPTER-1 ANCESTORS AND LIFE OF BANDA SINGH BAHADUR	25-41
08	CHAPTER-2 BANDA SINGH BAHADUR'S RELATION WITH GURU GOBIND SINGH	42-63
09	CHAPTER-3 BANDA SINGH BAHADUR'S STRATEGY OF WAR AND IDEOLOGY	64-97
10	CHAPTER-4 THE SIEGE AND FALL OF GURDAS NANGAL	98-120
11	CHAPTER-5 PERSONALITY AND ACHIEVEMENTS	121-143
12	CONCLUSION	144-155
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	156-162

GLOSSARY

1	<i>Akal Purakh</i>	Akal Purakh refers to God in Sikhism.
2	<i>Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla</i>	The Mughal court News.
3	<i>Amin</i>	An official appointed to collect revenue.
4		A noble/a ruler.
5	<i>Amrit</i>	Nectar
6	<i>Amritdhari</i>	A Sikh who has taken part in the Amrit ceremonial / initiation into the Khalsa.
7	<i>Azan</i>	A Muslim call for prayer.
8	<i>Badshah</i>	King
9	<i>Bahadur</i>	Brave; a title of distinction.
10	<i>Bahurupia</i>	Allotropic
11	<i>Bairagi</i>	A Vaishnavism Sadhu or a Hindu religious mendicant of the order of the Bairagis.
12	<i>Bakhshi</i>	A pay master of troops
13	<i>Bakhshi-ul-mulk</i>	A pay-master general.
14	<i>Bang</i>	A Muslim call for prayer.
15	<i>Banjara</i>	A businessman/ an trader.
16	<i>Bhagat</i>	A Saint or religious devotee.
17	<i>Bikrami</i>	Bikrami Calendar starts with installation of King Vikramaditya as Emperor of India 2072 years ago.
18	<i>Biragi/Sadh</i>	A person of excellence, purity, perfection, honour, nobility, etc.
19	<i>Brahmcharya</i>	Celibacy
20	<i>Brahmins</i>	A member of the highest Hindu caste
21	<i>Butchers</i>	To kill a lot of people in a cruel way.
22	<i>Chabutra</i>	A raised platform.
23	<i>Chabutrako/twali</i>	Raised platform of the police station.
24	<i>Chak</i>	A village.
25	<i>Chakla</i>	An administrative division covering a number of parganas.
26	<i>Chaudhary/Chaudari</i>	The chief of the village, usually rich and distinguished

27	<i>Chhappers</i>	<i>Water tank/Pond</i>
28	<i>Chiris</i>	<i>Jungle</i>
29	<i>Chowki</i>	Out Post
30	<i>Darbar</i>	A hall in a Sikh place.
31	<i>Darshan</i>	Showing
32	<i>Darvesh</i>	A faqir(Religious Person).
33	<i>Dashmesh</i>	Guru Gobind Singh is called 'Dashmesh'.
34	<i>DeghTeg</i>	" <i>Degh</i> " means "large cooking pot" , " <i>Tegh</i> " means "Sword"
35	<i>Dera</i>	Camp
36	<i>Diwan</i>	The head of the finance department, a finance officer.
37	<i>Doabiyas</i>	The Doaba region's peoples called <i>Doabiyas</i>
38	<i>Du-aspa</i>	A soldier with two horses.
39	<i>Dupata</i>	A piece of cloth generally used by a lady to cover her head and face.
40	<i>Fakir</i>	A Muslim or, loosely, a Hindu religious ascetic who lives solely on alms.
43	<i>Farman</i>	A royal order.
44	<i>Fateh</i>	Victory
45	<i>Fateh</i>	The opening chapter of the Quran, the recitation in prayer is commenced therewith.
46	<i>Faujdar</i>	Literally, the official who maintained troops for law and order; the administrator of a <i>sarkar</i> under the Mughals, a commander.
47	<i>Faujdari</i>	An area under the jurisdiction of an army officer, an office of a faujdar.
48	<i>Fojdar</i>	Commander
49	<i>Garhi</i>	A fortress.
50	<i>Ghazi</i>	A crusader.
51	<i>Granth</i>	A holy book, a book; the Sikh scriptures.
52	<i>Gurdwara</i>	A Sikh place of worship
53	<i>Gurgaddi</i>	Guruship

