



Rajasthani Documents on
**BANDA SINGH
BAHADUR**

Dr. Balwant Singh Dhillon



The present study introduces the exciting Rajasthani sources to explore the Sikh history. It brings into focus the Rajasthani documents, which are basically found in archival form in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. The authors of these documents belonged to a rare breed of Vakils, who like the present-day diplomats, represented the Rajput Rajas at the Mughal court. On the basis of their observations they submitted regular reports to their masters which may be called dossiers in the modern sense. Evidence offered by them is unique as it does not carry the sectarian bias which is the hall-mark of contemporary Mughal chronicles. Rather it unfolds the Rajasthani perspective on the Sikh struggle against the Mughal Empire under the stewardship of Banda Singh Bahadur.

This study is based upon the reports written by eyewitnesses to the events. Some of the reports carry graphic account of the battlefield and even reveal the crisis within the Mughal army. These documents divulge the nature and extent of Sikh uprising and throw fresh light on some of the lesser-known facets of Banda Singh Bahadur. These dossiers from the pen of Rajasthani Vakils are of immense value to understand the military strategy and diplomacy during the suppression of the Sikh struggle by the Mughal Empire. These documents also bear testimony to the fact that Banda Singh Bahadur desired to forge an alliance with the Rajput Rajas with a view to liberate the country from the Mughal yoke.

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(A Source Book)

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Singh Brothers
Amritsar

RAJASTHANI DOCUMENTS
ON BANDA SINGH BAHADUR

by

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ISBN 81-7205-553-6

First Edition July 2016

Price : Rs. 495-00

Publishers :

Singh Brothers

Bazar Mai Sewan, Amritsar - 143 006

Tele : 0183-2545787 Mob.: 99150-48005

S.C.O. 223-24, City Centre, Amritsar - 143 001

Tele : 0183-2543965, 2550739

E-mail : singhbro@vsnl.com

Website : www.singhbrothers.com

Printers :

PRINTWELL, 146, INDUSTRIAL FOCAL POINT, AMRITSAR.

DEDICATION

In the loving memory of my parents

SARDAR DEWAN SINGH

and

SARDARNI BHAGWAN KAUR

to

whose benediction

I owe my education

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Prologue

Though search for new source material on the Punjab/Sikh Studies is a fascinating work, yet the scholars who are in the field of academics know it very well that it is at the same time a very arduous, time-consuming and a challenging task. Besides the financial resources, it requires a lot of stamina, patience and skill to handle the people and the source material. During the last 50 years or so very little has been done to unearth new source material on the Sikh/Punjab history. We observe that to explore the records available in different private and public libraries and archives of India has not found much favour with our institutions and scholars doing research on Punjab/Sikh Studies. Flow of new sources along with their evaluation is of utmost importance for the development of studies of any region, tradition and its people. The present study, besides venturing into an exciting discipline of Rajasthani sources seeks to draw the attention of scholars towards a virtually virgin area which has remained unnoticed and uncharted for doing Sikh history. However before moving further it looks plausible to make a brief comment on the way in which this study was undertaken.

It all started in 1997 when I had a chance meeting with Prof. G. S. L. Devra over a course in H.P. University, Shimla. Prof. Devra who hails from Rajasthan, specializes in Marwari language and has done extensive research on the socio-economic history of medieval Rajasthan. On my inquiry he divulged that a search into Rajasthani documents may yield

significant information on the Sikh history. Later on Dr. Dilbagh Singh, Professor of History at Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi, who has analysed thousands of Rajasthani documents for his path-breaking research on the agrarian system of medieval Rajasthan, responded to me in the affirmative that there exist a number of Rajasthani documents in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, which are very much relevant for studies on Sikh history. Both these scholars also advised that in order to retrieve the information, one is required to sit with patience and painstakingly sift the hand written documents preserved in the aforesaid Archives. As I was interested in finding out new sources on the history of the Sikhs, naturally my interaction with these scholars aroused my curiosity. Secondly, both the scholars are highly professional historians in their own right and are well recognized for their pioneer and scholarly works; thus their sane counsel deserved serious and sincere follow up.

Though I have a very strong connection with Rajasthan but before that I never thought of looking into the Rajasthani sources for the purpose of probing into the Sikh history. Eventually, during the winter vacations in December 1998, my quest for Rajasthani material drove me to the Rajasthan State Archives at Bikaner. Though it was a short trip but fortunately, it yielded rich dividends in the form of retrieval of very important documents on Banda Singh Bahadur. After a couple of days' labour, I realised that this Archives is virtually a mine of historical documents on medieval India and to unearth it, regular and systematic follow up is required. I was of the knowledge that with the exception of Prof. Ganda Singh, no other Punjab historian has utilized material from this Archives for the purpose of writing history of the Sikhs. All these factors coupled with curiosity to know more drove

me to take a plunge which has since proved to be very rewarding and academically satisfying adventure.

The Rajasthani documents, with which we are presently concerned, are basically found in archival form in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. These documents owe their origin to different factors and have come to us in various forms and categories. The authors of these documents belonged to a rare breed of Vakils, who like the present-day diplomats, represented the Rajput chiefs at the Mughal court. Besides putting up the petitions of their masters, they used to keep a vigil on the events taking place at the royal court. On the basis of their observations, they submitted regular reports to their masters which may be called dossiers in the modern sense. It may be recalled that instead of Persian, this material is recorded in the pre-modern Devnagari script. The style and language coupled with some other features indicate towards the confidential nature of these documents. The language employed is medieval Marwari which is interspersed with vocabulary taken from Persian and local dialects. The orthographic style varies and absence of vowels is quite prominent in many of the documents. Even some of the documents are in coded language. All these factors make it difficult to decipher them correctly.

Beginning in December 1998 till 2008, I visited Rajasthan several times especially the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. All this while, I made sincere efforts to retrieve the relevant material stored therein. Fortunately, I laid my hands on hundreds of documents that are very useful for doing eighteenth-century Sikh history. Though utmost care has been taken to examine thousands of documents, yet possibility of many more such documents coming to the surface cannot be ruled out. It may be mentioned here that a part of this study

formed a part of the projects that were submitted in 2009 to the Department of Guru Nanak Studies, GND University under the DRS scheme of U.G.C. Thereafter, due to the academic and administrative commitments, chiefly the establishment of Centre for Studies on Sri Guru Granth Sahib in GND University, Amritsar, I could not devote much time to carry forward my research on the Rajasthani sources of Sikh history. Obviously, it has taken too much time for which I offer my sincere apology.

The present study which is the product of author's tryst with the Rajasthani sources brings into focus the Rajasthani perspective on the Sikh struggle against the Mughal Empire under the stewardship of Banda Singh Bahadur. It deals with the extracts culled from sixty-seven documents which are directly related with the Sikh uprising under Banda Singh Bahadur. These documents inform us about the events that took place between December 1710 and May 1715. Obviously, they do not cover the whole period of Banda Singh Bahadur, but it is worth noting that these are the reports that have been filled by the persons who were eyewitness to the events. Some of the reports carry graphic account of the battlefield and describe the hardships and even reveal the crisis within the Mughal army. These documents not only bear testimony to the nature and extent of Sikh uprising but also divulge the parties and politics at the Mughal court. Besides offering contemporary evidence on the leadership and statesmanship of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, they provide significant insights into the strategy and measures taken by the Mughal authorities to suppress the Sikh struggle. Evidence offered by them is unique as it does not carry the sectarian bias which is the hall-mark of contemporary Mughal chronicles. It not only supplements our earlier information but also throws fresh light on some of the

lesser-known facets of the history and personality of Banda Singh Bahadur. Alike the Persian chronicles, the authors of these documents also have mistakenly addressed Banda Singh Bahadur as the Guru; therefore, the readers are requested to be cautious about this lapse on their part.

The study has been presented purely in a professional but a reader-friendly manner. As these documents are related with the Sikh struggle under Banda Singh Bahadur, therefore a brief account of his life has been included which will help the reader to understand the historical context in which these documents have originated. Then it provides a bird's eye view of the contents of the documents in chronological order. Thereafter, it takes into account the origin, nature and other features of the documents under study. It also attempts to look into the significance of evidence offered by them. These documents have been written in medieval Rajasthani/Marwari language which many of the readers may find difficult to understand. Thus an English rendering of them has been presented in chronological order. All these documents carry file number of the Archives and the date in Bikrami (lunar) era in original. For the benefit of the readers, these dates have been converted into Common Era and for that Pal Singh Purewal's very accurate and dependable tables, *Jantri 500 Years*, have been relied upon. For any addition and explanation in the text square [] and rounded () brackets respectively have been employed. With a view that the reader should not miss the original flavour, the text of all these documents in Hindi has been included as well. Meanings of Rajasthani/Marwari words and phrases have been explained in the foot notes. Besides, a glossary at the end helps the reader to comprehend the peculiar and difficult terms that occur in these documents. Similarly, a biographical index of the

persons that find mention in the reports has been appended. It helps to understand the role of these persons and characters in a broader historical perspective.

Towards the end, we can say that these Rajasthani documents, which are being introduced for the first time, are very useful to fill the gaps that we encounter in the history of Sikh struggle against the Mughal Empire under the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur. I am extremely thankful to the authorities of Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner for allowing access to these documents. Prof. Dilbagh Singh, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi and Prof. G.S.L. Devra, formerly Vice-Chancellor, Open University, Kota were of immense help to begin with; both of them deserve my sincere gratitude. I am also thankful to the U.G.C. for providing assistance to this project under its scheme of SAP. All my colleagues in the Centre for Studies on Sri Guru Granth Sahib and friends in the GND University deserve my special thanks for their valuable input. Mrs. Bindu, Senior Project Fellow in the Centre, deserves appreciation for the zeal with which she has composed the matter for publication. As the publication of this material has been long due, yet my wife Dr. Usha Dhillon has worked as a healthy critic at home. She has been reminding me constantly that instead of talking about these documents, complete the work without any more delay; thus my thanks to her also. S. Gursagar Singh of Singh Brothers, Amritsar, deserves thanks and appreciation for his co-operation in bringing out this book in a minimal time. It is just a beginning and another volume on the Rajasthani sources of Sikh history will follow in the near future. Hopefully, this study will open up new vistas for research on the Sikh history.

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9 June 2016

Historical Setting

The Rajasthani documents under study predominantly deal with the early eighteenth-century Sikh struggle against the Mughal Empire. Significantly, most of the documents focus upon the military exploits of Banda Singh Bahadur and the measures taken by the Mughal authorities to suppress the Sikh uprising. Occasionally, these documents also make reference to the parties and politics at the Mughal court. There are so many Mughal nobles and other persons who find mention in them. Similarly, these documents take into account the events that had taken place between 1710 and 1715. Since, these documents do not betray regular and systematic account of the events, there are big gaps in them. Consequently, the information contained in them may look disjointed or uneven and may prove cumbersome to grasp the true historical value of these documents. Moreover, due to the peculiar orthographic features and style of these documents, one may encounter difficulty in deciphering the text correctly. Actually, knowledge of the events and characters participating in them is a *priori* to understand the Rajasthani documents properly. Therefore a brief discussion on the historical setting, especially the life and struggle of Banda Singh Bahadur or the broad historical context in which these documents originated, holds merit to evaluate the evidence available in these documents.

Banda Singh Bahadur, the founder of first Sikh Rule (May 1710—Dec.1715) was a unique and charismatic Sikh

personality of early eighteenth century. His military exploits against the Mughal Empire of India, administrative and revenue reforms introduced by him in the polity of Punjab and the way he courted martyrdom are well recorded in the annals of medieval Indian history. It goes to his credit that he gave a foretaste of political authority to the Sikhs who later on succeeded in establishing sovereign Sikh rule in the North-West of India. Though he was a great hero for the Sikhs, yet he was an enigma to the Mughals whose scorn is well-reflected in the contemporary Mughal chronicles. In spite of his extra-ordinary achievements, some aspects of his life and personality are still shrouded in mystery. It is a pity that we know very little about his childhood and early life. Fortunately, we have enough eyewitness and contemporary evidence in Persian and Rajasthani chronicles which offer significant insights into the most active phase of his life.

Our sources reveal that since July 1707, Guru Gobind Singh had been in contact with the newly anointed Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah. The Mughal chronicles as well as the Sikh sources confirm that Guru Gobind Singh had travelled to the Deccan in the company of the Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah.¹ The purpose of the Guru's itinerary was to continue the parleys with the Emperor to apprise him about the injustice done to him by the Mughal officials of Punjab. However, on reaching Nanded towards the beginning of September 1708, the Guru realized that the Emperor would not take any action against the officials responsible for the wrongs done to him and the Sikhs. Therefore he separated himself from the Emperor and decided to encamp at Nanded. Here he met Madho Das, a *bairagi*, who was well-known to all the mendicants roaming in and around Nanded.

According to Rattan Singh Bhangu, Guru Gobind Singh

had come to know about the personality of Madho Das from Mahant Jait Ram of Dadupanth of Naraina (Rajasthan) when he had the chance to interact with him on his onward journey into the Deccan. The said Mahant had also forewarned the Guru about the utter disrespect shown to religious persons by Madho Das.² According to the author of *Amarnama*, on the day of solar eclipse i.e. 3 September 1708 when Guru Gobind Singh visited the hermitage of Madho Das, he was not there.³ It is said that the Guru occupied a cot which was probably the seat of Madho Das. The Sikhs of the Guru captured a goat of the *math*, slaughtered it and started cooking its meat. It was taken as an affront by the disciples of Madho Das. They thought that he would wreak a great vengeance upon the intruders. On getting information, Madho Das rushed to his monastery. However, extra-ordinary conduct and behavior of Guru Gobind Singh and his Sikhs was enough to convince him that his magical skills and incantations were of no avail. In fact, he lay totally humbled in his own retreat.

On coming face to face with the Guru, conversion took place in his heart and at the spur of moment, he was totally a transformed person. He fell submissively at the feet of the Guru. The conversation that took place between the two at that time is found recorded in *Tarikh-i-Punjab* of Ahmed Shah Batalia. Interestingly, similar impression is found recorded in the Sikh sources. It is said that Guru Gobind Singh admonished Madho Das for his derision of the saintly persons. At this Madho Das acclaimed: "Now I am your Sikh and you are my Master. Forgive me, I am your slave. Whatsoever you order, I will obey it. Please admit me into your fellowship and allow me to be in your presence."⁴ The Guru took him as his disciple and taught him what it meant to be a Sikh. The Sikh and Persian sources reveal that Madho

Das was baptized into the Khalsa brotherhood and was given the new name of Banda Singh.⁵

We find that proximity between the Guru and the Emperor had alarmed Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind. He feared that ongoing dialogue between the Emperor and the Guru was detrimental to his position and interest. On reaching Nanded after a few days' company with the Emperor, Guru Gobind Singh separated himself from the royal camp. The Guru stayed back at Nanded while Bahadur Shah marched on towards Hyderabad. At Nanded, the Guru engaged himself in preaching his mission among the local people. Here, two Pathans who were perhaps on a secret mission developed acquaintance with the Guru. One evening, one of them struck the Guru fatally with a dagger.⁶ We can say with certainty that the said Pathan was well-known in the Mughal circles and held an office in the Mughal army.⁷ It convinced the Guru that the attack on him was the result of conspiracy hatched by the Mughal officials, especially Wazir Khan. As the nature of injury was very serious, his return to the Punjab in near future was not possible.

It looks quite plausible that before his demise on October 7, 1708 at Nanded, Guru Gobind Singh had commissioned Banda Singh Bahadur to wage a war against the Mughal authorities of Sarhind who were responsible for the injustice done to the Guru, his family and the Sikhs in general. The Guru bestowed upon him the title of *Bahadur* (the brave) and gave him a sword, five arrows from his quiver as a pledge and token of victory. A council of five Singhs was appointed to assist him. A *nishan sahib* (flag) and a *nagara* (drum) were also bestowed upon him as emblems of temporal authority.⁸ The Guru also handed over him the *hukamnamas* which were addressed to the Sikhs of Punjab enjoining upon

them to join him in his mission.⁹ Thus, in the company of about twenty five Sikhs, he set out from Nanded for the Punjab.

It is assumed that while moving at the head of a small band of Sikhs who were known to be Sikhs of Punjab, Banda Singh Bahadur kept a low profile, obviously to avoid any hindrance at the hands of Mughal posts. Gradually and slowly his small band reached the outskirts of the province of Delhi. Before marching into the Punjab, Banda Singh Bahadur thought it prudent to contact the Sikhs in Punjab so that he may mobilize his military resources. For that he established his base camp in the vicinity of Sehari and Khanda, two villages in the *pargana* of Kharkhoda near Sonapat.¹⁰ From here, he dispatched the letters of Guru Gobind Singh enjoining upon the Sikhs of Punjab to join and support the intended campaign against the *faujdar* of Sarhind. Similarly, the Sikhs accompanying him wrote to their relatives and friends informing them about the mission assigned by the Guru to Banda Singh Bahadur and requested them to rally round his standard. The Sikhs of Punjab responded to the call very enthusiastically. Even some of the Sikhs like Ali Singh and Mali Singh who were employed under the Mughal administration of Sarhind left their jobs and rushed to meet him.¹¹ The Sikhs of Malwa who were nearer to the base camp lost no time and without any fear and hesitation came forward to support the campaign with men and material.¹² Most of the people were fired with religious fervor and belonged to agriculturist and professional classes. In order to consolidate his position, Banda Singh Bahadur took initiative to win over the confidence and support of local people who readily promised to provide provisions on the condition of security and protection to them.¹³ In a couple of months, Banda Singh

Bahadur had rallied round himself a considerable body of Sikhs equipped with traditional arms. Its armed strength was sufficient to confront with the *pargana* level Mughal administration. Persian sources inform that first of all, Banda Singh Bahadur raided Sonapat which was not far away from his base camp. According to Muhammad Shafi Warid, the *faujdar* of Sonapat could not withstand the Sikh attack and fled to take shelter in Delhi.¹⁴ The taste of first victory was not only a morale booster, it also helped Banda Singh Bahadur to assess the striking power of the Sikh body under his command. Satisfied over the victory, subsequently step by step, he took control of all the *parganas* situated on the south-east of Sarhind.

In November 1709, he occupied an important seat of Mughal administration, Samana, which was a serious blow to the authority of Wazir Khan.¹⁵ From there instead of heading towards Sarhind, he made his way to the north-east of Sarhind up to Sadhaura in the foot-hills of Shivalik. He very carefully and systematically decimated all the strongholds of Mughal administration.¹⁶ A number of Mughal and Afghan *zamindars* including the Sufi Pirzadas settled in this area were the strong allies of Wazir Khan. They had enjoyed political authority and revenue-free grants for generations and thus formed the back-bone of Mughal administration. However, because of their haughty and atrocious behaviour, they had lost the goodwill of common people. Banda Singh Bahadur expelled the Mughal revenue collectors from these *parganas* and appointed his own people on these posts. Having secured Sadhaura, Banda Singh Bahadur encamped here for a couple of months obviously to make preparations to attack Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind. News of his military exploits against the Mughal *zamindars* and officials

had won the hearts and sympathy of the masses. Soon it caught the imagination of people who had no qualms to join in uprooting the corrupt and unjust Mughal rule. We are told that until now Banda Singh Bahadur had assembled thousands of armed persons recruited chiefly from the countryside and lower strata of society.

It may be mentioned that when Banda Singh Bahadur was busy in wiping out the Mughal authority in the north-east of Sarhind, at the same time the Sikhs in and around Amritsar had also arisen against the Mughals.¹⁷ For the Sikhs, Sarhind was a cursed city and to attack it with a motive to punish its tyrannical administrator was just like a holy war for them. A considerable body comprising the Sikhs of Majha and Doaba had set out to join the intended Sikh attack on Sarhind. Before invading Sarhind, Banda Singh Bahadur thought it prudent to wait for a while until they arrived in the neighborhood of Sarhind. It was very much desirable and crucial to supplement his military resources in the form of men and material. Wazir Khan had dispatched a column of Mughal soldiers under the command of Sher Muhammad Khan of Malerkotla to obstruct the Sikhs from crossing over the river Sutlej near Ropar.¹⁸ However, it could not thwart the Sikhs from their intended advance to join the main Sikh body which under the command of Banda Singh Bahadur had arrived at Banur. He came forward to receive them somewhere between Banur and Kharar and pitched his camp on a strategically located high ground of Chapparchiri. Obviously, count down for the Sikh attack on Sarhind had begun.

So far, Wazir Khan, who was considered a very competent and experienced Mughal administrator and was known for his ruthlessness, had fully realized the gravity of the Sikh uprising. He knew well that the Mughal reinforcement to his rescue was

nowhere to come from. However, to deal with the imminent crisis of Banda Singh Bahadur's invasion, he had mobilized all available military resources in the recent months. He had also stockpiled arms, ammunition and batteries of artillery, besides giving a call to the Muslim populace to join the holy war against the Sikhs. Although he knew well the chief objective of Banda Singh Bahadur, yet he had not ventured out to confront the Sikhs who had taken control of most of the *parganas* under his jurisdiction. The Sikh build-up in the ground of Chapparchiri, which was so close to Sarhind, could not be overlooked any more. Ultimately, Wazir Khan at the head of a strong Mughal army comprising horsemen, foot soldiers, matchlock men and bowmen supported by canons and elephants marched out of Sarhind, to give a fight to the Sikhs. Our sources reveal that in the ensuing battle, that took place on 12 May 1710, initially Mughal army led by Wazir Khan had an upper hand.¹⁹ However, Banda Singh Bahadur personally joined the battle front and prevailed upon the Sikhs to hold their ground. Encouraged by his presence, the Sikhs fell upon the Mughal batteries of artillery and elephants with such a tremendous force that in the ensuing fight enemy's battle lines were thrown in disarray.²⁰ It turned the tables on the Mughals. Subsequently, confusion arose in the Mughal ranks. Wazir Khan was killed along with some leading Mughal nobles. The baggage of the Mughal army, canons, horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Sikhs. When news of the rout of Wazir Khan and his army in the battle of Chapparchiri broke out, many of the traders, bankers, well to do Muslims, Mughal nobles and *ulemas* of Sarhind fled and took the road to Delhi.²¹

Next day after the battle of Chapparchiri, the Sikhs led by Banda Singh Bahadur invaded the fort of Sarhind. Though,

there was a feeble resistance, yet it could not match the fervor of the Sikhs. Consequently, on 14 May 1710, the town of Sarhind was fully in control of the Sikhs.²² There are conflicting reports about the fate and treatment of its inhabitants at the hands of the Sikhs. Most of the Mughal chronicles allege that Banda Singh Bahadur put the whole city to plunder, indulged in large scale killing of the Muslims and desecrated the Muslim places of worship.²³ At the same time, *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* reports that Banda Singh Bahadur had issued strict orders to the Sikh soldiers that there should be no harm to the civilians and their property.²⁴ Having taken control of Sarhind, Banda Singh Bahadur went on to occupy the area towards the west of Sarhind.²⁵ According to the cotemporary chronicles, the writ of Banda Singh Bahadur was so large and effective that Asad Khan, vicegerent and governor of Delhi province of which Sarhind formed a part, did not dare to move out of Delhi to confront the Sikhs.²⁶

Now, the province of Sarhind comprising twenty eight *parganas* extending from Ludhiana on the left bank of river Sutlej in the west to Taraolari in the east, yielding revenue of Rs. 36 Lakh was under the control of Banda Singh Bahadur. Firstly, he thought it fit to establish its administrative set up. Though he was a novice, yet very judiciously he worked over to evolve the administrative set up and successfully established the Sikh rule over this area. For example, Baz Singh who had accompanied him from Nanded was appointed the governor of Sarhind and Ali Singh was made his deputy; Bhai Fateh Singh was given the charge of Samana whereas Ram Singh and Binod Singh jointly held Thanesar.²⁷ Muhammad Shafi Warid, a contemporary historian testifies to the fact that: "In the *parganas* occupied by the Sikhs, the reversal of previous customs was striking and complete." He further adds: "A low

scavenger or leather-dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation, had only to leave home and join Banda Singh Bahadur and, in a short span of time, he would return to his birth-place as its ruler, with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries of his village, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him home. Arrived there they stood before him with joined palms, awaiting his orders."²⁸ Banda Singh Bahadur repaired the old depleted fort of Mukhlisgarh, renamed it as Lohgarh and made it the capital of Sikh rule. It was strategically situated on a hillock in submontane area of Sirmaur hills. Here, he struck the coin in the name of Guru and also issued a seal which was put on official documents of Sikh rule.²⁹

When Bahadur Shah was busy in the Deccan to suppress Kam Bakhsh, the Rajput chiefs had again resorted to rebellion. The Mughal sources reveal that in November 1709, the Emperor had also got the news of Sikh uprising in the Punjab.³⁰ It compelled Bahadur Shah to make haste to the Hindustan. Accordingly, he crossed Narbada on December 25, 1709 to reach in the vicinity of Ajmer on May 15, 1710. On the intercession of Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan, Bahadur Shah had to adopt conciliatory approach to settle the issue with the Rajputs.³¹ When the negotiations with the Rajputs were going on, the Sikhs under the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur had taken possession of Sarhind on May 12, 1710. Muhammad Hadi Kamvar Khan, the author of *Tazkirat-ul-Salatin Chughatayia* informs that the news of Wazir Khan's death in the battle of Chapparchiri and subsequently the occupation of Sarhind by the Sikhs was brought to the notice of Bahadur Shah on May 20, 1710, when he was approaching Ajmer on his return march from the Deccan.³² Bahadur Shah thought it prudent to resolve the Rajput crisis at the earliest

as the uprising of the Sikhs under Banda Singh Bahadur was of more serious nature.

On June 21, 1710, Bahadur Shah patched up with the Rajputs and thereafter devoted his full attention to quell the Sikh uprising in the Punjab. Our sources confirm that under the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur, the Sikhs had not only expelled the Mughal officials, subsequently to establish their own authority in and around Sarhind but had also subdued the Hill-chiefs who had allied with Wazir Khan against Guru Gobind Singh. In October 1710, the whole of Jalandhar-Doab had come under the control of the Sikhs.³³ The Sikhs of Majha were already up in arms against the Mughals. With the exception of Kasur and Lahore, they over-ran the whole Bari-Doab tract and were fully in control of Guru ka Chak (Amritsar).³⁴ Aslam Khan, the Mughal *subadar* of Lahore was no match to contain the Sikh rebellion. As the Sikhs had started hitting the outskirts of Lahore, its security was in great danger. Muhammad Qasim Lahori informs that the *ulemas* of Lahore tried to whip up religious frenzy of Jihad against the Sikhs but failed to evict them from the country side *parganas* in their control.³⁵ Towards the end of 1710, the Sikhs had become virtually the masters of a large tract extending from Panipat to Pathankot.³⁶ The Mughal commanders who had been assigned the military campaign to suppress the Sikhs had very little or limited success. It brought the Emperor to the battle scene in the Punjab to personally supervise the campaign against Banda Singh Bahadur. The alacrity with which Banda Singh Bahadur moved from one place to another, coupled with his power to strike the Mughal centers of power, was a serious challenge to the Mughal authority. Consequently, the Emperor ordered a general mobilization of all the Mughal forces in and around Delhi and also called for volunteers for Jihad against the Sikhs.

Towards the end of November 1710, Bahadur Shah at the head of a huge battle train encamped at Sadhaura. Besides the three Shahzadas, prominent Mughal nobles such as Khan-Khanan Munaim Khan, Rustam Dil Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan, Mahabat Khan, Hamid Khan, Feroz Khan Mewati, Sattarsal Bundela, Raja Udit Singh Bhadoria etc. were the Mughal commanders who were heading the different wings of Mughal army that had besieged the fort of Lohgarh.³⁷ However, in the beginning of December 1710, after giving a fight to the Mughal forces, Banda Singh Bahadur had made good his escape into the Sirmaur hills. For more than three months Bahadur Shah remained encamped in Sadhaura in the hope that the Mughal army with the help of Hill-chiefs would be successful in arresting him. A lot of pressure was put upon the Raja of Nahan but it was all in vain. Meanwhile reports of disturbances at the hands of the Sikhs towards the side of Lahore had started pouring in. On 6 March 1711, Rustam Dil Khan brought the news that the Sikhs were assembling in the area surrounding Lahore.³⁸ The Emperor was informed that Banda Singh Bahadur has appeared in the Bari-Doab where he has waylaid the *parganas* of Kalanaur and Batala.³⁹ It was also reported that the provincial capital city of Lahore is not safe from the Sikh onslaughts.⁴⁰ On 11 March 1711, it was reported to the Emperor that Bayzid Khan (also known as Qutubuddin Khan), the *faujdar* of Jammu and his nephew Shamas Khan, the former *faujdar* of Jalandhar-Doab had been killed in a battle with the Sikhs.⁴¹ There was strong apprehension in the Mughal circles that Banda Singh Bahadur might be thinking to invade the city of Lahore.⁴² We find that the Mughal provincial authorities of Lahore including the cry of Jihad by the *ulemas* of Lahore were of no consequence to contain the Sikhs. We observe that the theatre of Sikh war had

shifted close to the provincial capital of Lahore and the situation was worsening day by day. Thus, once again Emperor Bahadur Shah was compelled to mobilize all the military resources including that of the Rajput chiefs in order to suppress the Sikhs.

Subsequently, on 22 March 1711, the Emperor commenced on his march towards Lahore and en route on 7 April 1711, he was again informed that the Sikhs were moving in the vicinity of Lahore and they had set up their *chowkis* in the Bari-Doab and Kehlur hills and the *zamindars* of the surrounding areas including that of Jammu had associated themselves with the Sikhs.⁴³ Before the situation went out of control, on 5 May 1711, the Emperor ordered Muhammad Amin Khan to move at the advance guard towards Lahore and expel the Sikhs from there. Similarly, on 14 May, Rustam Dil Khan was also assigned to go ahead and exterminate the Sikhs.⁴⁴ According to the Mughal chronicles, in May-June 1711, a couple of times the Mughal army engaged the Sikhs in pitched battles, but in spite of inflicting heavy casualties on the Sikhs, it failed to apprehend the Sikh leader.⁴⁵ Towards the beginning of August 1711, the Emperor had arrived in Lahore but we find that towards the beginning of September 1711, Banda Singh Bahadur had very skillfully and tactfully shifted again the theatre of war to the Shivalik and Sirmaur hills. Evidence at hand confirms that with the exception of a few cities, the Sikhs had again occupied the areas around Sarhind and Sadhaura.⁴⁶ Bahadur Shah died in February 1712, without fulfilling his desire to exterminate the Sikhs. It may be mentioned that during Bahadur Shah's reign prohibitory orders against the Sikhs were passed and to identify them, all the Hindu officials employed in the imperial army were asked to shave off their heads and beards.⁴⁷ To exterminate the Sikhs

as a religious community, the Emperor had issued a general order for all the Mughal *faujdar*s to kill the Sikhs wherever found.⁴⁸ All these draconian measures could not deter the Sikhs from their fight against the Mughal rule.

With the death of Bahadur Shah on 16-17 February 1712, the war of succession broke out among the Mughal princes. Though, on 19 March 1712, Jahandar Shah had ascended the throne but his short reign was marked by court intrigues and political instability. It may be mentioned that when the Mughal princes were busy in internecine dispute, there was complete anarchy, chaos and instability in Delhi. It offered an opportunity to Banda Singh Bahadur to re-establish his authority over the area that he had once ruled. He sallied out from his haven of Jammu hills and moving with a lightning speed in May 1712, once again took control of Sadhaura and Lohgarh.⁴⁹ Zainuddin Khan, the new *faujdar* of Sarhind on 22 May 1712, informed Jahandar Shah of this development when he was on his way to Delhi and was camping at Sarhind.⁵⁰ The Emperor ordered to raise a new army and, to deal with the Sikhs, assigned the campaign to Muhammad Amin Khan and Zainuddin Khan. Some reinforcement from Lahore was also dispatched to assist them.⁵¹ Though, Muhammad Amin Khan supported by other Mughal nobles laid a siege of Lohgarh, but it was of no avail. Desultory warfare continued for some time. In the meantime Farukhsiyar, who was at Patna at that time, had set out for Delhi to lay his claim to the Mughal throne. However, in the wake of this crisis, towards the end of December 1712, Muhammad Amin Khan was asked to abandon the Sikh campaign and was called to Delhi,⁵² obviously to assist Jahandar Shah in the forthcoming war of succession. Zainuddin Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind who was left behind to deal with

the Sikhs half-heartedly continued the campaign but without any success. Thus, before the ascension of Emperor Farukhsiyar in February 1713, Banda Singh Bahadur was fully in control of Lohgarh.

We find that the war of succession that was fought on 31 December 1712 in the environs of Agra had sealed the fate of Jahandar Shah. Farukhsiyar followed it up and marched towards Delhi. On 2nd February 1713, he left Khizrabad and marching in a state into Delhi, took possession of the palace in Red Fort.⁵³ For a few days, he remained busy in making new appointments and bestowing rewards on choicest Mughal nobles. In order to refurbish the Mughal administration in the Punjab on 12 February 1713, he appointed Abdus Samad Khan, the *subadar* of Lahore and his son Zakariya Khan was made *faujdar* of Jammu. The father-son duo supported by other Mughal commanders was given the assignment to expel Banda Singh Bahadur from Sadhaura.⁵⁴ Evidence at hand suggests that Abdus Samad Khan took quite some time to take up this assignment; perhaps, he was reluctant to lead the Mughal campaign against the Sikhs. Anyway, we are informed that on 28 June 1713, the Emperor was informed that on 22 June 1713, Abdus Samad Khan along with other Mughal commanders had besieged the fortress of Sadhaura.⁵⁵ As Banda Singh Bahadur and his companions had made good preparation and were well entrenched in Lohgarh, they were quite successful to keep the Mughal army at bay for about five months. However, compelled by shortage of provisions Banda Singh Bahadur on 16 November 1713, again quietly retreated into the Sirmaur hills to the utter embarrassment of Abdus Samad Khan.⁵⁶

Though, he had disappeared into the hills, but the *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* reports confirm that the Sikhs

were active in Sarhind, Sunam, Ropar, Bari Doab, Kehlur and Jammu hills and by their depredations they had kept the Mughal *faujdar*s of Punjab on their tenterhooks.⁵⁷ On 11 March 1714, it was reported that Banda Singh Bahadur intended to go towards Batala.⁵⁸ Vakil reports of 24 February and 28 February 1714 refer to his takeover of the *parganas* of Kalanaur and Batala.⁵⁹ On 19 March 1715, it was reported that the Sikhs have taken control of Bari-Doab area. It adds further: "They had reached up to a distance of 12 *kos* from the city of Lahore. The *faujdar* of that district had fled away. The people had run away from their *parganas* and had come to live in the towns. In the *mahals* or territories referred to above the rebels had set up their own government."⁶⁰ On hearing these reports, Emperor Farukhsiyar was very much annoyed with Abdus Samad Khan for his failure to curb the Sikhs. Subsequently, strict orders were issued to him to immediately march against Banda Singh Bahadur who had entrenched with his companions in the mud fort of Gurdas Nangal. Besides asking a host of hill-chiefs, a number of Mughal nobles were ordered to proceed with their men and material to reinforce the army of Abdus Samad Khan. Thus, began a long siege in the annals of military history which was a litmus test of the Sikh spirit of defiance and determination as they were made to fight against heavy odds.

The Mughal chronicles confirm that in April 1715, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur and his associates were besieged in the mud fort of Gurdas Nangal. After eight months' long siege, the plight of the Sikhs in the fort had become highly critical. They were starving to the point of death. At last on 7 December 1715, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur and his Sikh companions fell into the hands of the besiegers.⁶¹ They were taken prisoners. Firstly, they were taken to Lahore from where they

were taken in a victory procession to Delhi and presented before the Emperor. On the order of Emperor Farukhsiyar, the carnage of the Sikhs began on 5 March 1716, opposite the *Chabutra Kotwali* in Delhi and one hundred Sikhs were executed every day.⁶² Though, they were offered remission on the condition of their conversion to Islam but none of them renounced his faith.⁶³ Before his execution in accordance with the imperial order, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur was tortured in full public glare in the most barbaric manner and on 9 June 1716, and thus he died as a martyr in the cause of Sikh Panth.⁶⁴

To recapitulate, the Sikh rule established by Baba Banda Singh Bahadur could not last long as it lacked the military resources compared to the Mughal Empire. The foregoing discussion reveals that Banda Singh Bahadur was not only a brave soldier but also an astute statesman who may rightly be called the harbinger of Sikh polity. His rule was no less than a revolution in many of its socio-political aspects. Instead of in his own name, he struck the coin in the name of the Guru. It carried the following inscription on it:

*Sikkah zad bar har do alam tegh-i-Nanak wahib ast
Fateh Govind Singh Shah-i-shahan fazl-i-Sacha Sahib ast*⁶⁵

(By the grace of the True Lord is struck the coin in the two worlds; The sword of [Guru] Nanak is the granter of all boons, and the victory is of Guru Gobind Singh the king of kings)

He also issued a seal which was put on official documents of Sikh rule. It carried the following inscription on it:

*Deg o teg o fateh o nusrat bedirang
Yaft az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh*⁶⁶

(The Kettle and the Sword (symbols of Charity and Power), Victory and ready Patronage have been obtained from Guru Nanak-Gobind Singh)

Alike the Mughal sovereigns he renamed some of the cities and towns.⁶⁷ He started a new regal calendar that began from the first year of the establishment of Sikh rule.⁶⁸ He abolished the much exploitative *zamindari* system and conferred proprietary rights upon the cultivators of soil. Socially speaking, it was quite a revolution.⁶⁹ Muhammad Shafi Warid, a contemporary Persian historian remarks: "A Sikh soldier of lowly origin used to take food from the same vessel along with a high ranking Sikh noble."⁷⁰ Banda Singh Bahadur also recruited Muslim soldiers into his army and they enjoyed complete freedom of worship.⁷¹ Some of the Mughal officials viz, Nasir-ud-Din Khan, *waqia-nawis* of Sarhind; Dindar Khan, a Ruhela noble etc. felt attracted to Sikhism thus abandoning their faith joined the ranks of Khalsa.⁷² He tried his best to forge a grand alliance against the Mughal Empire and for that invited the Rajput chiefs and Hill chiefs to join in the Sikh struggle.⁷³ Unfortunately, it could not mature due to the vested interest of Rajput chiefs. His strategy of warfare and innovative methods to combat the enemy speak volumes of his leadership in the battlefield. In this way, the first Sikh rule that was established in the Punjab under the leadership of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur was very unique in its nature. Really, it had ushered in a new era in the polity of Punjab. Banda Singh Bahadur was instrumental in wiping out the Mughal authority from the country situated between Panipat and Pathankot. He had made a serious dent into the Imperial authority. It reduced the royal Mughal dignity and status to dust. The myth of invincible nature of the Mughal Empire was shattered to pieces. Politically, it was such a serious blow that Mughal Empire could not recover from its effect and the process of its *fait accompli* i.e. down fall had been initiated.

On the basis of evidence, we can say that he was a baptized Sikh and remained faithful to the Guru till the last drop of his blood. Neither he was against the Muslims nor he desired extermination of Islam. His mission of armed struggle was not limited to punishing Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind who was responsible for the martyrdom of the Guru's sons; in fact it was aimed at throwing away the corrupt, unjust and atrocious Mughal rule from Punjab. Consequently, he established the first Sikh Rule and thus gave a foretaste of political authority to the Sikhs. He introduced reforms of far-reaching consequences in the administration. He conferred proprietary rights on the peasantry and the Sikhs belonging to lower castes enjoyed participation in political authority. The First Sikh Rule established by him extended from Panipat in the east to the outskirts of Lahore in the west, and from Lakhi Jungle in the south to the hills of Jammu in the north. Justice, righteousness and welfare of the people were the principles of his rule. So in the matter of polity, we can say that he was a forerunner of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Notes and References

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11. Ratan Singh Bhangu, *op.cit.*, p. 84.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
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16. Ganda Singh. *op.cit.*, pp. 37-40.
17. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, pp. 25-26; *Jaipur Records (Kaifiyat-i-Khalsa Sikhhan)* and Muhammad Qasim Lahori, *Ibratnama* in Balwant Singh Dhillon, *op.cit.*, pp. 47, 144-145; Ganda Singh. *op.cit.*, pp. 72-73; William Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, pp.103-104.
18. Ratan Singh Bhangu, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-91.
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39. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
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41. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, pp. 55-56.
42. *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, No. 311 and 44 dated 7 March and 13 March 1711 respectively.
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62. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, p. 161.
63. Ganda Singh, *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1962, p. 52.
64. Muhammad Hadi Kamvar Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 168; *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, pp. 165-166.
65. See above note 29.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, p. 27.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 51; Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, p. 61.
69. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, pp. 27-28.
70. Muhammad Shafi Warid, *op.cit.*, p. 212.
71. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, pp. 63.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
73. For Banda Singh Bahadur's attempt to reach an understanding with the hill chiefs and Rajput Rajas of Amber and Jodhpur, see *Vakil Report Rajasthani*, No. 52; *Arzdasht Rajasthani*, No. 203; *Kharita*, No. 59; Balwant Singh Dhillon, *Banda Singh Bahadur: Farsi Sarot*, pp. 49-50.

Chronology and Subject Matter

1. Arzdasht No. 195; Magh Vadi 2, 1767 / Dec. 26, 1710
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh.
Informs that Emperor Bahadur Shah had encamped in Sadhaura; Banda Singh Bahadur had escaped into the hills of Nahan; Diwan of Raja of Nahan arrested; Sattarsal Bundela prevailed upon Raja Bhup Parkash of Nahan to present himself at the Royal court; Sattarsal got permission to depart for his country; Khan Khanan, Munaim Khan took custody of the Raja of Nahan, who was disarmed and put under arrest; pressure put upon him to produce Banda Singh Bahadur; arrival of the Rajput chiefs eagerly awaited at the Mughal court.
2. Vakil Rep. No. 21; Magh Sudi 3, 1767 / Jan. 10, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Mughal Emperor puts pressure on the hill rajas to arrest Banda Singh Bahadur; Diwan of the Raja of Nahan, who was a Sikh of the Guru, arrested and tortured; mother of Raja of Nahan submitted petition not to dishonour his son as she is in search of Banda Singh Bahadur.
3. Vakil Rep. No. 23; Magh Sudi 11, 1767 / Jan. 19, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Informs about incessant rain, shortage of ration in the royal camp, large scale casualties of horses and beasts of burden; epidemic type situation at the battlefield; Banda Singh Bahadur had moved further into hills, besieged in a deserted house by the soldiers of Nahan

and other hill chiefs; it was rumoured that he was arrested but after giving a fight he had further slipped into the hills; very difficult to arrest him.

4. Vakil Rep. No. 36; Magh Sudi 11, 1767 / Jan. 19, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Whenever Banda Singh Bahadur is arrested, it will be reported.
5. Vakil Rep. No. 25; Phagun Vadi 4, 1767 / Jan. 27, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
There was a rumour that Banda Singh Bahadur was arrested and mother of Raja of Nahan is bringing him along with his two ladies to the court but confirmation of it is awaited; on January. 24, 1711 imperial camp has moved away from Sadhaura; Emperor has ordered a gift of jewellery valued Rs. one Lakh to the mother of Raja of Nahan.
6. Vakil Rep. No. 27; Phagun Vadi 13, 1767 / Feb. 4 , 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Emperor set out for Saharanpur and Buria; Khan Khanan, Munaim Khan indisposed; Banda Singh Bahadur supported by 8000 horsemen and foot soldiers still in the hills, well prepared to give a fight; due to heavy snow, passage blocked and hill chiefs could not arrest him; movement of the Emperor not certain but there was a rumour that he will go to Guru ka Chak (Amritsar) via Ludhiana.
7. Vakil Rep. No. 27; Phagun Sudi 2, 1767 / Feb. 8 , 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Informs that Emperor has encamped in Buria, prince Jahandar Shah has gone on a hunting spree; Banda Singh Bahadur after giving fight to the forces of Nahan is reported to have gone towards Kulu-Bhuntar.

8. Vakil Rep. No. 37; Phagun Sudi 2, 1767 / Feb. 8 , 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Banda Singh Bahadur has escaped into the hills of Kulu-Bhuntar; description of the cage which had been made to imprison Banda Singh Bahadur.
9. Vakil Rep. No. 33; Chait Vadi 8, 1767 / March 1 , 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
The Emperor has encamped near Saharanpur; fear of Banda Singh Bahadur is so wide spread that the Mughal officials and general public do not move out of the cities.
10. Vakil Rep. No. 351; Chait Vadi 13, 1767 / March 6 , 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Informs that Rustam Dil Khan assisted by Hamid Khan and Isfandyar Khan has been deputed to chastise Banda Singh Bahadur who had appeared in the hills of Kulu; it is said that an army of 40000 soldiers is at his command; the impact of Sikh uprising very severe in the direction of Lahore.
11. Vakil Rep. No. 311; Chait Vadi 14, 1767 / March 7 , 1711
Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It refers to the politics at the Mughal court, dissension and disunity among the princes; the Sikhs have established complete sway up to the outskirts of Lahore, consequently city's outer market has moved inside the city.
12. Vakil Rep. No. 44; Chait Sudi 5, 1768 / March 13, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
The Mughal army has set out towards Lahore; the Rajput chiefs asked to join the Mughal forces with immediate effect; the Sikhs had occupied Guru ka Chak (Amritsar), they had beaten back Shamas Khan and Bayzid Khan who had gone there to expel them; the Sikhs are preparing for assault on Lahore; the Rajput

- chiefs have lost the earlier opportunity to eliminate Banda Singh Bahadur but now they have got another chance to liquidate the Sikhs, let it should not go waste; each stage of royal halt en route to Lahore has been fixed.
13. Vakil Rep. No. 45; Chait Sudi 9, 1768 / March 17, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
The Emperor is very eager to march into Lahore; there was a news that Shamas Khan and Bayzid Khan have been killed in a battle with the Sikhs; proposal to dispatch Shahzada Jahandar Shah towards Lahore with the motive to liquidate the Sikhs; the Raja of Nahan imprisoned in the cage; strong apprehension in the Mughal circles that many more *zamindars* of the ilk of Raja of Nahan may join the Sikhs.
 14. Vakil Rep. No. 46; Chait Sudi 12, 1768 / March 20, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It confirms the death of Shamas Khan and Bayzid Khan in a battle with the Sikhs; people of Batala have fled away in the wake of Sikh attack; Emperor ordered to chop off the head of *waqia-nawis* for dispatching such a nasty report; halts and stages have been fixed for Emperor's march towards Lahore.
 15. Vakil Rep. No. 47; Chait Sudi 15, 1768 / March 23, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
The Emperor marching rapidly towards Lahore along the Shivalik hills; ordered the imprisonment of Raja of Nahan in Salimgarh (Delhi); it is the opportune time to join the Emperor in his campaign against the Sikhs.
 16. Vakil Rep. No. 48; Vaisakh Vadi 1, 1768 / March 24, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Informs about Inayatullah Khan's growing influence at the royal court and his advice to the Rajput Rajas to join the Emperor immediately; the Rajas feared arrest as

- Mahabat Khan had already betrayed the Raja of Nahan resulting in his imprisonment; the Sikhs have arisen in and around Guru ka Chak and have extended their control up to Shahdara (Lahore); third stoppage of the Emperor would be at Ambala.
17. Vakil Rep. No. 49; Vaisakh Vadi 11, 1768 / April 2, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Informs that the Emperor is immobilized because of *baltod* (boils); express orders issued to the Rajas asking them to join the expedition against the Sikhs; rise in price of grain in the royal *lashkar*, consequently scarcity of ration.
 18. Vakil Rep. No. 50; Vaisakh Vadi 13, 1768 / April 4, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Rustam Dil Khan informed that the Sikhs have created great disturbances towards the side of Lahore; he may be assigned the expedition to expel them; the Emperor told that he himself will be going there.
 19. Kharita No. 58; Vaisakh Sudi 6, 1768 / April 13, 1711;
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Information regarding revolt of Banda Singh Bahadur has already been submitted; advises the Rajput chiefs to reach immediately at the royal court.
 20. Vakil Rep. No. 51; Vaisakh Sudi 11, 1768 / April 18, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
In response to an enquiry it reports that Raja of Nahan has been put in the prison of Salimgarh (Delhi); the Emperor arrived in Chhat-Banur, bridge over Sutlej getting ready; animals of the people of Sadhaura taken away by the Sikhs; Vanjaras of that place helping the Sikhs.
 21. Vakil Rep. No. 52; Jeth Vadi 5, 1768 / April 26, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh

It informs about the plan to celebrate the fifth anniversary of accession of Bahadur Shah on the Mughal throne on the banks of river Sutlej; the Emperor gave Ropar a new name of Jahangirpur; strategy to establish a base camp of Mughal army at Ropar with the objective to block egress and ingress of the Sikhs into the hills; Rustam Dil Khan requested the Emperor to assign him expedition to suppress the Sikhs which was accepted; it was reported that Aghar Khan and his son and others are trying their best to defend Lahore; security of Lahore from the onslaughts of the Sikhs is at great risk; presence of the Rajput chiefs in the Royal court at this juncture will be of great benefit.

22. Vakil Rep. No. 55; Jeth Vadi 14, 1768 / May 5, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It refers to politics at Mughal court, talks about disunity and jealousy among the princes; restrictions on the Mughal nobles on their meetings with the princes.
23. Vakil Rep. No. 260; Jeth Sudi 3, 1768 / May 9, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It states that Banda Singh Bahadur has established himself at Kalanaur; the Hindus and Muslims are joining his army; the Emperor has crossed the river Sutlej and advancing towards Kalanaur; Muhammed Amin Khan along with Raja Mohkam Singh has been assigned expedition against the Sikhs.
24. Vakil Rep. No. 57; Jeth Sudi 11, 1768 / May 17, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Informs about high handedness of Rustam Dil Khan in levying the toll at the bridge on Sutlej; the Emperor displeased over it; Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan's confrontation with Rustam Dil Khan over the bridge; devastation in rain and hailstorm; Bassi Pathanan

- attacked and Pathans put to sword by the Sikhs; everywhere authority of the Sikhs on the rise; rumours that Banda Singh Bahadur will go towards Lakhi Jungle.
25. Vakil Rep. No. 59; Asadh Vadi 8, 1768 / May 28, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Banda Singh Bahadur has moved towards river Ravi; Hamid Khan devastated the villages around Kalanaur of which people had joined the Sikhs; Banda Singh Bahadur came back, confronted Hamid Khan and defeated him in a battle near Kalanaur; he has recruited many people into his army; Rustam Dil Khan asked to build a bridge over Beas at Rohila Ghat (Sri Hargobind Pur).
26. Vakil Rep. No. 261; Asadh Vadi 8, 1768 / May 28, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It mentions that on the instigation of Mahabat Khan, the Mughal soldiers clashed with the pay master, Hidayatullah Khan, over non-payment of their salary; Emperor annoyed over this happening; Banda Singh Bahadur has vacated Batala and it is rumoured that he may go towards Lakhi Jungle.
27. Kharita No. 59; Asadh Vadi 12, 1768 / June 1, 1711
Choube Jeth Mal to Lala Nihal Chand
Though the Mughal army has established its camp at Batala but it could not confront the Sikhs as Banda Singh Bahadur has a good number of horsemen at his command; the Sikhs put Batala to plunder; there is no one who can take upon the Sikhs.
28. Vakil Rep. No. 61; Asadh Vadi 14, 1768 / June 3, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Informs that Mahabat Khan had enquired about the movement of the Rajas and reason of their delay as there were various types of allegations regarding the intention

- of the Rajput chiefs; the Emperor displeased with Mahabat Khan over the mishandling of case relating to the Rajas; expedition against the Sikhs has been assigned to Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan.
29. Vakil Rep. No. 60; Asadh Vadi 14, 1768 / June 3, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Banda Singh Bahadur has moved beyond river Ravi; it is also said that he has escaped into the hills of Jammu; Muhammad Amin Khan is giving a hot pursuit; there are strong apprehensions in the official circles about the real motives of the Rajput chiefs; overall impression at the court is that they will never turn up at the Mughal court; Ajit Singh (adopted son of Mata Sundri) has an audience with the Emperor; Guru ka Chak (Amritsar) conferred upon him in *jagir*.
30. Arzdasht No. 203; Asadh Sudi 5, 1768 / June 9, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Services of the Rajput chiefs are urgently required to deal with the crisis of Banda Singh Bahadur; Muhammad Amin Khan and Isa Khan Manj engaged the Sikhs in a battle near Sialkot; Banda Singh Bahadur slipped into the hills of Jammu; there were rumours that he has been captured; writer wishes that he ought not to be captured thus Emperor may remain entangled in this country.
31. Kharita No.73; Asadh Sudi 9, 1768 / June 13, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Bihari Das
It refers to a report from Agra that Kharag Singh and other Sikhs have been captured; from them a letter of Banda Singh Bahadur written to the Rajput chiefs was recovered; such type of negligence is very harmful and in future be careful; Banda Singh Bahadur is said to have gone towards Lakhi Jungle with a motive to reach Ajmer.

32. Vakil Rep. No. 62; Asadh Sudi 10, 1768 / June 14, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Banda Singh Bahadur has inflicted heavy casualties on the Mughal forces and escaped into the hills; Muhammad Amin Khan, Isa Khan Manj and *zamindars* of the area are after him; shops of bankers accompanying royal entourage robbed.
33. Vakil Rep. No. 17; Asadh Sudi 11, 1768 / June 15, 1711
Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
After giving a fight to Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan, Banda Singh Bahadur has forced his way into the hills of Jammu; it is rumoured that he will go towards Daber.
34. Vakil Rep. No. 66; Sawan Vadi 5, 1768 / June 24, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Divulges differences between Mughal nobles; the Mughal soldiers misbehaved with the pay master over non-payment of their pay; consequently Mahabat Khan fell from grace of the Emperor, Rajas were advised to put their stay in the vicinity of Kurukshetra and wait for the grant of their *jagir*; Muhammad Amin Khan, Rustam Dil Khan and other *zamindars* are in pursuit of Banda Singh Bahadur, rumoured that he will go towards Bareilly.
35. Vakil Rep. No. 67; Sawan Vadi 13, 1768 / July 2, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Emperor remarked that though two encounters had taken place but the Mughal army failed to apprehend Banda Singh Bahadur; no Mughal noble dares to march against the Sikhs; strategy to fight the Sikhs that one column of Mughal army be stationed towards the east of river Beas and another in the foothills of Shivalik; the Emperor ordered the Rajput chiefs to take position on

- the left bank of river Sutlej and chastise Banda Singh Bahadur in case he makes his appearance there.
36. Vakil Rep. No. 63; Sawan Sudi 3, 1768 / July 7, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
The Emperor crossed the river Beas, royal camp flooded because of sudden spurt of rain water and bridge over river Beas washed away; Banda Singh Bahadur has slipped into the hills, he has a large force at his command and the Mughal army assisted by the hill chiefs is pursuing him hotly; the author advises the Rajas to move slowly in case of rain and encamp near Kurukshetra.
37. Arzdasht No. 90; Sawan Sudi 14, 1768 / July 17, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Amir-ul-Umra, Muhammad Amin Khan is said to have been assigned the expedition to subdue Banda Singh Bahadur; Emperor would stay in Lahore; from there he intends to go to Ajmer.
38. Vakil Rep. No. 70; Bhadav Vadi 1, 1768 / July 19, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan and Mahabat Khan deeply concerned over the delay and lame excuses on the part of Rajput chiefs as Emperor is very much annoyed over their delay; assures them that their interest will be taken care of; Banda Singh Bahadur is in the hills and Rustam Dil Khan has gone to chastise him; Emperor encamped at Chamiari which is at a distance of 15 *kos* from Lahore.
39. Vakil Rep. No. 72; Bhadav Vadi 11, 1768 / July 30, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Instead of presenting at the Mughal court the Rajput chiefs were ordered to move quickly and take position at Sadhaura.
40. Arzdasht No. 212; Bhadav Sudi 11, 1768 / August 13, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh

Emperor encamped near Shalimar garden in Lahore; due to heavy rain surroundings flooded; Banda Singh Bahadur still in the hills; Rustam Dil Khan has established Mughal army's camp in the foot-hills; the Rajput chiefs have arrived in the vicinity of Delhi.

