THE CITY OF AJMER DURING THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
A POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE & ECONOMIC HISTORY

ABSTRACT

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF
THE DEGREE OF
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IN
HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

In this socio-political study of the city of Ajmer during eighteenth century, an attempt has been made to analyse the following aspects: early history of the city and its development under the Mughals, the city under the later Mughals, during the first half of eighteenth century, with references to Mughal Rajput relation and its impact on Ajmer, conflict between the Rathors and the Marathas, for the control over Ajmer, and finally Maratha dominion over the city. It has been followed by a detail description of the main characteristics of administration during the Mughal rule, and under the Maratha Government. Further, a critical analysis of the growth and organization of Dargah, as an important institution and its impact on the society had also been done. The socio-economic condition of the people of Ajmer, during the period under review, has also been studied in the historical prospectives.

The first chapter deals with the early history of the city of Ajmer, its strategic importance, and the early settlements of the Muslims. It also includes a
brief survey of administrative changes caused by the political developments at centre. The long drawn struggle for dominance over the city that raged between the Delhi government and regional powers of Mandu and Gujarat, and chieftains of Marwar and Mewar, on the one hand, and mutual warfare among these regional powers on the other, has been critically examined in detail. It traces the history of the development of the city under the Mughals and brings it down to the end of Aurangzeb's reign.

The second chapter is devoted to the account of Bahadur Shah's relations with the Rajput chiefs Jai Singh, Ajit Singh and the Maharana of Mewar, on the basis of contemporary Persian, and Rajasthani sources. It has been shown that the main cause of tussle between the Mughal monarch and the Rajput Chiefs was the possession over Jodhpur and Amber, their ancestral homelands. At length these chiefs succeeded in recapturing their capital towns, under the circumstance which were beyond the control of Mughal Emperor. The affairs of the city of Ajmer had also been studied carefully during this period of struggle and unrest.
The third and fourth chapters contain a description of Mughal-Rajput relations and their bearings on the city of Ajmer, under the successors of Bahadur Shah, from Jahandar Shah to Muhammad Shah. With the death of Muhammad Shah in 1748, closed the phase of the effective control of the Mughals over the Ajmer. The city felt the repercussions of these developments, worked by chaos and confusion, particularly in the sphere of administration. During this period the law and order situation deteriorated, and the administrative machinery broke down. These two chapters also indicate the process of social change that affected the position of various classes comprising the society of Ajmer. The Mughal ruling class was replaced by the Rajput and Maratha sardars, and at the lower grade of service, new groups emerged to enjoy economic privileges and political status.

In the fifth chapter, an endeavour has been made to analyse the Rajput-Maratha conflict, over the occupation of Ajmer, during the second half of eighteenth century, in all its aspects and details. How the Rathors were defeated by the Marathas and compelled
to cede Ajmer to the victors, has been explained exhaustively. The factors responsible for the success of the Marathas has been accounted for. Answers to such the questions as what reaction of the local citizens to these wars of aggression, and what were their conditions in the period of strain and stress, have been elaborately provided.

Thus, the first five chapters of the work are exclusively devoted to the political history of Ajmer, and the effects of political developments on the administrative, social and economic conditions of the city during the period under study.

In chapter sixth, an attempt has been made to analyse the main characteristics of the administrative system, established by the Mughals, and major changes effected in its structure and functioning, successively by Rajputs and the Marathas. After the outbreak of Rathor rebellion, it had really become very difficult for the Mughal authorities, to carry on their work smoothly and observe the norms of administrative business, laid down for them. The Marathas abolished
some offices, like provincial sadr, faujdar muhtasib, but retained the services of the Gazi and Kotwal in the city. In the land revenue administration, they introduced new functionaries for revenue collection, as zilladars and tehsildars, keeping qanungo and others under their supervision. The expenditure for the revenue collection was reduced, as assessment of revenue was made on rough estimate, rather on the principles of measurement and calculation of the produce. Their utmost concern being extraction of money from different sources.

The Marathas levied new taxes on the peasants and general public and used high-handed measures in realising them in full. They were not interested in improving the condition of the people, increasing production, or organizing the administration, on firm and permanent lines.

In the seventh chapter, a detail study of the growth and organization of the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, as an institution has been attempted, on the basis of the contemporary historical works and documents related to the dargah. It was a great centre of Chishtiya movement, and a symbol of noble ideals of liberalism and
humanism in the relationship between man and man.

The privileges and duties of officers, like Mutawallī, Sajjadah Nashin (diwan), amin, etc., and their working at this institution have been discussed in detail in this chapter. The position and powers of khadims (religious functionaries) had also been critically examined. They maintained their independent status and position, throughout the period when diwan and mutawallī degraded their dignity, by submitting to whatever authorities came to rule over them. The Mughal pattern of ceremonies, customs and conventions practised at the royal court were all borrowed and strictly enforced by the officials of the shrine in organizing their own functions and prescribing rules of etiquette.

The arrangements of mehfilās (gatherings on various airās, and on every Thursday night) the code of behaviour for the participants, erection of Dal-Badal (special tent) over the heads of officials, services of chobdars (mace bearers) dressed in typical Mughal style, the mashalchī’s (torch bearer.) escorting Sajjada Nashin and the prayers for the king of Islam, during these ceremonies, clearly
indicate the impact of the Mughal culture. The frequent use of the words like Nima, Sarkar, Toshak-Khana, Haft-chowki, ghulam-gardish, Shagird Pesha, bangla etc., by those attached to shrine, show their origin from the Mughal cultural ways, and traditions prevalent at such places.

The pasting of Sandel, conversion of meat preparation into sweet rice in Doq, appointments of Hindus on the posts of mutawwalli, amin, mushrif, grant of daily allowances, and share in langer to non-muslims and tawaifs were the innovations made under the influence of Maratha rule.

Finally the eighth and ninth chapters provide a complete and nearly accurate picture of the socio-economic conditions of the people of Ajmer. In the light of contemporary evidence, it has been sought to suggest that the Mughal culture did not penetrate into the interior village around the city of Ajmer and its impact remained confined to a tiny Muslim minority group, associated with the shrine and a section of Hindu official class, employed in the government service. But
generally there existed communal harmony, in one form, or the other, under all circumstances, through which the city passed, during its long and turbulent history. It was reflected in their commercial and social dealings in every day life. Muslim were generally consumers, whereas Hindus were producers, and thus both were dependent on each other. Hindu and Muslim participated in the fairs and festivals of each other. Many of the muslim festivals generally celebrated at shrine, and a number of fairs held on the various hillocks, around the city. The dargah waqf provided, sufficient amount for these fairs and festivals.

Moreover, a brief survey of the buildings, gardens, rest houses, and new markets had also been made in this chapter. The Marathas played a major role, in the construction work, during the period under review. A large number of buildings of the period, owe their origin to the keen interest the Deccani intruders showed in the development and expansion of the city. They built temples, ghats, rest houses, markets, houses, and also repaired old buildings, whenever it was required.

Undoubtedly the shrine of Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti played key role in the creation of communal harmony and religious tolerance but the .....
functionaries of this sacred place, also contributed to the development of cordial relationship between the two communities. For example, when Ajit Singh in 1709 attached, and besieged Ajmer, Hindus, Muslims and even the kharims of shrine, joined the imperialists, for the defence, of their city, against the Rather invader. The celebrations of Basant by both the communities, the visit of Hindus to shrine on their auspicious days, and their participation in the ceremonies of dargah, definitely helped in cementing the social ties between the larger section of the two communities.

As regards the land revenue system, and the economic condition, of the common people, an attempt has been made to analyse the different kinds of lands, i.e. Khalisa, istimrari, Mafi jagir and Bhum. The system of taxation, specially under the Marathas, when a number of new leived were imposed, and forcefully realised, had been discussed in detail, and its impact on the Common-man had also been brought to light. Thus, a comparative study, between the reign of Mughal, and the rule of Marathas, reveals the fact, that the condition of the people of Ajmer, was far better, even during the last days of Mughal rule, in comparison to the oppressions, and humiliations, they suffered, at the hands of the Deccanis, between
1760-1818. The forceful realization of money by these people, compelled many people, to migrate towards other parts of the region, and it was only after the annexation of Ajmer by the English, that the population of the city increased, and the people were rehabilitated in the city.

The appendices contain besides a list of subehdars, few documents of Rajasthani Persian, Marathi, and English. The Persian documents mainly pertaining to the shrine, have been included to indicate the trend of relations between the khadims and pilgrims, and on the mode of the transfer of the hereditary rights of shrine, by khadims to their respective successors. It also includes a list of yomia-daran (recipients of daily allowance) with amount and the name of grantor.

A marathi sanad of Daulet Rao Sindhia, relating to shrine had also been incorporated, and finally the appointment letter of Mr. Wilder (with instructions in regard of administration) as first English Superintendent of Ajmer had also been enclosed.

The accurately drawn map of the city of Ajmer, showing the boundaries, places of interest and worship, and the buildings, constructed during the period under review had also been attached to the work.
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Thanks to Almighty (Alhamd-o-lil-lah), who has taught man what he knew not (Allamal-insana malam yalam). Praise and salute (Darood and Salam) to Prophet Muhammad S.A.W., who had guided mankind on the right path of truth (Haqq).

Peace be upon Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, my spiritual mentor, and the greatest sufi saint of the Indian sub-continent, who ushered in a great socio-spiritual revolution in the life of masses.

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30 July 1987 AD.
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The study of a capital city of medieval India in the context of political development and social change, constitutes an important element in the various dimensions of modern historiography. Focus of interest in urban growth has led to fruitful researches, which have provided the bedrock to assess the significance of socio-economic transformation of Indian society, as a whole during the medieval period. A capital city was not only the seat of provincial government, but also a centre of trade and commerce and a hub of all political and cultural activities of the region. Such a city lay at the trade routes, directly linked with other major towns of the country, and occupied a strategic position of great military importance. Round the administrative structure, set up in a provincial capital, there emerged concentrations of ruling groups - civil and military, traders, merchants, professional classes, labourers and urban poor, who all shaped the character of the city life and contributed to the viability of the imperial order.

While numerous monographic works on cities and towns of India, more importantly Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi,
Lucknow and Agra have latterly appeared, no independent systematic study of Ajmer has so far been undertaken to reconstruct its history on a new scientific lines, with an emphasis on its socio-cultural identity within the political and economic systems, successively designed by the Mughals, Rajputs and Marathas during the eighteenth century. Whatever was written about Ajmer was in connection with the history of Rajputana, and that, too, in a most perfunctory manner, which is neither novel, nor informative, to add to our knowledge of the story of its rise and fall, changing patterns of local administration, and process of socio-economic growth. Modern historical writings including H.B. Sharda's Ajmer - Historical and Descriptive (1941), Rajendra Joshi's Unnisvin Shataabdi ka Ajmer, (1972), and Ajmer Through Inscriptions (1968) by S.A.I. Tirmizi, are very general in narrative, devoid of a perceptive and balanced formulations of the parameters and ingredients of the political process and their linkage to social change. Moreover, some of the latest works suffer from regional biases, as they are based on one class of source material, and convey the impression of having been written in haste to meet the urges of a particular section of the Indian society.
The present study is an humble attempt to critically analyse the phases and aspects of cultural and economic life in the city of Ajmer within the political and administrative framework that underwent significant changes in the crucial span of the Indian history. It begins, as in the words of Ferdinand Schevill, historical study should under all circumstances start, with the actualities of the political situation, which prevailed in the region in a given period. The political situation was marked by increasing struggle for dominance between the Mughals and the Marathas, and the Marathas and Rajputs, and it ended ultimately in the establishment of the foreign rule over the entire area of which the city of Ajmer was an important part. Since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, till the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ajmer continued a focal point of political activities, over-shadowed by the interplay of forces of power and the inter-state conflicts. The constant strife and warfare affected the traditional power relationship at the local level, and throughout the period the internal atmosphere consequently remained strained. This phenomenon produced effects in a more profound way on the city administration as well as diverse spheres of socio-economic systems. Under these
conditions the city lost its tranquility and prosperity, which it had once enjoyed before the outbreak of the Rathor rebellion, 1679. The decline of the Mughal paramount authority was synchronistic with the eclipse of Rajput glory and power. During this epoch the Rajputs ceased to play a creative role in shaping their own destiny, let alone building a unified strong confederacy which could have served as a bulwark against the expansion of the British imperialism. They even lost their most precious quality uniqueness of character, symbolised by love of independence, chivalry and broad cultural outlook.

Against this political setting the administrative organisation of the city is described in depth, bringing out elements of contrast between the Mughal system, and that established by the Marathas. The Mughal system was moderate and flexible, rooted in the local customs and traditions. The administrative agencies introduced by the Marathas were provisional and imperfect, geared only to meet the pressing needs of enforcing law and order, and realisation of revenues. These were not organised on firm and rational grounds, and therefore, could not take a definite and concrete shape over the years. Mainly concerned with the augmentation of their financial resources
and rigid collection of money, they generally overlooked the
need of organizing their institution on permanent and solid
basis, or improving the condition of the city as a whole.
They gave a larger measure of autonomy to the landholders,
at the expense of the cultivators, and more discretionary
powers to their officers in collecting compulsory military
taxes and other new levies. The contrast is important.
Nevertheless, the Marathas, like the Mughals, accorded to
the people free exercise of their religion, and like them,
constructed several buildings in the city.

It is accompanied by a comprehensive account of the
administrative setup of the dargah of Khwaja Moinuddin
Chishti, which was a central institution in the religious
and cultural life of the Muslims of Ajmer, and living
symbol of spiritual and moral ideals of the Chishtiya
order in India. It is argued that the shrine attracted
thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the country, and
from it flowed streams of spiritual life, long before the
visits of Akbar to the place in the 16th century. The
chapter describes the composition of various religious and
government functionaries, their duties and privileges,
the sources of income for the maintenance of the shrine
and the nature and extent of the government control over
its management. The shrine owned immense resources of income in the form of endowments, besides daily offerings made by the visitors. The largest grants were bestowed by Akbar and his nobles, and since then the trend continued, with varying degrees, till the end of the 18th century. Equally, zealously the Rajputs and the Marathas contributed their respective shares in the grants to the shrine. With the flow of money, there naturally arose feuds of serious nature, among the functionaries, over the distribution and disbursement of funds, paving the way for the government intervention. Akbar resolved the conflict by appointing the Sajjadah or Diwan of his own choice, and readjusted the claim of the feuding factions. The central control once established in this way, grew and became all pervasive incorporating larger fields of activity. The government supervision over the affairs of the shrine made the functionaries (except the khadims) subservient and supplicating, ever eager to dance to the tune of the immediate authorities.

But to understand the character and form of society, the study of socio-economic history is essential, without which the study loses its very basis, and remains only a commentary of events. The chapters denoted to the
analysis of socio-economic factors operating at that period, show the crisis of the old order and emergence of new classes to power and pelf. The Mughals gave way to the local Rajput groups and the Marathas, who attained high position and influenced the society. But social changes, resulting from the transformation of political order did not affect the communal harmony, which continued to hold the two religious communities together in times of tension and turbulence. The thesis, if there is any, on which this work with rest, is that the local people suffered more under both the Rajputs and the Marathas, than under the Mughal rulers.

As regard the economic condition of the people of Ajmer, it has been found that they were subjected to a number of taxes and fines under the Marathas. The wealthy merchants suffered a lot at the hands of the Deccani adventurers, and the landholders, Thakurs and Zamindars were equally oppressed by the Maratha agents and revenue collectors, in the closing years of their rule. The different classes of the population, the rich and the poor, found safety from their high-handed acts in migration to
places outside Ajmer. They paid little or no attention to the development of agriculture. However, during this period a number of repair works at the shrine and at other places in the city were undertaken. Many temples and Dharamshalas were also added at the famous place of pilgrimage at Pushkar. In spite of all these hardship the people of the city were found celebrating their customary fairs, festivals with usual pomp and show. It seems that the endowment of shrine and of other religious places, were the main spirit behind these celebration; which generally bore out all expenditure. A number of Hindus held the offices at shrine, many others were granted stipend from the waqf and even priests of Hindu temples were given monetary support from this great institution, which undoubtedly had served the great cause of communal harmony in the history of the country.

SOURCES:

The historical literature on Rajputana, in the form of manuscripts and published books is wide and exhaustive. But the whole source material is wanting in information with regard to the history of Ajmer city. The information
meagre and fragmentary, is spread over Persian chronicles, documents, Rajasthani and Marathi sources. This information has been collected, pieced together and analysed, to reconstructed the history of the city of Ajmer during eighteenth century. The source material under review has been classified under the following categories.

1) Modern works
2) Contemporary Persian Chronicles and documents.
3) Rajasthan sources comprising Vakil reports, Arm- daashts Kharitas, and Khatut. -i-Ahalkaran etc.
4) Marathi sources and English letters.

Before proceeding to evaluate the contemporary sources of information, an attempt is made in the following section, to critically examine some of the modern works, produced on Ajmer and Rajputana.

(1) Modern works:

There are a number of modern works on the history of Rajputana, or of a state of the region, dealing with the period under study. These works contain references to the history of Ajmer, and provide insights of the political and
socio-economic changes.

First and foremost of all there is Dr. Satish Chandra's *Parties and Politics at the Mughal court*, 1707-1740 (1952), which supplies a detailed analysis of the changing pattern of the Mughal-Rajputs relations. But he is erratic at many places in regard of dates, names, sequence of events, and even about the references of the sources he had consulted and quoted. Moreover, he gives a very brief description about the history of the city of Ajmer, and on that account is not very useful for our purpose.

The next important and possibly the best work, on the history of the successors of Aurangzeb (1707-39) is William Irvine's *Later Mughals* (1922) in two volumes. He had based this work on the contemporary Persian Chronicles, and supplies fairly a good description about Rajputana, as well as about Ajmer city. But on few points he is also mistaken and confused the issues, relating to inter-state rivalries, and Mughal-Rajput relations. For instance, he states that the daughter of Jai Singh of Amber was married to Maharana of Udaipur (Mewar) in 1706, whereas the fact is that Jai Singh himself was married to the daughter of Mewari chief.
Rajput Polity (1977) of G.D. Sharma is an exhaustive history of Marwar, from the time of Maharaja Jaswant Singh (1638) up to the death of Abhay Singh (1749), covering a period of nearly one century. Ajit Singh, his sons Abhay Singh and Bakhat Singh, had an eye on the city of Ajmer, and made a number of serious attempts to have a control over it, therefore, the work contains important references about the city.

The work is based mainly on the vakil reports (Rajasthani) and akhbaarat. But Sharma is defective in regard of dates and in referring vakil Reports. For example, the vakil reports which supply information about Bahadur Shah's urgent calling of Jai Singh and Ajit Singh to Punjab in 1711, had been wrongly referred to, by him in context of the former's calling them to Deccan, which in fact never happened.

His allusion to Vakil Reports in context of Ajit Singh's attack on Ajmer in 1709, is also incorrect. One of the Vakil Report he has referred to, in regard with Jahanjarshah's reign, in fact belongs to the period of Farrukhsiyar. His other mistakes are about the names of various nobles who took part in the campaign of
Rajputana and about the Hijra dates. His assertion that Durgadas had accompanied Bahadur Shah to the Deccan, to fight against Kam Bakhsh, is not supported by any contemporary writer. Finally, his reference to Akbearsat dt. 31 Zil Hij is as tonishing.

H.C. Tikkiwal's Jaipur and the later Mughals 1707-1803 (1974) is the history of the political activities of Sawai Jai Singh and his successors. It is based on a few Persian and some Rajasthan sources, but furnishes meagre information about Ajmer. The work suffers from basic deficiencies, and the writer seems ignorant of a number of terms and titles. To quote, it is to be stated that instead of garwal (military guards) - generally dispatched to escort a chieftain or noble to court), the scholar had used the term of gawwal (singer). He considers Asad Khan and Nizamul-Mulk, two different nobles, whereas the fact is Nizamul-Mulk was the title of Asad Khan, the vakil-i-Mutlaq of Bahadur Shah.

Moreover, many writers have confused Sorath (modern Saurashtra) with Surat, but Tikkiwal goes a step further, as he claims that in 1708, Jai Singh was given the faujdar of Surath, which lies 70 miles east of Jaipur.
Marwar and the Mughal Emperors (1960) of V.S. Bhargava, is another modern work related to the history of a particular state of Rajasthan, but throws some light on Ajit Singh's intention to keep control over Sambhar, Didwana and Ajmer. Bhargava had interpreted the Rathor rebellion as the war of independence, and had zealously defended the cause of Jodhpur against the Mughals. But he could not distinguish between a farman and nishan, which were the imperial deeds; one issued by the King, and the second by a royal prince, for confirmation of position, rank and title.

Azem Shah might have sent a nishan to Ajit Singh in 1706, promising him rank and title in return for his military support in the war of succession, that was to take place after the death of Aurangzeb. It was not a farman as has been claimed by Bhargava.

B.N. Reu's Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors (1943), Col. James Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan in 2 Volumes (1914), are the two other important modern works which throw some light on the history of Ajmer during eighteenth century.
There are some other modern works in Urdu, which though directly related with the affairs of dargah, but throw considerable light in understanding the history of Ajmer during the period under review.

Moin-ul-Auliya (1891) of Qazi Imamuddin, who, himself was a member of diwan family of dargah, is a futile attempt by the author to prove the blood relation of his ancestors (known as diwans) with Khwaja Sahib. It contains several copies of the royal decree (original missing) claimed to have been issued to the diwan of dargah and their family members by the Mughal Emperors, and his nobles from time to time. A careful study of these copies of the documents reveal that majority of these are defective, full of errors, and bear mistakes in regard of date, names of officials, etc. Moreover, in the absence of original documents, it is difficult to consider these sanads as genuine, as has been rightly pointed out by a judge during a Nazar case between Khadims and diwan in 1931. But surprisingly Molvi Bashiruddin has incorporated all these copies of documents in his Paramin-i-Salaatin (1926) without a careful scrutiny of these so-called imperial deeds. Moreover, a number of modern writers had utilised most
of these doubtful and forged copies in their work on shrine and madad-i-meash grants, without making a microscopic study of these records.

Munshi Aminuddin Khan Maftun's *Kitab-ut-tehqiq* (1944) and Hafiz Muhammad Hussain's *Tahqiqat-i-aulede-i Khwaja* (Agra), contain ample evidence, to refute the claim of the diwan family (originally from Nagore) to their descent direct from Khwaja Sahib. Maftun's another work *Tazkirah* (1365 AH - 1947) and Saari Masani's *Jawab Namah* (1949), Khwaja Fakhruddin Gardizi (1928), and *Khuddam-i-Khwaja* (1935) of Molvi Shamshul Ghani are the other few modern works which shed considerable light on the functions, powers, rights of khadim (religious functionaries) in the historical perspective.

*Auha-i-Tawliyat* (1944) of Mirza Abdul Qadir Baig, is an important source of information in connection of dargah administration. It is a collection of all those Persian, Urdu and English documents related to the office of Matawalli of the shrine, since the time of Akbar, to the end of the nineteenth century. It also provides useful information pertaining to other officials of shrine, and also about the revenue free assignments, bestowed for the maintenance of the shrine.
There are a number of contemporary Persian sources, dealing with the later Mughals, which though supply some informations about Rajputana and Ajmer, but very few of these chronicles are exclusively concerned with the history of Ajmer. These writings cover the events and developments that took place during eighteenth century, as there are not only chronicles of the reign of all the later Mughals, but often more than one work, dealing with the history of each reign.

Mir Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai's *siyar-ul-Mutaakherin* (Cal, 1833), Muhammad Ali Khan's *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* (Aligarh MS) and *Sharh-i-Halaat-i-Bahadur Shah Awwal ta Asif-ud-daula* (Aligarh MS) by anonymous writer, are the principal sources for the general history of the eighteenth century. But they contain very meagre information with regard to the city of Ajmer.

*Bahadur Shah Namah* (I.O. Library Ms) of Danishmand Khan, is the only official history of the first two years of the Bahadur Shah's reign. It furnishes day to day account of the Mughal Court and about the appointments,
promotions, transfers of the imperial officials, in the province of Ajmer. It also throws considerable light on the Mughal-Rajput relations and the moderate attitude of Bahadur Shah towards the Rajput chieftains in the early years of his reign.

Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan's *Tazkirit-us-Salaatin-i Chaghta* (Aligarh Ms and ed. of Muzaffar Alam, 1986) is the main source, which supply important facts about the official transactions in Ajmer province, between 1707-24. The author has also given, fairly a good description of Bahadur Shah's two visits of Ajmer, and of the campaigns, the imperial government had launched, against Ajit Singh Rathor, in the first quarter of eighteenth century. However, it has some mistakes regarding the change of Hijra year, and Muzaffar Alam, the editor of this important work, overlooked these.

The second volume of *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Bib. Ind.; Calcutta, 1874), contains a full and well connected account of the later Mughal Emperors, from Bahadur Shah to Muhammad Shah. It is a very valuable source, which furnished details about the political events and adminis-
trative changes, occurred in Ajmer during the period it covers.

Rustam Ali Khan's *Tarikh-i-Hindi* (B.M.Ms.), is the other notable source, on the history of the first half of eighteenth century. Besides providing political developments up to the 23 R.Y. of Muhammad Shah's reign, the author has also given short notices of those saints and religious teachers of Ajmer, who were busy in preaching the doctrines of religion and mysticism, at the shrine of Khwaja Sahib.

The next important source of information, on the period under review, is the *Ibrat Namah* (Patna Ms.) of Mirza Muhammad. He had recorded the events of which he was an eye-witness in a systematic way, and therefore, it is of immense value. The author had criticised the Mughal policy towards Rajput chieftains, and is of the view that if a capable, experienced, and trusted noble had been assigned the task of dealing with the rulers of Amber and Marwar, there was no reason that the matter might have been ended at the early stage.

Another *Ibrat Namah* (Aligarh Ms.) of Muhammad Qasim Alhussaini, mainly deals with the history of Aurangzeb's
successors, from Bahadur Shah up to the downfall of Syed brothers. It supplies useful information about the Rajput activities in the subah of Ajmer.

Some important facts about these rebel Rajahs, and their attitude towards the Mughal government, had also been discussed by Kamraj Nain Singh in his Drat Namah. (B.M. Ms).

Qasim Aurangabadi the author of Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin (B.M. Ms) seems to be the only writer, who besides mentioning the political events of Ajmer, had paid some attention to the socio-cultural activities, that took place during Bahadur Shah's visits to that city.

Shah-Namah-i-Munawwar-ul-Kalam (B.M. Ms) of Shivdas Lucknavi, is the primary source, for the period of Farrukhsiyar, and for the first four years of Muhammad Shah's reign. It contains a detailed description of the successful campaign of Syed Husain Ali Khan (1714), and failure of Muzaffar Ali Khan's expedition (1721), both against Ajit Singh Rathor.
Harcharandas, the author of *Chahar-Gulzar-i-Shujai* (B.M. Ms.), was an eye-witness of the battle of Gagwana (near Ajmer) fought in 1741, between Raja Bakhat Singh of Marwar, and Sawai Jai Singh, ruler of Amber. Rivalries among the Rajput chiefs, had also been dealt with by the author.

*Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi* (B.M. Ms.), is the main authority on the history of Ahmed Shah’s reign. The anonymous writer had supplied the names and dates of appointments, of the governors of Ajmer of this period. It also furnishes the details of Rajput-Maratha rivalry for the control of Ajmer city, and the atrocities and oppression committed by Malhar Rao Holkar and his army at Ajmer in 1752.

Another *Ibrat Namah* (Aligarh Ms) of Faqir Khairuddin Allahabadi is the main source of information regarding the Mughal, Rajput, and Maratha activities in Ajmer during the second half of eighteenth century. The author has given a very lengthy, but useful description of the last Mughal-Rajput joint effort (1778-79), to recover Ajmer city from the clutches of the Marathas.
Maulana Abdul Baari Maani's *Asanid-us-Sanadid* (Ajmer, 1952), which has been wrongly mentioned *Asanid-us-Sanadid* by some modern writers, is a collection of royal farmans, parwanahs and sanads, issued by the Mughal rulers and their nobles, mainly to the khedims of dargah during a long span of time, covering nearly three centuries (1560-1837).

These documents, and the scholarly discussion and detail notes, on them by Baari Maani, provide new and interesting information, with regard to the various aspects of administration, specially revenue free assignments and dargah management. It also shed light on the socio-cultural activities of the people of Ajmer, and the land grants made by the Mughal rulers on the Brahmins of Pushkar.

*Faraamin-i-Salaatin* (1926) is another collection of the royal decrees which contains, some imperial documents alleged to have been issued to the so-called sajjada or diwan family of the dargah of Ajmer. But as these are merely the copies of the original documents, which are missing and bear mistakes about dates, names of officials etc, therefore it creates doubts, and cannot be considered useful for our purpose.
The Waqai Sarkar-i-Ajmer-va-Ranthambhore (Tranc. copy, Aligarh), though covers only two and half years (June 1678-Dec. 1680), is a mine of information about the province and city of Ajmer. Though not directly related to the period under study, but it gives an idea about city administration, its officials, measures adopted for its defence during Rathor rebellion, and of the other socio-cultural activities, in, and around this ancient city.

Moreover, it helps in understanding the changing patterns in this region, due to the Rathor rebellion, which was a turning point in the history of Rajputana.

The Persian records of Maratha History, edited by P.M. Joshi and translated with notes by J.N. Sarkar in two volumes, with the titles of "Delhi Affairs 1761-88 (1953) and Sindhia as Regent of Delhi, 1787, 1789-91 (1954) provides details of Mahadaji Sindhia's activities in Rajputana. These furnish valuable description of the Maratha-Rajput battles, and also provide some important facts about the administration of Ajmer city. It is through these records that it comes to light, that Mahadaji Sindhia made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwaja Sahib in 1791.

Maasir-ul-Umara (Calcutta, 1890), of Shah Nawaz Khan, and Mirza Muhammed's Tarikh-i-Muhammad (Aligarh, 1960)
are the two other principal sources, which are of great value, in regard of the life, career and date of the death of the nobles who had served at Ajmer, during the first half of eighteenth century.

The Akhbaarat-i-darbar-i-Mualla (Mughal Court bulletins and news papers) are the official records from the reign of Aurangzeb up to the deposition of Farrukhsiyar. These, being the daily diary of imperial court, provides useful, and important information about the city of Ajmer.

The Jaipur State Records (Rajasthan state Archives, Bikaner) which contain Akhbaarat, farman, hasbulhukam, parwanahs, beside the vakil reports and other business papers, covering a period of fifteen years (1707-23), are of great utility and provide sufficient material in understanding the attitudes, and political moves, of the Rajput Rajahs in the court politics. They also supply facts about the appointments, transfers, promotions, and activities of Mughal officials in and around the city of Ajmer.

But the most important source for the present study, and which is directly related to the affairs of Ajmer
city, is Akbar-Abdul-Qadir-Khan (Ms Aligarh), narratives of Molvi Abdul Qadir Khan of Rampur. After the occupation of Ajmer by the British Government, when Mr. F. Wilder, second assistant to the resident of Delhi, was appointed as its first superintendent, Abdul Qadir Khan, who was in the service of Mr. Wilder accompanied him to Ajmer, where he worked as sarishtedar (Registrar/Record Keeper), amin of dargah and had also supervised a number of other official works. He has discussed the history of Ajmer in detail and on the basis of the available official records, had prepared a list of the governors of Ajmer from the time of Akbar, upto the end of Maratha rule. Though he is erratic in regard of many names, but this list, when compared with other contemporary sources, appears quite correct.

Moreover, he had mentioned about the buildings, constructed during the Maratha rule, and had also discussed in detail the working of the mint in Ajmer, and the mines of copper and lead are also referred to by him.

As he became an eye witness to the condition of the people of Ajmer, due to the atrocities of Marathas, his
information about Jagirdars, on matters of land revenues, and condition of the common-man is of great value. He had also shed considerable light on the affairs of the dargah, and the customs prevalent there, and being a Wahabi (puritan), he had severely criticized some of these customs, which he considered, as the direct influence of Hindus of the place. As amin of dargah he has found the waqf in hopeless state, due to the dishonesty and corrupt practices of Diwans (Sajjadahs), and Mutawwallis during the Maratha period. The work also furnishes details about the socio-cultural activities in the city of Ajmer. The author was surprised to find a musalman as a pujari in a Hindu temple.

The dargah files (R.S.A. Bikaner) nearly 800 in number, and each of which, contains several papers, exclusively deal with the administration of the shrine, and socio-cultural activities of the people of Ajmer, covering a period of more than 70 years (1818-890). Studies in retrospect, this source material provides ample information about the inner working of shrine, on customs and manners observed there, and about the disputes amongst the Khadims and other officials.

RAJASTHANI SOURCES:

The Rajasthan sources preserved in the State Archives, Bikaner, contain Vakil Reports of Amber state. The Vakil
of Amber posted at the royal court, used to send regular dispatches, to his master, informing him about the happenings and activities of the imperial head quarter. These are of immense value to understand the policies and attitudes of the Rajput rulers during the crucial decade of 1706-1715, and supply some facts about Ajmer city.

Ardhaasht (petitions) are the despatches from high officials of the Amber ruler, posted both in jagir as well as at Mughal court. It covers a period of twenty years (1707-28) and details it provides about the political activities, administrative set up, and changes, revenue system, and socio-religious activities in the subah are quite fascinating and useful in understanding the history of Ajmer during the first quarter of eighteenth century.

Khatut-i-Ahalkaran (letters of inferior officers) which covers upto 1769, supply details about the internal activities of Rajputs, and its bearing on the city of Ajmer.

Lastly, there are Jodhpur-Jaipur Kharitas (a collection of letters exchanged between the rulers of Jodhpur and
Jaipur, which covers the whole of eighteenth century, and even to the modern times. These mainly deals with the political history of Rajputana, and also shed light on the relations between the local chiefs, and their policy towards Marathas. Moreover, these also contain valuable references to the appointments of officer in Ajmer.

Vir Vinod (1886) composed by Kavi Raj Sheyamaldas, supply copies of numerous farmans, pishans and other important documents as well as copies of the letters of the Rajput Rajahs and text of their treaties.

ENGLISH SOURCES:

Particular
H. Compton's *A/ account of European Military adventurers of Hindustan* (London ), highlights the services of the European generals, in the consolidation of Maratha power, in Hindustan during the second half of the eighteenth century. De Boigne, Perron were the two important European generals, who set their foot at Ajmer and helped Marathas in holding and recovering it, from the Rathors.
Col. T.D. Broughton's "Letters from a Mahratta Camp" (1813, London) is an eye-witness account of the author, who visited Ajmer with Daulet Rao Sindhia in 1809-10. He had given fairly a good description of the activities at Dargah, Pushkar, and Sindhia's great reverences to the Muslim saints.

One of the most important English sources of Maratha history is the Poona Residency Correspondence, edited by J.N. Sarkar, G.S. Sardesai (1951), in 14 volumes. Vols. I, VIII, IX, XI and XIV are of importance as far as the history of Rajputana and Ajmer is concerned. It furnishes useful information and detail accounts of the activities of Mahadaji Sindhia, and Daulet Rao Sindhia in Rajputana, and the policies and methods they had adopted to meet the challenges of Rajputs. Vol. XIV is very useful in regard of Daulet Rao Sindhia's visit of Rajputana and Ajmer in 1809-10.

History of the Reign of Shah Alum (1798) by W. Franclin and A.L. Henri Polier's "Shah Alam and his Court" (Calcutta, 1947) are the two other English works, which mainly deals with the history of Shah Alam II, but supply important information about Mahadaji Sindhia's activities in and
around Ajmer, and about Shah Alam’s proposed visit of Ajmer in 1778.

Ajmer Regulations and Notifications, Vol. IX, H to L (Ajmer, 1978) contains settlement reports, and other government documents, bearing on land revenue matters, prepared by the several British officials of Ajmer. It provides details about the land revenue system, Jagirdars, Bhumias, Istimwardars and other zamindars of Ajmer, who flourished at the end of eighteenth century.

The unpublished letters and reports sent by the English superintendents, agents and commissioners of Ajmer Merwarah are preserved in the National Archives of India, Delhi. They cover a wide range of information and are of immense value in regards of the condition of the people of Ajmer, in the pre-British period.

MARATHI SOURCES:

The most important, among the Marathi records for the period under review, is the Selection from Peshwa Daftar edited by S.G. Sardesai in 45 volumes. These are the letters sent by the agents of Peshwa, from different places.
and cover a period of more than a half century 1724-81.
Letters in volumes II, III, X, XII, XIV, XV, XXI, XXIV, 
XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXVIII are useful, for the 
period of our study, and throw new light on Maratha Rajput 
relations and supply details about Ajmer and its surroundings.

_Hidine Daftar_ in two volumes which has been also 
edited by G.H. Khare and others contains important letters, and covers the whole of the first half of eighteenth 
century up to 1761. It furnishes valuable information in 
regard of Maratha - Rajput rivalry and the important roles 
played by Deccanis in the war of succession of these Rajput 
states. It also provides some important information about 
the administration of Ajmer city.

_Maheshwar Darbarachin Ba葲ami Patrea_ edited by 
D.B. Parasnis in two volumes. It consisted of the letters, 
written to Ahaliya Bai Holkar, and Indore government. The 
second volume, which covers the period between 1784-96, is 
very useful for the study of the period under review. It 
shed light on Holkar - Sindhia rivalry in Rajputana, and 
Bijai Singh of Marwar's attempts to exploit this rivalry, 
of the Maratha-generals in his favour.
Poona Akhbaarst, Vols. III and XI are of immense value, in regard of the Maratha's losing and re-capturing of Ajmer between 1897-98

Selection from Satara Raja's and Peshwa's Diaries, edited by G.C. Vad and others in more than 15 volumes (1907), mainly deals with the second half of eighteenth century. It furnishes some fascinating information about the functions and powers of various Maratha officials, and details about various parganahs. It is the main source which shed light on the Maratha administration specially city administration and also supply information about the duties of Kotwal, zillehdar and about taxes and other government levies.

Historical papers relating to Mahadaji Sindhia, edited by G.S. Sardesai, contains about six hundred letters, and covers a period of nearly two decades ((1774-92). These letters throw immense flood of light on Marwar-Maratha struggle for supremacy in Rajasthan, and supply a detail description of Maratha diplomacy, in recovering their lost prestige in Marwar and Ajmer. It is valuable for understanding the problems that Mahadaji Sindhia has faced and his helplessness, in loosing Ajmer to Rathors in 1787, and his super diplomatic moves, in recovering Ajmer in 1790, and reducing Rathor chief, Bijai Singh into dust.
CHAPTER I

Historic Background
Strategic Importance of the city of Ajmer:

Situated between 26° 27' north latitude and 74° 37' east longitude, at the foot of Taragarh hill, on a high plateau in a rocky but picturesque and beautiful valley, surrounded by Naag Pahar (serpent hill) and Madar hill (parts of Aravali range), "Ajai-meroo" "Ajai's hill" or "invincible mountain", occupied a position of great strategic importance in Rajputana, during the medieval period of Indian history.¹

The point d' appui of Rajputana, had served as the watch-tower for the Emperors of Delhi, Sultan of Mandu and Gujarat, for the vigilance over its neighbouring Rajput states of Marwar, Mewar and Amber.

Built on one of its hills, the renowned fortress initially called "Ajaimeru-duroa", then gilla-i-Ajmer in the early Muslim period, Garh-Bethli during Mughal period, and now as Taragarh (star citadel) had provided a strong defensive shield to the indigenous kingdoms against the foreign aggression.² Analysing its strategic importance, Reginald Heber says that it "could with very little European skill be made a

R.C.Bramley: Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rajputana, p. 448.
2. For details see: H.B. Sharda: Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 49-59.
second Gibraltar". The hills and plains in the valley had witnessed many a vicissitudes through which the city had passed and seen intermittent and fateful fighting between the troops of war-lords, striving hard to capture it in order to establish their supremacy over the whole region. Col. Tod during his visit of Ajmer in 1819, had noticed marks of war and rapine visible. As the city lay beside the trade routes between the Gangetic plains and Gujarat, Malwa (onwards to Deccan), it gradually became the seat of commerce and trade and assumed the position of 'entera-pot'.

But the unique feature of Ajmer lies in its religious sanctity. It has been a sacred place for Hindus from the earliest time, who held Pushkar (Pokhar) as one of their oldest tirath, where a famous temple of Brahmaji stands. For Jains Ajmer has great respect, as a number of their famous saints died and were cremated here, at Dada beri.

Abdul Qadir Khani: Waga'ai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 227.
Col. Broughton an associate of Daulat Rao Sindhia is of the view that its principal strength doubtless lies in the ruggedness and acclivity of the hill upon which it is situated. Broughton: Letters from a Man in Camp, p. 2.


where lies numerous Chattries in memory of these saints.\(^1\) But the most important aspect of its religious history is the shrine of the great and outstanding Sufi saint, viz., Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, who arrived here, before the establishment of Muslim rule in India, and since then it occupies a venerated position not only for Muslims of the sub-continent but for non-Muslims as well.\(^2\)

In the last, the founder of Arya-Samaj, Sawami Dayanand Saraswati also chose this place for his last rituals in 1883, adding a new dimension to the religious life of city in modern times.\(^3\)

The following verse in the local dialect indicates the importance of the city:

बखैरा के मायने चार बौद्ध सरनाथ ।
स्वाम शास्त्र की दरगाह कहिये, पुष्कर का कहनान ।
पश्चिमी में पत्थर निकले, सामर झुंग की सान ।।

(Four things are famous of Ajmer, shrine of Khwaja Sahib, sacred bathing at Pushkar, marble mines of Makrana, and salt-lake of Sambhar).

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1. Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, pp. 69, 123-25, 147 (FN) 242.
During the period of early Chauhan dynasties, Ajmer was one of the famous and most flourishing cities of India. The Muslim rulers of Medieval period and their nobles built and added beautiful structures, monuments, public buildings, houses and laid out gardens which enhanced its beauty. It became the capital of subah of Ajmer, the military headquarters of the imperial government, the key city of Rajputana, centre of trade and commerce and the seat of learning, culture, and art. Caine found it "an ancient, beautiful city, full of interest, both historical and architectural, its gay busy bazars and its old houses with carved fronts, some of which are amongst the finest in India, giving added attraction to its superb situation. A well built stone wall with five gateways surrounded the city." 1

Victor Jacquemont who visited Ajmer in 1832, found it the prettiest place he had seen in the plains of India. 2 Harbilas Sharda had observed "remarkable for its picturesque situation and strategical importance, the city of Ajmer lies hemmed in on all sides by hills, well guarded like a gem of peerless beauty and brilliancy, and is associated with hoary

tradition and ages of chivalry and war that have gone for ever. Thus, the position which Ajmer had acquired under its early founders and medieval rulers, continued till the end of the eighteenth century, with varying degrees.

**Early History and Foundation:**

The early history of Ajmer is shrouded in obscurity and there is a difference of opinion among historians about the date of its foundation, and the dynasty which established its rule over the place. It is claimed that the city was founded by Ajaiapal, a Chauhan king in 145 A.D. But Buhler, R.C. Mejumdar, and Dashrath Sharma are of the opinion that Ajaimerou was founded by Ajaipal, son of Prithviraj I at the dawn of twelfth century.

Harbilas Sharda is perhaps right, when he says, that Ajaimerou Doorg was built by king Ajaipal Chauhan, (the famous king of the Sapadlaksh empire with Sambaer as his

1. Ajmer - Historical and Descriptive, p. 23
capital), in the early period of sixth century, and he also had founded a village Ajaiser or Ajaipal, at the foot of Taragarh hill.¹

Moreover, the description of Ajmer given in the local legendary poetry, as well as by Hassan Nizami suggest that the city was a well-developed and prosperous, when the Turks had occupied it at the close of twelfth century.² This gives strength to our view that it has been founded long before the twelfth century and had passed through various phases of growth and every Chauhan ruler had contributed his lot according to the traditions.³


Beside local legendary poetic literature, Hassan Nizami’s praise of the city is quite significant and important, as he was the first authentic Muslim historian, who visited Ajmer with Sultan Shihabuddin Ghori just after the battle of Tarain.


Arnoji or Anaji built the famous Ana Sagar lake, while Visaldev founded Viwla-lake, and built the famous College now known as Adhai-din-ka-Jhonpra. Beside these few important buildings and lakes; a number of temples and other buildings had also been erected by the Chauhan rulers of Ajmer.
Early Muslim Settlements:

According to the local legends, the city of Ajmer was attacked by a Muslim army in the second century of Hijra (105-25/724-43) in the reign of Caliph Hāshim. Roshan Ali Darvesh is said to have assaulted Ajaiya-maru dūra and the Chauhan King Manik Rao also known as Durlabh Rai or Duleh Rai, was killed during this encounter. Other legendary sources supply a detail account of a number of Muslim penetrations, and invasions in that area, before Mahmud of Ghazna marched via Ajmer in his famous campaign of Somath. He plundered the city but did not stay to besiege the fort. The author of Mirat-i-Masudi is of the view that Muslims have some links with Ajmer prior to 401 AH/1010 AD. Dashrath Sharma has referred of a

1. Ajmer-Historical and Descriptive, p. 138
   Waqai Abdul Qadir Khan: (MS), p. 228
   Roshan Ali Darvesh is said to have landed at Anjar port (in Kutch) around 724-26. According to the traditions he was killed during the battle and his grave at Ghughra-Ghati (valley) is still venerated by people as a shrine of a martyr.

2. Early Chauhan Dynasties, pp. 35-36; 38, 40, 44, 45, 60-61, 80-1
   A. B. M. Habibullah: The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, pp. 52-60.
   It is said that Sinharaja, in the tenth century had killed a Muslim General Hatim, and had also defeated Sultan Hajiyuddin and Subugteen, and bore the title of Sultan Garhi (Seizer of Sultan). For details see Ajmer-Historical and Descriptive, pp. 138, 140, 141-42, 143.
   Ana Sagar is said to have been built in order to purify the place of battle and to wash blood of malichas (muslins) Mihajuddin Siraj: Tabagat-i-Nasiri (Tr. Raverty), pp. 449-52.


tax called Turushk-danda, which he thinks probably collected to pay off the Turks or to meet the increased cost of fighting.  

Beside these military activities it should also be noted that long before the advent of Turks in northern India, a number of Muslims from Arabia and Central Asia had settled at Nagore and Ajmer, as merchants, traders and Sufis. This is borne out by a number of shrines and tombs of the settlers, who were distinguished for their piety and social service.

Mujeeb had referred that "a Sufi, Shaikh Abdul Rehman, had settled in Ajmer even before Shaikh Moinuddin, and was the author of the first work in Hindi. He must have had a Muslim settlement serving as base for his missionary operations."  

Further the legends of Salar Sahoo, Salar Masood Ghazi, Masooda village, 3 Shrine of Mansoor-Mohina, Roshan Ali

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1. Early Chauhan Dynasties, p.58.
   It is strange that the learned scholar had not quoted any source for this important piece of information.
3. The Chilla (meditation place) of Salar Ghazi at a hill on the embankment of Ana Sagar lake is still a place of veneration for the people of Ajmer. He is said to have born at Ajmer, where his father, Salar Sahoo, a general and sister's husband of Mahmood Ghazni was posted. 

Masooda village (now an estate of a Rajput chieftain) seems to be founded either by Masood Ghazi after his name or later, by some Commander in name of Sultan Masood of Ghazna. Tarikh-i-Masudi (ED) II, 515-20. Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p. 733.
Darwesh, Targhan and Tagha Saiyids may be cited as an illustration in support of the view that Muslim had a link and settlement in Ajmer long before the invasion of Shihabuddin Ghori.

The City During the Sultanate Period:

The second battle of Tarain in 1192 ended in the defeat of Rai Pithora (Pirthiviraj III) and the conquest of Delhi and Ajmer by Shihabuddin Ghori alias Muizuddin Bin Sa'am. He did not annex Ajmer to his newly founded kingdom of Delhi, though he visited the city in person. He allowed Govind Rai son of Pirthiviraj to rule Ajmer as the vassal Chieftain.

1. The shrines of Mansur/Mohina are on a hill on the east embankment of Ana Sagar lake on way to Pushkar. It is said that Mansur was a head of a contingent posted by Ghazi rulers and Mohina was the daughter of a local chief. Both were killed by the local people, did not approve their relation and affair. Targhan and Tagha whose tombs are on a hill near Taragarh fort, also seems to be martyrs of this period.


Early Chauhan Dynasties, pp. 86-88. Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, pp. 59 (FN 6).
The Chauhans under the leadership of Hari Rai or Harraj, brother of Pirthiviraj, unsuccessfully attempted to recapture Ajmer and dislodge Govind Raj. Outbuddin Aibak, crushed these revolts though once he shut himself in the fort of Ajmer to save his life. Finally he put Ajmer under his direct military administration by appointing a Captain (qilladar) at the fort to maintain its defence with a well-equipped garrison. For administrative convenience Ajmer was made a part of the Nagore Villayat.¹

Shamsuddin Ilutmish had visited Ajmer in 1227/624 AH, and afterwards appointed Malik Nasiruddin Aitunar Bahadur (military governor) of Ajmer and Sambhar.² In 1241, Malik Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan was appointed governor of Ajmer, Nagore and Mandore, by Alauddin Masud.³ Thus Ajmer

³. Tabagat-i-Nasiri (Rev.), . . . pp. 661-62
formed an important part of the village of Nagore that included Bhatinda and other frontier outposts.\(^1\)

It was after the death of Balban in 1287 that Hammir Deva Chauhan taking advantage of the disturbed political condition of Delhi, siezed Ajmer,\(^2\) but he could not keep control for a long time. In 1301 Alauddin Khilji conquered it and annexed to the nexus of his imperial structure.\(^3\)

In 1326, Muhammed Bin Tughlaq marched on Ajmer and after capturing it paid a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti.\(^4\) Encouraged by the forces of disintegration operating throughout the empire the local Chieftain again invaded Ajmer and Maharana Kshithra Singh of Mewar (Chittor) occupied it sometime between 1364-82.\(^5\) In 1398, Zafar Khan, the Tughlaq governor of Gujarat recovered it from Rajputs.\(^6\)

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4. **Sikandar: Mirāt-i Sīkandārī**, p. 18. He also paid a visit to the shrine of Khwaja Saheb.
1423 Saleem Khan, the governor of Multan captured Ajmer from Rajputs, but he was soon defeated and killed by Rana Mal the son of Chonda through stratagem. Rana Mukul is said to have ruled over Ajmer between 1420-33. Maharana Kumbha is stated to have captured Ajmer from Jodha and held it till Sultan Mehmud Khilji of Malwa recovered it in 1455.

It is said that due to the harassment and insults, at the hands of local rulers, the people of Ajmer (probably Khadims and Sufis) went to Mandsaur to plead with Sultan Mehmud Khilji to attack and capture the city and relieve them from the constant troubles and discomforts created by local Chiefs. Mehmud at once marched towards Ajmer and encamped just opposite the grave of Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti. He besieged the fort, compelled its Rajput Commander Gajadhar to open the gates, and killed him during the fight in the battle field.

Mehmud Khilji at first asked Shaikh Qutb-uddin Chishti, a wellknown great grandson of the Khwaja Saheb to held it as

2. Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors, p. XVI.
his jāgīr, but he politely declined the offer and wished to accompany the Sultan back to Mandu. Khwaja Naimatullah with the title of Saif Khan was appointed Hakim of Ajmer. The Sultan paid homage to the shrine of Khwaja Sahib and rewarded the Khādīm of the place suitably.¹ For a short period it is claimed that Ajmer again passed in the hands of local chieftains, but Sultan of Mandu soon recovered it, and appointed Mallu Khan one of his famous noble as the governor of Ajmer.²

Maharana Sanga the famous Rajput chief attacked Ajmer around 1515/922, created disturbances and killed a number of Muslims.³ Behlol Lodhi was another Sultan who had marched against Ajmer and paid a visit to the shrine of Khwaja Sahib.⁴

In 1524 when Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was a prince, he quarreled with his father and quietly slipped to Ajmer, where he found the dargah of Khwaja Sahib full of idols. He took a

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1. Ali Bin Mehmud-al-Kirmani alias Shahab Hakim: Maasir-i Mehmood Shahi, ff. 200 ab. Tarikh-i Ferishta, Vol. IX, p. 496. It is also commonly believed that he had constructed a 'Buland Darwaja' after some time he also appointed a teacher, Qazi and Mufti in this area.

2. Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors, pp.XVII-XVIII. Ajmer-Historical and Descriptive p.39,150. His real name was Malik Yusuf, by exploiting the rivalries among the local Chiefs he was successful in holding Ajmer for many years. He also constructed the two famous tanks on the east side, at foot of Taragarh hill, still known as Malluwar.


vow that after getting the throne of Gujarat he will attack Ajmer, and remove all these idols from the shrine.\(^1\) Accordingly in 1532, he sent Shamsh-ul-Mulk to recover Ajmer from Rajputs, and Ajmer was annexed to Gujarat empire.\(^2\)

Thus, when the Delhi Sultanate fragmented into small political units the city of Ajmer passed from a status of a centrally governed system, through a period of local autonomy and concomitant changes in its masters. The period witnessed extreme distress, Chaos and decadence in the life of the city. The warrior chiefs of Mewar, Marwar and the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat, were the main contenders for the precious possession, who fought fierce battles among themselves and bled their victims most relentlessly. But none of them succeeded in holding it permanently under his control for more than few years or fully integrating it with his general and administrative system. The continual warfares and political interaction resulted in the acute economic and political dislocation and disruption in the normal way of living, retarding the growth of agriculture and commerce.

\(^1\) Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabagat-i-Akbari, p. 359. Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar, p. 278.

Anyway Bahadur Shah of Gujarat could retain it only for three years 1532-35, as Virandev of Maitra took control of Ajmer, and soon he lost the possession to Rao Maldev. Nearly a decade later Sher Shah Suri captured it and paid a visit to the famous shrine and also visited the qilla. The break up of Sur empire was followed by the emergence of military adventures in Rajputana, as elsewhere one such warrior Haji Khan Sur took possession of Ajmer and kept it under his firm grip till 1557.

It was in the second regnal year of Akbar's reign probably between Jamadiul I and II 967/March-April 1557, that the Mughal commanders Qassim Khan Naishapuri and Syed Mehmud Barah captured the city, and compelled Haji Khan to take flight in the inner part of Rajputana. It is significant to note that during this period of chaos and anarchy which continued for more than three centuries (1236-1557), the shrine of Khwaja Sahib was always visited by the devotees which include sufis, saints, rulers, besides general public, and always remained a source of inspiration for them. Even some of the campaigns of Muslim rulers were motivated only by this factor.

3. Abdullah,Tarikh-i-Daudi,MS. p.297(Ed.Rashid ,p.158) Khwaja Khan is said to have been made the Commander of Ajmer,K.R.Qanungo: Sher Shah, pp.329-30.
5. For details see my article:"A Critical Analysis of Akbar's relation with the dargah of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti?" P.I.H.Congress Bodhgaya, 1981. chapter of the thesis.
The popularity and fame of Khwaja Sahib was to such extent, that once Akbar, while on hunting at Midha-kur near Fatehpur Sikri in 1562, found a village folk reciting songs in praise of Khwaja Sahib. This inspired him, and aroused his interest so much that
he at once left for Ajmer with a small force.¹

After its annexation to the Mughal empire in 1557, the city of Ajmer soon became the royal abode on a number of occasions during Akbar's reign. The Mughal Emperor repeatedly visited Ajmer between 1562-80, and between 1670-79 annually on the Urs of Khwaja Sahib. His unquestioned and undoubted faith and devotion for Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti paid dividends to the people of Ajmer. He granted a number of villages as madad-i-ma'sh (revenue free lands) for the maintenance of shrine and for the up keep of those attached to it (Mujavers), and that paved the way for the developments of the city, which grew into one of the most prosperous and flourishing cities of Mughal India.²

² For details see: A Critical Analysis of Akbar's relation with the Dargah of Khawaja Sahib, P.I.H. Congress of Bodhgaya, 1981. chapter, Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 1-26. Ajmer through inscriptions; pp. 1725-29 Medieval India Quarterly, Vol.V I.o) Akbar was so much devoted to Khwaja Sahib that he introduced a coin MOLIN after the name of the saif, and had also inscribed Ya-Moin on some of his gold coins. His war-cry was also Ya-Moin. A number of buildings had also been built by the Emperor and his nobles in the shrine and at the other places in the city. Notable of these are Akbari Masjid of shrine, Akbari palace near shrine, Deulathkhana palace, near Ana Sagar. He also erected the famous Khe-minars during his famous journey from Agra to Ajmer, and had offered a Deg (Cauldron), drum and wooden gates covered with silver, at the shrine.
In 1580 when Akbar re-organized his administration, Ajmer was also made a separate subah with the new name darul-khair (Place of goodness and safety) and the city of Ajmer as its capital. It comprised of seven sarkars having 197 parganahs. The chiefs of three sarkars i.e. of Jodhpur, Sirsi and Bikaner, acknowledged the suzerainty of Mughals, and ruled as vassal, while Ajmer, Ranthambore, Nagore and Chittor were under the direct control of central government. The measured land was 2 crores 14 lacs 35 thousand 9 hundred forty one bighas and 7 biswas. The revenue in money was 28 crores 84 lacs, 1557 dam (Rs. 7,210,308-14-9) of which 23 lacs, 26 thousand, 336 dam (Rs. 51,158-6-5) were suyyurghals. The sarkar of Ajmer consisted of 28 parganahs and the haveli of Ajmer was one of them.

The revenues of Ajmer sarkar alone was 6 crores, 21 lacs, 83 thousand 890 dam (Rs. 15,53,837-10) while haveli Ajmer was yielding 62 lacs, 14 thousand 731 dam (Rs.1,55368-11). It had to furnish 86,500 cavalry (highest by a province in Mughal India) and 3,47,000 infantry, out of the contribution of sarkar-i-Ajmer was 16,000 cavalry and 80,000 infantry.1

Jehangir visited Ajmer in 1613 and made it the Centre to launch operation against Maharana Amar Singh of Udaipur. He spent three years (1613-16) and frequently visited the shrine beside other activities. During his stay once he fell seriously ill and made a vow that after his recovery, he will bore his ears and wear ear-rings in it - as a mark of slavery and that to Khwaja. After his recovery he fulfilled his vow. Later on he offered a golden railing, granted rewards to the Mujawars, issued Coins with the inscription of Ya-Muin on it, and had even distributed the food, cooked in the Deg with his own hands.

He also admired the beauty of Noor-Chashma, named after Noor Mahal the title of Nur Jahan, which was also given at Ajmer. Prince Khurram after a successful campaign against Maharana of Udaipur was publicly well-comed and title of Shah-i-Jahan was also bestowed upon him at Ajmer. Here Dara Shikoh, Jahan Arzah and Shuja were born during this period. Persian ambassador Muhammad Razi, too had an audience with Emperor here and the otto of roses was also invented by his mother-in-law at this place.

Visits of European Merchants and Travellers:

Sir Thomas Roe, the famous English ambassador also visited Ajmer in the winter of 1615-1616. Mr. Edward was already there

working as an agent of the factory of Surat. Many Europeans, who arrived at Ajmer, prior to Thomas Roe, were Jon Middelton, (1614, also died at Ajmer), Richard Steel and John Crowther, the two English men (February 1615), and William Finch (1608-11) who had given a detailed description of Dargah and other imperial buildings as well. Willingdon Kerridge, Sir Robert Shirley, the celebrated adventurer also came to Ajmer in the middle of 1614 when Jehangir was in the town. Tom Coryat the 'Od Combian leg stretcher' remained in Ajmer for more than an year. Edward Terry, visited Ajmer between 1616-1619 and had mentioned story of an elephant who created panic in the city.\(^1\) After the death of Jehangir in 1627, when Shahjahan passed through Ajmer he found Mahabat Khan there, who took


Sir Thomas Roe had given fairly a good description of Jehangir's activities at Ajmer. He had also appreciated the sceneries and beauties of Bibi Hafiz Jamal hill and Chashma valley. Coryat had mentioned about the devotion and dedication of Jehangir for Khwaja Sahib, as he found the Emperor burning candles at the shrine and distributing the food from Deras with his own hands. Jehangir, too, is said to have offered a Deg (Cauldron) like his father.


His real name was Zamana Beg and he was a Radavi Syed. He was holding a rank of 6000/6000 at the end of Jehangir's reign. Shahjahan after his succession gave him the title of Khal-i Khanan Sipahsalar and promoted him to the rank of 7000/7000. He was given an inam of rupees four lacs and subehdari of Ajmer. He died in 1637.
solemn oath at the shrine of Khwaja Sahib and pledged his support to the new Emperor.

After his proclamation as Emperor of Hindustan, Shah Jahan also visited Ajmer on a number of occasions. He renewed old grants to the shrine and Khadims (functionaries), added a few more, and had constructed a gate and white marble Jama Masjid in the shrine. The beautiful baradaries (pavilions) of white marble at the embankment of Ana Sagar lake is other notable construction of Shah Jahan. Jehan Arrah his eldest daughter was a great devotee of Khwaja Sahib, and she had expressed her immense devotion and love for the saint in her famous book Munis-ul Arwah.¹

It was during Shah Jahan's reign that one of his subedar of Ajmer, Raja Bithaldas Gaur repaired the ancient fort at the hill and named it Garh-Bithli, after him.²

In the war of succession between the sons of Shah Jahan, one of the most fierceful and decisive battle was fought at Ajmer, between the forces of Dara and Aurangzeb in March 1659, just below Taragarh fort at Deorai or Dorah village, four miles

2. He was the second son of Raja Gopal Das Gaur of Bengal. He was a rank holder of 300/2000 when he was given the charge of Ajmer in 1633 where he continued till 1638. Naasir-ul-Umara, Vol. II, pp. 250-56. Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p. 725.
south of Ajmer. The fighting continued for three days ((11–13 March) between the hills and valley of Garh-Bithli and Kokla mountain. Dara was completely routed, and this defeat sealed his fate. Shaikh Mir and Shah Nawaz Khan were the important nobles, who were killed in fighting, and were buried in the precinct of the shrine of Khwaja Sahib, by imperial orders. Aurangzeb after the battle, himself paid a visit to the shrine and offered Rs. 5,000 to the Mujawars.

Between 1659-79 for about two decades Aurangzeb was busy in the consolidation of his position, expansion of the empire, and crushing the revolts in the various parts of India. He could not visit Ajmer frequently like his predecessors. The city of Ajmer enjoyed peace and prosperity, and there were no revolts, no warfare, and no disturbances in this area as were witnessed in the other parts of empire. The governors and faujdars appointed during this period, were trusted and experienced officers of the government, who discharged their duties efficiently.


The City of Ajmer during the Rathor Rebellion: 1679-1707

The Rathor rebellion that broke out in 1679, after the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur was one of the most momentous events of Aurangzeb's reign.¹ It compelled the Emperor to visit Ajmer on two occasions. He first arrived in February 1679, and stayed there for about a month. His second visit took place in October 1679 after the escape of the family of Jaswant Singh, and other Rathor sardars from the imperial custody. During this trip Aurangzeb stayed at Ajmer nearly for two years and made it his head-quarter for military operations against the rebels.²

During these turbulent period special arrangements had been made for the security of Ajmer city around which the rebels had started plundering and ravaging the imperial territories. Tahawwar Khan who was the faujdar of Ajmer at that time discussed about the defensive arrangement for the city with other imperial officials, and took keen interest in safeguarding it from rebel onslaughts.

The people of Ajmer were equally keen and alert at this moment, and met faujdar repeatedly to enquire about the steps

¹ For details of the Rathor Rebellion see:
Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1961, pp. 135-41.
² Nama-i Alamgiri, pp. 172-181.
taken for the security of public. They even expressed their full support and co-operation to the faujdar.

Tahawwar Khan posted thanedars around Ajmer city for patrolling and checking invaders. He ordered that the gates of city (within city wall) should be closed at night and no one should be allowed to enter the city at night. He had also appointed 200 matchlock men, and 100 troopers for watch and guard around the city.¹

As was expected the rebels thousands in number planned to attack Ajmer from the Pushkar side. Their warrior-leader Raj Singh of Mairtia clan was challenged by faujdar Tahawwar Khan, who while on an inspection in the morning suddenly found the rebels moving towards Ajmer. A severe battle took place between 3-6 Sept. 1679, near the famous temple of Boer, and though Tahawwar Khan had a small contingent, he defeated and killed Raj Singh along with his 125 followers.²

During his stay at Ajmer Aurangzeb was successful in compelling Maharana Udaipur to sign a treaty, after inflicting a crushing defeat upon him. He suppressed the Rathor rebels and had made Prince Akbar (who too had revolted against him) to

flee towards Deccan for shelter under Shambhaji, the son of Shivaji. These successes and victories were celebrated on a grand scale at Ajmer. New appointments, and promotions were made. Two of the royal princes were married at Jama-Masjid of the shrine. However, some of the ulamas, and supporters of Prince Akbar, who had declared their support to the rebel prince were punished and imprisoned in fort of Garh Bithli.

The Emperor generally offered his Friday prayers in shrine, where once a stone was thrown upon him, but no one was arrested. After Friday prayers he used to visit the shrine of Khwaja Sahib for the recitation of Fateha and offerings of money and attar. He even had sent money and attar (attar) to the famous shrine of Mian Syed Hussain at Garh-Bithli.


2. Maasir-i Alamgiri, pp. 210, 211, 212. Akhbarat, 15 Rajab R.Y./31 July 1681. Prince Azam was married to the daughter of Adil Shah of Bijapur, while Kam Baksh was married to Kalyan Kumari daughter of the Chief of Manoharpur. (130 miles N.E. of Ajmer.)

3. Tarikh-Alamgiri, p. 115. Muhammad Aqil, Qazi Khubullah, Shaikh Talib, Ghulam Muhammad, Mansoor and Mehran, Khwaja Saras, were sent to Garh Bithli to be imprisoned there.

who has been mentioned a Shia saint by the famous historian Ferishta. At the time of his departure from Ajmer, the khadima of the shrine of Khwaja Sahib bestowed upon him a white turban, a sword as a customary gift and the sacred tabarrock of Urs.

He made a number of changes in the officials machinery of the subah at this stage. At first he informed Prince Shah Alam, through his diwan Rehmat Khan, that Prince Muizuddin will stay at Ajmer with Asad Khan to supervise imperial activities against the rebels. But a day before the departure of the Emperor, on the request of Prince Shah Alam, Prince Azimuddin was given charge of Ajmer, instead of Muizuddin and Asad Khan was appointed his guide. Inayat Khan was made faujdar of Ajmer.

1. Akhbaarat, 28 Shaaban/12 Sept. 1681. He also sent Rs.2000 for the khadims of shrine and had accepted the sacred tabarrock from them, inspite of the fact that these Khadims belonged to Shia sect.


Shah Alam was the eldest son of Aurangzeb whose real name was Muazzam. He succeeded his father in 1707 with the title of Bahadur Shah, ruled till 1712. Muizuddin was Shah Alam's eldest son, who succeeded his father with the title of Jahandar Shah, but ruled only for one year. Azimuddin later known as Azimushaan was the eldest of Bahadur Shah's sons. Though he was defeated and killed by Jahandar Shah in the war of succession in 1712, his son Farrukhsiyar deposed and killed Jahandar Shah in 1713, with the help of famous Syed brothers, and ruled till 1718, when he too was deposed and assassinated by Syed brothers.
and his son Nooram Ali was given the charge of the Diwani of the Subah. Syed Yusuf Bukhari was given the gildedari of Garh Bithli with the instructions to be alert against the rebels.  

Aitaiqad Khan (afterwards the famous Zulfiqar Khan) and Muhammad Ishaq both sons of Asad Khan, were also left at Ajmer with their father. Other important nobles who were appointed in the Subah were Ajab Singh, his father Bhim Singh brother of Maharana of Udaipur, Dindar Khan son of Namdar Khan styled as Marhamat Khan, Saadat Khan Qayam Khani, and Kamaluddin Khan son of Diler Khan.  

On the decline of Qassim Khan, Inayat Khan was given additional charge of Jodhpur and was advised to appoint trustworthy persons as thanedars around city of Ajmer and on high

1. He was appointed faujdar of Ajmer in place of his son-in-law, Padshah Quli Tahawwar Khan, who joined Akbar in his revolt and was assassinated. He was a rank holder of 5000/5000. He died in 1682 while he was in the office.  
Akhbaarat, 6 Shawwal 25 RY/19 Oct 1681.  
Maasir-i-Alamqiri, pp. 213, 223.  

Though Ahmed Quli Safavi and Saqi Mustaad Khan had mentioned the name of Syed Yusuf Bukhari as the gildedar, Akhbaarat supply the name of Syed Ruhalad Shariff.  
Tarikh-i-Alamqiri, p. 119; Maasir-i-Alamqiri, pp. 213.  
Akhbaarat, 3 Ramzan 25 RY/16 Sept. 1681.  

2. Raja Bhim was the son of Raja Raj Singh Sissodia and held a rank of 5000/5000. He later went to Deccan and died there in 1695.  
Aitaiqad Khan's real name was Muhammad Ismail, later he became Zulfiqar Khan and Mazir of Jahandar Shah. He married the daughter of Shaista Khan.  
ways and should also keep a vigil upon them. A contingent of 5,500 sawars was left at Ajmer under Prince Azimuddin for the defence of the city and for emergency support to any official in the Subah.²

A number of local Rajputs and other Hindus were also given responsibilities to defend Mughal out posts in the subah. Chandersen was given charge of Pohkaran. Man Singh was appointed faujadar at Mandelgarh, Roop Singh Hada previously under Inayat Khan was sent to Baran, Pirthi Singh was given charge of Mairta.³ Many other experienced and warrior nobles were also given charges of a number of important places in the subah and around the Ajmer city.⁴


On the request of Asad Khan, that Basalat Khan son of Shah Quli Khan should be supplied 1000 sawars for patrolling between Jodhpur, Mairta etc; to check the activities of the rebels, the Emperor ordered that this should be supplied from the contingent of Prince Azimuddin, stationed at Ajmer.

3. Akhbaarat, 7,16,26,27 Rajab, 4,15,18,24 Ramzan/23 July, 1,11,12 August, 17,28 Sept., 2,7 Oct. Man Singh was the son of Roop Singh Rathor who was granted Kishangarh (18 miles from Ajmer) as fief by Shahjehan in 17 R.Y. He was a rank holder of 3000, and in 35 R.Y. of Aurangzeb accompanied Zulfiqar Khan in the conquest of the fort of Ginjee. Masir-ul-Umara, Vol. II, pp. 268-70.

4. Syed Ibrahim was posted at Pushkar, Sardar Tarin at Sojat-Jaitaran, Sher Afghan on highway between Mairta and Jalore. Hazhar Khan at Ranthambhore, Syed Khweja Ahmad at Sherpur. Muhammad Amin was made faujdar and diwan of the pargana of Pur-Mandel which was taken from Maharana of Udaipur in lieu of Jaziya. Akhbaarat, 25 Rajab, 19,25 Shaaban 24 RY, 5,15,16,24 Ramzan 23 RY/10 Aug. 2,8,18,28,29 Sept. 7 Oct. 1681 Masir-i-Alamgiri, p. 208.
Before leaving the city, Aurangzeb also settled the issue of compensation demanded by the public for the loss of the crops during imperial army’s march from Shahjehanabad to Ajmer. It was ordered that half of the amount will be paid by the government, while remaining half i.e. Rs. 6000, will be borne out by the people.¹

Soon after the departure of Aurangzeb on 18 September 1681, the city of Ajmer gradually lost its importance with the removal of the imperial court the splendour and glory of the city also departed. The Rathor continued their resistance and struggle against imperialists, and made a number of attempts to seize Mughal posts, and had also threatened Ajmer. But all their attempts were failed by the experienced nobles like Asad Khan, Inayat Khan and Prince Asim. Once sonag Rathor arrived near Pushkar, and caused severest distress to the inhabitants of Ajmer, by blocking the supplies of food and merchandise into it. They were defeated and driven back by the Mughal generals and the roads cleared for transportation.²

1. Akhbaarat, 16 Ramzan 25 R.Y./29 Sept. 1681. In Nov. 1681 he even ordered Shah Alam to pay compensation for the destruction and loss of crops and fields, committed by his troops on his way from Ajmer to Burhanpur. Akhbaarat, 23 Shawwal/5 Nov. 1681.

2. Ajab Singh and Sonag Rathor etc. when driven from Pohkar, attacked Dindvana, but Altigad Khan defeated and compelled them to run away to Maqta. Soon he was followed and again attacked by Altigad Khan, who finally killed the notorious rebel along with his 500 followers, including a number of famous sardars. Meanwhile Noorun Ali diwan of Ajmer reported that he had set up the thanas in the surrounding of Ajmer city, and visiting there regularly to check the rebels. Masir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 214, 215, 217. Isardas Nager: Futuhat-i Alamgiri, pp. 202-4. Akhbaarat, 25 Shawal, 17 Zigaad 25 R.Y./7, 28 Nov. 1681.
But the death of Inayat Khan, the faujdar of Ajmer in November 1662, and the recall of Asad Khan, and Prince Azim etc, from Ajmer in 1683, left no competent commander at Ajmer and this encouraged rebels who renewed their warlike activities on a wide scale. The departure of Raja Bhim Singh, and Man Singh to Deccan further raised the morale of Rathor. They attacked and captured Siwanah, killing its faujdar Purdil Khan son of Peroz Khan Mewati, but they were defeated by Dindar Khan, faujdar of Pur-Mandel. No authentic information regarding the appointment of subedar and faujdar is available covering the period of 1683-88. Though Abdul Qadir Khan, a nineteenth century writer had given a list of the subedars of Ajmer, which he had claimed based on the records of Ajmer treasury. But it cannot be trusted as he had wrongly included the names of several other petty officials in this list.

It seems that Sipahdar Khan Bahadur served as the subedar of Ajmer for some time during this period. In Oct. 1688, as Nazim of Ajmer and faujdar of Mewat he reported to Emperor that Durgadas at present was staying in the jagir of Anup Singh and intending to proceed towards Mewat. Instructions in this matter is awaited.1

In the 33 R.Y. (1688-89) Shujaat Khan, subedar of Ahmedabad and faujdar of Jodhpur, was also given the subedari of Ajmer with all the powers to decide the issues in the light of the government policies.2 Mir Muhammad Salah was the Diwan of Ajmer at that time.3

1. Akhbaarat, 15 Zil Hij 1099 A.H/32 RY/11 Oct.1688, Vakil Reports (P) undated - No.225, 187,195. He was the son of Mir Malik Hussain known as Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jang Kokaltash. His real name was Nassiri Khan. In 1683-84, with his father, he came near Bharatpur to crush the revolt of Jats. It was probably during this period that he was appointed faujdar of Mewat and Nazim of Ajmer and continued till 1688-89. Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol.I, pp. 798-813.

2. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, p.380. Maasir-ul-Umara, II, pp. 706-708. He was one of the most able and competent noble of Aurangzeb. His name was Kartalab Khan and he was Irani by birth. Initially he was the mutasaddi of the port of Surat and in 1684 became the subedar of Gujarat. He was a rank holder of 5000/5000. He died in 1701.

Safi Khan succeeded Shujaat Khan as subedar of Ajmer and continued in the office till his death in 1694.\(^1\) He in 1691-92, dispatched expeditions under the command of his sons against the rebels, and they inflicted a crushing defeat upon Durga Das, compelling him to take flight.\(^2\) Both Ajit Singh and Durga Das, the souls behind the rebellion, became so exhausted in this endless war that they at long last sued for peace, each requesting for mansab and watan jagir. While the Emperor conceded to award a mansab of 1500 to Ajit Singh on the recommendation of Safi Khan in 1693, he refused to hand over watan jagir to Ajit Singh.\(^3\)

It is interesting to note that a complaint was also made to Aurangzeb by the deputy of Diwan-i-subah against Safi Khan, charging him for the misappropriation of the imperial revenues. This financial irregularity annoyed the Emperor and he reduced the mansab of the nazim by 500/500.\(^4\)


He was the son of Islam Khan Mashhadi an Irani noble of Shahjehan's reign. Safi Khan had served as the subedar of Agra, Delhi, Orissa before he took charge of Ajmer. He was the rank holder of 3000/2000 and died in 1694 and not in 1695 as had been stated by Dr. Athar Ali.


During this tenure of Safi Khan many important changes in the administration of Ajmer was also made by the Emperor. Shaikh Muhammad Saeed Khan was appointed Sadr-i-Subah and Mutawalli, of the shrine of Khwaja Sahib, Dindar Khan, faujdar of Ranthambore, Muhammad Masum, Diwan of Ajmer, Inayat Khan Bakhshi and Waqai-Nigar and Fateh Beg Khufia Navis. Safi Khan the subedar was further given the Aminship of Paibagi. When Safi Khan died in June 1694 (38 R.Y.) for time being, Dindar Khan the faujdar of Ranthambore was asked to look after the family of the deceased, and the subedar of Ajmer. Safi Khan in fact had tried his best to keep peace in the subah and was occasionally supported by Shujaat Khan faujdar of Jodhpur and subedar

3. Akhbaarat, 8 Shaaban 1104/14 April 1693.
   He was appointed Diwan in place of Khwaja Bahauddin, who was recalled at court. Akhbaarat, 13 Shawwal 1105/38 R.Y./6 June 1694.
   He was the jagirdar of Salbahanpur in serkar kol.
5. Akhbaarat, 15 Safar 36 R.Y./26 Oct. 1692. Abu Saeed was dismissed and for proper arrangement and security measures, Safi Khan was given the charge of Khalisa.
of Ahmadabad. It was due to his meritorious services that his sons Mohtashim Khan and Momin Khan were considered for the post of the subedar of Ajmer, but finally Muhammid Khan was selected as he was already busy in crushing the revolts of Jats in the Mewat region, which was a neighbouring chakla of the subah of Ajmer.

Soon after his appointment Muhammid Khan pleaded and recommended a number of changes in the administrative set up of the subah. For instance, Syed Ali Ahmad Khan was given the charge of the shrine of Khwaja Sahib and the Sedarat of the province with a rank of 200/100, while Faridun Hussain son of Muhammad Ajmeri was appointed bakhshi and waqai-Navis and Muhammad Amin became the faujdar and amin of Sambher with a rank of 600/100. Another important issue before the new governor was the realisation of the peshkash (tribute) from the various zamindars of the area, which he did successfully.

1. Akhbaarat, dt. 12,23 Shawwal 1105/6 June,17 June 1694. Qazi Abdullah an official in Gujarat reported to court that the sons of Shujaat Khan faujdar of Jodhpur and Nazim of Gujarat had fought a severe battle with Ajit Singh and Durgadas and killed 130 persons of the enemy. The Khan duly rewarded by the Emperor.

2. His real name was Hidayatullah and he seems to be the son of Mir Abid Khan also known as Qillich Khan. He was a rank holder of 5000, and died in 1132/1721. Dr. Athar Ali seems in correct when he says that Mujahid Khan Mir Khalil succeeded Safi Khan in 1694. Vakil Report(P) No.565, dated 27 Shawwal 1105/21 June 1694 Akhbaarat, 26,27 Shawwal 1105/20,21 June 1694. Tarikh-i-Muhammad(ed.Arshi) V. I, p.43. Medieval India - a miscellany, Vol.I, p.117.

3. Akhbaarat, 8 Zilqad 38 R.Y./1 July 1694. Muhammad Momin was given the charge of Jodhpur fort and Jalaluddin Mahmood got appointment at Ajmer city with a rank of 100/50. Akhbaarat, dt.10 Safar, 9 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1106 Zilqad, Zil Hijj 39 R.Y./30 Sept.26 Dec.1694,July 1695.
and personally visited Manoharpur, Maroth etc., for this purpose. These visits also helped him to check rebels to settle the issues and affairs of psdbaqi, and disputes relating to the jagirs of other Mughal nobles. His rank was increased up to 3000/2500. No information about the city of Ajmer is available in Akhbarat or Rajasthani sources, covering the period of August-November 1695. In November 1695, Dindar Khan the famous and experienced faujdar of Ranthambore, who was holding a rank of 700/700 and zamindari of Fatehpur-Jhunjhunu died. Pirthi Singh etc., the sons of the late Raja Bhim Singh also returned to court, when they heard about the death of their father in Deccan.

In January 1696, Tarbiyat Khan Mir Khalil, was announced the subehdar of Ajmer by imperial government, with a privilege to reside in the haveli of Muhamid Khan. He was created a rank holder of 2000/2000, and was given the faujdar of Ranthambhore.

1. Khutut-i-Ahalkaran, Nos. 203, 204, 208, 211.
   Vakil Report, No. 465, dt. 27 Muharram 1105/28 September, 1693.

Dr. Athar Ali seems confused, when he says, that Tarbiyat Khan took the charge of Ajmer from Mujahid Khan Syed Hamid. But neither Mujahid Khan Syed Hamid held the governorship of Ajmer, nor Tarbiyat Khan took charge, as his appointment to the subah was cancelled, a few days after this announcement. Medieval India Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 117.

His real name was Mir Khalil Khan, and he was the eldest son of Darab Khan, who held the subehdar of Ajmer in 1673-76. He was a rank holder of 2000/1200 in 40 Ry, when he was deputed to chastise the rebels of Mahadeo Hills. Maqir-ul-Imara, Vol. I, pp. 498-503. Arzdasht of Ajit Das to Raja Bishan Singh (R), No. 167, dt. March, 1696.
But soon it was declared that Khanazad Khan will be the subedar of Ajmer. His brother was also given a post in the province, while Asalat Khan - one of his followers, was given the qilledari of Ranthambore. Muhammad Murad was appointed diwan of the subah with a rank of 700/500 in place of Syed Irfan. Royal decrees had been issued to Khanazad Khan and Asalat Khan by Siyadat Khan. But soon the Emperor again changed his mind and Khanazad Khan got appointment in south. Syed Hussain Khan formerly diwan of Thatta was given the post of diwan of Ajmer with a rank of 400/20. Finally Syed Abdullah Khan Barah was appointed subedar of Ajmer in April 1696 and his son Hassan Ali Khan was made his deputy and faujdar of Ranthambore. The new governor took charge in June 1696.

