

PUNJABI SOCIETY IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

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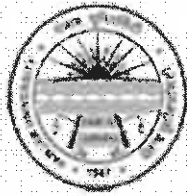
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The present study is based on a detailed examination of both Primary and Secondary sources collected from various Archives and Libraries. Primary source like contemporary and near contemporary works written in Persian, Urdu and Punjabi, Travel Accounts, Official Publications like Gazetteer and Census Reports. A number of secondary sources have consulted including Encyclopedia, Books and Research Articles. Ph.D Thesis and M.Phil Dissertations have also been found useful in our analysis.

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Chapter-1

INTRODUCTION

Social history is a branch of history that documents the life and condition of the people rather than the affairs of the state. Society is an ever changing complex system. It is seen as a web of social relations at times. The term society is derived from a Latin word *socius*. The term directly means association, togetherness, gregariousness, or simply group life. As the term is generally understood in sociology as well as in commonsense usage, a society is assumed to have three fundamental characteristics: firstly, it is bounded by readily discernible territorial borders; secondly, it is structurally and culturally distinctive; and thirdly it possesses an objective existence that is independent of the wills or actions of individuals. The concept of society refers to a relatively large grouping or collectivity of people who share more or less common and distinct culture, occupying a certain geographical locality, with the feeling of identity or belongingness, having all the necessary social arrangements or institutions to sustain it.¹

Society has been defined as is a system of usages and procedures, of authority and mutual aid, of many grouping and division, of control of human behavior and of liberties.² According to Giddings, “Society is the union itself, the organization, the sum of formal relations in which associating individuals are bound together”. Ginsberg says “A society is a collection of individuals united by certain relations or modes of behaviour which mark them off from others, who do not enter into these relations or who differ from them in behaviour”. According to Cooley “Society is a complex of forms or processes each of which is living and growing by interaction with the others, the whole being so unified that what takes place in one part affects all the rest”.³

Society has many basic features. First, a society is usually a relatively large grouping of people in terms of size. Society may be regarded as the largest and the most complex

¹. Zerihun Doda, *Introduction to Sociology*, Debub University, 2005, 62.

². R.M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society: An Introductory Analysis*, London, Macmillan, 1971 rep, 5 (first pub. 1950)

³. David G. Mandelbaum , *Society in India* , Bombay , Popular Parkshan, 1996 rep. , 25, (first pup. 1972).

social group that sociologists study. Second, its members share common and distinct culture. This sets it apart from the other population groups. Third, a society has a definite, limited territory. The populations that make up a given society are thus located in a definite geographical area. The people consider that area as their own. Fourth, the people who make up a society have the feeling of belongingness, identity and oneness. Fifth, members of a society are considered to have a common origin and common historical experience. They feel that they also have a common destiny. Sixth, members of a society may also speak a common mother tongue that serves as the means of interaction and as a national heritage. Seventh, a society is autonomous and independent in the sense that it has all the necessary social institutions and organizational arrangements to sustain the system. However, a society is not an island, in the sense that societies are interdependent. There have always been inter-societal relations. People interact socially, economically and politically.⁴

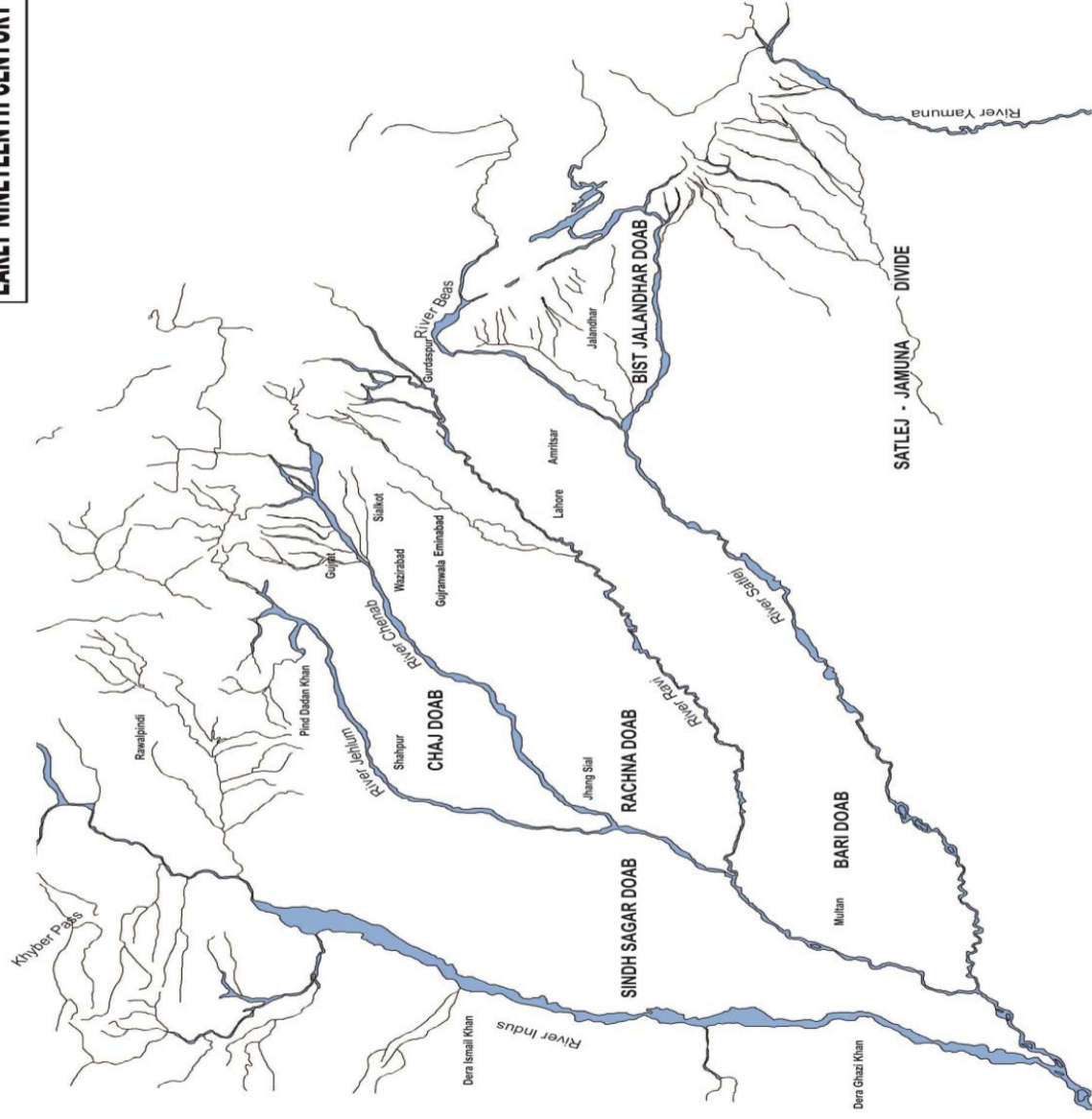
Society and social changes are the primary interest of historians. The various elements of society include social groups, institutions like family, kinship, marriage, relations among different people or groups, internal regulations, social mobility, personal behavior and variations in these features with time. Village, village community, *jati* and lineage are considered as a subsystem within the whole society. Every society has its own customs, folkways and religious institutions.⁵ A study of these aspects provides us a better understanding of society and such information adds up to a more complete picture of the past. The impact of state policy on the life of the people, the effect of economic development on different social groups, creates a clear picture of the social condition in earlier times, and the lifestyle and outlook of people.

The present research focuses on the Society in the Punjab during the early nineteenth century. The scope of the present research is to study varied aspects of Punjabi Society. For this study the 'Punjab' is seen as a geographical unit. The most remarkable feature of the north west of the Indian subcontinent is the Indus river system. It links the plains with the lower Himalayas in the north and the North West. The Aravali and the

⁴. Zerihun Doda, *Introduction to Sociology*, Debub University, 2005, 64-65.

⁵. David G. Mandelbaum, *Society in India*, Bombay, Popular Parkshan, 1996 rep., 25, (first pub. 1972)

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Thar Desert mark the southern boundary of this area. The Yamuna serves as the extremity of 'the east'. Thus, if we are looking for a broad geographical region, it appears to lie between the Himalayas, the Yamuna, the Aravalis and the Thar.⁶ The Punjab will encompass the land west of the Yamuna to the Indus River and from the Himalayan foothills to the confluence of the Panjnad and Indus River. To the south of Punjab is the dry, hilly topography of Rajasthan that merges to the East with the Great Indian Desert. Beyond Rajasthan, at the lower end of the Indus River, is Sind, a semi- desert land at the edge of south Asia.⁷

The time period of the research theme is early nineteenth century. The early nineteenth century which is the period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors, is very significant phase in the history of region. After the upheaval of the eighteenth century which saw a political struggle between the Mughals, Sikhs and Afghans, Mughal power had declined and new successor states emerged. In the later half of the eighteenth century the Punjab came under the control of over a hundred independent chiefs, both Sikhs and non-Sikhs. From 1799 onwards Ranjit Singh started a process of unification and expansion in the Punjab and established an empire during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The Maharaja established one of strongest armies of the time; reorganized the administration and revived trade and industry in the region. The early nineteenth century is therefore marked by political change as well as a centralized administration and economic prosperity. These changes would have had a deep impact on the social sphere as well. The early nineteenth century therefore deserves to be studied as an independent phase in history of the region.

A number of historians have written on the history of the Punjab during the early nineteenth century but they have taken interest largely in political history. A few scholars who have studied social-economic history have not focused on all the varied aspects of the society of the region. In fact, there is no monograph on the society of this time. Some of the works have a chapter on 'society' such as 'Elements of Continuity and Change in

⁶ J.S. Grewal, *Social and Culture History of the Punjab: Prehistoric, Ancient, and Early Medieval*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2004, 11.

⁷ . Kenneth W. Jones, *The New Cambridge History of India: Socio-religious reforms movements in British India*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 1994.

Society’ in Fauja Singh’s *Some Aspect of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*; ‘Social and Cultural life of the Punjab in Ranjit Singh’s time’ in Bhagat Singh’s *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*; ‘Social, Economic and Religious conditions in the Punjab under Ranjit Singh’ in B.J. Hasrat’s *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*; ‘Society’ in J.S. Grewal’s *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh : Structure of Power, Economy and Society*. A bulk of the relevant secondary literature is in the form of articles. The articles relate to specific aspects of society e.g. social groups like the *udasis*, *vaishnavas*, craftsmen and artisans, peasant proprietors, on gender, life and manners, on education, agrarian society, and social mobility.

The relevant work on the history of the early nineteenth century Punjab may be grouped in to five categories. In the first category, there are books related to eighteenth and nineteenth century. In second category are the works deals with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In the third category are the works deals with the, special aspects of history in early nineteenth century. In the fourth category, there are several articles on different aspects of society. In the fifth category are dissertations and thesis. Books related to first category are i.e. N.K. Sinha’s work *Rise of the Sikh Power* (1960) he traced the history of the Sikh struggle for independence in the eighteenth century and Sikh rule in Punjab before the advent of Ranjit Singh. The work covers Mughal disintegration, anarchy and confusion in Punjab from 1752-61, after Panipat, de facto Sikh sovereignty, position of cis Suttlej Sikhs, Sikh confederation, feudalism and polity, economy and military organization of the Sikhs under the *misls*. G.L. Chopra’s work *The Punjab as a Sovereign State, 1799-1839* (1960) is in six chapters which cover events leading to the unification of the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, relations of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with his neighbours, army of the Punjab, civil administration, court and camp of Ranjit Singh and his life sketch. Syed Muhammad Latif’s work *History of the Punjab From the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time* (1964) begins from ancient times and covers the Medieval period, rise of the Sikhs, life of Ranjit Singh and period following the death of Ranjit Singh. K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta’s edited work *History of the Punjab* (1969) covers nearly four hundred crucial years of Punjab history from the time of Guru Nanak till the uprising of 1857.



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Maharaja Ranjit Singh meeting his nobles and advisors

Source: <https://www.picswe.com/pics/maharaja-ranjit-singhs-family-tree-6f.html>

C.H. Payne's in his work *A Short History of the Sikhs* (1970) talks about the Sikh Gurus, early struggle and constitution of the Khalsa, Ranjit Singh administration and court of Maharaja, decline of Sikh power, anarchy and Sikh wars. Bhagat Singh's work *Sikh Polity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1978) traces the evolution of the independent kingdom of the Punjab and its administrative institutions under the Sikh *sardars* and Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The twelve chapters cover Guru Nanak's response to contemporary politics and society, foundation of Sikh commonwealth, the Khalsa as a political force, *misl* organization, *misldari* to monarchy, Sikh concept of state, state and religion, state polity of Ranjit Singh, court of Sikh rule, structure of Maharaja's state and Sikh polity to retrospect. Piara Singh Datta's in his work *The Sikh Empire: 1708-1849 A.D.* (1986) presents in detail the Sikh history beginning from Banda Singh Bahadur till the decline of Sikh kingdom. N.M. Khilnani's *Rise of Sikh Power in Punjab* (1990) gives a panoramic survey of the Sikh history. The work covers period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, rise of British imperialism in Punjab, Henry Lawrence as President at Lahore, rebellion of Mul Raj, Punjab's betrayal in 1857, Sikhs as co-architects of the new Punjab, collapse of political system, emerging perspectives of the Punjab Solution, errors in tackling the Punjab solution, political settlement and lastly, the deepening stalemate in the Punjab. J.S. Grewal's in his work *The Sikhs of the Punjab* (1990) covers the history of the Sikhs, starting from the foundation of Sikh Panth to the last decades of 20th century. It also covers the rise of Sikhs to political power and the Sikh empire. The author has touched upon various aspects to Sikh rule rarely touched upon by any historian. Hari Ram Gupta's *History of the Sikhs Vol. V: The Sikh Lion of Lahore (Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1799-1839)* (1991) presents the saga of campaigns and conquests followed by a description of relations with neighbours and other. He gives the details of civil, financial administration, the judicial system and the law and order machinery during reign of Ranjit Singh, economic prosperity, widespread development in agriculture, festivals and fairs held frequently, happiness and loyalty among people, vivid portrayal of the Sikh Lion, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's *darbar*, impressive personality and his prominent place in history.

Khuswant Singh's *History of the Sikhs Volume I: 1469-1839* (1999) an excellent but concise, and authentic history of the Sikhs. He talks about the history of the Sikh

Gurus, Banda Bahadur, *misl* period, rise of Sukarchakia *misl*, and rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Khuswant Singh's *History of the Sikhs* Volume 2: 1839-1988 (1989), he talks about the factors responsible for the failure of Sikh kingdom, Sikh wars, and consolidation of British power in the Punjab, social, religious, and political movements, politics of partition, independence and the demand for a Sikh homeland.

Patwant Singh's work *The Sikhs* (1999) deals with the Sikh Gurus, empire of the Sikhs, betrayals and British period. The writer has tried to emphasize the role of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and hopes that the rulers of the coming times will not commit the same mistakes which the earlier ones did. Sohan Singh Seetal in his work *Rise of the Sikh Power in the Punjab* (2010) describes the life and mission of Banda Bahadur, who changed the scenario in the Mughal Punjab. It talks about the atrocities on Sikhs, on Banda, sacrifices of eminent Sikhs, rise of Sikh *misls*, invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali and achievements of the Sikhs.

In second category are the works deals with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. O.P. Singh's *Ranjit Singh and His Successors: 1780-1849* (1955) presents a detail study of Sikh kingdom. He describes in detail the life, conquests, various aspects of administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh rule. There is also description of his successors who could not save the Sikh kingdom and it fell down like a pack of cards. Khushwant Singh's *Ranjit Singh: Maharaja of the Punjab (1780-1839)* (1962) discusses the family background of the Maharaja, his times, his conquests, battles and friendship with the British and about the Kohinoor. Lepel Griffin's *Ranjit Singh* (1967) presents the life sketch and times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It begins with a note on the Sikhs and their theocracy, describes the state of Punjab at Ranjit Singh's birth, his life as Maharaja, his court army and the administration the saga of his conquests and an account of the English and the Cis-Sutlej territory. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh edited work *Maharaja Ranjit Singh First Death Centenary Memorial* (1970) is a collection of essays on Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It presents the historical background and a short life-sketch; it presents certain essential features of his work, his valiant character and an account of his policies. It also provides the information of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's family and the letters of Maharaja Dalip Singh. N.K. Sinha's work *Ranjit Singh* (1975) runs into eleven chapters and throws light

on various aspects of the Sikh ruler's regime. It covers early life of Ranjit Singh, conquests, consolidation, relations with the British Government, N.W. Frontier problem, and relations with other state, administration, army, *darbar* and personality.

B. J. Hasrat in his book *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh* (1977) studies diplomacy and politics of the great Maharaja, as also the social, economic and religious conditions of the Punjab under Sikh rule. The work furnishes an account of the rise of Ranjit Singh to political power till the treaty of Amritsar. Sikh conquest of Multan and Kashmir with vagaries of administration system in both the *subas* are discussed. Sikh-Afghan relations and the conquest of Peshawar and the trans-Indus region and system of administration set up are thereafter detailed. How Ranjit Singh's designs on Sind were thwarted by British diplomacy is described. This work discusses the character of the Maharaja in all its contradictory aspects, his pastimes, habit, treatment of foreigner and his extraordinary candid dialogues with them. This is followed by an account of the family of the Maharaja- Kharak Singh, Naunihal Singh, Mai Chand Kaur, Sher Singh, Peshawara Singh, Rani Jindan and Dalip Singh with their characteristic role in Sikh history. Ranjit's personalized administration and power was principally sustained by persons whom he himself chose and raised to political power. It explains an account of the *Firangi* officers at the court of Ranjit Singh and the so-called impact of European discipline on the Khalsa Army. Ranjit Singh's diplomacy, internal and external policy and foreign relations are then described in some detail. Socio, economic and religious conditions in the Punjab are briefly given. This work also deals with Literature, Folklore and Art in the Punjab under the Sikhs. However, this work provides us detail information about the diplomacy and politics, socio-cultural and religious conditions in the Punjab briefly mentioned.

Harbans Singh's *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (1980) presents the life sketch of Maharaja Singh Ranjit Singh. His reign was a glorious period in the history of Punjab. Ranjit Singh has been described as the victor of battles and master of Royal capital. Important events that took place after Ranjit Singh have been elaborated on. These are the visit of Holkar, treaty with the English, the conquest of the Pathan country. He also talks about the history of Koh-i-noor diamond. The work also lists the foreigners at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The solemn event-the death of the hero and the happy

event-the marriage of Nau Nihal Singh have also been dealt with in this book. K.K. Khullar's *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (1980) presents a various facets of the life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His court life, *darbar*, *sardars*, conquests etc. have been describes in detail. J.S. Grewal's *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society* (1981) present his view on the Political structure, the economy and the society during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. All these books do not present complete picture of society but refer to some relevant aspects only.

Fauja Singh in his book *Some Aspects of State and Society under Ranjit Singh* (1982) sheds considerable light on the nature of the state and society under Ranjit Singh. It deals with the rise of the Sukarchakias, political ideas of the Sikhs before Ranjit Singh, nature of monarchy, repository of sovereign power, cultural basis and frame work, territorial organization, concept of state role and distribution power, checks and balance, modernization of armed forces, law and justice, agrarian economy, industry and trade, change in society, diplomacy and politics. The work discusses the state set up by Ranjit Singh: its nature in its various aspects, its organizations in respects of territorial divisions and distributions of power, its legal and economic policies and its major diplomatic problems. So far as society is concerned, only such aspects of it have been noticed as carry the significance of being indicative of the impact of the state policies. As such, the structure of the society falls outside the scope of this work. Similarly the general pattern of life lived by the different strata of the society has been considered not falling strictly within its province. This work is a good study of the nature of state but it does not focus on the whole society, and does not provide a detailed account.

Sohan Singh Seetal's, *The Sikh Empire and Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (1982) he talks about the ancestors of Maharaja, Mahan Singh, early life of Ranjit Singh, expansion of kingdom, consolidation, northward expansion, Kashmir, Multan, Peshawar, etc. He has also covered his personality, army, income, family and officers. Ganda Singh's *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: a Life Sketch* (1989) complete history of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Origin and detail of ancestor's contribution to Sikh struggle is very significant. He talks about the various activities, battles, treaties and conquests. In his book *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times* (1990), Bhagat Singh discusses the political history of Maharaja

Ranjit Singh but also contain a brief discussion about some of the social-cultural and economic aspects of the region. An attempt has been to study about Maharaja's ancestors, early life, his character and personality, his family, rise to power, his concept of kingship, conquests, North-West Frontier policy, relations with the British, his administration institutions, his British and Afghans policies and socio-cultural and economic developments under him. This book mainly deals with the politics, some information on society given by the writer.

S.R. Bakshi's (ed.) *History of the Punjab Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (1991) deals with the history of Punjab and the Anglo-Sikh relations during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the events which had taken ugly shape in the Lahore *darbar* after the death in 1839. It depicts the Maharaja's rise to power, his conquests of several *misls* in the region, his confrontation with the British, his statesmanship and administrative capability which enable him to carve out a huge empire. He talks about the political condition, emergence of Ranjit Singh, British interference policy of expansion, Maharaja's death and Lahore *darbar*. Kuldip Singh Sidhu's *Khalsa Darbar and Attariwala Sardars* (1994) mainly deal with the events of the crucial period of Lahore *darbar*. The narration begins with the rise and fall of the *misls*, a brief account of the Sardars of Attari and the great Lion of The Punjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, events that took place after his demise, the intrigues, the first Anglo-Sikh war and the post war events, factors that led to revolt in Multan, battles of Ramnagar and Chillianwala and Gujrat the battle which was never fought have been discussed in this work.

In the third category are the works deals with the, special aspects of history in early nineteenth century. Sita Ram Kohli's in his work *Sunset of the Sikh empire* (1967) talks about the efforts of the builders of Sikh kingdom went in vain as after about forty years, a decline had sat in the Sikh kingdom. Intrigues, conspiracies marred the peace of this region. Hira Singh as the Prime Minister of Punjab, kingdom of Lahore becoming state of Lahore, rising of Multan, Hazara episode and defection of Sher Singh, are some of the events discussed in the book. All these works mainly deal with the political history of the region; consequently, they provide only brief and stray bits of information on society.

Indu Banga's *Agrarian System of the Sikh: Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century* (1978) deals with the land and the people, rulers, vassals, revenue administration units and functionaries, land revenue, *jagirdars*, *dharmarth* and land tenure. Jagjiwan Mohan Walia's *Parties and Politics at the Sikh court 1799-1849* (1982) deals with parties and policies at the Sikh court till the annexation of the Punjab. In the work an attempt has been made to present a systematic and critical study of the role of parties and policies during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit and his successors. Radha Sharma's work *Peasantry and The State: Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (2000) covers the period of 1799 to 1849, for the study of peasantry and its various aspects. This work has been divided into seven chapters which cover demography, land and its cultivators, proprietors, non-proprietary cultivators, intermediary *zamindars*, state policies and the condition of the peasantry and transition into the British Raj. All the works in this category discuss a particular aspect of the history of the early nineteenth century and not a focus on society as a whole.

In the fourth category, there are several articles on different aspects of society⁸. Some articles on *udasis* written by Sulkhan Singh like 'Role of the Udisis in Socio-Cultural History of the Punjab: Late 18th and Early 19th century', 'The Udisis in the Early Nineteenth Century', 'State Patronage to the Udisis under Maharaja Ranjit Singh', 'Patronage of the Udisis'. All these articles present the significant role of the social-religious orders of the *udasis* in different fields like religion, philosophy, literature, indigenous system of education and public welfare. These also talks about the important *udasis* institutions, found in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Lahore, Gujranwala and Khangarh.

The peasant proprietors are the focus in some articles by Radha Sharma, 'The Peasant-Proprietors in the core region of the Dominions of Maharaja Ranjit Singh', 'The Peasant Proprietors in the Districts of Jullunder and Hoshiarpur in the Early Nineteenth Century' and 'Peasant Proprietors'. In these articles the author talks about the two categories of Proprietors, those who owned but did not cultivate land and those who cultivated their own land. She gives the number of peasant proprietors. She briefly

⁸. The detail of articles is given in the bibliography.

discusses the crops and methods of assessment and rates of land revenues. In work on agrarian society, namely, 'The State and Agrarian Society in Early Nineteenth Century Punjab' and 'Agrarian Structure in the Districts of Amritsar and Lahore in the early nineteenth century', Radha Sharma talks about the state policy towards the agrarian classes in the Punjab during the early nineteenth century. The agrarian society in the Punjab during the early 19th century consisted mainly of three class: the proprietors, the tenant cultivators and the intermediaries. There is also evidence of the artisans and menials.

Some articles on women's condition can also be located in this time frame. 'Women's Condition in the Punjab in Early Nineteenth Century' written by Bharat Inder Singh and 'Condition of the Women in the Punjab in the Early Nineteenth Century' written by Dr. Bhagat Singh. Authors talk about the position of women in Muslim, Sikh society and Hindu society. They also discuss the social rituals and customs like female infanticide, child marriage, *purdha*, *sati*, polygamy, etc. and slavery among the women of the Punjab. In the context of on social life, 'Social Life in Sikh Kingdom' written by P.N. Khara and 'Life and Manner of the Common People in Ranjit Singh's Panjab, 1799-1839' written by Hari Ram Gupta, discusses the social life of the people of the Punjab of first half of the nineteenth century. They talk about the ruling class, dancing girls, about the great Sardars, Muslims, Sikh and Rajputs, Sadhus and Fakirs, condition of women, slavery of women, village life, custom and superstitions though briefly. S.P. Sangar in his articles 'Female Ornaments of the 19th century' discusses the ornaments of nineteenth century. He gives information about the different type of ornaments i.e. head ornaments, neck ornaments, ornaments for arms, bracelets, finger rings and anklets.

Social mobility has also been one of the theme studied during this phase, 'Social Mobility in the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh' and 'Social Mobility' written by Indu Banga, brings out aspects of change among the social classes that interacted with the state in a well-defined context. She focuses on the agrarian classes who owned and cultivated land, the ruling classes who utilized and controlled the agrarian surplus, and the intermediaries who received share in the surplus produce on different grounds. The social structure and social classes have also been studied. For instance 'Social Structure'

and ‘Social Structure in the Upper Bari Doab towards the End of Sikh Rule’ written by Bachan Singh Hira. Author talks about the proprietary rights. Among the proprietors there were holders of large or small piece of land. He also gave information on *zamindars* or *taalluqdars*. Author also discusses two broad categories of tenants; resident and non-resident.

There are two articles written by Daljinder Singh Johal which provides us information about the society of Punjab. In his article ‘Literary evidence on Social Structure in the Punjab (1750-1850)’, he discusses the social and cultural history of the Punjab from 1750 to 1850. He also talks about the officials, the commercial classes, the industrial worker, the agriculturists, the religious functionaries, the menials and the vagrants, village community and its organization. Johal’s in his another article ‘Society in Punjabi Literature, 1750–1850’ talks about the ruling class, trading castes, agricultural tribes, *karewa*, artisans, professional entertainers and religious persons like Sayyids, Shaikhs, Brahmans and Bhais.

Indu Banga in her article ‘The Ruling Class in the Kingdom of Lahore’ discusses the composition of the ruling class, composite character of the ruling class, privileges enjoyed by the ruling class and their life style. ‘Artisans in the Panjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh’ and ‘Artisans’ articles are written by Harish Chander Sharma. Both the articles, study the artisans primarily in the context of the agrarian society and also touches upon their changing conditions during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Some other aspects which have been taken up for research are ‘Education during Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s Reign’ written by Dr. M.R. Kansal discusses the concept of education and system of education in Punjab. There was a system of indigenous education in the Punjab and there was no system of state education. Author also talks about the various types of institutions like *pathshalas*, *madrasas* and Gurmukhi, about the female education, patronage gives to education by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Asha Wadhwa in her article ‘Vaishnava Establishment in the Panjab: Late Eighteenth- Early Nineteenth Century’ talks about the Vaishnava centres and grants received by them from the Sikh rulers. She also tells us that the Vaishnava *mahants*

started patronizing the painters in the service of their cult. Sneh Lata in 'Shaivism in Medieval Punjab' discusses the important Shaivism centres in the medieval Punjab. Shaivism centers received grant from the Sikh rulers. The interest of the Sikh rulers in Hindu religious institution equally evident from the patronage they extended to the Shaiva *jogis*. She also talks about the major religious belief and practices of Shaivism.

Reeta Grewal in her articles 'Polity, Economy and Urbanization Early 19th Century Punjab' and 'Urbanization' give an overview of the urban pattern in the early 19th century Punjab with regard to the number of urban centers, their hierarchy and their distribution over the region between the river Sutlej and the Indus. The urban pattern is related to the geography, economy and polity of the time-the three variables, which largely influenced the process of urbanization and the development of towns and cities in medieval Punjab. All these articles gives information on patronage given to the *udasis*, peasant proprietors, agrarian structure, women's condition, social life, female ornaments, system of education, social structure in the Punjab, ruling class, social mobility, artisans, social institution like the family, and important vaishnavas centers. All these articles provide some information about only one aspect of society and do not go into an in depth discussion. They do not present a complete picture of society.

In the fifth category are dissertations and thesis. Reeta Grewal's dissertation *Polity, Economy and Urbanization: Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (1983) give an overview of the urban pattern in the early 19th century Punjab with regard to the number of urban centers, their hierarchy and their distribution over the region between the river Sutlej and the Indus. Daljinder Singh Johal's in his doctoral thesis, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)* (1985), presents the social and cultural life of the Punjab in Punjabi literature during mid-eighteenth and mid nineteenth centuries. Anurupita Kaur's dissertation 'Social Change in Early Nineteenth Century Punjab' (2010) discusses the social change that took place in the various social classes, such as ruling class, agrarian classes ranking from intermediaries of different types to actual cultivators and artisans, trading and manufacturing classes, religious elites, and charitable grantees. It does not touch any other aspect of society. Surekha in her dissertation, *The Evidence Of Umdat-ut-Tawarikh On Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times* (2010)

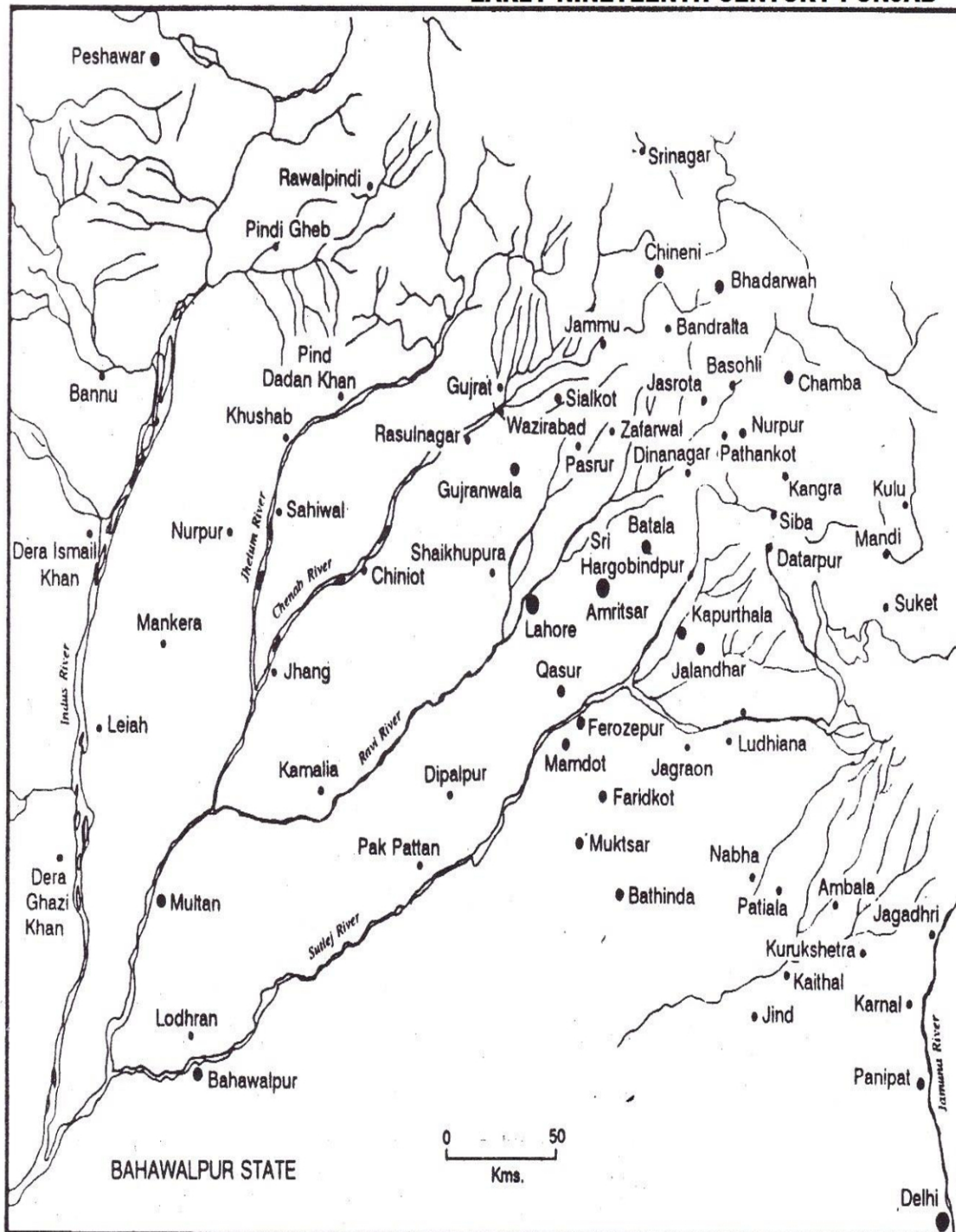
discusses the different aspects of socio-cultural life in relation to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his religiosity, practice of exchange of gifts, the celebration of festivals at the court, social customs related to the reception of important dignitaries and ceremonies related to the life cycle i.e. marriage and death. Renu Bala's in her doctoral thesis *Society and Culture of the Punjab: Late Eighteenth-Early Nineteenth Century* (2011), discuss the social structure, Position of women, means of entertainment and recreation, material comforts, customs, rites and ceremonies and literature.

Most of these works on the early nineteenth century and Maharaja Ranjit Singh are largely related to political history but they also contain a brief discussion about some of the social-cultural and economic aspects of the region. These works gives some information on religious, sectarian and racial group, racial class, village community, mercantile communities, agriculture communities, pastoral tribes, artisans and craftsmen. These also talks of social structure and state patronage to social group, customs, position of women, state patronage to social groups. However, the discussions are not detailed nor do they present a complete picture of society. For instance, social attitudes, beliefs and practices, as well as social institutions have not received much attention.

It is evident therefore that there is no specific work on the Punjabi society in early nineteenth century, although there are ample studies on the political history of the early nineteenth century. A few scholars who have studied social-economic history have not focused on all the varied aspects of the society of the region. In fact, there is no monograph on the society of this time. The present research would attempt to identify the different caste and there distribution, social institutions, daily routine of the people, superstitions followed by the people in their daily life, participation of the people in fairs and wedding, sacred places, religious beliefs and practices, mentalities of the people, idea about the origin of the world, social behavior and attitudes, in an attempt to present a broad understanding of a society in this time.

Comparison is a fundamental tool of analysis. The comparative framework enables us to make a better understanding of society through comparison. Punjabi society is traditional, so it is relevant for us, to study Punjabi society. The present study is based

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB



Based on J. S. Grewal's *THE SIKHS OF THE PUNJAB*.

on a detailed examination of both Primary and Secondary sources collected from various Archives and Libraries. Primary source like contemporary and near contemporary works written in Persian, Urdu and Punjabi, Travel Accounts, Official Publications like Gazetteer and Census Reports. A number of secondary sources have been consulted including Encyclopedias, Books and Research Articles. Ph.D Thesis and M.Phil Dissertations have also been found useful in the study. Various Archives and Libraries such as National Archives of India, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi, Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh and Patiala, Dwarka Das Library, Punjab Digital Library and A.C. Joshi Library, Chandigarh, Beant Singh memorial Library, Chandigarh, Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha Library and Ganda Singh Library, Punjabi University, Patiala, Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Sikh History Research Library, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

The present research focuses on the society in the Punjab during the period of the early nineteenth century. The study has been divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is an introduction on society and the review of studies in the context of society. The introduction also looks at the area of the Punjab which has been taken up in this research. The chapter outlines the way in which the present research is organized.

The second chapter looks at the historical background of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It also presents the new social situation of that period.

The third chapter describes the important institutions of the society like caste, family and marriage. It also looks at geographical locations of the different castes and role of the family and marriage in the society.

This fourth chapter describes the daily routine of the Punjabi people. It depicts the time spent on daily basis on the different activities by men and women. The chapter outlines the activities of individuals in his/ her daily life. It also talks about the superstitions that made many changes in the daily routine of the people. It discusses how wedding and fairs provided a diversion to daily life of the people and they were felt refreshed.

The fifth chapter deals with the varied sacred places in Punjab in the early nineteenth century. The chapter identifies the various religious places considered important in the early nineteenth century and the beliefs and practices attached to them. The chapter looks at the Hindu religious places, Muslim religious spaces, Sikh religious sites and popular pilgrimages.

The sixth chapter deals with the mentalities of the Punjabi people in the early Nineteenth century. Chapter gives the idea about the origin of world. It talks about the etiquettes followed by the people and looks at the noble work done by the people of Punjab for the society; it also looks at the knowledgeable persons, who lived in the Punjab and inspiration for the other people.

The seventh chapter is a conclusion which presents a summary of the research and underlines the significant aspects on social life in the early nineteenth century.

Chapter-2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The present chapter intends to look at the historical background of the eighteenth century in order to provide a context to the period of study. The present chapter is divided into four sections, the first section looks at the history of the eighteenth century. The second section describes the history of the early nineteenth century. The third section presents a new social situation of that period, while the fourth section presents an overview. The eighteenth century in Indian history was marked by the decline of the Mughal Empire and the rise of successor states and new powers like the Marathas, the British and the Sikhs. The rise of the Singh's to claim power during the eighteenth century was a part of this political process. The combination of religious piety and disciplined worldliness that was evolved by Guru Nanak and elaborated by his successors was extended to the realm of politics by Guru Gobind Singh.¹ At the time of the Guru Gobind Singh's death in 1708, his conflict with the Punjab hill chiefs and Mughal rulers had not been resolved.² The conflict was taken further by Banda Singh Bahadur, a follower of Guru Gobind Singh, who led an uprising against the Mughals and was joined by some of the old followers of Guru Gobind Singh. He had also been given letters (*hukamnamas*) addressed to the Singhs to come to his support.³

I

Before Bahadur Shah appeared on the scene in December 1710, Banda established an independent political unit of the Sikhs. He had occupied the entire *sarkar*

¹. J.S Grewal , *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, 80;Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, Jawahar Singh Kirpal Singh & Company, Amritsar, 1955, 17.

². J.S Grewal, *From Guru Nanak To Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Eassays In Sikh History* , Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1972, 68.

³. Banda Bahadur and his companions moved cautiously towards Delhi, entered the *sarkar* of Hissar and started collecting men and materials for military action. By November, 1709, they had gathered enough strength to storm the town of Samana in the *sarkar* of Sarhind. The *faujdar* of Samana was overpowered, its inhabitants were killed in thousands and the town was razed to the ground. The scale as well as the suddenness of Banda's action justified the emperor's anxiety: J.S Grewal , *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 83; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar, 1962 (4th ed.), 80-81.

of Sarhind and several *parganas* of the *sarkar* of Hissar; had invaded the *sarkar* of Saharanpur in the Jamuna, Ganga *doab*; and the Singhs had raised the revolt against the Mughal authorities in the Bist Jalandhar and the upper Bari *doab* before the fall of Sarhind in May, 1710. Banda had conquered Shahabad, Sadhaura and Banur on the east of Sarhind, after its fall he had occupied the territory on the west in the entire area between the river Satlej and Jamuna, he made his own administrative arrangements, appointing his own *faujdar*s, *diwans* and *kardars*.⁴ The old fort of Mukhlispur was made his capital with the name of Lohgarh. He introduced a new calendar dating from the capture of Sirhind. He struck coins to mark his reign bearing the names of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh and similar inscription he started using for the seal on his orders (*hukmnamas*).⁵ The Sikhs occupied the important town of Rahon in the Jalandhar Doab. Batala, Kalanaur and Patahankot, in the upper Bari *doab* and a long belt of territory along the Shivaliks, from the Jamuna to the Ravi, in less than a year.⁶

Banda Bahadur extended his control and remained unsubdued till 1712. When Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne in 1713, Abdus Samad Khan was appointed governor of Lahore, with his son, Zakaria Khan as the *faujdar* of Jammu. He was ordered to expel Banda from Sadhaura, or if possible to destroy him altogether.⁷ Banda Bahadur was compelled to surrender before the forces of Abdus Samad Khan at Gurdas Nangal with over 700 Sikhs; he was taken to Delhi and executed in June 1716 near the tomb of Shaikh Qutbuddin Bhaktiyar Kaki close to the Qutb Minar.⁸ After Banda Singh's death, with brief intervals of respite here and there, the history of the Sikhs is a record of a triangular struggle between the Sikhs on one side and the Mughals and the Afghans on the other side. It ultimately resulted in the occupation of the Punjab by the Sikhs in the middle of the 1760's. During this period, the successes of the Sikhs were interspersed with severe

⁴. J.S Grewal , *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 83; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 84-120; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 20-35.

⁵. J.S. Grewal, 'Eighteenth Century Sikh Polity' , *From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1972, 93.

⁶. J.S Grewal , *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 83.

⁷. B.S. Nijjar, *Punjab Under the Later Mughal(1707-1759)*, New Academic Publishing Co., Jullunder, 1972; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 124.

⁸. Bhagat Singh, *A History of Sikh Misals*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1993, 32; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 156-160; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 92-94.

persecutions at the hands of the Mughal government. At this time, differences among themselves were patched up in the interest of the community.⁹

The Delhi government replaced Abdus Samad Khan, the governor of Lahore, by his son, Zakariya Khan, who was appointed the governor of Lahore in 1726.¹⁰ He adopted a vigorous policy of repression against those Sikhs who refused to accept his authority. When the Sikhs continued to thwart his authority, Zakariya Khan became desperate, and even more aggressive. In 1738 he ordered the execution of the venerable Bhai Mani Singh, apparently the rallying force behind the increasing number of the politically active Sikhs.¹¹ Nadir Shah, the ruler of Persia, invaded the Punjab and Delhi, in 1738-39.¹² Zakariya Khan saved Lahore by paying twenty lakhs of rupees to Nadir Shah. The Mughal army of Delhi was defeated by Nadir Shah on 14th February in the battle of Karnal. Delhi was sacked and its inhabitants were massacred.¹³ On his return journey from Delhi the Sikhs thought it an opportune time to enrich their depleted resource and falling upon his rear, relieved him of much of his booty. In spite of Zakariya Khan's all-out efforts to put the administration in proper gear the Sikhs were determined to ultimately establish their rule in the Punjab by totally paralyzing state administrative machinery.¹⁴

Zakariya Khan died in July 1745 and was succeeded by his son Yahiya Khan.¹⁵ The most important event of his period is the 'bloody carnage' or '*Ghalughara*' in which thousands of Sikhs were put to the sword. In 1746, during the course of action, Jaspat Rai, the *faujdar* of Eminabad, was killed. Jaspat Rai was the brother of Diwan Lakhpat Rai, the finance Minister of the Lahore Governor. Diwan Lakhpat Rai led the Mughal army against Sikhs. In that bloody campaign of Kahnuwan, about 7000 Sikhs were killed

⁹. Bhagat Singh, *A History of Sikh Misals*, 32-33.

¹⁰. N.K. Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, A Mukerjee and Co. Calcutta, 1960, 3.

¹¹. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1978, 12-13; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 222-27; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 132-136.

¹². H.R.Gupta, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, (2nd edition), The Minerva Book Shop, Simla, 1952, 5; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 228.

¹³. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol II, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1982, 58-60.

¹⁴. Bhagat Singh, *A History of Sikh Misals*, 34; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 144-149.

¹⁵. H.R.Gupta, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, 17.

and about 3000 were captured. Those Sikh prisoners were brought to Lahore and beheaded at the *Nakhas* or *Shahidganj*.¹⁶ The internal conflict between Yahiya Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan paved the way for the Afghan invasion. Shah Nawaz invited Ahmed Shah Abdali. Ahmed Shah readily accepted the invitation of Shah Nawaz and, consequently, left Peshawar in December 1747 to invade India. No resistance was offered to him till he reached Shahdara near Lahore. Shah Nawaz, instead of joining him, offered resistance to the invader at Lahore but as no adequate reinforcement came to him from Delhi, he was defeated. Ahmed Shah occupied Lahore. From Lahore, he advanced to Delhi. A bloody battle was fought at Manupur on 11th March, 1748, between Wazir Qamar-ud-din and Ahmad Shah, in which Wazir Qamar-ud-din was killed. But his son, Muin ul Mulk (Mir Mannu), defeated Ahmad Shah. After that victory, Mir Mannu appointed as Governor of the Punjab by the Delhi Emperor.¹⁷

While Mannu was busy in settling the affairs of the Punjab, Ahmed Shah Abdali entered the Punjab for the second time, in December 1748. A battle was fought at Sodara in which Mannu was defeated. Mannu agreed to cede *chaharmahal* (four ‘mahals’)-Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujrat and Aurangabad-to Ahmed Shah. Those *mahals*, however, were to continue to be governed by Mannu’s men, but he was to pay 14 lakhs of rupees as their annual revenue to Ahmed Shah.¹⁸ Thus, Ahmed Shah, in the words of Sir J.N. Sarkar, “got the first slice of India proper.”¹⁹ Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded India for the third time in 1751. In March 1752, fighting began between the two opposing armies. Mannu was defeated and he was taken prisoner. Thereafter, a treaty was signed between the two. By

¹⁶. K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, U.C. Kapur & Sons, New Delhi, 1969, 234 ; Ratan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 1962, 321; H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikhs Power In The Punjab And Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh With An Account of Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikhs*, Punjab Languages Department, Patiala, 1970(first published 1834), 3-4; N.K. Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, 9; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 306-10; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 166-78.

¹⁷. K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, 223-24; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 175-79.

¹⁸. The Lahore Governor appealed to the Delhi Emperor for help, but Wazir Safdar Jang who was a personnel enemy of Mannu, did not send any reinforcement. Mir Mannu relying was fought at Sodara in which Mannu was defeated: K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, 224;

¹⁹. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, volume I (1739-1754), Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1964 (third edition), 237.

it, the Provinces of Lahore and Multan were ceded to the Afghan King.²⁰ The governorship of Lahore and Multan was now passed on to Muin-ul-Mulk.²¹ Mir Mannu was appointed the first Afghan Governor to rule the Punjab on behalf of Ahmed Shah. Feeling secure against any intrusion from Kabul and Delhi, Mir Mannu turned his attention towards the Sikhs, who during the Mannu-Abdali war, had returned to their old ways and had begun to make a bid of independence.²² Mir Mannu had taken the severest action against the Sikhs. But, the policy of persecution failed to have any effect upon the Sikhs and they remained unsubdued.²³

Mir Mannu died suddenly in November 1753 as an 'Afghan' governor.²⁴ With his death there was no stable government. Ahmed Shah appointed his own infant son, Mahmud, the Governor of the Punjab and the son of Mannu, Muhammad Amin, as his Deputy. But real power in the Punjab was exercised by the regent mother, the masterful widow of Mannu, Mughlani Begum. Mughlani Begam failed to give an orderly administration to Punjab. The Delhi Wazir, removed her from power and appointed Adina Beg Governor of Lahore and Multan. She sent woeful letters to Ahmed Shah Abdali and his Deputy, Jahan Khan, appealing to them for help. Ahmed Shah invaded the Punjab for the fourth time in 1756. He occupied Lahore and Delhi easily. From Delhi, Ahmed Shah advanced to Mathura which was sacked and plundered. Thence, he marched to Agra and captured it. He appointed his son Timur Khan²⁵ its Viceroy at Lahore and Jahan Khan was associated with him as his Deputy. Towards the end of 1757, the Veteran Afghan General Jahan Khan, who was appointed by Ahmed Shah Abdali to assist his son Timur Shah in the administration of the province, was nearly overpowered by the Singhs before he was saved by the timely arrival of fresh Afghan contingents. The

²⁰. K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, 227; J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, volume I, 245-46.

²¹. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 87.

²². Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs (1469-1765)* (ed.), Vol. I, Oriental Longmans, Bombay, 1950, 147; K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, 227.

²³. H.R. Gupta, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, 82; K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, 228; H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, 115; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 199.

²⁴. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 88; N.K. Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, 19; H.R. Gupta, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, 84.

²⁵. Timur Khan at that time was only 11 years old: K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, 229-30.

Singhs ousted its Afghan *faujdar* Sa'adat Khan Afridi from Jalandhar early in 1758. Henceforth, in whichever direction an Afghan army was sent it came back defeated. The Singhs even attacked Lahore and plundered its suburbs.²⁶

Ahmed Shah Abdali and his allies defeated the Maratha army in the third battle of Panipat fought on January 14, 1761, during his fifth invasion. Consequence of that battle was that Marathas had been eliminated from the field of Punjab politics, the Sikhs, succeeded in expelling the Afghans and establishing their sovereignty in Land of the Five Rivers.²⁷ In 1761, soon after Abdali's exit, the Sikh Sardar's dislodged his deputies at different places. Khawaja Ubaid Khan was routed at Lahore.²⁸ In 1762, Ahmad Shah Abdali made a serious attempt to extirpate the Sikhs. He killed more than 20,000 Sikhs near Malerkotla in the bloody carnage called *wadda gallughara* or the great holocaust.²⁹ But only six months later he felt obliged to retire to Lahore after an indecisive engagement with the Singhs near Amritsar.³⁰ In 1762, some troubles started in Afghanistan and Ahmed Shah, therefore, felt obliged to attend to the affairs of Kabul. But before he left Lahore, he made the following administrative arrangements. The Jullundur *doab* was given to Saadat Yar; Sar Baland was confirmed in the governorship of Sirhind, and Lahore was given to Kabuli Mal. But no sooner did the Durrani king leave Lahore, than the Sikhs began to harass the nominees of Ahmed Shah in different parts of the Punjab. The Buddha *dal* led by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia overran the Jullundur *doab* and the Malwa region of the Punjab. The Taruna *dal* under Hari Singh Bhangi and Charat Singh Sukarachakia conquered most of the Rachna and the Bari *doab* and also overran the regions called Lamma and Nakka. These *dals* did not stop there. With their combined resources and in alliance with Ala Singh, of Patiala, they fell upon Zain Khan of Sirhind in January 1764, and in the engagement killed him. They also plundered the people of

²⁶. J.S Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 91; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 223-231.

²⁷. K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, 235.

²⁸. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol.II, 169-73.

²⁹. N.K. Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, 33-35; H.R. Gupta, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, 169-171; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 321-22.

³⁰. J.S Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 91; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 240-46.

Lahore.³¹ Ahmed Shah Abdali attacked them in the winter of 1764. But he had to return home disappointed at the end of March 1765.³²

The Singhs rose from amongst the common people, setting aside the politico-administrative framework of the Mughal Empire and setting themselves up against all its supporters. Their greatest assets were the arrangements they evolved on the basis of their common sense, the ties of kinship and, above all, their religious faith and doctrines which served as the motivating force and the ground for their military and political action.³³

For a better understanding of this political process and nature of Sikh rule we may now turn to the 'political institutions' which are believed to have been evolved by Sikhs, notably, the *rakhi*, the *gurmata*, the *dal khalsa* and the *misl*.³⁴ They undertook to provide protection (*rakhi*) to cultivators against all outsiders, including the officials of the government, after levying only a fifth of the produce in return for that protection. The system became more and more popular as the Singhs became more and more effective, and it often served as a prelude to permanent occupation. Since all the leaders had rather limited resources it was necessary to pool them for the purpose of offence and defence. The ties of kinship among other things became the basis of small combinations which afterwards came to be known as *misls*. Territory was often occupied by the *misls* as a unit, and sometimes by a combination of two or more *misls*. A larger combination of forces became all the more necessary when the Singhs grew in power.

The combination of a larger number of *misls* came to be known as the *dal khalsa* which acted in together under the command of a chosen leader for a specific purpose. Depending upon the requirements of a condition the *dal khalsa* could be divided into two or more units. Perpetually, before a campaign was undertaken the issue was examined and an accord formed by the leaders of the Singh's. Such gatherings were open to each and every Singh and the resolution passed was called *gurmata* or the 'resolution of the Guru'. The majority of the important *gurmata*s were embraced at Amritsar where the Singh's used to meet at the time of Baisakhi and the Diwali. But a *gurmata* could be

³¹. K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, 237-38.

³². Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 270.

³³. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 92.

³⁴. J.S. Grewal, 'Eighteenth Century Sikh Polity', *From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 93.

adopted at any place in the presence of Guru Granth or even on the field of battle. A *gurmata* was ethically authoritative on all the Singh's, even on individuals who were not personally present in a gathering, because of their belief in the doctrine of Guru-Panth. It is hard to think about a better basis of cohesion than the *gurmata* which was based on the principles of equality and freedom, which subsumed the ties of kinship and social ties, and which bestowed a large degree of flexibility to its practical application. It made the Singh's much more impressive than alternate contenders for power. The doctrine of Guru-Panth, which gave the premise to purposeful activity, also ensured the rights of every Singh to fight, to overpower and to rule. In April, 1765, the Sikh leaders occupied Lahore and struck a coin as a mark of their sovereign status.³⁵ It empowered the Singh's by and large to assert their sovereignty against outsiders and it also gave equal legitimacy to every individual Sikh chief.³⁶

The Sikhs expanded their influence in the Bari, Rachna, Chaj and Sindh Sagar *doabs*.³⁷ The Sikhs within ten years were able to occupy the whole Mughal province of Lahore and the *sarkar* of Sirhind likewise three-fourths of the territory of Multan and one-third of the province of Shahjahanabad. They established their own government and administration in these territories in the late 1770s which incorporated the whole of the former Mughal region of Lahore. Some of the veteran Sikh *sardars* had set up themselves in the area of Lahore. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, for example, occupied territories in the Jalandhar and Bari *doabs* and also across the Satlej, with his headquarters at Kapurthala. Jassa Singh Ramgarhia too had his assets in these two *doabs*. Jai Singh Kanhiya occupied territories in the upper Bari *doab*, particularly around Batala, Hari Singh Bhangi, and his son's occupied Amritsar and the surrounding area. Gujjar Singh Bhangi had a share in Lahore and occupied Gujrat and some other *parganas* in the upper Chaj *doab*. Charhat

³⁵. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 92-93, Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century*, 27-33; H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, 227-230; N.K. Sinha, *Rise of The Sikh Power*, 45; Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh First Death Centenary Memorial* (ed.), Punjab Language Department, Patiala, 1970, 63.

³⁶. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 94.

³⁷. Bhagat Singh, *A History of Sikh Misals*, 51.

Singh Sukarchakia came in to possession of several *parganas* in Rachna Chaj and Sindh Sagar *doabs*, with his capital at Gujranwala.³⁸

These well-known names by no means exhaust the list of the Sikh *sardars* who established themselves in the Mughal province of Lahore. There were many others: Banghel Singh, Tara Singh Dallewalia and Budh Singh Faizullapur in the Jalandhar *doab*; Lehna Singh, Sobha Singh, Haqiqat Singh, Amar Singh Kingra, Amar Singh Bagga, Hakumat Singh, Suddh Singh, Sahib Singh, and Tara Singh Pathankotia in the upper Bari *doab*; Jassa Singh Dalu, Jodh Singh Saurianwala, Nidhan Singh Daskewala, Gurbakhsh Singh Waraich, Sahib Singh Sialkotia, Natha Singh Shahid, Jiwan Singh, Bhag Singh Hallowala, Nahar Singh Chamariwala and Suddh Singh Chhina in the upper Rachna *doab*; and Milkha Singh at Rawalpindi across the Jehlam.

The number of Sikh *sardars* in the Mughal provinces of Multan and Delhi was equally large. The city of Multan and a very large part of the province were conquered by Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh Bhangi who placed these conquests in the charge of Rai Singh. There were several *sardars* in the rest of lower Bari *doab*: Lal Singh in Maruf and Kanganpur; Qamar Singh in Dipalpur and Satghara; Ran Singh, Sahai Singh and Tara Singh in Jethpur, Chunian, Faridabad, Malka Hans, Sayyidwala, Kamalia and Pakpattan.³⁹

The *sardars* in the Delhi province were of two categories: those who originally came from the province of Lahore and those who the province originally came from the province of Lahore and those who belonged to the province of Delhi itself. The upper portions of the Satlej-Jamna Divide were largely occupied by the former and the lower portions by the latter. Some of the important *sardars* of the first category, besides Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Tara Singh Dallewalia, were Baghel Singh, Gurbakhsh Singh Shahid, Gurbakhsh Singh Kalsi, Hari Singh Sialba, Rai Singh Buria, Khushal Singh of Banur, Karam Singh of Shahabad, Nanu Singh of Jagadhari, Desu Singh of Kaithal and Bhangra Singh of Thanesar. Among the important *sardars* of the second category was

³⁸. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 20; Khuswant Singh, *Ranjit Singh: The Maharaja of Punjab (1780-1839)*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1962, 35-37 N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, A Mukherjee and Co. Pvt. Ltd. Calcutta, 1975, 11-12.

³⁹. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 20-21 Khuswant Singh, *Ranjit Singh: The Maharaja of Punjab*, 38-40; N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, 13; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. IV & V, 308-15.

Alha Singh of Patiala and his grandson, Amar Singh, Gajpat Singh of Jind, Hamir Singh of Nabha and Hamir Singh of Faridkot.⁴⁰

The Sikh dominions in the last quarter of the eighteenth century were remarkable more for internal strife than expansion. Besides some minor annexations in the submontane areas, the *sardars* like Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Jai Singh Kanhiya, Gujjar Singh Bhangi and Jhanda Singh Bhangi collected tribute from the hill principalities. Before long, however, they were fighting among themselves for supremacy. In 1774, Charat Singh Sukarchakia and Jai Singh Kanhiya supported Brij Raj Dev against his father, Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu, who in turn was supported by his overlord, Jhanda Singh Bhangi. During this conflict, both Charat Singh Sukarchakia and Jhanda Singh Bhangi died. Soon afterwards the Kanhiyas and the Bhangis fought over Pathankot. In 1776, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia was dislodged from his territories by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Jai Singh Kanhiya. In 1782, the Bhangis and the Kanhiyas clashed once more over the affairs of Jammu. When they patched up their differences and turned against Brij Raj Dev, he received assistance from Mahan Singh Sukarchakia who, however, raided Jammu later on, appropriating immense booty. Around 1785, Mahan Singh joined hands with Jassa Singh Ramgarhia to defeat his erstwhile ally, Jai Singh Kanhiya, in a battle near Batala in which Gurbakhsh Singh, the eldest son of Jai Singh, was killed. Around 1790, Mahan Singh was trying to wrest some of the territories of Sahib Singh Bhangi. When Mahan Singh died in 1791, the issue of ascendancy between the House of Gujjar Singh Bhangi and the House of Charhat Singh Sukarchakia was still unresolved.⁴¹

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Sikhs chiefs generally acted in their individual capacity in their political relations with others. The more powerful chiefs like Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Charat Singh Sukherchakia, Gujjar Singh, Jai Singh Kanhiya and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia asserted their suzerain claim over some of the hill

⁴⁰.Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 20; Syed Muhammad, Latif, *History Of The Punjab From The Remotest Antiquity To The Present Time*, Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1964,390-393.

⁴¹.Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 22;J.D.Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation of the Battles of the Sutlej*, S. Chand and Co., New Delhi, 1972 (reprint, first published 1849),150-155; Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (tr. Jit Singh Seetal), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968, 235-305.

principalities. Janda Singh and Ganda Singh Bhangi conquered Multan and held it until 1780. Some of the Sikh chiefs of the Satlej-Jamuna Divide led campaigns across the Jamuna and establish *rakhi* but without any permanent gain of territory. Already in the 1770s the Sikhs chiefs could range on opposite sides in alliance with non-Sikhs chiefs. Even the veterans like Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Jai Singh Kanhiya and Jassa Singh Ramgaria could fight against one another. With a few exceptions, however, the Sikh principalities founded in the eighteenth century survived into the nineteenth to be subverted or subjugated by Ranjit Singh, the grandson of Charhat Singh Sukharchakia.⁴²

The legacy of the late eighteenth century was nevertheless relevant for Ranjit Singh's success. His grandfather Charhat Singh was one of the foremost leaders of the *khalsa* in their struggle for power and he had occupied large pocket of territory in three *doabs*. Ranjit Singh's father, Mahan Singh, added to those territories, occupied some strategic places and asserted his suzerain rights over some of the chief in the hills and the plains. A large, almost contiguous, and well-administered territory from the middle of the Rachna *doab* to the middle of the Sindh Sagar *doab* was the most valuable asset Ranjit Singh inherited from his father, yielding about a million rupees a year. He also came into command of 5,000 well-mounted and well-armed cavalry. This advantage was reinforced by two marriages, one in the family of Jai Singh Kanhiya in the upper Bari *doab* and other in the family of Kamar Singh Nakkai in the south of Lahore.⁴³

Ranjit Singh was born on 13th November, 1780 at Gujranwala.⁴⁴ When Ranjit Singh inherited the leadership of his *misl* at his father's death, he was merely a boy, but

⁴². J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 94.

⁴³. Ibid, 100.

⁴⁴. He was the only son of Mahan Singh and Raj Kaur. Very little is known about his childhood except that he had a virulent attack of small pox which deprived him of his left eye. Right from the beginning he had displayed a spirit of bravery and adventure. Even at the young age of six he along with other boys, did swimming in the river Chenab. In his early boyhood he was sent to Bhagu Singh's *dharamsal* at Gujranwala to learn Gurmukhi but he did not assimilate anything at school. Later he received training in shooting from a Brahman named Amir Singh who was matchless in that art. Ranjit Singh had his first experience of a military campaign when he was ten. His father had demanded tribute from Sahib Singh Bhangi of Gujarat, and on the latter's refusal to comply, ejected him from his principality. Sahib Singh took refuge in the fort of Sodhara and appealed to his kinsmen in Lahore to come to his help. Maha Singh took Ranjit Singh with him to Sodhran and laid siege to the fort. Maha Singh was suddenly taken very ill, he returned to Gujranwala. When the Bhangi Sardars of Lahore heard of Maha Singh's illness and of the predicament of the Sukerchakias under the command of a lad often, they hurried to the relief of Sodhran. Ranjit Singh ambushed the Bhangi force near Sodhran. It was Ranjit Singh's first victory: Khuswant Singh,

he displayed the same early grasp of political affairs ‘as the great Akbar had done before him’.⁴⁵ Ranjit Singh was too young and temperamental to bother about the day to day management of the estate and let his father’s manager, Lakhpat Rai, continue in charge. His mother had confidence in Lakhpat Rai’s integrity but her brother, Dal Singh, who wished to take the administration into his own hands, found an ally in Sada Kaur, Ranjit Singh’s mother-in-law to be. In 1795, at the age of fifteen, Ranjit Singh was married to Mehtab Kaur, daughter of Sada Kaur and Jai Singh Kanhaiya. A second marriage with Datar Kaur, sister of Sardar Gian Singh Nakai, took place in 1789. She was popularly known as Mai Nakkain.⁴⁶

At the time of Ranjit Singh’s accession to power, the Punjab was divided into a number of petty principalities and some of the chiefs were not on cordial terms with one another. The people of the province were generally devoid of a sense of unity. The Sikhs confederacies had already been weakened. The Afghans under Zaman Shah were again threatening to establish their overlordship in the Punjab.⁴⁷ The British had also started to take an interest in this part of the country as their future sphere of influence. Besides, there were some Pathan possessions, adjoining the hill states under the Hindus Rajas and several small and petty principalities that dotted the map of the Punjab. “In the 1790s, the Punjab looked like a jig-saw puzzle consisting of fourteen pieces with five arrows piercing it from the sides. Twelve of these fourteen pieces were the Sikh *misls*; the other two, the Pathan-controlled district of Kasur in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and Hansi in the south-east under the English adventurer, George Thomas. The five arrows were: The Afghanas in the north-west; the Rajputs of Kangra in the north; the Gorkhas in the north-east; the British in the east; and the Marathas in the south-east.”⁴⁸

Ranjit Singh: Maharaja of the Punjab (1780-1839), George Allen & Unwin, London, 1962, 24; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. IV & V, 437.

⁴⁵. G.L. Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1960(2nd ed), 7; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. IV & V, 440.

⁴⁶. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Sehgal Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, 20; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, V.V. Research Institute Press, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, 1968, 22-23; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. IV & V, 445-46.

⁴⁷. Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. IV & V, 447.

⁴⁸. Bhagat Singh, “Sukarchakia Misal; Its Rise and Fall”, *An Overview Of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His times*, (eds. Dr Jasbir Singh Ahluwalia and Dr Parm Bakhshish Singh), Publication Bureau Punjabi University, Patiala, 2001, 22-23; Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh : Maharaja of the Punjab (1780-1839)*, 28.