54	<i>Gurmukhi</i>	The script used by Sikhs for writing Punjabi.
55	<i>Guru</i>	An influential teacher or popular expert.
56	<i>Guru</i>	A spiritual preceptor: a guide; a title of the mentors of Sikh religion, the Sikhs having a hierarchy of ten Gurus.
57	<i>Guru ka Banda</i>	Banda Singh Bahadur also known ' <i>Guru ka Banda</i> '.
58	<i>Guruyai</i>	Guruship
59	<i>Hakams</i>	A person who is knowledgeable in matters of Jewish law.
60	<i>Haveli</i>	A mansion, a big building, a dwelling place.
61	<i>Hukamnama</i>	A written order, a writ, a warrant, injunction.
62	<i>Hukamname</i>	A Hukamnama refers to a hymn from the Guru Granth Sahib which is given as an order to Sikhs or a historical order given by one of the Gurus of Sikhism.
63	<i>Id</i>	A periodical festival, a feast (day); a holy day,
64	<i>Id-ul-fitar</i>	The festival of the breaking of the Ramzan fast.
65	<i>Inam</i>	literally means a reward:
66	<i>Inam-jagir</i>	<i>Inamjager</i> was a revenue free jagir given to a person for his services.
67	<i>Jagir</i>	An assignment of land or land revenue or a fixed sum of money for services rendered or to be rendered; an estate.
69	<i>Jagirdars</i>	Feudal(official land holders)
70	<i>Jamadar</i>	A junior army officer
71	<i>Jamdhar</i>	A kind of weapon (said to be derived from jamb-side and dar-rending, i.e., side-rending weapon).
72	<i>Jamidhars</i>	Landlord
73	<i>Jamin</i>	Land
74	<i>Jarib</i>	A land measuring implement; a certain measure of land, 144sq yards.
75	<i>Jashan</i>	A feast, social entertainment.
76	<i>Jazira</i>	A weapon.
77	<i>Jehad</i>	A crusade, a holy war.
78	<i>Jeth</i>	A month in Indian calendar.
79	<i>Jhodhas</i>	A warrior.

80	<i>Jizya (Jazia)</i>	A discriminatory tax paid by the non-Muslims to the Muslim state.
81	<i>Jyoti-Jot</i>	True Guru Immersed in the eternal Light, Not Dead.
82	<i>Kacha</i>	Made of mud.
83	<i>Kachera</i>	Short trousers traditionally worn by Sikhs as a symbol of their religious.
84	<i>Kachigarhi</i>	A mud fortress
85	<i>Kadha</i>	Sikhs as a symbol of their religious and cultural.
86	<i>Kafir</i>	A non-believer
88	<i>Kakars</i>	Symbols of Khalsa Panth
89	<i>KalgidharPatshah</i>	Guru Gobind Singh is called <i>Kalgidhar</i> .
90	<i>kartik</i>	<i>Kartik</i> is a month in Indian calendar.
91	<i>Kashmiri</i>	Relating to Kashmir, its people, or their language.
92	<i>Khalsa</i>	The land held or administered directly by Government or the sovereign: the brotherhood of the Sikhs, particularly conforming to the instructions of Guru Gobind Singh.
93	<i>Khalsa mahal</i>	Area placed under the direct control of the ruler in respect of revenue collection.
94	<i>KhalsaPanth</i>	The <i>KhalsaPanth</i> tradition was initiated in 1699 by the last living Guru of Sikhism, Guru Gobind Singh.
95	<i>Khanda</i>	An emblem of Sikhism.
96	<i>Khatris</i>	a person who belongs to a Hindu mercantile caste.
97	<i>Khillat</i>	A robe of honour.
98	<i>Khutba</i>	A sermon or oration delivered after divine service every Friday,(byMuslims)
99	<i>Kos</i>	A distance of about three kilometres.
100	<i>Kotwal</i>	A police officer in charge of a kotwali or police station.
101	<i>Kotwali</i>	A police station.
102	<i>Kunjah</i>	A weapon.
103	<i>lashkar</i>	Army
104	<i>lubane</i>	Lubahna cast is mostly agriculturists and landholding community in Punjab.

