
**The Tapestry of Sandal Bar: Cultural Evolution and Literary Contributions
of Nankana Sahib**

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Abstract

This paper explores the rich socio-cultural and literary landscape of Nankana Sahib, tracing its historical evolution, communal traditions, and literary contributions. Historically known as "char terath," the region hosted diverse multi-faith festivals before transitioning into a central hub for Sikh cultural melas—such as Janamasthan, Besakhi, and Shaheedi—which fostered religious harmony, local arts, and regional economy. Concurrently, Nankana Sahib served as a cradle for prominent literary figures, including Baba Guru Nanak, Noori Kamboka, Sheikh Nankanvi, Raja Rasalo, Hanif Ramay, Prem Warburtoni, Younas Hasrat, and Rai Mohammad Khan Nasir. Through poetry, art, and activism, these individuals championed Punjabi language rights and reflected societal realities. The paper also examines the pivotal role of literary organizations—most notably Bazm-e-Tanveer-e-Adab—in nurturing regional discourse and preserving cultural identity through periods of post-partition displacement and social transformation.

Keywords: Nankana Sahib, Literary and Cultural Activities, Sandal Bar Punjabi Language and Literature

Introduction

Nankana Sahib, situated in the heart of the Sandal Bar region, holds a unique and revered place in the socio-cultural and literary history of the Punjab. Renowned worldwide as the birthplace of Baba Guru Nanak (1469-1539), the region's heritage extends deep into antiquity, reflecting a rich synthesis of diverse traditions, faiths, and artistic expressions. From ancient multi-religious gatherings to the iconic post-1921 Sikh cultural melas (fairs), Nankana Sahib has long served as a vibrant nexus where commerce, entertainment, communal harmony, and folk art thrived together. Beyond its rich festival traditions, the land has consistently nurtured literary luminaries who left indelible marks on national and international literature. From the spiritual and poetic foundation laid by Baba Guru Nanak to Noori Kamboka(1870-1960): a poet who championed Punjabi honor and defiance.ⁱ to the passionate Punjabi language activism of Raja Rasalo(1928-2007).ⁱⁱ and the socio-political verses of Sheikh Nankanvi(1914-1985).ⁱⁱⁱ The local literary movement played a vital role in giving voice to common people and preserving regional identities. Furthermore, the establishment of grassroots literary societies, such as Bazm-e-Tanveer-e-Adab, provided structured platforms for intellectual exchange, artistic preservation, and civic awareness.^{iv} This study examines the vibrant cultural gatherings, influential literary personalities, and institutional efforts that collectively shaped the enduring legacy of Nankana Sahib.

Its cultural activities started from Seeta's era. This region was called "char terath" or "terathgarh" of festivals. There were four "terath" (places) in the region. A monumental mela(festival) was

celebrated there. A procession was taken which consisted of four teams. First team was comprised of five persons included Devi Seeta Ji, Sri Ram Chander, Lahoo, Sahoo, and Lachman. Devi Seeta Ji sat into a palanquin which hauled by elephants followed above mentioned all remaining four persons respectively. Twenty monkeys were on both sides of it. Hanooman was the biggest monkey among all monkeys. MahrajKirshan Ji was the leader of second team which followed the first. His cabriolet hauled by oxes. “Dasian” (a hindu maid servant that served in mandirs) were on both sides of it. Third team was comprised of “sadhus” of “Budhmat” which carried the statue of “Budha”. The final team belonged to Jainmat which comprised of “Sadhu” or “Joggi”. They were “nange” (un-cloth). The Sikh community did not follow “char terath”, so they started to celebrate Baba Nanak’s mela named “Tobhri” instead of it after “Saka Nankana”. They began three festivals in 1921 included Janamasthan mela, Besakhi mela, and Shaheedi mela.¹[Ibid]

