

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE REVENUE-FREE GRANTS BY THE
RULERS OF PUNJAB TO THE SHAIVA AND SHAKTA SECTS
(LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB)**

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The period from 1750 A.D. onwards in the Punjab has been labelled as ‘Misaldāri Period’ by the historians of the Sikhs. According to them, after the decline of the Mughal power the Punjab was occupied by the twelve Sikh Sardārs, the Misaldārs, who divided it into twelve Misals and started ruling over their respective areas.¹ These rulers were constantly engaged in civil war amongst themselves. Fortunately, for the Punjab, Ranjit Singh appeared on the scene’, he occupied their territories and unified the whole of the Punjab.²

However, the evidence collected during the last three decades has made it clear that the Sikhs were not the only rulers of the Punjab during the late eighteenth century, there were Muslim rulers in the lower *doabs* and Rajput rulers in the hills of the Punjab.³ Thus, during the late eighteenth century, the Punjab came to be divided into a large number of independent political units numbering about one hundred and fifty.

Though the late eighteenth century rulers of the Punjab had come from different political backgrounds but on acquiring power they started ruling as autonomous rulers. They appointed officials to collect land revenue, alienated it to their *jāgīrdārs* and *dharmarth* grantees.

Grants by which a king alienated his right to collect land revenue from a given area of land, for the lifetime of a grantee or in perpetuity, have an ancient history in India. References to the existence of such grants begin from as early as first century A.D., but the importance of such grants increased mainly from the fourth century onwards. Revenue-free grants given to religious personages and institutions were known as *brahmadeya*, *agrahara* and *devdana* during those times.⁴ The term *agrahara* was in use even in the hills during ancient times.⁵

The practice of the assignment of revenue-free land grants and other allowances continued during the Sultanate period. These grants were then known as

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milk, *wazifā*, *in'ām* and *auqāf*.⁶ During the Mughal period, certain changes were made in the terminology of these grants. They were sometimes called *milk* and *amlak* and sometimes as *suyurghal*, a term brought by the Mughals from Central Asia.⁷ But the appellation usually employed both in official documents and other records was *madad-i-ma'āsh* literally meaning 'aid for subsistence'.⁸

The same tradition of alienations to religious personages and institutions continued in Punjab during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The term *madad-i-ma'āsh* continued to be used by the new rulers of the Punjab. But it was the term *dharmarth* that gained currency and was widely used to describe such grants during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.⁹ The terms most commonly used for such grants in the orders of rulers were *mu'āf* and *wāguzār*, that is, exempt from the payment of revenues.¹⁰ The other terms used were *ardās* and *bhet*.¹¹

Hence, the tradition of giving grants of revenue-free land to religious persons and institutions of different faiths was an old one in India which continued under the new rulers of the Punjab too. The list of grantors comprising the Sikh rulers belonging to late eighteenth century is extensive.¹² The non-Sikh rulers i.e. the Rajput rulers of the hills and the Muslim rulers of the lower doabs also played part of the patrons.¹³

Ranjit Singh was one such ruler who gave revenue free grants to the individuals and institutions of contemporary religious systems irrespective of his own religious affiliation. He not only patronized various creative and professional classes but also gave endowments even to the helpless, the physically challenged and downtrodden. His lavishness and munificence were remarkable. Even on his deathbed, he bestowed large sums to the persons of religious character.¹⁴ The period following the death of Ranjit Singh was marked by high velocity of tension, bloodshed and strife but despite that, general functions of the government continued. Giving away of *dharmarth* grants being a part of the same was provided by the successors of Ranjit Singh who followed his example.

The personages and establishments of Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims were the beneficiaries of the revenue-free land grants during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Various classes and sects of these religious systems were endowed. The present research paper deals with the study of grants given to the two sects of the Hindus, Shaivas and Shaktas, given by the rulers of the Punjab during the period under review. The paper intends to analyze and compare the grants given to both the sects over the period.

