CHAPTER-IV
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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

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

1. Is khalsa the worshipper of the Akaalpurakh or of Vishnu like the Bhattas?
2. Were the Gurus devotees of Vishnu or his worshippers?
3. Did Guru Sahiban only supported the Bhagati Movement or did they give any new theology?
4. Is Avtarvad Praiseworthy as according to the Bhagats?
5. Were Guru Sahiban the supporters of idolatry like that of Bhagat Namdev, Bhagat Dhana etc?

6. Is it right to place these Bhagats equal to the Gurus?

7. Were the Bhattas eulogizing the Gurus or trying to equalize them to Vishnu?

8. Were the Sikh Gurus also the preachers of Muslim theology?

9. Is the Bani of Sri Guru Gobind Singh ji, inferior to the Bani of the Bhattas and the Bhagats?

10. What is the purpose of including the Bhatt-Bani and the Bhagat-Bani in Sri Guru Granth Sahib?

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

(A) The Bhattas

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

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

There are some confusing revelations in the work specially where the author has tried to reveal the nature of adverbs and glossary borrowed in homogeneous and exogeneous forms from Sanskrit and Prakrits. It is opined that the reason behind this lacking is due to the deficiency of vocal system which the Gurmukhi script could not express as compared to Devnagari. The author avies that the grammar system of the
bards’ poetry is quite similar to that of the Gurbani. He has also brought forth the names of some notable bards. He concludes that the total number of Bhatt in the Holy Scripture is eleven only. His narratives are well emphasized with specific and suitable references. It also clarifies some facts misconceived by the former scholars. Moreover, the subject, the glossary as well as the theology put forth by the Bhatt are explained in useful way but the author has emphasized to propound the lingual phenomenon of the subject matter:

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

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

(A) The scholars who contradicted the Bhakat Vani also disapprove the bard vani considering that the bards were in reality, an outcome of beggarly class who professionally eulogize their patrons and earn their livelihood. In this way the work compiled with this objective must be termed as blasphemy and not eulogy.

(B) The Bards eulogizing the Sikh Gurus have attached some anecdotes from the Hindu Puranic literature. They have used adjective, phrases for the Gurus and have propounded the name of Hindu incarnations and deities which are condemned by the Sikh theology.

(C) Under the heading ‘chhalio bali’ attached with Guru Nanak is condemnable.

(D) It is a matter of confusion to consider that Guru Nanak was a man like the character of Vishnu depicted as the ‘Bawan Avtar’.

(E) The bards have designed the characters of the Gurus in adjectives like those of Rama and Krishna, who according to the Indian classics had wavering behaviour and self-contradictions. Therefore, the Sikh-traditions do not allow to picturise the Guru's character in this way.
Rattan Singh 'Jaggi' has analyzed the subjective matter of the bards’ bani. He has highlighted numerous questions about the personalities of the bards and their arrival in the Guru’s court. He admits that verse compiled by the bards has the under mentioned qualities:

(A) No Sikh traditional or historical information is available about the arrival time of the bards in the Guru’s court.

(B) The language used by the bards is admixture of Braj and Panjabi of their time.

(C) The bards were living a religious and pastoral life as well as intensive seekers of spiritual bliss—that they received in the Guru’s congregation.

(D) They arrived in the court of Guru Arjan and felt themselves satisfied spiritually. They reached in the Guru’s court in the headship of Kalsahar.

(E) The bhatt works (verses) are the first efforts in Gurmat literature in which they have tried to use the Puranic symbols to eulogies the Sikh Gurus.

(F) Total number of swayyas written by the Bhatt is 123. Kalsahar-54, Jallap-5, Kirat-8, Bhikha-2, Sall-3, Bhall-1, Null-16, Gyand-13, Mathura-14, Bhall-5, Harbans-2.4

(G) They used swayya as a poetic form for their verses. In some swayyas like radd and jhulna they could apply the features of swayya with difficulty.

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

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

Undoubtedly, the Guru, though, was not a worldly leader yet had enough riches to provide them alms.
(B) Due to the religious bigotry of the political infrastructure the Hindus who were annoyed by the Muslims used to take shelter in the Guru’s court.

