MARATHA ACTIVITIES IN THE PROVINCES OF DELHI, AGRA & ALLAHABAD
(1740 A.D. to 1761 A.D.)

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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Preface

So far the Maratha Sources have not been fully exploited by the scholars and yet great treasure remains hidden to bring out many facts into light and to meet several lacunas of the Medieval Indian History. Under the present dissertation - a preliminary work based on Marathi Source; an humble attempt has been made by the author to summarise the Maratha activities in the provinces of Delhi, Agra and Allahabad during 1740 to 1761 A.D.

For this work, I am greatly indebted to Professor S. Nurul Hasan, Education Minister of India, who sponsored me this very interesting topic for research and inspired to do this much. This para would remain incomplete without the mention of Professor K.A. Nizami, Head of the Department and Professor Irfan Habib, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh; who provided me several opportunities to discuss a few problems related to the study and facilitated the work with their concrete suggestions. Special thanks are due to them.

Most sincere and heartful gratitudes are due to my respected guide and supervisor Dr. Zamiruddin Siddiqui, Reader, Centre of Advanced Study in History,
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I would be failing in my duties if I do not mention Mr. M.P. Singh who helped me in picking up the Marathi language. Thanks are due to the authorities of the Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U. Aligarh and Seminar Library of the History Department, A.M.U., Aligarh for their cooperation. In the end, I convey my heartly thanks to all those who assisted me at various stages of my work.


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**ABBREVIATIONS**
The period of Indian History from 1740 to 1761 is very important and represents the transition in which the Mughal Empire was fast decaying and new forces and powers were making their appearance in a bid to establish their ascendency in different regions of India. The Marathas were a rising power in the arena of this struggle for ascendency. The Maratha endeavour under the able leadership of Shivaji who combined at the military genius, organizing capacity, love of independence and a will to assert the national regeneration of the Maratha people, was directed towards right Channels. Under the Peshwas the Marathas were attempting to expand beyond the region of Maharashtra to all directions Southwards.
and Northwards. The weakness and the factions fight at the Mughal Court encouraged fissiparous tendencies in the various provinces of India. This provided a welcome opportunity to the Maratha ambition to strike at the弱点 of the Mughal Empire and to denude it of some of its fairest and richest provinces like Malwa and Gujarat to augment the resources of the Maratha power in its enterprise aimed at expansion, consolidation and aggrandisement.

In pursuit of this policy the Marathas during the period under review made encroachments and deep thrusts into the provinces of Allahabad, Agra and Delhi. The Mughal-Maratha relations reached a point to an final bid for existence and survival seemed imminent. But the Mughal court politics had reached the catastrophic stage which entirely paralysed the Mughal military and administrative machinery to tackle successfully the Maratha encroachments so near to the imperial capital. Such a state of affairs in which the various nobles of Mughal court instead of forming a united front and pulling their energies to combat the Maratha advance, fell apart in an attempt to secure the Maratha alliance in furtherance of their selfish ambitions, aims and designs. This was a great boon to the Marathas to secure large concession and immense wealth and the
role of arbiters of the destiny of the Mughal power in the North.

Maratha expansion to the North has been elaborately dealt with by Jadunath Sarkar, G.S. Sardesai and others but no attempt to study the Maratha activities and the Maratha policies in various regions and provinces of Northern India has so far been made. Hence an attempt of a broad way survey of the Maratha activities and policies in relation to the northern provinces of India is imperative. The present study is an attempt to fill this lacuna in the History of Mughal-Maratha relations in the north.

Persian and Maratha sources have been utilised in preparation of this dissertation. Volumes of Hingne Daftar which was not consulted by some scholars, have been utilized for this study. The elaborate information contained in the Peshwa Daftar has been analysed and categorized.

The Maratha expansion in Northern India dates back from first quarter of the 18th century. In the year 1743 the Peshwa was granted the Subahs of Malwa and Bundelkhand. In the year 1743 the Zamindar of Orchha occupied the post of Yende and other villages and forces. Maratha force went against him and made
In 1744, the Raja of Datia created disturbances and did not pay the dues. Sabas Singh also created disturbances in Bundelkhand but finally an agreement was arrived at in April 1746. Early in the year 1746 Kashi Bai, the wife of Bajirao, went on a pilgrimage to Benaras, Prayag, Kankri, Gaya etc.

In the year 1746, Narayan Dikshit went for a pilgrimage to Prayag with ten thousand men and performed his pilgrimage. The police officer there made all the arrangements for their protection. Raghunath Ram Vakil and Babu Ram Bapuji went to Prayag and created great disturbances there.

In the year 1746, the Marathas conquered most of Jaitpur. The Peshwa congratulated Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia for their conquest. In 1746-47 the Marathas captured certain places in pargana of Sabbas Singh and Raja Jagat Singh and gave them to Govind Ballal and Laxman Shankar to collect tax. In 1747, Antaji and Vithal Shivdev made arrangements in Gwalior.

In June 1747, Peshwa sent Pandurang Purandare to Narwar to collect tax there but he failed in his purpose so Malhar was ordered to go and collect tax there.
In 1748, Yashwant Rao Pawar with Ramchandra Baba made the arrangement of the Jats and went to Mathura and Brindavan.

In January 1749, Jayapa Sindla and Ramchandra Baba went to Bundelkhand and established their posts in Tejgarh and Hate. In the same month, Govind Ballal went to the province of Koach-Kanar. The zamindars opposed him. He pursued the Bundela Rajas, besieged and captured Tejgarh.

In February - March Vithal Shivdev went to Gwalior as the Marathas had evacuated some posts in Sodhai due to the disturbances created by the zamindars. Then Vithal went to the country of Jats and encamped near Agra. The Vakil of Surajmal met him and an agreement with him was expected. Malhar Holkar arranged the matters at Somawali and Alapur but could not collect tribute from Tuwardhar, Jatawar and Dandrali. Vithal Shivdev settled the matters with the Jats. Rupees 66 thousand was fixed as tribute from Narwar. As it could not be collected, the Marathas captured Pahyar and Dhuta but had to evacuate them due to the interference of Malhar on behalf of Jats.

In 1749 Vithal went to Gwalior and captured some posts at Narwar. Then he reached at Kachhwa Ihar and
sent a force to collect the remaining tribute from Jhansi and Datia. Vithal made good arrangements in Gwalior and checked the disturbances caused at Shahu's death. Vithal settled matters at Somawati, Alapur, Jatwara, Dandrol etc. The Marathas captured twenty-five places in Narwar. Except five mahals, all the places as Chinore, Lohgarh and Salbai etc. were captured by the Marathas.

In 1750, Chimnaji Baman went from Jhansi and besieged Kachhwa Dar. Vithal also joined him and captured the posts of Sikri, Sudhar etc. During the last months of 1750, the people of Orchha created trouble and destroyed the country of Orchha and about fifty villages of Khajlisa provinces as Mau, Banipur, Kurecha etc. Naro Shankar came to this province after Dajera, defeated the rebellions and restored order there.

In 1751 the sanad of the faujdari of Gwalior, the arrangement of the territory and zamindars was given to Vithal Pant. In the year 1750-51 the Management of an Amal of the parganas of Karoli, Dandrail, Zari and Mathura was given to Baji Sakhdev. Excluding this, the new area beyond Chambal viz., Wadi Dholpur, Zari, Mathura etc. were given to Bajaji Sakhdev to collect tribute, to bring the country under his authority and to raise revenue.
By the end of the year 1750, Vazir Safdar Jang called the Marathas for help against the Rohillas. Jayapa and Malhar Rao marched against them and defeated the Rohillas. The main aim of the Marathas in helping the Vazir was to get the sanad of Kashi and Prayag from him. By the treaty of the Vazir with the Rohillas in February 1752, the Marathas were given Kannauj, Akbarpur Shah and other districts of Bundelkhand in Doab for their services. Govind Pant Bundele was given the hold of these places.

While Safdarjung was busy with Rohillas, Ahmad Abdali invaded India. So in 1752, Safdar Jang made a treaty with the Marathas. The Peshwa was granted the Subahdari of Agra and Ajmer and the chauth of all twenty two Subahs and not of twenty four Subahs as has been mentioned by Jadunath Sarkar.

In the year 1752-53 the parganas of Deolali, Deorapur, Birban Dabar, Deoha and Nanmau were under the management of Govind Ballal and Navalrai.

In the year 1753 a tussel started between the Emperor and the Vazir. Both of them tried to get Maratha help. Bapu Mahadev Hinge and Antaji collected a force of thirty and thirty five thousand and sent for the help of the Emperor. Wazir-ul-Mulk was given the...
Subahdari of Deccan, and the Subahs of Agra and Ajmer were given to the Marathas by the Emperor. Jadunath Sarkar has mentioned a letter from Aitihasik Patravyavhar dated 28.2.1753 and written its number 86 which is wrong. In fact the number of the letter is 89.

In the year 1753-54 the parganas of Kannauj, Deolali, Sakit, Alipur Khera, Soru, Gangeri and Sikandra were given to Malhar as fauz Saranjam while the parganas of Bihar, Bikaspur, Balbare, Nanamau, Seoli, Sewarrabara, Sorakh, Sakalpur and Deoba were given to Jayapa Sindia as fauz saranjam. In the year 1753-54, the pargana of Akbarabad was also given to Malhar and Jayapa.

During the year 1754, Narao Shankar was the tax collector in the parganas of Sevaganpur and Nagadvati, Damodar Mahadev in the pargana of Kannauj, Sikandra, Soru, Panchkana, Gangeri and Jalali, Govind Ballal in the Parganas of Hiryan, Bilaspur, Nanamau, Balbare, Mangalpur, Derapur, Deokali and in Deoba, Vishwasrao Laxman in the parganas of Shahpur, Akbarpur, Seoli and Sewarabara, the parganas of Sakit Alipur Khera and Sakatpur were under Govind Rao Sakhaji. In the year 1754 the Emperor gave the pargana of Bithur to Gangadhar Yashwant, Anandrao and to Ramaji Anant.

During the year 1754 Gangadhar Yashwant went to Mathura in an effort to gain Kashi and Prayag from
In 1754 an agreement was also made between Baghunathrao and Chhatrasingh, the raja of Narwar.

In the year 1755 Jayapa was ordered to capture Kashi, Prayag and Gwalior. Babu Rao Bhaskar went to Doab with a force to make arrangements in Kora-Jahanabad. In April 1755 Baghunath Rao went to Kasha Pohri in Narwar to capture Gwalior fort but no agreement could be reached with Rana of Gohad and Bajju Jat. After some time the Marathas conquered Gohad and the Gwalior fort came into their hands. Gopal Ganesh reached Gwalior fort and established his post at the fort.

In September 1755 Baghunathrao gave Kora and Jahanabad to Antaji to effect arrangement there. Previously they were in the possession of Govind Ballal. Baghunathrao gave Antaji's jagirs of Etawah, Phaphund and Sikandraabad in Doab to Govind Ballal.

In October 1755 the Vazir gave Bhogon to Ahmad Khan Bangash. It was close to Etawah, Phaphund and Shikohabad. It was thought that the Pathans would create disturbance and capture these. So Govind Ballal wrote the Vazir and took the pargana after giving him Tajara. By the end of 1755 Naro Shankar went to Jhansi to collect money and to restore order there. He made arrangements there and then went to Doab with Govind Pant Bundele. Saura Bai also went to Jhansi.
In October 1755 disturbances arose in Doab. So forces were sent to Gazipur, Kora, Jahanabad, Mainpuri, Kalinjer and Sakurabad etc. During the year 1755-56 the pargana of Gwalior was managed by Vithal Shivdev, pargana of Karoli and Mandrail by Baji Sakhdev, Jalali and Bhilsad by Bhagwantrao Anant and the fort of Gwalior by Gopalrao Ganesh. Doab was under the management of Antaji, Gopalrao Ganesh, Govind Ballal and Bapuji Mahadev. In February 1756 Raghunathrao took the sanad of Kora - Jahanabad from the Emperor and gave them to Govind Ballal. Baqulla Khan opposed but was defeated. In March 1756, the parganas of Jalali, Bilgram, Kasganj etc., which were given to Bapu Mahadev and Damodar Mahadev earlier, now given to Antaji by the Peshwa. Bapu Rao Mahadev was sent to establish amal there.

In May 1756, Naro Shankar took bath at Prayag with six or seven hundred soldiers. He made arrangement in Bundelkhand with Govind Ballal and went to Jhansi. In 1755-56, the Maratha managers in different places were, Govind Ballal in Bundelkhand, Hari Vithal, Meghsham Bapuji and Gopalrao Bapuji in Bundelkhand and other mahals, Raghu Shankar in pargana Berse, Naro Shankar, Bhikaji Narayan in Sarkar Sevreh, Ihondo Narayan in pargana Uchad, Narbaji Krishna and Sadashiv Damodar in the pargana am of Chanderi, Satvoji Jadavrao in pargana of Narwar, Hari Damodar in the pargana of
Ohanderi. The forts of Madao and Sôngarh were also under Maratha suzerainty.

During the year 1756, Saguna Bai, the widow of the Peshwa's younger brother Janardan, went on a pilgrimage to Kashi and Prayag but could not go to Mathura due to the disturbances created by Abdali.

In October 1756 Antaji went to Gwalior from Narwar. The Emperor, Vazir and Govind Ballal wrote Antaji to finish amal in Doab. Leaving some troops at Gwalior, Antaji went to Agra. On his way he created great disturbances in Bhadawar and Kachhwa Dhar. He stayed at Agra for about three months. Govind Ballal also reached there. He sent a vakil to the Emperor and Vazir and entered into an agreement. That Antaji should serve the Emperor with ten or twelve thousand force. The Emperor and Vazir would not create any disturbance in Maratha territory. The Emperor sent a horse, Jawahir Sirpench etc. to Antaji at Agra which he accepted. Antaji came to Gwalior and reached on Yamuna bank after Dashera. Antaji went to the Emperor with ten or twelve thousand force. In December 1756 Krishnaji captured Jatesar and Akbarabad from the Jats.

In January 1757, the ten Mahals of Kota, Tapetkar, Province of Bidki, Kuwarpur, Jajwad, Mohsanpur, Fatehpur,
Ayasa, Bari and Hasba were assigned to Gopalrao Ganesh and nine mahals to Govind Ballal. Gopalrao Ganesh could receive the sanad for only two parts and one third part remained with Govind Ballal. In the year 1757 Shamsher Bahadur went to collect tribute for the year from Bundelkhand and other mahals. In February 1757 Naro Shankar was Gwalior and Balaji Govind, Bhondo Pant and Trimbak Mukundrao were in Doab. In February 1757 Antaji had removed his forces from Etawah, Phaphund and Shikohabad.

Devrao Meghsham, Moroba and Rajab also accompanied Saguna Bai in her pilgrimage to Kashi, Prayag and Kulī. At Prayag Mahmud Quli Khan gave Khilat and a horse to Saguna Bai and to Devrao.

In March 1757, during the time of the invasion of Abdali, Purushottam Pant and his brothers, Shamsher Bahadur, Naro Shankar, Antaji were at Agra. Some Maratha forces were near Botal, some near Agra, some near Mathura and Shikohabad. After a clash between the forces of Antaji and Abdali on 1st February Baju Megh Sham sent an application to Abdali. Abdali gave him Khilat and Bapu Meghsham promised him the sum of two krores. Abdali asked the reason that why Antaji was fighting with his forces. Bapu told that Antaji
was the servant of the Wazir and not of the Peshwa. Abdali said that Antaji had first used his sword against us therefore the Marathas are a great problem.

In March 1757 disturbances were created in Doab, Bhadawar and Kachhwa Dhur, Datia and Orchha etc. due to the invasion of Abdali. In June forces under different Maratha officers were sent there to restore order. In June Raghunathrao was ordered to collect tax from Malwa and Bundelkhand. Perhaps the Peshwa had levied special contribution to meet the expenses incurred in driving away Abdali. In July Janardan Ram went to the pargana of Shahana in Khanpur and captured the posts of Shahana, Narsija, Jakhera and Khanpur. In July Gopalrao met with Shuja-ud-daula at Jajmau and made an agreement.

Etawah, Phaphund and Shikohabad were granted to Antaji for his services by the Emperor. Antaji had appointed Govind Ballal to collect tax there. The Peshwa confiscated his jagirs and the sum collected from there. Antaji requested the Peshwa to return the jagirs and collected money. In May 1757 the Sanad of Subah Agra was given to Vithal Shivdev. He wrote that if the administration of Agra Subah would be done according to Raghunath's will, he himself would
collect tribute there. He demanded the Haveli of Agra and other mahals of Naveli for his administration otherwise he was not ready to take the administration of the Subah. In September 1757 Ram Chandra Hat went to Benaras. Antaji was also near Benaras. The Vazir went to Benaras and started plundering there. He wanted to capture Benaras. Basudey Dikshit wrote the Peshwa to send a force for the protection of Raja and of Benaras. In the year 1782, Keshavrao, the Peshwa's agent at Delhi, went to Jhansi with his son Badrinath, due to the invasion of Abdali in the north. He also went to Prayag for a bath in January and April months.

After Abdali's departure from India, Vazir Ghazi-ud-din, with Najib and other two princes went to Doab to drive out the Maratha intruders from there. They captured Maratha posts in Doab. Sakharam Bapu, Baghunathrao and Malhar were written letters to come immediately. It was planned to send a force of ten thousand under Vithal Pant, Tatya and Gangadhar Yashwant. It was also thought to win the support of Jats and Shuja-ud-daula. No agreement could also be made between the Vazir and Shuja. A battle started. Shuja asked for Maratha help. The Marathas were ready to help Shuja on the promise that he would not open negotiations
with the Vazir but Shuja-ud-daula did it. In June 1757 the Raja of Ruru captured the pargana of Phaphund except fifteen villages and had established his posts there. The Maratha forces were present there but failed to face him and called Sakharam to suppress him. The Raja of Ruru sent his Vakil to Antaji and the Peshwa.

In November 1757, the Marathas captured about two or three hundred posts in Doab, restored order there and established Peshwa's supremacy there. In the year 1756, Naro Shankar collected the dues from the Zamindars of Jhansi, Datia, Orchha, Bhadawar and Kachhwa-dhar etc. and compelled to evacuate about five hundred strong fortified places within eight days and brought them under his control. By the end of year 1756 disorder started in Bundelkhand. Different Maratha Sardar went there and restored order.

In May 1758 the Vazir had agreed to give a jagir of five lakhs to Vithal Pant in return for help in capturing Najib's district. Ghazi-ud-din appointed Vithal Pant the faujdar of Saharanpur in place of Najib. Seven lakhs rupees he agreed to pay after some time. Jadunath Sarkar on the basis of Peshwa Daftar Vol. 27, No. 218 says that the Marathas could not cross Chenab but the following letters prove that

In February 1759, the Peshwa wrote to Ramaji Anant to take Benaras, Ayodhya and Allahabad from Shuja-ud-daula. He had promised to Ragunath to cede Benaras and Ayodhya in 1757. The Peshwa wrote him to make a settlement on the point of Allahabad. The Peshwa also wrote to Dattaji and Jankoji Sindia to try to get the places of Benaras, Prayag etc. Dattaji wrote the Peshwa that he himself was very anxious to take control of the holy places of the Hindus.

During the year 1759 Govardhan Das, the brother of Narayan Das went on a pilgrimage so letters were sent to different Maratha Sardars and Mughals to give him safe passage for going to pilgrimage. Trimbak Rao Dabhade informed the Peshwa that there was no trouble to the pilgrims at Prayag as before and it was very easy to capture the country upto Bengal after the arrival of Maratha armies in Bengal.

In November 1759, Kushal Singh, the Zamindar in Buru, in pargana of Phaphund had created disturbances in the amal of government and captured Maratha posts there. Parashar Dadaji besieged these posts and
recaptured them after a labour of two and a half months.

By the end of the year 1759, Abdali sent his agent Yaqub Ali Khan to Delhi and informed different Rajas and Najib about his imminent arrival. He had despatched Jahan Khan to India and wrote Najib to send the Nazrana of Sultanat of Hindustan every year.

After the fall of Dattaji and Jankoji at Shukartal, a large army under Bhau was sent by Peshwa to North. The dates given by Jadunath Sarkar about the arrival of Bhau in different places in North are different from the dates given in Nana Phadnis Yanche Shabdant Panipatcha Mandsangram.

When Bhau captured the fort of Delhi on 1st Aug., 1760, the Vazir and Surajmal became angry, and went to Ballamgarh because an agreement was made between the Vazir and Surajmal that the fort of Agra and the management of Delhi would be given to the Jats. As the Marathas captured Delhi and Agra, Surajmal became angry and went to Ballamgarh.

After the battle of Panipat, Trimbak Krishna and Janardan recaptured about two or three hundred posts in Doab and established the amal of the Maratha government in some places. Balaji Govind and Ganadhar Govind went in Doab and fought with Pathans and
Rohillahs at Mangalpur and Phaphund and recaptured them after an agreement. The Maratha forces also occupied the posts of Bidi, Kunwarpur and Hasa etc. They tried their best to restore order wherever it was possible. In the year 1761, the Marathas again tried to take the sanad of Kashi and Prayag. Shuja-ud-daula had captured the posts of Kapi and Kora but evacuated them after an agreement with the Marathas.

The present work is mainly based on papers and despatches from Selections from Peshwa Daftar. Though these letters do not provide any chain about various problems but they give a great contribution in making clear several incidents and transactions and a revision of our former judgements on many points.

These letters tell us that the ambition of Hindu Pad Padshahi of the Peshwas brought the Marathas into conflict with different powers which were powerful between the river Narmada on the South and the Himalayan range on the north. After the invasion of Nadir Shah, the power of the Mughals was declined and the Emperor became dependant on the mercy of any powerful invader. The Peshwa gave a freedom to his Sardars as Malhar Holkar, Jayapa Sindia and Dattaji in the north. Other problems of Delhi Empire were the succession wars to the thrones of Jaipur and Jodhpur. At the same time
Safdar Jang tried to suppress the rebellious Rohillah chiefs who always used to create disturbances in Oudh. Ahmad Shah Abdali started his invasions in India and complicated the situation more. Thus the Rajput princes, the Rohillas, Emperor's Vazirs and different victorious Marathas, all contributed in developing events which ended in Panipat.

Sindia and Holkar had established themselves in Malwa and Rajputana but they returned to south in 1749 for a year due to the illness and death of Shahu. But the end of 1750 they returned back on the call of Vazir Safdarjang whom the rebellious Rohillahs had paralysed. After joining with their forces in the beginning of 1751 they moved against the Rohillahs and defeated and completely routed them and were granted the territories of Kannauj, Akbarpur Shah and other districts of Bangash in Doab. By the end of 1751 Abdali attacked India. The Emperor called the Vazir. A formal treaty was finalised with the Marathas to get their help by which the Peshwa was given the power to defend the Emperor from external and internal enemies and the Suabhdari of Agra and Ajmer. After some time Peshwa called Sindia and Holkar back to Deccan.

During this time a civil war started between Safdar Jang and the Emperor. The Vazir called the...
Javid Khan and murdered him. Again in Feb. 1752 Abdali crossed Attock and sent his Vakil to Delhi Court to take the yearly amount of 50 lakhs. At this time the Marathas were asked to face him as they were granted the Suabhdari of Agra and Ajmer and the Chauth of twenty two Subahs. (Sarkar has mentioned that the Marathas were granted the chauth of twenty four Subahs) The Vazir somehow sent the envoy back.

In the meantime Udham Bai, the mother of the Emperor organised a conspiracy against Vazir to finish his power. Antaji who was present at Delhi, wrote the Peshwa about Delhi position. He sent Raghunathrao to North. Both the Emperor and the Vazir tried to get Maratha help. The Marathas supported the emperor, finally a compromise was made between the emperor and the vazir before the arrival of any Maratha army.

After this the Marathas sieged Kumbher, Dindigul etc. The siege continued for four months and finally Roopram agreed to pay 30 lakhs to the Marathas on the part of Surajmal in three yearly instalments.

After this the Marathas removed Ahmad Shah from the throne and declared Aziz-ud-din the new Emperor with the name of Alamgir II. The ex-emperor, his sons, Udhambai were deprived of their sight. Imad-ul-mulk
agreed to pay 82 lakhs to the Marathas for the help which the Marathas gave him for occupying the post of Vazir. The Marathas roamed in Delhi territory to get money and then returned to South.

In the winter of 1756-57 Abdali attacked India and committed frightful atrocities and then returned to his country in summer. The Rohillah chief Najib tried to make overtures to Baghunath. In the autumn of 1758, Baghunath returned to South without having finally settled the affairs of North India. These letters tell us that Abdali tried his best to come to an understanding with the Marathas before entering into a conflict with them. It was the fault of the Peshwa, his brother and cousin that they did not go to Delhi to settle promptly the affairs of empire though they were mainly responsible for the general policy of the north.

These letters also tell us about different Maratha officers and their activities in different parganas of Agra, Delhi and Allahabad. Thus they give a great contribution to our study.

Other important sources here used are the two volumes of Hingine Daftar. These letters are mainly written by Hingines who were the Peshwas agents at Delhi Court. They had seen the incidents and described
them through letters. So their correspondence is more reliable than others. Vazir Qamar-ud-din was killed in a battle with Abdali in March 1748. Mohammad Shah, the Emperor died in April. Ahmad Shah came on the throne with the Vazir Safdar Jang. The eunuch Javid Khan had a great influence on the emperor at this time and was a puppet in his hands. Safdar Jang murdered Javid Khan in April 1752 and Ghazi-ud-din died in south by poisoning. After this the differences between the Emperor and the Vazir remained increasing. Ghazi-ud-din II was in favour of Safdarjangan earlier but later on he favoured Intizam-ud-daula. After some time Intizam got the Vazirship. Ghazi-ud-din decided to remove the Emperor and the Vazir. Due to this conflict, the Emperor and the Vazir were removed in June 1754 and Alamgir II became the Emperor while Ghazi-ud-din II his Vazir.

Baji Bai I had started his interference in the succession at Delhi. After Baji Rao for about eleven years the Maratha influence at Delhi court did not increase. In 1750, Safdar Jang after his defeat by the Rohillah decided to take the help of the Marathas. At this time the Emperor entered into an agreement with the Marathas to protect himself and
his territory. On one hand, it was useful for the Marathas but on the other hand it increased their responsibilities. They had to face both the internal and external enemies of the Emperor. It was a problem that at the time of conflict between the Vazir Safdar Jang and the Emperor to which side the Marathas should help. Hingi's were in favour to help the Emperor but Antaji was in favour to help the Vazir. The Marathas decided to help the Emperor finally. Again the same problem arose and Ahmad Shah was removed and Alamgir II was enthroned. In 1757 Raghunath Rao again came to North. After his return, Dattaji with Jankoji was sent to the North. Thus these letters give a clear picture of the Hingi's relations with the Emperor, his officers and with the Rajputs etc.

Another important source is Nana Phadnis Yanche Shabdant Panipatcha Bansangram. It gives a vivid picture about the events leading to the Battle of Panipat, about the battle of Panipat and its after effects. (The dates given in these letters are different and more correct than Jadunath Sarkar.) Sarkar has given the date of the capture of Delhi fort 3rd Aug. but this book tells that Bhau captured the fort on 1st August. In the same way the dates given by Sarkar about the arrival of Bhau at different places
in North are quite different from this book. This book tells us the reality that when Bhau captured Delhi fort, Surajmal and Vazir became angry and went to Ballamgarh, because an agreement was made between the Vazir and Surajmal that the Agra fort and the management of Delhi would be given to the Jats but as the Marathas captured Delhi and Agra, Surajmal became angry. The Sarkar writes the different reason for it.

Another book 'Aitihasik Patravyavhar' is a collection of important historical sources scattered in different places and is equally useful as the Volumes of Peshwa Daftar. It tells us about the agreement signed by Peshwa and Bajirao at Satara on 31st August 1743 by which the Subahs of Malwa, Agra, Ajmer and Allahabad were assigned to the Peshwa by Shahu. At the same time letter No. 89 which is wrongly written by Sarkar No. 86, reveals that when a civil war started between Vazir and Emperor both of them tried to get Maratha help. The Emperor agreed to give the Subahs of Ayodhya and Prayag to Balaji Rao.

Other important sources used for the completion of this work are the volumes of 'Selections From Satara Bajas and the Peshwa's Diaries' and 'Aitihasik Patren Yadi Vagare Lekh'. These books help us in knowing the Maratha influence in the different paraganas
of Agra and Allahabad.

Among the Persian Sources the main here used are SEIR-MUTAQHERIN, Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan and Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah. Different Secondary sources have also been used at different places. All these Marathi and Persian works have been used to make the present work as faultless as possible.
Aurangzeb devoted the last twenty-five years of his reign with enormous resources to suppress the Marathas but he failed. The Marathas had gathered more strength by the time of Aurangzeb's death in 1707. After the death of Aurangzeb the Marathas adopted the policy of expanding their dominions and they started regular attacks in Northern India. These attacks were guided by a definite policy from the time of Baji Rao. The fall of the Mughal Empire, the formation of different groups at the court and their continuous struggle paved the way for Maratha expansion. As the Delhi court did not take the Maratha problem seriously and were engaged in their own disputes, the Marathas spread in Malwa and Gujarat and started their expansion.

1 Satish Chandra: 'Parties & Politics at the Mughal Court', Aligarh University, 1759, P. 190.
2 Ibid. P. 186
3 Ibid. P. 189
The provinces of Malwa and Gujarat were of great political and military importance. These were very rich provinces. After occupying these provinces the Marathas could easily move against Nizam-ul-mulk and he could not get the help from Delhi. The Marathas could easily attack the Doab and the east and west sides of it. Their hold on Malwa and Gujarat was vital to their expansion northwards.

From the beginning of 18th Century Dabhades were assigned Gujarat and Baglana to collect the dues there. The Marathas had started their raids in Gujarat from 1705. In the year 1707 the Marathas attacked East Gujarat and marched upto Ahmedabad. The Governor pacified them by giving an amount of 2,10,100 Rs. In 1716 the Mughals were defeated by the Marathas in Tapti region and Maratha authority was established in Surat Athavisi. Khanderao Dabhade had built a number of forts from Burhanpur to Surat and collected chauth from

1 Satish Chandra: 'Parties & Politics at the Mughal Court,' Aligarh University, 1759, pp. 191-192.
3 Ibid; p. 196; P.B.M.E. pp. 21-22.
4 P.B.M.E. p. 22
the travellers who passed from this path. When Husain Ali was appointed the viceroy of Deccan, he sent Zulfiqar Khan, his Mir Bakhshi, to drive out Khanderao. Khanderao defeated Zulfiqar Khan in 1715. Again Mukham Singh, the Diwan of Hussain Ali, moved against Dabbade but was defeated. In 1719 another Maratha Pilaji Gaikwar moved towards Surat and collected Chauth there after defeating imperial forces under Sayyid Akil and Mohammad Panah. Pilaji occupied Sarnarh and started his attacks on the adjoining region.

In the year 1719 ten thousand Marathas accompanied Husain Ali under Balaji Vishwanath and added to his strength which led to the dethrone of Farrukh siyar. Hussain Ali had granted Shahu the Swarajya of Shivaji and the right to collect chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the Deccan through his own officers. In return Shahu was ready to pay a peshkash of ten lakhs and a fine.


2 Ibid. PP. 22-23; The History of Mahrattas Vol. I, PP. 247-248; P.P.M.C., P. 130.

3 Ibid. P. 23.
as he was appointed the Sardeshmukh, to maintain fifteen thousand horses for the service of the Emperor, to punish the rebellious, the thieves, to get the stolen money or arrange for it himself. Farrukhsiyar did not satisfy with this agreement. But after the deposition of Farrukhsiyar the new Emperor approved it in March 1719. They also handed over to Vishwanath Balaji's mother and the other members of his family who had been in prison at Delhi for twelve years. At the time of his negotiations with Hussain Ali Shahu also tried to get the grant of the Chauth of the province of Gujarat. According to the instructions of Shahu Balaji tried to get the sanad for the chauth of the province of Gujarat when he came to Delhi in but this concession was not given to the Marathas as the situation at the court of Delhi was not good. The result was that the Marathas started their attacks in this province in large number. In the same year Baji Rao was also appointed the Peshwa after the death of Balaji Vishwanath.


2 Ibid. P. 132


5 P.P.M.C.; P. 196.
In the year 1720 after the down fall of Sayyids, Haider Quli Khan was appointed the governor of Gujarat in place of Ajit Singh Rathor and remained on this post till 1722. After him Nizam-ul-mulk took the governorship of Deccan for himself and in February 1723 sent his representative Hamid Khan for the administration of Gujarat. In July 1924 Serbuland Khan Mubariz-ul-mulk was appointed the governor in Gujarat. He appointed Shujjat Khan as his deputy there. Nizam went in the Deccan. The ruling party at Delhi was against the Nizam. Shujjat Khan decided to attack the Nizam. Nizam’s deputy Hamid Khan made an agreement with Shahu’s general Kanthaji Kadam Bande near Khandesh and took his help and agreed to pay him the chauth of Gujarat for the restoration of Hamid Khan in the office. Kanthaji Kadam joined Hamid Khan with 15000 to 20000 horsemen. In December 1724 they defeated and killed Shujjat Khan at Ahmadnagar. The Marathas imprisoned the followers of Shujjat Khan. They went in his camp at Shahi Bagh and plundered it. The chauth and Sardeshmukhi

1 'Later Mughals': Vol. II, P. 166; P.B.M.E. P. 26
of all the parganas in the west of mahi was paid to the Marathas. Kanthaji's officers went to collect Chauth while he himself went to collect Khandani from the town of Viramgam. Rustam Ali Khan, the deputy governor of Surat and the brother of Shujaat Khan was ordered to march against Hamid Khan. He took the help of Pilaji Maratha on the payment of two lakhs rupees, marched against his enemy, and reached at Aras in the pargana of Pitlad on 7th February 1725. Rustam Khan with Kanthaji and other leaders also reached at the distance of five miles from his enemy the same day and encamped there. In the night Hamid Khan called Pilaji on his side and conferred on him an elephant and robes of honour. On 8th February 1725 a battle was fought at Aras in which Rustam Ali Khan got the victory. Kanthaji plundered the camp of Hamid Khan while Rustam Khan was returning towards his camp after defeating Hamid Khan. On the other hand Pilaji plundered the camp of Rustam Ali Khan. Hamid Khan took shelter in

1 Ibid. PP. 172-173.

2 Ibid. PP. 176-178; The History of Mahrattas: Vol. I, PP. 172-175; P.B.M.E., P. 27.
the camp of Kanthaji. After a few days a large number of Marathas under Pawar and Baji Bhivrao reached to invade Gujarat hearing about the news of the death of Shujat Khan. The Marathas started the battle. The Marathas blocked the way of Rustam Ali's force and stopped the supply of grain and grass and continued the firing by guns. In the end Rustam Khan marched towards Basu, at 25 miles distance from Ahmedabad. They reached there on 13th February. The Marathas continued firing on them, many men of Rustam Khan were killed. In the end Rustam Ali Khan was also killed. Many were wounded or imprisoned.

The Marathas went to Bhadar and destroyed the gates of Ahmedabad fort. Pilaji and Kanthaji entered in Ahmedabad with their troops and visited Hamid Khan, Munim Khan Diwan and Pidwi Khan ex-dewan gave them presents. "The Chauth for the lands on the Ahmedabad side or north of the Mahi was granted to Bande, that on the side of Baroda and Surat to Pilaji Gaikwad, while the Peshwa's force took a share from the parganas of Sunth, Tala, 

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1 Ibid. P. 179
3 Ibid. P. 183.
Nidkavad, Jhalod and Parolia bordering on the province of Malwa. The Marathas went from one place to another in the province and collected sums. At last a conflict started between Kanthaji and Pilaji in which Pilaji was defeated and went to the village of Mahur near Kaira. Kanthaji collected the tribute from Cambay where the English were compelled to give him 5000 rupees. After it Pilaji went to Songarh while Kanthaji in Khandesh.

When the news of the defeat of Rustam Khan reached Delhi, the new governor Sarbuland Khan was ordered to make the preparation and to march towards this province. Kanthaji joined by Pilaji marched up to the neighbouring of Ahmedabad and plundered there. On 27th December 1725 Sarbuland Khan entered in Ahmedabad. In a battle near Sojitra in Pargana Pilad the Marathas were defeated by the forces of Sarbuland Khan in January 1726. The Marathas fought another battle at Kapadwanj but they were compelled

3 Ibid. P. 184.
to flee from there leaving their camp in enemy's hands and reached in the hilly country of Ali Mohan. The army of Sarbuland Khan pursued them. In the mean time a maratha force under Udaji Pawar with Ambaji Purandare, Baji Bhivrao and Antaji Pant Bhanu entered Gujarat by way of Idar and besieged the town of Vadnagar. Kanthaji also reached there while Pilaji went to Baroda, Cambay and then to Surat. Kanthaji invaded Vadnagar and plundered the town.

Sarbuland Khan did not want to continue war. An agreement was made and he granted for the year the chauth of the Subah of Gujarat to the Marathas in May 1726. In the month of May - June 1726 Kanthaji and Pilaji came back to their homes. In October 1726 Kanthaji again came at Mahi. The Governor Sarbuland Khan entered into a secret agreement with Baji Rao's representative in 20th February 1727. He promised that he would pay

1 Ibid. P. 148; P.B.M.E., PP. 28-29.
2 Ibid. PP. 190-91; P.B.M.E.,PP.28-29.
3 P.B.M.E., P. 29.
to Shahu the chauth and Sardeshmukhi of Gujarát.
In return he had to help him in establishing peace in the province and expel the disturbers. Udaji Pawar was given the order to expel Bande and Gaikwar. Kanthaji retreated from Lunawada and met Pilaji at Baroda. Udaji Pawar with the help of Sadr-ud-din the faujdar of Baroda tried to expel Bande and Pilaji but failed in his attempts. Pilaji occupied the posts of Dabhdi and Baroda. Eight thousand force of Sarbuland Khan could do nothing before the large army of Pilaji and Bande. The right to collect the revenue from territory South of Mahi was given to Pilaji while Bande was given the revenue of Ahemdabad side. Kanthaji's son Krishna occupied Pawagarh. They sent their officers to collect chauth.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar : Vol. XV. Edited by G.S. Sardesai, No. 36, PP. 84-86; P.B.M.E., tells that the correct date of these grants is 29th Feb. 1727 and not 9th February as mentioned by Editor; P.P.M.C.; P. 197.


3 S.P.D. Vol. XII, No. 22, 23, 30; These papers should be of the year 1727.

On August 1st, 1727 Shahu issued an order and granted Dabhade Senapatil the half share of the revenue of Gujarat which was in possession of Chimnaji Appa. Maratha officers went everywhere in the province to collect tribute. In the winter season of 1727-28 Kanthaji's officers met Sarbuland Khan and decided the matters about Chauth.

In December 1729 Chimnaji Appa attacked Gujarat. He captured Pavagadh and marched towards Ahmedabad, and on 23rd March 1730 plundered Pitlad and Dholka. Sarbuland Khan finalised an agreement with Chimnaji Appa on 23rd March 1730 and ratified the earlier agreement of February 1727, for the payment of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, as at earlier time the agreement could not be ratified as the Peshwa was busy in his activities in Deccan and Malwa. Chimnaji returned to Poona.

1 S.P.D. Vol. XV, No. 86; P.B.m.E., P. 31.
2 Later Mughals, Vol. II, P. 196; P.B.m.E., P. 31
3 P.B.m.E., P. 31
4 S.P.D. Vol. XII, No. 32 but the date is different; Later Mughals, Vol. II, pp. 197-98; P.B.m.E.; pp. 31-32, the summary of the agreement is mentioned in S.P.D. Vol. XIV, P. 32. Sarbuland Khan first granted Chauth to the Peshwa in 1726. This (Contd.)
Abhai Singh was appointed the governor of Gujarat in place of Sarbuland Khan. Senapati was granted the concession of Chauth and a part of Sardeshmukhi by the Shahu. In February 1731 Abhai Singh also entered into an agreement with Baji Rao to pay him the sum of 13 lakhs in return to chauth. In return Baji Rao had to drive out the Maratha Sardars as Pilaji and Kanthaji out of the province. Six lakhs rupees were to be given to the Peshwa immediately and the rest after the expulsion of Pilaji and Kanthaji from the province. The Marathas thus received the grant of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of Gujarat with the hold of certain districts by the year 1731. Although Dabhade was defeated at Tiloi but Baji Rao could not establish peace for Abhai Singh. Shahu granted a large portion of Gujarat to the Dabhade by an agreement.

agreement was repeated in Feb. 1727 in S.P.D. Vol. IV, PP. 84-85 and finally ratified in March 1730: The History of Mahrattas, Vol. I, P. 235; P.P.M.C., P. 197 mentions the month of April 1730 for the ratification of these demands.

1 P.P.M.C., P. 197; Later mughals, Vol.II, P. 201
2 P.B.M.E., P. 34
3 P.B.M.E., PP. 197-198.
Abhai Singh decided to expel the Marathas and regain Southern Gujarat. In March 1732 he called Pilaji for a meeting and killed him. But he could not take the advantage from it. The Marathas under Udham Bai protested against it. Abhai Singh agreed to pay the Senapati 80,000 rupees from Ahmadabad revenue and the chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the province and himself returned to Marwar leaving the affairs of Gujarat in the hands of his deputy Batan Khan Bhandari. Mahadji Gaikwad recovered Baroda and in 1735 he also took the chauth of northern half of Gujarat. Batan Singh failed against them and went to capital.

In 1737 Mohim Khan became the governor of Gujarat. He had no resources and called Damaji for his help on the promise of giving to him half the revenue of the entire province. They besieged the capital. Batan Singh went from the city after opposing them for six months. The Marathas became powerful in Gujarat. Their claim was only to be confirmed by the Emperor.

2 P.B.M.E., PP. 41-42.
3 S.P.D. Vol. XII, No. 88, 96, 98; P.B.M.E., P. 42.
4 P.B.M.E., P. 42; P.P.M.C., P. 198.
MARATHAS IN MALWA

The province of Malwa formed a link between Deccan and Hindustan. It was situated in the centre and had a great political and military importance. The province of Agra was to its north, the river Narmada to the south of it, the Rajputana and north-east Gujarat formed its western boundary while on its eastern boundary were the forests of Gondwan and Bundelkhand. It was a rich province.

The Marathas had started their raids in Malwa from the year 1699 when they devastated the places near Dhamuni under Krishna Sawant and went from there. Again in the year 1703 the Marathas created disturbances in Ujjain crossing the Narmada. After some months another Maratha force was spread over Khargasaon and in a part of Malwa. In October 1703 Nimaji Sindhia went to Malwa crossing the Narmada and made incursions near Sironj. In November Firoz Jung defeated him. In October 1704 Nimaji again

1 Ibid. P. 87
2 Ibid. P. 88; P.F.W.C., P. 196
attacked but his attack proved futile. After this till 1709 the Marathas did not attack Malwa. In the year 1710 in October Ganga Bam, a dismissed Sardar of Firoz Jung marched towards Malwa but was driven back by the Deputy Governor Daud Khan. In March 1711 another Maratha force under Khanderao Dabhade sacked Sultanpur.

Gangaram with Kanhoji Bhonsle and Chimnaji Damodar went to Amjhera and collected 25,000 there force-fully, marched towards Nolai-Badnagar and perished the force of Sher Afgan which came to oppose them. They marched to Ujjain but soon scattered. Early in 1713 a Maratha force of 30,000 under Gangaram and Kanhoji marched to Malwa, went in the pargana of Ashta and destroying the surrounding country moved towards Ujjain. The Subahdar Nijhat Khan and Nizam-ul-mulk marched towards them but the Marathas in May 1713 went from there.