I

Taking up the case of Shaiva sect first, the Shaiva *jogīs* and establishments received grants from the late eighteenth century rulers. A number of *shivālas* were endowed by Patiala State.¹⁵ A jogi named Shrishti Nath received fifteen rupees in cash annually from the Patiala State.¹⁶ Grants of Bhag Singh Bagga, Tara Singh Gheba and Lal Singh Kanganpuria are also available.¹⁷ The latter gave a village worth 400 rupees in Qasur to Shivdas for the Jogī *gaddi* of Baba Dial Nath in Qasur in 1779.¹⁸ The Jogī establishment at Jakhbar in the upper Bari Doab received a grant from Amar Singh Bagga, the Sikh chief of Sujjanpur, who granted revenue-free land in *mauza* 'Panjar to Daya Nath.¹⁹ The *jogī* establishment of Jakhbar in the upper Bari Doab was not the only *math* of the Gorakhnathi *jogīs* to be patronized during this period. The Tilla of Gorakh Nath in the Chaj Doab, which in fact, was their premier *math* in the Panjab, received several entire villages in the districts of Jehlam and Gujrat, besides several minor grants of revenue-free land, cash and concessions on customs and salt.²⁰ Pīr Sukal Nath, the *mahant* of the Jogī *gaddi* at Kirana in the Chaj Doab, enjoyed revenue-free lands in Sahiwal, Mangowal, Gondal, Lalian and Jhang, besides the grant of cash from Pind Dadan Khan. The Jogīs of Pehowa near Thanesar received fresh grants of revenue-free land from the Sikh chiefs of Kaithal.²¹ Bhāi Desu Singh of Kaithal gave a piece of land in *pargana* Chika in Thanesar to Bansī Gir for a *shivāla*.²² Another grant of a low denomination was given by him to a *jogī*, Ander, who received a piece of land worth one rupee in Ferozepur.²³ In fact, Bhāi Udai Singh of Kaithal, too like his grandfather, gave a piece of land of to Majithia Puri for a *shivāla* in *pargana* Chika in Thanesar.²⁴ The Ahluwala chief, Fateh Singh, was also a patron of a *shivāla* at Mashti Gate in Lahore.²⁵

The Muslim chiefs who gave similar grants were Walidad Khan Sial, Mubarak Khan of Bahawalpur, and his brother Ghulam Hussain Khan.²⁶ Walidad Khan Sial gave wells worth 155 rupees to *jogīs* of Jhang.²⁷ Nawab Gulsheri Khan of Thanesar granted a piece of land in Thanesar to a *shivāla* in 1773.²⁸ The earliest known grant given to Shaiva *jogī* was that of Jalal Khan Bhatti, who gave it to Daya Nath in 1749 for a *Shivāla* in *pargana* Hafizabad.²⁹ The hill ruler Sansar Chand is known for its patronage to the Temple of Gauri Shankar, also known as Sansar Chandreshar at Tira Sujjanpur. It is a grand 'pucca' building built at a huge cost of 60,000 rupees in 1794. The *jāgīr* of the value of rupees 1,600 was bequeathed for the maintenance of the temple.³⁰ Sansar Chand also endowed Sidh centre of Balakrupi after being blessed

with a son.³¹ His ancestor, Hamir Chand (1700-1747) endowed the temple of Mahadev in Kangra with a land worth five rupees.³² The Kulu rajas - Pritam Singh, Bikramjit Singh and Ajit Singh were also patrons of Shaivism. Pritam Singh alienated grants worth 165 rupees in favour of Jogis in Kullu. Similarly, Bikramjit Singh endowed Shivala Mahadev in Kullu with land worth ten rupees. Similarly, Ajit Singh, the ruler of Kullu, gave land in various villages worth 100 rupees to Temple of Ghori Dev.³³

Shaiva establishments and *jogīs* were patronised by Ranjit Singh too. Some of the Shaiva *jogis* to receive alienations from Ranjit Singh are Rala Rawal, Hoshiar Nath, Basheshwar Nath, Ram Nath, Megh Nath, Balak Nath and Ganesh Nath which they received in places like Lahore, Amritsar, Phillaur, Rawalpindi and Huzur.³⁴ Jogī Sokal Nath was given a well worth fifty rupees in 1819 by the Maharaja.³⁵ In one instance, a religious individual was given a cash grant worth forty-eight rupees in Pargana Shakargarh specifically for worship of Shiva.³⁶

