

RELIGIOUS HATRED IN THE EARLY PHASE OF SIKH HISTORY: FOCUS ON THE MUSLIM-SIKH RELATIONSHIP DURING MUGHAL ERA

Dr. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu *

Abstract

Religion preaching fraternity, coexistence and welfare of humankind serves the human race but it also causes unremitting and irrecoverable loss when it is abused and misinterpreted. Muslims appeared throughout the Subcontinent securing a huge mass conversion from the Hindu society. Sikhism emerged in the 15th century with followers mainly from the Hindu folk. The Muslims became the ruling community of India but with a scattered position throughout the region while Sikhs were concentrated mainly in the Punjab, a north-west region of India. After the British advent, the Muslims and Hindus at all levels in India were engaged in political contest while in the Punjab the Muslims and Sikhs were enthusiastically doing the same, as rival communities. Identity and the political activities rooted in religion as three major communities, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu, had launched their activities on religious grounds. Mughal rulers persecuted the Sikh spiritual leaders (gurus), which affected the peaceful living as Sikhs attributed to every social or political point the atrocities inflicted on their religious heroes by the Muslim rulers. This attitude created a sense of hatred among the Punjabis and resultantly, religion became a hate-generating mechanism between these close social partners. No serious effort was made by any government to curb this hatred and the apathy hardly let both the communities come to settlement under any kind of dialogue rationale. This antagonism not only divided the people of the same cultural and racial origin but also caused a heavy death toll of innocent Muslims and Sikhs on different occasions. This paper is an endeavour to explore the elements of the religious hatred which widened gulf between the Muslims and Sikhs in the Punjab. The study mainly deals with the nature of Muslim-Sikh relationship in the early period of Sikh history.

Keywords: Religious hatred, Muslims, Sikhs, Mughal, subcontinent.

* Associate Professor of History, Government Islamia College Civil Lines, Lahore

The Punjab remained under foreign rule for centuries which resulted in a sense of psychological, intellectual, political, economic and social deprivation throughout the region. Colonialism is mainly attributed to the British but historically it goes back to the Persian, Arab, Greek, Chinese, Afghan and Central Asian imperial rule in the Subcontinent. Andrew J. Major writes that twelve non-Punjabi dynasties ruled over the Punjab from 11th century to the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799-1839).¹

Islam secured huge conversions from Hindus and Sikhs which made Islam a dominant religion along with the non-Indian Muslims from Arabia, Iran and Afghanistan in the north-western region of the Subcontinent. Islamic principles of egalitarianism impressed upon the Hindu folk which gave birth to the counter-reformations and Bhakti movement became important among such classical Hindu campaigns for reformation. Guru Nanak Dev (1469-1539) combined ideas mainly from Islam and Hinduism and paved the way for a new religious tradition. Oneness of God and rejection of the idol-worship, burning widows alive (*sati*), discrimination, class system, caste system, drinking, smoking and *pardah* (veil) for women were the core teachings of Nanakism which ultimately became Sikhism. He needed the importance of love, peace and cordial relations among all the factions of a society. He explained that the letter *alif*² denotes the oneness of God and unity of humankind.³ According to modern definition, "Sikhism recognizes no caste and strictly enjoins upon those who profess it to treat all human beings as equal."⁴ Sikh (student or learner) as defined by an Indian writer Gupta is one who worships one God, takes guidance from the *Granth Sahib*, refutes the caste⁵ prejudices, takes baptism by dagger immersed in water, adopts *Singh* (lion) with name, abstains from tobacco, wears turban, and always has 5 Ks.⁶

The beginning of the Muslim-Sikh relations dates back to the co-relationship of the Muslims and Hindus living in the same place, Talwandi⁷ wherein Guru Nanak Dev was born in 1469. Both the communities had been enjoying cordial relations as brothers under the cultural bonds. Guru Nanak always preferred the association of *faqirs* (saints). His disciple Mardana was the first Muslim who became Sikh of Guru Nanak Dev⁸ and later on many others like Allahyar of Delhi and Ibrahim of Chhatteana are quoted to have been converted to Sikhism.⁹