Again in 1715 a Maratha force reached Khargao and collecting chauth from Bharwani

1 Ibid. PP. 88-89
2 Ibid. PP. 89; P.P.M.C., PP. 47-48.
3 Ibid. PP. 89-90.
and Dharampuri marched towards Malwa with Dabhade and Kanhoji Bhonale. They collected tax from Mandu and Maheshwar and moved towards the capital. Another Maratha force of 12,000 joined them. They collected the dues in south-western region for a month. In May 1715 Subahdar Jai Singh marched against them. The Marathas could not face him and retired leaving their camp and baggage. Jai Singh emerged victorious. Early in 1716 a Maratha force under Santaji Bhonsle went in eastern side of Malwa in Chandigarh and then to Sihora and Duraha. Another Maratha force crossed the Narmada and marched in Northside. Thus the Maratha forces spread everywhere.

Again in April 1717 the Marathas under Khanderao Dabhade entered in Malwa and collected dues from the Parganas of Ashta, Deogarh, Sihora etc. Santaji Bhonsle met with Khanderao. They defeated the imperial troops and moved in the north side and collected tribute from Bhilsa.

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1 Ibid. Pp. 90-91
2 Ibid. P. 90.
Jai Singh was succeeded by Muhammad Amin Khan. In this time the Marathas were engaged in negotiations with Hussain Ali. At this time Shahu tried to get the legal grant of Chauth of the province of Malwa. According to the instructions of Shahu Balaji tried to get the sanad for the chauth of Malwa when he came to Delhi in 1719 but it was not granted to him as the situation at Delhi Court was not favourable. In 1720 Balaji was succeeded by Baji Rao I. He sent Maratha forces to attack Malwa every year. Thus the Marathas started their yearly raids in this province.

In the year 1719 Nizam-ul-mulk had taken the place of Muhammad Amin Khan. Due to the changing policies of the Delhi Court Girdhar Bahadur was appointed the governor of Malwa in September 1722. Again in May 1723 Nizam-ul-mulk appointed Azim-ullah Khan the Governor of this province. On February 1st, 1723 Baji Rao

1 Ibid. P. 90
2 P.P.M.C., P. 196; P.E.M.E., P. 95.
crossed the Narmada river, reached in Southern Malwa, then marched towards Dhar. On 13th February Baji Rao had a meeting with Nizam-ul-mulk at Bolasha who was going towards Gujarat against Haider Quli Khan. The meeting continued for six days. The results of this meeting are not known. Perhaps Nizam had discussed about a campaign with the help of Baji Rao against Dost Mohammad Khan who was the nawab of Bhopal. Baji Rao came back to Khandesh. After some time he went to Mandia district, sent his forces for the help of Nizam against Dost Mohammad. He exacted chauth in many places in South Malwa and left it in early in April 1723. In the month of May on 8th year 1724 Baji Rao again crossed the Narmada. On 13th May he held another meeting with Nizam at Nalcha. He encouraged claims of Peshwa in Malwa.

In 1724 at the time of Nizam-ul-mulk's rebellion, he and the Emperor both tried to secure Maratha help. This time the Marathas again tried to secure recognition to their

1 S.P.D. Vol. XXII, No. 4; P.B.m.E., P. 96; P.P.M.C., PP. 172-73.
2 P.B.m.E., P. 96; P.P.M.C., P. 173.
3 Ibid. PP. 96-97.
hold in the province of Malwa. But neither the Emperor nor the Vazir recognised their claim due to the financial and military importance of Malwa. Again in April 1725 a Maratha force under Baji Bhivrao, Udaji Pawar and Diwan Ambaji Purandare reach Malwa. The tribute of one lakh was given to them by Anup Singh of Jhabua while they collected dues from the districts of Amjhera and Shahjahanpur. In 1725 the Peshwa appointed Keso Mahadev, Keso Vishwanath, Godaji Deokate, Udaiji Pawar as regular Maratha officers to collect chauth from the districts of South Malwa.

In June 1725 the Subahdari of Malwa was given to Girdhar Bahadur. He started his attempts to drive out the Maratha officers from the province and resisted the Maratha officers from the collection of Chauth. Shahu ordered him not to resist them from collection but Girdhar did not take care of it. His cousin Dayaram also entered Malwa with a large force to drive out

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1 P.P.M.C., P. 196
2 P.B.M.B., P. 97
3 Ibid. P. 98; P.P.M.C., P. 198.
the Marathas. A struggle started and both of them were defeated on 29th Nov. 1728 in the battle of Amjhera. Throughout the summer the Maratha forces remained in Malwa. For the year 1726-1727 Peshwa had appointed Udaiji Pawar and Baji Bhivrao to collect chauth.

A Maratha force under Chimnaji and Udaiji Pawar had defeated Girdhar Bahadur, so his nephew Dayaram continued the struggle. He also suffered defeat in a battle near Tarla.

After the death of Girdhar Bahadur, Bhawani Ram was appointed in Malwa to chase out the Marathas. The Marathas under Chimnaji and Udaiji Pawar sieged Ujjain but due to the lack of resources they lifted the siege in January 1729. After a fight with Bhawani Ram the Marathas swept from there. The Marathas went every

1 Ibid. PP. 98-100; P.P.M.C., PP. 198-199; Jadunath Sarkar - Fall of the Mughal Empire, 1734-1754, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1932, P. 245.
2 Ibid. P. 98
where and demanded the contribution. The places of Kayeth, Sundaresi, Shahjahanpur, Sarangpur, Nowla, Badhawar, Dhar and others surrendered. 5000 Rupees were paid by Ujjain's Kotwal. Thus the Marathas raided the whole territory except Sironj and Ujjain.

On 16th September 1729 the Peshwa confirmed the districts given to Malhar Holkar and Udaiji Pawar for the collection of Chauth. Holkar and Pawar collected their troops in Chikhaldra and waited the end of rains. In about June 1729 Kanthaji attacked Khargaon and collected from there 50,000 rupees. The Marathas crossing the Narmada started attacks on Malwa near Dhar. Bhawani Ram had no resources to pay his troops. So in October, 1729 Jai Singh was appointed the Governor of Malwa. He adopted the policy of appeasing the Marathas. He tried to make peace by giving the Marathas the right of Chauth of the province of Malwa. He sent a letter to the Emperor to grant Shahu a jagir in Malwa with ten lakhs rupees a year. Shahu was also asked to

1 Ibid. P. 101
2 Ibid. P. 102
check further encroachments in Malwa and to send a contingent under a Maratha general for the service of the Governor of Malwa. Maratha envoy Dado Bhimsen gave a written consent to these terms on behalf of Shahu. Jai Singh despatched his agent Dip Singh to Shahu to conclude a lasting agreement. He promised to pay 11 Lakhs from Malwa and 15 Lakhs from Gujarat as Chauth on the condition that the Marathas should not cross Narmada. In March 1730 Shahu had surrendered the fort of Mandogarh which Malharand Pawar had occupied before four months. He ordered Maratha Sardars to stop their encroachments. At first the Emperor agreed but afterwards he replaced Jai Singh by Mohammad Khan Bangash to chase out the Marathas from Malwa.

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1 Ibid. P. 103; P.P.M.C., PP. 204-205.
3 P.B.M.E., P. 103
4 Ibid. P. 103; P.P.M.C., P. 205, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 246.
MARATHA ACTIVITIES IN BUNDELKHAND

The Bundelkhand area was in the province of Allahabad according to the Mughal provincial division. As the Peshwa adopted the policy of expansion, the Mughal forces in different places could be defeated only with the help of vast Maratha forces. The maintenance of large and superior armies increased the financial incapacity of the Peshwa so he wanted to conquer the new territories.

When in 1728 Chhatrasal, the chief of the Bundelas called the Marathas for help to attack Mohammad Khan Langash, the governor of Allahabad, Baji Rao decided to send his forces in Bundelkhand and agreed to support Chhatrasal.

The Peshwa marched for Chhatrasal's help in November 1728 with 25000 horse. On 13th Jan. 1729 he attacked on Bari which was in possession of Deogarh Baja. On 23rd Jan. Baja entered into

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1 Later Mughals, Vol. II, P. 216
2 P.B.M.E., PP. 103-104.
3 Ibid. PP. 105-106, P.P.M.C. P. 107
an agreement and agreed to pay 66,000 rupees annually to the marathas. The Peshwa marched towards Bundelkhand on 4th February and came into contact of Bundela chiefs after a month. On 10th March Bharti Singh, the son of Chhatrasal and on 13th Chhatrasal welcomed him. The Bundela chiefs joined him and his force reached to the number of 70,000. On 19th March the Peshwa marched towards the camp of Mohammad Khan Bangash from Mahoba. He came to know about the presence of marathas when they were at 20 miles distance from his camp. He sent letters to the Delhi court to send help and started preparations. The marathas besieged him on 27th March. Bangash made a sortie but it proved of no use. Qaim Khan, the son of Bangash, hearing about this at Tahrwan arrived at Supa, 12 miles of Jaitpur, in the middle of May. The marathas pursued them. Qaim Khan escaped leaving his baggage and stores in the hands of marathas. Mohammad Khan took shelter in Jaitpur and compelled the besieged to die from

1 Ibid. P. 106
2 Ibid. P. 106
3 Ibid. P. 106; Later Mughals, Vol. II, P. 238
starvation. In the meantime due to the beginning of rainy season the Marathas lifted the stage of Jaitpur and left the place on 23rd May and marched towards Poona. Chhatrasal gave the Marathas for their help one third of his territory which yielded the revenue of 30,76,953 rupees yearly. The Bundela Chief Chhatrasal died in 1731. The Peshwa sent his brother in Bundelkhand during the winter of 1732 for the partition of Jagirs and the collection of dues from the Bundela chiefs of Orcha, Datia, Narwar and Bhadawar. Jagat Raj Bundela gave the Peshwa the jagir of the value of one lakh rupees while Hirdesa gave him the jagir of the value of one and quarter lakh and the fort of Rajgarh. The Bundelas agreed to help the Peshwa in his foreign invasion or in his march to Delhi. Hirdesa also promised to give half part of Orcha to the Peshwa. The Bundelkhand Rajas sent letters to

2 Ibid. PP. 108; Later Mughals, Vol. II, P. 204.
3 Later Mughals, Vol. II, P. 240
4 Ibid. P. 241; P.P.M.C., P. 207; P.B.E., P. 113
5 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 7,8,9; P.B.E., P. 113
6 Ibid. Vol. XIV, No. 7,8,9; P.B.E., P. 113-114; P.P.M.C., P. 208.
the court to help them against Maratha forces. But before the Vazir could reach there against
the Marathas, the Marathas had gone from there 1 after the collection of tribute.

MARATHAS IN MALWA 1730-1735

The new governor Mohammad Khan Bangash
arrived Ujjain in January 1731 with ten thousand 2 force. The Peshwa appointed Malhar Halkar
as the supreme commander in Malwa on 3rd Oct. 3 1730. Banoji Sindia also joined him. During
his march when Bangash was at Sarangpur, the
Marathas under Holkar attacked them but
retreated. Knowing the presence of the enemy
near, Mohammad Khan Bangash marched towards
Dhar and despatched his son Ahmad Khan with a
force in the direction of Sarangpur. On 24th Feb.
1731 Bangash arrived at Dhar. The Marathas under
Holkar attacked Bangash but were compelled to
leave their posts at Ujjain, Dhar, Daulpur and
Mandleshwar.

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 246,
P.B.M.E., Pp. 109-110; P.P.M.E., P. 205
3 P.B.M.E., P. 109
In a meeting on 17th March 1731 Nizam-ul-Mulk made a plan with Bangash to move against Baji Rao and his followers but after some time they had to change their mind due to the defeat of Trimbak Rao Dabhade by Baji Rao. After fighting a battle with Baji Rao in the neighbourhood of Daman, Nizam-ul-Mulk made an agreement with Baji Rao and allowed Baji Rao to move in the north India.

Before the arrival of the rainy season, Mohammad Khan Bangash occupied the forts of Kalkli and Chikalda on 10th April which were in possession of Udaji Pawar. At this time Malhar Holkar was plundering near Mandsor. Antu, the another Maratha chief was plundering the territory surrounding Shahjanpur. On 13th June on the arrival of Bangash at Kanth, 19 miles South of Sarangpur, Antu fled from there. In June 1731 Holkar also reached at Sarangpur. The forces of Bangash marched against him and after a battle the Marathas fled from there. Mohammad Khan Bangash

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1 Ibid. P. 111; Later Mughals, Vol. II, P. 251-252; P.P.M.C., P. 216.
2 Later Mughals, Vol. II, P. 252; P.P.M.C., P. 216
3 Ibid. P. 252; P.P.M.C., P. 216
remained at Sironj, 136 miles north east of Ujjain, throughout the rainy season.

After the rains a large Maratha force under different Sardars as Malhar, Sindia, Pawar etc. reached Malwa. Mohd. Khan did not possess sufficient resources to face the enemy. He did not get any help from the Emperor. He tried to make peace with Shahu but failed. The local zamindars etc., paid the Marathas Khandani etc. Malhar was near Sironj with 50000 men. Bangash was helpless. He gave presents to Maratha Sardars and promised to pay them the chauth of one year of Malwa. The Marathas left Malwa.

Jai Singh succeeded Mohammad Khan Bangash on September 28, 1732 in the viceroyalty of Malwa. In July 1732 the Peshwa fixed the revenue of different Sardars in Malwa. Jai Singh arrived at Malwa in December 1732. The Marathas under Malhar Holkar and Banoji Sindia marched to invade

1 Ibid. PP. 252-253; P.B.M.E., PP. 111-112.
2 Ibid. P. 254; P.B.M.E., P. 112; P.P.M.C., P. 217
3 Ibid. P. 255; P.B.M.E., P. 112; P.P.M.C., P. 218; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, P. 246.
3 P.B.M.E., P. 112; P.P.M.C., P. 219
Malwa. They attacked Jai Singh at Mandsor and surrounded his camp. Jai Singh was defeated at Mandsor and accepted the payment of 6 lakhs rupees and 22 parganas of the Malwa to the Peshwa in place of chauth. The Emperor Mohammad Shah decided to march for the help of Jai Singh. It increased the courage of Jai Singh, he decided to attack Marathas. Holkar went at 16 Kos distance from Mandsor. In the end Jai Singh entered into terms with Marathas, and Sindia and Holkar were agreed for the above terms by the end of February.

The pact of Jai Singh was not ratified.

Again in the year 1733-34 Holkar and Sindia marched towards Malwa crossing the Narmada. A clash occurred between Holkar and Yar Mohammad Rohillah of Bhopal. Many men were killed. Then the Marathas attacked Rajputana and Pilaji Jadhav made collections from Datia and Orchha. The

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1 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 1, 2; S.P.D. Vol. XV, No. 6; The correct date of Vol. XIV, No. 1 is 21st Feb., 1733, of No. 2 is 5th March 1733 and of Vol. XV No. 6 is 7th March 1733; P.P.M.C., PP. 218-219; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, PP.247-248; P.E.M.E., PP. 114-115.
2 P.P.M.C., P. 219
3 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 11, 13; S.P.D. Vol. XV, No. 1. The correct date of Vol. XV No. 1 is 2nd May 1734; of Vol. XIV, No. 11 is 23th Dec., 1733.
4 S.P.D., Vol. XIV, No. 10, 13, 18. The correct date of No. 13 is 9th April 1734; Fall of the Mughal Empire Vol.I, P.249; P.E.M.E., P.116; P.P.M.C., P.219.
sons of Chhatrasal accompanied the Marathas. Pilaji then went to Gwalior, Bhadawar where he was given 3 lakhs by the chief, returned to Narwar and then to Deccan about the end of April.

The Imperialists were alarmed by these Maratha raids. In 1732-33 Qamar-ud-din Khan, the Vazir, marched against the Marathas with a large force of 80 or 90,000 men up to Malwa and camped at Shivpuri in the district of Gwalior. He despatched Azimullah Khan to drive out the Marathas. He defeated Pilaji and compelled the Marathas to go across Narmada. Azimullah came to the Vazir. The Vazir returned to the capital and made no arrangement for the defence of Malwa from Maratha raids.

In 1733-34 Muzzaffar Khan the brother of Khan-i-Dauran marched against the Marathas. He successfully reached Sirónj but took no action as the Marathas had gone and returned to the capital till June 1734.

1 P.P.M.C., P. 219.
3 P.P.M.C., PP. 219-20; Later Mughals, Vol. II, PP. 276-77.
Again after the rainy season the Marathas under Pilaji Jadhav, Balaji and Vyankat Bao Ghorpade marched towards Bundelkhand and crossing the Narmada on 15th January 1736 they arrived at Amola in Orchha. Chhatrasal’s son also met with him in Bundelkhand. Another army under the leadership of Sindia and Holkar marched towards Malwa. The Marathas had spread up to Gwalior and near Agra due to the negligence of the Emperor.

In the year 1734-35 two armies under the leadership of Vazir Qamar-ud-din and Mir Bakhshi Khan-i-Dauran were despatched to defend eastern and western country attacked by the Marathas. In November 1734 Qamar-ud-din with a large force of 25,000 moved via Agra to Bundelkhand against Pilaji. Two or three clashes occurred between the forces of Vazir and Pilaji from 3rd to 12th February. The Vazir arrived at Udit Singh tank near Orchha. While the Mughal army was retreating, the Marathas attacked them but the Vazir continued his

1 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 23; P.B.M.E., P. 117.
2 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 22; P.B.M.E., P. 117.
3 P.B.M.E., P. 118.
retreat and took shelter in Orchha. Pilaji marched towards Gwalior and Jat country to collect dues. While the Marathas were returning from Jat country, the Vazir from Orchha marched to pursue Pilaji. Pilaji marched towards Shivpuri and Kolaras which are on the boundary of Malwa. There were few clashes. The Vazir wanted to make an agreement paying 5 lakhs but the Maratha chief refused. Pilaji went to Bundelkhand from Malwa and with his baggage returned to Deccan by way of Chanda and Deogarh.

On the other hand Khan-i-Dauran marched against the Marathas from Delhi in November 1734 with Mughal forces. On the way the Rajput Bajas as Jai Singh, Abhai Singh and Durjan Sal of Kota joined him. His force increased to the number of two lakhs. They crossed Mukundra Pass

3 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 21, 22, 23, 28; P.B.M.E., P. 119.
and arrived at Rampur early in February. Here the Marathas surrounded Khan-i-Dauran and stopped the supply. The Marathas then entered into the country of Jai Singh via Bundi Kota crossing the Mukundra Pass. On 28th February they looted the city of Sambhar, deprived Farkruddin Hasan, the Faujdar, of every thing and wounded the Qazi who opposed them. Maratha activities in Rajputana disturbed the minds of Rajput allies of Khan-i-Dauran. The Mughal force reached at Kota early in March. On the suggestion of Jai Singh Khan-i-Dauran entered into negotiations with Marathas and accepted the payment of 22 lakhs rupees as the chauth of Malwa to send back the Marathas beyond Narmada. Khan-i-Dauran returned to Delhi by the end of April. Thus the Mughals failed against the Marathas.

Now there were two parties at the court, one was in favour of peace with the Marathas as the fighting with them proved useless and the other group wanted to fight with the Marathas with the


help of Nizam. Khan-i-Dauran and Jai Singh were of first party while Qamar-ud-din and Saadat Khan were of the other. The second group charged that Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauran had a conspiracy with the Marathas and tried to destroy the Empire. Saadat Khan was ready to prevent the Marathas from crossing the Narmada with the help of Nizam if he was given the governorship of Agra and Malwa with no other monetary help. The Emperor also blamed Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauran. Khan-i-Dauran replied that the Marathas could be won over only by peaceful negotiations. If their demands would be accepted peacefully they would not create any disturbance in the Imperial territory. He also replied that they had granted only those territories in Malwa to the Marathas which were in possession of rebellious Marikas or thieves. After being united Saadat Khan and Nizam would put another Emperor.

The Emperor was in favour of continuing war against the Marathas. A reconciliation was established

1 P.P.M.C., P. 222

2 S.P.D. Vol. XIV; No. 39, 47; P.P.M.C., P. 222; P.E.M.E., PP. 120-121; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 257-258.

3 P.P.M.C., P. 223; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 258; P.E.M.E., P. 121.

4 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 258; P.E.M.E., P. 221.
between the Vazir and Abhai Singh of Marwar. The Vazir Qamar-ud-din Khan was given the charge of Agra, Malwa and Gujarat. The Emperor ordered the Vazir not to plunder the country of Jai Singh if he joined the Vazir with his troops. He planned to march himself against the marathas after the fall of river level. Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauran had to march towards Deccan via Jaipur while the Vazir, Saadat Khan and Abhai Singh had to proceed to Deccan via Gwalior. Attempts were also made to persuade Mohammad Khan Bangash to collect an army for the protection of Jamuna fords from the marathas.

In the year 1735 in February Peshwa's mother left Poona and came for the pilgrimage of North Indian religious places. On the way different Rajput Bajas respected her and gave her presents and sent their secret opinions to the Peshwa. She


2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP.259-260; P.B.M.E., PP. 123-123; P.P.M.C., PP. 223-224.

3 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 39, 47; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 256; P.P.M.C., P. 224; P.B.M.E., P. 121.
went to Udaipur, Nathdwara, Jaipur, Mathura, Kurukshetra, Allahabad, Benaras and Gaya. Then she returned to Benaras and after it to Bundelkhand. In May 1736 she arrived at Poona.

As Jai Singh had friendly relations with the Marathas, so during the Peshwa's mother's pilgrimage to north India he told to the Vakil of the Peshwa that he had always protected the interests of the Marathas. He sent a message to Baji Rao and called him to Northern India with 5000 horse. Jai Singh was ready to pay him Rs. 5000 per day for his daily expenses and twenty lakhs rupees as the chauth of Malwa. Then Jai Singh asked the Peshwa to meet the Emperor with the help of Khan-i-Dauran and confirm his demands. He also wrote him that if the Peshwa's arrival here did not succeed, he could follow any other measure leaving the negotiations.

On 8th October 1735, the Peshwa Baji Rao with Sindia and Holkar and other Sardars as Tukoji, Anand Rao Pawar and Kanthaji Kadam Bande marched

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1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 256-257.
from Deccan. As Pilaji Jadhav was ill so his son Satwaji Jadhav with Baji Bhivrao commanded the force of Bundelkhand. These two forces marched at Narmada separately. The Peshwa was marching towards north only due to the assurances given to him by Jai Singh. Although his forces were realizing Chauth from Malwa and Bundelkhand he wanted legal grant for it, he wanted to take the viceroyalty of Malwa in his own hands. He wanted to put forward his demands after his discussion with Jai Singh.

The Peshwa crossed the river Tapti at Nandarbar during the end of November and in December occupied the fort of Kukshi. In January 1736 the Peshwa had arrived Banswara, situated on the boundary of Mewar marching through Lunawara and Dungarpur. In the first week of February he arrived at Udaipur and resided in Champa Bagh ground. Baba Bakht Singh, a Mewar noble received

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1 P.P.M.C., P. 226; P.B.m.E., P. 123; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 260.
2 P.B.M.E., P. 123.
3 Ibid. P. 124.
5 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 50, 51; P.B.m.E., P. 124; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 260-262.
him with respect and gave him presents. Next day the Bana welcomed the Peshwa in a Darbar and agreed for the payment of an annual tribute of one lakh and sixty thousands of rupees for which he gave the Marathas the pargana of Banwada. ¹

At Udaipur, Jai Singh sent his diwan Ayamal to the Peshwa with presents and called him to meet. Jai Singh had already sent the terms with the agent Mahadev Hingne to the Peshwa which he would put before the Emperor for approval. They consisted the cash indemnity of 20 lakhs of rupees, a jagir of forty lakhs in Malwa and a Tankah on the territory of Dost Mohammad Rohilla. ²

The Peshwa marched towards Jaipur. Jai Singh also marched to meet him southwards. The Emperor also wanted to make peace with Peshwa so Imperial agents also reached there. Khan-i-Dauran sent money to Baji Rao through Nijabat Ali Khan. On 14th March Jai Singh met with Baji Rao at Bamolah and had discussion for several days. Yadgar Khan

¹ P.B.M.E., PP. 124-125; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 260-262.
³ P.B.M.E., P. 125; P.P.C. P. 225 has given the date of meeting 4th March, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 262-265.
and another envoy also reached there on 8th March to have a discussion with Peshwa and to decide his claims.

At this time a Maratha army under Chinmaji had reached Gwalior via Sironj and Bundelkhand. Pilaji had come to support him.

Another Maratha army under Satwaji Jadhav and Baji Bhivrao reached at Bundelkhand in January 1736 and collected tribute from Datia, Orchha and from the zamindars of Suklora, Gujrola, Pachor, Uched and Bhadawar. The sons of Chhatrasal Bundela had also accepted to join the Peshwa. The Peshwa was busy in his negotiations with the Imperial government. Baji Bhivrao marched in the direction of Gwalior and reached Nurabad. Mohammed Khan Bangash was ordered to protect the fords of Chambal near Dholpur. On 14th January 1736 he arrived at Dholpur and camped in the ravines of Chambal to face the Maratha attack. When Mohd. Bangash took no action in open field, Baji Bhivrao plundered the village of Bagohini, a stronghold of the Sikarbar Clan. Mohd. Bangash then entrenched

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1 Ibid. P. 125
between Kuwari and Chambal river. He was not ready to move from there. He sent his envoy to the Marathas for terms. The Peshwa was himself busy in negotiations and ordered Baji Bhivrao to come back and to finish the hostilities. Baji Bhivrao met with the Peshwa in the beginning of May near Ujjain.

On the other hand the Vazir Qamar-ud-din marched via Narwar against Pilaji and encamped at Arjal Lake, 12 miles east of Orchha. Throughout the month of January there were clashes between the forces of Pilaji and the Vazir. On 3rd Feb. a battle was fought and Pilaji fled towards Deccan. The Mughal armies pursued him till Ujjain.

A Maratha force under Holkar and Sindia had invaded Rajputana. Khan-i-Dauren was sent to arrive at the Marathas from there with the help of Raja Jai Singh. Jai Singh joined him at Toda-Tank and took a entrenched position there. Malhar with

2 P.B. m.E., P. 127
Pratap Hada of Bundi encamped at the distance of ten or twelve miles from them. One day 1500 soldiers of the Mughal force were surrendered by Malhar and were destroyed. In February Malhar returned to Deccan due to the negotiations of the Peshwa.

From February to June 1736, Baji Rao and the Emperor negotiated through Khan-i-Dauren and Jai Singh. The Peshwa had sent the demands to the Imperial Government through his Vakil Dhondo Mahadev. He demanded - (1) a hereditary state under the crown, (2) grant of mansabs and jagirs for himself and his chiefs, (3) cessation of hostilities against his army, (4) the office of the Sardeshpande of the Deccan, and (5) an indemnity to meet the war expenses. He also demanded to be received by the Emperor in the court. His first and fifth number of demands were accepted and was promised to grant the rest demands.

In the another Yadi the Peshwa demanded the Subahdari of Malwa, the control of the jagirs.

1 Ibid. PP. 269-70; Later Mughals, Vol. II, PP. 283-284.
excluding the forts in possession of the Emperor
but including the lands of jagirdars, old
feudatories, grantees of rent-free lands and
daily allowances and thirteen lakhs of rupees for
expenses. These demands had been granted. The
sum of thirteen lakhs was to be paid in three
instalments. The Emperor agreed to pay 15 lakhs
rupees to Peshwa before, during and after/end of
the year.

In another Yadi the Peshwa demanded the
payment of two lakhs rupees to his brother Chimnaji
who was loyal to the Imperial service. This demand
was granted.

The nazir of six lakhs of rupees which the
Peshwa had to pay as the nazir for the grant of
the Sardesh Pandya rights of the Deccan was to be
paid one-fourth in cash and the remaining three-
quarters in instalments after the establishment of
the control in this country.

1 Ibid. P. 93
2 Ibid. P. 94
3 Ibid. P. 93
4 Ibid. P. 93
The Peshwa wanted the right to collect the tribute of 10,60,000 Rupees annually from chiefs and zamindars of Malwa. These were Orchha, Bhadawar, Chanderi, Narwar, Sipri, Rampura, Amjhera, Kota, Datia, Khechi, Seondha, Bundi. The Peshwa increased his demands. He demanded a jagir of 50 lakhs a year in the six subahs of the Deccan, the Emperor's son to be given the Subahdari of Deccan, Baji Rao was to get half the revenue that might be collected for the Emperor through his attempts, the fort of Shivner, the confirmation of Sardeshipandiyaship of Deccan and of village Mokassa etc. and the state of Chandawar to be given to Shahu.

Other demands were (1) the Subah of Malwa inclusive of the states should be granted to the Peshwa in jagir, and he should be appointed the Subedar of Malwa. (2) Yar Mohammad Khan and Ijjat Khan should be expelled from Bhopal with the help of Imperial forces and their estate should be given to the Peshwa. (3) The forts of Mandu, Dhar and Baisin in the province of Malwa to be given to the Peshwa to keep his family there. (4) The

1 Ibid. P. 94
2 Ibid. P. 95
land on the bank of the chambal river should be given to the Peshwa, he promised not to plunder the territory of the rajas in this region if they paid their nazar to him. (5) The Peshwa should be given the assignment of 50 lakhs of rupees from the revenue of Bengal to release himself from the debts. (6) Allahabad, Kasni, Gaya and Mathura should be granted to the Peshwa as jagirs. (7) Baji Rao would go to Agra, meet with Amir Khan and Jai Singh and would be presented to the Emperor during a ride and would be given leave immediately after the meeting. (8) The office of Sardeshpandya should be conferred on Peshwa.

The Emperor agreed to remove Yar Mohammad Khan but was ready to give only one fort to keep the Peshwa's family safe when he would come to visit the Emperor. But no final agreement could be made due to the far reaching demands of the Peshwa. Baji Rao waited for the acceptance of these demands in Malwa till the end of May but in May returned to the Deccan. He decided to attack the Empire of his demands were not accepted the

1 Ibid. PP. 95-96.
2 Ibid. PP. 95-96.
next year. His Sardars as Sindia Holkar, Pawar etc. stayed at Malwa for the completion of agreement. On 29th September, 1736, the Emperor issued a Farman in the name of Baji Rao and gave to him a mansab, the mahals of his watan, robes of honour, jigha, Sarpench, a garland of pearls, an elephant and a horse binding him to serve the empire loyally.

On 12th November 1736 the Peshwa again marched towards North India and reached Malwa. Here he met with his troops at Bhilsa. The Peshwa attacked on Yar Mohammad Rohillah in Bhopal and compelled him for the payment 5 lakhs rupees in December, 1736. Then he attacked Bhilsa and occupied it on 13th January, 1737. Thus he established his control on the province of Malwa. By the end of February he reached near Bhadawar.

1 P.P.H.C., P. 229; P.B.M.E., P. 129
2 P.B.M.E., P. 129.
3 S.P.D. Vol. XV, p. 86; S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 62. The date of the issue of farman is 29th Sept. 1736, and not 8th Sept. as given by the editor.
4 P.B.M.E., P. 130
5 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 5
6 P.B.M.E., P. 130
7 S.P.D., Vol. XV, No. 5
8 P.B.M.E., P. 130.
via Orchha, Datia, Narwar etc. He made an attack on the Raja of Bhadawar. He plundered the town of Ater and compelled the Raja to take shelter in the fortress of Ater. The Raja surrendered on 18th February and agreed to pay him the tribute of twenty lakhs of rupees.

When in February, 1737 the Marathas under Peshwa reached on the northern borders of Bundelkhand, at the distance of about 70 miles, Qamar-ud-din Khan and Samsam-ud-daula marched against them. Rajput princes and other Mughal Sardars were also called for the defence of the capital. Saadat Khan was also sent to help them.

After this the Sardars as Holkar, Satwaji, Jadhav, Baji Bhivrao with a force attacked on Doab. Saadat Khan marched against them with a large force and compelled them to take flight. The Marathas suffered heavy losses. The Maratha forces joined the Peshwa at Kotila near Gwalior. This incident occurred on 12th March, 1737.

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1 S.P.D., Vol. XV, No. 8; 3, P.B.M.E., P. 130.
2 P.B.M.E., P. 130
3 S.P.D., Vol. XV, No. 47
4 P.B.M.E., P. 131.
5 S.P.D. Vol. XV, No. 47
6 Ibid. No. 17, 22, 27, 28, 48.
7 P.B.M.E., P. 132.
The forces of Vazir and Mir Bakhshai were marching towards Agra to help Saadat Khan. When Saadat Khan was at Agra, Baji Rao made a plan to attack Delhi. He moved fastly towards Delhi through the hilly country of Jats and Mewaties. The Mughal commanders were ignorant about it. He reached the capital on 29th March, 1737. The Emperor sent a force under Mir Hasan Khan, Roz Afzunkhan, Amir Singh, Baja Shivsingh and Muzzaffar Khan against the Marathas. A battle occurred between their forces. The Mughal forces suffered heavy losses. Shiv Singh and a number of other nobles were killed. Mir Hasan Khan was wounded. He died when he reached the city. The Marathas captured five or seven elephants and two or three thousand horses. The Marathas lost one officer and a very few men. By this attack Baji Rao wanted to show his strength to the Emperor. After three days the Peshwa retreated from Delhi on 31st March.

While Baji Rao was returning from Delhi, the Vazir's forces were coming nearer. At Badshahpur

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1 S.P.D. Vol. XV, No. 17
2 Ibid. No. 47; P.B.m.E., Pp. 133-34.
3 P.B.m.E., P. 134
4 S.P.D., Vol. XV, No. 37, 47.
5 P.P.m.C., P. 231; P.B.m.E., P. 136.
which is at 20 miles from Delhi, the two armies faced each other. Jahir-ud-daula, the cousin of Vazir, decided to attack the Marathas. A clash occurred between their forces. Baji Rao moved towards Rajputana and then to Bundelkhand to take his baggage. As the Vazir was very much tired, he did not pursue him.

The Emperor was very much alarmed by this attack of Baji Rao on Delhi. Saadat Khan proposed that if the Subahs of Agra, Gujarat, Malwa and Ajmer would be given to him, he would drive the Marathas out. He was ordered to go to his province of Oudh without his interview with the Emperor. Abhai Singh returned to Agra. Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauran were in favour of peace with the Marathas.

The Emperor invited Nizam-ul-mulk to march against the Marathas. Nizam-ul-mulk himself wanted to protect his position in Deccan. Nizam-ul-mulk

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3 S.P.D. Vol. XIV, No. 29
4 Ibid. No. 30
arrived at Delhi by the end of June 1737. In August the Emperor appointed the son of Nizam-ul-mulk the Governor of Malwa and Agra formally. After the rainy season Nizam-ul-mulk marched against the Marathas in Malwa with a large force. The troops of Rajput Bajas and Bundelas also joined him. On 15th December 1737 Baji Rao also reached near Bhopal. The armies of Baji Rao and Nizam-ul-mulk faced each other near Bhopal. The Marathas under the leadership of Banoji Sindia, Pilaji Jadhav and Sayaji Gujar surrounded the Nizam's troops. Nizam could not move due to heavy baggage and stores. The Marathas also failed to storm his camp as they had no artillery. Finally the negotiations started through Ayamal, the Diwan of Jai Singh. On 7th January 1738 at Durai Sarei near Sirour, Nizam-ul-mulk signed the terms that Baji Rao should be granted the whole province of Malwa. He should be given complete

1 Ibid. No. 45, 49
2 Ibid., No. 53
3 Ibid. No. 56; P.B.M.E.P., 145; P.P.M.C., P.234. 4 S.P.D. Vol. XV, No. 56,57,58, & 59; P.B.M.E., PP. 145-146; P.P.M.C., P. 234.
5 P.B.M.E., PP. 146-147.
6 P.P.M.C., P. 135; P.B.M.E., PP. 146-147.
7 P.B.M.C., P. 148.
authority of the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal. The Nizam would try to get the approval of the above terms by the sanads of the Emperor. Nizam also agreed to pay Baji Rao fifty lakhs of rupees for his war expenses. If the Emperor would not agree, the Nizam promised to pay it according to his own circumstances.

Thus almost all the demands of the Peshwa of the year 1736 were confirmed by this treaty except the demands which were about Deccan. By defeating the Imperial armies at Bhopal the Peshwa showed the strength of Maratha arms to India and established its supremacy.

Banoji Indisa and Holkar marched towards Kota. The Peshwa also reached Kota on 6th Feb. They plundered the town. The Rao of Kota fled to Gagron and established peace and agreed to pay 10 lakhs of rupees. Then the Peshwa went in the country of Ahirs attacked Kurwai and

1 S.P.D. Vol. XV, P. 87
2 P.P.M.C., P. 235
3 P.B.M.E., No. 149
4 S.P.D., Vol. XV, No. 68
5 Ibid. No. 68
occupied the place driving out the Ahirs. Then they marched towards Datis and Orchha and went to Deccan.

After this when Nadirshah invaded India, Shahu asked Baji Rao to help the Emperor but he could not move to help the Emperor as the Maratha Sardars were engaged in their own projects. When Nadir Shah returned to his country Baji Rao proposed to all the nobles to join together to face the invader and to end the disputes amongst themselves but he failed. Nadirshah struck such blows on Mughal authority that they could not seriously oppose the Marathas for long. The result was that the Marathas conquered almost all the provinces of India within twenty years and became Supreme power.

After the invasion of Nadir Shah the situation of different groups changed. Saadat Khan died. Nizam-ul-mulk and Qamar-ud-din Khan lost their

1 Ibid. No. 69  
2 P.B.M.E., P. 150  
3 P.P.M.C., P. 237  
4 Ibid. P. 237  
5 P.B.M.E., P. 153
influence on the Emperor. Nizam-ul-mulk entered into an agreement with the Marathas. Only Jai Singh was at the court among old nobles. The Emperor again tried to recapture the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat but failed. Finally in 1741 peace was finalised with the Marathas on the suggestions of Jai Singh.

In the end we can say that the falling condition of the Mughal empire and the continuous struggle of different groups at the Court of Delhi gave the opportunity to the Marathas for the expansion of their empire. The Imperialists were engaged in their own disputes and they did not take the Maratha problem seriously. Only the local governors faced them with the small resources as best as they could. The result was that the Marathas spread in Northern India.

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1 P.P.M.C., P. 238
CHAPTER II

MARATHA ACTIVITIES IN DELHI PROVINCE

1740-1761.

After the death of Aurangzeb the Marathas made an all-out endeavour at expansion and started regular attacks in Northern India. In the year 1736, when the peace negotiations started between the Emperor and the Peshwa Baji Rao through Khan-i-Dauren and Jai Singh, the Peshwa demanded many concessions like a hereditary state for himself and his chiefs, a war indemnity of fifteen lakhs of rupees which could be paid in three instalments. He demanded that he should be paid twenty lakhs of rupees as chauth for the year 1736. He wanted to be the

1 Parties & Politics at the Mughal Court, P. 190.
Subedar of Malwa and the hereditary rights of Sardesh Pandya of Deccan.

The Emperor granted the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat to the Peshwa and the right to collect the tribute of 10,60,000 annually from Bundelkhand Bajai's. But no agreement was finalised due to the other demands of the Peshwa about Deccan as the Peshwa wanted the complete domination of the Deccan with the order of the Emperor. He also made other demands about Malwa and Bundelkhand. The Peshwa wanted to take the forts of Mandu, Dhar, Baisin and entire Malwa and the sacred places of Prayag, Benaras, and Mathura as jagirs. He demanded the removal of Yar Mohammad Khan from Bhopal. The Emperor was ready to remove Yar Mohammad Khan but wanted to give only one fort to Baji Rao. The Emperor did not want to give whole of the Deccan to the Peshwa. Baji Rao waited for some time.
in Malwa for the acceptance of these demands by the Emperor. He failed and returned to Maharashtra in May.

In the year 1737, the Peshwa decided to attack on the Doab. He himself attacked Delhi to show his power to the Emperor and to compel him to make peace. Baji Rao could not compel the Emperor to make peace. The Emperor was very much alarmed by this attack. He called Nizam-ul-mulk to the court to move against the Marathas and appointed his son the governor of Malwa and Agra formally.

In July 1737, Nizam-ul-mulk marched against the Marathas but was surrounded by the Marathas at Bhopal. Finally negotiations were started. In January 1939 at Batal Sarai Nizam signed the terms that Baji Rao should be granted the whole province of Malwa. He should be given complete authority of the territory between the

1 Parties And Politics At The Mughal Court, P. 229; Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion, Pp. 129-130.

2 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XV, No. 45, 49; Parties & Politics At the Mughal Court, P. 231; Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion, P. 136.

3 Ibid. No. 53, 45, 49.

Narmada and the Chambal. The Nizam will try to get the approval of the above terms by the sanads of the Emperor. Nizam also agreed to pay to Baji Rao fifty lakhs of rupees for his expenses. Thus almost all the demands of the Peshwa of the year 1736 were confirmed by this treaty except the demands which were about Deccan.

But peace could not be established with Baji Rao as the Emperor was not ready to confirm his exhorbitant demands. In the year 1739, Nadirshah invaded India. Due to this invasion the Maratha power started disappearing at Delhi court.

Baji Rao died in the year 1740. His son Balaji Rao was appointed the new Peshwa. After being appointed the Peshwa, Balaji called the Maratha agent Mahadev Bhat Hingne to Poona who was at Delhi Court. When he reached Poona, the Peshwa held a meeting with his officers as Sindia

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1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XV, P. 87; Parties And Politics At The Mughal Court, P. 235.

2 Parties & Politics At The Mughal Court, P. 235.
and Holkar etc. in August at Poona to decide the further plans of Maratha foreign policy. All of them decided that the Peshwa himself should go to the north to look after the situation and to make negotiations with Nizam and Jai Singh.

When the news of the death of Baji Rao reached Delhi, Nizam-ul-mulk did not take care of his agreement which he had made with Baji Rao in January 1739. He asked the Emperor for the appointment of Azimullah Khan as the Governor of Malwa.

On November 23, year 1740, Peshwa started from Poona towards north. In the year 1740, Nasir Jang, the son of Nizam-ul-mulk rebelled in Deccan. When Peshwa was at Khandesh, he came to know about the move of Nizam-ul-mulk to Deccan to suppress the rebellion of his son. Both of them wanted the help of each other. Nizam wanted that the Peshwa should not help rebellious Nasir Jang.

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On the other hand, Balaji Bao wanted to take Malwa. On 7th January 1741, the Peshwa and Nizam-ul-mulk had a meeting at Edlabad on the Purana in Khandesh arranged by Pilaji Tadav. Nizam asked the Peshwa that he should not help Nasir Jang. On the other hand, the Peshwa demanded the grant of Malwa and fifty lakhs of rupees. As Nizam was granted the Subah of Malwa by the Emperor, he was ready to appoint the Peshwa as his deputy there. Nizam also told the Peshwa that he will try to secure the grant of 50 lakhs of rupees by the Emperor. The Peshwa agreed to help the Nizam against his rebellious son. He agreed to send 500 horse for his help. Fifteen lakhs of rupees were granted by the Nizam to the Peshwa for his expenses in return of this help.

The Peshwa now decided to seize Malwa with a large force. He started towards north in 1741. The Emperor decided to repel the invasion of Peshwa and appointed Jai Singh for this purpose.

