

**Grade: 7**

**Course: Virṣā (ਵਿਰਸਾ)**

**Lesson Number: 11**

**Unit Name: Methods of Survival in the 18<sup>th</sup> century**

**Title: Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū (ਰਤਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਭੰਗੂ)**

### **Standards**

#### **Standard 2: Methods of Survival in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

- Students identify and understand the Sikh (ਸਿੱਖ) guerrilla tactics of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and how these were employed to successfully gain political ascendancy.
  - Students understand the battle method of Ḍhāī-Phaṭ, while being introduced to Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's work. Other important ideas include the implementation of the Rākḥī (ਰਾਖੀ) system and undermining of the foreign authorities.

### **Objectives**

1. Students will be introduced to a critical evaluation of Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's work in order to understand the limitations and usefulness of his text.

### **Prerequisites**

- Students should be familiar with major events of 18<sup>th</sup> century Sikh history such as the Vaḍā and Choṭā Ghalūghārā (ਵਡਾ ਅਤੇ ਛੋਟਾ ਘਲੂਘਾਰਾ) and the invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī (ਅਹਮਦ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਅਬਦਾਲੀ) and Nādir Shāh (ਨਾਦਿਰ ਸ਼ਾਹ).

### **Materials**

- A review article on the recent Singh Brothers' publication of Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's Srī Gur Panth Prakāsh (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼) (also known as Prācīn Panth Prakāsh - ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼)
- An overview of Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's Srī Gur Panth Prakāsh by the Sikh Research Institute

### **Advanced Preparation**

- The teacher should be familiar with Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's work, its usefulness as a historical source as well as its limitations. There are some Pañābī editions of his text by Bhāī Vīr Singh (ਭਾਈ ਵੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ), and Balvant Singh Ḍhillorā (ਬਲਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਢਿੱਲੋਂ) which are useful.
- Teachers should particularly look at the English translation of his work: Singh, Kulwant (Eng trans.). Sri Gur Panth Prakash, Rattan Singh Bhangoo. Institute of Sikh Studies, Chandigarh, 2006.

### **Engagement (15-20 minutes)**

- Greet students and give them a couple of minutes to settle down and take out their notebooks.
- Remind students of the previous lesson on strategy and the war tactics of the Sikhs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Ask students: how do we know about the strategies of the Sikhs against the invading armies? The article mentioned that we only know about the battle plans of the Sikhs through inference (i.e., by looking at their actions in battle and correlating this evidence with the objectives of the Sikhs). The article also mentioned a written source which recorded oral evidence from Sikhs. What is this written source?
- Once the above questions have been answered, give students a brief background about the structure of Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's Srī Gur Panth Prakāsh. See the article on Panth Prakāsh for main points regarding this issue. Make sure to mention the following points:
  - Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū wrote the text chiefly to inform the British of the Sikh history and

- account for their sovereignty and power in the area.
- He wanted to establish the legitimacy of the Sikh rule.
- In order to do this, Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū gives a detailed account of Sikh history from the time of the Gurūs to the *Misal* period in various Sākhīs (ਸਾਖੀ).
- Through this text, Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū proved that the Sikhs attained sovereignty through Vahgurū's grace and the sacrifices of the community.
- This text has given the Sikh community a valuable historical resource, which is why Bhāi Vīr Singh has given this text the title of "Prācīn Panth Prākāsh".

### **Exploration (35 minutes)**

- Distribute the review article of the Singh Brothers' publication of Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's Panth Prākāsh.
- Get students to answer the following questions in pairs:
  - What famous Sikh is Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū related to?
  - What is the subject of Ratan Singh's text and why did he write it?
  - What are the sources for Bhaṅgū's text? What might be the problems of using such sources?
  - What can we infer about Ratan Singh's point of view from looking at his objectives for writing the Prācīn Panth Prākāsh?
  - Which famous Gursikh (ਗੁਰਸਿਖ) writer first translated Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's work?
  - What inaccuracies does the reviewer point out in Bhaṅgū's work? How does he account for this?
  - Why is Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's work such a valuable resource for 18<sup>th</sup> century Sikh history?
  - What events does Ratan Singh mention in his text and what events does he ignore? How can we account for these gaps?
- In a large class discussion, get students to volunteer their answers. Specific attention should be paid to the answers of question 3, 4 and 8. The teacher should stress the fact that Bhaṅgū's sources were largely oral and one of the problems with such sources is that they cannot be verified by later historians.
- Also, students should get an understanding of Bhaṅgū's work in terms of the context in which it was written. The text was the result of the British government's curiosity about the Sikh empire and Bhaṅgū's work is an attempt to provide an account of the Sikhs that stresses the legitimacy of Sikh political action.
- Also, it is necessary to show that Ratan Singh wanted to explain the "sovereign" nature of the Khālṣā (ਖਾਲਸਾ).

### **Explanation/ Extension (5-10 minutes)**

- Get students to imagine that they are one of the oral sources for Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū's work.
- Get them to imagine that they are one of the Sikhs who remember the Vaḍā Ghalūghārā of 1762. What might such a source tell Ratan Singh about that time?
- Ask students to think about their responses for a few minutes.
- Ask them to give specific details about what it would have been like to live through the Mughal persecution, and the strategies that the Sikhs might have used to survive during that time.
- Ask for volunteers to share this information with the class.

**Evaluation (On-going)**

- If time allows, do this during class or assign for homework: Have students write their responses to the question above in a paragraph. Make sure that students write this paragraph from the first person point of view using pronouns such as “I” and “we” because they are supposed to imagine themselves as an oral source that has been through the Vaḍā Ghalūghārā of 1762.

