

MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH AND HIS NON-SIKH SUBJECTS

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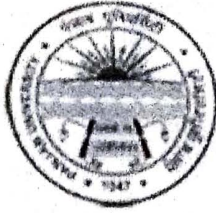
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PREFACE

The study of Maharaja Ranjit Singh has always been of great interest to the historians and scholars writing on history of the Punjab. A number of works have been produced by these historians, but they have taken interest largely in political history and have dealt mainly with the conquests of Ranjit Singh and his relations with the British. A few scholars, who have studied administrative arrangements made by Ranjit Singh in his kingdom, have not focused on all the aspects of his administration especially the recruitment of non-Sikhs in the civil and military administration. Ranjit Singh is known for his secularism but no in depth study so far has been undertaken on his attitude towards his non-Sikh subjects. The present work attempts to fill this gap.

The study is divided into six chapters. The first chapter deals with the life and times of Ranjit Singh in order to trace his rise to political power, his conquests and the Sikh kingdom established by him. It also includes the review of existing literature on the subject. The second chapter discusses the subjugation of the non-Sikh rulers by Ranjit Singh, the treatment and policy adopted towards the chieftains, who were disposed off by him. The third chapter throws light on the civil administration of the Punjab under Ranjit Singh. Attention has been paid to the non-Sikh subjects, who were taken in the civil administration by Ranjit Singh. The designation and position given to non-Sikhs in various civil departments has been explored. The fourth chapter discusses the induction of non-Sikhs in the military administration. Fifth chapter deals with the Dharmarth grants and religious concessions given to the non-Sikh individuals and their institutions by Ranjit Singh. The major findings of these chapters have been summed up in the conclusion. The non-English terms used in this study have been explained in the Glossary at the end. In addition, photographs of some prominent non-Sikh officials and maps of Ranjit Singh's territories have been appended at the relevant places in the thesis. A number of tables giving details of non-Sikh officials of Ranjit Singh have been given in appendices.

The study is based on primary and secondary sources. The official record of the kingdom of Lahore in Persian, the *Khalsa Darbar Records* lying in the Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh have been extremely useful. The unpublished records of Dharmarth grants available at the National Archives of India, New Delhi have also been used.

I am grateful to the staff of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh and Patiala; Library of the Department of History, Punjabi University, Patiala; Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha library, Punjabi University, Patiala, Guru Nanak Dev University Library, Amritsar; Dwarka Das Library, Chandigarh, A.C. Joshi Library and the library of the Department of History, Panjab University for their help and cooperation. I am grateful to the authorities of Panjab University, Chandigarh for awarding me University Research Fellowship which supported the research.

I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Professor Veena Sachdeva without whose supervision and encouragement this study would not have been possible. I, with all my heart, thank my parents and brothers for their constant support.

I want to thank my friends Dr. Rakhee Vatsa and Dr. Nivedita Rana, whenever things went wrong in my life and I lost my courage, they supported and encouraged me. They never let me feel the enormity of the task ahead. I am also thankful to my friends, Harvinder, Yawinder, Sandeep, Darshan, Manraj and all others for their constant support.

Place: Chandigarh

(GURPREET KAUR)

Date:

CHAPTER - 1

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In the Indian history, eighteenth century is known for the decline of the Mughal empire and emergence of regional powers called successor states. The rise of new rulers into power in the Punjab during the late eighteenth century was a part of this political process. However, for a large number of historians, eighteenth century was a dark period in the history of the Punjab for a number of reasons - the decline of the Mughal empire to begin with, invasion of Nadir Shah in 1738, continuous invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali from 1747 to 1766, their plundering of wealth of India and Punjab and the internal conflict of the twelve Sikh *misaldars* with each other.¹ But this impression of the historians has been revised by research done on eighteenth century and Ranjit Singh. For the very first time, Indu Banga in her work, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century* has identified more than twelve Sikh *sardars* and a number of non-Sikh independent principalities who ruler over the Punjab after the decline of the Mughal and Afghan empire.² Later, Veena Sachdeva in her work *Polity and Economy of the Punjab During the Late Eighteenth Century* threw light on the existence of over one hundred independent principalities in the Punjab.³

¹S.M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1964 (reprint, first pub. in 1889), pp. 296-334; J. D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, S. Chand & Co. Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1972, pp. 96-100; N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta, 1973 (reprint, first ed.1936), pp. 56-62 (cited hereafter as N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*); B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, V.V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1977, pp. 48-53 (cited hereafter as B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*); Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1978; G. C. Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, Kalyani Publishers, New Delhi, 1992 (reprint, first ed. 1912), pp. 145-176; Bhagat Singh, *Sikh Polity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century*, Oriental Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 88-127.

²Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century*, Manohar Publications, Delhi, 1978, pp. 11-60 (cited hereafter as *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*).

³Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy of the Punjab during the Late Eighteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1993 (cited hereafter as *Polity and Economy*).

The outcome of their research is that before the rise of Ranjit Singh into power, Punjab was divided into a large number of independent political units. Among them, there were not twelve but fifty six principalities under the Sikh rulers in the upper *doabs* of the Punjab. More than thirty Muslim chiefs were in the lower *doabs* of Punjab, whereas in the hills of Punjab, there were thirty eight Hindu and Muslim principalities. Majority of the hill states belonged to Hindu Rajput rulers.⁴ The combined number of Hindu and Muslim rulers in Punjab during the late eighteenth century was larger than that of Sikh chiefs.⁵ The Sikh and non-Sikh chiefs of the eighteenth century came from different political background.

The Sikh chiefs, who established themselves in the Punjab plains, had come to power after a long struggle with the Mughals and later the Afghans. They were ordinary people belonging to cultivating class. With the help of institutions like *gurmata*, *dal khalsa*, *rakhi* and the *misl*, which they evolved during their period of struggle, they could establish themselves as independent chiefs. Some of the prominent Sikh chiefs, who ruled over Punjab during the late eighteenth century were Charhat Singh Sukerchakia at Gujranwala, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia at Sri Hargobindpur, Gujjar Singh Bhangi at Lahore and Gujrat, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia at Fatehabad and Jai Singh Kanhiya at Batala. Other Sikh chiefs were: Amar Singh Bagga of Sujampur, Bagh Singh Hallowalia of Zafarwal, Dal Singh Akalgarhia of Akalgarh, Dhanna Singh Kalalwala of Bhera, Dharm Singh Amritsaria, Gurbakhsh Singh Dodia of Doda, Karam Singh of Chhina, Karora Singh of Haryana, Natha Singh Shahid of Sialkot and Tara Singh Dallewalia of Rahon etc.⁶

The Muslim rulers, who emerged as independent chiefs during the eighteenth century were of different background. First were the former Afghan governors, who became independent due to the political upheavals in Afghanistan. In the second category were the *jagirdars* and intermediary *zamindars*, who established themselves as independent rulers over the same territories which they held under their jurisdiction as Mughal officers. Third category was of the influential religious individuals, who got

⁴*Ibid*, pp. 1-63.

⁵Veena Sachdeva, 'Mastery of the Province of Lahore' in T.R. Sharma (ed.), *Ranjit Singh Ruler and Warrior*, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2005, p. 143.

⁶Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, pp. 16-63.

revenue free grants from the Mughals and their successors and became independent after becoming involved in politics and raising army.⁷

The Muslim chiefs of the eighteenth century were Muzaffar Khan of Multan, Walidad Khan, Sahib Khan, Kabir Khan and Ahmad Khan Sial of Jhang, Muqarrab Khan and Mansur Khan of Rawalpindi, Bahawal Khan and Mubarak Khan of Bahawalpur, Mahmud Khan and Shahbaz Khan of Talwan, Shuja Khan and Sa'adat Muhammad Yar Khan Kharal of Kamalia, Allahyar Khan of Sahiwal, Ghulam Muhammad and Jan Muhammad Chattha of Rasulnagar, Murad Bakhsh, Muhammad Yar and Jalal Khan Bhatti of Pindi Bhattian, Sahib Khan and Ahmad Khan Khokhar of Pind Dadan Khan, Nizamuddin Khan and Qutbuddin Khan of Qasur, Muhammad Khan and Sher Khan Saddozai of Mankera etc.⁸

In the hills of the Punjab, there were thirty-eight principalities of the Hindu chiefs. These chiefs of the hills had long historical background; they were even older than the Mughals. Some of them had established themselves in their principalities around first century A.D. During the sixteenth century, the chiefs of the hills lost their independence to the Mughals and became their vassals. When Mughal rule became weak in the eighteenth century, Ahmad Shah Abdali replaced them and claimed his political right over the hill principalities and thus became suzerain of the hill chiefs. With the passage of time, the hill chiefs stopped paying tribute to the new suzerain and by withholding tribute, they again became masters of their territories. Important hill chiefs of eighteenth century were Umed Singh, Raj Singh, Jit Singh and Charhat Singh of Chamba; Ghamand Chand, Tegh Chand and Sansar Chand of Kangra; Pritam Singh, Bikramjit Singh and Ajit Singh of Kulu; Ranjit Dev, Brij Raj Dev and Jit Dev of Jammu; Abhiria Singh, Jagrup Singh and Umed Singh of Jaswan; Prithvi Singh and Bir Singh of Nurpur, Ranjit Sen and Bikram Sen of Suket; Amrit Pal, Bijai Pal and Mahendra Pal of Basohli; Surma Sen, Ishwari Sen and Shamsheer Sen of Mandi; Parkash Singh of Guler; Devi Chand and Mahan Chand of Kahlur etc.⁹

⁷The religious individuals involved themselves in politics, raised forces, acquired territories and collected revenues. The *jagirdars* and intermediary *zamindars* became chiefs, when the hold of the Mughal government weakened: For details see, Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, pp. 50-63.

⁸Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, pp. 16-63.

⁹*Ibid*, pp. 1-15.

Among all these political units, the Sukerchakias emerged as a leading principality under the leadership of Charhat Singh. Ranjit Singh's grandfather Charhat Singh was one of the foremost leaders of Khalsa in their struggle for power. He had occupied large pockets of territory in three Doabs.¹⁰ The name of Sukerchakia principality was after their ancestral village Sukerchak. Charhat Singh, the grandfather of Ranjit Singh, built a fort at Gujranwala and declared it as his capital.¹¹

Mahan Singh, father of Ranjit Singh, established his hold over important Sikh and non-Sikh principalities of the Punjab. At the time of his death, Mahan Singh was the most important single ruler of the Punjab.¹² Mahan Singh had no match in diplomacy and warfare. In 1790, Mahan Singh Sukerchakia died leaving a well-administered and contiguous territory in four out of the five Doabs of Punjab. In the Sindh Sagar Doab, he held the salt range with its immense salt mines beside Chakwal, Rohtas, Jehlum, Malout, Pind Dadan Khan and Ahmadabad. In the Chaj Doab, he inherited Miani, Kalra, Kunjah, Kuthalia and Phalia. In the Rachna Doab, besides his headquarters at Gujranwala, he possessed Kotli Loharan, Rasulnagar, Alipur, Kila Didar Singh and Eminabad.¹³ The ancestors of Ranjit Singh had acquired a considerable empire for him and he stretched it to the great geographical limits. Mahan Singh died, leaving for his son the legacy of a large and expanding principality, a well administered territory, a number of vassals who were expected to pay an annual tribute, besides over 5,000 horsemen armed with matchlocks.¹⁴ For Ranjit Singh, it was a great responsibility to maintain such a huge empire left by his father.

The most important aim of Ranjit Singh's life was to unite all Sikh and non-Sikh principalities of the Punjab under single banner. It was good luck of Ranjit Singh that fate helped him in his resolution. The period from 1790-1799 was a significant period of Ranjit

¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 100.

¹¹Sohan Singh Seetal, *The Sikh Empire and Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2013 (Sec. ed., first pub. in 1971), pp. 11 & 13.

¹²Veena Sachdeva, 'Mastery of the Province of Lahore', in T.R. Sharma (ed.), *Ranjit Singh Ruler and Warrior*, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2005, p. 145.

¹³Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut- Tawarikh* (tr. Amarwant Singh, ed. J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga), Daftar II, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1985, pp. 10-11, 18-19, 32-34; *Report on the Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Gujranwala District (1866-67)*, Lahore, 1874, p. 10.

¹⁴J.S.Grewal, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1982, p. 29.

Singh's life because in this phase, his political career was enforced by matrimonial alliances with the powerful families. In 1795, at the age of fifteen, he was married to Mehtab Kaur, the daughter of Sada Kaur, who succeeded Jai Singh Kanhiya at Batala. This personal event of Ranjit Singh's life cemented political alliance between the two ruling houses: the Sukerchakias and the Kanhiyas.¹⁵ In the occupation of Lahore, Ranjit Singh got help from Sada Kaur. She was a leading personality in Ranjit's council and the most powerful instrument of his early triumphs.¹⁶ Matrimonial relations with influential families gave an impetus to Ranjit Singh's determined aim of becoming independent ruler of the Punjab. Another marital alliance forged by Ranjit Singh was with the Nakkai Sardar Qamar Singh's daughter Raj Kaur, who in her husband's house came to be known as Datar Kaur and later Mai Nakkain.¹⁷ With this relation, one more ruling house became political supporter of Ranjit Singh. With these matrimonial relations, his advantages of inheritance were reinforced and he acquired political and military help of these newly allied ruling houses.

Ranjit Singh labored hard, he used the resources of his ancestors to consolidate his state. Ranjit Singh worked with intelligent design and gave unity and coherence to diverse and scattered elements.¹⁸ He was a perceptive chief, who implemented well-conceived policies in all spheres, like annexation of the territories and management of his empire. Maharaja Ranjit Singh envisaged policies and plans quite befitting to the prevailing conditions which benefited all sections of the society irrespective of caste, creed and religious professing.¹⁹

In 1799, Ranjit Singh conquered Lahore, it was an easy but very valuable conquest for him. The occupation of Lahore by Ranjit Singh in 1799 marked a watershed in his

¹⁵Jai Singh was the most powerful chief among the various Sikh chiefs of eighteenth century. He had a Force of 8,000 horses. His conquests included Nurpur, Hajipur, Mukerian and hill fortress of Kangra: J.S.Grewal, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1982, p. 24; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 23.

¹⁶G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as the Sovereign State (1799-1839)*, V.V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1975, pp. 8-9 (cite hereafter as *Punjab as the Sovereign State*); N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 11; Gulcharan Singh, *Ranjit Singh and his General*, Sujlana Publishers, Jullundher, 1976, p.15; J.S. Grewal, *Sikhs of the Punjab*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 100-101 (cited hereafter as *The Sikhs of the Punjab*)

¹⁷N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 27.

¹⁸Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, Albemarle Street, London, 1812, pp. 106-07.

¹⁹Gurbachan Singh Nayyar, 'The Dynamics of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Policies' in '*Punjab Past and Present*', Punjabi University, Patiala, 1988, p. 45.

career and in the history of the Sikh rule in Punjab. Ranjit Singh occupied Lahore with the willing cooperation of some of its leading Hindu and Muslim residents as with the assistance of his allies, particularly his mother-in-law Sada Kaur.²⁰ After his establishment at Lahore, Ranjit Singh focused initially on Sikh principalities and later on prevailed upon non-Sikh principalities.

To take advantage of other strong Sikh principalities of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh decided to forge a friendly alliance with Fateh Singh Ahluwalia.²¹ Ranjit Singh went to Fateh Singh in 1802 and met him in Fatehabad, the two rulers exchanged turbans to become brothers bound in honour. In the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib, they pledged to regard each other's enemy as an enemy.²² The Ahluwalias was the strongest principality with an overall strength of 3,000 horses and extensive territories and influence in the Jullundur Doab on both sides of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh's soft behavior with strong principalities was his well-planned strategy of treatment. In the words of N.K. Sinha, "this coalition based on kinship and political friendship served as ladder by which Ranjit Singh climbed to political supremacy. The initiative always rested with the Lahore chief".²³ Fateh Singh participated in every campaign of Ranjit Singh after the treaty and helped him to consolidate his power as the ruler of the Punjab. In return of his service, Ranjit Singh also granted him valuable *jagirs* of important areas.²⁴

In his early career, the main purpose of Ranjit Singh was to weaken the big *sardars* and subjugate the Sikh principalities. Ranjit Singh conquered all principalities with well-planned policy. He was a realist in diplomacy, and by playing off one against another, he achieved his aim.²⁵ By the year 1805, Ranjit Singh put an end to the dominions carved out by Hari Singh Bhangi, Jassa Singh Dulu, Dal Singh Gill and Jodh Singh Bajwa.²⁶ Ranjit

²⁰N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 13; J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of Punjab*, Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 100-101.

²¹ He was the grandnephew of Jassa Singh Kalal, the leader of the Dal Khalsa and also who in 1758 proclaimed the Sovereignty of Sikhs in the Punjab: B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 258.

²² J.S.Grewal, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1982, p. 31.

²³N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p.15.

²⁴Indu Banga, 'The state and Society' in J.S.Grewal, ed. *History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian, Civilization*, Vol-III, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 355-56.

²⁵S.D.Pardhan, 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Defense System' in '*Ranjit Singh and His Times* (ed.) by Indu Banga & J.S. Grewal, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980, p. 120.

²⁶J.S. Grewal, *The History of the Sikhs*, p. 17;N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p.17.

Singh occupied Wazirabad in 1810, took hold of Fyzullapurias's possession in 1810-11 and Gujrat from Sahib Singh of Bhangi in 1810. The territory of Nakkais was subjugated by Ranjit Singh in 1811. The Sukerchakia chief annexed the territory of the Kanhiyas in 1812, the Ramgarhias came under the control of Ranjit Singh in 1815 and in 1821, the strongest principality of the Kanhiyas was subjugated by Ranjit Singh from his mother-in-law Sada Kaur, who had greatly helped him in the consolidation of his empire.²⁷ These Sikh chiefs were controlled by Ranjit Singh without much resistance but from the side of Sada Kaur, he faced opposition. All the trans-Sutlej principalities were absorbed by Ranjit Singh except the principality of Ahluwailas.

In the empire building process, the steady decline of the once powerful Sikh principalities such as Bhangis, Ramgarhias, and others such as the Dallewalias, the Nishanwalias, the Faizallapurias, the Karorsinghias and the Shahids in the Majha region paved the way for the rise of Sukerchakias in Punjab.²⁸ According to Sinha, "in the scramble for ascendancy among the Sikh chiefs of the Punjab, there was fortunately for Ranjit Singh no one who could be compared to the leaders who in the proceeding generation had ousted Ahmad Shah Abdali".²⁹

In his early career, Ranjit Singh emerged as a single ruling authority of the Punjab, he had undisputed prominence with four important rulers who had become his staunch supporters: Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Sada Kaur, the Nakkai chief and Jodh Singh Ramgariha.³⁰ With the help of these Sikh chiefs, Ranjit Singh started his political career and occupied territories of a large number of Sikh as well as non-Sikh chiefs.

I

A good number of works have been produced on Ranjit Singh's political, social, economic and military life besides his administration but no in depth study has been undertaken on the treatment of Ranjit Singh towards his non-Sikh subjects. Some references here and

²⁷ N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, pp. 64-65.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.3; B. J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 29.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 4.

³⁰ J.S.Grewal, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1980, p. 33.

there provide only sketchy information on the treatment of the non-Sikh subjects by Ranjit Singh.

A.C. Banerjee's work *Anglo-Sikh Relations* (1949) was the first work on Ranjit Singh and his relations with the British. The author has discussed in detail the treaty of Amritsar, and Anglo-Sikh relations between 1809 and 1838. Other than this, no area of Ranjit Singh's period has been taken by the author.

R.R.Sethi in his work *The Lahore Darbar-In the Light of the Correspondence of Sir C.M.Wade, 1823-1840* (1950), has thrown light on the political relations of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with the British Government. In this work, main focus has been on the dispute over Cis-Satluj states, historic meeting held at Ropar between Wade and Ranjit Singh, Sindh Question and also the Sikh-Afghan relations over the occupation of Peshawar etc. Only one chapter is devoted to the court of Lahore, where Wade, observes Ranjit Singh's rule and provides very general overview of Ranjit Singh's administration. He has discussed only one non-Sikh official named Raja Dhian Singh at the court of Ranjit Singh. Apart from this, no area of Ranjit Singh's career has been taken up by the author.

N.K.Sinha in his work *Ranjit Singh* (1951) has given an account of Ranjit Singh's life and career. In this work, author has given detailed information about the life and early conquests of Ranjit Singh like his success in north between 1805 and 1809, Ranjit Singh's conquests between 1810 and 1824, and consolidation of his power, his interaction with the Afghan power and problems at the North-West frontier. Another aspect covered by the author is institution of Sikhism and policy adopted by Ranjit Singh in his government. General view of the army of Ranjit Singh has also been presented by the author while taking notice of the personality and place of Ranjit Singh in history. This work provides important information but few aspects such as *dharmarth* charities and treatment towards the fallen chiefs have not been discussed by the author.

Sita Ram Kohli's book *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (1953), throws light on the conquests and political struggle of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In this book, author has identified independent principalities under the Rajputs, Muslims and Afghans during the eighteenth century and has discussed Maharaja's conquests over Sialkot, Nurpur, Jaswan,

Peshawar and Kashmir etc. Gulshan Lal Chopra in his *Punjab as a Sovereign State* (1960) has divided Ranjit Singh's career into three well marked periods. The first period was from 1799-1809, in this period, Ranjit Singh established himself in the central Punjab and by the exercise of a deliberately aggressive policy, he compelled his neighbors to look for protection and guidance to himself, rather than to any other power beyond either Jamuna or the Indus. This objective was defeated by the action of the English in the case of the Cis-Satluj States. In other directions, however, it was eminently successful, as the eastern frontier of the Sikh kingdom could be established on the Satluj. In the second period between 1809 and 1822, Ranjit Singh improved upon his policy of penetration, and brought it to its natural conclusion by actually incorporating into his kingdom most of those land which, he had at first harried by fire and sword. In this period, the border line was extended to its geographical limits in other directions by the conquests of Multan and Kashmir. The third period opened up in 1824 and ended with Ranjit Singh annexing Peshawar. Much time was otherwise spent in military and administrative organization. This work gives general idea of the unification of the Punjab and civil and military administration of Ranjit Singh.

Khushwant Singh's *History of the Sikhs 1469-1839* (1960), deals with the political history of Ranjit Singh. In this book, the author has thrown light on the rise of Sukerchakia 'misal'. He talks about how Ranjit Singh became the Maharaja of Punjab and suzerain of Malwa. In this book the writer has also discussed Ranjit Singh's relations with the British, the treaty of 1809 and the consolidation of Punjab by Ranjit Singh after this treaty.

Military System of the Sikhs (1964), by Fauja Singh is a comprehensive work on military administration of Ranjit Singh. It presents detailed information on different aspects of military administration of the Sikh ruler. The topics covered by the author are growth, development, recruitment, composition, discipline, constitution of the army, pay and allowances, honours' rewards, transportation, supplies and equipments used by Ranjit Singh in his army. Other aspects such as arms used by sepoys, their training, tactics and strategy followed by the army of Ranjit Singh have been analytical discussed by the author. The factors like, economic, social, and political life of Ranjit Singh have not been

touched by the author as the purpose of this work was to provide military information on Ranjit Singh.

G. S. Chhabra's *Advanced History of the Punjab* Vol-II (1968), throws light on the Punjab on the eve of Ranjit Singh's accession. The author gives information about chiefs in the Punjab: first among them were the twelve 'Misls' of the Sikhs, others were Muslim chiefs of Multan, Qasur, Bahawalpur, Jhang, Chiniot, Peshawar, Kashmir, Attock, Bannu, Kohat, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Gazi Khan. All these powers were hostile, but on the whole, none was formidable enough to be a source of any danger to Ranjit Singh. In the hills, there were many petty chiefs who had their own ambitions to expand their power. The more important of them were the Chiefs of Suket, Mandi, Kulu, Basoli, Chamba, Nurpur, Jammu and Kangra. Some of these territories were made tributary by Ranjit Singh and afterwards annexed to his Kingdom.

Gulcharan Singh in his work *Ranjit Singh and his Generals* (1976) has discussed the conquests of Ranjit Singh, led by the generals under Ranjit Singh. In this book, author has discussed in detail the conquest of the valley of Peshawar under his superior commanders. No other aspect of Ranjit Singh's career has been touched by the author. B. J. Hasrat's *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh* (1977) throws light on Ranjit Singh's conquests of neighboring powers, it also talks about subjugation of the 'misals' and how the rivals of Ranjit Singh, who were the heads of the independent principalities created problems for Ranjit Singh but finally subjugated. The author has touched aspects of Ranjit Singh's social, economic and political life, in other words almost every aspect of Ranjit Singh's life has been discussed by the author in a general way, but there is no detailed discussion on non-Sikhs in particular.

Indu Banga's *Agrarian System of the Sikhs* (1978) throws light on the subjugation of the chiefs of the late eighteenth century. Ranjit Singh subverted a large number of hill principalities, but before that, they had to become tributary to Ranjit Singh. The author has also highlighted the subjugation of non-Sikh chiefs of the plains of Punjab, but she has not given information on the treatment of the chiefs after their subjugation by Ranjit Singh. However, for the first time, it has been highlighted by her that Ranjit Singh's empire was

divided not into four *subas* but a number of primary units. The division into four *subas* such as Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar, she terms as ‘historical inaccuracy’. Other than this, Indu Banga has also thrown light on *dharmarth* grants given to the non-Sikh subjects by Maharaja Ranjit Singh such as to Pandit Brij Raj and Madhusudhan, the Purohiths of Thanesar and Hardwar, the Jogi establishment of Jakhbar in the upper Bari Doab, besides the Tilla of Gorakh Nath in the Chaj Doab. She has also highlighted the grants given to the Muslims. In this work, she has provided information about the Sikh and non-Sikhs collectively. Since, the main focus of her work is on agrarian system of the Sikhs, there is no detailed and separate discussion on the non-Sikhs.

Veena Sachdeva in her work on *Polity and Economy of the Punjab During the Late Eighteenth Century* (1993), has identified the Sikh and non-Sikh chiefs who emerged as rulers in the Punjab after the decline of the Mughal empire in the second half of eighteenth century in the plains as well as hills of the Punjab. She has demolished the theory of Punjab being ruled by twelve *misaldars*, as she has identified more than fifty Sikh chiefs who established their rule in different parts of the Punjab along with non-Sikh chiefs. She has also discussed in detail the administrative arrangements made by new rulers, their economic resources, Jagirdari system and *dharmarth* grants given by them. Since the main focus of her work is on the late eighteenth century, she has discussed only the rise of Ranjit Singh and occupation of territories by him of the chiefs of the late eighteenth century.

J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga’s edited work on *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: The State and Society* (2001) is a collection of twenty-one essays. These articles have brought out the process of conquest and consolidation, diplomatic relations, administrative organization, functioning, patronage of religion and art, economic life, urbanization, agrarian society and social mobility under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. However, there is no detailed article on Ranjit Singh’s policy towards non-Sikhs. Radha Sharma’s work *The Lahore Darbar* (2001) provides information about the main courtiers of Ranjit Singh’s Darbar, who were Sikhs as well as non-Sikhs. She has given a brief sketch of every courtier of Ranjit Singh and discussed the composition of Lahore Darbar. Though, she has not touched any other aspect of Ranjit Singh’s life, yet her work is very informative as it provides us with biographical details of non-Sikhs in the court of Ranjit Singh.

Besides, there are few articles which throw light on the conquests, subjugation of various chiefs, *dharmarth* charity to non-Sikhs and indulgence of non-Sikhs in the administration of Ranjit Singh. Veena Sachdeva's article, 'Subjugation of the Rivals'(2001) throws light on the policy adopted by Ranjit Singh towards non-Sikh rulers of the late eighteenth century who were subjugated by him. The treatment given by Maharaja to the Muslim rulers of Qasur, Multan, Jhang, Sahiwal, Talagang, Nurpur and Mankera has been discussed in detail. Kirpal Singh's, article, 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Subjugation of North Western Frontier', discusses in depth how Ranjit Singh undertook to subdue and control effectively the ferocious tribes populating these regions, such as Dhund, Train, Tanol, Kharals, Jadus, Tanaqli Swatis and Yusufzsis. These tribes were subjugated by Ranjit Singh and given *jagirs*.

An article 'Foreigners at the Sikh Court', by Davinder Kumar Verma, talks about the foreigners who were in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and played significant role in political and civil life and also in the administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, such as Ventura, Allard and Court. Davinder Kumar in another article, 'Avitabile Paolo Di Bartolaneo-A Civilian Officer of Maharaja Ranjit Singh', has given information about Avitabile, who was the best civil and military administrator of Peshawar in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Another article by same author, entitled 'Dr. Joshian Harlen at the Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh' throws light on the role of Harlen, who served in the civil administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Lt. Col. Gulcharan Singh in an article, 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Artillery', throws light on Maharaja Ranjit Singh's artillery that was the most important section of his military system. He has also discussed how Ranjit Singh managed his artillery with the help of Muslim officials appointed by him. The article, 'Cultural Significance of the Symbols on the Coins of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Documentary Evidence of his Secularism', by Madanjit Kaur throws light on Maharaja Ranjit Singh's secular policy. She has used the minting of various coins with symbols of Hindus, Muslims and other religions on the inscriptions to show Ranjit Singh's secular attitude towards his subjects.

Asha Wadhwa in her article, 'Vaishnava Establishment in the Panjab: Late Eighteenth- Early Nineteenth century', talks about the Vaishnava centers and grants

received by the Bairagis and Thakurdwaras of Pindori from Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Madhvi Yasin's article, 'Secularism that was Maharaja Ranjit Singh', talks about secularism that was adopted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The author has discussed that Maharaja employed non-Sikh subjects like Brahmans and Muslims according to their capacity in his administrative system, Sikhs for help in warfare and Europeans to train his army.

The foregoing review of the existing literature reveals that no doubt a large number of books and articles have been written on Ranjit Singh but these works mainly deal with his conquests without even taking notice of the treatment meted out by him to subjugated rulers of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh principalities. The works on administration do take notice of employment of Muslims, Hindus and Europeans by Ranjit Singh but without any detail or treating them as a separate category. The works on religious patronage given to his non-Sikh subjects by Ranjit Singh are not many. In an article on Vaishnavas, the author has tried to discuss his patronage but the other religious groups have not been taken care of. Few pages in two or three books provide us some material but no detailed study on the subject has been done so far. Since the existing works fall short of requirement, there is need for a fresh interpretation. Therefore, an attempt has been made in this work to study Ranjit Singh's empire in the context of non-Sikhs. In the following chapters, Ranjit Singh's treatment of the non-Sikh rulers after their subjugation, induction of non-Sikhs into civil and military administration and religious charities given to non-Sikh individuals and institutions by Ranjit Singh have been taken up in detail.

CHAPTER - 2

SUBJUGATION AND TREATMENT OF THE NON-SIKH CHIEFS

Ranjit Singh was the first Sikh ruler, who established his rule over whole of the Punjab by occupying the territories of various powerful principalities. Under Ranjit Singh, the Lahore kingdom reached the zenith of its power and prosperity. Ranjit Singh, who few years before, was but the chieftain of small principality had become a sovereign whose actions became matter of concern to the British.¹ Ranjit Singh invested several years from 1790 to 1834 in territorial occupations and established an independent Sikh empire. He extended the Sikh dominions far beyond the limits dreamt of by his eighteenth-century predecessors.²

In the establishment of empire and turning him into ruler from a chieftain, Ranjit Singh's ancestors played a very significant role; they left for him a large territory and other resources on the name of Sukerchakia principality. In fact, the process of subjugation to occupy territories of the non- Sikh rulers was started by Ranjit Singh's grandfather Charhat Singh and father Mahan Singh Sukerchakia. They were among the prominent Sikh leaders of the eighteenth century and held influence among the contemporary Sikh and non-Sikh chiefs. His grandfather Charhat Singh was one of the foremost leaders of the Khalsa in its struggle for power and had occupied large pockets of territory in three Doabs. Ranjit Singh's father, Mahan Singh, added to those territories, occupied some strategic places and asserted his suzerain rights over some of the chiefs in the hills and the plains.³

A number of Muslim chiefs had been tributary of Ranjit Singh's ancestors and later on, the Sikh ruler subjugated these tributary chiefs into the Lahore Kingdom. In 1760s, Charhat Singh Sukerchakia obliged Pindi Gheb's chief Aman Khan Jodrah, to pay him tribute as a mark of his subordination and the same year Awan chief of Shamsabad was compelled by Charhat Singh to be his vassal. The chief of Malot was

¹Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Languages Department, Punjab, 1970, p. 109.

²Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 26.

³J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, p. 100.

obliged to pay tribute to Mahan Singh Sukerchakia in 1780s and during the same year, the Chatthas of Rasulnagar were subjugated by Mahan Singh.⁴ Thus, one can see that Ranjit Singh inherited a well-administered, large and contiguous territory with a number of vassals paying him tribute, and over five thousand horsemen armed with matchlocks left by Charhat Singh and Mahan Singh Sukerchakia. In 1790, when Ranjit Singh inherited the leadership of Sukerchakias, he was merely a boy, but he displayed same early grasp of political affairs as Akbar had done before him.⁵ Ranjit Singh built up on this inheritance and unified the whole of Punjab.⁶

At a very young age, Ranjit Singh aspired to build an empire but he faced the opposition of another young chief Shah Zaman having similar aspirations. Shah Zaman of Kabul was the heir to the Ahmad Shahi tradition of Indian conquests and Ranjit Singh had to reckon with him at the outset.⁷ In the year 1796, Shah Zaman, for the first time invaded Punjab and occupied the fort of Rohtas.⁸ When Shah Zaman returned to Kabul, Ranjit Singh recovered the fort of Rohtas in the same year.⁹ In 1798, when Shah Zaman prepared his mind for the occupation of Lahore. Ranjit Singh defeated his Afghan commander in a pitched battle, encircled Lahore, cut off his supply lines, and went close to the fort of Lahore to challenge Shah Zaman to a duel. In the process of forming an alliance against Shah Zaman, Ranjit Singh emerged as the most prominent leader.¹⁰ After a battle with Ranjit Singh, Shah Zaman returned suddenly to his homeland because of the rebellion of his half-brother Muhammad. He lost most of his guns by the sudden rising of the Jhelum river. Ranjit Singh later dug out and delivered to Shah Zaman's *vakil* 15 pieces of cannons and the Shah also sent him a rich *khillat*.¹¹ Shah Zaman accepted Ranjit Singh's authority in Punjab and pacified with him, as he was the emerging Sikh chief of the Punjab. It was the first great achievement of Ranjit Singh.

The city of Lahore was ruled by three Bhangi Sardars- Chet Singh, Sahib Singh, and Mohar Singh. People of Lahore were dissatisfied with their rule. The

⁴Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, pp. 56, 52, 54 & 65

⁵G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 7.

⁶*Ibid*, p.144.

⁷N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p.10

⁸J. D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt. Ltd.), New Delhi, 1972, p.107.

⁹J.S.Grewal, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1982, p. 26.

¹⁰Veena Sachdeva, 'Mastery of the Province of Lahore', in T.R. Sharma (ed.), *Ranjit Singh Ruler and Warrior*, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2005, pp. 146-47.

¹¹N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 11

prominent Hindu, Muslim and Sikh citizens of Lahore invited Ranjit Singh to occupy Lahore. The occupation of Lahore by Ranjit Singh in the summer of 1799 marked a watershed in his career and the history of the Sikh rule in Punjab.¹² It was after about thirty-five years that the city of Lahore which had been divided into three parts, by their *sardars* in 1765 could become a single city again.¹³ After the occupation of Lahore, Ranjit Singh adopted it as the capital of his Sikh empire. The occupation of this historical city formed the future of the Sikh state. The occupation of Lahore laid down the foundation of a sovereign Sikh monarch in the Punjab and new history of his reign commenced from this year. After the occupation of this area, Ranjit Singh aspired to become an independent Sikh ruler of Punjab by subjugating other principalities



Figure 2.1: Maharaja Ranjit Singh
Source: Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*

When Ranjit Singh desired to become independent Sikh chief of the Punjab, he saw that along with Sikh principalities, there was much land to possess, which was under the Afghan governors, Muslim rulers and Rajput chiefs of the hills. To achieve his aim, Ranjit Singh proceeded by force and craft to execute his dream of becoming

¹²*Ibid*, p.13; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 41; J.S.Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, p. 100.

¹³Veena Sachdeva, 'Mastery of the Province of Lahore', in T.R. Sharma (ed.), *Ranjit Singh Ruler and Warrior*, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2005, p. 147.

independent chief of the Punjab. He is said to have first adopted the official title of 'Maharaja'. In the year 1802, Ranjit Singh formally assumed the title of Maharaja, through the Hindu equivalent of a coronation ceremony and proclaimed that he was now to be styled as Sarkar, signifying power and estate. He established a mint, and issued in token of sovereignty a coin in his name bearing the inscription, "Hospitality, the sword, victory, and conquest unfailing has been received by Guru Gobind Singh from Nanak, (*Deh-o- Tegh-o-Fateh-o-Nusrat be- darana, Yaft a Nanak Guru Gobind Singh*).¹⁴ It was the vital step taken by Ranjit Singh towards the establishment of sovereign political power in the Punjab. But in the view of J.S.Grewal, "The title of Maharaja came to be used for him by others after he had mastered the Punjab, particularly after 1809 when he was recognized by the British as the sole sovereign on the east of the river Satluj."¹⁵

As said earlier, when Ranjit Singh came to power, a number of principalities were being ruled by Sikh, Rajput and Muslim chiefs in Punjab. During the late eighteenth century, Punjab was divided into a large number of independent political units numbering in fact about one hundred and twenty-five. Nearly forty of these were in the hills and they were not exactly new principalities.¹⁶ In the hills, they were under Rajput Hindu chiefs of ancient lineage and in the plains, they were under Mohammadan chiefs. The Muslim chiefs had established themselves in almost all Doabs of Punjab. In the upper Doabs, there were eighteen principalities of Muslim chiefs and in the lower Doabs, there number was twelve. In the lower doabs, the number of Muslim chiefs was much larger than that of the Sikh chiefs. The lineage of Muslim chiefs belonged to Jatts, Afghans, Rajputs, Balochs, Shaikhs and Sayyids.

When Ranjit Singh tried to subjugate the principalities of Hindu and Muslim chiefs, he mainly followed the pattern of suzerain-vassal relationship. Indu Banga in her work has given a detailed account of this relationship. According to her, "suzerainty implied superior claims but limited control and vassalage enabled the subordinate chief to enjoy the substance of power within his principality."¹⁷ The

¹⁴Sir Johan J.H.Gordon, *The Sikhs*, Languages Department, Punjab, 1970, p. 86: B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 42.

¹⁵J.S.Grewal, 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Issue of Sovereignty', in T.R.Sharma (ed.), *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Ruler and Warrior*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2005, p. 10.

¹⁶*Ibid*, p. 143.

¹⁷Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 62.

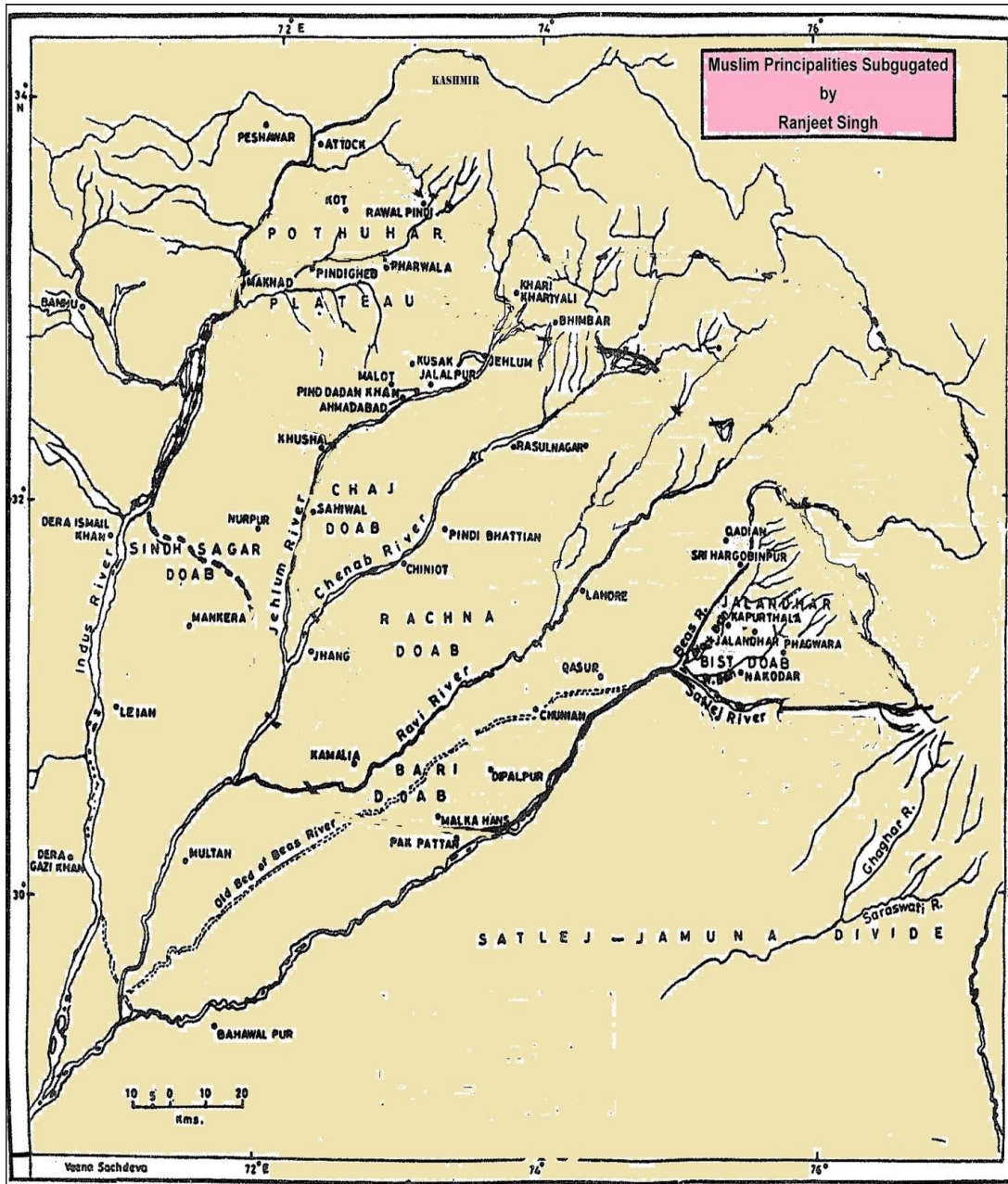
tradition of vassalage was not introduced by Ranjit Singh only, she adds, it was an age-old tradition that was followed by Ranjit Singh. The non-Sikh chiefs of hills or plains, whether Hindu or Muslim were generally made vassals before their territories were annexed. In fact, Ranjit Singh's general policy was to claim suzerainty over autonomous chiefs as a prelude to the annexation of their territories.¹⁸

A number of conditions were imposed by Ranjit Singh on the vassal chiefs. The subjugated rulers were bound to adhere to his instructions. Submission or the payment of tribute was an essential condition of vassalage. The vassal chiefs were bound to place a number of troops at the disposal of suzerain as a condition of vassalage. Vassal chief's relations with other powers were determined by the suzerain. They were free in the internal management of their territories but their political or diplomatic relations were under the consideration of their suzerain. Ranjit Singh always checked upon the activities of the vassal chiefs. Punitive campaigns remained a familiar incident throughout the period of Sikh rule precisely because the suzerain did not tolerate the non-payment of the tribute and vassal did not relish its payment.¹⁹ Another obligation imposed on the vassal chiefs by Ranjit Singh was the succession of the *gaddi*. The successors of the vassal chiefs had to accept conditions of vassalage before they got recognition.²⁰ Whenever Ranjit Singh determined to subjugate any territory, he never gave any false hope to the subjugated chief about his territory.

¹⁸*Ibid*, p. 57.

¹⁹*Ibid*, p. 47.

²⁰*Ibid*, p. 50.



I

A large number of Muslim principalities big and small dotted the western parts of the Punjab, the trans-Indus belt, Sindh Sagar Doab and the lower Chaj, Rachna and Bari Doab. They were neither united nor individually strong, and their link with the Kabul monarch was weak. They did not actually pose a real danger to the security of Ranjit Singh's dominions, but they were very inconvenient neighbors.²¹ If geographically, we trace out their location in Punjab plains, they were established all over the Punjab. There were no less than thirty-two non-Sikh principalities in the Punjab plains during the late eighteenth century. Twelve were in the Sind Sagar Doab and eleven in the Bari Doab. These were the largest *doabs* of the Punjab. In the Chaj Doab, there was only one principality. In the Jalandhar Doab, however, which was smaller in the area than the Chaj, there were four principalities; in the Rachna Doab too, there were four principalities.²² One thing is important to mention here that among the above thirty two non-Sikh principalities in the plains, two belonged to Hindu chiefs and rest all were under the Muslim chiefs.

The first Muslim principality that faced the opposition of Ranjit Singh was the Chatthas of Rasalnagar. They had been subjugated by Mahan Singh in the late eighteenth century. But with the help of Kabul ruler, the Chatthas became free from Mahan Singh and stopped paying tribute to Sukerchakias. After the death of Mahan Singh in 1797, Ranjit Singh fought with Chattha ruler Jan Muhammad and killed him in the battle. After his defeat, Ranjit Singh occupied Rasalnagar and annexed a great portion of the estate.²³ The Chatthas were awarded service *jagir* by Ranjit Singh as Jan Muhammad's son accepted to serve Ranjit Singh.²⁴ It is important to mention here that the *jagirs* given to subjugated chiefs were of two types: military and civil. When a ruler served the state with certain number of horses, he was assigned a *jagir* for his personal services as well as for the maintenance of his horsemen. The subsistence *jagirs* were given to dispossessed chiefs and their dependents for maintenance,

²¹A. C. Banerjee. *The Khalsa Raj*, Abhinav Publication, 1985, New Delhi, p. 76.

²²Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, p. 72.

²³Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat ut- Tawarikh*, Daftar-II (tr. by V.S.Suri), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002, p. 31; S.M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1964 (reprint, first published in 1889), p. 348; Davinder Kumar Verma, 'Selected Chronology of Maharaja Ranjit Singh', in *The Punjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1988, p. 169.

²⁴Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families in the Territories Under the Punjab Government*, Lahore, 1865, p. 405 (cited hereafter as Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*)

without any obligation to Lahore government. Sometimes the ousted rulers refused to accept the subsistence *jagirs* out of resentment against the Lahore government and the *jagirs* were given to their dependents.²⁵

Second principality to be occupied by Ranjit Singh was that of Ghebas. Fateh Jang was a small Muslim principality in Sindh Sagar Doab under the Ghebas. The Ghebas is said to be a branch of the Jodrah tribe that quarreled with the later, took the name of Gheba and settled in Fatehjang.²⁶ They became tributary of Sukerchakias before 1790 but after some time they stopped paying tribute. During Ranjit Singh's period, Fatehjang was ruled by Muhammad Khan Gheba. In 1806, Ranjit Singh sent Sardar Fateh Singh Kalianwala, to subdue Ghebas. After the subjugation, the village of Shahar Rai Bahadar was conferred on Muhammad Khan, with a revenue free grant, worth Rs. 1,075 a year.²⁷

After the subjugation of Fateh Jang, Muhammad Khan was reduced to the status of *jagirdar*, Ranjit Singh was fully conscious of the need of Muhammad Khan's service in the newly conquered wild area, where Sikh *kardars* were not able to administrate without the assistance of local chief. Once Muhammad Rai and his opponent, Malik Ghulam Muhammad failed to pay the revenue on fixed time. They were summoned by Ranjit Singh at Amritsar. They quarreled there, Muhammad Khan cut down Malik Ghulam Muhammad in the presence of Ranjit Singh and left for his home.²⁸ A number of times, Ranjit Singh avoided major mistakes of Muhammad Khan, because of his need in the management of Gheba tribes.

Muhammad Khan provided his services to Ranjit Singh in the toughest time of religious war with Sayyid Ahmad in 1830s. In the battle of Balakot, Muhammad Khan played a very significant role and as reward of his service, Ranjit Singh granted him the village of Garu, worth Rs. 200.²⁹ After some time the governors of Ranjit Singh found that Muhammad Khan was difficult to control and was ready to rebel against the Sikh rules. Sardar Atar Singh during his governorship of Gheba territory,

²⁵Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Sehgal Publishers, 1990, p. 202.

²⁶Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy: During the Late Eighteenth Century*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar (Ph.D Thesis), 1989, p. 56 (cited hereafter as Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy* (Ph.D Thesis)

²⁷Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-II, p. 326.

²⁸*Ibid*, p. 326.

²⁹*Ibid*, pp. 326-27.

wanted to get rid of Muhammad Khan for the sake of peace in the territory. He invited the Rai to his fort of Pagh, which overlooked Kot on the opposite side of the little river Sil. Muhammad Khan did not suspect treachery and went to Pagh, attended by his son Ghulam Muhammad Khan and two followers. No sooner, he had entered the fort than the little party was attacked by Budha Khan Malal, an old enemy of Rai, and all were killed.³⁰ By his diplomatic political sense, Ranjit Singh used the resources of one powerful chief against another and strengthened his empire.

Qasur was an Afghan Muslim principality in the Jalandher Doab; Nizamuddin Khan was its ambitious Muslim chief who wanted to become the governor of Lahore on behalf of Shah Zaman and helped him during his advance to Lahore. Nizamuddin Khan attended on Shah Zaman in 1797. He was made in charge of 12,000 Afghans to expel the Sikhs from Lahore. He was given assurance that Lahore would be conferred on him as a reward. But before this could be given a written form, Shah Zaman had to go back to Kabul.³¹ When Ranjit Singh conquered Lahore in 1799, all his dreams were reduced to rubble; he started conspiring against Ranjit Singh and formed an alliance with other Sikh chiefs to counter Ranjit Singh at Bhasin under the leadership of Gulab Singh Bhangi of Amritsar. But on latter's death, the Sikh chiefs, as well as Nizamuddin, retreated back.³²

Nizamuddin was not happy with the increasing popularity of Ranjit Singh and to create his own influence, he extended his territory to the east of Sutlej and occupied Mamdot, Khai and Bahmniwala. Nizamuddin Khan's action attracted the attention of Ranjit Singh, who obliged him to pay tribute to Lahore Darbar in 1801.³³ Nizamuddin Khan was succeeded by his minor son Fateh Khan, but the affairs of the Qasur territory were in the hands of his brother Qutubuddin Khan. In 1807, Ranjit Singh occupied Qasur from Qutubuddin Khan. He was given Mamdot and his nephew

³⁰*Ibid*, pp. 326-28.

³¹Veena Sachdeva, Polity and Economy (Ph.D Thesis), p.36.

³²Nizamuddin Khan entered into alliance with Gulab Singh Bhangi against Ranjit Singh to expel him from Lahore. Other Sardars who participated with their troops were Sahib Singh of Gujrat and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia. The opposing armies faced each other near the village named Bhasin but retreated without a battle: Sohan Lal, *Umdat- ut- Tawarikh*, vol-II, p. 38.

³³H. T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Languages Department, Patiala, 1970 (first published in 1834), p. 42 (cited hereafter as H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*)

Fateh Khan received Maruf in *jagir* from Ranjit Singh on condition of maintaining service of 100 horsemen for Ranjit Singh.³⁴

Fourth Muslim principality to be subjugated by Ranjit Singh was Wattus of Dipalpur in the year 1807. It was under Ghiyasuddin Khan, who was the successor of Jalaluddin Khan Wattu. In the year 1807, Dipalpur was occupied by Ranjit Singh, Ghiyasuddin Khan accepted subsistence *jagir* of two villages under Ranjit Singh.³⁵

In the same year, another principality of Muslim chief subdued by Ranjit Singh was Pindi Bhattian, it belonged to the Bhatti rulers. Jallalpur Bhattian was founded by Muhammad Yar Bhatti in 1740s, who acquired nearly 200 villages around Pindi Bhattian.³⁶ He was succeeded by Jalal Khan Bhatti. In the early years of the 19th century, the territory of the Bhattis was invaded by Ranjit Singh, Jalal Khan fled to Jhang to seek protection from Ahmad Shah Sial.³⁷ The domain of Bhattis along with Pindi Bhattian came into Maharaja Ranjit Singh's possession.³⁸ After the subjugation of Pindi Bhattian, Jalal Khan's son and his brother got service *jagir* from Ranjit Singh on the condition to provide a contingent of 30 horsemen to Lahore Darbar.³⁹

In the later part of 1805, during his Malwa campaign, Ranjit Singh passed through Jalandhar Doab and the principality of Nakodar attracted his attention. It was under Muslim chief Muhammad Khan. During the late eighteenth century, when Jassa Singh Ahluwalia tried to wrest Nakodar from Muhammad Khan, the later invited Sardar Baghel Singh for his help, promising to pay annual tribute to him. The Ahluwalia chief had to withdraw but Baghel Singh obliged Muhammad Khan to cede some of his villages beside the payment of a fixed sum as the annual tribute.⁴⁰ After the death of Baghel Singh, in 1807, Ranjit Singh annexed the territory of Nakodar, when it was under Shahbaz Khan, the successor of Muhammad Khan.⁴¹ After its

³⁴Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat -ut- Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, p. 55; Kohli Sita Ram, *Fateh Nama Guru Khalsa Ji Ka* (Pbi), Languages Department , Punjab, 1970, p. 35; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, p. 54; Veena Sachdeva, Polity and Economy (Ph.D Thesis), p. 37.

³⁵Veena Sachdeva, Polity and Economy (Ph.D Thesis), pp. 70-71.

³⁶Ganesh Das, *Char-Bagh-i- Punjab* (tr. & ed.) by J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga under the title '*Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*', Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, p. 108.

³⁷Veena Sachdeva, Polity and Economy (Ph.D Thesis), p. 64.

³⁸*District Gazetteer of Gujranwala*, 1895, p. 25; Veena Sachdeva, Polity and Economy (Ph.D Thesis), p. 64.

³⁹*District Gazetteer of Gujranwala*, 1895, 182.

⁴⁰Veena Sachdeva, Polity and Economy (Ph.D Thesis), p. 33.

⁴¹Sohan Lal, *Umdat -ut- Tawarikh*, vol-II, p. 52; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 24; J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, p. 101.

subjugation, it was given to Diwan Mohkam Chand as *inam jagir*. The total value of Nakodar territory was worth 6, 42, 611 Rs.⁴²

Pind Dadn Khan in Sindh Sagar Doab was the principality of Khokkar chief Sahib Khan. In 1760, the Khokkar chief of Pind Dadan was obliged to pay tribute to Sukerchakia chief Charhat Singh.⁴³ When Ranjit Singh came to power, he treated this family with same compassionate approach as his grandfather, but Sarfraz Khan, the new chief of this principality raised arms against Ranjit Singh. A force was sent against him, and after a long fight, he was defeated and compelled to fly to Makhiala. He later made peace and received few villages in *jagir*. Out of his twenty-two villages, he was granted only two villages for his subsistence, however Pind Dadan Khan was not restored.⁴⁴

Qadian, a Muslim principality was situated near Batala in the Upper Bari Doab. It was founded by Hadi Beg, a Moghal of Samarkand, who had immigrated to Punjab in Babur's reign. The original name of Qadian was Islampur Qazi, but it became famous by the name of Qadian, because a number of *qazis* had established their courts at this place.⁴⁵ This principality was not directly subjugated by Ranjit Singh, but by the Ramgarhia Sardars, who came under his control when Ranjit Singh has consolidated his empire. In the year 1770, Ramgarhia ruler Tara Singh subjugated Qadian into his possession and humiliated its chief Ata Mohammed Khan.⁴⁶ Because of the humiliating behavior of Ramgarhias, Ata Mohommed retired to Begowal, where, under the protection of Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, lived quietly for twelve years. At the death of Ramgarhia chief, Ranjit Singh took possession of all territories, which were under the Ahluwalia chief.⁴⁷ So, in 1808, Qadian principality came under the direct control of Ranjit Singh. After the capture of Ramgarhia possessions, Ranjit Singh treated Qadian chiefs with respect and dignity. Ranjit Singh invited Ghulam Murtaza to return to Qadian, and restored to him a large portion of his ancestral estate.⁴⁸ Since, Ranjit Singh treated Qadian chiefs with respect, in return of his

⁴²Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol. I, p. 203.

⁴³Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat -ut- Tawarikh*, vol-II, p. 37.

⁴⁴Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol- II, pp. 257-258 & 264.

⁴⁵*Ibid*, p. 49.

⁴⁶Ahmad Shah Batala, *Tarikh-i-Hind*, Pbi tr. by Gurbaksh Singh, *Tarikh-i- Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, pp. 51-52.

⁴⁷Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, p. 49.

⁴⁸ B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 49; Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, p. 49.

behavior, Qadian ruler helped Ranjit Singh in his future expeditions. Ghulam Murtaza with his brothers entered the army of Ranjit Singh, and performed efficient service on the Kashmir frontier and other places.⁴⁹

Talwan was a Muslim principality of Munj Rajputs in the Jalandhar Doab. It was founded by Muhammad Khan of Munj. Talwan emerged as an independent principality, after the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in the year 1766 under Muhammad Khan.⁵⁰ In the last years of the eighteenth century, Baghel Singh Karorsinghia, helped Muhammad Khan against Fateh Singh Ahluwalia but reduced Muhammad Khan as his tributary.⁵¹ Talwan was not directly occupied by Ranjit Singh into his possession, but it came to his possession by the subjugation of Karorsinghia principality into Lahore Darbar. In 1809, Ranjit Singh took Hariana and the principalities of Jalandhar Doab from the widow of Baghel Singh and the principality of Talwan came under Ranjit Singh's control in the same year.⁵² After Baghel Singh's death, Muhammad Khan's son Shehbaj Khan revolted against Ranjit Singh, but all his efforts were unsuccessful, he lost his territories to Ranjit Singh.⁵³

Before the treaty of 1809 with British, a number of Muslim territories had been subjugated by Ranjit Singh. This treaty defined the boundaries of Ranjit Singh's empire and crumbled his dream to unite whole of Punjab into his empire. The river Satluj became the boundary line between British and Ranjit Singh. If Ranjit Singh lost his right over Cis-Satluj territory, he received recognition of his rule from the British in the trans-Satluj region. By the treaty of Amritsar, the British recognized Ranjit Singh as the sole sovereign of the Punjab and left him free to round off his conquests in the former Mughal province of Lahore.⁵⁴ After the treaty of 1809, Ranjit Singh now turned his attention towards major principalities of Muslim chiefs in the plains and the hills. The prominent Muslim principalities were Mankera, Multan, Kashmir, and Peshawar besides many others.