Shaiva establishments were also built by the Maharaja. Ranjit Singh built the *Ekling aonkar* temple at Purmandal and donated 1,300 *ghumāons* of land to Mahant Motigar, a Shaivite *sannyāsī*, for its maintenance.³⁷ Most of the grants were for maintenance of the institution and to meet its requirements. For example, a village named Alowal worth 700 rupees was assigned for a *shivāla* in *pargana* Amritsar for the institution's maintenance. The same *shivāla* which was located in village Dhand Kasil was given a well worth 125 rupees, so that it could meet the expenses of garlands of the establishment and hence its proceeds were utilized for perfumes, flowers and *ghee*, besides feeding cows.³⁸

Kharak Singh is known to have given lavish grants among the successors to Shaiva sect of Hindus. Jogi Joshi Nath received a cash grant worth sixty rupees in Lahore in 1841 from the ruler.³⁹ Narain Das was endowed with ration worth twelve rupees so that he could worship Shiva.⁴⁰ *Jogis* of Nurpur, Jagannath, Prithi Nath and Sindhia Nath were assigned a village were 525 rupees in Nurpur.⁴¹

In one case, a lavish grant worth 1400 rupees from Batala was assigned on *Shivala* at village Bhinder for Sadarbart expenses.⁴² Kharak Singh is also known to have built a Shiva temple and endowed them same with cash grant of 86 rupees. It must be mentioned here that the establishment provided accommodation to travellers too.⁴³ The *Jogīs* of Tilla Gorakh Nath at Jhelum were given two grants worth 750 rupees by Kharak Singh in 1814 and 1830.⁴⁴ It might be of interest to note that the

grant was not only given for the maintenance of the *Shivāla* but also for feeding the cows. Kharak Singh granted cash worth 118 rupees in Dinanagar to Kahn Chand in 1834 out of which fourteen rupees were to be spent on the fodder for cows.⁴⁵

Sher Singh, Kharak Singh's successor, endowed a pension of ninety rupees to Jai Murari, priest of Temple of Mahadev in Batala. The same was in the immediate vicinity of the house in which Maharaja had resided in Batala.⁴⁶ Dalip Singh, the last Maharaja of the State of Lahore, too was generous to the Shaivas. Besides endowing the *Jogis* of Lahore and Phillaur with grants he is known to have endowed a Temple of Mahadev at Wazirabad which was built by Prince Nao Nihal Singh.⁴⁷ Lavish grants of villages in Sialkot worth 800 rupees were bestowed for the expenses of the institution.⁴⁸

Besides the three rulers, grants of Princes Nau Nihal Singh and Pertab Singh to *jogīs* are also available. Former gave a piece of land in Pindi Gheb worth 150 rupees to Raj Nath for the expenses of a *shivdwara*.⁴⁹ Dalpat Gir, Pitamber Bharti and Baba Muthia *jogīs* were given small pieces of land by Prince Partab Singh, in 1841.⁵⁰

II

The Shakta centres called *devidwāras and bhawani dwaras* were patronized by nearly twelve rulers during the late eighteenth century. The Sikh rulers to have given the grants were Jodh Singh Ramgarhia, Amar Singh and Budh Singh Bagga. The Ramgarhia chief gave a cash grant of rupees twelve for a *devidwara* at Wazirabad.⁵¹ The Bagga rulers granted land to a Temple of Devi in village Behrampur in *pargana* Gurdaspur.⁵² Buddh Singh Faizullapuria and Jaimal Singh Kanhiya gave grants to the *devidwāras* at Patti and Shakargarh, respectively.⁵³ From the cis-Satlej states, not many grantors seem to have been benevolent towards the Devi Temples. The rulers of Kapurthala, Patiala and Jind figure among the only grantors of Devi. Fateh Singh Ahluwalia is known to have visited the shrine of Mansa Devi near Mani Majra. Bhag Singh Ahluwalia is said to have constructed a tank near the temple for the goddess and it was known as Devi Tal.⁵⁴ Fateh Singh Ahluwalis also granted a village to the Bhojkis attached to the Devi temple of Jwalamukhi whereas Bhag Singh gave 10,000 rupees to Choper Singh, one of his courtiers, for covering some portions of the temple with gold plates.⁵⁵ Shri Raj Rajeshawari Temple at Patiala dates back to the time of Karam Singh of Patiala and it was made customary to grant rations in the shape of commodities to the *pujārīs* for the expenses of the temple. But during the time of Rajinder Singh, a sum of 4,800 rupees was substituted in place of rations, this