1. Akhbaarat, 5, 8, 9 Rajab 3 Ramzan/39 RY/1107/9, 12, 13 Feb, 6 April 1696. His name was Muhammad Masih and his title was Murid Khan. He served as Mir Tuzuk (Superintendent of stables) and governor of Aurangabad and Surat. His father Himmat Khan Mir Issa, became mir bakhshi in 1681 at Ajmer but soon died there. Maasir-ul-Umara, III, pp. 946-49.


3. Akhbaarat: 3 Ramzan, 40 R.Y./1107, 6 April 1696. Azaadaasht (R) No. 171 dt. Jyeshta Sudi 14, 1753/14 June 1696. He belonged to the famous clan of Syeds of Barha and was commonly known as Syed Miyan. He was the favourite of Prince Shah Alam and Ruhullah Khan and had served in Deccan campaign. He was father of the famous Syed Brothers, who became powerful during the reign of Farrukhsiyar.

Shah Nawaz Khan had mistakenly stated that he died in 33 R.Y. (1688-89) when he was appointed faujdar of Nanded. Maasir-ul-Umara, vol. II, pp. 481-91
In the closing years of the seventeenth century, Durgadas and Ajit Singh again tried for a peaceful settlement with the imperialists. Durgadas with Buland Akhtar and Safiyat-un-Nissa arrived at court. He was rewarded suitably and Dhanduka (Gujarat) was given to him as jagir. Ajit Singh was confirmed on his old rank of 1500/500, and was granted perganas of Jalore, Siwanah and Sanchor as his jagirs.

As has been discussed earlier, taking the advantage of the disturbed conditions, the zamindars of this turbulent region, generally withheld the payment of tribute and also the revenues due to the government, and without use of adequate military force they did not feel the need of payment of accumulated amount.

The governor under the instructions from the government led his contingents into the mahals of the zamindar for the realization of money. Syed Abdullah Khan was frequently urged by the Emperor to help the diwan in the collection of revenues. Once he was directed by the Emperor to prevail upon Rao Budh Singh zamindar of Bundi to make payment of revenues amounting to four lakhs. Encouraged by the activities of these local chiefs.


2. Akhbaarat, 27 Safar 1111/25 August 1699. Arzdaasht(R), No.206; dt. Kartika Badi 9,1756/17 October 1799. Raja Bishan Singh of Amber was informed by his agent that the imperial contingent has arrived from Ajmer for the realization of instalments of the matalibs.
some of the imperial officers, also tried to exploit situation by misappropriating the amount of revenues and by plundering in the territories of imperialists. But they were severely dealt by the central government. ¹

However, on the request of Qazi Muhammad Akram, Syed Yusuf was appointed gilledar of Garh Bithli with a rank of 400/100, and on the recommendation of Syed Abdullah Khan, Nazim of Ajmer, Raj Singh a brave and experienced Rathor was appointed faujdar of Toda, Pur-Mandal with a rank of 400/300 and Zulfiqar Baig was made thanedar of Pohkar (Pushkar) near Ajmer. ²

On 13 Ziqaad 1111/1 May 1700 Syed Abdullah Khan sent a Nazar of Rs. 1000 on the eve of the capture of Satara-garh, (fort) by imperialists, about which he saw a dream. In May he received a farman, Khillat etc, and in July, Hidayatullah mace-bearer arrived at Ajmer for the purpose of buying camels for the imperial army fighting in Deccan. In August 1700 Mukhlis Khan ordered Abdullah Khan to supply young and energetic soldiers, and healthy horses for the campaign in Deccan, the diwan of the subah was also asked to

1. Vakil Reports(P), Nos. 410,535,540 dt. 18 April 1693, 4, 18 April 1694.
   Nawab Safi Khan, Nazim of Ajmer was degraded when he was found misappropriating revenues.
   Qazi Dayam, Qazi of Malpura plundered Malpura which was the jagir of Safi Khan, and was also charged for having links with the rebels.

supply Rs. 20,000 as subsidy.¹

In January 1701 Abul Qasim was again entrusted the
qilledari of Garh Bithli in place of Abdul Majeed and a
cash award of Rs. 300 was also given to him.² Syed Hussain,
Diwan of Ajmer and faujdar of Sambhar, petitioned that the
former faujdars of Sambhar were allowed to keep two or three
elephants, therefore he should also be permitted to keep at
least one. His request was accepted by the Emperor.³

In February-March 1701, Syed Ali Ahmad Khan,
Mutawwalli of dargah and sadar of the subah was appointed
Amin of Jaziya in place of Muhammad Salih with a rank of
400/15. In June 1701 Shujaat Khan, Nazim of Gujarat and one
of the most experienced and ablest noble of Aurangzeb died
at Ahmadabad. It was a severe blow to the imperial interests
in Rajputana. It was he who had in a series of battles
defeated both Ajit Singh and Durgadas, compelling them to
submit and make peace with the Mughal government.⁵

1. Akhbaarat, 13, 28 Ziqad 1111/1 May, 16 May, 1700.
   23 Muharram 1112/44 R.Y./ 9 July 1700, 27 Safar/12 Aug, 1700.
2. Akhbaarat, 2 Zil-Hij 1112, 14 Rajab 1112, 7 Shabaan 1113/
   9 May 1701, 24 December 1700; January 1701.
   Shah Nawaz Khan had wrongly mentioned that he died in 1112
   A.H., but at the same time he correctly states 45 R.Y.
In Ramazan 1113/February 1702 Syed Ali Ahmed Khan who was serving in the province in various capacities, since a long time was appointed diwan of Ajmer, faujdar and amin of Sambhar, in place of Syed Hussain Khan, who expressed his desire to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca.¹

In July 1702 Syed Abdullah Khan also expired.² He was the fourth governor of Ajmer who died in office, during Aurangzeb's reign. His son Syed Hassan Ali Khan (afterwards Syed Abdullah Khan), who was serving in the subah as the deputy to his father, was given the charge of Ajmer with a rank of 1500/1300. Many of his other relations were also retained in the subah and got increment.³

1. Mir Syed Ali Ahmed Khan seems to be the son of Mir Muhammad Chishti of Qannauj, the famous ustād (teacher) of Alamgir. He was once captured by Jai Singh in October–November, 1708 in Ajmer but was soon released due to this association with Aurangzeb. It was probably he or his brother who became the Sadr-i-Kul in Bahadur Shah's reign with the title of Syed Amjad Ali Khan. Maasir-ul-Umarā, Vol. III, pp. 604–611. Aarzdaasht(R), No. 266, 268, dt. Kartika Sudi 14, 1765/27 Oct, 1708; Marga Shirha Badi 1765/8 November 1708.


3. Syed Hassan Ali Khan was the eldest son of Syed Miyan, Abdullah Khan. He in the later period got the title of Syed Abdullāh Khan and in the reign of Farrakhsiyar became wazīr. Afterwards he was poisoned to death in prison. Akbāraat, 25, 28 Safar 1114/20, 23 July, 1702. Maasir-ul-Umarā, III, pp. 130–140. Syed Husain Ali Khan his younger brother was appointed faujdar of Ranthambore with a rank of 750/700, Syed Nuruddin another brother was raised to a mansab of 500/150, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan, Sirajuddin Ali Khan etc, were also rewarded suitably and were posted in Ajmer. Akbāraat, 3, 13, Rabī'ul Awal/26 July, 5 Aug, 1702. Maasir-ul-Umarā, I, pp. 321–338.
On the recommendations of newly appointed subedar, Najmuddin son of Khwaja Ali was entrusted with the thanedari of Rahul (a village in pargana Bedhnur) with a rank of 200/100. Lal Singh was appointed thanedar of Chor-ghat, around Ajmer with a rank of 100/50.¹

But soon in Shabaan 46 R.Y./20 December 1703 Prince Muhammad Azam also known as Alijah who was the subedar of Gujarat and faujdar of Jodhpur was further conferred the subedari of Ajmer. Thus the whole area where the rebels were operating against imperialists, since the last quarter of seventeenth century, was brought under one capable and experienced prince. He was a rank holder of 50,000/30,000 the highest, ever held by subedar of Ajmer. His son Muhammad wallah was promoted to the rank of 8000/3000 and was ordered to act as his father's deputy in Ajmer.²

On the complaint of Syed Ali Ahmed Khan, diwan of Ajmer, on 24 Shawwal 1115/48 R.Y./28 February 1704, Inayatullah Khan, diwan of Khalisa reported the Emperor that Muhammad Sardar a zamindar had realised revenues from the pargana.

¹. Akhbaarat, 17, 21 Rabi-ul-Awal 1115/9, 13 August 1703.

Rahula village was in Mewar region, and one of those villages granted by Akbar, as madad-i-maash to the jargah of Khwaja Sahib.

Chattsu which was in khalisa, and inspite of repeated warnings, did not bother to reply satisfactorily. Therefore his mansab should be reduced. Accordingly, the rank of Muhammad Sardar was reduced by 100 sawars. Sanwaals were also appointed to escort him to the court of Azam at Ahmedabad.¹

In another despatch, Ali Ahmad Khan reported, that Khwaja Ali Zahid, thanedar and raihdar on the highway from Sambhar to Ajmer had oppressed the merchants, and therefore he should be replaced by Syed Mustafa. The contents of the reports were found true on verification and Khwaja was transferred with a reduced mansab. He further recommended that Bahadur Singh Rathor a rank holder of 150/30 had died, therefore, his son also Pirthi Singh should be granted rank etc, it was accepted by the royal court.² The Emperor became happy over these activities of the diwan and promoted him to a rank of 600/50.³

On the request of Prince Azam the Emperor replaced Muhammad Walajah and appointed Sarandaz Khan as a deputy of the Prince in Ajmer, who took charge in March 1704.⁴

   On the contrary, in a report, Meghraj, the vakil of Jai Singh at the royal court, informed the Raja that there is no free land available in the subah of Ajmer, which can be granted as tankhawah. Vakil Report(P), 753 dt. 5 Shaaban 1116/2 December 1704.


4. Akhbaaratt: 24 Ziqad/29 March 1704. His name is also Rani Khan, and he held the title of sar-muqadd Khan, c. shujaj Khan. He died in 1118/1706-7 at an imperial order from Ajmer. Jarikh-i-Muhammad(ed), p. 20.
In October 1705 Zabardast Khan, a grandson of Ali Mardan Khan, a rank holder of 4000/4000 was appointed subedar of Ajmer while his father Ibrahim Khan was entrusted with the subedar of Gujarat. Zabardast Khan held the subedar of Ajmer till the death of Aurangzeb.1

Perhaps, the last appointment in the city of Ajmer made by Aurangzeb was of Abu Talib son of Muhammad Baqar a rank holder of 400/200. He was appointed gildedar of Garh Bithli and thanedar of Mauzabad, in place of Abul Qasim who died in January 1707.

Thus, the imperial hold over the local administration in Ajmer was extremely tight and absolute. Aurangzeb maintained vigilant watch on the acts and doings of all the officials, and took serious actions against those who deviated from the directives laid down in their letters of appointments or issued from time to time by the Central government. The government reporters posted in towns and cities regularly informed the Emperor about all the occurrences and happenings, and their reports were carefully examined and instructions were issued accordingly to the officers concerned. Frequent transfers,


demotions in grade and salaries and dismissals of different civil and military officers as recorded in Akhbaarat, and Vakil Reports, — illustrates the fact that Aurangzeb maintained his firm grip to the end of all the springs of administrative functions in the province of Ajmer. He once had ordered Hamiduddin Khan to prepare a map of Ajmer, beside Malwa, Allahabad and Akbarabad, and indicate the places where rebels had set-up their head-quarters, and also locate the areas in which faujdars and zamindars were operating against them.  

The officers displayed their loyalty not only by performing faithfully their duties, but also, by sending presents on various occasions to the King. Special products of the area formed the main articles of presents offered by officers on duty to the court. For example, Syed Makarim, sawanah-nigar of Ajmer sent gifts to court and was duly rewarded on the recommendation of Ghulam Muhammad, Daroga-i Adalat. Raza Beg, faujdar of Jhalawar sent two deers and Yusuf Ali faujdar of Jodhpur sent few baskets of p"

CHAPTER - II

The City of Ajmer During the Reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-12).
Rajput Rajahs and the War of Succession:

Aurangzeb's death on 28 Zиqaad 1118/3 March 1707 at Ahmadnagar had once again engaged the imperialists in the war of succession after a lapse of fifty years. Maharajah Jai Singh Kachwaha of Amber who, since the beginning of his career was very close to Prince Azam, was serving under his son Bidar Bakht in Malwa during these days. His brother Bijai Singh Kachwaha and Rao Budh Singh Hada of Bundi were at Kabul with Prince Muazzam, the eldest son of the Emperor Aurangzeb. Another Rajput notable chief Ram Singh Hada of Kota was in the Deccan, and had joined Azam Shah.

However, it appears that both Muazzam and Azam had tried their best to win the support of the Rajput Rajahs during the war of succession. Prince Azam soon after his proclamation as Emperor, issued ferman to Jai Singh and Ajit Singh bestowing upon them the titles of 'Mirza Rajah' and Maharaja with a rank to 7000/7000 to each, and announced some other concessions, gifts

and promises, in return of their support in the impending war of succession. Even Durgadas Rathor was also invited by him. 1

Surprisingly, a modern writer had wrongly claimed that Azam had issued a farman to Ajit Singh on 6th Safar 1118/20 May 1706, bestowing upon him the title of Maharaja, high rank etc., even during the life time of Aurangzeb. 2

On the other hand Prince Muzuddin, son of Bahadur Shah who was the governor of Multan, had also sent a Nishan to Ajit Singh on 14th Muharram 1119/17 April 1707, asking him to proceed to Shahjahanabad to join his father, who was to arrive there from Kabul. 3

It has also been claimed, that both Azam and Muazzam, had separately concluded secret treaties with the Maharana Raj Singh,


2. V.S. Bhargava: Marwar and the Mughal Emperors (1526-1748), pp. 144-45. Actually, the farman to which Dr. Bhargava had referred, in an undated and without the name of any emperor. Most probably it is a farman which Azam, after his accession, had issued to Ajit Singh, along with Jai Singh, at the instance of Zulfiquar Khan in Safar 1119/May 1707, as it had been mentioned in contemporary sources. Farman No. 31/2. Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. Ibrat Namah(MM), f. 56b. Akhbaarat, dt. 6 Safar 1119/9 May 1707. Satish Chandra: Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-40), pp. 20, 28-29.

3. Nishan No. 37/12, dt. 14 Muharram 1119/17 April, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. This Nishan had been wrongly mentioned by Bhargava, as Farman, issued by one of the Princes i.e. by Azam or Muazzam. But more correctly this Nishan seems to have been issued by Muzuddin, (and not by Prince Mohideen as had been mentioned in catalogue of Akbars, manshoors etc. R.S.A. Bikaner) son of Shah Alam Bahadur, who at that time was the subehdar of Multan. In this Nishan reference had also been made of a Nishan and Khillat despatched to Ajit Singh earlier. Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, pp. 143-44.
of Udaipur, during the famous Rathor rebellion of 1679, in order to win his support in the war of succession.

But it is noteworthy that none of these two Princes or their sons ever bothered to send any royal decrees to Maharana Amar Singh of Udaipur, with whose predecessor, they had allegedly made secret treaties. The reason for not giving any importance to the Maharana was that the later, according to the tradition; never in the past, had taken any part in such a warfare. Even so, Rana Amar Singh through Bulfiqar Khan, or Asad Khan Jumlatul Mulk, had submitted an Aarzdaasht, and Nazar to Azam on his accession.¹

Thus, except these above mentioned few Rajput chiefs, none of the other Rajput Rajahs participated in this conflict for throne, as each of them had their own plan to deal with the Mughal government in this new situation.

On the fateful day of the battle of Jajua, in June 1707, Jai Singh deserted Azam and joined Bahadur Shah.² But as his brother Bijai Singh from the very beginning was on the side of Bahadur Shah, therefore Jai Singh could not obtain any favour from the new Emperor and the relations between the two

further deteriorated. The author of Azam-ul-Harab says that Jai Singh deserted Azam on the advice of his brother, but Dr. Satish is of the view that, "this seems unlikely, as relations between the two brothers were not good."  

Ajit Singh did not come to support either of the two brothers at Jajua, despite summons being sent to him by the fighting Prince. He on the other hand took full advantage of the prevailing confusion to recover his lost territory. He captured Jodhpur on 12 May 1707, and expelled the Mughal commander, Jafar Quli Khan from the city. Hearing of Ajit Singh's capture of Jodhpur, Mohkam Singh left Mairta, but was wounded by Ajit Singh's men. Later Sojat and Pali had also been recovered by Rathor chief, who purified the fort of Jodhpur with Ganges-water and crowned himself as the Raja of Marwar.  

From the reports of news-writers of the subah of Ajmer His Majesty was surprised to learn the following events that "after the death of Aurangzeb he (Ajit) again turned rebel. He oppressed Musalmans, forbidden Cow Slaughter, prevented the summons for prayer, demolished the mosques which had been repaired and built the new temples."  

Thus Raj Ajjit Singh after a bitter and prolonged struggle had gained his objective. But his occupation of Jodhpur by force of arms provoked the wrath of the new Emperor, who was  

2. Parties and Politics, p. 29  
not prepared to acquiesce in the usurpation by a refractory chief. It was affront to the imperial authority and steps were taken to uphold it by all means.

Khafi Khan is of the opinion that Maharaja Jai Singh and Maharana Amar Singh of Mewar had colluded with Raja Ajit Singh in his military adventures in Jodhpur and Ajmer. But according to an A rzdaasht, it appears that Rana remained neutral in this conflict, and had sent gifts and Nazar to Azam before the battle of Jajua. Further his Vakil, Baghmal has been reported presenting gifts to Ghazuddin Khan Peroz Jung, the subedar of Gujarat to gain imperial favours. Durgadas, too had adopted a policy of caution, and had retired to his jagir instead of supporting the activities of Ajit Singh.

Though our scope of study is limited to the affairs of the city of Ajmer during the short rule of Bahadur Shah (1707-12), but it is necessary for a broader prospective to give a brief survey of the political developments in the province of Ajmer during the period of present study.

Having established his position on firm grounds Bahadur Shah turned his attention towards the Rajput chiefs viz. Raja

Ajit Singh of Marwar, and Raja Jai Singh of Amber, who had not yet reconciled with the new situation that had emerged after the change in Mughal sovereignty. Both these Chieftains, in fact wielded greater power and influence not only in Rajputana, but also at Mughal Court and played an important role in the administration and politics of the empire till the mid-eighteenth century.

**Expeditions against the Rajput Chiefs:**

Anyway, it was decided that the new Emperor should march towards Deccan and on his way through Rajputana, will punish these rebels. Mumim Khan the Nazir had pleaded for the stern action against them. Bhim Sen is of the view that initially Ajit Singh was asked to handover Jodhpur to Mughals, but he ignored this proposal of imperialists.

Royal orders were issued to Hamiduddin Khan Bahadur Alamgiri to enquire from Garawal Khan the distance and stages between Agra and Ajmer. When Ajit Singh learnt of the decision taken by the Mughal Emperor regarding military offensive, he felt terrified and strove to mollify the Emperor. He, therefore, sent a petition and a Nazar of one hundred Ashrafis and one

1. *Ibrat Namah* (MM), f. 56b
thousand rupees, which arrived at court on 8 September 1707. But it in no way affected the attitude of the Emperor and the belated efforts of Raja Ajit Singh aimed at reconciliation yielded no results.

A week after this, Qarawal Khan, and Rustam Dil Khan, Mir Tuzuk moved towards Ajmer to make passage safe and set the stages between Agra and Ajmer for the royal journey which had already been planned. On 15 September 1707, Syed Shujaat Khan was appointed subehdar of Ajmer and his rank increased to 2,500/1,800. He was also given eighty lakhs of damm in inam to meet the expenses of his new undertaking. The newly appointed governor of Ajmer submitted a petition to the Emperor that contained the following points:

(a) Although he is thankful for his new title of Najabat Khan, he will feel more obliged if His Majesty may bestow the title of Asalat Khan instead of Najabat Khan.

(b) Muhammad Sayeed, a servant of the Emperor should be appointed as his deputy with a title and rank of 1000/700.

1. Bahadur Shah Namah, f. 43b. None of the other contemporary sources had mentioned this fact, amongst the modern scholars, Irvine and Dr. Satish both have also missed this important piece of information, while G.D. Sharma a well-known authority on Marwar and Ajit Singh, and Dr. Z.U.Malik are of the opinion that Ajit Singh did not bother to send customary Nazar to the new Emperor, which, too is wrong. Rajput Polity, p. 197. Z.U.Malik: The Reign of Muhammad Shah, p. 46

2. Bahadur Shah Namah, f. 44a. Although Kamwar Khan gives August 12, 1707 as the date of Syed Shujaat Khan's appointment but the author of Bahadur Shah Namah seems more correct. Kamwar Khan: Tarikat-us-Salatin-li-Chaqhta(ed.), p. 19. Nothing in details is known about him except that he was a Syed of Barha, held a rank of 4000 and died in 1128 AH. Mirza Muhammad Tarikh-i-Muhammad, Vol. II, Pt. 6 (ed. I.A. Arshi), p. 34. Dr. Satish is of the view that initially when Asad Khan was sent to Delhi, he was given the subehdar of Lahore, Delhi and Ajmer. Parties and Politics, p. 27.
and finally (c) four mansabdars of his clan, who had been dismissed earlier due to lack of efficiency should be re-appointed. In response to his petition, the emperor ordered the restoration of the dismissed mansabdars — but reduced their ranks by one half and directed that they should serve under him. 1

In the same month of Rajab/October, according to Satish, Mehrab Khan was appointed faujdar of Jodhpur, 2 but Dr. Irvine and G.D. Sharma are of the opinion that he was despatched at the end of 1707, when the royal camp was at Bhusawar. 3

The Emperor stayed in Agra till the end of monsoon and during this period the army consisting of one lakh infantry and two lakhs cavalry was organised and equipped for the proposed campaign in Rajputana and Deccan. 4 It was at Agra that Zinat-un-Nissan Begam was honoured with the title of Hazrat Begam and sent to Delhi, escorted by Asad Khan, the vakil-i-mutlaq who received the title of Asaf-ud-daula, and the subedar of

2. Parties and Politics, p. 30
4. Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghta (Ed.), p. 19
Delhi with a rank of 8,000/8,000/.

The Emperor at last set out for Ajmer on 12 Shaaban/7 November and after a few days he reached Fatehpur Sikri where he paid homage at the shrine of Shaikh Salim Chishti. Much of the time of Ramzan (25 November - 25 December) was spent at Bhusawar on account of the illness of Prince Jahan Shah. Here on 13 Ramzan/9 December, Maharana Amar Singh of Udaipur hearing Bahadur Shah's advance towards Rajputana, sent his brother, Bakht Singh with a petition along with one hundred ashrafis, one thousand rupees, and many other gifts as a tribute to the Emperor. He was presented to the Emperor by Prince Jahandar Shah Bahadur, and was awarded two pearls worth of one thousand rupees.

Meanwhile on 14 Ramzan/9 December 1707 Ali Ahmad Khan, who was holding the post of Diwan of Ajmer and faujdar of Sambhar

References:
4. Bahadur Shah Namah, f. 70b,81a.

Irvine says that this mission of Rana met the Emperor in Shaaban/November 1707 at Bagh Zabar Arrah, while Dr. Satish and Dr. Malik seem unaware of this first mission of Rana. They wrongly consider the second mission of the Mewar chief which met Emperor after the fall of Amber in February 1708, as the first one.

Parties and Politics, p. 32.
since the closing of Aurangzeb's reign, got increment in his rank and Bijai Singh was also promoted.\(^1\) Jai Singh too accompanied the Emperor on his journey towards Ajmer in the hope of obtaining recognition of his succession to the gaddi of Amber but to his chagrin he was directed to vacate the fort of Amber, when the royal camp arrived at Bhusawar.\(^2\) The imperial orders were immediately compiled with and on 20 Ramzan 1119/15 December 1707, it was reported by Syed Hussain Khan Barah, the faujdar of Amber that the fort had been vacated by the Raja's men.\(^3\)

The royal camp moved leisurely towards Amber. On the way a letter from harkaras informed that Durgadas had advised Raja Ajit Singh to abandon his thanas from Jodhpur etc., and to submit to the Emperor.\(^4\) As the imperial army was approaching near Amber, Ali Ahmad Khan, faujdar of Sambhar, as well

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1. Bahadur-Shah-Nameh: f. 79b
2. Muskha-i-Dilkushe, f. 169
   Dr. Satish is of the opinion that after the battle of Jajua, Jai Singh was informed that Amber will be given to gijai Singh, after its formal confiscation to Khalisa. When this order was passed, mace bearer were also sent to Diwan and subedar of Ajmer to do the needful in this connection and to take possession of Chatsu which had been granted to the subedar of Ajmer in tankhawah jagir.
4. Akhbaarat: dt. 4 Shawwal 1119/1 R.Y./29 December 1707.
as of suburbs of Ajmer, arrived at court offered nine ashrafis and twenty one rupees as Nazar on 11 January 1708. It has also been reported by the Vakil of Ajit Singh that the Raja was sitting pretty secure at Jodhpur.¹

Soon afterwards Syed Shujaat Khan subedar of Ajmer arrived and offered 9 ashrafis. He was ordered to keep half of his contingent, and march with the advance party, and the remaining half was to send in the direction of Chandarwal. The Mutawwalli (custodian) of the shrine of Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti also had audience, and offered sacred tabarock of the shrine, a sword, three pieces of cloth and one gamisha.²

Bahadur Shah Arrives at Amber:

Bahadur Shah arrived at Amber on 20 January 1708, the Princes entered the fort and the city was renamed Islamabad.³

2. Bahadur-Shah-Nama, f. 87b, 89a.

Dr. Malik seems confused when he says that by the end of 1708, the Emperor himself arrived at Amber. It was in the beginning of 1708 and not in the end of 1708, that Amber became the abode of Bahadur Shah.

Further Dr. Satish Chandra on the basis of Akbbarat claims that Amber was renamed Mominabad. But two important contemporary sources quoted above inform that it was renamed Islamabad. The Reign of Muhammad Shah, p. 46. Parties and Politics, p. 30 (77).
Raja Jai Singh tamely submitted to the imperial orders and did nothing to assert or defend his interest, as he knew that any move against the wishes of the Emperor would ruin his chances of succession to the gaddi of Amber. His brother Bijai Singh was in the royal camp and successfully manipulating to secure recognition of his claim.

Amber was incorporated to khalsa as the dispute over its possession between the two brothers had not been resolved. It was placed under the charge of Syed Ahmad Saeed Khan Barha, formerly the faujdar of Mewat, while his brother Syed Hassan Khan Barha was ordered to establish thanas in the territory, and was given the charge of Narnol.

1. From a number of Vakil Reports and Aarzdaasht of Aurangzeb's period it appears that Bijai Singh's relation with his brother Jai Singh were not cordial, though later was always eager to get suitable jagirs and mansab for him. Vakil Reports (P) Nos: 737, 744, 831, 839 Jumadiul Awwal 14 Jamadiul Akhir 1116, 4, 25 Jamadiul Awwal 1118/28 Sept. 14 Oct., 1704, 14 August, 4 September, 1706. Aarzdaasht: No 240, 241, dt. Jayashtha Sudi 10, Sarvana Sudi 9, 1703/19 June, 17 August 1706.


Kamwar is of the opinion that the zamindari of Amber had been bestowed upon Bijai Singh at this time.

The author of sharh-i-Halasat-i-Bahadur Shah informs that Syed Hussain Khan was appointed to look after the affairs of Amber, while on his request his three brothers viz Syed Hasan, Syed Ahmad Saeed Khan and Syed Izzat Khan were given the faujdaries of Narnol, Sambhar and Hindaun-Biyana to cope with the situation.

Sharh-i-Halasat-i-Bahadur Shah, p. 3; Dr. Satish had mistakenly stated that Syed Hussain Khan, was the faujdar of Mewar (Udaipur), who, actually was the faujdar of Mewat (Narnol). Parties and Politics, p. 31.
The Emperor stayed here for three days during which people out of fear deserted the town. The mutasaddiq began to confiscate the properties of the Raja, but these were soon returned to him, and after sometimes even the kingdom was returned to Bijai Singh whom the Emperor recognised as the legal heir to it.¹

The view of Bhim Sen that Bahadur Shah had a plan to annex the territory of Amber in order to distribute it among his nobles as jagir is untenable² for the simple reason that Amber was soon bestowed upon Bijai Singh. Dr. Satish is of the view that the exact purpose of Bahadur Shah's policy towards Amber is not clear. He does not seem to establish direct control over it.³

It seems that the new Emperor wanted to reward his old associate Bijai Singh and wanted to punish Jai Singh, who had sided with Aurangzeb. But Jai Singh though unsuccessful in his efforts, aimed at changing the mind of the Emperor, and winning his favours, yet all this time he behaved like a submissive vassal tolerating every kind of indignity and insultation.

1. Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghta(ed.) 24; Dast Namah (MM), f. 56b.
2. Nuskha-i-Dilkusha, f. 169b, 172a. He had also expressed similar idea with regard to the conquest of Deccan.
3. Parties and Politics, pp. 30-31. It seems that Dr. Satish himself is not clear in this matter. At another place he remarks that Bahadur Shah simply took advantage of a disputed succession to transfer the gaddi, from one branch of the house which he distrusted to another. But again he says "Bahadur Shah's action in Amber closely resembles that of Aurangzeb in Jodhpur ... to gain greater control over Rajputana and trade routes passing through it."
dagger worth of rupees five thousand to Bakht Singh to be delivered to Rana Amar Singh his brother.\(^1\)

**Ajit Singh's Submission:**

On 8 February news arrived at court that Ajit Singh had invaded Maira, but he was repulsed by Mihrab Khan and the place was captured and was well defended by the Mughals.\(^2\)

As the Emperor had decided to march towards Jodhpur via Sanganer and Kishangarh instead of the route of Pushkar, he ordered that Syed Hussain Khan Barah, faujdar of Amber and Khan-i Alam, the Khan-i-Saman should start for Ajmer with all the extra luggage. Prince Rafi-ush-Shaam escorted by Raja Bijai Singh was also permitted to proceed to Ajmer in order to offer prayers at the shrine of Khwaja Sahib.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Bahadur Shah Namah, ff. 96b, 100a, 102a.

\(^2\) Bahadur Shah Namah, f. 102a.

\(^3\) Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, vol. II, P. 60.
On 20 Ziqad/11 Feb, Bahauddin, the calligraphist received a khilat and a copy of Quran as gifts to be presented to Sabir Ali, the Mutawwalli of the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. Kesri Singh, Zamindar of Rajgarh, came and offered five ashrafis to the Emperor. Soon afterwards, Sadat Khan was appointed deputy of Khan-i-Alam and was ordered to proceed to Ajmer, and take necessary measures for the defence of the city. Thus, Bhatnagar is totally wrong in his version that Bahadur Shah went to Maira from Ajmer, as all these events clearly indicate that Bahadur Shah did not visit Ajmer at this stage. Irvin also says that after reaching in the neighbourhood of Ajmer he announced about his plan to march to Jodhpur.

Durgadas sent an arzi to Emperor and in response to this petition a farman was sent to the veteran Rathor through Qibad Beg, the mace-bearer. The Emperor also enquired about his jagir etc. G.D. Sharma remarks that Durgadas was keen to get some imperial mansab and jagirs etc, for himself, he, therefore,

1. Bahadur-Shah-Nama, f. 103a.
  Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, p. 50.
4. Akhbaarati: dt. 21 Ziqad 1119/12 February 1708.
sent a petition and also suggested Ajit Singh to evacuate Jodhpur.\(^1\) In fact it was the only alternative to a long struggle with the Mughals which he was unable to renew at this stage of his life and in view of the conciliatory policy adopted by Aurangzeb's successor. In response to his petition the Emperor assured him of maintaining his security and dignity by writing a letter in which objectives and principles of the government were clearly set forth.

When the Emperor was moving towards Marwar territory near Mairta, another petition from Ajit Singh was received, requesting the Emperor to despatch a grand noble to hold talks for a peaceful settlement. Accordingly, on 20 February, Khan-i-Zaman the Wazir's son accompanied by Raja Budh Singh Hada, and Nahar Khan sent to open negotiations with the Raja Ajit Singh and explain the position of the imperial government with regard to the control of Jodhpur.\(^2\) At the same time, Inder Singh a cousin and an old foe of Ajit Singh (who was the Zamindar of Nagor) was also striving hard to stake his claim to the gaddi of Jodhpur. To achieve his purpose he met the Emperor in

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1. **Rajput Polity**, p. 197, Sharma strongly had referred *Akbaarat, dt. 31 Zil Hij 1119*; for this information. It is really as astonishing that the learned scholar is unaware that none of the Hijra month exceed beyond 30 days.

2. *Tazkira-i-Salatin-i-Chaghta* (ed.), pp. 25, 350. Dr. Irvin has wrongly mentioned the name of Najbat Khan instead of Nahar Khan. The latter named noble had always played a key role in the Mughal Mewar relations and had served the imperialists in the subah till Muhammad Shah's reign, when he was assassinated by Ajit Singh at Ajmer. *Later Mughals, Vol. I*, p. 48; *Vol. II*, p. 112. *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh*, p. 102.
private hall and offered 1,000 gold coins and 2,000 rupees, the highest Nazar ever presented by a Rajput Rajah, during the period under review. However, Ajit Singh had arrived in the royal camp, escorted by Khan-i-Zaman, and was ordered that he should stay in the camp with Munim Khan, the Wazir.¹

On the following day i.e. on 24 February 1708, Ajit Singh presented himself before the Emperor with both hands tied by handkerchief. He made his obeisance and surrendered like a penitent rebel, offered one hundred ashrarfis and one thousand rupees. He was graciously received by the large hearted Bahadur Shah who first pardoned all his crimes and then awarded special robe of honour and embroidered scarf. This formal ceremony was followed by serious talks for settlement of relevant issue which had embittered the relations between the Rathor chief and the Mughal government.²

According to Khafi Khan, terms of settlement arrived at after much haggling and the Raja agreed to re-establish Mughal judicial system which he had repudiated in the course of his

¹ Bahadur Shah Nama:ff. 106,109ab,110a,120b. Rajput Polity, p.197
Dr. Malik had mistakenly mentioned the year as 1704, instead of 1708, while Harbilas Sharda is totally wrong in his version that on 20 March 1708, Ajit Singh had audience with Bahadur Shah at Kallu, a village near Ajmer and from there both went towards Ajmer. Reign of Muhammad Shah, p. 47
Ajmer-Historical and Descriptive: p. 133
revolt. The **gazi**, **mufti** and other judicial officers appointed by the government should be allowed to function in Jodhpur and other towns of Raja's estate. The mosques would be re-opened for the prayers of Muslims. Ajit Singh agreed to have in his estate officers for the collection of **Jaziya**. Thus Jodhpur was brought under control of **Khalisa**, and no **manga** and **jagir** at this stage was given to Raja and the issue of his **watan** was kept pending.

On the occasion of **Id-d-ul-Zuha** and coronation festivities held during the month of Zil Hij (March) at Mairta and Jaitaran respectively, a number of Rajput chiefs and officials of the **subah** of Ajmer were rewarded suitably. Ajit Singh got the title of **Maharaja**, special robe of honour and a jewelled turban ornament, while Rao Budh Singh Hada, Raja Bijai Singh, Hassan Ali Khan got jewelled **sarpech** (ornament used in front of turban). Syed Shujaat Khan, **subedar** of Ajmer was given a jewelled bettel box, and Raja Jai Singh, a special **khilat**, jewelled dagger and a ring.


   Though V.S. Bhatnagar considers the versions of these contemporary writers as a usual rhetoractic style of Muslim chronicles, the fact is that Ajit Singh agreed that **gazi**, **mufti** etc. should be appointed in his territory to enforce the laws of shariat. *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh*, pp. 51-52, 56-59.

2. Bhatnagar had claimed that Ajit Singh was given the title of Maharaja and a rank of 3,500/3,000, and a couple of **Farganas** at this stage. But in fact the title of Maharaj was given to him in March 1708 at the coronation ceremony and the **manga** was bestowed upon him in April 1708 - a week before his flight from the imperial camp. *Bahadur Shah Namah*; f. 116a. *Rajput Polity*, pp. 48, 73, *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh*; p. 51. *Later Muqals*, vol. I, p. 48.
Nagore

The Zamindar of Bikaner, Kota, and Durgadas Rathor were also rewarded and Nahar Khan was made a mansabdar of 1,500/700.

The policy of reconciliation and adjustment which Bahadur Shah adopted during his first regnal year brought desired results. Lessening tension in the Mughal-Rajput relationship, darkened by long years of incessant conflicts and clashes at the end of the preceding century. Maharana Amar Singh of Mewar, Maharaja Ajit Singh of Marwar, and Raja Jai Singh of Amber, former rebels, were now aligned to Mughal crown through peaceful means. The other section of Rajput Chiefs like Bijai Singh, Rao Budh Singh, Raja Inder Singh, had remained loyal to Emperor throughout this period. Rao Sujan Singh of Bikaner and Bhim Singh of Kota came and offered Nazars and were rewarded liberally. Besides these main Rajahs a number of small zamindars had also waited upon the Emperor as he marched from Agra to Amber, then to Mairta and finally to Ajmer. Thus a difficult problem was partly solved.


Kamwar had mentioned 2 Zil Hij, as the date of the beginning of coronation ceremonies and the change in R.Y. of Bahadur Shah, whereas the exact date is 18 Zil Hij. He says that on 1 Zil Hij, princes and nobles offered Nazars to the Emperor and on 18 Zil Hij, the Emperor rewarded them suitably. But the most interesting point is that Kamwar himself had changed the Hijra year from 1119 to 1120 with the beginning of the month of Zil Hij. This change was more surprisingly followed by Muzaffar Alam who had edited the work. The Edition of Muzaffar Alam, p. 268, p. 25.
before the Emperor left Rajputana on his way towards Deccan.

Bahadur Shah's First Visit to Ajmer:

The Emperor after sixteen marches arrived at Ajmer, on the 3rd Muḥarram 1120 and stayed outside Madar gate — where at present lies the Railway Station and main market of the city. Next day on 4th Muḥarram 1120/25 March 1708, Bahadur Shah accompanied by princes and nobles, went to the shrine of Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti. He offered one thousand ashrafis and eleven thousand rupees as Nazar to the Mijavars(functionaries) of dargah recited fateha, offered thanks-giving prayer as well as noon (zuhr) prayer and after staying for few hours in dargah returned back. He was presented a sword, a drum, a white-turban, and some sweet of shrine by the functionaries and religious dignitaries of shrine. Qassim Aurangabadi states that after performing ziyarat at shrine of Khwaja Sahib the Emperor had also visited Garh-Bithli, and paid homage to the shrine of Mian Syed Hussain, there. But it seems impossible


2. Akhbaarat: 4 Muḥarram 1120/25 March. Danishmand Khan states that he offered one thousand ashrafis and two thousand rupees; while Kamwar Khan mentions that he offered only two thousand rupees at the shrine. But according to Akhbaarat it was during his second visit i.e. on next day, that he offered five thousand rupees.

to visit the fort etc. in such a short span.¹

Syed Shujaat Khan, *Nasim* of Ajmer offered one hundred *ashrafis* to the Emperor in the city. Tahawwur Allahdad, Fazil Khan, and Ghulam Muhammad etc., were given *inam* and increment in their ranks.² During his stay at Ajmer, Bahadur Shah visited the shrine of Khwaja Sahib on a number of occasions, and even offered Friday prayers at the mosque of shrine.³ A prediction of his victory over Kam Baksh had also been made at the shrine by the *Khadime*. Qassim Aurangabadi also informs that on 5th Muharram/26 March arrangements were also made in the city for the visit of royal *harem* (ladies) to the shrine. It was ordered that none other than ladies should come out in the way to greet them. Afterwards Begam and maid-servants visited *Dargah* and paid respect and according to their status offered *Nazar* there. Then the royal ladies went towards Mina Bazar, which had been specially decorated in their reception from there they went to gardens and then returned back to palaces.⁴

¹ Qassim Aurangabadi: *Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin* f. 17ab.
² *Bahadur Shah Namah*: f. 123b.
³ *Akhbaarat*: dt. 7 Muharram 1120/2 R.Y./28 March 1708.
⁴ *Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin*: f. 19a.
Bahadur Shah Starts for Dacca:

On 1 April, Bahadur Shah left Ajmer on his march towards the Dacca to fight the second battle of succession with his younger brother Kam Bakhsh. Syed Shujaat Khan, subedar of Ajmer, Syed Ali Ahmad Khan, Diwan of Ajmer, and Ali Raza Khan son of Shujaat Khan, Syed Hussain Khan, and Ahmed Sayeed Khan faujdars of Mewat and Amber, accompanied the Emperor to some stages and then bid him farewell. They all were sent back on 8 April, with robes of honour and other rewards.¹

On 3 Safar/23 April 1706 Raja Ajit Singh son of Jaswant Singh was made a mansabdar of 3,500/3,000 (1000 do-aspa) and given standard and a drum. His son Abhay Singh got a mansab of 1000/500; while the second son Bakht Singh was given a rank of 700/200, and two other younger sons got a rank of 500/100 each.²

After a week it was reported to Bahadur Shah that Maharaja Ajit Singh, Raja Jai Singh, and Durgadas Rathor had slipped from the imperial camp at Mandeshwar (a pargana in Malwa) and had fled to Udaipur where the Rana had welcomed them.³

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2. Taqdirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed.), p. 27.
   Denishmand Khan had wrongly mentioned Inder Singh son of Jaswant Singh instead of Ajit Singh. Irvin had mentioned the name of Ajit Singh's second son Rakhi Singh whereas his name was Bakht Singh. Kamvar gives the date of this incident 7 Safar 1120/27 April instead of 4 Safar/24 April. Bahadur Shah Namah: f. 128a; Later Mughals, I.p.48. Rajput Policy, p.198.
Kamwar Khan has criticized the laxity in keeping strict vigilance over the movements of Rajahs and failure of the government in pursuing them, after their flight from the imperial camp.¹

But Bhatnagar is of the view that the Rajahs knew that after crossing Narmada with the imperial convoy, it will be difficult for them to run away. Secondly it was not possible for imperialists to follow them as the, Deccan affairs was of such importance at this juncture. He is also critical of the action of Rajahs, who, without waiting for more favours, left the camp.²

Thus, the first phase of Bahadur Shah's relations and dealings with Rajput Rajahs came to an end. He spent two years in the Deccan, and his long absence from northern India gave ample time to them, to act according to their own plans and strategy inspite of the best efforts of the imperial officers to check their activities in subah of Ajmer during this long period.

Assessment of Mughal Rajput Relations, and The Imperial Policy Towards them:

Some of the modern writers and contemporary historians of the period under review, have criticized Bahadur Shah and his nobles/their expansionist policies.

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¹ Taskirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed.) p.27
² Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, pp.53-54.
in Rajputana and are of the view that the Mughal Emperor supported, by some of his nobles continued to keep hold over Jodhpur and Amber, by unjustly ignoring the hereditary claims of their rulers.\(^1\) Mirza Muhammad, the author of *Ibrat Nama*, holds Munim Khan, the wazir, responsible for pursuance of this short sighted policy towards the Rajahs. In his opinion, it was he, who advised His Majesty to put them off, with sweet words and empty promises, while their countries were brought under the charge of imperial officers.\(^2\) Dr. Satish Chandra sees no difference between the policies followed by Bahadur Shah and Aurangzeb, towards these Rajput chiefs. According to him, both were resolved to establish central rule over the capital cities of Jodhpur and Amber, for imperial interests.\(^3\) But as has been mentioned earlier the learned scholar seems confused in regard of Bahadur Shah's policy towards Amber. As regard Jodhpur, Satish had followed Khafi Khan and Danishmand Khan, who are of the view that the Mughal Emperor distrusted Ajit Singh, who in the past had broken his pledge of loyalty and good conduct. It was on this account that the Emperor could not conceded to his request of restoring Jodhpur to him.\(^4\) Dr. Bhargava also writes that

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2. *Ibrat Nama*, f. 57a
   *Parties and Politics*, p. 33
conspicuously clear to Bahadur Shah — who was forced to march to Rajputana to chastise Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, who had sided with Asam at Jajua.\(^1\) His worst doubts about their character and plans came true when both of them, left him without his permission and fermented disorder in Rajputana.

However, contemporary evidences tend to suggest, that not all the Mughal princes and nobles, were unsympathetic towards the Rajputs, particularly Prince Azim-us-Shaun, Jahandar Shah and Asad Khan, who were apparently eager for a compromise with them.

In fact, at the court, the mutual rivalry between Munim Khan and Asad Khan reflected their conflicting approaches and attitudes, for the solution of this complicated issue. While Asad Khan advocated a policy of conciliation with Rajput chiefs, Munim Khan, the wazir, argued against it.\(^2\) However, none of them could influence the mind of the Emperor, and their suggestions has no bearing on his measures, to deal with the situation pertaining in Rajputana. His was an independent course, unguided by anyone excepting, the imperial interests. The well laid plans of Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, to assert their independence, in the areas of their jurisdiction, were clearly beyond the limits of tolerance for the imperial government, which claimed

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1. Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, p.147.

Regarding Asad Khan's friendly attitude towards the Rajahs there are a number of vakil reports, azdaashts, and letters of Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, preserved in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
paramountcy over the whole of country.

Danishmand Khan rightly had criticized the Rajput chiefs for their hostilities against the Mughal Emperor who was continuously seeking their cooperation by bestowing on them rewards and gifts.¹

However, Mirza Muhammad's version that the affairs of their jagirs and watan had been deliberately prolonged, can easily be argued as a wise move of Bahadur Shah who wanted to test them and utilize their services in the final round of the war of succession.² Even William Irvin had also expressed his surprise at the attitude of Rana Amar Singh, who offered submission to the sovereign but at the same time, formed secret alliance with the Rajahs of Jodhpur and Amber against him. Tikkiwal too holds the same view.³

\[\text{Jodhpur and Amber re-Occupied by the Rajputs;}\]

At Udaipur the three Rajput chiefs entered into a triple alliance by which they agreed to act in concert in all matters.

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2. Ibrat Namah (MM), f. 57a.
The Rana promised to help the two in recovering their watans. He also married his daughter to Jai Singh with a condition that the son born of that princess should succeed Jai Singh as the ruler of Amber. While they were thus vigorously planning to launch military offensive against the imperialists in Rajputana, the Emperor was busy in sending conciliatory letters to them to prevent them from damaging the government interests and authority, and gaining popular support among the local people. Even Prince Jahandar Shah sent a ḍīshan to Maharana Amar Singh asking to play the role of a mediator to effect a compromise between the government and the two refractory Rajahs, Ajit Singh and Jai Singh. Asad Khan repeatedly wrote and advised these Rajahs to abolish their thanas from Sambher etc.

Having completed military preparation in all details Ajit Singh struck the first blow. At the head of strong army of thirty thousand horsemen he attacked Jodhpur where Mehrab Khan the imperial commander could not hold it for more than five days and ultimately through the intervention of Durgadas,


2. Farman to Jai Singh No.533, dt. Safar 1120/May 1708. R.S.A. Bikaner, Dr. Satish is incorrect when he mentions that the farman was issued in the 1 R.Y. of Bahadur Shah which in fact was issued in 2 R.Y. Parties & Politics, p. 294


he escaped, evacuating Jodhpur. Kazi Khan and Mufti Ghaus also left Jodhpur. Jai Singh who stayed at Sur Sagar near Jodhpur at the moment and had helped Ajit Singh in recovering his watan, now planned to capture Amber. The armies of both rebel Rajahs moved towards Amber as has been reported by the Sawanh-Nigar of Ajmer at imperial court on 1 Rabi-ul-Akhir 1120/19 June 1708. On this information the Emperor appointed Piroz Khan, as the faujdar of Sambher, Didwana etc., with a rank of 2,000/2,000, gifts and an amount of rupees twenty thousand to meet the expenses of his new assignment. He also ordered Amir Khan, subehdar of Agra to take strict action against rebels.

Syed Shujaat Khan, subehdar of Ajmer reported to the royal court that the combined armies of the Rajahs under Ram Chand and Sanwal das consisting of 12,000 horsemen, 15,000 footmen (soldiers) attacked Amber. He therefore immediately despatched a contingent of 2000 Sawars and 1000 troopers to help the Mughal garrison of Amber. Thus, Syed Hussain Khan the faujdar, Ahmed Saeed Khan and Syed Mehmood had foiled their attempts, and had killed seven hundred of the rebels. The imperialists rejoiced the news of victory at the court and the ranks of Syed Shujaat Khan, Syed Hussain Khan, Syed Hassan Khan, Ahmed Saeed Khan and a number of other Mughal officials who were serving in this area were enhanced, and they were also

1. _Ibrat Namah_(MM), f. 57b. _Bahadur Shah Namah_, f. 186b
2. _Tazkiraat-um-Salaatin-i-Chaghta_(ed.), p. 31
3. _Arzdaasht_(E), No. 259, dt. Ashada Sudi 2, 1765/19 June 1708.
4. _Bahadur Shah Namah_, f. 145a
rewarded suitably. But this victory of imperialists happened to be short-lived and soon in August 1708, the Rajput in a surprise night-attack on Amber compelled Syed Hussain Khan Barha, the faujdar to retreat and surrender the place to the victors. After the fall of Amber, Bahadur Shah dismissed Syed Hussain Khan, but later re-appoint him as the faujdar of Mewat on the request from the imperial officer. Finding the imperialists in tight corner he also granted rupees one lakh as subsidy to Syed Shujaat Khan Bazim of Ajmer for the payment of the salaries of Mughal army.

1. Syed Shujaat Khan’s rank was raised to 3500/2000, Syed Hussain Khan got the title of Fateh Ali Khan, Hassan Khan Ahmad Saeed Khan, Ikram Khan, Dildar Khan, faujdar of Mewat, Mathura, Hindiun-Biyana, Bairat-Sanghana got increment of 500 in their previous ranks. Surprisingly Irvine considers this victory report false. But this had been narrated by many contemporary writers, even some of the modern scholars are of the view that initially the Rajputs failed in their attempt to recover Amber.

Tikkiwal is also incorrect when he states that this battle took place in 1710. It should be noted that on this date Amber was already under the possession of Jai Singh.

Bahadur Shah Nameh f. 149b, 151ab, 157a.
Akhbaraat: dt. 22 Rabi II, 1120/12 July, 1708.
Late-Mughals: Vol. I, p. 68.
Jaipur and the Late-Mughals: pp. 23–24, 29.
Life and Time of Sawai Jai Singh, pp. 56–57

Ibrat Nameh (MM), f. 58a, Vir Vinod: Vol. II, p. 837
personal and for other military expenses. Nevertheless, the Emperor in spite of this open revolt of the Rajahs, and their anti-government activities, in October, 1708, on the recommendations of Asad Khan, Prince Azimus-Shaah, and Syed Shujaat Khan, restored their mansab and was even considering to grant their watan jagira. But soon the news of the fall of Sambher compelled Bahadur Shah to defer their case.

On the other hand Bahadur Shah dissatisfied with the conduct of Shujaat Khan in the recent fighting had ordered for this dismissal from the governorship of Ajmer and in his place appointed Syed Abdullah Khan on 17 October 1708, with a

   In fact Bhai Khan Shujai the Mughal Commander at Ranthambore had sent a petition to the Emperor to grant money for the payment of salaries of the troopers. Akhbaarat: dt. 5 Jamadi-us-Saani, 1120/21 August, 1708.
   It is strange to note that at this crucial state, Syed Shujaat Khan Nazim and his sons had fought a battle in Ajmer city, killing and injuring about fifteen persons. The son of governor ran towards khatu with 1000 animals etc.

2. Arzdaasht(R), No. 261, dt. Ashvina Badi 8, 1765/6 September 1708.
   Danishmand Khan had stated that on the recommendation of Syed Shujaat Khan Nazim of Ajmer, the Emperor agreed to restore Amber and Jodhpur to Jai Singh and Ajit Singh respectively. Bahadur Shah Namah: ff. 161a, 165ab, 166; According to Satish, Ajit Singh got a rank of 4000/3000, while Jai Singh was granted a mansab of 2500/2000, and their all former jagirs were also restored except Amber and Jodhpur which was kept under khalisa. Parties and Politics, p. 295. Irvin simply had mentioned about the grant of ranks to these Rajahs. While an Arzdaasht of Panchot Jagjivandas informed that the ranks of both Rajahs and Durgadas had been increased. Latey Mughals, Vol. I, p. 71. Arzdaasht(R), No. 261, dt. Kartika Badi 5, 1765/7 October, 1708. Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, p. 61
rank of 4000/2000. The demands of the new subehdar concerning matters of appointments of officers under him were also accepted by the Mughal monarch.¹

At the same time Daver Bakhash was also appointed Wagai-Nigar of the province of Ajmer on 21 October 1708.²

Anyway, both the Rajahs, after capturing their watans (homelands) stayed near Ajmer for a short period. They visited Pushkar, and performed religious rites there. When they heard about the appointment of Syed Abdullah Khan in the province they thought it better to finalise their plans of aggression before the arrival of this experienced and capable general. Therefore, they quietly proceeded towards Sambher without creating any disturbance at Ajmer.³ Dr. Satish and a few other

1. Bahadur Shah Namah ff 167a, 168ab. Akhbarat 2, 11, 1110/16.25 October 1708. He also demanded the faujdarof Nathambore and gilledaris of Jodhpur, aiyath, for himself.
H.C. Tikkiwal, and the author of District Gazetteer of Ajmer had mistakenly stated that Abdullah Khan was appointed after the Battle of Sambher, in November, December 1708. But nearly all the contemporary sources clearly inform that he was posted at Ajmer in October 1708. Jaipur and the later Mughals, p. 26. Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Ajmer, P72.

2. Akhbarat dt. 7 Shaaban 1120.

modern writers have confused this particular visit of both these Rajahs with another visit during which Ajit Singh had besieged Ajmer and which had taken place in February 1709, after the battle of Sambher.¹

In this famous battle of Sambher fought in November, 1708 the Rajputs emerged victorious. Syed Hussain Khan faujdar of Mewat who bore the burnt of fighting perished in the battlefield along with his two brothers and fifty followers. The Mughal Commander was himself responsible for this disaster to the Mughal arms and prestige, as he had failed to organize his forces in proper order and take necessary measures for a safe retreat in the event of impending doom. However, this military defeat was a fatal blow to the power and position of the Mughals in Rajputana. The two Rajput chiefs divided the parganah of Sambher among themselves and then attacked and plundered other places.

¹ Parties and Politics, pp. 35, 296. Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 149. At one place Dr. Satish says that before invading Sambher, they besieged Ajmer city for eleven days, but at another place contradicts his own version when he remarks that it was in February 1709, that Ajit Singh had besieged Ajmer with 20,000 sawars.

It appears that it was during this turbulent period that Ali Ahmad Khan, who was the son of the teacher (Ustad) of Aurangzeb and was serving in the province since the last decade of Aurangzeb's reign was imprisoned by Jai Singh, and for whose release, his vakil on a number of occasions had written to him.¹

The Emperor had expressed his profound grief over the defeat and death of Syed Hussain Khan, but finding himself occupied in the contest with Kam Bakhsh in the Deccan, he postponed the chastisement of these rebels, till his return from there. He directed the governors of different provinces to march to Delhi in order to deal with the problems created by these chieftains in the province of Ajmer. Asad Khan, who had been put in supreme charge of the provinces of Lahore, Delhi and Ajmer opened negotiations with Rajah Jai Singh for


He seems to be the son of Syed Muhammad Chishti of Qannua, who was the teacher of Aurangzeb, and a brother of Syed Amjad Khan the Chief Sadr of Bahadur Shah. He was serving in the subah of Ajmer since 1694 in various capacities.
settlement and did not leave Delhi at this juncture. Interestingly enough H.C. Tikkiwal says that Asad Khan on the advice of Nizamul Mulk prevailed upon Bahadur Shah to grant a suitable rank and jagir to Jai Singh. The learned scholar seems ignorant of the fact that Asad Khan and Nizamul Mulk were the same and one person. Asafa-ud-Daula Nizamul Mulk was the title of Asad Khan given by Bahadur Shah on his appointment as Vakil-i-Mutlag.

Although Jai Singh in January 1709 had been informed that Syed Abdullah Khan the newly appointed governor had started vigorous preparation to invade Rajputana and will soon move towards Ajmer in order to recapture Amber, Jodhpur and Maita, but it seems that his appointment was cancelled on the manipulation of Asad Khan who did not like a stern policy against his Rajput friends.

3. Arzdaashti(R), No. 276, dt. 27 January, 1709.
However Dr. Satish is of the opinion that after the victory at Sambhar, the rebels made little progress elsewhere, and contented themselves mostly with plundering. But the fact is that there Rajahs/plundering the imperial territories had recovered a number of places and also took active post in other political affairs. According to G.D. Sharma, Ajit Singh attacked Nagore, realised money from its ruler, secured control over Jodhpur, Mairta, Sojat, Jaitaran and Phalodi. A contingent was also sent by them to install Rao Gopal Singh at the gaddi of Rampura without the imperial approval. Finally both these planned and prepared to attack on Ajmer city which was the head quarter of imperial power and prestige.

On the authority of Kamvar Khan, Dr. Satish further states that on 8th Zil Hij 1120/2RY/18 February 1709, Amber was restored to Jai Singh at the instance of Munim Khan. Surprisingly the source which he had referred for this information e.g. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin Chaqhta informs that on 8th Zil Hij

1. Parties and Politics, p. 35.
3. Parties and Politics, p. 296. Satish had referred the Aligarh MS of Tazkirat-us-Salaatin Chaqhta f 311b.
1120/3 Y.R./18 February 1709, on the request of Khan-i-Khanan (wazir Munim Khan), the zamindari of Amber, was conferred upon Bijai Singh, the other claimant for the gaddi of Amber, who was a favourite of Bahadur Shah, and had accompanied him to Deccan.¹

The Battle of Ajmer Zil Hij 1120/February, 1709:

When all these negotiations were going on, Ajit Singh along with 20,000 sawars dashed upon Ajmer. According to some of the modern writers Syed Shujaat Khan, on the announcement of his removal from the subehdari of Ajmer had invited the Rathor Chief to take the possession of the City.² Surprisingly, Jai Singh who took keen interest in the planning of this assault on Ajmer did not move out from Amber and preferred to remain neutral, probably in a bid to cleanse his image in the eyes of the imperialists, further it has also been claimed that at this time his vakil was busy at the court to settle the issues of his mansab and jagirs. Moreover, Jai Singh was also aware and

¹ Tazikirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaqhta(MS), f. 286, It clearly states the beginning of 3 R.Y. with the start of Zil Hij.

² Jodhpur Rajya ka Itihas, II, p. 546
afraid of his brother Bijai Singh, who was pressing the Emperor for the grant of Amber to him. Ajit Singh, however, laid siege to the city fort of Ajmer known as Daulet Khana which continued for fifteen days. He plundered the villages around the city. He was ably supported by Bithaldas Bhandhari a Marwari noble in his campaign against imperialists and other local zamindars who were loyal to Mughal crown.

During this critical hour none of the imperial officer of the subah dared to dash upon Ajmer to help the worried subehdar. Only Ranbaz Khan son of Feroz Khan Mewati who was the thanedar of Mandel, Syed Hussain Khan, another son of Feroze Mewati holding a rank of 600, and Nahar Khan, arrived at Ajmer.

1. Rajput Polity: pp.226,243(Footnote. Nos. 45-49). For this information Sharma had mistakenly referred the Vakil Reports (R) of Ashada Badi 14, Magh Badi 4, 8 1767/24 June 1710, 7, 11 January, 1711, the first is of the date when Bahadur Shah himself was at Ajmer and had pardoned the faults of the Rajahs, rewarded them and confirmed their watan. The remaining two reports are of the period when the Emperor was in Punjab and from there he was summoning these Rajahs to attend court. Interestingly enough, the Vakil Report he had referred about the activities of Bijai Singh is of Magha Sudi 3, 1769/28 January 1713 (Nos. 199,200 & R.S.A. Bikaner) when Farrukhisiyar was the ruler of Hindustan.

Dr. Satish’s version that as Ajit Singh did not help Jai Singh in recovering his watan, therefore the later was unhappy with the Rathor Chief is difficult to believe, because after the capture of Amber both these Rajahs had jointly attacked and captured Sambher and had even planned the attack on Ajmer. However, it is possible that on the idea of returning Sambhar back to the imperialists, a difference may have arisen between the two. Parties and Politics, p. 296.

Moreover, from the perusal of some Vakil Reports(P) it appears that the Vakil of Amber had repeatedly instructed Jai Singh to disassociate himself with Ajit Singh in his anti-government activities and that may have been the only reason of Jai Singh keeping away from the onslaught on Ajmer. Vakil Reports, dated 1120/21/1708/9

2. Akhbaarat: dt. 29 Muharram 1 Safar 1121/10,12 April 1709
and had blocked the approaches to the city. The Mewatis positioned themselves around the Akbari palace-cum-fort. On the other hand Ajit Singh who had stationed himself near Dantrah village and then on Pal Bisla (around Bisla Lake) attacked the defensive line of the Mewatis with cannons and guns, compelling them to retreat within the city wall, and to take shelter in the fort. A number of imperialists specially Mewatis, including Hasan Khan son of Feroze Khan were killed. Ajit Singh then plundered the outskirts of the city known as Ganj and for fifteen days besieged the city fort, and not the Garh-Bithli as has been wrongly mentioned by Sharda. Though the local population was ready to fight the invaders, but the Nazim Shujaat Khan finding no alternative utilized the services of Raj Bahadur ruler of Kishengarh for a compromise. On the repeated request of Raj Singh, Ajit Singh agreed to abandon the siege. He received a sum of Rs. 45,000 (and not Rs. 80,000 as had been stated by Satish) two horses and an elephant from the Subehdar of Ajmer, and retired towards Devaliya to Celebrate his marriage with the daughter of the Thakur of that place.1

1. Arzdaasht(R) No.281, dt, Chaitra Badi 13, 1765/8 March 1709 (see Appendix 1). Parties and Politics, p. 296. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 175. Khatut-i-Ahalkaran, No.280, dt, Chaitra Badi, 5, 1765/27 February 1709.(Letter of Prouhit Devi Singh to Diwan Bhikamidass). According to Prouhit Devi Singh under the guidance of Sardar Khan and Feroze Khan 1000 barag andaz (musketeers) few thousand Hindus; sepoys and khadims were ready to defend their city.
He is said to have collected some more money from the local zamindars.¹

G.D. Sharma is of the opinion that Ajit Singh did not want to extend his control over Ajmer, but wanted to terrorise the imperialists in order to speed up the decision in regard of the granted of the mansab and jagir to him².

Bahadur Shah, when reported about the siege of Ajmer by Ajit Singh, again ordered for the dismissal of Syed Shujaat Khan. He further sent a farman to Ghaziuddin Feroze Jang, subehdar of Ahmadabad to take the charge of Ajmer and to employ 2000 troopers, and the same number of musketeers to check the activities of rebels in that subah. He was further permitted to appoint any one as his deputy at Ajmer.³

However, it has been reported that Ajit Singh once again appeared near Ajmer for the second time. After enjoying at Deolia he marched to Kishengarh, and Rupangarh to teach a lesson to Raja Raj Singh, zamindar of these places, who had helped Syed

2. Rajput Polity, p. 226
Shujaat Khan subehdar of Ajmer during his siege of the city and compelled the Marwari chieftain to make peace. Raja Raj Singh did his best to defend his territory, but he was a small zamindar, and no imperial officials came forward to help him, therefore, he made peace with Ajit Singh. He offered two guns to him, renounced his allegiance with the Emperor and agreed to send his sons under him. Afterwards Ajit Singh took possession of Pisanganj and Junia (both in Ajmer district) and drove the Zamindars of these places who were loyal to the Mughals.¹

Ghaziuddin Khan Feroze Jung who as appointed subehdar of Ajmer in absentia, on 1 Safar 1121/3 R.Y./10 April 1709, was again ordered on 25 Rabiul Awwal 1121/3 June 1709 to proceed to Ajmer.² But it seems that factional rivalries at the court were also influencing the issue and matters of appointment etc. First Syed Shujaat Khan sent a petition to the Emperor on 19 April 1709 pleading that the order of his (Shujaat Khan's) dismissal:

1. *Ajmer Historical and Descriptive*, p. 175 In the *Ajmer Gazetteer*, it has been stated that Ajit Singh attacked Kishengarh in July 1710, and B.N. R had claimed that it happened in 1712, but both seem confused. *Rajasthan District Gazetteer*, p. 74. *Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathore*, p. XXXVIII

2. *Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta*(ed.), pp. 53-54, *Akhbarmat*, dt 21, 23 Rabiul Awwal 1121/31 May, 2 June. It has been argued that this noble too have friendly terms with Rajputs, and had entered into a secret alliance with them and did not move from Ahmadabad till he heard about Bahadur Shah's entry into Rajputana. For details see: *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh*, pp. 72-76.
should be withdrawn as he had defended the city of Ajmer with great valour, farsightedness, and had taught a lesson to the rebel Rajputs. Therefore, keeping in view his meritorious service, he should be re-instated. He further recommended the names of Feroze Khan Mewati his son Ranbaas Khan and the thanedar of the suburbs of Ajmer city, Daver Bakhash, the Wazai Nigar of the subah, Raja Bahadur, and other imperial officials for the grant of inam and khillaat etc., in lieu of the role played by these Mughal mansabdars in the suppression of the rebels.  

Secondly, we find Asad Khan writing to his son, Amir-ul-Umara, Zulfiqar Khan to get Feroze Jung's appointment cancelled on the plea that the Rajahs have become quite obedient and had also abolished military outputs as desired by the Emperor. At the moment, arrival of Feroze Jung in the subah may create suspicion.  

Finally, it has also been found that Asad Khan was also sent a farman by Bahadur Shah to take the charge of Ajmer.

1. Akhbaraat: dt. 10 Safar, 1121/21 April, 1709. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed), p.50  
Thus, the rivalry between wazir Munim Khan, and Asad Khan Vakil-i-Mutlaq, had further complicated this burning issue of the Rajput Rajahs and the later once again was successful in retaining Syed Shujaat Khan, his protegee as the subahdar of Ajmer. Mirza Muhammad had bitterly criticised the re-appointment of Syed Shujaat Khan and is of the view that under these circumstances the choice of Syed Abdullah Khan was the best one.  

As had been pointed out earlier, that G.D. Sharma, while discussing the events taking place in the province of Ajmer, during the period of 1709-1710, had again wrongly referred to those vakil reports and other documents which in fact deal with the period of 1711, and are exclusively concerned with the Mughal-Sikh relations. On the basis of these reports, he, in misunderstanding had even concluded that Bahadur Shah who was coming towards Ajmer to chastise these rebel Rajahs, had sent a number of calls to them to appear in the court, which does not seem correct. In fact, the Rajahs were summoned to court when Bahadur Shah was suppressing the revolt of the sikhs in Punjab in 1711, as had been admitted by Sharma himself.  

1. *Ibrat Namah* (MM), f. 58b.  
2. *Rajput Polity* (P227,228 (F.N. 53,55,56 on page 244)  
   Sharma in connection of Bahadur Shah calls to these Rajahs had referred to a letter of Bhikari Das which was sent to Jai Singh, and is bearing the date Phalguna Badi 13, 1737/14 February, 1711, the date when even the Sikh affairs were nearly over. On the basis of these reports, scholar formed an opinion that Bahadur Shah prior to his second visit to Rajputana repeatedly summoned them to court, which the Rajahs could not do, as they were busy in their own problems. This actually happened during the Sikh uprising in 1710-11. Parties and Politics, p.38. *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh*, pp.85-86.
Any way the Rajput Rajahs acting on the sympathetic and friendly attitude and advices of Nizamul Mulk Asad Khan, Umdatul Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan, and even of Rao Budh Singh of Bundi, and foreseeing Bahadur Shah's intention of visiting Rajputana, sent congratulatory letters and Nazars to Emperor, on his victory over Kam Bakhsh.

But at the same time Ajit Singh assembled all his sardars and Raos of Jaisalmer, Bikaner, and Marwar, and had ordered them to move towards their own thikanas and collect army to face Mughal onslaught. He had advised Jai Singh to do the same and gather news of Mughal activities by his own secret means and then come to Sambhar (which alongwith Didwana had been given to Mewatis) to discuss the future plan.

   For the Rajput Rajah's friendly relation with Ghaziuddin Khan see: Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, pp. 45, 46, 72-76. Though in one of his letter Ajit Singh had advised Jai Singh not to trust Ghaziuddin Khan as he is a Mughal.

   Infact it is a letter of Basant Rai the Vakil of Budh Singh asking Jai Singh to accept at the moment whatever the Emperor is willing to grant him.

   Arzdaasht(P) No. 291, dt. 8 Asvina Badi 1766/25 September 1709.
   Petitions of Ajit Singh and Jai Singh and Nazar of two hundred mohars and 2000 rupees from each of them was received at royal court, at Sarai Nawab Bai on 26 August 1709. Rana Amar Singh had also sent a petition and a Nazar of 100 mohars.

Ajit Singh, as has been reported, imprisoned a number of sahukars (merchants) of Jodhpur, and had realised sufficient money from them. He even had asked Durgadas (who was at Udaipur) to join him, in his activities against the Mughals. Further, reports arrived at court, through Bhagwantdas, herkara, that Jai Singh had employed a number of chadis in order to raise his army, and is trying to dig and unearth, treasures from Asir tank in the city of Amber.

Thus, both these Rajahs, at one hand, were keeping regular touch with the Emperor, and his nobles in hope of getting their watan, and on other, preparing themselves for an armed clash with the imperialists. Mirza Muhammad rightly, and bitterly points it out that if one of the old grandees, with a tried and tested following, had been nominated the subehdar of Ajmer, and two brave and well known officers, fully equipped with all necessary material, put in charge of Jodhpur and Maira, what courage the Rajputs had to win back their countries, and to create disturbances in the province.

1. Akhbarat, dt. 27 Rajab 1121/3 R.Y./2 October 1709.
3. Ibrat Namah (MM), f. 57b. Actually Mirza Muhammad has criticised the roles of Syed Hussain Khan, faujdar/Ajmer, Mewat, Mehrab Khan, faujdar of Jodhpur, and Syed Shujaat Khan, subehdar of Ajmer, for their incompetence in curbing the activities of the rebels.
Bahadur Shah received replies of the farmans he had sent to Jai Singh and Ajit Singh through Ratanpal (Radatpal) in October 1709. Further the Emperor appointed Shauket Khan as the Diwan of subah Ajmer on 10 Shaaban/10 October 1709 in order to keep a strict watch over the khalisa land, and to deal with other urgent matters of the subah.

There are few other reports which show that Ajit Singh and Jai Singh were trying their best to win over small zamindars of the area by sending emissaries and exploiting their religious sentiments in order to face the inevitable Mughal attack, and sent for the safety they even have their families to the hilly tracks of Mewar. Ratanpal, the chief of Karauli was assured by these rebel Rajahs for full support, in the case he captured Hindaun and could check Syed Hidayatullah's movements, who was the faujdar of Ranthambhore. A small force had also been sent to capture Rampura

1. Akhbaarat, Shaaban 1121/ October 1709.
3. Akhbaarat, Shawwal 1121/ December 1709.
whose ruler Rattan Singh (who was converted Islam Khan) had reputed the attack. Ajit Singh even had encouraged the kolis (weavers) to plunder the Mahals around Ahmedabad, and finally the Rajputs compelled the Mughal faujdar of Pur-Mandel to retreat and take shelter at Ajmer. It has been said that upto Sambher all imperial territories had been ravaged.

On 19 Shawwal/22 December Hidayatullah Khan deputy Khan-i-Saman was asked to write to the Mutassadis of Ajmer to clean and white wash all the royal palaces of Ajmer city. He was also ordered that a royal tent, Dal Badal which is at present in Shahjahanabad (Delhi) should be sent to Ajmer after necessary repairs by the Mutassadis.

1. Akhbarat, 9, 15, 17 Shawwal 1121/12, 13, 14 December 1709. A contingent of 2000 Mercenaries under Himmat Singh was despatched to Rampura to extract some money. But it failed due to Islam Khan's vigorous efforts.

2. Akhbarat, Shawwal 1121/3 R.Y/December 1709. Later Mughals I, p. 170 Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 318, Jaipur and Later Mughals, p. 28. Tod had wrongly mentioned 1708 as the year of this attack. Sanwaldas, one of the official of Rana Amer Singh made this attack in order to capture the Pur Mandel, which had been taken by Aurangzeb in 1681 in lieu of Jaziya.


4. Akhbarat, dt. 19 Shawwal 1121/22 December 1709.

Prohit Rao, who was serving as harkara in the city of Ajmer, reported that many of the officials appointed in the subah, as well as the Nazim of the province, were wandering here and there, and are much worried due to the disturbances, created by the rebels in that area. It will be better that His Majesty should send them few words of assurance to raise their moral. This was done, and a royal mandate was sent to Raj Bahadur, zamindar of Kishengarh, serving in the city of Ajmer, who called on the mansabdars and encouraged their spirits. Further, two of the mansabdars Allahverdi Khan and Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, who were serving in Hazrat-i-Ajmer and holding ranks of 2500/800 each, were exempted from Dangho-Tasih. The giladar of the fort of Garh-Bithli, Abdul Rasool Khan, holder of 300/250, was demoted by 100 sat, but his jagir was kept and retained, according to previous mansab.¹

As the news of a skirmish between Syed Hidayatullah Khan, deputy faujdar of Ranthambhor, and a contingent of Jai Singh arrived at court, Raja Bahadur, who was in the fort of Ajmer, was alerted, and Syed Buzurg, who was the incharge of artillery, in the same fort, was also warned to be careful, and keep vigilance over the movements of rebels.²

¹ Akhbarat, dt. 1,8,10 Zigaad 1121/2,9,11 January 1710.
After the unsuccessful attempts of realising money from the merchants of Sambher and encouraging Katha tribe of Jalor to raise arms against the Mughals, both these Rajahs had started moving towards Ajmer with huge contingents.¹

In these days of chaos and turmoil, the Syed Abdullah, a functionary of the shrine of Syed Miran Hussain at Taragarh arrived at court. He offered a piece of cloth, a small turban and a sword along with a tray full of sweets and dry fruits.²

Syed Shujaat Khan retained his post as Nazim of the subah though he had failed on many occasions to check rebels and to safeguard Mughal interests against their encroachments. RajBahadur zamindar of Kishangarh was already in the fort of Ajmer, and now Nusrat Yar Khan, the deputy faujdar of Ranthambore was ordered to reach Ajmer. Though reports of the arrival of Khan Ferze Jang at Ajmer were regularly arriving at the court, but he himself did not come there.³

Bahadur Shah realising the problems of the imperial officials ordered that Syed Shujaat Khan, Nazim of Ajmer should be supplied a sum of rupees two lakhs and fifty thousands from the imperial treasury, and from the treasury of Agra, so that the governor may disposed the salaries of the newly recruited soldiers.¹

Kamwar informs that the celebrations of fourth coronation took place at Mortha (Mortana) village,² but Kaviraj Shayamaladas had wrongly mentioned that these celebration took place at Ajmer city.³ In fact Bahadur Shah had arrived at Ajmer months after this date.

As have been noticed earlier Raja Bahadur of Kishangarh was serving Mughals in fort of Ajmer, therefore Ajit Singh and Ram Chandra, Diwan of Jai Singh with a band of 7000, sawars attacked Rup Nagar and Nalpora, ravaged the territory and destroyed all standing crops etc. They even planned to attack Kishangarh the homeland of Raja Bahadur.⁴ Further they captured the parganah and city of Tonk in April 1710, and the crownland in that area.⁵

1. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta, (ed,) p. 84.
4. Akhbarat, dt. 6 Muharram 1122/4 R.Y/7 March 1710. (R)
5. Arzdaasht, No. 300 dt. Chaitra sudi, 6, 1767/4 April 1710.
Thus from the perusal of Akhbaraat (news letters) Vakil Reports cited above, it is clear that while Bahadur Shah wanted to settle this complicated issue by following a policy of conciliation combined with intimidation, the Rajput Rajahs were continuously engaged in warfare and creating disorders whenever they had an opportunity to do so.¹

On 18 April, Chattarsal Bundela who was serving in the city of Ajmer along with Zahid Khan, and Raja Bahadur came to attend the court and offered 18 gold coins and a gun.²

A few days afterwards Hoshdar Khan was sent in advance to arrange water supply on the route of Toda and Malpura, and Ajmer. Probably due to the disturbances in Tonk, the Emperor thought to pass through this area.³ At Dandwa Sarai, Bahadur Shah inspected the map of Ajmer and was reported that the city of Ajmer is 30 Kilo from here. Soon after the celebration in commemoration of victory over Azam Shah, on 21 May 1710 the Arzdaasht of both the Rajahs were forwarded by Azimushaan, and on his recommendation the crimes and faults of the Rajahs were pardoned.⁴

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4. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed) pp. 90-92. Kanwar again mistakenly had mentioned that it was 1121 AH year while it was 1122; and Musaffar Alam as usual allowed the mistake to be retained in his edition instead of correcting it. Akhbaraat, dated 17 Rabi-ul-Awwal 1122/16 May 1710.
Therefore on 8 Rabi-us-Sani 1122/6 June 1710, a farman qaul, Panja bearing pardon.s, and parwanahs for jagirs were sent to these Rajahs, who according to Kamwar were not entitled even for a single mahal due to their mis-deeds, but on account of the large heartedness of the Emperor, they were awarded suitably.¹

A few days later on 14th June 1710, on the request of Wazir Munim Khan, his eldest son Mahabat Khan was sent to assuage the fears and soothen the feelings of the frightened Rajahs.²

Bahadur Shah Arrives at Ajmer for the second time:

On 20 Rabi-us-Sani/18 June Bahadur Shah arrived in the environs of Ajmer and encamped at Devrai,³ where Ranbaaz Khan

¹ *Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta (ed.), p. 94. Farmans No. 3/20 (to Ajit Singh) and 129/167 (to Jai Singh), dt. 1 Rabi-us-Sani 1122/30 May 1710 R.S.A. Bikaner.

² *Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta (ed.) p. 94. According to Ajmer Gazetteer, Rao Budh Singh of Bundi and Chattarsal had accompanied Mahabat Khan. But Tikkiwal considered this friendly visit as an army expedition against the Rajahs, who were compelled by these nobles to retreat towards Manoharpur in self defence. He is also confused when he says that Jai Singh sent a contingent under Sanwaladas to capture Amber but it did not materialise. At the moment there was no question of war, Amber was under Jai Singh and farmans had already been issued to the Rajahs who were few miles away from Ajmer. Thus the version of Tikkiwal not supported by a single contemporary writer is incorrect and based on wrong information. Rajasthan District Gazetteer, p. 73. Jaipur and the Later Mughals, p. 29.

³ *Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta (ed.), p. 95.
After a week when Bahadur Shah arrived at Toda, eighteen khillats were awarded for the servants and officials of Rana Amar Singh, Raj Jai Singh and Ajit Singh besides one special khillet for Durgadas Rathor.¹

The news of the Sikh armed rebellion reached the court in the beginning of Rabi-us-Saani 1122/June 1710.² Irvine writes "while these negotiation were proceedings with Rajputs there came the unwelcome news of a rising of the Sikh in the north of Sarhind, under one Fateh Shah, who had been joined by the many scavengers, leather dressers, and nomadic traders (i.e. Banjaras). Wazir Khan, the faujdar of Sarhind had been killed in a fight with these men on 22 May 1710. This news forced on a speedy solution of the difficulty with the Rajputs.³

For the moment the Sikh disturbances seemed more dangerous to the security and peace of the Empire, than the territorial ambitions of the Rajput chiefs. The Emperor decided to make peace with the Rajputs by restoring their 'watan' and establishing peace in the region.

¹ Later Mughals, I, p. 72.
² Taskirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed), pp. 92-93
and Muhammadat, the two sons of Feroz Khan Mewati holding the thanedari of the suburbs of Ajmer, had audience with the Emperor and informed him the latest developments of and around the city of Ajmer.\(^1\) Here Munim Khan reported to the Emperor that at Gagwana (six miles from Ajmer) Mahabat Khan etc., and the Rajahs had conferred and it has been decided that on 23 Rabi-us-Saani 1122/21 June both the chiefs will wait upon him.\(^2\)

Next day when the imperial camp was moving towards Ajmer, on the way two Rajahs accompanied by Mahabat Khan arrived to pay respect to the Emperor. Each offered 200 mohars and 2000 rupees, as peshkash through Prince Azimus-Shaan. The Emperor in return awarded special robes of honour and other costly gifts that included besides daggers and swords, elephants and horses. Bahadur Shah with a smile on face opened their tied hands and spoken a few words for their satisfaction and they were permitted to return to their homes for some time.\(^3\)

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1. Akhbaraat, dt. 20 Rabi-us-Saani/18 June 1710.
2. Ghoolam Hussain Tabatabai: Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin, p. 380
3. Akhbaraat, dt. 24 Rabi-us-Saani 1122/22 June 1710. 
   Tasvirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed), p. 95.
   *Later Mighals, I, p.73. Vakil Report(P), No.426 undated.*

In spite of all the assurances and sending of Mahabat Khan the wazir's son as a gesture of good will the Rajput Rajahs probably afraid of Munim Khan took all precautionary measures against perfidy or malevolent act on the part of imperialists. Kamwar Khan the famous historian, who was present in the retinue of Prince Rafius Shaan, during the time of audience, he witnessed that all the hills and plains round the imperial camp were covered with armed cavalry thousands in number with matchlock or bow and arrows. On the Emperor's side, there was no other person except four princes and few high grandees. In case of any treachery according to Irvine they were prepared to sell their lives dearly in defence of their chieftains.
According to Khafi Khan, "The Emperor was on some points unwilling to concede this; but the troubles near Lahore and Delhi disturbed him and he yielded to the representations of Vakils for the sake of being at liberty to punish these infidel-rebels. It was settled that Raja Jai Singh, Raja Ajit Singh and Vakils of Rana and other Rajputs should make their homage, put on the robes, presented to them and accompany the royal train. All the Rajputs of name and station, forming a body of thirty or forty thousand horse, passed in review, they tied their hands with handkerchiefs, and paid homage in front of the caval code. Robes, horse and elephants were distributed.1

Iradat Khan bitterly had criticized Asimus-Shaun, who which he considered was responsible for these terms, "far above their status", but at the same time agrees that the problem of Punjab was considered more dangerous than the conflict with the Rajputs as they had been old allies of the Mughals and for generations had served the Mughals with great loyalty. There was no apprehensions about their future conduct if they were left in possession of their hereditary land.2 Another contemporary writer remarks

1. Muntakhab-ul-Ishab, pp. 661-63
2. Tarikh-i-Iradat-Khani, pp. 67-68.
these arrangements and understanding were "in consistent with
good policy as well as dignity of sovereign." Moreover, the
factional rivalries at court also had its contribution in giving
Rajahs confidence and courage to get their demands accepted by Bahadur Shah. A few modern writers are of the view
that possibly, a Rajput-Sikh secret alliance against Mughals was
another factor for Emperor's soft attitude.