### Teacher Resources

- Singh, Hardev. Sri Gur Panth Prakāsh [Review], Sikh Studies. February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2007. <http://www.sikhstudies.org/Periodicals.asp?TtlCod=1750>

#### Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū (ਰਤਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਭੰਗੂ)

Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, the author of *Panth Prakāsh* (ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼), was the grandson of famous Sikh warrior, Sardār Mahtāb Singh Mīrāmkoṭīā, (ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮਹਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੀਰਾਂਕੋਟੀਆ) who delivered justice to Massā Raṅghar (ਮੱਸਾ ਰੰਘੜ) in the holy precincts of Harimandar (ਹਰਿਮੰਦਰ), to liberate it from the sacrilege created by the raiders. *Panth Prakāsh* is considered to be an authentic source of Sikh (ਸਿੱਖ) history after the Gurū period, pertaining to the most crucial phase of the Sikh struggle during the eighteenth century. The author was persuaded by Captain Murray of the British army to compile the history of the Sikh struggle leading to the establishment of the *Khālsā Rāj* (ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰਾਜ). The author started work on this project in 1809 and completed it in 1841. It is based on interviews, family history and the information collected by the British and French officers about Pañjāb (ਪੰਜਾਬ). *Panth Prakāsh* is basically an oral history text of the Sikh struggle during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū had no training in historiography, and there were no written accounts available regarding Sikh History. So he faced a formidable task to complete his project. The text was written in old Pañjābī verse. Bhāī Vīr Singh (ਭਾਈ ਵੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ), the great Sikh writer, got it printed in Vazīr Hind (ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਹਿੰਦ) Press, Amritsar (ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ) in 1914. Balvant Singh Dhillon (ਬਲਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਢਿੱਲੋਂ), the editor of the present volume has done an excellent job of comparing the old hand-written manuscript of *Panth Prakāsh* with the printed edition of Bhāī Vīr Singh. The edited version contains footnotes to explain the discrepancies of the old printed editions and the textual material. Singh Brothers have taken pains to publish and print it in book form.

*Panth Prakāsh* is an epic tale of Sikh struggle. It starts abruptly with the exit of French presence in and around Dillī (ਦਿੱਲੀ), the fall of the Marāṭhā (ਮਰਾਠਾ) empire and the onslaught of the British empire in northern India. British officers were baffled by the rise of the Sikh empire in Pañjāb, and hence were keen to explore Sikh religion and culture. Thus, a dialogue started between Captain Murray and the author, who was persuaded to write an account of the Sikh struggle.

Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū traces the history of the Sikh Gurūs briefly and explains the need for the creation of the *Khālsā* by Gurū Gobind Singh Sāhib (ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ). In relating the story of Gurū Nānak Sāhib (ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਹਿਬ), Bhaṅgū seeks to establish that the Gurū was indeed a special representative of Vāhigurū. He thinks that he was the essence of all incarnations and had an edge over them all. This theory is in accord with the one propounded in the compositions of bards which forms an epilogue to the *Gurū Granth*. His interpretation of the mission of Gurū Nānak Sāhib, which he propounds in the context of Gurū's travels, is nearest to the original and depicts Sikhī as the faith of a modern person. The basic concern of Gurū Nānak Sāhib, according to him was, to seek adherents to Truth and Vāhigurū alone and to eliminate the worship of 'pretender gods' and abjuring belief in false faiths. The universal concerns of Guru Nanak are emphasised by him.

*Panth Prakāsh* is the only source of the historical account of Bandā Singh and the establishment of Sikh rule in the Pañjāb. The revolution started with the victories of Bandā Singh Bahādar (ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਹਾਦਰ), was short-lived as he lost support of Mātā Sundarī (ਮਾਤਾ ਸੁੰਦਰੀ) and a faction of the Sikhs, known as Tat *Khālsā* (ਤਤ ਖਾਲਸਾ). In fact, Sikh historians have not done justice to the role played by Bandā in liberating Pañjāb and creating an egalitarian society based on Sikh principles. It was a

promising *Khālsā* democracy which could not survive even for a decade. The crucial phase of Sikh struggle leading to the consolidation of power in the form of Sikh confederacies (*Misals* - ਮਿਸਲ) in Pañjāb forms the core of Panth Prakāsh. The Sikh were fighting against the Mughals, Abdālīs and Durrānīs to liberate Pañjāb. They left their homes and hearths, and were hiding in the jungles. It was a fight for survival. Harimandar Sāhib was blown up to destroy the Sikh center of inspiration and spiritual power.

It is fascinating to read the sterling role played by Navāb Kapūr Singh (ਨਵਾਬ ਕਪੂਰ ਸਿੰਘ) and Jassā Singh Āhlūvālīā (ਜੱਸਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਹਲੂਵਾਲੀਆ) in guiding the Sikh affairs. The Sikh holocausts known as Choṭā and Vaḍā Ghalūghārā (ਛੋਟਾ ਅਤੇ ਵਡਾ ਘਲੂਘਾਰਾ) are described by Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū. The internal quarrels among Sikh confederacies also find some mention, as does Baghel Singh's (ਬਘੇਲ ਸਿੰਘ) conquest of Dillī (ਦਿੱਲੀ) and his establishing of the Sikh *Gurduārās* there. It was a high tide of Sikh power. The author gives a fair account of Marāṭhās, Rohilās (ਰੋਹਿਲਾ) and their association with Sikh Sardārs. Most of these conflicts ended in loot, plunder or conspiracies. It was a period when the Mughal Empire lost its vitality and the British East Indian Company advanced as a sovereign power to establish its rule over India. The role of Sis-Satluj (ਸਤਲੁਜ) Sikh states to checkmate the progress of Rañjīt Singh and his siding with the British does not find a mention. The author has failed to mention the current affairs of Sikh Rāj, established by Rañjīt Singh. The formation of Phulkīān (ਫੁਲਕੀਆਂ) states and the role played by Ālā Singh (ਆਲਾ ਸਿੰਘ) in Sikh affairs, however, do find a mention in Panth Prakāsh.

### Srī Gur Panth Prakāsh (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼)

The text, composed by Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū discusses the historical accounts of the *Khālsā* Panth. By establishing the history of the *Misal* era in an accurate manner and developing the unwritten Sikh tradition into the written form, Bhaṅgū has provided the Panth with a valuable and unparalleled source of history and social context. His social and historic background helped him in becoming a great author of the Sikh Panth. Because of the context of his family associations and social background he has quoted a lot of facts in his book. Ratan Singh was the paternal grandson of Shahīd Bhāī Mahtāb Singh Mīrāmkoṭīā (of the Mahtāb Singh, Sukha Singh and Massa Ranghar fame) and the maternal grandson of Sardār Shām Singh, Jathedār, Karōsinghīā Misal (ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸ਼ਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜਥੇਦਾਰ, ਕਰੋਤਸਿੰਘੀਆ ਮਿਸਲ).

ਸਿਆਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੇ ਦੋਹਤਰੇ ਰਤਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਿਸ ਨਾਮ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸੁਧਾਸਰ ਡਿਗ ਜਿਸੇ ਮੀਰਾਂ ਕੋਟ ਗ੍ਰਾਮ।

Sīām Singh ke dohtare Ratan Singh jis nām. Srī sudhāsar ḍig jise mīrām koṭ gram.

He clearly mentions in his creation that he gathered the historic information in oral form from his family. Besides this, he collected the historic events in the unwritten form from his ancestors and those people who fought in the Sikh-Afgān battle. In the battle his mother and grandmother were also badly hurt and had to change their appearance in order to survive enemies. In this way Ratan Singh has been able to put before us historical facts which he inherited from his ancestors.