The first principality annexed by Ranjit Singh after the treaty of Amritsar was Sahiwal. It was a principality of Baloch Zamindars. In the early nineteenth century,

⁴⁹Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, pp. 49-50

⁵⁰Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy of Punjab*, p. 42.

⁵¹Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in Punjab*, p. 65.

⁵²N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, pp. 39-40.

⁵³Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy of Punjab*, p. 42.

⁵⁴J.S.Grewal, *The History of the Sikhs*, p.101

Fateh Khan ruled over Sahiwal. In 1804, Ranjit Singh obliged Fateh Khan to become tributary of Lahore Darbar and serve him with a contingent of twenty-five horses and twenty-five camels. In 1809, the amount of tribute was raised to 12,000 rupees a year.⁵⁵ In the year 1810, Ranjit Singh again raised the amount of tribute money; it was fixed at 85,000 rupees. The ruler of Sahiwal was not able to pay the increased amount of tribute to Ranjit Singh and on this ground Ranjit Singh marched to take control of Sahiwal in February 1810.⁵⁶ When Fateh Khan came to know about Ranjit Singh's marche to Sahiwal, very diplomatically, he sent his four-years old son, Langar Khan with rich presents to Ranjit Singh. The said ruler received the boy with great cordiality and expressed his friendship for Fateh Khan.⁵⁷ Ranjit Singh showed fake approach of friendship in the same manner as Fateh Khan was trying to use Ranjit Singh's friendship for political purpose.

Ranjit Singh took the fort of Sahiwal by surprise, in prisoned Fateh Khan and carried him to Lahore as a prisoner. After a year, he was released, and a *jagir* worth Rs. 14,400 was given to him at Jhang, with which he was to furnish fifty horsemen for Lahore Darbar.⁵⁸ After his release, Fateh Khan fled to Mankera in the protection of Muhammad Khan Baloch. He remained there for nine months, Muhammad Khan could not do much to assist him, Fateh Khan then left for Multan, where he lived for two more years, supported by Muzaffar Khan. When Ranjit Singh marched on Multan in 1818, Fateh Khan retired to Bahawalpur, where, in the town of Ahmadpur, he died in 1820.⁵⁹ According to Griffin, Sahiwal family received assistance from Ranjit Singh after the death of Fateh Khan. His son, Langar Khan received his previous *jagirs* along with new one. "After Fateh Khan's death, Ranjit Singh invited Langar Khan to Lahore and gave him *jagir* of Rs. 14,400 in Jhang and Sahiwal, with allowance for fifty horsemen, and stationed him at Multan, where he remained under Diwan Sawan Mal for ten years. Ranjit Singh was impressed by the services provided by Langar Khan to Lahore Darbar and presented valuable new *jagirs* along with their previous

⁵⁵Shiv Kumar Gupta, 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Conquest of Multan', in 'The Punjab Past and Present (1988), p. 106; Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, p. 58.

⁵⁶Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, pp. 87-88; Davinder Kumar Verma, 'Selected Chorology of Maharaja Ranjit Singh', in 'The Punjab Past and Present (1988), p. 173.

⁵⁷Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, p. 304.

⁵⁸*Ibid* p. 305.

⁵⁹*Ibid*, p. 305.

concessions. Besides Langar Khan's previous *jagirs*, he was allowed in cash Rs. 11, 236 for his own services and that of his two sons and forty-two troopers.⁶⁰

In the same year, another principality which came under Lahore Darbar was Khushab. It was also a Baloch principality and belonged to Sahiwal family of Chaj Doab. Jafar Khan was the chief of Khushab. In 1804, Jafar Khan was obliged to pay tribute to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which increased with the passage of time. According to Sohan Lal, in 1810, Ranjit Singh made up his mind to annex Khushab. He warned Jafar Jang before annexation: "It's time for you to hand over the fort and stop hostilities. You would be granted a *jagir* for your survival, your relations would be in safe custody and all the horses, goods and valuables in the fort would be handed over to you".⁶¹ In 1810, the fort of Khushab was annexed by Ranjit Singh, some villages were granted for the maintenance and order was also issued by Maharaja to provide residence to the dependents of Jafar Khan at Khushab.⁶²

Kamalia was a Muslim principality in the Bari Doab which belonged to Kharal chiefs. This principality was founded by Kamal Khan in the seventeenth century. When Ranjit Singh was ruling over Lahore, Kamalia was under Sadat Yar Khan. In 1803 Sadat Khan was compelled, after a fruitless struggle, to submit to Ranjit Singh, who annexed Kamalia to Lahore. Sadat Yar Khan fled to the protection of Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Multan. Ranjit Singh, however, recalled him and gave him proprietary rights over forty villages, in which he was succeeded by his son Muzaffar Khan. In 1810, the Maharaja gave him the village of Muhammad Shah, which he held through Sawan Mal's administration. Muzaffar Khan was succeeded by his brother Muhammad Sarfraj Khan, who was an able man and a brave soldier. He held the family *jagir* throughout the reign of Ranjit Singh, but Raja Hira Singh reduced it to Rs. 300.⁶³

Two more principalities to merge into Lahore state in the year 1810 were Kusak and Malot. These principalities of the Janjua tribe were established between Pind Dadan Khan and water course of Kahan. In the late eighteenth century, the ruler of Malot Shabt Khan, was from Makhiala branch of Janjuas. He also ruled over the

⁶⁰*Ibid*, pp. 305-06.

⁶¹Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, p. 86.

⁶²*Ibid*, pp.86-87; Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*, p. 45

⁶³Griffen, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, p. 66.

adjoining territory of Darapur, Kahun, and Daliwal. He was obliged to pay tribute to Mahan Singh in 1780s.⁶⁴ During Ranjit Singh's period, Malot was ruled by Bahadur Khan. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Malot was occupied by Ranjit Singh. Bahadur Khan was given a small *jagir* and cash grant by Ranjit Singh.⁶⁵

Another principality of Janjua tribe which came to Ranjit Singh's possession in the year 1810 was Kusak. It was known for its salt mines and was under Fateh Muhammad. Initially, he was made vassal by Ranjit Singh on a fixed tribute. But after sometime, Ranjit Singh desired to control his territory and offered him, to make collection from salt mines along with a *jagir*, but Fateh Muhammad did not accept the offer. Ranjit Singh sent his forces against Kusak chief, who gave a strong resistance. When he did not agree to surrender, the main source of his water, Choa Saidan, which supplied water in the fort, was occupied by Ranjit Singh's forces. At last in 1810, Muhammad Khan surrendered. Ranjit Singh occupied Kusak and left few villages for the survival of Fateh Muhammad.⁶⁶

Khari-Khariali was a principality in the hills of Punjab. It was under Raja Umar Khan, a Muslim chief. In 1810, Ranjit Singh sent his army to occupy Khari-Khariali. The chief of Khari-Khariali thinking resistance useless, appealed Ranjit Singh for peace through his son, Akbar Ali Khan. But before a settlement could be reached with Ranjit Singh, Umar Khan died, Ranjit Singh then granted half of the State to Akbar Ali Khan. On his death, this half state was confiscated. A subsistence *jagir* worth Rs. 4,000 was assigned to Amir Khan, second son of Umar Khan, and Rs. 8,000 to his cousin, Sher Jang Khan. The conquest of the hill state such as Khari-Khariali can be considered as the preliminary step to the conquest of Mughal province of Kashmir.

Another Muslim principality in the hills was that of Bhimber. Raja Sultan Khan of Bhimber became tributary of Ranjit Singh in 1808, the *nazrana* of Rs. 40,000 was fixed upon the ruler to pay to Lahore Darbar but soon he proved an unwilling

⁶⁴*District Gazetteer of Jhelam, 1883-84*, p. 73.

⁶⁵Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, p. 264.

⁶⁶Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, pp. 118-127; Ganesh Das, *Char Bagh-i- Punjab*, (tr. & ed.), J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga under the title '*Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*', Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, p. 152.

vassal and was reluctant to pay tribute.⁶⁷ Ranjit Singh captured his territory with the help of Bhai Ram Singh. In 1812, with the assured promise of Bhai Ram Singh, the chief of Bhimber, Sultan Khan reached Lahore for negotiation; he was first treated well by Ranjit Singh but later on put in chains. His territory was annexed to Lahore kingdom; it was given to Prince Kharak Singh in *jagir*.⁶⁸ After several years, in 1819, Sultan Khan was released; he assisted the *Durbar* troops in the Kashmir campaign. A part of his former territory was given to him in reward but he died a few years later.

Jhang was a principality of the Muslim Chiefs of Sials in the Rachna Doab. During the early years of his life, after the occupation of Lahore, Ranjit Singh had made few Muslim rulers his tributary, the chief of Jhang was one among them. The principality of Jhang was ruled by Ahmad Khan. He was obliged by Ranjit Singh to pay 60,000 rupees as a yearly tribute in 1803.⁶⁹ The amount of revenue was increased to one lakh in 1816. As the ruler was reluctant to pay the increased amount of tribute, Ranjit Singh suspected his commitments. All his territories were confiscated by Ranjit Singh in 1817. Ahmad Khan was given a service *jagir* of Rs. 12,000 at Mirowal near Amritsar.⁷⁰ Jahan Khan, his brother was also granted about 1,700 acres of land with 30 wells in *jagir*. After Ahmad Khan's death in 1820, Inayat Ullah Khan was granted same *jagir*. In 1823, his *jagir* was exchanged for one of the same value at Sarai Sidhu near Multan.⁷¹

Another principality under a Muslim chief to be occupied by Ranjit Singh was Nurpur. It was situated in the Sind Sagar Doab near Salt Range. The Tiwanas were ruling over vast area with their headquarter at Nurpur Tiwana. The ruler of Nurpur, Muhammad Khan was opposed by his brother Khan Beg Khan, who wanted to grab the chiefship of Nurpur. In 1809, Muhammad Khan sought help from Ranjit Singh against his brother, who was being aided by Rajab Khan, a Sial Chief of Garh Maharaja, besides Fateh Khan of Sahiwal and Jafar Khan of Khushab. Ranjit Singh helped Muhammad Khan and went back to Lahore after fixing tribute of one lakh of

⁶⁷Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 44.

⁶⁸Hutchison, J.& Vogel, J.Ph, *History of The Panjab Hill States*, Vol- II, Government Printing Press, Lahore, 1933, p.727 (cited hereafter as *The Panjab Hill States*);Sohan Lal, *Umdat -ut- Twarikh*, vol-II (Pbi. tr.), p.177; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 48.

⁶⁹Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy* (Ph.D Thesis), p. 63.

⁷⁰Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat -ut- Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, p. 212; Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy* (Ph.D Thesis), p. 63.

⁷¹Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy* (Ph.D Thesis), p. 63.

rupees to be paid by the chief of Nurpur.⁷² In 1817, Ranjit Singh sent a force under Miser Diwan Chand, against the Tiwana chief. After a short resistance, the fort was taken over, Ahmad Yar Khan the ruler of Nurpur, was granted Jhawarian, worth 10,000 in *jagir*, and subjected to the service of sixty horsemen.⁷³ After his subjugation, the Tiwana chief served Ranjit Singh in Multan and various other campaigns. After some time, Khuda Yar Khan, son of Ahmad Yar Khan found himself a person of very small importance at Lahore, where no one of the Sikh nobles cared for his long genealogy. He was appointed, on Rs. 1000 a year, *chabuk-sawar*, or rough rider to the Maharaja, whose hunting expeditions he superintended until his death in 1837.⁷⁴ At the death of Khuda Yar Khan, his *jagir* was divided between his son Fateh Khan and nephew Kadar Baksh. The former commanded twenty-two *sawars* and the latter thirty-three; the allowance of Fateh Khan was Rs. 1000, the same as his father held as *chabuk-sowar*; that of Kadar Baksh was Rs. 720; and, besides this, Rs. 10,440 were for the pay of the troopers.⁷⁵ Fateh Khan, son of Khuda Yar Khan, continued to serve under Hari Singh Nalwa till latter's death in 1837. After Nalwa's death, Raja Dhyan Singh made Fateh Khan the manager of Mitha Tiwana and handed over to him the control of salt mines, Warcha and Choha.⁷⁶

Another important principality to come under Ranjit Singh's control was Multan. Ranjit Singh had to make several attempts to conquer Multan. In the year 1803, Ranjit Singh for the first time marched towards Multan. This Muslim principality was situated at the junction of two rivers, the Sutlej and Ravi. Ranjit Singh invaded Multan six times before it was finally captured in 1818.⁷⁷ In 1803, Ranjit Singh extracted *nazrana* from the ruler of Multan, Nawab Muzaffar Khan. In 1805, Ranjit Singh invaded Multan for the second time. He sent his *vakil* to the

⁷²Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, p. 283.

⁷³Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, pp. 200-01; Sita Ram Kohli, *Fathnama Guru Khalsa Ji Ka*, p. 33; Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy* (Ph.D Thesis), p. 51; Rishi Singh, *State Formation and the Establishment of Non- Muslim Hegemony: Post-Mughal 19th Century Punjab*, Sage Publication, Delhi, 2015, p. 121.

⁷⁴Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, p. 283.

⁷⁵*Ibid*, p. 293.

⁷⁶*Ibid*, pp.170-171.

⁷⁷Ranjit Singh's successive invasions were likely to weaken the enemy as also demoralize the Nawab and his force. Every time, therefore, when he led an expedition, he not only accepted the *nazrana* from the nawab but also assurance that he would continue paying the amount in the subsequent years; Shiv Kumar Verma, 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Conquests of Multan,' *The Punjab Past and Present*, 1988, p. 105.

Nawab with the message that he should immediately pay the amount of tribute to his agent, rupees 70,000 were paid by the Nawab.⁷⁸

In 1807, Ranjit Singh invaded Multan again, when he came to know that the Nawab of Multan had conspired against him with the chiefs of Jhang and Qasur. Ranjit Singh invaded the city and occupied many parts of it but Muzaffar Khan, the ruler of Multan shut himself in the fort. The Sikh ruler having no siege train, again contended himself with a tribute of rupees 70,000.⁷⁹ According to Fauja Singh, “Ranjit Singh’s first three campaigns upon Multan can be put as his ‘expeditionary survey’ as also to serve ‘as the warning to the Nawab of the shape of things to come in due course’”.⁸⁰ In 1810, Ranjit Singh made the fourth expedition towards Multan. To demoralize the Nawab, Ranjit Singh increased the amount of tribute to two lakhs of rupees on the assumption that this was the amount which Muzaffar Khan used to pay to the ruler of Kabul as his governor.⁸¹



Figure 2.2: Battle of Multan

Source: www.MaharajaRanjitSingh.com

⁷⁸G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 10.

⁷⁹Bikramjit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 92; Shiv Kumar Gupta, ‘Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s Conquest of Multan’, p. 107.

⁸⁰Fauja Singh, *State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, Jullunder Publications, New Delhi, 1982, p. 302.

⁸¹Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy of the Punjab*, p. 42.

In 1818, Ranjit Singh invaded Multan; Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Multan prepared himself for the battle. 'In spite of a splendid stubborn resistance, the fort was captured after a siege of four months.'⁸² In June 1818, Ranjit Singh occupied Multan, Muzaffar Khan died fighting along with his six sons: Shah Nawaz Khan, Mumtaz Khan, Azaz Khan, Hak Nawaz Khan, Shah Baz Khan and Amir Beg Khan.⁸³ Ranjit Singh treated his vanquished sons Sarfraz Khan and Zulfikar Khan with honor. He sent Zulfikar Khan, a *khilat* of rupees 25,000, both the brothers were given subsistence *jagirs*.⁸⁴ The conquest of Multan was a dream victory for Ranjit Singh, which further opened the way to the conquest of areas of lower Indus valley such as Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, and Mankera.

The Gakkhars ruled over the area from Rohtas to Rawalpindi.⁸⁵ The Gakkhar chief subdued by Ranjit Singh was Mehndi Ali Khan, who ruled over Pharwala during the early nineteenth century. This Muslim territory was not directly subjugated by Ranjit Singh to Lahore state but by his *jagirdar* on his behalf. His *jagirdar* belonged to Thepuria family. In 1818, Anand Singh Thehpuria of Rawalpindi occupied this principality from Mehndi Khan on behalf of Ranjit Singh. After the subjugation, Mehndi Khan and his family was allowed some property rights in Pharwala.⁸⁶ But, the Gakkhar family was humiliated by the Sikh *sardars* of Ranjit Singh, in particular, by Budh Singh Sandhanwalia and Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu. Mehndi Khan's two sons, Shadman Khan and Madat Khan were sent into prison, where they died. Raja Hayatula Khan, the eldest son of Shadman Khan, was also kept in prison for twelve years by the Sikh *jagirdars* of Ranjit Singh.⁸⁷

The very next year, after the subjugation of Multan, Ranjit Singh prepared his forces for the annexation of Kashmir. Kashmir was ruled by Jabar Khan, on behalf of his brother Azim Khan. In this campaign, Ranjit Singh was helped by Dogra chiefs of Jammu and Kashmiri Pandit, Bir Dhar. The latter was an able minister of the governor of Kashmir at the Sikh court, where he had found refuge after falling out with his

⁸²Shiv Kumar Gupta, 'Ranjit Singh's Conquest over Multan', p. 117.

⁸³Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-I, p. 86.

⁸⁴H.T.Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*, pp. 91-93; Shiv Kumar Gupta, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Conquest of Multan*, p.120; Veena Sachdeva, *Polity & Economy*, p. 43; Prem Singh Hoti, *Sher -i- Punjab Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Pbi.), Lahore Book Shop, 1972, p. 97.

⁸⁵Veena Sachdeva, *Polity & Economy* (Ph.D thesis), p. 57.

⁸⁶Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-I, p. 135, *Ibid*, vol-II, p. 359; Veena Sachdeva, *Polity & Economy* (Ph.D thesis), p. 59.

⁸⁷Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, pp. 358-59.

master. He supplied useful information to the Maharaja the strength and disposition of the Afghan army, and various routes to Kashmir.⁸⁸



Figure.2.3: Battle of Kashmir

Source: www.Maharaja Ranjit Singh.com

Ranjit Singh advanced to Kashmir very vigilantly and divided his forces into three sections; one section of the force was supervised by him and other two were under his commanders. During this campaign, two battles were fought between the Sikhs and Afghans at Supian and Srinagar. Zabar Khan of Kashmir fought with the Sikh force of twelve thousand. He was seriously wounded in the battle and fled to Srinagar, first and thence to Baramulla and from there, he escaped to Peshawar.⁸⁹ After the subjugation of Kashmir, Ranjit Singh gave Zabar Khan a subsistence *jagir* worth twenty-five thousand rupees in Kishtwar.⁹⁰

Punch was a Muslim principality in the hills. The original name of the valley was Parnotsa, of which Punch is a derivation. Various other names were also used by historians for Punch such as Lahora, Pucha or Punach, Pruntz, Prunch and Punje. It

⁸⁸G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 16.

⁸⁹Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 59; G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 16;

⁹⁰Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama: A History of the Maharaja Gulab Singh* (tr. Sukhdev Singh Charak), Light and Life Publishers, 1977, p. 90.

was situated between the hill tract called Deravabhisara, lying between the Jhelum and the Chenab and also, it was the first principality founded in this tract.⁹¹ During Ranjit Singh's reign, Punch was ruled by Raja Ruhullah Khan. He was a great supporter of Afghans of Kashmir and gave opposition to the Sikh troops during their Kashmir campaign. In 1814, at the time of the second Kashmir campaign, Raja Ruhullah Khan of Punch cast his lot with the Afghan governor of Kashmir for which his territory was ravaged by the Lahore troops and in 1819, Punch was annexed to Lahore kingdom.⁹² After the subjugation of Kashmir, Ruhullah Khan was expelled from the state. Raja Ruh-ullah- Khan had two sons: Sher Jang Khan and Shamas Khan. The descendants of Ruhullah Khan had no offspring, his elder son, Sher Jang Khan was granted a *jagir* in Punch for his subsistence.⁹³

Rajauri and Bhimber were known as the brigades of Kashmir, and it was important to control these states, if Ranjit Singh wanted to occupy Kashmir. The state of Bhimber was subdued after a stubborn resistance in 1812.⁹⁴ The chief of Rajauri was Agar Ullah Khan, who sat on throne against opposition of the officials and people; they wanted his brother Rahim Ullan Khan as their chief.⁹⁵ The ruler of Rajauri played double role with Ranjit Singh, promised him help but conspired with the chief of Kashmir against Ranjit Singh. After the failure of second expedition of Kashmir, Ranjit Singh came to know about the double standards of Rajauri chief and in 1815, he sent a large force against him, Rajauri was besieged and the chief escaped towards Kotli.⁹⁶ In 1819, Rahim-Ullah Khan, younger brother of Rajauri chief was approached by Ranjit Singh for help, he was offered the chiefship of Rajauri. Rahim Ullah Khan joined the Sikhs and gave every assistance. After the conquest of Kashmir, Raja was suitably rewarded, sometime later, a *jagir* was granted to him in Kashmir. Raja Agar Ullah Khan, the chief of Rajauri was captured in the spring of

⁹¹Hutchison & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 698.

⁹²Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, pp. 44-45.

⁹³Hutchison & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, pp. 722-24.

⁹⁴*Ibid*, p. 691.

⁹⁵Soon after his accession Agar-ullah Khan sent Rahim-Ullah-Khan to Kashmir as state agent, and wrote privately to the governor that he should not be allowed to return. He was, therefore, subjected to a measure of restraint by having a guard always in attendance upon him. After a time, however, he succeeded in making his escape and returned to his estate in Rajuri: Hutchison & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 690.

⁹⁶Sita Ram Kohli, *Ranjit Singh*, p.133; Hutchison & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p.691.

1820 by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, who had been especially appointed for this task. Agar Ullah Khan was sent to Lahore, where he was confined till his death in 1825.⁹⁷

The principality of Pakpattan was established by Shaikh Abdus Subhan, a successor of Sufi saint Shaikh Farid, popularly known as Baba Farid. Shaikh Abdus Subhan ruled over territories on both sides of river Satluj.⁹⁸ During Ranjit Singh's time, the principality was being ruled by Shaikh Gulam Rasul. In 1816, Ranjit Singh marched towards Pakpattan and made the chief to pay him tribute of 50,000 Rs. and one horse to the Lahore Darbar.⁹⁹ In 1820, the territory of Muslim *pirzada* was annexed by Ranjit Singh.¹⁰⁰ Later on a subsistence *jagir* of nearly 13,000 rupees was given to *pirzada* as a mark of respect.

From 1820 onwards, Ranjit Singh shifted his attention towards Mankera, a principality in the Sind Sagar Doab. It was ruled by Sher Muhammad Khan, who ruled over the territory from Mianwali to Leiah together with Dera Ismail Khan. Besides, the Mankera chief had two strong forts named Khangarh and Muhammad Kot. Ranjit Singh occupied these forts with the help of his commander Mohkam Chand and compelled the then ruler of Mankera Sher Muhammad Khan to pay one lakh of rupees as yearly tribute.¹⁰¹

In 1821, Ranjit Singh made up his mind to occupy Mankera, he annexed all forts of Mankera.¹⁰² After the subjugation of Mankera, Ranjit Singh occupied his other territories on both sides of river Indus such as Mianwali, Leiah, Bhakkar, Bannu, Tank and Dera Ismail Khan.¹⁰³ During the Mankera campaign, Tiwana chief, Ahmad Khan had also joined Lahore force. The Mankera Nawab, after the siege of twenty-five days, was capitulated by Ranjit Singh and allowed to retain Dera Ghazi

⁹⁷Hutchison & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, pp. 691-92.

⁹⁸Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, p. 54.

⁹⁹Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol.II, p. 203.

¹⁰⁰After the occupation, Ranjit Singh decided to handover Pakpattan to Jamadar Khushal Singh; but the said Jamadar submitted his refusal to accept it on the account of its being a place of holy man: Ibid, p. 203; Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, p. 54.

¹⁰¹Garrett & Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh (1810-1817)*, The Punjab Government Record Office Publication, Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p. 245 (cited hereafter as *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*) ; Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh power*, p.88.

¹⁰²Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, pp.99, 190, 198, 200-205 & 211; N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p.60; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, pp. 57-58.

¹⁰³Sita Ram Kohli, *Fateh Nama Guru Khalsa Ji Ka*, Languages Department, Patiala, 1970 (Sec. ed.), p. 145.

Khan as a vassal. Fifteen year later, in 1836, Dera Ismail Khan was taken over and Sher Muhammad Khan was given a subsistence *jagir*.¹⁰⁴

After the conquest of Multan in 1818, Ranjit Singh took advantage of the puzzled political condition of Afghanistan and made first campaign towards the right bank of the Indus to occupy Peshawar. On his way to Peshawar, Feroz Khan, the chief of the tribe of Khattaks invaded Khairabad opposite Attock and killed two Sikh chiefs. Ranjit Singh personally marched against him and the fortress of Khairabad was secured by him.¹⁰⁵ After Khattaks' occupation, Ranjit Singh reached Peshawar and overran the country. The valley was held by Yar Muhammad, a chieftain appointed by Kabul as its governor. It was given over to Jahan Dad Khan Barakzai, who had surrendered Attock to Ranjit Singh on the condition of payment of an annual tribute to the Sikh ruler.¹⁰⁶

In 1822, Ranjit Singh crossed the Indus for the second time. Governor Yar Mohammad diplomatically won the favor of Ranjit Singh and accepted to pay a *nazrana* to Lahore Darbar.¹⁰⁷ In 1823, Azim Khan, who had acquired power in Afghanistan after the death of his brother Fateh Khan, determined to re-establish Afghan supremacy over Peshawar.¹⁰⁸ Ranjit Singh took Peshawar in his control after a long battle with Azim Khan at Nowshera in 1823.

The actual annexation of the valley was effected in 1834 when the Barakzai brothers began to plot with Dost Mohammad Khan, who had proclaimed himself the Amir of Kabul. As a result of their intrigue, Hari Singh Nalwa crossed the river Indus and established himself at Chamkauri, from there he marched towards Peshawar. Dost Mohammad Khan fled to Shabkadar, thus leaving Hari Singh in possession of Peshawar.¹⁰⁹ At the time of the annexation of Peshawar in 1834, its former rulers

¹⁰⁴Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol- II, p.284; Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol-V, pp. 74-75; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁵N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p.59.

¹⁰⁶Sita Ram Kohli, *Fateh-Nama Guru Khalsa Ji Ka*, p.147; G. L. Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p.18; Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 59

¹⁰⁷N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 62.

¹⁰⁸G.L..Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p.18.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid*, p. 20.

Sultan Muhammad Khan and Pir Muhammad were given *jagirs* worth three lakh rupees annually in Kohat and Hastnagar by Ranjit Singh.¹¹⁰



Figure 2.4: Battle of Nowshera

Source: WWW.MaharajaRanjitSingh.com

The subjugation of Muslim principalities ended by 1834. After this year, there was hardly any Muslim principality which was annexed by Ranjit Singh. He focused his attention on the administrative set up of his state after taking these territories under his direct control.

¹¹⁰Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p. 51

II

After establishing himself at Lahore in 1799, Ranjit Singh tried to enhance his resources by subjugating Hindu Rajput chiefs in the hills. The building of empire required resources, material and money and the integration of the hill states with empire was geared to garner such resources. Due to the economic viability of the hill states, Ranjit Singh opened up the tributary relationship with them.¹¹¹ Ranjit Singh was the first Sikh ruler to subvert a large number of hill principalities.¹¹² The process of the demand of tribute from Hindu chiefs started in 1800 with Jammu's submission and completed in the year 1834, with the subjugation of Bhoti territory.¹¹³

Relations with the Hindu chiefs, especially with Jammu, began from the time of Ranjit Singh's grandfather Sardar Charhat Singh, "When Brijraj Dev, the son and successor of Raja Ranjit Singh Dev of Jammu, approached Charhat Singh Sukerchakia to help him against his father on the agreement of payment of annual tribute".¹¹⁴ After Charhat Singh, his son Mahan Singh maintained relations with Brijraj Dev and obliged Jammu family to pay tribute to Sukerchakias.

Before the establishment of strong footing in the Rajput principalities of the hills, Ranjit Singh strengthened his position in the plains of the Punjab, by annexing the territories of Hindu chiefs, the principality of Phagwara was one of them. In the year 1803, after returning from his first campaign of Multan, Ranjit Singh subjugated the territory of Phagwara, situated in the Bist Jullundher Doab. This territory was established by Chaudhari Churh Mall of Phagwara. Initially, it was under the control of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The chief of Phagwara had been made to pay regular tribute to him and his successor Fateh Singh Ahluwalia.¹¹⁵ After the death of Churh Mall, in 1803, this territory with all its villages was subjugated by Ranjit Singh and

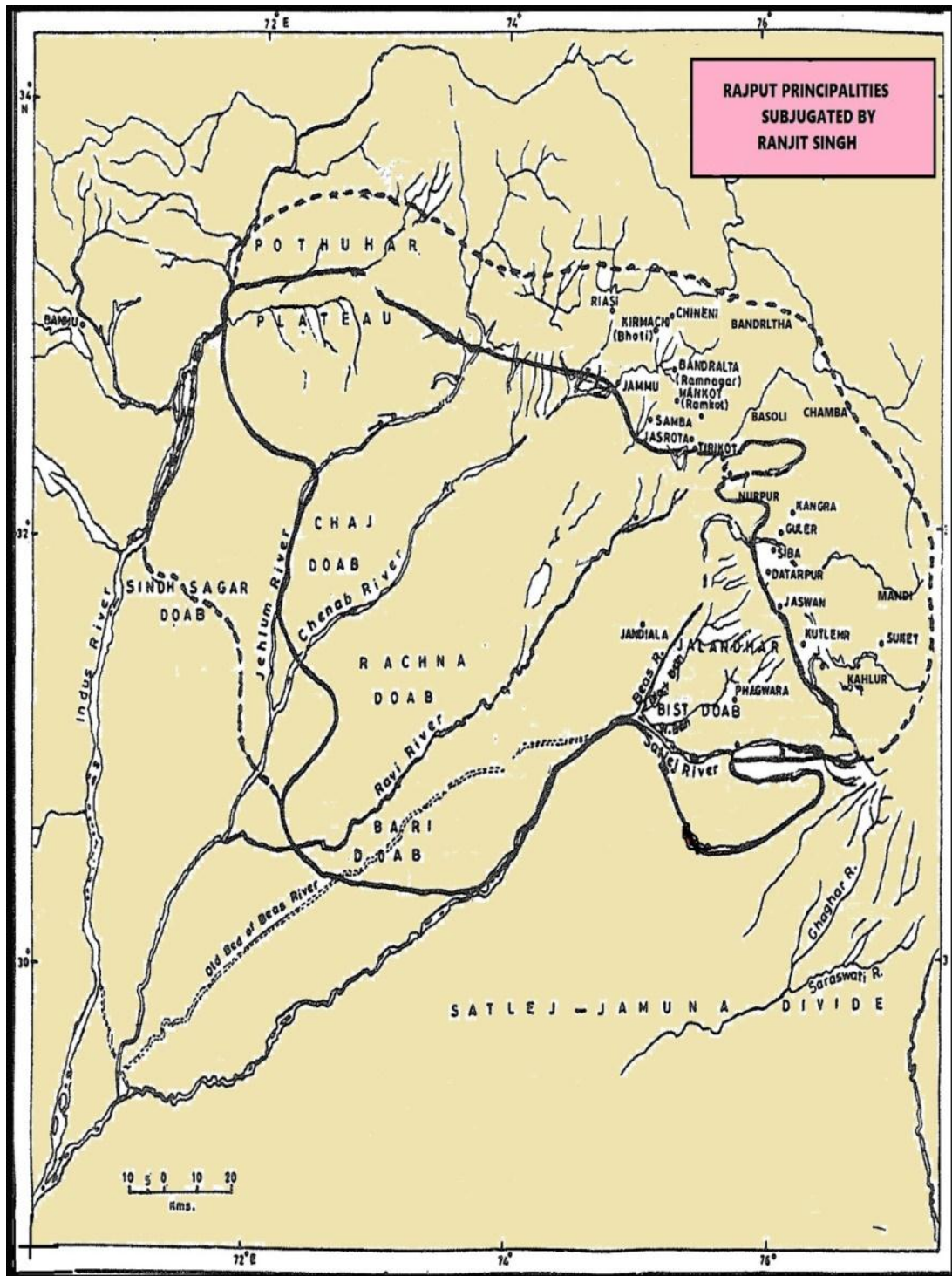
¹¹¹Charu Plaha, *Polity, Economy and Society in the Punjab Hills: C .1550-C.1850*, (Ph.D Thesis), Punjab University, Chandigarh, 2007, p. 32 (cited hereafter as Charu Plaha, *Polity, Economy and Society in the Punjab Hills*)

¹¹²Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 42.

¹¹³Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, pp. 549 & 577.

¹¹⁴Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, p.13; Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Panjab Languages Department, Patiala, 1970, p. 68; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, p. 84.

¹¹⁵Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy* (Ph.D Thesis), p. 34.



handed over to Fateh Singh Ahluwalia who was given direct control of this principality.¹¹⁶

Jodhanagri was another Hindu principality near Amritsar. It was established by Dharm Das, whose ancestors had served as intermediary *zamindars* during the Mughal times. In the late eighteenth century, Jodhnagri was made tributary by the Ahluwalias. Dharm Das was succeeded by Ram Chand, the latter was killed in a battle at Nadala while fighting for his suzerain Fateh Singh Ahluwalia in 1804. Ranjit Singh took over Jodhanagri, leaving to the minor son of Ram Chand a village worth 2,000 rupees a year for subsistence.¹¹⁷

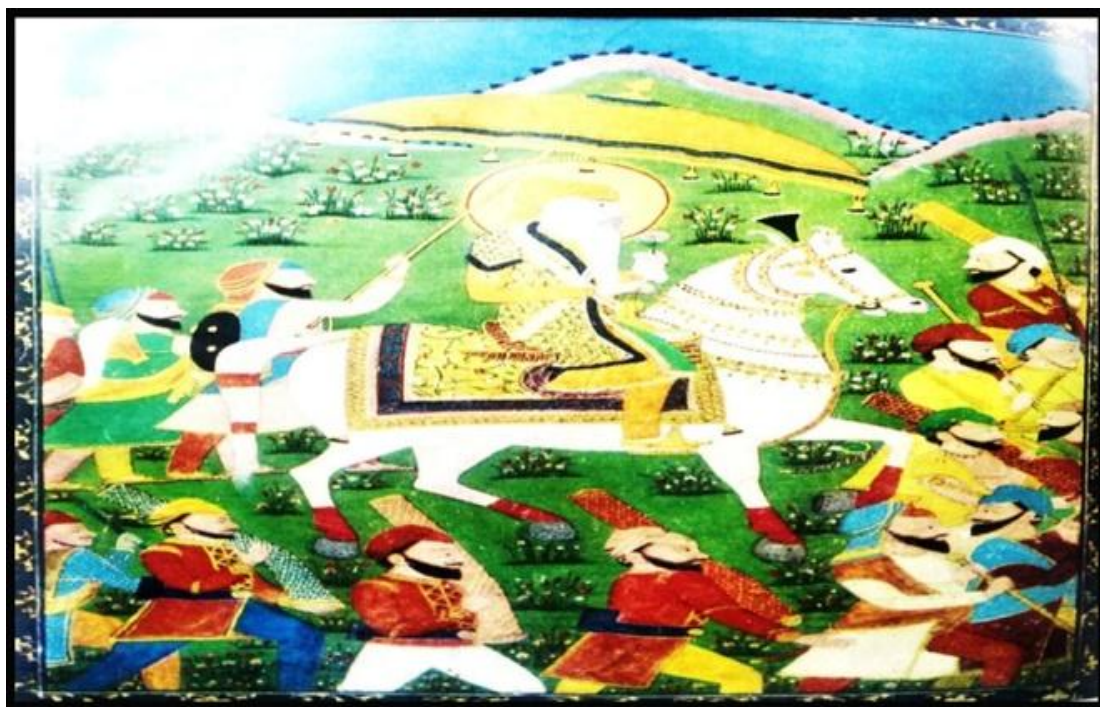


Figure 2.5: Ranjit Singh Going For A Hill Campaign

Source: W.G.Archer's *Paintings of the Sikhs*

After the occupation of Phagwara and Jodhangri from the Hindu rulers, it was now the turn of Rajput rulers of the hills, who were subjugated by Ranjit Singh in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The principality of Akhnur was first to be annexed by Ranjit Singh. Akhnur was a principality in the western group of the hill states between the rivers Indus and Chenab. It came under the Sukerchakias during the time of Mahan Singh, who made the ruler of Akhnur his tributary. The ruler paid

¹¹⁶Sohan Lal, *Umdat -ut- Tawarikh*, vol-II, p. 47; H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*, p. 44.

¹¹⁷Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy of the Punjab*, p. 26.

tribute to Ranjit Singh as well. According to Sohan Lal, “Raja Alam Singh of Akhnur was a tributary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in, 1807, when troops were sent against him to collect tribute, rupees 13,000 were imposed upon him to be paid to Sikh ruler. The fort of Akhnur was taken over from Raja Alam Singh in 1812”.

The principality of Guler was under Bhup Singh of Guler.¹¹⁸ Initially Ranjit Singh had very cordial relations with Bhup Singh, he treated him with respect but later on, after the subjugation of Jammu, Ranjit Singh targeted a number of hill principalities for subjugation and Bhup Singh’s principality was one among them. In the year 1811, to acquire Bhup Singh’s territory and to collect tribute, an army was sent to the hills. Raja Bhup Chand was detained at Lahore and released only when he agreed to hand over the fort of Guler and his territories to the Maharaja’s troops. In the year 1813, Ranjit Singh annexed Guler into the Lahore Kingdom.¹¹⁹ On the basis of his previous cordial relationship with Bhup Singh, Ranjit Singh offered him a *jagir* of rupees 5,000 but Bhup Chand rejected the offer of Ranjit Singh.¹²⁰ After some time, Raja was permitted to retain land yielding yearly revenue of Rs. 20,000 at Nandur near (Haripur, the old capital of Guler).¹²¹ The *jagir* was assigned for the support of the royal family of Guler.

After Guler, Siba was next principality of a Rajput chief to be annexed by Ranjit Singh to the Lahore Kingdom in 1813. Raja Gobind Chand had been paying tribute to Ranjit Singh from the year 1809 onwards but Ranjit Singh always wanted to occupy his territory. However, it was saved owing to the fact that Raja Dhian Singh, the Prime Minister of the Sikh Kingdom, had obtained two princesses of Siba family in marriage and with his intervention, the danger was averted.¹²² However, Ranjit Singh continued collecting tribute of 15,000 rupees. In 1813, the entire territory of Siba was annexed into the Sikh Kingdom, Ranjit Singh granted subsistence *jagir* of few villages to Raja Gobind Singh of Siba.¹²³

¹¹⁸Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 43

¹¹⁹Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, pp. 129-30 & 150-151; *District Gazetteer, Kangra*, p. 41; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 43.

¹²⁰Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, p. 263; Garrett & Chopra, *Events at the Court*, pp. 52 & 145

¹²¹*Ibid*, p. 82.

¹²²Charu Plaha, *Polity, Economy and Society in the Punjab Hills*, p. 45.

¹²³Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, pp. 83 & 211.

As stated earlier, Jammu was the first hill principality that had attracted the attention of Ranjit Singh, as it was previously a tributary of his ancestors. In 1800, Ranjit Singh made Ranjit Dev of Jammu to pay him Rs, 20,000 and an elephant as tribute. In 1809-10, skirmishes took place between the Sikh forces and Mian Dido on the issue of Jammu's control by the Sikh forces. Mian Dido was the descendant of Raja Hari Dev of Jammu, who ruled from 1650 to 1658 A.D. Hari Dev's fifth son, Dalip Singh inherited the *jagir* of Jagati, some ten miles to the north of Jammu in the hill forests. Fifth in descent from Dalip Singh was Mian Hazari, the father of Dido. Mian Dido was a brave Dogra Rajput of Jamwal clan, living in Jagir. It is believed that on account of exuberance of heroism he took predatory habits in his adolescence and had formed a gang of some fifty young men bravos of like nature. He rebelled against the Sikh dominance and represented and guided the uncurbed spirit of the people of Jammu. His defiance of Sikh authority for over a decade had popular backing and Sikh power failed to stamp out the rebel and his followers.¹²⁴ In 1815, Jammu was finally annexed to Lahore Darbar.¹²⁵ The Jammu family was patronized by Ranjit Singh and enjoyed great status under his rule. Before the ouster of Raja Jit Singh of Jammu in 1815, his second cousin Kishora Singh and the latter his three sons, Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh, and Suchet Singh joined the service of Ranjit Singh as common troopers. In 1820, they were made *jagirdars* of Jammu, Bhoti, Bandraltha, Chenini, and Kishtwar for maintaining 400 horsemen, on the condition that they would extirpate Dido. The task, to demolish Dido was entrusted to Dogra *jagirdars* of Jammu to which Gulab Singh belonged.¹²⁶ Dido was killed in 1821 and Kishora Singh was made the Raja of Jammu.¹²⁷

The next principality of Rajput chiefs to submit to Ranjit Singh was of Jaswan. The principality of Jaswan in the hills had been obliged to pay tribute to Sansar Chand, the ruler of Kangra in the late eighteenth century. After the submission of Sansar Chand, this territory automatically became subject to Ranjit Singh. For the submission of this territory, Ranjit Singh followed the same policy; as he had adopted while the subjugation of Guler. Ranjit Singh detained the chief of Jaswan at Lahore.

¹²⁴Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama: A History of Maharaja Gulab Singh* (tr. by Sukhdev Singh Charak), Light and Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 83 & 104.

¹²⁵Hutchison & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 74; Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, p. 201; Latif, *History of the Punjab*, p. 352; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 44.

¹²⁶Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama: A History of Maharaja Gulab Singh*, p. 104.

¹²⁷J.S. Grewal, *The History of the Sikhs*, p. 106

Raja Ummaid Singh of Jaswan was kept in confinement at Lahore by Ranjit Singh until he accepted his overlordship. In 1815, Raja Ummaid Singh quietly signed to surrender to the state of Lahore.¹²⁸ After the subjugation of Jaswan, Ranjit Singh granted him service *jagir* of twenty-one villages in Jaswan Dun, the value of granted villages was rupees 12,000 per annum.¹²⁹

The Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur was made tributary by Ranjit Singh in 1809, But he proved to be an unwilling vassal for Ranjit Singh. Raja Bir Singh was obliged to come to Amritsar in 1815 and was asked to pay a heavy *nazrana* to Ranjit Singh which he could not pay. Subsequently, he was imprisoned, his *dera* was plundered and troops were sent to occupy his territories.¹³⁰ In 1816, all territories related to Nurpur were annexed to the Lahore Kingdom. Lakhanpur was prominent among them. After occupation of Nurpur and allied territories Ranjit Singh established his government and started to rule here directly.¹³¹ After ten years, Bir Singh tried to reoccupy his state. In 1826, he made efforts to restore his territory. When the news of his revolt reached Lahore, a force was dispatched under Desa Singh Majithia, Bir Singh fled to Chamba. Fearing the consequences, the Chamba chief delivered him to Ranjit Singh. Raja Bir Singh was confined in Gobindgarh fort at Amritsar for seven years. Later a *jagir* of Rs 12,000 at Kahlot was offered which he declined.¹³² Till his death in 1846, Bir Singh made several attempts to reoccupy his state from Ranjit Singh but failed.¹³³

In the year 1818, another Rajput principality annexed to Lahore Darbar was that of Datarpur. It was under Raja Gobind Chand. The principality of Datarpur was one among the dependencies of Sansar Chand of Kangra. 'On the death of Raja Gobind Chand of Datarpur in 1818, his son Jagat Singh was not allowed to succeed to his territory and Datarpur was annexed. Jagat Singh received subsistence *jagir* from

¹²⁸Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, p. 84.

¹²⁹Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, p. 263.

¹³⁰Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 43.

¹³¹Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, p. 220; Griffin & Massy, *Chiefs & Families of Note*, p. 381; Charu Plaha, *Polity, Economy and Society in the Punjab Hills*, p. 45.

¹³²Charu Plaha, *Polity, Economy and Society in the Punjab Hills*, p. 46.

¹³³Griffin & Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note*, pp. 383-84; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, pp. 82 & 264.

Lahore Darbar.¹³⁴ A few years later, Jagat Singh tried to occupy his state but was unsuccessful. He was deported to Almora, where he died in 1877.¹³⁵

The state of Mankot was a tributary of Jammu ruler. When Raja Ranjit Singh Dev of Jammu was reduced to the status of a vassal of Lahore Darbar, with his reduction, Mankot also came under the control of Ranjit Singh in 1809. The regular tribute levied on Mankot was 20,000 rupees by Ranjit Singh. The territory of Mankot was annexed to Lahore in 1820 and the Raja of Mankot was ejected by Prince Kharak Singh. The ruling family shifted to Kutlehr in Kangra.¹³⁶ Few years after the confiscation of this territory, the estate of Mankot was conferred on Raja Suchet Singh of Jammu as a fief by Ranjit Singh. After his death in 1844, the territory was merged in Jammu.¹³⁷

The state of Bhau was an offshoot of Jammu. The founder of this principality was Bhau Dev.¹³⁸ When Jammu became tributary of Ranjit Singh, Bhau also came under his control. The ruler of Bhau was obliged by Ranjit Singh to pay him tribute. But later on, Raja Gulab Singh in 1820 annexed this smaller Hindu state to his territory.¹³⁹ After the annexation of territory, the ruling family of Bhau was granted subsistence *jagir* in Riasi for their maintenance.¹⁴⁰

Next principality to come under the control of Dogra chiefs was Bhadu. In the eleventh century, this state was founded by Tokh Pal on a small hill called *paharu* and this word gradually became corrupted to Bhadu.¹⁴¹ It was subjugated by Ranjit Singh in 1809, its ruler Jai Singh started paying tribute to Ranjit Singh. In 1820,

¹³⁴Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, p. 212; Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 43; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 54

¹³⁵Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, pp. 212-13.

¹³⁶Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 44.

¹³⁷Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, pp. 350-51; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, pp. 506 &599.

¹³⁸Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 576.

¹³⁹Charu Plaha, *Polity, Economy and Society in the Punjab Hills*, p. 47; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 576.

¹⁴⁰Riasi is a small independent principality ruled by Sial Rajputs covering an area of 5000 sq. miles. It was bounded on the north by Salal village, on the south by Akhnoor, on the east by Kirmchi and Udampur and on the west by Poni Parakh. It was under Mian Diwan Singh, a *jagirdar* of Riasi, who had been accepted as such by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore: Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama: A History of Raja Gulab Singh*, p.77; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Punjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 576.

¹⁴¹Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 623.

Suchet Singh of Jammu obtained this territory in fief from Ranjit Singh and after few years of occupation, Bhadu came entirely under the Dogras in 1835.¹⁴²

Chenini was an ancient hill principality under the Rajput chief Dyal Chand. In the early years of his career, Ranjit Singh made the ruler of Chenini to pay him tribute. In the years between 1820 and 1822, three Jammu princes, Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh, and Suchet Singh rose to power and various areas were given to them in fief by Ranjit Singh. Dyal Chand became conscious of Jammu Raja's intentions when Bandralta was given in fief to Raja Suchet Singh, he strengthened the boundaries of his state from all directions. Meanwhile, Raja Suchet Singh went to pilgrimage and on his way back, he annexed Marothi, a village on the eastern border of Chenini Raja Dyal Chand hurriedly went to Lahore, and succeeded in gaining the favor of Ranjit Singh. When Dyal Chand was at Lahore, Suchet Singh sacked the town of Chenini and his palaces.¹⁴³ When Dyal Chand returned from Lahore with a *farman*, addressed to Raja Gulab Singh, for the restoration of the state, and the permission to reside in his home. Gulab Singh detained Dyal Chand for some months in Jammu.¹⁴⁴ When Dyal Chand was released by Gulab Singh, he found that his state had been divided into four parts by Jammu Rajas. Ilaqa Kotla and Nagulta, on the left bank of the river Ravi, had been taken by Raja Suchet Singh, the Batoti and Udampur area had been annexed to Jammu and Rudhar on the eastern border was given to Raja Dhian Singh, only Chenini proper was left for Dyal Chand.¹⁴⁵ However, after the intervention of Ranjit Singh, the *ilaqa* of Rudra was also restored to Chenini ruler, Dyal Chand as subsistence *jagir*, which remained with Dyal Chand till the end of his life.¹⁴⁶

Bandralta was another principality in the hills, it was ruled by Bhupender Dev. The latter was made to pay tribute to Ranjit Singh before 1809. In 1822, it was annexed to Lahore Darbar. After two years from his previous fief, Suchet Singh was given Bandralta, when he was created Raja by Ranjit Singh. The family of Bhupender

¹⁴²*Ibid*, pp. 576-77.

¹⁴³*Ibid*, p. 583.

¹⁴⁴Charu Plaha, Economy and Society in the Hills, p. 59; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 583.

¹⁴⁵Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, pp. 583-84.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid*, pp. 584-85.

Dev was allowed to stay in the state for a while. The ruler of Bandralta made an attempt to recover his territory but was unsuccessful.¹⁴⁷

Kutlehr was the smallest principality in the Kangra hills. It was ruled by Raja Narain Pal of Kutlehr. From 1809, this state has been paying tribute to Ranjit Singh like other hill chiefs. In 1825, Ranjit Singh laid siege to this fort. The defense was conducted by Raja Narain Pal in person and for two months, the siege made no progress. A promise was then made by Ranjit Singh of a *jagir* of Rs.10, 000, to be given to the Raja, if the fort was surrendered, the Raja agreed to his proposal and Ranjit Singh annexed Kutlehr into the Lahore Kingdom.¹⁴⁸

Kangra was a prominent principality in the hills under Sansar Chand of Kangra.¹⁴⁹ He was one such ruler, who had challenged Ranjit Singh's authority in plains and invaded Jalandhar Doab in 1803. In 1804, he was defeated by Ranjit Singh who drove him back to the hills.¹⁵⁰ In 1809, Ranjit Singh made him to pay regular tribute and forced him to hand over the fort of Kangra.¹⁵¹ Sansar Chand died in 1824. He was succeeded by Anirudh Chand. 'Ranjit Singh demanded tribute from the new ruler of Kangra, who refused initially but later on agreed to pay one lakh of rupees as a tribute after negotiations with Kanwar Kharak Singh.¹⁵² In the year 1828, the marriage of Dogra chief Raja Dhian Singh's son with Katoch family of Kangra became the reason for the annexation of Kangra principality into Lahore Darbar.¹⁵³ Anirudh Chand's tactic refusal for marriage of his sister to Hira Singh made Ranjit Singh angry; he came with his force to annex the State. Fateh Chand, Sansar

¹⁴⁷Charu Plaha Economy and Society in the Hills, p. 48; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, pp. 95-96;

¹⁴⁸Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, pp. 489-90; B.J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p.54.

¹⁴⁹Sansar Chand, the grandson of Ghumad Chand, captured the fort of Kangra, which had remained in Mughal possession for a century and a half, and asserted his supremacy over a large number of hill principalities; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 42.

¹⁵⁰Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, pp. 79-80.

¹⁵¹In 1808, Sansar Chand involved in a protected war with Gurkhas, who wanted to control over the fort of Kangra. Sansar Chand approached Ranjit Singh for the help and on the condition of the submission of the for him, Ranjit Singh agreed to help him; Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II (Pbi.), pp. 99-100; S.R. Kohli, *Fatehnama Guru Khalsa ji Ka*, p. 32; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 42.

¹⁵²Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, pp. 440, 447-48 & 457.

¹⁵³On the occasion of a visit to Lahore, in 1827, Ranjit-Singh demanded from Anirudh-Chand the hand of one of his sisters in marriage, for Raja Hira-Singh, son of Raja Dhian-Singh, the minister. Anirudh Chand pretended to acquiesce and asked permission to return home to make the necessary arrangements. This, however, was only a ruse, and a year after reaching Tira-Sujanpur he took his sisters, along with what property he could transport, and fled across the Satluj into British territory; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, p. 84.

Chand's younger brother mollified Ranjit Singh's angry feeling by giving his granddaughter in marriage to Raja Hira Singh. He was rewarded with a *jagir* of Rajgir. Fateh Chand was made vassal given the title of Raja and a small territory. Jodh Bir Chand, a younger son of Sansar Chand, gave his two sisters in marriage to Ranjit Singh. He too was rewarded with a *jagir* in the town of Nadaun.¹⁵⁴ After the annexation of Kangra, the territories subjugated by Ranjit Singh were conferred upon the Dogra chiefs; this made them powerful enough to become the main reason for the downfall of his empire after the death of Ranjit Singh.

In the later year of Ranjit Singh's life, various small Rajput principalities were annexed by Ranjit Singh and given in fief to Dogra Rajas of Jammu. The state of Basohli was tributary of Ranjit Singh; it regularly paid tribute to Lahore Darbar. After the death of its ruler Kalyan Pal, it was annexed to the territory of Jammu in 1834 by Dogra chief.¹⁵⁵ Jasrota was another territory which was given in fief in the year 1834 to the Dogra chief Hira Singh, who occupied Jasrota from its ruler Bhuri Singh, an allowance was assigned to Bhuri Singh.¹⁵⁶

The last Hindu principality annexed by Ranjit Singh was Bhoti. It was an ancient principality founded by Kechak.¹⁵⁷ It was the dependent state of Jammu. Bhoti came under the control of the Sikhs about the same time as Jammu. In the year 1834, it was annexed by Ranjit Singh. After the subjugation of this territory, a *jagir* was granted to the Bhoti family.¹⁵⁸

Kullu was an ancient principality formed in second century A.D under Rajput chief. During Ranjit Singh's period, it was ruled by Raja Pritam Singh, who was succeeded by Bikram Singh. In 1809, Kullu became tributary of the Lahore kingdom along with other hill principalities. In 1810, a Sikh force was sent to Kullu to receive the tribute of Rs. 40,000. Three years later, a second demand was made for the payment of the increased amount of Rs. 50,000, the Kullu chief refused to pay the increased amount. The Sikh forces plundered Kullu under the command of Diwan

¹⁵⁴ J.S. Grewal, *The History of the Sikhs*, p.105; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, p. 85.

¹⁵⁵ Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-I, p. 92.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 572.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 577-78.

¹⁵⁸ Charu Plaha, *Polity, Economy and Society in the Hills*, p. 49; Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 577.

Mohkam Chand.¹⁵⁹ In 1816-17, the state of Kullu again became the target of Ranjit Singh; a fine of 80,000 was imposed on Kullu for giving asylum to Shah-Shuja, ex-ruler of Kabul. In the year 1839, Sikh forces compelled Kullu ruler to submit his estate on the condition of a subsistence *jagir* in his ancestral estate. After the subjugation, Kullu chief was treated in a humiliating manner by the Sikh sardars.¹⁶⁰ It must be pointed out here that, the first step of Kullu's subjugation was taken in the reign of Ranjit Singh but final liquidation of the principality into Lahore Kingdom was made only after the death of Ranjit Singh.

III

After the above analysis of subjugation and treatment given to non-Sikh chiefs by Ranjit Singh, we can conclude that Ranjit Singh expanded his empire in all directions and established his rule on whole of the Punjab. A number of Hindu and Muslim chiefs were subdued by Ranjit Singh. In the expansion of Ranjit Singh's dominions, the institution of vassalage played very important role. Majority of chiefs whose principalities get subverted were first obliged to pay tribute in acknowledgment of his political superiority. The suzerain- vassal relationship was the first step towards the subjugation of the territories whether of Hindus or Muslim rulers. The vassal chiefs formed an important segment of the ruling class of Ranjit Singh. However, the conditions of vassalage were not uniformly imposed on all vassals, their status varied widely in relation to the suzerain.

Whenever Ranjit Singh made up his mind for the subjugation of any territory, no one could stop him. As stated above, to expand his empire Ranjit Singh made maximum use of the institution of vassalage. In fact, it was used as an instrument of extension of political control on a much larger scale. It was a part of his general policy to claim suzerainty over autonomous chiefs as a prelude to the annexation of their territories.¹⁶¹ In many cases, in fact, Ranjit Singh went on increasing the amount of tribute till the chief was either unable or unwilling to pay, which created a situation in which annexation appeared to be called for it even if not justified.

¹⁵⁹Hutchion & Vogel, *The Panjab Hill States*, vol-II, p. 469.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid*, pp. 470-71.

¹⁶¹Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 57.

