It is Panjab's misfortune that none of the Sikh Gurus were directly interested in writing the history of their times. The references available in the Sikh records are mostly incidental and form secondary sources. Had the Gurus taken up their pen to write a history of their relations with the Great Mughals, they would not have omitted to lay before the world the correct side of the picture. Such a picture would have exposed the corruption and treachery of the Panjab governors, confusion and disorder of every kind that was rampant all over the province and the cruelty, extravagance, vices and the profligacy being practised freely. It would have been recorded how murder, plunder, robbery and debauchery were the order of the day and finally how honour, justice and position were sold and bought with slavish pride and joy. The Gurus seemingly ignored all this with contempt and kept themselves busy with the task of reforming society. Probably they did not want to corrupt their pen and tongue by writing and speaking about corrupt things which filled the very air with licentiousness and pollution of the most shocking character. The writer, therefore, gives, below a brief picture of the relations between the Sikhs and the Great Mughals from the scanty sources available.

GURU NANK - 1469-1539 - Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh
Religion was born in November, 1469, at Talwandl Eai Bhoe, now called Nankana Sahib, in the District of Shaikhupura (West Pakistan). His father, Mehta Kalu, was a Patwari of the same village.

After finishing his education in the three R's he studied Persian and the conventional Islamic literature from Saiyid Hameed. His brother-in-law, Jai Ram, secured a post in the service of a state granary at Sultanpur. His interest in spiritual and religious quest led him to give up the service at the age of twenty-seven in spite of the fact that he had two sons and two daughters to look after. He travelled far and wide, from Assam and Dacs to Baghdad, and from Tibet and Orissa to Ceylon, and had personal contact with saints and 'faqirs' and watched critically their faiths, beliefs, manners, and morals. It is alleged that he was much influenced by a saint named Murad Shaikh Sharaf Shaikh Rahauddin, and the teachings of Kabir. It is, however, doubtful if he had any formal initiation, for he says that his guru was God. The sack of Saidpur (Eminahd) in Aujranwala District and the massacre of its inhabitants in 1531 by the order of Babar, who 'like a ravenous lion fell upon a herd of cows', produced a powerful impression upon his mind. On that occasion he is said to have been arrested but later on released. In his old age he settled down as a farmer at Kartarpur, a small village in Talshote District.

At the time of Nanak's birth, the social, political, economic

1. Khulasat-Tawarikh-Rujan Rai, Text, 1918, P. 49
3. Prachi Path Parkash-Rattan Singh Bhangu, P. 9
4. History of the Sikhs-Cunningham, P. 35
5. The Sikh Religion-Vol.I, Macauliffe, P. 1
6. The Sikh Archer, P. 35
7. Janaa Sahib-Bhai Bala, P. 5
8. Dastan-i-Mazhabi-Text, P. 323
9. It was a small village then situated on the river Ravi, 35 miles south-west of Lahore, in the Sharakpur Sub-division of the Lahore District (Lator Michaela-Vol.I, Irvine, P. 72)
10. History of the Sikhs-Cunningham, P. 37
11. Khulasat-Tawarikh-Rujan Rai-Text, (1918), P. 69
12. Nanak Parkash-Bhai Santokh Singh, P. 146
and religious condition of the people of the Panjab, nay of the whole of India, was chaotic. Apart from the invading hordes, whose main object was destruction, massacre and plunder the six dynasties which had established themselves one after the other in India for nearly three centuries (1906-1896) could not maintain peace in the country. The invasions of Changiz Khan and Timur added fuel to the fire and tremendously increased the miseries of the people. Almost all the Muslim rulers were fierce bigots. Hordes of lawless Turks had overrun the country. The people of the Panjab were helpless against those usurpers who divided political power amongst themselves. Under such conditions the honour of no man or woman was safe. The so called Imperial Government at Delhi was powerless, even if it desired to check the misdeeds of those desperados. Besides, it was itself so much disrupted by internal jealousies and intrigues that it had little time and inclination to exercise any control over them. The annals of this period constitute the darkest period of Indian History. Nanak has described what he saw with his own eyes, in Var Majhs:

"Kings are butchers, cruelty their knife
Sense of duty has taken wings and vanished,
Falsity prevails like the darkness of the darkest night.
The noon of truth is visible nowhere." 1

The indigenous population of the country on the other hand was hopelessly divided in itself. Hindus did not associate with the Hindus. In consequence of the rigidity of the caste system, under the influence of the Brahmanic revival that had turned Buddhism out of India, it had become a horrible sin for Shudras even to hear a Vedic hymn. It is aptly said "Political lawlessness, social confusion, religious corruption, moral degradation and spiritual slavery were the order of the day. In spite of the periodic appearance of prophets

1.
2. -Sewa Ram S
and reformers, who had set high ideals before mankind, the brute in
man had still predominated. "The galaxy of saints, which appeared in
the country a few years before his birth, were obviously the precursors of the Master who came down to warn people against their iniquitous lives, and proclaim the advent of the new spirit."

The invasion of Babar and the launching of Nanak's reform
movement just happened about the same time. It was the disintegrating
state of the Delhi Sultanate and the political intrigues of the court
of Delhi during these years that had whetted Babar's ambition and made
it easy for him to occupy India.

Nanak was a reformer like Kabir with more restraint and dignity
of expression. He was utterly dissatisfied with the social and
political conditions of the country. He condemned the mimicry, Hypocrisy, baseness and poltroonery of the people and deplored the
degeneration that had set in among his countrymen.

The man eaters say the (five) prayers:

And they who wielded the knife wear the sacred thread.

And in their homes do the Brahmins blow the conch,

Yea, they too relish the same tastes,

False is their stock, yea, false their trade,

And falsehood fill their bellies, they,

The sense of shame and honour from them is far removed,

For, Nanak, its falsehood that filleth them all.

On their foreheads is the saffron-mark and their loin

And worship the Puranas succoured by barbarian's food.

But in their hands is the knife, yea, they are the

They seek approval of the Muslim Rulers by wearing blue,

The social aspect of Nanak's religious thought is well reflect-

1. The Divine Master-See Ram Singh, P. 17
   Also read Aa Mahala-IY Chhand(6)-1. Adi Granth
2. Adi Granth. P. 472
ed in his sayings. "He who looks on all men and women as equals is
religious", and "Abide pure amid the impurities of the world." He
raised the status of woman almost to the level of man. Inter-dining
was instituted to break the rigour of the caste system. Wine and por
were prohibited. He repudiated polytheism, idol worship and belief
incarnation of God, denied the validity of the caste system, of myth
logical beings of formal rituals and ceremonials. Instead, he laid
emphasis on moral virtues. He did not recognise any basic difference
between Hindus and Musalmans since all were children of God.