105	<i>Mahal</i>	A revenue sub-division generally corresponding to pargana.
106	<i>Mahant</i>	A chief priest of a temple or the head of a monastery.
107	<i>Mansab</i>	A rank, an office or position.
108	<i>Mansabdar</i>	A rank-holder.
109	<i>Mantars</i>	A mantrar is a word or phrase repeated by Buddhists and Hindus.
110	<i>Masand</i>	A representative of the Sikh Guru.
111	<i>Minar</i>	A tower, a minaret.
112	<i>Mir-i-atish</i>	Commander of the artillery.
113	<i>Mohar</i>	A gold coin
114	<i>Mufti</i>	A pronouncer of fatwa or verdict according to Muslim law.
115	<i>Mughals</i>	<i>Mughal</i> origin founded by the successors of Tamerlane, which ruled much of India from the 16 th to the 19 th century.
116	<i>Mujhails</i>	The Majha region's peoples called <i>Mujhails</i> .
117	<i>mukhi</i>	Captain
118	<i>Munshi</i>	A scribe, a writer.
119	<i>Mutasaddi</i>	An accountant, a clerk.
120	<i>Naib</i>	A deputy.
121	<i>Naibqazi</i>	A deputy qazi, a junior judge.
122	<i>Naib-faujdar</i>	A Deputy commander.
123	<i>Naib-subedar</i>	A deputy Governor.
124	<i>Nain Jats</i>	Nain is a gotra found amongst Jats.
125	<i>Namaz</i>	Pray of God
126	<i>Namaz</i>	A prayer.
127	<i>Namazi</i>	A person who regularly performs his prayers.
128	<i>Nawab</i>	A Muslim nobleman or person of high status.
129	<i>Nazim</i>	The governor of a province.
130	<i>Pahul</i>	Pahul means Initiatory Rite of Sikhism; Amrit (Holywater).

132	<i>Panjpyare</i>	PanjPyare is the collective name given to five Sikh men.
133	<i>Panth</i>	A community; the title designates the Sikh community.
134	<i>Panthak</i>	Religious
135	<i>Pargana</i>	A tract of country consisting of generally fifty to hundred villages.
136	<i>Parganahs</i>	A group of towns in India.
137	<i>Parwana</i>	An order, a letter from a man in power to a dependent, a command, a warrant.
138	<i>Peshkar</i>	An assistant, a helper, a subordinate officer whose business it is to write the accounts, a steward.
139	<i>Phulkian</i>	<i>Phulkian Misl</i> of Sikh Empire.
140	<i>Pradhan</i>	A headman, a zamindar.
141	<i>Pucca</i>	Made of stones and bricks.
142	<i>Puccagarhi</i>	A fortress made of stones and bricks.
143	<i>Pyada</i>	A foot-soldier.
144	<i>Qanungo</i>	A keeper of the revenue records at the Pargana or taalluqa level.
146	<i>Qazi</i>	A judge, an official appointed by the government to administer civil and criminal justice according to Islamic law.
147	<i>Qazi-ul-qazat</i>	Judge of the judges, lord chief justice.
148	<i>Qiladar</i>	In charge of a fort.
149	<i>Qlla-mubarak</i>	An auspicious fort.
150	<i>Rabi</i>	The spring crop generally sown in October-November and reaped in April-May.
151	<i>Rahit</i>	Rules of conduct.
152	<i>Rajput</i>	A member of a Hindu military caste
153	<i>Ramjanga</i>	A weapon used in fighting.
154	<i>Rehit</i>	
155	<i>Sacha-padshah</i>	A true or spiritual king, usually used by the Sikhs for their Gurus.
156	<i>Sadh</i>	A person of excellence, purity, perfection, honour,

