Abstract

Published in 1898, Sundari is the first novel of the Punjabi language. The story, however, was conceived when its author Bhai Vir Singh (1872-1957) was still in high school and a part of it was written then as well. It is a heroic portrait of a woman named Surasti who, born in a Hindu family, later embraces the Sikh faith under the influence of her brother, Balvant Singh, and receives the new name Sunder Kaur (Sundari for short). She then leads a daring life in the jungles with a band of Sikh warriors. My paper focuses on how a) the elements that forged Sikh moral ethos – langar, seva, kirat karni, vand chhakna, te nam japna – permeate Sundari; b) the vision of the Ultimate Reality is realized in the heroine's person – in her socio-political activity; c) Bhai Vir Singh (and the Sikh community) acknowledge Sundari as the paradigm of Sikh insight into the Transcendent One.

About the Author

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Sundari: The Paradigm of Sikh Ethics

by

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Working Paper #209

August 1990

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SUNDARI: THE PARADIGM OF SIKH ETHICS

tun jiha amrit safal kita hai tiha harek istri purukh kare

-Sundari

As you have succeeded in living up to your vowed word,
so may succeed each and every woman and man!

Sundari is estimated to be the widest read novel in Punjabi; it is commonly acknowledged to be the first written in the language. The author, Bhai Vir Singh (1872-1957), who later became famous as a poet and savant, conceived the story while he was still in high school and wrote a portion of it then as well, that is, in the late eighties of the nineteenth century. The British had occupied the Punjab nearly four decades earlier. With them had come English language, Western science, and the Christian missions. A new ferment of ideas brewed in the Punjab. Sikhs from whom the British had seized the territory were overtaken by a mood of self-introspection. They were especially concerned about the recession of their ethical standards during their days of political power and splendor, and about the laxity of their religious practice. During Maharaja Ranjit Singh's rule in the Punjab and the splurge of stately power, formal ritual and ceremony were introduced into the Sikh faith. Brahmanical rituals discarded by the Gurus entered the Sikh way of life. The loss of political power following the annexation of the Sikh kingdom to British India encouraged conversion to the faith of the new rulers and, oftentimes as a response to that phenomenon, reversion to ceremonial Hinduism. Conversions by Christian missionaries added significantly to the gravity of the identity crisis. It was with a view to reforming the situation that a handful of Sikh intellectuals founded the Singh Sabha, a renaissance movement in Sikhism corresponding to the Arya Samaj in Hinduism and the Aligarh awakening in Islam. The Singh Sabha was based on the deliberations of Sikhs led by three men--Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, Baba Sir Khem Singh Bedi, and Kanwar Bikram Singh of Kapurthala--who met in Amritsar in 1873. Less than a year old at the time, Bhai Vir Singh eventually became the movement's most ardent and eloquent thinker. His voluminous writing manifests his objective of bringing about a fresh consciousness of and a new commitment to Sikh values. We find that a re-establishment of Sikh identity was indeed the leitmotif of Sundari, one of Bhai Vir Singh's earliest literary creations.

As a young boy, Bhai Vir Singh was raised on stories of Sikh heroism and sacrifice from the eighteenth century. The encounter with Mughal governors like Mir Mannu (1748-53) and Afghan emperors like Ahmad Shah Durrani, invigorated the Sikh spirit, leading to the creation of a sovereign Sikh kingdom. Now under British rule, there was again a testing of faith. It was with a view to resurrecting Sikh moral values that Bhai Vir Singh decided to recreate that stirring period. He chose a woman to be his principal character, personifying the Sikh virtues of faith, courage, and sacrifice. As he himself anounces, "In writing this book our purpose is that by reading these accounts of bygone days the Sikhs should recover their faith. They should be prepared actively to pursue their worldly duty as well as their spiritual ideal.... They should learn to own their high principles...and adhere to the Guru's teaching: 'Recognize all humankind as one'."[1]

Bhai Vir Singh published Sundari in 1898. It "gained immediate popularity and caught the imagination of the Sikhs as no other book has. Perhaps no other Punjabi book has been read more....For vast numbers of people Sundari has been a real person, an embodiment of faith, chastity, and courage. They have loved and admired her. They have shed tears over her trials and they have heaved sighs of relief at her providential escapes. Her name has become a byword in Punjabi homes. Many have been inspired by her deeds of chivalry to initiation into the Khalsa."[2] The legend of Sundari has since lived on in the Punjabi/Sikh consciousness as exemplar of the moral ideals bequeathed by the Gurus.