II

The region was a congeries of small disintegrated states and there was no individual power in the Punjab which could pose any formidable danger to the adventures of a strong man. As early as 1783, George Forster had predicted that “we may see some ambitious chief, led on by his genius and success, absorbing the power of his associates, display from the ruins of their commonwealth, the standard of monarchy”.⁴⁹ Anarchy and political upheaval always hold out an opportunity to men of genius. In the words of Lepel Griffin, “There is perhaps no more notable and picturesque figure among the chiefs who rose to power on the ruins of the Mughal Empire than Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the founder of the short-lived Sikh kingdom of Lahore. In the stormy days at the beginning of the century, amid a fierce conflict of races and creeds, he found his opportunity and, seizing it with energy, promptitude and genius welded the turbulent and warlike sectaries, who followed the teaching of Gobind Singh into a homogeneous nation”.⁵⁰ Young Ranjit Singh, who was aspiring for the consolidation of the Punjab, had to face an ambitious aggrandizer, Zaman Shah Durrani, who succeeded to the throne of Kabul in 1793 and had plans to seize the Punjab.⁵¹

The trans-Satlej principalities were integrated into a sovereign state of the Punjab by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In the course of the years 1795, 1796 and 1797, the Punjab was twice exposed to the invasions of Shah Zaman, who had recently succeeded the peaceful Timur on the throne of Kabul.⁵² The invasion of Zaman Shah, the second successor of Ahmed Shah Abdali, served as a catalyst to bring out Ranjit Singh’s qualities of leadership. After the first invasion Ranjit Singh recovered his own fort of Rohtas; during the second, he emerged as a leading Sikh chief; and during the third, in 1798-1799, he opposed Zaman Shah as the leader of a number of Sikh chiefs. The trans-Satlej principalities were integrated into a sovereign state of the Punjab. On Zaman Shah’s departure from the Punjab in 1799, Ranjit Singh occupied Lahore as much with

⁴⁹. George Forster, *A journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. I, London, 1798, 295.

⁵⁰. Lepel H, Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical notices of the Principal Families in the Territories under the Punjab Government*, Lahore, 1865, 9.

⁵¹. Bhagat Singh, “Sukarchakia Misal; Its Rise and Fall”, *An Overview Of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His times*, 23.

⁵². H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikhs Power in the Punjab*, 1970, 40.

the willing cooperation of some of its leading Hindu and Muslims residents as with the assistance of his allies, particularly his mother-in-law Sada Kaur. With the conquest of Lahore Ranjit Singh was fairly launched on a career of systematic aggrandizement which made him the master of an empire in less than a quarter of a century.⁵³

Ranjit Singh determined to build an alliance with Fateh Singh Ahluwalia in order to increase his power and to eliminate his old rivals. Ranjit Singh made friends with Fateh Singh Ahluwalia by the exchange of turbans and taking oaths of lasting brotherhood on the holy Granth in the Gurdwara at Tarn Taran.⁵⁴ From 1800 to 1810 he subverted more than twenty principalities in the plains. 1801 he conquered Akalgarh, Nurpur, Pindi Phattion, Pothohar and Dhanni, Amritsar, Daska, Chiniot. Phagwara and Bajwara were occupied in 1802. Jhang, Uch, and Garh Maharaja were seized in 1803.⁵⁵ Before the occupation of Amritsar in 1805, which put an end to the dominions carved out by the redoubtable Hari Singh Bhangi, Ranjit Singh annexed the territories of Jassa Singh Dulu and Dal Singh Gill in the Rachna *doab*, and of Jodh Singh Bajwa in the Chaj *doab*. Within the five years following, he assumed control over Rahon and Nakodar in the Jalandhar *doab* on the demise of Tara Singh Dallewalia, Philaur from its Kang chief and Haryana in Hoshiarpur from the widows of Baghel Singh. In the Bari *doab* he assumed control over Pathankot from Tara Singh Sandhu, Sujanpur from Buddh Singh Bagga, Adinanagar from Gulab Singh Khaira, Chamiari from its Randhawa chief, Qasur from the Afghans, Maruf from Buddh Singh, and Hujra Shah Muqim from its Sayyid chief. In the Rachna *doab* he assumed control over Pindi Bhattian from the Bhattis and Kamalia from the Kharals. In the Sindh Sagar *doab*, the territories of Nawab Khan Jodhra around Pindi Gheb and of Muhammad Khan Gheba around Fateh Jang were added. Thus, before Ranjit Singh signed the treaty of Amritsar with the British in 1809, he was governing over vast regions in all the five *doabs* of the Punjab. Under this treaty the boundary between the

⁵³. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 101; Khuswant Singh, *Ranjit Singh: Maharaja of Punjab (1780-1839)*, 37-40; N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, 12-13; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 25-26, 33; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 451-59.

⁵⁴. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. V, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1982, 39-40;

⁵⁵. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1985,7.



The daily *darbar* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

Source: <https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl>

territories of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and British were defined. The Sutlej was to be the boundary for Ranjit Singh's domains.⁵⁶

The British recognized Ranjit Singh as the sole sovereign ruler of the Punjab By the Treaty of Amritsar and left him free to round off his conquests in the Mughal province of Lahore, to oust the Afghans from Multan and Kashmir and finally, to turn the tables against the successors of Ahmad Shah Abdali in the former Mughal province of Kabul.⁵⁷ The Sikh chiefs ousted now were those of Jalandhar, Hajipur and Mukerian in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*; Jaimal Singh of Fatehgarh Churian, Jodh Singh Ramgarhia of Sri Hargobindpur and the Nakkai chiefs in the Bari *doab*; the chief of Wazirabad, Hallowal and Doda in the Rachna *doab*; of Daska and Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*; and Jiwan Singh of Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Batala was taken over from Sada Kaur. Fateh Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala was the only Sikh chief left in the Punjab whose territory had not been taken over. The Rajput chiefs of Jammu and Kangra, Khari Khariali, Akhnur, Bhimber, Lakhnpur, Nurpur, Guler, Siba, Kotla, Jaswan and Datarpur also lost their territories in the hills to Ranjit Singh. All these states were close to the plains. Attock was wrested from the Afghans; the Awan, Gakkhar and the Tiwana chiefs were shorn of their possessions in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. The Baloch chiefs of Khushab and Sahiwal in the Chaj *doab*, the Sial chief of Jhang in the Rachna *doab* lost their territories to Ranjit Singh before 1818. He was well poised now to oust the Afghans from the Punjab and Kashmir.⁵⁸

In less than four years Ranjit Singh liquidated all the Afghan strongholds on the east of the river Indus. Multan fell finally in June, 1818, and all the territories of Nawab

⁵⁶. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 101; B.J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 86; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, 158-59, 174-84, 197-204, 205-25; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 22-25; N.K. Siknha, *Ranjit Singh*, 12-14, 28-31 738; S.M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 364-71, 385, 387 & 393; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 95, 103; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 491-92, 496-97,

⁵⁷. In the first article of the treaty between the British and 'the Raja of Lahore' it was stipulated that 'the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the river Sutlej'. For more than two decades then, the British did not interfere with the affairs of the chiefs on the north of the Satlej: J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 101,

⁵⁸. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 101-103; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs* 1978, 24; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 152; Griffin, Lepel and Charles Francis Massey, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, 2 Vols, Lahore, 1909, 170; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 509-10, 517, 522.

Muzaffar Khan were annexed. Nawab Muzaffar Khan was killed along with his sons.⁵⁹ The Afghan province of Kashmir, an area of more than 25 lakhs of rupees a year. The Sikh armies were able to conquer Kashmir in 1819.⁶⁰ The chief of Mankera surrendered his capital in 1821, and all his territory in the Sindh Sagar *doab* was taken over. Then for ten years Ranjit Singh did not add much to the directly administered areas. In 1831, he took over Dera Ghazi Khan from the chief of Bahawalpur to whom it had been entrusted ten years earlier. Peshawar was taken over from its Afghan governor in 1834 though he had been sending revenues and tribute since 1824.⁶¹ In 1836, the territories of Bannu, Kohat and Dera Ghazi Khan were taken over from the subordinate chiefs and made an integral part of the directly administered dominions of Ranjit Singh. Before his death in 1839, Ranjit Singh's authority over all the conquered and subordinated territories between the river Satlej and the mountain range of Ladakh, Karakoram, Hindukush and Sulaiman was recognized by the rulers of Kabul as well as by the British rulers of India.⁶²

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death saw the rapid crumbling of the Kingdom of Lahore. Ranjit Singh died on 27th June, 1839.⁶³ After the death of Ranjit Singh, the downfall of Sikh rule immediately started. Before his death on June 27, 1839 Ranjit Singh nominated Kharak Singh as his successor and Raja Dhian Singh as his *wazir*.⁶⁴ Prince Kharak Singh ascended the throne after Ranjit Singh on September 1, 1839.⁶⁵ Nau Nihal Singh, his son, was in the Peshawar region at the time of Ranjit Singh's death. The increasing influence of a close relative, Chet Singh Bajwa, on the new Maharaja, and Chet Singh's aspiration to oust Dhian Singh, induced the latter to conspire with Prince Nau Nihal Singh. Chet Singh was murdered in early October. Prince Nau Nihal Singh

⁵⁹. J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1955, 141; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 543-49

⁶⁰. Ibid, 141, 143; Indu Banga, *Agrairan System*, 26; N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Sinha*, 59-60; Khuswant Singh, *Ranjit Singh*, 131-34; G.L. Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, 13-17; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 531-538.

⁶¹. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 103, H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 108-09; J.D. Cunningham, *Histroy of the Sikhs*, 145; N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, 62-63; Khuswant Singh, *Ranjit Singh, Maharaja of the Punjab (1780-1839)*, 130.

⁶². J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 103.

⁶³. Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 597.

⁶⁴. . Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1961, 147; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 182.

⁶⁵. Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), 1839-45, *Punjab Itihas Parkashan*, Chandigarh, 1972, 25.

became *de facto* ruler, and ruled generally in consultation with Raja Dhian Singh. For a little over a year, their administration was successful. Unrest in the Hazara region was put down by Sardar Chattar Singh Atariwala; the governor of Kashmir and Multan, Colonel Mihan Singh and Diwan Sawan Mal, were called to Lahore to pay up the arrears; expeditions sent to Iskardu, Mandi and Kulu were successful; and the attempts of the British officers like MacNaughten to favour the fugitive died of all Shah Shuja at the cost of Maharaja Kharak Singh in the Peshawar region were foiled. Maharaja Kharak Singh died of ill health on 5th November, 1840.⁶⁶ Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh and Udham Singh, the son of Gulab Singh, were crushed to death on the same day by the accidental fall of an arch.⁶⁷

There were six princes left after the death of Maharaja Kharak Singh and his son. Sher Singh and his twin brother Tara Singh were in their mid-thirties; Pashaura Singh, Kashmira Singh and Multana Singh were in their early twenties; Dalip Singh was less than three years old.⁶⁸ Sher Singh was the next choice for the *gaddi* of Lahore. But Nau Nihal Singh's mother Chand Kaur staked a claim of her own, telling that till the Kanwar's pregnant wife delivered a child she should be accepted as a ruler. Sher Singh retired to Batala and Dhian Singh went to Jammu.⁶⁹ The administration of the state under Chand Kaur suffered an immense setback. In her helplessness Rani Chand Kaur sent urgent messages to Dhian Singh to come to Lahore but he did not pay any heed to it. Rather he asked Sher Singh to proceed to Lahore at the head of an army to put an end to the Rani's weak rule. Sher Singh entered the Lahore fort and was recognized as Maharaja and Dhian Singh as Prime Minister.⁷⁰

⁶⁶. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 120; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 196; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 615.

⁶⁷. J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 212; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1964, 507; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 618-620.

⁶⁸. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 120.

⁶⁹. Major G. Carmichael Smyth, *A History of the Reigning of Family of Lahore with Some Accounts of Jammoo Rajahs, the Seik Soldiers and Their Sirdars*, W. Thacker and Co., Calcutta, 1847, 38; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 501- 502.

⁷⁰. Bhagat Singh, "Sukarchakia Misal: Its Rise and Fall", *An Overview Of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His times*, 45; J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 120; J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 212; Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 507.

Prince Sher Singh occupied the Lahore fort and ascended the throne on 20th January 1841, but only after meeting resistance from the troops of Raja Gulab Singh who was in the fort in support of Maharani Chand Kaur. The use of the army to decide the issue of succession, with Raja Dhian Singh and Raja Gulab Singh ranged on opposite sides, had a disastrous effect on discipline in the army.⁷¹ Possessions of the Sandhanwalia Sardars, Attar Singh and Ajit Singh, were seized. The *Khalsa* soldiery became furious and uncontrollable. Regimental paymasters and ministers living in the city were plundered. Colonel Mihan, the Governor of Kashmir, was hacked to death in cold blood. General Court was put to death at the instance of Raja Dhian Singh. Rani Chand Kaur, the mother of Nau Nihal Singh, was murdered in June 1842. Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia assassinated Maharaja Sher Singh on 15th September, 1843; Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia killed Kanwar Partap Singh on same day. Raja Dhian Singh too was shot dead, who had served the state faithfully for nearly a quarter of a century.⁷²

Sandhanwalia Sardar's intention was to install the boy prince Dalip Singh, with his mother Maharani Jindan as the Regent to perpetuate their indirect control over the affairs of the state. But Raja Hira Singh the son of Dhian Singh was able to win support of the army against them.⁷³ Prince Duleep Singh, who was just five years old child at that time, was proclaimed the next Maharaja and Hira Singh was appointed special counsellor or the Prime Minister. Dalip Singh was seated on the throne by Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia. Hira Singh's elevation was not liked by his uncle Suchet Singh. Hira Singh's persistent harassment of Princes Kashmira Singh and Peshaura Singh aroused strong feeling against him. A deputation of the army *panchayats* met Hira Singh and asked him to stop the campaign against the above referred to princes and release Rani Jindan's brother, Jawahar Singh. Hira Singh immediately accepted the demand. In the next few months the army *panchayats* renounced their allegiance to Raja Hira Singh who, on the morning of December 1844 secretly left Lahore, accompanied by his adviser Pandit Jalla, on their way to Jammu. They were pursued by Jawahar Singh, Sham Singh, Attariwala and Mewa

⁷¹. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 120-121.

⁷². Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, Orient Longmans, New Delhi, 1967, 14,15,27,28,33,37,39-40; Sohan Lal Suri, *Daftar-IV*, 35-36; J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 231; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 632-41.

⁷³. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 122.

Singh Majithia at the head of the large army, overtaken and killed. Rani Jindan wanted her brother Jawahar Singh to hold the office of *wazir*. The troops consented to Rani's decision and he was formally installed in the office of the *wazir* on May 14, 1845. The appointment induced Prince Peshaura Singh to revolt against Lahore Darbar and proclaims himself the Maharaja instead of Duleep Singh.⁷⁴ Raja Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhian Singh, won over army to his side and killed Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia and Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia. Raja Suchet Singh was killed on 26th March 1844. Raja Hira Singh and Pandit Jallha were put to death on 21st December, 1844. Kanwar Peshaura Singh was slain in August-September, 1845. The Khalsa army killed Jawahar Singh the minister and uncle of Dalip Singh on 21st September, 1845.⁷⁵

Maharani Jindan and the Sardars who supported her chose to approach the British with the recommendation that they may decimate the military and take the Maharaja under their 'protective wings'. Gulab Singh had just offered collaboration on the understanding that Jammu and some different regions ought to be left with him. The British had been collecting men and war materials on the Punjab frontier. The stage was set for a war. Out of three contestants for the office of the Prime Minister Gulab Singh, Lal Singh and Tej Singh, Lal Singh was designated as the next Prime Minister and Tej Singh was appointed as the Commander-in Chief of the Sikh army.⁷⁶ The British were viewing the happenings at Lahore Durbar with keen interest. Colonel Wade, Political agent at Ludhiana, while returning through the Punjab after Afghanistan's expedition, collected political and geographical information relating to the Sikh territories.⁷⁷ Reports of British arrangements were steadily spread among the soldiery and solemnly confirmed

⁷⁴. Bhagat Singh, "Sukarchakia Misal: Its Rise and Fall", *An Overview Of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His times*, 46; Major G. Carmichael Smyth, *A History of the Reigning of Family of Lahore with Some Accounts of Jammoo Rajahs, the Seik Soldiers and Their Sirdars*, 1847, 129-131, 149-150; J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 242, 244, 245; Muhammad Latif, 532, 535-36; B.R. Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab* (1839-45), Hoshiarpur, 1969, 400-01; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 219-227.

⁷⁵. Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, 95-96; J.D. Cunningham, *History of The Sikhs*, 246; Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 537; B.R. Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab* (1839-45), 419; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 641-54.

⁷⁶. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 123; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 660-661.

⁷⁷. Bhagat Singh, "Sukarchakia Misal: Its Rise and Fall", *An Overview Of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His times*, 46; Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Dalip Singh Correspondence* (ed.), Patiala, 1977, 38.

by Diwan Dina Nath. After a pledge on the *samadh* of Ranjit Singh to save his state, the authority of the *panches* was suspended. The stage was set for a defeat.⁷⁸

The British advanced their troops towards the Satlej contrary to the treaty of 1809 with the Sikh Maharaja.⁷⁹ In apprehension of British aggression, the Sikh armies crossed the Satlej on 11th December, 1845.⁸⁰ The British government proclaimed war against the Sikhs on 13th December, 1845.⁸¹ The first battle was fought near Mudki on 18th December. The British forces suffered heavy losses.⁸² The second action was fought three days later, i.e., on 21st December at Ferozshahr, ten miles from Ferozepur. Lal Singh and Tej Singh joined the British. In spite of heavy casualties, confusion and difficulties in the British camp, the Sikh army was abandoned by Sardar Tej Singh who retired from the field. Almost a month after this battle, a section of the Sikh army under Sardar Ranjodh Singh Majithia captured the whole of the baggage of the British force at Baddowal on 21st January, 1846. The battle of Aliwal was fought on 28th January, 1846 and Ranjodh Singh's men were defeated and driven across the Satlej by the British.⁸³ The last battle was fought at Sabraon on 10th February, 1846.⁸⁴ Sham Singh Attariwala, a symbol of unflinching will and valiant spirit of the Khalsa, fell fighting heroically in the foremost ranks. The British emerged victorious. To precipitate the catastrophe, Tej Singh sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication. More than 5000 Sikhs lost their lives. The British made a triumphant march to Lahore to occupy it on 20th February, 1846.⁸⁵

On March 9, a treaty was signed between the British and the Lahore Durbar. According to a treaty, the Jalandhar *doab* was taken over by the British, Jammu and Kashmir was given to Gulab Singh under a separate treaty, and the strength of the Lahore

⁷⁸. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 123.

⁷⁹. S.S. Bal, *British Policy Towards The Punjab (1844-49)*, New Age Publishers, Calcutta 1971, 57-58.

⁸⁰. J.D. Cunningham, *History of The Sikhs*, 254-56.

⁸¹. B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 264.

⁸². Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, 107.

⁸³. S.S. Bal, *British Policy Towards The Punjab (1844-49)*, 71-75; J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 264, 266, 272, 275; Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 541, 544-545; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 265-77.

⁸⁴. B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 279-280.

⁸⁵. J.D. Cunningham, *History of The Sikhs*, 282-86, Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence*, 97-101; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. IV & V, 665-84.,

army was reduced.⁸⁶ On December 22, 1846, a new treaty was signed at Bharowal. The British Resident Henry Lawrence ruled at Lahore on behalf of the minor king Dalip Singh. The Sikhs grew impatient of the British ascendancy. The banishment of Lal Singh to Benaras and the imprisonment of Rani Jind Kaur and her removal from the Punjab further irritated them.⁸⁷ The new British Government faced a rebellion in the Sikh province of Multan. On 20th April, 1848, Diwan Mulraj revolted at Multan, and two British officers were murdered there. The British allowed this revolt to take the shape of a general Sikh insurrection. Chattar Singh in Hazara was forced to rise in revolt and his son Sher Singh Attariwala went over to Diwan Mulraj. A large number of Sikh soldiers joined him.⁸⁸

In November 1848, the British army under Lord Hugh Gough crossed the Satlej and reached Lahore on 13th November. The first battle of the second Anglo-Sikh war fought at Ramnagar on November 22, 1848. General Campbell's force routed by the Sikhs under Sher Singh Attariwala. On 3rd December, 1848, an artillery duel was fought at Sadulapur in which the British Victory raised their morale. On 3rd January, 1849, the British victory at Multan was complete with the surrender of Mulraj. On 13th January, 1849, the battle of Chillianwala was fought. The British commander Hugh Gough suffered defeat at the hands of Sher Singh. But the last battle at Gujrat on 21st February sealed the fate of the Punjabis. On 29th March, 1849, the Punjab was declared annexed to the British Empire.⁸⁹

⁸⁶. By a supplement added on March 11, a British force was kept in Lahore at the expense of the state; a British political officer was stationed there for 'advice and guidance'. Dalip Singh remained on the throne, with Lal Singh as the *wazir* and Tej Singh as the commander of the army, while Maharani Jindan became the Regent. This was the reward for their helpful role in the late war. Henry Lawrence was sent to Lahore with a British force which was to remain there only until the end of 1846. The state of Lahore was not merely smaller and weaker now; it was also a 'protected' state for all practical purpose. In a letter to Henry Lawrence it was made clear by Hardinge that 'the native prince is in fetters and under our protection, and must do our bidding': J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 124.

⁸⁷. Ibid., 124; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, 119, 132-34; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 295-96; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 698-99.,

⁸⁸. Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, 162-172; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 303-04, 318; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, 708-12.,

⁸⁹. Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, 177-79; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986, Vol. II, 82; B.J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, 328-46; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. IV & V, 713-27.

Soon after accession to power Maharaja Ranjit Singh felt the need of a strong centralized state with well-defined political frontier which should successfully meet both the external and internal dangers. The aim of his government was to promote efficiency, order, justice and public well-being. There was a remarkable consistency in Ranjit Singh's political, social, religious and administrative policies. We do not see any major shift in them at any period of his reign. The Maharaja did not rule in his own name or in the name of his *misl* or family. He wielded power in the name of the *khalsa*. He liked to be addressed by the plain and simple title of '*singh sahib*'- a title applicable to any member of the Sikh gentry. The Maharaja always felt that it was the extreme kindness of the Guru that he was made to serve the *panth*. He never arrogated to himself any high-sounding titles but on the contrary, adopted the impersonal title of '*sarkar*' denoting the government responsible for law and order. The princes were addressed as *khalsa* Kharak Singh and *khalsa* Sher Singh. In referring to his government he always used the term *khalsaji* or *sarkar-i-khalsa* as he felt that he was the founder of a kingdom which derived its legitimacy from the *khalsa* commonwealth- the mystic entity in which resides all sovereign powers. All his diplomatic correspondence was carried on in the name of the *khalsa*. His coins did not bear his effigy or his name. His coins, names of his forts, the official form of salutation and oath-taking ceremonies, were all related to Sikh Gurus and Sikhism.⁹⁰

III

This important period, presented a new social situation. The agrarian community's increased association with the Sikh movement under Banda Bahadur was a major social change. The replacement of Mughal administration by his own created for some time a new ruling class in miniature.⁹¹ Scavengers and leather dressers became local chiefs.⁹² Several thousand Muslims were recruited in Banda's army.⁹³ A large

⁹⁰. Bhagat Singh, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times, 173-174.

⁹¹. Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1935, 73-74.

⁹². H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol II,

⁹³. Ganda Singh, "The Punjab News in the Akhbar-i-Dardar-i-Mualla" *The Panjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University Patiala, October, 1970, 225-28.

number of Jats and Gujjars embraced Sikhism during the short spell of his regime.⁹⁴ The Sikh movement between 1720 and 1760 was intimately related to the rural society and its economy. Zakaria Khan's government began oppressing the peasants with heavy exaction of revenues; they were maltreated by the military contingents roaming about in villages in search of Sikhs. The Jat cultivators were obliged to join the Sikhs.⁹⁵ Professor Indu Banga observes: 'After fall of Banda in the early years of the eighteenth century, the peasant, the artisan and the menial converts to the *khalsa* rose in a mass movement against the Mughal Government'.⁹⁶

The Sikh *sardars* offered *rakhi* or protection to villages in return for a share of the produce which was much less than the revenue payable to the. The system of *rakhi* was largely acceptable. In a short time, large slices of territory in four out of the five *doabs* of the Punjab were taken under protection by the Dal Khalsa.⁹⁷ Rakhi implicitly offered the hopes of a just society and, as its legacy, the proportion of the produce taken away from the cultivators under the settled government remained on the whole less than what was collected under the Mughal. Moreover, the size of an average territorial and administrative unit being small under Sikh rule, it was generally possible for the rulers to restrain the local revenue functionaries from oppressing the cultivator.⁹⁸ In their territories, the Sikh chiefs were quite aware of the composition of the local populace. With a few exceptions, they offered tolerable treatment of their Muslim subjects. Mahan Singh Sukerchakia offered help to Sayyid Ghulam Gaus against Jai Singh Kanhiya. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia enlisted in his army a large number of Afghan soldiers belonging to Tanda Urmur and Yahyapur. Muslim zamindars of Phagwara also co-operated with him and paid regular revenues. Jaimal Singh Kanhiya persuaded a number of Muslims to settle and increase their population in Kalanaur. Fateh Singh Ahluwalia appointed

⁹⁴. George Forster, *A Journey From Bengal to England*, Punjab Language Department, Vol II, Patiala, 1970, (reprint) 312-313.

⁹⁵. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol II, 69; J.S. Grewal, *Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 86.

⁹⁶. Indu Banga, "The State and Society in the Punjab, 1765-1845", *Presidential Address: History Section IX Indian Social Science Congress Indian Academy of Social Sciences*, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, April, 15-19, 1984, 2.

⁹⁷. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol II, 126-27.

⁹⁸. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 27-28; Indu Banga, "The State and Society in the Punjab", 16.

Muslim like Chaudhari Qadir Bakhsh and Sher Ali Kakkezal as his *diwans* and administrators.⁹⁹

As regard the constituents of the ruling class at different levels we find that Ram Sukh Rao's *Sri Fateh Singh Partap Parbhakar* alone lists nearly 200 names. About 65 percent of them were Sikh, 20 percent Muslim, and 15 percent Hindu. There were some Sikhs of the lower castes, and some Muslim Labanas. The autonomous chieftains, *pattidars* and the locally influential persons among the Muslims, Hindus and the Sikhs were also incorporated.¹⁰⁰ In the process of unification under Maharaja Ranjit Singh the expansion of the dominions meant also the expansion of the ruling class. Many erstwhile rulers and *jagirdars* were absorbed into the ruling class. Non-Sikhs among the *jagirdars* included both Hindu and Muslims. According to a rough estimate, around 20 percent of the members of the ruling class under Ranjit Singh were recruited from the existing aristocracy, including the dispossessed chiefs, who were mostly *rajput* and *pathan*. From amongst the group traditionally associated with government and administration, the *khatris*, *aroras* and the *bantias* as well as the Brahmans and the *sayyids* were found in fairly large proportion, about 15 percent. Their position as a group appears to have remained unchanged with the only difference that earlier they mostly served at the secondary levels whereas, under Ranjit Singh, quite a few of them came to hold the highest offices. In fact, with the expansion and consolidation of the kingdom of Lahore, the non-Sikh elements, like the *jamwals*, the *faqirs*, and the families of Diwan Mohkam Chand or Diwan Sawan Mal, appear to have improved their position *vis-à-vis* the Sikhs.¹⁰¹

Considerable mobility was evident in the case of the Sikh members of the ruling class who constituted only about 6 percent of the total population but formed the majority of the ruling class, about 50 percent of the total. Many of them started their career as

⁹⁹. Ahmed Shah, *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (tr & ed into Punjabi by Gurbakhsh Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala 1969, 56-60, 65-69.

¹⁰⁰. Joginder Kaur (ed), *Sri Fateh Singh Partap Parbhakar: A history of Early Nineteenth century Punjab*, Patiala 1980, 34-35, 47-54, 66-70.

¹⁰¹. Indu Banga, "Social Mobility in the Punjab Under Maharaja Ranjit Singh", *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times* (ed J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980, 133. Indu Banga, "State formation Under Sikh Rule", *Journal of Regional History*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980, Vol I, 31-33.

troopers of attendants or even as hostlers, and became commanders, civil administrators and courtiers. The dominance of the *jats* in the phase of conquest continued during the period of consolidation; they formed nearly 30 percent of the total. The Individuals belonging to the professional castes, like the *tarkhans*, *kalak*, *nai* and the low-caste Sikh called *mazhabis*, formed about 10 percent of the ruling class. Without an exception, the Sikh members of the ruling class were *jagirdars*, enjoying a very large share in the revenues. The *jagirdari* system, in fact, reflected the official standing, social status and economic position of the recipients. Nearly a fourth of the ruling class was Hindu which corresponded to their general proportion in the total population. But the majority of these were *khatri*s and *brahmans* belonging to the core region. There were about a dozen Muslim members of the ruling class. The most important and the most influential of these were the Faqir brothers who belonged to Lahore.¹⁰² Thus we get the image of a composite ruling class.

At the lower rungs, there was a more striking balance. The Sikh and Hindu ‘*adalatis*’ did not replace the *qazis*. Among the commandants, *kardars* and *qanungos* there was a much larger proportion of Muslims and Hindus. Among the *chaudharis* and *muqaddams*, who were dominant in the countryside, it was difficult not to assume that the Muslim were in direct proportion to their general population. Only the powerful leaders of the political dominant tribes were removed from power and gradually obliged to relinquish the economic advantage they had formerly enjoyed. Their position was similar to that of the ousted Sikh rulers who were given subsistence *jagirs* which went on decreasing with time. The Muslim *chaharamis*, who enjoyed one-fourth of the revenues from the Sikh rulers, and the Sikh *pattidars*, who had conquered territory jointly with the Sikh Sardars, were eventually reduced to the status of petty subsistence *jagirdars*, or *ta'alluqdars* as they came to be called in the Punjab.¹⁰³

¹⁰². J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, Punjab Historical Studies department, Punjabi University, Patiala 1981, 32-33; Indu Banga, “*Social Mobility in the Punjab*”, 132-33.

¹⁰³. Indu Banga, “The Ruling class in the Kingdom of Lahore”, *Journal of Regional History*, Vol III, 1982, 19-20; Indu Banga, “Social Mobilty in the Punjab”, 129-30; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Ranjit Singh*, 33; see also Radha Sharma, “Agrarian Structure in the Districts of Amritsar and Lahore in the Early Nineteenth Century”, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980, 172 & 175.

The agrarian policies of the Sikh rulers were favourable to the actual cultivator. The Sikh rulers were anxious to increase cultivated area by bringing more and more waste or pastoral lands under cultivation. During the reign of Ranjit Singh, as during the Mughal times, lenient rates of assessment were imposed on wasteland brought under cultivation. Revenues from land were granted to those who promoted the extension of agriculture. The peasant proprietors, who had run away from their villages during the period of political turmoil, were induced to come back and resettle on their lands. 'Many of the cattle feeders and inhabitants of the grazing tracts' were encouraged to settle permanently as cultivators. In fact, 'throughout the Sikh rule', one of the 'principal means' of increasing the revenue was 'encouragement given by the rulers to the families of more industrious cultivators to settle in their village'. Settlers who possessed capital and enterprise were encouraged to sink wells, dig canals and cultivate the lands of the nominal owners. They were allowed hereditary and transferable rights both in the well or irrigation channel and in the cultivation of the land irrigated from it.¹⁰⁴

Likewise, Ranjit Singh's policies with regard to land revenue, agriculture, trade and industry did not discriminate between one community and another. These policies combined with conditions of peace and tranquility guaranteed by his stable government gave a boost to agriculture, trade and industry in the state. As a result of it there was a wave of general prosperity in which all communities shared equally according to their respective capacities. The same principle of land revenue assessment were made applicable whether the assesses happened to be Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. It was however the policy of the State to give preference to the actual cultivator as against *jagirdars* or absentee landlord but this was again irrespective of the community to which the cultivators belonged. Several *parwanas* issued by Maharaja are still available pointing to his deep concern for the cultivators. Ranjit Singh indeed used to pride himself on his being a peasant and felt no inhibitions in identifying himself closely with the tillers of land, nay, and the entire masses.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 110-12.

¹⁰⁵. Fauja Singh, *Some aspect of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, Masters Publishers, New Delhi, 1982, 74-75.

State patronage also resulted in a certain degree of social change. Nearly all revenue-free grants given by the Mughal rulers to Muslims and non-Muslims were confirmed by the early Sikh rulers, and Ranjit Singh continued to pursue the policy of confirming old grants.¹⁰⁶ Muslims grantees received essentially the same treatment from the Sikh rulers as the Hindu or Sikh grantees. The Gardezi *sayyids* of Multan retained much of their wealth and influence though some of their lands were resumed.¹⁰⁷ The descendants of Shaikh Farid at Pakpattan received fresh grants of revenue-free land in addition to their old *madad-i-ma'ash*. In Kashmir, the number of Muslim grantees of all categories ran into thousands, including the famous shrines of Hazartbal and Shah Hamdan. Muhammad Shah Naqshbandhi alone was given five villages.¹⁰⁸ In Peshawar, 'in every village there were one or more *masjids* to each of which was attached a small *mafi*, enjoyable by the Imam'. All old grants enjoyed by the *sayyids*, the *ulama* the *qazis* and the *faqir* in Peshawar had been confirmed by Ranjit Singh. The *sayyids* and the *ulama* of Bannu were also 'exempt from taxation'. The shrines of Sakhi Sarwar in Dera Ghazi Khan enjoyed the equivalent of over 40,000 acres of land in *dharmarth*. Thus we get to know that the Muslim grantees in the territories conquered by Ranjit Singh on the whole did not lose their old concessions.¹⁰⁹

Ranjit Singh gave fresh grants to *jogis* and *bairagis*, *sadhs* and *sants*.¹¹⁰ It appears, however, that the *vaishnava* establishments received greater patronage than the *jogimaths*, and the *udasis* received greater patronage than both. The grants of the *udasis* amounted in due course to nearly two lacs of rupees of year.¹¹¹ The *sodhis* and the *bedis*, together, received more than four times that figure. In fact, the *trehans* and the *bhallas* as well as the *bedis* and the *sodhis*, came to be regarded as among the best *khatris* subcastes not merely because of their connection with the Sikh Gurus but also because of their

¹⁰⁶. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 33.

¹⁰⁷. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 164; H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*, 166; Griffin & Massy, *Chiefs and Families I*, 306.

¹⁰⁸. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 165; Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, Containing a Particular Account of the Government and Character of the Sikhs* (tr. from German by Major T.B. Jervis), Punjab Language Department, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 354-55.

¹⁰⁹. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 165.

¹¹⁰. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 33.

¹¹¹. Sulakhan Singh, "State Patronage to the Udasīs" *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His times* (ed J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980, 111-113.

patronage by the Sikh ruler. The *bhais* and *granthis* who looked after the important Sikh *gurudwaras* were given revenue-free lands by way of *dharmarth*. On the whole, the Sikh received more than half of the total revenue-free grants. Their position, thus, was analogous in a sense to the position of the Sikh members of the ruling class. There is hardly any doubt that Sikh institutions and individuals were the largest beneficiaries of state patronage. Their numbers increased with the increase in Sikh population. And this may partly account for the larger percentage of religious group in the core region.¹¹²

There appears to have been a greater interaction between the state and society, which provided impetus for social mobility in all directions-upward, downward and horizontal. The Sikh movement normatively did not recognize any hereditary barriers to upward mobility, and even nurtured an ethos which valued individual efforts and achievement.¹¹³ On the whole, there was a certain degree of enthusiasm for Ranjit Singh's rule among a large number of Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus alike.

Ranjit Singh's policy of enrollment to the State's civil and military services was marked by the same spirit of liberalism. Merit and loyalty rather than regional and communal consideration were the basic guideline of his recruitment policy. Individuals from the Punjab naturally got the lion's share but there was no hesitation to enlist the services of outsiders including Europeans provided they could satisfy the Maharaja on the basis of merit.¹¹⁴ The foundation of Sikh rule in the Punjab included the replacement of the Mughal and Afghan ruling class to a considerable degree. By far the majority of the new rulers were *jat*; their *jagirdars* too were mostly *jat*. Nevertheless, non-*jats* were also represented among the rulers; and non-Sikhs among the *jagirdars*, including both Hindus and Muslims. In the process of unification under Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the early nineteenth century non-Punjabi and a few European were many of the erstwhile rulers, vassals and *jagirdars* were absorbed into the ruling class. The expansion of his dominions implied also the expansion of the ruling class. A few non-Punjabi and a few Europeans were given vital positions in the civil administration and the army. Most of the new

¹¹². J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 34.

¹¹³. Indu Banga, "Social Mobility in the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh", *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, (ed J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980,135.

¹¹⁴. Fauja Singh, *Some aspect of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, 72.

members, however, came from within the dominions of the Maharaja, including the Punjab hills. The majority of the important *jagirdars* of Ranjit Singh belonged to the upper portions of Bist Jalandhar, Bari, Rachna and Chaj *doabs*, which formed the core area of the Kingdom of Lahore.¹¹⁵ The ruling class of the Punjab in the early nineteenth century was rather heterogeneous in its composition, comprising of men having a place with various religious, races and regions. The wide example of their arrangement changed gradually, with the course of time.¹¹⁶

The key post in his administration were held by individuals belonging to various communities and hailing from various parts of the world – Muslims, Sikhs, Khatri, Englishman, Frenchman, Americans and so on.¹¹⁷ The Jammu siblings- Dhian Singh, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh were Dogra rajput; Jamadar Khushal Singh, Tej Singh, Sahib Dayal, Ganga Ram, Dina Nath and Ajudhia Prashad were all Brahmins ; the *faqir* brothers-Aziz-ud-Din, Nur-ud-Din and Imam-ud-Din were Muhammadans ; and Allard, Court, Avitabile and Ventura were Christians of diverse denominations.¹¹⁸ There was no bar to any man of real merit rising to the top. Like the initial recruitment, promotions to higher position were also decided on the basis of merit. Ranjit Singh not only recruited people from various communities but also inspired full confidence in them so that they served him with faithfulness up to the end of his rule. There is definitely not a single example where any one of them proved disloyal or rose in rebellion against him.¹¹⁹

A distinguishing feature of the *khalsa raj* was a deliberate arrangement of administration based upon the territorial division like that of the *subha*, the *parganas*, *tapas* and the *mauzas* (villages). The administrative hierarchy of the *nazims*, the *kardars*, the *chaudhary* and the *Muqaddam* which linked the far-flung villages of the Sikh empire to the capital city of Lahore.¹²⁰ Thus, Ranjit Singh exercised his authority on the basis of the willing co-operation of indigenous socio-political institutions. He made no

¹¹⁵. Indu Banga, "Social Mobility in the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh" 129-133.

¹¹⁶. Indu Banga, "The Ruling Class in the Kingdom of Lahore", *Journal of Regional History*, Vol. II, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1982, 18.

¹¹⁷. Fauja Singh, *Some aspect of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, 73.

¹¹⁸. B.J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 208.

¹¹⁹. Fauja Singh, *Some aspect of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, 72-73.

¹²⁰. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, 63-64.

advancement in the civil administration of his dominions yet attempted to enhance the old arrangements. The stability of Ranjit Singh's regime also rested upon moderation in what the state expropriated from the peasantry as its share of the agriculture produce. The government's share varied between two-fifth to one-third of the gross produce. An agricultural tax of this order was in keeping with what the state could legitimately demand from peasantry. The revenue could be paid in cash or kind and in easy installments. A notable achievement of the Maharaja was that the ownership of the land was vested in the cultivators, from whom the revenue was also collected directly without the intervention of the middleman, an institution he summarily dispensed with.¹²¹

For the acceptance of a rulers's authority by the mass of the people, the administration of justice is probably the most important.¹²² Ranjit Singh's judicial system did not differ much from the system which he had inherited from the earlier rulers. Besides, like the Sikh *sardars*, Ranjit Singh also regarded justice as a source of income and fines were levied in almost all cases. Wherever and whenever he found a chance to raise money in dispensing justice, he would do it.¹²³ There was no written system of laws in existence in the days of Ranjit Singh. As stated above, judicial decisions were made in accordance with customary principles. The procedure was crude and simple, there being no distinction between ordinary civil and criminal cases.¹²⁴ King was the fountain-head of justice. Being the highest judicial authority in the State he heard appeals above the courts of *nazims* and *kardars*, and sometimes, when he felt that justice was not being done in a particular case, he intervened of his own, even without a formal appeal having been made to him, and say that the case was judicially decided. And it is also recorded that sometimes he abused the governors from whose provinces he received too many appeals.

Next to king was the *adalat-i-ala* or Central Court, or the High Court. This court was instituted at the headquarters of the State at Lahore, and it heard appeals above the courts of *nazims* and *kardars* before they went to the King himself. Special *adalti* Courts

¹²¹. G.S. Dhillon, *The Sikh Rule and Ranjit Singh, Rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh Nature and Relevance*, (eds. S.P. Singh and Jasbir Singh Sabar), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2001.

¹²². J. S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 10.

¹²³. K.S. Narang and H.R. Gupta, *History of the Panjab 1469-1857*, 329-330.

¹²⁴. G.L. Chopra, *The Panjab As A Sovereign State (1799-1839)*, 89.

were instituted in the cities such as Amritsar and Peshawar. At the head of every province, there were a *nazim*'s Courts. The authority of his court was mainly appellate and it heard appeals from the court of *kardars*. The *kardars*'s court was at the head of every district. In the villages the village *panchayats* exercised their judicial authority duly, and they, as discussed above, were given special recognition and respect by the State.¹²⁵

The most important instrument for the attainment of power was of course the army.¹²⁶ Ranjit Singh built up a formidable armed force on the European model during the early part of the nineteenth century.¹²⁷ The military system of Ranjit Singh as finally evolved was thus a happy compromise between the old and the new ideas; it was a sincere and successful endeavor to have the best of both the system. He was not a blind imitator of the west exactly as he was not an orthodox follower of the east. His approach was selective and discriminating and not mechanical.¹²⁸ A larger segment of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army was well trained. Like European armies, it was divided into infantry battalion and cavalry regiments, and was completely trained in combatant drill. Its uniform was also, like that of European armed forces which comprised of jacket and pantaloons.¹²⁹

The socio-political situation created by the establishment of a large state by Ranjit Singh was conducive to new advancements of great cultural significance. A new style of architecture is visible in the religious and secular buildings of the period. A new style of painting also emerged in the Punjab during the early nineteenth century because of the support given to artists by the rulers and the nobles.¹³⁰ Historical literature in Persian was encouraged by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Sohan Lal Suri's monumental *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* is only one example of the historical works on the Punjab produced in Persian during the

¹²⁵. G.S. Chhabra, *Advanced History Of The Punjab* Vol.II, Parkash Brothers Educational Publishers, Ludhiana, 1972, 154-155.

¹²⁶. J. S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 33.

¹²⁷. Fauja Singh, *Some aspect of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, 128.

¹²⁸. Ibid, 129.

¹²⁹. Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, (ed. Prithipal Singh Kapur, tr. Major Gurmukh Singh), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002, 168-169.

¹³⁰. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 111; B.N. Goswamy, 'The Context of Painting in the Sikh Punjab', *Journal of Regional History*, Vol. II, 1981, 85-105.

first half of the nineteenth century. Ram Sukh Rao, a chronicler patronised by Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, wrote a volume each on Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, his successor Bhag Singh and Fateh Singh Ahluwalia himself, not in Persian but rather in Gurumukhi script in a language simply understandable to the people of the Punjab.¹³¹ Some of the poets also wrote in Punjabi in the hope of patronage from the members of the ruling class if not from the rulers themselves. Only in this context we can acknowledge *Sawan Yar's Siharfi Sarkar Ki* praising the rule of Ranjit Singh, *Jafar Beg's Siharfi* lamenting his death, and Hakam Singh's *Siharfi* celebrating the exploits of Hari Singh Nalwa. Qadir Yar acknowledged himself with the Punjabi ruling class against their Afghan opponents.

Not all the Punjabi works were written for the rulers or the members of the ruling class. Many of them were clearly meant for the common Punjabis, like Qadir Yar's *Qissa Sohni Mahiwal* or his *Puran Bhagat*. His *Raja Rasalu* was really intended to be sung by popular minstrels (*dhadis*). Ahmad Yar, who wrote the *Shahnama* of Ranjit Singh in Persian, was nonetheless a poet of the people. Ahmad Yar was writing for the common people of the Punjab.¹³² This articulation of regional identity may be regarded as the cultural counterpart of the secularisation of policy by Ranjit Singh which ensured participation of all important sections of the society on a significance scale. However, the new interests of the early nineteenth century did not eliminate the works produced for the consumption of a particular community. Nor did they undermine the traditional branches of learning or Knowledge. This was partly because of the continuance of Persian as the language of administration.¹³³

IV

The early nineteenth century was therefore a period of social change. The new political structural and economic development resulted in far reaching socio cultural change. The Maharaja gave to his citizens a consistent and uniform system of administration and a greater amount of peace and prosperity than they had enjoyed for

¹³¹. One of these works has been edited and published by Dr Joginder Kaur as *Ram Sukh Rao's Sri Fateh Singh Partab Parbhakar*, Patiala, 1980.

¹³². Daljinder Singh Johal, 'Heroic Literature in Punjabi (1800-1850)', *Journal of Regional History*, Vol. II, 1981, 57-84.

¹³³. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 112; J. S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 35-36.

over a century. Ranjit Singh's rule, being a product of the Sikh tradition and ethos, was outstandingly humane, liberal and tolerant towards his people, including his erstwhile opponents and enemies. His rule was, undoubtedly benign and fair. Baron Charles Hugel observed that the kingdom founded by Ranjit Singh seemed to be 'the most wonderful object in the whole world; like a skilful architect, he had formed a 'majestic fabric' from many insignificant and unpromising fragments. Indeed, the Maharaja raised a structure of power which could reconcile nearly all to his rule and make many of his subjects enthusiastic in its support. In the economic sphere he promoted prosperity and minimized oppression. The multiplication of urban center reflected economic development as trade and industry centre. He created opportunities of social mobility for members of several sections in the society without undermining the status quo for most of them. New cultural expressions were also emerging in this phase. The early nineteenth century contributed to the creation of a changed social scenario, the outcome of the historical process of the preceding century.

Chapter-3

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Society is formed of individual with various needs which are taken care of by society itself through customary ways which are controlled by norms. This collective participation of people for the attainment of their various needs evolved social institutions. Over a period of time it is formed by the group activities controlled by an interrelated set of norms while the group activities have inherent purpose of action that is to satisfy human needs. In societal processes it is society in action, while in norms the individuals are not taken into consideration but their shared expectations are given priority. When such norms are interrelated and crystallized pertaining to relatively limited activities of mankind at one time and a given space it becomes a social institution.¹

Social Institutions create a system of behaviour and relationship pattern which are enduring and interwoven in society. Social Institutions are established in a society to make the society function. They work as the backbone of a society. Without the social institutions a society cannot achieve fulfilment in terms of economy, relationships. When there are no rules and regulations in a society, people are more likely to indulge in crime and other harmful activities. Social institutions help in keeping such activities under check. They contribute in organizing a society and its people. There are different types of social institutions like caste, family, marriage, *bhaichara*, *panchayat*, all bound with certain rules and regulation. It is obligatory for individual to follow the rules, otherwise results punishment or seclusion from the society.²

Society in the early nineteenth century Punjab was thus, governed by social institutions which were binding on the individual and accepted by a majority. Caste determined the social position and location of people, the joint family system ensured that three four generations of people lived together; *bhaichara* and *sharika* further bound people to one another. This bond was both a supporter as well as competitive one.

¹. Michael, Harsgor, *Total History: The Annales School, Journal of Contemporary History*, 1978, 10-12.

². Balmurli Natrajan, *The Culturalization of Caste in India: Identity and Inequality in a Multicultural Age*, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New Delhi, 22; D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Punjab Castes*, 30-31;

Marriage was the social institution considered most essential for each individual and was given importance by all. Social institutions were supplied as per custom and behaviour in the early nineteenth century Punjab.

The present chapter is taken up in three sections. The first section describes the basic organization of the society through different castes and tribes located in the Punjab. The second section looks at the institution of family and marriage, *bhaichara*, *panchayat*. The third section attempts an overall picture and conclusion.

I

Caste is a social institution and characteristic of Indian society. The word caste has been derived from the Portuguese word *casta*, meaning race, lineage or pure stock, which was in turn derived from the Latin word *castus*, meaning clean, or pious. It includes strict rules regarding marriage, social and personal contacts, occupational, homogeneity and structured ritual practices within each caste. The original classification of Varna was into Brahmins (priests), Kshatriya (warriors and landlords), Vaishya (farmers and trade) and Shudra (servile peasants), which later spilt into several hundred castes. In Punjab, caste system, like other social system has never been so rigid as in the other parts of India. Still it provides the parameters necessary for understanding the people here.³

This institutional arrangement is referred to by two terms *jatis* or *varna*. Varna is the label of the four fold division of society into Brahmins (priests), Kshatriya (warriors and landlords), Vaishya (farmers and trade) and Shudra (servile peasants) and excludes a large proportion of people called 'outcaste' even *panchama* or fifth caste. The caste system was marked by inequality determined by birth and is based on four sets of principles: differences, separation, wholism and hierarchy. Each caste is different, separate. Rules were designed to restrict this social institution through marriage, occupation, food and food sharing, Indian caste however, could not exist alone but only in

³. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 30-35; Steinbach, *The Punjab: Being a Brief Account of the Country of the Sikhs*, Punjab Languages Department, Patiala, 1970 (first published 1845), 95-98.

relation to the whole society through a structured hierarchy. Caste has a basic concept of purity and pollution.⁴

The Hindu divided into four *varnas* namely Brahmans, Kashatrya, Vaishya and Sudra. Brahmans were the important professional caste of the society. The *Brahmans* were divided into great geographical groups, the Utrahas, who lived to the north of the Vindhias, and the Dakshnat, who inhabited Peninsular India to the south of that range. The *Brahmans* were the third most numerous castes in the Panjab, out numbering all but Jats and Rajputs. They inhabited Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Amritsar, Lahore, Jhang and Kapurthala. They were numerous in the Bari *doab* and Bist Jalandhar *doab*.⁵ The tribes of the *Brahmans* were Bali, Bhardwaj, Joshi, Puj, Vaid, and Chhibbar.⁶

The *Brahmans* gave spiritual guidance to the people of Punjab, but they were consulted as to omens and auspicious names, dates, and events they officiated at all ceremonial functions i.e birth, marriage and death. They received offerings in the name of God. These men supplemented the offerings of their client by practicing agriculture very extensively; and it may be said that wherever the *Brahmans* were numerous they were, excepting only the educated *pandits* or Pandas, land-owners and cultivators. They were poor husbandmen, for their pride of caste and the fact a large part of their subsistence comes to them without the necessity of toil render them impatient of manual labour; and like the Rajputs they looked upon the actual operation of ploughing as degrading, in so much that in the hills a *brahaman* who ploughs was scarcely recognised as a brother by the higher classes of the castes. In social position the *Brahman* was of course pre-eminently first in the Hindu portion of the Panjab, though he was thought but meanly of on the frontier. Yet even where his position was most readily admitted he has failed to make himself beloved. He was grasping, quarrelsome, and overbearing, inflated with pride in his own descent and contempt for that of others, while he holds himself pride in

⁴. Brian K. Smith, *Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varna System and the Origin of Caste*, Oxford University Press, 30-35.

⁵. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 116-120; B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 236; A.H. Bingley, *The Sikhs*, Language Department, Patiala, 1970(reprint), 49-50.

⁶. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 44, 45, 48, 54, 59, 65, 71, 94, 105, 125.

his own descent and contempt for that of others, while he holds himself aloof from the clients whose pockets he preys upon, and declines to associate himself with the community upon which he lives.⁷

The Khattris with their numerous genealogical sections were on the whole the most important *kshatriyas*, they were older than the Jats and the Rajputs. Their main occupation was trade, but they could use the sword when necessary. They had long been associated with administration, occasionally as governors and *diwans* and much more frequently as *qanungos* and *amils*. They owned lands, in towns and cities. Khattris took to cultivation as well. The *khattris* formed a large portion of the castes. They were enterprising as merchants and frugal as ants. They monopolized the trade of the Panjab and Afganistan, and a great deal of business in the other neighbouring countries too. “By industry and knowledge of accounts”, wrote H.B. Edwardes in 1848, “these people, as was observed throughout all Afganistan, had made themselves indispensable to the indolent and ignorant *pathans*; and in spite of oppression and occasional plunder had accumulated wealth.” Sir George Campbell observed “that a *pathan* often fought against another *pathan* for having stolen his *khatri*.” They were great money-lenders. There were few zamindars, who had no account with them. They had a share, whether large or small, in their estates either by mortgage or by sale. They enjoyed good reputation for their culture, enlightenment and refinement. They were inferior to none in courage and spirit. They took great care of their property, life, honour and religion. During the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the *khattris* were held in great respect. They were the principal financiers and accountants of the Sikh kingdom. They were also appointed to high posts in civil and military departments. They produced great warriors and administrators. The most prominent courtiers of the Maharaja were Diwan Mohkam Chand, Diwan Sawan Mal Chopra and Hari Singh Nalwa, an Uppal Khatri. When General Avitabile demolished the house of *khatri* at Peshawar and exacted large sums of money from them, Maharaja Ranjit ordered Ventura to force Avitabile to build new house for them and refund the money.⁸ The *khattris* were therefore, a significant category of people.

⁷. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, Punjab Language Department (reprint-first Published 1916), Patiala, 1970, 215, 218.

⁸. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, New Delhi, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, 1991, 502-03.

Ganesh Das in his book '*Char Bagh-i-Punjab*' pays his best attention to the *khatris*.⁹ They were most numerous in the Bist Jalandhar and the upper portions of the other *doabs*. *Khatris* also lived in the Chaj *doab*, Bari *doab*, Rachnadoab. Ganesh Das specifically refers to many *khatri* families living in the towns and villages of the Panjab: as in Kaliana, Rohtas, Bahlolpur, Jalalpur, Daulatanagar, Hajiwala, Gujrat, Heart, Dinga, Akiya, Lakhanwal, Bhagowal, Islamgarh, Makhowal, Waraich, Sialkot, Wazirabad, Eminabad, Daska Nidhan Singhwala, Pasrur, Buchcha, Pindi Bhattian, Malhian, Shaikhupura, Batala, Kalanaur, Dera Baba Nanak, Patti, Qasur, Jalandhar, Nawan Shahr, Amritsar and Lahore, among many others. There was hardly a town in the Panjab where *khatris* did not have their houses. In many *parganas* they were hereditary *qanungos*; the Ghais in Rohtas, Badheras in Bahlolpur, Sialkot and Gujrat, Sibtis in Jalalpur, Sahnis and Kohli in Wazirabad, Nandas and Kochhars in Eminabad, Chopras, Kapur, Khanna in Lahore, Mehra in Dipalpur, Puris in Batala, Tulis in Kalanaur, Kondi in Bahlolpur, Maini in Gujrat, Bedis and Mehtas in Patti and Sehgal and Thapars in Jalandhar. *Khatris* of the subcaste Sethi, Suri, Uppal, Bhalla, Malhotra and Mehta lived in the Chaj *doab*.¹⁰ *Khatris* of the subcastes Puri, Bhandari, Khosla and Dhir lived in the Bari *doab*.¹¹ *Khatris* of the subcastes Sehgal, Thapars, Sodhis, Watts, Puris, Khoslas, Jagotas and Chadhas lived in the Jalandhar *doab*. Umat and Buchchar were the subcastes of *khatris* lived in Gunachaur village in the *pargana* of Rahon in the Jalandhar *doab*.¹² *Khatris* of Rekhi, Sachchar, Chatrath, Chandali, Duggal and Badhawan subcaste were the prominent persons of the

⁹. After a mythical account of creation and the origin of the Brahmans, Ganesh Das refers to the time of the Raja Bharat when civilized arts were developed and the society was divided into four *varanas*. The *kshatriyas* were divided into two major groups: the *surajbansi* (*suryavanshi*) and the *chandarbansi* (*chandravanshi*). They both became degenerate and yielded place to the Rajputs. Many of them accepted a subordinate position. And those who refused to acknowledge Rajput superiority were obliged to leave their homes in 'Hindustan' to migrate to the Panjab. Here they adopted the professions of service, trade, business, shopkeeping, drapery and banking. The Sultans discovered their talents and encouraged them to learn Persian and to accept service with the government. Thus patronized they attained to high positions in the administration, particularly during the Mughal times. They suffered a setback in the beginning of Sikh rule but eventually their merit was recognized and they became increasingly important in Sikh administration. They became *diwans*, *nazims*, *kardars*, *vakils* and commanders, without losing their traditional position as *qanungos*, *mutasadis* and *munshis*: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 53,58,65,69,89.

¹⁰. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 69

¹¹. Ibid.,137.

¹². J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 142-143.

Ibrahimabad Sodhara town in the Rachna *doab*.¹³ Khattris of Indrajog subcaste lived in Jalalpur Bhattian in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁴ Khattris of Nayyar and Patpatia lived in Sambrial village in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁵ Khattris of two subcastes Handas and Duggals lived in the Chaj *doab*. First, the Handas, who had the *zamindari* of Daulatanagar proper in their name. Second, the Duggals, whose *zamindari* was in the village of Alamgirpur Khaman which in now included in the *tope* of Daulatanagar.¹⁶

There were four important groups among the *khattris*.¹⁷ The *khattris* made their fortunes as officials of the government and as traders, *sahukars* and businessmen; they often invested their savings in landed property. In any case, Ganesh Das does refer to lands purchased by *khattris* and others during the Mughal and Sikh times. The village of Bath in the *pargana* of Gujrat, for instance, had been purchased by Wadhwan *khattris* in the reign of Farrukh Siyar. At any rate, many *khatri* families held lands in proprietary right. The town of Jalalpur Sobtian and the village of Qasimpur Lakhkhu in the Chaj *doab* were held in proprietary by Sobti *khattris*. The *tappa* of Akiya also belonged to them by inheritance. Handa *khattris* held the *zamindari* of Daulatanagar proper; Duggal *khattris* held the village of Alamgirpur Ghumman in the *tope* of Daulatanagar. The *tope* of Kariawala was held in proprietorship by Bhalla Khattris. Wadhawan *khattris* owned several villages in the *pargana* of Gujrat. Badhera *khattris* were the *zamindars* of Gujrat and Herat. In Wazirabad, in the early nineteenth century they were receiving the *rasum-i-*

¹³. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 92, 94, 95, 96, 108.

¹⁴. Ibid., 108

¹⁵. Ibid., 89

¹⁶. Ibid., 53, 58, 65, 69, 89.

¹⁷. First, the Bahris, who consist of twelve subcastes. Four of thses subcastes call themselves *dhai-gharay*. They were the superior most of the Bahris. The second group was that of the Bawanjahis. Their subcastes were numerous, approximating five hundred. Out of all these, fifty two were distinguished from the rest. At present twelve of these fifty two subcastes were superior and call themselves *bahri-bawanjahis*. Forty of their subcastes call themselves *dharma*. However, the term *bawanjahi* applies to them all. The third group was that of the Khokhars, which consisted of six subcastes in the beginning, but now the number has increased. The fourth group was that of the *sarins*, who consist of over a hundred subcastes. Many subcastes of the *bawanjahi khattris* have got mixed up with them. Among the *sarins* also, there were twelve important subcastes. However, unlike the *khattris*, they were not very particular about matrimony within these subcastes. Some of the *sarins* also take widows as wives, although among the *khattris* it was considered absolutely wrong to marry a divorced woman or a widow. In the beginning, some men married widows. Their children came to be called *sarin* by others. The word *sarin* was used for a commodity raised as second crop from a piece of land. For instance, rice, which was a perfect commodity, was sown and harvested first, and barley was sown afterwards in that land. Barley, therefore, was called *sarin* and its yield was much smaller: Ibid., 122-24, 131-32.

dharat. Mehra *khatris* were the *zamindars* of Takht Hazara. Nayyar *khatris* held some of the land of the town of kunja in their proprietary possession. The village of Gharat Khasa was in the proprietary possession of Puri *khatris*. These instances are enough to suggest that the *khatris* owned considerable areas of land in the towns and villages of the Panjab during the Sikh times.¹⁸

Among the dominant tribes and castes in relation to land, was Jat. Majority of *jat* people embrace Sikhism.¹⁹ They joined armies and indulged in agriculture. They were well known for their fighting nature and agriculture. They lived in all the five *doabs*. Their chief home was in the Majha, or centre portion of the Bari *doab*, and their capital was Amritsar. But they had also lived at Gujranwala, in the Rachna *doab*; Gujrat, in the Chaj *doab*; and about Rawalpindi in the Sind Sagar. The Jats and others having taken to agriculture came into possession of the countryside of the Panjab.²⁰ Four Jat tribes were well known among the land-owning *zamindars* of the *pargana* of Sialkot: Ghumman, Cheema, Awan and Bajwa. The rest of the *zamindars* of the *pargana* follow their lead.²¹ Walah or Ralah Jats were the *zamindars* of Hafizabad in the Rachna *doab*.²² The Waraich and other Jat tribes have their villages in the *pargana* of Heart in the Chaj *doab*.²³ For centuries they had peopled the southern Panjab, of which the capital was Multan; but they were held in different repute; and their importance was merely agricultural. In many localities the Jats professed the Muslim creed, having been converted chiefly during the Emperor Aurangzeb's reign. In the south they mainly belonged to this persuasion.²⁴

¹⁸. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 27-28.

¹⁹. *Ibid.*, 129-130.

²⁰. *Ibid.*, 130-131.

²¹. *Ibid.*, 28- 82.

²². *Ibid.*, 106.

²³. *Ibid.*, 52

²⁴. Perhaps no question connected with the ethnology of the Panjab people has been so much discussed as the origin of the Jat race. Suffice it to say that both Cunningham and Major Tod agree in considering the Jats to be of Indo-Scythian stock. The former identifies them with the Zanthii of Strabo and the Jatu of Pliny and Ptolemy; and holds that they probably entered the Panjab from their home on the Oxus very shortly after the Meds Mands, who also were Indo-Scythians and who moved into Panjab about a century before Christ. The Jats seem to have first occupied the Indus Valley as far down as Sindhu, whither the Meds followed them about the beginning of the present-era. But before the earliest Muslim invasion the Jats had spread into the Panjab proper, where they were firmly established in the beginning of the 11th century. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 97; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 23.

The Jats were the most important people of the Panjab. They were usually content to cultivate their fields and paid their revenue.²⁵ The tribes of the Jats were Tarar²⁶, Waraich, Sahi, Hinjra, Cheema, Bajwa, Ghumman, Kahlon, Sarai, Goraya, Dhillon, Virk, Sidhu, Bhullar, Mann, Bal, Pannun, Mahal, Aulak, Gill, Sandhu, Brar, Dhariwal, Mangat, Dhindsa, Kang, Sohal, Bains, and Lohan.²⁷ They were inhabitants of Gujranwala, Gujrat, Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Sialkot, Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur.²⁸

Another dominant tribe and caste in relation to land, was the Rajput. Rajputs were important in the early nineteenth century and Ganesh Das records information about the origin of Rajputs in contemporary minds.²⁹ They were fine bravemen of the Punjab. They

²⁵. Hari Ram Gupta, "Life and Manners of the Common People", *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Politics, Society and Economy*, (eds.) Fauja Singh and A.C. Arora, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University Patiala, 1984, 281; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, New Academic Publishing Co., Jullundur, 1972, 242; H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, Munshi Ram Manohar, Delhi, 1982, 519.

²⁶. Tarar was the name of a tribe. The Tarars were the *zamindars* of Kanhiyan village in the Chaj *doab*. Kolu Tarar was a village belonging to the Tarars in the Rachna *doab*. Maharaja Ranjit Singh besieged it and wrested it from Izzat Bakhsh Tarar, D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 72, 108.

²⁷. Ibid., 78-79.

²⁸. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 100-131.

