CHAPTER 10

THE INDIAN AFGHANS

The Afghans were among the principal wood-cutters of the Mughal oak in the eighteenth century. They had been a formidable rival of the Mughals in the sixteenth century. Having tasted imperial power twice under the Lodis and the Surs and failed twice at Panipat in 1526 and 1556, they lay dispersed in certain parts of India. By the beginning of the seventeenth century they had ‘no centre of political cohesion, no nucleus for a racial rally’. The scions of old royal families settled as peaceful zamindars or army captains in Sylhet, Orissa, Bihar (e.g. Darbhanga) and Allahabad. Many joined the ranks of rebels as in Bihar and Bengal, or resorted to robbery as in the North-west frontier areas. Others took to service, civil or military, in the Mughal empire as mercenaries or to trade. During the seventeenth century, new immigrants came and settled in the Ganga-Jamuna Doab near Delhi, forming a solid wedge between the imperial capitals on the one hand and Oudh and Allahabad on the other, and so threatening the weak Mughal government in the eighteenth century. This area, known as Katehr during the Delhi Sultanate, came to be known as Rohilkhand from the principal settlers, the Rohillas. The decline of the Mughal government and the rise of independent provincial dynasties tempted the Afghans to strive for the restoration of their lost power, if possible. The foundation of the Afghan kingdom under Ahmad Shah Abdali spurred the Indian Afghans, who joined the foreign Afghan invaders. Thus the Afghan bid for supremacy was ‘a potent factor’ in the politics of eighteenth century India. It hastened the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, indirectly contributed to the rise of the Sikhs, checked the Maratha imperialism in the north.
alarmed the East India Company in Bengal and influenced their policy.

What were the principal centres of Afghan settlements now?

First: Shahjahanpur district, to the north-west of Oudh, colonised (1647) by the Daudzais, with the fort of Shahabad. Nearby was Umrpur, founded by a Yusufzai leader. These settlements did not form a well-knit compact unit under a powerful leader.

Second: Farrukhabad (7500 sq. miles in area), founded (1714) by Muhammad Khan (of Bangash in Eastern Afghanistan), born in India (c. 1665). This gifted soldier of fortune joined Farrukhsiyar against Jahandar (1713) and rose high in imperial favours, as a first-grade mansabdar, a nawab and governor of the important provinces of Allahabad and Malwa. Energetic, soldier-like, polite and hospitable, Muhammad Khan fought with the Bundelas and the Marathas. He was succeeded (1743) by his eldest son Qaim Khan. True, his principality lacked the tribal solidarity of the Rohilla state, but the Bangash chiefs were loyal to the Mughal government, and their administration was more regular than that of the Rohillas.

Third: Rohilkhand (land of Rohillas, hill men): Early in eighteenth century Daud, an Afghan adventurer, came from Qandahar to Aonla (18 miles south of Bareilly). Starting as an employee of local landlords or of the Mughal government he became master of a small estate himself. He was succeeded (1721) by his adopted son, Ali Muhammad Rohilla, a converted Jat. He enlarged his estate at the cost of the local zamindars and jagirdars and by occasional service under the Mughal faujdar of Moradabad. More Afghans joined him when he defeated the imperial revenue-collector in the usurped villages (at Manuana near Aonla), and was appointed to that office through wazir Qamaruddin’s favours. He helped in the extinction of the local influence of the Sayyid Brothers. For killing one of
their brothers (Saifuddin Ali Khan) near Jansath (23 miles north of Meerut) during the Wazir’s campaign, he was rewarded with the title of Nawab, a mansab, assignments, a few parganas and the privilege to play the band (naubat). Nadir’s conquests in Qandahar led to mass flights of the Afghans along with the Affidis to India, and they found a ready home in Rohilkhand, and the patronage and protection of the Rohilla. Utilising the disordered situation of the country after his invasion, Ali Muhammad began to plunder the country right and left. He sought to become an independent ruler, and appropriated even the rents of the wazir’s assignments (which were in his charge). So the wazir ordered his deputy, Raja Harnand, sief-holder of Moradabad, to examine his accounts and expel him. By killing the Raja (1741) he augmented his resources and his forces. He occupied a large tract including Bareilly and parts of Moradabad, Hardoi and Badaun. Far from punishing him the unprincipled and slothful wazir sought his help against the rival Irani party, and married his daughter to the Rohilla’s son. Through his intercession Ali Muhammad was appointed faujdar of Katehr now renamed Rohilkhand. Thus the rebel’s independence was legalised.