Guru Nanak Dev received early education from Syed Hasan, a Shia Muslim, at Nankana and learnt Persian and other knowledge which definitely impressed upon the growing mind of the young Nanak. The environment dominated by communitarian majority influenced his mental fabrication as enunciated by many in the west Punjab.¹⁰ He served for a short period in *langarkhana* (almshouse) under Daulat Khan Lodhi, governor of Sultanpur. His interest in the Islamic heritage moved him to the Muslim religious places in India, Iran, Iraq, Makkah and Madina. Preaching his beliefs publicly at Multan infuriated Delhi authority and the Guru remained in jail during the reign of

Ibrahim Lodhi, the Muslim ruler. He was released by Zaheer-ud-Din Muhammad Babur after the victory against Ibrahim Lodhi at Panipat (1526).¹¹ It is conspicuously mentioned that Guru Nanak Dev along with other *faqirs* had already undergone corporal sufferings at the hands of the Muslims when Mir Mughal, Babur's commander, occupied Saidpur (Aimanabad, near Gujranwala) in 1520. Babur sacked Saidpur, "put all of its inhabitants to the sword, and ravaged the surrounding countryside."¹² The worthwhile aspect of this incident is that Guru Nanak Dev never exhorted his followers to take revenge from the Muslims against this persecution. This was a crux of the spirit of Nanakism which means, tormentors ought to be forgiven and love, tolerance, harmony and co-existence be popularised.¹³

Despite having two sons, Guru Nanak did not make the *Gurgaddi*¹⁴ as hereditary and appointed Angad Dev (Lehna) (1504-1552) as his successor who invented Gurmukhi script mainly derived from Devanagari script. It enabled the Gurus to preserve the Sikh religious heritage and identity as a separate people. Humayun (1508-1556), the second Mughal emperor, met Guru Angad during his retreat by Sher Shah Suri (1486-1545) and his own brothers where the Guru predicted about his victory in the near future. Muslim-Sikh relations at the very outset of the history of Sikhism remained friendly as it emerged with the message of love and fraternity. The coming Gurus added valuable beliefs to the religious tradition and transformed Nanakism into Sikhism. All the Gurus, ten in number, from Guru Nanak Dev to Guru Gobind Singh belonged to the caste named Khatri. The Hindu Jats embraced Sikhism during the *gurgaddi* of Guru Arjun Dev (1563-1606).¹⁵ Some are of the opinion that the slogan, '*jehra wahvey oho khavey*' (tillers are the real owners of the land) raised by Guru Nanak fascinated the Jatt community who embraced Sikhism under the of whom? however, it is an undeniable reality that Guru Nanak being a pure soul never used tactics to attract people. On the other hand, he never planned to organize any religion rather being a saint he merely preached what, to him, was the best for human beings. Nevertheless, his thoughts provided a solid and smooth foundation to grow as a separate religion. The last scene of his life is an empirical evidence to prove the claim that there was no new community in the Punjab except the two existing ones, Hindus and Muslims, who claimed to perform the last rituals of the Guru according to their respective religions. Therefore, the Sikh teachings had not yet been composed as religion as others existed in the Subcontinent. Guru Nanak Dev created conducive atmosphere while the coming Gurus paved the way for Sikhism.

As a whole, the Punjab had been a liberal and secular society as we find no evidence of persecution and antagonism at the initial conversion from Hinduism to Islam and then to Sikhism.¹⁶ To Sibt-i-Hasan, the Indus Valley Civilization presents the signs of coexistence and nonviolence in the society.¹⁷ The land of five rivers retained these marvelous characteristics throughout the history. Although the Colonial rule of the British created a sense of deprivation among the inhabitants but even then the Punjab maintained a tradition of mutual

harmony particularly in the rural society. Guru Nanak Dev demonstrated the same, believing in the everlasting maxims of coexistence and brotherhood. The founder of Sikhism availed the freedom of expression as a divine gift and shared his fair and blunt critique against blind faithfulness and injustice. Criticizing the Muslim rulers, Guru Nanak Dev opined that they had discarded the real path of Islam:

