

- P. 115.* سنگھان Plural of Singh (Sikh).
- P. 116.* हाज The name of the third Hindu month (आसज )
- P. 119.* बिदी A sub-caste of the Hindus. Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion belonged to this sub-caste, hence the members of this subcaste are held in esteem by the Sikhs.
- P. 134.* होली The great Hindu festival held at the approach of the vernal equinox.
- P. 140.* أچتہ A swindler.
- P. 148.* مائی Literally mother—used as a term of respect for elderly ladies.
- P. 181.* माता Small-pox.
- P. 242.* اوریتا بیله Hindi form of Avitabile.—an Italian Officer in the service of Ranjit Singh.
- P. 300.* اچکن A tight fitting long coat.

*P. 33.* سردار کڈھیہ The head of the Kanhaya confederacy of the Sikhs. The confederacy derives its name from the village Kanah (near Lahore) the native place of its leader Jai Singh

*P. 34.* کمپوی Hindi form of Camp.

*P. 37.* لوئی نامہ I have not been able to understand the word (لوئی) : nor do I venture to guess the subject matter of the work entitled لوئی نامہ.

*P. 39.* رانی A Hindu queen or princess.

*P. 40.* کنور A Hindu prince.

*P. 55.* سوہنگ A tunnel or mine.

*P. 58.* کمیدان Hindi form of Commandant.

*P. 67.* شاستری One skilled in Hindu law or religious books.

*P. 71.* پاندوان The celebrated Pandav princes of the Hindu Epic, Mahabharat.

*P. 74.* تہانہ A police station, a guard.

*P. 78.* کلنل لوئی Colonel Ochterlouy.

*P. 80.* سری پنڈی جی In the dialect of the district of Kangra پنڈی means a statue or an idol. Here it denotes the Pindi Shrine, inside the fort of Kangra.

*P. 80.* سری جوالا جی The Shrine of Jwala Mukhi built over an inflammable spring. It still draws together large number of Hindu pilgrims.

*P. 99.* تیرتہ A Hindi term meaning holy places along the course of sacred streams. Pilgrimage.

*P. 100.* تیوانہ The name of a warlike tribe living in Shahpur District. The Tiwanas are handsome and manly in appearance. Ranjit Singh had several troops of Tiwana horse in his regular service in addition to the contingents supplied by the Tiwana chiefs.

*P. 101.* سارن—the name of the fourth Hindu month.

*P. 114.* دھور کورت Redoubt.

# GLOSSARY

## OF

### • Non-Persian Words and Expressions.

P. 4. **بھنگیلے** Plural of **بھنگی** The members of the Bhangi confederacy of the Sikhs. It was once a powerful confederacy and its members held possession of the important cities of Lahore, Amritsar and Gujrat. The founders of this *misl* (confederacy) were much addicted to the use of *Bhang*—an intoxicating drug whence they were denominated as *Bhangis*.

P. 4. **داؤد پوترا** The name of the race or tribe to which also belong the ruling family of Bahawalpur State.

P. 8. **چٹھا** The Chathas were a powerful Mohammadan tribe who had established their ascendancy round about Wazirabad on both sides of the river Chenab, during the decaying power of the Moghals. They carried on an unceasing and bitter struggle against the Sikh ascendancy till their final overthrow by Ranjit Singh in 1799. *Vide* Gujranwala Gazetteer 1893-94.

P. 13. **سہجوجوچ** I have not been able to understand this.

P. 18. **بیہ** Literally brother or comrade. It denotes attendants-in-chief or those servants who belonged to the Maharaja's retinue and were employed for carrying special messages of the Maharaja.

P. 20. **بیساکھی** The Hindu seasonal festival held on the 1st day of the month of Bisakh. This generally falls about the middle of April.

P. 27. **سری ہرمنڈل جی** Refers to the Sikh Shrine at Amritsar.

P. 33. **نکیاں** Plural of Naka. The Naka confederacy of the Sikhs derives its name from the Naka country between Lahore and Gogera, in the Montgomery District (Panjab).

the errata. To facilitate the task of the reader I have also added at the end of the text, a short glossary of non-Persian words and expressions used by the author in the book.