The book opens with the jubilant anticipation of Surasti's marriage. Shama's house is defined as belonging to one "whose daughter was to get married."[3] Even in modern India, this for many may sound like an anomaly, for the daughter traditionally belongs to the father's house.[4] Bhai Vir Singh thus reverses the order: it is the daughter who in this instance gives identity to Shama (the father's) house. Her name "Surasti" can be traced to the Vedic goddess Saravati who has been worshipped by millions of male and female Hindus through the centuries as the bestower of knowledge and learning. We first encounter Surasti in the courtyard of her house where she is singing, dancing, and laughing among her friends. In beauty Surasti outshines all the other maidens. She is like the "moon amidst the stars." Soon thereafter, she is abducted from the jocund crowd by the Mughal chief who was out hunting with his entourage; laughter in the house immediately turns into mourning and tears.

Surasti's father, her brother, the would-be-bridegroom, and two members of her village Pancayat go to the chief to plead for her return. The father joins his hands and respectfully begs the Mughal to return his daughter. The son follows him, requesting that the Nawab return his sister as an act of "charity." The fiance falls at the chief's feet, offering all his wealth in exchange for Surasti. The Pancayat members also humbly make the request: "But why would the Nawab give back a dazzling jewel?"[5] Surasti's brother falls unconscious. Her father begins to cry. Her fiance, in fear lest the chief ask him to surrender his property, runs away. Over against this fragility and weakness, Surasti boldly unveils her face and authoritatively asks the members of her family and members of the village Pancayat to return. To her still-unconscious brother she undauntedly says, "The Mughal's water I will not drink. Die I will in the fire."[6] Surasti then decides to immolate herself. The act is contemplated not in despair but as a means of demonstrating fortitude. There is no remorse and, instead of frenzy, there is trust in the eventual goodness that shall prevail.[7] For that reason, Surasti is heard reciting passages from Guru Nanak's Japu when her brother regains consciousness. The holy text does not contain any specific injunctions regarding the moral obligation of a maiden faced with such a situation. However, she receives new resolve from reciting it, specifically the opening lines which are but a sterling affirmation of the reality of the Transcendent One.

Another brother of Surasti, Balvant Singh, who had become a Sikh receiving the rites of Khalsa initiation, lived in the jungle with his companions and carried on a desperate, though unequal, battle with their persecutors. On the evening of Surasti's wedding, he chanced to visit his home. Hearing of the tragedy that had befallen his sister, he immediately turned his horse in

pursuit of her. As he drew near the Nawab's camp, he saw a pile of logs, a corner of it alight. Into his ears came a familiar voice reciting the Japu. He rushed to the spot and pulled Surasti away from the top of the pyre, saying "piari bhain, atman da ghat karna vadda pap hai"[8]--dear sister, to commit suicide is a grave sin. (We hear the very same words repeated by the sister later in the novel.) Once rescued, Surasti faces the choice of returning to her home or accompanying her brother to the Sikh camp and living a hazardous life in the jungles. Life in the jungle is what naturally attracts her. "Why should I not serve those brave people who fight for righteousness?" she asks of herself, then continues the dialogue with herself:

> Why don't women ever join action to uphold righteousness? If they haven't so far, why should I not be the first one to fight courageously like my brother?[9]

The resolution is made. Very confident, Surasti, mounts a horse. She requests her brother to hand her a sword. Brother and sister ride out together, surviving many a hazard, reaching the hideout at nightfall. Surasti is the first woman to join the camp.

Early in the morning all join to pray together to the Transcendent One. Asa ki Var by Guru Nanak is recited. Surasti receives the initiatory amrita, and enters into the Khalsahood launched by Guru Gobind Singh, Nanak X. She becomes one with the brothers and is given the name Sundar Kaur, shortened Sundari, for affection. Sundari is now part of the mainstream of people driven into their jungle asylums under pressure of State persecution. She takes a leading part in the bitter struggle they have launched to reclaim freedom and justice for themselves. Dauntlessly she gallops out with her warrior-comrades on their desperate sallies. As the story unfolds, we see her involved in many hair-raising adventures. We see her tending the sick and the wounded, cooking food in the camp kitchen, and leading worship and prayer. We hear her expound high-minded principles of the faith which had been espoused by the Founder, Guru Nanak, three centuries earlier, and we see her live up to these principles under the most trying conditions. Bhai Vir Singh's portrayal of the Sikh ethical ideal in a fictional setting is a most comprehensive statement on this theme at the beginning of the modern period of Sikh history.

