

Bhai Mani Singh®: Heroic story of 18th century Valour and Sacrifice

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PART II

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THE MUCH-NEEDED UNITY enabled the 'Khalsa Panth' to present almost a commonly accepted sketch of its own with regard to various controversial and baffling issues faced by it. It also asserted the supremacy of the 'Akal Takht' which was getting eroded or ignored at the hands of some. It was historic achievement. It re-activated the brave Sikhs to fight zealously for the mission left by the Guru for them to complete to a logical end. It re-created self-confidence amongst the fugitives, the over-cautious and the baffled. The weakening vacuum was done away to a great extent. Many of the hiding 'Singhs' re-started their swoops. There was a positive psychic metamorphosis. In the years to follow, even terrible foreign invaders, like Nadir Singh Durrani and Ahmed Shah Abdali, had to confess the reckonable force and perceptible power of the Sikhs. The Sikh hegemony of the *Misldars* and the sovereign 'Lahore Darbar' of Ranjit Singh can, perhaps, be justifiably called as the fruit of Bhai Mani Singh's purposeful endeavours. **He became a primary stabilizer of the 'Panth' and a pioneer of the 'Sikh Raj'. His elaborations on the 'Rehat' and 'Maryada' proved historic trend-setters. His 'Prem Sumargh' became a prominent mile-stone.**

Bhai Mani Singh vehemently pleaded that the '*Granth*' was the repository of the Guru's sacred WORD and was DIVINE and, for a true Sikh, only 'gurbani' was his/her, Guru and God. His adamant stance saved the 'Sikh Panth' from possible divisions and vivisection.

Bhai Mani Singh had no personal axe to grind. He worked honestly and diligently at Mata Sundari's bidding and behest, but never detrimentally to the *Panth*. **When, under some impulse, or motherly emotion, she wanted to adopt, as son, a small boy, Ajit (who also looked like her martyred eldest son), Mani Singh, emphatically and argumentatively, advised against this move, as a dutiful and conscientious Sikh and a deeply insightful and farsighted statesman.**^{2a}

Appropriate arrangement and management of finances was a 'must' for a sound and viable reorganisation of the unified Sikhs and to instill credibility, accountability and confidence amongst them. Bhai Mani Singh paid special and meticulous personal attention in this regard. 'Guru's Golak' was a sacred 'Community fund'. He saw to it that the expenses were incurred judiciously and that no irregularity, embezzlement or wastage occurred. The accountants and the '*granthis*' were strictly ordained by him, as *Jathedar* of 'Akal Takht', to submit proper accounts to him. He efficiently administered the "community *jagirs*". From time to time, he also apprised Mata Sundari, for moral and political reason, or as a measure of caution and expediency, and to ensure or discharge his personal integrity and responsibility.³ He preferred to be clean, firm and straight forward in all fiscal matters as well.⁴

As a factual and honest guide and as 'Head Granthi', Bhai Mani Singh enjoyed an enviable reputation and respect amongst the Sikhs. For his personal traits, calibre, statesmanship, discipline and decades-long proximity to the 10th Guru,⁵ His words were so weighty that the Sikh *Sangat* took him as a law-giver.⁶ He was also a member of the then Presidium of 'Panj-pyaras'⁷ who were supposed to represent and declare 'Guru's' verdict when required in any typical situation. He was in perfect confidence of Mata Sundari too.⁸ As an eloquent, effective and inspiring '*Katha Vachik*', he had also the knack to move people into action. With his unique standing and superb public relationship, he remarkably succeeded in converting holy Amritsar into the much-needed new Sikh Headquarters for due mutual consultations and coordination as the loss of Anandpur in 1704 A.D. had left the Sikhs bewildered or rootless and without a rallying center.⁹ **Amritsar now became a potent proselytization center, a focal point for "Amrit Parchar", or baptism, and a congregational seat with the presence of magnetic Bhai Mani Singh at the 'Akal Takht'. His dynamic leadership and untiring zeal infused a new life in the "Khalsa Panth."**¹⁰

Apart from his energetic activities at the 'Akal Takht', Bhai Mani Singh even toured the neighbouring areas to preach amongst the commons and to be accessible to a large number.¹¹ His stress at the observance of 'Rehat' and 'Maryada', touching references and reminders about Guru Gobind Singh's Mission and the task ahead rejuvenated the 'Singhs'" and raised noticeable 'crops' of neo-Sikhs.¹² On the concrete base of his own clean life and family record of unique sacrifices and steadfast devotion, he became the needed embodiment for the re-organised 'Khalsa' and a symbol of the 'Panth'.¹³