Nanak came in contact with the first Mughal Emperor, Babar,
for the first time in 1530-1531, when the latter crossed into India.
At first he reduced Bhera and then marched on Sialkot. Everywhere th
people found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. If they
submitted to Babar and supplied him with provisions they exposed th
selves to the wrath of the Sultan of Delhi after the return of Babar
and if they did not submit to Babar, he would kill them, plunder
their homes and take away their women and children as slaves. Thus,
the people chose the lesser evil and submitted to Babar to save them
selves. But here again they were gravely disillusioned because they
could save little from Babar's lascivious army. In 1531, Babar
reached Saidpur. The Pathan chiefs of Saidpur decided to resist and
thus invited death and destruction. Macauliffe says "The Pathan
Chiefs of Saidpur, who resisted, were put to the sword, their wives
and children carried into captivity and all their property plundered.
Nanak, who happened to be at Saidpur during its attack, was very much
distressed to see the horrible sight of pillage and plunder which
was committed by Babar. He could not resist his innate anger and
thus commented:

1. The Sikh Religion - Vol. I, Macauliffe, P. 111
   Radisson - I, Hazahib-Text, P. 334
"As the word of the Lord cometh to me so I make known 0, Lalo
Bringing a bridal procession of sins,
Babar hath hastened from Kabul and demandeth wealth as his bride.

0, Lalo."

Guru Nanak did not have any political contacts with the Mughal Emperors, Babar and Humayun. This was the first phase of Sikhism. The main activities of the founder of this sect related to love, peace and Bhagti, and out of these emerged the plant of Sikhism. In the course of two hundred years this tender plant assumed the proportions of a mighty tree with its branches spreading over vast areas of the earth.

The faith of Nanak was founded on three main principles -

(1) Faith in one God (ii) Repetition of His Name or Bhagti and (iii) the Guru's role in guiding his devotees. Guru Nanak raised his powerful voice against the superstitions, and foolish customs and ceremonies prevailing in his time. His devotion to one God 'the True, the Immortal, the Self-existent, the Pure, the Inevitable' made Nanak reject incarnations and idols and abominations, while his insistence on right conduct cut away the basis of ritualistic practices and prayers. He boldly faced the religious fanatics both Hindu and Muslim, and with his superior logic and practical illustrations, he put an end to these superstitions and evil customs and showed the Sikhs the path towards life everlasting.

Nanak wanted his mission to continue after his death. He had established Ganges at different places and appointed saintly persons to look after them. In choosing his successor he exercised great care, and gave preference to one of his disciples, named Lehna, over his sons. The reason for his choice lay, in the superior character and
devotion of Lehna. Apparently enough, Nanak did not want his movement to preach flight from the problems of the world, and seek shelter in renunciation. He proposed to infuse religious spirit into the common people living a normal life. Sikhism was meant to be "essentially a religion of house-holders" as was the case with Islam.

Angad (Lehna) was born on the 11th of Baisakh in 1561 B.E. (1504 A.D.) in Matte-di-Sarai, a village about six miles from Mukatsar in Ferozepur District. This village was once sacked by the Mughals and the Baluchis. On account of this, his father Phero who was a trader by profession, had to leave this village, with his family to settle at Khadur, now a famous town near Tarn Taran, in Amritsar District. He was a Khatri of the Trehan clan.

The characters of Nanak's two sons, Sri Chand and Lakhmi Das were typical of extremes. Sri Chand disregarded his father's teaching and became an ascetic and founded the Udasi sect of recluse, who renounced the world and domestic life; the second was wholly given over to pleasure. It was, therefore, Angad, one of Nanak's disciples who was appointed his successor. The nomination to the Guruship "is a fact of the profoundest significance in Sikh history." The appointment of Angad was based on democratic principles. In Angad's succession, Nanak did establish a precedent through which could he establish a community beyond the ties of family. He banned, that is, his own sons from succession to him, and clothed the Guruship by his own liberal ordination with more than family prestige, with due dignity and supreme importance. However with the accession of Guru Har Rai,
the grandson of the sixth Guru Hargobind, the office had become hereditary, but by another principle than that of primogeniture. In the entire line of Gurus only three sons, each in his turn succeeded their fathers - Arjan, Harkishan and Gobind Singh, the fifth, the eighth and tenth Gurus, respectively. Harkishan, was Har Rai's son and Gobi Singh was Teg Bahadur's son.

Guru Angad popularised Gurmukhi script, which became the sacred medium of expression of the hymns and prayers. He compiled Nanak's biography and the collection of his hymns. "We are enabled by the discovery of this Janam Sakhi (Biography of Nanak) to distinguish the older tradition regarding Nanak and to fix with some degree of veracity the real facts of his life." The institution of Langar (free and common kitchen) started by Angad a distinctive feature to the Sikhs, which had invited guests and friends to eat with and his disciples as one family, regardless of race, wealth, sex, caste, occupation or religion.

Humayun, after his defeat by Sher Shah on May 17, 1540, at Kanauj made his way to Lahore and learnt on the way of some "wonder working priest" who could restore him to his kingdom. He was informed by one of his associates, of the greatness of the late Guru Hanak and of the succession of Guru Angad to his spiritual sovereignty and advised him to seek his assistance. Upon this Humayun, taking offerings with him, proceeded to Khadur in Amritsar District. Angad was in a deep trance, minstrels were playing at the reback and singing the Guru's hymns and therefore the Emperor had to wait. At this Humayun became violently angry, and put his hand on the hilt of his sword with...
the intention of striking the Guru. The Guru, undaunted by this behaviour addressed him: "When you ought to have used your sword again Sher Shah, you proved yourself to be a coward and you fled the battle field and now posing as a hero you wish to attack a body of men engaged in their devotions." Humayun apologised for what he had done and thereafter took his leave, crossed the Indus with great difficulty and made his way to Iran.

Indu Bhushan Banerjee calls the story "very doubtful" perhaps only because he does not get any reference from the contemporary Muslim chronicler. But Humayun had passed through the ferry of Goindwal, while crossing the Beas, in 1540, where he was hotly pursued by the Afghan troops, on his retreat to Lahore. The mention of this meeting is made in almost all the Sikh histories that Humayun sought the benedictions of the Guru in his adversity, though the benediction were spiritual.

Guru Angad had two sons Dasu and Dattu. He nominated Amar Das as his successor and a few days after it, he died in March 30, 1563 (Chet, 1609 Bikram).

**GURU AMAR DASS - 1553-1574** - He was the son of Tej Bhan of a small village Basarke situated in the District of Amritsar. He was born in 1479 A.D. He extensively propagated the mission of Guru Nanak and composed many beautiful hymns which are much liked for their simplicity. Some Brahmanas, under the leadership of a Marwaha Khatri, complained to Akbar against the teachings of the Guru. But they were all
baffled in their attempts, when on hearing religious views of the Guru, the Emperor showed his liking for the Sikh religion and refused to interfere with it.

Akbar developed a special liking for the religion of Nanak which preached universal love and tried to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. After the great victory of Chittor, Akbar came to Gobindwal and was greatly impressed to see the working of the Guru's kitchen. He also partook the food prepared in the kitchen and was so highly pleased with it that he ordered twelve villages to be given in jagir for its maintenance. Apart from the material gain which was by no means unimportant, the visit of the Emperor enormously increased the fame and prestige of the Guru. The visit of Akbar made such a profound impression that crowds of converts were brought to the fold of Sikhism. The Guru died at the age of ninety five at Gobindwal in 1574.