Nor can we consider Islam as a powerful force on the basis of its teachings, because the propagators of the Prophet's gospel had been busy in the merciless slaughter of the 'infidel' sons of Allah...He [Guru Nanak] lamented the religious bigotry of the Muslims and protested against the violence, cruelty and persecution by the Muslim rulers...His heart was deeply touched by the utter helplessness of the masses of the age on whom had fallen the unbearable and inhuman sufferings caused by Brahmanical religio-social tyranny and Muslim bigotry and violent persecutions.¹⁸

Being indigenous and moreover a religion under-persecution, it impressively attracted the masses particularly of the Punjab. Furthermore, the Punjabi Hindu families had a common practice to declare one of their sons as Sikh.¹⁹ Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar (1542-1605) is said to have ruled over India with liberal and secular policy therefore, the Muslim-Sikh relations remained amicable during his reign. Akbar gifted land to Guru Ram Das (Jetha Bhai) (1534-1581) where Hazrat Mian Meer, an eminent Muslim *Sufi*, laid foundation of the famous Golden Temple at Amritsar. This era illustrates the harmonious relations between the two communities as both had no roots of conflict.

The relations between the two communities became antagonistic in 1605 when prince Khusrau²⁰ rebelled against Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir (1569-1627). Guru Arjun Dev (5th Guru) supported the rebellious Khusrau. It was one of the most important segments of Indian history that Khusrau sought refuge under him and the Guru had no fear of the formidable government of Delhi who had inflicted cruelty upon their own kinspersons. Chandu Lal, Diwan of Lahore, embroidered a false story and the king arrested and killed Arjun Dev in 1606.²¹ Although this was a political action of the government, nevertheless, it drew a hard-line between Muslims and Sikhs. The writers believe that the relations between the two communities were absolutely good till this event because the Sikh community being a nascent group did not partake in the national politics. It was a courageous step of the Guru to adopt a defiant character and plunge into the national politics. Nevertheless, the Guru's assassination proved undoubtedly a turning point in the history of the Muslim-Sikh relations. To Gokul Chand Narang, the maltreatment by the Muslim rulers stimulated Sikhs to acquire power. He further writes, such persecutions were inevitable from a despotic government that was forced to hinder any dangerous organization²² as a parallel force to the central authority. According to Sagoo, Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi

(1562-1624) provoked Emperor Jahangir against Guru Arjun Dev while staying at Sarhind pursuing Khusrau.²³

Many writers tried to prove Emperor Jahangir's innocence in the case of Guru Arjun's murder and held Chandu Lal responsible for it²⁴ because he was working as a Hindu conspirator. To prove innocence of Emperor Jahangir, Jahangir Tamimi writes that the Hindus consciously tried to damage Islam and Sikhism.²⁵ Jahangir removed Chandu Lal from the office when he came to know about his action of the Guru's assassination.²⁶ This direction taken by the scholars goes futile when Emperor Jahangir confesses in the autobiography about killing Guru Arjun Dev:

At Govindwal situated on the River Beas there lived a Hindu named Arjun in the garb of saints and holy men... I ordered him to be arrestedI confiscated all his property and issued orders that he should be imprisoned, tortured and executed.²⁷

The pro-Jahangir writers could not impress upon Sikhs who still believe that Jahangir was the culprit and responsible for the Guru's murder. The standpoint of such writers is repudiated by the treatment meted to Chandu Lal by Guru Hargobind for the murder of Guru Arjun Dev. It is interesting that this incident should have worsened the Sikh-Hindu relations but it did not affect them.

Dr. Pashaura Singh and few others declared Guru Arjun's killing a political murder but up till now, a big majority of the Sikhs believes that Jahangir was the real killer.²⁸ Whatever the writers argue and quote in favour of the Mughal king, none can deny the fact that a 'religious' personality was persecuted to death during the authoritarian rule of Emperor Jahangir therefore responsibility goes to him. Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, a hardliner Muslim cleric, who thanked God on Emperor Akbar's death since he was a liberal ruler, expressed his pleasure on the murder of Guru Arjun Dev by Emperor Jahangir. He wrote to Shaikh Farid, the governor of the Punjab that the killing of the *Kafir* (infidel) of Goindwal was a big achievement "and is the cause of the great defeat of the accursed people."²⁹