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who was the Subahdar of Agra. The Peshwa was ready to face the situation. He sent his officers to raid Doab. Peshwa moved towards Dholpur. Jai Singh told the Emperor that his force would be defeated due to the incapability of his officers in Deccani warfare. Jai Singh decided to make peace with the Peshwa by meeting with him personally. At the same time, the Maratha agent Mahadev Bhat Hingne asked the Emperor to grant the Subahs of Malwa and Gujarat to the Peshwa by a farman. He said that the Peshwa will remain faithful to the Emperor. The Emperor became ready for this and told to submit a written petition to remain loyal to the Peshwa.

A meeting was held near Dholpur between Jai Singh and Balaji Bao from 12th to 19th May 1741. Balaji Bao visited Jai Singh in Jai Singh's camp on 12th of May and Jai Singh on 15th May came to Peshwa's camp. Both of them discussed the matters

1 Ibid. P. 201
2 Ibid. P. 201
3 Ibid. PP. 201-202
and an agreement was made. (1) Jai Singh and the Peshwa should remain friendly and help each other (2) The Marathas to remain loyal to the Emperor (3) To get the grant of Malwa to the Peshwa within six months. On 20th of May, the Peshwa started for the South and reached early in July at Poona.

Jai Singh went to Delhi immediately and told the Emperor all about the circumstances. On the advice of Jai Singh, the Emperor Mohammad Shah, on 4th July 1741 issued a farman. Through this farman, Prince Ahmad was appointed the Subedar of Malwa while the deputy governorship of Malwa was given to the Peshwa. Thus peace was established. The Peshwa was also granted the whole management and the complete jurisdiction of the Subah of Malwa. In September 1741, the Peshwa was also granted chauth over the states south of the Chambal. The chouth of Bengal, Bihar and

2 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XV, No. 86
Orissa was given to him due to his demand of 50 lakhs of rupees. Fifteen lakhs of rupees granted by the Nizam to the Peshwa were to be given to him in three instalments.

Balaji Bao promised in written (1) he will meet the Emperor (2) the Marathas will not make disturbances in any imperial territory except Malwa. (3) The Peshwa was to look after that no Maratha should cross the Narmada. If any body will do this, the Peshwa will be responsible for it. (4) The Peshwa will not demand any further money except of what was granted. (5) A Maratha - general with 500 horse was to be sent to serve the Emperor at Delhi. (6) In case of need, a contingent of 4000 Maratha troops was to be sent to join the imperial army. The Emperor will be responsible for its expense. (7) He will not demand anything except the Nazr, Peshkash of the Zamindars across the Chambal, (8) He will make the arrangement to send four thousand force to give the punishment to stub born Marathas. (9) The Marathas will not make any disturbance

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XIV, No. 86; Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, pp. 238-239.
in the lands of Inam and Jagirs which were assigned for religious and Charitable purposes.

Thus an alliance was made between the Emperor and the Marathas. Freedom was given to the Marathas in Deccan. In return of it the Marathas agreed not to create disturbance in Imperial northern possessions and to provide help in times of danger. Mahadev Bhat Hingine remained as a Maratha agent at Delhi Court.

In 1738, Shahu granted the right to Baghunathrao to levy chauth in the eastern field of Bengal and granted a sanad for it. From April 1742, yearly attacks were started in the eastern field of the Empire by the Marathas of Nagpur. In September 1742, Baghunathrao started towards Bengal to help Bhaskar Ram there. Ali Wadi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, asked the

1 Ibid., No. 86; Parties And Politics At the Mughal Court, P. 239; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 278; History of the Marathas, Vol. I, P. 321.

2 Parties And Politics At The Mughal Court, P. 239.

3 New History of The Marathas, Vol. II, P. 208

Emperor to send the military help to him face the Marathas. When the Emperor came to know about this, he ordered Safdar Jang, the Subedar of Oudh, to expel the Marathas out of Bengal and Bihar. The Emperor also asked the Peshwa Balaji Bao to move towards Bengal and Bihar and help Aliwardi Khan in driving out the Marathas from there. The Peshwa was ready to help him if the Emperor granted him the Chauth of Malwa, Bundelkhand and Allahabad. The Emperor accepted the demand of Peshwa and ordered Ali Wardi Khan to pay for the expenses of the Peshwa. The Peshwa left Bundelkhand and marched against Bhosle during the end of 1742 through the province.

of Allahabad. Peshwa was successful in his purpose in routing Baghunathrao for some time. Baghunathrao felt that he cannot oppose the Peshwa for a long time and decided to arrange the matters with him. At the same time Shahu called the Peshwa and Baghunathrao to be present at Satara to settle their disputes. Shahu settled their disputes through his mediation. On 31st August 1743, Peshwa and Baghuji signed an agreement at Satara. By this agreement - "The four subahs of Malwa, Agra, Ajmer and Allahabad as well as the two estates of Sundersha and Bhojpur including Daudnagar in Subah Bihar, i.e., the tract lying west of Patna and east of Allahabad and yielding twelve lakhs rupees a year, were assigned to the Peshwa while Baghuji was to enjoy the two Subahs of Bengal, and Oudh and all Bihar except the mahals yielding twelve lakhs reserved for the Peshwa; and each of these two was


2 Ibid. P. 217; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 102.
strictly forbidden to interfere in the other's territory." The Peshwa appointed Malhar Holkar, Banoji Sindia and Yashwant Rao Pawar for the protection of the territory between Narmada and Yamuna and to strengthen the Maratha power in Malwa and Bundelkhand. During the end of the year 1744, the Peshwa again moved towards north and arrived at Bhilsa in Malwa. He looked after the affairs in Malwa and Bundelkhand. After some time he came back to Poona. Sindia and Holkar were left behind to look after the affairs there. A letter of Damodar Mahadev Hinge of 23rd June 1745 shows that the Emperor sent presents, elephants, horses, ornaments etc. to the Peshwa through Damodar Mahadev Hinge.

INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

The year 1747 was very important for the North. In this year Nadirshah was murdered in

Persia and was succeeded by Ahmad Shah Abdali. He sent letters to the Mughal Emperor to grant him the conquests of Nadirshah. If the Emperor will not grant his claims, he wrote him that he will attack immediately on India. Towards the end of the year 1747, Ahmad Shah crossed the rivers of Indus, Chêmâb and Jhailam. He reached near Lahore early in January 1748. When the Emperor came to know about the invasion of Abdali, he sent letters to Shahu to send a force for his help immediately. Shahu atonce ordered Peshwa to move to Delhi to help the Emperor. On 10th December 1747 Peshwa left the place and moved towards Delhi with a large force to help the Emperor. Before his arrival at Delhi, the forces of the Emperor under Prince Ahmad proved successful in defeating Abdali at Hanupur on 3rd March 1748. The Vazir Qamar-ud-din Khan was killed in the battle. Many people were killed on both sides. The Peshwa visited the Emperor and talked with

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1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 20.
him. The Emperor was very much pleased and satisfied with the behaviour of the Peshwa. The Peshwa moved from Delhi to Jaipur to settle the dispute between Iswari Singh and Madho Singh, the two rival claimants for the throne of Jaipur. But soon he had to return to Deccan due to the falling health of Shahu who later on expired on 15th December 1749. After his death a new Chhatrapati Bajaram was installed on the throne of Satara.

After the victory in the battle with Abdali, the Emperor appointed Mir Imam the Governor of Lahore and Multan in the year 1748. The Emperor Mohammad Shah died on the 27th of the Rabi II year 1748. His son Ahmad Shah became the new Emperor.


Safdar Jang had taken the Vazirship in June 1748. The Court made a conspiracy to remove Safdar Jang from his Vizirat. They called Nasir Jang from Deccan, who was the son of Nizam-ul-mulk, to the Court to help them in overthrowing Safdar Jang. Nasir Jang showed the people that he was coming to Delhi to meet the new Emperor. On the other hand, he wrote to his brother Ghazi-ud-din at Delhi Court that my aim was to make the arrangement of the administration of the Sultanat, to overthrow Safdar Jang and to give the post of Vazir to Intizam-ud-daula. He wrote to Safdar Jang that he was coming here to punish the Marathas. He also asked Safdar Jang to attempt to give the Subedari of the Deccan to him and to give him the post of Mir Bakhshi which had been taken by Zulfiqar Khan and to arrange the affairs of the country unitedly. He wrote to him that Balaji Rao has expanded his kingdom upto Hindustan. You should not believe on him otherwise you will be deceived and asked him to
unite to punish Balaji Bao. The Nawab Safdar Jang thought this letter true. He showed it to Hingne who was the Maratha agent at Delhi Court. He read the letter and understood the diplomacy of Nasir Jang who wrote different things to the Emperor, his brother and Nawab. Hingne told Safdar Jang that Nasir Jang had written to you like this to make you the enemy of Balaji Bao. Nasir Jang left Deccan to go to Delhi in March 1749. When Safdar Jang came to know about the departure of Nasir Jang from Deccan, he sent a letter to the Peshwa for help through the Maratha agent Hingne. He asked him to send his officers to oppose Nasir Jang and to arrange a force of Marathas to fight with Nasir Jang. Safdar Jang was ready to pay for their expenses. He told him that if the Peshwa could not do this, he had a force of 50000 men and would collect from all sides.

When the peshwa received this letter, he ordered Sindia and Holkar to move to the South and

to check the movement of Nasir Jang from coming to Delhi. Sindia and Holkar went to Kota in 1749 to prevent Nasir Jang from coming to Delhi.

Safdar Jang also made preparations at Delhi for his defence. Fearing from this, the Emperor ordered Nasir Jang to go back to Deccan and not to come to Delhi. Nasir Jang had to return to Deccan in May from the Narmada. The Emperor himself with his mother met with Safdar Jang in his camp in April 1749 and promised friendly relations with him.

Safdar Jang and the Bohillas

While Safdar Jang was busy in these affairs at Delhi, the Pathans under Ahmad Khan Bangash attacked Navalrai at Khuda Ganj on 13th August 1750. Navalrai was the deputy of Safdar Jang in Oudh.


He was killed in the battle. Five thousand Pathans, Rajputs and others were killed in the battle. The Pathans got the victory. They plundered the camp of Navelrai. The Pathans collected large forces.

Safdar Jang decided to defeat the Rohillahs with the help of Jats and Marathas. He called the Jats and Marathas under Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia to help him in his campaign against the Rohillahs. The Vazir opened the negotiations with them to get their help.

Before the Vazir could get the Maratha help, on 23rd September 1750 again a battle started between Safdar Jang and Pathans at Bamchautani in Doab. The Vazir was defeated. Mirza Nasimuddin Mohammad and Ishaq Khan were killed and the Vazir Safdar Jang was severely wounded. He became unconscious and was taken away from the battle field in the same position. He was


thought to have been killed. Vazir's whole force was plundered. Many Pathan Sardars were also killed. When the news of the defeat of the Vazir reached Delhi, his prestige and power received a great setback.

In a letter dated Murarji and Nareshwar informed to Malhar on 26th September 1750, that the Pathans started creating disturbances in Hastinapur. Mansur Ali Khan sent his Bakshi Navalrai with 20 thousand force. A battle started but the force of Navalrai was destroyed. Navalrai was killed. Again a sardar was sent with 10 thousand force. He was also defeated. Mansur Ali Khan himself with a force marched against the Pathans. Surajmal Jat, Hemraj Bakshi also moved against the Pathans. A great battle occurred. Pathans were victorious.
In a letter dated, 8th October 1750, Malhar Holkar wrote to Peshwa that Nawab Mansur Ali Khan marched against the Pathans with Amirs and artillery. Surajmal Jat, Hemraj Bakhshi also moved with their forces. The Pathans were on the South bank of the Ganga. A battle occurred near Sitkund, which is near the ghat of Sohram and at a distance of twelve Kos from Mahausamsabad. Many people were killed and wounded. The Pathans got the victory. The forces of Safdar Jang were disturbed. Vazir had a large force but it was not united. The Vazir came to Delhi. Surajmal Jat and Hemraj Bakhshi also crossed the Yamuna. All the important soldiers were killed. The Pathans plundered the soldiers and the artillery. After getting the victory the Pathans moved towards Allahabad, reached there, plundered the city, put the fire there. Then they marched towards Benares making a bridge over the Ganges.

Safdar Jang took the suggestion from his friends. His friends suggested him to enter

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 23.
into an alliance with the Marathas. On their suggestion, he sent his agents Raja Jughal Kishore and Ram Narayan to bring Malhar Holkar to his help to crush the Pathans. Holkar and Sindia were at this time in Jaipur. They seated Madho Singh on the Jaipur throne early in January 1751. After this the Peshwa called Sindia and Holkar back to the Deccan as he had made a plan of a campaign to get the Nizam out of Deccan. But when Holkar and Sindia received the news that they have to go for the help of the Vazir, their officers Gangadhar Yashwant and Banoji Yadav wrote to the Peshwa that the Vazir had called Sindia and Holkar to help him in defeating the Rohillas and these officers could give preference to move for the help of the Vazir and asked for the order of the Peshwa. Holkar and Sindia also wrote a letter to Naro Shankar to join them at


3 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 40; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 404.
Delhi to help the Vazir in ousting the Rohillas.

In the month of February 1751, Sindia and Holkar could move from Jaipur for the help of the Vazir after installing Madho Singh on the Jaipur Raj and making arrangements in Jaipur. The Vazir himself marched from Delhi on 21st February 1751 taking the leave from the Emperor. The Vazir came into the camp of Mahabat Khan in Doab. He marched from there and on dated 28th February, he reached in the camp of Kishan Bass near the river. After two days Holkar joined him. He took Sindia and Holkar into his service on the payment of Rupees twenty five thousand or thirty five thousand per day. At the same time he agreed to pay 15 thousand rupees per day to Suraj Mal Jat to maintain his troops to help the Vazir in his campaign against the Pathans. Surajmal

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 27

2 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XII, No. 38 Also Vol. XIV, No. 64, 65; Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shah, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, P. 117.

3 Ibid. Vol. XII, No. 41; Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shah, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, P. 118; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 404-405; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, P. 361; The dates given by Sarkar are ten days less than Sardesai.
Jat was in Vazir's service from earlier.

The Maratha Generals Sindia and Holkar with twenty five thousand strong force crossed the Yamuna and made a sudden attack on Shadil Khan at Kadirganj near Etawah on 20th March 1751. Shadil Khan was the governor of Ahmad Khan Bangash in Koil and Jalesar. He possessed only four thousand horse and four thousand foot. With the sudden attack of Maratha Sardars, Shadil Khan fled from there crossing the river. A number of Afghans were put to death or were imprisoned and the Marathas plundered a large booty.

Hearing the news of Shadil Khan's defeat, Ahmad Khan Bangash who was in Allahabad and had sieged it, lifted the siege and marched hurriedly with his army towards Farrukhabad for its defence.

1 Sefir-Muta Cherin, Vol. III, P. 305; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 404; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, PP. 361-62 has mentioned the amount 25000 Rs. per day promised to the Marathas by the Vazir. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, P. 113 says that at this time there was no Jat with the Vazir.

as it was his capital. The Vazir and the Maratha Sardars marched to kill him. When the Marathas found the gates closed, they burnt and put to sword all things in the area of this city. Ahmad Khan Bangash got the time. He established his camp at Husainpur. Husainpur is a town which is at three kos distance from Farrukhabad. When the Marathas found that there was no force in Farrukhabad, they went in the city and started plundering it. "The plunder made in that rich mart is past all computation, and is more than I dare say. But it may be easily conjectured from this, that one single lump of precious stuffs was valued at sixteen lakhs rupees."

In the mean time the Vazir with Surajmal Jat encompassed Ahmad Khan Bangash. A battle started. The Afghans received every help by boats. The Vazir ordered his officer

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3 Ibid. P. 306; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 406.
Nurul-Hasan Khan Bilgrani to collect the boats and to throw a bridge across the Ganga river. Through this bridge he wanted to send over his troops. Mahmud Khan was the son of Ahmad Khan Bangash. He had encamped on the other side of the Ganga river. He resisted this attempt. A large number of cannons and troops met with Nurul Hasan Khan after crossing over Mahmud Khan tried to destroy the bridge but failed. His own camp was also unsafe due to the showers of cannon balls. In the meantime Sadullah Khan, who was the eldest son of the late Ali Mohammad Khan Rohillah, reached there with a large force for the help of the Bangash. In the meantime the Vazir sent troops over the Ganga river. The arrival of Sadullah Khan increased the courage of Ahmad Khan Bangash. He joined Sadullah Khan and started a battle with Vazir in April 1751. The Marathas and Jats made attacks on the enemy from two sides. A large number of Afghans were killed.

in the battle field. Ahmad Khan Bangash and Sadullah Khan fled from the battle field. They left behind ten or twelve thousand of their men as dead, wounded or captures. A large amount of plunder and other material came into the hands of the victors, i.e., the Marathas.

Thus the Pathans were defeated. The Pathans continued their flight and marched towards the foot of the hills. A large number of the Afghans lost their lives. The Marathas plundered the whole Rohillah country and the Vazir came back to Lucknow.

When the rains were about to finish, Pathans marched towards Farrukhabad. The Marathas moved towards them and crossed the Ganges over the western side of it. The Vazir also marched from Lucknow. Crossing the Ganges he met the Maratha forces and took the offensive. The

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Pathans were driven back. They moved up the left side of the Ganga river and went to Aonla. They collected their property there. After it they took refuge at the lower part of the hills near Chilkuja. Here a large number of Afghans lost their lives due to the bad water and dirty air.

The rains had already started. The Marathas wanted to pass the rainy season in the Afghan country. As the Marathas had helped the Vazir, the Vazir in revenge granted the Marathas all territory from Nevol and Jalesar down to Farrukhabad and Kannauj. Thus the Afghans were absolutely ruined. The Afghans requested the Marathas and other generals to say to the Vazir that he should also let live to them.

Invasion of Abdali and the Agreement with the Bohillahs.

Ahmad Shah Abdali made his second attack on the Punjab at the end of the year 1751. Hearing

1 Tarikh-i Ahmad Shah, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, P. 119, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 408-409.
this news the Emperor was perturbed. The Vazir Safdar Jang was busy at this time in the matter of the Pathans. The Emperor called him immediately for the defence of the capital. He immediately rushed towards Delhi leaving the matter of the Pathans. But when he reached there he came to know that the Emperor had already accepted the Punjab to be given to Abdali by sending his agents to him. The Vazir had not the preparation to fight a battle with Abdali. Sindia and Holkar suggested him to conclude an agreement with the Rohillahs through Gangaadar Yashwant. By this the Vazir could face the new invasion of Abdali with full concentration. So the Vazir finalised the treaty of Lucknow in the month of February 1752. An agreement was made with the consent of the Vazir. "The city of Peroh-abad with its territory, a tract that yielded a revenue of sixteen lacs a year, was left, out of compassion, to Ahmed Khan and his family, as descendents of

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Si Matamed-gban-Rohillah. Some other districts which had been held in sovereignty by Aaly Mahmed Rohillah's family were likewise left them, but under the stipulated promise of a full rent; and some others were confiscated. "Kawnauj, Akbarpur Shah and other districts of Bangash in Doab were given to the Marathas in return of their services. A Maratha agent Govind Pant Bundele was given the hold of these places. The Vazir Safdar Jang left a very few portion for himself.

Thus at this complicated moment the Marathas protected the Imperial prestige by defeating the Afghans. Their aim in these activities was both religious and political. The Marathas wanted to take the Hindu religious places of Kashi and Prayag in their possession from the hands of the Muslims. Their idea was to increase their political Supremacy as they could get freedom in the matters of religion through this.

INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

As Safdar Jang and the Marathas had defeated the Indian Pathans, their leader Najib Khan invited Ahmad Shah Abdali to attack on India and to defeat the Vazir and the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Abdali in December 1751 started from Kabul and reached to Lahore. On the way no body opposed him. Mir Mannu was the governor of Lahore at this time. He sent letters to the Emperor and the Vazir to send immediate help. He opposed the Abdali. On 15th March 1752 he was defeated in a battle with Abdali near Lahore. He visited the Shah and agreed to give him the Subahs of Lahore and Multan on 23rd March 1752. Abdali appointed Mir Mannu his deputy in these provinces of Lahore and Multan.

Abdali sent his envoy Qalandar Khan to Delhi Court. When the Emperor Ahmad Shah came to

know about the invasion of Abdali he thought that Abdali will soon attack on Delhi. When previously Abdali had invaded on Lahore, the Emperor appealed the Vazir to finalize an agreement with Rohillahs and to return to Delhi immediately to defend it. But when Safdar Jang had made an agreement with the Rohillahs, he dispersed the Marathas who had came to help him in Rohillah campaign. He himself returned back to his province of Oudh in order to make the arrangement there.

Hearing the news of Abdali's invasion, the Emperor became puzzled. He sent letters to the Vazir to return immediately to Delhi with his powerful allied Maratha force. The Vazir received this letter on March 27th, 1752. The Maratha force at this time was returning back to Malwa and had reached upto the bank of the Ganga river. The Vazir finalised a formal treaty with them to get

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP.359-360.
their help to face the invasion of Abdali. The treaty was ratified on 12th April 1752 by the Vazir on support of the Emperor. The terms of the treaty were that the Peshwa was to defend the Emperor from state enemies, external invaders and he had to suppress other domestic rebels. He had to restore that land to the imperial officers which was taken by local Raja’s and Zamindars.

2. The Marathas were to be paid 50 lakhs of rupees for the help provided to the Emperor. Out of this amount 30 lakhs of rupees were to be paid to the Marathas for expelling the Abdali. 20 lakhs were to be paid for the internal enemies.

3. The Subahdari of Ajmer and Agra was granted to the Peshwa. He had to administer these Subahs according to the customary Mughal rules.

4. The Cakth of the subahs of Punjab, Sindh and Doab was given to the Marathas for their military expenses.

5. The Peshwa could send his officers to serve the Emperor if he was unable to come himself.

6. One half was to be given to the Marathas for their military expenses from the land regained from the usurpers.

7. The Maratha officers should be present in the imperial court as other high mansabdars. They had to join the imperial campaigns. Sindia and Holkar took the oaths. The Emperor granted the prayer by a farman.

The Vazir returned back to Delhi immediately with a force and with his Maratha allies. When they reached there they came to know that as the Prime Minister Javid Khan and his supporters had a jealousy from the increasing power of the Vazir, Javid Khan granted all the demands of Qalandar Khan and the Subahs of Punjab and Multan was also formally surrendered to him before their arrival. Actually the Court had to pay him 50 lakhs rupees annually in revenge of revenue of these provinces.

The Emperor ratified the agreement on 23rd April due to the danger of Abdali's arrival to Delhi. Qalandar Khan returned from the capital taking the imperial rescript. After the ratification of the agreement Abdali returned to his country from Lahore. Thus the Marathas failed in keeping the Abdali out of India.

Perhaps Safdar Jang became late in reaching Delhi due to the delay in his negotiations with the Marathas. The foes of the Vazir thought that the Vazir was delayed in reaching Delhi as he thought the Emperor humble towards him.

After the return of Abdali also, Safdar Jang wanted to move to Punjab to defend it from the further attacks of the Pathans. Javid Khan told Safdar Jang that this province has been already surrendered to Abdali by the agreement. The Vazir was shocked very much. He did not know

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how would he pay the money promised to the Marathas. The Vazir's power was increasing day by day. So the Emperor did not support him. The Emperor did not ratified the agreement which the Vazir had made with the Marathas. In his anger the Vazir denied to enter into the city and he remained on the other side of Jamuna river.

As the Marathas were not given the money promised to them, they stayed near Delhi. They plundered in all the villages there whatever they could get. They could come into Delhi city unless they received their promised money. No body was there for its defence. All were full of terror in Delhi. "Thousands were ruined by their operation and the surrounding country was desolated. On the west bank of the Jamuna towards Badli, Rewari and other places, not a village remained unplundered."


3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 365.
Safdar Jang told the ministers that he had promised this money to the Marathas on their demand and brought them with their force on their demand. As the Maratha help proved useless at this time who will fulfil their promises. The ministers were very much perplexed. Their difficulty was removed due to an event at this time.

Nasir Jang had died on 5th December 1750. His eldest brother Ghazi-ud-din was appointed in his place the Subahdar of the Deccan on 21st January 1751 by the Emperor. The Peshwa had compelled the Emperor for this appointment on being made the Nizam of the Deccan; the Peshwa was ready even to provide Marathas help in the imperial administration there. Ghazi-ud-din was the friend of Peshwa. He possessed no military power. He allowed the Marathas to appoint a nominal viceroy for the administration of the Mughal Deccan. As Ghazi-ud-din had no strong force to take the hold of this post in

Mughal Deccan, he did not start. After few months on 7th June the Emperor appointed him to the post of Mir Bakhshi. He was ordered to remain at the Court. The Peshwa was appointed the deputy Subahdar of the Mughal Deccan by Ghazi-ud-din. The Younger brothers of Ghazi-ud-din lived in the Deccan. They were not ready to give the hold of their ancestral property to the Hindus. Salabat Khan was the third son of the late Asaf Jah. He got the sanad of the deputy-subahdarship of the Mughal Deccan for Salabat Jang from Javid Khan.

Balaji opposed the agents of Salabat Jang. A battle ensued. In the meantime after the death of Shahu in November 1749 and the succession of Ramraja to the throne, a civil war started there. Ex-queen Tarabai had imprisoned Ramraja and collected all the Chief Marathas to oppose the

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2 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 68.
domination of the Peshwa. While Balaji was busy in this civil war, Salabat Jang with a French force made an attack on Maharashtra. After this he moved towards Poona. The Peshwa had to make a temporary peace by agreement and to compel Salabat Jang to go back.

In the meantime the Peshwa called Sindia and Holkar to come soon to the Deccan with Ghazi-ud-din. Thus the difficulty of ministers was solved. Ghazi-ud-din told the ministers that he would be given the Subahdari of the Deccan immediately he would return to Deccan with Sindia and Holkar and satisfy their demands. The Maratha Sardars were also ready for it. The Emperor accepted it.

As Ghazi-ud-din was confirmed on his post in the Deccan in 1751, he had to pay the peshkash of 30 lacs to the Emperor. Now he had to pay this amount to the Marathas for the promise done with

Thus the problem was solved. Ghazi-ud-din left his son Mirsahhabuddin as his deputy at Delhi Court. Some amount of money was also paid to Malhar by Javid Khan. Leaving Delhi on 14th May, Ghazi-ud-din with Maratha Sardars marched towards Deccan to take the hold of his government.

**CIVIL WAR IN DELHI COURT**

During this time the relations between the Vazir Safdar Jang and the Emperor became very bad. Both were suspicious about their life from each other. They never used to meet with each other without fear. At this time the whole power was concentrated in the hands of eunuch Javid Khan and Udhambai who was the mother of the Emperor.

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3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 368.
The Vazir was their enemy. He made a plan with Surajmal Jat to murder Javid Khan by deceiving him. The Vazir called him for a meeting on 27th August 1752 and murdered him the same day.

As the Vazir murdered Javid Khan, it increased the jealousy of the Emperor, his mother and other Court members towards the Vazir. There seemed no chances of a compromise between the Emperor and the Vazir. The Emperor and his mother decided to finish him, meeting with Intizam-ud-daula. There was now no friend of Safdar Jang in the Court members. At this time other important persons at the Court were Intizam-ud-daula. He was the eldest son of the late Vazir Qamar-ud-din. The second man was Imad-ul-Mulk who was the son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firoz Jang, the eldest son of Nizam Asaf Jah.

After the murder of Javid Khan, Safdar Jang had to face no rebellion or foreign invasion for

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about seven months. But he did nothing to arrange the administration or to strengthen the army.

The Marathas made forays near Delhi and could come in Delhi city at any time but he failed to check them. He himself went to Oudh or Rohilkhand leaving the administration. He looked only to his own interests. There was every possibility of a war to remove him from his seat.

The main mistake of Safdar Jang was the proposal to the Emperor to appoint Imad-ul-Mulk the Mir Bakhshi, on 12th December 1752 after the death of Ghazi-ud-din on October 27th, 1752. He was a war and had no experience of war. The Vazir thought that by appointing him on Mir Bakhshiship he will get the support of one of the leaders of the Turani Party and will prove successful in putting a check on Intizam. But he was deceived by him in the near future.

2 Ibid. P. 449
3 Ibid. P. 449
4 Ibid. P. 451
The Vazir put a number of checks on the Emperor. No body could meet the Emperor without the permission of Vazir. He lived as a prisoner. About 3500 Maratha soldiers laid their camp at Talkatora on 22nd October, 1752. It is situated four miles south-west of Delhi. On 6th February, 1753 a second body of 4000 Maratha horse reached to Kalka Hillock. But there was none to check them. The pay of the imperial servants was not paid from two years. The position of the Empire was not good.

In the mean time in the month of November, Abdali started preparations to attack on India. In the month of February, 1752, Abdali crossed the attack with a large force. He himself halted there. He sent his agent with 2000 horse to the Emperor and demanded the yearly sum of 50 lakhs promised to him by the agreement, when Abdali had attacked in 1751. The agent reached to Delhi on

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 460-461.
2 Ibid. P. 461.
5th February, 1752. He met the Emperor on 13th February and told him that if he will give him money he will return back otherwise he will attack on Delhi. The Emperor told the agent that "he will give him reply after eight days. The Emperor called a meeting of the Vazir and ministers and asked them what should he do. Otherwise Abdali will attack on Delhi." All of them replied the same answer that Marathas have accepted to fight with Abdali. The Emperor had given them the subahs of Ajmer and Akbarabad and the chauth of all twenty two Subahs and given money and all the rights to the Marathas. Ask this matter from the Marathas. The Vazir told the Emperor that the Marathas had helped him in the campaign against the Rohillahs in Doab. The Maratha force at Delhi is five thousand and five thousand they will collect within a fortnight. Thirty thousand is the force of the Vazir. Thus a force of 40 thousand is ready to fight with Abdali.

The Vazir somehow sent the envoy back. The Vazir sent the letters to the Peshwa to send the Maratha force for his help immediately. The Vazir started preparing force. Antaji Mankeshwar writes to the Peshwa, "Our four thousand force is already here and according to the order of the Vazir, Tatya, our sons, the Jats from Gwalior and Pathans, thus one thousand Sawars reached to Delhi on Magh Sudi 5th. But there is great work in Delhi. It will take one month to drive them out. There will be a clash between them and the Pathans in the month of Chaitra." 

In the mean time the Emperor's mother Udhambai organised a conspiracy against the Vazir to finish his power and overthrow him from his Vazirship. Intizam-ud-daula, Mir Shahabuddin and the Emperor joined him in this scheme.

Antaji Mankeshwar was present at Delhi with a small Maratha force. Imad-ul-mulk asked

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 55
Bapu Mahadev Hingne, a Maratha agent at Delhi to collect a Maratha force at Delhi. Immediately a force of 5000 soldiers was collected commanded by Antaji Mankeshwar. He sent his agent to bring Holkar from Aurangabad.

Antaji wrote a letter to the Peshwa informing him about the situation at Delhi. He wrote to the Peshwa that either he himself should come to Delhi or should send to Bhau to solve the Maratha difficulties which could prove dangerous. Baghunathrao was sent by the Peshwa on his request to Delhi.

Both the Emperor and the Vazir Safdar Jang tried to get the help of the Marathas. The Maratha agent Bapu Bao promised the Emperor to bring 5000 soldiers to help him. In return the Emperor issued two farmanis to give the Peshwa the Subahdari of Oudh and Allahabad if the Marathas will

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 87; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 475.
2 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XII, No. 55 also Vol. XVII, No. 83.
defeat the Vazir. On the other hand, the Vazir was ready to give them Jagirs which contained ten lakhs of rupees year revenue. He reminded about the Maratha help earlier in Doab campaign. The Vazir failed to get the Maratha support. Bapu Rao Hingne and Antaji supported the Emperor. Antaji Manikeshwar was sent with 5000 horse for the help of the Emperor. When 5000 force reached interim at Delhi, the Emperor became very happy. It increased his confidence in Marathas.

The Maratha agent Bapu Mahadev Hingne collected a force of twenty-five thousand mixing the turans in his force also. Antaji also sent the force from where he could get. Thus a force of thirty or thirty-five thousand was collected and sent for the help of the Emperor. The Niazm-ul-mulk (Imad) was given the Khilat of the Subahdari of the Deccan by the Emperor. The Emperor agreed to give the subahs of Agra and Ajmer to the Marathas. The Nizam could manage the administration of the Subahs of the Deccan with the consent of the Peshwa and under his supervision.

2 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 57.
3 Ibid. P. 469.
As Bapu Rao Hingine was successful in collecting a force of thirty or thirty-five thousand at Delhi, he was given a mansab of 6 Hazari on 11th April. Antaji's rank was also increased by the Emperor.

Antaji Manekshwar in his letter of date 28.3.1753 writes to the Peshwa about the situation.

"The Kh-Kh, the Mir Bakhshi, and the late Kh. Dauren's son (i.e., Samsam) have conspired for a month to bring the wazir to the fort for a private consultation and there despatch him and then give the wazir-ship to Kh-Kh. Bapu Rao Hingine showed me the Emperor's letter ordering 5,000 Maratha horse to be mastered and counted in his presence. So, I got ready and went (to the fort). Kh-Kh and the two other also came there armed and ready. The Emperor sent a letter to the Wazir asking him to come quickly for an urgent business. But his step-mother Malika-uz-Zamani secretly sent out of the palace a letter to the Wazir informing him of the treachery and bidding him not to come. Then

the wasir got 25,000 of his troops and artillery ready and came (to the fort gate) saying that he would settle the accounts with the man who had played this trick, imprison Ahmed Shah, and set up another Emperor. A great tumult raged in the city. The Emperor repeatedly sent messages to the Maratha envoy, saying, "All my hope is in you. I am Balaji Rao's man save my life." (Aiti. Patr.89).

Finally a civil war started between these two groups at Delhi from 26th March 1753. During the period of 26th March to 8th May there was no clash between the forces of the Vazir and the Emperor. The Vazir could not decide whether he should fight with his enemies or go to his province of Oudh. But this situation was changed during the beginning of the month of May when Surajmal and Salabat Khan reached for the help of the Vazir.

1 Aitibasik Patravyavahar, Letter No. 89; fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 469. Sarkar has written the number of letter 86 which is wrong.

They adopted aggressive policy. On 9th May the Jats plundered the old Delhi and continued their plundering. A war started between the forces of the Vazir and his enemies. The Vazir's force seiged his opponents within the city. They were about to get the victory. On 10th May, the imperial forces made an attack on the part of the Vazir's force commanded by Bajendra Giri. The imperial army drove them through their artillery. Antaji also fought in this battle with his force.

On 13th May, the Emperor appointed Intizam-ud-daula on the post of Vazir after removing Safdar Jang from this post. After this, Imad-ul-mulk joined the Emperor. The Emperor told him the work of collecting an army and to fight with the Vazir. At the same time he called all the officers and commanders, zamindars, retired noble men of Delhi and neighbourhood to get their help against the Vazir. The situation was completely changed with the arrival


3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. P. 482.
of Najib Khan Rohillah with a force for the help of the Emperor on 2nd June. It increased the strength of the imperialists.

The houses of all who were suspected/supporters of Safdar Jang were seized by the Imad in the city. On 14th June there was a clash between the forces of the Vazir and the Imperialists. The Marathas got severe loss who were from the Imperial side. But in a clash near Talkatora Bajendra Giri Gosavi was killed. He was the real supporter of Safdar Jang. Safdar Jang's officers started deserting from his side and joined the Imperialists. Safdar Jang retreated. The Marathas plundered the camp and animals of Safdar Jang. On 1st July there was a clash between their...
forces again. Many men were killed but with no result. Another severe clash occurred on 19th August. Safdar Jang was defeated. At this time the Peshwa and his Sardars Sindia and Holkar were called by the Emperor and Imad for their help. The Emperor was ready to grant the Subahs of Oudh and Allahabad and one crore rupees for their services.

The Peshwa at once sent Baghunath Rao with Sindia and Holkar for the help of the Emperor from Poona. The war had finished before the arrival of these Marathas at Delhi.

Thousands of people joined Imad. All the supporters of Safdar Jang were beaten. Even some of them lost their lives. Their houses were badly

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 493
3 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 83
5 Ibid. P. 369.
plundered. Then Safdar Jang ordered Surajmal Jat to attack on old Delhi. Surajmal attacked on Old Delhi. He killed a large number of people. He looted Old Delhi. A large number of people had to lose their family and baggage.

Both the Imperialists and the Vazir became perplexed from this long battle. Again a clash occurred at Barapula near the southern gate of Delhi. Safdar Jang suffered heavy losses. Both the parties wanted to make peace. First the Imperialists sent a proposal to Safdar Jang. He was ready to make peace. The terms were agreed with the mediation of Intizam. The two subahs of Oudh and Allahabad were conferred upon Safdar Jang. On 7th November, 1753 the terms of the treaty were finalised and Safdar Jang marched towards his provinces.

THE MARATHAS AND THE JATS

During the civil war at Delhi, Imad-ul-mulk had invited the Marathas for his help against the Vazir. He agreed to pay a large amount to them for this purpose. On receiving this invitation the Peshwa had despatched his brother Raghunathrao under a powerful army. On 5th October, 1753 this army crossed the river Narmada. Malhar Holkar, Govind Ballal Bundele also joined this army. In December, 1753, they reached Jaipur via Indore and Ujjain to collect the tributes from many Rajput states, because before the arrival of this Maratha army agreement was already made between the Emperor and the Vazir.

During the civil war, Surajmal Jat had supported the Vazir. The Emperor did not punish him for this. Imad-ul-mulk had a great hate for

Surajmal Jat and wanted to punish him. He decided to utilize the presence of these Maratha troops to attack on Surajmal Jat.

Surajmal was a powerful ruler of Bharatpur. He possessed Dig, Kumbher and other fortified places. The Subahs of Agra and Ajmer were given to Marathas. The Subah of Agra was close to his places of Bharatpur and Mathura. So Surajmal wanted to take the hold of Agra. The son of Malhar Holkar Khande Rao and Tatya moved to Delhi and reached there on 21st November to decide for a campaign against Surajmal Jat with Imad-ul-mulk. Imad met with him and joined him with his forces. The Vazir Intizam also tried to keep the Marathas to his side. He despatches Raja Jugal Kishore to meet Khande Rao on 25th November but Khande Rao refused for it as he

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had come to Imad. It became intolerable to the Emperor. On 1st December the Emperor arranged a long conversation with Antaji, Bapurao Hingwe and other Maratha Sardars at Delhi and the Vazir. He wanted that the Marathas should move according to the instructions of Vazir and not of Imad. But the Marathas were not ready for it. They wanted to maintain good terms with the family of Nizam to protect the Maratha interest in Deccan. At the same time they had made the plan of a campaign against Surajmal. Imad hated Surajmal while the Vazir supported him. So the Maratha Sardars replied that Raghunathrao and Holkar will decide what is to be done. On 10th December at the instigation of the Vazir the Emperor sent gold coins and other presents to Khanderao. On the suggestion of Imad, Khanderao refused to accept these things. The Vazir despatched Baja Devi Dat to make an alliance with him but he refused. The Emperor tried to persuade Khandoji by sending a eunuch but he refused as earlier. The Emperor requested Imad-ul-Mulk. He sent Aqibat to induce Khanderao to meet the Emperor. The meeting took place in a camp near the river Yamuna in the
Nili Chhatri Garden on 26th December. Khanderao was asked for a nazur to the Emperor. He replied that he had come here to take a bath in the river and not to meet the Emperor. The Chamberlain of the Audience Hall himself presented twenty one gold mohurs from the side of Khanderao. Khanderao was conferred a customary Khilat by the Emperor. A sword was also presented to him with the order of the Emperor. The Emperor told him that he had called him to help in the fighting with Safdar Jang. As the war had finished he asked him to go back to his country. Khanderao was not ready to return to his home. In the month of January 1754 he joined his father.

Surajmal tried his best not to fight a war. He sent his agent Boopram Kothari to the Marathas to maintain friendship with them and agreed to pay forty lakhs. Bagunathrao wished the amount of one Crore. Surajmal Jat was not agreed to...
Imad to Kumbher. In the month of March he started for Kumbher from Mathura. He was joined by Aqibat Mahmud also. The allies could not occupy the fort due to the lack of heavy artillery.

On 17th March, Khanderao, the son of Malhar was killed by a shot. His three wives and seven maids burnt themselves on his pyre. Malhar felt much sorrow for the death of his son. Imad also felt sorrow for it. Surajmal also despatched mourning robes to Malhar and to the son of Khanderao. In sympathy on 9th April the Emperor also gave the Maratha agent Hinge the robes for Malhar and ornaments for his wife.

The siege of Kumbher continued for four months. There were no chances of the victory of the Marathas. Finally an agreement was finalised in the middle of the month of May. Roopram, on the

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 521.
part of Surajmal promised 30 lakhs to be paid to the Marathas in three yearly instalments. Imad and Bakhunathrao both left Kumbher. The first on 18th and the latter on 22nd May. They reached Mathura on 23rd May.

THE MURDER OF THE EMPEROR

At this time Imad-ul-Mulk possessed the greatest power at the Delhi Court. The Emperor could not supply heavy artillery for the help of Imad and his allies during the siege of Kumbher. Imad bitterly disliked the Emperor. The Emperor and Khan-Khananah became the enemy of Imad. Imad wanted to take its revenge from the Emperor. The pay of the soldiers of Imad was for long in arrears. The Emperor could not pay their salary. So Imad put the siege of the palace. The dwellers of the palace suffered from starvation.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60; Also Vol. XXVII, No. 81; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 522; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, Pr. 377-78.

Finally Aqibat Mahmud, the Kashmiri, with a powerful Maratha contingent moved towards Delhi and reached there on 16th March. The Emperor ordered his troops to defend the Delhi city. But nothing could be done as the pay of his soldiers was for long in arrears and due to their fear about the powerful army of Aqibat. The Emperor and Khan Khanah both put themselves confined in their palaces.

Aqibat collected a large number of people. He then attacked the house of Intizam but they were repelled. Aqibat accepted his defeat and left the city of Delhi. Crossing the Yamuna with a large number of people he plundered all the cities under the Khalisa office.

While these things were happening here, Surejmal requested the Emperor and Khan - Khanah to go to Sikandra with the idea of hunting and in this way to win the support of Acheol Mansur Khan

there to suppress Imad and the Marathas. Khan Khanah sent the Emperor to Sikandra with all the ladies of the Harem and their jewellery etc., with his forces, artillery with the view of hunting. He could fortify them with the help of artillery there. He could also reconquer the Khalisa land seized by his enemies. His main aim in going there was to get the support of the Jats and 1 Safdar Jang. After crossing the Yamuna, Sikandra
(is at eighty Kos. The Emperor reached there on 17th May and stayed there. According to Seir-mutaQherin the Emperor reached at some distance beyond Sikandra. He could not apply to Abool Mansur Khan. Neither he himself nor his mother and the Vazir liked to apply for help to Abool Mansur Khan (Safdar Jang).

Imad was informed about all these proceedings.

He decided to remove the Emperor from his seat with


the help of Malhar Holkar. On 18th May the maratha conflict with the Jats ended. Then the marathas and Imad with their forces moved towards Mathura on 23rd May to attack on Delhi, to remove Ahmad Shah and put another Emperor on the throne. At the same time Imad despatched Aqibat Ahmad to the Emperor on 25th May to tell him that 50 thousand Marathas had come in the territory close to him but now they are not present. The Emperor and the Vazir did not take care of it.