²⁹. The Creator of the universe created Manu from the rays of the sun in order to set right the affairs of the world. He was also called Sarda Dev. He was given the name of Bhavistmun too. He had two wives. One of them gave birth to a daughter named Ila. She was married to 'Utarad and gave to a son named Pradar. The second wife gave birth to ten sons, Khawak and others. These ten children became great Rajas and came to be known as the surajbansi. Of the descendants of Khawak, Raja Raghu became famous. According to the tradition Hind, Mercury was a child of the moon and hence the descendants of Pradar became famous as the chandarbansi. The descendants of both these heavenly groups looked after the affairs of the government rather well. They wielded power like Raja Bharat. They called themselves chhatris. They ousted the descendants of Raja Bharat, many of whom offered submission and accepted service with both these groups. Those who did not tolerate the degradation of submission adopted the profession of trade. With the passage of time and the changes it brings about, the great Rajas of these groups became proud of their power under the influence of the Kaljug. They came to prefer physical beauty to superiority of family and, because of their excessive lust, they became enamoured of beautiful women. In fact, they married women of low social strata, like the barbers, the vintners, the peasants, the slave girls and the temple dancers. From these women they had many children who succeeded to the thrones of their fathers. The *chhatris* and *khattris* of pure lineage gave the name of Rajput to this new category of rulers. Also, they refused to drink or eat from their hands. They ordered the *brahmans* also not drink or eat from the hands of Rajput women. For this reason, conflict arose between the khattris and the Rajputs. Now there were rulers of two types: the Rajputs and the chhatris. But some of the chhatris also joined hands with the Rajput in many affairs. These chhatris also acquired the name of Rajput. The Rajputs increased largely in numbers like the Rathours, Haras, Kacchwahas, Rohtas, Badgujjara, Nararanas and others. All these sets, of people adopted soldiering as their profession. The old customs were discarded. Those of the original chhatris who did not reconcile themselves to sharing food and drink with the Rajputs and who did not enter into matrimony with them started calling themselves khattris. They separated themselves from the other groups, abandoned the profession of soldiering and adopted other professions. Since the dominance of the Rajput proved to be harmful to the life and property of the *khattris*, they left Hindustan for good and settled down in the lands of the Panjab. Here they proposed. Many of the *khattris* of the Panjab were the descendants of

were very tenacious of the integrity of their communal property in the village lands, seldom admitting strangers to share it with them. Pride of blood was their strongest characteristic, for pride in the blood was the very essence of their Rajput hood. They were lazy and poor husbandmen and much preferred pastoral to agricultural pursuits, looked upon all manual labour as derogatory and upon the actual operation of ploughing as degrading. It was only the poorest class of Rajput who will himself follow the plough. They were, in most parts of the Panjab plains, cattle-stealer by ancestral profession; but they exercised their calling in a gentlemanly way, and there was certainly honour among Rajput thieves.³⁰ The entire field-work was done by men. The Rajputs were Hindu as well as Muslims. The Hindu Rajputs were found mostly in the hills and in a small number in the plains. The Muslim Rajputs lay scattered in different parts of the Panjab. The number of Sikh Rajputs was very small. They were found in Sialkot, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur. They mostly lived in the Bari *doab*, Jalandhar *doab*, and Rachna *doab*. Out of a Rajput population of a million and a half, only 20,000 were Sikhs. Awan, Chauhan, Kharral, Manj, Tarar, Bhatti, Chhadhar, Khokar and Rahtor were the principal division of the Rajputs.³¹

Gakkhars, Gujjars, Arains, Kambos, Sainis, Khattars, and Kharrals were the minor land owing and agricultural tribes. The Gakkhars were old rulers of the northern side of the cis-Indus Salt-range Tract. Gakkhars practically confined to the Rawalpindi, Jehlam, and Hazara, where they were found all along the plateaus at the foot of the lower

Raja Bharat whose genealogy was connected with Raja Prajapat, who in turn was born from the heart of Sri Kishan. Some of them were descendants of Raja Raghu and Jasrath. They were, thus, surajbansis. A few of them were the descendants of Raja Pradar and were, thus, chandarbansis. They all live in the Panjab and Multan and call themselves *khattris*. Now they have no connection with the Rajputs and the *chhatris* of Hind. Having abandoned rulership they earn their living now by service, clerkship, trade and other professions. In the reigns of Raja Bikramjit, Salbahan and Jai Pal, however, their honour was equal to that of the Rajas of Hindustan. When Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded and devastated the Panjab, many persons of Hind became Musalman. The *khattris* left the country because of the danger to their life and honour and went into the hills and other inaccessible places: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 26, 46, 129, 130.

³⁰. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 131-136; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 242; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh : Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, Sita Ram Kohli Memorial Lectures, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1981, 23.

³¹. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North West Frontier Provinces of India*, Vols III, 272-285; Hari Ram Gupta, "Life and Manners of the Common People", *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Politics, Society and Economy*, (eds.) Fauja Singh and A.C. Arora, 281.

Himalayas, from the Jehlam to Haripur in Hazara.³² Gakhkhars lived in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. From Margala towards the hills was the country of the Gakhkhars; it was one of the toughest places. In its south-east was the town of Takht Pari, and the area around was now known as the *pargana* of Akbarabad. Pothuhar was the name of a country which was formerly in the possession of the Gakhkhars. Previously, it was in the possession of the tribe of Boghalan who have the same ancestry as the Gakhkhars.³³

The Gujjars were also important as land-owners, cultivators and herdsmen. Several places were especially associated with them, like Gujjar Khan in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, Gujrat in the Chaj *doab* and Gujranwala in the Rachna *doab*. Gujjars lived mostly in Bari *doab*.³⁴ Many Hindu Gujjars lived in Lahore.³⁵ The Gujjars of the Waraich tribe were powerful in the village Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*.³⁶ They were numerous also in Hasan Abdal and Jhelum, and all along the hills from the Jhelum to the Sutlej. In Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar they were mostly cultivators, but their preference on the whole was for keeping cattle rather than following the plough; they remained more pastoral than agricultural.³⁷

The Arains, Kambos and Sainis were also excellent cultivators, but their numbers were rather small. The Arains, well known for market gardening, were numerous in Jalandhar and Kapurthala, around Kalanaur and Batala, and in Lahore and Montgomery. They mostly lived in Jullundur *doab* and Bari *doab*. The Kambos too were numerous in

³². Just as were the Awans and Janjuas of the southern portion of the same tract; and it appears probable that they at one time overran Kashmir, even if they did not found a dynasty there. Their own story was that they were descended from Kaigohar of the Kayani family then reigning in Ispahan; that they conquered Kashmir and Tibet and ruled those countries for many generations, but were eventually driven back to Kabul, whence they entered the Panjab in company with Mahmud Ghaznavi early in the 11th century. Cunningham identifies the Gakhkhars with the Gargaridae of Dionysius, and holds them to be descendants of the great Yueti or Takhari Scythians of the Akbar tribes, who moved from Hyrkania to Abryan on the Jahlam under either Darius Hystaspes (circa 500 B.C.), or still earlier under one of the Scytho-Parthian Kings. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 165-69; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 224.

³³. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 42, 43, 44.

³⁴. Ibid, 140.

³⁵. Ibid, 118.

³⁶. Ibid., 57.

³⁷. The Gujjars were the eighth largest caste in the Panjab, only the Jats, Rajputs, and Pathans among dominant castes, the mixed caste of Arains, and the Brahmans, Chuhars exceeding them in point of number. They were identified by Cunningham with the Kushan or Yuchi or Tochari, a tribe of Eastern Tartars: J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 23; D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 182-83.

Kapurthala and in the valley of the Satlej upto Multan. Unlike the Arains they did not engage in market gardening, but they were equally industrious, and they formed one of the finest cultivating communities in the Punjab. The Sainis took to gardening for market even more than the Arains, but in addition to ordinary farming. They lived mostly along the foothills from the Satlej to the Ravi. They found in Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar. They lived mostly lived in the Jullundur *doab* and Bari *doab*. They were divided into many *gots*, but they formed large clans only in Hoshiarpur and Shakargarh. They were exceedingly prolific, a fact which partly accounted for their small holdings and intensive cultivation.³⁸

Khattars showed their origin from Rajputs. Mr. Steedman however accepts their Awans origin, but Awans dislike Khattars. In their opinion Khattars were inferior to them so they did not want to make matrimonial alliances with them. It was claimed that they were inhabitant of Khorasan who came to India as invaders.³⁹ They inhabited of Attock and Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. In the society Khattars placed below Gakkhars, Awans, Ghebas, Jodras, and other high class Rajputs.”⁴⁰

The Kharrals would appear to be a true Rajput tribe, though a very considerable portion of them have been returned as Jats.⁴¹ They inhabited of Lahore, Montgomery, and Gujranwala. They mostly lived in the Rachna *doab* and Bari *doab*.⁴²

³⁸. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, 171-190; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 23-24.

³⁹. The Khattar was a tribe which claims kinship with the Awans, and to be, like them and the western Khokhars, descended from one of the sons of Qutb Shah Qureshi of Ghazni: Sir Lepel Griffin, *Panjab Chiefs*, Lahore, 1865, 561-69.

⁴⁰. But colonel Cracroft notes that the Khattars of Rawalpindi still retain marriage customs which point to an Indian origin; and they themselves have a tradition of having been driven out of their territory on the Indus near Attock into Afghanistan, and returning thence with the armies of Muhammad Ghor. Colonel Cracroft writes: “The Khattars enjoy an unenviable notoriety in regard to crime. Their tract has always been one in which heavy crime has flourished; they were bad agriculturists, extravagant in their habits, keep hawks and horses, and were often backward in paying their revenue. They do not allow their daughters to inherit excepting in cases of intermarriage with members of the family and even only for some special reason. On this Steedman notes since then they only have become more civilized and less addicted to deeds of violence. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 23; D.C.J. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, 171-72.

⁴¹. The Rajput Kharrals of Bahawalpur have returned their main tribe as Bhatti. The few Kharrals of Jalandhar were there recognized as Rajputs, and the Kharrals of Montgomery claims descent from Raja Karan. They were found in large numbers only along the valley of the Ravi, from its junction with the Chanab to the boundary between Lahore and Montgomery; while a few have spread up the Deg river into the Lahore and Gujranwala bar, and smaller numbers were found all along the Satluj valley as high up as Firozpur: D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 172-73.

About the other dominant tribes and castes in relation to land, was, the Biloch both numerous and powerful in Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Mankera; they were also important in Muzaffargarh, Shahpur, Jhang, Multan and Montgomery. They mostly lived in the Baridoab, Sindh Sagar *doab* and Chaj *doab*. On the west of the Indus, they had retained their tribal language and organization; but elsewhere they had been partly influenced by the customs and usages of the local population.⁴³ A very considerable number of Biloches were scattered along the lower Indus and Satlej in Bahawalpur and Multan, and especially in the former. The most important were the Rind, the Korai, the Copang, and Jatoi, and Lashari, and the Hot, while less numerous but still important were the Chandia, the Khosa, and the Dasti.⁴⁴

The Pathan, a congeries of Pashtu speaking tribes, remained mostly tribal in their organization. Their numerous tribes were dominant in Bannu, Kohat and Peshawar; they were important also in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, Rachna *doab* and at Qasur in the Bari *doab*. In smaller numbers they could be found in many towns.⁴⁵ There were many Pathan clusters scattered all over the Panjab. They had a great influence in the region. They had a great say till Maharaja Ranjit Singh subdued them.⁴⁶ The Pathans in Ranjit Singh's time

⁴². The tribes of this portion of the Ravi were divided into two classes, the Great Ravi tribes and the Little Ravi tribes. The former were pastoral rather than agricultural, and include the Kharrals, Kathias, and many of the geart tribes of Mahomedan Jats. They look down upon the little Ravi tribes who live within their limits, and who were agricultural rather than pastoral, consisting of Arains, Kambohs, and similar tribes common in the Eastern Panjab. The great Ravi Tribes were notorious for their propensity to cattle-stealing, and among them a young man was not allowed to wear a turban or to marry a wife till he shows by stealing a buffalo that he was able to support her, while headman who has not a number of dependants ready to steal for or with him was popularly known as "an orphan". D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 174; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 23.

⁴³. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 22.

⁴⁴. As regards their origin, they descended from Mir Hamzah, a Qureshi Arab and an uncle of the Prophet and were settled at Halab or Aleppo, till for siding with Husan, they were expelled by Yazid, the second of the Umayyid Caliphs. The Biloches of the Ravi were chiefly found in the '*bars*' of the Montgomery and Jhang, where they occupied themselves in camel-breeding, holding but little land as cultivators. They consisted almost wholly of Jatoi and Rind, while latter tribe had penetrated in some number as high up as Lahore. They were probably descendants of the men who under Mir Chakar accompanied Humayun and received a grant of land in Montgomery in return for their services. In the Jhang and Shahpur, on the Jhelum and the right bank of the Chenab, the principal tribes to found were the Rind, the Jatoi, the Lashhari, and the Korai: H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Provinces of India*, Vols II, Language Department, Punjab, 1970, 41-47; D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 42-43; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 237-38.

⁴⁵. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23.

⁴⁶. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 42-43; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 237-38.

were notorious robbers and thieves, adept in night attacks. Once they harboured a grudge against a person, they never forgot it in their lifetime. Overpowered by anger, they knew nothing about forgiveness and tolerance. They were exceedingly proud. They considered Hindus and Sikhs as their foes. No oath and promises bound them to an engagement. They were capital horsemen and owned good horses. They made excellent soldiers. They were first rate skirmishers and excellent marksmen. They attacked from behind. The Pathans had their own code of honour. It was called Pakhtunwali. This was strictly adhered to by them.⁴⁷ Among the Pathans the most powerful tribe were Yusafzais, Afgans and Kakezai.⁴⁸

Among the other trading and commercial castes, were the Aroras who shared their dominance with *khatris* in the Chaj *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, who constituted the leading mercantile caste in the lower reaches of the rivers. Half of the Aroras of the Punjab lived in the Multan, Kohat, Peshawar and the Derajat. Mostly traders, they could turn their hand to anything, including cultivation. A large proportion of the Aroras on the lower Chenab were purely agriculturist, making admirable cultivators. Like the *khatris*, they were divided into a very large number of genealogical sections or subcaste. Like the *khatris*, again, they were active, industrious enterprising and thrifty.⁴⁹

The *baniyas* lived almost entirely for and by commerce, but their numbers in the land of the five rivers were relatively small. They were mainly Agarwals and lived solely by commerce. They performed functions of cardinal importance in village economy. Their social standing was high. They were inhabited of Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Rawalpind and

⁴⁷. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 144.

⁴⁸. The *pargana* of Miani in the Bari *doab*, to which belonged Painde Khan (noble), the Afghan who fought with Guru Hargobind. Hoshiarpur, which has many gardens and the house of Shaikh Ghulam Muhiyuddin Kakezai in the Bari *doab*, the *nazim* of Kashmir in the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Shaikh Mustafa Kakezai was also one of the well known men of the town of Bholu Kochhar in the Rachna *doab*. To the north of Hasan Abdal was the Gandgarh Mountain, adjoining the country of Chhachh. The north-western boundary meets the bank of the river Sindh and touches the villages of the Yusufzais. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 40, 98, 143-144; D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Punjab Castes*, 58-59.

⁴⁹. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, 24; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 16-20; B.S. Nijjar, *Punjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 247.

Jalandhar. They were mostly appeared in the Upper Bari *doab*, Rachna *doab*, Sindh Sagar *doab* and in the Chaj *doab*.⁵⁰

The Jains, popularly known as Bhabras, were not very numerous, but they could be found in many urban centres as traders and shopkeepers. Bhabras mostly lived in Sialkot and Hoshairpur in the Rachna *doab* and in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*.⁵¹ Mahna Shah Bhabra was famous as the wealthy trader of the town of the *pargana* Pashrur. Sahib Dayal Bhabra was the famous *panch* of the Sialkot.⁵²

The *labanas*, originally a salt-carrying and salt trading community, were the transporters of grain and goods. They were occasionally called *banjaras*. There are five sub-divisions of the *banjaras*: the Turkia *banjaras*, the Bayd Banjaras, the Lubana Banjaras, the Mukeri Banjaras and the Bahrup Banjaras. They were known by different names in different parts of the Punjab as Lubana, Lobana, Labana and Libana.⁵³ They were employed by *khatris* and *aroras*. They possessed great courage and endurance and were found in Gurdaspur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. They lived in Chaj *doab*, Rachna *doab* and Bari *doab*. A large colony of *labanas* existed at Bahawalpur where they were mostly Sahajdhari Sikhs. In the western parts of the Punjab, the counterpart of the *labanas* was the *banjaras*. There were many peddlars among the *banjaras* and the *labanas*, as there were many shopkeepers among the *khatris* and the *aroras*.⁵⁴ Labanas lived mostly in the Chaj *doab*. The village of Bazurgwal, situated on the

⁵⁰. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs Vol. V: The Sikh Lion of Lahore (Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1799-1839)*, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, 1991, New Delhi, 503; D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Punjab Castes*, 242.

⁵¹. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, 24; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 78, 85, 87; D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Punjab Castes*, 246; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 59-60; B.S. Nijjar, *Punjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 246.

⁵². Ibid., 78, 85, 87.

⁵³. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. III, (reprint), Punjab Language Department, Patiala, 1970, 1-2; Jaswant Singh, *The Lubanas In the Punjab: Social, Economic and Political Change (1849-1947)*, Murabia Publishers, Kapurthala, 1998, 4.

⁵⁴. The Lubanas were also a peculiar people. Their status amongst the Sikhs was much the same as that of the Mahatams. They corresponded to the Banjaras of Hindustan, carrying on an extensive trade by means of large herds of laden bullocks. Later, they had taken to agriculture, but as an additional means of livelihood, not as a substitute for trade. As a section of the community they deserved every consideration and encouragement. They were generally fine, substantially built people. They also possessed much spirit. In anarchical times when the freaks or feuds of petty Governors would drive the Jats or Gujars to seek a temporary abiding place away from their ancestral village, the Lubanas would stand their ground, and perhaps improve the opportunity by extending their grasp over the best lands in the village. Their principal

road to Kashmir and inhabited by the Labana.⁵⁵ Tanda was a village situated on the land of Moth Sa'duddin which was a part of the *tappa* of Chhachhan, was well known for the residence of the Labanas.⁵⁶

The mercantile communities among the Muslims were largely represented by the Khojas and the Parachas. Khoja and Paracha were numerous in the Rachna, Sindh Sagar and Bari *doab*. They were generally converted to Islam from amongst the *khattris*, the Aroras and the Bhatias. The Khojas of Shahpur, for instance, were originally *khattris*, and those of Jhang were originally Arora. The Khojas of Lahore were Bhatia. There Parachas were found in Makhad, Attock and Peshawar. They traded with Central Asia in cloth, silk and indigo. Many of them kept petty shops and some of them pursued agriculture. Where the Paracha were important as traders, the pedlars were called Khoja. The Khoja were numerous along the hills from Gurdaspur to Rawalpindi, and also in Muzaffargarh and the Derajat. They were fairly numerous in Lahore, Sialkot, Gujrat and the Salt Range.⁵⁷ In Bhera, for instance, Qutbuddin and Imam Bakhsh had a flourishing business. They were Parachas. In Chiniot were living many Khoja as well as Paracha *sahukars*. Khoja traders were important in Narowal also.⁵⁸ In Jhang they owned a large number of wells. On the whole, they were important as traders. They retained traces of *khatri* organization and rules of marriage, bearing *khatri* sectional names in Bhera and Shahpur.⁵⁹

As it may be expected a priori, artisans and craftsmen and the service performing castes were found both in cities and towns and in the countryside. The most important for agriculture were the *lohars* and the *tarkhans*, the *kumhars*, the *chamars* and the *chuhars*.

village was Tanda, which means a large caravan of laden bullocks. Allowed to reside by the Gujar proprietors of Mota, they got possession of the soil, built a Qasba', and in every point of importance swamped the original proprietors. They had been recognized as proprietors, but feudatory to their former landlords the Gujars of Mota, paying to them annually in recognition thereof a sum equal to one-tenth of the Government demand." They were generally known as, "favoured army of Guru Gobind Singh" : H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. III, 3-8; B.S. Nijjar, *Punjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 247; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, 24-25; H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 503.

⁵⁵. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 54

⁵⁶. *Ibid.*, 66

⁵⁷. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, Punjab Historical Studies department, Punjabi University, Patiala 1981, 25.

⁵⁸. *Ibid.*, 31, 76, 109, 123-124.

⁵⁹. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, Punjab Historical Studies department, Punjabi University, Patiala 1981, 25.

The *lohar* of the Panjab was, as his name implies, a blacksmith pure and simple. He was one of the true village menials, receiving customary dues in the shape of a share of the produce, in return for which he made and mend all the iron implements of agriculture, the material being found by the husbandman.⁶⁰ His social position was low, even for a menial; and he was classed as an impure caste in so far that *jats* and others of similar standing will have no social communion with him, though not as an outcast like the scavenger. His impurity, like that of the barber, washerman, and dyer, springs solely from the nature of his employment; perhaps because it was a dirty one, but more probably because black was a colour of evil omen, though on the other hand iron has powerful virtue as a charm against the evil eye. It was not impossible that the necessity under which he labours of using bellows made of cowhide may have something to do with his impurity.⁶¹ The blacksmiths were more numerous in proportion to the total population in the hills and the areas that lie immediately below, they were employed in field labour. They were singularly small in Multan and the Derajat; their job was performed by *tarkhans*, and others.⁶²

The *tarkhan*, was the carpenter of the region. The *tarkhan*, mostly lived in the Bari, Jalandhar, and Sindh Sagar *doab*. Like the *lohar* he was a true village menial, mending all agricultural implements and household furniture, and making them all except the cart, the Persian wheel, and the sugar-press, without payment beyond his customary dues. He was in all probability of the same caste with the *lohar*; but his social position was distinctly superior. Till quite lately *jats* and the like would smoke with him though latterly they have begun to discontinue the customs. The *tarkhan* was very generally distributed over the region, though, like most occupational castes, he was less numerous on the lower frontier than elsewhere. They lived in Jalandhar, Firozpur, Sialkot, Amritsar, Lahore, Hoshiarpur; Rawalpindi, Gurdaspur, Multan and in Hazara.⁶³

⁶⁰. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, 309; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, Sita Ram Kohli Memorial Lectures, Punjabi University, Patiala, 25.

⁶¹. Colebrooke says that the Karmakara or blacksmith was classed in the *purans* as one of the as one of polluted tribes: D.C.J. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, Punjab Language Department (reprint-first Published 1916), Patiala, 1970, 309,312.

⁶². H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. III, 36-37; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, 25.

⁶³. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, 313; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. III, 457-60.

The Kumhar or Ghumiar in the Punjab was the potter maker and brick burner of the region. He fulfilled the entire needs of the village through out the year. He baked earthen ware pots on the Persian wheel.⁶⁴ Beside that they kept donkeys to carry grains within the village areas. He made a charge on goods it was to transport outside the village. The donkeys of *ghumiar* brought to use by villagers to carry, fuel, dust, manure, bricks etc. Although in society he enjoys higher position than *chamars* but lower position than *lohars*. They would not get respect in society because of his association with the donkey. Donkey was the sacred animal of goddess Sitla Mata. Kumhar also engaged themselves with the art of brick baking. His skill was acknowledged due to his understanding of Kilns; he baked the brick for the village. The ordinary village brick dried out by the *chamars*. The *kumhars* lived in Multan, Jhang, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Bannu and Bahawalpur.⁶⁵

The *chamar*⁶⁶, as the tanner and the leather-worker, made and mended shoes and supplied whips other leather work to the cultivators and received customary payment in kind. The *chamars* also supplied labour to the cultivators. The *chamar* lived in Bari *doab*, Jalandhar and Rachna *doab*. They were divided into numerous subcastes. In the western districts, the *mochi* was the Muslim counterpart of the *chamar*, but he did not do menial work.⁶⁷ They did all the *begar*, or such work as cutting grass, carrying wood and bundles, acted as watchmen, and the like; and they plastered the houses with mud when they needed it. They took the hides of all dead cattle and the flesh of all cloven-footed animals, that of such as do not divide the hoof going to *chuhars*. They made and mended shoes, thongs for the cart, and whips and other leather work; and above all they did an immense deal of hard work in the fields, each family supplying each cultivating association with the continuous labour of a certain number of hands. All this they did as village menials, receiving fixed customary dues in the shape of a share of the produce of

⁶⁴. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, 315; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 26.

⁶⁵. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 26; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 562-70.

⁶⁶. The name *chamar* was derived from the Sanskrit *chamakara* or "or worker in hides." But in the east of the Province he was far more than a leather-worker. He was the general coolie and field labourer of the villages; and a *chamar*, if asked his caste by an Englishman at any rate, will answer "co they olie" as often as "*chamar*": D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Punjab Castes*, 297-301; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 148-150.

⁶⁷. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 26.

the fields. In the east and southeast of the Panjab the village *chamars* also did a great deal of weaving, which however was paid for separately.⁶⁸

The *chuhra* or *bhangi* of Hindustan⁶⁹ was engaged to do the menial jobs of sweeping and scavenging. People of this community mostly found in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan and Rawalpindi. The *chuhra* mostly lived in the Bari *doab* and Jalandhar *doab*. In the village he received the grains and other used household material in return of his services. He takes care of cleanliness and sanitation. Bhangi or *chuhra* often used to perform the death of person in the village, sometimes outside the village. He also made the *chhaj*. To throw out dead animals out of the village was one of the job of Bhangi or *chuhra*. His occupations changed somewhat with his religion. These various names denoted nothing more than a change of religion sometimes accompanied by a change of occupation. The Hindu *chuhra*, that was to say the *chuhra* who follow the original religion of the caste and has been classed by us as Hindu, was found in all the eastern half of the Panjab plains: but that west of Lahore he hardly existed save in the great cities of Rawalpindi, Multan and Peshawar. Mazhbi and Rangreta, denoted *chuhras* by caste and Sikh by religion. Mazhbi means nothing more than a member of the scavenger class converted to Sikhism. The Mazhbis took the *pahul*, wore their hair long, and abstained from tobacco, and they apparently refused to touch night-soil, though performing all the other offices hereditary to the *chuhra* caste. Their great Guru was Teg Bahadur, whose mutilated body was brought back from Delhi by *chuhras* who were then and there admitted to the faith as a reward for their devotion. But though good Sikhs so far as

⁶⁸. The *chamars* stand far above the *chuhras* in social position, and some of their tribes were almost generally dark in colour, and were almost certainly of aboriginal origin though here again their numbers have perhaps been swollen by members of the others and higher castes who have fallen or been degraded. The people say: "Do not cross the ferry with a black Brahman or a fair *chamar*", one being as unusual as the other. Their women were celebrated for beauty, and loss of caste was often attributed to too great partiality for a *chamrani*. Sherring has a long disquisition on the *chamar* caste, which appears to be much more extensive and to include much more varied tribes in Hindustan than in the Panjab: D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 297-301; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 148-150.

⁶⁹. They prefer to call themselves *chuhra*, looking upon the term *bhangi* as opprobrious, D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 302.

religious observance was concerned, the taint of hereditary pollution was upon them; and Sikhs of other castes refused to associate with them even in religious ceremonies.⁷⁰

Nai, *dum* and *mirasi* were the minor professional castes. The *nai* was the barber of the country, and corresponds to the Musalman, Hajjam of the cities. They mostly lived in the Rachna *doab*, Bari *doab* and Chaj *doab*. In respect of his being a barber he was a true village menial, and he shaves and shampoos the villagers, prepares tobacco for the village rest-house, and attends upon the village guests. But he was much more than a barber. He was the hereditary bearer of formal messages from one village to another, such as news of auspicious events, formal congratulations, letters fixing the dates of weddings, and the like. News of a death was never carried by him, however, but always by a *chuhra*. He forms moreover, in company with a *brahman*, the embassy sent to conclude a betrothal, and was generally the agency through which the preliminaries of match-making were conducted.⁷¹

At wedding ceremonies too he plays an important part, next indeed to that of the *brahman* himself, and on all these occasions receives suitable gratuities. He was also the leech of the country, the Jarrah of surgeon was usually a *nai* by caste, and circumcision was commonly performed by a *nai*. Not with standing all this he was one of the impure castes, standing much on the same level as the washerman, far above the *chamar*, and somewhat below the *lohar*, for his occupation as a barber proper was considered degrading. At the same time every *nai* was not prepared to handle everybody's poll. The outcast tribes have their own *nais*, for a *nai* who served a *chuhra* would not be permitted to touch a Jat. The *nais* were popularly known as a class of great astuteness, and the proverb says: "the jackal was the sharpest among beasts, the crow among birds, and the

⁷⁰. Almost all the *chuhras* west of Lahore were Muslim, and they were very commonly called *musalli* or *dindar*. It appears that in many parts the Musalman *chuhra* continues to be called *chuhra* so long as he eats carrion or removes night-soil, and was only promoted to the title of *Musalli* on his relinquishing those habits, the *Musalli* being considered distinctly a higher class than the *chuhra*. On the other hand the *Musalli* of the frontier towns does remove night-soil. On the Peshawar frontier the *Musalli* was the grave-digger as well as the sweeper, and was said to be sometimes called *Shahi Khel*, though this latter title would seem to be more generally used for *chuhras* who have settled on the upper Indus and taken to working in grass and reeds like the *Kutanas* presently to be described: D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 293-94; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 182-83; J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, 26.

⁷¹. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Panjab Castes*, 230-31; Hari Ram Gupta, "Life and Manners of the Common People", 284; B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 59-60.

nai among men.” The *nais* were very uniformly distributed over the region, being least common in the Derajat, where however some of them appear to have returned themselves as Jats. Gola, Bhanbheru, Basi, Bahgu, Bhatti and Khokhar were the tribes and clans of the *nai*.⁷²

Both *dum* and *mirasi*, the former being the Hindu and Indian and latter the Muslim and Arabian name, and the whole class being commonly called the *dum-mirasi* by the people. Both *dum* and *mirasi*, lived in the Bari and Sindh Sagar *doab*. The *dums*, however, must be carefully distinguished from the *dom* or *domra*, the executioner and corpse burner of Hindustan, and the type of all uncleanness to a Hindu; as also from the *dum* of the Hill States, classed as *dumna* and not as *mirasi*, the word *dum* was there applied to workers in bamboo. The class was distributed throughout the Punjab, but was most numerous in the Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan divisions, and in Bahawalpur. The word *mirasi* was derived from the Arabic *miras* or inheritance; and the *mirasi* was to the inferior agricultural castes and the outcast tribes what the Bhat was to the Rajputs. Even Jats employed *mirasi*, though the hereditary genealogist of many of the Jat tribes was the Sansi; and, as just stated, Rajputs often employed *mirasis* in addition to Bhats. But the *mirasi* was more than a genealogist; he was also a musician and minstrel; and most of the men who play the musical instruments of the Panjab were *mirasis*, *jogis*, or *faqirs*. “The *dum* does not make a good servant or a fiddle-bow a good weapon.”⁷³

The social position of the *mirasi*, as of all the minstrel castes, was exceedingly low, but he attended at weddings and on similar occasions to recite genealogies. Moreover there were grades even among *mirasi*. The outcast tribes have their *mirasis* who, though they do not eat with their clients and merely render them professional service, were considered impure by the *mirasi* of the high castes. The *mirasi* was generally a hereditary servant like the Bhat; and was notorious for his exactions, which he makes under the threat of lampooning the ancestors of him from whom he demands fees. “These four were not born on giving day; the Mulla, the Bhat the *brahman*, and the

⁷². H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. III, 139-145; H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 518.

⁷³. D.C.J. Ibbetson, *The Punjab Castes*, 234-35.

dum.” The *mirasi* was almost always a *musalman*. The few Hindus returned from the hilly and sub-montane district were very possible *dumanas* returned as *dums*.⁷⁴

On the whole, the caste system was marked by inequality determined by birth. There were many caste and tribes in the Punjab in the early nineteenth century i.e Brahmins, Khatri, Jats, Rajputs, Baloch, Pathans, Labanas, Arora, Bhabra or Jain, Gakkhars, Gujjars, Arains, Kambos, Sainis, Khattars, Kharrals, Tarkhas, Nai, Kumhar and lower classes Chamar and Chuhra. All the caste and tribes lived in the five *doabs* of the Punjab i.e. Rachna *doab*, Bari *doab*, Chaj *doab*, Jalandhar *doab* and Sindh Sagar *doab*. However, most castes and tribes of the early nineteenth century were located in a belonged to specific geographical areas with which they were closely linked i.e. Khatri of subcastes Ghais in Rohtas, Nandas and Kochhars in Eminabad, Chopras, Kapur, Khanna in Lahore, Puris in Batala, Tulis in Kalanaur, Maini in Gujrat, Bedis and Mehtas in Patti.

II

The term ‘social institution’ stands for the institutions of family, marriage, the *bhaichara* and *panchayat*. All these social institutions played important role in the life of the people of Punjab in the early nineteenth century. The family is the basic unit of society. It is in the family a child learns language, the behavioral patterns and social norms in his childhood. The family is a universal group. From the moment of birth to the moment of death the family exerts a constant influence. Family held the status of a primary unit which also formed the nucleus of social relationships. From the structural point of view there are indications of existence of joint or extended families in the villages. They were extended in the sense that the parents could live with their married and unmarried sons and daughter in a household. Generally the father was the head of the family. After the death of father, his eldest son managed the household. Unmarried brother or sisters could still live with him. The eldest married brothers shouldered the responsibility of marrying their younger sisters. And the wife of the eldest brother assumed the role of a mother in relation to younger ones. The jointness of the family had its economic implications among the peasant proprietors. They continued to work

⁷⁴. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 249-50.

collectively in their fields. Thus, in fact the joint family remained a strong unit of an economic activity.⁷⁵

In general children were coveted as the family traditions could only be maintained through them. The girls were to go to their in-laws and were denied of any share in the ancestral property. After the demise of their parents, the brother's house remained a source of support and prestige, where from they continued to receive gifts on numerous occasions. For that matter the sister was the most grief-stricken person at the time of the brother's death.⁷⁶ Other factors contributed to preference for males. The birth of a number of males could increase the earning potential of the agrarian classes. Politically, the number of brothers was a source of strength at the level of village power structure. A man with the support of his sons and brothers could become the head of a village. Besides this, sons collected dowry. The birth of the daughter was seen as a liability. The status of the son was also higher because only he provided of the old parents. He was also required to perform the obsequies of the deceased parents in a sacred manner.⁷⁷

The joint family had the patriarchal system.⁷⁸ A patriarchal family is the one which was headed by the eldest male member of a family who has absolute powers (almost despotic powers) not only over the entire property, but also over the members of the family. The word patriarchy is derived from the Greek words patria, meaning father, and arches, meaning rule, whereas previously patriarchy was considered to imply an autocratic form of leadership by males, as head of family or clan.⁷⁹ However, the real significance of the family lay with its functional aspects. Practically, it was no less a school or moral training. It trained children in good manners and behavior. Obedience to one's parents and respect for elderly relations were taught as the greatest virtue. It had also the sanction of religion. The girls were required to completely submit before the will

⁷⁵. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Sehgal Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, 204-06.

⁷⁶. Agra Sethi, *Var Haqiqat Rai, Punjab Dian Varan* (ed Ganda Singh), Khalsa College, Amritsar 1946, 37.

⁷⁷. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, 269.

⁷⁸. Patriarchy is a social system where the male holds a position of power or authority. This occurs in a society, a clan or a family. In a patriarchal system, wives and children are legally dependent on the male figure of husband and father: Paras Diwan, *Customary Law (Of Punjab and Haryana)*, Publication Bureau, Panjab University Chandigarh, 2006 (fifth Edition), 148.

⁷⁹. Paras Diwan, *Customary Law (Of Punjab and Haryana)*, Publication Bureau, Panjab University Chandigarh, 2006 (fifth Edition), 149.

of their fathers as also of their brothers. Mothers taught them to maintain prestige of their family. They are expected to remain chaste, shy and meek; and were to do the usual spinning in the house. Among the respectable Muslim families, girls had to wear *burka* (a full length veil with eyeholes) and practice prayears (*namaz*) and fasts (*rozās*) regularly.⁸⁰

With in the family, family members had to follow some etiquette.⁸¹ Certain social etiquettes and rules were determined by the traditions of the family as also by the interfamilial relationships. For example the bride had to observe aloofness from her husband until the ceremony of *muklawā*.⁸² She was expected to be an obedient woman. At the time of a bride's departure, the elderly aunts would come to instruct her to remain polite and humble in the house of her in-laws.⁸³ Adherence to certain norms of affinal ties was so imperative that the girl's parents were obliged to be humble. Only a girl's parents could know the estimation of a son-in-law.⁸⁴ After marriage a daughter's right in her parents's home was constantly validated through the gifts she received on her occasional visits. Usually a complete set of three clothes (*trewar of teor*) was given by her parents as a parting gift (*vidaigi*). The adjustment of a daughter, in the house of her in-law depended much on the dowry, she had brought. Therefore, the foremost concern with the mothers was train their daughter in the making of dowry. A daughter-in-law had to assist husband's sister (*ninan*) in preparing the dowry for the latter's marriage.⁸⁵ For the young wife the dictates of her mother-in-law (*sass*) and sister-in-law (*ninan*) were a permanent source of pain. And it was this, that the parents usually hesitated in marrying their daughter in a house where there were already unmarried daughters.⁸⁶

⁸⁰. B. J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh a saga of benevolent despotism*, V.V.R.I, Hoshiarpur, 1977, 402-04.

⁸¹. A senior member and a father always sat at the head and a junior member at the foot of a cot. In Peshawar, a son always sat in the presence of his father on a cot turned upside down. A son addressed his father as *pitaji*, *abbaji* and mother as *mataji* or *maiiji*. An elderly woman was addresses as *manji* or *maiiji*. The parents called their children as *kaka*, *muna*, and *kaki* or *munni*. The rustics called them *munda* and *kuri*. An elder brother was addresses by the younger brothers as *bhaiji*, *virji* or *bharaji*, and elder sister as *bahnji* or *didi*. A wife never uttered the name of her husband and called him as Shila's or Ram's *babu*. Similarly the husband never addressed his wife by name: H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 524-25.

⁸². Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), S. Chand and Co, Delhi, 1961, 136.

⁸³. Ibid, 120, 193.

⁸⁴. Ibid 1971, 91.

⁸⁵. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, 271-72.

⁸⁶. Agra Sethi, *Var Haqiqat Rai, Punjab Dian Varan* (ed. Ganda Singh), 40.

Society was aware of the code of conduct for a married couple. An idle, gambler and a drunkard were a source of ruin to the family. A good wife should be able to cook food sew clothes and spin. Only her adjustment with the husband could ensure the prestige of her parental home. Adultery was the greatest of all the sins. It was unpardonable in the world after death. The ideal blessing for a wife (*suhaagan*) was her husband's longevity. In the absence her partner was always ill-taken by the people was the only proper punishment for a gadding wife.⁸⁷

Marriage was regarded as one of the fundamental social institution which developed with the evolution of mankind. It lays down the nucleus of society. Marriage follows time honored rules and regulations which define the right, duties and privileges of husband and wife. It is an association of man and woman formed for mutual satisfaction of value demands which may be biological, psychological, social and economic.⁸⁸ Marriage has been defined as a contract which had for its object, the procreation and the legalising of children. Marriage was the most important of all the Hindu *samskaras*. Describing the importance and necessity of marriage Abul Fazal states that if there would be no marriages then the fountain-head of humanity would become choked and the stream of divine benevolence sinks into sand. It was regarded as one of the greatest felicities of human life by Hindus. The holy Prophet condemned celibacy and laid stress that even Muhammadan should marry. Thus marriage was a holy obligation and it was considered as a foremost duty of the parents to marry off their children as early as possible.⁸⁹ Man owes a great deal to his wife, for the fulfillment of sexual and philoprogenitive desires. By way of conjugal unions ladies formed the basis of human existence. Marriage, constituted a link between the domain of caste and that of kinship. Being an important social ceremony it offered an occasion for feasts, gathering and rejoicings. The integrity of a family and chastity of women was the primary object. Marriage was governed by the rules of kinship. Parents were required to make an earliest provision for their daughter's marriage. A liaison earned a social odium. A grown-up

⁸⁷. Agra Sethi, *Var Haqiqat Rai, Punjab Dian Varan* (ed Ganda Singh), 45; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 168-179.

⁸⁸. Sonia Vig, *State, Society and Custom in Colonial Punjab*, Ph.d Thesis (unpublished), Panjab University Chandigarh, 2012, 52.

⁸⁹. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, 335; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar, II, (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2000, 29.

unmarried girl was a source of pain to the parents. These factors contributed to the practice of child marriage. The *khatris* were sensitive about the virginity of their women and they married too young.⁹⁰

The marriage of children has been considered as of a foremost duty of the parents. The negotiations concerning the marriages of their off-springs were the privilege of the parents, especially the father. The parents had to see the family status, ancestral rites and traditions and social honour of the parties while they made the selection of the match.⁹¹ Though there was no fixed limit for the age of marriage, both Hindus and Muslims favoured to solemnize it at an early age. Among the Hindus the girls were married even before the age of puberty, generally at the age of six and seven and under all circumstances not beyond the age of eleven. If beyond this age a girl stayed unmarried with her parents it was considered inauspicious. If a son was not married at the proper age that was also considered bad and the neighbours taunted the boy's family for their inability to contract the marriage of their son and it was attributed to some social handicap of that family.⁹²

The Hindus and the Sikhs were, as a rule, monogamous but a second wife was sometimes taken if the first was barren or gave birth only to the female children. Though not held as an absolute necessity, it was generally thought proper to obtain the consent of the first wife to go in for a second marriage. It was sometimes common among the lower castes also such as the *chamars*, *chuhras*, *nais* and several other menial and artisan castes. It was also common among agriculture tribes especially those of hills particularly the Gujars and Jats. Among the Jat Sikhs, in all probability, polygamy was the result of the institution of widow-remarriage, marrying by *chadar pauna*, to maintain his brother's widow. Polygamy was also practiced by Muslims of the north-west frontier. The wealthy and influential Musalmans kept several wives and many slave girls and concubines. Affluent Sikhs and Hindus were no exception to this practice. Ranjit Singh had a number of women in his *harem* and is said to have sixteen wives. Kharak Singh had four wives

⁹⁰. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, 275; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* Daftar, II, 115-116.

⁹¹. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, 336; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* Daftar, II, 117-118.

⁹². *Ibid.*, 324.

and his son Nau Nihal Singh three, and Sher Singh four wives. Inter-marriage between people of different tribes was strongly disliked. Marriage within the sixth degree of blood relation was unlawful among the Hindu and Sikhs.⁹³

Among the Hindus intercaste marriages were outside the pale of society. Also a man and a woman of the same *gowtra* could not marry each other. The marriage was considered unlawful if they married in sub-castes of the same *gowtra*. The Punjabis were very fastidious in marrying. A Mann Jat boy would not marry a Mann Jat girl, infact he might not marry a woman of his own village. There were some other minor restrictions as well. Amongst the Jats, hereditary feuds operated as a bar in many cases. For example, Dhillon Jats would not marry Bal Jats. Such restrictions were not prevalent among Muslims. They had complete freedom of choice except their close relations as sister, niece, aunt, etc. Though sometimes marriages occurred between Muslims and Rajputs and Shias and Sunnis but it was very rare. There was no restriction among Muslims regarding the difference in age between the husband and wife. They mostly cared for wealth or for beauty. It was generally believed that Akbar issued orders to restrict marriage between a youngman and an old lady and he considered it illegal if the age of the woman exceeded that of her husband by 12 years. But no attempt was made to restrict marriage between an old man and a young *virgin*. The Hindus, however, stuck to the Manu's edict that a bridegroom should be older than his bride but the difference in age should not be more than about ten years. The Hindus were not to marry after fifty according to tradition but the rich affluent Hindu and Sikh classes did not conform to this rule. In fact, Ranjit Singh married Jindan when he was about 55 years old and Rani Jindan only 20.⁹⁴

Widow remarriage in theory was strictly prohibited in the Hindu society. It did not however, exist as an absolute prohibition. Among the Muslims there was no religious tenet prohibiting widow marriage. Only Muslims of high social status considered it derogatory for their widows to seek remarriage. The marriage of a widow was known as

⁹³. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, 324; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* Daftar, III, 148-149.

⁹⁴. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, 326; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* Daftar, III, 330.

nikah sani among the Muslims. The Hindus and the Sikhs followed a simple ceremony called *karewa* or *chadar pauna*.⁹⁵ This practice prevailed particularly among the Jat Sikhs. A brother of the deceased married the latter's widow through the ceremony of *karewa*. It gave a wife to an unmarried brother and protected the honour and interest of the joint family. The property of the deceased was retained by the widow. Among the upper classes of the Hindus the widows were not remarried. In the Himalayas women were sold from hand to hand and even a system of temporary marriage prevailed.⁹⁶

The need to maintain status governed the rules of endogamy. The Khatris, the Rajputs, the Jats, the Qazis, the Brahmans, the Dhobis and the Ghumiars all adhered to the rules of caste pertaining to endogamy. Within the endogamous group the status of an individual appears to have been the primary concern. The size of land holding was the marker of social status of the Jats. It figured prominently during matrimonial contracts. Among the artisan castes too, people preferred marital ties with those equal in status. Exogamy was followed with respect to one's subcaste, village or a town locality.⁹⁷

Amongst all classes of society the marriage were solemnised in accordance with their respective religious ceremonies. The expenses incurred on marriages were sometimes very large. The poor generally involved themselves in debt and also the rich

⁹⁵. The practice of *Karewa* also known as *Chadar-andazi* was an inferior form of marriage commonly prevalent amongst the Jat Sikhs. It grew out of economic necessity and the tendency to exclude the females from inheriting property. As an acceptable form of inferior marriage amongst the Hindus and the Jews of the marriage of a widow with the brother of the deceased husband, the custom was of ancient usage. Amongst the Jat Sikhs it was a convenient way of retaining the deceased brother's estate in the family, as according to their traditional laws of inheritance the widow succeeded to her husband's property in case there was no male heir. A simple ceremony was performed by covering the head of the widow by the brother, usually the elder one, signifying that a marriage has been performed. The children of such union were considered legitimate enjoying the right of inheritance. This kept the deceased's estate in the family, preventing the Sikh widow finding a lover and exploiting the inheritance, and finally, in times of war, found a bride for a soldier without the embarrassment of cost and tedious ceremonials. But the *Karewa* marriage was generally deemed as an inferior marriage, and the affluent Sikh Sardars utilized it notoriously in solemnizing unions with concubines and slave girls. Another form of inferior marriage with persons of lower rank was *nath dalna* or the nose-gay marriage, and Ranjit Singh himself married the courtesan Gul Begam by this method, vide. Out of this practice grew the *Threwa* form of marriage, where the widow did not agree to marry her deceased husband's brother, or the latter did not exercise his choice, then she married out the family: D.C.J. Ibbetson, *Punjab caste*; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*; Griffin, 63; Bingley, 103, Steinbach, *The Punjab*, 75; Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, Appendix; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, III, 151; Paras Diwan, *Customary Law of Punjab and Haryana*, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1990, 68-70.

⁹⁶. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, 325.

⁹⁷. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, 275; Agra Sethi, *Var Haqiqat Rai*, 52.

who spent on such occasions much beyond their resources. During the marriage of Ranjit Singh's grandson Naunihal Singh with the daughter of Sham Singh Attariwala the latter is said to have spent 15 lakhs of rupees on this marriage.⁹⁸

The social life of the people was controlled through the institutions of *bhaichara* and *panchayat*. *Bhaichara* was the important institution. It was a fraternal kinship group including a number of families having a common ancestral origin in a village or a township. Some other names used for this kinship group were the *biradari*, the *kabila* and the *korma*.⁹⁹ The social significance of this institution becomes clear when we find the sub-castes group of different castes as strictly adhering to the rule of the *bhaichara*. It enforced discipline with respect to caste rules and social conventions. *Bhaichara* served as a forum to settle disputes between its members. Its decisions were virtually binding, though its efforts depended on persuasion.¹⁰⁰ *Bhaichara* guarded against any violation of caste rules. In case of any disputes, the cases were laid before kindred for settlement. Fines were imposed on offenders or they were out-casted, and those who complied with the orders of the kindred were readmitted into the community.¹⁰¹

In fact social and religious codes of ethics had become identical with the special interests of the society in respect to this institution. *Bhaichara* was taken into confidence particularly before the nuptial contract.¹⁰² Its members collectively guarded against moral violation that might jeopardize the status of the group as a whole.¹⁰³ A sub-division of the *bhaichara* was called *sharika*. Because of fission of the family there were conflicts over property and prestige. *Sharika* represented a spirit of rivalry and mutual distrust. Its members were often finding faults and using almost every occasion to degrade their rivals.

⁹⁸. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, 336; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* Daftar, III (iii), 337.

⁹⁹. Agra Sethi, *Var Haqiqat Rai, Punjab Dian Varan* (ed Ganda Singh), Khalsa College, Amritsar 1946, 32-35; Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Sehgal Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, 316; Bhagat Singh, *Medieval Indian Institutions*, Punjabi University Patiala, 1997, 345.

¹⁰⁰. Debi Prasad, *Gulshan-i-Punjab* (tr. Harminder Singh and ed. Fauja Singh), Punjabi University Patiala, 1979, 173-74.

¹⁰¹. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 9; Jaswant Singh, *The Lubanas in the Punjab: Social, Economic and Political Change (1849-1970)*, Murabia Publishers, Kapurthala, 1998, 80.

¹⁰². Bhagat Singh, *Medieval Indian Institutions*, Punjabi University Patiala, 1997, 346.

¹⁰³. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Vol. II, 30-35.

The fear of criticism within the *sharikh* maintained the equilibrium by imposing a sort of self-restraint on the members of the *bhaichara*.¹⁰⁴

Certain rules of the *bhaichara* and *sharika* had become almost institutionalized. It was obligatory to distribute sweets and other eatables in the houses of the *bhaichara* on the marriage occasions. Within the *bhaichara* the member adhered to the rules of reciprocal exchange of gifts when they visited the houses of a bride or a bridegroom to offer *tambol* or *shagan*, a gift of cash.¹⁰⁵ Importantly, the competition within *sharikha* gave an impetus to the dowry system. People visited a bride's house to see what gifts (*vari*) had been sent by the bridegroom's parents as also they went to see the dowry (*daj*) given by the bride's parents. Besides this, it was perhaps more important for the *bhaichara* to mourn the death in the house of its member in collective manner.¹⁰⁶

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's judicial administrative machinery might appear rough and crude today, but it suited the social and political conditions of those times. It was efficient and it established almost perfect justice, peace and order in the country. In those days people did not tell lies and confessed guilt without any alloy. Evidence was sure and straight. The matter was decided there and then in a few minutes and punishment was awarded on the spot. In fact very few cases came up before judicial officers from countryside. The village *panchayats* dealt with them. It was only in towns and cities that judges had to decide cases placed before them. Even Maharaja received cases of petty thefts and minor crimes and decided them on the spot.¹⁰⁷

There was no codified law to decide judicial cases. The procedure was simple and quick. Judgements were generally based on old traditions, prevalent practices, sacred scriptures, family customs and circumstantial evidence. Steinbach says that custom and

¹⁰⁴. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, 266.

¹⁰⁵. Agra Sethi, *Var Haqiqat Rai, Punjab Dian Varan* (ed. Ganda Singh), Khalsa College, Amritsar 1946, 32-35.

¹⁰⁶. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Sehgal Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, 316; Bhagat Singh, *Medieval Indian Institutions*, Punjabi University Patiala, 1997, 345-47; Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, 266.

¹⁰⁷. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 357.

caprice determined the judgement.¹⁰⁸ Great importance was attached to sworn testimony of the accused and witnesses. The evidence was mainly oral. In Peshawar and Hazara on account of the lawless nature of the inhabitants punishments for the same crime were more stringent than in other places. Ranjit Singh tried to prepare a code of law. A Hindustani Bahadur Singh was engaged to do this work. Sohan Lal Suri who later on was appointed court chronicler was given to him as a clerk. The customary law of a particular region or community was based on previous history and prevailing social order was applied. Ownership of land, relation between landlords and cultivators, cases relating to marriage and criminal cases of theft, robbery and murder were all regulated by customary law and usage. The *qazis* decided cases of Muslims in accordance with the laws of the *shariat*. In the case of Hindus learned *pandits* interpreted Manu Smriti. There was no distinction between civil and criminal cases.¹⁰⁹

Panchayat was the important institution of society. A *panchayat* may be described as a court of arbitration for the settlement of disputes, which were also cognizable by law, without having recourse to the courts for justice. Panchayat was an assembly of the elders.¹¹⁰ Member of a *panchayat* was called a *panch*.¹¹¹ The head of a *panchayat* was called the *chaudhari* or Sarpanch.¹¹² The headman was merely a spokesman of the community, always acting to the will of the village *panchayat*.¹¹³ Each community in each village had a *panchayat* for purposes of adjudication and its members were known for wisdom, integrity and expert knowledge of the customs and traditions cherished by

¹⁰⁸. Steinbach, *The Punjab*, 73.

¹⁰⁹. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 357-58; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar, III, 146-47.

¹¹⁰. A.H. Bingley, *The Sikhs*, 140.

¹¹¹. The name of some important *panches* of the early nineteenth century were Atma Ram Mehta, Chetu Bahadur Wahi, Ganesh Das, Gangu Shah Mehra, Gurmukh Singh Chaudhari, Haji Qazi, Hukam Singh Tali, Kahan Chand Sodhi, Kahan Singh Khana, Kanhiya Mal Mehra alias Babri, Kanhiya Shah Kapur, Koti Mal, Mansa Ram Tandon, Mehta Gurdial Badehra, Mikhi Ram Nayyar, Moti Ram Bhalla, Mulraj Malhotra, Narain Mangal, Nanak Chand Nayyar, Radhe Kishan Waham, Ram Kaur Wij, Sahib Dayal Bhabra, Sehaj Singh Vohra and Sukha Shah, Sultan Singh Sethi, Tula Ram Chopra: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 58, 69, 85, 87, 98, 111, 117.

¹¹². The names of some important *chaudharis* were Abbū, Ahmad, Aladin, Anoka Rai, Fateh Ali, Handa, Halimulla, Kamal, Khalas Khan, Khudayar Waraich, Lal Khan, Mahmud, Mansa Ram, Mubarak, Muhammad Yar, Muhammad Yar Gujjar Ran Singh, Mulaim Khan, Ran Singh, Rehmat Khan, Rup Chand Sahi, Takht Mal, Wali Dad: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 16, 30, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 67, 68, 69, 70, 89, 100, 134.

¹¹³. Ibid, 24.

their community.¹¹⁴ The village *panchayat* was a court of five persons chosen from senior village men of the best reputation and spotless character. One of the five members acceptable to both the parties, the aggressor and the aggrieved, occupied the chair. The village *panchayat* dealt with local cases concerning land disputes, betrothal, *karewa* and marriage, *chundabant* or division of property according to the number of wives, *bhaibant* or according to the number of brothers, theft, physical assault, money payment, verbal agreements, rape, illicit sexual relationship, threats, elopement, *thikri pahra* or watch at night, etc.¹¹⁵ The *panchayats* of villages had to perform administrative, social, religious and economic functions over and above their judicial functions.¹¹⁶

The village *panchayat* exercised considerable influence on the social life of the village.¹¹⁷ There were caste *panchayats* also in the countryside. They consisted of men of the same caste belonging to several villages in the neighbourhood. A shepherd had taken a loan from the village moneylender. He refused to pay back the money with interest. The moneylender lodged a complaint with the shepherds' *panchayat*. Five men from the neighbouring villages arrived and stayed as guests of the debtor until he cleared the loan. Steinbach found that private arbitration also existed in villages. Both the parties could an arbitrator through the village *panchayat*.¹¹⁸ In a meeting or an assembly *panches* and *chaudharis* used to sit along with other people. Deputation of village's *panches* may be relevant for the existence of village's *panchayats* as such. Some time a mere deputation of local caste group could be termed as *panchayat*.¹¹⁹

Discussion on these was ample, often eloquent and loud, but eventually the decision was unanimous. Their judgements were very fair and impartial. They were

¹¹⁴. Fauja Singh, *Some Aspects of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, 145; Diwan Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (tr. Kirpal Singh Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, 150-151.

¹¹⁵. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar, III, 367, 602, 619.

¹¹⁶. Fauja Singh, *Some Aspects of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, Master Publication, New Delhi, 1982, 152; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar, III, 673, 684.

¹¹⁷. B. J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, V.V.R.I, Hoshiarpur, 1977, 400; Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Sehgal Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, 315.

¹¹⁸. Steinbach, *The Punjab*, 73-75; H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 357; Osborne, *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh, With an Introductory Sketch of the Origin and Rise of the Sikh State*, Punjab Language Department, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 145-47.

¹¹⁹. J. S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, Punjabi University Patiala, 1981, 2; Bhagat Singh, *Medieval Indian Institutions*, Punjabi University Patiala, 1997, 350.

quietly accepted even by the most refractory offender. In case of disobedience total excommunication was the punishment. An Englishman saw a man going along the road with big spots like those of smallpox on the man's back. He asked him the cause of those spots on the back because smallpox attacked the front. He replied that for a certain offence he had been ordered by the village panchayat to lie on the ground in which iron nails had been fixed. The village panchayat was a powerful tribunal without any legal authority. It successfully functioned in times of war and peace, and in the days of anarchy and revolution. The decision of the *panchayat* was considered as one dictated by God. *Panchon men Parmeshar* was the firm belief and faith of the people. An appeal against the judgement of the panchayat could be made to the *kardar*, but it rarely happened.

The people's courts perhaps played a most conspicuous role in the whole judicial administration of Ranjit Singh. They were, however, not his creation but prior to him had been in existence for centuries. But he attached the utmost importance to them for three main reasons. First, they discharged judicial responsibilities for the vast bulk of the people who lived in the countryside. Even in towns and cities *panches* and *chaudharis* were invariably associated with the government courts. They were people's representatives chosen for their closer understanding of the local affairs. Secondly, as a rule they performed their duties with integrity and efficiency. Thirdly, they administered the customary law which was the supreme law of the state and for that purpose they were the best-informed and most competent bodies. The Maharaja seldom interfered with their working.¹²⁰

In most of the cases the decisions of the *panchayats* were final and the number of appeals against their judgments was very meager. Some contemporary British authorities have spoken of these people's courts in laudatory terms. For instance Malcolm, a contemporary writer, observes: "They (*panches*) were always chosen from the men of the best reputation.....This court (*panchayat*) has a high character for justice". Thorburn calls them "the accepted exponents and enforcers of public opinion," or "an institution which

¹²⁰. Bhagat Singh, *Sikh Polity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Delhi, 1978, 287; Fauja Singh, *Some Aspects of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, 148.

had the sanction of prescription and had always given satisfaction to the people.”¹²¹ The success of the *panchayat* courts was largely due to the utmost confidence which the people reposed in them. They regarded them as sacred institution and often expressed their sentiments by their utterance ‘*pancho men parmeshwar*’ by which they meant that the decisions of the *panchayats* had the sanction of God. Anyone who refused to abide by a *panchayat*’s decision ran the risk of being excommunicated by the *bhaichara* though in actual practice such an eventuality did not often come to pass.¹²²

Responsible or reputed person could be accepted as a *panch*. For example *panch* for the Muslim witnesses at the time of *niqah* ceremony. In villages, the *khatrishahukars* could be the *panches* perhaps due to their indispensability as bankers.¹²³ But the *chaudharis* was essentially a leader of the dominant caste group of a village or a township. All information about the village could be available through him. He was a custodian of the village morals. Above all he was a liaison between the people and the government. There were certain qualities expected of a *chaudharis*. First of all, he has to be generous. Secondly, he has to be able to give impartial and sensible decisions in settling disputes.¹²⁴

The functions of the *panchayat* were indicated by the role of the *panches*. There were, however, no fixed rules regarding their jurisdiction and functions at any specific level. Intervention of the village’s *panches* was sought along with the government officials in connection with the division of the ancestral property. Though this was not a peculiar feature of the village *panchayats*, there was no doubt that no other court made use of it more than the village *panchayats*. Rather it may be observed that arbitration was the usual mode of adjudication with them. For instance, Capt. Murray has identified five

¹²¹. Fauja Singh, *Some Aspects of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, 148; Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans*, 206-207.

¹²². Henry Steinbach, *The Punjaub*, London, 1846, 83.

¹²³. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, 260; A.C. Banerjee, *The Khalsa Raj*, Abhinav Publication, 1985, 153; H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikhs Power in the The Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an Account of Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikhs*, Punjab Languages Department, Patiala 1970, 154-155.

¹²⁴. Agra Sethi, *Var Haqiqat Rai, Punjab Dian Varan* (ed Ganda Singh), Khalsa College, Amritsar 1946, 47. J. S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, Punjabi University Patiala, 1981, 2-3; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 126.

different modes of accommodation which were in general adoption among the village *panchayats* in respect of land disputes. They were as follows:

1. An equal division of the land in dispute.
2. The oldest and most respectable members of the *panchayat* were selected to define the limit while the other members consented to abide by the award.
3. A moiety of the line of demarcation was drawn by the arbiters of one party and the remaining portion by those of the other.
4. The *panchayat* referred the final adjustment to an old inhabitant of a neighbouring village upon whose local knowledge and experience they placed more reliance than on their own limited information.
5. It sometimes occurred to the *panchayat* to leave the division in the hands of one of the disputants whose probity and reputation were established in the vicinity.

Similarly, in the case of many other kinds of disputes arbitration was a common mode of settlement adopted by the *panchayats*. It was for this reason that Thorburn calls them “board of arbitrators”.¹²⁵ Matrimonial disputes were often brought before them since the parents in some cases were accused of marrying their daughter after the betrothal with another person.¹²⁶

The *chaudharis* and *panches* of the locality who as accredited leaders of their brotherhood were supposed to know best the customs and usages applicable to them.¹²⁷ *Panches* and *chaudharis* of the villages had no doubt amicable and personal

¹²⁵. H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikhs Power in the The Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an Account of Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikhs*, Punjab Languages Department, Patiala 1970, 160 ; Fauja Singh, *Some Aspects of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, 156; Henry Steinbach, *The Punjaub*, 119-20.

¹²⁶. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Sehgal Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, 315; Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, Containing a Particular Account of the Government and Character of the Sikhs* (tr. from German by Major T.B. Jervis), Punjab Language Department, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 156, 170, 316-317.

¹²⁷. Fauja Singh, *Punjab da Smajik Itihas* (ed), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1979, 127; Fauja Singh, “Territorial Organization: Concept of State Role and Distribution of Power”, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times* (eds.) J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980, 98.

relations with the *panches* and *chaudharis* of the villages in their neighborhood. This however, was evident from the fact that they visited the villages of each other as special invitees on marriages occasions. Although, by doing so, they fulfilled obligatory ties at their own level of status, but their obligatory reciprocated had an important bearing for the intra-villages relationships. *Panches* and respectable persons of the villages in a deputation could approach the heads of other villages to settle matters of common interest.¹²⁸ Responsibilities to the people of the village were not carried by the *chaudhari* alone, but by his whole household as well. His household usually includes his mother, wife, sisters, sister-in-law, and children as well as servants. Some time the wives of the *chaudhari* might be required to accompany them. In view of distance their influence could be comparatively stronger in their parental villages. Due to holistic structure of the community life, a cause of one's daughter was the cause of a village. The *panches* generally attended wedding ceremonies on behalf of the bride's parents in order to enhance their prestige and exhibit the solidarity of the community.¹²⁹

Taking into account the modes of power of the *panchayat* it may be pointed out that its conciliatory efforts were embedded in traditional wisdom. *Panches* were generally aware of their relatives' weakness with regard to everything which was not concerned with the group of their status. They held little legal authority because their decisions were subject to alteration by the court.¹³⁰ Therefore, in cases of disputes among individuals, they tried to re-establish harmony within the group by persuasion and moral pressure.¹³¹ Presumably, in view of the multiple natures of their functions, their authority depended on the assumption that the *panches* who defend the group's interest must be obeyed in other matters as well.

¹²⁸. Debi Prashad, *Gulshan-i-Punjab* (tr. Harminder Singh and ed. Fauja Singh), Punjabi University Patiala, 1979, 170-71; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1978, 84-85.

¹²⁹. Agra Sethi, *Var Haqiqat Rai, Punjab Dian Varan* (ed Ganda Singh), Khalsa College, Amritsar 1946, 38; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 127-28.

¹³⁰. Debi Prashad, *Gulshan-i-Punjab* (tr. Harminder Singh and ed. Fauja Singh), Punjabi University Patiala, 1979, 171 Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, 263.

¹³¹. Bhagat Singh, *Medieval Indian Institutions*, Punjabi University Patiala, 1997, 351.

The image of the *panches* and the *chaudharis* was not always good, from the point of view of social justice at the village level; In fact the situation in the villages was not independent of the political and economic conditions. The relatively eminent rights of the *jats* over land had enabled them to employ the village menials and artisans directly or indirectly. Besides that, the elements of despotism were reflected in the context of the village life.¹³²

Therefore, the decisions of *panches* and *chaudharis* in the villages, were in reality, the decisions, of the economically, superior and politically strong castes. Jats as the *chaudharis* and also as the rulers of the land. In this view, *jats* and *dogaras* were highway robbers. They were dishonest. As *panches* they could hardly be expected to do justice. The will of the stronger often prevailed in disputes pertaining to betrothals and the like.¹³³

On the whole 'social institutions' of family, marriage, the *bhaichara* and *panchayat* plays very important role in the life of people in the early nineteenth century. In family, children learn social etiquettes and vales. Family played important role to the over all development of the person. Marriage was the one of the important social institution of the society. The marriage of children has been considered as of a foremost duty of the parents. Bhaichara or *sharika* played important role in the life of Punjabi people. Sharika visit each other houses at the different occasion like birth, marriage and death and help each other. Panchayats were functional institutions of grassroots governance in almost every village. The *panchayats* of villages had to perform administrative, social, religious and economic functions over and above their judicial functions.

III

On the whole social institutions are established in a society to help the society function. They work as the backbone of a society. Social institutions of caste, family, marriage, the

¹³². Debi Prashad, *Gulshan-i-Punjab* (tr. Harminder Singh and ed. Fauja Singh), Punjabi University Patiala, 1979, 172; Baba Prem Singh Hoti, *Social History of Punjab* (ed. Fauja Singh) Punjabi University Patiala, 2001, 9-10; L.R. Krishna, *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, Humphery Milford, Oxford University Press, 1938, 85-87.

¹³³. Debi Prashad, *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, 60-73, Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 130.

bhaichara and *panchayat* plays very important role in the life of people in the early nineteenth century. Through all these institutions people followed the established social tradition, social norms, and values. These institutions helped the person to laid down direction of the role of individuals and regulation of the society. The concept of purity and pollution was not as rigid as in other regions probably because a degree of social mobility had taken place in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. There were many caste and tribes in the Punjab in the early nineteenth century i.e land owner and agriculture castes and tribes, professional's castes, mercantile castes and tribe, artisan's castes and lower castes. All the caste and tribes lived in the five *doabs* of the Punjab i.e. Rachna *doab*, Bari *doab*, Chaj *doab*, Bist Jalandhar *doab* and Sindh Sagar *doab*.