Melas (Fairs) of the Sikh community

Mela “*Janamasthan*” or “*Tobhri*” was celebrated on Baba Guru Nanak’s birthday in November. It was first mela by Sikh community in the Punjab which was celebrated with pump and show. All kinds of Sikh came to participate in it even un-clothed people from Buddhism and Jainmat also participated in it. They stayed at “dholar” (graveyard) to the South of Gurdawara Janamasthan. They were bound to wear cloth after 1945.^v It was full of colours and entertaining event during pre and post-partition of the Punjab. People came there to showcase or sold their art work and food items there. Shah Ji circus which was very famous at that time regularly came there every year. Irani Shah was the owner of the circus. In the early stage, deaf and dumb and black & white movies were screened but later talk movies replaced deaf and dumb movies on four screens every year. Awareness campaign about agriculture was also arranged on screens for farmers. Two or three zoos and many death of wells also came there. The mela continued at least for fifteen days. Muslims also participated in it. It was the biggest event in the cultural history of Nankana Sahib. It had strong cultural and economic impact on the people of tehsil Nankana Sahib. It also promoted religious harmony among different communities of the region.

Besakhi was another big event in cultural history of the region. It started on 13 April every year. It was a cultural festival which was celebrated during harvesting season at mass level. After partition it lost its previous glory during pre-partition era. Visa policies restricted for foreigners especially after 1965 war between Pakistan and India. Another very important factor which reduced it only for Sikh community because Muslims did not take it as a cultural festival. They believed that Besakhi was a religious event of Sikhs than cultural one.^{vi} “*Shaheedi Mela*” was celebrated in the memory of “Saka Nankana”. Sports was the main feature of it. A Punjab level Kabadi tournament was organised on the occasion. Jugglers also performed their shows. It was almost ended during post partition era and was only restricted in the premises of gurdawara and Sikh community. Above mentioned festivals dominated the cultural history of the region. All other festivals of different saints on their birth and death anniversaries were celebrated but at small scale in different villages. Local sports were played included Kabadi, Wrestling, Dog fighting, Horse dancing and Spear throwing etc. in different competitions which were conducted by the organisers of the festivals.^{vii}

Literary Activities

On literary front, Nankana Sahib produced so many individuals who gave their impressions and painted with colours on the painting of national and international literature. The biggest name from luminaries was Baba Guru Nanak who himself was a poet also. His poetry had a strong impact on the masses across the sub-continent. Later his followers introduced a new religion “Sikhism” on Guru’s philosophy. Baba Guru Nanak, the great seer of Punjab, glorified the word thus:

¹ Ibid.

Praised be the paper, praised be the pen
Praised be inkpot, praised be the ink
Praised be the writer whose words name the truth.^{viii}

The land of Guru also produced many literary luminaries who created valuable literary work. Noori Kamboka real name was Noor Mohammad. He was popularly known as Noori Kamboka. He used it in his poetry as pen name. Kamboka is a branch of “*Chadhar*” tribe. He did not receive formal education but he undertook the discipleship of “marasi” mentors who had accomplishment in genre of “Dhola”. He wrote “Dhola” which was a kind of Punjabi poetry. He was also very keen to know about historical knowledge. His love, knowledge and determination made him one of the biggest poets of “*Sandal Bar*”. He beautifully used the metaphors of “Kaal and Narad” in his poetry. His poetry is based on pain, passion, emotion, and sentiments. He liked bravery and heroism very much and openly described it. He did not like coward persons in any form. He was the watchman of old traditions and values of the Punjab. He wrote on many topics including Prophet (PBUH), love and Imam Hussain (R.A), Hazrat Ali (A.S), Ghaos Pak, Peer Noor Shah, Cheerian tribe, Anne (blind) waseer, Gurmukh Singh, Pathan tribe of Jandiala, Ghazi IlmDeen Shaheed, Fatima Panahan (Refugee), Rahab Bahman (Barahman), Ghazi Abdul Khan Pathan, Kharak Singh, Ahmad and Ahmadi Kharal, Samande Bhatti, Bawa Narian Das, Rai Ahmad Khan Kharal, Dundran and Jaspaalan, Gajhi tribe of Bhatti family, Sohna Bhatti, Gill Padhar, Jabroo and Nizam, etc.^{ix}

Another poet was Sheikh Nankanvi whose real name was Mohammad Ali. He highlighted the issues and problems of a common man through his poetry. He wrote naat, poem and ghazal. His poems were highly impressive which had awakened the readers about patriotism, truth and social issues. He was a forthright person and never afraid of speaking the truth. He was the first person who got the membership of Nankana Sahib Muslim League after paying fee of two “*ane*”. He also wrote a ghazal against Ayub Khan’s regime being a government servant as accountant in Nankana Sahib Municipality. He was undoubtedly pioneer of all literary activities in Nankana Sahib but unfortunately he could not publish his poetry book during his life.^x