There exist many purposes behind the composition of this text. The first, and probably the most important one, was to inform the British regarding the true import of the Sikh Community and Sikh Vision. In Bhaṅgū's view, the Sikh Rāj was eminent in the sense of reality, glory and tradition. The author has mentioned in the text that the British General Sir David Ochterloney was deputed as the political resident by the British government during the times when the British ruled Dillī and till the time they defeated the Marāṭhās. At that time a British army officer named Capt. (Dr.) Murray was

posted at Ludhiānā (ਲੁਧਿਆਣਾ) and, under the resident of Dillī, was in charge of the political issues of Ludhiānā and Ambālā (ਅੰਬਾਲਾ). After their victory over Dillī, the British had a surreptitious plan to capture Pañjāb. But before starting the struggle with the Khālsā Rāj, they wanted to acquaint themselves regarding the background of the Sikhs as they were keen to know how the Sikhs were able to establish their Pātshāhī (ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ) after defeating the Dillī Darbār (ਦਰਬਾਰ). Therefore, David Ochterloney ordered Capt. Murray to get accurate information collected about Sikh history. Capt. Murray, in turn, entrusted the task of writing the history of the Khālsā Panth to a Muslim writer of Fārsī descent, a certain Būṭe Shāh (ਬੂਟੇ ਸ਼ਾਹ). But Capt. Murray wanted to get its authenticity checked by someone who really knew the facts, so as to segregate the truth from the untruth. Bhāi Ratan Singh used to visit the British court daily at that time. Murray showed the version composed by Būṭe Shāh to him and Bhāi Sāhib has quoted the entire episode as follows:

ਮਰੀ ਹੁਕਮ ਲੈ ਉਦਮ ਕੀਯੋ। ਬੂਟੇ ਸ਼ਾਹਿ ਮੌਲਵੀ ਸਦ ਲੀਯੋ।

marī hukam lai udam kīyo. būṭe shāhi maulvī sad līyo.

ਲਿਖਨਿ ਕਿਤਾਬਿ ਉਸੈ ਫਰਮਾਯੋ। ਸਿੰਘਨਿ ਕੀ ਉਤਪਤੀ ਲਿਖਾਯੋ।...

likhani kitābi usai pharmāyo. singhani kī utpatī likhāyo....

ਉਸੀ ਕਚਹਿਰੀ ਹਮ ਥੇ ਗਏ। ਸੁਨਿ ਯਹਿ ਬਾਤਿ ਸੁ ਚਿੰਤਤ ਭਏ।

usī kacahirī ham the gae. suni yahi bāti su cintat bhae.

ਯਹਿ ਮੌਲਵੀ ਹੈ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ। ਕਬਿ ਹਿੰਦੂਅਨਿ ਜਸੁ ਕਰੈ ਬਖਾਨ।

yahi maulavī hai musalmān. kabi hindūani jasu karai bakhan.

ਕਰਿ ਗੋਸਟਿ ਹਮ ਮਰੀ ਸਮਝਾਯੋ। ਉਸ ਕਾ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹਮਿਹਿ ਦਿਖਾਯੋ।

karī gosṭi ham marī samjhāyo. us ka likhiā hamihi dikhāyo.

ਉਸ ਕੇ ਦੇਖ ਹਮਿ ਬਾਤ ਉਚਾਰੀ। ਇਨ ਗਲ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕਹੀ ਨ ਸਾਰੀ।

us ko dekh hami bāt ucārī. in gal Khālse kahī na sārī.

After reading Būṭe Shāh's version, Bhāi Ratan Singh told Capt. Murray that Būṭe Shāh had not presented the entire picture and had misquoted the facts. Bhāi Sāhib was aware of all the aspects that the Muslims, who had been defeated so badly, would never write about the true essence of the Sikhs. And regarding Hindus he knew that if a Hindu of high caste were assigned the job of writing, he would never quote the heroic deeds of the Sikhs who belonged to the lower caste. He informed the Capt. about this, who asked Bhāi Sāhib to narrate the true account of the origin of the Sikhs.

ਸੋ ਮਰੀ ਹਮਾਰੋ ਮਿਤ ਭਯੋ। ਮੁਹਿ ਫੇਰਿ ਕਹਯੋ ਬੁਲਾਇ।

so marī hamāro mit bhayo. muhi pheri kahayo bulāi.

ਜਿਮਿ ਉਤਪਤਿ ਭਈ ਖਾਲਸੇ। ਤਿਮਿ ਤੁਮਿ ਦੇਹੁ ਲਿਖਾਇ।

jimi utipati bhaī Khālse. timi tumi dehu likhāi.

Besides acquainting the British regarding the origin and development of the Sikhs, it is apparent that Ratan Singh had other aims behind the writing of the book, and this can be clearly perceived from the text.

The covert determination of writing was to manifest the high morale and rising spirit of the Khālsā Panth. Indeed, the title of the text 'Sri Gur Panth Prakāsh' in itself is sufficient to understand the aspiration of the writer in revealing the illumination of the Khālsā Panth. In fact, the text reflects the attainment of the royal strength of the Khālsā Panth. At various steps he has endeavored to inscribe the Sikh faith, character, tradition, ideology and true rules of conduct. The big question for Capt. Murray before Bhaṅgū was to answer "How was it possible for the Sikhs to establish their Pātshāhī"? The interesting point to be noted here is that to answer the above question the writer thought it