The most important condition specified in royal decrees,
for their pardon was that the Rajahs would join the imperial
army now on a march towards Punjab. However they preferred to
stay at home and did not abide by the terms of treaty.

Bahadur Shah then arrived at Ajmer while these two Rajahs went towards Pushkar, for holy dip and after staying there nearly for a month, retired to their respective watanas. On 22 June 1710 Jahandar Shah sought the permission of the Emperor to visit the shrine of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti which was granted and he was sent with all the best wishes by Bahadur Shah.

1. IHAT NAMAH (MM), f.59a,b.
2. Parties and Politics, p. 39
3. Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singhy pp. 79-82
Jaipur and Later Mughals; pp. 26-30. Bhatnagar is of the opinion that Jai Singh had tried to get help even from the Marathas and the Jats.
4. Akhbaarat, dt. 24 Rabi-us-Saani, 1122/4 R.Y.
Bahadur Shah in the City of Ajmer:

On the same day the Emperor ordered that private camp should be pitched near Ajmer and tomorrow and after performing Ziarat he will enter Daulat Khana, and two days afterwards the march will be resumed.¹

On 25 Rabi-us-Saani 1122/23 June 1710, Bahadur Shah mounting on a portable throne started for the shrine of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti. From the main gate of the shrine he alighted from the throne and went in the Dargah on foot. He was accompanied by Azimus-Shaan, Rafiush-Shaan and other princes. After walking round the tomb of Khwaja Sahib, he offered eleven thousand rupees as Nazar to the Mujavars (functionaries) of shrine who presented him two swords, two white turbans and a praying carpet. After staying few hours at this place he returned back and entered the Daulat Khana pitched closely to Garh Bithli.

Syed Shujaat Khan, Nazim of Ajmer and his sons, Syed Muhammad, and Ali Raza Khan offered seventy gold coins as Nazar to the Emperor who remarked "Well done! Well defended the fort from the rebels". Dawar Bakhsh, Bakhshi and Magai Niger, Faizuddin Khan Diwan of Ajmer and Abu Muhammad giledar of Garh Bithli also came and offered Nazars according to their ranks and status. Masahib Beg got a khillat and appointment as

¹ Akhbaraat, dt. 24 Rabi-us-Saani, 1122/4 R.Y.
sawanah nigar of the subah of Ajmer. Amongst the others serving in the province of Ajmer in various capacities, Rustam Dil Khan, Hassan Ali Khan Bahadur, Mohcam Singh and Chattarsaal etc, also had audience and were rewarded khillats etc.

Syed Shujaat Khan, the Nazim reported that on previous day it has been ordered by the Emperor that Jumalatul Mulk Munim Khan and Hamiduddin Khan should inspect the city and submit a report about its condition to the Emperor. Accordingly, the nobles inspected the city, and reported that not only defence arrangements, but also the internal administration was satisfactory. The Emperor was very much pleased with the exertions of Shujaat Khan and promoted his rank.

On 27 Rabi-us-Saani 1122/25 June 1710, the Emperor for the sake of relaxation and entertainment went to Ana Sagar lake, and enjoyed musk-melon, water melon, and falsah (edible berry).

On the next day, he accompanied by all his four princes again paid a visit to the shrine of Khwaja Sahib where he also met a group of mujavars of the Dargah of Miran Syed Hussain Khang Sawar, situated at the top of Garh Bithli and offered one thousand rupees as nazar to them.1

1. Tasvirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed), pp. 95-96
Akhbaarat, dt. 25,26,27,28 Rabi-us-Saani, 1122/4 R.Y.
Though Khafi Khan and Kavi Raj Shyamaldas are of the opinion that it was at Ajmer that Bahadur Shah issued orders for adding the word Wasi (successor) with the name of Hazrat Ali the fourth Caliph, in Khutba. Except Khafi Khan all the contemporary writers such as Ghoolam Hossain Tabatabai, Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan and Yahya Khan are of the opinion that this order was passed at Lahore, which seems correct.

**Bahadur Shah leaves the City of Ajmer:**

Bahadur Shah was the last Mughal Emperor who visited Ajmer. He left the city on 1 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1122/28 June and encamped at Gagwana, from where he proceeded towards Rup Nagar. Here Raja Bahadur the zaminder of the place (who had played a vital role in the defence of the city of Ajmer) had audience, and was suitably rewarded by the Emperor, Feroz Khan Mewati the faujdar of Sambhar also had an audience with the Emperor.

On 13 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1122/10 July 1710, when Bahadur Shah was moving towards Sambhar, Ranbaaz Khan, Zorawar Khan and Masood

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1. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, 661. Irvine on the authority of Khafi Khan had mentioned that in the beginning of his reign Bahadur Shah had directed this alteration in the public prayer of Friday. *Later Mughals*, pp. 130-31
2. *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 934
Khan etc., the sons of Feroz Khan Mewati, who were the thanedars of the suburbs of Ajmer City, had audience, and offered one Mohar each. They were given khillat, their ranks were increased and their jagirs in the subah were confirmed. They were directed to proceed to their respective places. Amanullah Khan, was also sent to Jodhpur as wagai navis. Syed Shujaat Khan Nazim of Ajmer was permitted to return to Ajmer.¹

The City of Ajmer during the last years of Bahadur Shah's Reign: July 1710 - February 1712:

Soon after the departure of Bahadur Shah, the city of Ajmer lost its glory and importance, though enjoyed peace and tranquility in the last phase of his reign. After Bahadur Shah, none of the Mughal Emperor happen to visit the city, therefore, it could not witness the splendour and glory of royal court and imperial caravan.

During this short period the imperial authorities tried their best to defend the city against external intruders and to maintain peace and order within it's walls. The Emperor also


According to Kamvar, when the Emperor arrived at Sambhar, Syed Shujaat Khan Barha, brother of Syed Hussain Khan martyr (in the battle at Sambhar in 1708) had audience and was made a mansabdar of 2500/1500. It has been reported in Akhbaraat, that on 21 Jamadiul Awwal, Syed Shujaat Khan, Nazim of Ajmer had left for the city of Ajmer.
appointed few experienced nobles like Raja Nahar Khan, Nusrat Yar Khan etc., in the subah to keep a vigil over the activities of the rebels.¹

In February 1711, Syed Shujaat Khan, Nazim of Ajmer sent a force of 3000 sawar (cavalry) under Tahawwar Ali Khan to Sambhar, in order to help Nahar Khan the faujdar of the place to suppress the enemies of peace. Mir Faizullah (probably Diwan of the subah) also went towards few villages to crush the rebels, and to realise revenues of that area.²

In the beginning of 1711, Ajit Singh once again arrived at Pokhar,³ but finding the imperial forces alert and in full strength, he returned to Maitta without creating any disturbances around Ajmer city.

At this stage it seems that Bahadur Shah wanted to change Syed Shujaat Khan, the nazim of Ajmer. Bhikari Das in May 1711


had informed Amber ruler, that Shukrullah Khan had been appointed subehdar of Ajmer. Moreover, a letter of Udal Ram Gaurungo to Jai Singh informs that Pakhruddin Ahmad Khan, a rank holder of 1000 had been announced as the next diwan of Ajmer, faujdar and amin of Sambhar and Didwana in May 1711. But none of these two officials took charge and Shujaat Khan remained in the office of the subehdar of Ajmer as on 26 Rabiul Awwal, 1123/12 May 1711 Mahabat Khan put before the Emperor the matalibs (representations) of Syed Shujaat Khan.

It was reported to the Emperor on 11 Jamadiul Awwal 1123/5 R.Y./27 June 1711, that the deputy of Syed Shujaat Khan, had plundered a village of the Rana of Udaipur. Hearing this news, Sangaram Singh sent 20,000 cavalry-men towards Pur-Mandel. This contingent of Maharana, compelled the deputy faujdar to flee towards Ajmer, followed by the Mewa'i troops. At Bandanwada, near Ajmer a battle took place in which Ranbaz Khan, Shairullah Khan, along with their 2,000 men were killed. Dindar Khan and

2. Arzdaasht(R), No.311, dt. Jyeshtha Badi 7, 1768/8 May 1711. He was the son of Nabi Ahmed Khan faujdar of Sarhind.
his nephew Hamid Khan were seriously injured and were brought to Ajmer.

Four thousands of Rana's army man also perished. Afterwards the contingent of Sangram Singh retreated towards Udaipur and could not dare to attack the suburbs of the city of Ajmer.¹

Bahadur Shah when reported of this matter took serious note of it. He cancelled the sending of tika, farman and gifts etc., to Sangram Singh on his succession. He even thought to replace Shujaat Khan and sent Zabardast Khan as the Nazim of the subah,² and had ordered Nahar Khan who at the moment was stationed at Ajmer to keep a vigilance over the activities of rebels.³ It seems that it was at this juncture that Bahadur Shah expressed his desire to visit Ajmer once again to curb and punish the rebels and to compel Ajit Singh and Jai Singh to proceed to the places of their appointments.⁴

Meanwhile in December 1711, when both the rebel Rajahs had moved towards Punjab to join imperialists Tawawwar Ali Khan, the Naib Nazim of Ajmer invaded Naraina (a place near Sambher)
but was driven away. Soon on 25 December 1711 Muhammad Amin Khan was appointed Diwan of Ajmer on the transfer of the former Diwan, Faizuddin Khan. This change was followed by the appointment of Nusratyar Khan as faujdar of the suburbs of Ajmer and Sambher in place of Raja Nahar Khan in January 1712. This was perhaps the last appointment by Bahadur Shah in the subah of Ajmer before he passed away on 27 February 1712.

Thus during the short/brief reign of Bahadur Shah the City of Ajmer was visited twice by the Mughal Emperor and on more than once occasion it was invaded by the Rajput rebels. On one occasion the people of Ajmer had to pay ransom money to Ajit Singh to avert the impending onslaught.

3. Ta2kirat»ua-'Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed), p. 135
CHAPTER - III

The City of Ajmer under Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Rafi-ud-darajat and Nifi-ud-daulah: 1712-1719
Jahandar Shah (1712-1713) and the City of Ajmer:

Bahadur Shah after a brief illness died on 20 Muharram 1124/27 February 1712 at Lahore, lea\v, leaving his four sons viz. Azim-ush-Shaan, Rafi-ush-Shaan, Jahandar Shah and Jahan Shah to fight for succession. Azim-ush-Shaan the ablest of the four and who had become a centre of all activities and favours during the last days of Bahadur Shah, is said to have made an attempt for a peaceful agreement and equal division of the empire among all his brothers, but it proved a futile exercise.²

In the battle of succession fought at Lahore none of the two powerful Rajput chiefs - Ajit Singh and Jai Singh - responded to the invitation of any of the contenders of the imperial throne. Only Raja Bahadur of Kishangarh, a maternal uncle of Azim-ush-Shaan, Mohkam Singh, son of Rao Indar Singh, Raja Partap Singh brother of Rana of Mewar supported the cause of Prince Azim-ush-Shaan and participated in the battle.³ But Azim-ush-Shaan was defeated, and Jahandar Shah with the help of Zulfiqar Khan emerged victorious to become the Emperor of the Mughal Empire. He ascended the throne on 21 Safar 1124 (29 March 1712).⁴

2. Vakil Report(R), No.319 undated. Pancholi Jagjivandas informed Jai Singh that Azim-ush-Shaan had sent one Kirpa Ram, with a letter to Muizuddin, (Jahandar Shah) for peaceful adjustment of the empire.
3. Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, pp. 92-93
Jai Bur and the Later Mughals, p. 36
During his brief reign, no important development took place in the city of Ajmer, and it appears that Syed Shujaat Khan retained the governorship of the subah. The Emperor under the pressure of Farrukhsiyar's revolt in Bihar could not pay attention to the internal administration of the city, or strengthen the imperial hold over the region as a whole. The two Rajput chiefs did not proceed to Lahore to attend the court, nor did they care to save his position against the attack of Farrukhsiyar at Agra, in spite of the fact that on 30 March both these Rajahs were given the title of Mirza Raja and Maharaja respectively with a high rank of 7000/7000 to each. Moreover, as Ajit Singh had not removed his thanas from Sambher and Didwana, despite the repeated warnings from the imperial court, therefore, on 26 Rabi-ul-Awwal/2 May 1712, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad Khan was appointed Divan of Ajmer and faujdar of Sambher, in order to destroy the thanas of Ajit Singh. Nusrat Khan was


G.D. Sharma had stated that both these Rajahs were also given the governorship of Gujarat and Malwa on this occasion which is wrong. Further while referring the source for this information, he had once again committed a grave mistake by referring Vakil Reports of Magha Sudi 1, 7, 1769/26 January, 1 February 1713 (Nos 198, 201), the dates when Farrukhsiyar had become the Emperor. Rajput Polity, pp. 229, 244 (FN 68, 70, 71).
given the charge of the faujdari of Ranthambhore. Bhai Khan, the former gilledar of Garh Bithli and Ranthambhore was sent by Shukrullah Khan to persuade Rajah Jai Singh to attend the court. But these Rajahs did not bother to send customary nazars on the accession of the new Emperor, who had conferred on them the title of Maharajah, and Mirza Raja, as well as the high ranks of 7000/7000. In the mean time Ajit Singh is reported to have collected revenue from the paraganah of Haveli Ajmer and captured few villages. Zulfiqar Khan became annoyed and angry with both the Rajas due to their unsatisfactory conduct. He even warned of imperial army's march and asked Jai Singh to persuaded Ajit Singh to behave like a Rajah and not like a dacoit. But Ajit Singh did not pay any heed to the orders and

1. Jaipur and the Later Mughals, p.37. Rajput Polity, p.230. Vakil Reports(R)Nos.157,164,166,169, dt.2 May,19 July, 15 August, 18 September 1712. Arzdaasht,(R)No.357,dt.Sarvan Sudi 5, 1769/6 August 1712. It should be noted that Sharma once again in confusion referred one of the above mentioned Vakil reports(No.166) dt. Sarvana Sudi 15, 1769/15 August 1712 in context of Farrukhsiyar's orders. On the basis of this report he had argued that the new wazir of Farrukhsiyar, Abdullah Khan in August 1712 asked the Vakil of Amber to inform both the Rajahs to remove the thanas from Sambher. Rajput Polity, p. 230 (PN 79,80,81).


suggestion of imperialists, and he on 31 August 1712 again had raised the standard of rebellion, attacked Kishangarh and established thanas in that area. Raja Bahadur Zamindar of the place and one of the imperial mansabdar was harrassed by Rathor Chief.¹

To satisfy these Rajahs, and to get their support against Farrukhsiyar the last act of Zulfiqar Khan was that he appointed them to Gujarat and Malwa, in November 1712, with other rewards and high ranks etc. to their sons also.² But these Rajput chieftain did not move an inch to help their old patrons and friends, viz. Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan, till both were defeated by Farrukhsiyar and a new era of the Mughal empire began with the accession of Farrukhsiyar.

² Akhbaarat, dt. 25 Shawwal, 1124/25 November, 1712. Arzdaasht, No.3,1372, dt. Maghashirsha Badi, 9,10, 1769/21,22 November 1812; Parties and Politics, p. 74
The City of Ajmer under Farrukhysiar 1713 - 19:

Muhammad Farrukhysiar, the second son of Azim-ush-shah, with the help of Syed Abdullah Khan and Syed Hussain Ali Khan defeated his uncle Jahandar Shah at the battle of Agra on 13 Zil Hij 1124/10 January 1713. Soon after his victory the new emperor in order to strengthen his position atishol Jaziya, which according to Satish had become an old i.e. feeble and was not enforced strictly after Aurangzeb.

After his accession on 19 January, Syed Hussain Ali Khan, Mir Bakhshi was appointed subedar of Ajmer, Amin and faujdar of Sambher, keeping in view the attitude and past activities of Raja Ajit Singh and Jai Singh.

Syed Nusratyar Khan was nominated as deputy subedar by Hussain Ali Khan, which was not liked by Jai Singh and on his request Shukrullah Khan replaced Nusratyar Khan, as the deputy Nazim. Nusratyar Khan remained faujdar of Sambher, Mewat, and Bairath for some time.

   Tikkiwal had mistakenly mentioned that Syed Hussain Ali Khan was appointed Deputy Governor of Ajmer, Jaipur and the Later Mughals; p. 37.
5. According to Kamwar on 24 Zil Hij 1124/21 Jan. 1713 he was announced the subedar of Ajmer but later on 21 Muhammad/16 Feb. he was given the faujdar of Sambher and Mewat. Mir Ahsan Ijad says that the faujdar of Sambher, Bairath and other mahals of Mewat were given to him. *Tazkiraat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta* (ed.) pp. 173, 179, *Farrukhysiar Namah*; f. 129.
The congratulatory letters and customary Nazars of the Raos of Kota, Bundi, Raja of Kishangarh, and Maharana of Udaipur were received by the Emperor after his arrival at Delhi. But Jai Singh and Ajit Singh who were in league with each other, waited till the end of Jahandar Shah and Zulfiqar Khan, and on 16 February 1713, petitions and offerings of the both these Rajahs were also presented to the Emperor.

However, in March 1713, Syed Muzaffar Khan Barha, maternal uncle of Syed Abdullah Khan, was given the charge of Ajmer with a rank of 4,000/3,000 and title of Syed Khan-i Jahan Bahadur. His main task was to compel and persuade both the Rajahs to attend the court as desired by Syed brothers. Nahar Khan another experienced and important Mughal general was deputed with him to assist the governor in the execution of this policy.

   It is really surprising that Muzaffar Alam who had edited Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta did not bother to correct the the Hijra year which has been wrongly mentioned as 1125 instead of 1124 by Kamvar Khan.
3. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed.) p.179. Satish and Bhatnagar are in-correct when they say that Nazars of these Rajahs arrived at court in January 1713. Parties and Politics, p. 99. Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, p. p. 100
Pancholi Jagjivandas the famous Vakil of the ruler of Amber had wrongly mentioned that Asadullah Khan uncle of Syed Abdullah Khan was given charge of Ajmer. Bhatnagar further confuses the fact when he states that Syed Hussain Ali Khan secured the cancellation of Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan from the governorship of Ajmer and got Asadullah Khan, Nawab's sister's son, appointed in his place. Both these versions are misleading and all the sources clearly mention about the appointment of Syed Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur as Nazim of Ajmer during this period.

Syed Khan-i-Jahan and Nusrat Yar Khan urged upon the Rajahs to visit the court in person. It was further reported that the mansab of 6,000/5,500 and 6,000/6,000 had been fixed to be awarded to Jai Singh and Ajit Singh respectively.

On the celebrations of recovery from illness i.e. on 29 Rabiul Awwal 1125/25 April 1713, Jai Singh's mansab was increased by 1000/1000 and 50,000 damd had been granted to him as inam and on 3 May an Arzdaasht and 100 Mohars were received at court on behalf of Amber ruler. This had been misunderstood.

   In fact Asadullah Khan known as Nawab Auliya was also a maternal uncle of Syed brothers.


by Tikkiwal, who states that this was the customary nazar and congratulatory message on accession, which as discussed earlier was sent in February 1713. He further confuses the issue when he says that a rank of 7,000/7,000 was also granted to Jai Singh on this occasion. He had referred *Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta*, f 394, for this information. But this fact is not available in any copy of the manuscript.¹

The new Emperor was aware of the plans and activities of these Rajahs, therefore, he took steps to curb them. We are also informed that the Khadima of Dargah of Khwaja Sahib also sent congratulations and sacred tabarook of the shrine consisting of sweet, white turban and sword etc.² The Emperor also showed willingness to visit Ajmer in order to pay homage to Khwaja Sahib and to check Rajput Rajahs activities. Islam Khan Mir Tazuk was asked to ascertain the stages for journey ready to Ajmer and was ordered to keep peshkhana for this trip.³

He, therefore, replaced Nusrat Khan and appointed Qayam Khan, the father-in-law of Syed Hussain Ali Khan as the faujdar of Sambher. Syed Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, Nazim of Ajmer was also granted permission to recruit 2,5000 sehbandi (troopers) to check the activities of the rebels in the subah.⁴

1. *Jaipur and the Later Mughals*, p. 39
2. *Farrukh Siyar Namah*, f. 133.
4. *Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta (ed)*, p. 183. Qayam Khan was the Zamindar of Fatehpur-Jhunjhunu, which lies in Shekhawati region of Rajputana.
In August 1713, Farrukhsiyar on the recommendation of Syed Khani-Jahan Bahadur, Nazim of Ajmer increased the rank of Jai Singh, bestowed the title of 'Sawai' upon him and granted a robe of honour. Syed Khan-i-Jahan's rank was also increased to 5000/4000 and a special rainy robe was also awarded to him.

Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar, Rao Bhim Singh of Kota, Raja Bahadur of Kishangarh, all of whom had already sent Nazar, were given robes of honour, inam and promotions in their mansabs. A serious effort to satisfy the two Rajahs were also made, when on the recommendation of Nazim of Ajmer, the Emperor appointed Raja Jai Singh governor of Malwa, and Ajit Singh the subahdar of Thatta (Multan) with equal ranks of 7000/7000, for each of them.

1. Akhbaarats dt. 21 Rajab 1125/12 August 1713.
3. Life and Times of Sawai Jal Singh, p. 105
5. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta (ed), p. 188.
6. Life and Times of Sawai Jal Singh, pp. 100
7. Ibrat Namah(MI), f. 60a. Parties and Politics, p. 100
8. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta, p. 189.
9. Arzdaasht(R), Nos 412, 413, dt. Kartika Sudi 10, 13, 1770/27, 30 October 1713
10. Kamvar says that Asad Ali Khan and Usman Khan garawals (sentinels) were sent with appointment letters to these Rajas. Tikkiwal had ignorantly mentioned garwals instead of garawals, while Bhatnagar wrongly thinks that Asad Khan garaval was none other than Asad Khan Nawab Auliya the maternal uncle of Abdullah Khan was instrumental for this appointment of the Rajput chieftains. Jaipur and the Later Mughals, p. 39.
But the latter considered at a small assignment and below his status, therefore, he declined to assume the new charge. He wanted to regain the subehdari of Gujarat, which had been taken away from him, owing to his awful behaviour, displayed at the accession of new emperor.¹

**Ajit Singh's hostile activities:**

In the proceeding years, marked political uncertainty, Ajit Singh had established his centres of authority at Sambher, Didwana, ravaged the territory of Kishangarh, and collected ransom money from the people of the city of Ajmer.²

Farrukhsiyar and his nobles including the Turani faction, did not consider expedient to retaliate at this stage, and allowed him, time to review his thinking and actions. In response to his petitions of submission and tributes, belatedly despatched to court he was awarded a mansab of 6000/6000.³ Still Ajit Singh did not desist, from his rebellious activities. He, in, July, expelled Raja Partap Singh uncle of Maharana Sangram Singh from Toda, where he was serving as an imperial officer, and even had insulted his family members.⁴ Raj Bahadur of Kishangarh, was already a victim of his tyranny and oppression.

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Moreover, he got Mohkam Singh, son of Inder Singh, his old rival, murdered at Delhi on 6 September 1713. This provoked the Emperor who raised the mansab of Nazim of Ajmer to 5000/4000 and instructed him to deal with Ajit Singh strictly. He even declared his intention to march in person towards Ajmer. He issued orders that the peshkhana, should be sent towards Ajmer, stages should be surveyed and all markhanajat (workshops) should be kept ready for a royal march. He also enquired from the waga-i-Nigar-i-kul to submit report as to what peshkash (tribute) the zamindars of Ajmer had remitted to Alamgir during his visit of Ajmer. The mustasaddis posted at Ajmer were ordered to repair the royal palaces at Ana Sagar lake.

Undaunted by this imperial preparations Ajit Singh captured Nagor, Maira, and while Inder Singh and his another son Mohan Singh were on the way to court he got Mohan Singh

killed. He called Karan Singh Rathor, and Jhujhar Singh of Junia and assassinated both of them at Jodhpur. His growing hostility thus exasperated the Emperor to set about the task, organizing a punitive expedition against the Rathor Chiefs. He was also accused of demolishing some mosques in Jodhpur. According to Irvine, Ajit Singh captured Jodhpur and the city of Ajmer, a view that cannot be accepted in the light of contemporary evidence. The sources on which he had based his assertion are, however, silent on this important issue. Khafi Khan and Qassim Aurangabadi do not mention this fact at all in their respective works, and interestingly Jodhpur was already under Ajit Singh since 1709.

Sharda also says that when Ajit Singh refused to surrender Ajmer, imperial army was sent against him. But in the presence of Syed Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur and the Mughal contingent at Ajmer it is difficult to believe it. However, G.D. Sharma and V.S. Bhargava the two important authorities on Marwar did not mention it at all although they had given fairly a good

5. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive: p. 176.
description of the events that led to the invasion of Marwar by the Mughals. It is true that Rathor chief had captured some villages of dargah, due to which the Langar Khana (free food distributing place) was closed in Ramzan 1125/September 1713.¹

Campaign of Syed Hussain Ali Khan to crush the revolt of Ajit Singh

Farrukhsiyar when apprised about these activities of Ajit Singh annoyed, and on 13 Zilqaad 1125/30 November 1713, held a special meeting of his nobles at the instance of Syed Abdullah Khan in which it was decided that Hussain Ali Khan the Mir-Bakhshí will assume the supreme command of the military campaign against Ajit Singh and the Emperor will remain at the Capital. A number of the experienced and veteran nobles and many Syeds of Barha were ordered to proceed to Ajmer under Bakhshi-ul-Mulk. Prominent among them were Sarbuland Khan, Afrasiyab Khan Bahadur Mirza Ajmeri, Itaiqad Khan grandson of Shaiista Khan, Muzaffar Khan brother of Khan Dauran, Nizar Khan, and Amanat Khan the adopted son of Mir Jumla.² A number of those nobles who in past had

¹ Akhraaarat: 5 Ramzan 1125/24 September, 1713.
² Ibrat Namah (MM), f. 55b, Mirat-ul-Waridat, 505-10, Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta (ed) pp. 191-82, 193, Akhraaret, dt. Ziladhuljilh, 1125/ Nov., Dec., 1713, Mirza Muhammad had wrongly given the name of Aamir Khan Chin Bahadur the second Bakhshi in this list. Further Sarbuland Khan was also called from the party and was sent to Gorakhpur and Avadh. Dr. Satish again confuses the issue when at one place he wrongly says that early in October 1713 it was decided that Syed Hussain Ali Khan will go against Ajit Singh, and at another place he remarks that "in the middle of December the campaign against Ajit Singh was entrusted to the Chief-Bakhshí, Hussain Ali Khan who set out at the head of large army on 6 January, 1714." Parties and Politics, pp. 99-100, 101.
served in that subah, and many a Hindu nobles were also ordered to accompany Hussain Ali Khan.

According to Sheodas Lucknawi 40 Amir holding a rank between 1000-5000 were appointed under Syed Hussain Ali Khan. Moreover rupees 3 crores in cash from imperial treasury, 50 elephants, a number of Arabian and Iraqi horses, fifty small and big cannons, and a number of experienced workers from the office of Diwan-i-Kutchery and Bakhshi-giri were given and despatched with him. It is interesting to note that Burhanuddin Farooqi father of Nooruddin Farooqi author of Jahandar Namah was also in that Mughal army, which was moving towards Ajmer, but he had not supplied any details of this campaign.

Further, Syed Kabir Khan, who was serving at Ajmer was granted Rs. 15,000 for army expenditure and the faujdar of Mewat was also given a sum of Rs. 60,000 for military purpose. On 16 December the Mir Bakhshi took leave from the Emperor who

1. Najmuddin Ali Khan Barha, Syed Shujaat Khan Barha, Nahar Khan Diler Khan, Shukrullah Khan, Nusrat Khan formed the group of these nobles who had served in the subah. Majority of these were Syeds of Barha. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed)p.192. Ahwal-ul-Khwaqin: f. 60a.

2. Among the Hindu nobles, Raja Awadit Singh Bundela, Pratap Singh, Gopal Singh Bheduriya, and Raja Raj Bahadur of Kishangarh accompanied the imperialists. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta,p.1. Sharma had also mentioned the name of Raja Jai Singh which is wrong. In fact, Jai Singh accompanied the royal army against Ajit Singh during Muhammad Sah's reign. Rajput Polity, p.233 Akbaaratidt. 1 Zil Hij 1125/19 December 1714.

3. Sheodas Lucknawi; Shah Namah-i-Munawwarul Kalam, p. 3
4. Jahandar Namah; f. 61
5. Akbbaarat: 20 Zigaad 1125/8 December, 1713
bestowed robe of honour and a number of valuable gifts upon him, and to few of his followers. In the beginning of 1714 he started for Ajmer, handing over his seal of mir-bakhshi to Khan-i-Dauran, to act as his deputy at court.

When Ajit Singh learnt that the imperial government was bent upon his uncondition submission and subjugation of his territory, the Raja made overtures of peace but Hussain Ali Khan rejected all these petitions, which he received through the agents of Raja on his way towards Ajmer.

Starting from Delhi on 1 January 1714, the Mughal commander reached Sambher where he destroyed the thana of the Rathor chief and by rapid marches entered, Ajmer on 20 January.

He pitched his tents at Ana-sagar lake and visited the shrine of Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti, Syed Miran Hussain


In the way the imperial army was harrassed by the suffered thieves, shortage of water, and psycho-fear of Rathor attack, but Syed Hussain Ali Khan's determination never looked effected with these happenings and he kept his march continue till he reached Ajmer.
at Garh Bithli, and presented huge amounts as *Nazar*. He also seems to have paid visit to the mausoleum of his parents, in Abdullah pura outside the city.

Later, he despatched few of his confidents towards Marwar to persuade Ajit Singh to agree on a peaceful settlement. Here at Ajmer on 27 February, Bhandhari Raghunath and Thakur Bhagwandas also arrived on behalf of Ajit Singh but there efforts did not yield any thing noteworthy.

After making important arrangements for the defence of the city, such as retaining Ghoolam Ali son of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Nazim of Ajmer as the in-charge of the *thanas* around Ajmer, and appointing Mir Imtiyaz Ali Khan another official with a rank of 700, for the defence of city, Syed Hussain Ali Khan, on 16 March moved towards Pushkar to penetrate into Ajit Singh's dominion. Here he was also joined by Abdul Samad Khan who after the success in the campaign of Punjab, was sent by Emperor for the succour of Mir-Bakhshi. But the two nobles at the very first meeting disagreed with each other.


3. *Vakil Report* (R) No. 246, dated Chaitra Sudi 2, 1771/16 March 1714

Moving forward towards Mairta, the Mughal troops plundered the Rathor villages and leaving those belonged to Jai Singh. But on the earnest entreaties of the local zamindars and peasants their properties and fields were restored to them. Amanat Khan, the adopted son of Mir Jumla had looted some places of the Marwar territory and though prevented and warned by Hussain Ali Khan from molesting the poor peasants, he continued his course of aggression and plunder. His troops were turned out and his mansab was also reduced by the order of the Emperor. Hussain Ali vigorously marched towards the territory of the rebel Rajah and as the Mughal army approached near Mairta, Ajit Singh sent his family to a hilly track for shelter, and himself escaped towards Bikaner and thence to Jodhpur. The imperial court celebrated the news of his flight with the play of naubat (music) for three days, while rivals of Syed Hussain Ali Khan expressed suspicion about his collusions in the escape of the rebel and tried to create misunderstandings between his brother.

Syed Abdullah Khan — the Wazir and Farrukhsiyar. Realising that there was no alternative except to surrender on the terms and conditions of the supreme military power, Ajit Singh opened negotiations and send a number of emissaries from Jodhpur fort where he had shut himself.

His efforts for peace were successful and a treaty was signed by the parties, and the terms of which were as follows:

(i) Ajit Singh will pay tribute and go to Thattah as appointed earlier,

(ii) His daughter Inder Kumari will be sent to harem of Farrukhsiyar.

(iii) His son Abhay Singh will serve at Mughal court and after sometime he himself will pay a visit to the court.

1. Ibrat Namah (KN) ff55b-56a Ahwalul-Khawagih; f. 72a

Muntakhab-ul-Lubab II p. 738

Tazkirat-us Salaatin-l-Chaghta p. 196. 


In a council of war it was resolved that Ajit Singh must either be taken as captive, or his head be sent to court. The imperialists left their baggage behind (at Ajmer) and speedly attacked Ajit Singh territory. According to Qasim Lahori both the brothers i.e. Hussain Ali Khan and Abdullah Khan since the days of their father had a reputation of being brave and tough commenders. Ibrat Namah (MO) f.63b

In fact Hussain Ali did not bother about heat, scarcity of water, non availability of grains and grass for cattle, and high prices of commodities, but with bold determination proceeded further to supress Ajit Singh.


3. Mulakhasut-tawarikh: f. 32ab. Ibrat Namah (MM) 60b

Muntakhab-ul-Lubab II, 738 Ahwal-ul-Khawagin f.72b,

Ibrat Namah (K.N), p. 56A.
He also presented Rs. fifty lacs to Hussain Ali Khan, and also offered fifty horses, ten elephants, and jewellery worth of fifty lacs as peshkaash for the Mughal Emperor.

Dr. Satish is of the view that these figures seem exequated and somewhat difficult to believe. But as, since a long time Ajit Singh had not sent any tribute to the court and had even realised revenues from imperial lands, he had to pay a huge amount, and in addition of a war indemnity the gift and the amount, he paid appears quite reasonable.

G.D. Sharma further says, that Ajit Singh's demand for retaining all those parganahs previously held by his father Jaswant Singh, was accepted by the imperialists.

Some modern scholars hold the view that a secret treaty between Ajit Singh and Hussain Ali Khan was also signed at this juncture. They further charge Farrukhsiyar for having sent secret letters to the Rathor chief to oppose all possible to defeat and kill the mir-bakhshi. Ajit Singh showed these

letters of the Emperor to Hussain Ali Khan which lead to a friendly treaty between the two against Farrukhsiyar. Though it is not within the purview of the present study, but it is necessary to have a brief and a careful study of the prevailing circumstances, and a critical assessment of the happening of the Rajput campaign disproves this idea. Strangely enough the sources referred by Irvine and Satish for this alleged theory of secret letters do not mention about it at all. However, if one or two sources had shed light on this issue the circumstantial evidences are against it.

Moreover, Farrukhsiyar was annoyed with Ajit Singh since the beginning and wanted to march against him personally. But he was dissuaded to do so by Abdullah Khan in name of imperial prestige and his failing health, hence the idea was dropped.

   Irvine and Satish referred Tazkirat-us-salaatin-i-Chughta Ahwalul Khawagin, Shah Namah-i-Munawwarul Kalam and Muntakhab-ul-Ujab for this theory. But all these contemporary Chronicles although had discussed in detail about imperial campaign against Ajit Singh but had not stated anything about secret letters etc. Moreover, V.S. Bhargava an authority on Marwar, too refutes it. Bhatnagar did not refer to it, while Sharma had simply followed Satish. Marwar and the Mughals, p. 156. Rajput Polity, p. 232.

   Akhbaarat, dt. June, July, August 1713.
Nevertheless, he had supplied Hussain Ali Khan a well-equipped army with reputed nobles, and lacs of rupees for this campaign. There are reports that even hundis were sent to Mir bakhshi to meet the expenditure of the campaign,¹ and regular succour was also sent, as has been mentioned earlier. Further the Emperor had celebrated this victory of Hussain Ali Khan in grand manner. As for Hussain Ali Khan every contemporary writer had praised for his vigorous and serious efforts for the submission and surrender of Ajit Singh. The Mughal noble was determined that Ajit Singh either alive or dead should be submitted.

Moreover, his imposition of such a harsh treaty was not a friendly gesture towards the rebel Raja. He not only realised a huge amount of money, and other gifts, but compelled Ajit Singh to obey the imperial order of joining at Thattah, and finally had taken dola of his daughter to royal harem.

Now, all above mentioned facts support our view that there was no ill-will between the Emperor and Mir-bakhshi, at this stage and during this campaign.

There is a slight doubt about Mir Jumla's using Farrukhsiyar's seal for this purpose. As Irvine had remarked that Farrukhsiyar had made over his seal to him (Mir Jumla) and often/to say "the word and seal of Mir Jumla are the word and seal of Farrukhsiyar".² Now it is possible that to defeat Syed Hussain Ali Khan,

¹. The Reign of Muhammad Shah, p.15
his arch rival, Mir Jumla may have done the trick. In the light of this hypothesis one cannot ignore the conduct of Mir Jumla's adopted son Amanat Khan who was posted in the army of Hussain Ali Khan, and who inspite of the repeated warnings from the later, had plundered a number of Marwari villages, and had harrassed the people, perhaps with the intention of provoking Rathors against Mir Bakhahi's troops. He was censured and finally demoted.1

However, after the treaty Syed Hussain Ali Khan sent back a number of nobles with their contingents to court and himself arrived at Pushkar in the middle of May. He then proceeded to Ajmer where he stayed and settled a number of important and outstanding issues and re-established imperial authority in the subah.2 He arrived at court on 5 Rajab 1126/16 July, 1714 offered Nazer, and was embraced and rewarded by Farrukhsiyar. His followers, also got promotions and rewards.3 Such was the rebellious attitude of Ajit Singh, that even after the treaty in September 1714, he warned his officials to keep a vigil and watch over Ajmer city, and if a qazi, mulah or news writer comes from that place on any pretext, he should be kept away from the people of Mairta, but if he did come he was to be killed at night by sending 20 to 30 troopers, and then in the morning institute a false enquiry in this matter.4

1. *Ard‘daasht* (R)No. 433, dt. Vaishakha Budi 5, 1771/4 April, 1714 In this report of Pancholi Jagjivandas it is clearly mentioned that the son of Mir Jumla and Syed Hussain Ali Khan, had differences.


4. *Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors*, pp. 102-08
AFFAIRS OF THE CITY OF AJMER BETWEEN 1714-1719:

A few months later, in October 1714, Syed Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, Nazim of Ajmer also left for Delhi, to support his relations in court politics, leaving the administration of Ajmer in the hands of his deputy.

But in February 1715, he returned to Ajmer along with his sons, Syed Ghoolam Ali etc, and crushed Raja Udai Singh of Khandela an imperial officer, who had ravaged the Khalisa land in that area.

In July 1715, Zafar Khan Bahadur was appointed faujdar of the strategic place of Narnol, while Mir Asadullah was made his deputy. At the same time Rahimuddin Khan was replaced Feroz Khan Mewati at Malpure. In the same month, Syed Hussain Ali Khan again arrived at Ajmer on his way to Deccan. He is reported to have constructed the maingate of his father's tomb during this visit, which gives the date 1127/4 RY of Farrukhsiyar (1715). He also seems to have participated in the annual Urs of Khwaja Sahib which falls in the month of Rajab/every lunar year.

1. Latefauzahals, pp. 299-300.
2. Akhbarat dated 2 Safar 1127/6 February, 1715.
3. Akhbarat dated 1,5,11 Rajab/2,6,12 July 1715
In November 1715, Askar Rao Harkara posted at Ajmer, informed the Emperor, that Raja Partap Singh brother of Amar Singh ruler of Mewar once expelled from Malpura, by Ajit Singh is still unemployed. He was a rank holder of 3000/3000, and should be granted the faujdari of Ranthambhor. In December 1715, the subahdari of Gujarat, was granted to Ajit Singh, two days after Farrukhsiyar's marriage to his daughter; thus fulfilling one of the clause of the treaty of May 1714, as has been stated by some contemporary writers.

Ajit Singh before leaving for Gujarat, captured Bhinmal and Jalore. In February 1716, Durgadas Rathor through Syed Salabat Khan Bahadur, presented himself before the Emperor, and was suitably rewarded.

1. Akhbarat, dt. 17 Ziqaad 1127/14 November 1715.

2. Farnam of Farrukhsiyar to Ajit Singh; dated 23 zilhij, 1127/19 December 1715, No. 7/10, R.S.A. Bikaner, Dr. Satish had mistakenly given 23 zilhij 1126/10 December 1714, as the date of Ajit Singh appointment of Gujarat. Actually on this date, according to Kamwar Khan, Aam Khan was given charge of Thatta, in place of Ajit Singh. Kamwar Khan further says that on May 1, 1715, it was announced, that Ajit Singh was granted governorship of Gujarat in absentia, with promotion in rank, but the farnam of this appointment was issued after Farrukhsiyar's marriage with his daughter, which according to Mirza Muhammad and Harsukh Rai Khatri, was the condition for the subahdari of Gujarat. Moreover, according to Miraat-i-Ahmadi, Ajit Singh was granted the subahdari of Gujarat, in place of Dawood Khan Panni, and arrived at Ahmadabad in Rabiul-Awwal 1128/March 1716. Taskirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chahta, pp. 206, 210, 215. Ibrat Namah (PN) f. 60b. Akhbarat, dt. 26 Rabiul-Saani, 12 Jamadiul-Awal 1127/3.1.16 May 1715, Miraat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2. Harsukh Rai Khatri: Majma-ul-Akhbar, pp. 439-40. Parties and Politics, pp. 110-11 (PN).
Jai Singh is said to have stayed at Ajmer and Amber for some time in the early months of 1716 on his journey to court from Malwa.

Ajit Singh further occupied Nagore from Inder Singh, and then got a farman from the Emperor conforming his hold over Nagore. Thus the recognition of the right of Ajit Singh over Nagore was a significant factor in the consolidation of Rathor power.2

After Jai Singh departure from court against Churaman Jat in September 1716, Syed Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Nazim of Ajmer was again called at court, who arrived in Muharram 1129/January 1717, and was also deputed to crush the Jat revolt. He successfully returned to the court, in April 1718 with Churaman and his nephew Rupa. He was holding the subehdari of Ajmer till this time though it is not clear to whom he had made his deputy in his absence. It seems that one of his sons looked after the affairs at Ajmer, till 25 Rajab.

2. Farman No. 10/7 RSA Bikaner, dated Rabiul Awwal 1127/February 1717.


1130/23 June 1718/IZZUDD-Daulah Khan-i-Alam Bahadur was given charge of Ajmer, and Syed Khan-i-Jahan was transferred to Agra. But the new governor died on 25 zil-hij/18 November and his son Sipahdar Khan was given the robes of condolence and a rank of 3000/3000.

Lastly in Safar 1131/January 1719 Syed Najabat Ali Khan took charge of Ajmer and continued to hold it till Farrukhsiyar's deposition.

Thus during the reign of Farrukhsiyar Syed Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur held the subehdari of Ajmer most of the time. As he was related to the powerful Syed brothers, he never faced any serious problem in the conduct of the provincial administration and also visited the court more than once. He was free from the fear of transfer or dismissal and carried out his work with confidence and liberty.


2. *Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta*, p. 251. His name was Muhammad Ismail and he was the descendant of Mirza Shah Rukh ruler of Badekhshan. His early title was Behrawar Khan, later he was given the title of Najabat Ali Khan held by his father, and grand father. He served as Subehdar of Bijapur, Malwa, Burhanpur in the early period of eighteenth century. He died on 29 Shaaban 1134/14 June 1722. For details see: *Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta*, pp. 139, 180, 190, 248, 251. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad*, p. 44.
Moreover, Ajit Singh after the submission had become an ally to Syed brothers in the court politics and moved to Gujarat, and thence to imperial capital, the subah and city of Ajmer remained undisturbed by revolts and lawlessness.

The other powerful chief of Rajputana, Jai Singh also did not take interest in the affairs of Ajmer as he served as the subehdar of Malwa and further engaged himself in suppressing the jats. Ajmer consequently enjoyed peace during this period.

This was due to the statesmanship of Farrukhsiyar and the co-operation of the Syed brothers, that the two Rajahs were removed from their home-towns, which were the centre of troubles. They were placed in a new position to display their talents and energies, profitable in an wider-scope.

1. Parties and Politics, p. 99
The City of Ajmer during the brief reigns of Rafi-ud-darajat and Rafi-ud-daulah; February - September 1719.

During the short reigns of the puppet kings the city of Ajmer enjoyed peace and tranquility as it was least affected by the waves of tension and conflicts sweeping over the imperial capital, Delhi, in wake of Farrukhsiyar's dispositions and cold-blooded murder. Neither in the contemporary Persian Chronicles, nor in the local sources of Rajasthan of this period, important information regarding the city of Ajmer is available.

Syed Nusrat Yar Khan Barha who was appointed faujdar of the subah of Ajmer and Mewat on 24 Rabi-us-Sani 1131/15 March 1719 administered the city efficiently, and maintained


Tikkiwal and Bhatnagar both had wrongly mentioned him the subedar or faujdar of Mewat only. Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, pp. 141. Jaipur and the later Mughals, p. 46. He belonged to the famous clan of Syeds of Barha, and originally, he was Syed Hidayatullah Khan. He served as deputy faujdar of Ranthambore, faujdar of Sambher, and the suburb around Ajmer, and was given the title of Syed Nusrat Yar Khan by Bahadur Shah. It was probably during this period that he had supervised the construction of the mausoleum of Syed Abdullah Khan, as his name is found in the inscription which Tirmiz has failed to identify.

During Farrukhsiyar's reign, he again served in Ajmer for some time, and then was appointed governor of Agra. For a short period during Rafi-ud-Darajat's reign, he became faujdar of Ajmer. As he was with Muhammad Shah in the battle of Hassanpur, it was due to his efforts that the jagirs of Syed Abdullah Khan had been retained, in spite of his defeat in the battle in November 1720. He served on various posts under Muhammad Shah, and died in 1134/1723-24, at Patna where he was posted.

law and order in its neighbouring areas. However, soon he was replaced by Ajit Singh. But, the Rajputs too being stunned by the developments at the royal court could not get time to look after the area of their appointment. They were busy in looking after their own interests and affairs.

The two Rajahs, Ajit Singh and Jai Singh became deeply involved in the court politics and could not turn their attention to invade or occupy the city. By a combination of political factor, the two Rajahs took up different paths on their way to aggrandisment in Mughal Empire. While Raja Ajit Singh staunchly supported Syed brothers in all their moves and acts, Raja Jai Singh initially preferred the policy of neutrality towards the defecto lords of the central government. But after Farrukhsiyar's brutal murder, his neutrality changed into hostility and, he openly ranged himself with those who disapproved the deposition and murder of Farrukhsiyar. He unsuccessfully tried to combine all those Mughal nobles and prominent Hindu Rajahs, who were against Syeds, to install Nekuseyar at the throne of Delhi. But he failed in his aim due to the casual attitude of the Muslim nobles and treacherous role of Hindu Chieftains. Moreover, the Saiyids were too clever as they had posted a number of commanders in Rajputana to check the activities of Kachwaha ruler. Syed Nusrat Yar Khan Barha, Qayam Khan, father-in-law of Syed
Hussain Ali Khan and zamindar of Fatehpur - Jhunjhunu, Dilawar Khan Bakhshi, Zafar Khan, Mir Musharraf Khan etc, all had encamped around Amber for keeping a watch over Jai Singh's movements. On the other hand Raja Ajit Singh, through his alliance with the king makers "gained most advantageous position. He was granted the subedari of both Ajmer and Gujarat. From a contemporary account it appears that the award of mansab granted to Ajit Singh, his sons, and other Rathor sardars, was a high water-mark in the history of Marwar as well as other Rajput states". He even had taken his daughter back from the imperial harem, an act which had been severely criticised by many contemporary writers. Another reference to the city of Ajmer is found in connection with the intended visit of Rafi-ud-Daulah the Shahjahan II to the shrine of Khwaja Sahib, in Shaaban 1131/July 1719. But the concealed motive was the invasion of Amber by the imperial forces and chastisement of Raja Jai Singh. Such declarations were made time and again, but no Mughal king after Bahadur Shah ever could find an opportunity to visit Ajmer. The rise and fall in the fortunes of Ajit Singh or Jai Singh, are not directly connected with the


2. Rajput Polity, p. 234.


history of Ajmer so far as its internal administration and stability of the Mughal rule were concerned. Nevertheless, political developments taking place in Central Rajasthan produced their impact on the politics, administration, economy, and social life of the city of Ajmer. The significance of this impact cannot be fully assessed owing to the paucity of information, but the policies and action of both the Central and provincial government are to be viewed in this context of Mughal-Rajput relationship.
CHAPTER IV

The City of Aimer During the reign of Muhammad Shah: 1719-1748.
Immediately after Muhammad Shah’s coronation ceremony at Bidyapur on 15 Ziqad 1131/28 September 1719, it was announced that soon the new Emperor will proceed to Ajmer to pay respect to the shrine of Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti—again the hidden motive was to check and chastise the hostile attitude of Jai Singh, who even did not bother to deposit tribute in the imperial treasury of Ajmer. But this imperial trip could not be made, as in the way Ajit Singh intervened on behalf of Jai Singh, and assured the Emperor that if he had been given leave he will be able to persuade Jai Singh to submit. Accordingly, he was granted leave and Wazir, Syed Abdullah Khan expressed hope that for a suitable settlement, Jai Singh should be called at Ajmer. Finally, Jai Singh submitted in November 1919, when he was appointed faujdar of the sarkar of Sorath, but Ajit Singh remained the subahdar of the whole of Gujarat and Ajmer. In this way the country from a point sixty miles south of Delhi to the shores


Tikkival is of the opinion that Jai Singh had sent five of his trusted officers to Ajit Singh to explore the possibility of a compromise. *Rajput Polity*, p. 236. Balmukand Namah (Ed. Satish), p. 35, Letter No. 5, dt. 16 November 1719.
of the ocean at Surat was in the hands of those two Rajahs very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on this exposed frontier. Thus the surrender of Jai Singh enhanced Ajit Singh's position and his influence over Syed brothers who felt obliged to him, for having solved such a ticklish problem. Soon he was rewarded with the subehdari of Ajmer on 23 Bil Hij 1131/5 Nov. 1719, with special robe of honour and a farman, but at the same time Momin Khan was appointed faujdar of Sambher. Keeping in view the situation of both the subahs, Syed Abdullah Khan had also suggested and urged the Rathor chief to send a suitable deputy to Gujarat for smooth and honest administration and appoint a capable and experienced agent at Ajmer to look after the affairs of the province. In December 1719, a letter of Ajit Singh arrived which satisfied the grand noble, who replied to the Rathor chief that the details he had written about the people of Ajmer had also been confirmed from other sources. When a march against Nizam-ul-Mulk towards Deccan, with the Emperor, was planned by Syeds in September 1720, it was decided that the imperialists would proceed by the route of Ajmer. This was plainly designed

1. Later Mughals, II, p.4. Tikkiwal wrongly had mentioned that Surath is 70 miles east of Jaipur, where Jai Singh was appointed. Moreover Elliot & Dowson, too, had stated Surath in place of Sorath, which according to R. Amarji, is the peninsula of Kathiawar or Saurashtra, lying between the gulf of Kutch and Cambay and surrounded by the Arabian Sea. It is the holy land of Western India... the Mohamedans called it by the name of Sorath. Jaipur and the Later Mughals, p.48, E & D Vol. VII, p.485. R. Amarji, Tarikh-Isorath (Introduction)

3. Tazkirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta (ed), pp.289-90
4. Balmukand, Namah (Bl. Satish), Letter No.31, p.105
to take Ajit Singh on the march towards Deccan. Further the administrative establishment of Ajmer sukh was also ordered to be carried along with the court. But in the way, at Toda Bhim on 8 October 1720, Syed Hussain Ali Khan was assassinated in a conspiracy, and the imperial caravan soon returned back to capital, without visiting Ajmer. The corpse of Syed Hussain Ali Khan and his other relatives were sent to Ajmer, for the burial in the mausoleum of his father Syed Abdullah Khan.

In the battle of Hassan-pur, on 13-14 November 1720, the imperialists defeated and captured Syed Abdullah Khan who was later put to death. With his capture, the era of king-makers, which was one of the most interesting period of the later Mughal history came to an end.

Jai Singh afterwards submitted to Muhammad Shah and was duly rewarded. On the contrary, Ajit Singh who was the most trustworthy of the Syeds betrayed their patrons at this critical moment. Moreover, he did not show any proper allegiance to the Emperor. Dr. Malik had rightly observed, that without waiting, however, for a final decision of the Mughal government in his case, he raised the banner of the revolt.

**Ajit Singh takes control of Ajmer**

In the middle of 1721, with a hand of 30,000 Rashtra force, Ajit Singh easily took possession of the city of Ajmer.

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4. For details see: Later Mughals, II, pp.66-93.
in a surprise attack and stunned the imperial officers. As
the news of his revolt arrived at court, he was immediately
dismissed from the subahdari of Ajmer and Gujarat in October
1721. In the city of Ajmer, as well as in the other parts
of the subah he prohibited cow-slaughter, call for prayers,
which he often had done in the past. The author of Tarikh-i-
Mamuffari says, that in the 3 R.Y. (of Muhammad Shah) the
people of Ajmer and Ahmadabad again sent petitions to the
royal court, that Ajit Singh was preventing the Mulsims from
observing their religious rites, and oppressing the general
public. In fact during the hey days of Syeds, Ajit Singh
had become very powerful and administered the city in the
most arbitrary manner. When he revolted and took possession
of the city, he went beyond the limits in oppressing the people.
He had even captured a number of Khalisa villages, and also
annexed the small states of local chieftains. According to
G.D. Sharma, the Ranth chief had captured Bhinai, Toda.

1. Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, p.179.
Dr. Satish Chandra and Bhattacharya are incorrect when they say
that he was dismissed from the province in May 1721, and as
a result of this he captured Ajmer. Parties and Polities,
view that Khafi Khan is confused in regard of Ajit Singh's
activities in Ajmer, but in the light of similar informations
available in other contemporary sources, Satish's argument
is unacceptable. Parties and Politics, p.179.
4. Tarikh-i-Mamuffari, p.175.
Mahroth, Bherandi, Babal, Nagour, Parbatsar, Haraur, Toına, 
Sambher and Didwana. Dr. Malik says that beside Sambher, 
Didwana and Toda, Ajit Singh had also captured the parganah of 
Amarsar in which a number of imperial officers of subah of 
Ajmer had their jagirs.

FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION OF MUZAFFAR KHAN DIAPURI:

On the receipt of this serious information Muhammad 
shah felt annoyed, and called a meeting of his grandees to 
discuss ways and means of suppressing the revolt of Rathor 
Raja. According to one version a number of nobles, one after 
another, declined to lead the punitive expedition against the 
rebel on one or the other pretext. It may be argued that 
they would have pleaded caution and delay in dealing with 
the problem, and proposed a resort to diplomacy before the 
clash of arms. The first step taken by the Emperor was to 
divest Ajit Singh of the subah of Gujarat and appointed on 
12 October 1721, Haider Quli Khan in his place. The misrule 
of Ajit Singh wholly justified this change. on the same 
day Muzaffar Khan Daipuri, a protege of Khan-i-Dauran was 
appointed subedar of Ajmer and was awarded a special robe 
of honour, sarpech, elephant etc. He was also granted rupees

2. The Reign of Muhammed Shah, p. 257. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 181
3. Later Mughals, Vol. II, p. 108. Those who were appointed and 
later declined were Sadaat Khan, Samsam-ud-Daula Omruddin 
Khan, and Haider Quli Khan.
4. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, pp. 175-76. Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin, p. 452 
Parties and Politics, p. 179. He was also made Divan 
Amin and feujdar of the Mahals of Khalisa and Mitassadi 
of Surat. A number of other important officials were also 
posted under him.

His real name was Muhammad Raza, and he belonged to 
Isafar in Northern Persia. He had served as deputy governor 
and Divan of Ahmadabad and revenue officer of Surat in Furrur-
six lakhs in cash organizing fresh troops. He stationed himself outside the city and began to enlist recklessly, offering assured high rates of pay.  

However, when Ajit Singh heard about his dismissal from both the subahs and feared of an imperial expedition, he with a view to regain the confidences of the Muslim public of Ajmer restored the old order of things to which they were used. He allowed prayers to be performed in the mosques and religious functions to be carried out in the main shrine in usual way. He also showed to the officials, the qaul namah or (convention) of Muhammad Shah/Jahanshah (father of Emperor Muhammad Shah), along with a panja on it, allowing or appointing him to these two subahs to justify his capture of Ajmer. Satish on the basis of these activities of Ajit Singh had vainly tried to highlight him, and to project his image as a liberal chief-tain, though he forgot to mention his past deeds. Dr. Malik and Irvine had wrongly

Contd-khsiyar's reign and got the title of Haider Quli Khan. After Syed Hussain Ali Khan's assassination he played a key role in crushing his clansmen from the imperial tent. In Muhammad Shah's reign he became Mir-atish with a rank of 6000/6000. He also held the subehdari of Gujarat and Ajmer, and a rank of 7000/7000, beside the post of mir-atish during Muhammad Shah's reign, and died in 1724-25. Missir-ul-Umara, pp. 746-75.

1. Tarikh-i-Muzaferri, pp. 175-76. siyar-ul Mutaakhirin, p. 452.
2. Tarikh-i-Muzaferri, pp. 178-79. siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin, p. 453. Muhammad Ali's version that the panja on qaul Namah was of Muhammad Shah, seems more correct.
attributed this act of Ajit Singh in context of Jai Singh, who had never held the subedar of Ajmer, though he was certainly liberal in his outlook.

Afterwards he sent his son Abhay Singh to oppose the new governor of Ajmer, who by that time had reached Nanoharpur, 130 miles north east of Ajmer city. Here, the imperial noble was waiting for the arrival of the remaining subsidy of four lakhs of rupees to meet his expenses. Finding no way out his men lost heart and began plundering neighbouring areas and finally deserted the subedar and left him alone. In despair and disgust, Musaffar Ali Khan went to Amber, from where he sent his resignation, and the first expedition against Ajit Singh ended in fiasco. Muhammad Shah immediately appointed Syed Nusrat Kbr Khan Barha as the next governor of Ajmer. The Khan had wide experience as had already served in the subah in various capacities. He was promoted to the rank of 7000/7000. But before he could strike against Ajit Singh in Ajmer, Abhay Singh the son of Ajit Singh with twelve thousand camal riders, armed with matchlocks and bows attacked and plundered Narnol, Tijara, Alwar, Najafgarh and appeared even as far north as Sarai Allahwardi Khan within sixteen miles of Delhi. The


deputy faujdar of Narnol, who was a sister's son of Bayzid Khan the faujdar, unable to resist, fled to his master, in Nawan region.¹

At the court usual confusion prevailed. At first when Muhammad Shah annoyed, many nobles offered their services for the campaign against the Rathors and in the last withdrew one by one.² At last Nusrat Yar Khan Barha the subehdar of Ajmer, organized a well equipped and disciplined army, and pitched his tent outside the capital. This demonstration of military might, clearly reflects the firmness of the Mughal general, to fight to the end, and to re-capture Ajmer from hostile hands. The reality of situation demanded a prudent solution of the problem. Ajit Singh realised that without vacating Ajmer, he would not be able to ward off the threat to his security, now posed by launching of a vigorous expedition. Another development, that forced Ajit Singh to retreat from the battle front, was the news of Nizam-ul-Mulk's approach towards Ajmer, from the Deccan. In response to the invitation of the emperor, to assume charge of wizarat, the Nizam was coming to Delhi, through Rajputana at the moment.³ Ajit Singh realising the danger, left for Jodhpur, leaving udawan

¹ Shah Namah-i-Munawvar-ul-Kalam, f. 79. Dr. Malik had incorrectly mentioned, that Abhay Singh had defeated Bayzid Khan who was the deputy faujdar of Narnol. The Reign of Muhammad Shah, p. 257.  
Amar Singh one of his trustworthy lieutenant at Garh Bithli fort. 1

On 4 Jamadiul Akhir 1134/21 March 1722, the Raja chief's Vakil, Khensi Bhandari along with Nahar Khan arrived at court with the petition and Nazar of Ajit Singh. In his usual language he professed loyalty and submission. All his arguments for the revolt, which were full of lies and deceptions were accepted and he was even allowed to retain the subehdari of Ajmer. 2

Analysing the factors of Ajit Singh's unwise revolt, Sharma is of the opinion, that he was only repeating his old policy of demonstrating his strength, in order to force the Emperor to accept his terms and conditions. But the offensive launched by him created suspicions against his motives. 3

**Murder of Nahar Khan by Ajit Singh and the expedition of Dratedmund Khan Sharfud-daulah against him:**

On 30 Safar 1135/10 December 1722 Raja Nahar Khan who had spent many years in the sultanate of Ajmer and was a friend of Ajit Singh was appointed Diwan of Ajmer province and faujdar of Sambar. His brother Ruhullah Khan was made incharge of Garh-Bithli. 4 Nahar Khan was given almost equal rights as Diwan, which Ajit Singh had as Nazim. Further to

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3. *Rajput Polity*, p.239.
strengthen former's position and for safety of Ajmer city, his brother was made gildedar of Garh Bithli. In other words, the central government, not satisfied with Ajit Singh, put a check on him by appointing these officials.

Ajit Singh could not tolerate this check upon him and on 29 Rabi-us-Saani 1135/6 February, 1723 by way of treachery killed Nahar Khan, his brother Ruhullah Khan, and many other kinsmen of the diwan. He again oppressed and harrassed the public of Ajmer. This incident when Peher Khan on 3 Jamadiul Awal 1135/9 February 1723, enraged him, and he appointed Sharf-ud-Daulah Iradatmand Khan to lead an expedition against Ajit Singh. He was given a rank of 7000/6000 and the imperial Pahlahis were directed to place a force of 50,000 horse at his disposal. Beside a number of other lavish gifts he was granted rupees two lacs in cash to meet his army expenses.

1. Tarikhat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta (ed.), p. 350. Irvine and Dr. Malik had given 29 Rabiul Awal 1135/6 January 1723, the date, on which Nahar Khan was killed. But both seem wrong.


Moreover, the opinion of Dr. Satish, that Ajit Singh had an old aversion to Nahar Khan, therefore he killed him, is difficult to believe, as on a number of occasions, Nahar Khan acted as a mediator on behalf of Rathor chief and he played vital roles in peace efforts between him and the Mughals. Parties and Politics, p. 181.

2. Tarikhat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta(ed.), pp. 349-51

Sharaf Namah-i-Muhammad Shah, f. 119. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 185.

Iradat Mand Khan's name was Khwaja Ubeidullah Salkhi, entitled Sharaf-ud-Daulah Iradat Khan Sadiq Tahavvar Jung Bahadur. He was brother's son and son-in-law of Mulla Iwaz Wajih. He died on 3 Istam 1144/28 April 1732 and not in 1123/1711 as her been stated by Irvine. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shah, f. 119.
Many prominent nobles were also ordered to march under the command of Sharaf-ud-Daulah. They were Izzat Yar Khan, Raja Jai Singh Sawai, Muhammad Khan Bangash and Raja Girdhar Bahadur. Haider Quli Khan the rebel Nazim of Gujarat who was on his way to capital, was pardoned, and appointed the governor of Ajmer and Sajjada of Sambher on April 1723. He was ordered to join the imperial army sent against Ajit Singh.¹

With so many famous nobles, and huge army of more than one lad, Sharaf-ud-Daulah Idratmand Khan proceeded towards Ajmer.² On 25 Shabaan 1135/30 May 1723, news arrived at court that the Rathor chief who was encamping at Bhanera village, on hearing the approach of the imperialists had fled away towards Sambher.³ But Haider Quli Khan compelled Ajit Singh to leave Sambher and Ajmer and to run away towards Jodhpur. At Ajmer, under the command of his faithful servant Udawat Amar Singh, he left a contingent of 400 soldiers for the defence of Garh-Bithli.⁴


On 5 June 1723, Rao Inder Singh was once again granted Nagor in absentia, just to humiliate Ajit Singh. On 8 Ramadan 11 June, the karkaraz posted at Ajmer, brought the news, that Haider Uoli Khan, after appointing Agha Qasim at Sambher, and Salabat Khan Afghan at Maroth, had occupied Ajmer and had entered the city, but the garrison left by Ajit Singh at Garh-Bithli, had been defending the fort with all the best possible efforts. For one and half month, the imperial army besieged the fort, without any success. Jai Singh also arrived at Ajmer on 25 June 1723. Muhammad Shah, who had granted him the title of Raja Raj-Ashashri Raj Dhiraj Maharaj Jai Singh Sawai on 12 June, had now chided him for being lukewarm in the matter of Ajit Singh. Though the Kachwaha ruler himself was not happy with Ajit Singh, who had annexed some part of his territory in Ajmer, yet he took initiative in settling the matters. He sent his own divan, Ayamal with some nobles of Amber, to discuss with Thakur Amar Singh Udwat, the Ranthor commander at Garh Bithli, for a peaceful evacuation of the fort. Ajit Singh, too, sent words to his lieutenant, to handover the fort to imperialists, which was done. The keys of the fort arrived at court, and was presented to the Emperor on 2 Ziqad/4 August 1723.

5. Rajput Polity, p.240.
It is surprising to note that one of modern scholar had mentioned that Muhammad Shah had invested Taragarh, which fell after a short siege. The fact is that the Emperor in person did never visit Ajmer during his reign.\(^1\)

After the fall of Ajmer fort, Haider Quli Khan moved towards Maita, and compelled Ajit Singh to sue to peace. He sent his son Abhay Singh with several gifts to meet the Mughal commander at Reyan village 30 miles from Maita. He submitted unconditionally, with a sole request that his personal attendance at court should be exempted for one year. He was given a rank of 7000/7000, but the question of his appointment remained pending.\(^2\) In November 1723, after the return of the imperial army, his son Abhay Singh arrived at court with several elephants, a large sum of money as propitiatory gift to the Emperor.

Commenting on Ajit Singh’s activities, Bhatnagar is of the opinion that he had showed neither consistency, nor wisdom while dealing with the Mughals, but instead chose the path of bluff.\(^3\)

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2. Rajput Polity, p. 240. A number of pal ganaha outside Harwar were also taken away from him, which he had forcefully captured.
Murder of Ajit Singh and the affairs of the City of Ajmer between 1724-1741:

Soon Ajit Singh was murdered by his own son Bakhat Singh on 23 June 1724. There are a number of divergent versions in regard of the causes of his assassination, which are not concerned here.¹ After him Abhay Singh his eldest son, who was then at court, was announced his successor, and the Emperor bestowed tika upon him. He was given a rank of 7000/7000, and was also granted some of the perganahs of Marwar, which had been earlier taken from Ajit Singh.² However, few of the sardars of Marwar, disliked his appointment as Raja of Jodhpur, and supported the cause of his brothers, viz. Anand Singh and Raj Singh. Thus, a civil war between the sons of Ajit Singh broke out in that area of subah of Ajmer.³

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1. Some writers hold the view that he was murdered by Bakhat Singh on the instigation of imperialists, while other state that he had illicit relations with the wife of Bakhat Singh, who overcome with shame, and touched in the tenderest point of honour, killed him. Vir Vinod, II, pp. 843-44. Lataf Mughals, II, p. 117. Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 162-64. Here, too, Dr. Satish had made mistake, when he says that Ajit Singh was assassinated on 7 January 1724. Parties and Politics, p. 182. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, pp. 188-89. Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors, pp. 119-27. Rajput Polity, pp. 240-41, 248-49.

2. Rajput Polity, p. 248.

Haider Quli continued as the _subehdar_ of Ajmer, and _saujdar_ of Sambhar, till 30 December 1724 when, he was recalled at court, and was appointed _Mir Jafiz_, after Mirza's departure for Dacca. 1 Jaffer Quli Khan the son of Haider Quli Khan, held the office of the _diwan_ of Ajmer, during his father's tenure as _subehdar_ of Ajmer. 2

Syed Hassan Khan Barha was appointed _subehdar_ of Ajmer after him, but was killed by one of his Afghan servant, after few months. 3 In the same year, i.e. in 1725, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan, brother of the famous Syed brothers, was entrusted the charge of Ajmer. 4 He was released from the prison on the recommendation of Hafiz Khudmat'gar Khan, and Sardar Khan. He spent some time in Gujarat, in fighting with Marathas, but due to his differences with the governor Sardar Khan, he ultimately returned to Ajmer, in the middle of 1726. 5 In the following year i.e. 1727, he was transferred

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2. _Asad-ua-Sanadid_, pp.46. Earlier both held the offices of _subehdar_ and _diwan_ of Gujarat. _Mirat-ul-Ahmadi_, Vol, II,p.38.
3. _Tariikh-i-Hindi_, p.254. His real name was Syed Eberahem Khan Barha. Bahadur Shah granted him the title of Syed Hassan Khan. He was a great noble of Timurs, and was holding a rank of 5000/5000. He served in the army of Hassan Ali Khan, sent against Ajit Singh in 1713-14, and also held the _saujdaris_ of Barha and Gaveliar in 1718. He was killed in November 1725 at Ajmer. _Tahirat-ua-Salaatin-i-Chaghta_(ed),pp.20,192,242. _Tariikh-i-Muhaddi_ (ed.Arshi), p.59.
4. _Tariikh-i-Muaffari_, p.195. _Mirtat-ul-Nafidat_,p.670. _Tariikh-i- Shadi-Khan_, p.25. He was the son of Syed Abdullah Khan, known as Syed Miyan, and served in Ajmer during the governorship of his father, in the closing year of seventeenth century. He fought with his brother, against imperialists, during Muhammad Shah's reign. In the 7 R.Y., he was released from prison after 5 years. He died while serving at Gaveliar.
to Gawalior giving place presumably to Azam Khan.\(^1\) Our records contain no information regarding the successor of Najmuddin Ali Khan. Although in the Waqai Abdul Qaidr Khani the names of Shaikh Rehmatullah and Syed Wali Muhammad had been mentioned as the subahdar of Ajmer during this period,\(^2\) but no other contemporary records supports this, inspite of the fact, that both were well-known nobles of Muhammad Shah.\(^3\) It is possible that they might have acted as deputies of the subahdar. On the basis of two sanads (documents) of 1727-28, available in Asanid us-sanadid, it appears that Azam Khan, administered Ajmer, after Najmuddin Ali Khan for a short period. Of these two orders, issued by Azam Khan in the 8 and 9 RY of Muhammad Shah (1727-29) the first is pertaining to the appointment of Syed Sadullah Khan as Naib-faujdar, amir, shiqdar, karkun, fotadar of the mahals of Ajmer, while in the second order, he had directed the officials to pay rupees 3000/- from the revenues of the mahals as Nazar to Syed Sharifullah, a khadim of Khwaja Sahib and his vakil (prayer-fully) at dargah.\(^4\)

2. Waqai Abdul Qaidr Khani (MS), p.63
4. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 297-300. Regarding Azam Khan no detail information is available, yet, it is found that, probably, his real name was Musleh Khan and he was the grandson of Azam Khan. He was given the title of Azam Khan and a rank of 3000/2000 by Farrukhsiyar in 1713. Later he served at Agra, Tat ah, Kashmir, during the reign of Farrukhsiyar, under Muhammad Shah he took active part in court politics, and in the various campaigns. Taskirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chigta, pp.195, 206, 225, 236, 327, 337, 340-41. Vakil Report (R) Nos.175, dt. Kartika Badi/17 October, 1712. Later Mughals, Vol. II, p.186.
Then in 1728, Muzaffar Khan brother of Khan-i-Dauran, was given charge of Ajmer. He is also said to have ordered to proceed to Ajmer in 1723, when he quarrelled with Sadat Khan in the presence of the Emperor. But it seems that on this date, his appointment was cancelled. However, Dr. Malik had confused the issue, when he claims that he was appointed at Ajmer in 1725, the year in which Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan, was announced the Nazim of Ajmer, as stated earlier. Anyway, Muzaffar Ali Khan was also given the faujdari of Sambher, and Nawat with a rank of 7000/7000. He made Narnol as his head-quarter, and held the subehdari of Ajmer for a long period, probably till 1734-35.

Abhay Singh like his father Ajit Singh, was keenly interested in the governorship of Ajmer, and in securing control over Sambher and Dichaana. He disliked the appointment of Muzaffar Ali Khan, and in 1734, after the campaign of Bikaner, again asked his vakil (at court) to request the nazir to favour him with the subehdari of Ajmer.

1. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, f. 195 in 10 R.Y. /2140-41/1728 Mr Ghoolam Ali, Daru-va-sadat, f. 59/60. He was the brother of Khan-i-Dauran Saman-ud-Daulah and a descendant of Khaja Alauddin Attar, a famous saint. He served the government with efficiency and acquired a name for excellence. He was killed while fighting against Nadar Shah in 1738. Maqir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, pp. 519-25.


3. Tarikh-i-Hindi, p.509.

During the whole period of 1724-33, that witnessed continuous conflicts among Rajput chiefs, and other political changes in the region, the Nasim of Ajmer remained aloof and played no active part in these developments, except looking after the administration of the imperial territory.¹

However, at that time, three main political currents were sweeping over the vast hilly plains of Rajasthan, each one clashing and crossing against the other for the onward thrust to engulf its larger parts. In their collision the main current of the Mughal paramountcy receded to back waters, where it ultimately stagnated, while the tidal waves of the Maratha rising from across the Narmada repelled along their course the local element, of Rajputs, and submerged the whole land under a flood of chaos and disorder. The political void created by the eclipse of the Mughal sovereignty was filled by the Marathas, and not by the Rajput chiefs who had first worked for the weakening of their former overlords. Without local support the Mughals could not stand before the onslaught repeatedly delivered by the Marathas on their strong-hold and subsequently gave way to the invaders.

Jaipur and the Later Mughals, pp. 73, 99-101
Rajput Polity, pp. 265-66
Faizan No. 41, R.S.A. Bikaner, dt. 15 Safar 1146/27 July, 1734.
Beni Gupta; Maratha Penetration into Rajasthan, pp. 7-12.
The Mughals were mainly concerned with the defence of their existing imperial structure in which the local chiefs and zamindars had a legitimate share and common interests of security and material progress had bound them in the past.

The Marathas wanted to control the main spring of power and economy by supplanting the Mughals without ensuring peace and order, that once reigned in this land of adventure and romance. In refraining from the involvement in the bitter contest, that took place between the Mughals and the Marathas for two decades 1720-40, the Rajputs only postponed the crisis that overtook them at the mid-century. The breakdown of the Mughal power was a prelude to the dis-integration of the Rajputs, who lost identity with a recognizable centre of authority and prestige.

Numerous studies have been produced to explain the inner significance of this prolonged and bloody struggle between three powers i.e. Mughals, Rajputs and Marathas, its impact on the economy and social life of local population and pattern of inter relationship between the forces involved. An analysis

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of the process however, brief, that destroyed the Mughal authority, reduced the Rajput princes to the status of Chauth paying vessels, and made the Marathas masters of the whole region, does not fall within the compass of our present enquiry. We are only concerned with the changes as a sequel to the interplay of these forces which affected the various aspects of life in the city of Ajmer. What was the response of city administration to the external challenges and how did the people react to the storms of turbulence and warfare raging outside it? What administrative arrangements were made and what political alliances entered into with the powers that be, for maintaining the integrity and stability of the imperial rule during the period under discussion.

The first striking feature of the period is that the Maratha incursions initially were mostly confined to Malwa, and at its boardering area of Rajasthan, hardly effecting the life in Ajmer. The Subedar of Ajmer took no part against these onslaughts of Deccanis, as he remained busy in the conduct of internal administration. The only campaign in which the Subedar of Ajmer Muzaffar Khan played a role had been organised by the central government 1733-34. Muzaffar Khan

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had been asked by his brother, Khan-i-Dauran to lead a strong army against Marathas in Malwa. But before Muzaffar Khan could strike against the rebel invaders they left the province after committing depredations on large scale.¹

At the same time, Malhar Rao Holkar appeared in the environs of Ajmer, and devasted freely.² Except this reference of Haveli Ajmer, no other details regarding the Maratha activities are available, nor do we find any information in contemporary sources, as to what measures were adopted by imperialists to check Marathas inroads in in Rajputana, except one or two campaigns launched by senior nobles, which too met with failure.³

The second feature was the growing intergroup hostility and rivalry among the Rajput chiefs, manifesting in their attempts to expand their respective territories by means of

Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukhsiyar, f. 105.


3. Later Mughals, II, p. 279, 285. After the rainy season in 1734 a strong army under Khan-i-Dauran, accompanied by Jai Singh, Abhay Singh etc., was sent to chastise Marathas. The objectives was Ajmer, where Malhar Rao had created havoc. Sambher and adjoining areas, were plundered by Malhar Rao, who encircled the Bakhshis army and compelled the imperialists to make peace. A number of grandees, in their mutual correspondence and petitions (azmeaghti) to Muhammad Shah which are contained in Azizul Qulub, had expressed their concern about the movements of Marathas towards Ajmer. Bhagwan Das: Azizul Qulub, pp. 9, 47, 48, 51.
either conquest, or acquisition of land, both Khalisa and
Jagir in ijara from the central government, weak nobles, and
small samundars. As had been quoted earlier that Raja Abhay
Singh had staked his claim to the subehdari of Ajmer, and
on more than one occasion, he submitted petition to the Empe-
or in this regard, but failed to win his objective. Jai
Singh on the contrary succeeded in getting large jagirs as
tankhawah and inam in the subah of Ajmer. It is interesting
to note that in 23 R. Y. of Muhammad Shah i.e. in 1740-41,
Mirza Munnu, the son of Qamaruddin Khan got the subehdari of
Ajmer, arrived there with 2,000 sawars to administer the city
where Rajputs had their influence and had prohibited killing
of cows, and other religious rites. But, soon on the advice
of his father he gave away the subehdari of Ajmer to Raja
Jai Singh on ijara. This is the only incident in the period
under review that the whole subah had been given on ijara,
though except Rustom Ali, none of the other contemporary writer

1. Rajput Polity, pp. 269-70, 272
Tarikh-i-Hindi pp. 544-46.
He even had visited Pushkar in 1735 after the Hurda
conference and stayed at Anasagar. Then again in 1737/38
he came to Ajmer. Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, pp.
187-250. Such were his ambitions that in the conference
at Hurda in 1734 he erected a red tent which was a preroga-
tive of Mughal Emperor. When this news arrived at court
Muhammad Shah called his vakil, who explained that the tent
was erected to mark the presence of emperor under whose
shadow the conference took place. Moreover, he invaded
Sambher in 1738 but was driven back, later Muhammad Shah
granted him faujdari of Sambher. Reign of Muhammad Shah,
pp. 262-63. Rajput Polity, 274-75.

2. History of Jaipur, p. 220. Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh,
pp. 269-75.
Nadir Shah after the victory at Karnal in February 1739 arrived at Delhi and thought of making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti at Ajmer. But his real motive was to plunder Rajput states especially Amber which was supposed to be the wealthiest. But events in Delhi kept him engaged and he could not move out from it, even if he had seriously thought of marching towards Rajputana.

Further Abhay Singh's attack and seige of Bikaner in April 1740 compelled Jai Singh at the instance of Muhammad Shah to march against the Rathor chief, Bakhat Singh who, too, was not happy with his brother, favoured the move and took part in this campaign. In July 1740, Abhay Singh surrendered and a harsh treaty was imposed upon him by Jai Singh, reducing Marwar to a position of subordinate state to Amber.

But this treaty hurt the feelings of Bakhat Singh. It touched his pride for his clan. Moreover, he did not get things to his expectations, therefore, he thought to fight against Jai Singh.

1. *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, p. 586. It seems that after Nadir Shah's invasion, the imperialists were passing through a period of economic crisis, and most probably this compelled Mirza Munnu to realise money in advance from Jai Singh, who was one of wealthiest noble and was unaffected by Nadir Shah's invasion. Mirza Munnu later got the title of Moin-ul-Mulk Rustam-i-Hind and had fought against Durranis. He was a rank holder of 60,000/6000 and died in 1753. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 358-61. *Reign of Muhammad Shah*, p. 318.


Battle of Ajmer between Jai Singh and Bakhat Singh in 1741:

Jai Singh from Dholpur started for Ajmer, accompanied by Raja Umed Singh of Shahpura, Raja Gopal Singh of Karauli, and a few Muslim and Jat nobles. On the other hand, Abhay Singh and Bakhat Singh, too, left Jodhpur with a well-equipped army towards Ajmer. Abhay Singh stayed at Riyan, while Bakhat Singh with a chosen force of 5,000 is said to have captured Ajmer city. On 11 June 1741, Jai Singh with his huge army of nearly one lakh arrived at Gagwana, eleven miles north east of Pushkar and nine miles north east of Ajmer. Bakhat Singh and his gallant vanguard of Rathors attacked Jai Singh's army and charged upon Kachwahas like tigers among the flock of sheep. This unexpected onslaught made the army of Jai Singh flee from the battle-field, leaving thousands killed and wounded. Jai Singh himself fell back two miles and stood in perplexity. His tents were put to fire and baggage looted. But at this stage when Bakhat Singh was left with a small contingent of seventy followers and was himself wounded, the three imperial generals stationed on a hillock, attacked him. Bakhat Singh

1. He is said to have extended an invitation to Baji Rao to meet him at Dholpur, keeping in view the news of the Rathors, who were planning to avenge their defeat. Azimul-Qulub: Letter of Jai Singh, dt. 8 Rabiul-Awwal/23 R.Y. Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, p. 262.

2. Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors, p. XLVI
then retreated towards Pushkar, from where he went towards Maiwa, and joined his brother Abhay Singh, who inspite of being so near, did not come to help the valiant Bakhat Singh.1

Afterwards, Jai Singh arrived at Gagwana, consolled the kinmen of the fallen on his side, rewarded those who fought well, and received congratulations. After a few days of this hard fought and costly victory he moved to Ajmer. Harcharandas an eye witness of the battle gives a horrid picture of the clash and casualties during this encounter.

It was due to Maharana Jagat Singh's timely intervention that both parties agreed to a settlement according to which none of them will interfere in the internal affairs of each other in future. The Mewar ruler persuaded Jai Singh to handover seven paraganas including Ajmer, to Abhay Singh. Thus the battle of Gagwana was a brief one though a memorable battle which established Bakhat's reputation as a great warrior and general.2

Abhay Singh occupies Ajmer:

Jai Singh inspite of the above-mentioned agreement, retained the control of Ajmer till September 1743 when soon after he death, Abhay Singh sent Bhandhari Surat Ram, Thakur

1. Rajput Polity, p. 278.

Suraj Mal of Alniawas and Bahadur Singh son of the ruler of Rupangarh to capture Ajmer. They took Ajmer slaying the faujdar Khangrot Binai Singh, a sardar of Amber. The hakim of the place also fled away.  

since the battle of Gagwana till the death of Jai Singh for about three years, the armies of Jodhpur and Jaipur plundered the territories of each other, causing anarchy and lawlessness in the area of sarkar-i-Ajmer.

After the death of Jai Singh Ishwar Singh his eldest son, succeeded him and his succession was confirmed by the Mughal Emperor. It was contrary to the fact that Jai Singh had declared that the son born to the daughter of the Rana of Udaipur whom he had married in 1708, would succeed to the gaddi of Amber. When a son viz, Madho Singh was born in December 1728, to this Mewari princess, the father, Jai Singh became perturbed and passed many a sleepless nights as he wanted to nominate his eldest son Ishwar Singh, as his successor.

As Madho Singh was not satisfied with a small district of Rampura, backed by Rana Jagat Singh he, invoked the treaty of 1708, and claimed Amber for himself. He was also supported

1. *Rajasthan District Gazetteer - Ajmer*, p. 279, *or Historical and Descriptive*, p.189
by Ummed Singh of Bundi, Durjansal of Kota and the hired Marathas. Thus a new war of succession started in this region.¹

Abhay Singh another important ruler made peace with Ishwari Singh, though the later was not liked by Bakhat Singh. In 1744 Ishwari Singh arrived at Ajmer.²

In the following year Abhay Singh came to Ajmer and took his residence in the garden of Khwaja Danish, outside the town. It seems that due to internal rift among the nobles and fear of a possible invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Abhay Singh's occupation of Ajmer was not challenged by the imperialists. Rather, they preferred his hold over the city, at a time when the Marathas were involved in the conflict between the chiefs of Amber and Bundi.³

In the same year Fakhr-ud-Daula recently appointed governor of Gujarat visited the shrine of Khwaja Sahib and stayed for some time at Ajmer on his way to his subah.⁴ It is


   Sarkar erratically had mentioned 1738, as the birth year of Madho Singh, and Dr. Malik wrongly says that Sangram Singh was the ruler of Mewar, though his successor Jagat Singh was at the throne of Mewar at that time.

2. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 189-190; Rajput Polity, p. 280. Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors, p. XLVI

   According to Sharda, Ishwari Singh with a view to capture Ajmer arrived at Dhani, a village sixteen miles from Ajmer, on the other hand Abhay Singh, his brother Bakhat Singh, along with a contingent from Kota also arrived to oppose Ishwari Singh. But peace was made in 1744, though disapproved by Bakhat Singh.

3. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 190.

4. Maratha Penetration into Rajasthan, p. 32

   Fall of Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 201.
so said that Malhar Rao Holkar after his campaign of Amber, visited Ajmer in 1747.¹

Beside these happenings of Muhammad Shah’s reign, in some documents related to dargah, there are some references of the other officials of the subah. For instance Mir Ahmad Ali Khan had been mentioned as sadar of subah, Qazi Abdul Nabi and Qazi Zahurullah as qazis, Syed Muhammad Kahirullah as Muhattaib of Ajmer city and Muhammed Nohain Khan as the mushrif of the shrine. Jafar Quli Khan had also been mentioned as Diwan of Ajmer. He was the son of wali ul khan who held the office of the governorship of Ajmer in 1723-24.²

These appointments suggest that till the end of Muhammad Shah’s reign the imperial hold over city of Ajmer was firm and the Mughal officers were doing their best efforts for a peaceful, neat and clean administration. But at the same time it should also be kept in view that both the chief Rajahas; viz. Jai Singh and Abhay Singh endeavoured to enlarge their territories at the expense of their neighbouring states and Khalisa land. Both dominated politics in Rajputana during this period.

1. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 190
Any way soon after the success at the battle of Manepur, Prince Ahmad, the commander of victorious imperial army received the news of his father's serious illness. But before he could reach Delhi, at Panipat, he got the sad news of the Emperor's death which took place on 27 RabiulSaani 1161/27 April 1748,¹ and not on 21 May as had been wrongly stated by Dr. Z.U. Malik.² Moreover, it should also be noted that Ahmad Shah ascended the Mughal throne in the end of April, 1748.³

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1. Tarikh-i-Muhammedi, p.141
   The Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p.205.

2. The Reign of Muhammad Shah, p.197. At another place he converted 27 Rabi II 1161/ with 15 April 1748 which should have been 27 April. Op.Cit., p. 406.

3. A Study of Eighteenth Century, p.94
   Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, p. 205.
CHAPTER V

The City of Ajmer during the Second half of 18th century: 1748-1818.
Ajmer During the Reigns of Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II: 1748-58

When Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India in 1748, the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah had summoned the Rajput chiefs and the imperial governors to march with their respective contingents towards the capital, and join the royal army to fight the foreign invader. Only Ishwari Singh of Amber, and Bakhat Singh of Nagore, responded to the summons to the arms, and both fought in the battle of Manupur, near Sirhind against the Afghans. Raja Abhya Singh did not proceed to Delhi and showed no interest in the crisis that had overtaken the Mughal government. Bakhat Singh his brother, on the other hand exhibited feats of valour in the battle field, and gave proof of his loyalty to the Mughal crown.

Ahmad Shah soon after his succession, in recognition of his services and loyalty to imperialists at the critical juncture, rewarded Bakhat Singh with the subedari of Ajmer and Gujarat, ignoring the claim of Raja Abhay Singh who had forcibly captured the city of Ajmer, paraganas of Sambher and Didwana, and failed to help the government against Afghan invaders.1

Muhammad Ali refers that at the same time, after the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah (who according to Shakir Khan had a plan to come to Delhi via Ajmer) his son Ghazi-ud-din of Ajmer Khan Peroz Jung was given the subedari on 20 Rajab 1161 /16 July 1748.

Hingne Daftar, ed. G.H. Khare, I, p. 32.
by Ahmad Shah. 1

Visualising the intentions and growing power of Bakhat Singh his brother Abhay Singh called the Rathor sardars at Pushkar and directed them to stand by Ram Singh in the war of succession after him. He even had won over Malhar Holkar, who promised to give all support to Ram Singh in his bid to get the throne of Marwar. 2 Abhay Singh died at Pushkar in June 1749. 3 The death of this Rajput warrior opened another theatre of war of succession in Marwar, between his brother and son. The Marathas who were already engaged in the Amber succession issue got another opportunity to gain money and other benefits by interfering in the Marwari issue.

Due to these internal conflicts and Maratha inroads his in Rajputana, Ahmad Shah the new Emperor in 2 R.Y. appointed Safdar Jung as the subahdar of Avadh and Ajmer. But this great noble for strategic/defence purpose exchanged Ajmer with Allahabad from Syed Salabat Khan the maternal grand

1. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 286. Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani, p. 26
3. Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors: p. XLVIII.

Muhammad Ali is mistaken when he states that Abhay Singh died in 1158-59 27 R.Y. / 1745-46. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari: p. 258.
father of Ahmad Shah.\(^1\)

The new *subehdar* Salabat Khan, had a personal relation with Bakhat Singh, who soon after the appointment of Khan assured him full support and co-operation in his adminis-
trative measures in Agra and Ajmer, against the Maratha inroads. He sought the help of imperial noble against his nephew Ram Singh for the *gaddi* of Jodhpur.\(^2\)

Thus the political condition in Rajasthan at this juncture was as confused as it had been in the past. The Rajputs broke alliances, formed for the defence of their territories against the constant threats of Maratha invasion.

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2. *Sharh-i-Halaat-i-Bahadur shah to Asafuddaula*, p. 3

\(^1\) Jagdish Narayan Sarkar had wrongly mentioned that Allahabad - Agra were exchanged; *A Study of Eighteenth Century*, p. 101. Salabat Khan was the son of Sadat Khan alias Syed Hussain Khan of Marat clan. Salabat's sister was married to Farrukhsiyar, and the daughter of this lady was the wife of Muhammad Shah. As she was issueless, she brought up Ahmad Shah as her son. Therefore Ahmad Shah used to call the Khan as *Nana Baba* (maternal grand father). This close link with imperial house gave rise to Salabat Khan. He served on various posts under the later Mughals. In Shabaan 1125/19 Sept. 1713 after the death of his father, he got a rank of 3500/2000. He was the guardian of Ahmad Shah in the battle of Manupur in 1748.

After the death of Nizam he was appointed *Mir Bakhshi* by Ahmad Shah with a rank of 8000/8000 and title of Syed Sadat Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung. Due to intrigues of Javed Khan, he was imprisoned in 1751 but released and was made Bakhshi in 1753 at the instance of Safdar Jung with whom he later went to Avadh and died there. *Masir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 324-27.  


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\(^2\) *Marwar and the Marathas*, pp. 63-65.  

*Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*: p. 301; *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin*: III, p. 315
and plunged in warfare on the issue of succession. Ram Singh who proclaimed himself as the Raja of Marwar, was challenged by Bakhat Singh his uncle, who had intimate terms with Salabat Khan, the influential noble at court, and holding governorship of Agra and Ajmer.

appointed
Salabat Khan, as his
deputy at Agra, and began preparation for march towards Ajmer to settle political and administrative matters. Tarikh-i Ahmed Shahi, a contemporary source suggests that as the chieftains of the subah of Ajmer have not deposited their peshkash and were busy in rebellious activities, it became necessary to send him/with an army of 17 or 18 thousand soldiers and nobles like Ahmed Khan Afghan, Ali Rustam Khan, (nephew of Salabat), Mir Mushraf Khan, Fateh Ali Khan son of Sabit Khan etc., Salabat Khan started for Ajmer in Zil Hij/2 R.Y./Nov.-Dec, 1749.

He stopped at Kotputli near Narnol, to administer his jagirs. Here he was opposed by Surajmal Jat, zamindar of Mathura. After an undecisive skirmish in which nobles like Hakim Ali Khweshgi etc., were killed, peace was made.

ward he proceeded to Ajmer, where Bakhat Singh was waiting for him. Both then marched towards Mairta to encounter Ram Singh, son of Abhay Singh.¹

But Bakhat Singh and Salabat Khan could not achieve their objective. Their combined forces made little impression on Ram Singh and his allies, including Ishwari Singh and the Marathas under the command of Khande Rao, son of Malha Rao. Overwhelmed by superior numbers and exhausted by the unbearable heat, the Mughal general lost heart in the campaign and tried to buy peace against the consent of his friend Bakhat Singh, who was determined to fight to the end. Through the efforts of Raja Ishwari Singh, terms of the treaty were at last arranged according to which Ram Singh agreed to pay rupees three lakhs to the Mughal general and further promised to pay rupees four lakhs more as a tribute to the Emperor. Ishwari Singh also promised a tribute of rupees 27 lacs on the condition of the withdrawal of imperial army from this region and his appointment as deputy Nazim of Agra.²

Bakhat Singh did not get any thing out of this bargain. Salabat Khan on the conclusion of this settlement went

¹. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, p. 22.
to Ajmer where he stayed for sometime and returned to Delhi in 1750.¹ No information is available about his activities in Ajmer during his stay. It may, however, be assumed that the citizen of Ajmer should have welcomed his arrival and enjoyed peace and tranquility in this span of time.

After the departure of Salabat Khan, fighting between the two claimants to the throne of Jodhpur, continued for a longer period. As the arms aid of Marathas had become the deciding factor in any battle, Bakhat Singh sought the help of Malhar Rao Holkar against Ram Singh, to occupy Jodhpur. But Holkar did not cast his lot with any of the contending parties and left the scene. Bakhat Singh taking advantage of the absence of Marathas attacked Ram Singh at Mirta and inflicted upon him a crushing defeat, captured Jodhpur in July 1751, and then Ajmer.² He gave Ramsaar and Srinagar (now parts of Ajmer) to Bahadur Singh of Rupangarh and took away forty four village of Rajagarh and gave these to Thakur of Ras.³

1. Tarikh-e-Ahmad Shahi, f. 22b. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, pp. 198-99. The Mughal commander was totally ruined in this campaign and when he arrived at capital, he was empty handed. He stayed for more than one year in Ajmer to administer its neighbouring areas and the imperial mahals. Sharh-i-Halaat-i-Bahadur-Shah, f. 40.

2. Tarikh-i-Ahmadî, f. 37. S.P.D. XIX/82-84, Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors, p. XLVIII. Marwar and the Marathas, pp. 66-68. Selection from Satara Rajas and Peshwa’s Diaries (ed by C.C. Vad & others), Vol.III/Letter 6. The tragic suicide by Ishwari Singh, an ally of Ram Singh and the occupation of Jaipur by his brother Madho Singh, who was a friend of Bakhat Singh, also helped the later at this stage. Moreover, a number of Rathor sardars dissatisfied with Ram Singh joined him and strengthened his position.

3. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 190.
Ram Singh the exiled ruler of Jodhpur, did not lose heart at this humiliating defeat, and did not give up his ambition to regain control of Jodhpur. He imported the help of both Jayappa Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar, and promised them to pay war expenses. He even had seiged Sambher and Maroth.¹

Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi informs us, that on the request of Ram Singh, Malhar Rao Holkar, who was staying at Delhi, sent a contingent of five to six thousand men for his help. Jayappa and Sahaba Patel, assisted by Mairta Rajputs and accompanied by Ram Singh attacked Ajmer. Amar Singh Ghor, the commander of Bakhat Singh was captured and buried alive. The stories of Maratha carnage and atrocities had been described in this contemporary source. They sacked the city, burnt many of its houses, slew all those who resisted, and then took plundering in the neighbourhood. There was a panic in the city, never witnessed before, not even during the Rathor rebellion. Everything was destroyed and ravaged by the Deccanis.²

As soon as the news of Ajmer debacle reached Bakhat Singh, he left Jodhpur in June 1752, with all Rathor nobles to meet the invaders. At Ladvura (near Ajmer) he was joined by Gaj Singh of Bikaner. Both marched towards Pushkar and

2. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, f. 37.
   Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, p. 196.
   Fall of Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 121
organized a formidable defence of this area. In their first
fierceful attack Bakhat Singh's artillery posted on a hillock,
bombardeed the Maratha position, creating panic in enemy's rank.
The fire of guns slew many of the raiders including a captain.
On 18 July the Marathas fled to Ramsar from where Sahiba
Patel went to Deccan and Ram Singh to Maroth. After
this victory, Bakhat Singh planned and worked for a Rajput
coalition, to oust Marathas from Rajputana. A Jaipur contingent under Shankar Datta with 50,000 troopers arrived at Ajmer
for the purpose of its defence. In the end of 1752, he went
to Sonali, to see Madho Singh, the Amber ruler. He died there,
or according to some scholars, poisoned by Madho Singh.

Anyhow, with the death of Bakhat Singh, a fresh war of succession began in Rajputana, and the city of Ajmer had
to bear its consequences.

It is significant that during this period of constant
warfare for control over Ajmer, the imperial government appointed Intizam-ud-Daulah with the title of Khan-i-Khana, governor
of the subah in June 1751/4 R.Y., in place of Sadat Khan, though
he stayed on in Delhi and never came to assume charge of the
faujdar of Narnol and subehdar of Ajmer.

1. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, f. 37, Fall of Mughal Empire, Vol.II, pp. 121-22.
    Makwar and the Marathas; pp. 72-73
    Makwar and the Marathas: p. 73; Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, f. 44
3. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, ff. 29-30, 37, 40, 53, 55. He was the
    son of wazir Damruddin Khan, and brother of Hoin-ul-Mulk,
    holding charge of subah of Lahore. His name was Sir Nizamuddin, and his title was Intizam-ud-daulah Khan-i-Khana. He
    became wazir after safdar Jung, and in 1759 he was killed
This appointment clearly shows that the imperial government had not abandoned its legitimate claim over Ajmer even if it had passed into the hands of hostile elements. But the appointment was on paper only, for neither the government nor its subehdar took any step for the protection of the city that continued in a state of turmoil caused by the civil war among Rajput chiefs. Moreover, the Marathas had become interested in the permanent occupation of Ajmer. When negotiation for settlement between the Marathas and the imperial government commenced in March 1752 the Peshwa demanded the subehdar of Ajmer along with the faujdari of Narnol. Though the terms of peace discussed between the parties could not take the form a formal treaty, the condition of Peshwa for the subehdar of Ajmer reveals the strategic importance of the place, and secondly, without the imperial sanad no military occupation could be legitimized and recognized.

In June 1754, Raghunath asked Jayappa Sindhiya to march on Marwar, and restore Ram Singh on the throne of Jodhpur, which Bajai Singh son of Bakhat Singh had captured in January 1753. Jayappa Sindhiya proceeded to Nagore via Bundi, later joined by his son Jankoji, and brother Dattaji.

2. Maratha Penetration in Rajputana, p. 44. Marwar and the Marathas, pp. 77-78. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, ff. 101, 126. In the month of Safar/6 Ry/Dec. 1752, Ahmad Shah recognized Bajai Singh as the ruler of Marwar sent a few gifts. Afterwards in Jamadi II/7 Ry/April 1753, robe of honour, tila, shugga-khas wa. also sent to him by the Emperor. Bajai Singh also tried to sought help from Mughals against Marathas, arguing that if Jodhpur fell at the hands of Deccanis then there will no stopping to the atrocities of these invaders. It should be noted that his accession was also acclaimed by Malhar Rao Holkar in Oct. 1752. Marwar and the Maratha, p. 77
Bijal Singh also made preparation. All his sardars, the Rao of Bikaner and the Raja of Rupangarh stood by him in this hour of crisis. He sent an additional force of 5,000 to Ajmer, to meet the challenge of the Marathas. Ten thousand Maratha force made headway towards Ajmer. At Gagwana a skirmish took place between the Rathors and the Marathas, resulting the fall of Ajmer to the Marathas.¹

The war between Rathors and Marathas for the control of Ajmer, passed through many vicissitudes, but in February 1755 it was finally taken by the Marathas.² By the terms of treaty signed in February 1756, by Bijai Singh, and the Marathas, allies of Ram Singh, it was agreed that:

1) The city and fort of Ajmer (Garh-Bithli) and the territory around it, was ceded to the Marathas as the Mundikati³ (price of Jayyappa’s murder) in full sovereignty.

¹ Marwar and the Marathas, p. 79. Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, p. 191.
² Marwar and the Marathas, pp. 80,82
ii) Jodhpur, Nagor, Maira remained under Bijai Singh, while Jalor, Sambher, Marot, Sojat, Parbatsar, and 84 villages of Kekri, and 27 villages of Masuda, were given to Ram Singh. Thus the shrewd Marathas equally divided Marwar state into two equal parts, and captured Ajmer for themselves. It has also been suggested that Maharaja Bijai Singh would keep a contingent for the defence of Garh Bithli at his own cost.

Before departing from Rajputana, Dattaji made another visit to Ajmer, setting the succession issue of Rupangargh in favour of Smanat Singh in June 1756. From 1756 to 1758 the city of Ajmer remained under the joint possession of Marathas and their ally Ram Singh. Kharwa, Masuda, Bhinai, were under Ram Singh, while the Marathas held the rest of the area, which was administered by Jankoji and Dattaji.

In February 1758, on the request of Govind Krishna, the first Maratha governor of Ajmer, Antaji Manakteshwar and

1. *Marwar and the Marathas*, p. 89
2. *Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer*, p. 81
4. *Fall of the Mughal Empire, II*, p. 132; *S.P.D., II/62, 63, 65, 70
5. *Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive*, p. 192
Shamsher Bahadur were sent to help him against the harassment of Ram Singh. Later in 1758, Ram Singh retired to Jaipur, and the Maratha official Govind Rao drove out Ram Karan, agent of Ram Singh and seized Ajmer, and became the subedar of the place, exercising full sovereignty over it.\(^1\) In the following year the Maratha governor was imprisoned by the istamdar-dar\(^5\) (permanent tenure holders) in the fort of Khawas. Timely arrival of reinforcement saved him from humiliation and disaster.\(^2\)

It will not wrong to say that by the end of the first half of eighteenth century the states of Rajputana had virtually become independent, and did not even bother to deposit the matalib (tribute) in the treasury of the subah. Without the necessary finance, Mughal administration in subah existed in name. Nominal Mughal officers were stationed at Ajmer and Ranthambhor. The entire administration broke down, and the Marathas dominance destroyed the foundation of Mughal authority in Rajputana, and old administrative structure crumbled to pieces. Thus after 1752, the Mughal authority over the city of Ajmer had vanquished. Though till the reign of Akbar Shah II, sanads for madad-i-maash lands were secured from central government, but the entire administration of the city was conducted by the Marathas up to 1818—when it was finally to British.

\(^1\) S.P.D. II/87, Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p. 81
\(^2\) Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 192-93.
The City of Ajmer under the Marathas (1756-1777, 1780-1818) and the Rulers (1787-90): 

From 1756-61 for a period of five years till Panipat the Marathas were busy in consolidating their position in Rajputana and organizing their administration in the newly acquired land of Ajmer. They not only collected peshkash (tributes) from the local Chief-tains, but also realized huge amounts by intervening in the succession issues and other disputes of the Rajput states.

Jankoji Sindhia in July 1758 demanded rupees four lakhs from the ruler of Shahpura, and in September, arrived at Pushkar, and stayed there for months to chalk out a plan against Bijai Singh, before he was called out to Delhi by Anataji Mankewar. It appears that Jankoji Sindhia came to Ajmer to rescue Govind Krishna, the first Maratha governor, who was imprisoned in a fort by some local chief, due to his harsh treatment towards them. However, Govind Krishna continued to hold the office till the battle of Panipat.


2. S.P.D. XXVIII: 275, XXIV, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 27. Sharda had mentioned that Madhav Rao Sindhia was the incharge of Ajmer at this time, when the local chief imprisoned him. But it seems incorrect as Govind Krishna was the Maratha subehdar at that time. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 298.
After the debacle of Panipat, the Rajput Rajahs again thought of forming a coalition against the Marathas. A farman from Ahmad Shah Abdali to Bajai Singh dated 25 Rajab 1174/12 March 1761, suggests that the Pathan monarch also wanted to use Rathors and other Rajput chiefs against Marathas. He even had called Bajai Singh to Delhi, but the later did not responded, either because he had no faith in the words of Ahmad Shah Abdali, or feared that after his departure from India, the Marathas would take full revenge from him.

However, in the middle of 1761 Madho Singh of Amber, Bajai Singh of Marwar, and Suraj Mal Jat of Bharatpur held a meeting at Pushkar, but no concrete plan could be prepared against the Deccanis, whose position after Panipat according to J.N. Sarkar was as follows:

"The battle of Panipat saw the annihilation of the Maratha armies in the North and of their dream of a North Indian overlordship. This repercussion was a revolt against

1. *Farman of Ahmad Shah Durrani to Bajai Singh: No. 16/18, R.S.A. Bikaner.* Two other farman had also been issued by him in 1755 and 1759 assuring his support to the Rother chief against Marathas. *Farman Nos:14(26),15(27) dt.11 Safar 1169, 16 Nov. 1755; 19 Rabi II, 1173/10 December 1759. R.S.A. Bikaner.*

Deccani domination everywhere in Hindustan. Everywhere the dispossessed or humbled chief-tains, and even petty landowners, raised their heads and talked of shutting the southern spoilers out in future. But it all ended in a talk so many tribes and castes could not be united and no magnetic personality arose to lead the war of liberation.

The Maratha agent while reporting the affairs of Rajputana exclaimed bitterly that "all the Rajahs and Rajwadas have turned against us".

However, Bijai Singh, ruler of Jodhpur, made a major attempt to recover Ajmer from the possession of Marathas, but failed as he could not get any help from other Rajput chiefs. He sent a strong force under Balu Joshi to recapture Ajmer, but Govind Krishna, the Maratha Subedar, shut himself in Garh-Bithli fort and fortified it from all sides. Balu Joshi besieged the fort for about two months but on arrival of Maratha reinforcement retired to Jodhpur.

Again in the same year, Balu Joshi was sent by Bijai Singh, who recovered peshkash from the Thakurs of Pisan, Ganj

2. S.P.D. XXIX/81.
3. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive: p. 193.
(Rs. 20,000), Govind Garh (Rs. 7,000) Masuda (Rs. 20,000) Deoli and Tantoti (Rs. 17,000) Kharwa (Rs. 20,000) and Bhinai (Rs. 20,000), all Rathor states around Ajmer. He was also successful in getting assurances from chiefs for support and help in case he attacked Ajmer. Some of the small chieftains like Barli, Junia, Sawar, and Kekri, also paid tributes and pledged support against Marathas. As the thakur of Rajgarh hesitated in joining Rathors, therefore his thikana was attacked and plundered. Thus, Balu Joshi before launching a final anslaught on Ajmer, wisely won over all thikanedars, around to his side and sought their help. Thakurs of Ras, Nimaj, Nibhol and Lamba even joined his army in this campaign.

Initially the Marathas could defend the city fort for three days only and then retired to Garh Bithli for safety. The city of Ajmer fall at the hands of Rathors who stationed themselves at Visla lake. Messengers were sent to Mahadaji Sindhia to send another force to check Rathor advance as Garh Bithli's fall seemed imminent. Sindhia asked the garrison to hold on atleas for ten days, so that he could reach Ajmer.

The Rathor encircled the Garh Bithli and appointed trustworthy lieutenants around the fort. Sher Singh Thakur

1. Mahadaji Sindhia was the son of Ranaji Sindhia who served under Baji Rao in his campaign of Delhi during Muhammad Shah reign. He was rewarded and got some jagir in Delhi. Mahadaji brother Appaji was killed at Nagor and his other two brothers perished in the battle of Panipat. Franklin: History of the Reign of Shah Alam II, p. 119. New History of the Marathas, 1875, p. 112.
of Tantoti was appointed incharge of the city gates, while Bishhandas and some other Rathor chiefs were posted near Amba Bao (small water tank) in Anderkot just behind the shrine of Khwaja Sahib. Jamadar Khan held the famous Chand Pal, and the rulers of Marot and others were stationed at Nur Chashama. Balu Joshi with Chandawat Ratan Singh and Jagaran advanced from Katan Bao, (small tank) in Anderkot and made a counter attack compelling Marathas to retreat to Garh-Bithli.

But the Rathors were unsuccessful in capturing the fort and Balu Joshi raised the siege hearing the news of the approach of Madhaji Sindhia. He retired towards Bhaoonta, a village, few miles from Ajmer.

Dhabhai Jaggu the commander in chief of Marwari forces at Maifta deputed Gulab Rai Asop to negotiate for peace. Madhaji Sindhia arrived at Budhwarah and went towards Balu Joshi's camp. After a small skirmish many of the Rathor sardars went over to Sindhia and assured him that they will arrest Balu Joshi, who hearing of this conspiracy quickly

Thus, another attempt of Jodhpur ruler for reoccupying Ajmer ended in a failure, but it had alerted the Marathas about the danger of future attacks on the city, and consequently for its defence, they stationed a strong force under Balu Rao Pandit.¹

Further, in 1765, Govind Krishna was once again entrusted with the subahdari of Ajmer. He was a well experienced man and had served the Maratha cause in Rajputana, for years with dedication.² He made peace with Bijai Singh, who agreed to pay Rs. 10 lakhas as tribute, out of which a part was sent to Mahadaji Sindhia in bonds. For the remaining tribute, Khanaji Jadav entered Marwar territory in May 1766, created disturbances, but was pushed towards Ajmer city, by Marwari forces after great difficulty. Another agreement for the payment of the balance tribute was signed at Ajmer.³

The conflict between Madho Singh of Jaipur and Jawahar Singh of Bharatpur further strengthened the Maratha position in this region. In July/August Jawahar Singh arrived at Pushkar, where he formed an alliance with Bajai Singh.

1. Marwar and the Marathas, p.96.
to expel Deccanis from Rajputana. On the sacred bank of Pushkar promises were made for mutual cooperation and help.

Mudho Singh inspite of the invitation did not come. He not only refused to join coalition, but had insulted Jawahar Singh and reprimanded Bajai Singh for his act of giving equal status to Jawahar Singh a man of lower clan a peasants' son, and servant of Amber state. This aroused to his home Jawahar Singh's anger, who on his way from Pushkar plundered and ravaged the territory of Jaipur, and molested its habitants. He was soon surrounded at Maunda (23 miles s.w. of Narol) by the combined armies of Jaipur and Marathas, and in December 1767, they inflicted a crushing defeat upon Jawahar Singh and his ally.¹

The history of Rajputana for 20 years (1767-87) is the history of perpetual warfare between the Rajputs and Marathas on one hand, and among the Rajput chief-tains on the other. Holker and Sindhia rivalry also rose to height during this period of turmoil and uncertainty. Moreover, Bijai Singh also strove hard to regain control of Ajmer with

¹ Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, pp. 179-82
S.P.D. XXIV 75, 84, 162, 165.
Chahar Gulzar-i-Shulai, ff 66/67.
A History of Jaipur pp. 252-64. Marwar and the Marathas,
pp. 98-99.
his own meagre resources, because Rajput coalition against the common enemy could not be organized, and their mutual rivalries continued to complicate their relations and aggravate the situation. Death removed his two formidable rivals which improved his prospects to play claim to territory of Jodhpur. In 1768 Madho Singh of Jaipur died, while Ram Singh expired in 1772.¹

During these two decades a number of Maratha subehdars administrated Ajmer city. As has been stated earlier Bapu Rao Pandit was replaced by Govind Krishna in 1765. In his second tenure Govind Krishna, held the subehdari for only two years i.e. 1765-67. Shambhajji or Shivaji became subehdar for only one year between 1767-68, and Mirza Adil Beg, too, held it for one year only (1768-69) followed by Mirza Anwar Beg for another one year between 1769-70.

Between 1770-74, for a period of four years, Santooji as subehdar of Ajmer made a number of repairs and construction in the Ajmer city, at a time when Marathas were hard pressed in the other parts of India.²

Jiwa Ram, another Maratha subehdar held the office for two years, between 1774-76 and then Ambaji Ingalia seems to have run the administration for a long period between 1776-1783. It should be noted that in 1778-79, shah Alam II planned to visit Ajmer and had arrived near Jaipur, but on the suggestion of Najaf Khan the


² Ajmer Historical and Descriptive pp. 41, Shah Alam and his Court, p. 39, Ghaziuddin Khan also visited Ajmer in the beginning of 1771. Calendar of Persian Correspondence vol. 3, 571, 607.
the Emperor returned back to Delhi. 1 Mirza Anwar Baig brother
of Mirza Abdul Rahim Baig a close confident of Mahadaji Sindhia
governed Ajmer between 1783-87. Afterwards it fell into the
hands of Rathors in 1787. 2

Capture of Ajmer by Rathors: 1787-1790:

As has been discussed earlier, that Rathors were always
keen to capture Ajmer at any cost. Since a long time the Rajput
chiefs were also trying hard to expell the Marathas from Rajpu-
tana, and to check their influence in the internal affairs of
their states. Raja Partap Singh and Bijai Singh, rulers of
Jaipur and Jodhpur, once again planned to overthow the supremacy
of the Deccanis. They even had sought the help of the Mughal
Emperor Shah Alam, and a number of his nobles for this purpose.
At that time, Ajmer was formally bestowed upon Prince Mirza Akbar
by Shah Alam. 3 Mahadji Sindhia the famous Maratha leader who had
became the Vakil-i-Mutlag at the royal court, was closely watching
the activities of the Rajputs, who since the beginning of 1787,
were busy in making preparation for a trial of strength with
the Marathas.

1. Shah Alam II and His Court, pp. 52, 53. 55 Calendar of Persian
\( \text{Correspondence, vol. V, Nos. 1449, 1946 serious consideration} \)
were also given to the idea of appointing Mir Qasim, as governor
of Ajmer to check the growing influence of Najaf Khan. Ibrat

2. Ibrat Namah ff, 16, 95-96. Fall of the Mughal
Empire, vol. II p. 207 (MS) P. 209. Wagai Abdul Qadir Khani (MS)
p. 209, Ajmer through inscriptions, pp. 62, 67, Marwar and the
Marathas, pp. 101, 103.

Mahadji Sindhia deputed Rayaji Patel Bhakhshi Jevaji Ballal Kerkar (Jivaddada) to crush the Rajput resistance. He also called De Biogne, Khandi Rao, and Ambaji Ingle, to join him, which they did in July 1787. Thus a number of Maratha warriors and generals, assembled in Rajputana.¹

First they fought a battle at Tunga (Lalsot) in July 1787, in which Rajputs suffered heavy casualties, but succeeded in driving Mahadaji Sindhia towards Alwar, and that became a turning point in the fortunes of Marathas in Rajputana.²

Sharda informs, that a Rathor contingent under the command of Singhi Bhimraj, while returning from Tunga, suddenly captured the city of Ajmer, while Garh Bithli remained under the Marathas. But the fact is that Singhvi Dharnraj, was sent by Bijai Singh from Merta, to occupy Ajmer. In August 1787, the city fell to Rathors, and the siege of Garh-Bithli began, where Mirza Anwar Baig, the Marathas governor had shut himself.

Radoji Khawas with a Jaipur contingent also joined Rathors and more reinforcement, organized by Bijai Singh arrived from Jalore and Nagore. But Sher Khan Jamadar a brother of Mirza Rahim Baig, defended the fort successfully. As Mahadaji Sindhia was unable to come or despatch succour to Sher Khan Jamadar, therefore fall of the city Ajmer looked imminent. Ambaji Inglia made a last bid to save Garh-Bithli when in October 1787, he tried to pierce into Ajmer and to provision the fort, but was repulsed outside the city of Ajmer with heavy casualties. At the end of the year the fort of Garh Bithli capitualated, Mirza Anwar Baig had left the city after the payment of ransom money, and his brother Sher Khan committed suicide along with his family to save their honour.

1. *Ajmer : Historical and Descriptive*, p. 195
   *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.1 (ed. J.N. Sarkar)
   Letter Nos. 175, 192. Sher Khan and Mirza Anwar Baig, were the brothers of Mirza Muhammad Abul Rahim Baig Khan. Bahadur Moinud-Daulah, Asadul Mulk Himmat Jang. He was a favourite and confident person of Mahadaji Sindhia. He died in 1799 and is lying buried in the Shrine of Khwaja Sahib at Ajmer. Tirmizi was unable to identify, and trace details about him, though he had found an inscription on his grave.
   *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, p. 207.
   *Ajmer Through the Inscriptions*, pp. 66-67

   *Ajmer Historical Descriptive*, p. 195-96
   *Ibrat Namah* (KD) ff 16, 17, 95-96.

   *Poona Residency Correspondence*, vol.I/192.
Dhanraj Sanghvi, the commander of Marwari forces, was given the charge of Ajmer by Bijai Singh. Thakur Suraj Mal of Kharwa, Raja of Bhinai, Bakhat Singh of Deolia, Gulab Singh of Tantoti, Bhopal Singh of Masuda, the main Rauth samindars around Ajmer were ordered to help Sanghvi in his administrative arrangements in that region. Many noble Muslim families of Ajmer including the family of Mutawwalli of shrine migrated to Kishangarh for safety.

The loss of Ajmer was a great blow to Maratha prestige and Mahadaji Sindhia set out to recover his authority at any cost. For three years preparations were made for war. He sent an army under Jivaji Ballal and Col. De Boigne, which defeated the Rathors at the battle of Pattan in June 1790.


2. Marwar and the Marathas, pp. 120-21. Born in Italy, Benoit de Boigne spent much of his time in France, and in the wars in Europe and Asia. He landed at Madras in 1778, and till 1796 played a key role in many vital battles. He initially served under Sindhia, and it was during this period that he visited Rajputana and Ajmer. His battalions or brigades were one of the best disciplined and well equipped at the time. After his return to Europe he rose to fame. For details see: European Military Adventures of Hindustan, pp. 15-100. An Account of New History of the Marathas, vol.III, pp. 140-41. Fall of the Mughal Empire, vol.IV, pp. 18-27.
and pushed them towards Jodhpur. Afterwards the Maratha army arrived at Ajmer in August 1790 plundering Sambher, Barbatser, and Rupangarh on their way. The fort of Garh Bithli was once again besieged. Bijai Singh soon realised that at this moment peace was better than the show of arms. He even approached Mahadaji Sindhia through Rana Khan and Pandit Awa Chitnis for a settlement. But the Maratha chief and was resolved to occupy Ajmer/driv out Rathors from Jodhpur. Failing in this effect Bijai Singh tried to win De-Boigne to his side by promising him the grant of city of Ajmer and fifty Ks around it as a reward for his defection. When But/this too did not materialize, Bijai Singh brought large contingent for the defence of Ajmer, which the Marathas had besieged.

De-Boigne unsuccessfully tried to capture Garh-Bithli. He stationed his guns at the hills around Ana Sagar, and bombarded the town, damaging the city wall from this side. The muslims of city is said to have opened gates.

3. European Military Adventurers of Hindustan, p. 55
and then 10,000 marathas after entering into the city started plundering. But the French general could not make any impression on the Garh Bithli one of his officer wrote a letter on 1 September 1790 from Ajmer camp, which gives the following details of the campaign.

"Although we have invested this fort for fifteen days very closely, yet we can make no impression upon it; our guns, from the very great elevation they are placed at, and the distance, make no visible impression, and the narrow paths, which lead to the fort are so defended by nature, that a few large stones thrown down must carry everything before them. The noise they make in rolling can compare to nothing but thunder. Indeed, I am afraid we must turn the blockaded into a siege, as they have six month's water and a year provisions in the fort.

Anyhow, when De Boigne and Gopal Bhan came to know about Bijai Singh's planning to send contingents from Maitra to Ajmer, they left Ajmer and moved towards Maitra entrusting the siege operation to a trained body of muskeeters numbering 2000.

Sarkar says that a light force under Lakashman Anant and Balaji Ingle had been sent on "raid" Ajmer country. The district was occupied without serious fighting and the city of Ajmer was taken at the gallop, but the fort held out for many months.
After the famous battle of Mairta, and treaty of Sambar, which took place in January 1791, this fort of Ajmer was handed over to Marathas in March 1791, according to Rathor - Marathas agreement. The whole district of Ajmer including the city, was ceded to them, without any withdrawal of its property. Mahadji Sindhia visited Ajmer in April 1791, and paid a visit to the shrine of Khwaja Sahib. He appointed General Perron, a French General, to administer the district and restore it to order. He carried out the settlements in the villages and mahals, and improved the situation in the collection of revenues till 1792.

Later on, Lakwa Dada another Maratha commander-in-chief was granted Ajmer as his Jaidad (estate).

Shivaji Nana known as Nana Sahib was the next subedar of Ajmer who also held the gildedari of the fort. A highly respected Maratha officer, Nana Sahib ruled the area with a strong hand, and subdued the hostile elements. He established thanas in Marwarah, and imposed fines on those local chieftains, who had supported Rathors in the last engagement. He realised rupees 3 lacs from Shahpura, 48 thousand from Sawar, and three years revenues from other states, and also demolished their forts.

4. Jaguji was also appointed by Sindhia to guard Ajmer. Sindhia as Regent of Delhi, 1787 & 1787-91, pp. 49, 52.
seized

He seized Ratakot village from Bhinai and incorporated it into Khalisa. In 1797, his son Bishwapat Rao Bhau imprisoned Udaí Bhan, Raja of Bhinai in Ajmer due to non-payment of revenues. In retaliation the Rajputs of Bhinai arrested Ram Bhan tehsildar of that place, and threw off their allegiance and started plundering the district. An agreement was reached by which reduction have been made in the tributes paid by Tnakurs, and a permanent settlement was also signed between both the parties.

Soon after, mutual rivalry and conflict among the Maratha officials endangered the possession of Ajmer. Laxman Anant popularly known as Lakwa Dada revolted against Maratha authority around 1800. The cause of his revolt was his removal from the post of commander-in-chief of Maratha army in Northern India, and appointment of Ambaji Ingalla in his place. He considered Ajmer as his Jaidad, granted to him in 1792. General Perron was deputed to reduce Lakwa to submission. In November 1800, Perron sent Major Bourguien Dada to capture Ajmer, who after the flight of Lakwa to Malwa, penetrated into Jaipur and Marwar, as these states had supported Lakwa in his revolt and on his advice withheld the tribute.

1. Ajmer: Historical and descriptive, pp. 198, 294.
2. Jaidad in those days was that portion of land assigned to Commanding Officers, apart for the payment of the army, and to enable them to retain a numerous body of dependents. It was a tenure which secure the the possessors a sure and easy collection. History of the Reign of Shah Alma II, pp. 141-42.
Major Luis Bourguies arrived at Ajmer in December 1800, and on 8th of this month stormed Garh Bithli but he was driven back by the fort garrison. He then in expressive oriented phrasiology 'sat down' before it and fruitlessly attempting its reduction by seige, bomberded it with a more powerful metal than iron, and after five months, in May 1801, gained the possession of the place by bribrey.

MONS. Perron/then given the charge of Ajmer who appointed Mr. Low to look after the affairs of Ajmer. He held the charge for 9 months and then Mirza Gorgin Beg, deputed, Perron for about an year. General Perron seems to the first European, who held the government of Ajmer.

Taking advantage of English-Maratha struggle, Maharaja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur twice attempted to capture Ajmer in 1802, but could not achieve his goal.

1. European Military adventure of Hindustan, pp. 244, 416, At one stage captain Symes was sent to supersede Bourguies who had been fruit-lessly endeavouring to capture Ajmer.
2. Poona residency correspondence, IX, 11, 14, 17, 19, Tarikh-i-Saadat-i-Javed, f218-19 Ahda-i-Tauliyat, p. 44 (document No. 12).
Sharda is the view that prior to Mr Low, Mr. Simpson held the charge of Ajmer for three months.
Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 232.
3. Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p. 82
From a sanad of Daulet Rao Sindhia related the shrine dt.12 ziqarat 1217/23 Feb,1805 it comes to light that Gumanj Rae Tantiya held the subehdari of Ajmer in 1803.
1. Appendix-D order of Daulet Rao Sindhia to Gumanji Tantiya subehdar of Ajmer to help Syed Fazal Ali Khadim of dargah in his dispute with his relatives.
Man Singh succeeded Bhim Singh as the ruler of Jodhpur in 1803, and followed a policy of curbing Marathas. For this purpose he established good relations with English and to check Daulet Rao Sindhia, he exploited his arch rival Jasvant Rao Holkar. In January 1804 his envoys met Yashvant, Holkar, and according to a gaul-namah (agreement) besides many other things it was also agreed that Holkar would prevail upon Daulet Rao Sindhia to cede Ajmer and Sambber to Jodhpur. During Holkar's visits of Ajmer in February 1804, and in September 1805, Man Singh sent a considerable force for his help. It has been wrongly claimed by H.B. Shards and R. Joshi that Ajmer had been captured by Rathors during Anglo-Maratha-War between 1803-5. It seems that Holkar was holding Ajmer during this period.

During July-November a meeting between Man Singh and Jaswant Rao Holkar took place near Pushkar which was also attended by Amir Khan Pindari, who due to some differences with Jodhpur ruler, retired to Ajmer.

The city of Ajmer however remained under the control of Daulat Rao Sindhia, the adopted son of Mahadji Sindhia, who visited Ajmer on many occasion. He was the son of Mahadji Sindhia's cousin Anand Rao. At the beginning of nineteenth century Amir Khan, an Afghan adventurer appeared on the political scenario of Rajasthan as an important figure. He in alliance with Holkar, took active part in the local affairs of this region, and visited Ajmer regularly, where his nobles had constructed a number of buildings.

In 1803, Bale Rao Ingalia was appointed subehdar of Ajmer. He continued to hold the subehdar till August, 1809, when he was removed by Daulat Rao Sindhia, due to his rebellious activities and attitude. Daulat Rao Sindhia himself visited Ajmer in January-February 1810, and appointed Bapuji Sindhia as the next governor of Ajmer, though Hira Khan is said to have acted as governor for three months.

Bapuji Sindhia had a small force and little means to administer the whole district of Ajmer, and to meet the growing challenge and danger of Rathors, therefore, he followed a friendly attitude with Amir Khan. Muhammad Shah Khan a

4. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. XIV, 1,18,19,160. Wagai Abdul Wadir Khani, p.210 Hira Khan seems to be an important official of Daulat Rao Sindhia. He was also appointed governor of Ujjain. In June 1813 Bapuji Sindhia got Ajmer for from Pandurang, brother of Bale Rao Ingalia.
Commander of Amir Khan, stayed near Ajmer for a considerable period between 1810-1812.¹

In 1813, it has been reported that Mirza Muzaffar son of Mirza Sulaiman Shikoh, a Mughal prince visited Ajmer.²

In September 1815 a contingent of Amir Khan under Lal Singh invaded Ajmer, and committed great mischieves in the district around it. But Gumanji Rao Tantia gave some money for his retreat.³

During the last decade of Maratha rule in Ajmer, (1809-1818) it appears that Gumanji Rao alias Tantiya Sindhia, and his brother Bapuji Sindhia, held the office of the subehdari of Ajmer. Probably Bapuji Sindhia acted as the commander-in-chief of Marathas in Rajputana, and his brother Gumanji Rao enjoyed governoship of Ajmer, till his death in 1816. After Gumanji Rao, Bapuji Sindhia held subehdari of Ajmer but continued the seal of Gumanji Rao till 1818.⁴

Finally in June 1816, by virtue of a treaty concluded between Daulet Rao Sindhia and the English government, Ajmer was ceded to the Britishers.⁵ General Sir David Ochterlony

1. Poona Residency Correspondence, vol. XIV, Letter Nos. 20, 21, 26, 104.
3. Poona Residency Correspondence, XIV/236, 237.
5. Letter of L. Adam, Secretary to Governor General, to Sir D. Ochterlony Bert, dt. 8 June 1816. Commissioner's Records Ajmer Muzwarah 1818, (Z. (12) 8, S.N. 1947, R.S.A. Bikaner Appendix No. E.
resident at Delhi, and Col. Nixon with eight regiments of infantry, and one cavalry and a proportionate amount of artillery came to Ajmer on 29 June 1818, encamped at the foot of Madar hill and sent orders of Daulat Rao Sindhia to Bapuji Sindhia, the maratha governor to give its possessions to its new sovereign.

Bapuji Sindhia initially did not comply with orders, and started for a final showdown, but later he changed his mind and went to Gawalior along with his family. Afterwards Mr. Wilson second assistant to resident at Delhi, was appointed as the first superintendent of Ajmer. In August 1819, Abdul Qader Khan, Bihari Lal, Momin Khan, Algi-Beg and Abdul Lateef arrived to work at Ajmer on behalf of British sarkar.

Thus during the second half of eighteenth century Ajmer was under the Marathas for most of the period and Daulat Rao Sindhia held it in the last two decades. He visited on a number of occasions, and in each visit he paid respect to Khwaji Sahib's dargah.

1. Ajmer Historical and descriptive, p. 200.
2. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 179.
CHAPTER VI

The Administration of the City of Ajmer
Since its formation in 1580 under Akbar, the subah of Ajmer, known and mentioned as Subah-i-Darul-Khair or Hazrat-i-Ajmer in official documents, had enjoyed a position of great importance in the administration of Mughal empire. A number of Rajput Rajahs, who as Mughal mansabdars had served the imperial government with great loyalty and dedication for nearly two hundred years (1560-1760) possessed their hereditary watans in that subah. The chieftains of Amber, Marwar, Bikaner, Kota, Bundi and Kishengarh, were considered as the pillars of the Mughal empire during its hey days of expansion.

The subah, sarkar and parganah-haveli, derived their names from the city of Ajmer, which was the capital of province. The city of Ajmer enjoyed unique strategic, commercial and religious position during the medieval period of Indian history.

Beside being a watch tower for the central government in regard of local chiefs, and a connecting point between Delhi, Agra and Gujarat, Malwa, for commercial purpose, the shrine of one of the most outstanding sufi saint, viz. Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti had added fame and glory to its position. It was due to this fact that so many times in the history it had become

1. Asanid-us-sanadid, pp. 5, 19
Akhbaarat, dt. 27 Safar, 1104/37 Ry of Aurangzeb/3 Nov. 1692, / 1119/16 October, 1707.
the abode of many a famous rulers of India.

During the Mughal period, from Akbar to Bahadur Shah, each and every Mughal king visited the city at least twice. Akbar being the most frequent visitor, came here more than ten times, while Jahangir stayed for the longest period, i.e. for three years (1613-1616) consecutively. It was here that in 1659, Aurangzeb had won a decisive battle against Dara, and in 1681, he again defended his kingship against his own son Akbar. Bahadur Shah was the last Mughal ruler who visited Ajmer in 1710. Though Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, Shah Alam, like their predecessors were always keen to visit Ajmer, but could not fulfill their desires due to the political conditions prevailing in the Mughal empire.

Thus from the second half of the sixteenth century till the closing years of the seventeenth century the city of Ajmer enjoyed peace, prosperity and stability. Regular royal visits and keen interest of the Mughal rulers and nobility in the development of the city raised it among one of the best cities of the empire. It will not be wrong if the era between 1580-1680 may be called as the golden period in the history of Ajmer.

With the outbreak of Rathi rebellion in 1678-79 followed by disintegration of the Mughal power and rise of Maratha power
in the first half of eighteen century, the city of Ajmer gradually lost its importance and became the hunting ground for the warring clans of the Mughals, Rajputs, and the Marathas, which almost changed the entire picture of the city of the preceding years.

According to Ain-i-Akbari, the sarkar of Ajmer was one of the seven sarkars of the subah and the paraganah of haveli Ajmer was one of the twenty eight paraganahs of the sarkar-i-Ajmer. But during the period of later Mughals (1720) there were 8 sarkars. The famous Garh-Bithli fort (Taragarh) was a garrisoned fort, while the fort-cum-palace (built by Akbar) within the city wall, was the official residence for the Emperors during their visits, and was also used by the officials in their tenure of service.

The administration introduced in the city of Ajmer was informal and design similar to that which operated in the other leading cities of the Mughal empire. It had the same body of officers, arrangements of internal security, system of local taxation, civic amenities and religious activities.

Being the capital of the province, the city of Ajmer was the seat of provincial government, from where the entire adminis-


2. Thakur Lal Kayasth: Dastur-ul-Amal: (MS) ff. 23-24
Beside the six old sarkars of Ajmer, Nagore, Jodhpur, Ranthambhore, Chittoor, Bikaner, Thakur Lal had added Kombhalmer, new sarkar, in place of the old sarkar of Sirohi, while Jaisalmer sarkar was partitioned from Bikaner. J.N. Sarkar: India of Aurangzeb, pp. LXI-LXII.
tation of the province was controlled in accordance with the rules and instructions issued by the central authority. The subehdar, faujdar, diwan, bakhshi, waqai-navis, chief qazi, sadar, muhtasib etc. generally used to reside within the city. These officials beside the city officials like Kotwal, thanedar, qilledar, darogha-i-top Khana and other revenue and dargah officers keenly participated in the administration and discharged their duties efficiently.

During the second half of the eighteenth century (1758-1818), when Marathas had dominated the scene and took control of the city of Ajmer, (except for a brief period of three years between 1787-90, when Rathors recovered it) it appears that all these officials were retained, except for a few minor changes which will be discussed in the following page. Though in the beginning the Marathas did not take any interest in the administrative organization of the city, and their utmost concern being the extorration of money, but during the closing years of the eighteenth century, it is evident from the available documents, that they tried to maintain law and order in the city. They even shared same regard and respect for the upkeep of Dargah by confirming old jagirs and spending huge amount of money in the construction of buildings and for the income of the dargah of Khwaja Sahib. They also took keen interest in the affairs of the shrine of Miran Syed Hussain at Taragarh fort.
Subehdar or Nazim or Tarafdar or Faujdar:

The supreme commander and executive head of the subah was designated as subehdar or nazim or faujdar. He was tarafdar, or sarr-i-subah during the Maratha period. He was appointed through a farman-i-sibt issued by the emperor in consultation with central ministers.1

Though Abul Fazal2 and Hidayatullah Bihari3 had described under separate headings the functions of subehdar and faujdar, but in regard to the province of Ajmer it seems that its faujdar enjoyed the same status and discharged the same duties, as the subehdar of any other province. He was superior in rank and authority to the faujdars of other sarkars in the subah, who were under his control and appointed on his recommendation.4

To this important post only trusted and experienced nobles or prince of royal blood were appointed. Irvine remarks that

2. Ain-i-Akbari, pp. 223-26
3. Hidayat-ul-Jawaid (MS), ff. 13a-18b

In the beginning of eighteenth century, in the last decade of Aurangzeb's reign, during the Rathor rebellion, faujdars had been appointed even in parganas like Sambher, Sojat, Pur-Mandel, Tonk and in the suburbs of Ajmer city.
at Ajmer, appointments given in that reign either to Prince of blood, or to the very foremost men in the State.¹

Satish is of the view that Ajmer "was considered to be a most important charge and entrusted only to the highest grandees and generally to Muslim nobles only on account of its religious association."² During the period under review a number of the Syeds of Barha were appointed in the subah in various capacities.

Jahangir, as Prince Salim was the first from the royal house who held the governorship of Ajmer in 1597, while Muhammad Azam was the last of the royal blood to hold the governor place in 1704-63. Among other important nobles who served as subehdars in the Mughal period were Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khana (1627)³ Mahabat Khan (1628)⁴ Abu Saeed son of Aitaimad-ud-Daula (1650-53)⁵ Inayat Khan, diwan-i-Khaslia (1681-83), Shujaat Khan, and Zabardast Khan (1706-7) the grandson of Ali Mardan Khan.

Muhammad Qassim Khan Naishapuri (1558-60)⁶ Mir Jafar

¹ Later Lughals, Vol. I, p. 203
² Parties and Politics, p. 148
³ Akbar-Namah, Vol. III, p. 763
⁴ Maasir-i-Alamgir, pp. 470-473
⁵ Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp. 412, 417
⁷ Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, pp. 513-16
⁸ Asanid-us-Sanadid, p. 10.
Astrabdi (1658), Abid Khan (1668-70), Syed Ahmad Ali Khattab (1675-76), Syed Hamid Khan (1676-77), were the other few governors of Ajmer, who were either descendants of a reputed saint or belonged to a pious family.

Syed Abdullah Khan Barha, commonly known as Syed Miyan (1697-1700), his son Syed Hassan Ali Khan (1703-4) (the famous Syed Abdullah Khan, wazir of Farrukhsiyar) Syed Shujaat Khan Barha (1708-11), Syed Khan-i-Jahan Barha (1713-12), Syed Nusrat Yar Khan Barha, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan (1725-27), Syed Hassan Khan Barha (1724-25) were those governors of Ajmer, who belonged to the famous family of Sadaat Barha. It is interesting to note that Syed Mehmood Barha the first among the Syeds of Barha, who rose to an important and high position during Akbar's period, was appointed to conquer Ajmer in 1557-58, and held fiefs in Ajmer.5

Among important Hindu Chiefs who served at Ajmer were Rai Jagannath (1586-89), Raja Bithaldas Gaur (1633-38) and Ajit Singh of Marwar (1719), and his sons Abhay Singh (1743-48), and Bakhat Singh (1748-49, 1752).10

2. Maasir-ul-Umara,III,pp. 120-23. He was the descendant of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrwardi, author of Awarif-ul-Maarif and a noted scholar and saint of the twelfth century. He held the office of sadar-us-sudur in 1660-66
3. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 150-51
4. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.158
6. Akbar Namah, II, 415; Maasir-ul-Umara, I, pp.514-16
7. Abdul Hameed Lahor:Padshah Namah,Vol.1,p.476. He had repaired the famous fort of Taragarh during his faujdari and hence it was called Garh Bithli after his name.
8. Tazkirat-us-salaatin Chaghta, p.290.
10. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, II, pp. 376-77, Higne-Daftar I/32
Shah Ali Khan during 1638-48, and again in 1653, served the subah for the longest period of ten years consecutively, the eleven years in all. Mahabat Khan, Ajit Singh, and Isuddaulah Khan-i-Alam, may be cited as the highest mansabdars of 7000/7000, among the subehdars of Ajmer.

Iftihar Khan (1678-79), had the distinction of holding governorship and diwani of Ajmer together against the established practice of the time.

Later, in the eighteenth century the faujdar of Ajmer often combined with other faujdaris and offices. Fakhruddin Ahmad Khan was given subehdari of Ajmer, faujdari and aminship of Sambhar in 1711. Syed Abdullah Khan's request to grant him gilleddari, faujdari of Kanthamukhore, along with the subehdari of Ajmer, had been accepted by Bahadur Shah in 1700, though he did not take the charge of subah. In 8 regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e. in 1139/1726-26, Azam Khan the subehdar of Ajmer had appointed, Syed Saadullah as the deputy faujdar, amin, Shiqdar, and fotedari in pargana of Ajmer.

It should also be noted that a number of subehdars of Ajmer were closely related to each other. Darab Khan held

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2. Padshah Namaz (waris), pp. 95, 208.
3. Wazai Ajmer, pp. 84-85, 107-68.
the subehdar of Ajmer in 1674-76, while his son Tarbiyat Khan Mir Khalil was appointed to this post in 1696. The sons of Safi Khan the subehdar of Ajmer (1689-95) after the death of their father, requested Aurangzeb for this post. Syed Abdullah Khan Barha was succeeded by his son, Syed Hussain Ali Khan Barha in 1704.

Inayat Khan became faujdar of Ajmer in 1681, after the murder of his son-in-law Tahawwar Khan who was also the faujdar of Ajmer. Later Inayat Khan's son Noorem Ali Khan was appointed diwan and deputy faujdar of the subah under his father's governorship. Syed Khan-i-Jahan Barha was the maternal uncle of the famous brother. Ajit Singh and his son Abhay Singh both held the subehdar of Ajmer during Muhammad Shah's reign.

During the first half of eighteenth century, under later Mughals, preference was generally given to those officials who had some knowledge of the condition of the subah and had served on one of the other post in the past. Nusrat Yar Khan, Syed Hassan Ali Khan, held the faujdari of Ranthambhore, before being appointed subehdara of Ajmer. Inayet Khan held the faujdari of Jodhpur, before promoted to the faujdari of Ajmer. Tahawwar Khan was the faujdar of Ranthambhore before joining as faujdar of Ajmer. The local petty officers were also not changed, but transferred within the province during this period.

1. Akhbarat, dt. 5 Ramzan 25 R.Y. of Aurangzeb/18 Sept., 1681
period. In the second half the eighteenth century, during the Maratha rule, this practice continued. Shivaji Nana and his son Jaswant Rao Bhaub, Bapuji Sindhia and his brother Gumanji Rao, all held the office of governors of subah Ajmer. Sipahdar Khan afterwards Khan-i-Alam Iz-ud-daullah, held the subehdari twice, first in 1688, and afterwards in 1719. Mirza Anwar Baig also ruled in Ajmer, twice as subehdar under Marathas, once in 1769, and secondly in 1783-87. Govind Krishna also served two terms as the governor during the Maratha rule. Gogin Baig and Hira Khan were the other muslin governors of Ajmer, appointed by the Deccanis for short periods, in the first decade of nineteenth century.

Mr. Simpson (3 months), and Mr. Low (9 months), also held the task of administering Ajmer city on behalf of General Parron, who seems to be the first European governor of Ajmer in 1800-1802.

It is also noteworthy that city of Ajmer was jointly governed by Marathas and Jodhpur ruler in 1756-58. Pandit Ram Karan Pancholi on behalf of Ram Singh of Narwar, and Govind Rao, on behalf of Marathas acted as governors of Ajmer.

In one of the appointment letter dated 1761, the Maratha tarafdar (governor) was expected to act on the following lines and instructions.

1. Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, p. 232.
2. Rajasthan District Gazetteer: Ajmer, p. 81
1. That the province should be managed without causing loss to the government, or oppression to the ryots.

2. That if this be done, the office would be continued for 5 years.

3. That the government money should not be misappropriated.

4. That no theft should be allowed to take place.

5. That the governor should not implicate himself in any corrupt transaction.

6. That the authority should be maintained.

A complete and authentic list of the governors of Ajmer from 1680 to 1818 is given in appendix. These officers belonged to different classes, creeds, and regions. The fort of Ajmer within the city limits, built by Akbar known as paulet Khana in this period, was the official residence and court of the governor of Ajmer, even during the Maratha rule. He entered it for the first time with much ceremony, and kept it under his exclusive control till the time of his transfer. The fort also served as the headquarters of the imperial army posted to serve under the instructions of governors. Some times the governors lived in the palaces constructed by Akbar and Jahangir on the embankment of Ana sagar lake, even in the big havelis built by their predecessors. There are references that during an emergency, specially in the period of Maratha rule, the governor used to shut himself in Garh Bithli fort (over the hill) for safety.

1. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 102-103
C.C. Watson: Gazetteer of Ajmer - Marwara, p. 18
Powers and functions of Governors in relation to the city administration:

The Mughal governor was the chief executive head of the city administration, and the main agency through which the central government exercised control, not only on the capital city but all over the province. Maintenance of law and order in the city, and its defence against any outside attack, were the principal functions of the governor. The position of the Maratha governor remained the same, and these functions were also performed by the subehdars, in the second half of eighteenth century.

It was his foremost duty to get the khutba recited the mosques of the city, and coinstruck in the name of reigning monarch. He was also required to stop robbery, and ensure the safety of the roads and administer justice.¹

In the discharge of these important functions, the Governor was assisted by kotwal, the chief of the city police, appointed directly by the emperor.

Under the normal conditions of peace and security the subehdar held his court more than four times a week,² but in the period of emergency and crisis he could not spare much time

to devote himself to the routine business of administration, whenever he moved out of the city, in connection with some official work for a short period, the court remained suspended but in case he went for a longer time, his deputy held the court and heard the petitions. During the revolt of Ajit Singh in the early period of Farrukhsiyar, Syed Khan-i-Jahan Nazim of Ajmer was busy in dealing with the rebels, Syed Hussain Ali Khan, the mir bakhshi and the Mughal commander cleared a number of important pending cases in Ajmer. On some occasions the deputies of the governor used to go out of the city on his behalf to suppress the revolt. Generally close relations, and men of confidence were appointed deputies. For instance, Iftikhar Khan, appointed his son-in-law as his deputy, and Inayat Khan his own son Noorum Ali, while Syed Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur deputed his son Syed Ghoolam Ali before leaving for the court in 1714.

It was an established practice during the Mughal rule, that the subehdar used to appoint thanedars (police officers) to control the law and order around the town. Aurangzeb had advised Inayat Khan faujdar of Ajmer to appoint men of confidence for the thanedari around Ajmer. He was also empowered to transfer and demote them.

It appears that during the Maratha rule this important

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1. Mirat-ul-Waridat, p. 510
2. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 53-54, 69.
3. Akhbaraat, dt. 30 Ziqad 25 RY of Aurangzeb/11 Dec. 1681
   Waqai Ajmer, pp. 168, 171, 192.
5. Akhbaraat, dt. 25 Ramazan 25 RY of Aurangzeb/8 October, 1681
office of thanedar continued. During the period of rebellion the subehdar had to take a special care for the security and defence of the city of Ajmer. Bahawar Khan the faujdar of Ajmer in 1679-81, and Syed Shujaat Khan Sarha, suchdhar of Ajmer in 1707-11, made excellent arrangements for the protection of the city, such as closing down the main entrance at night, and appointing troops and match-lockmen to guard the gates. Shujaat Khan's extra ordinary defensive measures had been appreciated by Bahadur Shah and his wazir Munim Khan during the second visit of the emperor to Ajmer, in 1710. It should also be noted that the same Syed Shujaat Khan, once made Ajit Singh agree to remove the siege of the city on the payment of some money, as it was difficult for the subehdar to defend the city in this turbulent period. During Maratha rule in 1766-67, Mirza Anwar Saiyid, the subehdar of Ajmer, when found himself in a tight corner against a Rathor assault, paid rupees 25000, and forty five horses in order to be allowed to depart in safety.

Check on Theft and Robbery:

In the city as well as in the neighbouring areas, Mina tribe was famous for theft and robbery. The other clans who

3. Akbarrat, dt. 1 Safar 1121/11 April, 1709
4. Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, p. 196.
indulged in the crimes were Chittas, Thoras, Bhils, and Maiertas. Not only the Mughals, but the Marathas and English, too, had chastised a number of these clans and Mels of Marwarah. During the period of unrest and turmoil, these elements increased their activities even on the highways. The writer of *Waqai Sarkar-i-Ajmer*, has recorded that his manuscript was stolen on his way to Ajmer from Ranthambhore, by the men of Kishan Singh zamindar of that area. He is of the opinion that theft in the area was at large scale. Syed Hussain vakil (agent) of Prince Azam, informed Jai Singh, that all the presents he was carrying for the Emperor on behalf of his master, had been plundered by miscreants in his territory.

Dawar Bakhsh, when appointed Bakhshi and Magai Nigar of subah Ajmer by Bahadur Shah in Oct. 1709 had asked the vakil of Amber to write Jai Singh to provide escort to him, so that he could pass safely from his territory on his way to Ajmer.

There are a number of reports informing that people had asked the respective local chiefs and zamindars for escort in their areas, so that they may pass safely.

5. *Akhbaraat*, dt. 7 Shaaban, 1121/12 October/3 October of Bahadur Shah
Theft and burglary were common within the city of Ajmer. Once Shoba Chand and Thakur opened a shop at Ajmer, but the burglars took away not only the cash and clothes, but all other belongings of these merchants. Not only during the period of unrest and turmoil, the crimes of robbery and theft increased on wide scale, everywhere including city of Ajmer, but even during the festivals the thieves became active. They visited shrine of Khwaja Sahib during urs, in dress of beggars and also entered in the houses around this place of worship, for theft.

Abdul Qadir informs that during the Pushkar (Pokhar) festival of 1618, to catch thieves and pickpocketers he deputed his own men with money in their pockets to mingle with the crowds in the melā.

Cattle lifting was also practiced by thieves and robbers, who even did not spare the imperial camp from their operations. During Bahadur Shah's first visit to Ajmer in 1708, some robbers had murdered three imperial men and taken away the camels loaded with tents etc. The emperor ordered the kotwal to search out the criminals. Holding on ransom was also common in that area. The culprit freed the people only after receiving money from his relations.

1. Vakil Report(P) No.612 (undated); Waqai Ajmer; pp. 33, 67, 68
2. Waqai Ajmer; p. 29
3. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani; pp. 212-13
5. Waqai Ajmer; pp. 76, 235, 277
In several villages of the madad-i-meash in the parganah haveli Ajmer, theft were committed. Reports of burglary and robbery were also received from Budhwarah, Raj Nagar, Kokhra (Ghughrah), Jharoli, Deorai and Danthrah.¹

During Rathor's rebellion, and even throughout the whole of the eighteenth century, the areas around Ajmer city were always under the threat of highway robbery, involving even local people.²

Once the Mughal faujdar Tahawwar Khan had appointed a contingent of 50 horsemen to patrol around the city and beside this contingent, thanedars were also ordered to patrol as night watchmen, and perform duties of chowkidars. This practice of appointing security men continued even during the days of Marathas.³

We are told that, the coffin boxes of Syed Hussain Ali Khan and his other relatives were not spared inspite of the fact that the imperial security men were escorting these boxes.⁴

For this reason, on a number of occasion, experienced nobles like, Nahar Khan, Syed Nusrat Yar Khan Barha, Syed Ali Ahmad Khan, Ranbaz Khan Mewati etc. were entrusted the faujdari of the suburbs (Navah) of Ajmer city.⁵

A number of reports indicate that how local people and chieftains, joined hands to make highway robbery a profitable profession, during the period under review. Anup Singh grandson of

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² Waqai Ajmer, p. 22, 252-54, 257-61, Akhbaraat, dt. 9 Safar 1127/14 Feb, 1715. In 1714, during the reign of Farrukhsiyar, two goldsmiths of Ahmadabad while on their way to Ajmer, were looted at Kishangarh, and four residents of Sambher who were travelling to Rupangarh, were injured and killed by decoits.
³ Waqai Ajmer, pp. 502-3; Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 261.
⁴ Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, pp. 104-5; Mulakhas-ut-Tawarikh, p. 42.
Rao Amar Singh of Nagore, found guilty of theft, but pleaded that as his men were at the verge of starvation, therefore they committed theft.  

Fateh Singh Naro, zamindar of Kokora (Ghughrah) village had been very active in this profession of theft and organised campaigns. He also used to provide shelter to robbers and encouraged them in their loot. Sundardas and Ajab Singh Naro, the notorious high way robbers, were his protege.

Initially, the Marathas also acted as looters, and money realisers. In 1751 during the reign of Ahmad Shah, taking advantage of weak imperial administration, in the city of Ajmer, and owing to the internal rift between Rajput chiefs, they ravaged the city of Ajmer, killed a number of residents, put a number of houses of the people to fire in order to realise money.

The law and order situation in the subah of Ajmer further deteriorated during eighteenth century, when the enforcement agencies of old days, had disappeared from the land altogether. The Marathas could not set up any effective police system for the protection of caravans of traders and general public, who were left at the tender mercy of all kinds of miscreants and criminals. This state of affairs, continued till the British eliminated the menace of the Pindaris, and established peace.

1. Waqai Ajmer, p. 120
2. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 19-20, 47, 61, 196.
3. Tarikh-i-Ahmad-Shahi, ff. 36-37
Judicial Functions and Powers of the Subehdar:

During the Mughal period, till the first half of 18th century, the subehdar of Ajmer was vested with the judicial powers and functions. He regularly held the court and administered justice in criminal, civil and revenue cases, after proper investigation and in consultation with the qazi and the mufti.

He referred to the qazi some cases for investigation, and other involving law of shariat for a decision. According to royal mandate, the main purpose of justice was to provide peace and security to the ryot and common folk, and in pursuance of imperial policy, the subehdars and faujdars paid special attention to the administration of justice, and protection of the weak.

The Mughal subehdars were liberal in approach while dealing with the cases. In one case when an ahadi(trooper) had imprisoned the son of a non-muslim, Tahawwar Khan, the faujdar ordered for his release, after a thorough investigation. The governor was not authorized to award the death penalty, as he had to refer such cases to imperial court, but in one particular case, which was of political nature, Padshah Quli Khan faujdar of Ajmer ordered the culprit to be trampled under the feet of elephant.

1. UNNISVIN Shatabde-ka Ajmer, pp. 157-59
   Jodhpur-Jaipur Kharita No.156. Letter of Bijai Singh of Jodhpur to Partap Singh of Amber dt. May 1791. Wagai Abdul Qadir Khan, p. 226-240, 247-251. Letter of Ochterlony to Wilder dt. 4 December, 1818 (Foreign political consultation No.52) National Archives of India, Delhi. In one of the appointment letter of subehdar of Gujarat in 1761, it was expected from him to curtail theft and robbery. Peshwa diaries, III/I Letter No.432. Poona Residency Correspondence xlv/170
2. Wagai Ajmer, p. 573
Stern measures had always been taken in dealing with robbers and decoits. Chopping of heads, imputing of hands, were the main punishment given to them. In one case the gory head of a robber was hanged on a tree, to display and to show the people the consequence of highway robbery.\(^1\)

During the second half of eighteenth century the Maratha subehdars were, generally corrupt and greedy of money. No doubt they chastised and suppressed the chitta and mer tribes, who were professionals in loot and dacoity, but in other cases of inheritance and mutual quarrels, they accepted money for the favour of aggrieved party. They even agreed to take possession of the city of Ajmer from Rathors in 1756, as a blood money (mundi kati) for the assassination of their general Jayappa Sindhia.\(^2\)

Subehdars relations with Central government and Provincial Officers:

Perhaps every subehdar or faujdar had its patrons among the nobles at court, who used to defend his position in critical hour, or recommend rewards and promotions in his fank. Inspite of the fact that in 1693 a number of reports had been sent by the province officials about the misappropriation of imperial revenues by Safi Khan, Nazim of Ajmer,

2. Wagai Abdul qadir Khani, pp. 226,276.
A mer Historical and Descriptive, p.198.
Daulat Rao Sindhia had realised rupees one lakh as fine and a huge amount as Nazar from the wife and adopted son of Ramdas, a business of Ajmer, as both fought for the succession after the death of Ramdas. Shivaji nana in 1791 suppressed the Mers around Ajmer.
the maximum punishment he got from the Emperor was a demotion of 500 sawars in his mansab.¹

Though Syed Shujaat Khan Nazim of Ajmer during 1708-13 could not achieve any major success against rebels, he was saved from dismissal, on many occasions by Asad Khan, his patron and Amir Khan, one of his relatives².

During the period of turmoil and tension, prevailing in the subah, the central authority, whether the Mughals, or the Marathas, was quite keen and quick in sending succour to the subehdar and faujdars. This may be illustrated by the re-enforcements dispatched on many occasions by the imperial court or other higher authority during the period under review. For instance, when Syed Hassan Ali Khan was driven from Amber by the rebels in 1708, governors of Agra and Delhi were ordered to help him.³

Further, when the Rajput rebels threatened city of Ajmer during Bahadur Shah's reign, the subehdars of adjoining provinces, and nobles stationed close to Ajmer, were asked to march towards Ajmer.⁴

In 1758, when Govind Krihsna, the Maratha governor was harassed by Ram Singh ruler of Marwar, orders were given to Shamsher Bahadur and Antaji Mankeshwar to rush for his help.⁵

2. Akhbarat dt. 10 Safar 1121/20 April 1710.
4. Thirat Namah (M.), f. 58 ab, Tasirat-us-Salaatin-i-Chaghta, p. 49.
5. S.P.D. 118/87.
On another occasion in 1759, when Govind Krishna was imprisoned in the fort of Khawas for having treated the jatamwardars harshly, reinforcement arrived for his release.¹

Finally in 1800, when Lakwa Dada revolted against the Maratha authority, because he was superseded by Ambaji Ingla, General Perron was sent to submit him. It is the only case, which may be cited that a subehdar on his dismissal had revolted.²

During the Mughal rule the subehdar received the imperial farman with deference and in ceremonial way, and as an established practice had to reward the mace-bearer. Before the arrival of Emperor in city, it was his duty to see royal residences, renovated, white-washed and cleaned. He also had to offer Nazar during Emperors visit in city, and at the time of departure of the monarch had to accompany to a few stages. It was also expected from him, to come out of the city, to receive high nobles and prominent grandees of the empire.³

He was also bound to keep a watch and vigil on the jagirs of those nobles serving in the other parts of the empire.⁴

The governor of Ajmer, not only obeyed and executed orders entitled to from the central officers, but was also recommend the posting

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1. Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, p. 192
2. Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p. 82
and transfers of the subah officials as well. The requests of Syed Shujaat Khan Barha and Syed Abdullah Khan Barha for the appointment of persons of their choice and clan, were accepted by Bahadur Shah.¹

Though the hold of Mughal government over provincial administration was nominal after Ahmad Shah's death, but there are sanads (documents) of Alamgir II, Shah Alam II, for the grant of land and appointment of darogah officials.² During the Maratha rule the subehdar virtually had become a semi-independent authority or more independent than the Mughal subehdar in dealing with the affairs of the city of Ajmer as the check on him was not strong enough. The Diwan-i-subah, next to him, was also instructed to discharge his duties in collaboration of the governor.

Function of the governor in land revenue administration, and his relations with Local Chiefs:

It was one of the foremost duties of the governor of Ajmer to collect tribute from the feudal lords, help the civil officers in their work of revenue realisation, and ensure the safe despatch of the treasures to the imperial court. The

1. Akhbaarat, dt. 11 Shabaan 1120/25 October, 1708; 10 Safar, 4 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 3 RY of Bahadur Shah/21 April, 14 May, 1709 Bahadur Shah Namah, f. 47a
2. Asanid-ua-Sanadid, pp. 318-26
subah of Ajmer consisting of seven sarkars in the early Mughal period and 8 sarkars in the later Mughal period out of which sarkars of Ajmer, Nagore, and Ranthambhore were under the direct control of the Mughal Emperor, while in the other three or four sarkars local chieftains were the vassal rulers.

Initially these zamindars and chiefs on their part, displayed a spirit of cordiality and friendship in their relations with the Mughal governor and officials, till the outbreak of Rathor rebellion in 1679. They were regular in paying annual tributes, and supplying the fixed quota of contingents for imperial service, and maintained rules and regulations within the limits of their territorial jurisdictions. They even kept their agents at the governor's court to seek his guidance in various matters, and often send gifts etc. to the governor through their agents.¹

But the situation had changed during the first half of eighteenth century as these vassal chiefs, zamindars did not pay tribute, and land revenues, without being forced or compelled by the display of military force, and armed campaigns. The governor himself undertook tours for revenue collection in the province, and supplied troops to the aid of faujdar.

amin and Karori, whenever any one of them needed it. Even the small zamindars had become haughty and defiant. They not only withheld the payment of revenues, but created disturbances by plunder, theft, and highway robberies. They even fought among themselves on petty issues.¹

Muhammad Khan the Mughal governor of Ajmer in 1694-95, is reported to have visited a number of places to realise the revenues and tributes.² In the first half of eighteenth century on many occasions, these chiefs did not deposit customary tributes or yearly matalibs in the imperial treasury of Ajmer. Not only this, Ajit Singh on a number of times, had forcibly realised money from khalisa and dargah’s waqf land.³

The Ijara system followed by Jai Singh, in the first quarter of eighteenth century, if on one hand paved the way for the extension of Amber state, but on the other, it led to the constant disorder and unrest. Under this chaotic and turbulent circumstances the Mughal nobles, possessing jagirs in the haveli and subah of Ajmer had no choice but to handover the work of revenue collection to Jai Singh on Ijara. The success

1. Wasei Ajmer, pp. 48, 49, 173-74, 89-90, 391-97
of *ijara* system was dependent on chaotic condition in the
*jagirs* of *manṣabdārs* thus compelling them to give it on lease.
Throughout this period the *vakil* of *Amber*, posted at court, was
always found busy in acquiring lands on lease from the Mughal
officers.¹

This situation continued till the second half of
eighteenth century. The local chieftains, and the Marathas,
did their best to realise as much as they could from the
peasants and people. This was the main reasons of migration
of a number of people from the city of *Ajmer*, and its population
had been diminished as had been stated by English officials in
their despatches.²

Moreover, the Maratha *subehdars* were also strict in this
matter. In 1767 Govind Krishna the Maratha governor was asked
by Madhav Rao Peshwa, to stop ravaging territories of Rana of
Udaipur as he is paying tribute regularly.³ Once in 1759, while
dealing harshly with the local *zamindars*, the Maratha governor
had to face imprisonment by these refractory landholders.⁴

Shivaji Nana, known as Nana Sahib and was held in high esteem

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1. For *ijara* system see N.A. Siddiqi: *Land Revenue Administration* under the Mughals, pp. 90-101.
2. *Unnisvin Shatabdi ka Ajmer*, p. 10. Since the closing years of Aurangzeb's* inspite of the repeated warnings from the
imperial government, the local chiefs were busy in collecting
illegal *abwabs* (taxes) such as salt tax and *rahdari* (octroi),
No. 658, dt. 26 Muharram 1115/10 June 1703.
3. S.P.D., XXXIX/97
by Marathas, turned his attention to the turbulent Mers, and established thanas in Mers and garrisoned Shamgarh, to curb the rebellious activities of Mers. He even had punished other istamrardars (permanent land holders) and levied Rs. 3 lacs from the chief of Shahpur, Rs. 48 thousand from the Thakur of Sawar, and realised three year's revenues from other small states, around the city of Ajmer. He annexed Ratakot from Bhinai state and corporated it into khalisa. His son, Bhishwapat Rao Bhau imprisoned Raja of Bhinai in Ajmer, owing to the non-payment of the revenues. The Rajputs of Bhinai, in reaction imprisoned Ram Bhan tehsildar of the place, and started plundering in the district. The subehdar thereupon released Udaibhan of Bhinai, reduced the revenues payable by Talugedars, and made a permanent settlement.¹

In 1800 and 1807, the Marathas subehdar again suppressed Mers around Ajmer, to create an atmosphere of peace and security. But soon in 1810 and in 1816 these Mers defeated Shah Muhammad Khan, a general of Amir Khan Pindari and the forces of Maharana Udaipur.²

Soon after the annexation of Ajmer by English in 1818, it was found that a person had declared himself the Hakim of paraganah Kekri, and had realised money from ryots, but when he

1. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 198-99, 294
2. Unnigvin Shatabdi ka Ajmer, p. 25
was brought to Ajmer, and questioned about his deeds he said that after Marathas there was no official from any government, therefore, he did this in hope of getting reward from the already new masters, and had deposited all the revenues in the treasury. 1

Another important role of the subehdar of Ajmer, was related to the succession issues among the local Rajput chiefs, and zamindars. On a number of occasions it was found that he was instrumental in amicable settlements between the local zamindars and imperial government on many other issues.