Mohammad Sadiq popularly known as Raja Rasalo was born at “*Ahata Khushi Ram*” or Chak No. 590. He devoted whole of his life for the cause of Punjabi language. He was the first person from tehsil Nankana Sahib who raised voice in favour of his mother tongue at national level. He went to Lahore after passing his matriculation examination and joined government job as junior clerk in Punjab police. Later, he got admission in Aafaye Baidar Bakhat’s Punjabi institution where he met another great Punjabi writer, and researcher Asif Khan. Both became close friends because their hobbies were almost same. They loved Punjabi language very much, so both regularly started attending the programmes of Punjabi Culture Society. He saw another Punjabi lover Akmal Aleemi there and soon both became good friends. They issued a Punjabi magazine “*Ablees*”. It was very difficult for a government servant to actively participate in private organisation, so Raja Rasalo changed his real name Mohammad Sadiq Aajaz with Raja Rasalo. He coined that name from famous Punjabi story “*Poran Bagat*”. Raja Rasalo was Poran Bagat’s younger brother who was very brave man. From 1947 until his death, Raja Rasalo remained deeply involved in the organizational affairs of the Punjabi movement. It was inconceivable for any initiative related to the movement to take place without his knowledge. He was a founding member or office-bearer of many of the Punjabi organizations established during this period, such as the Punjabi Adabi Sangat (1963), Majlis-e-Shah Hussain (1964), and the Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board (1975).^{xi} Furthermore, he succeeded in persuading Urdu-language writers to write in Punjabi such as Sofi Tabbassum (1899-1978), Safdir Mir (1922-1998), Baqi Siddiqi (1909-1972), Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-1984) and many others.^{xii}

Raja Rasalo wrote a book in Punjabi for class seven standard and handed over to Punjab Text board. He was so happy because his dreams were fulfilling one by one. His one demand remained unfulfilled that Punjabi language taught as a compulsory subject at primary level. His efforts

continued till death. He died on 29 September, 2007. He was the best example of Toynbee's creative minority. He devoted all his life for the cause of Punjabi language without any material interest. He was true son of Sandal Bar who completely attached to his mother tongue, culture, and traditions with spirit and practice.^{xiii}

Muhammad Hanif Ramay (1930-2006) was a multidimensional person. He was very successful in many fields at the same time. He was an internationally renowned intellectual, painter, and journalist. He was former speaker, chief minister, and governor of Punjab assembly. He was among the founding fathers of Pakistan People Party and close allies to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. He was an old ravian. He was Ustad Allah Baksh's disciple in painting and Mohammad Hussain Shah's disciple in calligraphy. He nationally and internationally displayed his art work in thirteen exhibitions from 1953 to 1997. He wrote five books including "Baz Aao Aur Zinda Raho" (1965), "Dub Akbar" (1969), "Punjab Ka Muqadma" (1985), "Again" (1997), "Islam Ki Rohani Qadren" (2005), and one book edited, "Giraftari Se Qatalana Hamaley Tak (Bhutto case)". He translated two books including Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Galbreath. He remained editor of three magazines included The Ravi (1955), Swera (1954-1960), and Nusrat (1958-1972). He wrote three articles in The Ravi, ten in Swera, and eighty three in Nusrat.^{xiv} He was a liberal man in his work and life.^{xv}

Prem Warburtoni (1930-1979) was a famous Urdu and Punjabi poet. He was born on November 9, 1930 at "Donga" district Gujrat. He migrated from his birth place to Warburton with his father, Lala Dewan Chand Kakarh,^{xvi} at the age of just three years old. He spent all his remaining life there till the partition of the Punjab. He went India and settled first seven years at "Maleer Kotla" then Jalandhar and finally reached Bombay. He married with "Perumjeet" on August 16, 1968. His in-laws belonged to Chandigarh. He could not adjust himself with the atmosphere of cosmopolitan city after the marriage and became ill, so he left Bombay in 1969 and settled in Chandigarh. He decided to donate his eyes after the death in 1977. He died on October 10, 1979 at Chandigarh. His eyes were donated very next day according to his will.