41. Vakil Rep. No. 75; Dutia Bhadav Vadi 2, 1768 / August 19, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
 Informs that during the month of Ramzan the Emperor would stay in Lahore; Banda Singh Bahadur encamped on the bank of river Beas; according to the author now it is the opportune time for the Rajas to liquidate Banda Singh Bahadur; advises the Rajas to comply with the royal edict and set out immediately for Sadhaura.

42. Vakil Rep. No. 76; Dutia Bhadav Vadi 5, 1768 / August 22, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
 Negotiations of Vakil of Jaipur with Mughal officials regarding the grant of *jagir* to the Rajput chiefs; firstly arrive at Sadhaura then put a petition to the Emperor, only then the order of sanctioning of *jagir* will be issued.

43. Vakil Rep. No. 77; Dutia Bhadav Vadi 5, 1768 / August 22, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
 Refers to consultation over the issue of royal order regarding *jagir* to the Rajas; the Emperor would stay for a couple of months in Lahore; Banda Singh Bahadur has moved towards Sadhaura.

44. Vakil Rep. No. 79; Dutia Bhadav Vadi 9, 1768 / August 26, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
 Rustam Dil Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan ordered

to cross river Beas and chastise Banda Singh Bahadur; Rustam Dil Khan ignored royal order and returned to Lahore; Emperor annoyed, ordered his arrest and imprisonment.

45. Vakil Rep. No. 80; Dutia Bhadav Vadi 9, 1768 / August 26, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh

It refers to Rustam Dil Khan's imprisonment in the fort of Lahore; explains the reason for his disgrace that instead of supporting Muhammad Amin Khan and others who were in pursuit of the Sikh leader, he had deserted his position; it also refers that Banda Singh Bahadur has ravaged the countryside; consequently towns and cities are deserted; after giving a fight to Muhammad Amin Khan, he has escaped towards Sadhaura.

46. Vakil Rep. No. 265; Dutia Bhadav Vadi 9, 1768 / August 26, 1711

Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh

After yearly *jashan* the Emperor will depart for Delhi; month of Ramzan will be observed en route; Emperor's annoyance with Rustam Dil Khan is in the interest of the Rajput chiefs; In this crisis no one is in good books to whom the Emperor can assign the campaign of Sadhaura; the rajas are requested to avail the opportunity and join the Mughal expedition; also refers to acute shortage of grain in the royal army; unrest among the *ulemas* of Lahore over the issue of *khutba*.

47. Vakil Rep. No. 143; Dutia Bhadav Vadi 10, 1768 / August 26, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh

It informs that messenger along with the Parwanas drowned when the boat in which he was crossing the

- river capsized; requests the Maharaja to instruct the state officials that in future dispatch state papers wrapped in a water-proof (*momjama*) bag; and put your petition through the good office of Raja of Jaswan; it refers to poll tax levied on the Hindu pilgrims on their entry into Kurukshetra; consequently it would be levied on the Rajas also; thus on reaching Karnal instead of advancing towards Kurukshetra take the route of Sadhaura via Indri.
48. Vakil Rep. No.81; Dutia Bhadav Vadi 11, 1768 / August 28, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It refers to Emperor's displeasure over Raja Ajit Singh's conduct; Banda Singh Bahadur has again established his camp in Sadhaura; it is the opportune time for the Rajas to join the expedition against him; the Raja is advised to put his petition for increase in *mansab* and *jagir* only after taking position at Sadhaura.
49. Vakil Rep. No.83; Dutia Bhadav Vadi 13, 1768 / August 30, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
The writer advises Raja Jai Singh to prevail upon Raja Ajit Singh and counsel him to render the Mughal service with zeal; the Emperor has ordered the Rajas to confront Banda Singh Bahadur at Sadhaura, liquidate him and earn the royal favour.
50. Vakil Rep. No.317; Asoj Vadi 1, 1768 / September 16, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It informs that Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan enquired why the Rajas were dilly-dallying campaign assigned to them; the Vakil of the Rajas reminds the Shahzada the fate of Munaim Khan and Rustam Dil Khan that they

had met during their campaign against the Sikh leader; strong apprehension in the Mughal circles that the Rajas has entered into an alliance with Banda Singh Bahadur; reports unrest in the Mughal army over non-payment of salary.

51. Vakil Rep. No.90; Asoj Vadi 8, 1768 / September 24, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh

It deals with the uproar raised by the *ulemas* of Lahore over the issue of *khutba*.

52. Vakil Rep. No.100; Katik Vadi 8, 1768 / October 23, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh

It informs that the Emperor has enquired from Mahabat Khan about the decision taken regarding the case of Rajput chiefs; it was submitted that in accordance with the royal edicts both the Rajas have arrived at Sadhaura; the Emperor wanted to know why the Rajas entertain so much distrust?

53. Vakil Rep. No.106; Katik Sudi 6, 1768 / November 4, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh

It refers to the royal order that in case Banda Singh Bahadur attacks Muhammad Amin Khan, eventually the Rajas should rush to the support of him and liquidate the Sikh leader.

54. Vakil Rep. No.114; Maghshir Sudi 9, 1768 / December 7, 1711

Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh

Informs that Mahabat Khan has asked the Rajas to stay for a few more days in Sadhaura in order to quell Banda Singh Bahadur; however before the *gurjbardar* arrives the Rajas had already departed.

55. Vakil Rep. No.118; Pos Vadi 5, 1768 / December 19, 1711
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It refers to deployment of another column of Mughal army under Hoshdar Khan in the Jalandhar Doab; the royal edict that followed the earlier one, asked the Rajput chiefs to remain stationed in Sadhaura until the Mughal army under Hoshdar Khan takes its positions there; due to misinformation on the part of their Vakils the Rajas had already left Sadhaura; later on they were asked to spare 1000 *sawars* each for deployment at Sadhaura; ultimately they agreed to spare 500 *sawars* each for the above purpose.
56. Vakil Rep. No. 121; Pos Sudi 10, 1768 / January 7, 1712
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It refers to efforts being made for the sanction of *jagir*; the Maharaja after performing holy pilgrimage has left Haridwar for homeward journey.
57. Vakil Rep. No. 266; Phagun Sudi 13, 1768 / March 10, 1712
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Banda Singh Bahadur at the head of 4000-5000 Sikh soldiers encamped in Sadhaura; people are joining his ranks and fear of him in this *pargana* is wide spread; Muhammad Amin Khan has marched from Sarhind towards Sadhaura with a motive to confront him.
58. Vakil Rep. No. 267; Phagun Sudi 13, 1768 / March 10, 1712
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Banda Singh Bahadur has occupied Daber and writing letters to different places; *faujdar* of Ambala has mobilized an army of 1200 *sawars* and Sher Afghan, *faujdar* of Ujjain has also arrived in Panipat; they will jointly take action against the Sikhs.

59. Vakil Rep. No. 270; Chait Vadi 13, 1769 / March 24, 1712
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Shahzada Jahandar Shah has succeeded on the Mughal throne; refers to politics at the Mughal court, confusion and corruption regarding the confirmation of *jagirs*; talks about new assignments and promotion of Mughal nobles; jealousy among the Iranian and Turani nobles.
60. Vakil Rep. No. 145; Vaisakh Sudi 8, 1769 / May 3, 1712
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
Informs about the new appointments to the various posts at the Mughal court; preparations for war of succession with Farukhsiyar.
61. Vakil Rep. No. 286; Jeth Sudi , 1769 / May, 1712
Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
It informs that Banda Singh Bahadur has reoccupied Mukhlispur; fort constructed; the Sikh *thanas* established; Muhammad Amin Khan has engaged him in fighting; now he is preparing for an attack on Lohgarh.
62. Arzdasht No. 145; Vaisakh Vadi 1770 / April 1713
Chaube Jeth Mal to Maharaja Jai Singh
Mughal army is preparing for attack on Lohgarh; Abdus Samad Khan has taken position there and pitched battle is expected; Banda Singh Bahadur encamped inside the fort; has made good preparation to give a tough fight to the Mughal army.
63. Arzdasht No. 139; Bhadav Vadi 12, 1770 / August 6, 1713
Chaube Jeth Mal to Maharaja Jai Singh
Lohgarh besieged by the Mughal army; heavy down-pour; the Sikh strategy of warfare and fortification of Lohgarh; sudden Sikh attacks on the Mughals.

64. Arzdasht No. 161; Asoj Vadi 3-5, 1770 / August 27-29, 1713
 Chaube Jeth Mal to Maharaja Jai Singh
 It refers to Abdus Samad Khan's plan to raid Lohgarh and Staragarh; clashes between the Mughal and Sikh forces and losses on the side of Mughals; impression about Abdus Samad Khan that he is a coward and there is no unity among the Mughal nobles.
65. Vakil Rep. No. 245; Chait Vadi 6, 1771 / February 24, 1714
 Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
 Refers to widespread disturbances created by the disciples of Guru Nanak; people of Lahore scared; Abdus Samad Khan assigned the expedition to punish the Sikhs.
66. Vakil Rep. No. 244; Chait Vadi 10, 1771 / February 28, 1714
 Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
 It describes that *pargana* of Batala has been way laid by the followers of Guru Nanak; the Sikh uprising is of very serious nature; consequently the security of city of Lahore is at great risk and people are greatly scared of the intended attack by the Sikhs; Abdus Samad Khan has been asked to come back from his campaign against the Bhattis of Multan; and supported by other nobles he has been assigned the campaign to expel the Sikhs.
67. Vakil Rep. No. 282; Bhadav Sudi 11, 1772 / August 29, 1715
 Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh
 It informs that Emperor Farukhsiyar suffering from fistula; treatment by the European doctor; *pargana* of Sarhind laid waste by the Sikhs; Taqarab Khan failed to deposit the stipulated money (*ijara*) in the royal treasury.

Origin and Nature of the Documents

The state of Rajasthan, popularly known as Rajputana, the land of Rajputs, is situated in the southwest of Punjab. Before the independence of India, it comprised a number of Rajput principalities of which Jaipur, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Udaipur, Alwar, Kota and Bundi were the prominent ones. Besides the tradition of chivalry, Rajputana is well-known for its rich cultural and literary heritage. Even in the present times, it abounds in rich collections of manuscripts preserved in various private as well as public libraries. Being away from the invading hordes coupled with moisture free weather of Rajasthan, these documents were less prone to the vagaries of time. The Rajasthani sources with which we are concerned with are basically found in archival form. Before finding way to their new house i.e. Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, this material since its origin had been in the custody of erstwhile state of Jaipur. These documents have come to us in various forms, namely *Furmans*, *Vakil Reports*, *Arzdashats*, *Kharitas*, *Khatoots*, *Siyah Hazur*, *Dastur Kaumwar*, *Wahis*, and *Vanshavalis*. Presently, we are only concerned with the first three categories of which many of the documents date back to the seventeenth century. Before proceeding further these categories of documents deserve a brief introductory comment on their origin and nature.

It is well known that during the medieval times, the Kachhwaha Rajputs of Jaipur held a considerable political clout at the Mughal court. Since the times of Emperor Akbar,

they had come under the Mughal suzerainty and had joined the *mansabdari* system to serve the Mughal Empire. Besides holding independent charges of their principality, they served the Mughal administration in the capacity of *subadars* and participated in the Mughal campaigns as well. Since they were not obliged to attend the Mughal royal court in person, thus to manage their affairs they had appointed their representatives at the royal court who were known as Vakils. Their chief responsibility was to take care of the interest of their master, besides keeping a vigil on the parties and politics at the Mughal Court. They used to move with the royal camp and whenever required they held discussions on the issues of mutual concern with the Mughal authorities. Whatever the Mughal court desired from the Jaipur house, it was first conveyed to its Vakils. Similarly, the demands and petitions of the Rajas of Jaipur were put up in the royal court by these Vakils. There is no denying the fact that these Vakils were highly professional courtiers and their duties and functions were very much akin to the modern day diplomats. They used to send their dispatches for their masters in Jaipur. These dispatches were known as *Vakil* reports. These reports are found written in pre modern Devnagari and Persian as well. Bulk of these reports is now preserved in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. Similar to the *Vakil* reports, there is another category of documents which are called *Arzdashts*. Literally speaking, the word *Arzdasht* means a petition submitted by a lower level person to a superior authority. In the present case, these *Arzdashts* are the dispatches of Jaipur Vakils that had been addressed to their master at Jaipur. However on close examination we do not find much difference between a *Vakil* report and an *Arzdasht*. Another category of documents relates to the *Kharitas* or *Khatoots*.

These are the letters that had been exchanged between the Rajput states and their officials. The word *Kharita* in Persian means a bag; and because of the confidential nature of correspondence these letters were enclosed in a bag and hence they were known as *Kharitas*. Obviously, all these documents owe their origin to different factors and persons.

A cursory glance over these documents reveals that these documents have been recorded in Devnagari script. But its orthographical features are not identical with the modern Devnagari script. The orthographic style varies and absence of vowels is quite visible in many of the documents. One may also come across documents recorded in coded language. Sometimes vowel signs are missing and abbreviations have been employed. Words and phrases are not separated but joined by a line at the top. Similarly, no sign of punctuation or full-stop has been used to complete a sentence. All these factors make it quite difficult and cumbersome to decipher the documents properly and satisfactorily. A good working knowledge of the pre-modern Rajasthani language and its nuances is a pre-requisite for venturing into this field. Similarly, prior knowledge of the milieu, its events and characters participating in it may prove of immense help for proper understanding of the text.

These documents are attributed to different persons and out of them Pancholi Jagjiwan Das, Bhandari Khiwasi and Jeth Mal figure out prominently. Compared to the *Kharitas*, the *Vakil* reports and *Arzdashts* carry a very few corrections and additions. We are not sure whether the above mentioned *Vakils* had recorded themselves or they had the services of professional scribes at their disposal. These documents are recorded in medieval Rajasthani/Marwari language which betrays influence of Dhundari, the language of eastern

Rajasthan. There is a fair sprinkling of Persian vocabulary and it carries a strong flavour of phrases taken from the local dialects of Rajasthan.

Majority of the documents begin with an invocation such as *Sidhi*, *Shri Gopal Ji Sahay* and *Shri Ram Ji*. Then the author resorts to customary salutation to the Maharaja, eulogizes him in superlative terms and then to prove his fidelity and faithfulness pays him his obeisance in a most submissive and humble manner. In many cases author refers to the date on which earlier report had been submitted. Then the author takes a broad variety of issues and places them according to their significance and priority. These issues may deal with military campaigns, revolts, battles, promotions, assignments, confirmation of *jagirs* and parties and politics at the Mughal court. All the documents carry date at the end. In case the issue undertaken by the author requires more details than dates of events mentioned in it are recorded in chronological order. Dates have been recorded in accordance with the Bikrami/Samat (lunar) calendar. In this regard the authors were very particular because along with the date, month and year, day of the week also finds mention. Even in some cases particular place of recording and time of dispatch have been mentioned. The date on which these dispatches were received in Jaipur, has been marked on the reverse side of the last page of the document. On the basis of our experience, we can say that the accuracy of these dates is beyond any doubt.

It is worth noting that these are the reports that were submitted by the Vakils of Jaipur who were either present at the battlefield or were witnesses to the developments taking place at the Mughal imperial court. These reports provide significant insights into pre-modern Indian diplomacy at

work. They also present a fine example of communication and information gathering apparatus and a peep into the functioning of medieval Indian bureaucracy. These documents also offer contemporary evidence on the eighteenth century Sikh-Rajput and Sikh-Jat relationship.

A close look at the Rajasthani documents under discussion reveals that unlike the contemporary Mughal chroniclers, the authors of these documents do not betray any religious prejudice against Banda Singh Bahadur in particular and the Sikhs in general. Neither they found him an enemy of Islam nor did they depict him a blood thirsty monger who indulged in large scale killing of the Muslims. Similarly, in these documents we do not come across any incidence which is remotely concerned with the desecration and destruction of Muslim places of worship by the Sikhs. On the contrary these sources testify that thousands of Muslims had joined the Sikh army on their own or voluntarily to fight against the unjust and corrupt Mughal administrators of Punjab.¹ Significantly, the authors of these documents do not address the Sikhs in a derogatory and uncivilized manner and do not indulge in foul language to denigrate them.

We also observe that compared to their Persian counterparts, the authors of Rajasthani sources discuss the developments taking place at the Mughal court in more detail and do not hesitate to comment upon the parties and politics at the royal court; the environment of dissensions and intrigues that had resulted in disunity among the Mughal ranks. The authors of these documents were eyewitness to the rivalry among the Mughal princes;² how the Mughal royal house was divided into two rival groups;³ the way Mughal nobility had been split into two opposite ethnic factions of Iranis and Turanis;⁴ instances of insubordination on the part

of high profile nobles like Rustam Dil Khan;⁵ disputes of princes with high ranking nobles;⁶ the Mughal officials' indulgence in corruption and extortion;⁷ dissent among the Mughal soldiers on account of non-payment of their salaries;⁸ controversy over the *khutba* and uproar of the *ulemas* of Lahore on this issue;⁹ all these incidents which had been down played by the contemporary Mughal chronicles, find adequate coverage in the Rajasthani sources under discussion. The factors given above suggest that there was no discipline and unity in the ranks of Mughal army.

These sources reveal that Emperor Bahadur Shah was so sure of his success against Banda Singh Bahadur that he had already got made a special cage in which he desired to imprison him.¹⁰ But to his dismay, Banda Singh Bahadur not only gave a tough fight to the Mughal army, but also succeeded in, making good his escape into the Sirmaur hills. The Emperor had put a lot of pressure on the Raja of Nahan and subsequently waited in vain for almost three months that the hill chief assisted by the Mughal army would be successful to apprehend him. While the Emperor was still camped in Sadhaura, Banda Singh Bahadur had very tactfully and swiftly shifted the theatre of war to the Bari-Doab. It took the imperialists by surprise as they were caught napping and thus were totally ill-prepared to meet the exigency.

An analysis of the documents under discussion suggests that before Banda Singh Bahadur's entry into the Bari-Doab, the Sikhs of this area were already up in arms against the Mughal authorities. A *Vakil* report of 6 March 1711, confirms that impact of the Sikh uprising is very severe in the direction of Lahore.¹¹ Another report of 7 March 1711, mentions that the Sikhs have established complete sway up to the outskirts of Lahore and consequently the suburban markets of Lahore

have moved into the city.¹² Similarly, a report of 13 March 1711, states that Shamas Khan and Bayzid Khan along with 1500 *sawars* had raided Guru ka Chak (Amritsar) to expel the Sikhs from there but they were beaten back and now the Sikhs were preparing for assault on Lahore.¹³ Notably, a *Vakil Report* of 20 March 1711 mentions that when the Emperor was informed of the death of Shamas Khan and Bayzid Khan in a battle near Batala, besides the desertion of this *pargana* by its people, he was so angry with the report of *waqia-nawis* that he ordered to chop off the head of him for dispatching such a nasty report.¹⁴ It reflects Emperor's restlessness and frustration over the utter failure of Mughal campaign against the Sikhs. Interestingly, three more *Vakil* reports that were submitted on 24 March, 4 April and 26 April 1711, affirm that the Sikhs have arisen in great number in and around Guru ka Chak and have extended their control up to Shahdara near Lahore;¹⁵ the disturbances created by the Sikhs are very serious;¹⁶ and because of the Sikh onslaughts security of Lahore is in great danger.¹⁷ Resultantly, the Emperor was compelled to make haste towards Lahore where he died in February 1712 without accomplishing his cherished desire to exterminate the Sikhs as a religious community.

These sources inform that when Bahadur Shah was en route to Lahore and was still in the vicinity of Rahon, that on May 17, 1711, he got a very disturbing news that the Pathans of Bassi Pathanan, a village near Sarhind who so far had defended themselves from the Sikhs, came under their attack and the whole Pathan tribe had lost their lives.¹⁸ These reports suggest that the Mughal authority was confined to the urban centers, whereas the countryside was in the possession of the Sikhs. On 28 May 1711, in a battle fought across the river Ravi, the Sikhs had an upper hand over the imperialists.¹⁹ In

May-June 1711, Banda Singh Bahadur had evicted the Mughal officials from the *parganas* of upper Bari-Doab. It was reported that he might go towards Lakhi Jungle with a motive to reach Ajmer.²⁰ What was the objective of such a move, in the absence of evidence, it is only a matter of speculation. As we will discuss later on, perhaps Banda Singh Bahadur desired to establish a Sikh-Rajput axis with a view to fight against the Mughal Empire. However, instead of going towards Lakhi Jungle, Banda Singh Bahadur had made a tactical retreat across the river Ravi. The *Vakil* reports under study describe in detail a pitched battle fought between the Sikhs and the Imperialists at Chaprari near Pasrur and inform that after inflicting heavy casualties on the Mughal forces, Banda Singh Bahadur had slipped into the Jammu hills.²¹ On 2 July 1711, it was reported that 'he is still in the hills but it is also in the air that he may go towards Sadhaura.'²² There is enough evidence to prove that in the wake of Mughal war of succession after the death of Bahadur Shah, Banda Singh Bahadur lost no time to re-occupy his seat at Lohgarh. For the Mughals, in spite of the mobilization of a huge army, the situation was back to square one.

Another fact that emerges out of these documents is that the majority of the Mughal nobles did not dare to march against Banda Singh Bahadur. Chaube Jeth Mal in his *Kharita* dated June 1, 1711, observes that there is no one among the Mughal nobles who can take upon the Sikhs.²³ Even the Mughal grandee and war veteran like Rustam Dil Khan feared Banda Singh Bahadur so much that in spite of the strict royal order, he had withdrawn from the battlefield, subsequently to face the royal wrath.²⁴ The Emperor was highly disappointed to know that the Mughal forces had failed to put full pressure upon the Sikhs. He had realized that

'no one in the Mughal army has the courage to confront Banda Singh Bahadur.'²⁵ An *Arzdasht* of 6 August 1713 depicts the battle lines in a vivid manner and remarks that the Mughal soldiers lacked courage to challenge the Sikhs.²⁶ Similarly, another *Arzdasht* of 27-29 August 1713 by Chaube Jeth Mal alleges that Abdus Samad Khan, the commander of the Mughal army that had besieged Lohgarh at that time, was totally a coward.²⁷ Obviously, such an army and its officers could not accomplish the mission assigned to them.

Besides the spirited resistance on the part of the Sikhs, there were some unforeseen factors that had a heavy toll on the Mughal army. A *Vakil* report of 19 January 1711 describes the battle scene of Sadhaura that: "There has been incessant rain for the last five weeks. And even for a *ghari* there has been no respite from it. Besides the soldiers, camels, oxen and horses have perished in such a big number that it is beyond description. The scarcity of grain is very acute and consequently supply of ration has been obstructed. Prices of grain have shot up."²⁸ Other reports also testify to the fact of exorbitant charges of grain, acute shortage of supply in ration for soldiers and fodder for the animals of royal *laskar*.²⁹ The authors of these reports do not miss to include incidents of hail storms, flash floods and washing away of bridge built over river Beas. All these factors were severe deterrent in the smooth movement of the Mughal army and its morale.

An analysis of these documents reveals that Banda Singh Bahadur enjoyed the support and goodwill of masses. A *Vakil* report of 9 May 1711 discloses that he has established his camp in Kalanaur and many of the Hindus and Muslims were joining his army.³⁰ Another report of 28 May 1711 besides reiterating the same fact informs that the Mughal army had destroyed so many villages only because the people

of these places had joined the Sikhs.³¹ Another report mentions that *Vanjaras* settled around Sadhaura were the supporters of Banda Singh Bahadur.³² It is a fact that Banda Singh Bahadur enjoyed the support of several hill chiefs. There were strong apprehensions in Mughal circles that if the Raja of Nahan was not punished, then many more *zamindars* of his ilk could join the Sikhs.³³ A close reading of these reports suggests that the Mughal officials knew well that Banda Singh Bahadur had established his contact with the Rajput Rajas with a view to forge an alliance against the Mughal Empire. All these developments were detrimental to the interests of Mughal Empire

One can glean from these reports that tactical retreat into the hills, swift and sudden attacks on the Mughal centres of power and constant shift in theatre of warfare had convinced the Mughal Emperor that to suppress the Sikh uprising was a gigantic task. Thus he was compelled to redraw his strategy to contain the Sikhs. A *Vakil* report of 26 April 1711 unfolds that while celebrating fifth anniversary of his coronation, the Emperor told the Shahzadas and nobles that: "We are going to establish a military camp at Ropar and all of you build your *havelis* here. I have renamed it Jahangirnagar. It is strategically located because Shahjahanabad and Lahore are at equal distance from it. The entry of the passage that leads into the hills will be closed. Neither the hill chiefs could come to the help of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] nor he would be able to escape into the hills."³⁴ There is no doubt that the Emperor besides mobilizing the resources of Mughal Empire tried hard to enlist the support of hill chiefs. Similarly, he worked over time to exhort the Rajput Rajas to join the Mughal campaign immediately. According to the new strategy, one column of the Mughal army was to be deployed to the east of river Beas, another was to be stationed in the foot-hills of Shivalik while

the Rajput Rajas were asked to take position on the left bank of river Sutlej.³⁵ A *Vakil* report of 19 December 1711 refers to the deployment of Mughal army under Hoshdar Khan in Jalandhar Doab and the Rajas were asked to remain stationed with their *sawars* at Sadhaura and if need be help Muhammad Amin Khan to suppress the Sikhs.³⁶ However, all these measures remained inconsequential as shortly after reaching at Sadhaura the Rajput Rajas had left for their regions.

These reports also disclose that pilgrimage tax was levied on the Hindus whenever they paid a visit to their holy places like Kurukshetra. It seems that even the Hindu nobles and soldiers who formed part of the Mughal army, were not exempted from it. Significantly, we come across a *Vakil* report of 7 January 1712, which advises the Rajput Rajas that while marching towards Sadhaura, instead of passing through Kurukshetra, they should take another route because of the imposition of the above-mentioned tax by the Mughal government.³⁷ We are also informed that the Sikh uprising had also hit hard on the revenue collection of the Mughal Empire. One comes across reports that the Mughal *zamindars*, *jagir* holders and revenue collectors had deserted their villages and had fled away to safer places. To face this crisis so many villages were declared as *khalisa*.³⁸ Similarly, a *Vakil* report of 29 August 1715 refers to a petition put before Emperor Farukhsiyar that Taqarab Khan who had got the *pargana* of Sarhind on *ijara* in lieu of Rs. 52,00,000, had failed to deposit the money in the royal treasury because it was laid waste by the Sikhs under Banda Singh Bahadur.³⁹ In fact the effect of Sikh struggle under Banda Singh Bahadur on the economy and fiscal system of the Mughal Empire has not yet been properly explored by the scholars.

The commitment, speed and force with which Banda Singh Bahadur struck at the Mughal centres of power were

astounding. He was such a par excellence leader and charismatic personality that he could inspire and fire the imagination of his companions in an amazing manner. He was no less a military genius whose strategy of warfare to fight a mighty and superior army speaks for itself. Two *Arzdashts* of April 1713 and 27-29 August 1713 from the pen of Chaube Jeth Mal not only describe the battlefront of Lohgarh in a vivid manner but also underline the Sikh spirit of bravery coupled with strategy of warfare evolved by Banda Singh Bahadur.⁴⁰

On the whole, these Rajasthani documents are of immense value to understand the Mughal military strategy and diplomacy that have been evolved by Mughal Empire to suppress the Sikh struggle. Moreover, these documents bear testimony to the fact that Banda Singh Bahadur desired to forge an alliance with the Rajput Rajas with a view to liberate the country from the Mughal yoke. This issue which has not found adequate attention at the hands of historians has been taken for discussion in the next chapter.

Notes and References

1. *Vakil Report* No. 260, dated 9 May 2011.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 311, dated 7 March 1711 and also see No. 55, dated 5 May 1711.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 311, dated 7 March 1711.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 270, dated 24 March 1712.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 79 and No. 80, dated 26 August 1711.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 57 dated 17 May 1711.
7. *Ibid.*, see also *Vakil Reports* No. 265 and 270, dated 26 August 1711 and 24 March 1712 respectively.
8. *Vakil Reports* No. 261, 66 and 317, dated 28 May, 24 June and 16 September 1711 respectively.

9. *Ibid.*, No. 265, dated 26 August 1711.
10. *Ibid.*, No. 378 February 1711.
11. *Ibid.*, No. 351.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 311.
13. *Ibid.*, No. 44.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 46.
15. *Ibid.*, No. 48.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 50.
17. *Ibid.*, No. 52.
18. *Ibid.*, No. 57.
19. *Ibid.*, No. 25.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 57, dated 17 May 1711.
21. *Arzdashat* No. 203, dated 9 June 1711; also see *Vakil Report* No. 62, dated 14 June 1711
22. *Vakil Report*, No. 67.
23. *Kharita*, No. 59.
24. See above note 5.
25. *Vakil Report*, No. 67, dated 2 July 1711.
26. *Arzdashat* No. 139.
27. *Ibid.*, No. 161.
28. *Vakil Report*, No. 23.
29. *Vakil Report*, No. 49, dated 2 April 1711.
30. *Vakil Report*, No. 260.
31. *Vakil Report*, No. 59.
32. *Vakil Report*, No. 51, dated 18 April 1711.
33. *Vakil Report*, No. 45, dated 17 March 1711.
34. *Vakil Report*, No. 52.
35. *Vakil Report*, No. 67, dated 2 July 1711.
36. *Vakil Report*, No. 118; also see No. 265, dated 26 August 1711.
37. *Vakil Report*, Serial No. 47.
38. *Vakil Report*, No. 80, dated August 1711.
39. *Vakil Report*, No. 282.
40. *Arzdashat*, No. 145 and 161; also see No 139 dated 6 August 1713.

Statesmanship of Banda Singh Bahadur

An examination of Rajasthani documents reveals that Banda Singh Bahadur was not only a military commander but also an astute statesman. To overthrow the Mughal Empire, which had vast resources, was not an easy task. He knew his combatant ability and limitations as well. Exhibiting the qualities of a true statesman, Banda Singh Bahadur worked out a strategy to get together all the forces that were reeling under the atrocities and unjust rule of the Mughals.¹ In the immediate neighborhood of Punjab, Banda Singh Bahadur successfully subdued those hill chiefs who had collaborated with the Mughal *faujdar*s in their campaign against the Tenth Guru. Besides annihilating several of them by force he had also entered into an understanding with some of the hill chiefs who were somewhat dissatisfied with the Mughals. Muzaffar Alam has aptly remarked that "It was with his tactfulness and statesmanship and the demonstration of use of force that Banda Singh Bahadur made the hill chiefs his allies. It provided him easy excess to the hills."² In this manner he had no cause to worry about the hill chiefs who ruled from Sirmaur in the east to Jammu in the northwest of Punjab. We observe that whenever the exigency demanded, Banda Singh Bahadur often slipped into the hills to avoid open battle with the Mughals.

We have noted elsewhere that the Rajput chiefs of Udaipur, Amber and Jodhpur had formed a triple alliance to

fight against the Mughals.³ Though, Bahadur Shah had patched up with the Rajputs, yet Banda Singh Bahadur knew the fragile nature of peace in Rajputana. In this situation, he took initiative to form the Sikh-Rajput alliance which was of great political consequences. Besides, it was beneficial to both the Sikhs and the Rajputs. In fact, Banda Singh Bahadur desired to capitalize upon the discontentment that was simmering in the Rajputana. Unfortunately, however, Raja Swai Jai Singh II of Amber and Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur were still worried over their fortunes under the Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah.⁴ Our sources confirm that soon after the occupation of Sarhind, Banda Singh Bahadur had opened his communication channels with the Rajput chiefs of Amber and Jodhpur.⁵ A news report of 28 May 1710 that appeared in the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, states: "It was brought to the notice of the Emperor that Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ajit Singh had got the letters of Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and their replies had been dispatched to him."⁶ Though the contents of the above letter are not known, yet we can imagine that Banda Singh Bahadur was very anxious to form a Sikh-Rajput alliance with the sole objective of overthrowing the unjust Mughal rule.

We are of the knowledge that towards the end of December 1710, Bahadur Shah had encamped at Sadhaura in order to subdue the Sikhs and restore the Mughal rule in the Punjab.⁷ However, after giving a fight to the Mughal imperial army, Banda Singh Bahadur had escaped into the Sirmaur hills. But soon he appeared in the Bari-Doab where he waylaid the *parganas* of Kalanaur and Batala subsequently to expell the Mughal officials from there. Our sources confirm that even the provincial capital city of Lahore was not safe from the onslaughts of Sikhs.⁸ Shamas Khan and Bayzid

Khan the *faujdar*s of Jalandhar Doab and Jammu respectively had been killed in March 1711 in a battle with the Sikhs at Behrampur near Gurdaspur. Atmosphere was rife with rumours that Banda Singh Bahadur is contemplating to invade Lahore. In these circumstances, the Emperor rushed to Lahore to remain there till his death in February 1712.

A close look at the Rajasthani sources confirms that from the very beginning of Imperial campaign in Punjab, Emperor Bahadur Shah desired that Raja Jai Singh II and Raja Ajit Singh should be roped in to be a part of the Mughal expedition against the Sikhs. From 26 December 1710 onwards, we come across a number of Rajasthani documents which reveal the pressure put upon the Rajput chiefs to arrive immediately at the Mughal court.⁹ We find that instead of complying with the royal edicts, the Rajput Rajas had decided to follow the wait and watch policy. There may be more than one reason for it. As said earlier, Banda Singh Bahadur had invited the Rajas to join him in his struggle against the Mughals. So far the Rajas had not made up their mind. Perhaps they were in a dilemma to choose between the two options i.e. to join the proposed Sikh-Rajput alliance or to support the Mughals against the Sikhs. Perhaps they were unsure about the final outcome of the Sikh uprising as compared to the Mughal Empire's vast resources, Banda Singh Bahadur had limited men and arms at his disposal. However, before committing themselves to join the Mughal forces, they wanted to extract maximum benefit in the form of *mansab* and *jagir* from the Mughal government. We observe that their Vakils present at the Mughal court were working overtime to extract as much as they could.

We are informed that when Banda Singh Bahadur had slipped into the Sirmaur hills, the Mughals had put a lot of

pressure on the Raja of Nahan to arrest him. But the troops of Nahan were not good enough to deliver the desired result. The imperialists thought that the Raja of Nahan might be hand in glove with Banda Singh Bahadur. They feared that in case the Raja is not punished for his alleged collaboration with Banda Singh Bahadur, many more hill chiefs could join the Sikhs.¹⁰ Therefore, they worked out a plan to deceive the Raja and consequently impelled him to attend the royal court. Ultimately, the Raja was arrested and put in prison.¹¹ Obviously, it was a breach of trust which had alarmed the Rajput Rajas to be cautious of the Mughal designs. They were not sure of the real intentions besides sincerity of the Mughal Emperor. Thus, they were genuinely scared lest they should fall into the trap and meet similar fate that had been meted out to the Raja of Nahan. Therefore, neither the Rajas disobeyed the royal edict nor commenced upon the intended march. On one or another pretext they deliberately went on dilly-dallying their proposed march to attend the Mughal court. On 4 June 1711, Mahabat Khan, the third Bakhshi, summoned the Vakil of Raja Jai Singh and told him that due to the unusual delay on the part of the Rajas, his position at the royal court has become precarious and his rivals are leveling various types of charges against him.¹² In another report of 4 June 1711, the Jaipur Vakil describes that at the Mughal court the Rajas are being condemned as liars and unworthy of trust; impression in the imperial court is that they would never present themselves at the court and who knows for what purpose they have got together.¹³ An *Arzdasht* of 9 June 1711 from the Vakil of Jaipur, rejoices that by the grace of God he is quite hopeful that for a few more days Guru (Banda Singh Bahadur) would not be captured so that the Emperor may remain entangled in the Punjab.¹⁴ Another letter

of 13 June 1711 from the Vakil of Jaipur to his colleague unfolds the secret parleys that were going on between Banda Singh Bahadur and the Rajput Rajas. It reads as under:

The report that has been received from Agra, the place of occurrence that Kharag Singh and other disciples of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] have been captured and from them a bag containing the papers for Maharana Amar Singh (of Udaipur) was recovered. The authors add that a copy of the *farad* of the *waqia* (report of incident) has been dispatched...It further adds that negligence regarding the letter of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] was not good on our part as it has aggravated the situation very badly and in future we need to be very careful. After thinking over the issue, whatever decision you take, please write in detail to me... It is said that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has moved towards Lakhi Jungle in order to proceed towards Ajmer. Whatever information you get from there please write in detail to me.¹⁵

It suggests that a letter from Banda Singh Bahadur meant for Swai Raja Jai Singh II of Jaipur had fallen into the hands of the Mughal officials. In the Mughal court there was strong apprehension that Banda Singh Bahadur may go to Ajmer via Lakhi Jungle.¹⁶ It was a cause of serious concern for the Mughals as his presence in Rajputana could have resulted in the formation of Sikh-Rajput alliance which definitely was not in the interest of Mughal Empire. We find that the Mughal apprehensions in this regard were not totally unfounded. Significantly, a news that appeared in the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* on 11 September 1711 informs that Swai Raja Jai Singh II had got a letter from the Sikh leaders, namely Jai Singh, Bakhat Singh, Bhagwan Singh and Kaur Singh. Its contents are very revealing and worth quoting. It opens with customary greetings of *Fateh Darsan* and remarks that:

A letter in response to your letter had already been dispatched. It is hoped you might have gone through it. By the grace of God we have arrived in Kehlur that forms part (of the *pargana*) of Jammu. On the occasion of Dusehira [Banda Singh Bahadur] intends to give a fight to the Mughals in Kurukshetra. The Khalsa is on its march towards Lohgarh. Now it is the time for Raja (Sawai Jai Singh) to put the Mughals in trouble. It is high time to act upon the *Dharma*. Now the time of Mughal Rule is over. The good mannered Raja is advised to reach Kurukshetra. The Raja is also requested to get in touch with the hill-chiefs of Hindur, Jaswan, Kehlur and Jammu, and prevail upon them that this is the right time to act upon the *Kshatriya Dharma*, and they should not extend any support to the Mughals.¹⁷

It reveals that correspondence between Banda Singh Bahadur and the Rajput-chiefs was going on for quite a long time. A Vakil report submitted on 16 September 1711 unfolds that there were strong apprehensions in the Mughal court that the Rajput Rajas were in league with Banda Singh Bahadur.¹⁸ Meanwhile the Mughal authorities had been successful in luring the Rajput Rajas to their side. We find that on getting increase in their *jagir* and *mansab*, the Rajput Rajas commenced on their march towards Sadhaura. Thereafter, they did not entertain the Sikh overtures anymore. We are informed that when Bahadur Shah was encamped at Lahore, he received a report that Banda Singh Bahadur has appeared near Ropar and may again go to Sadhaura. It compelled the Emperor to redraw his war strategy vis-a-vis Banda Singh Bahadur. Consequently, the Rajput Rajas were ordered to move along with their troops to put up their camp on the left bank of river Sutlej at Ropar. A Vakil report of November 4, 1711 reveals that it was also decided that whenever the situation warranted the Rajput Rajas were asked to support Muhammad Amin Khan who was in pursuit of the Sikhs.¹⁹

All these reports provide significant insight into the proposed Sikh-Rajput alliance that was a cause of serious concern for the Mughals. However, the alliance failed to take off chiefly because of the indecisiveness as well as vested interests of the Rajput-chiefs. Instead of entering into collaboration with Banda Singh Bahadur with a motive to throw away the Mughal yoke forever, they were satisfied to hold on to their hereditary fiefdoms. Besides, on the basis of assurances, they were expecting increase in their *jagir* or *mansab*. In this regard they were constantly in touch with the Mughal nobles, especially Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan and Mahabat Khan who had promised them to take up their case with the Emperor. Finally the Raja agreed to join the Mughal campaign and according to a report of 21 September 1711, Raja Swai Jai Singh II and Raja Ajit Singh reached the vicinity of Delhi for their onward march to Sadhaura.²⁰ Another dispatch of 9 October 1711 informs that Bhup Parkash, Raja of Nahan, who was imprisoned in Salimgarh sent his emissary with a request to the Rajput Rajas to intercede with the Mughals for his release from the prison. The Rajas wrote back that they are the servants of the Mughal Emperor and are on their way to Sadhaura.²¹ They advised the chief of Nahan that he should write to his people at Nahan that wherever the Sikhs are found they must be taken captive.²² Though the Rajas along with their forces had put a blockade around Lohgarh, yet Banda Singh Bahadur again offered them to form an alliance with him. The *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* of 30 November 1711 informs that Banda Singh Bahadur wrote a conciliatory letter to the Rajas but the Rajas spurned the offer in a highly undiplomatic manner as they went on to kill the emissaries of the Sikhs, obviously to prove their fidelity to the Mughal Emperor.²³ It further adds

that: "Muhammed Amin Khan wrote to Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ajit Singh that if they jointly marched against the rebel leader (Banda Singh Bahadur) they could capture or kill him soon. The Rajas wrote in reply that the matter be reported to the Emperor. In case the Mughal soldiers (of Muhammad Amin Khan) were attacked by the rebels, they [the Rajas] would immediately reach there."²⁴

It seems as soon as Swai Raja Jai Singh II and Raja Ajit Singh got new assignments of *subadars* of Ahmedabad and Soarath respectively besides other benefits, they left the battlefield of Sadhaura. A Vakil report of 19 December 1711, states that Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ajit Singh had departed for their country.²⁵ The Rajasthani records confirm that before their return march to Rajputana, the Rajput Rajas visited Haridwar to perform the pilgrimage.²⁶ We are informed that as soon as the Rajput Rajas departed from Sadhaura, Banda Singh Bahadur took no time to reoccupy it.²⁷ We see the main objective i.e. the subjugation of Banda Singh Bahadur for which the Rajput Rajas had been called to Sadhaura was far from accomplished. Our sources confirm that soon after the Rajput Rajas left Sadhaura, Banda Singh Bahadur immediately took possession of Lohgarh. A Vakil report of 10 March 1712 states that after re-occupying his capital Banda Singh Bahadur was again busy in writing letters to different places.²⁸ It indicates that he was still busy in mobilizing the people against the Mughal rulers. Who knows he may again be establishing his contact with the Rajput Rajas also.

The Mughal nobles, who entertained apprehensions that the Rajput Rajas were in league with the Sikhs, had very tactfully prevented the Rajas to enter into any understanding with the Sikhs. To recapitulate, we can say that when the Sikhs under the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur were

fighting with the Mughal Empire to establish their own rule, the Rajput Rajas were sitting on the fence rather unconcerned. They were satisfied to administer their hereditary principalities under the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperors. We find that they spurned Banda Singh Bahadur's proposal of Sikh-Rajput alliance which could have been a formidable challenge to the Mughal Empire at that time. Who knows if the proposed alliance had become a reality, then the downfall of the Mughal Empire could have been hastened and the geopolitical scenario of the Indian sub-continent would have been totally different. Anyway, the foregoing discussion provides an insight into Banda Singh Bahadur's statesmanship which so far has not received adequate attention at the hands of scholars.

Notes and References

1. For Banda Singh Bahadur's tacit understanding with the hill chiefs see, *Vakil Report Rajasthani*, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, No. 52 and *Arzdasht Rajasthani*, No. 203.
2. Muzaffar Alam, *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India*, OUP, Delhi, 1986, p. 161.
3. Balwant Singh Dhillon, 'The Sikh-Rajput Relations During the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Sikh Studies*, Vol. XXXI, GND University, Amritsar, 2007, p. 21; also see William Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, p. 67.
4. Muzaffar Alam, *op.cit.*, p. 161.
5. Bhagat Singh, 'Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla', *Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. XVIII-II, Punjabi University, Patiala 1984 hereafter cited as *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, p. 24.
6. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, p. 27.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Arzdasht Rajasthani*, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, hereafter

- cited as *Arzdasht Rajasthani*, No. 311; *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, hereafter cited as *Vakil Report Rajasthani*, 44, 45, 48, 50, 311, 351.
9. *Arzdasht Rajasthani*, No. 195; also see *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, No. 37, 44, 311.
 10. *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, 45.
 11. *Arzdasht Rajasthani*, No. 195; also see *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, No. 37, 44, 311.
 12. *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, No. 61, 60, 67,70,76.; also see *Arzdasht* No. 203.
 13. *Ibid.*, 60
 14. *Arzdasht Rajasthani*, No. 203.
 15. *Kharita Rajasthani*, No. 73.
 16. It is well reflected in the above *Kharita* as well as in the *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, No. 57 and 261 submitted respectively on 7 May and 28 May 1711.
 17. One such letter of Banda Singh Bahadur proposing the Sikh-Rajput alliance is in the J.N. Sarkar's transcripts, National Library, Calcutta. J.N. Sarkar has got its copy from *Kapadwara Collection* when he was commissioned to write the *History of Jaipur*, see J.N. Sarkar Collection, *Jaipur Records*, Vol. XIV, pp. 213-14; also see Balwant Singh Dhillon, *Banda Singh Bahadur: Farsi Sarot*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2011, pp. 49-50.
 18. *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, No. 317.
 19. *Ibid*; No. 106, 118.
 20. *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, No.76; *Arzdasht Rajasthani*, No. 212; also see *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, p.85.
 21. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, pp. 87-88.
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 94; *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, No.106.
 24. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, p. 95.
 25. *Vakil Reports Rajasthani*, No. 118.
 26. *Ibid.*, No. 121.
 27. *Ibid.*, No. 266.
 28. *Ibid.*, No. 267.

**English Translation
of the Documents**

Sr. No. 1

Magh Vadi 2 (1767)

Arzdasht No. 195

December 26, 1710

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh acknowledges the receipt of a *parwana* of the Raja on Poh Sudi 4 (Samat 1767, 13 Dec. 1710). It states that on Magh Vadi 1 (Samat 1767, 10 Nov. 1710) the Emperor set out on his march and has now encamped in the *mauza* of Sadhaura. From here the stages of his advance march would be fixed to the place where he decides to go. So far nothing is clear. The writer informs that Diwan of the Raja of Nahan was insulted by Nawab Khan Khanan. Handcuff and fetters were put on and an iron collar was fixed around his neck and he was thrown into the prison. It is said that he has written a *muchalaka* (a bond, written agreement) to the effect that he will produce the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Nobody knows whether he has signed it out of fear or he will really be able to do it. The Raja of Nahan has been put under the custody of a *chauki*. ...The writer informs the Raja that Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) enquired from him (author) about the progress of the Raja's (Swai Raja Jai Singh) march in order to attend the Mughal court. He informed the Nawab that the Raja has departed from Nai Sarai.¹ At this the Nawab retorted that they (the Rajput chiefs) are marching very sluggishly and for that they will have to bear the brunt. The writer advises the Amber ruler that it would be better if Raja Ajit Singh (of Jodhpur) accompanied him to the Mughal court. In case he delays his departure, then it is my earnest request that you should reach the court as soon as possible.

1. 3 KM from Narnaul on Delhi Road.

On Magh Sudi 2 (Dec. 26, 1710) Bhandari Khivsi arrived at the camp of royal army. ...

The writer adds that Raja Satarsal Bundela has deceived the Raja of Nahan: that is why he came down from the hills to present himself at the Mughal court. Raja Sattarsal [Bundela] has got permission to leave and has departed for his country. Subsequently, he had hardly covered one stage when Mahabat Khan took custody of the Raja of Nahan and presented him before Nawab Khan Khanan. Nawab enquired from the Raja about the whereabouts of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. The Raja replied that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] forced his way and had passed through his country. On this Nawab went into the enclosure and Mahabat Khan followed him there. They signalled to the Mughal soldiers to disarm the Raja of Nahan. The Raja was put into prison in a *ravti* (small tent) in front of the *deodhi* (entrance, gateway) of Nawab. In and outside the *ravti* a *chouki* has been deputed. Raja of Nahan says that he has come to the court on the persuasion of Nawab and was fully faithful to the Emperor. Neither the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is with him nor he has given any shelter to him. The Nawab retorted that Raja is telling a big lie. He asked the Raja either to produce the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] or be ready to face the punishment that his Diwan has undergone. The Raja of Nahan is accompanied by a yogi, who claims that he will produce the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] at the royal court. Who knows whether he is saying it out of fear or his claim is trustworthy? [Magh Vadi 2, 1767].

Sr. No. 2
Vakil Report No. 21

Magh Sudi 3, 1767
January 10, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh mentions that the Emperor has issued *hasab-ul-hukm* and a *gurjbardar* has departed to deliver it to the Rajas of Hill region to capture the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] wherever he is found in their territory. *Arzdasht* from the Rajas has been received wherein it is mentioned that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] did not enter into their territory and he may be in the hills of Nahan. The Emperor ordered Khan Khanan to summon the Raja of Nahan and put him into prison until he produces the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) summoned the Raja of Nahan and enjoined upon him to comply with the royal order. The Raja said to him: 'I have no knowledge of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur].' He further told that his Diwan who is a Sikh of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] may be in the knowedge of his whereabouts. Diwan of the Raja was arrested and beaten severely and consequently his survival is very difficult. On the second day, the Emperor ordered Khan Khanan that mere torturing of the Diwan will get you nowhere and instead he should imprison the Raja and tell him that his country would be laid waste if he did not present the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Consequently, Khan Khanan has put the Raja into prison and some of his people have fled away. Now the mother of the Raja of Nahan has petitioned to the Emperor requesting him not to dishonour her son any more. She also said that she was searching for the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and whenever she gets hold of him she will produce him without any delay. Whatever will be the outcome, it will be submitted later on. Dated Magh Sudi 3, Samat 1767.

Sr. No. 3
 Vakil Report No. 23

Magh Sudi 11, 1767
 January 19, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh makes reference to earlier *Arzdasht* dispatched on Magh Sudi 3 Wednesday (10 Jan. 1711) which might have reached and the whole affairs might have been revealed. ... It informs that there has been incessant rain for the last five weel and there has been no respite from it even for a *ghari* (22.5 Minutes). Besides the soldiers, a large number of camels, bullocks and horses have perished that is beyond description. The scarcity of grain is very acute and consequently supply of ration has been obstructed. Prices of grains have shot up. I have stocked my ration separately. There is no news of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. It is said he has sneaked away from the territory of the Raja of Nahan and has gone farther into the hills. The mother of the Raja of Nahan is the sister of that hill-chief. She has gone to her brother to plead that: 'her son has been imprisoned and it looks he will be freed only after death and for that you will be held responsible.' Then the people of Nahan and of that hill chief joined hands to search out the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] who had got shelter in a deserted house. The joint militia of the hill chiefs has engaged the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] in a battle at that place. The Guru [Banda Singh Singh] has no place to escape as beyond that abandoned house there is a big range of snow covered mountains. Due to snow imperial army cannot move there. The Emperor is pressing upon the hill chiefs not to let the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] escape. Some persons say that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has been captured and some say he will be caught very soon.

Whatever is the reality I will submit it later on. ...In the reign of this Emperor (Bahadur Shah), Rustam Dil Khan has become very powerful and his temperament is known to His Majesty very well. With an army of 5000 cavalry, he is ready to march towards Sarhind. I pray to God, the Imperial army may move out from here at the earliest. I (author) visited the camp of Raja Raj Singh who told me that the Guru [Banda Singh Singh] has escaped from the territory of the Raja of Nahan and has taken shelter at a place which is at a distance of 80 *kos* from the boundary of Nahan and to get hold of him is very difficult. It is also rumoured in the court circles that today he will be produced at the court. Whenever he (Banda Singh Bahadur) is produced, I will submit the report thereafter. Dated Magh Sudi 11, Samat 1767.

Sr. No. 4

Magh Sudi 11, 1767

Vakil Report No. 36

January 19, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh acknowledges with gratitude the receipt of *parwanas* of the Maharaja issued on Magh Vadi 5 and Magh Vadi 8 received on Magh Sudi 3, Wednesday. Besides the other matters, it informs that whenever the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is captured the Maharaja will be duly informed. ... Dated Magh Sudi 11, Samat 1767. Camp Sadhaura.

Sr. No. 5

Phagun Vadi 4, 1767

Vakil Report No. 25

January 27, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier *Arzdasht* dispatched on Magh Sudi 11. It informs that on Magh Sudi 11, Monday (Jan. 22, 1711) a *harkara* (messenger) brought the news to the court that the mother of the Raja of Nahan is bringing the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] to present him before the Emperor. She is encamped at a distance of 12 *kos* from the royal camp and has submitted that Mahabat Khan may be ordered to come forward to take custody of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Then *chelas* were dispatched to Mahabat Khan with an order to bring the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] to the court in an iron thorny cage that had been made solely for this purpose. Along with the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] two of his wives who have been captured should be brought in a chariot. Then Mahabat Khan and Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) went to the royal court. Emperor ordered them to proceed with an armed contingent and produce the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] in the court. Khan Khanan submitted that his *harkaras* have reported from the spot that though the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has been captured but they are still on their way to the royal court. Whenever he [Banda Singh Bahadur] comes nearer, Mahabat Khan will go there to bring him to present at the court. Then Emperor ordered Khan Khanan to dispatch more *harkaras* with an urgent message to present the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] at the earliest. On Phagun Vadi 1 (Jan. 24, 1711) Emperor's camp moved from this side of Sadhaura to a camp at a distance of one *kos* further away from Sadhaura. ...It is said that the Emperor has ordered ornaments

of worth rupees one Lakh for the mother of Raja of Nahau. Whatever is the truth, I will submit. Dated Phagun Vadi 4, Samat 1767.