Malhar Holkar was not ignorant about all this. As the Emperor and the Vazir had refused to give heavy artillery, he was angry with them. He decided to attack on the Imperial camp, to stop the supply of food and water and thus to occupy artillery. At night without intimating to Imad, Sindia etc. he crossed the river Yamuna at Mathura fort on 26th May. He reached near the

of the Emperor. He shot the few rockets to know about the enemy. Nobody in the Imperial camp took care of it. In the night the news was received that Malhar Holkar with a large force was himself present there. The Emperor and the Vazir became nervous. In the night the Emperor with his mother Udhambai and Samsam-ud-daula, with the Vazir mounting on their elephants, fled from there with full speed towards Delhi. They did not say anything to anyone. They left all their family members, officers and all the baggage behind. After half an hour after their flight from there, the news spread in the camp. All the officers and soldiers with little baggage and arms fled from Sikandra. The Marathas followed them and plundered. Knowing about the news of the Emperor's flight the ladies of the Imperial harem also moved towards Delhi loading their valuable things on Elephants. The Maratha troops fell upon these ladies in the night of 26th May. Malika Zamani and about three

1 Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. III, PP. 337-38; Selections From Peshwa Dastar, Vol. XII, No. 60.

2 Ibid. P. 338.
hundred ladies of the Harem were captured and put into confinement. All their valuable things were captured. The Marathas looted the camp of Sikandrabad. Holkar treated these ladies respectfully. He even did not touch them or their jewellery which they were putting on.

Knowing about this act of Maratha troops on the Imperial ladies, Holkar and Imad felt shame. The royal jewellery was kept safely. Even then the Marathas plundered lakhs of gold and silver coins, tents, stores, artillery, raths, camels, horses and other baggage. But the Imperial house of Timur lost its honour as queens and princesses were put into confinement by the Marathas.

When these incidents were passing in Sikandra, Imad and Holkar were staging another tragedy near Delhi. On 30th May Holkar sent a letter of his demands to the Emperor through Bazaisun Khan. A Maratha army crossed the river Yamuna and started

2 Ibid. P. 338; Fall of the mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 539-40.
plundering on the borders of Delhi. The Emperor on 31st May granted all the demands of Holkar by a farman. The Maratha army returned. Another Maratha force started plundering at Nizam-ud-din Auliya's shrine crossing the river Yamuna. Imad asked Malhar for the withdrawal of these troops. Holkar punished these invaders and sent them back crossing the Yamuna.

On 1st June Baghunathrao and other Marathas were remaining at Patparganj near Delhi on the North side of the Yamuna. They sent to Tatya Gangadhar with the maratha forces to the city across the Yamuna. From here he helped the Imad in putting the new Emperor on the throne and getting the Vizarat for himself.

Imad won over to his side Samsam-ud-dawla and the other generals of the Imperial artillery.

2 Ibid. P. 542.
3 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 79, Also Vol. XII No. 60; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 11.
On 1st June, Ghazi-ud-din removed Intizam from Vazirship and secured his post for himself and the post of Lord of Lords to Samsam-ud-Daula.

On 2nd June in the morning Imad with Tatya Gangadhar, who was the Holkar's Diwan, Aqibat and with his brother went in the palace. Ahmad Shah conferred on him the Khilat of Vazirship. The Emperor had taken shelter in the fort. The Emperor and his mother Udhambai were imprisoned and kept in custody. A prince named Aziz-ud-din who was the son of Muiz-ud-din Jahandar Shah was declared the new Emperor and was put on the throne with the name of Alamgir II. The son of Khan-i-Dauren was appointed mir-Bakhshi. After some according to the order of the Imad, the ex-Emperor Ahmad Shah, his mother Udhambai and the Emperor's

4 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60
son were confined and deprived of their sight.

Immediately after this Baghunathrao and Jayapa Sindia with other Marathas reached Delhi. When Imad was appointed the Vazir he agreed to pay 25 lakhs to the Marathas for their help in occupying his post of Vazir. But Baghunathrao and Malhar Holkar demanded much more than this. Finally the Vazir agreed to pay eighty two and half lakhs to the Marathas for the help which they had given him in the revolution. Jayapa Sindia went to Marwar on 23rd June to help Ramsingh in taking the state of Marwar against Vijay Singh. Baghunathrao, Malhar Holkar and other leaders remained near Delhi to take the promised sum from the Vazir.

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3 Selections From Peshwa Dafar, Vol. XXVII, No. 90; Vol. XXXI, No. 50.

4 Ibid. Vol. XXI, No. 60.
After the accession of the new Emperor on the throne, the greatest problem before Imad-ul-mulk was to collect that amount which he had agreed to pay to the Marathas for their help in taking the post of Vazir. In this work he remained busy for about seven months. At the same time 5000 permanent Maratha force at Delhi was also not paid regularly. Then yearly payment amounted about 13 lakhs. The Vazir also had to arrange the subsidy promised to the Marathas for their help during the war with Safdar Jang.

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 6-9.
Baghunathrao wandered for about five months near Delhi attempting to get the promised sum from the Vazir. But he failed in his attempt. During this period his large army had eaten almost everything which could be got in this region. Holkar had laid his camp at some distance from Baghunathrao for the immediate supply of food and other things. The Maratha agent Bapu Bao Hingne dealt all the affairs at Delhi. He used to take decisions first from Malhar and finally from Baghunathrao.

Baghunath forded Yamuna from Patparganj on 12th June. From 13th to 15th he remained at Delhi on southern side of Yamuna. On 16th he was at Vasai. On 17th of June he reached at Shalimar Garden. From here on 23rd June he despatched Jayapa Sinda with a Maratha force of 4000 to Marwar to help Ram Singh. Baghunathrao passed about three months in north Delhi. From Shalimar Garden he moved at Vasai, Vazirabad etc. upto 16th September. On 17th Sept. he established his camp in Southern Delhi from there.

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1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 79.
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. II.
and remained there till 9th September. He roved over Tungabhad, Islampur, Wahroli, Dargah of Qutub Shah Padshah, Baraulla etc.

When by the end of August the Marathas removed their camp to the outlying part of north Delhi from west Delhi, the Maratha troops looted and troubled the villagers there. These villagers of Jalalpur and other places suddenly attacked on the Marathas and looted their baggage etc. Malhar attacked on them and plundered the villages of Jalalpur, Mahra and Nahri. The Marathas brought this plunder to Delhi for sale.

Malhar left Baghunath on 12th November near Badarpur. Malhar roved over Hiran minar, Jinsi Top-Khanah, Palam and the exist of the Canal etc. with his troops. Malhar reached at Talkatora on 17th November. On that day Baghunath met him there in the evening. Baghunath stopped

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 79.
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 11-12.
3 Ibid, p. 12.
at Mahroli, Dargah of Qutb Shah Padshah for one day. On 19th November he reached at Barapula and stayed there till 9th of December. Malhar established his camp near Shahmardan and Haider Jang.

Baghunath and Malhar started to Jitpur on 9th December from the shrine of Shah Mardan. Jitpur is situated on the western side of Yamuna. They crossed the river with their forces. They looted the houses and all the people on ghats. They looted the Brahmins there coming for bath. On the way they looted all the travellers and the villages situated on the east bank. They fought with the Imperial tax-collector of Luni. They carried away with them Wazir's four elephants eating grass near Ghaziabad.

On 10th December Baghunathrao reached Chhalera. He stayed there about fifteen days.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No.79.
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 12.
3 Ibid. PP. 12-13.
4 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII No.79; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 13.
The supply of grain from these places to Delhi was stopped. The result was that there was a great shortage of food in Delhi. The Vazir despatched two Hinga brothers to Bhagnathrao to appease him.

On 14th December 1754 there occurred a clash between the forces of Shadil Khan, who was the captain of the Vazir and Marathas in taking the chokey from Khurja. About 2500 soldiers were killed on both sides.

Malhar returned to Hauz-i-Khas on 25th December from east bank. Bhagnath moved from Chhalera on 23rd and reached on Bangpur lake on 24th and on 25th December he reached at Ghaziabad. On 27th he started from Ghaziabad and on 30th December he reached at Garhmukteshwar by way of Dasna. He took a bath in Ganges. He stayed there up to 13th January. After taking bath in

2 Ibid. P. 13.
3 Ibid. P. 13.
the Ganges he went up to Anupshahr. He decided to settle the tribute with the Pathans and Rohillas. Pathans and Rohillas had crossed Yamuna near Delhi and halted at Tilpat to negotiate with Baghunathrao. According to the agreement he received some amount in cash. He also received written consent for the remaining money. On 13th January he started from there, reached at Balwara on 14th January and stayed there till 18th. On 19th he reached at Vasai. He moved from there and from 20th to 27th January he remained at Ahar. On 28th he reached at Jahangirabad. On 29th and 30th he was at Ladhne, 8 kos from Bagirathi. On 31st he reached at Utsar on the Yamuna. On 1st February, he was at Jenagale and from there went to Motipur on 2nd which is at the bank of Yamuna. He stayed there till 7th. On 8th he reached at Kalendrapur in the Pargana of Faridabad. Then he moved by way of Badarpur, Badkhere, Badli and through the Jajjar, Bansud, Narmol, Singhana, Sambhar etc. On 3rd March he reached at Pushkar.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 79; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 13-14.
Wherever the Marathas went, they plundered. If in any village the people gave them politely they left it, otherwise plundered. Thus the grain became very costly at Delhi.

On this side the dispute with the Vazir was settled. Holkar, Sakharam Pant with other generals remained in this province. Raghunathrao, Gangadhar Yashwant with about ten or fifteen thousand force went to Garhmukteshwar to take bath. Malhar and others waited for them. Then they went to Rewari and Pataudi districts. The Marathas collected the tribute from Gujar and Baluch zamindars. On this side the Maratha Sardars were given farewell with robes by the imperial court. Having known about the compromise with the Vazir, the Marathas started from Rewari towards Rajputana during the first week of February.

Thus the Marathas left Delhi territory by the end of first week of February.

There was great shortage of money with the

Peshwa. His Maratha forces which were in the north remained involved in the Jat Campaign, more than four months. He could receive only two lakhs in cash while his forces comprising 20,000 soldiers in this campaign involved an expenditure of 12 lakhs for five months. Malhar could not receive more from the Sikandrabad camp. The Jats plundered more baggage from the camp as they lived nearer. Only some elephants came into the hands of the government out of that plunder. So afterwards Malhar was not ready to release the Imperial Harem's ladies without the payment of Maratha dues. Imad and Aqibat promised to pay forty lakhs rupees to him. This saved the prestige of the family of the Emperor. The Peshwa had ordered Bagnunathrao to capture large amount of money from Delhi. As the Marathas had helped Imad in

4 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 15.
taking the post of Vazir, Imad agreed to pay 25 lakhs to the Marathas for this. But the Marathas demanded more. At this the Vazir agreed to pay 82 and half lakhs to the Marathas.

It was decided that they will pay forty lakhs immediately and the remaining forty two and half lakhs in future. Attempts were made to collect these forty lakhs. About eight or nine were collected, for seventeen and half lakhs bankers bills were given. Thirteen and half lakhs remained unreceived out of forty. There was no possibility of the realization of the remaining forty two and half lakhs.

The Maratha agent at Delhi wrote to his master a letter received on 11th November 1754, "For these thirteen and a half lakhs we are dunning the Vazir. There is no money in the Emperor's house, there is not a pice with the Vazir, their soldiers are dying of starvation, daggers and knives are being plied every day. In

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60; also Vol. XXVII No. 90; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 15.
such a state of things we are pressing for our money. No cash, no jewel is available. In the last resort the Vazir is asking us to take assignments for 13 and a half lakhs on the revenue of the lands round Delhi which were set apart for feeding the Emperor and the Vazir. ¹

The Vazir had to pay forty lakhs to the Marathas. At the same time his own troops, Emperor's artillery guards and personal servants had not received their pay from three years. There was no money in the treasury. It was emptied during the last sovereign's reign. At first the Jagirs of the relatives of the last Emperor's mother and of their children and the Jagir and property of ex-Vazir Intizam were confiscated. The cash and jewellery of their ladies was snatched away from them. They were compelled to lead their life at Khasaspura leaving the palace, where the widows of the early Emperor's used to live. Thus three lakhs were

¹ Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII No. 90; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 15.
collected. This money was given to the Vazir. On 10th June he gave it to the Marathas.

Only this money could not solve the problem. A plan was made to collect the money forcefully from the nobles and other public servants. People started agitations in the city. A great tumult arose in Delhi. No money was collected from them. The diwan of crownlands Nagarmal with the advice of the Vazir started collection of money by any means from the people, traders and artisans etc. No rich man could go out of his home. Guards were sent for this purpose by the Vazir. People did not open the shops. They gathered and requested the Emperor to save them from these troubles. The Emperor could do nothing. He ordered the Vazir to finish this levy of money. Imad did not take care of it. The money was not collected from the Vazir's people. People were troubled very much. On the request of the people the Emperor asked

\[1\] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 16-17.
the Vazir to do justice with the people. The Vazir stopped the collection of money from the people. Peace was established for a short time. It was towards the end of June.

Only nine lakhs could be paid to the Marathas in cash by the end of August. Seventeen lakhs were to be paid to the Marathas from the Bengal revenue and from the nazar of the two Badakhshis. These produced nothing. Marathas were tired of waiting. The Vazir again tried to collect the money from the Delhi people. On 7th September the collection was started under Samsam-ud-daula and others. The tax collectors were sent at different places of the city to collect tax. This plan also failed but the people of the city got many pains.

Only five or ten rupees were collected from each. This collection amounted about one Lakh.

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, Pp. 17.
Vazir's people were not taxed. The collection was made only from handicraftsmen and shopkeepers. Then according to a new plan of collection large amount of money was required only from the rich people. Disturbances arose in Delhi. The people did not open the markets. A large number of people were beaten at Delhi. The people of Delhi, shopkeepers and artisans etc. were gathered and requested the Emperor to do justice. They were compelled for the payment of this tax for the third time. The Vazir finally ordered to stop the collection from the people on 20th October. Peace returned to Delhi. The Vazir gave to the Marathas 20 villages in Saharanpur. He also gave some districts from the Khalisa land and privy purse estates. On 26th October the Emperor granted the Marathas 42 and half lakhs from the revenue of Bengal, Bareilly, Bhairet, Sambhar, Kora and other some Mahals. The bills for the above assignments were not accepted. Finally the land in Doab territory was given to

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 13
2 Ibid. P. 13.
the Marathas. The large Maratha army left Delhi and surrounding area in the first week of February 1755.

After the enthronement of Alamgir II great disturbances arose in Delhi. The three year's pay of the Imperial soldiers was in arrears though the Vazir had assured them about its payment. The Imperial soldiers lost their patience and started plundering the houses in Delhi. The Vazir agreed to pay their salary of half month on 10th August 1754 but he failed to pay it. On 14th August the agitated soldiers had beaten Nagarmal. On 14th November 1754 Nagarmal took shelter near Maratha agent Papu Mahadev Hingane in Jaisinghpura leaving his own house in Delhi city. The Vazir sent his people to confiscate Nagarmal's property. Then the Marathas opposed these men. A Maratha contingent was sent by Nagarmal to bring his family to Mir Bakhshi's house. The Vazir's soldiers resisted

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 16
2 Ibid. p. 20
3 Ibid. p. 22
these Marathas. Twelve of the Marathas were killed and many others were wounded. The soldiers took the arms and mares of the Marathas. Then these soldiers removed all the Marathas from the house of Nagarmal and from Pahara Mal's garden house. Thus they totally removed the Marathas from Delhi and its surrounding areas. Imad took the posts of Nagarmal from him but after a few months he returned these posts to Nagarmal.

There was a great shortage of money to Delhi Government. It was turning towards bankruptcy. The Central government only received the revenue from the province of Bengal. Some provinces had been independent. Some were taken by the Afghans, Jats and the Marathas some around the capital as the upper Doab or the Mirat division on the east and the districts of Rohtak and Gurgaon on the west accepted the suzerainty of the Emperor. The Emperor had

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 23
2 Ibid. P. 24.
lost all the provinces of crownland and the parganas of Delhi province. Najib Khan had taken the possession of Saharanpur, the Jat Raja. of the mahals near Agra and Madho Singh of Namol. The Vazir had given all the privy purse estates sometimes to the Marathas and sometimes to the Badakhshans, as he had to pay money to them. There was no money in the treasury for the expenses of the Emperor and haram ladies as they mainly depended for their expenses on the income of Privy purse estates. The Emperor asked the Vazir to set free these estates. The Vazir ordered for it. Only the mahals of Luni and Mirat were set free. The Vazir gave the privy purse mahals of Mirat and some others to the Marathas. Thus the Vazir starved the Emperor and his family. Najib's agents opposed the Marathas in these places. After some struggle the Marathas were settled there.

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 25
2 Ibid., P. 27
THE END OF QUARREL BETWEEN IMAD AND INTIZAM THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF MALHAR

When Imad became Vazir he was afraid that Intizam could compromise with any other person to help him in getting again his office. When the Vazir had ordered his men for a collection of tax to pay to the Marathas, Intizam had sent his troops to oppose this collection. On 4th October Ganadhar Chandrachud who was the Diwan of Holkar, tried to make an agreement between Intizam and Imad but he failed. At this time as Malhar had failed in getting the payment of money from Imad, he thought the idea of appointing Intizam the Vazir again, on the basis that he will give him money. Later on, he dropped his idea. Imad sent a letter to Intizam either to be present at the court or to leave the official house. Soon after this Intizam went to live near Maratha camp in Southwest of Delhi. The Marathas did nothing at this time. On 12th December Imad's agents requested Raghunath and Malhar to make a compromise between Imad and Intizam by any way. Malhar attempted to make peace between them. He got success.

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 29-30.
THE INVASION OF ABDALI

The Afghan king Abdali started to attack on India from Kabul in the beginning of the Autumn of the year 1756. In the month of October he despatched his agent Qalandar Beg to the Delhi Court. But Imad-ul-mulk did not take care of it and did not give any satisfactory answer. In the month of November Abdali himself reached at Peshawar. A part of his army under his son Timur Shah and General Jahan Khan moved towards Lahore to capture it. Adina Beg, who was the governor of Punjab, got defeat. Then the Afghan force crossed the river Sutlaj. They took the possession of the territory upto Sarhind on 5th January without facing any opposition. Abdali came to know about the weakness of the Delhi Court. He started from Peshawar and marched towards Delhi.

Abdali's invasion was a great danger but Imad was helpless. Throughout the month of November Imad talked to Najib Khan Rohilla Surajmal Jat to help him against Abdali but with no result. On 9th December the news was known at
Delhi that before thirteen days Abdali had crossed the river Indus with the idea to move towards Delhi. The Vazir Imad wrote letters to the Marathas, the Jat Bajah and Shuja-ud-daula and called them for help. On 20th December the news was known about the occupation of the territory upto the west bank of the Satlaj by the Marathas and the defeat and flight of Adina Beg. The people of Delhi were greatly perplexed. The well to do people of Delhi sent their families for safety to Agra and Mathura but there they were plundered by the Jats. At this time the Maratha commander Antaji Mankeshwar was immediately called to Delhi from Gwalior. Antaji immediately returned from Gwalior at the call of Vazir with 5000 troops. On 30th December he encamped opposite Delhi on the east side of Yamuna river with his troops. Imad told him not to allow the citizens to go out of Delhi for shelter. He did not allow them to go

1 Ibid. P. 61
south of Delhi and hundred their way there. The citizens wished to come back to Delhi but he did not allow them to return without getting the money and baggage from them to pay to his troops. People returned to Delhi after paying him. He wanted to get more money and gold. None could go out of Delhi.

On 9th January the news was received that the main Afghan force had reached at Sarhind. The Vazir was helpless. On 10th he held a council. He was not ready to fight with Abdali. He asked Mughlani Begum to go to Abdali and to make the arrangement so that to turn Abdali back from coming to Delhi. On 14th January the agent Agha Baza came back to the Vazir and told him that Abdali will not come to Delhi if he will be given 2 krores of rupees, the hand of the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II, the territory between the river Indus and Sutlej.

On 12th January a Afghan force at the head of Jahan Khan reached at Panipat. Abdali reached

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1 Ibid. PP. 62-63.
at Kamal. Jahan Khan sent a body of his troops
to contract Rohillas in the way. Jahan Khan
himself entered in Deob crossing the Yamuna. He
drove out the Maratha collectors from Kairana,
Jhanjhana, Shamli and Kandhla. He set his camp
at Luni. He sent parties to all sides. Abdali
was at Kamal with his force while Abdali's Vazir
moved towards Delhi and laid his camp at Narela.
Here on 16th Najib Khan Rohillah joined the
Afghans.

On 15th January Imaad request to raise a
wall surrounding the city. People fled towards
New Delhi, old fort, Arah Sarai or Shrine of
Nizamuddin Aulia from Old Delhi, Mughalpura etc.
At this time Antaji's soldiers started plundering
on the bank of the river Yamuna. By the end of
the year 1756 the Emperor conferred on Antaji
the Panch-hazar mansabdari and gave him Sahib-
naubat Alamkara. He gave him the Khilat and
jagir. At Delhi per soldier cost 25 Rupees per
month. He gave Rupees twelve per month for each
soldier.

1 Ibid. P. 64
2 Ibid. P. 79
3 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII,
No. 205.
On 7th January Antaji visited the Emperor with his sons and captains. He established his camp on the sand bank below the fort. On 15th January when hearing the news of the forces of Abdali near Badli terror arose in Delhi, Antaji started plundering the people. He was sent to the north of Delhi with save troops to know about the progress and position of the enemy.

Antaji reached 12 miles north of the Kashmirigate on 16th January. A clash occurred between the forces of Antaji and the force of Abdali's Vazir at ten Kos from Delhi. Many men and horses of Antaji were killed. Antaji retreated four miles and stayed there. When the Marathas were returning, men of Najib attacked them. Maratha force was small. It contained no artillery or stores. Its position was very bad. It was

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 79
2 Ibid. P. 79
3 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 96.
the main point for the forces of Abdali and the Rohillahs. On 19th January the Vazir Ghazi-ud-din left his place and went to meet Abdali. When the news became known about the departure of Vazir for submission before Abdali, a large number of people of Delhi went to the country of the Jats. Khansamah, Nagarmal and Balgovind Sahukar etc. all the important people fled to the Jats.

Antaji had no other alternative except to return to Delhi city on his place. But he was attacked by the forces of Abdali and Najib Khan. Many men and horses of Antaji were killed. After this Antaji with his force went on the sand bank below the fort. A great battle occurred. But the Marathas collected their baggage, elephants and families and put them in front, continuously fighting with the Afghans. The Marathas reached at Faridabad on 19th January. A great clash occurred between the Marathas and Afghans but Antaji had not broken the order of the soldiers.

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1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XIX, No. 96
and put the soldiers together and reached Faridabad. The Afghans who were following the Marathas, had returned back from Khwajah Sarai. Abdali remained near the city. Some of his force was at Patpatganj across the Yamuna. Some force was at Sandbank. Najib Khan had entered the fort and driven all the Emperor's people out of it. The Emperor with his sons was carried to the place where he lived before the Emperorship and was put into prison. He occupied all the things from Jawahir Khanah, Sile-Khanah and Jamadar-Khanah of the fort. Bakshi made the preparations in the fort. Abdali made his arrangement. Khutba was read in the name of Abdali. Abdali had a force forty or fifty thousand with him. Khan-Khanah, Bapu Vakil, Najib Khan, Sayyid Salabat Khan and Nagarmal etc. sent a Vakil to Abdali to meet him with twenty thousand force. Khan Khanah, Nagarmal and Bahadur Khan Baluch etc. went to Surajmal.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 96.
It was the condition of Delhi. The Vazir had been imprisoned on 20th January. Khan-khanah was appointed the Vazir. Antaji had despatched all his baggage, booty and camp under two thousand force to Mathura from Faridabad on 20th January. Antaji himself went from Faridabad to Sarai Badarpur which is at 10 Kos from Delhi and encamped there. The next day on 21st January Abdali's Vazir Sarwar Khan with four thousand force came at three Kos from Barapula towards Antaji. Antaji made the preparations. There was a clash between their forces. Sarwar Khan had no artillery. He was defeated. Antaji got the victory. Sarwar Khan's 400 horses were killed in the battle field. 400 were captured by the Marathas. 400 or 500 strong soldiers of Abdali were also killed in the battle field. Their standard and kettle - drums were also captured. These Afghans returned back to Barapula. Till 30th January no Afghan force came against Antaji.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XII, No. 95, 96.
During this time Abdali had reached at Delhi and had put Delhi and the Empire under his perfect control. On 30th January Abdali sent a force of 20000 men under Najib Khan and Jahan Khan towards Antaji. After getting the victory on 21st January Antaji had been moving in the south, west and north west sides of the city of Delhi from one place to another. Antaji went in Doab from there. There was no man due to the danger of Abdali.

On 1st February a great Afghan force of 20,000 in three parts attacked on Antaji. Antaji had a very little force. There was no way to go out. Many soldiers of Antaji's force had been wounded in earlier battles. Antaji's soldiers fought the battle for four hours. About seven or eight hundred horses of the Afghans were killed. Their one thousand soldiers were also killed. Out of that two hundred men were of important

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 96
rank. "None had the time to remove the corpses." Antaji's 300 or 400 horses were killed. But the Afghan forces pursued him till two kos. When the night came, the Afghans returned back. Antaji's two or three hundred horses were killed during this flight. The Afghans plundered and put the fire to the town of Faridabad. They came back to Delhi with 600 heads saying that these are the heads of the Marathas and the Jats. Abdali gave them Rs. 8 for each head.

"Bapuji Mahadev sent an application to Abdali of the name of the Peshwa that I am ready to be present in your service, with one lakh force and to leave the crownland of Doab. I will kill all the rebellions and will bring the Peshkash and put it into the treasury. Abdali gave the Khilat to Bapu. He became kind to him." Bapu accepted the Khilat promising him the sum of two crores.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI,
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 81
There was no important person in the city except Jughal Kishore, Kishan Chand and Bapuji Mahadev. Only about forty or fifty lakhs of rupees were collected from the city going from house to house. "Abdali asked the Bapu that you have given the application of the Peshwa then why Antaji fights with our forces. Then Bapuji answered that Antaji is not the servant of Baji Rao, he is the servant of the Vazir. Therefore you should send force to fight with him." Abdali asked Najib Khan that what is the work of Antaji. "Najib Khan told him that he is an important Sardar of the Marathas and not the servant of the Vazir." Abdali ordered Najib Khan to send a letter to Antaji to know about his ideas and objects. Najib wrote such a letter to Antaji. Antaji replied - "I will go to the boundary of my country. But if there will be disturbances in any village then I and Shamsher Iahadur, Naro Shanker, Govind Ballal and his sons etc. and Surejmal Jat will do unitedly whatever will be possible." Abdali said that Antaji Mankeshwar

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No.96
had first used his sword against us. Therefore

the Marathas are a great problem.

Antaji with his little army fled towards
Mathura and reached there on 4th February. Here
there was a small village in Mathura which was
in possession of Trimbek Mukund Suhadar.
Antaji lived in that Southern territory mainly
at Palwal for more than two months but he always
remained at 40 or 50 miles distance from Delhi
city. He did not fight the battle again. Thus
the Maratha forces went on the other side after
plundering Doab and Delhi - Agra territory.

Antaji sent full reports to the Peshwa about
the situation of Delhi and the activities of Afghan
forces and Maratha forces etc. He had sent
letters to the Peshwa to despatch Bagunathrao.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 96
2 Ibid. No. 96, 99, 98; Fall of the Mughal Empire;
Vol. II, PP. 81-82.
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 84.
4 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI,
No. 106.
The Peshwa had sent Baghunathrao and Walhar Holkar from Poona in October 1756. Thus Baghunathrao and Abdali had left their country just about the same time. But Baghunathrao moved very slowly. If he could have moved rapidly he could face Abdali. On 14th February, 1757 Baghunathrao had arrived at Indore. They remained busy in collecting the tribute from Rajput states for about four months.

Throughout the month of March Antaji wrote letter to Baghunath not to stay at Rajputana for long but to move from there in pursuit of Abdali and thus to get the fame. In his letter dated 30.1.1757 Antaji had written to Baghunath to come. Antaji thought that if Baghunathrao would have reached at this time, he would defeat Abdali.

4 Ibid. No. 110, 111
5 Ibid. No. 96.
In his letter of date March - April 1757 Antaji writes to Bagha - "The Rohillas will be defeated, and we will be defeated. Therefore he (Abdali) will be victorious. Otherwise he will go to Lahore. If you will go in his way upto Kamal, the Hindustan will get fame."

After plundering Delhi, Agra, Brindaban, Mathura, Gokul and Haridabad etc. lady and massacring the people in large number, Abdali started towards his country on 1st April 1757. He had carried out with him immense booty, the beautiful ladies of the Imperial Harem and Amirs, malika Zamani and Sahiba Masal who were the widows of Mohammad Shah and the daughter of Mohammad Shah. Abdali had taken beautiful wives of the Amirs and of people and sent them to Lahore.

"The Abdali's own goods were loaded on 28,000 camels, elephants, mules, bullocks and carts while Shah's widow's who accompanied him, 

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 110
3 Ibid. Vol. II, No. 71, also Vol. XII, No. 118.
4 Ibid., Vol. XXI, No. 118.
and these too belonged to him, each man carrying away spoils. His cavalry returned on foot, loading their booty on their chargers. For securing transport, the Afghan king left no horse or camel in any one's house, not even a donkey. The guns he had brought for taking the Jat forts, he abandoned because their draught cattle had to be loaded with his plunder, and the Jat Raja took these guns away into his fort. In Delhi not a sword was left with anybody." 

"Not a pie was left in Delhi. He took four krores from the house of Khan-Khanah and one krore from the house of Ghazi-ud-din. He had taken seven krores from the Suhakars of Delhi, thus he carried away 12 krores rupees."

Before leaving to his country he had already installed Alamgir as the Emperor. Ghazi-ud-din was appointed the Vazir and Najib Khan Rohillah was

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 93
2 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 152.
appointed Mir. Bakshsh. He left Najib Khan as his supreme agent in India and the real master of Delhi government." He sent to Ghazi-ud-din and Najib Khan to Doab with two princes." They were sent to Doab to drive out the Maratha intruders from there. They occupied the Jat posts in Doab joining the Pathans of Samsabad. The Pathans of Samsabad had captured the Maratha posts also in Doab. They rendered Maratha administration null and void there. The plan was made to despatch Rajshri Vithal Pant, Tatya and Ganadhar Yashwant with ten thousand force against them. It was thought to take the help of the Jats with their force.

Antaji was left near Delhi with a force of 5000. The Vazir had agreed to pay 13 lakhs a year for them. Small troops were also there with

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 152, also Vol. XXI No. 117 dated 30.4.1757.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXI, No. 117; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 93.
3 Ibid. Vol. XXI No. 117
Maretha administrators in the jagirs of Antaji in Doab area as in Phaphund, Shankohabad and Etawah, in the jagirs of Hingine in the districts of Mirat and Bulandshahr. Peshwa's officers were in Kora and Jahanabad to collect the tax there. But there was no main maretha army in the north.

Sakharam Bapu is informed by Gopalrao Bapuji in his letter dated 23.4.1757 that your forces will not come in this province (Doab), the place would not remain in the possession of Marethas, Ghazi-ud-din and the Pathans did not think anything this time. There is no other work except their arrangement.

A letter of Keshavrao to the Peshwa informing the situation of the Doab dated 30.4.1757.

"Again he (Abdali) has sent the two princes of the Emperor of Delhi to Antervid, they are

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1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 98
2 Selections from Peshwa Letter, Vol. XXI No. 115
there. Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad had met with them and the sons of Ali Mardan Khan and Hafiz Rahmat have also joined him. Shuja-ud-daula, the nazim of Oudh and Prayag discusses with them but does not meet. His discussion is near Malhar Rao Holkar. All the Pathans are depend on Abdali. At present the Vazir has also met with them, therefore they have plundered the posts of the Marathas in Doab and are still plundering.\footnote{1} Keshavrao also wrote letters to Raghunath and Malhar to repair at Delhi from Rajputana. At last a force of 25 thousand was sent under Sakharem Bapu, Raja Bhori Vithal Shivdev, Antaji Manekshwar and Gangadhar Yashwant to make the arrangement in Doab. It was also thought to win the support of Shuja-ud-daula to make the arrangement of the enemy. \footnote{2}

Shuja-ud-daula was encamping at the river Gara in the Sondi kaaba with fifteen or sixteen thousand force. He had three or four hundred

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 117.
2 Ibid. No. 126, 117, 122.
cannons in his artillery. Ghazi-ud-din, the princes, Rohillas and Pathans had encamped at the river Gambhir with twelve or fourteen thousand force. They had fifty or hundred cannons in their artillery.

Raghunath wrote a letter to Shuja-ud-daula about the disturbances created by Ghazi-ud-din and the Pathans in Doab. He wrote to him to join the Maratha forces sent in Doab to make the arrangement of the enemy. But the Nawab replied that he could not go across immediately as a battle was possible and wrote to Raghunath to meet him immediately. But no letter was written to the Nawab. So there were no chances of any good discussion with him. On the other hand Sadullah Khan and Dundi Rohilla sent a message of friendship to the Nawab and went to meet Safdar Jang who was the brother-in-law of Nawab.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 126, 127.

2 Ibid. No. 127, 130.
Ghazi-ud-din also sent his Vakil Jaswant Rao to Shuja-ud-daula. At the same time the Nawab told the Marathas that he could not cultivate the friendship with Ghazi-ud-din. In the meantime the news was known that Shuja-ud-daula wanted the friendship with the Vazir and went to meet Hafiz Rahmat Khan Rohillah and Ghazi-ud-din.

No agreement of Shuja-ud-daula could be made with the Vazir. The Vazir with the Rohillahs led an expedition against the Nawab. A battle ensued between Ghazi-ud-din and Shuja-ud-daula. Nawab Shuja-ud-daula asked the Marathas to defeat the enemy with their help. Sakhram Bapu and other Marathas were agreed to help the Nawab on the premise that the Nawab will not open the negotiations with the enemy but the Nawab did it. The Emperor sent a farman to the Nawab that he had written to the princes and Ghazi-ud-din not to fight with Nawab.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 128
2 Ibid. No. 130, 131.
3 Ibid. No. 135; also Vol. XXVII, No. 131.
The force sent by Raghunathrao under Ganadhar Yashwant, Vithal Shivdev, Antaji, Tatya and other Maratha Sardars arrived at Agra in about the middle of May. They first came to an agreement with the Jats about the remaining indemnity. On 17th June the Marathas reached at Kasganj crossing the Yamuna under Sakharam Bapu. Hearing about the arrival of a large Maratha army in Doab, Ghazi-ud-din and the Pathans of Farrukhabad left the Maratha posts which they had captured. The Marathas re-established their posts there. Only some posts were in the possession of zamindars and same arrangements were to be made. Ghazi-ud-din and the princes crossed the Yamuna and went across. A battle started between Shuja-ud-daula and the Wazir. The Marathas opposed the Nawab. Therefore the Wazir made the friendship and again came to the Marathas across. On 2nd July Antaji had reached at Anupshahr. A force was sent to Garhmukteshwar.

1 Selections from Peshwa Dafter, Vol. XXI, No. 131, also Vol. II No. 79, 76.
2 Ibid. No. 137.
Maratha force recaptured Sikandrabad. Najib's agents fought with 3000 force two battles at Mirat with the Marathas from 10th to 15th July. But the Rohillahs were defeated. Both the sides suffered heavy losses. Antaji's deputy defeated another Rohillah force of 1000 who was coming to establish Najib's strength at Mirat. The Marathas recaptured Saharanpur, Mirat, Sikandrabad, Shikohabad, Phaphund, Etawah and even Kora and Jahanabad from the hands of the Court of Delhi and Rohillahs.

On 2nd July the Vazir and Ahmad Khan came to meet Antaji to pay their homage. They would meet with him within one or two days.

PLAN WAS MADE TO EJECT NAJIB KHAN OUT OF DELHI

In August 1757 when Abdali had returned from India, the Marathas played an important role

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 163; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.II, P. 99.

2 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XVI No.139, also Vol. II, No. 79.
in Delhi politics. Before his departure Abdali had appointed Najib Khan to the post of Mir Bakhshi. He became very powerful. He was at Delhi and had a force of 15 or 20 thousand.

The Emperor was under his tutelage. The Emperor, had no force. He was merely the figure head.

Najib was left by Abdali as his supreme agent at Delhi. Najib Khan had captured all the crown land in his own hands. The Emperor did not feel his condition better under Najib than Imad. Imad also made friendship with the Marathas after adopting the policy of opposing the Marathas.

Now the Emperor and the Vazir were on the side of the Marathas.

They made a plan to drive Najib out of Delhi with the help of the Marathas and to establish the power of Imad as a Maratha creature. The amount of 13 lakhs fixed for Antaji's troops and half the indemnity which the Imperial government agreed to pay to the Marathas in June 1754 was not paid till now.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. X XI No. 117.
2 Ibid. No. 79
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 101.
Baghunathrao devoted himself towards the affairs of Delhi. The Peshwa's agent at Delhi, Bapu Mahadev Singe returned from Kumbher to Delhi on 7th June. On 15th June the Emperor conferred on him the title of Maharajadhiraj. Thus the Delhi Court left the policy of opposing the Marathas and took their help in driving Najib.

Baghunathrao had despatched a force under Sakharam Bapu from Jaipur to re-establish Maratha posts at Doab and to expel Najib Khan out of Delhi after capturing his country. During the middle of July Sakharam Bapu stationed at Patparganj. By the end of July Baghunath himself marched towards Delhi from Rajputana. On 27th July Shamsher Bahadur arrived at Rewari with the Maratha force and artillery to hold the

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1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 101
2 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI No. 120
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 101.
4 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 79
5 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 192, 198.
place of Bewari to ransom and to capture the Khalisaland there. But on reaching there they found that the Khalisa parganas are not empty. 

"There is the control of Jats in all places. Five or seven villages are held by Kamdar Khan. Kamdar Khan came to the side of the Marathas. The Marathas went to Sempat and Panipat parganas to make the arrangement of Najib Khan." A few parganas were held by the wife of Sitaram Kaliana. Her son came to the side of the Marathas. The Emperor's second son Alijah had arrived at Bewari with his soldiers a few days earlier. On 30th July Shamsheer Bahadur called the prince to meet in a garden and imprisoned him with his women.

By the end of July Baghunath and Walhar had also started from Jaipur. They immediately marched towards Bewari to make the arrangement of the mahal of Ali Bahadur Khan Baluch. Baghunath joined the forces of Shamsheer Bahadur. On 7th August Baghunathrao crossed the Najafgarh Jhil to

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 193, 197.
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 102.
Kharba with artillery. On 11th August Raghunathrao had reached at Khirkiabad and the same day he started attacked on Delhi.

When Abdali had returned from India, Raghunath who was in Jaipur, sent a letter to Najib dated 10th June for the payment of traditional chauth saying that the lands granted to the Marathas in revenge of chauth had been captured by Najib. Raghunath sent forces under Shankar Bapu from Jhansi and under Sakharam Bapu and other leaders from Jaipur to Agra. These forces reached Agra and met Surajmal. They came to an agreement with him about the remaining tribute. Then crossing the Yamuna, the Maratha forces entered Doab and recovered their posts. The Vazir also joined the Marathas.

Then the Maratha forces marched towards Delhi. The people of Delhi from the fort walls

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVI, No. 197; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 102.
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 102.
3 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 79.
saw the Maratha troops on the other side on 16th July. The Marathas plundered the grain which was being carried from Shandara to Delhi. Sakharam Bagu and Tatya Gangadhar had encamped at Patparganj. The communication from Vazirabad to Khizirabad was stopped. The prices of com became very high at Delhi. Najib Ahan with artillery despatched a force for the defence of Doab under the leadership of his brother Afzal Ahan and General Mulla Aman Khan. But when he came to know that the Maratha forces have recaptured their posts in Doab, he ordered his forces to return.

At the same time Najib ordered to his tax collectors in Doab to flee from there. Thus the Marathas recovered their posts in Doab. After the surrender of Doab, Najib sent his troops for the defence of the capital. A number of ditches were dug at Khizirabad for its defence, troops were

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 198.
2 Ibid. No. 192, 198
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 103
4 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 198.
also put there. 2500 Rohillah force with artillery was sent at the fort of Delhi on 21st July under the leadership of Mulla Aman and Qutb Shah for the opposition of Maratha forces.

At last when the news was received that Bhagunathrao has reached near Delhi, the Marathas started crossing the Yamuna by boats near Okhla to go to Delhi. The Marathas encamped at about 20 miles in south of Delhi city.

Najib Khan sent his troops to watch their movements. On 6th August they had a conflict with these some advanced Maratha troops. The Marathas were compelled to return back and suffered losses. Soon a large number of the Marathas again came back and started looting the area near the tomb of Safdar Jang and the Mankhan quarter of Old Delhi. They even plundered the houses at Jaisinghura and the horses of Bapu Bao Hingna. On 4th August Najib Khan

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 103
2 Selections from Peshwa Dafar, Vol. XXVII, No. 198.
sent his envoy Meghraj at Patpatganj to meet the Vazir, Imad and Maratha generals for an agreement. But the Maratha generals asked him that Najib should remove his forces from the fort of Delhi and he himself should go out of Delhi. Najib had no alternative except to fight.

At last Bhagunathrao arrived at Khizirabad with other soldiers. The battle started on 11th August 1757. Sakharam Bapu joined the forces of Bhagunathrao crossing the Doab. Maratha forces were sent into the city of Delhi. A part of the Maratha force went into the old fort and killed Bakhtawar Khan who was the qiladar of Najib there. They moved further and entered Old Delhi and plundered it. Narsinghdas Kayath's son opposed the Marathas with the help of some Rohillah troops. The Marathas drove them out up to the Delhi gate of the city of New Delhi and plundered Old Delhi.

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1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 104.
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 104.
Another Maratha force made an attack on the bank of the river near Javid Khan's garden. A force of 2500 under Qutb Shah was sent by Najib to fight with them. He started firing on the marathas from the Blue Bastion of the wall of the city. At about the evening Qutb Shah went from there to plunder the house of Imad with the order of Najib. 600 men were guarding the house of the Vazir and its gates were closed from inside. Somehow the Rohillahs went inside the house, plundered it and treated the servants and women of Imad very badly. Aqibat Mahmud's brother Saif-ud-din Mohammad Khan appeased Najib and Imad's women were sent to the house of Nagarmal for defence. After this incident no agreement was possible between Najib and Imad. Imad went in the Maratha camp crossing the eastern bank. He met with Malhar and Baghunath to consolidate his alliance with them. Again the next day a Maratha force reached at the bank of the river below the fort but went from there in the evening. Najib's forces fired on them from the Blue Bastion of the city wall.

After this Malhar was sent towards Naima, Sarei Khwajah Basant and outside the city with light
cavalry. All the gates of the city had been closed by Najib and artillery and force were sent there. Grain became very dear at Delhi as the whole supply was stopped. Malhar Holkar, Vithal Shivdev and Baluch encamped at Kashmirigate by the side of the Yamuna and killed a number of people in the way. A large force was collected there. These forces occupied the city including Sabzi Mandi, the Horse Market and Wazirabad. They plundered a number of places in this quarter.

Holkar ordered Manaji Paygade to entrench at Kabulgate: Manaji Paygade went at Kabulgate and asked the turky troops of Sindagh to enter into his service. These troops used to live at Mughalpura. They were unemployed. 4000 musketeers agreed to enter into his service if he gave them money in advance, guns, artillery and other things. The talks with them could not be finalised. The main Maratha force was near Jinsi Topkhanah.