arrangement continued right upto the end of 1942.⁵⁶ A *bhawānidwāra* was given a cash endowment of forty rupees yearly by the Patiala State.⁵⁷ Raja Bhag Singh of Jind gave a piece of land for the Devi temple in village Jhande in Ludhiana in 1794.⁵⁸ At times these grants were made as thanks giving. For instance, Bhag Singh Ahluwalia made thanks giving grant in 1790 to the temples of Goddess Shitala after the recovery of his son Fateh Singh from small pox.⁵⁹

The Muslim chiefs were also not indifferent to the Devi Temples. Sultan Bakhsh Khan of Kot Isa Khan, Ferozepur, gave two acres of land to a *brahman* for a *devidwāra* in 1787.⁶⁰ Similarly, Ahmad Khan Sial of Jhang gave a grant of ten rupees to one Bhola Bhagat of Shorkot for a *devidwāra*.⁶¹ The hill rulers of Kulu like Ajit Singh and Pritam Singh gave grants to a number of Devi temples in Kulu.⁶² Raja Prithvi Singh of Chamba endowed the temples of Chamunda Devi.⁶³ Besides the temples dedicated to Devi, the worshippers of the same were also endowed with grants. For instance, devotees of Chintpurni and Kangraji were given 180 rupees and 360 rupees, respectively, by the State of Patiala.⁶⁴

The individuals associated with Shakta faith who worshipped the Goddess in her various forms and *devidwāras* received grants from Ranjit Singh. A temple of Devi at Lahore was given a cash grant for its support in 1825. Its care-taker, Bhag Misar, was given two rupees a day which was regularly paid.⁶⁵ Similarly, Jaigopal was given an alienation of eighty-five rupees for maintenance of *devidwāra* in Leia in 1832.⁶⁶ Two *devidwāras* in Hoshiarpur are also known to have received grants from the Maharaja. Baba Girdhar Puri of a *devidwāra* in Mukerian received village Dullowal worth 200 rupees and a cash grant of 100 rupees as well in 1838.⁶⁷ Another *devidwāra* also received a similar kind of grant of village and cash in Hoshiarpur.⁶⁸ In another instance, Sumer Gir used to receive one mani of grain for the worship at Devi Dwara in Jhelum.⁶⁹ The *pujaris* of Chintpurni were also given grants. Ram Dial, a *pujari* at Chintpurni, received two villages Gari and Chamyara in Jaswan worth 100 rupees from the Maharaja in 1836.⁷⁰ A sum of 400 rupees was given to *brahmans* for performing religious services at Jwalaji. Rup Chand and Mehar Chand were assigned share of a village worth 200 rupees each in 1838. Similarly, Kashi Nath was assigned share of village Pattike in Amritsar worth 200 rupees for his services at Jwalaji.⁷¹ Thus, Ranjit Singh gave grants to individuals and institutions of Shakta faith which were scattered over places like Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Jhelum and Leia.⁷²

The *devidwāras* were also assigned grants by the successors of Ranjit Singh. The temples dedicated to Goddess in her various forms; Sitla Mata, Kalkaji and Bhadrakali were primarily endowed by the grantors. Two grants worth 660 rupees were given to temple of Kalkaji at Batala by Sher Singh in the years 1840 and 1842.⁷³ He also gave grants at Dinanagar was for oil required for burning of lamp in the Devi Temple.⁷⁴ Sher Singh is known to have endowed the temple of Goddess Sitla at Shekhupura with a village worth 400 rupees to Amir Chand.⁷⁵ Similarly, Dalip Singh assigned ration and cash worth 98 rupees in Gujranawala to Heera Nand for a Devidwara.⁷⁶

