

Chapter-7

CONCLUSION

Society in the early nineteenth century was simple and traditional. People followed their age old customs and were governed by superstitions and religious beliefs. Caste, family, marriage, the *bhaichara* and *panchayat* played a very important role in the life of people in the early nineteenth century. Through all these institutions people followed the established social tradition, social norms, and values. These institutions helped the person to lay down direction of the role of individuals and regulation of the society. The concept of purity and pollution was not as rigid as in other regions probably because a degree of social mobility had taken place in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. This is reflected in the work of Ganesh Das, *Char Bagh-i-Punjab* written in the 1840's who does not mention any such ideas.

There were many castes and tribes in the Punjab in the early nineteenth century i.e. agriculture castes and tribes, professional's castes, mercantile castes and tribe, artisan's castes and lower castes. Castes identity seems to be an important aspect in every individual's life. Caste, *sharika*, *bhaichara* were the overriding elements for all. The kin group had significance in life as it governed all decisions. All the caste and tribes lived in the five *doabs* of the Punjab i.e. Rachna *doab*, Bari *doab*, Chaj *doab*, Bist Jalandhar *doab* and Sindh Sagar *doab*. However, most castes and tribes of the early nineteenth century were located in a belonged to specific geographical areas with which they were closely linked i.e. Khatri of subcastes Ghais in Rohtas, Nandas and Kochhars in Eminabad, Chopras, Kapur, Khanna in Lahore, Puris in Batala, Tulis in Kalanaur, Maini in Gujrat, Bedis and Mehtas in Patti.

Brahmans lived mostly in the Bari *doab* and Bist Jalandhar *doab*. The tribes of the *brahmans* were Bali, Bhardwaj, Joshi, Puj, Vaid, Chhibbar. They inhabited Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Amritsar, Lahore, Jhang and Kapurthala. *Khatri*s lived in the Bari *doab*, Jalandhar *doab*, Chaj *doab* and Rachna *doab*. *Khatri*s of the subcaste Ghais in Rohtas, Badheras in Bahlolpur, Sialkot and Gujrat, Sibtis in Jalalpur, Sahnis and Kohli in

Wazirabad, Nandas and Kochhars in Eminabad, Chopras, Kapur, Khanna in Lahore, Mehra in Dipalpur, Puris in Batala, Tulis in Kalanaur, Kondi in Bahlolpur, Maini in Gujrat, Bedis and Mehtas in Patti and Sehgal and Thapars in Jalandhar. Khattris of the subcaste Sethi, Suri, Uppal, Bhalla, Malhotra and Mehta were lived in Chaj *doab*. Khattris of the subcastes Puri, Bhandari, Khosla and Dhir lived in the Bari *doab*. *Khattris* of the subcastes Sehgal, Thapars, Sodhis, Watts, Puris, Khoslas, Jagotas and Chadhas lived in the Jalandhar *doab*. Umat and Buchchar were the subcastes of *khattris* and lived in Gunachaur village in the *pargana* of Rahon in the Jalandhar *doab*. *Khattris* of Rekhi, Sachchar, Chatrath, Chandali, Duggal and Badhawan subcaste were the prominent persons of the Ibrahimabad Sodhara town in the Rachna *doab*. *Khattris* of Indrajog subcaste lived in Jalalpur Bhattian in the Rachna *doab*. Khattris of Nayyar and Patpatia lived in Sambrial village in the Rachna *doab*. *Khattris* of two subcastes Handas and Duggals lived in the Chaj *doab*.

Jats lived in all the *doabs*. *Jats* inhabited Gujranwala, Gujrat, Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Sialkot, Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur. The tribes of the Jats were Tarar, Waraich, Sahi, Hinjra, Cheema, Bajwa, Ghumman, Kahlon, Sarai, Goraya, Dhillon, Virk, Sidhu, Bhullar, Mann, Bal, Pannun, Mahal, Aulak, Gill, Sandhu, Brar, Dhariwal, Mangat, Dhindsa, Kang, Sohal, Bains, and Lohan. Ghumman, Cheema, Awan and Bajwa lived in Sialkot. Walah or Ralah lived in the *pargana* of Heart. Rajputs lived in the Bari *doab*, in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*. Rajputs found in Sialkot and Hoshiarpur. The tribes of the Rajputs were Awan, Chauhan, Kharral, Manj, Tarar, Bhatti, Chhadhar, Khokar and Rathor.