The author further informs that he arrived on Phagun Vadi 2 (1767; Jan. 25, 1711), at the place where the royal entourage was stationed.

Sr. No. 6

Phagun Vadi 13, 1767

Vakil Report No. 27

February 4, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh makes reference to the earlier *Arzdasht* dispatched on Phagun Vadi 4 Saturday (Jan. 27, 1711) which might have been received. It informs that on Phagun Vadi 5, Sunday (Jan. 28, 1711) the Emperor enjoyed a *jashan* (celebration) and on Phagun Vadi 7 (Jan. 30, 1711), Tuesday the royal entourage set out for Saharanpur-Buria. It is rumoured that Emperor will go to Shahjahanabad. ...For the last three days due to pain caused by a boil in the nose, Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) is not attending the royal court. Due to severe cough Mahabat Khan is suffering from tonsillitis and he is also not attending the court. The Writer also mentions of his ill-health which is because of severe cold and rain. Though he has taken medicine prescribed by the ayurvedic practitioner yet there is no improvement in his health. ...Firstly there was a news that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] will be captured in a day or two and produced in the court. Now news has come that due to heavy snowfall all the passes have been closed. The mother of Raja of Nahan has petitioned to the Emperor that: 'Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is in our hills. Our people have surrounded him but he could not be arrested because of heavy snow. Whenever the snow melts, we will arrest him and produce him at the royal court.' This type of news is in circulation for so many days. It is also said that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] along with well-equipped 8000 horsemen and foot soldiers is ready to give a fight. Therefore the Raja of Nahan is helpless to imprison him. It is also said that he has already escaped and because of snowfall only

some of his companions remain besieged there. Whatever information is received will be submitted later on. The writer adds that nothing is definite about the movements of the Emperor. Firstly, there was a news that the Emperor will march towards Ludhiana so that Sikhs of the Guru could be subdued and expelled from *Guru ka Chak* (Amritsar). Now the royal camp has moved towards Saharanpur-Buria. It is also said that the Emperor will go to Shahjahanabad via Main-Doab [Jamuna-Gang] route. Thus nothing is certain about the Emperor's campaign and his movements. On Phagun Vadi 8, (Jan. 31, 1711) Wednesday, the Emperor set out on his march and entered the royal camp quite late in the night. On Phagun Vadi 11, Thursday the royal entourage again took off and stopped at a place which is at a distance of 2.5 *kos jaribi*¹ from Saharanpur. ...It further adds that the Emperor ordered the royal entourage to move from Saharanpur and put up a camp at Mukhlispur where he will indulge in the game of hunting. Information about the Mughal court will be made known to His Highness from the report of Pancholi Jagjiwan Das and the *farad* (list of events) of *waqia* (actual place). Dated Phagun Vadi 13, Sunday Samat 1767.

1. *Jarib*, a chain/rope for measuring distance, the length of which was 22 yards.

Sr. No. 7

Phagun Sudi 2, 1767

Vakil Report No. 29

February 8, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh makes a reference to earlier *Arzdasht* dispatched on Phagun Vadi 13, Sunday. It informs that on Phagun Vadi 14, Monday (Feb. 5, 1711), Shahzada Jahandar Shah submitted to the Emperor that people have surrounded a lion near the town of Indri and sought permission to go there for hunting. The Emperor allowed the Shahzada and he has at once departed for there accompanied by a detachment. It is rumoured that Kokaltash Khan holds a *jagir* in Panipat and has built a house there and possibly Shahzada will go there to enjoy his hospitality. On Phagun Vadi 14, the Emperor commenced on his march and the royal entourage stopped at a place which is at a distance of 2 *kos* on this side of Buria. Nawab Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) has a severe pain due to pus caused by a boil in his nose. Even leech was used to drain out the pus yet there is no respite from the pain. Again the use of leech is suggested, that is why Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) and Mahabat Khan have put up their camp there; and (Bhandari) Khivsi and the author have also halted there alongwith them...About the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] there is a hot news in the royal army that he has escaped after giving a fight to the people of Raja of Nahan. It is also said that he has gone to the hills of Bhuntantar (Bhuntar near Kulu) and that is why the Emperor is uncertain about the future course of action and moving very slowly.Dated Phagun Sudi 2, Samat 1767.

Sr. No. 8

Phagun Sudi 2, 1767

Vakil Report No. 37

February 8, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh besides other affairs informs that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is said to have escaped and gone towards Bhutant (Bhuntar). It goes on to add that actually there is no definite information about where he has gone. After getting correct information, I (author) will submit the report later on. An iron cage has been made to lock up the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] in it. It is made in such a way as it has nails on all sides which prick the body of the imprisoned person so that he remains standing all the time. It is loaded on a bullock-cart which is parked outside the *gulahwara* (royal enclosure). The writer further submits that Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan, Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) and Mahabat Khan all have recommended time and again and the Emperor has also ordered that Maharaja's (Swai Jai Singh) attendance at the royal court is required. So please reach the court without any delay. ... Dated Phagun Sudi 2, Samat 1767.

Sr. No. 9
Vakil Report No. 33

Chait Vadi 8, 1767
March 1, 1711

Arzdasht refers to the earlier one dispatched on third hour of Phagun Sudi 12, Monday (Feb.19, 1711) which must have reached and the fact of matter may have been revealed... It further adds that on Chait Vadi 5, Monday (Feb. 26, 1711) the Emperor got ready to set out on his march and entered the royal camp put up near Saharanpur...

The writer adds that (because of the uprising of the Sikhs) no one ventures out of the cities. Therefore the royal army has taken longer route (to reach Lahore)... It is also rumoured that the army of the Deccanis has crossed the river Narbada and consequently disturbance in Deccan is of very serious nature. Dated Chait Vadi 8 Samat 1767 dispatched at noon. [Most of the text following above is in coded language which is not easy to decode].

Sr. No. 10

Chait Vadi 13, 1767

Vakil Report No. 351

March 6, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to an earlier *Arzdasht* which was written at noon and dispatched on Chait Vadi 13 (Samat 1767; March 6, 1711) may have been received. It informs that Hamid Khan Bahadur and Isfandyar Khan departed at the head of 15000 *swars* with the objective to liquidate the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. They have been put under the over all command of Rustam Dil Khan. A *dastak* (written order) in the name of Vijay Singh (Kuchhwaha) has been issued wherein he has been asked to provide 300 *sawars* for the above-said force. Let us see whether Vijay Singh would be able to fulfil the promise or not. The Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has appeared in the hills of Kulu and Bhuntar. It is said that 40,000 *sawars* and foot-soldiers are with him. He appeared from the hills and ravaged so many villages in the foot-hills around Ropar. The revolt raised by the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is fairly wide spread in the direction of Lahore. Now let us see to which direction the Emperor resumes his march. Detailed report will be submitted after getting correct information. Dated Chait Vadi 13,1767.

Sr. No. 11
Vakil Report No. 311

Chait Vadi 14, 1767
March 7, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh dispatched on Chait Vadi 14 informs that the Emperor has very kindly issued a *farman* to both the Rajas imploring them to attend the royal court. The reason for such an order is that three Shahzadas (Jahandar Shah, Jahan Shah and Rafi-ush-Shan) are on one side whereas Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan and the Emperor are on the other side. All the three Shahzadas are contemplating to raise a revolt. Emperor knows well that he has been gracious towards the Rajput Rajas and they are equally faithful to him. Thus their presence at the court at this juncture would certainly strengthen the position of Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan. The writer adds that the Rajas have already lost a good opportunity provided by the uprising created by the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] to be at the royal court. ...Now the present opportunity must not be lost. It would be highly beneficial if the Rajas arrive at the court at their earliest convenience. Even Shahzada Azim-ush-Shah has personally asked the writer to advise the Rajas to attend the court without any delay. Mahabat Khan has also reiterated the same that the absence of the Rajas at the court at this juncture is greatly harmful to our interest. He says that the presence of the Rajas at the royal court would have prevented our position from deteriorating. In case they arrive immediately, it will restore our position to the earlier one. The writer adds that the Sikhs of the Guru have very strongly established their sway around Lahore. The market which used to be held outside the Lahore city has been abandoned and now it has been set up inside the city. [Chait Vadi 14, 1767].

Sr. No. 12
 Vakil Report No. 44

Chait Sudi 5, 1768
 March 13, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh states that on Chait Sudi 3 Sunday (March 11, 1711), Emperor ordered Mahabat Khan to honour the *mutsadis* of the Rajas with robes of honour and immediately summon the Rajas to the court. Then on third hour of the day a general assembly was held where the writer and his colleagues were ordered to inform the Rajas to present themselves at the royal court immediately. Then Bhandari Khivsi, Gulal Chand, Munshi Dodh Raj and the writer were conferred with robes of honour. We received the royal order in the Diwan-i-Aam. It further adds that on Chait Sudi 4 Monday (March 12, 1711) the royal army commenced its march towards Lahore. The immediate reason of it is that the Sikhs of the Guru at *Guru ka chak* (Amritsar) have beaten back Shamas Khan and Bayzid Khan who have gone there with an army of 1500 soldiers on foot and horse back. Now they (Sikhs) are preparing to march on Lahore, thus severe disturbances have taken place there. On hearing this, Emperor ordered the Imperial army to set out on its march in order to reach Lahore without any delay. The writer submits to the Raja if His Majesty would have arrived at the court on earlier occasion provided by the rebellion of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] then all the issues related with the Maharaja must have been resolved. Fortunately the Maharaja have got another opportunity. Do not let it go as it would be better if His Majesty joins the imperial campaign at the earliest. The Emperor, Shahzada (Azim-ush-Shan) and Mahabat Khan have repeatedly given so many assurances in this regard. Each stage of royal halt has been fixed at a distance of 5 *kos*. ... Dated Chait Sudi 5, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 13

Chait Sudi 9, 1768

Vakil Report No. 45

March 17, 1711

Arzdasht from Bhikhari Khivsi to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier *Arzdasht* submitted on Chait Sudi 5 (March 13, 1711) and thereafter informs that initially Emperor was very anxious to set out on his march towards Lahore. The *farad* of *waqia* (statement of incident) confirmed that Shamas Khan and Qutab Khan (Bayzid Khan) have been killed (by the Sikhs). It is also rumoured that one of them is still fighting (with the Sikhs) and the other has been killed. Then Emperor ordered Shahzada Rafi-ush-Shan to inform Prince Jahandar Shah to get himself ready to march towards Lahore as he has been assigned the expedition to liquidate the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] of the Sikhs. The situation is still very fluid consultations are going on; whatever is decided will be submitted later on. About Bhupat Parkash, the Raja of Nahan, who was in the custody of Mahabat Khan, the *chelas* (personal troopers) of Emperor delivered the royal order that the Raja (of Nahan) be put into the thorny cage which has been made for the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Then Mahabat Khan submitted that the Raja is innocent and the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has already sneaked out of his territory. At this the Emperor told Mahabat Khan that if you do not punish him then all the *zamindars* (the hill-chiefs) would become the Sikhs. You must punish him. Mahabat Khan again pleaded that nails inside the cage are sharp and hard and Raja will die as soon as he is put into it. The Emperor reiterated that in case the Raja dies in the cage, he will surely go to the hell. After this Mahabat Khan did not plead any more and in compliance of the royal order he put the Raja into cage

but before that he had asked his servants to bend the nails. So far the Raja is alive what happens to him I will report later on. There is uncertainty about the movements of the Emperor. Some say he is going to Shahjahanabad whereas others say he will encamp for some days on the banks of river Jamuna. Whatever is the truth will be reported later on. ... Dated Chait Sudi 9, Samat 1768, Saturday.

Sr. No. 14

Chait Sudi 12, 1768

Vakil Report No. 46

March 20, 1711

Arzdasht from Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh informs that the writer has put up his stay in the camp of the royal army from where Haridwar is at a distance of 30 or 35 *kos*. He (author) desired to make a pilgrimage to the Ganges and asked for permission from Mahabat Khan which was declined. ...Earlier it was said that Shamas Khan has been killed (in the battle with the Sikhs) and Bayzid Khan is still alive and fighting with the Sikhs of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and the Sikhs have been defeated. Now the news has come that both of them have been killed in the battle and power of the Sikhs is on the rise. People of the *pargana* of Batala have deserted their houses and fled away leaving behind all their household belongings; articles and property worth crores of rupees are lying as it as they were before. The Emperor felt very angry over the report of *waqia-nawis*. The *gurjbardar* (royal messenger) has departed with the order of the Emperor either to chop off his (*waqia-nawis*'s) head or put him in chains and produce him in the royal court. Now the *gurjbardar* has set out and let us see what happens. The *waqia-nawis* has done nothing wrong except to submit the true report of incident.

The writer further adds that on Chait Sudi 10 Sunday (1768; March 18, 1711), the Emperor commenced on his march towards Lahore. It is said that the third halt would be either at Chhatt or Ambala. Then non-stop march to Lahore has been proposed.

It adds that beasts of burden (camels) belonging to the Shahzadas and nobles were out in a pasture which was about

30 kos from the place of halt. All of a sudden the Emperor has given a marching order. For the first stage of journey somehow five or seven beasts of burden were provided. The nobles requested the Emperor to allow them to cover the destination of one stage in two halts. But Emperor ordered that there is no need of an extra halt.

It informs that on Chait Sudi 11 Monday (1768; March 19, 1711), royal entourage moved further. The Emperor has ordered that each halt should not be of less than 5 kos. Mahabat Khan has been honoured with a *sirpech*. Putting him at the head of an army of 10,000 horsemen, he has been asked to move one stage ahead of the royal entourage...

In order to cover the distance up to Lahore eighteen halts and similar number of marches have been scheduled... Dated Chait Sudi 12, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 15

Chait Sudi 15, 1768

Vakil Report No. 47

March 23, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier one dispatched on Chait Sudi 12 (Samat 1768; March 20, 1711). The writer informs that the Emperor is determined to reach Lahore as soon as possible. On Chait Sudi 14 (1768; March 22, 1711), the royal entourage started its march on the route which passes through the foothills of Shiwalik and joins at Sarhind.

It adds that about the Raja of Nahan, the Emperor has ordered that he be taken to Delhi to put in the prison of Salimgarh. Dated Chait Sudi 15, Samat 1768.

II

The writer further adds that the revolt of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has provided the Rajas good opportunity to serve the Emperor. As the Emperor is leading the expedition against the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur], His Majesty's presence in the company of Raja Ajit Singh is highly recommended at this juncture...The author requests the Maharaja to attend the court along with Raja Ajit Singh at the earliest. He says that Bhandari Khivsi (Jodhpur's Vakil) is also of the same view and has already made a fervent appeal to Raja (Ajit Singh) in this regard.

Sr. No. 16

Vaisakh Vadi 1, 1768

Vakil Report No. 48

March 24, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh.... informs that Inayatullah Khan is the Khansama and his son Hidayatullah Khan is the Diwan of *khalisa* and *tan (jagir)*. After the death of Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) both of them enjoy good authority in the royal court. Whatever counsel they offer, Emperor obliges them. On Chait Sudi 10 (Samat 1768; March 18, 1711) they called the writer to their personal chamber and enquired why the Maharaja (Jai Singh) has not turned up at the court. They assured the writer that your Raja can trust them and whatever is the demand of the Raja, it can be met. At this the writer submitted to them that Mahabat Khan has proved himself untrustworthy as he has betrayed the Raja of Nahan whom he had given an oath and had called him from the hills. The Raja of Nahan was put in prison and locked up in the same cage that had been made for the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. In this way Mahabat Khan has rendered himself untrustworthy and therefore no one trusts him.

It adds that the royal decree has been issued to take the Raja of Nahan to Delhi and imprison him in Salimgarh and now he is ready to depart. The Sikhs have again arisen in *Guru ka Chak* (Amritsar) and have established their rule up to Shahdara (near Lahore)... Dated Vaisakh Vadi 1, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 17

Vaisakh Vadi 11, 1768

Vakil Report No. 49

April 2, 1711

Arzdasht from Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier one dispatched on Chait Sudi 15 (March 23, 1711). The writer urges him (Raja Jai Singh) that His Majesty's immediate arrival and presence at the royal court will be a matter of great celebration. It informs that Daulat Singh Shekhawat in his third *parwana* has mentioned that Raja Ajit Singh had departed from Merta and on reaching Rajgarh his marriage was solemanized and he has set out on his onward journey via Maroth and Sambhar. He (Daulat Singh Shekhawat) asked me (the author) to inform about it to the Nawab. Accordingly, the author took the ditto copy of the *parwana* and presented it before the Nawab who glanced over the contents and presented the same before the Emperor and on this the Emperor commented that their (Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ajit Singh) earliest presence at the court will be much appreciated. The author informs the Raja (Jai Singh) that the Emperor is suffering from *baltod*¹; consequently only ten stages of the march have been covered so far. Now the Emperor is feeling a little bit better. On Vaisakh Vadi 6 Saturday, Emperor resumed his march towards Lahore. Distance of 5 *kos* between each stage has been fixed. Consequently, the royal entourage arrived at the stipulated halt very late. The Emperor has ordered that in future set out on the march in the similar way. The writer submits that this time in the royal army prices are always very high. Due to it this servant (author) had come under debt and till date has

1. Boils caused by uprooting of hair

been surviving on the money got on loan; and scarcity of ration is so acute that even food is not easily available. In the hope that His Majesty will respond to it very soon... Dated Vaisakh Vadi 11, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 18

Vaisakh Vadi 13, 1768

Vakil Report No. 50

April 4, 1711

Arzdasht from Bikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh makes reference to the earlier *Arzdasht* that was dispatched on Vaisakh Vadi 11 Monday (April 2, 1711). ...Besides the other matters it adds that Rustam Dil Khan had informed the Emperor that uprising of the Sikhs of the Guru has created much disturbance towards Lahore side. At this Emperor told that he himself would be marching there (to suppress the Sikhs). In the *lashkar* news is that the Deccani rebels have besieged Ujjain...Dated Vaisakh Vadi 13, Samat 1768 Wednesday.

Sr. No.19
Draft Kharita No. 58
Bundle No.1

Vaisakh Sudi 6, 1768
April 13, 1711

Copy of a *parwana* from Bhandari Khivsi dated Vaisakh Sudi 6 (April 13, 1711) informs that another *Arzdasht* dispatched on Vaisakh Vadi 10 (1768; April 1, 1711) must have unfolded the whole situation. Information regarding the rebellion of Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has already been described in that dispatch. It advises the Raja (Jai Singh) to reach immediately at the royal court. It further informs that Raja (Ajit Singh) along with his soldiers has reached Sambhar; he will soon join His Highness (Raja Jai Singh). He (author) assures that there will be no delay as Raja Ajit Singh is marching at a rapid speed. It (*parwana*) contained description of medicine but you know one prescription is not enough. On our side all is well and hope all of you are in good health. Please continue to inform about the situation at the court in the similar fashion. Rest assured, there should be no delay in it. ...Dated Vaisakh Sudi 6, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 20
Vakil Report No. 51

Vaisakh Sudi 11, 1768
April 18, 1711

Arzdasht from Bikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier one dispatched on Vaisakh Vadi 13 Wednesday (April 4, 1711)... The writer acknowledges the receipt of a *parwana* (from Maharaja Jai Singh) in which he has enquired about the fate of the Raja of Nahan. The writer informs that he has already submitted that Raja of Nahan was taken to Delhi. The Emperor had ordered to put the Raja of Nahan in the prison of Salimgarh. Subsequently, he was taken to Delhi and was imprisoned in Salimgarh.

The writer adds that the Emperor marching along the foot-hills has arrived at a place which is about 5 *kos* from Chhatt-Banur. The news is that bridge on river Sutlej is being prepared and it is said that the Emperor will take this route for his onward march to Lahore... It was submitted to the Emperor that the Sikhs of the Guru have taken away the cattles belonging to the people of Sadhaura. It is said that the *vanjaras* who collaborated with the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] have taken away these cattles. Some say that the people of the Raja of Nahan have driven away these cattles. Fact of the matter is that cattles of the people of Sadhaura have been snatched by someone. What is the truth I will report later on...Dated Vaisakh Sudi 11, Samat 1768, camp 7 *kos* cis-Sutlej.

Sr. No. 21
 Vakil Report No. 52

Jeth Vadi 5, 1768
 April 26, 1711

Arzdasht from Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier *Arzdasht* dispatched on Vaisakh Sudi 11, Wednesday (1768; April 18, 1711). The writer informs that on Jeth Vadi 1, Sunday (1768; April 22, 1711), Emperor set on his march and advanced towards river Sutlej. He has ordered that a platform be raised as *jashan* (celebration of fifth anniversary of coronation) will take place there....The Emperor has told the Shahzadas and nobles that 'we are going to establish a military camp at Ropar and all of you build your *havelis* there. I have renamed it Jahangirpur.' It is strategically located because Shahjahanabad and Lahore are at equal distance from it. The entry of the passage that leads into the hills will be closed. Neither the hill-chiefs could come to the help of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] nor would the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] be able to escape into the hills. The writer informs that the Emperor desired to send Shahzada Jahandar Shah and Rafi-ul-Shan to Shahjahanabad; and Muhammad Karim with half of his army may be sent to Lahore. Nawab Rustam Dil Khan requested that the expedition to suppress the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] may be assigned to him and the Emperor himself should stay at the river Sutlej. Emperor has accepted the proposal. His Highness knows the Emperor well; whatever decision he takes, I will submit later on. The Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has created very serious disturbances towards the side of Lahore. In order to defend Lahore, Aghar Khan and his son and a nephew of Muhammad Rafi Fatehullah are fighting (with the Sikhs), otherwise the city of Lahore would have been ransacked by the Sikhs...The

writer fervently appeals to both the Rajas that this is the most appropriate time to attend the royal court. After the escape of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur], visit to the royal court would be of no purpose. I (author) reiterate it and time and again request both the Rajas that your presence (in the royal court) at this juncture would be of great benefit...Dated Jeth Vadi 5, Samat 1768. Camp Sutlej.

Sr. No. 22

Jeth Vadi 14, 1768

Vakil Report No. 55

May 5, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh makes reference to the earlier *Arzdasht* dispatched on Jeth Vadi 10 (1768; May 1, 1711). It informs that on Jeth Vadi 11 Wednesday (1768; May 2, 1711) after consulting Bhandari Khivsi, the ladies of Chima ji (Vijay Singh of Jaipur) who were here, have departed for the country (back home). Some soldiers on horseback belonging to Dilawar Khan and others were stationed here. These horsemen have been assigned the duty to escort the ladies. Shahzada Jahandar Shah and Jahan Shah Bahadur crossed the river [Sutlej]. Shahzada Rafi-ul-Shan also sought permission to go across the river. The official incharge at the bridge informed the Emperor that two Shahzadas are already on the other side of river and there is every likelihood that the three Shahzadas may come into clash with each other as they have already put up their vast camps close to each other. At this Emperor ordered Shahzada Rafi-ul-Shan to postpone his departure. The Emperor was very angry over the conflict between the Shahzadas. He ordered that his entourage be taken across the river and encamp it at a distance of $2/3$ kos from the camp of the Shahzadas. The nobles, who were accompanying the Shahzadas, were asked to leave their camp and put it near the royal camp. The Emperor ordered that the *mansab* of the nobles who were still putting up with the Shahzadas, may be cancelled. At this *topkhana* that was with the Shahzadas got ready to comply with the royal order. The soldiers and the stores of armament also followed the pursuit. Nawab Mahabat Khan was already posted near the royal enclosure. Amir-ul-

Umra and Rustam Dil Khan were ordered to put their stay near the royal enclosure. Hakim-ul-mulk was ordered to put his stay just near the tent of *diwan-i-aam*. All other nobles have been ordered to stay near the royal camp. It further adds that the Emperor did not give any attention to Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan and Shahzada Rafi-ul-Shan when they came for audience. Even they were not asked to sit and they were kept standing in the court. When the Emperor stood up to leave the general assembly hall, he reprimanded the Shahzadas for their quarrel and permitted them to leave. Both the Shahzadas felt ashamed. The Emperor ordered Rustam Dil Khan to carry the royal tents across the river. The camps of all the three Shahzadas were ordered to move away $2/3$ kos apart from one another and it was also ordered that size of their camps should be small one; and in future Shahzada Jahandar Shah's camp should be in front of all the Shahzadas. The other two Shahzadas should encamp at a distance of 50 *jarib* from each other. The artillery should be parked 50 *jarib* behind them. The royal tent should be in the centre. The camps of Shahzada Rafi-ul-Shan and Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan should be at a distance of 50 *jaribs* from that of the royal camp and in between them camps of royal officers should be established. Whenever the Shahzadas visit for royal audience their *sawars* should not come near the royal enclosure. Earlier there used to be so many officials in the service of Shahzadas, now only one official would remain in their attendance. It has been ordered that in future the Shahzadas would personally inspect their horsemen. The royal nobles have been ordered that they would not visit the camp of any Shahzada without the permission of the Emperor. Dated Jeth Vadi 14 Saturday, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 23

Jeth Sudi 3, 1768

Vakil Report No. 260

May 9, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier *Arzdasht* dispatched on Jeth Vadi 14, Saturday morning (1768; May 5, 1711)...It informs that the rumour of appointment of Mahabat Khan as Diwan is in circulation and Emperor is very considerate towards him. ...The news of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is that he has put up his camp in Kalanaur. The Hindus as well as the Muslims are thronging to him and he is taking them into his services. (In order to suppress the Sikhs) Emperor is also marching towards Kalanaur...Kanwar Mohkam Singh Rathor has got the title of Raja which already has been reported. Now military campaign against the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has been assigned to Muhammad Amin Khan. For it the Emperor has bestowed a *siropao* on Muhammad Amin Khan and war material required for the armed campaign is getting ready. Raja Mohkam Singh's *mansab* has been increased by 500 *sawars*. Besides the *siropao*, the Emperor has conferred upon him an elephant, a horse and a *nagara*. He has departed in the company of Muhammad Amin Khan to liquidate the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. On Jeth Sudi 2, Tuesday (1768; May 8, 1711), the Emperor crossed the river Sutlej and Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan will follow him. Jasol (the Raja of Jaswal or Jaswan) has come to attend the court and has been staying in the *dera* of Nawab Mahabat Khan; and Bhandari Khivsi had requested them to help him cross the river. Shortly they will cross over to the other side of river. The writer informs that foot soldiers and cavalry that he had employed in the wake of Guru's [Banda Singh Bahadur] rebellion, out

of them all the *sawars* have been discharged; earlier there used to be ten riflemen with him but presently only one rifleman is employed with him. Consequently, he has employed ten rifle-men for the job and wherever he goes they accompany him. In the Muslim army you cannot survive without the services of rifle-men. I tried my best to get these men on monthly pay but could not succeed. Then I employed them on daily wages, i.e. 12 *anna* per day per person...Dated Jeth Sudi 3, Samat 1768 Camp trans-Sutlej.

Sr. No. 24

Jeth Sudi 11, 1768

Vakil Report No. 57

May 17, 1711

Arzdasht from Diwan Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier *Arzdasht* dispatched on Jeth Sudi 3, Wednesday (1768; May 9, 1711). The writer informs that Emperor has crossed the river (Sutlej) and, on the third day stores of Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan were also taken across the river and he also got ready to move. Shahzada asked his entourage to stop at the river bank. Accordingly *Bagsariyas*, his army and entourage reached the river bank but Rustam Dil Khan declined to open the bridge for the people belonging to Shahzada's camp. On getting this information, Shahzada asked Rustam Dil Khan to let his entourage pass over the bridge as he has already allowed the people of other two Shahzadas to pass over it. But Rustam Dil Khan with his army and rifle-men got ready to give a fight right on the bridge itself. Subsequently, the people of Shahzada charged with lathis and exchanged blows with the soldiers of Rustam Dil Khan. Then Shahzada ordered his detachment to get hold of Rustam Dil Khan. However, Rustam Dil Khan boarded a boat and escaped to the other side of the river and his army withdrew to the camp. When Emperor got information of this incident he severely reprimanded Rustam Dil Khan and ordered that no officer of him would stay at the bridge and in future he (Rustam Dil Khan) would camp behind the *laskar*. ...The writer adds that this time Rustam Dil Khan indulged in too much excesses. No one has seen or heard this type of treatment meted out to the people earlier. All the big *mansabdars*, traders and poor people were compelled to shell out huge amount. People of Rustam Dil Khan charged Rs.

two for a camel and Rs. one for a bullock to pass over the bridge. Rustam Dil Khan submitted to the Emperor to levy a tax on the people using the bridge and in this manner more than one lakh rupees would be easily collected. So far the Emperor has not responded to his proposal. On Jeth Sudi 7, Sunday (1768; May 13, 1711) at noon there was a thunderstorm followed by rain and hailstorm. It went on for one and half quarter. No camp of any noble could escape from its effect. A flash-flood from the hills followed it and within no time camp of Shahzada Jahandar Shah and royal market were in waist deep water. There was a great confusion in the army camp. Even enclosure of the Emperor was under one foot deep water. Everyone in the royal camp including men and women passed the whole night aboard their carriages standing in the water. Next day royal entourage moved to another place and at noon the Emperor and Shahzadas moved into their respective camps. Half of the main body of the royal army is still behind. When the level of water recedes then the people will follow to join the royal camp.

The author informs that on Jeth Sudi 9, Tuesday (1768; May 15, 1711) royal camp moved forward and it is said it will halt at a place which is two *kos* ahead of Rahon. On Jath Sudi 10, Wednesday (1768; May 16, 1711) Emperor entered his camp and is pressing for onward march. Order has been given to build a bridge over Behath (Beas). The author further adds that in the royal *laskar* the news about the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is that there is a village named Bassi [Pathanan] inhabited mostly by the Pathans. Since so many days they were defending it (from the onslaughts of the Sikhs). The Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] marched on them and in the attack 2000 Pathans were killed. Women of the Pathan tribe performed *johar* and died. A total of 5000 men and women

have been killed and the village was put to plunder. Shahzada Muizz-ud-Din's *faujdar* of Aurangabad was on that side. The Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] confronted him also. Whether he (*faujdar*) has been killed, fled away or is wounded, there are conflicting news about him. At every place (in the Punjab) the power of Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is on the rise. It is rumoured that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] will go towards Lakhi Jungle. Dated Jeth Sudi 11, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 25

Asadh Vadi 8, 1768

Vakil Report No. 59

May 28, 1711

Arzdasht from Bhikhari Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier one dispatched on Jeth Sudi 11 (May 17, 1711). It states that Hamid Khan Bahadur had already departed to liquidate the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. After crossing the river Behath (Beas) he encamped there. But before that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] had moved towards the river Ravi. Thus the villages of which people had joined the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] fell prey to Hamid Khan's attack. So many villages have been destroyed and people as well as cattles of so many villages have been taken into custody. When the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] got this news he returned and has put up his camp at Kalanaur. From there he dispatched an army to confront Hamid Khan. As Hamid Khan has not got any reinforcement and has crossed the river (Beas) with his own soldiers, thus he could not resist the Sikhs. Therefore early in the morning he crossed back the river to encamp there. When the Emperor got the report about this, he ordered him to stay where he is and need not come to the royal presence. Now reinforcement from the imperial army has marched to join him and they will jointly take action to liquidate the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. So far Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is still encamping there (Kalanaur) and people say he has recruited so many people in his services. The Emperor is also rapidly advancing (towards Kalanaur) and river Behath (Beas) is only at a distance of 30 *kos*. He is constantly pressing for onward march. On Jeth Sudi 12, Friday (1768; May 18, 1711) royal camp moved further. A few days back Emperor had got angry with Rustam Dil

Khan for levying a toll tax on the people crossing the bridge (over river Sutlej). After that the Emperor called him to his presence, consoled him and asked him to build bridge (over Beas) at Rohila Ghat [Sri Hargobindpur]. The benevolent Emperor conferred on him a *siropao* and a *dupatta*... Dated Asadh Vadi 8, Monday Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 26

Asadh Vadi 8, 1768

Vakil Report No. 261

May 28, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh... The writer states that Daulat Beg, Saleh Beg Khan, Fateh-ullah Khan Mughals and others who were attached with the army of Mahabat Khan and were deployed with him, were given marching orders by the Nawab with the objective of providing reinforcement to Muhammad Amin Khan who had departed on the campaign to suppress the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Mahabat Khan asked them to get ready to join the campaign. At this Daulat Beg and others assembled and went to the camp of Hidayatullah Khan and indulged in shouting over the payment of their salaries. Hidayatullah Khan submitted to the Emperor that he could not attend the court today as Daulat Beg and others have cornered him. The Emperor ordered Chin-Qalich Khan Bahadur and Mukhlis Khan to go there and disperse the Mughals immediately. They persuaded the Mughals to leave the scene and persuaded them to resume their march to reinforce the army of Muhammad Amin Khan. Actually Mahabat Khan has secretly instigated the Mughals to raise the demand of their salary. Naturally, they have created such uproar. On knowing this the Emperor disapproved the behaviour of Mahabat Khan but after some time became as maganimous to him as he was before. The writer adds that in the company of Bhandari Khivsi he visited the Nawab. The Nawab told them that he will not be attending the royal court today as he is feeling restlessness. On this, we counselled him, 'Yesterday your rivals had conspired against you and consequently Emperor was angry with you. Today if you miss the court your rivals will get another chance to

conspire against you. Your presence in the court is very much required.' At this the Nawab told them that 'your counselling is worth consideration and come what may, today he will surely attend the court.' The writer adds that from the dependable sources news has come that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has run away from Batala and has moved into the Lakhi Jungle. However, his escape from Batala is still under investigation...As the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has gone towards Lakhi Jungle, therefore at this moment, presence of both the Rajas at the royal court would be most appropriate. Dated Asadh Vadi 8, Monday 1768 dispatched at noon.

Sr. No. 27

Asadh Vadi 12, 1768

Kharita No. 59

June 1, 1711

Letter from Chaube Jeth Mal for Kavi Raj Lala Nihal Chand solicits the blessings and desires every moment well-being and happiness of the recipient...It mentions that for so many days the author has not received any dispatch from the Kavi Raj. It informs that report about the state of affairs at the royal court has already been sent in three letters dispatched on [Asadh Vadi] 5 (1768; May 25, 1711)...Similar type of information about the day to day happenings at the royal court would be dispatched on your orders.

It further informs that the news about the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is the same as it was earlier. The imperial army has set out on its campaign (against the Sikhs) and has now established its camp at Batala. The Imperialists could not raid the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] as he has a good number of horsemen at his disposal. The rebels plundered the city in day light. There is no one to prevent them. A *saraf* was going to his house after closing his shop; he was robbed of his bag in full view of the Bazar¹...

1. Due to moisture ink has spread on the paper making it very difficult to decipher the document in its totality.

Sr. No. 28
 Vakil Report No. 61

Asadh Vadi 14, 1768
 June 3, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh informs that Bhandari Khivsi has dispatched a letter from Manoharpur on Jeth Sudi 12 (May 25, 1711) that both the Rajas (Jai Singh and Ajit Singh) met at Manoharpur and had discussion till late night. After that Shri Ji (Raja Jai Singh) headed towards his *laskar* and Raja Ajit Singh asked that his entourage would encamp at Kachi Sarai; so very soon both the Rajas would present themselves at the court.

The writer adds that so far he has not got any *parwana* informing him about the meeting that took place between the two Rajas. Nawab Mahabat Khan enquired from me (the writer) whether there was any information regarding the movement of the Rajas to the royal court. At this the author answered that no messenger had come during these days, it may be due to some obstacle in their journey and added that Bhandari Khivsi had received a dispatch in this connection.

Nawab suggested to the author to dispatch immediately another messenger to get the correct information. On Asadh Vadi 11 (1768; May 30, 1711), Wednesday Mahabat Khan summoned Bhandari Khivsi and me (the writer) to his presence and confided that due to the delay of the Rajas his position at the court has become precarious. His rivals at the court are levelling various types of allegations. The Emperor publicly alleges that he (Mahabat Khan) has spoiled the affairs relating to the Rajas. Earlier every work of the royal court and the work of the office of Khan Khanan were assigned to me (Mahabat Khan). Supervision of the military campaign against the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and

dealings with the Rana of Udaipur were also under Mahabat Khan. Due to the matter of the Rajas now Amir-ul-Umra will deal with the Rana whereas the expedition against the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has been assigned to Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan. The Emperor felt very much disturbed. ...Dated Asadh Vadi 14, Sunday Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 29
 Vakil Report No. 60

Asadh Vadi 14, 1768
 June 3, 1711

Arzdasht refers to the earlier one dispatched on Asadh Vadi 8 (1768; May 28, 1711) Monday. The writer states that about the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] it is said that Rustam Dil Khan has informed that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has crossed over to the other side of river Ravi. On the other hand Muhammad Amin Khan has written that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has escaped to the hills of Jammu and is with Raja Kirpal Dev of that state. The royal *harkaras* have fanned out in different directions in order to get the correct information. Whenever the author gets any correct information, he will submit the report. The writer advises the Raja that this is the most appropriate time to attend the royal court. No delay is advisable in this regard. Bhandari Khivsi has already asked Raja Ajit Singh to reach the court immediately. The writer informs that in the royal court he feels helpless. Everybody says that we are liars and the Rajas would never turn up at the royal court. Who knows for what purpose have the Rajas got together? This is the over-all impression at the royal court...Guru Ajit Singh riding on the horse came to seek audience with the Emperor and saluted him; and the Emperor remarked that he is such a poor-fellow that even he cannot put up his own petition. The Emperor ordered Sarwar Khan, *kotwal* of the royal camp to make arrangement for (Guru) Ajit Singh's stay in his camp. The Emperor ordered that no one would disturb him. He has been granted *Guru ka Chak* (Amritsar), assign it to him in *inam* and *jagir* and always allow him whenever he comes to present himself at the royal court... Dated Asadh Vadi 14, Sunday Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 30

Asadh Sudi 5, 1768

Arzdasht No. 203

June 9, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh states that on Asadh Sudi 3 (1768; June 7, 1711) Raja Raj Singh wrote a *rukka* to Mahabat Khan that nothing has accrued to him from the *jagir* of Malpura...It further informs that Nawab Mahabat Khan enjoined upon the writer and Bhandari Khivsi that both the Rajas are required to attend the court before the resolution of the crisis created by the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Their earliest presence at the court would be of great help to fetch them great reward from the Emperor. He advises that there should be no delay in this regard. The writer and Bhandari Khivsi are in consonance with the proposal of the Nawab. In the meantime, Nawab's *harkara* turned up with a fresh news. Nawab called him to his presence and enquired from him where the second battle between the Sikhs and the royal army took place. The *harkara* told that it was fought at a place which is about four *kos* beyond Sialkot. There is a place called Chaprari where Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan in the mid of night attacked the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and subsequently the battle continued till noon next day. The Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] thought that now there is no escape and sent a message to Dhol Dev, the Raja of Jammu to facilitate his escape into the hills. The Raja replied that all the Sikhs cannot take shelter in the hills, and suggested that about 1,000 Sikhs can be accommodated there and he would help them to pass through the hills. Taking opportunity, Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] entered into the hills alongwith 1,000 Sikhs. Muhammad Amin Khan and Ise Khan Mein pursued

the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] doggedly and a battle took place at the passage into hills. It is said that 300-400 Mughal soldiers fell fighting there. Many of the Sikhs were also killed and 1,200 Sikhs were taken as prisoners. The *zamindar* of that place caught hold of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Muhammad Amin Khan and Ise Khan at once continued their advance into the hills. They sent a message to the *zamindar* that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has entered into his country; hand him over to us otherwise be ready for the battle. The *zamindar* had very few people at his disposal. In order to capture the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] these very people had obstructed his way into the hills. There ensued a furious battle between the Sikhs and the hill people. In the meantime Rustam Dil Khan also arrived with the reinforcement. The *zamindar* thought that now the imperial army has arrived and moreover he has no power to fight any more (with the Sikh). He arrested the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and handed him over to the custody of Muhammad Amin Khan. On this Nawab enquired from the *harkara* whether he has witnessed the scene with his own eyes. The *harkara* replied that during the battle of Chaprari he was present on the scene. However, he is not a witness to the battle that took place at the passage into hills. In the whole army the news spread that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has been captured. Subsequently, all the *harkaras* rushed to different places. On hearing this news I also have come to your (Nawab) presence. Within four hours other *harkaras* would be reaching here and the Nawab will come to know the truth. ...The writer adds that there is no fresh information regarding the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. It is the same what the *harkaras* had stated earlier to the Emperor and Nawab as well. The same has been reported to the Raja by the writer. Whatever will be the truth, the writer

will submit it later on. The writer wishes that by the grace of Sita Ram Ji, he is quite hopeful that, for a few more days, Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] would not be captured and in that way the Emperor would remain entangled in this country. Dated Asadh Sudi 5, Saturday Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 31

Asadh Sudi 11, 1768

Vakil Report No. 17

June 15, 1711

Arzdash from Bhandari Khivsi to Maharaja Jai Singh informs that firstly there was a news of the capture of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] but it turned out to be wrong. Now it has been reported that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] escaped after giving a tough fight to the besieging army of Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan and forced his way out; and thereafter he fought with the Raja of Jammu. Raja has been wounded and many of his people fell fighting. It is said that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] would go to Daber.¹ The writer adds that after getting the correct information he will submit the report later on. It adds that Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan have returned and encamped at the river Ravi. On Asadh Sudi 10 (June 14, 1711) Emperor (Bahadur Shah) crossed the river Goindwal [Beas]. In which direction he goes and where he camps, the report would follow. Samat 176[8], Asadh Sudi 11, Friday.

1. All the contemporary chronicles refer to the area in and around Lohgarh near Sadhaura by the name of Daber.

Sr. No. 32

Asadh Sudi 9, 1768

Draft Kharita No. 73

June 13, 1711

Bundle No. 1

Copy of a *parwana* for Bihari Das Pancholi dated Asadh Sudi 9 (Samat 1768; June 13, 1711). It refers that there was a rumour of clash between the army of Diwan and Khanzada; and that Khanzada has been killed. The report that has been received from Agra, the place of incident, says that Kharag Singh and other disciples of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] have been arrested and from them a bag containing the papers for Maharana Amar Singh (of Udaipur) was recovered. The author adds that a copy of the *farad* of the *waqia* (report of incident) has been dispatched. The Emperor has conferred title on Diwan Ji (Bhikhari Das) and is very benevolent towards Maharana Amar Singh. It further adds that negligence regarding the letter of Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] in such a manner was not good on our part as it has aggravated the situation very badly. In future you need to be more careful. After thinking upon the matter, whatever decision you take, write in detail to me at the earliest. Please share this information with Diwan Ji. It is said that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has gone towards Lakhi Jungle in order to proceed towards Ajmer. Whatever information you get from there in writing, please write in detail to me. Asadh Sudi 9, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 33
 Vakil Report No. 62

Asadh Sudi 10, 1768
 June 14, 1711

Arzdasht makes reference to the earlier *Arzdasht* in which Bhandari Khivsi has written about the discussion that took place regarding the *pargana* of Merta. ...The writer informs that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] after killing so many soldiers of the imperial army has escaped into the hills. *zamindars* of the area, Muhammad Amin Khan and Ise Khan are in pursuit of him. The Emperor has not yet crossed the river (Beas). The army and entourage of Shahzada Jahandar Shah, Rafi-ul-Shan and Jahan Shah all have crossed the river. It is said that the Emperor crossed the river (Beas) on Asadh Sudi 10 (1768; June 14, 1711). Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan was the last to cross the river. The author informs that market and jewellers accompanying the imperial entourage all had crossed the river and only four or five shops of the jewellers were left behind. During mid-night some people came on horse back and after creating uproar, robbed the shops of the *shahukar* and decamped with the chest loading it on the camel. No one knows who these people were. *Kotwal* has been asked to search out and produce them in the court. Perhaps they have concealed their booty with the people settled in the surrounding villages. Consequently, the villages would be plundered (by the *kotwal*). The writer adds that this region is so insecure that to move to and fro is not possible.* ...Asadh Sudi 10, Samat 1768.

* [About half part of this report is in coded language, thus it is very difficult to decipher].

Sr. No. 34

Sawan Sudi 3, 1768

Vakil Report No. 63

July 7, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh states that in the earlier *Arzdasht* the writer has already submitted to the Maharaja that please put up your camp on this side of Shahjahanabad, possibly in the neighbourhood of Kurukshetra. From there he should submit the petition in order to get the grant sanctioned. The writer informs that on Asadh Sudi 10 (1768; June 14, 1711) the Emperor crossed the bridge on river Beas. Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan followed the Emperor. There were 1000 *sawars* in the company of Emperor whereas 6,000-7,000 *sawars* accompanied the Shahzada. All the three Shahzadas have crossed the river. Shahzada Jahandar Shah was incharge of the bridge over the river. Now he has vacated his post and Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan's army has arrived and put up their camp there. At midnight, there was a sudden spurt in the river and the bridge was washed away. The camp of Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan was in knee deep water. Women of the royal house were compelled to mount the elephants to spend the night. Thereafter the camp moved back three *kos* to the place where it was before. The Emperor was informed of this incident. In the night of Asadh Sudi 10 (1768; June 14, 1711), Emperor ordered Shahzada that don't think anymore but move 3 *kos* back as the river is on the rise. Shahzada moved back only half a *kos* and put up a camp there. On Asadh Sudi 11 (1768; June 15) inspite of the rain Shahzada set on his march and encamped near the river. On Asadh Sudi 15 (1768; June 19, 1711) Shahzada aboard a boat crossed the river and has an audience with the Emperor. Though the Emperor had crossed

the river yet half of the imperial army is still behind. Now boats have been procured to help the army to cross the river.

On Asadh Sudi 15, nothing worth-while happened. On Sawan Vadi 1 Wednesday (1768; June 20, 1711), Shah Qudratullah on behalf of the Shahzada asked the writer to inform the Rajas to move slowly in case of rain and cross the river Sutlej during the rainy season. The writer adds that Bhandari Khivsi and Bhikhari Das enquired from Shah Qudratullah whether the Emperor would like this or not? In case Emperor dislikes then what to do next? Then Shah Qudratullah confided that the Emperor also concurs with the above proposal. They again enquired how they could know about it. He remarked that about 6,000-7,000 *sawars* are at the disposal of Shahzada Jahandar Shah and both the Rajas are coming to the court with 16,000-17,000 *sawars*. ...Mahabat Khan has encamped himself across the river. On Sawan Vadi 2 (1768; June 21, 1711) Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan also crossed the river along with his forces; other people are also in the process to cross the river. The writer states that he has already petitioned to the Maharaja to please put up his camp in the vicinity of Kurukshetra. It is said that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has slipped into the hills and the imperial forces are following him. All the hill chiefs have also joined in this campaign. Let us see whereto the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] goes. He has a large force at his command...Dated Sawan Sudi 3, Samat 1768 (July 7, 1711).

Sr. No. 35

Sawan Vadi 5, 1768

Vakil Report No. 66

June 24, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh besides referring to the receipt of a *parwana* informs that on the instigation of Mahabat Khan, the *walashahi* soldiers insulted Hidayatullah Khan for the non-payment of their salaries. The *walashahis* and Fatehullah Khan were deployed to reinforce the campaign of Muhammad Amin Khan (against the Sikhs). They surrounded Hidayatullah Khan in his house and troubled him a lot. At this he appealed for help. Amir-ul-Umra, Mukhlis Khan and Islam Khan, the *daroga* of artillery, were ordered to rush and rescue Hidayatullah Khan. Mukhlis Khan and Islam Khan took up their *topkhana* and came to know about from Hidayatullah Khan that Mahabat Khan was at the back of these soldiers who have misbehaved with him. When the Emperor came to know about it, he got angry with Mahabat Khan. As a result, he is now out of race for the post of Khan Khanan. So far he enjoyed unrestricted access to the royal court which now has been denied. He was the *daroga* of *ambari risala* but the said *risala* has been disbanded. Now Mahabat Khan is sitting idle pretending that he is suffering from some pain. After some days he has joined the next posting. The Emperor is still annoyed with him. As the Emperor is very kind-hearted therefore in a few days he will be again treating Mahabat Khan with magnanimity. Now the Emperor has been displaying his increased benevolence towards him with each passing day. The writer requests the Raja (Jai Singh) to put up in the vicinity of Kurukshetra for a few days before coming to attend the court; when the order regarding the *jagir* for the (Jaipur) *biradari* is released, he should move on further.

The writer informs that Muhammad Amin Khan and Ghazi Khan (Rustam Dil Khan), the Rustam-i-Jang are in pursuit of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. The *zamindars* with their forces are also supporting them. Till date no encounter has taken place between the two forces. There is no confirmed news about the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Nothing can be said about his whereabouts with any certainty. After getting the correct information, I will submit the report later on. Someone says that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has run away into the hills to be with a Raja of that place. Some say the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has been wounded while others say that imperial force has not yet reached there, and they have engaged only the companions (of Banda Singh Bahadur)...Nothing is confirmed. The Emperor has conferred upon Muhammad Amin Khan and Ghazi Khan Rustam Jang a robe of honour and the title of *mahi-maratab*.

People of the *topkhana* of Kam Bakhsh were in the service of Khan Khanan. As Mahabat Khan has not paid them their salaries that were due, therefore on Asadh Sudi 5 (1768; June 10, 1711), all the soldiers of *topkhana* firstly marched towards the camp of Bhagwant Rai and created an uproar to demand their salaries. But the Nawab did nothing to pay them their salaries. When the Nawab was going to attend the court, soldiers of *topkhana* stopped his palanquin at the door of *gularwara*. They stormed it with sticks, stones and also threw dust upon it. This type of uproar continued for two hours. Then he implored them to accompany him to his camp. Raje Khan who has served as *khansama* both to the Khan Khanan and the Nawab and held the rank of *daroga* of *topkhana*, took him (Mahabat Khan) to his camp where he was beaten, insulted and paraded bare-headed in the Bazar; and handed

him over to the Pathans, and after this he asked Bhagwant Rai to make the payment. Raje Khan holds the *mansab* of 700. Khan Jahan Khan used to favour him and because of this incident both the brothers (Mahabat Khan and Khan Jahan Khan) have fallen apart. Their family has been divided; let us see what happens next...The writer adds that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has run away into the hills. The imperial forces are in his pursuit. It is said that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] will go towards Bareilly...Dated Sawan Vadi 5, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 36

Sawan Vadi 13, 1768

Vakil Report No. 67

July 2, 1711

Arzdasht informs that the writer paid a visit to the camp of Nawab Mahabat Khan. The Nawab asked the author to sit down as he had something special to discuss with him. Having seen off all the *mansabdars*, he took the writer to his private chambers and told that the Rajas have been too slow on their way to the court; and because of this his rivals are spreading canard at the court. On the basis of *farad* of *waqia* (report of incident) the Emperor has come to know that the Rajas have arrived at Narnaul. He further told the writer that he was in search of an opportunity to plead before the Emperor and request him that since the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has run away he desired to visit his home. The Emperor remarked that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has fought two battles and so far the imperial forces did not put full pressure upon him (and thus were unsuccessful to capture him). Some one says that he [Banda Singh Bahadur] is in the hills, while others say he has gone to Daber. On the other hand, the rainy season is on the threshold which is worrying the most. Then Mahabat Khan submitted that everyone is at your command; order anyone, and all are ready to take up the campaign to liquidate the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. He suggested the Emperor to encamp in Lahore. At this the Emperor remarked that no one in the royal army dares to march against the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Then Mahabat Khan again submitted that the Emperor himself should encamp in Lahore while both the Rajas, (Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ajit Singh) along with their contingents may be deployed in the cis-Sutlej area; and one detachment of the royal army may be stationed towards the east of river Beas and another contingent of the army should be posted in the

foot-hills of Shivalik. Wherever the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] appears, the force of that area should be ready to punish him. Then the Emperor remarked that he can not understand the reason why the Rajas had taken so much time to arrive at the court. At this moment, Shahzada Azim-ush-Shah, who was sitting in the royal presence, said that Mahabat Khan is right that the Rajas will attend the court very soon. Then the Emperor asked the Shahzada to write to the Rajas asking them to rush up immediately and camp at a place on the river Sutlej where earlier we had encamped.

If the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] tries to escape to that side, they should be ready to punish him; and deploy another force on this side of the river (Sutlej). The writer adds that Mahabat Khan was asked to write a *hasbul-hukam* for the Rajas and put its draft before the Emperor. Accordingly Mahabat Khan has prepared the draft and, after putting it before the Emperor, whatever is ordered the writer will submit the report later on.

The writer adds that Mahabat Khan has suggested that if due to rainy season the Rajas are getting late then a contingent of royal army could be spared to put at their disposal. About 6000-7000 *sawars* would reach the Sutlej before the arrival of the Rajas. The writer submits that in case the Emperor decides to encamp himself in Lahore and Shri Ji (Raja Jai Singh) puts his camp at Sutlej, then between the two rivers both the armies would be at a great distance from each other. The Emperor knows well that the Maharaja is his well-wisher and honors whatever he orders. In this way we can wash out his (Emperor) annoyance with us. It is said that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is in the hills of Jammu. And the news of his escape towards Daber is not yet confirmed whereas information about his presence in the hills is quite reliable... Dated Sawan Vadi 13, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 37

Sawan Sudi 14, 1768

Arzdasht No. 90

July 17, 1711

Arzdasht informs that from so many reliable sources it has come to be known that Amir-ul-Umra would depart to suppress the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and Emperor would stay for ten days in the garden of Lahore. Thereafter he would march towards Ajmer. If both the Rajas (Raja Singh and Raja Ajit Singh) attend the royal court before the departure of Emperor, it would be of great interest. The writer says that according to his understanding, this is the best way and that is why he has submitted this report. Dated Sawan Sudi 14, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 38

Bhadav Vadi 1, 1768

Vakil Report No. 70

July 19, 1711

Arzdasht makes references to the earlier one dispatched on Sawan Sudi 15 (July 18, 1711). The writer adds that Shahzada and Nawab Mahabat Khan are of the view that the Rajas are making lame excuse of the rain whereas the Emperor himself is on the march inspite of the rain. It would be better to reach the court at the earliest. Bhandari Khivsi has already submitted his report in this regard. Shahzada has asked Bhandari Khivsi to rush to the place where the Rajas are staying and tell them that the request about their interests would be fully conveyed to the Emperor. The writer informs the Rajas that though they themselves have informed that they would reach the court a little late but they have not mentioned the reason for their delay. Please explain it at the earliest. Bhandari Khivsi told the author that the Emperor is very much annoyed over the delay on the part of the Rajas. The author enquired from him as to what was the solution of it. Bhandari Khivsi told the writer that he has already submitted a report to the Shahzada about it and it has been duly conveyed to Bhai Raghunath who in turn would submit the report to the Maharaja. I have submitted this report on the asking of Bhandari Khivsi. So please call Raghunath to your presence in order to know the truth...