Few of the grants were given for temples constructed by private individuals or officials. For instance, Temple of Bhadrakali in environs of Lahore, built by one Kanhiya Lal, a *sahukār* of Lahore, received a generous grant of a village worth 720 rupees in Shaikhupura from Dalip Singh in 1845 the proceeds were used for *sadabart* at the establishment.⁷⁷ Diwan Bhawani Das built a Devi temple at Dinanagar which was given a grant of twenty-five rupees for performance of religious services at the temple by Dalip Singh.⁷⁸

III

It can be seen that personages and institutions of Shaiva sect were given grants in places like Amritsar, Lahore, Dinanagar, Gurdaspur, Taran Taran, Ferozepur, Gujrat, Sialkot, Shakargarh, Wazirabad, Sheikhupura, Qasur, Phillaur, Nawanshahr, Hoshiarpur, Chittorgarh, Hazara, Pindi Gheb, Chiniot, Jalalabad, Pindi Gheb, Jhang, Thanesar, Chika, Jamarian, Nurpur, Kangra, Kullu, Raghupur, Munale, Kansai and Raisin, last four being from Kullu regions. The grants given to the Shakta sect were scattered in places like Sheikhupura, Dinanagar, Gujrat, Hoshiarpur, Mukerian, Amritsar, Jhelum, Gurdaspur, Jeswan, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Kot Isa Khan and Kullu which included places like Mandalgarh, Jagatsukh, Naggar, Kansai, Srighar and Purole.

Individual *jogis* from places like Pehowa and Patiala were patronized. Among establishments, temples dedicated to Shiva called shivalas were assigned revenue-free land grants. Jogi gaddi at Kirana, Jogi gaddi/samadh of baba Dialnath in Qasur, Jogi akhara Bhaironath at Shakargarh, institutions of Gorakhnath Jogis like tilla at Jakhbar and tilla of Gorakhnath, Sidh Centre Balakrupa and Gauri Shankar Temple, both at Kangra, were given assignments. It is pertinent to mention here that Shakta establishments like temples, *devidwāras* and the *pujaris* attached with these received

dharmarth grants from the rulers the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These were found at places like Lahore, Batala, Dinanagar, Gurdaspur, Wazirabad, Kullu, Hoshiarpur and Jhelum. The temples dedicated to Goddess in her various forms like Sitla Mata, Kalkaji and Bhadrakali were primarily endowed by the grantors.

The grants to these sects were given in the form of pieces of land, garden, villages, wells or its share, cash, ration and concessions on customs and salt. The reasons for alienations were many, maintenance of the religious institution being one, worship of the Lord, expenses on garland and flowers for the deity, food for cows and *langar* being other the reasons. Birth of the son was an important occasion for giving a grant. Grants were also given when someone from the ruling class built a religious place. Prince Nao Nihal Singh is known to have built a *Shivala* which was endowed by Dalip Singh. Similarly, a *devidwara* built by Kanhiya Lal, a moneylender of Lahore, was endowed by the above-mentioned ruler. In some cases, these institutions provided free lodging to travellers and food to the needy without being told to do so. The *Shivala* built by Kharak Singh was performing the former function of providing lodging. The management of Temple of Bhadrakali at Lahore used the proceeds to meet the expenses of free food for the poor.

The following rulers of late eighteenth century figure as grantors to the Shaiva sect, namely, Amar Singh and Bhag Singh Bagga, Tara Singh Gheba, Lal Singh Kanganpuria, Bhai Desu Singh and Udai Singh of Kaithal, Fateh Singh Aluwalia, Walidad Khan Sial, Mubarak Khan and Ghulam Hussain of Bahawalpur, Ghulam Gulsheri Khan of Thanesar, Jalal Khan Bhatti, Sansar Chand and Hamir Chand of Kangra and Pritam Singh, Bikramjit Singh and Ajit Singh of Kullu. They were followed by Ranjit Singh who continued patronizing the Shaivas. Kharak Singh, Sher Singh, Dalip Singh, Princes Nao Nihal Singh and Pertab Singh too adopted the same practice. These grantors total twenty four in number.