During 1741-48 he further extended his power in the north and east, made the kingdom of Kumaon his tributary and occupied the whole of Bijnor.

The power of the Rohillas was a source of danger to both Safdar Jang and Umdat ul Mulk, their neighbours on the east and the south. The former regarded the Rohilla as ‘serpents in his path to Delhi’. As Mir Atish Safdar induced the Emperor Muhammad Shah to lead an expedition against the Rohillas without consulting the wazir (1745). But it ended in humiliation and revealed the rottenness of the government and the worthlessness of the army. The imperial government with all its resources failed to subdue an ordinary noble. In May on the advice of the wazir a peace was made by which Ali Muhammad surrendered
his usurped fiefs. His stronghold of Bangarh was dismantled and he was appointed faujdar of Sirhind.

After the departure of Ali Muhammad there was anarchy in Rohilkhand. The nephew of the new faujdar, Farid ud din Khan, obstructed Hedayat Ali Khan, the manager of the jagir of the Nizam in Bareilly and seventeen other mahals. In 1748, on Ahmad Abdali's capture of Lahore and advance to Delhi, Ali Muhammad Rohilla returned from Sirhind and re-established his authority in Rohilkhand. Unable to withstand 'a nation in arms', Hedayat Ali had to retire to Delhi (April). Imperial authority in Rohilkhand was overthrown in three years.

On the death of Ali Muhammad Rohilla, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, father-in-law of his son Sa'dulla Khan, became regent.

In internal administration the Rohillas provided security of the peasants and traders as a moral obligation, unlike the Marathas. Agriculture was encouraged. Villages were populous and rich. Hindu diwans, Hindu munshis were allowed to man the revenue department. Thus their government ensured prosperity of the rulers and the people alike, and was extolled by Europeans as being 'salutary' and 'beneficial'. The Rohilla army became formidable not only in organisation but also in numbers swelling to thirty to forty thousand, besides permanent settlers. The Rohillas understood the value of mobile musketry in an age when the heavy artillery or cavalry charge became out-dated. The Afghans were skilled in night attacks, surprises and could control fire power. Their well-regulated and accurate firing shattered the enemy's nerves. Discipline was ensured by their clan organisation. Clannish feuds were subordinated to racial unity and interest. They were chivalrous to women and hardy, not yet enervated by luxury or addicted to drugs. Their strength lay in their natural fortresses, protected by thick bamboo palisades and natural hiding places, skirting the hills in the north, in the Tarai area. Their weakness lay in lack of planning, diplomacy and statesmanship.
During his Indian invasions Ahmad Shah Abdali was supported by the Afghans in India, the Rohillas. A poor and illiterate Rohilla Afghan of Umr-Khel clan, Najib Khan by name, started his Indian career as a foot soldier under Ali Muhammad Rohilla. He joined the Abdali in 1757 and became his right hand. Appointed Mir Bakhshi and his chief plenipotentiary in Delhi, he soon became the most powerful Muslim noble in Northern India. His dictatorship virtually eclipsed the authority of the Emperor. Ghaziuddin Imad ul Mulk, the wazir of Delhi, entered into a pact with the Marathas (Aug., 1757) to oust Najib from power and restore his own authority. Najib had to make peace with the Marathas under Raghunath Rao, attacking Delhi and recovering many places. They appointed Ahmad Khan Bangash Mir Bakhshi. In the duel with Dattaji Sindhia, Najib adopted such wise tactics that the numerically superior Marathas could not subdue him in the siege of Shukartal even within five months (July-November, 1759).

By his ability, character and opportunism he became the dictator of Delhi for ten years. Combining three offices, Mir Bakhshi, faujdar of Delhi district and the Mukhtar of the Empire, he became the Amir ul Umara or premier noble. This was the zenith of his career (7 April, 1761—31 October, 1770). He also asserted his full authority over Delhi through his own son, Zabita Khan. He fought the Sikhs many a time but could not subdue this revived, and united nation in arms. In great alarm he tried to win over the Marathas when they invaded Hindustan in 1770 but in vain, though he arranged for a peace between the Jats and the Marathas. He was a realist in statesmanship and an experienced general. He considerably improved his capital Najibabad and built a strong fort at Pathargarh.