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 105-6.
3 Ibid. No. 136.
The fighting again started on 25th August. Early in the morning a maratha force reached at Qudsia Garden. They had brought some guns also with them there. The Marathas attacked the Rohillahs. There was firing the whole day from the two sides. Many Rohillahs were killed. Marathas captured Qudsia Bagh and Begam Bagh.

Bahadur Khan Baluch encamped at Jafar Garden while Malhar reached near Kashmirigate killing the people. In the night of 25th August Najib Khan had brought his guns in this northern fortified place surrounding by walls. On August 26, by the fire of these guns 700 men of Baluch Khan's force lost their lives.

Now Najib had not more than 2000 men at his credit, with no friend in the city of Delhi. He sent his agent Meghray to Malhar everyday to seek an agreement with the Marathas. The Marathas wanted the resignation of Najib from the post of Mir - Bakhshi, evacuation of the fort and departure

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 194.
to his jagirs and the payment of an indemnity of 50 or 60 lakhs. Najib was not ready to accept these demands of the enemy Baghunath also did not like Najib's negotiations with Malhar.

On 30th August the fighting started again. Baghunathrao started fighting near Delhi Gate while Imad near Lahori Gate. During the night of 29-30 August firing was started by the Marathas from every side of Delhi. "Their cannon balls reached the Hayat Bakhsh Garden, the Diwan-i-Khās, the Diwan-i-Ām, and the imperial wardrobe, within the palace. Two bastions of the Delhi Gate were demolished. The 31st also passed in this kind of artillery attack from all sides of the city ....... 

The Rohillahs made an attack from the Lahore Gate and removed the supporters of Imad and Ahmed Bangash from there. They plundered the Tobacco Mart. They made another attack from Turkomangate. In this attack the few soldiers of Dilel Singh, who was the Diwan of Imad, lost their lives.

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1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 107
2 Ibid., P. 107
3 Ibid. PP. 107-108.
Now the number of Rohillahs in Delhi was very few. There was a great shortage of grain in the city. There were only a few supporters of Najib. Vithal Shivdev made captive Najib Khan with all his supporters. The Emperor gave him Khilat with the title of Imad-ul-mulk. A jagir near Nasik was also given to him. 1 On 1st and 2nd August efforts were made to establish peace. Malhar Holkar persuaded Imad and Bhagunathrao for an agreement with Najib. At last Najib Khan agreed to go to Malhar. 2 On 3rd September he sent a letter with Abdul Ahmad Khan to Malhar Holkar with the following message:

(1) I am your (adopted) son and I shall act as you bid me. You have done me many favours and it is not proper that you should (now) bare your sword against me. If you say so, I shall go away across the Yamuna, and you can entrust Delhi and the Empire to the control of whomsoever you please.

(2) Bid me and I shall go to Abdali Shah and arrange a peace between you by delimiting

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 108
2 Ibid. P. 108.
your respective boundaries, which would be respected in future by both parties, so that there might not be war again.

(3) I shall depute my son Zabita Khan to serve you with a contingent of 5 or 7 thousand men, as a proof of my fidelity.

(4) If you do not agree to these terms but are bent on fighting me, I shall write the Par Ruhillas and others and give you a good battle. He will rule the whole realm when God gives the victory.

In the evening of 3rd September Najib visited Holkar in his camp at Qudsiabad. Holkar agreed for the terms proposed by Najib Khan.

The Emperor was hateful to Najib. He liked Ghazi-ud-din more than Najib. Najib Khan requested repeatedly to Malhar to save him from death and dishonour. Najib promised that he will try to fulfill

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the Maratha interests. The author of Seir-
mutaQherin says, "And both the Emperor Alemgir
and Nadjib-ed-dowlah, alias Nedjib Khan, his
minister, were going to fall in his hands, when
the latter sent, mighty bribe to Malhar, who from
that moment assumed the Character of mediator, and
proposed an accommodation. Meanwhile having brought
Nedjib-ed-dowlah from the citadel, with both his
family, furniture, and effects, he lodged him close
to his own quarters." 2

Holkar made requests from Raghunathrao to
allow Najib to go to his country. He also told him
to take the services of Najib in establishing strong
Maratha control over Delhi, its neighbouring places
and Benaras and Beyond. Raghunathrao accepted
the request of Holkar. He allowed Najib to go to
his country which included the places of Saharenpur,
Chandpaur, the whole territory of Farr and other

1 New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, PP. 396-97
2 Seir-mutaQherin, Vol. III, P. 364
3 New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, P. 397
places like Boadys and Medina. Najib promised that he will not make any interference in the matters of Delhi. He will give his fortified places to the Marathas in Doab.

Najib went from Delhi on 6th September.

All the supporters of Najib were released. The fort was emptied by the Rohillah soldiers. The communication again started from the ferries over the Yamuna and supply again started from the other side of the Yamuna. Ahmad Shah was put on the throne as the Emperor by Bagunath Rao. Ghazi-ud-din was confirmed in the post of Vazir.

3 Ibid. P. 397; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 108.
5 Ibid. P. 109.
The office of Mir-Bakhshi was bestowed upon 1 Ahmad Khan Bangash in place of Najib. Maratha troops were stood on the gates of Delhi as its protectors.

After the departure of Najib, Ghazi-ud-din, the Vazir, took the control of all the affairs of the administration of the country in his own hands. The posts of Kiladar of the palace fort, superintendent of the private audience, Emperor's Peshkar and canal's superintendent were filled by the people of Ghazi-ud-din in place of the officers of Najib. Holkar was sent the robes of honour by the Emperor to appoint the new officers according to his own will. Such appointed officers went into the camp of Baghunath to pay their respect to him. Antaji was given the post of Imperial faujdar of Delhi and surrounding places.

As Delhi was captured by the Marathas, an agreement was made. A Maratha force of five thousand was to remain at Delhi. 13 lakhs rupees was fixed as the tribute to be paid to the Marathas from Delhi for the maintenance of these troops. Though Antaji asked the Peshwa for the tribute of 15 lakhs from Delhi due to the rising prices.

After the expulsion of Najib from Delhi, the condition of Delhi did not improve. During the war with Najib, many places and bastions were destroyed by Maratha artillery. There was a great shortage of grain in the city. Prices increased very high. Theft and robbery became very common due to the breakdown of the Imperial administration.

When Baghunath was engaged in fighting with Najib at Delhi, he had a danger that the forces of Abdali which were in Punjab, would defend Najib.

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as he was their ally. So Baghunath wrote letters to the Peshwa to despatch Dattaji Sindia towards north to join him. At the same time he wrote the Peshwa to tell Dattaji that he should be careful that if Abdali was returning to attack or not.

A Maratha officer named Manaji Paygade roved from Delhi to Thaneshwar to see the arrival of any Afghan force from Sarhind for the help of Najib.

The Marathas left the affairs of Delhi to be managed by Imad-ul-mulk. On 18th September, 1757, Holkar and Baghunath marched from Barari-Ghat towards the west of the Hills of Basi. Here they released Prince Ali Jah who had been imprisoned. They sent him to Musa Khan Baluch to collect the tribute from the land which was in his possession in Rohtak District. Musa Khan paid him tribute through

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 82; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 110
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 110
3 Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan, translated by Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, P. 266; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 3.
his manager Satbhami and took Ijara with the signature of Maratha chief for the control of the villages. The Maratha officer Raghunath and Malhar decided to attack Punjab to take its control from the men of Abdali. But when they came to know that Abdus Samad Khan, the faujdar appointed by Abdali in Sarhind, had collected a large force to oppose them and the son of Najib also met with him as he was driven out of Saharanpur and Upper Doab by the Marathas, Raghunath dropped the plan thinking that they were unable to face the troops of Abdali.

With the help of Abdali troops Qutb Shah, a supporter of Najib Khan had driven the Marathas out of Saharanpur District early in 1757 and taken its possession. But in the month of May the supporters of Vazir Kamgar and Bahadurkhan Baluch had defeated Qutub Shah in the pargana of Gohana and compelled him to retreat to Kainana, himself wounded and with destroyed forces.

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 3
2 Ibid. P. 3
Baghunath devoted about four months for the management of the matters at Delhi. They left Antaji and Krishna Aale at Delhi. On 22nd October Baghunath with Malhar crossed the Yamuna at Khizirabad withdrawing their troops from Delhi and surrounding places and marched in Doab. After crossing Hindan on 26th November they laid their camp on its east bank. After six days, Baghunathiao went to Garhmukhteshwar, levying tribute and plundering the villages on the way, to make the arrangement of the administration in the places yielded by Najib and to have a bathe in the sacred river Ganges.

The Maratha force under Malhar - Holkar, Vithal Pant, Paygude, Janardan Ram and others went to take the hold of Doab. They marched by way of Luni, Baghpot, Baraut and Saharanpur District. They collected the tribute of 20,000 rupees at Baghpot and 17,000 rupees as ransom from Baraut.

1 New History of the marathas, Vol. II, P. 398
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 111-112.
Renkoji Apaji and other Maratha Sardars drove Mutub Shah out of Saharanpur who was the deputy of Najib. They took the possession of Saharanpur. The Maratha forces marched up to the foot of the Himalayas. The Rohillas Najib and his family crossed the Ganges and went on its other bank which was their native place. The Marathas badly plundered the district of Saharanpur and its surrounding villages and towns. A number of men were killed at Jhunjhana at the time of Maratha plunder.

The Maratha army under Malhar moved from Saharanpur and crossing the river Yamuna at Hamraghat plundered Kamal and Tilauri. In the month of January 1756, the Maratha force arrived at Kunjpura. They demanded the tribute from its commander Najabat Khan. Najabat Khan surrendered before him and agreed for the payment of five lakhs, three lakhs to Malhar and the remaining two lakhs


2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 111-12.
to Ahmad Bangash and Dilel Singh, the Diwan of the Vazir. Malhar Holkar again crossed the Yamuna with Ahmad Bangash and reached Saharanpur by the end of January.

Baghunath joined Malhar and taking their forces from Doab and leaving same part of this way for the Vazir, decided to conquer Punjab. The Maratha forces crossed the Yamuna from Saharanpur and marched towards Sarhind, plundering Thaneshwar on the way. In March the Marathas arrived at Sarhind on the invitation of Adina Beg Khan, the Mughal governor of Jalandar Doab, to protect his territory and people from the invasion and atrocities of Abdali's son Timur Shah, the Governor of Punjab.

When the Marathas had gone from Delhi, Najib Khan again captured his posts of Baraut, Saharanpur and other places. Najib did not pay
the tribute of five lakhs which he had agreed to pay on 3rd September 1757. The Vazir had agreed to pay the jagir of five lakhs to Vithal Pant in Qazi-ud-din had appointed return for help in capturing Najibs districts, the son of Vithal Pant the faujdar of Saharanpur in place of Najib and put into confinement the brother and the Diwan Meghraj of Najib at Salimgarh in May 1756. Seven lakhs of rupees the Vazir agreed to pay after same time.

In the month of January 1758, after the return of Malhar from Kunjpura, Malhar's women went for a religious bath to Thaneshwar and Kurukshetra, the troops Abdus Samad Khan, Abdali's faujdar of Sarhind, laid siege of them at Shabad but the Maratha troops fought with them. Many of the Afghans were killed and the Marathas captured their horses.

The Maratha force reached at Sarhind in March 1758. They besieged Sarhind. Their troops

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, Letter No. 224, 225, Also Vol. XXI, Letter No. 159; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 112.
2 Selection from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, Letter No. 224.
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 51
were spread all over the district, plundered the villages and captured them. The Marathas fought a battle with Abdus Samad Khan, Abdali's faujdar of Sarhind. Abdus Samad Khan and Janghaaz Khan and others were wounded and imprisoned on 21st March. Bakhunathrao got the victory. The Marathas plundered Sarhind city and captured it. Then the Maratha force marched to Lahore where Jahan Khan, the general of Abdali, was present with twenty thousand force and with Timur Shah, the son of Abdali and the governor of Lahore. After thinking themselves unable to fight with marathi troops, Jahan Khan and Timur Shah decided to take flight. The troops under Manaji Paygude, Gangadhar Baji Rao and Gopalrao Ganesh were sent abroad from the bank of the river Bhas. They fought a battle. Being nervous, Jahan Khan and Timur Shah saved their lives crossing the Chenab river leaving his troops, entire camp, baggage and heavy guns into the hands of the enemy, the Marathas and their Punjabi allies. The Maratha forces plundered the Afghan troops, heavy guns etc. near the river. The Marathas crossed the river Chenab through the
river was too deep to be forded due to flood. The forces of Abdali were saved from complete destruction. The Maratha troops followed Timurshah up to the river Attock and then returned to Lahore. Lahore was conquered on 10th April, 1758. Baghunathrao lived in Punjab for a month. He appointed Adina Beg Khan his governor in the province of Punjab and Jalandar Doab as he had an old friendship with the Sikhs and had the experience to govern this territory. Adina Beg agreed to pay 75 lakhs rupees as the annual tribute for Punjab to the Marathas. The Maratha chiefs decided to march to Deccan with their forces. They marched again towards Delhi and reached Sonapat on 14th June collecting tribute and plundering the villages.

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on the way. On 6th June, Raghunath took bath at Thaneshwar. In August he left Novlai, thirty two miles South - west of Ujjain, for Mandleshwar ghat on the Narmada and reached there on 19th August. He crossed the Kesari Ghat and reached Poona on 16th September. Raghunath and Malhar separately marched towards Deccan by way of Rajputana collecting the tribute from every villages on the way. At Kota, they met with Jankoji and Dattaji Sindia who were coming to north. In the month of September on 16th Raghunath arrived at Poona.


Some Marathi letters as Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 88, 89; Vol. XXVII, No. 150, 156, 226, 229; Vol. XXI No. 1567, 157, 168 tell us that though Raghunath was requested from different quarters to not to move for Deccan immediately but to stay near Delhi to make his arrangements stable or to stay in the north upto the arrival of Dattaji and Jankoji and he was also informed that Najib was trying to call Abdali to India for the protection of Muslim interests from Marathas but Raghunath did not take care of it and marched towards Deccan without going to Delhi in the way. Also New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, P. 402.
PLANS OF IMAD AGAINST ALI GAUHAR

After the expulsion of Najib from Delhi by the Marathas and Imad, the whole administration of the Empire came in the hands of Imad. Before the Vazir could reach Delhi, the Prince Ali Gauhar had been sent out of Delhi by the Emperor and Najib as they had no confidence in the ideas of Imad.

Ali Gauhar was given the districts of Hansi, Dudjar, Cherradery and others which were under the Khalisa land till now. He was given the right to fix the revenue and arrange the administration in these districts. But when the Vazir returned to Delhi, he asked the Emperor to call back the prince in any way possible. Ali Gauhar had no other alternative except to return to the Capital - Delhi. But at the time of his return, the Maratha commander met him at Najafgarh Jhil.

2 Ibid. P. 365
3 Ibid. P. 365-366.
Vithal Shivdev was ordered to go to Patna but instead of going there he encamped at Sikandra coming to Delhi and started plundering the places out of the city. He had put into confinement the Emperor’s son who had gone out for hunting.

On 26th March Ali Gauhar gave tribes to Vithal Shivdev and asked him for help with his troops. Vithal suggested Ali Gauhar not to go to Delhi but to win over the territory surrounding Delhi. He also agreed to help the prince with his contingent in this work. Ali Gauhar was agreed with this idea. He occupied some places near Delhi crossing the Yamuna with Vithal Shivdev.

When Imad came to know about this he had despatched his troops to bring out the prince by any means but his forces were defeated. Imad was


2 Ibid. P. 366; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 116-117.
very much perplexed. All the other princes had been imprisoned in the fort by Imad and communication in the fort was stopped from outside. Imad was afraid that the fort of Delhi could also be snatched from his possession with the help of the Marathas so he put Intizam-ud-daula in the fort to keep his eyes on him.

At the same time Imad opened negotiations with Vithal through the medium of Dilel Singh. He asked Vithal Shivdev not to support the Imperial prince. Imad agreed to pay a jagir of five lakhs to Imad. Imad also agreed that Ali Gauhar will be given his jagirs. On 21st April Vithal Shivdev and Ali Gauhar came back to Sikandra. They had looted the territory from Bulandshahr to Khizribad. Vithal Shivdev changed his mind and asked the prince to repair at Delhi. He also withdrew his hands from cooperating him. Ali Gauhar came back

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 116-117.
2 Selections from Rashwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 224; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 117, Sarkar mentions this amount 6 lakhs.
On 14th May and stayed in the palace of Ali Mardan Khan with his small number of troops and followers. Vithal Shivdev laid his camp at Qudsiaabagh which is in the north of Kashmiri Gate.

Imad collected a large number of armed troops with the excuse that he is going on a pilgrimage to Shah Nizam-ud-din's shrine. But on 19th May he sent the force of about ten or twelve thousands to lay the siege of the palace of Ali Mardan. Imad ordered to imprison the prince and his followers. The battle started. Vazir's troops started firing and killed a large number of people. The prince with his few followers marched towards the back of the mansion. The Vazir's troops pursued them. On 20th May the prince continued his flight and took the shelter in the camp of Vithal Shivdev at Tal Katora. Vithal respectfully

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2 *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 117
brought the prince in his camp and gave them every facility. The Maratha troops had driven Gauhar's enemies back. On 21st May, the Vazir gave Vithal the small money and a part of plunder. Vithal Shivdev with Ali Gauhar moved from north Delhi towards Heratbad which is a Baluch country. The Zamindar of this country Musa Khan respected the prince and gave him three lakhs of rupees.

In the first half month of June the prince with Vithal Shivdev went in the places of Barrukhnaar, Rewari, Nahre and Dadri etc. He looted and collected taxes at many villages. Baghunath had agreed to help Imad against Ali Gauhar or Shah-Alam. So on 16th June 1756 Vithal Shivdev returned from there at the call of Baghunath leaving the prince.

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 118
4 Ibid. p. 369; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 119-120.
In February 1756 Jankoji Sindia and in May Dattaji started for the north from Poona. In the month of March Jankoji reached Ujjain. He stayed there for a few weeks and then marched towards Kotah. In the month of July Jankoji had a meeting with Raghunath. Raghunath told him the situation at Delhi and Punjab and asked him to go to Delhi immediately for the defence of the capital and doab territory and for the work of each. In the month of August Jankoji met Malhar. Both of them decided to do the work and marched towards Jaipur.

The Vazir called Malhar and Jankoji to settle the matter of Shahpur. They settled the matter of

1 Seir-Mutagberin, Vol. III, P. 363;
3 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI No. 162
Shahpur for four lakhs and moved abroad. Antaji also wrote a letter to the Peshwa to write Jankoji that he should not move towards Marwar but march towards Delhi to settle the matter of Mohillas and to do the work of the Punjab and to settle the matters with Adina Beg and the east. Antaji himself had to march to Bengal with the Emperor and the Vazir for the protection of Maratha interests there. In the month of June 1766 Dattaji arrived at Ujjain and had a meeting with Baghunath and Malhar who were going back from north. Dattaji encamped at Roopnagar thinking about how to collect the money to lessen the debt of Peshwa. Jankoji made the arrangements in Kota and Marwar.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 96
3 Ibid. Vol. XII, No. 162.
5 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 236.
Borth Dattaji and Jankoji joined at Rewari in the month of November 1756. Then they marched towards Delhi and reached at Najafgarh on 26th December 1756. They were entrusted the work of making the arrangement of the Rohillas, of the defence of Punjab, the work of occupying the sacred Hindu places and to collect the money to lessen the debt of the Peshwa.

Dattaji informed that the Peshwa has appointed him the Subahdar of Agra in place of Malhar and required tribut from Delhi otherwise threatened for plunder. Imad appointed guards for the protection of the gates of Delhi and to not to allow the Marathas to enter Delhi. The people of Old Delhi protected themselves in Shahjahan's city. The Vazir Imad wanted to enter into an agreement with Dattaji and was ready for the payment of seven or eight lakhs on the promise


of Dattaji not to enter Delhi and to go direct to Punjab without taking a round of Delhi. The Maratha army under Dattaji arrived at Barari Ghat, about ten miles in the north of the city on 4th January and on 6th Imad discussed with Dattaji for a long time here. After a few days some Marathi soldiers plundered him and the territory round it after crossing over to the eastern bank of Yamuna. On the request of Imad to avoid hostilities Dattaji recalled these soldiers.

Dattaji sent a large army in Saharenpur District, the jagir of Najib and ordered them not to plunder any place on their way. Dattaji reached on the southern side near the northern gate of Delhi and denied to meet the Vazir and said guly words for him. The Vazir made the arrangements for the protection of the city better than earlier and sent artillery to face the invaders. The Maratha troops reached Shahdara and plundered the villages in the north-west of Delhi. The rich people of Shahdara had fled away from there. In
some places many villagers captured mares and bullocks of lonely Marathi soldiers.

On 19th January the Marathas established their quarters at Takia Majnun from Barari-Chat. A large force reached near Alai-Pahari from here and made attacks on the post of Phatak Misri Khan and Jinsi Top Khanah. Here the Imperial troops were compelled to retreat after defeat and severe loss. The Maratha soldiers followed them upto the gate of the city and put to fire the carriage of the largest Imperial cannon. They sacked Sarai Bihela and other many places outside the gate of Delhi. The traders and merchants had collected a vast quantity of grain in these places. These activities of the Marathas continued for four days. The troops of the Vazir defeated and destroyed many small Maratha forces. On 23rd January Battaji Sindia despatched Antaji, Purushottam Hingane and other Marathas to negotiate with Vazir but they failed. Within the time of these three or four days, the store of food was complete finished in Maratha camp. There was no supply of grain as the traders did not bring it due to the
terror of the Marathas. About nine or ten
Maratha soldiers reached Gaziabad after crossing
the Yamuna. The people living there opposed
the Marathas with heavy guns and matchlocks.
The Marathas reached at Dasna, which was in
possession of the Vazir and plundered it. They
looted grain and sent it to their camp near Delhi.
The Vazir asked Dattaji to order to stop this
plunder as both of them were engaged in peace
negotiation. Dattaji recalled these troops. On
29th January the Maratha force crossed the Yamuna
again and marched towards Shahdara and Patparganj.
The Vazir sent forces for the protection of markets
in these places but the Marathas plundered some
traders on the way who were bringing grain to Delhi.
On 30th an agreement was made with the Vazir about
the payment of money which the Vazir had to pay.
On 1st February the Vazir marched towards north
and Delhi was pacified.

1 Wall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 142-144;
Selections from Peshwa Baitar, Vol. XXI No. 163;
ARRANGEMENTS OF SINDIAS IN PUNJAB

Adina Beg, whom Bahunath had given the viceroyalty of Punjab, died on 13th October, 1758. Disorder arose there. Imad, the Vazir wanted to capture the property of Adina Beg for the state at the time when Bahunathrao was returning back towards Deccan. Bahunath sent a force from Malwa in Nov. 1758 and this force checked the Vazir from doing this. Ahwajah Mirza Khan, the son of Adina Beg was ruling at in Lahore province as Subahdar. The Governor could not face the Sikhs who were permanent rebels and plunderers. One after another, a number of Maratha forces arrived at Lahore and its districts and these forces succeeded in recovering their posts. But no strong Maratha Commander was posted with Abdus Samad Khan at Peshawar for its protection as it was the Trans-Indus gateway of India in the north west. The Peshwa wanted that Malhar should

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be left at Lahore and sent orders for it but
Raghunath rao and malhar thought that Dattaji
would arrive after some time there and make the
permanent arrangement. They thought that their
temporary arrangement could continue for the time
upto the arrival of Dattaji without any difficulty.

There was Qizib.ash captain in the force
of Timur who were the enemy of Khwajah Mirza. They
formed a union with the marathas and Mirza Ahmed
Khan, a leading captain declared himself Subahdar
of Lahore and another Salih Khan made himself
Subahdar of Lahore and another Salih khan made
himself Subahdar of Multan. They imprisoned
Khwajah Mirza and his brother Khwajah Said Khan on
the payment of a cash sum to the Marathas and on
the promise of the payment of more money. When the
Peshwa came to know about all these disturbances
in Punjab and the violation of the interests of
Marathas there, he despatched a large force under
Dattaji, an able commander, towards the province
of Lahore. On 1st February 1759 Dattaji marched

1 New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, P. 400-401
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 55-56.
from Delhi towards Lahore. In a letter dated 21.3.1759 it has been mentioned Jankoji Sindia and Dattaji Sindia at Kamal, at 60 Kos distance from Delhi with the idea of marching towards Lahore. By the first week of the month of April 1759 these generals arrived at the eastern bank of Sutlej. For about eight or ten days they stayed at the bank of Sutlej. Dattaji continued the arrangements made by Baghunathrao at Sarhind etc. Adina Beg had died but his wife and son came to meet him and paid some amount of money which his father had to pay as a tribute to him. Dattaji Sindia sent Sabaji Sindia to Lahore with a large force to hold the governorship of

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2 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XLI, No. 169.
3 Ibid. No. 171 Dated 15.4.1759.
Lahore province, as he had already subdued the territory upto the Indus. In Marathi letter dated 2nd May 1759 it has been written that Sahaji Patil was sent to Lahore province but he was recalled from Lahore by Jankoji and Naro Shankar was sent for the work of Lahore Province but in fact we find Sahaji holding the province of Punjab as its governor till the expulsion of Marathas in October 1760. Sardesai in his book - 'New History of the Marathas' Vol. II, P. 404 says that the name of Naro Shankar was suggested by the Peshwa for the governorship of Punjab. Dattaji was also agreed with this but Naro Shankar was not interested to hold the governorship without the written orders of the Peshwa. Dattaji also realized the need to post permanently a most able Maratha Sardar at Lahore but he thought that the Peshwa would do it


2 Ibid. No. 100; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 56.
afterwards. Dattaji could not remain in Punjab as he had to perform other works also and there was no news about the invasion of Abdali. After making the arrangements in Punjab Dattaji and Jankoji returned back from Machhiwara in May to Delhi without crossing the Sutlej.

In a letter dated 6.8.1759 Dattaji Sindia wrote to the Peshwa that he was ordered to make the arrangement of the Vazir and Najib Khan and he was ordered to go to the east and Bengal to collect the tribute to lessen the debt and to do the work of Bengal going with the Vazir there. If the Vazir was not ready to go there then Dattaji was ordered to perform the work of the east with the help of Shuja-ud-daula. Dattaji informed Peshwa that he marched from Sutlej according to the order. He wrote that he has decided to go to the east and would go to Delhi to take the Vazir for going to the east with him. If the Vazir would accept his

demands that he should give the fort of Prayag, the sanad of Kashi and the Sarkar of Patna and whatever money would be received from these places the Vazir should take six annas and Dattaji ten annas out of a rupee and would give sanad for these, then he would go with the Vazir. Otherwise he would go to the east and perform the work of Peshwa in the east by putting pressure on Shuja-ud-daula. He decided to camp in the east and to do the work of Bengal during the rainy season. Shuja-ud-daula had not given the Amal work of Kashi though Sanad was given.

Najib Khan's Vakil made an agreement with Dattaji that he would go with him towards east with his force. Dattaji wrote to the Peshwa that if Najib would come with his force at the time of his crossing the Yamuna then it was good otherwise Dattaji decided to go to the east after making the arrangement of Najib. It would take time and some difference would happen in the work. There would be little time to go across the Ganges therefore Dattaji decided to take Najib with himself. He
decided to go to Doab to look after the country there and then he decided to go to the country of Shuja-ud-daula making a bridge on the Ganges. After capturing the land and zamindars there Dattaji decided to make the arrangements according to the situation. He wrote that he was himself very much worried about the debts. He wrote that all the debt would be finished from the money which would be captured in the east.

The Sindias returned towards Delhi from Punjab in May 1759. They crossed the Yamuna river at Bamera Ghat and stayed at Shamli and started negotiating with Vazir. By the end of May Dattaji marched south to Bhopat and asked Najib to meet him. Najib agreed to help the Marathas with his


2 Panipatcha Bansangram, PP. 142, 143, 149; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 104; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 144-145.
force in their invasion of Bihar via Oudh on the condition that the Sindias would regard the territory of Najib. Dattaji wanted to put his control over Najib as he had the idea of removing the weak Vazir Imad and hold the administration of the Empire in his own hands to collect the tribute regularly. He sent a warning to the Vazir through Antaji and Abdul Ahad Khan on 1st June to leave his post of Vazir and to give the administration in the hands of Dattaji due to the reason that Imad, the wazir was incompetent for the administration of the Empire and his companions had stolen the public money. Dattaji was ready to fight if the Vazir refused for it. The Vazir saved Delhi from attack by promising a bond for the payment of indemnity after a few days if Dattaji returned back from Bagpat.

There were no prospects of friendship between Najib Khan and Dattaji. Najib actually did not want

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 104; Panipatcha Bansangram, P. 143; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 144-145.
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 144-145.
to go with his force to help Dattaji in his Bihar expedition as the greedy Marathas could easily reach in his territory of Upper Doab. A letter dated 4.6.1759 shows that Govind Ballal reached near Sikandra from Doab with the idea of coming to the Sardars. It was the post of Najib. Govind Ballal wrested this post from Najib's agents and established his post there and made the arrangements. When Najib heard this news he marched from Mirpur and reached at Gulawati, a place near Hapur. Govind Pant also reached near Hapur. There was a distance of five or six kos between them. Antaji induced Dattaji that the tribute from this Mahal was for the Peshwa and as Govind Pant had created disturbance there how Najib would pay the tribute and asked Dattaji to write a letter to Govind Pant not to create disturbances in the pargana of Najib whose services he proposed to utilize. Letters were sent to Govind Pant for this purpose.  

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 145.

plans of the Marathas in Doab. He was also afraid that as he had not given his jagirs to Dattaji and refused for it, he was making a plan for an attempt to arrest him during the time of a friendly meeting. A personal meeting was arranged between Dattaji and Najib through the mediation of Govindpant but it was useless. Najib Khan went alone into the camp of Dattaji but before the beginning of the talks, some of the Najib's chief followers went in the tent and brought Najib outside with the doubt that Najib's life was in danger. Now the negotiations were started through the medium of agents. Sujanrao and Meghradj Vakil came to Govind Pant. An agreement was made between them. The Vazir sent Karkun Balaji Pant near Dattaji to bring Govind Pant. He brought Govind Pant to Delhi. He reached at Bajghat and after a day Jalaluddin Khan, Dilel Singh and Mehdiguli Khan went across and brought him. Govind Pant met with Nawab Vazir Ghaziuddin. They talked for one hour.

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One Vazir gave Govind Pant Khilat, Jawahar, two
Rokma and a horse and gave Khilat and Jawahir
to his three sons and to the people who accompanied
him. After this they went in the tent. A second
meeting was also to happen between them.

Najib Khan agreed to build a bridge of boats
to assist Dattaji and his troops in crossing the
Ganges. Najib came back to Saharanpur from
Shamli and Dattaji marched towards Mirat and made
an attack on a fort constructed by Jeta Gujar near
Mirat. A large number of soldiers placed in the
fort for defence were fled from there. After this
Dattaji laid his camp close to the native place of
Barha Sayyids by the end of June. Barha Sayyids were the enemies of the Rohillahs.
Dattaji demanded the cessation of some paragnas of
Saharanpur from Najib. Najib denied for it and

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 102
2 Ibid, Vol. II, No. 104; New History of the
Marathas, Vol. II, P. 405; Panipatcha Hansangram,
P. 148.
was ready for the payment of the fixed tribute on the condition that the Marathas would evacuate his territory. Dattaji was not ready for it and sent his troops to capture the posts of Najib. The Rohillah agents fled from there without fighting and an open war was started finally.

The work of building a bridge was given to Jait Singh Gujar who was a Zamindar of Shukartal and surrounding territory and was thought to be an expert. Dattaji with Jankoji Sindia crossed the Yamuna and marched against Najib. Imad-ul-mulk, the Vazir, also marched from Delhi to help Dattaji. The Marathas fell on the country of Najib. Najib Khan considered himself unable to face the enemy in an open war as the strength of Maratha troops was about 80,000 horses. Najib Khan took defence at a difficult post of Shukartal in Doab on the bank

of river Ganges by the end of June 1759 and prepared himself to face the enemy. As Najib Khan did not construct a bridge for Dattaji, Dattaji thought that it would be useless to fight from this side of the Ganges so he went to the north side of Shukartal and crossing the Ganges, Dattaji brought his force across the Ganges and encamped at some distance from Najib. He started destroying the territory there, burnt the villages, plundered the cities and killed the people. Najib sent his force to face the Sindia and the skirmishes continued. The skirmishes and exchange of gunfire between Marathas and the forces of Najib continued for about four months. The whole place had become muddy and impassable due to the heavy rains. Najib took the advantage of this situation. Najib Khan despatched his personal secret agents to Nawab Shuja-ud-daula, the Rohilla Princes & Hafiz Bahmat Khan, Sadullah Khan and Dundi Khan etc. and to

Afghanistan. He informed Ahmad Shah Abdali about the situation of Delhi and Shukartal and about the position of Sindias and called him to India. He told Shuja-ud-daula that after rainy season the Marathas would cross the Ganges and attack on Rohilkhand. They would conquer or destroy Rohilkhand and then they would march towards the east and take the country of Oudh and Allahabad from you. If Shuja would assist Najib in his difficulties, he would become Vazir and regain Mughal Empire's prestige. Najib asked Shuja to march for his help immediately and to join him.

On 15th September a great clash occurred between Marathas and the forces of Najib. The Buhela fighters were reached in the lines of Marathas. Dattaji sent a small force to face them. He himself tried to stop the retreat of the Rohillas with the help of seven thousand selected cavalry. Najib Khan

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came to know about this and sent the Ruhela infantry amounting ten thousand in a concealed place in a dry Nala bordering the way of Dattaji's march. The Ruhela troopers returned to their entrenches and the Marathas pursued them. Dattaji reached on the scene with Deccani force who had long swords and spears. At the arrival of the Marathas there, Rohillah artillery opposed them, they retreated towards the nala. Two thousand musketeers were sent against them. A large number of soldiers were killed in Dattaji's force and there were heaps of corpses. At this time a Ruhela took reins of Jankoji in one hand and attacked violently with his sword on him. The arm of Jankoji was wounded. But the invader was killed and Jankoji returned safely. The Barha Sayyids also fought with courage from the side of the Marathas but most of them were killed. About five hundred Marathi troopers and a number of good horses lost their lives. Fifty troopers were killed on Najib's side and one hundred were wounded. Being failed in his tactics Dattaji returned to his camp and
stopped further attacks but slight skirmishes remained continued.

Shuja-ud-daula was very much impressed with Najib and thought about his critical position. He decided to face the enemy. The rainy season was at its height and the roads could not be passed due to mud. Shuja marched from Lucknow and encamped at Shahabad as his could not join Najib at Shukartal due to the overflow of the river Ganges. Shuja could join Najib only after the rainy season.

Dattaji Sindia came to know about the arrival of Shuja and as soon as the rains had finished and the Ganges became fordable, Dattaji Sindia sent Govind Pant Bundele on about 20th October with twenty thousand cavalry and foot to cross the Ganges near Hardwar and to destroy the whole Rohilkhand. Govind Pant crossed the Ganges and spread in whole Rohilkhand territory. They burnt and plundered about thirteen hundred villages.


from Chandpur down to Amrsa. Najib had constructed a bridge of boats for the supply of rice etc. there. The marathas went up to the bridge and destroyed two boats of the bridge. They marched towards Sambalgarh, a fort. Having known about the arrival of the maratha force, all the people within this fort started retiring from there. The force of the Sindias continued fighting and marched further. Having seen this the Rohillah Princes Sadullah Khan, Dundi Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Zabita Khan with five or seven thousand force came to face the marathas who were preparing to move for the help of Najib Khan. After a clash this group of Khans returned back to Jalalbad as there lived Najib's family and those of his followers and their property. The marathas besieged this place and continued the siege for four days. During the clash the marathas captured an elephant, a cart of arrows, camels and horses. With this sudden attack of the marathas, the Afghans found themselves unable

to face the large force and took shelter in the Kumaon hills.

Hafiz Bahmat Khan tried to decide terms but Najib was not ready to leave Shukartal to defend his home. Due to this Govind Pandit had cut off the supply of provisions to Shukartal and grain became very dear and the besieged used to eat peas boiled whole. The Afghans were worried for the defence of their families left in the plundered villages and were very much disappointed.

When Shuja-ud-daula came to know about this disaster, he marched rapidly with his troops in October - November 1759. He reached at Chandpur, near the place where Najib was stationed. Najib who had lost all his hopes of being freed from his situation became hopeful hearing the news of Shuja's arrival. Shuja had captured some runners of the Maratha army. He could do nothing more as

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2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, Pp.148-149.
he marched to Holavah, a place which is at five Kos distance from Chandpur. He came to know there that his enemies had plundered some of his sutlers. As Govind Pandit had cut-off the supply of provisions, Shuja sent his two commanders Anupgir Gosain and Umraogir Gosain with ten thousand force to punish the Marathas. On 3rd November, Shuja sent Mirza Najaf Khan Bahadur, Mir Bakar Himmati and others with 10 thousand cavalry, consisting of Mughals and others to attack the camp of Govind Pandit. These leaders fought bravely and succeeded in routing the enemy. Anupgir Gosain massacred a number of Marathas and about one hundred were captured alive. The victors plundered a large amount of booty, valuable goods, horses, cattles etc. The Maratha General Govind Pandit took flight from the field of battle and reached at the ford. He had crossed there Ganges before some time. In utter confusion they missed the ford and a large number of his people were drowned in the Ganges. The remaining took flight towards north leaving all their provisions,
baage and spoils behind and took shelter in the camp of Dattaji. The next day in the morning Shuja moved forward and this news spread everywhere even into the ears of the Afghans into the forests of Kumaon. They moved from there and joined Shuja-ud-daula. These two armies moved towards Shukartal and released Najib-ud-daula from his miseries. The Afghans were familiar from the military strength of the Marathas and thought it proper to enter in peace negotiations with Dattaji and Jankoji. On 4th November peace negotiations were started. No agreement could be made as the news was heard of the arrival of Ahmad Shah Abdali upto Lahore. Dattaji refused to conclude the preliminaries of peace. He left the peace negotiation and marched along the route to Delhi with the idea of fighting with Abdali.

Ahmad Shah Abdali sent his envoy Yaqub Ali Khan to negotiate the terms with the Marathas as he wanted to make a compromise with them and to end the confusion. In a letter dated year 1759 the writer asked the Peshwa his order to meet him with Yaqub Ali Khan. In another letter dated 11.11.1759 it has been mentioned that the envoy of Abdali reached Delhi from Kabul. Abdali sent orders to Yaqubali Khan, Najib Khan, Baja Madho Singh and to Baja Vijay Singh that he had made preparation to come to Hindustan and collected forces and is reaching soon. He enquired the news about the Emperor, Rohillahs, Peshwa, Shahalam, Shuja-ud-daula, Vazir, Surajmal and Najib Khan etc., from Yaqubali Khan. He wrote that he has despatched Sardar Jahan Khan earlier and Jahan Khan would reach soon to Lahore. He wrote Najib Khan to sent the nazrana of the subtenant of Hindustan every year.

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2 Ibid. No. 106, dated 11.11.1759; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 245, dated 7.1.1760.
INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

Najib had informed Ahmad Shah Abdali about the position of Dattaji at Shukartal. Abdali collected his forces and in July 1759 he sent his General Jahan Khan to capture Lahore. At this time Dattaji was busy in persuading Najib to construct a bridge of boats on the Ganges. Abdali had himself encamped at Peshwar to send help to Jahan Khan. Sabaji Sindia was already present at Lahore with a small Maratha force as a temporary caretaker. In August, Jahan Khan reached Lahore. Sabaji defeated Jahan Khan and wounded him severely. The son of Jahan Khan was also killed. Jahan Khan returned Lahore in this position. Having known about this Abdali immediately entered Lahore with his forces. When Sabaji Sindia came to know about the arrival of Abdali with a large force, he thought himself incapable to face the Abdali's
forces and decided to retreat towards Delhi with his full force after leaving Punjab into the hands of the invaders. Sabaji Sindia, Trimbak Bapuji, Tukoji Holkar etc. retreated from Lahore and met Dattaji at Shukartal on 8th November and told the whole story of the loss of Punjab to Dattaji. Dattaji decided to leave Shukartal and to face Abdali. Dattaji Sindia was busy in negotiating peace with Najib and Shuja when the news reached the Maratha camp that the Abdali with his forces was marching towards Delhi after subduing the territory of Lahore and Multan. Dattaji left the peace negotiations and marched to face Abdali.

Dattaji Sindia remained at Shukartal for more than a month even after the arrival of Sabaji Sindia thereafter his retreat from Lahore. He left Shukartal on 8th December, 1759, and continued his efforts to compel Najib to surrender but he failed in his effort as Najib was receiving supplies

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and men in a large number from across the Ganges river and the arrival of Abdali also increased his strength.

CHAPTER IV

MURDER OF THE EMPEROR BY IMAD-UL-MULK

Dattaji had besieged Najib at Shukartal at the incitement of the Vazir Imad-ul-mulk. Dattaji called Imad for help. Imad was very much embarrassed with the Emperor as he thought him to be a well-wisher of Najib and having correspondence through letters with Abdali and with Intizam of whom he had no confidence although he had already imprisoned him. Imad decided to get relief from these two persons and then to depart. Having known that Abdali was coming
towards Delhi from Lahore and his force had reached Sarhind and the Emperor and the Abdali were united and would destroy Wazi-ud-din, Imad murdered the Emperor Alamgir, Intizam-ud-daula, Fath Ali Khan and the son of Qamar-ud-din Khan on 29th November 1769 by taking these men to pay a visit to a certain Mohammedan saint of uncommon sanctity who had arrived in the neighbourhood. Intizam was murdered on 30th November. Then Imad released Muhiuddin, the grandson of Kambakshah, from the prison and put him on the throne with the title of Shahjahan Sani. The Vazir with the new Emperor joined the forces of Jankoji Sindia.

When Abdali heard the news about the murder of Alamgir, he put his son on the throne at Thaneshwar and gave him the title of Timurshah. Malika Zamani was with Abdali. Abdali wrote letters

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to the Rohillahs, Madhosingh etc. that he was coming immediately to fight the Marathas.

**DATTAJI RAISED THE SIEGE OF SHUKARTAL AND MARCHED TO FACE ABDALI**

Hearing the news about the invasion of Abdali, Dattaji Sindia started collecting allies. On 8th November a Jat force of 5000 men under Rupram Kothari joined him which was sent by Surejmal. The Nawab of Farrukhabad, Ahmad Khan Bangash also joined him at about the same time. People were also sent to bring Malhar immediately from Rajputana. Envoys were also sent to Delhi to bring the Vazir back in the camp of Dattaji and to help him in his attack on Najib. The envoy was also given the right to give the Vazir two lakhs rupees for his travelling expenses if he would march for the help of the Marathas. Taking leave from the

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1 Selections from Peshwa Dafar, Vol. LVII, No. 245.
Emperor on 16th November, Imad reached Muradnagar which is on the eastern side of Hindan on the way of Shukartal. Here he came to know about the invasion of Abdali and the capture of the territory from entire Punjab upto Sarhind by him and about the retreat of the Marathas from these places without opposing the invaders. After this the Vazir murdered the Emperor, ex-Vazir Intizam and other persons.

Hearing the news about the murder of the Emperor Abdali immediately marched towards Delhi from Sarhind to punish the rebels. The Afghans had established their hold on Punjab and Abdali could freely cross the Sutlej now. On 23rd November about five hundred Maratha troopers were deprived of their baggage and clothes.