Guru Amar Das had some rivals such as Datu son of Guru Angad and Sri Chand, the son of Nanak. He succeeded at Angad's own designation, thus making further sure the exclusion of Sri Chand, from direct guru-ship, and giving further opportunity for distinction between the Sikhs and the order of 'Udasis' which meanwhile Sri Chand had instituted, otherwise Sikhism would have merely added one more sect to the countless orders of ascetics or devotees which are wholly unrepresented in the life of the people.

Amar Das was in true succession not only as Guru but also as a poet, and, as in the case of Nanak, verse became the channel of his message of reform. He faced the question, for example, of 'sati' (widow-burning), a Hindu custom which had continued also

1. [Vol. II, Macauliffe, PP. 103-1]
2. a. [Vol. II, Santokh Singh, PP. 1603]
3. [Vol. II, Macauliffe, PP. 93]
4. [Vol. I, Banerjee, PP. 171]
5. [Vol. I, Banerjee, PP. 151]
8. [Vol. I, Macauliffe, PP. 63-64]
among Sikhs. He denounced the practice of 'sati' and openly asked his followers to remarry the widows:

"Satī ah na akhian jo marnia lag jalan
Nanak, Satī jehian je birhī shot maran."

Amar Das settled down at Goidival to guide the destiny of the Sikhs. By constructing a Baoli (large well), by reforming the institution of free and common kitchen, by dividing his spiritual Empire into twenty-two provinces (Manjis), by introducing new ceremonies for birth and death, he contributed a lot towards the cultural and social evolution of his followers.

GURU RAM DAS: 1534-1581: Ram Das son of Thakar Das was born in Chuna Mandi, Lahore, in 1591 B.E. (1634 A.D.). Though he was called Bam Das yet he was generally known as Jetha, a name which means the first born. Ram Das was a man of considerable merit, of a quiet and peaceful disposition. He became famous for his piety, devotion, energy and eloquence. He devoted himself to literary pursuits and expounded his doctrines in beautiful and attractive hymns.

Guru Ram Das was also favoured by Akbar. He gave him, in 1577 a grant of five hundred bighas of land, containing a natural pool of seven hundred rupees, in the pargana of Jhubal, Amritsar District. Akbar also offered the Guru one hundred and one golden coins. The pool was changed into a tank and round about it grew the city of Amritsar, which became the Mecca of the Sikhs, both religiously and temporally. The choice of the site was very wise for the country round about was

1. A Sati is not she who burnet herself on a pyre over spouse. Nanak: a 'Sati' is she who dieth with the sheer shock of separation. (Adi Granth-Sahi ki Var,P.197)
3. Amul Sat-ut-Tawarih-Munj Rai,Text,P.49
4. The Sikhs-Archer,P.141
6. The Sikh Religion-Vol.III,Macauliffe,P.1
inhabited by hardy Hindu peasants, who could provide robust recruits to the new community. A commercial town was bound to increase progressively the revenue of the Church, and prove advantageous for the propagation of the new dispensation. The importance which the Guru attached to trade and commerce stressed the dignity of labour, encouraged crafts, arts and industry and fostered the spirit of enterprise, which proved to be a great asset not only to the Sikhs but in the long run, to the Hindus and the Muslims also. Ram Das nominated his third son Arjun, a young man of eighteen, to be his successor since he was the ablest and the most promising. With his appointment the principle of hereditary succession was virtually established, which was, however, undemocratic. Ram Das died in September 1581.

**Guru Arjan** - 1574-1606: Bibi Bhani, wife of Guru Ram Das, gave birth to Arjan at Coindval on Tuesday, the 7th day of the dark half of Baisakh, Samvat 1620 (1563 A.D.). He was the youngest son, who came into a large inheritance, and Sikhism during his term of office began to assume more definite proportions as an actually new community. Its number had been growing, although the total was not yet large.

These were the members of the order in many villages "and the Sikhism had come to acquire, primarily through its 'Sangats' and 'Masands', a far-flung and, at the same time, a centralised organisation" Arjan set himself to the task of consolidation and organization of the Sikhs. He went on tour, preaching and organizing 'sangats' or congregational worship, which he declared to be of greater merit than individual worship. He reorganized and gave a permanent character to these missionaries, who were appointed by his predecessors to spread the Sikh

2. The Sikh Religion - Vol.III, Macauliffe, P.1
3. Amisait-ut-Tawarih - Suhar Ral, Text, P.49
religion and collect the offerings of the faithful. The Sikhs were exhorted 'to give a tithe of their substance to God'. In a way, such offerings were made compulsory. The 'Masands' and their deputies, called 'meoras' collected the offerings from place to place. "This band of Guru's agents (Masands) were stationed in every city from Kabul to Dacca, where there was a Sikh, to collect the tithes and offerings of the faithful; and this spiritual tribute, so far as it escaped peculation by the agents, reached the central treasury at Amritsar". They were not allowed to use the revenue thus collected for their own use. Thus a steady flow of revenue to the central treasury at Amritsar was assured, which made it possible for the Guru to found towns like Tarantaran, Amritsar District and Kartarpur, Jullundur District and undertake extensive building and excavation operations. In the middle of the Amritsar tank he began to build the Golden temp which was calculated to become a central place of worship for the Sikhs - a sort of Kaba of the Muslims.

ARJAN AND AKBAR: Akbar also paid a flying visit to Guru Arjan at Goindwal on November 24, 1598, while on his way back to Delhi from Lahore and was much impressed by his saintly bearing, Arjan brought to the notice of the Emperor the havoc wrought by the recent famine. The complaint bore fruit and the revenue for that year was remitted and relief was granted to the sufferers by the issue of grain from the imperial granaries. This contributed a great deal to the increase of the Guru's popularity.

The latitudinarian policy of Akbar gave the Sikh Gurus an opportunity to carry on their socio-religious work as best as they liked. The Emperor saw nothing particularly objectionable either in

1. - ol. . .3af
2. - ol.III,Macauliffe,P.30
   -Vol.I,Banerjee,P.192
3. - o . ,Santokh Singh,pp.1683-88
the movement or in the organization. Arjan's term of office coincided with the latter half of Akbar's reign, with that portion of it which Akbar's restless intellect sought absolute truth from somewhere during these years. Sikhism might have hoped to make progress. But it must have been an eyesore to the landed and religious aristocracy of the Panjab. At this time Sirhind was the centre of a very orthodox revivalism among the Muslims. It was led by Shaikh Ahmad-ul Faruqi of Sirhind (born 1563-4) head of an orthodox Sufic order. About the close of the sixteenth century he was initiated in the Naqshbandi order at Delhi. He claimed to unite in the spiritual powers of all the religious orders of orthodox Islam. Shaikh bitterly opposed Guru Arjan Dev's activities.

There were political considerations also, with their own social and religious implications that the outer larger world of the Mughals began to take increasing notice of the Sikhs now. It was Arjan who organized them. He gave them a written rule of faith in the Adi Granth, he provided a common rallying point in the city of Amritsar, which he made their religious as well as political rendezvous and he reduced their voluntary contributions to a systematic levy which accustomed them to discipline and paved the way for further organization. He was further unable wholly to abstain from politics, and he became a political partisan of the Mughal Prince Khusrau, who was in rebellion against his father Jahangir, the then Emperor of India.