Fourth: Bengal and Bihar

The Afghans in Bengal and Bihar had given much trouble to Akbar and they had to be suppressed with
difficulty in the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan. In the eighteenth century they constituted the 'most numerous and efficient element' in the armies of the Nawabs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Their sense of superiority, martial instincts and clannish feeling would make them irresistible if united under able leadership. Courageous and revengeful they regarded themselves superior to the Mughal Empire or its offshoots in war. They had helped Nawab Alivardi against the Marathas under Bhaskar Pant. Their leader, Mustafa Khan, had become almost equal to Alivardi in bravery and generalship. Alivardi's breach of faith in not appointing him governor of Bihar roused him to rebellion in Patna (1745) but he was killed, notwithstanding his alliance with some zamindars of Bihar. Subsequently the Afghans under Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan had left the Nawab's service (June 1746) and went to their home in North Bihar. Zainuddin Ahmad Haibat Jang, governor of Bihar, sought to enlist the Darbhanga Afghans with the guilty ambition of overthrowing his aged uncle Alivardi. But the Afghans under Shamshir Khan murdered the governor, seized and plundered Patna (1748). But Alivardi defeated the combined Afghan and Maratha forces at Rani Sarai.
AUTHORIES

The eighteenth century was a period of decline. But it has left a very rich legacy of literary and historical works, which serve as authorities for studying the history of the period. These may be grouped in practically the same categories as those of the preceding two centuries. Extracts from important Persian sources have been translated in Elliot & Dowson’s monumental series of History of India... (eight volumes). Since then numerous other sources have been traced out by scholars. These are in different languages,—Persian, Marathi, Hindi, Punjabi (Gurumukhi), Urdu, besides several European languages. Besides the Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, the standard works of the period by modern authors like Irvine, Jadunath Sarkar, Satish Chandra, Yusuf Husain, V. G. Dighe, N. K. Sinha, H. R. Gupta and Ganda Singh, contain valuable detailed bibliographies which may be consulted for details.

A. Original Sources

These may be divided for the sake of convenience into the following categories:


II. Marathi, III. Hindi, IV. Rajasthani, V. Urdu, VI. Punjabi (Gurumukhi), VII. European languages: Dutch, French, English, Portuguese, VIII. Numismatic.
1. PERSIAN

A. Official Records

The Akhbarat i darbar i mu’ala (Mughal court bulletins) virtually end with the deposition of Farrukhsiyar. The Jaipur State records (now in Bikaner) contain akhbarats, farmans, hasbul hukms, parwanahs, besides Vakils’ reports and business papers (c. 1707-23).

B. Official Histories

Bahadurshahnamah, the official history of the first two years of Bahadur Shah’s reign, by Danishmand Khan (Nimat Khan ‘Ali) covers 1707-9.

C. Chronicles

(a) Written by Muslim authors

(i) For the period from Bahadur Shah (1707) to Muhammad Shah (1748) there are, besides the Bahadurshahnamah.

Jahandarnamah by Nuruddin Faruqi Balkhi.

Jangnamah by Nimat Khan Ali (giving an account of the conflict between Farrukhsiyar and Jahandar, Tr. by W. Irvine, JASB, 1900).

Tarikh i Farrukhsiyar by Md. Ahsam Ijad, an account of the minority and first four years of the reign of Farrukhsiyar.

Ibratnamah by Md. Harisi Mirza up to deposition of Farrukhsiyar. Ends 1721.

Ibratnamah by Sayyid Md. Qasim Lahauri, account of the Timurides up to the fall of the Sayyids 1135/1722-23. Another version is Ibrat Maqal excluding pro-Sayyid portions.


_Mirat i Waridat or Tarikh i Chughtai_ by Md. Shafi Warid, up to 1734.

_Tazkirat us Salatin i Chaghtaia or Tarikh i Mughaliyah_ by Md. Hadi Kamwar Khan, an account of the Timurids up to 6th year of Md. Shah's reign (1724), referring mostly to official appointments, transfers, etc.