In conclusion I have to express my sincerest thanks to A. C. Woolner, Esqr., M.A., C.I.E., Dean of University Instruction, at whose kind suggestion the work was undertaken and on whose recommendation the University of the Panjab was pleased to sanction a generous grant to meet all the expenses connected with the publication of the book. I am also indebted to Professor Mohammad Shafi of the Oriental College and to my colleague, Qazi Fazl-i-Haq, for making various useful suggestions during the progress of the work and to Professor K. M. Maitra of the Dyal Singh College, for the pains he took in reading the final proofs of the whole book. I have had to make frequent references to the Records of the Sikh Government which are preserved at the Secretariat offices of the Panjab Government. For the facilities I have enjoyed in consulting these valuable documents my obligations are due to Professor H. L. O. Garrett, the official Keeper of the Records.

LAHORE:	}	SITA RAM KOHLI
<i>February, 1927.</i>		

while his poetical compositions remind one of Faizi and Saib. He always speaks of the brothers Abul Fazl and Faizi with great respect. It may be that in adopting *Akbari* as his pen-name, our youthful author aspired to the same position at the Court of Ranjit Singh as the brothers Abul Fazl and Faizi occupied in the Darbar of Akbar. There is much to be said for this view. His *Zafar Nama* shows that in his estimation, his royal master had much in common with the Great Mughal. He particularly draws attention to the facts that Ranjit Singh was very tolerant in his religious views, that he loved to confer posts of trust and responsibility upon Hindus, Sikhs and Mussalmans alike, and that in his harem he had two Muslim wives, one of whom was, as the author tells us, married to the Maharaja in accordance with regular orthodox rites. It need hardly be pointed out that these are all characteristics which are prominently associated with the name and personality of Akbar. Whatever his motives in the choice of his pen-name there is no doubt that he tried to follow the style of Abul Fazl's *Akbar-Nama*.

Diwan Amar Nath's poetical compositions are imbued with the spirit of mysticism of the Sufis. Like the Sufi poets he seems to revel in pantheism. There runs through these writings a musical note which at once reminds one of the sweet and smooth modulations of the songs of Sufi poets. Like the Sufis again the Diwan speaks of himself as being tolerant and an admirer of catholicism in religion. He says:—

مرا کہ گرفتار صلح کلام - اجازت تعصب نداده اند - گردن تسلیم پیش ه  
گروہ انداختہ - خلوت خود را از میان میبرم \* (Vide p. 148)

Before I bring this introduction to a close I crave the indulgence of my readers for the mistakes which have crept into the book. I have to admit that the proof reading might have been more carefully done: this was mine and not my publisher's fault. Owing to want of practice in reading the proofs in Persian, some misprints in the text were, unfortunately, left undetected by me. I have mentioned these in

had it not been for the fact that the story is intertwined with historical account of certain important events and its absence from the text would have disturbed their chronological sequence in the narrative. We have, however, omitted certain passages which we considered to be particularly objectionable. Part IV, is a long dedicatory poem extending over the last fifteen pages of the book.

As regards the preparation of the text we have not seen our way to stick to one manuscript exclusively. The words which seemed most appropriate to us have been retained in the text, the variants in the other texts having been given in the foot-notes where necessary. The reader will notice a few lacunæ in the body of the text particularly in the poetical passages. It is unfortunate that these gaps were never filled up by the author.

In a few cases where a word was not quite legible or was otherwise doubtful we have given our own rendering of it within brackets. For the convenience of the reader we have taken the liberty to re-arrange the text in the form of paragraphs. At the same time we have, as far as possible, punctuated the text by the addition of such diacritical marks as the signs of interjection, interrogation, and the inverted commas to denote the direct parts of speech. The *izāfat* or the sign of possessive case could not be used as they were not available in Lahore.

### Style of the author.

The *Zafar Nama* as well as the poetical compositions of Diwan Amar Nath bear testimony to the full development and diversity of his literary powers. He had read widely at a comparatively young age and his writings show an easy familiarity with the rich stores of classical literature in the Persian language. He also quotes freely from the Quran and the Hadis. In prose he seems to imitate the style of Abul Fazl,

revised or touched up by him before his own fair copy was made for him. This is one reason why we have given it precedence over MS. B, although in point of time the latter was copied at least a year earlier than the other.