ARJAN AND JAHANGIR: During his flight through the Panjab, Khusrau the rebel Prince, met the Guru who congratulated him, put saffron mark on his forehead, gave him his blessings and some financial help. Khusrau had visited the Guru, during his grand-father Akbar's life

2. Pakistan-i-Masahib - Vol.II, David Shep, p.373
time and to whom the Prince represented himself as distressed, for-

Khusrau was defeated at Fhairowal as already stated, taken
prisoner with Husain Beg Badakhshi and Abdur Rahim the most trusted
generals of Khusrau's troops and with seven hundred more men who were
publicly humiliated, and were impaled on stakes about the city. The
leaders were given condign punishment and Khusrau, Jahangir's own
son, being the rebel was blinded and tortured. All his sympathizers
were heavily punished.

Khusrau's rebellion had aroused violent irascibility in Jaha-
ngir and made his temper brutal. Arjan's plain explanation that he ha
no other motive than of showing kindness and gentleness to the grand-
son of Akbar, in his forlorn and miserable condition, did not carry
any weight with Jahangir, who imposed a fine of two or two and a half
lacs on the Guru. The Guru refused to pay on the ground that he had
no money of his own. At this Jahangir ordered that the Guru be impris-
oned, his residence and children were handed over to Murtaza Khan,
and his property was confiscated and he himself put to death. Jahangir,
did not say or do anything more against the Sikhs. There was no other
charge against the Sikhs and Jahangir did not show any sign for their
further persecution on purely religious grounds. The execution of the
Guru was based on political motives. Because all those people who
sided the rebel prince such as Husain Beg, Abdur Rahim and Amab
Prasad were punished most barbarously. All the people without any
distinction of caste and creed were equally and severly punished.

The writer will surely agree with Dr. Beni Prasad that, "without
minimizing the gravity of Jahangir's mistake, it is only fair to
recognise that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikh was molested. "No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjan himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel." This view is further supported by S.R. Sharma that "Had Jahangir's persecution of the Guru been directed by religious motives, he would have persecuted the Sikhs as well. Neither Sikh tradition nor Muslim fanaticism tells us anything of any further persecution of the Sikhs." "This was not clearly a case of religious persecution, but merely the customary punishment of a political offender." That Jahangir was not pronouncedly against the Sikh religion is also proved from the fact that he did not persecute the Sikhs as a community. He neither paid the fine nor allowed his followers to raise the amount because the Guru felt that by embracing death he would serve the cause of Sikhism better than obtaining a fresh lease of life on payment of the fine.

In fact Arjan is celebrated, not only as the compiler of the Adi Granth, but as the first Guru to assume the temporal as well as the spiritual control of his followers. Making Amritsar his headquarters, he established himself as the administrative head of the community, and framed laws to regulate their social and political life. The rapid development of the Sikhs at this time and the growing influence of their Guru soon led to trouble with the Mughals, and the persecution of their sect at the hand of the Mughal Emperors dates from Arjan's martyrdom.

On 33rd Jeth 1669 Samat (June 1606 A.D.) Guru died and according to his instructions, his body was thrown into the Ravi. His tomb was erected opposite the fort of Lahore, on the spot where he breathed his last. Its reaction on the Sikhs, however, was very different. It

1. History of Jahangir-Beni Prasad (1962), P.138
2. The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors-S.R. Sharma, P.77
5. A Short History of the Sikhs-Payne, P.31
6. The Sikh Religion-Vol.III-Macauliffe, P.100
sent a thrill of horror among them. They endured it with grim patience.

1. GURU HARGOBIND—1595-1646: Hargobind was born at Wadali in 1595 A.D. A new era began in the history of the Sikhs with his accession to the Guruship. The disquieting and sad news of the painful death of Guru Arjan was conveyed with an inspiring message, "to bid him, not to mourn or indulge in unmanly lamentation, but sing, God's praises—let him sit fully armed on his throne, and maintain an army to the best of his ability" Hargobind took the dying injunction of his father to heart very seriously. Unlike his father he constantly trained himself in martial exercises. He issued an encyclical letter to the 'Kassands' to the effect that he would be pleased with those who brought offerings of arms and horses instead of money.

The martyrdom of his father proved to be a turning point in the history of the Sikhs; in-as-much as it made quite patent what was a new charter to include deliberately and develop methodically righteous militancy, make Sikhism a church-militant and Hargobind a saint. "He infused military ardour into his disciples, and soon a formidable body of fighting men was at his command. At times he found it expedient to place his force at the service of the Emperor; but his general attitude towards the Mughals of this province, was one of uncompromising."

He laid the foundation of the Akal Takhat in 1606. The city of Amritsar was strengthened by a small fortification, which he called Lohgarh. His fame as a patron of martial spirits attracted best warriors and wrestlers, from amongst whom he selected his body guards.

2. Vol.IV,Macauliffe,P.99
3. Deriv. om. e Persian word Hasnad(اسماعل) means a throne, a large cushion on which people recline—the royal or imperial throne. He means the seat of the tithes collector or the collector of revenue.
4. The Sikh Religion—Vol.IV,Macauliffe,P.3
5. A Short History of the Sikhs—Payne,P.32
and enlisted soldiers. The soldiers of the Guru were not mercenaries, but the best of them were either volunteers or took only two meals, a uniform, a horse and weapons. The Sikhs were enjoined to settle all disputes among themselves. "It was not long before rumours, whether couched in terms of the last 'words of Arjun' or in others, began to pass through the Indian bazaars and along the pilgrim routes that a change of mood prevailed among the Sikhs. In the Greater Garden some ploughshares were being beaten into swords and there were pruning hooks becoming spears. A fellowship of reconciliation was assuming a martial form."

The official reporters and the enemies of the Guru, particularly Chandu Shah, pointed out to Jahangir the implications of this new policy of Hargobind. The Emperor called the Guru and asked him to pay the fine which was imposed upon his father, but the Guru refused to pay. Thereupon he was arrested and was sent to the Fort of Cavaliar as a State Prisoner where generally the important political offenders were kept. There are divergent views regarding the term of his imprisonment. Mohsan-i-Fani, the author of Dabistan-i-Mazahib, the contemporary of Hargobind states that "Guru Hargobind had to remain a prisoner in the Fort of Cavaliar for twelve years, on scanty rations. Indu Bhushan Banerjee writes that at the most the Guru remained imprisoned for five years from 1607 to 1612. Principal Teja Singh is of the opinion that the Guru might have remained in Cavaliar for two years at the most and that from 1613 to 1614. The Sikh writers, most of whom vaguely confine the Guru's imprisonment to a period of only forty days, state that a pious Sikh named Bhai Jetha, who went on a

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1. -Archer,P.171
2. -Vol.IV,Mackuliffe,P.10
3. -Vol.IV,Mackuliffe,P.31
4. -Vol.II,David Shea,P.374
5. -Vol.II,Banerjee (1962),P.10
6. -ja Singh,P.78
mission to Delhi to secure the Guru's release, succeeded in soothing the emperor, who had been troubled with fearful visions. As the result of the pleading of Wazir Khan, a Mughal noble, the Guru was released from the Fort of Gwalior.

