**Banda Singh Bairagi: Popular Leader of the Masses**

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After the conversion into the Khalsa fold, Banda Singh was instructed by Guru Gobind Singh to proceed Punjab to complete his mission. Unfortunately, the mission assigned to Banda Singh by Guru Gobind Singh is mis-interpreted by the historians and scholars. He is represented to have commissioned by Guru Gobind Singh to avenge the murder of his sons.[[1]](#endnote-2) In truth, Guru entrusted to Banda Singh the noble task of continuing the war against the tyrannies and oppressions of his time. In his mission, many Sikhs and other people joined Banda Singh and helped him in his all pursuits. An attempt has been made in this paper to study the composition of the people who supported Banda Singh in his mission and reasons of their support.

**I**

Before sending Banda Singh to the Punjab, Guru Gobind Singh gave him the title of ‘Bahadur’ and five arrows from his own quiver as ‘pledge and token of victory’. A council of *five Piyaras* (beloved Sikhs) and twenty other Singh’s were directed to accompany him. He was also given *Hukamanamas* or letters in the name of Guru Gobind Singh. A Nishan Sahib (flag) and a Nagara (drum) were bestowed upon him as emblems of temporal authority. Guru Gobind Singh advised him that ‘the secret of the success lay in personal purity and chastity, and in the propitiation of the Khalsa, who were to be regarded as his (the Guru) very self’.[[2]](#endnote-3) With these instructions, Banda Singh moved to the Punjab.

After establishing himself in Sehri and Khanda, Banda Singh despatched the Guru’s letters to the Sikhs of the Malwa, the Doaba and the Majha district of the Punjab, calling upon them to join him in the laudable object of uprooting the tyrannous rule of the Mughal authorities. On this call, Banda Singh received the utmost support from the Jat peasants belonging to the villages or the Sikhs community of Malwa region (region lying between Sutlej and Yamuna). Many Jat and Berar Sikhs of the neighbourhood and Begar territory came in of their own accord. Some person like Chaudharies Ram Singh and Tilok Singh, the ancestors of Phulkian Chiefs could not join in person but they liberally contributed in men and money.[[3]](#endnote-4) Within a short span of time, many Sikhs and Jat peasants joined Banda Singh in his mission.

Here we have to analyze why Jat peasants supported Banda Singh. According to Irfan Habib, one outstanding problem of the peasants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that they had to bear very heavy burden of land revenue and a great degree of oppression of the ruling class. This situation was bound to provoke peasant’s revolts. They were hard pressured on many economic and administrative fronts. Their residual country during this period was fast turning into a barren and sandy land. Water scarcity substantially puzzled them. Loot and plunder was another threat. Since administration did not follow the proper policies for better land management therefore the desire to control over the better positioned land became a thorny issue among the local chiefs as well as ordinary cultivator. Unstable political condition and administrative disorder failed to provide tax reliefs to the peasants. Therefore, peasants had left with options of moving to distant places or fight for the survival at the local level. Thenceforth, the tension over control of land in south Punjab became more intense.[[4]](#endnote-5) Thus, the economic pressure on the Jats could be one of the reasons for arraying themselves on the side of Banda Singh but more powerful reason was the religious persecutions suffered by the Sikhs at the hands of the Mughal government.

Besides the Jats, *zamindars* of the Punjab also helped Banda Singh. Some Persian writers give different details in this regard. Khafi Khanin *Muntakhabu-l Lubab* writes that ‘personating Gobind Singh, the new leader [Banda Singh] became notorious under the deceased’s title of the Guru. The *zamindars* (who were followers of Guru Gobind Singh) of the village where he appeared, knew his appearances. As the pretender had occupied Guru Gobind Singh’s exterior, and resembled him in features, these *zamindars* believed in him, adopted his cause, and wrote to the Sikhs in all direction, telling them that their lost leader had returned to earth. In response to this many armed men joined Banda Singh’.[[5]](#endnote-6)

Besides, support given to Banda Singh by *zamindars* is depicted in the news reports of the Mughal Court called *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*. In one of the *akhabarat* (news report), it is mentioned that, ‘the *zamindars* mainly of the northern district of Bari Doab, supplied arms and horses to Banda Singh. The *zamindars* of Kehlur had invariably rendered help to the Sikhs whenever they needed it. Similarly, *zamindars* of Jammu also supported Banda Singh. During the sixth year of Bahadur Shah’s reign, Farruck Beg, the imperial messenger asked Feroz Khan Bahadur to secure the co-operation of the *zamindars* and send them to Khan Feroz Jung for the chastisement of the rebel Banda Singh. It was replied that the *zamindars* of the hill areas were associating themselves with Banda Singh and they were not responsive to their appeal**.** The *foujdar* of Kangra had to set up special *chowkis* (outpost) to deal with the *zamindars* who collected food grains and other provisions for the Sikhs’.[[6]](#endnote-7)