In case of Shakta sect the grantors were Jodh Singh Ramgarhia, Amar Singh and Budh Singh Bagga, Jodh Singh Ramgarhia, Buddh Singh Faizalpuria, Jaimal Singh Kanhiya, Fateh Singh and Bhag Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala, Karam Singh and Rajinder Singh of Patiala, Bhag Singh of Jind, Sultan Baksh Khan of Kot Isa Khan, Ahmed Khan Sial of Jhang, Pritam Singh and Ajit Singh of Kullu and Prithvi Singh of Chamba. Ranjit Singh, Sher Singh and Dalip Singh of the Kingdom of

Lahore too were grantors of the Shakta sect. These grantors total seventeen in number.

It can be seen that more grants were given to the Shiava sect than the Shakta sect. Out of the complete list of grantors only seven are common i.e. the ones who patronized both the sects and these were Amar Singh Bagga, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Pritam Singh and Ajit Singh of Kullu, Ranjit Singh, Sher Singh and Dalip Singh.

Approximately, 12000 rupees were assigned in grants to the Shaiva sect during the period of hundred years but it must be mentioned that the Shaiva *jogīs* and establishments did not receive as much alienations as the Vaishnavas. The earliest known grant given to a Shaiva person or establishment was by Jalal Khan Bhatti in 1749. The eighteenth century rulers, Ranjit Singh and his successors assigned 4158 rupees, 2366 rupees and 5135 rupees, respectively. Unlike the late eighteenth century rulers and Ranjit Singh, the successors of Ranjit Singh were more generous to the Shaivas than the Vaishnavas. Nearly 5,129 rupees were assigned by them to Shaiva *jogīs* and *shivdwāras*. Out of all, the maximum amount was provided by Kharak Singh who gave grants worth 3151 rupees to Shaivas. The Shaiva individuals and institutions enjoyed patronage of officials too and Sawan Mal was the most generous one. The *Shivdwāras* were also patronized by the women of those times.

About 4000 rupees were bestowed on the Shakta sect during the said period. The eighteenth century rulers, Ranjit Singh and his successors assigned 388 rupees, 1000 rupees and 2700 rupees, respectively, to the *Devidwaras*. An instance of a Devi Temple getting grant from a woman is also available. Mai Sada Kaur gave cash grant for the same.