On account of such wide disagreement among the historians and also on account of paucity of the contemporary material available on this topic of great controversy, the writer cannot form any concrete opinion to define the exact term of the imprisonment of the Guru in the Fort of Gwalior. However, going through the available sources and working out their accuracy, the Guru's confinement for forty days as stated by the Sikh traditions seems to be more correct or it can be little more but definitely cannot be more than a year or so. After this, Har Gobind intentionally avoided clash with anybody and particularly with the Mughals. But a new epoch in the career of Har Gobind started with the death of Jahangir. The author of the Dabistan-i-Masahib, writes that the growing military strength and royal pomp of the Guru, his worldly spirit and tastes made a conflict between him and the Mughal government inevitable and it broke out after Shah Jahan's accession. "That the Guru was becoming a potential source of disaffection, was clear from his alleged recruitment of malcontents and fugitives from justice and the asylum that he extended to disaffected chiefs." Besides his own regular followers he had also enlisted bands of Afghan mercenaries. The free booters and dacoits that entered freely into his ranks made him the centre of turbulent and dangerous crowds. The recruitment of the Afghan mercenaries like Painda Khan made the Emperor realize that the Guru's aim of taking such people into his fold could be no other but political.

1. The 31th Religion—Vol.IV, Mushuliffe, p. 34-35
3. Ram Partap, the fugitive Raja of Jaisalmer took refuge with the Guru and that Yar Khan and Khawaja Sarai, dismissed commander of the Mughal Army, sought the Guru's asylum (Transformation of the Sikhs, C. C. Naranga, p. 106)
This state of affairs brought an open quarrel between the Guru and Shah Jahan. The cause of the conflict was insignificant. It so happened one day that Shah Jahan was going from Lahore towards Amritsar, and a hawk belonging to the Emperor was seized by one of the Guru's followers.

At this, Mukhlis Khan, the Mughal general marched from Lahore, at the head of seven thousand troops. Several minor skirmishes took place in which two Sikh leaders lost their lives after a gallant fight. Painda Khan, an Afghan, the commander of Sikh troops, stemmed the force of the enemy while the final charge led by the Guru himself completed the rout of the Mughal troops.

The Imperial army was defeated near Amritsar and returned to Lahore, after losing many killed and wounded. "This was the first combat in the annals of the Panjab, which was fought between the Great Mughals and the Sikhs."

This success, however, did not elate the Guru with pride. He retired to the jungles of Bhaitinda, knowing the strength and resources of Shah Jahan better.

**BATTLE OF LAHORE - 1631** - One Bidhi Chand, a notorious freebooter known afterwards as Baba Bidhi Chand, stole two of Shah Jahan's best horses from the Imperial stables at Lahore and brought them to the

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1. a Santo Singh in Surai Parkash - Vol. II, pp. 280-281, says that the royal hawk was seized by the Guru himself with the help of his own arrow which flew and brought down the Emperor's hawk.
2. Later, Mukhlis Khan was replaced in Delhi by Quli Khan. History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, p. 64
3. Dabistan-i-Wazhish-David Shea, (1834), p. 278
4. The Sikh Religion - Vol. IV, Macluliffe, pp. 82-83
5. Our Bilas - Gulab Singh and Sons, pp. 371-391
7. Muhammad Latif wrongly calls him Baba Bidha, p. 286
   The horses were stolen by Bidhi Chand, a valiant Nijjar Jat of Bist Jullundur Doab.
   Surai Parkash - Vol. IV, Santokh Singh, p. 3163
OarUt this inflated the anger of the Emperor. Military preparations were, therefore, made on a large scale and the command of the Mughal forces was entrusted to Qamar Beg and Lal Beg. The Royal forces moved towards the barren country of Bhatinda and both the armies met at a small village of Lahira situated in Bhatinda. "Lack of provisions and the difficulties of the march had a disastrous effect on the Mughal forces. They were reduced to great straits and being defeated by the Sikhs, fled to Lahore, leaving its commanders slain in the battle."

Hargobind having twice beaten the Mughal army in the open field, now began to entertain some degree of confidence in his own power, and in the powers of his followers. He, therefore, crossed the Beas and established himself at Kartarpur where he collected a large army, and patiently awaited a favourable opportunity for renewing hostilities with Shah Jahan. The author of Dabistan-i-Masahib says that the Guru fled to Kartarpur and the various Sikh accounts also bear him out.

**BATTLE OF KARTARPUR - 1624:** After a short spell of three year's peace war again broke out between the Sikhs and the Mughals. Painda Khan an Afghan ex-general of the Sikh troops, had left the service of the Guru after a quarrel and joined Shah Jahan. The Emperor sent another big expedition against the Guru, commanded by Painda Khan and Kale Khan. Maha Bidhi Chand and Baba Gurditta gave them a tough fight. Kale Khan and Painda Khan both were killed in the battle field. Thus, the Mughals failed to gain a single decisive victory against the Guru.

Hargobind totally changed the peaceful character of Nanak's
disciples, who now laid aside their rosaries and buckled on the sword in defence of their faith. He first formed the Sikhs into a military body. His popularity increased with the warlike Jats, who being oppressed in their villages, joined him in large numbers. The Guru's camp became their home and the plunder of the Muhammadan oppressors, their lawful prey. The fighting spirit of the Sikhs having been roused and their quality proved it, made them a power to be counted. Hargobind was looked upon by the Sikhs, not only as a divine messenger, but as an accomplished swordsman, a hero, and a thorough master of the art of War.

All the same, constant pressure, which the Mughals brought upon the rising power of the Sikhs, not only brought to a standstill the work of the religious propaganda but resulted in much sufferings to the Sikhs, and threatened to annihilate the Sikh fraternity which stood almost on its own strength and received little support from the Hindu population of the Panjab. The Guru was shrewd enough to see that his limited resources would not stand for a long time, the unlimited pressure of one of the most resourceful Mughal Emperors. He, therefore, decided to give some respite to the community and spend his time in meditation and recuperating his strength. Consequently he retired to the Ghialik Hills and made Kiratpur, in Noshiarpur District as his headquarters. Guru Hargobind died in 1645, after installing Har Rai, the son of his eldest son to the Guruship.

GURU HARI DAS - 1545-61 - Guru Har Rai was born of Gurdita's wife, Nihal Kaur, in 1631 at Kiratpur. He was very attentive to his devotion. After the death of Guru Hargobind a period of disintegration commenced. Guru Arjan had practically established the organization of his

1. Khulasat-ul-Tavarikh-Sujan Rai, Text, P. 55
3. Khulasat-ul-Tavarikh-Sujan Rai, Text, P. 55
4. History of the Punjab-Muhammad Latif, P. 357
followers on peaceful lines and under Guru Har Gobind, Sikhism had added into itself an army, how-so-ever weak or small it might have been. A tradition had, thus, been created which was destined to transform the ideology of the Sikhs and Sikhism, but that consummation was still more than half a century off, and, the forces of disruption succeeded in making considerable headway. The deterioration of the 'Masand' system and the intervention of the state soon brought about a state of affairs in which the centrifugal tendencies were very much in evidence.