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

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

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

a) The bhatts were seekers of truth. When they met Guru Arjan, they found in him the true Guru. They believed that Sikh Gurus were Ram and Krishna reborn.

b) They belonged to Brahmin community. They were followers of the Vaishnav faith.

c) The Bhatt who wrote Bani in the eulogy of the first five Gurus were eleven in number and they wrote in swayya-metre. They composed 123 swayyas in total.

d) The Bhatt Bani is written in non-Raga measure. They used, three types of metres of chhand mentioned in swayyas-radd, jhulna and sortha.

e) Their language is admixture of Sanskrit and Bhagat Bani diction.

f) While singing encomiums to the Gurus they indulge in exaggeration and made use of glittering phraseology in their verses.

g) Having close contact to the Guru house a number of references of life history of the Gurus can be obtained from their Bani.

h) In their verses they have emphasized on the theological unanimity of Sikh Gurus to the concept of conglomeration of Sikh Gurus.

i) The use of mythological characters is too much in their verses.
j) Bhatt Bani has ideological affinity with Gurbani and Bhagat-Bani as well.

k) Though they may have knowledge of Indian classical rajas used in Gurbani, still, they chose the poetic metre swayya to eulogize the Sikh Gurus. Their eulogistic approach is highly sentimental and devotional.

l) They did not actually compare the Gurus with Puranic characters rather they had tried to prove them superior to the Vishnu incarnations. They convene that the Gurus did the public welfare especially in the field of spiritual and social life.

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

Giving the importance of the work “Bhatt Bani” the editor S. Daljit Singh Bedi comments:

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

Daljit Singh Bedi, 
Editor "Bhatt Bani".

Gurnam Kaur Bedi (Dr.) in “Bhatt Bani” strongly advocates that:

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

Gurnam Kaur Bedi (Dr.),
Gurmukh Singh’s Version about bhatt bani:

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

1. *Guru* is the form of *Parbraham*, whose emergence has been visualized since *Yugas* for the welfare of human beings; for the spread of Religion (Dharama) and destruction of irreligious activities (Adharama).

2. *Naam* is bestowed upon by *Guru* only. The method of recitation (Naam Simran) is taught by the Guru and the ambition is to mingle one’s soul with the Almighty.


4. *Guru* is capable of fulfilling all the desires of human beings—mundane as well as divine. He is the only Master of salvation.

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

1. Though the bhatt bani is written under the tile of *Swayye* yet *Chaupayee, Radd, Jhulna, Kabitt, Dohra* and *Sortha* can be seen in their verses.

2. They have used *Upma Alankar, Roopak Alankar, Anupraas* and *Yamak*.

3. Their language is an admixture of Braj and Sanskrit. It is throughout sweet and musical.

Gurmukh Singh (Dr.), "*Bhatt Banikaar*", pp. 23-28

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

Simranjit Singh,

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

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

“Bhan Mathura kachh bhed nahi Gur Arjan partakh Har”

Jaswinder Kaur Dhillon (Dr.),

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

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

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

“Too Satgur chau Yugi aap aape Parmesher”.

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

S. Bhag Singh Anakhi,

“Bhatt Sall Ji”, pp. 42-44

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

According to Dr. Balbir Singh:

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

Balbirt Singh Sani,

“Bhatt Null Ji”, pp.45-48
Jaswinder Kaur Mahal (Dr.) points out that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

“The five vises, Sexuality, Wrath, Avarice, Attachment and Pride become an impediment in the way of human beings, mingling up with the Akaalpurakh. The refuse of the guru and holy congregation can save
human beings from the above mentions the vises and of the bliss of Guru one can swim across the ocean of the worldly pains and worries to meet the Lord”.

Balwinder Singh Jaurasingha,
“Bhatt Kirat Ji” p.83

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

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

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

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

Satnam Singh Bhai,
“Bhattaan di Sewa ate Shaheedeeaan”, pp.87-89

Bhi Santokh Singh in his composition, “Gur Partap Saruj Granth”, Gyani Gyan Singh in his work, “Tawaareekh Guru Khalsa, Dr. Charan Singh in his composition, “Bani Beora”, Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana in his work, “Punjabi Sahit di Itihaas Rekhaa”, are unanimous on the view that the bhattas whose bani has been included in Shri Guru Granth Sahib are 16 in number. Some scholars even are of the view that they
are 17. But the modern scholars and researchers like Principal Teja Singh, Prf. Sahib Singh, Dr. Taaran Singh and Shri Joginder Singh Talwara are of the right view that they are only 11 in number. They based their research on the bases of *Number-System of Shabads (Ankavali)* in Shri Gur Granth Sahib.