necessary to render a detailed description of the credentials of the Panth, right from the brief biography of the Gurūs and their deeds, to the movement of Bandā Singh Bahādar, the struggle of the post Bandā period and a history of the Sikh *Misals*, etc. He succeeds in proving the fact that no single man or single event was responsible for the establishment of Pātshāhī of the Sikhs and it was with the Vāhigurū's (ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ) grace, as well as the sacrifice of the community, that they were able to endure and ultimately attain political sovereignty. The writer, in order to describe the aim of this socio-political movement, has presented the chain of events pertaining to the marvelous deeds of great *Shahīds* (ਸ਼ਹੀਦ) in such a way that it has become an important and inseparable part of his description. The Sākhīs (ਸਾਖੀ) which he has described are Sākhī Tārā Singh Shahīd kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਤਾਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), Sākhī Navāb Kapūr Singh kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਨਵਾਬ ਕਪੂਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ), Sākhī Bhāi Manī Singh Shahīd kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਭਾਈ ਮਨੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), Sākhī Khālse nāl Hakūmat de vair dī (ਸਾਖੀ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਨਾਲ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਦੇ ਵੈਰ ਦੀ) (Khānū Navāb kī - ਖਾਨੂ ਨਵਾਬ ਕੀ), Sākhī Mahtāb Singh te Rāi Singh Mīrāmkoṭīe Bhaṅgū kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਮਹਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਰਾਇ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੀਰਾਂਕੋਟੀਏ ਭੰਗੂ ਕੀ), Sākhī Botā Singh Shahīd kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਬੋਤਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), Sākhī Bhāi Sukkhā Singh jī kī Bahādārī kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਭਾਈ ਸੁੱਖਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਬਹਾਦਰੀ ਕੀ), Sākhī Mahtāb ke Koṭ kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਮਹਤਾਬ ਕੇ ਕੋਟ ਕੀ), Sākhī Khālse ke Buhār kī te Singhām dī dashā kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕੇ ਬਹੁਹਾਰ ਕੀ ਤੇ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੀ ਦਸ਼ਾ ਕੀ), Sākhī Subeg Singh Jambar kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਸੁਬੇਗ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੰਬਰ ਕੀ), Sākhī Bhāi Tārū Singh Bhujāṅg Bidehī Shahīd kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਭਾਈ ਤਾਰੂ ਸਿੰਘ ਭੁਜੰਗੀ ਬਿਦੇਹੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), Sākhī Mahtāb Singh kī Shahīdī kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਮਹਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਕੀ), Sākhī Jassū Badh kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਜੱਸੂ ਬਧ ਕੀ), Sākhī Ghalūghāre Parol Kathuke kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਘਲੂਘਾਰੇ ਪਰੋਲ ਕਥੁਕੇ ਕੀ), Sākhī Rām Rauni kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਰਾਮ ਰੌਨੀ ਕੀ), Sākhī Kauṛā Mal kī Bahādārī kī ate Shāh Navāz de maran dī (ਸਾਖੀ ਕੌੜਾ ਮਲ ਕੀ ਬਹਾਦਰੀ ਕੀ ਅਤੇ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਨਵਾਜ਼ ਦੇ ਮਰਨ ਦੀ), Sākhī Srī Ammrīsar jī kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਜੀ ਕੀ), Sākhī Ahmad Shāh aur Sukkhā Singh kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਅਹਮਦ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਔਰ ਸੁੱਖਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ) (Sukkhā Singh kī Shahīdī dī – ਸੁੱਖਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਦੀ), Sākhī Kauṛā Mal dī Shahīdī dī (ਸਾਖੀ ਕੌੜਾ ਮਲ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਦੀ) (Judh vic - ਜੁਧ ਵਿਚ), Sākhī Sarhind luṭṭe kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਸਰਹਿੰਦ ਲੁਟਣੇ ਕੀ), Sākhī Hathū Singh Shahīd kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਹਥੂ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), Sākhī Mit Singh Shahīd kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਮਿਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), Sākhī Mīr Mannū te us dī Maut kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਮੀਰ ਮੱਨੂ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਮੌਤ ਕੀ), Sākhī Ghalūghāre Maler aur Kup Rahire kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਘਲੂਘਾਰੇ ਮਲੇਰ ਔਰ ਕੁਪ ਰਹਿਰੇ ਕੀ) (Vaḍe Ghalūghāre dī – ਵਡੇ ਘਲੂਘਾਰੇ ਦੀ), Sākhī Biraram te phir (ਸਾਖੀ ਬਿਰਰਾਮ ਤੇ ਫਿਰ), Kapūre de Phāhe lagan dī (ਕਪੂਰੇ ਦੇ ਫਾਹੇ ਲਗਨ ਦੀ), Sākhī Moriṇḍe Katal kī (ਸਾਖੀ ਮੋਰਿੰਡੇ ਕਤਲ ਕੀ) (Moriṇḍe te Raṅgrām da Badh – ਮੋਰਿੰਡੇ ਤੇ ਰੰਗਰਾਮ ਦਾ ਬਧ).

From these Shāhīdīs, began the victory of the Khālṣā. These have been mentioned up to the victory of Sirhind by the Khālṣā. The main topic ends here. But this is the only historical document that has mentioned that the Choṭe Sāhibzāde (ਛੋਟੇ ਸਾਹਿਬਜ਼ਾਦੇ) were executed by torturing them with swords. It is mentioned here for reference:

ਇਤਕ ਕਹੀ ਜਬ ਦੁਸਟ ਸੁਨਿ ਤੁਰਕ ਭਏ ਪਰਸਿੰਨ।

itak kahī jab duṣṭ suni turk bhae parsinn  
ਫੜੈ ਘਸੀਣੈਂ ਹੋਵਤੈਂ ਆਣੇ ਉਨੈ ਨ ਤਰਸ ਮਨ ।੩੦।

phaṛaim̃ ghasīṭaim̃ hovataim̃ āṇo unai na taras man.30.  
ਹੁਤੋ ਉਹਾਂ ਥੋ ਛਰਾ ਇਕ ਵਾਰੋ। ਦੈ ਗੈਡੇ ਹੇਠ ਕਰ ਜ਼ਿਬਹ ਡਾਰੋ।

huto uhām̃ tho charā ik vāro. dai gaiḍe heṭh kar zibah ḍāro.  
ਤਤਫ ਤਵਫ ਗਈ ਜਿੰਦ ਉਡਾਇ। ਇਮ ਸ਼ੀਰਖੋਰ ਦੁਇ ਦਏ ਕਤ ਲਾਇ ।੩੧।

taṛaph tavaph gaī jind uḍāi. im shīrkhor dui dae kat lāi.31.

He has also covered the attitude of Gulāb Rāi (ਗੁਲਾਬ ਰਾਇ), Nirañjanīās' (ਨਿਰੰਜਨੀਆ), Huṇḍalīās' (ਹੁੰਡਲੀਆ), Gaṅgūshāhīs' (ਗੰਗੂਸ਼ਾਹੀ) and others who tried to harm Sikhs by establishing "Gurū(doms)".