• The manuscript C, is incomplete in as much as it ends with the year Sambat 1884 (1827—28). It is preserved in the Arabic Section of the Panjab University Library. It originally belonged to the late Maulana Mohammad Hussain Azad, whose valuable collection of Arabic and Persian works was presented by his son to the library. This manuscript comprises 80 ff. each measuring 6" × 10", containing 13 lines to a page. It abruptly ends with an account of the offerings made to the Sikh temple at Amritsar on the occasion of the seventh birthday of Prince Nau Nihal Singh, which fell in the month of Phagan 1884., (February 1828).

The long dedicatory poem at the end, extending over about 15 pages of our text (pp. 293-308) has also been compared with the text in *Diwan-i-Akbari*, published by the author's son in 1873 A. D.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Arrangement of the book.**

The *Zafar Nama* easily lends itself to a natural division into four parts. Part I, covers the first 271 pages and forms historically the most important part of the book. It describes the chief events and incidents of Ranjit Singh's reign up to the close of the year Sambat 1893 (1836--7). Part II, is a description of the principal gardens round about Lahore. This Part was, as the author himself tells us, included in the book at the express wish of the Maharaja. Part III, is mainly a love poem and deals with an episode in the lives of Mirza Akram Beg and Ilahi Bakhsh the latter of whom rose to the rank of a General in the Artillery Service of the Sikh Army. We would have preferred to leave out the whole of this part

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1. I have used the author's family copy of *Diwan-i-Akbari* which was so courteously lent to me by his great-grandson, Diwan Somer Nath B.A.



Manuscript B. is the one from which our text was originally copied. This manuscript comprises 235 pp., each measuring 6" × 10", containing 13 lines to a page. Like the manuscript A; this is also written between margins ruled in colours in a fair *nasta'aliq* hand. At the end, the copyist gives his name, Pandit Raja Ram, *alias*, Tota Brahmin Kashmiri. He further tells us that the manuscript was transcribed for Lala Das Mal,<sup>1</sup> at Lahore, in Sambat:1912, *viz.*, 1855-6 A. D. This manuscript as stated before now belongs to Rai Sahib Pandit Wazir Chand, of Jhang.<sup>2</sup> On the flying cover scribbled in pencil is the title of the book "*Zafar Nama Akbari.*"

Both the manuscripts *viz.*, A and B are transcribed by one and the same person, namely, Raja Ram *alias* Tota, who was a Katib, at the Koh-i-Nur Press, at Lahore.

Manuscript B, which bears the date Sambat 1912 (1855-6) is at least one year older than the manuscript A, which is dated November, 1857 A. D. That this copy (manuscript B) was based upon some manuscript other than the manuscript A, is therefore obvious. But we are not aware of the existence of any other copy of this manuscript history either in the Panjab or in any of the important Libraries of Europe.<sup>3</sup>

The MS. A; contains slight additions here and there, over and above the text of MS. B. It would seem that the MS. B, was prepared from the author's original copy which was

1. Lala Das Mal was related to the family of Diwan Bhawani Das. He held a respectable post in the Sikh Government and after the annexation of the Panjab, he was appointed to the important post of the *Mir Munshi* to the Panjab Government.

2. Rai Sahib Pandit Wazir Chand, has about 2000 manuscripts in his Library. Half a dozen of these are in the hand writing of the authors themselves. Some of these manuscripts are richly illuminated. The Pandit has, indeed, a passion for collecting rare manuscripts and has spent quite a fortune on his valuable possessions. His is one of the best private manuscript libraries in India. I understand that he will soon issue a descriptive catalogue of his collection.

3. I have consulted the catalogues of the Persian books in the following libraries:

Catalogue of the India Office Library Vol.I, Cambridge University Library by Browne, Bodleian Library Part I., by E. D. Sachau and of the Berlin Library.



### Manuscript copies of the Zafar Nama.

Three manuscripts, two of which are complete and the third fragmentary have been used in the preparation of this text. Of these, one which we will call manuscript A, belongs to the authors's family, another manuscript B, belongs to Rai Sahib, Pandit Wazir Chand, while the third manuscript C, is preserved in the Arabic section of the University Library at Lahore. Each of these has been found useful in its own way.