The writer informs that as mentioned earlier the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is in the hills of Jammu and Rustam Dil Khan is pursuing him. The Emperor's entourage has encamped at a place called Chamari which is at a distance of 15 *kos* from Lahore. It is said that Emperor will enter into the city of Lahore very soon. First BhadaV Vadi 1, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 39
Vakil Report No. 72

Bhadav Vadi 11, 1768
July 30, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh informs that the Emperor got a report from the site of incident that both the Rajas have 30,000 *sawars* at their command. On reading the report Shahzada Jahandar Shah who was sitting in the court commented that they (Rajas) are marching with their troops on the invitation of his brother (Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan). He further observed that if the strength of their combined army is less than 30,000, then it must be around 20,000 *sawars*. A body of 7,000-8,000 *sawars* is also at the command of his brother. Jahandar Shah advised that the Rajas should not be called to the royal court. Earlier they (Rajas) had been advised to move slowly and put up their camp at Suttlej as the road was flooded with water due to rain. On behalf of Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan, Mahabat Khan has also said the same which has been conveyed to the Maharaja in the reports one after another. The writer further informs that now royal order has been issued for the Rajas to move towards Sadhaura. An *hasbul-hukm* under the seal of Mahabat Khan had been issued and *gurjbardar* has departed to hand it over to the Maharaja. With the issuance of this royal edict, *dharma* (moral duty) of both the sides has been saved. Raja Ajit Singh was not prepared to attend the royal court. The Maharaja (Jai Singh) has prevailed upon him (Raja Ajit Singh) to visit the imperial court. The Emperor was insisting vigorously to summon him (Raja Ajit Singh). That is why the Maharaja had paid a visit to counsel him. By virtue of the Maharaja's grace, all is going well. Now according to the royal edict, please set on your march towards Sadhaura.

Report it to the Emperor that as per the royal order you are on your way to Sadhaura; and put up a petition mentioning that we were on our way to the royal court but now, as per the royal order, we are marching towards Sadhaura; and our large army is for the establishment of law and order and its purpose is to serve the Mughal government...Samat 1768, Bhadav Vadi 11 Monday.

Sr. No. 40

Bhadva Sudi 11, 1768

Arzdasht No. 212

August 13, 1711

Arzdasht informs that another *Arzdasht* dispatched on Bhadva Sudi 6 (1768; Aug. 8, 1711), Wednesday must have unfolded the whole state of affairs at the Mughal court. It states that the Emperor has encamped at a place which is only at a distance of one *kos* from Shalimar garden (of Lahore). As the surroundings of the garden were flooded with water, so the Emperor at once could not enter into the garden. Shahzadas and ladies of the royal house have shown keen interest to have a look at the garden. The Emperor has ordered to find out a suitable place near the garden for his camp, so that he may have a pleasure trip of the garden. The writer informs that it rained so heavily that it is beyond any description. There was incessant rain for seven days continuously. Though the Emperor's camp was at quite a higher place, yet it came under waist deep water. Tents of many nobles were torn apart due to the rain. The plight of the *lashkar* cannot be explained. The Emperor desired to move his camp towards the *Baoli* of Dargah Mal but level of water at that place is also increasing. The writer adds that the news about the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] in the army is the same as it was before. It is said that he has stationed himself in the hills. Rustam Dil Khan has established the camp of his army in the foot-hills. So far there has been no news about his whereabouts and what he is doing there. The writer informs that Shahzada desires the Rajas to reach Sadhaura immediately. There should be no delay in it...The writer states that he is of the knowledge that the Rajas have encamped on this side of Delhi. Please send the information through messenger at the earliest...Dated Bhadva Sudi 11, Samat 1768 Camp Shalimar.

Sr. No. 41
Vakil Report No. 75

II Bhadva Vadi 2, 1768
August 19, 1711

Arzdasht refers to the earlier one and informs that Emperor would be staying at Lahore till the end of month of *Ramzan*...The writer adds that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is camping at the river Beas. He advises the Maharaja that now it is the opportune time to liquidate the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. This act on the part of Maharaja would be highly appreciated by the Emperor and his (Raja Jai Singh) name would be remembered in the history for ever. The writer requests the Raja to comply with the royal order and set out towards Sadhaura. Nobody will detain us (Rajput Rajas) for long at Sadhaura. Adhere to the royal edict as to perform the service (at Sadhaura) will not take much time. Dated Second Bhadva Vadi 2, Samat 1768.

Shri Ram Ji

The writer adds that the Emperor has asked Mahabat Khan to dispatch an *hasbul-hukm* to both the Rajas to take up their position at Sadhaura immediately. As soon as the author receives the *hasbul-hukm*, it will be dispatched for onward delivery. In case it is handed over to the *gurjbardar*, then he will deliver it to the Maharaja.

Sr. No. 42

II Bhadva Vadi 5, 1768

Vakil Report No. 76

August 22, 1711

Arzdasht refers to the earlier one dispatched on I Bhadva Sudi 12 (Aug. 14, 1711). It informs that Bhandari Khivsi left no stone unturned to get the grant of the *suba* of Malwa and Gujarat sanctioned in favour of the Rajas. He discussed it with Shahzada and Nawab Mahabat Khan who were of the opinion that first you ask the Rajas to abide by the royal edict and after putting up at Sadhaura submit a petition before the Emperor. It will convince him (Emperor) that the Rajas are faithful and are ready to perform the service wherever they are posted. Presently, the royal court is pre-occupied with this type of things. Without coming to Sadhaura, grant of *jagir* does not seem to be possible. Bhandari Khivsi told the Mughal nobles that as long as the *subas* of Malwa and Gujarat are not sanctioned, the Rajas would not march to Sadhaura. If the Emperor wants the Rajas at Sadhaura, then firstly he should fulfil their demand so that they may resume their march. Mahabat Khan told that he has no authority to forward the petition of the Rajas unless they reach Sadhaura. The writer informs that Mahabat Khan complained that for the last eight months you (author) have been telling lies that the Rajas would attend the court within 20 days or in a month; they have arrived at Shahjahanabad and are encamped at Karnal and so on. But they did not turn up at the court. Everytime you take recourse to a new excuse. It is highly deplorable for an official of the Rajas to indulge in a bluff at the royal court. Therefore day by day, Emperor in his heart is becoming suspicious about the Rajas. He is of the opinion if the Rajas do not attend the court personally then they may be having no interest at all to

do the service of the Mughals. However, they are putting up their petition while camping near Shahjahanabad. The writer adds that now the situation has reached such a climax as the issue would not be clinched unless the Rajas arrive at Sadhaura. This is the position at the court; please do whatever the Maharaja deems fit. The writer adds that the *harkaras* of Rao Bhaskar Pandit have been assigned the duty to report about the movement of the army of both the Rajas, obviously to know about their departure. Mahabat Khan has been asked to write an *hasbul-hukm* to the Rajas enjoining them to reach Sadhaura immediately. Nawab has handed over the *hasbul-hukm* to the writer and in turn it has been dispatched to the Maharaja. Similar type of *hasbul-hukm* in the name of Raja Ajit Singh has been dispatched. Bhandari Khivsi tried his best to get the *jagir* sanctioned but unless the Rajas reach Sadhaura nothing is going to happen. Whatever decision the Maharaja deems suitable, please inform about it to me (the author). The author further remarks that atmosphere at the court is very antagonistic. Think about it seriously. Even the writer has no place to jolt down the report. Two more *gurjbardars* have been dispatched to enquire about the reason for the delay of the Rajas. They have been instructed to go on the spot and ask the Rajas to resume their march towards Sadhaura and submit report about the actual position. Please instruct the *mitsadis* (of Amber) to entertain the royal *gurjbardars* with care... Dated Second Bhadva Vadi 5, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 43

II Bhadva Vadi 5, 1768

Vakil Report No. 77

August 22, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh besides unfolding the other matters informs that on second Bhadva Vadi 3 Monday (1768; Aug. 20, 1711) Bhandari Khivsi had an audience with Mahabat Khan regarding the sanction of *jagir* to the Rajas. Bhandari Khivsi told the Nawab that the Rajas are ready to move on this side of Shahjahanabad if their demands are met. The Nawab retorted that the petition of the Rajas will be submitted to the Emperor only after they resume the duty assigned to them. None of your demands will be considered if your Rajas are sitting at home. Bhandari Khivsi offered so many arguments but the Nawab did not respond. For two or three months the Emperor would stay here (in Lahore). After that let us see whereto he goes; it is said white-wash of palace in Ajmer has been ordered... It is again said that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has gone towards Sadhaura. After collecting the correct information, I will submit the report later on...Samat 1768, second Bhadva Vadi 5, Wednesday.

Sr. No. 44

II Bhadva Vadi 9, 1768

Vakil Report No. 79

August 26, 1711

Arzdasht informs that Rustam Dil Khan has got the order to cross the river Beas in order to pursue the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] who had already crossed the river to encamp there. Muhammad Amin Khan has been ordered to pursue the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] relentlessly and he is in his chase. However, Rustam Dil Khan did not cross the river and instead returned to present himself at the court. On reaching at Chamiani, he submitted a petition in this regard. Emperor ordered him: 'Do not come to my presence, go and pursue the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]'. Rustam Dil Khan instead of obeying the order, on Bhadva Vadi 7, (1768; August 23, 1711) Friday night entered into his *haveli* in Lahore. At this the Emperor ordered Mahabat Khan, Islam Khan *daroga* of artillery and Khan Jaman Khan to arrest Rustam Dil Khan. Inayatullah Khan, Khan Khanan was ordered to confiscate his house. They all raided the house of Rustam Dil Khan, arrested and took him into custody and a police post was established at his house. When the first quarter of night had passed, they reported the matter to the Emperor who was in his private chamber at that time. The Emperor ordered to put him in the custody of Islam Khan. Then Islam Khan enquired in what way he should be treated. The Emperor ordered: 'Put him in chains and fix a collar of iron around his neck and be strict with him.' Islam Khan complied with the royal edict and on Bhadav Vadi 8 (1768; August 24, 1711) Saturday in the noon got the order to take him in the same state to the fort of Lahore and imprison him there in a solitary cell and keep a strict vigil on him. Accordingly, Rustam Dil Khan was taken to the fort

of Lahore and on the way he was rebuked and humiliated very badly. His house and property has been confiscated and his *jagir* has been resumed as *khalisa*. The Emperor is very much annoyed with him. What happens to him (Rustam Dil Khan) next, the author will submit the report later on. Second Bhadva Vadi 8, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 45

II Bhadva Vadi 9, 1768

Vakil Report No. 80

August 26, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh informs that on II Bhadva Vadi 8 (1768; August 25, 1711) Saturday *Ghazi Khan Bahadur* alias Rustam Dil Khan was put in chains and an iron collar was fixed around his neck and imprisoned in the fort of Lahore. His house and property have been confiscated. The writer informs that when the Emperor had just crossed the river Sutlej he had ordered Rustam Dil Khan to proceed against the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] along with a force of 10,000 *sawars*. The Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] had ravaged all the cities and villages of the country on that (Lahore) side. Muhammad Amin Khan along with a force of 10,000-12,000 *sawars* was already leading a campaign to subdue the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Many of the *zamindars* and *faujdar*s were also asked to join the campaign against the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. So far Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] was putting up his stay in the hills. In the meanwhile, the towns and cities which had been deserted by the people were resumed as *khalisa*. Now when the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] came down from the hills and was at a distance of two or four *kos* from the Mughal forces, he escaped towards Daber. Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan failed to take prompt action to suppress the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Ise Khan Pathan who holds this *zila* asked Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan to confront the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Ghazi Khan (Rustam Dil Khan) instead of participating in the action fled away alongwith his army from the scene (and took the road to Lahore). When Rustam Dil

Khan was at a distance of 10 *kos* from the royal court, he appealed to the Emperor to allow him to attend to the court as he has some urgent petition to put before the Emperor and after that he will proceed to the place ordered for. At this the Emperor ordered to him: 'First bring the head of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and only then come to my presence. Go back from the place where you are'. The *gurjbardar* has not yet delivered the order that he departed and reached the city of Lahore in the evening. Some of his soldiers had arrived in Lahore and some were on their way to city. The incident was reported to the Emperor who ordered Mahabat Khan, Islam Khan, *daroga* of *topkhana* and Mukhlis Khan *kotwal* (of Lahore) to arrest Rustam Dil Khan and present him in the court. On Bhadva Vadi 7 Friday (1768; Aug. 24, 1711), they raided his house and arrested him and informed the Emperor about it. Till mid-night he was made to stand out side *gulalvar* (royal enclosure) and then he was put into chains and in full public view of the city taken to the fort for imprisonment. His family was taken to *suhagpura* and property confiscated. Islam Khan, *daroga* of *topkhana*, has imprisoned him in the fort. The Emperor is very much displeased with the army and many of the soldiers will face suspension and many will be put into prison. The writer will report all about this later on. The writer adds that it is said that Muhammad Amin Khan is still in hot pursuit of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. The author advises the Maharaja that in this moment of crisis he should attend the royal court in the company of Raja Ajit Singh. Do not allow the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] to run away towards the hills. Arrest him (Banda Singh Bahadur) as it would be a most joyous moment which would fetch a great honour and position. Dated Samat 1768, second Bhadva Vadi 9, Sunday early morning.

Sr. No. 46

II Bhadarpada Vadi 9, 1768

Vakil Report No. 265

August 26, 1711

The *Arzdasht* informs that there is a rumour in the *laskar* that after the yearly *jashan* on 27th Rajab, (1123 Hijri; August 31, 1711), the Emperor will set on his march towards Shahjahanabad and enroute will observe the month of *Ramzan*. Nothing is certain about the movements of Emperor. Whatever he decides, the author will submit the report later on. The writer informs the Maharaja that now His Majesty's stay in the vicinity of Shahjahanabad is not advisable. Mahabat Khan confided with the author and Bhandari Khivsi that the Emperor's annoyance with Rustam Dil Khan is in the interest of the Rajas. In this crisis, no one is in the good books of the Emperor to whom he can assign the task at Sadhaura besides the administration of that country. (In case the Rajas) take up the assignment, it is expected that Emperor would bestow so much favour upon them that can not be explained. It will help a lot to establish our control and impression at the royal court. We will be in a position to represent all the Rajas (of Hindustan). What Nawab Mahabat Khan has expressed, is absolutely correct. We have got the opportunity which would not come easily in our way in the near future. Nawab was expecting that one day Rustam Dil Khan will have to face the wrath of the Emperor. It is the most opportune time to do whatever you deem fit. The Shahzada (Azim-ush-Shan) has also conveyed through Qudratullah to ask the Rajas to reach immediately at Sadhaura and the writer is also of the same opinion. Both the Rajas would be greeted with honour at the royal court. The writer adds that the Emperor has asked the

chelas of all nobles to arrange grain for the royal stable. He has ordered the *mansabdars* who are unable to arrange the grain to be suspended and refuse them permission to attend the royal court. Then Pir Muhammad along with Chhajju (Khan) was entrusted the task to collect the above levy from the Rajas also. Consequently, Bhandari (Khivsi) paid Rs 40 and asked me (author) also to pay Rs 40. It happened just two and a half month ago that above amount on behalf of both the Rajas has been paid to Pir Muhammad. The writer adds that earlier Pancholi Jagjiwan Das was given Rs 35 to pay extortion to the police post. After some time extortion collector again took Jagjiwan Das into his custody and was detained. Then again an amount of Rs 35 was paid to get him released. In that way the author has incurred Rs 70 (on behalf of the Raja)...

It further adds that the Emperor ordered Mahabat Khan to take along with him Shahzada Ali Itbar (Muizz-ud-Din Jahandar Shah) to Jama Masjid of Lahore and ask the *imam* to read the *khutba* of Friday prayer in the name of Emperor. At this all the *ulema* of Lahore gathered there and replied that they will follow the tradition which has been in vogue from the times of Taimur to Aurangzeb. The manner in which the Emperor has asked to pronounce the *khutba*, they will never do it and are ready to die over this issue. When the Emperor got this information, he directed them (Mahabat Khan and the Shahzada) to postpone it as on next Friday he will get the *khutba* read in his name. The writer informs that about 5,000 people on the side of the *ulemas* and Muslims of the army have gathered to lay their lives. This Friday *khutba* has been postponed. Next Friday about 10,000 people will again be gathering to die as the *ulemas* are bent upon confrontation.

They have collected stones on both sides of the roofs of bazar and say they will beat them (soldiers) with the stones. They said to the soldiers that as long as you insist on reading the *khutba* in the name of Emperor, we will continue to fight. What is decided, I will submit the report later on...Bhadarpada Vadi 9 Samat 1768. [This report is incomplete].

Sr. No. 47

Bhadva Vadi 10 (1768)

Aug. 27 (1711)

Arzdasht addressed to Raja Jai Singh refers to the earlier report dispatched on Bhadva Vadi 7, Wednesday (1768; July 25, 1711). It informs that three *parwanas*—first one in Persian written on 5th Jamadi-ul-Sani (1123 AH; July 11, 1711); second one written on Sawan Sudi 6 (1768; July 10, 1711) and lastly a letter of Nawab Mahabat Khan addressed to Raja Udit Singh, were issued under the name of the author for onward dispatch. The author received all these *parwanas* on 17th Jamadi-ul-Sani i.e. Bhadva Vadi 5 Monday (1768; July 23, 1711)... It further adds that all these papers were drowned when the boat in which the messenger was crossing the river Behath (Beas) capsized. Fortunately, the boatmen present there saved the messenger from drowning and the papers that were scattered were got collected by the people after some time. The author submits that in the rainy season due to moisture papers (documents) get spoiled if these are not wrapped in a *momjama* (water-proof cloth). The author requests the Maharaja that instructions be issued to the state officials that whenever a letter is issued in his name it should be put in a water proof-bag...The author requests the Maharaja that whenever he (Raja Jai Singh) arrives in the neighborhood of Delhi he may send his petition to the Emperor through Jasol (the Raja of Jaswan). It further informs that Nawab Mahabat Khan has conferred with this servant (author) that when the Rajas set out from Delhi then on their way they are supposed to enter into the *pargana* of Thanesar which falls under his *jagir*. The Emperor has got written undertaking from the old Nawab (Munaim Khan) and

Mahabat Khan that no Hindu would be allowed to take a dip in the holy tank of Thanesar. Eventually the Rajas' pilgrimage of Thanesar which is under his *jagir*, would find mention in the report (of *waqia-nawis*). The Nawab has suggested to the author to ask the Rajas to move from Karnal to Indri and put up their camp there. In that way, the Nawab could be saved from being called dishonest. The author adds that in these days since he crossed the river Behath (Beas), Shahzada Jahan Shah is indisposed. That is why he was one stage lagging behind the *laskar*. The author informs that he has entered the royal entourage at Chamiani. On Bhadva Vadi, Saturday (1768; August 27, 1711), Shahzada Jahandar Shah and Shah Rafi-ush-Shah paid a visit to Jahan Shah; and the Emperor has also sought information about his well-being.

Sr. No. 48

II Bhadva Vadi 11, 1768

Vakil Report No. 81

August 28, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh states that a report from Shahjahanabad has been received. It informs that [Raja Ajit Singh] is roaming in the garden and enjoying the game of hunting as well. Mahabat Khan forwarded the report as such to the Emperor. Bhandari Khivsi had also a chance to go through it. The Nawab disclosed that the Emperor is very much displeased and upset over these things. Now the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has slipped away towards Sadhaura and it is the best time to depart for that place. It will result in great honour from the Mughal Emperor. Bhandari Khivsi told the Nawab that he may be allowed to depart to persuade the Raja in this regard. The Nawab remarked that he has no interest to submit this petition before the Emperor. In case it is submitted, it ostensibly establishes that he (Bhandari) also wants to run away from the royal court. For the last two months the Raja (Ajit Singh) had stayed put at Shahjahanabad and indulged in various kinds of oppression. What is the reason? He is spoiling his own case. Write to him to reach Sadhaura immediately and after that his demands will be considered. Bhandari Khivsi proposed so many things but the puzzled Nawab disbursed the court and left for his residence. Bhandari said as the Nawab has not agreed to the proposal, let us put it before Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan. The writer adds that on many times they already had appealed to the Shahzada but every time they had got the negative response. Let us see presently whether he orders something new or not. All these things have spoiled the atmosphere at the royal court. Please

counsel Raja Ajit Singh if he wants to serve the Mughals, then he will have to keep good relations with them and also avoid creating disturbances in the country. Ruler and the ruled must live in peace. Give up all these habits and perform the service of the Mughals with utmost zeal. Arrest the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] or come up with his head; thereafter all his demands will be met. While sitting at Delhi, he (Raja Ajit Singh) has every right to put up any demand. Earlier Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) used to be in the presence of the Emperor. He was very skillful to take care of the untoward orders passed by the Emperor. Now the court is in the hands of boys (Shahzadas). A boy cannot match the skills of a mature person. In order to perform the job in these circumstances, one has to be very cautious; otherwise be prepared to face the boys. Thus prevail upon Raja Ajit Singh and ask him to depart from Delhi and reach Sadhaura at the earliest. When you reach Kurukshetra, we will submit our demands. So far everything is going in the right direction. Set out on the march and reach at Daber. It will help to erase the ill-will from the mind of Emperor and result in getting an increase in the *mansab* and *jagir* as well. Whatever we desire, it will be sanctioned. It will empower us in so many ways. ...Samat 1768, second Bhadva Vadi 11, Tuesday.

Sr. No. 49

II Bhadva Vadi 13, 1768

Vakil Report No. 83

August 30, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the meeting that he had in the company of Shah Qudratullah with Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan on (second) Bhadva Vadi 13 Thursday (1768; Aug. 30, 1711). It informs that Bhandari Khivsi has written many times to Raja Ajit Singh but to no avail. Bhandari told the Shahzada that the Raja is ready to depart if he is entrusted with the campaign of Deccan. On this Shahzada remarked that it would invite wrath of the Emperor. Bhandari Khivsi pleaded vigorously but he did not agree. Then Bhandari submitted that he may be allowed to depart so that he could persuade the Raja (Ajit Singh) to depart for Daber. He was told to ask the Raja first come to the royal presence and resume the service. It would help to remove the ill-will from the mind of the Emperor. He was also told that his "Raja wants to rule while sitting in home. Who will listen to him?" Therefore within 5-7 days Bhandari Khivsi is leaving on his mission to the Raja. Bhandari Khivsi also enquired that in case he (Raja Ajit Singh) agrees to take up his assignment of Daber, would the Mughal Emperor entrust the Raja the campaign of Deccan? Shah Qudratullah did not respond to his query. The writer advises Raja Jai Singh to prevail upon Raja Ajit Singh and counsel him to render the Mughal service with zeal. Come over to Daber, suppress the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and earn the favour of the Emperor. His petition will be accepted only after this. The writer adds if Raja Ajit Singh does not adhere to the advice of Bhandari Khivsi to attend the royal court then come what may, the Maharaja should not miss the

opportunity. March immediately towards Daber. It is hoped all our issues would be settled and the Emperor would also have peace of mind. On Bhadarpada Vadi 13, Samat 1768 Thursday (August 30, 1711) in the evening Nahar Khan arrived from Sambhar at the royal court. This *Arzdasht* of Pancholi Jagjiwan Das was put before (Raja Jai Singh) by Mian Panna on Asoj Vadi 14 (Samat 1768; Sep, 30, 1711).

Sr. No. 50
Vakil Report No. 317

Asoj Vadi 1, 1768
September 16, 1711

Arzdasht informs the Raja that another *Arzdasht* dispatched on second Bhadvā Sudi (1768; Sep. 2, 1711) must have reached. It states that the writer alongwith Bhandari Khivsi paid a visit to the camp of Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan and he called them to his presence and asked why the Rajas are so sluggish to reach Sadhaura. The writer told the Shahzada that the Rajas have a large army at their command. In case on reaching Sadhaura they are assigned the campaign to subdue the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] and in lieu of that they do not get any benefit from the Mughal court, then how can they survive and support such a large army? They reminded the Shahzada that Khan Khanan (Munaim Khan) died in grief because he failed to suppress the revolt raised by the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Due to the same reason, Rustam Dil Khan has to face ignominy. The Rajas are completely devoted and faithful to the Emperor. If someone complains to the Emperor that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has entered into an alliance with the Rajas, they will have to face the displeasure of the Emperor. This is the only reason that they are concerned regarding their posting at Sadhaura. Shahzada assured that first in accordance with the royal order the Rajas are required to reach Sadhaura; thereafter we will assign to them a new posting. Shahzada asked the writer to dispatch a letter to the Rajas not to show any reluctance to reach Sadhaura. The writer submitted that to assure the Rajas a *nisan* in this connection may be issued. On this Shahzada asked *sipahsalar* Quadratullah Khan to prepare a *nisan* for both the Rajas and hand it over to the

writer. Soon the *nisan* will be ready and after that it will be dispatched to the Maharaja at the earliest. The writer adds that in the morning of Asoj Vadi 1 (1768; September 16, 1711), he visited the camp of Nawab Mahabat Khan. When one quarter of the day had passed, Nawab called him to his presence. At the same time soldiers of *Khan Jahani Risala* assembled at the door of Nawab's camp and created an uproar that they have nothing to eat and their salary running into Rs 1, 20,000 is yet to be paid. Why has the Nawab sanctioned only Rs 50,000. [this report is incomplete].

Sr. No. 51
 Wakil Report No. 90

Asoj Vadi 8, 1768
 September 24, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the dispatch of a *nisan* and *siropao* from Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan for the Raja. It informs that Shahzada has written in it that on reaching Sadhaura the Rajas can immediately be allowed to proceed to the Deccan. Therefore Raja Ajit Singh is required to reach Sadhaura. The state of affairs would become clear from the *nisan* and the letters of Mahabat Khan and *sipahsalar* Qudratullah...The writer adds that for the last five years the *maulanas* of Lahore had discontinued the practice to pronounce the *khutba* in the name of the Emperor. There was some difference of opinion on its contents relating to their religion. Therefore, the Emperor had rushed from Hyderabad to Lahore in order to subdue the *maulanas*. On reaching Lahore he held discussion with them for two months but of no avail. Those who were put into prison did not listen to his advice. The *jagirs* and *rozina* sanctioned to the *ulemas* were also discontinued. For two or four times they were threatened with dire consequences but it had no effect on them. The writer adds that about a month ago Mahabat Khan was ordered to take an army in order to compel the *ulema* to read the *khutba* in a manner as desired by the Emperor. Mahabat Khan got ready with a large force but on the other hand thousands of *ulema* who were ready to die sat down in the Jama Masjid (of Lahore). At this Mahabat Khan had to postpone his plan of action. On Asoj Vadi 6, Friday (1768; September 21, 1711) Mahabat Khan along with his army entered into the city. Islam Khan, the *daroga* of artillery was asked to block all the entry points into

the city. No *ulema* of the city was allowed to enter into the Jama Masjid. All the streets were closed. Mahabat Khan got the *khutba* read in the name of the Emperor. However, some say that *khutba* was read in the same manner as it was read before. Some say it was read according to the new pattern. Dated Samat 1768, Asoj Vadi 8.

Sr. No. 52

Katik Vadi 8, 1768

Vakil Report No.100

Oct 23, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Raja Jai Singh informs that on Katik Vadi 8 (1768; October 23, 1711) Tuesday, Bhandari Khivsi and the author paid a visit to Mahabat Khan at his residence. During their meeting Mahabat Khan disclosed that on Katik Vadi 7, Monday, he had an audience with the Emperor where the Emperor enquired from him about the decision taken in the case of the Rajas. He said it was submitted that the Rajas in accordance with the royal edict have arrived at Sadhaura and now wherever their posting is ordered they will proceed there. At this the Emperor ordered the assignment of East to Raja Ajit Singh and Raja Jai Singh was assigned to Deccan. It was also decided if he did not want to go there then assign him Kangra and in case he did not wish to take it, then ask him to present himself at the imperial court. The Emperor inquired that why the Raja (Jai Singh) entertained so much distrust? Who can gobble him up? If he puts faith in me then he can trust me for the whole life. Ask him to give up distrust as Shahzada Azim-ush-Shan is a nephew of the Raja (Jai Singh).

Arzdasht of Pancholi Jagjiwan Das written on Katik Vadi 8 (Oct. 23, 1711) was delivered (at Jaipur) on Katik Sudi 14 (1768; November 12, 1711).

Sr. No. 53

Katik Sudi 6, 1768

Vakil Report No. 108

November 4, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh states that an *Arzdasht* dispatched on Katik Sudi 1 (1768; October 31, 1711,) Wednesday must have reached and the whole affair must be known. The author informs that on Katik Sudi 5 (1768; November 4, 1711), the writer in the company of Bhandari Khivsi paid a visit to *sipahsalar* Qudratullah. It informs that for the last five days, Diwan Bhikhari Das was not keeping good health but now he is feeling well. Qudratullah informed that it is rumoured that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] intends to attack Muhammad Amin Khan. In case the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] attacks Muhammad Amin Khan, both the Rajas should rush to the support of Muhammad Amin Khan and liquidate the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]...Samat 1768, Katik Sudi 6,¹ Sunday (1768; November 4, 1711).

1. Katik Sudi 5th and 6th in the year of 1768 Bk. occurred in the common Era on the same day i.e. November 4, 1711.

Sr. No. 54

Maghshir Sudi 9, 1768

Vakil Report No. 114

December 7, 1711

Arzdasht refers to the earlier one dispatched on Maghshir Sudi 8, (1768; December 5, 1711) Wednesday. It informs that when the *gurjbardar* was ready to depart the Emperor ordered Mahabat Khan to write an *hasbul-hukm* for the Rajas asking them to stay for a few days more at Sadhaura in order to quell the rebellion of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. The Nawab prepared the *hasbul-hukm* and desired to hand it over to the same *gurjbardar*. However, the *gurjbardar* had already departed with the *nisan* and *siropao* for the Rajas. On knowing that *gurjbardar* has departed, the Nawab appointed an *ahadi* to deliver the said *hasbul-hukm* to the Rajas...Dated Maghshir Sudi 9, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 55

Pos Vadi 5, 1768

Vakil Report No. 118

Dec. 19, 1711

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the earlier *Arzdasht* dispatched on Pos Vadi 1, Samat 1768 (December 14, 1711)...It informs that firstly Mahabat Khan got prepared the *farman* and then sought the permission of the Emperor to send it through a *gurjbardar* to the Rajas. The Emperor ordered another *hasb-ul-hukm* for the Rajas may be drafted which was to be handed over to the same *gurjbardar*; in this royal decree both the Rajas are ordered to remain camped at Sadhaura. The Emperor said that we are despatching an army under Hoshdar Khan in order to take position in the (Jalandhar) *doab*. Until the army under Hoshdar Khan reached there, both the Rajas would remain stationed at Sadhaura. Bhandari Khivsi had received both the imperial orders. It further adds that Nawab Mahabat Khan summoned Bhandari Khivsi and the writer, and insisted that we write immediately to the Rajas asking them to remain stationed for some more days at Sadhaura. *Hasb-ul-hukum* to this effect has already been issued and you (Bhandari Khivsi and the writer) also write to impress upon the same requirement. Bhandari Khivsi submitted that *gurjbardar* had already departed with the *farman* and the *hasb-ul-hukm* had been issued four days later. Bhandari Khivsi submitted that on receiving the *farman* the Rajas may have left Sadhaura. At this the Nawab told that it was not good on the part of your masters to disobey the royal order. Then the Nawab left on horseback to consult the Shahzada (Azim-ush-Shan) and informed him that there is every likelihood that the Rajas may have left the place (Sadhaura). The Shahzada remarked that

in case the Rajas have departed without waiting for the second order, then it is really very bad. To disobey the royal order is not in their interest. Now you write another *hasb-ul-hukum* to the effect that the Rajas must spare 1000 *sawars* each for their deployment in Sadhaura. In case they have already set on the return march to their country, then on receiving the *hasb-ul-hukm* they must comply with it from the place where they are. There should be no let up in this regard. After getting leave of the Shahzada, Mahabat Khan came back and informed Bhandari Khivsi of the decision. At this, Bhandari Khivsi and the author consulted Shah Qudratullah. He remarked that Shahzada has emphasized very strongly that the Rajas must spare their *sawars* to help Hoshdar Khan. After returning to the camp Bhandari Khivsi and the author deliberated over the matter thoroughly. They felt that firstly they disobeyed the royal order to inform the Rajas that they are allowed to move out of Sadhaura. Secondly, the *hasb-ul-hukm* to the effect that the Rajas would stay put at Sadhaura was dispatched late. At this juncture what is the option? All of us held discussions and the Maharaja can take our opinion into consideration. Bhandari Khivsi thought very seriously and suggested that without deploying 500 *sawars* each by both the Rajas, their situation is not going to improve at the royal court. So you (author) also write an *arzdasht* explaining thoroughly to the Raja (Jai Singh) to spare 500 *sawars* for the above purpose. The author counsels the Raja that in case Raja Ajit Singh is ready to spare 500 of his *sawars* then you must also follow the suit... Dated Pos Vadi 5, Samat 1768.

No. 56
Vakil Report No. 121

Pos Sudi 10, 1768
January 7, 1712

Arzdasht refers to the earlier one despatched on Pos Sudi 9 (1768; January 6, 1712)...The author adds that day and night he is determined to get the *jagir* granted (to the Jaipur house).He is quite hopeful that the objective will be achieved very shortly. The author adds that he has got the information that the Maharaja has marched out of Haridwar on Pos Vadi 15 (Dec. 28, 1711) and is very pleased over this development. He expresses his desire to pay his respect to the Raja very shortly... Dated Pos Sudi 10, Samat 1768.

Sr. No. 57

Phagun Sudi 13, 1768

Vakil Report No. 266

March 10, 1712

Arzdasht of Bhandari Khivsi to Raja Jai Singh informs that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has reoccupied Sadhaura. About 4000-5000 men are at his command. Again people are flocking to him. In this *zila*, his dread is wide spread. All the villages bear a deserted look. On hearing his [Banda Singh Bahadur] movement Muhammad Amin Khan who was at Sarhind, has departed (towards Sadhaura to pursue him). This is the state of affairs here. I (the author) wish to return to our country at the earliest. It is hoped that I will arrive on Chait Vadi 6-9 (1768; March 18-21, 1712) as I am to discuss so many important matters with the Maharaja. I am reaching very soon, no more delay is advisable. It is requested that a prominent noble like Sham Singh may be called so that he may be deputed at the Mughal court. If he has been given permission to visit his home, please call him before I reach (Amber/Jaipur). He can that way discuss the matters with me. There should be no delay in this matter...Samat 1760, Phagun Sudi 13, Sunday evening.

Sr. No. 58
Vakil Report No. 267

Phagun Sudi 13, 1768
March 10, 1712

Arzdasht informs the addressee that in these days the route (Lahore to Delhi) which passes north-east of Narela is in use...The writer adds that Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has stationed himself in Daber and is dispatching letters to different places. The *faujdar* of Ambala has collected an army of about 1200-1300 *sawars*. Sher Afghan, the *faujdar* of Ujjain has also arrived at Panipat. It is said that Sarbuland Khan has reached Agra. It is said that Shahzada Farukhsiyar would be reaching very soon. Dated Phagun Sudi 13, Samat 1768. [It is an incomplete report].

Sr. No. 59
Vakil Report No. 270

Chait Vadi 13, 1769
March 24, 1712

Arzdasht addressed to Raja Jai Singh refers to the state of affairs at the Mughal court (in Lahore after the succession of Jahandar Shah on Safar 21 (1123 AH; March 18, 1712)...It informs that the new Emperor, Jahandar Shah, has made new appointments and according to that Muhammad Amin Khan has been granted the *mansab* of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawars* and has been entrusted to lead the campaign against the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Shahzada Aziuddin has got the *mansab* of 30,000 *zat* and 25,000 *sawars* and will leave on 5th of Rabi-ul-Awal (1123 AH; April 1, 1712) to lead a campaign against Farukhsiyar. It is said that the royal camp would depart from Lahore for Shahjahanabad on 5th (of Rabi-ul-Awal) and it is also rumoured that departure would be on 7th (of Rabi-ul-Awal). It informs that in order to get confirmation of the *mansab* of Raja Partap Singh, the author paid a visit to Khan Jahan Bahadur. His staff told the writer that after understanding the whole matter, they would submit the petition for his (Khan Jahan) consideration. On this Raja Partap Singh, Raja Gopal Singh Bhaduria and Mohkam Singh jointly represented before the officials that they joined the Mughal army four days before the battle (for succession); and were ready to die for your cause and now how we can bear the expenses on the maintenance of our soldiers. They were expecting reward of Rupees one Lakh each but instead they were being asked to bear their expenses themselves. The officials told that the Nawab has ordered that only those persons' petitions should be brought to him for confirmation who has promised to pay expenditure of the expedition. Raja

Partap Singh has agreed to pay Rs. 20,000; however the confirmation order of his *mansab* has not yet been received. The writer informs that *parwana* to resume the *jagirs* had been issued. Now order to release the *jagirs* has been issued. Whosoever applies to Amir-ul-Umra for restoration of his *jagir*, is being asked by Raja Sabha Chand to first promise the payment of a specified amount and only then restoration order is issued. The writer informs that Zabardast Khan has been conferred with the title of Ali Mardan Khan and his *mansab* elevated to the rank of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawars*. He has also been appointed *subadar* of Lahore. Jahandar Shah has succeeded to the Mughal throne and all the nobles and ministers have resumed their office...The writer adds that after the death of Bahadur Shah he has not got any return letter from Shri Ji (Raja Jai Singh). The author requests the Raja whatever advice is given to him, think over it very seriously. The anarchy associated with the administration of Khan Khanan during Bahadur Shah's rule has been finished. Now the office of *diwan* is with the Iranians. Whatever they do, they do it very carefully. They do not indulge in conflict but are tactful to execute their scheme. That is why within no time they got killed the Shahzadas. In the war of succession, the casualties were less than ten persons. Dated Chait Vadi 13, Samat 1769.

Sr. No. 60

Vaisakh Sudi 8, 1769

Vakil Report No.145

May 3, 1712

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das informs Raja Jai Singh about the administrative changes that have occurred under the new Emperor, Jahandar Shah...The writer expresses his dismay at the nature of the new Emperor and the wisdom displayed by the Nawab. He further adds that in the army camp various kinds of rumours are in circulation...Shahzada Aziuddin has departed alongwith an army of 50,000 *sawars* to confront Farukhsiyar. The Emperor conferred upon him a special robe of honour, an elephant, horse, jewels and cash of Rupees one crore and elevation in the *mansab* and sent him off. The Emperor has started on his journey towards Shahjahanabad. Thirty halts at a distance of 4 *kos* each have been fixed. Let us see how many days he takes. Bridges on the rivers are being laid...The following nobles have been given important appointments.

Amir-ul-Umra, Khan-i-Dauran second *bakhshi*; Hafizullah Khan became third *bakhshi*; Tarbiat Khan son of Ali Mardan Khan *subadar* of Lahore (Zabardast Khan) has also got appointment; Ali Mardan Khan has been appointed *naib-subadar* of Multan as well; Khan Jahan Bahadur and Raja Gopal Singh Bhaduria have also got assignments; Baharmand Khan has been appointed *daroga* of *gurjbardars*.; Daud Khan has been appointed *subadar* of Deccan; Inayatullah Khan became the *subadar* of Kashmir; Nasir Khan has been appointed *subadar* of Kabul, Hussain Khan was made *naib-subadar* of Thatta...Dated Samat 1769, Vaisakh Sudi 8 dispatched early in the morning.

Sr. No. 61
Vakil Report No. 286

[Jeth Sudi], 1769
May, 1712

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh informs that Muhammad Amin Khan has written to Nawab Amir-ul-Umra that companions of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] have occupied the pleasure palace of the Emperor near Sadhaura. They have established a fort there and converted it into a *thana*. With a body of soldiers he (Muhammad Amin Khan) raided that place, fought with the Sikhs and by virtue of grandeur of the Emperor all the Sikhs who were inside the fort were killed. Now he is proceeding towards Lohgarh to give a battle to the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. By the good fortune of the Emperor all the rebels would be captured very soon. .. [Jeth Sudi] Samat 1769.

Sr. No. 62

[Vaisakh Vadi 1770]

Arzdasht No. 145

[April, 1713]

Arzdasht from Jeth Mal to Maharaja Jai Singh informs about the preparation made and strategy devised by the Sikhs to confront the Mughal army at Sadhaura. The writer states that the Mughal army marched from Sadhaura towards a *chak* called Lohgarh. It has established its camp which is about 5 *kos* on this side of Lohgarh. From Lohgarh the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] is sending verbal messages to the Mughals asking 'Why they were putting up there? Come immediately and fight with us.' On this Abdul Samad Khan set forth and has taken position which is at a distance of 2 *kos* from Lohgarh. The writer adds that so far there has been no good battle between the Mughals and the Sikhs. This time he (author) hopes it will be a pitched battle. In the fort, the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has made good preparations for the battle. Every ingress to the fort has been blocked by cutting down trees, besides trenches have been dug out around it. In the trenches the Sikh musketeers have taken positions whereas the batteries of artillery, *rahkilas* and *sutnaals* are lined up on the ramparts of the fort. Just below the fort is a human settlement which has fortification around it where the Sikh riflemen have taken positions. Inside the fort they (Sikhs) have amassed a good stock of ammunition, grains and water. The strength of the Sikh army is fairly good. It is said there are about 2,000 *sawars* and 5000-7000 foot soldiers with them. The (Sikh) horsemen are stationed in the nearby hills. They employ sudden raid tactics to cut the Mughal supply lines besides hitting hard the advance parties of the Mughal army. In this manner they have put the Mughal

soldiers into a great dilemma. All the Sikh foot soldiers are inside the fort. They have made very good preparation that is why the coming battle would be a pitched one. So far in Sadhaura only the Mughal soldiers were fighting but now the Mughal officers have also arrived. Therefore they would fight more vigorously. In the imperial army there are about 7000 *sawars* which are not enough to deal with the situation. The material which is of no use in the battle, the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has transported it further into the hills to a place called Paonta. It is at a distance of 12 *kos* from Lohgarh. The Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has camped himself inside the fort. This is all about till date. [Vaisakh Vadi 1770].

Sr. No. 63

Bhadav Vadi 12 [1770]

Arzdasht No. 139

August 6 [1713]

Arzdasht from Sadhaura by Jeth Mal to Maharaja Jai Singh informs that situation at Lohgarh is the same that he had reported in his earlier dispatch. On Bhadav Vadi 6 (1770; July 31, 1713) there was heavy down pour. Throughout day and night it rained incessantly. In this rain a body of 500 Sikh foot soldiers and 500 *sawars* very carefully entered into the fort. Thereafter in the morning 200 Sikhs came out of the fort and pounced upon the Mughals in such a furious manner that the whole Mughal army was thrown into disarray and the Mughal soldiers ran helter-skelter to seek refuge here and there. It continued for two quarters of time. Having killed 20 Mughal soldiers, the Sikhs withdrew safely into Lohgarh. Near the fort but in front of the battle-lines, the (Mughals) had erected a *garguj* (platform) on which they had mounted a canon. During the night the Sikhs came out of the fort, tied the ropes to the canon and pushed it down on the Mughals. Due to this eight Mughal soldiers were killed. They (Mughals) again pulled the canon in order to mount it on the platform. Though the Sikhs put a great pressure on them yet the Mughals were successful to mount it. The fort is besieged on three sides. The Mughal army has taken position. One side of the fort is open; the Sikhs armed with bow and arrows sally out from the open side of the fort to graze their cattles such as horses, bullocks and buffaloes. Whatever quantity of fodder and firewood is required, they (Sikhs) take it into the fort. The Mughal soldiers can see them but only to turn a blind eye to it. The Mughal soldiers have no courage to charge their horses and challenge the Sikhs. On the contrary the Sikhs

always challenge the Mughals and every day 5-7 Mughal soldiers are killed by them. This is the routine which is going on for quite some time. Two days back in the command of Ise Khan, some reinforcement has arrived to join the imperialists. About 500 *sawars* and 200 musketeers have been deployed on the side which was open. They are very close to the fort. Consequently, the escape route of the Sikhs has been closed. The Mughal soldiers are patrolling the area below the fort. From all sides the fort is fully beseiged. Let us see for how many days the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] stays in the fort or escapes to some other place. So far this is the information. What happens after it, the report will be submitted later on. Dated Bhadva Vadi 12 [1770].

Sr. No. 64

Asoj Vadi 3-5, 1770

Arzdasht No. 161

August 27-29, 1713

Arzdasht from Chaube Jeth Mal to Maharaja Jai Singh informs that on Asoj Vadi 3, Samat 1770 (August 27, 1713) Nawab Abdus Samad Khan, et al have decided to invade the fort (Lohgarh) but many of their companions gave up the attempt in despair. Therefore raid on the fort was postponed. It provided time to the people (Sikhs) in the fort to be vigilant. They fortified their battle-lines. The Nawab has got the artillery to storm the fort. It is hoped that the fort will be taken over soon. Infact nothing significant has been left in the fort. The writer adds that between Sadhaura and Lohgarh, there is a place called Tarwargarh which is stocked with immense quantity of ammunition and material. In Lohgarh he [Bandon Singh Bahadur] himself has taken the position. On Bhado Sudi 11(1768; August 21, 1713) an advance party of the Mughal army has moved towards the hills. It came under attack of the army of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. They [Sikhs] took away the followings in the form of booty:

Horses	Camels	Bullocks	Other beasts of burden
100	30	40	200
Soldiers killed		Wounded	Taken as prisoners
40		20	35

Since the news of Mohkam Singh's death has gone public, the companions of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] have become more daring and bold. On Asoj Vadi 5 (1770; August 29, 1713), a body of 200 Mughal *sawars* happened to advance for the purpose of patrolling. Instead of fighting with the Sikhs, the Mughal soldiers fled away before them.

Baloch Khan, the head *jamadar* fell fighting. The heads of four other Mughal nobles were chopped off and taken away by the Sikhs. Abdus Samad Khan is totally a coward but the soldiers are very fine. However, there is no unity among them.

Sr. No. 65

Chait Vadi 6, 1771

Vakil Report No. 245

February 24, 1714

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the disturbances in the Deccan...The writer adds that he has already submitted a report regarding the disturbances created by the rebel followers of [Guru] Nanak. He informs that they have created a wide spread disturbances in the *pargana* of Batala. Abdus Samad Khan supported by other *zamindars* has departed to suppress the rebels (Sikhs). It is reported that people of Lahore are living under the dread of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. On this, the Emperor ordered Afsaryab Khan, third *bakhshi*, to go and exterminate the rebels (Sikhs). Whenever Afsaryab Khan departs on this expedition, it will be submitted in the next report. Dated Chaitar Vadi 6, Samat 1771.

Sr. No. 66

Chait Vadi 10, 1771

Vakil Report No. 245

February 28, 1714

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh refers to the state of affairs in the Deccan...The writer adds that a report submitted to the Emperor informs that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has created a widespread uprising in the *parganas* of Kalanaur and Batala. It adds that Abdus Samad Khan (*subadar* of Lahore) had gone to liquidate the Bhattis (of Multan). People of the city of Lahore are highly scared (of the Sikhs). Consecutively submitted reports revealed that the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur] has created wide spread disturbances besides ravaging the towns and villages and intends to raid the city (of Lahore). Abdus Samad Khan had initiated a campaign against the Bhattis (of Multan) and was 30 *kos* away from the city of Lahore. He was ordered to set out, in collaboration with Afsaryab Khan, Khan-i-Dauran, Raja Udit Singh, *zamindar* of Orccha, Rao Ram Chand Bundela, Kalyan Singh Bhaduria and others, with an army to exterminate (the Sikhs). Presently, the Mughal army and its armaments are getting ready. Whenever it sets out, report will be submitted...Dated Chaitar Vadi 10, Samat 1771.

Sr. No. 67

Bhadav Sudi 11, 1772

Vakil Report No. 282

August 29, 1715

Arzdasht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Maharaja Jai Singh informs that the Emperor (Farukhsiyar) is suffering from *bhagandar* (fistula) for the last so many years. When he was on an excursion in the neighbourhood of Panipat, there was heavy rain accompanied by cold spell. It aggravated the wound leading to severe pain. Now the Emperor is under the treatment of a European doctor. One wound is very deep whereas pus is oozing out of the other. It is severely painful. But in these days there was little relief. Day by day the Emperor is recovering from the ailment. It is hoped that he will be alright very soon...The writer adds that Taqarab Khan, son-in-law of Khansama has got the *pargana* of Sarhind on *izara* in lieu of Rs 52,00,000. The said *pargana* was laid waste by the rebellion of the Guru [Banda Singh Bahadur]. Therefore Taqarab Khan could not deposit the promised amount in the royal treasury. Ali Ahmed Khan, a subordinate of Taqarab Khan held the office of *faujdar* (of Sarhind). Now he has been again appointed *faujdar* of that place (Sarhind). Dated Bhadav Sudi 11, Samat 1772.

**Rajasthani Text
of the Documents**

क्रमांक 1
अरजदासत नं. 195

माघ वदी 2, (1767)
(दिसंबर 26, 1710)

श्री महाराजा जी श्री जै सिंघ जी

सिंधि श्री महाराज धिराज महाराजा जी श्री चरण कमलान खानाजाद खाकपाय पंचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जो जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामत खानाजाद नवाजी को परवानो मिति पोह सुदी 4 (1767) (13 दिसंबर 1710) को लिखो दीवान भिखारी दास जी का परवाना की साथ इनायत हुवो सु माथै चढाय लीयो खानैजाद नवाजी व सरफराजी हुई जी। श्री महाराजा जी सलामत मीती माह बदी 1 (25 दिसंबर) पातसाह जी को कूच हुवो सु मौजै साढैरै डेरा हुवा अब अठै सै जठी नै तसरीफ फरमायो चाहसी जठी की मंजलां मुकरर होसी अब ताई नाम सखस' है जी

श्री महाराजा सलामत नाहन का राजा का दीवान नै नवाब खानखान (मुनाइम खां) बेइजत कीयो तौक हथकड़ी व बेड़ी घाल कैद कीयो अबै ई मुचलको लिख दीयो है जु हूं गुरु ख्बंदा सिंघ बहादुर, नै पैदा करदुसुं न जाण जे ई डरु तै लीख दीयो है या सांच लिख दीयो है अर नीहन का राजा उपर भी चौकी बैठी है। श्री महाराजा जी सलामत नवाब खानखाना खानाजाद नै फरमायो महाराज कहां तक आये, खानजाद अरज करी जु नयी सराय² सै चालां का परवाना आया है, फुरमायो आवा की देर करै है, ती ही इसकी खुमार³ खैचेंगे सु श्री महाराजा सलामत महाराजा श्री अजीत सिंघ जी पधारै है तो भला ही है, अर जो वांका⁴ आया मै ढील होय तो श्री महाराजा जी तो बेग⁵ पधारजो जी पधारवा की घणी ताकीद फुरमाव जो जी।

श्री महाराजा सलामत भण्डारी खीवसी मिति माह वदी 2 (26 दिसंबर 1710) लसकर मै दाखल हवो जी।...

1. शक, संदेह; 2. नारनौल से 3 किलोमीटर पुरातन देहली सड़क पर;
3. ताड़ना, यातना; 4. उनको (अजीत सिंघ); 5. जलदी

श्री महाराजा जी सलामत नाहन का राजा नै सतरसाल (बुंदेला) ढंग¹ की बांहा² सु बुलायो थो सु सतरसाल नै तो देस की सीख³ दीयै का एक मंजल चालां पाछै नाहन का राजा नै महावत खां जी नवाब खानखाना जी कै दीवान खानै लाया व नवाब पूछे गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] कठै है नाहन कै राजा कहो जोरावरी सुं महारी⁴ सरहद मै होय गयो तब नवाब तो अंदर गया पाछं सु महाबत खां जी भी नवाब कनै गया अर ई सारत⁵ करी सु नाहन का राजा का हीथार⁶ खुलाय लीया अर नवाब की डोढी (डिउढी) आगै ही रावटी मै कैद कीयो है रावटी कै अंदर बारै चौकी बैठी है नाहन कै राजा कहो हुतो नवाब की वाहां सै आयो हूं अर पातसाही बंदो हूं जो महारे कनै होतो तो हुं कु राखतो, नवाब कही बेहिसाब कहता है कै तो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] कु पैदा करै कै थारो⁷ दीवान को हाल कीयो है तीही भात थारो भी हाल होसी नाहन का राजा की साथ एक जोगी है सु कहहै हूं गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] नै पैदा करदेसुं पछै न जाण जो डरता कह है या सांच कह है जी।

1. ढंग, बहाना; 2. वहां; 3. रुखसत; 4. हमारी; 5. इशारा; 6. हथियार;
7. तुम्हारा

क्रमांक 2
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 21

माघ सुदी 3, 1767
जनवरी 10, 1711

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामती

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती पातसाह जी का हसबुल हुकम व गुरुजबरदार पहाड़ों के राजों पै गया, जो तुम्हारी धरती मै जहां गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] होय जीहा जौ पकड़ी हजूरी भेजी जयो, तब पहाड़ों के राजों की अरजदासती पातसाह जी नै आई अर नजरी गुजरी, जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] हमारी धरती मै आया नहीं, नाहणी ही का राजा का पहाड़ मै छै, जो पातसाह जी खानखाना को फुरमाया जो तुम नाहणी का राजा को बुलाये कैदी करो, जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] को पैदा करि देह, तब खानखाना नाहणी का राजा बुलाया अर ताकीद करी, तब नाहणी कै राजा अरज करि जो मेरी जाणी¹ मै गुरु नहीं, अर मेरा दीवान गुरु का सीख² है सो उस की जाणी मै कहि होयगा, सो दीवान को ऐसा मारया जो बस (उस) का जीवणा कठणी³ छै जी, अर दूसरै दीन⁴ पातसाह जी खानखानां को फुरमाया जो दीवान के मारयो क्या होता है, तुम राजो को कैदी करो वह गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] को पैदा करी देहगा नतर⁵ मै भारी डालूंगा अर उसका मुलक खाक सयाह करुंगा, तब नवाब खानखानां उस को बुलाय कैदी कीया अर लोग उसका सब भाजी⁶ गया, अर वै उस की मां की अरजदासती आई छै जो मेरे बेटे को बेइज्जती मती करो मै गुरु का तलास मै हूं सु पैदा करी भेजुंगी सो जो ठहरैली सो पाछ थे अरज लीखौलो जी... मिति माह सुदी 3 संवत 1767.