_Tazkirat ul Muluk_ by Yahya Khan, a general history up to 1149 / 1736-37, but very brief for later Mughal rulers (1712-36).

_Tarikh i Hind_ by Rustam Ali (Shahabadi. wr. 1154 / 1741, up to 1153/1740. E & D. viii.

_Ahwal i Khawaqin_ by Md. Qasim Aurangabadi, history of Aurangzeb's successors up to 1151 / 1738-9, 2 vols.

_Muntakhab ul Lubab_ by Khafi Khan, 1729.

(ii) For the reigns of Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II there are

_Tarikh i Ahmad Shah_, history of the reign of Ahmad Shah, probably by an eye-witness, anonymous, E & D. viii.

_Tarikh i Alamgir Sani_ (regn of Alamgir II) also anonymous, E & D. viii

_Bayan i Waqai_ by Khwaja Abdul Karim Kashmiri 1166f 1752-3 (E & D. viii ) Eng. Tr. by Gladwin ( 'Memoirs of Khojeh Abdul Karim, Cal., 1788 ) and by Lt. H. G. Pritchard for Sir Henry Elliot (Ms. in Br. Mus.).

_Ibratnamah_ (Book of Warning written 1806) by Faqir Khair ud din Muhammed Allahabadi (1751-1827), munshi of James Anderson, Br. Resident at Sindhi's court at Delhi, 1783-4, and later a high officer of Prince Jahandar Shah, s/o Shah Alam II and an eyewitness of the 'chequered career and troubled times' of Shah Alam II (Rieu). Graphic details valuable from 12th regnal year, E. D. Ross (JRAS 1902) dwells on the life and works of the author.

Waqai Shah Alam Sani, (anon. ms. rescued by J. Sarkar in Patna and named Delhi Chronicle (during the Anarchy). Contains a diary of events at Delhi and reports (1738-98, with some missing leaves). Sarkar rates it very high and compares it with the old Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 'artless truthfulness, exclusion of emotion or comment and accuracy of record,' (Pr. IHRC, Vol. 3, 1921). Valuable for dates and events.

Tarikh-i-Ibrahimi by Ibrahim Khan (account of the Marathas) 1201/1786.

Tarikh-i-Muzaffari by Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari of Panipath, nephew of Shakir Khan (wr. c. 1800, E & D. viii).

(iii) The most popular and best known among the contemporary works is Siyar ul Mutakhkharin (View of Modern Times), by Ghulam Husain Tabatabai of Patna, wr. 1782. Born in 1727-28 the author, descended from a cultured and educated Sayyid family, went to Murshidabad in 1732-33. He was at Patna with Alivardi from 1733 to 1743-44. He was subsequently employed as tutor to Shaukat Jang, 1749 (at Purnea). After the latter's fall he went to Benares. He regained his influence and took part in political affairs and military campaigns of the time, represented Mir Qasim with the E. I. Company in Calcutta and later employed by the latter in different assignments. Living far away in the eastern regions, he derived information from his father and uncles serving in Delhi and so the portions dealing with the Mughals and Oudh are useful. The value of the book lies in the fact that it is a very important general history of India 1707-82 with a specially detailed account of Bengal and Oudh affairs from 1738. It contains a critical account of the government and policies of the East India Company there. It was translated into English by Raymond, a French convert to Islam (Haji Mustafa) 3 vols. Another translation is by J. Briggs (one vol. 1832). It was dedicated by 'Nota Manus' to Warren Hastings.
(b) **Works by Hindu writers:**

*Tarikh i Muhammad Shahi or Nadir uz Zamani* by Khushhal Chand (or Rai), munshi in Diwani office, Delhi (1741), mostly a compilation up to 17th year of Md. Shah’s reign. 1734-5; vol. I covers 1679-1719.

*Ibratnamah* by Kamraj (s/o Nain Singh). A general account from 1707-19.

*Azam ul Harb* by Kamraj. An account of Azam’s reign (1707)

*Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh* (or Farah Bakhsh) (history of the Ruhelas) by Siva Prasad wr. 1190/1775-76 for General Kirkpatrick’s brother Capt. Kirkpatrick, E. D. viii (not to be confounded with *Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh* of Faizabad).