The Manuscript A, seems to be the most correct of the three copies.<sup>1</sup> It is written in good legible *nasta'aliq* and contains four paintings. Of these one on folio 64a represents the two princes namely Kanwar Multana Singh and Kanwar Kashmira Singh.<sup>2</sup> The remaining three pictures on folios 54a, 51b, and 55b represent the siege of Multan.

This manuscript comprises 136 ff. (272 pp.) each measuring 7" x 14", containing, 15 lines to a page. On the back of folio 1, we find two entries one relating to the receipt by the copyist, Raja Ram Tota, of Rs, 10, as his wages for transcription and is dated 17th November, 1857 and the second entry is a receipt from the book binder 'Abdullah, to the value of one and a half rupee and is dated 23rd July, 1895.

This copy of the manuscript bears witness to the fact that it has been consulted before by several persons, and it still bears the pencil marks against passages which struck them as important. Sayyad Mohammad Latif used this very copy in the preparation of his History of the Panjab; and Maulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti also consulted it before publishing his "*Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*."<sup>3</sup>

1. I am indebted for the loan of this copy to the author's grandsons Diwan Bahadur Diwan Som Nath, District and Sessions Judge and Rai Bahadur Diwan Gian Nath, of the Political Department, Lahore.

2. Since the princes were born in the years, Sambat 1875 and 1876, i. e., the years of Sikh victory over Multan and Kashmir, they were named as Multana Singh and Kashmira Singh.

3. This manuscript copy bears the seal of Maulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti on folio 133b. Sayyad Mohammad Latif, on page viii, in the preface of his book, acknowledges the use of Diwan Amar Nath's manuscript history (*Khalsa Diwan*) which, as he tells us, was lent to him by the author's son, Diwan Ram Nath.

cript passed some forty years later and who simply repeats the name given to it by the copyist. MS. B, now in the possession of Rai Sahib Pandit Wazir Chand of Jhang, bears a pencil scrawl "*Zafar Nama Akbari.*" Akbari was the poetic name (تخلص) of Diwan Amar Nath. This name also does not quite convey a clear idea of what the book purports to be. We have, therefore, made a sort of compromise and given the name of "*Zafar Nama Ranjit Singh*" to the book. As the reader will see, the book mainly deals with the conquest of Ranjit Singh up to the end of the year 1836-7.

#### **Date of Composition.**

As we have remarked elsewhere in these pages, these Memoirs were written at the instance of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. On page 221, when he closes the account of the reign for the year, Sambat 1889, (1832 - 3 A. D.), the author himself tells us that the Maharaja ordered him to write this book. Again on pages 303-4, we come across references to the fact that the work was finished in Sambat 1893 and was presented to the Maharaja. It also abruptly comes to a close with the description of the celebrations in connection with the wedding, in Sambat 1893, of prince Nau Nihal Singh, the grandson of the Maharaja. The work was thus composed between 1890 and 1893 (1833-6).

The year 1839 A. D. as corresponding to *Sal-i-chihlam* (footnote, p. 5 of the Text) seems to be incorrect. It should read 1830-31 A. D. When I first suggested the former date in my revised MS. copy for publication I made a mistake in interpreting the sentence relating to this subject. The *Sal-i-chihlam* has a reference to the year when Sohan Lal made over his manuscript of Ranjit Singh's diary to Captain Wade (1831). In this connection it is worth remembering that Sohan Lal reckons the reign of Ranjit Singh to begin from Sambat 1847, (1790—91 A. D.), when he succeeded to the chiefship of the Sukarchakiya *misl* at Gujranwala on the death of his father Mahan Singh (p. 29 Vol. II. Sohan Lal's Diary).