Comparing the amount given in alienations it can be known that Shaiva sect was given more importance. Kharak Singh who was so magnanimous to the latter sect did not assign a single grant to the Shakta sect. It must be noticed here that though both the sects were not as popular as the Vaishnavas during the period of hundred years but there was a gradual rise in the amount of assignments in terms money. This definitely hints towards an upwards trend in the acceptability and popularity of these sects. The grants to both these sects also by the Non-Hindu rulers i.e. Sikhs and Muslim rulers speak about their open-mindedness and practical outlook.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1978; N.K. Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta, 1973 (reprint, first ed. 1936), pp. 56-62; Gokul Chand 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.
- ² Joseph Davey Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs: From the Origin of the nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, p. 1972, pp. ix & 82-201.
- ³ Some of them have been identified for the first time by Indu Banga in her work *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*). In her work published nearly fifteen years later Veena Sachdeva not only located the territories of nearly one hundred chiefs but has also discussed their administrative arrangements, land revenue, urban as well as agrarian economy: for detail see, *Polity and Economy of the Punjab during the Late Eighteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1993, (cited hereafter as *Polity and Economy*).
- ⁴ The terms *brahmadeya* and *agrahāra* grants denote the granting 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.
- ⁵ J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State (Part I) Inscriptions of the Pre-Muhammadan Period*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 168 & 187.
- ⁶ The terms *milk* and *inam* stand for revenue free land grants. The term *wazifa* denotes subsistence allowance in cash. *Auqaf* is plural of *waqf*. The land grant made for the maintenance of a religious shrine was called *waqf*. Jigar Mohammed, *Revenue Free Land Grants in Mughal India: Awadh Region in the Seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries (1658-1765)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2002, p. 22, fn.107-10 (cited hereafter as *Revenue Free Land Grants in Mughal India*).
- ⁷ In medieval Iran the term *sayurghal* was used for revenue free land Grants: *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23, fn 112, 117.
- ⁸ Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707)*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999 (reprint, first published in 1963), p. 342 (cited hereafter as *Agrarian System of Mughal India*).
- ⁹ For use of term *dharmarth*, see: *Foreign/Secret Consultation*, 26 December 1846, Nos. 742-44; *Foreign/Secret Consultation*, 31 December 1847, No. 1808; *Foreign/Political Proceeding*, 31 December 1847, No. 2207; 14 January 1853, Nos. 213 & 241. In fact, Ram Singh of Jaswan, too used the word *dharmarth* in his order while giving a grant of village Kuna in Jaswan worth a hundred rupees in favour of the Vaishnava establishment at Pindori. *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 16 April 1852, Nos. 59-61.
- ¹⁰ Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century*, Manohar Publications, Delhi, 1978, p. 151 (cited hereafter as *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*).
- ¹¹ Punjab State Archives, Patiala, *History Head*, Basta No. 19, File No. H-16 Sdi, p. 7; The *Khālsa Darbār Records*, Bundle No. C.3, Vol. I, Part 1, p.191; *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 26 December 1851, Nos. 603-605; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 August 1852, No. 102; 14 January 1853, No. 213; 27 May 1853, Nos. 193 & 199.
- ¹² Some of them are Jai Singh Kanhiya, Hakikat Singh Kanhiya, Nar Singh Chamariwala, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Bagh Singh Hallowalia, Charhat Singh, Mahan Singh Sukarchakia, Gurbakhsh Singh Bhangi, Bagh Singh Miraliwala, Amar Singh Bagga, Gian Singh Nakkai besides others.
- ¹³ Among the non-Sikh chiefs who are known to have given charitable grants were Ranjit Dev and his successor Brij Raj Dev of Jammu, Sansar Chand of Kangra, Umed Singh of Chamba, Amrit Pal of Basohli, Mahan Chand of Kahlur, Ram Singh of Jaswan, Shuja Khan and Muzaffar Khan of Multan, Mubarak Khan, Bahawal Khan and Sadiq Khan of Bahawalpur, Muhammad Khan of Mankera, Walidad Khan, Inayat Ullah Khan, Kabir Khan and Ahmad Khan Sial of Jhang, Muqarrab Khan Ghakkhar of Rawalpindi, Ahmad Khan Khokhar of Pind Dadan Khan, Nizamuddin Khan and Qutbuddin Khan of Qasur, Sa'adat Yar Khan Kharal of Kamalia, Murad Bakhsh and Jalal Khan Bhatti of Pind Bhattian, Allahyar Khan of Sahiwal, Jan Muhammad Chattha and Ghulam Muhammad Chattha of Rasulnagar.
- ¹⁴ Kahan Chand Khanna, 'Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh', Manuscript, MS, M/7/3993, p.19, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.
- ¹⁵ Punjab state archives, Patiala, Dharmarth Head, Basta No.5, Sr. No.148, Case No.7988, pp. 39-43, 45-46 & 48.