Ranjit Singh occupied the Muslim states in two phases. In the early years of his career, Ranjit Singh subjugated the Muslim territories, which were established around Lahore. Few of these territories were directly made a part of Lahore kingdom whereas others were made tributary and subjugated later. After the subjugation of less powerful Muslim rulers, he took step towards major Muslim principalities. These were the principalities of Multan, Kashmir, Mankera, Dera Ismail Khan, Peshawar, and Bahawalpur. However, preparation for the subjugation of major Muslim principalities was started by Ranjit Singh from the early period of his career. Total numbers of Muslim principalities in the plains of Punjab were thirty. In the Chaj Doab, Sahiwal was the only Muslim principality to have come under Ranjit Singh's control. Among the five Doabs of Punjab, majority of Muslim chiefs were in the Sind Sagar Doab, in fact, this area was completely under the dominance of Mohammadan chiefs. There were twelve Muslim principalities in this area and these were: Mankera, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Nurpur, Khushab, Pind Dadan Khan, Ahmadabad, Malot, Pindi Gheb, Kot, Rawalpindi and Shamsabad. In the Rachna Doab, there were three Muslim principalities; Jhang, Rasulpur and Pindi Bhattian which were subjugated by Ranjit Singh. In the Bist Jalandhar Doab, there were three Muslim principalities Talwan, Nakodar and Sultanpur. There were eleven Muslim principalities in the Bari Doab. These were Qasur, Bahawalpur, Dipalpur, Kamalia, Qadian, Malka Hans, Pakpattan and Hujra. All these chiefs were granted *jagirs* after their submission but the nature of the *jagir* varied from one ruler to another.

After the subjugation of Hindu and Muslim chiefs, Ranjit Singh made it a principle to grant *jagirs* for decent and comfortable living of the defeated rulers.¹⁶² In general, Ranjit Singh confirmed *jagir* upon every conquered chief either Hindu or Muslim, not only of major principalities but also to those, who were the rulers of small territories. The Muslim principalities who received *jagirs* from Ranjit Singh after their submission were Attock, Bhimber, Dera Ghazi Khan, Datarpur, Fateh Jang, Kamlia, Kusak, Khari-Khari, Kashmir, Nurpur, Punch, Pharwala, Pakpattan, Rajouri, Rasulnagar, Mankera and Malot. There was hardly any Muslim principality, who had not received any assistance from Ranjit Singh after its subjugation.

¹⁶²A.C. Arora, 'Secular Policy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh', in '*Punjab Past and Present*', Punjabi University, Patiala, 1988, p.153.

The *jagirs* given to Muslim rulers can broadly be divided into two categories: service and subsistence. The conferred *jagirs* varied from one ruler to another, it was according to their previous position or power they enjoyed during their chieftainship. The Muslim principalities, which were the recipient of service *jagirs* from Ranjit Singh were: Rasulpur, Fateh Jang, Qasur, Hujra Shah Muqim, Dipalpur, Pindi Bhattian, Sahiwal, Attock, Jhang, Nurpur and Qadian. All these principalities were made to render military service to Ranjit Singh after their submission. Among the above chiefs, who were subjected to render military service to Ranjit Singh, the maximum amount of service *jagir* was given to Sahiwal chief, worth Rs.14, 400 annually with the condition to serve with a contingent of fifty horsemen. The maximum military contingent was received from the rulers of Qasur, who was subjected to maintain 100 horsemen for The Lahore Darbar. Other than this, who received subsistence *jagir*, also paid military services to Ranjit Singh, but they were never enforced by Ranjit Singh to do the same. The chiefs of Qadian, who were treated very respectfully after their subjugation, voluntarily provided their military service to Ranjit Singh in the battle of Kashmir or even ruler himself participated as commander of Ranjit Singh in the battle.

However, all the Muslim chiefs were not treated in similar manner after their subjugation, their treatment varied according to their attitude while annexation of their territories. The ruler of few Muslim states which were subjugated by Ranjit Singh got nothing from Ranjit Singh. It was because of their attitude towards the Sikh ruler. The ruler of Rajouri, Agar-Ullah Khan remained in confinement at Lahore for lifetime after his subjugation because of his disloyal attitude towards Ranjit Singh. The loyalty of the rulers, after subjugation was main factor that made Ranjit Singh to decide how they would be treated after their submission. The Chatthas of Rasulpur, chiefs of Jhang, Dipalpur and Pindi Bhattian were also given service *jagirs* by Ranjit Singh. Other Muslim chiefs to be reduced to the status of service *jagirdars* were the rulers of Fateh Jung, Bhimber and Nurpur, who helped Ranjit Singh in his future campaigns. The major or minor chiefs to be assigned subsistence *jagirs* by Ranjit Singh were the rulers of Kusak, Mankera, Khushab, Sahiwal, Khari-Khariali, Attock, Pharwala, Multan and Pakpatan. Privilege to hold *jagirs* was bestowed not only on old prominent chiefs but also on minor principalities of Muslim chiefs.

Like Muslim states, Ranjit Singh made hill principalities as his vassal and with passage of time subverted them to Lahore Kingdom. Ranjit Singh was the first Sikh ruler to subvert a large number of hill principalities.¹⁶³ These Hindu Rajput states were mainly Jammu and Kangra and their dependencies such as Akhnur, Guler, Siba, Jaswan, Nurpur, Datarpur, Mankot, Bhau, Bhadu, Chenini, Kotlehr, Basohli, and Bhoti. Like Muslim rulers, Ranjit Singh also granted *jagirs* to Rajput chiefs for service or for their subsistence.

In the hills, a number of Hindu principalities were subjugated between the rivers Jhelum and Ravi. These principalities were Bhadu, Bhau, Bhoti, Basholi, Bandralta, Chenini, Jammu, Jasrota, Mankot, Riasi and Samba. In between river Ravi and Sutlej, principalities of Hindu chiefs subjugated by Ranjit Singh were Datarpur, Guler, Kangra, Kullu, Jaswan, Kotlehr and Nurpur. Two Hindu principalities in the plains, Jandiala and Jodhanagri were subjugated by Ranjit Singh.

All these subjugated chiefs were given *jagirs* after their submission. Maximum number of Hindu principalities were conferred with subsistence *jagir* with the exception of the chiefs of Jammu and Jaswan, who were granted service *jagirs*. The highest amount of service *jagir* was given to Jammu chiefs, who were made Rajas of Jammu with the *jagirdari* of Jammu, Bandralta, Chenini and Kishtwar on the condition of providing 400 horsemen to Lahore Darbar. The chief of Datarpur was reduced to the status of Jagirdar of Lahore Darbar and others were given subsistence *jagir* by Ranjit Singh. The Rajput chief of Guler and Nurpur rejected Ranjit Singh's proposal of *jagir* for the submission of their territories and fought for their territories until the end of their lives. A number of hill principalities were given in fief after their subjugation to Dogra chiefs, whom Ranjit Singh created as new Rajas. The fief states of Dogras were Mankot, Bhau, Bhoti, Bandralta, Chenini, and Kishtwar. Not only Hindu principalities but also the hill principalities of Muslim chiefs were given as fief to Dogra Rajas. Raja Dhian Singh was given the principality of PUNCH in fief after its subjugation by Ranjit Singh.

Ranjit Singh gave favorable treatment to the Dogra Rajputs, especially to Jammu family. They had joined merely as troopers of Lahore kingdom when they were subverted by Ranjit Singh but with the passage of time, they came to enjoy the status of Rajas, whom Ranjit Singh created with his own determination. "In 1812,

¹⁶³Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 42.

Raja Kishora Singh was made the Raja of Jammu. After his death, Gulab Singh was installed in his place. Suchet Singh was made the Raja of Bandralta. Dhian Singh was given the title of *Raja-i- Rajgan* and *Raja-i-Kalan Bahadur* in 1827 with the territory of Bhimber. In 1837, Hira Singh, son of Raja Dhain Singh, was made the Raja of Basohli and Jasrota.¹⁶⁴ Thus, one can see that nearly twelve hill states were given to the newly created Rajas.

In comparison between Hindu and Muslim principalities, major number of subsistence *jagirs* were allocated to Hindu principalities, only two principalities received service *jagir* from Ranjit Singh. On the other hand, for Muslim chiefs, he followed a strategic policy, while allocating them *jagirs* after their subjugation. The Muslim principalities which previously enjoyed great power and resources were given subsistence *jagirs* of less amount for their survival, whereas the other less powerful chiefs were made responsible to supply fixed number of horse contingent to Lahore Darbar. The fear of re-origination of the powerful principalities compelled Ranjit Singh to leave them with small *jagirs* and on the other hand, resources of less powerful chiefs were used by Ranjit Singh to strengthen his empire.

One more interesting feature of Ranjit Singh's subjugation policy was that when he was subverting the Muslim principalities, along with it, he also reduced the Hindu chiefs to the Lahore Kingdom, located in the hills of Punjab. There was no single reason responsible for the subjugation of non-Sikhs and there was no subjective unease of Ranjit Singh with any of the subjugated chief. The reason responsible for their annexation to Lahore kingdom as Ranjit Singh's desire to expand his empire and his attitude to control his powerful neighbors, who could become a danger for his expanding empire.

Ranjit Singh never mistreated the subjugated chiefs except those, who were disloyal to him. He was generous to the fallen chiefs; he offered them *jagirs* for maintenance and employment in the state service. It was not necessary that every ruler accepted his *jagir*. As discussed above, a number of the Rajput chiefs in the hills declined Ranjit Singh's proposal of *jagir* and wanted their territories back from Ranjit Singh. The Rajput chief of Guler and Nurpur rejected Ranjit Singh's proposal of *jagir* for the submission of their territories and fought for their territories and made attempts for the reoccupation of their territories.

¹⁶⁴J.S.Grewal, *The History of the Sikhs*, p.106.

CHAPTER - 3

NON-SIKH IN THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Ranjit Singh came to power in a part of Indian sub-continent in the early nineteenth century. Ranjit Singh gave the Punjab forty years of peace, prosperity, and progress. Unlike Medieval or Turkish rulers, who gave priority to Islam and people of their own religion, Ranjit Singh never gave priority to the Sikh factor in his empire. The Sikh administrators were never considered superior as compared to the non-Sikhs. In his administrative system, the non-Sikhs played a crucial role. Ranjit Singh's courtiers did not form a homogenous body. They represented various creeds, diverse races, and different traditions. Three out of six groups at the court were not even natives of the Punjab; they were Dogras, Muslims and the Europeans. Of the three other, only a few Hindus and Brahmins were the real inhabitants of the country, whereas the Sikh group was wholly composed of native stock. The non-Sikh administrators, who worked for Ranjit Singh and helped him to consolidate his vast empire are an important aspect of the study. In this chapter large number of non-Sikh subjects and officials, who served Ranjit Singh and his successors, as commanders, generals, administrators and provincial governors etc. have been discussed.

During the last decade of the eighteenth century, there was no need of vast and complicated administrative system because initially, territories were not many and within easy access of the ruler, limited administrators were enough to run the state. These administrators included a diwan (financial advisor), the toshakhania (treasurer), amils, chaudharies, qanungoes, muqaddams and few munshis. But as the empire extended, Ranjit Singh needed more administrators to run his state efficiently. With the passage of time as the administrative obligation of central government increased, men of talent and ability drifted to the court of Lahore. Policy of recruitment followed by Ranjit Singh was aimed at the conciliation of the dispossessed and weakened chiefs and also to pacify the feelings of the community to which they belonged.¹

¹ Indu Banga, 'State Formation under the Sikh Rule' in Journal of Regional History, vol- I, Amritsar, 1980, p.53; Ram Sukh Rao, Sri Fateh Singh Partap Prabhakar (ed.), Joginder Kaur under the title, A History of the Early Nineteenth Century Punjab, Patiala, 1980, p. 110.

It is interesting to note that maximum number of best officials of Ranjit Singh's empire came from different countries and from the non-Sikh principalities of the late eighteenth century. They all were experienced enough to run Ranjit Singh's administrative system smoothly and efficiently. For better perspective of future, they had joined service under Ranjit Singh.



Figure 3.1:Ranjit Singh at his Darbar with Sikh and Non-Sikh Officials
Source:www.alamy.com

There was not even a single department, where the non-Sikhs did not provide services to the Sikh ruler. Maximum number of important designations at Lahore Darbar were handed over to the non-Sikh administrators. Raja Dhian Singh, a prime minister, was a Dogra from Jammu, Fakir Aziz-ud-din, foreign Minister, was a Muslim; Fakir Nur-ud-din of the same family was an important Minister. The third Fakir Brother Imam-ud-din was the custodian of the royal treasure kept in the Gobindgarh fort at Amritsar, Jamadar

Khushal Singh, who had acted as prime minister before Raja Dhian Singh, was a Brahmin. All the top positions in the central secretariat were held chiefly by Hindu administrators.

In the army also, there were generals drawn from all communities.² One of the interesting features of the Sikh state of Ranjit Singh was that he never gave preference to Sikhs in place of the deserving non-Sikh candidates. In 1835, when Miser Jassa Mal died, his son Miser Lal Singh was appointed as the treasurer of the *toshakhana*. In fact, Misar Jassa Mal had controlled same *toshakhana*. His son was the same Lal Singh who, with the passage of time became Raja Lal Singh.³ Once a person had proved his loyalty, he served as a surety for the recruitment of people closely allied to him, particularly members of his family or his close relatives.⁴

If we look into the composition and making of the Sikh kingdom, we can observe that the Sikh state of Ranjit Singh was composed of various elements and in it, the non-Sikhs played a major role. There were basically three prominent elements that composed the Sikh nation and helped in the management of empire of Ranjit Singh. Among these elements in the Sikh empire were the rulers of the eighteenth century, who were subjugated by Ranjit Singh. These chiefs and their dependents joined the service of Ranjit Singh and managed his estate. Some of them were placed at court and rest managed their territories as the vassals of Ranjit Singh. Another category of individuals were those who were selected by Ranjit Singh merely on the basis of their merit without any religious prejudice.

In this category, the majority of individuals were non-Sikhs. They were Hindus, Muslims, and Europeans. Towards the middle of Ranjit Singh's reign, the interesting feature of the nobility at the *darbar* was that the important positions in the government were generally occupied by the Hindus and Muslims.⁵ These officials played important role in the central secretariat and financial administration. These communities included

² Fauja Singh, *Some Aspect sof the State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, Master Publication, New Delhi, 1987, p. 31.

³ Diwan Dina Nath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (ed. & tr. Kirpal Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p. 200.

⁴ Fauja Singh, *Some Aspects of the State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, Master Publishers, New Delhi, 1987, p. 103.

⁵ Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 200, p. 16 (cited hereafter as Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*)

Khattris, Brahman and other major Hindu castes. One point that is important to discuss here is that the Khattris, who provided significant services to Lahore kingdom were initially reluctant to join the service of the Sikh ruler. In the beginning, the Khattris did not enter the service of the Sikh ruler on account of the regard they had for their own honour. They took to business. When the Sikh ruler realized that the affairs of government and finance could not be set right by degrading the Khattris, he called the Khattris with due respect and entrusted all financial matters to them. Gradually, they came to serve the Sikh ruler with loyalty as they had served the rulers of former times. In the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, their respect and status increased and they were given high positions.⁶ Main administrators who came from Hindu society were Diwan Mohkam Chand, Diwan Moti Ram, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Raja Dhyani Singh, and many Dogra Sardars.

Muslim community which composed of nobility of Lahore Darbar mainly focused on Fakir Aziz-ud din and his brothers, who were primarily appointed on important positions at administrative as well as in military services. Ranjit Singh never hesitated to employ Europeans on civil and military duties even though he was not sure about their loyalty towards Sikh empire. A great number of Europeans were at the service of Ranjit Singh. If we compare the employment of non-Sikhs, with that of Sikh administrators on higher post then, we will notice that hold of Sikh officers on administrative posts was less as compared to non-Sikh administrators. They were only employed on the higher posts in military services and their contribution in the civil administration was very limited. Among the contemporary prominent Sikh families who were employed in service under Ranjit Singh, the only Sikh family designated on higher post on civil administration was that of Majithia family in the management of hill territories. All officials were picked up by Maharaja on the basis of their merit. One thing about the officials of Ranjit Singh was that though initially, his created nobility performed their best in the creation of his empire, but with passage of time, his most trusted nobility (Dogra Sardars) upon whom he showed his great trust became the reason of the downfall of his empire.

⁶Ganesh Das, *Char-Bagh-i-Punjab*, tr. & ed. J. S. Grewal & Indu Banga under the title, *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, p. 123.

I

For administrative purpose, Ranjit Singh had divided his empire into several smaller units of administration. “The formation of administrative units in the Sikh dominions was broadly connected with the process of territorial occupation. But as regards to the number of *subas* as a primary unit of administration, historians are of the view that Ranjit Singh had divided his empire into four *subas* of Lahore, Multan, Kashmir, and Peshawar. However, Indu Banga is of the view that the division of Sikh kingdom into four *subas* ‘was not merely an oversimplification but a historical inaccuracy’.⁷ Because, the *subas* of Lahore and Peshawar had never been occupied as one unit by Ranjit Singh.

The ‘*suba* of Lahore’ was actually divided into a number of primary divisions like Kangra, Jalandhar Doab, Majha, Wazirabad, Jhang, Hazara and Pind Dadan Khan. Same was with the *suba* of Peshawar that was divided into several primary units: Peshawar, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan.⁸ All these territorial units had equal status and similar type of officials were appointed by the ruler from bottom to top level as appointed in other units. The officials appointed in these units were known as *nazims*. Therefore, rather than having ‘four *nazims* of four *subas*’, there were a number of *nazims* working under Ranjit Singh.

Next unit of administration was *pargana* or *ta'alluqa*. The administrator responsible for the settlement of this area was called *kardar*. He worked as subordinate to *nazim*. He was the main administrator of *ta'alluqa* or *pargana*. Usually, *kardar* was appointed by the centre. Before joining the service of the Sikh ruler, the *kardars* had to submit a formal deed of acceptance for the confirmation of their duty. Sayyid Mehar Shah, the *kardar* of Behra, for example, was confirmed in office only after he had sent his *raze-nama*.⁹ The *kardar* was a revenue collector. The main and principal duty of *kardar* was the collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order within his jurisdiction. His duties were to let cultivation and revenue increase, to collect the revenue in consultation with the

⁷Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 65.

⁸*Ibid*, p. 64.

⁹Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut- Tawarikh*, vol-III (Eng. tr.), by V.S. Suri, Punjab Itihas Prakashan, Chandigarh, 1972, p. 37.

headman, to see that canals were cleared and excavated in time. He was expected to protect the people against thieves and criminal.¹⁰ Thus, he also played the role of welfare officer. In fact, the most important official in the sphere of local government was the *kardar* rather than the *nazim*.¹¹

There was usually one *kardar* to every *ta'alluqa*, but in certain cases, where it consisted of an exceptionally large *ta'alluqa*, there were more than one *kardars*. Thus the *kardars* widely differed in position and importance according to the extent of territory under their charge. Ranjit Singh used to take surety from the *kardars* about the fulfilment of specific duty in their areas.¹²

The *qanungo* was another official, who performed his function more or less permanently at the *pargana* level. Basically, he was registrar of the department of land revenue. He was the person, who kept all records of the land, of the state's share from the land revenue; the price of the specific crop etc. He was paid by way of *inam jagir*. During the Sikh period, he was, at places, paid a certain percentage of the produce or a monthly salary of 30 rupees.¹³ The further division of *pargana* was *tappa* and its in charge was *tappadar*. The officials appointed to help the revenue officials to collect land revenue at various levels, were *chaudharies*, *muqqadams* and *patwaris*.

II

Lahore was the core area of Ranjit Singh's kingdom. It had been an important unit since the ancient times, and remained so in the Mughal period. During the Sikh period, this area became the centre of power, from where all activities of Sikh state were prepared and executed by Ranjit Singh with the help of his officials. In fact, it was the most important area of the Sikh Kingdom, it was the political capital of Ranjit Singh's empire.

¹⁰Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 77.

¹¹G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 84.

¹²Kirpal Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Jiwan and Ghalana* (Pbi.), Sikh Historical Research Board, 2002, p. 137.

¹³*Ibid*, p. 452.



Figure.3.2: Fakir Aziz-ud-din

Source: W.G.Archer's *Paintings of the Sikhs*

First among the *nazims*, who was appointed at Lahore by Ranjit Singh was Fakir Aziz-ud-din.¹⁴ He was most trusted official of Ranjit Singh. There were even occasions

¹⁴The ancestors of Aziz-ud-din belonged to Arabia and before coming to Punjab, they lived for some time in Bukhara. Therefore, he was known as Bukhari Sayyid. Aziz-ud-din began his career as a physician of the Ranjit Singh. Other than this, he was an excellent negotiator, possessed considerable literary ability. He played also the role of a secretary. Aziz-ud-din was generally employed in the diplomatic service by the Maharaja. He was one of the most remarkable men of Ranjit Singh's court with knowledge of Persian and Arabic poetry: K.K.Khullar, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Hem Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1980, pp. 66-67; Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp. 44-45.

when Ranjit Singh proceeded with his whole army on distant military expeditions, leaving Aziz-ud-din in charge of the defence of Lahore with a few junior officers.¹⁵

Another *nazim* appointed by Ranjit Singh at Lahore was general Ventura. Ranjit Singh set another kind of example by employing a European as the main administrator of Lahore without bothering about his nationality. Ventura joined Ranjit Singh's service in 1822 and in short time span, he proved his military and administrative skills to Ranjit Singh. The Maharaja thought so well of his administrative ability that he appointed him to officiate once or twice as *nazim* of Lahore.¹⁶



Figure 3.3: General Ventura

Source-www.alamy.com

Another foreigner who was given administrative responsibilities was Avitabile, who was appointed in the department of justice at Lahore. One can notice that Ranjit Singh never handed over management of Lahore to a Sikh administrator, in place, of this, he appointed individuals, who did not even belong to his nation.¹⁷

In the overall management of his territory, Ranjit Singh rarely assigned Sikh officials at higher positions. Might be the fear of re-origin of their previous pride and

¹⁵Fakir Wahid-ud-din, *Real Ranjit Singh*, Oriental Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1976, p. 42.

¹⁶*Ibid*, p. 128.

¹⁷Jean Marie Lefont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: The French Connection* (ed.), Kirpal Singh, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2001, pp. 112-19 (cited hereafter as Lefont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: The French Connection*)

chiefship, he abstained them from the government and other higher administrative positions at Lahore. Among the prominent Sikh families who joined the administration of Ranjit Singh was Majithia Family.¹⁸ Only the members of this family were designated on the post of Nazim by the Sikh ruler. Other than this, all positions of *nazims* in the empire were filled by Hindu, Muslim or European individuals.¹⁹

Kangra was the primary unit of administration that was located in the hills. It was an ancient Hindu principality, which was subjugated by Ranjit Singh from its ruler and turned as a part of the Sikh empire. Several governors were employed by Ranjit Singh to administer this area, but he rarely appointed same community's *nazim* at the similar territory. Kangra was predominantly a Hindu territory but the maximum number of *nazims* appointed here belonged to the Sikh community and longest tenure at this territory was enjoyed by Sikh governors. Initially after the capture of this area, it was handed over to Mohkam Chand who was appointed *nazim* of this place.²⁰ He was assisted by Desa Singh Majithia. But when for an expedition, Diwan Mohkam Chand's services were required, Kangra was handed over to Desa Singh Majithia.

In the Kangra hills, Sardar Desa Singh and his son Lehna Singh acted as *nazims* for over thirty years.²¹ Sardar Lehna Singh enjoyed a good reputation in the hills; he was mild and lenient governor.²² He was famous because of his undemanding attitude towards the subjects of Kangra. He never vehemently claimed revenue and other taxes from natives of

¹⁸Desa Singh was first to enter in the service of Ranjit Singh from the Majithia family. Naudh Singh Majithia, father of Desa Singh was a retainer of the Kanhiyas. Desa Singh joined as commander under Ranjit Singh and commanded a number of campaigns under him. Lehna Singh Majithia, son of Desa Singh, was another important Majithia *sardar* under Ranjit Singh. Various important foreign missions were sent under his authority. Other than this, Lehna Singh served in the ordnance department and looked after the foundries of Lahore and Amritsar. He was the person with best qualities in the court of Lahore: Bhagat Singh, 'Court and Courtiers of Maharaja Ranjit Singh' in *Panjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1980, pp. 87-89.

¹⁹Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, p. 17.

²⁰Mohkam Chand was the son of a Khattri, Wisakhi Mal of Kunjah, a village in District Gujrat (now in Pakistan). His first service was with Dal Singh of Kakoo whom he served till 1804. Thence he shifted into the service of Sahib Singh of Gujrat. In 1809, Mohkam Chand fell out with the Bhangi Sardar, left his service and joined the Maharaja's service: Gulcharan Singh, *Ranjit Singh and his Generals*, pp. 22 & 41.

²¹*Foreign/ Secret Consultations*, 26 December 1846, Nos. 1327-28.

²²*Gazetteer of Kangra, 1883-84*, p. 218.

Kangra. Remissions were occasionally given under his authority.²³ There was no evidence of any kind of oppression and disturbance in the hill territory.

Jalandhar Doab was the area that was near Lahore and was an important administrative unit.²⁴ In 1811, this area was annexed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh under the command of Mohkam Chand. With the latter's commanding ability, this area became a part of the Sikh kingdom. To administer this division, Diwan Mohkam Chand was the first *nazim* appointed by Ranjit Singh after the subjugation of this territory.²⁵ He remained there as *nazim* from 1806 to 1812. His administration of the Jalandhar Doab was most efficient and thus most popular.²⁶

In the Jalandhar Doab, Diwan Mohkam Chand was succeeded by several *nazims* from 1814 to 1845.²⁷ When Mohkam Chand was assigned some other duties, the Doab was managed by his son Moti Ram.²⁸ The latter's administrative skills were noticed by Ranjit Singh who appointed him as the *nazim* of this area.²⁹ Again history was repeated at this place as Moti Ram was required for other services, his son Kirpa Ram was appointed as the new *nazim* of Jalandhar Doab.³⁰ He held the position until he was appointed *nazim* of Kashmir in 1819 and his place in Jalandhar was taken by his son Kirpa Ram.³¹

²³*Ibid*, p. 220.

²⁴*District and State Gazetteer of Undivided Punjab*, vol. III, p. 465.

²⁵The title of Diwan was given to the officials, who were dealing with one or the other branches of the finance department. Diwan Mohkam Chand, was the only exception, when he was entitled as Diwan for being one of the most gifted generals of the Maharaja: Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar* p. 10.

²⁶W.E. Purser, *Final Report of Revised Settlement of the Jalandhar District in Punjab, Lahore*, 1892, p. 41; *District Gazetteer of Jalandhar, 1883-84*, p. 56.

²⁷Indu Banga, *Agrarian system of the Sikhs*, p. 71.

²⁸Moti Ram was the son of Diwan Mohkam Chand. He was employed at various places for administration. Other than this, he was in charge of the fort of Phillaur. After 1830, he was employed in diplomatic services and missions by Ranjit Singh. After his retirement from Kashmir, he was employed as a member of mission to the governor-General and participated as member of Shimla mission in 1830. He was disappointed with Ranjit Singh's behaviour with his family under the influence of Dogras and left for Banaras. He died there in 1839: Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, pp. 62-65 & 315-318; Dina Nath, *Zafarnama-i- Ranjit Singh*, p. 132; W.E. Purser, *Final Report of Revised Settlement of the Jalandhar District in Punjab*, p.41; *District Gazetteer of Jalandhar and Kapurthala State*, p. 40.

²⁹S. M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1964 (2nd ed., first Pub. 1891), p. 432.

³⁰Ram Dyal was in the third generation of Mohkam Chand to be employed in the service of Ranjit Singh. He was sent on various campaigns by Ranjit Singh along with other commanders. A number of times, Diwan Kirpa Ram became the target of Ranjit Singh's anger, some time for his negligence of duty or sometime under the influence of his rival group at the Lahore court: Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp. 82-83.

³¹*District Gazetteer of Jalandhar and Kapurthala State*, p. 40.



Figure 3.4: Diwan Mohkam Chand

Source: www.Sikhheritage.com

Ranjit Singh was one among few Indian rulers, who gave main administrative assignments to non-Indians. Not only the Jalandhar Doab, but other parts of his empire were also managed by non-Indians like Avitabile, Ventura and Allard etc. Avitabile was the only non-Indian or foreigner to manage this area. In 1830-31, Avitabile was appointed to administer the area of Doab.³² Soon he was removed from the *nizam* of the Jalandhar Doab and another governor was introduced to this area.

³²Diwan Amar Nath, *Zafarnama* –i- Ranjit Singh (ed. Kirpal Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p.174.

First Muslim who was selected for this responsibility was from Fakir family named Nur-ud-din.³³ He was appointed as the *nazim* of the Jullundur Doab and was asked to look after the subjects very carefully and manage their affairs well.³⁴ But, he did not perform his obligation as was expected from him; soon he was removed from the *nizamat* of Jalandhar Doab and replaced by Miser Rup Lal, the most famous *nazim* of the Jalandhar Doab. He belonged to a Brahmin family of Lahore. Miser Rup Lal served in the Doab from 1832 to 1839.³⁵ He played a very significant role at Jalandhar Doab and his services were appreciated by the people of the area. He was one among the *nazims* of Ranjit Singh, who enjoyed the longest tenure.³⁶ Next governor was from the family of the *shaikhs*, he was Shaikh Mohi-ud-din, this man proved to be a harsh governor. Within a year of his tenure at Jalandhar, people raised a cry against his rule.³⁷

Another administrative unit of 'Lahore *suba*' was Wazirabad. Initially, it was not under direct control of Lahore Darbar, as Wazirabad had been leased out to Jahandad Khan for one lakh of rupees in lieu of the fort of Attock, which was under his control.³⁸ With the passage of time, this area came to be directly ruled by Ranjit Singh through his administrators. Since this area was inhabited by turbulent elements, to deal with these people, Ranjit Singh appointed one of his foreigner commanders because of their tough nature and their ability to deal with troublesome people. Avitabile, the military adventurer, was appointed as the *nazim* of Wazirabad by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.³⁹ He managed this area very carefully. He was later transferred to Peshawar as military commander in 1834.

³³Nuruddin was the brother of Fakir Aziz-ud-din. He joined the services of Lahore Darbar in 1810. At the court of Lahore, he was known as 'The Judge Extraordinary' because he tested Ranjit Singh's food for several years. He was royal physician, apothecary-general, almoner, director of royal palaces and gardens. He was the custodian of royal treasury, commandant of the arsenal of the fort, a judge extraordinary and the keeper of the Ranjit Singh's judicial system. Nur-ud-din also looked after the distribution of Ranjit Singh's charities to poor and controlled *gulabkhanas* (Local record officers) at Lahore: K.K.Khullar, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Hem Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1980, p. 69; Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp. 46-47.

³⁴Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol- III, p. 202.

³⁵S.A. Abbot, Deputy Commissioner, *Memorandum on the first Eight Years' British rule in the District Hoshiarpur from its Annexation in 1846-47 to the close of 1853-54*, Selection from the Public correspondence of the Punjab Administration, Vol-IV, No.3, Lahore, 1857, cited in *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Jalandhar District, Vol-XIV, 1904, p. 251.

³⁶Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 73.

³⁷Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, pp. 173-74.

³⁸N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 48; Sita Ram Kohli, *Ranjit Singh* (Pbi.), Atmaram & Sons, Delhi, 1954, p. 123.

³⁹B.N.Goswamy, 'General Avitabile and the Vaishnava Establishment at Dhyampur', in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No.2, Cambridge University Press, 1971, pp. 156-165.

But before that, he had completed five years of his tenure at Wazirabad. Avitabile proved himself to be a successful administrator of Peshawar and stayed there as *nazim* till 1839.⁴⁰

Jhang was the main administrative unit that came under the Lahore *suba* and was as important as other units of Ranjit Singh's empire. In 1816, the ruler of Jhang, Innayat Ullah Khan was made to surrender his territories by the Lahore army. Munshi Sujjan Rai was appointed as the *nazim* of this territory.⁴¹ For some time in 1832, Diwan Sawan Mal also managed this area after taking the *nizamat* of Multan into his hands.⁴²

Hazara was another administrative unit that was one among the primary units of 'Lahore *suba*'. Hazara was the frontier area of Sikh kingdom as it was situated on the North-West frontier region. Many attempts were made by Ranjit Singh between 1813 and 1820 to subjugate this area. After its victory, Hari Singh Nalwa was appointed Governor of Hazara.⁴³ He proved very efficient governor. Apart from Hari Singh Nalwa, Makkhan Singh, Ram Dayal, and Amar Singh Majithia also served as *nazims* of Hazara. But they were not successful enough as was Hari Singh Nalwa.⁴⁴

The Nazims of frontier areas had been given full independence by Ranjit Singh to take decisions, they never harmed the inhabitants. But, if there was any mismanagement by these officials, they had to face the consequences of their deeds. According to Griffin, "the Maharaja was far too astute, a person to bother about the antecedents of his officers. So, long as a minister secretly rendered him good and loyal service in the cabinet he was

⁴⁰*District Gazetteer of Peshawar*, 1883-84, p. 75.

⁴¹Diwan Amar Nath, *Zafarnama –i- Ranjit Singh* (ed. Kirpal Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p. 21.

⁴²E.B. Steedman, *Report of the Revised Settlement of Jhang District of the Punjab*, 1874-80, Lahore, 1882, p. 39; *Punjab District Gazetteer of Jhang District*, Lahore, 1929, p. 20; *District Gazetteer of Jhang*, 1883-84, p. 20.

⁴³Hari Singh born at Gujranwala and belonged to Khattri family of Uppal sub caste. His father Gurdial Singh was an associate of Mahan Singh. At the age of seven, Hari Singh started his career as *khidmatgar* and rose to become outstanding general of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His career was largely contemporaneous with that of his master. He took part in almost every famous campaign of Ranjit Singh. He earned the title of 'Nalwa' for cleaving the head of a tiger. He was an important civil and military general of Ranjit Singh. As the *nazim* of Kashmir, Hari Singh introduced '*Hari Singh Rupiya*' and replaced it with Afghan currency. Other than this, he gave relaxation to the agricultural laborers from *begar* (free labour) in his reign. Hari Singh was not only general of Ranjit Singh but also a builder. The town of Haripur at Hazara and fort of Jamrud were also built by Hari Singh. His greatest achievement was the conquest of Jamrud, where he died in 1837 while fighting with Afghans: Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-III, pp. 138-142 & 390-397; Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, pp.11, 128 & 177; G.L. Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, pp. 103-04; Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp. 32-36.

⁴⁴Diwan Amar Nath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (ed. Kirpal Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, pp. 179-82.

trusted and rewarded but if he was found to be unworthy of trust he was replaced by a more competent person”.⁴⁵ Ranjit Singh gave special attention towards the management of the frontier areas and his administrators put in sincere efforts to maintain peace in these areas.



Figure 3.5: Gulab Singh

Source: W.G. Archer's *Paintings of the Sikhs*

In the contemporary and near-contemporary sources, not much information is available about the *nazim* or other administrators of Pind Dadan Khan. We get some information from *Umdat*, which tells us that Raja Gulab Singh was the main authority at Pind Dadan Khan, he made complaints to Maharaja about the natural calamities, which had worsened the condition of the area.⁴⁶ From the accounts of Mohan Lal, it can be said that this area around 1831, was under the leadership of Raja Gulab Singh, “We halted at the Pind or town of Dadan Khan, where we were welcomed by a Rajput Sardar, named Dargah Singh; he brought an offering of money, and some jars of sweetmeats, sent by Raja Gulab

⁴⁵Sir Lepel Griffin & Massy, *Ranjit Singh*, Oxford National Book Shop, New Delhi, 1981, p. 12.

⁴⁶V.S. Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Dafter-III (Pbi.tr.), by Patwant Singh, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002, p. 30.

Singh".⁴⁷ He built temples here and gave grants to people. In 1830, Raja Gulab Singh built a Thakurdwara in Pind Dadan Khan, founded a village named Gulabgarh and gave it by way of *madad-i-ma'ash* for the upkeep of the temple.⁴⁸

All the *nazims* of different units appointed by Ranjit Singh, played valuable services at Lahore and the adjoining territories. The majority of these *nazims* were non-Sikhs, they were Hindus, Muslims, and Europeans. Lahore was one such area, where the administrators rarely created problems for the ruler because this area was under the direct control of Ranjit Singh. Under the authority of Ranjit Singh, these *nazims* performed their services very smoothly and satisfactory.

Peshawar was an Afghan area which was subjugated by Ranjit Singh with the help of his great commanders, who always proved valuable to him. Since Peshawar was tough to manage, selected *nazims* were appointed here with special relaxations in their powers but it did not mean that they were independent in the use of their influence. It was divided into many primary units such as Peshawar, Bannu, Tank, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan etc. These areas were separately administrated by different *nazims*. Avitabile served as the governor of Peshawar.

Ranjit Singh did many experiments in the field of administration in and around Peshawar. The population of this area was generally Muslim but Ranjit Singh never appointed any Muslim *nazim* in this area. His governors were from communities other than Muslims. Ranjit Singh appointed his bravest general here so that he could manage this area with his organisational skills. Hari Singh Nalwa was appointed here as the first *nazim* of Peshawar.

⁴⁷Gulab Singh belonged to a Rajput family of the hills. He was the eldest son of Mian Kishora Singh. At the age of sixteen, he took active part in the campaign against Brij Raj Deo of Jammu. He was enrolled in the Khalsa army on the recommendation of Hukma Singh Chimani in 1810. He took active part in every campaign of Ranjit Singh. He was desirous of becoming the acknowledged minister of Ranjit Singh. In 1822, Gulab Singh along with his brothers was entitled as Rajas of Jammu and made the *jagirdar* of this area along with Bhoti, Bandralta, Chenini and Kishtwar on the condition of maintaining 400 service troops. Gulab Singh along with his family was the highly favoured chief of Ranjit Singh. The *jagir* of Gulab Singh and his family amounted to Rs. 7,37,287 annually. During and after Ranjit Singh, this Raja played very significant role in the politics of Lahore: Mohan Lal, *Travels in the Panjab, Afghanistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Herat*, Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1971, pp. 90-97; Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, tr. Sukhdev Singh Charak, Light & Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 92-93; Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp. 52-55.

⁴⁸Ganesh Das, *Char-Bagh-i- Punjab* (tr. & ed.), Indu Banga & J.S.Grewal, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, p. 19.

When Hari Singh Nalwa died in the battle of Jamrud in 1834, Tej Singh was appointed as the *nazim* here, he retained the government for nearly five years at Peshawar.⁴⁹ After his five years' rule, he was succeeded by General Avitabile. The latter became the *nazim* of Peshawar in 1835, after having served successfully for five years as the *nazim* of Wazirabad.⁵⁰ He worked with strong determination and proved to be a successful *nazim*. Avitabile retained the charge for five years, from 1835 to 1839.⁵¹ In the management of this area, Avitabile got various relaxations from Ranjit Singh. The first and the prior most condition imposed upon the *nazims* at the time of their appointment was that population need not to be harassed.

Though *nazims* of Peshawar were awarded special kind of relaxations in the administration, yet they were never allowed to oppress the subjects of the area. There were always checks upon their administration through his officials and other means of intelligence. This happened during the *nazimship* of Avitabile. "When Avitabile penalised some residents of Peshawar by imposing a fine on them and demolishing their houses, General Ventura was ordered to reach Peshawar in great haste to make Avitabile return two hundred rupees he had unjustly taken from the Khattris of the place and rebuild, at his own expense, with 15,000 rupees, the house demolished by him".⁵²

Dera Ghazi Khan was an independent unit in Peshawar. It was annexed by Ranjit Singh in 1827.⁵³ Initially, this area was leased out to its ruler, Syed Khan Muhammad for two lakh and twenty-five thousand rupees. Later Ventura took over the charge of Dera

⁴⁹Tej Ram, a nephew of Jamadar Khushal Singh, was called by Jamadar Khushal to Lahore and employed in the service of Ranjit Singh in 1811. Later, he took *pahul* under the influence of his uncle and became divisional commander of Ranjit Singh's army. After decade, he was given the charge of *kampu-i-mu' alla*. He performed various duties there. In 1834, he was given the rank of General in 1834. In 1837, for his military services, he was given the title of 'Ujjal Didar, Nirmal Budh, Sardar-i-Bawaqar, Jarnail-i-Awwal, Shams-ud-Daula and Safdar Jang Bahadur' by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Tej Singh provided valuable services to Lahore Darbar as commander or administrator of Ranjit Singh but in post- Ranjit Singh period, his treacherous attitude during the First Anglo Sikh war in 1846 proved great draw back of his character: J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed.), *Civil and Military Parwanas of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1987, p. 25 (cited hereafter as J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*); G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p.106; Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, p. 95; Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar* p. 89.

⁵⁰B.N.Goswamy, 'General Avitabile and the Vaishnava Establishment at Dhyampur' in 'The Journal of Asiatic Society of Great Britian and Ireland', No. 2, 1971, pp. 156-165.

⁵¹*Peshawar District Gazetteer, 1883-84*, p. 75.

⁵²*Punjab Akhbar*, 10 March 1839.

⁵³Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 26.

Ghazi Khan and collected six lakhs of rupees as *nazrana* and sent it to the royal treasury.⁵⁴ He was appointed as the first *nazim* of Dera Ghazi Khan.⁵⁵ He gave good services as administrator of this area.⁵⁶ Ventura's rule at Dera Ghazi Khan was appreciated by Ranjit Singh himself. However, Ventura did not enjoy long term of his office there.⁵⁷ He was called to Lahore by Ranjit Singh for another military campaign.⁵⁸



Figure 3.6: Diwan Mulraj Chopra

Source: www.wikipedia.com

⁵⁴Diwan Dina Nath, *Zafarnama-i- Ranjit Singh*, tr. Kirpal Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p. 179.

⁵⁵Ventura joined the Lahore service in 1822 along with his friend Allard. After the downfall of Napoleon's power, he came to India for better prospective of future. He joined Ranjit Singh's service on the surety of British authorities. He trained the Lahore army and raised a modern unit named *fauj-i-khass* and reformed Ranjit Singh's army. Along with being a civil administrator, he was a competent commander of Ranjit Singh and number of campaigns were sent under Ventura along with other commanders. After the death of Ranjit Singh, he did not enjoy the same status of power as enjoyed earlier: Lefont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: The French Connection*, pp. 50-71.

⁵⁶Ibid, p. 43.

⁵⁷W.F.R. Fryer, *Settlement Report Dera Ghazi Khan*, p. 37.

⁵⁸Lefont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: The French Connection*, pp. 49-50.

In 1831, as the *subedar* of Multan, Diwan Sawan Mal was given charge of the territories of Dera Ghazi Khan, Shujabad, Muzaffargarh, Mankera, Leiah, Jhang, Chiniot and Sayyidwal.⁵⁹ Sawan Mal played a major role in the management of Dera Ghazi Khan. One of Diwan's first acts was to proceed against the Mazari tribe who being cut off from the rest of the district by the Harrand- Dajal country, did not come under the influence of Ranjit Singh till the annexation of that country in 1827. The tribe refused to acknowledge Ranjit Singh's supremacy and continued their predatory habits. Diwan Sawan Mal marched against them with an army of 7, 00, 00 men, drove them into the hills and made them surrender all the stolen cattle in their possession.⁶⁰ Several officials were appointed by Sawan Mal to manage these areas. He appointed several *kardars* for the collection of revenue. They were all non-Sikhs: Jawahar Mal, Rang Ram, Bahadur Chand, Radha Mal, Linga Ram etc.⁶¹

Multan became a part of the Sikh kingdom in 1818 after a long struggle. Diwan Sukh Dyal was appointed as the first *nazim* of Multan on the payment of thirty hundred rupees per month.⁶² Initially, he did an appreciative work but with passage of time, Ram Dyal indulged in corruption. When the news of his corrupt behaviour reached Maharaja in 1819, he was replaced by another non-Sikh *nazim*. In 1819, Sham Singh Peshawaria became the *nazim* of Multan but he was an oppressive *nazim* who also indulged in corruption, soon he was made to retire from Multan. It became a problem for Ranjit Singh to fill the post of *nazim* in this area with a person of values whom he could fully trust. Indulgence in corruption by *nazims* was because of the distance of this territory from Lahore and it was not possible for Ranjit Singh to supervise this area all the time. Hazari

⁵⁹Sawan Mall was the third son of Hoshank Rai Khatri, a servant of Dal Singh of Akalgarh. He started his career in the office of his brother Nanak Chand, who worked with Diwan Mohkam Chand. In 1820, he worked at Multan as head of the account office under Bhaiya Badan Hazari. Later on, he received the governorship of Multan. He introduced many innovations in the agriculture. He introduced the revenue remission there. The Diwan was just an impartial administrator of Ranjit Singh. He was succeeded by his son Mulraj in the governorship of Multan: Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp. 84-85; Munshi Hukum Chand, *Tarikh-i- Multan*, New Imperial Press, Lahore, 1884, p. 470.

⁶⁰*District Gazetteer of Dera Ghazi Khan, 1883-84*, p. 27.

⁶¹*District and State Gazetteer of Undivided Punjab, District of Dera Ghazi Khan*, Vol. I, p. 27.

⁶²Diwan Dina Nath, *Zafarnama-i- Ranjit Singh*, tr. by Kirpal Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p. 107.

Badan Singh was appointed as the new *nazim* of Multan in the early part of 1825.⁶³ Under his leadership, Diwan Sawan Mal joined Multan, as the head of the accounts at a salary of Rs.250 per month.⁶⁴ New appointed governor also proved corrupt. The only *nazim*, who proved a blessing for this area was Diwan Sawan Mal. He was a non-Sikh *nazim* of Ranjit Singh, who provided satisfactory administration to this area. This man was already in the notice of Maharaja because of his *kardarship* in Multan reign. A new era began in 1819 when Diwan Sawan Mal was appointed as *kardar* of half of the province of Multan by Ranjit Singh.⁶⁵ In 1829, Diwan Sawan Mal was promoted as the *nazim* of the Multan.⁶⁶ He was a man who knew when to be strict and when to be lenient.⁶⁷ He was the only *nazim* who satisfied Ranjit Singh with his performance. In 1832, he was designated with the title of Diwan.⁶⁸ With the passage of time, his power and influence increased in this area, but he never turned into an insurgent.⁶⁹

Kashmir was one among the areas of Ranjit Singh, which was subjugated after a long struggle. Occupation of this area proved blessing for Ranjit Singh because Kashmir was the richest province of the Sikh kingdom next only to Multan.⁷⁰ When Ranjit Singh occupied this area, he appointed mainly those commanders who had helped him to conquer Kashmir. Pandit Viridhar was one such person who had helped Ranjit Singh after the subjugation of this area, Ranjit Singh appointed him as the *ijaradar* of Kashmir.⁷¹

To manage Kashmir was difficult for Ranjit Singh as the *nazims* indulged themselves in corrupt practices, which created more chaos. Nine *nazims* were appointed by

⁶³ G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 87; News (1825), 49.

⁶⁴ Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol II, Languages Department, Punjab, 2003 (4th ed., first pub. 1878), p. 348.

⁶⁵ Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i- Ranjit Singh*, tr. Kirpal Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p. 116.

⁶⁶ Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut- Tawarikh, Daftar-III*, pp. 461, 469, 496; *District Gazetteer of Multan*, 1883-84, p. 30.

⁶⁷ Calcutta Review, Vol-I, May- December, 1844, London, 1881, p. 444.

⁶⁸ Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut- Tawarikh, Daftar-III*, pp. 1 & 206.

⁶⁹ There is one point to notice that apart from these *nazims* of Multan, other *nazims* were also appointed by Ranjit Singh but their stay in this area was for a very short time period because of their mismanagement. After Hazari Badan Singh and before the appointment of Sawan Mall, several Nazims like Tulsidhar, Dhian Singh, Baba Baj Singh, and Kharak Singh were given the designation of Nazimship.

⁷⁰ Shammat Ali Khan, *The Sikhs and Afghan*, Languages Department, Punjab, 1970, p. 22.

⁷¹ Diwan Dina Nath, *Zafarnama-i- Ranjit Singh* (tr.), Kirpal Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p. 110.

Lahore Darbar between 1819 and 1846 at Kashmir and one of them was appointed twice. Moti Ram was appointed for two terms. The average tenure of Sikh *nazim* of Kashmir was from two to three years. The Sikh *nazims* of Kashmir were Misar Diwan Chand, Diwan Moti Ram, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, Diwan Moti Ram (second term) Chunni Lal, Diwan Kirpa Ram (Son of Moti Ram), Bhamman Singh, Prince Sher Singh, Mihan Singh, Shaikh Ghulam Muhiyuddin and his son Imamuddin.⁷² Among all the *nazims*, Mian Singh Rajput was the only one who brought the valley out of chaos by his efforts. Shaikh Ghulam Muhiyuddin was a disloyal governor of Kashmir, who was punished by Ranjit Singh because of his oppressive and dishonest nature. The people were fed up of his oppression, and, to add to their distress, Kashmir was in 1832 affected by famine. The Sheikh was recalled to Lahore and fined. He protested against the amount of the fine, which he said he could never pay; the Maharaja directed Misar Rup Lal to confiscate his property at Hoshiarpur. There was found concealed no less than nine and a half lakhs of rupees. Vainly the Shaikh swore that this money was accumulated by his father in the service of Sardar Bhup Singh, but Ranjit Singh well knew that the Sardar had never seen a lakh of rupees in his life, and that the treasure had been wrung from starving Kashmiris. He confiscated the whole and fined the Shaikh rupees 25,000 besides.⁷³

One of the advantages available to the *nazims* in administrative system of Ranjit Singh was that in their absence, they could manage through a deputy or a *mukhtar-i-kar*. In early times, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had also employed *mukhtar-i-kar* for his own help. Diwan Lakhu was the *mukhtar-i-kar* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁷⁴ So many examples are there which highlight that, various *nazims* had employed *mukhtar-i-kars* to work in their absence in their territory. These *nazims* were prince Sher Singh, Diwan Moti Ram and others. Several references are available where Sikh *nazims* appointed non-Sikh subordinates in their place. Like *nazims*, the *mukhtar-i-kar* also had so many obligations and rights in the area of their rule. Main duty which they had to perform was collection of revenue on behalf of *nazim*. The *nazim* had given right to *mukhtar-i-kar* to submit it either

⁷²Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 71.

⁷³Griffin, *Chiefs of Punjab*, vol-I, p. 40.

⁷⁴Ganeh Das, *Char Bagh-i- Punjab*, tr.& ed. by J.S .Grewal & Indu Banga, *Early Nineteenth Century Panjab*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, p. 143.

directly to state treasury or to someone authorized by *nazim* to receive it.⁷⁵ It was also expected from *mukhtar-i- kar* to deal with vassal chiefs of the area under his jurisdiction on behalf of the *nazim*. Ghulam Muhiyiddin was the *mukhtar-i-kar* of prince Sher Singh in Kashmir, Kirpa Ram worked at Jalandher whereas Chaudhari Shahbaz Khan was *mukhtar-i-kar* at Rajauri under Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala.⁷⁶

III

Next unit of administration was *pargana* or *ta'alluqa*.⁷⁷ The administrator of this area was called *kardar* or *ta'alluqadar* or even *amil*. Majority of Ranjit Singh's *kardars* belonged to non-Sikh section of the society, these *kardars* were mostly the sons and nephews of the Misers and Faqirs, who governed the primary units of Ranjit Singh. The *kardar* worked as subordinate to *nazim*. In fact, most important official in the local government was *kardar* rather than the *nazim*.⁷⁸ The *kardar* was the main administrator of *ta'alluqa* or *pargana*.⁷⁹ Apart from this, management of the salt mines and office of custom was also his responsibility.⁸⁰

In the management of *parganas*, Ranjit Singh adopted a specific policy, 'the distant or difficult *ta'alluqas* were placed under the powerful *jagirdars* on the basis of *ijara* (contract stipulating the amount to be paid to the state for collecting and appropriating the revenues of given *ta'alluqa*) like Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Jai Singh Attariwala, Prince Sher Singh, General Avitabile and Sardar Jamait Singh. While the nearer or soft *ta'alluqas* were placed under *kardars* like Misar Kaku Mal, Fakir Tajjudin Ansari, Miser Mul Raj, and others. In actual working, however, the two managements do not appear to have much difference.⁸¹

⁷⁵Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 75.

⁷⁶*Ibid*, p. 77.

⁷⁷G.L. Chopra called *kardar* as the in charge of *ta'alluqa*; see, G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a sovereign state*, p. 84, and Sita Ram called *kardar* as an officer in charge of the *pargana*, see, Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Pbi. tr.), Punjabi University, Patiala, p. 211.

⁷⁸G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 84.

⁷⁹Griffin & Massy, *Punjab Chiefs*, Vol -I, p.292; Amarnath, *Zafarnama* (tr. Pbi) by Kirpal Singh, p.140, Ahmad Shah, *Tarikh-i- Punjab* (tr. Pbi.) by Gurbaksh Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, p. 481.

⁸⁰Sohan Lal, *Suri, Umdat –ut- Tawarikh*, Vol- II, pp. 394 & 401; Foreign / Political Consultations, 21 May 1852, No.142

⁸¹J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 60.

There was usually one *kardar* to every *ta'alluqa*, but in certain cases, where it consisted of an exceptionally large *ta'alluqa*, there were more than one. Sometimes, if Maharaja was pleased with the services of a *kardar* then, that *kardar* was appointed at different places. For instance Kanihya Lal, a grandson of Moti Lal was the *kardar* of Ranjit Singh whom he appointed at seven different places at different times.⁸² Other non-Sikh *kardars* who were appointed at different places and enjoyed the longest tenure under Ranjit Singh were Kishan Kaur and Raj Kaur. At Rawalpindi, Kishen Kaur was the Sikh *kardar* and he continued in his position even after the death of Ranjit Singh and provided his services to the Sikh state, till the reign of Prince Nau Nihal Singh in 1840.⁸³ Thus the *kardars* widely differed in position and importance according to the extent of territory under their charge.

One can notice that Ranjit Singh learnt most of the administrative skills from his ancestors, but one thing different during Ranjit Singh's times was that majority of *kardars* under his ancestors belonged to Sikh community. Charhat Singh had on his administrative staff a number of efficient *kardars*, which included Dal Singh Gill, Bhag Singh Virk, Budh Singh, Gaur Singh, Dharm Singh Batasa, Tehal Singh Chhachi, Nirmal Singh, Himmat Singh, Dadu Singh, and Sehaj Singh.⁸⁴ On the other hand under Ranjit Singh, other communities such as Muslims, Europeans, and Hindus were also accommodated. Ranjit Singh's *kardars* were mostly from non-Sikh sections of society. Radha Krishan was the *kardar* of *ta'alluqa* of Pakpattan, Rai Bhandari was the *kardar* of Batala, Raj Kaur was the *kardar* of Leia, Kumar Chand was the *kardar* of Pargana Garhshanker in Hoshiarpur district, Hakim Rai was the *kardar* of Ferozpur.⁸⁵ Chander Bhan, Waris Khan, Devi Sahai and Rai Chand were *kardars* in the division of Wazirabad.⁸⁶ Mohammad was a Muslim

⁸²Griffin & Massey, *Chiefs & Families of Note in the Punjab*, Vol. II, Government Printing, Lahore, 1940, p.164.

⁸³*Foreign/ Political Consultations*, 23 August 1850, No.60; *Foreign/ Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 205.

⁸⁴Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his Times*, Sehgal Publishers services, New Delhi, 1990, p. 6.

⁸⁵*Foreign/ Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 196; *Ibid*, 27 May 1853, No. 189.

⁸⁶Roshan Lal Ahuja, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh- A Man of Destiny*, Punjabi Writers Co. Society, New Delhi, 1983, p. 63

kardar of Ranjit Singh in the *pargana* of Gogera.⁸⁷ Sheikh Ahmad was the *kardar* of Jalandhar Doab and Chajju Misar was the *kardar* of the Kot Kangra.⁸⁸

Many times, clashes occurred between the two communities under non-Sikh *kardars*. An incident happened in Gujrat during the *kardarship* of Fakir Imam-ud-din, who had joined as *kardar* in 1811. Most of the population of this area was Hindu, they never wanted any Muslim administrator in their area. In 1811, the *khatris* of Gujrat complained that Fakir Imam-ud-din, brother of Fakir Aziz-ud-din, had killed a cow in order to propitiate a *pir* and the thigh of the cow was thrown in the house of a Hindu. The Hindus produced the thigh and asserted that in the administration of Fakir Imam-ud-Din, such things had been happening. Diwan Mohkam Chand, who bore enmity towards Fakir Aziz-ud-Din, sided with the Hindus. As a repercussion of this incident, the shops were closed at Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Gujrat and Jalalpur. At last, the dispute was settled through the appointment of a Hindu *amil* at Gujrat by Ranjit Singh and Imam-ud-Din was shifted as *amil* to Jalandhar.⁸⁹

Apart from Hindus and Muslims, Europeans were also employed as *kardars* by Ranjit Singh but their stay was for a short time. Holmes John, an English man was appointed as the *kardar* of Gujrat. He started his career as a trumpeter in the Bengal Horse Artillery. In 1829, he left that job and came to Lahore where he was employed by Ranjit Singh first on military duties and later on as *kardar* of Gujrat for some time in 1830.⁹⁰ Raja Gulab Singh managed this area as an administrator. In fact Gujrat was one such *ta'alluqa* or *pargana*, which was governed by every community's *kardars* except Sikhs.

The strength of non-Sikh *kardars* in various *parganas* increased during the last years of Ranjit Singh's reign. These *kardars* were Rajrup in the *pargana* of Kangra, Radha Kishan in Pakpattan, Devi Dial at Dera Ghazi Khan, Kishan Kaur at Rawalpindi and Gobind Jas at Wazirabad. There are references of few *parganas* being jointly managed by

⁸⁷Foreign/ Political Proceedings, 10 June 1853, No. 219.

⁸⁸H.L.O. Garret & G.L.Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 150 & 172.

⁸⁹Ali-ud-din Mufti, *Ibrat Nama*, (NP), 1854, MS, translated into Punjabi by Gurbakhsh Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, p. 494.