Gakkhars were practically confined to the Rawalpindi, Jehlam, and Hazara, areas where they were found all along the plateaus at the foot of the lower Himalayas, from the Jehlam to Haripur in Hazara. Gakkhars lived in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Gujjars were numerous in Hasan Abdal and Jhelum, and all along the hills from the Jhelum to the Sutlej. Gujjars lived mostly in Bari *doab*. In Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur and in Jalandhar they were mostly cultivators. Hindu Gujjars lived in Lahore. The Gujjars of the Waraich tribe were powerful in the village Gujrat in the Chaj *doab*. The Arains, Kambos and Sainis, also excellent cultivators, but their numbers were rather small. Arains were

numerous in Jalandhar and Kapurthala, around Kalanaur and Batala, and in Lahore and Montgomery. They mostly lived in Jullundur *doab* and Bari *doab*. The Kambos too, were found in Kapurthala and in the valley of the Satlej upto Multan. The Sainis lived mostly along the foothills from the Satlej to the Ravi and were concentrated Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar. The Khattar inhabited Attock and Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. The Kharrals found in large numbers only along the valley of the Ravi, from its junction with the Chanab to the boundary between Lahore and Montgomery; while a few had spread up the Deg river into the Lahore and Gujranwala bar, and smaller numbers were found all along the Satluj valley as high up as Ferozpur. They mostly lived in the Rachna *doab* and Bari *doab*. Biloch mostly lived in the Bari *doab*, Sindh Sagar *doab* and Chaj *doab*. Biloch were both numerous and powerful in Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Mankera, Muzaffargarh, Shahpur, Jhang, Multan and Montgomery. A very considerable number of Biloches scattered along the lower Indus and Satlej in Bahawalpur and Multan, and especially in the former. The most important were the Rind, the Korai, the Copang, and Jatoi, and Lashari, and the Hot, while less numerous but still important were the Chandia, the Khosa, and the Dasti. Pathans important in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, Rachna *doab* and in the Bari *doab*. Pathans numerous and dominant in Bannu, Kohat and Peshawar. Among the Pathans the most powerful tribe were Yusafzais, Afgans and Kakezai.

Among the commercial classes the Aroras lived in the Chaj *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. They were numerous in Multan, Kohat, Peshawar and the Derajat. Baniyas mostly appeared in the Upper Bari *doab*, Rachna *doab*, in the Chaj *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Baniyas inhabited Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Rawalpindi and Jalandhar. Jains or Bhabras mostly lived in Sialkot and Hoshiarpur in the Rachna *doab* and in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Labanas lived in Chaj *doab*, in the Rachna *doab* and in the Bari *doab*. They inhabited Gurdaspur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. Khoja and Paracha numerous in the Rachna *doab*, Sindh Sagar *doab*, and in the Bari *doab*. The Khoja numerous in Rawalpindi, and also in Muzaffargarh and the Derajat. They were fairly numerous in Lahore, Sialkot, Gujrat and the Salt Range. Parachas were found in Makhad, Attock and Peshawar.

Tarkhans lived in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. They were important in Jalandhar, Firozpur, Sialkot, Amritsar, Lahore, Hoshiarpur; Rawalpindi, Gurdaspur, Multan and in Hazara. Kumhars lived in the Bari *doab* and in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. They were numerous in numerous in Multan, Jhang, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Bannu and Bahawalpur. Chamars lived in the Bari *doab*, Jalandhar *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*. They were numerous in Lahore, Jalandhar and Ludhiana. The *chuhra* or *bhangi* of the Panjab was found throughout the region. The *chuhra* mostly lived in the Bari and Jalandhar *doab*. They were numerous in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan and Rawalpindi. Nais found mostly lived in the Rachna *doab*, Bari *doab* and Chaj *doab*. The Dum and Mirasi distributed throughout the Punjab, but were most numerous in the Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan divisions, and in Bahawalpur. Thus, a clear identity of caste with location seems to be reflected in the geographical distribution of people in the region. Persons of a particular caste were likely to come from a specific area the group belonged to.

Caste identity seems to have significant for the people in the early nineteenth century and they had pride in their caste, specially the *khatri*s. People lived mostly in joint families covering three to four generation and their life was governed by *bhaichara* and *panchayat*. All the classes had a busy daily routine. Daily routine was largely similar but would obviously vary according to social position and status. The social standing of a person and his class status determined the different activities in their daily life, but mostly they followed the same time frame to do their work. The day started early and ended shortly after sunset. All the classes woke up early in the morning and went early to bed. In upper class women did not work and mostly followed *purda*. But some of the upper class women did not wear *purda* and took an important part in public affairs. In the case of ordinary women and lower class women, they did not wear *purda* and helped their husbands in their work. Men and women were busy doing their work at homes and at work place.