The Sikh moral imperative is best summed up in the maxim: kirat karni, vand chhakna, te nam japna, that is, to labor for one's keep, to partake of one's food after having others share it, and to practice the repetition of the Divine Name. At the head of the triple formula is the phrase kirat karni. Kirat, from Sanskrit krit, in Punjabi means "the labor of one's two hands." It means manual work--honest, upright work in pursuit of one's living. The term has extended implications in the Sikh world view. It stresses the values of honesty and activity. It underscores the dignity of labor and deprecates parasitism. More singificantly, it prescribes a positive attitude toward life. Withdrawal is rejected; home and family are made the rule. Janam Sakhis, life stories of Guru Nanak, as well as Bahai Gurdas (1551-1636), famous in Sikh piety, allude to Guru's visit to the mountains where he met Siddha ascetics sitting in a conclave. The Siddhas ask Guru Nanak how it went with the mortals below. "To the mountains," spoke the Guru, "have the Siddhas escaped." "Who," he asked, "will save the world?"[10] And Guru Nanak says, "Living amid wife and children would one attain release."[11] Guru Arjan, Nanak V: "One can achieve liberation even as participating in life laughing,

playing, wearing finery and eating delicacies."[12] A truly religious person did not retire from the world but "battled in open field with his/her mind perfectly in control and with his/her heart poised in love, all the time."[13]

This is exactly what Sundari does. She does momentarily contemplate self-immolation but soon proclaims the importance of living, and she does live positively and authentically. She becomes part of the campaign resisting invasions from across the border of the country and against religious fanaticism and intolerance. She is a warrior among her warrior brethren and is not shy of wielding the sword. Bhai Vir Singh presents her fighting in the historical battle of Kahnuvan (A.D. 1746) against the troops of the governor of Lahore. According to the novelist, in a fierce action she wounds a Mughal general by the name of Nawab Faizullah Khan, well known in history. We also read about Sundari's heroic acts in battles against Ahmad Shah Durrani, who led many successive incursions into India.

The fact that the novelist assigns this heroic role to a woman is significant. This role dramatically reiterates the Sikh precept of equality between men and women. In the community nurtured by the Gurus, women were given a position of dignity with men. Guru Nanak had said that women were not to be considered inferior in any manner; they were to be treated with the honor to which they were entitled. His verses in the Guru Granth in English translation:

> Of woman are we born, of woman conceived,
> to woman engaged, to woman married
> Woman we befriend, by woman is the civilization continued.
> When woman dies, woman is sought for.
> It is by woman that order is maintained.
> Then why call her inferior from whom are great men born?[14]

This is Sundari's last exhortation to the members of the Jatha, the band of warriors, toward the end of the novel as she lay dying: "Dear brothers, do please keep ever in mind my submission. You must always uphold the dignity of woman and maintain the moral refinement you have displayed in your treatment towards me."[15]

Kirat also implies seva which is an important concept in the Sikh system. Seva means "deed of love and selfless service." It means contributing the labor of one's hands to serving fellow human beings and the community. Seva is presented as the highest ideal in Sikh ethics; by seva one cultivates humility; by seva one overcomes one's ego and purifies one's body and mind. Seva is an essential condition of spiritual discipline. As the canon runs, by seva, that is, by practicing deeds of humble and devoted service alone does one earn a seat in the next world (vichi dunia sev kamaiai ta dargah baisanu paiai).[16] To quote Guru Arjan, Nanak V:

> Come friends, come to the saint,
> let us devote ourselves to deeds of service...
> Conquering the self, suffering ends and the ego vanishes,
> We receive refuge, obtain honor and whatever we do brings comfort.[17]

Guru Arjan is here referring to the comfort that is achieved via seva. Dedicated to service, one conquers one's "self." With the curbing of self-centeredness, all suffering ends. Absorption in action--whatever it be--brings calmness and happiness. Guru Amar Daas, Nanak III, said that a person who is engaged in seva becomes pure, nirmal (nir = without + mal = dirt or impurity). Seva is the way of a truly religious person. Engaged in seva, one becomes purified and soothed personally, and simultaneously becomes an active agent in promoting the welfare of society.