The *akhabarats* throw ample light on the activities of Banda Singh and Sikhs when they were besieged in the fortress at Gurdaspur by the Mughals. At this time, in order to help Banda Singh, 400 Sikhs under Bakht Singh, the *zamindar* of Samana entered Nurpur and plundered the villages to collect stock of food grains.[[7]](#endnote-8) Besides the Muslim *zamindars* many Hindu *zamindar* or chiefs also sided with the Mughals mainly with a view to escaping harassment at the hands of the government.[[8]](#endnote-9) Thus, the Sikh struggle under Banda Singh had strong social base in the villages.Therefore, we find the peasants and *zamindars* promptly put trust in him and accepted him as their leader.

The *banjaras* (a class of grain carriers) were very helpful to the Sikh movement in the Punjab. The inflated rates of *ijara* led to the rise in the prices of food grains which hit both the *banjaras* and the people in the hills and therefore the *banjaras* were inclined towards Banda Singh. Most of them professed Sikhism and had devout faith in their religion. They always tried to maintain the supply of provision to the Sikhs even when they were besieged in a fort. The besieged threw off pieces of cloths from the top of the fort wall and the *banjaras* packed the grain, tied them up and then through the ropes the same were drawn up and then taken inside the fort. They also acted as spies for the Sikh rebel and provided them with food grains.[[9]](#endnote-10) On 3 July 1715, it was reported that the *banjaras* were staying in and around Nurpur and supplying food grains, arrows and rifles to the Sikhs’ hideouts in the hills. It is worth mentioning that Hindu *fakirs*, *yogis*, *sanyasis* and *bairagis* also supported Banda Singh, they used to convey imperial news to Banda Singh. The Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah ordered that if that was proved in the case of Banda Singh, the alleged spy be murdered. He further ordered that Sarbrah Khan Kotwal should turn out the Hindu *faqirs* from the imperial camp.[[10]](#endnote-11)

In this struggle finding opportunity many professional robbers, dacoits, men of reckless daring joined Banda Singh for their selfish motto. They hailed the movement as a golden opportunity, offering prospects of plundering cities and town instead of solitary wayfarers or *caravanans* of merchants. Among them, may be counted number of persecuted peasants and others who rushed in, at the time of attack to wreck their vengeance upon their personal enemies. It was this class of people who were mostly responsible for indiscriminate murder and plunder during these expeditions. They were the most dangerous and unreliable allies and were not unoften seen deserting Banda Singh in the thick of battle whenever they feared a defeat.[[11]](#endnote-12) Khafi Khanalleged that after the battle of Sirhind when Sikhs entered the city, ‘the host of the plunderers, who had now rushed in from all sides, could not be restrained, and so the city lost heavily in life and property. The irregular avenged their personal animosities in a most reckless manner and paid their persecutors in their own coin, and perhaps, with compound interest’.[[12]](#endnote-13)

**II**

It is interesting to note here that some hill chiefs had kept their doors open for Banda Singh Bahadur. In one of the *akhabarat***,** it is mentioned that, ‘many of the hill chiefs of the Shivalik areas provided him shelter following the arrival of Bahadur Shah in the Punjab.[[13]](#endnote-14) Hari Singh of Guler, Ram Singh of Jaswan, Ajmer Chand of Kahlur, and the chiefs of Mandi, Suket, and Kulu all supported Banda Singh. In August 1713, Hari Singh of Guler not only gave shelter to 10,000 Sikhs in his territory but also raised his own contingent for the help of the Sikh leader and plundered imperial treasury. Ram Singh of Jaswan alongwith some other hill chiefs also helped him at this point of time. Banda Singh remained at Lohgarh and Sadhuara for nearly one and a half year. On 24 September 1713, Abdus Samad Khan, the newly appointed *subedar* of Lahore after a long struggle of three months, could make him to leave Sadhaura. Banda Singh shifted to and strengthened himself in Lohgarh where he stayed for nearly two months. On 16 November 1713, Lohgarh was also occupied, Banda Singh shifted to the hills again.[[14]](#endnote-15)