Bhai Mani Singh's acceptable leadership, at a crucial stage, again made the 'Singhs' fearless and formidable challengers to tyranny.¹⁴ They re-adopted 'gorilla' (guerrilla) tactics to teach a lesson to the autocratic aggressors and their tormentors. He is believed to have even prophesied and advocated an independent or quasi-independent set-up as a remedial measure against the prevailing oligarchy and consequential anarchy.¹⁵ Dreams of sovereignty of Sikhs got due fillip.^{15a}

Bhai Mani Singh is said to have composed, at 'Akal Takht', his classics, *Bhagat Ratnavli* and *Gyan Ratnavli*, and some other inspiring pieces as well, during this very period. **He, thus, dispensed an amalgam of *Gyan* (knowledge), *Karam* (action) and *Bhagti* (devotion) as the needed anti-biotic to the social, cultural and political malaise and to integrate the Sikhs into fearless freedom fighters, righteous crusaders, spiritual saint-soldiers and knowledgeable humanists, as per guidelines and demarcations set forth by the preceding heroes and the great Gurus.**

It is historically meaningful to note that Bhai Mani Singh was doing his open '*prachar*' through his congregational *Kathas*, touring lectures and writings without serious restraints or ban in the region so close to Lahore, the provincial and administrative center of the Imperial Government which was declaredly anti-Sikh and deterrently punitive. He was also carrying on an uncensored communication with Mata Sundari (who, herself, was stationed at the Imperial Headquarters).

It appears that Bhai Mani Singh was looked upon mainly as a harmless saint and a peaceful preacher. He appears to have a good number of admirers

amongst the non-Sikhs too¹⁶ and, perhaps, enjoyed a reasonable shelter and patronage as a learned reformer. In the face of stringent administrative orders 'against the troublesome Sikhs and announced rewards on their heads,' free movements and preachings by Mani Singh become intriguing and quizzical.^{16b} Several theorems can be advanced in this respect.

Bhai Mani Singh was, perhaps, quite thoughtful and calculating. He appears to have played safe in wider interest. He was quite astute, strategic and expedient to maintain a good rapport with the government to mark his time.

A perusal of Bhai Mani Singh's available work indicates that he aimed to re-organise and unify the Sikhs on one platform without openly and antagonistically stirring or provoking the administration.¹⁷ As a spiritual man, he raised his voice, in general, against tyranny of all type without specifically naming any tyrant individual or territorial regime. He was ultra cautious so as not to raise his voice vociferously and openly against the Imperial or Regional Government, or against any religion, sect or group. If he were to speak a word against the Mughal Empire or against the Muslim officials, he could not have survived or preached in Amritsar and roundabout even for a day.

An objective re-appraisal of Mani Singh's span of activities confirm that, inspite of punitive measures against the recalcitrant Sikhs, the administration looked upon Bhai Mani Singh (regardless of his family record and biodata) as essentially a harmless, inagressive, unprovoking and popular saint and a father-figure involved in academic and philosophic exercises.¹⁸ As such it, initially, felt no need to arrest him or to stop his activities.¹⁹

Bhai Mani Singh's prior strategy was to *tactfully* reawaken and revitaminise the baffled Sikhs by raising their drooping spirits and hopes, boosting their morale, cementing their faith and self-confidence and fostering a sense of brotherhood, unity and fearlessness so that the devouring vaccum, created by the death of Guru Gobind Singh (1708 A.D.) as well as due to infightings, and the awful execution of Banda Bahadur (1715 A.D.), should become less telling. Setting own house in order was the necessary pre-requisite in his eyes. Sagaciously, he himself, did not challenge the Imperial, Provincial or Local Administrators nor did he defy them or flout or object to any State Order or Ordinance.

Till 1734 A.D. (?), Bhai Mani Singh busied himself in positive dynamism or activism in his own typical style and with a specific camouflaged purpose and methodology. His mode had been showing some encouraging sprouts from time to time. It did serve as an acid test on occasions. Some re-instilled and determined Sikhs did successfully swoop upon the Mughal patrol parties again in a 'seek-hit-hide' strategy. In 1724 A.D., a powerful punitive expedition, led by Islam Khan, was badly mauled and humiliatingly repulsed by them with perceptible losses to it.