He wrote poetry in both languages Punjabi and Urdu. His poetry published in daily newspapers in the beginning but later published in standardised literary magazines including "Shamaa", "Ufkar", "Adab e Lateef", "Sweera" and "Naqoosh". His wife published his book of Urdu poetry with title of "Mere Andar Aik Samandar" after his death. She also promised to publish his remaining poetry in future.^{xvii}

Mohammad Younas Hasrat (1933-1999) was born at a village "Chohlatha" in Patiala state, East Punjab India. His family migrated to Pakistan and settled in Nankana Sahib. He passed his matriculation in 1950 from Govt. High School Warburton. He went to Lahore for higher studies. He completed his masters in Urdu in 1967. He was appointed as lecturer in Urdu at Govt. Jinnah Islamia College Sailkot in 1975. He was transferred to Govt. Guru Nanak Memorial College Nankana Sahib in 1985. He was very famous writer for his children books. He wrote fifty-nine books out of eighty-one for children. He was a poet, dramatist, novelist, and historian. He also wrote some books on Psychology. He also translated books into Urdu from Chinese and Japanese languages. His novel "Bhoot Bangla" was picturised as drama with same title which was telecasted on Pakistan Television (PTV). He retired from his service in 1993. He played very significant role in literary circle of Nankana Sahib till his death. He was died on 12th September, 1999 and buried at Nankana Sahib Graveyard along with his father and mother's graves.^{xviii}

Rai Mohammad Khan Nasir was born at village Kot Rai Ameer Ali, Tehsil Nankana Sahib, district Sheikhupura in 1959. He writes poetry in both languages including Urdu and Punjabi. He published his first poetry book in Urdu with title "Tharay Huye Lamhey". After this book he left Urdu poetry and only focussed on his Punjabi poetry. His first Punjabi poetry book was "Hirakh". His book received critical acclaim as well as great success among masses. "Hirakh" also won Syed Waris Shah Award by Pakistan Academy of Letters. His book introduced new trends in Punjabi poetry.

He re-invented the pure diction of Sandal Bar through his poetry. After it, he also revived the old genres of Punjabi poetry including “Boli”, “Mahia”, Tappa” and “Doha” in his second Punjabi poetry book “Hoong” He is a versatile poet. He can write in most of the genres, traditional and modern, with equal facility. A short poem may give you some clue as to the kind of poet he is.

“The northerly wind continued pestering me all the night:

For how long my lullaby and your sleep have been on the warpath?

Why do you sit here all alone in this desolate courtyard?

For how many centuries you have sated your appetite for sleep”?^{xxix}

Mushtaq Soofi says about Rai Mohammad Khan Nasir’s poetry and personality in these words.

“Rai Mohammad Khan Nasir^{xx}, a remarkable poet, is heir to the cultural assets produced overcenturies in the culturally rich area of midlevel and modern Punjab. By imbibing cultural ethos of the Bar, he has assimilated the culture of Punjab which is reflected in his poetry and personality”.^{xxi}

The land of Baba Guru Nanak was so rich in its literary and cultural activities since long. Above mentioned luminaries left undying markss in literature at national and international level.

Literary Societies

Literature is one of the major sources of knowledge which is produced by literary figures. Good literature is actually mirror of the society which helps the readers for choosing between good and bad. Literary societies provide platform for literary luminaries and different movements. We shall discuss two type of literary societies such as established at Nankana Sahib and other were those which established by Nankana born literary figures outside Nankana Sahib.

Bazm e Tanveer e Adab:

Bazm e Tanveer e Adab was a first literary society in tehsil Nankana Sahib. Sheikh Mohammad Ali popularly known as Sheikh Nankanvi and Chaudary Barkat Ali Ghayoor both were founding father of “Bazm e Tanveer e Adab”. On Quaid e Azam’s birthday, December 25, 1957, Barkat Ali Ghayoor rampantly went to Sheikh Nankanvi’s house. Sheikh Nankanvi asked him.

“Ghayoor! Was everything fine, why were you so angry?”

“Sheikh Sahib! Both ingratitude and apathy were everywhere now a day. Today was Jinnah’s birthday but no ceremony was celebrated about Quaid e Azam at official or non-official level. It was pathetic situation indeed.”