He explains some more incidents thereafter, and makes Ahmad Shāh say things in the glory of the Khālsā. In the end, he describes Shām Singh's (ਸ਼ਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ) *Misal*, the victory of Baghel Singh (ਬਾਘੇਲ ਸਿੰਘ) on Dillī. He has shown how the Dillī Bādshāh (ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ) was impressed by the Khālsā victories. The contribution of Baghel Singh was that he established all the *Gurduārās* or the *Dehorās* (ਦੇਹੋਰਾ) related to the *Gurūs* (ਗੁਰੂ) in Dillī, after a heavy research. Other than the above, the text contains the account of the capture of the state of Phulkā's, conquering of Sarhind three to four times, the relation of Ālā Singh (ਆਲਾ ਸਿੰਘ) with the Panth, the elucidation of Buṅḡā's (ਬੁੰਗਾ), expedition to Dillī, Sikh-Afgān and Sikh-Mughal movement, Sikh states, etc.

From the internal evidence of the writing it seems that Bhaṅgū might have studied the available Fārsī writings, and might have collected the information from the devisors of Sikh history so that the writing becomes more authentic and interesting from each and every perspective. The Sākhīs and anecdotes in it are written in the *Dohrā* (ਦੋਹਰਾ), *Caurā* (ਚੌਰਾ), *Caupāī* (ਚੌਪਈ), *Sorathā* (ਸੋਰਠਾ) and *Kabit Batisā* (ਕਬਿਤ ਬਤਿਸਾ) meters in Gurmukhī (ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ) script. Interestingly, these poetic meters are not the same everywhere in the writings. They are independent of each other, and at places even distorted. This is effective in the sense that the historic elements have not been overshadowed by the poetic meters. Also, at places, at the end of the Sākhīs is written “ਇਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੇ” and the name of the Sākhī is given in front of it. The dialogue form is also utilized. “ਸ੍ਰੀ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੇ” or “ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ” is also written at places. All of these are under specific headings in the order of occurrence. A person named Atar Singh (ਅਤਰ ਸਿੰਘ) in 1858 CE copied it, and at the end, mentions that he has not written any Granth before and begs for pardon for any mistake he might have committed.

Srī Gur Panth Prakāsh of Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū has gained the grandeur of the most ancient text about the Khalsa Panth, which is why Bhāi Vir Singh has given it the title “Prācīn Panth Prakāsh.” The first edition of it, edited by Bhāi Vir Singh, was published by Vazīr Press Ammritsar in 1914 CE. Besides the above edition, one more edition is available, which was edited by Jit Singh Sītāl (ਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੀਤਲ), and published by Sikh Research Board Ammritsar. This is the copy in which one finds differences in chapters and exaggeration in anecdotes. A recent and updated publication of Srī Gur Panth Prakāsh, edited by Dr. Balvant Singh Dhillon (ਬਲਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਢਿੱਲੋਂ), and published by Singh Brothers is now available in the market.

To conclude, we can say that the oral Sikh tradition that has been given the shape of writing by Bhaṅgū is a very important source and is used by present scholars and historians to prove the facts of their texts. Besides the presentation of the historic events in the form of traditions, he has portrayed the terrible times of the Sikh-Afgān movement in which he has presented, with great talent, the Sikh character and fortitude from the oral tradition source, without which we would have been devoid of the history of Panjab, especially of the period of Bandā Bahādar till the genesis of *Misals*. It is a unique and unparalleled historical document, describing in simple words the success and the achievements of the Gurū Panth. The Shahādats of the Shahīds are its witnesses and its motive to establish the Pātshāhī of the Khālsā.

Source: <http://www.sikhstudies.org/Periodicals.asp?TitCod=1750> Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, Singh Brothers, Bazār Māt Sevām, Ammritsar, 2004.



### The Relentless Spirit of the Khālsā (ਖਾਲਸਾ)

Under such ruthless persecution, the Sikhs were left with no option but to leave their homes and take shelter in the Shivālik (ਸ਼ਿਵਾਲਿਕ) Hills, Lakkhī (ਲੱਖੀ) jungle, and deserts of Rājputānā (ਰਾਜਪੁਤਾਨਾ). They lived under great hardships. The only redeeming feature was the help of Khulāsās (ਖੁਲਾਸਾ) who provided for them secretly by giving individual refuge, or sustenance, in times of dire need.

It was in these times of persecution that the inspiring couplet, “Rāj karegā Khālsā, ākī rahai n koi. Khvār hoi sabh milaimge, bace saran jo hoi” (ਰਾਜ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਕੀ ਰਹਿ ਨ ਕੋਇ॥ ਖੁਰ ਹੋਇ ਸਭ ਮਿਲੈਗੇ ਬਚਹਿ ਸਰਨ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ॥). The Khālsā will be victorious from East to West. The Khālsā shall be free and **sovereign** and will rule. No one will dare resist its mighty power, after suffering from internal conflicts, all shall unite. Those in their protection will gain stability and progress. Again, it was during these times of persecution that the practice of Akhaṇḍ Pāṭh (ਅਖੰਡ ਪਾਠ), the uninterrupted reading of Gurū Granth Sāhib, was started. In these Akhaṇḍ Pāṭhs, it was usual for the veterans of Buḍā Dal (ਬੁਡਾ ਦਲ) to recite Gurbāṇī while the members of Tarunā Dal (ਤਰੁਨਾ ਦਲ) listened.

During these days of stress, a new vocabulary became current among Sikhs. It demonstrated an unconquerable will and a hilarious temperament. For them parched grams were Almonds (Badām - ਬਦਾਮ); Onion crusts were Silver pieces (Rupā - ਰੁਪਾ); stale hard *Capātīs* (ਚਪਾਤੀ) was sweet bread (*Mīṭhā Parshādā* - ਮਿਠਾ ਪਰਸ਼ਾਦਾ); to go hungry was to be intoxicated (*Mastānā* - ਮਸਤਾਨਾ); when there was no food left in the kitchen, the kitchen was said to be intoxicated with abundance (Laṅgar *Mastānā* - ਲੰਗਰ ਮਸਤਾਨਾ); to die was to invade the citadel of death (*Caṛāī karnā* - ਚੜਾਈ ਕਰਨਾ); a Sikh child was called a Bhujāṅgī (ਭੁਜੰਗੀ) or Bhujāṅgaṇ (ਭੁਜੰਗਣ), because he/she moved nimbly like a snake; and a single Singh was equal to 1,25,000 people (*Savā lakh* - ਸਵਾ ਲਖ).