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 150-52.
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 153-54.
Dattaji raised the siege of Shukartal on 8th December and marched from there with Jankoji and the Vazir. On 13th December they crossed the Yamuna near Kunjpura. Here he came to know the correct news that about forty or fifty thousand force of Abdali had entered the Baladu, Banur and Chhat district which were 15th miles north of Ambala city under Timur Shah, Jahan Khan, Shahvali Khan and Abdus Samad-khan etc. on 15th December. The front troops had captured Ambala. Ambala was at twenty Kos distance from Sarhind and at forty Kos distance from Kunjpura. The front troops were marching plundering right, left and in front side, destroying the jungles and were shouting about ten or twenty Kos on each hand. The position of the Marathas at Kunjpura was only at 78 miles from Ambala. Dattaji divided his force into two parts. He took with himself twenty five or thirty thousand selected and dependable troops under famous and able Sardars. All were lightly equipped and did not take any tent or heavy baggage. He placed Jankoji with the remaining force and artillery and with Nawab Vazir Imad, his force and artillery at about twelve or fifteen Kos distance
from himself as a support. He placed the Vazir and the Maratha forces at a distance from himself for safety and to receive their help in time of need. Govind Ballal also went with Jankoji. He crossed at Kunjpura on 22nd December and was given the responsibility to send the camp baggage and the families to the south if a disaster fell in the battle field. Having completed this arrangement on 22nd December, Datta immediately marched from Kunjpura to face the Abdali while Jankoji Sindia, Govind Pant with Imaad and with their baggage marched towards Kamal. Dattaji's plan was to go to face Abdali, watch their tactics and strength and to decide whether he should fight immediately or slowly. He decided to make his plan according to the hints of Abdali's plans of war. Some brushes occurred between the front forces of Abdali and Dattaji. Then Dattaji reached there and the battle started. The first

The battle was fought on 24th December near Thaneswar. The battle was fought for about four or six hours in the noon. After the battle both the parties remained in their position. The loss on Dattaji's side was four hundred men slain but Dattaji held the ground. Abdali did not fight an open battle with Dattaji at this time as he wanted to join the Rohillahs as attack the enemy successfully. So in the night of the same day Abdali crossed the Yamuna near Buriaghat and went in Doab to join Najib. It was the first open encounter between the forces of the Marathas and the forces of Abdali. Ahmad Shah Abdali was joined by Najib and other Rohillah Chiefs as Hafiz Bahmat Khan, Sadullah Khan, Dundi Khan and others. Dattaji also decided to go


in Doab crossing the Yamuna.

The Rohillahs joined Abdali as they thought that there were no hopes of a compromise with the Marathas. They thought that the Marathas would not evacuate their (Rohillah) territory after their conquest over Abdali. The Vazir was on the side of the Marathas so the Rohillahs thought that there was no place for them as all the powers were in the hands of the Marathas and the Vazir. As they had called Abdali, they decided to be friendly with him. After defeating the Marathas, they decided to bring Timurshah Delhi and appoint him the Emperor, to give Vazirship to Shuja-ud-daula and Mir Bakhshish to Najib and to restore their administration in Hindustan. 2

Dattaji also returned towards Delhi. He remained at Kunjpura upto 27th December. He marched from there on 27th and reached at Somepat

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 178.
on 29th via Karnal and Panipat etc. Dattaji stayed at Sonipat for five days to watch over the proceedings of the enemy. The Vazir Imad had returned to his residence on 28th December and started entrenching the eastern face of the capital by the side of the bank of Yamuna. Abdali after having been joined by Najib and the Rohillahs at Mira laid his camp at Luni with fifty thousand force which is at six miles northeast of Delhi. Dattaji returned from Sonipat to Barari Ghat on 4th January 1760 which is at about ten miles north of Delhi. Dattaji had a little force while the strength of his enemy was increasing daily. He had sent urgent call to Malhar Holkar to arrive for his help but Malhar had

1 Panipatcha Hansan gram, P. 155; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, Pp. 157-158; Selections from Peshwa Doftar, Vol. XXVII No. 243 dated 30.12.1759 indicated that Dattaji had been encamping at Sonipat.

not arrived till this time.

On 6th January Dattaji visited Delhi and sent his camp, baggage, spoils of the last year's campaign, his and his officers families to Rewari. He prepared himself to face Abdali with a light division of selected troops in the front line while Jankoji remained at the distance of some miles with the remaining troops and necessary baggage. Dattaji had no idea of the further movement of Abdali. Dattaji had posted small parties for the protection of the ghats of Yamuna. Sabaji with seven thousand men was guarding Barari Ghat. Other parties of Marathas troops were at two or three places further down the river and close to Delhi. It was the time

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 115 dated 25.1.1760, No. 120 dated 1.3.1760, No. 116, dated 1.2.1760; Panigetcha Hansangram, P. 156; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, Pp. 157-158.

of winter. Yamuna had reached at its lowest level. At Bariariyat the Yamuna had been divided into two streams of containing little water and something like an island had overgrown by long grass. Men and horses could easily conceal in it to themselves.

On Thursday 10th January 1760 in the morning the Abdies and the Rohillahs reached at this ford. They shot guns and cannons and crossed these two parts of the Yamuna. The Rohillahs had reached there on Camels and small elephants with light artillery, to make costly the crossing of fords. Sabaji who was guarding the ford opposed the enemies with his small force after informing Dattaji about this. Sabaji was defeated and driven back with heavy slaughter. Dattaji Sindia reached there with his force to oppose the enemy. The battle started

and continued for about four hours. Many good people were killed on Dattaji's side. Dattaji was also killed in the battlefield by a bullet. The Marathas started running from there leaving their General's body behind. The troops of Sabaji were destroyed but he saved himself. Qutb Shah, the Guru of Najib, cut off the head of Dattaji and brought it to Abdali.

Jankoji immediately reached there with his force to restart the fighting and reached before the enemy and fought for four hours. Jankoji also received a bullet in the fleshy part of his upper arm and the bullet passed through his hand. The Marathas fled from there. The Marathas suffered heavy losses. Najib plundered all the camels.


elephants and soldiers which were left there. A large number of the Maratha soldiers were killed. The Maratha army after their defeat fled towards Delhi. Their enemy pursued them and great slaughter occurred. When Imad came to know about the defeat and slaughter of the Marathas, he marched from Delhi to Bharatpur.

From Barari Ghat the Maratha army reached upto the boundary of Jaipur via Bewari and the country of the Jats. The Abdali soldiers pursued them for about twenty kos. Jankoji with his followers reached at Paniala near Kotputli in Jaipur kingdom on 14th January, Kotputli is at twenty five miles south of Narmol. He also took with him the baggage, camp, women and other non-combatants which were despatched from Delhi.

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on 6th January. Malhar Holkar joined them with their forces at Kotputli on 15th January. In a letter Bamaji Anant Dhabolkar wrote to the Peshwa that Malhar Holkar joined Jankoji at Kotputli and within one or two days our combined forces would march towards Delhi for the arrangement of the Abdalies and the Rohillahs immediately.

After his victory Abdali entered Delhi and appointed Yakub Ali Khan, the brother of Shahvali Khan, as the governor of Delhi to make arrangements there. He plundered and massacred Delhi for getting money. He was in need of money to maintain his large army but he could collect


2 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII No. 247.

3 Panipatcha Bansangram, P. 161.
nothing from Delhi as he had plundered it completely before two years and left nothing there. He could not get money from Najib. On the other hand Najib Khan and the Rohillahs requested Abdali not to leave India saying that after your return the Marathas would destroy the Rohillahs. On 14th January Abdali laid his camp at Khizirabad, South of Delhi. He sent his Vakils Gurbakshrai, Harjasrai, Mahabrai to Raja Madhosingh of Jaipur. Madhosingh sent ornaments and clothes for Abdali and wrote for friendship but he did not accept it. Abdali returned the clothes and ornaments sent by Madhosingh and sent the message to come to meet him otherwise to send important men and force and to pay tribute. Madho Singh had no confidence on Abdali and thought


3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 161.
that he would demand more money so could not decide what to do.

In another letter Kesava Rao, the Peshwa's agent at Delhi informed the Peshwa that Abdali has sent his vakils with letters to the Madho Singh, the Raja of Jaipur, to Surajmal Jat and to Shuja to send tribute and to come to meet him and to drive the Maratha Sardars in South from Northern India joining Abdali. Najib Khan had suggested Abdali for this as he had called Abdali. Surajmal Jat replied that you should be the Emperor of Delhi and make the arrangement of the Marathas, then he assured him to pay the tribute accordingly, otherwise he told him that he could do nothing. Madhosingh also replied the same answer and did not break the friendship and continued correspondence. They thought that after the decisive contest between Abdali and the Marathas, they would join the powerful party.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 118 dated 5.3.1760.
MOVEMENT OF MARATHA SARDARS

Malhar Rao Holkar had joined Jankoji Sindia at Kotputli on 15th January. He had brought with him the Jat force and a force of Madhosingh after making friendship with him. At Kotputli they performed the funeral rites of Dattaji and discussed their future plans. At first Malhar had made a plan that after joining Dattaji and Jankoji they would divide the Rohillahs, give the Wazirship to Shuja-ud-daula and make the arrangement of the Abdalies with him. But now Dattaji had been killed, Jankoji wounded and the Maratha force defeated. At Kotputli all of them decided to send the camp baggage and noncombatants to the Deccan with Govind Ballal. On 23rd January this party marched from Kotputli and on 3rd February they crossed Chambal river near

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XLI No. 125.

Sambalgarh moving via Naroli. In the night of the same day a son was born to Dattaji. Malhar and Jankoji would move easily and followed the Maratha system of raiding the enemy's grain depots and tax collectors and to plunder the territory of the Rohillahs in Upper Doab and Trans-Ganges. Malhar had a great experience of these tactics. Before setting any plan the Marathas had to look after Abdali's plans also. Because the present small and demoralised Maratha forces in Northern India could not face the enemy in a pitched battle without the arrival of any new Maratha force in North from Deccan.

Jankoji stayed in the rear and Malhar started his movement on 24th January with a force. He did not move directly towards

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2 *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 161
Delhi but passed through Amaud and collected the ransom of ten thousand rupees. He roamed in south west of Delhi in Mewat district to get the opportunities.

**ABDALLI AGAINST WAIHAR**

Abdali left Khizirbad on 27th January and proceeded against Surajmal via Shergarh which is at 20 miles north of Mathura. On 6th February he reached at Dig and attacked the fort. From here some of his troops marched and on 11th February they defeated a Maratha army in their west side by attacking on them in the night. Abdali marched towards Mewat, which is on the way to Namol. It was reported to him that Waihar was there. The Maratha force disappeared in

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2. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, P. 161.
3. Ibid. P. 162.
north and on 18th February Abdali reached at Rewari. Abdali moved eight miles on the way to Delhi on 22nd February without knowing the position of Maratha army. On 22nd February Malhar was present at Bahadurgarh which is at forty miles north of Rewari and on 24th he reached near Kalka-Devi. On 26th - 27th February Holkar reached in Doab at Sikandrabad. Crossing the Yamuna. On 27th February reached at Dhankot which is 20 miles south - west of Delhi and on 29th he was at Khizirabad.

In a letter Keshavrao informed the Peshwa that Malhar Holkar and Jankoji were at Meewat, at fifty kos distance from Delhi some of his troops were near Malwa to face Abdali - Abdali had a large force as Najib and other Rohillahs had joined him. He sent letters to Surajmal, Madhosingh to all the Rajas and to Shuja-ud-daula to come to meet him or to send forces and tribute. These

\[1 \text{ Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 162.} \]
Bajjas continued correspondence with him without breaking friendship. As on the one hand they were afraid of Abdali and on the other of the Marathas. Being informed of this Walhar decided that he had not so strength to fight Abdali and decided to destroy his territory. If Abdali and the Rohillahs would come for the protection of their territory then Walhar decided to go on the other side but he was not ready to be defeated by Abdali. With the idea of destroying Sikandrabad, the post of Najib in Doab, the Marathas marched from Namol and crossed the Yamuna coming near Delhi and reached Sikandrabad on 26th February. His plan was to destroy the territory on the both sides of Ganges because the Rohillahs of both sides had gone to near Abdali. Walhar destroyed and plundered the post of Sikandrabad and after this he started destroying the territory on this side of the Ganges. At this time ten lakhs of treasure

from the trans - Ganges territory of Najib had reached near Anupshahr. It was being carried on for the help of Abdali. Malhar sent his men to find a ford there and stayed there for three or four days. When Abdali came to know about this, he marched towards Delhi, leaving his way to Jaipur. From there he despatched Jahan Khan and Najib Khan with thirty or thirty five thousand strong force into Doab. Gangadhar Yashwant was at four aos distance from his Sardar. On 4th March the Abdali forces attacked on the camp of Malhar. The battle continued for two or four hours, between the forces of Abdali and Gangadhar Pant near Sikandrabad. Malhar fled from there and crossed the Yamuna near Mathura and reached Bharatpur in the country of Surajmal Jat. After one or two days Gangadhar Pant also reached Bharatpur in the territory of Jats crossing the Yamuna at Mathura. In the battle Anandrao Yadav, Shetyaji Kharade and his son Mekirji and other good soldiers were killed. Their camp, baggage booty etc. came into the hands of Abdalies.

Ghazi-ud-din was at Bharatpur from earlier.
Holkar called the Vakil of Hafiz Bahmat Khan and discussed peace terms proposed by Hafiz.

Purushottam Mahadev Hinge was also called from Dig. He reached at Bharatpur. The Vakil visited Gangadhar Pant. In a letter Hinge wrote on 12th March that Hafiz agreed to come and visit the Sardars, to compel to return Abdali, and to join us with his force for the arrangement of Najib. He agreed not to help Najib. Our Sardars were agreed not to cross his path and not to ravage his territory. This agreement was made sworn to and the Vakil was given departure. The Sardar remained at about fifteen or sixteen kos distance from Bharatpur. Surajmal came and visited him. The Sardar gave assurance of friendship and sworn to on the leaves of Bel and Ganges water. Surajmal was given departure with robes of honour. He went to Bharatpur. Malhar reached at Saroti, at ten kos distance from Bayana. But Malhar was not

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satisfied with this agreement. As in a letter he wrote to Vishnu Mahadev Gadre, about this agreement that this agreement was not according to our ideas. As Najib was never agreed with the view that Abdali should return from India. Najib and other Rohillahs requested Abdali not to return from India with the fear that after his return the marathas would destroy them.

After getting victory on the marathas Jahankhan and Najib Khan went near Etawah while Abdali went to Koil (Aligarh) in Doab. Najib Khan advised Ahmad Shah Abdali to stay at koil for the coming hot weather and the following monsoon. Holkar was in the country of Jats and was waiting for the arrival of the fresh force from the Deccan for the arrangement of Abdali. Keshav Rao had


sent letters to Peshwa to send a well trained army immediately towards north to face the enemy.

When Dattaji and Jankoji were busy in the battle of Barari Ghat and after this battle on Sikandrabad, the Peshwa and Sadashivrao Bhau were busy in the battle of Udgir with the Nizam in Deccan but their mind was towards the battle of Bararigahat fought between Dattaji Sindia and Abdali. The period of the battle of Udgir was from 19th January to 3rd February. Thus the battles in the Deccan and the north were fought almost about the same time. Sadashivrao Bhau, Raghunathrao, the Peshwa were also worried to hear the news of the north.

On 27th January the Peshwa received a letter written on 8th by his officers in the Delhi territory about the invasion of Abdali, the flight of the Marathas from Punjab, the raise of the siege of Shukartal by Dattaji Sindia

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1 Selections from Peshwa Dair, Vol. XI No. 188, Dated 14.3.1760; Vol. II, No. 913 Dated 8.3.1760.
2 Panijatcha Bansangram, Pr. 164-165.
without getting any indemnity from Najib, about
the arrival of Abdali in Gangetic Doab where he
joined the Rohillahs, about the arrival of Abdali
near Delhi and about the chances of a decisive
battle on 10th. After this the Peshwa could not
receive any news from northern India for about
three weeks, and the Peshwa was very much worried.
He received the news at Aurangabad through the
bankers about Northern India about the death of
Dattaji, flight of Jankoji towards Bajputana and
the flight of the Maratha army from north. The
Peshwa received an official letter on 15th or 16th
February which confirmed the above news. His all
success in north India had been finished only at
a blow.

A Peshwa had no other alternative except to
send a very powerful army under a most able
commander as of the Peshwa's family to gain his
success at Delhi. Only Holkar and Sindia could

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 168-
170.

2 Seir-Mutakherin, Vol. III, p. 382; Fall of the
not perform this work. The Peshwa reached at Patdor near Jalna and called his generals and armies at Patdor to meet there and have a discussion about the measures he should adopt. From Patdor the armies could directly march towards north immediately.

Sadashivrao Bha, Bagnunath rao, and other Sardars except Sindia and Holkar met the Peshwa on 7th March at Patdur and discussed the future plans for a week.

The Peshwa wanted to give the command of north expedition to Bagnunathrao, his own younger brother, as he had the experience of the expeditions

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1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, pp. 168-169.
3 Panipatcha Bansangram, pp. 165-168; Sarkar in Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 168 gives the date of meeting at Patdur 10th March.
In Hindustan in 1754-55 and 1757-58. In a letter dated 5.3.1760 perhaps the Peshwa had written that he was sending Raghunathrao towards north immediately. Further in the letter the Peshwa has been requested to send Raghunathrao with force, baggage and artillery etc. so that after his arrival and meeting with Malhar Dolkar and Jankoji etc. Abdali and the Rohillahs would be faced properly. In another letter received on 25th April 1760, Krishnarao Bhagwant Amatya informs Baburao that Sadashivrao Bhau and Raghunathrao were moving towards north to face Abdali.

Sadashivrao Bhau, the chief manager of the Peshwa, had taunted Raghunathrao that from the last Delhi expedition when Raghunath had returned back, he had a debt of lakhs on himself and even the salaries of the soldiers were not paid. It was

1 Panipatachha Bansangram, p. 167; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 166-169.
2 Selections from Peshwa Daf tar, Vol. LVII, No. 251
3 Ibid. No. 252
4 Panipatachha Bansangram, pp. 165-166.
decided by all to send another army under the command of Sadashivrao who had recently defeated the Nizam in his recent campaign and who was very popular due to his attention to finance and punctuality in administrative business and he was thought to be fit to handle the situation in the north. The Peshwa's eldest son Vishwasrao was also sent as a Commander-in-Chief with his army with Bhau to keep a check on him and to seek the training for the future Peshwaship. Bhau had to work as his guardian and to execute all his affairs.

Sadashivrao Bhau marched from Patdur on 14th March and reached the village of Sind Khed, at about twenty or twenty five miles distance from Patdur and stayed there for seven or eight days to collect the army and money etc. for the campaign. Bhau had a force of fifty thousand. Out of that

than thousand were of the household cavalry called Huzarat or Khas Paga, twelve thousand men from the forces of Shamsher Bahadur, Dhaigude, Mane, Nimbalkar generals etc., twenty thousand from the force of Desh perhaps Pindharies and eight thousand disciplined sepoys under Ibrahim Khan Gardi. The Sardars which accompanied Bhaau to the north were Vishwasrao, Balavantrao Meendelele, Damaji Gaikwad, Trimbakrao Purandare, Shamsher Bahadur, Ibrahim Khan Gardi, Jashwantrao Pawar, Tukoji Sinde, Manadgaaji Sinde, Paygude, Naik Nimbalkar, Darekar, Bhapkar, Shitola, Krishna Joshi; Out of these Sardars some joined the Bhaau after his crossing the river Narmada.

The Saranjamdars attached to Bhaau were

Damaji Gaikwad, Bhapkar, Bichurkar, Pawar,
Darekar, Jadhav, Meendelele etc., and the Karkuns were as Nana Purandare, Har Damodar, Hari Shivram,

1 Panipatcha Bansangram, P. 3, Letter No. 2, 3 also, and also P. 175; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, Pp. 170-174; Some dates given by Sarkar are different.
Mahipatrao Chitnis, Nana Phadnis etc. In a letter dated 31.3.1760, Naro Babaji Nagarkar who was the Kiledar of Ahmadnagar submits a list of ammunition to be despatched with the armies proceeding to the north which consisted of 8,124 cannon-balls of large size against 19,000 required, 99,150 fluits for muskets, sixty or seventy sheets against 2000 requestioned of European paper for changing the muskets, 160 maunds of lead, 800 maunds of gun powder.

From Patdur Bhau started writing letters to the Maratha Sardars which were in the north, to the different Rajas to make an agreement and to come with their forces and to join Bhau. Bhau left Sindkhed on 25th March and reached Burhanpur 120 miles north to Patdur on the tapti.

1 Panipatacha Bansangram, P. 176
3 Panipatacha Bansangram, Letter No. 2, P. 3.
on 4th April 1760. On 12th April Bhau crossed the river Narmada at Handia and reached at Siranj on 6th May marching via Sihor (24th April) and Bersia (23rd April). At Siranj Bhau received from the Peshwa banker's bills for Rs. 188000 payable at Ujjain and Indore. He stayed there for a few days to get the cash.

Bhau wrote letters to his Sardars in northern India to try to get local allies to get the help of the Bajas of Rajputana and Bundelkhand with their forces, and to make an agreement with Shuja-ud-daula by promising him the post of Vazir of Delhi with the help of the Marathas after the retreat of Abdali from India. He also sent letters to his Sardars in Northern India and to the tax-collectors demanding money. Bhau reached Gwalior on 30th May from Siranj marching via Arun (14th May, 25 miles north west of Siranj), Miana (19th May, 32 miles north of Arun), Narwar (21st May)

1 Panipatcha Bansangram, Letter No. 2, P. 3 also Letter No. 2, 3.
3 Panipatcha Bansangram, Letter No. 2, P. 3.
and Kaldhar (Khechiwara). Sindia and Holkar were at Karoli, on the north bank of the Chambal river. Bhau stayed at Gwalior for two days and here Malhar informed him to cross the Chambal a little east of Dholpur and not near Karoli. Bhau left Gwalior on 2nd June and crossed the river Kumari on 4th. On 8th he crossed the river Chambal about ten miles below Dholpur. He ordered his Sardars not to ravage the country of the Jats in which they had entered that day. The Peshwa wanted to keep the Jat Raja on his side. Bhau stayed close to river Gambhir. In a letter Bhau wrote to Govind Ballal on 10th June that he has crossed the river Chambal and Agra was at eighteen kos distance from here Sindia and Holkar were expected to meet him within one or two days. Then they would make the arrangements for crossing the river Gambhir, and would go to Agra.

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1 Panipatcha Bansangram, P. 3, Letter No. 2, 3.
3 Panipatcha Bansangram, Letter No. 3, P. 5.
4 Ibid. P. 5.
Holkar's Diwan Gangadhar Yashwant met Bhau on 15th June and Malhar joined him on 18th. On 30th June Surajmal Jat met Bhau through the mediation of Malhar Holkar. Bhau marched from his camp about two miles to welcome Surajmal. The Vazir Imad also had a conference with Bhau through the mediation of Surajmal. Surajmal agreed to help the Marathas with a contingent of ten thousand and to give refuge to their ladies and non-combatants on the basis that the Jat territory should not be molested and no tribute should be levied from him as the Jat country was in the main route of Maratha army.

Here Bhau came to know about two things. First that Shuja had decided to be on the side of Abdali and second that all the Rajput Rajas had decided to remain neutral and not to interfere and

to allow the enemies to fight until a great battle should decide that which power was stronger either the Marathas or the Abdali.

Abdali had tried to negotiate with Shuja-ud-daula and sent Najib Khan and Jahan Khan to him. The Marathas also sent a letter to Shuja and sent their envoys, Naro Shankar and Ramaji Anant. Thus both of them were trying to secure the help of Shuja. Shuja was the old enemy of Najib and Abdali but Malhar had the friendly terms with Shuja. Shau thought it necessary to keep Shuja on his side so he had written letters to Govind Pant Bundele to keep Shuja on his side before he marched himself to face Abdali. The victory was definite to the party to which Shuja cooperated. Shuja and the Jats were the two great powers on both sides of Doab. If Shuja would had joined Shau, Jats also would have joined him. But if the Jats would join

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 174-75
2 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 127; Panchkula Bansangram, PP. 182-183; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 174-175.
Bhaud, then it was not definite that Shuja would also join Bhaud. If Shuja had joined Bhau, the Jats and the Rajput Bajas would have also joined him and as the country of Najib was close to Shuja, no supply of money, force and food could go to Abdali from Najib. These were the advantages of the alliance of Shuja and the Marathas. So Bhaud tried his best to get the support of Shuja. Shuja was in suspicion that to which power he should join. Bhaud thought that if his armies would arrive near Delhi, Shuja would not welcome the invitation of Abdali and remain neutral with the terror that the Marathas would attack his territory if Shuja would be against the Marathas. With this view Bhuu had written to Govind Pant from the month of May 1760 to collect the boats to near Itawa to help his vast army in crossing the Yamuna into Doab and to remove the Afghan outposts from

1 Panigatcha Bansangram, PP. 182-184.
2 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 127
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 174-75.
there and to create a distance between Abdali and Shuja. But Govind Pant could not collect the boats. The rains had started earlier this year and the water level was so high by the end of June that the river Gambhir could not be crossed. On the other hand Govind could not raid the province of Shuja off the Ganges and the jagirs of Najib in Upper Doab but Najib Khan and Jahan Khan in his southward march threatened the Maratha posts in middle Doab about in the middle of May. At this time Bhauf was at a long distance beyond Chambal. The Afghans laid the siege of the Maratha posts of Etawah and Shikohabad and marched towards Bithur which is at north of Kanpur.

Hearing about this invasion a number of local Rajput land-lords in Doab arose against the Maratha usurpers. When Bhauf came to know about

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this, he informed Govind Ballal to request the thanahdars to defend their posts patiently as Bhau himself would arrive there soon and face the situation. Shikohabad was occupied by Najib and he marched towards Oudh without taking the possession of Etawah. In Oudh Najib was successful in winning over Shuja to the side of Abdali. On 4th July Bhau came to know about this news. He decided to send his troops in Doab crossing the Yamuna. Then they had to cross the Yamuna and attack the country of Shuja. But he could not succeed in his plan as there were no boats and the rivers were in flood very early this year.

On 16th May Hafiz Bahmat Khan came near Bharatpur from Abdali with the proposals of peace from Malhar Holkar. Holkar’s Diwan Ganjadhar Yashwant and Surajmal met him but no agreement could be made as the Marathas were not in favour of these proposals. The Marathas were waiting for the arrival of large forces under Bhau after which they

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would defeat Abdali and recover all his earlier gains in north India. So the Marathas continued the negotiations and when Bhaù reached in the middle of June, they sent Hafiz Bahmat back to Abdali.

From 8th June to 12th July Bhaù remained on the north bank of Chambal at some distance south of Gambhir river. As the rains had started earlier this year, Bhaù could not cross the Yamuna into Doab. For several weeks his horse, artillery and transport carts could not cross Gambhir due to the flood. As Govind Balâal could not construct a bridge of boats near Tawaâ, Bhaù had to leave his plan to attack the Abdali in upper Doab and Oudh.

On 14th July Bhaù reached Agra with Malhar Holkar and Surejmal. Bhaù saw the Yamuna and left his plan of making a bridge of boats on the river and to send a strong force in the Doab with the idea

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2 Panipatcha Hamsangram, No. 3, P. 5; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 174-76.
to go to Aligarh. Early in the month of July some of the troops of Surajmal tried to occupy the Jat posts on the east bank facing Mathura and Agra, crossing the river by one or two boats. They reached the number of two thousand, the increasing level of river Yamuna made them separate from their followers gathered at Mathura. No Maratha trooper remained successful in following these Jats for the help of Govind Ballal.

Bhau changed his plan. For about three months Bhau was unable to go to the eastern bank after crossing the river to attack Abdali and his supporters. At the same time Abdali also could not cross to the west bank to help his agent at Delhi. Bhau made a plan immediately. Bhau had reached Agra on 14th July and after two days he reached at Mathura (16th July). On 21st July

1 Panipatcha Bansangram, PP. 199–200; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 126–177.
2 Ibid, P. 3, of Introduction and also Letter No. 3, P. 5.
he sent a detachment of 10 thousand under Balwantrao and other Sardars with Imad to capture Delhi from the agent of Abdali. The Delhi was in possession of Yakub Ali Khan Bahmanzai, brother to Shah Vali Khan, who was the Prime Minister of Abdali. Delhi was commanded by him with a very weak garrison. Shah Alam II was a puppet Emperor on the throne of Delhi. Abdali himself was encamping near Aligarh. Due to the early flood in Yamuna river, Delhi was cut off from the Doab. So Yakub Ali Khan tried to defend the city of Delhi by all means to face any Maratha attack. When the Marathas came to know that Yakub Ali Khan had a very little force, on 22nd July they crowded Assed Tower and Khiziri Gate and other body of the Marathas made a sudden attack on the opposite side of the Delhigate. In these places a small

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2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 179.
number of Abdali and Mughals faced the Marathas and many Marathas were killed with their big guns. The Maratha General had taken his place in Sadullah Khan’s palace and made another attack. Yakub Ali Khan who had taken the possession of the fort, driven out the Marathas by fire from the walls of the fort. Malhar and Jankoji marched towards to break it but failed as it was covered with brass sheets and was supported by iron-nails. They attempted for about four hours but they failed.

The garrison was defended only by a small number of turks and Abdalies with their muskets. On the other hand the Maratha light horse in a large number covered the fort from all sides. At this time about five hundred men of Vithal Shivdev, with the Holkar and Sindia troops climbed on the top of the Assed Tower. They reached in the citadel and marched towards the Imperial Hall of Audience without opening the gates from inside to their breathen outside. They plundered large
amount of booty from there and threw it down from the ramparts below for their friends. The Marathas were thus shutted up in this way. When the Abdalies came to know about this, about a dozen of Abdalies and Mughals reached there from the Salimgarh side and started firing on the Marathas who were plundering the Hall of Audience. A number of them were killed. Taking swords in their hands they fell upon the remaining men and compelled them to go out of the palace. The Marathas took flight from there and climbed on the wall of the Tower again. Again they got down and a number of them were crippled and wounded. Thus they had to evacuate the fort in which they had entered easily.

When the Maratha generals came to know all about this they sieged the fort by an entrenchment and started firing on all the things which were seen on the wall. The Vazir Imd-ul-mulk and Surajmal Jat who had come with the Marathas did not help the Marathas in this siege. The Marathas
had captured the city of Delhi and after taking its possession they had besieged the fort. Hau asked for help from Ibrahim Khan Gardi who possessed a European artillery. Ibrahim Khan Gardi put three cannons below the fort and started firing upon the building within the fort. In a short time he devastated the mansions of Assad, Tower and Octagon toward and the Harem Chambers. He also bombarded the parts of Imperial palace as Diwan-i-Khas, Bang Mahal, Moti Mahal and the Shah-burj. But the walls suffered no harm. On 28th July Hau himself reached Delhi from Mathura. Pathans were at Anupshahr. They marched from there. It was heard that they were marching towards Delhi. There was flood in Yamuna. After the arrival of Hau at Delhi the struggle for the fort continued for two or three days. Abdali could not send any force for the help of Yaqub Ali in the fort due to the flood in

1. The musket firing was continued from both sides. When Yacub Ali saw that ammunition was very short all the provisions were finished and no help was possible from Abdali, he requested for terms of peace. Bhau accepted the proposal of peace. Yacub Ali Khan came out of the fort with his female relatives and property and went to the Ali Mardan's palace. He took rest there for a very short time. There he crossed the Yamuna in boats and went to join Abdali. The Marathas captured the fort on 1st August 1760. Thus the fort of Delhi came into the hands of Bhau.

Abdali had sent Najib Khan and Jahan Khan to Lucknow to ask Shuja to join him and to pay him a visit and promised to give Shuja the Wazirship of Delhi. Najib marched via Etawah towards Kannauj.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, P. 131; Vol. XXI No. 191; Panipatoha Bansangram, Letter No. 3, P. 5; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 180-181 gives the date 29th July for the arrival of Bhau at Delhi.

and in the mean time Shuja-ud-daula marched from Lucknow and encamped at Mehdipur, which is a place in Etawah situated on this side of the river Ganges. Najib and Shuja met there. Najib gave assurances to Shuja and concluded a treaty. Influenced by him Shuja agreed to wait for Abdali. Shuja appointed his son Assa f-ud-daula as the viceroy to his govern his province in his absence. Shuja with ten thousand force went to the camp of Abdali with Najib. When Shuja reached at Anupshahr near Abdali's army, Shah Vali Khan, the Vazir of Abdali went to meet him and brought him to the camp. Abdali's son Timur Shah embraced Shuja and received him with great respect. It was on 18th July 1760.

When Shau captured the fort of Delhi, Abdali, his force, Najib Khan, Shuja, Ahmad Bangash and other Rohillahs and fifty thousand
force had reached at Patratganj near Delhi on the other side of the Yamuna river. The Maratha force with the two Sardars was on this side of Yamuna and was unable to cross the Yamuna due to the rising water in Yamuna. The Marathas decided to cross the Yamuna after the fall of water-level in Yamuna. In this time Shuja despatched a letter and his envoy Baja Mevidat from his camp on the eastern bank of Yamuna and proposed to establish peace between the Peshwa and Abdali through his mediation. He proposed that the absent Shah Alam should be made the Emperor, his eldest son Jawan Bakht should be put on the throne of Delhi as his vicar or heir. The post of the Vazir should be given to Shuja-ud-daula. Shah Abdali should go back to his country and the Marathas to the Deccan. The Vazir Imaad and Surajmal Jat became angry. They went to Ballamgarh quitting their camp.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 191.
2 Ibid. No. 191, Panipatsa Hansangram, Letter No. 4, pp. 7-8; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 131-132.
at Sarai Hadarpur without the permission of Bhau. Mahipatrao Chitnis the Bhau’s Secretary, the Holkar’s Diwan, Gangoba Tatya and Ramaji Anant, who was the manager of Sindia went to bring them back, but failed. This defection of Surejmal was very harmful for the Maratha interest. Now they had not any friend north of Narmada.

The peace negotiations with Bhau continued throughout August and September but no result could be achieved as the demands of the Peshwa

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 283; Seir-Mutaqarin, Vol. III, P. 365; Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, pp. 277-278; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 181-182, says that due to the entertainment of the above mentioned proposal of Shuja-ud-daula, Imad-ul-mulk and Surejmal became angry and went to Ballamgarh. Feniipatha Manasangram, No. 27, pp. 61-64 says that an agreement was made between the Vazir and Surejmal that the fort of Agra and the management of Delhi would be given to the Jats but now as the Marathas captured Agra and Delhi, so Surejmal became angry and went to Ballamgarh.

could not be fulfilled. Shau sent a message to Shuja through Bhawani Shankar Pandit, that if you cannot make an alliance with your friends, you should not join the enemy and remain neutral to both parties. Bhawani Shankar went to Shuja crossing the Yamuna river and gave him the message of Shau. Shuja sent his enmunc Yakut Khan to Shau with Bhawani Shankar with the reply to this message. "As the Bajas of this empire and the Rohilla Chiefs were reduced to the last extremity by the violent aggressions of Baghunath Rao, Datta, Holkar, and their subordinates, they solicited the Abdali Shah to come to Hindustan with the view of saving themselves from the ruin. 'The seed that they sowed has now begun to bear fruit.' Nevertheless, if peace be agreeable to you, from true regard for our ancient friendship, my best endeavours shall be used towards concluding one." As Shuja did not answer him better, the Marathas were ready for fighting the battle.

1 Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, P. 277; Panipattha Sansangram, Letter No. 4, PP. 7-8; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, PP. 420.
Though the Marathas had captured Delhi but it only increased their difficulties. The Abdali had occupied the tract of east of Delhi so the food supply from Doab had been completely stopped. The Maratha soldiers and horses were starving. He could get no money from Delhi as all the surrounding territory of Delhi had been absolutely plundered and destroyed during the Abdali's invasion of year 1757 and in the continued struggle of the army and deaths during these three years. During his stay at Delhi, Bhau's army, the entire grain supply of Imperial city and the surrounding territory was consumed by them in a very little time and they had to face the shortage of food. The capture of Delhi on the other hand increased his expenditure.

to about one Lakh in a month as he had to expend for the maintenance of Delhi fort, of the princes, for the salaries of Palace servants and menial servants and court officials.

In a letter Bapu Ballal Phalke wrote a letter from Maratha Camp on 15th September. "It would take about a month or fifteen days in falling the water level of Yamuna. After this a battle would be fought. There are no chances of peace. In our army even big men are fasting. Our horses do not know what it is to eat. Our soldiers have been destroyed. Loan is not available from anywhere. Such a terrible difficulty was not faced ever before. There is no life left in men or horse." Each trooper and his horse demanded two hundred rupees for a month for food but Bhau had not given any money to his soldiers from three years.

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Nana Phadn is wrote to his uncle Baburao a letter on 15th September that "After the occupation of Delhi by Bnau, Abdali marched from Anupshahr and encamped on the other side near Delhi. The water level of Yamuna is very high and there is no alternative. He has occupied all the boats and had encamped there. Bnau is on this side. We see his force. Shuja-ud-daula, Najib Khan etc. all the Rohillahs have joined him. Shuja-ud-daula is trying to mediate the peace terms but he is incredible. It has no result. We have a large force but there is no good for eating. The horses do not get grain to eat. It is very difficult to get food for men. Such days of difficulty we are facing. When the tribute would be received from the mahals, the army would get food. No loan is available from anywhere. We have a big force. The water-level will go down in a month. It seems that there will a big battle. Our force is united.

Before a fortnight Bhau wrote a letter to the Peshwa that, "There is starvation in my camp but no loan can be received. No jamavisdar is paying revenue to me though I am writing them repeatedly. My troops are fasting from days." Bhau could receive only 2,30,000 rupees and not more than this from the two Maratha collectors in Northern India, upto 6th September. The amount he could receive at Siraj on 6th May had been consumed within a fort night. On 26th June even when he could not reach to Agra, he wrote to Peshwa for financial help - "I am not getting money from any side - neither from our mahals in the Doab which are disturbed nor from tribute which is being evaded by our local chiefs. There is a need of 30000 horsemen to face Abdali. A number of horses of the troopers had been killed in the battle with Nizam Ali or from disease, now they have to be given horses. My troops still have not been given the parting gift of the last year. As the people have not been given the rojmura for food how can they move and from where Nalbandi.*

* Nalbandi - means the money for the further expenditure of the soldiers whom have gone to an place.
be given to them. The bankers have gone from here due to the disturbances around Delhi so no loan can be received.

**BHAU'S FINANCIAL RESOURCES DURING HIS CAMPAIGN OF PANIPAT:**

When Bhau started for the north, the Peshwa had given him very small amount of money and after a month he had sent him about two lakhs. The Peshwa was himself in debt and wanted that Bhau should support his troops from the revenue collected from the Maratha jagirs in northern India and with the tribute which the different Bajas in north had to pay to the Marathas. The Peshwa thought that as Bhau had gone with a large force in the north, with the fear of it the Bajas would pay the tribute. But the expectations of the Peshwa did not prove successful. As the

northern India remained aloof and did not pay the tribute. The Peshwa had ordered his local revenue officers to pay the half of Bhau and the rest half in the treasury of Poona from their real collection of revenue. Due to this Bhau could receive only Rupees 2,80,000 while 25 lakhs were due on paper from Govind Ballal. In a letter Bhau informed the Peshwa that taking the advantage of the order of the Peshwa, the tax-collectors did not pay either to Bhau or to Peshwa. As they told Bhau that they had sent the receipts to Poona and at the same time informed the Peshwa that they had given the whole collection to Bhau. As the Bhau had no knowledge of northern India, he could not judge the situation properly. He did not accept this argument of Govind Ballal that the Doab area had been plundered and destroyed severely during the wars of earlier years and that due to the presence of Abdali in Aligarh, revenue could not be collected there normally.

The total amount paid to Bhau by the Maratha collectors in northern India was 4,20,000 (except 2,80,000) which was sent to Delhi on 17th December
for the help of Narco Shankar. Out of this amount, the amount of Rs. 1,10,000 was safely sent to Panipat and the amount of Rs. 3,90,000 was actually received. Nine lakhs of rupees were received by coining the silver-ceiling of Diwan-i-Khas. The amount of seven lakhs was plundered at Kunjpura. The amount of 1,88,000 Bhau received at Sirionj and about a lakh he was given at Patdur. Thus Bhau could receive the amount of 22½ lakhs during his campaign while his expenditure was more than three times more than his income. Bhau was in a country where he had no friend or banker for getting loan.

BHAU’S WORKS IN DELHI

Marathas had captured the fort of Delhi on 1st August but they could not get anything from there. Delhi and its surrounding territory had been plundered and destroyed during the earlier attacks of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. The

rest was captured by Imad before his flight. Imad had removed a portion of the silver ceiling of Diwan-i-Khas. Bhau plundered all the ornaments, property and the goods of the nobility and the people which was saved from the plunders of former invaders. Bhau's army was really starving. On 5th August Bhau wrote a letter from Delhi that the money was not available anywhere and wrote the Peshwa to send him financial aid immediately. His soldiers were fasting and there was a severe need of money for their food and provisions. So on 6th August Bhau removed the remaining silver ceiling of Diwan-i-Khas in the fort and coined the silver into nine lakhs rupees. Out of this some he gave to the Sardars and the rest distributed to the soldiers. This money helped him to maintain his army for a month and he could bear the cost of providing food for the Imperial family and palace servants.

In a letter dated September 1760 written from the headquarters of describes Bhau at Delhi

that there is a great shortage of money to the soldiers. There is no money to pay the rojumra of even a week in the month. The people are fasting. No loan is available. We have captured the Delhi city and the fort. Naro Shankar has been given the possession of the city and Balaji Panha of the fort. There is a great treasury in the fort but it can not be received. If we could search the hiding places, we could receive ten or twenty krores. But we can not go in the Zanankhana of the Emperor. But Bhau is trying to discover the secret. On 10th August Bhau took bath at Nigam Bodh Ghat near the Old Calcutta Gate and gave the alms to the Brahmans and the Muslim saints. Jankoji went in the fort and sat down in the Octagonal tower and had a talk with the sons of the ex-Emperor Angad Shah. He gave them Khilat and crests decorated with ornaments. Bhau gave the charge of the city of Delhi and the fort

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 238; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 189.

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 190.
to Naro Shankar with 3000 horse and 3000 foot. Bhau himself went to Shalimar Garden with his artillery. Due to his march, the Rohillahs who were attempting for the crossing of Ganges could not reach at Barari Chat. Bhau remained there more than two months viz., from 12th August to 10th October. Bhau’s situation had been very bad by the end of September there was a great shortage of provisions for his troops and as he could get no funds from any place. So he thought that he should go to any other place to save his army from starvation. He could not do anything in Doab due to the flood in Yamuna unless the water-level of Yamuna would go down by the month of October. So they thought it proper to march towards Kunjpur to save his soldiers.