In 1805 Bala Rao Ingalia the Maratha subehdar of Ajmer demanded fauj-kharch (army expenditure) from the thikanadars, and realised huge amounts from the rulers of Bhinai, Jaliga, Masuda and Deolia. The amount realised from the Thakur of Jaliga was on the plea that it will be spent in the repairs of the city wall, and for digging trenches around the city of Ajmer. 2 This military tax was collected under coercion, and the land holders resented the payment, as it had gradually reduced them to poverty. According to Sutherland the people and istamwadars (permanent tenure holders) of Ajmer paid heavily for twenty years (1798-1818) under the head of army expenditure. 3

1. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 48
2. Letter of Lt. Col. Sutherland A.G.C. Rajputana to James Thomas, Secretary Indian Affairs, dt. 7.2.1841 N.A.I. Delhi
3. Letter of Lt. Col. Sutherland to Secretary, Indian Affairs dt. 7.2.1841 N.A.I. Delhi.
In 1810 when Tantiya became subehdar of Ajmer, he demanded rupees one lakh from local zamindars on the plea that he had given a huge amount as bribe for obtaining the subehdar of Ajmer. He could only gather rupees 35,000. In 1815 when the thakur of Barli refused to pay amount, his thikana was forcibly occupied and looted. The thakur along with his other family members was killed.  

It is interesting to note that once when in 1785, Kalyan Singh zamindar of Pisanganj could not deposit Rs. 3000 as revenue his few villages had been mortgaged with the subehdar of Ajmer. 

Socio-Religious Functions of the Subehdar:

It was the foremost duty of the Mughal governor to get Khutba recited in the mosque of city and coins struck in the name of reigning monarch. According to an established practice and convention, the muslim governor of Ajmer performed the Friday prayers in congregation in Jama Masjid of city situated in Dargah. On the eve of Eid the governor honoured the Khatib of the city and other muslim divines and theologians with robes of honour, and in his absence his deputy, or

2. *Ajmer Historical and Descriptive*, p. 299
kotwal discharged these religious and social functions. 1

He also had to arrange and to participate in special kind of congregation prayers called istaṣfa, which was usually performed outside the city, at the day time, to invoke the blessings of God for rains whenever there was a threat of nominal drought. 2 He was also in charge of the general supervision of dargah administration. He was to ensure the collection of revenues from madad-i-maasāh lands as well as the money from dargah endowments. He often paid visit to shrine, made offerings, and during the festival days attended the usual mehfils (programmes) of qawwals. He generally acted on the advice and cooperation of dargah officials and khadims (priestly attendants). In case of a dispute between the diwan, Mutawalli, of the shrine, the governor sometime settled the issues on the advice of the emperor, and on some occasions, reported the matter to court for action. 3

The same pattern he followed in regard of the shrine of Miran Syed Hussain, Garh Bithli. He had to take permission from the Emperor in regard of any appointment there. 4

1. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 14, 43, 54

2. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 15-16


4. Akhbararat, dt. 23 Shaaban, 1105/19 April, 1694
He not only to arrange facilities for the pilgrims attending the annual urs but had to do the same on the eve of Pushkar fair. He used to visit the place in person, stay there for supervision on the day of bathing in the sacred lake.

During the Maratha period the subehdar continued to discharge these responsibilities till 1818, when the accession of Ajmer was made to British. They considered the performance of these socio-religious functions, as an essential part of their official work, which they had got in a legacy from their predecessors.

The Mughal as well as Maratha subehdars of Ajmer, also contributed to the development of the city by constructing buildings and laying out gardens, Bagh-i-Mir Shah Ali, Bagh-i many other Syed Ahmed, Bagh-i-Amanet Khan, gardens, canal and the tombs of Syed Abdullah Khan and his wife, Sarai-Chishti-chaman are the a few of those, which were founded by the Mughal and Maratha governors.

Asad Khan's baoli (well) Nanaji's Jhalrah(tank) at Badapir, verandhas at Taragarh shrine and several temples were the other few buildings constructed by the . during the eighteenth century.

Diwan:

The Diwan-i-Subah, in fact had nothing to do with the city administration, as his main task was to deal with the revenue matters. Beside other important officials of the province he also used to reside at the capital city of the subah. But in some cases when some other responsibilities had been entrusted to him, he took keen interest in city administration.

There are references which suggest that in the chaotic conditions, the offices of the governor and diwan of Ajmer were entrusted to one person, or to father and son respectively, probably in order to have a firm grip over the affairs of the province, and for the smooth running of administrative machinery.

But on some other occasions, when a need of a check on subehdar was felt essential, an important noble, with equal powers to his senior official, was appointed diwan of the subeh of Ajmer.

1. For details see: Provincial government of Mughals, pp.262-64
   Mughal Land Revenue Administration, pp. 73-76
for instance, Iftikhar Khan, besides being the governor of the subah, also held the office of the Diwan, and in his former capacity administered the city affairs.  

Noorem Ali the diwan of Ajmer who happened to be the son of Inayat Khan faujdar of Ajmer, also acted as the deputy of his father, and therefore, he was very active in the security measures for the city of Ajmer.  

Haider Quli Khan, was the governor of Ajmer in 1623-24, and his son Jaffer Quli Khan, held the office of the diwan, during this period, and continued, even after his father's transfer from the subah. Before taking charge of Ajmer, both of them held the same offices in Gujarat.  

Moreover, under some unavoidable circumstances, when Raja Ajit Singh was given the subehdari of Ajmer in 1723, for a check on him, Raja Nahar Khan was appointed, the diwan of the province, with equal rights to Ajit Singh, but the father chief did not like it, and by treachery had killed Nahar Khan and his followers.  

1. Wali ud Ajmer, p.167; Asanid-us-sanadid, p.46.  
3. Asanid-us-sanadid, p.46; Sirat-i-Ahmadi, vol.11, p.38.  
It should also be noted that during the early years of the eighteenth century the office of the diwan of subah Ajmer was generally combined with the faujdar and aminship of Sambher in order to have a check on the activities of the Rajput rebels. Syed Hussain (1699-702) Syed Ali Ahmad Khan (1703) and Nahar Khan in (1723) held the Diwani of Ajmer, along with these posts.

It is interesting to note that in 1681, Muhammad Anwar was appointed faujdar and diwani-Jaziya of the pargana of Bedhnaur, Pur-Mandal, which were taken from Maharana Udaipur by Aurangzeb in lieu of Jaziya.

As regards to the rank of the Diwan of Ajmer, it is found, that generally, it was between 200/50 and 600/350. It has also come to light that he may recommend raddar on high ways for the


2. Akhbaraat dt. 15 Ramzan 22 Zigaad 25 RY of Aurangzeb/8 September, 3 December, 1681.

protection of caravans and travellers. The madad-i-meash grant documents were also signed by the Diwan of Ajmer during the period under review. Faiz-ud-din Khan, and Showkat Khan, were the other famous diwans of Ajmer during the later Mughal period. It appears that there was a Hindu diwan of the subah Ajmer during Farrukhsiyar's reign but except Rai, his name could not be read on the documents as it is not clear.

During the Maratha period this office continued and was called as dewan. Abdul Qadir Khan, reports that after the annexation of Ajmer to Britishers in 1818, diwan Madho Rao of the Maratha period presented revenue papers etc. of Ajmer 1817 - 18 to Mr. Wilder. Diwan Baboo Rao was the other diwan of this period.

**Kotwal:**

The kotwal directly appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of mir-i-aatisch (superintendent of artillery) and was one of the principal police officer in the city admis-

1. Akhbarat, dt. 20 Shabaan 48 RY/17 December, A.D. 1704. On the recommendation of Syed Ali Ahmed Khan, the diwan, Syed Mustafa was appointed rakhdar between Sambhar and Ajmer, in place of Ali Zahid, about whom people had made a number of complaints.


tration. He used to exercise jurisdiction over the thanas and patrolling police of the whole city and its suburbs, and was responsible for the maintenance of internal security and implementation of government orders concerning the city administration. Matters relating to the arrest of criminals, control of market, maintenance of law and order, in streets and localities, supervision of civic facilities, protection of the poors against the strong and giving help to gazi, and muhtasib in discharging their duties, directly and exclusively belonged to his jurisdiction.¹

For all these purposes he had a considerable contingent of cavalry and troopers under his command. Saran is of the opinion that the secular type of criminal suits went to the kotwal and the religious cases, such as inheritance, marriage, divorce, civil disputes, went to gazi's court. The city was divided into wards (mohallas) and the chief of every ward (mir-i-mohallah) was assigned the task of dealing strongly with trouble makers, and supplying information about the daily occurrences to the kotwal.²

The subordinate police officers operated in each and every part of the city, and curbed violence and tensions arising

¹ The Mughal Administration, pp. 48, 52
² Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 333, 214, 218.
there. The kotwal used to attend the court of the governor, and execute his orders, in respect of sentences imposed on convicts.

The administration of the jail of Ajmer, which was located in a walled enclosure (containing tomb of Syed Abdullah Khan) with a big gateway, near the present Moina Islamia High School, was under his exclusive charge. The kotwal was answerable for the condition and conduct of every prisoner to his superior authorities.¹

In 1680 the kotwal of Ajmer, was among the tabinan of Tahawwal Khan the faujdar of Ajmer. It seems that once the office of kotwal was held by faujdar of Ajmer, or there were two officials bearing the same name.²

Muhammad Murad another kotwal during the later Mughal period, requested the faujdar to supply him a force of 40 horsemen, required for the defence of the city.³ In the absence of governor he presented khillat and other gifts to the Khatib of city on Idd-day.⁴

1. Dr. R.H. Irvine; ‘General and Medical Topography of Ajmer’. pp. 111-12.
Describing the Jail of Ajmer in 1841, Dr. Irvine says that "the Jail is situated in an old patch" up Muhammadan building, a few hundred yards from the town walls. It is separated entirely from other buildings and is in a very airy and dry situation. The accommodation for the prisoners is sufficient in space. The security of the place against escape may be doubted, supposing the prisoners unite an effort to do so, the walls being low, and barakundor guard small."

2. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 433-434
3. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 431-32
4. Waqai Ajmer, p. 433
With the help of soldiers he defended the city against the unruly miscrents and turbulent elements. On one occasion the butchers and grain dealers complained against the high handedness of a muhtasib and the kotwal promptly took a necessary action against him. 1

In the period of emergency and turmoil, other nobles were also posted for the security of the city of Ajmer. 2 In April 1708, Bahadur Shah ordered Sarbrah Khan kotwal of Ajmer to search out the robbers who had murdered three imperial troopers and had taken away camels loaded with tents etc. 3

Muhammad Rahim kotwal once spent Rs. 3000/- for employing pyadahs for the Chabutrah kotwal. 4

Ehtimam Khan, kotwal of Ajmer in 1681, holding a rank of 600/350, patrolled in the streets of the city, and outside upto Pushkar to supervise security arrangements. 5 The Marathas continued to retain the office of kotwal, which was a very important office in the Mughal administration.

1. Wagai Ajmer, pp. 212-13, 345, 549-51
2. Noorem Ali, Nizam of subah Ajmer in 1681-83 was also made gilledar of city fort and hisar-i-qilla (wall around city). It is also found that Dilawar Khan another noble has been given charge of the defence of city. Sindhia as Regent of Delhi Wagai-Ajmer, pp. 365, 422, 441-43, 445-54, p.49
3. Akhbaraat, dt. 13 Moharram 1120/3 April, 1708
4. Wagai-Ajmer, p. 149
5. Akhbaraat, dt. 25 Rajab 25 RY of Aurangzeb/September 1681
The kotwal during Maratha period, usually got Rs. 1500 as a fixed salary for per annum, beside Rs. 66 for an attendant to hold an aftagir, and Rs. 55 for a torch bearer, as had been stated in an appointment letter of kotwal of Poona city in 1781-82. He was not allowed to dismiss the clerks and peons of kotwal without the consent of sar-i-amin, may built new police post in city, expected to perform his duties honestly and in conformity with the established practices, should keep the ryots happy by his proper and good conduct. It was his duty to see the roads been kept in good order, no new varandahs or shed should unauthorizedly be constructed. Information should be regularly collected from each mohallah (peth) regarding the conspirators coming to city and should be communicated to government from time to time.

He was also expected to appoint efficient karkuns and peons, for patrolling every night, and arrest for the thieves, and to discourage and not to permit married women from becoming prostitutes. 78 peons, and at some places 90 peons were attached to his office with a salary of about Rs. 34, monthly for each. 1 Mir Jalaluddin the kotwal of Ajmer in 1818, imprisoned Jooman Khan istamrardar, on charge of decoity, and even went outside the city to suppress Mers at their strong holds of Jhak and Magrah. 2

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2. Waqai Abdul Cadir Khani, pp. 224, 240.
During the Maratha rule it appears that the responsibilities of the kotwal increased immensely, and after the subehdar, he was the principal superintendent of police and main security officer of the city of Ajmer, as well as of the whole of the parganah of haveli of Ajmer.

The sadar also occupied a distinct position in the city administration of Ajmer. He recommended to the chief sadar at centre, the cases of Ulema, scholars and other needy persons, for the grant of madad-i-maash land and daily stipends, and showed keen interest in the welfare of these recipients after observing their conduct and character.

The provincial sadar was appointed by the emperor, on the recommendation of sadar-us-sudur, and the sanad of his appointment bore the seal of chief sadar. The gazis, muhtasibs, imams, and moazins of mosques, served under him. He verified and confirmed the sanads relating to madad-i-maash, Wazifas, rozinahs (daily stipends). 1

It was a peculiar feature of the sadar of the subah of Ajmer that the office of Mutawwalli of the dargah of Khwaja Sahib had generally been held by him, as it was usually combined

with the office of sadar. It is, because of the fact, that the bulk of madad-i-maash land at the parganah level, was attached to the shrine, and he had to send regular reports about the condition of persons who held revenue free grants or received cash allowances in this area.

According to waqai-i-Ajmer the persons appointed to this office were by and large scholars and of upright character. For instance Syed Saadullah who was both the sadar and Mutawwalli, treated the people kindly and looked after their welfare, and had honestly and effectively supervised the dargah affairs.

He was succeeded by Muhammad Saleh on these posts afterwards Shaikh Muhammad Sayeed, and Syed Ali Ahmad Khan hold these offices in the last decade of seventeenth century. The rank of sadar-i-Ajmer and Mutawwalli ranged between 200/100 and 400/600, depending on the nature of appointment and prevailing conditions.¹

But in the reign of Bahadur Shah the office of sadar and Mutawwalli were held separately by two officers viz., Khwaja Mirak and Muhammad Sabir.² This practice seems to be continued and in Muhammad Shah's reign, Mir Abdul Qadir was

the Mutawwalli of the shrine, while Mir Ahmad Ali was the sadar (1132-39) who had ratified, and attested the copies of original farmans, and agreements of medad-i-maash land.1

It is interesting to note, that during Bahadur Shah's reign, his son Jahan Shah cooked the big cauldron (deg) at shrine, to fulfill a minnet (vow) of his son Roshan Akhtar (afterward Muhammad Shah), the sadr had fixed his seal on the papers, relating to the cooking of deg and other expenditure; in this connection, though he was not holding the office of Mutawwalli of shrine.2

During the rule of Marathas it is difficult to suggest that the office of sadr continued in Ajmer. They are a number of documents contained in Asanid-us-Sanadid, relating to the grants of medad-i-maash and covering the period from Ahmad Shah up to Akbar Shah II, but none of these sanad bear the seal of sadr-i-subah.

In one of the grant of Alamgir II dated 1758 there is a seal of Mir Jumla Ubaidullah Khan Bahadur, chief sadar at Delhi, but no provincial sadr's seal and name is found in all these royal decrees, though there are seals and orders, of the appointment of Mutawwalli of dargah. During the second half of eighteenth century, the office of Mutawwalli-i-dargah

2. Asanid-us-Sanadid, p. 271; Actually it is a receipt of Rs. 2000 and one fourth of the food of deg, paid to Syed Muhammad Murad Khadim and Vakil of Jahan Shah at shrine.
not only continued but confined exclusively to khadim community initially, and later became hereditary to one of the family of the khadims, the detailed of which will be given in the following pages.¹

Qazi:

The qazi of the subah was appointed by the emperor and the sanad of appointment was issued under the signature and seal of the chief sadr of the empire. The provincial qazi held his office at Ajmer, and exercised jurisdiction over the whole province including the city and its environs.

He was given a mansab, khillat, grant of daily allowance, and a revenue free land by the way of madad-i-ma‘ash at the time of his appointment. He decided civil and criminal cases, and held enquiries into cases ordered by the central government.²

The qazi of Ajmer held his court of justice in the kutchery or in a hall adjacent to the building of a mosque in the fort of Ajmer. He was forbidden by law to hold the court at his residence. He also used to attend the court of governor, who transferred to him a number of cases every day, for investigation and judgement.³ The qazis were also appointed in the

¹. Asanid-ua-Sanadid, pp. 304-335.
³. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 190-97.
vassal states like Amber, Jodhpur, Mewar, Kishengarh etc., to ensure justice to its muslim population.¹

During the closing decade of seventeenth century due to unrest in the subah, a number of qazis had become corrupt. For instance one Qazi Akram of Jalore, used to keep the whole amount of Jaziya in his house, and had never informed the agents of faujdar. Qazi Dayam of Toda, had links with local chieftains and had even plundered Malpura etc. The subehdar reported the matter to the emperor.²

The tenure of the qazis in Ajmer had been longer than other imperial officers, like faujdars and bakhshis etc. For instance, Qazi Abdul Lateef continued to hold the office from 1682 to 1709. Qazi Muhammad Abdul Razaque also held the office for many years.³

Qazi Abdul Azeem served as qazi of Ajmer during Farrukhsiyar's reign in 1124/1712, while Qazi Zahoorullah also was appointed in this period/probably in 1130/1718 retained till initially 1725. He was later succeeded by Qazi Abdul Nabi who acted as his deputy.⁴

². Vakil Reports(P), No. 535, 540, dt. April, 1694
⁴. Vakil Ajmer: p. 35.
⁵. Asanid-us-Sanadid: pp. 44, 46, 71,72,76,86, 182-83
Beside dispensing justice the gazi had numerous functions to perform. He was empowered to confiscate the property of thieves and robbers, who were killed in encounters with the police or citizens of Ajmer. It was he, who announced the dates of the Muslim festivals on the basis of evidence by reliable witnesses about the visibility of moon. ¹

The muhtasib enforced the rules of sharia but had no authority to order the arrest of those who violated them, as this power belonged to gazi. On the other hand, when subahdar recommended the name of a muhtasib for appointment, the seal of gazi was also fixed on such tajviz namah (adjudication) beside sadr and mutawalli. ²

Once Qazi Akram of Ajmer had recommended the name of Muhammad Yusuf for the gilledari of Garh-Bithli in 1700.³

Another important function of the gazi was the ratification, verification, and attestation of agreements, court judgements, gismat namah (agreement on madad-i-maash land) and other documents relating to civil, financial and even matters relating to dargah.⁴ In appendix photostates of hibbah-namah (deed gift) of Syed Bahadur Ali, grandson of Syed Akbar Ali.

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¹ Waqai Ajmer, pp. 55, 56, 67
² Aasanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 266; Waqai Ajmer, pp. 38, 39, 190
³ Akhbaraat, dt. Shaaban/43 RY of Aurangzeb/January 1700
⁴ Aasanid-us-Sanadid: pp. 44, 46, 182, 243-45, 250, 269
Syed Hayatullah, a khadim, have been attached which were ratified by qazi.1

Beside qazi other judicial officers of the province were darogha-i-adalat, mufti and mir adil who used to assist qazi in his working.2

Even after the decline of the central authority of the Mughals, and loose administration of the Marathas, the office of qazi continued to function till the beginning of nineteenth century.

Muhtasib:

The muhtasib or the censor of public morals was appointed in every city and town to enforce the law of shariat and prevent drinking of liquor, bhang, liquid, intoxicants, gambling and sexual immorality. In some places it was also his duty to fix the prices of goods and to enforce the use of correct weights and measures in the markets. With a party of armed soldiers, the muhtasib patrolled the streets and closed wineshops, distilleries and gambling houses.3

There are numerous documents pertaining to the appointment of a muhtasib contained in various collections.

1. Appendix:
2. Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 325-329
Once in 1710, on the recommendations of Syed Shujaat Khan the Nazim of Ajmer, Khwaja Mirak sadar, and Qazi Abdul Lateef, Emperor Bahadur Shah approved the appointment of Syed Hayatullah as Muhtasib of Ajmer, and teacher at madarsah in shrine after the death of his father, Syed Wali Muhammad, who also held both these offices since 1703. Thus, generally, muhtasib of the city of Ajmer also used to be a teacher at dargah madarsah. The office of muhtasib during the period of our study had become hereditary, in the early years of eighteenth century, but after a mid century, its holder lost all other executive powers allotted to him except the teaching in the shrine school (madarsah).

When Syed Hayatullah died in 1170/1758 during the reign of Alamgir II, his son Pir Syed Akram Ali was appointed teacher in his father's place. There is no mention of the word of muhtasib in the copy of this appointment letter, that means the functions of muhtasib associated with this office had ceased to exist.

In both the above mentioned documents the salary of the muhtasib and teacher had also been stated. The salary of Syed Hayatullah was fixed 8.1/- daily from dargah waqf, and 150 bighas of land.

1. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp.264-66. Tarikh-i-Hindi, p.614. Rustam Ali had mentioned that Syed Hayatullah was a pious and distinguished person, and a learned scholar, who used to teach at the school in shrine, even during Mughal Shah's reign.
from *paraganah haveli* Ajmer was also allotted to him in lieu of his services.¹

But according to *Wagai Ajmer*, Muhammad Fazil who was the *muhtasib* in the area adjacent to Ajmer city, was given rupees one and a half as daily allowance.² As regards of the rank of *muhtasib* in Ajmer, it appears that he usually held a rank below 100. For instance, Muhammad Baqar, held a rank of 80 *zaat* while one of his officer Mir Gul, held a rank of 50 *zaat* only.³

It is noteworthy to state, that *muhtasib* were not appointed in the cities and town of vassal states of Rajput chief, though in these places there were a number of Muslims. During the period of Rathor rebellion even imperial territories, like Nagore remained without *muhtasib* for five years after the death of old *muhtasib*.⁴ It is really strange that this city which had a strong Muslim base since ancient times had been ignored in this way. When Hafiz Muqeem was appointed *muhtasib* at Nagore, he was also invested with the power of taking care of mosques of that place which were in the deplorable condition. In contrast to the condition of mosques which were in a state of ruin and un-protected, the temples of the place were in splendid condition, well managed and well provided.

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1. *Asanid-us-Sanadid*, p. 266
2. *Wagai Ajmer*, p. 20
The simple reason for this difference, as had been described by Hafiz Muqeem himself, was that the muslims did not care to spend money on the financial requirements of the mosques, while Hindus specially Mahajans lavishly contributed money on temples, and regularly paid the salaries of servants and priests.¹

The muhtasib of other sarkars and places, regularly sent reports of events and proceedings concerning his office to the Waqai Navis who transmitted them to qazi and governor, for necessary action.

When Muhammad Fazil muhtasib of the areas around Ajmer, informed Bakhshi about the open selling of wine and other intoxicants in Raj Nagar (few miles from Ajmer), the Bakhshi asked the agent of the zamindar of Raj Nagar to stop such practices, otherwise the matter will be reported to the Emperor for the necessary action.²

There are reports about the rudely behaviour of the muhtasib Syed Muhammad Baqar, a muhtasib of parganah haveli excluding the city of Ajmer came into conflict with Ashiq Muhammad who was serving as muhtasib of the city of Ajmer. It is

¹. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 45, 215-16
². Waqai Ajmer, p. 20
interesting to note that Muhammad Baqar in 1679, during the annual urs of Khwaja Shibli arrested sweet makers harass ed pilgrims, and had even arrested qawwals without reason. His acts were challenged by the muhtasib and kotwal of the city, and faujdar of the subah. Syed Saadullah Mutawalli of shrine, and other religious dignitaries of shrine tried vainly to convince this haughty official, who created disturbances during the urs and hurt the feeling of a number of visitors. The other officials too failed to convince him or to take any action against him. 1

Another function of the muhtasib was to keep a vigil and arrest the dancing girls (Kanchanias) and prostitutes. There were a number of this kind of ladies in the city, though some of them repented at one or other occasion, but had again restarted their activities. 2

During Narathas period a proper check could not be kept, though kotwal was assigned this task, but in the absence of a strict muhtasib, these anti-social elements could not be curbed and a number of tawaifs (dancing girls) were present in Ajmer during eighteenth century, surprisingly getting daily allowances from dargah endowments. 3

1. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 298,304, On Syed Baqar’s objection that singing with instruments is innovation (biddat). Syed Muhammad diwan of dargah pleaded that even Aurangzeb did not say a word, and had smiled, when he heard qawwal’s singing, during one of his visit to the shrine.

2. Waqai Ajmer, p. 305. Dr. Bilgrami had wrongly stated that these girls were in Jodhpur, Religious and Qazi Religious Departments of the Rajputs, 1556–1707, p.178 (FN B).

Waqai Navis and Bakhshi:

The Bakhshi and waqai navis was another important office in the provincial administrative machinery under the Mughals, who in rank and authority stood below to the Diwan-i-subah. This officer was not directly concerned with the city administrations as his functions were exclusively concerned with the army establishment and news agency of the entire province including the capital city.

However, the Bakhshi of Ajmer was associated with some business of local administration, and this additional responsibility had enhanced his status and importance in the administrative set up of the city. The Waqai sarker-i-Ajmer, contains some new information with regard to powers and functions of Bakhshi, scarcely found in any other contemporary source.

The posts of Bakhshi and waqai Navis were generally combined and entrusted to one and the same person. The appointment letter was issued under the seal of Mir-Bakhshi, who recommended his promotion and transfer, and under whose direct control he performed his duties.

As the head of military establishment in the province, he was charged with the responsibility of recruiting soldiers, the mustering of horsemen, serving under mansabdars, payment of salaries to soldiers, and enforcing the rules of branding. In his capacity as waqai navis or sawanah nigar, he gathered
information of all kinds, through his agents from all quarters, and sent a constant stream of communication to the royal court. He generally posted his assistants in the departments of Nazim, Diwan, faujdar, and Qazi of the province, who sent reports about the daily proceedings and occurrences to him. The central government exercised absolute and effective control over the department of the provincial bakhshi.  

The bakhshi of Ajmer generally held a rank of few hundred zat and 10 sawars. His tenure was not more than two or three years in the closing years of seventeenth century. 

Dever Bakhshi was appointed waqai Nigar and bakhshi of Ajmer, in Shaaban 1120/October 1708 by Bahadur Shah. He was given a rank of 400/100 and a robe of honour. In 1710 during Bahadur Shah's second visit of Ajmer he was replaced by Masahib Beg.  

1. For detail see: Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol.I, p.226,(Suppl.),pp.174-75, Hidayat-ul-Qawaid, f.29-31. The Provincial Government of Mughals; pp.170-204,DEVAHUTI (editor). Biased in Indian Historiography, Delhi (Article on Waqai Sarkar-i-Ajmer by S.L.H. Moini)pp.390-95. Waqai Sarkar, pp.156-173,471,497,527,671. In the Mirat-i-Ahmadi it is stated that at least four bakhshis were appointed in every subah, but waqai-sarkar-i-Ajmer informs that bakhshi were appointed even at pargana level as well as with every field army in the province. Sawanih Nigar (Khufia-nauts) seems to be the secret reporter, whenever the government felt the suspicion waqai. Ravis collusion with the local officers, these sawanih Nigars were posted. Hidayatullah Bihari is of the opinion that waqai once and sawanih twice a week were dispatched to the court. Hidayatullah Qawaid ff. 31. During the period of anarchy and chaos, and in the later Mughal era harkars were also employed to report to court. Waqai Ajmer, pp.480-482,83,518-19, 538, Akhbaraat, dt. Sept.November, 1681. Qa'at 1121/ January 1710.  

2. Abdul Azim was a rank holder of 400/10 in 1693, Inayatullah held a mansab of 300, zat in 1694, Mir Muhammad Amin held a rank of 200 zat and Mahammad Ishaq was a rank holder of 400/30. Akhbaraat, dt. 36, 38 R.Y. of Aurangzeb/1693-94.  

According to the royal instruction, the Bakhshi arranged branding of horses after every six months, for those mansabdars who had jagir, and after three months for those who received their salaries in cash. He had to keep a complete list and records of the mansabdars and soldiers, horsemen, troopers posted at Ajmer. An additional assignment of the Bakhshi of Ajmer was to look after the government buildings. He had to keep these buildings in good and proper condition, and on the eve of Emperor's visit to the city he had/clean and repair these buildings. He was assisted by a deputy known as naib darogha-i-imarat (deputy superintendent of buildings).

But during the later Mughal period, this job of buildings, was entrusted to the mutasaddis of the subah. In the princely states beside muhtasib, waqai Navis were also not appointed. There are references of waqai Navis sending gifts and presents to the emperor. Syed Makarim who was the waqai Nigar of Ajmer in 1703, often used to send gifts to the emperor.

It seems that this office of Bakhshi and waqai navis did exist up to 1750, and during this period these functionaries

1. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 8, 211, 226, 227, 480, 497-98.
2. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 97, 208-09, 294-95, 369-73, 378-81, 385-88, 567, 644. Once the Bakhshi of Ajmer was ordered by the central diwan to construct a large wheel to drain water from the Jhalrah (tank near shrine) to fetch water for the tank of shrine, and to repair the tanks of Garh Bithli. For this purpose he was given rupees 2620. On other occasion, he was asked to construct a dam at Roop Nagar to check the flood water.
and local officers continued to work because the central authority completely depended on their information. After 1750, it appears that the administrative machinery in province broke down, therefore harkaras were employed to carry letters and messages from place to place and person to person and were different from news reporters.

Bhagwantdas, Prouhit Rao, were the two famous harkaras period of the who did their job splendidly during the revolt of Jai Singh and Ajit Singh in Bahadur Shah's reign. A number of anonymous harkaras, worked during later Mughals. 1

The Marathas continued to get information from their agents posted at and around Ajmer or at the court of princely states - but did not seem to have retain the office of Wazai Navis.

Thanedar:  
The thana occupied a central position in the local police administration during the Mughal period. 2 The thanedar were in fact responsible for the maintenance of law and order in area under their jurisdiction but on some occasions they had to discharge other duties as well.

The importance and status of the thanedar depended on


2. For details see: M.P. Singh: Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire, vo. 79-84.
the peculiar strategical and geographical importance of
the place, and character of the local people under his juris-
diction.

Richardson states that the Mughals normally set up small
fortified check points called thanas to protect more settled
area against incursion from predatory activities of tribal
people. They were manned by a commander called a thanedar
and a small body of cavalry used for both external and internal
frontiers.¹

Dr. M.P. Singh is of the view that thana means an enclosed
quarter or a fort, where cavalry, infantry, musketeers and
cross-bow-men were posted from preservation of order so that
the travellers and the residents might live peacefully,
undisturbed by evil doers and robbers.…. The chief object
behind establishing thanas were to maintain law and order, to
check theft and robbery, to protect roads, and to communicate
news, to arrange supply of food grains, and other commodi-
ties for the royal army when on campaign, to help the collect-
ion of revenues and to regulate the supply of essentials, by
providing protection to banjaras and merchants.²

The thanedar held an important position and was vested

¹ Richardson: Mughal Administration in Golconda, p. 93
² Town, Market, Mint and Port in Mughal India, p. 79.
with numerous functions to perform, specially when posted in troubled areas. For instance, Maharaj Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, who held a rank of 7000, was appointed thanedar of Jamrud (in N.W. frontier) by Aurangzeb. ¹

The appointment of thanedars was generally made on the recommendation of the subehdar, faujdar or diwan. Some time the jagirdars had their own agents appointed as thanedars in jagirs. In matters relating to transfer or promotions of the thanedars, the mughal governor had his say. ²

Generally trustworthy and capable persons were appointed thanedars around Ajmer. Aurangzeb before leaving for Deccan in 1681, had advised Inayat Khan faujdar of Ajmer, to appoint trustworthy person as thanedar around Ajmer and keep a strict vigil on them. ³

During the Rathor rebellion, it appears that after faujdar, thanedar was the next important official who had a busy schedule in keeping vigilence over roads and high ways, as well as keeping the law and order situation under control. During this critical period, a number of thanedars were appointed out through the subeh sometimes even at village level, to protect

1. Futuhat-i-Alamgiri, pp. 139-40
2. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, p. 189
imperial interests against the rebels. There were about
70 thanas in sarkar-i-Ajmer and Ranthambhore at that time.
The thanedar used to keep a contingent of piyadaha (foot soldiers) savars (Cavalry), tawafchi (musketeers) and
kamandars (archers) to meet the challenges of the rebels.¹
It also seems that all the thanedars worked under faujdar
of Ajmer, who in fact was the incharge of subah, having sarkar-i-
Ajmer, under his supreme command. The faujdar was divided
into thanas, which were given under the charge of thanedars,
who used to comply with the orders of faujdar, in day to day
working of the local administration, to keep peace and tran-
quility.

As it was a permanent unit of administration throughout
the empire, therefore, thanedar had to deal with the imperial
officers like faujdars, diwan, Qazi, Amil, Qanoongo, Magaddam
etc., and other local chieftains and zamindars,² such was
the importance of this office in medieval period that somet-
time the faujdar expressed desire to combine the office of
thanedar with him.³

Sometime the office of thanedar was combined with the
and the same
duladar or kotwal and entrusted in one person. Syed Abdul

¹. Proceedings of Indian History Congress Gaya Session, 1981
². S.R. Sharma: Mughal Administration, p. 245
³. Bhupat Rai: Insha-i-Roshan Kalam (MS), f. 86.
Rasul had been appointed thanedar and kotwal of Kalchipur. Abdul Qasim a rank holder of 150/80, was the thanedar of Mauzabad, and gildedar of Garh Bithli in 1707, was succeeded by Muhammad Baqar a rank holder of 400/100 on both these posts.¹

To safeguard the dargah villages from rebels, thanedars were appointed in these places. Pirthe Singh Mairtia held the thanedari of Rahula village, which was waqf for dargah.²

From a careful study of Wagai and Akhbaarat it may be suggested that in comparison to Muslims, non-Muslims thanedars formed a majority in the subah as well as in the sarkar of Ajmer. These non-Muslim thanedars were the local people, generally the zamindars, upon whom the responsibility of keeping peace, law and order, realization of revenues and safety of roads, had been placed.³

One Karmullah a native of Ajmer, famous for his bravery, around was appointed thanedar of Ghughraghati/in the city of Ajmer, by Tahawwur Khan, the faujdar.⁴

Some of the local experienced and loyal zamindars were respective empowered by subehdar to establish thanas in their/areas, which fall under

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¹. Wagai Ajmer, p. 60; Akhbaarat, dt. 17 Shawwal 51 R.Y. of Aurangzeb/21 January, 1707.
². Wagai Ajmer, p. 406
³. Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Gaya Session, 1981
⁴. Wagai Ajmer, p. 638.
their jurisdiction, and appointment of their choice to assist them. The thanedar was also liable for the theft and robbery committed in his area and had to pay compensation. Narsing Gaur zamindar and thanedar of Nooryavas was asked to pay Rs. 285 as the theft had been committed in his area.¹

It is also interesting to note that the wagai navis were also appointed at thanas, specially in the chaotic condition. The post of wagai navis and bakhshi of Mandel had been taken from Ghulam Nabi and was kept under his charge by the provincial bakhshi and wagai navis. Dr. Tayyab in his article had misunderstood the word 'khanazad' (slave of the house) generally used by the writers for themselves, as a name of an official. The learned scholar had wrongly took it as khanazad khan and khanazada khan, instead of 'khanazad'. However, the thanedari of Rahula, Roopawli and Badhnoor was also kept by the provincial bakhshi and wagai navis, under his charge.²

It has been found that around parganah haveli Ahmadabad there were 32 to 35 thanas, around Mairta city 9 thanas and there were 13 thanas around the city of Ajmer during Bahadur Shah's reign.³

¹ Wagai Ajmer, pp. 379, 426, 67
² Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Gaya Session 1981 Wagai Ajmer, p. 437, 515; Here the word khanazad had been used by provincial wagai navis for himself as was the practice at that time. But Dr. Tayyab took it as khanazada khan or khanazad khan 'names of persons. He also had wrongly mentioned the name of the dargah waqf village as Hola instead of Rahula which was in Bednur parganah.
The rank of thanedars in Ajmer varied from 150/50 to 700/250. Ranbas Khan, son of the famous Peroz Khan Mewati, was the thanedar of suburbs of Ajmer in 4 RY of Bahadur Shah, holding a rank of 700/250, while his brother Zorawar Khan, another thanedar around Ajmer, was a rank holder of 400/200. Masood Khan, another thanedar in the vicinity around Ajmer, was a rank holder of 300/150. They were suitably rewarded by Bahadur Shah, during his second visit of Ajmer in 1710. Specialshawls were given to all these in lieu of their meritorious services against the rebels. Once the son of Syed Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, Nazim of Ajmer, who was a rank holder of 700, was appointed to look after the thanas around Ajmer city in 1125/1713.

From a careful study of wazai Ajmer and Akhbarat it comes to light that thanedars appointed around a major Mughal post were holding lower ranks than those who were appointed far from the main cities and towns, specially in the interior areas of the subah where the local zamindars had much influence.

During the Maratha period, references to the thanas had been found and this important office continued in the later half of eighteenth century though with minor changes and lesser effectiveness. There are a number of references about the establishment of thanas around Ajmer in order to curb the

rebellious activities of the notorious tribes of the area.¹

In the early years of nineteenth century the word Paasban (watchmen) had been frequently used in regards of the administration of Ajmer city. Abdul Wadir Khan has mentioned about this office of Paasban, which probably was similar to the thanedar in regard of duties and functions. From the same source it appears that Kotwal had assumed few of the functions of thanedar. For example, when a riot had been committed and revolts of Mers took place to a distant place from Ajmer, the Kotwal of the city, Mir Jalauddin rushed to the spot to enquire into these matters. Poddars (coins holders) had also been referred during the period.² Thus, this important administrative unit of the Mughals, was retained by the Marathas, which later, probably converted to the chowkies in British India.

Qilledar and Daroga-i-Top Khana:

The famous fort of Garh Bithli situated on a high hillock known as Qilla-i-Ajmer in the early medieval period, and now Taragarh, was an important seat of the imperial administration

1. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 192, 198.
and power in Ajmer till 1570, when Akbar constructed a palace-cum-fort, commonly called Dualet Khana within the city limits, for the official residence.  

Nevertheless, this ancient chauhan fort, held its own importance and position during Mughal period. On many occasions it had given shelter to the imperial officials, against the onslaught of rebels, thus saving them from complete disaster.

It was in 1832, that it was dismanted, on the government orders, and the nose of India had been cut off.  

The most important function of gilleddar during the period under review, was to defend the fort from the attack of enemies, and to keep a vigil and watch over the activities of rebels, so that they may not attack the city of Ajmer, from this hilly track. Generally, the office of darqha-i-top khana (superintendent of artillery) was also combined with the gilleddar. Sometimes, other offices like thanedari or faujdari of a nearby place had also been combined with this military post. During the Maratha period, it appears that the governor was entrusted the charge of forts of Ajmer. ShiYaji Nana held both the subehdari and gilleddari of Ajmer in 1791. Besides Garh-Bithli and the city fort of Ajmer, other important forts of the sarkar and subah were:

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1. For details of both the forts see: Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 49-59, 100-103.
4. Sinadhia as Regent of Delhi (1787, 1789-91) p. 52.
Ranthambhore, Nagore, Sambher and Jalore. Generally, the gildedars of these places promoted to the gildedari of Ajmer and on some occasions gildedar of Ajmer was sent to these forts.¹

The fort of Garh Bithli had also been utilized for the imprisonment of the political rebels.² Ashur Baig (1980) Syed Muhammad Yusuf Bukhari (1681) and Syed Muhammad Sharif were the few gildedars of Garh Bithli during the second half of Aurangzeb's reign.³

In January 1700 on the recommendation of Qazi Akram, Yusuf Bukhari was again entrusted to this office, with a rank of 400 saat. He was succeeded by Abdul Majeed in December 1700 and then by Abul Qasim.⁴

In January 1707 on the death of Abdul Qasim who was holding a rank of 150/80, the gildedari of Garh Bithli and the thanedari of Mauzabad was given to Abu Talib, with a rank of 400/200.⁵

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1. Akhbaraat, dt. 11, 13 Zigaad, 3 Zil Hij 1121/12, 14 January, 3 February, 1710. Syed Bhai Khan held the gildedari of Ranthambhore and Garh Bithli and Syed Hidayatullah (after Nigarat Yar Khan) also served on a number of posts including the gildedari of Ranthambhore.

2. After the flight of Prince Akbar from Ajmer in 1681, some of his close aides like Khwaja Mahram, Khwaja Manzoor, Qazi Khubullah, Shaikh Tayyab etc. were ordered to be imprisoned in Garh Bithli. Tarikh-i-Alamgiri, p. 115. Masir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 203-24.


4. Akhbaraat, dt. 8 Shaaban, 43 RY/29 January, 1700.

Bhai Khan Shujai (who previously held the qilledar of Ranthambhore) was the qilledar of Ajmer fort in 1708, waited upon Bahadur Shah on his visit of Ajmer, and offered 2 mohars. Syed Abdul Rasul had been mentioned as qilledar of Ajmer in 3 R.Y./1708-9 of Bahadur Shah, but when Bahadur Shah again visited Ajmer in 1710, Abu Muhammad was the qilledar of Garh Sithli. ¹

As regard the fort within city of Ajmer, generally it was kept under the subehdar or diwan of the subah. But on some emergency occasions other prominent nobles were also given its charge.

Nooram Ali the diwan and deputy faujdar of Ajmer in 1679-82 held the qilledar of the city fort, and was further given charge of city walls (Hisar-i-Rabaz). Dilwar Khan, was another important noble, who was made incharge of the security of Ajmer city. ²

During the second half of the eighteenth century this fort assumed a position of great significance, due to constant struggle for the power between the three contenders, i.e. Mughals, Rajputs and the Marathas. The Maratha subehdar and other officials, used to reside in it, and renovated it according to their requirements. Thus the fort became one of the important strong hold of the Marathas in that area. ³ The office of qilledar was also retained by those rulers from Deccan. ⁴

Other important Officials of the Province:

Darogha-i-Dak-Chowki, was another important officer in

3. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 103.
4. Selection from Peshwa's Diaries, Vol. IX, 30, dt. 1763-64
the provincial administration - whose main task was the supply of waqai (reports) regularly to the court. He was assisted by Ahadis and maordhas to discharge his functions.¹

_Darogha-i-Khazanah_ (incharge of treasury) was another mughal officer who resided in the city of Ajmer. He was the incharge of all revenues, peshkash etc. deposited in the treasury. He also used to collect revenues papers, from Amils, Bar-amad-Navis, and other revenues officers. His rank had been mentioned of 100 zat. Sometime he was also entrusted with some extra jobs. For example Muhammad Baqar, the Khazandar of Ajmer in 1680, was also given Aminship of Paibaqi land in Ranthambhore sarkar.²

_Darogha-i-Kan-i-Saang_ (superintendent of stones, and mines probably white marble) had to supervise the unearthing of white marbels and other stone slabs. His rank has been stated as 250/20.³

As the city of Ajmer had government mint since the time of Akbar, there was always an incharge of mint, appointed by the central government.⁴ Molvi Abdul Qadir who came to Ajmer in 1818, had given a detailed description of the working of

1. _Waqai Ajmer_, pp. 35, 70, 85, 95, 36, 145, 331, 336, 424, 25, 441
2. Mughal Land Revenue Administration, p. 87; Waqai Ajmer, pp. 11, 30, 437, 441, 454.
   On some occasions darogha-i-khizana was also given the charge of bar-amad-navis, for the smooth running of the administration.
   I. Habib states that there were copper and silver coins at Ajmer, but MP. Singh says that in Ajmer gold silver and copper coins were minted under the Mughals.
the mint at Ajmer, and the methods of adulteration in silver rupees.\footnote{\textit{Nagai Abdul Qadir Khani}, pp. 185-86} Related to this office there was another official called \textit{Darogha-i-Bagayi Sunwat} (enquiry officer of old coins) generally holding a rank of 150/100.\footnote{\textit{Nagai Ajmer}, p. 94} The \textit{Mushrif-i-imarat} or the superintendent of the buildings was another official under the Mughals. On some occasions the Bakhshi of the subah was given additional charge of the imperial buildings in the city who appointed his own deputy to look after the imperial buildings. But generally, a separate official entrusted this job.\footnote{\textit{Nagai Ajmer}, pp. 97, 171-72, 369, 68, 423, 644.} The central government also deputed some one for selecting spots for the construction of \textit{sarais} between Delhi and Ajmer or from Ajmer to Ahmadabad. Once Muhammad Amin was appointed to select places for the construction of \textit{sarais} between Ajmer and Ahmadabad. He was also supplied a \textit{mushrif} and masons to start work immediately.\footnote{\textit{Nagai Ajmer}, pp. 230, 238}

It appears that during the rule of Marathas, a number of those offices disappeared, as the Marathas had no interest in such type of activities or if on some occasions, felt the need of such workers and professionals, they employed those people on temporary basis, generally supervised by \textit{subehdar} or his agent.\footnote{\textit{Aymer Historical and Descriptive}, pp. 41-42}
CHAPTER VII

The Administration of the Dargah of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, of Ajmer.
The dargah of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti has been one of the most important institutions in the socio-cultural life of the masses of India in general, and of the people of Ajmer city in particular. It, during the medieval period of Indian history, remarkably flourished and developed under the Mughals, who paid special attention to its maintenance and growth as a religious and sacred place in India. Throughout the medieval period, and even in modern times, the shrine has been the centre of all religious-social activities of Muslims of Ajmer, and source of spiritual inspiration and moral strength for the Muslim masses, and for the followers of Sufism in and outside the country. The Mughal Emperors, and their nobles, bestowed enormous revenue-free grants on the khadims or Muajavars (priestly attendants) in return for their performance of devotional rites, and spent huge sums of money on imperial officials, and on the maintenance and expansion of the shrine. New buildings were constructed, and new form and shape were given to the whole area. With the flow of money and economic security among the people associated in way or the other, with the general supervision and religious functions, there emerged social tensions and mutual disputes, that gave occasions for the intervention by the imperial government, leading some control over it by the central administration. Following the example of their predecessors, the Marathas not only confirmed the old grants but took keen interests in its development. They
extended their hold over its administration by appointing persons of their choice to some of the important positions in the dargah.

In this section an attempt has been made to critically analyse the nature and extent of the imperial control over the dargah, focussing on the changing pattern of relationship between the dargah personnel and the central government of the Mughals, and the Maratha governors of Ajmer during eighteenth century. The analysis is preceded by a brief survey of the beginning and growth of the imperial control and relation from the days of Akbar to the end of the seventeenth century, with a view to providing a historical background to the changes that overtook the structure and functioning of the dargah administration.

Historic Background:

Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti passed away at or around 1235, was buried in the same cell, where he had spent most of the time in meditation. For more than two centuries till 1455) his kuchcha grave remained on a small knoll or platform, encircled by the trees of cactus and pomegranets at the bank of Jhalra, and no construction was made around and over it. Since the

1. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar; p. 26
   Jalaluddin Bukhari; Safar Namah-i-Makhdoom Jahaniya Jahan Gasht (Tr.), p. 42. Delhi. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 327-28
   Though some people claim that Itamash had constructed the main dome, but as there is no concrete evidence available therefore it is difficult to believe it. Rajasthan District Gazetteer, p. 719
middle of fifteenth century till now a number of buildings were erected on, and around the shrine by the devotees, which included Emperors, Saints, Muslims, non-Muslims, nobles, rich and poor, and in this way "Dargah of Khwaja Sahib" or Astana or Roza (Shrine or tomb) came into existence.

Many of the Khwaja Sahib's early descendants and successors left Ajmer in order to work for the propagation of Chishti-silsilah in Rajputana and in the other parts of India.1 When Mehmood Khilji in 1455 captured Ajmer, the families of the remaining well-known descendants of Khwaja Sahib viz. Gubuddin alias Chisht Khan and Khwaja Moinuddin Khurd (second) also migrated for ever to Mandu and Gujarat respectively. Nothing more is heard about them, and their descendants.2

Thus, the responsibility of serving at the tomb, and performing religious rites at shrine fell upon the Khadims, also called Mujavars who were the descendants of one of Khwaja Sahib's closest relations and followers. These Khadims were always found attached to shrine, even during the turbulent period and chaotic

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Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar, pp. 111-13
condition; created by the local chieftains.  

Except Mehmud Khilji of Mandu, none of the other rulers of Delhi, Gujarat and Malwa took keen interest in the development of the dargah, though Muhammad Bin Tughleq (1326), Behlol Lodhi, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Sher Shah Suri (1544), paid visit to shrine, and offered huge amounts as Nazar to khadim. Mehmud Khilji not only constructed a mosque and a gate in the shrine, but offered stipends and cash to khadim, and had even established a madrasah at shrine. He also appointed a teacher in shrine, a qazi and mufti in Ajmer.

Many a notable sufis saints like, Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj Shakar, Jalaluddin Bukhari Jahangasht (1383), Maulana Fakhruddin Zarradi, Ashraf Jahangir Samani, and Shaikh Shahul Hameed of Tanjore etc. visited the shrine during fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p. 20
2. Siyar-ul-Arifin, pp. 8, 16
3. Masa'il-i-Mehmud Shahi, f. 200ab
4. Isami: Futuh-us-Salaatin, p. 466
5. Yaadgar: Tarikh-i-Salaatin-i-Afghan (Trl.E & D), Vol.V, p. 4
6. Tabagaat-i-Akbari, p. 359
7. Abdulla: Tarikh-i-Daudi (MS), f. 297
8. Akhbar-ul-Akhriy, p. 111
10. Sahar Namaah-i-Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht, p. 42
11. Siyar-ul-Auliva, p. 264
There were a number of famous saints, who spent years at the shrine, in performing meditation and guiding people during this period. Prominent among them were, Shaikh Kamaluddin Husain alias Khwaja Hussain Nagori, Shaikh Ahmad Majad Shaibani, Maulana Masood, a Mujavar and Shaikh Hamza Dharasuvi.  

When Shaikh Jamali visited Ajmer, in the last decade of fifteenth century, he found that beside the followers of Islam, a number of non-muslim also visit the dargah regularly, pay homage, and offer nazars to khadims. He even met Maulana Masood, a Mujavar (Khadiro) of shrine and a great scholar of about eighty years of age, performing his religious duties at shrine, with full devotion.  

Thus, prior to the establishment of Mughal Empire the dargah of Khwaja Sahib had assumed an important position as a religious institution, and centre of liberal ideas and philosophy of humanism. But the credit of developing the shrine, and giving it a final administrative shape and a complete structure certainly goes to Mughals, who between the middle of sixteenth century up to the end of eighteenth century, contributed a lot for its development and enlargement.  

The Era of the increasing imperial hold over the Dargah: 1562-1707:  

It was Akbar, who made the largest assignment to the dargah in the course of his famous, on foot, visit to Ajmer in  

2. Siyar-ul-iarifin, p.13
1570, after the birth of Saleem, under various categories and continued to bestow liberally on it, in the following decade.\(^1\)

The first grant comprising 18 villages, half of which were in the haveli of Ajmer, was given for the maintenance and daily expenditure of the shrine. He also fixed 2½ on each maund of salt from Sambher for langer (free kitchen).\(^2\)

Secondly, he granted Nandla (Nandla) village in the form of madad-i-maakhir to Shaikh Fatehullah and his family, (the first of the khadim community appointed mutawalli of shrine), and for the one day expenditure of annual urs.\(^3\)

Finally, he assigned two villages - Beer (Raigarh) in Haveli Ajmer and Kakniwas in parganah Bandhan Sindhri, for the financial assistance of all members of the khadim community.\(^4\)

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1. Akbar first visited shrine in 1562, and since then up to 1579, he was a regular visitor. But after the birth of Saleem 1569-70, he seems to have become more attached to Khwaja than in his early years. After every campaign in Rajputana, he paid a visit to that place. He even had offered a big cauldron after Mewar campaign.


2. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 167-74

   Though original farman of this grant is not available now, but an authentic copy of this, is available in the Register of collectorate, at Ajmer.

3. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 49,102,106

4. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 48,102,106, The original farman of this grant is also not available — but when Jahangir made some changes in the grant, reference had been made to the farman of Akbar.
In 1570-71 on the petition of Syed Alam Khadim, he even confirmed his old right of burning the lamp in the shrine, and performing Roshnee (lighting) on the basis of his services for a long period. Akbar further ordered the officials to supply one maund of oil from Samhbar to the said Syed for using in the lamps.  

Beside these grants few other land /as well as scholarships to students, stipends to widows, had also been awarded, to some of the members of the Khadim Community by Akbar. Abul Fazal has claimed his role in these grants.  

But these lavish grants gave rise to mutual jealousy and quarrels among the functionaries of the shrine, inviting imperial government's interference. In 1580 Shaikh Hashim, son of Shaikh Fatehullah, complained the Emperor against the hostile attitude, and improper behaviour, of Shaikh Mansoor a Khadim, in regard of the distribution of Nazars. Qazi Aminuddin, son of Jalaluddin was ordered by the Emperor to investigate the matter and settle the issue amicably between the two parties.  

By another document dated 1584, it comes to light that the whole of Khadim Community at last agreed to appropriate the

1. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 3-5
2. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 11-13, 20-22, 42-43. One of these sanads dt. 1560, indicates the renewal of old grant, which was probably made during pre-Mughal period.
3. Abul Fazal: Ruggat-i-Abul Fazal, p. 49 (PRNTD)
4. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 14-15
Nazar amount according to old shares, fixed by conventions and customs. Eight representatives of these Khadims signed this mutual agreement, and even had gone to Fatehpur Sikri for its ratification.¹

Another important incident of Akbar's period related to dargah and which had been narrated nearly by all contemporary writers, was the dismissal of Shaikh Hussain from the post of Mutawalli in 1570.

Shaikh Hussain lured by the huge wealth offered by Akbar after the birth of Saleem, claimed his descent to Khwaja Sahib, which was stoutly opposed by other religious functionaries (probably by Khadims). As there was a dispute since a long time in this regard, says Abul Fazal, therefore, Akbar appointed trustworthy persons to enquire into the matter. After much investigation, it was found that Shaikh Hussain's claim to descent is not genuine and that he had told falsehood in this regard, and had even misappropriated dargah funds. On this fact Akbar became annoyed and dismissed him from the post of superintendent of shrine and banished him to Bhakkar.²

Since then the family members and descendants of Shaikh Hussain, known as Deewanji's family, are busy to

¹ Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 15-19
² Akbar Namah (Bev), Chapter XXXI, Vol. II, pp. 510-11
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, p. 308 (Nawel Kishore)
regain the status and position of the Sajjadah of shrine, and in this process had even prepared forged documents, to justify their claim. For example, one of the copy of a sanad of Akbar's 5 R.Y. (1560), granting them certain privileges and rights in the affairs of shrine, bears the seal of Shaikh Abdul Nabi Sadar-us-Sadur, who in fact, was appointed the Chief Sadr in 1563. By applying these improper means and corrupt tactics, these people for centuries, created troubles after troubles in the affairs of dargah, and finally in eighteenth century, specially under the rule of the Marathas, were successful in gaining position, and rose to heights.

However, besides these grants and cash awards, a number of buildings in the shrine, as well as in the city, were also constructed during this period. The devotion of Akbar, to Khwaja Sahib, was so deep that he had inscribed Ya-Moin, on few of his coins, viz. Adal-Gutka, Lal-i-Jalali-Gard, and Moini. The war cry of his army at that time was Ya-Moin or Ajmeri, besides Allah-o-Akbar. Thus, from the time of Akbar, the dargah of Khwaja Sahib assumed the position of an established institution, and flourished in the coming centuries, influence by Mughal administration set up and court etiquettes.

Jahangir after his accession in 1605, confirmed all the madad-i-maam grants bestowed by his father for the upkeep of shrine, to the Khadims and other officials of shrine. When Mir Fataullah died on the representation of his son, Syed Hashim, the new Emperor'

1. Measir-u-'Umara II pp. 560-64. Religious and Qausi religious Departments of the Mughal period p.19 Paramin-i-Salaatin, pp.2-3. Diwan Aley Rasool had supplied Molvi Bashiruddin a copy of Moin-ul-Auliya, written in 1890 by Imam Uddin Khan, who was a member of Diwan's family, and which contains copies of these, so called imperial documents, issued to the members of his family from time to time.

2. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol.1, p.17 (Nawal Kishore). Adal Gutka was a round coin, imasses in weight, and in value equal to 8.9, or a Mohar. Moini seems to be in the name of Khwaja Sahib. It was both square and round. In weight and value it was equal to 2 Mohars. All these coins bear Ya-Moin inscribed on one side. Akbar Nama, Vol.III, p.57-58, 82. Measir-u-'Umara, II, 373-75. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.42 Mehdavi.
ordered in 1610 that the revenues of Nadla village should be
i.e. for
used as per orders of Akbar/ no way's or c-: e • . .: and for the upkeep of Shaikh Fatehullah's family.¹

His major change in regard of land, was that during his stay in Ajmer between 1613-16, he ordered that nearly 80% of the land of the two villages of Beer and Kakniawas, assigned to the khadims by Akbar should be confiscated, or annexed to khalisa, while the remaining 20% was retained for the distribution among 198 Khadims who had audience/in Ghusal-Khana. He deprived 31 Khadims from this land as they did not come to him.² No contemporary writer has given the reason for this displeasure of Jahangir. But from a petition of one Syed Daan Khadim (grandson of Shaikh Fatehullah) to Shahjahan, it comes to light that Jahangir wished that young/people from khadim community should join imperial services. But as it was not acceptable to the khadims, Jahangir/annoyed and confiscated 31% of the land. For years khadims continued their struggle through various agencies, and finally succeeded in retaining the half of the total land granted by Akbar to them.³

1. Out of 6890 bighas total land of Nandla, 1000 bighas for day's urs expenditure and rest was retained as madad-i-masāh for 26 persons of shaikh Fatehullah's family. Ḩasanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 30-36.
2. Ḩasanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 47-50. Out of the total 25,450 bighas of land granted by Akbar 20,289 bighas was taken back, while 5,161 bighas remained with 198 Khadims.
3. Ḩasanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 50,208-09. Out of the total 25,450 bighas land half is, 12,725 bighas were returned to 198 Khadims for madad-i-masāh. Eleven farmans were issued separately to 11 members, or heads of groups of Khadims. Ajmer Regulations and Notifications,II, H to L, p. 578
changes and

Beside these confirmations, Jahangir bestowed few other tracts of lands to widows, other functionaries, and khadims of shrine. He even granted daily allowances to khadims and others from Dargah endowment. From the Waqf village of shrine he granted some plots to other persons, such as attar-seaz, (Otto makers) and qawwals etc. His nobles also made numerous grants to the people of shrine from the waqf villages and endowments. It appears that Jehangir wanted to organize and classify the system of the waqf villages of dargah, by dividing the income of the Waqf village of shrine into three specific categories, viz. (1) First expenditure of Urs Ceremony, daily langar and illumination, (2) Second for the upkeep of the families attached to shrine, in one way or the other and third for the recusals absorbed in the devotion in the precinct of the shrine. Another significant development which happened during Jehangir's reign was the mutual agreement of khadims for sharing the nazars. In 1614, it was agreed by the whole of khadim community, that all offerings of shrine put in gandeal (lamp) will now be divided into six equal shares, instead of 5½ as has been the practiced till now. Out of these 6 shares, 2 shares will be given to the descendants of Syed Behlol, 1½ share will go to the descendants of Masud, plus the amount of Nazar paid by visitors in head cleaning, and cloth sheet, as well

1. Asanid-us-sanadid, pp. 43, 88-91, 116-18, 126, 146-150, 153-54. Paramin-i-Salaatin, pp. 8-9. Gehlota village with a revenue of Rs. 750/- was granted to Shaikh Alimuddin, a cousin of Shaikh Hussain, head of the claimants of descendantship to Khwaja.

2. Paramin-i-Salaatin, pp. 4-5. This document is also doubtful as it is unclear and full of errors in regard of the division between the various heads. Islamic Culture, Vol. III, 1978, pp. 100-102.
as flowers and Nazar of Chilla Salar Masud. From the remaining
2½ shares, 2 shares will go to Shaikh Thaka's offspring and
the remaining half (½) will be given to the descendants of
Shaikh Ebraheem. As the descendants of Behlol had increased
therefore, not only their shares had been increased, but Nazars
offered by pilgrims near Chiragh-i-Kalam (Big Lamp) had also
been granted to them.

This agreement clearly indicates that Nazars offered
by visitors or pilgrims in shrine, was the exclusively hereditary
right of the khadims, and no other person, such as the
so-called Sajjada Nashin or Mutawwalli or any official, had any
right or claim in it or to interfere in their mutual adjustments.
Such was the respect of Khadims in the eyes of ruling elites.
Emperor Jehangir had passed a decree in favour of a Khadim,
against his noble, in regard of the possession of Akbar's Mahal
near the shrine.

Thus, Jehangir tried to resolve many problems of dargah
administration. He settled disputes arising from Madad-i-ma什
grants, and ratified agreements regarding the offerings among
khadims/about the performance of religious rites, and specified
heads for expenditure from waqf villages meant for the shrine.

1. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 110-16.
descendants of Shaikh Duniyal (Syed Daan) Khadim, (who was a
patron living saint of Akbar and in whose house Prince Duniyal
was born) Jehangir, in 1617, ordered Syed Kasim, alias Parvarish Khan one of his noble to vacate Akbari palace near
shrine as it was for the residence of the descendants of Shaikh
Duniyal.
This he could do as he stayed at Ajmer, for three continuous years, and visited the shrine for 9 times. He also offered a Cauldron of bronze, cooked food in it for the distribution, burnt candles at shrine, and after a severe illness fulfilled his minnat (vow) by boring his ears and wearing ear-ring in it, issued a coin bearing Ya-Moin to mark the recovery celebrations.

In his private chamber, taki at night, he often called khadims and other divines living there, and held long discussions with them, for whom, he had great reverence and regards. He had even attended the urs-mehfils and had bestowed gifts upon khadims and others, and had placed a gold railing with lattice work around the shrine in June 1616.  

By the end of his reign, i.e. 1627, the dargah had transformed into a fully developed institution with its internal administrative system founded on imperial model, financial arrangements regularized and the hold and supervision of the Emperor extended further. The Emperor could appoint or dismiss any officer of the dargah except the khadims. The Mutawalli, and Diwans (self styled Sajjada Nashin), were to supervise and preside all the ceremonies in the absence of the Emperor.

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (Trl. - Alexander Rogers, ed., Dev), pp. 267-68. Early Travels in India, pp.171, 247, 297, 329. Purchas and his Pilgrims, p.491. Ajmer Through Inscription, p.18. M.K. Hussaini, Jam-i-Sehat Coin of Jahangir. The Journal of Numismatic Society of India, Vol.XLI,Part II, pp. 103-115, 1979. In this scholarly article Hussain had discussed, that it was not a Baccanalion Coin, as has been described by Marsden, Stanly Lampoole and others, but it was a Jam-i-Sehat (toast of health) coin of gold, 2 CMS in size and 10.691 grams in weight, and was minted at Ajmer, dt.9 KY, and had been issued after his recovery from illness.
William Pinch the famous traveller visited the shrine during this period, and had given fairly a detailed description of this religious centre, stating that there were three courts, before you enter the main tomb. He also found a tank, a candle stand, a bronzen gate and floor of white and black.

Shahjahan exhibited the same devotion to the shrine, and manifested same interest in the affairs of dargah and its expenditure and income. In his 10 R.Y. 1047/1637-1638 farman to the mutawwallis of shrine directing them to spend 25,780/- realised from the endowments in accordance with the regulations laid down in it. For Langar (free food) Aaras (celebrations of Urs of various saints), illumination, carpets, flowers, on salaries of mosque officials, on Huffaz (reciter of Quran by memory) on other officials and functionaries, on stipends and daily allowances for those who stay at shrine for meditation, and on other good deeds, so that the rewards of these noble acts may constitute a source of strength to the Emperor.

Soon after the issuance of this farman, the income of the Waqf villages rose to Rs. 27,000, and in 1654, it increased upto Rs. 30,000/-. But Shahjahan who was at Ajmer in 1654, ordered that the additional and extra amount of Rs. 3,000/- should be spent in other good deeds. This rise in revenue was due to

1. Early Travels in India, pp. 171.
Shahjahan's exchange of the five waqf villages of parganah Naraina (earlier granted by Akbar) with Siddin Khwajapur, Tabeeji, Tikampur, Kolia, and Hokran.¹

In 1638, another important change took place under Shahjahan, in regard of the revenue free land, on the representation of Khadims, it was declared that the madad-i-maash land assigned to them, will be allowed to be retained in full, by their family members in case of the death of recipient, contrary to the old practice of resuming half of it. This was a significant change in this regard, as these madad-i-maash land holders, had become permanent zamindars or jagirdars of the areas assigned to them.²

The gawwalls (Singers and devotional poetries, and music), were permanently employed in the shrine, and in return of their services they were granted land, as well as daily allowances. They were required to sing gawwallis in shrine, generally daily, and specially on the night between Thursday and Friday, every week, on 6th day of every lunar month, during annual Urs of Khwaja Sahib, and on the other functions and festivals. As these grants and

¹. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 157-178
Mirza Abdul Qadir Baigi; Udha-i-Tauliyat, pp. 6-12
Muhammad Waris; Padshah Namah, II, p.279
He offered Rs. 10000 as Nazar during this visit, and cooked Deq with Nilgai (white-antelope)meat.

². Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp.179-183.
Ajmer Regulations and Notifications; Vol.II, H to L, p.623

Though Dr. R. Bilgrami holds the view that the word Shurfa-i-Mutawalli is not correct, and probably a mistake of deciphermen in copying of the farman and should have been Gumashtas (agents) But she is not correct as in other original farmans, Shurfa-i-Mutawalli is frequently used. Though Gumashta and Shurfa has little difference in regard of functions and as far as their duties are concern, but due to respect of shrine, probably the word shurfa was used in place of gumashta in official documents both meant agents, or assistants. Islamic Culture; vol.III,1978 pp.99, Asanid-us-sanadid, pp. 160-61, 179.
appointments were hereditary, the generation of these qawwals, remained attached to the shrine, and the teams and parties are called Chowkis (troupes) of qawwals.\footnote{Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 183-85, Auhadai-Tavllyat, pp.29-31.}

Another dispute between them arose, when shahjehan offered 50 Ashrafis to them as nazār. But on the instructions of Asaf Khan, these gold coins were distributed among them amicably. Syed Khubullah a descendant of Shaikh Fatehullah was given 10 ashrafis, perhaps in capacity of being the descendant of ex-Mutawwalli, or Vakil (representative at shrine) of Asaf Khan, as this family of khadims had a close links with the Mughal rulers.\footnote{Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 186-92.}

There are numerous documents of the officials of Shahjehan's reign, showing grants after grants of maddad-i-maash land to a large number of individuals. Some judgements and grants of officials, are also available in regard of the shrine, and about some individual.\footnote{Asanid-us-Sanadid, 192-210.}

But the most important change that took place during Shahjahan's reign, was the system of Hasas-Kaleed-bardari (rights and shares in key keeping) or of Haft Chowki of shrine, which still continues, and which organised khadims in one unit, on equal terms and status.

In 1651 when the Emperor was at Ajār, the whole male
members of the khadims were divided into seven groups, each
group comprising of 27 persons, with one senior person as
sarphana (Head). Every group was given a day in week for doing
looking on that particular day service (khidmat) and after the affairs of shrine and in lieu
of that he was allowed to keep a fixed percentage of the Nazars.
These seven sarphanas (Heads) virtually became leaders of the
community, and represented khadims during the official Urs
ceremonies, even in ghusal (washing) of tomb, and was called
as Haft-Baridaran (seven keepers) or Haft Chowki.¹

He had also constructed or repaired the main gate of
the shrine opened in Dargah Bazar, known as Kalmi Darwaza on
which the Kalma is inscribed, and a Naggar Khana is establi-
shed. He also erected the most beautiful building of the
shrine - the Jama Masjid, which lies behind the main tomb, and
is of white marble.²

From the perusal of the copies of farman of the diwan
family, it comes to light that some villages had also been
granted to them for their maintenance. But, on one occasion,
Shahjahan dismissed a Sajiada and appointed the other. It
appears that the post of Sajiada had also become an official
by that time post and Sajiada was treated as the Mughal mansabdar, as in
these farmans the word mansab-i-sajjadgi has been mentioned

¹. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 210-214
². Ajmer - Through Inscriptions, pp. 19-20

Haft Chowki according to sarkar was the patrol conducted
by noble men, round Emperor's residence on each day of the
week. J.N. Sarkar: A Short History of Aurangzeb - Index.
frequently. These people, by their influence at the Mughal court
unsuccessfully tried to get concessions, prerogatives, in
dargah affairs, and had also claimed shares in Nazars which was
never their right in the past.

But it is to be noted that no share or right of Muta-
wwalli and sajjada, had been mentioned in the earlier mutual
agreements of Khadims ratified by the imperial government and
in key keeping document, which still is preserved in the
Toshak-Khana (store room) of the shrine, on the contrary the
documents of diwan’s family are merely the copies of the those
originals, which are not available and never shown. Jahan Arra,
the daughter of Shah Jahan had great respect and devotion
for the saint. In her famous work Munis-ul-Arwah, she had
expressed her reverence to Khwaja Sahib. Beside this
she had contrusted a verandah just before the main entrance of
shrine still known as Begami-Dalan. She also repaired the walls
around the shrine, probably renewed the Toshak-Khana, and
according to Bakhtawar Khan presented a silver railings around
the tomb, and all the commodities, and her personal staff for
Toshak-Khana, Farrash-Khana (furniture room) including the
chobdars and agardani (mace-bearer and Censer) etc. She also

1. Fardim-i-Salaatin, pp. 9-15
granted Budhware village for the dargah waqf.¹

Thus not only the Emperors but the ladies of harem, were also keen in the development of shrine, and in this process had influenced the working of the holy place.

In Auhada-i-Taubiyat there is a copy of farman of Shahjehan according to which seating arrangement of Sajjada Mutamwalli, Khadim, and other officials and religious dignitaries have been described and fixed, during ura and other mahfils (functions).²

Thus like his predecessors Shahjehan's keen interest and supervision in the internal affairs of dargah contributed for a peaceful, systematic and well organised working in the shrine. During this period the imperial authority had influenced in many channels of the dargah administration, and a number of the court etiquettes were introduced in the frame work of the shrine. Gradually the offices of Mutawwalli and Sajjada-Nashin became instrumental of Mughal hold over the administration of the shrine, while the khadims retained their hereditary independent status, in regard of their religious rites and functions, which they used to perform at the mazar (tomb).

Aurangzeb after his accession to the imperial throne

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in 1658, confirmed the old grants given in madad-i-maash by his ancestors. Regarding the new grants he assigned, it may be safely concluded that they were not very large, extending not beyond 30 bighas, and that too were meant generally for the maintenance of students, widows and other needy people.\(^1\)

Though he visited Ajmer thrice, as has been referred earlier, he showed no keen interest in the affairs of the shrine or khadims, but kept the status-quo maintained.\(^2\)

Besides his many nobles, Anrudh Singh ruler of Bundi, had also granted a village in his state to khadims. Governors of Ajmer and other nobles stationed at Ajmer visited shrine and participated in religious functions and ceremonies of that place. It is said that Aurangzeb, during one of his visits to the shrine, found the qawwals singing loudly, but he did not object to it, and even smiled.\(^3\) The sajjada Nashin used to visit court oftenly, while the khadims till now avoided this practice as much as they can.\(^4\) The sajjada or Diwan family, eager since Akbar's period, to gain their lost position and status, prepared two forged documents, claiming to have been issued by Aurangzeb on 26 Moharram 1070 AH/3 May 1659 and 17 Ramzan 1071/5 May 1661. But the name of the Emperor, on farman is Abul Adal Azizuddin Alamgir Badshah Gazi

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1. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 229-40
which was the title of Alamgir II, who ruled between 1754-1759, while Aurangzeb's title was Abul Zafar Muhammad Mohiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Padshah Ghazi. The other seal is of Wazir Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk Fateh Jang, probably Imadul Mulk the Wazir of Alamgir II. Moreover, the recipients of land are Pir Ghausuddin, descendants of Shaikh Najmuddin who was a contemporary of Muhammad Shah. Now these cheap tactics and dishonest and corrupt manners ultimately led to the corrupt practices in shrine during eighteenth century which will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

The Khadins on the other hand followed a new pattern (system) of sending the tabarrokat of shrine to Emperors, princes, and nobles, in order to establish a contact with the imperialists to counter the growing influence of Diwan or Sajjada and Mutawalli.

It is interesting to note, that Syed Muhammad Sajjada Nasin, during Aurangzeb's reign, has sent his two sons, viz. Sharifullah and Fakhruddin to court, in company of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jang Kokaltaash, in order to get mansab and rank for them. They were given a mansab of 150 and 100 zat respectively by the Emperor. The second son Fakhruddin, later became

2. Akhbaarat, 28 Shabaan, 36 RY/May 1693.
Sajjada at shrine, but soon was dismissed by Bahadur Shah.¹

The Khadims who refused to accept government jobs in Jahangir's reign, started serving the imperialists during this period, but only on religious posts. One Syed Ghulam Muhammad son of Syed Nathoo, acted as deputy amin of jaziya in some parganahs of sarkar-i-Ajmer in the 47 R.Y. of Aurangzeb.²

Thus, during the reign of Aurangzeb, no further huge grants were made, but on the other hand, dargah endowment villages were oppressed and ravaged by the rebels, resulting in the suspension of daily allowance etc. The imperial government had to pay Rs. 2,620 for the construction of a wheel for fetching water from the Jhalrah tank to the Haum (pond) of shrine.³ However, by the end of seventeenth century, it appears that the dargah of Khwaja Sahib had developed as one of the most prosperous religious institution of the country, due to the keen interest of the ruling elite. It was during this period, that the family of diwan increased its influence, by cultivating relations with ruling class, in order to re-establish their lost prestige and position. Forged documents had also been prepared, while the Khadims introduced the system of sending tabarook, becoming vakil (representative) of ruling elite, and even accepting government offices, though limited to religious posts, in order to counter the growing power and influence of Sajjada, who had become an imperial mansabdars.

1. Wazai Ajmer, pp. 217,435,446. Parmen-i-Salaatin, pp.228
2. Asanid-Us-Sanadid, pp. 253-55
Main Officials and important functionaries of Dargah

The Sajjada\textsuperscript{2} Nashin or the Diwanji of the Dargah:

In the sufi terminology the word of Sajjada\textsuperscript{2} Nashin, is applied to, and used exclusively for such a disciple, who was appointed Khalifa (successor) by his Pir (spiritual mentor). He not only received all the sacred tabarrukats (relics) from his master, but had to carry the organization of silsilah (sect) after his Pir's wisal (union with God).

A close study of the early Chishti saints of India, reveals the fact that none of these great shaikhs, had appointed his son as the sajjada\textsuperscript{2} Nashin or khalifa after him. It appears that the sons, descendants, and even the relatives of a number of saints, had claimed, and then slowly and surreptitiously, preserved sajjad\textsuperscript{2}i of the shrines of their ancestors and forefathers, exclusively for themselves. The position and claims to the sajjad\textsuperscript{2}i at the dargah of Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti has its own unique history. It has always been a bone of contention. The claim by one party, and its denial by the other, started after about three hundred years of the demise of Shaikh Moinuddin. This controversy has led many a scholar, writer and saint astray. It is, therefore, to be studied with caution, and needs utmost care to highlight the whole affair, in its historical perspective.

Khwaja Sahib's well known eldest son Khwaja Fakhruddin settled and died at Sarwar, a
village about forty miles away from Ajmer. The son of Shaikh Pakhruddin viz. Shaikh Hisamuddin, chose Sambhar (a place between Jaipur and Ajmer and famous for salt), as the head­quarter for his missionary activities. Khwaja Qayamuddin Baberbaal and Khwaja Moinuddin Khurd, the two famous grandsons of Khwaja Sahib again settled at Ajmer.

After the downfall of sultanate in the turbulent period of the early fifteenth century, the descendants of these two well-known successors of Khwaja Sahib, once again shifted to Mandu and Gujarat, the two neighbouring and flourishing muslim kingdoms, where muslim elite classes found peace and refuge.¹

When in 1455-56, Mehmud Khilji of Mandu occupied Ajmer he asked khwaja Qutubuddin alias, Chishti Khan, a well known descendant of Khwaja Sahib to accept Ajmer as his jagir. But Chishti Khan refused to stay at Ajmer, and accompanied the sultan to Mandu, where a big palace in his name, still reminds the visitors, about the glory and position he had attained as the commander of Khilji's forces.²

Mehmud Khilji appointed Khwaja Naimatullah as the Hakim of Ajmer, with the title of Saif Khan. He also appointed Gazi Idris, gazi of the place, and Shaikh Bayazid as the teacher at

¹ Akhbara-ul-Akhyar, pp. 53-54, 110-112.
² Maasir-i-Mahmood Shahi f 200Q-b, D.R. Patel, Manbho,
the madarsa (school) of shrine. Later, Shaikh Bayazid claimed to be a descendent of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. But his claim was stoutly opposed by the people of Ajmer – including the Muajars or the khadims of the shrine.

In the presence of Chishti Khan, the well-known descendent of Khwaja Sahib, Bayazid’s claim could not attract the attention of the people, but this controversy gave birth to the almost dead issue of the descendent/which remained a hot and cold issue for centuries.

From that time, the dispute was so much confused by the interested parties, that even scholars like Shaikh Abdul 'aq Dehalevi, were misled in giving vent to certain biases. Since then the descendants of Shaikh Bayazid or the other interested parties, continued claiming their descent from Khwaja Sahib, and by virtue of this alleged relation claimed sajjadqi (Spiritual headship) of the shrine.¹

Shaikh Hussain Ajmeri, who was serving as mutawwali (custodian) of the shrine, and held the charge of balghur-khana (grain house) was the next pretender who, in the time of Akbar, staked his claim to the succession of Khwaja Sahib on the false claim of his descent to the great SA from his son’s side.

¹ For details see: Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar, pp. 111-12
   Munshi Moinuddin Khan: Kitab-ut-Tehqiq Abdul Baari Mani: Jawab: Namah, pp. 45-49
   D.R. Patel: Mundy, pp 49, Plate IX. Moinul Auliya, pp. 24-33
   Hafiz Muhammad Husain: Tehqiqati Aulad-i-Khwaja. D. R. Patel in his book was unable to trace the identity of Chisht Khan, but had discussed details about this historic palace which lies above the sultan’s palace on a hilly track.
In 1570, when Akbar after the birth of Salim, visited the shrine of Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti, it was reported to him, that Shaikh Hussain in his capacity of Mutawwalli (superintendent) of shrine, had mis-appropriated large amounts of Nazars, and that he had told falsehood with regard to his descent.

As the dispute was outstanding since a long time, says Abul Fazal, therefore, His Majesty appointed trustworthy persons to enquire into the matter. After much investigation, it was found, that the claim of Shaikh Hussain, to the sonship of Khwaja Sahib was not genuine. Consequently, Akbar dismissed him from the post of Mutawwalliship and banished him to Bhakkhar. Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari, known for his scholarship and piety, was appointed Mutawwalli in his place.¹

Abdul Qadir Badayuni (followed by modern writer Dr. Abbas Rizvi) had used this issue to criticise Akbar, for his harsh attitude towards learned and holy man.² But these arguments are baseless, because Akbar had made full enquiry into the claim, and dismissed it at a time when he was very much attached and devoted to Khwaja Sahib after getting a son, which he considered due to the blessings of Khwaja Sahib.

² Some writers had mentioned that he claimed his descent from the daughter's side of Khwaja Sahib. Motamid Khan, Iqbal Namah, I-i, Jahangiri, p.478. Faizi Sirhindii, Akbar Namah, p.472.

Ahtar Abbas Rizvi, Religious and Intellectual History of Muslims in Akbar's Reign, 1556-1605, p. 168
The descendants and family members of Shaikh Hussain later, had charged Abul Fazal for hatching a conspiracy against their ancestor - Shaikh Hussain. But it should be noted that Abul Fazal was introduced to Akbar, by his brother Faizi, in 1574, four years after the episode of Shaikh Hussain's removal took place. Further none of the religious dignitaries of the period, or the elite section of Muslim and Rajputs, had ever shown any sympathy on the dismissal and punishment of this Shaikh Hussain setting aside the argument that Akbar, who was jealous of Shaikh's power and position punished him on that pretext. 1

Akbar's mother, Mariam Makani, on the request of Shaikh Hussain's mother, approached the Emperor for the release of Shaikh Ajmeri. But Akbar was determined not to allow him to return to Ajmer. His reply to Mariam Makani in this connection is significant. He said that the old man (Shaikh Hussain) will start the business of misappropriation all over again, as soon as he reaches Ajmer, and will also misguide a number of people, let him call his mother to Bhakkar. 2

2. Jawab Namah, pp. 63-67
But in 46 AH (1599-1600)/his reign Akbar, had become disinterested in the affairs of dargah of Ajmer, Shaikh Hussain somehow managed his release from the imperial prison, or got the charge of tawliyat ashkhana Lancer khana of shrine with instructions, to look after the recusals, and returned to Ajmer. But it seems that no farman was issued to him in which he was mentioned either sajjada Nashin or Nabira (descendant) of Khwaja Sahib, though many copies of royal decrees calling him descendant had been presented in Moinul Auliya by one of his descendant, Qazi Imamuddin Ali Khan, on the contrary Asanid-us-Sanadid shows many farmanas, which prove that during Akbar and Jehangir's reign, at a time two Mutawallies were appointed at the shrine, to keep a vigil and check over Shaikh Hussain's activities.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the descendants of Shaikh Hussain, tried their utmost to regain their position, and left no stone unturned to prove their blood relation to Khwaja Sahib. From the perusal of a number of documents of this period, it appears that the Mughal government in order to keep a control over the affairs of shrine of Khwaja Sahib, introduced a paid-mansab of Sajjada Nashin of the dargah. The successor of Akbar continued the practice

2. Moinul Auliya, pp. 66-75
Asanid-us-Sanadid, Jehangiri documents (farman) No.5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15. In one the copies of so called farman of Jehangir contained in Moinul Auliya, Shaikh Hussain had been mentioned Mutawalli of dargah.
of appointing, dismissing and patronizing the Sajjada-Nashin for their own interest, and according to their own perception and policies.