*Adapted from: Singh, Harbans, The Encyclopedia of Sikhism and The Gurū's Word & Illustrated Sikh History*

### Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū (ਰਤਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਭੰਗੂ)

Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, the author of *Panth Prakāsh* (ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼), was the grandson of famous Sikh warrior, Sardār Mahtāb Singh Mīrānkoṭīā, (ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮਹਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੀਰਾਂਕੋਟੀਆ) who delivered justice to Massā Raṅghar (ਮੱਸਾ ਰੰਘੜ) in the holy precincts of Harimandar (ਹਰਿਮੰਦਰ), to liberate it from the sacrilege created by the raiders. *Panth Prakāsh* is considered to be an authentic source of Sikh (ਸਿਖ) history after the Gurū period, pertaining to the most crucial phase of the Sikh struggle during the eighteenth century. The author was persuaded by Captain Murray of the British army to compile the history of the Sikh struggle leading to the establishment of the *Khālsā Rāj* (ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰਾਜ). The author started work on this project in 1809 and completed it in 1841. It is based on interviews, family history and the information collected by the British and French officers about Pañjāb (ਪੰਜਾਬ). *Panth Prakāsh* is basically an oral history text of the Sikh struggle during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū had no training in historiography, and there were no written accounts available regarding Sikh History. So he faced a formidable task to complete his project. The text was written in old Pañjābī verse. Bhāī Vīr Singh (ਭਾਈ ਵੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ), the great Sikh writer, got it printed in Vazīr Hind (ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਹਿੰਦ) Press, Amritsar (ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ) in 1914. Balvant Singh Dhillon (ਬਲਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਢਿੱਲੋਂ), the editor of the present volume has done an excellent job of comparing the old hand-written manuscript of *Panth Prakāsh* with the printed edition of Bhāī Vīr Singh. The edited version contains footnotes to explain the discrepancies of the old printed editions and the textual material. Singh Brothers have taken pains to publish and print it in book form.

*Panth Prakāsh* is an epic tale of Sikh struggle. It starts abruptly with the exit of French presence in and around Dillī (ਦਿੱਲੀ), the fall of the Marāṭhā (ਮਰਾਠਾ) empire and the onslaught of the British empire in northern India. British officers were baffled by the rise of the Sikh empire in Pañjāb, and hence were keen to explore Sikh religion and culture. Thus, a dialogue started between Captain Murray and the author, who was persuaded to write an account of the Sikh struggle.

Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū traces the history of the Sikh Gurūs briefly and explains the need for the creation of the *Khālsā* by Gurū Gobind Singh Sāhib (ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ). In relating the story of Gurū Nānak Sāhib (ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਹਿਬ), Bhaṅgū seeks to establish that the Gurū was indeed a special representative of Vāhigurū. He thinks that he was the essence of all incarnations and had an edge over them all. This theory is in accord with the one propounded in the compositions of bards which forms an epilogue to the *Gurū Granth*. His interpretation of the mission of Gurū Nānak Sāhib, which he propounds in the context of Gurū's travels, is nearest to the original and depicts Sikhī as the faith of a modern person. The basic concern of Gurū Nānak Sāhib, according to him was, to seek adherents to Truth and Vāhigurū alone and to eliminate the worship of 'pretender gods' and abjuring belief in false faiths. The universal concerns of Guru Nanak are emphasised by him.

*Panth Prakāsh* is the only source of the historical account of Bandā Singh and the establishment of Sikh rule in the Pañjāb. The revolution started with the victories of Bandā Singh Bahādar (ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਹਾਦਰ), was short-lived as he lost support of Mātā Sundarī (ਮਾਤਾ ਸੁੰਦਰੀ) and a faction of the Sikhs, known as Tat *Khālsā* (ਤਤ ਖਾਲਸਾ). In fact, Sikh historians have not done justice to the role played by Bandā in liberating Pañjāb and creating an egalitarian society based on Sikh principles. It was a promising *Khālsā* democracy which could not survive even for a decade. The crucial phase of Sikh struggle leading to the consolidation of power in the form of Sikh confederacies (*Misals* - ਮਿਸਲ) in Pañjāb forms the core of *Panth Prakāsh*. The Sikh were fighting against the Mughals, Abdālīs and

Durrānīs to liberate Pañjāb. They left their homes and hearths, and were hiding in the jungles. It was a fight for survival. Harimandar Sāhib was blown up to destroy the Sikh center of inspiration and spiritual power.

It is fascinating to read the sterling role played by Navāb Kapūr Singh (ਨਵਾਬ ਕਪੂਰ ਸਿੰਘ) and Jassā Singh Āhlūvālīā (ਜੱਸਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਹਲੂਵਾਲੀਆ) in guiding the Sikh affairs. The Sikh holocausts known as Choṭā and Vaḍā Ghalūghārā (ਛੋਟਾ ਅਤੇ ਵਡਾ ਘਲੂਘਾਰਾ) are described by Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū. The internal quarrels among Sikh confederacies also find some mention, as does Baghel Singh's (ਬਘੇਲ ਸਿੰਘ) conquest of Dillī (ਦਿੱਲੀ) and his establishing of the Sikh *Gurduārās* there. It was a high tide of Sikh power. The author gives a fair account of Marāṭhās, Rohilās (ਰੋਹਿਲਾ) and their association with Sikh Sardārs. Most of these conflicts ended in loot, plunder or conspiracies. It was a period when the Mughal Empire lost its vitality and the British East Indian Company advanced as a sovereign power to establish its rule over India. The role of Sis-Satluj (ਸਤਲੁਜ) Sikh states to checkmate the progress of Rañjīt Singh and his siding with the British does not find a mention. The author has failed to mention the current affairs of Sikh Rāj, established by Rañjīt Singh. The formation of Phulkīān (ਫੁਲਕੀਆਂ) states and the role played by Ālā Singh (ਆਲਾ ਸਿੰਘ) in Sikh affairs, however, do find a mention in Panth Prakāsh.

### Srī Gur Panth Prakāsh (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼)

The text, composed by Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū discusses the historical accounts of the *Khālsā* Panth. By establishing the history of the *Misal* era in an accurate manner and developing the unwritten Sikh tradition into the written form, Bhaṅgū has provided the Panth with a valuable and unparalleled source of history and social context. His social and historic background helped him in becoming a great author of the Sikh Panth. Because of the context of his family associations and social background he has quoted a lot of facts in his book. Ratan Singh was the paternal grandson of Shahīd Bhāī Mahtāb Singh Mīrāmkoṭīā (of the Mahtāb Singh, Sukha Singh and Massa Ranghar fame) and the maternal grandson of Sardār Shām Singh, Jathedār, Karoṛsinghīā Misal (ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸ਼ਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜਥੇਦਾਰ, ਕਰੋੜਸਿੰਘੀਆ ਮਿਸਲ).

ਸਿਆਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੇ ਦੋਹਤਰੇ ਰਤਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਿਸ ਨਾਮ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸੁਧਾਸਰ ਡਿਗ ਜਿਸੇ ਮੀਰਾਂ ਕੋਟ ਗ੍ਰਾਮ।

Siām Singh ke dohtare Ratan Singh jis nām. Srī sudhāsar ḍig jise mīrām koṭ gram.

He clearly mentions in his creation that he gathered the historic information in oral form from his family. Besides this, he collected the historic events in the unwritten form from his ancestors and those people who fought in the Sikh-Afgān battle. In the battle his mother and grandmother were also badly hurt and had to change their appearance in order to survive enemies. In this way Ratan Singh has been able to put before us historical facts which he inherited from his ancestors.

There exist many purposes behind the composition of this text. The first, and probably the most important one, was to inform the British regarding the true import of the Sikh Community and Sikh Vision. In Bhaṅgū's view, the Sikh Rāj was eminent in the sense of reality, glory and tradition. The author has mentioned in the text that the British General Sir David Ochterloney was deputed as the political resident by the British government during the times when the British ruled Dillī and till the time they defeated the Marāṭhās. At that time a British army officer named Capt. (Dr.) Murray was posted at Ludhiānā (ਲੁਧਿਆਣਾ) and, under the resident of Dillī, was in charge of the political issues of Ludhiānā and Ambālā (ਅੰਬਾਲਾ). After their victory over Dillī, the British had a surreptitious plan to capture Pañjāb. But before starting the struggle with the *Khālsā* Rāj, they wanted to acquaint

themselves regarding the background of the Sikhs as they were keen to know how the Sikhs were able to establish their Pātshāhī (ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ) after defeating the Dillī Darbār (ਦਰਬਾਰ). Therefore, David Ochtorloney ordered Capt. Murray to get accurate information collected about Sikh history. Capt. Murray, in turn, entrusted the task of writing the history of the Khālsā Panth to a Muslim writer of Fārsī descent, a certain Būṭe Shāh (ਬੂਟੇ ਸ਼ਾਹ). But Capt. Murray wanted to get its authenticity checked by someone who really knew the facts, so as to segregate the truth from the untruth. Bhāī Ratan Singh used to visit the British court daily at that time. Murray showed the version composed by Būṭe Shāh to him and Bhāī Sāhib has quoted the entire episode as follows:

ਮਰੀ ਹੁਕਮ ਲੈ ਉਦਮ ਕੀਯੋ। ਬੂਟੇ ਸ਼ਾਹਿ ਮੌਲਵੀ ਸਦ ਲੀਯੋ।

marī hukam lai udam kīyo. būṭe shāhi maulvī sad līyo.

ਲਿਖਨਿ ਕਿਤਾਬਿ ਉਸੈ ਫਰਮਾਯੋ। ਸਿੰਘਨਿ ਕੀ ਉਤਪਤੀ ਲਿਖਾਯੋ।...

likhani kitābi usai pharmāyo. singhani kī utpatī likhāyo....

ਉਸੀ ਕਚਹਿਰੀ ਹਮ ਬੇ ਗਏ। ਸੁਨਿ ਯਹਿ ਬਾਤਿ ਸੁ ਚਿੰਤਤ ਭਏ।

usī kacahirī ham the gae. suni yahi bāti su cintat bhae.

ਯਹਿ ਮੌਲਵੀ ਹੈ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ। ਕਬਿ ਹਿੰਦੂਅਨਿ ਜਸੁ ਕਰੈ ਬਖਾਨ।

yahi maulavī hai musalmān. kabi hindūani jasu karai bakhan.

ਕਰਿ ਗੋਸਟਿ ਹਮ ਮਰੀ ਸਮਝਾਯੋ। ਉਸ ਕਾ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹਮਿਹਿ ਦਿਖਾਯੋ।

karī goṣṭi ham marī samjhāyo. us ka likhiā hamihī dikhāyo.

ਉਸ ਕੋ ਦੇਖ ਹਮਿ ਬਾਤ ਉਚਾਰੀ। ਇਨ ਗਲ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕਹੀ ਨ ਸਾਰੀ।

us ko dekh hamī bāt ucārī. in gal Khālsē kahī na sārī.

After reading Būṭe Shāh's version, Bhāī Ratan Singh told Capt. Murray that Būṭe Shāh had not presented the entire picture and had misquoted the facts. Bhāī Sāhib was aware of all the aspects that the Muslims, who had been defeated so badly, would never write about the true essence of the Sikhs. And regarding Hindus he knew that if a Hindu of high caste were assigned the job of writing, he would never quote the heroic deeds of the Sikhs who belonged to the lower caste. He informed the Capt. about this, who asked Bhāī Sāhib to narrate the true account of the origin of the Sikhs.

ਸੋ ਮਰੀ ਹਮਾਰੋ ਮਿਤ ਭਯੋ। ਮੁਹਿ ਫੇਰਿ ਕਹਯੋ ਬੁਲਾਇ।

so marī hamāro mit bhayo. muhi pheri kahayo bulāi.

ਜਿਮਿ ਉਤਪਤਿ ਭਈ ਖਾਲਸੇ। ਤਿਮਿ ਤੁਮਿ ਦੇਹੁ ਲਿਖਾਇ।

jimi utipati bhaī Khālsē. timi tumi dehu likhāi.

Besides acquainting the British regarding the origin and development of the Sikhs, it is apparent that Ratan Singh had other aims behind the writing of the book, and this can be clearly perceived from the text.

The covert determination of writing was to manifest the high morale and rising spirit of the Khālsā Panth. Indeed, the title of the text 'S'rī Gur Panth Prakāsh' in itself is sufficient to understand the aspiration of the writer in revealing the illumination of the Khālsā Panth. In fact, the text reflects the attainment of the royal strength of the Khālsā Panth. At various steps he has endeavored to inscribe the Sikh faith, character, tradition, ideology and true rules of conduct. The big question for Capt. Murray before Bhaṅgū was to answer "How was it possible for the Sikhs to establish their Pātshāhī"? The interesting point to be noted here is that to answer the above question the writer thought it necessary to render a detailed description of the credentials of the Panth, right from the brief biography of the Gurūs and their deeds, to the movement of Bandā Singh Bahādar, the struggle of the post Bandā period and a history of the Sikh *Misals*, etc. He succeeds in proving the fact that no single man or single event was responsible for the establishment of Pātshāhī of the Sikhs and it was with the