*Shahnama or Munawwar ul Kalam* by Shiva Das of Lucknow, wr. 1209/1794 (up to the 4th year of Md. Shah’s reign).


*Maasir i Asafi or Maasir i Nizami* by Lachmi Narayan Khattri.

*Tarikh i Shah Alam* by Munna Lal (wr. 1811), E & D. viii.

**D. Memoirs**

*Nuskha i Dilkusha* by Bhimsen Burhanpuri.


*Tazkirah i Shaktir Khan,* s/o Amir Shamsuddaulah
Lutfullah Kh. B. Sadiq (of Panipat), governor of Delhī at the time of Nadir's invasion (1179/1765). (J. Sarkar colln. Nat. Lib.).

_Tazkirah i Anandram (Mukhlis)_—E & D. viii. Ends 1748. Author was s/o Raja Hirde Ram Khatri of Lahore. Writer & poet, he was appointed vakil for Qamaruddin Khan and also for Abdus Samad Khan.

_Tazkirah i Imad ul Mulk_, dealing with the Empire (1754-58).

**E. Biographical Works**

It is sometimes difficult to draw a hard and fast line of distinction between the chronicles and biographical literature of the period, the former dealing with the life and work of some prominent personality. Thus the histories dealing with the Emperors like Bahadur Shah, Azam Jahandar, Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II, Shah Alam II may also be regarded as constituting biographical works, and need not be repeated here.

There are two standard biographical dictionaries of the eighteenth century: (i) _Maasir ul Umara_ (Lives of Mughal peers) wr. 1742-79 by Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy (Eng. Tr. Vol. I by H. Beveridge and vol. 2 by Baini Prashad); (ii) _Tazkirat ul Umara_ (1780) by Kewal Ram, a general index of mansabdars and lists of governors of provinces from Akbar's time and revenues of the empire.

Besides these there are lives of poets etc. (i) _Khazanah i Amira_ by Ghulam Ali Azam (Bilgrami), wr. 1763 (information about Emperors Alamgir II, Shah Alam II, Safdar Jang, Imad, & Marathas) repeated in his _Sarvi i Azad_; (ii) _Safinah i Khushgu._

For Nadir Shah, _Tarikh i Jahankusha i Nadiri_ by Mirza Mahdi Ali Khan, Secretary of Nadir Shah (wr. 1758); Memoirs of Şhaikh Ali Hazin (Belfour); _Tazkirah_ of
Anandram; Delhi Chronicle; Muhsin, b. al Hanif Siddiqi Bijnori, Jauhar i Samsam, E. D. VIII; and other works.

For Ahmad Shah Abdali,

Bayan i Waqai by Abdul Karim Kashmiri (1752-3);

Imad us Saadat by Ghulam Ali;

Halat i Amdan i Ahmad Shah Durrani dar Hindustan dar 1169 A. H. by Sheikh Ghulam Husain (Samin) (present during fourth invasion), Eng. Tr. by Irvine (Ind. Ant, 1907).

Jang Namah by Qazi Nur Muhammad (invasion, 1764-5), Ed. and Eng. Tr. by Ganda Singh;


Tarikh i Husain Shahi (or Tarikh i Ahmad Shah Durrani, 1213/1798) by Imam ud din al Husaini (Durrani history).

For Nizam ul Mulk see Regional Histories.

F. Statistical, Topographical or Descriptive Accounts

Muntakhab ut Tawarikh by Jagjiwan Das (wr. 1708).

Khulasat ut Tawarikh by Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala (1695) and Chahar Gulshan or Akhbar 'un Nawadir by Chatarman Rai (1759) serving under wazir Imad ul Mulk—supply useful statistical and biographical data (both partially translated by Jadunath Sarkar in India of Aurangzib (1901).

Waqai Sarkar Ranthambhor wa Ajmer.

Tarikh i Lahor by Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal (in Urdu)

Manazil ul futuh by Md. Jafar Shamlu, accompanying Ahmad Abdali to India,—an account of different stages
from Qandahar,—Ghazni, Kabul, Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi and battle of Panipat (E & D VIII).

*Chahar Chaman* by Daulat Rai, 1820.

*Ibratnamah* by Mufti Aliuddin of Lahore, 1854.