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

**(B) Bhai Gurdas Ji**

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

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

Dalip Singh 'Deep' in his work entitled *"Bhai Gurdas di Pehali te Dasvin Var: Alochanatmik te Tulnatmik Adhyaan"* (Punjabi) has portrayed the life sketch of Bhai Gurdas, his literary contributions, the socio-religious environment of times, Guru Nanak's tours and an analytical study of the referred *vars*. He has used as sources *Purana Makhdoo* (Harnam Singh Shan, Changer (Prof. Mohan Singh), *Nanak Prakash* (Bhai Vir Singh), *Kabitt Bhai Gurdas* (Bhai Vir Singh), *Guru Granth Sahib, Mahima Prakash* (Sarup Dass Bhalla), *Mahima Prakash Vartik* (Gurdas Singh), internal evidences from Gurdas Vani and *Mahankosh* Kahan Singh Bhai. He has also extracted facts and figures from Sikh traditions and annotated and edited works compiled on the subject. He holds that there are differences in records about the birth time of Bhai Gurdas which ranges from a difference of one or two years and affirms that the author was the son of a brother of Guru Amar Dass, Datar Chand by name. He passed major part of his life in the services of the Sikh gurus. He learnt, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Braj, Persian and Arabic which were the integral part of the education system of his times.
He transcribed Guru Granth Sahib and composed *vars* and *kabitts* also. The author has revealed that Bhai Gurdas’ literature picturizes the socio-religious and political infrastructure of the day. Dalip Singh has pointed out that there is also difference in opinions of scholars about the odasis of Guru Nanak. Some aview that the Guru accomplished five odasis, while the others opine that they were four in numbers, while some more scholars aview that Guru Nanak had made three odasis only, and two local tours in Punjab. Moreover, the author has tried to justify the events narrated in the first *var* of Bhai Gurdas. He evinces the narrative with the help of anecdotes and discourses held by Guru Nanak.

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

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

In the commentary the author has revealed the homogeneous and heterogeneous borrowed words in the modern Punjabi. The words borrowed from Prakrits and Sanskrit are repeated at numerous places. Each form of poetry has been identified with sub headings. The object of the author seems to propagate the Sikh theology narrated by Bhai Gurdas in simple and attractive way. It may be concluded that the work is a traditional commentary.
Vir Singh Bhai in his edited work "Varan Bhai Gurdas" has added headings and sub headings to clarify the subjects undertaken by the poet. The work puts forth in easy Punjabi language the meanings of words and the object of the author in each stanza is clarified in simple sentences. The editor had ensued serial number to each stanza (pauree) of the vars. To make the meaning clear and an easy approach of the reader, each line of each stanza (pauree) has been differentiated with serial number. The author Hazara Singh is said to be a notable scholar of the Giani School of Sikhism.

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

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

Denoting the style of the works of Bhai Gurdas the editors have a view that the glossary and other lingual techniques of the var writer are adequate and exemplary. The poet has capability to reveal the universal truth even to the minor most extent. Being a perfect scholar he has prefect knowledge to write in Braj as well as in Punjabi.
S.J.S. Pall elaborating the personality of Bhai Gurdas as the first Sikh scholar has compiled his work in question-answer style. The author firstly arises a question and then responds it. The work elaborates numerous aspects from the life of Bhai Gurdas, i.e. early life relations with Guru family, services in compilation of the Adi Granth as a writer of merit, as missionary of the Sikh faith, visits on numerous cities and development works. The questions and their answers are arranged in such a way that the author easily could picturize the ideology, scholarly achievements and his approach towards other religions Indian classical literature, religious sects, the Indian scholastic schools and his contemporary poets. The author could provide a list of phrases used in Gurbani as well as in the works of Bhai Gurdas.\textsuperscript{12}

Bhai Gurdas echos Gurbani in most of his verses:

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

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

Bhagwant Kaur has described Bhai Gurdas the interpreter of Gurbani She has put quotations from the \textit{vars} of Bhai Gurdas and similar and equalizing quotations from Sri Guru Granth Sahib proves that Bhai Sahib has simplified the thoughts and concepts of Gurbani:
1. So pandit jo man parbodhai Ram naam aatam meh sodhai  
   **SGGS** - p 274  
   **Varan Bhai Gurdas**  
   1. Gur much pandit hoe hag parbodhiai Gurmukh aap gavae andar sodhiai  
      Var No. 19, pauree - 18  