⁹⁰Foreign Political, Consultations, 14 Dec. 1842, No.44; *Ibid*, 13 April 1842, No. 20; *Ibid*, 15 June 1844, No. 67; *Ibid*, 7 May 1852, No. 42; *Ibid*, 31 Dec 1847, No. 2206.

kardars. Like Ishar Das and Harnam Das jointly managed the *ta'alluqa* of Gogera.⁹¹ The *pargana* of Shaikupura was managed by Fateh, Rahim and Rai Chand jointly.⁹²

In the *Khalsa Darbar Records*, there are references of several *ta'alluqas*, which were administered by non-Sikh *kardars*, such as Fakir Imam-ud-din, Raja Dhian Singh, Chaudhari Kanhiya, Lala Harditta, Lala Nand Singh, Dewan Jetha Ram, Lala Sukh Dial and Diwan Sham Singh etc. However, the common obligation imposed upon *kardars* was that while performing their duties, the welfare of the people and sympathetic attitude towards subjects were their first responsibilities and they were not allowed to introduce any new system without permission of Ranjit Singh.⁹³

As we know that after 1812, a great number of *ta'alluqas* were added to the Sikh kingdom. During this period, Multan was classified into twenty *ta'alluqas*: Luddan, Tibbi, Kahrot, Nalah Sadr Wah, Bahadurpur, Kotli Aadil, Punjani, Ghazipur, Khanpur, Khai, Shahpur, Sikandarabad, Shujabad, Sardarpur, Sadaney and Tulamba.⁹⁴ To manage these newly conquered *ta'alluqas*, Ranjit Singh adopted a new policy, which was giving these newly conquered *ta'alluqas* (which were on distant places or tough to manage) on the basis of *ijara*. Till this time, Ranjit Singh had understood the managerial abilities of every community, so he appointed mostly non-Sikhs as *ijaradars*. Ranjit Singh started to manage his *ta'alluqa* through big *ijaradars* on amount of revenue fixed by Ranjit Singh. It was not a new system introduced by Ranjit Singh, this was already in vogue during the Mughal period, Ranjit Singh continued the practice adopted in the Mughal administrative system.

We do not know the exact date when Ranjit Singh started *ijara* system but from the contemporary and near-contemporary sources, it can be said that, it was started during the early decade of the nineteenth century. Ranjit Singh always gave *ijara* contract to his main and trusted officials and nobles. They were Dogra brothers, Fakir brothers, Miser family, prominent Sikh families of the eighteenth century and other individuals who were allied

⁹¹*Foreign /Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No. 2214; 27 May 1853, No.196; 7 Jan 1853, No. 241; 27 May 1853, No.205 & 18 June 1857, No. 232.

⁹²*Ibid*, 14 January 1853, No. 238.

⁹³J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Parwanas of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 81-82.

⁹⁴Ahmad Ali, 'Administrative System in Punjab During and After Ranjit Singh: A Case Study of Multan', in *Journal of Arts, Social Science*, ISSN: 2151-200, Volume-9, issue-2, p. 3.

with core administration of Ranjit Singh. In 1815, Ranjit Singh occupied the *ta'alluqa* of Shahadra. It was a vast area, which included Haryana, Pathankot, Sharkpur, Ahmadabad and Dhani. Six districts together with the *ta'alluqa* of Shahadra were farmed out to Diwan Hukam Singh on an annual contract of Rs. 2, 55,518.⁹⁵ They were *ta'alluqa* of Ahmadabad for eighty-five thousand rupees, Dhanni- sixty-two thousand rupees, Pathankot-thirty thousand rupees, Sharkpur- fifteen thousand rupees, Shahpur-thirteen thousand rupees, Haryana-thirty thousand rupees and Katha and Dhak for fifty thousand rupees.⁹⁶ In this category, those *ta'alluqas* are also included which were conquered by Ranjit Singh earlier, but official records of the income was received late in the revenue department of the Ranjit Singh. "Jammu was an area which appears in the revenue accounts for the first time in the year 1815. It was conquered and annexed much earlier. In 1817-18, Jammu district was farmed out to Diwan Bhawani Das for one lakh rupees per annum".⁹⁷

Other than this, another distant area which was managed by *kardars* on the basis of *ijara* was Multan. Diwan Sawan Mal was initially appointed as *kardar* of the Lahore Darbar and various areas were given to him on the basis of *ijara*. Multan was given to him in four lakhs of rupees, Syal for two lakhs, Kamalia and Chiniot for fifty six thousand rupees each, Syedwala and Faridabad Kot for forty six thousand rupees, Jaan Kharla on forty one thousand, Garh Maharaja on twenty thousand rupees, Dera Ghazi Khan on ten Lakhs of rupees, *qasba* Akalgarh on twenty seven thousand rupees, *qasba* Hafizgarh on twenty five thousand rupees, Rattangarh and Sardargarh on thirty six thousand rupees and Imam shah on thirty thousand rupees.⁹⁸

From the *Khalsa Darbar* Records, we also get information about various non-Sikh *kardars*, who were appointed at Multan. Diwan Jeta Ram (1818) Lala Sukh Dial (1818-1819) and Diwan Sham Singh (1819).⁹⁹ Other *kardars* of Multan under Diwan Sawan Mal were Lala Devi Dyal and Lala Ram Chand.¹⁰⁰ Pakpatan was under the jurisdiction of

⁹⁵Sita Ram Kohli, *Khalsa Darbar Records*, Vol.-II, Government Printing Press, Lahore, 1919, p. 42 (cited hereafter as Sita Ram Kohli, *Khalsa Darbar Records*)

⁹⁶*Ibid*, p. 53.

⁹⁷*Ibid*, p. 59.

⁹⁸V.S. Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Dafter-III (Pbi. tr.) by Patwant Singh, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2002, p. 37.

⁹⁹Sita Ram, *Khalsa Darbar Records*, Vol- II, p. 64.

¹⁰⁰V.S. Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Dafter-III, p. 4.

Diwan Sawan Mal and the *kardar* of this area was Rattan Chand, who was called by Maharaja to Lahore Darbar for his rude behaviour with his subjects.¹⁰¹ In this category, those *ta'alluqas* were also included which were initially managed by big *jagirdars* but with the passage of time were reduced to the *khalisa* land.

The *ta'alluqa* of Pindi Gheb was formerly held in *jagir* by Sardar Dal Singh Kaliawala but in 1822, it came under the control of Lahore Darbar.¹⁰² The *ta'alluqas* which previously held in *jagirs* by Diwan Moti Ram were Santha, and Hanawat which were reduced to Lahore Darbar in 1824. Other *ta'alluqas* to have been confiscated into Lahore Darbar were *ta'alluqas* of Kahun, Kotlehr and Khai.¹⁰³ Some new *ta'alluqas* such as Kahun, Kotlehr and Khai were also granted to the non- Sikh *kardars*. Sarbuland Khan was the grantee of the new *ta'alluqa* of Kahun and *ta'alluqa* of Sudhni was granted in *jagir* to Mian (Raja) Hira Singh from 1822.¹⁰⁴ To manage the affairs of stable, Raja Hira Singh was granted the area of Basohli for eleven lakhs. In 1827, Raja Dhian Singh was assigned the administration of the country of Bhimber and Chhibal along with the title of *raja-i- rajgan, raja-i- kalan bahadur*. His son Raja Hira Singh was given the principalities between the Ravi and the Jhelum.¹⁰⁵ “The *ta'alluqa* of Kot Kapura was formerly held in *jagir* by Diwan Moti Ram, but in 1824 this area was granted to Dharam Singh”.¹⁰⁶

The *kardars* were replaced by others whenever they failed to perform well. Dadu was formerly held by Avitabile: its *kardars*, Faiz, and Abdulla, had not paid three thousand and five hundred rupees to the state. Sardar Tej Singh was ordered to collect this amount from them. He was warned that in no case amount was to be collected from the *zamindars* and the *kardars* were to pay the arrears. It appears, however, that Tej Singh was not able to get this amount from Faiz and Abdulla. Chaudhari Faiz was placed under detention.¹⁰⁷ Another *ta'alluqa* was Miani, which was given to Sardar Tej Singh. “Miani had been given

¹⁰¹*Ibid*, p. 26.

¹⁰²Sita Ram, *Khalsa Darbar Records*, Vol-II, p. 91.

¹⁰³*Ibid*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid*, pp. 117-18.

¹⁰⁵Fauaj Singh, *Some Aspects of State and Society Under Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Master Publication, New Delhi, 1982, p. 95.

¹⁰⁶Sita Ram Kohli, *Khalsa Darbar Records*, Vol-II, p. 117.

¹⁰⁷J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 56.

to Sardar Tej Singh and Jawahar Mal in April 1834 after the death of Sardar Jai Singh Attariwala”.¹⁰⁸

Apart from these *ta'alluqas*, various other *jagirs* were taken over by Tej Singh from Sikh and non-Sikh officials at the *ta'alluqa* level. Sardar Tej Singh was ordered to take over the administration of the *ta'alluqa* of Shahpur for 28,400 rupees a year, including the *jagirs* of Miser Beli Ram, Bhai Ram Singh, Sardar Mangal Singh Ramgarhia and Gul Begum. He also appointed his own *kardars* in the *ta'alluqa*.¹⁰⁹ Saurian was the *ta'alluqa* which was under the administration of Prince Sher Singh and Mayya Das was working there as *kardar*. This *ta'alluqa* was handed over to Faqir Shah Din Ansari in place of Mayya Das, who was called by Maharaja to check his accounts.¹¹⁰

Another important aspect of *pargana* or *ta'alluqa* administration was that less important and nearby *ta'alluqas* were given to directly recruited *kardars* on a fixed amount. The *kardars* of this category were Miser Mul Raj in the *ta'alluqa* of Dinga, Miser Kaku in the *ta'alluqa* of Rori, later he was shifted to another *ta'alluqa* of Sodhari. It was held by Ventura earlier.¹¹¹ Lala Jawahar Mal was the *kardar* of Jandiala.¹¹² Miser Ram Krishan, the younger brother of Miser Beli Ram was given Gujranwala district for a little more than a lakh of rupees.¹¹³

The *kardars* were paid in cash and kind and authorized to collect revenue from given areas in lieu of salary. They were Faqir Tajudin Ansari, Miser Beli Ram, Miser Sukh Raj, Diwan Kirpa Ram and Colonel Gulab Singh Pahuwindia.¹¹⁴

IV

If the *nazim* and *kardars* were essential part of the administration of *suba* and *pargana*, the other officials appointed to manage these units were also important. These were *qanungos*, *chaudharies* and *muqqadams*. The *qanungo* of the *ta'alluqa* or *pargana* level, was the

¹⁰⁸*Ibid*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid*, pp. 57-58.

¹¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 58.

¹¹¹*Ibid*, p. 59.

¹¹²V.S. Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-III, (Pbi. tr.), p. 35.

¹¹³Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and the Afghans*, Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p. 55.

¹¹⁴J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 60.

person, who kept reliable and authentic information relevant to revenue administration like statistical records, detail of revenue receipts and information about past revenue records. The contribution of these officials was very important in civil administration because the main records of the land were kept by these officials, interestingly the majority of these officials were Hindus.¹¹⁵

Shiv Sahai and Devi Dial were the *qanungos* of the *pargana* of Batala.¹¹⁶ The information about the *qanungos* of different areas has come from Ganesh Das's account of nineteenth century. He says that the *qanungoi* of different *parganas* was generally in the hands of Hindu Khattris and they were 'the Ghais in Rohtas; Badheras in Bahlolpur, Sialkot and Gujrat; Sobtis in Jalalpur, Sahnis in Wazirabad, Nandas in Eminabad, Chopras in Lahore, Puris in Batala, Tulis in Kalanaur, Bedis and Mehtas in Patti and Sehgal and Thapars in Jalandhar. This list is by no means exhaustive.¹¹⁷ The *qanungoi* of *pargana* Haibatpur Patti was held by Bedi and Mehta Khattris.¹¹⁸ Data Ram and Har Jas were the *qanungos* of the area of Jalalpur.¹¹⁹ Malhian was a *pargana* in the Rachna Doab, its *qanungoi* belonged to Badhawan and Chopra Khattris.¹²⁰ The non-Sikh *qanungoes* appointed at Gujrat were Lala Krishan Rup, Ganesh Das, Mian Khudayar and Rahim Bakhsh.¹²¹ In the area of Bist Jalandher Doab, the *qanungoi* was held by Sehgal and Thapars.¹²²

Muqqadam was a revenue collector at *mauza*' level under Ranjit Singh. A number of non-Sikh *muqqadams* were appointed by Ranjit Singh. In 1808, Raju was the *muqqadam* of the village in Batala.¹²³ Bhaggu was the *muqqadam* of a village in 1833;

¹¹⁵*Foreign/ Political Proceedings*, 7 January 1853, No. 288; Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, pp. 226-27, 308-12 & 423.

¹¹⁶Most of the former *chaudharies* and *qanungos* of Mughal times were allowed to perform their customary functions of collection of land revenue and keeping revenue records: *Foreign/ Political Proceedings*, 8 August 1856, No.206.

¹¹⁷Ganesh Das, *Char Bagh-i-Punjab* (ed. & tr.), J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga under the title *Early Nineteen Century Punjab*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, p. 27.

¹¹⁸*Ibid*, p. 139.

¹¹⁹J.S. Grewal, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p.199.

¹²⁰Ganesh Das, *Char Bagh-i-Punjab* (ed. & tr.) J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga under the title *Early Nineteen Century Punjab*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, p. 110.

¹²¹*Ibid*, p. 58.

¹²²*Ibid*, p. 142.

¹²³*Foreign/ Political Consultations*, 31 December 1858, Nos. 1676-1679.

Rupa was the *muqqadam* of village Rehab in *pargana* Talwana.¹²⁴ As like *kardars*, there are references of more than one *muqqadams* appointed at the *mauza* level. Gulab and Taula were *muqqadams* of village Kharake in the *pargana* Talwan; Bhagu and Mohan were the *muqqadams* in the area of Leia; Wazira and Bishona were the *muqqadams* of village in the *pargana* of Shakargarh and Bhagt Mal and Gurdas Mal were the *muqqadams* in the village of a *pargana* Sawandi.¹²⁵ Ganesh Das, in his work, has provided information of different *muqqadams* in the *mauza* of Punjab. In the Chaj Doab, Shah Baz, Wali Dad Khan, and Sikander were appointed as *muqqadams* in different villages by Ranjit Singh.¹²⁶ Fazalad Khan was the *muqqadam* of area of Garak.¹²⁷

Usually, the revenue collecting officials such as *qanungoes*, *muqqadams* and *patwaris* were paid a part of the collection of revenue of a specific area. There was no fixed amount to be paid to these officials. In the case of *chaudharies* and *muqqadams*, it was called *pachotra*, *wajah-i-inam-wa-pachotra*, and *in'am-i-pachotra-wa-malikana*.¹²⁸ They were awarded revenue-free land by Ranjit Singh. Jafar Khan, a Chaudhari of Mirowal received revenue free land of four villages.¹²⁹ Chaudhari Khuda Yar Khan in Jalapur, Chaudhri Tek Chand in Hallowal, Shadi Khan in Malikpur, Qadir Baksh Kahlon and Chaudhri Fattu in Zafarwal and Ghulam Qadir in Wazirabad, received *inam jagirs* from Ranjit Singh.¹³⁰

V

A large numbers of non-Sikhs were appointed in the diplomatic and correspondence services by Ranjit Singh. They were *vakils*, messengers and news agents of Ranjit Singh. The *vakils* were the communicator of Ranjit Singh, whom he sent to other chiefs and also received *vakils* from other rulers. They were political ambassadors of Ranjit Singh. Namdar Khan was the *vakil* of Ranjit Singh, who was sent to the hill chief of Jasrota in

¹²⁴*Foreign/ Political Proceedings*, 14 Jan 1853, Nos. 220 & 241.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, 14 Jan 1853, No. 219-20; *Foreign/ Political Consultations*, 16 Sep 1859, No. 54-55; 14 Jan 1853, No. 241; 27 May 1853, No. 193.

¹²⁶Ganesh Das, *Char Bagh-i-Punjab*, pp. 163,205 & 208.

¹²⁷H.L.O. Garret & G.L. Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, p. 168.

¹²⁸*Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, Vol- I, pp. 202 & 316-17.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

¹³⁰*Foreign / Political Consultations*, 20 August 1852, Nos. 135-36.

1813, Nand Ram was appointed at the cantonment of the Ludhiana and in 1815, Abdul Nabi Khan was appointed as the *vakil*, who entered Ludhiana. Narain Das was appointed as the *vakil* of Ramgarh and sent news about the Ramgarhia sardars to Ranjit Singh. Manak Chand was positioned as *vakil* in the Rawalpindi area. Karam Chand was the *vakil* of Kharak Singh and also employed at Kashmir. Sometimes, these ambassadors were offered a good deal by the anti-chiefs of Ranjit Singh to be on their sides. In 1813, Ranjit Singh received a letter from Karam Chand, who stated that Fateh Khan tried to persuade him by offering special concessions. In reply, Ranjit Singh strictly ordered him to act for the welfare of his master and avoid all his selfish considerations. Manak Chand was the *vakil* of Diwan Mohkam Chand, whenever *diwan* was on distant places; he sent his news and other conversation with Ranjit Singh through his *vakil*. Narain Das was the *vakil* of Ranjit Singh to the court of Multan's Nawab Muzaffar Khan, when Ranjit Singh sent him message to raise the amount of the revenue. Mehar Chand was the *vakil* of Ranjit Singh, with whom he correspondence with Fateh Singh Ahluwalia.¹³¹

The messengers were employed by Ranjit Singh to carry and from messages to Lahore court. They were in pairs and known as *jauri* messengers. These *jauris* were sent on important mission from Lahore court. Chuni Lal and Bir Chand were the non-Sikh *jauri* of Ranjit Singh and sent on various missions.¹³² Other than messengers, news were also employed by Ranjit Singh. These news agents were the officials, who were required to send news to the messengers so that confidential news reached Ranjit Singh. Jai Kiran was the news agent appointed in Kashmir. He used to send reports of t every activities of the Fateh Khan to the messengers.¹³³ Lala Kishan Das was the news agent of Multan.¹³⁴ Ganag Ram was the news agent of the Shahjahanbad and Ranjit Singh was satisfied with his services. In 1813, he was called to Lahore and rewarded with fifty rupees for his

¹³¹Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol-II, pp. 72, 78, 81-84, 101-107, 132-135; H.L.O. Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 55, 60, 63-64, 65, 93, 124-125 & 230.

¹³²H.L.O. Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 24, 37, 52, 145 & 153.

¹³³Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, pp. 127-28; H.L.O. Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, p. 59.

¹³⁴*Ibid*, p. 177.

entertainment by Ranjit Singh.¹³⁵ Abdul Nabbi Khan was the news agent of mountainous region such as Basoli, Nurpur and Jasrota.¹³⁶ Sukh Dyal was the news agent of Pind Dadan Khan. Mir Izzat Ullah Khan, was the news agent of Ranjit Singh in Peshawar.¹³⁷

VI

Ranjit Singh appointed a number of non-Sikhs to help him at the centre. He was aware of their mastery in the financial matters, which they performed in the courts and institutions, since the time of Mughal rulers. As the Sikh empire expanded in all direction, the need of systematic government system was felt by Ranjit Singh. Initially, there was no elaborated central secretariat. When Ranjit Singh came to power few non-Sikh officials were attached to his empire, which helped him to govern his empire. “Diwan Lahkpat Rai, who was the Diwan of late Mahan Singh, continued on his position till Ranjit Singh took the state affairs in his hands.¹³⁸ Miser Basti Ram worked in *toshakhana* under Ranjit Singh. He inherited this post from his ancestors, who had worked under Charhat Singh and Mahan Singh.¹³⁹ Primarily, few officials were enough to maintain his empire but as the area of his state grew extensively, and then Ranjit Singh required new officials to administer his growing state. The accounts of Ranjit Singh revenue receipts and the expenditure were maintained by a Hindu banker of Amritsar, named Rama Nand Sahu.¹⁴⁰ The first non-Sikh officer enrolled in the Khalsa services was Dewan Devi Das in the year 1803. Diwan Kirpa Ram was made in charge of seal used for the pay orders of Ranjit Singh.¹⁴¹ Diwan Bhawani Das, the brother of Devi Das was invited to the court in 1808, which reorganised the finance department of Ranjit Singh.¹⁴² A *daftar* named Sarishta-i- Bhawani Das was established on his name”.¹⁴³ “It was Diwan Bhawani Das, who first organized the tax from

¹³⁵H.L.O. Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, p. 66.

¹³⁶ Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, p.171.

¹³⁷ H.L.O. Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, p.123.

¹³⁸N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 31; G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p. 77; Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his Times*, p. 23.

¹³⁹Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, p. 596.

¹⁴⁰Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol.V, New Delhi, 1991, p. 356.

¹⁴¹*Ibid*, p. 124.

¹⁴²Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, p.71; G.L. Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p. 83; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 312.

¹⁴³G.L.Chopra, *Civil Administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 124.

salt mines systematically.¹⁴⁴ Ganga Ram was invited by Ranjit Singh and put in charge of the seals. He was made one of the principal pay-masters of Lahore Darbar, with Bhawani Das as head of the department.¹⁴⁵ Ganga Ram invited his relative Dina Nath in the service of Ranjit Singh.

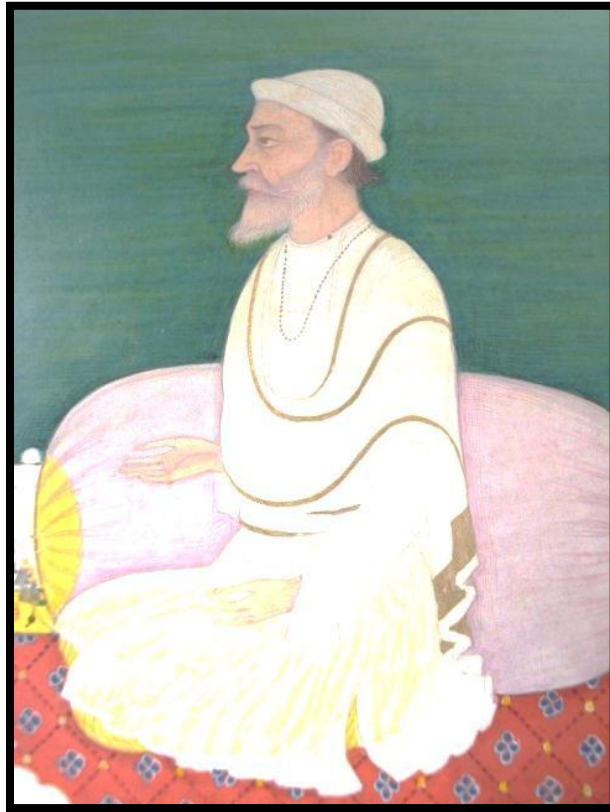


Figure 3.7: Diwan Dina Nath

Source: www.Sikhheritage.com

Dina Nath first attracted the attention of Ranjit Singh after the capture of Multan in 1818. When, he efficiently prepared the list of those, who had played a significant role in the battle and deserved rewards.¹⁴⁶ Ganga Ram died in 1826, he was succeeded as keeper of the seals and in the military office by Dina Nath.¹⁴⁷ He was a very efficient officer employed in the civil secretariat and after the death of Bhawani Das, he became the finance

¹⁴⁴Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol-II, Languages Department, Punjab, 2003, (4th ed., first pub. 1878), p. 312.

¹⁴⁵G.L.Chopra, *Civil Administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 126.

¹⁴⁶Shiv Kumar Gupta, 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Conquest of Multan- A study of his Strategy and Diplomacy', in *The Punjab Past and Present* Punjabi University, Patiala, 1988, p. 107.

¹⁴⁷G. L. Chopra, *Civil Administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 126.

minister of Lahore government. Ranjit Singh appointed him to the position of Bakshi and wazir-Mal.¹⁴⁸

Shankar Das was the head of salary department and succeeded in office by Rattan Chand.¹⁴⁹ The department which dealt with the octroi and excise (*abkari*) was under Ram Dyal.¹⁵⁰ The department, which recorded daily credit and debit transactions, was under Abuul Karim. The postal department of Lahore government was under the supervision of Rattan Chand Darhiwala.¹⁵¹

Under Ranjit Singh, there were several separate treasuries (*toshkhanas*), where the state valuables were kept. These treasuries were under different individuals, who were the head of treasuries and known as *toshkhanias*. The Toshkhanias of Ranjit Singh were Jassa Mal, Waris Khan, Vidya Dhar and Yusuf Ali Khan.¹⁵² Sarrafs (bankers) were the other individuals, who helped Ranjit Singh to manage his economic affairs and number of transactions were conducted by *sarrafs* of Ranjit Singh. The Sarraf of Lahore Darbar were Rama Nand Sahu, Chet Ram, Danu Mal, Duni Chand, Kanhiya Lal and Parma Nand.¹⁵³

In the Catalogue of Khalsa Darbar Records, there are references of an official named *tahwildar*. The *tahwildar* was literally a cash keeper, but in wider sense it denoted any person with whom the government money was deposited, or any fund for which it was deposited or any fund for which it was deposited. This official handled the accounts of multifarious natures such as the account of central treasury, payment to the army, purchases, of building, cloth merchants and of jewellers etc.¹⁵⁴ The non-Sikh *tahwildars* of Lahore Darbar which belonged to Hindu society were: Ajudhia Dass, Amnant Rai, Amrik Rai, Bhagat Ram, Chet Ram Sraf, Dannu Rai, Daya Ram, Dewan Rai, Dial Bhayya, Diwan Bhawani Das, Diwan Devi Das, Diwan Miana, Diwan Narain Das, Diwan Ralia Ram, Gahur Mal, Ganda Mal, Ganga Mal, Ghasita Mal, Gulab Rai, Haji Sarban, Harkishan

¹⁴⁸Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, p. 85; Diwan Amarnath, *Zafarnama* (tr. Pbi) by Kirpal Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1975, p. 81.

¹⁴⁹J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed. & tr.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 110

¹⁵⁰Abkari tax included the collection from the sale of intoxications, such as opium, *bhang*, spirits etc: G.L.Chopra, *Civil Administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 127.

¹⁵¹Lepel Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, p. 448.

¹⁵²J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed. & tr.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp. 55-75.

¹⁵³Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol.V, New Delhi, 1991, p. 356; J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed. & tr.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp. 55-75.

¹⁵⁴Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-II, p. 3.

Das Sahu, Jamaya, Jamna Das, Janku, Jawaya, Kaniya Lal, Karam Chand, Karam Rai, Khahna, Kishan Chand, Lachmipat, Mathura Das, Mehar Shadi, Mehtab Rai, Miser Prabhdial, Narain Das, Ralmat Sarban and Ram Kishan etc. The Muslim *tahwildar* of Lahore court were: Abdul Rahman Khan, Abid Khan, Babat Khan, Bakhtawar Khan, Ghamandi Shah, Gul Khan, Hamad Ju, Hayat, Imani, Kamal-ud-din Khan, Khair Ullah Khan, Khazana Shiakh, Malu Khan, Mehar Baksh, Mir Khan, Muhammad Azim Khan, Nura, Rahmat, Sardar Khan, Shahbaz, Waris Khan and Yusuf Ali Khan etc.¹⁵⁵

Other than *tahwildars*, *munshis* were also appointed. The *munshi* was the chief of scribes. It was an old age Mughal office and survived under Ranjit Singh. He was the civil administrator of Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh's orders either civil or military were dispatched by these officials to different authorities. Various non-Sikhs Munshis were employed by Ranjit Singh. They were Devi Dass, Abdulla Khan, Anant Rai, Duni Chand Gadwai, Ghulam Muhammad Hussain, Karam Chand, Rup Lal, Sarab Dial, Narain Das and Krishan Das.¹⁵⁶ In 1812, Ranjit Singh offered to Munshi Devi Das, the designation of Mir Munshi on an amount of one lakh rupees. Ranjit Singh granted to position of Mir Bakshi to Devi Dass after some concessions.¹⁵⁷

Mutsaddis (clerks) were also employed by Ranjit Singh in the financial administration for clerical work. They were Amar Chand, Balwant Rai, Gopi Nath, Harbhaj Rai, Janki Das, Khushab Mal, Nand Kishore and Thakur Das.¹⁵⁸

All these were the non-Sikh individuals; those were related to the finance department of Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh appointed them according to their capacity without any biased approach.

VII

In the administration of justice, the non-Sikhs enjoyed equal status. Ranjit Singh himself was the supreme judicial power in all matters and the final court of appeal, but for his assistance, he had appointed a number of officials to administer the department of justice separately from the very beginning of his career. All the subjects of the state; Sikh, Hindu,

¹⁵⁵*Ibid*, pp. 15, 22-23, 29, 43, 49, 54, 60, 68, 76, 85, 93, 100-103, 109-110, 118-19, 128, 157-159, 180-181.

¹⁵⁶H.L.O.Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh (1810-17)*, pp. 53, 56-57 & 122.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid*, p. 43.

¹⁵⁸ Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, pp. 67, 102, 131-37, 153-58, 202 & 252.

and Muslims were governed by their own respective legal systems. In the trial of cases of Hindu and Sikhs, the Hindu *shastras* and customs and traditions of the two communities were kept in mind. The cases of the Muslims were allowed to be tried by the *qazis* in accordance with the Muslim law (*shariat*).¹⁵⁹ A number of officials were appointed for this task by the Sikh chief. In the contemporary and near-contemporary sources, there are on record the names of non-Sikh officials' who were associated with the administration of justice.



Figure 3.8: Ranjit Singh hearing the appeal of a case at his Darbar

Source: W.G.Archer's *Paintings of the Sikhs*

After the occupation of Lahore, Ranjit Singh paid attention toward the administration of justice, especially for Muslim, because majority of the population was Muslims, with whose help, he conquered capital city of the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh appointed various non- Sikhs on the post of *qazis* and *muftis*. To settle the marriage disputes among Muslims, Qazi Nizamuddin was appointed as the chief *qazi* of Lahore.¹⁶⁰ Other than

¹⁵⁹Anju Suri, 'Judicial administration under Ranjit Singh-A Critical appraisal', in *The Punjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2006, p. 49.

¹⁶⁰Waheuddin, *The Real Ranjit Singh*, Oriental Publishers, New Delhi, 1964, p. 34.

Muslims, a Hindu *qazi* was also appointed at Lahore by Ranjit Singh. In 1812, a Hindu named Kanu was appointed as *qazi* at the capital.¹⁶¹ To settle down cases regarding the property and other deeds Muftis Mohammad Shahpuri and Mufti Sadulla Chishti were appointed at Lahore by Ranjit Singh.¹⁶² However, a special court known as *adalat-i-ala* was set up at Lahore and chief officer related to justice was known by the same term. This designation was awarded to Maulvi Muzhur Ali and for his assistance Qazi Nasir-ud-din was also appointed.¹⁶³ Along with Muslim *qazis*, Hindus were also entrusted the position of *adalat-i-ala*. Sheo Dial and Ram Singh were the Hindu chief judicial officers at Lahore.¹⁶⁴ Other than these officials, a Sayyid Imam Baksh as Kotwal and Pir Baksh was appointed as in charge of police at Lahore for the maintenance of law and order in the town.¹⁶⁵

In the areas other than the capital, the administration of justice was assigned to concerned officials like *nazims* and *kardars* in their jurisdiction; they had the authority to listen to the appeals of the cases such as matters of inheritance, boundary disputes and payment of revenue. The *nazims* of different areas, such as Avitabile, Chunni Lal, Fakir Aziz-ud-din, Fakir Nur-ud-din, Diwan Mohkam Chand, Kirpa Ram, Moti Ram, Miser Rup Lal, Shiakh Mohi-ud-din, Sawan Mal, Ram Dyal, Tej Singh, and Ventura were involved with the administration of justice. All civil as well as criminal cases were under the jurisdiction of *kardars*.¹⁶⁶ Ranjit Singh used to call for detailed reports from the *nazims* and *kardars* regarding various aspects of judicial administration of territories under them.¹⁶⁷ Ranjit Singh took effective measures against the decisions of these officials if they gave any wrong or partial judgment in the cases.

The special judicial officers were also appointed in important towns, known as *adalatis* or *daroga-i- adalatis*. These officials were entrusted to hear the appeals of lower tribunals. These *adalatis* were appointed in important towns like Jalandhar, Lahore,

¹⁶¹Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-III, p. 443; Anju Suri, 'Judicial administration under Ranjit Singh-A critical appraisal', in *The Punjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2006, p. 50.

¹⁶²Sita Ram Kohli, *Ranjit Singh* (Punjabi), p. 208.

¹⁶³*Punjab Government Records*, Vol.VI, p. 67; G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid*, p. 8

¹⁶⁵Roshan Lal Ahuja, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh-A Man of Destiny*, Punjabi Writers Co. Society, New Delhi, p. 67.

¹⁶⁶Bhagat Singh, *Sikh Polity: In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, p. 252.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid*, p. 253.

Amritsar, Multan and Peshawar to hear and decide both civil and criminal cases.¹⁶⁸ They were instructed by Ranjit Singh to be merciful with people while dealing with their cases. They were directly under the supervision of Ranjit Singh. Few names of the non-Sikh *adalatis* have come to light from the contemporary sources. They were Bahadur Chand as the *daroga-i-adalat* of Lahore, Sham Das and Sujan Rai were of Amritsar, Ajodhia Parshad of Jalandhar and Kaura Mal was working as *daroga-i- adalati* in Multan under Ranjit Singh. Sujan Rai was dismissed by Ranjit Singh for negligence in his duty. But he was reappointed by Ranjit Singh as the Daroga of the battalions on the presentation of five thousand rupees. Other than these, Khushal Mal was the *adalti* of Ranjit Singh. Basant Rai was the astrologer of Lahore court but in 1815, he was employed in the administration of justice to assist Bisakha Singh.¹⁶⁹ All these officers were answerable to Ranjit Singh for their decisions and judgments. Ranjit Singh himself held his *Darbar* at Lahore and heard appeals and petitions against the judgements of the *kardars*, *nazims* and *adalatis*.¹⁷⁰

Together with Hindus and Muslims, even Europeans were assigned with the task of judicial administration. General Ventura was appointed as *qazi* of Lahore for sometimes”.¹⁷¹ “At Peshawar, Avitabile performed judicial service as a chief judge with the assistance of six individuals, two Sikhs, two Hindus, and two Muslim *qazis* forming an advisory body.¹⁷² In 1835, Ranjit Singh obtained a book on the regulation of troops from Captain Wade, the translation of this work was assigned to Ventura and Sohan Lal Suri by Ranjit Singh.¹⁷³ Other than these officers, Europeans, who were placed as *nazims* and *kardars* of different areas, were also the judicial officers of Ranjit Singh.

Although, it has been said by historians, that there was no capital punishment in Ranjit Singh’s reign, however new researches on the theme, however, assert that few of the *nazims* gave hard punishments like amputation of limbs, death sentence and inhuman

¹⁶⁸Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his Times*, Sehgal Publishers House, Delhi, 1990, p. 210.

¹⁶⁹H.L.O.Garret, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh (1810-17)*, pp. 19, 275, 35, 93, 117, 157, 168, 176 & 189.

¹⁷⁰G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p. 90.

¹⁷¹Baron Hugel, *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab*, London, 1845, p. 317; Fauja Singh, *State and Society under Ranjit Singh*, Julundhar Publication, New Delhi, pp. 149-150.

¹⁷²Grey and Garret (ed.), *European Adventurers of North India (1785-1849)*, Government Printing, Lahore, 1929, p. 137.

¹⁷³Roshan Lal Ahuja, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: A Man of Destiny*, Punjabi Writers Co. Society, New Delhi, 1983, p. 62.

torture to those people, who were hard to handle for maintenance of peace at particular areas of their jurisdiction.¹⁷⁴ Avitabile, the *nazim* of Peshawar gave barbarous punishments such as cutting of tongue and death punishments to the inhabitants of Peshawar. Diwan Moti Ram gave capital punishment in the province of Kashmir for cow-killing. However, all these punishments were given by *nazims* without the consent or approval of Ranjit Singh. But Ranjit Singh was not unaware of their nature; in fact, he used the barbarous nature of few officials in the frontier areas for the maintenance of peace and improvement of state of affairs.¹⁷⁵

VIII

A number of *hakims* were in the service of Ranjit Singh. Hakim was an official dealt with the department of health and medicine. Majority of *hakims* belonged to non-Sikh section of society. They were Ghulam Mohy-ud-din-Khan, Aziz-ud-din Khan, Immamudin Ansari, Mohammad Ali Khan, Muhammad Ashraf Khan, Sharfu-ud-din Khan and European Martin Honighburgher. Among the above *hakims*, Sharfu-ud-din was positioned in Shahjahanabad and rest were at the *darbar* of Ranjit Singh. Sometimes Ranjit Singh sent his *hakims* for the well-being of his relatives and friends. In 1814, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia requested Ranjit Singh to send his vakil named Khair Shah Khan to treat him. Ranjit Singh considered his request and sent the said *hakim* to Sardar Fateh Singh.¹⁷⁶

The Hindu *purohits*, were also in the court of Ranjit Singh to take care and arrangements of religious affairs and ceremonies. A number of family *purohit* and *pandits* were directly or indirectly associated with Ranjit Singh. They were Pandit Brij Lal, Madhusudan, Pandit Radhakishen, Pandit Raikishen, Sain Das, Gulab Rai, Ramjas, Sukh Nand, and Ram Rattan and Pandit Raja Ram.¹⁷⁷ The obligations of these religious individuals were to get ready articles for Ranjit Singh, which he gave in charity, religious

¹⁷⁴Anju Suri, 'Judicial Administration under Ranjit Singh-A Critical Appraisal', in *Panjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2006, pp. 51-53.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid*, p. 52.

¹⁷⁶H.L.O.Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 9, 18-19, 21, 25-26, 36-37, 124 & 169.

¹⁷⁷*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 21 February 1851, No.142A; 31 December 1847, No.2206; 21 February 1851, No.218A; 31 December 1847, Nos.1855, 2192 & 2267; 31 December 1847, No. 2206; 7 January 1853, No.225; *Khalsa Darbar Records*, Bundle No. 5, Vol. VII, part- I, pp. 9, 14 & 93; 31 December 1847, Nos. 1855 & 2192.

sacrifices and other religious ceremonies at the court of Ranjit Singh.¹⁷⁸ Apart from Pandit and Purohits, an astrologer had also been employed by Ranjit Singh. Basant Rai was the astrologer of Ranjit Singh at court of Lahore.¹⁷⁹

Khidmatgars (personal attendants) were also employed by Ranjit Singh. Few of the names of *khidmatgars* have come to light. They were Dhanni Sahai, Dewa Chand, Bhagat Ram, Balad Khan, Kishan Ram, Lahna, Manna Ram, Maggu, Mayya, Mast Baksh, Ram Chand, Raman, Sadhu Ram, Sham Khattri, Sobba etc.¹⁸⁰

Other than above discussed official, various other miscellaneous services were provided by non-Sikhs in the court of Lahore for Ranjit Singh. Ram Kishen and Ram Dial were the news writers of Ranjit Singh. Nur Khan was the superintendent of the garden at Amritsar.¹⁸¹ Farrash (a person in charge of flooring) were also in the services of Ranjit Singh. They were Ashraff, Dyal Dass, Gulab, Illahi Baksh Mattianwala, Jalal, Jiwan Bhayya, Manik Rai, Murad Baksh, Ruldu, Sardha Ram. Other than this, various *hajjams* (a barber) were also employed by Ranjit Singh. They were Sham Das, Soba and Zambura provided their services at the court of Ranjit Singh.¹⁸² Filbans (an elephant-keeper) also provided their services to Ranjit Singh. The Filbans of Lahore *darbar* were Bhagat Ram, Jhanda Bhayyia, Kamman, who took care of the elephants of Ranjit Singh.¹⁸³ Manik Rai was a musician of Ranjit Singh at Court of Lahore.¹⁸⁴

IX

In retrospect, it can be seen that in the civil or revenue administration, there was the dominance of non-Sikh factor. The Sikh administrators were there, but their proportion as compared to non-Sikhs administrators was less except in the military administration. Ranjit Singh's non-Sikh administrators belonged to different communities, clans, and nationalities. The most important contribution of these administrators was in the civil

¹⁷⁸ H.L.O.Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, p.50.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.189.

¹⁸⁰ J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp.56-75; H.L.O. Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 153, 169, 172 & 189.

¹⁸¹ H.L.O.Garret (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 129, 153 & 170.

¹⁸² J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp. 35-64.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, pp. 64-75 & 209.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 58.

administration and majority belonged to the Hindu community. In civil administration, other communities such as Sikh, Muslim and Europeans were also entrusted but their proportion was not the same. Ranjit Singh had judicious discrimination in the selection of officials in different departments.

One can notice that, at the management of primary units, Ranjit Singh was reluctant to appoint Sikh *nazims* at main and strategic areas. Very rarely, the Sikh *nazims* were appointed by Ranjit Singh, their engagements as *nazims* of Lahore government were only in less important areas of the Sikh empire. Rest of *nazims* belonged to Hindu, Muslims, and European communities, who were appointed in the main *subas* or primary divisions of the administration. The status of the *nazims* at main four *subas* and other extended *subas* was same, they enjoyed the same powers as in the Lahore, Multan, Kashmir, and Peshawar. The non-Sikh *nazims* employed inter-changeably in different *subas* were Avitabile, Badan Hazari, Bahman Singh Rajput, Chunni Lal, Diwan Chand, Dhian Singh, Fakir Aziz-ud-din, Gulab Singh, Fakir Imam-ud-din, Kirpa Ram, Mohkam Chand, Moti Ram, Mihan Singh, Nur-ud-din, Rup Lal, Ram Dyal, Shaikh Mohi-ud-din, Sujan Rai, Sawan Mal, Sukh Dyal, Sham Singh Peshawaria, Ram Dyal, Tej Singh, Tulsidhar and Ventura.

As we know, during the Sikh period, the great number of *parganas* came into existence and also the number of officials employed at this level increased rapidly. New *kardars* were employed by Ranjit Singh, who belonged to non-Sikh sections of the society. The non-Sikh *kardars* of Ranjit Singh were Abdulla, Bhawani Mal, Fakir Tajjuddin Ansari, Miser Mul Raj, Kishen Kaur, Radha Kishen, Rai Bhandari, Raj Kaur, Kumar Chand, Hakim Rai, Mohhamad, Imam-ud-din, John Holmes, Gulab Singh, Rajrup, Radha Kishen, Devi Dial, Gobind Jas, Ishar Das, Harnam Das, Fateh Rahim, Misar Kaku Mal, Rai Chand, Chaudhari Kanhiya, Jwala Ram, Lala Harditia, Lala Nand Ram, Diwan Jetha Ram, Lala Sukh Dial and Diwan Sham Ram, Dewan Jeta Ram, Lala Sukh Dial, Lala Devi Dyal, Lala Ram Chand, Rattan Chand, Sarbuland Khan, Faiz, Mayya Das, Faqir Shah- din - Ansari, Mayya Das, Lala Jawahar Mal, Miser Ram Krishan and Sukh Raj.

These newly appointed *kardars* were the sons and nephews of officials already in service of Ranjit Singh. This section of administration was mainly in the hands of Hindu communities. The Sikhs *kardars* were also in the service of Ranjit Singh but the number of Muslim and European *kardars* was comparatively less as compared to other communities. The offices of *qannungos* and *chaudhries* were with hereditary Khattri families such as Ghais, Badheras, Sobtis, Sahnis, Nandas, Chopras and Puris etc. Ranjit Singh did not interfere in the internal or lower level of administration.

Various non-Sikh *tahwildars* were appointed by Ranjit Singh in the services of Lahore *darbar*. They were: Ajudhia Dass, Amnant Rai, Amrik Rai, Bhagat Ram, Chet Ram Sraf, Dannu Rai, Daya Ram, Dewan Rai, Dial Bhayya, Diwan Bhawani Das, Diwan Devi Das, Diwan Miana, Diwan Narain Das, Diwan Ralia Ram, Gahur Mal, Ganda Mal, Ganga Mal, Ghasita Mal, Gulab Rai, Haji Sarban, Harkishan Das Sahu, Jamaya, Jamna Das, Janku, Jawaya, Kaniya Lal, Karam Chand, Karam Rai, Khahna, Kishan Chand, Lachmipat, Mathura Das, Mehar Shadi, Mehtab Rai, Miser Prabhdial, Narain Das, Ralmat Sarban and Ram Kishan etc. The Muslim *tahwildar* of Lahore court were: Abdul Rahman Khan, Abid Khan, Babat Khan, Bakhtawar Khan, Ghamandi Shah, Gul Khan, Hamad Ju, Hayat, Imani, Kamal-ud-din Khan, Khair Ullah Khan, Khazana Shiakh, Malu Khan, Mehar Baksh, Mir Khan, Muhammad Azim Khan, Nura, Rahmat, Sardar Khan, Shahbaz, Waris Khan, Yusuf Ali Khan etc. In the centre major strata of officials belonged to the Hindu community, specifically to Hindu Khattris. Only few Muslim administrators were engaged in the centre although they formed a major part of the population of Punjab.

In the diplomatic and correspondence service number of non-Sikhs officials were employed by Ranjit Singh. Non-Sikh *vakil* of Ranjit Singh were Abdul Nabi Khan, Karam Chand, Namdar Khan, Narain Das, Manak Chand, Mehar Chand. Jauri (messengers) were Chnui Lal and Bir Chand. Non-Sikh news agents of these messengers were Nabbi Khan, Jai Kiran, Lala Kishan Das, Ganag Ram, Sukh Dyal and Mir Izzat Ullah Khan.

In the administration of justice too, non-Sikh officials were appointed by Ranjit Singh because, before giving the verdict of any case, individual's religious identity was always the first concern of Ranjit Singh, as chief justice authority of the state. Ranjit Singh

continued with traditional Muslim law system and appointed Qazis and Muftis, as the judicial officer specifically for Muslim society. Instances are on record that, European officials were also designated as the judicial officers in the state of Ranjit Singh. The *nazims* and *kardars* also held *adalts* in their areas. From this statement, it can be inferred that a large number of justice administrators belonged to non-Sikh communities as was the case with civil administrators.

However, other than administrative services, various non-Sikhs were employed by Ranjit Singh for his personal services. Non-Sikhs, who were in the personal services of Ranjit Singh were *pandits* and *purohits*. They were Brij Lal, Madhusudan, Pandit Radhakishen, Pandit Raikishen, Sain Das, Gulab Rai, Ramjas, Sukh Nand, and Ram Rattan and Pandit Raja Ram and astrologer Basant Rai. *Khidmatgar* of Ranjit Singh were Dhanni Sahae, Dewa Chand, Bhagat Ram, Balad Khan, Kishan Ram, Lahna, Manna Ram, Maggu, Mayya, Mast Baksh, Ram Chand, Raman, Sadhu Ram, Sham Khattri and Sobba. Musician of Ranjit Singh was a non-Sikh named Basant Rai. Various non-Sikhs, who provide their services at the Lahore Darbar being as *farrash* were Ashraff, Dyal Dass, Gulab, Illahi Baksh Mattianwala, Jalal, Jiwan Bhayya, Manik Rai, Murad Baksh, Ruldu, Sardha Ram, Sham Das, Soba and Zambura. Add here front page

To strengthen empire of Ranjit Singh, non-Sikhs played a major role. One important factor came to light while examining the role of non-Sikhs at Lahore Darbar was that, those non-Sikhs, whom Ranjit Singh appointed at royal court, ultimately became the reason of the downfall of the Sikh kingdom because they were composed of various groups including Hindu, Muslims, and Sikhs and there were always internal factions within them. On the other hand, those non-Sikh officials, whom Ranjit Singh appointed at his administration system at various level, became the reason for the strengthening of his empire with the services they provided to the Lahore Darbar. Along with this, it has to be admitted that the less prominent non-Sikh courtiers Hindu, Muslim or Europeans also contributed to a great extent in the strengthening of Ranjit Singh's empire. Without their services to Lahore Darbar, it would not have been possible for Ranjit Singh to create a vast empire as he had created in his life times with the help of these officials.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ For officials name and designation, see appendices.

CHAPTER - 4

NON-SIKHS IN THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

The military power plays a decisive role in the establishment of a strong empire. A number of dynasties were overthrown in India by one another on the basis of powerful military system. Ranjit Singh was a military general first, than an administrator. His military strength is compared with great military powers such as the Mughals, Marathas and Afghans. He overthrew Afghan authority from Punjab and established his control over a number of independent chiefs with the help of his great generals and commanders. To maintain such a great empire, it was essential for Ranjit Singh to focus his mind on the military excursions. To achieve his aim, the main concern of Ranjit Singh was to run his military organization with the help of skilled officials, Sikhs as well as non-Sikh. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to highlight the role of non-Sikhs in the military administration of Ranjit Singh.

The eighteenth century had been a period of conflict between the Mughals and the Afghans on one hand and the Afghans and the Sikhs on the other hand. The Sikhs used the traditional method of warfare. In view of Cunningham, “All the Sikhs were horsemen, and among a half-barbarous people dwelling on plains, or in action with undisciplined forces, cavalry must ever be the most formidable arm. The Sikhs speedily became famous for the use of matchlock when mounted, and this skill they inherited from their ancestors, in whose hands the bow was a fatal weapon. Infantry was almost solely used to garrison forts, or a man followed a *misal* on foot, until plunder gave him horse or the means of buying one. Cannon was not used by the early Sikhs and its introduction was very gradual”.¹

When Ranjit Singh came to power, the military system was old, he tried to bring innovations and improve his military organization. Ranjit Singh’s military system was a happy compromise between old and the new. It was an earnest and successful endeavor to have the best of both the system. He was not the blind imitator of the west as he was not

¹J.D.Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, S. Chand & Co.(Pvt.) Ltd., New Delhi, 1972, p. 99.

the blind follower of the east.² It was the best trait of Ranjit Singh's character that, he paid particular attention to every aspect of military system such as supervision, organization and training. He set up a military system that was the mixture of Indian and western ideas of military organization and warfare. Ranjit Singh built up a strong, centralized and effectively controlled military system by amalgamating the best elements found in the indigenous fighting mechanism.³ He developed his army from feudal approach to the modern military system with the help of non-Sikhs, by appointing them as commanders and higher officials.



Figure 4.1: Ranjit Singh at Battlefield in the Early Years

Source/www.Sikhheritage.com

²Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, Moti Lal Banarasi Dass Publishers, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 32 & 36 (cited hereafter as Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*)

³*Ibid*, p. viiii

When Ranjit Singh came to power, there was no uniform military system. A number of weaknesses were there in his military organization. There were individual ambitions of the Sikh chiefs. They indulged themselves in territorial enlargements. So, it became main responsibility of Ranjit Singh to maintain an army above the feelings of religious fervor and appoint officials and soldiers from every community.

I

A number of changes were introduced by Ranjit Singh in his military administration. These changes can be divided into numerous phases. The first phase was the period when he inherited a large territory from his ancestors including their military strength. At this time, Ranjit Singh's entire force consisted of horsemen. Infantry was considered as the lower service provider to the state. In order to improve upon his army, he started recruiting men from all communities. The first time when non-Sikhs entered the service of Ranjit Singh was in 1803. According to Diwan Amar Nath, "A humble beginning was made in 1803 when some deserters from the ranks of the English company were employed to raise two battalions of Najib's".⁴ According to British writer C. Grey, "the natives of British land joined the Sikh services because in their own land, they never had such opportunity of promotions as was possible under the Indian chiefs."⁵ In the native army, they could be promoted to the rank of *subedar* and *risaldar*, but under the Indian chiefs they got promotions and rose up to the status of Colonel and Generals.⁶

The new unit was entirely composed of non-Sikhs. It was composed of the remains of the battalions that were formerly in the service of the Sindhia and other native powers, together with the deserters of men discharged from the company's territories.⁷ The troops of these *najibs* were composed mainly of *poorbias*. The initial troops of Ranjit Singh were composed in very few battalions and Ranjit Singh was the supreme authority of these troops. These troops were formed into five battalions, four of *telings* or *poorbias*,

⁴Diwan Amar Nath, *Zarfarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (Pbi.tr.) Janak Singh, (ed.) by Kirpal Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1983, p. 28.

⁵Grey, C., *European Adventures of Northern India, 1785-1899* (ed.) Garret., Punjab Government Press, 1929, pp. 13-14.

⁶*The Calcutta Review*, Vol-II, Oct-Dec, p. 25.

⁷Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 40.

the same men as the British *sepoys*, and one of Hindustanis or Rohillas, containing from 2 to 400 men each.⁸ In the early period, the prominent communities in the infantry were *poorbia* Hindu, and low-class Punjabi villagers, who joined the Sikh army for their bread and butter. The majority of the Sikh population, who were in military service, was in the cavalry section as they considered infantry as the lower job for their status but in the later years, scenario changed.

Infantry was the traditional but insignificant part of the Sikh army. Before Ranjit Singh came to power, his ancestors or other Sikh principalities used this branch as inferior to other branches of the military. It was considered as the inadequate branch of the defense system of Sikh ruler and used only for the purpose of everything, except expeditions. Before Ranjit Singh, infantry was used only for garrisoning of the forts. Ranjit Singh's infantry was divided into two sections, one was regular that was introduced on the western line and another section was on the traditional method known as irregular infantry. When the Sikh chief came to power, he realized the value of well-organized infantry, if he wanted to conquer the powerful enemies such as British or Afghans; he might have to reform his infantry. According to Sita Ram Kohli, "of all the Sikh chiefs of eighteenth century, Ranjit Singh was the only one who realized that, with the advent of the European nations in India, existing tactics had become ineffective, and that infantry could not for long hold out against the steady fire of the gunner and the musketeer".⁹

The realization of his weak infantry system made him conscious about the reorganization of these sections. There is no exact date available about the organization of the regular infantry system by Ranjit Singh because different sources give a different view about the beginning of regular battalions of army under Ranjit Singh. Sohan Lal, the diarist of Ranjit Singh, who recorded daily events of the Sikh court, is of the view that, Jaswant Rao Holkar, who came to Punjab in 1805, gave Ranjit Singh idea to raise regular battalions during his meeting with him at Amritsar.¹⁰ But, Mohammad Sayyid Latif in his work stated that "during the campaign of Jhang in 1803, against Ahmad Khan, Ranjit Singh had

⁸*Ibid*, p. 40.

⁹Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-I, p. 1.

¹⁰Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh* vol-II, p. 69.

sent his new battalion named *paltan najib* with *topkhana khass*.¹¹ Sita Ram Kohli stated that “in the beginning of the nineteenth century in between the year 1806-1807, Ranjit Singh had raised a few battalions of disciplined infantry, that the Sikhs had learnt the value and proper use of the arm.”¹²

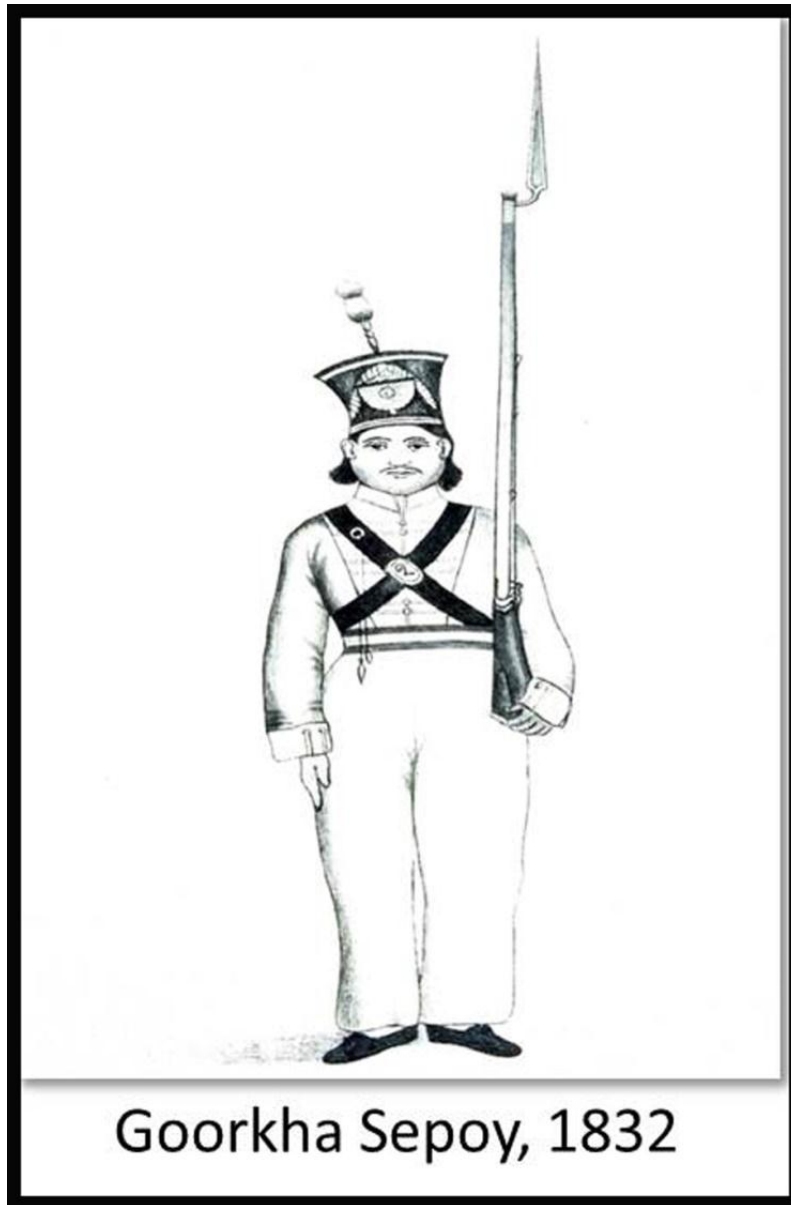


Figure 4.2: A Gorkha Sepoy of Ranjit Singh (1832)

Source: C.Grey's *European Adventures of Northern India*

¹¹Sayyid Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Calcutta Central Press, 1891, p. 317

¹²Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-I, pp.1-2.