The next Guru, Hargobind (1595-1644), tried to arm his followers and for this purpose he started collecting tax from them. Soon he was arrested and imprisoned by Emperor Jahangir, however, he was released on the recommendation of Hazrat Mian Meer and Wazir Khan. After the release, Jahangir and the Guru got along with each other and the Emperor along with other concessions handed over Chandu Lal to the Guru who tortured him to death as a revenge for his father's murder.³⁰ During the reign of Shah Jahan, his son prince Dara Shikoh as a governor of the Punjab developed friendly relations with the Guru and gifted him land in Kiratpur but soon a difference arose on a trivial cause which resulted in a direct conflict. Guru Har Rai (1631-1661), a pacifist by nature became friendly with Prince Dara Shikoh (1615-1659). The war of

succession among the sons of Shah Jahan (1592-1666) proved a setback as far as the Muslim-Sikh relations were concerned. The Guru supported Dara in the war against Aurangzeb Alamgir who after capturing Delhi became an adversary to the Sikhs.³¹

Aurangzeb Alamgir (1618-1707) decided to take stern action against the new religion known as Sikhism. A group of the Kashmiri Brahmins led by Kirpa Ram Datt of Mattan came to Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621-1675) and sought his help against the forced conversions to Islam by the royal authorities. The Guru stood against Aurangzeb's policy. Soon he had to turn up before the Delhi court where Aurangzeb asked him for a miracle as evidence of his religious position. On his refusal, the king sent him to jail from where he desired to go for the miraculous show. He claimed that the holy words would protect him from the blow of the sword. The executioner struck in an open court of the king and the neck was separated from the body. The poignant incident of Tegh Bahadur's assassination increased hatred in the Sikhs against Muslims. The body of Guru Tegh Bahadur was insulted and thrown in the street.³² It can never be overlooked by the followers.

Aurangzeb Alamgir was held guilty in the murder of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Moreover his governor buried two young sons³³ of Guru Gobind Singh alive at Sirhind. Later on, stern reaction was displayed by the disciples of the Guru who had established Khalsa "for the accomplishment of his mission against the Mahomedans [The word for Muslims]."³⁴ Many Muslim historians tried to exonerate the Mughal rulers from the murder of their Gurus and labored to convince Sikhs that the Muslim rulers were innocent but the classical sources are replete with the anti-Muslim material, fact that has never let the Sikh generations absolve the Muslim kings. A few Sikh writers held the Hindus responsible for the Gurus' murder, particularly the murder of Guru Arjun Dev³⁵ that may be interpreted otherwise. The religious fervor under specific circumstances converted Sikhs to militancy.

The military status adopted by the Gurus and their followers definitely meant a political zeal, which moved them to become a nation.³⁶ To W. H. McLeod, "The military aspect had to be fused with the religious, and this Guru Gobind Singh achieved by promulgating the Order of the Khalsa on that fateful day in 1699. Thus were the sparrows transformed into hawks."³⁷

Guru Gobind Singh, the last Guru, awarded five Ks to his followers which infused a sense of confidence and prowess among the newly emerged community. Sword and *pagg* (turban) in particular were the cultural objects mainly used by the distinguished personalities of the martial castes or any prominent figure in the village which enhanced their status in the Punjab which was traditionally a society victim of lawlessness. *Pagg* was to be used by the head of a family while *sa'fa*³⁸ could be used by everyone if desired. Therefore, using *pagg* was a symbol of honour and carved an influential position in the Punjabi society. So, wearing of a *pagg* was now made necessary for all the Sikhs

by the tenth Guru which naturally created in them a sense of respect and superiority. Having a dagger or sword was another feeling of respect and martial tradition.³⁹