2. Gur Satgur ka jo Sikh akhavai.  
   So bhalke uth Har Name dhiavai.  
   **SGGS** p-305  
   **Varan Bhai Gurdas**  
   2. Gursikh bhalke uth kar amrit whele sar nahvanda.  
      Gur kai bachan uchaar kai dharamsaal di surat karanda.  
      Var -40, pauree -11  

3. Tinah gursikhaan kaun haun variyaa,  
   Jo behdiaan uthdiaan Har Nam dhiaavehn.  
   **SGGS** - p-590  
   **Varan Bhai Gurdas**  
   3. Kurbani tinah gursikhaan hoe ek mann gurjaap japanade.  
      Var -12, pauree -2  

4. Nanak mer sarir ek rath ek rathvaho.  
   **SGGS, p-470**  
   **Varan Bhai Gurdas**  
      Var -1, pauree,15  

5. Lakh sianap je karee lakh sion preet milaap.  
   **SGGS, p-124**  
   **Varan Bhai Gurdas**  
   5. Sehas Sianap lakh kam na avhi." Var -21, pauree -7  

6. Arbad narbad dhundhu kara .....  
   **SGGS, p-1034**  
   **Varan Bhai Gurdas**  
   6. Prithmai sas na mas ...... Var-1, pauree 2  

7. Ram gur paras pars krijai ......  
   **SGGS, p-1324**  
   **Varan Bhai Gurdas**  
   7. Gurmukh paras pars daras hoiai ..... Var - 19 Pauree -17,p- 14  

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

The author has also highlighted the mythology in his works with a view to explain his ideology. There is abundant use of mythological anecdotes and narratives which he has versified to make his Guru’s message more clear. Briefly speaking, Surinderjit Singh Pall has scholarly elaborated numerous aspects of the works of
Gurdas but he has laid more emphasis on the vars, not much has been quoted from *kabitt-swayyas* of Bhai Gurdas Ji.

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

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

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

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

_Satguru Nanak Pragatia miti dhund Jag Chaanan hoaa._

_Jeo kar Suraj nikaliaa taare chhap(i) andher paloaa._

The true guru Guru Nanak took birth the fog of sins cleared off. And the universe became enlightened just as the darkness and stars vanish on the rise of the Sun. 15
He, by the means of recitation of God's Name could arrive on Summer and defeated Gorakh the chief sidh in spiritual discourse. The ascetics (yogis) tried to influence him by numerous supernatural powers but could not.16

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

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

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

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

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

The narrative also has been found in anecdotes. It is quite impossible that a man with Hindu name Jiwan may be an attendant of Mecca. Moreover, the fact of turning the Mecca is also unnatural, but it is quite possible that the said Guru had explained
them the virtue of Omnipresence of the Almighty since such verses are abundantly found in the holy Quran and the Guru had complete knowledge of the Muslim scripture.

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Lakha akas pataal lakh akh furk vich sabh dikhlaee} \\
&\text{Bhar kachkaul parshad da dhuron patalon laee krahee}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

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

Conclusively, it is opined that Bhai Gurdas eulogizing Guru Nanak has narrated supernatural and natural facts. According to him the Guru was a great scholar, worshipable, mandatory and socio-religious reformer. He was bestowed by the Almighty with commendable and rare virtues. The author has used the puranic characters but only to exaggerate the personality of Guru Nanak.
In the very 1\textsuperscript{st} var except Guru Nanak, Bhai Gurdas has written a few lines about the other Sikh Gurus. He provided minor information about Guru Anagd, Guru Amar Dass of Goindwal, Guru Ram Dass and Guru Arjan and then moved to depict the sixth Guru. Thus, it is opined that he composed or finalized the var during the time of Guru Hargobind to whom he has picturized in monarchical shape, i.e., brave and strong, victorious over enemies and having a psyche of social welfare.\textsuperscript{20}