		nobility, etc.
157	<i>Sadhu</i>	A holy man, sage, or ascetic.
159	<i>Samat</i>	An era, <i>bikrami</i> era.
161	<i>Sanad</i>	A deed or grant or certificate from a person in authority, a royal ordinance.
162	<i>Sangat</i>	A congregation, a holy assembly.
165	<i>Sanrasi</i>	A renunciant, particularly of the Shaiva faith.
166	<i>Sanyasi</i>	A holy man, ascetic.
167	<i>Saraf</i>	A goldsmith, a banker.
168	<i>Sarai</i>	An inn.
169	<i>Sardars</i>	Sikh men, who wear a turban.
170	<i>Sarkar</i>	Government; an administrative unit.
171	<i>Sarpech</i>	An ornamental cloth tied upon the turban.
172	<i>Satya-yuga</i>	A golden age.
173	<i>Seer</i>	A measure of weight, generally reckoned as 1/40th of a maund.
174	<i>Sehajdhari</i>	A person born into a Sikh family.
175	<i>Senapat</i>	Commander
176	<i>Shahid</i>	A martyr.
177	<i>Shahukar/Sahukar</i>	A banker, a money-lender.
178	<i>Shariat</i>	The Islamic law.
179	<i>Shawl</i>	A woollen cloth.
180	<i>Sikh</i>	Adherent of Sikhism.
181	<i>Sikh misals</i>	Misl generally refers to the sovereign states of the Sikh Confederacy.
182	<i>Suba</i>	A province, a division of a kingdom.
183	<i>Suba, Parant</i>	State
184	<i>subedar</i>	a mid-level junior commissioned officer.
185	<i>Subedar</i>	The governor of a province.
186	<i>Swar</i>	A military rank, a horseman, a cavalier, a trooper.
187	<i>Taalluqa</i>	An administrative unit.
188	<i>Talwar</i>	Sword

189	<i>Tasbikhana</i>	A room used for meditation or counting of beads.
190	<i>Tehsildars</i>	
191	<i>Thana</i>	A police station.
192	<i>Thanedar</i>	The officer in charge of a thana, a commandant of a fort.
193	<i>Thanedars</i>	
194	<i>Teer</i>	Arrow
195	<i>ToorJats</i>	Toor is a gotra found amongst Jats, Sainis and Rajputs in Punjab and Haryana.
196	<i>Top</i>	A gun
197	<i>Top-khana</i>	The artillery.
198	<i>ulama</i>	Scholars, Muslim theologians.
199	<i>Vaisakhi</i>	a historical and religious festival in Hinduism and Sikhism. It is usually celebrated on 13 or 14 April every year.
200	<i>Vaishya</i>	a member of the third of the four Hindu castes
201	<i>Vakil</i>	An ambassador, an agent or a representative.
202	<i>Waqai-nawis</i>	A news-writer.
203	<i>Yogi</i>	A person who is proficient in yoga.
204	<i>Yogi</i>	A renunciant belonging to one of the twelve Gorakhnathi orders.
205	<i>Zafarnama</i>	The <i>Zafarnāma</i> was a spiritual victory letter sent by Guru Gobind Singh in 1705 to Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor of India.
206	<i>Zamindar</i>	A land-lord, proprietor or an occupant of land.
207	<i>Zamindari</i>	Area or jurisdiction of a zamindar, the office of zamindar.
208	<i>Zat</i>	A military rank.



GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work which is being presented in the thesis, entitled "**Banda Singh Bahadar: Strategy of War and Ideology**" in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Discipline of History** and submitted in Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo is an authentic record of my own work carried out during the period from August 2015 to November 2021 under the supervision of **Dr. Daljit Kaur**.

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

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

Karamjit Kaur

Ms. Karamjit Kaur

Ph.D Research Scholar

Univ. Roll No.: A156821004

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

Daljit Kaur

Dr. Daljit Kaur

(Supervisor)

The Ph.D Viva-voce examination of Ms. Karamjit Kaur has been held on 08.11.2021 and accepted for the award of Ph.D Degree.