There are nearly a dozen reports in the *akhabarat* of the period between November 1713 and March 1715 throwing light on Banda Singh’s attempt to reoccupy Sarhind and his attack on Ropar, Sunam, Ambala, and Jalandhar. Banda Singh also diverted his attention to Bari Doab and finally settled in Emnabad, Batala and Kalanaur. At this time, the rulers of Mandi, Suket, Jaswan and Kahlur not only gave him passage through their territories but also fought against Mughal forces.[[15]](#endnote-16)

Thus, one can notice that the rulers of the hill principalities played active role in Banda Singh’s struggle against the Mughals. These hill chiefs helped Banda Singh for their self interest as they saw in him a new power emerging in the Punjab which would replace the Mughals and give them opportunity to live as independent rulers in their territories in the hills. They assisted him at times when he had to leave his stronghold in the plains. They did not pay attention to the imperial *farmans* asking them to capture and punish Banda Singh. They kept Banda’s treasury in their safe custody and allowed him to establish military posts in the hills and also raised contingent to help him to fight against the Mughals. Thus, after strengthening himself, Banda Singh could go back to establish himself in Lohgarh in May 1712 and again in March 1715. On 17 November 1715, it was reported that the Sikhs numbering 500 *swars* and 4,000 foot soldiers were camping in the fort of Nahan. There are reports of 4,000 Sikhs moving about in Garhwal hills and some other Sikhs in the *ta’alluqa* of Saharanpur in September 1711. At this time Banda Singh was also being helped by a large number of people who purchased horses and ammunitions to be delivered to the Sikhs.[[16]](#endnote-17) It is clear from the above that when Banda Singh was obliged to find shelter in the Shivalik Hills he could do it without difficulty.

But as discussed, the attitude of the hill chiefs for Banda Singh did not remain the same throughout the period. It kept on changing. It was in fact according to the magnitude of threat to them from the Mughal emperors. When they found that Mughal suzerains were proving to be more powerful, they shifted their allegiance to them otherwise were not reluctant to help Banda Singh in whose victory laid their hope to re-establish their independence.[[17]](#endnote-18)

Thus, we can analyze that the strength of Banda Singh had consisted of different classes of men. The first class comprised the true and loyal Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh. They rallied round Banda Singh in a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice to carry on the crusade against the enemies of their country and religion. They had no booty, no self-aggrandisement as their object. On the contrary hundreds sold their belongings, purchased arms and flocked to the new leaders, with a fixed determination either to win the fight or to suffer martyrdom. The second class consisted of paid soldiers recruited and sent to Banda Singh by such chieftains as Ram Singh and Tilok Singh, the ancestors of Phulkian Chiefs, who could not join the army of Bands Singh but sympathised with his laudable enterprise and desired to render all possible help for it success.[[18]](#endnote-19) The third class was entirely composed of irregulars who were attracted to Banda Singh by the love of booty and plunder.

Besides them, Jats, *zamindars*, *chiefs of hills, banjaras*, *fakirs*, *yogis*, *sanyasis* and *bairagis*also supported Banda Singh.In *Hakikat-i-Sikan*, it is written that ‘Banda Singh Bahadur was nominated by Guru Gobind Singh. He appointed many troops, chiefly from the lower castes’.[[19]](#endnote-20) Even the Sikh Khatris (merchants) also supported Banda Singh indirectly. It is said that when Banda Singh and other Sikhs were captured, some Sikhs Khatri of Delhi had offered large sum of money for Banda Singh’s release but all their offers were rejected. However, they took the permission of Farruksiyar and they cremated the body of Banda Singh at Barah Pula.[[20]](#endnote-21) These observations have made it clear that Banda Singh did not apply seatrain approach while making recruitment for the Khalsa forces.