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

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

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

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

Ram Singh has also propounded his studies subjected to the literary evaluation of vars. He concludes that the narratives of the vars putforth a dramatic style which is commendable especially when the poet narrates the emergence of Guru Nanak. The author has supported his fending with quotations and references adequately.\textsuperscript{21}
Gurcharan Singh has highlighted the literary value of the *vars*. He reveals that the originality of Panjabi language that we find in the *vars* of the Bhai is rarely found in the works of other Panjabi *vars*. The poet has borrowed his glossary, similes and adjectives from Braj or Persian. Bhai Gurdas lived in the proximity of Guru Arjan and the bards who wrote their works in *Sadhukari* (language of Saints) and he did not follow the prevalent language of scholars but explained his views in the general language of the mob. His verse is free from duplicacy of thoughts and other poetic shortcomings. In a single stanza he successfully narrates the stories of numerous characters. Bhai Gurdas has used three types of the *var* metres with different syllables and pauses. The author has compared Bhai Gurdas with John Milon and also confirmed the greatness of Bhai Gurdas in the words of Sant Singh Sekhon.\(^22\)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In his other article subjected to the language of Bhai Gurdas, Sekhon has tried to evince that Bhai has used the simple and pure Punjabi. Bhai Gurdas has also cast new words to meet with the need of Kafia (rhyme of couplet) and for this purpose he has used the style of Apbhransh (old Panjabi). Undoubtedly, Bhai Gurdas has also
borrowed numerous words from Braj and Hindi but he successfully turned them in *(Sadh Bakha)* ascetic language of the northern India and used to meet with the needs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Elaborating the early background of Punjabi *var*, Bahari narrates that the mother language of Bhai Gurdas was the dialect being spoken, generally, into the distant lands
of Goindwal which he could never forget throughout his life. Thus in his works composed in the Braj dialect, he has also used the words from Punjabi rustic dialect i.e. unsophisticated.

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

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

(C) Bhai Nand Lal

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

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

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

The poet has translated it as:
Bhar ke prem pyala menu saqee deh siane hun... 28

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

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

Har kuja dideem anwar-e-Khuda.
Baske az suhbat-e-bazurgan shud jazab. 29

Jit wal nazar tite wal sajian apna noor dikhaeda.
Par eh noori darshan mil ke saadh sangat vich paeeda.

In the very first stanza of ghazal number 3 distich second the word 'Chasham-e-Pak' of Persian strikes wrong meaning in the Panjabi translation. In Panjabi culture the word 'Matwala' strikes the meaning of a drunkard, or intoxicated. While Bhai Nand Lal
urged to describe the meaning of 'sacred eyes'. In the prose translation Ganga Singh succeeded to define the adequate meaning of sacred eyes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The author has also promulgated the family tree of Bhai Nand beginning from Dewan Chhaju Mal to Param Dayal Singh who died in 1962 A.D. He has not quoted the source by which he has accomplished the referred family tree. In the family context of back ground and biographical note Pandohal quoted that Bhai Nand Lal explained an Ayat of the Holy Quran and the emperor Aurangazeb was impressed by his revelations.
Therefore, the emperor asked him to embrace Islam. Bhai Nand Lal being a firm Sikh denied to accept the offer. The emperor annoyed by his denial ensured death sentence for him. Bhai Nand Lal sought refuge in the court of Guru Gobind Singh.\(^{31}\)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Har ke gird-e-ku-e-shaan gardid yaafat.} \\
&\text{Har do aalam hamchu mehar-o-badar taafat.}\(^{32}\)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{هر گرد کوی شاہ گردید یاافت} \\
&\text{هر دو عالم همچون باردار یافت}
\end{align*}
\]

The author writes:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Jo koi us kuche duale ho gaya.} \\
&\text{Do Jahani Suraji kar lo gaya.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

In the translation of the stanza, \textit{Suhibate nekaan agar bashad naseeb. Doulat jawed yaabi ae habeeb.} The author has translated the word "Jawed" i.e. imperishable to 'anginat' i.e. countless.\(^{33}\)

Pandhol in translation to the undermotioned:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Bu-e-haq mee ayad az har mu-e-shaan.} \\
&\text{Zindah me shud har kas az bu-e-shaan.}
\end{align*}
\]

He has written the word 'Waal’ in place of 'Rome' which exactly strikes here the meaning of 'mue'. In Persian the word 'mue' is generally used for hair on head or beard but in Panjabi specially the words, 'Rome' or “rongte” is used for body hair.\(^{34}\)
Obviously, the translation has some misinterpretations but being a rare work it has earned familiarity. The appreciable fact is that the translator has used the same behar i.e. Ramal in Panjabi verse.