“Sheikh Sahib replied that literary societies organised such national days in other cities but unfortunately no literary society existed in his city.”

“He impatiently reacted that such society must be in Nankana Sahib.”

“You tried for it, I would help and support you in every way in this context.”^{xxii}

After Sheikh Sahib’s reply enhanced his encouragement, he issued an invitation card of establishing a literary society “Bazm e Tanveer e Adab” on 31 December, 1957.

The first meeting of “Bazm e Tanveer e Adab” was held in a corner of Municipal Park at 2:00 PM afternoon. Total participants in first meeting were just seven. Second meeting was held on 10 January, 1958. Twenty participants attended the meeting. The constitution of “Bazm e Tanveer e Adab” was passed in it. The third meeting was held on 26 January, 1958.^{xxiii} The composition of “Bazm e Tanveer e Adab” was elected by consensus which is shown in below table.

Sr No.	Name	Designation
01	Mohammad Ali Sheikh Nankanvi	President
02	Mirza Ghulam Haider	Vice President

03	Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq	General Secretary
04	Nazir Ahmad Chishti	Joint Secretary
05	Barkat Ali Ghayoor	Press Secretary
06	Abdul Hameed Johar	Finance Secretary

The researcher has prepared this table with the help of multiple sources including various interviews of members of this society and Sheikh Nankanvi's poetry book.

The literary society soon drew the attention of literary persons after conducting regular programmes with earnest efforts by workers of the society in a few months. New elections were held after two years under Sheikh Nankanvi's presidency and just one change occurred in composition. Barkat Ali Ghayoor was elected as new general secretary. Both president and general secretary did their jobs so efficiently, so no one could replace both of them till 1983. "*Bazm e Tanveer e Adab*" did not promote only literary activities but also raised the issues of poverty and awaken the government through poetry and prose. Both president and general secretary took the responsibility of poetry and press respectively in this context.^{xxiv} Sheikh Nankanvi remained the president till his death. He was died on February 28, 1985. It was also an elections day in Pakistan. Mirza Ghulam Haider and Barkat Ali Ghayoor were elected as president and general secretary after the death respectively. Bazm e Tanveer e Adab celebrated his quarantine day after the death. Prof. Sheikh Zafar Iqbal gave a proposal in the end of his speech to publish Sheikh Nankanvi's poetry. Mohammad Akram Shahid the then General Secretary of Bazm e Tanveer e Adab seconded his proposal. After the approval from the audience and other speakers, a committee of three members was constituted for said purpose included Prof. Sheikh Zafar Iqbal, Barkat Ali Ghayoor, and Mohammad Ikram Shahid. The committee first collected Sheikh Nankanvi's poetry, which was published in two books. At first they published one book named "*Bark e Tapaa'n*" in 1988 which contained naat and ghazals. Senior literary figure of Nankana Sahib, Mirza Ghulam Haider helped them in selection of poetry. Many people financially and morally cooperated in publishing the book included Haji Abdul Hameed Rahmani, Khan Mohammad Sardar Khan, Chuadry Mohammad Hussain, Sheikh Naseer Ahmad, Zia Ud Din, Chuadry Mohammad Iqbal, Sheikh Mohammad Hanif, Sheikh Mohammad Maqbool Ahmad, Sheikh Mohammad Ameen, Dr Abdul Hayee, Sheikh FerozUd Din Ahmad, Chuadry Mushtaq Ahmad, and Rai mohammad Khurshid Ahmad Kharal. Second Book did not publish yet.^{xxv}

Mirza Ghulam Haider also died in 1988. Later, Bazm e Tanveer e Adab became inactive till 1997. Two youngsters including Mirza Ashfaq Baig and Noor Asghar Dar decided to revive Bazm e Tanveer e Adab again. A meeting was planned in this context at Mirza Ashfaq Baig's residence in 1998. Barkat Ali Ghayoor came there without invitation as he knew about it. Barkat Ali Ghayoor and Prof. Akram Shahid were senior and old members of Bazm e Tanveer e Adab, so elected as president and general secretary respectively. They remained on the posts till 2005. Barkat Ali Ghayoor died in 2005.^{xxvi} Bazm e Tanveer e Adab reduced its literary activities at local levels after death of his founder Sheikh Nankanvi. It only locally organised poetry recitals off and on. The role of Bazm e Tanveer e Adab was very significant in the literary history of tehsil Nankana Sahib which cannot be denied forever. There were also four other literary societies working in different times at Nankana Sahib including "*Bazm e Farogh e Adab*", "*Bazm e Adabi Sweera*", "*Punjabi Adabi Sangat*" and "*Bazm e Lugat*"^{xxvii} but could not sustain themselves for the long run like Bazm e Tanveer e Adab.