Vāhigurū's (ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ) grace, as well as the sacrifice of the community, that they were able to endure and ultimately attain political sovereignty. The writer, in order to describe the aim of this socio-political movement, has presented the chain of events pertaining to the marvelous deeds of great *Shahīds* (ਸ਼ਹੀਦ) in such a way that it has become an important and inseparable part of his description. The *Sākhīs* (ਸਾਖੀ) which he has described are *Sākhī Tārā Singh Shahīd kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਤਾਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Navāb Kapūr Singh kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਨਵਾਬ ਕਪੂਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Bhāi Manī Singh Shahīd kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਭਾਈ ਮਨੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Khālse nāl Hakūmat de vair dī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਨਾਲ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਦੇ ਵੈਰ ਦੀ) (*Khānū Navāb kī* - ਖਾਨੂ ਨਵਾਬ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Mahtāb Singh te Rāi Singh Mīrāmkoṭīe Bhaṅgū kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਮਹਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਰਾਇ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੀਰਾਂਕੋਟੀਏ ਭੰਗੂ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Botā Singh Shahīd kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਬੋਤਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Bhāi Sukkhā Singh jī kī Bahādārī kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਭਾਈ ਸੁੱਖਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਬਹਾਦਰੀ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Mahtāb ke Koṭ kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਮਹਤਾਬ ਕੇ ਕੋਟ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Khālse ke Buhār kī te Singhām dī dashā kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕੇ ਬਹੁਹਾਰ ਕੀ ਤੇ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੀ ਦਸ਼ਾ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Subeg Singh Jambar kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਸੁਬੇਗ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੰਬਰ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Bhāi Tārū Singh Bhujaṅgī Bidehī Shahīd kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਭਾਈ ਤਾਰੂ ਸਿੰਘ ਭੁਜੰਗੀ ਬਿਦੇਹੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Mahtāb Singh kī Shahīdī kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਮਹਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Jassū Badh kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਜੱਸੂ ਬਧ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Ghalūghāre Parol Kathuke kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਘਲੂਘਾਰੇ ਪਰੋਲ ਕਥੁਕੇ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Rām Raunī kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਰਾਮ ਰੌਨੀ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Kauṛā Mal kī Bahādārī kī ate Shāh Navāz de maran dī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਕੌੜਾ ਮਲ ਕੀ ਬਹਾਦਰੀ ਕੀ ਅਤੇ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਨਵਾਜ਼ ਦੇ ਮਰਨ ਦੀ), *Sākhī Srī Ammrīsar jī kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਜੀ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Ahmad Shāh aur Sukkhā Singh kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਅਹਮਦ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਔਰ ਸੁੱਖਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ) (*Sukkhā Singh kī Shahīdī dī* - ਸੁੱਖਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਦੀ), *Sākhī Kauṛā Mal dī Shahīdī dī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਕੌੜਾ ਮਲ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਦੀ) (*Judh vic* - ਜੁਧ ਵਿਚ), *Sākhī Sarhind luṭṭe kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਸਰਹਿੰਦ ਲੁਟਣੇ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Hathū Singh Shahīd kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਹਥੂ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Mit Singh Shahīd kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਮਿਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Mīr Mannū te us dī Maut kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਮੀਰ ਮੰਨੂ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਮੌਤ ਕੀ), *Sākhī Ghalūghāre Maler aur Kup Rahire kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਘਲੂਘਾਰੇ ਮਲੇਰ ਔਰ ਕੁਪ ਰਹਿਰੇ ਕੀ) (*Vaḍe Ghalūghāre dī* - ਵਡੇ ਘਲੂਘਾਰੇ ਦੀ), *Sākhī Biraram te phir* (ਸਾਖੀ ਬਿਰਰਾਮ ਤੇ ਫਿਰ), *Kapūre de Phāhe lagan dī* (ਕਪੂਰੇ ਦੇ ਫਾਹੇ ਲਗਨ ਦੀ), *Sākhī Moriṇḍe Katal kī* (ਸਾਖੀ ਮੋਰਿੰਡੇ ਕਤਲ ਕੀ) (*Moriṇḍe te Raṅgrām da Badh* - ਮੋਰਿੰਡੇ ਤੇ ਰੰਗਰਾਮ ਦਾ ਬਧ).

From these *Shāhīdīs*, began the victory of the *Khālṣā*. These have been mentioned up to the victory of Sirhind by the *Khālṣā*. The main topic ends here. But this is the only historical document that has mentioned that the *Choṭe Sāhibzāde* (ਛੋਟੇ ਸਾਹਿਬਜ਼ਾਦੇ) were executed by torturing them with swords. It is mentioned here for reference:

ਇਤਕ ਕਹੀ ਜਬ ਦੁਸਟ ਸੁਨਿ ਤੁਰਕ ਭਏ ਪਰਸਿੰਨ।

itak kahī jab duṣṭ suni turk bhae parsinn  
ਫੜੈ ਘਸੀਟੈ ਹੋਵਤੈ ਆਣੈ ਉਨੈ ਨ ਤਰਸ ਮਨ ।੩੦।

pharaim̐ ghasīṭaim̐ hovataim̐ āṇo unai na taras man.30.

ਹੁਤੇ ਉਹਾਂ ਥੋ ਛਰਾ ਇਕ ਵਾਰੋ। ਦੈ ਗੈਡੇ ਹੇਠ ਕਰ ਜ਼ਿਬਹ ਡਾਰੋ।

huto uhām̐ tho charā ik vāro. dai gaiḍe heṭh kar zibah ḍāro.  
ਤਤਫ ਤਵਫ ਗਈ ਜਿੰਦ ਉਡਾਇ। ਇਮ ਸ਼ੀਰਖੋਰ ਦੁਇ ਦਏ ਕਤ ਲਾਇ ।੩੧।

taṛaph tavaph gaī jind uḍāi. im shīrkhor dui dae kat lāi.31.

He has also covered the attitude of *Gulāb Rāi* (ਗੁਲਾਬ ਰਾਇ), *Nirañjanīās'* (ਨਿਰੰਜਨੀਆ), *Huṇḍalīās'* (ਹੁੰਡਲੀਆ), *Gaṅgūshāhīs'* (ਗੰਗੂਸ਼ਾਹੀ) and others who tried to harm Sikhs by establishing "Gurū(dom)s". He explains some more incidents thereafter, and makes *Ahmad Shāh* say things in the glory of the *Khālṣā*. In the end, he describes *Shām Singh's* (ਸ਼ਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ) *Misal*, the victory of *Baghel Singh* (ਬਾਘੇਲ ਸਿੰਘ) on *Dillī*. He has shown how the *Dillī Bādshāh* (ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ) was impressed by the *Khālṣā* victories.