The day to day routine of the people was governed by superstitions beliefs. People of Punjab believed in various superstitions. Superstitious beliefs were related to the daily routine of the people i.e. omens, lucky and unlucky days and months, journey,

superstitions related to animals and birds, cultivation, dreams, worship of the tree and plants. People followed superstitions based on their conscious or unconscious minds. They believed in evil-eye, spirits i.e. *bhut* and *churel*, *jinns*, magic. People were superstitions regarding their settlements and dwellings in the context of the direction, astrological aspects and auspicious times. The cycle of life was marked by a variety of superstitions. These were related broadly, to birth, marriage and death. They invoked the help of the astrologers, saints and priests to ward off evil and lessen their fears of the supernatural. Astrology played an important role in the life of the people. Even Maharaja Ranjit Singh always consulted astrologers before entering upon an important undertaking. Maharaja Ranjit Singh also believed in omens, lucky and unlucky hours, charms, spells, witchcraft and predictions. Some examples are i.e. A smut or dirt in the right eye was good luck. On Monday look at your face in the glass and you will prosper. On Tuesday eat a clove and good fortune would attend you when you set out on business. Woman should not wash her head on a Saturday, or her husband will become sick. People also believed in bad omens i.e. a smut or dirt in the left eye was ill. If a she-jackal (*pavi*) call behind the house of a sick man he was certain to die. A crow on the coping of the house-wall denotes that a relation was coming on a visit, or at least that news from one will soon arrive. The year's ploughing or sowing was best begun on a Wednesday. It must not be begun on a Monday or on a Saturday, and on the 15th of each month the cattle must rest from work. A journey should not be begun on Sunday, Tuesday or Friday, but Monday, Wednesday and Thursday were lucky days for such a purpose. It was unlucky to set out on a journey northwards on Tuesday or Wednesday but lucky on Monday or Friday.

The monotony of the daily routine was broken by participation in fairs and festivals, as well as marriage functions and different kinds of ceremonies at relative's homes. In a year total sixty nine fairs held in the Punjab's different *doabs*. Thirty one in the Bari *doab*, twelve in the Rachna *doab*, thirteen in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, eight in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and five in the Chaj *doab*. Seventeen major fairs and fifty two minor fairs were celebrated in the Punjab. Fairs were celebrated in all the twelve months though March and April had the largest number. In March 23% and in April 32 % fairs held in a year. Five fairs were held in January month at *thakurdwara* of Banke Bihari at Lahore,

Makar Sankrant fair at Mukatsar, fair of Bawa Nam Deo was held at Ghuman, fair was held at Jhang in honour of the Hir and Ranja, fair held at Nihang in honour of Panj Pir. Two fairs were held in Bari *doab*, two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*, one in the Chaj *doab* and one in the Rachna *doab*. Two fairs were held in February month. A fair was held on the day of *basant panchami* at the *mazar* of Madho Lal Husain, Kadmon ka *mela* was held at the tomb of Sakhi Sarwar near Lahori Gate at Lahore. Both the fairs celebrated in the Bari *doab*.

Sixteen important fairs were held in the month of March, A fair was held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar near Dera Ghazi Khan, Two Hindu fairs were held in Mailsi in Multan, fair was held at the shrine of the goddess Rajni Devi, was situated between Mahilpur and Hoshiarpur, at Dera Khalsa in Rawalpindi, an annual fair was held at the shrine of Sain Ghulam Shah, fair take place once in a year in Peshawar, this fair was called Jhanda, a large fair was held on the *mazar* of Shah Abul Ma'ali in Lahore on the anniversary of the saint, a large fair was held the place of Hazrat-i-Ishan at Begum Pura a town of Lahore, a fair was held in the name of Shah Madar, Two fairs were held at the shrine of Shah Nur Jamal, of the local fairs of Sialkot, most attractive was held at Harmandal in the Jammu territories, a fair was held at the shrine of Pir Adil, fairs were in honour of Hafiz Diwan and Pir Sabz at Shahpur, the principal Sikh fair was held in Anandpur at the *holi*. Six fairs were celebrated in the Bari *doab*, four in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*, three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab* and only one fair celebrated in the Rachna *doab* in the March month.

Twenty two fairs were celebrated in the month of April. The *baisakhi* fair was held on first *baisakh* at Lahore, Amritsar and Ber Baba Nanak, close to Sialkot, the 'Ram Thamman' fair was held in the village of Thamman near Kasur, in April month on the Hindu Festival of *baisakhi*. The Katas Raj fair was held on *baisakhi*, at distance of two *kos* from Katas was another pool of water known as Choa Saidan Shah. A fair was held here. A large fair was held near the pool at the *samadh* of Baba Sain Das, fair was held at Saidpur, the religious fair was held at the shrine of Shah Chiragan, a Sayyad, in Rawalpindi, of the local fairs of Sialkot, the best known and most attractive was held at Parmandal. The shrine was resorted to by pilgrimage from a distance. A fair was held at