In addition, Raja Rasalo was a prominent voice advocating for the rights of the Punjabi movement. Beyond Nankana, the Punjabi literary organizations in which he played a significant role are listed below. Three friends including Raja Rasalo, Asif Khan and Akmal Aleemi founded a new Punjabi society "*Punjabi Majlas*" after the downfall Punjabi Culture Society. "*Punjabi Majlis*" took out

a new magazine “*Punj Darya*” and published two books included Anees Nagi’s “*SajrePhul*” and Raja Rasalo’s “*Punjab Rang*”.^{xxviii} Ayub Khan imposed sanctions on all enlighten and liberal societies and stopped the activities of “*Punjabi Majlis*” and all other Punjabi literary societies such as Pakistan Writers Guild Punjabi Group. Ayub’s restrictions could not overcome Raja Rasalo’s determination towards Punjabi language. Another Punjabi society was established after name of “Punjabi Adabi Sangat” in 1963. When the aforementioned organization vigorously fostered a progressive Punjabi mindset, it, too, began to face harsh measures from the state.

Soon Raja Rasalo came out with new literary society “*Majlis-e-Shah Hussain*” in 1964. Its prior aim was to publish Punjabi books on Shah Hussain’s poetry and personality for masses, so he hired an office at Naqi market, Lahore. Rai Mansab Ali Khan Kharal (who was also from Nankana Sahib), Shafqat Tanveer Mirza, and first Shahzad Ahmad and later Raja Rasalo were selected as guardian, president, and secretary respectively of “*Majlis-e-Shah Hussain*”.^{xxix} He worked hard day and night for both societies. Both societies did collectively efforts for identifying great Punjabi poet Syed Waris Shah’s grave and finally succeeded.^{xxx}

Later two new literary societies included “*Bazm e Bahoo*” and “*Sultan Bahoo Academy*” were established and he served as a secretary for both societies. He and his friends did work hard for uplift of Punjabi language in personal capacity. Since 1947, no government had any soft corner for Punjabi. Bhatto’s government had soft corner for Punjabi language, so a procession was took out at Mall Road in favour of Punjabi language by all big and small Punjabi literary societies included “*Majlis-e-Shah Hussain*” and “Punjabi Adabi Sangat”, so many people who loved their mother tongue. The Punjab government decided to accept the proposals by Raja Rasalo and his company. Waris Shah Memorial Committee was founded for two purposes included to build beautiful Waris Shah’s tomb and Sharif Sabar authentically wrote “*Heer Waris Shah*”. Both assignments were accomplished. Punjabi classes were introduced at school, college, and university level. Punjabi programmes were started to telecast and broadcast on TV and Radio respectively. Daily newspapers started to publish weekly Punjabi page.^{xxxi} Those luminaries and literary societies not only played their role in awakening the people of Nankana Sahib about their fundamental rights but also created soft image at national and international arena.

Conclusion

The socio-cultural and literary history of Nankana Sahib reflects extraordinary resilience, adaptability, and artistic richness. Though the partition of the Punjab significantly altered its demographic and cultural dynamics—restricting long-standing multi-community festivals and altering local traditions—the region demonstrated a remarkable capacity to heal and rebuild. The incoming migrant communities, alongside native populations, revitalized the local economy, establishing the area as a thriving industrial and commercial hub while enriching its civic life. On the literary front, the legacy of Nankana Sahib remains profound. The region’s writers, poets, and activists not only guarded the old traditions and languages of the Sandal Bar but also successfully advocated for the recognition and institutional adoption of the Punjabi language. Dedicated platforms like Bazm-e-Tanveer-e-Adab and Majlas Shah Hussain ensured that literature remained a mirror to societal challenges and a catalyst for cultural pride. Ultimately, Nankana Sahib’s cultural festivals and literary trailblazers have projected a positive, vibrant image of the region, ensuring that its rich heritage continues to inspire future generations.