In the copies of the so called official orders, the word mansab-i-Sajjadgi had been frequently used, which clearly indicates that this had never been an independent spiritual, or hereditary post, but was an imperial office, the holder of which was assigned tankhawah-jagir in the same manner as it used to be awarded to other imperial mansabdars, nobles and officials.¹

Till then, the Sajjadas had no shares in Nazars, no authority over the dargah waqf and restricted right in the religious ceremonies of the shrine, on behalf of the emperor, in his absence. He was entitled as a state official, to preside the same mehil (mehilli mukh) held on every day night, and on other Urs along with Mutawalli and in company of Khadime and other religious dignitaries and imperial officers.²

But these Sajjadas who constituted a group of their own family members at Ajmer, were clever enough in establishing direct links with the members of royal house, including ladies, and other nobles of the Empire, in order to gain much

1. Paramin-i-Salaatin, pp. 9-10
influence and wealth to strengthen their power and position, and to raise their status. ¹

For instance, Syed Muhammad Sajjada Nashin, during Aurangzeb's period, not only visited/frequently, but had links with the matrons of royal harem. Once Aurangzeb had rebuked him, for supplying an mulet (taviz) to one of the mukhdarat (matrons) of harem. Once Princess Jahan Arrah, is said to have given him Rs. 500/- as inam during one of his visits to the royal court. ²

Syed Muhammad had also sent his two sons, in the company of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jung Kokaltaash, to the royal court, in pursuit of Royal Mansabs. His eldest son Syed Fakhruddin (who later succeeded him as Sajjadah, and then dismissed by Bahadur Shah), got a rank of 150 zat, while the younger one Syed Shariifullah got a rank of 100. ³

There are references that some Sajjadah Nashins after their dismissal from the post, accepted imperial jobs e.g. Shaikh Moinuddin, who was appointed Sajjada Nashin in place of Wali Muhammad by Shahjehan in 1629, later worked as the Waqai-Navis, of the province of Ajmer in 1052 AH/1642-43. ⁴

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¹ RADSHAH-NAMA(W) Vol. I, 73 b, Vol. II f 929, Shaikh Alauddin who held the office of Sajjada-Nashin under Shahejehan, visited court, and was granted robe of honour and elephants etc.


³ Waqai-Ajmer, pp.217, 435, 446, 450-51. Syed Muhammad, had even allowed the burial of the relatives of Mughal nobles in his family graveyard, to appease ruling class.

⁴ Faramin-i-Salaatin, pp. 9-15.
It seems that it was a well planned policy of the family of so called Sajjadas, to become a part of Mughal administration, so that they may get an upper hand in the dargah affairs and suppress the other functionaries, such as Mutawwali and khadims. A careful study of the copies of the documents related to them, preserved and contained in Moinul Auliya and Faramin-i-Salaatin, Compells to believe, that they even fabricated and forged Farman (Royal decrees). That was the main reason, that Mr. H.E.P. Jolly, (I.C.S) judicial Commissioner, Ajmer - Marwara in his judgement, in first appeals 8, 9 and 15 to 18 of 1931, expressed grave doubts about the genuineness of a copy of a Shahjahani Farman, alleged to have been issued to Sajjada Nashin, and on the basis of which they staked their claim in Nazar. 1

Thus, by the end of seventeenth century, the Imperial government operated through Sajjada-Nashin and Mutawallis in the affairs of dargah and had established a firm grip over it.

In the beginning of eighteenth century, in 1710, Bahadur Shah had dismissed Syed Fakhruddin, the Sajjada of shrine, on the charge of using improper language against him.

1. A number of copies of the alleged farman are full of mistakes in regard of dates, names of Emperor and officials etc., thus create doubt about the genuineness of these documents. Moinul Auliya, pp. 75-83
He appointed Shaikh Sirajuddin, a cousin of the dismissed sajjada, and transferred all tankhawah jagir etc. to him, which was in lieu of that office. Gaihlota village in parganah Naraina, yielding a revenue of Rs. 1,000/- was also granted to the new sajjada besides Rs. 1,000/- from dargah treasury as salary and five annas daily allowance from dargah waqf as madad-i-maash. Now, this order of Emperor clearly shows that the sajjada Nashin had become a paid servant of the imperial government. It is significant to note that for the first time the sajjada had been paid money from dargah treasury. Moreover, Abdul Qadir informs, the sajjada on appointment, used to pay more than a thousand rupees, to the Mughal rulers and Marathas as peshkash. This also indicates that he was the government servant.

On 14 Ramzan 1132/April 1720, after the death of Shaikh Sirajuddin, Mir Ahmad Khan sadr of Ajmer, recommended the name of his son Syed Muinuddin for this post, which was accepted by Emperor Muhammad Shah.

1. Though according to one of the copy of Jahangiri farman, it appears that Gaihlota had been granted to Shaikh Uluddin, a nephew of Shaikh Hussain Ajmeri as madad-i-maash in 1036 AH/1626 yielding a sum of Rs. 750/- at that time. Later on, it had been claimed that during Aurangzeb's period on 21 Rajab 1076/21 January 1665, Syed Muhammad Sajjad was given Gehlota yielding a revenue of Rs. 2000/- as conditional madad-i-maash, probably on his appointment. After Syed Muhammad, when Syed Fakhruddin was appointed sajjada by Bahadur Shah on 25 Jamadi ul-Awwal/1 September 1709, he was granted this jagir. On his dismissal, when Syed Sirajuddin was given the charge of this office, instead of the remaining Rs. 2000/- only 1000 had been granted to him from this land, and another Rs. 1000/- was ordered to be paid from the treasury of shrine. This was a significant change in the position of Sajjad. Fara'in-i-Salaatin, pp. 22-24. Wazai Abdul Qadir Khani, pp. 197-98. Moin-ul-Auliya, pp. 71-73

But in 10 R.Y. (1727–28) of Muhammad Shah, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan, was serving as the sajjada-Nashin of shrine.¹

After the death of Muhammad Shah, when Raja Bakhat Singh held Ajmer, he appointed Himmat Ali and Waris Ali one after another, as the sajjadas of the shrine. But as they were alleged to be the sons of bond-maid, Ahmad Shah dismissed them and appointed Diwan Imamuddin Khan as sajjada Nashin.²

During this period the whole family of sajjadas called Diwanji’s family, or Pirzadas, fiercely contended for appointment, and even for shares in 15 annas daily allowance, from dargah waqf. There are a number of documents contained in Moinul Aulia, which throw considerable light on the quarrels and disputes of the so called sajjadas and their family members.

There are copies of some other documents which tend to suggest that both Alamgir II and Shah Alam had granted lands and stipends in madad-i-maash to the sajjada-nashin and their family members, though dates and seals on some of them are erratic and misleading. The sajjada nashin and his relatives were often unscrupulous and greedy and they indulged in intrigues against each other, for obtaining small material benefits

¹. *Asanid-us-sanadid*, pp. 301.
beside the post of sajjadgi.1

Things degenerated to such low depths in the heydays of the Marathas, that they felt contented with whatever share in the income from endowment was given to them by the rulers. A number of pirzadas made it a point to get allowances from dargah waqf and spared no efforts to get these petty allowances made a hereditary privileges of their families.2

It should be noted that the status and position of Sajjada Nashin and Mutawwalli in regard of dargah reached its zenith during the Maratha period. The Sajjada2 during the later half of eighteenth century fully exploited the loose administration of the Deccani and made them to believe that he was in fact the head of the shrine. On some occasions it seems,

1. Moinul-Auliva, pp. 89-98

There are a number of copies of such alleged documents, which has been published in the above mentioned book. For instance, Mir Abdul Qadir, Mutawwalli recommended that 8 annas per day allowance should be fixed for Muhammad Hassan, a cousin of Sirajuddin Sajjada in Zil Hij 1131 AH/October 1719, which was accepted by the Emperor Muhammad Shah.

Bibi Namal Daulet etc., relatives of Syed Asadullah who also belonged to the family of Diwans were granted 22 bighas of land in Haveli Ajmer in Moharram 1139 AH/September 1726. 15 annas daily allowance from the waqf of shrine was granted to Syed Zahiruddin etc., another group of pirzadas, by Muhammad Shah in his 23 R.Y/1742.

Alamgir II granted village Badgaon yielding a revenue of Rs. 500 to Pir Ghayasuddin etc., relatives of Shaikh Najmuddin, in place of Asghar Ali Khan etc., another party of pirzadas in 1170/1758, though the year had been mentioned as 1070 in Faramin-i-Salaatin, pp. 16-17.

2. See Appendix No. C. The highest amount of Rs. 355/- was always taken by some member of pirzadah's family. Besides it, other pirzadahs were also getting allowances
that they had even bribed the money minded rulers, for getting their demands fulfilled and accepted. Molvi Abdul Qadir stated that even the Marathas had kept the practice of getting more than Rs. 1000 as nazar from sajjadas following the practice of Mughals.

Two copies of the so-called farman of Alamgir II and Shah Alam, if believed genuine, suggest that Syed Imam-ud-din, the sajjada nashin, was able to get Ararka village in Haveli Ajmer, yielding a revenue of Rs. 1500 yearly as inam and altamgha from Alamgir II in his 5 R.Y. He was again successful in getting the villages of Gagwana, Thari, Nahd, Rampura, also in parganah Ajmer, yielding revenues of Rs. 2000 per annum, as inam from Shah Alam in his 11 R.Y. 2

Further it has also been claimed till now, 3 that on the request of Syed Imamuddin, diwan and Sajjada Nashin, Emperor Shah Alam around 1184/1770-71 had granted him, Hockpura, and Kishanpura, the two villages of darqah endowment in lieu of his rozinah from the shrine. But strangely even the copy of this alleged important farman had not been included in Moinul Auliya, the sole book, containing nearly all the

1. Auhada-i-Tawliyat, p.15. Wazai Abdul Qadir Khani, pp.197-98
copies of documents alleged to have been issued to this family of sajjadas. Even Molvi Bashiruddin, who had received copies of all these documents, from a diwan of his time, was not given the copy of this royal order. The simple reason for this omission seems to be the fear of exposure of forgery. Baari Maani, who found the copy of this so called farman in the register of jagirats etc, had successfully challenged the and argued the authenticity of/copy of this farman. He had pointed out two wrong names of Shah Alam, which had been mentioned in his seal wrong dates of his accession, and had found mistakes in R.Y. and Hijri dates as well.  

But these villages were in the possession of the diwan till recent times. Moreover, taking advantage of their position and power during this period, under mysterious circumstances the sajjadas, who assumed the title of Khan, compelled the Haft-Baridaran (Seven representatives of Khadim) to sign an agreement in 1227 AH/1715, by which the Sajjada-Nashin was entitled to get half of the Nazar presented by the visitors, at the foot side of Khwaja Sahib's mazar (tomb) within the

1. Jawab Nameh, pp. 56-60. Further in the modern period actually jagirdar of these places (except from diwan family) was considered Diwan of dargah as has been specifically mentioned in the Regulations. Hokran, Kishanpura, and Dantrah, which were given to the office bearers of the dargah in lieu of the perquisites attached to the office. The Ajmer Regulations and Notifications, Vol. II, H to L, p. 566.

2. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 115

The khadim in 1821 submitted a petition that Hokran and Kishanpura these two villages of dargah had been usurped by the diwan of shrine. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 261.
dome. It was for the first time in the history of dargah, that a sajjada or diwan, got some shares in nazara, and got an agreement signed by the sarghanahs (Heads) of the khadims. It was the greatest success gained by sajjada nashin, which had strengthened their position and had raised their socio-economic status. But inspite of all these efforts the divans of shrine were generally hard pressed in money matters specially during the Marathas rule.

When Diwan Mohtashim Ali died, in 1818 he was heavily indebted to Mahajans of city. His son Mehd Ali Khan, had to mortgage his lands on ijara to Gulabdas Mahajan, so that he may recover his loan and interest. It is pity that person of such a high position, had to depend dargah treasury on festivals and was supplied meat, condiments and other things on Id-dy day.

During the reign of Akbar Shah II, Diwan Mehd Ali Khan was censured, and even ordered for punishment by the Mughal ruler, when he found the sajjada nashin involved in case of removing the ghilap (velvet cloth sheets for the grave) presented by the Emperor. Akbar II wrote to Major Nathaniel Alves, through Resident of Delhi, that Diwan Mehd Ali Khan deserves more punishment, because he as a servant of the Government, committed such a heinous act.

Later Akbar Shah II appointed his own son Mirza Muhammad Shah Taimur Bahadur as the Mutawwalli of the shrine.

1. Magdi Abdul Qadir Khan, pp. 198, 274-74, Dargah Files: No. 8-B-1, 33.
2. Shugge Mashmula Misal No. 2/250 (Jawab Namah, p. 44)
and appointed diwan Syed Mehd Ali Khan Sajjada Nashir as Naib Mutawalli to assist the prince. This incident clearly shows the false claims of the Sajjada in their true colours.1

Thus, by playing dirty tricks, and by fabricating documents, and forged genealogies, in order to establish their claims and proving their relation to Khwaja, the family of Sajjadas were able to gain their last status and position during eighteenth century. The ignorant and corrupt officials accepted all these documents as genuine and confirmed grants and other rights in their favour.

The practice of fabricating documents, and false genealogies, grew to a large extent during the first quarter of nineteenth century and the early period of British rule. The acceptance of these false documents ultimately upset the old proprietary tenures and created new rights in land and offering at the shrine.

Abdul Qadir Khan, the famous author of Wagai, who held the office of Amin of dargah in 1819, reported the following facts in regard of the position of diwan:

1. Shuqqah/ Moinul Auliya, pp. 107-111
"Briefly it will be observed from the sanada that the office of diwan was not hereditary. It is an office which is your honour's gift. As the last diwan died in the time of sarkar (British government), a dispute had arisen over the post between the parties. Your honour may confer it on any one considered by your honour worthy of it, and with whom the public and khuddam are pleased, and who follows the way of Musalman".

He further remarks that Sajjada-Nashin did not exist before that event (Shaikh Hussain episode in Akbar's period) .... and tawliyat was confined to the party of pirzadas ... Akbar dismissed Khwaja Hussain from tawliyat (superintendentship), as his descent from Khwaja Sahib was not proved. ... from the time of Emperor Jahangir and Shahjahan Sajjada Nashin appears in sanada which also show that certain persons were dismissed from the post, as they were descendants of bond-maids. The Sajjada Nashin ... was merely an office ... whose appointment was a gift of the kings.¹

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¹ Report of Abdul Qadir, Amin-i-Darugah, dt. 28 September, 1819, (Kitabul Tehqiq), (English version), pp. 39-40

Letter of Mr. Wilder, dated 5 October, 1819.

In this letter Mr. Wilder had stated that earlier the Sajjadah and mutawwalli were appointed on the basis of their religious knowledge and piousness but now it is difficult to ascertain these qualifications hence with whom the followers of Chishti sect and khadim will agree he will got appointment of Sajjadah.
The Mutawwalli (custodian/superintendent) of the dargah:

Mutawwalli actually means the trustee, or custodian, or the superintendent, of a religious and charitable place. According to N.A. Siddiqi, "the madad-i-meash lands at the parganah level were administered by mutawwallis." The caretaker of mosques etc., has also been mentioned as mutawwalli.

But in the case of the mutawwalli of dargah at Ajmer, he had not only to deal with the land grants, but also look after the entire establishment of the shrine. It was his duty to ensure the regular payments of salaries of dargah officials, and cash stipends fixed by the state to the recipients. He was further required to superintend the spending of income from endowments on heads of expenditure, as specified in the grants. With regard to the condition and position of the assignees, he was to check the records and maintain a detailed information about the payment of dues, the doings of the payee, and their stay or migration. As he was also incharge of the langar-khana (free kitchen) therefore, sometimes he had been styled as darogha-i-bulghur khana (grain house).

1. Mughal Revenue Administration, p. 131.
2. Wazat Ajmer, pp. 215, 239-40
   Ahada-i-Tauliyat (Preface) pp. 1-32
3. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 118-28, 157-58, 179, 271, 284-87, 322-23
   Wazat Ajmer, pp. 30, 32; Akbarrat, dt. 5 Ramzan, 1125/2 RY of Farrukhsaiyar, 5 Sept., 1713.
It is difficult to ascertain whether prior to the Mughal period, the office of mutawwalli had come into existence as there is no reference available in this regard.

Shaikh Hussain Ajmeri seems to be the first mutawwalli of the Mughal period, appointed and dismissed by Akbar. Shaikh Fatehullah, a famous religious personality of Akbar's time, who belonged to the khadim community, was the other local person who held this post. After that, till the second half of the eighteenth century, none of the local persons held this post, which was always held by an imperial mansabdar. It is interesting to note, that the famous historian of Akbar's period, Abdul Qadir Badayuni was also keen for holding this coveted post. But Akbar, shrewdly declined Badyuni's request.

During the rule of Jahangir and Shahjehan, it appears that at one and the same time, more than one mutawwalli was appointed at the shrine.

During Shahjehan's reign the office of mutawwalli of the shrine was combined with the other offices of the Empire.

1. Akbar Namah, pp. 510-11, Moinul-Auliya, pp. 66-67, Prof. Irfan Habib seems unsure about the appointing authority of the mutawwalli of the shrine, as he remarks that "Although this is not stated, the mutawwalli was probably an official appointed by the Emperor; I Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707), pp. 313 (FN)

2. Aasanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 9-10

3. Muntakhib-ut-tawarikh, p. 415

For instance, in 1657, Sadiq Muhammad Khan, who was appointed Bakhshi and Magal Navis of Ajmer, was given additional charge of the mutawwalliship of the shrine.¹ Later this office was generally combined with the office of sadar of the province. During the closing years of Aurangzeb’s reign, Syed Saadullah, Shaikh Muhammad Sayeed, and Ali Ahmad Khan etc, held the office of sadar-i-subah, and mutawwalli of the shrine together.²

This was probably done deliberately to have a check over the so called sajjada-Nashin’s activities, and to maintain discipline and order in the shrine, where diverse interests had emerged, and clashed on financial and social issues. But it should be noted that the mughal officials serving as mutawwalli had no authority in religious rites, and practices at the shrine. His sole privilege, in this regard was to supervise and preside the same-mahfil (qawwals gathering), and fateha ceremony on every Thursday night, and on various occasions, along with other officials and functionaries.³

1. Padshah Namah(W), Vol.I, pp. 324-25. During the later period of Aurangzeb’s reign a number of muftasibs in subah Ajmer were also given charge of mutawwalli-ship of the mosques. Magal Ajmer, pp. 215, 235-40.


3. Auhda-i-Tauliyat, pp. 30-31. Shahjehan is said to have issued farmans in regard of the sitting positions of sajjada-nashin, mutawwalli, and other imperial officials, besides khadima, and other religious dignitaries, and maulud khwans, Huffaz, and qawwals, in the mahfils of Thursday nights, and on occasions of Urs of Khwaja Sahib, and other saints. This same-mahfil, and its composition, seems to be influenced by Mughal court etiquette. For example, the use of dalbadal (special tents) over the officials, and khadima, services of chobdars, (mace-bearers) dressed in typical Mughal style, and other decorations, and customs, clearly indicate the influence of mughal court. Akbar during his regular visits to shrine, had introduced this style of mahfil, and had made it a permanent feature of the shrine. Muntakhab-ul-Tawariikh, pp. 200-201

Thus his functions have been restricted to control and superintend the administration of the sacred place. Some of the mutawwallis of this period had gained a reputation of being honest and just in their performances, while some of them became devotionally attached to Khwaja Sahib, and always remembered the days, they had spent serving in the shrine, and the company of the learned Khadis, they had enjoyed during their tenure.

Sabir Ali, a mutawwalli of the shrine during the reign of Bahadur Shah, seems to be the first who went in advance to receive the emperor, when he was moving towards Ajmer in 1708. During Bahadur Shah’s reign the office of mutawwalli and sadar was separated. Moreover, for the appointment of muhtasib and teacher at shrine, Sabir Ali, the mutawwalli had sent his recommendation to court, with the other imperial officials.

The Mutawwalli generally used to send his agents, known as shurfas or amins for the assessment and measurement of the madad-i-maash and endowment land. For example, Samundar Khan who held the office of mutawwalli in the reign of Farrukhsiyar

1. Muhammad Raza who held the office of mutawwalli during the early years of Aurangzeb’s reign had sent a letter full of devotion to Abul Maali a khadim expressing his emotions, Syed Saadullah who served on this post between 1678-80 had been lauded and praised for his excellent arrangements and administration of the shrine. Jawab Namah, pp. 83-84. Wagai Ajmer, sh. 85, 283-81, 425, 436.

2. Bahadur Shah Namah, f. 89a.

3. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 266-270.
sent his amin to measure the cultivable land assigned to the khadim-community by the Emperor, so that he may divide the land assigned to them.\(^1\)

There are references which suggest that Mutawwalli was entitled to have his Naib (deputy), who helped him in his routine work, and looked after the affairs of shrine, in his absence. When Mir Salah Khan was appointed mutawwalli in 1756, he requested Syed Hassan Ali a khadim to act as his deputy and look after the affairs of dargah.\(^2\)

The significant change, that took place during the later half of eighteenth century, was the frequent appointment of khadims on the post of mutawwalli. As had been mentioned earlier, Shaikh Fatehullah, was the first from khadim community who held the office of tauliyat of shrine during the reign of Akbar. After him, till the appointment of Syed Muhammad Hayat around 1757-58, for about two centuries, perhaps no khadim, was appointed on this post. It is interesting to note that another khadim Syed Muhammad Umar served as deputy mutawwalli during Syed Hayat’s tenure between 1770-81. It has also been found that Khalilul Rehman and Ataullah, both khadims, jointly held the office of mutawwalli of shrine, during the period under review. In 1785 Ataullah and Muhammad Umer, two khadims, were again found jointly holding the office of Tauliyat.\(^3\)

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3. Auhda-l-Tauliyat, pp.36-38,40,43. Rajasthan District Gazetteer: Ajmer, p. 626; Muhammad Umer has been mentioned Mutawwalli of shrine in 1766, while Muhammad Hayat, as has been claimed, was appointed mutawwalli by Jankoji Rao Sindhia, sometime between his visits of Rajputana (1755-61), most probably in 1758. Auhda-l-Tauliyat, document No.27, pp.72-74.
Mir Azimullah, one of the descendants of the aforesaid mutawwallis, in his petition to Mr. Wilder in 1818, had asserted that for the last seventy years he, and his ancestors viz., Mir Muhammad Hayat, Mir Ataullah, and Mir Muhammad Umar, held the office of mutawwalli, generation after generation, with a brief gap of three years (1787-90) when due to the occupation of Ajmer by Rathors, he was compelled to migrate to Kishangarh for safety. He further reported that during this intervening period of three years Habib Shah, was appointed mutawwalli while, Mir Zulfiqar Ali, the son of Saj'ada nashin Khan acted as his deputy. But when Mir Azimullah returned, from Kishangarh in 1790 (the year when Marathas recovered Ajmer from Rathors) he was re-appointed mutawwalli, got Dant-rah as his jagir in lieu of daily allowances. But due to the intrigues of enemies, he was again dismissed and Shyam Rao probably the first Hindu, was appointed on this post, in the closing years of eighteenth century.

Mir Azimullah, however, was successful in retaining the office during the period of Daulat Rao Sindhia in the early years of nineteenth century.

He further acquired Dant-rah village, from dargah endowment as his jagir in lieu of his daily allowances for

1. Auhda-i-Tauliyat, document No.22, pp. 88,93-94
In December 1791, Daulat Rao Sindhia granted Dantrah to him as jagir in lieu of rozinah (daily allowance)
mutawwalliship from dargah treasury.¹

A copy of *takeed-patra*, (instruction letter) of Daulat Rao Sindhia dt. 1218/1804, addressed to Raj Shree Balaji Rao Ingalia, the subehdar of Ajmer records that Dantrah village in *parganah haveli* Ajmer, which was *waqf* for the shrine, was assigned to Mir Azimullah as *jagir* in lieu of his daily allowance, and that no one should interfere in, or dispute with the payment.²

By another *Sanad* in Marathi, Daulat Rao Sindhia approved the appointment of Mir Aziz Ali, son of Mir Azimullah as *mutawwalli* after his father. He further ordered that the office of *mutawwalliship* will remain hereditary in the family of Mir Azimullah, and that no new *sanad* shall be needed in this regard. He further stated that village Dantrah had been permanently and exclusively granted to Mir Azimullah and his successors, in lieu of *Mutawwalli's Rozinah* from the dargah *waqf*.³

But soon after the occupation of Ajmer by British in 1818, a suit was filed by Nabi Bakhsh, and Dilwar Ali, who challenged the position of Mir Azimullah, and his descendants, on the ground, that the post of *mutawwalli* was neither hereditary, nor was the exclusive privilege, of one family or group,

1. *Auhda-i-Tawliyat*, document No. 13
2. *Auhda-i-Tawliyat*, document No. 13, p. 46
because in the past different individuals were appointed on this post, who belonged to various families and groups of people.1

Diwan Mehdi Ali Khan, who was opposed tooth and nail to Azimullah's appointment, supplied a list of the mutawwallis from Akbar's period, which included a few spurious names, on the basis of forged sanads.2 This controversy for the time being ended when in 1627, Akbar Shah II appointed his own son Mirza Muhammad Taimur as the mutawwalli after rejecting the orders of Daulat Rao Sindhia. He even appointed Diwan Mehdi Ali Khan, the so-called Sajjada Nashin as his deputy.3 This appointment cleared the whole picture and proved that in the presence of a person of royal blood the Sajjada Nashin had to act as his deputy. Thus strengthening our view that the office of Sajjada Nashin of shrine was an imperial office, rather than a spiritual post, and that Sajjada Nashin represented the state in ceremonies, in the absence of emperors and members of royal blood.

Thus, during the Mughal period in general, and in eighteenth century, in special, the office of mutawwalli of

1. Auhda-i-Tawliyat, pp. 49-52
2. Auhda-i-Tawliyat, document No. 18, pp. 53-54
3. Farmanin-i-Salaatin, pp. 36-39

Molvi Abdul Qadir Khan had mentioned that around 1819, a small son of Prince Mirza Jahangir was appointed Mutawwalli and Diwan Mehdi Ali Khan was given the charge of deputy Mutawwalliship. Wagai Abdul Qadir Khan, p. 226
dargah passed through many vicissitudes and finally rose to its height, when prince Taimur Shah was appointed on the post, and Sajjada Nashin diwan Mehdi Ali Khan, who claimed to be the spiritual head and the descendant of Khwaja Sahib, acted and worked as his (mutawalli's) subordinate.

Other Imperial Officials of Shrine:

Beside Sajjada nashin and mutawalli, the other imperial officials of shrine, appointed and dismissed by the government were mushriks and amins. There was a huge establishment of shrine, and a number of people were also appointed by these government officials for the service in the shrine. This includes Peshkars, Aqār Nāvis, Mutassadis, Ganwangan, Potedars and Shurfas of mutawalli, mutassadi of diwanji. They all were related to the waqf endowment or jagirs of shrine. Jamadar, Farrash, Hakim, chobdars, bellringers, drum beaters (naggarchi), qawwals and maulud-khwans (recitor of naats and fateha), saggas (water carrier), Daroghas, Bavarchas were directly related to the administration and supervision of the shrine.

Tehvildars, Moharirs, treasurers etc., were those who used to serve at the shrine's office, under mutawalli. All these officials and servants of shrine were the legacy of time, and of mughal administration, as a number of these employees, in the positions and titles, were also found at royal
palace and court. As had been mentioned earlier, Jehan Arrah daughter of Shah Jehan, had once given all her Shagird peshe (menial retinue) staff for the shrine, to serve there and a number of their descendents have been found serving till to-day.¹

The Khadims or the Mujavars:

The word Mujavar is generally used for a person, who is attached to a shrine, in order to perform religious rites. The word khadim means one who serves or attends, but in sufi terminology, specially in chishti order, it implies for a disciple, chosen to serve his pir in his daily life, and supervise the arrangements of food and lodging, for other disciples, and visitors, living in the khangah.

By virtue of his nearness to the pir, he enjoyed a unique position in the khangah and in recognition of his devotion, and self sacrifice, could be nominated as his spiritual successor (Khalifa). H. Lammens is of the view that “prior to the twelfth century, every shaikh trained directly, by his teachings and mode of life the disciples (Khuddam), who congregated around him. Between master and disciples there existed only a bond of obedience strictly personal.”¹

Shaikh Shiliabuddin suharwardi, a famous saint of the

¹. For details see: Dargah Files Nos.10,21,39,40,55,550,561, 562. 629, 638, 658, 682 APPENDIX : 'C'

12th century, who had devoted a chapter on the importance and functions of khadim, in his famous book Awariful-maarif, is of the opinion that ".......... a khadim also works for the sake of God. However, a Shaikh holds the position of nearness to God and a khadim the position of exalted one."¹ Sheikh Ali Hijveri, another distinguished writer, and saint, is of the view, that whenever a person becomes disciple (murid) of a Shaikh, he had to serve the people of Khanqah, atleast for three years, with great dedication considering himself as khadim, and others as makhdoom (masters).² Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, the founder of Chishti silsilah (sect) in India had himself served his master, Khwaja Usman-i-Harvani for years with great dedication and devotion, and always felt proud of it.³

In the history of Chishti order of India, two khadim-i-khas of the great Shaikhs have attained such a high position. One of them was Khwaja Pakhruddin Gardezi also known as Maulana Ahmad, who actually was the Pir-Shai or biradar-i-tarigat (spiritual brother) of khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, but had spent his whole life serving as a khadim-khas of the great Shaikh,

¹. Shihabuddin Suhrwardi: Awariful-maarif (Urdu Trl.), p.131
². Sheikh Ali Hijveri: Kashful-Mehjoob (Urdu Trl.), p.84
³. Siyar-ul-Auliya, p. 46
and the other was Maulana Badruddin Ishaq, the famous khadim-i-khas, khilifa, and son-in-law of Fariduddin Ganj Shaker.¹

Khwaja Fakhruddin Gardezi, accompanied khwaja Moinuddin Chishti to India, and according to the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar, was unique in devotion and dedication to khwaja Sahib. The great khwaja often used to say, that our fakhr (pride) is due to Fakhruddin, or Fakhruddin is our pride. He is stated to have written the sayings of saint which is not available.² It is also said, that khwaja Moinuddin Chishti out of love to this great personality, named his eldest son as Fakhruddin, after the name of Shaikh Fakhruddin Gardezi. The Syedzadegan group, of the present community of khadims residing around the shrine at Ajmer, relate their descent to Syed Fakhruddin Gurdezi, the khadim-i-khas of Khwaja Sahib, they following the example of their illustrious ancestor, continued generation after generation serving the shrine and guiding visitors. Thus their

¹. Maulana Badruddin Ishaq, was one of the greatest scholar of his times. After becoming the murid of Fariduddin Ganj Shaker, he spent his whole life in serving his master, who married his daughter to the Maulana. For his life and works see: Maulana Badruddin Ishaq, the khadim, khilifa, and son-in-law of Baba Farid; Article presented by me in Baba Farid Seminar, held at Ajmer in 1975, K.A. Nizami: Life of Saiikh Fariduddin Ganj Shaker, p. 72 also

². Shaikh Jamali, had mentioned the name of Fakhruddin, who was a disciple and khadim of Shaikh Usman-i-Harvani, the pir (spiritual mentor) of Khwaja Sahib. Gulzar-i-Abrar, f. 20 Siyarul-Arifin, p. 8 Tariikh-i-Parishta, p.37; Baari Maani; Khwaja Fakhruddin Gurdezi, Ajmer, 1928
association with the shrine is very old, and since the demise of the saint, they have stayed there, under very difficult and trying conditions, prior to the establishment of mughal empire in India. Another group of *khadims* are of *Shaikh zadaha*, who claim their descent to shaikh Muhammad Yaadgar, another disciple of the Khwaja Sahib. But in documents they had been mentioned descendants of *Shaikh Theka* or Theka *valan* - who seems a local convert, and by virtue of his local influence, established his position during the fifteenth century. These *shaikh zadaha* strengthened their position, by marrying their daughters to *Syed zadqaan*, and their nearly one third share in *Nazar* agreement, and two days out of a week, in key keeping, further supports our view, that under the chaotic condition, after the fall of Delhi Sultanate, the *Syed zadqaan* group of *khadims*, established matrimonial relations with the local people, to meet the challenge of outside attack, and therefore agreed to give shares in *Nazar*, to the family now known as *shaikh zadqaan*.

In the earliest available agreement of *Nazar*, their share had not been mentioned, but in the later agreements it has been specified. They even reside far from the shrine, near *Purani mandi* (old grain market) in a *mohallah* known as *Theka-walan*. Further it should also be noted that this group of *Khadi* did not enjoy huge shares in *madad-i-meash* lands, during the Mughal period. All these above mentioned facts indicate that they always
held secondary position, and status to Syedzadgaan khadims.¹

During the early three centuries (1235-1560) after the demise of Khwaja the khadims faced a number of troubles, trial and tribulations, and suffered hardships, and poverty but did not leave Ajmer, as others did, and even the direct descendants of Shaikh Mo’inuddin Chishti migrated to Mandu and Gujarat for safety, security, and livelihood.

The Emperors, nobles, and the saints who visited Ajmer, during this turbulent and critical period, of the history of Ajmer, had always found the Mujavars or khadims at the shrine.² Shaikh Jamali, who visited Ajmer in the closing years of fifteenth century (1596-1600), remarks that Mujavars at shrine are busy in performing religious duties and receive the whole Nazars offered by pilgrims. He was very much impressed by Maulana Masood, Mujavar, an old man of eighty years of age, who according to him was a pious man, and a great scholar. But it seems that the group of those, who was always keen to proclaim itself


2. Tarikh-i-Mehmud Shahi: ff. 200ab. After the capture of Ajmer by Sultanate Mehmud Khilji of Mandu in 1455 Mujavars or khadims of shrine were given stipends and grants. Shaikh Shahul Hameed of Nagore (Madras) who visited Ajmer in 937/1529 found a group Mujavars came in advance to receive him, Nawahid-ul-Majeed-fi-Manaqib-ul-Shahul Hameed, p. 52.
the descendants of Khwaja Sahib, most probably, had misinformed Shaikh Jamali, who had stayed with them, during his visit of Ajmer, that Maulana Masood was the son Shaikh Ahmad Majed, who was the descendant of Qazi Shamsuddin Shaibani Dehalvi. Infact Masud was the descendant of Syed Fakhruddin Gardezi, also known as Maulana Ahmad, Khadim of Khwaja Sahib.

However, when royal patronage of khadims under the Mughals, improved their socio-economic condition, other people became jealous of them, and started attempts to dislodge them, from the dargah, forgetting their excellent past performances. Shaikh Fatehullah, Shaikh Daniyal, Syed Alam, and Syed Mansur were the few prominent khadims or Mujavars of the shrine, who enjoyed a respectable position and status, during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir.

Ba'ayuni states that Akbar had developed cordial relations with the Mujavars of shrine, and often used to discuss the affairs of religion and sufism, with them. Thus, it will not be wrong.

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1. Shaikh Ahmad Majed Shaibani, who had been claimed the father of Masud by Jamali, was a well known descendant of Qazi Shamsuddin Dehalvi. He was a famous saint of fifteenth century, and was a contemporary of Maulana Masood. His daily routine at Ajmer, indicates that he was an unmarried person. Jamali had confused him, with Maulana Ahmad a khadim and a contemporary, of Khwaja Meinuddin Chishti. He himself had admitted, that from the writings of Maulana Ahmad the khadim he found some details about khwaja Ajmeri's marriages etc. Saiyar-ul-Aarifin, p.16. Indian Muslims, pp.294-95 Molvi Rehman Ali - Tazkira-i-Ulama-i-Hind, pp.85-87.

to say, that the religious perception and attitude of Akbar were considerably influenced by the Chishti ideals of liberalism and humanism, which were always preached and were adopted by the khadims of the shrine, in their practical life. Akbar seems to be the first person, who granted three revenue free villages of Beer and Nandla to khadims.

Jahangir, initially followed the policy of his father, in this connection, and had allowed Shaikh Hashim, etc., the sons of shaikh Fatehullah, mutawwalli, to retain Nandla village as jagir, and had even allowed the revenues of 1000 bighas of land of this village, for one day urs expenditure, though Shaikh Hashim was not appointed mutawwalli. But when he arrived at Ajmer, he found a few khadims did not bother to visit him and some of their youngsters refused to enter the imperial services, therefore he ceased the whole land of these villages. After great efforts, and struggle by the khadim community, he regranted half of the whole land, and that, too, only to those who appeared before him.

Shahjehan went a step further, when he allowed that the descendents of a khadim may retain the whole of land, and according to the old rule, half of the deceased's share, should not be
taken back. Aurangzeb's not only retained these grants, but further bestowed few land tracts, to some of the important, pious, and learned khadims, of the shrine.¹

As regarding the nazur offered at the shrine, it has already been stated, that it was the exclusive right of khadims. A number of disputes, arose during the period, of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjehan, amongst them, but all these were amicably settled by themselves, without any interference from outside. For example, in 1584, the khadims themselves reached an agreement by which shares in nazur to the various groups of khadims had been finalised, according to old customs, and traditions. In this mutual agreement no external element participated, and no right of any other official was mentioned.²

As has been stated earlier, that during Jahangir's reign in 1614, these shares were again re-organized, on the basis of increased population, among the share holders.

1. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 5-6, 11-13, 19-20, 30-36, 44-50, 179-83.

By a mutual agreement in 1584, the khadims decided that the whole amount of nazur deposited in gandeel (lamp) will be divided in 5 equal shares. Out of which, 1½ portion will be the right of the descendants of Masum, 1 portion will go to the descendants to Behlol, one to the descendant of Shaikh Ebrahim, and the remaining 2 parts will be taken by the descendants of Shaikh Theka (Shaikhzadaagan).
During the hey-day of Shahjehan, another system known as Haft-chowki, or Haft-Baridari, came into existence, by which the total 189 khadims (male members) were divided in seven groups, each consisting of 27 members, in order to perform religious rites, and get share in Nazar on each of the week days. This system of Haft-baridari reorganised the community, and the seven Sarqhanas (leaders) of the groups, automatically assumed the charge of leadership, and represented their families in special ceremonies and important functions. Thus, it is clear that by the end of seventeenth century, and even up to the first half of eighteenth century, the khadims (priestly attendants) were the whole sole in charge of the religious functions and ceremonies held at the shrine, and in that capacity were entitled to receive the whole amount of Nazars. The so called sajjada nashin or any member of his family, mutawwalli and other imperial officials, had neither claimed this right nor mentioned in any document related to Nazars.

During the seventeenth century, Abul Maali, Shaikh Jalal, Syed Mitha, Syed Daan, son of Syed Khubullah, Syed Bayazid and Syed Jafar were the few khadims who enjoyed a position of important religious personalities, and were respected even by the emperors, and their nobles.

Besides getting madad-i-maash land, and cash Nazars, some

1. *Asanid-us-sanadid*, pp. 186-92, 210-14
*Tazkirah*: pp. 32-33.
of the khadims were also granted Rozinas (daily allowance) and some of the mughal nobles erected big houses (naa­velis) and granted these to khadims. Few scholarships had also been awarded to the youngsters of this community for getting religious education.¹

Now, this exclusive right over nazari raised the source of income as well as the social status of khadims, but at the same time, it had become the vital cause of ill-will and opposition against them, specially by the descendants of Shaikh Hussain Ajmeri. In order to prove their claim and to raise their status above the khadims, they prepared forged documents of the reigns of Akbar and Shahjahan, and by which they staked claim over the high amounts and valuable articles presented as offerings at the shrine. This copy of farman, whose original is missing, had not been accepted as genuine by the court even in recent times, and thus their claim over the whole of nazari on the basis of this forged document had been rightly rejected. But this shows how keen were the other functionaries of dargah in sharing nazari.² They had also misguided those pilgrims who had come into their contact and influence, and told falsehood,

¹ Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 22-23, 25-26, 148, 150, 154, 240.
² Moin-ul-Auliya, pp. 75-78, Jawab Namah, pp. 67-69.

From a sanad of 7 RY Farrukhsiyar's reign, it is quite clear that golden articles, elephants, horses, offered as nazari by pilgrims, were the right and property of khadims. Jaffar Khan Nusseri, a well known noble of Farrukhsiyar, sent these articles as nazari and Syed Murad son of Syed Jafar who staked claim of Vikalat (prayerfully) of the said noble, was given these things. Asanid-us-Sanadid, p. 288
in regard of the origin and ancestors of the khadims. Shaikh Jamali, an Sufi Abdul Rehman Chishti authors of Siyar-ul-Aarifin and Miraat-us-Asrar, were mis-informed by these elements, about the descent of khadims.¹

Throughout the eighteenth century, khadims had to resist such pressure from inside, as well outside, and remained entrenched in their position.

During the reign of Bahadur Shah, no huge tracts of lands were assigned, except a few grants of 100 bighas to some individuals of khadim community. But during the period of Farrukhsiyar, two villages viz, Ghegal and Beonja, were assigned to khadims who according to their own understanding agreed to give one fourth of the land, to Syed Faizullah and Syed Muhmmad Sadiq, who were instrumental for this grant, and visited Delhi.²

During the reign of Muhammad Shah, it appears that nearly all the documents related to these revenue free grants, either to khadims or to shrine, were checked and the copies of these were prepared, with official ratifications and attestations. New grants to some of the khadims were also made. Banori village was granted to a group of khadims, and it was also agreed and accepted, by the functionaries of shrine, that Nazar offered at the shrine of/

¹ Shaikh Jamali considered them as the descendants of Shaikh Ahmad Majed Shaibani, while Abdul Rehman Chishti had wrongly mentioned that these khadims are the descendants of Shaikh Fakhruddin a famous saint of Kara-Manekpur, who lived in sixteenth century, Qazi Imamuddin a member of the Diwan family, and author of Moin-ul-Auliya had vainly tried to identify Shaikh Daniyal a famous khadim of Akbar's period, with Shaikh-Danival of Jaunpurr who was the teacher of Syed Muhammad Jaunpuri. Siyar-ul-Aarifin, pp.16, Tazkirah, pp.9,22 Moin-ul-Auliya, pp.55,56,212-13 280-83, Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp.215-25.

² Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp.4, 46,291, 94, 261-88.
Sahib's daughter is the exclusively right of khadims.¹

A sanad of Bahadur Shah's period, suggests that if a pilgrim, arranged cooking of Deo, he had to offer one fourth of the cooking food or amount equivalent to it, to his vakil beside some fixed amount for the whole of khadim community.²

During the eighteenth century, a number of new practices introduced by khadims, which flourished and had taken deep roots in the set up of Dargah. For instance, some of the devotees granted land to many khadims, in their jagir, in various parts of the empire. A few documents related to this kind of grants are especially of Saharanpur area.³

Another significant aspect was the acceptance of the government jobs by khadims, though strictly confined to shrine or to some other religious offices. Syed Hayatullah succeeded his father Syed Wali Muhammad on the post of muhtasib and teacher in 1124/1712. Hafiz Pir Ali served as a teacher at shrine during Farrukhsiyar's reign and was allotted sixty

1. Asanid-us-sanadid, pp. 44, 46, 291-94


3. Asanid-us-sanadid, p. 281-82, 326, 333.15 bighas of land were given by Qalandar Ali Khan, and Muhammad Namdar Ali Khan as madad-i-maash to Syed Jehangir, and his sons, in 2 RY. of Farrukhsiyar. 10 bighas of land in Rampur village of Saharanpur was given to the son of Syed Taj Muhammad as madad-i-maash, by Allah Bakhsh and Hussain Bakhsh, in 1204 AH/1793-90. Miyan Shaikh Qalandar Bakhsh was also granted 5 bighas of land in the same village by Shah Muhammad Khwaja Bakhsh in 1230/1810.
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hichas of land for his maintenance. Mir Hassan Ali served as deputy amin of four forts viz. Ajmer, Garh-Bithli, Ranthambore and Bhakran, during Muhammad Shah's reign.

After the death of Syed Hayatullah (mentioned above) in 3 R.Y. of Alamgir II (1758), his son Pir Syed Akram Ali was appointed teacher at shrine, while Syed Hassan Ali was appointed deputy mutawwalli in the same year.

Qurban Ali, another Khadim succeeded his father, Ghulam in the Moinuddin on the post of amin of dargah./20 R.Y. of Shah Alam. A number of khadims were appointed mutawwalli in the second half of eighteenth century, and finally one of the family of khadims succeeded in getting this office permanently as has been discussed earlier.1

But the most important practice which, though very old but flourishwed, during the period under review, and which had far-reaching effects on the khadim - pilgrim relations was the system of vakil and vikalat-Namah (acceptance of prayerfully in writing)

It has been a custom of past that a pilgrim visiting of the shrine generally accepted one of the khadim as his vakil and prayerfully who used to guide him in the shrine in perfor-

mance of Ziarat, recitation of Fateha, and in offering flowers, sandal, attar, cloth sheet etc. In lieu of this religious performance, and priestly rites and acts, he was entitled to receive whatever the Nazar pilgrim had offered in name of Khwaja Sahib. Now this bond of relation and contact generally continued for years, generation after generation. This vakil had to pray for devotee, supply him tabarruk and also guide him in matters of spiritualism. This system took deep root during this period and the khadims started asking the pilgrim to write vikalat-namahs (prayerfully at the shrine) so that by this writing, one may claim the right on Nazar ever sent or offered by the signatories, or any of his family members.¹ This probably had been done, to establish contacts with masses, and to meet the growing influence of the diwan and his family.

There are a number of such vikalat namahs in the custody of Khadims, but very few had been brought to notice. One of the important vikalat namah is of Rai Chitraman, a famous noble of Bahadur Shah, and author of Chahar Gulshan.

¹. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 288
Jawab-Namah, pp. 132-38

On the petition of one Syed Muhammad Murad, son of Syed Muhammad Jafar, Syed Abdullah Khan wazir of Farruksiyar, issued an order to the officials of darvah that if Syed Murad is right in his claim of vikalat of Jafar Khan Nasserzi, all things offered by the noble, should be handed over to him. This system should be strictly followed, that whatever Nazar had been sent by any pilgrim, his vakil should not be interfered with.
He signed on this document on 5 Muharram 1120/26 March, 1706.

Another sanad of Bahadur Shah's reign suggests that prince Jahan Shah (father of Muhammad Shah) had also accepted two khadims as his vakils who were given Nazars on his behalf on the fulfilment of a vow, after the recovery of Prince Roshan Akhtar from illness. Another vikalat Namah is of Sher Khan, a resident of Hardwar dated 1081/1671.

Not only the princes, nobles and imperial officials, accepted vakils but common men as well as sufi saints too, had followed this pattern. Khwaja Noor Muhammad Maharvi, a famous saint of eighteenth century, had asked his vakil Syed Masud, son of Syed Murad, to pray for his health and happiness, at the shrine of Khwaja Sahib.

The other system which developed in this period was the sending of tabaruk to emperors, nobles, and even Hindu Rajahs.

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1. Jawab Namah, pp. 133-34
2. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 245-46, 271-72
Darab Khan and Azam Khan, the subahdar of Ajmer under Aurangzeb and Muhammad Shah had accepted Syed Deen and Syed Sharifullah, the two khadims, as their vakils at shrine, and had sent huge amount of nazars to them.
It has been found that Aurangzeb in Deccan had received sacred tabarruk of shrine, and Farrukhsiyar had also received the tabarruk soon after his accession. Rao Anrudh Singh of Bundi (in 1690), Prince Bedar Bakht, son of Azam Shah, Syed Jawwad Khan, a noble of Muhammad Shah, Madho Singh of Jaipur (in 1167, 1173/1753-54, 1759-60 etc., had been sent tabarruk by individual khadim. \[1\]

It seems that under the Mughals the emperor had not accepted any individual Khadim as vakil but the whole of the Khadim community was his vakil (prayerfully) therefore, the grants and cash offerings awarded by these rulers were distributed amongst the whole of the community people. But Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal Emperor, accepted Syed Fatehullah Khadim as his vakil at shrine in 1227-1812-13 when he was a prince, and again signed the vikalat namah in 1253/1837-38 after becoming the emperor. \[2\]

It will be wrong to say that during this period the khadims were busy only in approaching imperial officials to get vikalat namah and nazara but at the same time they were also busy in teaching and guiding the people in their matters, as has been praised by the contemporary writers. Rustam Ali, author of Tarikh-i-Hindi found Syed Sharifullah, son of

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1. Akhbaraat, dt. 28 Shabaan, 36 RY/4 May 1692, Farrukhsiyar Namah, f. 132. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 250-52, 258, 299, 320, 323. Beside the sacred tabarruk, a sword, a white turban and a tasbih had also been sent to Farrukhsiyar.
Syed Habibullah, a man of knowledge and wisdom, who was always busy in meditation, in the cells of Akbar-i-masjid. About another khadim viz., Shaikh Farid, who used to teach the children of khadim at the Shahjehan mosque in the shrine, Rustam Ali is of the view that he was Farid-isaani (Farid the second) of his time, due to his religious and spiritual knowledge. Syed Hayatullah, who was the teacher at madarsah had also been described a man of great scholarship. Shaikh Mumraiz, who had been granted 100 bighas of land by Bahadur Shah, was another scholarly personality from the khadim community, who was busy in meditation, and guidance in the shrine. Muhammad Saleh darwesh, Mir Hassan Ali Syed Akram Ali, Syed Murad Ali, son of Syed Masood, Syed Rajab Ali, Miyan Qalandar Bakhsh, Syed Inayat Hussain, Hafiz Anis, Hafiz Shaikh Makarim, Hafiz Pir Ali, Hafiz Muhammad Sharif etc., were the few important personalities of this community, who, during the later medieval period, had taken the task of guiding the people in matters of sufiism, and for the expansion of Chishti sect.  

With the development of Vakil system and issuance of vikalat namahs by chiefs, zamindars, saints and influential persons to the khadims, the basti system (area of hereditary

influence and right) came into existence.¹

It should be noted, that if an influential person of a place, or a headman of a particular clan, had accepted a khadim as his vakil, it was expected, that nearly whole of the people of his area, or clan, will accept that particular khadim as vakil and perform ziarat through him. In case of a saint, his followers and disciples were expected to follow their masters. Further a number of khadims used to enter and enroll a large number of people into their fold or in other words many people become murids (disciples) of khadims. Now, the khadim in that particular area from where a few or majority of the people had entered his circle was known as pirji of that place, even for those people who had not become his murid, who were also liable to perform ziarat through him as he had become pir as well as vakil of their area or clan.

These areas of influence were given the term of bastis areas of which probably had assumed the character of watan, or hereditary rights as enjoyed by men of various professions in Rajputana and Maharashtra.

But the bastis were very limited, and were allowed only in Rajasthan, Malwa and interestingly enough in

¹ Appendix F.
Bundelkhand, and that too in a very few districts. Jaipur, Kota, Bundi, Shekhawati region, Indore, Ratlam, Mandsaur, Rampur, Barielly, Badaun, Moradabad, Farrukhabad, Shahjehanpur, Alwer, Jhunjhunu etc. were the few famous districts which had become bastis of a number of the families of khadims. Even Molvi Abdul Qadir, author of Waqai Abdul Qadir Khan, who belonged to Rampur, could not escape from Talib Ali, who belonged to that group of khadims who were the vakil of Rampur. On the other hand clans and castes like Qyam Khans, Morekallers, Deswallas in Rajputana, Raens, and Banjaras (in Bundelkhand) were also included in this category of bastis. This new innovation of the bastis was probably created by khadims with a view to earn livelihood and for the purpose of spiritual guidance, and were gradually institutionalised hereditary.

1. Interestingly, if a person from a basti arrived at Ajmer, and is unaware of his vakil to perform ziarat, but before offering nazar and performing ziarat, it was found that he belonged to a basti, the vakil of the area was entitled to take him to perform the ziarat and collect nazar. But if after the performance of ziarat and nazar it was found that the pilgrim was from a basti area the particular vakil of that area had no right over him and the khadim who had lead him to shrine becomes his vakil in usual form. Dargah Files: No. 673. Dispute and decision on the right of nazar offered by Maharaja Kota between Akbar Ali Talib Ali son and grandsons of Syed Ghulam Ali alias Ghoolam Moinuddin VRG, others.

As noticed earlier, that the pilgrims in order to help their respective wakils, had constructed a number of Havelis (big houses) in khadim mahallah, and gave the ownership right to them with an understanding that during their visit, they will use some portion for themselves. In the same manner the construction of Hujrahs (Cells) in the compound of shrine came into existence. The ownership right of these Hujrahs again went to khadims, where they used to keep their sacred things, and sit during annual Urs, to deal with the pilgrims. The devotees used, some portion of these havelis and cells, for lodging during their visit of Ajmer.

Thus, till the end of eighteenth century, in spite of opposition from various people from time to time, the khadims enjoyed freedom in their internal affairs, such as distribution

1. Syed Bahadur Ali, and Syed Akbar Ali, Khadims and grandsons of Syed Hayatullah, had bestowed their hereditary rights of key keeping, shares in land nazar, Havelis, bastis etc, to their sons and nephews. Appendix 'E'.

2. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp.32-38
Mirza Muhammad Baig risaldar, a resident of Delhi constructed a cell of three verandahs in shrine in the closing years of eighteenth century and had given all right of ownership to his wakil Mir Himmat Ali, son of Syed Ashur Ali. Daulat Rao Sindhia has sent an order to Gumanji Rao Tantiya subedar of Ajmer in connection of a dispute of gaddi (sitting place near the shrine) which was a hereditary right of Syed Fazal Ali. Appendix 'D' (Marathi)
of shares from the income of nazars (offerings), right to perform khidmat\textsuperscript{1}(service or performance of religious rites) at shrine based on key keeping (Baridari) system, performing of Roshnee\textsuperscript{2}(candle burning ceremony), and settlement of mutual disputes on precedence and other points of social importance. Neither the sajjada nashin nor the mutawalli had any controlling authority over them. On the contrary for the appointment of sajjada nashin, mutawalli, teacher, and Amin etc., the consents of khadims of shrine was necessary according to the old custom. Molvi Abdul Qadlr, author of Wazal Abdul Qadir Khan, had been dismissed and then re-instated on the petition of khadims from the post of Amin of dargah in 1820-21.\textsuperscript{3} The khadims were neither appointed, nor dismissed by the government, and no one can dictate them to do, or not to do, a particular work in shrine, as they were free to perform religious rites and organize ceremonies in the way they liked and had decided. This independent status of khadims was not liked by those who had their vested interests in shrine and its affairs.

1. Khidmat literally means service. In ordinary days daily at dawn before Fajar (morning prayer), and after zuhar (noon prayer), the gates of shrine are closed to clean the shrine, and to remove the flowers, and cloth sheet from the tomb. Then attar and sandal offered at the shrine, and afterwards cloth sheet and fresh flowers are put on the tomb, and recitation of fateha and prayers took place, and the gates are opened for general public. This all is done by khadims, and supervised by the key keeper (Baridari). The change of duty (Baridari) also took place at the noon khidmat ceremony.

2. Wazal Abdul Qadir Khan, p. 97. Roshnee means light; at the time of dawn, candle burning ceremony took place, and 4 khadims having candle sticks on their heads, recite verses in praise of Khwaja Sahib, and then put them in 4 corners around the main tomb. People assembled to attend this function.

It was with this view that during Maratha period intrigues were planned to lower down their position and status, and to some extent the family members of sajjada nashin or divanji and mutawwalli (interestingly from khadim community) were successful in pushing them into a low profile. During the period of Maratha supremacy (1757-1818) due to these well planned intrigues, the fortunes of khadim community sank low, because the Maratha governor of Ajmer patronized the rival group comprising divan and mutawwalli on realisation of large sums of money from them. In reaction to this some important khadim established relations with the Mughal and Jaipur courts and with a number of zamindars and small chieftains in the empire, as had been mentioned earlier.

But the greatest jolt, that the khadim community had received, was the establishment of divan's (previously sajjada by nil riis Nashin) half share in the nazars offered at the foot side of probably shrine within dome. Under mysterious but compelling circumstances, on the basis of an old agreement of 14 Jamadi-us-SAani 1127/18 May 1715, which too seems doubtful, the Haft-chowki

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1. Auhade-i-Tauliyat, pp.51-52. Wazai Abdul Qadir Khani,(MS) p. 198. The Marathas retained all the madad-i-maash land previously granted to khadim but did not add more. There is only one document available of this period dt. 1801-11 by which 20 bighas of land in Jaili village of Ajmer was granted to khadim by Gumaji Rao, subahder. By another document of Madho Rao Sindhia it appears that he retained the village of Beer, assigned to khadim by Akbar, Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 58,331-32
(representative of khadims) signed an agreement with Diwan Mehdi Ali Khan in 1250/1834-35, agreeing to his half right, in Nazars offered at the foot side of main tomb, within the domes except for the main day of Urs, i.e., 6 Rajab, on which the Khadims were exclusively entitled to get Nazars.\(^1\)

Now, this was the greatest victory of the diwan family, who for the centuries were struggling hard to get some share in Nazar in order to enhance their socio-economic standards. Abdul Qadir Khan who served at Ajmer with the first English superintendent, Mr. Wilder, had given a description of the tussle between the khadims and Diwan's family, over the Nazar (offerings).

Thus, during the period of Mughal rule, the khadims enjoyed position of great importance, in comparison to the so-called sajjadahs and Mutawwallis, but in eighteenth century they passed through many a vicissitudes, and had faced great hardship and challenges. But they never left the shrine of their master, and did their best to preserve their independent

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1. Asani-us-Sanadid, pp. 114-16. On the basis of an agreement between Syed Sirajuddin, Sajjadah, and Syed Qassim Ali etc., representative of khadims (dt. 1127/1715), Diwan Nihri Ali Khan in 1250/1834-35, had given a Yaaddaasht to Syed Daulat Ali Khadim. But the validity of earlier agreement is doubtful, as in the authentic and well-known documents related to shrine, and issued after this agreement, it had never been referred to, and no contemporary record had supported it. Later on the basis of these agreements, fresh agreements were again made, and finally in 1931 Privy Council had accepted the half right of Divans but only in Nazars offered by pilgrims at the foot side of the main tomb within the dome, Taakirah, pp. 34-36, Dargah File No.581

status, and religious dignity. They foiled all the attempts of their rivals, who were bent upon to declare them simply the paid servants of the shrine, in order to assume the role of religious heads for their socio-economic interests. It was in this historic prospective that in 1915, Muhammad Hussain, a judge, (who made an enquiry over the dispute of sitting places of khadims in mehfil (ceremonies) highlighted and lauded the position of khadims. He is of the opinion that they (khadims) were not certainly menials, as the word khadim imports, as their noble descent from a Sye, who was most likely a friend and a disciple of Khwaja Sahib, if not his brother, as alleged by the Khadims, couple with their enjoyment of absolute control of the Dargah, for such a long period, gave them a voice and prestige in the Mohammadan Community which could not be lightly dismissed."

He further remarks that most of the khadi-s families are of noble descent, and should not be looked down simply because they are called khadims. They are khadim of course, but of shrine, and should take pride in it, and not the khadim of diwan or of any other individual.¹

¹ Auhada- Tawiliyat, Preface in English, p. 7.
Affairs of the Dargah, during eighteenth Century 1707-1818:

Bahadur Shah I continued the policies and methods of his predecessors towards the Shrine, and its internal administration. He had great reverence for the place, and concern for its smooth and peaceful functioning. He confirmed the old grants, and made new ones, to few individuals, on submission of their petitions. During his two visits, he offered presents and huge amount, as Nazar to Khadims. He bestowed grants of 100 bighas of land, to Syed Aqil a Khadir, and his family, and assigned another 100 bighas to Shaikh Muhammad Mumraiz also a Khadir and a well known religious personality of his time.¹

It is found that in 1119/Had sent Rs. 2,000/- to Syed Murad, and to one another Khadim (whose name could not be read on document) to perform the coocking of Deq, on the fulfilment of a minnat (vow) on behalf of prince Roshan Akhtar, (afterwards Muhammad Shah), for his recovery from illness. Out of this amount according to the usual practice Rs.1000 was for Syed Murad and for the other Khadim as Nazar, and one fourth of the cooked food, was also given to them in capacity of being the vakils of Jahan Shah.²

He also approved the appointment of Syed Hayatullah, a Khadim, who was a learned and pious person of his time, on

² Asanid-us-Sanadid: pp. 271-72. It is significant note that the princes used to accept Khadims as their vakil at Shrine while the Emperors had always accepted the whole of khadim Community, as their Vakil and prayerfully.
the post of mustasib and mudarris (teacher) at Shilni, in place of his deceased father Syed Wall Muhammad, with one rupee as daily allowance, and 150 bighas of land, in haveli Ajmer in lieu of these services.

Again like his forefathers, he exercised his sovereign powers in appointing and dismissing the so called Sajjada-Nashin of dargah. This office had now become an integral part of the imperial bureaucratic apparatus, and its holder was treated like any other officer of the state, in matter of appointments, dismissal, payment of emoluments. The integrity and prestige of this office were further undermined by constant conflicts and tension between the family members of the diwan family, which continued during the period under-review. These mutual quarrels were so deep that the state intervention seemed the only solution of problems the dargah establishment was facing at that time. Bahadur Shah dismissed Syed Pakhruddin, who held a rank of 105 sat in Aurangzeb's period, son of Syed Muhammad from the office of Sajjada-Nashin, due to his unruly behaviour, and appointed Sirajuddin in his place also transferring to him, all grants of land and daily allowances attached to this office.

2. Moinul-Auliya: pp. 84, 114. Paramin-i-Salaatin, pp. 22/24. Sirajuddin was given a robe of honour, an elephant and Rs. 1000/- in cash by the Emperor. Besides these rewards as a Sajjadah, he was entitled to get Rs. 2000/- from the revenues of Gehlota and five annas daily allowances, as madad-irmaash from the dargah treasury.
Beyond these few measures, Bahadur Shah could not do any thing more, due to his pre-occupation in the affairs of state. He was the last Mughal Emperor who set foot on the soil of Ajmer, and after him none of the Mughal Emperors came to Ajmer, though Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, and Shah Alam, made plans to pay homage to Khwaja Sahib, but could not do so due to the critical political activities at court. The famous writer Shafi Tehrani, author of Mirat-ul Waridat, visited Shrine in the middle of 1713, during Jahandar Shah's reign, and had composed a 

**gasida**, containing forty two verses in praise of Khwaja Sahib. He also met Syed Sharifullah Khadim, and was much influenced by his piousness.

During the reign of Farrukhsiyar, who was initially keen the reasons to visit shrine, but could not do so on political and health ground, no additional grants of villages to waqf were made, though in record it has been stated, that Budhwara and Dantrah were granted, by Farrukhsiyar to Dargah endowment. But as has been stated earlier, Budhwara was already in waqf, granted by Jahan Arrah, whereas there is no document available bearing seal of Farrukhsiyar in regard of Dantrah. It may be safely assumed, that he may have regranted or reconfirmed, these two villages, which had wrongly been claimed, and considered

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a fresh grant by this Mughal ruler.\textsuperscript{1}

On the other hand, this generous and compassionate Emperor had bestowed two villages to khadims, whose members had no profession, except serving at the shrine and accepting offerings made by visitors. Gheghal (with a revenue of Rs. 948) and Becnja, both in Havoli Ajmer were granted for the khadims, who by a gismat-namah (agreement), agreed to give one fourth of the total land of these villages, to Syed Faizullah and Syed Muhammad Sadi, who were instrumental in issuance of the royal faiman. Morajhari, another village was also granted by Farrukhsiyar to Jaral Muhammad Khadim.\textsuperscript{2}

Besides these above mentioned collective grants, Farrukhsiyar also bestowed grants on some individuals, like Hafiz Pir Ali a teacher, and to the descendants of Muhammad Saleh.\textsuperscript{3}

Another significant aspect, of the period under review was the grant of land tracts to khadirs by jagirdars of various places in their own areas. Two jagirdars of Chandina village of Deoband, assigned 15 bighas of land, in their territory, to Syed Jehangir Khadim.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp.174, Ajmer Regulations and Notifications, Vol.II, H to L, p.562, Wagai Aijmer, p.191. In Aymer regulations, 1710, has been wrongly mentioned as the year of this grant, which should have been between 1714-19 in case we accept that Farrukhsiyar had granted it.


\textsuperscript{3} Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp.280-81, 283-84.

\textsuperscript{4} Asanid-us-Sanadid p.281, Muhammad Namdar Khan and Qalandar Khan zamindars of the places made this grant in 2 R.Y. of F.S.
Syed Hussain Ali Khan had visited Ajmer twice, but it seems that he had nothing to do with dargah affairs, though he paid visits to the Shrine.

Muhammad Shah too could not visit Ajmer though he was keen to perform ziarat. However, he also confirmed the old grants, and also awarded Baneori village to Khadims. As his reign was longer spanning over three decades 1719-1748, the number of documents bearing on madad-i-maash is larger, most of them are found in the collection of farmans, sanads, and parwanahs. It is not necessary to analyse all the documents of grants given to Khadims, Diwan and Mutawwali, which are contained in two famous collection, because their contents are similar. Only a few documents are together selected as model, to form an idea of the nature and extent of grants of the period under review.

   Tirmizi had wrongly mentioned that in 1720 Muhammad Shah collected a large army and invested Taragarh fort, which fell after a short siege. In index, he had mentioned Muhammad Shah's visit to shrine. Ajmer through inscriptions: pp. 14, 84.

   Actually it was granted on the petition of Muhammad Salah darwesh for the upkeep of his Khangah, previously held by one Ghulam Mohiyuddin in Tankhawah. It yielded Rs. 169/- yearly. In Ajmer regulations and Notification, H to L Vol. II p. 575, it has been wrongly mentioned that it was granted by Shah-Jahan in 1633.
Wasir, Qamruddin Khan issued a parwanah sometime in 1137 A.H/7 R.Y/1724, to Jafar Quli Khan, the famous diwan of Ajmer, to enquire about 8,953 bighas of land in the villages of Beer and Kakniawas, which was assigned to the descendants of Syed Behlol as madad-i-maash according to eleven farmans of Jahangir. It should be confirmed if these people still hold the possession. A list of recipient of the land, with actual areas had also been attached. A number of the copies of old farmans were also made, which were attested and ratified by qazis during this period. A list of farmans and the share-holders (all khadim) in these three villages viz. Beer, Kakniawas, and Nandla has also been found with the seal of Mir Ahmad Ali Khan the Sadr of Ajmer, during Muhammad Shah's reign.¹

All these enquiries, and renewal of grants, shows the keen interest Muhammad Shah had for the administration of Shrine. In his 2 R.Y. on 14 Ramzan 1132/19 July 1720, on the recommendation of Mir Ahmad Ali Khan sadar/Ajmer, he confirmed the appointment of Syed Muniruddin, on the mansab of Sajadgi, in place of his deceased father Syed Sirajuddin, and land in Gehlota village being conditional to this office was also transferred to the new incumbent.²

1. Asanid-us Sanadidipp. 44-48, 72, 78, 86, 91.
Another silent feature of this period was the grant of daily allowance (Roazines) to the family members of diwan or Sajjadah. This was a new trend, because prior to this, none of the family members of diwan family had ever received any stipends from dargah endowment, though Khadims were generally awarded daily allowances. This shows the growing influence and hold of Sajjadah family on/Waqq. On the recommendation of Mir Abdul Qadir Mutawwalli, Muhammad Hassan (an uncle of Shaikh Muniruddin Sajjadah) was awarded fifteen annas, daily allowance from Dargah Waqq. Bibi Kamal Daulet, another relative of Sajjadah, was granted 22 bighas of land in haveli Ajmer for her maintenance. A daily allowance of 15 annas from Waqq/dargah was also granted to Syed Zahiruddin et al., relatives of Sajjadah. 1

The important aspect of these grants, is that the income was shared by all the members of the family in whose favour these were issued. It may be suggested that the government felt to extend its constrained beneficitation to all the other members of the family, when it was found that its heads was spending the money exclusively on his person. It may also be argued, that the scarcity of land for assignment, made it difficult for the government to meet the demands of a large number of people.

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Beside the Emperor his nobles also sent Nazars, and made grants. Syed Nauvad Khan in a letter, has thanked his Vakil Muhammad Hussain for sending tabarruk, and in response has sent a Hund for Rs. 96/- as Nazar. Azam Khan the famous noble of Muhammad Shah, has twice sent Rs. 700 and Rs. 3000 from his jagirs in Ajmer, to his Vakil, Syed Sharifullah Khadim as Nazar.¹

Four pieces of silver offered by Nawab Kokaltah Khan (during the reign of Aurangzeb probably in 1678-79), at the Shrine of Bibi Hafiz Jamal, daughter of Khwaja Sahab was kept in Koth (treasury) owing to dispute, were now handed over to Khadims as their right for this Nazar, had been established.²

Mir Hassan Ali Khan a Khadim was appointed deputy Amin of City of Ajmer, Garh Bithli (Hussain-garh), Ranthambhor, and Bhakhran forts in 22 R.Y of Muhammad Shah.³

From a perusal of a list of the daily allowance holders (Yomia-daran), it comes to light, that many grants were made by this Mughal ruler, and his nobles from the dargah Waqf at that time.⁴

². Asanid-us Sanadid, p. 301.
⁴. Darroh File No. 579-b Appendix: 'C'
No further addition was made in the land grants during the short reign of Ahmad Shah. On the contrary, a dispute arose between Khadim in regard of Gheghal and Bewanja, therefore, orders were issued by Safdar Jung, Wazir of Ahmad Shah, to the officials of Ajmer to look into the matter and divide revenue according to old agreement. Nawab Javed Khan, the Khwaja Sara also wrote to Maharaja Bakht Singh, who was holding Ajmer at that time to decide the matter.¹

It should also be noted, that a number of local Rajput Chieftains, also held the Shrine in high esteem, and had bestowed grants and Cash offerings to Khadim during this period.

Once Maharaja Jai Singh, visited the Shrine in 1723, and had offered 2 Mohars and Rs. 500.² Sharda is of the view, that the present outer silver Katehra (railings), was built by the orders of Jai Singh in 1730, under the supervision of Muhammad Hayat and Haji Manzoor Ali Khan, mutawwalias of shrine. It contained 42,961 tolas of silver. But no other record support this view, though, it is commonly believed the silver gate and Chattri, of this railing was presented by Jai Singh.³

Rao Anirudh Singh of Bundi granted Changespura, to Syed Jafar a Khadim for his madad-i-maash in 1690. His successor Rao Budh Singh used to send Rs. 100/- yearly to Syed Jafar as Nazar.

1. Asanid-us Sanadid, pp. 305-316.
2. Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, p. 167.
3. Ajmer Historical and descriptive, p. 92.
Madho Singh of Jaipur was also a devotee of Khwaja Sahib. He also sent offerings to Syed Masud, a grandson of Syed Jafar, in 1754-55.

Maharaja Man Singh of Kishengarh in 1763-64, on the petitions of Syed Rajab Ali, issued a new sanad for 129 bigahas of land in Narwar village for madad-i-maash to the said khadim. The Kota ruler had also given a village Gogen-Hairi in Baran parganah for the madad-i-maash of the priestly attendants of the shrine.\(^1\)

Ajit Singh is said to have assigned the village of Sarna for the maintenance of dargah,\(^2\) but on many other occasions, during his revolt he had plundered and ravaged many dargah villages around Ajmer, leading to the closure of alm-house (langer-khana) in the shrine.\(^3\)

G.N. Sharma seems confused, as he states that Rayela Kotdi, Arvota (Arnia) and Kanya were granted by Maharaja Jagat Singh of Mewar. The fact is that these villages were granted by Akbar alongwith other villages. But sometime during eighteenth century, taking advantage of the weak Mughal administration

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3. Akbbaraat, dt. 5 Ramzan 1125/25 September 1714. Once Prohit Devi Singh had warned diwan Bhikharidas not to pick quarrel with the people of dargah and settle the issue peacefully, otherwise it will create problems in getting royal favours. Khatut-i-Ahelkaran, No.280, dt. Chaitra Badi 5, 1765/27 February 1709.
Arnlya was annexed by the Mewar ruler.¹

There are few other documents of Mughal rulers and their nobles covering the second half of eighteenth century (1758-1818) of the

In 1170/1758 Mir Jumla ubaidtar Khan/Chief sadar at Delhi appointed Pir Syed Akram Ali, teacher of dargah madarsa in place of his deceased father Syed Hayatullah. In the same year, when Mir Salah Khan Bahadur was appointed Mutawwalli of the shrine, he requested Syed Hassan Ali, to look after the affairs of shrine as his deputy.²

A tamlik namah dt. 1206/1791, of Mirza Muhammad Risaldar, a resident of Delhi, informs that within the compound of dargah, he had a constructed a hujra (cell/room), and a varandah covering three parts of the main building. This, he, handed over to Mir Himat Ali son of Syed Ashur Ali Khadim, with a declaration that no other person can claim the building for himself.³

In the same year in April Mahadji Sindhia paid a visit to the shrine of Khwaja Sahib.⁴

Qazi Imamuddin, in Moinul Auliya, had presented copies of the few alleged farman issued to Diwan Imamuddin by Alamgir II (1759) and Shah Alam II (1770-1781). On the basis of these alleged

3. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp.327-28
4. Sindhia as Regent of Delhi, 1787 & 1789-91, pp.46, 47
royal decrease, it has been claimed by the family members of Diwan, that Ararka, Gagwana, Thari, Rampurah, Nand village in the parganah Haveli Ajmer, yielding a revenue of Rs.2,000/- were bestowed upon their ancestor as altamgha. But it should be noted that never in the history of shrine these villages were found under possession of diwan, and had never been referred to in the later period. 1

Moreover, the copies of alleged farmans, bear the seals of Emperors and their nobles, such as Asaf Jah, and Safdar Jang, but as these claimants have never shown the original documents, the revenues, the area of land, names of villages and persons, therefore it side wrong dates, had given rise to suspicions. The historical validity of these copies of farmans of diwan family is open to question, and much reliance can not be placed upon these documents.

For instance, through a copy of farman, it had been claimed that on the request of Diwan Imamuddin Khan, Hokran and Kishanpura villages of dargah waqf had been assigned to him in lieu of his daily allowance from waqf treasury for his mansab of Sajjadah.

On the seal, at the top of farman, the name of Shah Alam has been mentioned, as Abul-Azm-Urujuddin Muhammad Shah Alam.

1. Moinul Auliya, pp. 99-107, Alred and tamgha a stamp or impression; "rent free land in pespetuity, hereditary and transferable". Calendar of the Persian Correspondence; vol. I, p. 499.
But interestingly enough, in some of the other copies of farman, issued by the Mughal Emperor, his name has been written as Abul Muzaffar Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah Alam, which seems correct. This difference in the name, certainly creates doubt, and compels one, to believe it as a forged document.

Moreover, the accession year of the Emperor or the seal is 1184 (1170-71)AH, but the fact is that Shah Alam ascended the throne in 1174/1761. Further, in the Tughra of this farman, 1154 AH (1741-42), has also been inscribed, which is the year of Muhammad Shah's reign. There are a number of other mistakes, in regard of dates, Regnal years etc, which creates suspicion and confusion, about the validity of the document. Finally, the copies of these so called farman, had not been incorporated in Moin-ul-Auliya, the book written with the sole purpose, to prove the importance of Diwans, and which contains copies of all the royal decrees, alleged to have been issued to the diwans from time to time.1

It is strange that on the basis of these copies of farman, Imamuddin Khan diwan, and his descendants, had enjoyed jagirs of Hokran and Kishanpur, for decades. Anyway during the first decade of 19th century Daulet Rao Sindhia visited the shrine of Khwaja Sahib on a number of occasions, and offered huge amounts as Nasar, in comparison to small gift he sent to Pushkar.2

There is another sanad of Akbar Shah II's reign, dt 1231/1815-16, issued by Ahmad Bakhash Khan, Nawab of Loharoo.

1. Abdul Bara Maani: Jawab Namah (Urdu), pp. 56-60. Moin-ul-Auliya, pp. 102, 106. Faramin-i-Salatin, 0. 286.
2. Popha Residency Correspondence, Vol.XIV, p. 36. Letters from a Mahratta Camp pp. 236-37, 242 Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 88-89. Col. Broughton informs that Sindhia cooked Deg thrice during one of his visit. Mulla Magari one of ... minister presented new cauldron, and the presents sindhia had sent to the Pundits of Pushkar, by no means so valuable as those given to the Khadims of Ajmer.
He has granted Rs.450/- yearly as nazar to his vakils, Syed Sadar Ali and Syed Hayatullah.

Another Check-Namah which belongs to the period under review, is of 1229/1813-14 which records that Syed Muhammad Kazim Ali Khadim was granted 20 bighas of Chahi land, in Jatli village. This document bears the seal of the Maratha subehdar Gumanji Rao Sindhia, Magdam Kunwar Kishanji Sindhia, and cancoongo Chotte Lal.

In 1868 S.V/1812 Maharana Bhim Singh of Mewar, had invited Mir Azimullah Khadim and Mutawwalli, Mir Inayat Husain, another renewed khadim, to Udaipur to attend a function. In 1818 when Ajmer was occupied by Britishers, Molvi Abdul Qadir found the Dargah Waqf in a ruined state, due to the quarrels and disputes, among the family members of diwan known as Pirzadas. Further a few shuqqas (imperial letters), issued by Akbar Shah II, to the English officials, also shed light on the deplorable condition of waqf villages, and on the corrupt and mal-practices of its officials. It was under these circumstances, that the Mughal Emperor, had dismissed Mir Aziz Ali mutawwalli, and appointed his own son Mirza Taimur Shah, as the custodian of this sacred place.

Further, Diwan Syed Mehndi Ali Khan, the so-called spiritual head, and the Sajjada was made his deputy (Naib mutawwali), with instructions, that it was his foremost duty to perform his work honestly, to keep khadims satisfy and happy, to take care of all waqf villages, and to check the registers of income, and expenditures properly, so that His Majesty may feel relieved and happy for his work. The relevant document also includes a detailed description of Dantrah village, which the Marathas had granted to Mir Azimullah mutawwalli, in lieu of his daily allowance. The deputy mutawwalli, and diwan, Mehndi Ali Khan, was further asked not to pay fauj-kharch (a tax for army expenditure levied by Marathas), as all these lands were rent free.

Lastly, the nazim of Ajmer, was asked to help the agents of Taimur Shah, the mutawwalli, and should also supervise the work of amin and tehsildar of dargah, without making any interference in their functions.¹

In Ahuda-i-Tawliyat a list of all the villages, and land of dargah endowment, has been given along with official orders, and other papers, in regard of each village, covering a period of about two centuries (1605-1800).²

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   Molvi Abdul Qadir says, that in 1818, a Prince who was the son of Mirza Jahangir, was appointed Mutawwalliof shrine, and Sajjadal was made, his deputy. waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, pp. 225b, 226.

2. Auhada-i-Tawliyat, pp. 36-41.
During the second half of eighteenth century, under Rajput and Maratha rule, changes had also been occurred in Dargah endowments. These non-muslim rulers, if at one hand granted lands, offered Nazars, and erected a number of buildings in, and for, shrine, on the other, they interfered in the affairs of dargah waqf (endowment) and awarded Rozinas (daily allowances) to the persons of their choices.

A list of these Yomiadarans enclosed in appendix, reveals that beside Khadims, Pirzadas and other officials of dargah, a number of local muslim jagirdars, Brahmans (Zunardarans) and even other non-muslims, and the tawaifs, (singing women) were also given grants, from this waqf. Even share in lancer was also given to a number of non-muslims.¹

The pujaris of Hindu temples were also granted stipends, saravg, which is evident from a petition of Abhay Ram, who was the priest (pujari) of a Hanuman temple located in a mohallah of the city of Ajmer.²

It was because of this significant change in the endowment of shrine, that Abdul Qadir Khan had remarked that due to the intrigues of Hindus the dargah waqfs in a ruined state, had and the Mutsawwalli and Saljadad played vital role in destroying the endowment.

¹. Dargah Files No : 579-b, 45, 46
². Dargah Files No : 481, 736 and 819 Appendices, C.G. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khan, pp. 225b.
Customs of the Dargah:

It is difficult to find out the earliest reference or written documents about the customs of the shrine, and the various ceremonies held in it. But these are performed and observed since a very long time, though under an unwritten constitution. No detailed information is available in the contemporary sources, regarding the prevailing system and organization, during the pre-Mughal period. There are reference of the visit of the pilgrims and devotees included rulers, nobles, saints, and common men, who always found receiving Mujavars or Khadims happily/ them, and doing the needful. References had also been available about many saints, who for years had stayed at shrine, in meditation, and had also guided a number of the devotees in regard of spiritual methods, and modes, but they had nothing to do with the affairs and management of shrine, and instead had followed the customs and practices laid down by the Khadims.

It was under the Mughals, that the dargah assumed the position, of a well defined organization, details of which had already been discussed. A number of present customs, are the legacy of Mughal period. For instance the use of Toshak-Khana(store room), setting of the mehfil and seating arrangements, and presence of chodbars, dressed in the typical mughal style, having golden and silvery chobs (maces) in their hands, beating of the drums daily, and on events of joy and happiness, recitation of fateha before the departure, or at the end of the any urs, or other ceremonies, are the few examples which suggest, that the influences of Mughals in the shrine was deep rooted.

Main Ceremonies of the Day:

During the ordinary days of the year, the gates of the main tomb are opened at pre-dawn, before Fajar(Morning Prayer) and cleaning of flowers etc. takes place. No one is allowed to

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1. Auhad-i-Tawliyat:Document, No.8, pp.29-31
to enter the shrine at this ceremony except khadims. Few distinguished visitors are taken in, but kept at the court yard of footside of tomb, near the shrine of the daughter of Khwaja Sahib. After the ceremony, which hardly takes half an hour, the gates are opened for visitors, till afternoon.