**III**

There is also impression that Banda Singh killed innocent Muslims. Khafi Khanalleged that after a feeble battle of Sirhind, ‘Wazir Khan was killed in the battle. Only those Muslims, who disguised and hide themselves in the houses of the Hindus were escaped’. He writes that ‘Sikhs carried on atrocities for three or four days with such violence that they dashed every living child on the ground, set fire to the houses, and enslaved children and families of the high and low. For four days, the town was given in pillage, the mosques were defiled, the houses were burnt, and the Muslims were slaughtered. Even their women and children were not spared. Some says that unborn children were taken out from the womb and killed before their dying mother’s eyes. Hindus were also not spared. One of the principal objects of the Sikh vengeance was, of course, Saj Anand or Sucha Nand, the Hindu *Peshkar* (chief revenue official) of Wazir Khan, in taking the life of Gobind Singh’s sons. He suffered an ignominious death and his house was subjected to a rapacious plunder’. Further it is written that**,** Banda Singh with other Sikhs attacked Saharanpur, in Jamuna Ganga Doab in 1710, numerous Muslim women, seeing that their honour was at stake, threw themselves into wells to avoid outrage.[[21]](#endnote-22) Similarly, in *Hakikat-i-Sikan*, it is written Banda Singh and his troops used to plunder the masses, burnt the villages and killed many men and women. Muslim were their prime target, even small children were killed before their parents’.[[22]](#endnote-23)

In reality, Banda Singh had no hatred for Muslim as such. The *akhabarat* written sometimes before the battle of Sirhind fought on 12 May 1710, tells us that the Sikhs then under the command of Banda Singh had a deep rooted hatred for Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sirhind, for the murder of the young sons of Guru Gobind Singh, otherwise Banda Singh had no hatred for Muslims as such In fact, after the occupation of Sirhind, the Sikhs according to the same *akhabarat*, issued such strict orders as not to permit even the killing of a single animal. Despite anti Sikh and anti Hindus measures of the Mughal government Banda Singh did not wish to reduce his struggle to the level of a communal strife. His struggle was a political struggle. The news letter of 28 April 1711 is self explanatory, according to which Banda Singh promised and proclaimed, ‘I do not oppress the Muslims’. For any Muslim who approached him, he fixed a daily allowance and wages and looked after him. He permitted them to recite *khutba* and *namaz*. As such 5000 Muslims had gathered around him.[[23]](#endnote-24) While describing the militarily expeditions of Banda Singh against the Mughal forces, the British historians have also focused on the social composition of his forces. H.T. Princep has recorded that as such five thousand Muslims had gathered around Banda Singh. And, once having entered into his friendship, they were free to shout their call and say prayer in the army of the Khalsa.[[24]](#endnote-25) Instances of Muslim abandoning their faith were not unknown. It is pertinent to mention that Dildar Khan of Sirhind, joined Banda Singh and assumed the name of Dindar Singh, while Mir Nasir-ud din, the imperial news writer of Sirhind was known as Mir Nasir Singh.[[25]](#endnote-26) Thus, Banda Singh did not impose any religious restriction upon the Muslims as such and they flocked to him in large numbers.

**IV**

It is pertinent to note that Banda Singh had no artillery, not even the required number of horses for all his men. Only few of his men possessed matchlocks. Long spares, arrows and swords were the only weapons of war that the Sikhs were equipped with.[[26]](#endnote-27) Kamwar Khan, author of *Tazkiratu’s Salatin Chaghata* gives a detailed description of the articles seized from the fort of Lohgarh in December 1710 by the Mughals: three cannon pieces, 17 gun carts, one canopy, few silver sticks and five elephants. The weapons which were brought from Gurdaspur after its fall in 1715 were 1,000 swords, 278 shields, 173 bows, 180 muskets, 114 daggers, 217 knives besides 23 gold *mohars*.[[27]](#endnote-28)

Banda Singh with the help of Sikhs and other supporters occupied the territories of Sarhind, Samana, Kaithal, Ghurram, Sadhaura, Chhat, Ambala, Shahbad, Thanesar, Buria, Pail, Ropar, Bahlolpur, Machhiwara, Ludhiana and Saharanpur. In fact ‘all territories from Satluj river upto Karnal came under the control of Banda Bahadur. We can say that Banda Singh Bahadur was leading the campaigns in and around the *sarkar* of Sarhind in 1709-10, whereas beyond the river Jamuna, i.e., in Saharanpur and Jalalabad and beyond the river Satluj in Doaba, Rahon, Lahore, Amritsar, Batala, Kalanaur, Pasrur, and Eminabad, the Sikhs on their own were fighting the battles without Banda Singh being with them. And they were successful in the occupation of most of these territories. They had even proceeded to Delhi but were repulsed by the Mughal officials, Jalal Khan and Sardar Khan.[[28]](#endnote-29)