the shrine of Shah Sufaid, which was said to cure lepers, in Pandori on *baisakhi* in April a fair was held. A fair was held in Shiwala of Achleshwar at Achal on *baisakhi* in April. A fair was held in honour of Siri Chand, son of Baba Nanak at Bharath on *baisakhi*. A fair was held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar Sakhi Sarwar, as a saint was also typical of the other saints of the Dera Ghazi Khan, *baisakhi* fair at Eminabad. Baisakhi Devi fair at Surajkund, fair was held at the *khanqah* Hafiz Hyat, fair on the *baisakhi* at Punnanke. From amongst the Hindu faqirs of this place Baba Lahar Bairagi. A large fair was held at the place of Hindu Faqir on the days of *baisakhi* and *janamashtami*. Each Monday and Tuesday a fair was held at the Chaubara of Chhajju Bhagat. A fair was held here on the *shivratni*, at Tilla of jogis. Nine fairs celebrated in the Bari doab, five each in the Sindh Sagar *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*, two celebrated in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*, one celebrated in the Chaj *doab* in the April month.

Six fairs were held in the month of May. A large fair was held at the *smadh* of Haqiqat Rai, a shrine of a Muslim saint, called Barri Latif Shah, which was visited by large crowds at the time of the fair or *mela*. On Tuesday, a fair were held in honour of Sitla, goddess of smallpox. The temple was situated between Lahori Gate and Shah Almi Gate of Lahore. On the day of Ikadashi in the month of a May a large fair was held in the temple of Bhaddar Kali. The *urs* of Bawa Farid Godar was held at Kastiwalin Batala in May. A great fair was held at the shrine of Fateh Shah Sarisht on the occasion of Shab-e-Barat. Five fairs were celebrated in Bari *doab* and only one celebrated in the Sindh Sagar *doab* in the May Month.

Seven fairs were held in month of June. a Muslim fair held on 7th June at the shrine of one Shah Mir Kalan at Rukia, at the shrine of Shah Bolaki near Chitti *shaikh*, a fair was celebrated, the most important was the religious fair at Dhaunkal was a town near Wazirabad, a large fair was held at the tomb of Imam Nasir-ud-din in Jalandhar, Ichhra place associated with Bhairo where a fair held was held for a few nights after the new moon. Every year a fair was held on a mound close to the village Ikadsiwal. A great fair was held at the shrine of Fateh Shah Sarisht on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitar.

Four fairs were held in the month of July. A fair was held at the tomb of Pir-Sahib, on 13th, 14th and 15th July in honour of Pir of Adam Sultan at Turtipur, the fair of Abid Khan Sadozai was held in the garden of Abid Khan Sadozai at Multan on every Sunday. A large fair, name *mari* Narotam gir held in Shujabad, in Multan at Gajju Hatta. Fair held on 15th July for one day in honour of Narotamgir. Two fairs were held in the August month. Adjoining the place of Mian Mir was the place of Guru Ram Das Sodhi of the Nanak Shahi order. There was a huge tree and a small well which were regarded as sacred. The place was believed to be very auspicious. A fair was held there in the month of August. A fair was held at the tomb of Shaikh Farid, Ganj-i-Shakar on each Friday, which was largely attended by both Mahomedans and Hindus. One fair was held in September month. A cattle fair yearly held at Sialkot. Two fairs were held in the October month. A cattle fair was held at Dinanagar on *dussehra* in October. During the Nauratra, a fair was held at the temple of *kali mata* in Lahore, for nine days. Only one fair was held in the November month at Amritsar. Amritsar was the most important centre of pilgrimage for the Sikhs of Guru Nanak. Every morning and evening a large number of people visit the Har Mandar. Every year people come here for worship in unusually large numbers the *diwali* night. Only one important fair was held at Karor in December month in Dera Ismail Khan in honour of the local saint, Lal Isan.

Seventeen major fairs and fifty two minor fairs were celebrated in the Punjab. In the major fairs, people came from the different parts of the Punjab to and participated but in the minor fairs only local people visited. Seventeen major fairs held in Punjab i.e. Basant Panchami on the *mazar* of Madho Lal Husain, another large fair was at the *smadh* of Haqiqat Rai Kadmon ka *mela* was held at the tomb of Sakhi Sarwar, at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar, the *baisakhi* fair were celebrated at Amritsar and Lahore, at Ber Baba Nanak, the *baisakhi* fair at the commencement of the New Year, the Katas Raj fair was held on *baisakhi*, a fair was held at Choa Saidan Shah, a large fair was held on the *mazar* of Shah Abul Ma'ali, at the Chaubara of Chhajju Bhagat in Lahore, the annual fair at Tilla Bal Nath at the time of *shivaratri*, a large fair was held near the pool at the *samadh* of Baba Sain Das. A fair take place once in a year in Peshawar, this fair was called Jhanda. On two occasions every year people came Harmandar for worship in unusually large

numbers: the day of the *baisakhi* and the night of the *diwali*. The principal Sikh fair was held at Anandpur Makhowal at the Holi.