Notes and References:

ⁱ Nazaar hussain, “Noori Kambo Ka De Dholeyan Di Tadween Te Weirwa” (Oriental College, University of the Punjab, 2015).108.

ⁱⁱ Raja Rasaloo, La Preet Aajhi Mohammad (Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 2008), 16-19.

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- iii Sheikh Nankanvi, *Bark e Tapan* (Nankana Sahib: Bazm e Tanveer e Adab, 1988), 14-20.
- iv Muhammad Hassan Rai, “Socio-Political and Cultural Transformation in Tehsil Nankana Sahib: A Case of Colonial and Post Colonial Era (Mphil Thesis, University of the Punjab, Lahore, 2017).
- v- Interviewed with Master Bashir Jahangir who is ninety years old retired school teacher, Purana Nankana, Nankana Sahib, 10 May, 2017.
- vi Ibid.
- vii Ibid.
- viii - Translation by Mushtaq Soofi,
 “Dhann so kaagad,
 kalam dhann, dhann bhandi,
 dhann mass/ Dhann likhari Nanaka,
 jin naam likhaya sach”.
- ix. Nazaar Hussain, ‘Noori Kambo Ka De Dholeyan Di Tadween Te Weirwa’, M.Phil Thesis, Department of Punjabi, Oriental College, University of the Punjab, 2015.
- x. Sheikh Nankanvi, *Bark e Tapan*, (Nankana Sahib: Bazm e Tanveer e Adab, 1988), 14-20.
- xi. Raja Rasalo, *La Preet Ajahi Muhammad*, (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 2008).
- xii Abdul Ghafoor Qureshi, *Punjabi Adab Di kahani*, 4th ed. (PILAC and Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 2025).
- xiii. Raja Rasalo, *La Preet Ajahi Muhammad*, (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 2008).
- xiv. Rabia Al-Ruba, “Tuqet-e- Hanif Rammay, Magazine The Ravi, GCU Lahore, 2006, 121-125
- xv. Ibid, 142, He got love marriage with a fellow student named Shaheen soon after completion of his studies, so he broke the tradition of arranged and elaborate marriages
- xvi. He was Rai Bahadur Lala Sundar Das Chopra’s close relative. He migrated from Gujrat to Warburton with Rai Bahadur Lala Sundar Das Chopra. He was owner of many houses which were surrounded around his big general store at main bazaar of Warburton and had also 120 squares of land at “*Char Chak Rasala*”.
- xvii. Raja Rasalo, 27-28, 35-36.
- xviii. Prof. Mohammad Younas Hasrat No., Midra’s Magazine, Govt. Guru Nanak Postgraduate College, Nankana Sahib, (Lahore: Izhar Sons, 2014).
- xix. -Daily Newspaper Dawn, 24-06-2016.
- xx. He was born at Kot Rai Ameer Ali, tehsil Nankana Sahib, on January 1, 1957. He received his early education from Atchison College Lahore. He left his study in the mid way there and went back to his village because early marriage. He got married at the age of just 16 years old when he studied in 9th class at Govt. Guru Nanak High School Nankana Sahib. He passed his matriculation examination after his marriage. He passed his intermediate examination in 1987 after thirteen years of his matriculation.
- xxi. Mushtaq Soofi, “Rai Nasir : poet from the sacred land of the Guru”, Dawn, 24 June, 2016.
- xxii. Sheikh Nankanvi, *Bark e Tapaan*, (Nankana Sahib: Bazm e Tanveer e Adab, 1988), 12-14.
- xxiii. Ibid.
- xxiv. Ibid.
- xxv. Ibid. 14-20.
- xxvi. Interviewed with Mirza Ashfaq Baig, time, Railway Road Nankana Sahib, 7-07-2017.
- xxvii. Muhammad Akram Shahid, 89.
- xxviii. Raja Rasalo, *La Preet Ajahi Muhammad*, (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 2008).
- xxix. Ibid.
- xxx. Ibid.
- xxxi. Ibid.
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