Sulakhan Singh

Dr. S.S. Mann

(External Examiner)

Daljit Kaur

Dr. Daljit Kaur

(Supervisor)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Ahmed Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969.
- Bhai Chaupa Singh, *Rehatnama Hazori, Rehatname*, Patiala, 1984
- Bhai Santokh Singh, *Shri Guru Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. XIV, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patiala, 1992
- Bhai, Veer Singh (ed.), *Prachin Panth Parkash*, Sahit Sadan, New Delhi, 2008.
- Bhangu; Rattan Singh, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, Wazir Hind Press, Amritsar, 1914, 1918, 1938, 1962, 1972.
- Chhibar Kesar Singh, *Bansavalinama Dasanpatshahika*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1972.
- Data, Piara Singh, *Mahabali Banda Singh Bahadur*, National Book Shop, Playiar Garden Market Chandni Chowk, New Delhi.
- Giani Gian Singh, *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, Language Department, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987
- Giani, Gian Singh, *Shri Guru Panth Prakash* (Pather Chhap) Amritsar, 1889.
- Gulam Muhudin, *Fatuhnama-i-Samadi*, (ed. Balwant Singh Dhillon), Singh Brothers, Amritsar 2001.
- Gurbaksh Singh, *Asrar-i-Samadi*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969.
- Gurbaksh Singh, *Asrar Samdi*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972.
- Historian, Karam Singh, *Jivan Birtant Banda Singh Bahadur*, Research Board (SGPC), Amritsar 1982
- Historian, Karam Singh, *Jiwan Birtant Banda Bahadur*, Chief Kahalsa Diwan, Amritsar, 1907.
- Johan Surman and Edward Stephenson, Letter of 10th March, 1716, (ed. Ganda Singh), Quality printers, Calcutta, 1962.
- Khafi Khan, *Muntakhaf-ul-Lubab*, , Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1956.
- Khazan Singh, *History of the Sikh Religion*, Nawal Kishore Press, 2013
- Latif, Muhammad, *History of the Punjab*, Central Press Limited, Calcutta, 1891.
- Macauliffe, M.A. *The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus Sacred Writings and Authors*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1909.

- Major James Brown, *History of the origin and progress of the Sikhs*, (ed. Ganda Singh), Calcutta, 1962.
- Mirja Mohammad, *Ibratnama*, (ed. J.S Grewal and Irfan Habib), Tulika, New Delhi, 2007.
- Mohammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin Chagahata*, (ed. J. S. Grewal and Irfan Habib), Tulika, New Delhi, 2007
- Mohammad Qasim, *Ibratnama*, (ed. Grewal and Irfan Habib), Tulika, New Delhi, 2007.
- Mohammad Shafi Warid, *Mirat-i-Waridat*, (ed. J.S. Grewal and Irfan Habib), Tulika, New Delhi, 2007
- Munshi Ghulam Hussain, *Seir-ul-Muktakharin*, (ed. Eilliot & Dowson), Kitab Mahal, 1969.
- Munshi Gulam Hussain, *Seir-ul-Mutakhrin* (ed. Eilliot & Dowson) History Vol. 7, Kitab Mahal., Allahabad, 1956.
- Munshi Gulam Hussain's, *Seir-ul-Mutakhar in*, volume VII, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1956.
- Padam, Piara Padam (Pro.), introduction *Guru Kian Sakhiya*, Kala Mandir, Patiala, 1968
- Padam, Pyara Singh, *Guru Kia Sakhian*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1995
- Phillauri Shardha Ram, *Sikha de Raj di Vitheya*, Amritsar, 1888
- *Ruquat-i-Amin-ud-Daulah*, Letter iii, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, n d.
- Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mahima Prakash*, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patiala 1960.
- Satbir Singh, *Sada Ithas*, New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1962.
- Sheetal, Sohan Singh, *Banda Singh Saheed* (1946), Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 1966.
- Singh Santokh, *Sri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, *Khalsa Samachar*, Amritsar, 1926-37.
- Teja Singh, *Sikhs and Organizations*, Sikh Tract Society, Lahore, 1927.
- Varan Bhai Gurdas, Amritsar, 1962. Also published by S.G.P.C. Amritsar, 1964.
- Yar Muhammad Qalandar, *Dastur-ul-Insha* Letter (iii), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2011

SECONDARY SOURCES

ENCYCLOPEDIAS

- Bhatia, H.S., S.R. Bakshi, *Encyclopedia History of the Sikhs and Sikhism: 4 Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Deep & Deep Publication, New Delhi, 1999.
- Nabha, Kahn Singh (Bhai), *Gur Shabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, Patiala State Government, Patiala 1930. (Reprinted by Languages Deptt., Patiala, 1960)
- Singh, Harbans, *Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1998.
- Singh, Harbans, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Patiala Punjab University, 1999.