Sundari's spirit of seva, which takes many forms, is the dominant key of her character. Early in the story as she joins the Jatha, she implores the members: "It is my wish that I fulfill my life serving the community. I should, if you would allow, live here amid my brothers. In peacetime, I shall service in the langar. When you launch out into combat, I should be in the ranks too."[18] In the novel we see her cooking in the community kitchen. Her love of service manifests itself in yet another way as she gently and devotedly nurses the wounded and the sick. Her seva is not limited to the Sikhs alone; she nurses the wounded irrespective of their religion or race. She draws no distinction between factions. With great concern and tenderness she bandages the injured--Sikhs and Hindus, Pathans and Mughals. Many times she forms bandages from fragments shredded from her own garments. This reminds one of an incident from Guru Gobind Singh's life. One of his followers, Bhai Kanahiya, used to tend the wounded on the battlefield without making distinctions between friend and foe. When complaints were made to Guru Gobind Singh, Bhai Kanahiya explained that when rendering service to those who needed it, he saw no friend or foe but only the Guru's face all around.[19]

Engaged in her tasks of seva, Sundari is often heard reciting the bani, passages from the Guru Granth. Her words are gentle and sweet and they bring a breath of peace and comfort to the Jatha during its arduous moments. Hearing Sundari speak, the injured person says, "Your sweet words are like a balm on my wound."[20] Sundari thus renders seva through both deed and word.

Vand chhakna (vand = distribution, sharing + chhakna = to eat) is the sharing of monies and goods that accrue to the individual before she/he partakes of them. It is another important aspect of Sikh ethics and is based on the principle of mutuality. It does not imply charity, but sharing among equals. Just as a member of the family shares his/her earnings and goods with the other members of the family, so should each Sikh, according to the Guru's injunction, conduct herself/himself in the larger family of the community. This principle of sharing underlies the institutions of sangat and langar, which are primary factors in shaping the Sikh moral ethos. Sangat (Sanskrit sangati meaning union, association, or company) is in the Sikh tradition, the fellowship of the seekers. Such groups and communities came into being in places visited by Guru Nanak during his extensive journeys. These were fraternal groups which congregated together to recite the Guru's word. All members were equal in it, equal partners in religious and social activity. The same ideal of equality and togetherness was symbolized by the institution of langar (in Persian, an almshouse or public kitchen kept by a saint or dignitary for his followers and dependents). Guru Nanak established the langar or community refectory where all sat together to share a meal irrespective of caste, creed, or gender. The langar as an instrument of social transformation continued to gain in importance during the time of successive Gurus. In Guru Angad's day, his wife, Mata Khivi, "like a thickly-

leafed tree" providing shade, that is, comfort to everyone, used to serve rich food in the langar.[21]

During the time of Guru Amar Das the writ prevailed: pahile pangat pacche sangat--first pangat (the row in which all sit together to partake of the langar meal) and then meeting with the Guru. Eating and serving in the langar have always been considered meritorious.

This again is tellingly illustrated in Sundari's character. When she joins the Jatha, she takes charge of the langar and lovingly prepares meals to feed the members morning and evening. Assisted by several men, she goes about her task cheerfully. The langar in the camp is not limited to the "indoor kitchen." For when the supplies run low, which often happens, Sundari goes into the jungle to gather fruit and sweet roots. She thus keeps an eye on the outdoors as to what is growing and when something is ready to ripen. One day she goes up a hill and surveys the entire area. She then discovers a little bazaar located amid the green fields. She begins to go there to buy vegetables, grain, and spices. With great devotion and with great humility Sundari carries out the many duties involved in running the community kitchen. When she finds out that the kitchen supplies have run out and that there is hardly any money to buy anything, she decides (without telling anyone) to go into the village to sell her engagement ring. The meal for the members overrides her personal sentiment and any sense of possession. As she has taken charge of the langar, she undertakes responsibility for the sangat as well. She is the moving figure behind the morning and evening congregations and takes a leading part in the religious service.