Infantry was raised by Ranjit Singh with the help of non-Sikhs and non- Punjabis. In the initial years of Ranjit Singh, the infantry of the Lahore government consisted of mainly non-Sikhs because his co-religionists were reluctant to join the infantry services as they considered it as the lower section of the military. Up to 1813, there were only two battalions of Sikhs, the bulk of the infantry consisted of Hindustanis, Gorkhas, and Afghans.¹³ After the failure of first Kashmir expedition, Ranjit Singh enrolled two *paltans* of Gorkha soldiers.¹⁴ These non-Sikhs joined the infantry services of Ranjit Singh for the better perspective of the future. The Hindustanis, Gorkhas, and Afghan were under Ranjit Singh's service for good pay and better prospective of adventure.¹⁵ Initially, the composition of the infantry was very simple and few personals were appointed as the members of infantry units, but later a number of officials were attached to it.

Battalion (*paltan*) was the main and directional unit of the infantry that was modernized by Ranjit Singh. Each battalion had 8 companies. A company was divided into 4 sections. A number of officials were attached to operate these units. The commandant (*kumedan*) was the principal official of the infantry. He was assisted by Adjutant and Major. Other allies attached to battalion were a *munshi* or clerk, a *granthi* or reader of the Sikh scripture. The company was commanded by a *subadar* and each *subedar* was assisted by two *jama'dars*. The section that was the smallest unit of infantry was commanded by a *hawaldar*, who was assisted by *naik*.¹⁶ The battalion was called after the name of its commanding officer whether it was Sikh or non-Sikh. The term *uhdan-daran* was generally used for the Subedar, Risaldar, Jamadar, Havaldar and Naiks of Ranjit Singh's army.¹⁷

¹³*Ibid*, p. 2; Gulcharan Singh, 'Infantry of Maharaja Ranjit Singh' in *Punjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1992, p.37.

¹⁴Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Pbi tr.) Atma Ram & Sons, Delhi, 1953, p. 131.

¹⁵Jaggiwan Mohan Walia, 'Army Records of Lahore Durbar' in *Punjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1992, p. 79.

¹⁶Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol- I, pp. 3-4; Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, pp. 69-72; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 310-11.

¹⁷J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 80.



NAJIB or MUSLIM SEPOY, 1838

Figure 4.3: Najib or Muslim Sepoy of Ranjit Singh (1838)

Source: C.Grey's *European Adventures of Northern India*

The strength of Ranjit Singh's infantry was not elevated all of a sudden; it was raised by Ranjit Singh very systematically. Initially, the number of battalions raised were under different commanders belonging to non-Sikh communities. These commanders were Aziz Khan, Ibadullah, Chandka Parshad, Bakhtawar Khan, Shaikh Basawan, Ghulam Husain Khan, Mirza Raushan Beg, Raushan Khan, Gulab Singh, Nazaf Khan, Sham Sotta, Ram Lal. Phirmar and Ganga Singh.¹⁸ The last one was Poorbia.

Few of these officials were promoted to the designation of commander from their previous description. Hussain Khan joined as Adjutant of the battalion in the year 1821, in few campaigns, he was designated as acting commander of the *paltan* and in the year 1822, he was confirmed in this post on Rs. 100 per month. Another Adjutant, who was promoted as commander was Imam Shah, on the death of commander Ibadullah, who has commanded the infantry unit in the battle of Mankera.¹⁹

In the year 1822, Ventura raised *fauj-i-khass*.²⁰ It was raised from 12,000 men whom he brought into a state of discipline, and to them, 300 fine well-mounted men were added. These 300 men were added from Kanwar Kharak Singh's force and later 500 more men were added to this new regular unit.²¹ It was regular infantry unit, which was for the first time introduced to Khalsa state. The attribute of the superiority of the Khalsa army was given to the European officer. There were a number of campaigns, after 1823, where *fauj-i-Khass* played a very important role.

¹⁸Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol- I, pp. 7-9.

¹⁹*Ibid*, p. 12.

²⁰Jean Marin Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh-The French Connection*, pp. 26-28.

²¹ Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol- I, p. 28.

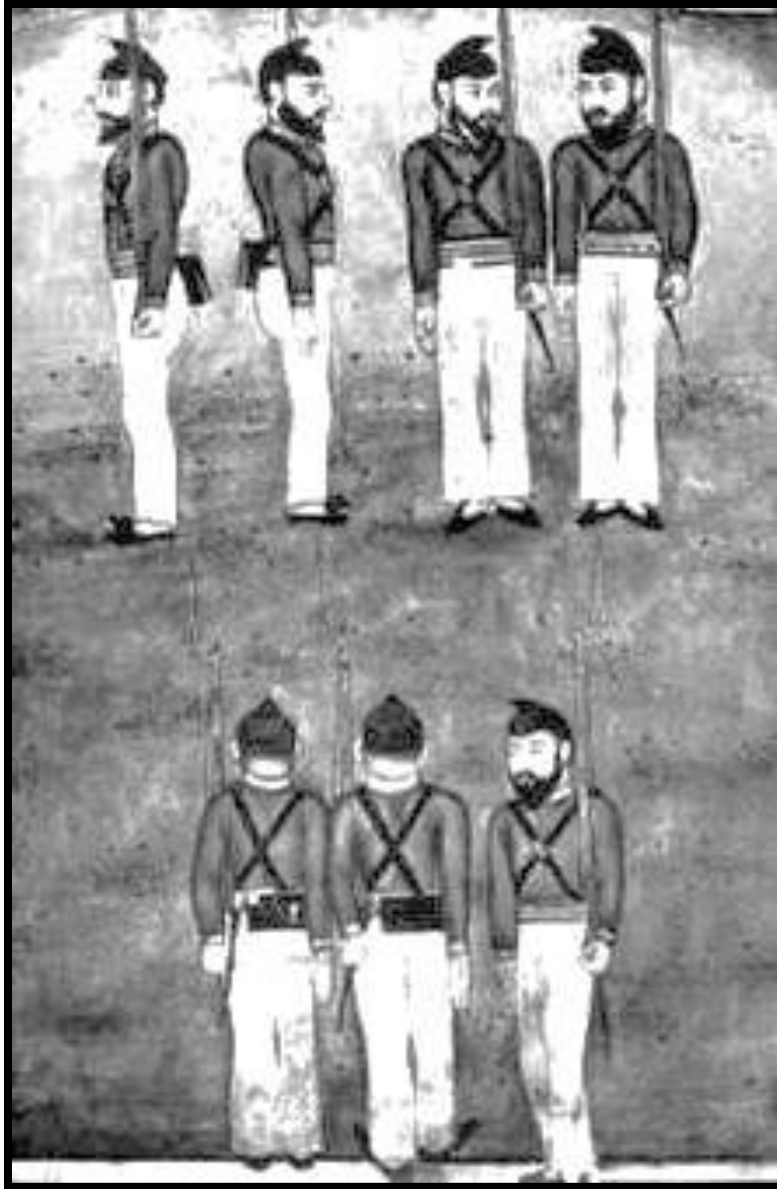


Figure 4.4: Fauji-i-Khass

Source: www.wikipedia.com

Sometimes, the promotion of commandants gave opportunity to merge two battalions that of one commander with other commander's battalion, either Sikh or non-Sikh. In 1826, Prem Singh was promoted to the rank of a Colonel and put in charge of the two battalions known as Paltan Rasha Khan and Paltan Shiv Prasad. These two battalions appeared under the designation of Najib battalion.²² Commandant Mir Khan succeeded Raushan Khan to the command of the second Najib Battalion whose designation was

²²*Ibid*, p. 21.

accordingly changed from that of Paltan Raushan Khan to Paltan Mir Khan.²³ In the year 1830, John Holmes was taken into service and put in charge of the battalion previously commanded by late Moervius. This battalion was called by his name as Paltan John Holmes and later in the year 1831, his battalion was known by the name as Paltan Kashmirwala. Holmes joined service as commandant on Rs.150 per month and ultimately rose to be Colonel and later he became the *kardar* of the Gujrat.²⁴ Even so often, death of the commander also became the reason for promotion of others on the designation of the Commander. On the death of Commandant Chaudka Parshad, his younger brother Baldan Singh Poorbia was placed in command of the battalion.²⁵

During the last five years, from 1826 to 1833, the infantry branch was considerably strengthened, however, the cavalry and artillery did not witness any valuable addition to their number. The strength of Punjabi element in the Sikh infantry was rapidly raised by 1830 and number of Sikh battalions rose during this period.²⁶ After 1830, Ranjit Singh encouraged the Singhs to join the infantry and artillery raised on European lines and subsequently, the number of Sikhs increased.²⁷ European named Courtland received the designation of the commandant in the year 1834.²⁸

Cavalry was the essential part of Sikh army from the time of Dal Khalsa. As we know, early Sikh chiefs mainly depended on the cavalry section of the army. If we take notice of the cavalry of Ranjit Singh, cavalry was divided into two sections; regular and irregular. The irregular section was comprised of two parts- the one comprising the contingents supplied by the *jagirdars* and the other was *ghurcharah* force paid directly from the state treasury.²⁹ The salaried *ghurcharahs* constituted the standing cavalry force. We notice that in the early period of his life. Ranjit Singh subjugated the Sikh principalities into his dominion and their military sources were also merged into his own

²³*Ibid*, p. 25.

²⁴*Ibid*, p. 27.

²⁵*Ibid*, p. 31.

²⁶The battalions were raised under Sikh Commandants, like Ranbir Singh, Mehtab Singh, Amar Singh Maan, Kahan Singh Maan, Mehan Singh, Gulab Singh Pahuvindia, Gulab Singh Minhaleya, Bahdaur Singh, Ganga Singh, Mehar Singh and Sham Singh Maan etc: J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp. 77-78.

²⁷J. S.Grewal, *The History of the Sikhs*, p. 115.

²⁸Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol- I, p. 31.

²⁹*Ibid*, p.103.

contingents. One by one, he destroyed and liquidated the Sikh principalities; he not only annexed their territories but also took into service the soldiery of the Sikh chieftains. Thus, the flower of the Sikh cavalry of the Bhangis, the Ramgarhias, the Kanihayas, the Faizallpurias, the Karor Singhias, the Nishanwalias, the Dallewalas, and other petty confederacies were absorbed by Ranjit Singh into his own army.³⁰ The major portion of Ranjit Singh's irregular cavalry was the outcome of his line policy; the number of historians favored this statement.³¹

In the early and major conquest of Ranjit Singh, the cavalry section of Ranjit Singh played a very important role. Ranjit Singh himself believed in their fighting skills and conquered strategic areas such as the rich province of Jammu, Kangra, Multan, and Kashmir with the help of cavalry section of the army. Sometimes, when Ranjit Singh's regular army failed to conquer or stepped back from the fear of the enemy, the brave *ghurcharaks* handled the situations. There was no rule and regulation for the *ghurcharaks* and there was no specific division of their ranks. The *ghurcharaks* were divided into *derahs*. Each *derah* was known by a specific name such as Derah Khass, Derah Naulakha, Derah Ramgharia, Derah Pindiwala, Derah Sindhanwalia, Sham Singh Atariwala, Derah Gurmukh Singh Lamba, Derah Raja Lal Singh, Derah Mul Rajia, Derah Ain-ul-Mulk Immam-ud-din etc. The pay of the commanders of above *derahs* was not fixed and depended upon the strength of *derah* placed under their command. There were several non-Sikh commanders, who commanded the Sikh and non-Sikh *derahs* in the cavalry of Ranjit Singh.

In the initial years, Ranjit Singh's *derahs* were composed of Sikh *sardars* only. There were two *deras* found in the payrolls of the *Khalsa Darbar Records* under the command of Ranjit Singh's favorite Sikh *sardars* in the year 1808: Derah Sham Singh Attariwala and Derah Gurmukh Singh Lamba, these were formed in the year 1808 and these two *derahs* were wholly composed of Sikh soldiers.³²

³⁰B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 313.

³¹Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-I, p.105; Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, London, 1901, p. 141; G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p. 92; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 324.

³²Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-I, pp. 116-17.

In 1812, Ranjit Singh made an early attempt to create something in the nature of standing army and created the regiment of *ghurcharah khass*, more popularly known as the regiment of the *bara ghurcharahs*. It was recruited from amongst the noble families of the province with the motive of raising faithful and trained warriors around himself and to draw the progenies of noble families to the court.³³ When this regiment was composed in 1812, Diwan Kishan Chand and Sardar Gulab Singh Kapta were appointed its commanders. After the death of Diwan Kishan Chand in 1830, his nephew, Diwan Devi Sahai continued to command the *ghrocharah* regiment till the Sikh army was disbanded by British in 1849.³⁴ The strength of this regiment was 800 in the beginning; it gradually rose to 1,320 during the lifetime of Ranjit Singh. Among the two commanders, Devi Sahai enjoyed great reputation under Ranjit Singh and was employed on a number of military and diplomatic duties by Ranjit Singh.³⁵

Derah Ardalyan was the other regiment of irregular cavalry raised by Ranjit Singh in 1812. It was composed of selected orderlies about 500 strong men. In the beginning, the command of this regiment was under Mehtab Singh Bahadur Nagria and after his death, under his son, Bhim Singh. In 1822, Jamadar Khushal Singh obtained the command of a division of irregular army and under the command of the Jamadar, this division participated in the Peshawar campaign of 1823.³⁶ Other *derah* that was raised in 1822 was *derah* Naulakha. It was also known by another name as *derah chaharyan*. It was under the command of Suchet Singh. Commander Suchet Singh was the youngest of three *dogra* brothers and the only master of the cavalry, because the actual command was in the hands of Gulab Singh, as treasurer. In 1835, this *derah* was divided into two sections- Naulakha Kalan and Naulakha Khurd. Later, it was placed under the command of Suchet Singh's assistant Rai Kesari. In 1823, the strength of Naulakaha *derah* was 1,690 men and within the next twelve years, it swelled to 2,674 as the number of companies were added from time to time. It was a *derah* of mixed companies not specific to any single community.³⁷

³³*Ibid*, p.111.

³⁴*Ibid*, p.112.

³⁵In 1837, Devi Sahai was sent to Bomaby as embassy in charge to know about the military knowledge of that area. After the death of Ranjit Singh various positions were enjoyed by this commander under the successors of Ranjit Singh: *Ibid*, p.112.

³⁶*Ibid*, p. 113.

³⁷*Ibid*, pp.113-14.

Ranjit Singh policy regarding the Sikh chief's army, whom he subjugated, was kind of doubtful nature upon their loyalty. He never took whole armed force of the Sikh *sardars* into his own military service. He mixed their forces with his own troops and then handed over to commanders with the name of the same *sardar*. In 1816, the forces of Ramgharias with the strength of 210 men were taken into Ranjit Singh's service. The Sikh cavalry used the name of previous *sardars* as the new name of new regiment as Derah Ramgharia. A number of new regiments were added to this. The first commander of this new *derah* was Miser Chand and after his death in 1824, this *derah* was merged under the command of Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia.³⁸

There was a separate unit of the Rajput cavalry. It was formed by Ranjit Singh when he subjugated the territory of Jammu in 1820. It was called Derah Jamwalan with the strength of 261 men under the command of Miser Diwan. After Miser's death, it was placed under the command of Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia in 1825.³⁹ After Lehna Singh, the command of this division was handed over to Hira Singh.⁴⁰ In 1836, when this regiment was commanded by Raja Hira Singh, 5 companies of Sikhs were added to this Rajput cavalry unit and in 1839 again, 8 *derahs* of the Sikh chiefs were incorporated to it and its strength rose to 723 men in 1836 and 1,377 men in 1839. After the addition of Sikh companies, its previous name was altered as Derah Khass as it was no longer composed of the Jamwal Rajputs exclusively.⁴¹ The full designation of the regiment was Derah Farzand Khass Raja Hira Singhwala and was more popularly known by its abbreviated title of Derah Khass.

Other *derah* of cavalry regiment founded by Ranjit Singh was Derah Mul Raj in the year 1820. Its name was after its commander Mul Raj. Its initial name recorded in the pay rolls of the Khalsa Durbar Records was Derah Sahibzada Buland Iqbal (Prince Kharak Singh) so called because, in the beginning, it formed the contingent supplied and maintained by Kharak Singh. In the year 1820, it was commanded by Diwan Sham Singh who was succeeded by his assistant Munshi Mul Raj in 1822. He was the most famous commander of this regiment as this Derah named as Derah Mul Raj.

³⁸*Ibid*, p. 115.

³⁹Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-I, p.109.

⁴⁰Hira Singh was the son of *wazir* Dhyani Singh. He was the very favorite of Ranjit Singh among the *dogra* Rajputs and considered him as his son.

⁴¹Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-I, p. 109.

In 1821, Derah Pindiwala was founded by Ranjit Singh, when he subjugated the territory of Thehpurias in Rawalpindi. After the annexation of this territory, Ranjit Singh transferred the small force of 280 men into his own service. As Ranjit Singh had good relations with Thehpurias, he allowed the officers of the previous rulers to continue with their designations. The first ever command of this regiment was given to Diwan Radha Kishen. Later Devi Sahai, son of Radha Kishen, and Lala Das Mal continued to hold command for several years. In 1829, Devi Sahai was promoted to the command of the *ghurcharah khass* regiment, on the death of his uncle, Diwan Kishan Chand, Radha Kishen's second son Bishan Dass, was appointed the commander of the *dearh* and continued to hold it till the final liquidation of the Khalsa army by the British.⁴²

In the year 1822, two French officers Allard and Ventura entered in the service of Lahore Durbar.⁴³ Allard and Ventura were political exiled officers who had fought important battles in Europe during the Napoleonic wars.⁴⁴ Allard, a French officer played a very significant role in the modernization of the cavalry of Ranjit Singh. He was a qualified and experienced official of Ranjit Singh. About the advent of European officials, Cunningham said, "They were fortunate in having an excellent material to work with Sikhs, and like skillful officers, they made a good use of their means and opportunities and gave moderate degree of precision and completeness to a system already introduced."⁴⁵ According to *Khalsa Durbar Records*, in 1822-23, Allard had four regiments under his control. It was the Rajman Khass Lansia, or Royal Lancer, Regiment of Sheikh Qamar-ud-din, the Rajman Daragun Awal and the Rajman Daragun. The last regiment, Daragun was raised in 1823.⁴⁶ To each regiment of cavalry, was a native commandant and an adjutant, besides the usual number of officers and troops.⁴⁷

⁴²*Ibid*, p. 115-16.

⁴³J.D.Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, S.Chand & Co. Ltd., New Delhi, 1972, p. 153; Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 122; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 272.

⁴⁴Allard was the soldier, who had fought in Italy, Spain and France during the campaign of 1814- 15. He knew both the tactics of heavy cavalry charges in an open field. He was captain of the Hussards in the Old Guards, the elite of French cavalry- as well as the guerilla tactics which were used by the Spanish freedom fighters backed by Wellington during the Spanish War: Jean-Marin Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh-The French Connection*, p. 23.

⁴⁵J.D.Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, S. Chand & Co. Ltd., New Delhi, 1972, p. 157.

⁴⁶Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-I, pp. 149-50

⁴⁷ Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh-The French Connection*, p. 32.



Figure 4.5: Allarad, French Official



Figure 4.6: Ventura, Italian officer

Source: Jean Marie Lafont's *Maharaja Ranjit Singh-The French Connection*

II

In the early period, the Sikhs did not possess any artillery. It was not considered essential part of the defense system of Ranjit Singh but later on he paid attention towards the upliftment of this section of army. Therefore, there was no separate section of the artillery in the initial period of Ranjit Singh; usually, two guns were attached to every single battalion of the infantry because the Sikh soldiers disliked the artillery in the same way as they had inferior feelings for infantry. Other than this, they had no passion for the training of armaments and showed their reluctant attitude in joining artillery. To come out of this shortcoming, Ranjit Singh appointed a number of Muslims in the artillery. Many of them were the deserters from the armies of Sindhia, Holkar and the company. In 1810, a separate corps was raised and placed under an officer called Darogha-i-Topkhana. The designation of *daroga* was given to Mian Khairata.⁴⁸ Two year later, this corps formed the principal unit of the artillery, and was called Topkhana-i-Khass. It was commanded by a Muslim officer, named Mian Ghaus Khan.⁴⁹ He was a gun officer.

The first officer of Topkhana-i-Khass was a Muslim and after his death in 1814, the chief command was given to a Hindu official named Misser Diwan Chand but a small number of soldiers who were directly commanded by Ghaus Khan were shifted to the command of Sultan Mohammad Khan, son of Ghaus Khan. Diwan Chand died in 1825 and was succeeded by his son, Sukh Dayal, who held the chief command for two years but was degraded for incompetency. Sultan Mohammad Khan meanwhile exhibited his fitness for the task and was put in charge of the whole ordnance department. But, two years before Ranjit Singh's death, Sultan Mohammad was also degraded for his habit of excessive drinking. He was succeeded by Lehna Singh Majithia.⁵⁰

The entire *topkhana* was divided into four sections. The first comprising Aspi guns, driven by horses and the second *gavi* guns, driven by bullocks. The third section consisted of a separate horse battery. The battery was placed under Muslim officer, named Mahsar Ali Beg and the last section was comprised of guns, which were distributed to different

⁴⁸Garrett and Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, p.11.

⁴⁹G. L. Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p. 60.

⁵⁰*Ibid*, p. 60.

battalions of infantry.⁵¹ The non-Sikhs associated with the horse and mixed artillery were Mian Sultan Mahmud Khan, Mian Ilahi Bakhsh, Mirza Mazhar Ali Beg and Imam Sheo Prashad. The only unit of the camel artillery(*zamburkhana*) was under Muhammad Shah.⁵²

In the last years of Ranjit Singh, artillery was reorganized by the European official Claude Auguste Court.⁵³ He completely transformed the artillery section of Sikh army. He taught the Sikhs, how to become excellent gunners. ‘The entire *Topkhana* (artillery) was reorganized by him. It was divided into three sections: (1) *Topkhana-i- Jinsi*, or heavy and mixed batteries; (2) *Topkhana-i- Aspi*, or purely horse and light field –batteries; and (3) *Zamburkhana*, or swivel batteries. The other officials, who were attached to each battery comprised of average 5 *jhanda-bardars*, 5 *gharyalis*, 10 *beldars*, 10 *mistris*, 10 *saqqas* and a large number of *kamas* (bullock-drivers) and *taihliyas* (grooms).⁵⁴ The economy and organization of the internal section such as battery of the artillery was more or less same as infantry battalions. The above mentioned units were divided into number of batteries commanded by non-Sikh officials.

In the payrolls of the *Khalsa Durbar Records*, names of a number of non-Sikh officials are recorded, who commanded different batteries in the Khalsa artillery. Illahi Baksh was the commander of *topkhana*, who was the head of battery with 395 men and 15 guns. Mahzar Ali was another artillery officer, who commanded the battery of *topkhana* with 6 guns and strength of 156 men in the year 1819-20.⁵⁵ Illahi Baksh was a capable general and the best artillery officer produced by the Lahore army. In the year 1820, the strength of the artillery was reinforced by an addition of 4 new units of artillery, which were mostly under the non-Sikhs. These new units of artillery included horse and camel guns. The newly raised *derahs* (units) were under commander Fattu Khan, Ilahi Baksh,

⁵¹*Ibid*, p. 61.

⁵²J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 77.

⁵³Court was a French officer of Ranjit Singh. In 1813, he joined the French army in his native country. He fought in 1814 and 1815 during the battle of France and was compulsorily retired in 1815. In 1818, Court sent his resignation from the army. In 1826, he and Avitabile, decided to join Allard and Ventura in the Punjab. He joined Ranjit Singh’s services around 1827. He has been often described as architect of artillery of the army of Lahore: Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh-The French Connection*, pp. 11& 129.

⁵⁴G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p. 61;Sita Ram Kohli, *Khalsa Durbar Records*, vol-I, p. 4.

⁵⁵Sita Ram Kohli, *Khalsa Durbar Record*, vol-I, p. 9.

Mazhar Ali Beg and commander Shiv Prashad.⁵⁶ In the year 1821, only one unit was added under the command of Amir Chand. One more battery was raised under the command of Sultan Mahmud in the year 1824.⁵⁷

Under the command of Allard, a modern brigade (*fauj-i-khass*) was raised, and then artillery branch was also re-organized. Various commanders were given the charge of different divisions in this unit. Two horse artillery were composed in *fauj-i-khass*: Mirza Muezzin Ali was given the command of 15 guns; Sultan Mohammad had 15 guns under his command. Other than this, Miser Diwan Chand held charge of a division of 40 pieces; Illahi Baksh had charge of the division of 40 pieces. Ameer Chand, once a personal attendant of Ranjit Singh had been given the charge of 12 pieces of guns. These three divisions were composed of foot artillery.⁵⁸ The entire *topkhana* was divided into two sections, namely *topkhana jinsi* or heavy and mixed batteries and *topkhana aspi* or the horse and light field batteries-each placed under an officer of the rank of a General.⁵⁹

The commanders who were a part of *topkhana jinsi* were Illahi Baksh, Amir Chand, Immam Shah Sayyid, and Sultan Mahud Khan. There was addition of one more battery under the command of Immam Shah Sayyid in 1829.⁶⁰ The commanders, who comprised of the *topkhana aspi* were Illahi Baksh, Jodh Singh, Diwan Singh, Shiv Prashad, Mazhar Ali Beg, Mewa Singh and Bhag Singh.⁶¹ In the year 1831, an European official joined the *topkhana jinsi* of Ranjit Singh. Derah John Holmes with two guns was attached to the infantry battalion of the same name as Derah Holmes.⁶² There are references that sometimes a single battery or *derah* was divided into two parts under the command of different *sardars*. In March 1837, the *topkhana* of Sultan Mahmudwala was split up into two sections, namely, *derah* Bakhtawar Khan and *derah* Muhammad Baksh.⁶³

⁵⁶*Ibid*, p. 11.

⁵⁷*Ibid*, p. 17.

⁵⁸Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: The French connections*, p. 28.

⁵⁹Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, p. 22.

⁶⁰*Ibid*, p. 24.

⁶¹*Ibid*, p. 24

⁶²*Ibid*, p. 28.

⁶³*Ibid*, p. 43.

When in the year 1834, Ranjit Singh organized whole army into brigades, the artillery section especially *topkhana jinsi* was raised under different commanders. The new raised *derhas* under non-Sikh commanders were Derah Kalu Khan, Dera Bakhtawar Khan, Derah Muhammad Shah, Faiz Bakhsh, Abdulah Rahim after the year 1834.⁶⁴ Now, here is point to notice that after the division of whole artillery into two sections, the *topkhana jinsi* was wholly comprised of non-Sikh officials whereas *topkhana aspi* was made of mixed races of officials, belonging to Sikh and non-Sikh communities.

In the artillery, there was another branch that was known as *zamburkhana* that comprised of swivel batteries. It was the only unit that continued from the beginning, when artillery section was constituted, to the end of Ranjit Singh's reign. This unit never left its basic character and continued as an essential section of artillery. In initial years, *zamburkhana derahs* were less in number, but with the passage of time, their number increased. In the year 1819-20, there were two *derahs* under Ibadullah Khan and Ghulam Muhammad Khan. In the end of 1820, there was one more *derah*, which was raised under Khair 'Ali Khan.⁶⁵ Derah of Abdul Rahim Khan had come into existence in the year 1822.⁶⁶ In the next two years, there was addition of two more *zamburkhana* batteries under the command of Mewa Ram and Anta Gour or Argou. The latter was a French officer of Ranjit Singh.⁶⁷ A new *derah* of *zamburkhana* was raised in the year 1833 under the command of Sham-ud-din.⁶⁸ In the composition of *zamburkhana*, one can notice that, this unit of artillery was wholly composed under the command of non-Sikh officials.

In 1834, in the month of March, the whole regular army of Ranjit Singh was organized into brigades each of which consisted of 3 to 4 battalions of infantry, one *derah* (unit) of artillery, and a cavalry force varying from two to six hundred men. The command of brigade was given to an officer of the rank of General.⁶⁹ There are different statements given by contemporary or near contemporary sources about the number of Generals appointed by Ranjit Singh after the re origination of the army. According to *Umdat*, "the

⁶⁴*Ibid*, pp. 33-40.

⁶⁵*Ibid*, pp.10-11.

⁶⁶*Ibid*, p.13.

⁶⁷*Ibid*, p.15.

⁶⁸*Ibid*, p. 32.

⁶⁹*Ibid*, p. 33.

individuals who were given the designation of General were Sardar Ram Singh, son of Jamdar Khushal Singh, Sardar Gujar Singh, Ventura, Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Ajit Singh, Court, Sukh Raj Miser and Miyan Udham Singh”.⁷⁰

Contrary to above statement, Indu Banga and J.S.Grewal in their edited work *Civil and Military Parwanas of Ranjit Singh* have said, “There were only two Generals throughout Ranjit Singh’s period. These generals were Mian Sultan Muhamad Khan and General Tej Singh, who were given this designation on the eve of Dushehra in 1834, no European general was appointed by Ranjit Singh”.⁷¹ Majority of historians agree with Sohan Lal’s statement about confirmation of the title to eight generals.⁷² If we follow the interpretation of the majority of historians then amongst the newly designated eight generals, six belonged to non-Sikh section of society. Ram Singh was a Brahmin (later converted as Sikh), Tej Singh was a Poorbia, Miyan Udham Singh was a Rajput and two generals, Ventura and Court were non-Indians. It was Ranjit Singh’s benevolence that the top most positions in military were awarded to the non-Sikhs.

III

Kampu-i-Mu’alla was a regular part of the army of Ranjit Singh which was under Tej Singh. Tej Singh became official in charge of *kampu-i-mu’alla* in the year 1827-28.⁷³ Kampu (camp) and Mu’alla (from A’lla or chief) was used to denote the army paid directly from the state treasury as distinguished from the troops kept and maintained by the chiefs out of their service *jagirs*.⁷⁴ There was no fixed number of troops, its number varied from

⁷⁰Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Daftar-III*, part-II, p. 196.

⁷¹J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed. & tr.) *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 77.

⁷²Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol- I, p; 121; Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p.169;N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 141; G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, p. 169 ; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 244.

⁷³Tej Ram, Brahmin was a nephew of Jamadar Khushal Singh and was called to Lahore by Khushal Singh after assuming the charge of the *deorhidar* of Lahore *Darbar*.⁷³ Tej Ram was employed in the service of Ranjit Singh in 1811 and five years later, under the influence of his uncle he accepted ‘*pahul*’ and became a Sikh. He was then raised to be a divisional commander of the army.⁷³ A number of campaigns were led by Tej Singh, which included Kashmir, Mankera and Dera Ismail Khan.⁷³ After the successful expeditions, Tej Singh became important and trusted commander of Ranjit Singh and received charge of the regular standing army: Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, p. 355; G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as Sovereign State*, pp.106 & 107; Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his Times*, p. 95; Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2001, p. 88; Gulcharan Singh, *Ranjit Singh and his Generals*, pp. 170-71.

⁷⁴Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-I, p. 11.

time to time and every section of regular army which included infantry, cavalry and artillery formed the part of *kampu-i-mu'alla*.⁷⁵



Figure 4.7: Tej Singh, in Charge of Kampu-i-Mu'alla

Source: www.alamy.com

The number of Infantry battalions under *kampu* was more than twenty. The non-Sikhs whose battalions mentioned in the military *parwanas* were of Tej Singh, who was the head of Kampu, Dhonkal Singh of Poorbia battalions, Gulab Singh's Telanga battalion, Najib's battalion, Gurkha battalion, Nazaf Khan's battalions, besides John Holmes, Court,

⁷⁵J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed. & tr.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p.78.

and Courtland's battalions.⁷⁶ The artillery regiments of non-Sikhs were also included in the *kampu* (the special unit of Sikh army). These artillery regiments were under Jamadar Khushal Singh, Mia Sultan Mehmood Khan, Mia Illahi Baksh, Sheikh illahi Baksh, Mirza Mazhar, Ali Beg, Imam Shah, Sheo Parshad, Jawahar Mall and regiment of John Holmes. One and only unit of *zamburkhana* was under Mohammad Shah in the *kampu*. On the contrary, all Sikh commanders belonged to important families of the Sikh *jagirdars* and sometimes the sons and nephews of prominent individuals were taken for training at *kampu* and then assigned the post of commandant.⁷⁷

The *Kampu* was not the fighting unit only; apart from military, other jobs were also assigned to it, which helped the movable units at times. At *Kampu* there was one workshop under the supervision of Jawahar Mall, he was the *daroga* of the *mistarikhana*, Miser Jassa Mall was of *toshakhana* (treasurer), Bhiya Hari Singh *poorbia* was the head of weapon store, Lala Mangu Mall was *daftri* of *Kampu-i-Mu'alla* and Tej Singh himself supervised the market and assorted other affairs of the *kampu*.⁷⁸ Tej Singh was the main authority responsible for the management and internal affairs of the *Kampu* but he was not allowed by Ranjit Singh to promote individuals on high posts. He was allowed to promote individuals on the post of *subedar* only. Tej Singh was not free to take individual decisions for *Kampu*, whenever any inappropriate activity was noticed, Tej Singh was reprimanded by Ranjit Singh. Once, Tej Singh appointed more *nihangs* than required numbers, without informing Ranjit Singh, for this unusual conduct, he was scolded by the Sikh chief.⁷⁹

The *beldar* was a soldier, who was responsible for the task of building and repairing roads, bridges and cleaning mines for military purpose. He was sapper or digger in the Lahore army. In the study of Military Parwanas, few names of non-Sikh *beldars*, who were employed in *Kampu-i-Mu'alla* have come to light. The *beldars* were: Allahdita, Bhiju, Bhikhu, Bholu, Bishhna, Bura, Dasondha, Des Raj, Hira, Juma, Kamman, Khuda

⁷⁶*Ibid*, p.78-88.

⁷⁷Sardar Arjun Singh Rangar Naglia was selected for the post of commander and sent to Tej Singh at *Kampu* for training, Sardar Mihan Singh Dasowalia's son Bahadur Singh was chosen for the post of commandant and sent at *Kampu* for training, Sham Singh Majithia's son Hem Singh was also selected as a commandant and sent for training at *Kampu* under Tej Singh, before being placed as commandant: *Ibid*, p. 79.

⁷⁸*Ibid*, pp. 79 & 93.

⁷⁹*Ibid*, p. 85.

Yar, Mehtab Poorbia, Mukkhan Chand, Roda Gujjar, Roda Surala, Shera, Tara Chand, Tulsi Ram, Veeru and Waris.⁸⁰

Since Kampu was movable section of Ranjit Singh's army, whenever it was stationed at distant areas, arrangements were made to remain in touch with Kampu by the establishment of Dakk Chauki. It was correspondence system between Ranjit Singh and Kampu-i-Mu'alla. 'When Tej Singh was at Peshawar, Ranjit Singh sent Miser Bindravan to Kampu as messenger and ordered Tej Singh to send news of every activity through *Miser*. Apart from this, Dakk Chaunkis were established after every 3 *kos* from Lahore to Peshawar and *akhbar-nawis* were appointed at every *chauki* for the collection of news.⁸¹ From the military *parwanas* of Ranjit Singh, we got information of Kampu's last stay at Peshawar in the month of December 1834. From the beginning to end, Tej Singh played very significant role for in efficient working of this separate section of the army. Tej Singh was selected for this responsibility to maintain mixed number of unit under various commanders belonging to Sikh and non-Sikh communities. In 1837, Tej Singh was given the tittle of *ujjal didar, nirmal budh, sardar-i-bawaqar, jarnail-i-awwal, shams-ud-daula and safdar jang Bahadur* by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁸²

IV

Before 1806, all military expeditions were sent under the Sikh commanders but after the advent of Mohkam Chand in 1806, Ranjit Singh tried him and found great military skills in him. After 1806, Ranjit Singh's non-Sikh commanders were great strength behind him and very important and strategic areas were occupied by Ranjit Singh with their help. These commanders were sent by Ranjit Singh for the occupation of specific areas and sometimes for the collection of tribute from subjugated chiefs. These commanders were from Hindu, Muslim and European communities. Mirza Baj Khan, Sheikh Basawan, Fateh Ullah Khan, Fateh Nasib, Fazal Dad Khan, Hafiz Baksh, Hafiz Ahmad Khan etc.⁸³ The European commanders of Ranjit Singh were mainly Allard, Ventura, but others are also on record,

⁸⁰*Ibid*, pp. 77-96 & 206.

⁸¹*Ibid*, p. 142.

⁸²Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p.125; G.L.Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, pp. 106-07.

⁸³ Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp. 109-116.

who commanded the battalions of Ranjit Singh. They were Alexander, Barlow, Born de Malvis, De Courey, Dottwiz, Fort, Gomes, Heneray etc.⁸⁴ These European commanders were sent for important expeditions by Ranjit Singh but they were always assisted by Hindu or Sikh commanders. In the following pages, these commanders have been discussed along with their individual activities and achievements.

As said earlier, among the non-Sikh commanders, Diwan Mohkam Chand was a prominent commander of Ranjit Singh.⁸⁵ After the conquest of the fort of Pathankot in 1806, Ranjit Singh appointed Mohkam Chand to proceed towards hills to subdue the chiefs of the Punjab hills. The hill states obliged to pay tribute were Jasrota, Chamba, and Basohli.⁸⁶ Mohkam Chand also accompanied Ranjit Singh during the Malwa campaigns and a number of areas were conquered by Ranjit Singh with the help of Mohkam Chand. The important fort of Naraingarh was besieged by Mohkam Chand in the year 1807.⁸⁷ The neighboring Sikh principalities were also subdued under the command of Mohkam Chand such as Rahon, Nakodar and Naushera.⁸⁸

The Kangra expedition was also undertaken under the command of Mohkam Chand, he was appointed there to maintain the administration.⁸⁹ In 1810, during Multan's attack, Mohkam Chand was with Ranjit Singh as main commander of the army and after coming back from Multan, he conquered Dipalpur, Chunian, and Satgarha.⁹⁰ In 1812, Mohkam Chand was sent as commander for the occupation of Kullu and then to Kashmir to conquer it.⁹¹ His last military campaign as commander was the occupation of the fort of Attock in 1813. It was very important occupation of Mohkam Chand.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 111-115.

⁸⁵ For more information about Mohkam Chand, see chapter-3.

⁸⁶ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, p. 58.

⁸⁷ Bhagat Singh, *A History of Sikh Misals*, Patiala, 1993, p. 76.

⁸⁸ Bute Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, MS, 1848, Punjabi Translation, p. 45.

⁸⁹ Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, p. 552.

⁹⁰ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, pp.88-90 & 91-96; W. L. Mc' Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, J.Maddon, London, 1846, p. 167.

⁹¹ Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, p.479; Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his Times*, New Delhi, 1990, p. 75.

Miser Diwan Chad was one of the cleverest commanders of Ranjit Singh. He was also made the head of artillery after the death of Ghaus Khan.⁹² He commanded a number of important expeditions and gave proof of his ability to Ranjit Singh. In 1817, Miser was sent to deal with the chief of Mitha Tiwana.⁹³ The main and important battle fought under his leadership was Multan, for the conquest of which, Ranjit Singh was eagerly waiting, this commander gave him opportunity to celebrate it. The Sikh army under the leadership of Miser Diwan Chand besieged the fort of Ahmadabad.⁹⁴ During the Multan campaign of 1818, Miser Diwan Chand was under the nominal command of Kanwar Kharak Singh but in reality, it was in the hands of Miser, various other commanders were also made part of this expedition. The prominent commanders were Ram Dayal, Diwan Bhawani Das, Abdus Samad Khan, Jamadar Khushal Singh and Diwan Moti Ram.⁹⁵

Other main expedition, which was fought under Miser's authority, was the Kashmir conquest of 1819.⁹⁶ It was another great achievement of Miser because he already had given proof of his bravery to Ranjit Singh by the conquest of Multan. Ranjit Singh was so pleased with Diwan's brave act of conquering Kashmir that he granted him the title of *Fateh-o-Nusrat Nasib* and also granted him a *jagir* worth 50,000 rupees along with valuable *khillat*.⁹⁷ Same year after the conquest of Kashmir, Miser Diwan Chand was sent to Mankera.⁹⁸ Miser was also sent with other commanders to assist in various campaigns of Ranjit Singh such as PUNCHH, Khari-Khariaali and Bhimber. In the year 1821, Miser was sent to occupy the territory of Sada Kaur, mother-in-law of Ranjit Singh. Various areas of

⁹²Diwan Chand came from petty shopkeeper's family from Gondla in Gujrawala District(now in Pakistan). Previously he was under Nakkai chief, Nodh Singh. Once Sardar punished Diwan Chand severely for the inaccuracy in of accounts, when this came to the notice of Ranjit Singh, he took pity on the Miser and employed him in his service. Initially, he was employed as a clerk in the artillery under Mian Ghaus Khan. After his death, Diwan Chand was posted in his place and he became the chief of artillery of Lahore Durbar: G.L.Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State 1799-1839*, p. 62; Gulcharan Singh, *Ranjit Singh and his Generals*, p. 49.

⁹³G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State 1799-1839*, pp. 109-10.

⁹⁴Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 107.

⁹⁵Murray, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 31; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, pp. 237-38; G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 109.

⁹⁶Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, p. 290; Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh*, p.105; Murray, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 40.

⁹⁷Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, p. 312.

⁹⁸W.L. Mc' Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol.-I, p. 187.

the Nakkais were also captured by this commander of Ranjit Singh, which included Batala, Pathankot, Mukerian, and Akalgarh.⁹⁹

Another Hindu commander of Ranjit Singh, who led different expeditions was, Ram Dyal. He was the grandson of Diwan Mohkam Chand and son of Moti Ram. He was a skillful commander of Ranjit Singh and had risen to the rank of a divisional commander at the young age of twenty one.¹⁰⁰ According to Latif, “He was brave leader of the Khalsa army and capable commander of Ranjit Singh”.¹⁰¹ The main and important expedition led by Ram Dyal was the Kashmir campaign in 1814, which was the bravest act that performed as a commander of Ranjit Singh. He commanded the army of 30 thousand men, with Sardar Dal Singh, Ghaus Khan, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, and Mit Singh Padhanian.¹⁰² Ram Dyal as commander of the army faced number of problems there. He lost his best officers because of the shortage of resources. At various places, Ranjit Singh sent him for the collection of taxes. Many times, he assisted main troops under different commanders. At the age of 20, Ram Dyal died in 1820, while fighting with Afghans at Hazara.¹⁰³

Diwan Bhawani Das, another Hindu commander was the financial Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and he also performed military services for Ranjit Singh. His first military achievement under Ranjit Singh was in 1809, against Jammu chief.¹⁰⁴ The military services of the Diwan were also considerable; mainly he commanded the expeditions for the realization of revenue from different chiefs such as Nakkais in 1809, hilly areas in 1809-10, Multan in 1816 and 1817, and again from hills in 1823.¹⁰⁵ Diwan Bhawani Das was also punished by Ranjit Singh for his non-serious attitude towards his duty. The expedition of Multan in 1817 failed because Bhawani Das accepted bribe of 10,000 from Muzaffar Khan.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹H. T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*, p. 101.

¹⁰⁰Gulcharan Singh, *Ranjit Singh and his Generals*, p. 56.

¹⁰¹Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Calcutta Central Press, 1891, pp. 420-21.

¹⁰²Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs (1469-1839)*, Vol-I, p. 238.

¹⁰³Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (tr. Kirpal Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1982, p. 119.

¹⁰⁴Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, p. 81.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid*, pp. 81, 91, 99, 205 & 243.

¹⁰⁶Amarnath, *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh*, p. 88.

Ganga Ram was an important military personal of Ranjit Singh. He was a Kashmiri Brahmin and previously was under the service of the Gwalior ruler.¹⁰⁷ In 1813, Ranjit Singh invited him to Lahore and appointed him as the head of the military office and the keeper of royal seal.¹⁰⁸ After sometimes Ranjit Singh gave him the responsibility of the paymaster-in-chief of the irregular army of Lahore Durbar.¹⁰⁹

Diwan Ajodhia Prashad was an adopted son of Diwan Ganga Ram. He came to Lahore in 1814. In 1816, he was sent to Kashmir, where he was placed in the military office.¹¹⁰ He commanded few campaigns, but was mainly attached to the distribution of salary under Ventura and Allard and also worked as communicator between the European officers and Ranjit Singh.¹¹¹ He also held the charge of brigade in the absence of main commander. When, Ventura went to Europe, the charge of his brigade was handed over to Diwan Ajodhia Prashad.¹¹² After the death of Ranjit Singh and the retirement of Ventura, Ajodhia Prashad himself held the command of the French brigade.¹¹³

Diwan Moti Ram and Diwan Kirpa Ram were the governors of Ranjit Singh, they also paid military service to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and participated in minor expeditions. Fakir Aziz-ud-din was mainly the physician and the advisor of Ranjit Singh but for some time he was also given the responsibility of military activities by Ranjit Singh. In 1810, he was employed to annex the territory of Sahib Singh Bhangi and in 1813 when Jahan Dad Khan had given up Attock to the Maharaja he was sent with Diwan Dina Nath, Sukhdayal and Sardar Mota Singh to reinforce the garrison and settle the affairs.¹¹⁴ Other than this, Lala Karam Chand, Diwan Devi Das, Miser Rallia Ram, Miser Sukhraj were the officials of Ranjit Singh, who did not belong to the military department of Ranjit Singh, but they helped the prominent commanders of Ranjit Singh.¹¹⁵ The expeditions by these officials as military commanders were mainly for the collection of tribute and suppression of the

¹⁰⁷Radha Shurma, *The Lahore Darbar*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁸Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, p. 164; G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁹G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p.107.

¹¹⁰Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, p. 76.

¹¹¹Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-III, p. 203.

¹¹²Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, p. 125.

¹¹³Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, p. 258.

¹¹⁴Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, p. 45.

¹¹⁵Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-II, pp. 165,189, 107, 130 & 155.

revolts of *zamindars* and other tribes. Almost all the Hindu courtiers and officials, who served the Lahore Durbar during the life time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, commanded and participated in various principal as well as minor campaigns.¹¹⁶

Other than these commanders, various other Hindu commanders were also in the army of Ranjit Singh. They were associated either with minor expeditions or worked under the of prominent commanders. They were Mangal Sain, Aziz Khan, Shaikh Budha, Bakhtawar Khan, Sabit Khan, Shadi Khan, Rai Sukh, Amir Chand, Anta Gour, Arjun Das, Dhannu, Dip Chand, Diwan Ajodhia Prashad, Diwan Jodh Ram, Duni Chand, Ganga Mal, Gulzari Mall, Harjas Rai, Karam Chand Chahal, Mian Mota, Mian Prithi Singh, Mukand Chand, Phirmar, Raj Narain, Ram Lal, Sen Mal, Sham Sota, Shambu Mal, Shiv Prashad, Thakkar and Zorawar Singh.¹¹⁷

Ranjit Singh's artillery was mainly under the Muslim officials and they paid valuable services to Ranjit, they made a strong artillery section. Few officials of Ranjit Singh proved themselves as great commanders, they served in a number of campaigns under Ranjit Singh. Ghaus Mohmmad Khan, who was popular with the name of Ghaus Khan was an important Muslim commander of Ranjit Singh.¹¹⁸ In 1804, he was made the commandant of artillery with guns and 2000 *sawars*.¹¹⁹ Ghaus Khan, commanded campaigns against few principalities. When Diwan Mohkam Chand subjugated Faizalpurias, the Sikh army captured the area of Tarn-Taran under the command of Ghaus Khan.¹²⁰ In 1808, he was sent to subdue the chiefs of Sheikhpura.¹²¹ Other military expedition sent under Ghaus Khan was to the hill states for the collection of *nazrana*. In

¹¹⁶Rajinder Kaur, *Role of Selected Courtiers and Officials at Lahore Darbar (1799-1849)*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2011 (Ph.D Thesis), p. 211.

¹¹⁷H.L.Garrett (ed.) *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 57, 73, 121, 139, 141,159, 162, 252; Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp. 211-19.

¹¹⁸ Mian Ghaus's ancestors migrated to the Punjab from Nepal and resided at Batala in the principality of Kanhiyas. The Kanhiya ruler humiliated the inhabitants of the area. Many leading men were arrested: Ghaus Khan was one among them, but he somehow managed to escape. While on his way to Kabul, he was brought back and introduced to Sardar Mahan Singh, the Sukerchakia sardar promised to rehabilitate him. Thus Ghaus Khan joined the service of the Sukerchakias and served them till his death: Gulcharan Singh, *Ranjit Singh and his Generals*, p. 14.

¹¹⁹Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, p. 91.

¹²⁰Giani Gian Singh, *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, vol-II, p.326; Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, p.134.

¹²¹Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, p. 91

1810, Ghaus Khan along with Diwan Bhawani Das was sent to Kullu, Suket and Mandi.¹²² Other than this, in the conquests of the forts of Taragarh and Kathua, Ghaus Khan's artillery played very decisive role and also in the first expedition of Kashmir, Ghaus Khan participated according to the instructions of Ranjit Singh.¹²³

Illahi Baksh was other Muslim commander and the artilleryman of Ranjit Singh. He joined Lahore service in the year 1802.¹²⁴ In 1810, a separate corps of artillery was raised and placed under Mian Ghaus then Illahi Baksh was transferred to it. In 1814, a new battery was raised, Illahi Baksh was appointed to command it.¹²⁵ He participated in a number of campaigns for Ranjit Singh. In the final expedition of Multan in 1818, Illahi Baksh took part with his artillery under the command of Miser Diwan Chand.¹²⁶ When the Mankera ruler refused to pay full amount of *nazrana* on time, Illahi Baksh along with other *sardars* was appointed to proceed with his *topkhana* against the Mankera ruler.¹²⁷ Imam Shah was other Muslim commander, who has been referred the military *parwanas* of Ranjit Singh.¹²⁸ Not much of his military activities are recorded in the contemporary and near contemporary sources. Other Muslim officer of Ranjit Singh was Faqir Imam-ud-din. He did not directly go for the military activities but had been given charge of the important fort of Gobindgarh.¹²⁹

¹²²Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, p.126.

¹²³*Ibid*, pp. 56 &148.

¹²⁴*Ibid*, p. 134.

¹²⁵Gulcharan Singh, *Ranjit Singh and his Generals*, p. 51.

¹²⁶Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-II, p. 210; S.M. Latif, *History of the Sikhs*, The Calcutta Central press, Calcutta, 1891, p. 372.

¹²⁷*Ibid*, p. 227.

¹²⁸J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 7.

¹²⁹Wahiduddin, *Real Ranjit Singh*, Oriental Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1976, p. 37.



Figure 4.8: Ghaus Mohammad Khan, Commander of Ranjit Singh

Source: www.Sikhheritage.com

Other Muslim commanders, who were in the service of Ranjit Singh were Abdul Rahim, Ahmad Khan, Ali Dad Khan, Ali Muhammad Khan, Ali Shah Sayyad, Amir Khan, Bakhtawar Khan, Faiz Baksh, Fateh Khan, Fateh Nasib, Fattu Khan, Hafiz Ahmad Khan, Hayder Shah, Husain Khan, Irdad Khan, Jalal-ud-din, Kalu Khan, Khuda Yar Khan, Mazhar Ali Khan, Mehar Baksh, Mohammad Baksh, Mohammad Shah, Mubarik Khan, Najaf Khan, Raushan Khan, Shadi Khan, Shaikh Ibadullah, Shamsheer Ali, Sheikh Bisawn, Sultan Mahmud Khan, Sheikh Budha and Shadi Khan. They commanded different battalions of Ranjit Singh.¹³⁰

¹³⁰J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp.75- 96; H.L.Garrett (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 73, 141 &162; Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, pp. 73, 96, 134, 172 & 198;Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp. 109-119.

Ranjit Singh always chose best commanders from his enemies' army and made them a part of his contingents. After the subjugation of Tiwanas of Nurpur, Ranjit Singh was much impressed by the fighting skills. Ranjit Singh was so much struck with their handsome, manly appearance, bold riding and gallant fighting skills that he took fifty horsemen with himself. Qadir Baksh was the commander of these troops. He served at Multan for some years, and in many other campaigns, with distinction. In 1837, his cousin Fateh Khan shared with him the command of the *sowars*.¹³¹ Other commander of Ranjit Singh, who was made to join his force was Hafiz Sarbuland Khan, the commander of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. He always stood high in favour of Multan Nawabs and fought bravely against the Sikhs. According to Griffin, "Hafiz Sarbuland Khan was received by Ranjit Singh into his service. He was given the command of two hundred horses and was sent to guard the frontiers of Bahawalpur. After the capture of Mankera, because of his bravest acts, he was awarded with a *jagir* of Rs.2, 000 in the Leiah district, which he retained till 1829".¹³²

Allard and Ventura were the European commanders of Ranjit Singh, who had commanded a number of campaigns. Avitabile was a military officer, but he performed administrative services for Ranjit Singh. In the beginning, Avitabile was employed in the artillery and was also put in charge of the supervision of the Maharaja's arsenal and foundries.¹³³ As a military officer, he participated in a few expeditions and those also in the last years of Ranjit Singh's reign. In 1834, he was sent to confiscate the estate of Jasrota chief. He also took part against Dost Muhammad Khan in 1835.¹³⁴ Allard was an experienced military officer of Ranjit Singh. He was given the charge to train the Sikh cavalry and within a few years, he raised four regiments-a regiment of cavalry, one of lancers and two of dragons, with a total strength of 3000 horse.¹³⁵ Ventura or Allard led a number of expeditions to various places with special force *fauj-i-khass* raised by Ventura. These campaigns were of Naushera, Dera Ismail Khan, Kangra, Multan and Peshawar.¹³⁶ During Ranjit Singh's religious war with Syed Ahmad of Bareilly, Allard commanded a

¹³¹Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Vol-II, p. 284.

¹³²*Ibid*, p. 94.

¹³³Jean Marin Lofant, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh- The French connection*, p. 39.

¹³⁴Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, p. 63.

¹³⁵*Ibid*, p. 59.

¹³⁶Jean Marin Lofant, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh- The French connection*, p. 37.

large body of horses, 5000 strong, on the foothills, and was ordered by Ranjit Singh to reach the bridge of Ghari, on the Chenab near Wazirabad.¹³⁷

In the campaign of Jamrud under Hari Singh Nalwa, Ventura and Allard also participated with their units and brigades.¹³⁸ Other European who was entrusted to the military services of Ranjit Singh was Auguste Court. He was the artillery commander and ordnance officer of Ranjit Singh. His main achievement was the training of artillery, organization of batteries and establishment of arsenal and magazines to ensure supply of arms.¹³⁹ However, the Muslim and European commanders were never sent on any independent expeditions. They were usually sent under the command of prominent Hindu or Sikh commanders. The expeditions by these European officials as military commanders were mainly for the collection of tribute and suppression of the revolt of *zamindars* and other tribes.

Other European commanders, who were in the service of Lahore Durbar and indulged in military activities were Alexander Alias, Barlow, Born De Malvis, Cortland, De Courey, De La Font, Delust Or Depnis, Dottnwiz, Fort, Heneray Charles Cortland, Heneray Sattford, Henry Joseph De, John Gold, John Holmes, Stephen Lane and William Leigh.¹⁴⁰

A numbers of forts were occupied by Ranjit Singh after the conquest of different territories. After the occupation of these forts, various *killadars*, garrison masters or keeper of the forts were employed by Ranjit Singh. These garrison masters were responsible for the maintenance of forts. Various non-Sikhs were employed as *killadars* by Ranjit Singh. The garrison master of the fort of Attock was Abdul Rahim Khan, he was later replaced with Amir Beg Khan. Qadir Baksh Machhi was the keeper of the fort of Kangra and Sukh Dial was the garrison master of the fort of Nurpur.¹⁴¹ The garrison master of the fort of Amritsar, where the royal treasury of Lahore *darbar* was kept was under the authority of

¹³⁷Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-III, Part-I, p. 21.

¹³⁸Jean Marin Lofant, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh- The French connection*, pp. 44-45.

¹³⁹*Ibid*, p. 40; B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 278-79.

¹⁴⁰C. Gray, *European Adventures of Northern India, 1785-1849*, Government Printing, Punjab, 1929, pp.12-16; Jean Marin Lofant, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh- The French connection*, pp. 45- 75; Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, pp.109-119.

¹⁴¹*Ibid*, pp. 169 & 250.

Imam-ud-din Khan.¹⁴² Abdul Rahim Khan was the garrison master of the fort of Attock. He was appointed here after its occupation in 1813. He proved to be a loyal *kiladar*.¹⁴³

Various *darogas* or superintendents were employed by Ranjit Singh as man in charge of various organizations. Daroga of Topkhana of Ranjit Singh's army was Mir Mazhar Ali Khan. Sarhandi Mal was the officer of Zamburkhana, Rae Sukh was the *daroga* of Topkhana of Khairata and Dal Sukh was the Daroga of mint at Amritsar.¹⁴⁴ Other than this, in the military of Ranjit Singh, *hawaldar* was the designation which was below that of Jamadar and above that of Sipahi. References of non-Sikh *hawaldars*, who were employed by Ranjit Singh have come to light. They were Bal Kishan, Diwan Ram, Dwarka, Jai Ram and Tek Chand.¹⁴⁵

V

The Sikh army was mixture of various communities. It was not the army of Sikhs only, as it sounds from its name, the Khalsa army. Ranjit Singh's army was composed of number of classes and communities from Punjab and outside Punjab, even outside India. These communities were prominently Sikhs followed by Brahmins, Khattris, Punjabi Muslims, Poorbias, Gurkhas, Afghans of frontier areas (Trans-Indus districts) and Europeans of different nationalities.