In 1726, Zakaria Khan, the new Governor of Punjab (Lahore), administratively felt forced to crush the troublesome Sikh swoopers by all possible means and tortures.²⁰ He announced luring rewards for their arrests and heads.²¹

Persecution stimulates that which it intends to crush. The Sikhs violently reacted and retaliated befittingly as and when possible. They became relentless. To keep themselves safe from their intente captors and tormenters, they had to forgo their

participation at the religious congregations and *Gur-purabs*. They felt deprived of any reasonable civic liberty^{21a} since it was, now, a game of hit or die.

Zakaria's unending awful measures prompted some grave posers before Bhai Mani Singh as Chief Priest at the 'Akal Takht'. The undiminishing thrust by the resourceful governor and the limitations of the Sikhs subjected to acute privations and perils could naturally result in their rapid depletion and annihilation. The stoppage of the flow of Sikh followers to attend even the significant *Gur-purabs* also told heavily on the income through offerings when funds and provisions or victuals were badly needed to keep up the show as well as the Sikh Organisation. The resultant situation could again prove, sooner or later, as demoralizing.

Bhai Mani Singh felt deeply concerned. Zakaria too thought of some effective ruse to route the Sikhs who, by their 'gorilla' raids, had already lengthened the campaigns against them resulting in a rapid loss of his personal prestige and image as well as of administrative material, resources and revenues.²² Time was now ripe for some other game on the chess-board of politics in this troubled region.²³

Delay in substantial results could expose Zakaria Khan. It could work in his recall or fall, or some political tumble. He, somehow, won over Subeg Singh and Surat Singh – two astute Sikhs. By some 'solemn' assurances or allurements to them, he succeeded in striking a 'gentleman's agreement' with a very powerful recalcitrant Sikh leader, Kapur Singh, who was honoured by him with the high sounding title of 'Nawab', a *Khilat* (robe) and a *jagir* worth one lac rupees per year.²⁴

Zakaria Khan, perhaps, felt that his soft treatment of Kapur Singh would either rope in many more Sikh leaders or would engineer an acute disunity and internal strife amongst them. That would, he thought, facilitate his job, help him to re-establish and ensure peace in the disturbed region, or to break down the unrelenting ones with some Sikh support and 'guidance' or 'insight' procured as such. He appears to have conjectured that, with his ruse, he would either render the valiant Sikh peasantry and soldiery impotent or enable a bulk of tired Sikhs to revert to a peaceful existence as subservients, or would feel capable enough to cut them to size.²⁵

Zakaria's calculations were falsified, to his chagrin. Even after getting 'honoured' or 'recognised', Kapur Singh did not sell himself. Rather, Sikhs felt psychologically lifted and strengthened. The agreement was taken as their 'victory' or reward for their valiance as well as a sign of administrative weakness, inefficiency, failure and doom.²⁶ A new hope and spirit kindled them. They felt coaxed to assert a bit more to snatch full liberty.²⁷ They smarted to give a more hitting blow to get more ground and gains. The tussle continued with rather greater momentum. Action and reaction played a sea-saw game. Both sides had to bear huge sacrifices and sacrileges. Blood flowed in streams.

Zakaria ultimately, sent in 1735 A.D. a powerful army to cow down or to flatten the Sikhs. Kapur Singh's newly bestowed upon *jagir* was forcibly snatched back. The Sikhs, in general, bothered little about a *jagir* or 'nawabi'. For them, time had come for a 'do or die' stage. They reorganised and re-trimmed their 'Budha Dal' and 'Taruna Dal'.

In 1736 A.D., Kapur Singh and his followers dexterously, and with remarkable unison, made a surprise eaglelike swoop upon Samad Khan's powerful contingent at

Hujra Shah. They mauled and routed it badly and decamped causing colossal losses to it.²⁸

In spite of their dare-evil swoops, effective raids, unmatched grit skill, fearlessness and fortitude, the Sikhs-in-hiding felt acutely handicapped and hard-pressed. Blockades, paucity of rations, lack of mutual liaison, communication and consultation, prying eyes of the fretting, revengeful and, now, more vigilant administration hampered the scattered Sikhs. A congregational meet for consultation and coordination, or to work out a common 'declared' goal and strategy, became imperative. A commonly accepted and judicious leadership was immediately needed for planning and for a unified action and, for that, an urgent but safe congregation became a "must".