**G. Letters**

Correspondence constitutes a very valuable and reliable source of history, giving the actual feelings of writers and throwing light on events of political history without any proneness to flattery or eulogy. Aurangzeb’s voluminous correspondence in several series is wellknown, eg. *Ahkam i Alamgiri* and *Ruqaat i Alamgiri*, etc.


*Nigarnamah i Munshi*

*Insha i Gharib* by Lala Ujagar Chand Ulfat.

*Insha i Madho Ram* ed. by Madho Ram.

*Khatut i Shivaji* contains three letters of Shahu to Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I.

*Siyasi Maktubat* by Shah Waliullah.

There are two epistolery compilations valuable for history of Bengal and Bihar during mid-18th century. (i) *Dastur ul Insha* compiled by Munshi Vijayram (Lucknow, 1769) containing letters of Raja Ramnarain to the Nawab and his officers and also of his brother Raja Dhiraj Narain. (ii) *Dastur ul Insha*, compiled by Munshi Shaikh Yar Muhammad Qalandar (c. 1757)


*Murasalat i Ahmad Shah Durrani*. Correspondence-
between Ahmad Abdali, Emperor Shah Alam II, Rohilla Afghans and Rajput rulers, 1173-76 / 1759-62.

H. Regional Histories

(i) *The Punjab and the Sikhs*:


*Ahwal i Adina Beg Khan*, attributed to a contemporary Sodhi (Guru) of Kartapur, 1806.

*Haqiqat i Bina O Uruj i Friqa i Sikhan* wrongly attributed to Timur Shah, s/o Abdali (Ganda Singh). Tr. by I. Banerjee. IHQ, 1942.

*Jang namah* by Qazi Nur Muhammad, wr. 1765. Ed. & Tr. by Ganda Singh, 1939.

*Khalsa Namah* by Diwan Bakht Mal. 1225-29 / 1810-14.

*Tarikh i Punjab* by Ahmad Shah of Batala, 1820.

*Tarikh i Sikhan* by Khushwaqt Rai (till 1811) agent and intelligenccer of E. I. C. at Amritsar written for Sir Charles Metcalfe.

*Umdat ut Tawarikh* by Sohan Lal Suri, vols 1 & 2 1812. Author was the chronicler of Ranjit Singh; earlier part based on records of his own father serving Ranjit's father and grandfather.

*Zafar Namah i Mulun ul Mulk* by Ghulam Muhiuddin, 1162/1749.

See Gurumukhi and Marathi sources (SPD. vols 2, 6, 21, 25, 27, 29, 38, 39, 40, 45. Rajwade vols. 1 & 6) and English Sources.

(ii) *Oudh and the Rohillas*.

See the bibliographies in A. L. Srivastava's *First Two Nawabs of Awadh* and *Shuja ud daulah* besides the general.
sources on the Mughal empire. Special mention may be made of:

*Imad us Saadat* by Sayyid (Mir) Ghulam Ali Khan Naqvi wr. c. 1807 (mostly Oudh and Bengal history, Marathas, Abdali and Shuja ud daulah.


*Gulistan i Rahmat* by Mustajab Khan (1792) Eng. Tr. by Sir C. Elliot, Life of....Hafiz Rahmat Khan....(1831). E. & D. VIII.

W. Hamilton, Historical Relation of the Rohilla Afghans (practically a translation of Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh), 1787 (iii) *Bengal, Bihar & Orissa:*

*Riyaz us Salatin* by Ghulam Husain Salim wr. 1788. Eng. Tr. by M. Abdus Salam.

*Tarikh i Bangalah* by Salimullah, wr. 1763, Tr. by Gladwin.

*Ahwai i Mahabat Jang* by Yusuf Ali wr. C. 1767. Ed. by Abdul Subhan (Bib. Ind.)


K. K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times.*

(iv) *Gujrat and Malwa:*


(v) *Hyderabad:*

For the career of Nizam ul Mulk before 1724 sources given in Irvine, *Later Mughals*, may be consulted with profit. Therefter we have three writers in Nizam's service, Khafi Khan, Ghulam Ali Azad and Shah Nawaz Khan. Besides there are:

*Maasir ul Umara.*

*Maasir i Asafi or Maasir i Nizami* by Lachmi Narayan, an hereditary revenue official (wr. 1792-3).
AUTHORITIES

_Hadigat ul Alam_ (vol. 2) (best Persian source for the period 1724-62) by minister Mir Abul Qasim, Mir Alam; ends 1739; completed 1802.