The Hindus represented various communities such as Rajputs, Gurkhas and Hindu Poorbias. Poorbia means an easterner. This word was used in the Punjab for the people coming from the area lying to the east of the Punjab.¹⁴⁶ Brahmin and Khattris were not many in the Khalsa army, as discussed in the earlier chapter; they were in majority in the administrative services of Ranjit Singh.¹⁴⁷ There were few officers of these communities, but they paid valuable services in the Khalsa army. These officers were Dewan Mohkam Chand, Miser Diwan Chand, Diwan Moti Ram, Miser Ram Dyal, Miser Sukh Raj etc. These officers were mainly appointed for the command of those expeditions, which were

¹⁴²Fakir Wahid-ud-din, *Real Ranjit Singh*, Oriental Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1976, p.37.

¹⁴³H.L.Garrett (ed.), *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 54 & 132.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid*, pp. 58, 145, 173, 246 & 250.

¹⁴⁵J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed. & tr.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp. 73-96.

¹⁴⁶Jean Marin Lofant, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh- The French connection*, p.141.

¹⁴⁷For further details, see chapter-3.

sent for the collection of tribute from the subjugated chiefs and *jagirdars*. Only Mohkam Chand was sent by Ranjit Singh for the occupation of important and strategic areas.

The Hindu Rajputs were in majority in Sikh army. Rajputs mainly came from hill areas. From infantry to artillery; they had their representation in every branch of army.¹⁴⁸ The Dogra Rajputs were also there, they drew a good number of troops under their supervision. Other than Dogra Rajputs, chiefs of the hills, who were subjugated by Ranjit Singh and became his *jagirdars*, were also sent with fixed number of troops for the service of Ranjit Singh.¹⁴⁹ With the passage of time, when Dogras became powerful under Ranjit Singh, the number of Rajput soldiers increased in the Sikh army. In 1825, Ranjit Singh had 3 to 4 battalions of Rajputs in the army. But after the death of Ranjit Singh when Dogra party got ascendancy at the court of Lahore, there was rapid increase in their number.¹⁵⁰ Rajput soldiers were in both sections of Khalsa army: regular and irregular.

The Poorbias were the native of east area of Punjab and belonged to Hindu and Muslim religious sections. The Hindu *poorbias* were soldiers and were in the regular or modern unit of Sikh army. During initial period, when Ranjit Singh modernized his infantry, *poorbias* were in majority but later their position changed and Sikhs formed majority in the infantry followed by non-Sikhs. The Gurkhas were also a part of the Sikh army. They were known for their bravery and soldierly skills in the army. Ranjit Singh was in favor of their inclusion in the Khalsa army because of their fighting skills. In July 1837, the Maharaja observed that, “the Gurkhas were a great people and that if 2,000 of them would come, he would employ them and form them into two battalions”.¹⁵¹ Like *poorbias*, Gurkhas were part of regular force of Ranjit Singh. There was no *poorbias* or Gurkha soldier in the irregular army of Sikh ruler. What was their numerical strength in the Khalsa army, it is not clear, but it is quite clear from sources that they played very significant role in strengthening the Khalsa army.

The Muslims also formed a strong section of Ranjit Singh’s army. They belonged to various classes such as Punjabi Muslims, Poorbia Muslims, Afghan Muslims, and

¹⁴⁸Lt.- Col.Steinbach, *The Punjab*, Smith and Elder, London, 1845, p.101

¹⁴⁹For details on hill chiefs, who became *jagirdars* of Ranjit Singh after their subjugation, see chapter-2.

¹⁵⁰Fauja Singh Bajwa, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 141.

¹⁵¹*Ibid*, p. 142.

Trans-Indus Afghan Muslims. They entered Ranjit Singh's service with the passage of time and according to the requirements. The Punjabi Muslim soldiers of Ranjit Singh were those whose chiefs became Ranjit Singh's *jagirdars* after their subjugation and were asked to supply number of contingents to Lahore Durbar.¹⁵² The most prominent among them were the Afghans of Qasur and Multan and the Muslims of Jhang and other districts situated between the Chenab and the Indus.¹⁵³ After the subjugation of Muslim areas, when Ranjit Singh employed his own troops and army there, the local population of that specific area was also employed in the service. Ranjit Singh's commanders and, administrators such as Diwan Sawan Mall, Diwan Mul Raj, and Diwan Lakhi Mal had great number of Muslim soldiers in their troops stationed at subjugated areas. These Muslims were Rajputs by their class.¹⁵⁴ The Punjabi Muslims were employed mainly in regular and irregular cavalry and also in irregular infantry of the Khalsa army.

The Muslim Poorbias, known as Najibs also played significant role in the Khalsa army. In fact, the first regular unit of infantry was composed of Najibs, the inhabitants of Saharanpur and its vicinity.¹⁵⁵ Various battalions were composed of Najibs and a number of Ranjit Singh's commanders were the Poorbia Muslims. These Poorbias commanders were Bakhtawar Khan, Sheikh Basawan, Ibadullah, Aziz Khan, Suleman Khan, and Saddat Khan etc. Other category of Muslims was Trans-Indus Afghan Muslims, who were much known for their fighting skills. These Muslim soldiers came from the subjugated chiefs of trans-Indus areas, who accepted the state services of Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh was very much impressed with the fighting skills of trans-Indus soldiers and ordered his commanders to merge them into the Sikh army. "In 1836, Ranjit Singh ordered Raja Suchet Singh and Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh to control the soldiery of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan's rulers and engaged them into the Khalsa army".¹⁵⁶

The Muslims were in majority in the artillery. Nearly half of the strength in the artillery was composed of Muslims.¹⁵⁷ Muslims were less in the cavalry sections All the

¹⁵²For detail information about the Muslim subjugated chiefs, see chapter-2.

¹⁵³ Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 142.

¹⁵⁴*Foreign Political Consultations*, 27 April 1844, No. 17.

¹⁵⁵Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p.142.

¹⁵⁶*Foreign Political Consultations*, 19 August 1836, Nos. 15 & 17; 27 April 1844, No. 23.

¹⁵⁷Shamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans*, London, 1847, p. 6.

Muslims taken together in the irregular cavalry were 1029 out of a total of 10,795 under Ranjit Singh.¹⁵⁸ One unit of artillery was completely the monopoly of the Muslim officers of Ranjit Singh. In the records of twenty years, only one or two Sikh commanders could become officers of this section of artillery. The main and prominent position in the artillery was enjoyed by the Muslim officers, such as Ghaus Khan, Mir Mazhar, Ali Khan, Sarhandi Mal etc., they were treated very respectfully, and enjoyed great status under Ranjit Singh.

The Europeans were other non-Sikhs, who became a part of the Khalsa army. The credit of the reorganization of the Khalsa army goes to European officials, who entered in the service of Ranjit Singh and gave new directions to the Sikh army. Avitabile, Ventura, Allard, and Court were the prominent European officials, who belonged to different nationalities such as French and Italian etc. Qualified Europeans were taken into service by Ranjit Singh to train his native men into European drill.¹⁵⁹ Other than these prominent Europeans, various other officials were also in the Khalsa army, who belonged to different nationalities and were employed in the Khalsa army at various ranks. No exact number of Europeans had come to light, different historians have given different numbers. “Cunningham estimated their strength as 32, Smith in his work calculated their number as 39 and Grey counted their number above 100. The Sikh historian Fauja Singh has counted number of European officials in the Khalsa army above 50”.¹⁶⁰ The prominent designations were enjoyed by the French and Italians in the Khalsa army.

There was lack of unity among the European officials of Ranjit Singh, a number of cases came to light about their discontent with each other. “In 1838, Allard was sent to Peshawar to help Avitabile in the administration of the province, but difference soon arose between them. He sent a report to the Maharaja on the inadequate fortification of the Shabkdar and other forts on the frontier. A famine had at this time been raging in Peshawar and he suggested to the Maharaja the exemption of octroi tax on wheat and grains.

¹⁵⁸Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 143.

¹⁵⁹Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records*, vol-I, p. 22.

¹⁶⁰Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, Appendix XXXIX; Smyth, *The Plans of Ordnance Captured by the Army of Satluj in 1845-46*, Calcutta, 1897, pp. 36-37; C.Grey, *European Adventurer of Northern India 1751-1849*, Government Printing Press, Punjab, 1929, p.15; Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p.143

Avitabile strongly resented Allard's interference in the administrative area.¹⁶¹ Their mutual jealousy was reason of their discontent with each other.

The non-Sikh officials who were designated on the higher military posts were usually the relatives or recommended by the courtiers of Ranjit Singh, who were employed in military or civil services. As a rule, the new comers joined the Sikh army as private or *sair sipahi*. But, relatives of the influential individuals could directly join as commander of company or battalion. A number of officials were employed by Ranjit Singh on the recommendation of their relatives like Raja Dhian Singh, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Miser Beli Ram and prominent deserters from the ranks of English company, such as Dhonkal Singh, Bakhtawar Khan etc. They joined as Jamadar, Hawaldar, Naik etc.¹⁶² Khushal Singh's son Ram Dyal joined the Sikh army and with the recommendation of his father, he became brigadier General, his nephew Tej Singh also became the commander on the recommendation of Khushal Singh.¹⁶³

The newly recruits, who entered Sikh army through the recommendations of the courtiers and officials were assured by their mentors for their good conduct in the army. As a rule, the recruitment was preliminary conducted by the *diwan* or other prominent influential officials of Ranjit Singh and for the final selection; they were presented in front of Ranjit Singh.¹⁶⁴ After the recruitment, complete procedure was followed by state office and entry of the new recruit was made in the records office, which was with the mention of words like- "Dar Silk-i-Mulazmi Munsilk Shudha", i.e. the new recruit entered into the services. The young and youthful individuals were recruited in the Sikh army.¹⁶⁵

The selection of recruits was based on the strength and physical appearance and not on caste or religion. According to Lieut Barr, Under Ranjit Singh, the size and strength of the recruit was considered for his selection and not his caste or religion.¹⁶⁶ While recruiting an individual, his loyalty, usefulness, and commitment to the state service was noticed

¹⁶¹Sohan Lal , *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-III, Part –IV, p. 406.

¹⁶²Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 137.

¹⁶³B.J.Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 252.

¹⁶⁴Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut –Twarikh*, Vol-II, p. 39.

¹⁶⁵Ibid, p. 93.

¹⁶⁶Lieut William Barr, *Journal of March from Delhi to Peshawar and from thence to Kabul with the Mission of Lt. Col. Sir C.M. Wade. James Maddon*, London, 1844, p. 178.

instead of his religious or caste identification. In this context, Sohan Lal says “In the Sikh army, special emphasis was laid on the obligation that newly recruit would never show weakness at the time of fighting with any enemy.”¹⁶⁷ During the selection of non-Indians in the army, Ranjit Singh made detailed inquiries about their interest and intentions to join the Sikh services.¹⁶⁸ Contracts were signed by European officials before their joining and after long enquiries and satisfaction, they were enrolled into the state services.¹⁶⁹ The recruitment of these officials proved biggest blessing for Ranjit Singh because these foreigner officials introduced the system which had become general in Europe, where the value of infantry as against cavalry was universally acknowledged. Some of them were men of considerable ability and quite competent to perform all they promised in increasing the efficiency of the Lahore army.¹⁷⁰

VI

The payment of non-Sikhs in regular army of Ranjit Singh was by two methods. Assignment of land or cash payment. The soldiers were paid by the later method, known as *naqdidars*. Cash payment was further divided into three parts: Mahdari, Fasalandari, and Rozinadari. The Rozinadari system was generally applied to foreigners in the probationary period of their employment. It means the daily allowance of soldiers was given to them.¹⁷¹ The irregular army was composed very largely of land-holders and *jagirdar*'s troops. Their pay and emoluments were comparatively higher than those of the members of the regular army.¹⁷²

When non-Sikhs entered the service of Sikh ruler, they were paid fixed amount of salary. Ranjit Singh adopted the method of payment in cash in imitation of the British government, which became dominant system in his army. But from the contemporary records, we learn that he was finding it very hard to continue this mode. ‘Ranjit Singh lacked the requisite administrative machinery. Consequently, at the later part of his reign,

¹⁶⁷Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Vol-III, Part IV, pp. 503-05.

¹⁶⁸Wahid-ud-din, *Real Ranjit Singh*, Lion Arts Karachi, Lahore, 1932, p. 157

¹⁶⁹Mc Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol-I, J. Maddon, London, 1846, p. 258; Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, The Sun Printing works, Lahore, 1897, p. 251; Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, London, 1901, p.137; Jean Marin Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh- The French connection*, pp. 57-58.

¹⁷⁰Sir Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905, p. 134.

¹⁷¹Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p.166.

¹⁷²*Ibid*, p.10.

we find Ranjit Singh gave preference to the older system of assignment of land with a view to escaping botheration of being confronted, off and on, with noisy clamors for pay.¹⁷³

The *naqqad* payment was not always given in the form of coins, sometimes *shawls* and *pashmina* were also given in the form of *naqqad* payment. Ranjit Singh himself admitted this when he had a talk with Capt. Burnes: “How do you think I dispose of the *shawls* and production of Kashmir. I pay my officer and troops with them, and as I give a chief who may be entitled to a balance of Rs. 300, shawls to the value of Rs. 500, he is well pleased and the state is benefited.”¹⁷⁴ There was no hard and fast rule for the payment of army. Sometimes for the same rank, different salaries were given to individuals. Different amount was given on the basis of the strength, the individual commander carried, but difference in salary was never on the basis of religious identification of the individuals.

The prominent European offices such as Allard, Ventura, Avitabile, and Court, who transformed the Sikh army, were highly paid by Ranjit Singh as compared to local chiefs of the Sikh court.¹⁷⁵ The local chiefs were granted *jagirs*, a number of rewards and titles. The titles given to non-Sikhs varied. Zafar Jang Bahadur Fateh-o-Nusrat Nasib was a title given to Mohkam Chand, Farzand-i- Khass to Raja Hira Singh, Ujal Didar, Nirmal Budh, Sardar Bawaqar, Jarnail Awwal, Samqamul-Daula, Jafdar Jang Bahadur to Gobind Ram, and Ujal Didar, Nirmal Budh, Mubarz-ul-Mulak, Samsam-ud-Daula to Tej Singh.¹⁷⁶ Avitabile, a European official, also received title from Ranjit Singh. It was Jang Bahadur, Amanat Panah, Kerka Ba Safa.¹⁷⁷ But a European official, who was in the service of Ranjit Singh, stated that “high salary was not regularly paid. The French generals were getting extra allowance for special duties on other assignments. But, a good part of their dues was paid in the form of Shawls, Pashminas etc. and they used to sell them at the current price in India or Europe, wherever they were able to dispose them off.”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p.75.

¹⁷⁴Alaxander Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara- A Journey from India to Cabool and Persia*, vol. III, Albemarle Street, London P.163.

¹⁷⁵Court received a salary of 2,500 rupee a month besides a *jagir*; B.J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 279.

¹⁷⁶ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-u-Twarikh*, Vol.-II, p. 260, Vol.-III, pp. 297 & 403.

¹⁷⁷ Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 182.

¹⁷⁸ Jean Marin Lofant, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh- The French Connection*, p.113.

The Wazir of the State or keeper of Deorhi was posted at the Lahore Court to listen to the daily reports of the troops stationed at Lahore and distance areas. During his life time, Raja Dhian Singh was appointed on this post and after his death, his son Raja Hira Singh was designated on the post.¹⁷⁹ In the reign of Ranjit Singh, the keeping of the Deorhi was mainly under the Dogras but after his death, scenario changed and others were also designated on this post. After the Ropar meeting with Metcalf, Ranjit Singh had strong desire to regularize his troops on European methods and did efforts for it. In 1835, Ranjit Singh procured a book from Capt. Wade for the regularization of troops and he assigned the task of translating it to Ventura, Fox and Sohan Lal Suri.¹⁸⁰ Ranjit Singh was very concerned about the regulation and proper management of the Sikh army. But we don't find any evidence or reference to show that Ranjit Singh ever followed the British code and conduct in the military. He punished officers or soldiers for their misconducts in the army.

Fines were imposed by Ranjit Singh, when non-Sikhs did something wrong, for example, a fine of Rs. 70, 000 was imposed on Diwan Moti Ram for his misconduct.¹⁸¹ In 1839, French officer Capt. Lafont was warned by Ranjit Singh for beating his sepoy with cane.¹⁸² Punjabi soldiers had no liking for the European trainers. Ranjit Singh once punished his native horsemen by blackening their faces and parading them around the town because they had abused Avitabile, their commander.¹⁸³ A Muslim commander Allah Baksh was fined Rs. 1100, because he had damaged the crop of the villagers during a military campaign.¹⁸⁴ In 1825, Miser Sukh Dayal was appointed as commander of artillery but soon he was dismissed because of lack of skills for artillery and appointed in the civil administration.¹⁸⁵ Once, Ranjit Singh sent his official to find out the culprits, who had murdered an European officer.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹G.L.Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 49.

¹⁸⁰Roshan Lal Ahuja, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: A Man of Destiny*, Delhi, 1983, p. 62

¹⁸¹Diwan Amar Nath, *Zafarnama-i- Ranjit Singh* (tr. Kirpal Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1982, p. 163.

¹⁸²Fauja Singh Bajwa, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p.155.

¹⁸³*Foreign Political Consultations*, 30 March 1842, No. 98-100.

¹⁸⁴Shamamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans*, London, 1847, p. 35.

¹⁸⁵Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, vol-II, p. 228.

¹⁸⁶J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed. & tr.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 179.

Ranjit Singh not only punished his non-Sikh officials for their misconduct, he also rewarded them with higher ranks, if they performed better services. But, he never promoted them on the basis of good words. Merit was the only condition in the army to get promotion or reward from Ranjit Singh. Presents and *khilats* (robe of honor) consumed great amount of Ranjit Singh's treasury. *Khilats* were generally awarded to main and the prominent leaders, who helped in the conquests of important areas.¹⁸⁷

Diwan Mohkam Chand was awarded with *khilat* of great value and given a *jagir* after the conquest of Multan.¹⁸⁸ The other non-Sikh official who obtained *khilat* from Ranjit Singh was his European official Ventura, he was awarded with a number of valuable articles. These articles included shawls, a piece of *kimkhob pagri*, handkerchief, seven necklaces, one bracelet, one string of pearl, one *zeegha* (a kind of ornament) and one elephant with howdah.¹⁸⁹ Other non-Sikh, military official to be awarded was Miser Diwan Chand, who obtained *khilat* from the Sikh chief.¹⁹⁰

In the series of promotions, Dogra brothers were the luckiest among the non-Sikhs under Ranjit Singh to have got rapid promotions in civil and military services. Other than Dogras, Dohkal Singh, a *poorbia* officer had joined the Sikh army as drill *naik* and became General under Ranjit Singh.¹⁹¹ The Europeans, who came to Sikh Durbar as mere trainers were promoted as commanders and colonels. They were Alexander, Barlow, Born de Malvis, De Courey, Dottwiz, Fort, Gomes, Heneray etc. A number of non-Sikh officials were promoted by Ranjit Singh and awarded with superior military posts. However, after the death of Ranjit Singh, when army became supreme specifically under Raja Hira Singh, the army men were promoted on the basis of money and closeness with the ruler.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Individuals, who performed distinguished services for the state either it was civil or military, were awarded with *Khillat* by Ranjit Singh. *Khillats* were divided into three types: First *Khillat* include eleven articles, second included seven types of articles and third one consisted three types of articles. Articles given in *khillat* were *doshala* (Kashmiri shawl), a piece of *kimkhab* (brocade), a *jamawar* (cloth for long coat), *kamarband*(waist band). Ornaments like, *kara* (gold armlet), *kalgi* (plume), *jigha* (a turban ornament), a *mala* (chain) etc. Jeweled weapons were also included in *khillats* given by Ranjit Singh like, *shamsher murassa* (a sword with its handle inlaid with gold), *kard* (a dagger with ornamented handle), *tabr*(a sort of battle-axe) and *tarksh* (quiver for arrows inlaid with jewelry): Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁸ *The Calcutta Review*, Vol.II, Oct-Dec., 1884, pp. 177-178.

¹⁸⁹ Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 181.

¹⁹⁰ Gulcharan Singh, *Ranjit Singh and his Generals*, p. 41.

¹⁹¹ Sita Ram Kohli, *Khlasa Durbar Records*, vol-I, pp. 21-22 & 159.

¹⁹² Jean Marin Lofant, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh- The French Connection*, p. 210.

By and large, the leave rules of Ranjit Singh's army depended upon the distance of area, where the individuals, who were going on leave belonged. The Sikh soldiers, who belonged to Punjab were granted less days of leave, and it hardly matters, on which post they were designated in infantry, cavalry, or artillery. On the contrary, the non-Sikhs who were not the residents of the Punjab, were granted extra number of leaves with justification that, they required extra time to travel to their place. According to the military *parwanas* of Ranjit Singh, "the *telangas*, Hindu and Muslim officers, who were the residents of areas across Jamuna were granted one and half month's leave from their services but the native non-Sikhs with the same designation were awarded only twenty days' leave.¹⁹³ Before leave, the non-residents of Punjab had to submit all military tools in the concerned department.

There were also incidents when on leave, officials were declared as *bhagoras*, when they did not join back their service on fixed time. In 1834, 15 *beldars*, who were mostly non-Sikhs were declared as *bhagoras*, and Tej Singh was ordered to arrest them, the *beldars* were: Kaman from Amritsar, Mohkam Shah from Sohia, Sumala from Multan, Bhiku from Mirpur, Allah Ditta from Sialkot, Jaamu from Amritsar, Khudayar and Shera from Amritsar, Burra from Mango Nangal, Veeru from Gilari Kllan, Waris from Manjiya, besides Heera and Dasoude from Hummra¹⁹⁴ In the military of Ranjit Singh, leave rules for every community were same, relaxations were given to individuals on genuine reasons and not for religious ins and outs.

It is important to mention that Ranjit Singh used chiefly the services of the cavalry because it was the traditional military service that was used by the chiefs before Ranjit Singh and was reliable system of defense. But his attitude towards cavalry changed with the joining of French officers, Ventura and Allard, who gave new shape to the military organization of Ranjit Singh. These officers taught the Sikh troops rule and regulations and new tactics of fighting. They presented improved version of infantry and artillery in front of Sikh chief. Now with the modifications of army, Ranjit Singh's approach toward cavalry changed and he looked at other sections with confident. The change introduced by

¹⁹³J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed. & tr.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp. 82-83.

¹⁹⁴*Ibid*, p.129.

French, like tactics of fighting, square formation and skirmishes were much functional in artillery and infantry than cavalry because *ghorcharas* were reluctant to adopt the new changes because of their prideful nature. After the coming of French officials, whenever expeditions were sent, they formed of mixed races of battalions.

From the above discussion, it can be said that in the early period, the command of military expeditions was given to cavalry section which was composed of Sikh *jagirdars* and chiefs who were subjugated by Ranjit Singh.¹⁹⁵ However, after the joining of French officers, other branches such as infantry and artillery gained importance and played major role in the future expeditions of Ranjit Singh. These officials also took part in the expeditions that were sent for the collection of revenue from the areas or mainly in the wars against with the Afghans.¹⁹⁶

VII

In retrospect, we can say that Ranjit Singh was a great military leader and with the help of military system, he subjugated powerful chiefs and expanded his empire. Ranjit Singh's military system was divided into four parts: regular army, *ghorchra fauj*, *killajat*, and *jagirdari fauj*. Except, *ghorcharas* and *killajats* other two parts- regular and Jagirdar Fauj were composed of the non-Sikhs. In the early years of his life, Ranjit Singh understood that if he wanted a strong and independent Sikh state, he would have to focus upon his military system. He upgraded his military units by including aspects such as supervision, organization, training and instructions. He loaded his military organization with new and skilled officials and selected them in his state service without giving any heed to their religious identification.

Ranjit Singh's military organization was the combination of old and new system. He made improvements in the existed military system and gave it new shape by introducing a number of non-Sikh officials in his system. Ranjit Singh's military system can be divided into three phases. The first phase was the period of 1799-1809, when he

¹⁹⁵ J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh; Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1984, p. 32; J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (ed. & tr.), *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p.79;

¹⁹⁶ N.K.Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 78.

inherited army from his ancestors that was composed mainly of *ghorchras*, who were proud by nature and considered superior to other sections, mainly infantry. In this phase, Ranjit Singh introduced new infantry units which were fully composed of non-Sikh and non-Punjabis. Second Phase was the period from 1809-1821, in this period a number of battles were fought by Ranjit Singh. The new recruited non-Sikh officials maintained well organized treasury, where special funds were allocated for the future military excursions. Major changes were introduced by Ranjit Singh in composition and strength of army. Other innovation of this phase was the reorganization of Topkhana under Illahi Baksh. Other than this, infantry and artillery were trained by British methods. New innovation of this period was the recruitment of Gurkhas for the first time under Ranjit Singh. Rajputs were also introduced to Ranjit Singh in this phase. The new fighting classes joined the Sikh army, with their help Ranjit Singh could strengthen his empire.

Third phase was the period from 1822 to 1831, till this period Ranjit had conquered major areas with the help of his military officials. The importance of this phase was that a number of European officials entered into the Sikh army. These officials were Allard, Ventura, Court, and Avitabile, who changed the format of Sikh army. Other major innovation by non-Sikh officials during this period was the introduction of guns by European officials especially Court and Avitabile. Fourth phase was the period from 1832 till Ranjit Singh's death in 1839. This period witnessed the changes in the army specifically in the organization of army by the non-Sikhs officials and also this phase witnessed the improvement of weapons by the non-Sikh officials of the Ranjit Singh.

The non-Sikhs entered in the Sikh army in the early years of nineteenth century, with the exception of Ghausia Khan, who was already in the Sikh army when Ranjit Singh inherited it from his ancestors. In the beginning, the infantry was composed of non-Sikhs and non-Punjabis only, who came from out of Punjab across Yamuna. They were Najibs, Hindu and Muslim Poorbias, Telangas, Afghans, and the Gurkhas. A number of non-Sikh *kumedans* were raised by Ranjit Singh. Sikh and Punjabi element was less visible during this period but after 1830, number of Punjabi battalions were raised by Ranjit Singh under the Sikh *kumedans*, because till this time, infantry had started being looked after by Sikh

sardars with respectable approach as the standard of infantry was raised by European officials by training them on western methods. The cavalry branch of army was predominantly under the Sikh *sardars* and *jagirdars* of Ranjit Singh, who were subjugated by him during the expansion of his territories. The involvement of non-Sikhs is visible in the cavalry around 1812 when the regular cavalry unit known as *ghurcharah khass* was created. Various *ghurcharah derahs* were commanded by non-Sikhs in the regular cavalry but majority in the cavalry belonged to Sikh *sardars*. The artillery unit of Sikh army was predominately under the Muslim officials. As recorded in the *Khalsa Durbar Records*, there were a number of non-Sikh officials commanding the batteries of the artillery. For the overall growth and modernization of Ranjit Singh's army, European officials contribution is appreciable.

A number of non-Sikh commanders were employed by Ranjit Singh. These commanders were mainly the non-Sikhs. The prominent community was Hindu who had Khattri, Brahman and Rajput clans. Muslims and Europeans were also sent for expeditions, but they were always attached to other major commanders belonging to Hindu and Sikh communities. If independent expeditions were sent under Muslims or European commanders, those were for the collection of tribute from the vassal chiefs, who were reluctant to pay it. *Kampu-i-Mu'ala* was a special unit of Sikh army under Dogra Tej Singh. He was main and responsible authority for the internal and external management of the movable military unit, which comprised of all sections: infantry, cavalry and artillery units of the army.

The procedure followed for the recruitment of the non-Sikhs was the same as applied for the Sikh officials. Loyalty for the state was the main and far most condition for joining the Sikh army either for Sikh and non-Sikh officials. The selection of the recruits was based on the strength and physical appearance and not on caste or religious bases. Predominately, the non-Sikhs were the relatives or were those recommended by the already working individuals under Ranjit Singh. Few references are also on records where non-Sikhs joined Sikh army as high dignitaries on the recommendations of Ranjit Singh's

near and dear ones. Only after the selection of Europeans, terms were imposed upon them because of their non-Indian nationality.

The salaries given to non-Sikhs were in both ways cash and kind. Majority of non-Sikhs were paid cash salary. But to attract the Sikhs in infantry or artillery, initially, they were paid by assigning the land grants because they considered it inferior to get fixed monthly salary. The salaries given to non-Sikhs were according to their designations. The non-Sikh officials received salaries according to their work, capacity and performance in the Sikh army. Only European officials were paid highly by Ranjit Singh.

If we look at the composition of the Sikh army, we find that, the Hindus were in majority. They were: Brahmins, Khattris and Hindustani Hindus, who performed various duties in the Khalsa army. Muslims were known as Poorbias, Gurkhas, besides Afghans of frontier areas (Trans-Indus districts). Europeans of different nationalities were also in the army of Ranjit Singh. In artillery, fifty percent officials belonged to Muslim society. European's strength is also not confirmed, as different historians have given different numbers about their strength in the Sikh army. Among the non-Sikh communities, one community which is totally missing in the Sikh army is of Kashmiris.

The punishments given to non-Sikhs in the army were not of any special type. They were punished according to their offence and not because of their religious affiliation. A number of non-Sikh officials were punished by Ranjit Singh for creating mess or indiscipline in the army. If non-Sikhs were punished by Sikh chief, they were also rewarded by Ranjit Singh. Whenever they did extra ordinary service, they were given promotions and rewards. For leave rule of Sikhs and non-Sikhs, there were no different rules for the resident Sikhs or non-Sikhs soldiers. But the only exception with non-Punjabis was that they were awarded extra number of leaves as compared to Sikh and non-Sikhs, as they required extra time to reach their home and come back.

To justify the role of non-Sikhs and new reformed army by non-Sikh officials, Fauja Singh's statement seems appropriate. According to him, "The traditional battalions were undoubtedly intended by Ranjit Singh against the British and the reformed Sikh army

more than sufficiently justified itself during the first and second Sikh wars”.¹⁹⁷ Ranjit Singh was not lucky enough to see the military skills of his newly trained army during his life time because all the major and important conquests had already been made by his traditional army before the advent of the European officials.

¹⁹⁷ Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 170

CHAPTER - 5

DHARMARTH GRANTS GIVEN TO NON-SIKHS

The tradition of giving revenue free land as grant for earning *dharma* had been an old one in India. In the ancient period, the terms used for such grants were *brahmadeya*, *devdana* and *agrahara*.¹ During the medieval period, it was termed as *auqaf*, *wazifa*, *milk* and *in'am*.² In the medieval period, certain changes came in terminology specifically during the Mughal period and it was called by the name of *suyurghal*. But the appellation, usually employed both in official documents and other records was *madad-i-ma'dsh*, literally meaning 'aid for subsistence'.³ In the period under consideration, it was termed as, *dharmarth* or *madad-i-mash*. The most common terms used for *dharmarth* grants in the orders of the Sikh rulers are *mu'af* and *Waguzar*, i.e. exempt from the payment of land revenue. However, the sole purpose of all the terms remained the same, i.e., grant for religious individuals and institutions. This practice of alienating land revenue to religious individuals and institutions continued under Ranjit Singh. The system of religious grant was not an innovation of Ranjit Singh; his ancestors had also patronized various Sikh and non-Sikh individuals and institutions.⁴ The conferment of *jagirs* by Ranjit Singh was only an extension of the practice of his predecessors.⁵

Ranjit Singh's initial grants to non-Sikhs included a cash payment and other articles of daily use. Later on, he started giving revenue free lands to the non-Sikhs. This assigned land was plough able, sometimes uncultivable land was also granted in

¹The terms *brahmadeya* and *agrahara* grants denote the grant of tax-free land to a learned brahman in perpetuity as a recognition of his learning or religious achievement. Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1984 (reprint, first published in 1978), p.139.

²The land grant made for the maintenance of a religious shrine was called *waqf*. *Auqaf* is plural of *waqf*. The term *wazifa* denotes subsistence allowance in cash. The terms *milk* and *inam* stand for revenue free land grants. Jigar Mohammed, *Revenue Free Land Grants in Mughal India: Awadh Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1658-1765)*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 22, fn.107-10

³Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707)*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999 (reprint, first published in 1963), p. 342.

⁴B.N. Goswamy and J.S.Grewal (tr. & ed.), *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1967, pp. 19 & 24.

⁵J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & ed.), *Early Nineteenth Century Panjab*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2016, p. 5.

concession. Land grants assigned were given in various units and measurement, these units were *ghumaons*, *bighas*, *kanals* and *marlas* etc. Sometimes, the whole village was given to the grantee for the collection of land revenue. Devi Sahai, a Brahmin was given a village worth 500 rupees in Pargana Talwandi in Amritsar in 1811.⁶ In the allotted village, grantee had absolute right on the collection of taxes.

Only individuals associated with religious institutions were not patronized with religious grants, institutions of religious importance were also patronized by Ranjit Singh. The proportion of the patronization could differ but Hindu as well as Muslim institutions enjoyed patronization from the Sikh ruler. The Hindu institutions like Vaishnava establishments and their Thakurdwaras, Shivalas and Shaiva Jogis, Shakti worshippers and Devidwaras were patronized by Ranjit Singh. These institutions were generally patronized with a piece of land and sometimes with the entire village. There are references which give us an idea that Ranjit Singh granted individuals to build institutions on their name.

I

The most important individuals among the non-Sikhs, who were patronized by Ranjit Singh were Brahmins. The earliest example of the grant given to any non-Sikh by Ranjit Singh specifically to a Brahmin was in 1793 and the last grant given to any non-Sikh was recorded in 1839 and it was also to a Brahmin in Rawalpindi.⁷ It is in records that, in 1793, Ranjit Singh gave cash grant of twenty rupees to Brahmin Bhawani Das in Rawalpindi.⁸ In 1811, Brahmin Devi Sahai got a village worth 500 rupees in Amritsar during the lunar eclipse. A number of Brahmins were patronized by Ranjit Singh on various occasions such as Sada Sukh and Jai Karan in Rahon, Bansa Dhar and Kesu in Jalandhar.⁹ In 1823, at Gujranwala, Brahmin named Dhanpat Rai, was given land worth forty rupees.¹⁰ A Brahmin named Raja Ram received a *dharmarth* grant valued rupee 186 per annum from

⁶*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 205.

⁷*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 7 January 1853, No. 241 & 238.

⁸*Ibid*, 7 January 1853, No. 241.

⁹*Ibid*, 31 December 1847, No. 2192.

¹⁰*Foreign/ Political Consultation*, 25 June 1858, Nos. 274-76.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh.¹¹ A Pandit named Wazir Chand received cash grant worth rupees 50 a year from Maharaja Ranjit Singh.¹²



Figure 5.1: Ranjit Singh with Astrologers and Pandits in Darbar

Source: W. G. Archer's *Paintings of the Sikhs*

The main class of Brahmins patronized by Ranjit Singh and other important dignitaries of the *darbar* were the *purohits* of the royal family. Not only a specific *brahmin* but their family members too enjoyed patronization from Ranjit Singh. Pandit Brij Lal, his son Madhusudan and Pandit Radhakishen were patronized with the grant worth 10,000 rupees.¹³ Apart from his family *purohit*, other *pandits*, directly or indirectly associated with Lahore Darbar were also patronized by Ranjit Singh. They were Pandit Raikishen, Sain Das, Gulab Rai, Ramjas, Sukh Nand, and Ram Rattan.¹⁴ In the area of Khangarh, a Brahman named Manak Chand received a grant from Ranjit Singh. Another *brahman* Damodar, son of Ram Dyal received a *dharmarth* grant of 6 *bighas* of land per

¹¹ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 23 August 1850, No. 356.

¹² *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 16 July 1852, Nos. 65-67.

¹³ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 21 February 1851, No.142A; 31 December 1847, No.2206; 21 February 1851, No.218; 31 December 1847, Nos.1855, 2192 & 2267.

¹⁴ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No. 2206; 7 January 1853, No.225; *Khalsa Darbar Records*, Bundle No. 5, Vol. VII, part I, pp. 9, 14 & 93; 31 December 1847, Nos. 1855 & 2192.

annum from Ranjit Singh.¹⁵ Sometimes, one village was given to more than one *purohit*. In 1821, village Jiwanpur was granted to four *purohits*, but later on this village was converted with the village of Aimah.¹⁶

During his life time, a number of Hindu religious institutions were visited by Ranjit Singh, the *pujaris* attached to such institutions were patronized by him. In 1826, Mansa Ram, a Kashmiri Pandit had established his *dhuni*, after his death Ranjit Singh granted the village of Kaleke for his establishment by the way of *kharch-i-dhuni*.¹⁷ In 1836, Ram Dial, a *pujari* of Chintpurni received a village in *dharmarth* worth 100 rupees from Ranjit Singh.¹⁸ Other *pujaris* who were patronized by Ranjit Singh for the performance of *puja* were Brahmin Rup Chand and Mehar Chand for the service they performed for the Sikh ruler at Jawalaji in 1838.¹⁹ On important religious days, *pujaris* were also patronized, for example, on the occasion of solar eclipse, a *pujari* from Jammu was given a land grant in Sialkot worth 425 rupees for the performance of religious rituals.²⁰ Pandit Lal ji was a grantee, who was given a cash grant of 20 rupees for the lighting of religious places in Sialkot.²¹ The Brahmans were also patronized with *dharmarth* grants when an important area was annexed to the Lahore kingdom. For instance, after the conquest of Kashmir in 1820, a *brahman* named Sukh Ram from Lahore was assigned a village at Wazirabad worth 140 rupees in *dharmarth* grant. Sometimes, new grants were assigned to these religious personals in place of their previous grants. Original grant of Brahman Tirkut Sahai was assigned to a Pandit Madusudan and in place of this, he got new *jagir* from Ranjit Singh.²²

Few examples are available, which highlight that sometimes these grantees were granted *dharmarth* grant in a collective way. In 1812, the following Brahmans got a collective grant in Dinanagar. They were Basti, Sahja, Surdas, Thakur Gir, Narain Dutt,

¹⁵*Ibid*, 30 April 1852, No.100; *Foreign/ Political Consultation*, 21 May 1852, No.142.

¹⁶*Foreign /Political Consultation*, 31 December 1847 No. 2192.

¹⁷J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga, (ed. & tr.) *Early-Nineteenth Century Panjab*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2016, p. 7.

¹⁸*Foreign /Political Consultation*, 31 December 1847, No. 2206.

¹⁹*Ibid*, 27 May 1853, Nos.210-213.

²⁰*Ibid*, 8 April 1853, No. 165.

²¹*Ibid*, 19 May 1854, Nos. 184-88.

²²*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 13 August 1852, No.49.

Mangal Misar, Mooti, Sukhanjan, Ram Dial, Narain Datt.²³ Other than land, the items granted in *dharmarth* included wheat flour, oil, ghee, *bajra*, *jowar*, *makki*, wood, corn, rice, sugar, honey, grams, dates and *suji*.²⁴ References of cooked food given in *dharmarth* by Ranjit Singh to non-Sikhs are also on record.²⁵ Occasionally gardens and trees were also given in revenue free grants to deserving non-Sikhs. Raja Ram, a Brahman, held a vineyard in a grant from Ranjit Singh.²⁶ In *dharmarth*, articles of metals were also alienated in grant. During his visit to Purmandal temple at Jammu, Ranjit Singh made offerings of gold to the deity.²⁷ The cows were also given by Ranjit Singh to Brahmins. Ranjit Singh gave five cows and some pictures of gold and silver worth 2,000 rupees, by way of grant, to those who wore the sacred thread.²⁸ Ranjit Singh gave away ten cows in grant along with other articles after the performance of sacred bath at Sri Taran Taran Sahib.²⁹

The interest of Ranjit Singh in Hindu religious institutions is equally evident from the patronage he extended to various Vasishnav institutions and individuals attached to it. Thakurdwaras which were patronized by Ranjit Singh were: Thakurdwara of Baba Lal Das in Dhianpur, Thakurdwara of Mirpur, Thakurdwara at Ramtambol at Sialkot, Thakurdwara of Phulkiwala, Thakurdwara of Saman Buraj, Asthan of Baba Mangir Sanyasi at Jwalaji, Thakurdwara of Sri Tanki Nath and Thakurdwara of Lahar Natahji at Lahore.³⁰ In 1812, at Qasur Baba Harihar received grant of 325 rupees for the establishment of a *thakurdwara*.³¹ Other than these, Vaishnava Mahants of Pindori also received patronization from Ranjit

²³*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, Nos. 205-06

²⁴*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 23 August 1850, Nos. 35 A & 64; 16 April 1852, Nos. 98101; 7 May 1852, Nos.

40-43; 11 June 1852, Nos. 135-137; 8 April 1853, No. 165; 2 January 1857, Nos. 181-83; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 21 February 1851, No. 87 A; 14 November 1851, Nos. 44-47, *The Khalsa Darbar Records*, Bundle-5, Vol. XIV, Part 2, p. 28; *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 23 August 1850, No. 64; 16 April 1852, Nos. 98-101; 11 June 1852, Nos. 135-37; 18 March 1853, No. 155; 8 April 1853, No. 165; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 November 1851, Nos. 51-57; 7 January 1853, No. 238; 27 May 1853, No. 193

²⁵For detail information see, *The Khalsa Darbar Records*, Bundle-5, Vol. XIV, Part I, pp. 35-36

²⁶*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 27 May 1853, No. 211

²⁷J.N. Ganhar, *Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages*, Ganhar Publications, New Delhi, 1976, p. 92

²⁸H.L.O Garret & G.L. Chopra, *Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh*, p. 227.

²⁹For further detail see, *Ibid*, p. 51

³⁰*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 193; Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2004, pp. 108-09; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 208; 27 May 1853, No. 208, 193, 2189 & 193.

³¹*Ibid*, 27 May 1853, No. 19.

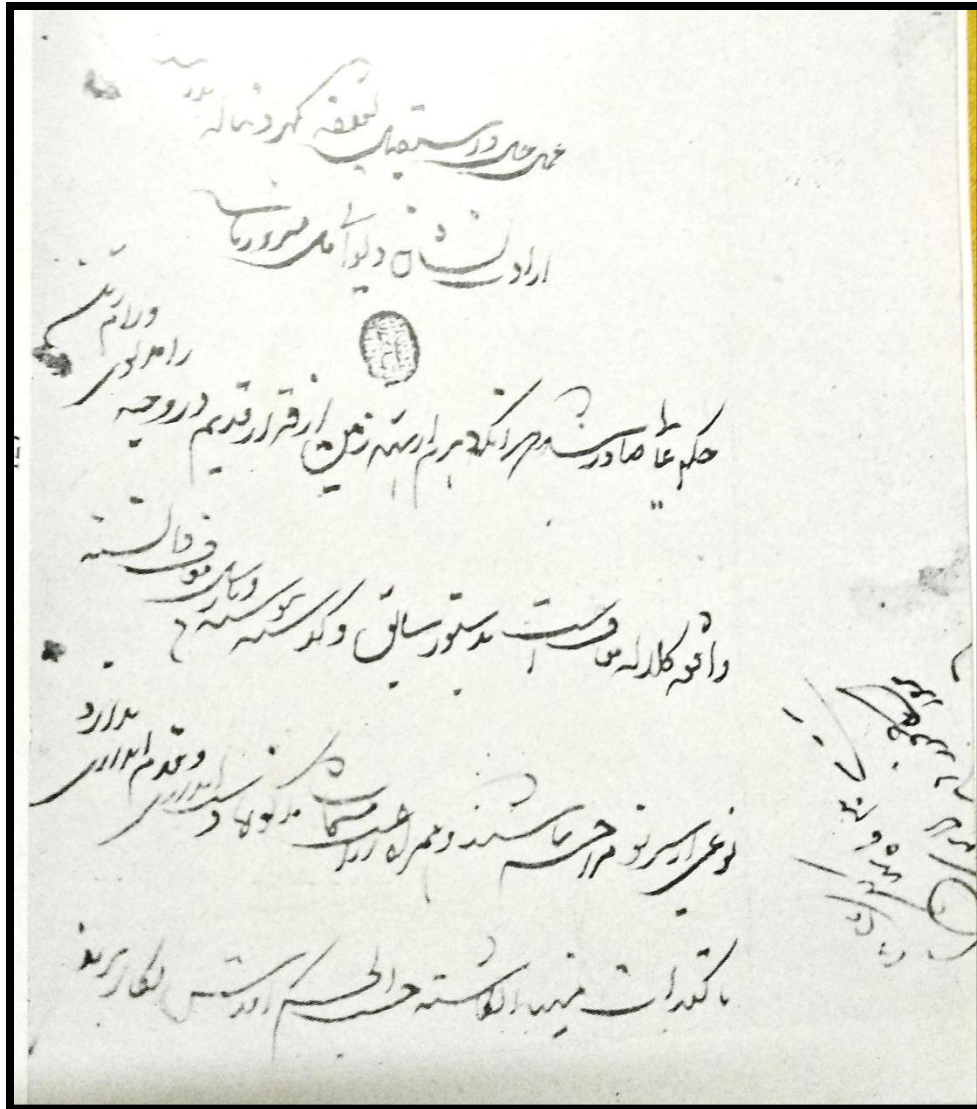


Plate 1: Ranjit Singh's Grant to Vaishnava Mahant

Source: B.N.Goswamy & J.S.Grewal, *The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and The Vaishnavas of Pindori*

Singh. In A.D. 1815, a grant of one hundred and twenty five *ghumaons* of land was granted to Mahant Narotam Das.³² In the year 1816, another *mahant* of Pindori received two *ghumaons* of land in Gurdas Nangal from Ranjit Singh in the way of *dharmarth*

³²B.N. Goswamy, & J.S.Grewal, *Mughal & Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1969, p. 272.

grant.³³ Same year, a *sadhu* named Narotam Das received *dharmarth* of one village named Lahiri from Ranjit Singh.³⁴ In the year 1820, Ranjit Singh confirmed previous grant to two women named Ram Devi and Ram Ratni in the area of Kalala for the maintenance of Pindori establishment.³⁵ Ganesh Das has also mentioned Vaishnava centers which flourished during the early nineteenth century: “these were in Gujrat, Wazirabad, Jallalpur Bhattian, Narowal, Cheema Chattha and in some villages of Bari, Rachna and Sindh Sagar Doabs”.³⁶

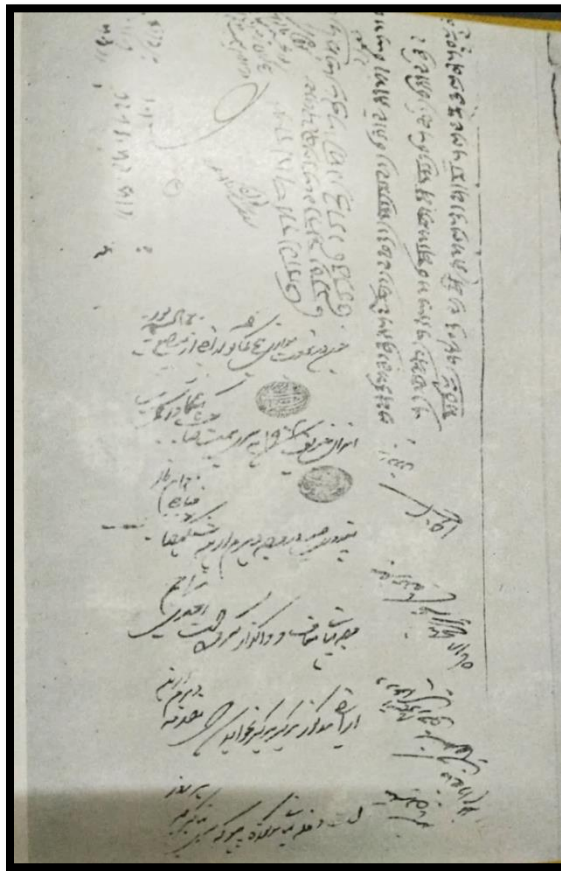


Plate 2: Ranjit Singh’s Grant to Pindori Establishment
 Source: B.N.Goswamy & J.S.Grewal, *The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and The Vaishnavas of Pindori*

³³ *Ibid*, p. 276.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 280.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 302.

³⁶ Ganesh Das, *Char-Bagh-i-Punjab* (Tr. & ed.) under the title, *Early nineteenth Century Punjab* by J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, pp. 161, 168, 218, 252, 254, 258-59, 261, 263-64, 296.

The Bairagi *sadhs* also received revenue free grants from Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Raja Ram, a Bairagi *sadhu* received *dharmarth* grant worth rupee 186 per annum from Maharaja Ranjit Singh.³⁷ Other *bairagi sadhus* who enjoyed revenue free grants from the Sikh ruler were: Kishan Das, Ganga Das, Anant Das, Ram Das, Hira Das, Balram Das, Prem Das, Mulak Das and Bali Das.³⁸ Some other *bairagis* like Harihar, Madho Das, Gobind Das and Bhishen Bhagwan were also patronized by Ranjit Singh.³⁹ In 1812, a Bairagi Sadhu Baba Harihar established a Thakurdwara named after himself at Qasur after receiving grant from Ranjit Singh.⁴⁰

A number of Shaivite Jogis were also patronized by Ranjit Singh. They belonged to different Akharas or branches of Shaivism. At Rawalpindi, Ranjit Singh gave cash grant to a Nath Jogi worth 30 rupees in the year 1798.⁴¹ A Shaivite Jogi named, Sokal Nath was granted a well worth fifty rupees by Ranjit Singh.⁴² In the district of Deena Nagar, a Shavite Jogi Hukam Nath along with his disciple Charhat Singh was granted a village worth 200 rupees in *dharmarth* grant by Ranjit Singh.⁴³ An interesting example of the patronization of Ranjit Singh has come to light in the area of Jhang, where a Jogi Mangal Nath received *dharmarth* grant of 7 wells and 168 *bighas* of land from Ranjit Singh and this donation was enjoyed by his three generations. The successors of Jogi Mangal Nath were Mohan Nath, Amar Nath and Raj Nath respectively.⁴⁴ Ganda Singh, a Shaivite was the recipient of *dharmarth* grant of a well and 11 *ghumanos* of land in the village Thuttee near Nizampur.⁴⁵ A Shaiva Jogi, Sokal Nath received a well from the Sikh ruler.⁴⁶ Another Shaivite *jogi*, who received patronization from Ranjit Singh was Mahan Motigar. He received 1,300 *ghumaons* of land from Ranjit Singh for the maintenance of Shaiva temple

³⁷*Ibid*, 23 August 1850, No. 356.

³⁸Asha Wadhva, *Vaishnava Shakti in Punjab* (M.Phil. dissertation), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, pp. 39-40.

³⁹*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 3 April 1850, No.228; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No. 2206.

⁴⁰*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 193.

⁴¹*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 14 February 1851, no.220.

⁴²*The Khalsa Darbar Records*, Bundle No.5, vol. XIV. Part I, p.175.

⁴³*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 27 May 1853, no. 208, 22.

⁴⁴*Ibid*, 31 March 1854, no. 232.

⁴⁵*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, no. 205, 54-v.

⁴⁶*The Khalsa Darbar Records*, Bundle No. 5, vol. XIV, Part I, p. 157

at Purmandal.⁴⁷ In the district of Jalandhar, a Shaiva Jogi Hoshiar Nath was patronized with the grant worth 600 rupees by the said ruler.⁴⁸ Another area, where the Shaivite Jogi was patronized by Ranjit Singh was at the village of Sahib Khale, where Jogi Ram Nath was given a grant worth 22 rupees.⁴⁹

Many Shaivite institutions also received extensive patronage from Ranjit Singh. At Wazirabad in village Dhunkul, Ranjit Singh confirmed a grant of two wells to Gosains-Shambhu Nath and Mathura Nath of a Shaiva temple.⁵⁰ In 1830, on the bank of the stream called Pilkhu, a temple to Mahadeva was built under Ranjit Singh.⁵¹ A temple dedicated to lord Shiva was built at Achal near Batala at Lahore during the reign of Ranjit Singh.⁵² Sometime, the requirement of opium also became reason for Shaiva temples to obtain revenue free grant from Ranjit Singh. To provide opium to Shaiva temple of Batala, an individual named Rai Kishen from Dinanagar was given a cash grant of 300 rupees by Ranjit Singh.⁵³ A grant given to Shaivite institute at Wazirabad was to Shivala of Mahadeo, Ranjit Singh confirmed cash grant of 12 *annas* per day for a year to Gosain Shambu Nath.⁵⁴ Those who performed worship at Shaiva temple were patronized by Ranjit Singh. Bhola Nath, the worshiper of Shaiva temple was patronized with a grant worth 48 rupees in the *pargana* of Shaikupura in Lahore.⁵⁵ A temple named Katas Shiva temple was another temple patronized with *dharmarth* grant by Ranjit Singh. The *jogis*, and Brahmans of Katas temple received *dharmarth* charity from Ranjit Singh.⁵⁶ A *shivala* was patronized by Ranjit Singh in the *pargana* of Amritsar in the village of Dhand Kasil.⁵⁷ The other branches of Shaivites and Gorkhpanthies were also patronized by Ranjit Singh. The Tilla of Gorakhnath was patronized with land grants by Ranjit Singh.⁵⁸ Ranjit Singh patronized

⁴⁷Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2004, pp. 105-06.

⁴⁸*Ibid*, 31 December 1847, no. 2200, 94-i.

⁴⁹*Ibid*, 7 January 1853, 241.

⁵⁰*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, no.205, 54-iv.

⁵¹J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & ed.), *Early-Nineteenth Century Panjab*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2016, p. 7.

⁵²*Ibid*, p. 8.

⁵³*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 16 April 1852, Nos. 52-58.

⁵⁴*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, no.205, 54-iv.

⁵⁵*Ibid*, 14 November 1851, no.59.

⁵⁶Meera Nagpal, *State Patronage in the Punjab:1750AD-1850AD*, Ph.D. Thesis, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2014, p. 131.

⁵⁷*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No.118.

⁵⁸*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 22 February 1856, No. 191-94.

the Pir of the Tilla of Gorakhnath with a *hookah* made of silver and a *chilam* made of gold.⁵⁹ Other center related to Gorakhpantis was the shrine of Koh Kirana in the area of Jhang. This monastery received revenue free land from Ranjit Singh.⁶⁰ New centers were also built under the said ruler. Ranjit Singh built the Ekling temple at Purmondal.⁶¹

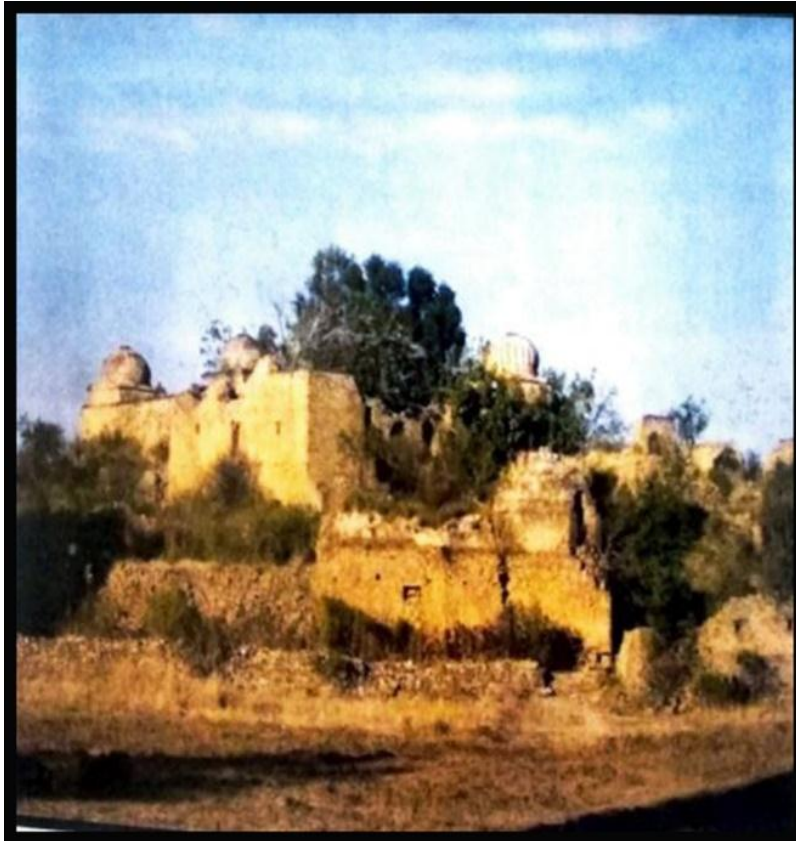


Figure 5.2: Tilla of Gorkhnath

Source: [www. Wikipedia.com](http://www.Wikipedia.com)

Various Nath *jogis* related to different Shaiva centers were patronized by Ranjit Singh. He gave cash grant to a *jogi* named Sham Nath in 1798 in Rawalpindi.⁶² Not only major *jogis*, even their disciples were also patronized by the said ruler. A *jogi* named Hukma Nath and his disciple Chart Nath, who belonged to Akhara of Fakir Bhairo Nath

⁵⁹Krishan Kumar Bali, *Tilla Goraksanath*, Pir Kala Nath Parkashan, Haridwar, 1983, pp. 34-35.

⁶⁰Shen Dhiya Shaivism and Shaktism in Medieval Punjab, Ph.D. Thesis, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2017, p. 73.

⁶¹Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers & Muslim Subjects*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2004, pp. 105-06.