1. जानकारी; 2. सिख; 3. कठिन; 4. दिन; 5. नहीं तो; 6. भाग

क्रमांक 3
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 23

माघ सुदी 11, 1767
जनवरी 19, 1711

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामती

अरजदासती करार मीती माह सुदी 3 वार बुधवार की लीखी हजूरी भेजी छै तीसौ सारी हकीकती अरज पहुची होयली जी...श्री महाराजा सलामती महीनो सवा हुवो सो मेह राती दीन लागो रहै घड़ी येक उघाइ¹ करै नही सो ऊंट बैल वा घोड़ा वा आदमी बहोत मुवा सो अरज पहुंचावा मै आवै नही अर नाज (अनाज) की भी रसत पहुंचै नही सो जुदीऊ रकसौ नीरख की अरज पहुंचै ली जी...श्री महाराजा जी सलामती गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] की खबरी लसकर मै यह है जो नाहणी का राजा की हद सौं तो नीकसी अर नाहणी का राजा परै ओर राजा की हद छै सो उटै गयो अर नाहणी का राजा की मां उस राजा की बहैण थी सो वां उस राजा कै गई अर उस को कहा जो मेरा बेटा को पातसाह जी नै रोक्या सो मुवा ही छूटेगा सो मै तुम उपरी मरुंगी तब नाहणी का राजा का लोग वा उस राजा का लोगां मीली अर तलास कीया सु गुरु येक खोहले² मै पाया सो दोनयो राजों की फोज सौं उस खोहले मै लड़ाई होय है अर पीठी³ पीछे बरफ का डुगर⁴ डुठड (पहाड़) है सो भाजी जावा नै जायगा नही अर पातसाही फोज बरफ कै सबब जाय सकै नाही सो दोनयो राजों से पातसाह जी की नीपट ताकीद छै सो कोई तो कहै है जी पकड़या वा कोई कहै है जो अबै पकड़ैगा सो ठीक पड़ौले सो पाछां ये अरज लीखौ लो जी... श्री महाराजा जी सलामती जी ईस पातसाही मै रूसतम दील खां का मामला बहोत तेजी है अर पातसाह जी नीपट मेहरवान है अर इसका सुभाव श्री महाराजा जी नै मालूम छै पांच हजार असवारां की फौज सौं सीहानंद की तरफ नै जाय छै सो पणमेसर⁵ जी करै सीताब लसकर बारै निकसो।

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती नवाब खानजहां बहादर मिती सुदी 6 नै बंगाला की सुबादारी हुई जी सौ जीही दिन कूच करी गयो

1. उघड़ना; 2. नकारा मकान; 3. पीठ; 4. ऊंचा; 5. परमेसर

जी अर बंदा सौ फुरमावै ये जो राजा जी का इन दीनों आवना
 होता तो हमारा मीलणा होता सो हमारी दुवा लीखवो कीजयो अर
 बंदा राजा राज सिंघ जी कै गया था अर राजा राज सिंघ जी या
 कहौ ये जो नाहणी का राजा की हद सौ गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर]
 बाहरी गया अर नाहणी का राजा की हद परै कोस 80 पहाड़ मै
 है जो हार्थी आवणा कठणी है अर पातसाही मै या खबरी है जो
 आजी सभा मै पकड़या आवैगा सो आया अरज लीखौलो जी...मीती
 माह सुदी 11 संवत 1767...

क्रमांक 4

माघ सुदी 11, 1767

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 36

जनवरी 19, 1711

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामती

परवाना करार मीती माह बदी 5 वा बदी 8 का लीखयां इनायत हुवा था सो मीती माह सुदी 3 बीसपतवार आय पहुता जी खानाजाद सरफराज हुवा मायै चढाय लीया जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] पकड़या आवैगा अर सब नीजरीवानी सार गुजरानैगा तो बंदा भी अरजदासती वैही थैली मै माफीक सलाह दोनयो नवाबां की अरजदासती गुजरानोगा जी... मीती माह सुदी 11 सं.1767 मुकाम साढैरो.

क्रमांक 5
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 25

फागुन वदी 4, 1767
जनवरी 27, 1711

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामती

अरजदासती करार मीती माह सुदी 11 (जनवरी 19, 1711) की लीखी हजूरी भेजी छै तीसौ सारी हकीकती अरज पहुची होयली जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती मीती माह सुदी 14 सोमवार (जनवरी 22, 1711) हरकारा पातसाह जी सौँ अरज पहुचाई नाहणी का राजा की मां गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] को लिया आवे है अर लसकर सौँ कोस बारा परी डेरा कीया है अर वा अरज करै है जो महाबत खां बकसी को हुकम होय जो अगाऊं आये गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] को ले जाय तब चेलों¹ को हुकम हुवा जो महाबत खां सौँ ताकीद करी चलावो अर गुरु को लोह का पीजरा² तयार खारदार³ कीया है तीस मै बैठाय अर ले आवो अर उस कै साथी दोय लुगाई⁴ पकड़ी आई है तीन को रथ मै बैठाय ले आवो तब तीसरै पहैरी महाबत खां जी दरबारी गया और खानखाना (मुनाइम खां) भी दरबारी आये तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो तुम फोज ले जाय गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] को ले आवो तब खानखाना अरज करि जो मेरे हरकारे आये है सो गुरु पकड़या है सो नजदीक लयावे है नजदीक आवैगा तब महाबत खां जाय ले आवैगा तब पातसाह जी फुरमाई जो तुम ओर हरकारे भेजो अर ताकीद करो जो सीताब ले आवै श्री महाराजा जी सलामती मीती फागण वदी 1 (24 जनवरी 1711) पेसखानो⁵ पातसाही साढेरं का उरा सौँ चालयो सो साढैरा परै कोस येक जाय खड़ा हुवो जी...

दरबार की हकीकत सारी पचोली जगजीवन दास का लीखयो सो अरज पहुचैली जी... और श्री महाराजा जी सलामती नाहणी की

1. सेवकां, सिपाहियां; 2. पीजरा; 3. कांटेदार; 4. औरत; 5. शाही कैप

राजा की मां कै वासतै गहौणो' रूपया लाख को पातसाह जी अलहीदो² कराबो छै सो ठीक पड़या सारी अरज लीखौलो जी मीती फागण बदी 4 सं. 1767.

अर पातसाह जी जींटे पेसखानो आय खड़ो हुवो छै तीठै मीती फागन बदी 2 नै दाखील हुवा जी।

1. जेवर, आभूषण; 2. अलहिदा, अलग

क्रमांक 6

फागुन वदी 13, 1767

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 27

फरवरी 4, 1711

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामती

अरजदास्त करार मीती फागण वदी 4 सनीसरवार (27 जनवरी 1711) कि लिखी हजूरी भेजी छै ती सौं सारी हकीकती अरज पहुचि होसी जी श्री महाराज जी सलामती मीती फागण वदी 5 दीतवार (28 जनवरी) नै पातसाह जी जसन¹ कीया जी मीती फागण वदी 7 मंगलवार (30 जनवरी 1711) नै पातसाह जी को पेसखानो सहारनपुर बूड़ीयो को चालयो जी अर खबरि साहजहानाबाद की गरम है जी... श्री महाराजा जी सलामती नवाब खानखाना (मुनाइम खां) कै दीन तीन हुवा जो नाक कै भीतरि गुमड़ी हुई सो नाक सुजी गई सो दीन तीन हुवा सो दरबारि न जाय छै जी अर महाबत खां जी कै खांसी हुई सो खांसी का जोर सौं गल सूये हुये है जी सो वै भि दरबार न करै छै जी...

श्री महाराज जी सलामती मेह बादल पोन के सबब जो खानजाद कि देही इन दीनो मै बहुत जबुन² होय गई है सो उखद³ तो बदै बैदां की बहुत खाई जो फायदा न हुवा श्री महाराजा जी सलामती गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] कि खबरी पहैलि तो या थी जो गुरु दीन दोय तीन मै पकड़या आवैगा सो अरजदासती मै आगे अरज लिखी छि तीसौ मालूम होयलि जी अर अबै या खबरी छै जो बरफ बहुत पड़ी दरा बंद होय गये सो नाहणी का राजा कि मां की अरजदासती पातसाह जी नै आई छी ती मै लीखौ था जो गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] हमारे पहाड़ मै है अर हमारे लोगो घेरया है जो बरफ कै आगे दाव पकड़नै का लगता नही सो बरफ पघलया पकड़ि हजूरि लयाउली सो गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] का आवणा केते क दीन परी पड़या है अर याहा भी खबरी है जो उस पै लोग असवार पयादा हजार आठ छै अर लड़ाई को तयार बैठ है सो नाहणी का राजा का कुछ

1. जशन, दावत; 2. बीमारी; 3. औषधि

बल लगता नही अर केते कई इस भांती कहते है जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] तो निकसि गया अर केते क लोग उस के बरफ मै सबब सो रहे है सो जो समाचार होयला सो पाछं थे अरज लिखौलो जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामती इस पातसाह की हकीकती कुछ लिखी जाय नही घड़ी मै तो पातसाह जी कहुठि नै जावा का कूच फुरमावै अर पेसखानो कहुठि नै जाय पहैली तो खबरि छी जो लुधियाणा की तरफ की खबरी थी जो वहा जाय गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] के सीखों को तंबीह¹ करै अर गुरु के चक (अमृतसर) उठाय देह अर अबै कूच सहारनपुर बूड़िया को किया सो या खबरी है जो मयान दवाब (यमुना-गंगदुआब) कि राह होय साहजीहानाबाद को जाय तिसौं पातसाह जी की हकीकती औ अरज पहुचावा मौ आवै नही जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती मीती फागन बदी 8 वार बुधवार (31 जनवरी 1711) नै पातसाह जी को कूच हुवो सो घड़ी पांच राती गया डेरा दाखील हुवा जी मीती फागन बदी 11 बीसपतीवार पेसखानो पातसाही चालयौ सो कोस अढाई जरिबी² सहारनपुर कै मुतसिल³ जाय खड़ो हुवो छै जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती पातसाह जी फुरमाई जो सहारनपुर सौं पेसखाना मुकलसपुर (मुखलिसपुर) नै चलावौ वहां हम शिकार⁴ खेलैगे ओर दरबार की हकीकती पचोली जगजीवन दास का लीखयो सौं वा वाका की फरद सौं अरज पहुचैली जी मीती फागन बदी 13 दितवार (4 फरवरी 1711) सं. 1767.

1. सजा देणी, नष्ट करना; 2. जरिब, रासता नापने की जंजीर जिस की लंबाई 22 गज होती थी; 3. नजदीक; 4. शिकार

क्रमांक 7
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 29

फागुन सुदी 2, 1767
फरवरी 8, 1711

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामती

अरजदास्त करार मीती फागण वदी 13 दीतवार की लिखी हजूरी भेजी छै ती सौं सारी हकीकती अरज पहुचि होयली जी मीती फागण बदी 14 (5 फरवरी 1711) सोमवार साहीजादै जहांदार सयाह [शाह] बहादर पातसाह जी सौं अरज करि जो कसबा इंदरी¹ कै पासी नाहर ने रांकरोलां नै रोकया है सो हुकम होय तो नाहर² की सीकार खेली आऊं तब पातसाह जी रुखसद³ कीया सो लहै लवा लसकर समेती साहीजादै जी कूच करी गया जी अर लसकर मै यह खबरी है जो कोकलतास खां की जागीर पानीपथ (पानीपत) मै है अर वहा उन के घर हैं सो उहां उन के मीजमानी खाणे जाहीगे श्री महाराजा जी सलामती मीती फागण बदी 14 (5 फरवरी 1711) नै पातसाह को कूच हुवो सो बूझिया कै उरै कोस दोय पेसखानो खड़ो हुवो छै तीठे दाखील हुवा जी अर नवाब खानखाना (मुनाइम खां) कै नाक मै आजार⁴ जयादा सो नाक मै राधी पड़ै छै अर जोक तो लगाई थी पणी फुरसत ना हुई फेर भी ओर जोक लगांडू है तीह वासते नवाब खानखाना व महाबत खान जी का मुकाम हुवा जी सो भंडारी व बंदै भी इन कै साथी मुकाम कीया जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती गुरु की लसकर मै या खबरी होय रही है जो नाहणी का राजा का लोगां सौं लड़ाई करि निकसी गया जी सो यह खबरी बहुत गरम है जी अर कहै है जी जो भुटंतर के पहाड़ो मै गया अर पातसाह जी इस ही तरफ झुकलाय⁵ झुकलाय डेरा करै है कोस आठ दस नाहणी का राजा का पहाड़ रहे है...मीती फाग सुदी 2 सं 1767.

1. करनाल से 25 किलोमीटर उत्तर-पूर्व में यमुनानगर सड़क पर स्थित एक टाउन;
2. शेर; 3. रुखसत; 4. दर्द; 5. झुंझलाये

क्रमांक 8
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 37

फागुन सुदी 2, 1767
फरवरी 8, 1711

श्री महाराजा जी श्री जै सिंघ जी

सिंधि श्री महाराजधिराज महाराजा जी श्री चरन कमलानुं खानजाद खाकपाय पंचोली जगजीवनदास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जो जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामत गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की अरज पोहोची जु उठा सै नीसरो अर खबर है भुटंत की तरफ गयो पण चोकस नही कठी नै गयो है चोकस हुवा अरजदासत करसुं जी गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] कै वासतै पीजरो बणायो है तीमै तलै ऊपर चारु चारु तरफ खीला¹ आदमी रहै तीकै सारी तरफांस² मै जीई भांत को बणो है सु गुलालबाड़ा कै बारै गाडा उपर धरो है...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामत बादशाहजादो अजीम साह जी की जुबानी हकीम व नवाब खानखाना जी व महाबत खां जी बोहोत ताकीद कर कहे है जु पातसाह जी श्री महाराज जी का पधारयै कै वासतै बार बार याही कह है...मीती फागन सुदी 2 सं. 1767.

1. खड़ा, खलोता; 2. तरफ

क्रमांक 9
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 33

चैत वदी 8, 1767
मार्च 1, 1711

अरजदासति करार मीती फागन सुदी 12 वार सोमवार तीसरा पहरै की लीखी हजूरी भेजी है सो सारी हकीकती अरज पहुची होयली जी...

मीती चैत वदी 5 (28 अप्रैल 1711) सोमवार पातशाह जी को कूच हुवो सो सहारनपुर कै मुतसली पेसखाना खड़ो हुवो थो तीठे पातसाह जी अब दाखील हुवा जी...

अर सहैर¹ बाहरी कोई लोग नीकसता नही अर सौ लसकर ताई काफी लामै² राह चलै है अर दीखण³ की यह खबर है जो दीखणयो की फोज नरबदा ऊपरी आई अर दीखण मै फीसाद बहुत है जी मीती चैत वदी 8 बीसपतवार दोपैहरा चलाया संवत 1767 [ज्यादातर लिखत संकेतक शब्दावली में है चुनांचि पड़ना कठिन है।]

1. शहर; 2. लम्बे; 3. दक्खिन

क्रमांक 10
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 35

चैत वदी 13, 1768
मार्च 6, 1711

अरजदासत करार मिति चैत वदी 13 मंगलवार दोपहरा की लिखी मारफती पंचौली जगजीवन दास का कासीदा हाथी हजूर भेजी है तीसौ सारी हकीकति अरज पहुँचैली जी...

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामती हामद खां बहादर सवार हजार पंदरां की फौज सौ व इसफंदयार खां नै सौ गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की तंबीह को विदा हुवे मारफती मिरजा रूसतम दिल की अर तीन सै असवार विजै सिंह जी का तजवीज दसतग¹ मै लिखे है सो विजै सिंघ जी कै असवारा की मालूम है सो देखजे क्या ठहरे जी अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] कुलू भुटंतर का पहाड़ मै जाय नीकलया अर चालीस हजार असवार पयादा साथी कहै है से वहां सो नीकसी अर रोपड़ा² कि तलहट्टी के गांव केतेक मारे कहीये है अर लाहौर की तरफ गुरु की फीसाद बहोत उठी रहया है सो देखीये पातसाह जी का कूच कीस³ तरफ का होय ठीक पड़यां अरज लिखोलो जी।...

1. दसतक, लिखती हुकम; 2. रोपड़ (पंजाब); 3. किस

क्रमांक 11
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 311

चैत वदी 14, 1768
मार्च 7, 1711

श्री राम जी

इन थांव अरजदासत दीवान भिखारी दास का मिति चैत वदी
14 (1768)...

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति पातसाह जी दोनयों राजों (स्वाई जयसिंघ व राजा अजीत सिंघ राठौड़ जोधपुर) को फुरमान बहुत मिहरबानी का ताकीद सयों लिखाया है तिस का सबब यह है जु तीनों साहजादे (जहांदार शाह, जहान शाह और रफी-उश-शान) तो एक होय गये हैं अर पातसाह जी व अजीमशान जी एक तरफ है सु साहजादा तीनां की नजरि फिसाद पुर है पातसाह जी जाणते है जु इन राजों सो हमें निवाजसि¹ करी है अर यह हमारे है ऐसे वक्त मै आय पहुँचै तौ अजीम की कूवत² बधै श्री महाराजा जी सलामति गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का तो मौसर³ आगे हाथ सौ गया फेर श्री महाराज जी का...यह मौसर आय बाजया है सो इस मौसर पधारै तौ सलाह दौलत⁴ है अर साहजादे अजीमसान जी भी रुबरु फरमाया जो राजों कौ ताकीद लिखो जु सिताब हजूर आवै सु जेता सिताब आवैगै तेता हम भला मानैगे अर नवाब महाबत खां जी कहै है बिन राजौ के आय हमारी बाजी जाती है जो राजा आय होते तो हमारी बाजी क्यों बिगड़ती सौ जो अब भी सीताब आवै तो मांह⁵ की बाजी जयों की जयों रहै है।...

श्री महाराज जी सलामति लाहौर की तरफ गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का सीखों का बहुत जोर है लाहौर में मंडी जो बाहर थी सो उठी सहर मै गई।

1. उपकार; 2. शकती; 3. मौका, अवसर; 4. नेक सलाह; 5. हमारी

क्रमांक 12

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 44

चैत सुदी 5, 1768

मार्च 13, 1711

अरजदासत पंचौली जगजीवन दास... मिती चैत सुदी 3 दीतवार महाबति खां जी सों पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो राजों के मुतसदीयों कौ सिरोपाव दयौ अर ताकीद करौ जौ राजों कौ सिताब बुलावो तव पातसाह जी तिसरे पहरै दिवान आम कीआ तब हमो अरज करवाई जो राजा सिताब आवें हैं तब भंडारी वा बंदा कौ व गुलाल चंद वा दोद राज मुनसी को सिरोपाव इनायत कीया तसल्लीमाति दीवान आम मौ वजाय लयाए जी श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति मिती चैत 4 सोमवार पातसाह जी का पेसखाना लाहौर को चाला जो गुरु का सिखों नै चक (गुरु चक, अमृतसर) मो समस खां वा वाजीद खां सुवार पयादा 1500 सै सों मारया और लाहौर पर स्वारी¹ की तयारी है सो फिसाद बहौत उठा पातसाह जी सुनता ही पेसखाना चलाया अर हुकम कीआ जो मंजल व मंजल पेसखाना चलाया जाय हम कूच दर कूच लाहौर जांयगे श्री महाराजा जी सलामति आगिला² तौ मौसर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का ऐसा था जो आप पधारते तौ खातरखाह³ काम होता अब दूसरा मौसर फेरि भी श्री महाराजा जी का भागौ⁴ सों ही आय वाज षाया है जी सिताब पधारवो होय तौ सलाह दैलती है जी। पातसाह जी वा साहिजादा (अजीम-उ-शान) जी वा नवाब महाबति षां जी भांति भांति करि दिलासा करी है और करते हैं जी अर कूच पांच कोस जरीवी का मुकरर हुवा है जी...चैत सुदी 5 संवत 1768 मंगलवार.

1. चड़ाई; 2. पहला; 3. बिना शक; 4. किस्मत

क्रमांक 13
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 45

चैत सुदी 9, 1768
मार्च 17, 1711

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामत

हकीकति तमाम भंडारी खीवसी का अरजदासति करार मिती चैत सुदी (5) (13 मार्च, 1711)..की भेजी है तीसों अरज पहुंची होयगी जी श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामत पहलै तौ पातसाह जी के लाहौर चलने की बहुत ताकीद थी जो वाका की फरद सों अरज पहुंची जो समस खां व कुतब खां काम आये फेरि अरज पहुंची एक लरै है एक काम आया तब पातसाहजादे रफी सां बहादर को फुरमाया जो तुम हुकम पातसाहजादे जहांदार साह कौं पहुंचावो जो तुम लाहौर की तयारी करो हम तुमको गुरु के सिखों की तंबीह के वासते भेजै है सो रद बदल¹ दरमयान है जो ठहरैगी सो अरज पहुंचाऊंगा जी। श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामत भूवपति प्रकास राजा नाहनि का जो महावति खां जी के कैदि था तिसके वासतै चेलां पातसाह जी की तरफ सों हुकम पहुंचाया जो इसके तांइ गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] वाला पिंजरा खारदार है तिस में डारो तब महावत खां जी दरबार जाय पातसाह जी सों अरज करी जो वह बेतकसीर² है (इस के) मुलक मै सों गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] बाहर निकसि गया तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो उस को सजाय न करोंगे तौ सब जिमीदार सीख होय जांयगे इसै खाह-न-खाह³ सजाय करो तब फेरि महावत खां जी अरज करी जो उस पिंजरे मो कांटे बहुत सखत है डारते ही एक घरी⁴ मो मरैगा तब पातसाह जी फरमाया मरि जायगा तो बरजहंदम⁵ तब महावति खां फेरि अरज न करी पातसाह जी दरबार सों उठे तब महावत खां फेरि अरज करी तब हुकम पातसाहों का राखो उसको पिंजरा मो डारलो तब चेलां आय कांटे मोड़ि पींजरा मो डार लि गया सो अब तक तो जीवै है जो हकीकति होयगी सो अरज पहुंचाऊंगा जी। श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति पातसाह जी की या खबरि है जो कोई तो कहै है जो (शाह) जहानाबाद को चलेंगे कोई कहै है जमुना जी के किनारे कोई दिन रहेंगे सो ठीक पड़े अरज पहुंचाऊंगा जी।... मिती चैत सुदी 9 संवत 1768 शनीशरवार।

1. विचार-विमृष; 2. बेकसूर; 3. हर हालत, लाजमी; 4. घड़ी; 5. नर्कवासी

क्रमांक 14
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 46

चैत्र सुदी 12, 1768
मार्च 20, 1711

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति

आगे अरजदासत करार मिति चैत सुदी...की भेजी है तिसों सारी अरज पहुंची होयगी जी श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति पातसाही लसकर थे श्री हरद्वार जी कोस तीस पैतीस था सो बंदे नवाब महावत खां जी सों सीख¹ मांगी जो हुकम होय तो रात बसैं छरी सुवारी² श्री गंगा जी सनान करि आऊं...श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति पहैली तो या खबरि आई थी जो समस खां काम आया अर वाजीद खां जीवै है अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] के सिखों सों लड़े है सिखों सिकसत³ खाई अब या खबरि आई जो दोनों ही काम आये अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] के सिखों जोरा बहौत पकड़या परगना बटाला का लोग बसत⁴ भाय सभ छोडि अर भाजया कीरोड़ों की मताह⁵ जयों की जयों परी है श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति पातशाह जी वाकानवीस पर गुसे होय गुरजबरदार विदा कीया है अर यो हुकम कीया है जो उस का सिर काटि हजूर लै आवो की जंजीर करि पयादा हजूर लै आवो सो गुरजबरदार तो हजूरि सों चले हैं देखैं उसके बाब⁶ कया हुकम होय वाकानवीस तो सांच वाको दाखिल कीआ था।

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामत मिति चैत सुदी 10 (मार्च 18, 1711) दीतवार पातसाह जी का कूच लाहौर को हुआ खबरि या है जो तीसरा डेरा छत्ते (छत्त) अमाले (अंबाला) जाय आगे सरे⁷ राह लाहौर मंजल दर मंजल चले जी...

लसकर मै साहजादे व उमारउं की भार बरदारी के ऊंट मुकामाति की खबर पर कोस पचीस तीस चरनें गए थे पातसाह जी अचान चका कूच कीया सो इस मंजल तो जिस तिस भांत बार पांच पांच सात सात फिरि भार बरदारी तब सबों पातसाह जी सों अरज करी

1. आगया; 2. सरे सवारी; 3. शिकसत; 4. वस्त; 5. माल मताह;

6. बाबत, वासते; 7. सीधे

जी इन डेरों दोय मुकाम होय तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो मुकाम कोई करो मती हुकम हुवा जो पेसखाना चलै सो मिति चैत सुदी 11 (मार्च 19) सोमवार पेसखाना आगे वौं चला। हुकम हुवा जो पांच कोस सौं मंजल कमि न होय। श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति रूसतम दिल खां कौ सिरपेच इनायत करि दस हजार सुवार की फोज साथ दे आगे को विदा कीया हुकम हुवा जो एक मंजल अगाऊं चला जाय।...

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति पातसाह जी लाहौर पहुंचने का अठारा कूच अठारा मुकाम मुकरर कीया है...चैत सुदी 12 संवत 1768.

क्रमांक 15

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 47

चैत सुदी 15, 1768

मार्च 23, 1711

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामती

आगे अरजदासति करार मिती चैत सुदी 12 की भेजी है तिसों सगली हकीकत अरज पहुंची होयगी जी। श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामत पातसाह जी लाहौर पहुंचने की बहुत ताकीद है जी। मिती चैत सुदी 14 बरिसपतवार पेसखाना पहार की तलहटी दरा को चला है सो या राह सिरहंद जाय निकसैगी जी।

अर नाहनि के राजा को हुकम हुवा जो दिली लै जाव सलेमगढ़ में बंदीखाने राखो। मिती चैत सुदी 15, 1768

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] का फिसाद का बड़ा मौसर आय वाज ख्राया' है अर पातसाह जी गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] के ऊपर जाय है जी इसे वक्त सो महाराजा अजीत सिंह जी व आपका पधारना होय तो बड़ी सलाह है जी षात्र मवारक में पसंद आवै तौ दौलत सिंह कौ प्रवानों ताकीद को इनायत होय जी। राजा अजीत सिंह कौ सिताब लै आवै जी अर भंडारी षीवसी भी कहै है जो मै भी महाराजा जी कौ बहौत ताकीद लिखि है।

1. फिर आ गया

क्रमांक 16
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 48

वैसाख वदी 1, 1768
मार्च 24, 1711

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजा धिराज जी जै सिंघ जी

सवासित श्री महाराजा धिराज...जगजीवन दास लिखते तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जो जी...

महाराजा सलामत ईनायतुला खां खानसामा¹ है अर हीदायतुला (खां) वेको बेटे दीवान खालसा² को व तन³ को है। खानखानां (मुनाइम खां) पाछै यां दोनों बाप बेटा का अखतयार⁴ है, जो ये कहे है सु पातिसाह जी करे है। सु चेत सुदी 10 खानाजाद ने रात ने खिलवत⁵ मै बुलायो अर कही महाराजा नही आये है सो कीस वासते जो मतलब था सो कहो करदां अर कही महावत खां नाहन का राजा को कोल पंजा कीसम⁶ दै पहाड़ा मे सूं बुलायो अर अठै आया पछै बे-कौली कर कैद में कीयो। अर खानखानां मुवां पछे गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] के वासते पीजरो बणायो थो सु वे पीजरा मै नाहन के राजा नै बैठयो कुलफ⁷ जड़ दीयो सु ई भांत की बेकौली महावत खां करी...तीसुं उसवास⁸ कही न।

नाहन का राजा ने दिली भेजी सलेमगढ़ में कैद राखे सु अब चलसी। गुरु का चक (अमृतसर) मे सीख (सिख) फेर पैदा हुवा लाहौर का साहदरा ताई अमल⁹ वां को है... सं. 1768 बैसाख बदि 1.

1. खान-ए-समान; 2. दीवान-ए-खालसा; 3. दीवान-ए-तन; 4. अधिकार, कंट्रोल;
5. निजी कक्ष; 6. कसम; 7. ताली; 8. विश्वास; 9. हकूमत, राज-प्रबन्ध

क्रमांक 17
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 49

वैसाख बदी 11, 1768
अप्रैल 2, 1711

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती

अरजदासती करार मीती चैत सुदी 15 की लीखी हजूर भेजी छै तीसो सारी हकीकती अरज पहुची होयली जी...

श्री महाराज धिराज सलामती अब तो सलाह दोलती यह ही है जो जेता सीताब पहुंचै तैता ही मुजरा¹ है जी परवाने तीसरे मै हुकम आया जो दौलत सिंघ सेखावत का लीखया आया जो राजा अजीत सिंघ मेइता सों कूच कीया जो सीताब ही राजगढ़ आय बयाह करी माहरोठ व सांभरी (सांभर) की राह आवैगे जी सो तुम नवाब को अरज कीजयो सो बंदे बजनसी² परवाना नवाब को पढया नवाब नै बजनसी पातसाह जी सौ अरज करी ती परी पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो जेता सीताब आवै जेता ही उनका मुजरा है...

श्री महाराज जी सलामती पातसाह जी कै बाल तोड़ हुवा था सो मुकाम दस कीया जी अबै फुरसती हुई है सो मीती बैसाख बदी 6 शनीशरवार लाहौर की तरफ नै पातसाह जी का कूच हुवो जी। सो कूच भी कोस पांच जरीबी को कीयो जी। सो लसकर बहोत कसाइला³ सो आय पहुतो जी अर अबै या हुकम कीया है जो अबै ऐसा ही कूच हमेसा हुवो करै जी।...श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती अब कै लसकर मै महैगाई हमेसा जयादा रहैवो करी अर महैगाई कै सबब बंदा लसकर मै बहोत करजदार हुवां अर सरकार में भी रुपयां मुसादती⁴ तरीक बहोत षाये अर षाणै को भी जुरता नही है। सो उमीदवार हूं जो जवाब सीताब ईनायत होय जी...मीती बैसाख बदी 11 संवत 1768.

1. स्वागत; 2. मौलिक प्रति; 3. बेवक्त, देर; 4. ड्राफ्ट, मसौदा की तारीख तक

क्रमांक 18
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 50

वैसाख वदी 13, 1768
अप्रैल 4, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

अरजदासति करार मिती वैसाख वदी 11 सोमवार की लिखी हजूरी भेजी छै तीसौ सारी हकीकति अरज पहुचै ली जी...

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का सीखों का फीसाद लाहौर की तरफ बहुत उठया है रुस्तम दिल खां पातसाह जी सो अरज करी थी तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो लाहौर तो हम ही जाते है अर लसकर मैं घरी घरी पली¹ खबर है जो दीखणैया उजेणी² घेरी है वैसाख वदी 13 बुधवार संवत 1768.

1. घड़ी-घड़ी, पल-पल; 2. उज्जैन

क्रमांक 19
ड्राफ्ट खरीता नं. 58

वैसाख सुदी 6, 1768
अप्रैल 13, 1711

संवत 1768

नकल परवाना भंडारी खीवसी करार [मिति] वैसाख सुदी 6 अपरांच अरजदासत करार मिति वैसाख वदी 10 की लिखी अर समाचार मालूम हुआ अर लिखयो छै जु गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] कौ फिसाद आगा सुं भी आप को छै वक्त मै सीताब सीताव पहुँच रो। सपाह छै सौ महाराजा [अजीत सिंघ] जी भी सांभर आय पहुँचया छै सो वेगा ही सामिल होय कूच दर कूच आवां छां ढील कोई करा नही खातर आपनी जमा राखि जौ अर दवाय को वयारो लिखयो थो सु येक दवाय की काई चली महा की तौ खातिर सब भांत थाकी तरफ सौ जमा छै हमेस ऐही भांति दरबार की हकीकत लिखवौ कीजौ।

क्रमांक 20
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 51

वैसाख सुदी 11, 1768
अप्रैल 18, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

अरजदासति करार मिति वैसाख वदी 13 बुधवार की लीखी हजूरी भेजी छै तीसो सारी हकीकती अरज पहुंची होसी जी...

हुकम आया जो नाहनी का राजा की हकीकती लिखजयो सो बंदै तो आगे ही अरजदासती करी भेजी है जो नाहनी के राजा को दीली¹ भेजया हुकम हूवा जो सलेमगढ़ कैद रहै सो दिली जाय पहुंचयो सलेमगढ़ पहुंचाई आया जी।

...अर पातसाह जी येक कूच येक मुकाम पहार की तलैहैटी की राह चले जाते है सो परगना छत बनूर के उरे कोस पांच आय पहुंचे है जी अर खबरी या है जो सतनंज² के दरीयाव की पुल बंधै है सो उस राह होय लाहौर चले जाही...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामति पातसाह जी सो अरज पहुंची जो साबेरा की मवैसी³ गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का सीखों घेरी सी कोई तो कहै जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] कै साथ वीनजारा⁴ था तीन लीनही⁵ सो मवैसी तो लीनही अर कोई कहै है जो नाहनी के राजा के लोगों लीनही सो मवैसी तो लीनही सो जो अब ठीक पड़ैगा सो पाछ थे अरज लीखौगा जी...मिति बैसाख सुदी 11 सं. 1768 मुकाम सतलंज कोस सात।

1. देहली; 2. सतलुज; 3. मवेशी, पशु; 4. वणजारा; 5. छीन ली

क्रमांक 21
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 52

जेठ वदी 5, 1768
अप्रैल 26, 1711

श्री महाराज धिराज सलामति

अरजदासती करार मिति वैसाख सुदी 11 की लिखी बुधवार की भेजी है तीसो सारी हकीकति अरज पहुंचैली जी श्री महाराजा धीराज सलामति मीती जेठ वदी 1 दीतवार को पेसखाना पातसाही सतनंज नदी को चालयां हुकम हुया जो उहां जाय हवादार डेरा खड़ा होए अर चबूतरा बंधै उहां जसन करैगे...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामति पातसाह जी सरै असवारी साहीजादों को व उमरावो को फुरमाया जो हम छाउणी रोपड़ मै करैगे सब साहीजादे व उमराउ हवैली रोपड़ मै करों इसका नाउ हम जहांगीरपुर मुकरर कीया है अर इहा सो साहजीहानाबाद भी नजदीक है अर लाहौर भी नजदीक है अर दरे का मुद्दा¹ बंद रहैगा पहाड़ो के राजा गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की मदती करी सकोगे नही अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] भी पहाड़ को भाजैगा तो जाई न सकैगा अर पातसाह जी चाहै है जो पातसाहजादा जीहांदार साह बहादर व रफीलसाह बहादर को जीहानाबाद की तरफ बीदा² करुं अर महैमद करीम की साथी फौज आधी दे अर लाहौर को भेजै जी अर नवाब रुस्तम दील खां अरज करी जो मेरै ताई गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] उपरी हुकम होय अर हजरती सतनंज ऊपरी छाउनी करै सो पातसाह जी मंजूर करी अर फुरमाना पातसाह जी का श्री जो को मालूम है जी सो जो ठहरैली वा ठीक पड़ैली सो पाछ ये अरज लीखौलो जी अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का फीसाद लाहौर की तरफ बहुत है अर लाहौर के कसबे कै ताई आगढ़ खां वा आगढ़ खां का बेटा वा महैमद रफी फतुला खां का भतीजा लरे³ है नही-तर⁴ कसबा लुटी लीया होता जी।...श्री महाराजा जी सलामती यह मोसर बहोत पूब है जै दोनयो राजों का पधारणा इस उकत⁵ मै होय तो बड़ी सलाह

1. मुंह, परवेश द्वार; 2. विदा; 3. लड़ना; 4. अन्यथा; 5. वक्त

दोलती है अर जे गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] भाजी जाई अथवा आई मीलौ तो तीस पाछे पधारणा श्री जी नै मालूम है जी तीसौ बंदा बार बार अरज पहुंचावै है जी जो दोन्यौ राजा जैसे मोसर पधारै तो नीपट छूब है जी।...मिती जेठ वदी 5 संवत 1768 मुकाम नदी सतनंज ।

क्रमांक 22

जेठ वदी 14, 1768

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 55

मई 5, 1711

श्री महाराज धिराज सलामती

अरजदासती करार मिति जेठ वदी 10 की लीषी हजूरी भेजी छै जी तीसों सारी हकीकति अरज पहुंचैली। मिति जेठ वदी 11 बुधवार आधी रात चिमा (विजै सिंघ, जैपुर) जी कि षवासी पात्री औठे (अठे) थी सो भंडारी षिवसी की सलाह लेकरि देस को चलाई। अर दीलावर षां वगैरहा सुवार अैठे पाछै रहे थे सो साथी दीये जी। श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती साहीजादा जीहांदर साह बहादर वा जीहान साह बहादर पार ऊतरया अर रफीयल सान बहादर भी अरज करी जो हुकम होई तो मै भी पार ऊतरौं तब सीकार षाक रोल अरज करि जो दोई साहीजादे तो आगै पार गये है अर रफील सान जी भी पार जहीगे तो ये तीनो पातसाहजादे ये कहै कुछ फीसाद करेंगे अर इव तीनों के डेरे नजदीक नजदीक हवादार हुये है। तब पातसाह जी रफी सान का पार जाना मौकूफ कीया अर गुसे होई फुरमाया जो हमारा डेरा पार उतरे है सो साहीजादो के डेरे कोस दो य तीन के तफाऊत सौं पारै जाय षड़ा करो। अर साहीजादों के साथ जो पातसाही मनसबदार है सो सब हमारे डेरों कौ पासी आय डेरा करै। अर जो साहीजादों सामिल डेरा करै तीन कौं वे मनसूख करौं सो ईस बात सो सब साहीजादों के तोबषाना¹ तयार हुवा अर सीपाह को सिलहैवाटी² अर पातसाह जी की जालयौ मै नवाब महाबत षां जी तो मुकरर ही रहै थे अर अबै ऊमीरल ऊमराव वा रुसतम दील षां को भी हुकम हुवा है जो तुम भि जालयौहि मै रहो अर हकीमुलमुलक को हुकम हुवा जो तुम आपने डेरे जाली बाहरि दिवानषाने की बराबरी कीया करो अर ओर भी ऊमरावों के डेरे पातसाह जी क डेरं पास होते है। अर साहीजादा अजीम सान वा रफीसान अदालती मै पातसाह जी कि हजूरी गये थे पातसाह जी ऊन की तरफ मुतऊजै³ न हुये बैठवे को फुरमाया नहीं दोनयौं षड़े ही रहे

1. तोपखाना; 2. असलाखाना; 3. तबजो

पातसाह जी अदालती सौं उठे तब दोनयों साहीजादों को रूषसद कीया अर फुरमाया जो वा आपस मै पूब लड़ीयो तब दोनयों साहीजादा आपस मै माथो नीचो करी डेरै अर रूसतम दील षां को पातसाह जी हमारा डेरा पार ऊतराया है सो तीन कु कोस तीन अगाऊं मैदान मे जाई षड़ा करो अर हवादार मती करीयो अर जै साहीजादे डेरे लयावै तो जहीदार साह का डेरा सब सौ आगै षड़ा कराईयो अर ईन दोनयों कै पिछै पचास जरीब तोबषानां षड़ा कराईयो अर रफील सान का डेरा पातसाही डेरा मसली ऊपरी जरीब पचास कै ताफाऊत¹ षड़े होई अर अजीम सान के डेरै वा ई तरफ पचास जरीबी कै तफाउत षडे करै। अर विची डेरा पातसाही बंदौं का होई अर जो साहिजादा मुजरे को आवै तीन के साथी असवार जालि मै न आवणै पावै। अर साहीजादौ कै साथी आगौ ओहोदादार छुटे² ये तीन को हुकम हुवा जो येक आदमी छुटे ओर कोई हजूरी न आवणै पावै ओर साहीजादे सब आपणे घर का असवारो का तसीहया³ आप देषै है जी...महाराज जी सलामती उमरावों को हुकम हुवा जो बिना हुकम पातसाह जी के कोई मुनसबदार उमराव साहीजादों कै डेरा न जाही।...मिती जेठ वदी 14 सनीसरवार संवत 1768.

1. दूरी; 2. नियुक्त; 3. तसवीया

क्रमांक 23
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 260

जेठ सुदी 3, 1768
मई 9, 1711

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति

अरजदासति करार मीती जेठ वदी 14 सनीसरवार प्रभात की लीखी हजुरी भेजी है...श्री महाराजा जी सलामती नवाब महाबत षां जी की दीवान होवा की षबरी बहोत गरम है आर पातसाह जी बहोत मेहरवानगी फुरमावै है।...

अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की खबरी लसकर मै ये है जो कलानौर मै बैठ है अर हिंदू तुरक आवै है तीसों चाकर राखै है अर पातसाह जी को भी कूच कलानौर ही नै छै जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती कंवर मोहोकम सिंघ राठौड़ को आगै तो कीताब¹ राजगी² का हुवा था सो तो बदै आगै अरज पहुंचाई थी जी। अर अबै महैमद अमी खां की खबरी गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की तरफ तथा लाहौर की है सो सीरोपाव काढ्या है अर तुमवार³ फोज का तयार होई है अर राजा मोहोकम सिंघ को इजाफा पंच सदी पांच सै असवार का ईजाफा वा सीरोपाव वा हाथी वा घोड़ा व नकारा पातसाह अजीम रेहैमती कीया सो ये महैमद अमी षां की साथी वीदा हुये है जी। श्री महाराजा जी सलामती मीती जेठ सुदी 2 (8 मई 1711) मंगलवार पातसाह जी सतनंज (सतिलुज) पार होई जाई डेरौ दाषील हुये जी। अर साहीजादा अजीम सान पीछै ही पीछै उतरैगो। अर जसोल नवाब महाबत षां जी के व भंडारी षीवसी के डेरै आय बैठ है जो तुम पार उतरो। तब भंडारी जसोल⁴ को कही जो पुल परी भीड़ बहोत है भीड़ मीट्या⁵ उतरैगे सो जसोल ताकीद बहोत करै है सो सीताब नंदी पार जाहीगे जी। श्री महाराजा जी सलामती असवार व पयादा जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का मामला परी अठै बदै राषया था सो असवारा नै तो सीष⁶ दीई अर बरकंजदाज⁷ नफर 10 आगै बंदा की साथी हजुरी सौं दीये थे तीन

1. खिताब; 2. राजा का खिताब; 3. गणती, शुमार; 4. जसवालीया राजा;
5. कम; 6. रुखसत, छुटी; 7. बंदूकची

मै बरकंदाज येक रहया है अर नफर 9 हजूरी ऊठी गये सो बरकंदाज नफर 10 अठै मुकररी चाकर राषया था सो बंदा पासी चाकरी करै है अर दरबार वागैहरै¹ जीहां बंदा जाई है जीहां साथी जाई है। अर तुरकाणा² मै बीना बरकंदाजां बणै नही अर महीनदारा को तलास घणो ही कीयो सो जुड़या नही तब रोजीनै दरी³ नफर आना 12 करी चाकर राषै है जी।...

मिती जेठ सुदी 2 मंगलवार पातसाह जी सतनंज होई जाई डेरा दाखील हुवे जी मिती जेठ सुदी 3 सं. 1768 मुकाम पार सतनंज।

1. वगैरा; 2. तुरक; मुस्तमान; 3. रोजाना दर

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वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 57

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अरजदासती करार मिति जेठ सुदी 3 बुधवार की लीखी हजूरी भेजी है तीसो सारी हकीकती अरज पहुँचैली जी श्री महाराजा की सलामती पातसाह जी नदी पार उतरे तीसरे दिन साहीजादा अजीम सान जी का कारखाने उतरे अर सुवारी की तयारी हुई तब साहीजादा जी फुरमाया जो हमारा वाड़ा¹ घाट परी जाय खड़ा करौ तब माफीक हुकम बगसरीया वा फौज तयार होई घाट परी आई तब रूस्तम दील खां कही जो मै पातसाही वाड़ा कोई उठाउं नहीं तब साहीजादा सों अरज पहुँची तब साहीजादै जी रूस्तम दील खां सों कहाय भेजी जो जो भांती और साहीजादो का वाड़ा बैठा था तीस भांती हमारा वाड़ा बैठावो तब रूस्तम दील खां फौज व बरकंदाजो सों पुल परी लड़ाई को तयार हुये तब साहीजादा जी के लोगो लाठी ठिगा² कीया तब रूस्तम दील खां के लोगो लाठी चलाई तब साहीजादै जी फुरमाई जो रूस्तम दील खां को मारी लयो तब रूस्तम दील खां नाव चढ़ी भाजी पार उतरी आया अर फौज भाजी उन के लसकर मै गई तब साहीजादा भी अपना वाड़ा बैठाया फौज खड़ी राखी आप पार उतरे अर आगीला डेरा कोस चारी उपरी था तहा दाखील हुये तीसरे पहरे जब हकीकती पातसाह जी सों अरज कही तब पातसाह जी रूस्तम दील खां सों इतराज³ हुये अर चेले भेजे जो रूस्तम दील खां को हजूरी ले आवो पुल परी रूस्तम दील खां का लोग न रहे अर आगै रूस्तम दील खां का डेरा येक मंजल आगै चलै थे सो अबै हुकम हुवा जो डेरा गंज⁴ की पछाड़ी करै सो अब ताई तो येती इतराजी हुई है अर अबै जो ठहरैली सो अरज लिखो लो जी श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामती अब के पुल परी रूस्तम दील खां बहुत लसकर सों जयाजती⁵ करि सो ऐसी कदे आखर्यो दिखी न कानो सुनी भले भले मनसबदारो का वयापार्यो का व गरीब गुरवां को

1. काफिला, डेरा; 2. लाठीयां बरसाई; 3. गुस्से; 4. मंडी, बाजार; 5. जयादती

घणो ही माल लुटयो सो ऐसा वहैदा (लाहनत) कदे देखया न सुनया अर रुस्तम दील खां का लोग माल लुटयो घोड़ा व ऊंट पाछै रूपया 2) अर बैल पाछै रूपयो 1) लीयो अर मनमानीयो.रूपये ले ले लोगों को पार उतरायो सो लोगो का बड़ा नुकसान हुवा तब जरूरी जानी भंडारी खीवसी वा बदै नवाब महावत खां जी नै अरजी लीखी दीनी ही जो रुस्तम दील खां की तो या तरबीत है हमारा पार उतरना कीस भांती होय तब नवाब ने नाव दोई वा जसोल पारी भेजे वा चोबदारों का मीरजा भेजया अर फुरमाया जो तुम जाय आछी तरहै पार उतारी लयावो तब श्री महाराजा जी का तेज प्रताप सों सारे साथ सों पार उतरे है जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामत रुस्तम दील खां पातसाही जी को अरजी लिखी दीयो हुकम होय तो पुल परी हासिल¹ लयोह रूपया लाख सो जयादा पैदा होयगे सो पातसाह जी जवाब न दीया और हकीकती होयली सों सारी पाछै थे अरज पहुचाउं लो जी श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती मीती जेठ सुदी 7 दीतवार दोपैहरो आंधी व मेह व ओला डेढ पहरै तक ऐसे परे जो किसी उमराव का डेरा साबत न रहया अर पहाड़ की रो² आई तो साहीजादा जीहांदर साह बहादर वा नकास³ पातसाही का डेरा मै पानी कमरी सवांणा⁴ पानी चड़या अर लसकर को मता आपनी पराई बहुत दुई अर पातसाह जी का जालरीयो मै भी हाथ हाथ पानी चढया अर पातसाह जी कै व साहीजादो सब असवारी मरदानी व जनानी चार पहरै राती खड़ी रही सवारा⁵ हुकम हुवा तो लसकर अगीला डेरों जाइ सो आधा येक लसकर तो अगीला डेरा उठया अर पातसाही जी व सब साहीजादे दोपैहरे आव डेरो दाखील हुवे जी अर आधा लसकर पाछीला ही डेरा पड़या है सो जयो जयो पानी लसकर मै घटै है जयो जयो लोग लसकर मै आवै है जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामती मीती जेठ सुदी 9 मंगलवार पेसखाना आगा कूं चलया सो खबरी है जो राहुं के आगै कोस दोइ जाइ खड़ा होइ मीती जेठ सुदी 10 बुधवार पातसाह जी आप डेरो दाखील हुये जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामति पातसाह जी कै कूच की नीपट ताकीद है अर बेहथ⁶

1. टैक्स, उगाही; 2. पानी का तेज बहाव; 3. मंडी; 4. कमर तक;
5. सवेर सार; 6. ब्यास

नंदी परी पुल बंधावा का हुकम हुवा है जी अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की खबरी लसकर मै यहै जो बसई पठाणो का गांव था सो पठाण बहुत दीनों सों राखी रहे थे सों गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] उन परी चढ़ी जाई राड़ी करी जो पठाण हजार दोड़ काम आये अर कबीला¹ उनका सब जोहर² करी मुये मरद लुगाई सब हजार पांच आदमी कामी आये अर गांव लुटी गया। अर साहीजादा मोजदीन (मुअजुदीन जहांदार शाह) का फोजदार औरंगाबाद का इस तरफ था सों उस सो भी गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] आइ मुकाबीला³ किया जो कोई तो लसकर मै कहै है जो कामी आया अर कोई कहै है जी भाजी गया अर जखमी हुवा सो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] ठहोर ठहोर⁴ जोर बहुत है अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की खबरी लखी जंगल की है जी मिती जेठ सुदी 11 सं. 1768.

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1. कुनबा, टबर, परवार; 2. सती, आग में जल मरना; 3. मुकाबला;
 4. प्रत्येक स्थान

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अरजदासती करार मीती जेठ सुदी 11 बीसपतवार की लीखी हजूरी भेजी है तीसौं सारी हकीकती अरज पहुंची होयली जी हामद खां बहादर आगै गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की तंबीह कै वासतै वीदा हुया था जो नंदी बहेथ (ब्यास) पार उतरी डेरा कीया सो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] तो रावै¹ की तरफ गया था अर जीन गावों के लोग गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] सौ मीले ये तीन गावों परी दोइया सो केतेक गांव मारे वा केताईक गांवा कि बंदी मवैसी लयाया तब गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] को खबर पहुंची तब गुरु उहां सौं फेरी आया अर कलानौर में आय बैठ अर फौज हामद खां ऊपरी भेजी सो हामद खां कनै कुमख² पातसाही तो पहुची थी नही अर घरु फौज सौं ही पार उतरया था सो टीक³ सकया नही सो नंदी उरै को सवारा⁴ उठ आय डेरा कीया तब पातसाह जी सौं हकीकती अरज पहुची हुकम हुया जो जीहा आया है जीहा ही रहै हजूरी न आवै फौज पातसाही जाई है सो सब येकठे [इकठे] जाय गुरु को तंबीह करै सो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] अब ताई तो उहां ही बैठ है अर लोग चाकर बहुत राखता कहीये है अर पातसाह जी भी चले जाय है बेहथ नंदी लसकर सौं कोस तीस रही है अर कूच की पातसाह जीकै नीपट ताकीद है जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामत मीती जेठ सुदी 12 शुकरवार पेसखानो पातसाही आगे कू चलया जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामती पाछीला दीना (दिना) में जो पुल परी हासील लेवा कै वासते रुस्तम दील खां बरी अैतराजी⁵ हुई थी फेर पातसाही जी हजूरी बुलाई दीलासा करी अर फुरमाया जो रहेले के घाट जाई पुल बंधी करावो अर अजरुय⁶ मेहरवानगी सीरोपाव दुपटा खासा इनायत कीया जी।..मीती असाढ वदी 8 वार सोमवार सं. 1768.

1. रावी दरया; 2. कुमक; 3. टिक; 4. सुबह; 5. इतराज, नाराजगी; 6. हजूर

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मई 28, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

...श्री महाराजा जी सलामती दोलती बेग व सालेह बेग खां वगैरहा मुगल फतुला खानी जो वीरादरी महाबती खां जी की मै मुकरर है थे तीन कै वासतै नवाब नै हुकम हुवा जो महैमद अमी खां की कुमख (कुमक) गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की तंबीह को भेजो तब महाबत खां जी उनको तैयार कीये तब दोलती बेग वगैरहा सारा येकठ होई हीदायतुला खां कै डेरै जाय तलब तनखाह कै वासते सोर कीया तब हीदायतुला खां जी पातसाही जी को अरजी भेजी जो दोलती बेग वगैरहा मुझी को घेरी रहे है सो इस वासतै मुजरे' को न आया। तब कलीच खां बहादर व मुकलस खां बहादर को हुकम हुवा जो उनको सीताब चलावो तब उनको बुलाई माकुल² करी सब मुगला नै महैमद अमी खां कै साथी चलाये अर येता सोर सार कीया सो महाबत खां जी उनको सीखाई³ दीया जो तुम आपणो तलब तनखाह ले जावो तीसौं उनै नै येती गुफती गोई⁴ करी उन कीतया कुदरती थी जो येता हंगामा करै तब पातसाह जी नवाब महावत खां जी सौं थोड़ी सीक ऐतराजी फुरमाई फेरी जयो की जयो मेहरवानगी फुरमावै है जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामती भंडारी वा बंदा नवाब की हजूरी गया था तब नवाब फुरमाई जो मेरी देह काहली⁵ है मै दरबार आजी (आज) न जाऊंगा तब बंदै अरज करी जो काल (कल) की दुसमना नै ओर भांती अरज करी अैतराजी करवाई अर आजी नवाब दरबारी न जाहीगे तो दुसमन ओर सौं ओर अरज करैगे नवाब को आजी दरबार जाणा नीपट जरूरी है तब नवाब नै फुरमाया तो तुमों नै षूब सलाह दीई मै आजी जयों होईगी जयों दरबारी जाऊंगा। श्री महाराजा सलामती मातबर⁶ जाईगै (जगह) सो षबरी

1. प्रनाम, सलाम; 2. दरुसत, ठैक; 3. उकसाया; 4. बदतमीजी;
5. सुसत, आलस, उदास; 6. विश्वसनीय

आई जो गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] बटाला सौं भाजी लषी जंगल मै गया सो षबरी भाजे की तहैकीक है जी।...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती गुरु तो भाजी लखी जंगल गया अर ऐसे भी मोसर मै दोनयो राजयो का पधारणा सलाह दोलती है...असाड वदी 8 सोमवार दोपैहरा चलाई सं. 1768.