عیبے کہ پسندی [تو] بود آن هنر ما  
 چون شیشه بود خم ز تواضع کمر ما  
 خود آب خورد از دم خنجر جگر ما  
 آسیب جنون است ز هر رهگذر ما  
 یاس است درین گلشن قافی ثمر ما  
 از ما چه برد بهر آن بد دنیا پسر ما  
 محتاج بظورشید نه گردن قمر ما  
 نیرنگ طلسمی است جهان در نظر ما  
 همگیر نگردید بت نو سفر ما  
 از خاک تو فردا مطلب سیم و زر ما  
 سودت چون درین است چه باشد ضرر ما  
 ز زخم بدل ناله مرغ سحر ما  
 در راه کفد خرچ اجل نامه بر ما  
 هم نرخ صدق نیست ز ذلت گهر ما  
 شاید بصفاهان بسد هم خبر ما

ما مست تماشا تو در پرده نظر باز  
 بر خاک نهادیم چو خم ناصیه از عجز  
 ما را دم آبی چه دهی ز آب بقا خضر  
 در وحشت دل روی بصحرا بنهادیم  
 ناکام ز دنیا چو شوی اصل مراد است  
 تکلیف کشیدیم ز فرزند پی آدم  
 آسوده دل ما ست ز نقصان و زیادت  
 بیدار چو در خواب شوی نیز بخوا بے  
 با آنکه دویدیم بسد بدل ز صد شوق  
 ما خاک نمودیم ز رو سیم خود امروز  
 از بوسه شب وصل بهم ما تو شادیم  
 خونفاب جگر لاله ما ریخت بگلشن  
 زان پیش که او نامه رساند بر دلبر  
 ز بیفت چو فرسود پلاستی بنماید  
 شد اکبری از فضل خدا صائب ثانی

#### Title of the book.

We have had some difficulty in finding a suitable name for this book. So far as we can discover, the author does not seem to have given a definite title to his work, at least none is mentioned on the cover or in the body of the book. Towards the end of the book, however, on page 306, we find some reference to the title which the author probably intended for his chronicle. He writes:—

دل بخیالات و سخن بندی است      خاطر رنگین بچمن بندی است  
 میکنم آغاز ظفر نامه را      گردش انلاک دهم خامه را

In the preparation of this work we have had three different texts before us. Of these, the one referred to as MS. C, does not help us at all so far as the question of the name of the book is concerned. MS. A, which is the author's own family copy has no title on the cover although an entry by the copyist gives it the name of "*Tawārikh-i-Khūlsā.*" This name is obviously inappropriate since the work deals with a limited portion of Ranjit Singh's reign alone. This entry is endorsed by the book binder through whose hands the manus-

his scholarship and social position, he was received with a marked consideration, wherever he went. He made several friends during these trips and won the regard and respect of one and all with whom he came in contact as may be seen from his later correspondence which the family has preserved.

We have had occasion to remark before that Diwan Amar Nath was not on very cordial terms with his father. In year Sambat, 1913 (1856), his father gave him a separate house to live in. Two years later he drew up a will, but nothing more was given to Diwan Amar Nath of the father's property, whether moveable or immoveable.<sup>1</sup>

Since 1845, when he was made to give up his service Diwan Amar Nath lived a contented and resigned life. He was now whole heartedly devoted to his literary pursuits. His best compositions in Persian poetry belong to this period. Some of them appeared, from time to time, in the Koh-i-Nur, a weekly newspaper which was published at Lahore.<sup>2</sup> On 1st August, 1867, at the age of forty-five, Diwan Amar Nath was suddenly attacked by cholera and died as he had lived cheerful, hopeful and resigned. In fact, he had divined his death and felt his approaching end a couple of days before when he composed the following verses and instantly sent them to the office of the Koh-i-Nur Press. This composition has the melancholy interest of being the last of the Diwan's compositions. It appeared in the Koh-i-Nur of 6th August, 1867, that is, the first issue that came out after the death of the gifted author.

شور است چو ناقوس برهمن بسر ما      از بت گداز کم نیست دل ما بپر ما  
خوردیم چو مے دست فتاندم بکونین      نم چیست گراز خاد برون شد پدر ما

1. This document dated 10th Katik, 1913. (30 October, 1856) is preserved in original in the Panjab Government Record Office and bears the signatures of Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, and Richard Lawrence to whom it was personally made over by Raja Dina Nath at his garden house near Shah Bilawal.

2. Some of these were collected, arranged and published by his son, Diwan Bam Nath in 1873, under the title of Diwan-i-Akbari.

and his uncle, Kidar Nath, with whom also his relations were far from cordial.