⁶²*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 14 February 1851, no. 220.

received a grant of village 200 rupees in district Deenanagar in 1811.⁶³ Jogi Buseshwar Nath received 30 rupees as cash grant per month from Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁶⁴ In the Jalandhar Doab, Jogi Hoshiar Nath received a grant of 600 rupees from Ranjit Singh in 1832.⁶⁵ In the following year, Ram Nath Jogi received land grant worth 22 rupees from Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the village of Sahib Khale.⁶⁶

Mother goddess was worshiped in various forms in the Punjab. Religious grants were alienated by Ranjit Singh in favor of *shakti* worshipers and temples. Most of these grants were alienated to temples as compared to individuals. In 1825, Ranjit Singh confirmed a grant at Lahore to a temple of Devi.⁶⁷ Devidwara of Mukerian in Hoshiarpur received revenue free grant of a village named Dullowal worth 200 rupees and a cash grant of 100 rupees from Ranjit Singh.⁶⁸ Another grant was given at the same area by Ranjit Singh of equal value to a different Devidwara.⁶⁹

Individuals associated with the *Shakti* temples were also, patronized by Ranjit Singh. In the area of Leia, a person named Jaigopal associated with *devidwara* was granted eighty-five rupees for the maintenance of *devidwara*.⁷⁰ Bhag Miser, a care taker in the temple of Devi at Lahore was given two rupees as daily allowance.⁷¹ The Brahmins and Pandits, who performed religious sacraments at Devi's temples were patronized with spiritual donations by Ranjit Singh. A Brahmin named Kashi Nath from Lahore enjoyed patronization of Ranjit Singh.⁷² A Pandit named Rup Bhagat of a Devidwara in Dinanagar received *dharmarth* grant from the said ruler.⁷³ Two Brahmins Rup Chand and Mehar Chand were granted fixed allowance of a village's share worth 200 rupees for the performance of religious sacrament at the temple of goddess in the Pargana of Amritsar.⁷⁴

⁶³*Ibid*, 27 May 1853, no.208, 22-i.

⁶⁴*Ibid*, 3 April.1850, no.228, 11.

⁶⁵*Ibid*, 31 December 1847, No. 2200.

⁶⁶*Ibid*, 7 January 1853, 241.

⁶⁷*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 3 April 1850, No.228.

⁶⁸*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 19 March 1852, Nos. 37-39

⁶⁹*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 31 December 1847, No. 2206s

⁷⁰*Ibid*, 7 May 1852, Nos. 40-43

⁷¹*Ibid*, 3 April 1850, No. 228

⁷²*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, , 27 May 1853, 211-13

⁷³*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 16 April1852, nos. 52-58

⁷⁴*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, 211-13, no. 12-I, 13-i

II

Ranjit Singh showed great interest in the alienation of *dharmarth* grants to the Muslim individuals and institutions. Some historians claim that during the Sikh period, the Muslims lost their previous glory and pride. The propagators of this idea were the European historians writing on Punjab.⁷⁵ But if look at the record preserved at the National Archives of India, New Delhi of *dharmarth* grants, we find that the Muslim grantees in the territories conquered by Ranjit Singh on the whole did not lose their old concessions.⁷⁶ Various Muslim individuals and institutions enjoyed revenue free concessions from Ranjit Singh. Many new grants were given to Muslims by Ranjit Singh along with the confirmation of the previous grants given by his predecessors.

Individuals belonging to different branches of the Muslim faith were patronized by Ranjit Singh. They were Shaikhs, Sayyids, Chishti saints, Faqirs, Qazis, and Pathans. The first *dharmarth* grant alienated by Ranjit Singh to any Muslim individual was in 1798, the grantee was Shaikh Rahmat Ullah of Gujranwala.⁷⁷ A number of Muslim *fakirs* belonging to different branches enjoyed patronization from Ranjit Singh. These Faqirs were Shaikh Shah, Ghulam Muhammad, Murad Mohiuddin, Faizi Kunawali, Sher Khan and Hafiz Budha. Fakirs were generally paid in the form of cash and these cash alienations varied according to the influence of grantee upon Ranjit Singh. In a very interesting case, a Faqir Baba Kandua got a female attendant name Jwala Devi from the Zenana of Ranjit Singh in the name of *dharmarth* grant. Not only women attendant but along with her, he got grant worth 500 rupees for the maintenance of that lady.⁷⁸

⁷⁵H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Languages Department, Patiala, 1970 (First published in 1834), pp.39-59; Griffin & Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Notes in the Punjab*, Printing Press, Lahore, 1940.

⁷⁶Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 165.

⁷⁷*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 18 March 1853, No. 167.

⁷⁸*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No. 2189

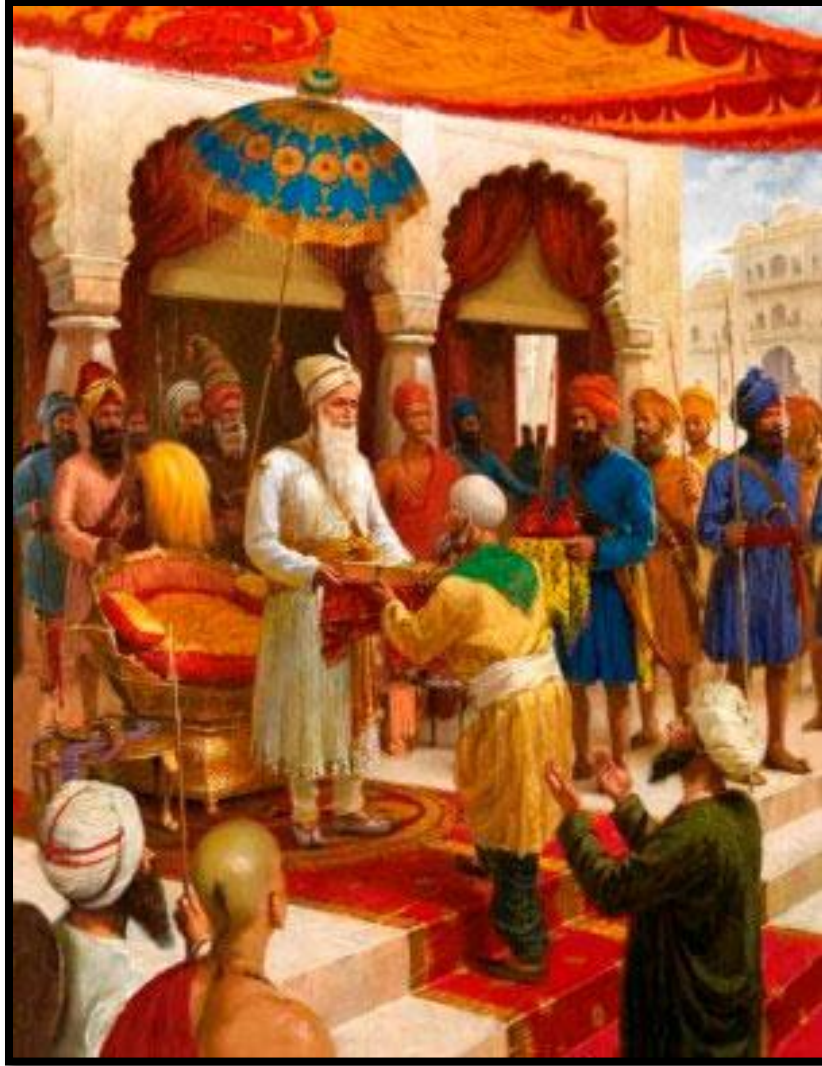


Figure 5.3: Ranjit Singh giving Dharmarth Grant to a Muslim Individual

Source: www.Sikhheritage.com

Sayyids were another branch of Muslims, who attracted the attention of Ranjit Singh. They had great influence upon said ruler and received various kinds of grants from Ranjit Singh. In Khalsa Durbar Records and Foreign Political Proceedings, various grants of *sayyids* are available, who enjoyed patronizations from Ranjit Singh. These Sayyids were Muhammad Ali Shah, Mirza Agha Jan, Sirajuddin, Dariya Khan, Sayyid Rasul Shah etc.⁷⁹ A Sayyid named Nathu Shah enjoyed a charitable grant of half *mauza* of Islampur

⁷⁹*The Khalsa Durbar Records*, Bundle No. 5, Vol. XI, p. 35; *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 23 August 1850, No. 35-A; 18 March 1853, No. 150; 8 April 1853, No. 165; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 November 1851, Nos. 48-50; 7 January 1853, No. 231.

Shakti in Jalandhar *pargana* worth over 300 rupees a year.⁸⁰ At Pakpatan, descendant of Shaikh Farid received a number of new grants along with their earlier *dharmarth* grants.⁸¹ The shrine of Gugera in Pakpatan received *dharmarth* of 3,000 rupees from Ranjit Singh.⁸² While patronizing the *fakirs*, Ranjit Singh instructed his *jagirdars* to respect all grants given to the shrines of *fakirs*. The Chishti saints were the adherents of Sufi *silsila*, they enjoyed revenue free grants from the Sikh ruler. Ahmad Baksh was a *chishti* saint from Lahore, in 1834, Ranjit Singh endowed upon him a grant worth seventy- five rupees.⁸³

Occasionally religious grants were given to those individuals, who facilitated others for their survival. At Shaikhupura, a Dogar Fakir from Khanqah Dogran named Imam Shah was assigned grain for feeding other *faqirs*.⁸⁴ The Sikh ruler also alienated revenue free grants to those institutions which were opened for the welfare of the public. This type of reference came to light, when Ranjit Singh patronized Fakir Aziz-ud-din's hospital with *dharmarth* aid. The hospital opened up by Faqir Nuruddin at Lahore received grant of a village worth 1,200 rupees in Gujrat from Ranjit Singh.⁸⁵ More than this, facilitators of birds also became the grantee of Ranjit Singh. In Dera Gazi Khan, Fakir Angar Baksh received cash grant worth 450 rupees to provide feed to pigeons.⁸⁶

The Qazis were another category of Muslims, who enjoyed religious patronization of Ranjit Singh. They performed diverse religious duties and ceremonies in Muslim society. In 1816, Ranjit Singh patronized a *qazi* named Fakir Muhammad with a grant worth 901 rupees.⁸⁷ Not only the grantees received *dharmarth* grants, their family members and other relatives also received revenue free grants from the Sikh ruler. The sons of Qazi Qutbdin, Ghulam Kadir and Qutub Hakim were patronized with the land grant worth 80 rupees in their ancestral village by Ranjit Singh.⁸⁸

⁸⁰D. L. Dewan, 'Types of Jagirs in Jullundher Doab', in *Punjab History Conference*, 29th Proceeding, Patiala, 1968, pp. 182- 86.

⁸¹*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 28 June 1854, Nos. 204-05

⁸²*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 18 March 1853, No. 155.

⁸³*Ibid*, 3 April 1850, No. 228.

⁸⁴*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 November 1851, Nos. 51-57

⁸⁵*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 22 Nov 1850, No. 117.

⁸⁶*Ibid*, 23 August 1850, Nos. 59-61; Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 165.

⁸⁷*The Khalsa Darbar Records*, Bundle No.5, vol. III, Part I, p.5.

⁸⁸*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 February 1851, No. 19-A

The Muslim individuals who were not directly involved with religious institutions were also patronized by Ranjit Singh. The competitions of reciting Quran were organized in the Sikh court, on specific occasions. Such activities were organized for the Muslims at the Sikh court. The Muslims, who could reproduce the entire Quran from memory were invited to the court to recite the holy Quran, they were paid liberally for it.⁸⁹ Ranjit Singh also patronized the Pathan . In 1818, at Amritsar a Pathan named Sher Khan was patronized with a grant worth 155 rupees by Ranjit Singh.⁹⁰ In 1823, a Majumi named Amir Baksh Rumal received a village in *dharmarth* grant in the Pargana Mukerian.⁹¹ Qureshis also enjoyed revenue free grants from the Sikh ruler. The Qureshi named Ghulam Qadir received a plot in *dharmarth* from Ranjit Singh in the *pargana* of Gujrat in 1835, but later on his concession was exchanged with land in a village of Gandgarh on the request of his son.⁹²

The Muslim institutions too were patronized by Ranjit Singh with *madad-i-mash* such as *dargahs*, *mosques*, tombs and *khanqahs*. These institutions were the main centers of Muslim society. During the eighteenth century, the shrines at Multan had lost most of the valuable *jagirs* which had been assigned for their support. After Maharaja Ranjit Singh had occupied Multan in 1818, he assigned cash allowance of Rs. 3,500 to the shrines.⁹³ A number of Khanqhas received patronization from Ranjit Singh. At Batala, the Khanqah of Sayyid Muhammad Fazil Khan and at Dinanagar Khanqah of Sher Booran enjoyed revenue free grants of Ranjit Singh.⁹⁴ This Khanqah in Dinanagar received three *ghumaons* of land from Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁹⁵ The Shaikhs of the Khanqah of Pir Miitha Tiwana near Wazirabad enjoyed fifteen different concessions, including revenue-free lands, daily

⁸⁹Madvi Yasin, 'Secularism that was Maharaja Ranjit Singh' *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, 37th Session, Patiala, 1978, p. 106.

⁹⁰*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 23 August 1850, No. 35-A

⁹¹*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No.2207

⁹²*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 3 June 1853, No. 119

⁹³Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol-II, p. 85.

⁹⁴*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 21 February 1851, No. 87-B; 14 November 1851, Nos. 51-57

⁹⁵*Ibid*, 28 November 1856, No. 1372-B

allowance in cash, dues from mint, grain from Gujrat, rice from Kashmir and salt from Pind Dadan Khan.⁹⁶

The tombs of important religious individuals enjoyed the patronization of Ranjit Singh. The tomb of Shah Nihal at Lahore was given revenue free grant by Ranjit Singh.⁹⁷ At Dinanagar, a tomb of Badrudin too enjoyed *dharmarth* grant from Ranjit Singh.⁹⁸ Not only new tombs were patronized by Ranjit Singh but the tombs which were patronized by Mughal rulers too enjoyed grants from the Sikh ruler. A tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Shah was provided with forty rupees per month by Ranjit Singh for its repairs. This tomb enjoyed liberal grants from Akbar earlier.⁹⁹

III

Not only Ranjit Singh but the members of his family also gave grants to non-Sikhs. His officials serving at various levels also gave *dharmarth* grants to non-Sikh institutions and individuals. Among the family members of Sikh ruler and his various wives, Mai Nakkain was a great patron of non-Sikh individuals. A number of *purohits* were patronized by this Rani of Ranjit Singh. Purohits who were patronized by Rani Nakkain were Ram Dita, Ram Kishen, Ram Jas, Ram Rattan and Sain Das.¹⁰⁰ Religious grant in cash was also fixed by Rani Nakkain in the area of Shaikhupura to a Brahmin named Kanah Sant, for the treatment of his daughter, who was sick.¹⁰¹ Another wife of Ranjit Singh who patronized Brahmins was Mehtab Kaur, daughter of Sada Kaur. As stated above, among the wives of Ranjit Singh, maximum number of grants to Hindu individuals were confirmed by Rani Nakkain. Vaishnavas followers also enjoyed the patronization of the wives of Ranjit Singh. Rani Nakaian patronized *bairagis* of Shaikhupura with cash grants worth seventy-five rupees. They were Bairagi Sham Sundar, Har Narain and Kin gir.¹⁰² The Hindu *ranis* of Ranjit Singh gave religious grants, when they were going to perform *sati* after Ranjit

⁹⁶*Khalsa Darbar Records*, Bundle 5, Vol. XIII, cited in Indu Banga's *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1987, p.165.

⁹⁷*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 16 April 1852, Nos. 52-58.

⁹⁸*Ibid*, 18 March 1853, No. 155.

⁹⁹*Ibid*, 18 March 1853, No. 155-157.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid*, 7 January 1853, No. 225.

¹⁰¹*Ibid*, 14 November 1851, Nos. 51-57.

¹⁰²*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 14 November 1851, Nos. 51-57; *Ibid*, 27 May 1853, No. 193.

Singh's death. These Ranis were Rajno Kaur, Rani Har Devi and Rani Raj Devi, they gave villages worth 3,300 rupees, 2,000 rupees and 565 rupees respectively in Lahore.¹⁰³ Few references of Mai Nakkain's patronization to Muslims have also come to light. In one instance, Mai Nakkain, gave a cash grant of 20 rupees to Yakin Shah in Shaikhpura for supplying water to travelers.¹⁰⁴

The officials of Ranjit Singh such as *nazims*, *kardars*, *muqaddams*, *chaudharies*, *zamindars*, or even treasurers gave grants to the non-Sikhs.¹⁰⁵ The *nazims* were the main authority after Ranjit Singh to manage his administration in allotted area and these officials alienated religious grants to different sections of the society to maintain their ruler's as well as their own influence on people. The *nazims*, who alienated religious grants to non-Sikh sections of the society, were Hari Singh Nalwa, Khushal Singh, Gulab Singh, Diwan Sawan Mal, Diwan Moti Ram and Shaikh Iman-ud-din. In Gujrat, Diwan Moti Ram assigned a village worth Rs. 500 to Ramji, his family *purohit*.¹⁰⁶ Nazim of Jalandher Doab, Ghulam Mohiuddin, granted a *jagir* worth 400 rupees in 1824 to a Brahmin.¹⁰⁷ Among the *nazims* of Ranjit Singh, major portion of *dharmarth* grants to Hindu and Muslim Individuals and institutions was alienated by Hari Singh Nalwa¹⁰⁸ He was followed by Diwan Sawan Mal.¹⁰⁹ Other than this Ranjit Singh's European *nazims* also alienated religious grants to the Hindu and Muslim individuals and institutions.

¹⁰³*Ibid*, 17 March 1854, Nos. 195-97; 7 January 1853, No. 225.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid*, 14 Nov 1851, Nos. 51-57.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid*, 3 April 1850, No.228; 16 September 1859, Nos.53- 59; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No. 2200; 14 November 1851, Nos.44-47; 7 January 1853, No. 241; 27 May 1853, No. 211.

¹⁰⁶*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 15 October 1852, No. 117.

¹⁰⁷*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 31 December 1847, No. 2200.

¹⁰⁸For further detail of Hari Singh's grants to non-Sikh individual and institutions see *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 18 March 1853, Nos. 176-77; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, Nos. 1851, 2200 & 2206; 21 February 1851, Nos. 142 A & 218 A; 7 January 1853, No. 238, *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 1 January 1853, No. 234, *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 November 1851, Nos.44-47; Meera Nagpal, 'State Patronage by the Rulers of the Punjab to the Muslims, in *Punjab History Conference*, 2011,p. 616.

¹⁰⁹For further information about religious charities of Diwan Sawan Mal, see: *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 18 June, 1852, No. 183; *Foreign/ Political consultations*, 14 November 1851, Nos.51-57; 23 August 1850, Nos. 59-61; 11 October 1849, Nos. 132-134; Meera Nagpal, 'State Patronage by the Rulers of the Punjab to the Muslims', p. 617.

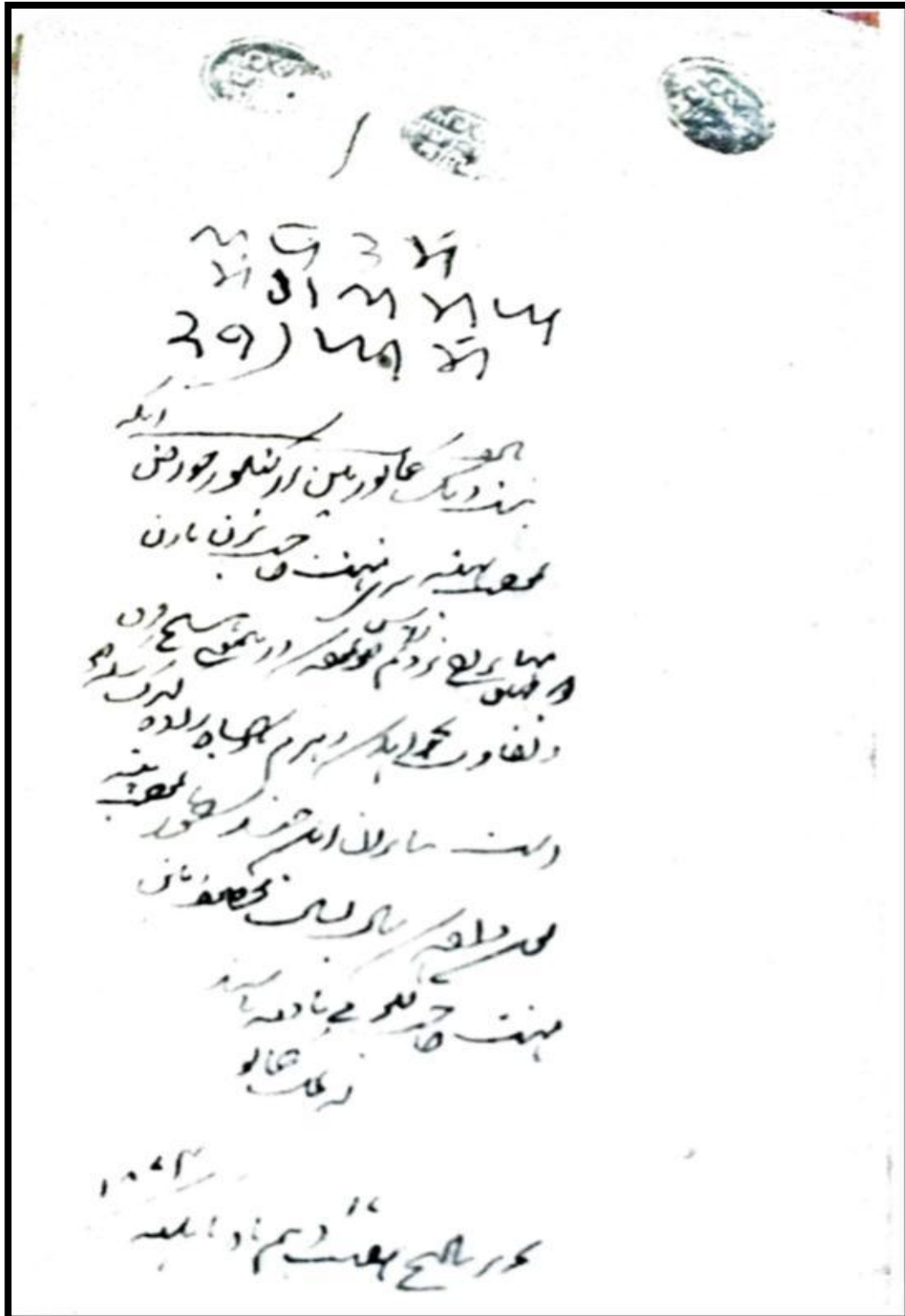


Plate 3: Grant by a Kardar of Ranjit Singh

Source: J.S.Grewal, *Miscellaneous Articles*

Another category of officials who alienated *dharmarth* grants were the *kardars* of Lahore durbar. The *kardars* gave grants to *pandits* and *purohits*.¹¹⁰ In 1815, Nand Singh, a *kardar* of Amritsar patronized Sukha Nand *purohit* with a piece of land worth sixty rupees.¹¹¹ In 1825, the *Kardar* of Gujrat Diwan Devi Sahai gave grant to a *hakim* worth four rupees. As the *Kardar* of Shujabad, Diwan Sawan Mal gave cash grant of fifty- five rupees to Ghulam Mohiuddin.¹¹² Moti Ram, the *kardar* of Ranjit Singh alienated *dharmarth* grant of twenty-two *ghumaons* of land in the *ilaaqa* of Awankh to Pindori Mahant Narotam Das in the year 1814.¹¹³ Miser Amir Chand and Devi Sahai were the *Kardars* of Ranjit Singh, who alienated revenue free grants to a physician Sharfu-ud-din Khan.¹¹⁴ Another category was the Shaiva *jogis* who enjoyed patronization of Kishen Kaur, he alienated cash grants to the *jogis* of Rawalpindi and Dera Ghazi Khan.¹¹⁵ Every section of society either Hindu or Muslim got revenue -free grants from the *kardars* of Ranjit Singh.

Next category of officials to give grants were *muqaddams* of Ranjit Singh. Though they were the village level officials but they also alienated *dharmarth* grants to religious or non-religious sections of the society. In the National Archives of India, we get various examples of religious grants given by this section of officials. Few *muqaddams* who gave religious grants to different sections of society were Maya and Rupa, *muqaddams* of village Rehab in Pargana Talwandi, Gulab, the *muqaddam* of village Khakarke in pargana Talwandi, Gurmukh Singh, the *muqaddam* of village Joura in *pargana* Amritsar, Karam Wazira, the *muqaddam* of village Hapowal in *pargana* Shakargarh, Bakht Mai, the *muqaddam* of village Ludhiana in *pargana* Sewandi and Rattan Singh, the *muqaddam* of village Nangal in *pargana* Talwandi.¹¹⁶ A Qanungo of Ranjit Singh, Shiv Sahai granted land in religious grant worth seven rupees in favor of a temple.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 7 January 1853, No. 225.

¹¹¹*Ibid*, 7 January 1853, No. 225.

¹¹²*Ibid*, 18 March 1853, No. 156.

¹¹³ B.N. Goswamy & J.S.Grewal, *Mughal & Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1969, p.298.

¹¹⁴*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 18 March 1853, No. 150; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 205.

¹¹⁵*Ibid*, 23 August 1850, Nos. 59-61; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 7 January 1853, No.241.

¹¹⁶*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 16 September 1859, Nos. 53-55; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 January 1853, No. 241; 27 May 1853, Nos. 193 & 208.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 8 August 1856, No. 206.

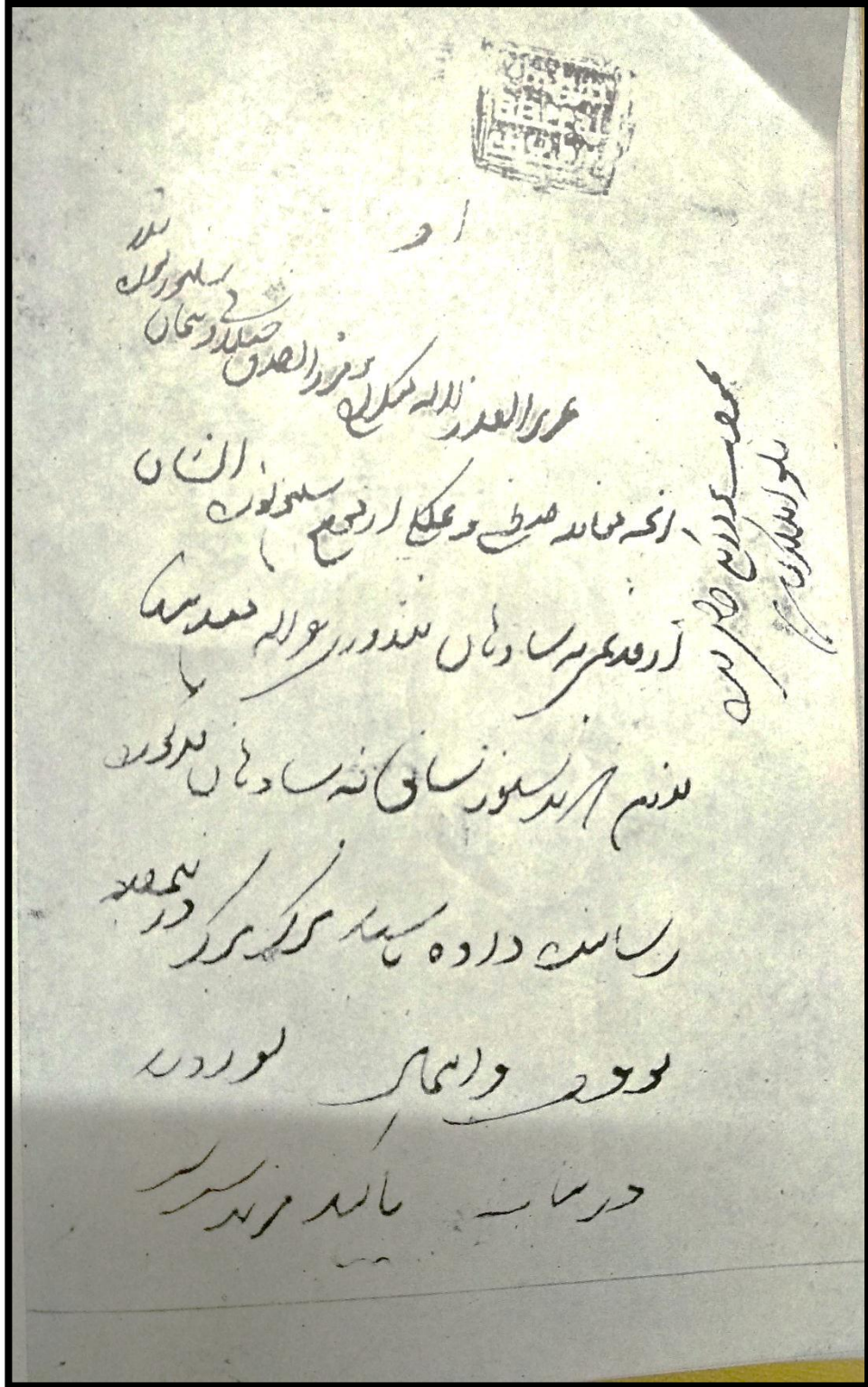


Plate 4: Diwan Moti Ram's Grant to Pindori Establishment

Source: B.N.Goswamy & J.S.Grewal, *The Mughal and the Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*

In Wazirabad, a *muqaddam* named Mahi Mal granted a piece of land to Bairagi Sadhu Bhag Mal.¹¹⁸ In 1808, a *muqaddam* named Raju gave one *ghumaon* and nineteen *marlas* land in *dharmarth* grant to Namdeo Darbar at Batala.¹¹⁹ The *devi* temple named Kali Bhawani received *dharmarth* grant of ten *kanals* of land in *pargana* Batala from Qanungo Shiv Sahai.¹²⁰

The European officers of Ranjit Singh also participated in the alienation of *dharmarth* grants. At Dera Ghazi Khan, Ventura gave cash grant worth 104 rupees to a blind person at Peshawar.¹²¹ Avitabile granted a piece of land worth twelve rupees to Shaikh Usman.¹²² Ventura gave grant of hundred rupees to a *granthi* in Lahore.¹²³ Other than this, general Ventura, gave cash grants to Mulla Aziz and Khuda Bakhsh in Dera Ghazi Khan.¹²⁴ These religious grants were given by the officials from their own resources which they had collected from Ranjit Singh in the form of *inam* or service *jagirs*.

IV

While giving revenue free grants, proper procedure were followed. Ranjit Singh used to address his orders to different officials such as *nazims*, *amils*, *diwans*, *jagirdars*, *chaudharis*, *muqaddams* or even *zamindars*.¹²⁵ These officials were required to implement his orders and see to it that there is no interference of any kind. While alienating the *dharmarth* grants, satisfaction of the grantee was the main concern. The ruler tried to ensure that grantees received what was granted to them, forbidding all interference on the part of the officials, the *chaudharis* or the proprietors.¹²⁶

The occasions for giving grants were several. A number of occasions are on record, when grantee received revenue free grants from Ranjit Singh and others. General occasions when grants were alienated to Sikh or non-Sikh individuals were the birth of a son,

¹¹⁸ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 195.

¹¹⁹ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 31 December 1858, Nos. 1676-1679.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 18 March 1853, No. 159.

¹²¹ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 3 April 1850, Nos. 196-98.

¹²² *Ibid*, 14 February 1851, No. 19 A.

¹²³ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 January 1853, No. 222.

¹²⁴ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 3 April 1850, Nos. 196 -98.

¹²⁵ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 Dec 1847, Nos. 2192, 2200 & 2204; 14 January 1853, Nos. 219 & 235.

¹²⁶ Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 155.

celebrations in family such as marriage. Grants given on the marriage of Kharak Singh to different sections of society by Ranjit Singh are well known.¹²⁷ The marriages of his courtier's children also became an event to obtain revenue free grants from Ranjit Singh. A Brahman, named Prem from Saharnpur got in *dharmarth* grant from Ranjit Singh a village worth 800 rupees on the occasion of Khushal Singh's daughter's marriage.¹²⁸



Figure 5.4: Dusehra Festival at the Court of Lahore

Source: W.G. Archer, *Paintings of the Sikhs*

Annual festive occasions or important religious celebrations such as Baisakhi, Dushehra Ekadsi, Sankrant and Chaitra Chaturdash etc. were important occasions to obtain revenue free grants from Ranjit Singh. He gave religious grant of one village on the occasion of *nirjali ekadsi* to a *granthi* in the *pargana* of Taran Taaran in 1827.¹²⁹ Various individuals got revenue free grants from Sikh ruler on the occasion of a death in family.¹³⁰ Ceremonies after death also became ground for the confirmation of *dharmarth* grants to non- Sikh individuals or institutions. After the immersion of ashes of Ranjit Singh into Ganga river,

¹²⁷*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 7 January 1853, Nos. 219 & 225; 27 May 1853, Nos. 204-206.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, 31 December 1847, No. 1851.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, 10 June 1853, No. 219.

¹³⁰*Foreign/Political Consultation*, 17 October 1851, Nos. 108A- 108 E.

one of his courtiers, Rattan Singh Gadwai alienated revenue free grant of one village worth 2,000 rupees to Magal Das Udasi.¹³¹

Several other occasions also became reasons to give revenue free grants such as Ranjit Singh's visit to a temple, solar or lunar eclipse. A number of individuals got revenue free grants by Ranjit Singh after the conquest of important places. During his Peshawar campaign in 1823, a Mirasi Amir Baksh was given a well in Lahore by Ranjit Singh.¹³² Ranjit Singh gave *dharmarth* grants after the conquests of Qasur, Multan and Kashmir.¹³³ After the capture of Wadni in 1807, a Fakir named Gajjan received a village worth 600 rupees.¹³⁴

The non- Sikh individuals and institutions obtained *dharmarth* grants from the family members of Ranjit Singh. The reasons varied. On the occasion of Baisakhi, Mai Nakaian, wife of Ranjit Singh gave grant of a village worth 250 rupees.¹³⁵ One of the occasions to alienate religious grants was the performance of Sati on the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839. The highest amount on the occurrence of *sati* was given by Ranjit Singh's Sikh wife Rani Mehtab Kaur, who alienated a village worth 3,300 rupees to a family *purohit*.¹³⁶

As a matter of policy, Ranjit Singh confirmed the grants given by his predecessors. The grants given by Akbar and his successors like Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and Muhammad Shah were also confirmed by Ranjit Singh.¹³⁷ The non-Sikh chiefs whose religious grants were reconfirmed by Sikh ruler were Rai Ahmad of Raikot and Qutbuddin of Qasur, the Hindu hill chiefs such as Ranjit Dev of Jammu, Ram Singh of Jaswan, Sansar Chand of Kangra and Devi Chand of Kahlur.¹³⁸ A piece of revenue-free land, worth sixty rupees a year, has been conferred by way of *dharmarth* in the village Marinda by Raja

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 17 October 1851, Nos. 108A- 108 E; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No. 1855; 31 December 1847, No.2200.

¹³² *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 7 January 1853, No. 228.

¹³³ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 14 January, 1849, No. 253-55.

¹³⁴ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 7 January 1853, No. 228.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 27 May 1853, No. 196.

¹³⁶ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 7 January 1853, No. 225.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, 18 March 1853, No. 159; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, Nos. 223-224.

¹³⁸ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, Nos. 1847, 1851, 2192; 2206; 27 May 1853, No. 193; 9 January 1857, No. 216.

Sansar Chand. In 1829, when Kangra came under direct control of Ranjit Singh, the previous grant of Pandit Dikshit was confirmed by Ranjit Singh, he ordered his officials to treat the Dikshit family with respect.¹³⁹ The reconfirmation of religious charities was done only after a detailed inquiry of their prior holdings.

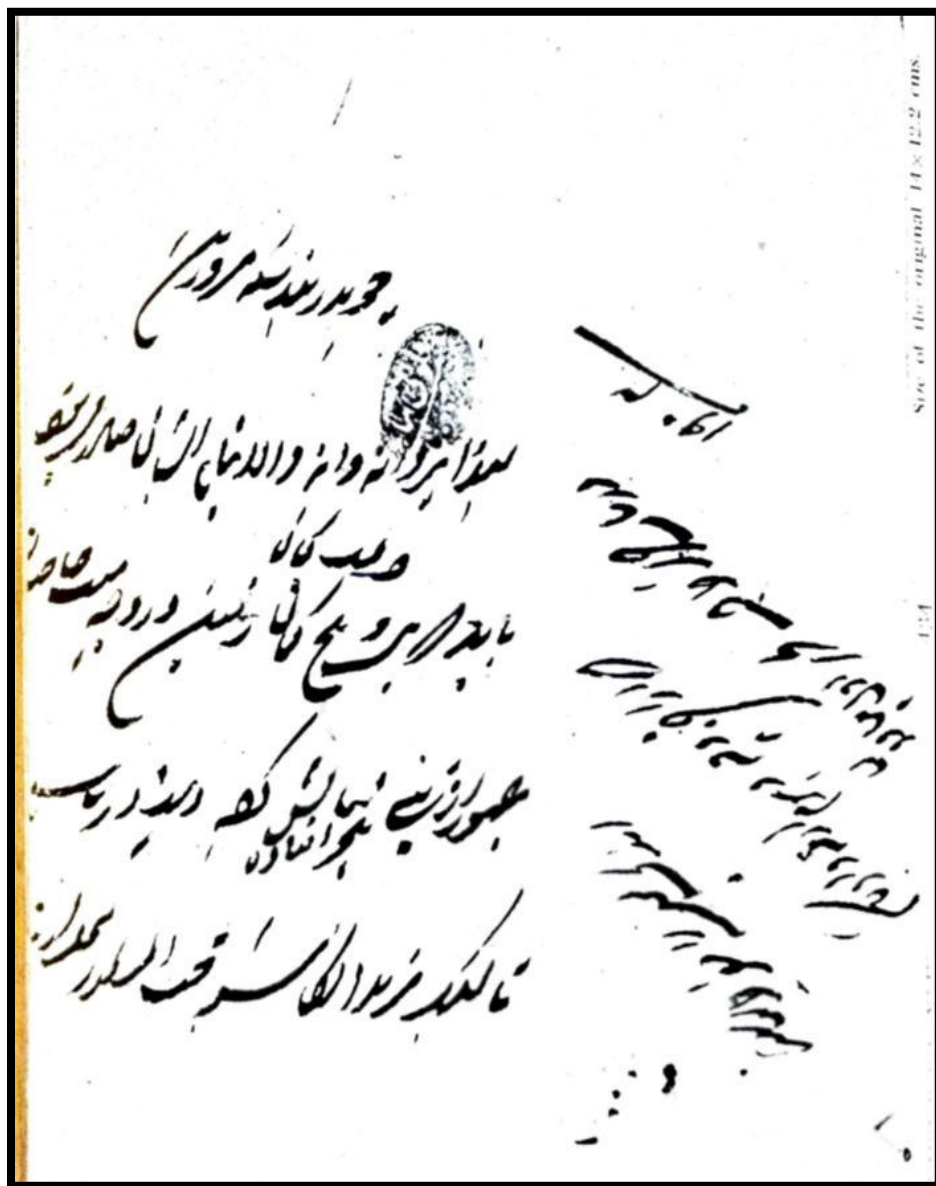


PLATE 5: Ranjit Singh Confirmed the Grant of Kangra Ruler

Source: J.S.Grewal, 'Some Religious Land Grants in Kangra', *Miscellaneous Articles*

¹³⁹J.S.Grewal, 'Some Religious Land Grants in Kangra' in *Miscellaneous Articles*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1974, p. 95-99.

The Dharmarth grants given by the officials of eighteenth century rulers were also confirmed by Ranjit Singh. ‘These officials were *kardars*, *muqaddams* and the *ghurcharas*.¹⁴⁰ ‘The *kardar* of Mai Sada Kaur had given grant to a *thakurdwara* in 1817, this grant was reconfirmed by Ranjit Singh in 1825.¹⁴¹ Maharaja Ranjit Singh confirmed religious grants enjoyed earlier by Pindori *mahants* . In A.D. 1815, a grant of one hundred and twenty five *ghumaous* given to Mahant Narotam Das was confirmed by Ranjit Singh and a village was granted to him in the year following.¹⁴² In A.D. 1820, *amils* of Gharo Batala and the Diwan-*imal* were ordered to treat the land of Ram Devi and Ram Ratani in the village Kalala as revenue –free in accordance with the former practice.¹⁴³ It may be added here that under Ranjit Singh, the Hindu shrines enjoyed more patronage than before.¹⁴⁴ Not only Hindus, the previous grants of Muslims were also continued by Ranjit Singh. A number of Muslim individuals such as *fakirs*, *sayyids*, *pirzadas* and the *tomb of fakirs* were also patronized by Sikh ruler. All old grants enjoyed by the *Sayyids*, the *ulama*, the *qazis* and the *faqirs* in Peshawar were confirmed by Ranjit Singh.¹⁴⁵ More or less the grants given by earlier rulers were reconfirmed by Ranjit Singh and the grantees enjoyed their prior status, but on some grounds few grants were confiscated by the said ruler. A village of Rahon in Jalandhar which was previously held by Brahman Madho Das, was resumed by Ranjit Singh in 1815 and in 1833 it was confirmed to Devi Sahai.¹⁴⁶

A number of factors were responsible for the resumption of *dharmarth* grants. Reason for the resumption was grantee’s death or transfer of the new *jagirdar* in nearby areas. But it must be mentioned here that resumption did not last long and generally the land was restored to the grantees.¹⁴⁷ More or less, every grant previously enjoyed by grantees was continued by Ranjit Singh with the exception of a few. Under Ranjit Singh a

¹⁴⁰*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31, December 1847, No. 2214; 14 January 1853, Nos. 220 & 235; 27 May 1853, Nos. 193, 202 & 205.

¹⁴¹*Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 193.

¹⁴²B.N. Goswamy, & J.S. Grewal, *Mughal & Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1969, p. 31.

¹⁴³*Ibid*, p. 57.

¹⁴⁴Balbinderjeet Kaur, *Dharmarth Grants under Sikh Rule* (M.Phil Dissertation), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2005, p. 53.

¹⁴⁵Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p.165.

¹⁴⁶*Foreign /Political Consultation*, 31 December 1847, No. 2192.

¹⁴⁷Meera Nagpal, *State Patronage in the Punjab 1750 A.D- 1850 A.D* (Ph.D thesis), Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2013, p. 283.

great number of non-Sikh grantees were patronized by royal class and they enjoyed respectful status in society but when Punjab was annexed by British in the changed circumstances, the status of the previous grantees also changed. The grantees to which grants were confirmed were put under certain conditions, for instance, sometimes they were supposed to pay one-fourth of the revenue assigned to them. By the close of the nineteenth century, not only the importance of the institution of *dharmarth* was reduced, but resultantly the socio- economic position of the grantees of the Sikh time was also considerably affected.¹⁴⁸

V

In retrospect, it can be said that in the patronization of non-Sikhs, a large number of grants were given to Hindus. And among Hindus, *brahmans* received maximum grants. Other than the Brahmans, the grants were given to Bairagi Fakirs, Vaishnav Thakurdwaras, Shaivite Jogis, Shakti worshippers and their Devidwaras.

Muslim individuals along with their institutions also enjoyed patronization of Ranjit Singh. Among the Muslims, the Faqirs and Sayyids were the main grantees of *dharmarth*. If we compare the grants of both the communities, than we will see that large number of grants were given to Hindus. The Hindu individuals and institutions got 345 grants from Ranjit Singh worth 87, 418 rupees whereas Muslim grantees received 40 grants worth 11,900 rupees from Ranjit Singh. From the available data, it becomes clear that quantum of grants given to Hindu grantees was greater than the Muslims but, it does not mean that Muslims were not encouraged by the Sikh ruler. Ranjit Singh tried to ensure that they get similar treatment as they had enjoyed during earlier times. That is why, the Muslim grantees received essentially the same treatment from the Sikh ruler as the Hindus or Sikh grantees.

During Ranjit Singh's period, more or less earlier concessions given to the non-Sikhs were confirmed by Ranjit Singh. However, confirmation of their prior concession was awarded, only after the enquiry of previous status of the grantee and his *dharmarth*. In

¹⁴⁸Balbinderjeet Kaur, *Dharmarth Grants under the Sikh Rule* (M.Phil. Dissertation), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2005, p. 55.

some place, occurrence of the confiscation of the grants have also come to light, but these confiscations were not for a longer period and in place of acquired *jagir*, new one was granted to the *dharmarth* holders. There was not a single reason for the alienation of religious charity to non-Sikhs, number of factors were responsible for it, however, prior most motive of Ranjit Singh was his piety. Other than this, Ranjit Singh used the *dharmarth* alienation to take along all sections of society and to consolidate his empire.

CHAPTER - 6

CONCLUSION

The term non-Sikh is used for individuals who had their own religion, rituals, customs, and ceremonies and they did not follow the Sikh religion as propagated by the Sikh gurus and were not bound to follow it. Despite of religious differences, the non-Sikhs were made part and parcel of his administration by Ranjit Singh. In the empire building process of Ranjit Singh, the contribution of non-Sikhs is worth mentioning. They were made part of every sphere of Ranjit Singh rule, which included civil, military and judicial administration of the Sikh state.

Ranjit Singh was one amongst the strongest rulers of Sukerchakia principality. The ancestors of Ranjit Singh Charhat Singh and Mahan Singh had left for him territory in five *doabs* of the Punjab. Ranjit Singh was not satisfied to rule over scattered areas, his desire was to unify all the *doabs* under his authority. Ranjit Singh converted his dream into reality and formed an independent Sikh kingdom in the Punjab. With well systematic civil and military administration, Ranjit Singh established his stronghold on all the Sikh and non-Sikh principalities in the Punjab.

When Ranjit Singh came to power, a number of Sikh and non-Sikh chiefs were ruling over Punjab. The Hindu and Muslim chiefs were independent in their areas and enjoyed autonomous status. The Muslim chiefs were spread in all *doabs* of the Punjab. There were total forty Muslim principalities in the plains and the hills of Punjab. Thirty two of these principalities were located in the plains and eight principalities were positioned in the hills under Muslim Rajput rulers. The Hindu principalities primarily existed in the hills of Punjab under Hindu Rajput Chiefs. There were total twenty nine principalities, which were ruled by Hindu Rajput chiefs, in the hills out of these Hindu principalities, two were located in the plains of the Punjab.

In the subjugation of non-Sikh principalities, suzerain vassal- relationship was always used as standard condition of subjugation policy by Ranjit Singh. Majority of non-Sikh chiefs were first obliged to pay tribute in acknowledgment of his political superiority.

The Hindu and Muslim chiefs were never treated with same provisions of vassalage. The status of the non-Sikh vassals was influenced by the social and economic status before their submission to Ranjit Singh. To expand his empire, Ranjit Singh made maximum use of the institution of vassalage.

Ranjit Singh was not the first ruler of Sukerchakia principality to control other non-Sikh chiefs, a number of non-Sikh chiefs had been obliged by his ancestors Charhat Singh and Mahan Singh to become their vassals. The Chatthas of Rasulnagar were the first non-Sikh rulers, whose territories were annexed by Ranjit Singh. In 1799, Ranjit Singh's major breach was against three Bhangi rulers over the occupation of Lahore; in this war, Ranjit Singh emerged as victorious with the help of prominent non-Sikh residents of Lahore. It was one of the greatest achievements of Ranjit Singh as Lahore was an important and strategic area of Punjab. After the occupation of Lahore, Ranjit Singh targeted other Hindu and Muslim principalities of the Punjab.

First step towards the subjugation of non-Sikh chiefs was taken against those, who were specifically situated around Lahore. They were mainly the Muslim chiefs and these Muslim chiefs were subjugated by Ranjit Singh in two stages. At first stage, the local Muslim chiefs, who were established around Lahore were annexed by Ranjit Singh. Among the five Doabs of the Punjab, majority of Muslim chiefs were in the Sindh Sagar Doab and there were twelve Muslim principalities in this area. These Muslim principalities were Mankera, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Nurpur, Khushab, Pind Dadan Khan, Ahmadabad, Malot, Pindi Gheb, Kot, Rawalpindi and Shamsabad. In fact, this area was completely under the dominance of Muslim chiefs. In the Rachna Doab, there were three Muslim principalities: Jhang, Rasulpur and Pindi Bhattian which were subjugated by Ranjit Singh. In the Bist Jalandhar Doab, there were three Muslim principalities Talwan, Nakodar and Sultanpur. There were eleven Muslim principalities in the Bari Doab. These were Qasur, Bahawalpur, Dipalpur, Kamalia, Qadian, Malka Hans, Pakpattan and Hujra. In the Chaj Doab, Sahiwal was the only Muslim principality to have come under Ranjit Singh's control. Main purpose of Ranjit Singh to annex the closer Muslim principalities first was to build his stronghold over neighboring areas. Other than this, his desire to rule over whole of Punjab and become an independent chief was major factor which influenced

Ranjit Singh's subjugation policy. In the second phase the major Muslim principalities such as Multan, Kashmir, and Peshawar were subjugated by Ranjit Singh. However, the preparation of the annexation of major Muslim principalities was started by Ranjit Singh from the early period of his career.

In the hills, a number of Hindu principalities were subjugated by Ranjit Singh. These were Bhadu, Bhau, Bhoti, Basohli, Bandralta, Chenini, Jammu, Jasrota, Mankot, Riasi, Samba, Datarpur, Guler, Kangra, Kullu, Jaswan, Kutlehr and Nurpur. Two Hindu principalities, Jandiala and Jodhanagri were subjugated in the plains by Ranjit Singh. Hindu chieftains were subverted by Ranjit Singh for economic purpose and also to expand his empire. The process of the subjugation of non-Sikh principalities was initiated by Ranjit Singh in the year 1798 with the subjugation of Muslim Chattha rulers of Rasulnagar and concluded with the occupation of the Hindu territory of Bhoti in 1834.

Ranjit Singh had made it a principle that after the subjugation of non-Sikh principalities, either Hindu or Muslim, *jagirs* be granted for the comfortable living of the ruler. The loyalty of the rulers, after subjugation was main factor that made Ranjit Singh to decide how they would be treated after their submission. The *jagirs* given to subjugated chiefs can be divided into two categories: service and subsistence. The Muslim chiefs, who were recipients of service *jagirs* and were made to render military service to Ranjit Singh were the rulers of Rasulpur, Fateh Jang, Qasur, Hujra Shah Muqim, Dipalpur, Pindi Bhattian, Sahiwal, Attock, Jhang, Nurpur and Qadian. Maximum amount of service *jagir* was given to the chief of Sahiwal worth Rs. 14,400 annually and the maximum military contingent was received from the ruler of Qasur, who was subjected to maintain 100 horsemen for the Lahore Durbar. The Muslim chiefs, who were the recipients of the subsistence *jagirs* from Ranjit Singh were the rulers of Kusak, Mankera, Khushab, Sahiwal, Khari-Khari, Attock, Pharwala, Multan and Pakpatan.

Ranjit Singh was the first Sikh ruler to subvert large number of hill states into his dominion and also having granted *jagirs* for their living. Maximum number of Hindu principalities were conferred with subsistence *jagirs* with the exception of the chiefs of Jammu and Jaswan, who were granted service *jagirs*. The highest amount of service *jagir*

was given to Jammu chiefs, who were created as Rajas with the *jagirdari* of Jammu, Bandralta, Chenini and Kishtwar on the condition of providing 400 horsemen to Lahore Durbar. The chief of Datarpur was reduced to the status of Jagirdar of Lahore Durbar and others were given subsistence *jagirs* by Ranjit Singh. The Rajput chiefs of Guler and Nurpur rejected Ranjit Singh's proposal of subsistence *jagir* for the submission of their territories and fought until the end of their lives. Few hill principalities were given in fief after their subjugation to Dogra chiefs, whom Ranjit Singh created as new Rajas. The fief states of Dogras were Mankot, Bhau, Bhoti, Bandralta, Chenini, and Kishtwar.

Among the non-Sikh chiefs, majority of subsistence *jagirs* were allocated to Hindu rulers, only two principalities Jammu and Jaswan received service *jagirs* from Ranjit Singh. Muslim chiefs, who previously enjoyed great power and resources were given subsistence *jagirs* of less amount for their survival, whereas the less powerful chiefs were made responsible to supply fixed number of horse contingent to Lahore Durbar. After the subjugation of small Muslim chiefs, Ranjit Singh used their resources and on the other hand major Muslim principalities were left with *jagirs* of small value. In the overall subjugation policy, Ranjit Singh never mistreated the chiefs, exceptionally those, who were disloyal to him.

After the annexation of non-Sikh principalities into Sukerchakia principality, it became Ranjit Singh's accountability to accommodate non-Sikh subjects into the administration. After the subjugation of numerous principalities into Lahore state, it became vast and also complicated to administer it. New administrators were employed from the non-Sikh communities. The non-Sikhs employed in the civil administration were *nazims*, *kardars*, *muqqadams* and *chaudharies*. Other than these, non-Sikhs officials were also employed in the diplomatic, finance judicial or even for personal service of Ranjit Singh. These non-Sikh officials belonged to different communities, clans and even different nationalities. They were Brahmins, Khattris, Rajputs, Muslim and even Europeans.

The non-Sikhs were appointed as *nazims* or as the head administrators of the *subas* known as primary units. To manage the administration of Lahore and newly carved units

such as Kangra, Jalandhar Doab, Wazirabad, Jhang, Hazara and Pind Dadan Khan, new administrators were required. Altogether, the administration of Lahore was directly under Ranjit Singh, but few references have come to light that in the need of hour, Ranjit Singh had appointed administrators on his behalf to manage Lahore. The first non-Sikh *nazim* appointed by Ranjit Singh at Lahore was Fakir Aziz-ud-din and later Ventura was deputed on this position. Ranjit Singh never authorized the management of Lahore to any Sikh *nazim*. In the hills, position of *nazim* was deliberately given to Sikh *sardars* like Desa Singh Majithia and his son Lehna Singh Majithia. They enjoyed longest tenure of *nazim* at Kangra. In Jalandhar Doab, the non-Sikhs appointed as *nazims* were Diwan Mohkam Chand, Moti Ram, Kirpa Ram, Fakir Aziz-ud-din, Fakir Nur-ud-din, Miser Rup Lal, Shaikh Mohi-ud-din and Avitabile. One can notice that Muslim and European officials were appointed for civil administration but Ranjit Singh never nominated any Sikh *nazim* for the management of Jalandhar Doab. At Wazirabad, Avitabile was only non-Sikh *nazim* appointed by Ranjit Singh. Jhang, the area of Syal chiefs was first given to Sujan Rai, for the maintenance of law and order, but after some time, it was offered to Diwan Sawan Mal for of administration. At Hazara, a number of *nazims* were appointed by Ranjit Singh. Among all primary units, Hazara was the only area, where maximum number of Sikhs *nazims* were appointed by Ranjit Singh. These Sikh *nazims* were Makkhan Singh, Hari Singh Nalwa, Amar Singh Majithia and the member of royal family Knwar Sher Singh. Khattri Ram Dyal was only non-Sikh *nazim* of Hazara appointed by Ranjit Singh. Pind Dadan Khan was under the supervision of Gulab Singh Dogra. Thus, Lahore and its subdivisions, which were divided into more than a dozen primary units, were primarily under the supervision of non-Sikh *nazims*. New administrative experiments were made at these divisions by appointing new non-Sikh communities such as Muslims and Europeans, for the first time in administration particularly on the post of *nazims*.

Peshawar was divided into primary units such as Peshawar, Bannu, Tank, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan. All these areas were ruled by Muslim chiefs, but Ranjit Singh never nominated any Muslim *nazim* here. At Peshawar, Hari Singh Nalwa, Tej Singh Poorbia and Avitabile were appointed as *nazims*. At Dera Ghazi Khan, Ventura was designated as *nazim* and subsequently, Diwan Sawan Mal was nominated as the principal administrator of Dera Ghazi Khan. Ventura proved here his good administrator skills and

managed Dera Ghazi Khan competently. In Peshawar and its adjoining primary units, each section of non-Sikh community was designated on the position of *nazim* except Muslims. It was kind of a new experiment of Ranjit Singh in the territorial management of the trans-Indus areas.

Multan was other main territory of Ranjit Singh, which came under his control after long period of struggle. After the annexation of Multan, Ranjit Singh gave main responsibility of government to non-Sikh *nazims* of Lahore Durbar. The individuals nominated as *nazims* of Multan were Sukh Dyal, Sham Singh Peshawaria, Hazari Badan, Tulsidhar, Dhian Singh and Diwan Sawan Mal. The last one proved as the ablest governor of Multan.

Kashmir was the *suba* of Lahore state that was conquered by Ranjit Singh as single unit. At all times, Kashmir proved problematic area for Ranjit Singh. Maximum number of non-Sikh *nazims* were appointed in this division and average tenure of these *nazims* was two to three years. At this primary unit, Ranjit Singh never designated any Sikh *nazim* except for Hari Singh Nalwa, who was experienced in the management of problematic areas. The non-Sikh *nazims* of Kashmir were Miser Diwan Chand, Diwan Moti Ram, Diwan Moti Ram (second term), Chunni Lal, Diwan Kirpa Ram (son of Moti Ram), Bhamman Singh, Mihan Singh, Shaikh Ghulam Muhiyuddin and his son Imamuddin.

However, in all the units, Ranjit Singh nominated selected individuals as *nazims*. Religious identity was never matter of concern in the selection of individuals. In few areas, Ranjit Singh appointed only non-Sikh *nazims*, such as in Lahore. In selected units, he was reluctant to position any specific community at the position of *nazim*. For instance, Ranjit Singh never appointed any Muslim *nazim* at Peshawar. In the hills, he very rarely appointed any Hindu *nazim*, though it was Hindus inhabited area. Ranjit Singh very rarely appointed Sikh *nazims* at all *subas* of the state. The administration of units was primarily under the authority of non-Sikh *nazims*. Among the non-Sikh *nazims*, majority belonged to Hindus followed by Muslims and Europeans.