1 Panigetcha Bansangram, Letter No. 4,6, PP.7-8, 11-12; Tarikh-I-Thahim Khan, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, P. 278; Sair-Matacherin, Vol. III, PP. 384-386; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.II, PP. 189-190.
CONQUEST OF KUNJIPURA BY BH AU

By the capture of Kunjipura Bhau could cut the supply of Abdali from his country and compel him to fight a battle on the west bank of Yamuna. Bhau wanted to conquer Sahind and to win over Alasingh Jat and other zamindars of Punjab on his side. For this plan it was necessary to destroy the store of Abdali at Kunjipura. The most important reason for which Bhau thought of conquering Kunjipura was that his army was starving while there was a great food at Yamuna near Kunjipura and there was a great store of food and provisions in the fort belonging to Abdali. Abdali had also kept some force there. Now Abdali or Najib could send no help for them due to the flood in Yamuna.

On 10th October Bhau sent Nana Purandare, Ramaji Anant, Gangadhar Chandrachud, Laxman Ballal,

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 191
2 Panigatcha Bansangram, P. 11; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 141.
Bhawani Shankar Pant, Apaji Jadhav to Delhi. On this day they removed Shah Jahan II from the throne and declared Ali Gohar, who was the son of Alamgir II whom Ghazi-ud-din had murdered in November 1759 and who was present in Bengal and lived under the protection of Shuja-ud-daula there, the Emperor with the title of Shah Alam II. He struck coins in his name. He enthroned Mirza Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of Ali Gohar in Diwan-i-Khas as Ali Gohar’s heir and Vicar. Bhau made an agreement for the nazr of one crore for putting Ali Gohar on the throne. Out of that twenty five lakhs were to be taken immediately and the rest seventy five lakhs after his seating on the throne. Out of these twenty five lakhs ten lakhs were to be paid in the form of ornaments and the rest were paid in cash. The Vazirship was given to Shuja-ud-daula to keep him away from Abdali’s side.

After this Bhaau marched towards Kunjpura with his whole army. Bhaau reached at Kunjpura on 16th October. Abdus Samad Khan, the Abdali's governor of Sarhind and Mian Qutb Khan were present there with twenty thousand Sawars, pyadas etc. On 17th October early in the morning, the Marathas who had besieged Kunjpura one day before, captured it after fighting. In another letter dated 15.11.1760 it has been written that Abdus Samad Khan, the governor of Sarhind, and other Sardars with ten or fifteen thousand force had encamped at Kunjpura. Bhaau reached before the fort and besieged it. The European artillery of Ibrahim Khan Gardi helped him great. The fighting started. Abdus Samad Khan, Qutb Shah and other Sardars were killed. Every thing of them was plundered Najabat Khan, a zamindar in Doab was captured with his family and his all things were

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plundered. Some things fell into the hands of the Marathas. About six or six and a half in cash and the different things of about two lakh's fell into the hands of the Marathas. Najamat Khan was shot dead by a bullet. He was imprisoned. About ten thousand force of Abdus Samad Khan was killed.

In a letter dated 20.10.1760 the writer informed the Peshwa that "Abdus Samad Khan and Qutb Shah both were killed. A battle was fought. Our five or seven hundred men have been wounded. Kunjpura was plundered and destroyed. The money fell into the hands of the Marathas. Abdus Samad Khan had a force of ten thousand but all were killed. About four or five thousand horses were captured. Samad Khan etc. were killed at Kunjpura. The amount of about ten lakhs came into the hands of the Marathas. The different provisions of about four lakhs were captured."

In another letter dated 20.10.1760 the writer Dal Krishna informed the Peshwa and to Rajeshri Ana from Kunjpura that "he had come at Kunjpura four days earlier. The grain was plundered. Samad ghan was present there with ten thousand force, he was plundered after a battle. Their heads were removed and were paraded among the soldiers keeping them on spears, and Kutb Shah was their Sardar, he was killed in the same manner. The people plundered their goods and the number of horses was about two or four thousand, the people captured all of them. A number of people have been wounded on our side. But no important Sardar has been killed. Khanderao Darekar, Haibat Jadhav Bhanjkar both were wounded by a bullet shot but it is not severe. About ten or fifteen thousand of money was plundered. The people plundered five lakhs on the day of battle. Thus total amount has been plundered. If the people will give it, then it will come in our hands. There is a great shortage of money for expenditure near me. The prices of grain are very high. Two hundred rupees
have been expended on the horses and men up to now. A battle with Abdalies is also to be fought.

In another letter dated 15.11.1760 Narogangadhar wrote to Bakhupant that, "Samad Khan, who was the governor of Sarhind and other two or four Sardars had come at Kunjpura with ten or fifteen thousand force and gathered there. Bhau went to them. A battle was fought. Samad Khan and other one or two Sardars were also killed. Two Sardars have been captured. The place of Kunjpura has been conquered. Some money has been also captured.

In a letter dated 1.12.1760 Laxman Narayan informed Mahadji Pant that "Kunjpura had been captured on 17th October. It had been besieged and the next day it had been captured after fighting. Their ten thousand force was plundered and destroyed. A great plunder was made. About hundred

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 193.
2 Ibid. No. 195.
or two hundred men with Sardars were killed on our side and about one thousand wounded. No important Sardar has been killed. Dadu Mahant has been killed. About three or four lakhs rupees have been plundered the more was expected to be fallen in the hands of the Marathas. Everything has been destroyed. Ten thousand khandi of wheat fell into the hands of the Marathas. The khojura to the Maratha troops was given in the form of grain. Samad Khan and Qutb Shah these two captured, their heads were removed and paraded after keeping on a spear. It was a great conquest.1

Thus Kunjapur was conquered and plundered badly by the Marathas. Two lakhs maunds of wheat, the provisions of about ten lakhs, six and a half lakhs rupees in cash, three or four thousand horses, except the camels and guns captured in the fort, all of that was plundered by the Marathas at Kunjapur. The soldiers and camp followers also plundered a large amount on the day of fighting.

Abdus Samad Khan was killed in the battle field. Najabat Khan was severely wounded and died in captivity. Qutb Mah was also wounded but was imprisoned and sentenced to death. Najabat Khan's two sons were captured and went to Panipat with the Maratha force. Only his son Dilir Khan was remained uncaptured.

Bhau stayed at Kunjpura for about a week. On 25th October Bhau marched towards Khrukshetra to have a pilgrimage there, had then to march towards Sarhind, capture it and to refresh his army taking the jats, sikhs and zamindars into his army. He had marched a little distance, then he came to know that Ahmad Abdali, after hearing the news of Abadalies at Kunjpura, crossed the Yamuna river at Bhagpat, and reached at Sonepat with his army between the time 25th to 27th October. Though the Yamuna was not fordable due to rains but his

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 193.
army crossed the river, some by the help of 
boats and some by "wimming" over. Thousands of 
men were drowned in the river. Hearing this 
news Bhau who had marched towards Kurukshetra 
from Kunjpura retraced his steps. On 22th 
October the Maratha force was seen near Sarai 
Sambhalka. An Abdali force came to fight them. 
A battle occurred in which two or three thousand 
were killed or wounded but the loss on Maratha 
side was more than Abdali. Bhau reached at Panipat 
on 23th October. At this time Abdali had reached 
at four or six miles distance from Panipat. Thus 
the two armies encamped on the both banks of the 
flooded river Yamuna. Panipat is at fifty five 
miles north of Delhi.

On 20th October 1760 the strength of the 
two forces was. The Durrani portion contained 
30,000 horse and 10,000 foot including the camel-
corps and unspecified infantry, while the Indian 
portion was composed of a 30,000 foot and 10,000 
horse.

Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 
197; Panipatcha Bansangram, P. 14; 'Events 
leading to the battle of Panipat', Indian 
History Quarterly, Vol. III Year 1935, 
PP. 547-550; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 
II, PP. 202-203.
Bhau had collected his soldiers a day before Abdali for inspection which contained 45,000 horse and 15,000 foot (including 9,000 disciplined sepoys under Ibrahim Khan Gardi). Thus the total strength of the force of Bhau was 60,000.

This above given strength of the forces was modified for the battle of 14th January 1760. Sarkar in *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II has given these figures of the two forces after the study of Kashiraj Pandit, the best authority on the campaign of Panipat.

**Abdali force** -

*(Left Wing) Shah Pasand (5000, all horse),*  
Najib (15,000 all foot and dismounted cavalry),  
Shuja (3,000 one-third being foot musketeers).  
*(Centre) Shah Wali Khan (19,000 men with 1,000 camel swivels) (Right Wing) Ahmad Bangash*

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1. *Events leading to the Battle of Panipat*  
   *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, Year 1935,  
   pp. 547-549; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*,  
   Vol. II, pp. 203-204; But Kashiraj has given more number of Marathas force than Sarkar.
(1,000 foot, a small gap), Hafiz Rahmat and Dundă Khan (14,000 only one-forth or less being cavalry), Amir Beg (Kabuli infantry) and Barkhurdar Khan (Persian Cavalry), these last two together 3,000 men. Total 60,000.

**Maratha Army -**

(Left Wing) Ibrahim Khan (8,000 all Foot-musketeers), Damaji Gaikwad (2500 horse), Vithal Shivdev (1,500 horse). (Centre) Some petty captains (2,000 horse in all), Bhaun and Viswas Rao with the Household troops (13,500). (Right Wing) - Antaji Shankeshwar (1,000 horse), Satvoji Jadav (1,500 horse), minor captains (2,000 horse), Jaswant Rao Pawar (1,500), Shamsher Bahadur (1,500), Jankoji Sindla (7,000), Malhar Holkar (3,000). Total 45,000.

Every day there occurred skirmishes between the two parties. Bhaun sent letters to Govind Ballal to go into upper-Doab to stop the supply of grain and

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other provisions in the Abdali camp and also to try to seize the posts of Najib in Mirat division and to plunder the territory of Rohillas and Shuja's northern districts after crossing the Ganges. By this Bhau's plan was to give sufferings to the troops of Abdali and to compel his Indian allies to return to their homes to defend Doab and Trans-Ganges homes.

After reaching Panipat, Bhau started fortifying his position. He laid his camp in the city of Panipat and dug a trench 20 yards wide and deeper than the height of an elephant around his camp. He raised a high rampart around it and mounted cannons on it. He defended his camp from all sides planting his artillery. For the supply of the timber, the trees were cut off of the country side for a mile around Panipat. Abdali had established his camp at three or four Kos distance from the Maratha trench. He also defended his position by a strong entrenchment round his camp and by the abatties of Dhak and other trees.

1 Panipateh Ransangram, PP. 19-20; Events leading to the battle of Panipat, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol.III, Year 1935, P.550, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.II, P.220.
The camp of Shuja-ud-daula was on the left side of the camp of Shah, on further left of Shuja Najib had encamped. Hafiz Bahmat Khan, Dundi Khan and Ahmad Khan of Farrukhabad were on the right hand of the tents of Abdali. The camp of Abdali covered the area of three and a half kos in length. Every day there were skirmishes between the two armies. Both the parties used cannons with muskets and rockets and arrows in these. In a letter Nana Phadnis writes that they (the enemies) throw musket balls, the men and horses are being killed by these. But there is no heavy loss. On 7th November Krishna Joshi Sangmaveshwarakar was killed by a musket ball. He was a Brahmin; Bhau had kept Naro Shankar with a force in the fort of Delhi. He sent a force across the Yamuna for the help of Govind Ballal. But Govind Ballal did nothing though we had written him many times to send money and forces. Govind Ballal has five or seven thousand

1 Events leading to the battle of Panipat, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, Year 1935, pp. 550-651.
force. The writer writes that if Govind Ballal
would had stopped the supply from Doab, it would
had been very useful.

Two important battles were fought in the
month of November. On 19th November Fatih Khan,
the brother of Ibrahim Khan with a small Gardi
Infantry and taking some pieces of artillery
came upto the camp of the enemy, entered by the
way of trenches and made an attack on the camp
of Abdali in the night. He was defeated and
returned back after fighting. He left about 30
standards and some guns behind.

On 22nd November, Shah Vati Khan, the Vazir
of Abdali was patrolling with a small escort. He
reached near a well in the afternoon, south of
Panipat, infront of the maratha right wing. The
Marathas recognised him as a general. 2
Sindia and Holkar with ten to fifteen thousand men

1 Panigataha Hansangram, PP. 15-17; Aitihasik
Patravyayvar, Letter No. 97.

2 Ibid. PP. 14-16; Fall of the Mughal Empire,
Vol. II, P. 221; New History of the Marathas,
attacked him. A large number of Vazir's men were killed. When this news reached the camp of Abdali, Shuja-ud-daula, Najib and Abdali troops came for his help. A great battle was fought. Darkness spread everywhere, the Marathas were returned. The Afghans attacked on their rear and compelled them to go to their camp. They killed a large number of the Marathas. so far as about the casualties on both sides Kashiraj has written that "In the course of three or four ghariis, three to four thousand men were killed and wounded on the both sides taken together."

Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, letter No. 197 gives that "three or four hundred were killed. Five or seven hundred were wounded. Hundred or hundred and fifty horses came into our hands. Our thirty or forty were killed and hundred or hundred and fifty wounded. The darkness spread otherwise good arrangement would have been made of them .......... . Due to the darkness, the

forces returned." Nana Phadnis has written that "Five or seven hundred men of the enemy were killed. 1000 or 1500 were wounded." Sarkar has accepted the statement of Nana Phadnis.

A Marathi letter dated 27th November tells that "Upto now our foragers troops have captured 1000 - 1200 horses, 300-400 camels and four elephants from the enemy." But nothing could be decided by these Skirmishes. Bhaau had written to Naro Shankar and Govind Ballal to send money and supply immediately but no funds could be obtained from them.

After a fortnight of this battle, on 7th December, Najib Khan with four or five thousand soldiers attacked a party of the Marathas who were

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 197.
2 Panipatcha Bansangram, PP. 15-16.
3 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 197.
4 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 223
arranging their guns in certain position, without the order of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Marathas fired rockets on Afghans, the Afghans also did the same but it proved useless. The battle started between the two parties. The darkness was spread everywhere when the battle started. Balwant Rao Mohendele, the cousin of Khau, fought bravely with the enemy. The Marathas were scattered. Balwantrao started returning slowly with fifty horsemen. In the mean time the fresh Maratha troops reached for his help. The fighting continued up to three hours after the fall of night. Over three thousand of the Rohillah infantry were killed by the Gardi Musketeers under the command of Ibrahim Khan and Balwantrao. Several were wounded and went to their own lines. The Maratha army remained saved. The same day Balwant rao fell down from the horse by a zamburak bullet on his chest. The people rushed towards him. One person made an attack on him with his sword. The other started to cut his head to carry it away in victory. Five or seven Marathas horsemen rushed
towards their chief's body and saved it from cutting the different limbs, though his half neck was cut down. They brought it and performed the funeral site. Balwantrao's wife became Sati. About 150 men were killed and wounded on Maratha side. But the greatest loss on Maratha side was the loss of Mehandele. This battle was fought well but due to the death of Balwantrao the enemy was victorious. Nana Phanis has mentioned the casualties on the side of enemy of

This battle was a turning point in the campaign of Panipat. Bhau lost his right arm due to the loss of Balwant rao as he was Bhau's supreme adviser and he could do any work with responsibility for Bhau. After this battle every thing happened against the Marathas.

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 224.
Bhau had ordered Govind Ballal from earlier to stop the supply of Abdali from Doab, to destroy, the Mirat and Bulandshahr districts of Najib and to despatch grain and money to Panipat via Kunjpura. According to the order of Bhau, Govind Ballal with ten to twelve thousand horse marched from Etawah and reached near Delhi. No body opposed him on the way. They removed the agents of Najib from the places which they passed. The Maratha raiders plundered about half a dozen villages in the territory of Sikandrabad. The Maratha troops marched from Shandra to Jalalabad via Gazirabad. Govind Ballal had stopped the supply of grain etc. to the Abdali camp. There happened a great scarcity of grain in the camp of Abdali. All the troops of Abdali requested him to make the arrangement for their food supply.

Abdali sent Atai Khan with his own division of 2000 to march the whole night without stopping and bring the head of Govind Ballal. About ten thousand irregulars also went with him for plunder. The Khan marched according to the order of Abdali. The author of Seir Mutaqherin says that Abdali sent Atai Khan, and the son of the
late Abdul Samad Khan with a force of five thousand to defeat the Marathas under Govind Ballal. These two generals started immediately and crossed the Yamuna at Baghpat. They marched 160 miles in one night and day. On 16th December, they arrived at Shandral in the evening and killed Naro Shankar's deputy with his whole force. Next day on 17th December they reached Gaziabad, a town at six kos distance from Delhi and destroyed another Maratha force. They marched immediately at Jalalabad where Govind Ballal was present. This place had been plundered by the men of Govind Ballal before one or two days. Its residents had evacuated it. The Abdali force suddenly attacked Govind Ballal. Some Marathas took flight from there. They put to death Govind Ballal and his whole force. They cut the head of Govind Ballal and brought it to Abdali but afterwards sent to it to Bhau. Balaji Govind, the son of Govind Ballal took flight from there and came to Delhi near Naro Shankar. The Afghans took the possession of the vast stores of provisions from the plunder of the two Maratha camps.

Bhau came to know about this news on 21st December and felt very sorry. After some time another raid in lower Doab, for which Bhau had ordered, also failed. When Govind Ballal marched from Etawah, the same time, Gopal Ganesh Barve of Fatehpur Haswa and Krishnanand of Kara with their small forces marched to attack the region of Oudh. On 29th Nov. they crossed the Ganges at Dalmau and Manikpur and plundered the villages of Phulpur and Nawabganj. The Oudh forces reached there immediately and attacked the Marathas. The fighting started, Ballabhadra, the Baja of Tiloi and other Zamindars on whom Gopal Barve was dependent, fled from there. The Marathas were small in number. They were unable to face the enemy and were dispersed. Barve saved himself with only half a dozen men going to Kora-Jahanabad via Vindhya-Basin.

Before his march to Jalalabad, Govind Ballal had sent Rs. 4,20,000 to Naro Shankar at Delhi. Bhau despatched Krishna Rao Ballal with some horse to bring the treasure to his camp. Naro Shankar

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did not send the full amount at a time. He sent the amount of Rs. 1,10,000 with Krishna Rao on 21st December. Perhaps this money safely came to the camp of Bhau. On 1st January again the amount of one and a half lakh was sent by 300 men under the command of Parashar Dadaji. Each trooper was carrying 500 rupees. Out of these six men returned back by the end of the day, and returned the money. The remaining troopers marched. But on 6th January they lost their way due to the misty hour of the morning. They reached the camp of Abdali, thinking it their own camp and started calling to his men. The troops of Shah understood that they were Marathas and killed all of them and plundered their treasure. Only one trooper escaped to tell this incident at Delhi.

There was a great shortage of money in the Maratha camp. The costs of different things were very high. The soldiers were starving. Their food supply was stopped and their horses and gun-cattle were becoming weaker from starvation.

1. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 230-31; Events leading to the Battle of Panipat, I.H.Q. 1935, Vol. III, p. 552 has given 2000 cavalry was sent to Naro Shankar to bring the treasure and they were bringing the amount of two thousand rupees; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 435.
There were no chances of relief from any side. Though Ala Singh Jat had sent grain convoys from Patiala district. But after a attack of Abdali force there, Ala Singh Jat became neutral. Bhau's men and horses were dying of starvation. In every night a body of 5000 strong Durrani Cavalry used to go as close as they could towards the camp of the Marathas and used to stay the whole night. Two other parties of cavalry made half circles on right and the left side around the camp of the Marathas. These patrolling parties stopped all the grain convoys going into the camp of Bhau and to the Maratha camp troopers who tried to go in the night from Panipat to collect firewood and fodder in the near forests. The Afghan army also closed the southward road to Delhi. Thus bankruptcy came in the camp of the Marathas and the price of all the things as grain, grass etc. in the city was ten times more than the normal price.

One day about 20,000 Maratha troopers marched to collect the grass and firewood from his camp in the night. There was a forest of Dhak trees. Shah Pasand Khan was present there with 5000 troopers during his night patrol. Seeing a large number of Maratha troopers, he waited. When they reached near him, he surrounded them with his 5000 men and destroyed them. No body came to help the Marathas due to night. Abdali came to know about this after sunrise and went to see it with his entire camp. There was a great heap of heads and corpses.

At last Dhuu attempted to save his army from destruction by requesting Shuja to establish peace between him and Abdali by any means possible. The Abdali Vazir Shahvali Khan also accepted the proposal of peace. Hafiz Bahmat Khan, Dundi Khan and Ahmad Khan Bangash were also ready to make peace. But Najib was not ready to make peace and told the Shah not to accept the proposal of peace and to fight the Marathas in a battle.

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The soldiers of Bhau were suffering hard due to shortage of food and firewood in their camp and there was no grass available for the horses. Hundreds of people were dying every day due to the famine. Animals also lost their life in a large number. Finally, the soldiers were so much embarrassed due to the want of food that they sacked the houses of the people of the city of Panipat and carried away all that they could get. But this grain could not be sufficient for such a long force of Bhau.

Finally on 13th January the besieged generals and soldiers of Bhau's camp met him and told, "For the last two days not one grain of corn has been found by any of us. Even for two rupees we cannot buy one seer of grain. A thing that is totally wanting, whence can we procure it, no matter at what price? Why should be die in this beleaguered manner? We ought to confront the enemy and exert ourselves. Then let what is destured happen." Bhau had the same idea in his mind and accepted the proposal. The discussion continued up to midnight. It was decided that they should move to attack the enemy an hour before day break, and they would put
their artillery in front. All the soldiers took oath and returned to their places with the packets of betel leaf.

No leader in the camp of Bhau slept this night. All the officers and Bhau woke up early and after worshipping took their arms.

The Maratha force marched from its camp towards the field an hour before day break on 14th January. Each division moved slowly following its banner and took the decided position. They marched for three hours and formed the battle line. Then they stopped for an hour to avoid the dust so that they could see their enemy. The Afghan battle line covered the area of seven miles in length and two miles in depth. It covered the Maratha line about half a miles on the each right and left.


Abdali did not know any thing about the Bhau's idea of fighting the battle that day, while the Maratha forces had marched towards him. After making a decision with his army about a battle, Bhau had despatched his Valet Balakram to Kashiraj, the clerk of Shuja, writing few lines, "The water has now risen above the level of the head. If anything is possible, do it now, or else give me a frank refusal, as no time remains for writing and discussion."

Balakram reached there before three hours of day break. When Shuja came to know that the enemy was ready for a battle and all of them were prepared with arms, with artillery in front, Shuja immediately went into the tent of Shah and awakened him immediately to tell the situation. Shuja told Abdali that there was no time for discussion and asked the Shah to order the whole force to get ready for a battle. Shah himself rode on the horse and went a mile from his camp and

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 234.
ordered his army to get ready. The Maratha guns took their position and fired a salvo. The news told by Shuja was confirmed by it.

The position of the two armies at the field of Panipat was such -

**MARATHA ARMY**

1. Ibrahim Gardi .. (8,000)
2. Damaji Gaikwad .. (2,500)
3. Vithal Shivdev .. (1,500)
4. Minor Captains .. (2,000)
5. Bhau's banner and position.
6. Centre .. (13,500)
7. Antaji Mankeshwar .. (1,000)
8. Pilaji Jadav's Sons .. (1,500)
9. Minor Captains .. (2,000)
10. Jaswant Paur .. (1,500)
11. Shamsher Bahadur .. (1,500)
12. Jankoji Sindia .. (7,000)
13. Malhar Holkar .. (3,000)

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DURRANI ARMY

14. Barkurdar & Amir Beg .. (3,000)
15. Dundi, and
16. Hafiz Rahmat .. (14,000)
17. Ahmad Bangash .. (1,000)
18. Camel Swivels .. (1,000 x 2)
19. Kabul infantry .. (1,000)
20. Centre, Shah Wali .. (15,000)
21. Shuja .. (3,000)
22. Najib .. (15,000)
23. Shah Pasand .. (5,000)
24. Reserve (Nasrullah)
25. Civil Officers
26. Slave squadrons of body guards (3,000)
27. Abdali's tent

Bhau had placed his artillery tied with iron chains in front of all the troopers. Abdali had also kept his artillery, tied together with iron chains, in front with rockets and other war material.

1 Ibid. PP. 259-260; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 236; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, PP. 438-439 has also given the same position of the two armies.
Bhau had made no plan of battle except a general fighting with the whole front line. He had his women and camp followers, civil servants, heavy artillery and other things so he would not take flight from the city of Panipat with his fighting force. He had established no place at Delhi or Bharatpur to take shelter or to get the supply. He could not be free without the decisive defeat and without the departure of Ahmad Shah. His different generals did not receive any help or order of their supreme head during the changing period of fighting. They worked according to their will. Bhau had not made any arrangement to retreat at the time of defeat. Bhau did not possess such able, worthy or dependable generals as Abdali had on his side. Jahan Khan, Shah Pasand Khan, Atai Khan, Karim Dad Khan, Najib and Vazir Shah Wali Khan, were as able as the Bhau himself. Malhar Holkar and Jankoji Sindia's contingents composed the right wing of Mahratta army. In every clash with Burrani, this wing was greatly beaten and suffered from the atrocities created by Afghans. Jankoji was young and had no experience. Malhar Holkar was very
old man. The contingents of Antaji and others could not take the responsibility of this wing as they were very small. The result was the Maratha right wing was inactive when the battle was in a very critical position. As these Maratha troops remained inactive, Najib and shah Pasand Khan also did not make any attack without seeing the further progress of battle.  

Abdali understood that it was a final battle and not the common clashes of the earlier period, for which the Marathas had prepared themselves. He ordered his soldiers to prepare a battle line facing the enemy troops. At this time the sun had appeared. Abdali took the inspection of his army from front and after this returned to a red tent, at two miles in front of his camp and behind his army.  

On 14th January, the Marathas started firing guns and muskets on the enemy. Some men were

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wounded on the side of Abdali. Both of the armies slowly marched and took the position leaving a short distance between each other. The guns of the Marathas were very large. Their shots could not reach up to the troops of Shah. The Abdalies fired very few guns. As the troops of Durrani Vazir received severe gun shots, so they also used their artillery.

After gun firing, the arm fighting started. Early in the morning Ibrahim Khan Gardi went to Bhan and told him that he would perform his duties very sincerely. After this he immediately returned to his troops mounting on the horse. He took one flag and also a musket in his hand and he himself attacked speedily on the troops of Dundi Khan and Hafiz Behmat Khan. The firing of guns and muskets was stopped. He left two paltans to look after in front of the troops of Shah and attacked himself upon the Rohillahs with seven paltans. The Rohillahs also faced them bravely in the form of a confused mass. About eight or nine hundred Rohillahs lost their lives or were wounded. Their enemy suffered them
very much. There remained a very few men with Dundi Khan, Hafiz Bahamat Khan and Ahmad Khan Bangash. Though the number of their enemy was very large but they did not leave the field. There remained a few hundred men with these generals. Hafiz Bahamat Khan was not feeling well so he was brought in a Palki. He asked to keep his Palki before Dundi Khan so that he could be killed before his eyes. The fighting was so close that one could not inquire about another. Dundi Khan got down of his horse and asked to bring the news about Hafiz Bahamat Khan.

The other two battalions despatched against the flank ghul of Shah also fought bravely and confused the enemy troops. (Sarkar Vol. II, P. 243 has written that the Afghans were joined by three thousand troops from the reserve of Abdali.) The fighting and firing continued for four hours. Ibrahim Khan Gardi's five or six paltans lost their lives or were wounded. Damaji Gaikwad and others were ordered to help Ibrahim Khan Gardi. They also fought the battle bravely. Damaji Gaikwad got three wounds. Ibrahim Gardi also got two or three wounds.

The Bhau attacks Shah Vali Khan, the Vazir of Abdali

On the other hand, Bhau with household cavalry and Viswasrao and some other generals made an attack on the Vazir Shah Vali Khan. There was a severe fighting. The Vazir's division consisted of about ten to twelve thousand troopers, seven or eight thousand infantry consisting of the Tiger-cubs of Persia and Kabul and one thousand Zamburak Camels. Sarkar, P. 244 has given the strength of the two forces at this time about 38,000 on each side. The Marathas killed them badly Vazir's paternal uncle's son Atai Khan was killed and about three thousand Durranis also lost their life and the others returned back. "The grand wazir stood with a hundred or two hundred troops and fifty Zamburak Camels with their knees tied together placed in front of him." Shuja-ud-daula asked Kashiraj the reason of silence in the division of the Vazir and ordered him to find out the reason. The Vazir was sitting on the ground in agony. He asked Kashiraj to send Shuja immediately for
his help. But Shuja refused to go to help the Vazir as the enemy troops were standing before him and if the enemy had made any other plan and battle line, his army would have been totally defeated. The deaths on the side of Vazir were lesser than the Marathas but the Marathas fought so bravely that it seemed that they would get the final victory.

Shuja-ud-daula formed a division of two thousand horse and one thousand foot and arranged a line of twenty guns and was ready to face the enemy. No troops of the enemy marched against the force of Shuja and they remained safe.

When Abdali came to know about the disastrous and scattered condition of the centre, right wing and of the trans-Ganges Rohillas after midday, he called military provosts. Two thousand such troopers arrived near Shah. Ahmad Shah

2 Wall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, 246.
ordered 500 troopers to return immediately to his camp and to bring all the camp followers, hiding soldiers to the battle field. The rest 1500 troopers were sent behind the line of battle and to attack every one to had taken flight from the field of battle. These troopers severely attacked the several thousands of such soldiers. About six or seven thousand such fugitive soldiers returned back. A small body of troops also reached there from the camp and also a body from the Shah. About three or four thousand soldiers were sent for the help of right wing of the suffering Bohillahs.

About ten thousand troopers were sent for the help of Vazir Shah Wali Khan. They were ordered to attack the Centre division of the Marathas. Shah ordered his right and left flanks to attack all the time on the centre of the Maratha army from their sides, that Shah Wali Khan made an attack on Maratha army.

These forces reached to Vazir Shah Wali Khan at half-past one. The Vazir mounted on his horse
and attacked the Maratha divisions of Bhau and Vishwasrao etc. The flank corps of Shah's force also attacked from the two sides. Najib ordered his infantry and cavalry to fire two rockets at the same time. Thus in this attack about ten or twelve rockets were fired. Shah Wali Khan also fought with the enemy for about one hour. The Marathas also faced them with courage.

But the Marathas were hard pressed. Abdali took the advantage of this situation. Shah despatched three squadrons of slaves division to fire the division of Bhau and to cover it from three sides. These squadrons fired muskets from all sides on the Marathas. The Marathas lost their courage and were confused. All the Marathas reached the centre of their army. Inspite of it the Maratha cavalry marched against the Vazir's front but could not effect it and were thrown back by the Afghan artillery.

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.II, PP.248-249.
At quarter past two Vishwasrao was struck dead by a bullet on his horse. This news reached Bhau. Bhau ordered that the body of Vishwasrao should be kept on Bhau’s elephant. On the back side of it Bapu Mahadev Hingne was mounted. Bhau attacked the division of Vazir Shah Vali Khan. The battle with Vazir continued for half an hour. The Maratha army started disappearing and everywhere there were heaps of corpses.

Two horses lost their lives under Bhau during the battle. The third time he rode on a mare. Bhau was wounded by a spear and a bullet shot in his thigh at this time. He came down. Bhau was putting on rich jewels and decorated dress and was moving on foot from the field of battle. He had a spear in his hand. Four or five Durrani troopers looked at his costly ornaments and surrounded him and asked him to speak truth to save the life. Bhau did not answer them. An Afghan trooper attacked him with his spear but the trooper was wounded by the spear of Bhau. Other troopers went to kill Bhau. Again Bhau killed two
or three troopers with his spear but finally his head was removed and taken away by his Killers. Thus Bhau also lost his life.

The Maratha right wing remained in active during the battle. Najib marched one and a half kos during the course of five hours of battle and reached in front of the contingent of Jankoji Sindia. He had six or seven thousand cavalry and eight thousand infantry. The Rohillah infantry was in front and cavalry dismounted. Najib himself was marching on foot. The pioneers prepared trenches for themselves and threw up a breast work of sand which was 18 inches high for the shelter of infantry. Najib had a vast quantity of rockets. The division of Jankoji Sindia was opposite to him. Najib discharged two thousand rockets at the same time. His enemy desired to attack him but they were very much agitated due to the sock of the fire.

The division of Shah Pasand khan stood on the left side of Najib. He marched with such boldness that the facing division of Malhar Holkar of only 300 could not attack him. By the end of


the day when Maratha centre and left wing was completely dispersed, Shah Pasand and Najib attacked their enemy. Malhar Holkar took flight. Shah Pasand turned towards the division of Jankoji. Jankoji's troopers were beaten. His troopers took flight westward leaving Jankoji in the battle field. All the men of Jankoji left him. Jankoji could not face Shah Pasand and Najib with a small backing of his friends and troopers. Jankoji was wounded and carried away to the Bhau division in centre. Jaswant Pawar and a son of Pilaji Jadav were killed. Shamsher Bahadur was severely wounded. Thus the Maratha right wing was destroyed.

"The rest of the generals followed promiscuously with all their officers and soldiers; and it was in that order that this departed army at once presented itself on the frontiers of eternity." Ibrahim Khan Gardi was imprisoned and it was ordered to cut off his head. Thus he also lost his life. Everywhere there looked the dead bodies lying on the field. "After the battle,

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 253.
two and twenty thousand women, girls and children of both sexes, some of them persons of distinction and related to the most illustrious of the slain, were distributed among the victorious, who plundered an incredible quantity of money, jewels, and fine stuffs, nor is there coming at any computation of the mighty sum." The Abdalies plundered the artillery with two hundred thousand oxen and cows, fifty thousand horses, five hundred large elephants and a large number of camels and mules.

Thousands of the Marathas who were not killed during the battle and were roaming alone were plundered, deprived of all things and killed by the peasants in the number as was possible. These peasants plundered and killed these Marathas not due to sufferings which the Marathas had given them earlier. Shamsher Bahadur, half brother to Balaji Rao was also killed by some of the plunderers. Among the inferior officers only Patil Mahadji Sindia and Malhar Holkar could save their lives.

1 Seik Muta Cherin, Vol. III, P. 391
2 Ibid. P. 391.
In a letter dated 12th March Nana Phadnis informed Baburao Ramchandra about the disaster of Panipat that such a defeat was never heard earlier. The Marathas escaped towards Marwar, Jaipur, across the Ganges and wherever it was possible. Duranik, Govind Pant Upadhyae, Apaji Pant Godhakar, Gangadhar Babaji, Dhondopant Lele, Ramchandra Pant Nath; Khandopant, Pandurangpant Bedekar, Krishna Bhatt Takekar came to us but there is no news about Laxman Ballal Ana, Ramaji Anand Dubholkar, Bapuji Bham Phadke, Baji Ballal Joshi, Haripant Kelkar, Ramaji Pant Agashe, Athvale Babaji Pant Karkun, Kasipant, Naropant Divekar and Shridharpant Ghanekar. About Brahmins and Maratha people some have come and there is no news about some of them. About forty thousand men have been killed. Only six thousand horses have escaped out of sixty thousand force. The rest have been lost. There is no information about Hari Shivram, Narayan Bapuji, Baji Hari, father and son, Antaji Mankeshwar, Bhawani Shankar Shahnawaz Khani, Jankoji Sindia, Sonji Bhapkar, Tukoji Sindia, Ramaji Paygude, the son of Krishna Anant, Yashwantrao Pawar and Govindrao Jadhav. All the property has been lost
as artillery, Daftar, Naqara, Nishana etc. Not a single Kauri has been saved. All the force has been destroyed. The news about Delhi was that the news of the defeat of Bhau at Panipat reached there. Naro Shankar was present at Delhi with seven or eight thousand force. When he came to know about the defeat of Bhau, he became nervous and took flight. The people of the city beat them during their flight. They plundered them. There was the treasure of the government of five lakhs and four or five lakhs rupees of Sindia and Sahukars but no body plundered their treasure. There was very good arrangement in the fort of Delhi. There was sufficient force and grain and the provisions of war for about two or three months. If they had remained in the fort of Delhi, there would not had been the destruction of the fleeing army. Surajmal Jat helped the plundered and fleeing men. Malhar Holkar returned alive and lived at Gwalior otherwise there was no place for him upto Narmada. There was no news about Bhau. All the people saw his dead-body among the soldiers and did performed the funeral rites, a Vakil came to Kumbher near
the Jats, he told Nana Phadnis this news. Bapuji Mahadev Vakil also wrote the same news. But Parvati Bai was present there so it was said that he took flight, he was present at Bikaner and where he is? The Peshwa would expire so all say that Bhau is alive. About those people about whom there is no information they have lost their lives. The news about Bhau is that he is in the country of Ala Jat and the other news is that he is near Sarhind. Some say that the body of Vishwas Rao was given the due rites and some ghosts put the fire to the body of Bhau.

In a letter Morabadata wrote to Babureo on 4th February from Nivsar in Malwa province that a battle was fought, between the forces of Abdali and the Marathas. Five or six important Sardars were killed on Abdali’s side. There is no information of the number of dead and wounded on both sides. There was a great destruction. The force started taking flight. The horses were not powerful. Bhau took flight and took shelter at Kunjpura. There is no information about the

1 Panipatcha Hansangram, Letter No. 9, PP. 21-25.
dead and escaped men. Naro Shankar was at Delhi, he fled from there. The Maratha army has finished in all places. Najib was killed on Abdali's side but this news was wrong. The rumour also arose that Malhar Holkar, Jankoji Sindia, Shamsher Babadur, Damaji Gaikwad have been killed. Bhau is at Kunjpura in the shelter of Ala Jat. Naro Shankar reached Ujjain after taking flight Abdali had sent letters to Madho Singh of Jaipur and to other Rajas also that if even the ten horses of the Marathas would pass from the territory of these Rajas, then he would killed them. So all the Rajas have been afraid. 1

In a letter Gopalrao Govind informed Bapurao Phadnis on 4th February that a battle was fought between Bhau and the Abdalies. A large number of people were killed and wounded on our side. On Abdali side four important Sardars were killed and people were killed and wounded. Bhau could not face them for a long time. He took flight and reached at Kunjpura, in the west of Panipatcha Bansangram, Pp. 27-28.

1 Panipatcha Bansangram, PP. 27-28.
Sonapet and reached in the country of Ala Jat. There is no news about the number of dead, who have taken flight, where they have gone. There is no news about it.

At quarter to three in the afternoon almost all the Maratha officers had been killed. The field of battle was covered with dead or wounded people. All the remaining Maratha army and men took flight wherever they could. Some common fighters or their leaders as Malhar Holkar, Damaji Gaikwad, Vithal Shivdev escaped themselves safe after the defeat. A large number of the army, their families and camp followers were destroyed by the cold steel of Afghans. A large number of men rushed towards their camp but there was none to save them.

All the troops of the enemy rushed towards the fleeing Marathas to get the plunder. They followed them even beyond the city of Panipat and killed them pursuing them wherever the Marathas went. It was a moon-lit night and the Afghan troops pursued the Marathas twenty-miles

1 Panipatcha Hansangram, PP. 29-30.
in every side and killed everyone, they could overtake. A countless number of people were killed that day. The land was covered with heaps of corpses of helpless non-combatants, stragglers, bazarmen, clerks, accountants and others. The Abdali troops did not enter in the trenches of the Marathas this evening as Ahmad Shah was doubtful that the forces of the enemy had not been completely perished and could counter attack.

Next day Anupgar - Gosavi and Kashiraj Pandit inspected the battle field. There were thirty two large heaps of corpses on the battle field, the number of bodies in each ranging from 500 upwards to 1000 and in four upto 1,500. Thus the total reached to 23000. The trenches round the Maratha camp were also full of corpses, out of these some lost their lives due to disease and famine during the long siege and some of them died as they were wounded severely. A large number of dead bodies were scattered on the west and south of Panipat City and on the nooks of the jungles.

Out of these there were probably three-fourths non-combatants and one-fourth soldiers. Their number was not less than the total of the persons who were killed on the field of battle. Hundreds of wounded men lost their lives due to extreme cold.

The Abdal-ies massacred the Marathas also. Hundred of the Marathas had taken refuge in the city of Panipat, they were searched out and killed. The sons of Abdus Samad Ahen and Mian Qutb got the permission of Ahmad Shah and took the revenge of their father's death by the massacre of the Marathas for one day. In this way they killed about nine thousand men who were non-combatants. The Durreni soldiers captured hundred or two hundred prisoners each and killed them in the outskirts of their camp. "In this way, thousands of soldiers and other people were massacred. In the Shah's camp, except the quarters of the Shah and his nobles, every tent had a heap of severed heads before it. One might say that

this was verily Doomsday for the Marathas."

The Abdalies captured incalculated amount of booty within the Maratha entrenchment. About 8000 (Andali) troopers took the possession of the all plundered things and did not give the plunder to other Iranis and Turenis. They sold beautiful Brahman women and good horses for one Tuman and two Tumans respectively to the Indian soldiers.

About twenty two thousand male or female Maratha prisoners were made slaves by the Abdali army. Kashi Baj has written that "Every trooper brought away ten or even twenty camels laden with money. The captured horses were beyond count, but none of them was of value, they came like droves of sheep in their thousands. Good elephants were taken, and also slavegirls and slaves of the same kind to the number of nearly thirty or forty thousand were captured alive."

1 'Panipat, 1761', I.H.Q. Vol. X, Year 1934, P. 266.
2 The fall of the Moghul Empire, Vol. II, P. 255.
3 Ibid. P. 255.
Out of these captures 8000 men and four hundred officers took shelter in the camp of Shuja-ud-daula. Shuja appointed a body of turky soldiers to guard these men from slaying and sent them to the country of Surajmal giving them monetary help. The Abdalies plundered the artillery with two hundred thousand oxen and cows, fifty thousand horses, five hundred large elephants and a large number of camels and mules besides the incalculated money and jewellery.

From the People killed on the battle field, the body of Vishwasrao was brought to the camp of Shuja-ud-daula by Bakhurdar Ahan. Shuja kept his body after giving them a reward of 2000 rupees. Then the corpse of Vishwasrao was brought to the camp of Abdali. The Abdali soldiers said that they would take it to their country but finally on the request of Shuja-ud-daula the corpse of Vishwasrao was given to his Brahmins for the due rites. The headless body of Bhaeu was brought out of the large heap of corpses after two days of the

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1 'Panipat, 1761', I.H.Q. Vol. X, Year 1934, P. 266.
battle. On third day the head of Bhau was received from a Abdali Trooper. Thus the body of Bhau was also cremated. The body of Jamwant Bao Pawar and the son of Pilaji Jadav, and many others were recovered among the heaps of slain. Jankoji Sindia was captured wounded and was concealed in the camp of Barkhurdar Khan. He was ready to release him for seven lakhs. When Najib came to know about this, he told Abdali. Barkurdar Khan slayed Jankoji and buried him in some spot.

Ibrahim Khan Gardi was also wounded severely and took shelter in the camp of Shuja. Shuja wanted to send him to his Subah but this secret was opened to Shah. Shuja was compelled to consign Ibrahim Khan to the Abdali Vazir according to the order of the Shah. "His wounds were bandaged with poisoned dressing and his diet was filled one half with salt; so that on the seventh day, when the (Durrani's army) entered Delhi, he died .........." Seir-Mutaqherin says that Ibrahim Khan Gardi was imprisoned. But after some time it was ordered to cut off his head and thus he departed from this world. Shamsheer Bahadur had
save himself taking flight towards Kumbner. He was severely wounded and lost his life though Surajmal tried his best to cure him. The Zamindars of Farrukhnagar killed Antaji when he was returning towards his home, Baji Hari was also killed.

Mahadji Sindia was also wounded by the Abdali followers when he was fleeing and was lamed for the whole life. A large number of the Marathas were robbed of their arms and horses and were killed by the peasantry during their flight. These Marathas were not in a position to attack any village etc. Antaji was recognized as a general by his horse and dress by the Zamindars and they killed him to get the plunder. Other many Captains also received the same fate.