Some fairs were only local and the number of visitors was small. Men, women and children, decked out in their best colourful robes, trudged along the road, either on foot or on horse, camels and donkeys or in carts, singing and shouting or giving a merry laugh now and then, as one of the party related some interesting story to beguile the way to the fair. Stalls were set up miscellaneous merchandise like toys, sweets, fruits, eatables of various kind, utensils, cloth and other household goods. All these articles were arranged in an attractive and fascinating style. There were swing, merry-go-rounds, acrobats, jugglers, wrestlers, actors, singers and dancers. They entertained the multitude with their performances. In return they received small coins as their fees or reward. Monkey and bear owner, snake-charmers displayed their skill to get something from the spectators of their own free will. Fiddlers, harpers, pipes, drummers and performers on guitar and other musical instruments contributed for the entertainment of visitors. Everybody in the fair appeared full of mirth and merriment.

People of the Punjab enjoyed a lot on the occasion of marriages. At wedding times people had an opportunity to break their daily routine. People felt refreshed by the different ceremonies performed in the Punjabi wedding. The main ceremonies were as follows. *Var Labna* (mate selection) , *kudmai* (betrothal), *lagan / saha kadna* (fixing of marriage date), *gandh ferna* (means sending the invitations to the relatives), *suhag-gana* , *maila pauna*, *khare bithaona*, *vatna*, *sangeet*, *mehndi*, *sehra bandi*, *tambol pauna*, *wagh farai*, *milni*, *phas*, *bidai*, *tel pauna* and *pani warna*. In the marriage the ceremonies performed were deciding the date of marriage with *shagun*, sending invitations, *sehrabandi*, marriage party's reception, *nazars*, entertainments with music, dance and drinks, fire-works, showering of money over the heads of the bride and the bridegroom, dowry and its display were observed according to the financial position of the parties concerned. All the above mentioned ceremonies regarding marriages particularly among the Sikhs were common among the rich and the poor, the ruler and the commoner. Fairs, custom and rituals were very important; they gave a new beginning to life. All the fairs and ceremonies were much awaited events in the life of Punjabi people.

Religion played significant role in life of the Punjabis in the early nineteenth century. On the whole, it is seen that many religious places of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh were located in the Punjab. There were total one hundred and seventy nine sacred places in the Punjab. Eighty one places located in the Bari *doab*, fifty in the Rachna *doab*, fourteen in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, twenty in the Chaj *doab* and fourteen in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. The Bari and Rachna *doabs* thus, had the largest proportion of religious places. 46% places located in the Bari *doab* and 28% located in the Rachna *doab*. Fifty seven sacred places belonged to Hindu religion, forty three belonged to Sikh religion, forty two belonged to Muslim religion and thirty seven popular pilgrimages. 32% sacred places belonged to Hindu religion, 24% belonged to Sikh religion, 23% belonged to Muslim religion and 20% belonged to popular pilgrimages. Hindu religious places were *thakurdwaras*, *shivdwara*, *vaishnava* establishment, *devidwaras* and *jogi* establishment. Sikh places were *gurdwaras*, *dharmshalas* and *udasi* establishments. Muslims places were *khanqahs*, *mazars*, tombs and mosques.

Numerous Hindu religious places dotted the region and played very significant role in the life of the people of Punjab. Religious places can be identified in all the five *doabs* i.e. in the Rachna *doab*, the Bari *doab*, the Sindh Sagar *doab*, the Chaj *doab* and the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Four *thakurdwaras* in the Bari *doab*, one in the Sindh Sagar *doab* and three in the Rachna *doab* and one in Chaj *doab*. Dominant area of *thakurdwaras* was in the Bari *doab*. *Thakurdwaras* were mostly established in the urban areas. *Jogis* also established their establishment in different *doabs*, three establishments in the Bari *doab*, one each in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, in the Chaj *doab* and in the Rachna *doab*. Dominant area of *jogis* was in the Bari *doab*. *Jogis* established their establishment mostly in the hilly and some also in rural areas. *Shivdwaras* were also important. *Shivdwaras* also established in the different parts of the Punjab. Nine *shivdwaras* were identify in the Bari *doab*, three in the Rachna *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, one *shivdawara* in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *shivdawara* was in the Bari *doab*. *Shivdwaras* too were mostly established in the urban areas. *Vaishnavas* establishments also prevalent in different *doab*, five were in the Bari *doab*, four in the Rachna *doab* and three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Dominant area of *Vaishnavas* was in the Bari *doab*. *Vaishnavas* established their establishments mostly in

the rural areas. Goddess worship was also famous in Punjab. Four *devidwaras* were in the Bari *doab*, two in Lahore and two in Amritsar, two establishments in the Chaj *doab* and four in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and three in the Rachna *doab*. Goddess temple established mostly in the urban area but some of the temple also established in the rural areas. The area of dominate of Hindu sacred places was in the Bari *doab* with twenty five sacred places. Seven Hindu places in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, fourteen places in the Rachna *doab*, six places in the Chaj *doab* and five in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Shivdwaras and Goddess establishment dominated the Hindu sacred places.