Considering, however, the atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust which prevailed at this time, a somewhat different surmise may be hazarded. The political morality of the court was at the lowest level. Intrigues and conspiracies among the high officers of state were the order of the day. Altogether the Lahore Darbar was now passing through very critical times and no one considered his honour, office, property and even life itself, quite secure for any length of time. It is not unlikely that Diwan Dina Nath apprehending that a clever rival might use his youthful son as an instrument against him, or wheedle out some important secrets from him to the father's undoing, did not consider it safe for him to occupy a position of trust and responsibility at the Darbar. Any way his removal from office gave our young author a great mental shock from which he did not recover for a long time. He did not care to long for another employment, but passed the rest of his days in purely intellectual pursuits. In this our author gave further proofs of his versatile genius. He was not only a good poet and prose writer in Persian, but was equally interested in other branches of human knowledge. He had acquired a fair proficiency in mathematics and astronomy and his love of learning, even at a comparatively late age, persuaded him to study the English language which had recently been introduced in the Panjab. He soon picked up a good working knowledge of English. After some time he published a short grammar of the language for beginners, which he named "Children's Sweatmeat." He spent a good deal of money in collecting books in Arabic and Persian literature. Among his collections, we learn, were also found a few books on Differential Calculus. Diwan Amar Nath also greatly enlarged his mind by travel. He paid a visit to almost all important towns in Northern India. By virtue of

His first short publication soon won him a reputation as a promising scholar, and he tells us himself, that in Sambat 1839 (1832-3), the Maharaja ordered him to write an account of his reign. He was now introduced to the Court. From this time onwards, he was the recipient of such distinctions at the hands of the Maharaja, as are, now and again, conferred on very distinguished masters of the pen attached to an Oriental Court. In Sambat 1891 (1834—5), when the Sikh army occupied Peshawar, our author was selected by the Maharaja to compose a *Fath-nama* or a panegyric to announce his victory over the Afghans. The *Fath-nama* was subsequently incorporated in the *Zafar nama* and covers pages 231 to 236 of the text. Again, on page 248, we come across a long quotation which purports to be a letter-patent drafted by our author at the bidding of the Maharaja. This was issued in the name of one of Ranjit Singh's favourite courtiers, Ram Singh, on his promotion to the rank of a general in the Sikh army. Whether at the time when the *Fath-nama* and the letter-patent were written, our author was in the regular employ of the Maharaja, we do not know, but he was certainly in service in Sambat 1898 (1841—2), when he was hardly twenty years of age. In the pay rolls of the irregular cavalry of the Khalsa Darbar we have come across several references to our author as one of the Bakhshis or pay-masters of that branch of the Khalsa Army. As we have remarked before, the *Zafar-nama* abruptly comes to a close with Sambat 1893 (1836-7), so that we hear no more of the author from himself. The family traditions and a few other indirect sources, however, come to our help and it is from these that we learn something about his subsequent career. He could not long stay in the service of the Darbar, as his father who was all powerful at the court, had him removed from his office in 1845, for reasons which are rather obscure. The son naturally attributed this unfatherly conduct to the machinations of his step-mother



responsible for his developing into a youth with a pensively philosophic temperament. His unhappy mind clearly reveals itself in a long passage referring to his birth. (pp. 155—6).

In Sambat 1883 (1826-7) when he was four years old, his father once took him to the Darbar and he tells us how the Maharaja fondly greeted him, placed him in his lap and graciously conferred upon him a pair of gold bracelets and a precious necklace. In 1885 (1828-9), at the age of six, our author started going to a school where he was put under the care of the famous teacher of his time, Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Chishti. Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh was a learned scholar of the day. He was held in great respect by his contemporaries. He is worthy of great admiration and respect for the voluminous manuscript Diary which he has left behind. This diary covers a period of forty years from 1819 to 1860 and is a very valuable document embodying materials for a history of the Panjab in Sikh times.<sup>1</sup> How long our author stayed in the *Maktab* he does not tell us, but in five years he had acquired a good knowledge of Persian and Arabic literatures and developed a style of composition after the model of the famous Persian essayists. Even some of these compositions which he produced at the age of ten to twelve and some of which are included in this book bear testimony to the versatility of his tastes and interests as well as to his literary power. In the year Sambat 1889 (1832-3) at the age of eleven, he was singled out from amongst the students of his school to write an account of the gardens of Lahore. This account embodies a description of the principal gardens of the city and is entitled *Rauzat-ul-Azhar* and forms a part of this book (pp. 272—86)\*.