Guru Gobind Singh deputed Banda Singh Bairagi (1670-1716) for the guidance of the *panth* (community) who got engaged in crushing and killing the Muslims mercilessly wherever he found them under the Khalsa enthusiasm. He slaughtered thousands of Muslims, “burnt down scores of villages and for a moment seemed to have shaken the very foundations of the Moghul Empire.”⁴⁰ To Hari Ram Gupta, he massacred and punished the Muslims of Ghuram, Thaska, Kunjpura, Shahabad, Mustafabad, Ambala, Kapuri, Chhat and Banur. After running over Sirhind, he removed all the Muslim officers from the *pargnahs* and appointed his own devotees.⁴¹ Bhagat Singh writes that Banda Singh left immense influence on the Sikh polity and the future course of history. The Sikh *misals*⁴² adopted the military organisation structured by Banda Singh. Many Hindus and Muslims also joined Banda Singh and enjoyed the fruits by accepting Sikhism.⁴³ Bhagat Singh while writing on this critical chapter does not take up the point of the ‘forced conversions’ during this anti-Muslim drive instead he euphemizes with such wording that presents that the Muslims willingly accepted Sikhism. Conversion is a natural phenomenon but it becomes controversial if it happens during an era of terror or military outrage.

Bahadur Shah I (ruling period 1707-12) and Farrukh Siyar (ruling period 1713-19) took stern actions against the Sikh menace therefore the later Mughal period proved very hard for the nascent Sikh community. Mir Mannu, the governor of Punjab (1748-1753), took drastic measures against the Sikhs which resulted in heavy casualties but this anti-Sikh move could not knock them down completely and they continued their military campaign against the Muslims. A verse became very popular regarding Mir Mannu’s murderous actions against them and their religious enthusiasm:

Mannu asadi datri asi Mannu dey soey
Jiyon jiyon Mannu vadhda asi doon sawaey hoey⁴⁴

(Translation: Mannu is like a sickle for us but despite his killing, we grew more and more in number).

The critical circumstances emerged after the rotten administration of the central authorities and internal uprisings, resulted in the Sikh attacks from the north and the Marathas from the south which witnessed a course of barbarity on the Muslims.⁴⁵ Ahmad Shah Abdali’s ferocious onslaughts on the Punjab caused massacre of many Sikhs and the rest of them had to hide in the dense forests and mountains. The Muslims admired these military campaigns but they dented the political, economic and social life of the Punjab, which popularized a verse throughout the region. This Punjabi couplet is famous among all the Punjabis irrespective of religion, race and caste:

Khahda peeta lahey da
Rehnda Ahmad Shahey da⁴⁶

(Translation: Except bread all grains belong to Ahmad Shah Abdali).

February of 1762 proved disastrous to the Sikhs who were brutally put to death at Kup in the premises of Malerkotla by the Muslim invader. This combat took 15,000 Sikh lives in a day, which is remembered as *Wadda Ghallughara*, the great killing, in the Sikh history.⁴⁷

Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799-1839) emerged as a symbol of Sikh identity and unity and by capturing *misls* (petty Sikh states) one by one he established a mighty government in the Punjab. His military power and rule up to Peshawar alarmed the foreign marauders who never dared to enter Punjab as happened in the past. He inducted Muslims in his court, this fact, convinced many historians to declare him a secular ruler but the factual position is that the Muslims, according to Sita Ram Kohli, lost popularity, prosperity, effectiveness and social importance, when the Sikhs ascended the political power. The Sikh regime proved an era of agony for them as their holy places were ruined. During his rule, the marbles of the Mosques were sent to Amritsar to decorate the Golden Temple. The Muslims were degraded in the courts and their religious values were ridiculed. They had been weakened to the status of oppressed and third class citizens of the society and their holy places were converted into stables, arsenals and brothels. They could not dare to register their protest against this sacrilege. Sita Ram further elucidates, “the Moti Masjid in the fort of Lahore....is built of white marble and was used as a place for offering prayers by the Muhammadan emperors...Ranjit Singh converted it into treasury room for containing cash.”⁴⁸ Likewise, Ranjit banned the cow slaughter throughout his kingdom.⁴⁹ *Sikkha Shahi* is still prevalent among the Muslims attributing to the barbarity and lawlessness during the Sikh rule.⁵⁰ The hatred pertaining to the Muslim and Sikh communities linked with the religious conflict.