Again the gates are closed, and the flowers offered by the pilgrims since morning, are removed after zuhar (Noon prayer). Sandal, attar and fresh flowers are offered and often, whenever needed, the velvet cloth sheet known as ghilaph and the inner cloth sheet called nimah, is changed. After recitation of fateha and prayers, the gates are again opened for general public. Chanwar, and Farrashas are used in this performance. Both these ceremonies are called khidmat (service), and are the sole right of that particular khadim who is baridar (in charge or on duty) of the day, having keys of shrine with him. Either he, or some of the aged khadim allowed by him, perform khidmat. At the noon ceremony changing of baridar (key keeper) also takes place daily.

At the dusk, before sun set roshnee (candle burning or lightning) took place. Four huge candle sticks are kept
in the dome with huge candle (specially prepared by the persons employed at shrine for this work since centuries) in

After each lighting the candles, four khadims put these stands on their heads and one of them recite the verses in praise of Khwaja Sahib probably written by Shaikh Hussain Nagori a well known saint of the early fifteenth century. In this ceremony pilgrims are allowed to join khadims.\footnote{Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp.3-5. When there was no system of candles Akbar ordered the mutassadis of Sambher to supply one mind oil for the lamp burning ceremony. Ajmer through inscriptions. 193. 31}

\[\text{i.e.}\]

The last ceremony of the day closing of the gates of main tomb takes place at night around 9 to 10 p.m. Again three khadims, permitted by the incharge of the day (paridar) clean the shrine except that of nazar. Farrashas are used one after another, and then the gates are closed. At the closing time the gawwals, already busy in singing gawwalis, get up and recite Karka - some verses mixed of Bhojpuri and Persian language, and everybody within the nearest area of shrine, generally stands up during the Karka.\footnote{Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 224b.}

\textbf{Urs Ceremonies:}

During the \textit{urs} days, which held every year from 1 Rajab to 6 Rajab some changes in the daily routine took place.
On 25 Jamadi-ul-Akhir, four or five days, before the start of urs flag hoisting ceremony at Buland gate takes place, and the small gate at the foot side of the nazar (tomb), called Jhijhi, where people kneel to kiss the tomb, closed on the same day Chahris (banners) from the shrine of Qutab sahib of Delhi, also arrives.

From the last day of Jamadiul Saani, upto 5th Rajab, continuous for six days, ghusal (washing ceremony) of the shrine took place twice at night. In the first ghusal which is performed at about 9 p.m. only khadis are entitled to stay, while during the second ghusal late at night, seven members of khadims (Haftchok Diwan, and one or two of his relatives, on the permission of Khadims, participated. Between the intervening periods of two ghusals, pilgrims are allowed to visit shrine. After second ghusal the shrine is closed, and re-opens as usual in the morning. But the day khidmat is not done, just to allow pilgrims to perform ziarat. During all these nights, mehfils of gawwals, held at mehfilkhana, and till a few years back, were presided jointly by Diwan and Mutawalli, while some of the khadims also held their hereditary seats near these two officials, on the gadelo (bed) or carpet.

On 6th Rajab the gawwalis starts at about 10 a.m. at the mehfilkhana, while at the same time, all the khadims assemble in the main shrine, to recite Quran, to perform Shiura-Khawani.

1. The word Jhijhi seems, either related to an Arabic word Jussa or Jisa, which is used for the stone closure of the inner precinct of Mecca, and where sacrifice and offering are made, or it is an abrupt form of Jisayi which means kneeling or kneeling position. At this place both things are done, people kneel to kiss the tomb, and then offer nazar. Thus, Jhijri perhaps is the abrupt form of any of the above mentioned words.
2. Chahar-Gulshan, ff. 39 ab.
3. Auhad-i-Tawliyat (Introduction) pp.4-10.
and prayers etc., and keep themselves busy in the dastar-bandi (turban tying) to each other, to mark the end of urs. At 1 p.m. the diwan arrives from mehfil khana along with his those two or three relatives, whose names had already been sent to khadims. He enters the shrine from Jannati Darwaza where his companions are checked by khadims, and then in shrine he is also tied a dastar by a khadim, who happens to be his vakil and to whom he used to offer Nazar. After the recitation of fateha or khatam special prayers held for the emperor, Padshah-i-Islam is done and thus the urs comes to an end with the blowing of golas (fire of gunpowder, or crackers). ¹

On 9 Rajab the ceremony of washing of the whole of dargah also takes place on that day khadim perform ghual of the main masar at 9 a.m. in the morning.

Cooking of degh² generally held during urs, and at various houses, majras (sitting places of khadims within the campus of shrine) jawvals are always found singing and mehfile are

¹. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 225
². During the Mughal period generally meat preparation were made in it, but at some time barley soup had also been prepared. For instance, Padshah Quli Khan (faujdar) of Ajmer, prepared grain food in it, to distribute among poors. But in the later period, specially under Marathas, Kesariya Bhat (saffron rice) used to be cooked, and instead of distribution, the system of looting practiced. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 271-276. Waqai Ajmer, p. 292.
held, **Jannati Darwaza**, ¹ (heaven's gate) also kept opened for the main six days of urs. Distribution of langar (Soup of salt and barley) is done throughout the year, and in urs, sugar takes place of salt, in that barley soup.

Except the main urs of Khwaja Sahib a number of urs of other saints and great personalities of Islam including four pious caliphs are also celebrated.²

Most of these customs, had been regularised by the Mughals, while some of these were introduced by them. Abdul Qadir Khan had been very critical of a number of customs, which he found in practice, when he arrived at Ajmer in 1818.

He says that whenever a bell rang or drums beaten, or qawwals recite Karka, at the closing of the door of main tomb, at night, everyone present in shrine turns his face towards tomb, and bent a little to perform taslim, and some of them even go down in maraqaba (prostration). He is also critical of the presence of singing girls, during the naafil of Thursday nights.³ It seems that during eighteenth century, when

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1. **Jannati Darwaza** is situated just below the Jama Masjid of Shahjahan and lies west side near the Shrine. It opens six days during urs of Khwaja Sahib, on both Iddas and on 5th day of Shawwal, when the urs of khwaja Sahib's pir, is celebrated.

2. urs of Bibi Hafiz Jamal daughter of Khwaja Sahib, Hazrath Usmani-i-Harvani pir of Khwaja Sahib, etc. held and celebrations of Idd Milad-un-Nabi also took place with great pomp and show. Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 225b.

3. Letters from a Mahratta, camp, pl 238. every Broughton States that on Thursday night, all the sets belonging to the city attended it.
there was a general degeneration of muslim society this evil practice i.e. ladies singing (though only verses in praise of Allah, Prophet, and Khwaja Sahib) flourished at shrine. There are instances when these tawaifs received daily allowances from the dargah waqf in lieu of these services.¹

As a mark of respect states Qadar, no one in the city can put a matka (earthen jar) over other matka as it symbolizes with the Kalas (crown) of the dom. None of the visitor could enter with the compound of dargah with shoes on, and without covering his head in the main shrine.

Nobody can walk with in shrine with an umbrella, over his head, or with a burning lamp in hand. All these unwritten strictly customs had been followed, and the Khadims were more strict to make people to follow these, and sometimes they used to earn the wrath and annoyance of the visitor.

Abdul Qadir Khan himself a fundamentalist, did not approve all these ceremonies and customs which in his opinion are not permitted in Islam and developed due to the influence of the Hindus.²

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¹. Dargah Files Hus: 12, 65 Appendix : C
Besides these traditions and customs a number of words used in the affairs of shrine are undoubtedly a legacy of Mughal influence. Bangla (flower garlands tied around the main tomb) Nima, (ordinary cloth sheet, used under big velvet cloth sheet, Toshakhana, Haft chowki, Ghulam gardish, Chobdars, Dalbadal, Shagird-pesha etc., are the few words, and terms, which clearly indicate that the Mughals had a deep rooted influence over the affairs of shrine.

Thus, a critical analysis of a few selected documents, of the vast corpus of collection, un-mistakenly reveals that all the sovereign powers, and their underlings, who assumed supreme charge of the affairs, from time to time, during the eighteenth century, displayed great regard for this sacred place, visited by all classes of the people. They confirmed the old grants, and added to the income of dargah, and its attaches (khadims), more funds, in the form of revenues or cash money. The Mughals, the Rajputs, and the Marathas were equally liberal and considerate, in maintaining the shrine, by providing financial assistance. But the powers that be always sought to control, and superintendent the internal administration, of dargah, by appointing mutawwallis and sajjadah nashins and to some extent setting the mutual disputes between the members of the khadim community.

Moreover this detailed description and a systematic survey the dargah of Khwaja Sahib under Mughals in general, and
in eighteenth century in special, suggest that this great sacred
place served as the centre of communal harmony, liberal attitudes
and humanitarian values for centuries. It was here, where there
was no restriction and bar, on the basis of colour, creed, caste,
and socio-economic position and status. If the Hindus were cele-
brating Holi at the main gate of shrine, the Muslims illuminated
the whole dargah on the eve of Dipawali. If the Mughal Emperors
granted large tracts of land, for the upkeep of shrine, and
took keen interest in the development of the dargah, equally
the Rajput and Maratha rulers contributed to its progress.

If the Muslim divines, priestly attendants, and reculses
were given daily allowances from the waqf of the shrine, the
Hindu Brahmins, pujaris, and other people were not left behind,
as they too had been profited by this institution, and had shared
the langer, without hesitation. Thus, after a detailed and deep
study of the inner administration and working of shrine, it can
be claimed that the impact of such a great and liberal institu-
tion on the socio-cultural history of medieval India, cannot be
be ignored and underestimated.
CHAPTER VIII

Society and Culture
The study of society in terms of economic and cultural progress provides a key to the understanding of the conditions ethos, and mental outlook of its different section of the people in a given period. The inquiry into the attitudes and ways of life of people may also help to have a clear picture of their mental relationship under conditions of both harmoney and tension.

As the seat of the provincial government, the city of Ajmer provided greater security and better opportunities for economic prosperity and cultural progress to the local population. This was witnessed during the Mughal rule, mainly from 1558 to 1679. The peace of the city life was disturbed by the Rathor rebellion and normal peaceful life was not restored till the establishment of the British dominance over the province. The Mughals added a distinct colour to the beauty of the city by construction beautiful monuments, buildings, roads and lying gardens etc. Though the Marathas had to some extent also contributed for its development and glory, but the golden days of the city were undoubtedly during the Mughal period.

Social Groups:

As already been pointed out, that the city of Ajmer, was inhabited mostly by the Chauhans Rajputs, though other clans of Rajputs, specially Rathors also formed an important element
of its population. Brahmins, Vaishyas and Kayasthas, were the other Hindu castes living in the city, besides Gujars, Jats, Minas, Balais, Raigers, Sansis, Bhils, belonged to the lower strata of society, and were famous for notorious deeds of theft and robbery.¹

Majority of the muslims lived around the shrine, and they were either Syeds, or Shaikhzadas, and Khadim by profession. The descendents of Muslim saints, and divines had also settled in the city while a large number of migrants from Nagor increased their number. Before the annexation of Ajmer by Akbar, Muslims from Nagor were found in Ajmer in large number, as there are many references to their names in the sale deeds and other documents. Shaikh Hussain Nagori, the famous saint of early fifteen century, probably was among the first from Nagor who had settled at Ajmer, while Shaikh Ahmad Majad Shaibani, his contemporary belonged to Narnol. Names like Mulla Farid Nagori, Khuda Muhammad Nagori, etc. are found in sanads, thus strengthening our view. The famous diwan or the so called sajjada family known as Pirzadas are also generally believed to be from Nagor.²

In the pre-mughal days local influence over the muslim society is also evident from the names such as

¹ Hadigat-ul-Aqaleem, pp. 54-55
Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, pp.198-201, 204 & 267-68
Gazetteer of the territories under the Government of East India, p. 61.
Kitab-ut-Tehqiq, pp. 57-58.
Jamal neo-muslim son of Dudhar Rathor, Khwaja Ghoran, Shaikh Ehikha, Raju Shaikh, Shaikh Ojha, Shaikh Metha, Sair, Chanden, etc., and these also indicate communal harmony and liberal thinking.¹

The growing importance of the city of Ajmer, as seat of provincial government, after its annexation to Mughal empire, its mild climate, and the ever inspiring shrine of Khwaja sahib, had attracted a large number of Muslims to settle down within its walls.² Besides Syeds and Shaikh Khadims, Afghan families had also settled at Tarwana, and Ramsar, villages around Ajmer, but very few Mughals in the villages of Hataundi and Jaisosi are found beside the city.³ Many other Muslims families also settled here during 15 and 16 centuries. Some of the present day Muslims, are the descendants of the army men, kept by the governors at the fort.⁴

During the later Mughal period, a number of small Muslim states, or Jagirdars came into existence. It included Jhaipswa, Sedria, Loraj, Kazipura, Sitawarean, Keshurpura,

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¹. A:anid-us Sanadid pp. 15-26
². After its annexation to British Empire, a number of people from various places of Hindustan got appointments, and few, voluntary came to Ajmer and settled there. Wagai Abdul Qadir Khani, pp. 292, 302
³. Akhbarat dt. 12 Shawwal 37 FY of Aurangzeb/ 6 June, 1694
⁴. Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Ajmer p. 107
Durathoo, Dudhiana, Bhuttiani and Hathi Khara etc. Apart from the noble families, there were numerous local converts belonging to the castes of Anderkotis, Mars, Deswallis, Gavam Khanis, and Banjaras. These people lived chiefly in the suburbs of the city, and followed their old social customs and traditions. The Anderkotis resided near the city wall around the famous Adhaai-din-ka-jhonnrah, just below the way to Taragarh fort. Though their population continually increased, the Muslims were always in minority.

Another important section of the population of Ajmer were the Jains, who constituted a major part of the population. Among them were Oswals, and Maheshwaris. They were rich merchants and lent money on interest.

1. The first named few villages were granted by Farrukhsiyar, to the descendants of Tahawar Khan (probably Padsha Quli Khan who was assassinated during Akbar's revolt in 1681). Jharwasa and Bhuttiani's documents bear the seal of Qamaruddin Khan, Wazir of Muhammad Shah, while Dudhiana's grant was also made during Muhammad Shah's reign. It was originally the jagir of Azam Khan, a well-known noble of Muhammad Shah, who later made over his jagir to Shah Muhammad Hayat and procured sanction from the Emperor. Ajmer Regulations and Notification, Vol. II, H to L, pp. 567-578.

2. Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, pp. 103

3. Unnisvin Shatabdi ka Ajmer (Hindi), p. 223. Nagai Ajmer, pp. 193, 220. According to H.B. Sharda the Jains are divided in three sects (1) Swatambaris, (2) Digamberis (worshipper of idols and temples) and (3) Sthanak vasais or Dhoondies. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 32.
Some of the residents of the city were known or famous, with their occupation or professions. In this category there were Khatis (carvers), daroghas (domestic servants) chammars (tanners), bhats (bards) majority of these people were Hindus, but some other castes known by their profession constituted muslim majority. They were Qasab (butcher), Pinjaras (weavers), Lakheras (bangle makers), Rangrez (dyers)ghosis, (milk and butter seller), Safed-bafs (white cloth maker), Thishtis (water carriers), Chiraghchis (lamp makers), Nayaras, Hammad (traders), Julahas (weavers), Naqqarchis (drummers), Sawdagran and Leoparians. The mohallas, mosques and qabristans in the name of these professionals, reminds one about the flourishing conditions of these people.

Some of these professionals, had a mixed population of Hindus and muslims. In this category were chipas (chint printers), Nais (barbers) Darzis (tailors), Malis (gardners), Kumbars or Makaris (potters), Phobis, Kahars, Lohars (black smith), Telis (oilmen), Tamabolis (little-selleter), Gadariyas (shephards), Halwais (confectioners), Silavats (masons), Eharbhug (grain parcher), Sikkliwaran...
Goldsmiths were generally wainas, and Hindu Saiths and Mahajans, who lent money to the needy people or interest.  

Home Life:

Among all the section of society, family was the basic unit and the life of every body centred around it. It was the centre of all human ambition, aspiration, and activity. Polygamy was found among both Muslims and Hindus, especially in Rajputs, and Jats. Likewise child marriage was also a common feature of social life of both the communities. Widow marriages, besides Muslims, were also permitted in the Jats, Jains, and Jains. Dissolution of marriage in high caste was not permissible, while it was prevalent in lower castes, and to some extent among Rajputs. Among the other ceremonies and rituals on birth, marriage, and death nothing was new in respect to the other places. Superstitions, belief in astrology, and astronomy, were also common, as were in the rest of country.  

References:
1. Asanid-Usanad, pp. 21-22
2. Nagal Ajmer, pp. 107-111
3. Nagal Ajmer, pp. 249, 577, Nagal Alau Laidir Rani, p. 198
4. The Qawwals of Seragah Ohtashi, Ali Sher, on his death was heavily indebted to Aumal Salau o Mahajan. The villages were on Jalis, and the term of interest was very high.
5. Nagal Ajmer, p. 343, Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Ameer, p. 112-119
Dwellings:

The houses of leading native bankers, and traders, zamindars, and nobles, were imposing and of solid structures of stones. The khadims generally lived in houses, built around the dargah, and there were huge buildings like Akbari Mahal, Haveli of Bayazid, and other big havelis built by the ruling elite, and were given to khadims. Irvine and Gaine were very much impressed by some of the beautifully constructed houses during their visit to Ajmer in the early years of nineteenth century. The common men dwelt in houses of mud with strong, brickroofs (khaprel). ¹

Food and Dress:

The Hindus generally wore short dhotis, kurta in summer, while in winter they wrapped a long coat reaching nearly to ankles, along with a turban, scarf, and angherkhas. The Hindu females used to wear bodice, a sheet or viel (orhni) pettikot of chintz, or coloured cloth.

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¹. Asanid-us-Sanadid pp. 20-25, 215-226  
Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 45-456.  
General and Medical topography of Ajmer pp. 96-97.  
Picturesque India: p. 77.
The Muslims have the influence of the Mughals. They used to wear trousers, kurtas, and angarkhas, coats, and turbans or caps. Moreover, men adorned themselves with earrings etc. The women of the various communities, used the same ornaments, prevalent in this period, with minor differences. Some of the ornaments of ivory were, the speciality of this region.¹

The food habits among the people of Ajmer, differed from caste to caste, and family to family, depending on the scale of earnings, and traditions rooted in their lifestyle. By and large the poor classes had two meals a day, consisting of mainly bread made of wheat, bajra (millet), barley, makka (maize), and khichri, and wheat soup supplied with the butter (ghre) and milk. There are evidences, to show, that their standard of living was fairly good during the first half of eighteenth century, but declined in the succeeding decades owing to the disastrous effects of political instability and economic exploitation by the new masters, e.g. the Rajput Chiefs, and the Marathas. The varieties of vegetables, meat, fish, milk products, like curd consumed by the people of Ajmer, also differed from community to community, and family to family.

family, according to the varieties in their habits and customs.

Hindus generally preferred vegetarian food, while Muslims were meat-eaters, but even among them the poor ate pulses and vegetables cooked in edible oils. Both in quantity and quality, the food was nourishing and people enjoyed good health. The poor could not afford white sugar, but they used large quantity of unrefined sugar (bhura shaker) gur, while salt in this particular region was in abundance. As the prices of food stuff were low compared with the present day, the masses of the city could obtain their daily meals without much difficulty. It is interesting to note, that the Muslims in general and khadims in particular had adopted a number of Hindu dishes like halwa, malida, mung, etc, and prepared these on the various urs of the saints. Further, meat preparations in Deog in the shrine had been changed into keseri-bhat (sweet saffron food) during the period under review. The daily langar (free kitchen) is also made of the barley with salt only. The food distribution to the destitutes at Ajmer had curd also. The Mughal impact was quite evident on the dress, ornaments, diet etc. of the people of Ajmer in particular and on the inhabitants of Rajputana in general.¹

¹ Rajasthan Studies, pp. 59-63
The meal time was generally around 11 a.m. in the morning, and between 7 to 8 at night. The Jains ate before the sun set.

The use of opium was common among Hindus specially in Rajputs. On festivals and celebrations, opium was offered to guests. Among Muslims, a very small number, was addicted to the opium eating during the eighteenth century. Smoking of tobacco was prevalent among muslims, and hugga offering to guest was a common feature in both the communities. ¹

Language:

In Rajasthan, Mewari and Marwari, were the two main local dialects of Hindi language used by the majority of people. Persian, Urdu and Arabic were used by the elite class of muslim population specially by khadims and other official of shrine, and those who had migrated from outside the province. Though Persian was the court language, but it could not spread beyond the official circle to among the general masses of Ajmer and its suburbs. The local dialects, Ajmeri, however, influenced by Persian and Marathi languages as numerous words of both those forms of communication crept into Rajasthan and remained in vogue for a long time. ²


Rajasthan District Gazetters, Ajmer, pp. 103-4.
In the city Ajmer, as elsewhere in the country, the occupation were caste-based, each caste having specialised in one specific profession. There were small occupational groups within a caste, distinguished from one to another, on the basis of minor differences in technique and process of production. Such occupational castes, and groups, engaged in divergent callings were numerous and within their framework, the occupation, had become hereditary. In the city, there were many occupational groups of leather makers, dyers, black smiths, silver smiths, sunars (Gold smiths), metal workers, nayaras, lakheras, carpenters, kumhars and thatteras (broziers) etc., engaged in production for domestic needs. It was an important centre of production of dye stuffs, white muslin, fine white cloth, metal ware, cotton fabrics, and ivory bangles, and other cottage crafts which were used mostly by the citizens and villagers of the surrounding areas.¹

Agriculture products covered a wide range, from foodgrains and pulses to vegetables, milk and unrefined

¹ C.C. Watson, Gazetteer of Ajmer, New ra, pp. 63-64
The cotton fabrics produced in Ajmer, and in other surrounding areas, were known as reza (rezi), khes, dhoti, susi and charkhana. An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Sheet 6 B, p. 20
sugar, that were supplied to market of the city. Among fruits, wild mangoes, melons, water melons, pomigrants, pappoyya renet (Jamun) guava, purple edible berry (falisa) Jugube (Jair) water chestnut (Singhara) were found in plenty.\(^1\)

In manufacturing industries Ajmer, was not very prominent, and could not be compared with Agra or Lahore. As it was connected with Ahmedabad, Agra, and other towns of Malwa and Jodhpur state, Ajmer was also a great centre of commercial activity. The class of traders and merchants was large and prosperous and dominated the city life.\(^2\)

Beside the merchants, there was a big section of bankers, jewellers, and financiers called mahajans and seths who gave loan to artisans, peasants, traders and even nobles and big officers of the government. With the accession of Ajmer to British government, a number of mahajans

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2. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 326, 624
from Kishangarh, and Mairta cities, settled in the city in order to earn their livelihood.  

**Hundi** system, was also prevalent in the city, and was followed by these **mahajane**.  

Another important article produced in the city, was rosary of different varieties, which was generally purchased by the pilgrims. Among other cottage craft, wax-candles, perfumes, and cotton pieces like sheets, turbans (Chiras) and scarfs, were produced to meet the demands at the places of worship, shrines, and temples of the city. At these places, specially at dargah, huge quantity of rose flowers, was needed and for its regular supply, large gardens of rose flowers were laid by agriculturists, in the adjacent areas. Thus, the city of Ajmer was self contained, and self-sufficient, in satisfying the domestic demands, but its products were confined to the needs of the city life, and not meant for exports outside.

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1. Sindhia as regent of Delhi, p.48. 
   Arzdasht (R) No.580, (undated) Wagai Abdul Qadir Khani, pp.36, 198, 230p267-69. Once in 1680, Dilwar Khan a famous mughal noble, had mortgaged his elephant, for Rs.5000/- to a Mahajan of the city. In 1818 Mr. Wilder found Mohtashim Ali Khan diwan of dargah, heavily indebted to Rozmal mahajan, who was charging interest on a very high rate. In 1791, Mahadaji-Sindhia asked the bankers of Ajmer to pay a loan of Rs. 10 lakhs to him.


3. Dargah Files, No.32/72, Akhbarat; 28 Shabban, 8 Ramzan 25 RY ARZ/11, 18 Sep, 1681. 
   4 Moharram 2 RY Rs/25 March, 1708, 
   24 Rabi-us-Saani, 4 RY/Rs 20 June, 1710.
The merchants of the city imported luxury goods, like silk, fine muslin, articles of metal works, precious stones, timber and arms. The bangle makers also produced bangles of ivory and of lacquer (lakh), but inferior to these of Delhi, copper and oil pressing were the two other important industries of the city.¹

The traders of the beasts of burden were known as mukaris, and they earned high profits by giving camels, horses, and mules, on hire to general public. Sometimes these mukaris also supplied food grains to the city, and to other parganahs.²

It was at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1614) that the English factory was founded in the city of Ajmer, and Mr. Edward was placed in charge of it.³

Lead, copper, silver, and iron, were the other important materials found in Ajmer, and were utilized by the natives in various professions.⁴

Beside these professional classes and independent business-men a number of people served in the government offices, specially in judiciary, military and civil department while the religious class generally served in shrine.

¹ Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Ajmer, p. 218
² Wazai Ajmer, p. 28, 281, 289, Akhbarat dt. July, 1700
³ W. Foster, Early travels in India, pp. 194-236
⁴ Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 20-21, 26
There are a number of references which suggest that the natives of Ajmer served from the rank of sepoy up to the post of the waqai Navis of the subah. But none of the local people, rose to any important post, in provincial, and central administration, during the period under review.

As regards Khadims, it has already been discussed, that during the latter Mughal period, a number of people from this community had accepted the government jobs, but confined to religious posts, such as teachers, muhtasibs, mutawwalis, amins etc. ²

Hindu Fairs and Festivals:

The Hindus of Ajmer, celebrated their festivals with great pomp, and show and rejoicings. Besides, the main festivals of Dussehra, Diwali and Holi, they also celebrated a number of other local festivals. Gangaur was one of the main local festival, celebrated generally in March, by Hindus in honour


3. On Dussehra effigy of Ravan, alongwith a rath (charriot) carrying Ram, Laxman, and Sita is taken out in procession, and then the effigy of Ravan is burnt. On the Diwali day, the whole of the city is illuminated with small lamps, and occasionally the shrine of Khwaja sahib, had also been decorated with these diyas of Diwali.

of Gauri, the wife of Shiva. It lasts for about a fortnight, during which, in every mohallah images of Gauri and Ishwara, fully adored and decorated are exhibited. Women of the mahajans of the locality visit these places where music and dancing is performed. Four times these images are taken out to the public gardens, and brought back accompanied by music.

Akhatee is another festival celebrated in May, after the grain comes out in the market. The other important local festival of Ajmer is Jaljulin-Ekadashi (held on 11 Bhadhva Sud/August-September) when all idols of temples of Ajmer are taken out in grand procession for a bath in the Anasagar Lake.

The Sylsaptami fair is held in honour of small pox goddes at Daulet Bagh and Madar gate.\textsuperscript{1} Teja-ji-ka-mela is another local festival of great importance, though observed by all sections of Hindu society it is the principle festival of Jats and Gujras mainly the peasants. It is celebrated throughout the sarkar of Ajmer, mainly at Ajmer, Beawer and Kishangarh. Tejaji in whose name it is celebrated is said

\textsuperscript{1} Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, p. 28. Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p. 702
to have possessed power to undo the effects of snake bites, and removed poison from the body, though he himself died from the biting of a snake.¹

Two fairs are also held to commemorate the ancient rulers of the city of Ajmer. At Ajaisar, few miles from Ajmer where a temple of Ajaipal baba is located, festivities celebrated to mark King Ajaipals' findings of the city of Ajmer or his becoming a Sanyasi (hermit). Hindu Jogees on that particular day, traditionally go round the houses of local people, to collect flour for Ajaibaba's rot (big bread).

Another fair, in name of Goga chauhan is held. It is claimed that this chauhan warrior, along with his many sons and soldiers laid down his life, in an unsuccessful attempt to bar and blocked, the last in roads of Sultan Mehmud of Ghazna.²

Beside the well known festivals and fairs, the other important festivals of Hindus were Anter-ka-mela, Chammunda-ka mela, Bajrang-garh-ka-mela, Sapugarh-ka-mela, Mahadew-ka-mela.

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1. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 28/29. Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Ajmer, p. 125. Wazai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 229. At Ajmer it is held at Sombhalpur near Maluser tank.

Baijnath and koteshwara fairs.  

Molvi Abdul Qadir had also mentioned about a number of Hindu-Muslim fairs celebrated at Ajmer. He had specially mentioned about the fairs of Baisakhi, Baijnath, Ajaipal, Devji Savetri, Teja and Ramdeo. Interestingly, he had referred to a fair of Kekar village held in Bhadun, in which followers of Ram Saini sect from all sides assemble and men and women mixed freely for enjoyment. This sect, according to him, was founded by Ramcharan, a native of Shah pure (in Mewar) in the beginning of eighteenth century.

**Pushkar Fair**

But the greatest Hindu fair which still attracts a large number of devotees from all over India is Pushkar (tank) or Pushkar fair, held during the last five days of month of Kartik. The place is situated seven miles to the west of Ajmer, separated from the city by Naq pahar. It is regarded as the

1. These fairs generally held in rainy seasons. These places are also situated either on hills near Ana Sagar lake or on the hills of Taragarh. These fairs assumed the position of a sort of pic’s. Bajrang garh and Bapugari, two places on the hills near Ana Sagar lake was repaired during Maratha period. Bapaji Sindhia the Maratha governor, also granted Bilarpure village, for the upkeep of Bapugari. Rajasthan District Gazetteer—Ajmer, pp. 124-25, 703, 707, 709, 711, 717, Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 28-29, 125-26.

2. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 228.
"king of the sacred places" for Hindus, as no pilgrimage to
the four important tiraths of Badri Narayan (Himalayas),
Jagannath (Orissa), Rameshvera (near Srilanka), and Dawarka
(Gujarat), is complete until the pilgrimage takes bath in
the sacred water of the lake.

According to Sharda, Pushkar is mentioned in Ramayan
and Mahabharat as a sacred place, and an inscription discovered
which is by him of 2nd century B.C. indicates that Buddhist also
considered it a sacro sanct. It is thus, one of the oldest
centre of worship for Hindus, and Buddhists, and an ancient
place of Indian history and culture.

Jayeshtha (eldest or elder) Pushkar, madhlya (central)
and Kanistha the (young or latest), are the three places, situated within a circuit of about six miles. The place is full of
temples great, and small, chhat for bathing, and Dharamshalas
(free rest houses) for lodging. Besides the famous temple of
Brahmaji, other important temples are ... Savitri temple, Badri
Nath temple, Varahji temple and Mahadeva temple -- all rebuilt
and repaired, on many occasions, during the medieval period of
Indian history.¹ The Sultans of Delhi, Mauду, and Gujarat had
nothing to do with this sacred place, though many of them

¹ For details see: Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, pp. 391-414.
Rajasthan District Gazetteers: Ajmer, pp. 736-741
invaded and visited Ajmer. It was during the Mughal period, that this sacred place was given its due respect. Akbar was the first Emperor, who in 1569-70, had granted land to the prohitas, and had also instructed the officials and jagirdars, through a farman, not to disturb and harass the priests and worshippers.

Jehangir, reconfirmed the grant of the whole village of Pushkar, to the priests, by a farman dated 1617, when he was at Ajmer. He also settled a dispute, which arose between the two sects of priests, over the shares in the income, derived from revenues and offering, and from several other sources. Accordingly, it was agreed that Brahmins of bari basti, shall held Pohkar, as their revenue free land while Naidla will be the jagir of the priests of chotti basti.

Shahjahan followed the policy of his ancestors and later, his son prince Dara Shaikoh also confirmed this grant during his visit to Ajmer in 1659, to fight his brother Aurangzeb.

Inspite of the famous Rathor rebellion, and the attacks by rebels from Pushkar side, Aurangzeb did not interfere in the affairs of this sacred place. Except one or two minor skirmishes at Pushkar, between rebels and imperialists, no untoward incident took place during this turbulent era. There are tombs of those Mughal warriors who were killed during the famous battle of Pohkar in September 1679. They are commonly known as Panch-pirs (five saints) or Panch virs (five braves).¹

The Mughal officials were always keen and careful in making proper arrangements, at the time of the annual fair of Pushkar. Even during the turbulent period of Rathor rebellion, Iftikhar Khan the Mughal governor, visited the place personally, to supervise and inspect the arrangements made for the comforts of pilgrims.²

In 1818, Abdul Qadir Khan also visited this place, and inspected the arrangements of fair. It was due to his efforts, that a new road was constructed to Pushkar via Kharekhri, to make journey safe and easy. He had also given a detail

1. Maasir-i-Alamgir, pp. 179-80, Wagai Aimer, pp. 346-52, 360. One of the famous battle took place near the boar temples, resulting in the defeat of the rebels, and a victory of Tahawar Khan Faujdar of Ajmer.

description that how he, and other officials, kept a vigilance on thieves, dishonest shopkeepers, using fake weights, and other cheats and bad characters.¹

The priests of Pushkar enjoyed the benefits of the grants made by early Mughal rulers, and confirmed by their successors. It appears that none of the later Mughal rulers made any fresh grants to these religious people, though they did not interfere in the previous grants, and confirmed it in usual manner, to provide the maintenance for prohîts and pujaaris during eighteenth century.

But the local Hindu chieftains specially Rajputs and Marathas the new masters of the area continued the practice of constructing buildings, temples, at this sacred place, and offering huge amounts.

In 1727, Sawai Jai Singh of Amber, installed a deity in the varhji temple.² In 1719 a Brahmin lady repaired the temple of Brahmati but in 1309 Gokal Chand Parekh, a minister of Singhia, rebuilt the temple of Brahmati, at the cost of Rupees 1,30,000. Raja Bakhat Singh of Jodhpur repaired varahji temple around 1758-60, and in 1785, Pandit Narn Govind Kulkarni, built a Katzehra (railings), on the lower door of the temple.³

¹ Wazai Abdul Qadir Khani, pp. 217, 227. Dr. R.H. Irvine General and Medical topography of Ajmer, p.49.
² Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 397.
³ General and Medical topography of Ajmer, p. 50.
Thakura of Kharwa repaired the temple of Badri Nath-ji in 1800, while temple of Atmateshwara Mahadeva was built by Gumanji Rao, the Marathas subehdar of Ajmer in 1809-1816. The temple of savitri was repaired by a Prohit of Ajit Singh, sometime in the first quarter of eighteenth century.¹

One of the finest temples, constructed during the period under review, is the Mahadeva temple built over the remains of maratha general Jai Appas Sindhia who was assassinated near Nagore in 1756. Col. Broughton is full of praises about this temple, which according to him, was constructed by Anaji Sindhia grand father of Daulet Rao Sindhia.²

The local Rajput chieftains, zamindars and the Marathas large-heartedly contributed to the development of this sacred place, by building a number of ghats, and residencial quarters, beside repairing and constructing temples. Koth-tirath-ghat also known as chattreeghat was repaired by Daulet Rao Sindhia in 1815 with an expenditure of rupees one lakh. Chavandia, Harmara, Nand and Rampura, villages were granted for the upkeep of this place.³

1. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 396-98.
2. Letters from a Mahaatta camp, p. 240-41
3. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 404.
Shiva-ghat called after Shivaji (Mahadeva), was repaired by Govind Rao, at the expenses of Rs. 25,000. He had also built a temple of Govindji, and a house at this ghat, and had also granted land in Bandi, Narwar, Rampura, Ladpura for the maintenance of temple, ghat and a rest house.

On Varha-ghat evidently called after the famous Varhaji temple in chotti-basti, a temple of Rameshwara was built by Brahman Dataram in 1741. In 1755 another temple called Pachdevrih, consisting of five small temples, built by four anonymous peasants, at the cost of Rs. 40,000. In the closing years of eighteenth century, a Ganesh temple on this ghat was built by Raghunathji, a Maheshwari businessman of Ajmer.¹

Modighat was built by Modi Mahajans in 1763, and mafi land (revenue free land) in villages of oonirah, Ararka, in Ajmer, was also granted for this ghat, temple, and prohit.

Other important ghats includes Vishramghat having a temple of Shiva, constructed during the last days of Maratha rule, Bhadauria Ghat, constructed by Raja Gopal Singh Bhadauria in 1709, Ram Ghat, built by Ram Saran a deccani Brahmin, during the first quarter of eighteenth century. The other important constructions of the period under review are Bhandaris- Haveli built by Bhandhari Mahajans of

¹. Ahalya Bai, Queen of Indore, built a Dharamshala at Varha- ghat in 1776, Marwar and the Marathas p. 104.
Jodhpur, Nazir-ji-ka-temple built by Saligram, Nazir of Jodhpur in 1780, Hathi Singh's ghat constructed in 1770, by Hathi Singh a merchant of Kishangarh, Bala Rao Ingalia ghat, built in 1800, Shiva temple constructed on Gau-ghat, by Thakur of Bhinai in 1741, Hadoon-ka-ghat built by Bundi ruler in 1760, Chatress built over the remains of Abhey Singh (dt. 1749 at Pushkar) by thakur of Khimsar in 1791.

There had always been a tussle about shares in the offerings between Brahmins of Baadi and Chotti bastis (areas), both accusing each other, of non-Brahminical origin. It is said that Sawai Jai Singh in 1732, declared the people of Baadi basti simply as Bhojak and not Brahmins, though they were always regarded as Brahmins, but the Prohits of Chotti-basti through their efforts, always dictated the terms, upon their counter parts of Baadi Basti. 1

Beside being a religious affair, the annual fair of Pushkar was a sort of an yearly market, for those who were busy in animal trades, Oxes, camels, horse etc. of the famous places around Ajmer, are sold here by merchants to peasants and traders etc. Revenues in form of sell-tax, octoroi, had also

been realised by the government, and a pilgrimage tax was also taken by Mughals.¹

**Festivals of the Jain Community**

The Jain community of the city also celebrated their festivals with great pomp and show. The festivals of **Paryaruma**, **Rathyatra**, **Jalyatira** and **Dipotsav**, were the most important of which they celebrated. Abdul Qadir Khan had given a detailed description of the manner in which their new guru, known as Bhatharak was chosen by sarwagis and oswals after the death of their old guru. There are a number of venerable **Chattris**, and **Chabutras** (domes, and platforzms) of Digamber Jains having a number of inscriptions ranging from 8 century up to the period under review.

On 4, Ashvin Badi every year an **utsav** (celebrations) is held. **Dadabari** is another memorial, but for Switarian Jains where lie many chattris and chabutras of their famous divine Jindatta Suri, popularly known as Dadaji, hence the place is known as Dadabari.²

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¹ Waqai Almer, pp. 40-41. Waqai Qadir Khani, p. 212.


The inscriptions covering the period under discussion are of 1709, 1725, 1744, 1753, 1756, 1757, 1764, 1771, 1772, 1780, 1814, 1815.
Muslim Festivals:

Among the main Muslim festivals were **Idul-fitter**, Idul-zuha, Shab-i-Baraat and **Eid-Milad-un-Nabi**. According to Waqai Ajmer on both Idds, the Muslims gathered in large number to the newly constructed Idgah. Another new Idgah to perform Idd prayers was constructed by Chaman Beg in 1773, near Abdullah Khan's tomb, under the supervision of the famous Chishti saint Maulana Shamshuddin, a disciple of Maulana Fakhruddin Dehalvi.

The joyful event was celebrated with the same zeal and enthusiasm as had been displayed in the other parts of the country. The Khatib was honoured with robe and money, on both these occasions. Even during the period of internal turmoil spreading from 1679-1711, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh had attended the festivities of Eid and had bestowed rewards to Qazi and other religious dignatories.

Shab-i-Baraat, another important festival of the Muslims had also been celebrated with pomp and show, and people visit grave yard on that day.

2. Ajmer through Inscriptions, pp. 62-64. Dargah File No. 74
3. Akhbarat dt. 15 Moharram, 1123/4 March 1711.
4. Jawab-Namah, p. 90. On Shab-i-Barat and Moharram functions, some influential khadims received some Nazar from Dargah waqf, known as Panch Maha and Haft Maha. Moreover, fireworks also formed a part of Shab-i-Barat festivities. Dargah File No. 95
Idd-i-Milad-un-Nabi also called Barah-wafat, was the other festival which the Muslims of Ajmer celebrated with great reverence on 12 Rabi-ul-Awwal, the day of Prophet's birth and wafat (reception with God). These were the two separate festivals, as has been mentioned by G.N. Sharma.

Though there are references, which suggest that the ceremonies of Muharram were observed in Ajmer, during the Sultanate period, and also under the Mughals, but it assumed importance and popularity during the second half of eighteenth century, when the city was under the Sindhis, who were staunch believers of these festivities. The Mutawwalli family, which belonged to khadim community, and was patronized by Sindhis, introduced the Taziya making to the people of Ajmer. The expenses of Taziya making and other Muharram ceremonies were borne out by the dargah treasury.

1. Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, pp. 176-77

Shaikh Ahmed Majad Shaiban, a famous Chishti saint, who lived in Ajmer during the later part of fifteenth century, used to perform the rites of Muharram on ashura (tenth day of the month). The Wazai Sarkar-i-Ajmer informs, that some people known as sadi-Valan had taken out a procession of tabut (symbol of the Makers of the martyrs of Karbala), weeping and crying loudly, and with swords in their hands.

Daulat Rao Sindhia and his officers dressed in green clothes, like Muslims, used to participate in Muharram procession and ceremonies. Probably it was due to their close association with Sindhia family, that Mir Azimullah mutawwalli and his successors started celebrating Muharram in this way.
Abdul Qadir Khan has also mentioned that in the days of Muharram, many Taziyas were made in the city by the various muslim castes, and on 10th day of Muharram, all these were brought to the main gate of shrine. At the shrine of Miran Syed Hussain, where the majority of people were the followers of Shia sect, Muharram mournings and rites were also performed.  

Beside these well-known festivals of the muslims, there were a number of local Urs, festivals, celebrated by the people of Ajmer. The annual Urs of Khwaja Sahib was the greatest local fair about which details had already been given in the previous chapter.

The Urs of Miran Syed Hussain Khing sawar, held at Taragarh fort on 19 Rajab, was the other fair which attracted a large crowd. It is said that Miran Sahib, was appointed Commander of the muslim garrison, posted at the fort of Ajmer, after its annexation to the muslim empire. Traditions say that he was killed by the Rajputs, in a night attack in the early years of thirteen century. Ferishta seems to the first historian who had declared him a saint and a follower of Shiaism. Akbar granted 6,881 bighas of land, in the villages

1. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, pp. 212. Abdul Qadir Khan had also narrated about the patka (sword play) and Hai-Dost (actually Hai-Dost was friend) between the various parties of various mohallas.

2. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, pp. 193, 228. Dargah Files: No. 11.

of Deorai and Sambhalpure, in parganah haveli Ajmer, for the maintenance of shrine, expenditure on annual Urs, illumination, langer, and for the upkeep of khadims. Jahangir reduced this grant, and ordered that 1200 bighas of land was granted for the maintenance of the shrine, and 3108 for the khadims. Generally, the Mughal governor was the incharge of the administration of shrine, as there was no sajjada and mutawwalli.  

Aurangzeb, and Bahadur Shah, had also sent some money as Nazar to the khadims, during their visits of Ajmer. But it appears, that sometime between the reign of Jahangir and Muhammad Shah, 2108 bighas of land out of 3108 bighas, granted to khadims by Jahangir, was taken back by the government. But in 6 R.Y. of his reign, Muhammad Shah regranted the land, which is evident from his farman, issued in this regard.

The Maratha governors and rulers, took keen interest in the affairs of shrine, had constructed two verandhas, a tank in it, and also repaired the fort. Some officials of Daulet Rao Sindhia in 1800, granted Kheria village for the functionaries of the shrine. In this way this place assumed a

position of religious sanctity under Mughals, and rose to prominence under the Marathas.

The _airas_ (death anniversaries) of Bade-Pir Sahib (12 Rabi-us-Saani), Bibi Hafiz Jamal (19 Rajab), Khwaja Usman-i-Harvani (5 Shawwal), Qutab Sahib (14 Rabi-ul-Awwal), Madar Sahib (18 Jamadi-ul-Awwal) were the other few important _melas_ (fairs) which the people of Ajmer enjoyed with great enthusiasm.

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1. Actually Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad, the founder of Qadiri sect, is known as Badapir Sahib. On his death anniversary a _mela_ is held on hillock near the shrine, which lies in the way to Taragarh. It is said that one Shaikh Saundha faqir brought two bricks from the tomb of the said Shaikh, and these were buried with him in 1770 at this hill, hence the place is called Chilla Badapir Sahib. Shaikh Madho constructed a building here and _manzoori_, the Maratha _subehdar_ of Ajmer granted Makhupura village for the upkeep of the shrine. Later on the request of Amir Khan Pindari, Bale Rao Ingalia, granted an endowment of Rs. 1 a day, for the shrine, which was confirmed by Daulet Rao Sindhia in 1810. Soon it assumed a position of a religious place. Bibi Hafiz Jamal was the daughter of Khwaja Sahib, and her tomb is at the footside of her father's shrine. She had spent some time in devotion in a cave of Noor Chashmeh, where a fair is held. On that day people of Ajmer give some cash or gifts to their married sisters, daughters, and nieces etc, which is known as _Ursana_ (yearly gift).

Qutab Sahib who lies buried at Mehrauli in Delhi, had also spent some time in prayers, in a cell on a hill near Ana Sagar, hence the place is called Chilla Qutab Sahib. During the period under review some constructions were made on it. A fair is held, and _mehfil_ (recitation of _fateha_ and qawwali singing) also arranged.

Shah Badiuddin Madar, whose tomb is in Makhanpur, had been in Ajmer for sometime and stayed at Kokla hill, also known as Madar Dungri. A fair is celebrated in his name on his death day. For details of all these fairs, festivals see: _Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani_, pp. 225b, 227-28

Death anniversaries of few other famous local saints, like Naddhu Shaheed, Miskin Shaheed, Pir Mitha, Burhanuddin Qattal, and Mir Shihabuddin, were also observed and the expenditure for these ceremonies generally born out by the dargah waqf. 1

One of the important festival of the city was the Basant, which was a unique traditional function, and a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. On that day bouquets of fresh seasonal flowers, were brought to shrine in a ceremonial procession, with the singing of the qawwallis. The function starts from the main gate of the shrine, attended by huge crowd, and terminates after the flowers were offered at tomb of Khwaja Sahib. 2

Thus, the people of Ajmer, both Hindus and Muslims, were always found busy in celebrating one or the other fair festival throughout the year and enjoying life with these outings and picnics, in, and around, the city.

EDUCATION:

As has been stated earlier, the city of Ajmer occupied an important position as the centre of education under the Chauhan rulers, in eleventh and twelfth centuries. Adhai-din-ka

1. Dargah Files No.: 7B1: 49,60
2. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 225b.
Jhonpah, which originally was a sarsauti mandir (temple of learning), was one of the earliest and important centre of learning, according to the tradition. With the arrival of Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti, and establishment of Turkish empire in India, the city became one of the great centres of Islamic teachings, philosophy of sufism, Arabic and Persian literature. In the pre-Mughal days a number of important saints lived here, and preached the doctrine of Islam and sufism. Sultan Mehmud Khilji had re-established a madarsah (school) at shrine in the second half of fifteenth century.

Under the Mughals the madarsah of shrine continued and carried the work of educating people about religion, Hadis (traditions of Prophet) and Fiqah (Islamic jurisprudence). A number of local people were granted stipends from the dargah endowment, and had become hafiz (Quran Conner), and even qualified to hold the post of muhtasib and teacher. But the political chronicles, as well as the religious literature,

1. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 68-82
2. See my article: A Critical Study of Akbar's relations with the dargah of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, P.I.H. Congress, Bodh Gaya, 1981. Shaikh Hussain Nagori was one of the greatest scholar of his time, who wrote several books, including a commentary on Quran, and a biography of Shaikh Ahmed Ghazali. His disciple Shaikh Ahmed Majed Shaibani, was also a great scholar of his time, who spent 70 years at Ajmer, guiding and teaching people in matters of religious and sufism. Akbhaar-ul-Akhiyar, pp 174-79. Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p. 593.
produced during the period under review contain fragmentary evidence with regard to the educational activities in the city of Ajmer. Even this evidence is confined to a very brief information about the shrine, where a madrasah was functioning, and some teachers belonging to the khadim community were engaged in the dissemination of religious learning and culture.

Rustam Ali, author of *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, furnishes few names of teachers and theologians who served in this madrasah at the mid-eighteenth century. He had expressed his opinion for the profound learning and purity of character of Syed Hayatullah, Shaikh Muhammad Farid, Shaikh Mumraiz, and Shaikh Sharifullah, who taught in the madrasah of shrine.¹ Hafiz Pir Ali was another renowned teacher of hadis and fighah who was granted sixty bigahs of land as madad-i-maash by Farrukhsiyar.²

In the city proper, there existed a very few madrasahs which attracted large number of students from the local population of Muslims. These madrasahs had been set up to meet the preliminary requirements of religious teachings but no academy

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¹ *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, pp.610-12, 631
² *Asanid-us-Sanadid*, pp.283-84.

Pir Akram Ali succeeded his father, Syed Hayatullah as teacher in the madrasah of shrine in 1170/1758.
of higher religious education and learnings, was ever created to impart knowledge, theoretical or practical in mysticism, the fountain-head of true Islamic faith, though there are references about the khangas (hospices) of the individuals mainly of khadims which were established with the purpose of propagating the ideals of Chishti sect.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE:

The city had been famous for its beautiful buildings, monuments, temples, and sagars (lakes), when the Turks had occupied it. Adhai-din-ka-Jhonpah and the Taragarh fort are the classic examples of the early medieval period of Indian history, as far as architecture is concerned.

A few other buildings of the pre-Mughal period had also survived as a result of regular repairs and constant maintenance.

The Mughal Emperors, and their nobles, were the main contributors for the development of architecture in the city. Daulet-Khana, the palace-cum-fort of Akbar (now called magazine), white marble pavilions at the embankment of Ana sagar lake, mosques of Akbar and Shahjahan in the shrine of Khwaja Sahib - still stand and afford an excellent testimony, to their great dedication, to Khwaja Sahib and remarkable
interest, in the development of the city, as well as in architecture. Following their masters, a number of Mughal nobles, had erected small structures within the compound of the dargahs of Khwaja Sahib, and Miran Sahib (at Taragarh fort), and at many other places in the city. A number of mosques had been built, and many gardens had also been laid out during the Mughal period.  

Among the earliest buildings constructed during the period under review are the mausoleums of Syed Abdullah Khan Barha and his wife, parents of the famous Syed Brothers. Both these are separately situated, opposite to each other, on Beawar road, near the present malgodem (Railway goods shed). The tomb of Abdullah Khan's wife is of polished white marble, though small in size, yet in elegance, purity of design, and workmanship, equals the best buildings existing anywhere.

Mr. H.R.H. Garrick, in his survey report had remarked, "I found an exquisitely-sculptured tomb of white marble, the perforated screens, surrounding the sarcophagus of this

1. For details see: Ajmer Through the Inscriptions, pp. 11-57
   Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 35-41, 47-107, 117-34
tomb are equal in workmanship to any thing I have seen, and the marble is of the finest quality."\(^1\)

The mausoleum of Syed Abdullah Khan, is built of unpolished white marble, and in square in shape, with about 35 feet aside. It stands on a platform surrounded by a plinth of about 3 feet high from the ground level. At the four corners are piers with half octagonal columns on two of their sides. This building is simple in comparison to the other tomb. Tirmizi's conjecture that the chronogram fixed on a slab, when worked out, yields the date 1119/1702-3, may refer to death of Abdullah's wife, is totally wrong. On this date Syed Abdullah Khan had died, and therefore the slab with this chronogram is fixed in his maqbara.

It was beside this tomb, that a mosque was also built by the descendants of Abdullah Khan, and a garden was also laid out. It is said that a water channel had also been built to fetch water from Ana Sagar. Since then the area is known as Abdullah pura. In the early years of Muhammad Shah's reign, when in 1720, Syed Hussain Ali Khan was assassinated at Toda, the corpses of Hussain Ali Khan, Izzat Khan etc, were brought to Ajmer, to be buried in that mausoleum.\(^2\)

However, the successors of Aurangzeb did not construct

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1. Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XXIII, 1883-84, p. 47. In plan, this mausoleum is a quadrangle of 15'-1" sides or 60'-4" in circuit, standing upon a marble platform 4'-6½" high, and measuring 128' in circuit. The quadrangle consists of a small court containing the tomb, enclosed by marble jali screens with a parapet and guldastas (pinnacles) but without any roof. It is 9'-5" high above the platform and 13'-1½" above the ground. The platform had a balustrade as evidenced by the muttagga holes which still remains although the balustrade now disappeared. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 132.

2. For the details of both mausoleums see: Ajmer Through the Inscriptions, p. 57-61. 
Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 131-32.
Akhbarat dt 25, 28 Safar 1114/20, 23 July, 1702.
Published Muslim inscriptions of Rajasthan pp. 15-16
Mulakhaz-ut-tawarikh - 142
any new building in the city of Ajmer, or at the dargah of Khwaja Sahib. But the Rajput chiefs and the Marathas built a number of building at dargah, Pushkar, Taragarh fort and at other places in the city.

Traditions say that Jai Singh sometime between 1727-30, offered a wooden gate covered with silver for the shrine of Khwaja Sahib which still is there, at the door steps (Jijnri) of the sacred place. At the same time he had also constructed the Vahraji temple.

One of the finest temples, erected in eighteenth century, is the Mahadeva temple at Pushkar. It was built by Anaji Sindhia, grand-father of Daulet Rao Sindhia, on the remains of Jai appa Sindhia, who was assassinated at Nagore in 1756. Col. Broughton who visited the place in 1810, in the company of Daulet Rao Sindhia is full of praise about the architecture of this temple.

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1. **Ajmer Historical and Descriptive**, pp. 92,397.
   H.B. Sharda is of the view that Jai Singh in 1730 under the supervision of Muhammad Hayat etc, Mutawwalli of shrine ordered for the erection of silver railings, which contained 42,961 tolas of silver.

2. **Letters from a Mahratta Camp**, p.240-41
   Col. Broughton says that "of the modern temples, the one dedicated to Mahadeva is by far the most remarkable, for the elegance of its structure and the nature of its ornaments, of all the temples that Pushkar boats of. It was built by Anaji Sindhia, the grand-father of the present Maharaja (Daulet Rao). The image and alter on which it is placed are of white marble, highly polished, and executed in a style superior to anything of the kind I have seen in India."
Sarai Chishti Chaman was built by Maratha governor Santooji (1769-74), outside Madar gate, and was donated to dargah of Khwaja Sahib. A market than known as Santoo pura, was also set up there by Santooji after his name.  

In 1187/1773-74 Nawab Mirza Chaman Baig, the Maratha governor of Malwa and the son of Mirza Adil Baig, former governor of Ajmer, sent rupees one lakh from Ujjain to Maulana Shamsuddin, disciple of the famous Chishti saint of eighteenth century, Maulana Fakhruddin for the construction of a new Iddqah under the supervision of Mirza Ahmed Ali Baig. This new Iddqah was constructed near the tomb of Syed Abdullah Khan. It has five gates, 130 yards in length, and 40 yards in width while its enclosure is 17 yards deep over its central mehrib, there is a slab of marble (1'- 8" x 9") at a height of 14 feet from the floor, and contained few verses in Persian language.  

In 1776, the same Maulana Shamshuddin built a simple mosque with a doomed roof at the Chilla of Qutab Sahib, on a hill near Ana Sagar lake.  

1. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 41, 251.  
The Chishti-Chaman (garden) and Sarai was built over the ruins of a garden, earlier laid out by a Mughal noble in the last quarter of seventeenth century. Mirza Adil is said to have added a mosque to this place.  

2. Ajmer through the Inscriptions, pp. 62-64  
Maulana Fakhruddin Dehalvi, was the famous Chishti saint of early eighteenth century, who had re-organized the sect throughout India. He was the disciple of his father, Shaikh Nizamuddin Aurangabadi who was the successor of famous saint Shaikh Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi. He died in 1785, and is buried near the shrine of Qutab Sahib at Mehrauli. Two of his disciples rose to fame in Rajputana. Maulana Ziauddin at Jaipur and Maulana Shamshuddin at Ajmer. For the details of Fakhruddin see: Tarikh-i-Mas'aaikh-i-Chishti, pp.183-249  

3. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p.133.
Another notable building erected during this period, is the Karnataki-dalan, also called as Aat-kat (Arcot) ka Dalan situated at the foot side in south of the shrine of Khwaja Sahib. It was built by Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan Walajah, the ruler of Arcot in 1207/1792. It appears from the letters of the Nawab, written to Mr. Stuart and Mahadaji Sindhia, that during an illness, he had taken a vow to construct a new building in the shrine. Consequently, after his recovery the Nawab in 1791, sent Muhammad Jafar Khan and Qadir Yar Khan his trusted officials to supervise the construction. Mahadaji Sindhia, under whom Ajmer was at that time, showed much favours and consideration to them.¹

There are three beautiful tombs in white marble, near the water stall (sabil), adjacent to Chattri gate in front of maqbara, on the eastern bank of jhalra, in the shrine of Khwaja Sahib. There are two inscriptions on these tombs, which reveals that two of the tombs are of Mirza Adil Baig (d. 1182/1769) and Mirza Chanan Baig, the Mirzas of Mandsaur, about whom details had been furnished earlier. The third tomb is of Mirza Abdul Rahim Baig, Khan Bahadur Himmat Jang, whose identity could not be established by Tirmizi. Indeed, Mirza Rahim Baig was a close confident of Mahadaji Sindhia, and had accompanied, and served him in various campaign of the

¹ Ajmer through the Inscription, pp. 64-65.
Marathas in Rajputana and Doab. He was a title holder of Moinul Daula Asad-ul-Mulk. One of his brothers, Mirza Anwar Baig held the governorship of Ajmer in the second half of the eighteenth century, and another brother, was killed at Ajmer during a fight with Rathors in 1787.¹

Shivaji Nana, the Maratha governor in the closing years of the eighteenth century constructed two Jhalrahs (tanks) on the way, and at Taragarh fort, now known as Nanaji-ka-Jhalraha and Gol Jhalraha.² Two dalans (varandahs) at the shrine of Miran Syed Hussain at Taragarh were constructed respectively by Bala Rao Ingalia (governor of Ajmer between 1803-8) at the instance of the saint, and by Rao Gumanji Sindhia (subehdar of Ajmer between 1809-15). The inscription supply 1807-8 and 1811-13, as the years of the erection of these varandahs.³

Beside these few important constructions, the Marathas, also founded a number of markets, villages and repaired temples. Shivaji Nana took initiative and began the construction of Naya bazar in the closing years of the eighteenth century, though it could not be completed till 1819, when Col. Tod visited Ajmer. Bala Rao Ingalia in 1803, demolished Sanoopura for

   *Ajmer-Historical and Descriptive*, pp.195-96.

². *Ajmer-Historical and Descriptive*, pp.41, 55.

³. *Ajmer through Inscriptions*, pp.67-68.
the defence purpose, and converted the Akbar Sarai, inside the Madar gate, as the residential houses in 1806. This was later occupied by the Mahajans and renamed as Ganpet pura. Bala Rao Ingalia also repaired the city wall. A number of ghats and temples were repaired at Pushkar by the Rajput chieftains and Maratha sardars, which had already been mentioned earlier.\textsuperscript{1} Ahaluya Bai of Indore constructed a Dharamshala at this sacred place.\textsuperscript{1} Bapuji Sindhia the last Maratha governor of Ajmer (1816-1818) built Bapugargh temple and also repaired Bajranggarh temple both on the hills around Ana Sagar lake.\textsuperscript{2} Beside these new constructions and repairs, the Maratha also took interest in the preservation of the old monuments of the city, which is evident from an appeal of Daulet Rao Sindhia. The Maratha ruler in 1809, fixed a stone slab on the entrance of Adhai-din-ka Jhonprah, forbidding both Hindus and Muslims in name of their respective religions, not to harm and damage the building, by removing the stones of the place for the personnel use. He had also repaired and restored the central dome of this historic building.\textsuperscript{3}

The other notable minor constructions of the period are the varandah and dome built at Badapir by Jamshed Khan, an officer of Amir Khan, Nawab of Tonk,\textsuperscript{4} dalans erected at the

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 41, 42, 134, 252, 253, 296-310. Marwar and the Marathas, p. 104.
\item[2.] Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p. 711.
\item[3.] Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 71. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 227
\item[4.] Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, pp. 710-11
\end{itemize}
Shrine of Khwaja's Sahib, by Vikashi Rao (1810) and Shivaji (1812) the two Marathas, huge haveli of Saith Gojmal Loohia and the famous Mamaiyun-ki-Haveli in Lakhan Kothri, very near the shrine.¹

Thus, during the second half of eighteenth century, under the rule of Marathas, a number of famous buildings were erected and repaired, in comparison to the early decades of the century, when the city was under the Mughals.

In regard of the other cultural activities, it can be said that the singing of qawwallis had become a permanent feature of the celebrations held at the shrine. The people of Ajmer, specially those attached to dargah, who were the followers of Chishti ideals, had developed a good taste for this practice, in order to enhance and increase their spirituality. Akbar and his successors had employed permanent and hereditary qawwals for singing in the shrine and had granted revenue free lands and stipends to them in order to promote this important aspect of Hindu-Muslim unity.² It is interesting to note that even Aurangzeb during one of his visit to shrine, had allowed the qawwali performance with musical instruments.³

2. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p. 45
3. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp. 146-47; Appendix C
4. Waqai Ajmer, pp. 304-5
It also appears that the people of Ajmer were also
found of music and dance. There are reference of Kancharias
(dancing girls) in Waqai sarkar-i-Ajmer, who used to play
music, and perform dancing on social functions such as marriage
etc.\(^1\) In the later half of eighteenth century, when the office
of Muhtasib altogether had disappeared, the number of these
tawaifs increased. They even started singing at shrine,
though devotional songs and were paid allowances from the
dargah treasury.\(^2\)

Some of the documents and inscriptions of the period
under review, suggest that the art of calligraphy and epigraphy
was also in a flourishing state, and people earned livelihood
in these professions.\(^3\)

Hindu Muslim Relations:
As has been pointed earlier that the philosophy of
sufism and teachings of the Chishti saints had played a vital
role for the communal harmony, and in bringing Hindu-Muslim
nearer to each other, the people of the city of Ajmer never
witnessed or faced tension or ill feeling on the basis of
religion.

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1. Waqai Ajmer, p. 305
   When Sheikh Fuzail a descendant of Sheikh Ashraf Jahangir
   Jahan Gahit visited Ajmer some of these Kancharias repented
   at his hands but later re-started their profession of
   singing and dancing on the occasions of marriage etc.

2. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 224b, 225b
   Dargah Files, No: 12/13, 65/40, Appendix

3. Ajmer through Inscriptions, pp. 57-68
   Appendix
The dargah of Khwaja Sahib which had become a centre of liberal thinking and approaches, and where the ideals of humanitarianism, religious tolerance, were always practiced throughout the chequered history of India, attracted the huge crowds of people, irrespective of their religion, caste, and colour. Even during the pre-Mughal period, when there always and loomed tension, chaos, due to the conflicts between the Sultans of Delhi, Mandu, Gujarat, and native rulers of Marwar and Mewar, non-Muslims were always found visiting the shrine of Khwaja Sahib, without any hesitation and reservations. Some of the names of the people of dargah, and few customs prevalent in this period, are the ample proofs of their liberal approaches and non-communal thinking. It will not be wrong to say that Akbar during his early visits to shrine, held discussions with these people, and was much influenced by their mod of thinking and teachings.

However, under the Mughals when the dargah transformed into a well-knitted and well-organized institution, it contributed largely for the Hindu-Muslim unity, and for the amicable and peaceful living of the people of various groups and creeds. According to G.N. Sharma, Ajmer grew-up as a centre of Chishti order, which created an atmosphere of better understanding,
toleration and fusion of culture during the Mughal period.\footnote{1 \textit{Rajasthan Studies}, p.203.}

Finally in the period of Rajputs and Marathas, during the second half of eighteenth century, this mutual bond of trust and friendship, further strengthened between the two communities. The Hindu rulers of the place specially the Maratha\textcent; took great care and showed the same veneration for the shrine of Khwaja Sahib, which had been done by the Mughals. Not only the early grants of land had been confirmed but fresh tracts of lands had also been assigned to the functionaries of shrine. New places of worship, for both the communities, had been raised at various places in the city.

Moreover, a number of Hindus had served as mutawwalli, amin, mushrif and other offices of dargah. In that official capacity, they even had attended the ceremonies held at shrine, along with other religious dignitaries - thus providing a classic example of the communal harmony and liberal attitude, which was flourishing in this area.

The grant of stipends, daily allowances, shares in langer to non-muslims from the shrine waqf, participation in the festivals of each other, clearly indicate\textcent; the trends of
tolerance and mutual understanding between the various social and religious groups. At one hand, if the pujari of Bheroonji's temple happened to be a muslim, on the other, the responsibility of maintaining a Hanuman temple was entrusted to the endowment of shrine. Undoubtedly there were the rarest, but greatest happenings of our liberal socio-cultural approaches, which had played a vital and important part in bridging the gulf between the two communities, and thus bringing them nearer to each other, which was the need of the time.
CHAPTER IX

Land Revenue Management and Economic Condition
Land Revenue system:

As has been discussed earlier that when in 1580, Akbar re-organized the provincial administration, and introduced a uniform system—civil and judicial throughout his empire, Ajmer retained the status of a separate and full-fledged subah, with the name of subah-i-Darul-Khair (Abode of goodness) and city of Ajmer, as its capital.

It comprised of 7 sarkars, having 197 paraganas. The measured land according to Abul Fazal was 2 crores, 14 lakhs, 35 thousands, 9 hundreds, 41 bigahs and 7 biswas. The Jama dami of the province in 1595-96 was 28,84,01,557 dams, out of which 23,26,336 dams were siyurghul.

The sarkar of Ajmer contained 28 paraganas, including two mahals in haveli Ajmer. It had 5,60,54,87 bigahs of land, yielding a revenue of 6,21,83,390 dams, out of which 14,75,714 dams were siyurghul.

The paraganah of haveli Ajmer had 7,95,335 bigahs of land, with a revenue of 62,14,731 dams of which
8,02,440 dams were siyurghal.

The province had to furnish 86,500 cavalry, and 3,47,000 infantry, out of which the sarkar of Ajmer had to supply, 16,000 cavalry, and 80,000 infantry.\(^1\)

It appears that during the later Mughal period, there were 8 sarkars in the province of Ajmer, having 217 or 219 parganahs. Kombhalmer and Jaiselmer were the two newly created sarkars, while Sirohi an old sarkar disappeared for ever.\(^2\)

N.A. Siddiqi had supplied a table of the Jama figures of the province, covering a period of more than 150 years i.e. from 1595-1748. This statistical survey

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The seven Sarkars were: Ajmer, Nagore, Jodhpur, Ranthambhor, Chittor, Bikaner and Sirohi. H.B. Sharda and R. Joshi seem incorrect when both of them had stated that the amount of revenues of Ajmer province was 26 3/37%. Sharda further had committed a mistake when he had converted the revenues of Sarkar of Ajmer from 6,21,83,890 dams into Rs. 31,09,698. Rajasthan District Gazetteer - Ajmer, p. 58. Ajmer - Historical and Descriptive, p. 154. Unnigvin-Shatabdi ka Ajmer, p. 7.

suggest that from time to time there was a rise and fall in Jama figures, and accordingly, the sarkar and parganah
haveli Ajmer, supplied revenues to the empire. It should
also be kept in view that the Jama figures rose more than
double and sometimes triple, in the first half of eighteenth
century, in comparison to the actual figures of 1595-96.  

1. Land Revenue Administration/ pp. 169-70
   The highest Jama figures in the reign of Shahjehan
(1638-50) were 54,6,61,656 dams and between the 31-35
R.Y. of Aurangzeb, it rose to 65,26,45,702 dams. In 1711
during Bahadur Shah's reign, it was 87,00,00,000 dams,
the highest ever under the Mughals; but later it decreased
and at the death of Muhammad Shah it fell to 60,29,80,270
dams.
   N.A. Siddiqi has supplied wrong figures of 1,29,80,270
dams of Bahadur Shah's early years. The source he had based
for this piece of information viz. Haqiqat-i-Dami-va-
Hasilat-i-Mumalk-i-Mehrusa, Infact supply the figures of
80,29,80,270 dams. Moreover, Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani gives
the figures of 55,6,00006, dams which too had been
omitted by Siddiqi. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari states that prior
to Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739, there were 123 mahals
in the province and the Jama dami was 50,53,67,000 dams.

J.N. Sarkar, in the book of Ain-i-Akbari, Khulasat-ul-tawarikh
chahar-Gulshan and Tiefenbacher's Geographie-de-Tirganistan
had claimed, that the revenues of Ajmer province, was Rs. 72,
10,039 in 1594 Rs. 1,3,8,84,000 in 1695, Rs. 1,50,74,500 in 1700,
Rs. 174,29,829 in 1720, and Rs. 1,63,0642 in the last quarter
of eighteenth century. As regard the revenues of the Sarker
of Ajmer he is of the opinion that it was Rs. 15,54585, in
1594 and Rs. 2,66,194 in 1720.

India of Aurangzeb, pp XXXI, IXII-IXIII.
No correct figures of Jama of the later half of eighteenth century are available, when the Marathas were the master of the Ajmer district. However, it seems that in the last thirty years of their rule, the Marathas collected more than Rs. 2 lakhs per annum. This amount included Nazar and fauj-kharch (army expenditure), the later being a forced tax, realised by the people of the area, who always resisted its collection and had even revolted on some occasions.

1. Unnisvin Shatabdi ka Ajmer, p.19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of subehdar</th>
<th>Total Amount of nazir &amp; amount fauj kharch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Shivaji Nana</td>
<td>Rs.122,693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Rs.204,869 Rs.9,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>General Perron</td>
<td>Rs.200,992 Rs.9,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Rs. 22,365 Rs.9,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Rs.202,09 Rs.9,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810-15</td>
<td>Gumanji Sindhia</td>
<td>Rs.229,405 Including Nazrana and Fauj Kharch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>Bapuji Sindhia</td>
<td>Rs.320,341 Rs.73,042 F.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Rs.332,732 Rs.78,299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Rs.356,795 Rs.122,090</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Letter of F. Wilder (First Superintendent of Ajmer) to Major Sir Ochterluny, dt. 27 September 1818

(RSA Bikaner) Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 198-99, 294, 298-99. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p.129

During the closing years of eighteenth century, the Thakur of Barli refused to pay fauj-kharch, hence his estate was looted, ravaged and he with his family members was put to death.
But the fact is that the collection of fauj kharch if on one hand shattered the economy of istimwardars and its other payers, but at the same time it strengthened their claim and hold over their respective thikanas (estates).

KHALISA: The land of the area of Ajmer was divided in four categories (i) Khalisa, (ii) Istimward, (iii) jagir and (iv) Bhum, but the majority of the land was under istimwardars, while the lowest part, about 1/10 of the total land was in jagir.

The Khalisa or crownlands constituted nearly 1/4 of the total land and was exclusively under the direct control of the Central government. It was further divided in four categories: (i) Chahi (irrigated from wells) Talaabi (irrigated from tanks) (iii) Aabi (submerged during the rains) (iv) Barani (irrigated land depending on rainfall). The Khalisa and jagir areas, had no rivers or streams bringing water supply from elsewhere. According to J.D. Latouch:

1. For details of Khalisa under Mughals see: Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp.102-15.

2. Ajmer - Historical and Descriptive, pp. 280-82
From the ancient times, however, it has been the custom in the *Khalisa* land of Ajmer that those who permanently improved land by sinking wells and constructing embankments for the storage of water, acquired thereby certain rights in the soil so improved. These rights are which summed up and contained in the term *biswahdari*, a name as synonymous with the term *Bapota* in Mewar and Marwar, and with the term *Miras* in southern India, both of the latter words signifying "heritable land."¹ Such peasants came to be regarded as permanent tenure holders and could not be derived of his tenure on any other grounds than the non-payment of assessed revenues.

Abdul Qadir observed that in *biswahdari* land, no one except such a tenure holder, or his agent, could cultivate the fields. He had also the right to permit the other peasants to cultivate the lands, on the condition of payment of his dues, amounting to ten to twenty *sere* per bigah, depending on the nature and quantity of the crop grown in field.² At the end of 18th century, there were 81 villages

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2. *Waqai* "Abdul-Qadir Khani*, p.211
in Khalisa land, yielding Rs. 1,26,000 yearly, as an average income.  

In 1817, an year before the final annexation of Ajmer to the East India Company, the Marathas recovered Rs. 1,15,060 from the Khalisa land, while the British realised Rs. 1,59,746 in 1818-19, the share of the government being (in both the cases) one half of the produce.  

ISTIMRARDARS,  

Istimrardars, also called the thikanedars, talluqdars and jagirdars, held land in lieu of military services, they were required to render to the State under the Mughal system of government, and they enjoyed rights and privileges of zamindars on the permanent basis.  

According to Tod, these privileges though rewarded for the time being could be taken away by the government.  

1. Gazetteer of Ajmer-Merwara, p.20  
2. Unnissvini Shatabdi ka Ajner, p.72-73  
3. For details see: Ajmer Historical&Descriptive, pp.285-306  
4. Gazetteer of Ajmer - Merwara, p.29
in the event of revolt or defiance of permanent authority, by the land holders.¹ Later, during the eighteenth century, they become hereditary, as the son was granted possession, of the land on the condition, on which his father held it.²

According to Abdul Qadir Khan, there were 65 small estates in Ajmer district in 1818,³ but Mr. Wilder, the first English superintendent writes that there were 70 thikanas in Ajmer. Out of these 64 were under the control of Rathors, one each was held by Sisodia and Gaud Rajputs, while the remaining four small villages, Rajosi Nauser, Ajaisar, Kharekhari, were under the possession of Chitta tribes, who were Muslims. There were 277 villages in these thikanas, out of which 198 villages paid the fauj kharch to the Marathas.⁴ At the close of 18th century, the total revenue of these villages and kaabas realised by istimrardars was Rs. 3,40,000.⁵ Till the second

2. Letter of Mr. Cavendish, superintendent of Ajmer, dt 11 July, 1829.
4. Letter of Mr. Wilder, dt. 27th September 1818.
5. Gazetteer of Ajmer Marwarah, p. 20 But Cavendish of the view that the annual income of these estates was Rs. 5, 59, 158, out of which Rs. 1, 14, 129, were paid to government yearly. Letter of Mr. Cavendish dt. July 1829.
half of eighteenth century, these *istimradars* never paid revenues, and held the land on condition of military service. But, the Marathas abolished this old system, as they could not trust the Rajput contingents, supplied by *thikaneidars* of Ajmer, for fighting purposes in the campaigns. In its place, they demanded fixed amount of money in each from these land holders, in form of a tax which they called *Fauj-kharch*, which in meaning and implication resembled *Jaziyah* imposed by some early sultans of Delhi on their non-muslim subjects. However, in calculating the amount for contribution, various factors in respect to the nature of soil, type of crop, irrigational facilities, volumes of productivity, and the resourcefulness of the *zaminder*, were carefully taken into account. This system introduced by the Marathas proved very profitable to them, and it served in the improvement of their financial position, but the condition of *thikaneidar*, and its *ryot* deteriorated further. However, in return of this cash payment, the Maratha chiefs granted proprietary rights to the *istimradars*, and full autonomy in their internal affairs, making them more powerful than in the past. Their position and status, however, depended on the nature of their relation with the supreme overlords.

JAGIRDARS:

The revenue free holdings of Ajmer were of three kinds, (1) jagir (ii) Milk and (iii) Bhum. The difference between the first two, is that the jagir is the grant of revenue of an entire village or share in the village, while the milk means the grant of a fixed number of bighas of land. When the district was ceded to the British government in 1818, there were 64 jagir villages, out of which 18 village were attached to the dargah of Khwaja Sahib, 3 to the shrine of Miran Sahib, 2 to the Chattri of Surjee Rao in Pushkar, and one village each to chilla Bade Pir Sahib, temple of Nathdwarah, and the Dudhari trust. Three villages were held by the Khadims of dargah and two by the Brahmins of Pushkar. The rest of the estates were held by 9 jagirdars, 4 of them were muslims, and Gagwa, held by a Rathor Chief was the biggest of these thikanas. Thus, all these jagir estates were divided in three classes, (i) Endowments of Religious Institutions, (ii) Grants to individuals and (iii) Grant to corporations.

The area of these jagirs was about 1,37,955 acres, out of which 65,472 acres belonged to the endowments of shrines, and sacred institutions, and the remaining portion

1. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p.307.
3. According to Baden Powell in Ajmer, Charitable grants made in Khalisa lands or in Chief's estates were called jagir, which simply meant a royal or princely grant in full proprietary right, with a total submission of revenue or a reduced revenue demand only. Here the term did not bear the same meaning, which it had elsewhere.

enjoyed by the individuals and certain classes designated in grants. No conditions of military or other service were attached to the tenure of any of these jagir. 1

39 out of these grants were made by the Mughals, and the remaining were given by Sindhi, Rathors etc. During the period a number of changes took place and fresh grants were also bestowed. It has been claimed that in 1769, Shah Alam issued a farman granting Hokran and Kishenpura, from dargah endowment to Diwan Syed Imamuddin, in lieu of his daily allowance from dargah treasury. In 1802, Daulet Rao Sindhi granted Dandra village (also from dargah jagir) to Muttawalli Mir Azimullah in place of his rozinah from dargah. Another village Kheria was granted by Mr. Simpson, subehdar Patel, and Mr. L. Bourguinon, officials of Daulet Rao Sindhi to the shrine of Miran Hussain in 1800. The Maratha ruler of Ajmer in 1810, also granted Makhoopura village for the upkeep of chilla Bade Pir Sahib. He also granted Bhawanikhera for the temple of Nathdawara in 1806. 2

Farrukhsiyar made a grant of 5½ villages viz. Jharwasa, Sedaria, Boraj, Kazipura, Kesurpura, and half of Durathoo to

2. Ajmer Regulations and Notifications, Vol. II, H to L, pp. 556-83. Jawat Namah, pp. 56-60. As regard the farman of Shah Alam, for the grant of Hokran and Kishenpura on the request of Diwan Imamuddin, Baari Maani is of the view, that it is a forged document, whose original is missing. Beside contradictions in the name of Emperor Shah Alam, and error in the date of his accession, Qazi Imamuddin has not included this copy of grant in his book Moinul Auliya, which contains all the royal documents issued to the family of diwan, by the Mughal rulers, from time to time.
the descendants of Tahawwar Khan, probably the same person who was killed during Akbar's revolt in 1680. He also granted Dilware to the Sajjada Nashin of Khwaja Maudud Chishti of Herat, who was the great grand-pir of Khwaja Sahib.

Azim Khan, a noble of Muhammad Shah, procured sanction of Daudhiana as inam for the same Sajjada family.

Wazir, Qamaruddin Khan of Muhammad Shah played a key role in the grant of Jharwasa and Bhuttiani to Sherdil Khan, another jagirdar of that area.

Morajheri Baneri, Beonja Gheghal were also granted by Karrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah to the Khadims of the shrine of Khwaja Sahib. ¹

Thus the majority of the villages and land around Ajmer were attached to the shrines of Khwaja Sahib and Miran Sahib.

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2. Out of a total of 150,838 acres, with a revenue of Rs. 91,000, nearly half of the land with a revenue of Rs. 43,000 were held in jagir by shrines and religious institutions. The Land System of British India, p. 329.
and the functionaries of these religious places. Some individual grants in inam and altamgha were also made to some other religious dignitaries or loyal servants of the ruling class.

BHUM:

Etymologically the term Bhumia is derived from 'Bhum' (land) and is equivalent to much abused Persian word Zamindar, but unlike the later term the name in Rajputana, seems never to have been perverted from its original meaning which Col. Tod translates by the word "allodial proprietor", as distinguished from the feudal chiefs, and the tenant of Khalisa land. Col. Brooke writes Bhum was a land in which state had abandoned its rights to revenue, and the owner his right of ownership in favour of one and the same person the Bhumia, and that whether the state grants lands of its own in Bhum or abandon its right to revenue on land belonging to other persons, who have given up their right of ownership, the position of Bhumia was exactly the same.

According to Baden-Powell it consisted in an absolute estate in a given area of land, which might be coupled with

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2. Letter of Col. J.C. Brooke, C.C. Ajmer Marwara to Mr. C.U. Atchinson, Secretary Foreign Department, dt. 17 August 1871, No. 205.
the condition of maintaining good order, being answerable for crime and so forth.  

D. Latouche on the authority of Mr. Hallam defines that, "allodial property as land which had descended from inheritance, subject to no burden but that of public defence. It passes to all children equally; on failure of children to nearest kindred."  

Col. Tod is of the view that Bhumias in Marwar are the descendants of earlier princes, who on the predominance of new clans, ceased to come to court, and to hold higher grades of ranks. They continued, however, to hold their land, and became an armed husbandmen, a feudal militia, paying a quit-rent to the crown, but practically exempt from such payment. Bhum was the only tenure which was not resumable by the crown, and is hereditary in the fullest sense of the word, though more divisible among children in some places than in others.  

Mr. Wilder, the first English Officer in charge of Ajmer, on the basis of the traditions, had claimed that  

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2. Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p.468  
that majority of the Bhumias were created by Aurangzeb, people and his son Bahadur Shah, to protect from the rebels and notorious tribes of Mina, Mar and Chittah, during the turbulent period of Rajput revolt between 1679-1712. He mistakenly had looked upon Bhumias simply as guards.¹

Mr. Cavendish, the superintendent of Ajmer (1827-32), had also considered these Bhumias as chowkidars resembling a feudal police or militia.²

But Mr. L.S. Saunders, Commissioner of Ajmer in his report, dt. August 1873, had declared that the Bhumia of Ajmer, must not be confounded with the chowkidars of Bengal Presidency, a low caste village servant armed with lathi, or a spear. The Bhumia was the great man in the village, and was looked up to with great respect by the village community. Generally, he had the best house in the village, or lived usually in an old fort, having sword, and horses, etc. He can inter-marry with the thakurs of Marwar, Mewar and Jaipur on equal terms. He further remarks, that the tenure was like that of Talluqedar, part and parcel of land system.