JOURNAL

- *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla'*, (It is the collection of Newspapers related to the Emperor's court Ganda Singh collected it and Bhagat Singh translated it into English), Punjab past and present, Punjabi University, Patiala, Oct. 1984
- Gulam Mohiyudeen, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, (ed. Ganda Singh) Punjab, past and present vol 1 (b) Part 1, 1967.
- *Journal of March from Delhi to Peshawar*, London, 1840.
- *The Calcutta Review*, Vol.2nd, No. 3rd October- December 1844, Third edition, Calcutta, 1846.
- *The Punjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala.
- *The Sikh Review*, Calcutta, 1987.

GAZETTEER

- *Amritsar District Gazetteer*, Chandigarh, 1976.
- *Gazetteer of India*, Imperial, Provincial Volume, Punjab, 1888-89.
- *Gazetteer of India*, Punjab State, Ludhiana, 1970.
- *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1890.
- *Gazetteer of the Multan District*, Lahore, 1884.
- *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, Calcutta 1883-1884.
- *Gurudwara Gazetteer*, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1964.
- *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series Punjab, Ferozpur District, New Delhi, 1984.
- *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial series, Punjab, 2nd Vol, Calcutta,

1908.

BOOKS

- Banerjee, Indu Bhushan, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol.I, 2nd edition, 1963.
- Batalvi, Ahmad Shah, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala 1969
- Bhai Chaupa Singh, *Rehatnama Hazori*, (ed), Piara Singh Padam, *Rehatname*, Patiala, 1984
- Bhai, Nand Lal, *Rahitnama*, Punjabi. University. Patiala, 1984.
- Bhai, Sohan Singh, *Shar-e-Baba, Banda The Brave or life and Exploits of Banda Bahadur*, Lahore, 1915.
- Bhai, Veer Singh (ed.), *PrachinPanthParkash*, SahitSadan, New Delhi, 2008.
- Chandra, Satish, *Parties and politics at the Mughal Court*, New Delhi ,1972.
- Data, Piara Singh, *Mahabali Banda Singh Bahadur*, National Book Shop, Playiar Garden Market ChandniChowk, New Delhi.
- Gardon, J.H., *The Sikh, Language Department*, Punjab, 1970.
- Gill Tarlochan Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, National Book Shop, Dehli, 1996.
- Gill, Amanpreet Singh, *the Guru and His Banda: History and Mythology before Nandhed*, Paper Presentation in Tri Centenary of Martyrdom.
- Gopal Singh, *A history of the Sikh people*, 1469-1988, World Book Center, New Delhi 1979.
- Greagor, W.L. M., *The history of the Sikhs*, Laden hall Street, London, 1846.
- Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*, S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1957.
- Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab, (Being the History of the Principal States in the Punjab and their Political Relations with the British Government Punjab)*, Printing Company, Lahore, 1870.
- Grover, Bhupender Singh, *Karam Singh Historian: JivanteRachna*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1986.
- Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*vol- 2, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, Private Limited, Delhi, 1978
- Henry Court, *History of the Sikhs*, Sushil Gupta (India) Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta-12, 1959.
- Historian, Karam Singh, *Jivan Birtant Banda Singh Bahadur*, Research Board(SGPC), Amritsar 1982.