Definitely Sikhs being the ruling community were confident as compared to the Muslims during Ranjit era. Even the local officers never dared to challenge a Khalsa member. According to Cunningham, the Sikh conquests pleased Sikh who enjoyed psychological supremacy infused by Ranjit in different ways like “Runjeet Singh, in writing or in talking of his government, always used the term “Khalsa.” On his seal he wrote, as any Sikh usually writes, his name, with the prefix “Akal Suhaee.”⁵¹ The Sikhs revenged what they had suffered at the hands of the Muslims. For several occasions, the Muslims had ruined Amritsar and suburbs but the Sikh victory enabled them to re-capture Amritsar, “they carried out bloody reprisals and washed the steps of the sacred pool with blood of Mussalmans.”⁵² Religion based hatred seems to be a potent factor in the political and social domains, although it is not the only factor which impulses hatred.

Sikhs had a bitter past under the Muslims which made this political issue a sensitive point upsetting the friendly environment of the Punjab. To James

Kellas, the nationalist movements of the European countries produced germs of nationalism throughout the world. He further talks of the two categories of the nationalism pervasive in the world, the Inclusive Nationalism and the Exclusive Nationalism. The first category represents more liberal and democratic, thought while the latter propagates intolerance and repression; the Sikh nationalism is among such nationalisms in the world the writer concludes.⁵³ The basis of the Sikh activities and the Muslim politics was religion, which never erased the line of identity, provoking them to go against each other in the name of protection and services of the respective community.

Conclusion

The roots of the Muslim-Sikh antagonism were the assassination of the Gurus, further atrocities by Banda Singh Bahadur Bairagi and Mir Mannu, and the Muslim invasions by Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali, his son Timur Shah and grandson Shah Zaman in which the Muslim support was unleashed in favour of the Muslim invaders.⁵⁴ A look at the period from the advent of Guru Nanak Dev to the end of the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh explains ups and downs of the nature of the Muslim-Sikh relations in the Punjab because religion, a deep-seated factor, many times overrode the cultural bonds and disturbed the peace of the region. Unavailability of communicating sources like print media strictly contained the hatred and the news of any friction could not travel from one to another place. The limited resources along with illiteracy kept the religious communities unaware about any communal problem occurred anywhere in the region. The people used to get information regarding any religious clash after a long time which was too late to disturb the communal patch-up between the communities.

No divine religion preaches violence because it comes up to refine human character. Religion claims advocacy of tolerance, love, fraternity and harmonious relations and Islam and Sikhism believed in the same tenets but unfortunately religion in the Punjab was used by the rulers mainly to downgrade the other religious community. This direction seems to have been a weak standpoint as the Muslims in the Subcontinent were a minority. Therefore, the rulers should have taken the non-Muslims, a big majority of the region, into confidence and displayed a secular approach. Unluckily some of them took an anti-Sikh stance which never let the Sikhs comprehend the peaceful message of the Islamic heritage. Hatred bred violence and aggravated the situation in the political domain. Apparently, it was highlighted as a political issue, although actually, it was immersed in the religion. Exploitation and abuse of religion promoted hatred which hammered the glorious tradition of peace and tolerance of the land of the five rivers.