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1. This Diary consisting of 20 volumes was exhibited in a meeting of the Panjab Historical Society by Sir Abdul Qadir, K.T., B.A., Bar.-at-Law, in 1917, when he read a paper "Unpublished Diary of the Sikh Times."

2. The two manuscripts on which we have based this edition contain a description of twelve principal gardens whereas the author gives us to understand that he wrote out an account of twenty such gardens.



1803, when Lord Lake occupied Delhi, he joined the service of the English. In the following year when Lord Lake came to the Panjab in pursuit of Holkar, Pandit Bakht Mal, who was then on the personal staff of (Sir) John Malcolm, also accompanied his chief to Amritsar. A man of literary tastes and keen powers of observation, Pandit Bakht Mal, during his short stay in the Province, collected sufficient materials for writing a history of the Sikhs, to which he soon after gave shape. Of the Pandit's other historical works our author mentions several of which we have been able to trace only one with the family.

Bakht Mal's elder son, Dina Nath, the father of the author, was invited to the Panjab in 1815 by Diwan Ganga Ram, a near connection, who was then head of the State Office at Lahore. On his arrival he was placed in the same office, where he very soon distinguished himself by his 'intelligence and business-like habits.' In 1826, when Diwan Ganga Ram died, Dina Nath received charge of the Royal Seal and again in 1834, on the death of Diwan Bhawani Das, he was made head of the Civil and Finance Department. Since then the influence of Diwan Dina Nath was ever on the ascendant so much so that he was often consulted by the Maharaja on occasions of importance.<sup>2</sup>

Our author was born in the year Sambat 1879, (1822—3). While he was hardly a year old, his mother died and he was left to the care of a wet nurse. His father married again and the boy Amar Nath had to pass his younger days in the depressing atmosphere of a home ruled by a step-mother. This unlucky circumstance of his childhood was, perhaps, partly

1. In connection with Bakht Mal's manuscript works see pp.86—87 of the Text and foot-notes. I understand that there is also a copy of Bakht Mal's *Ahalmuzama* in the MSS. collection of Raja Narendra Nath in Lahore.

2. For a more detailed account of the family of Raja Dina Nath we would refer our readers to Sir Lepel Griffin's "Chiefs and Families of Note in the Panjab."

book some how or other fell into the hands of a reviewer who turned it to good account by publishing an appreciation of it in the *Calcutta Review* along with a rendering of part of its contents.<sup>1</sup>

• **Notices in the book by the author about himself  
and his family.**

What we know about the early life of the author is chiefly derived from this book, which contains a good deal of autobiographical information. The family of the author came originally from Kashmir where, in the reign of the Emperor Shahjahan some members of it held office about the Court. It was in the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719—48) that one of the author's ancestors named Lachi Ram, left Kashmir for Lahore and succeeded in obtaining an employment with the Governor of that Province. With the dismissal of the Governor Lachi Ram also lost his appointment. Soon after this he went to Delhi (Shahjahanbad) where he resided for the rest of his life. The fortunes of the family, however, took a turn for the better with Bakht Mal, the grandfather of the author. In his younger days Bakht Mal seems to have been an intelligent and assiduous student. As a good Arabic and Persian scholar he had little difficulty in securing a suitable post in the Revenue Department of the Government at Delhi. Here Bakht Mal soon rose in the favour of his official superiors. In

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1. See *Calcutta Review* for December, 1858, pp. 247—302. For reasons given on pages ix—x of this introduction we do not agree with the anonymous writer in the *Calcutta Review* that any portion of this book could have been written after 1836. Nor are we convinced that the author had any special reasons for withholding publication of his work. Indeed the fact that the reviewer was able to secure a copy of the manuscript more than a decade before his death shows clearly that the author did not too jealously guard his literary treasure. He had no fear of his master as it was written at his special command and as the author himself tells us, it was presented to him at its completion.