As an intense observer and *Jathedar* of 'Akal Takht', Bhai Mani Singh felt urged to bring, somehow, the scattered and uncorded Sikhs in tune or on one platform for demarcating their goal and action-plan as well as to keep them motivated, boosted and unified in due cohesion for the *Common Cause*.

After some pondering, Bhai Mani Singh worked out a scheme in 1736 A.D. As "Singh Saheb" of 'Akal Takht', he decided to arrange a huge congregation of the Sikhs at Amritsar to serve as a 'Sarbat Khalsa' for a common 'Mata' (Resolution). Without prior permission or approval from the administrative authorities, such a congregation was impossible, unthinkable and inadvisable under the circumstances.

Bhai Mani Singh himself was not a *persona-non-grata*. He enjoyed a good personal standing, as Head-priest, amongst the Sikhs on one side, and as a harmless saint-academician in the eyes of the administration, on the other.

Using his good offices, Bhai Mani Singh, somehow, managed to procure the needed "*ijazat-nama*" (Administrative permission) to hold a massive Sikh Congregation at Amritsar by assuring to pay as fee, Rs. 10,000/- to the Government, from the expected offerings at the planned 'Samagam'.

Zakaria, perhaps, tried to be cunning. He thought of grabbing the offered money or even the cumulative collection, and to out-smart Bhai Mani Singh as well as to hit hard the troublesome Sikhs, as a God-sent lot, by a deceitful swoop on the proposed unsuspecting gathering. He, however, misfired.

The gathered Sikhs were on caution and quite alert. Some had smelled a rat. An utter confusion prevailed when Zakaria's men suddenly raided the yet-gathering 'Sangat'. Zakaria's scheme failed. A number of his raiding men lost their lives at the hands of the desperately escaping Sikhs.

Bhai Mani Singh refused to pay off the agreed sum on the plea that expected offerings could not pour in due to the mêlée caused by Zakaria's hasty and fraudulent action.

With his own net-work of intelligence, and through some well-meaning Muslim friends and admirers, Mani Singh had, perhaps, come to know in time about Zakaria's ruse. Possibly, a timely warning to the 'Sangat' had enabled the Sikhs to escape before the swoop.

Zakaria lost much-needed^{28a} revenue as well as men. He made a mockery of himself before his superiors, rivals and the commons. He frowned and fretted.

The frothful and raging Zakaria procured a *fatwa* (decree) from a *Qazi* (as per prevalent criminal law) and got Bhai Mani Singh and his companion, Dewan Singh, arrested. As punishment, they were to, either accept Islam and denounce Sikhism, or were to be pincered into pieces.

Bhai Mani Singh had been charged with breach of faith and of being a behind-the-scene party in the turmoil created by the Sikhs.²⁹ As per some accounts, he was hauled up also for an alleged blasphemy or for mischievously and unauthorisedly rearranging the 'Adi Granth' or the 'Guru Granth' which tentamounted to a grave religious crime and a punishable attempt at sacrilege and to mislead.³⁰

Zakaria hoped to weaken and punish the Sikhs by eliciting helpful information from a tortured Bhai Mani Singh about their hideouts, resources and plans.³¹ Perhaps, he also presumed that the conversion to Islam of the *Jathedar* of 'Akal Takht' would demoralize the whole 'Panth', or his death would serve as a useful deterrent.³²

Heroically, Bhai Mani Singh belied Zakaria's hopes. He was all smiles when he was finally cut piece-meal on June 24, 1737 (or 1738?) A.D. He had steadfastly refused to get converted under force or to divulge anything. Till his last breath, he is said to have conversed, with full calm, with his mystified executioners and finally gave up with 'Wahe-guru, Waheguru' on his lips.³³

It is traditionally believed that Bhai Mani Singh (aged 91?)³⁴ was presented in chains, alongwith his two sons and some other captured companions, in Zakaria's Court. Defying court-etiquettes, they raised incessant *jaikaras* (slogans) of 'Waheguru Ji Ka Khalsa, Waheguru Ji Ki Fateh'.