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- ⁷Talwandi is old name of Nankana Sahib in the west Punjab that is now an independent district.
- ⁸John Clark Archer, *The Sikhs in Relation to Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and Ahmadiyyas: A Case Study in Comparative Religion* (London: Princeton University Press, 1946), 177; also see H. S. Bhatia, *Rare Documents on Sikh and their Rule in the Punjab* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1981), 14.
- ⁹Harbans Singh, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, vol. 1 (Patiala: Punjabi University Patiala, 2002), 35-36, 83.
- ¹⁰Guru Nanak Dev is much respected by the Shia community of Muslims due to his regard for Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and His descendants particularly Hazrat Imam Husain who was mercilessly massacred in 61 AH at Karbala (Iraq). The people in the West Punjab quote his verse for Imam Husain which he recited on 10th Moharram, the day of martyrdom of the Imam. He said:
 Guru Husain sab jagat ka, esa hor na ko
 Esi marni marr gia, jo suney so ro
 (Hussain is the guru of whole of the world, none resembles him
 He died in such a way that every listener of his martyrdom starts weeping)
 Ch. Khadim Hussain Chahal, interview with researcher at Alipur Chak 6 District Kasur, in Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, "Guru Nanak Dev and Muslim-Sikh Relations in the Punjab," paper presented on 30 December 2008 at International Conference on History, Politics and Society: The Punjab, at Punjab University, Lahore.
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- ²¹Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (London: Lindsay Drummond Limited, 1934), 319-320; see also, Sayed Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 254.
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- ²⁸A project was conducted at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, and University of British Columbia, B.C. The project dealt with the history of 500 years of Sikhism with a view to have an objective research by using the Social Sciences method. Although, the Sikhs reacted furiously to the project, however Dr. Pashaura Singh continued research under Dr. H. McLeod. He concluded that "Hair, turban and sword entered Sikhism through the Jat influence. Jats did not enter Sikhism empty handed.... Guru Arjan was murdered and not martyred in 1604." The University authorities relieved Dr. Hew McLeod from the programme on the protests by the Sikh community of Canada. <http://www.sikhspectrum.com/092002/Toronto.htm>, 16/7/03.
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- ³⁰Many Sikh writers put responsibility of Guru Arjun's murder on Chandu Lal because by this the killing of Chandu Lal by Guru Hargobind is justified.
- ³¹Sayed Latif, *History of the Punjab*, pp.253-270; see details about the Gurus in Max Arthur McAuliffe, *The Sikh Religion: Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909).
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- ³⁵This is a wise direction because if Jahangir is accepted as killer, Guru Hargobind becomes the killer of Chandu Lal and a spiritual personality is not supposed to be involved in such action.
- ³⁶D. Petrie, "Secret C.I.D. Memorandum," 304-6.
- ³⁷Hew McLeod, *Evolution of the Sikh Community* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 4.
- ³⁸A small un-sewn cloth put around the head. It protected the head from sun and a blow of *Dang* (stick) during a fight but *pagg* was used by specific persons of certain families. *Safa* was a thing of common use while *pagg* was used by distinguished people.
- ³⁹Weapon like axe, spear or sword was a sign of bravery and bold persons of any caste could possess them which testified that he would fight bravely for the community. In the Punjabi culture, bravery even in a personal fight or enmity was appreciated by the people.
- ⁴⁰G. C. Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, 49-50.
- ⁴¹Hari Ram Gupta, *Later Mughal History of the Punjab, 1707-1793* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1976), 46-47.
- ⁴²After the Mughal decline, Punjab was occupied and divided into 12 possessions called *misls*. Bulleh Shah indicated towards this bad governance when he wrote:
Jadon dais dey jatt Sardar hoey, Ghar-o-ghari ja bani sarkar hoe
- ⁴³Bhagat Singh, *A History of the Sikh Misals* (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1993), 421, 425.
- ⁴⁴Harpreet Kaur, "Muin-ul-Mulk (Mir Mannu) and the Sikhs (April 1748-November 1753)," *The Punjab: Past and Present* XX (April 1986): 103.
- ⁴⁵Hafeez Malik, *Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan* (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1980), 142-43.
- ⁴⁶Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs in History*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Uncommon Books, 1996), 106.
- ⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 105.
- ⁴⁸Sita Ram Kohli, comp., *Catalogue of Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol. II (Lahore: Government Printing Press, 1927), 156n.
- ⁴⁹Prithipal Singh Kapur, *Main Currents of Freedom Struggle in Punjab* (Chandigarh: Government of Punjab, 2004), 42.
- ⁵⁰Sikhashahi, the Sikh Rule, is a synonym for the misgovernment and oppression. Ian Stephens, *Pakistan* (London: Earnest Benn Limited, 1963.), 133.
- ⁵¹Joseph Davey Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, reprint 2002 (New Delhi: Rupa Paperback, 1849), 171-72.
- ⁵²H. L. O. Garrett, *The Punjab, A Hundred Years Ago*, rep. (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1997), 28.
- ⁵³James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1991), 74.
- ⁵⁴*A History of the Freedom Movement, 1707-1831*, vol. 1 (Karachi: The Board of Editors, 1957), 153.