The *pargana* or *ta'alluqas* was under the management of a *kardar*. Number of *parganas* increased under Ranjit Singh and also for the management of newly carved

parganas, new officials were appointed by Ranjit Singh. The newly recruit *kardars* were the family members, particularly, sons and nephews of the officials, who were already in service of Ranjit Singh. For the management of the *ta'alluqas*, Ranjit Singh followed a strategy. The distant or difficult *ta'alluqas* were given to powerful *jagirdars* on the basis of *ijara*. The majority of *jagirdars* belonged to Sikh *sardars*, the number of non-Sikh *jagirdars* was less compared to Sikh *jagirdars*. The local or soft *ta'alluqas* were given to newly recruited *kardars* on fixed amount. These newly recruit *kardars* belonged to non-Sikh section of society. The non-Sikh *kardars* of Lahore Darbar were Abdulla, Bhawani Mal, Fakir Tajjuddin Ansari, Miser Mul Raj, Kishen Kaur, Radha Kishen, Rai Bhandari, Raj Kaur, Kumar Chand, Hakim Rai, Mohhamad, Imam-ud-din, John Holmes, Gulab Singh, Rajrup, Radha Kishen, Devi Dial, Gobind Jas, Ishar Das, Harnam Das, Fateh Rahim, Misar Kaku Mal, Rai Chand, Chaudhari Kanhiya, Jwala Ram, Lala Harditia, Lala Nand Ram, Diwan Jetha Ram, Lala Sukh Dial and Diwan Sham Ram, Dewan Jeta Ram, Lala Sukh Dial, Lala Devi Dyal, Lala Ram Chand, Rattan Chand, Sarbuland Khan, Faiz, Mayya Das, Faqir Shah- din -Ansari, Mayya Das, Lala Jawahar Mal, Miser Ram Krishan and Sukh Raj. They were employed in different *parganas* by Ranjit Singh. The majority of *kardars* belonged to Hindus; however, other non-Sikh communities such as Muslims or even Europeans were also entrusted with the task of governing the *ta'alluqas* or *parganas*. However, their proportion compared to Hindus very less.

Besides *kardars*, other administrators were also entrusted with the task of governing the *ta'alluqas*. They were *qanungo* and *chaudharies*. The *qanungoi* of the different *ta'alluqas* were under the dominance of Khattris, such as Ghais, Badheras, Sobtis, Puris, Sahnis, Nands, Chopras, Tulis, Bedis, Sehgals, Mehtas, Badhawan and Thapars.

Muqqadam was a revenue collector at *mauza'* level. Various non-Sikh officials appointed as *muqqadams* were Raju, Bhaggu, Rupa, Rehab, Gulab, Taula, Bhagu Mohan, Wazira, Bishona, Bhagt Mal, Gurdas Mal, Shah Baz, Wali Dad Khan, Sikander, Fazaldad Khan, Jafar Khan, Khuda Yar Khan, Tek Chand, Shadi Khan, Qadir Baksh Kahlon, Fattu and Ghulam Qadir.

Apart from these administrators, various non-Sikhs were employed in the diplomatic service by Ranjit Singh in the distant areas. They were *vakils* and news agents, who provide political and diplomatic news to Ranjit Singh. The non-Sikh *vakils* of Lahore Darbar were Namdar Khan, Nand Ram, Abdul Nabi Khan, Narain Das, Manak Chand, Karam Chand and Mehar Chand. The news agents of Ranjit Singh were Jai Kiran, Lala Kishan Das, Gang Ram, Abdul Nabbi Khan, Sukh Dyal and Mir Izzat Ullah Khan.

Ranjit Singh's finance department was handled by non-Sikh official namely Bhawani Das, who gave new shape to this department and organized it in systematic way. Other non-Sikh officials associated with the finance department at center were: Miser Basti Ram, Diwan Devi Das, Diwan Kirpa Ram, Ganga Ram, Dina Nath, Shanker Das, Rattan Chand, Ram Dyal, Abdul Karim. The *munshis* of Ranjit Singh were Devi Dass, Abdulla Khan, Anant Rai, Duni Chand Gadwai, Ghulam Muhammad Hussain, Karam Chand, Rup Lal, Sarab Dial, Narain Das and Krishan Das. However, an official named *tahwildar* was also employed by Ranjit Singh in the finance department by Ranjit Singh. The non-Sikh Hindu *tahwildars* of Lahore Durbar were Ajudhia Dass, Amannt Rai, Amrik Rai, Bhagat Ram, Chet Ram Sraf, Dannu Rai, Daya Ram, Dewan Rai, Dial Bhayya, Diwan Bhawani Das, Diwan Devi Das, Diwan Miana, Diwan Narain Das, Diwan Ralia Ram, Gahur Mal, Ganda Mal, Ganga Mal, Ghasita Mal, Gulab Rai, Haji Sarban, Harkishan Das Sahu, Jamaya, Jamna Das, Janku, Jawaya, Kanhiya Lal, Karam Chand, Karam Rai, Kahna, Kishan Chand, Lachmipat, Mathura Das, Mehar Shadi, Mehtab Rai, Miser Prabhdial, Narain Das, Ram Sarban and Ram Kishan. The muslim *tahwildars* were: Abdul Rahman Khan, Abid Khan, Babat Khan, Bakhtawar Khan, Ghamandi Shah, Gul Khan, Hamad Ju, Hayat, Imani, Kamal-ud-din Khan, Khair Ullah Khan, Khazana Shiakh, Malu Khan, Mehar Baksh, Mir Khan, Muhammad Azim Khan, Nura, Rahmat, Sardar Khan, Shahbaz, Waris Khan and Yusuf Ali Khan. The clerical service provided by non-Sikh officials in the finance department was by Amar Chand, Balwant Rai, Gopi Nath, Harbhaj Rai, Janki Das, Khushab Mal, Nand Kishore and Thakur Das.

As we know, under Ranjit Singh, all subjects of the state: Sikh, Hindu, and Muslims were governed by their own respective legal systems. However, non-Sikh's indulgence is equally evidenc in the judicial administration of Ranjit Singh. The non-Sikh

official in the judicial administration was Nizamuddin as the chief *qazi* of Lahore. A Hindu named Kannu was also appointed as the *qazi* of Lahore. Other than *qazis*, various other non-Sikh individuals such as Mohammad Shahpuri and Mufti Sadulla Chishti, Maulvi Muzhur Ali, Nasir-ud-din, Sheo Dial, Sayyid Imam Baksh and Pir Bakhsh were appointed at Lahore for judicial management of Ranjit Singh. Together with Hindus and Muslims, even Europeans were also assigned with the task of judicial administration. General Ventura was appointed as *qazi* of Lahore for sometimes. The *nazims* of different areas also worked as judicial officials of Ranjit Singh. Therefore all the non-Sikh *nazims* such as Avitable, Chunni Lal, Fakir Aziz-ud-din, Fakir Nur-ud-din, Diwan Mohkam Chand, Kirpa Ram, Moti Ram, Miser Rup Lal, Shiakh Mohi-ud-din, Sawan Mal, Ram Dyal, Tej Singh, and Ventura were involved with the administration of justice.

Apart from all these sections of administration, non-Sikhs were also involved in the personal services of Ranjit Singh. They were Purohits, Hakims, Khidmatgars, Farrashes, Barbers and Filbans, they were employed at the court of Ranjit Singh.

To strengthen his state, Ranjit Singh required strong military administration. When he came to power, military organization was not upto his satisfaction to maintain his newly acquired state. There were numerous flaws in his defense system. It was need of time to pay attention towards his defense mechanism. Ranjit Singh turned his defensive organization from old to new system with the help of non-Sikh officials. Like the civil administration, non-Sikh officials in military organization belonged to diverse communities such as Brahmin, Khatris, Punjabi Muslims, Hindustani Hindu and Muslims known as Poorbias, Gurkhas, Afghans of frontier areas (Trans-Indus districts) and Europeans of different nationalities.

Ranjit Singh's military growth with the participation of non-Sikh officials can be divided into five phases. The first phase was the period of 1799-1809, in this phase; Ranjit Singh inherited military strength from his ancestors, which was mainly composed of *ghorcharahs*. The great number of inherited army belonged to Sikh section and they were proud by nature. The *ghorcharahs* considered infantry and artillery as inferior branches and felt insulted to join these sections. In this period, Ranjit Singh introduced new infantry

units which were wholly composed of non-Sikhs like, Poorbias, Rohillas and sepoys, who were deserted from the army of British. During this phase, non-Sikh element was for the first time introduced into the Sikh army. Period of 1809-1821 consisted of second phase of military growth under non-Sikhs. A numbers of battles were fought by him during this phase. For the first time the Gurkha and Rajput soldiers were collaborated into the Khalsa army, after the judging their fighting skills in the battlefield. Other than these, *topkhana* was reorganized under Muslim officer Illahi Baksh. Third phase consisted from 1822 to 1831. Till this time, Ranjit had conquered major areas to his dominion and shifted his attention from conquest to organizational changes. These organizational changes were facilitated with the advent of European officials such as Allard, Ventura, Avitabile and Court in the Khalsa army. These officials introduced western, specifically the French mode of training in the Khalsa army. A number of innovations were accomplished by these officials, which included foundation of French legion, *Fouj-i-khass* and foundry of the guns in the Sikh state. The last and the fifth phase comprised of period from 1832 to 1837. In this phase, Ranjit Singh reorganized the composition of his defense system by introducing his regular army. The designation of general was introduced and number of non-Sikh officials were designated on this post. Other than this, this period witnessed the improvement of weapons by the non-Sikh officials. These five phases well defined the involvement of non-Sikhs in the Khalsa army and their role in the consolidation of the Sikh army.

The regular unit of infantry was raised with the involvement of non-Sikhs belonging to Najibs, Hindu and Muslim Purbias and Telanga communities. In the early years, Sikh element was absolutely missing from the regular units of infantry. However, after 1830, Sikh strata joined in great numbers, because till this time, standered of infantry had been raised by the European officials of Ranjit Singh. During the early period, cavalry was mainly under the Sikh *sardars*. After 1812, indulgence of non-Sikhs is visible in the cavalry, when regular unit of *ghorcharah khass* was formed.

In the *Khalsa Darbar Records*, there are several names of non-Sikh commanders. The Hindu commanders of Ranjit Singh were Mohkam Chand, Miser Diwan Chand, Ram Dayal, Diwan Bhawani Das, Jamadar Khushal Singh Diwan Moti Ram and Ganga Ram.

These were the commanders of Ranjit Singh, who were also involved in the civil administration. Other than these commanders, the non-Sikhs who were recruited in the Khalsa army were Mangal Sain, Rai Sukh, Amir Chand, Anta Gour, Arjun Das, Dhannu, Dip Chand, Diwan Ajodhia Prashad, Diwan Jodh Ram, Duni Chand, Ganga Mal, Gulzari Mall, Harjas Rai, Karam Chand Chahal, Mian Mota, Mian Prithi Singh, Mukand Chand, Phirmar, Raj Narain, Ram Lal, Sen Mal, Sham Sota, Shambu Mal, Shiv Prashad, Thakkar and Zorawar Singh.

The Muslim commanders of Ranjit Singh were Abdul Rahim, Ahmad Khan, Ali Dad Khan, Ali Muhammad Khan, Ali Shah Sayyad, Amir Khan, Bakhtawar Khan, Faiz Baksh, Fateh Khan, Fateh Nasib, Fattu Khan, Hafiz Ahmad Khan, Haider Shah, Husain Khan, Irdad Khan, Jalal-ud-din, Kalu Khan, Khuda Yar Khan, Mirza Baj Khan, Sheikh Basawan, Fateh Ullah Khan, Fateh Nasib, Fazal Dad Khan, Hafiz Baksh, Hafiz Ahmad Khan, Mazhar Ali Khan, Mehar Baksh, Mohammad Baksh, Mohammad Shah, Mubarik Khan, Najaf Khan, Raushan Khan, Shadi Khan, Shaikh Abadullah, Shamsheer Ali, Sheikh Bisawan, Sultan Mahmud Khan, Sheikh Budha and Shadi Khan. They commanded different battalions of Ranjit Singh. Compared to Hindu and Muslim commanders, the strength of European commanders was less in the Khalsa army. They were mainly Allard, Ventura, but others are also on record, who commanded the battalions of Ranjit Singh. They were Alexander, Barlow, Born De Malvis, Cortland, De Courey, De La Font, Delust or Depnis, Dottnwiz, Fort, Heneray Charles Cortland, Heneray Satfford, Henry Joseph De Facieu, John Gold, John Holmes, Stephen Lane and William Leigh. Among all the commanders, Mohkam Chand was one of the greatest commanders of Ranjit Singh. Among various non-Sikh communities, Hindus were prominently involved in the expeditions, particularly Khattri Hindus.

In the army of Ranjit Singh, artillery was the only section which remained under the supervision of non-Sikhs, particularly Muslims, throughout Ranjit Singh's period. The prominent officials of artillery were Ghaus Khan, Mir Mazhar, Ali Khan, Sarhandi Mal etc. After the conquest of important areas and forts, a number of *killadars* were appointed by Ranjit Singh. These non-Sikh *killadars* of Ranjit Singh were Abdul Rahim Khan, Amir Beg Khan, Qadir Baksh Machhi, Sukh Dial and Imam-ud-din. In the army of Ranjit Singh,

the unit called *kampu-i-mu'alla*, a movable unit of Sikh army was under the command of Tej Singh, a Poorbia Brahmin, converted as a Sikh. He was the main in charge of this section after Ranjit Singh.

In the Khalsa army, the procedure of non-Sikh's recruitment was same as was followed for the Sikhs. The selection of the recruits was based on the strength and physical appearance and not any caste or religion. Like the civil administration, the family members and relatives of prominent officials also joined Khalsa army on their recommendations. However, the official had to assure Ranjit Singh for their best services. There were never any terms and conditions imposed on non-Sikhs before their joining the Khalsa army except Europeans. After assessment, the Europeans were given more concessions than Indian soldiers.

There was no special form of punishment for non-Sikhs for their mistakes and disobedience of military rules. Same procedure was followed for punishment as for the Sikh soldiers. If there was any exception visible in the military organization of Ranjit Singh regarding the concerned officials, it was in the leave rule for the recruits. The non-Sikhs belonging to the Punjab had same leave rules like the Sikh soldiers. However, the non-Sikh officials, who were belonged to area other than Punjab, were given extra relaxation in terms of leave rules. They were awarded with extra numbers of day offs as compared to Sikh and non-Sikh recruits of the Punjab.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh possessed a multifaceted personality with cosmopolitan outlook. He was a wide awake and vigilant ruler but a hardened soldier. Because of his inborn qualities, he maintained full influence and control over his courtiers. Maharaja Ranjit Singh endeavored to usher in an open, pluralistic society characterized by the values of secularism, justice, liberty and equality. The early nineteenth century which is the period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors is very significant phase in the history of region. Every account of the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh carries a special mention of his court, courtier, and notable chiefs. These courtiers came from various communities, caste and creeds. The prominent Hindu courtiers belonged to different castes such as

Brahmans, Khatris and Dogras; the Muslims came from among the remnants of Mughal and Pathan nobility, and the Europeans were mostly Christians.

Ranjit Singh not only used the services of non-Sikhs, but he also endorsed non-Sikh communities with religious grants, which were known by different names such as *madad-i-ma'ash*, *dar-wajah-i-ma'ash*, *ardas*, *waguzar*, *bhet*, *sankalp* and *dharmarth*. The sole purpose of all these terms remained the same. The term *dharmarth grant* was commonly used in the Sikh dominion. To alienate *dharmarth* charity to non-Sikhs was not any innovation of Ranjit Singh, a number of independent chiefs of eighteenth century had alienated *dharmarth* grants to non-Sikhs. Other than Ranjit Singh, his family members and important officials also alienated *dharmarth* grants to non-Sikhs. References are in records that sometimes even European officials also alienated *dharmarth* charities to non-Sikhs from their earned price money or from their allowances from Ranjit Singh. The Hindu individuals and institutions patronized by Ranjit Singh were Vaishnava establishment, Thakurdwara, Shaiva Jogis, Shakti Devidwaras and worshippers attached to all these places. The Muslims patronized by Ranjit Singh were the Shaikhs, Sayyids, Chishti saints, Faqirs, Qazis, and Pathans. The earliest example of *dharmarth* charity given to any non-Sikh individual recorded in 1793, belonged to a Hindu Brahmin family. The first example of Muslim individual patronized by Ranjit Singh with religious charity was recorded in the year 1798.

Every article of daily use was granted in religious charity to non-Sikhs. These articles included wheat flour, oil, ghee, *bajra*, *jowar*, *makki*, wood, corn, rice, sugar, honey, grams, dates and *suji*. Initially, non-Sikhs were endorsed with articles of daily use only, but later, they were conferred with land of different measurements and unit such as *ghumaons*, *bighas*, *kanals*, *marlas* and *killa* etc. Sometimes, a whole village was also given to non-Sikhs as revenue free land and they had absolute right for the collection of tax and other services to be enjoyed from the allotted villages. Sometimes individuals were granted land to build institutions by their names.

Among Hindus, Brahmins was that was mainly that majorly patronized by Ranjit Singh. Among Brahmins, Purohits were the favoured grantees of the *dharmarth*. Not only

purohits, their families too received patronization from Ranjit Singh. Sometimes grants were given in collective way to Brahmins. Whenever Ranjit Singh paid visit to any temple, a number of *pujaris* attached to temples were endorsed with religious charities by Ranjit Singh. Whenever any important area was conquered by Ranjit Singh, religious charities were endorsed to Brahmins. Next to Brahmins, Bairagi Sadhs were the other branch of Hindu society that was given charitable grants by Ranjit Singh. Bairagi *sadhs*, who received *dharmarth* grants from Ranjit Singh, were Kishan Das, Ganga Das, Anant Das, Ram Das, Hira Das, Balram Das, Prem Das, Mulak Das, and Bali Das. Dadupanthi Fakirs also received patronization from Ranjit Singh in various forms. Nath *jogis* attached to different *akharas* also received patronization. Besides the *jogis*, their disciples also received patronization from Ranjit Singh. Shaivite *jogis* too received patronization from Ranjit Singh in various centers of Punjab. The Shakti worshipers along with their institutions were patronized by Ranjit Singh. There was not even a single area in Punjab, where non-Sikhs had not received patronization from Ranjit Singh.

Along with individuals, non-Sikh establishments of Hindus were also patronized by Ranjit Singh. A number of Thakurdwaras related to Vaishnava faith were patronized by Ranjit Singh. These were Thakurdwara of Baba Lal Das in Village Dhianpur, Thakurdwara of Mirpur, Thakurdwara at Ramtambol at Sialkot, Thakurdwara of Phulkiwala, Thakurdwara of Saman Buraj, Asthan of Baba Mangir Sanyasi at Jwalaji, Thakurdwara of Sri Tanki Nath and Thakurdwara of Lahar Nathji at Lahore. Various new Vaishnava centers were constructed during Ranjit Singh's period. The new constructed Vaishnava centers were located at Gujrat, Wazirabad, Jallalpur Bhattian, Narowal, Cheema Chattha and in some villages of Bari, Rachna and Sind Sagar Doabs. The Shaivite institutions patronized by Ranjit Singh were: Shaiva temple at Wazirabad, Shaiva temple at Batala, Nizampur Thutte temple at Mirzapur, temple of Shaikhupura in Lahore and Shiava temple of Amritsar. Other branch of Shaivites, named Gorkhpanthies also received patronization from Ranjit Singh. Among all the above Hindu Institutions, Shakti temples of mother goddesses received less patronization compared to other branches of Hindu institutions.

The Muslim individuals and institutions were also patronized by Ranjit Singh. They were *shaikhs*, *Sayyids*, *chishti* saints, *faqirs*, *qazis* and *pathans*. Muslim Faqir named

Shaikh Shah, Ghulam Shah Muhammad, Murad Mohiuddin, Faizi Kunawali, Sher Khan and Hafiz Budha were patronized with *dharmarth* grants by Ranjit Singh. Fakirs were generally patronized with cash and the amount of cash allocated to *faqirs* depended upon the influence of that specific *fakirs* on Ranjit Singh. However, an interesting event is on record that a *fakir* was patronized with female attendant and a fixed cash allowance for her maintenance was allotted by Ranjit Singh in *dharmarth*. The Sayyids were other grantees of Muslim community. Sayyid Fakirs, who received patronization from Ranjit Singh were: Muhammad Ali Shah, Mirza Agha Jan, Sirajuddin, Dariya Khan, Sayyid Rasul Shah, Nathu Shah and descendant of Shaikh Farid at Pakpattan. There are references of alienation of *dharmarth* to Chishti saints and Qazis. Few Muslim individuals were granted religious charities because they had their influence on the Muslim population of Punjab. They were Pathan, and Qureshis.

Besides Muslim individuals, their institutions were also patronized by Ranjit Singh. These institutions were *khanqahas*, *dargahs*, *mosques* and tombs of important individuals. The Khanqah of Sayyid Muhammad Fazil Khan of Batala, Khanqah of Sher Booran at Dinanagar and Khanqah of Pir Mitha Tiwana near Wazirabad enjoyed patronization from Ranjit Singh. Tombs of religious individuals were also patronized with *dharmarth* grants by Ranjit Singh. These tombs were tomb of Shah Nihal at Lahore, tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Shah, tomb of Pir Hazrat Muhammad and tomb of Shaikh Ullah. Every institution, which received favor from society was alienated with *dharmarth* grant by Ranjit Singh.

Dharmarth grants to non-Sikhs were not endorsed by Ranjit Singh only, his wives and administrators imitated him in similar manner. Ranjit Singh's wives such as Rani Nakkain, Mehtab Kaur, Rani Bhasi, Rani Hardevi, Rani Maidu and Rani Debanoo granted religious charities to non-Sikh individuals and institutions. Among all wives, Rani Nakkain was a great patron of non-Sikhs and maximum number of charities given to non-Sikhs were by Rani Nakkain, who herself belonged to a royal family of Nakkais. Hindus were also alienated with religious charity by Rani Nakkain without taking notice of their religious affiliation.

Other than wives, Ranjit Singh's administrators also patronized non-Sikhs with *dharmarth*. These officials were *nazims*, *kardars*, *muqaddams*, *chaudharies*, *zamindars*, or even treasurers of Sikh Durbar. The *nazims*, who alienated religious charities to different sections of the society were Hari Singh Nalwa, Khushal Singh, Gulab Singh, Diwan Sawan Mal, Diwan Moti Ram and Shaikh Iman-ud-din. Among all, Hari Singh Nalwa was a great patron of *dharmarth* to non-Sikhs followed by Diwan Sawan Mall.

There was no significant reason for the endorsement of religious charities to non-Sikhs. Every important day or event either civil or political, became reason for Ranjit Singh or others to give *dharmarth* grants to non-Sikh individuals and institutions. Not only new *dharmarth* grants were allotted to non-Sikhs, but their previous charities, which they had enjoyed for long time, were revived by Ranjit Singh. References are also in records that, sometimes, Ranjit Singh endorsed *dharmarth* grants to non-Sikhs on the inclination and suggestions of influential individuals of his Durbar. These influential individuals were the princes, relatives and other important administrators of his state. Among the non-Sikhs, Hindu individuals and institutions were mainly patronized by Ranjit Singh. It does not mean that Muslims were not encouraged by Ranjit Singh. They also received concessions and relaxations from Ranjit Singh but their proportion compared to Hindus was less.

In retrospect, it can be said that Maharaja Ranjit Singh very systematically and purposefully subjugated the non-Sikh chiefs into his state and used their resources to consolidate his empire. The Sukerchakia chief not only recruited people from various communities but also inspired full confidence in them so that they could serve him with loyalty. However, a large number of individuals and families, who came to serve the kingdom of Lahore with distinction were picked up all fresh and patronized by Ranjit Singh on the basis of their merit and promise to serve. His concept of Khalsa was broad based. In fact, the subjects of Ranjit Singh were drawn from different racial and religious groups and from different regions of his kingdom. The Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims and even Europeans were entrusted with the task of governing different parts of his kingdom.

In the civil and military administration of the state, majority of the administrators belonged to non-Sikh communities. The Hindu and Muslim communities were equal

participants in the administration, but their share was unequal. In spite of their numerical dissimilarities, both communities offered their best services to Ranjit Singh. Not only the services of non-Sikhs were used by Ranjit Singh, but they were also endorsed with religious charities. Dissimilarities are also visible in the patronization of both communities. The Hindus enjoyed maximum number of patronization compared to Muslim individuals and institutions. Overall, the role of non-Sikhs in the Lahore kingdom was as important as Ranjit Singh's own position.

GLOSSARY

Adalati:	a touring justice under Sikh rule.
Akhara:	a place for wrestling or fencing or other sports; also a religious establishment of the Udasis.
Amil:	a revenue collector, interchangeable with <i>kardar</i> as the administrator of <i>ta'alluqa</i> .
Ashraf:	Muslim of high birth; nobles.
Auqaf:	the plural of <i>waqf</i> .
Bagwan:	Gardener, keeper of Gardens.
Bairagi:	a renouncing, a member of the Vaishnava order of ascetics.
Bakshi:	an officer in charge of military accounts.
Begar:	a cess in lieu of unpaid labour.
Bhagat:	a Hindu devotee.
Bhatt:	bards or panegyrists who recited poetry lauding the grandeur of a ruler or the gallantry a warrior, also used as an epithet for a learned <i>brahman</i> .
Bigha:	a measure of land generally considered equal to twenty <i>bis</i> or four <i>kanals</i> .
Brahman:	the first of the four varna of Hindu social order.
Chaharam:	literally, one fourth; the fourth share generally of the produce, and sometimes of the revenues.
Chaudahri:	a local hereditary official authorized to collect land revenue from five to seven villages on behalf of the government; the hereditary leader of a clan; the leader of a caste.
Chishti:	a <i>silsila</i> of Sufi
Dadupanthi:	followers of Dadu who was a disciple of Kabir, his chief monastery, named Dadudwara, is in village Narayan in Jaipur state.
Daftari:	a record keeper; a person working in an office, clerk.
Dal Khalsa:	an adhoc combination of the forces of more than one Sardar for a specific purpose.

Dal:	<i>pulses.</i>
Darbar:	the royal court, hall of audience; the holding of the court.
Darbaris:	courtiers; a regular class of officials under Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
Darogha:	a superintendent or head of any organization.
Deohri:	lofty porches.
Dera:	the camp; a religious establishment.
Devottar:	land granted for the maintenance of the temples of Hindu Gods.
Dharamshala:	a place of worship of the Sikhs, also used for purpose of accommodation.
Dharmarth:	literally by way of religious duty, land revenue alienated in the favour of a religious personage or institutions.
Diwan:	the head of the finance department of a <i>suba</i> ; a finance officer; also an honorific title given to the Hindu nobles who were mostly Khattris.
Diwankhana:	court chamber; audience hall.
Diwankhana:	court chamber; audience hall.
Doshala:	a pair of shawls.
Dussehra:	a Hindu festival enacting the victory of Lord Ram Chander over Rawan also called Vijay Dashmi.
Ekadashi:	eleventh day of the month in the <i>bikrami</i> calendar.
Faqir:	a Muslim mendicant.
Farman:	a royal order.
Farrash:	an attendant upon the flooring; a person in charge of flooring.
Faujdar:	literally, the official who maintained troops for law and order; the administrator of a <i>sarkar</i> under the Mughals; used for the Sikh <i>nazims</i> and <i>pargana</i> officials.
Faujdar:	the officer who maintained troops for law and order.
Filban:	An elephant-keeper, elephant driver, a person in charge of elephants.
Gaddi:	throne.

Gadwai:	a personal attendant on the Maharaja; bearer of a <i>gadwi</i> , a utensil (containing water for washing).
Ghee:	the clarified butter.
Ghumaon:	a measure of land, varying in different parts of the Punjab, consisting of 8 <i>kanals</i> ; also equal to 2 <i>bighas</i> or about an acre.
Ghurcharha:	a traditional horseman in the kingdom of Lahore.
Ghurswari:	horsemanship.
Gumashta:	an assistance or subordinate, generally of a revenue collector.
Guzara:	maintenance; subsistence.
Hajjam:	a barber.
Hakim:	learned and wise; a philosopher; a physician.
Hasil:	the collection, particularly of the revenues from land.
Haveli:	dwelling house.
Holi:	a well-known Hindu festival of colours.
Hundi:	a bill of exchange.
Huzuri:	the royal scribes.
Ilaqa:	an area, generally inhabited by people belonging to the same tribe, and also treated as an administrative subdivision.
Ilaqa:	an area.
In'am:	literally, a reward; an assignment of revenue distinct from <i>jagir</i> and <i>dharmarth</i> , implying the idea of reward.
Iqrarnama:	any bond or contract or written agreement.
Jagir:	an assignment of land revenue in lieu of salary.
Jagirdar:	the holder of a <i>jagir</i> .
Jamadar:	an officer in the army.
Jarib:	the chain of rope for measuring; a unit of length considered equal to 10 <i>karams</i> .
Jat:	the dominant agricultural caste in central Punjab.
Jhallars:	rivulet or water flow.

Jogi:	a renunciant belonging to one or the other of the twelve <i>gorakhnathi</i> orders.
Kambal:	blanket.
Kammedan:	commandant (in French).
Kampoo-i-mualla:	the exalted camp; a term used for the standing army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
Kanal:	a measure of land consisting of 20 <i>marlas</i> and equal to 1/4 of the <i>bigha</i> or 1 / 8th of a <i>ghumaon</i> .
Kardar: an agent;	an official; a revenue collector of a <i>ta'alluqa</i> or a <i>pargana</i> ; <i>kardari</i> ; a cess for the <i>kardar</i> .
Khalsa:	an epithet used for the followers of Guru Gobind Singh, derived from an idea of a direct link between the Sikh and the Guru; also used for an individual Sikh as well as for the collective body.
Khalsaji:	an individual Sikh including the Sikh ruler; an epithet used by the Sikh rulers for themselves in their seals.
Khanqah:	a religious establishment, generally of the sufi recluses.
Kharif:	crops sown in summer and reaped in autumn.
Khattri:	the well-known ethnic group in the Punjab; a caste to which most of the revenue
Khidmat:	service.
Khidmatgar:	a servant; an attendant.
Khilkat:	people who lived in charity.
Khillat:	a dress of honour, containing articles of costume generally numbering three to twenty-one, including even arms or horses, and bestowed by a superior on an inferior as a mark of distinction.
Kiladar:	in charge of <i>qila</i> , a fort.
Kotwal:	perfect of police in a <i>pargana</i> to deal with criminal matters.
Lambardar:	the headman of a village, known as <i>muqaddam</i> in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.
Langar:	kitchen.
Langari:	a person in charge of the kitchen or a <i>langar</i> .

Madad-i-ma'ash:	literally aid for subsistence, given in charity by the rulers.
Mandi:	a market of particular market for any one commodity.
Masjid:	mosque, where Muslims go for prayer.
Maulavi:	a Muslim priest.
Mauza:	a village.
Misr:	title or form of address for Brahman.
Mochi:	a shoe-maker or a cobbler, generally Muslim.
Mohalla:	street.
Mu'af:	exempt, revenue free.
Mu'amla:	matter, affair; revenue.
Mulla:	a Muslim priest and teacher, generally in charge of the mosque in a village, men of learning.
Muqaddam:	a village headmen.
Mutasaddi:	a clerical functionary.
Nahrana:	water tax on water taken from a canal for purpose of irrigation.
Naslan bad naslan:	generation after generation.
Nazar:	a present, an offering specially one from an inferior to a superior or to a holy man; a present.
Nazim:	the governor of a province; an administrator; <i>nizamat</i> : an administrative charge; also governorship of a province or primary division in an empire.
Nazrana:	the tribute paid by a vassal; also, paid by an official on special occasions.
Nihang:	used for akali.
Panch:	a member of the <i>panchayat</i> ; the headman of a village or one of its sub-divisions.
Panda:	a <i>brahman</i> priest, generally with a fixed clientele and conducting worship at places of pilgrimage.
Pandit:	a <i>brahman</i> , whether learned or not.

Pargana:	the administrative sub-division of a <i>sarkar</i> under the Mughals and of a <i>suba</i> under Ranjit Singh, and thus interchangeable with <i>ta'alluqa</i> .
Parwana:	a written order under the seal of a person in power.
Pashmina:	from pashm or shawl, a kind of wool from the Tibetan goat.
Patwari:	village record keeper.
Pir:	saint.
Pirzada:	literally, the son of a saint (pir); used also for a descendant.
Pirzada:	literally, the son of a saint.
Poorbia:	A person from eastern areas.
Pujari:	A person conducted religious ceremonies of the Hindus.
Purohit:	a <i>brahman</i> performing social and religious ceremonies for individual families.
Pusht dar pusht:	generation after generation.
Qanungo:	a hereditary keeper of the revenue records at the <i>pargana</i> or the <i>ta'alluqa</i> level.
Qarar-i-qadim:	established practice.
Qazi:	an official appointed by the government to administer civil and criminal justice according to the Islamic law.
Qureshi:	Qureshi is a famous Arabic lineage; grandfather of Prophet Mohammad who was the headman of this family.
Rababi:	one who plays <i>rabab</i> , a kind of violin with three strings.
Rabi:	the crop sown in September-October and harvested in April.
Raja-i-Rajgan:	raja of rajas.
Rasad:	Daily provisions.
Rozina:	daily allowance or pay.
Sadabart:	a free kitchen that remains open continuously.
Sadh:	a mendicant; renunciant: a religious recluse.
Sadhu:	a saint; a monk; a mendicant; an ascetic.
Sahukar:	a wealthy businessman; also a money lender.

Sal b'sal fasl b'fasl:	literally, year after year, harvest after harvest'; in perpetuity; generally used for the <i>dharmarth</i> grants.
Samadh:	a large or small structure raised on the place of cremation of someone important.
Sammat:	an era; the Bikrami Era.
Sanad:	a royal order of a deed or a grant given by the ruler or the one in authority.
Sankalp:	offering for the fulfillment of a wish.
Sankrant:	first day of each month of the Indian solar calendar, based on the shifting of the sun from one house to another.
Sarai:	a halting or resting place for travellers and caravans with facilities of broading and lodging.
Sardar:	a leader; a Sikh ruler; a title given to a Sikh noble under Ranjit Singh.
Sarkar:	the primary division of a province under the Mughals; one of the forms of address used for Ranjit Singh and the early Sikh rulers.
Sarkar-i-wala:	a form of address used for Maharaja Ranjeet Singh.
Sayurghal:	revenue free land grants.
Sayyids:	a descendant of Prophet Muhammad, especially one of his grandson, Husain, and held venerable by the rulers and people alike.
Ser or seer:	a measure of weight varying in different parts of the Punjab, and for different articles but generally reckoned as 1 /40th of a <i>maund</i> .
Shaikh:	the head of a religious fraternity.
Shaiva jogis:	a renunciant belonging to one or other of the twelve Gorakhnathi orders.
Shivala:	a temple dedicated to Lord Shiva.
Suba:	a province or a primary division of an empire.
Subadar:	the governor of a province, also known as <i>nazim</i> .
Sufi:	a class of Muslim mystics.

Ta'alluqa:	literally, a dependency denoting connection with, or possession of a given area; the term was most commonly used during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century for the administrative unit next to the province, and as such was interchangeable with <i>pargana</i> .
Tahsildar:	a revenue collector; also used occasionally for the <i>kardar</i> under the Sikh rule.
Tahwildar:	An accountant
Takya:	a place of repose or the dwelling place for a <i>faqir</i> .
Tappa:	the sub-division of the <i>ta'alluqa</i> or the <i>pargana</i> , containing a varying number of villages.
Tasbirdar:	picture-maker.
Thakurdwara:	a temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu or one of his incarnations.
Thana:	a garrison stationed usually in a newly conquered territory; a garrison in a fort.
Tirni:	the grazing tax.
Topkhana:	the artillery unit.
Toshakhana:	the royal treasury.
Tuladan:	a ritual of giving alms, in this ritual, the person giving alms is made to sit on one pan of a weighing balance and on the other pan, food-stuff, clothes, metal etc. of equivalent weight are placed. The astrologers hold that the ritual of giving alms in this manner beneficial for removing all obstacles.
Ulama:	plural of 'alim' the learned; on the doctrine of Islamic Law and theology.
Vaishnava:	the worshippers of Lord Vishnu, and in his incarnations Rama and Krishna in particular.
Vakil:	an agent or a deputy; an envoy, also denoted to a high officer or an administrator.
Waguzar:	exempted from payment of revenue.
Waqf:	land grant made for the maintenance of a religious shrine; trust for religious purpose.

Wazifa:	subsistence allowance in cash.
Wazir:	minister
Zamburkhana:	swivel.
Zamindar:	literally, possessor of the land; a peasant proprietor also, the holder of right over a certain share in the produce from land, and as such, also called intermediatry <i>zamindar</i> .
Zila:	used loosely for an administrative unit; used indifferently for a <i>ta'alluqa</i> and its sub-divisions under Sikh rule.

APPENDICES

- A. Non-Sikhs in the Civil Administration.
- B. Non-Sikhs in the Military Administration

A. Tables of Non-Sikh Civil Administrators

Table-1: Nazims of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	SIKHS	HINDUS	MUSLIMS	EUROPEANS
1	Amar Singh Kalan	Badan Hazari	Fakir Aziz-ud-Din	Avitabile
2	Attar Singh Majithia	Bahamma Khatri	Fakir Nur-ud-Din	Ventura
3	Bhim Singh Ardali	Bhishen Das	Shaikh Mohi-ud-Din	-
4	Bhur Singh	Chet Ram	-	-
5	Desa Singh Majithia	Chuni Lal	-	-
6	Jewan Singh	Diwan Daulat Rai	-	-
7	Lehna Singh Majithia	Ganga Bishen	-	-
8	Sher Singh	Lakhi Mal	-	-
9	Hari Singh Nalwa	Mulraj	-	-
10	Makkhan Singh	Rup Lal	-	-
11	Jodh Singh	Sawan Mal	-	-
12	Dhanna Singh Malwai	Sukh Dyal	-	-
13	Attar Singh Kallianwala	Mohkam Chand	-	-
14	-	Moti Ram	-	-
15	-	Kirpa Ram	-	-
16	-	Ram Dyal	-	-

Table-2: Non-Sikh Kardars of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	HINDUS	MUSLIMS	EUROPEANS
1	Bhawani Das	Abdulla	Avitabile
2	Chajju Miser	Faiz	John Holmes
3	Chander Bhan	Fakir Shah din Ansari	Ventura
4	Devi Dial	Fateh Rahim	-
5	Devi Sahai	Gul Begum	-
6	Dhian Singh	Hakim Rai	-
7	Diwan Sham	Imam-ud-din	-
8	Gobind Jas	Mohammad	-
9	Gulab Singh	Sarbuland Khan	-
10	Harditta	Sarbulab Khan	-
11	Harnam Das	Sheikh Ahmad	-
12	Hira Singh	Tajudin Ansari	-
13	Ishar Das	Waris Khan	-
14	Jawahar Mall	-	-
15	Jetha Ram	-	-
16	Kanhiya Lal	-	-
17	Kirpa Ram	-	-
18	Kishan Kaur	-	-
19	Kumar Chand	-	-
20	Lala Devi Dyal	-	-
21	Lala Ram Chand	-	-

22	Lala Sukh Dial	-	-
23	Mayya Das	-	-
25	Miser Beli Ram	-	-
26	Miser Kaku	-	-
27	Mul Raj	-	-
28	Radha Krishan	-	-
29	Rai Bhandari	-	-
30	Rai Chand	-	-
31	Raj Kaur	-	-
32	Rajrup	-	-
33	Rattan Chand	-	-
34	Sawan Mal	-	-
35	Sukh Raj	-	-

Table-3 : Non-Sikhs Judicial Administrators of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Hindus	Muslims	Europeans
1	Kanu	Nizamuddin	Ventura
2	Sheo Dial	Mohammad Shahpuri	Avitablie
3	Bahadur Chand	Sadulla Chishti	-
4	Sham Das	Muzhur Ali	-
5	Sujan Rai	Nasir-ud-din	-
6	Ajodhia Prashad	Sayyid Imam Baksh	-
7	Kaura Mal	Pir Baksh	-
8	Basant Rai	-	-
10	Khushal Mal	-	-

Table-4: Non-Sikh Toshakhania of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Faqiriya
2	Jassa Mal
3	Waris Khan
4	Tulsi Ram
5	Yusuf Ali Khan

Table-5: Non- Sikh Sarrafs of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Parma Nand
2	Kaniya Lal
7	Rama Nand Sahu
3	Duni Chand
4	Devi Sahai
5	Danu Mal
6	Chet Ram

Table-6: Tahwildars or Accountant of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	HINDUS	MUSLIMS	SIKHS
1	Ajudhia Dass	Abdul Rahman Khan	Amir Singh
2	Amnant Rai	Abid Khan	Bachan Singh
3	Amrik Rai	Ali Dad Khan	Badan Singh
4	Badan Singh Bhayya	Babat Khan	Chandan Singh
5	Balak Ram	Bakhtawar Khan	Diwan Singh
6	Bhagat Ram	Ghamandi Shah	Ganda Singh
7	Chet Ram Sraf	Gul Khan	Gulab Singh
8	Dannu Rai	Hamad Ju	Gurbaksh Singh
9	Daya Ram	Hayat	Gurdit Singh
10	Devi Sahai	Imani Kotwal	Himmat Singh
11	Dewan Rai	Kamal-ud-din Khan	Hira Singh
12	Dial Bhayya	Khair Ullah Khan	Hukma Singh
13	Diwan Bhawani Das	Khazana Shiakh	Ishwar Singh
14	Diwan Devi Das	Malu Khan	Joddh Singh
15	Diwan Miana	Mehar Baksh	Karam Singh
16	Diwan Mohkam Chand	Mir Khan	Lachman Singh
17	Diwan Narain Das	Misri Khan	Mahan Singh
18	Diwan Ralia Ram	Muhammad Azim Khan	Mohar Singh
19	Gahur Mal	Nur Mohammad	Mohri Singh
20	Ganda Mal	Nura	Niddhan Singh
21	Godar Mal	Qade Khan	Nihal Singh

22	Ganga Mal	Rahmat	Pyara Singh
23	Ghasita Mal	Sardar Khan	Raju Singh
24	Gulab Rai	Sayyad Ahmad Khan	Ram Singh
25	Haji Sarban	Shadi Khan	Ram Singh Gadwai
26	Harkishan Das Sahu	Shahbaz	Ratan Singh
27	Harkishan Das	Waris Khan	Sahaj Singh
28	Jamaya	Yusuf Ali Khan	Sukha Singh
29	Jamna Das	-	Sukkha Singh
30	Janku	-	Wir Singh
31	Jawaya	-	-
32	Kanhiya Lal	-	-
33	Karam Chand	-	-
34	Karam Rai	-	-
35	Kahna	-	-
36	Kirpa Ram	-	-
37	Kishan Chand	-	-
38	Lachmipat	-	-
39	Mansa Ram	-	-
40	Mathura Das	-	-
41	Mayya Das	-	-
42	Mehar Shadi	-	-
43	Mehtab Rai	-	-
45	Miser Basti Ram	-	-

46	Miser Kakku	-	-
47	Miser Prabhdial	-	-
48	Miser Rattan Chand	-	-
49	Mul Raj	-	-
50	Narain Das	-	-
51	Narsing Das	-	-
52	Parmanand	-	-
53	Prabh Dhyal	-	-
54	Ralia Ram	-	-
55	Ruli Chand	-	-
56	Ram Chand	-	-
57	Ram Kishan	-	-
58	Ram Sahai	-	-
59	Rama Nand	-	-
60	Rama Sahu	-	-
61	Ramji Mal	-	-
62	Ranjit Rai	-	-
63	Ratan Chand	-	-
64	Ruchi Ram	-	-
65	Rup Chand	-	-
66	Rup Lal	-	-
67	Rura Mal	-	-
68	Sarb Dial	-	-

69	Sardha Ram	-	-
70	Sham Das	-	-
71	Sukh Dial	-	-
72	Sukh Raj	-	-
73	Tara Chand	-	-
74	Uttam Chand	-	-

Table-7 : Non-Sikh Munshis of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Abdulla Khan
2	Anant Rai
3	Duni Chand Gadwai
4	Ghulam Muhammad Hussain
5	Karam Chand
6	Rup Lal
7	Sarab Dial

Table-8: Non-Sikh News-Agents of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Des Raj
2	Dhannu
3	Duni Chand
4	Ganga Ram
5	Gulab Rai
6	Hukma
7	Izzat Ullah Khan
8	Jai Karan Das
9	Jassa Pathania
10	Paras Ram
11	Sulakhan

Table-9: Non-Sikhs Vakils of Ranjit Singh

Sr. No.	Name of Officials
1.	Bahadur Chand
2.	Damodar Mal
3.	Duni Chand
4.	Gobind Jas
5.	Jamuna Das
6.	Manak Chand
7.	Namadr Khan
8.	Nanak Chand
9.	Narain Das

Table-10:Non-Sikh Mutassadis* of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Amar Chand
2	Harbaj Rai
3	Khushab Mal
4	Thakur Das

* Mutasaddi: a clerical functionary of Ranjit Singh.

Table-11: Non-Sikh Hakkims of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Aziz-ud-din Khan
2	Immamudin Ansari
3	Martin Honighburgher
4	Mohy-ud-din-Khan,
5	Muhammad Ashraf Khan
6	Sharfu-ud-din Khan

Table-12: Non-Sikh Filbans* of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Abdus Khan
2	Baghat Ram
3	Jhanda Bhayyia
4	Kamman

***Filban:** An elephant keeper of Ranjit Singh

Table-13: Non-Sikh Khidmatgars of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Balad Khan
2	Bela Ram
3	Bhagat Ram
4	Dewa Chand
5	Dhanni Sahae
6	Ghamandi Shah
7	Kishan Ram
8	Lahna
9	Maggu
10	Manna Ram
11	Mast Baksh
12	Mehar Shadi
13	Ram Chand
14	Raman
15	Sadhu Ram
16	Sham Khattri
17	Sobba

Table-15: Non-Sikh Farrash* of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Ashraf
2	Chuni Lal
3	Dyal Das
4	Gulab
5	Har Sahai
6	Ilahi Baksh Mattianwala
7	Iman Shah Moharwala
8	Jalal
9	Jiwan Bhayya
10	Kallu
11	Murad Baksh
12	Ruldu
13	Sardha Ram
14	Sham Das
15	Soba
16	Tara Chand

* Farrash: a person in charge of royal tents and flooring.

Table-16: Non-Sikh Hajjams of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Chamuna
2	Chanda
3	Sattar
4	Shaiku

Table-17: Non-Sikh Langris of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Chet Ram
2	Cheta Khudpuria
3	Bal Ram
4	Bhagat Lal

B. Tables of Non-Sikh Military Administrators

Table-18: Non-Sikh Commanders of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	SIKHS	HINDU	MUSLIMS	EUROPEANS
1	Ala Singh Panjhatha	Amir Chand	Abdul Rahim	Alexander Alias
2	Alam Singh	Anta Gour	Abdul Rahim	Alvarineovr Allard
3	Alm Singh	Arjan Das	Abdul Rahman Khan	Barlow
4	Amir Singh	Dhannu	Abdul Ramim	Born De Malvis
5	Amir Singh Bhikhi	Dhonkal Singh	Ahmad Khan Gheba	Cortland
6	Amir Singh Chinna	Dip Chand	Ali Dad Khan	De Courey
7	Amir Singh Uthianwala	Diwan	Ali Muhammad Khan	De La Font
8	Amrik Singh Sodhi	Diwan Ajodhia Prashad	Ali Shah Sayyad	Delust Or Depnis
9	Arjan Singh Nalwa	Diwan Chand	Amir Khan	Dottnwiz
10	Arjan Singh Rangarnaglia	Diwan Din Das	Aziz Khan	Fort
11	Atar Singh Shaikupuria	Diwan Jodh Ram	Aziz Khan Sayyid	Gomes Allard
12	Attar Singh Attari	Diwan Sawan Mal	Bakhtawar Khan	Heneray Charles Cortland
13	Attar Singh Gurlaish	Duni Chand	Faiz Baksh	Henery Sattford
14	Attar Singh Rosa	Ganga Mal	Faiz Ali	Henery Steinbach
15	Balkhand Singh	Gulzari Mall	Faiz Baksh	Henry Joseph De Facieu
16	Bhag Singh Virk	Harjas Rai	Fateh Khan	John Gold

17	Bhai Bir Singh	Jawahar Mal Mistri	Fateh Khan	John Holmes
18	Bishan Singh	Karam Chand Chahl	Fateh Nasib	Mussa
19	Budh Singh	Maya Ram	Fateh Ullah-Khan	Stephen Lane
20	Chanda Singh Kalianwala	Mian Mota	Fattu Khan	William Leigh
21	Charat Singh	Mian Prithi Singh	Fazal Dad Khan	-
22	Charat Singh Sindhu	Miser Lal Singh	Ghulam Mohiyuddin	-
23	Chattar Singh Attari	Mukand Chand	Hafiz Ahmad Khan	-
24	Chet Singh Kalianwala	Mukand Chand	Haqim Ali	-
25	Chet Singh Padhania	Mulraj	Hayder Shah	-
26	Dal Singh	Phirmar	Husian Khan	-
27	Dal Singh Kalal	Raj Narain	Ibadullah	-
28	Dal Singh Mari	Raja Gulab Singh	Illahi Baksh	-
29	Dal Singh Naherna	Raja Hirasingsh	Imam Saha Sayyid	-
30	Dalel Singh	Ram Dyal	Irdad Khan	-
31	Deodar Singh	Ram Lal	Jahan Ali	-
32	Desa Singh Majithia	Sen Mal	Jalal-Ud-Din	-
33	Deva Singh	Sham Sota	Jllal Khan Bhatti	-
34	Deva Singh Shergil	Shambu Mal	Kalu Khan	-

35	Deva Singh Uthianwala	Shiv Prashad	Kamal-Ud-Din Khan	-
36	Dewa Singh	Suchet Singh	Karam Ali	-
37	Diwan Singh Kalal	Thakkar	Khair-Ullah Khan	-
38	Fateh Singh Ahluwalia	Zorawar Singh	Khuda Baksh	-
39	Fateh Singh Chahal	-	Khuda Yar Khan	-
40	Fateh Singh Gill	-	Mahmud Shah	-
41	Fateh Singh Maan	-	Mazar Ali Beg	-
42	Fateh Singh Sidhu	-	Mazhar AliKhan	-
43	Faujdar Singh Pagtha	-	Mehar Baksh	-
44	Gajja Singh	-	Mir Khan	-
45	Ganda Singh	-	Mirza Baj Khan	-
46	Ganda Singh Mattu	-	Mirza Raushan Beg	-
47	Ganda Singh Sidhu	-	Misar Khan	-
48	Garoja Singh	-	Mohammad Baksh	-
49	Garoja Singh	-	Mohammad Asim Khan	-
50	Giyani Singh	-	Mohammad Khan Badozai	-
51	Gujar Singh Majithia	-	Mohammad Salih	-
52	Gujjar Singh Majitha	-	Mohammad Shah	-

53	Gujjar Singh Panjhatha	-	Mohammad Slaih	-
54	Gulab Singh Aimanwala	-	Mubarik Khan	-
55	Gulab Singh Pahuwindia	-	Muhammad Shah	-
56	Gurbaksh Singh	-	Najaf Khan	-
57	Gurbaksh Singh Chachhi	-	Paidu Khan	-
58	Gurdit Singh	-	Pir Baksh	-
59	Gurdit Singh Kapur	-	Qadir Baksh	-
60	Gurdit Singh Mattu	-	Qadir Baksh	-
61	Gurdit Singh Randhawa	-	Qadir Dad Khan	-
62	Gurmukh Singh Lamba	-	Qadir Khan	-
63	Haryar Singh	-	Qasurian	-
64	Himmat Singh Jallewalia	-	Raushan Khan	-
65	Hukma Singh Chimni	-	Sadiq Mohhammad Khan	-
66	Hukma Singh Chinnah	-	Sayyid Imam Shah	-
67	Ishar Singh Sindhu	-	Shadi Khan	-
68	Jagat Singh Atari	-	Shah Nawaz	-
69	Jai Singh Atari	-	Shaikh Ibadullah	-
70	Jai Singh Randhawa	-	Shamsher Ali	-

71	Jaimal Singh	-	Sheikh Bisawn	-
72	Jaimal Singh Akali	-	Sheikh Abdulah	-
73	Jaimal Singh Randhawa	-	Shmas-Ud-Khan	-
74	Jaswant Singh Mokhal	-	Sultan Mahmud Khan	-
75	Jawal Singh Panjhatha	-	Yahan Khan	-
76	Jawal Singh Padhania	-	Sheikh Budha	-
77	Jhanda Singh	-	Shadi Khan	-
78	Jit Singh Naushera	-	Nasir-ud-Daula	-
79	Jodh Singh Mokhal	-	-	-
80	Jodh Singh Virk	-	-	-
81	Jodh Singh Waraich	-	-	-
82	Jowahir Singh Randhwa	-	-	-
83	Jwala Singh Wadalia	-	-	-
84	Jwand Singh Mokhal	-	-	-
85	Kahan Singh Majithia	-	-	-
86	Kahan Singh Naushera	-	-	-
87	Kahan Singh Rosa	-	-	-
88	Kahan Singh Sidhu	-	-	-

89	Kahan Singh Uthianwala	-	-	-
90	Kapur Singh Nakai	-	-	-
91	Kharak Singh	-	-	-
92	Kishan Singh Sidhu	-	-	-
93	Lachman Singh	-	-	-
94	Lakha Singh Thethar	-	-	-
95	Lakha Singh Kanahiyar	-	-	-
96	Lal Singh Bath	-	-	-
97	Lal Singh Sidhu	-	-	-
98	Lehna Singh Majithia	-	-	-
99	Magal Singh Dhillon	-	-	-
100	Man Singh	-	-	-
101	Mangal Singh Kamla	-	-	-
102	Mehar Singh	-	-	-
103	Mehar Singh Chacchi	-	-	-
104	Mehar Singh Chhina	-	-	-
105	Mehtab Singh	-	-	-
106	Mehtab Singh	-	-	-

107	Mehtab Singh	-	-	-
108	Mehtab Singh Kalal	-	-	-
109	Mewa Singh Shergil	-	-	-
110	Mhtab Singh Bhinder	-	-	-
111	Mit Singh	-	-	-
112	Mit Singh Padhania	-	-	-
113	Mohan Singh	-	-	-
114	Mohar Singh Chacchi	-	-	-
115	Mohar Singh Malwai	-	-	-
116	Mohar Singy Mari	-	-	-
117	Mul Singh Sidhu	-	-	-
118	Nand Singh Randhawa	-	-	-
119	Nathu Singh	-	-	-
120	Nidhan Singh	-	-	-
121	Nidhan Singh Tung	-	-	-
122	Nihal Singh	-	-	-
123	Nihal Singh Chatewalia	-	-	-
124	Nihal Singh Sangwala	-	-	-

125	Panjab Singh Rasulpuria	-	-	-
126	Partap Singh	-	-	-
127	Prem Singh	-	-	-
128	Ram Singh Bains	-	-	-
129	Ram Singh Chappawala	-	-	-
130	Ram Singh Kalianwala	-	-	-
131	Ram Singh Kanahiya	-	-	-
132	Ram Singh Panjhatha	-	-	-
133	Ram Singh Sauriya	-	-	-
134	Ranbir Singh	-	-	-
135	Ranjit Singh Sidhu	-	-	-
136	Ranjit Singh Sohal	-	-	-
137	Ranjodh Singh Shergill	-	-	-
138	Ranjoore Singh	-	-	-
139	Ratta Singh	-	-	-
140	Rattan Singh Lamah	-	-	-
141	S.Sher Singh Attari	-	-	-
142	Sada Singh	-	-	-

143	Sadhu Singh	-	-	-
144	Sahib Singh Bhikhi	-	-	-
145	Sahib Singh Virk	-	-	-
146	Sajjan Sing Sidhu	-	-	-
147	Sant Singh	-	-	-
148	Sardul Singh	-	-	-
149	Sher Singh	-	-	-
150	Sher Singh Chinna	-	-	-
151	Sher Singh Hosanwala	-	-	-
152	Sunesh Singh	-	-	-
153	Surat Singh Majithia	-	-	-
154	Tek Singh Attari	-	-	-
155	Thaku Singh Sidhu	-	-	-
156	Thakur Singh	-	-	-
157	Wasava Singh	-	-	-

Table-19: Non-Sikh Killadars of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Abdul Rahim Khan
2	Agar Ali
3	Amir Beg Khan
4	Dyal Das
5	Imam-ud-din
6	Kadar Baksh Baganpuria
7	Kaidy Khan
8	Qadar Baksh Machhi
9	Rahim Khan

Table-20: Non-Sikh Darogas of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Aflatun
2	Bagga Bhayya
3	Bakhtawar Khan
4	Bhag Ram
5	Bhajji (Bhayya)
6	Buddu Khan
7	Dal Sukh
8	Daulat Rai Modi
9	Ghaus Mohammad Khan
10	Jawahar Mal
11	Khusdha Baksh
13	Lakhpat Rai
14	Mian Khairata
15	Mir Mazhar Ali
16	Mohammad Khan

17	Nariana
18	Nur Khan
19	Pir Bakhsh
20	Rae Sukh
21	Roshan Khan
22	Sarhandi Mal
23	Shahu

Table-21: Non-Sikh Beldars* of Ranjit Singh

Sr. no.	Name of Officials
1	Allahditta
2	Bhiju
3	Bhikhu
4	Bhola (Bhayya)
5	Bishhna
6	Bura
7	Dasondha
8	Des Raj
9	Hira
10	Juma
11	Mehtab Poorbia
12	Mukkhan Chand
13	Roda Gujjar
14	Roda Surala
15	Shera
16	Tara Chand
17	Tulsi Ram
18	Veeru
19	Waris

*Beldar: a soldier responsible for the task of building and repairing roads, bridges and cleaning mines for military purpose.

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