Nam Japna (nam = literally "name, the Divine Name" + japna = "to repeat, to meditate upon"), absorption in the remembrance of God by constantly repeating Its Name, is the prime spiritual value in the Sikh tradition. It is, at the same time, the spontaneous source of ethical conduct. According to Guru Amar Das, "Chastity, truth, continence are all contained in nam; without contemplation on nam, one does not become pure."[22] Another line in the Sikh Scripture describes nam as action par excellence--"Superior to all acts of piety, charity, and austerity, is nam (pun dan tap jete sabh upar nam).[23]

Bhai Vir Singh presents Sundari as a living example of this Sikh religious precept. The action of the novel begins with her rescue from the pyre by her brother--as she is reciting Guru Nanak's Japu. The story ends with her death as she is mediating on the Divine Word, her head bent in reverence. In Guru Nanak's words:

> antari namu kamalu pargasa
> tin kau nahi jam ki trasa[24]
> [They within whom the lotus of nam blossoms
> Totally free from the fear of death they become]

These words are recalled as the novelist describes her last moments, death staring her in the face. Severely wounded and running a high temperature, she lies in bed, her strength visibly ebbing. She realizes that her end is near. But,

> ...even in such great suffering she was happy. She always appeared to be like a blossomed lotus....She knew...that life

> and death are two conditions, not two objects. If there is a love for the Divine in one's heart, one need not fear anything in either condition.[25]

This was because of her deeply realized consciousness of the Divine Reality. Throughout the novel we never see her take recourse to any superstitious practice or ritual; morning and evening she recites only the Word and remains absorbed in it. In all the critical episodes in her life, that is her sole standby.

Through her recognition of the One Divine Being, Sundari transcends contemporary socio-political reality. Her society was divided into different religious and racial factions which were continuously at war with one another. Abductions, robberies, and killing abounded. It was a period of strife and conflict. But rather than blame the opponent, Sundari accepts a mutual blindness. Her statement at one point is:

> All this suffering is owing to the deviation from the path of the One (Ikk). Devoted to the One all actions become fruitful. Following the One, all human beings become beaded together.... Through love we become one (ikk) force.... Remaining divided is the cause of our national weakness.[26]

Thus the political and social ills of eighteenth-century Punjab are traced by Sundari to the non-recognition of the One. The Oneness of the Reality implies the Oneness of human beings--be they Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh. Contemporary problems are, according to her perceptions, the consequence of the refusal of men and women to perceive the One Transcendent--the oneness in all Its creation. The Reality is missed in the plurality of realities. There are in consequence attempts to convert or coerce the other into seeing her/his own reality. But by realizing the One, all human beings, according to her, become beaded together in love.

The chief of the Sikh Jatha, Sham Singh, seems to echo Sundari when he explains that they considered the entire creation as one, as equal: "sari sristi sanun ikk saman hai." They opposed injustice and inequality, not the religious conviction of anyone. At that point in time, they must fight the rulers who perpetrate atrocities upon their subjects, upon those whom they should protect. Defeating such rulers, irrespective of their religious persuasion, was chastising tyranny and injustice. "We have enmity towards no caste or faith--kise zat jan mat nal sanu koi vair nahin,"[27] declares Sardar Sham Singh.

Under Sardar Sham Singh's leadership Sundari fights in the ranks of the Jatha against the Mughal forces. Once on her way back from the day's action, she hears the faint voice of one wounded soldier crying "ab ab barae khuda ab--water, water, for the sake of God, water."[28] From his language, Sundari can make out that the soldier belongs to the opposite faction. However, she immediately dismounts her horse. Not only does she pour water into his mouth from her own flask, but also does she tear strips from his turban to make a bandage for the wounds on his thigh and chest. Guru Nanak's message, "There is no Hindu; there is no Musalman," is a living moral for Sundari.

It is clear that Sundari is a highly idealized character but this is in keeping with the declared objective of the novelist: he wished to create a character marking the acme of Sikh virtue to serve as a model for others. That was a period of decline for the Sikhs. They had lost hold over the teachings of the Gurus, or prophet-mentors, and after having lost their political power to the British, their morale was at a low ebb. Intimations were audible of a process of renewal coming into effect--a dual process in which need to recapture the purity of earlier custom and precept was as urgently advanced as the need to look to the future and change with the times. Bhai Vir Singh, as a literary genius of uncommon sensitivity, felt in his heart the power of these nascent stirrings and articulated these through book and tract. The first book he wrote was Sundari itself, followed by two others in the same style--Bijay Singh and Satvant Kaur. A fourth one, in between, was Rana Surat Singh, an epic poem known for its great elegance and power. Another book, again a novel, was Baba Naudh Singh. The inspiration behind all these works, in which women are the protagonists was the same: the same intent of projecting Sikh character at its very best. This was the author's way of beckoning his contemporaries to the ideal of Sikh faith and tradition.