- ¹⁶ Punjab State Archives, Patiala, File No. 1134, p.7.
- ¹⁷ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 28 November 1856, No.1372-B; 12 December 1856, Nos. 252-53A.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 27 May 1853, No. 193.
- ¹⁹ Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, p.126.
- ²⁰ Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p.163; Paramjit Kaur Chahal, 'Sikh Chiefs of the Satlaj- Jamna Divide'. p. 58.
- ²¹ *Loc.cit.*
- ²² *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 March 1857, No. 235.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 12 September 1856, No.178.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 27 March 1857, No.235.
- ²⁵ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 31 December 1858, Nos. 3314-18.
- ²⁶ Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, p. 126.
- ²⁷ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 31 March 1854, Nos. 230-35.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 14 October 1853, Nos.121-23.
- ²⁹ Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, p.126.
- ³⁰ Dewan Sarb Dayal, *Twarikh Rajgan-e-Zila Kangra*, p. 28; *DG Kangra*, 1883, p. 67; *DG Kangra*, 1904, p.97.
- ³¹ Charu Plaha, 'Polity, Economy and Society in the Punjab Hills', p. 228.
- ³² *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 19 December 1856, Nos. 171-73.
- ³³ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No. 2510.
- ³⁴ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 3 April 1850, No.228; 19 March 1852, Nos. 37-39; & 7 May 1852, Nos.40-43; 19 May 1854, Nos.184-185; *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No. 2206.
- ³⁵ *The Khālsa Darbār Records*, Bundle No. 5, Vol. XIV, Part I, p. 157.
- ³⁶ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 November 1851, Nos. 51-57.
- ³⁷ Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, pp.105-06.
- ³⁸ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 118.
- ³⁹ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 3 April 1850, No. 228
- ⁴⁰ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 November 1851, No. 53
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 31 December 1847, No. 2189.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 27 May 1853, No. 208.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 16 April 1852, Nos. 52-58.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 27 May 1853, Nos. 223-224.
- ⁴⁵ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 16 April 1852, Nos. 52-58.
- ⁴⁶ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 21 February 1851, No. 87-B.
- ⁴⁷ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 31 December 1847, No. 2200; 3 April 1850, No. 228.
- ⁴⁸ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1853, No. 205
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 7 January 1853, No. 241.
- ⁵⁰ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 November 1851, Nos. 44-47.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 11 February 1853, No. 59.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 28 November 1856, No. 1372-B.
- ⁵³ Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, p. 124.
- ⁵⁴ Ram Sukh Rao, *Sri Fateh Singh Partap Prabhakar*, p. 64.
- ⁵⁵ Sarabjit Singh Chahal, 'Rule of the Ahluwalias (1765-1837)', M.Phil Dissertation, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1988, pp. 85-86.
- ⁵⁶ Punjab State Archives, Patiala, Dharmarth Head, Basta No.30, File No.48, p. 25.
- ⁵⁷ Punjab State Archives, Patiala, File No. 1134, p.12. Besides this, a number of Jwalaji Temples in Patiala were assigned grants. Punjab State Archives, Patiala, Dharmarth Head, Basta No.5, Sr. No.148, Case No.7988, pp. 39 & 41.
- ⁵⁸ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 24 March 1854, Nos. 180-83.
- ⁵⁹ Sarabjit Singh Chahal, 'Rule of the Ahluwalias (1765-1837)', p. 86.
- ⁶⁰ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 9 January 1857, No. 245.
- ⁶¹ Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy*, p.124.
- ⁶² *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 31 December 1847, No. 2510.
- ⁶³ Karuna Goswamy, 'Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Paintings', p.313.
- ⁶⁴ Punjab State Archives, Patiala, File No. 1134, p.13.
- ⁶⁵ *Foreign/Political Consultation*, 3 April 1850, No. 228.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 7 May 1852, Nos. 40-43.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 19 March 1852, Nos. 37-39.

- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 31 December 1847, No. 2206.
⁶⁹ Ibid., 19 May 1854, Nos. 184-188.
⁷⁰ Ibid., 31 December 1847, No. 2206.
⁷¹ Ibid., 27 May 1853, Nos.210-213.
⁷² *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 14 November 1851, Nos.51-57; 27 May 1853, No. 208.
⁷³ Ibid., 21 February 1851, Nos. 87 A & B.
⁷⁴ Ibid., 21 February 1851, No.87 B.
⁷⁵ Ibid., 21 February 1851, No.142A.
⁷⁶ Ibid., 18 March 1853, No. 167.
⁷⁷ Ibid., 16 April 1852, Nos.48-51.
⁷⁸ *Foreign/Political Proceedings*, 21 February 1851, No. 87 A.