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

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

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

a. Bhai Nand Lal was deputed on the services of a clerk (munshi) in the office of Nawab Wasaaf Khan the ruler of Multan (1652 AD).

b. Bhai Nand Lal was promoted as a Head Clerk (mir munshi) and then the Fort Keeper and the Army Commander at Bhakar.

c. After that he was appointed as the Administrator (Nazim) at Dina Kahror, Fatehpur and the pargana Muhiydeenpur.

d. He was also promoted as the Naib Subedar of Multan by the above mentioned ruler.

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

It is true that from the geographical and historical view Guru Gobind Singh united the Panjab public under the name of 'Khalisa'. It was a significant endowment to the public of Punjab… and Bhai Nand Lal saw the whole scenario of creation of Khalsa personally. He has applauded as well as elaborated the duties of Khalisa in his Tankhah Namah.
Historically, Ganda Singh has evinced that Bhai Nand Lal left Guru Gobind Singh when the latter left Anandpur fort. He again appeared in 1707 AD in the court of Shahzada Muazim Shah Alam. The author has used 'Sri Gur Pratap Singh Suraj Granth' of Santokh Singh, Gurmat Sudhakar of Kahan Singh Bhai, Bhai Nand Lal Nistara, by Bhai Vir Singh. Life of Bhai Nand Lal Goya of Ram Dyal Bhai, Prem Phulwari by Megh Raj. Halaate Khandan Bhai Nand Lal by Deen Dayal Singh, Life and works of Bhai Nand Lal Goya by Parma Nand Arora as the source books.

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

Mi chakad az harf-e-shaan qand-o-nabaat
Barad az har mu-e-shaan aab-e-hayaat

MOREOVER, THE WORD CHAKEEDAN/CHAKAD HAS A SPECIFIC WORD IN PANJABI TAPKANA/TAPAKADI (NgeDk, Ngedh) AND FOR 'HARF' THE ADEQUATE WORD IS 'GALL' (rZb). Since the word shabad is specially prevalent to indicate the holy psalms of the Sikh gurus as well as prevails with same meaning in the Nath culture. Dr. Ganda Singh has a rich store of glossary of spiritual terminology. He has successfully used Panjabi terms and words for Persian glossary used in Ganj Namah and Jot Bikas. In the prose of Ganj Namah Bhai Nand Lal has used the Indian sabq and it has a large stock of Arabic glossary. Dr. Ganda Singh has translated it adequately:
The author has not elaborated the Persian text in the prose portion of *Ganj Namah* while the verse is also transformed in Panjabi prose. From Arjul Alfaz some selected stanzas from the beginning and the end have been selected by the author for translation.

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

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

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

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

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

\[ AY\ ruiK\ qU\ (qo)\ r0inik\ bwzwir\ SmA[ \]

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

\[ igrid\ ruKswir\ qU\ (qo)Az\ bihir\ inswr[ \]
Undoubtedly, at each place the word is written with te and vau, but there is difference in pronunciation which changes according to the conjunction and adverb. In Panjabi, especially in the Gurmukhi script there are vowels to indicate correctly the pronounce in both situations.

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

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

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

\[\text{aus sdIvI jwxkwrI dw JMfw aucw krn vwlI} \]
\[\text{Aqy igAwn dy AMnHyry f dUr krn vwlI,} \]

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

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

Mahan Singh Giani in Tasnifat-e-Goya has edited only the Persian works of Bhai Nand excluding the Panjabi Tankhah Namah and Arzul Alfaz. The studies include a prolegomena (dibacha) revealing the biographical notes and a brief acknowledgement of each work. The editor has indicated about Arzul-Alfaz, Dasturul Insha va Khatima though he has not added these works in his study in Tausif-o-Sana. Mahan Singh Giani
has noted the meanings of difficult words and also indicated the required mythological and puranic concepts to make the meaning more clear i.e.

Ashar az behar paasbaani-e-shaan
Ruba sargaram wasaf khawani-e-shan.