Thus, within a belief period, the entire area between the river Satluj and Jamuna was under Banda Singh. He took in hand the administration of the conquered territories and assumed regal state but only in name. In Persian records, Banda Singh was blamed to entitle himself as Sacha Padshah (true sovereign) of the Sikhs. This is not true because Banda Singh issued coins in the name of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh. With a similar inscription, Banda Singh started using a seal on his orders (*hukumnamas*). He introduced his own Sammat (year) commencing with his victory at Sirhind.[[29]](#endnote-30)He made his own administrative arrangements, appointed his own *faujdars*, *diwans,* and *kardars*. One Baj Singh, belonging to *pargana* Haibatpur Patti in the Bari Doab was appointed *subedar* or governor of Sirhind,with Ali Singh as his *naib*.[[30]](#endnote-31) Bhai Fateh Singh was appointed as governor of Samana, and Ram Singh, the brother of Baj Singh, was appointed as governor of Thanesar jointly with Baba Binod Singh. Banda Singh also placed small town of Chatt under a Sikh *Amil*. A Sikh *thana* (police station) was established at Payal and Baluqa Singh was appointed *thanadar* of the area.[[31]](#endnote-32)He adopted Mukhlispur, an imperial fort now given the name of Lohgarh as his capital.[[32]](#endnote-33) Kesar Singh Chhibber in *Bansavalinama* describing Banda Singh’s rule (*raj*) writes that ‘Banda Singh’s rule lasted for nine and a half years and during this period, Banda did not hesitate of punish those Sikhs who with the acquisition of power, had became unjust’.[[33]](#endnote-34)

Banda Singh had little time to introduce any reform under his area, the only thing introduced by him was the total abolition of the Zamindari system in his government. He abolished the role of intermediaries in controlling the land and its production in various forms. Now, the actual cultivators became the proprietors of their holdings, and the oppression resulting from the old system was forever eradicated from the Punjab for some time.[[34]](#endnote-35)

 Thus, Banda Singh’s struggle against the tyranny of the Mughal government also signified a powerful protest against the beneficiaries of the existing structure of authority. On his suggestion the tillers of the soil ejected the landlords and the peasants themselves became the master of the land. Large estates were broken into smaller holdings in the hands of Sikh or Hindu peasants. These agrarian changes, to a great extent ameliorated the lot of the poor peasantry.[[35]](#endnote-36) Similarly, E. Thornton, British writer has remarked that ‘the movement of Banda Singh was clearly an agrarian revolt and not an anti Islamic crusade’.[[36]](#endnote-37)

**V**

In retrospect, we can observe that in the struggle to uproot the tyrannical and unjust rule, Banda Singh emerged as popular leader of the masses. He was followed and supported by number of people viz., Jats, *zamindars*, *banjaras*, *fakirs*, *yogis*, *sanyasis* and *bairagis*. Besides them, some chiefs from the hills also supported Banda Singh. We have some some news letters on record which proves beyond doubt that the struggle of Banda Singh was directed only against the tyranny of the Mughal officials in the Punjab and their high handedness was resented and opposed not only by the Sikhs and Hindus but also by the Muslims who joined his army in thousands to gather against the Mughal government. The struggle had been launched against the Mughal government but only because it was a Mughal government but only because its officials were tyrannical and were hated by the people at large, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims alike. It was a popular struggle of the oppressed against oppressor under Banda Singh. Thus, Banda Singh scarified his life not only for the sake of religion but also to protect the political, social and economic rights of the common men i.e., the peasantry at large.