The relations between the Sikhs and the Mughal government remained cordial till 1667, when after the war of succession, Shah Jahan was imprisoned and Aurangzeb succeeded to the throne of India. 

Guru Har Rai and Aurangzeb—Dara Shikoh was defeated by Aurangzeb and the former had to flee towards the Panjab. The Guru was friendly to the Prince who paid him visits of respect in the course of his general devotion to Sadhus (Saints) and the Guru had blessed him when he came as a fugitive to the Panjab after the War of Succession. The Guru by nature was inclined towards spiritualism. The Prince had sought shelter and the Guru welcomed him and gave all moral and spiritual help.

Aurangzeb sent for the Guru immediately after his succession, because he was annoyed with the Guru for the help, whether active or passive, given to the rebel Dara. The Guru in consultation with the Sikhs, sent Ram Rai, his eldest son, instead, with the injunctions, that Ram Rai should remain "to be true to his faith and never to swerve from it whatever the circumstances might be,". He also impressed on him the propriety of not countenancing any objections, the Emperor might make to Granth Sahib, but of replying to him patiently and to the purpose." The Emperor Jahangir told my great grand-

1. The Sikh Religion—Vol.I, Macau ffe P.308
2. History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion—Vol.I, Khazan Singh, P.1
father Guru Arjan, that certain passages reflecting on the Muhammadans ought to be expunged, but he indignantly refused, and said, he would never alter or abridge the writings of the Gurus. He suffered much in consequence; but he never flattered any one."

The Emperor asked Ram Rai whether the Guru wrote against Islam in the Adi Granth and a verse of Asa-di-Var was read out to Ram Rai.

"Mitti Musalman Ki pere pai Kauri.
Char bhande ittan kian, jaldi kare pakar."

Ram Rai began to reflect and was in a great fix as to how to please Aurangzeb. He, therefore, determined to alter the line of Guru Nanak from the Adi Granth in order to gratify the Emperor. He, thus, altogether forgot his father's parting injunctions and said "Your Majesty, Guru Nanak wrote that 'Mitti Reimakni' that is, the ashes of the faithless and not of the Muslims fall into the potter's clay."

The Sikhs of Delhi lost no time in reporting Ram Rai's perfidy to the Guru, who was much distressed at the insult of Guru Nanak and the Adi Granth. The Guru declared him unfit for the exalted position of the Guruship and decided to nominate his younger son, Har Kishan, who was just a child of five years. Har Rai died in 1661.

Har Kishan - 1651-1661: Guru Har Kishan was born in 1656. His elder brother, Ram Rai, had shown cowardice in the court of Aurangzeb and, therefore, he was disinherited as already stated. Har Kishan was nominated by his father, as his successor who succeeded to the Guruship in 1661 when he was only five years and three months old. He is styled as the "Child Saint."

His elder brother Ram Rai, who was disinherited by Guru Har

1. -Vol.I, Macaulay, p.6
2. As C. Mus. are mixed with potters' clay; bricks and vessels of the mixture cry as they burn" (Asa-di-Var-Adi Granth, p.466)
3. The Sixth Religion: Vol. IV, Macauliffe, p.309
4. The Sixth Religion: Vol. IV, Macauliffe, p.314-17
6. The Sixth Religion: Vol.IV, Macauliffe, p.315
Rai, was popular at the court of Aurangzeb and was also very jealous of the Guru. He, therefore, complained to Aurangzeb against Har Kishan or against the decision of his father which had set aside his superior claims.

The complaint of Ram Rai was admitted and the Emperor summoned the infant Guru to his presence. "Thus, Aurangzeb was given an opportunity of intervening in a matter which by all means, should have been kept away from him and the whole incident showed up the Sikhs in a light which was hardly dignified." Taking advantage of the disputed succession to the Guruship, the Masands (tithes collectors) collected and kept the greater part of the offerings for themselves. Aurangzeb issued orders to the Guru to repair to Delhi. The young Guru left Kiratpur in 1664 and forbade the Sikhs to proceed with him. On his arrival at Delhi, the Guru put up with Raja Jai Singh. The Guru after a short stay, fell ill and before meeting the Emperor, died of small-pox in Chet 1631 Sambat (1665 A.D.).

Guru Tegh Bahadur - 1634-1675—Guru Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of the sixth Guru, Har Gobind, was born in what is now called Guru-da-Mahal at Amritsar in 1633. After travelling through the various parts of India, Guru Tegh Bahadur settled at Kiratpur.

Aurangzeb had issued proclamation throughout the Empire that the Hindus should embrace Islam, and that those who did so should receive Jagirs, state service and all the immunities granted to royal favourites. The experiment of conversion was first tried in Kashmir.

1. Vol. 0, Santo Singh, pp. 3934-43
2. — Vol. II, Banerjee, pp. 60
3. Vol. 9, Santokh Singh, pp. 3757-5760
4. Sarup, All, p. 368
5. Vol. 10, Santokh Singh, pp. 3934-43
7. About 56 miles from Hoshiarpur. It stands at the foot of the Raina Devi peak on the left bank of the Satluj.
8. "Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful, to be expelled from the cities." (Muntukab-ut-Zubah-Khafi Khar Text, p. 663)
Sher Afghan Khan, Aurangzeb’s Viceroy, set about converting the Kashmiris by sword and massacred those who persisted in their adherence to the faith of their fore-fathers. The Hindus who did not want to be converted and whom Sher Afghan Khan’s troops could not capture, fled the country. Even the Muslims who in any way assisted the Hindus were mercilessly put to death.

At last Sher Afghan Khan began to reflect that there had been too much slaughter. He sent for the Kashmiri Pandits and informed them of the Emperor’s orders. The Kashmiri Pandits asked for a respite of six months to make up their minds for the conversion. The time limit was granted and now as the period of six months was about to lapse and they could not find any way, they all approached Guru Tegh Bahadur who was then at Anandpur and related their sad story, as to how the Hindus of their country were being converted. They implored him to preserve the honour of their faith in whatever way he seemed fit.

Tegh Bahadur told the Kashmiris to go in a body to Delhi and make the following representation to Aurangzeb. “Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru is the protector of the Hindu faith and religion. First make him a Muslim and then all the Hindus including ourselves will, of our own accord adopt the faith.

At this representation the royal summons were despatched to the Guru at Anandpur. Tegh Bahadur went to Delhi under guard and was arrested as a public enemy. He was tried as an unbeliever. There were many more prisoners of the sort in Delhi at that time. The outcome was a sentence of death and he was soon publicly executed, at a place

1. *Askari*, op. cit., p. 373
2. The Sikh Religion—Vol. IV, Macauliffe, p. 373
3. The Sikh Religion—Vol. IV, Macauliffe, p. 372
4. History of the Sikhs—Bahadur Mal, F. 17–a
5. *Kulnaat-ut-Kawarikh*-Samjan Rai, text, p. 70
later became the Chandni Chowk. He was in fact, beheaded, his headless body remaining long exposed in public and his body was quartered and a portion of it hung at each of the city's four gates. His head was stolen by a faithful Sikh who carried it to Anandpur, where it was cremated.