Brahmans lived in the Bari *doab* and Bist Jalandhar *doab*. The tribes of the *brahmans* were Bali, Bhardwaj, Joshi, Puj, Vaid, Chhibbar. They were inhabited of Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Amritsar, Lahore, Jhang and Kapurthala. *Khatris* mostly lived in the Bari *doab*, Jalandhar *doab*, Chaj *doab* and Rachna *doab*. *Khatris* of the subcaste Ghais in Rohtas, Badheras in Bahlolpur, Sialkot and Gujrat, Sobtis in Jalalpur, Sahnis and Kohli in Wazirabad, Nandas and Kochhars in Eminabad, Chopras, Kapur, Khanna in Lahore, Mehra in Dipalpur, Puris in Batala, Tulis in Kalanaur, Kondi in Bahlolpur, Maini in Gujrat, Bedis and Mehtas in Patti and Sehgal and Thapars in Jalandhar. *Khatris* of the subcaste Sethi, Suri, Uppal, Bhalla, Malhotra and Mehta were lived in Chaj *doab*. *Khatris* of the subcastes Puri, Bhandari, Khosla and Dhir lived in the Bari *doab*. *Khatris* of the subcastes Sehgal, Thapars, Sodhis, Watts, Puris, Khoslas, Jagotas and Chadhas lived in the Jalandhar *doab*. Umat and Buchchar were the subcastes of *khatris* lived in Gunachaur village in the *pargana* of Rahon in the Jalandhar *doab*. *Khatris* of Rekhi, Sachchar, Chatrath, Chandali, Duggal and Badhawan subcaste were the prominent persons of the Ibrahimabad Sodhara town in the Rachna *doab*. *Khatris* of Indrajog subcaste lived in Jalalpur Bhattian in the Rachna *doab*. *Khatris* of Nayyar and Patpatia lived in Sambrial village in the Rachna *doab*. *Khatris* of two subcastes Handas and Duggals lived in the Chaj *doab*.

Jats lived in the Bari *doab*, in the Rachna *doab*, in the Chaj *doab* and Sindh Sagar *doab*. Jats were inhabited of Gujranwala, Gujrat, Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Sialkot, Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur. The tribes of the Jats were Tarar, Waraich, Sahi, Hinjra, Cheema, Bajwa, Ghumman, Kahlon, Sarai, Goraya, Dhiilon, Virk, Sidhu, Bhullar, Mann, Bal, Pannun, Mahal, Aulak, Gill, Sandhu, Brar, Dhariwal, Mangat, Dhindsa, Kang, Sohal, Bains, and Lohan. Ghumman, Cheema, Awan and Bajwa lived in Sialkot. Walah or Ralah lived in the pargana of Heart. Rajputs were lived in the Bari *doab*, in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*. Raputs found in Sialkot, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur. The tribes of the Rajputs were Awan, Chauhan, Kharral, Manj, Tarar, Bhatti, Chhadhar, Khokar and Rathor.

Gakkhars practically confined to the Rawalpindi, Jehlam, and Hazara, where they were found all along the plateaus at the foot of the lower Himalayas, from the Jehlam to Haripur in Hazara. Gakkhars were lived in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Gujjars were numerous also in Hasan Abdal and Jhelum, and all along the hills from the Jhelum to the Sutlej. In Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur and in Jalandhar they were mostly cultivators. Gujjars lived mostly in Bari *doab*. Hindu Gujjars were lived in Lahore. The Gujjars of the Waraich tribe were powerful in the village Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*. The Arains, Kambos and Sainis were also excellent cultivators, but their numbers were rather small. Arains were numerous in Jalandhar and Kapurthala, around Kalanaur and Batala, and in Lahore and Montgomery. They mostly lived in Jullundur *doab* and Bari *doab*. The Kambos too were numerous in Kapurthala and in the valley of the Satlej upto Multan. The Sainis lived mostly along the foothills from the Satlej to the Ravi. They found in Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar. They lived mostly lived in the Jullundur *doab* and Bari *doab*. The Khattar were inhabited of Attock and Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. The Kharrals settled near river Ravi. They found in Lahore, Montgomery and Gujranwala. They mostly lived in the Rachna *doab* and Bari *doab*. Biloch mostly lived in the Bari *doab*, Sindh Sagar *doab* and Chaj *doab*. Biloch were both numerous and powerful in Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Mankera, Muzaffargarh, Shahpur, Jhang, Multan and Montgomery. A very considerable number of Biloches scattered along the lower Indus and Satlej in Bahawalpur and Multan, and especially in the former. The most important were the Rind, the Korai, the Copang, and Jatoi, and Lashari, and the Hot, while less numerous but still

important were the Chandia, the Khosa, and the Dasti. Pathans were important in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, Rachna *doab* and in the Bari *doab*. Pathans were numerous and dominant in Bannu, Kohat and Peshawar. Among the Pathans the most powerful tribe were Yusafzais, Afgans and Kakezai.

Aroras were lived in the Chaj *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. They were numerous in Multan, Kohat, Peshawar and the Derajat. Banias were mostly appeared in the Upper Bari *doab*, Rachna *doab*, in the Chaj *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Banias were inhabited of Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Rawalpind and Jalandhar. Jains or Bhabras mostly lived in Sialkot and Hoshairpur in the Rachna *doab* and in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Labanas were lived in Chaj *doab*, in the Rachna *doab* and in the Bari *doab*. They were inhabited of Gurdaspur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. Khoja and Paracha were numerous in the Rachna *doab*, Sindh Sagar *doab*, and in the Bari *doab*. The Khoja were numerous along the hills from Gurdaspur to Rawalpindi, and also in Muzaffargarh and the Derajat. They were fairly numerous in Lahore, Sialkot, Gujrat and the Salt Range. Parachas were found in Makhad, Attock and Peshawar.

Tarkhans lived in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. They were important in Jalandhar, Firozpur, Sialkot, Amritsar, Lahore, Hoshiarpur; Rawalpindi, Gurdaspur, Multan and in Hazara. Kumars were lived in the Bari *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. They were numerous in numerous in Multan, Jhang, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Bannu and Bahawalpur. Chamars were lived in the Bari *doab*, Jalandhar *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*. They were numerous in Lahore, Jalandhar and Ludhiana. The *chuhra* or *bhangi* of the Panjab, was found throughout the region. The *chuhra* mostly lived in the Bari and Jalandhar *doab*. They were numerous in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan and Rawalpindi. Nais found mostly lived in the Rachna *doab*, Bari *doab* and Chaj *doab*. The Dum and Mirasi were distributed throughout the Punjab, but were most numerous in the Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan divisions, and in Bahawalpur. Thus, a clear identity of caste with location seems to be reflected in the geographical distribution of people in the region. Persons of a particular caste were likely to come from a specific area the group belonged to.

Chapter-4

DAILY ROUTINE OF THE PEOPLE

Everyday life described as daily routine of a person. Daily life comprises the ways in which people act, think, and feel on a daily basis. Daily routine defined as the things we do in a day i.e. bathing, feeding ourselves, dressing, grooming, work, homemaking, and leisure. People sleep at night and are active in daytime. People mostly eat two or three meals in a day. Working time mostly involves a daily schedule, beginning in the morning. Evening is often leisure time. In Punjabi society, bathing every day is a custom. Beyond these broad similarities, lifestyles vary and different people spend their days differently. Urban people live differently from rural folk. Differences in the lives of the rich and the poor, between artisans and intellectuals, may go beyond their working hours. Many women spend their day in activities greatly different from those of men, and everywhere children do different things than adults. Everyday life is a key concept in cultural studies and is a specialized subject in the field of sociology.¹

The present chapter attempts to recreate a picture of the daily routine of the different categories of people in Punjabi society of the early nineteenth century. The people of the Panjab mostly lived in villages. The towns and cities were fewer and far between. Every Muslim village had one or more mosques, a Hindu village had a temple and or a Sikh *gurdwara*. The most important and primary human activity was work. Work was spending of energy that produces services and products of value. The main occupation of the people of village was cultivation. The daily life of an ordinary man and woman in the village was monotonous, a wedding or a fair only providing an occasional diversion. The *mela* or fair held seasonally, where city and village people go to enjoy music, wrestling, and to see the great display of cattle, horses and local products.²

This chapter describes the daily routine in rural households of Punjab. It depicts the time spent on daily basis on the different activities by men, women and children. The

¹. Lefebvre, Henri, *Everyday life in the Modern World*, New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A, 1984, 38-40; Felski, Rita, *The Invention of Everyday Life*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 2014, 15-31.

². H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. V, Munshi Ram Manoharla, Delhi, 1982, 517.

chapter outlines the activities of individuals in his/ her daily life. The present chapter is taken up in four sections. The first section describes the daily routine of the people of Punjab. The second section identifies the superstitions that influenced daily routine of the people. The third section gives the information how fairs and weddings provided diversion to daily life of the people and they felt refreshed. The fourth section attempts the overall conclusions.

I

Daily routine would obviously vary according to social position and status. The social standing of a person and his class status determined the different activities in their daily life. Mostly they followed the same time frame to do their work. All the classes woke up early in the morning and went early to bed. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his nobles, business classes and artisans, village masses and lower classe all followed the same norm. The day started early and ended shortly after sunset. All the classes woke up at around 4:30 a.m. After bath they take their breakfast at around 8:00 a.m. Then they went for their work place. They took their lunch at 12 noon and took rest for some time. They worked till around 6:00 p.m. They took their dinner at around 7:30 p.m. and went to bed at around 9:00 p.m.

The daily routine of the ruling class is refelected in that of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who, would get up at about 4.30 a.m. He was away for a brisk gallop at five o'clock. A little before 6 a.m. he inspected the parade or artillery practice of his troops, either on horseback or on an elephant.³ At 8:30 he took breakfast. Around 9.00 a.m., he came to the Saman Burj, he held a court, received reports, issued orders, and very carefully examined financial accounts. Several *sardars* presented themselves and made obeisance.⁴ He conversed with all of them for some time.⁵ He took his lunch at 12 noon and then rested for an hour. His secretary remained in attendance to take down whatever occurred

³. Osborne who stayed with the Maharaja for nearly a month has given an illuminating picture of Ranjit Singh' daily routine: H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. V, Munshi Ram Manoharla, Delhi, 1982, 582.

⁴. H.L.O Garrett and G.L. Chopra, (tr. & eds.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, Punjab Languages Department, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 7; *Gazetteer of the Sialkot District*, 1883, 25.

⁵. H.L.O Garrett, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, 15; Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, Containing a Particular Account of the Government and Character of the Sikhs* (tr. from German by Major T.B. Jervis), Punjab Language Department, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 40-43.



Maharaja Ranjit Singh listening to recitation from the Granth

Source:<https://www.google.com/search?q=pics+of+daily+routine+of+maharaja+ranjit+Singh>

to the Maharaja. On getting up he listened to the recitation from the Guru Granth Sahib. The court was held at about 2.30 p.m., which continued till 5 or 5:30 p.m. Later, the dancing girls entertained him. He took his dinner at about 7.30 p.m., spent some time in meditation, visited his palace for a while and went to bed at 9.00 p.m. His winter routine began somewhat later, at 6 a.m.⁶ During his tours he was accompanied by his chiefs, a contingent of troops, dancing girls, and both the Adi Granth and the Dasam Granth. Murray says that Ranjit Singh was extremely fond of witnessing military exercise of his troops, and spent nearly half the day inspecting parades, drill and shooting, and in examining arms, ammunition and equipment.⁷

The nobles followed a similar routine. All the *sardars* too woke up early in the morning. Then they went for a walk. After the breakfast all the *sardars* and officers made obeisance at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at around 9.00 a.m. They discussed the problems of their areas. After the discussion with Ranjit Singh they took their lunch and then rested for an hour. After the lunch break and rest, the *sardars* sometimes went for a hunt with Ranjit Maharaja Singh. After that court would continue at the Saman Burj, which continued till 5.30 p.m. in the evening the dancing girls entertained them. They took their dinner at about 7.30 p.m. After a walk they went to bed at 9.00 p.m.⁸

Women of the ruling classes woke up early in the morning at 4:00 a.m. After a bath, they offered prayers. They took their breakfast at 8:00 a.m. After that they rest though some of the upper classes woman met the Maharaja or *sardars* to discuss public issues. There are numerous cases of Sikh and Hindus women of the upper classes having mixed in men's society and taken an important part in public affairs. The instances of Daya Kaur, Sada Kaur, Chand Kaur and Rani Jind Kaur come to one's mind at once. Rani Jindan, though usually wrapped in a *chadar*, unveiled herself on occasions.⁹ They

⁶ H.L.O. Garrett, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, 10, 12, 15, 20, 25, 30, 32, 40, 45; *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi, District*, 1883, 30-32.

⁷ H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 70; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 1831-39, S. Chand and Co., Delhi, 1961, 54-60.

⁸ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 12, 15, 18, 20, 25, 32, 35, 40, 45, 46, 50-60.

⁹ Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, 55-58.

took their lunch at 12 noon and then rested for an hour. On getting up they listened to the recitation from the Guru Granth Sahib.¹⁰

Ram Sukh Rao's account throws an interesting light on the varied participation of women in the politics of the day. Mai Anokhi, the widow of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, addressed as 'Mai Sahiba', was held in high esteem by both Fateh Singh and Ranjit Singh. She was told had exercised considerable influence over the internal affairs of the Ahluwalias. She was even responsible for removing some serious misunderstanding between Fateh Singh and Ranjit Singh. Mai Raj Kaur supported her son-in-law Mohar Singh and Murar Singh in their opposition to Bhas Singh and Fateh Singh. Sardarni Sada Kaur actively participated in the power politics of the Jalandhar *doab* in the first decade of the century. She also participated in the difficult Hazara expedition along with her grandson Prince Sher Singh. Sardarni Ram Kaur and Raj Kaur, the widows of Baghel Singh Karorasinghia, refused to surrender their possessions to Ranjit Singh and held their own for some time against him and Fateh Singh. The fort of Nawanshahar had to be conquered from Sardarni Ratan Kaur, the widow of Tara Singh Dallewalia. Rani Nurunnissa, the widow of Rai Ahmad, held Rai Kot till its occupation by Ranjit Singh. Rani Gulab Devi of the hill principality of Sairi entered into diplomatic relations with Fateh Singh, and also sent gifts to him. Mai Jaunsi, the maternal aunt of Fateh Singh, was entrusted with the *mukhtari* of Bassi, superseding the existing incumbent and her adopted son Sahib Singh Palak. Man Kaur, the mother of Maha Singh of Bharog not only reported against her son but also requested for the grant of his territories subject to the same obligations. After Chaudhari Chur Mal's death, his widow Bibi Raj and the only child, Khem Kaur held his territory of Phagwara till it was taken over by Ranjit Singh. The widow of *diwan* Hamir Singh was allowed to continue with her husband's *jagir* on the same conditions of service. The possessions of Sada Singh Panjgarhia, a *chaharami*, were managed by his womenfolk. Mai Bivi, a Rajput woman and a *jagirdar*, much against the

¹⁰ H.L.O Garrett, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, 10, 12, 15, 20, 25, 30, 32, 40, 45; J.M., Honigberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East and Historical Sketches Relating to the Punjab and Cashmere*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1852, 56-63.

wishes of her community, took the risk of showing the downhill route to the Sikh forces returning from Kashmir.¹¹

Business classes and artisans followed almost a similar routine. Business classes usually lived in the town. Men of business classes woke up early in the morning around 5.00 a.m. After a bath they offered prayers and around 8.00 a.m. They took their breakfast. After the breakfast all the people open their shops or go for a business deal or meeting. In the afternoon at 12 noon they took their lunch. After the lunch they take some rest at least an hour. They worked till the 6:00 p.m. After finished their work they returned to their house. They took their dinner at about 7:30 p.m. They went to bed at around 9:00 p.m. Women began their day at around 4.30 a.m. All the women got up early in the morning. After a bath they offered prayers. The first thing done on rising in the morning was to grind the corn for the day's food of the family. All the women did household work in the house and looked after their children. They took their dinner at around 8:00 p.m. They went to bed at 9:30 p.m.¹²

The term artisan refers to skilled handicraftsmen who had inherited certain skills and worked in family group or as individuals mostly in villages, but also in town and cities. They were generally identified by their castes that largely corresponded to their inherited skills. Important artisans from the point of view of their indispensable to society were the blacksmiths (*lohars*), carpenters (*tarkhans*), weavers (*julahas*), potters (*kumhars*), leather-workers (*chamars/mochis*) and the goldsmith (*sunars*). Because of their function and economic subservience to landowners in villages the artisans were called *kamins* or menials, and were universally considered socially low.¹³ The artisans generally came from the lower strata of the society. They had skill but not much wealth. Rather, they had to work very hard to earn their living. Still like the traders of the country

¹¹. Joginder Kaur (ed), *Sri Fateh Singh Partab Parbhakar: A History of the Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, Patiala 1980, 76, 77, 79, 88, 115, 118, 125, 126, , 130, 143, 145, 152, 167, 177, 193, 195, 196, 209, 220, 229, 245, 248, 284, 385, 390, 393, 394.

¹². *Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan District, 1883-84*, 32-35; G.T., Vigne, *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, Whittaker and Co., London, 1840, 78-82.

¹³. Harish.Chander.Sharma, "Artisans in the Punjab" (eds.) J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980, 178-179.

they improved their lot in certain respects. In the countryside a large number of village artisans took to agriculture as a supplementary source of income.¹⁴

Artisans too got up early in the morning around 4.30 a.m. as was the norms of the time. After a bath and prayers they ate a meal around 8.00 a.m. After the breakfast all the artisans went to their work place. In the afternoon at 12 noon they took their lunch. After the lunch they again start their work. They worked till the 5:30 or 6:00 p.m. After finished their work all the artisans came to their house. They took their dinner at around 8:00 p.m. They went to bed at around 9:00 p.m. Women of artisans began their day reather early. After a bath and prayers the first thing done on rising in the morning was to grind the corn for the day's food of the family. Then the milk was churned for butter. After that she made cakes of the cowdung. Women mostly went with their husbands to their work place for help. They return to work place early around 4:30 p.m. because preparations have to be made for the evening meal, the vegetables or *dal* are placed on the fire, and a trip made to the well or village tank for water. They took their dinner at around 8:00 p.m. They went to bed at around 9:30 p.m.¹⁵

The men also work in salt mines with his family. Mohan Lal gives information “We proceeded to examine the salt-mines, which are bounded by a large of hills six miles N.N.W. of Pind Dadan Khan. This range of hills was situated at the foot of the White Mountain, or Sufaid Koh, and passes along the Indus at Karabagh terminating at the right bank of the Jelum or Hydaspes”. Near the village of Khavira we penetrated one of the largest mines, which extend about 400 yards, one hundred of which are a descent. The passage at this distance was so narrow, that it does not admit of two men passing together. When we came to the seat of the salt, there were a great number of men and women with their little children at work. The salt, which was reddish, was very hard, and was dug up with sledge-hammers and axes. There was no moist or cold feeling in these mines. The workmen have a yellow and unhealthy countenance. The temperature was 20 degree above that of the mines, where Dr. Gerard's thermometer was 64 (0) degree. The

¹⁴. Fauja Singh, *Some Aspect Of State and Society Under Ranjit Singh*, Master Publishers, New Delhi, 1982, 278.

¹⁵. *Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan District, 1883-84*, 32-35; George, Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. I, London, 1798, 204-208.

salt is exported, laden on mules and camels, to all parts of the Panjab, but seldom to India. A rivulet of salt-water intersects the range of these mines.¹⁶

Village masses and lower class also followed the similar routine. Men woke up early in the morning around 4:30 a.m. Men went to fields early before day break around 5:00 a.m. to work and women of the household followed them carrying lunch for the working men in the fields. It was a traditional Punjabi household ritual and was witnessed in every village. But as the time was passing this ritual was also fading.¹⁷ Men worked in the fields for whole day in the peak season but they get some rest in the slack season.¹⁸ They remain busy in different types of agricultural activities like ploughing, leveling the land, weeding, sowing, transplanting, irrigating fields, guarding the crops, manuring, fertilization of crops etc. At different stages of crops cultivation they performed different activities. Each activity had a vital role in good yield of the crop.¹⁹

Men on rising milked the kine, and then went off to the fields with their implements and bullocks. Here, with the interval of the morning meal, they usually continued with some sort of the agricultural work till four in the evening. As the day drew to a close they cut grass for the cattle. On their return home they fed the bullocks, had their own dinner, and went to bed. December and January were idle months. Leisure lasts then nearly all day. Children as they grow up were expected to help their parents in herding cattle, picking cotton and other light tasks. The male portion of the agricultural population was more or less employed in some one or other of the operations of husbandry all the year round, and this was especially the case in the tracts where crops were artificially irrigated; but the men of the pastoral tribes lead a comparatively

¹⁶. Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, (eds. Hasan Ahmed), K.P. Bagchi & Co., Calcutta, 1977 (first published-1846),15.

¹⁷. *Gazetteer of the Sialkot District, 1883-84*, 35-40; W.Moorcraft, and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladak and Kashmir in Peshawar, Kabul and Kunduz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825*, Punjab Language Department, Patiala, 1970(reprint-first published in 1837) 80-82.

¹⁸. Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, 60; *Gazetteer of the Lahoe District*, 1883-1884, 50.

¹⁹. *Ibid.*, 80; *Gazetteer of the Sialkot District*, 1883-1884, 40.

easier life, the demands on their labour being limited to drawing water for the cattle and milking the cows.²⁰

The real occupation in life for a woman began with her marriage. When she finally went to her husband's house, she was generally fed with rich things and excused from labour for the first year. But afterwards women everywhere hard working, the drudgery of their domestic occupations leaving them scarcely any leisure for rest or amusement and it only ended when there was no strength left to endure it. She performed various duties including the grinding of corn, milking the cows and buffaloes, churning butter, cooking food, fetching water and spinning cotton.²¹ They must be up before it was light. She was the first to get up in the morning. She woke up around 4:00 a.m. After getting up, she takes a bath and offered prayers. The first thing done on rising in the morning was to grind the corn for the day's food of the family. Then the milk was churned for butter. After that she made cakes of the cowdung. After that they went to nearest river to take bath. In the words of Baron Charles Hugel "I had an opportunity of seeing a large assemblage of females taking their baths in the river and refreshing themselves".²² After the bath, water has to be fetched-always two *gharas* and sometimes five. Sometimes the well or water source was close by, and sometimes far away. Back from the well, the morning meal has to be cooked and carried to the husband wherever he may be in the fields. Back from the fields, she may eat her own breakfast by herself, and afterwards spin the cotton, darn the clothes and act as laundress.²³

In the words of Mohan Lal "There was nothing remarkable in this village except the beauty and cheerfulness of the women. When I was measuring this well, I beheld a crowd of women engaged in drawing water from it. They seemed to have a masculine spirit; one of them was a perfect model of beauty, and had a very noble air and graceful deportment; her person was clean; she charmed the spectators with her modesty. Her

²⁰. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 525.

²¹. *Gazetteer of the Lahore District, 1883-84*, 49-50; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 89.

²². Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, 66, 68, 71.

²³. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 80-85.

raiment being blue, added luster to her beauty.”²⁴ By the time they returned it was time to knead the flour, make it into cakes, and cook it for their husband, sons and brothers; for these lords of the creation will be wrath if everything was not ready for their reception on their return from work; they will however unbend so far as to assist in tying up and milking the cows. This done, the milk was put over a slow fire to warm, and the family sits down to dinner; and so the days pass with little variation from year to year, bringing no rest for the household drudge, till her girls were old enough to take her place, or age unfit her for further labour. Her own dinner, and a turn at the spinning wheel, finishes the day. They were expected to spin cotton or wool, to be made into clothing for the family; indeed, the two occupations are often combined. In addition to all this, women were burdened with the ordinary domestic cares of the family, and with several duties belonging to the farm. Most of the cotton-picking (*chunai*) was done by them. They watch the ripening crops, and they glean the fields at harvest. Women of peasants and working classes did not wear *purda*.²⁵

Practice of *pardah* prevailed in the Punjab among the Hindus and Muslim women. It was partially observed by the Sikh women. They had been prohibited to cover their faces by the Sikh Gurus. The women of the poor classes including *rajputs* and *brahmans* went out unveiled. Women of the well-to-do families, of course, did not move about freely even in the villages. The Sikh women sometime rode on horse back. Sikh ladies of high social position even led troops into the field and received visitors. The Muslims women of well-to-do families used a long *burqa* at the time of their coming out of their houses. The Hindu and Sikh women covered their faces from the elderly people of their families or elderly relation. Generally women were required to remain within their houses as all the outside duties were performed by their husbands. A stay-at-home woman had always the preference over others.²⁶

In the household, men and women were involved in different activities to ensure the availability of goods and services for family consumption. Although these activities

²⁴. Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, 14.

²⁵. B.J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Mahara Ranjit Singha saga of benevolent despotism*, V.V.R.I, Hoshiarpur, 1977, 171-74.

²⁶. B.J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Mahara Ranjit Singh*, 175-76.

may be different, and had a social connectedness but also had conflict relations. There exists a relationship of cooperation, exchange and conflict between men and women. This division of labour in household was the main economic strategy used to meet basic needs of the family like shelter, food, health, procreation and education. In most rural societies, in addition to gender, the allocation of activities to individuals depends on kinship, age, descent, culture, education, status and marriage. Because of socio-cultural factors and biology women in most societies have tended to dominate non-market activities. In Punjab also the traditional division of labour generally situates women in roles based on providing emotional support and maintenance, while men were responsible for economic support and contact with the world outside home.

Gender division of labour was based on sex and seniority. In economically well off households, men usually deal with the main property from which the family obtains its income: land or shop. The wife or a mother of the senior man heads the women's side of the household. She takes direct charge of the internal household budget, directs the activities of other women and girls in the house, manages household servants, takes care of children, animals in the house, and also looks after daily preparation and distribution of food. Sons were under the care of their mothers until about the school going age or when they begin to accompany their father at work.²⁷

Lower class men get up early at 4.00 a.m. After that they took bath and take their breakfast at around 7.00 a.m. After that they start their work at the upper class people houses or in their fields. They took their lunch at 12:00 noon. After lunch they again start their work till 6:00 p.m. At 8:00 p.m. they took their dinner and went to bed at 9:00 p.m. lower class women wake up at around 4.00 a.m. All the women get up early in the morning. After getting up, all the women take a bath and offered prayers. The first thing done on rising in the morning was to grind the corn for the day's food of the family. Women went with their husbands to their work place for help. Again early in the afternoon preparations have to be made for the evening meal. They took their dinner at

²⁷. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 560-62; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 95.

around 8:30 p.m. They went to bed at 9:30 p.m.²⁸ In the lower classes they carry manure to the fields, weed the crops, and make themselves generally useful. Most of them also repair the house-walls when injured after rain. Of course this description does not apply to women who live in *purda*. Women of peasants and working classes did not wear *purda*.²⁹

On the whole all the classes had busy and fixed daily routine. Daily routine would obviously vary according to social position and status. The social standing of a person and his class status determined the different activities in their daily life. But mostly they followed same time frame to do their work. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his nobles, business classes and artisans, village masses and lower classe all followed the same norm. The day started early and ended shortly after sunset. All the classes woke up early in the morning and went early to bed. In upper class women did not work and mostly wear *purda*. But some of the upper class women did not wear *purda* and took an important part in public affairs. In the case of working women and lower class women, they did not wear *purda* and helped their husband in their work. Men and women were busy doing in different kind of work at homes and at work place. Daily routine of the persons depends upon their social position and social status. The monotony of the daily routine was broken by participation in fairs, as well as marriage function and different kinds of ceremonies at relative's homes.

II

The day to day routine of the people was governed by a variety of superstitions beliefs. Any complete account of them would not be possible as superstitions of this region were all the more complex, though interesting. The Panjab had many religious sects which had their own superstitions. Panjab had been the meeting place of many civilizations, due to the invasions from North West frontier coming from the West; the conqueror always added more superstitions to the already prevalent practice in the region. Superstitious beliefs were related to the daily routine of the people were related to agriculture, dreams,

²⁸. *Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan District, 1883-84*, 32-35.

²⁹. B.J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Mahara Ranjit Singh*, 171-74; Josiah, Harlan, *A Memoir of India and Afghanistan*, J. Dobson, Philadelphia, 1842, 56-58.

journeys, omens, lucky and unlucky days and months and worshipping of nature, local *godlings*, and beliefs in evil spirits, evil-eye, witchcraft worship of the tree and plants.³⁰

Omens were believed to be good and bad or lucky and unlucky. Firstly talking about the good omens i.e. if a sick man hears a stallion neigh at night it portends his recovery. A smut or dirt in the right eye was good luck. To see a partridge on one's right was lucky provided that one was going to a field, to meet a friend or homewards: *khet, mit, ghar ahane*; but *banwan banij beopar*, i.e. it was better to meet it on the left when one was going on business.³¹

Lucky days appear to depend largely on the state of the moon, but this does not explain the various and often conflicting beliefs regarding days of the week. "Put on new clothes on Wednesday and Saturday, and jewellery on a Sunday; if thou desire happy sleep weave thy couch on a Monday."³² On the other hand many acts were lucky if done on certain days. On Monday look at your face in the glass and you will prosper. On Tuesday eat a clove and good fortune would attend you when you set out on business. On Wednesday eat sweet stuff, and on Thursday drink curds-a *chitak* would suffice. On Friday eat new bread and on Saturday white salt. On Sunday eat betel (*pan*) and go which way you would, you would get what you wish. By eating thus you would always reach your goal in safety.³³

People also believed in bad omens i.e a smut or dirt in the left eye was ill. If a she-jackal (*pavi*) call behind the house of a sick man he was certain to die. It was a bad omen for a marriage procession to hear the roar of thunder or meet with a gale of wind on their way to the bride's house. Time, months and days were believed to be lucky and unlucky. Cock-crowing at noon was very unlucky and Muhammadans would always kill one that did so. The early morning was a risky time for various things if done by particular persons. Thus it was then unlucky for a tailor to mend clothes, for a *halwai* to

³⁰. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 590.

³¹. Ibid., 227, 245.

³². H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 55-56; William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt.) Limited, 1926, 122-25.

³³. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 219; William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 70-77.

sell *batashas* (sugar-drops), for a *bazaz* or clothing to sell red cloth (*qand*), for a *bania* to sell *ghi*, a *pansari* paper, Kasera zinc, or for a Sarraf to deal in gold. Just as every day had its good and bad times so the day itself was unlucky for certain events, such as hearing a horse neigh. A child born at noontide was also unfortunate. How far these ideas were based on astrology it was difficult to say.³⁴

The months of *chet*, *poh* and *magh* were regarded as unlucky, and were called *kale mahine* or black months. The people like to hear the name of *chet* first from the lips of *dumnas*, and the name of *magh* was best heard from a class of *brahmans* called Basbara, who come during that month from the plains to sing and peg. An infant should not be taken outside for the first time in these months, this being unlucky. If a cow has a calf in *bhadon*, both it and the calf must be given away to avert misfortune. “The mare that foals in *sawan*, the cow that calves in *bhadon* and the buffalo in *magh*, will either die or kill her owner.”³⁵

On Wednesday nothing should be given away unless in the form of *dan*, otherwise good luck will cease. On certain other days was not much regarded. A woman must not wash her head on a Friday, or her brother will become sick. This was called *gal lagdi*. Cowdung should not be offered to any one on a Friday, or the cow would become sick and its milk will dry up. Friday was an unlucky day for sports in Rawalpindi. Saturn being a planet of bad omen, no oil should be put on the head on Saturday. On that day a little oil-enough to saw one’s face in—was put into the palm of the hand and then given to a *brahman*. Some diseases were believed to be due to the malign influence of the planet Saturn, and to remove them *kichari* (a mixture of *dal* and rice with spices) was cooked and passed round the sick person’s head and then given away, the idea being that the disease was thus transferred to the person who eats the *kichari*.³⁶

Again a woman should not wash her head on a Saturday, or her husband will become sick. There were five days in each month called *panchak*, which were unlucky,

³⁴. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 242

³⁵. Ibid, 240; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1961, 303.

³⁶. Ibid, 250-51; Mandakini Thakur, *Superstitions in the Colonial Punjab* (M.Phil dissertation), Panjab University Chandigarh, 2012, 45.

and on them no work should be done. If work was in progress a holiday should be given, and no new work should be commenced on any of these days, or it will be attended with loss. If any one dies no one of the days of *panchak* cloth dolls, corresponding in number to the days still remaining, were made up and laid alongside the corpse and burnt with it, otherwise more members of the family will die. This custom was called *panchak shanti*. If a buffalo calves on a Wednesday it was unlucky, and the calf must be given away. A child born on a Tuesday will be attended with misfortune in the marriage state in after life. There was also a special day in each year, called *gurbur*, usually a birthday, on which no work must be done: the special day was indicated by a *pandit*. Every Saturday the *baniyas* of Multan pour oil and gram over small raised spots where streets cross. This was done in honour of Sani or Saturn. The Pathans of Kohat have few beliefs about unlucky days. Saturday was *khali*, i.e. devoid of all blessings. On Sunday salt should never be eaten. By refraining the gods were propitiated and will supply all wants. In some parts of the Punjab salt was not eaten on a Sunday. At Multan all Hindu shops were closed on Sundays. It was unlucky to give away money on a Sunday, and Hindus will not even pay wages on that day. The Pathans of Kohat believed one should not shave on a Sunday.³⁷

Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday were unlucky days for celebrating a marriage, for if a marriage takes place on Sunday the couple will not agree with one another, if on Tuesday, the husband will soon die; if on Saturday, there will be much sickness in the family. Saturday, Sunday and Tuesday were all unlucky days for the sale of cattle or *ghi*, lending or borrowing money, and shaving. The last named leads to one's own death or that of son. As a rule, in Dera Ismail Khan, Monday and Thursday were the best days to begin making new clothes, which should be worn for the first time on a Wednesday or Friday and in the morning rather than in the evening. For shaving, depilation or cutting the nails Monday was good, but Hindu prefer Sunday and Muhammadans, Friday. Like Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday were unlucky for these acts.³⁸

³⁷. Mandakini Thakur, *Superstitions in the Colonial Punjab* (M.Phil dissertation), 46; H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 252-54.

³⁸. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 55-56; William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 122-25.

A large number of omens and superstitions were connected with animals and birds. They represented by their actions, color and form. A crow on the coping of the house-wall denotes that a relation was coming on a visit, or at least that news from one will soon arrive. On the other hand, if a woman gets hurt she would put it down to having heard a crow cawing on the coping. A kite sitting on the house was unlucky, so a black handi or scare-crow was usually hung on the loftiest part of the roof. A mare foaling in the day-time too was unlucky. It was a good omen to see the bird, called *malhala*, on the right hand early in the day and later on the left, and *vice versa*. If a thief, when going to steal, hear a pheasant on the left he considered it a bad omen and returned. If a *maina* or *lali* be heard warbling on the roof, the women reply, *Ata piha pia he, ja mimhan kon lia*. "The flour was ready ground, go, fetch the guest," i.e. a guest was expected. The bird's note was supposed to be *piho piho*, the imperative of *pihna* (pisna), to grind. A kite settling on the roof of a house was unlucky. When out shooting it was very lucky to meet a *garur*, a name applied in the Punjab to a small king-fisher with bright blue plumage, which was let out of its cage at the Desehra as a sacred bird. A cat or a crow throwing water over itself denotes a coming guest.³⁹ If a person went to buy a horse and he shook his head it was a warning against purchasing him, but the reverse if he pawed the ground in welcome.⁴⁰ So, when buying a buffalo, cow or bullock it was a good omen, if it defecate, but do not buy if it urinate. If a buffalo lows, it was a good omen, but the reverse if a by-stander sneezes. If an owl hoot thrice on a man's house he must quit it for three, seven or eleven days, placing thorns at its door and feasting Brahmans, sacrificing a goat and offering a broken cocoanut before he re-enters it. Dogs were peculiarly gifted for they can see spirits moving about and so their howling was a portent of evil. If out hunting a dog rolls on its back game will be plentiful, but if it lies quietly on its back in the house it was praying for help and some calamity was imminent. To hear a jackal barking was, in Dera Ghazi Khan, most unlucky. It was known as *bhunkari*.⁴¹

Everday bodily movements were also considered ominous. To sneeze was auspicious, as you cannot die for some little time after. So when a man sneeze his friends

³⁹. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 225.

⁴⁰. Ibid, 223-24.

⁴¹ William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 95-99; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 345.

grows enthusiastic and congratulate him, saying 'live a hundred years'. On the other hand it was said that sneezing was always a bad omen among Hindus and a sneeze any one near him will always prevent a Hindu's starting on a journey or any important business. He will sit down for a while before recommencing and if he should fail even then he will attribute it to the sneeze.⁴² Movement of the right eyelid or a singing in the right ear means joy; of the left, grief: a movement of the flesh in the right upper arm or shoulder means that you would soon embrace a friend, but one in the left portends a debilitating sickness. A tingling in the right palm means a gain of 2 or 3 rupees at least: in the left it means money to be paid away. In the sole of either foot tingling denotes a journey or that you will put your feet in the mud-a serious calamity. Shaking one's leg while sitting on a chair or couch means loss of money. Yawning was very unlucky and to avert evil Muhammadans say *la haula wa la quwata illa billah*. Biting one's tongue means that someone was telling tales against one. Twitching (*sank*) of the right eye was a lucky omen.⁴³

The superstitions were also connected with cattle and agriculture. No horned cattle or anything appertaining to them, such as butter or leather, must be bought or sold on Saturday or Sunday; and if one animal died on either of those days it was buried instead of being given to the menials. The first beast that died of cattle-plague was also buried. Cattle-plague could be cast out across the border of one village into the one which adjoins it in the east. All field-work, cutting of grass, grinding of corn and cooking of food, were stopped on Saturday morning; and on Sunday night a solemn procession conducts a buffalo skull, a lamb, *siras* sticks, butter-milk, fire, and sacred grass to the boundary, over which they were thrown, while a gun was fired three times to the frighten away the disease. One year a man was killed in an affray resulting from an attempt to transfer the plague in this manner.⁴⁴

The year's ploughing or sowing was best begun on a Wednesday. It must not be begun on a Monday or on a Saturday, and on the 15th of each month the cattle must rest

⁴². H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 221.

⁴³. *Ibid*, 223-25.

⁴⁴. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 218-20; William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 125-127.

from work. So weeding would be done once, twice, thrice or five times: it was unlucky to weed four times. Reaping must be begun on a Tuesday and finished on a Wednesday, the last bit of crop being left standing till then. When the grain was ready to be divided, the most extraordinary precautions were observed to prevent the evil eye from reducing the yield. Times and seasons were observed, perfect silence was enjoined, and above all, all audible counting of the measures of grain was avoided. Grain would not measure without all kinds of precautions. It must not be measured at all on a new or full moon (*paura*) day, and Saturday was bad. Begin at dawn, midday, sunset, or midnight, when the spirits were busy. Let four men go inside an enclosing line with an earthen vessel-and no one else till they have finished. Let them face the north. Keep silence during measuring and avoid counting the number aloud, tallies being kept by putting down small heaps of grain called *bohali*. Once the grain was measured it was safe from the evil eye. The measuring was made systematically, doubtless to avoid confusion and cheating or quarreling. When sugarcane was first sown, sweetened rice was brought to the field and with it women smear the outside of the vessel. It was then given to the laborers. Next morning or when it was planted out a woman puts on necklace and walks round the field, winding thread on to a spindle; and when it was cut the first fruits were offered on an alter called *makal* built close to the press, and sacred to the sugarcane god, whose name was unknown unless it too be *makal* and then given to *brahmans*. When the women begin to pick the cotton they go round the field eating rice-milk, the first mouthful of which they spit on to the field towards the west; and the first cotton picked was exchanged at the village shop for its weight in salt, which was prayed over and kept in the house till the picking was over.⁴⁵

The threshing floor was naturally of considerable importance. From the time the grain was cut until it was formally weighed it was exposed to the rapacity of demons and *bhuts*. But they were only of mediocre intelligence and can easily be imposed upon. It was only necessary to draw a magic circle round the heap and place a sickle on top of it to keep them off. Holy man writes a charm which was stuck in a cleft stick in the heap. For this a fixed fee, called *rasulwahi*, was paid. Special care had to be taken when the winnowing began. Friday being the goblins' holiday should be avoided, or the grain will

⁴⁵. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 220-22; William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 90-94.

vanish. At a fit time the workers went to the spot and a couple of men were posted to prevent any living thing from approaching. Winnowing was carried on in silence. If by evening it was not finished the charm was left on one heap and the other was pressed down with winnowing basket. Goblins sleep at night, but a somnambulist can do harm if this plan was not adopted. The same precautions were observed in dividing the produce.⁴⁶

People of the Punjab had a strong belief in superstitions related to journeys. Midday and evening were bad times to begin a new work or start on a journey.⁴⁷ A journey should not be begun on Sunday, Tuesday or Friday, but Monday, Wednesday and Thursday were lucky days for such a purpose. It was unlucky to set out on a journey northwards on Tuesday or Wednesday but lucky on Monday or Friday. To start southwards on Thursday was bad, but on Wednesday good. Do not go east on Monday or Saturday or west on a Sunday or Thursday, but choose Sunday or Tuesday to go eastwards or Monday or Saturday to go west. Tuesday was a very unfortunate day on which to return home from a journey. Travelling in any direction on a Wednesday was regarded as very unlucky, but the objection to travel north etc.⁴⁸ Eat curds, and go where you please, but do not eat pickle or anything sour when going to visit an official or you will either fail to see him or not gain your purpose. Success on a journey to pay such a visit or for any important business may be assured by observing the simple rules. Before starting on an important journey a Hindu will consult a *brahman* as to what day will be propitious and if he cannot start on that day he would send on a *paitra*, a small bundle of necessities, to some place near the gate by which he intends going, and start himself within the next two days. On a journey it was lucky to meet a sweeper, a snake or a corpse, but the reverse if one meets a *brahman*, a village headman or a washerman.⁴⁹ After seeing a bier or touching a scavenger good, Hindus would bathe, and the scavenger must also wash his clothes himself. If when setting out on any purpose you met a person carrying an empty *ghara* it was an ill omen, but good if the water-pot was behind you. So too it was unpropitious to meet a person carrying wood, but the reverse if he comes

⁴⁶. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 223-24.

⁴⁷. Ibid., 242.

⁴⁸. Ibid, 250-51; Mandakini Thakur, *Superstitions in the Colonial Punjab* (M.Phil dissertation), 45; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1961, 410.

⁴⁹. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 234.

behind you. It was unlucky to meet a widow but a good omen to meet a woman with a male child.⁵⁰

On a journey homewards again or to meet a friend it was auspicious to meet a *bhangan* or any woman of very low caste, or one with two *gharas* on her head. To meet a *chuhra* was lucky, the more so if he has a basket or broom in hand. If when going anywhere with an object you meet a jackal it was a good omen, but two were better: provided the animal does not cross your path-when your object would be frustrated.⁵¹ It was also lucky to meet a married woman, a pot full of water, a corpse in a doli, flesh, fish, a cow with calf, a mongoose, ox, the sound of music, a wild parrot perching on your body, a blue jay, a peacock, a *kirla* (lizard) or a *chipkali* (white lizard).⁵² If a man sneezes when starting on a journey, the journey will be unsuccessful. But after sneezing you may eat, drink or sleep; only you must go on a visit.⁵³ To hear a donkey bray behind when one was starting on a journey, or a partridge call on the left was an omen that the journey would fail in its object. But a partridge calling on the right was lucky.⁵⁴

The Muhammadan Jats and *baloch* had the various omens related to journey i.e. to meet a woman when starting on a journey was a bad omen. For anyone to recall a man as he start journey, was also a bad omen. *Shikaris* consider it unlucky to meet a jackal when they started off. If a man who was ill and was setting out to obtain treatment, meets a snake it was a bad omen if he fails to kill it but a good one if he succeeds in doing so. It was always unlucky to meet a load of wood or a *brahman*, and if one meets the latter one should try and pass to the left, letting him pass on the right. It was unlucky to meet an ass, a bull-buffalo, a sweeper with refuse, any one carrying salt or earth, a potter, a *brahman* bare-headed or one who does not return your greeting, a widow, an empty pot, a blind or

⁵⁰ Ibid., 235, William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 50-58.

⁵¹ Ibid., 227, 245.

⁵² H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. I, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1919 (rpt.), 217-19; Mandakini Thakur, *Superstitions in the Colonial Punjab* (M.Phil dissertation), Panjab University Chandigarh, 2012, 27.

⁵³ H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 221.

⁵⁴ William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 95-99.

walleyed man, a *bairagi* or a *faqir* smeared with ashes, an oil-crusher (a *teli*) with his pot, a crow, a jackal or a cat.⁵⁵

Dreams also governed the daily routine of the people of Punjab. If dreams come early in the morning the dream would come true. If a dead relative appears and mentions a date in a dream, on which the person dreaming would die. If in a dream copper or iron was given to the person dreaming was considered inauspicious omen. A snake and dog coming towards the dreamer to bite him was a bad omen. An elephant in a dream means that *ganesh* was angry. If someone was seen to leave the house the person dreaming would die, but if a living relative was seen dying he or she would recover. To see raw meat portended sickness, and to be falling from a hill or rock calamity as well. To swim in clear water and gain the shore predicted recovery from a long illness. To see smoke, rain, mud or dirty water or to laugh in one's sleep meant grief. To dance and sing meant calamity as well. To see ashes, bones or cowries portended grief and loss. To be attacked by a snake or scorpion on the left side meant loss, and to see the bed of a dried-up pond or river was understood as, loss of salary. To climb to a hill-top meant profit, and to see one's self or another eating meat or curds or to be attacked by a snake or scorpion on the right side signified wealth. To ride on an elephant or a white horse meant promotion and to be in prison was to be soon a ruler, while to see one's head cut off or the sun or moon rising was to be soon a king. A naked sword or a road portended an unexpected journey. A dream should never be mentioned to any one as it was most unlucky to do so, but to dream during the afternoon or at noon was harmless however bad the dream may be. A dream during the latter part of the night was however auspicious as it was then that the gods were roaming and you were sure of gain.⁵⁶

The people of Punjab worshipped trees and plants. A *banyan*, *pipal*, *tulsi* and a *jand* were the sacred trees in the Punjab. The *nim*, was associated with the godlings of disease and the shade of a *nim* was very lucky. A *babul* (*Acacia Arabica*) or *lasura* (*Cordia myxa*) planted near a house would ruin the dwellers in it. Orthodox Hindu would not sleep under a *babul* as it causes sickness. The *kikar* tree also has magical powers. If

⁵⁵. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 219; William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt.) Limited, 1926, 70-77.

⁵⁶. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 235.

kikar or babul tree was planted near a house a house it would ruin the occupant, a belief possible based on the reddish juice, like blood, which exudes from it. If tree was watered for thirteen days one would acquire control of the evil spirit which occupied it. Both plantain and mango leaves were sacred among Hindus and used on all auspicious occasions and when any sacred book was read it was often placed between small posts covered with those leaves. The *pipal* was said to be haunted and the *kikar* as unlucky. After sunset trees slept, so it was a great sin to pluck even leaf from one during the night as it would awaken the sleeper. Rakshasas inhabited trees even after nightfall. Wood-cutting and kiln- burning were unlucky occupations as they both involved the destruction of life in living trees and of the insects in the earth while it was being burnt.⁵⁷

People of Punjab also believed in the spirits. When a person died, it was believed that his body was buried or burnt, his spirit rose into the spiritland. But it was a universal belief that unless the funeral rites were properly performed, the soul must wander in misery, unable to entered heaven. Care was, therefore, taken in this connection so that the deceased might join the company of the blessed. People believed that the spirit of a person who died a painful assumed the shape of a *bhut* (in the case of a male) and *charel* (in the case of a female). A man died without a male issue must become a *bhut*. A woman dying during or after child-birth (but before the termination of the period of impurity) took the form of a *charel*. Again, untouchable sweepers, if buried mouth upwards were sure to become *bhuts*. The ghosts of such persons were supposed to haunt the houses where they had died. A thousand one stories were connected with the wicked doings of these beings. Thus sneezing was thought the result of a *bhut* entering or leaving the nose. “The latter being the view most generally accepted”. Similarly, yawning was considered dangerous because “a *bhut* might go down into the throat or the soul”. Twitching of the right eye was held lucky and that of the left eye unlucky.⁵⁸

The superstition most prevalent in this connection was that persons, especially women, were liable to possessed by evil spirits generally called *jinnns*. The disease now

⁵⁷. Mandakini Thakur, *Superstitions in the Colonial Punjab* (M.Phil dissertation), Panjab University Chandigarh, 2012, 46.

⁵⁸. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 206-08; Mandakini Thakur, *Superstitions in the Colonial Punjab*, 50-52; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 440.

diagnosed as hysteria no doubt had led originally to the idea of a woman becoming possessed by a *jinn*, but later on every woman who suffered from hysteria, epilepsy, sterility, and similar other derangements, including even neuralgia, rheumatism and paralysis, begun to be regarded as possessed by a *jinn*, and the treatment in such cases took the form of casting the *jinn* out by incantations. The exorcists were generally saints and *pirs* who treated the patient at their own shrines.

People had faith in the magic. The usual device to counteract the evil influences was the use of charms and amulets procured from the saints and wizards. Members of all sections of society had great faith in the efficacy of magic which was thought effective against every social ill. There were spells for fevers, dropsy, barrenness, baldness, snake-bite and cattle diseases. Charms were also sought for winning love or for severing it, for prosperity in trade, for vengeance, for success in litigation and for the expiration of “offences, failures, stains and transgressions.” Closely akin to the ghosts and charms was the art of witchcraft popularly called black magic, because it was employed for evil purposes such as the destruction of any enemy, the bringing about of quarrels and the like. The witch who practiced it was supposed to affect her purpose by gaining control over some evil spirit whose obedience she could enforce. Indeed, very few openly avowed disbelief in the miraculous powers possessed by certain persons. In the Punjab, especially amongst the Hindus, magic and witchcraft were not without certain respectability. The Brahmans themselves were the possessor of spells preserved.⁵⁹

People were superstitious regarding their settlements and dwellings. Various superstitions were followed to foundation ceremonies of the house. The foundation rites were called *shila asthapan*, “setting up of the stone.” A pit was dug at an auspicious moment, and mangoes, betel leaves with iron peg driven through them into the earth, curds, *bari* (a mess of pulses), and *gur* were placed in it as offerings. White rape-seed and asafetida were then sprinkled over pit. Next a new *jar*, covered with a spotted red and yellow cloth and containing a cocoanut, seven kinds of grain, a gold or silver coin and a paper, recording the year, day and hour of laying the foundation, was placed in it. Lastly,

⁵⁹. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 208-13; William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt.) Limited, 1926, 80-84.

oil was sprinkled over the *jar*, the gods and serpents were worshipped, and the pit was closed with five or seven flat bricks.⁶⁰ Superstition with regard to auspicious moment in choosing the time to begin construction was important. A handful of the earth from the site was taken to a *brahman* who predicted the auspicious moment for laying the foundations. It was good to hear a leopard, cow, fox, drum or other animal at appointed time. The prophecy usually comes off because it was made with due regard to local circumstances at the time, but if it failed, the time was postponed and another day was fixed.⁶¹ *Sawan, katik, poh, phagun* and *baisakh* were considered the lucky months for the starting of the construction work of the dwelling. The unlucky months were *har, bhadon, asauj, maghar, magh, chet* and *jeth*. In constructing a house the direction of the plot was considered very important. A house or a new building was never built facing in the south direction as a southern aspect was considered unlucky. Another superstition in connection with the direction of the house was a house built in front of a tree, or facing a tank or river, was unlucky.⁶² The shape of plot was significant and had several superstitions attached to it. For instance it was unlucky to build a house on a plot larger in front than at the back. On the other hand a house broader at the back than in front had equal number of sides, preferably four, six or twelve sides were considered to be lucky. Superstitions thus, played a role in the location, building and residence in dwellings.⁶³

The cycle of life in the Punjab region was marked by a variety of superstitions. These were related broadly, to birth, marriage and death. Superstitions related to the pregnant mother were numerous. Superstition demanded that she was forbidden to see a funeral procession. It was believed that visiting the cremation grounds, deserted places and wells, crossing the inter-in the open or under a tree, climb a staircase and sleep on a *bori* as the child may get small-pox, or even a *Chhajili*, as the child could be born with six string like lines across his forehead according to prevalent superstitions.⁶⁴ The visit of

⁶⁰ H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 912; William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt.) Limited, 1926, 104-106.

⁶¹ H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 910-11.

⁶² If a *pipal* tree grew within the house precincts, it was unlucky: H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 910.

⁶³ Ibid, 916-18.

⁶⁴ H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 590; Ranjeet Singh Bajwa, *Semiotics of the Birth Ceremonies in Punjab*, Bahri Publications, New Delhi, 1991, 41.

a barren woman was also viewed suspiciously as she could ‘seize’ the pregnancy. The mother-to-be was to refrain from giving alms to the barren women and *lassi* to any possible envious kinswoman although alms given to the beggar was considered auspicious. She would avoid the shadow of the woman suffering from *athra*. The eclipse was an ominous period so during this period she was confined to her room only and did not do any work like washing or grinding the wheat, nor tethers any cattle but rested.⁶⁵

Several superstitions were held in connection with birth. Premature birth was considered to be an inauspicious event and the premature child was associated with the discontinuation of the *kula*, lineage. A boy who bore six fingers, with six string-like lines over his forehead was considered to be inauspicious. The birth of a normal child was taken to be auspicious. It was believed that the birth of a boy was a greater God-given boon; to sweep it away with the broom was thus forbidden. A son was called a *ghar ka diwa*, so if the lamp in the house was blown out superstition said that he too would be destroyed. A newly born child was believed to be especially exposed to supernatural powers. The new life was protected from the malevolent effect of the deities and their powers. Sweeping the floor below the mother’s cot was considered to be ill omen. To sweep meant to *sweep away*.⁶⁶ There were times considered unlucky for birth according to superstition. Monday was considered unlucky day for birth. A child born during the

⁶⁵ Anything such as stamping or printing done during an eclipse was liable to leave its impression on the child’s body said superstitious belief. If she cut wood with an axe the child would have harelip, or if she broke anything like a piece of wood, its finger would be marked. She should lie with her body straight otherwise superstition claimed that the child would be marked. She should lie with her body straight otherwise superstition claimed that the child would be born crooked. During eclipse the husband of a pregnant wife for the first time did not look on any eclipse or his child would be deformed in some way and his peculiarly liable to hare-lip. A pregnant woman was not supposed to move during an eclipse. Eating, drinking and even changing clothes must wait till the eclipse was over. Her every movement was believed to adversely affect the child in her womb. If during the eclipse she drew a line, its mark would appear on the body of her baby. Superstitions made her believe that she should be careful to look at her husband’s face on the first thing in every morning, so that the child may resemble him. If the husband was absent than she would look at the faces of her other children, her sister or her own face in a looking glass but not at her brother’s. During this time superstition also laid down that it was unlucky for the mother to dream of an animal. It was considered inauspicious to hear the sounds of mourning in a neighboring house, so if a death had occurred she would avoid it. To determine the sex of a child before the birth it was believed that if the milk in woman’s breasts birth was thin, the birth of a boy was anticipated. Milk was put in the shell fire was applied to it, if it dried up completely; a girl was expected according to prevalent superstitious belief: Mandakini Thakur, *Superstitions in the Colonial Punjab* (M.hil dissertation), Panjab University Chandigarh, 2012, 30; H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 731-38.

⁶⁶ H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 738-39; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 412-14.

panchak was believed to be followed by the birth of three children of the same sex. A child born during an eclipse period also brought ill-luck. A child born in *katak* was inauspicious and a child born when the moon was in the sixth or eighth zodiacal sign was ill-omened. The unlucky *tiths* or lunar days for birth were the *amawas* or last day of the dark half; and the *chaturdashi* were fourteenth, the last day but one. Children born the former day were unpropitious to the father, those born on the latter to the mother. The children born on these thirteen nakshatras were unlucky- *asauni*, *rewati*, *magha*, *shlekhana*, *mulan*, *jeshtan*, *grahn*, *atepat*, *shankrant*, *gand*, *chaudas*, *amawas*, *bhadra*.⁶⁷

Superstitions dealing with marriage widely existed and there was a restriction on the bride to visiting her parents on the sixth day after the marriage ceremony. Red and yellow were, symbolical of fertility were the marriage colors. Yellow the color of ripe grain was lucky and connected with the cult of Gauri, the Mother Goddess. Turmeric was regarded as sacred, it was dangerous to grow it and one who stole it would bear with six fingers in his next birth. Marriages of virgin brides and bridegrooms to a tree was held and the trees used were those which bore blossoms or fruit with the intention to bring the pair into close association with the productive powers of nature and to convey their fertility to bride and bridegroom. Marriage with an animal, tree or other inanimate object was performed in the Punjab, called “mock marriage”. This custom prevailed among the Hindus only and was based on the fear of ill luck connected with certain kinds of material unions. Mock marriages were restored to-when a widower was to remarry; when a bachelor wished to marry a widow and when the horoscope of a girl showed the influence of certain stars was likely to cause early widowhood. The first two, mock marriage of males was celebrated in the western Punjab with a sheep; in the central Punjab with the *ber* tree or sometimes with the *peepal*; in the eastern Punjab with the AK bush. These superstitions were followed as it was believed to be the solutions to the problems in these marriages and would lead to a happy married life.⁶⁸

⁶⁷. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 739-40.

⁶⁸. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 793-800; Mandakini Thakur, *Superstitions in the Colonial Punjab* (Mphil dissertation), Panjab University Chandigarh, 2012, 55-55.

Death, the last cycle of life too had the superstitious beliefs connected with it. It was believed that the child born in Mul was beset by the angry spirits of those ancestors who met with a violent death and had become demons or Rakshasas. Such a child was sent away to be named by a stranger and he was not brought back till he was grown up, or was dedicated to a temple. If a man died in Mul four other deaths in the family would be anticipated. It was believed that a corpse, its bones and ashes after cremation were carefully watched for four days otherwise the magician could bring the soul back to life and always keep the control over it as their slave. If a woman died within thirteen days of her delivery then it was believed that she would return in the guise of a malignant spirit to torment her husband and family. Death in *panchak* followed another death, so a *panchak* shanty was performed. It was unlucky to stand at the foot of the bed of a dying person. To die on a bed was extremely inauspicious and it was believed that the soul would be reborn as an evil-spirit. People never buried the dead after sunset or sundown, for doing so on the wane of the day would place a direful spell upon all the dead person family and friends causing them to follow soon to the last rest. It was bad luck to bury the corpse in the dark and unlucky to bury anyone far from his last home as the spirit could not rest. A death was sure to be expected if a dog barked in front of anyone's house. One of the superstitions prevalent at the time was that a man who died childless would become a ghost because a son was responsible for the ceremonies upon which the peace of his dead ancestors depends and he alone would bring salvation.⁶⁹ Even in the event of death some 'auspicious' superstitions were believed. A death was considered auspicious if it had occurred during the *amawas* and believed to get in exalted place in heaven. A man was considered to be very lucky if he had a great-grandson at his death as it was believed that he would go to the paradise. Throwing the ashes of the dead into the river Ganga was good as it transport the spirit to heaven. It was considered a good omen to all the relatives if the wife died before her husband as they believed that god had favored

⁶⁹. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 861-65; William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt.) Limited, 1926, 108-110; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 496.

her. People had deep faith in these superstitions and followed them in their daily life and they formed the part of the society.⁷⁰

On the whole we find that people of Punjab believed in various superstitions. The daily routine of the people of Punjab was governed by superstitious beliefs related to agriculture, dreams, journeys, omens, lucky and unlucky days and months and worship of the tree and plants. They believed in evil-eye, spirits i.e. *bhut* and *churel*, *jinns*, magic. People were superstitious regarding their settlements and dwellings in the context of the direction, astrological aspects and auspicious times. The cycle of life in was marked by a variety of superstitions. These were related broadly, to birth, marriage and death. They invoked the help of the astrologers, saints and priests to ward off evil and lessen their fears of the supernatural. Astrology played an important role in their life. Even Maharaja Ranjit Singh always consulted astrologers before entering upon an important undertaking. All these superstitious beliefs kept passing to their next generations through folk-lore and folk-tales.

III

The monotony of everyday life was broken by fairs and festivals, and even weddings. Fairs and wedding time people feel refresh, it break their daily routine. People leave their houses to attend fairs and wedding. The word fair is the English version of *mela*. The root of *mela* word is in *milan*. The meaning behind this word is the meeting of the people and community to share their happiness and for their recreation. Fairs were as old as mankind.⁷¹ Fairs played a dominant part in the life of the people whether living in towns or villages. A festival day was meant for enjoyment at home as well at sacred place connected with the particular festival. Every member of the family took bath which was considered an act of merit and a sacred duty. All were dressed in their best clothes. Necessary ceremonies were performed and offerings made to the family deity. In some cases fast was observed, otherwise all enjoyed special food prepared at home. The whole day was spent in rejoicings. A fairs called *mela* was a form of social gathering. It was one

⁷⁰. H.A. Rose., *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 868-69.

⁷¹. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs Vol. V*, 445-46; Parkash Tandon, *Punjabi Century (1857-1947)*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1963, 95-98.

of the best means to relieve the people from the daily drudgery in the fields or at home and it was welcomed by one and all. Most of the fairs were of purely religious character on account of their connection with a shrine or a sacred place.⁷²

The fairs or the '*melas*' were very common with the rural people of the Punjab; which were usually semi-religious. They were all connected with Hindus, Sikh or the Muslim shrines. An important feature of these fairs was the making of offering at the shrines, and the distribution of food from the free kitchens. The religious festivals played a great part in the life of the peasant; indeed it formed his chief holidays, and on those occasions, and still more women and children, wore their best clothes and gathered in great numbers. Every shrine, Hindu, Muslim or Sikh small or great, had its fairs held at fixed dates which attracted worshippers more or less numerous according to the its renown. People went to the different parts of the Punjab like to attend the fairs and to take sacred bath.⁷³

Five fairs were held in the month of January. A fair was held in the *thakurdwara* of Banke Bihari in Lahore on the first day of January month.⁷⁴ Great fair was held at Mukatsar on Makar Sankrant usually falls in January month.⁷⁵ A fair of Bawa Nam Deo

⁷². M.P., Bezbaruah, *Fairs and Festivals of India* (ed.), Vol. III, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2003; 30-32; S.S.Bedi, *Folklore of the Punjab*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1971, 13-14.

⁷³. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, Munshi Ram Manoharla, Delhi, 1982, 447-48; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibratnamah*, 402-03; K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1988, 239-40.

⁷⁴. The *bhagats* and *pujaris* entertain the congregation by singing hymns and reciting holy saying in adoration of the *avatars*: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, New Imperial press, Lahore, 1892, 238-39; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (tr. Sukhdev Singh Charak), Light & Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1977, 398.

⁷⁵. The worshippers, bath in sacred tank and repair to the Tibbi Sahib or holy mound where Guru Gobind Singh stood and discharged his arrows against the imperial forces. The celestial sign *makar* answers to Capricorn. On that day the sun was said to begin his journey northward. To the early Aryans, living in a cold region, the approach of spring was an occasion of the greatest joy, and the commencement of the sun's northward progress could not pass unmarked, for then opened the auspicious half of the year. The sun especially was worshipped at this festival. Bathing in the sea was prescribed whenever it was possible. Rejoicings abound in public and in private. Great gatherings take place at Allahabad, where the Ganga-Sagar, where the Ganges meets the ocean. The festival among Sikhs commemorates a battle fought in 1705 between Guru Gobind Singh and Mughals who overtook him at Mukatsar and cut his followers to pieces. The Guru himself escaped and had the bodies of his retainer burned with the usual rites. He declared that they had all obtained *mukhti* i.e., the final emancipation of their souls from the ills of transmigration, and promised the same blessing to all his followers who should thereafter bathe in the Holy Pool, which had been filled by rain heaven in answer to his prayer for water. On the spot a fine tank was afterward dug by Ranjit Singh, and called *muktisaras*, 'the pool of salvation', a word which was afterward contracted into Mukatsar, the present name of the place: S.S Bedi, *Folklore of the Punjab*, National Book Trust, and New

was held at Ghuman in the month January.⁷⁶ A famous fair was held at Jhang in honour of the Hir and Ranja in the month of January.⁷⁷ Fair held at Nihang in honour of Panj Pir in January month.⁷⁸

Two fairs were held in the month of February. The Hindu festival of *basant panchami*, occurred in February. A large fair was held on the day of *basant panchami* in the month of February, on the *mazar* of Madho Lal Husain.⁷⁹ Kadmon ka *mela* was held at the tomb of Sakhi Sarwar near Lahori Gate at Lahore, in Month of February on first Monday after the new moon.⁸⁰

In the month of March people also assembled to participate in the fairs. Sixteen important fairs held in the month of March. A fair was held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar near Dera Ghazi Khan. The Sultani Jats visited it in large bodies and returned from there in April. In 1826 at Multan there assembled 5,000 to 6,000 men to see this fair.⁸¹ Two Hindu fairs were held at Mailsi in Multan. The name of first fair was Chaukan di Baba Nanak. It was held to celebrate New Year's Day at Dewan Chauhi Mashaik in *chet* on New Year's Day for one day. It was a Hindu religious and pleasure fair. A small building

Delhi, 1971, 75-80; Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab* (tr. Jit Singh Seetal), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968, 262-263.