क्रमांक 27
खरीता नं. 59

असाढ़ वदी 12, 1768
जून 1, 1711

श्री राम जी

सवसति श्री धरम मुरति सरवउपमा कवि राज मान लाला जी श्री निहाल चंद जी जोगय लिखतं...चौबे जेठ मल कौ आसीरवाद वंचया आप के सुख समाचार सदा भली चाहीयै दिन प्रति घरी घरी के जातै हम कौ...अनंद होय ऐहां के समाचार की लला जी की कृपा ते भले हैं...अपरंच आप को लिखयौ आए बहुत दिन भए...और हकीकत औसी है जु पातसाही दरबार के समाचारन की तौ फरद 3 तारीख 5 की भेजी है...फेरि हुकम करि भेजोगे तो औसी फरद रोजमरा के समाचारन को हमेस आप हजूर पहुंचाय वो करे।

और गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] कै समाचार वैसे ई है पातसाही फौज गई है तै सूं बटालै परी है गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] पर जाय सकत नाही उन कै घोरा¹ बहुत है अर पातसाह कौ तौ जु सहर को मोरचा दिन ने छै कौ लूट दिन ने हे कौ लूट लेते हैं विघत² कोई पूछता नाही ऐक सराफ दुकान वढाये³ घर कौ जात हो ता पास तै भरै बजार मे थैली छिडाइ। (आगे की लिखत साफ नहीं चुनांचि पढ़ना कठिन है)

1. घोड़ा, सवार; 2. विवरण; 3. बंद करके

क्रमांक 28
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 61

असाढ वदी 14, 1768
जून 3, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती

भंडारी षिवसी कै मनोहरपुर सौं लिखया आया जो मीती जेठ सुदी 12 दोनयौ महाराजा जी मनोहरपुर मै मीले अर येक पहैर दोय घड़ी राति गयां ताई बातै करि पाछै श्री जी लसकर नै असवार हुये अर महाराजा अजीत सिंघ जी फुरमाई जो हमारा पेसषाना कचि सराई जाई षडां होई सो बेगा ही हजूरि आस्यां श्री महाराजा सलामति हजूरि सौ आव ताई दोनयौ राजां का मीलयां का परवाना षानाजाद कै नाई ईनायत न हुवा नवाब महाबत षां जी बंदा सौं फुरमाई जो तुमहारै दोनयौ राजौं का मीलया का वा कूच कीयां का कया लिषया आया तब बंदै अरज करी जो ईन दीनों मै जोड़ी¹ आई नही जाणी ये है जो राह मै षतरा हुवां अर भंडारी षीवसी कै मीलया का समाचार आया सो नवाब सौं अरज ही करी तब नवाब फुरमाई जो तुम येक जोड़ी चलावो जो सीताब कूच कियां का समाचार ले आवै श्री महाराजा जी सलामती मीती असाढ वदी 11 बीसपतिवार नवाब महाबत षां जी भंडारी को व बंदै को चोबदार भेजि चलाई भेजया तब षिलवति करि फुरमाया जो हमारा तो मामला राजौं कि ढिल लागणै कै सबब करि षराब हुवा पातसाह जी सरहिन² फुरमावै है जो ईनो नै राजो का मामला विगाइया अर दुसमन उकत (वकत) पाई भांति भाति लगावै है पहैले सर चोकि³ नवाब षानषाना कि दसतूर हमारै ताई फुरमाई थी तुमहारि दोलति ऊमीरलऊमराई की हुई गुरु [बंदा सिघ बहादुर] की महम (मुहिम) वा राणा का काम काज का मामला हमारि मारफति होय था सो राणा का काम तो ऊमीरलऊमराउ को फुरमाया अर गुरु [बंदा सिघ बहादुर] की मुहंम महैमद अमी षां को वा रुसतम दिल षां को मुकरर हुई हमारे पातसाह कै बहोत बदन कस⁴ हुवा।...मीती असाड वदी 14 दीतवार संवत 1768.

1. कासिद, दूत, संदेशवाहक; 2. शरेआम; 3. सैनिक मुहिम; 4. दुखी

क्रमांक 29

असाढ वदी 14, 1768

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 60

जून 3, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

अरजदासति मिति असाढ वदी 8 सोमवार दोपैहरा मि लिखी हजूरि भेजी है तीसौं सारी हकीकती अरज पहुची होयलि जी। श्री महाराजा जी सलामती गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की खबरि लसकर मे यह है रुस्तम दील खां का लिखया आया जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] रावै (रावी) पार गया अर महैमद अमी खां का लीखया आया जो गुरु जंमू कै पहाड़ी राजा किरपाल देव कै गया सो पातसाहि हरकारा ठहौर ठहौर खबरी को गये है सो तहा कि खबरी आवैली सो अरज पहुचाउलो जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामती या मोसर श्री जी नै पधारणो बड़ी सलाह दोलती या अबै की ढील लगाउणी सलाह दोलत नही है जी अर भंडारी षीवसी भी महाराजा अजीत सिंघ जी कै तांई सीताब पधारवा कै वासतै अराजदासति करी है सो श्री जी की नजरि गुजरैलि जी बंदा को लाजम है जो दरबार का रंग की सब हकीकति अरज पहुंचावै अर अबै दरबार मै हमारी बात कही पेस जाती नही सब ये ही कहै है जो ये झूठ बोलै है राजा कोई आवैं नही कया जाणी ये कीस मनसूबै दोनयौ राजा सामिल हुये है सो दरबार की सूरति ईस रंग आई लागी है जी सो अरज पहुंचै जी।...श्री महाराजा जी सलामति गुरु अजीत सिंघ पातसाह जी सौं सरै असवारी¹ मुजर² किया तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो या गरीब है कुछ अरज कर सकता नही तब सरवर षां कोतवाल साही लसकर के को फुरमाया जो ईन का डेरा तुमारै पासी करावो अर ईस पर कोई जोर न पहुंचावै अर ईन का गुरु का चक (अमृतसर) है सो ईन को ईनाम तथा जागीर मै तनषाह कराई दयो अर हमेसा मुजरे को आया करै।...मिति असाढ वदी 14 दीतवार सं. 1768.

1. सवार हुए; 2. सलाम

क्रमांक 30

असाढ सुदी 5, 1768

अरजदासत नं. 203

जून 9, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती

मीती असाढ सुदी 3 वार बीसपतीवार राजा राज सिंघ जी मालपुरा कै वासतै नवाब महावत खां जी को रुका लिखया था जो मैरे उहां का दाम येक आया नही...श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती नवाब महावत खां जी राजों का आवै कै वासतै भंडारी व बंदा सौ ताकीद करै थे जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का मामला पहैली आवे तो इनका मामला बड़ा होई अबै भेजेली सीताबी करै जेती ही सलाह दोलती है अर हम भी याही अरज करै थे जो अबै राजां का आवा मै ढील कोई नही चेतै मै नवाब का हरकारा खबरी ले आया तब नवाब रुबरु बुलाई लीया अर रुबरु पूछ्या जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] सो अर फोज पातसाही सौ दूसरी राड़ी' कहा हुई तब उनो कही जो सालकोट (सयालकोट) परै कोस चारी चपरारी मै महैमद अमी खां बहादर वा रुस्तम दील खां पातसाही फोज सौ घड़ी छ राती गयां गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] उपरी जाय पड़े सो दो पैहर दीन चढता ताई राड़ी हुई तब गुरु जाणी जो बचाव नही तब धोल देव मुतसिल जंमू का राजा कै तीस को पैगाम दीया जो मैरे ताई पहाड़ के दरे मै होई नीकसणै देह तब उनो कही जो सारे सीखों सौ तो पहाड़ मै कोई छीपैगा नही आदमी दसे क सौ आब मै पहाड़ के दरे मै पहुंचाय दवैहगा तब गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] फुरसती पाई आदमी दसे क सौ पहाड़ मै गया तब महैमद अमी खां बहादर व ईसा खां जमीदार गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] के पीछै ही लागे दरे मै गये दरे उपरी राड़ी हुई सो आदमी सै तीन चयारी पातसाही लोग कामी आये² कहे अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] के सीख बहोत कामी आये अर आदमी सौ बाराह जीवते पकड़े तब गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] को उस जमीदार पकड़ी लीया तब महैमद अमी खां बहादर व ईसा खां दरे उस ही घड़ी जयो के जयो चढे चाले गये अर जमीदार सौ

1. लड़ाई; 2. मारे गए

कहि जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] तेरी धरती मै आया है तुम हमारे हवालै करो नही राड़ी की तयारी करो सो उस जमीदार पासी लोग थोड़े थे अर जाका गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] सौं पकड़णै कै वासतै आय रोकया था तब उस परी भिड़ा' बहोत हुई अर रुस्तम दील खां भी जाय पहुचया तब उनै जाणी जो फोज बहोत बड़ी आई अर मुझ में कूवती² लड़णै कि नहि तब गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] को बांधि महैमद अमी खां कै हवालै किया तब नवाब हरकारा सौं पूछिया जो तू आपनी आखया³ देखी आया है तब उनै अरज करी जो चपरारी कि राड़ि मै तो मै हाजरि थां अर दरे कि राड़ि मै मै कोई गया नही अर सब लसकर मै खबरि गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का पकड़या कि आई तब सब ही हरकारा ठेर ठेर को दौड़े तब मै भि या खबरि सुणी हजूरी आया घड़ी चारि मै ओर हरकारे आवैगे सो सब हकीकति मालूम करैगे जी।...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामती गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की खबरी फेरि कोय आई नही हरकारा की जुबानी सौं जो पातसाह जी सौं अरज पहुंची अर महाबत खां जी भी अरज पहुंचाई सो बंदै अरज पहुंचाई है जी अबै जो ठीक पड़ैली सो पाछ ये अरज पहुंचाउलो जी श्री सीता राम जी सौं उमेदवार हूं जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] कोई दीन पकड़या न आवै जयो पातसाह इस ही धरति मै उलझे रहें जी मीती असाढ सुदी 5 वार सनीसरवार सं. 1768.

1. भीड़ंत, लड़ाई; 2. शकती, ताकत; 3. आंखों

क्रमांक 31
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 17

आसाढ सुदी 11, 1768
जून 15, 1711

श्री परमेश्वर जी सत छै

स्वरूपि श्री लस्कर विजय कट काइते महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री जय सिंघ जी चरण कमलान था आगयाकारी सदो सेवग भण्डारी खीवसी लिखतम् सेवा मुजरो अवधार जो जी...

अपरांच श्री जी सलामत पेहला गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] पकड़ीयांरी खबर आई थी सो वा बात खिलाफ हुई गुरु मेहमद अमी खां रुस्तम दील खां सु बेढ कर सीर जोर थको नीसर गयो पछे आगे जांबू¹ री राजा आडे² आयो सो उण सु पीण बेढ³ करी राजा घायल हूवो नै आदमी घणा काम आया हमै गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] री खबर छै पाछे उतरीयो सो डाबर आवसी फेर चोकस हूवां सु अरज लिखसुं जी मेहमद अमी खां रुस्तम दील खां उठ सु पाछ फीरीया नदी रावी ऊपर आया सुनी जै छै अठी सूं पातसाही जी पील असाढ सुदी 10 नदी गोईदवाल [ब्यास] पार हूवा छै सो देखी जै कीण तरफ जाइके कठे छावणी करै सो नीबड़ीयां सूं अरज लीख सुं जी... सं 1768 रा असाढ सुदी 11 शुकर 1768.

1. जंमू; 2. सामने, आगे; 3. लड़ाई

क्रमांक 32
ड्राफ्ट खरीता नं. 73

असाढ़ सुदी 9, 1768
जून 13, 1711

संवत 1768

नकल परवानौ बाबत बिहारी दास पंचौली का मिति असाढ़ सुदी 9.

अपरांचि ऐसी सुनी जु दीवान जी की फौज सयौं अर खानजादा सयौं राडि हुई सु खानजादा मारया गया अर दाखिल वाकै आई¹ जु आगरा का वाका थै अरज पहुँची जु खड़ग सैण वगैरा चाकर गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] का पकड़या अर महाराणा जी श्री अमर सिंह जी का कागज की थैली नीकली सु वाका की फरद की नकल भेजी छै अर पातसाह जी दीवान जी नै खिताब व महाराणा जी कौ व और निवाजस फरमाई सु गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] का कागलां² की ऐसी तगाफली करणी मुनासिब ना छी जु बात अठ ताई खिचती आगा थै सावधानी राखिजयो अर अब काई सलाह विचारी छै जु सलाह वहराई होय सु तफसीलवार वयौरौ सीताब लिखजयो अर ए समाचार सगला दीवान जी सयौं अरज कीजयौ अर ऐसी खबर आई जु गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] लखी जंगल की राह होय अजमेर की तरफ आवै सु अब उठै जु लिखयौ आयौ होय ती को वयौरौ तफसीलवार लिखजयो।

1. वाक्या-नवीस की खबर; 2. कागजां

क्रमांक 33
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 62

असाढ सुदी 10, 1768
जून 14, 1711

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति

परगना मेड़ता कि रदबदल' आगै जो भंडारी सौं हुई थी सो तो बँदै आगै अरज पहुचाई थी सो अरज पहुची होयली जी...

अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की यह खबरि है जो पातसाही लोग बहुत मारि अर पहाड़ मै गयो अर जमीदार वा मैहमैद अमी खां बहादर वा ईसै खां उसकि साथि चले जाय है सो अब ताई तो या खबरि है जी अर पातसाह जी अब ताई तो नंदी पार ही है अर लसकर वा साहीजादो जीहांदार साह बहादर व रफीसान वा जीहासाह नंदी पार गयो जी अर पातसाह जी की खबरि नंदी पार होया कि मीती असाड सुदी 10 बीसपतीवार कि है जी अर सब कै पीछे साहीजादो अजीमसान जी पार उतरैला जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामति गंज व सराफो पातसाही सब नंदि पार उतरी गया था अर चार पांच दुकान सराफा की रही थी सो आधी राती असवार आपस मै सोर किया सो चारों दुकान साहूकार कि लुटी गई अर संदूक उनही साहूकारा का ऊटं ऊपर लादी ले गये सो मालूम न हुवा जो वै असवार कुण थे कोतवाल सौं ताकीद हुई है जो खोज काढि साबुत² करो सो अबै जो आसपास के गांव कोई बसते रहे है सो या तहै मती³ गांवा का लोगा नै दे अर गांव लुटी लेहग जी श्री महाराजा जी सलामती ये मुलक अैसा खराब हुवा जो कदे आवादान⁴ होय नही जी...मिती असाड सुदी 10 बीसपतिवार संवत 1768. [इस रिपोर्ट का लगभग आधा भाग संकेतक भाषा में है इसलिए इस का वह भाग पढ़ना कठिन है।]

1. वाद विवाद, अदल-बदल, तबदील; 2. प्रमाणित, प्रस्तुत करना, पेश करना;
3. शायद; 4. आवाजाई

क्रमांक 34
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 63

सावण सुदी 3, 1768
जुलाई 7, 1711

श्री गोपाल जी सहाय

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री जै सिंघ जी

सवसित श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री चरण कमलानं खानजादा खाकपाय पांचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जौ जी...

आगै अरजदासत पै दर पै¹ हजूर भेजी सु नजर मुबारक गुजरी होसी जी। साहजहानाबाद उरै कुरकशेतर जी की नवाह² मै मुकामात फुरमाय अरजदासत व खत भेजेला जु दांम बीरादारी का लां जी पातसाह जी बयास नदी असाड सुदी 10 गुरुवार पुल कराह पार उतरा अजीम सान सुवारी के पाछै पाछै चला गया पातसाह जी सुवारी मै हजार सुवार भी न था अर अजीम सान की सुवारी मे सुवार हजार छह सात था और तीनु साहजादा पार उतर गया था सु पातसाह जी तो पार उतरा अर अजीम सान का डेरा बार ही हुवा। पुल उपर जहांशाह को अहतमांम³ थो सु उठ गयो अजीम सान को बाड़ो जाय खड़ो हुवो ज आधी रात नै नदी चढी पुल टूट गई अजीम सान जी का डेरा मै गोडा सवां पानी आयो सु रात नै तो जनानी सुवारी हाथीयां उपर ही सुवार हुवां पाछै जव⁴ सु डेरा उठ गया था अर नदी पर गया था सु फेर तीन कोस आय डेरा कीया। पातसाह जी सु भांत भांत की अरज हुई सु असाड सुदी 10 रात नै साहजादा जी नै हुकम आयो ज तीन कोस फीर⁵ जाता मसलहत⁶ न कीजो दरयाव चडो थो तो कोस आध कोस फीरता अब सीताब कूच कर नदी के मुतसल⁷ उतरजो सु असाड सुदी 11 मेह बरसतां ही साहजादो जी कूच करो। येक कोस कूच करौ असाड सुदी 15 चड़ी नदी मे ही नवाडै⁸ चड़ हजूर गया। पहर डेढ पातसाह जी की हजूर रह नदी

1. एक के बाद दूसरी; 2. नजदीक; 3. इहतिमाम, इंतजाम, प्रबन्ध; 4. जिस जगह; 5. फिरना; 6. सलाह; 7. नजदीक, करीब; 8. नाव पर सवार हो कर

बार नवाडै बैठ आया पातसाह जी तो उतर गया पण लसकर सब बार पड़ो है नावां लसकर उतरै है जी।

असाड सुदी 15 तो कुछ मजकुर¹ न हुवो सावण वदी 1 बुधवार साह कुदरतुला जी की मारफत हुकम साहजादा जी को हुवो जो राजां नै लीखो बरसात मे आहसते आहसते आवै बरसात सतलंज पार करै तब भंडारी जी व भिखारी दास जी साह कुदरतुला जी सुं पूछो ई बात सुं पातसाह जी बुरो माने तीको कोई जतन तब कुदरतुला जी कहो पातसाह जी की मरजी भी इस मै है तब पूछो कुंकर² जाणजै तब कही जहादार शाह रफीअसान पास छह सत हजार सुवार है अर दोनों राजा पंदरां सोलां हजार सुवारां सु हजूर आवै है...महावत षां जी तो पार है। सावण वदी 2 गुरवार साह अजीम सान जी भी लसकर सुधा पार हुवा अर लोग पार होतो जाय है। षानांजाद तो पहल की अरजदासत मै ही अरज लीषी है ज कुरुक्षेत्र के नजदीक रहैजै जी बीरादरी की सनदां लां...गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] पहाड़ा मै भाग गयो फोजा पाछै लागी है पहाड़ का राजा भी सब जमा हुवा है देख जै कांई चुकै वे पास जमीयत बहुत है...श्रावण सुदी 3 सं. 1768.

1. मजकूर, जिकर; 2. कैसे

क्रमांक 35
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 66

सावण वदी 5, 1768
जून 24, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजाश्री महाराजा जै सिंघ जी

सवसित श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री चरण कमलानं खानजाद खाकपाय पं जगजीवन दास लिखते बंदगी अधवार जो जी...महाबत षां जी बालाशाहीया' सुं कहो आपकी तलब के वासते हीदायतउला षां ने बेईजत करो। ईतरा मै बालासाही व फतहऊला षांनी महैमद अमी षां की साथ तईनात हुवा था तब या आपकी तलब कै वासतै हीदायतउला षां को घर घेरो तंग कीयो। तब हीदायतउला षां अरजी की ती पर अमीरउल उमराव ने व मुषलिस षां नै ईसलाम षां तोबषाना का दरोगा नै हुकम हुवो। मुषलिस षां ईसलाम षां तोबषानो लेवां पर गया सब ने ले आया वा अरज करी महावत षां का कहा सुं ईतनो महे² कीयो। तीपर महाबत षां जी अतराजी हुई सीरा की चोकी³ दी थी षानषानां की होइ⁴ सूं दूर कर सीरा की चौकी अमीरल उमराव ने दी पेस दर आमद था सु मने कीया अंबारी⁵ रीसाला का दरोगा था सु रीसालो ही सब बतरफ कीयो। तीपर महाबत षां जी अजार⁶ को बहानो ले बैठ रहा था सु थे समाचार तो पै दर पै अरजदासत कीया है। अब महाबत षां चंद रोज दरमीयान दे अब मुलाजमत की दूसरी चोकी मे दाषील हुवा अब ताई अतराजी मे ही है पण पातसाह रहीम दील⁷ है थोड़ा दीन मै महैरवान होय जासी। अब रोज व रोज महैरबानी करै है जी।

थानेसुर के कुरक्षेत्र पास आय चंद रोज का मुकाम कीजो जी जुं बीरादरी की जागीर ले चुका तब आगे पधारजो जी।

गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] उपर महमद अमी खां व गाजी खां रुस्तम जंग गया है सब फौजदार जमीदार है अब ताई कुछ गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] को मुकाबलो बनो नही लड़ाई फौजा सु होय

1. बालाशाहीया, समराट के निजी सिपाही; 2. हमने; 3. मुंहम का चारज;
4. अहुदा के लिए दौड़; 5. अंबारी; 6. बीमारी; 7. रहम दिल

है गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] की तहकीक¹ खबर नहीं कहां है जो ठीक होसी सु पाछ सु अरजदासत करसुं जी कोई तो कहे हे गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] भागो सु पहाड़ का राजा के गयो कोई कहे हे गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] जखमी है कोई कहे गुरु तांई फौजां गई नहीं लोग ही लड़े है तहकीक कुछ नहीं अर पातसाह जी तो महमद अमी खां व गाजी खां रुस्तम जंग ने सरपाय माही² जुदी ही कर चुका है सु अब भेज सी...कामबकस का तोपषाना का लोग खानखाना के रीसाले था सु वांकी तलब चढ़ी महाबत खां जी दै नहीं। ती पर असाढ़ सुदी 5 खानखाना के सब तोपषाने पहली तो राय भगवंत सु डेरे सोर सराबो कीया तब भी नवाब न दी तब नवाब पातसाही दरबार आया गुलालबाड़ के दरवाजे नवाब की पालकी फीरतां रोकी। सोटा पथर धूल फुराटे बहोत कीयो डेरै आवण न दै। घड़ी दोय हंगामो राखयो तब मीनत मया डेरे ले आया। राजे खां खानखाना के खानसामा थो अर नवाब के भी वोही खानसामा थो अर तोपषानां को दरोगो थो वे ने आप का दीवानखाना मै बहोत मारो बेईजत कर मुसकां बांध सीर उघाड़ै³ आप का बाजार मै फेर पठणां के हवाले कीयो अर तोपखानां की तलब राय भगवंत नै कही दौ। राजे खां सात सदी का मनसब राखै है। खान जमां खां वेकी पख राखे थो तीसुं मार दीसुए अब यै भाई भाई भी अणरस⁴ हुवो घर फूटो देखजे काई होय जी।...

गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] भागो सु पहाड़ मै गयो फौज पाछै है खबर है बरेली की तरफ जासी...सावन वदी 5 संवत 1768.

1. सही; 2. माही मरातब का सिरोपाव; 3. नग्न सिर; 4. फरक, फूट

क्रमांक 36
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 67

सावण वदी 13, 1768
जुलाई 2, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

नवाब महाबत खां जी की बंदे मुलाजमती करी तब नवाब फुरमाई जो मुझे तुमसौं बात करनी है सो तुम बैठे अर सब मनसबदार पातसाही को रुखसद कीया अर दरबार सौं उठी अर खीलवतीखाना मै बंदे को ले गयो अर फुरमाया जो राजौं बहुत ढील लगाई अर दुसमन काबू पाव और की और ही बनावै पातसाह को राजौं का नारनोल आवा की हकीकती वाका सौं अरज पहुची सो मौका बु देखै था सो मौका बु पाय पातसाह जी सौं अरज करी जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] तो भाजी गया खातरी मुबारक, मै की घर के पाधरणै की खवाहसी¹ है तब नवाब सौं पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] नै दाय राड़ी करी पातसाही बंदों तन² न दीया अबै कोई तो कहैता है जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] पहाड़ मै है अर कोई कहैता है जो डाबरी गया अर बरसाइतो सीर परी आई लागी तब महाबत खां जी अरज करी जो सब ही बंदे ताबै हुकम कै है जी सब बंदो को हुकम होय सो ही उस को तंबीह करै अर हजरती लाहौर पधारै तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो लसकर मै नीफाक बहुत कोई बंदा दील देता नही तब महाबत खां जी फेरि अरज करी जो हजरती लाहौर चलै अर दोनयों राजौं को सतनंज (सतलुज) पार राखै अर येक फौज बिहाव (ब्यास) नंदी कै बार रहै अर येक फौज पहाड़ा की तलहैटी रहै सो जीधर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] नीकसै सो ही बंदा तंबीह करै तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो कुछ सबब मालूम नही जो ये राजौं येती ढील कैसे लगाई अर लगावै है तब साहीजादो अजीमसान हजूरी बैठा था सो अरज करी जो महाबत खां अरज दुरसती करै है अबै राजा सीताब ही हजूरी आवै है तब पातसाह जी साहीजादा जी नै फुरमाई जो तुम राजौं को लिखौ जो सीताब हजूरी आवै अर सतलंज दरियाब उपरी जहा

1. चाहत, ईच्छा; 2. जोर

हमारे डेरे थे तथा अग्र्य डेरे करै अर जै गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] उधर को नीकसैगा तो वै तंबीह करैला अर इधर की तरफ को ओर फोज मुकरर कीजे तब महाबत खां जी को फुरमाया जो तुम हसबल हुकम राजों को लीखो अर मसोदो हमारी नजरी गुजरानो सो नवाब महाबत खां जी मोसोदो¹ तयार किया है जी सो पातसाह जी की नजरी गुजरानया पाछै जो रदबदल² होयली सो अरज पहुचाउलो जी अर नवाब महाबत खां जी या भी सलाह बदै सो फुरमावै थे जो राजों को बरसात कै सबब आवणै मै ढील लागै तो येक फौज हमांरां ली आ पहुचै तब असवार हजार पांच तथा छह की अगाऊं दरीयाब सतनंज परी भेजै श्री महाराजा जी सलामती पातसाह जी जै लाहौर नै पधारै अर श्री जी सतलंज उपरी पधारै तो दोय नंदी बीच पड़ै अर तफाउत³ लसकर पातसाही सौं बहुत रहै अर पातसाह जी भी जाणै जो हमारे खूबबंद⁴ है अर हम फुरमावते है सो करते है सो इस बात सौं गुबार⁵ पातसाह जी की खातरी का मीटी जाही ज्जी...अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] जंबू (जंमू) का पहाड़ा मै है अर डाबरी गया की खबरी मु सकस नही अर पहाड़ा की खबरी मु सकस है जी...मीती सावन वदी 13 सोमवार सं. 1768.

1. डराफट; 2. विचार-विम्वश; 3. दूरी, फासला; 4. शुभ चिंतक; 5. मन की भड़ास

क्रमांक 37

सावण सुदी 14, 1768

अरजदासत नं. 90

जुलाई 17, 1711

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजाधिराज सलामति बड़ी बड़ी मातबर जायगा खबरी मु सकस सुणजे छै जो गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] उपरी तो उमराव वीदा हो ही अर पातसाह जी दीन (दिन) दस लाहौर बागा मै रहै फेरी अजमेरी को कूच करे श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती जै पातसाह जी का कूच करता पहैलि दोनयों महाराजा का पधारणा होइ तो बड़ी सलाह दौलती है जो बंदा की अकलि मै आवै है सु मुकरर अरज पहुँचाई अर पहुँचावै है जी। मिती सावण सुदी 14 संवत 1768.

क्रमांक 38
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 70

भादवा वदी 1, 1768
जुलाई 19, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

आगै अरजदासति मि. सांवण सुदी 15 की इरेसाल¹ करी है सो पहुंची होयगी तीसों सारी हकीकति अरज पहुंची होयगी जी।...

साहिजादा जी व नवाब महाबति खां जी याही फुरमाहि जो बरसाति का बहाना बेहिसाब है पातसाह जी बरसाति मै सौं चले जाते है अब जेते सिताब आवैं ऐती ही खूबी है अर भंडारी खीवसी वाजे मतलबों की अरज पहुंचाई थी तब साहिजादा जी याही जुवाब दीया जो जहां राजा राखे हैं तहां आप पहुंचो अर अरजदासति करो तब सब मतलब तुमहारे अरज पहुंचावेंगे श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति हुकम आया जो तुमही अरज पहुंचाई थी जो ढील सौं पधारैं सो ढील सौं आवने का सबब ना लिखा सो अब सिताब लिखी जयो श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति भंडारी बंदे सौं कही जो सलाह दौलत या है जो दोनों राजा ढील सौं आवने की पातसाह जी इतराजी फुरमावैं तिसका कया इलाज तब भंडारी कही मै साहिजादा जी सौं अरज करी थी तिसकी हकीकति भाई रघुनाथ को लिखी है सो वो अरज पहुंचावैगा सो बंदे भंडारी के कहे सौं लिखा था जी सो रघुनाथ को हजूर बुलाय हकीकति पूछेंगे जी।...

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] दसतूर साबिक² जंबू का पहाड़ा मौं छै रुस्तम दिल खां उस के पाछै है जी और पातसाह जी का पेसखाना कसबै चमारी³ आय हुवा छै लाहौर कोस 15 काची रहयो छै सो खबरि छै जो लाहौर सिताब पहुंचै जी...मिती प्रथम भादव वदी 1 संवत 1768.

1. भेजी; 2. पहले की तरह; 3. चमिआरी, अमृतसर और लाहौर के रास्ते पर एक गांव

क्रमांक 39
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 72

भादवा वदी 11, 1768
जुलाई 30, 1711

श्री गोपाल जी सहाय छै जी

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजाश्री जै सिंघ

सवसित श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री चरण कमलानं
खानांजाद खाकपाय पचौली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी
अवधार जो जी...

पातसाह जी नै वाका सवानह¹ सुं अरज पोहची ज दोनूं राजां
की साथ तीस हजार असवार है सु फरद पढ जहांदारशाह वगैरह
साहजादा बैठ था सु जहांदराशाह अरज की भाई के बुलावे जमयत²
(जमीअत) लयावे है तीस हजार न होय तो बीस हजार असवार तो
होय ही होय बीस हजार उनके होय अर सात आठ हजार सुवार
भाई पास है ही तीस सुं सलाह दौलत यह है उनको हजूर न बुलाययै
तीं उपर पहली हुकम तो यो हुवो थो...बरसात है आहसते आहसते
सतलंज उपर आवै राह में पानी बहुत है। सु शाह कुदरतुला जी
भी अजीम शान बहादर की जबानी कहो थो सु तो पै दर पै अरजदासता
की थी। फेर अब हुकम हुवो साढैरा जाय। सु महावत खां जी की
मोहर सुं हसबल हुकम ले गुरजबरदार श्री जी की हजूर चलो है
सु पहुचौ होसी। सु अब तो श्री जी सलामत दोनुं तरफ का धरम
रहो। महाराजा अजीत सिंघ जी हजूर का आवा सु राजी न था श्री
जी जोरावरी सूं वां नै हजूर लीयां पधारै था सु वा को चाहो हुवो।
...अर पातसाह जी नै रटनां³ लागी थी बुलाबा की सु आप सुं उठै
भेजा। सु श्री जी रा प्रताप ये भली ही बनती जाय है अब श्री जी
हुकम मवाफक साढैरै पधारजो जी अर अरजदासत कीजो हुकम
मवाफक हजूर आवा था अब तो हुकम आयो है तीसुं साढैरे चाला
अर जमयत जयादा सीवाय जाबते लावां सु सरकार का काम नै
लयावां हां। सं. 1768 भादवा वदी 11 सोम।

1. घटनास्थल; 2. जमीअत; फौज; 3. रट, जिद

क्रमांक 40

भादवा सुदी 11, 1768

अरजदासत नं. 212

अगसत 13, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

अरजदासती करार मीती भादवां सुदी 6 बुधवार की लिखी हजूरी भेजी छै जी तीसौं सारि हकीकती अरज पहुची होयलि जी श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती पातसाह जी का डेरा बाग सालेमर कै उरै कोस येक हुवा है अर बाग कै चोगरद पाणी होय रहया है सो पातसाह जी तुरत बाग दाखील न हुवा छै जी अर साहीजादा व महैल¹ पातसाही बाग देखणै को जाई है जी अर पातसाह जी फुरमावों जो आछी जायगा देखी अर बाग कै मुतसलि² हमारा डेरा खड़ा करें जयों हम भी बाग दाखील होही...

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती मेह लसकर मै ऐसा हुवा सो कयौ अरज पहुचाबा मै न आवै जी दीन सात को झड़ हुवो जी अर पातसाह जी का डेरा उचा उपरी छांती छै कमरया³ कमरया ताई पाणी चढ्यौ छै जी अर ओरा का सारां डेरा मेह सौ फाटी⁴ गया जी सो लसकर की खराबी की करौ अरज पहुंचावा मै आवै नही जी अर पातसाह जी दरगैह मल की बावड़ी की तरफ डेरा खड़ा करवावे ई फुरमाया था सु ऊहां भी पानी भरी रहा है जी अर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की खबरी तुरत लसकर मै बदसतूर साबीक⁵ छै जी कहै है जो पहाड़ मै बैठ है जी अर रुसतम दील खां भी पहाड़ की तलहैटी⁶ पड़या है कुछ खबरी अब तक तहै की कोई आई नही जो कया करता है श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती साहाजादा जी याही फुरमावै है जो राजा सीताब साबैरै आवै तो भला है ढील न होय ढील लगावण सालाह नही सो अरज पहुचै जी...श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती श्री जी का पधारणा दीली⁷ कै उरै हुवा है सो खानाजाद तो उमेदवार है जो जोड़ी⁸ सीताब इनाइत होवो करै जी...मीती भादवा सुदी 11 सं. 1768 मुकाम सालामार।

1. महल; 2. नजदीक; 3. कमर; 4. तंबु फट गए; 5. पहले वाली; 6. तलहटी; 7. दिल्ली, देहली; 8. कासद

क्रमांक 41
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 75

दुतीया भादवा वदी 2, 1768
अगसत 19, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

आगै अरजदासति इरेसाल करी है तिसौं सगली अरज पहुंची होयली जी। श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति पातसाह जी की या खबरि है जो रमजान ताई लाहौर रहै...श्री महाराज धिराज गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की या खबरि है जो बयाह नदी उपरि गया श्री महाराजा धिराज मौसर अैसा है जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की फते करै तौ सदा कों अमर नांव होय अर पातसाह जी के हजूरि बड़ा मुजरा' होय अर बंदे की या अरज है जो महाराजा पातसाह जी को हुकम बजाय लै आय साढैरै पधारै पाछै साढैरै आपनै कौन राखै है हुकम बजाय लै आया जो और खिदमत होतां बार नहीं मिति दुतीया भादवा वदी 2 संवत 1768.

श्री राम

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति पातसाह जी नवाब महावति खां जी को फुरमाया है जो दोनो राजों को हसबल हुकम लिखौ जो साढैरै सिताब पहुंचै सो जो तौ बंदे के हवालै हसबल हुकम होयगा तौ मै पहुंचाऊंगा अर गुरजबरदार के हवालै होयलौ तौ वै लै आवैगे जी।

क्रमांक 42

दुतीया भादवा वदी 5, 1768

वकील रिपोर्ट नं 76

अगसत 22, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

अरजदासति करारे मीती प्रथम भादवा सुदी 12 की लीखी हजूरी भेजी छै तीसौं सारी हकीकति अरज पहुंची होयली जी श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति भंडारी खीवसी आपनी तरफ सौं तलास करवा मै कमी न करी जी जो मालवो व गुजरात कौं सूबो दोनयों राजा कै नाय होय सौं साहीजादा जी सौं व नवाब महाबत खां जी सौं तरहै तरहै¹ रद बदल करी सौ वा याही जवाब दीया जो तुम येक बार पातसाह जी का हुकम बजाइ लयावो साढौरा आय बैठे अरजदासती पातसाह जी नै करै अर पातसाह जी का दील² मै नकस³ आवै जो हमारै बंदे है अब हम फुरमावैगे तहा जाय चाकरी करैगे सो श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति अबै पातसाह जी का दरबार को रंग यो आणी बाज खायो छै जो बीना⁴ साढौरै आयां ओर बात का तलास किजे है सो होता नजरी आवै नही अर भंडारी की कहौबती⁵ या है जो राजा नै गुजरात व मालवा को सूबो न होयले तो वै कोई आवै नही अर साढौरै पातसाह जी राजों को रखै छे तो जो महे⁶ का मतालवा⁷ छै सो पहैलि करी दयोत जयो वो राजां वीदा होय आवै इस परी नवाब महाबत खां जी फुरमाई जो हमारी तो कुदरती⁸ नही जो बीना साढौरै आया पातसाह जी सौं राजों की अरज करै साढौरै राजा आय बैठे अरजदासती पातसाह जी को करै तब हम पातसाह जी सौं अरज करी थांका⁹ मतालब सब कराई देहगे अर आठ महीना हुवा तुमहारे ताई झूठ बोलतां जो राजा बीस रोज मै आवैं महीना मै आवै जीहानाबाद (शाहजहानाबाद) आये करनाली (करनाल) आये अर आवते नही हमेसा येक बात नई आय कहैते हो से हैफ¹⁰ है जो तुम राजो के मुतसदी अैसी झूठ बात साही दरबार मै कहो सो पातसाह जी कां दिल मै दिन ब दिन नकसी¹¹

1. कई तरह; 2. दिल; 3. नकश; तसवीर (विश्वास); 4. बिना; 5. कथन;
6. हमारा; 7. मतलब; 8. शक्ति; 9. तुम्हारा; 10. अफसोस; 11. नुकस, शक, संदेह

बैठती हैं जो राजा नहीं आवते हैं सो इनका इरायदा चाकरी का नहीं अर राजा आय अर जहानाबाद कै मुतसलि मुकाम करी रहे हैं श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती आब¹ ने मै तो सगली बात रसी पड़ी है अर परैगी बीना आये बात ओर नीजरी आवै है जी अर पातसाही दरबार मै तो कोई बात होती दीसै नहीं अबै जो खातरी मुबारक मै पसंद आवै सो करै जी श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती पातसाह जी राव भासकर पंडित के हरकारे नै दोनयों राजा का लसकर की हरकारगी फुरमाई छै सो वे लसकर सौं चाले है जी अर साढैरै पहुंचीया कै वासते पातसाह जी नवाब महावत खां जी नै फुरमाई जो हसबल हुकम राजों को लिखो जो सीताब आवैं सो नवाब हसबल हुकम बंदे को सोंपयां सो हजूरी भेजया है सो नजरी गुजरैलो जी अर इससा ही मजमून राजा अजीत सिंघ जी नै लीखया है जी श्री महाराजा धीराज सलामती भंडारी खीवसी तलास करवा मै कमी न करी पणी अबै जो बनैली सो साढैरै आया बनैली जी ओर तरह तो मालूम है जी अर अबै खातरी मुबारक मै पसंद आवै सो बंदे को जवाब सरफराज होय जी श्री महाराजा धीराज सलामती अबै दरबार का रंग ओर है अबै खातरी मुबारक मै पसंद आवै सो वीचारै जी खानाजाद को अरज लीखणे की ठहोर रही है नहीं जी श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती गुरजबरदार दाय हजूरी सौ ओर तई² हुवे है जो राजा दोनयो येति डील लगाई सो सबब कया है सों तुम जाई उठ थे कूच करावो अर कै उठ की हकीकत लिखी भेजी जयो सो मुतसदी हजूरी का नै हुकम होय जो वाकी खूब खबरदारी राखौ जी...मीती दुतीया भादवा वदी 5 संवत 1768.

1. अब; 2. नियुक्त

क्रमांक 43
वकील रिपोर्ट नं 77

दुतीया भादवा वदी 5, 1768
अगसत 22, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री जै सिंघ जी

सवावित श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री चरण कमलांन खानाजाद खाकपाय पचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जौ जी ... दुती भादवा वदि 3 सोमवार भंडारी खीवसी महाबत खां जी सो कहो महे का मतलब होय तो जहानावाद सुं उरै आ सां तब नवाब कही जद काम उपर आवो गे तब अरज करैगै अर घर बैठे ही मतलब चाहो सु, अब अरज कोई करे नहीं रदबदल बोहत हुई पणा' नवाब जवान दीयो नहीं।

श्री जी सलामत बीरादरी का मनसबदारां की याददासत अब तांई तो मैकुफ² थी ज हजूर आयां पछै कर देसां अब साढौरा की तईनाती हुई। महाराजा अजीत सिंघ जी कै बीरादरी के लोगा की सनद करावै है जो दफतर को खर्च ईनाइत होय तो खानजाद ही श्री जी की बीरादरी की सनद कराओ जी।...

दोय तीन महीना तो पातसाह अठै है फेर देखजे कहां चले अर अजमेर का महलां की सुफेदी करावा को हुकम हुवो है...

गुरु ई तरफ थो, सु फेर खबर है साढौरा गयो, फेर तहकीक हुयां अरजदासत करसुं जी सं. 1768 दुतीया भादव बदी 5 बुधवार।

1. परंतु; 2. मनसूख, मुलतवी

क्रमांक 44
वकील रिपोर्ट नं 79

दुतीया भादवा वदी 9, 1768
अगसत 25, 171

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

रुस्तम दिल खां को हुकम पहुंचा जो गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] बयाह (ब्यास) नदी पार उतरि गया है तौ तूं भी पार उतरि जायबौ महैमद अमी खां को हुकम पहुंचा था जो गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] के पाछे दबाव कीयां जाययो सो महैमद अमी खां तौ गुरु के पीछे ही है अर रुस्तम दिल खां बयाह नदी न उतरया अर पातसाह जी के हजूरि को आया अर चमारी (चमिआरी) के ईहां सौं अरज करी तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] के पीछे ही जाय हजूरि न आवै सो रुस्तम दिल खां मानी नही अर मीती भादव वदी 7 शुक्रवार कौं राति लाहौर मो आय आपनी हवेली दाखिल हुवा तब पातसाह जी कौं अरज पहुंची तब पातसाह जी फुरमाई अर नवाब महाबत खां को वा इस्लाम खां दरोगा तोबखाने का वा खानि जमान खां को हुकम फुरमाया जो रुस्तम दिल खां को पकरि लै आवो अर इनायतुला खां खानिखाना को हुकम पहुंचा जो रुस्तम दिल खां का घर जबत करो तब सब चड़ी गए रुस्तम दिल खां को हाथी चढाय लै आए घरों चौकी बैठाव आए पहैर राति गई जाली¹ मौ पातसाह जी सौं अरज पहुंचाई हुकम हुवा इस्लाम खां के हवालै करौ तब इस्लाम खां अरज पहुंचाई हुकम होय किस भांति राखौ तब हुकम हुवा हथकड़ी व बेड़ी व तोक गले मै नाखि² राखो बहुत सखती सौं सो इस्लाम खां माफिक हुकम के अमल कीया जी अर मीती भादव वदी 8 शनीशरवार दोय पहैरा इस्लाम खां को हुकम हुवा जो जयों का जयों पालकी मौ नाखि गंज की राह लाहौर का किला मौ कोटड़ी (कोटड़ी) है सो इस कोटड़ी मौ जाय बहौत इहतयात सौं राखौ सो माफिक हुकम के गंज की राह लै निकसे पालकी के आसपास बहौत बेइज्जती सौंहु रो (रोअब) देते गाली देते कीली

1. शाही तंबू के बाहर का पर्दा; 2. बांध, जकड़

(किला) मौ लै गए अर माल मताह सब जबत होय है जागीर खालसै
हुई है यातराजी (इतराजी) बहौत है जी अब जो उनके बाब हुकम
होयगा सो पाछ सौ अरज पहुंचाऊंगा जी श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति
जैसे ये थे तैसी ही सजाय को पहुंचे है जी मीती दुती भादवा बदी
8 सं.1768.

क्रमांक 45
वकील रिपोर्ट नं 80

दुती भादवा वदी 9, 1768
अगसत 26, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री जै सिंघ जी

सलामति महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री चरण कमलानं खानाजाद खाकपाय पंचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जो जी...

महाराजा सलामत गाजी खां बहादर उर्फ रुस्तम दिल खां बहादर नै मीती दुती भादवा बदी 8 सनीवार कैद कर लाहोर का कीला नै तोक जंजीर कर बेड़ी डाल कैद कीयो घर जबत हुवो महाराजा सलामति गाजी खां बहादर नै दस हजार सुवार (सवार) की फोज सुं गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की तंबीह नै सतलंज नदी उतर राह मे सुं हजरत रुकसत कीयो थो सु तमाम मुलक का सहर गांव तो सब लुट लीया अर महमद अमी खां भी दस बारा हजार सुंवार सुं गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की तंबीह ने था ओर सब फोजदार जमीदार तईनात था अब तांई गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] पहाड़ा मे रहो तब तांई तो सारां मुलक पातिसाही सहर कसबा बंद कर खालसाह¹ कीया अब गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] पहाड़ा मै सूं नीकसया सुं दोय चार कोस का तफायत² सुं डाबर की तरफ गयो तब गाजी खां सुं महमद अमी खां सुं तंबीह न हुई गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] यां के आगै होय नीकस गयो ईसे खां पठाण ई जीला³ को है ती महमद अमी खां सु व गाजी खां सु कही लड़ाई डालो गाजी खां बहादर उहां सुं फोज समेत भागे सु हजूर सुं दस कोस ठैइ⁴ रही तहां सु अरजदासत कीज केतेक मतलब जरूरी है सु रुबरु अरज करने के है ईस वास्ते हजूर कदमबोसी⁵ कर जहां हुकम होय तहां जाऊं हुकम हुवा गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] कै सीर (सिर) की साथ आवोग तब कदमबोसी होयगी अब भी फीरजा⁶ मतलब होय सु अरज कर भैज गुरजदार

1. सरकारी प्रबन्ध के अधीन भूमि; 2. दूरी; 3. जिला; 4. स्थान;
5. चरण कमलाण प्रणाम; 6. वापिस चला जा

पोहचण पयै ही नही क सांझ कूं लाहोर सहर मै आये फोज कोई पोहची कोई न पोहची वा अरज हुई तब महाबत खां जी इस्लाम खां तोबखाना का दारोगा ने मुखलस खां नै कोतवाल नै हुकम हुवो कैद कर ले आवो सो भादवा बदी 7 शुक्रवार सब फोजां जाय डेढ पहर रात गयां सहर का पास सुं कैद कर ले आया आधी रात का अमल मै कैद कीयां ले आवण की अरज हुई तब आधी रात तांई तो गुलालबाइ मे रहो सवार (सुबह) हुवां बेड़ी डाल पालकी मे बेठाय सब लसकर देखो सहर का कीला मै कैद कीयो कबीलो सुहागपुरै भेजण को हुकम हुवो माल मताह सब जबत हुई इस्लाम खां तोबखाना को दारोगो सहर का कीला (किला) मै कैद कीयां बेठो है सब फोज पर औतराजी है बोहत बरतरफ¹ होसी ओर भी कई केद कीजैला सु पाछ सुं पै दर पै अरजदासता कर सुं जी

महाराजा सलामत महमद अमी खां की खबर है गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] कै पाछै लगो गयो है

महाराजा सलामत ई सामे (समय) जौ खातर मुबारक मे आवो अर महाराजा अजीत सिंह जी की मसलहत² मे आवो तो (बंदा सिंह बहादुर) दोड़ पहाड़ मे बेठण न दीजे अर पकड़ लीजे तो बड़ो मुजरो होय बड़ो मरातब होय जी।...मीती 1768 दुती भादौ बदी 9 रवीवार गजर बाजती।

1. बरखासत, डिसमिस; 2. सलाह

क्रमांक 46

भादरपदा वदी 9, 1768

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 265

अगसत 26, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति लसकर मौ या खबरि है जी तारीख 27 रजब साल (1123 हिजरी) को जसन करि (शाह) जहानाबाद को कूच करै रमजान राह मौ करै सो इस पातसाह जी की खबरि परै नहीं जो मुकरर¹ ठहरैगी सो पीछे सौं अरज पहुंचाउगो जी महाराजा धिराज सलामति (शाह) जहानाबाद के मुतसिल रहना सलाह दोलति नही है जी सो बंदे तौ आगे भी अरज पहुंचाई है...श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति नवाब महाबत खां जी भंडारी व बंदे सौं फुरमाई जो रुस्तम दिल खां की बीगरी² सौं या सब राजों की बखतावरी³ है जो ऐसे वकत मै साढैरे नेक बराबरी पातसाही मै कोन है या मुलक सब उनकै हवालै होय पातसाह जी येती नवाजस करै जो कहैने मै व लीखने मै न आवै अर हमारा भी काबु वा नकस खुब होय अर हमालि⁴ राजों कै वासते चाहै सौं अरज करै श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति जो कुछ नवाब नै फुरमाया है सो सब साच नजरी आवता है जी अबै ऐसा मोसर हाथ लागैगा नही जी वाको सभ दील (दिल) मो आबो था जो रुस्तम दिल खां की इस तरह वीगरैगी व करी महाराज के प्रताप सो या मोसर हाथी आया है जी फेरि ऐसा मोसर हाथी आवता नहीं जी सो खातरी मुबारक मै आवैगो सो करैगे जी श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती साहीजादै जी भी कुदरतुला की मारफत याही फुरमाई है जी जो तुम राजों को लिखौं जो सीताब साढैरे आवै हम भी इस बात सौं बहोत रजाबंद⁵ है अर पातसाह के आगै दोनयों राजों को बड़ा मुजरा होयगा। अर हमारी षात्री⁶ मै आवैगा सो ही अरज पातसाह जी सौं राजों की करैगे। श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती हसतबल (असतबल) का दाणा की सरवराह⁷ कै वासतै पातसाह जी फुरमाई जो सब उमरावा कै चलां जाय अर दाणा सरवराह करावै अर जो दाणा सरवराह न करै सो मनसब सौं बरतरफ अर हजूरी आवणै न पावै। तदी पीर

1. निशचित; 2. विगड़ी; 3. मंगलमय, भाग्यशाली; 4. सभी; 5. रजामंद;

6. मरजी अनुसार; 7. प्रबन्ध

महम्मद छजू को लखियां दोनयों राजों के दबाव सराराह फरानणों के वास्ते तई हुवा तब भंडारी (खीवसी) रूया 40 चालीस उसको दीये अर रूया 40 बंदा पासी दीलाये जी अर महीना दोई आधा कड़ाया जी से महीना दोई तो आखरी हुवा तब रूया दोनयों सरकार के पीर महम्मद को दीये जी। श्री महाराज जी चौकी का जुलमयाना (जुरमाना) कै वास्ते आगै पंचौली जगजीवन दास को 35 पैंतीस दीये ये सोवां मुदती पूरी हुई तब जगजीवन दास कौ जुलमयाने वाजे फेरी ले गये अर बैठाय राखयो तब रूया 35 ओर दे अर बुलाय लीया जी सो छमाही का रूया 70 सतरी लागी जी। ...श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती पातसाह जी नै महाबत (खां) जी नै फुरमाई जो साहीजादा आली इतबार को ले लाहौर की जुमा मसजीद जाई अर जुमा का कुतबा (खुतबा) हमारां पढावो तब मुंलाणे सब लाहौर के येकठे' हुवे अर कही जो कुतबा तैहमूर (तैमूर) पातसाह सों ले अर ओरंगजेब ताई पढाया है तीस माफीक पढैओ अर जीस भांती पातसाह पढाया चाहै सो हम पढै नही हम सब ईस बात परी (उपर) मरैगे तब या हकीकती पातसाह जी सौ अरज पहुंची तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो इस जुमै हमारा नाव का कुतबा मोकूफ राखौ आगीले जुमे हम कुतबा पढावैगे श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती पांच हजार आदमी मुलाणा वा लसकर का मुसलमान मरणे को येकठे हुवे ये अर इस जुमां कुतबा पढणे के मोकूफ राखागे नै आगले जुमे को दस हजार आदमी मरणों को भेला² होयगा जी अर मुलाणा की तो या राही है जो दुतरफां बाजार के ऊपरी ठीकया चढाई राखै है अर कहे हैं जो हम आवतो अर जातो ठीकरां की मार करैगे अर जो सीपाही है नो कहै जो जब पातसाह का नाव पढैओ तब हम लईगे सो जो ठहरैली सो पाछ ये अरज पहुंचाउलो जी... भादरापद बदी 9 सं. 1768. [यह रिपोर्ट अघूरी है]

1. इकठे; 2. इकठे

क्रमांक 47*

भादवा वदी 10, 1768

अगस्त 27, 1711

श्री महाराज जी सलामती

अरजदास्त करार मीती भावदा वदी 7 बुधवार की लीखी हजूरी भेजी है तीसौ सारी हकीकती अरज पहुँची होसी जी श्री महाराजा धीराज सलामती परवाना फारसी 3 करार तारीख 5 जुमादी उल सानी वा पखाना एक करार मीती सावणा सुदी 6 वा खत नवाब महाबत खां जी नै वा राजा उदोत सिंघ जी नै सादर¹ हुवा था सो तौ तारीख 17 जुमादी उलसानी मीती भादवा वदी 5 वार सोमवार नै आय पहुँचया जी... श्री महाराजा जी सलामती नवाब महाबत खां जी नै खत इनाइत हुवा था वा परवाना बंदे कै नाव (नाम) सादर हुवे थे सो सब नंदी बेहथ मै नाव डुबी तीस मै कासिद भी डुबया था सो श्री महाराजा जी का परताप सौ मलाह कासिद डुवता नै कढ्या अर कागद सब पाणी मै डुबी गया सु काफी अरस तांई अर बंदा पासी येकठ करी ले आया बरसांइत² की हवा मै बिना मोमजामा कै कागद आतै सो कागद सब खराब होय जाय जी सो बंदा उमीदवार है जो मुतसदी हजूरी का नै हुकम होई जी कागद बंदा कै नाव (नाम) सादर होई सो मोमजामा की थैली मै ईनाइत होवो करै जी... श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती हुकम आया जो दीली (देहली) कै पासी आए अरजदासती पातसाह जी नै जसोल की मारफती भेजणी सलाह दौनती है जी... श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती नवाब महाबत खां जी खानाजाद सौ फुरमाया जो राजा दीली (देहली) सौ आगे आवैंगे तो थानेसर का परगना हमारी सौहनक³ मै दीया है अर पातसाह वा बड़े नवाब सौ हम सा मुचलका लीखा है जो कीसु (किसी) हिंदू को नहाणै न देह अर जै राजों का उहां जाणा होयगा अर वाकै दाखिल⁴ आवैगी तो उहां सौ तीरथ का नीसाण जायगा अर हमारी सौहनक सौ जायगा सौ नवाब बंदे सौ ताकीद करी फुरमाया जो

* Rajasthan State Archives has not assigned any No. to this report.