"The execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur proved a baptism of fire. It helped his son and successor Guru Gobind Singh to transform the Sikhs into the fiery warriors as they proved themselves in the eighteenth century. His execution was universally regarded by the Hindus as a sacrifice for their faith. The whole of the Panjab began to burn with indignation and revenge. "The dragon's teeth thus sown at Delhi in the blood of the martyred Guru Tegh Bahadur, soon brought to harvest an abundant crop."

Guru Gobind Singh - 1666-1708: Guru Gobind Singh was born at Patna, in 1666. He was only fifteen years of age when his father died, leaving him the Guruship, but he had shared his father's company and had become imbued with the consciousness of mission. He had received counsel of his dying father that he should keep his seat fearlessly at Anandpur and destroy the Turks i.e. the Mughals.

Gobind Singh became a champion of the lowly people of north India and an irreconcilable foe of Muslim rule, affording Sikhism opportunity for further integration and ultimate expansion. Up to and including his time Sikhs had dwelt mostly within the triangular region enclosed by the Beas and the Satluj rivers and the Himalaya Mountains, nor had they for all purposes a headquarter. Islam as religion was

1. The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors-S.R. Sharma, P.166
2. Evolution of the Khalsa-Vol.II, Banerjee, P.63
3. The Sikhs-J.W. Gordon, P.36
still extraneous to this region, and prevalent Hinduism was of a mediocre quality, and static. Not until last decade of seventeenth century, however, was the Guru able to establish a permanent, effective order, the Khalsa, expressive of Sikh solidarity and political ambition.)

The policy of armed resistance, which had been almost wholly abandoned by the successors of Guru Har Gobind again became prominent under him. The Guru had settled at Paunta, leaving Anandpur, his father's headquarters, because Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur had become jealous of him. Bhim Chand attacked the Guru in 1682 but he had to retreat leaving behind many dead in the field.

It appears that the root of the matter went even deeper as the Guru was growing too strong for Bhim Chand. The followers of the Guru sometimes also ravaged the adjacent villages. Raja Bhim Chand, therefore, sought the help of other hill Rajas to form an alliance. The defeat sustained by Bhim Chand in 1683, ever rankled in his bosom and he counted on the aid of the other hill Rajas to make a combined effort to defeat and expel the Sikhs.

The hill Rajas fell upon the Guru at Paunta. They also enlisted the band of five hundred Afghans who were recruited by Guru Gobind Singh on the recommendation of Pir Budhu Shah of Sadhaura. Five hundred 'Udasis' who were fed from the Guru's free kitchen for a long time, also deserted the Guru along with the Afghans. The Guru had hardly two hundred and fifty disciples to encounter this large army.

1. This confederacy consisted of Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur (Bilaspur), Raja Kirti Chand of Katoch, Raja Sukhial Chand of Jaorota, Raja Har Chand of Hindoor, Raja Pirthi Chand of Dadhwal, and Raja Fateh Chand of Srinagar. (Tavarikh Guru Khalsa—Vol. I, Iwan Singh, p. 137)

2. Khangah of Budhu Shah lies towards the east of Samadhi (tomb) of Baba Gurditta, at Kiratpur, at a distance of quarter of a mile. Budhu Shah, a Muslim saint; was a great friend of Baba Gurditta.

3. Sadhaura is a small town situated near the hills, 36 miles east of Ambala on the Nakti or Sadhurawali Naddi.
of the hill chiefs. A pitched battle was fought on April 6, 1687. The loss inflicted by the Sikhs was very considerable. The Sikhs pursued the enemy with heavy slaughter and returned with enormous booty and trophies of war. The services of all those who fought for the Guru were suitably rewarded. The victory instilled a great hope and confidence among the Guru's followers. It convinced the Sikhs, that if they were properly organized and trained, they would be able to fight successfully against every type of tyranny. So far the Guru and his Khalsa lived precariously at times and always awaiting for their opportunity. In 1697, the Guru was finally prepared for action out of the hills. The troops were marshalled which were drilled for an offensive.

After this battle the Guru had shifted to Anandpur where he established a workshop in which guns, rifles and arms of all sorts were manufactured. He also established during the following two years the forts of Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Keshgarh, and Fatehgarh to protect himself against the attacks of his hill neighbours. Raja Bhim Chand also concluded peace with the Guru.

BATTLE OF NADAUN: The Emperor Aurangzeb was away at that time in the Deccan and some of the Rajas of the Panjab hill states wanted to take
full advantage of his absence. It had become apparent to many keen and interested observers that the once mighty Empire of the Mughals was in the process of decay. The Guru also joined the confederacy of the Hill Chiefs. But this friendship and alliance with them brought the Guru into direct conflict with the Mughals. At the same time Aurangzeb had deputed his army to collect revenue from the Hill Rajas because they had not been paying the royal tribute in regular instalments. He sent his commander-in-chief, Alif Khan to levy tribute on Kirpal Chand, Raja of Kangra, Kesari Chand, Raja of Jaswal, Prithi Chand, Raja of Dadhwal, Sukh Dev, Raja of Jasrota and others. A blood battle was fought at Nadoon, in which the Mughals were defeated.

After this the Governor of Lahore was ordered by the Emperor to despatch his son, Rustam Khan, with two thousand horse to surprise the Guru at Anandpur and to collect the revenue from the hill chiefs. After a nominal fight, he also suffered a great loss at the hands of the Sikhs owing to the inclemency of weather. This discomfiture inflamed the governor of Lahore and he despatched Ghulam Hussain Khan who was known for his tyranny and hot temper at the head of two thousand horse and foot soldiers. Some hill Rajas also joined Ghulam Hussain Khan. A big army was detailed again from Lahore, to subdue the Guru. The Imperial force drove out the Sikhs from Anandpur and plundered the town. But during the night, the Guru made a smart attack and dispersed the Imperial force with heavy losses. Most of their baggage fell into the hands of the Sikhs.

Hearing all about the disorder in the north, Aurangzeb sent his son Muazzam from the Deccan to pay personal attention to the
rebellions in the Panjab hills. Muazzam reached Lahore and sent a
large force under Mirza Beg against the Guru. But even Mirza Beg could
not crush the power of the Sikhs.

THE BATTLE OF ANANDPUR - 1701: Band after band of enthusiastic foll-
owers came to the Guru with full faith. The Hill Rajas regarded the
Guru as virtually an intruder. Also the creation of the Khalsa in
1699 was looked upon as a great danger by most of the hill chiefs. The
Guru had denounced the caste system and image worship among his
followers which was taken as a direct attack on their religious feel-
ings. The democratic teachings and the military seal of the Guru was
considered a serious menace for them. As Anandpur, the headquarter of
the Guru, was situated in the territory of Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur,
he was greatly concerned. He wanted a pretext to turn the Guru out of
his territory and sent a messenger with a letter demanding that the
Guru should either relinquish the land he was occupying in his state
or he should pay the rent, but the Guru flatly rejected both.