⁷⁶. *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, 1883-84, 64-65.

⁷⁷. *Gazetteer of the Jhang District*, 1883-84, 51.

⁷⁸. C.H. Buck, *Faith, Fairs and Festivals of India*, Asian Publication Services, New Delhi, 1977, 101; *Gazetteer of the Shahpur District*, 1883-84, 42.

⁷⁹. The tomb of Madho Lal Husain was situated north of the village Baghbanpur. It was said that Madho was a Hindu boy of beautiful appearance. His beauty made a strong impression upon the heart of Lal Husain, a holy man. He solicited the boy from his parents, in order to make him his disciple, but his request was not complied with. In a few days after the boy expired, and his parents, being melancholy, repaired to Lal Husain, imploring him in mercy to restore their son Madho to life. On hearing this, Lal Hussain stipulated with them, that if their son Madho came to life again, they should allow him to become his disciple. The poor parents agreed to Husain. He then lived for a long time, served Lal Husain and acquired divine knowledge. Many stories were told of the miracles performed by Lal Husain. It was said he spent his nights in repeating the Koran by heart in a standing posture in the Ravi. He died in 1599 A.D. and was buried at Shahdara. A few years after, as predicated by the saint, the grave was swept away by the overflow of the Ravi. Madho exhumed the corpse, and, with due formalities, buried it in the present locality : J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 24, 118; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: A Study of 450 Order in Persian*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1987, 111; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar V, Dr R.S. Bawa Publishers, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002, 257; B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, New Academic Publishing Co., Jullundur, 1972, 279; G.C. Narang, *Transformation Of Sikhism*, New Book Society of India, New Delhi, 1960, 57-58.

⁸⁰. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 468.

⁸¹. *Ibid*, 469.

commemorates the visit of Baba Nanak here and the attendant in charge of this takes the offerings. Second fair was held at Fadda and the name of the fair was Nagar Kot. It was held in the honour of Devi for one day on the *holi* festival. It was a religious fair and the offerings were taken by the Brahmins.⁸²

Fair was held at the shrine of the goddess Rajni Devi, of small-pox. It was situated between Mahilpur and Hoshiarpur.⁸³ At Dera Khalsa in Rawalpindi there was held an annual fair at the shrine of Sain Ghulam Shah, which took place at Barawafat, attended by more than three thousand persons. Human beings and animals bitten by dogs or jackals were brought their supposed to be cured by drinking water placed in vessels on the tomb.⁸⁴ A fair take place once in a year in Peshawar, this fair was called Jhanda. Mela was held yearly, near the city at the open space near the cattle market, to commemorate the anniversary of Sakhi Sarwar's death; it lasts only one day. There was no shrine, and the festival was often put off a day or two in the event of rain or any other cause preventing a large assembly. There were lines of temporary shops erected, and a good deal of business transacted. The name *jhanda* was owing to the large show of flags erected by the *faqirs*. The People, all in good dresses, commenced the race in a vast plain, completely covered with a countless crowd of spectators.⁸⁵

A large fair was held on the *mazar* of Shah Abul Ma'ali in Lahore on the anniversary of the saint.⁸⁶ Adjoining Begum Pura a town of Lahore, was the place of

⁸². *Gazetteer of the Multan District*, 1883-84, 46-47; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 498.

⁸³. A fair was held every Tuesday in March, and attended by some 20,000 people altogether, residents of the north of the Satlej; H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 456.

⁸⁴. *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District*, 1883-84, 102-03; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 281-82.

⁸⁵. *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, 1883-84, 95; Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, 1977, 218.

⁸⁶. Many people come to this place for pilgrimage. Shah Khair-ud-din, better known as Abul Ma'ali, was a man of great sanctity during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. He was a native of Bhera, in the Shahpur district. He built a great part of the mausoleum in his own life-time, but after his death, in 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.) the remaining portion of the building was completed by his son, Muhammad Bekar : J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 118; Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 203; B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 118. Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Society, Religion and Patriarchy: Exploring Medieval Punjab through Hir Waris*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, 160-161.

Hazrat-i-Ishan.⁸⁷ This place was lighted with lamps on a particular day and a large fair was held. The *khanqah* of Sayyi Miththa was famous in Lahore. Near Taksali Gate was held a fair in the name of Shah Madar. This fair was called ‘the fair of the unmarried men’. On Thursday many people visit the mosque of Wazir Khan and congregate there. People also visit Lahauri Gate and give charity and offerings to the drum-beating *bhara’is* in the name Sakhi Sarwar.⁸⁸ Likewise, the congregations of *id*, *nauruz* and *ashura*⁸⁹ were attended by a very large number of people.⁹⁰

Two fairs were held at the shrine of Shah Nur Jamal situated on Dharamsala Road in Hoshiarpur in the month of March. The first fair was reserved for men and the second for women.⁹¹ Of the local fairs of Sialkot, all of which were of a religious character, and do not in any one instance seem to have been instituted for commercial purposes, the best known and most attractive was held at Harmandal in the Jammu territories. The shrine was resorted to by pilgrimage from a distance.⁹² The shrine of Pir Adil, nine miles from Dera Ghazi Khan, was the site of a fair, second in importance only to the Sakhi Sarwar fair. The fair was held on 16th March.⁹³ In honour of Hafiz Diwan and in honour of Pir Sabz, fairs were held at Shahpur.⁹⁴ The principal Sikh fair was held at Anandpur Sahib at the *holi*. Guru Gobind Singh added to *holi* another festival called Hola. It was observed on the day following *holi*. It was marked by mock fighting and related sports at Anandpur. A big fair was held there which lasted for two days.⁹⁵

⁸⁷. The epithet hazrat-i-ishan was used as a mark of reverence by the disciples of an eminent sheikh. Its English equivalent would be something like ‘His Spiritual Self’: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 121.

⁸⁸. It was a common practice in the Panjab to send offerings to Sakhi Sarwar through the *bhara’is*: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 122.

⁸⁹. ‘Ashura was the ninth or tenth day of Muharram when the miracle play on the death of Husain was performed: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 122.

⁹⁰. Ibid., 122-23.

⁹¹. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 468.

⁹². *Gazetteer of the Sialkot District*, 1883-84, 70-72.

⁹³. Pir Adil was so designated because, so the story goes, his son killed a goat whilst out hunting. The goatherd attacked the saint’s son, who inadvertently killed him. The goatherd’s mother demanded justice from Pir Adil, and he, at her demand, put his son to death: *Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan District*, 1883-84, 41.

⁹⁴. C. H. Buck, *Faith, Fairs and Festivals of India*, 101; *Gazetteer of the Shahpur District*, 1883-84, 42.

⁹⁵. On the afternoon of the second day, the devotees brought standards from their shrines. They were carried to the neighbouring stream, singing songs and playing on musical instruments. The procession of worshippers clustering round their respective standards moved slowly accepting offerings and bestowing

Twenty two fairs also celebrated in the month of April. The *baisakhi* fair was held on first *baisakh* (April). Men and women took bath in rivers or tanks. It was rejoicing day, because harvesting of golden gram and while wheat was to commence from that day. The people participated in the fair. Love songs of Hir-Ranjha, Mirza-Sahiban and Sohni-Mahiwal were sung with wild enthusiasm and zest. Their happiness is epitomized in the following proverb:

Chana Chait Ghana,

Gihun ghani Baisakh;

Aurat ghani tan janiye,

Jai munda howe dhak.

(Gram is ripe in March,

Wheat is ripe in April;

A woman is at her best when

She has a son in her lap.)

This also shows the importance of a male child in agricultural life.

A fair was held at Lahore. Amritsar was the most important centre of pilgrimage for the Sikhs of Guru Nanak. Every morning and evening a large number of people visit

blessings on the devotees. The sight of the multi-coloured standards raised high up was attractive and charming. The dark standard of Anandpur Gurdwara taken out by Nihangs in dark-blue clothes and conical head dresses encircled with steel quoits was remarkable. Many Nihangs, mounted on horses, rushed wildly about, frantically gesticulating and shouting and posing themselves as defenders of their standard against a supposed foe. Now and then a deep-toned chant rose from one of the groups singing praises of Guru Gobind Singh. Holi was falls in the month of February or March. Among Sikhs, the *holi* was celebrated by great fairs, held chiefly at Anandpur and Kiratpur. The Gurudwaras or Sikh shrines were visited by the pilgrims and offerings were made which were taken by the attendants. The *holi* fair at Anandpur lasts two days, and on the afternoon of the second day the devotees of the various shrines bring out from each its particular standard, which they carry with singing and music to the neighboring *chokh*. The processions of priests and worshippers, clustering round their respective standards, move slowly about, accepting offerings and bestowing blessings on the people. Immediately preceding this fair, large numbers of the persons visit the shrines at Kiratpur: A.H. Bingley, *The Sikhs*, Language Department, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 110-111; B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 285.

the Harmandir Sahib. On the occasion of *baisakhi*, every year people come here for worship in unusually large numbers.⁹⁶ The principal fair was the *baisakhi*, held at Amritsar in the month of April respectively on the Hindu festivals of those names. They were primarily religious fairs, but of late year's horse and cattle fairs have been held at the same time.⁹⁷ Ber Baba Nanak, close to Sialkot, contains the shrine (*samadh*) of Mathra Singh Shahid, and has a temple with a handsome cupola, which was gilded at the expense of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, by whom large endowments were granted for its support. At this shrine the *baisakhi* fair at the commencement of the New Year was always kept with great rejoicings, as many as 10,000 people being sometimes in attendance.⁹⁸ The 'Ram Thamman' fair was held in the village of Thamman near Kasur, in April month on the Hindu Festival of *baisakhi*.⁹⁹

Katas situated towards Makhyala in the *ilaqa* of Khaun in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. There was a deep pool of water which from ancient times has been a sacred place for the Hindu people.¹⁰⁰ The Katas fountain was a Tirath. Of the temple built round it the oldest was the one called *Ragunath ji ka mandar*. The Katas Raj fair was held on *baisakhi*, and the neighbouring villagers bathe on the *somavati amavasya* and at solar and lunar eclipses. Katas was derived from *katakh*, 'an eye', because at the creation water fell from the eye of *shiva* at this spot and formed the spring. When the Pandus reached it all but Yudhishtara drank its water and became senseless, but he sprinkled some of the water on them and restored their senses. Hence it was also called Amarkund. On the north-west the water was very deep and was believed to be fathomless, so Katas was also called *dharti ka netri* or 'the eye of earth'. Stone images of Ram Chandar, Lakshman, Sita and Hanuman stand in the *Ragunath mandar*. They were five ft high. The temple was in

⁹⁶. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 133.

⁹⁷. The *baisakhi* fair at Amritsar was held amidst great rejoicing and was attended by Sikhs from remote places in thousand who bathed in the holy water of the tank. All Bungas or hospices round the sacred tank and all the semi-religious seminaries were packed to the full by visitors on this day: *Gazetteer of the Amritsar District*, 1883-84, 21; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar II, 486; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 311; H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 457.

⁹⁸. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 133; *Gazetteer of the Sialkot District*, 1883-1884, 36.

⁹⁹. B.S. Nijjar, *Punjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279.

¹⁰⁰. Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (tr. Jit Singh Seetal), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968, 222; Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, 15.

charge of *bairagis* who recite Raghunath's *mantra*. Other temples have been built by Rajas and private persons and *shivalas* were attached to them. The *pujaris* were Brahmans.¹⁰¹

Captain James Abbott, Boundary Commissioner, witnessed the *baisakhimela* at Katas in 1848. He describes it as follows:

“For the first time in my life I saw whole families together, father, mother, husband, wife and children, all enjoying themselves together without constraint. The women unveiled and drest in their gayest attire, crimson, blue, yellow and white with head ornaments of the purest gold, occasionally with pearls and rubies. These ornaments are often elegant and always becoming to the native face. Few of them could have been worth less than Rs. 30 and many must have been worth Rs. 100. In no instance did I see a woman or a child on foot, while the male was unmounted; and I observed husband attending upon their wives and mothers, by a most pleasing reversal of Indian etiquette. Every roof was covered with extempore tents and awnings. Every tree was crowded with gay figures reposing under its shade, and strings of men, women and children were passing along the narrow lanes and alleys, while the water itself was crowded with swimmers and dippers. The *faqirs* approached them as they bathed and presented their dishes for alms, and no man resisted the appeal. But I observed one who could not otherwise get rid of an importunate beggar; toss the water of the pool into his face. About 20,000 people were present in the *mela* which passed off peacefully without any untoward incident.”¹⁰²

At a distance of two *kos* from Katas was another pool of water known as Choa Saidan Shah. A fair was held here. At Choa Saidan Shah, it was chiefly religious. Katas was of course, mainly for Hindus and Choa Saidan Shah for Muslims. The two places were about two miles apart. Estimated 10,000 people came to Katas and Choa Saidan to attend the fairs.¹⁰³ On the 14th of *baisakh* (April) a large fair was held near the pool at the

¹⁰¹. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. I, 289.

¹⁰². H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 458-59.

¹⁰³. B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 282-83; *Gazetteer of the Jhelam District*, 1883-84, 64.

samadh of Baba Sain Das. Large crowds come to the fair held on the full moon of *baisakh*. This fair lasts for full three days. Many Gosains provide meals to their *murids* and other people.¹⁰⁴

Another fair was held at Saidpur, a very small village at the foot of the Margalla Range having beautiful springs of water. This was a Hindu fair, the shrine being known as Ram Kund. There were four springs known as Ram Kund, Sita Kund, Lachman Kund and Hanuman Kund. Raja Ram Chandar was said to have visited this spot with his companions in his wanderings, for which reason the Hindus regarded the place as sacred. The fair took place in April.¹⁰⁵ The religious fair was held at the shrine of Shah Chiragan, a Sayyad, in Rawalpindi. Shah Chiragan was said to have been born in Saiad, some 270 years ago, and to have come to Rawalpindi in his old age. Every Thursday many persons both Hindus and Muslims, visited the '*khanqah*' or shrine, but the four Thursdays of the month of July-August were the days when the attendance was largest. In Gujar Khan near Rawalpindi there was a fair at the Sanghi, attended largely by Hindus and the Muslims. This was a Hindu gathering and took place in April.¹⁰⁶

Of the local fairs of Sialkot, all of which were of a religious character, and do not in any one instance seem to have been instituted for commercial purposes, the best known and most attractive was held at Parmandal. The shrine was resorted to by pilgrimage from a distance. On all the Thursday of *baisakh*, at the shrine of Shah Sufaid, which was said to cure lepers. Kaudi playing and quail-fighting were the main entertainment for the people. 4,000 people came to attend this fair. The people assembled during the month of *assauj*, *chet* and *baisakh* to drink the waters of a small medicinal spring which was purgative.¹⁰⁷

In Pandori on *baisakhi* in April a fair was held. This fair was connected with the *bairagi* temple here, but a considerable trade was carried on in plough beams, winnowing baskets. A fair was held in Shiwala of Achleshwar at Achal on *baisakhi* in April. A fair

¹⁰⁴ . J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 102-103.

¹⁰⁵ .B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279.

¹⁰⁶ . B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 281-82.

¹⁰⁷ . *Gazetteer of the Sialkot District*, 1883-84,44.

was held in honour of Siri Chand, son of Baba Nanak at Bharath on *baisakhi*, in April.¹⁰⁸ The Sakhi Sarwar shrine was the most noted in Dera Ghazi Khan. Sakhi Sarwar, as a saint was also typical of the other saints of the Dera Ghazi Khan, though he was the only Muhammadan saint whom the Hindus professedly venerate. Fair held on the 6th to 11th of April.¹⁰⁹

The fair next in importance was the *baisakhi* fair at Eminabad. This was also had a religious origin having grown up round the shrine, known as the “Rohri Sahib”, associated with some of the austerities of Guru Nanak. The shrine was regarded with great veneration by the Sikhs and richly endowed by Government. The fair has now, however, developed into a great business gathering. Large cattle fair held here under the management of the authorities.¹¹⁰ Baisakhi Devi fair held on 11th April and Surajkund fair was held in April at Rahon.¹¹¹ Fair held in April month at the *khanqah* Hafiz Hyat, 6 miles from Gujrat for two days¹¹²

Punnanke was a village in Sialkot on the bank of the stream called Devka in the Rachna *doab*. In this place there used to be an establishment of a sannyasi. People hold a fair here on the *baisakhi* day.¹¹³ Narowal situated in the Rachna *doab*. From amongst the Hindu *faqirs* of this place Baba Lahar Bairagi has been the man of felicity. A large fair was held at his place on the days of *baisakhi* and *janamashtami*.¹¹⁴ Each Monday and Tuesday a fair was held at the Chaubara of Chhajju Bhagat, and crowds of men, women and children assembled there and musicians sang sacred songs.¹¹⁵ The Chaubara of Chhajju Bhagat in Lahore in the Bari *doab* was a popular place of pilgrimage.¹¹⁶ He has

¹⁰⁸. *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, 1883-84, 64-65.

¹⁰⁹. *Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan District*, 1883-84, 35-36.

¹¹⁰. *Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District*, 1883-84, 48-49.

¹¹¹. *Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District*, 1883-84, 21.

¹¹². *Gazetteer of the Gujrat District*, 1883-84, 38.

¹¹³. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 88.

¹¹⁴. It was a town situated on the bank of the Ravi: Ibid, 76.

¹¹⁵. The *samadhi* or tomb of Chhajju was built of marble: H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. V, 422.

¹¹⁶. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 128; H.L.O Garret and G.L. Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh (1810-1817)*, 168.

been a person of divine knowledge among the people of Hind. He possessed the powers of miracle.¹¹⁷

The peak in Jhelum called Tilla¹¹⁸ was 25 miles south-west of the town of that name. Guru Gorakhnath settled at Tilla in the *tretayug* after Ramchandar and adopted Bal Nath's Tilla after him. Raj Bharti, a disciple of Guru Gorakhnath, also learnt to practice penance from Bal Nath at Tilla and a cave at Tilla was named after him to this day. It was said that owing to a dispute between the Raja and his fellow disciples he cut off part of Tilla and carried it to Jhang where it forms the Kirana hill. Tilla was the head-quarters of the Jogis and from a remote period all the other places of the Jogis in the Punjab have been under it. The ancient *mandirs* on this hill were all destroyed during the Muhammadan inroads, and the existing temples were built in the reign of Raja Man. A fair was held here on the *shivratrī*, but as the road was a difficult one and the water bad, people do not attend it in great numbers. Most of the Jogis visit the place on a *shivratrī* in order to see the cave, and laymen go too there. Food was supplied by the *gaddinashin* but some people use their own. A lamp has been kept burning in one of the temples for a very long time. It consumes a *ser* of oil in 24 hours. Jogis chant a *mantra* when they go to see it, but this mantra was not disclosed to anyone but a Jogi. It was transmitted by one Jogi to another.¹¹⁹ People came here from great distance.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷. Maharaja Ranjit Singh held this place in great respect. He visited it every Monday and made large offerings of money, sweets and *halwa* at the shrine. He built spacious chambers and rooms for the accommodation of sadhus, and granted revenue-free land for its maintenance: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 25, 91, 120, 138; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: A Study of 450 Orders in Persian*, 74, 96, 113.

¹¹⁸. Tilla Bal Nath in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, was the head quarter of the *jogis*. It was situated at the distance of about three *kos* from Rohtas. *Jogis* from all parts of country assembled there at the annual fair, called *mela siddhan*, and paid there reverence to the nine *naths*. Jogi enthusiasts attended the annual fair at Tilla Bal Nath at the time of *shivaratri*. All kinds of food provided here makes the desirous happy and satisfied. Both Hindu and Muslims believe in the sanctity of this abode of spiritual bliss: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 45; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Provinces of India*, 3 Vols, Language Department, Punjab, 1970, 289; Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Society, Religion and Patriarchy: Exploring Medieval Punjab through Hir Waris*, 14.

¹¹⁹. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. I, 289.

¹²⁰. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1985, 238; David Rose, *Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 154; B.S. Nijjar, *Heer Waris Di Parcholl Te Visthaar*, Lokgeet Parkashan, Chandigarh, 2004, 142-143; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth*

Six fairs were also held in the month of May. A large fair was held at the *smadh* of Haqiqat Rai.¹²¹ It was attended by multitudes of Hindus of both sexes, as well as by Mahomedans. This was the site of a great Hindu fair, six *kos* to the south of Lahore, near the village Niaz Beg. The annual fair held here was the largest of all the Lahore fairs.¹²² It was held in the hottest season of the year; and the *mandar* being situated on open ground, without the shade of a tree, or a sufficient number of buildings to afford shelter to the thousands of people who resort to it, the greatest inconvenience was felt. In spite of all these drawbacks the great sanctity attached to the place has rendered the fair one of the most popular and numerous religious gatherings of the Punjab. The rich go furnished with tents and *shamianas*, while persons of moderate means avail themselves of temporary devices to shelter themselves from the burning rays of the sun. A large number of confectioners from the city attend the fair with a variety of sweetmeats. The fair was held amidst great rejoicings during one day and night.¹²³

There was a shrine of a Muslim saint, called Barri Latif Shah, which was visited by large crowds at the time of the fair or *mela*. Barri Latif Shah was said to have been

Century Punjab, 20, 45; Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, 31-32.

¹²¹. He was the martyrdom of a 15 year old school boy, named Haqiqat Rai. He was the son of Baghmal, a Puri *khatr* of Sialkot. He was a clerk in the office of Amir Beg, the district officer of Sialkot. There were no Hindu schools in those days. Hence Haqiqat Rai studied in a Muslim maktab. He was very intelligent, and beat all Muslim students in Persian, not to speak of Arithmetic. The boys were generally jealous of him. According to the prevailing he was married at the age of ten in a Sikh family of Wadala. There he heard the story of sacrifices of Gurus and the Sikhs, and felt deeply impressed. One day some of his school fellow abused Hindu gods and goddesses Haqiqat retorted by abusing Prophet Muhammad's daughter, Fatima. A report was lodged with the Qazi whose judgement was either conversion to Islam or death. Amir Beg tried his best to save the child, but the Qazi was adamant. The case was forwarded to Zakariya Khan at Lahore. He took a lenient view of the forwarded to Zakariya Khan at Lahore. He took a lenient of the matter and was inclined to set the boy free. The Muslims gathered in thousands before the Governor's courts and demanded that the Qazi's decision must be upheld. Zakariya Khan referred the case to the provincial Qazi who confirmed the previous judgment. Zakariya Khan was helpless. No persuasion or pressure succeeded in forcing the boy to accept Islam. He was beheaded. A *smadh* was built over his ashes. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol II, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1982, 48-49; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 152-153; Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 245; B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279; Ganda Singh (ed.), *Punjab Dian Varan*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University Patiala, 2008, 5-42.

¹²². Persons of all classes gathered from Lahore City but the people from the village who participated in the fair were mainly the Sikhs from Lahore and Amritsar. The attendance usually was more than several tens of thousands: B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, New Academic Publishing Co., Jullundur, 1972, 287.

¹²³. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 199; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, (tr. Sukhdev Singh Charak), Light & Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1977, 109.

born in Gujar Khan, then to have gone to Sherpur in Hazara and married there, and leaving that place for some reason, to have lived alone for twenty four years in a forest in Rawalpindi. There was a shrine dedicated to him there also. Coming through the forests, he came to the spot, and then barren, where Nurpur now stands. He settled and with the assistance of four disciples with himself and started a 'mela' or fair during his own life-time. Latif Shah got the name of Barri from constant wanderings in the forest. The Emperor Bahadur Shah of Delhi visited Nurpur in the saint's life time, when some of the buildings were erected. The fair used to take place on each Thursday in the month of May. Many persons came to pay their homage from Peshawar.¹²⁴

On Tuesday, a fair were held in honour of Sitla, goddess of smallpox. It was celebrated both by Hindu and Sikhs. The goddess was worshipped and offering were made. The temple was situated in Lahore.¹²⁵ People come from all sides and hold a fair here.¹²⁶ Nawankot was about three *kos* and Niazbeg was six *kos* from Lahore. Adjoining the latter was the place of Bhaddar Kali. On the day of Ikadashi in the month of a Maya large fair was held here.¹²⁷ The *urs* of Bawa Farid Godar was held at Kastiwalin Batala in May.¹²⁸ A great fair was held at the shrine of Fateh Shah Sarisht on the occasion of Shab-e-Barat in May month, situated to the great of Budhu's pazawa (brickkiln) at Lahore. The Maharaja Ranjit Singh attended it.¹²⁹

People celebrated seven fairs in month of June. There was a Muslim fair held on 7th June at the shrine of Shah Mir Kalan at Rukia in Sialkot.¹³⁰ At the shrine of Shah Bolaki near Chitti *sheikh* in Sialkot, a fair was celebrated in the month of June, the average attendance at which was about 4,000 people.¹³¹ The most important was the religious fair at Dhaunkal a town in Gujranwala near Wazirabad, at which it has been estimated that as

¹²⁴. The principal religious gathering in the Rawalpindi area was at Nurpur. Several spring rush out of the hills there and forms a pure fresh stream of water. A small village at the foot of Margalla Hills, nine miles north-east of Rawalpindi. *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District*, 1883-84, 54; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 500; B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 280-81.

¹²⁵. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 462.

¹²⁶. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 121.

¹²⁷. *Ibid.*, 132.

¹²⁸. *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, 1883-84, 64-65.

¹²⁹. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 467.

¹³⁰. B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 281.

¹³¹. *Gazetteer of the Sialkot District*, 1883-84, 37.

many as 100,000 people assemble. It lasts during the month of June and was frequented by Hindus and Muhammadans alike.¹³² A large fair was held at the tomb of Imam Nasir-ud-din in Jalandhar for eight days in the June month. 35,000 people assembled in this fair.¹³³ Ichhra was three *kos* from Lahore. It has a place associated with Bhairo where a fair held was held for a few nights after the new moon.¹³⁴ Ikadsiwal was a well known village. It was said that a demon was imprisoned here in a tower. Every year a fair was held on a mound close to the village.¹³⁵ A great fair was held at the shrine of Fateh Shah Sarisht on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitar in June month, situated to the great of Budhu's pazawa (brickkiln) at Lahore. The Maharaja Ranjit Singh attended it.¹³⁶

Four fairs held in the month of July i.e. A fair was held at the tomb of Pir-Sahib.¹³⁷ On 13th, 14th and 15th July fair was held in honour of Pir Adam Sultan at Turtipur.¹³⁸ The fair of Abid Khan Sadozai was held in the garden of Abid Khan Sadozai at Multan on every Sunday. The Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs gathered there and enjoyed dance and sucking delicious mangoes of the garden free of charge.¹³⁹ A large fair, name *mari* Narotam gir held in Shujabad, in Multan at Gajju Hatta. Fair held on 15th July for one day in honour of Narotamgir. The *samadh* or tomb of the *faqir* was visited by a small band of admirers.¹⁴⁰

Two fairs held in the August month. Adjoining the place of Mian Mir was the place of Guru Ram Das Sodhi of the Nanak Shahi order. A fair was held there in August.¹⁴¹ A fair was held at the tomb of Shaikh Farid, Ganj-i-Shakar on the every Friday of the month, attended by Muslims and Hindus.¹⁴²

¹³² . *Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District*, 1883-84, 48-49.

¹³³ . *Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District*, 1883-84, 21.

¹³⁴ . J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 132.

¹³⁵ . *Ibid.*, 138

¹³⁶ . H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 467.

¹³⁷ . *Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District*, 1883-84, 21.

¹³⁸ . C. H. Buck, *Faith, Fairs and Festivals of India*, 101: *Gazetteer of the Shahpur District*, 1883-84, 42.

¹³⁹ . H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 468.

¹⁴⁰ . *Gazetteer of the Multan District*, 1883-84, 46-47; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 498.

¹⁴¹ . There was a huge tree and a small well which were regarded as sacred. The place was believed to be very auspicious: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 121.

¹⁴² . The *mazar* of Shaikh Farid, Ganj-i-Shakar; situated in Pakpatan in Multan in the Bari *doab*. Pakpatan, also called Ajodhan, situated in the Panjab, was a city of middling size. Shaikh Farid Shakarganj, son of

Only fair was held in September month. A cattle fair yearly held at Sialkot. It lasts a week, and was attended by over 70,000 persons on the principal day, 21st September, who come from all parts of the province. From 8,000 to 10,000 head of cattle, chiefly buffaloes, are brought for sale.¹⁴³

Two fairs were held in the October month. A cattle fair was held at Dinanagar on *dussehra* in October. It was originally connected with the festival, but was now regular cattle fair.¹⁴⁴ During the Nauratra, a fair was held at the temple of *kali mata* in Lahore, for nine days.¹⁴⁵ The Bhadar *kali* temple was situated in the *mohalla* known as Phalla Lakhpat Rai.¹⁴⁶

A fair was held in the November month at Amritsar. Amritsar was the most important centre of pilgrimage for the Sikhs of Guru Nanak. Every morning and evening a large number of people visit the Har Mandar. Every year people come here for worship in unusually in large numbers in the *diwal* night.¹⁴⁷

The only fair was held in December in Dera Ismail Khan at Karor in honour of the local saint, Lal Isan. The fair was, lasts for about a week, and was attended by ten to twenty-five thousand people from Bannu, Muzaffargarh and Jhang.¹⁴⁸

On the whole it is seen, Fairs time people feel refresh, it break their daily routine. Fairs were two types major and minor. Seventeen major fairs and fifty two minor fairs were celebrated in the Punjab. In the major fairs people participated in large number and came from the all parts of Punjab but in minor and local fair, the numbers of visitors were

Shaikh Jalaluddin, a descendant of Sulaiman Farrukh Shah Kabuli, breathed his last in this city on Saturday, the 5th of Muharram in A.H. 668. His mausoleum here was a place pilgrimage, where people came to fulfill their vows: Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (tr. Jit Singh Seetal), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968, 224, 225; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 140; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar-V, Dr R.S. Bawa Publishers, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002, 148, 189, 191, 197, 201; Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 180.

¹⁴³. *Gazetteer of the Sialkot District*, 1883-1884, 37.

¹⁴⁴. *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, 1883-84, 64-65.

¹⁴⁵. Every Hindu who passes along the lane was bound to band his forehead before the propitious goddess: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 242.

¹⁴⁶. *Ibid*, 240.

¹⁴⁷. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 133.

¹⁴⁸. *Gazetteer of the Dera Ismail Khan District*, 1883-84, 56.

small and only local people came. In a year total sixty nine fairs held in the Punjab's different *doabs*. Thirty one in the Bari *doab*, twelve in the Rachna *doab*, thirteen in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, eight in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and five in the Chaj *doab*. Fairs were celebrated in all twelve months. Five fairs were held in January month, two fairs were held in February month, sixteen important fairs were held in the month of March, twenty two fairs were celebrated in the month of April, six fairs were held in the month of May, seven fairs were held in month of June. Four fairs were held in the month of July, two fairs were held in the August month, one fair was held in September month, two fairs were held in the October month, one fair was held in the November month, only one fair was held in the December month. Most of the fairs were celebrated in the month of April.

On the occasion of a wedding too people were presented with a break from their daily routine. In each community wedding was considered as holy ritual. In Punjabi wedding people enjoyed alot because Punjabi wedding was complete package of music and dance, a time of celebration, in which whole of the family was involved and so many ceremonies performed in the wedding. Marriages amongst the Hindus, the Sikhs, and the Muslims were performed according to their respective customary and traditional ceremonies. The marriage was arranged by the parents. However, the boy and girl had a glance of each other. Before the marriage a number of ceremonies were performed both at the house of the boy and that of the girl.

In the Punjabi wedding the main ceremonies were as follows. In marriage, betrothal was the first step in the direction of a marriage. The boy and girl did not meet each other. No betrothal was complete without the consent of parents. Their consent was indispensable. The mediator had a very dominating role in negotiation. Usually a deputation of priests (*brahman*) barbers (*nais*) and the bards (*dums* or *bhats*) was the first to broach the subject. The formal proposal was made by the girl's parents. The boy's parents too could beg for the hand. Coming to marriage's ceremonial aspects, a long process of ceremonies and rituals, beginning with the betrothal and lasting until the co-habitation of the couple. With the exception of *niqah* and *vedi*, most of the other

ceremonies and rituals were common among the Hindu and the Muslims.¹⁴⁹ Essentially the first overture was made by the girl's parents. They sent their *lagis* with gifts and sweets called *shagan* for the bridegroom elect. Upon the entry of the *lagis* in the boy's house a little oil was dropped at the door. With all the kinsmen assembled, the boy was seated in front of the *lagis* who put some sugarcandy (*shakkar*) dried dates, sugarcots (*patasas*) and a coin in to the lap (*jholi* or *palla*) of the boy. This was followed by the distribution of sweets among all those present. Meals were served to the *lagis*. The parents of the boy could send some gifts to the girl in confirmation of betrothal.¹⁵⁰

Fixing of the date of marriage (*saha*) was termed as *gandh-pauna*.¹⁵¹ Among Muslim it was called *gandh-niqah*. After sending the invitation to the relatives, the ceremony of *suhag-gana* was done. With only few days remaining for the wedding ceremony, the *watna* was applied on the bodies of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Other important rituals were *maila pauna* or *khare bithaona*. In *maila pauna* ceremony the bride and bridegroom wears old clothes, rich diet was given to them and they did not even get out of the house alone. Some time it was performed on the day of marriage when early in the morning the bathing ceremony of the brides / bridegroom was performed. In *khare bithaona* ceremony the bride/ bridegroom were given the bath with the water which was brought by the *bhabi* of the brides/ bridegrooms from some religious places. After bathing ceremony, *ganias* (multi coloured threads) were tied to the wrists of the bride and bridegroom. After that bride hands were painted with henna (*mehndi*) and wore *suhag-chura* and a *suhag-nath* the ornaments considered auspicious for her husband's longevity. On the day of marriage the ceremony of *sehra bandi* was performed. After *sehra bandi* the ceremony of *tambol pauna* was performed. In *tambol pauna* ceremony the relatives of the boy gave some cash to the father of the bride. After that the ceremony of *wagh farai* was performed in which the sisters and cousins tie a thread to the mare.

¹⁴⁹. Ram Sukh Rao, *Sri Fateh Singh Partap Prabhakar* (A History of the Early Nineteenth Century Panjab), (ed. Joginder Kaur), Punjabi University Patiala, 1980, 57.

¹⁵⁰. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar- II, 29.

¹⁵¹. In this observance a piece of cloth or a string was given as many knots as there were days to the wedding day. A knot was untied everyday by the parents. Particularly it was done by the bride's parents in view of their preparatory measures. A similar *gandh* was circulated among the relatives through the barber (*nais*), it was called *gandh-pherna*, which was an invitation as well an intimation of the date of marriage. The would be brides were prevented from going outside the house after the *gandh* ceremony: Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar II, 115-116.

The *bhabhi*'s of the bridegroom put *surma* in his eyes. Then the *barat* leaved for the bride's house. The occasion of wedding procession was called *janj-charhni*. The relatives and friends gathered at the bride's house to received the *barat* where *milni* of the parents and close relatives took place. After that *phas* took places before the sacred fire in case of Hindu and in front of Adi Granth (a holy book of the Sikhs) in case of Sikhs. After that the ceremony of *bidai* performed. Bidai was the most difficult time for the bride and her relatives. When bride reached at her in-laws home the ceremony of *tel pauna* was performed. Ceremony of *tel pauna* means to welcome to the newly wedded couple. After that *pani warna* ceremony was performed in which the mother of the bridegroom rotates the *gadhwi* full of *kachi lassi* (mixed with raw milk and water) from the heads of the newly married couple. After that the couple was entered to the house.¹⁵²

On the whole, at wedding time also people felt refreshed. People felt refreshed by the different ceremonies performed in the Punjabi wedding. The main ceremonies were as follows. *Var Labna*, *kudmai* (betrothal), *lagan / saha kadna* (fixing of marriage date), *gandh ferna* (means sending the invitations to the relatives), *suhag-gana*, *maila pauna*, *khare bithaona*, *vatna*, *sangeet*, *mehndi*, *sehra bandi*, *tambol pauna*, *wagh farai*, *milni*, *phas*, *bidai*, *tel pauna* and *pani warna*. In the marriage the ceremonies performed were deciding the date of marriage with *shagun*, sending invitations, *sehrabandi*, marriage party's reception, *nazars*, entertainments with music, dance and drinks, fire-works, showering of money over the heads of the bride and the bridegroom, dowry and its display were observed according to the financial position of the parties concerned. All the above mentioned ceremonies regarding marriages particularly among the Sikhs were common among the rich and the poor, the ruler and the commoner.¹⁵³

V

On the whole all the classes had busy daily routine. Daily routine would obviously vary according to social position and status. The social standing of a person and his class status determined the different activities in their daily life. But mostly they

¹⁵². J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 79; *Peshawar District Gazetteer*, 1883-1884, 44; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar III, 330; Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, 336.

¹⁵³. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, 338.

followed same time frame to do their work. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his nobles, business classes and artisans, village masses and lower classe all followed the same norm. The day started early and ended shortly after sunset. All the classes woke up early in the morning and went early to bed. In upper class women did not work and mostly wear *purda*. But some of the upper class women did not wear *purda* and took an important part in public affairs. In the case of working women and lower class women, they did not wear *purda* and helped their husband in their work. Men and women were busy doing in different kind of work at homes and at work place. Daily routine of the persons depends upon their social position and social status. The people monotony of the daily routine was broken by participation in fairs and festivals, as well as marriage function and different kinds of ceremonies at relatives homes.

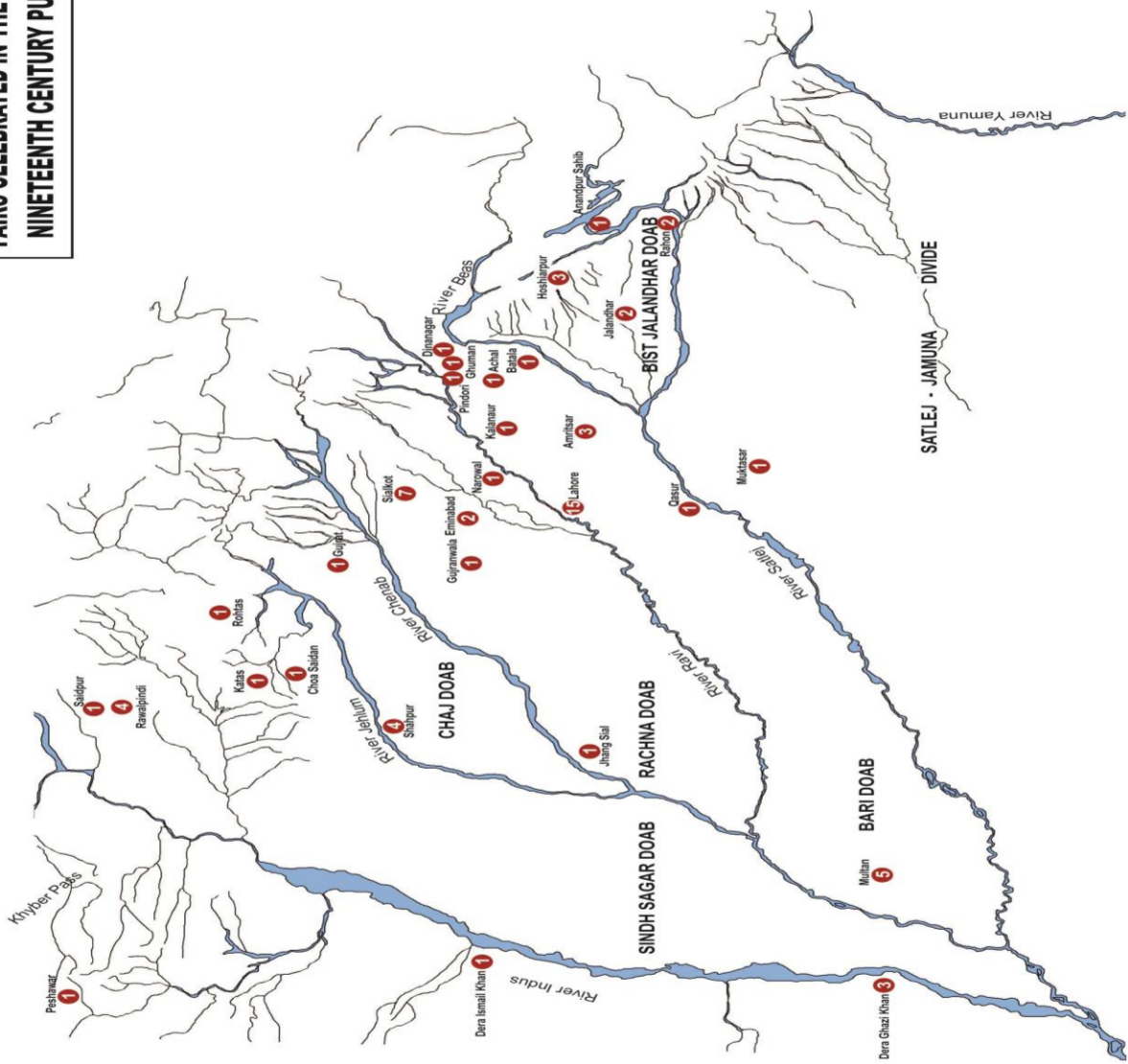
The daily routine of the people of Punjab was governed by superstitious beliefs related to agriculture, dreams, journeys, omens, lucky and unlucky days and months and worship of the tree and plants. They believed in evil-eye, spirits i.e. *bhut* and *churel*, *jinns*, magic. People were superstitions regarding their settlements and dwellings in the context of the direction, astrological aspects and auspicious times. The cycle of life in was marked by a variety of superstitions. These were related broadly, to birth, marriage and death. At marriage day people enjoy at home and fair day at particular place, where the fair held. In a year total sixty nine fairs held in the Punjab's different *doabs*. Thirty one held in the Bari *doab*, twelve in the Rachna *doab*, thirteen in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, eight in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and five in the Chaj *doab*. Seventeen major fairs and fifty two minor fairs were celebrated in the Punjab. Fairs were celebrated in all twelve months. Five fairs were held in January month at *thakurdwara* of Banke Bihari at Lahore, Makar Sankrant fair at Mukatsar, fair of Bawa Nam Deo was held at Ghuman, fair was held at Jhang in honour of the Hir and Ranja, fair held at Nihang in honour of Panj Pir. Two fairs were held in February month. A fair was held on the day of *basant panchami* at the *mazar* of Madho Lal Husain, Kadmon ka *mela* was held at the tomb of Sakhi Sarwar near Lahori Gate at Lahore. Sixteen important fairs were held in the month of March, A fair was held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar near Dera Ghazi Khan, Two Hindu fairs were held in Mailsi in Multan, fair was held at the shrine of the goddess Rajni Devi, was situated between Mahilpur and Hoshiarpur, at Dera Khalsa in Rawalpindi, an annual fair was held

at the shrine of Sain Ghulam Shah, fair take place once in a year in Peshawar, this fair was called Jhanda, a large fair was held on the *mazar* of Shah Abul Ma'ali in Lahore on the anniversary of the saint, a large fair was held the place of Hazrat-i-Ishan at Begum Pura a town of Lahore, a fair was held in the name of Shah Madar, Two fairs were held at the shrine of Shah Nur Jamal, of the local fairs of Sialkot, most attractive was held at Harmandal in the Jammu territories, a fair was held at the shrine of Pir Adil, fairs were in honour of Hafiz Diwan and Pir Sabz at Shahpur, the principal Sikh fair was held in Anandpur at the *holi*.

Twenty two fairs were celebrated in the month of April. The *baisakhi* fair was held on first *baisakh* at Lahore, Amritsar and Ber Baba Nanak, close to Sialkot, the 'Ram Thamman' fair was held in the village of Thamman near Kasur, in April month on the Hindu Festival of *baisakhi*. The Katas Raj fair was held on *baisakhi*, at distance of two *kos* from Katas was another pool of water known as Choa Saidan Shah. A fair was held here. A large fair was held near the pool at the *samadh* of Baba Sain Das, fair was held at Saidpur, the religious fair was held at the shrine of Shah Chiragan, a Sayyad, in Rawalpindi, of the local fairs of Sialkot, the best known and most attractive was held at Parmandal. The shrine was resorted to by pilgrimage from a distance. A fair was held at the shrine of Shah Sufaid, which was said to cure lepers, in Pandori on *baisakhi* in April a fair was held. A fair was held in Shiwala of Achleshwar at Achal on *baisakhi* in April. A fair was held in honour of Siri Chand, son of Baba Nanak at Bharath on *baisakhi*. A fair was held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar Sakhi Sarwar, as a saint was also typical of the other saints of the Dera Ghazi Khan, *baisakhi* fair at Eminabad. Baisakhi Devi fair at Surajkund, fair was held at the *khanqah* Hafiz Hyat, fair on the *baisakhi* at Punnanke. From amongst the Hindu faqirs of this place Baba Lahar Bairagi. A large fair was held at the place of Hindu Faqir on the days of *baisakhi* and *janamashtami*. Each Monday and Tuesday a fair was held at the Chaubara of Chhajju Bhagat. A fair was held here on the *shivratni*, at Tilla of jogis.

Six fairs were held in the month of May. A large fair was held at the *smadh* of Haqiqat Rai, a shrine of a Muslim saint, called Barri Latif Shah, which was visited by large crowds at the time of the fair or *mela*. On Tuesday, a fair were held in honour of

**FAIRS CELEBRATED IN THE EARLY
NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB**



Sitla, goddess of smallpox. The temple was situated between Lahori Gate and Shah Almi Gate of Lahore. On the day of Ikadashi in the month of a May a large fair was held in the temple of Bhaddar Kali. The *urs* of Bawa Farid Godar was held at Kastiwalin Batala in May. A great fair was held at the shrine of Fateh Shah Sarisht on the occasion of Shab-e-Barat.

Seven fairs were held in month of June. a Muslim fair held on 7th June at the shrine of one Shah Mir Kalan at Rukia, at the shrine of Shah Bolaki near Chitti *shaikh*, a fair was celebrated, the most important was the religious fair at Dhaunkal was a town near Wazirabad, a large fair was held at the tomb of Imam Nasir-ud-din in Jalandhar, Ichhra place associated with Bhairo where a fair held was held for a few nights after the new moon. Every year a fair was held on a mound close to the village Ikadsiwal. A great fair was held at the shrine of Fateh Shah Sarisht on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitar.

Four fairs were held in the month of July. A fair was held at the tomb of Pir-Sahib, on 13th, 14th and 15th July in honour of Pir of Adam Sultan at Turtipur, the fair of Abid Khan Sadozai was held in the garden of Abid Khan Sadozai at Multan on every Sunday. A large fair, name *mari* Narotam gir held in Shujabad, in Multan at Gajju Hatta. Fair held on 15th July for one day in honour of Narotamgir. Two fairs were held in the August month. Adjoining the place of Mian Mir was the place of Guru Ram Das Sodhi of the Nanak Shahi order. There was a huge tree and a small well which were regarded as sacred. The place was believed to be very auspicious. A fair was held there in the month of August. A fair was held at the tomb of Shaikh Farid, Ganj-i-Shakar on each Friday, which was largely attended by both Mahomedans and Hindus. One fair was held in September month. A cattle fair yearly held at Sialkot. Two fairs were held in the October month. A cattle fair was held at Dinanagar on *dussehra* in October. During the Nauratra, a fair was held at the temple of *kali mata* in Lahore, for nine days. Only one fair was held in the November month at Amritsar. Amritsar was the most important centre of pilgrimage for the Sikhs of Guru Nanak. Every morning and evening a large number of people visit the Har Mandar. Every year people come here for worship in unusually large numbers the *diwali* night. Only one important fair was held in December at Karor in Dera

Ismail Khan in honour of the local saint, Lal Isan. Most of the fairs were celebrated in April month.

Seventeen major fairs and fifty two minor fairs were celebrated in the Punjab. In the major fairs, people came from the different parts of the Punjab to and participated but in the minor fairs only local people visited. Seventeen major fairs held in Punjab i.e. Basant Panchami on the *mazar* of Madho Lal Husain, another large fair was at the *smadh* of Haqiqat Rai Kadmon ka *mela* was held at the tomb of Sakhi Sarwar, at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar, the *baisakhi* fair were celebrated at Amritsar and Lahore, at Ber Baba Nanak, the *baisakhi* fair at the commencement of the New Year, the Katas Raj fair was held on *baisakhi*, a fair was held at Choa Saidan Shah, a large fair was held on the *mazar* of Shah Abul Ma'ali, at the Chaubara of Chhajju Bhagat in Lahore, the annual fair at Tilla Bal Nath at the time of *shivaratri*, a large fair was held near the pool at the *samadh* of Baba Sain Das. A fair take place once in a year in Peshawar, this fair was called Jhanda. On two occasions every year people came Harmandar for worship in unusually large numbers: the day of the *baisakhi* and the night of the *diwali*. The principal Sikh fair was held at Anandpur Makhowal at the Holi.

Some fairs were only local and the number of visitors was small. Certain fairs were attended by people from far off places. Men, women and children, decked out in their best colourful robes, trudged along the road, either on foot or on horse, camels and donkeys or in carts, singing and shouting or giving a merry laugh now and then, as one of the party related some interesting story to beguile the way to the fair. Stalls were set up miscellaneous merchandise like toys, sweets, fruits, eatables of various kind, utensils, cloth and other household goods. All these articles were arranged in an attractive and fascinating style. There were swing, merry-go-rounds, acrobats, jugglers, wrestlers, actors, singers and dancers. They entertained the multitude with their performances. In return they received small coins as their fees or reward. Monkey and bear owner, snake-charmers displayed their skill to get something from the spectators of their own free will. Fiddlers, harpers, pipes, drummers and performers on guitar and other musical instruments contributed for the entertainment of visitors. Everybody in the fair appeared full of mirth and merriment.

People of Punjabi society enjoyed a lot in the marriages. At wedding times people had an opportunity to break their daily routine. People feel refresh by the different ceremonies performed in the Punjabi wedding. The main ceremonies were as follows. *Var Labna*, *kudmai* (betrothal), *lagan / saha kadna* (fixing of marriage date), *gandh ferna* (means sending the invitations to the relatives), *suhag-gana* , *maila pauna*, *khare bithaona*, *vatna*, *sangeet*, *mehndi*, *sehra bandi*, *tambol pauna*, *wagh farai*, *milni*, *phas*, *bidai*, *tel pauna* and *pani warna*. Fairs, custom and rituals were very important; they gave a fresh beginning to life. All the fairs and ceremonies much awaited event in the life of Punjabi people.

Chapter-5

SOCIETY AND RELIGION

Religion is as old as society itself; it is the basic need of man, instinctive and impulsive, rooted in human nature. Religion entails many things and if one single element of it is taken to mean the whole of it, it is lost. Religion means a belief in a personal God in whom our being or existence is rooted; knowledge of God and an emotional and practical relationship with him. The supreme purpose of human existence is to know God, to know the world which has been created by God and to know man who has to realize the purpose of God, i.e., the realization of divinity in him.¹ In fact, religion can be seen as the sole uniting factor among much diversities of the Indian population. A person may be a devotee of one particular god, but he pays equal reverence to other deities as well.² Religion plays very important role in the human society. To understand a society in continuity and in change it is essential to understand its religion.³

The present chapter deals with the varied sacred spaces in the Punjabi society in the early nineteenth century as a reflection of the religious life of the time. The chapter intends to identify the various religious places considered important in the early nineteenth century and the beliefs and practice attached to them. The chapter is divided into five sections, the first section looks at the Hindu religious places, and the second section looks at the Muslim religious places, the third section describes the Sikh religious places, the fourth section points out the popular religious place, while the last section attempts an overview of the place of religion in society.

I

The Hindu religious places of early nineteenth century Punjab, included *thakurdwaras*, *shivdwara*, *vaishnava* establishments, *devidwaras* and *jogi* establishments. Ganesh Das makes a clear distinction between a *shivdwara* and a *thakurdwaras* but makes only a

¹. K.M.P. Verma (edited), *Philosophy Of Religion*, Classical Publication Company, New Delhi, 1982, 15, 16.

². T.N. Sharma, *Religious Thought in India*, Ramneek Publication, Ghaziabad, 1980, 11, 12.

³. David Popenoe, *Sociology*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, America, 1977, 173-174.

general reference to the latter not making any distinction between a temple dedicated to Rama and a temple dedicated to Krishna. The cult of Rama was more popular in the Punjab. Nevertheless, Ganesh Das does refer specifically to the worship of Krishna at places. There were some important *thakurdwaras* in Punjab: one in Rawalpindi, four in Lahore⁴, one in Gujrat city, one in Pind Dadan Khan, one in Sialkot and two in Wazirabad. Near Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, was a place called Panj-Tirathi, and (the *baolis*) bear the names Ramkund, Sita Kund, and the like. A *bairagi sadhs* used to sit here in meditation. He was a worshipper of Ram and Sita and made this bathing place popular after their names. And it became a place of worship. Many people came there for worship.⁵ The *thakurdwara* of Banke Bihari situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*, was also the richest *thakurdwara*.⁶ The *thakurdwara* of Chor-Mor was also situated in Lahore city.⁷ The *thakurdwara* of Raja Teja Singh was situated in Lahore.⁸ The

⁴J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 21, 22.

⁵. Ibid, 42.

⁶.It was situated close to the *haveli* of Bhai Basti Ram. The original temple was believed to be very ancient, and the date of the foundation cannot be ascertained; but it had been extensively remodeled at a great cost by Bhai Nand Gopal, a *rais* of much public spirit and of advanced ideas, the descendant of the Bhais, or the spiritual leaders of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his royal family. A large fair was held here on the first day of each Hindu month, and the *bhagats* and *pujaris* entertained the congregation by singing hymns and reciting holy sayings in adoration of the *avtars*.The building was two storied and the walls and roofs were tastefully decorated with pieces of looking glass, and ornamental work of a variety of kinds and colors. Gold color and gilt were profusely used; and the recesses in the walls were ornaments with *creptals* which send out their brilliant rays like so many stars in the sky. The entire building looks like some beautiful ornaments, or crystal palace, and was, architecturally, a success. The floor was covered with rich cushions and carpets: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, New Imperial press, Lahore, 1892, 238-39; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (tr. Sukhdev Singh Charak), Light & Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1977, 398.

⁷.The Maharaja himself used to visit the *mandar*, and on that account it acquired much importance. It was stated that once *mahant* Har Kishn Das, on the occasion of a visit by the Maharaja to this temple, related to him the story of Chor-Mor, or the thief and the peacock. The Maharaja was pleased with the story, and gave the *sadh* the name Chor-Mor, by which appellation the temple also came to be called. *Katha* was read every evening and was attended by a large number of followers of both sexes. It was a two-storied building. It was built fifty years ago, in the time of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, by the mother of Kanhia Kambo, who gave it to *mahant* Balram Das, a Bawa held in great religious esteem. The *mandar* was furnished with chambers and side rooms, profusely decorated with paintings and mirror. The images of Ram Chandar, Lachhmans, Sita and Rughnath, which were placed here, were the objects of worship: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 240.

⁸. This magnificent *mandar* was situated at the end of the Moti Bazar in Lahore. The founder was Raja Teja Singh, the Commander-in-Chief of the *khalsa* troops, who led the Sikh army across the Sutlej with the object of waging war against the British. The *mandar* was later in charge of Raja Harbans Singh of Shaikhupura, the adopted son of the founder.The building was two-storied, and was constructed twenty-five years ago. The entrance was from the north, by a flight of steps which opens on to a wide court-yard, with a floor of masonry and lined with rows of arched rooms. In the midst of this court-yard, on a raised platform, was the *mandar*, which was lofty and majestic. In front of the doorway was a chaste gallery of

thakurdwara of Radha Krishn was also situated in Lahore. The temple was built in 1834 A.D.⁹

In Gujrat, there was one *thakurdwaras* in the midst of the city belonging to the Jaikishania *sadhs* who regarded themselves as the worshipers of Krishna.¹⁰ Temple of Murli Manohar has been constructed as place of worship.¹¹ In 1830 A.D., Raja Gulab Singh built a *thakurdwara* in Pind Dadan Khan in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, founded a village named Gulabgarh and gave it 'by way of *maash*'¹² for the temple.¹³ An old cell from the structure of a *thakurdwara* built by Salbahan was still extent in Sialkot in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁴ There were two *thakurdwaras* in Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab*, which were dedicated to Krishna by the Jai-Kishnia *sadhs* who regarded themselves as the worshippers of Sri Krishan Avtar.¹⁵

The *jogis* who were linked themselves ultimately with Guru Gorakh Nath. They were holding on to some of their former popularity. Tilla Bal Nath, *jogi* establishment at Jakhbar in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, the *jogi* of Kirana and establishment of Sham Kartik at Achal in the Bari *doab*, were the important centers of *jogis*, establishment of Sukal Nath at Kirana in the Chaj *doab*, The pillar of Mahadevi in the *bar* in the Rachna *doab*, Ichhra in the Bari *doab* and establishment of Baba Brahm Nath Sannyasi at Lahore in the Bari

stone, of great beauty. The walls inside were decorated with stone carvings, and in a niche of marble were gracefully placed the images of Sri Krishna Ji Maharaj and Radhika Ji, dressed in rich cloths and adorned with precious ornaments. The tower of the *mandar* was lofty parallelogram of three storeys, the lowest of which was a bulb like dome. The top of the tower was ornamented with a pinnacle of gold, and golden bells were attached in several places: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 236-37.

⁹. Temple was situated in the *haveli* of Chief Pandit Radha Krishn, son of Madsudan, the family priest of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It was situated in the Mitha Bazar in Lahore. The gateway was of stone, and the walls inside and the roofs were ornamented with paintings of gold and silver. The tower was lofty, and was surmounted with a golden pinnacle. The images of Sri Krishn and Radha Mai, adorned with jewels, were placed in ornaments niches, and were objects of worship to the pious: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 242.; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, 402; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar V, Dr R.S. Bawa Publishers, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002, 85, 182, 219, 248.

¹⁰. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 96.

¹¹. Ibid, 22, 62.

¹². More commonly the term used for grant of revenue-free land was *madad-i-maash* but Ganesh Das is using the alternative pharases *dar-wajah-i-maash*; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 19.

¹³. Ibid, 19, 46.

¹⁴. Ibid, 82.

¹⁵. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 22.

doab. Tilla Bal Nath in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, was the head quarter of the *jogis*.¹⁶ The peak in Jhelum called Tilla was 25 miles south-west of the town of that name. Guru Gorakhnath settled at Tilla in the *treat yug* after Ramchandar and adopted Bal Nath's Tilla after him. Raj Bharti, a disciple of Guru Gorakhnath, also learnt to practice penance from Bal Nath at Tilla and a cave at Tilla was named after him to this day. It was said that owing to a dispute between the Raja and his fellow disciples he cut off part of Tilla and carried it to Jhang where it forms the Kirana hill. Tilla was the head-quarters of the Jogis and from a remote period all the other places of the Jogis in the Punjab have been under it. The ancient *mandirs* on this hill were all destroyed during the Muhammadan inroads, and the existing temples were built in the reign of Raja Man. A fair was held here on the *shivratni*, but as the road was a difficult one and the water bad, people do not attend it in great numbers. Most of the Jogis visit the place on a *shivratni* in order to see the cave, and laymen go too there. Food was supplied by the *gaddinashin* but some people use their own. A lamp was kept burning in one of the temples for a very long time. It consumed a *ser* of oil in 24 hours. Jogis chanted a *mantra* when they went to see it, but this mantra was not disclosed to anyone but a Jogi. It was transmitted by one Jogi to another.¹⁷

Jogis from all parts of country assembled there at the annual fair, called *mela siddhan*, and paid there reverence to the nine *naths*. Jogi enthusiasts attended the annual fair at Tilla Bal Nath at the time of *shivaratri*.¹⁸ All kinds of food provided here makes the desirous happy and satisfied. Both Hindu and Muslims believes in the sanctity of this abode of spiritual bliss.¹⁹ In Makhad and Sarangkot also there were important places of

¹⁶. It was situated at the distance of about three *kos* from Rohtas; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 45; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Provinces of India*, 3 Vols, Language Department, Punjab, 1970, 289; Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Society, Religion and Patriarchy: Exploring Medieval Punjab through Hir Waris*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, 14.

¹⁷. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. I, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1919 (reprint), 289.

¹⁸. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1985, 238; David Rose, *Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 154; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Heer Waris Di Parcholl Te Visthaar*, Lokgeet Parkashan, Chandigarh, 2004, 142-143.

¹⁹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 20, 45; Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, (eds. Hasan Ahmed), K.P. Bagchi & Co., Calcutta, 1977 (first published-1846), 31-32.

the *jogis*. Equally important was the place of *jogi* Dhiraj Nath in Bhera.²⁰ Another famous *jogi* establishment was at Jakhbar in the upper Bari *doab* under the charge of Hira Nath, who remained on this seat for about sixty five years till his death around 1740.²¹ Achal²² was associated with Sham Kartik,²³ the son of Mahadev, and had been a place of worship since olden times in the Bari *doab*. It was known for its Shiva temple.²⁴ There was a large tank here and in the month of Kattak,²⁵ people came to it in large numbers from different areas.²⁶ The establishment of Sukal Nath, the *jogi* of Kirana,²⁷ was a place of worship in Chaj *doab*. It was the sacred place of the *aughar jogis*. Pir Sukal Nath has been a perfect Gnostic and many men believe in the sanctity of this establishment. Whosoever makes an offering at this place gets his wish fulfilled.²⁸ Besides these important *jogis* establishment there were some other *jogi* establishments also. The pillar²⁹ of Mahadevi in the *bar* was also known in the Rachna *doab*.³⁰ Ichhra³¹ has a place associated with *bhairo* in Bari *doab*, where fair was held for a few nights after the new moon.³² Baba Brahm Nath Sannyasi's³³ was a man of divine knowledge and remained at peace with himself.³⁴

Worship of *shiva* was quite widespread in the Panjab in the early nineteenth century. There were many important *shivalas* in Punjab, where people came in large number for worship. i.e In *sammat* 1896, Maharaja Gulab Singh Jamwal during his

²⁰. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 20.

²¹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 20; Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, Ph.D Thesis, 238; J.S. Grewal, *Studies in Local and Regional History*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1974, 37-39.

²². Achal was at a distance of two *kos* from Batala: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 138.

²³. Kartik obviously refers to Kartikeya. The epithet Sham is generally not used with his name: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 138.

²⁴. Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, Vivek Publishing Company, Delhi, 1976, 107.

²⁵. Ganesh Das gives the Sanskrit name Kartik in the text, for a change: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 138.

²⁶. Ibid, 20, 138.

²⁷. Kirana, which was in the heart of the desert or the *bar*: Ibid, 73.

²⁸. Ibid, 73.

²⁹. The word used as synonyms in the text are *pushta* and *thamba*: Ibid, 111.

³⁰. It is also called the hunting ground (*shikargah*): Ibid, 111.

³¹. Ichhra was three *kos* from Lahore: Ibid, 132.

³². J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 132; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 37.

³³. Place of worship was in the Chhatha Bazar in Lahore: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 122.

³⁴. Ibid, 122.

administration of Gujrat constructed a temple in Dinga situated in the Chaj *doab*,³⁵ dedicated to Mahadev, making it a place of worship for Hindus.³⁶ The *shiwala* of Raja Dina Nath was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.³⁷ The *shiwala* of Bakshi Bhagat Ram was one of the most splendid and popular places of Hindu worship in the Lahore city in the Bari *doab*. The *shiwala* of Bakhshi Bhagat Ram was built in 1844 A.D.³⁸ Shiwala was situated in the *machhi hatta bazaar* in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. The temple was very popular with the Hindus.³⁹

Beside these important temples there were many temples dedicated to Shiva built during the reign of Ranjit Singh. In 1845, *diwan* Kishan Kaur, the *kardar*, the son of *diwan* Hakim Rai Puri, built a new temple of Shiva in Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar

³⁵. Dinga was a well-known *qasba*: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 67.

³⁶. Ibid, 67.

³⁷. The temple was the favourite resort of worship of the Kashmiri Pandits, the founder, Raja Dina Nath, having belonged to that class. It was a two-storied building, with beautiful windows and balconies fronting the street, which was most frequented part of the city, the population here being very dense. The shops below were occupied by tenants, who were mostly traders and artisans. The walls fronting the street were tastefully decorated with paintings of *devatas* and *avatars*. The entrance into the *mandar* was through the northern gateway, with the frame of red sand-stone and stairs of the same material. The gateway opens on to a wide court-yard, around which were handsome rooms, chambers and cells with domed roofs. In the western outer hall were placed the big kettle-drum, trumpets, shell and bells to summons the congregation to worship, at the appointed hours of service and at other times. In the midst of the court-yard, on a raised platform of stone, was the *mandar*, in which was kept a beautiful image of *shiv ji maharaja*. The inside walls were decorated with paintings of deities and Gods. The shining golden pinnacle on the top of the dome contributes much to the attraction and grace of this most popular place of Hindu worship. Drops of water were allowed to fall on the *shiv ji* from a perforated basin, filled with water, and placed over the images, according to the prescribed mode of worship. The floor inside the *mandar* on which the *shiv ji* takes his seat on an eminence, is of pure marble. When the time of service arrives, the musical instruments that are blown and beaten create a deafening noise, which, however, was indispensable for the service: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 235.