Inspite of an option, Bhai Mani Singh chose to get his physical body cut into pieces. He saved his own soul and also saved the '*Khalsa*' from being decimated by the foul Administration. His multi-hued contributions and stirring sacrifices became historically significant in many ways.³⁴

Bhai Mani Singh's life-account, if scanned in right context and perspective, would undoubtedly show that he was a rare *PARADIGM* of greatness, goodness and godliness, of spiritual, socialism and heroism, of self-surrender and self-sacrifice, of sainthood, scholarship and swordsman-ship, of hereditary traditions and laudable traits of culture-in-totality.

Bhai Mani Singh was an authentic and authorised law-pronouncer in the pulpit, a virtuous householder, a valorous champion, a scholar-in-depth, a mesmerising narrator and reciter, an adept leader and expert organiser, an astute guide and calculating statesman, a "*SANT-SIPAH*" in the "Khalsa Brotherhood", a unique and the first *Jathedar* for his co-believers, an unmatched martyr with distinguished fortitude, a true "*YOGI*" in life and a colourful personality with a fund of history in his credit-sheet.

(End of Part II)

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References

- 1) Cf. Sainapat, *Guru Sobha* (Pbi. Patiala 1967), pp. 33, 129; Jagtar Singh Grewal, Article: An Early Interpretation of Guru Gobind Singh's Mission" in *The Tenth Master* (Chandigarh) pp. 115-17; Bhangu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 169-222. Mani Singh, *Gur Bilas Patshahi*, pp. 6, 77, 83, 95, 120,

125, 128 134, 139, 149, 280, 288, etc., *Sikhan Di Bhagtavli* (Pbi. Amritsar, 1955), p. 9, *Pothi Janam Sakhi*, p. 591; Sewa Singh, *Op. cit.*, pp. 75-77; Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *Op. cit.*, pp. 111-116; *Hukam Nama* (Dhol), *Op. cit.*, Ahuja, Anandpur..... (*Op. cit.*), *Mani Singh* (*Op. cit.*), etc., etc.

2) Regarding *Prem Sumarg's* nature, scope and significance, also see Ahuja, *Op. cit.* (Anandpur....., *Creation of the Khalsa*).

2a) It is said that inspite of adverse opinion of Bhai Mani Singh and some other well-wishers, Mata Sundari, out of womanly emotion or some other consideration, adopted one child, Ajit Singh, who very much resembled, in looks, her martyred eldest son, and even finalised his marriage. Later, disgusted with his improper conduct, she publically disowned him. Had this spoiled child, or any other individual claimed, succession, "Guru Gobind" in place of the universally accepted holy "Guru Granth Saheb", the Sikhs might have lost a sanctified rallying focus and their whole subsequent history of heroism and the position of the *Panth* would have been adversely affected.

3-10) Cf. Randhir Singh, *Op. cit.*, p. 43; Ganda Singh, *Hukam Name*, 206; Sewa Singh, *Op. cit.*, pp. 65-90; Bhangu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 145, 177, 187-88, 222. 416-17; Mani Singh *Gur Bilas Patshahi*, 6, 76, 95, 128, 280, 288, 525-35, *Sikhan Di Bhagtavli*, p. 9, *Pothi Janam Sakhi*, pp. 40, 185, 275, 591; Trilochan Singh, *Art.*, *Op. cit.*, (*Sikh Review*) p. 56; Gyan Singh, *Op. cit.*, pp. 460, 579.

11-12) Cf. Mani Singh, *Gur Bilas Patshahi*, p. 535; Sewa Singh, *Op. cit.*, p. 73; Trilochan Singh, *Ibid*.

Some people strongly feel that the "*Damdami Taksal*" at Chowk Mehta (Near Amritsar) was also first set up by Mani Singh. The place become specially well-known when Sant Kartar Singh Bhindranwale and his successor, Sant Jarnail Singh, preached from there. Presently, its acting chief, Baba Thakur Singh, is very much in news with regard to the 'Kar Sewa' at the 'Akal Takht' and in various unity moves. It has been the center of the *Akhand Kirtani Jatha* too. Also see Gurtej Singh, *Art.*, *Op. cit.*, (*Illustrated Weekly*), p. 13.

13) Also see Ahuja, *Op. cit.*, (*Mani Singh*) and *Note supra*.