diary of Sohan Lal and Buti Shah in richness of facts of general interest. By virtue of his own position as the *Bakhshi* or Pay Master, of the irregular cavalry forces of the Khalsa Government, and because of his family connections, our author enjoyed special facilities for collecting valuable materials for his narrative. His father, Diwan Dina Nath, was the Finance Minister of Ranjit Singh, and as such had the entire charge of the civil, military and political records of the Maharaja's Government. The author was personally acquainted with most of the influential men at the Court, and this background of general experience of men and things around him stood him in good stead in writing his history. Some of these men who had taken part in the early conquests of Ranjit Singh were alive when our author started collecting materials for his history and in some cases the details of events were still fresh in the memory of the people.<sup>1</sup> The book is, therefore, a most important original source of information concerning the reign of Ranjit Singh.

It is much to be regretted, however, that although the author lived through the stormy period of the Sikh rule and saw with his own eyes its final extinction and the building up of the British power on its ruins, he did not continue his narrative beyond 1835-6, *viz.*, about three years before the death of Ranjit Singh himself. So far as we can judge no valid reason can be assigned for the serious omission which robs his work of the value it would otherwise have possessed except that having been forced to relinquish his post of honour at the Court under what seem to be unpleasant circumstances, he probably withdrew his mind from everything connected with the affairs of the Court.

While Diwan Amar Nath was still alive, a copy of his

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1. The author remarks in the preface that

این همه مقدمات را اقم السطور از روی آن داشت که از معمران معاصران  
بخصوصی دریافت ساخته - تاریخ عجیبه از سوانح پادشاه وقت..... مفصل برنگارد

## INTRODUCTION.

### **The historical value of the book.**

The history of the rise, expansion and fall of the Sikh kingdom has been narrated by several European writers like Prinsep, Murray, Cunningham, Macgregor and others. From amongst the contemporary Indian writers on the subject the more prominent names are those of Sohan Lal, Buti Shah and Diwan Amar Nath. The chronicles of the first two, in fact, form the basis of both Prinsep and Murray's History of the Sikhs. Sohan Lal was the *Akhbar Nuwis* (news-writer at the court of Ranjit Singh. He used to record all what happened at court from day to day, and in 1831 A. D., under the orders of the Maharaja he made over his manuscript to Captain Wade,<sup>1</sup> the British Political Agent at Ludhiana. Although Munshi Sohan Lal's *Roznamcha*, or Diary of Ranjit Singh, "as a record of dates and chronicle of events," to quote Captain Wade's opinion, "is a true and faithful narrative of Ranjit Singh's eventful life," yet it can hardly be compared in these respects with the history of Diwan Amar Nath. The position of a news-writer at an Indian Court is admittedly one of peculiar difficulty. He may not feel himself quite free to record all that he observes. At the same time, he must be credited with a greater measure of the sense of historical integrity than one is accustomed to find in men of this class, if his record, so far as it goes, is faithful and worthy of complete reliance. We think that Diwan Amar Nath's history is not only not inferior to any contemporary chronicle in point of accuracy of detail, it far excels even the

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1. This manuscript was presented to Captain Wade in Baisakh 1838 (May 1831 A.D.) It brings the narrative of the Court of Ranjit Singh upto the year 1831, and is at present, in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and has the following note on its flying cover by Captain Wade. "As a record of dates and a chronicle of events tested by a minute comparison with other authorities and my own personal investigations into its accuracy during my seventeen years' residence among the Sikhs, I am able to pronounce it in those two respects as a true and faithful narrative of Ranjit Singh's eventful life." Sohan Lal, however, subsequently completed his Diary to the conquest and annexation of the Panjab by the British. It was published by his son, in 1885.



**DEDICATED**

**TO**

**St JOHN PERRONET THOMPSON, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.**

**AS AN HUMBLE TOKEN OF THE AUTHOR'S DEEP**

**GRATITUDE TO HIM FOR THE KIND HELP**

**AND ENCOURAGEMENT GIVEN TO**

**HIM IN THE PREPARATION**

**OF THE WORK.**



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# Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh

OF

## DIWAN AMAR NATH

EDITED WITH NOTES & INTRODUCTION

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