1. जारी; 2. बरसात; 3. गुजारे के लिए जागीर; 4. वाक्या नवीस की रिपोर्ट

राजा क्रनाली (करनाल) सौ इंदरी की त्रफ जाही श्री महाराजा सलामती नवाब का फुरमावणा साच है सब येही गाव, (गांव) अटक लै है सो जै कोई भांती राजा थानेसुर आवै तो नवाब बेमन (बेईमान) सच होय अर तीरथ का नीसाण जायगा श्री महाराजा जी सलामती साहजादा जीहां साह को इन दीनौ (दिन) मौ बेहथ नंदी ही सौ आजार हुवां सो केतीयक दीन (दिन) तो या ही येक मंजल कै तफाइत आवो करयो अर चमारी का डेरा लसकरी आप दाखिल हुवां अर फुरसती हुई साहीजादा जीहांदार साह वा रफीसान देखणे को आवां अर मीती भादवा वदी 10 सनीसरवार पातसाह जी भी जीहांसाह को देखणै आया जी।

क्रमांक 48

दुती भादवा वदी 11, 1768

वकील रिपोर्ट नं 81

अगसत 28, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री जै सिंघ जी

सवासित श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री चरण कमलानं खानाजाद खाकपाय पंचोली दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जौ जी...

साहजहानांबाद का वाका सुं अरज पोहची [राजा अजीत सिंघ] ज बाग व रमनो काटै है सीकारां खेलै है सो बजनस' फरद महाबत खां जी पातिसाह जी भेज दी सुं महाबत खां जी बजनस फरद भंडारी जी नै दीवान जी नै पढाई नकल वै फरद की ले हजूर भेजी है सु नजर गुजरसी। नवाब कहै था ज वां बातां सु हजरत बुरो मानै है दुख पावै है अब गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] साबेरै गयो हे जो ई सामै² श्री जी डाबर की तरफ आवै बड़ो मुजरो होय तब भंडारी जी कही मो ने रुकसत कीज तो हुं ले आऊं तब नवाब कहयो महारे तो मोह न है ज हूं पातसाहे जी सुं या अरज करूं अर ई अरज करावा मे तो जाहर होय ज यै भी उठ गया चाहै है अर डेढ दोय महीनां हुवा जहानाबाद में बैठ रहा भांत भांत की तअदी³ करें है सु क्या मसलहत है बणी बणाई बात कूं बीगाड़ै है अब ताकीद लीखोज डाबर आवे अर जो जो मतलब लिखेगे सु सब सरंजाम पावैगे, भंडारी जी घनी ही बातां कही गुजरात को सूबो दीजै बाबा प्यारे का घाट की खीदमत⁴ दीजे ओर केई मन की तरंगां कही पण बेदीमाग होय घर मे नवाब उठ गया अब भंडारी जी कहे है नवाब तो न मांनी साहजादा अजीम जी सुं भी कह देखा

श्री जी सलामत आगे तो दस बार सहजादा जी सुं कह चुका है, जवाब पाय चुका है अब देख जे काई हुकम करै, पण यां बाता सुं रस दूटतो जाय है तीसुं श्री जी की खातर मुबारक मै आवै तो महाराजा अजीत सिंघ जी ने समझय कह जौ चाकरी करणी होय

1. बजिनस, उसी तरह की; 2. समय; 3. जुलम, अत्याचार, जिआदती;
4. खिदमत, सेवा

पातसाह जी सूं रस राषणो होय, देस मे फेर खलल करणो न होय राजा राज प्रजा चैन चाहे तो ये बातां अब छोड़ दे, दील लगाय चाकरी करै मुजरो कर दीखावै, गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] ने पकड लायावै सीर (सिर) लै आवै पछै जो जो बातां अरज करै सु सब मंजूर होय अर दीली (दिहली) मे बेटा भांत भांत की फुरमाइस करै तो अखतयार है, पहली पातसाह जी की हजूर खानखानां रीहोनो' थो जो पातसाह जी ओर तरह को भी कही के बाब कहता तो वे समाल लेतो अब तो छेकरां की मजलस² रही है अब लड़का लड़का ही है पातसाह जी खातर मे आवे ही सूं ही कर बेटे है येसा समया मे तो चाकरी सूं बोहत खबरदार रहसी वो ही पेस पड़सी तीसुं श्री जी समझाय दीली (दिहली) सूं कूच कराय डाबर सीताब पधारजो जी अर कुरछेतर पास आवो तब मतालबा की वाजबल अरज कीजे तो सब मंजूर होय जी श्री जी सलामत अबार ताई सब बात रस मे है कूच कर डाबर पधारा तब सब मतलब भी होसी पातसाह जी को दील (दिल) साफ होसी ईजाफा लेसां जागीरां लेसां जो जो चाहसां स सब होसी बल जयादा होसी...सं. 1768 दुती भादवा बदी 11 भोमवार।³

1. रहता था; 2. लड़कों की सभा; 3. मंगलवार

क्रमांक 49

दुती भादरपदा वदी 13, 1768

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 83

अगसत 30, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री जै सिंघ जी

सवासित श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री चरण कमलानं खानाजाद खाकपाय पंचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बदंगी अवधार जौ जी...

दुती भादवा बदी 13 गुरवार भंडारी शाह कुदरतुला जी की साथ शाह अजीम शां जी कने गया अरज की महे तो राजा ने बोहतेरो लीखो पण आये नही जो दखण नरबदा ऊपर रुकसत करो तो जाय तीपर साहजादे जी कही अखतयार है पातसाही ऐतराजी मे आवोगे भंडारी जी बोहत ही कही पण मानी नही तब कही मो ने रुकसत कीजे हुं जाय ले आऊं तब कही जावो लो आवो डाबर आवे पीछे जो अरज मतलब करोगे सो सब मंजूर होयगी पण पहली पातिसाह की खातर मे आवे जो हमारी चाकरी मे तो आवे बदनकसी¹ दूर होय तब जो मतलब कहोगे सु सब होयगे अर घर मे बैठे ही हकूमत करते हो सु कोण सुणे सु अब दीन पांच सात मे भंडारी जी चलसी अर भंडारी जी कहै है मो ने वा भी कही ज डाबर आयां पछे दखनयां री तंबीह ने रुकसत करसां सु कुदरतुला जी तो न कही पण भंडारी जी कहे है य भी भंडारी जी कही गुजरात का सूबा को तो जवाब दीयो जु तुम चाहते हो ज कही ठेड़ की खीदमत होय सु तो हरगज होण की नही तीसुं श्री जी तो महाराजा अजीत सिंघ जी ने समझाय कह जो ज चाकरी ने दील (दिल) दै डाबर आये गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] ने तंबीह करे मुजरो कर दीखावै फेर अरज करेला सु मंजूर होसी अर श्री जी सलामत कदाच खाह न खाह² महाराजा अजीत सिंघ जी भंडारी का आयां ऊपर भी न आवे तो श्री जी तो हरगज रहजो मत जी, कूच कर डाबर पधारजो मतालब सब मंजूर होसी पातिसाह बोहत सुख पासि जी। सं. 1768 भादवां दुती बदी 13 गुर (वार) संझां नै नाहर खां सांभर सु अयो सुणो है...

अरजदासत पचौली जगजीवन दास की मियां पन्ना नै मि. आसौज बदि 14 को सौपी

1. बेविश्वासी; 2. मजबूरन

क्रमांक 50

आसोज वदी 1, (1768)

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 317

सतंबर 16, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

अरजदासती करार मिति दुती भादवा सुदी (2 संतंबर 1711) रविवार की लिखी हजुरी भेजी है तीसुं सारी हकीकती अरज पहुची होयली जी श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती भंडारी व बंदा साहाजादा अंजीम शान जी कै गया था साहीजादै जी रु बरु फुरमाया जो राजां साढेरै कयो आवते नही तब बंदौ अरज करी जो राजों पासी जमीयती बहोत है अर साढेरै आवने मै गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की मुहंम मुकरर होय अर रयायति कुछ न होय तो राजों का निवाह¹ किस भांति होय अर गुरुहि का सबब कर खानखानां छति ले मुवा अर गुरु ही के सबब रुस्तम दील खां खराब हुवा हमारै तो पातसताह जी के बंदगी का नकस² नही अर जै कोई ओर भांती पातसाह जी सौं अरज पहुंचावै जो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] इन सौं मील (मिल) रहया है कै काढ़ी दीया है तो इतराजी पातसाह जी फुरमावै इस वासते राजा साढेरै आने का मुलाहीजा³ करते है तब साहीजादै जी फुरमाया जो तुम पातसाह जी का हुकम बजाय लयावो साढेरै आयां हम राजों को ओर ख्रीदमती फुरमावैगे अर तुम राजों को लिखो जो साढेरै आवनै मै मुलाहिजा न करै तब बदै अरज करी जो नीसान राजों को इस मजमून का इनायत होय तो राजा खातरी जमा⁴ राखी सीताब साढेरै आवै तब साहीजादै जी सपाह (सलार) कुदरतुला को फुरमाया जो तुम नीसान दोनयों राजों को तयार कराई इन कै हवालै करो सो नीसान तयार होये है सो पाछ थे सीताब पहुंचैलो जी।

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामती परगना बहात्र की तखफीक⁵ कै वासतै परवाना करार मिति दुती भादवा सुदी 3 (4 सितंबर, 1711) का लीखया ईनाइत हुवा सो मीती आसोज वदी 1 (16 सितंबर 1711 रविवार) नै आय पहुंचयो बदै परवाना बजनसी⁶ भंडारी को

1. निर्वाह; 2. नुकस; 3. रियायत मांगना; 4. निश्चित;
5. तशखीस, मुकरर, नियुक्ति; 6. उसी तरह की कापी

पढाया तब भंडारी जी कहो जो चलो नवाब कै चलै अर ईस काम की नवाब महाबत खां जी सौं रदबदल करै तब मीती आसोज वदी 1 सवारा' ही नवाब महाबत खां जी कै डेरै गये पहैर एक दीन चढै नवाब खीलवती मै बुलाये अर येता ही मै सब खान जहानी रसाला के लोग सब येकठे होय नवाब की डयोढी आये सोर सांर बहोत किया जो मे डावा² परी हमारी येक लाख बीस हजार रूपयों की तनखाह है अर नवाब हम को पचास हजार रूपये कयों दीलावै है...

1. सवेर; 2. मिसल, सैनिक टुकड़ी

क्रमांक 51
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 90

अशविन (असोज) वदी 8, 1768
सतंबर 24, 1711

श्री गोपाल जी सहाय

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा जै सिंघ जी

महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री चरण कमलानु खानाजाद खाकपाय पंचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जो जी।...

पातिसाहजादे अजीमशं जी को नीसान व सरपाव ले भेजया है जी। पातिसाहजादे लिख दीयो जो साढैरै पौहचां पछे सीताब परवाहरी¹ सीख देसां तीसुं अब श्री महाराजा अजीत सिंघ जी साढैरै पधारजो जी। हकीकति नीसान सुं महाबत खां जी का खत सुं कुदरतुलहा जी का खत सुं मालूम होसी जी।...

लाहोर का मुलाणा पांच बरस सुं हजरत का कुतबो (खुतबा) पढवा दे था नहीं कुछ वांका² मजहब की बातां को झगड़ो थो तीपर हैदराबाद सुं पातसाहजी यां मुलाणां के तंबीह नै व आप को कुतबो पढवा नै लाहोर आयो सुं दोय महीनां सुं लाहोर का मुलाणां ने समझाया पण समझा नै। कैद कीया वो भी समझे नहीं, मीलक (मिलख) रोजीना गांव पाये था -सु तगीर³ कीया। दोय चार बार मारबा⁴ को हुकम कीयो पण मुलाणा न समझा। तब महीना ऐक पहली महाबत खां ने हुकम हुवो थो फोज ले जाय महे कहां हां ती भांत कुतबो पढवे। तब महाबत खां जी बड़ी फोज सुं तयार हुवो जुमा मसजद बाहर की मे केई हजार मुलाणां मरण ने जाय बैठ था तब तो मोकूफ रही। आसोज वदी 6 सुकरवार महाबत खां सब फोज सुं सहर मे गया। ईसलाम खां तोपखानां का दरोगा ने हुकम हुवो सहर मे सारै बाड़ौ रोपै⁵ मुलाणौ सहर कौ कोई जुमा मसजद मै आवण न दीयो। सहर का सब कूचा बंद कीया था महाबत खां जी कुतबो पढाय आयै। कोई कहै है आगे सदा यांका धरम मे पढ़ आया है तीही भांत पढै, कोई कहे हे वा नई तरह बणाई है ती भांत पढै। मीती सं. 1768 आसोज बदी 8.

1. जरूरी; 2. उनका; 3. तबदील; अदला-बदली; 4. कत्ल; 5. बंद करो

क्रमांक 52
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 100

कातिक वदी 8, 1768
अक्तूबर 23, 1711

श्री गोपाल जी सहाय

सवासित श्री महाराज सलामत काती वदी 8 भोमवार महाबत खां के भंडारी (खीवसी) जी दास जी खानाजाद गया था सु महाबत खां खीलवत कर कहीज काती वदी 7 सोमवार अदालत मे पातिसाह जी मु नै फुरमावै था राजौ का क्या चुकाया मैं अरज करी साबैरै हुकम मवाफक आये अब जहां ठेड़ मुकरर होय तहां जाय तब हुकम कीयो अजीत सिंघ पूरब जाय राजा जै सिंघ दखन जाय अर वहां न जाय तो कांगड़ै जाय वहां भी न जाय तो हजूर आवे अब उसवास¹ काहे का रखतै है कोण (कौन) उन कूं खाता है अर हमार उसवास² रखतै है सु, सारी उमर उसवास ही रखैगे कद ही तो उसवास दूर करै अर हम सै उसवास रखते है तो अजीमशान उनका भाणजा है...

अरजदासत पंचौली जगजीवन दास की मीती काति बदी 8 की मीती काती सुदी 14 को पहुंची।

1. बेविशवासी; 2. विश्वास

क्रमांक 53
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 108

कातिक सुदी 6, 1768
नवंबर 4, 1711

महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री जै सिंघ जी

सवासित श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराज श्री चरण कमलानं
खानजाद खाकपाय पंचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी
अवधार जौ जी...

आगे अरजदासत काती सुदी 1 ने चलाई हे तीसुं समाचार मालूम
हुवा होसी जी। अर काती सुदी 5 सनउ साह कुदरतुला जी कै भंडारी
जी व खानाजाद गया अर दीवान भीखारी दास जी ने तो दीन पांच
सुं आजार' है सु अब फुरसत हुई सु कुदरतुला जी कही हुकम हुवो
है महमद अमी खां उपर गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] मकहूर² आयो
चाहै है सु जो कदाच मकहुर महमद अमी खां उपर आये तो दोनु
राजा महमद अमी खां की मदत करै गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] ने
तंबीह करै...सं 1768 काती सुदी 6 रवीवार।

1. बीमारी, दुख, रोग; 2. मकरुह, कहर का मारा

क्रमांक 54
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 114

मागिशर सुदी 9, 1768
दिसंबर 7, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

आगै अरजदासत करार मिति मागिशर सुदी 8 ब्रिसपतवार की हजूर इरसाल करी है तीसुं हकीकति अरज पहुंचो होयगी जी...

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति गुरजबरदार के चलते पातसाह नवाब महाबत खां जी कौ फुरमाया जो राजौ को हसबलहुकम लिखौ जो कोई दिन गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] के फिसाद के वासतै साबैरै रहैं सो नवाब हसबलहुकम तयार कीए तब भंडारी वा बंदे महाबति खां जी के डेरे गए तब नवाब ने फुरमाया जो एह हसबलहुकम इस ही गुरजबरदार के हाथ चलावौ तब नवाब सौं अरज करी जो गुरजबरदार तौ फुरमान व सिरोपाव लै चला तब नवाब ने फुरमाया और अहदी के हाथ ए हसबलहुकम चलावौ...मिति मागिशर सुदी 9 संवत 1768.

क्रमांक 55
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 118

पोस वदी 5, 1768
दिसंबर 19, 1711

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

आगै अरजदासति करार मिति पोस वदी 1 संवत 1768 की हजूरि इरसाल करी है तोसुं सारी हकीकति अरज पहुंची होयगी जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामति पहैली तौ फुरमान तयार हुए तब महाबत खां जी पाससाह जी सौं अरज करी जो हुकम होय फुरमान लै गुरजबरदार चलै तब पातसाह जी फुरमाया जो हसबलहुकम इस ही गुरजबरदार के हाथ लिखौ जो राजा कोए दिन साढैरै रहै हम होसदार खां कौ फौज दे दवाबे (जलंधर दुआब) कौ भेजा है याह पहुंचै तब तक उहां रहै सो दोनों हसबलहुकम लिखि भंडारी जी के हवालै कीए...

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति नवाब महाबति खां जी भंडारी जी वा बंदे सौ बुलाय अर कहा जो तुम सिताब राजौं कौ लिखौ जो कोई दिन साढैरै रहै हसबलहुकम गुजरबरदारौं के साथ सादिर' हुए ही है तुम भी ताकीद सौं लिखो तब भंडारी जी अरज करी जो फुरमान तौ गुरजबरदार आगे लै चले अर हसबलहुकम तौ दिन चार पाछै चले हैं सो फुरमान पहुंचते राजौं कूच कीया होयगा, तब नवाब ने कहा जो तुमहारे ताई खिलाफ हुकमी करना मुनासिब नही फेरि नवाब सवार होय कै साहिजादे जी पास जाय अरज करी जो मालूम यौं होता है राजौं उहां सौं कूच कीया होयगा तब पातसाहजादे जी फुरमाया जै राजौं नै बिना दूसरे हुकम जो कूच कीया तो बुरा कीया खिलाफ हुकमी पातसाहें की करना मुनासिब न थी अब तुम हसबुलहुकम ताकीद सौं लिखौ जो हजार हजार सुवार दोनों राजा उहां राखै अर कूच कीया होय तौ जहां हसबुलहुकम पहुंचै तहां सौं भेजै इस बात को ढील न करै तब महाबत खां जी साहिबजादे जी के हजूरि सौं आय ए समांचार कहे तब भंडारी जी वा बंदे साह

कुदरतुला जी सौं पूछ तब साह जी कही साहिजादे इस बात की बहोत ताकीद फुरमाई है जो राजौं के सुवार उहां खाह न खाह' होसदार खां साथ रहैं तब भंडारी जी वा बंदे डेरे आय आपस मे रदबदल करी जो एक तौ महे खिलाफ हुकमी करी जो सादौरा सौं कूच कराया दूसरा हसबलहुकम रहव (ठहरन) कि वासतै हुए थे सो ढिल सौं चलाए सो अब कया कीया चाहिजै तब सबौं मिली याही जुवाब दीया जो आप की सलाह आवै सो करौ तब भंडारी जी विचारि अर या कहा जो पांच पांच सै सुवार दोनों राजौं के आवैअयां बिना रस रहैलो नही, थे भी सुवारों के वासतै आजदासत करौं हुंतौ तपसीलवार लिखौंहीली, श्री महाराजा धिराज अजीत सिंघ जी का सुवार आवै तो आप भी सुवार भेजैं जी...मिती पोस वदी 5 संवत 1786.

क्रमांक 56
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 121

पोस सुदी 10, 1768
जनवरी 7, 1712

श्री राम जी

श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति

अरजदासती करार मीती पोस सुदी 9 की लीखी ईरसाल करी है जी तीसौं सारी हकीकति अरज पहुंची होयली जी।...

बीरादरी की जागीर कै वासतै बंदा राती दीन बजीद¹ छै। उमेदवार हुं जो श्री महाराजा जी के तेज प्रताप थे सीताब सरंजाम पावै जी। श्री महाराजा धिराज हुकम आयो जो मीती पोस वदी 15 नै हरदुवार सुं कूच किया है सो बंदा नै बड़ी खुस्याली² हुई जी अर बंदा भी अबै ईही बात का उमेदवार हो जो सीताब ही श्री जी का कदम देखुं जी।...मीती पोस सुदी 10, संवत 1768.

1. बजिद, यत्नशील; 2. खुशहाली, खुशी

क्रमांक 57
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 266

फागुन सुदी 13, 1768
मार्च 10, 1712

श्री राम जी

...श्री जी सलामत गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] साद्वैरै आय दाखल हुवो छै कनै आदमी हजार चार पांच छै फेर लोग भेलो¹ हुतो जाय छै ईण जीला (जिला) में नीपट घणी दैसत² छै सारा गांव सूना होय छै मेहमद अमी खां सीहनंद (सरहिंद) मे थो सो यो पीण³ लसकर री सोहरत⁴ कर उठ गयो सो अठा री या हकीकत छै हमै सीताब आयाऊं सरै छै, चैत वदी 6 आठम नवमी तक पहुंच सुं सो मनै श्री जी रा ख्रीदमत में ज्यादा रद बदल करणी छै श्री महाराज जी रा हजूरी पीण सीताब पहुंचणो छै ज्यादा रहण रो अब काम न छै जीण सु अरज छै साम सिंघ जी वगैरै जी केई मोटा⁵ उमराव, होय तयां नै हजूर हीज राखा जै कदाच घरां री सीख⁶ दी हुवै तो मो आवता पेहला बुलाई जै जीउ रद बदल होय ढील रो हुकम न हुवै आवतो सीताबी पीण दास जी साथे छै। ...1768 फागुन सुदी 13 रवरी⁷ रात।

1. इकठ्ठा; 2. दहिशत; 3. फेर; 4. सौरश, फसाद, अफरातफरी; 5. बड़ा; 6. विदाई;
7. रविवार की रात

क्रमांक 58
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 267

फागुण सुदी 13, 1768
मार्च 10, 1712

(अधूरा)

...श्री महाराजा धिराज सलामति भंडारी कहै है जो नारेला सुं ऊपरी की राह होय आवै री जाय...अर गुरु की या खबरी है जो डाबरी आया अर ठेर ठहोर' को कागद लिखे है जी अर अंमाला के फोजदार असवार सै बारां तेरां कि फोज तयार करी है जी अर सेर (शेर) अफगान खां फोजदार उजेणी (उज्जैन) का पाणीपथ आय पहुता अर सरबीलंद खां कि खबर है जो आगरे आया अर साहीजादा फरुखसयर की खबरी है जो सीताब आवै जी मीती फागुण सुदी 13 सं. 1768.

क्रमांक 59
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 270

चैत वदी 13, 1769
मार्च 24, 1712

[अधूरा]

...महमद अमीन खां ने सात हजारी सात हजार असवार कीयो गुरु की तंबीह नै रुकसत कीयो

पातिसाहजादा अयजीदी (अजीऊदीन) को तीस हजारी जात पचीस हजार असवार कीयो पांचवी तारीख रबीअल अवल (अप्रैल 1, 1712) की फरखसयर की तंबीह नै रुकसत करसी

पातिसाह जी को पेसखानो (रबीउल अवल) पांचवी तारीख जहानाबाद नै चलसी एक खबर छै सातवी नै चालै राजा परताप सिंह जी का मनसब की तसदीक¹ नै खानजहां बहादर पास गया था सु पेसदसतां² जवाब दीयो समझकर नवाब की नजर लिख दीजु तसदीकदां तीपर राजा परताप सिंह जी गोपाल सिंह भादोडा व मोहकम सिंह तीनुं मीलवे का पेसदसत ने कही म्हे चार दीन पहली लड़ाई सुं आयां था सु आपको सीर (सिर) ही दे चुका था महमसाजी³ कवां सु दां म्हे तो चाहां था लाख लाख रूपया ईनाम लेसां सु छोडा उलटा टका मागो तो नवाब कहो है जी मोहमसाजी की माकुलनीसां करो तीनै तसदीक दो सु यांके रदबदल हे देख जे काई चुके जो चुकसी, अरजदासत कर सुं राजा परताप सिंह बीस हजार तो देणा कर चुका पण तसदीक दी नहीं।

मुमालक⁴ मह...जागीरां जबती का परवाना चला हुकम हुवो अब जागीर बहाली का परवाना सब नै दो सु जो जो बहाली की ईलतमास अमीरलउमरा ने दे है ती सुं राजा सभा चंद टका की नीसा⁵ कराय ले है तब बहाली का दसखत करावै है।

जबरदसत खां नै अली मरदां खां को खीताब दीयो सात हजारी जात सात हजार असवार कीयो। लाहोर को सूबेदार कीयो।

श्री जी सलामत जहांदार साह तो पातसाह होय चुका चगता

1. प्रमाणित; 2. पेशकार, अरज पेश करने वाला अधिकारी;
3. मुहंमसाजी, मुहंम का खर्च; 4. देश; 5. निशा

(चुगता) की पातसाही इमरा वजीर होय चुका।...अर श्री जी बहादर साह के वाका पछै अरजदासत को जवाब भी खानजाद ने भेजो नहीं सु जो मसलहत करो सु समझ वीचार कीजो बहादर साह के खानखाना का अंधेर को अमल नहे अब ईरानीयां की दीवानी है जो करो समझ करजो यै ईरानी है लड़ै नहीं तदबीर' सुं ही साहजादा ऐक घड़ी मे मार लीया दस दस आदमी भी काम आया नहीं। मीती चैत बदि 13, सं 1769.

क्रमांक 60

वैसाख सुदी 8, 1769

वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 145

मई 3, 1712

श्री गोपाल जी सहाय

महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री जै मीरजा राजा जै सिंघ जी

सवासित श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री चरण कमलान खानाजाद खाकपाय पंचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जो जी।...

श्री जी सलामत अजब तरह को गंजवकस¹ पातिसाह है। अर नवाब की बजुरगी² कहां तक लीखुं। महाराजा सलामत लसकर मैं भांत भांत की अफवाहां उठे है।...

गुरे रबी असानी (रबी उल सानी, अप्रैल-मई 1712) पातिसाहजादो अयजुदी (अजीयुदीन) पचास हजार असवारां की फोज सुं फरखसयर की तंबीह नै रुकसत हुवा। खासो सरपाव डेरै भेजो थो रुकसत होता हाथी घोड़ा जवाहर व कीरोड़ रुपया व ईजाफो दे रुकसत कीया।

पातिसाह जी आप कूच दर कूच साहजहानाबाद नै चला आवै है। तीस कूच चार मुकाम मुकरर हुवा है। फेर देख जै कीतना दीन लगै। नदीयां का पुल तयार हुवा है।...

ईतरा (इतने) उमरावां तो दवाब सरबराह³ करी...अमीरल उमराव। खानदोरां बकसी दुयम। हफीजुला खां बकसी सीउम। तरबीयत खां। अली मरदां खां लाहोर के सूबेदार जबरदसत खां वगेर बेटा की भी सरबराह हुई। अली मुराद खां मुलतान के सूबेदार को नायब। खान जहां बहादर। राजा गोपाल सिंघ भदोड़यौ। बहरमंद खां गुरजदारा कै दारोगै। दाऊद खां दखण के सूबेदार। ईनायतुला खां कसमीर के सूबेदार नासर खां काबल के सूबेदार। हुसैन खां थटा का सूबा को नायब।...

सं 1769 वैसाख सुदि 8 गुरवार सवारा⁴ ही चलाया।

1. कृपा का ढेर; 2. बुद्धि, अकल; 3. प्रबन्धकी जिम्मेवारी; 4. सुबह

क्रमांक 61
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 286

(जेठ सुदी), 1769
(मई), 1712

श्री गोपाल जी सहाय

श्री महाराजाधिराज महाराजा जी श्री मिरजा राजा जै सिंह जी।
सिध श्री महाराजाधिराज महाराजा जी श्री चरण कमलान् खानाजाद
खाक पाय पंचोली जगजीवन दास लिखते...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामत मुहम्मद अमीन खां नवाब अमीरल
उमराव जी नै लिखो जु गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] का लोगां साढौरा
कै मुतसल¹ श्री पातशाह जी का डेरा था जै गढी बनाये थाणों
कायम कीयो थो तद मै आपणी जमयत (जमीअत) सूं सवार होये
गया अर उन सु लड़ाई डाली सु हजरत के इकबाल सु सब आदमी
गुरु का गढी मै था सु कल्ल कीया अर अब लोहगढ़ जाता हूँ गुरु
[बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] सूं लड़ाई डालांगा हजरत के इकबाल सूं सीताब
मुफसद² कूं कैद कर लेता हूँ... संवत जेठ सुदी 1769.

1. नजदीक; 2. फसादी

क्रमांक 62

[वैसाख वदी, 1770]

अरजदासत नं. 145

(अप्रैल 1713)

सवसित श्री धरम मूरति गंगाजल निरमल...सकल गुन निधान महाजान सरवोपमा सहित बिराजमान महाराजा श्री सवाई जय सिंघ देव जी जोगय लिखतं सदा सुभचिंतक भिछुक जेठमल...अपरंच अब एहां के समाचार ऐसे जो पातसाही फोज साढौरा ते कूच करि लोहगढ को चक हेते लोहगढ ते कोस पांच क उरे परी है ते गढ मे ते गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] कहि भेजी कि वहां कहा परे हो सीताब आवो ता पर अबदुल समद खां कूच के लोहगढ सों कोस 2 उरे जाई परे हो सो अब ही रारि भई ना हे ये रारि (राड़ि) भली¹ होयगी गढ में रारि (राड़ि) के सरंजाम भलो² कियो हे ओर गढ को जहा जहा लगाउ हे सो सभ बंद कीनो हे पहार के रूख काटि अरु पहार के आसपास आडे (आड़) गरि दीने हे तिन मे अपने बरकंदाज बेठाए हे ओरु तोपे रहकला सुतनालि ए तो गढ उपर चढाई हे अरु गढ ते नीचे बसती हे ता को सहर कोट हे तहा बरकंदाज बेठाए हे अरु दारु गोली नाज (आनाज) पानी याको बडो संग्रह गढ में कियो हे ओरु जमैयति भली हे असवार तो हजार 2 सुनियत हैं अर पयादे हजार पांच सात सुनियत हे तामे असवार तो गढ ते बाहिर पहारन में राखे हे जो वे तो इनकी रसद व कही इन पर दोर करि जाते हे फोज को दुचितो राखि वो करे है अर पयादे सब गढ में हैं जैसे तरहु जु रारि को कीनों हे या ते जानियति हैं जो रारि भली होयगी अरु साढौरा मे तो जाके बिना सिरदार ऐसे चाकर लरे हे सो अब तो वे चाकर हैं अरु सिरदार माथे पर हे सो अब तो आछे लरेंगे अरु पातसाहीयो फोज घोरा हजार सात कहै सो कछु बहुत नाही ओर जो कछु वसतु रारि में काम न आवे सो गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] ने आगे को चलाई हे गढ ते कोस बारह पर ते अेक ढेर³ हे नामे पांवटे तहां अरु आप गढ में बेठे हे सो अभे लो ऐ समाचार हे।

1. बड़ी; 2. अच्छ; 3. स्थान

क्रमांक 63

भादव वदी 12, [1770]

अरजदासत नं. 139

अगसत 6, 1713

श्री राम जी

सवसित श्री धरम मूरति गंगाजल निरमल...प्रतिपालक सकल गुन निधान सरवोपमा सहित विराजमान श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री श्री श्री सवाई जय सिंह देव जी जोगय लिखतरु सबैरो तो सदा सुभचिंतक भिष्मक जेठमल कौ आसीरवाद अवधार जो जी।...अपरंच आगै गढी (लोहगढ) के समाचार लिखे हे तब तांही भांति है अब भादौ वदी 6 के रोज ईहां मेहु बहुत भयौ दिन राति एक सौ बरसयो ताही बरसात मै गुरु [बंदा सिंह बहादुर] कै ईहा तै पयादे सौ पांच असवार सै दोय भले सरंजाम सौ गढी मै और आए सौ ता के भोर गढी मै निकसि के सिख सै दोनु (दो सौ सिखां ने) मुगिलनु सौ मारु करी सौ पहर दे (दो) इसी मारु हुई जौ सिगरो लसकर उट (ओट, आसरा) दूढतो फिरयो एक ठोर रहि न सकयै आदिमी बीसक नु मारि आपुनि लोहैगढ मै गए और मोरचन तौ आगै गढी के नजीक इन एक गरगज¹ बांधयौ है ताकि उपर तोप चढाई है सौ राति मै सिखयनु निकसि रसानु² सौ बाधि तोप डारि दई श्री जी सलामति फेरि वा तोप कौ दमदमा पर चढावन लागै सौ आदिमी आठ ईहां कै सिखयनु और मारै और ईहां तै बड़ा जोरा भयो तब तोप चढाई और तीनि अलग गढी की मोरचानु सौ घिरी है और आसपास लसकर परयौ है तै उ खाली अलग मै तीरुवा³ लौ निकसै है घोरे भेसि बैल चरावे है घास लकरी चाहत है सो गढी मै ले जात हैं अर इनकी (मुगल) फोज देखि वो करे ये ऐसी हिमति काहूं मै नाही जो उन पर घोरा उठावे अर वे इन कौ हमेसा ललकारै हैं अर पाच सात आदमी इहां के रोज मारि जाहि हैं सो अब लौ ऐसी तरह चली जाति है अब दिन 2 भए है जे ईसे खां के लोग पातसांही और आए हैं अर असवार सौ पाच बरकंदाज सौ दोय सो तिन (तीन) जौन ओर गढी को खाली हो (है) तहा मोरचा दीनै है

1. ऊँचा मंच; 2. रस्से के साथ; 3. तीर कमान

गढी सौ निपट नजीक सो अब उन कौ निकसि वो तौ बंद भयो
 है गढी नीचै नीचै फिरै हैं अर घेरा चारिहुं तरफ सौ भयो है सो
 देखियो कौड दिन टिकें के निकसि जाहि सो अभै तो एसा समाचार
 है पाछे हौहिंगे तै औरज (अरज) लिखैगै मिती भादौ वदी 12.

क्रमांक 64

आसोज वदी 3-5 1770

अरजदासत नं. 161

अगसत 27-29, 1713

ईनत थाव अरजदासत चौबे जेठ मल का मि. आसोज वदी 3 सं. 1770.

अपरंचि नवाब अबदुस समंद खां वगैराह गढी उपर हला कीतया री करी थी परंतु वाजे साथ के लोग दिल चुरा गये तिस पर हला मौकूफ¹ रहया तब गढी के लोग सावधान होय अपने मोरचा कायम कीये सु नवाब नै गढी ढाहने के वासतै तोप तयार करवाई है परंतु गढी सिताब ही हाथ आवैगी गढी मै सरंजाम कुछ रहा नही

साबेरा के और लोहगढ के बीच येक तरवार गढ है तहां बहौत सामा (सामान) है और लोहगढ मै आप (बंदा सिंघ बहादुर) ही है।

मिती भादौ सुदी 11 कौ इनकी कही² पहार की तरफ गई थी सु गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की फौज आय पड़ी सु माफिक तफसील जैल के लूटि ले गये

घोड़ा	ऊँट	बैल	और जानवर
100	30	40	200
मारे गये आदमी	घायल हुये आदमी	पकड़े गये आदमी	
50	20	35	

जब सौं मुहकम सिंघ के मारे की हकीकती सुनी है तब सौं गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] के लोगो नै बहोत जोरा (जोर) पकड़ा है। मिती आसोज वदी 5 कौ फौज असवार सै दोय की तलाये की निकली थी सु गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] के लोगो सौं भागी बलोच खां बड़ा जमादार कामि³ आया और चार सरदारो का मूड⁴ काटि ले गये अबदुस समंद खां बहौत नामरद है और सिपाह बहौत भली है परंतु आपस मै इतफाक⁵ नहीं।

1. मुलतवी, रद्द; 2. खोजी टुकड़ी; 3. मारा गया; 4. सिर; 5. एकता

क्रमांक 65
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 245

चैत वदी 6, 1771
फरवरी 24, 1714

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री मीरजा राजा
सवाई जै सिंघ जी

सिंधि श्री महाराज धिराज महाराजा जी श्री चरण कमलांन बदै
खानाजाद पंचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जो
जी...

श्री महाराज जी सलामत पातिसाह जी सै अरज हुई नानग
(नानक) गुरु मुफसदां¹ बटाला की तरफ फीसाद बोहोत उठायो है
अर अबदुस समंद खां लाहौर को सूबैदार ओर जमीदार मुफसदां
की तंबीह नै गयो है तीसुं सहर को भी लोग डरै है तो उपर हुकम
हुवो अफरसयाब खां सोम (सोइम) बखसी (बखशी सोइम) गनीम
[बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] की तंबीह नै जाय सु अफरसयाब खां चालसी
तद अरजदासत करसुं जी। मीती चैत्र वदी 6 सं. 1771.

1. नानक पंथी उपद्रवी

क्रमांक 66
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 244

चैत वदी 10, 1771
फरवरी 28, 1714

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा श्री मीरजा राजा
सवाई जै सिंघ जी

सिंधि श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा जी श्री चरण कमलान बंदै
खानाजाद पंचोली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जो
जी...

श्री महाराज जी सलामत गुरु की हकीकत आगै तो खानाजाद
अरजदासत करी है जु गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर] परगना कलानौर व
बटाला की तरफ फीसाद घणो कीयो है अर अबदुस समद खां भटां
(मुलतान के भटीयां) की तंबीह नै गयो है तीसुं [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर]
लाहौर सहर का भी लोग दहसत (दहशत) खाय है ती उपर हुकम
हुवो अफुरसयाब खां जाय तंबीह करै अर अबदुस समद खां सीताब
आवै अबार' फेर पै दर पै अरज हुई जु गुरु [बंदा सिंघ बहादुर]
घणो फीसाद कीयो है अर कसबा व गांव लुटै है चाहै है सहर आवै
अर अबदुस समंद खान भटां (भटीयां) की तंबीह नै गयो थो सु
तीस कोस लाहौर सै आयौ है तीसुं हुकम हुवो अफरासयाब खां
की साथ मुजकुर खां खानदौरा को ई व राजा उदोत सिंघ ओडछ
का जमीदार व राव रामचंद बुदेलो व कलाण सिंघ भदौड़ीया वगैहरै
फोज जाय तंबीह करै सु फोज को तुमार² तयार होय है रुखसत
हुवां अरजदासत करसुं जी... मीती चेत्र बदी 10 सं. 1771

1. इस वार; 2 गिणती, शुमार

क्रमांक 67
वकील रिपोर्ट नं. 282

भादव सुदी 11, 1772
अगसत 29, 1715

श्री गोपाल जी सत है जी

श्री महाराजा धिराज महाराजा जी श्री मिरजा राजा सवाई जै सिंह जी... चरनकमलान सेवग खानजाद पंचौली जगजीवन दास लिखतं तसलीम बंदगी अवधार जो जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामत पातसाह जी नै बहोत बरसां सै भगंदर' को आज़ार है सु पानीपथ (पानीपत) की तरफ पधारा तठै मेह व सरदी बहुत हुई तीसुं आज़ार बसेख्र² होय आयो सु फिरंगी³ ईलाज करै है एक सुराख मै तो बती जाय है एक सुख पीचै है तीसुं बसेख्र आज़ार है पन ईयां दिनों मै तो फुरसत है दीन दीन फुरसत होई ही जाय है सीताब आछ होसी जी...

श्री महाराजा जी सलामत तकरब खां खानसामा कै जवाई परगना सीहनंद (सरहिंद) को ईजारो बावन लाख रूपयो सेई ले गयो थो सो परगनो मजकूर (मकरूह) गुरु का सबब सै वीरान है तीसु मवाफक करार कै रूपया पूरा पातसाही खजानै ना भरा तीसु अली अहमद खां आगै फौजदार थो तीनो (तिसको) फेर फोजदारी हुई जी मिती भादव सुदी 11 संवत 1772.

1. गुदा का जख्म, बवासीर; 2. अधिक; 3. यूरोपियन डाक्टर

Biographical Index*

Abdullah Khan, Sayyid, *Qutab-ul-Mulk* : Sayyid Abdullah

Khan, real name Hasan Ali Khan, was the son of Sayyid Mian and descended from Barah branch of the Sayyids. He and his younger brother Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan served with distinction under Aurangzeb. In 1698, Abdullah Khan was appointed *faujdar* of Sultanpur Nazarbar in Khandesh and subsequently he took charge of Aurangabad. He took part in the battle of Jajau in 1707 and Bahadur Shah rewarded him with the *subadari* of Allahabad. Abdullah Khan and his younger brother Hussain Ali Khan enjoyed great clout at the Mughal court and were instrumental in placing Farukhsiyar on the Mughal throne in 1713. Subsequently, the elder brother, Abdullah Khan was elevated to the rank of *wazir*, Prime Minister with the title of *Qutab-ul-Mulk* and the younger brother was conferred with the title of *Amir-ul-Umra*. Because of their strong hold at the Mughal court, they were considered king makers. Later on in April 1719, they overthrew Emperor Farukhsiyar and placed Rafi-ud-Darjat on the throne and also played a role in the ascension of Emperor Mohammad Shah. Because of the court intrigues, they lost their hold and on the instigation of Emperor Muhammad Shah, Hussain Ali Khan was

* This index has been prepared on the basis of Thomas William Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, Shah Nawaz Khan (Nawab Samsam-ud-Daula), *The Maathir-ul-Umra*, besides several other contemporary Persian sources.

killed on 18 September 1720 and Abdullah Khan was taken as prisoner. He died of poison given to him in his food on 11 October 1722.

Abdus Samad Khan, Nawab Samsam-ud-daulah : Abdus Samad Khan, *Diler Jang* and also known as *Nawab Samsam-ud-daula Bahadur Jang*, was the son of Khawaja Abdul Karim, a descendent of Khawaja Ubaidulla Ahrar. He entered the Mughal service in the reign of Aurangzeb with the rank of 600. Subsequently, he rose to the rank of 1500 with the title of *Khan*. During the reign of Jahandar Shah, he held the rank of 7000 and the title of *Ali Jang*. He was made the *subadar* of Lahore in the time of Farukhsiyar and was entrusted with the campaign against Banda Singh Bahadur. He besieged the Sikhs in Gurdas Nangal and ultimately in December 1715 succeeded in getting hold of Banda Singh Bahadur along with about 700 Sikhs. In 1726, he was transferred to Multan with the title of *Samsam-ud-daula* and in his place his son Zakariya Khan known as *Khan Bahadur* was appointed the *subadar* of Lahore. Abdus Samad Khan died in 1739 during the invasion of Nadir Shah.

Afrasyab Khan (Bakhshi Soim) : Afrasyab Khan Bahadur, *Rustam Jang* was also known as Mirja Ajmeri. He belonged to *walashahi* regiment i.e. personal troopers of the Emperor. He had been with Farukhsiyar in Bengal and had taught him the art of wrestling. On his ascension, Farukhsiyar appointed him *bakhshi soim* (third Bakhshi). He died in Delhi on 21 August 1718.

Aghar Khan : Aghar Khan also known as Pir Muhammad served during the reign of Aurangzeb in Assam and in Kabul. He died in 1690. His Son Aghar Khan II was also a Mughal noble. Farukhsiyar, on his succession to the

throne, dispatched Aghar Khan along with Muhammad Amin Khan to fight against the Sikhs. He was alive during the reign of Muhammad Shah. Their villa, Agharabad, near Delhi often finds mention in the Mughal chronicles.

Ajit Singh : Ajit Singh, son of a gold-smith, was the adopted son of Mata Sundri, wife of Guru Gobind Singh. On Guru Gobind Singh's death at Nanded in October 1708, Bahadur Shah invested Ajit Singh with a robe of honour. Bahadur Shah dispatched Sattarsal Bundela to bring Ajit Singh from Delhi to Punjab, obviously to forbid the Sikhs from supporting Banda Singh Bahadur. On 3 June 1711, Ajit Singh had an audience with Bahadur Shah and was given Guru ka Chak (Amritsar) in *jagir*. After the death of Bahadur Shah, he moved to Delhi and got married. He started disobeying Mata Sundri, tried to make himself Guru of the Sikhs, disowned by her he lived in a separate house in Delhi. In January 1725 on the order of Muhammad Shah, Ajit Singh was put to death for killing a Muslim dervish of Delhi. His family and son Hathi Singh moved to Mathura and then to Burhanpur.

Ajit Singh, Raja : Raja Ajit Singh, a Rathor Rajput, posthumous son of Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar (Jodhpur), was born in early 1679 and lived in hiding during the reign of Aurangzeb. As soon as Aurangzeb expired, Ajit Singh issued from his retreat and expelled the Mughal officials from Jodhpur and went on to form an alliance with Swai Raja Jai Singh II of Amber (Jaipur) in order to face the Mughal onslaughts under the new emperor, Bahadur Shah. In April, 1708, Raja Ajit Singh, Raja Jai Singh II and Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur entered into an alliance to fight the Mughals jointly. On his return from the Deccan in 1710, Bahadur Shah

restored Raja Ajit Singh his ancestral throne. He was asked to march to Sadhaura against the Sikhs. In 1716, Raja Ajit Singh gave his daughter in marriage to Emperor Farukhsiyar. He was murdered in 1724 when he was fast asleep at the instigation of his son Abhai Singh.

Ali Murad, Kokaltash Khan : Khan Jahan Kokaltash Khan, *Zafar Jang*, also known as *Sipahdar Khan*, was the son of Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash Khan Alamgiri. His real name was Ali Murad Khan and he was the foster brother of Jahandar Shah. In the time of Bahadur Shah he was granted the title of Kokaltash Khan. In 1712 when Jahandar Shah ascended the throne, he rose to the rank of 9000 and received the title of *Khan Jahan Zafar Jang* along with the office of *mir bakhshi*. He was also given the *subadari* of Allahabad. In the war of succession he sided with his master and died in the battle that ensued between Jahandar Shah and Farukhsiyar in January 1713.

Amar Singh II, Maharna of Udaipur : Amar Singh II was the ruler of Udaipur. In June 1707, when Bahadur Shah was marching towards Deccan to deal with the rebellion of Kam Bakhsh, Amar Singh had sent a letter of congratulations along with a *nazar*. On 30 April 1708, Raja Ajit Singh and Raja Jai Singh II fled from the royal camp from Mandeshwar on the banks of river Nabada and proceeded to Udaipur to enter into an agreement with Amar Singh to oust the Mughals from Rajputana.

Asad Khan : Asad Khan, born about 1631, belonged to illustrious family of Turkmans. He entered the imperial service in 1654 and was married to the daughter of Asaf Khan, the *wazir* of Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb promoted him to the office of second *wazir* and later on in 1676 elevated him to the office of *wazir*. Since 1684, he continuously

served in the Deccan. In the Mughal war of succession in 1707, he espoused the cause of Azam Shah, but later on submitted before Bahadur Shah who took him in his service as *wakil-i-mutlaq*, an office superior to *wazir* but lower to the Emperor and was made the *subadar* of Delhi with the title of *Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf-ud-daula*. He remained in the office of *wakil-i-mutliq* during the reign of Jahandar Shah. In 1713, he and his son Zulfiqar Khan were taken as prisoners and were presented before Farukhsiyar. Whereas Asad Khan's estate was seized, Zulfiqar Khan was killed by the order of Farukhsiyar in 1713. Asad Khan died in 1717.

Aslam Khan, Sayyid : Aslam Khan, a Maulvi from Kabul, was the *subadar* of Lahore in 1710. He was the deputy for Prince Muizzuddin Jahandar Shah, the eldest son of Bahadur Shah. When the Sikh uprising broke out in the Bari-Doab, he could not curb it for which he faced derision at the hands of *ulemas* of Lahore.

Bahramand Khan : Bahramand Khan was the son of Mirza Bahram, a noble and friend of Aurangzeb. After the death of Rooh-ullah Khan in 1692, he was raised to the post of *mir bakhshi*. He died in the Deccan on Oct. 17, 1702 and was succeeded in his office by Zulfiqar Khan, son of Asad Khan. Bahramand Khan was a son-in-law of Asad Khan.

Bayzid Khan, Khashgi : Bayzid Khan Khashgi, also known as Qutubuddin Khan Khashgi, was an Afghan of Qasur in Punjab. He had served in the Deccan and Bahadur Shah rewarded him with the *faujdar* of Jammu and was entrusted to chastise the Sikhs. He took the field against the Sikhs and was killed in action in March 1711.

Bhagwant Rai, Mehta: Bhagwant Rai was the *qanungo* of

Tappa Bharli or Nesta Bharli in Bari-Doab. Most of the historians say that he belonged to the village called Bharat, perhaps it was Neshta now on the Indo-Pak border. He had built a small brick fort in his village which the historians call by the name of Qila Bhagwant Rai.

Bhupat Parkash, the Raja of Nahan : Bhupat Parkash or Bhup Parkash son of Hari Parkash, ruler of Nahan, was also known as Barfi Raja because of the ice laden hills of his state. When Banda Singh Bahadur escaped from Lohgarh to enter into his territory, Bahadur Shah pressed Bhup Parkash hard to arrest him. He was taken prisoner towards the end of 1710, when he came to present himself before Bahadur Shah near Sadhaura. He was put in the cage meant for Banda Singh Bahadur, escorted to Delhi, where he was imprisoned in the fort of Salimgarh. In July 1712, during the reign of Jahandar Shah, he was set at liberty.

Bijai Singh, Kanwar : Kanwar Bijai Singh, son of Bishen Singh of Amber and younger brother of Swai Raja Jai Singh II, was a rival claimant for the throne of Kachhwahas of Amber (Jaipur). In the war of succession in 1707, he had supported Bahadur Shah against Azam Shah. He accompanied Bahadur Shah in the campaign against Kam Bakhsh. When Raja Jai Singh II and Raja Ajit Singh fled from the royal camp, Bijai Singh was granted the title of *Mirza Raja* and given the rank of 4000. On Bahadur Shah entering into peace with the Rajput-chiefs of Amber and Jodhpur, Kanwar Bijai Singh was granted Tonk and Bhusawar in *jagir*. In December 1710, he was attached to the army of Jahandar Shah and in January 1711, took part in the siege of Sadhaura. It is said he was poisoned to death in 1729.

Chin Qulich Khan, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Khan-i-Dauran :

Chin Qulich Khan, also known as *Nizam-ul-Mulk* or Asaf Jahan Khan was the son of Ghaziuddin Khan, a favourite Turkman noble of Aurangzeb. He participated in the Mughal campaigns against the Marathas. In 1699, he was raised to the rank of 3500 and the following year, was made the *subadar* of Bijapur. In the Mughal war of succession in 1707, he abandoned the cause of Azam Shah and thus was invited to the court by Bahadur Shah. He was raised to the rank of 6000 and got the *subadari* of Awadh and was assigned the newly created office of *Khan-i-Dauran Bahadur*. In the reign of Farukhsiyar, he held the governorship of Moradabad and later on Malwa also. Sayyid Brothers, Abdullah Khan and Hussain Ali Khan, were opposed to him. By intrigues and money power he assumed independent power in the Deccan. He died on 22 May 1748 and was buried in Burhanpur. Muhammad Amin Khan who was in charge of the campaign against Banda Singh Bahadur, was the cousin of *Nizam-ul-Mulk*. The Nizams of Hyderabad were his descendants.

Chhattarsal, Bundela : Chhattarsal Bundela, son of Champat Rai of Orchha, was a feudal lord of Bundelkhand. In March 1697, he entered the imperial services and repaired to the Deccan. In February 1700, he was appointed to the command of Satara. During the last days of Aurangzeb, Chhattarsal enjoyed the rank of 4000. On Aurangzeb's death, he returned home. On Bahadur Shah's return from the Deccan in April 1710, Chhattarsal attended the Mughal court near Kota and proceeded northward along with the royal army. In December 1710, he took part in the Mughal campaign against the Sikhs. Under

Farukhsiyar, Chhattarsal remained a favourite and enjoyed the rank of 6000. He died at Panna on 14 December, 1731.

Daud Khan (Panni) : Daud Khan Panni, a Pathan, son of Khizar Khan, was renowned for his reckless courage. He served for several years under Aurangzeb. When Bahadur Shah left the Deccan, he gave the governorship of Deccan to Zulfiqar Khan. As that chief could not be spared from the court, he left the administration in the hands of Daud Khan who was to act his deputy there. In the reign of Farukhsiyar when Hussain Ali Khan, *mir bakhshi*, marched towards the Deccan, Daud Khan received secret orders from the Emperor to liquidate him. However, Daud Khan was killed in the battle near Burhanpur in 1715.

Daulat Beg : A *wallashahi* officer of the Mughal army who was incharge of a regiment of Mughal soldiers travelling along with Bahadur Shah in the Punjab in 1711-12.

Dhrub Dev : Dhrub Dev was a *zamindar* or Raja of Jammu. In June 1711 when on the order of Bahadur Shah, Rustam Dil Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan were hotly in pursuit of Banda Singh Bahadur, Dhrub Dev was ordered to prevent the Sikhs from entering into his territory.

Dilawar Khan : Dilawar Ali Khan, Sayyid, was the *bakhshi* or paymaster of Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan and *mir bakhshi* of Emperor Farukhsiyar. In 1719 during the reign of Muhammad Shah, he saw action against the Rajputs and Jats also. Afterwards on the order of Hussain Ali Khan, he marched against *Nizam-ul-Mulk* and was killed in June 1720 in the battle near Burhanpur.

Farukhsiyar, Emperor : Farukhsiyar, the Mughal emperor, was born in 1687 and was the son of Prince Azim-ush-Shan, the second son of Bahadur Shah. After defeating

Jahandar Shah, he succeeded to the Mughal throne on 9 January 1713. He had not long enjoyed the throne when jealousy and misunderstanding arose between him and the Sayyid Brothers, Abdullah Khan and Hussain Ali Khan, popularly known as the king makers of those times. Farukhsiyar tried vainly to free himself from the stranglehold of Sayyid Brothers but he was deposed in February 1719. He was taken prisoner, blinded and was murdered on 16 May 1719.

Fatehullah Khan : A *wallashahi* officer of the Mughal army, who was in charge of a regiment of Mughal soldiers travelling along with Bahadur Shah in the Punjab in 1711-1712.

Ghazi-ud-din Khan I : Ghazi-ud-din Khan, *Firoz Jang* was the son of Khwaja Abid, a native of Samarqand. His real name was Mir Shihab-ud-din. Born about the year 1649-50, he came to India in 1668-69 and joined the Mughal service with the rank of 300. He served with distinction against the Rajputs and later on against the Marathas. For that he was granted the title of *Firoz Jang* and in 1685 received the standard of *mahi-maratib*. On the siege of Bijapur, he was rewarded with the rank of 7000. He lost his eyesight in an epidemic of bubonic plague at Hyderabad. But he continued in the service and was appointed the Governor of Berar. He refused support to Azam Shah in the war of succession against Bahadur Shah. He was reluctant to attend the Mughal court but Bahadur Shah bestowed upon him the governorship of Gujarat. During the Rajput outbreak of 1708-1709, he was ordered to move against the Rajputs. Ghazi-ud-din Khan patronized the Turani faction at the Mughal Court. Mir Qamar-ud-din known as *Chin Qulich Khan*, *Nizam-*

ul-Mulk Fateh Jang, the founder of Asaf Jah dynasty of Hyderabad, was the son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan. Ghazi-ud-din Khan died on 8 December 1710 at Ahmedabad in Gujarat.