14-15) The subsequent convulsive political events in Persia (Iran), Afghanistan, North-West India (specially invasions by Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah, establishment of *Misls* and role of the Sikhs, Ranjit Singh's Sovereign "Raj Khalsa Jeo" or "Lahore Darbar" and the inroads by the Britishers, etc.) are explicit historical certificates in this respect.

15a) Chaotic administrative and political situation prompted a number of Sikhs to cherish dreams of their own Sovereign fiefs. Their plannings and activities consequentially invited an awful wrath of the Government. See Lepel Griffn, *Rajas of the Punjab* (Lahore, 1870), p. 18; *Panth Prakash*, p. 506; Bhangu, *Op. cit.*, p. 203; Hari Ram, *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 7-8, 12; and various other authorities quoted in Notes 102-104 below.

16) Ever since Guru Nanak and Bhai Mardana, till at least 1947 A.D., a number of Muslim *mirasis*, *rababis* and *bhats* were active participants in the Sikh *Sankirtans* and *Sammelans* (Congregations). As such it can be safely asserted that a good number of Muslims must have attended Mani Singh's Congregations as well.

17) Presence of several Muslim employees and soldiers under the Guru's (from time to time), Guru Gobind Singh's tilt to Muazzim (Bahadur Shah-I)'s struggle for succession (Jaiju Battle, October, 1707), Guru's open confederate and devotee, Bhai Nand Lal 'Goya', being a very high official with the Mughal Administration point out that the Gurus were only against tyranny but not against Islam, the Muslims or even the Mughal Rule (*blessed by Guru Nanak, as per Sikh tradition*) on the basis of any label.

18-19) It is worth a note that even during the stringent measures against Banda Bahadur or the recalcitrant and troublesome Sikhs or frequent frictions and encounters, the Administration neither hauled up Mani Singh nor banned his proselytising activities and congregations. During this very period, a number of Gurdwaras came up in Dhaka and its neighbourhood or at other places. It appears that the Administration was zealous to nip the political ambitions of

- brave Sikhs and to maintain law and order but was not very particular to curb peaceful religious preachings, etc.
- 20) To understand perspectively, the strict measures against the Sikhs in Punjab, one must also study objectively the over-all political and administrative conditions with special reference to the dangers from Afghanistan, rise of the Marahattas, prevalent centrifugalism, appearance of European and other foreign powers and the incessant political sea-saw game and warfare, etc.
- 21) The prison-well, outside 'Delhi Gate' of Lahore in which the served heads and corpses of the captured and decapitated Sikh were thrown and stuffed came to be known as "Shaheed Ganj," For details, see Ganda Singh, *History of the Gurdwara Shahid Ganj* (Lahore)
- 21a) See Bhangu, *Op. cit.*, p. 278.
- 22-24) Regarding Kapur Singh – Zakaria Khan relations etc., see also, Prem Singh Hoti, *Nawab Kapur Singh*; H.T. Princep *Origin of the Sikh Power*, Col. Pollier, *A Report on the Sikhs*: J.D. Cunningham, *Op. cit.*, W.L.M. Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, N.K. Sinha, *Rise of Sikh Power*, Chhabra, *Op. cit.*, pp. 356-59; Ahuja, *Op. cit.*, (*Mani Singh*), etc.
- 25-27) This *Jagir* and title did create a crevice or rift amongst the Sikhs. Many favoured snatching bravely the power. They disapproved bestowed strategic allurements which tentamounted, in colour and odour, to cowardly subjugation and slavery. Some took these favours as a helpful booster or ladder to the ultimate goal. See Bhangu, *Op. cit.*, p. 213.
- 28) Cf. Gyani Gyan Singh, *Shamsher Khalsa* (1913), II, p. 218; *Panth Prakash*, *Op. cit.*, p. 576; Gokul Chand, *Op. cit.*, pp. 196. 207; etc.
- 28a) Cf. Hari Ram Gupta, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 16.
- 29) Cf. Bhangu, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.
- 30) Cf. Chhiber, *Op. cit.*, Sewa Singh, *Op. cit.*, p. 11; Bhangu, *Op. cit.*, p. 11; Bhangu, *Op. cit.*, p. 223; Gokul Chand, *Op. cit.*, p. 54.
- 31-33) Sewa Singh, *Op. cit.*, pp. 41, 91 and *Bhat Vahi Multani Sindhi*.