People came there to Muslims shrines, to fulfill their vows. The dominant area of the *khanqahs* was in the Rachna *doab*, with sixteen *khanqahs* there. Three located in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, two in the Chaj *doab*, two identify in the Bari *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Mazars were also located in the Punjab. Four located in the Bari *doab*, two in the Rachna *doab* and one in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. Dominant area of *mazars* was in the Bari *doab*. Tomb and Mosque were also located in the Punjab in the different *doabs*. Four tombs were located in the Bari *doab*, one in Bist Jalandhar *doab* and one in the Chaj *doab*. Dominant area of tomb was in the Bari *doab*. Two mosque located in the Chaj *doab*, one in the Bari *doab*, and one in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Mosque located in every village and each city but these four were the main, people came there in large number. The area of dominate of Muslim sacred places was in the Rachna *doab* with eighteen sacred places. Eleven sacred places located in the Bari *doab*, five in the Chaj *doab*, four located in the Bist Jalandhar *doab* and four in the Sindh Sagar *doab*. The entire Muslims establishment i.e. *khanqah*, *mazar*, tomb and mosque some located in rural areas and some located in the urban areas.

Sikh also visited their religious places. There were many *gurdwaras* in the Punjab. Twelve *gurdwaras* in the Bari *doab*, three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, three in the Rachna *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of *gurdwaras* was in the Bari *doab*. Dharmshalas were also located in different parts of Punjab. Eight were found in the Bari *doab*, three in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Rachna *doab*. Dharmshalas found in the Bari *doab* in large number. Udasi *akharas* were also important establishments. Seven establishments in the Bari *doab*, two in the Rachna *doab* and one in the Bist Jalandhar

doab. Dominant area of *udasi akharas* was in the Bari *doab*. Dharmshalas and *udasi's akharas* mostly established in the rural area but *gurdwaras* established in rural and as well as in the urban areas. The area of dominate of Sikh sacred places was in the Bari *doab* with twenty seven sacred places. Seven Sikh places located in the Rachna *doab*, three in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, three in the Chaj *doab*, three in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*.

The people of the Punjab visited these shrines for their belief and faith. People of Punjab gave respect and honour to all these popular pilgrimage. There were thirty seven popular shrines located in the Punjab. Eighteen located in the Bari *doab*, eleven in the Rachna *doab*, six in the Chaj *doab* and two in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*. Dominant area of popular shrines was in the Bari *doab*. Popular shrines established in the urban areas and in the rural areas. People of all religion came to these popular shrines for worship. Fairs also held at these pilgrimages. Besides these religious places people of Punjab also visit Dwarka (Banaras), Gaya, Jagannath Puri, Hardwar, Kurukshetra, Mecca and the Ganga, Jamuna and Ravi rivers for religious and ceremonial bath.

The early nineteenth century Punjab is marked by religious tolerance. People followed their own religion but they respected other's religion also. The Ruling class took interest in construction to make various religious places. Raja Gulab Singh build a *thakurdwara* in Pind Dadan Khan in the Sindh Sagar *doab*, Maharaja Gulab Singh Jamwal constructed a *shiva* temple in Dinga situated in the Chaj *doab*, diwan Kishan Kaur build a new temple of Shiva in Rawalpindi, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia build a temple to *shiva* in Kapurthala. Maharaja Ranjit Singh had the secular approach for the others religion. Maharaja Ranjit Singh visited the many sacred places, of the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims such as the Harmandir Sahib ji, Tarn Taran Sahib ji, Punja Sahib ji, Siri Nankana Sahib ji, Manja Sahib ji, Dera Baba Nanak Ji, Bawali Sahib Ji, Ram Tirth, Jawalaji, Katas, Mausoleum of Hazart Ganj Bakhsh Hujveri, Shah Abul Ma' ali, *khanqah* of Madho Lal Hussain. Maharaja Ranjit visited their on many occasions such as on the birth of Kanwar Kharak Singh, Diwali, Dussehra, Baisakhi, Maghi, Nirjala Ikadashi, *sankrant* and *amavas*. Ruling class took interest to make various establishments.