³⁸. It was situated behind the *kotwali*, in the *kucha* known after the Bakhshi's name. The building was two-storied. The first storey was reached by a flight of six steps. On the top of the outer doorway were two stone images of the sacred bull, an image of an elephant, and of an alligator. On entering the door were to be seen the stone idols of gods Ganesh (elephant), Hanuman (monkey) and *Bhairo ji*. The floor was of stone, and there were marble platforms of *Jugmohan*, surrounded with railings of the same material. The *mandar* was a lofty tower, in which the *shiv ji* takes his seat, on a marble platform. The tower has several pinnacles of gold, of various sizes, according to their respective positions, the central one being the highest. The *mandar* contains a large number of beautifully chiseled stone idols of different sizes, which were worshipped by the votaries. The *mandar* was furnished with *jets d'eau* and cascades, or water-falls, and has luxurious underground rooms for the comfort of the *pujaris* during the hot weather. The marble square, two yards long, and two yards broad, on which the founder sat while distributing alms to the Brahmins, was still preserved. The *shiwala* abounds with imposing edifices and bears testimony to the enormous wealth possessed by the officials of State during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 235.

³⁹. The well was very ancient, and was said to have been built with the money obtained from theft by a notorious thief named Sadhu, during the time of the Mohamedan emperors. The present *shiwala* was built from public subscription raised in the Sikh time: Ibid, 242.

doab.⁴⁰ In 1838, Raja Gulab Singh constructed a *shiwala* in *tappa* Byol in the Sindh Sagar *doab*.⁴¹ A *chhibbar brahman*, Amrik Rai, built a temple to Mahadev in Gujrat in the Chaj *doab* in 1840.⁴² Raja Gulab Singh also constructed a new *shivdwara* in 1839, in place of the old *shiva* temple in Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*.⁴³ In Sialkot in the Rachna *doab*, *diwan* Harbhjan Rai Puri had built a temple to Shiva⁴⁴ before, Raja Tej Singh constructed a temple in 1848, dedicated to Mahadeva as a place of worship for the people.⁴⁵ In Wazirabad, a temple to Mahadev was built in 1830 in the Rachna *doab*, to mark the place where the widow of Ram Kaur Kohli had become *sati*.⁴⁶ In 1839 A.D. the temple of Mahadev was repaired by Lala Ratan Chand Duggal in Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab*.⁴⁷

Fateh Singh Ahluwalia built a temple to Shiva in Kapurthala in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*.⁴⁸ Dhand Kasel in the Bari *doab*, has a temple dedicated to Mahadev.⁴⁹ The *shiwala* of Bawa Thakurgir was a splendid *shiwala*, to the north of the mosque of Wazir Khan in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁵⁰ The *shiwala* of Gulab Rai was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁵¹ The *shiwala* of Diwan Shankar Nath was to the east of the Chakla Bazar in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. Its founder was Pandit Shanker Nath.⁵² The *shiwala* of Dilbagh Rai was

⁴⁰ . J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 19, 42.

⁴¹ . Ibid, 19, 43.

⁴² . Ibid, 19.

⁴³ . Ibid, 19, 62.

⁴⁴ . Ibid, 19, 20.

⁴⁵ . Ibid, 85.

⁴⁶ . Ibid, 20, 95.

⁴⁷ . It was looked after by Gosain Shambhu Nath and Mathra Nath as *pujaris*; Ibid, 20, 96.

⁴⁸ . Kapurthala was a place from where Sardar Jassa Singh Kalal had risen into power. His army was called the Buddha Dal: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 143.

⁴⁹ . Ibid, 140.

⁵⁰ . The site of the *shiwala* originally belonged to the mosque of Wazir Khan, but during the supremacy of the triple rulers of Lahore, a certain Bawa, named Thakurgir, built a small *katcha* temple here, which was enlarged and rebuilt with masonry, at great outlay, by Raja Dina Nath, the head of the Sikh State Office. The gate to the south opens on to a spacious courtyard, in the midst of which was a lofty *mandar*, of solid masonry, with a domed roof. This dome was surmounted by a golden pinnacle, which gives the temple a picturesque appearance. The doorway of the *mandar* was to the west. The floor inside was paved with marble, and in the midst of it, on a raised platform, was placed the image of *shiv ji maharaj*, the object of worship. A large copper vessel, filled with water, was kept close by, to purify the place. The walls inside were decorated. The courtyard was lined with rooms for the accommodation of the visitors, and cells for the *sadha*, or *pujaris*. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 234.

⁵¹ . It was situated inside the *Masti Gate*, behind the *haveli* of Jamadar Khushal Singh. The founder was a Jamadar in the Darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The building was of red sand stone masonry. The gilt dome was spacious and large: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 237.

⁵² . Pandit Shanker Nath was a Diwan in the time of the Sikhs, and one of the most popular Honourary Magistrate in the city of Lahore. The *shiwala* was in the midst of a courtyard, and has a high tower, decorated with a pinnacle, which gives it a picturesque effect: Ibid, 238.

in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁵³ Shiwala Tibbi wala, was also situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁵⁴ The *shiwala* of Pandit Radha Kishan was situated in the *gumti bazaar* in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁵⁵

Among the Hindu religious places, the *vaishnavas* were more numerous than any other form of Hindu belief and practice. More important were the establishments of Baba Sain Das at Eminabad in the Rachna *doab*, Katas in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, Choa Saidah Shah called Narsingh Pohar in the upper Sindh Sagar *doab*, Kuthala in the upper Bari Doab, Baba Lal at Dhianpur in the Bari *doab*, Baba Lal establishment at Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab*, Chautara of Ram-Lachman in the Rachna *doab*, Baba Murar Das *bairagi establishment* in the Rachna *doab*, Amritsar was a *bairagi establishment* at Ram Tirath in the Bari *doab*. Baba Lalu establishment at Dipalpur in the Bari *doab*, Lahore situated in the Bari *doab*, was the place of Baba Ram Thaman who was a *bairagi sadh*. It was an auspicious place.⁵⁶ Talabpur Pandori worship associated with Bhagwan-Narain in the Bari *doab*.⁵⁷

⁵³. It was built by Dilbagh Rai, the Diwan of Raja Dhian Singh, *wazir* of Marahaja Ranjit Singh. Outside the gate of the temple was a large well, of very ancient date. It is now treated as part of the *shiwala* premises. Originally, the site of the *shiwala* belonged to this well; but, the *mohulla* people disputing about the ownership of that site, Dilbagh Rai built the present temple on it. The *mandar* was built of stone, and was surmounted by a large dome. Within the temple, on a raised platform, the *shiv ji* was gracefully seated and was worshipped by the congregation. There were rooms for the *pujaris* and the *shivala* were extensively resorted to by the Hindu public: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 239.

⁵⁴. It was, perhaps, the most ancient Hindu temple of Lahore, and must have been erected about the time of the foundation of the Hindu city of Lahore. Situated in *tibbi mohalla*, east of *haveli* of Raja Sochet Singh. The *mandar* proper was a storey and a half below the surface of the ground and is reached by a flight of steps. As observed by Kanhaya Lal, it was reasonable to suppose that it was built originally on a platform of a certain height from the ground, as most edifices of the kind were built. The lapses of hundreds of years have had the effect of raising the surface of the adjoining ground to its present elevation. During the Sikh time the dome of the *mandar* was on a level with the ground; but Raja Dina Nath had the ancient dome dismantled, and built, in its stead, the high dome with it was now covered. The *mandar*, however, retains its original peculiarity, which was of special antiquarian interest. The inner room, which was dark, was reached by a flight of twenty steps, and lamps were burnt day and night to light it. The *mandar* has two gates, one to the east and the other to the south, and a large count-yard shaded by an old and large banyan tree. Close to the underground chamber was the old well of the *mandar*, into which the surplus water was drained. The *mandar* was highly respected on account of its ancient character: Ibid, 239-40.

⁵⁵. The *shiwala* was built, in 1818 A.D., by Pandit Radha Kishan *Lambdarhia*, or “the long-bearded. The tower was high and the upper portion was covered with copper gilt plate. On the top of the tower was placed a golden image of Hanuman (the monkey god), instead of a pinnacle, which gives it a picturesque appearance: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 241; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 85, 182, 219, 248.

⁵⁶. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 21, 132.

⁵⁷. Ibid, 134.

Baba Sain Das, a Ramanandi *bairagi*, established his *gaddi* in Eminabad.⁵⁸ It was related that Sain Das was the child of Bal Rai, a *brahman* alias Bhan Bhasar, who was the *purohit* of the Cheema *zamindars*.⁵⁹ It is believed that many a minor miracle came to be performed by him. A number of people became his disciples. He came into possession of much of the worldly wealth and inward riches. On the 14th of *baisakh* a large fair was held near the pool at the *samadh* of Baba Sain Das. Large crowds come to the fair held on the full moon of *Baisakh*. This fair lasted for full three days. Many Gosains provided meals to their *murids* and other people.⁶⁰

The Katas fountain was a Tirath. Of the temple built round it the oldest was the one called *Ragunath ji ka Mandar*. The Katas Raj fair was held on 1st *Baisakh*, and the neighbouring villagers bathe on the *somavati amavasya* and at solar and lunar eclipses. Katas was derived from *katakh*, ‘an eye’, because at the creation water fell from the eye of Shiva at this spot and formed the spring. When the Pandus reached it all but Yudhishtara drank its water and became senseless, but he sprinkled some of the water on the them and restored their senses. Hence it was also called Amarkund. On the north-west the water was very deep and was believed to be fathomless, so Katas was also called *dharti ka netri* or ‘the eye of earth’. Stone images of Ram Chandar, Lakshman, Sita and Hanuman stand in the Raghunath *mandar*. They were five feet high. The temple was in charge of *bairagis* who recite Raghunath’s *mantra*. Other temples have been built by

⁵⁸ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 1975, 21; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar- V, 147.

⁵⁹ . The *purohit*, or the family priest, used to perform all ceremonies connected with births, marriages and deaths. Each *purohit* had its own *jajmans* or families for whom he alone performed ceremonies: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 102.

⁶⁰ . One day a *faqir* named Mukhand Das, a *murid* of Parma Nand whose spiritual succession ultimately was traced from Ramanand *bairagi*, was passing through the pasture. He happened to ask Sain Das for some milk. Sain Das replied that he could bring from the town milk with sugar mixed in it. The *faqir* pointed towards a cow which had not yet given birth to any calf and handed over his bowl (*tumba*) to the boy. Anxious to serve the *faqir*, he fell down at his feet. That divinely ordained *darvesh* drank a little and gave the rest to Sain Das. As soon as he drank it he lost consciousness and became totally immersed in divine light. The *faqir* touched him with his foot and brought him back to consciousness, saying that the outward profession of the world should not be abandoned; one should be inwardly inclined towards the love of God. Having said this he vanished Sain Das returned home with a bright countenance. Five sons had the good fortune of being born in his house. One was named Amar Das, the second was Narhar Das. Later known as Narhar Das Pura. The third was Bishan Das and the fourth Sukha Nand and the fifth was Rama Nand, who came to possess miraculous powers at the young age of twelve. He dived into a pool and vanished for ever to be one with God: Ibid, 102-103.

Rajas and private persons and *shivalas* were attached to them. The *pujaris* were Brahmans.⁶¹

At a distance of two *kos* from Katas was another pool of water known as Choa Saidan Shah. This, too, was a sacred place. A sacred place called Narsingh Pohar in the upper Sindh Sagar *doab* was connected obviously with the man-lion incarnation of *vishnu*.⁶² Many a devoted Hindu *darvesh* lives at this place. As an act of piety, the Hindus in general come here for bathing and worship and a fair was held here. The water of the pool was so cold that, it was said, a wooden stick left in it for a period on one year turns into a stone.⁶³ At Kuthala in the upper Bari *doab* was another *bairagi* establishment. More important than these was the establishment of Baba Lal at Dhianpur.⁶⁴ There was another *gaddi* of the *sadhs* of Baba Lal at Wazirabad. Perhaps more important than even these was the *vaishnava* establishment at Pindori in the upper Bari Doab.⁶⁵ Sayyidwala village known for the Chautara⁶⁶ of Ram-Lachman in the Rachna *doab*. Amongst the *darveshes* of this place was Prem Das, who had attained to divine knowledge.⁶⁷ The establishment of Baba Murar Das *bairagi* was in Gujranwala in the Rachna *doab*. He attained to divine knowledge through the grace of Baba Kashi Das of Baddoke. Many were the *murids* of his family.⁶⁸ Close to Amritsar was a *bairagi* establishment at Ram Tirath. Doda Ram

⁶¹. It situated towards Makhyala in the *ilaqa* of Khaun in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. It has been a sacred place for the Hindu people: Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (tr. Jit Singh Seetal), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968, 222; Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, 15; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes And Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol.I, 289.

⁶². Water falling from a height flower in a Channel, and irrigates the country. Land around was thus verdant and well cultivated: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 21; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar II (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2000, 149-50.

⁶³. Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (tr. into Punjabi by Kirpal Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, 54, 153, 194; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 47; Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, 15.

⁶⁴. Dhianpur was a place where Baba Lal, a perfect gnostic, used to alive in the region of Shah Jahan. Many a time, Muhammad Dara Shikoh, the son of Shah Jahan, met Baba Lal and benefitted from these meetings. Chander Bhan Brahman, a *munshi* has written a book containing the conversation between Dara Shikoh and Baba Lal: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 21, 135, 196.

⁶⁵. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 21, 96; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 147.

⁶⁶. Chautara or Chabutara in Punjabi means raised platform: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 109.

⁶⁷. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, 51; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 109.

⁶⁸. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 106.



Katas Tirath

Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=katas+tirath&safe=active&rlz>

bairagi was occupying the *gaddi* at Ram Tirath.⁶⁹ Dipalpur has the place of worship associated with Baba Lalu in the Bari *doab*.⁷⁰ About twelve *kos* from Lahore was the place of Baba Ram Thaman who was a *bairagi sadh*. It was an auspicious place.⁷¹ Talabpur Pandori was a place of worship associated with Bhagwan-Narain in the Bari *doab*.⁷²

The worship of the Goddess was surely not unknown in the early nineteenth century. There were two important *devidwaras* in Lahore in the Bari *doab*: one of Kalka and another of Bhaddar Kali.⁷³ The *mandar* of Kali Mata was situated in Lahore.⁷⁴ The Bhadar Kali temple was situated in the *mohalla* known as Phalla Lakhpat Rai.⁷⁵ This was the site of a great Hindu fair, six *kos* to the south of Lahore, near the village Niaz Beg. The fair was held in *jeth*, and was attended by multitudes of Hindus of both sexes, as well as by Mahomedans. People of all classes assembled from Lahore City but the people from the village who participated in the fair were mainly the Sikhs from Lahore and Amritsar. The attendance usually was more than several tens of thousands.⁷⁶ The object of worship was a *devi*, or goddess, placed in a dome. A much larger dome, close by, was constructed during the time of the Sikhs, and it was intended to remove the *devi* to it. But, it was said, the *devi* refused to go there. The *pujaris* saw her in a dream, saying that she was very comfortable where she was, and the votaries need not trouble themselves to provide her with another home, which would not suit her. Her order was obeyed, and she

⁶⁹. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1961, 246, 631; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar II, 265 ; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 21, 139.

⁷⁰. It was used to be in the jurisdiction of Multan but now belongs to the Punjab: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 140.

⁷¹. Ibid, 21, 132.

⁷². Ibid, 134.

⁷³. Ibid, 21, 121, 132.

⁷⁴. The Kali Mata, which was said to have the gift of making people happy, was worshipped daily by crowds of men and women. During the Nauratra, a fair was held here for nine days, and the income from offerings was large. Every Hindu who passes along the lane was bound to band his forehead before the propitious goddess. It was small, but handsome, and stands on a platform of stone, on which was placed the image of Kali Mata, made of black stone. She was seated beneath a dome of exquisite beauty. Two richly ornamented umbrellas were placed here. The smaller one, with a golden fringe, spreads over the image, and the larger one, which was equally costly, covers the dome. Both these umbrellas contribute largely to the picture sequences of the scene which the temple presents to the view: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 242.

⁷⁵. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 240.

⁷⁶. Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, New Academic Publishing Co., Jullundur, 1972, 287.

was kept where she was. The larger dome was now used to hold necessary articles belonging to the *mandar* and *pujaris*. The annual fair held here was the largest of all the Lahore fairs. It was held in the hottest season of the year; and the *mandar* being situated on open ground, without the shade of a tree, or a sufficient number of buildings to afford shelter to the thousands of people who resort to it, the greatest inconvenience was felt. In spite of all these drawbacks the great sanctity attached to the place has rendered the fair one of the most popular and numerously attended religious gatherings of the Panjab. The rich go furnished with tents and *shamianas*, while persons of moderate means avail themselves of temporary devices to shelter themselves from the burning rays of the sun. A large number of confectioners from the city attend the fair with a variety of sweetmeats. The fair was held amidst great rejoicings during one day and night.⁷⁷

There were two temples dedicated to the Devi situated in Gujrat in Chaj *doab*.⁷⁸ In Sodhara town in the Rachna *doab*, there were two temples of the Devi: one was dedicated to Kalka and another of Sitala Devi.⁷⁹ The temples of Kalka and Turt Phurni were in the city of Jalandhar in Bist Jalandhar *doab*.⁸⁰ In Garhdiwala near Hoshiarpur in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* there was a place of worship dedicated to the Goddess.⁸¹ In Jwalamukhi in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* there was a temple dedicated to the Devi.⁸² It was a place of great sanctity in the estimation of the Hindus, and Pilgrims come hither from all parts of India.⁸³ Kotla Khatrian village near Hafizabad has a place of worship

⁷⁷. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 199; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, 109.

⁷⁸. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 20, 62.

⁷⁹. Ibid, 20, 62.

⁸⁰. Ibid, 21, 142.

⁸¹. Ibid, 21, 143.

⁸². Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, 165-166, 186, 221-238; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 95; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, 148, 215, 485; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-III, 631, 718; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), Daftar IV, 1839-45, Punjab Itihas Parkashan, Chandigarh, 1972, 65; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, 1977, 32, 237-38., 283-84; B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 288-89; Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab* (tr. and ed. T.B. Jervis), (reprint-first published 1845), Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, 42-44.

⁸³. Moorcroft William & George Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalyan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul and Kundaz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825*, Punjab Language Department, Patiala, 1970 (reprint-first published in 1837), 69.

dedicated to Kalka Devi in the Rachna *doab*.⁸⁴ Temple of Kalka Devi and Durgiana temple was situated in Amritsar city in the Bari *doab*.⁸⁵

On the whole, numerous Hindu religious places dotted the region and played very significant role in the life of the people of Punjab. Total fifty seven sacred places belonged to Hindu religion. Religious places identified in the five *doabs* i.e. in the Rachna *doab*, the Bari *doab*, the Sindh Sagar *doab*, the Chaj *doab* and the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Four *thakurdwaras* in the Bari *doab*, one in the Sindh Sagar *doab* and three in Rachna *doab*, one in the Chaj *doab*. Dominant area of *thakurdwaras* was in the Bari *doab*. Thakurdwaras were mostly established in the urban areas. Jogis also established their establishment in different *doabs*, three establishments in the Bari *doab*, one in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, one in the Chaj *doab* and one in the Rachna *doab*. Dominant area of *jogis* was in the Bari *doab*. Jogis established their establishment mostly in the hilly and some also in rural areas. Shivdwaras were also important. Shivdwaras also established in the different parts of the Punjab. Nine *shivdwaras* were identified in the Bari *doab*, three in the Rachna *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, one *shivdawara* in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *shivdawara* was in the Bari *doab*. Shivdwaras mostly established in the urban areas. Vaishnavas establishments also prevalent in different *doab*, five were in the Bari *doab*, four in the Rachna *doab* and three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Dominant area of Vaishnavas was in the Bari *doab*. Vaishnavas established their establishments mostly in the rural areas. Goddess worship was also famous in Punjab. Four *devidwaras* were in the Bari *doab*, two in Lahore and two in Amritsar, two establishments in the Chaj *doab* and four in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and three in the Rachna *doab*. Goddess temple established mostly in the urban area but some of the temple also established in the rural areas. The area of dominate of Hindu sacred places was in the Bari *doab*. Ruling class took interest to make various establishments. People had the secular approach. Sikh people made the Hindu establishment, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia build a temple to *shiva* in Kapurthala.

⁸⁴. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 108.

⁸⁵. Ibid, 133.

II

In medieval Punjab, Islam spread to the grassroots through sufis, their monasteries (*khanqahs*), their mausoleums (*mazars*) and shrines (*dargahs*), their network of disciples (*murid*), their literature, their charitable activities, their love of music and their miraculous powers of charisma (*karamat*) and their use of the vernacular.⁸⁶ The shrines, *mazars*, and *dargahs* of the sufis facilitated the spread of Islam among the people of Punjab. A shrine was a sacred space encapsulating the presence of a particular *sufi* saint. It signified a continuous relationship between a living devotee and a saint who had departed to the other world but was not dead. People visited shrines in order to seek favours from the saints buried there. This kind of worship and devotion was similar to the ancient *guru-chela* practice prevalent among Hindus. Such forms of worship were the heritage of the Muslims of India through their Hindu origin and it became easy for saint-worship to become an integral part of Muslim religious life. The rationale of this perpetual relationship (between shrines and a devotee) was the unflinching faith and devotion which a devotee discerned the presence of a saint in his tomb. He perceived that his patron (*murshid*) listened to his petitions and would plead with God to sanction his requests. This intimate relationship which the devotee constructed and his beliefs that the departed saint reciprocated, formed the basis of shrine worship.⁸⁷

The Muslims too had several religious places like *khanqahs* and *mazars*. There were many *khanqahs* in Punjab, which were associated with *walis* and *faqirs* and have become place of pilgrimage. The most important *khanqahs* in the Punjab, where people came to fulfill their vows were the *khanqahs* of Khwaja Ali Hujwiri in Bari *doab*, Dudha Haqqani in Sindh Sagar *doab*, Hafiz Hayat in Chaj *doab*, Sayyid Qandhari Shah Wali Ulla in Sindh Sagar *doab* and Baqi Shah Aulia in Rachna *doab*.

Khwaja Ali Hujwiri, who popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh. It was believed to have left his own country and settled down in the city of Ghazani, in the reign of Sultan Mahmud. After some time, he came to Lahore in the Bari *doab*. At this time, many

⁸⁶. Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Society, Religion and Patriarchy: Exploring Medieval Punjab through Hir Waris*, 152.

⁸⁷. Ibid, 159.

Hindu Gujjars were living in Lahore. They became his followers and accepted Islam. On Friday, people come to his *mazar* in large numbers in different areas.⁸⁸ The *khanqah* of Dudha Haqqani⁸⁹, a Hindustani *darvesh*, who was famous for his power of performing miracles situated in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. This *khanqah* was still inhabited and was also famous as a place of pilgrimage. Many people came there.⁹⁰ The *khanqah* of Hafiz Hayat⁹¹ was situated near Dinga village in Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*.⁹²

Another important *khanqah* was the *khanqah* of Sayyid Qandhari Shah Wali Ulla in the Sindh Sagar *doab*.⁹³ All through the night a lamp remain burning at this place. They say that even if there was rain and wind, this lamp was not extinguished. This was the effect of his miraculous powers.⁹⁴ Baqi Shah Aulia was one of the eminent persons of Malerkotla,⁹⁵ settled down in Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab* and became known for his power of miracle. Everyone who attracted his kind notice became intoxicated with unity. Many persons attained to the knowledge of his attention. Three persons in particular became the men of miracles. One of them was Daim Shah whose *khanqah* was besides the *mazar* of Baqi Shah in the Ram Kutra of Wazirabad near Lahori Gate. The second was the venerable Hafiz Hayat who has been mentioned in connection with Gujrat. The third was Mai Durgo, a Hindu woman from a family of goldsmiths. Through her devoted services to Baqi Shah she became drenched in unity and outshone even the men of divine knowledge.⁹⁶ Besides these important *khanqahs*, there were some other *khanqahs* in

⁸⁸. He died in Lahore fourteen years later in A.H. 465 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznavi. Since he was the *sardar* of the *fuqara*, the date of his death is given in a chronogram containing the word *sardar*: 'the date of his death became *sardar*': J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 118; Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Society, Religion and Patriarchy: Exploring Medieval Punjab through Hir Waris*, 159.

⁸⁹. The *khanqah* was in Dangli *pargana* near Rawalpindi: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 43.

⁹⁰. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23, 43.

⁹¹. The *khanqah* of Hafiz Hayat was, near kot Mir Husain in the Chaj *doab*; Ibid, 67.

⁹². Hafiz Hayat, the gnostic, who lived during the reign of Ahmad Shah and died. To this day *darveshes* and his disciples themselves till the land and provide the travelers with meals all the time. Once a year, a large fair is held at this place on the 19th of the month of Muharram and people came there from different areas: Ibid, 24, 67.

⁹³. Sarai Hasan Abdal was a small town. Originally it belonged to Baba Hasan Abdal. Adjoining that place was a hillock with a declivity. On its summit was the *khanqah* of Sayyid Qandhari Shah Wali Ulla: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 39, 40.

⁹⁴. Ibid, 39, 40.

⁹⁵. In the reign of Ahmad Shah: Ibid, 97.

⁹⁶. Ibid, 97.

Punjab, of the holy men of Islam in Sialkot in the Rachna *doab*. Like those of Shah-i-Badshahan, Mir Bhil Shahid, Shah Munga Wali, Sayyied Surkh, Hazart Hamzah Ghaus and Sayyidan Nadir Sarmast⁹⁷ and the *khanqah* of Bahauddin.⁹⁸ The *khanqah* of Imam Nasiruddin and Sikandar Shah in Jalandhar in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*.⁹⁹ The *khanqah* of a *darvesh* named Jani was situated near the village of Jazera on the old highway in the Sindh Sagar *doab*.¹⁰⁰ The *khanqah* of Pir Jamal Shah, Pir Baba Hazari and Pir Fateh Din in Shaikhupura in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁰¹ The *khanqah* of Sayyid Miththa was famous in the city of Lahore, in the Bari *doab*.¹⁰² The *khanqah* of Sayyid Mansur who was famous for his austerities, situated in the south of the city, Eminabad in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁰³ The *khanqah* of Shah Burhan was situated in Chandiot city in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁰⁴ Shah-i-Jahangir, a carefree *darvesh*, too has been a contemporary of Hazart Shah Daula. His *khanqah* was established on the land of Gujrat. Sayyid Ila Dad in the Chaj *doab*, better known as the Jhuggi of Shah-i-Jahangir.¹⁰⁵

The *khanqah* of Shah Moti (or Moni), situated near Jahangirabad in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁰⁶ Qila Sobha Singh was the name of the city which was founded in *sammat* 1845 by Sardar Sobha Singh, the son of Bagh Singh. Formerly, there used to be only a mound where a *darvesh* named Bulaq Shah used to live under a banyan tree. His *khanqah* was now within the city in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁰⁷ One of them was Daim Shah whose *khanqah* was beside the *mazar* of Baqi Shah in the Ram Kutra of Wazirabad near Lahauri Gate in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁷. The spiritual guide of Shah Daula: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 86, 24.

⁹⁸. The *khanqah* of Bahauddin was in the village of Bahauddin in the 'ilaqa of Eminabad': Ibid, 24, 108.

⁹⁹. Ibid, 24, 142.

¹⁰⁰. Jani Sang was the name of the place which had the *khanqah* of a *darvesh* named Jani. The latter place had a domed mausoleum forming an island in water: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24.

¹⁰¹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 111.

¹⁰². Ibid, 24, 121.

¹⁰³. Ibid, 99.

¹⁰⁴. Ibid, 23, 109.

¹⁰⁵. Ibid, 39, 60.

¹⁰⁶. Ibid, 110.

¹⁰⁷. Ibid, 24, 76.

¹⁰⁸. Ibid, 24, 97.

There were many *mazars* in Punjab in the early nineteenth century. Well known mausoleum was that of Shah Abul Ma'ali. The *mazar* of Shah Abul Ma'ali in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. Many people come to this place for pilgrimage.¹⁰⁹ The *mazar* of Shaikh Farid, Ganj-i-Shakar; situated in Pakpatan in the Bari *doab*. Pakpatan, also called Ajodhan, situated in the Panjab, was a city of middling size. Shaikh Farid Shakarganj, son of Shaikh Jalaluddin, a descendant of Sulaiman Farrukh Shah Kabuli, breathed his last in this city on Saturday, the 5th of Muharram.¹¹⁰ His mausoleum here was a place pilgrimage, where people came to fulfill their vows.¹¹¹ A fair was held at the tomb each Friday, which was largely attended by both Mahomedans and Hindus.¹¹² It was believed that Shaikh Farid had undergone severe austerities in order to attain to the knowledge of God. For some time, he tied a wooden loaf on his stomach and remained busy in the remembrance of God. He became a perfect gnostic.¹¹³

In the reign of Ahmed Shah, Baqi Shah Aulia, who was one of the eminent persons of Malerkotla, settled down in Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab* and become known for his power of miracle. Everyone one attended his kind notice became intoxicated with unity. Many persons attained to the knowledge of God having received the bounty of his attention. Three persons in particular became the men of miracle. One of them was Daim Shah whose *khanqah* was besides the *mazar* of Baqi Shah in the Ram Katra of Wazirabad near Lahauri Gate. The second was the venerable Hafiz Hayat who has been mentioned in connection with Gujrat. The third was Mai Durgo, a Hindu woman from a family of

¹⁰⁹. Shah Khair-ud-din, better known as Abul Ma'ali, was a man of great sanctity during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. He was a native of Bhera, in the Shahpur. He built a great part of the mausoleum in his own life-time, but after his death, in 1616 A.D. the remaining portion of the building was completed by his son, Muhammad Bekar. A large fair was held on the anniversary of the saint, and the Mahomedan festival of Id-ul-Zuhawas also held here with great rejoicing and merriment. The splendid dome of this tomb was situated outside the Mochi Gate of the city: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 118; Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 203; B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279; Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Society, Religion and Patriarchy: Exploring Medieval Punjab through Hir Waris*, 160-161.

¹¹⁰. Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (tr. Jit Singh Seetal), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968, 224, 225; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 140; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 148, 189, 191, 197, 201.

¹¹¹. Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, 239.

¹¹². Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 180; Daljinder Singh, *Society and Culture as Reflected in Punjabi Literature (1750-1850)*, 239.

¹¹³. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 140; Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh*, 69; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Heer Waris Di Parcholl Te Visthaar*, 127.

goldsmiths. Though her devoted service to Baqi Shah she become drenched in unity and outshone even the men of divine knowledge.¹¹⁴ Hazrat Mian Mir in the region of Shah Jahan was a person adorned with the traditional and mystical branches of knowledge and possessed the power of miracles. He died on the 7th of Rabi al-Awwal, at the age of eighty years. His beautiful mausoleum (*mazar*) was a place of pilgrimage now. Mausoleum was in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. Of the disciples of Hazrat Mian, Mulla Shah has been a truth loving gnostic. Prince Dara Shikoh was his disciple and attained to divine knowledge.¹¹⁵ Close to Sarai Kala in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, was the *dheri*¹¹⁶ of Shah Fateh Khan who was one of the men of God.¹¹⁷ Zain al-Abidin's *mazar* was at a distance of four *kos* from the city of Multan in the Bari *doab*. Sultan Sarwar, it was said, was the son of Sultan Zain al-Abidin.¹¹⁸ The *mazar* of Mian Barkhurdar in Pasrur in the Rachna *doab*.¹¹⁹

The tomb of Pandi Shah, the *faqir* who attained preeminence by serving his old mother, was construction in *sammāt* 1864 in the town of Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*. Karam Shah the *faqir*, with his politeness of speech and perfect manner, enhance the grandeur of his *gaddi*.¹²⁰ The tomb of Malik Ayaz was in Lahore in the Bari *doab*, who was the favourite of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi, constructed a fort of burnt bricks in A.H. 410, and thought of increasing the population of the city. People in small numbers came from many places. It was believed that Malik Ayaz died in this city. Known to all, his tomb was opposite the mint-house.¹²¹ Shahdara was a town in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. The mausoleum of Emperor Nuruddin Jahangir stands beautifully in the garden of Nur Jahan Begam. Its site was extremely pleasing to the eyes. Shah Husain, a pearl among the men of miracle, also used to Shahdara. The tomb of Nur Jahan Begam was also at this

¹¹⁴. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 97.

¹¹⁵. Ibid, 118.

¹¹⁶. In Hindi language, the word *dheri* is used for a grave: Ibid, 41.

¹¹⁷. Sarai Kala was situated on the road to Peshawar. In its neighbourhood was the stream called Kala Pani over which was constructed a bridge in A.H. 1017, during the reign of Emperor Jahangir: Ibid, 41.

¹¹⁸. Ibid, 91.

¹¹⁹. Ibid, 24, 78.

¹²⁰. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 61-62.

¹²¹. The term used in the text is *dar-ul-zarb*; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 114.

place.¹²² Tomb of Mian Mir situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.¹²³ In Jalandhar in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*, the tomb of Bijli Khan, the Afghan, was a spacious place.¹²⁴

There were some mosques in the Punjab. A eunuch named Baru also belonged to Jalandhar. He was unrivalled in art of dancing and for his manner of jesting as a eunuch. His memory was preserved in a mosque of Jalalpur in the Chaj *doab*, and in that town there were many of his pupils.¹²⁵ In Gujrat in Chaj *doab*, there were two mosques, one of Hazrat Shah Waliulla and other was Muhammad Husain.¹²⁶ The mosque of Wazir Khan was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. On Thursday many people visit the mosque and congregate there.¹²⁷

On the whole total forty two sacred places belonged to Muslim religion. The *khanqah* and *mazar* played a significant role in the cultural integration of different religious communities and were located in the five *doabs*. People came there to fulfill their vows. The dominant area of the *khanqahs* was in the Rachna *doab*, with sixteen *khanqahs* there. Three located in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab*, two identify in the Bari *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Mazars were also located in the Punjab. Four located in the Bari *doab*, two in the Rachna *doab* and one in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Dominant area of *mazars* was in the Bari *doab*. Tomb and Mosque were also located in the Punjab in the different *doabs*. Four tombs were located in the Bari *doab*, one in Bist Jalandhar *doab* and one in the Chaj *doab*. Dominant area of tomb was in the Bari *doab*. Two mosque located in the Chaj *doab*, one in the Bari *doab*, and one in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. The area of dominate of Muslim sacred places was in the Rachna *doab*. The entire Muslims establishment i.e. *khanqah*, *mazar*, tomb and mosque some located in rural areas and some located in the urban areas.

¹²². J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 76, 111; Moorcroft William & George Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalyan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul and Kundaz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825*, 107.

¹²³. The saint was a descendant of the Caliph Umar, and his ancestors were natives of Sistan: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 174.

¹²⁴. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 142.

¹²⁵. Ibid, 69.

¹²⁶. Ibid, 59, 62.

¹²⁷. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 121.

III

There were many Sikh sacred places in the early nineteenth century i.e *gurdwaras*, *dharmsalas* and *udasi* establishments. There were many Sikh sacred places in the early nineteenth century Punjab. Amritsar was the most important Sikh sacred place in the Bari *doab*.¹²⁸ Every morning and evening a large number of people visited the *gurdwara* Harmandar Sahib.¹²⁹ On two occasions every year people come here for worship in unusually large number in different areas: the day of the *baisakhi* and the night of the *diwali*.¹³⁰ Maharaja Ranjit Singh also visited the Harmandar Sahib on several occasions and distributed alms and charities. There were many places of worship in this city. The foremost was the Harmandar Sahib, which was inside the Amritsar.¹³¹ Some of the other, *gurdwaras* were at Amritsar: Dera Baba Atal, Kaulsar, Bibeksar and Ramsar.¹³² Tarn Taran in the Bari *doab*, 11 miles from Amritsar, there was another important

¹²⁸. In the words of Ganesh Das it was the *tirath-i-kalan-i-sikhan-i-Guru Nanak*: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23; The town of Amritsar was founded in 1581. Guru Ram Das induced his devotees to join in the work under Bhai Buddha's guidance and employed many workers to assist him. Bhai Bhagtu and Bahil were specially mentioned for their untiring labour in the task of construction. Bhai Salo, another devotee of the Guru, collected many of his friends and relations and many other people engaged in various traders and profession and settled them people engaged in various traders and professions and settled them at *guru ka chak*. Guru Ram Das stayed in a hut which was subsequently enlarged and the Guru temporarily shifted his headquarters there. Later Guru Hargobind, the sixth Guru, stayed there and it came to be known to be known as *Guru Ke Mahal*. It was situated near *Guru Ka Bazar*. While the tank was being excavated, many houses were constructed in the vicinity for the residence of the Guru's Sikhs, visitors and workers. It became a place of pilgrimage : Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, Vivek Publishing Company, Delhi, 1976, 159-60; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, 190, 206, 322, 333; Moorcroft William & George Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalyan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul and Kundaz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825*, 1970, 110.

¹²⁹. Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh*, 144, 165, 226-27; H.L.O Garret and G.L. Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh (1810-1817)* (tr. & eds.), Punjab Government Record Office Publication, Monograph No. 17, Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 27, 32, 38, 44, 75, 126, 142, 179, 227, 231; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I V & V, Jawahar Singh Kirpal Singh & Company, Amritsar, 1955, 18, 51, 117, 164, 185, 191, 214.

¹³⁰. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III (tr. Vidya Sagar Sagar Suri), S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1961, 201-04, 241-43, 247-48, 252, 269, 271, 289, 310, 347, 374, 376, 379, 419, 429, 437, 440, 463, 496, 500, 525, 526, 530, 557, 586, 590, 591-93, 623, 647; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, 69, 99, 105, 108; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar V (tr. Vidya Sagar Sagar Suri), Dr R.S. Bawa Publishers, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002, 39.

¹³¹. Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, 153, 171, 203, 210, 223, 251, 261-62, 273, 281, 283; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: a study of 450 order in Persian* (tr. and ed.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1987, 90.

¹³². J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 132, 133, 139; Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans in Connexion with India and Persia*, Punjab Languages Department, Patiala, 1970 (reprint-first published 1847), 4 ; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: a study of 450 order in Persian*, 95.



Sri Harmandar Sahib

Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=SriHarmandar>

Sahib=active&rlz=1C1CHBF

gurdwara, where people visited in a large number from different areas.¹³³ Near Hasan Abdal in the Sindh Sagar *doab* was *gurdwara* Panja Sahib.¹³⁴ It was believed that during his travels, Baba Nanak came to this place. Baba Nanak arose and came to the foot of the declivity containing water, and sat there. The Sayyid Qandhari Shah Wali Ulla with his miraculous powers separated a rock from that hill and sent it hurtling towards Baba Nanak. The Baba stopped the rock with his hand and turned it into a pillow.¹³⁵ The stone received the mark of all the five fingers of his hand. It was still there and, since that day to the present, the place has been held in veneration. The praise of Baba Nanak was on every tongue.¹³⁶ Hasan Abdal (Panja Sahib) was visited by the Budhists, Hindus and Muslims alike.¹³⁷ In the Bari *doab* itself, there was *gurdwara* Dera Baba Nanak, the resting places of Guru Nanak, which had developed into a town on account of the residence of the descendent of Baba Lakshmi Chand, the younger son of Guru Nanak.¹³⁸

¹³³. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23; Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, 236; H.L.O Garret and G.L. Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh (1810-1817)*, 53, 232; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, 128-30.

¹³⁴. Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh*, 127; Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, 144.

¹³⁵. The word used in the original is *takia-gah*; literally, the place of rest. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 40; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 138, 185, 202-204, 209.

¹³⁶. Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Education and information, Pakistan, 1962, 17, 18; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 40; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 30, 67, 79, 151, 154; During the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the trans-Indus territory was annexed by Hari Singh Nalwa who got constructed a shrine with a tank on the spot. Later on, the shrine was replaced by a two-storeyed building depicting scenes from the life of Guru Nanak and other Gurus. The new building was designed after the style of the Samadhi of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore—a mixture of Hindu and Muslim architectural features culminating in a distinctive character. The site of Panja Sahib has been a sacred place since the Buddhist times. In early 7th century A.D. when Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller, visited this place, here stood a tank of limpid water sacred to King Elaptra and also a Buddhist monastery, the remains of which still exist; Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, 145-146.

¹³⁷. B.S. Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279; David Ross, *The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh: Sketches, Historical and Descriptive*, Language Department, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1970, 176; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: a study of 450 order in Persian*, 91.

¹³⁸. The Bedi Sahibzadas contemporary with Ganesh Das belonged to the eleventh generation from Guru Nanak and were all men of grace. Baba Sahib Singh Bedi was particularly mentioned by Ganesh Das. His *samadh* in Una was a place of pilgrimage :J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 1975, 23; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, 486, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-III, 311, 464-465; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 70, 83, 186, 236, 259; The land for the construction of the *gurudwara* was donated by the people of the area. The building which stands here today was constructed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh who decorated it with silver leaves: Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, 149-150; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: a study of 450 order in Persian*, 90, 187, 392.

There were some other *gurdwaras* also associated with the successors of Guru Nanak. Among these in the Bari *doab* were Khadur Sahib,¹³⁹ Goindwal Sahib,¹⁴⁰ and Sri Hargobindpur Sahib.¹⁴¹ Near Rohtas in the Sindh Sagar *doab* was the *gurdwara* Choa Baba Nanak.¹⁴²

Sialkot in the Rachna *doab*, could boast of two *gurdwaras* associated with Guru Nanak: Ber Baba Nanak and Baoli Baba Nanak, both of which had witnessed miracles performed by Guru Nanak.¹⁴³ Gurdwara Baoli Sahib was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. A Baoli with steps descending to the water level existed to the west of the Golden Mosque of Bhikari Khan. The *baoli* was built by Guru Arjan Dev with the money presented to him by Chhajju Bhagat. A '*langer khana*' (place where free food is supplied) was also attached to it. It was said that during the time of Guru Har Gobind, the *baoli* no longer in use, was filled up, the *langer khana* closed and a mosque built, at the site. In 1834 A.D. Maharaja Ranjit Singh fell ill and his astrologers advised him to excavate the *baoli* and take bath from its water.¹⁴⁴ The place was highly respected by the Hindus, who hold all their important meetings there. The Granth, or holy book, wrapped

¹³⁹ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23, 119; Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, 154.

¹⁴⁰ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23, 133; Goindwal, a town about 25 km from Tarn Taran, in Amritsar district, was connected with the lives of three Gurus-Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan. Goindwal was founded by Guru Amar Das. Before Angad left his mortal coil and anointed Guru Amar Das as the third Guru, he was asked by Guru Angad to go and stay at Goindwal : Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, 154; Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, 212.

¹⁴¹ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 138; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 131-133.

¹⁴² A *gurdwara* Choa Sahib at Rohtas in Jhelum was built close to the spring during the Sikh period. The *gurdwara* was extended and renovated recently. A spring used to flow close to the fortification wall of Rohtas fort. Guru Nanak was said to have ordered the spring to emerge and flow for the public use: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23, 45; Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh*, 65, 127, 141; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan*, 19.

¹⁴³ The *gurudwara* Bairi Sahib at Sialkot built at the site of the *bairi* tree situated at a distance of about two miles of the eastern outskirts of the town on Sialkot-Pasrur road. It was rebuilt by Maharaja Ranjit Singh who also endowed a large estate for its maintenance. This *gurudwara*, which has a beautiful gilded dome, also contain the *samadh* of Natha Singh Shahid. Baba Nanak, during his visit to Sialkot gave spiritual guidance to Hamza Ghaus, a Muslims saint. Here, Baba Nanak was said to have stayed under a *bairi* (plum) tree. Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, 123-124; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23, 86; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan*, 24; Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, 123.

¹⁴⁴ Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan*, 32; Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, 8; Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, 124.

up in valuable cloths, was reverentially placed on a raised platform, and the great kettle-drum was beaten every morning and evening to awaken the faithful to a sense of their duty to the Creator.¹⁴⁵

The *gurudwara* at Mozang, was situated in Lahore.¹⁴⁶ Close to Eminabad in the Rachna *doab* was an important *gurudwara* Rohri Baba Nanak.¹⁴⁷ Near Daska in the village of Ghalotian in the Rachna *doab* was a *gurudwara* connected with Guru Har Rai.¹⁴⁸ *Gurdwara* at Makhawal in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*, where Guru Gobind Singh used to have his residence and *gurudwara* of Kiratpur, where Guru Hargobind and Guru Har Rai used to live in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*, between the rivers Bias and Satlej.¹⁴⁹ A *samadh* and *gurudwara* was built at Jamrud in Peshawar in the Sindh Sagar *doab*.¹⁵⁰

There were many *dharmsalas* in Punjab, three in the city of Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*, two of these have remained in existence over a long time and have been the places of worship since olden times. One of these was that of Bhai Qandhara Singh who was a devotee of God and lived in solitude. It was said that Guru Hargobind too once stayed in this *dharmsala*. The other *dharmsala* was that of Bhai Kesar Singh who was pre-eminent

¹⁴⁵. He acted accordingly, and was said to have been cured by the bath. He lost no time in demolishing the mosque, and all the present buildings, consisting of rooms, chambers and balconies were constructed by him in the course of five years, at an outlay of seventy thousand rupees. A tank was also constructed close to it, which used to be filled with the water of the *baoli*, but was now dry: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 238-39.

¹⁴⁶.Guru Har Gobind resided in Lahore in the Bari *doab* for sometimes. His residence at Mozang was later on converted into a *gurudwara*. The *gurudwara* at Mozang, Lahore was held in high esteem during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and is still one of the very sacred places of the Sikhs: Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan*, 38.

¹⁴⁷. Here Guru Nanak made his bed on a platform of *rori* (pebbles). This platform became a place of veneration for his followers and during the Sikh rule; a *gurudwara* was built here to commemorate the memory of the Guru. The *gurudwara*'s imposing building of cut-piece work stands even today. Some of the pebbles which formed part of the platform on which Guru Nanak made his bed have been preserved in the *gurudwara*: Surinder Singh Johar, *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*, 118; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23, 99; Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, 224.

¹⁴⁸. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23, 113.

¹⁴⁹. Ibid, 140.

¹⁵⁰.Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa was a Sikh general in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army. During his governorship at Hazara he strengthened the Sikh rule in this area. On 30th April 1837 A.D., Muhammad Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mumammad Khan, Amir of Kabul, attacked the Sikh post at Jamrud. Hari Singh Nalwa who was commanding the Sikh Army, fought bravely but was fatally wounded. A *samadh* and *Gurudwara* was built in the memory of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa: Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan*, 56.

for his religious devotion.¹⁵¹ The third *dharmsala* of Guru Hargobind, called Kotha Guru, was a place of worship since olden times.¹⁵² The *sarai* of Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab* in which the Maharaja used to stay was a beautiful place; it has a pleasing garden and a high tower.¹⁵³ There was a two-storied *dharmsala* of the *udasi faqirs*, in Shahdara in the Rachna *doab* for the followers of Nanak. Travellers stay in this building.¹⁵⁴ Amritsar was the main centre of the pilgrimage for the Sikhs in, situated in the Bari *doab*. There were many *dharmsalas* in this city, i.e the *dharmsala* of Bhai Salo, the *dharmsala* of the Nirmala *sadhs*, the *dharmsala* of the *sadhs* of Prem Das, the *dharmsala* of Bhai Ratan Singh, the *dharmsalas* of Bhai Ram Singh, Bhai Karam Singh and the *dharmsala* of *sardars*.¹⁵⁵ Pul Kanjri was a well-known place on the road from Amritsar to Lahore in the Bari *doab*, with a *dharmsala* belonging to Gangu Shah Mehra, a *sahukar* of Lahore.¹⁵⁶

There were several references to the *udasis* which are unambiguous. The largest concentration of *udasi akharas*, however, was in Amritsar in the Bari *doab*, the *akhara* of Baba Santokh Das, the *akhara* of Ganga Ram Biakarni, the *akhara* of Advait Brahm and the *akhara* of Kanshiwala, the *akhara* of *sadhus*.¹⁵⁷ Ram Kaur, whose *samadh* in Kot Nainan was a place of pilgrimage, was clearly an *udasi faqir* in the Rachna *doab*. The *akhara* of Sent Rein *udasi*, outside the town of Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab*, was well known.¹⁵⁸ At Bahadurpur in the Jalandhar *doab* there was *deras* of *udasi sadhs*.¹⁵⁹ Tahli Baba Sri Chand, which was an important place of the *udasi faqir*, was close to Dera Baba Nanak. Meals were provided here to all visitors. Ramdas was a place held in veneration by the *udasi sadhs*. Both were situated in the Bari *doab*.¹⁶⁰

On the whole, it is seen that Sikh religious places also very important. Total forty three sacred places belonged to Sikh religion. There were many *gurdwaras* in the Punjab. Twelve *gurdwaras* in the Bari *doab*, three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, three in the Rachna

¹⁵¹ . J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 22, 62.

¹⁵² . Ibid, 22, 95.

¹⁵³ . Ibid, 22, 95.

¹⁵⁴ . Shahdara was a town on the bank of river Ravi on the opposite side of Lahore: Ibid, 111.

¹⁵⁵ . Ibid, 133.

¹⁵⁶ . Ibid, 139.

¹⁵⁷ . Ibid, 133.

¹⁵⁸ . J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 22, 97.

¹⁵⁹ . Ibid, 23, 135.

¹⁶⁰ . Ibid, 137.

doab and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *gurdwaras* was in the Bari *doab*. Dharmsalas were also located in different parts of Punjab. Eight were found in the Bari *doab*, three in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Rachna *doab*. Dharmsalas found in the Bari *doab* in large number. Udasi *akharas* were also important establishments. Seven establishments in the Bari *doab*, two in the Rachna *doab* and one in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *udasi akharas* was in the Bari *doab*. The area of dominate of Sikh sacred places was in the Bari *doab*. Dharmsalas and *udasi's akharas* mostly established in the rural area but *gurdwaras* established in rural and as well as in the urban areas.

IV

Besides these Hindu, Muslim and Sikh sacred places there were some popular shrines or popular pilgrimage in Punjab. There have been many gnostics in the world among both Hindus and Muslims. Some of them have left a name behind but many of them have remained anonymous. Annual or seasonal fair being held at place of Hindu and Muslim worship. One of the most popular shrines in the Panjab was at Dharaunkal at a distance of two *kos* from Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab*. It was associated with Sultan Sarwar, better known as Sakhi Sarwar because of his generosity in redeeming people. From many parts of the Panjab, people used to send offerings to Dharaunkal through the well acknowledged agency of the drum-beating *bhar'ais*. The *mazar* of Sakhi Sarwar was actually outside the Panjab in the 'foot hills of Baluchistan'. The *zamindars* of the village Lohan in the *pargana* of Parsur were the followers of Sakhi Sarwar; they had raised a structure to him became famous as a *murid* of Sakhi Sarwar.¹⁶¹ Another popular shrine was the tomb of Madho Lal Husain in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. The tomb of Madho Lal Husain was situated north of the village Baghbanpura.¹⁶² A large fair was held on the day

¹⁶¹. A place near the Lahauri Gate in Lahore was a popular resort of the people who wanted to give offerings in the name of Sakhi Sarwar: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 78, 91, 122; H.L.O Garret and G.L. Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh (1810-1817)*, 222; Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Society, Religion and Patriarchy: Exploring Medieval Punjab through Hir Waris*, 13, 162.

¹⁶². It was said that Madho was a Hindu boy of beautiful appearance. His beauty made a strong impression upon the heart of Lal Husain, a holy man. He solicited the boy from his parents, in order to make him his disciple, but his request was not complied with. In a few days after the boy expired, and his parents, being melancholy, repaired to Lal Husain, imploring him in mercy to restore their son Madho to life. On hearing this, Lal Hussain stipulated with them, that if their son Madho came to life again, they should allow him to

of Basant Panchami in the month of *phagun* on the *mazar* of Madho Lal Husain.¹⁶³ The Shrine of Sitla Mata was dedicated to the goddess of the Small Pox, was the popular shrine at the early nineteenth century. It was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.¹⁶⁴

The Chaubara of Chhajju Bhagat in Lahore in the Bari *doab* was a popular place of pilgrimage.¹⁶⁵ He has been a person of divine knowledge among the people of Hind. He possessed the powers of miracle.¹⁶⁶ Chhajju was a godly man who flourished in the time of Shah Jahan. He was a resident of Lahore and Bhatia by caste. He was a *saraf*, a dealer in bullion and ornaments. He was a devotee of God and was famous for his fair dealings and honesty. Later life was spent by him in meditation and prayer. He died in 1640 A.D. The *chaubara* or Chhajju as his place of worship was situated within Dhal Mohalla, and another *chaubara* outside Shah Alami Gate, Lahore. Maharaja Ranjit Singh held this place in great respect. He visited it every Monday and made large offerings of money, sweets and *halwa* at the shrine. He built spacious chambers and rooms for the accommodation of *sadhus*, and granted revenue-free land for its maintenance. Each

become his disciple. The poor parents agreed to Husain. He then lived for a long time, served Lal Husain and acquired divine knowledge: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 1975, 24, 118; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: a study of 450 order in Persian*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1987, 111; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 257; B.S. Nijjar, *Punjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279; G.C. Narang, *Transformation Of Sikhism*, New Book Society of India, New Delhi, 1960, 57-58.

¹⁶³. Many stories were told of the miracles performed by Lal Husain. It was said he spent his nights in repeating the Koran by heart in a standing posture in the Ravi. He died in 1599 A.D. and was buried at Shahdara. A few years after, as predicated by the saint, the grave was swept away by the overflow of the Ravi. Madho exhumed the corpse, and, with due formalities, buried it in the present locality: Mohan Lal, *Travel in the Punjab, Afganistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Heart and a visit to Great Britain and Germany*, 11; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 52, Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 130.

¹⁶⁴. It was situated on the side of the circular road, outside the city, between the Shah' Almi and Lohari Gates in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. It was a place of great worship to the Hindus, especially the mothers of children affected with small-pox. They consider it of paramount importance to please the goddess in order to secure her favour for such children. Consequently, the Sitla Mai, or Small Pox Mother, was worshipped, and oblations were laid before it and offerings made. When a child was cured of small-pox, the parents come here to make presents in money and sweetmeats. In the *mandar* were the images of *devi Ji* and *shiv Ji* Maharaj, which were worshipped. The other objects of worship in the shrine were a *pipal* tree and a *jand* tree, around which a *pacca* platform has been built, with the images of a lion, made of stone. There were cells and rooms for the accommodation of *sants* and *sadhs*, and altogether the institution was in a flourishing condition: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 206.

¹⁶⁵. Ibid, 128; H.L.O Garret and G.L. Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh (1810-1817)*, 168.

¹⁶⁶. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 25, 120.



The Tomb of MadhoLal Husain

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madho_Lal_Hussain

Monday and Tuesday a fair was held at this place, and crowds of men, women and children assembled there and musicians sang sacred songs.¹⁶⁷

Mazar of Imam Ali al-Haqq situated in Sialkot in the Rachna *doab*. A *mazar* in Sialkot commemorated an event that was supposed to have occurred in the late tenth century, the martyrdom of Imam Ali al-Haqq and his companions who had died fighting against Raja Salbahan, the second. Muslim from all directions used to come to this *mazar* in the month of Muharram by way of pilgrimage. One of the companions of Imam Ali al-Haqq was Saiyid Sabzwar who had attained to martyrdom. His tomb was at a place called Pir Sabz. Among the popular place of pilgrimage was the tomb of Shah Husain in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.¹⁶⁸ The miracle play of Husain was popular.¹⁶⁹ At a distance of three *kos* from Batala in the village of Dayaliwal in Bari *doab* was the *mazar* of Shamuddin Daryali whose followers were the Hindu descendants of Dayali Ram.¹⁷⁰ The places of the *panj pir* and the *pir-i-ghaib* were places of pilgrimage in the Jalandhar *doab*.¹⁷¹

Samadhs were important places for Sikh people in the early nineteenth century. There were important *samadh* in Punjab i.e. the *samadh* of Haqiqat Rai was situated east of Mauzah Kot Khwaja Sai'd at Lahore in the Bari *doab*.¹⁷² Jeoni, the wife of Raj Kaur

¹⁶⁷. The *samadhi* or tomb of Chhajju was built of marble: H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1982, 422.

¹⁶⁸. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 86, 20.

¹⁶⁹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 24, 25, 91; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: a study of 450 order in Persian*, 74, 96, 113.

¹⁷⁰. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 25, 138.

¹⁷¹. Ibid, 142.

¹⁷². This was the martyrdom of a 15 year old school boy, named Haqiqat Rai. He was the son of Baghmal, a Puri *khatri* of Sialkot. He was a clerk in the office of Amir Beg, the district officer of Sialkot. There were no Hindu schools in those days. Hence Haqiqat Rai studied in a Muslim maktab. He was very intelligent, and beat all Muslim students in Persian, not to speak of Arithmetic. The boys were generally jealous of him. According to the prevailing he was married at the age of ten in a Sikh family of Wadala. There he heard the story of sacrifices of Gurus and the Sikhs, and felt deeply impressed. One day some of his school fellow abused Hindu gods and goddesses Haqiqat retorted by abusing Prophet Muhammad's daughter, Fatima. A report was lodged with the Qazi whose judgement was either conversion to Islam or death. Amir Beg tried his best to save the child, but the Qazi was adamant. The case was forwarded to Zakariya Khan at Lahore. He took a lenient view of the forwarded to Zakariya Khan at Lahore. He took a lenient of the matter and was inclined to set the boy free. The Muslims gathered in thousands before the Governor's courts and demanded that the Qazi's decision must be upheld. Zakariya Khan referred the case to the provincial Qazi who confirmed the previous judgment. Zakariya Khan was helpless. No persuasion or pressure succeeded in forcing the boy to accept Islam. He was beheaded. A *smadh* was built over his ashes. A great fair was held there on Basant Panchami day: Ibid, 116; Ganda Singh (ed.), *Punjab Dian Varan*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University Patiala, 2008, 5-42; H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol II, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1982, 48-49; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century*

Kohli, had immense love for her husband. When he died at a young age in the month of *har*, she immolated herself on his funeral pyre. Her *samadh* was on the bank of the stream called Pilkhu on the way to Gujrat, near Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab* and has become a place of worship for the people of Hindustan.¹⁷³ The *samadh* of Baba Lal Daryai was in Ramnagar in the Rachna *doab*, a *bairagi* who became the instrument of many miracles in the reign of Aurangzeb. Two persons from amongst his *murids* became men of piety and grace, Sant Das and Sain Das. Many people have become their followers.¹⁷⁴

The *samadh* of Gosain Billu Sahib Bairagi was in the village of Wadala Sandhuan in Gujranwala in the Rachna *doab* and his descendant Ram Das was a gnostic. Many people were their *murids*.¹⁷⁵ Beside these important *samadhs*, there were some other *samadh* also situated in Punjab. Baba Pohla Ram Bairagi's *samadh* was in Bahlolpur in the Chaj *doab*. Baba Pohla Ram *bairagi* an accomplished gnostic who had left Gujrat towards the close of his life, died at Bahlolpur in A.H. 869 and his *samadh* was still there.¹⁷⁶ The *samadh* of Baba Balram Das Bairagi, who was a man of purity, was situated near the fort and the city of Shaikhupura in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁷⁷ A tank, situated towards the western gate of the town of Gujrat, has been left behind by Bhai Ramji. Previously it was a *kaccha* pond associated with the name of Baba Pohlo Ram, his spiritual guide, and was later, made *pacca*, and the *samadhs* of Baba Ramji and Baba Lachhman Das now exist near the tank in the Chaj *doab*.¹⁷⁸ Baba Sain Das Gosain who attained to divine knowledge and possessed belonged to Baddoki Gosain village in the Rachna *doab*. His *samadh* was a place of worship here.¹⁷⁹ The *samadh* of Diwan Amir Chand in Qadirabad in the Chaj *doab*.¹⁸⁰ The *samadh* of Ram Kaur, an *udasi faqir* of the order of Nanak Shah

Punjab, 152-153; Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 245; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Punjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279.

¹⁷³. From the very beginning a temple dedicated to Mahadev was constructed close to the *samadh*: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 95.

¹⁷⁴. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 107.

¹⁷⁵. Ibid, 21, 106.

¹⁷⁶. Ibid, 21, 51.

¹⁷⁷. Ibid, 111.

¹⁷⁸. Ibid, 61-62.

¹⁷⁹. This village was in the administrative jurisdiction of the *chakla* of Lalu Panju: Ibid, 102.

¹⁸⁰. Ibid, 73.

was a place of pilgrimage in kot Naina in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁸¹ Ramdas was a place in the Bari *doab*, held in veneration by the *udasi sadhs*. The *samadh* of Ram Kaur, who was a pious gnostic, was situated in the Bari *doab*.¹⁸² Samadh of a *sadh* Ram Lila was in Sambrial in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁸³ Samadh of Sardar Sahib Singh (ruler of Gujrat) was situated in Bejwat in the Chaj *doab*.¹⁸⁴ The *samadh* of *shahids* and *murids* were situated in Amritsar in the Bari *doab*.¹⁸⁵ The *marhi* of Thakur Das was situated in the town of Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*.¹⁸⁶

Samadh of Sardar Charrat Singh was in Gujranwala in the Rachna *doab*. A *samadh* was built over the place where he was cremated.¹⁸⁷ Samadh of Sardar Mahan Singh was also in Gujranwala in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁸⁸ Samadh of Bhai Vasti Ram was situated in Lahore.¹⁸⁹ Jamadar Khushal Singh's *samadh* was situated in Lahore.¹⁹⁰ Maharaja Ranjit Singh *samadh* lies in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.¹⁹¹ Maharaja Sher Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who came to power in 1841 A.D., was assassinated by Ajit

¹⁸¹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 22, 76.

¹⁸². Ibid, 137.

¹⁸³. Sambrial was a large village, almost a town. A *sadh* named Ram Lila has been the master of perfection here, so much so that he kept sitting at one place in a *dharamsala* for twenty years without any victuals. His *samadh* was at this very place. For having served him, Dayal Singh Granthi and Sehaj Ram Khatri attained to happy fortune: Ibid, 22, 88-89.

¹⁸⁴. Bejwat was the *tappa*. In its vicinity stands the *samadhs* of Sardar Sahib Singh, the ruler of Gujrat, who died in *sammat* 1871: Ibid, 51.

¹⁸⁵. Ibid, 133.

¹⁸⁶. Ibid, 57-58.

¹⁸⁷. Sardar Charrat Singh, grandfather of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, established a stronghold at Gujranwala. He was killed in 1772 when his matchlock bursted: Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 48.

¹⁸⁸. Sardar Mahan Singh was a father of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He established his supremacy over other petty chiefs of the Punjab. He, in alliance with Sardar Jassa Singh and Sansar Chand, defeated Jai Singh Kanahya in 1785 A.D. In 1792 A.D., while he besieged Gujrat, he fell ill and died. His *samadh* which has a high dome was built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, over the place where his body was cremated: Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan*, 48.

¹⁸⁹. Bhai Vasti Ram was the spiritual guide of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He died at Lahore and his *samadh* was built adjacent to the northern defense wall of old fort in the Bari *doab*. Built in marble the *samadh* was a small architectural monument of some beauty: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 244; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 48.

¹⁹⁰. He was the Prime Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, died in 1844 A.D. His *samadh* was situated south of the *samadh* of Ram Singh in the Bari *doab* and occupies the place where he was cremated: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 244; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 48.

¹⁹¹. Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) was the most powerful Sikh ruler of Punjab. He ruled from 1799 to 1839 A.D. It was a mixture of Hindu and architecture, substantially Hindu with Mahomedan details, and was built of stone in a plain, unpretending style. The front of the doorway has images of Ganesh, Devi and Brahma, the Hindu deities, cut in red sand-stone. The ceilings were gorgeously decorated with small convex mirrors, set in white cement: Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 53.

Singh of Sindhianwala on 15th September, 1843 A.D. His *samadh* situated on the west of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's *samadh*, was a simple shrine of brick masonry. West of the *samadh* of Sher Singh was the *samadh* of his wife Randhavi. East of Sher Singh's *samadh* was the *samadh* of another wife Rani Partap Kaur.¹⁹² The *samadhs* of Raja Suchet Singh and Udham Singh were situated in the same courtyard near the *samadh* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.¹⁹³ Raja Teja Singh, a Commander in Sikh army, died in 1863 A.D. His *samadh*, situated outside Masti Gate, was built under the superintendence of Rai Mul Singh.¹⁹⁴ The *samadh* of Raja Teja Singh was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.¹⁹⁵ Ram Singh's *samadh* was in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.¹⁹⁶

On the whole, it is seen popular shrines also very important. People of Punjab visited these shrines for their belief and faith. People of Punjab gave respect and honour to all popular pilgrimage. There were thirty seven popular shrines located in the Punjab. Eighteen located in the Bari *doab*, eleven in the Rachna *doab*, six in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of popular shrines was in the Bari *doab*. Popular shrines established in the urban areas and in the rural areas. People of all religion came to these popular shrines for worship. Fairs also held at these pilgrimages.

V

On the whole, it is seen that many religious places of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh were located in the Punjab. There were total one hundred and seventy nine sacred places in the

¹⁹². Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 245; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 1962, 54.

¹⁹³. Raja Suchet Singh fell fighting hand to hand against an unequal number of Sikh troops under his nephew Raja Hira Singh, in the mausoleum of Mian Wadda. Udham Singh, eldest son of Maharaja Gulab Singh, met his death through the accidental fall of a portion of masonry work while passing one of the gates of the Hazuri Bagh, in the company of Prince Nau Nihal Singh, who also died by the same accident: Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 45; Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 244.