They have been clarified by indicating the meaning of ten incarnations and four Vedas (*deh yani, deh avatar, chahaar baid*).\(^1\)

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

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

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

Mahan Singh Gyani has also added a 'Tuarif-o-Tabsrah', (acknowledgment and evaluation) written by Lakhshvir Singh Muztar. In the referred study, Muztar had compared numerous aspects from the poetry of Bhai Nand Lal with Sheikh Saadi, Attar Nishapuri, Maulavi Jalaludin Roomi, Hafiz Sherazi, Mirza Bedil, Umar Khayam, Khaqani etc. Adequate examples and extracts have been quoted to justify the poetic strategies of the poet.
Amarwant Singh in his Ph.D. thesis GNDU, Amritsar, 1983” entitled 'Bhai Nand Lal Goya Ki Tasaanif Ka Tanqidi Mutilia' has brought forth the subjective analysis of the works of Bhai Nand Lal. He has highlighted the works of Bhai Nand Lal due to their significance as Sikh literature and literary values of the poetical texts. The poetical strategies used by the author are elaborated with quotations and references. The poetical strategies are also compared with other important Persian poets like Hafiz, Saudi, Nizami etc.

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

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

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

The Persian language had been the court language of Panjab during the Mughal empire. It is said that a few Sikhs requested in the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to change it to Panjabi. The Maharaja referred the case to Faquir Azizudin his courtier, who put the case pending. Obviously, the court language of Panjab even during the
reign span of the Sikh rulers remained Persian. Numerous local words and concepts were added to it. But the main lingual infrastructure was absolutely Persian Arabic script. The orders of the Maharaja and civil deeds were recorded in the same language. Though the regional language of Panjab had emerged with remarkable symptoms. Panjabi Muslims and Hindus including Sikhs had composed in Panjabi notable works. Sikh Gurus, Damodar, Gurdas, Piloo, Waris, hashim, Qadiryar, Fazal Shah produced applaudable works in Panjabi but the regional language could not acquire its status as a court language.

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

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

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

The Singh Sabha Movement and the Chief Khalsa Diwan played prominent role to propagate Panjabi in Gurmukhi script. The referred Sikh Organisations established a large number of schools in which Panjabi in Gurmukhi script was taught and medium for other subjects was also managed Panjabi. Panjab university, Lahore, established a
series of colleges for higher studies in which the European styled education was dispersed in English. The Sikh especially the Jats and Khatries being the prosperous classes got their children educated in Chief colleges, Montgomery College, Lyallpur Khalsa College, Khalsa College Amritsar etc. Moreover, DAV colleges and SD colleges were also established by Hindu Panjabis. The students emerged from the referred colleges had no interest in Panjabi, Persian or Sanskrit. Only a few intellectual emerged with a soaring spirits having love for their native language and religion. Persian and Sanskrit were considered as dead languages. Hindi, Panjabi and Urdu took their places.

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

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

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

A) There are a few scholars only who have put forth their studies on the Bard-bani like Sahib Singh (Prof.), Joginder Singh Talwara, Rattan Singh Jaggi (Dr.), Wazir Singh (Dr.) etc.

B) Generally, the Panjabi scholars have written commentaries and explanations on the works compiled by Bhattas and they too, have not brought out some deep studies since the language of the bard is an admixture of Sanskrit, Prakrit and medieval Panjabi.

C) The bard vani lacks the indepth study. There is much scope to search more aspects since it is a descent specimen in the field of language literature as well as religion and comparative religions.
D) Conclusively speaking, Bhai Gurdas acquired prominence as a Sikh scholar, annotator, propagator of the Sikh theology as well as calligrapher of Sri Guru Granth Sahib.

E) Less attention has been paid by Panjabi scholars to propound studies about his *kabitts and swayyas* of Bhai Gurdas.

F) The *vars* composed by Gurdas have been studied by well established critics and scholars from different aspects and bear weightage in the history of Panjabi literature.

G) Being subjected to Sikh religion the works are considered notable in religion as well in Panjabi literature.

H) The studies on Bhai Nand Lal Goya are limited and they, too, based upon, translations and transliterations.

I) The works of Goya propound socio religious aspects of his times as well as provide eye wetness to some historical facts. Especially, they provide solid evidences on the emergence of the Khalsa as well as the contemporary Sikh values of his times.

J) Undoubtedly, Bhai Nand Lal could not establish himself in the history of the Persian literature but he could avail a respectable status in the Sikh (Gurmat) literature due to his devotional poetry.

K) The studies propounded on the poetic works of Bhai Nand Lal are accomplished by poets who have tried to versify his works in Panjabi poetry.
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