People too had the secular approach. The policy of tolerance also followed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh seemed to have petered down to the people as well. All the classes respected each other's religion. Ganesh Das in his book *Char Bagh-i-Panjab*, talked about only two incidents of intolerance. First happened in the *chaj doab*. Sayyid Miran Fazil, who was a staunch follower of his faith, had disagreements and altercations with the *darveshes* of every other sect. He got Balbhadra's tongue cut off for not reciting the *kalima* of Islam and for not becoming a Musalman. Through inducement and torture, he brought many persons from amongst the *qanungos* and the craftsman into the fold of Islam. He possessed a mastery of the *shariat* and *figh*. Second was the story about Haqiqat Rai. Haqiqat Rai, a Hindu boy of 15, used to study in a school, in the time of Nawab Khan Bahadur, Viceroy of Lahore. He quarrelled with the *musalman* boys and returned the abusive language which they had applied to some of the Hindu gods. He was taken to the *qazi* who sentenced him to be executed for daring to abuse the Prophet. The case came on before the Governor, who confirmed the *qazi's* sentence, declaring, however that, should the boy embrace Islam, the sentence would be remitted. Haqiqat Rai, true to the faith of his ancestors, rejected the invitation to embrace the faith of the Prophet and was executed. Except these two incidents there was not any other incident of intolerance recorded by Ganesh Das. It seems therefore, that religious differences did not create conflict in society but people lived in peaceful co-existence.

The worldview of the society in the early nineteenth century had a clear idea about the origin of the world and the different groups of people. They believed that the world was created by God as well as the different castes, *brahmans*, different *yugs*, *khattris* and their important groups and rulers of Punjab, especially Raja Bharat. God created three deputies before any other from appeared in creation: Brahma, Bishan (Vishnu), and Mahadev. People of Punjab had some common beliefs regarding the natural world. In their lives people accepted certain social ideas and values as part of their understanding of the world. People were remembered for their good manners in the society, social work for the welfare of the society without their own profit. People showed respect for each other in the family and in the elders in society. The person, who followed etiquettes and respected their elders, had captivated the hearts of the people by his good manners and kindness. People of Punjab had the feeling to 'do good for society'.

Irrespective of their creed, the well to do persons often expressed their sense of piety in works of public utility, perhaps taking their cue from the nobles and administrators. They built mosques, bridges, *sarais* and mausoleum; they dug tanks and laid out gardens; they constructed wells and *baolis*; they kept open kitchen for the stranger and the poor. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, all met in a companionship. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and other people of the ruling class gave every possible encouragement to his people to live with one another in a cheerful frame of mind with a friendly nod. Respectful people of the Punjab especially ruling class people built *shivdwaras*, *thakurdwaras*, *dharamsalas* and *samadhs* for the Punjabi society. All these built in the memory of respectful people in the society, located in the five *doabs* of the Punjab.

Some examples of social welfare are i.e. Lala Bhag Mal constructed a *pacca* tank. Lala Devi Das constructed a stepwell that was a *baoli*. Jawala Das Basambhu, dug a pond as a bathing place for the people. Kanhiya Mal of the subcaste Panwal, by the sheer labour of his hands dug a pond and planted a grove of trees. Lala Amrik Singh Chhibbar who constructed a temple dedicated to Mahadeva and also a stepwell, and laid out a small garden, on the road to Suk Ahmad in the *chaj doab*. Chaudhari Rehmat Khan Waraich constructed a mosque and a well. Kaniya Lal, son of Amir Chand, has constructed a well and laid out a garden. Hazart Shah Daula, the *faqir*, who was unparalleled for his generosity erected a fine bridge over the stream for the convenience of travellers in the Rachna *doab*. It was called the bridge of Shah Daula. Wadhawan women Bhola Dai made a fine bridge over the stream. A tank and a *baradari* have been constructed here by Muhammad Siddiq.

People of Panjab also helped each other without any hesitation we have some references like. Bakhshi Hari Singh, without hesitation he provides meals to all those travelers. Baba Kanwal Nain, the *brahman*, was the man whose open kitchen provide food to travellers. Chaudhari Diwan Singh used to provide food to travellers and look after their comfort with care. Villagers of Alamgarh, provide the travellers meals. Lala Hari Ram Puri, he used to serve with care all those *faqir* and way-farers who stayed for the night in the village Gharat Khasa. A *faqir* gave water to all travellers to overcome by the heat, while multitudes of monkeys were leaping from tree to tree, and flocks of

parrots filled the air with their clatter. Samed Shah, the deputy of Mohammed Shah Nakshbandi, who was said to feed two hundred poor men daily. Kang Dal Singh Wali has an open kitchen in the Bist Jalandhar *doab*.