Consequently, Raja Bhim Chand, in alliance with other hill
chiefs, besieged Anandpur, and instead of resorting to a frontal
attack, the forces of the hill chiefs were ordered to surround Anand-
pur and stop all means of supply and communications. The battle lasted
for several days and Ajit Singh son of the Guru, though a lad of about
fourteen years, performed prodigies of valour.

Soon things came to such a pass that many people left their
homes and retired to the forest for safety. The Kahlur chief was
unable to give protection to his subjects and to save them from the

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   History of the Panjab-Muhammad Latif, P.284
2. Evolution of the Khalsa-Vol.II, Banerjee, PP.106-125
   History of the Panjab-Muhammad Latif, P.284
4. The Sikh records give us the impression that the war, was forced
   upon the Guru, who had no desire of running into hostilities and
   was, on the contrary, eager for an understanding with these hill
   chiefs.
domination of the Sikhs and thus he decided to enlist the assistance of Mughal Government.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF ANANDPUR - 1703-1704: Hostilities between the hill chiefs and the Khalsa again broke out, in 1703 as the Guru had greatly increased his military strength and even extended his territory at the expense of the hill chiefs. They again sought the help of the Mughals, which was immediately provided by the latter. The hill chiefs organized the siege of Anandpur in such a fool proof manner that both goods and persons could neither enter nor leave the fort. At the request of the hill chiefs, Aurangzeb, once more, ordered an attack by despatching flanking forces, one under the command of the governor of Lahore, the other under the command of Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, whose seat was only thirty miles south of Anandpur. All the means of communication were controlled and the defenders experienced great hardship in getting the supply of food and water, a large number of Sikhs died of starvation with the result that after a few days the Sikhs began to feel the desperateness of their position. Consequently they appealed the Guru to surrender the fort, but he did not agree. Thereupon forty Sikhs from 'The Manjha' (The residents of the Bari Doab) signed a disclaimer and left the Guru. The Guru did not lose his courage even then. But he had to abandon the fort at the advice of his mother.

The Guru told the Mughal generals that he would surrender the fort provided his safe exit was guaranteed. The Mughal generals and the hill chiefs unanimously agreed and the Guru left Anandpur in 1704

2. "The envoy and the Imperial Officers used various means to ensure him of their good intentions and declarations bearing the Holy Quran as witness. All the Hindu Hill Rajas submitted a joint letter with an image of a cow made of flour requesting evacuation of the fort and promising safety." (History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion - Vol.I, Khazan Singh, P. 184)
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in a good faith.

Hardly had the Guru and his followers covered a few miles when the imperialists and the hill chiefs hotly chased the Guru, while the Guru was quite unaware of this perfidy. Severe fighting ensued on the bank of Sirsa and in the confusion that followed the Guru with his two eldest sons and forty Sikhs made towards Rupar. The allied forces continued to harass the Guru during his retreat. He left some of his men at Rupar to arrest their progress and himself went towards Chamkaur. On the way at Faru Majra he got intelligence that a fresh contingent of the Imperial army was close at hand to capture the Sikhs.

Another hard contested battle was fought at Chamkaur when artillery from Sirhind was ordered to be mobilised for the Imperial attack. The Mughal forces pursued the fugitive to Chamkaur and besieged the fortress. In this battle the Sikhs lost many men, including Guru's two sons. The Guru himself escaped under cover of the night to the nearby town of Behlol. Thirty-five Sikhs out of the forty died fighting. The Guru took refuge in the jungles of Machhiwara. Nazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, the determined enemy of the Guru, had issued orders for his arrest. But the Guru again escaped during night in the guise of a Muslim saint and fled further towards the wastes of Bhatinda. Many of the besieged also escaped and rejoined the Guru at Bhatinda.

In the confusion that followed the flight near the Sirsa, Mata Gtffri with her two younger grand-sons, Jujhar Singh and Fateh Singh had

1. — ol. Mac e,P.1 4 — ol. VIII, 33
2. A stream in Rupar Tehsil.
3. Most of the Manuscripts, the result of years of literary labour and great expense were either lost in the affray or washed away by the stream.
4. Shams-ul-Azmiri, Isayat Ulah, PV.55b-56a
5. Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh.
6. Bhatinda is situated in Samrala Tehsil on the ridge over the Budha Nala, seven miles east of Machhiwara and 37 miles from Ludhiana.
got separated from the main party and had taken shelter with one
Gangu, who was a discharged cook of the Guru and a native of a villag
Kheri near Sirhind. With the hope of getting a reward by surrender
them to the Subedar of Sirhind, Gangu taking into confidence the head
man of his village, informed the chief ofMuranda, who conveyed the
two infants of the Guru with their old grand mother to Wasir Khan, th
Subedar of Sirhind. The Nawab ofMalerkotla made an attempt to save
the lives of the boys, aged nine and seven, but Wasir Khan did not
move. They were asked to embrace Islam and on their daring refusal
1
to do so, were most mercilessly executed.

**BATTLE OF KHIDRANA - 1706** - After a short stay in the village of
Raipur and Kahlur to recoup his lost health and strength, the Guru
3
journeyed to Muktsar where the forty Sikhs of the Manjha, who had
4
deserted him at Anandpur, again joined him. The Guru was able to
collect here twelve thousand fighting men. Muktsar, situated in the
desert, south of the bend of the Satlej river, was a comparative safe
retreat. Many of its Jat inhabitants were friendly to the Khalsa. It
was usually dangerous and futile for a hostile expedition to venture
into this recess of sand and distance.

Hearing the news of this new development of the Sikhs, the
governor of Sirhind, sent a body of seven thousand Imperial troops to
disperse the Guru's forces. A battle was fought between the Imperialists and the Sikhs at Khidrana (Muktsar) in which the latter were

2. Situated in Maraingarh Tehsil, Ambala.
3. Thirty miles east of Pasilka.
victorious. A large number of soldiers fell on both sides in that action.

When Aurangzeb had sent summons to the Guru to appear in Delhi, Gobind Singh penned his famous letter entitled Zafar Namah or victorious epistle, in defence. The letter reproached the Mughal Emperor for his false dealings, bad faith, high crimes and misdemeanors and rehearsed the merits of the Sikh religion and the Khalsa, assuring him that the Sikhs would one day take vengeance on him for his injuries to them. Later on the Guru made peace with Aurangzeb but his reign bequeathed a tradition of hostility between the Sikhs and the Mughal government. After this, the Guru and his Khalsa were left undisturbed for the remaining period from 1705 to 1707, until the death of Aurangzeb.

The bitter memory of the execution of the ninth Guru and that of burying alive of the tenth Guru's two sons, was passed on by one generation to the other. The execution of the Guru's two younger sons at Sirhind, laid the foundation of the bitter enmity between the Sikhs and the Mughals which was later on made use of by Banda so successfully against Aurangzeb's successors.

1. *e ank cal* u sar in the Ferozepur Dist. riot, was cons ngu by the Guru on the field with the blessings that "whoever bathes in it, will obtain salvation." Hence name 'Mukatsar' given to it by the Guru meaning the tank of emancipation. A great fair is held at Mukatsar on the first of Magh (15th February) every year.

2. *Vichittar-Natak*-Gobind Singh, Chapter XII