- Jawandha, Nahar, *Glimpres of Sikhism*, Sanbon Publishers, New Delhi, 2010.
- Kapoor, S.S., *The Sikh religion and Sikh people's*, Hemkund Publishers, New Delhi, 1992.
- Kavi Sanapat, *Sri Guru Sabha*,(ed. Ganda Singh) Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala 1967.
- Khajan Singh, *History of the Sikh religion*, department of language, Punjabi University, Patiala 1914
- Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol 1, oxford, Bombay, 1973.
- Latif Muhammad, *History of Punjab*, Eurasia publishing house, New Delhi, 1964.
- Macaullif, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*, Volume 5, Delhi, 1909.
- Malcolm L.T. col., *Sketch of The Sikhs*, John Murray, London, 1812.
- Mata Joginder Kaur, *Baba Banda Singh Bahadur*, VishavJyoti , Chandigarh, 1964
- Mufti Ali-ud-din, *Ibratnama*, Department of Punjab, Historical studies, Punjabi University, Patiala
- Narang, Gokal Chand, *Glorious history of Sikhism*, New book Society of India, Delhi 1972
- Narang, Gokal Chand, *Transformaiton of Sikhism*, New Book Society of India, New Delhi, 1960
- Padam, Piara Padam (Pro.), introduction *Guru Kian Sakhiya*, Kala Mandir, lower Mall Patiala 1968
- Padam, Pyara Singh, *Guru Kia Sakhian*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1995
- Panchi, Surjit Singh, Banda Singh Bahadur, *Jiwan Sangrash and Praptia*, Udan , Mansa, 2006
- Payne, C.H., *A short history of the Sikhs*, Department of language Punjab, Patiala, 1970.
- Phillauri Shardha Ram, *Sikha de Raj di Vitheya*, Amritsar, 1888
- Prinsep, H.T., *Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab*, Language Department, Punjab, 1970.
- Qazi, Nur Muhammad, *Jangnama*,(ed.Ganda Singh), Amritsar ,1939.

- Sago, Harbans Kaur, *Banda Singh Bahadur and Sikh sovereignty*, Deep , New Delhi, 1979.
- Sarkar, Jadunath, *A short History of Aurangzab*, M.C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1916.
- Sheetal, Sohan Singh, *Banda Singh Saheed* (1946), Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 1966.
- Singh Gurbakhash, *Asrar-i- Samdi*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972.
- Singh Satbir , *Sada Ithas*, New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1962.
- Singh Sohan , *Life and Exploits of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2000.
- Singh Surinder , *Baba Banda Singh Bahadur*, Har Anand, Publishers, Delhi, 2009.
- Singh, Bhagat, *Sikh Polity in the Eighteen and Nineteenth Century*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978.
- Singh, Ganda, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala 1987
- Singh, Ganda, *Hukumname*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2013
- Singh, Gopal, *A History of the Sikh people*, World Book Centre, New Delhi, 1979.
- Singh, H.S., *Sikh Studies*, Hemkunt Press, New Delhi, 2008.
- Singh, Jagjit, *Temple of Sprituality or Golden Temple of Amritsar*, Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 1998.
- Singh, Kartar, *Stories from Sikh History*, Book VII, Hemkunt Press, New Delhi, 1975.
- Singh, Sukhdial, *Siri Akal Takht Sahib*, Gurmat Parkashan, Delhi, 2002.
- Singh, Sukhdial, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, (on the canvas of History) Gurmat Prakashan,, Patiala 2005.
- Singh, Surinder, *Sikh Coinage Symbol of Sikh Sovereignty*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi , 2004.
- Singh, Veer, *Parchin Panth Parkash*, Bhai Vir Singh SahitSadan, New Delhi, 1998.
- Singh, Visakha, *Malwa Sikh Itihas*, M.P. Publishing, Delhi, 2009.

- Sir Denzil Ibbetson, “*A Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North West frontier province*”, language department Punjab, Patiala 1970
- Spence, Johnny, Torrens, *History Battle fields of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Sukhdial Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur- Ik Itihasik Adian*, Sangam, Samana, 2018
- Suri, Sohan Lal, *Umdat-Ut- Tawarikh*, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1961.
- Suri, Vidya Sagar, *Punjab Da Itihas (1469-1857)*, Haryana Hindi Medium Academy, Chandigarh, 1975.
- Tada, Piara Singh, *Angule Sikh Yodhe*, Lok Hit Publications, Batala, 2002.
- William Irwin, *The Later Mughals* Volume 1 & 2, Oriental Books, New Delhi, 1971
- Wilson, C.R., *Early annals of the English in Bengal*, volume 2, part 2, Calcutta, 1911

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE

- *Proceedings of the Indian Conference*
- *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference* Irfan Habib, Presidential Address to the Medieval Section, Proceeding of the Punjab History Conference, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972