The Marathi sources (e.g. news-letters from the court, despatches of officers, reports of Peshwa's agents) yield new information regarding the activities and the campaigns of the Nizam. There are several mss in Asafiya Library and Daftar i Diwani, Hyderabad, listed by Yusuf Husain in his book, _The First Nizam_. English and French factory records in Dodwell's _upleix and Clive_.

II. **MARATHI**

The Marathi Bakhars or chronicles, composed later than the events recorded, are generally not rated high by some scholars. But they cannot be completely dispensed with and have to be used critically. Krishnaji Shyam Rao, author of _Bhao Sahibanchi Bakhar_, lived at Indraprastha near Delhi and knew Hindi and was familiar with the affairs of the Rajputs, Jats and Ruhelas.

Bands of devoted Maratha workers since the time of Rajwade have unearthed a huge mass of Marathi records and letters. The Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal, Poona, has been publishing such documents.

Chitnis, _Chhatrapati Sahu Maharaj_.

V. K. Rajwade, _Marathi Itihasanchi Sadhanan_ (21 vols), collection of Marathi sources since 1898 to correct Grant Duff's mistakes.

Six vols. (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 12) are useful for this period. _Brahmendra Swamichen Charitra_, ed. by Parasnis.

Letters of Brahmendra Swami (Printed by Parasnis and Rajwade).


_Hingane Daftar_ vol. 1. ed. by G. S. Sardesai.

Sardesai. Reports of Maratha agents in Delhi and other places. Valuable for dates and events.

*Mariathiyasat*, by G. S. Sardesai, Madhya Vibag. (1707-74, in 4 vols.); 1707-40; 1740-60; *(Panipath Prakaran)*; till 1774.

*Aitihaisik Patren Yad i waghaira Lekha*, 2nd ed. (1930);
*Aitihaisik Patra Vyavaha* (1933);
*Kavyetihias Sangraha patern Yadi* 1930.

All the above three edited by Sardesai and others.

Selections from Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries by G. C. Wad, D. B. Parasnis, vols. 1-6, 10.


Purandare Daftar, ed. by K. V. Purandare, 3 Vols.


Shindhe Shahi Itihasachin Sadhanen ed. by A. B. Phalke, 4 vols.

### III. HINDI

*Metrical history*: A hindi poem entitled *Nadir Shah aur Muhammad Shah* was composed by Tilok Das. Ed & Tr. by W. Irvine, JASB, 1897.

*Vamsa Bhaskar* by Suraj Mal Mishran, 8 vols. wr. 1841 in verse: but historically of not much value.

*Vir Vinod* by Kaviraj Shyamal Das, 7 vols.

*Sujan Charitra* (Life of Suraj Mal) by Sudan. Nagari Pracharni Sabha, Banaras.

Lal Kavi, Chhatraprakash. Tr. Pogson, Hist. of Boondelas, 1830.

### IV. RAJASTHANI

Archival records in different states of Rajasthan are now mostly stored in Bikaner. These are *Bahis* (rolled
registers), kharitas (portfolio files), khyats (chronicles), vakil reports etc. One category of Bahis is Bayava Bahis. No. I gives information of Sawai Jai Singh's marriage with Bai Suraj Kunwar (G. N. Sharma, J. I. H., XXXIV, Pt. I) Nensi's khyats are famous. Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khyat is important for this period. There are several Rajasthani mss. about Abhai Singh, (i) Suraj Prakash by Karni Dan, (ii) Raj Rupak by Vir Bhan (now printed by Nagari Pracharani Sabha). There are two contemporary Sanskrit sources about Ajit Singh e.g. (i) Ajitodaya by Bhatt Jagjivan, his court poet, (ii) Ajitcharita by Bal Krishan, and one about Abhai Singh (Abhaivilas by Bhatt Jagjivan).

The vakils of Amber used to send letters from the Mughal court to their kings and ministers which were known as Vakil Reports (1657-1719). These throw light on the relations of Jai Singh II with Ajit Singh.

V. URDU

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