¹⁹⁴. Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 55.

¹⁹⁵. The building, which was octagonal was made throughout of marble, and was covered with a high dome of the same material: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, New Imperial press, Lahore, 1892, 243; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 55.

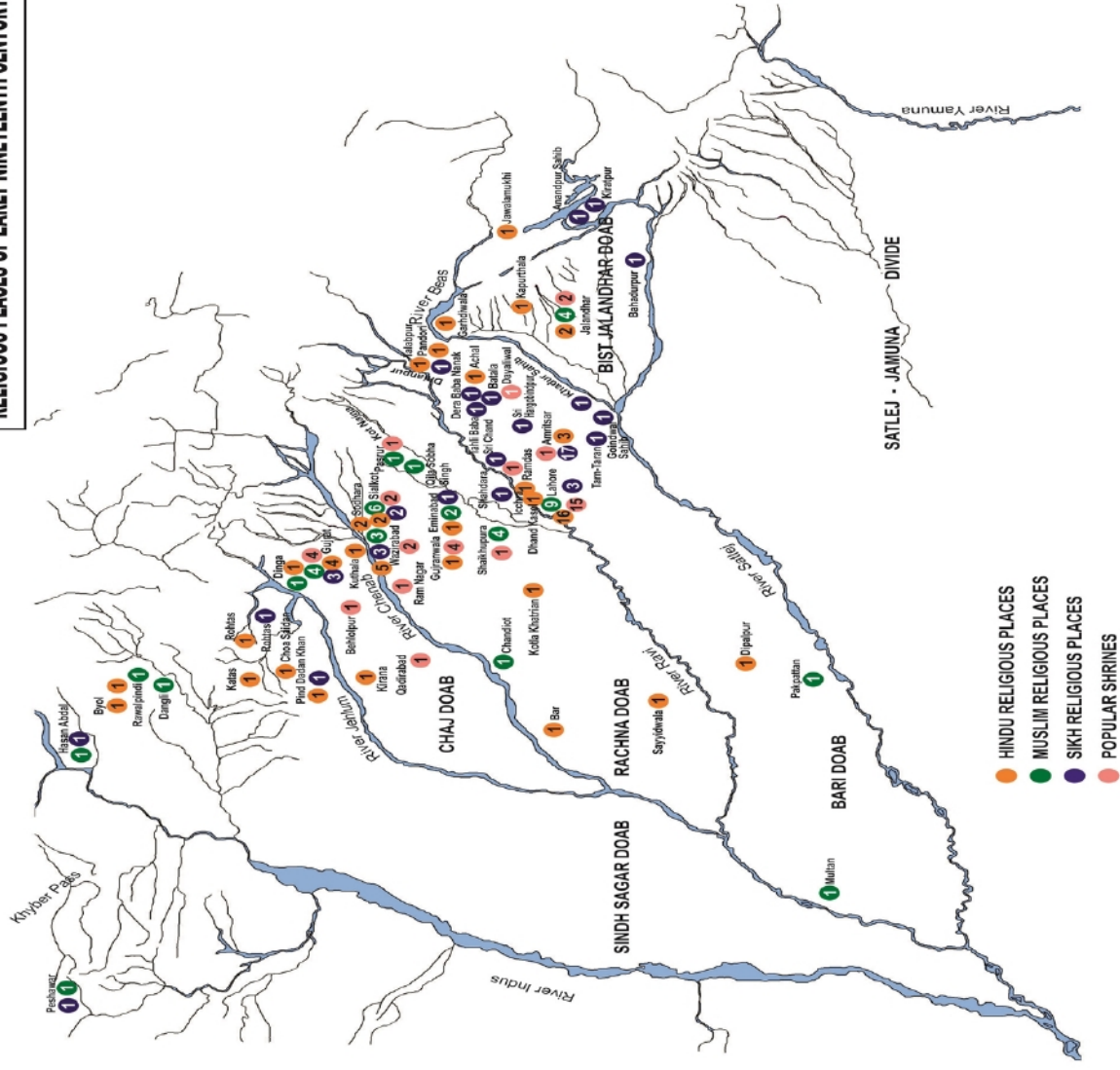
¹⁹⁶. Ram Singh, son of Jamadar Khushal Singh, was a very able young man, well versed in Arabic and Persian. He died during his father's life-time, and this *samadh* was built to his memory by his affectionate father in 1839 A.D. It was a highly finished *samadh*, with spacious rooms attached to it. The floor was of marble, inlaid with flowers of cornelian and black-stone. The dome was majestic, and was surmounted by a golden pinnacle. The walls and the recesses were ornamented. The temple was attached to the *samadh*, in which *shiv ji* was worshipped: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 244.

RELIGIOUS PLACES OF EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB

This map illustrates the geographical distribution of religious sites in Punjab during the early nineteenth century. The region is divided into several doabs (Sindh Sagar, Rachna, Chaj, Bist Jalandhar, and Bari) by major river systems including the River Indus, River Ravi, River Sutlej, River Beas, and River Yamuna. The Satlej-Jamuna Divide is also marked. Religious places are categorized by color: orange for Hindu, green for Muslim, purple for Sikh, and pink for popular shrines. Many sites are numbered, indicating their relative importance or frequency. Key locations include Peshawar, Kohat Pass, Kas, Bahawalpur, Multan, and various sites along the riverbanks and in the doabs.

Legend:

- HINDU RELIGIOUS PLACES (Orange)
- MUSLIM RELIGIOUS PLACES (Green)
- SIKH RELIGIOUS PLACES (Purple)
- POPULAR SHRINES (Pink)



Punjab. Eighty one places located in the Bari *doab*, fifty in the Rachna *doab*, fourteen in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, twenty in the Chaj *doab* and fourteen in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. The Bari and Rachna *doabs* thus, had the largest proportion of religious places. 46% places located in the Bari *doab* and 28% located in the Rachna *doab*. Fifty seven sacred places belonged to Hindu religion, forty three belonged to Sikh religion, forty two belonged to Muslim religion and thirty seven popular pilgrimages. 32% sacred places belonged to Hindu religion, 24% belonged to Sikh religion, 23% belonged to Muslim religion and 20% belonged to popular pilgrimages. Hindu religious places were *thakurdwaras*, *shivdwara*, *vaishnava* establishment, *devidwaras* and *jogi* establishment. Sikh places were *gurdwaras*, *dharmshalas* and *udasi* establishments. Muslims places were *khanqahs*, *mazars*, tombs and mosques.

Numerous Hindu religious places dotted the region and played very significant role in the life of the people of Punjab. Religious places can be identified in all the five *doabs* i.e. in the Rachna *doab*, the Bari *doab*, the Sindh Sagar *doab*, the Chaj *doab* and the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Four *thakurdwaras* in the Bari *doab*, one in the Sindh Sagar *doab* and three in the Rachna *doab*, one in the Chaj *doab*. Dominant area of *thakurdwaras* was in the Bari *doab*. *Thakurdwaras* were mostly established in the urban areas. *Jogis* also established their establishment in different *doabs*, three establishments in the Bari *doab*, one each in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, in the Chaj *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*. Dominant area of *jogis* was in the Bari *doab*. *Jogis* established their establishment mostly in the hilly and some also in rural areas. *Shivdwaras* were also important. *Shivdwaras* also established in the different parts of the Punjab. Nine *shivdwaras* were identify in the Bari *doab*, three in the Rachna *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, one *shivdawara* in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *shivdawara* was in the Bari *doab*. *Shivdwaras* too were mostly established in the urban areas. *Vaishnavas* establishments also prevalent in different *doab*, five were in the Bari *doab*, four in the Rachna *doab* and three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Dominant area of *Vaishnavas* was in the Bari *doab*. *Vaishnavas* established their establishments mostly in the rural areas. Goddess worship was also famous in Punjab. Four *devidwaras* were in the Bari *doab*, two in Lahore and two in Amritsar, two establishments in the Chaj *doab* and four in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and three in the Rachna *doab*. Goddess temple established

mostly in the urban area but some of the temple also established in the rural areas. The area of dominate of Hindu sacred places was in the Bari *doab*. Ruling class took interest to make various establishments. People had the secular approach. Sikh people made the Hindu establishment, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia build a temple to *shiva* in Kapurthala.

People visited Muslims shrines, to fulfill their vows. The dominant area of the *khanqahs* was in the Rachna *doab*, with sixteen *khanqahs* there. Three located in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab*, two identify in the Bari *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Mazars were also located in the Punjab. Four located in the Bari *doab*, two in the Rachna *doab* and one in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Dominant area of *mazars* was in the Bari *doab*. Tomb and Mosque were also located in the Punjab in the different *doabs*. Four tombs were located in the Bari *doab*, one in Bist Jalandhar *doab* and one in the Chaj *doab*. Dominant area of tomb was in the Bari *doab*. Two mosque located in the Chaj *doab*, one in the Bari *doab*, and one in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. The area of dominate of Muslim sacred places was in the Rachna *doab*. The entire Muslims establishment i.e. *khanqah*, *mazar*, tomb and mosque some located in rural areas and some located in the urban areas.

Sikh also visited their religious places. There were many *gurdwaras* in the Punjab. Twelve *gurdwaras* in the Bari *doab*, three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, three in the Rachna *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *gurdwaras* was in the Bari *doab*. Dharmsalas were also located in different parts of Punjab. Eight were found in the Bari *doab*, three in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Rachna *doab*. Dharmsalas found in the Bari *doab* in large number. Udasi *akharas* were also important establishments. Seven establishments in the Bari *doab*, two in the Rachna *doab* and one in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *udasi akharas* was in the Bari *doab*. The area of dominate of Sikh sacred places was in the Bari *doab*. Dharmsalas and *udasi's akharas* mostly established in the rural area but *gurdwaras* established in rural and as well as in the urban areas.

The people of the Punjab visited these shrines for their belief and faith. People of Punjab gave respect and honour to all these popular pilgrimage. There were thirty seven popular shrines located in the Punjab. Eighteen located in the Bari *doab*, eleven in the

Rachna *doab*, six in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of popular shrines was in the Bari *doab*. Popular shrines established in the urban areas and in the rural areas. People of all religion came to these popular shrines for worship. Fairs also held at these pilgrimages. Besides these religious places people of Punjab also visit Dwarka (Banaras), Gaya, Jagannath Puri, Hardwar, Kurukshetra, Mecca and the Ganga, Jamuna and Ravi rivers for religious and ceremonial bath.

People followed their own religion but they respected other's religion also. The Ruling class took interest in construction to make various sacred places. Raja Gulab Singh build a *thakurdwara* in Pind Dadan Khan in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, Maharaja Gulab Singh Jamwal construction a *shiva* temple in Dinga situated in the Chaj *doab*, diwan Kishan Kaur build a new temple of Shiva in Rawalpindi, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia build a temple to *shiva* in Kapurthala. Maharaja Ranjit Singh had the secular approach for the others religion. Maharaja Ranjit Singh visited the many sacred places, of the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims such as the Harmandir Sahib ji, Tarn Taran Sahib ji, Punja Sahib ji, Siri Nankana Sahib ji, Manja Sahib ji, Dera Baba Nanak Ji, Bawali Sahib Ji, Ram Tirth, Jawalaji, Katas, Mausoleum of Hazart Ganj Bakhsh Hujveri, Shah Abul Ma' ali, *khanqah* of Madho Lal Hussain. Maharaja Ranjit visited their on many occasions such as on the birth of Kanwar Kharak Singh; Diwali, Dussehra, Baisakhi, Maghi, Nirjala Ikadashi, *sankrant* and *amavas*. Ruling class took interest to make various establishments. People had the secular approach.

Society in the early nineteenth century Punjab was marked by tolerance. Ganesh Das in his book *Char Bagh-i-Panjab*, talked about only two incidents of intolerance. First happened in the *chaj doab*. Sayyid Miran Fazil, who was a staunch follower of his faith, had disagreements and altercations with the *darveshes* of every other sect. He got Balbhadra's tongue cut off for not reciting the *kalima* of Islam and for not becoming a Musalman. Through inducement and torture, he brought many persons from amongst the *qanungos* and the craftsman into the fold of Islam. He possessed a mastery of the *shariat* and *figh*.¹⁹⁷ Second was the story about Haqiqat Rai. Haqiqat Rai, a Hindu boy of 15, used to study in a school, in the time of Nawab Khan Bahadur, Viceroy of Lahore. He

¹⁹⁷. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 60.

quarrelled with the *musalman* boys and returned the abusive language which they had applied to some of the Hindu gods. He was taken to the *qazi* who sentenced him to be executed for daring to abuse the Prophet. The case came on before the Governor, who confirmed the *qazi's* sentence, declaring, however that, should the boy embrace Islam, the sentence would be remitted. Haqiqat Rai, true to the faith of his ancestors, rejected the invitation to embrace the faith of the Prophet and was executed.¹⁹⁸ Except for these two incidents there was no any other incident of intolerance recorded by Ganesh Das. The policy of tolerance followed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh seemed to have petered down to the people as well. All the classes respect each other's religion. With a variety of religious places in each *doab* people were familiar with all religious belief and practices and maintained a peaceful co-existence in the region.

¹⁹⁸. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 152-153; Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 245; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279; Ganda Singh (ed.), *Punjab Dian Varan*, 5-42.

Chapter-6

MENTALITIES OF THE SOCIETY

Mentality is the ability to think and learn. An obvious part of the noun mentality is the word “mental”, which means “of the mind”. How your mind works is your mentality, either in a way that’s measured in school or testing, or in the way you think about things. A learned way of thinking comes from experiences. The history of mentalities is a history of “mindset”, “attitudes” or “world-views”. The term describes a particular manner of researching history. This approach is associated with the “critical turn” taken by the historians of the Annales School, particularly around the 1960s. In keeping with the Annales’ interest in long-term, the history of mentalities focuses on the mindsets of past cultural and social groups, and their gradual changes over time, as opposed to the history of particular events, or economic trends. The term can also be seen as an equivalent to, or a form of, cultural history or historical anthropology.¹

The history of mentalities is a term used to describe works of history aimed at describing works of history and analyzing the ways in which people of a given time period thought about, interacted with, and classified the world around them. The history of mentalities has been used as a historical tool by several historians and scholars from various schools of history. Notably, the historians of the Annales School helped to develop the history of mentalities and construct a methodology from which to operate. In establishing this methodology, they sought to limit their analysis to a particular place and a particular time. This approach lends itself to the intensive study that characterizes microhistory, another field which adopted the history of mentalities as a tool of historical analysis.²

The present chapter deals with the mentalities of the Punjabi society in the early Nineteenth century. The chapter is divided into four sections; the first section gives the idea about the origin of world. The second section describes the ideals and etiquettes

¹. George Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, University of Chicago Press, 1980, 15.

². Michael Harsgor, *Total History: The Annales School*, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1978, 13.

followed by the people, the third section looks at the knowledgeable persons, who lived in the Punjab and served as inspiration for the other people. The last section attempts an overview.

I

The people of the early nineteenth century Punjab believed that the world was created by the god. They had information about *veda*, origin of man, Brahmans, yugs, *khatri*s and rulers. People of Punjab knew about the creation of *veda* and origin of the man. They know that Brahma created *veda*, man and women on the earth. God wished to reveal his attribute. Through his will and omnipotence, he created three deputies before any other from appeared in creation: Brahma, the agent of creation, who created the *veda*; Bishan (Vishnu), the agent of power and preservation; and Mahadev, the agent of destruction. Through Brahma were created Marichi, Atri, Pulastya, Pulah, Kratu, Kashyap, Dachha Kardam and Roche. All these were known as the sons of Brahma.³ After Brahma and his sons, many forms of creation appeared, like the gods and the demons, the skies, the sun, the stars, the elements, and the three kingdoms of nature that was animal, vegetable and mineral. Eighty four lac forms of life came into existence. When Brahma found that man, at whom creation was aimed, did not appear, he created a man called Shiboman (Svayambhu) from his right side and a woman called Satrupa from his left. He ordered them to come together and cohabit according to the *veda*. In this manner mankind appeared as their progeny.

People of Punjab also had the knowledge about the origin of the Brahmans. They had the knowledge about seven groups and ten famous branches of Brahmans. At the beginning of the Satjug, two sons were born to Satrupa by Shiboman (First man and woman created by Brahma): Priya Brat and Uttan Pad. Three daughters were born: Devahuti, Prasuti and Akuti. These three daughters were married respectively to Kardam,

³. In the *Sukh Sagar*, published by the Bambai Bhushan Press from Mathura, the names of Brahma's sons were given as: Marichi, Atri, Angira, Pulastaye, Pulah, Kratu, Bhrigu, Vasishtha, Daksha and Narad. It may be added that in the *Sukh Sagar* names of the first man and woman created by Brahma were Svayambhu and Shatrupa. Their sons were Priya Vrat and Uttan Pad and their daughters were Devahuti, Prasuti and Akuti: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 125.

Dachha Prajapat and Roche Prajapat, the sons of Brahma. Many children were born to these three and the children of their children became even more numerous. They all came to be called *brahmans*. Their occupation was worship, austerities and acquisition of knowledge. Seven groups from amongst them became famous, and came to have a very large progeny. One of these groups was called Kashyap, and the others were Atri, Paulstya, Pulah, Angira, Bhardwaj, Biswamittar and Gautam. They have been further subdivided into several branches. Famous among them were only ten, each one of whom was associated with a particular country. One of these was Darawar. The second was Gujarati alias Baidva; the third was Tilang; the fourth was Maharasht and the fifth was Karnatak. All these five as a class were referred to as Darawar. The sixth was Gaur. The seventh was Kanauji; the eighth was Wangal; the ninth was Maithal and the tenth was Sarust. The last were to be found in the Panjab and Multan and Kashmir. The last five as a class were also referred to as Gaur. These ten branches of *brahmans* were superior to the rest.⁴

People knew about the origin of the *khatri* and about the *surajbansis* and *chandarbansis khatri*, the *tretajug* and ruler of the *tretaju*, which was the period of conflict and oppression. The famous ruler of that period was Raja Bharat. The progeny of Priya Brat and Uttan Pad, the sons of Shiboman, also increased. They were given the name of *khatri*, meaning ‘the guardians of the world’. The *khatri* used to live like the *brahmans*. But they regarded it as their duty to give security to others. The people life was guided by truth in that age and was spent in the worship of God. As the *satjug* ended, the *tretajug* began, and with it appeared conflict and oppression. The *brahmans* and other devotees of god presented themselves before Brahma and revealed the state of affairs. Brahma instructed them through the *vedas* and asked them to act in accordance with that. Then they left Brahma and presented themselves before Bishan and stated their position. Bishan told them that oppressors were not receptive to the word of the *veda*. Therefore, something more was needed to remove oppression. At this moment, Bishan created a young man from his heart and gave him the name of Prajapati. He was instructed to descend to the earth to establish his rule there. This young person submitted, however that

⁴ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 125.

he was afraid of becoming unjust unwittingly and thereby incurring the wrath of God. He begged to be excused and to be allowed to continue worshipping God. Bishan granted his request and prayed that another son from his heart may come into existence. This son was named Kirat Mat. Yet another son named Alak was born. Like the first, they both devoted themselves to the worship of God. From his heart then was born a son named Anil. He too requested for solitude but Bishan compelled him to become his deputy on earth. Consequently, he performed the duties of a ruler and looked after government and administration but remained in the garb of a *faqir*. After sometime, a son was born to him and was named Anak. He took up the affairs of the government after his father and performed his duty with truth, devotion and justice. He was extremely just and considerate towards the people.⁵ A son named Bin was born in Anak's house and ascended the throne on his father's demise. He declared himself to be God and ordered the people to desist from the worship of God and to worship him instead. The *brahmans* prayed that this oppressor may die, that was he may be dethroned. All the *brahmans* and *rikhis* collected together and produced two children by chanting the magic word of the *veda*. One of these was dark complexioned and ill mannered. He was towards the desert of Arabia. The Bhils, the highwaymen and the *mlechhas* were his descendants.

The second child, however, was extremely handsome and possessed commendable qualities and manners. The Brahmins gave him the name of Raja Bharat and placed him on the throne. Raja Bharat ruled with justice and fairness for one thousand years. He ruled well and brought people back to the worship of God in accordance with the *veda*. He removed mountains from the earth and placed them together and he cleared and levelled the earth for cities and villages to be founded. He introduced the practice of ploughing and agriculture and of trade and building. He also introduced many crafts. The throne, the crown and royal robes too were invented and he assumed the title of *raja*. When he placed the crown over his head, he got the name of *chhatra*. Since he protected the people, he was given the name of *khatri*. All the *khatri*s were his descendants and were called *chhatra* too. This was because in the Sanskrit language the words *khatri* and *chhatra* have the same meaning. In Hindi, the letters *chha*

⁵ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 126.

and *kha* were interchangeable. For instance, *akhkhar* was pronounced as *achhchhar*. The four *barans* of the *brahman*, the *khatri*, the *baish* and the *shudar* were created, and each was named after the occupation with which it was concerned. Also, it was ordered that every person should pursue the occupation or profession assigned to him according to the *baran* to which he belonged. None should discard his assigned profession to adopt another. He laid down the procedure of justice and established the tradition of just rule. God created two persons during his reign. The sole purpose of their lives was to praise the achievements of Bharat so that the succeeding rulers may emulate him in performing their duties as rulers. One of these two persons was called Sut and the other Magad. Raja Bharat gave the country of Anup, which was in Bengal, to Sut and the country of Magadh that was Bihar to Magad. All the *bhats* and *charans* were the descendants of these two men.⁶ He gave up his life according to *jog-abhias*.⁷ After him, his sons started ruling over different parts of the country, separately from one another. His descendants became rulers in thousand. It was not possible to count and self-interest. Eventually, none among them remained competent to rule. Oppression of the people once more became current. The Creator of the universe created Manu from the rays of the sun in order to set right the affairs of the world. He was also called Sarda Dev. He was given the name of Bhavistmun too. He had two wives. One of them gave birth to a daughter named Ila. She was married to 'Utarad⁸ and gave to a son named Pradar. The second wife gave birth to ten sons, Khawak and others. These ten children became great Rajas and came to be known as the *surajbansi*. Of the descendants of Khawak, Raja Raghu became famous. According to the tradition Hind, Mercury was a child of the moon and hence the descendants of Pradar became famous as the *chandarbansi*.⁹ The descendants of both these heavenly groups looked after the affairs of the government rather well. They wielded power like Raja Bharat. They called themselves *chhatris*. They ousted the descendants of Raja Bharat, many of whom offered submission and accepted service with both these groups. Those who did not tolerate the degradation of submission adopted the profession of trade. With the passage of time and the changes it brings about, the great

⁶. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 127.

⁷. *Jog-abhias* (Yogabhias) here implies voluntary giving up of life, Ibid, 128.

⁸. The planet Mercury: Ibid, 128.

⁹. Ibid, 128.

Rajas of these groups became proud of their power under the influence of the *kaljug*. They came to prefer physical beauty to superiority of family and, because of their excessive lust, they became enamoured of beautiful women. In fact, they married women of low social strata, like the barbers, the vintners, the peasants, the slave girls and the temple dancers. From these women they had many children who succeeded to the thrones of their fathers. The *chhatris* and *khattris* of pure lineage gave the name of *rajput* to this new category of rulers. Also, they refused to drink or eat from their hands. They ordered the *brahmans* also not drink or eat from the hands of *rajput* women. For this reason, conflict arose between the *khattris* and the Rajputs. Now there were rulers of two types: the *rajputs* and the *chhatris*. But some of the *chhatris* also joined hands with the *rajput* in many affairs. These *chhatris* also acquired the name of *rajput*. The *rajputs* increased largely in numbers like the Rathours, Haras, Kacchwahs, Rohtas, Badgujjara, Nararans and others. All these sets, of people adopted soldiering as their profession. The old customs were discarded. Those of the original *chhatris* who did not reconcile themselves to sharing food and drink with the *rajputs* and who did not enter into matrimony with them started calling themselves *khattris*. They separated themselves from the other groups, abandoned the profession of soldiering and adopted other professions. Since the dominance of the *rajput* proved to be harmful to the life and property of the *khattris*, they left Hindustan for good and settled down in the lands of the Panjab. Here they prospered¹⁰

Many of the *khattris* of the Panjab were the descendants of Raja Bharat whose genealogy was connected with Raja Prajapat, who in turn was born from the heart of Sri Kishan. Some of them were descendants of Raja Raghu and Jasrath. They were, thus, *surajbansis*. A few of them were the descendants of Raja Pradar and were, thus, *chandarbansis*. They all live in the Panjab and Multan and call themselves *khattris*. Now they have no connection with the Rajputs and the *chhatris* of Hind. Having abandoned rulership they earn their living now by service, clerkship, trade and other professions. In the reigns of Raja Bikramjit, Salbahan and Jai Pal, however, their honour was equal to that of the Rajas of Hindustan. When Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded and devastated

¹⁰. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 128.

the Panjab, many persons of Hind became Musalman. The *khatris* left the country because of the danger to their life and honour and went into the hills and other inaccessible places. When the rulers of the Ghuri, the Lodhi and the Chaghti dynasties decided to populate the country and relented towards the people not belonging to their own religion, many of the *khatris* gradually settled down in cities and large villages. In the beginning, they did not accept service or high positions from the rulers. They passed their days following the professions of trade, shopkeeping, drapery, *sarrafī*, and trade in silken and embroidered and other cloth. The Jats and others having taken to agriculture came into possession of the countryside of the Panjab. Gradually, when the rulers realized that the *khatris* were competent to serve, the state, they gave them all sorts of inducements to accept service. They were encouraged to learn Persian and account keeping in the Panjab except the *khatris* and the *brahmans*. For this reason, the reputation of the *khatris* increased and several of them attained to the position of *wazarat* and *diwani*. Many were appointed for service to the offices of *qanungoi*, *chaudharai*, *amini*, *faujdar*s, *girdavri*, *tahsildari*, *sarishtadari*, *bakhshigari*, *sardafiri* and *munshigari*.¹¹

There were four important groups now among the *khatris*. First, the Bahris, who consist of twelve subcaste. Four of these subcastes call themselves *dhai-gharay*. They were the superior most of the Bahris. The second group was that of the Bawanjahis. Their subcastes were numerous, approximating five hundred. Out of all these, fiftytwo were distinguished from the rest. At present twelve of these fifty two subcaste were superior and call themselves *bahri-bawanjahis*. Forty of their subcastes call themselves *dharma*. However, the term *bawanjahi* applies to them all. The third group was that of the Khokhars, which consisted of six subcastes in the beginning, but now the number has increased. The fourth group was that of the Sarins, who consist of over a hundred subcastes. However, unlike the *khatris*, they were not very particular about matrimony within these subcastes. Some of the Sarins also take widows as wives, although among the *khatris* it was considered absolutely wrong to marry a divorced woman or a widow. In the beginning, some men married widows. Their children came to be called by others. The word *sarin* was used for a commodity raised as a second crop from a piece of land. For

¹¹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 130-31.

instance, rice, which was a perfect commodity, was sown and harvested first and barley was sown afterwards in that land. Barley therefore was called *sarin* and its yield was much smaller. All these subcastes of *khatris* which were to be found in the Panjab, Multan, Sarhind and other places, number nearly seven hundred. Some say that they number one thousand.¹²

On the whole it is seen that world was created by the god. People of Punjab know about the origin of the world, origin of man, *Brahmans*, different yugs, *khatris* and their important groups and rulers of Punjab, espically Raja Bharat. Ganesh Das in his work *char-i-bagh* gave to much attension mostly to *khatris* people. Many *khatris* were appointed for service to the offices of *qanungoi*, *chaudharai*, *amini*, *faujdars*, *girdavri*, *tahsildari*, *sarishtadari*, *bakhshigari*, *sardafiri* and *munshigari*.

II

Early nineteenth century society had clarity on what was considered proper behaviour expected from each person. One who followed etiquettes, whose behaviour was good to other people, who helped the other people, was considered a ‘good’ person, worth of respect. Within the family, family members had to follow some etiquette. A senior member and a father always sat at the head and a junior member at the foot of a cot. In Peshawar, a son always sat in the presence of his father on a cot turned upside down. A son addressed his father as *pitaji*, *abbaji* and mother as *mataji* or *maiiji*. An elderly woman was addresses as *manji* or *maiiji*. The parents called their children as *kaka*, *muna*, and *kaki* or *munni*. The rustics called them *munda* and *kuri*. An elder brother was addresses by the younger brothers as *bhaiji*, *virji* or *bharaji*, and elder sister as *bahnji* or *didi*. A wife never uttered the name of her husband and called him as Shila’s or Ram’s *babu*. Similarly the husband never addressed his wife by name.

Society has certain etiquettes and a person has to follow those etiquettes. In the society discussion, a great reverence was shown for age and rank. A *Brahman* was addressed as *missarji* or *panditji*. The Mohyal *brahmans* were called *bakhshiji*, *mehtaji* or *diwan*. A *khatri* and a *banya* were addressed as *sethji*, *lalaji* or *shahji*. A Rajput was

¹².Ibid, 131.

called *ranaji*, *thakurji* or *chaudhari sahib*. The *dogra rajputs* of Jammu were called *mianji*. A *sayyid* was addressed as *mir sahib*, and a *pathan* as *khan sahib*. A barber was called Raju. A Sikh was addressed as *khalsaji* or *sardarji*. A *musalman* of high status was called *khadawand-e-nemat*.¹³

The custom of advancing a short distance to receive a guest or visitor of status was known as *Rasam-e-Istiqbal*. When two men met or departed, they shook hands with each other. In Peshawar, the two persons on meeting embraced each other, one passing his hand three times from right to left round the other's breast. On departure too the ceremony of embracing was repeated. Women embraced each other with their arms thrown around each other's neck, and screamed aloud a chorus on the occasion of departure. A Hindu showed his astonishment by uttering the words '*ram, ram,*' a Sikh by '*wah guru*' and a Muslim by '*taubah, taubah*'. People remembered for their good manners in the society i.e. Mian Muhammad Bakhsh has been given the honour of being the *tahsildar* of the *ilaqa* of Gujrat. He was distinguished from others by many qualities. He has captivated the hearts of the people by his good manners and kindness.¹⁴ Raju Khanna was famous for his generosity. Some of his sayings were remembered even today.¹⁵

The Hindus greeted each other with '*ram, ram,*' or '*jai ram ji ki* or *namaskar.*' The reply was returned in the same words. A *brahmans* was saluted with '*pairi paina*' or '*palogan*' or '*matha tekana.*' The reply was '*sukhi raho*' (May you be happy). The Bedi Sikhs saluted each other with '*matha tekana.*' When two Sikhs met, the junior saluted the senior with "*wah guru ji ka khalsa, wah guru ji ki fateh,*" or '*sat sri akal.*' A Muslim saluted the other with the word '*salam-alaikam*' and the reply was '*alaikam-salam.*' A Muslim saluted a Hindu or Sikh with the word '*adab arz.*' A Hindu saluted a Muslim with '*sahib salam.*' The reply was given in the same words, and to a younger person with '*umar daraz.*' The war cries of were, '*ram ram, mahadev*' and '*jai jai kar,*' of the

¹³. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 524-25; A.H., Bingley, *The Sikhs*, Language Department, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), 56-60.

¹⁴. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 66; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar V, Dr R.S. Bawa Publishers, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002, 85.

¹⁵. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 142; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar IV, 1839-45, Punjab Itihas Parkashan, Chandigarh, 1972, 78.

Muslim, 'ya ali' or 'allah, allah', or 'allah-o-akbar'; and of the Sikhs, 'wah guru ji ka khalsa' or 'sat sri akal'. The Flag of the Hindus was of saffron colour, of the Muslims of green colour and of the Sikhs of yellow colour.¹⁶

It was considered important for people to 'do good for society'. Irrespective of their creed, the well to do person often expresses their sense of piety in works of public utility, perhaps taking their cue from the nobles and administrators. They built mosques, bridges, *sarais* and mausoleum; they dug tanks and laid out gardens; they constructed wells and *baolis*; they kept open kitchen for the stranger and the poor. They built *shivdwaras*, *thakurdwaras*, *dharamsalas* and *samadhs*.¹⁷ People of Punjab did some kind of social work for the society. Like Lala Bhag Mal of the subcaste Basambhu was the leading *sahukar* of the town. He constructed a *pacca* tank, close to the town in its north. He had repaired and constructed a stepwell, near Musa Kamala, on the road to Peshawar. Similarly, in the south of the city, his brother Jawala Das Basambhu, dug a pond as a bathing place for the people. Kanhiya Mal of the subcaste Panwal by the sheer labour of his hands dug a pond and planted a grove of trees in the north of Gujrat close to Mundowal and Chak Muhammad Husain. At this place many worn out and thirsty men and cattle quench their thirst. Lala Devi Das of the subcaste Rang constructed a stepwell that was a *baoli*, on the road to Wazirabad near the tower of Nand Lal in the land of the village of Kalra Khasa and thus, he has left a memorial to his name. A similar memorial has been left behind by Lala Amrik Singh Chhibbar who constructed a temple dedicated to Mahadeva and also a stepwell, and laid out a small garden, on the road to Suk Ahmad in the *chaj doab*.¹⁸ Chaudhari Rehmat Khan Waraich, the *zamindar* of the town of Jalalpur in the Chaj *doab* constructed a mosque and a well.¹⁹ Kaniya Lal, son of Amir Chand, has constructed a well and laid out a garden beside the road to Sialkot in the Rachna *doab*.²⁰ Hazart Shah Daula, the *faqir*, who was unparalleled for his generosity

¹⁶ Hari Ram Gupta, "Life and Manners of the Common People", *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Politics, Society and Economy*, (eds.) Fauja Singh and A.C. Arora, Punjabi University Patiala, 1984, 281.

¹⁷ Ibid., 25.

¹⁸ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 59.

¹⁹ Ibid., 68.

²⁰ Ibid., 89; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar V, 112-14.

erected a fine bridge over the stream for the convenience of travellers in the Rachna *doab*. It was called the bridge of Shah Daula.²¹

It was said in fact that one day some Wadhawan women were coming from Wazirabad to Sodhara. The road near the bank of a stream was muddy. Bhola Dai was among these women. She remarked there was so much mud on the road that it was extremely difficult to cross that patch. Another woman retorted that she should build a bridge and cross over. It was said that Bhola Dai stopped there and got a bridge built in no time by spending a large amount of money. Only then she went home. Upto this day the bridge was known after the name of Bhola Dai.²² Pul Kanjri was a well known place on the road from Amritsar to Lahore in the Bari *doab*, with a well, a tank, a garden and a *sarai* belonging to Gangu Shah Mehra, a *sahukar* of Lahore.²³ Nawan Shehar was a well known town in the Bist Jalandher *doab*. A tank and a *baradari* have been constructed here by Muhammad Siddiq, the *nau-Muslim*.²⁴

The people of Panjab also helped each other without any hesitation some instances in this regard are recorded. Bakhshi Hari Singh, who was attached to Maharaja Gulab Singh, has his ancestral home in Kalyana town, situated in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. To the best of his means and without hesitation he provided meals to all those travellers who lodged here for the night.²⁵ Baba Kanwal Nain, the *brahman*, was the man whose open kitchen was still functioning in Ahmadabad town in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. And the Sodhis also provided food to travelers in Ahmadabad town. May God sustain the two families forever.²⁶ Chaudhari Diwan Singh used to provide food to travellers and look after their comfort with care.²⁷ Villagers of Alamgarh in the tappa of Akya in the Chaj *doab*, provided the travellers meals.²⁸ Lala Hari Ram Puri was a good natured person, he

²¹. Ibid., 84.

²². J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 92.

²³. Ibid, 139.

²⁴. Ibid., 143

²⁵. Ibid, 44.

²⁶. Ibid, 48; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), Daftar IV, 84.

²⁷. Chaudhari Diwan Singh was the proprietor of Ranghanwala. He was a fine man. Ranghanwala village situated in Lakhu *tappa* in the Chaj *doab*: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 51.

²⁸. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 80.

used to serve with care all those *faqir* and way-farers who stayed for the night in the village Gharat Khalsa, situated in the Rachna *doab*.²⁹ A *faqir* gave water to all travellers to overcome by the heat, while multitudes of monkeys were leaping from tree to tree, and flocks of parrots filled the air with their clatter.³⁰ Samed Shah, the deputy of Mohammed Shah Nakshbandi, a person of great consequence in Kashmir, who was said to feed two hundred poor men daily.³¹ The village of Bahadarpur has an establishment of the *udasi faqirs*. Kang Dal Singh Wali has an open kitchen in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*.³²

Many eminent men, officials and nobles, each according to their status, built beautiful *dharamsalas*, *shivdwaras*, *thakurdawars*, *musafirkhanas*, gardens, wells and *baolis*. There were numerous gardens of flowers and fruits planted at Lahore and Amritsar and other places, either by the Maharaja, or his courtiers and individuals. Most of them were open to the public under certain and strict conditions. They served as meeting ground for Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and developed the spirit for harmonious living. Ranjit Singh was extremely fond of flowers and gardens. He planted beautiful gardens at Lahore, Amritsar, Dinanagar, Gujranwala and Wazirabad. His example was followed by his nobles and courtiers. Amar nath gave an account of 12 gardens. Diwan Amar Nath mentions the following gardens in Lahore: Badami Bagh, Baghe-e-Daudi, Dilkusha Bagh, Bagh-e-Shah, Balawal, outside the fort near Hazuri Bagh, Habadda Bagh, Khosha Bagh, Chaha Bagh, Bagh Bhai Ram Singh, Bagh Hazrat Faqir Sahib, Baghe-e-Farhat-afza, Bagh-e-Ruhkash Aram, Diwan-e-Diwangan.³³

The Shalamar garden, originally laid out by Emperor Shah Jahan, was Ranjit Singh who gave it the name of Shala Bagh. Some people called it Shehla Bagh. In the *Nadirnama*, its name was written as *shu'la-i-mah*. Following Ranjit Singh's example, many *sardars* laid out gardens after their own names. The number of old and new garden was so large. Besides these were gardens at Lahore, laid out by the following persons: the

²⁹ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 90.

³⁰ Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab* (tr. and ed. T.B. Jervis), (reprint-first published 1845), Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, 76.

³¹ Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, 105.

³² J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.): The term used in the text was *sadawart*, which was a kitchen open to all and sundry, all the time: 143.

³³ H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol V, 469-70; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar V, 160.

garden of Bibi Nakain, the mother of Prince Kharak Singh, and the garden of Mai Sada Kaur; the Badami Bagh; the gardens of Moran, Bhai Mahan Singh, Bhai Wasti Ram, Bhai Kanhiya Shah, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Sher Singh, Misar Diwan Chand, Diwan Mohkam Chand, Diwan Moti Ram, Raja Tek Singh, Raja Duni Singh, Raja Suchet Singh, Jawala Singh Padhania, Dal Singh, Sardar Himmat Singh, Sham Singh Atariwala, Ratan Singh Dahriwala, Ratan Chand Duggal of Wazirabad and the garden of Diwan Kirpa Ram Chopra, which had a tank and the *samadh* of Haqiqat Rai in it; the garden of Basakhi Bhagat Ram, Sham Das Dhondiwalla. Jawahar Singh Bastiwala, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, Lehna Singh Majithia and Misar Ram Kishan, the brother of Misar Beli Ram who was the royal treasurer; the gardens of Chhota Ram and Faqir Azizuddin, the garden known as Fatehgarhwala, the gardens of Bishan Singh Mehra and Diwan Shah Nanda, adjoining the Sabzpir, which contains his ancestral place of worship; the gardens of Paras Ram Bairagi, Lachhman Das Bairagi, Janaki Das Bairagi, Dayala Salharia, Mai Manglah and others.³⁴

Maharaja Ranjit Singh constructed the fort called Gobindgarh in the west of Amritsar and adopted it as his residence. He laid out gardens like Ram Bagh. The *sardars* also laid out gardens. The best known among these were: the Bagh-i-Guru, the Bagh-i-Akali and the gardens of Atar Singh Kalianwala and Misar Rulia Ram which were inside the city. Around Ram Bagh were laid out new gardens by Misar Beli Ram, the Treasurer, Prince Kharak Singh, Tara Singh, Jawala Singh Padhania, Desa Singh Majithia, Gurmukh Singh Gyani, Jamadar Khushal Singh and others. Other influential persons in the city were Kishan Das, Sadju, and the Kashmiri, who was famous for his generosity and ability and who has left a tank and a garden as memories.³⁵ Fateh Singh also laid out gardens at Kapurthala, Jalandhar, Phagwara, Sultanpur and many other places. He acquired the flower and fruits trees of the choicest variety from outside the Panjab and as far as Afganistan, England and Europe.³⁶

³⁴. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 116-117.

³⁵. Ibid, 134; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar IV, 95.

³⁶. *Ram Sukh Rao's Sri Fateh Singh Partab Parbhakar*, 325, 326, 327, 521; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar V, 202.

Tanks and gardens made in Batala by *khatris* of the town.³⁷ At present, Rai Gobind Jas, son of Nand Singh Bhandhari, who was appointed by the Maharaja as his *vakil* with the English, has constructed a new tank and laid out a new garden. Baba Sant Das *udasi* also has constructed a tank and laid out a small garden. The old garden of Shamshir Khan, the foster brother of Akbar, who was the administrator of Batala, was very large and well known. Maharaja Sher Singh built a *baradari* called Anarkali amidst the garden to the east of the tank of Shamshir Khan. Also he built a beautiful structure inside the tank. It was called *jal-mahal*. There was also a pleasing tank belonging to Dhir *khatris*.³⁸ A tank and a *baradari* have been constructed at Nawan Shehr by Muhammad Siddiq, the *nau-Muslim*.³⁹ All these bridges, *saraes*, gardens, tanks, wells and *baolis* made by the good people of the Punjab, very beneficial for the Punjabi society. People use all the things in their daily life for different activities.

The *thakurdwaras* and *shiwallas* were mostly made by the ruling class or rich people of the society. The *thakurdwara* of Banke Bihari was the richest *thakurdwara* of Lahore, situated in the Bari *doab*. The original temple was very ancient, but it has been extensively remodeled at a great cost by Bhai Nand Gopal, a *rais* of much public spirit and of advanced ideas, the descendant of the Bhais, or the spiritual leaders of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his royal family.⁴⁰ The *thakurdwara* was made by Raja Teja Singh at the end of the Moti Bazar in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁴¹ In 1830 A.D., Raja Gulab Singh built a *thakurdwara* in Pind Dadan Khan in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, founded a village named

³⁷. Among the eminent men of the town of Batala were some old *khatris* of the subcastes Puri, Bhandhari, Khosla, Dhir and others. Most of the tanks and gardens in Batala belong to these *khatris*: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 137.

³⁸. Watala was a *pargana*. It is also written as Batala. It was founded amidst a wasteland, by Ram Dev Bhatti who was a *ra'is* of Kapurthala: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 137.

³⁹. Nawan Shehr was also a well known town. Eminent among the *khatri* subcastes of this place were Umat and Buchhar. Nawan Shehr also has the house of Diwan Lakhu who was the *mukhtar-i-kar* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the beginning: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 143.

⁴⁰. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, New Imperial press, Lahore, 1892, 238-39; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (tr. Sukhdev Singh Charak), Light & Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1977, 398.

⁴¹. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, New Imperial press, Lahore, 1892, 236-37.

Gulabgarh and gave it 'by way of *mash*'⁴² for the temple.⁴³ An old cell from the structure of a *thakurdwara* built by Salbahan was still extant in Sialkot in the Rachna *doab*.⁴⁴

Maharaja Gulab Singh Jamwal during his administration of Gujrat constructed a *shiwala* in Dinga,⁴⁵ in the Chaj *doab*.⁴⁶ The *shiwala* was constructed by Raja Dina Nath, situated in Lahore the Bari *doab*.⁴⁷ The *shiwala* was constructed by Bakshi Bhagat Ram in Lahore city in the Bari *doab*.⁴⁸ In 1845, *diwan* Kishan Kaur, the *kardar*, the son of *diwan* Hakim Rai Puri, built a new temple of Shiva in Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar *doab*.⁴⁹ In 1838, Raja Gulab Singh constructed a *shiwala* in Bewal in the Sindh Sagar *doab*.⁵⁰ A *chhibbar brahman*, Amrik Rai, built a *shiwala* in Gujrat in 1840 in Chaj *doab*.⁵¹ Raja Gulab Singh also constructed a new *shivdwara* in 1839 in place of the old *shiva* temple in Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*.⁵² In Sialkot in the Rachna *doab*, *diwan* Harbhjan Rai Puri had built a temple to *shiva*.⁵³ Before, Raja Tej Singh constructed a temple in 1848, dedicated to Mahadeva as a place of worship for the people.⁵⁴ On the bank of the stream called Pilkhu, a temple to Mahadev was built in 1830 in the Rachna *doab*, to mark the place where the widow of Ram Kaur Kohli had become *sati*.⁵⁵ In 1839 A.D., the temple of Mahadev was repaired by Lala Ratan Chand Duggal in Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab*.⁵⁶

⁴². More commonly the term used for grant of revenue-free land was *madad-i-maash* but Ganesh Das is using the alternative phrases *dar-wajah-i-maash*: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 19.

⁴³. Ibid, 19, 46.

⁴⁴. Ibid, 82.

⁴⁵. Dinga was a well known *qasba*: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 67.

⁴⁶. Ibid, 67.

⁴⁷. The temple was the favorite resort of worship of the Kashmiri Pandits, the founder, Raja Dina Nath, having belonged to that class: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, New Imperial press, Lahore, 1892, 235.

⁴⁸. The founder was Bakhshi Bhagat Ram, Adjutant General of the armies of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who built it in 1844 A.D: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, New Imperial press, Lahore, 1892, 235.

⁴⁹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 19, 42.

⁵⁰. Ibid, 19, 43.

⁵¹. Ibid, 19.

⁵². Ibid, 19, 62; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar V, 330.

⁵³. Ibid, 19, 20.

⁵⁴. Ibid, 85; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar IV, 95.

⁵⁵. Ibid, 20, 95; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Vidya Sagar Suri), Daftar V, 382.

⁵⁶. It was looked after by Gosain Shambhu Nath and Mathra Nath as *pujaris*, Ibid, 20, 96.

Fateh Singh Ahluwalia built a *shiwala* in Kapurthala in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*.⁵⁷ Dhand Kasel has a temple dedicated to Mahadev in the Bari *doab*.⁵⁸ The *shiwala* was constructed by Bawa Thakurg, in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁵⁹ The *shiwala* of Gulab Rai was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁶⁰ The *shiwala* of Diwan Shankar Nath was, to the east of the Chakla Bazar in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁶¹ The *shiwala* of Dilbagh Rai was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*. It was built by Dilbagh Rai, the *diwan* of Raja Dhian Singh, Prime Minister of Marahaja Ranjit Singh.⁶² Shiwala Tibbi wala was made by Raja Dina Nath, this sacred *mandar* was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁶³ The *shiwala* of Pandit Radha Kishan was situated in the *gumti bazaar* in Lahore the Bari *doab*. The *shiwala* was built, in 1818 A.D., by Pandit Radha Kishn.⁶⁴ Lala Moti Ram Kapur, who was an important official of the government of Jammu, repaired a *shivdwara* in Bhera, and has acquired good name. Diwan Jwala Sahai, the *peshkar* of Maharaja Gulab Singh, constructed a temple here, attached to the *samadh* of his father Diwan Amir Chand.⁶⁵

All the *samadhs* and *dharmsalas* were made in the memory of respectful people. Many *samadhs* were made by the people of Punjab. The *samadh* of Haqiqat Rai was situated east of Mauzah Kot Khwaja Sai'd.⁶⁶ A great fair was held on *basant panchami* on Haqiqat Rai's *samadh*, every year in February month.⁶⁷ The *samadh* of Jeoni, the wife of Raj Kaur Kohli, was on the bank of the stream called Pilkhu on the way to Gujrat, near Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab* and has become a place of worship for the people of

⁵⁷. Kapurthala was a place from where Sardar Jassa Singh Kalal had risen into power. His army was called the Buddha Dal: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, 143.

⁵⁸. Ibid, 140.

⁵⁹. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, New Imperial press, Lahore, 1892, 234.

⁶⁰. The building was of red sand stone masonry. The gilt dome was spacious and large: Ibid, 237.

⁶¹. Ibid, 238.

⁶². Ibid, 239.

⁶³. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 239-40.

⁶⁴. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 241; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, 85, 182, 219, 248.

⁶⁵. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 73.

⁶⁶. Two miles east of Lahore in the Garden of Diwan Kirpa Ram Chopra: Ibid, 116; Ganda Singh (ed.), *Punjab Dian Varan*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University Patiala, 2008, 5-42.

⁶⁷. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol II, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1982, 48-49; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 152-153; Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 245; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab Under The Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, 279; Ganda Singh (ed.), *Punjab Dian Varan*, Publication Bureau, 5-42.

Hindustan.⁶⁸ The *samadh* of Baba Lal Daryai was in Ramnagar in the Rachna *doab*, a *bairagi* who became the instrument of many miracles in the reign of Aurangzeb.⁶⁹ The *samadh* of Gosain Billu Sahib Bairagi was in the village of Wadala Sandhuan in the Rachna *doab*.⁷⁰ The *samadh* of Baba Sahib Singh Bedi situated in Una in the Bari *doab*.⁷¹

Baba Pohla Ram Bairagi's *samadh* was in Bahlolpur in the Chaj *doab*.⁷² The *samadh* of Baba Balram Das Bairagi was situated near the fort and the city of Shaikhupura in the Rachna *doab*.⁷³ The *samadhs* of Baba Ramji and Baba Lachhman Das was situated in Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*.⁷⁴ The *samadhs* of Baba Sain Das Gosain who attained to divine knowledge and possessed belonged to Baddoki Gosain village in the Rachna *doab*. His *samadh* was a place of worship.⁷⁵ The *samadh* of Diwan Amir Chand was in Qadirabad in the Chaj *doab*.⁷⁶ The *samadh* of Ram Kaur, an *udasi faqir* of the order of Nanak Shah was a place of pilgrimage in Kot Naina in the Rachna *doab*.⁷⁷ Ramdas was a place in the Bari *doab*, held in veneration by the *udasi sadhs*. The *samadh* of Ram Kaur was situated in Ramdas in the Bari *doab*, who was a pious gnostic.⁷⁸ Samadh of a *sadh* Ram Lila was in Sambrial in the Rachna *doab*.⁷⁹ Samadh of Sardar Sahib Singh was situated in Bejwat in the Chaj *doab*.⁸⁰ The *samadh* of *shahids* and

⁶⁸.She had immense love for her husband. She immolated herself on his funeral pyre: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 95.

⁶⁹.Two persons from amongst his *murids* became men of piety and grace, Sant Das and Sain Das. Many people have become their followers. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 107.

⁷⁰. His descendant Ram Das was a gnostic. Many people were their *murids*: Ibid, 21, 106.

⁷¹. Baba Sahib Singh Bedi, son of Kala Dhari, a descendant of Baba Asa Chand, also has been a man of felicity and miracles. He came into possession of Una. He died there and his *samadh* was a place of pilgrimage: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 23, 136.

⁷². Ibid, 21, 51.

⁷³. Ibid, 111.

⁷⁴. Ibid, 61-62.

⁷⁵. This village was in the administrative jurisdiction of the *chakla* of Lalu Panju: Ibid, 102.

⁷⁶. Ibid, 73.

⁷⁷. Ibid, 22, 76; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), Daftar IV, 104-05.

⁷⁸. Ibid, 137.

⁷⁹. Sambrial was a large village, almost a town. A *sadh* named Ram Lila has been the master of perfection here, so much so that he kept sitting at one place in a *dharamsala* for twenty years without any victuals. His *samadh* was at this very place. For having served him, Dayal Singh Granthi and Sehaj Ram Khatri attained to happy fortune: Ibid, 22, 88-89.

⁸⁰. Bejwat was the *tappa*. In its vicinity stands the *samadhs* of Sardar Sahib Singh, the ruler of Gujrat, who died in *sammatt* 1871: Ibid, 51.

murids were situated in Amritsar in the Bari *doab*.⁸¹ The *marhi* of Thakur Das was situated in the town of Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*.⁸²

Samadh of Sardar Charrat Singh was in Gujranwala in the Rachna *doab*.⁸³ Sardar Mahan Singh was a father of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Samadh of Sardar Mahan Singh was also in Gujranwala in the Rachna *doab*.⁸⁴ Bhai Vasti Ram was the spiritual guide of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He died at Lahore and his *samadh* was built adjacent to the northern defense wall of old fort in the Bari *doab*.⁸⁵ Jamadar Khushal Singh, the Prime Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, died in 1844 A.D. His *samadh* was situated south of the *samadh* of Ram Singh in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁸⁶ The most powerful Sikh ruler of Punjab was Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He ruled from 1799 to 1839 A.D. His *samadh* situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁸⁷ Maharaja Sher Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His *samadh* situated on the west of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's *samadh*, was a simple shrine of brick masonry. West of the *samadh* of Sher Singh was the *samadh* of his wife Randhavi. East of Sher Singh's *samadh* was the *samadh* of another wife Rani Partap Kaur.⁸⁸ The *samadhs* of Raja Suchet Singh and Udham Singh were situated in the same courtyard near the *samadh* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁸⁹ The *samadh*, of Sardar Jawahir Singh was situated outside the Masti Gate, in Lahore in the Bari *doab*, was built by Rani Jindan.⁹⁰ The *samadh* of Raja Teja Singh was situated in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁹¹ Ram Singh's *samadh* was in Lahore in the Bari *doab*.⁹²

⁸¹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 133.

⁸². Ibid, 57-58.

⁸³. Sardar Charrat Singh, grandfather of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, established a stronghold at Gujranwala. He was killed in 1772 when his matchlock bursted. A *samadh* was built over the place where he was cremated: Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 48.

⁸⁴. Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 48.

⁸⁵. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 244; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 48.

⁸⁶. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 244; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 48.

⁸⁷. Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 53.

⁸⁸. Maharaja Sher Singh came to power in 1841 A.D., was assassinated by Ajit Singh of Sindhian Wala on 15th September, 1843 A.D.: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 245; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 1962, 54.

⁸⁹. Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 45; Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 244.

⁹⁰. Sardar Jawahir Singh was the brother of Rani Jindan, wife of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was killed by the Sikh army towards the end of 1844 A.D.: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 244.

Dharmshalas were also made by the people of Punjab. There were many *dharmshalas* in Punjab, three in the city of Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*, two of these have remained in existence over a long time and have been the places of worship since olden times. One of these was that of Bhai Qandhara Singh who was a devotee of God and lived in solitude. It was said that Guru Hargobind too once stayed in this *dharmshala*. The other *dharmshala* was that of Bhai Kesar Singh who was pre-eminent for his religious devotion.⁹³ The third *dharmshala* of Guru Hargobind, called Kotha Guru, was a place of worship since olden times.⁹⁴ The *sarai* of Wazirabad in the Rachna *doab* in which the Maharaja used to stay was a beautiful place; it has a pleasing garden and a high tower.⁹⁵ There was a two-storied *dharmshala* of the *udasi faqirs*, in Shahdara in the Rachna *doab* for the followers of Nanak. Travellers stay in this building.⁹⁶ The *dharmshala* of Bhai Bahar in Ahmadabad in the Sindh Sagar *doab* was well known, which was good resting place.⁹⁷ There were many *dharmshalas* in Amritsar, situated in the Bari *doab*, i.e the *dharmshala* of Bhai Salo, the *dharmshala* of the Nirmala *sadhs*, the *dharmshala* of the *sadhs* of Prem Das, the *dharmshala* of Bhai Ratan Singh, the *dharmshalas* of Bhai Ram Singh, Bhai Karam Singh and the *dharmshala* of *sardars*.⁹⁸

The whole people of Punjab followed certain ideals etiquettes and manners in their family life and in the society. People did some kind of social work for the welfare of the society without their own profit. People respect each other in the family and in the society. The person, who follows etiquettes and respects their elders, had captivated the hearts of the people by his good manners and kindness. People of Punjab had the feeling to ‘do good for society’. Irrespective of their creed, the well to do person often expresses their sense of piety in works of public utility, perhaps taking their cue from the nobles

⁹¹. Raja Teja singh died in 1863 A.D. and this beautiful edifice was constructed to his memory, under the table superintendence of Rai Mul Singh: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, New Imperial press, Lahore, 1892, 243; Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines In West Pakistan*, 55.

⁹². Ram Singh, son of Jamadar Khushal Singh, was a very able young man, well versed in Arabic and Persian. He died during his father's life-time, and this *samadh* was built to his memory by his affectionate father in 1839 A.D.: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, 244.

⁹³. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 22, 62.

⁹⁴. Ibid, 22, 95.

⁹⁵. Ibid, 22, 95.

⁹⁶. Shahdara was a town on the bank of river Ravi on the opposite side of Lahore: Ibid, 111.

⁹⁷. Situated on the bank of river Jehlam: Ibid, 22.

⁹⁸. Ibid, 133.

and administrators. They built mosques, bridges, *sarais* and mausoleum; they dug tanks and laid out gardens; they constructed wells and *baolis*; they kept open kitchen for stranger and the poor.

III

Knowledge was given due reverence, and was deeply appreciated in the society. A person, who was educated and attained social position in the society, was the source of inspiration for the other people.⁹⁹ A person had skill respected in society. There were several references of people in the early nineteenth century; those were famous in their field due to their great work. All these knowledgeable and skilled people were belonged to the rich class of the society and mostly lived in cities of the Punjab.

Many persons made their name in the field of Jurisprudence. Mostly Muslim people made their name in the field of Jurisprudence. Maulavi Abdul Hakim was the most prominent of the '*ulama*' and jurists of the time lived in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁰⁰ Sayyid Nur Shah, the jurist, was a learned man lived in the Hasilanwala village in the Chaj *doab*, people accepted his verdict in legal matters as an established tradition.¹⁰¹ Mulla Abdur Rehman was well-versed in jurisprudence, belonged to Rachna *doab* and was extremely careful in the observance of his religion.¹⁰² Qazi Zainuddin and his son *qazi* Ali Asghar Hasni lived in the Rachna *doab*, earned distinction for themselves in law and medicine.¹⁰³ Shaikh Ahmad, the hakim, and Gamay Shah, the sayyid, had been unrivalled in their knowledge of philosophy. Ram Kishan, the *brahman*, was well-versed in the knowledge of the *shastras*.¹⁰⁴ Now-a-days, Misar Amir Chand has distinguished himself from all the residents of the place Hindi philosophy. All the persons belonged to Rachna *doab*.¹⁰⁵

Prominent among astronomers were Lala Ballhu Ram and Lala Dhanpat Rai Sehgal. Both of them were the pupils of Lala Sehaj Ram, who was the best teacher of

⁹⁹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 13

¹⁰⁰. Ibid., 86

¹⁰¹. Ibid., 70; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vidya Sagar Suri (tr.), Daftar IV, 1839-45, Punjab Itihas Parkashan, Chandigarh, 1972, 55-56.

¹⁰². Ibid., 97

¹⁰³. The word used in the text *wereshari'at* and *tababat*, Ibid, 98.

¹⁰⁴. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 87.

¹⁰⁵. Ibid., 96.

astronomy in the Bari *doab*, in the reign of Ahmad Shah.¹⁰⁶ Renowned amongst the learned *brahmans* were Dilbagh Rai the astrologer in the Chaj *doab*.¹⁰⁷ In the fort of Rohtas there used to be an astronomer named Jita Rikh of the subcaste¹⁰⁸ Puj. He had mastered the principles of astronomy in the Sindh Sagar *doab*.¹⁰⁹ The house of Sardar Desa Singh also used to be here. At present, his son Lehna Singh has acquired a good knowledge of astronomy in the Baridoab.¹¹⁰ A *pandit* named Mansa Ram Razdan from Chaj *doab*, who was incomparable for his piety and asceticism and his knowledge of astrology.¹¹¹ Ram Gujrati from Rachna *doab*, a *Vaidbrahman*, possessed good understanding of Hindi astronomy. Misar Amir Chand from Rachna *doab*, had distinguished himself from all the residents of the place in astronomy.¹¹² Ramkaran Puj and Maharaj, the *brahman*, were two perfect astrologers from Rachna *doab*.¹¹³

Prominent among mathematicians were Lala Ballhu Ram and Lala Dhanpat Rai Sehgal from Bari *doab*.¹¹⁴ Mian Faiz Muhammad from Rachna *doab*, who adopted the pen-name of Malahat (or Rahat) composed the work called *Mirat-ut-Hisab*. He also wrote a commentary on the epistles of Abul Fazl 'Allami. He was a well travelled man.¹¹⁵ Misar Gulab Rai and Ishar Das from Rachna *doab*, the commentators of the *Lilawati*.¹¹⁶ In the fort of Rohtas there used to be an astronomer named Jita Rikh from Sindh Sagar *doab*, of the subcaste¹¹⁷ Puj. He had mastered the principles of mathematics.¹¹⁸ Lehna Singh from Bari *doab* had acquired a good knowledge of mathematics.¹¹⁹ Misar Amir Chand from Rachna *doab* has distinguished himself from all the residents of the place

¹⁰⁶. Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (tr. into Punjabi by Kirpal Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, 35.

¹⁰⁷. Ibid., 61.

¹⁰⁸. Ibid., The word used in the text was *firqa* and not *qaum* but the import appears to be the same.

¹⁰⁹. Ibid., 45.

¹¹⁰. Ibid., 32, 140; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vidya Sagar Suri (tr.), Daftar III, 1831-39, S. Chand and Co., Delhi, 1961, 101.

¹¹¹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 71- 72.

¹¹². Ibid., 96

¹¹³. Ibid., 105; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 122.

¹¹⁴. Ibid., 117

¹¹⁵. Ibid., 105; Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (tr. into Punjabi by Kirpal Singh), 57-58.

¹¹⁶. Ibid., A work of mathematics, 77, 32

¹¹⁷. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.): The word used in the text was *firqa* and not *qaum* but the import appears to be the same.

¹¹⁸. Ibid., 45.

¹¹⁹. Ibid., 32, 140; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 134.

in mathematics.¹²⁰ Gamay Shah, the sayyid, had been unrivalled in their knowledge of mathematics. He belonged to the Rachna *doab*.¹²¹ Athar Mal Munshi, Bhawani Sahai and Gujrati Mal Chopra from Rachna *doab*, were ahead of their contemporaries in composition and account-keeping.¹²² Devi Sahai from, a *brahman* of Gujrat, was famous for his proficiency in composition, account keeping and Arabic and Persian.¹²³ Munshi Shiv Dayal, who was a man of felicity and fortune, became well known for generosity.¹²⁴ Ram Das highly imaginative in composition and efficient in account-keeping.¹²⁵ Lala Gur Sahai, the Munshi, used to here. He was in the service of the Ramgarhia Chiefs. It was rather rare to find a writer like him with a flare for brevity.¹²⁶ Gurdit Mal was known for his knowledge of mathematics lived in the chaj *doab*.¹²⁷

Har Narain was well known for his proficiency in history.¹²⁸ Lala Sujan Singh Dhir wrote the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* and the *Khulasat-ul-Makatib* in the reign of Aurangzeb.¹²⁹ There were many prominent poets in the Punjab in the early nineteenth century like the Panjabi poet, Mian Ahmad yar, and the author of the *Kamrup*, belonged to the Islamgarh. Now he has been living in the village of Murala, which was situated to the west of the town of Gujrat.¹³⁰ Bhai Budh Singh was a distinguished person of his time in the field of Hindi verse.¹³¹ Bhai Gopal Singh Udasi was a poet who wrote a *siharfi* in Hindi.¹³² Poet, Dilshad, lived in the Rachna *doab*.¹³³ A poet named Dost Muhammad also belonged to Bhera and many a verse from his composition in Hindi has been heard.¹³⁴ A poet named Ghanimat also lived in Kunja. The *masnavi* entitled *Nairang-i-Ishq*, which describes the story of ‘Aziz and Shahid, was the product of his refined imagination. He

¹²⁰. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 96.

¹²¹. Ibid., 87

¹²². Ibid., 92, 100; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), Daftar IV, 110.

¹²³. Ibid., 31, 38

¹²⁴. Ibid., 94; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 140.

¹²⁵. Ibid., 98

¹²⁶. Ibid., 143; Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (tr. into Punjabi by Kirpal Singh), 63.

¹²⁷. Ibid., 57

¹²⁸. Ibid., 57.

¹²⁹. Ibid., 75, 137

¹³⁰ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 68

¹³¹. Ibid., 134

¹³². Ibid., 100; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 153.

¹³³. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 78.