¹ Letter of Mr. Wilder to Mr. Ochterlony, dt. 5,30 September 1822.
² Report of Mr. Cavendish, dt. 8 July, 1830.
in Rajasthan, and that to consider it a part from that system, or to compare it with the village man will be totally misleading to an unsatisfactory conclusion.¹

Col. Tod further states that this tenure was so cherished that "the greatest chiefs were always solicitous to obtain it; even in the villages entirely subject to their authority."²

Maharaja of Kishengarh, thakurs of Fatehgarh Junia, Bandanwara, Tantoti etc. were the famous local chieftains who were among the Bhumias of Ajmer.³

Col. Brooke enumerates five kinds of Bhum (1) Mundikati grant made by Raj as compensation for blood shed or killings in war, (2) in order to quell a feud, (3) for distinguished services in the field (4) for protection of a border and (5) for watch and ward in the village, granted by villagers, but confirmed by crown.⁴

¹ Report of Mr. L.S. Saunders, Commissioner of Ajmer, dt. August, 1873.
³ Gazetteer of Ajmer-Marwarah, p.93
⁴ Letter of Col. J.C. Brooke C.G. of Ajmer Marwarah to C.U. Atchinson-Secretary Foreign Department, dt. 17 August 1871, No.206.
Rajendra Joshi is of the view that nearly all Bhumias of Ajmer belonged to the fourth and fifth category.\(^1\) Whatever the origin of a Bhum holding, the tenure was identical and the rights and duties of all Bhumias also came in course of time to be identical. Commenting and analysing the duties of Bhumias Mr. Cavendish remarks that "they (Bhumias) were bound to protect village crops, and cattle from the incursions of plunderers, as also to attend the subehdars to aid in putting down all disturbances in the province but not bound to move beyond their frontier, they were responsible for the peace and safety for their respective villages, and for the values of stolen property, and failure of producing it, and apprehending those concerned.\(^2\)

It was a peculiar feature of Ajmer tenure and grew out of custom that the Raj should compensate losses of travellers on account of theft and robbery committed in its territory, where the theft or robbery had occurred in a village belonging to a fief, the chieftain to whom the village belonged was called upon to indemnify the sufferers and istimrardars of Ajmer had always been compelled to indemnify sufferers from theft and robberies committed on

\(^1\) \textit{Umasvin Shataabdi ka Ajmer}, p.135.

\(^2\) \textit{Report of Mr. Cavendish, Commissioner of Ajmer, Marwarah dt. 8 July, 1830.}
their estates. Similarly, a jagirdar to whom the state had transferred its rights and duties, was peculiarly liable. In case of theft in Khalisa village the state was called upon to pay compensation. In Ajmer, the state finding this responsibility inconvenient, transferred it to a bhumia as a condition of tenure, but in Khalisa where there was no bhumia the state remained responsible. 1

It should be noted that the local zamindars who were loyal to Mughals during the Rathor rebellion, were further invested with the thanedari of their respective places, in order to protect people from dacoits, thieves and rebels. In case of failure, one had to pay compensation to the sufferers for the loss of the crime that had taken place in his area. 2

When the English occupied the district of Ajmer in 1816 there were 111 bhumias in all out of which 82 were Rathors 9 were Pathans, and the rest of them were Gor, Kachwaha and Sisodia Rajputs. Three estates were held by


2. Wazai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, pp.19,47,67,69, Narsingdas Zamindar and thanedar of Nooravas had to pay Rs.286/- as theft had occurred in his area. Zulfiqar Beg thanedar of Pokhar, refused to pay money for the stolen cows, on the plea that he is only a thanedar, and as the land belongs to Khalisa the faujdar should pay compensation.
Mughal, Mar, and Cheetah, but later they were not considered Bhumas. However, these Bhumas were holding a little more than 50,000 bigahs of land in 104 villages, out of which 2/3 were in Khalisa, and 1/3 were in jagir areas. The average of each of 108 holdings appears to be nearly 464 bigahs, but in these holdings, there were reported to be 2,102 shares, or nearly 20 shares in each Bhum, each of whom held an average 26 bigahs 14 biswas of land.¹

As had been mentioned earlier, that the majority of these Bhumas were planted by the Mughal rulers, and 51 of those showed the sanads of the Mughals, while the other

¹ Report of Mr. L.S. Saunders, Commissioner of Ajmer Marwarah Dep. 12 September 1873. KotaJ land, which was initially considered bhum, granted by Ajit Singh Gar, ruler of Rajgarh to the Patels and was later confirmed by Govind Rao the Maratha subedar in 1760, afterwards was found a chowkidari grant.

The Cheetah's held Sambalpur (a village granted by Mughal rulers for the shrine of Miran Syed Hussain, Taragarh), on payment of Rs. 64 per annum to the shrine on the condition to allow the grain of dargah to pass unplundered from their area. It was also not Bhum, and never paid Bhum-bab.

The land held by the Mughals in Beer (a village granted by Akbar to the khadim community of dargah Khawaja Sahib) was not allowed by jagirdars to be Bhum. It was given apparently, partly to secure the protection of village but chiefly to secure personal attention when visited by the Khadims, of the dargah in whose jagir was the village. Ajmer Regulations and Notifications, Vol. II, H to L, p. 667.
43 verbally reported the names of granters, as they claimed that they had lost the sanads (title deeds) during the plunder and anarchy of Marathas. Some of the grants were made by the local chiefs, and a few by the village communities. One of the earlier grants, during our period of study, is that of Aurangzeb, who has granted the kasba of Kekri as Bhum to the thakur of Junia, on account of his distinguished services. Farrukhsiyar in his 4 R.Y., further confirmed the grant of 1000 bigaha of land, with a garden and a dwelling house, together with all the proprietary cesses to Raj Singh son of Kishen Singh Rathor of Junia. For Khwajapura, it is stated that Govind Rao the Maratha governor of Ajmer in 1760, granted this village to Jafar Khan, to take customary fees, and enjoining on him the necessity of arranging for the protection of the road from Ajmer to Rajosi. Jafar Khan was responsible for losses on the road.

Further, Burgaon was granted by Mahadaji Sindhia to Jafar Khan, as he found that the zamindari of these villages rested with the latter since a long time. Daulet Rao Sindhia granted Arjumuda to Dhan Singh and Bhawan Singh Gor as Bhum. Maharaj Abhay Singh granted 1,331 bigaha of land in Nand to Hindoo Singh, Himmat Singh and Bakhat Singh for their meritorious services in Gujarat against Sarbuland Khan in 1730.
Kalesra, Nagelao and Ranner Dhammi were given for the protection of boundary of the villages, while Jhurwasa and Harmara were granted for the maintenance of the grantee whose ancestors were killed in battle. The rest of the Bhum had been granted on condition of protecting the village boundary.¹

The Bhum land which was hereditary, and free from all taxes, was quite different from Maafi and jagir land, and could be annexed to khalisa whenever any of the holder of this land, was found guilty of crime against the government, or transferring his land. He was also liable to pay fine on other mistakes.²

Though it has been claimed that Bhum was a tax-free land, but it is found that in 1752, Bakhat Singh ruler of Jodhpur, realised Bhum-bab (tax on Bhum land) from all the Bhumias. In 1792 Shivaji Nana, the Maratha governor of Ajmer, made Bhum-bab a permanent feature of the taxation, though it was realised only once during the period of 10 years. But in the coming 9 years (1802-11), it was realised by Marathas

For details see:
2. Unnatisv Shataabdi ka Ajmer, pp.133-34.
thrice after every third year. After Tantiya Sindhia the Maratha governor fixed its realisation in alternative years. In the last decade of Maratha rule it was realised on five occasions. It seems that the Marathas did not want to annoy Bhumias by realising it yearly. A sum of Rs.8,408-12 annas 9 pais was the last amount that the Marathas had realised from Bhumias.¹

There are evidences which suggest that Bhumias also collected taxes from the travellers and villagers. The travellers who stayed at night in a Bhum holding had to pay tax on all the goods he was carrying, which was called bhum. Mapa was another tax which was levied on all goods sold in the village, with the exemption of agricultural products. Beside these two main duties it had been stated that the Bhumias were in the habit of collecting numerous cesses from the village communities. These cesses or laags as they were called, extended to nearly every incident of life.²

MAAFI LAND:

Finally, the mafii land generally granted to religious and charitable institutions and holy personage


². Bhum Committee Report, dt. 1873.
in perpetuity, were of three kinds, *Dohi Sausan*, were held by *Brahmins*, *Charans*, and *Bhats*, and *Milk* was the land held by *Mahajans* and *Kayaathas*. The minor difference between *jagir* and *maafi* was that *jagir* in general meant the revenues of an entire village, or part of it, while *maafi* indicated the definite number of *bighas* of land. However, the *maafi* grants in Rajputana to *Brahmins* etc., were hereditary, and without restrictions as to time. Only one example of such kind of grants could be traced, and cited, as no other evidences are available of our period of study. One *Ganesh Brahman*, was given some *maafi* land by *Sindhia*, in the closing years of eighteenth century. Accordin according to *Hakim Najmul Ghani Khan*, out of Rs. 6,75,000 realised in *jagir* land, Rs. 100,000 belonged to the *maafi* holders of the city of *Ajmer*, and to the shrine and its attaches.

Thus, the majority of the land in the district of *Havelliajmer* was *istimrari*, followed by *Khalisa, jagir, rdars*

   *Unnisiw Shataabdi ka Ajmer*, p.148

2. *Letter of the Secretary of the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner of Ajmer*, dt. 14 Dec. 1871, and *letter of Chief Commissioner of Ajmer to the Secretary of India*, dt. 23 Dec. 1871. Details of this grant is also not available, and there are scattered references, about it in these letters.

and Bhum. Around and within the city of Ajmer nearly all land was madad-i-maash, granted to the religious institutions, and the people attached to it, and the states share was less in comparison with the other land holders.¹

Mr. Wilder the first English superintendent of Ajmer had reported that at the accession of Ajmer to the British, there was 8 pargana, having 534 villages. Majority of the zamindars were Rathors, other were Pathan Jats, Meri Cheettas. Out of these 8 pargana half of the Kekri was in Khalisa, the remaining half of the land of this parganah was under istimrardar. Beside this 105 villages in Haveli Ajmer was also in Khalisa.²

¹. It has been claimed that when the Britishers occupied Ajmer the Khalisa land was yielding Rs. 3 lakhs jagir Rs. 6,75,000 per year. The Istimrardars had 240 villages under them, realising an amount of Rs. 5,59,158 out of which the revenues of status was Rs. 1,14,129. Report of Mr. Cavendish, Superintendent of Ajmer dt. 11 July, 1829. Rashgaan-i-Hind, Vol. II, p.176.

². Letter of Mr. F. Wilder to Chotrolyn, dt. 27-9-1818.
CROPS AND AGRICULTURE:

Agriculture was the principal occupation of the people of Haveli Ajmer, as indeed of the people of the sarkar, and entire subah. The cultivated soil, generally speaking, was composed of a mixture of stiff yellow loam and sand, in proportion of one to two. The richest soil in this area is found between the sandy hills of Pushkar, where sugar-cane can easily be grown without irrigation.\(^1\)

Mr. Wilder is of the opinion that though the land is sandy yet fertile.\(^2\) The success of harvest depends on the rainfall, and in case of failure, it had to depend largely upon artificial irrigation from wells and tanks.

There are references with regard to shortage of rainfall in Ajmer. In times of drought, people of the town and surroundings often gathered outside the city for the istisqa (rain prayers).\(^3\) The two famous tanks of Malluser, just below the Taragarh fort, Ana Sagar lake, and number of Baoris Jhalras were to be the main sources of irrigation in case of failure of rain.\(^4\) The chief cultivating castes were Gujars.

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1. Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p.138
2. Letter of F. Wilder to David Ochterlony, dt. 27 Sept. 1818.
3. Wazai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, pp.14,15,16,25
4. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp.134.
Jats, Merats, Rajputs, and Rawats; of these Jats were by far the best agriculturists.\(^1\)

The main crops of Kharif in order of extent of area cultivated were maize, jawar (great Indian millet), cotton oil seeds, bajra (bulrush millet), mung, moth, urd, jute, indigo, tobacco, chawla and sugar cane.

The Rabi crop yielded wheat, grain, barley, gulchina, sarsoon, makka and zira etc.\(^2\) Fruit and vegetable production was confined to the neighbourhood of the city of Ajmer.\(^3\)

According to Abul Fazal the rent rate of the agriculture produce was 1/7 or 1/8, and generally paid in kind, cash payment was not common. In the beginning of nineteenth century Abdul Qadir Khan writes, that during the Mughal rule

\(^{1}\) Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.V, p.149

\(^{2}\) Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.V, p.151
Rajasthan District Gazetteer: Ajmer, pp.156-61
Agrarian System of India, p.47 (FN 37); Abdul Fazal had had also given a detailed discription of the Rabi and Kharif crops of the haveli parganah of Ajmer. Ain-i-Akbari, pp.23-26.

\(^{3}\) Wild mangoes in the hilly areas of Maragarh, vegetables outside Madargate were grown at Ajmer. Magai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, pp.235; Rajasthan District Gazetteer-Ajmer, p.161. Mangoes, grapes, water-chestnuts, melons etc. were the main fruits while principal vegetables grown were cauli-flowers, cabbage, lady finger and tomato.
rent rates varied from 1/6 to 1/8 of the production but afterwards, it was increased by Rathors and Marathas chiefs. If Patel himself had cultivated the field, the rent rate was always less than what was realised from the peasant. If Patel himself had cultivated the field, the rent rate was always less than what was realised from the peasant. 

The province of Ajmer according to I, Habib, remained throughout under crop sharing in the time of Akbar, as well as afterwards. In case of an army movement during the Mughal rule, it was an established practice that some of the loss of crops known as paimali-"zaraat" used to be paid by the government machinery. Aurangzeb during the Ratham rebellion had asked his son Shah Alam to pay half of the amount for the loss of crops, which has occurred during the march of his army. But under Rathors and Marathas there are no evidence available which indicate that the compensation for the loss of crops was ever paid to the peasants. In case of famine and drought, government help had always been extended to the sufferers during the Mughal period, but under the Maratha rule no such help is given though references of drought are found.  

1. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khan, p.211.  
3. Akhbaarat, dt. 23 Shawwal 25 R.Y./November 1681. Sindia as Regent of Delhi, Vol.II(1788 & 1789-91),p.49; Mahadaji Sindia visited Ajmer in April-May 1781 and asked the bankers for a loan of 10 lakhs for his army expenditure due to the scarcity of grain and death of men and beasts, but did not bother about the condition of the common men of the place. Once Mahadji Sindia in 1787, referred to adjust some amount, claimed by Jaipur ruler on the ground of damages to crop. Fall of the Mughal Emperor, vol.III p.244.
On the contrary, the task of revenue realisation was in such an exploiting way under the Marathas, that people became disinterested in the cultivation of land, and agricultural products, and had even migrated to other areas. They in fact had become bankrupt, and were, at the verge of starvation.¹

Moreover, this work of revenue realisation in the province of Ajmer, had always been a major problem, which the Mughal government had faced. Petty and small zamindars, were in a habit of withholding the payment of government dues. The Mughals succeeded in their attempts, to protect the interest of peasants, by keeping the defaulting zamindars under their general supervision, and compelling them to pay revenues collected from the cultivators. But the Marathas by recognizing, their permanenthold over the land, realised as much as they could, and in this process, left the peasants entirely on the mercy of the land lords. Though there are references, when even the zamindars had objected and revolted to the unlawful demands of Marathas, but they were crushed and suppressed. The other class of the society i.e. cultivators and merchants finding no alternative from these atrocities, left the place and settled in the areas of the local Rajput chieftains.²

¹ UNNISVIN Shatak di-ka-Ajmer, pp. 10,12.
² Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 198-99, 294
   Letter of Lt. Col. Sutherland, A.G.C, & James Thompson Secretary to Government of India, dt. 7.2.1841.
LAND REVENUE OFFICIALS:

The revenue officials of the province were equally important, as were the military officers, administrators of law and justice. In fact they had to face more difficulties in performing their duties in comparison to other subah officials, specially in the province like Ajmer where, during the Mughal-Rathor conflict it had become virtually impossible to deal with the local zamindars, without the help of military men, and show of arms.

During the Mughal period Diwan-i-subah was the chief executive head of the revenue department of a province. There was one diwan in the province in general, but in some exceptions, there happen to be two diwans in a subah. N.A. Siddiqi is of the view that the chief revenue officer of sarkar was known as diwan,¹ but O.P. Saran suggests that amal-guzar was the officer at pargana level.²

As had been discussed earlier, that in order to safeguard the imperial interests in the troubled province of Ajmer, the duties of governor and diwan were jointly entrusted in one person.³

1. For details see: Land Revenue Administration under Mughals, pp. 73-79.
2. Provincial government of the Mughals, p. 284
3. Megal Sarkar-i-Ajmer, p. 167. Iftikhar Khan held both the office of subehdar and diwan during the period of Rathor rebellion in 1678-79
Moreover, there are evidence to show that on many occasions, during the chaotic conditions in the province, close relations of the governor were given the office of the diwan of Ajmer, in order to safeguard the imperial interest by working amicably. Sometime diwan-i-subah had also been entrusted with the faujdar and amunship of an important parganah. There is a unique case of Muhammad Anwar, who was the faujdar of Bednur, but was also entrusted with the diwan of the parganah of Pur-Mandel, which was given by the ruler of Udaipur in lieu of jaziya in 1681. N.A. Siddiqi is of the opinion that there were subordinate diwan under the diwan-i-subah who worked at sarkar level and dealt with the revenue affairs of the assignments of jagir. The office of diwan continued in Ajmer till 1818. The Marathas retained it, and called Duan in their official papers. Duan Madho Rao who worked under

2. Akhbaarat, dt. Ramzan 46 R.Y. Muharram 46 R.Y. of Aurangzeb/February 1702, June 1703. Syed Ali Ahmad Khan and Syed Hussain diwan of Ajmer held the faujdar and amunship of Sambhar, which was an important parganah.
4. Land Revenue Administration under the Mughal, p. 78.
Bapuji Sindhia, the last Maratha governor of Ajmer, submitted all revenue papers to the English officials.\(^1\)

Beside the diwan, amils and amins were the other important officials related to the revenue department. In the documents issued for the madad-i-maash grants, probably for the all revenue officials of parganah level, 'amnal' is frequently used. These documents issued by Aurangzeb and his successors, covering a period of more than a half century (1660-1748), also had the word karoriyan beside amnal\(^2\), which according to S.R. Sharma was a representative of diwan and was also called amil.\(^3\)

As has been pointed out by a modern scholar, that since the days of Shahjahan, when important changes were introduced the amil (who was the head of entire parganah administration, combining the offices of amin, faujdar) was relegated to a subordinate position under the amin and faujdar.\(^4\) It seems that karori emerged as one single officer in the revenue department at the parganah level during the period under review.

1. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khani, p.204
2. Asanid-us-Sanadid, (all documents from the period of Aurangzeb upto Muhammad Shah).
3. Mughal Government and Administration, p.243
4. Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p.81
Amin was one of the important officials in the provincial revenue machinery. During the period under review when amil was relegated to a lower status, amin became next to diwan in matters of revenues. Aside from amin-i-subah, there were amin-i-Patiegi, amin of parganah and the dargah of Khwaja Sahib, as well.

The amin could be entrusted with some additional duties. Khwaja Abul Qassim Shujai, a rank holder of 250/20, was the superintendent of kan-i-sang (mines of stones of various kinds) beside holding the aminship of crown land.

Syed Saadullah held the offices of faujdar, amin and karori of Mairta in 1679. During the time of crisis a subedar could also be called upon to discharge the functions of amin-i-khalisa, as Safi Khan held the charge of aminship of crown land in 1692.

Muhammad Amin held the faujdari and amanet of Sambher and Didwana with a rank of 400/20.

1. Waqai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, pp. 59, 60, 74, 83, 89-90, 147, 149, 370, 401, 402, 701. Muhammad Arif was the amin of parganah Sambher. Muhammad Qaim Kamboh, who held the aminship of Sarkar-i-Ajmer wa Ranthambore in 1678, was further asked to look after the affairs of Jodhpur, whose ruler Jaswant Singh had died at that time.
2. Waqai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, p. 59
3. Waqai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, p. 311
Syed Hussain, a rank holder of 500/390 (1699) and Syed Ali Ahmed Khan (1702) both held the diwani of Ajmer and were also entrusted with the faujdari and aminship of Sambher.

In the 8 R.Y. of Muhammad Shah, i.e. in 1707, Azam Khan was appointed faujdar, amin, shigdar, Kharkun and fotedar, of the pargana haveli Ajmer. He deputed Syed Saadullah as his deputy on all these posts, some times local people were also employed for this task. Mir Hassan Ali Khan a khadim of darqah of Khwaja Sahib, was entrusted with the deputy aminship of gilla Ajmer, and Taragarh (also called Hussaingarh) in 1741.

There are references of the corruption and malpractices of amin during the Rathor rebellion. The Wagai Ajmer informs that one Muhammad Baqar who was amin-i-nalbaqi of sarkar Ranthambhore, baramad navis, and Darogha-i-Khizanah, was famous for his dishonesty and malpractices, but as he had cordial relations with the diwan of province, therefore he was never punished.

3. Wagai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, pp.701,11,27,32,38,208,437,441,454. Muhammad Baqar infact held the office of the darogha-i-Khizanah of the province, and auditor (Baramad Navis) of amin of the mahals of Khalisa with a rank of 100 zat. Later he was also appointed amin of Ranthambhore sarkar. Syed Saadullah another faujdar, amin and karori of Mafta, used to keep half of the revenues, and deposited only the other half to imperial treasury during this period of turmoil. Wagai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, pp.232,317-20,336.
Amin of the dargah was probably appointed to look after the wagf villages of shrine, and thus he had become an integral part of dargah administration, details of which had been discussed in the chapter related to dargah. 1

During the Maratha period, it is difficult to ascertain whether the office of amin of province parganah or paibagi were retained, though the office of amin of dargah continued to work in this turbulent period.

Ganoongoes and chowdharis generally held their offices as hereditary assignments. N.A. Siddiqi states that "ganoongoes at least in some provinces, were appointed at three different administrative levels, namely subah, sarkar and parganah. 2 The Wagai Sarkar-i-Ajmer informs that Rajroop and Ganga Ram were the two famous ganoongoes in Ajmer. 3 During the first half of eighteenth century, the practice of assigning land to ganoongoes in lieu of their service, was abandoned and they were paid in form of commission, 2% from the collection of ryots called rusum. 4 This office

1. For details see— chapter VII
2. Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp.87-90
3. Wagai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, pp.73,107-8
4. Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p.90
continued to function under the Marathas, and even during
the British rule in haveli Ajmer.

Beside ganungo there were shiqdar, Patwari and Patel
who discharged numerous duties in the collection of revenues
and in matters of land. Shiqdar was the executive officer
of the parganah, while Patwari was a writer employed on
the part of cultivator, and according to Abdul Qadir Khan
he used to get his emoluments from the ryots called chak.

Chowdhari signified a holder of four shares or
profit) as well as Headman of village and enjoyed superior
position on hereditary basis. Patel was another important
official connected with the revenue collection. He used
to get mehrana (his commission) from the villagers in lieu
of his duty.

1. Provincial Government of the Mughals, p.271
2. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khan, p.211; Provincial Government
   of the Mughals, p.275. Patwari also used to get some
   money known as chuneri from the father, on marriage of
   her daughter.
3. Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p.90
   Waqai Abdul Qadir Khan, p.211
   If Patel himself cultivated land, his was liable to
   pay less amount as revenue in comparison to others.
   Beside chuneri he was entitled to receive money, on
   widow marriage, and on other minor customs.
4. Waqai Abdul Qadir Khan, p.211.
As has been stated earlier that the Maratha administration in Ajmer, as well as in the other parts of Rajputana was not based on a permanent and cohesive lines, therefore, it could not work effectively, in comparison to the centuries old Mughal administration set up. Their highest officials in the province were subehdar and diwan, while vakil and diwan represented them in the princely states to safeguard their interests in regard of tributes, and other money matters.¹

But it appears that in revenue matters they were a little more careful, for the realisation of money, and as a result, had introduced some of the new officials, which though differed in names, from the previous Mughal officials, but were quite similar to them, as far as their duties and functions were concerned.

Zilledar seems to be the one of the most important officer after diwan in matters of revenue collection. He happened to be the officer incharge of Zilla, and sometime a village head was also called by this name. His main task was to superintendent the revenue affairs of several adjacent villages, united under him, for the convenience of the revenue arrangements.³

² For details of the revenue administration under the Marathas, see Administrative System of the Maratha, pp. 253-307.
³ Calendar of the Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, (ed. by D. Ross) p. 484.
Kamavisdat, was the term used for all the important revenue officers in Maratha administration, outside the Maratha regime, and it was widely used for the representatives of Maratha leaders in the states. The other important revenue officials were Padwavis, Daftardar, Pothais, Potdar Chitthis, and Aarzinavis, who in one or the other way were linked with the management of revenues. But in regard of the revenue machinery of Ajmer tehsildar, magadam, and qamam appears to be the main functionaries. From a sanad, issued by Daulat Rao Sindhia in 1813 (which also bears the seal of Gumaji Rao Sindhia, the subehdar of Ajmer) for the grant of 20 biga of land to a khadim for madad-i-maash, it comes to light that the office of magadam was held by Kumwar Krishna Rao Sindhia, most probably the son of the governor of Ajmer.

N.A. Siddiqi is of the view that the magadams or the zamindars were engaged for the payment of the revenue, and every village had a number of magaddam or owners (maliks), who used to help patwari in the measurement operation. But Sri Ram Sharma says that the magaddam was probably the sarpanch (president of panchyat), known by this name for his revenue function. He was allowed 2½% of the revenues as his fees. He was responsible for the du-realisation of land revenue from

2. Asanid-us-Sanadid, pp 331-32
3. Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp 11, 19, 52
the village and in case there was any delay in payment, he was called to account. However, it seems that in Ajmer the office of mugaddam was of much importance than in the other parts of the Maratha dominion. Tehsildar (revenue collector) was also retained by the Marathas, and there are references which suggest, that he took strict actions against those land holders who were reluctant to pay land revenues. Abdul Qadir Khan informs that there was a new office in the area of Ajmer, known as Pacha, whose job was to mediate between Patel Patwari and zamindar on issues of revenues.

Thus, the Marathas were quite keen and alert in the matters of revenues, and had severally dealt with those, who were found guilty of the non-payment of the state revenues.

1. Mughal Government and Administration, p. 295.
2. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive p. 294.
Taxation:

During the Mughal period, the main source of income consisted of land revenue, and taxes on merchandise and commercial products. According to Abul Fazal, whatever was assigned on the cultivated land in accordance with the crop rates was known as *mal*, whatever was collected from various kinds of arts and crafts was termed as *jihat*, and the remainder of the taxes were known as *sair-i-jihat*. 1 Khulagat-us-siyas, and accountancy manual informs that the collection made from crops were known as *mal* and a number of taxes which were included in the *jana*, under the administration of certain revenue collectors were known as *jihat*. Later on *jihat* was included or merged into *mal*, and the complex phrase *mal-o-jihat* was used as a single term. Taxes realised on cloth, skin oil, grains, horses, camels in the market, and at Chabutra, kotwali were called *sair-i-jihat*. 2

The cesses (Abwah) were paid by either the *sair-i-jihat* or the tenants to the revenue staff, engaged in the executive management of the revenue at *paraganah* level, but did not from the part of the real *mal-i-wajib*, the revenues from land or industrial products. It included *gulaghe* (process fee) *pekhkash* (presents) *jaribana* (rate imposed for defraying the charge of measurement) *darughena* (superintendence charges), *sabitana* (collector's fee), *mehrana* (fee for sealing documents), *majaddam* (fee for majaddam) and *ganungoi* (fee of ganungo) etc. There were also called *nikratiat* (expenditures), and some times had been mentioned as *Mujub-i-Aweriz*. 3 there

Beside these taxes on land and its production, were many other taxes prevalent in that area during the closing year of seventeenth century and which continued.

to be realised by Mughal government till the end of the first half of the eighteenth century. Mehsool-i-bazar (customs/extra), salt tax (Namakshur) and tax on animal selling during Pokhar fair was common and was taken by imperial officers. Occasionally Jaziya (whenever it was imposed) and pilgrimage tax was also realised. Further Peshkash (tribute) to the Emperor on his succession, on other ceremonies, and Nazar at the time of audience with the Emperor, were the other obligatory and customary payments which a noble and chieftain had to pay. On accessions to gaddi of their hereditary watan these chieftains of Ajmer also, had to send offerings to the monarch.

Rahdari (transit duty) and a number of Abwabs (illegal cesses) were also realised by officials as well as local zamindars, though on many occasions the Mughal Emperors had issued warnings, and had abolished these illegal collections.

During the second half of eighteenth century when the Marathas dominated the scene in Rajputana a number of

1. Wazai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, pp. 40, 41, 44, 52, 67, 305, 308, 321, 469. Vakil Report(P) No. 658, dt. 26 Muharram 1115/10 June,1703. In November 1678, Rs. 400 was realised as mehsool bazar (customs) and Rs. 1000, was taken from those Mahajans who had come to take bath in the sacred lake of Pushkar.

2. Wazai Sarkar-i-Ajmer, pp. 13, 64, 65
new taxes were introduced, and were forcefully realised, irrespective of the economic condition of local zamindars and people. The foremost of these was the realisation of fauj-kharch (army expenditures) from local thikanedars and other chieftains. Initially these zamindars and thikanedars of Ajmer got their land under the mansabdari system, under which they supplied a fixed quota of fighting men to the imperial government. But after the fall of central authority, the Jodhpur rulers occupied these thikanas around Ajmer, and gave them to their own officers and followers.

Under the Maratha rule these land holders were called istimwardars, thakurs and even Rajas. Their new masters, (Marathas), changed the existing system by imposing fixed amount of money on every zamindar, instead of taking horse-men and soldiers from him. They were more in need of money than men. But they assessed the collection unevenly, collecting large amount from the weaker sections of land lords, and giving concessions to the powerful and influential among them.

1. A Gazetteer of Ajmer Marwarah, p. 26
2. Letter of Col. Sutherland A.G.C. & Commissioner of Ajmer Marwarah to Mr. James Thompson, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dt. 7 February 1841.
G.R. Parihar had referred a letter of Mahadaji Sindhi dt. 5 January 1791, in which the Maratha leader had demanded fauj-kharch from Bijal Singh ruler of Marwar.¹

Abdul Qadir Khan is also of the view that Shivaji Nana, who was the governor of Ajmer in the closing decade of eighteenth century, was the first Maratha official who realised fauj-kharch from the local zamindar.²

Thus, Rajendra Joshi seems incorrect when he states that prior to 1805, none of these petty zamindars had ever heard about fauj-kharch.³ It seems that the Marathas were gathering this tax since a long period. However, the figures available are from 1805, when Bale Rao Ingalia realised Rs. 60,000 from the Thakur of Bhinai on the assurance that nearly 4 of his revenues will be ---.² He realised Rs. 35,000 from the chieftain of Jalia on the pretext of repairing city wall and digging trenches. He also collected Rs. 35,000 and Rs. 15,000 from the rulers of Masuda and Deolia respectively.

In 1809 when Rao Gumanji Sindhi, popularly called Tantiya Sindhia became the governor of Ajmer, he demanded

1. Marwar and the Marathas, p. 223
2. Wagai Abdul Qadir Khani, p. 206
rupees one lakh from the local zamindars on the plea that he had given fairly a good amount as bribe for obtaining the governorship of Ajmer. However, he could manage only Rs. 35,000.¹

There are instances, which show that whenever any of these local land-holders tried to resist these illegal demands of the Marathas, he was severely punished. For instance, when in 1815 the thakur of Varli refused to pay some amount to them, his thikana was captured, ravaged and he was put to death with many of his relatives.²

Lt. Col. Sutherland remarks that the people and landlords of Ajmer paid heavily for twenty years (1798-1818), under the head of army expenditure, which was collected under coercion, and the land holders resented a payment as it had gradually reduced them to poverty.³ In the last three years of their rule (1816 to 1818), the Marathas realised Rs. 73,042, Rs. 78,299 and Rs. 1,22,090 respectively as fauj kharch from the zamindars of that area.⁴ The rise in amount is a clear indication of Maratha policy to

¹. Letter of Mr. Makton, dt. 30.7.1840
². Waqai Abdul Gadir Khani, p.199
³. Letter of Lt. Col., Sutherland, dt. 7.2.1841
⁴. Unnisvin Shataabdi ka Ajmer, p.19
gather as much as can before the district passes to other rulers. Though this tax had virtually ruined the economy of the local chieftains, but on the other, it has established their claim over the land and area which they were occupying, and had thus strengthen their position in comparison to their status under Mughals.

Besides the assessed revenue (asli-jama) and fauj-kharch the Maratha levied several new cases which always grew in number and magnitude. These taxes in the local language were known as Lag bag, and were more than forty in number. The Deccani adventurers were mainly concerned with the acquisition of wealth, through the collection of these taxes, and did not care of the impact it had on the poor and helpless peasants. Realisation of these taxes depended on political condition prevailing in the land, as well as the nature of relationship between the land holder and the subehdhar. Some of the important taxes collected by Marathas were:

1. Bhum-Bab: From 5 to 20% collected from the other Bhumias who were free from all taxes.
2. Bhaient Sarker: Rs. 15/- as Nazrana for subehdhar from every village.
3. Uvabakan: From Rs. 5 to 20 on each village as

1. Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages of Rajputana and Ajmer, pp. 1-10
grazing tax, earlier called **9000-Shumari**.

(iv) **Lavaycha**: Between Rs. 2 and 5 from each village for the **Poshak** (clothes) of the **subehdar**.

(v) **Dashehra, Holi, and Ganesh Chauth Nazars** realised from all villages, from Re. 1 to 5.

Thee were the main taxes, directly collected by the **subehdar** or his agents. The other taxes taken by government were **ghee bab** (1 to 3%) on ghee and **Chairee** (Rs. 1 to 5) on the skin of animals. There were some other taxes which probably were a sort of fees of revenue officials. Among these were **Patel bab** (2 to 12%) imposed on **mugadams** and **mukhias** whenever they were found that they had realised more money than their other counter parts; **tehrir** (from 1 to 40) realised for those who prepared revenue registers. **Fotedar** (Re. 1 to 7) for treasurer’s salary, **mourote fotedar** (Rs. 1 to 4) also for treasurer’s fees, **Bhaint Jamabandi** (2 to 5 rupees) a sort of salary for **mutasaddis** who used to write accounts, and realise from those villages where the payment made in kind, **Pachotra** (2 to 5 rupees) also from these who paid kind instead of cash revenues, and **paimaish** (1 to 2 rupees) on the land measurements.¹

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¹. *Letter of Mr. F. Wilder, Superintendent of Ajmer to Mr. Cohtorluny, dt. 27-9-1818*
had supplied a detailed list of taxes realised in that area, during the period under review. Thus, many taxes were the priviledges of subehrder while some other cesses were the salary and commission of revenue officials and the remaining were for the government treasury. The octroi was also collected by the Marathas and their average annual income from this collection was \(Rs.31,000\).  

Moreover, a number of taxes such as Biswa, Khood Dhal, Banta, Bigori, Chonri, Hawala, Khunta, Lata, Neota, Peshkashi, Halsara, Kholri etc. were realised by the local land holders, from the village community. 

**Condition of the People:**

Under the burden of these numerous taxes the people of Ajmer suffered for about 60 years (1760-1818). The common man, who had enjoyed better socio-economic standards even

   *Biswa, Khood and Dhal*, were taken on green crops, bighori was the cash rent on per bigha, Neota was kind of fees recovered by zamindar, from his tenants on the occasion of marriage and death in his family, Peshkashi means property tax paid by agriculturist, and Kholri was the property tax paid by non-agriculturists. Other taxes realised by land lords were Khairu, Khala and taxes on oil mills (Ghani)
during the last phase of Mughal rule (1700-50), had been subjected to torture and atrocities by the Deccani rulers during the second half of eighteenth century.

There are few references that during the Rathor rebellion, people of that area migrated to the neighbouring provinces, due to failure of rain and because of drought, but under the Marathas the main reason, for the flight of the bulk of the people to other states, was the forceable realisation of unlimited money, by these Deccanis.

It has already been mentioned, that when Malhar Rao Holkar captured Ajmer city for a short period in 1752 there was a general massacre, arson and loot by his troops in that town.

G.R. Parihar states that the Marathas did not care for the lawful collection of the money. They at times, kept the traders under their custody for ransom purposes.

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   Once Tahawwar Khan faujdar of Ajmer considering the non-payment of government dues, as a usual habit of the people of Ajmer, dealt them harshly. But the fact was that due to the drought they were unable to pay the share of the government, so they migrated to other places, and had even threatened to submit petition to the court, against faujdar's haughty attitude.


   Travellers and merchants trading to Ajmer, were also plundered by the local people. Letter of Ochterluny to Wilder dt. 4.12.181
In the matters of administration, they had virtually sold the offices, including that of the dargah, on getting huge amounts. As stated earlier, that the office of the mutawwalli of dargah was given to Mir Azimullah, on hereditary basis, on receiving huge amount. Hokran and Kishenpura villages of dargah waqf were confirmed and granted to diwan of dargah as jagir on a doubtful farman of Shah Alam II, but probably on getting huge bribe. Gumanji Tantiya's got the subehdari of Ajmer, after paying quite a big amount to Maratha sardars as bribe, and this amount he attempted to realise from the people of the area.

They did not let a single opportunity to slip in recovering the money from people. Abdul Qadir Khan had mentioned, about an interesting case of Ramdas Seth, a wealthy merchant of Ajmer. After his death, a dispute arose between his wife and adopted son Hamir Mala over the property of the deceased. Daulet Rao Sindhiya delivered the judgement in the favour of son after realising a big amount as Nazar. He also fined Rs. one lakh on the widow of the merchant as punishment, thus leaving both at the verge of starvation, but achieving his aim to collect money.

Abdul Qadir Khan further says that the Marathas had recovered several thousand rupees from the niyarsas as fine on their adultery in shaping rupees. Wagai Abdul Qadir Khan, p. 185.
There are a number of references which suggest that only the jain Mahajans of the city, were rich and lend money to people on high rates of interest.
UNNISVIN Shatabdi the Ajmer, p. 213 Wagai Abdul Qadir Khan,
Many of the zamindars of the area were in condition of distress, poverty and were debtors partly due to their own extra vagancy and luxurious life, and partly because of the constant recovery of money under different headings by the Marathas.

Many English people, who had visited Ajmer after its annexation to British government, had shed light on the miserable condition of the people of this area. Mr. Edmonstone, superintendent of Ajmer, in his report had stated that the people of Ajmer are poor, careless, and hard pressed under credits and loans. The reason for this according to Mr. Cavendish another superintendent of Ajmer, was the policy of Marathas to "recover as much money as they can."

J. Adams secretary to the Governor General, in his letter to Ochterluny, dated 8 June 1818, has thrown a considerable light on the miserable condition of the

2. Letter of Mr. R. Cavendish to Resident Rajputana and Delhi, dt. 10.7.1828.
people of the newly acquired place. He remarks that "the nature of the rule to which Ajmer has for many years been subject and the extent to which exaction and oppression have probably been recently carried, for the purposes of deriving the utmost from a possession which was about to pass from the late government, renders it probable that the country and its habitants have been reduced to a condition, that will require the utmost attention to the interest both of government and people, combined with the exercised of considerable practical experience in principles of a salutary system of revenue to restore the country to an ....... degree of prosperity."\(^1\)

Thus according to Rajendra Joshi, the English inherited from the Marathas, an area which in fact had already been ruined due to the plunder and oppression of the Deccanis. The inhabitants had virtually become beggar-like due to the huge burden of taxes, realised by their greedy rulers. They even had become disinterested in promoting agriculture and cultivating lands, fearing that this may led to another burden of taxation. Undoubtedly Ajmer under the Marathas had become an area of poverty and problems.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) Letter of Mr. I. Adam, Secretary to the Governor General to Major General Sir D. Ochterluny, dt. 8 June 1818. Appendix-E.

\(^2\) Unnisvin shataabdi ka Ajmer, p.12
When Mr. Wilder assumed office of the superintendent of Ajmer, he found Ajmer a deserted city. Due to the atrocities of Marathas and Pindaris, people had left the place and migrated to other places, in hope of prosperity and happiness. There were only 24,000 people in the city at that time.

COINS, MINT and CURRENCY:

The Ajmer mint had been established since the time of Akbar and turned out yearly about a lakh and a half of rupees, called shershahi or sirshahi or sirbishahi. Professor I. Habib says, that it was a copper mint and under Aurangzeb it also yielded silver rupees. There is a reference that Jahangir, on his recovery from illness at Ajmer (1613-1616), had minted gold coins which bears the name of the mint of Ajmer. Coins of six principal mints were current in Ajmer in 1818, and this caused considerable difficulty to the first British Superintendent of Ajmer. These were (i) shershahi, (ii) Kishangarhi rupees (minted

1. Letter of Mr. F. Wilder to David Ochterluny, dt. 27.8.1818
2. Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, p.42.
3. An Atlas of the Mughal Empire: Sheet, 68, pp.19-20 Varanasi

Dr. M.P. Singh is also of the view that of Ajmer gold silver and copper coins were minted under Mughals. Town Market Mint and Port in the Mughal India, p.237-39.
at Kishengarh and was current since 50 years), (iii) Kuchamani rupee (minted by Thakur of Kuchaman against the wishes of Marwar ruler), (iv) Shahpuri rupee (minted at Shahpur since the second half of eighteenth century), (v) Chittoori rupees - Marwar currency, and finally, (vi) Jharshahi rupee of Jaipur mint.

Mr. Wilder ut the knot of the coinage difficulty, by concluding all transactions on the part of government in Farrukhabad rupees, and receiving only these in payment of Government revenues.

Abdul Qadir Khan who was given the charge of mint, soon after the occupation of Ajmer by British, on an enquiry found adulteration in the minting of silver rupees since the time of Marathas. As the Profession of Niyaras was confined to a particular family, who were busy in adulteration, therefore he recommended that instead of salaries these people should be paid some kind of fee on silver and gold coins.

2. Wazai Abdul Qadir Khan, pp. 185-86.

During the Mughal period Darqo-qa-i-Bagai-SANAWAT (Sanat) with a rank of 150/100 was always appointed to look after the old coins. SANAWAT or SANAWAT is an Arabic word and plural of sanat-i.e. year. But here old coin were termed as SANAWAT Wazai-i-Sarkar-i-Ajmer, p. 94 Calendar of Persian correspondence vol.I. p. 481.
CONCLUSION
CONCLUSION

Ajmer owing to its geo-political situation, and religious shrines occupied an important position in the early medieval period. The Rajput Chiefs and the sovereigns of Delhi always tried to keep it under their control. Its coherent history begins with the Muslim settlements, even before the establishment of Turkish dominion in northern India, early in the 13th century. As it was a prize possession, not only the local Chieftains, but also external powers, like rulers of Bundu, and Gujarat, wage wars to seize it, and maintain their sway over it.

The city of Ajmer attained its splendour, undoubtedly under the Mughals, who took all possible measures for its development and organization. Their interest in the progress of the city was animated by its strategic values, and attachment to the shrine alike. Their patronage and construction works, made the life of the people happy and prosperous. The Mughal Emperor bestowed grants on a wide scale to the religious classes, Hindus and Muslims and assigned revenue free lands for the maintenance of Dargah as well as for, Pushkar in Ajmer. The measure of security, peace, and prosperity experienced by the citizens of Ajmer, could not be enjoyed
after 1680, due to the political disturbances in the region.

The revolts of Rathor had certainly disturbed the balance of power, resulting in an fluid state of affairs, which continued throughout the 18th century, and terminated only with the restoration of stability and order, by the British after 1818.

After the death of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah's attempt to install his favourite, Bijai Singh on the throne of Amber, in place of Jai Singh, and to recover Jodhpur and punish Ajit Singh, complicated the political situation in and around the city of Ajmer. A detailed survey of these events, and their interpretation in proper perspective, suggest that the Mughals were eager to maintain their hold over Rajputana as before, and not to annex it to the imperial centre. It was during this period that the three main states of Amber, Marwar and Mewar, joined hands against Mughals, as they realised that the Mughal authority was apparently on the decline, and was growing weaker to prevent them from attempts aimed at aggrandisement of power.

At this crucial stage the Emperor could not appoint any Commander, capable of crushing the pretensions of the
Rajput chiefs, partly due to the factional rivalries at the court and partly due to his absence in Deccan and Punjab, the Rajputs felt encouraged to defy royal authority, and achieve their objective of independence of the Mughal Central government.

It was under Farrukhsiyar that Syed Hussain Ali Khan, reputed for his matchless valour, launched a major offensive against Ajit Singh, and compelled him to seek terms of peace with the Mughals. The city of Ajmer remained peaceful during the remaining part of Farrukhsiyar's reign, as Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, the maternal uncle of the Syeds, was holding it. He was a capable and experienced noble, in comparison to Syed Shujaat Khan his predecessor, and was fully supported and co-operated by the powerful Syeds.

After the fall of Syed brothers, Raja Ajit Singh again stirred the trouble in Ajmer, which he captured without any difficulty. He frustrated the attempts of Muzaffar Ali Khan, who had replaced him in the office of governorship of Ajmer, and to expell him from the city. Later the Rathor chief had treacherously assassinated Nahar Khan the diwan of Ajmer province. Irradat Mand Khan Sharfuddaula, in . 1723 led
an expedition against the rebel, and he at length succeeded in recapturing Ajmer, and driving out foe from the city.

This long-drawn struggle for the control over Ajmer, ended only with the cold-blooded murder of Raja Ajit Singh, by his own son Bakhat Singh in 1724. His tragic death was followed by a period of normal relationship, between the Mughals and Raja Abhay Singh, the son and successor of Ajit Singh. But the new chieftain of Jodhpur had to face the opposition of his own brothers, and invasion from the Raja of Jaipur. He consequently, could not spare time and resources, to strengthen the political and economic base of his power in the state, and his hold over it, was precarious.

This period also witnessed rapid expansion of the Maratha power in Rajasthan, which involved the region of Ajmer in continuous strife and tension, leading it straight on the path of ruins. When the security and integrity of the region seemed threatened by the Maratha menace, the two primer states, Jodhpur and Jaipur fought a deadly battle in 1743, at Gagwanah near Ajmer, the results of which weakened both the states, rendering them absolutely incapable of meeting the challenge of the Marathas, who had become more powerful after the cession of Malwa by the Mughal government in 1741.
Mirza Munnoo known as Moinul Mulk, son of Qamruddin Khan, was granted the subehdari of Ajmer in 1740-41. He arrived at Ajmer, but returned to Delhi few days later, after taking charge of the office. He found the situation hopeless for collecting the revenues, on which depended his government.

Anyway, till the death of Muhammad Shah, the hold of Mughals over Ajmer was there, and the appointments of officials, their transfers and promotions, were carried in usual manner, though total relaxation in the observance of rules and regulations, marked the conduct of the local administration.

After Muhammad Shah's death his successor Ahmad Shah, initially appointed Raja Bakhat Singh as the governor of Ajmer, in lieu of his services to the Mughals, against Ahmad Shah Abdali at the battle of Manpur in 1748. Later Syed Salaabat Khan, the maternal grand father of the new Emperor, was given the charge of Ajmer and he seems to be the last Mughal noble, who as a governor arrived at Ajmer. He took part in the succession issues which rocked Amber and Marwar, but without military strength, he failed to achieve his objective, and in frustration returned to Delhi in 1751.
Thus till the end of the first half of eighteenth century, the Mughals maintained their nominal control over the affairs of the city of Ajmer, and some other parts of the province. Officers such as governor, faujdar, diwan, bakhshi, Ragai Navis and even Qazi, Sadr, and Muhtasib were still appointed by the centre, but they in a given situation could not fully exercise their authority.

However, in 1751, Intizam-ud-Daulah was appointed the subehdar of Ajmer, but he did not come to the city to take charge, as he was busy in the court politics. In the absence of any governor, Rathor chiefs fought among themselves to seize Ajmer. Ram Singh son of Abhay Singh captured only to lose to Bakhat Singh his uncle. Their mutual fight provided opportunity to the Marathas to capture it, which they did in 1755. They took it as prize money (mundikati) from the Rathors, for the blood of Appaji Sindhia, whom they had murdered in that year. In 1758, the Maratha governor expelled the officials of Rathor chief Ram Singh, and finally annexed it to the Maratha kingdom.

From 1758-87 a number of Maratha subehdars administered the city, though their position and prestige suffered setback after the battle of Panipat in 1761. The ever-willing Rathors, on a number of occasions planned for the capture of this important place, but the Marathas failed all their efforts.
Mahadaji Sindhia maintained his firm hold over the city, inspite of the opposition of his rival Tukoji Holkar, and the permanent foe Bijai Singh of Jodhpur. He visited Ajmer in 1772, to improve the condition of the city, and strengthen defences against external invasion.

Bijai Singh son of Bakhat Singh hated the domination of the Marathas over Ajmer and eagerly desired to uproot it. With the eclipse of the Mughal authority in the region, the Rathors and the Marathas clashed over the possession of Ajmer, which over the years became a bone of contention between them. Bijai Singh realised that the seizure of Ajmer was essential for his security, and that could not be brought about without the expulsion of the Marathas. He therefore, concentrated all his resources on this one single plan, but its success largely lay in the powerful support provided by other Rajput chiefs. But except the ruler of Amber, none amongst the other Rajput chiefs, recognised the gravity of his situation, and all shrank from extending co-operation to his struggle with Mahadaji Sindhia.

The joint armies of the rulers of Jodhpur, Amber, and Mughals, at the battle of Tunga, compelled Mahadaji Sindhia to retreat towards Alwar, which was a turning point in
the history of Rajputana. Taking full advantage of the situation, Bijai Singh single-handedly, but courageously planned for the capture of Ajmer. The Rathor attacked the city, besieged it for few days, and finally captured it in 1787.

The fall of Ajmer alarmed and dismayed Mahadaji Sindhia, who considered the loss of Ajmer, the end of the Maratha rule in Rajputana. For three years he strove hard and prepared to recaptured it.

Finally, in 1790 he employed the services of the famous general D'Boigne, for the attack on Ajmer, and the submission of Bijai Singh. The Marathas faced many problems, and Bijai Singh even vainly tried to win over D'Boigne. However, all attempts of the Rathor chief failed, and the Marathas captured the city after breaking through the city wall.

General Perron another renowned general, was asked by Mahadaji Sindhia to look after the administration of Ajmer district. Later Shivaji Nana a famous Maratha sardar, was given the charge of Ajmer, who ruled the area with strong hand, suppressed the insurgent elements, including the Mors and the other petty Rathor Zamindars.
around the city. Thus Mahadaji Sindhia fulfilled his dream of recapturing Ajmer before his death in 1793.

In 1800, Lakwa Dada, governor of Ajmer and a Maratha sardar, revolted against the Maratha authority, when he was superseded by Ambaji Ingalia. General Perron was again entrusted with the governorship of Ajmer, and the task of suppressing Lakwa. After the flight of Lakwa, he appointed Mr. Simpson, then Mr. Low, and afterward Gogeen Baig, as his deputies, due to his business at other places in Hindustan.

Bale Rao Ingalia was the next governor of Ajmer, who held the office between 1803-08. After him for a decade, i.e. till 1818, two Sindhia brothers viz. Rao Gumanji Sindhia alias Tantiya Sindhia, and Bapuji Sindhia administered the city on behalf of the Marathas. It should also be noted, that during this closing decade of Maratha supremacy over Ajmer, Daulet Rao Sindhia who had great faith in Khwaja Sahib, visited the city on a number of occasions.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the city of Ajmer was administered by the Mughal officers, but their exercise of authority was greatly impeded by political
disturbances and social tensions. Nevertheless, outward form of working remained unchanged, and the royal dignity and prestige were not affected by the decline in the position of the Mughals monarchy at the imperial Centre. Under the Rathor rule which was of short duration from 1752 to 1755 and from 1787 to 1790, Ajmer was governed by a Rathor sardar (an army Commander) in place of the Mughal subehdar, who discharged the executive functions vested in the former governor. But the designation of subordinate officers, like diwan, faujdar, kotwal, gazi and amil were not changed, though to all these offices persons of their own choice were appointed. The tiny but influential Muslim minority of Ajmer was disillusioned with the tenor and style of Rathor government and their relations with the Marwari Hindus often became strained. This was manifested when Rathor Maratha conflict over the possession of Ajmer deepened, a powerful section of the Muslim community supported the cause of Marathas. It may be said that these persons might have been bribed by the Marathas.

Major changes were effected in the system of provincial administration under the domination of the Marathas. The first feature which marked the organization of administration was the increase in the powers and functions of the Maratha governor of Ajmer. Contrary to the principles and
and norms guiding the conduct of the Mughal governor, the
Maratha supreme officer of this province was not only
dominant in military affairs, but in all other matters
concerning the finances and appointments of local officers.
This may be illustrated by the dispute between Lakwa Dada and
Ambaji Ingalia, and refusal of Bapuji Sindhia to handover
Ajmer to Major Ochterlony, the officer of the East India
Company.

The office of the provincial diwan, whom they called
diwan, was retained by Marathas, but with diminished powers.
The office of Bakhshi and Waqai Navis, which was very
important under the Mughals was abolished, and so the depart­
ment of religious affairs, sadar-i-subah was also discontinued,
and with it disappeared the office of muhtasib.

The functions of Kotwal, thanedar increased immensely,
as they were now called upon to discharge additional
functions, hitherto exercised by separate officers in the past.
The office of the gazi was allowed to function, but his juris­
dictions was much narrowed down.

In the revenue department, subordinate officers at
Parganah level like amin (assessors), ganungo, fotedars,
(treasurer), were kept in service, and for the purpose of
collection of revenue the Marathas created new officers distinguished as zilladar and tehsildar and Kamavisdat etc.

The origin, development and administration set up of the shrine of Khwaja Sahib as an important institution, are exhaustively dealt with, in a separate chapter. The popular opinion that the shrine came into prominence only in the days of Akbar had been contested on the basis of contemporary evidence. The dargah since the demise of the great saint, remained a living and vital link in the mystic thought of the Indian Muslims, a key note in the whole music of Chishtia order in the period proceeding to the accession of Akbar in 1556. It is true that Akbar's visit to the shrine and his liberal grants to its maintenance and to those responsible for its upkeep vastly contributed to the spread of its popularity, and revival of the ideals of the saint, but in the past, the shrine was always the centre of pilgrimage for the Indian masses, from where stream of spiritual life flowed clear and strong, bearing the pilgrims and devotees to the goal of bliss communion with God and the ideals of humanism.

However, with the flow of money worldly desires gripped the minds of the custodians of the shrine, and other functionaries, who became engrossed into the competi-
tion for the monopoly of largest shares in the material
gains from endowments and grants, and exercise the greatest
power in the management of dargah affairs. Pursuit of
material gains distracted them from their original mission,
and generated in the dargah complex, an atmosphere of mutual
mistrust and tension. Self-reliance born of deep faith in
God, and inner illumination, gave place to dependence on state
patronage, and to acquiescence to political influence of the
government.

Their growing mutual conflicts brought in official
interference that gradually deprived many of them of
independence in the conduct of administration of the shrine. The
government organized the system of division of shares in the
revenue free grants, daily allowances, and laid down rules
of conduct for the employees of the waqf. The system of
administration thus established continued to function till
the extinction of the last vestages of the Mughal rule in
Ajmer. The offices of diwan and Mutawalli of shrine had
become hereditary, confined to particular families. It was
during the Maratha period, that the family members of the
diwan forged documents, to put their claim to more lands,
more money, and more powers, and manipulated through corrupt
means to attain their objective. The worst sufferers of these intrigues and manipulations were the khadims, who in the new dimensions were forced to transfer some of their legitimate shares in the offerings to diwan. Although they suffered pecuniary loss, and their position got set back but they did not vacate the shrine.

In fact, during this hard time, they held on their independent position and status, which could not be challenged either by the diwan or the other government official. They operated privately, and guided the pilgrims in their individual accepting capacity. In return whatever amount was offered to them as Nazar, in lieu of their performing religious rites at the shrine, and for guiding them in matters of spiritualism, and also for looking after their comforts.

Another significant aspect which took deep roots in the affairs of shrine was the grant of stipends (both in form of cash and kind) to a number of Hindus including zunnardas and pujaris (priests), women and others, which support our view, that the people at shrine were free from all communal thinking and religious chauvinism. The meat preparations in the decks of shrine, was replaced by the rice
cooked in sugar and saffron (Kesari-Bhat), which could be eaten by both Hindus and Muslims, without any hesitation and reservation. Sometime on Diwali festival the shrine of Khwaja Sahib was illuminated with lamps and candles by the devotees.

The city of Ajmer attracted thousands of pilgrims - both Muslims and Hindus from the different parts of the country every year on the occasion of annual Urs of Khwaja Sahib and yearly Pushkar fair. The government made adequate arrangements at both the places for the safety and comforts of the visitors. Barring these occasions, the people continued coming to Ajmer round the year. These gatherings helped in strengthening social ties, and integrating people of different area and languages and customs. The annual fairs also provided impetus to the local businessmen, as people purchased local products, clothes, shoes, ornaments, sweets and much food stuff was consumed on these occasions. Local traders, and artisans, earned substantial profits, and money circulated down to labourers and the urban poor. These fairs, moreover, broke the dullness and monotony in the lives of common men and women who were always eager to find an outlet for some enjoyment, away from their unchanging environment.
The people of Ajmer as of other cities and towns of medieval India, took great pleasure in celebrating festivals, with elaborate colourful ceremonies. Most importantly the festival of Basant (spring season) was celebrated by both Hindus and Muslims, and it was on this day that fresh flowers were placed at the dargah. Equally important was the festival of Muharram, in which Hindus also participated. The Shia and Sunni Muslims took out procession of Tazia and held meetings where mourners recited elegies. They even distributed cooked rice and sherbat among the poor.

Daulet Rao Sindhi his successors and followers also used to attend the procession of Muharram.

The Hindus regularly paid visit to the shrine, and on Holi day they assembled at the main gate of the place, and recited verses in the praise of Khwaja sahib. If they were liberal enough to accept a muslim pujari, in one of their temple of Bheroonji, the muslims were equally generous in allowing a number of Hindus, to draw stipends from dargah endowment, and to share the daily langer and to hold important posts in dargah administration.

A number of names of the khadims of shrine, and other Hindu converts to Islam, suggest that there was remarkable
communal harmony between the two sections of societies. The names of some the muslims were Sakkhan, Madari, Bhowa, Shaikh Madan, Shaikh Madhu, Shaikh Ghoran, Bhikha etc. On the other hand, Hindus too have names like Khwaja Lal, Khwajoo Mal, Hakim Lal, Khwajoo Ram etc. and none of the member of either community had objection to these names.

It appears that education, with the majority of the Muslims of Ajmer, was nothing more than learning elementary things of religious worship and Quran. They believe in attainment of direct inspiration from the shrine, through worship, meditation, and observance of the certain set of rituals, including the performance of fateha, and listening to qawwalis (devotional music). Their educational activities were consequently confined to the establishments of maktabs and madarsahs, for which they received endowment grants and stipends from the Mughal government.

Under the great Mughal, a number of gardens were laid out by the imperial officials of the province. But it appears that during the first half of eighteenth century no one showed any interest in the work of plantation and growing trees.
As regard art and architecture, it should be noted that the most important building constructed at the beginning of 18th century was the tomb of Syed Abdullah Khan, father of the famous Syed brothers and the maqbarah of his wife a remarkable piece of the workmanship and of the finest quality of marble. Except this, there is no other important building constructed by the ruling elite in the first half of eighteenth century, though the Rajput and the Maratha rulers erected a number of temples at Pushkar. But during the later half of eighteenth century, a number of new buildings were constructed by Marathas, as well as by some other rulers.

Santoji, the Maratha governor, had converted a garden founded by a Mughal noble into a sarai during his tenure in 1769-74. The sarai was named Sarai-Chishti-Chaman and endowed to darqah Khwaja Sahib. He had also founded a bazar called as Santupura, which was destroyed in the closing years of eighteenth century.

Mirza Chaman Baig who held the subehdari of Ajmer between 1763-69 ordered for a construction of a new Iddgah in 1773, just near the Abdullah pura. In 1776, Molvi Shamshuddin built a mosque with a doomed roof, at the Chilla of Qutab Sahib.
The famous Karnataki-Dalan, commonly known as AAT-KAT (Arcot) Ka Dalan, was built by Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan, ruler of Arcot in 1793.

Moreover, a number of repair works were also undertaken by the Maratha subehdars around the city and at the Taragarh fort for the defensive purposes. Akbari Sarai situated near Madar gate, was converted into a Mohallah and the people of uprooted Santoopura, were rehabilitated there.

Many temples and ghats were erected, and repaired, at Pushkar, of which the temple constructed at the remains of Appaji Sindhia was the finest. Thus during this turbulent period, not only the old monuments were kept in order and well-maintained, through regular repairs, but a number of new buildings were also added to the shrine of Khwaja Sahib, at Taragarh fort, at Pushkar, and at other places in the city. New bazars (markets) were also founded for the prosperity of the city. A careful study of the documents and reports of English officials, related to the land revenue system, suggest that some major changes has taken place in the area, after its occupation by the Marathas. They realised fauj-kharch (army expenditure) from the local zamindars, instead of the military service which was required by the Mughals.
This new pattern if on one hand effected the economy of the land holders, on the other, it strengthened the position of Zamindar, who under the new system was more secure and powerful.

The Bhumias, who too, had to pay Bhum-bab during the period, often found careless in performing their duties, for which they were assigned land.

The other jagirdars of the area were also dissatisfied with their new masters. But the worst sufferers were the peasants and other poor classes of society. They were subjected to a number of taxes and fines levied on them, not only by the local landholders, but also by the Marathas as well. In distress and poverty many of them started migrating to other parts of the region, while the majority of those people who stayed about cultivation of land, and became disinterested in agricultural products.

Thus, the economic condition of the people of Ajmer, under the Marathas, was not as good as during the Mughal period. The wealthy merchants suffered a lot at the hands of the Deccani adventurers, and the local land holders, Thakurs and zamindars were also oppressed by the Maratha agents, and revenue collectors. In the closing years of Maratha rule, the atrocities against the rich classes increased, and before handing over the charge of the place to English, they employed all kinds of methods to extract as much money as they could.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX - A

Arzdaasht, dt. Chaitra Badi 13, 1768/8 March 1709.
No.281, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.

This is an Arzdaasht (Rajasthani) of an anonymous writer, probably sent to Sawai Jai Singh of Amber, informing him the details of the battle of Ajmer, fought between Ajit Singh and Syed Shujaat Khan, the Mughal governor, in February - March, 1709. As the writer seems to be the eye-witness of the battle, he has supplied valuable information about the measures taken by the imperialists for the defence of Ajmer city, the valour exhibited by Mawati, in repulsing Ajit Singh's attack on the fort of Ajmer, and the part played by Raj Singh, ruler of Kishengarh for a peaceful settlement. The writer has praised Ajit Singh, and states, that Syed Shujaat Khan, had paid him Rs. 45,000, two horses, and an elephant as peshkash, for the termination of the siege.
भीरामवी

वाप भीरामी शीती हो गलिय भीरामी पुत्री शीता की पराराम।
भीराम देवे पेयसा दे बोस्फुर वा अगस्ती खाली खिचड़ा ने पुलाव।
वीण होकर भी पराराम लोक ने घटे पश्चीमाका भी परारामा के
कानाला उड़ा वास दिये है वो भीरामावारावण वण जूनि शीता बाहर तो शीता
शीता बोस्फुर न शीते भी पराराम पश्चाता ही बात कोई भी भाव
वा हो वें भीराम ने वी शास्त्र रे बने मेठा खुदे हो भी परारामा
पश्चाता ही कानाला दीवा के शीता की की जो वाप भीरामी तक हो कनी
हवाले चुरामाय को शीता हो परे दरज वोलामा होयेंदे हो कनींदे
कम्पने है वांचा केरसो ने शीर्षा खाला खेले रे बारसे चारे हुसां
रा वीर्षा बेटा न हो हुर्ता ठाव शीर्षा ने तृण शाना भी परारामके
रा वाप रा वीर्षा खाला खिचड़ा ते नाय गोसों री वोरा खार्डू हुसां
रा वीर्षा बेटा न हो हुर्ता ठाव शीर्षा ने तृण शामा भी पराराम
बी रा बाज् रा नीरसा वेदान्तीया दरेसाह नीरसा की ही तार्क फुं हुरुरा रा नीरसा हठाणा दीया बाज् हिराए का रा बाज् रा
नीरसा कैठा बाजार नीरसा वेदान्तीया की से रेखका नाहा पाव माह वी नाव रा नोसा ही बार वेऐ मे जुरा नोसा वेदान्तीया रा हेरा उड़ा नारायण कानी कब्री वेदान्तीया नीिे नीरसा हेरा पा वी हो गीह गाया नारी परण कानी ती नीरसा रा का हुटा शी व्याप्ते वेऐ मे नीरसा कैठा ने दुसाह बार जुरा ने राजार्थकी री नारायण रेखण वहाँ व्याप्त व्याप्त उड़ारो वी तकार गार भी ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने वाकी निग्री तकार राजी न हे दुसाह राजस्व रु राजार्थकी का कानां उड़ा नारायण ने रा राजार्थकी जुरा बार्जा व्याप्ता हे देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने देव्य सी पोह रो गाया हे ने
फाइल के बीच व्यवस्थित वाचन की नजर मानी जा रही है रक्षा दिग्विजय द्वारा हृदय से विश्वास दिया गया कर्तव्य करी १ ला० रे २ दो० जो विश्व राज्य हृदय रो ३ नाहिं श्रेय जो की फेरे फुह भाष्य रा राय ने गोरखार द ४ बाप वारा १ ले खन बरा परीक्षण है लैटी ६ बनी हो अलम हो ७ विराट आदि गांवी ने ही रीतिर रूपी के है और वेतन व्यापर मां नाट तो बाप वारा को हुण्डी वीस्क न है दुर वाल्लो वींच वाणा जुमा है बाणी वाणा शोव शोव की वाल्ली वाणी वाणी की मादा वाण के वाणी अर्थ की वाणी की वाणी वाणी वाणी अर्थ की वाणी।

परंतु माना जा सकता है कि वाणिज्य वाण वाणी तक बना रह रे बाणी वाणी वाणी वाणी की बीच वाणी वाणी वाणी वाणी अर्थ की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी के श्रेय की अर्थ की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की वाणी की
Appendix - B

List of subehdars, Faujdars/Sirr-i-Subah of Ajmer province, between 1679-1818.

Reign of Aurangzeb: 1679-1707:

1. Padshah Quli Khan - 1679 - 81
2. Inayat Khan - 1681 - 82
3. Sipahdar Khan - 1688
4. Shujaat Khan Kurtalab Khan - 1688 - 89
5. Safi Khan - 1690 - 94
6. Muhamid Khan - 1694 - 96
7. Syed Abdullah Khan Barha - 1696 - 1702
10. Zabardast Khan Khan Muhammad Khalil - 1705 - 7

Reigns of Bahadur Shah & Jahandar Shah: 1707-1712:

1. Syed Shujaat Khan Barha - 1707 - 13

Reign of Farrukhsiyar: 1713-1719:

1. Syed Khan-i-Jahan Barha - 1713 - 18
2. Issud-daulah Khan-i-Alam - June 1718 - Nov.1718
Reigns of Rafiud-Darajat and Rafiud-Daulah: 1719:

| 1.         | Syed Nusrat Yar Khan Barha | March 1719-Nov. 1719 |

Reign of Muhammad Shah: 1719-48:

| 1.         | Maharaja Ajit Singh        | 1719 - 21            |
| 2.         | Mizaffar Khan Daipuri      | 1721                  |
| 3.         | Syed Nusrat Yar Khan Barha | 1721 - 22            |
| 4.         | Maharaja Ajit Singh        | 1722                  |
| 5.         | Haider Quli Khan           | 1723 - 24            |
| 6.         | Syed Hassan Khan Barha     | 1725                  |
| 7.         | Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan    | 1725 - 27            |
| 8.         | Azam Khan                  | 1727 - 28            |
| 9.         | Mizaffar Khan              | 1728 - 35            |
| 10.        | Moinul Mulk Mirza Munno   | 1741                  |
| 11.        | Mirza Raja Jai Singh       | 1741 - 43            |
| 12.        | Maharaja Abhoy Singh       | 1743 - 48            |

Reign of Ahmed Shah: 1748-54:

| 1.         | Raja Bakhat Singh          | 1748 - 49            |
| 2.         | Salabat Jang               | 1749 - 50            |
| 3.         | Raja Bakhat Singh          | 1750 - 52            |
| 4.         | Intizam-ud-daulah-Khan-i-Khan | 1752          |
| 5.         | Raja Bajai Singh           | 1752 - 55            |
The Maratha Period: (1756-1818):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Govind Krishna</td>
<td>1756 - 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bapu Rao Pandit</td>
<td>1762 - 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Govind Krishna</td>
<td>1765 - 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Shambhoji (Shivaji)</td>
<td>1767 - 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mirza Adil Beg</td>
<td>1768 - 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mirza Anwar Beg</td>
<td>1769 - 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Sankoji</td>
<td>1770 - 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Jiva Ram</td>
<td>1774 - 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ambhaji Ingalia</td>
<td>1776 - 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Mirza Anwar Beg</td>
<td>1783 - 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Dhanraj Singhavi</td>
<td>1787 - 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(on behalf of Rathor Chief)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Shivaji Nana</td>
<td>1791 - 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>General Perron</td>
<td>1800 - 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Mr. Simpson for 3 months and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Low for 9 months, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gogln Beg Khan for one year,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deputed the French General)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Gumanji Rao Tantiya</td>
<td>1802 - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Bale Rao Ingalia</td>
<td>1803 - 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Hira Khan (3 months)</td>
<td>1809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Gumanji Tantiya Sindhia</td>
<td>1809 - 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Pandit Ram Karan Pancholi also acted as the governor on behalf of Ram Singh ruler of Jodhpur, till 1758, when Ajmer was under the joint possession of Marathas and Rathors.
APPENDIX - C

List of Recipients of daily allowance, (Yomia-daran) from Dargah endowment, during eighteenth century.

Dargah file: No.579/B, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, dated 1837.

This list includes the names of 113 grantees, who received these grants from the Mughal Emperors, Rajput Rajahs, and the Marathas Chiefs, during the period under review.

Atleast 68 grants, listed in the document do not indicate the names of the king or Raja, who had bestowed the grant. 22 grants were made by the Mughals, and the remainder were given by Marathas, Rathors and even by dargah officials.

Majority of the recipients were khadins (32), while others included family members of diwan of dargah (pirzadahs), qawwals, tawaifs, and few local muslims, and the recules staying at shrine.

The list shows that a considerable number of Hindus (29), including Brahmans, munardars, and Bairagis,
were also getting the daily stipends from this great sufi institution of the country. The list also includes the names of some of the employees of the dargah such as sanungoes, Hakim, garawal (watchman), teacher, masons, and functionaries, of other religious places.

The maximum amount was Rs. 354 per annum, while the minimum amount was Rs. 14 per annum.
## LIST OF THE RECIPIENTS OF DAILY ALLOWANCE (Yomia-Daran) FROM DARGAH TREASURY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Name of the Recipient</th>
<th>Sanad of ruler/official</th>
<th>Sanad subah/Ahalkar</th>
<th>Per day</th>
<th>Per Annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mir Khidmat Ali S/o Saadat Ali</td>
<td>Moosvi Khan Shahjahani</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>10 ser corn/Roghan: siah</td>
<td>Rs. 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Najaf Ali Khadim</td>
<td>Risvi Khan Sadr-us-Sudur/Alamgir</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>10 ser corn</td>
<td>Rs. 59-4 annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mir Mazhar Ali Khadim</td>
<td>Jafar Khan/Alamgir</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 15-7 annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bahadur Ali Khadim</td>
<td>Risvi Khan Sadr-us-Sudur/Alamgir</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>3 ser corn</td>
<td>Rs. 3-13 annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mir Dayam Ali Khadim</td>
<td>Moazam Khan Khan-ikhanan/Muhammad Shah</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>10 ser corn</td>
<td>Rs. 82-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Faizuddin Ahmad Ali Khadim</td>
<td>Sadr-us-Sudur Ubaiddullah Khan/Ahmad Shah</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>7 ser corn</td>
<td>Rs. 20-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Taj Muhammad Tekawal</td>
<td>Jafar Khan/Alamgir</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2 ser corn</td>
<td>Rs. 3-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Shaikh Kamali Tekawal</td>
<td>Moosvi Khan/ Shahjahani</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>4 ser corn</td>
<td>Rs. 3-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Shaikh Hafisullah</td>
<td>Risvi Khan Sadrus Sudur 4 ser corn</td>
<td>Rs. 3-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tekawal &amp; brother Alamgir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Abdullah Tekawal Del: Das &amp; Jalal</td>
<td>Moosvi Khan Shahjahani</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>4 ser corn</td>
<td>Rs. 3-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name of the Deceased</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Abid Khan/Alangir</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 15-7 annas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Wife of Muhammad Ali Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 15-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Ataullah Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Diwan Maharaja x Rs. 13-14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Asghar Ali Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 6-13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Bola Bahadur Ali Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Seal of Dargah x Rs. 17-4 paisa</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Nisar Ali Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>- do - x Rs. 17-4 paisa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Amin Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>- do - x Rs. 6-0</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Khadim, Ootab Saheb</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1 set Rs. 24-0 coin plus some cash</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Sadullah Sufi</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 3-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Fateh Ali, Rajab Ali</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 3-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Ghulam Nasir on behalf of Ghulam Mustafa</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 3-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Fateh Ali S/o Himmat Ali</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 5-4 annas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Madani Bhai Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 25-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Murad Ali S/o Mirza All Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 17-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Imam Bakhsh S/o Inayat Ali Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 3-7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Imad Ali Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 13-4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Ghulam Rasool Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. ?-11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Wife of Jafar Ali Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 17-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Qadir Bakhsh Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 17-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>34.</td>
<td>Mqesam Tekawal Khadim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 13-14</td>
<td></td>
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<td>35.</td>
<td>Mir Fateh Ali Pirzada</td>
<td>Khan Nabah Khan/</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 annas</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammed Shah</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 354-0</td>
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<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Jams (Total) Pirzadhah</td>
<td>Maharaja Daulat</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rao Sindhia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 73-1 paisa</td>
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<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Majawar Ali Pirzadah</td>
<td>Abu Muzaffar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nuruddin Jahangir/</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 57-10 annas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Raja Abhay Singh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Asraf Ali Latif Ali Pirzadah</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rs. 51-8 annas</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Titles</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Izad Bakhsh Pirzadah</td>
<td>Sadr-us-Sudur</td>
<td>Rs.17-4 annas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Moazam Khan/Muhammad Shah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Dayam Ali S/o Muhammad Shami</td>
<td>Maharaja Daulat</td>
<td>Rs.13-4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rao Sindhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Hafiz Khuda Bakhsh</td>
<td>Abul Mustaffar</td>
<td>Rs.24</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Qadir Khan &amp; Khwaja Bakhsh</td>
<td>Emperor Shahjahan</td>
<td>Rs.154</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>descendants of Gazi</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Najmuddin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Baasullah Shah</td>
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Signature of Ghulam Qadir
Amin of Dargah.
APPENDIX - D


Syed Fazal Ali Khadim of dargah, who acted as wakil of Daulat Rao Sindhia at shrine, represented that in the previous year, he was not allowed to sit on his ancestral place (masnad/qaddi) fixed under a Khirni tree, opposite to the main tomb, by his relatives, Syed Murad Ali and Dilawar Ali, who also disputed his share in the Nadad-i-maash land in the village of Gheghel. Daulat Rao Sindhia in February 1803, sent an urgent and express order to Gumanji Rao Tantiya, the subedar of Ajmer, to help the said Syed, and to warn his relatives, not to interfere, in the affairs of Syed Fazal Ali, in future.
APPENDIX - E

Copy of Acquisition of Ajmer from Daulet Rao Sindhia, and arrangements for its administration.

Commissioner's Record - Ajmer Merwar 1818 - File No. Z - (12)-8
S.N. 1497: Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.

To,

Major General Sir, D. Ochterlony Bart, G.C.B.

Sir,

(1) The acquisition of the District of Ajmer, under the agreement, lately concluded with Daulet Rao Sindhia, renders it advisable to consider without delay, the most expedient arrangements for the establishment of the authority of the British Government in that possession, and the introduction of such a system of administration, as shall comm ..........

(Commerce ?) the greatest possible degree the happiness and security of inhabitants, with the realization .... on account of Government of ...... its proper portion of the resources of the country.

(ii) The nature of the rule, to which Ajmer has for many years been subject, and the extent to which exaction
and oppression. have probably been recently carried, for the purpose of deriving the utmost from a possession, which was about to pass from the late Government, renders it probably that the country and its inhabitants have been reduced to a condition, that will require the utmost attention to the interests, both of the Government and people, combined with the exercised of considerable practical experience in the principles, and the details of a salutary system of revenue, to restore the country to a ..... degree of prosperity.

(iii) It is the intention of the Governor General, that the general control and superintendent of the administration of Ajmer, shall form a part of your duties as Resident. As, however, it will not be practicable for you consistently, with the due execution of your other important avocations to devote to this branch of your duties, the time and minute attention requisite to its success. His Lordship had determined, to depute an officer of approved talents and experienced, to aid you in this Department.

(iv) Mr. Wilder the second Assistant to the Resident at Delhi (Delhi) had accordingly been selected for this duty, and will be instructed to proceed immediately to place himself under your authority. You will accordingly be pleased to assigned to Mr. Wilder the charge of the local administration
of Ajmer, in the several Departments of revenue, police and judicature, furnishing him with suitable instructions for his guidance, such as your knowledge and experience will dictate.

(v) It is not the intention of the Governor General, to prescribe the principles and still less the details of the system to be introduced, into the administration of Ajmer. You will naturally render the ancient institutions of the country, whenever they have survived the effects of the oppressive Government of the Marathas, the basis of your arrangements, and in other cases, your attention will doubtless be attached to the practical benefits, that have resulted from the system, so successfully established in the assigned territory, under the able and judicious management of the successive Residents at Dei (Dei). The experienced acquired by Mr. Wilder, in a long course of employment in that country, will render his service of peculiar value in this point of view.

(vi) Mr. Wilder will not be permanently separated from the Residency at Dihlee, and when the immediate purpose of his deputation at Ajmer, shall be effected, some other arrangement will be resorted to for the management of the
country, by placing it under the charge of one of your permanent Assistants, or otherwise. In the meanwhile, Mr. Wilder's duties will be restricted to those above described, and will be entirely distinct from those that will devolve on your Assistants, in the Military Department.

(vii) The Governor General has been pleased to assign a deputation allowance of Rs. 1200/- per Mensem, to Mr. Wilder for this extra duty to be charged from the revenue of the district.

(viii) The charge of the *parcanah* of Rampura, if that possession be retained by the British Government, can be very conveniently undertaken by Mr. Wilder, without a necessity for any European Agency, and the expenses of the salary, now drawn by Major Herriett on account of his civil duties, may cease on Mr. Wilder's appointment taking effect. It is possible, however, that RAMPOORA may be transferred to Ameer Khan, under the arrangement which I shall have to honour to communicate to you in a separate dispatch.

Gorackpoor

8th June 1818

I have signed/I. Adam
Secretary to the Governor General
Signed / I. Adam
Secretary to Governor General

A True copy
APPENDIX -

Hibbah-Namahs dt April 1832, (deeds of gift) of Syed Bahadur Ali and Syed Akbar Ali, Saadat Bibi, grandson and grand-daughter of Syed Hayatullah Khadim.

These two deeds of gifts (Hibbah-Namahs) belong to my family collection, and constitute an important source of information, regarding the hereditary rights and privileges of khadim community.

These documents deal with the transfer of these rights, by Syed Bahadur Ali to his sons, viz. Syed Nazar Ali and Syed Hassan Ali, in perpetuity. Syed Akbar Ali, the brother of Syed Bahadur Ali was issueless, therefore, he, too, and their sister Saadat Bibi, also declared Syed Nazar Ali and Syed Hassan Ali, as their successors in these hereditary rights.

According to these legal bonds, the half portion in the share of Nazar, put in gandeel (Lamp or Box), made at the occasions of forelock cutting, (Kakul-tarahi) and offered by the pilgrims of Rampur, Bareilly, Adampur, Aonla, Bchuraon, Garh Muktesar etc. (hereditary bastis of this particular family) and in the performance of the duty of the key-keeping, (baridari/chowki) and khidmat (service) at shrine on Monday, Friday, Saturday, and in the two residential houses (havelis) in Khadim Bahallah, plus in the revenues of the madad-i-mash
land of Beer (Raigarh), Kakniawas, Gheghel, and Beonja, which they all had inherited from their father, Syed Ghulam Moinuddin, and had enjoyed during their life time, now being bestowed voluntarily, and transferred to Syed Nazar Ali and Syed Hassan Ali, the two sons of Syed Bahadur Ali.

It was done probably to safeguard the rights of their descendants from the dishonesty and injustice of their step brother, cousins and other relatives.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
APPENDIX - C

Application of Abhay Ram Bairagi for the continuation of the grant of allowance for the temple of Hanumanji, dt. 14 August, 1834, No. 738, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.

It is an application of Abhay Ram, dt. 14 August 1834, claiming that Rs. 8-10 annas-25 pais were paid by darogah moaf for the Bhog at Hanumanji's temple, situated near Chhapadwara (within Ajmer city) to his guru Ghesi Ram since a long time.

After the death of Ghesi Ram, he (Abhay Ram) is serving at the said temple, therefore, he should be paid the allowance.
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