Many eminent men, added much to the busy life of the city. Many *dharamsalas*, *shivdwaras*, *thakurdawars*, *musafirkhanas*, gardens, wells and *baolis* were constructed. There were numerous gardens of flowers and fruits planted at Lahore and Amritsar and other places, either by the Maharaja, or his courtiers and individuals. Most of them were open to the public under certain and strict conditions. They served as meeting ground for Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and developed the spirit for harmonious living. Ranjit Singh was extremely fond of flowers and gardens. He planted beautiful gardens at Lahore, Amritsar, Dinanagar, Gujranwala and Wazirabad. His example was followed by his nobles and courtiers. Amar Nath gave an account of twelve gardens. Diwan Amar Nath mentions the following gardens in Lahore: Badami Bagh, Baghe-e-Daudi, Dilkusha Bagh, Bagh-e-Shah, Balawal, outside the fort near Hazuri Bagh, Habadda Bagh, Khosha Bagh, Chaha Bagh, Bagh Bhai Ram Singh, Bagh Hazrat Faqir Sahib, Baghe-e-Farhat-afza, Bagh-e-Ruhkash Aram, Diwan-e-Diwangan. Besides these were gardens at Lahore, laid out by the following persons: the garden of Bibi Nakain, the mother of Prince Kharak Singh, and the garden of Mai Sada Kaur; the Badami Bagh; the gardens of Moran, Bhai Mahan Singh, Bhai Wasti Ram, Bhai Kanhiya Shah, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Sher Singh, Misar Diwan Chand, Diwan Mohkam Chand, Diwan Moti Ram, Raja Tek Singh, Raja Duni Singh, Raja Suchet Singh, Jawala Singh Padhanian, Dal Singh, Sardar Himmat Singh, Sham Singh Atariwala, Ratan Singh Dahriwala, Ratan Chand Duggal of Wazirabad and the garden of Diwan Kirpa Ram Chopra, which had a tank and the samadh of Haqiqat Rai in it; the garden of Basakhi Bhagat Ram, Sham Das Dhondiwalia. Jawahar Singh Bastiwala, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, Lehna Singh Majithia and Misar Ram Kishan, the brother of Misar Beli Ram who was the royal treasurer; the gardens of Chhota Ram and Faqir Azizuddin, the garden known as Fatehgarhwala, the gardens of Bishan Singh Mehra and Diwan Shah Nanda, adjoining the Sabzpir, which contains his ancestral place of worship; the gardens of Paras Ram Bairagi, Lachhman Das Bairagi, Janaki Das Bairagi, Dayala Salharia, Mai Manglah and others.

Many *thakurdwaras*, *shiwala*, *samadhs* and *dharmsala* were constructed in the early nineteenth century. In some reference the name of person who made it but in some instances it is not known. The *Char bagh-i-Punjab*, records that all these building construed in the early nineteenth century by the people of Punjab. Mostly Ruling class took interest to make *shivdwaras* and *thakurdwaras*. Knowledgeable persons were appreciated in the society and served as a source of inspiration for others. There are several references in the early nineteenth century, when people made their names in the different fields i.e. Jurisprudence, Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Mathematics, Calligraphy, Composition, History, Medicine, Poetry, Music, in *shastras*, and famous for his knowledge of Arabic and Persian. Some examples are Shaikh Ahmad, the hakim, and Gamay Shah, the sayyid, had been unrivalled in their knowledge of philosophy. Ram Kishan, the *brahman*, was well-versed in the knowledge of the *shastras*. A *pandit* named Mansa Ram Razdan from Chaj *doab*, who was incomparable for his piety and asceticism and his knowledge of astrology. Lehna Singh from Bari *doab* had acquired a good knowledge of mathematics. Har Narain was well known for his proficiency in history. Mian Gulam Qadir Nazmi had attained perfect competence in Persian and Hindi poetry, in composition, in the usage of current idioms, calligraphy and the lineament of letters. Nusratmand Badhera was well known for his attainment in music and poetry. People respected the person most, who had skills and knowledge. All these respectful people mostly lived in the cities and served on their knowledge and skills to others. Talent and skill were appreciated in the society and even given patronage by ruling elite and wealthy person. Recognition of skill and talent cut across class differences.

Society in the early nineteenth century was simple and traditional marked by social differentiation of caste and class. Most of the castes were associated with specific areas or locations. People lived in joint families and gave importance to kinship, *bhaichara* and followed the decisions of the *panchayat* in their localities. Superstitions and omens also controlled the life of people and every act in their daily life was governed by lucky or unlucky sign and omens. They worked hard and the monotony everyday life was broken by the arrival of the established fairs in each *doabs*. Religion was a significant part of society and the existence of numerous religious spaces is evidence of their religious devotion and faith. It is important to note that people lived in peaceful co-

existence and no major religious strife is recorded in this period. The existence of numerous places of popular religion would also support this idea. Society gave value to social work and help to fellow beings. Persons who constructed wells, religious places, fed the travelers and poor, provided bridges and water to people were considered worthy of respect. Eminent persons contributed to social welfare to perpetuate the name of their family. People respected knowledge and skill in all caste and classes and appreciated such persons. On the whole, society was governed by the set social norms and patterns of behavior and very few would step outside the demarcated boundaries.