¹³⁴. Ibid., 31, 73.

composed it during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.¹³⁵ Kalanwala was well known village in the *pargana* of Aurangabad. Ganga Ram, the Hindi poet, belonged to this very place.¹³⁶ Mian Gulam Qadir Nazmi, who had attained perfection in Persian and Hindi poetry, in composition, in the usage of current idioms, calligraphy and the lineament of letters.¹³⁷ These days Diwan Kirpa Ram, son of Diwan Jwala Sahai has, in spite of his young age, shown commendable capability for understanding poetry and prose, the style of composition, personal and social manners, the principles of medicine and many a knotty point of astronomy. May God grant him a long life and augment his fortune.¹³⁸ During the Sikh rule, Lala Moti Ram, a Nanda Khatri with the pen-name Parwana, had attained precedence over others for the elegance of his composition and poetry. The *Diwan-i-Parwana*, *Masnavi-i-Haqiqat Rai*, *Manshati-i-Chamanstan* and the *Ruq'at-i-Moti Ram*, bear testimony to his abilities.¹³⁹ Muhammad Tufail and Muhammad Ashraf attained to pre-eminence for their knowledge of poetry and elegance style.¹⁴⁰ The Panjabi poet Waris Shah belonged to the Ramnagar. His *siharfis* were on the lips of the people. The story of Hir and Ranjha was also one of his compositions. Before him only Muqbal had written about Hir and Ranjha but several poets have written on the same theme after Waris Shah.¹⁴¹ Nusratmand Badhera was well known for his attainment in music and poetry.¹⁴² Qadir Yar (Qadir Bakash), the Hindi poet, belonged to a small village Dhandhu.¹⁴³ In fact, the story of Puran Bhagat was his work.¹⁴⁴ Much can be said about the learning and ability of the inhabitants of this city. Leaving men alone, something of the creative genius of a woman may be mentioned. In our times, men were devoid of learning. Nevertheless, there was a woman named Sahib Devi, with the pen-name of

¹³⁵. *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 59.

¹³⁶. *Ibid.*, 77-78.

¹³⁷. *Ibid.*, 31, 69; Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (tr. into Punjabi by Kirpal Singh), 74.

¹³⁸. *Ibid.*, 98

¹³⁹. *Ibid.*, 87; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 78.

¹⁴⁰. *Ibid.*, 61

¹⁴¹. Buchcha Chaththa was the name of a *pargana*, but the town of Buchcha was lying depopulated. Alternatively, Chaudhari Ghulam Muhammad Chaththa has founded the town of Rasulnagar, on the bank of the river Chinab, which was now known as Ramnagar: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.) 33, 106-07.

¹⁴². *Ibid.*, 57; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 89.

¹⁴³. *Ibid.*, Ganesh Das appears to use the epithet *hindi* to indicate that the poet in question did not write in Arabic or Persian. In fact, the poet in question wrote in Punjabi. Therefore, the term *Hindi* for Ganesh Das stands for language of Hindustan.

¹⁴⁴. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 88.

Arori, who used to compose verses in Hindi. In her poetic expression not a single line was out of measure. She wrote with felicity in difficult *radifs* in which the other poets did not even attempt to write.¹⁴⁵ The village Gharat Kharsa could boast of three learned men in succession: Mian Abdul Karim, Muhammad Azam and Shah Muhammad. The *Munshi-i-Azam* and *Diwan-i-Azam* from the writings of Azam and the *Sawad-i-Baharin* from the writings of Shah Muhammad were extant.¹⁴⁶

Many people made their name in the field of composition. Mostly *khatri* people made their name in this field because they knew Persian and other languages. Barni Ram was known for his elegant style of composition. From amongst the other families, Diwan Thakur Vohra, Lala Jaswant Rai Dhori and Karori Mal Ghai were unrivalled in the composition of satire.¹⁴⁷ Devi Sahai, a Mehr *brahman*, was a very able teacher of composition.¹⁴⁸ Gujrat Bhawani Sahai and Gujrati Mal Chopra were ahead of their contemporaries in composition. The poet named Dayal Singh who composed a *siharfi* in Punjabi was one of the residents of the village Ghalotian near Daska.¹⁴⁹ During this very period, a *khatri* named Lala Indar Bhan Sialkoti, with the pen-name Warasta, was a man of letters and learning. The *Mustalihat-i-shura* and the *Insha-i-Sialkoti* were his works.¹⁵⁰ Diwan Kirpa Ram, son of Diwan Jwala Sahai has, in spite of his young age, shown commendable capability for understanding poetry and prose, the style of composition, personal and social manners, the principles of medicine and many a knotty points of astronomy.¹⁵¹ Raizada Ram Dayal has perfect mastery in the composition of poetry and prose. During the Sikh rule, Lala Moti Ram, a Nanda *khatri* with the pen-name Parwana, had attained precedence over others for the elegance of his composition and poetry. The *Diwan-i-Parwana*, *Masnavi-i-Haqiqat Rai*, *Manshat-i-Chamanstan* and the *Ruq 'at-i-Moti Ram*, bear testimony to his abilities. Lala Narain Das, the Brahman, too showed a

¹⁴⁵. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 31, 61.

¹⁴⁶. Ibid., 32, 90, 91.

¹⁴⁷. Ibid., 57; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 151.

¹⁴⁸. Ibid., 58

¹⁴⁹. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 100

¹⁵⁰. Ibid., 86, 87; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), Daftar IV, 204.

¹⁵¹. Ibid., 98; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 167.

high level of attainment in the elegance of his style.¹⁵² Munshi Naundha Rai possessed great proficiency in the art of composition. He was a *darvesh*-like and truthful person.¹⁵³

People also famous for their art of calligraphy i.e. Iqbal Badhera and Abdul Bari Badhera, the *nau*-Muslims, were proficient in and well known for calligraphy.¹⁵⁴ Mian Gulam Qadir Nazmi, who had attained perfect competence in Persian and Hindi poetry, in composition, in the usage of current idioms, calligraphy and the lineament of letters.¹⁵⁵ Famous calligraphist Muhammad Raza was lived Pasrur town.¹⁵⁶ Mian Sadiq famous for his competence in calligraphy lived in the Sambrial village.¹⁵⁷ Mian Fazl has been the best for his knowledge of Persian classic and his proficiency in the art of composition and calligraphy. Most of the *munshis* of Wazirabad have learnt the art from him.¹⁵⁸ Lala Dit Mal and Amir Chand Lakhwara were men of ability and they were excellent calligraphists.¹⁵⁹

People made their name in the medicine field and help the people. Hakim Abul Fateh and Hakim Haman were the famous *hakim* in the early nineteenth century.¹⁶⁰ Lala Bahadur Chand, the *hakim*, a *khatri* of the subcaste Chopra, was so well-versed in medicine that he was the foremost individual in the field amongst his contemporaries.¹⁶¹ Muhammad Qasim the *hakim* has been unrivalled in the practice of medicine and diagnosis. In spite of blindness, he was superior to thousands of men of medicine possessing eye-sight.¹⁶² Bhagat Bishan Das, a servant of Prince Kharak Singh who had been the *hakim* of Gujrat for a few years was at this very place.¹⁶³ Shaikh Ahmad, the *hakim*, and Gamay Shah, the *sayyid*, had been unrivalled in their knowledge of medicine, principles of mathematics and the works of philosophy.¹⁶⁴ Sayyid Muhammad Ali Shah,

¹⁵². J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 31, 87.

¹⁵³. Ibid., 96

¹⁵⁴. Ibid., 57; Sohal Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Viday Sagar Suri), Daftar IV, 230-32.

¹⁵⁵. Ibid., 31, 69; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 183.

¹⁵⁶. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 78

¹⁵⁷. Ibid., 89

¹⁵⁸. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 96

¹⁵⁹. Ibid., 111

¹⁶⁰. Ibid., 40

¹⁶¹. Ibid., 31; 48; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 203.

¹⁶². J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 61.

¹⁶³. Ibid., 72

¹⁶⁴. Ibid., 87

the *hakim*, who was proficient in all the branches of knowledge in Arabic and Persian, lives in the village Gakhkhar Cheema.¹⁶⁵ Wazirabad was a city close to the chief ferry on the river Chinab. It was founded, after his own name by Hakim Ilmuddin, better known by his title of Wazir Khan, who was one of the *amirs* of Shah Jahan.¹⁶⁶ Hakim Gul Ahmad was an adept in medicine.¹⁶⁷ Raizada Akku Mal was unparalleled for his knowledge of medicine and for the efficacy of his treatment. Qazi Zainuddin and his son Qazi Ali Asghar Hasni earned distinction for themselves in law and medicine.¹⁶⁸ Darvesh *hakim*, who was famous in Hindi medicine belongs to Bholu Kochhar, the *tappa* of Cheema.¹⁶⁹ In the times of the Sultans, area around Lahore was known as *pargana-i-bahri*. Unique among the men of medicine were: Hakim Inaitshah, son of Sayyid Ghalib Shah, Hakim Nur Muhammad, Hakim Khairi Shah, Bhai Qadir Bakash the '*attar*', Lala Hakim Rai the royal physician, Nur Muhammad the *rammal* and Mian Baqir the *jarrah*.¹⁷⁰

Beside these famous persons, there were some other learned men lived in Punjab. Nusratmand for his attainment in music and poetry. Natha Mal Marwah and Ram Bhagat Uttam acquired fame in the *kacheri* of Gujrat.¹⁷¹ Mian Ahmed famous for his knowledge of Arabic and Persian lived in the Sialkot in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁷² Lala Gopal Sahai Badhera was highly skilled in the art of playing chess as well as in Hindi medicine, belonged to Rachna *doab*.¹⁷³ Ram Kishan, the *brahman*, was well-versed in the knowledge of *shastras* lived in the Rachna *doab*.¹⁷⁴ Abdul Karim, Maulvi Qutbuddin, Muhammad Azam, Shaikh Haidar were the famous learned men lived in the Rachna *doab*

¹⁶⁵. Gakhkhar Cheema was a large village within the administrative ambit of Sialkot: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 91-92

¹⁶⁶. Ibid., 93

¹⁶⁷. Ibid., 97

¹⁶⁸. Ibid., 98; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 274.

¹⁶⁹. Ibid., 102

¹⁷⁰. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (tr. and eds.), 117-118.

¹⁷¹. Ibid., 57, 58; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar III, 220.

¹⁷². Ibid., 89.

¹⁷³. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, 96.

¹⁷⁴. Ibid., 87

and Misar Bhogi Ram, Misar Bahar Mal, Misar Bidya Dhar, Muhammad Saleh, Sayyid Miran Fazil lived in the Chaj *doab*.¹⁷⁵

On the whole a person appreciated the most, had good knowledge and doing well in their respecting field. A person, who was educated and attained social position in the society, was the source of inspiration for the other people.¹⁷⁶ People respected the person most, who had skills and knowledge. All these respectful people help the society through their knowledge and skills. They were mostly rich people of the society. They know the many languages. Most of them were the *choudhary* of the villages. It helps them to understand all the things.

V

The people of Punjab in the early nineteenth century had a clear idea about the origin of the world and different group of people. World was created by the god. People of Punjab know about the origin of the world, origin of man, *brahmans*, different *yugs*, *khatris* and their important groups and rulers of Punjab, especially Raja Bharat. God created three deputies before any other from appeared in creation: Brahma, Bishan (Vishnu), and Mahadev. People of Punjab had some common beliefs regarding the natural world. On the whole noticed that People of Punjab followed certain ideals etiquettes and manners in their family life and in the society. People remembered for their good manners in the society. People did some kind of social work for the welfare of the society without their own profit. People respect each other in the family and in the society. The person, who follows etiquettes and respects their elders, had captivated the hearts of the people by his good manners and kindness. People of Punjab had the feeling to 'do good for society'. Irrespective of their creed, the well to do person often expresses their sense of piety in works of public utility, perhaps taking their cue from the nobles and administrators. They built mosques, bridges, *sarais* and mausoleum; they dug tanks and laid out gardens; they constructed wells and *baolis*; they kept open kitchen for the stranger and the poor. A stroll in the evening in a garden added salt and spice to life to make it pleasant and worth living. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, all met in a Companionship. Maharaja Ranjit Singh

¹⁷⁵. Ibid., 32, 60, 61, 87, 88, 90.

¹⁷⁶. Ibid., 13

and other people of the ruling class gave every possible encouragement to his people to rub shoulder with one another in a cheerful frame of mind with a friendly nod. Respectful people of the Punjab especially ruling class people built *shivdwaras*, *thakurdwaras*, *dharamsalas* and *samadhs* for the Punjabi society. All these built in the memory of respectful people in the society, located in the five *doabs* of the Punjab.

Knowledgeable person appreciated in the society and source of inspiration for others. There are several references in the early nineteenth century, when people made their names in the different fields i.e. Jurisprudence, Philosophy Astronomy, Astrology, Mathematics, Calligraphy, Composition, History, Medicine, Poetry, Music, in *shastras*, and famous for his knowledge of Arabic and Persian. People respected the person most, who had skills and knowledge. All these respectful people mostly lived in the cities and help the society people through their knowledge and skills. They were mostly rich people of the society. They know the many languages. Most of them were the *choudhary* of the villages. It helps them to understand all the things. Some of person worked in the Sikh court and helped the ruling class. The people respected knowledge and skill, appreciated talent and looked up to those who were fair, just and helpful. Several such people were revered in their localities as an example of ‘a good human being’, providing life goals to the people.

Chapter-7

CONCLUSION

Society in the early nineteenth century was simple and traditional. People followed their age old customs and were governed by superstitions and religious beliefs. Caste, family, marriage, the *bhaichara* and *panchayat* played a very important role in the life of people in the early nineteenth century. Through all these institutions people followed the established social tradition, social norms, and values. These institutions helped the person to lay down direction of the role of individuals and regulation of the society. The concept of purity and pollution was not as rigid as in other regions probably because a degree of social mobility had taken place in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. This is reflected in the work of Ganesh Das, *Char Bagh-i-Punjab* written in the 1840's who does not mention any such ideas.

There were many castes and tribes in the Punjab in the early nineteenth century i.e. agriculture castes and tribes, professional's castes, mercantile castes and tribe, artisan's castes and lower castes. Castes identity seems to be an important aspect in every individual's life. Caste, *sharika*, *bhaichara* were the overriding elements for all. The kin group had significance in life as it governed all decisions. All the caste and tribes lived in the five *doabs* of the Punjab i.e. Rachna *doab*, Bari *doab*, Chaj *doab*, Bist Jalandhar *doab* and Sindh Sagar *doab*. However, most castes and tribes of the early nineteenth century were located in a belonged to specific geographical areas with which they were closely linked i.e. Khattris of subcastes Ghais in Rohtas, Nandas and Kochhars in Eminabad, Chopras, Kapur, Khanna in Lahore, Puris in Batala, Tulis in Kalanaur, Maini in Gujrat, Bedis and Mehtas in Patti.

Brahmans lived mostly in the Bari *doab* and Bist Jalandhar *doab*. The tribes of the *brahmans* were Bali, Bhardwaj, Joshi, Puj, Vaid, Chhibbar. They inhabited Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Amritsar, Lahore, Jhang and Kapurthala. *Khattris* lived in the Bari *doab*, Jalandhar *doab*, Chaj *doab* and Rachna *doab*. *Khattris* of the subcaste Ghais in Rohtas, Badheras in Bahlolpur, Sialkot and Gujrat, Sibtis in Jalalpur, Sahnis and Kohli in

Wazirabad, Nandas and Kochhars in Eminabad, Chopras, Kapur, Khanna in Lahore, Mehra in Dipalpur, Puris in Batala, Tulis in Kalanaur, Kondi in Bahlolpur, Maini in Gujrat, Bedis and Mehtas in Patti and Sehgal and Thapars in Jalandhar. Khattris of the subcaste Sethi, Suri, Uppal, Bhalla, Malhotra and Mehta were lived in Chaj *doab*. Khattris of the subcastes Puri, Bhandari, Khosla and Dhir lived in the Bari *doab*. *Khattris* of the subcastes Sehgal, Thapars, Sodhis, Watts, Puris, Khoslas, Jagotas and Chadhas lived in the Jalandhar *doab*. Umat and Buchchar were the subcastes of *khattris* and lived in Gunachaur village in the *pargana* of Rahon in the Jalandhar *doab*. *Khattris* of Rekhi, Sachchar, Chatrath, Chandali, Duggal and Badhawan subcaste were the prominent persons of the Ibrahimabad Sodhara town in the Rachna *doab*. *Khattris* of Indrajog subcaste lived in Jalalpur Bhattian in the Rachna *doab*. Khattris of Nayyar and Patpatia lived in Sambrial village in the Rachna *doab*. *Khattris* of two subcastes Handas and Duggals lived in the Chaj *doab*.

Jats lived in all the *doabs*. Jats inhabited Gujranwala, Gujrat, Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Sialkot, Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur. The tribes of the Jats were Tarar, Waraich, Sahi, Hinjra, Cheema, Bajwa, Ghumman, Kahlon, Sarai, Goraya, Dhillon, Virk, Sidhu, Bhullar, Mann, Bal, Pannun, Mahal, Aulak, Gill, Sandhu, Brar, Dhariwal, Mangat, Dhindsa, Kang, Sohal, Bains, and Lohan. Ghumman, Cheema, Awan and Bajwa lived in Sialkot. Walah or Ralah lived in the *pargana* of Heart. Rajputs lived in the Bari *doab*, in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*. Rajputs found in Sialkot and Hoshiarpur. The tribes of the Rajputs were Awan, Chauhan, Kharral, Manj, Tarar, Bhatti, Chhadhar, Khokar and Rathor.

Gakkhars were practically confined to the Rawalpindi, Jehlam, and Hazara, areas where they were found all along the plateaus at the foot of the lower Himalayas, from the Jehlam to Haripur in Hazara. Gakkhars lived in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Gujjars were numerous in Hasan Abdal and Jhelum, and all along the hills from the Jhelum to the Sutlej. Gujjars lived mostly in Bari *doab*. In Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur and in Jalandhar they were mostly cultivators. Hindu Gujjars lived in Lahore. The Gujjars of the Waraich tribe were powerful in the village Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*. The Arains, Kambos and Sainis, also excellent cultivators, but their numbers were rather small. Arains were

numerous in Jalandhar and Kapurthala, around Kalanaur and Batala, and in Lahore and Montgomery. They mostly lived in Jullundur *doab* and Bari *doab*. The Kambos too, were found in Kapurthala and in the valley of the Satlej upto Multan. The Sainis lived mostly along the foothills from the Satlej to the Ravi and were concentrated Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar. The Khattar inhabited Attock and Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. The Kharrals found in large numbers only along the valley of the Ravi, from its junction with the Chanab to the boundary between Lahore and Montgomery; while a few had spread up the Deg river into the Lahore and Gujranwala bar, and smaller numbers were found all along the Satluj valley as high up as Firozpur. They mostly lived in the Rachna *doab* and Bari *doab*. Biloch mostly lived in the Bari *doab*, Sindh Sagar *doab* and Chaj *doab*. Biloch were both numerous and powerful in Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Mankera, Muzaffargarh, Shahpur, Jhang, Multan and Montgomery. A very considerable number of Biloches scattered along the lower Indus and Satlej in Bahawalpur and Multan, and especially in the former. The most important were the Rind, the Korai, the Copang, and Jatoi, and Lashari, and the Hot, while less numerous but still important were the Chandia, the Khosa, and the Dasti. Pathans important in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, Rachna *doab* and in the Bari *doab*. Pathans numerous and dominant in Bannu, Kohat and Peshawar. Among the Pathans the most powerful tribe were Yusafzais, Afgans and Kakezai.

Among the commercial classes the Aroras lived in the Chaj *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. They were numerous in Multan, Kohat, Peshawar and the Derajat. Baniyas mostly appeared in the Upper Bari *doab*, Rachna *doab*, in the Chaj *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Baniyas inhabited Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Rawalpindi and Jalandhar. Jains or Bhabras mostly lived in Sialkot and Hoshairpur in the Rachna *doab* and in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Labanas lived in Chaj *doab*, in the Rachna *doab* and in the Bari *doab*. They inhabited Gurdaspur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. Khoja and Paracha numerous in the Rachna *doab*, Sindh Sagar *doab*, and in the Bari *doab*. The Khoja numerous in Rawalpindi, and also in Muzaffargarh and the Derajat. They were fairly numerous in Lahore, Sialkot, Gujrat and the Salt Range. Parachas were found in Makhad, Attock and Peshawar.

Tarkhans lived in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. They were important in Jalandhar, Firozpur, Sialkot, Amritsar, Lahore, Hoshiarpur; Rawalpindi, Gurdaspur, Multan and in Hazara. Kumhars lived in the Bari *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. They were numerous in numerous in Multan, Jhang, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Bannu and Bahawalpur. Chamars lived in the Bari *doab*, Jalandhar *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*. They were numerous in Lahore, Jalandhar and Ludhiana. The *chuhra* or *bhangi* of the Panjab was found throughout the region. The *chuhra* mostly lived in the Bari and Jalandhar *doab*. They were numerous in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan and Rawalpindi. Nais found mostly lived in the Rachna *doab*, Bari *doab* and Chaj *doab*. The Dum and Mirasi distributed throughout the Punjab, but were most numerous in the Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan divisions, and in Bahawalpur. Thus, a clear identity of caste with location seems to be reflected in the geographical distribution of people in the region. Persons of a particular caste were likely to come from a specific area the group belonged to.

Caste identity seems to have significant for the people in the early nineteenth century and they had pride in their caste, specially the *khatri*s. People lived mostly in joint families covering three to four generation and their life was governed by *bhaichara* and *panchayat*. All the classes had a busy daily routine. Daily routine was largely similar but would obviously vary according to social position and status. The social standing of a person and his class status determined the different activities in their daily life, but mostly they followed the same time frame to do their work. The day started early and ended shortly after sunset. All the classes woke up early in the morning and went early to bed. In upper class women did not work and mostly followed *purda*. But some of the upper class women did not wear *purda* and took an important part in public affairs. In the case of ordinary women and lower class women, they did not wear *purda* and helped their husbands in their work. Men and women were busy doing their work at homes and at work place.

The day to day routine of the people was governed by superstitions beliefs. People of Punjab believed in various superstitions. Superstitious beliefs were related to the daily routine of the people i.e. omens, lucky and unlucky days and months, journey,

superstitions related to animals and birds, cultivation, dreams, worship of the tree and plants. People followed superstitions based on their conscious or unconscious minds. They believed in evil-eye, spirits i.e. *bhut* and *churel*, *jinns*, magic. People were superstitions regarding their settlements and dwellings in the context of the direction, astrological aspects and auspicious times. The cycle of life was marked by a variety of superstitions. These were related broadly, to birth, marriage and death. They invoked the help of the astrologers, saints and priests to ward off evil and lessen their fears of the supernatural. Astrology played an important role in the life of the people. Even Maharaja Ranjit Singh always consulted astrologers before entering upon an important undertaking. Maharaja Ranjit Singh also believed in omens, lucky and unlucky hours, charms, spells, witchcraft and predictions. Some examples are i.e. A smut or dirt in the right eye was good luck. On Monday look at your face in the glass and you will prosper. On Tuesday eat a clove and good fortune would attend you when you set out on business. Woman should not wash her head on a Saturday, or her husband will become sick. People also believed in bad omens i.e. a smut or dirt in the left eye was ill. If a she-jackal (*pavi*) call behind the house of a sick man he was certain to die. A crow on the coping of the house-wall denotes that a relation was coming on a visit, or at least that news from one will soon arrive. The year's ploughing or sowing was best begun on a Wednesday. It must not be begun on a Monday or on a Saturday, and on the 15th of each month the cattle must rest from work. A journey should not be begun on Sunday, Tuesday or Friday, but Monday, Wednesday and Thursday were lucky days for such a purpose. It was unlucky to set out on a journey northwards on Tuesday or Wednesday but lucky on Monday or Friday.

The monotony of the daily routine was broken by participation in fairs and festivals, as well as marriage functions and different kinds of ceremonies at relative's homes. In a year total sixty nine fairs held in the Punjab's different *doabs*. Thirty one in the Bari *doab*, twelve in the Rachna *doab*, thirteen in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, eight in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and five in the Chaj *doab*. Seventeen major fairs and fifty two minor fairs were celebrated in the Punjab. Fairs were celebrated in all the twelve months though March and April had the largest number. In March 23% and in April 32 % fairs held in a year. Five fairs were held in January month at *thakurdwara* of Banke Bihari at Lahore,

Makar Sankrant fair at Mukatsar, fair of Bawa Nam Deo was held at Ghuman, fair was held at Jhang in honour of the Hir and Ranja, fair held at Nihang in honour of Panj Pir. Two fairs were held in Bari *doab*, two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*, one in the Chaj *doab* and one in the Rachna *doab*. Two fairs were held in February month. A fair was held on the day of *basant panchami* at the *mazar* of Madho Lal Husain, Kadmon ka *mela* was held at the tomb of Sakhi Sarwar near Lahori Gate at Lahore. Both the fairs celebrated in the Bari *doab*.

Sixteen important fairs were held in the month of March, A fair was held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar near Dera Ghazi Khan, Two Hindu fairs were held in Mailsi in Multan, fair was held at the shrine of the goddess Rajni Devi, was situated between Mahilpur and Hoshiarpur, at Dera Khalsa in Rawalpindi, an annual fair was held at the shrine of Sain Ghulam Shah, fair take place once in a year in Peshawar, this fair was called Jhanda, a large fair was held on the *mazar* of Shah Abul Ma'ali in Lahore on the anniversary of the saint, a large fair was held the place of Hazrat-i-Ishan at Begum Pura a town of Lahore, a fair was held in the name of Shah Madar, Two fairs were held at the shrine of Shah Nur Jamal, of the local fairs of Sialkot, most attractive was held at Harmandal in the Jammu territories, a fair was held at the shrine of Pir Adil, fairs were in honour of Hafiz Diwan and Pir Sabz at Shahpur, the principal Sikh fair was held in Anandpur at the *holi*. Six fairs were celebrated in the Bari *doab*, four in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*, three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab* and only one fair celebrated in the Rachna *doab* in the March month.

Twenty two fairs were celebrated in the month of April. The *baisakhi* fair was held on first *baisakh* at Lahore, Amritsar and Ber Baba Nanak, close to Sialkot, the 'Ram Thamman' fair was held in the village of Thamman near Kasur, in April month on the Hindu Festival of *baisakhi*. The Katas Raj fair was held on *baisakhi*, at distance of two kos from Katas was another pool of water known as Choa Saidan Shah. A fair was held here. A large fair was held near the pool at the *samadh* of Baba Sain Das, fair was held at Saidpur, the religious fair was held at the shrine of Shah Chiragan, a Sayyad, in Rawalpindi, of the local fairs of Sialkot, the best known and most attractive was held at Parmandal. The shrine was resorted to by pilgrimage from a distance. A fair was held at

the shrine of Shah Sufaid, which was said to cure lepers, in Pandori on *baisakhi* in April a fair was held. A fair was held in Shiwala of Achleshwar at Achal on *baisakhi* in April. A fair was held in honour of Siri Chand, son of Baba Nanak at Bharath on *baisakhi*. A fair was held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar Sakhi Sarwar, as a saint was also typical of the other saints of the Dera Ghazi Khan, *baisakhi* fair at Eminabad. Baisakhi Devi fair at Surajkund, fair was held at the *khanqah* Hafiz Hyat, fair on the *baisakhi* at Punnanke. From amongst the Hindu faqirs of this place Baba Lahar Bairagi. A large fair was held at the place of Hindu Faqir on the days of *baisakhi* and *janamashtami*. Each Monday and Tuesday a fair was held at the Chaubara of Chhajju Bhagat. A fair was held here on the *shivratni*, at Tilla of jogis. Nine fairs celebrated in the Bari doab, five each in the Sindh Sagar *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*, two celebrated in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*, one celebrated in the Chaj *doab* in the April month.

Six fairs were held in the month of May. A large fair was held at the *smadh* of Haqiqat Rai, a shrine of a Muslim saint, called Barri Latif Shah, which was visited by large crowds at the time of the fair or *mela*. On Tuesday, a fair were held in honour of Sitla, goddess of smallpox. The temple was situated between Lahori Gate and Shah Almi Gate of Lahore. On the day of Ikadashi in the month of a May a large fair was held in the temple of Bhaddar Kali. The *urs* of Bawa Farid Godar was held at Kastiwalin Batala in May. A great fair was held at the shrine of Fateh Shah Sarisht on the occasion of Shab-e-Barat. Five fairs were celebrated in Bari *doab* and only one celebrated in the Sindh Sagar *doab* in the May Month.

Seven fairs were held in month of June. a Muslim fair held on 7th June at the shrine of one Shah Mir Kalan at Rukia, at the shrine of Shah Bolaki near Chitti *shaikh*, a fair was celebrated, the most important was the religious fair at Dhaunkal was a town near Wazirabad, a large fair was held at the tomb of Imam Nasir-ud-din in Jalandhar, Ichhra place associated with Bhairo where a fair held was held for a few nights after the new moon. Every year a fair was held on a mound close to the village Ikadsiwal. A great fair was held at the shrine of Fateh Shah Sarisht on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitar.

Four fairs were held in the month of July. A fair was held at the tomb of Pir-Sahib, on 13th, 14th and 15th July in honour of Pir of Adam Sultan at Turtipur, the fair of Abid Khan Sadozai was held in the garden of Abid Khan Sadozai at Multan on every Sunday. A large fair, name *mari* Narotam gir held in Shujabad, in Multan at Gajju Hatta. Fair held on 15th July for one day in honour of Narotamgir. Two fairs were held in the August month. Adjoining the place of Mian Mir was the place of Guru Ram Das Sodhi of the Nanak Shahi order. There was a huge tree and a small well which were regarded as sacred. The place was believed to be very auspicious. A fair was held there in the month of August. A fair was held at the tomb of Shaikh Farid, Ganj-i-Shakar on each Friday, which was largely attended by both Mahomedans and Hindus. One fair was held in September month. A cattle fair yearly held at Sialkot. Two fairs were held in the October month. A cattle fair was held at Dinanagar on *dussehra* in October. During the Nauratra, a fair was held at the temple of *kali mata* in Lahore, for nine days. Only one fair was held in the November month at Amritsar. Amritsar was the most important centre of pilgrimage for the Sikhs of Guru Nanak. Every morning and evening a large number of people visit the Har Mandar. Every year people come here for worship in unusually large numbers the *diwali* night. Only one important fair was held at Karor in December month in Dera Ismail Khan in honour of the local saint, Lal Isan.

Seventeen major fairs and fifty two minor fairs were celebrated in the Punjab. In the major fairs, people came from the different parts of the Punjab to and participated but in the minor fairs only local people visited. Seventeen major fairs held in Punjab i.e. Basant Panchami on the *mazar* of Madho Lal Husain, another large fair was at the *smadh* of Haqiqat Rai Kadmon ka *mela* was held at the tomb of Sakhi Sarwar, at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar, the *baisakhi* fair were celebrated at Amritsar and Lahore, at Ber Baba Nanak, the *baisakhi* fair at the commencement of the New Year, the Katas Raj fair was held on *baisakhi*, a fair was held at Choa Saidan Shah, a large fair was held on the *mazar* of Shah Abul Ma'ali, at the Chaubara of Chhajju Bhagat in Lahore, the annual fair at Tilla Bal Nath at the time of *shivaratra*, a large fair was held near the pool at the *samadh* of Baba Sain Das. A fair take place once in a year in Peshawar, this fair was called Jhanda. On two occasions every year people came Harmandar for worship in unusually large

numbers: the day of the *baisakhi* and the night of the *diwali*. The principal Sikh fair was held at Anandpur Makhawal at the Holi.

Some fairs were only local and the number of visitors was small. Men, women and children, decked out in their best colourful robes, trudged along the road, either on foot or on horse, camels and donkeys or in carts, singing and shouting or giving a merry laugh now and then, as one of the party related some interesting story to beguile the way to the fair. Stalls were set up miscellaneous merchandise like toys, sweets, fruits, eatables of various kind, utensils, cloth and other household goods. All these articles were arranged in an attractive and fascinating style. There were swing, merry-go-rounds, acrobats, jugglers, wrestlers, actors, singers and dancers. They entertained the multitude with their performances. In return they received small coins as their fees or reward. Monkey and bear owner, snake-charmers displayed their skill to get something from the spectators of their own free will. Fiddlers, harpers, pipes, drummers and performers on guitar and other musical instruments contributed for the entertainment of visitors. Everybody in the fair appeared full of mirth and merriment.

People of the Punjab enjoyed a lot on the occasion of marriages. At wedding times people had an opportunity to break their daily routine. People felt refreshed by the different ceremonies performed in the Punjabi wedding. The main ceremonies were as follows. *Var Labna* (mate selection) , *kudmai* (betrothal), *lagan / saha kadna* (fixing of marriage date), *gandh ferna* (means sending the invitations to the relatives), *suhag-gana* , *maila pauna*, *khare bithaona*, *vatna*, *sangeet*, *mehndi*, *sehra bandi*, *tambol pauna*, *wagh farai*, *milni*, *phas*, *bidai*, *tel pauna* and *pani warna*. In the marriage the ceremonies performed were deciding the date of marriage with *shagun*, sending invitations, *sehrabandi*, marriage party's reception, *nazars*, entertainments with music, dance and drinks, fire-works, showering of money over the heads of the bride and the bridegroom, dowry and its display were observed according to the financial position of the parties concerned. All the above mentioned ceremonies regarding marriages particularly among the Sikhs were common among the rich and the poor, the ruler and the commoner. Fairs, custom and rituals were very important; they gave a new beginning to life. All the fairs and ceremonies were much awaited events in the life of Punjabi people.

Religion played significant role in life of the Punjabis in the early nineteenth century. On the whole, it is seen that many religious places of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh were located in the Punjab. There were total one hundred and seventy nine sacred places in the Punjab. Eighty one places located in the Bari *doab*, fifty in the Rachna *doab*, fourteen in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, twenty in the Chaj *doab* and fourteen in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. The Bari and Rachna *doabs* thus, had the largest proportion of religious places. 46% places located in the Bari *doab* and 28% located in the Rachna *doab*. Fifty seven sacred places belonged to Hindu religion, forty three belonged to Sikh religion, forty two belonged to Muslim religion and thirty seven popular pilgrimages. 32% sacred places belonged to Hindu religion, 24% belonged to Sikh religion, 23% belonged to Muslim religion and 20% belonged to popular pilgrimages. Hindu religious places were *thakurdwaras*, *shivdwara*, *vaishnava* establishment, *devidwaras* and *jogi* establishment. Sikh places were *gurdwaras*, *dharmsalas* and *udasi* establishments. Muslims places were *khanqahs*, *mazars*, tombs and mosques.

Numerous Hindu religious places dotted the region and played very significant role in the life of the people of Punjab. Religious places can be identified in all the five *doabs* i.e. in the Rachna *doab*, the Bari *doab*, the Sindh Sagar *doab*, the Chaj *doab* and the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Four *thakurdwaras* in the Bari *doab*, one in the Sindh Sagar *doab* and three in the Rachna *doab* and one in Chaj *doab*. Dominant area of *thakurdwaras* was in the Bari *doab*. *Thakurdwaras* were mostly established in the urban areas. *Jogis* also established their establishment in different *doabs*, three establishments in the Bari *doab*, one each in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, in the Chaj *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*. Dominant area of *jogis* was in the Bari *doab*. *Jogis* established their establishment mostly in the hilly and some also in rural areas. *Shivdwaras* were also important. *Shivdwaras* also established in the different parts of the Punjab. Nine *shivdwaras* were identify in the Bari *doab*, three in the Rachna *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, one *shivdawara* in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *shivdawara* was in the Bari *doab*. *Shivdwaras* too were mostly established in the urban areas. *Vaishnavas* establishments also prevalent in different *doab*, five were in the Bari *doab*, four in the Rachna *doab* and three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Dominant area of *Vaishnavas* was in the Bari *doab*. *Vaishnavas* established their establishments mostly in

the rural areas. Goddess worship was also famous in Punjab. Four *devidwaras* were in the Bari *doab*, two in Lahore and two in Amritsar, two establishments in the Chaj *doab* and four in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and three in the Rachna *doab*. Goddess temple established mostly in the urban area but some of the temple also established in the rural areas. The area of dominate of Hindu sacred places was in the Bari *doab* with twenty five sacred places. Seven Hindu places in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, fourteen places in the Rachna *doab*, six places in the Chaj *doab* and five in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Shivdwaras and Goddess establishment dominated the Hindu sacred places.

People came there to Muslims shrines, to fulfill their vows. The dominant area of the *khanqahs* was in the Rachna *doab*, with sixteen *khanqahs* there. Three located in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab*, two identify in the Bari *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Mazars were also located in the Punjab. Four located in the Bari *doab*, two in the Rachna *doab* and one in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Dominant area of *mazars* was in the Bari *doab*. Tomb and Mosque were also located in the Punjab in the different *doabs*. Four tombs were located in the Bari *doab*, one in Bist Jalandhar *doab* and one in the Chaj *doab*. Dominant area of tomb was in the Bari *doab*. Two mosque located in the Chaj *doab*, one in the Bari *doab*, and one in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Mosque located in every village and each city but these four were the main, people came there in large number. The area of dominate of Muslim sacred places was in the Rachna *doab* with eighteen sacred places. Eleven sacred places located in the Bari *doab*, five in the Chaj *doab*, four located in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and four in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. The entire Muslims establishment i.e. *khanqah*, *mazar*, tomb and mosque some located in rural areas and some located in the urban areas.

Sikh also visited their religious places. There were many *gurdwaras* in the Punjab. Twelve *gurdwaras* in the Bari *doab*, three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, three in the Rachna *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *gurdwaras* was in the Bari *doab*. Dharmshalas were also located in different parts of Punjab. Eight were found in the Bari *doab*, three in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Rachna *doab*. Dharmshalas found in the Bari *doab* in large number. Udasi *akharas* were also important establishments. Seven establishments in the Bari *doab*, two in the Rachna *doab* and one in the Bist Jalandhar

doab. Dominant area of *udasi akharas* was in the Bari *doab*. Dharmshalas and *udasi's akharas* mostly established in the rural area but *gurdwaras* established in rural and as well as in the urban areas. The area of dominate of Sikh sacred places was in the Bari *doab* with twenty seven sacred places. Seven Sikh places located in the Rachna *doab*, three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, three in the Chaj *doab*, three in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*.

The people of the Punjab visited these shrines for their belief and faith. People of Punjab gave respect and honour to all these popular pilgrimage. There were thirty seven popular shrines located in the Punjab. Eighteen located in the Bari *doab*, eleven in the Rachna *doab*, six in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of popular shrines was in the Bari *doab*. Popular shrines established in the urban areas and in the rural areas. People of all religion came to these popular shrines for worship. Fairs also held at these pilgrimages. Besides these religious places people of Punjab also visit Dwarka (Banaras), Gaya, Jagannath Puri, Hardwar, Kurukshetra, Mecca and the Ganga, Jamuna and Ravi rivers for religious and ceremonial bath.

The early nineteenth century Punjab is marked by religious tolerance. People followed their own religion but they respected other's religion also. The Ruling class took interest in construction to make various religious places. Raja Gulab Singh build a *thakurdwara* in Pind Dadan Khan in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, Maharaja Gulab Singh Jamwal constructed a *shiva* temple in Dinga situated in the Chaj *doab*, diwan Kishan Kaur build a new temple of Shiva in Rawalpindi, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia build a temple to *shiva* in Kapurthala. Maharaja Ranjit Singh had the secular approach for the others religion. Maharaja Ranjit Singh visited the many sacred places, of the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims such as the Harmandir Sahib ji, Tarn Taran Sahib ji, Punja Sahib ji, Siri Nankana Sahib ji, Manja Sahib ji, Dera Baba Nanak Ji, Bawali Sahib Ji, Ram Tirth, Jawalaji, Katas, Mausoleum of Hazart Ganj Bakhsh Hujveri, Shah Abul Ma' ali, *khanqah* of Madho Lal Hussain. Maharaja Ranjit visited their on many occasions such as on the birth of Kanwar Kharak Singh, Diwali, Dussehra, Baisakhi, Maghi, Nirjala Ikadashi, *sankrant* and *amavas*. Ruling class took interest to make various establishments.

People too had the secular approach. The policy of tolerance also followed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh seemed to have petered down to the people as well. All the classes respected each other's religion. Ganesh Das in his book *Char Bagh-i-Panjab*, talked about only two incidents of intolerance. First happened in the *chaj doab*. Sayyid Miran Fazil, who was a staunch follower of his faith, had disagreements and altercations with the *darveshes* of every other sect. He got Balbhadra's tongue cut off for not reciting the *kalima* of Islam and for not becoming a Musalman. Through inducement and torture, he brought many persons from amongst the *qanungos* and the craftsman into the fold of Islam. He possessed a mastery of the *shariat* and *figh*. Second was the story about Haqiqat Rai. Haqiqat Rai, a Hindu boy of 15, used to study in a school, in the time of Nawab Khan Bahadur, Viceroy of Lahore. He quarrelled with the *musalman* boys and returned the abusive language which they had applied to some of the Hindu gods. He was taken to the *qazi* who sentenced him to be executed for daring to abuse the Prophet. The case came on before the Governor, who confirmed the *qazi's* sentence, declaring, however that, should the boy embrace Islam, the sentence would be remitted. Haqiqat Rai, true to the faith of his ancestors, rejected the invitation to embrace the faith of the Prophet and was executed. Except these two incidents there was not any other incident of intolerance recorded by Ganesh Das. It seems therefore, that religious differences did not create conflict in society but people lived in peaceful co-existence.

The worldview of the society in the early nineteenth century had a clear idea about the origin of the world and the different groups of people. They believed that the world was created by God as well as the different castes, *brahmans*, different *yugs*, *khattris* and their important groups and rulers of Punjab, especially Raja Bharat. God created three deputies before any other from appeared in creation: Brahma, Bishan (Vishnu), and Mahadev. People of Punjab had some common beliefs regarding the natural world. In their lives people accepted certain social ideas and values as part of their understanding of the world. People were remembered for their good manners in the society, social work for the welfare of the society without their own profit. People showed respect for each other in the family and in the elders in society. The person, who followed etiquettes and respected their elders, had captivated the hearts of the people by his good manners and kindness. People of Punjab had the feeling to 'do good for society'.

Irrespective of their creed, the well to do persons often expressed their sense of piety in works of public utility, perhaps taking their cue from the nobles and administrators. They built mosques, bridges, *sarais* and mausoleum; they dug tanks and laid out gardens; they constructed wells and *baolis*; they kept open kitchen for the stranger and the poor. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, all met in a companionship. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and other people of the ruling class gave every possible encouragement to his people to live with one another in a cheerful frame of mind with a friendly nod. Respectful people of the Punjab especially ruling class people built *shivdwaras*, *thakurdwaras*, *dharamsalas* and *samadhs* for the Punjabi society. All these built in the memory of respectful people in the society, located in the five *doabs* of the Punjab.

Some examples of social welfare are i.e. Lala Bhag Mal constructed a *pacca* tank. Lala Devi Das constructed a stepwell that was a *baoli*. Jawala Das Basambhu, dug a pond as a bathing place for the people. Kanhiya Mal of the subcaste Panwal, by the sheer labour of his hands dug a pond and planted a grove of trees. Lala Amrik Singh Chhibbar who constructed a temple dedicated to Mahadeva and also a stepwell, and laid out a small garden, on the road to Suk Ahmad in the *chaj doab*. Chaudhari Rehmat Khan Waraich constructed a mosque and a well. Kaniya Lal, son of Amir Chand, has constructed a well and laid out a garden. Hazart Shah Daula, the *faqir*, who was unparalleled for his generosity erected a fine bridge over the stream for the convenience of travellers in the Rachna *doab*. It was called the bridge of Shah Daula. Wadhawan women Bhola Dai made a fine bridge over the stream. A tank and a *baradari* have been constructed here by Muhammad Siddiq.

People of Panjab also helped each other without any hesitation we have some references like. Bakhshi Hari Singh, without hesitation he provides meals to all those travelers. Baba Kanwal Nain, the *brahman*, was the man whose open kitchen provide food to travellers. Chaudhari Diwan Singh used to provide food to travellers and look after their comfort with care. Villagers of Alamgarh, provide the travellers meals. Lala Hari Ram Puri, he used to serve with care all those *faqir* and way-farers who stayed for the night in the village Gharat Khalsa. A *faqir* gave water to all travellers to overcome by the heat, while multitudes of monkeys were leaping from tree to tree, and flocks of

parrots filled the air with their clatter. Samed Shah, the deputy of Mohammed Shah Nakshbandi, who was said to feed two hundred poor men daily. Kang Dal Singh Wali has an open kitchen in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*.

Many eminent men, added much to the busy life of the city. Many *dharamsalas*, *shivdwaras*, *thakurdawars*, *musafirkhanas*, gardens, wells and *baolis* were constructed. There were numerous gardens of flowers and fruits planted at Lahore and Amritsar and other places, either by the Maharaja, or his courtiers and individuals. Most of them were open to the public under certain and strict conditions. They served as meeting ground for Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and developed the spirit for harmonious living. Ranjit Singh was extremely fond of flowers and gardens. He planted beautiful gardens at Lahore, Amritsar, Dinanagar, Gujranwala and Wazirabad. His example was followed by his nobles and courtiers. Amar Nath gave an account of twelve gardens. Diwan Amar Nath mentions the following gardens in Lahore: Badami Bagh, Baghe-e-Daudi, Dilkusha Bagh, Bagh-e-Shah, Balawal, outside the fort near Hazuri Bagh, Habadda Bagh, Khosha Bagh, Chaha Bagh, Bagh Bhai Ram Singh, Bagh Hazrat Faqir Sahib, Baghe-e-Farhat-afza, Bagh-e-Ruhkash Aram, Diwan-e-Diwangan. Besides these were gardens at Lahore, laid out by the following persons: the garden of Bibi Nakain, the mother of Prince Kharak Singh, and the garden of Mai Sada Kaur; the Badami Bagh; the gardens of Moran, Bhai Mahan Singh, Bhai Wasti Ram, Bhai Kanhiya Shah, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Sher Singh, Misar Diwan Chand, Diwan Mohkam Chand, Diwan Moti Ram, Raja Tek Singh, Raja Duni Singh, Raja Suchet Singh, Jawala Singh Padhania, Dal Singh, Sardar Himmat Singh, Sham Singh Atariwala, Ratan Singh Dahriwala, Ratan Chand Duggal of Wazirabad and the garden of Diwan Kirpa Ram Chopra, which had a tank and the samadh of Haqiqat Rai in it; the garden of Basakhi Bhagat Ram, Sham Das Dhondiwalia. Jawahar Singh Bastiwala, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, Lehna Singh Majithia and Misar Ram Kishan, the brother of Misar Beli Ram who was the royal treasurer; the gardens of Chhota Ram and Faqir Azizuddin, the garden known as Fatehgarhwala, the gardens of Bishan Singh Mehra and Diwan Shah Nanda, adjoining the Sabzpir, which contains his ancestral place of worship; the gardens of Paras Ram Bairagi, Lachhman Das Bairagi, Janaki Das Bairagi, Dayala Salharia, Mai Manglah and others.

Many *thakurdwaras*, *shiwala*, *samadhs* and *dharmsala* were constructed in the early nineteenth century. In some reference the name of person who made it but in some instances it is not known. The *Char bagh-i-Punjab*, records that all these building construed in the early nineteenth century by the people of Punjab. Mostly Ruling class took interest to made *shivdwaras* and *thakurdwaras*. Knowledgeable persons were appreciated in the society and served as a source of inspiration for others. There are several references in the early nineteenth century, when people made their names in the different fields i.e. Jurisprudence, Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Mathematics, Calligraphy, Composition, History, Medicine, Poetry, Music, in *shastras*, and famous for his knowledge of Arabic and Persian. Some examples are Shaikh Ahmad, the hakim, and Gamay Shah, the sayyid, had been unrivalled in their knowledge of philosophy. Ram Kishan, the *brahman*, was well-versed in the knowledge of the *shastras*. A *pandit* named Mansa Ram Razdan from Chaj *doab*, who was incomparable for his piety and asceticism and his knowledge of astrology. Lehna Singh from Bari *doab* had acquired a good knowledge of mathematics. Har Narain was well known for his proficiency in history. Mian Gulam Qadir Nazmi had attained perfect competence in Persian and Hindi poetry, in composition, in the usage of current idioms, calligraphy and the lineament of letters. Nusratmand Badhera was well known for his attainment in music and poetry. People respected the person most, who had skills and knowledge. All these respectful people mostly lived in the cities and served on their knowledge and skills to others. Talent and skill were appreciated in the society and even given patronage by ruling elite and wealthy person. Recognition of skill and talent cut across class differences.

Society in the early nineteenth century was simple and traditional marked by social differentiation of caste and class. Most of the castes were associated with specific areas or locations. People lived in joint families and gave importance to kinship, *bhaichara* and followed the decisions of the *panchayat* in their localities. Superstitions and omens also controlled the life of people and every act in their daily life was governed by lucky or unlucky sign and omens. They worked hard and the monotony everyday life was broken by the arrival of the established fairs in each *doabs*. Religion was a significant part of society and the existence of numerous religious spaces is evidence of their religious devotion and faith. It is important to note that people lived in peaceful co-

existence and no major religious strife is recorded in this period. The existence of numerous places of popular religion would also support this idea. Society gave value to social work and help to fellow beings. Persons who constructed wells, religious places, fed the travelers and poor, provided bridges and water to people were considered worthy of respect. Eminent persons contributed to social welfare to perpetuate the name of their family. People respected knowledge and skill in all caste and classes and appreciated such persons. On the whole, society was governed by the set social norms and patterns of behavior and very few would step outside the demarcated boundaries.

Appendix-I

LIST OF CASTES IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Sr. No.	Caste	Caste Name	Area
1	Brahman	Bali, Bhardwaj, Joshi, Vaid, Chhibbar, Joshi	Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Amritsar, Lahore, Jhang, Kapurthala
2	Khatri	Ghai, Badhera, Kondi, Sobti, Sahni, Kohli, Nanda, Kochhar, Chopra, Kapur, Khanna, Mehra, Puri, Tulis, Maini, Bedi, Mehta, Sehgal, Thapars, Umat, Buchchar, Rekhi, Sachchar, Chatrath, Chandali, Duggal, Badhawan,	Rohtas, Bahlolpur, Sialkot, Gujrat, Jalalpur, Wazirabad, Eminabad, Lahore, Dipalpur, Batala, Kalanaur, Gujrat, Patti, Jalandhar, Rahon, Sodhara,
3	Jat	Tarar, Waraich, Sahi, Hinjra, Cheema, Bajwa, Ghumman, Kahlon, Sarai, Goraya, Dhillon, Virk, Sidhu, Bhullar, Mann, Bal, Pannun, Mahal, Aulak, Gill, Sandhu, Brar, Dhariwal, Mangat, Dhindsa, Kang, Sohal, Bains, Lohan	Gujranwala, Gujrat, Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Sialkot, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur
4	Rajput	Awan, Chauhan, Kharral, Manj, Tarar, Bhatti, Chhadhar, Khokar, Rahtor	Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur,
5	Gakkhars		Rawalpindi, Jehlum, Hazara
6	Gujjar	Waraich	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Hasan Abdal, Jehlum, Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar.
7	Arains		Jalandhar, Kapurthala, Kalanaur, Batala, Lahore, Montgomery
8	Kambos		Kapurthala, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Multan
9	Khattar		Attock, Rawalpindi
10	Kharrals		Lahore, Montgomery, Gujranwala
11	Biloch	Rind, the Korai, the Copang, and Jatoi, Lashari, Hot	Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Mankera, Muzaffargarh, Shahpur, Jhang, Multan, Montgomery, Bahawalpur
12	Pathan	Yusafzais, Afgans, Kakezai	Kohat, Bannu, Peshawar
13	Arora		Multan, Kohat, Peshawar,

			Derajat,
14	Banias		Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Rawalpindi, Jalandhar,
15	Jains	Bhabras	Sialkot, Hoshiarpur, Pasrur
16	Labana		Gurdaspur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Gujrat
17	Khoja	Bhatia	Gurdaspur, Rawalpindi, Muzaffargarh, Derajat, Lahore, Sialkot, Gujrat, Narowal, Chiniot
18	Paracha		Makhad, Attock, Peshawar, Bhera, Chiniot
19	Lohar		Multan, Derajat
20	Tarkhan		Jalandhar, Sialkot, Amritsar, Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Rawalpindi, Multan, Hazara
21	Kumhar		Multan, Jhang, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Bannu, Bahawalpur
22	Chamar		Jalandhar
23	Chuhra		Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Rawalpindi,
24	Nai		Bari doab
25	Dum		Sindh Sagar Doab and Bari Doab
26	Mirasi		Sindh Sagar Doab and Bari Doab

This information is based on Grewal, J.S. & Indu Banga (tr. & ed), *Early Nineteenth Century Panjab* (a part of Ganesh Das's *Char Bagh-i-Panjab*), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975.

Appendix-II

FAIRS CELEBRATED IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB

Sr. No.	Month	Fair	Place
1.	January (5)	At <i>thakurdwara</i> of BankeBihari, on <i>maker sankrant</i> , shrine of Bawa Nam Deo, in honour of the Heer and Ranjha, in honour of PanjPir	Lahore, Muktsar, Ghuman, Jhang Sial, Shahpur
2.	February (2)	Basant Panchami fair at the <i>mazar</i> of MadhoLal Husain, kadmon ka <i>mela</i> at the tomb of Sakhi Sarwar	Lahore (2)
3.	March (16)	Honour of Sakhi Sarwar, in honour of Baba Nanak ji, <i>holi</i> fair in honour of <i>devi</i> , fair of goddess Rajni Devi, at the shrine of sain Ghulam Shah, Jhanda fair on the anniversary of Sakhi Sawar's death, at the <i>mazar</i> of Shah AbulMa'ali on the anniversary of the saint, at the shrine of Hazrat-i-Ishan, at the <i>khanqah</i> of Sayyi Miththa, two fair at the shrine of Shah Nur Jamal, religious fair, shrine of fir Adil, honour of Hafiz Diwan, honour of PirSabz, <i>holi</i> fair at Anandpur (Makhawal) Sahib	Dera Ghazi Khan, Multan (2), Hoshiarpur, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Lahore (3), Hoshiarpur (2) Sialkot, Dera Ghazi Khan, Shahpur (2), Anandpur
4.	April (22)	Baisakhi fair, <i>baisakhi</i> fair, shrine of Mathra Singh Shahid, <i>baisakhi</i> fair, <i>baisakhifair</i> , religious fair, <i>baisakhi</i> fair at the <i>samadh</i> of Baba Sain Das, Hindu religious fair, shrine of Shah Chiragah, religious fair, shrine of Shah Sufaid on <i>baisakhi</i> , <i>baisakhi</i> of fair at <i>bairagi</i> temple, <i>baisakhi</i> fair in honour of Baba Sri Chand, at shrine of SakhiSarwar, <i>baisakhi</i> fair, <i>baisakhidevi</i> fair, Surajkund fair, at <i>khanqah</i> of Hafiz Hyat, <i>baisakhi</i> fair, <i>baisakhi</i> fair, at Chaubara of Chhaju Bhagat, at Tilla Bal Nath	Lahore, Amritsar, Sialkot, Kasur, Katas, ChoaSaidan, Eminabad, Saidpur, Rawalpindi (2), Sialkot, Pandori, Achal, Dera Ghazi Khan, Eminabad, Rahon (2), Gujrat, Sialkot, Narowal, Lahore, Rohtas.
5.	May (6)	At <i>samadh</i> of Haqiqat Rai, honour of Sitla Mata, honour of Bhaddar Kali, shrine of	Lahore (4), Batala, Rawalpindi

		Fateh Shah Sarisht on Shab-e-Barat, at shrine of Bawa Farid Godar, shrine of Muslim saint Barri Latif Shah,	
6.	June (7)	Shrine of Shah Mir Kalan, shrine of Shah Balaki, religious fair, at the tomb of Imam Nasir-ud-din, fair held at <i>bhaira</i> place, at shrine of Fateh Shah Sarisht on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitar, religious fair	Sialkot (2), Gujranwala, Jalandhar, Lahore (2), Kalanaur
7.	July (4)	At the shrine of Pir Adam Sultan, at the tomb of Pir Sahib, in honour of Abid Khan Sadozai, in honour of Narotamgir	Shahpur, Jalandhar, Multan (2)
8.	August (2)	In the honour of Guru Ram Das, at the tomb of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar	Amritsar, Multan
9.	September (1)	Cattle fair	Sialkot
10.	October (1)	Cattle fair, at the temple of Kali Mata	Dinanagar, Lahore
11.	November (1)	On the occasion of Diwali	Amritsar
12.	December (1)	In honour of Saint Lal Ishan	Dera Ismail Khan

Appendix-III

HINDU RELIGIOUS PLACES IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB

Sr. No.	Place	Name	Nature
1	Lahore (4)	Thakurdwara of Banka Bihari, <i>thakurdwara</i> of Chor-Mor, <i>thakurdwara</i> of Raja Teja Singh, <i>thakurdwara</i> of Radha Krishan	Thakurdwara
2	Gujrat	Jaikishania Sadhs	„
3	Pind Dadan Khan	Thakurdwara of Raja Gulab Singh	„
4	Sialkot	Thakurdwara of Salbahan	„
5	Wazirabad (2)	Thakurdwara of Jai-Kishnia Sadhs (2)	„
6	Rohtas	Tilla Bal NathJogi	Jogi Establishment
7	Kirana	Aughar Jogi Sukal Nath	„
8	Achal	Sham Kartik	„
9	Icehra	Bhairo	„
10	Lahore	Baba Brahm Nath Sannyasi	„
11	Bar	Pillar of Mahadev	„
12	Dinga	Mahadev Temple	Shiwala
13	Lahore (8)	Shiwala of Raja Dina Nath, Shiwala of Bakshi Bhagat Ram, Shiwala of Bawa Thaurgir, Shiwala of Gulab Rai, Shiwala of Diwan Shankar Nath, Shiwala of Dilbagh Rai, Shiwala of Pandit Radha Kishan and Shiwala of Tibbiwala	„
14	Rawalpindi	Shiva Temple	„
15	Byol	Shiva Temple	„
16	Gujrat	Mahadev Temple	„
17	Sialkot	Shiva Temple	„
18	Wazirabad (2)	Mahadev Temple (2)	„
19	Kapurthala	Shiva Temple	„
20	Dhand Kasel	Mahadev Temple	„
21	Eminabad	Baba Sain Das Bairagi Establishment	Vaishnavas Establishment
22	Katas	Katas Temple	„
23	Choa Saidan Shah	Narsingh Pohar	„
24	Kuthala	Bairagi Establishment	„

25	Dhianpur	Establishment of Baba Lal	„
26	Wazirabad	Establishment of Baba Lal	„
27	Sayyidwala	Chautara of Ram-Lachman	„
28	Gujranwala	Establishment of Baba Murar Das Bairagi	„
29	Amritsar	Bairagi establishment at Ram Tirath	„
30	Lahore	Bairagi Sadh establishment	„
31	Dipalpur	Baba Lalu Bairagi establishment	„
32	Talabpur Pandori	Bhagwan-Narain establishment	„
33	Lahore (2)	Kalka Temple, Bhaddar Kali Temple	Goddess Temple
34	Gujrat (2)	Devi Temple (2)	„
35	Jalandhar (2)	Temple of Kalka, Temple of Turt Phurni	„
36	Garhdiwala	Devi Temple	„
37	Jwalamukhi	Devi Temple	„
38	Kotla Khatrian	Kalka Devi	„
39	Amritsar (2)	Kalka Devi and Durgiana Temple	„
40	Sodhara (2)	Temple of Devi	„

Appendix-IV

MUSLIM RELIGIOUS PLACES IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB

Sr. No.	Place	Name	Nature
1	Lahore (2)	Khanqah of Khwaja Ali Hujwiri, Khanqah of Sayyid Miththa	Khanqah
2	Dangli	Khanqah of Dudha Haqqani	”
3	Dinga	Khanqah of Hafiz Hayat	”
4	Hasan Abdal	Khanqah of Sayyid Qandhari Shah Wali Ulla	”
5	Wazirabad (2)	Khanqah of Baqi Shah Aulia, Khanqah of Daim Shah	”
6	Sialkot (6)	Khanqah of Shah-i-Badshahan, Mir Bhil Shahid, Shah Mungawali, Sayyied Surkh, Hazrat Hamzah Ghaus and Sayyidan Nadir	”
7	Eminabad (2)	Khanqah of Bah-ud-din and Sayyid Mansur	”
8	Jalandhar (2)	Khanqah of Imam Nasir-ud-din and Sikandar Shah	”
9	Rawalpindi	Khanqah of a <i>darvesh</i> named Jani	”
10	Shaikhupura(4)	Khanqah of Pir Jamal, Pir Baba Hazari, Pir Fateh Din and Shah Moti (Moni)	”
11	Chandiot	Khanqah of Shan Burhan	”
12	Gujrat	Khanqah of Sayyid Ila Dad	”
13	Qila Sobha Singh	Khanqah of Bulaq Shah	”
14	Lahore (2)	Mazar of Shah AbulMa’ali and Hazrat Mian Mir	Mazar
15	Pakpatan	Mazar of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar	”
16	Wazirabad	Mazar of Baqi Shah	”
17	Peshawar	Dheri of Shah Fateh Khan	”
18	Multan	Mazar of Zainal-Abidin	”
19	Pasrur	Mazar of Mian Barkhurdar	”

20	Lahore (4)	Tomb of Malik Ayaz, Emperor Nuruddin Jahangir, Nur Jahan Begum and Mian Mir	Tomb
21	Gujrat	Tomb of Pandi Shah	”
22	Jalandhar	Tomb of Bijli Khan	”
23	Gujrat (2)	Mosque of Hazrat Shah Waliulla and Muhammad Hussain	Mosque
24	Lahore	Mosque of Wazir Khan	”
25	Jalandhar	Mosque of Eunuch named Baru	”

Appendix-V

SIKH RELIGIOUS PLACES IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB

Sr. No.	Place	Name	Foundation
1	Amritsar (5)	Harmandar Sahib, Dera Baba Atal, Kaulsar, Bibeksar and Ramsar,	Gurdwara
2	Tarn Taran	Gurdwara Tarn Taran Sahib	”
3	Hasan Abdal	Panja Sahib	”
4	Dera Baba Nanak	Gurdwara Dera Baba Nanak	”
5	Khadur Sahib	Gurdwara Khadur Sahib	”
6	Goindwal Sahib	Gurdwara Goindwal Sahib	”
7	Hargobindpur	Gurdwara Sri Hargobindpur	”
8	Rohtas	Choa Baba Nanak	”
9	Sialkot (2)	Bera Baba Nanak and Baoli Baba Nanak	”
10	Lahore (2)	Baoli Sahib, Gurdwara Mozang	”
11	Anandpur Sahib	Gurdwara Anandpur Sahib	”
12	Kiratpur	Gurdwara Kiratpur Sahib	”
13	Peshawar	Gurdwara of Jamrud	”
14	Eminabad	Rohri Baba Nanak	”
15	Gujrat (3)	Bhai Qandhara Singh, Bhai Kesar Singh, Kotha Guru	Dharmsalas
16	Wazirabad	Dharmsal of <i>udasi faqirs</i>	”
17	Shahdara	Dharmsal of Guru Nanak	”
18	Pind Dadan Khan	Dharmsal of Bhai Bahar	”
19	Amritsar (7)	Bhai Salo, Nirmala Sadhs, Sadhs of Prem Das, Bhai Ratan Singh, Bhai Ram Singh, Bhai Karam Singh and Dharmsal of Sardars.	„

20	Lahore	Dharmsal of Gangu Shah Mehra	”
21	Amritsar (5)	Akharas of Baba Santokh Das, Ganga Ram Biakarni, Advait Brahm, Kanshiwala and <i>akhara</i> of <i>sadhus</i>	Udasi Akharas
22	Wazirabad (2)	Akhara of Sant Rein <i>udasi</i> , Ram Kaur <i>udasi faqir</i>	”
23	Bahadurpur	Deras of <i>udasi sadhs</i>	”
24	Tahli Baba Sri Chand	Udasi <i>faqir</i>	”
25	Ramdas	Place of <i>udasi sadhs</i>	”

Appendix-VI

POPULAR PILGRIMAGE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB

Sr. No.	Place	Name	Popular Shrines
1	Lahore (15)	Tomb of Madho Lal Hussain, shrine of Sitala Mata, Chaubara of Chajju Bhagat, tomb of Shah Hussain, <i>samadh</i> of Haqiqat Rai, Bhai Vasti Ram, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Maharaj Ranjit Singh, Sher Singh and <i>samadh</i> of Sher Singh's wife Randhavi and Rani PartapKaur, <i>samadh</i> of Raja Suchet Singh and Udham Singh, Raja Teja Singh and <i>samadh</i> of Ram Singh	"
2	Wazirabad (2)	Mazar of Sakhi Sarwar, <i>samadh</i> of Jeoni	"
3	Sialkot (2)	Mazar of Imam Ali-al-Haqq, <i>samadh</i> of a <i>sadh</i> Ram Lila	"
4	Dayaliwal	Mazar of Shamuiddin Daryali	"
5	Jalandhar	Panj Pir and the Pir-i-Ghaib	"
6	Ramnagar	Samadh of Baba Lal Daryai	"
7	Gujranwala (4)	Samadh of Gosain Billu Sahib, Baba Sain Das Gosain village, <i>samadh</i> of Sardar Charrat Singh and Sardar Mahan Singh	"
8	Bahlolpur	Baba Pohla Ram Bairagi's <i>samadh</i>	"
9	Shaikhupura	The <i>samadh</i> of Baba Balram Das Bairagi	"

10	Gujrat (4)	Samadh of Baba Ram Ji, Baba Lachhman, Sardar Sahib Singh and <i>marhi</i> of Thakur Das	”
11	Qadirabad	Samadh of Diwan Amir Chand	”
12	Kot Naina	Samadh of Ram Kaur, an <i>udasi faqir</i>	”
13	Ramdas	Samadh of Ram Kaur	”
14	Amritsar	Samadh of <i>shahids</i> and <i>murids</i>	”

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