Sundari was then Bhai Vir Singh's first such creation. Technically, the novel is rather tentative. From a literary point of view, Sundari tends to be too didactic. Instead of tantalizing the reader's imagination, the author enforces his moral principles. The artistic play is thus stifled by Bhai Vir Singh's ethical ideals. The plot of the novel itself is weakened by the abundant presence of coincidences. For example, Sundari is captured by her enemy four times, and each time she is rescued in some unrealistic and miraculous way. The mechanisms of spying and camouflaging--be it in the jungle or palace--is for the most part naive. Furthermore, the novel too often combines historical and imaginary characters and events, reducing the authenticity of its character as a work of either fiction or history. If the co-existence of the two dimensions had been worked out on a larger framework, the two strands might have been developed more rigorously and artistically. As it stands, the fictitious character of Sundari is juxtaposed to figures from history such as Kaura Mall and Ahmad Shah Durrani, and the story of Sundari, to actual events such as the Little Massacre of 1746. The result is that the reader at times is unable to decipher fact from fiction. Even Harbans Singh, Bhai Vir Singh's most devoted admirer, criticizes him for his historical substantiation of an imaginative piece: "The footnotes added to later editions of the book to document some of the statements and events further weaken the illusion of the story."[29]

In spite of these deficiencies, the novelist has bestowed much care and affection on his principal character. Sundari is cast as the model of Sikh morality. In his undisguised homilectic manner, the novelist during the course of his narrative invites contemporary women folk "to reflect upon the suffering and faith of Sundari who under all circumstances remains firm in her love of the One Absolute."[30] Sham Singh, the leader of the Jatha in exile, says to Sundari's face, "The core of our people are righteous women like you."[31] The impelling instinct in Sundari's nature is her total submission to the Reality of God--the fundamental principle of Sikh belief. She is presented by the novelist as a typical example of faith in the One Transcendent. She is at several points in the narrative and in several different situations seen rapt in nam, i.e., devotional remembrance of the

One. Her only ritual, her only worship is that of bani, the Word from Beyond. From her awareness of the Divine Reality spring many natural qualities of love, humility, and tolerance, as well as her spirit of seva which leads to action-oriented, selfless, and courageous living. When the situation requires, she is ready to resist tyranny and fight for justice. In this sense she is in the line or archetypal women heroes of Sikh history, such as Mai Bhago who, in the time of the Guru Gobind Singh, fought valiantly in the battle of Muktsar (A.D. 1705). Bhai Vir Singh thus invests Sundari with the noblest of Sikh merits derived from Sikh teaching and history. She is the incarnation of all that is best in Sikh life and tradition, yet she does not remain a remote paragon of excellence or a distant Goddess. She is, in Bhai Vir Singh's novel, a living person, living in actual life truths and morals enjoined by Sikh faith. Likewise, she has lived in the memory of generations of Punjabi readers who have felt touched by her qualities of dedication, daring, and charity.

Notes

1. Bhai Vir Singh, Sundari (New Delhi: Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, 1985), pp. 127-128.

2. Harbans Singh, Bhai Vir Singh, Makers of Indian Literature Series (New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 1972), p. 45.

3. Sundari, p. 1.

4. Laws of Manu, Chapter IV.

5. Says the Nawab: "I won't give away this golden bird. Gold, silver, pearls, or diamonds are no price for her," Sundari, p. 5.

6. Ibid., p. 5.

7. Nripinder Singh, "Ethical Perceptions of the Sikh Community of the Late Nineteenth/Early Twentieth Century: An Essay in Sikh Moral Tradition," doctoral thesis presented to Harvard University, 1984, p. 588.

8. Sundari, p. 8.

9. Ibid., p. 11.

10. Varan Bhai Gurdas, I.29.

11. Guru Granth, p. 661.

12. Ibid., p. 552.

13. Ibid., p. 931.

14. Ibid., p. 473.

15. Sundari, p. 122.

16. Guru Granth, p. 26.

17. Ibid., p. 457.

18. Sundari, p. 25.

19. Harbans Singh, The Heritage of the Sikhs (New Delhi: Manohar, 1983), pp. 99-100.

20. Sundari, p. 34.

21. Guru Granth, p. 967.

22. Ibid., p. 33.

23. Ibid., p. 401.

24. Ibid., p. 412.

25. Sundari, p. 119.

26. Ibid., p. 35.

27. Ibid., p. 43.

28. Ibid., p. 106.

29. Harbans Singh, Bhai Vir Singh, p. 43.

30. Ibid., p. 108.

31. Ibid., p. 121.

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ISSN# 0888-5354

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