Ghazi-uddin Khan II : Ghazi-ud-din Khan, *Amir-ul-Umra* also styled as *Firoz Jang*, was the eldest son of *Chin Qulich Khan*, Nizam-ul-Malik Asaf Jah of Hyderabad. He was raised to the rank of *Amir-ul-Umra* after the death of *Khan-i-Dauran* in 1739. He did not take any part to oppose Nadir Shah. He died at Aurangabad on 16 October 1752.

Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Ahmed Beg : Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ahmed Beg, *Ghalib Jang*, a man of *Turani* race was born about 1665-66. He was one of the foster brothers of Jahandar Shah. But he fell foul with him and became ardent supporter and later on favourite of Farukhsiyar. In September 1718, he was given the command of artillery; in February 1719, he fought for his master, Farukhsiyar against the Sayyid Brothers but in vain. Later on he supported the cause of Sayyid Abdullah Khan for the *wizarat*.

Gopal Singh Bhaduria : He was in the Mughal army that had besieged Banda Singh Bahadur in Gurdas Nangal in March-December 1715.

Hakim-ul-Mulk : Hakim-ul-Mulk, real name Mir Muhammad Mahdi, was a Physician who held the rank of 4000 during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Hamid-ud-din Khan, Alamgir Shahi : Hamid-ud-din Khan who served under Aurangzeb, was appointed *mir tuzak* or Master of the ceremonies by Bahadur Shah after his succession to the Mughal throne in July 1707.

Hidayat-ullah Khan, Sada-ullah Khan, Khan-i-Saman :

Hidayat-ullah Khan, also known as Sada-ullah Khan, was the son of Inayat-ullah Khan Kashmiri, the *mir munshi* of Aurangzeb. During Bahadur Shah's reign, he held the office of *diwan-i-tan* and *khalisa*. After the death of Munaim Khan, Bahadur Shah appointed him to the office of *wazir* and granted him the title of *Wazarat Khan*. During the reign of Jahandar Shah in early 1712, he was made *Khan-i-Saman* or Lord High Steward. In March 1713, he was strangled to death by the orders of Emperor Farukhsiyar.

Hussain Ali Khan, Sayyid of Barah :

Hussain Ali Khan was the younger brother of Abdullah Khan, *Qutub-ul-Mulk*. During the reign of Aurangzeb, firstly he had the charge of Ranthambor and then of Biana. He fought in the battle of Jajau on the side of Bahadur Shah and was severely wounded. In April 1708, Prince Azim-ush-Shan nominated Hussain Ali Khan to represent him in the *suba* of Bihar (Azimabad). Farukhsiyar sought the help of Hussain Ali Khan to lay his claim to the throne. The Sayyid Brothers were in the forefront to place Farukhsiyar on the throne and held a great clout at the Mughal court. In April 1713, Hussain Ali Khan was appointed to the office of *mir bakhshi*. Because of the court politics, in 1715, Hussain Ali Khan was sent down to the Deccan. Farukhsiyar tried to free himself from the stranglehold of the Sayyids but in the process Sayyid Brothers were successful to depose him and in 1719 placed Rafi-ud-Darajat and then Muhammad Shah on the throne. At the instigation of Muhammad Shah, Hussain Ali Khan was killed on 18 September 1720.

Hussain Khan : Hussain Khan, one of the Sayyids of Barah,

was the *faujdar* of Mewat. He was entrusted with the task to contain the Rajput uprising under Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur and Swai Raja Jai Singh II of Jaipur. He fell fighting with the Rajputs near Sambhar in August 1708.

Inayat-ullah Khan : Inayat-ullah Khan Kashmiri was the *mir munshi* of Aurangzeb. During Bahadur Shah's reign, in 1711, he was appointed to the office of *khan-i-saman*, or Lord Steward. After the death of his son, Hidayat-ullah Khan, in 1713 Farukhsiyar allowed Inayat-ullah Khan to go on pilgrimage of Mecca. On his return in 1717, he was given the rank of 4000 and appointed to the office of *diwan-i-khalisa*. He was the author of *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* and died in 1726.

Ikhlas Khan : Ikhlas Khan, a Hindu *khatri* of Lahore, converted into Islam, held various posts under Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah . He was very close to Zulfiqar Khan and was under his influence. During Jahandar Shah's reign he was raised to the rank of 5000 and was appointed to the office of *darogah-i-arz-i-mukarrar* and *diwan-i-tan*. In July 1714, he was deputy *faujdar* of Jammu. He was well-versed in Persian. He wrote the history of Farukhsiyar and called it *Badshahnama*. After the execution of Hidayat-ullah Khan (Sada-ullah Khan) he retired to devote himself to writing.

Isa Khan Manj : Isa Khan Manj, a Ranghar Rajput *zamindar*, took part on the side of Bahadur Shah in the battle of Jajau in 1707. In recognition of his services, he was given a *mansab* and incorporated in the Mughal services. In 1711, he took active part in the fight against the Sikhs. Bahadur Shah raised him to the rank of 1500 and appointed him Deputy *faujdar* of Bait Jullundhur-Doab. During the reign of Jahandar Shah, Isa Khan rose to the rank of 5000

and also got the *faujdar* of Lakhi Jungle. After Jahandar Shah, he lost his position and often indulged in plunder. In the beginning of 1716, Isa Khan was killed in a battle with Shahdad Khan, a new *faujdar* of Bait Jullundhar-Doab.

Islam Khan : Islam Khan, the son of Shafi Khan and grandson of Islam Khan Mashhadi, was *mir-i-aatish* or General of artillery during the reign of Bahadur Shah. In September 1711, he was deputed to arrest Rustam Dil Khan, who had abandoned his campaign against the Sikhs. After Jahandar Shah, he had retired from the court but Farukhsiyar restored him to the rank of 5000 and appointed him the first *mir-i-tuzak*. He was raised to the rank of 7000 in the reign of Muhammad Shah. He died in 1731-32.

Jahan Shah, Shahzada : Shahzada Jahan Shah, Khujista Akhtar, born on 13 September 1674 was the third son of Bahadur Shah. In the war of succession that ensued after the death of Bahadur Shah, Jahan Shah was killed near Lahore on 18 March 1712 while fighting his brother Jahandar Shah.

Khadag Sain : Khadag Sain, was the *diwan* of Bhup Parkash, the ruler of Nahan.

Khan Zaman Bahadur, Mukarram Khan : Khan Zaman, real name Mukarram Khan, was the second son of Munaim Khan, the *wazir* of Bahadur Shah. In September 1707, he was granted the title of *Khan Zaman*. Towards the end of 1710, he was at Sadhaura to help his father, Munaim Khan against the Sikhs. In early 1711, he received the title of *Saf Shikan Khan Bahadur* and dispatched towards Lahore in order to chastise the Sikhs.

Khawaja Asim, Khan Dauran, Samsam-uddaulah : Khwaja Asim, son of Khawaja Qasim, born in 1672-73, began his career as a *walashahi* trooper of Prince Azim-ush-Shan's regiment. He was very close to Farukhsiyar and joined him in playing and warlike exercises. During the last days of Bahadur Shah, he was in Lahore and enjoyed the title of *Ashraf Khan*. On Azim-ush-Shan's death in the war of succession, he fled to Agra. After a short stay there, he joined Farukhsiyar in Patna with the office of *darogah-i-diwan-i-khas* and for some time held the post of *mir bakhshi* also. On Farukhsiyar's succession, Khwaja Asim was raised to the rank of 6000 along with the title of *Khan-Dauran*. He also held the office of *bakhshi* of the *walashahis*. Farukhsiyar tried to set up Khwaja Asim against the Sayyid Brothers. Throughout his career, he was the supporter of the Hindustan party (Rajputs/Jats) in the Mughal court. He was killed in 1739 in a battle with Nadir Shah.

Khawaja Hussain : Khawaja Hussain was a relative of Kokaltash Khan through his wife. He had married the sister of Kokaltash Khan. Jahandar Shah on his succession in March 1712, conferred upon Khwaja Hussain the title of *Khan-i-Dauran*, promoted to the rank of 8000 and appointed him to the office of second *bakhshi*.

Mahabat Khan, Khanazad Khan : Mahabat Khan, real name Naim Khan, was the son of Munaim Khan, the *wazir* of Bahadur Shah. He was present at Jajau along with his father to assist Bahadur Shah against Azam Shah. On his succession Bahadur Shah conferred upon him the title of *Mahabat Khan*. Shortly after that he was elevated to the office of *bakhshi soim*, third Bakhshi. In December

1710, he was at Sadhaura to assist his father against the Sikhs. Mahabat Khan unsuccessfully supported the cause of Azim-ush-Shan in the war of succession that ensued after the death of Bahadur Shah in early 1712. On Jahandar Shah's victory over his brothers, Mahabat Khan was taken as captive and locked up in a cell in Delhi. He was released by Farukhsiyar in early 1713 along with other prisoners of Jahandar Shah. On 13 December 1715, Mahabat Khan was appointed *darogah* of *gurjabardars* with the rank of 4000.

Mir Jumla : Mir Jumla, a native of Samarqand in Turan, born about 1670-71, came to Hindustan during the reign of Aurangzeb. He obtained the post of *Qazi* of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) and later on that of Patna. He enjoyed the confidence of Prince Azim-ush-Shan who was the governor of Bengal and Bihar. When Farukhsiyar was a Prince, he also came under Mir Jumla's influence. Mir Jumla was with Prince Azim-ush-Shan at Lahore and upon his death marched to Agra to join Farukhsiyar. Farukhsiyar on his succession to throne conferred upon him the titles of *Mutamid-ud-Mulk*, *Mir Jumla*, *Muazzam Khan*, *Khan Khanan*, *Bahadur*, *Muzaffar Jang* and appointed him to the office of Superintendent of the *Khawas* or attendants of the *ghusal-khana* or Privy council room. He was opposed to the Sayyids at the Mughal Court. The executions and severities on the nobles during the reign of Farukhsiyar were attributed to him. In March 1716, Mir Jumla fell from grace and was exiled first to Sarhind and then to Lahore. In September 1708, Farukhsiyar recalled Mir Jumla from Lahore. Mir Jumla was appointed to the office *sadr* which he continued to occupy till his death on 3 January 1732.

Muhammad Amin, Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang, Chin Bahadur : Muhammad Amin Khan was the son of Mir Baha-uddin and cousin of Ghazi-ud-din *Firoz Jang*. In 1697-98, he entered the Mughal service and was appointed *sadr* or head of the religious endowments. In 1704-05, he was given the title of *Chin Bahadur* for his services against the Marathas. On his succession, Bahadur Shah raised him to the rank of 5000 and appointed him the *faujdar* of Moradabad. He took active part in the campaign against the Sikhs in 1710-11. During Jahandar Shah's reign, Muhammad Amin Khan was stationed at Sadhaura to control the Sikh uprisings. He did not take any serious part in the war of succession. In 1713, Farukhsiyar on his succession appointed him the second *Bakhshi* with the title of *Itmad-ud-daulah* and his son Qamar-ud-din was made the *darogah* of *ahdis*. Emperor Muhammad Shah raised him to the rank of 3000 along with the office of *wazir*. Muhammad Amin Khan died on 27 January 1721 after a brief illness. Qamar-ud-din Khan was the son of Muhammad Amin Khan and Zakariya Khan was the son-in-law of Muhammad Amin Khan. Qamar-ud-din Khan escorted Banda Singh Bahadur to Delhi and in 1721 got his father's title *Itmad-ud-daulah*.

Muhammad Yar Khan, Khan Saman : Muhammad Yar Khan, son of Bahman Yar Khan and a grandson of *Yamin-ud-daulah* Asaf Khan, began his career in the reign of Aurangzeb. In 1698, Muhammad Yar Khan was appointed the *subadar* of Delhi. He continued to serve in the same position along with the *qiladari* of the Delhi fort under Bahadur Shah. In the reign of Farukhsiyar, he was promoted to the rank of 5000 along with the office of *Khan-i-Saman*. He retained the office till 1718 when he

was replaced by Inayat-ullah Khan Kashmiri. After the reign of Farukhsiyar, he did not hold any office and died in 1726.

Mohkam Singh, Kanwar : Mohkam Singh, son of Inder Singh of Nagor, was assassinated by Raja Ajit Singh. This incident took place on 25 August, 1713 at Jaswantpura and Farukhsiyar was very much annoyed over this incident.

Mukhlis Khan, Mughal Beg : Mukhlis Khan, also known as Mughal Beg, was a Mughal noble of considerable repute. In 1711, Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan who were assigned the task of containing the Sikhs began to quarrel with each other and Rustam Dil Khan returned to Lahore without orders. Mukhlis Khan was one of the Mughal nobles who were ordered by Bahadur Shah to arrest Rustam Dil Khan which was executed on 24 August 1711.

Mukhtar Khan, Khan-i-Saman : Mukhtar Khan, *Khan Alam Bahadurshahi* had been the *subadar* of Agra prior to the war of succession. He was father-in-law of Bidar Bakht, son of Azam Shah. Before the start of battle of Jajau, he had joined Bahadur Shah. On his succession to the throne, Bahadur Shah conferred upon him the title of *Khan-i-Saman* or Grand Chamberlain.

Munaim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan : Munaim Khan, the son of Sultan Beg Birlas, was born around 1651-52. He served under prince Muhammad Muazzam (afterwards Bahadur Shah) first as *diwan* of the *suba* of Kabul (1705) and thereafter his deputy in the *suba* of Lahore. In the Mughal war of succession in 1707, he actively participated in the battle of Jajau and was severely wounded. On his succession, Bahadur Shah raised his rank to 7000 and

conferred upon him the title of *Khan Khanan Bahadur Zafar Jang*. His eldest son, Muhammad Naim Khan known as *Khanazad Khan* was also known as Mahabat Khan; and the younger son Mukarram Khan was bestowed with the title of *Khan Zaman*. In September 1707, Munaim Khan was elevated to the office of *wazir* or Prime Minister, and his son Mahabat Khan was made the third *bakhshi*. In December 1710, Munaim Khan was assigned the campaign against the Sikhs and was ordered to take the field in Sadhaura. Because of his failure to capture Banda Singh Bahadur, the Emperor was highly displeased with Munaim Khan. Disgraced and dejected at the court, he died on 28 February 1711 after a short illness.

Muizz-ud-din, Shahzada, Jahandar Shah : Shahzada Muizz-ud-din, later on Jahandar Shah, was the eldest son of Bahadur Shah. In the war of succession, he defeated his brothers and ascended the throne on 29 March 1712. In January 1713, Farukhsiyar overthrew him, imprisoned and put him to death on 11 February 1713.

Lutafullh Khan, Sadiq Panipati : Lutafullah Khan was a descendant of one of the Imams, whose family had settled at Panipat during the times of Sultan Balban. Lutafullah Khan had been the chief adviser (*wakil*) of Shahzada Jahan Shah but obtained pardon by paying a huge bribe. On his succession in March 1712, Jahandar Shah appointed Lutafullah Khan to the office of Diwan of Prince Azz-ud-din. Later on in the war of succession he deserted the party of Jahandar Shah and joined the ranks of Farukhsiyar. During the reign of Farukhsiyar, Lutafullah Khan was appointed to the post of *diwan-i-tan*. He supported the Sayyid Brothers at the Mughal Court but indulged in

duplicity as well. From 1721-1726, Lutafullah Khan and his brother Sher Afghan Khan governed the province of Multan alternately and one of their brothers, Diler Khan, was the governor of Thatta.

Nasir Khan : Nasir Khan, was the *faujdar* of Jamraud. He worked as deputy to Shahzada Muazzam (Bahadur Shah) when he held the *suba* of Kabul. He continued to hold this office till his death in 1717.

Qudrat-ullah (Shah) : Shah Qudrat-ullah, son of Shaikh Abdul Jalil of Allahabad, was a man of learning and held great influence on Prince Azim-ush-Shan. Though he held no rank, yet the Mughal nobles sought his advice and help to seek favours from the Emperor. On Farukhsiyar's succession to the throne, Qudrat-ullah waited upon the Emperor but Mir Jumla instigated the Emperor not to pardon Shah Qudrat-ullah. Subsequently, on 30 November 1713, Shah Qudrat-ullah was hanged to death by the men of Mir Jumla.

Raji Muhammad Khan : Raji Muhammad Khan, a native of Gardez near Kohat, first entered the Mughal services through Munaim Khan, the *wazir* of Bahadur Shah. Another source also calls him Husam-ud-din who was made Sayyid Raji Khan Bahadur Dilawar Jang. He was in Lahore in 1712, when Bahadur Shah's sons were fighting over the issue of succession. Raji Muhammad Khan excelled in the fighting and got the office of *mir-i-atash* or general of artillery. In the battle that ensued between Jahandar Shah and Farukhsiyar, Raji Muhammad Khan switched his loyalty to Farukhsiyar.

Rustam Dil Khan : Rustam Dil Khan, grandson of Allah-Wardi Khan Shahjahani, was on the side of Azam Shah.

However, he deserted him and joined Bahadur Shah who rewarded him with the office of *miri-i-tuzak*. In December 1710, he was assigned the task of chastising the Sikhs. Bahadur Shah conferred upon him the title of *Ghazi Khan Rustam Jang* and promoted him to the rank of 4000. In May 1711, Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan were sent to quell the Sikh uprisings in Bari-Doab. However, owing to failure, both of them began to quarrel and send in complaints against each other. In September 1711, Rustam Dil Khan abandoned the campaign and returned to Lahore. He was arrested and released in November 1711 and received the title of *Ghazanfar Khan*. In the war of succession he took the side of Jahan Shah. On Jahandar Shah's succession in March 1713, Rustam Dil Khan was captured and was put to death.

Sabha Chand : Sabha Chand, a Hindu *khatri*, was the *diwan* of *khalsa sharifa* or the public revenue with the title of Raja and was secretary of Zulfiqar Khan, the *wazir* of Jahandar Shah. He was bad tempered and notorious for creating hindrances in the promotion of nobles. On Farukhsiyar's succession to the Mughal throne in January 1713, Sabha Chand was put into prison and his property confiscated. On 5 July 1713, on the order of Emperor, Sabha Chand's tongue was cut as a punishment for the foul language that he had constantly used. He died in January-February 1725.

Sarbrah Khan : He held the position of royal *kotwal*. Bahadur Shah had ordered him to take care of Ajit Singh, the adopted son of Mata Sundri. The execution of Sikhs who had been taken prisoners from Gurdas Nangal was held under his supervision in the first week of March 1716 at Chabutra Kotwali in Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

Sarbuland Khan, *Mubariz-ul-Mulk*, *Namvar Jang* :

Sarbuland Khan, *faujdar* of Karra Manikpur in the *suba* of Allahabad, was the brother-in-law of Prince Azim-ush-Shan and was Deputy of that Prince in the *suba* of Bengal. In the war of succession that ensued between Jahan Shah and Jahandar Shah, he joined the ranks of the latter. During the reign of Farukhsiyar, Sarbuland Khan was appointed the Governor of Awadh and later on of Patna also. In July 1718, Farukhsiyar called Sarbuland Khan to the court. He was promoted to the rank of 7000 along with the titles of *Mubariz-ul-Mulk* and *Namvar Jang*. Later on, he worked as the *subadar* of Agra, Kabul and Gujarat. He died in Delhi on 19 January 1742.

Shamas Khan *Kheshgi* :

Shamas Khan *Kheshgi*, real name Nur Khan, also known as Shamas-ud-din Khan, was a Khalafzai Pathan of Qasur and was the son of Peer Khan. During the reign of Bahadur Shah in March 1708, he obtained the *faujdari* of Doaba Bist-Jalandhar with his headquarters at Sultanpur (Lodhi). Shamas Khan took action against the Sikhs in the battle of Rahon on 11 October 1710. In November 1710, he joined the imperialists to secure Sarhind from the Sikhs. He lost favour and, in his place, Isa Khan Manj was appointed the *faujdar* of Bist Jalandhar-Doab. In March 1711, he came under the attack of Sikhs near Batala and was killed.

Sher Afghan (Ujjaini), *Khan Bahadur* :

Sher Afghan, *Khan Bahadur*, was the brother of Lutufullah Khan Sadiq. He had been in charge of *suba* of Multan on behalf of Kokaltash Khan (Ali Murad Khan). He was the *faujdar* of Panipat, Meerut and Secunderabad in the early years of Bahadur Shah. In 1711, he was appointed the deputy governor of Malwa which was the *subadari* of Prince

Jahan Shah. On his succession in March 1713, Farukhsiyar retained him in the same position under Abdullah Khan, *Qutub-ul-Mulk*, the new *wazir*, who had been made the new *subadar* of Multan. He received the office of *khan-i-saman* and the title of *Azz-ud-daulah* from Muhammad Shah.

Taqarrub Khan, I : Taqarrub Khan, Hakim Muhammad Muhsin, was the *wazir* of Kam Baksh. He took part in the war of succession that ensued between Kam Bakhsh and Bahadur Shah in January 1709 near Hyderabad.

Taqarrub Khan II : Taqarrub Khan, real name Muhammad Jafar, a native of Iran, a steward to Farukhsiyar, got the title of *Taqarrub Khan*. He persuaded Asad Khan and his son Zulfiqar Khan to have an audience with Farukhsiyar. During Farukhsiyar's reign, he was appointed *khan-i-saman* in February 1713.

Tarbiyat Khan : Tarbiyat Khan, son of Zabardast Khan, held the rank of 4000 along with the office of *mir-i-atash* during the reign of Aurangzeb. In the war of succession, he espoused the cause of Azam Shah and was killed in 1707.

Udit Singh, Raja of Orchha : Udit/Udit Singh, Bundela chieftain of Orchha, was in the Mughal army that had invaded Lohgarh in 1710-11 in order to subdue the Sikhs.

Wazir Khan : Wazir Khan, real name Muhammad Jaan, entitled *Qar Talab Khan*, was a native of Kunjpura near Karnal. He held the rank of 3000 and was the *faujdar* of Sarhind. On the order of Emperor, in 1705, Wazir Khan attacked Guru Gobind Singh in Anandpur Sahib. He was responsible for the martyrdom of two younger sons of the Guru. In May 1708, Wazir Khan presented Rs. 8 Lakh to

Bahadur Shah to meet the expenses of war of succession. It is suspected that his agents were responsible for the fatal attack on Guru Gobind Singh in September 1708 at Nanded. On 12 May 1710, the Sikhs under the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur defeated and killed him in the battle of Chapparchiri near Sarhind.

Zabardast Khan : Zabardast Khan, original name Muhammad Khalil, was the governor of Lahore and in 1703-04 helped the hill-chiefs against Guru Gobind Singh. On 29 May 1712, Jahandar Shah again appointed him the *subadar* of Lahore (in place of Asad Khan) along with the title of *Ali Mardan Khan*. On Farukhsiyar's succession to the throne, Zabardast Khan sent 500 *ashrafis* to the new Emperor. However, he could not get the favour and was replaced with Abdus Samad Khan. Zabardast Khan died in Lahore on 2 June 1713.

Zulfiqar Khan, Amir-ul-Umra : Zulfiqar Khan, real name Muhammad Ismail, born in 1657, was the son of Asad Khan, a grand noble of Aurangzeb. He held several appointments in the Mughal government. In the Mughal war of succession in 1707, he joined the ranks of Bahadur Shah and was raised to the rank of 7000 with the title of *Samsam-ud-daulah Amir-ul-Umra Bahadur Nusrat Jang*. He was instrumental to place Jahandar Shah on the Mughal throne in 1712. For that he was confirmed in the office of first *bakhshi* with the title of *Khan Jahan*. After the defeat of Jahandar Shah, he was taken prisoner and before the very eyes of his father (Asad Khan), was strangled to death in 1713.

Glossary

- Aad** (आड़) : Ditch dig in the ground for protection
- Ahadi** (अहदी) : A gentleman trooper serving directly under the Emperor
- Adhe Ayo** (आढे आयो) : Come to oppose or confront
- Ambari** (अंबारी) : Canopied seat on an elephant
- Ambari Risala** (अंबारी रिसाला) : Column of mounted soldiers
- Amal** (अमल) : Rule, control, administration
- Amir-ul-umra** (अमीर उल उमरा) : Noble of nobles
- Asatbal** (असतबल) : Building or place where horses are lodged and fed
- Azroy** (अजरुय) : Your lordship, in the presence of Your lordship
- Arzdasht** (अरजदासत) : Written petition or report put up before a superior person
- Arzi** (अरजी) : A written statement, petition
- Aswar** (असवार) : A soldier on horseback, cavalier, mounted soldier
- Azar** (अजार) : Disease, pain
- Bagsariyah** (Baksariyah) (बगसरीया) : Belonging to the town of Buxsor, foot soldiers whose common arms were swords
- Bahurta Parwana** (बहुदता परवाना) : Return order
- Bahir** (बहीर) : The baggage train, a large body of persons on the move
- Bakhshi** (बखशी) : Pay Master, officer in charge of military administration
- Bal Tod** (बाल तोड़) : Boil caused by uprooting of hair

- Banjara** (बनजारा) : A group of cattle breeders, who earned livelihood by transporting goods from one place to another. They provided supplies to the imperial army
- Bajinas** (बजिनस) : Same, ditto copy
- Bakhatawari** (बखतावरी) : Good fortune
- Bara** (बाड़ा) : Fortified but temporary enclosure
- Bazar** (बजार) : Line of shops
- Balashahi** (बालासाही) : Personal troopers of the Emperor responsible for the security of the Emperor
- Barkandaz** (बरकंदाज) : A soldier equipped with a musket or matchlock
- Bartaraf** (बरतरफ) : Discharge, dismiss, rejection
- Bavri** (बावड़ी) : Well with steps leading down to the level of water
- Biradari** (बिरादरी) : Persons of same clan, community
- Bedh** (बेढ) : Battle, fight
- Beg** (बेग) : Immediately, soon
- Be-Kauli** (बेकौली) : Breach of promise, to go back upon one's word
- Bhar Bardari** (भार बरदारी) : Beast of burden such as elephants, camels, oxen etc.
- Bhat** (भाट) : Warrior; bard or minstrel
- Bhela** (भेला) : Get-to-gether, assemble
- Chauki** (चौकी) : Police station or post, guard house
- Chela** (चेला) : servant, slave or disciple; personal trooper who was fed, clothed and lodged by his employer
- Chhokaran ki Majlis** (छेकरां की मजलिस) : Assembly of children/immature persons.
- Chobdar** (चोबदार) : Mace bearer who used to announce the arrival of Emperor
- Daam** (दाम) : Price, rate, money, value
- Damdama** (दमदमा) : Fortification erected of sand bags

- Damri (दमरी) :** A coin of small value
- Darogah (दरोगा) :** Superintendent of police/ customs' post
- Dastak (दसतक) :** Written order to officers sent on duty into the provinces, royal order, a permit or passport
- Dawa (दावा) :** Claim, legal right
- Deori (डिउड़ी) :** A small mansion, gateway, portico
- Dera (डेरा) :** A tent, temporary dwelling
- Diwan (दीवान) :** Finance Minister; officer in charge of royal court
- Diwan Khana (दीवान खाना) :** Hall of audience
- Farad (फरद) :** A written statement
- Farmaish (फरमाइश) :** An order or demand
- Farman (फरमान) :** A royal order
- Gahina (गहीना) :** Jewellery
- Gargaj (गरगज) :** Watch tower erected to mount a canon in order to storm a fort; ramparts of the fort where artillery guns were kept ready
- Ghari (घड़ी) :** A portion of time equivalent to 24 minutes
- Ghat (घाट) :** Ferry or ford site, steps on the bank of the river
- Gulalwara (गुलालवाड़ा) :** Enclosing screens of royal enclosure usually of red colour, screens put up around the Emperor's tents
- Haif (हैफ) :** Sad, shameful, condemnable
- Haqiqat (हकीकत) :** State of affairs, statement of facts
- Harkara (हरकारा) :** Messenger, man of secret service
- Harkaragi (हरकारगी) :** Secret report
- Hasbul Hukm (हसबउल हुकम) :** A document issued by the wazir on behalf of the Emperor
- Hasil (हासिल) :** Revenue received
- Haveli (हवेली) :** Mansion
- Hod (होड़) :** Race, competition
- Inam (इनाम) :** Prize, reward
- Itfaq (इतफाक) :** Unity, oneness of purpose

- Ihtiman** (इहतमान) : Control, administration
- Iltmas** (इलतमास) : Specified amount
- Irsal** (इरसाल) : Dispatch
- Izafa** (इजाफा) : Increment
- Jabun** (जबुन) : Very bad, difficult, pain
- Jamadar** (जमादार) : Headman; commander of troops
- Jamiat** (जमीअत) : Body of troops
- Jarib** (जरीब) : Distance measuring unit of about 30 yards
- Jauhar** (जौहर) : The well-known Rajput custom of immolation by the women to avoid falling into the hands of enemy
- Jhalar** (झालर) : Net-work
- Jharh** (झड़) : Cloudy weather or rain
- Jiarat** (जिआरत) : Pilgrimage
- Jodi** (जोड़ी) : A pair of gentleman troopers/messengers
- Kabila** (कबीला) : Family member
- Kadam Bosi** (कदमबोसी) : To touch feet; to pay respect
- Kahi** (कही) : Body of pioneers which marched with spades to smooth ground for baggage train to move; advance guard
- Kam Aya** (काम आया) : Died in fighting
- Karkhana** (कारखाना) : Department of the household and arsenal
- Kasid** (कासिद) : Messenger, person who carried a message
- Kasaila** (कसैइला) : Not tasty, bitter
- Kaul Panja** (कौल पंजा) : Oath taken in the form of open hand mark on a piece of paper/cloth
- Khak Pai** (खाक पाय) : Dust of feet
- Khalal** (खलल) : Disturbance
- Khalisa** (खालसा) : Land under the direct control and administration of the crown
- Khanazad** (खानाजाद) : Person brought up under royal care
- Khar** (खार) : Thorn, nail
- Khاردar** (खारदार) : Thorny
- Khansaman** (खानसामा) : Lord steward; domestic servant

- Kharita** (खरीता) : A bag in which a letter sent to an official was enclosed; a letter written from one ruler to another
- Khasi Patri** (खासी पत्री) : Maid-servant of a ruler
- Khatir Jama** (खातिर जमा) : Rest assured, assurance; to feel reassured; not to worry
- Khatir Khah** (खातिर खाह) : Without any delay; with great satisfaction
- Khatoot** (खतूत) : A letter, correspondence
- Khatoot Ahilkaran** (खतूत अहिलकारान) : Letters exchanged between the officials of the state
- Khilat** (खिलत) : A robe of honour usually consisting of five pieces bestowed upon the officials by the ruler.
- Khilwat** (खिलवत) : Solitary place; private place
- Khilwat Khana** (खिलवतखाना) : Private or personal chamber of the Emperor
- Khitab** (खिताब) : Title
- Khoj** (खोज) : Foot prints
- Khoob-band** (खूब-बंद) : Well-wisher
- Khola** (खोला) : Abandoned or deserted house
- Khumar** (खुमार) : Intoxicated; more hard work
- Khutba** (खुतबा) : Sermon by *imam* usually at the end of Friday prayer
- Kos** (कोस) : The unit used to measure the roads in medieval India. The royal *kos* was equal to 2 miles and 6 furlongs under Shah Jahan.
- Kotwal** (कोतवाल) : Person in charge of Police Station, town police superintendent
- Kumak** (कुमक) : Reinforcement
- Kulaf** (कुलफ) : Lock
- Kunkar** (कनकर) : Pillar marking the boundary of a village
- Kuwat** (कूवत) : Power, energy
- Laskar** (लसकर) : Large force, army
- Lugayee** (लुगाई) : Wife, woman

- Mehal** (महल) : Woman, royal ladies
- Mahinedar** (महीनेदार) : A servant employed on monthly salary
- Maqruh** (मकरूह) : Hateful, obnoxious
- Masauda** (मसौदा) : Draft of the letter
- Maukuf** (मौकूफ) : Postpone
- Mausar** (मौसर) : Opportunity; favourable time or chance
- Maveshi** (मवेसी) : Domestic animals such as cows, buffalos etc.
- Mauza** (मौजा) : A Village
- Mazkoor** (मजकूर) : As said earlier, as described earlier
- Milakh** (मिलख) : Revenue free grant
- Marataba** (मरतबा) : Honour or rank
- Mir Atash** (मीर आतिश) : The head or Lord of the artillery
- Mir Tuzak** (मीर तुजक) : Lord of the stages, or incharge of royal march.
- Morcha** (मोरचा) : Front; an entrenchment for defending/ besieging a place
- Muchalika** (मुचलका) : A bond, a written agreement, personal surety
- Mudha** (मूढा) : Mouth, passage
- Mufasid** (मुफसिद) : A riotous person, a person causing public disturbance
- Muhamasazi** (मुहमसाजी) : Expenses incurred on military expedition
- Mujra** (मुजरा) : To greet, to pay respect; to salute
- Mulahiza** (मुलाहिजा) : To favour or oblige; to inspect, respect, honour
- Muqam** (मुकाम) : Halt during a journey for overnight stay; to encamp
- Mutasadi** (मुतसदी) : A clerk; *pargana* level official concerned with grants
- Mutsil** (मुतसिल) : Near
- Nahar** (नाहर) : Lion

- Naqqarah** (नकारा) : Kettle-drum
- Nifak** (निफक) : Jealousy, disunity, enmity
- Nipat** (निपट) : Very high, unique, the only, absolutely, entirely
- Nirakh** (निरख) : Rate of grains
- Nisan** (नीसान) : A letter or an order written by the ruler
- Nisar Gayo** (नीसर गयो) : Escaped, fled away
- Nisha** (निशा) : Satisfaction, promise, assurance, commitment
- Nivah** (निवाह) : Neighbourhood
- Nivajish** (निवाजिश) : Favour
- Pahir, Pahar** (पहर) : Quarter of a day, period of three hours
- Pai dar pai** (पै दर पै) : One after another, step by step
- Palki** (पालकी) : Palanquin, litter
- Parwana** (परवाना) : Letter from a man in power to a dependent, royal order
- Parwahari Seekh** (परवारही सीख) : Immediate leave of absence
- Peshkar** (पेशकार) : Subordinate revenue officer; accounts keeper
- Peshkhana** (पेशखाना) : Advance-house, advance tents sent on to the next camping ground for the Emperor
- Pyada** (पयादा) : A foot soldier
- Qaul Panja** (कौल पंजा) : Oath in the form of open hand mark on a piece of paper or cloth
- Rad badal** (रदबदल) : Discussion, argument and counter argument
- Radi** (राडी) : Armed clash or fight
- Rahkila** (रहकिला) : Wheeled field piece, a small canon
- Rawti** (रावटी) : A small tent
- Risala** (रिसाला) : Cavalry, a body of soldiers on horse back
- Rozina** (रोजीना) : Daily wages
- Rozina Dar** (रोजीना दर) : Daily wages
- Ruqa** (रुका) : Written message
- Rukhsat** (रुखसत) : Leave of absence
- Sabik** (साबिक) : Former, as said earlier

- Sakas** (सकस) : Suspicion, doubt
- Salah daulat** (सलाह दौलत) : Good counseling or advice
- Sanad** (सनद) : A grant, certificate of privileges
- Sarafraz** (सरफराज) : Increase in respect or honour
- Sarafa** (सराफा) : Money changer, jeweller
- Saranjam** (संरजाम) : Preparations, to achieve the objective.
- Sarbrah** (सरबराह) : Administrator, official in charge of arrangement
- Sarat** (सारत) : signal, sign
- Sar Choke** (सरचोक) : In charge of military expedition
- Sar-i-Sawari** (सरे सवारी) : Immediate/sudden movement, coup-de-main
- Sira ki Chauki** (सिरा की चौकी) : In charge of military expedition
- Seekh** (सीख) : To bid farewell, to send off
- Sawar** (सवार) : A trooper on horse
- Swara** (सवारा) : Early morning
- Shahukar** (शाहूकार) : Banker, merchant in general
- Sihbandi** (सिहबंदी) : Local militia
- Siropao** (सिरोपाउ) : Dress of honour, robe of honour
- Sirpech** (सिरपेच) : Ornament of gold or jewels generally worn in front of the turban
- Suhagpura** (सुहागपुरा) : A hamlet of happy wives; the *bewakhana* (widow house) where the widows and families of deceased emperors lived in retirement
- Sutnaal** (सुतनाल) : Gun mounted on a camel.
- Taadi** (तादी) : Oppression, tyranny
- Tadbir** (तैदबीर) : Plan, scheme, procedure or way out
- Tahqiq** (तहकीक) : Inquiry
- Talhatti** (तलहटी) : Foot hills
- Tafsil** (तफसील) : Detailed description
- Tagafali** (तगाफली) : Laziness, negligence, neglect
- Tagir** (तागीर) : Confiscation of *jagir* or title

- Takhfif** (तखफीक) : Decrease
- Talai** (तलाय) : A body of troops on patrol, pool
- Tafant** (तफांत) : Distance
- Talab** (तलब) : Salary in lieu of service
- Tanbih** (तंबीह) : To punish, to exterminate
- Tankhah** (तनख्राह) : Cash value of land grant, payment in cash/land revenue
- Taqid** (ताकीद) : Order of implement with immediate effect
- Tasdiq** (तसदीक) : Certificate
- Tauk** (तौक) : An iron collar put around the neck of a prisoner
- Tazim** (ताजीम) : To pay honour or respect
- Thauhar** (ठैहर) : Place, station, place to stay
- Thana** (थाना) : A military post
- Tirandaz** (तीरांदाज) : Archer
- Tumandar** (तुमनदार) : Head of a body of soldiers
- Tumar** (तुमार) : Dispatch, report, examination, text, estimate
- Turkan** (तुरकान) : Turks, Muslims in general
- Vakil** (वकील) : The state representative/ambassador at the Mughal court
- Vakil Report** (वकील रिपोर्ट) : Report submitted by the *vakils* at the Mughal court
- Wallashahi** (वालाशाही) : Household troops raised and paid by the Emperor out of his Privy purse. They were in charge of the safety of the Emperor
- Waqia** (वाक्या) : Events, news or account of events
- Waqia nigar** (वाक्या निगार) : Diary writer; writer of official diary
- Waqia Swaneh** (वाक्या सवानह) : Description of incident/event
- Wazib-ul-arz** (वाजिब उल अरज) : Statement of rights and liabilities of an estate, rightful petition
- Wakil-i-Mutlaq** (वकील ए मुतलिक) : Vicegerent
- Wazir** (वजीर) : Prime Minister

॥३॥ ॥ श्रीरामेश्वरी लक्ष्मण विजै कट काहेते प्राहाराजा
 धिराज प्राहाराजा श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीनिधि घनीवर लक्ष्मण
 नपात साहील मन्त्र रथा आगा द्वारी शतशे वगना सीन
 श्रीलिपत सेवामुजरे अथधार जोनी चणारास मानास
 जयितेज परता पत्रर नलठेजी श्रीमाहाराज नीरा घडी घ
 डी पल पल रास राचारे अपनाहजेनी
 ॥ अथ श्रीमाहाराजानी व डठेजी श्रीमाहाराजानी साहि
 वठेजी प्रसुमदाधैर वीनगीपुर मावेठेतीण घावसे मपुर
 मावजी श्रीमाहाराज नीराडी लीराधान मपुरगांगले अ
 गलराघ एणतनपुर मावजीनी
 ॥ अथ श्रीनीयलामतये हलागु पञ्चडी यारी मबर आ
 डी घीसी वावात श्रीकाप्र कुडीगुमेह मर अश्रीषा कुमतम
 दीलमां सुवेठर मरिजेर थठेनी सरगयो पठे अगेनी
 कुरीराजा अतो आयो कोठ ए सुपीणवेठर नीराजा घायल
 कुनेगे आदमी घणा क्राम आयाह भैगदुरी मबरठे पाठे उ
 तारीयो सीठाबर आसमप्रि र बोड म कुनी सु अजली ममुनी
 मेह मर अश्रीषा कुमत मदीलमां उग सु पाठा प्रीया गदीरा
 वीठ प्र आया सुणीनिठे अवी सु पातसाहनी पीण असा दसु
 २१० नदीगे इद माल पार कु वठेसे दिखिनी डीण तर प्रजार
 डेठगे ठावणी करै सोनी वडी मा सुअर जली ममुनी
 ॥ अथ श्रीनीयलामत श्रीरस मावार तपसील नार जाडी
 कुघनायते अश्रु लीमेली वीयाठे सोमलु मत्रर सीनी
 उण मा प्र डर लु वी वारने पाठी हठी डतडी नाइत डरा
 वजीनी
 ॥ अथ कुडतार परवाना सदाहीना
 इत डरा वजीनी ॥ १७९ ॥ रात्र सो ठ म २११ ॥ सु डर

Vakil Report No.62, dated 14 June 1711 describes that after giving a tough fight Banda Singh Bahadur has slipped into the hills of Jammu.

सवत १७१८

पत्रोली

नकल परवानो क बिहारी दस
 पत्रोली क सि साठ सूदी
 अ पर कि नसी सुणी तु दी वा
 नजी की फो जस्यो अर खाजा द
 स्यो रा डि हूर सुखा जा दामा रा
 गया अर द धिल वा के आई
 जु आगरा का वा का थै अर ज
 पहो ची तु घडग से बसा न गे वा
 कर गुर का पक ड्या अर महारा
 गा जी श्री अजर स्पंध जी का का
 गल की थै ली नी कली सुवा का
 की फरद की नकल ने जी छे अर
 पात साह जी दी वान जी नै धिता
 व महारा शा जी को व अर निव

Kharita No. 73, dated 13 June 1711 alludes to the interception of a letter of Banda Singh Bahadur for the Rajput Rajas.

जिस फरमाई सुगु रूका कागला
 की कसी तगा फली करणी मुना
 सिवन छी कसी ~~सुख~~ सी सुख
 सी छी जुवात ~~अठ~~ नारि ~~विचती~~
 कागा धे साव धा जीरा सि ज्यो
 कर कर काई सलाह ~~विचा~~
 री छे जु सलाह ~~हो~~ होय सुत
 फसील वार वोरौ सिता वलिष
 ज्यो कर ए समाचार सगला
 दीवान जी स्यो कर जकी ज्यो श
 र कसी सुवर काई ~~जुगु~~ रूल
 धी जंगल की राह होय अत मेकी
 तरफ लावे सु ~~अब~~ डे ~~जुलि~~ धौ
 आयो होय ती को वोरौ त फसील
 वार सिता वलिष ज्यो

Reverse of previous specimen

श्रीमहाराजाधिराजसखामति

॥ क्तगोक्तरज दासतिह्रसालमुरीहैतिसोंसगळीकरजपहुरीहोपु
 जीश्रीमहाराजाधिराजसखामतिपातसाहजीभीसाधवरिहैजोरमजा
 हलाहोरहैकरहकुरिभावुतातिभीमोहरसोंकरजभरिभावुतातिभोंहसम
 मभवहैजोमहैलोभीसुपेदीमरेश्रीमहाराजाधिराजसखामतियुरभीप
 बरिहैजोव्याहनीउतरिगयाश्रीमहाराजाधिराजसखामतिमोसर
 हैजोगूरभीरितेभरेतोंसहस्रोंकरनाइहोसकरमातसाहजीभेद
 डामुजराहोपकरबंदेभीसकरजहैजोमहाराजापातसाहजीभुउमज
 लीकापसाधैरेपयारैयाहैसाधैरेकापनैभोंगराधैहैहमवजापु
 माजोकोराधैहमतिहोतोवारगहीमितीदुतिभजादवावदीअवतपु

Vakil Report No. 75, dated 19 August 1711 informs that Banda Singh Bahadur has crossed the river Beas and it is high time for the Rajput Rajas to join the Mughal campaign.

1. श्रीजीजीसलामत शकुसाठेरै आयदा मल कुये ठे
 नै आद प्रीहजार म्पार पांचे प्रे रलोगनेले कुतो नाम
 ठे ईणजीला मैनी पट्टा लाई साठे सारा गाव मुना
 हो पठे प्रेह मर प्रीषा मी हुने दमे घो मी घो पी ल मर
 ररी सोहरा मर खर गयो मी अठारा या हरी कुत ठे प्रीमी
 ता ब आठ ह आ मरै के वैत यद आठ म नव प्रीता ह पह म्पु
 मो म नै श्रीजीरी म्पु मर मी आठार द वर ल मर रणी ठे नै
 श्रीमाहराज जीरी हु नुर पी ल मी ता ब पह य लो ठे जादा
 रेह ल से अ य द्वा सा ठे जी ल सु न्ना र ज ठे सा मा प्री घ नी व
 गैरे जी म्पे इ प्री ता उ मरा व हो य म नै हु नुर हा ज रा मी जे ह
 दय घ री री सा ष दी कु ये तो मी आ व ता पे ह ल कु ल ई
 जी उ र द व र ल हो य ल न रे कु म्पु म न कु ये आ व तो तो मी
 ता बी पी ल द स नी आ थे ठे मो पु म ता ठे जादा म न ल ह
 रणी ना वै श्री र श्रीजीजीसलामत जी मी घ नी री ता म्पु मु
 ही यो द घारा म श्री घो सो री ल नै पी ल सा धि ल ता आ
 या ठे जा ता वा कु ल ता पूर्वा ना सु नी ज र रा म ना जा द
 कु सा दा म म्पु र ज कु ये जी का ॥ १ ॥ ६६ शा कु र १३ र य र
 रा व

Arzdasht No. 266, dated 10 March 1712 describes that Banda Singh Bahadur has re-occupied Sadhaura and Lohgarh.

॥ स्वस्ति श्री धर्मदूरतिगंगाजलनिर्मलगोष्ठी
 ॥ अनन्यतिपालकसकलछनीनचाननकाजा
 ॥ नसकोपमसीकृतिविराजमानमहाराजीधि
 ॥ राजमहाराजा श्री श्री श्रीनिराजाराजा श्री
 ॥ सबाइजयसिद्धदेवजीगोप्रपति सदासुख
 ॥ चित्तकुनिष्ठकजेठमलाकोआसीबादअन
 ॥ धारजीजी श्री महाराजाधिराजकेओरोमि
 ॥ वाकेगंगजलकवेत्तकसुवनमाचारसद
 ॥ आरोग्यबाहिधेदिनप्रतिधरीधसीपलपलका
 ॥ जतिपरमआनंदरहेअपरवक्रवक्ररुकेस
 ॥ माचारकेनेइनेपुनसाहीफोसाठरोतकनु
 ॥ करिलोहगठकोनेहेतेलोहगठतकेसमब
 ॥ कउरपरीहेतेगठमेंनेमुहदेदिनेप्रतिबह
 ॥ कहापरहेसितापआवेतापरअवदलसमद
 ॥ धाकुकुकेलोहगठलोकेसउरजाइपरहेने
 ॥ अथहीराहेनईनाहीपेरारनेलोहिइगामठ
 ॥ मेंराकेसरजागुनलोविमोहकोहगठके
 ॥ जहाजहिलगाउहेमोलकुवदकोनोहेपहार
 ॥ केरुअकाठिअरुपहारकेआसपासआउर
 ॥ जीनेहेतिनमेंपेनेवरकेदाजवेगोहेओर
 ॥ तोपेरहकलासुतनालिरेतोमठउपरचउर
 ॥ हेअरअउतेनेचेवलीहेताकोसहरकोठे
 ॥ तांहावरहदाजवेओरहेअरदाकूगोलीनाई
 ॥ धानीयाकेबडोलमहुगठमेंकिमोहेओर

Arzdasht No. 145 of April 1713 describes the Sikh and Mughal battle lines at Sadhaura.

॥ स्वस्ति श्री धर्मनुरतिगंगाजलनिर्जलगात्र
 ॥ मनप्रतिपालकसकलगुणनिधानिसर्वो
 ॥ प्रमासिद्धिविराजमश्रीमहाराजाधिराज
 ॥ हाराजा श्री श्री श्रीसर्वाङ्गजयसिद्धव
 ॥ ज्ञोजोग्यलिः साठारातसदासुनचितक
 ॥ निधुकुजेठमलकेआसीवाद्अवधार
 ॥ नोनो श्रीमहाराजाधिराजके आरेगिन
 ॥ विगंगाजलअचवकसुयसमाचागसदा
 ॥ मलचाहियेदिनप्रतिघरीधरेविजातपर
 ॥ मअनदहायअपरचओगगठाकेसना
 ॥ अरलिषहवताहोनातिहअव नोदेवादि
 ॥ किरोजइहोमहुवहुतुनयोदिनुरतिएकसो
 ॥ दरस्योताहीवरसनेमगुरकेइहातपयादे
 ॥ समचअलवारसदायनलेतरंगामसोम
 ॥ जीमअरआएसोतादे नोरहीगठननि
 ॥ कोसकेलिषसेदुनुगिजनुसोमारकरी
 ॥ सोपदुरदएसोमारदईनासिगदोलस
 ॥ इरओठरुतापिस्याएवहाररीजसक

Arzdasht No. 39, dated 6 August 1713 provides insights into the Sikh strategy of warfare and fortification of Lohgarh.

॥ इन्तखाव अरजदास्त चौबेजेदमल क. मि. आसोजव-
संवत १७१७

अपरचिनवाव अबदुसमदसांवगै गठी डिपरहलाकीतया
रीकरीथीपरंतुवाजेसाथकेलोगदिलचुरागयेतिसपरहला
मौकूपरहनातवगठीकेलोगसावघानहोयअपनेमोस्वा
काश्मकीयेसुनवावनैगठीढाहनेकेवास्ततैतोपतयारक
रवाशीहेपरंतुगठीसितावहीहाथआवैगीगठीमेंसरं
जामकुछरहानही

साठौराकेऔरलोहगठकेवीचयेकतस्वारगठहैतहांवहोव
सामाहैऔरलोहगठमेंआपहीहै

मि. जादौसु. ४ औरनकीक हीपहारकीतरफुगरीथीसुगुरी
फोजआयपडीसुमाफिकतफूसीलजैलकेलूदिलेगये

घोडा	उंट	बैलचाली	औरजनम	मारुगयेआ
१००	३०	४०	२००	५०

धामलहुये	पकडेगये	५	५	५
आदमी	आदमी			
२०	३५			

जवसैमुहकमस्यंघकेमारैकीहकीकावि सुजीहै तवसौगुरकेलो
गौजैवहोतजोरापकडहि

मि. आसोजव-पकौ फोजअलवारसैदोगकीतलायेकौ
निकलीथीसुगुरकेलोगौसौनागीबलोचसावडाजमा
दारकामिआयाऔरव्यारसरदरैकामूडकादिलेगये
अबदुसमदसांवहोतनामरदहैऔरसिपाहवहोतनली
हैपरंतुआपसमैरतफाकनही

Arzdasht No. 161, dated 27-29 August 1713 gives a graphic account of a clash between the Sikhs and the Mughal forces near Lohgarh.

श्रीमहाराजाजीसलीमतयातिव्याहजीसैअरजसुंदनानग
 गुरुमुफयदांबखालाभीतरभुफीसादबोहोतउगियोहैअर
 अबहुयमदखालाहोरभोभुवैदारओरजमीदारमुफयदांभी
 तयंहनैगयोहैतीसुयहरभोनीभोगभरैहैतीउपरसुअमहु
 योअफरासयावधांभीभवषनीगनीमभीतवीहनेजा
 गुरुअफरासयावधांयालसीतदअरजदासतअरयाज
 नीअभिव्यदिजागुअ

Vakil Report No. 244, dated 28 February 1714 describes that the
 Sikhs have waylaid the *pargana* of Batala and security of
 Lahore city is at great risk.

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Prof. Balwant Singh Dhillon (born on Feb. 5, 1950) has been the Founding Director (2011–Feb. 2015), Centre for Studies on Sri Guru Granth Sahib, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. He did his Masters in History from Rajasthan University, Jaipur (1974); and in Religious Studies from Punjabi University, Patiala (1976) and was awarded Ph. D. by Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. Since 1979 he has been engaged in teaching and research on Sikh Studies at Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

He specializes in the study and analysis of documents/manuscripts in Rajasthani, Hindi, Gurmukhi and Persian. So far he has published/edited a dozen of books and contributed more than hundred papers published in research journals, books and encyclopaedias. Among his books include *Early Sikh Scriptural Tradition: Myth and Reality* (1999); *Studies on Guru Granth Sahib* (ed.) 2004; *Banda Singh Bahadur Farsi Sarot*, 2011; *Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin* 2012; *Haqiqat-i-Sikhan*, 2014; *Persian Arabic Glossary of Sri Guru Granth Sahib* (co-edited), 2014 etc. Dr. Dhillon has been simultaneously the editor of two research journals—*Journal of Sikh Studies* (2003-2005), and *Perspectives on Guru Granth Sahib* (2003-2005, 2012-2014) both published by Guru Nanak Dev University Amritsar. His contribution to the field of Sikh Studies, especially the study of Sikh scripture, history and religion, the Sikh institutions and their role in the formation of Sikh identity, analysis of contemporary sources of the Sikh tradition and several other deb

SikhBookClub.com history and religion is commendable.

॥ शनतयावक्रजदास्तचोबजेमलक. मि. आसाजवः
संवत् १९७०

अपरचिनचावक्रवुसमदसावगैगठीउप हलाकीतया
रीकरीथीपरतुवाजेसाथकेलोगदिलचुरागयेतिसपरहली
मौकूपरहनातवगठीकिलोगसावघानहोयअपनेमोरनी
काइमकीयेसुनवावनैगठीछाहनेकेवासतैतोपतया
रवाशीहेपरंतुगठीसितावहीहाथकावैगीगठीभोपर
जामकुछरहानही

साठेराकेऔरलोहगठकेवीचयेकतरवारगठहैतहावहोत
सामाहैऔरलोहगठमैआपहीहै
मि. नादोसु. वरकैरनकीकहीपहारकीतरफुगशीथीसुगुरकी
फौजआयपडीसुमाधिकतफुसीलजैलकेलूदिलेगये

घोडा	उर	बैलचाली	औरजना	भारेगयेआ
१००	३०	४०	२००	५०
घासलहये	पकडेगये	६	६	६
आदमी	आदमी			
२०	३५			

जबसौंपुहकमस्पडाकेमारेकीहकीकालिसुनीहैतवसौंगुरकेलो
गौजैवहोतजोरापकडाहै

मि. आसासौजवपकीफौजअसवारसैदोयकीतलायेगौ
निकलीथीसुगुरकेलोगौसौनागीचलोचवावडाजमा
दारकामिआयाऔरन्यारसरदारैकामुडकादिलेगये
अवदुसमदसावहोतनामरदहैऔरसियाहवहोतनली
हैपरंतुआपसमैइतफाकनही



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