**Notes and References**

1. Just as the Guru himself is said to have been prompted in his early days by the desire to revenge the death of his father, Guru Tegh Bahadur. This interpretation is baseless because Guru Gobind Singh never led any offensive expedition against his enemies. In all the wars, either against Mughals and Rajas of the hills whether at Bhangani, Anandpur, Chamkaur or any other place, we always find Guru Gobind Singh on the defensive side, taking to the sword as the last resort, in self-defence and for self-preservations: J.S. Grewal, *Lectures on History, Society, and Culture of The Punjab*, Patiala: Punjabi University, 2007,p. 238. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
2. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur: Based on Contemporary and Original Records*, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1999, p. 17. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
3. Ibid., pp. 22-23. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
4. Jats were a rural and agrarian community consisting largely of peasants and landlords: G.S.L. Devra, ‘Environmental Disturbances, Popular Resistance and Banda Bahadur’, Amarjit Singh (ed.), *Banda Singh Bahadur: Tri –Centenary of Martyrdom,* 2016, Kurukshetra: Nirmal Publishing House, 2016, p. 26. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
5. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, New Delhi: Oriental Reprint, 1971, p. 94. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
6. Asha Kiran, ‘The Liberation Movement Under Banda Singh Bahadur: An Analysis’, Amarjit Singh (ed.), *Banda Singh Bahadur: Tri –Centenary of Martyrdom,* 2016, pp. 122-23. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
7. It is also mentioned that ‘there were *pyadas*, matchlockmen and the archers inside the fortress. They had collected a lot of iron and secured the guns and muskets. They had manufactured three guns and had a lot of gun powder with them. The Sikhs used to come out of the fort to take pieces of wood from the village of Kothi to strengthen their entrenchments. They also used to take inside grass for the consumption of their animals’: Ganda Singh, ‘The Punjab News in the Akhbar-i-Darbar-i Mualla’, *The* *Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. IV, Part II, Patiala, Punjabi University, October 1970, pp. 154 & 158. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
8. Asha Kiran, ‘The Liberation Movement Under Banda Singh Bahadur: An Analysis’, p. 131. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
9. Muzaffar Alam, *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India, Awadh and the Punjab, 1707-48*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1997, p. 163. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
10. Bhagat Singh (tr.), ‘Akhbar-i-Darbar-i Mualla’, *The* *Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. XVIII, Punjabi University, Patiala, October 1984, pp. 89 & 156. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
11. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur: Based on Contemporary and Original Records*, pp. 34, 41-42 & 46. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
12. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, pp. 94-95. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
13. Asha Kiran, ‘The Liberation Movement Under Banda Singh Bahadur: An Analysis’, pp. 122-23. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
14. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, pp. 126-29 & 135. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
15. Bhagat Singh (tr.), ‘Akhbar-i-Darbar-i Mualla’, *The Panjab Past and Present*, pp. 144, 146-49 & 154. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
16. Ibid., pp. 86, 89 & 158. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
17. Asha Kiran, ‘The Liberation Movement Under Banda Singh Bahadur: An Analysis’, p. 131. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
18. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur: Based on Contemporary and Original Records*, p. 41. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
19. Balwant Singh Dhillon (tr.), *Hakikat-i Sikhan*, (Punjabi), Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2014, pp. 37-38. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
20. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 317. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
21. Muhammad Hasim Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabu-l Lubab*, (Part II)*,* ed. John Dowson, Calcutta: Susil, 1960 (thirdedn., first pub. 1877), pp. 30 & 97. See also, William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, pp. 97 & 101. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
22. Balwant Singh Dhillon (tr.), *Hakikat-i Sikhan*, pp. 37-38. See also, William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, pp. 96-98 & 114-15. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
23. Asha Kiran, ‘The Liberation Movement Under Banda Singh Bahadur: An Analysis’, pp. 127-28. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
24. Amarjit Singh (ed.), *Banda Singh Bahadur: Tri –Centenary of Martyrdom,* p. 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
25. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, pp. 96-98 & 114-15. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
26. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur: Based on Contemporary and Original Records*, p. 42. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
27. Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan’s author of *Tazkiratu’s Salatin Chaghata* refers to cannon balls fired from gun made from a tamarind tree: This works have been translated by Irfan habib, Iqbal Hussain and S. Ali Nadeem Rizan respectively and published in *Sikh History from Persian Sources*, edited by J.S. Grewal and Irfan Habib, as a part of Khalsa Tercentenary Celebration, Tulika, 1999, pp. 145 & 148. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
28. ‘Akhbar-i-Darbar-i Mualla’, *The Panjab Past and Present*, pp. 118-20 & 134-36. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
29. J.S. Grewal, *Lectures on History, Society, and Culture of The Punjab*, p. 110. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
30. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 97. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
31. With Sirhind as base, detachments were delivered to occupy the country of the south, the east and the West: Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur: Based on Contemporary and Original Records*, pp. 35, 49, 52, 58 & 162. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
32. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*: New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2005 (firstpub. 1994), pp. 82-83. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
33. J.S. Grewal, *Lectures on History, Society, and Culture of The Punjab*, p. 238. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
34. No comprehensive accounts are provided by the British Scholars regarding the abolishment of *Zamindari* system by Banda Singh. However, it became clear from these accounts that Banda Singh has passed orders to distribute lands to the actual peasants and cultivators: Amarjit Singh (ed.), *Banda Singh Bahadur: Tri –Centenary of Martyrdom,* p. 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
35. Asha Kiran, ‘The Liberation Movement Under Banda Singh Bahadur: An Analysis’, p. 131. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
36. Amarjit Singh (ed.), *Banda Singh Bahadur: Tri –Centenary of Martyrdom,* p. 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)