Finally, the fugitives took refuge in the territory of Surajmal Jat, some in Delhi and Rajputana. Surajmal Jat treated them politely and gave them food, clothes and medical help and conveyance to their own city of Gwalior. About fifty thousand Marathas saved their life in this

1 'Panipat, 1761', I.H.Q., Vol. X, Year 1934, PP. 266-270.
2 Ibid. P. 265.
way. The Jat queen Kishori took great care of the fugitives. No men could return to Deccan safely without the help of Surajmal Jat.

DEATH OF THE PESHWA BALAJI RAO

The Peshwa's health started declining by the end of the year 1760. The death was roving over his head. He was becoming weaker due to disease and on the other hand public business, quarrels within his family circle, the bankruptcy of the government, all these things increased his worries. It was attempted to divert his mind by dance and song and he was also married to a young wife on 27th December at Pathan. He made a plan to move towards northern India with Nizam Ali to drive out Abdali. He marched on the last day of 1760 with Raghunathrao and another force commanded by two Ehosle brothers, Gopalrao Patwardhan, Sadashiv Ramchandra, Yamaji Shivdev and others. On 9th January he despatched Raghunathrao and Sakharam Bapu to bring the Nizam but they failed. The Peshwa continued his march towards north. The Peshwa

reached Malwa on 18th January and informed Bhau to fight with Abdali until his arrival, so that they could defeat him unitedly. On 24th January at Bhilsa, the Peshwa stopped a messenger of a banker carrying a letter which was written from Delhi about the disaster of Panipat. The letter also contained these words - "Two pearls dissolved, ten or twenty gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper rupees there is no counting. The Peshwa could receive no satisfactory detail about the disaster of Panipat for a long time and had a great suspense. Only in February, the Peshwa could get the detailed news about the incidents of 14th January from Nana Purandars who returned from Panipat. The Peshwa was very much grieved hearing the news about the death of his son and loss of a large Maratha army. It was also reported that Bhau and Jankoji were returning wounded. The Peshwa wanted inquiry about the people who escaped themselves. The Peshwa's health was very much affected by this sad news and he gave up the idea to move towards Delhi. The Peshwa stayed at Bhilsa up to 7th February and then arrived at Pachhor, 32 miles north of Sironj marching via Sihor and Sironj.
The Peshwa thought that the rumour might be true about the escape of Bhamu and other chiefs from the field. He met the remaining people from Panipat here and they told him to go back home. The Peshwa halted there for a long time and on 22nd March he returned back towards south passing via Indore on 6th April. The Peshwa did not waste his two months near Bhilsa and Sironj. In this time the Maratha hold was re-established in Malwa, Bundelkhand and Doab. The Peshwa was very much grieved but other men and Sardars worked hard to establish the Maratha hold which was finished for a few months. Malhar Holkar, Naro Shanker, the Pawards and others recovered their possession when the normalcy reappeared.

The Peshwa had lost his weight very much. He reached Poona on 5th June. On 12th June he went in a house on Parvati hill leaving Shaniwar palace. He expired on 23rd June there. After his cremation, Madhavrao got the robes of Peshwa on 17th July from Chhatrapati at Satara.


On 15th January Ahmad Shah Abdali entered in the city of Panipat dressed in a jewelled and gorgeous robe and visited the shrine of Muslim saint Ali Mardar in the city of Panipat and said prayers for his conquest which he received. Now he left his camp and marched towards Delhi and entered Delhi on 29th January and captured incalculated property. Ten thousand gold mohurs were seized from Habsh Khan. The queen mother payed her respect to Abdali by marching with him to Narela, 12 Kos north of Delhi and payed one lakh rupees to Abdali and half a lakh to his Vazir Shahvali Khan.

He captured the palace of Delhi and lived with his wives in the rooms which were for the empress during the reign of Shahjahan and his successors and held court in Diwan-i-Khas.


3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 276

Abdali could not stay at Delhi peacefully. The pay of his soldiers was not paid from two years so they created a mutiny. These soldiers wanted to return to their country. Abdali asked Najib to arrange for money for the payment of Durrani troops but Najib was himself helpless. Najib gave the suggestion to attack the territory of Surajmal Jat to get funds. On 8th March Vazir Shah Vali Khan with Prince Jawan Bakht and Zeenat Mahal marched towards Agra to compel Surajmal Jat but the troopers of Abdali were not ready to go in this Mathura region without getting their past salary. Sarkar has written that they were not ready because they had lost there a large number of soldiers in this region due to colera before four years in the month of March. There was no way for Abdali except to return to his country. Abdali decided to return to his home. He marched from the city of Delhi on 20th March and stayed for two days in the Shalimar Garden and arrived Ambala on 27th March. In May he reached Afghanistan. Abdali returned to his country as

Uzbeks i.e., Durrani Mughals had created disturbances in his country.

Abdali gave the Emperorship to Ali-Gohar, Vazirship was given to Wazi-ud-din and Najib was made the Mir-Bakhshi. Nasr ul-Mulk and Dilel Singh were sent to Kumbhar to bring Wazi-ud-din as he would make the arrangement of the empire. Abdali told Nasr ul-Mulk about this and after sending him there, Abdali returned to his country. Abdali gave instructions to Najib and Wazi-ud-din to work friendly and to serve the interests of their master. Jawan Bakht, the son of Ali Gohar was made the heir or Vicar. He gave all the arrangement of Delhi in the hands of Najib and Jawan Bakht. Abdali did not give the Vazirship to Shuja-ud-daula, so Shuja went to Lucknow on 7th March.


2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 277-278.


Abdali wanted to establish peace among all the powers of India before his departure from here. He wanted to keep the Punjab from the Satlej West wards and an annual tribute of 40 lakhs of rupees for the rest of the Mughal Empire, which was to be paid by the minister who would make the arrangement at Delhi. After the battle of Panipat, Abdali wanted to pacify Peshwa and made attempts for it for several years. He wrote letters to his Delhi agent Yaqub Ali Khan to visit the Peshwa and to ask excuse for Abdali for the death of his son and cousin. He gave instructions to him to give assurances to the Poona Court that the boundaries decided by negotiations would be respected. All the Indian powers should support Shah Alam and the government should start its functions.

Ahmad Shah wanted to get the tribute punctually from India without sending any army for its collection so he wanted to maintain peace in India.

According to the orders of Abdali, Yaqub Ali Khan marched from Delhi on 9th April with the robes of Imperial Vazir, to give them to Ghazi-ud-din at Mathura. He went to Surajmal on 19th April. Long discussion was held by these three and Tatya Gangadhar, Bapu Mahadev Hinge to establish peace between Abdali and the Peshwa and to establish normalcy in the administration of the country. The Vakils of Rohillahs, Ahmad Bangash and Shuja-ud-daula also arrived there but nothing could be decided because the Peshwa had died and because Surajmal and Imad wanted to keep Najib aside and to establish their authority over the Imperial administration.

Imad and Tatya Gangadhar, Surajmal Jat etc. did not allow Yaqub Ali Khan to go to Peshwa and decide peace terms and boundaries by meeting directly with him. They told Yaqub Ali Khan to decide the matter at Mathura. Yaqub Ali Khan protested against it but due the death of the Peshwa,


Yaqub Ali Khan was stopped at Mathura and the discussion finished after one month without deciding nothing. Yaqub Ali Khan could do nothing. He gave the robes of Vazir to Imad and finished his work.

The territory across the Yamuna was in the possession of the Marathas. Shuja, Rohillahs and Pathans had established their posts, there. Ganganadhar Pant wrote letters to Shuja, Rohillahs and Pathans to evacuate Maratha territory. They evacuated the Maratha posts in Doab. Balaji Govind had established his posts. Gopalrao Ganesh had established their posts at Kora - Jahangabad. Thus Maratha arrangement was established in Doab.

When Abdali came to know that the Peshwa had reached at Gwalior with a large army, he thought

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3 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 145
that there could be a war again so he wanted to establish peace with the Peshwa. On 23rd March the Peshwa wrote to Hingine, "I am enclosing my replies to the letters received from the Shah Abdali and his Wazir Shah Wali Khan and delivered here by their agent Gulraj. I have now deputed Anwarulla Khan and Hussain Mohammad to negotiate peace with the Shah. Malhar Golkar has been given all the rights. You should inform him all about it and follow his orders. You should take the advice of Mir Anwarullah Khan and Husain Khan and informed me about the progress of negotiations. He inquired about all Amirs, Shah Abdali and Ghazi-ud-din that where they were present.

In another letter the Peshwa asked the Purushottam Mahadev that "I have sent letters to Ghazi-ud-din, Surajmal Jat. You should sent their reply after receiving them. Abdali has returned, this news was received from Delhi and Jaipur but no body informed me. Who is the

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Emperor at Delhi? Who is the Vazir? Why Abdali returned to his country? What are the plans of Thakurs and Ghazi-uddin. What they are doing? You should inform all this to me in details.

Malhar Holkar is at Gwalior with a force. He has all the rights. You should work according to the orders of Malhar Holkar.

In a letter addressed to the Peshwa it has been written that Najib Khan was at Sonipat. The Vazir and Surajmal Jat wanted to make another Emperor going to Delhi. When this news reached Delhi, Zeenat Mahal called Najib Khan to Delhi and made good arrangements in the fort and city of Delhi. All Gohar reached Benaras were was coming towards Delhi with the English. Hearing this, the Vazir decided to finish the conflicts and called the Mehsraj, the Vakil of Najib and told him that the Vazir is always ready for the services of the Emperor and took oath to not to create any conflict.


In another letter Gangadhar Yashwant reported to the Peshwa early in May that before Abdali's departure to his country, Shah Wali Khan gave instructions to Koohillahs, Pathas and Shuja-ud-daula, in the presence of Bapuji Mahadev Bhata that a peace had been established between Abdali and the Peshwa. You should not create any disturbance in his country and that would be useful for you. At the time of going to his country Shuja-ud-daula evacuated the posts of Kara-Kora etc. and went across the Ganges. In the beginning of the letter Gangadhar Yashwant has written that he told the Vakil of Shuja that he would not give any territory to the Jats. I would keep my territory in my own possession and you should evacuate our territory. The Vakil informed Shuja-ud-daula, so Shuja evacuated the territory of the Marathas and Marathas captured. 

The Peshwa had accepted the proposal of Abdali to send Yaqub Ali Khan to Poona with Bapu

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Mahadev to decide the peace terms. Abdali sent his ambassador Yaqub Ali Khan from Lahore to negotiate peace terms with the Peshwa and Kapuji. Mahadev was sent with Yaqub Ali Khan to visit the Peshwa. But Surajmal Jat Qazi-ud-din and others wanted to finalize the peace talks at Mathura. Yaqub Ali Khan stayed there for a month but they did not allow him to go to the Peshwa. Nothing could be decided and the discussion finished after two months. Yaqub Ali Khan could do nothing. The Peshwa had died up to this time. The treaty with Abdali was finally concluded after two years. Abdali entered into an understanding with the Peshwa immediately due to the reason that the Sikhs had been very strong in Punjab and opposed Abdali's claims there.


4 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 280.


6 Ibid. P. 448.
Thus the result of the battle of Panipat was that the Marathas lost Punjab for ever on the north-west frontier. As the Marathas failed to defeat Abdali in 1757 and in 1760-61, it showed the Indian world that no Indian potentate should take risk by depending on the Marathas in the time of real danger. During this battle almost all the important Sardars and captains, the Peshwa, his son, Bhau etc. all were killed. It gave the way to the guilty ambitions of Raghunathrao who was the most notorious character in the history of the Marathas. The battle of Panipat "In fact it pushed forward in the distant sequel two prominent members of the dominant race, Nana Phadnis and Mahadji Sindia, both miraculously escaping death on that fatal day, who resuscitated that power to its former glory."

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2 Ibid. P. 262
CHAPTER V

MARATHA ACTIVITIES IN THE PROVINCE OF ALLAHABAD

The Marathas had started their attacks in Northern India from the first decade of 18th Century. From the time of Baji Rao I, this policy appeared in its full form. The Marathas wanted to establish their control over the Hindu religious places in Northern India as Allahabad, Benares, Mathura etc. which were in the possession of the Muhammadans from centuries and they wanted to restore Hindu religion and culture as they had to face many difficulties in going to pilgrimage in these places due to pilgrim tax etc. With their success in political field, the Marathas also paid their attention towards the condition of these

1 Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion, P.87; Parties & Politics At The Mughal Court, P. 106.
religious places as they themselves followed Hindu religion.

In the year 1719 after completing his work at Delhi, Balaji Visvanath, the Peshwa, had gone to visit Benaras and other places of Hindu pilgrimage. The Marathas had entered in Bundelkhand, a part of the Subah of Allahabad, by the end of the year 1728 under the leadership of Peshwa Baji Rao I when Chhatrasal, the Bundela chief, called him to help in opposing the invasion of Mohammad Khan Bangash, the Mughal governor of the province of Allahabad.

Baji Rao marched towards Bundelkhand by the end of November 1728 with Pilaji Jadhav and other leaders as Naro Shankar, Tukoji Pawar and Davelji Somvanshi at the head of 25000 horse. The Maratha army penetrated in Ganathri districts and collected tribute there. Then they marched towards

3 Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion, PP. 104-106; Parties And Politics At The Mughal Court, P. 207; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, PP. 105-106.
Deogarh via Barar. In Barar Aiwaz Khan requested Baji Rao not to create disturbances. The Peshwa marched via Mahur. On 13th January 1729, the Marathas attacked Bari in Deogarh. On 23rd January the Deogarh Raja agreed to pay Rs. 65000 thousand annually to the Marathas as a tribute by an agreement. On 4th February the Maratha army under Peshwa's moved towards Bundelkhand.

On 10th March Bharti Singh, the son of Chhatrasal met him at Mahoba. On 13th March Chhatrasal received him with respect and gave him presents. A number of Bundela chiefs joined the force of Peshwa and it swallowed to a figure of 70,000 men. The Baji Rao marched towards the camp of Banash. Banash came to know about the arrival of the Marathas when they were only at 20 miles distance from his camp at Jaitpur. He

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5 Ibid. P. 107.
started preparations for defence and sent letters to the Emperor to send forces for his help.

The Marathas had no artillery. They surrounded the camp of Bangash from all sides and stopped the supply of grain or grass from outside. Bangash made a sortie but it proved useless. When Qaim Khan, the son of Bangash came to know all about this at Taharwan by the middle of May, he arrived at Supa, at 12 miles distance from Jaitpur. The Maratha forces attacked him. Qaim took flight leaving his camp and booty behind which were seized by the Marathas. Mohammad Khan Bangash took shelter in the fort of Jaitpur but there was a great shortage of food. The Maratha armies invested the fort and town of Jaitpur. A number of soldiers died of starvation, a large number of them left Bangash. From the Delhi Court, no reinforcements came to help Bangash. The Marathas

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1 Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion, P. 107; Later Mughals; Vol. II, P. 239.
2 Ibid. P. 107; Later Mughals; Vol. II, P. 238.
could not continue the siege for a long time as the rainy season had set in. So the Marathas marched from Jaitpur on 23rd May towards Deccan leaving Chhatrasal to continue the siege. In August 1729, Mohammad Khan Bangash was ordered to vacate Jaitpur and signed an agreement that he would not attack them again but would be satisfied with earlier paid tribute.

Thus the Mughal Empire lost Bundelkhand.

The Emperor appointed Sarbuland Khan as the governor of Allahabad replacing Mohammad Khan.

In return of the services of the Marathas, Chhatrasal gave the Peshwa a part of his country as a jagir which yielded the revenue of 30,76,953 rupees a year. Accepted Baji Rao as his son and


Baji Bao promised that he will treat Chhatrasal's sons as his younger brothers. Baji Bao sent his agents Haridas Purohit and Asharam to Poona near Chimnaji to decide about the jagir promised to Baji Bao. At this time Chhatrasal died on 14th December 1731. In October 1732 Peshwa sent Chimnaji Appa to Bundelkhand for the partition of jagir and the collection of tribute. Chimnaji reached Bundelkhand and appointed Govind Ballal Kher, later known as Bundele for the management of the acquired territory. Chhatrasal's son Jagatraj gave the Peshwa the territory of the value of one lakh while Hirdesa gave the territory of the value of a quarter and a lakh including the fort of Rajghar. The Bundelas also agreed to join the forces of the Peshwa and help him in his campaigns against the Mughals. Hirdesa wanted to acquire the territory upto Orchha and agreed to

 history of the marathas; Vol. II, P. 108; Parties And Politics At The mughal Court, P. 207; Peshwa Baji Bao & & maratha Expansion, P. 113.

3 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XLV, No. 7-9; New History of the marathas, Vol. II, P. 108 says that both of the Chhatrasal's sons gave the Peshwa the territory of the value of quarter and one lakh; Peshwa Baji Bao I & Maratha Expansion, P. 113.
give half portion of it to the Peshwa. Chimnaji himself returned to Deccan in the month of June 1733.

Again in the year 1733-1734 Holkar and Sindia with Pilaji Jadhav marched towards Malwa and Bundelkhand. Holkar and Sindia went to Malwa while Pilaji went to Datia and Orchha via Nimar by the end of the year 1733. He collected dues there and marched towards Gwalior but found it deserted. They marched to Bhadawar where the chief gave him about 3 lakhs. The Marathas returned to Narmar and then to Deccan by the end of April 1734 via Chanderi on his left hand.

In the year 1732-33, the Vazir Qamar-ud-din Khan marched with a large force against the Marathas. But before the departure of Vazir from Delhi against the Marathas, the Marathas had crossed Narmada after

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XIV, No.9; Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion, p. 114; Parties And Politics At the Mughal Court, p. 108.
collecting dues. The Vazir encamped at Shivpuri in Gwalior and sent a part of his army against the Marathas but the Marathas had crossed the Narmada. The army joined the Vazir. The Baja of Orchha and Rao Ram Chandra requested the Vazir to march against the sons of Chhatrasal, the allies of the Marathas. The Vazir had marched upto the boundary of the country of Jagat Raj but in the mean time he came to know about the rebellion of Bhagwant Singh of Adaru in the jagir of Ghazipur. He had killed his son-in-law Nisar Khan who was the Faujdar of Kora Jahanabad. The Vazir moved towards Ghazipur and attacked on it. Bhagwant Singh rushed towards Ashotar. The Vazir returned to Delhi by the end of June.

Again after the rainy season of 1734, Pilaji joined by Balaji and Vyankat Rao Ghorpade reached at Bundelkhand. Crossing the Narmada at Ketughan in December 1734, he arrived at Amola in Orchha on 15th January 1735. When he reached Bundelkhand,
the son of Chhatrasal also joined him.

In November 1734 an Imperial army of 25,000 men under Vazir Qamaruddin marched towards Bundelkhand via Agra against Pilaji. Two or three clashes occurred between the forces of Pilaji and the Vazir in February 1735 near Narmar. Pilaji moved to Shivpuri and Kolaras capturing 300 horses and camels of his enemy. The Vazir wanted to make a compromise by paying the Marathas 5 lakhs but Pilaji refused. After a few clashes - Pilaji returned to Bundel Khand, took his baggage from there. Due to the arrival of rainy season, Pilaji returned to Deccan via Chanda and Deogarh. The Vazir also returned to Delhi in May 1735.

In the year 1735 Peshwas' mother Radha Bai came to northern India to visit the Hindu religious

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar; Vol. XIV, No. 23; Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion, P. 117.
2 Ibid. Vol. XIV, No. 22, 23.
places. On 9th March she arrived at Burhanpur and on 6th May at Udaipur. She went to Nathdwara, Jaipur, Mathura, Kurukshetra, Allahabad, Benaras and Gaya. Then she returned to Benaras, in January reached at Bundelkhand and in May arrived at Poona.

In October 1735 Peshwa himself marched towards the north from the Deccan. His brother Chimnaji marched towards Gwalior via Sironj and Bundelkhand. Pilaji was also sent to the north to help him.

But according to the Maratha sources, Satwaji Jadhav and Baji Bhivrao marched towards Bundelkhand in place of Pilaji due to his illness. When they reached in Bundelkhand in January 1736, Datia, Orchha and Bhadawar paid them tribute. Then they marched towards Gwalior. In Bundelkhand the

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5 Selections from peshwa daftar, Vol.XIV-No. 52, 52-56
sons of Chhatrasal advised them to devastate the Subah of Allahabad crossing the Yamuna but Yamuna could not be crossed at this time. So they marched towards Gwalior. It was thought at Delhi that the Marathas would attack Agra. Mohammad Khan Bangash, the Subahdar of Allahabad was sent for the protection of the ferries of Chambal near Dholpur on 14th January 1736. A Maratha force under Baji Bhivrao had reached at Naurabad. They plundered the Village of Bagohini. Now Bangash encamped between Kuwari and Chambal without fighting with the Marathas. Bangash sent his agent to make terms. At this time the Peshwa himself was busy in negotiations so he recalled these forces.

Another Maratha force was under Pilaji at Bundelkhand. The Vazir marched against them and encamped at Arjal lake marching via Narwar which is at twelve miles east of Orchha. There were

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar; Vol. XV, No. 16, 89; Also Vol. XIV, No. 54.

clashes between their forces throughout the month of January. At last in February one day the fighting started. The Marathas retreated towards Deccan. The Mughals followed the Marathas upto Ujjain but then returned to Delhi.

During the time of peace negotiations in 1736, with the Imperialists, Peshwa Baji Rao urged certain demands from the Emperor through his envoy Dhondo Mahadev. With other demands, he also demanded that he should be given the right to collect tribute from the chiefs and zamindars of Orchha, Datia, Narwar, Chanderi, Seondha, Sipri, Bhadawar, Kota, Bundi, Hampura and Amjhera amounting to 10 lakhs and sixty thousand rupees. He demanded the grant of the territory on the banks of Chambal as Jagir. He promised that he would make no disturbance there if the Rajas would pay him nazar there. He also demanded that the places of Allahabad, Benaras, Gaya and Mathura should be granted to him as

3 Ibid., Vol. XV, No. 86, p. 94.
jagirs. But these demands of the Peshwa were not accepted.

Again on 12th November 1736 Baji Rao marched towards the north from Poona through Bundelkhand and attacked up to Delhi and then retreated.

Alarmed by this attack the Emperor called Nizam-ul-Mulk to march against the Marathas.

After the defeat at the battle of Bhopal Nizam-ul-Mulk signed a convention on 7th January 1738 at Durana Sarai 64 miles from Sironj. He promised to give him the Subahdari of Malwa and the whole province in jagir. He granted him the complete sovereignty of the territory between Narmada and Chambal. The Nizam promised that he would try to get the approval of the above terms by the sanads of the Emperor. Nizam also agreed to pay Baji Rao

1 Selections from Peshwa Dafar; Vol. XV, P. 96; Select Articles, P. 112.


3 Ibid. Vol. II, P. 293; Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion, Pp. 144-145; Parties And Politics at the Mughal Court, P. 232; Indian History Congress-Year 1938, P. 620.
fifty lakh rupees for his expenses. Thus the
Peshwa was given practically the whole of Malwa
and Bundelkhand.

In the year 1738-39 when Nadir Shah attacked
India, the Marathas were busy in their siege of
Bassein. In April 1740 Baji Rao died and his
son Balaji Rao was appointed the new Peshwa.

On November 23, 1740 the Peshwa started
from Poona towards North. He had a meeting at
Edlabad with Nizam on 7th January 1741. The
Peshwa wrote to Hingne on 26th February 1741, I
have already informed you of my visit to

1 Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion, pp. 148-49;
Later Mughals; Vol. II, p. 305; Parties & Politics
at the Mughal Court, p. 235; History of the
Maharathas, Vol. I, pp. 302-3; New History of the
Marathas, Vol. II, p. 159; M.V. Gujral - an article
'The Peshwa Bajirao and Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jan'
in Indian History Congress - year 1938, pp. 623-23.

2 Parties & Politics at the Mughal Court; p. 235.

3 Ibid. pp. 236-237; Fall of the Mughal Empire;

4 H.N. Sinha - 'Rise of the Peshwas', p. 216; New
History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 195; Fall
of the Mughal Empire; Vol. I, p. 276.

5 New History of the Marathas; Vol.II, p.191;
Rise of the Peshwas; p. 218.

6 Ibid. p. 197; 'Rise of the Peshwas'; p. 219.
Nizam-ul-mulk, you must have communicated to Baj Rajendra Sawai Jai Singh now I am earnestly striving to carry out the imperial undertakings of my father. Sawaiji has agreed to obtain imperial sanads for the subah of Malwa together with all the fortified places therein, and the acknowledgement of our sovereignty over the local chiefs on this side of the Chambal. He has also agreed to obtain a cash payment of 20 lakhs from the imperial treasury, the remittance of the Pilgrim tax at Prayag and the cession of Benares.

In a letter chimnaji Ballal mentions that Baji Bao I wanted to restore the temples of Viswawara in Benares and other holy places. Another letter shows that Nizam Asaf Jah I wanted to get the help of Peshwa against his rebellious son Nasir Jang and was ready to negotiate to

abolish the pilgrim tax at Prayag and to grant Benaras as a jagir to the Peshwa. In a letter Balaji Baji Rao writes that Baji Rao wanted to release Prayag, Benaras and Ayodhya from Muslim control and his aim was also the same.

After his meeting with Nizam the Peshwa reached at Bundelkhand crossing the Narmada river on 7th March. The Peshwa appointed Naro Shankar a permanent Maratha agent in Bundelkhand. He sent a Maratha force under Avaji Kavde and Govind Hari to ravage the Doab territory upto Allahabad. He himself started for Dholpur. On 4th July the Emperor Mohammad Shah issued a farman. Prince Ahmad was appointed the Subahdar of Malwa while the deputy governorship of Malwa was given to the Peshwa. The Peshwa was also


2 Ganesh Hari Khare - 'Select Articles', P. 113


4 Selections from Peshwa Daftar; Vol. AV, No. 23; Fall of the Mughal Empire; Vol. I, P. 277; Parties And Politics at the Mughal Court, P. 238.
granted the whole management and the complete jurisdiction of the Subah of Malwa. The Peshwa was also granted Chauth over the states south of Chambal. Thus Malwa and Bundelkhand were practically ceded to the Peshwa.

In the year 1738, Shahu had granted Baghunathrao the right to levy chauth in eastern territory of Bengal. The document says that "the Subahs of Lucknow, Maksudabad, Bundelkhand, Allahabad, Patna, Dacca and Bihar are made over as Baghuji's field of activity." The Peshwa also wanted to take the possession of eastern territory and a conflict was created between Baghuji and the Peshwa. The Peshwa had left Naro Shankar in Bundelkhand as a Maratha agent and thus interfered in the territory of Baghuji.

By the end of 1741 Balaji started from Poona to defeat Baghuji in Bengal and marched towards North. Moving by the Southern bank of

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1 Parties & Politics At The Mughal Court, pp. 238-39.
Narmada, he occupied the places of Garha and Mandla and entered in Bundelkhand. Though desiring, the Peshwa could not return to Poona in June due to the increasing water level in Narmada and encamped in Bundelkhand. He made the arrangements in Malwa before his march towards Bengal.

From April 1742, yearly attacks were started in the eastern territory of Empire by the Marathas of Nagpur. In September 1742, Bhaskar Khan, Ali Wardi Khan, the Viceroy of Bengal, asked the emperor to send the military help to him to face the Marathas. Knowing this, the Emperor ordered Safdar Jang, the Subedar of Oudh, to expel the Marathas out of Bengal and Bihar. The Emperor also asked Balaji Rao to

move towards Bengal and Bihar and help Aliwardi Khan in driving out the Marathas from there. The Peshwa was ready to help him if the Emperor granted him the Jauhur of Malwa, Bundelkhand and Allahabad. The Emperor accepted the demand of the Peshwa and ordered Aliwardi Khan to pay for the expenses of the Peshwa. The Peshwa left Bundelkhand in November 1742 and marched against Bhosle through the province of Allahabad. He took a holy bath in the Triveni with 75 thousand Marathas. From there he marched towards Benares to take a bath in the holy river Ganges, then beyond Gaya and finally to Murshidabad. He met with Ali Wardi Khan and entered into an agreement.

The Peshwa was successful in his purpose in routing Raghunathrao from Bengal for some time.\(^1\)

Raghunathrao felt that he cannot oppose the Peshwa for a long time and decided to arrange the matters with him. At the same time Shahu called the Peshwa and Raghunathrao to be present at Satara to settle their disputes. Shahu settled their disputes through his mediation. On 31st August 1743, Peshwa and Raghunji signed an agreement at Satara. By this agreement - "The four Subahs of Malwa, Agra, Ajmer and Allahabad as well as the two estates of Tikari and Bhojpur (inclusive of Daundagar) in Subah Bihar, i.e., the tract lying west of Patna and east of Allahabad and yielding 12 lakhs rupees a year, were assigned to the Peshwa, while Raghunji was to enjoy the two Subahs of Bengal (including Orissa) and Oudh in their entirety and all Bihar except the Mahals yielding 12 lakhs reserved for the Peshwa; and each was strictly forbidden to

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interfere with the other's share."

The Peshwa appointed Malhar Holkar, Banoji Sindia and Yashwant Bao Pawar for the protection of the territory between Narmada and Yamuna and to strengthen the Maratha power in Malwa and Bundelkhand. The Bundelkhand area was very useful as the Marathas could easily move in Doab, Oudh in the north side, Benaras, Patna and even up to the eastern Bengal from here.

Baji Bao had appointed Govind Ballal Kher for the arrangement of matters in Bundelkhand. He stayed at Sagar and attempted to get the annual chauth.

Orchha was under the control of Bir Singh Dev, a small Bundela king. The post of Balwantnagar, with a hill near it, was also in the possession of

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Bir Singh Dev. He had built the fort of Jhansi in this hill. During the rains of 1742 Balaji encamped in Bundelkhand and sent a force under Raja's son Jotiba Sindia and Malhar Krishna to collect the chauth from Bir Singh Dev as he had not given the chauth for some time. These Maratha officers marched against Bir Singh Dev and encamped at Jhansi. In November 1742, in a night Bir Singh made an attack on the Maratha officers camp. Jotiba Sindia and Malhar Krishna were murdered by several others while their camp and baggage was also plundered by Bir Singh. When the Peshwa came to know about this, he sent Naro Shankar against Bir Singh. He made an attack on Orchha and imprisoned Bir Singh Dev in the hill fort of Jhansi. Orchha was put to fire. Thus he faced the opponents boldly. Bir Singh started negotiations. Orchha was returned to him and he was set free. The Marathas occupied Jhansi.

and a fine for the murder of Maratha officers. Thus Jhansi came into the possession of the Marathas. Naro Shankar took the post of the governor of Jhansi and remained in his post till 1756. After him Mahadji Govind Akirde took the post of governor of Jhansi and ruled there from 1756 to 1760. Baburao Konher Kolhatkar succeeded him and held this post from 1761 to 1765.

In the year 1745 Malhar Holkar and Jayaga Sindia also reached in Bundelkhand. These two Maratha Sardars with Naro Shankar reached at Churki or Charkhari. They attacked it. After a siege the place of Churki was captured. The chief of Churki was killed and these Maratha Sardars established their post there. The wife and son of Hari Saba of Churki came from the village. An agreement was made. The place of Churki was taken by the Marathas and the three villages of Vota, Ataria and Musmaria were given to the wife and son of Hari Saba of Churki. The

place of Churki was evacuated by the people and tribes with baggage. In return of these three villages they agreed to serve the Marathas with their Sawars and soldiers.

A town was established by Narro Shankar at the hill-fort of Jhansi. He called a number of Brahmans and others from the Deccan there and established a Maratha colony in Jhansi.

During the year 1743, the Peshwa remained busy in the east against Raghunji. He had decided to subdue Bundelkhand but was called to Satara due to the illness of Shahu. Mahadoba Purandare suggested the Peshwa to leave Malhar Holkar and Banoji Sindia with their forces in Malwa due to the necessity of the situation. The Peshwa left Malhar Holkar, Banoji Sindia and Yashwant Rao Pawar for the protection of the territory between Narmada and Jamuna and to strengthen the Maratha
hold in Malwa and Bundelkhand as has been mentioned earlier.

In a letter dated 19.12.1743, Govind Ballal writes to the Peshwa that the zamindars of Orchha had deceived. They had occupied the post of Yenda and taken the village and places. Rajat Khan from Kurwai and Dado Pant went against him. Naro Pant also sent new soldiers. All of them went where the relatives of the Raja of Orchha lived. A clash occurred. Many people were killed on both sides. The people from both sides met and took a decision. Then they proceeded towards Thahroli and besieged it. He writes that when the force will reach there and make the good arrangement, then the agreement will be made.

In letter of the year 1744, the writer writes to the Peshwa that a great conflict had

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XLI, No. 9; also Vol. XXVII, No. 5, 6; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 231.

2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 7.
started in Datia. The Raja of Datia had created disturbance and not paid the dues to Naro Pant. The Raja has collected all the money of the country and is preparing an army and does not want to pay money. He owes nine lakhs for the last year and five lakhs for the current year. The writer writes that after going there and making his arrangement, he will come on good terms. Raja Jagat Rai and Sabha Singh are on good terms. They are slow in the payment of money. So we are doubtful about them. Sindia and Holkar have deprived them of their misunderstanding.

By the end of the year 1744 the Peshwa Balaji Rao marched towards north and encamped at Bhilsa. The Peshwa finished the work in Malwa and looked towards Bundelkhand as the chiefs of Datia, Orchha, Bhadawar, Chanderi, Jaitpur, Kalinjer, Panna and other places had opposed the Marathas. These affairs needed a long time but the Marathas took the advantage of the internal jealousies of these chiefs. The Peshwa came

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 8
back to Poona for the rainy season. Banoji Sindia and Malhar Holkar were left in the north to arrange the matters. The Peshwa's agents Bam Chandra Bawa Sukthankar and Gangadhar Yashwant Chandrachud with Sindia and Holkar served the Maratha interests in the north according to the orders of the Peshwa. Bam Chandra Bawa collected tributes and taxes while Gangadhar Yashwant was a loyal soldier. In a letter of the year 1745, Malhar Holkar writes the Peshwa that there was a conflict between him and Banoji about Sambalgal but before the settlement of this matter Banoji died. His son Jayapa replaced him. Banoji had died in July 1745. Due to the unpleasantness with Jayapa, Malhar marched towards Dongargarh and left Jayapa in Bundelkhand. Jayapa sent letters to Malhar that there was great work in Bundelkhand. Malhar marched towards Bundelkhand and reached Jaitpur.

3 Ibid. Vol. XXI, No. 15.
Early in the year 1746, Baja Sahab Singh Bundela had created troubles in the Province of Bundelkhand. Laxman Pant Duda and Govind Pant went to the places of Kalpi, Mahoba and Koach Kanar. In a letter dated 18.4.1746 Jivaji Vasudev writes to Bapuji Baba from Kalinjer that an agreement of 26 lakhs was made with Sabha Singh. He also agreed to give three elephants but the matter with Pritisingh could not be finished.

During the beginning of the year 1746 Kashibai, wife of Baji Rao went on a pilgrimage to Benaras. Krishna Rao Mahadev, brother of Baji Rao's wife Kashibai also accompanied Kashibai in her pilgrimage. Kashibai wrote a letter to Gangoba and Ram Chandra Baba from Prayag dated 17 February 1746 and asked the permission to stay for some months at Benaras. On date 9th March, 1746 Krishna Rao wrote a letter to the Peshwa and informed him about his arrival at

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1 Selections from Peshwa Baitar; Vol. XXI, No. 11
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 16
3 Ibid. Vol. VIII, No. 133, 134.
Burhanpur on a pilgrimage to Benaras and also informed the Peshwa in a letter of the same date about his and Kashibai's arrival at Gopalpur, in Sarkar Hande, in the province of Champaner. On 22nd August 1746, Kashibai wrote a complimentary letter from Benaras to Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia. On 14th December Kashibai wrote a letter to Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia from Bahadurpur, that she will leave for Prayag in a couple of days. On 26th March 1747 Kashibai wrote to Jijubai from Sironj about her departure from that place the next day to Kankri on the bank of Narmada. On 19th June 1747 Visaji Dadaji wrote from Benaras to Ram Chandra Baba about the programme of Kashibai that she will go to Gaya from here. Peshwa wrote a letter to Raghunathrao informing him the projected trip of Kashibai to

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. VIII, No. 136, 137.
2 Ibid. Vol. VIII, No. 138
3 Ibid. Vol. VIII, No. 139
4 Ibid. Vol. VIII, No. 140
5 Ibid. Vol. VIII, No. 141.
Mahuli to have a holy bath in the holy waters of Krishna. He wrote him to send immediately 1500 rupees for the expense of Kashibai and he agreed to pay the remaining money for expenses himself.

On 11th February 1746 Narayan Dikshit wrote a letter to the Peshwa from Benaras that he went on a pilgrimage to Prayag with a following of ten thousand and performed his pilgrimage very happily. Mirza Ahmad Isaq Mir Babar, probably the police officer of the place, made a very good arrangement and sent his men for the protection of the way. Mir Babar met with him and paid respect. He writes that Mir Babar made every arrangement according to the will of Narayan Dikshit. Narayan Dikshit performed religious ceremonies there and he was very happy with the arrangement of Mir Babar. Narayan Dikshit wrote to Peshwa to send a letter and a bag to Amir Qazi saying that Dikshit had come for a pilgrimage to Prayag and also a letter to Mirza Ahmad saying

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. VIII, No. 142.
that Dikshit was very happy with your arrangement so I am satisfied. Dikshit writes that Baghuram Vakil was going to Bengal. He came to Prayag and created great troubles there. Babu Ram Bapuji also came for pilgrimage there. Both of them collected the money from the pilgrims according to their will. Mir Babar brought us towards Benaras finishing the pilgrimage but at Prayag the disturbance was created.

The matters at Bundelkhand took a long time to be settled. Jayapa and Malhar Holkar besieged the place of Jaitpur. They dug two tunnels and then blasted them. Fearing from this the people of Jaitpur evacuated the place and went from there. Jaitpur was conquered on 5th May 1746. The Bundelas had collected a large amount of shells etc. at Jaitpur. About one thousands Marathas were killed while four thousand were wounded. When the Peshwa came to know about the conquest of Jaitpur by Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindhia, he congratulated them for their victory.

1 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 27
as they had won the place from their courage though some part was still unconquered. The chief of Datia was also defeated after a long time. The place of Amtri was also conquered on 24th January 1747. The matter about Narwar could not be settled. The Marathas wanted not to give the opportunity to the Bundelas to be united. Thus they defeated the Bundela Rajas one by one. A conflict started between Ramchandra Baba and Jayapa Sindia after the death of Banoji. The Peshwa called these two officers to Poona and brought a compromise between them.

1 Selections from Peshwa Dafar; Vol. XXVII, No. 17, also Vol. XXI, No. 14.
3 Ibid. Vol. II, p. 234; Selections from Peshwa Dafar; Vol. XXVII, No. 22 - Vithal Shivdev writes a letter to Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia dated 24.1.1747 that - मानविक का बारास खा पहिना परिमंत पारेंग ला लिए। ताज २६ पाहनी सुरुंग लाजन गदीपे बुझ पड़िये। इ राजी गदी को जाली, नदिका मामलियाँ बाधाये विलों लाखी नाहीं: -- -- Also No. 23
In a letter dated 16th September 1746, Baghu Purushottam wrote from Sironj that Jagatraj Bundele was not working according to the agreement. Lajahri Laxman was at Jaitpur near him but no work could be finished till now. He wrote that when the force would reach in this place, the matter would be settled about the tribute and the country. Jayapa Sindia wrote a letter to Malhar dated 17th June 1747 that last year the Peshwa had sent Pandurang Shivdev Purandare to collect tribute from Narwar. So he went there but tribute could not be collected from there as the force could not reach there. He wrote that the Peshwa had ordered that you should go to Narwar with your forces and collect the tribute of the last year and for the current year. Sindia wrote him that he would reach himself there immediately while Purandare would meet you at Narwar. During the year 1748 Yashwantrao Pawar reached in the province of Bundelkhand and then went to the country of the Jats.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar; Vol. XXVII, No. 120.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXI No. 18; also Vol. XXVII, No. 62 dated 1751 Jayapa has written this letter to (Gangoba Chandrachud) the same as in Selections from Peshwa Daftar - Vol. XXI, No. 18.
3 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 34.
In a letter of the year about 1748, Balaji Baji Rao wrote to Ramchandra Baba to make friendship with Safdar Jang to capture the place of Benaras as it was in the province which was under the control of Safdar Jang.

In a letter dated 25th January 1749 Ramchandra Malhar wrote that he asked some Sardars in Bundelkhand to go to Narwar for the help of Pandurang Purandare as the Peshwa had ordered him to collect the tribute from that place. He wrote that soldiers went in the province of Narwar but the forces could not reach there so the tribute could not be collected as no body paid the tribute. Therefore the Peshwa ordered to send the forces in the province of Narwar and to make the arrangement there. Therefore Ramchandra Malhar wrote a letter to Malhar Holkar that when you would reach in the province of Narwar, the soldiers would reach to you and tell the news. You should send the forces at Narwar and collect the tribute of two years. He wrote that he would also reach there within no time.

1 Aithihasik Patramvanta Lekhan, Letter No. 67, G.M. Khare, 'Select Articles', P. 113.
2 Selections from Peshwa Dastar; Vol. XXVII, No. 37.
Pandurang Purandare wrote a letter to Ramchandra Baba dated probably 25th January 1749 from Narwar that when your force had proceeded from [later] then I had proceeded from here towards you. Pandurang reached at Chanderi then Ramchandra Baba marched from Dhamoni towards Tejgarh and thus they could not meet. Bajshri Bakhshi Ram Vakil reached to Shahabad. Pandurang sent a letter to Ramchandra by a news reporter. The news reporter reached at Dhamoni but came back to Pandurang. Pandurang writes that he was waiting for the arrival of Ramchandra from the month of July-August. He thought that Ramchandra would reach at Narwar and arrange the matters there therefore he waited for such a long time. But his (Ramchandra's) soldiers had gone from Bundelkhand and Pandurang remained dissatisfied as no arrangement could be made without force. Pandurang wrote to Ramchandra that if he would reach at Jatia and Gwalior then it would be very useful.

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1 Selections from Peshwe Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 38.
In a letter dated 28th January 1749, Vithal Shivdev writes to the Peshwa from Hande that Rajshri Jayapa Sindia and Rajshri Baba went to Bundel Khand and started their activities in districts of Govind Pant, Tejgarh and Hare etc. They reached there with speed and established their posts. Many men were killed. Manaji Paygude's son Lalji was killed and about thirty strong men were also killed. Now their idea is to move towards Latia after establishing their posts.

In a letter dated 29th January 1749 Govind Ballal writes to Bhau Saheb from Tejgarh (in Kunch) that he went to the province of Koach Kanar. The Bundela Zamindars opposed him at Damoni. They burnt the villages, collected the Tribute and plundered there. Then he marched from there. When the two Bundela Rajas came to know about this, they fled from there and came to the province of Tejgarh with forces. Govind Ballal also

1 *Selections from Peshwa Daftar; Vol. XXVII, No. 39.*
pursued them. A clash occurred between the forces of the two sides. Govind Ballal informed this news to Jayapa Sindia and Ramchandra Baba who were at Ujjain. They came immediately from there besieged Tejgarh. The fighting continued for about eight days. The writer writes that the village will be conquered within one or two days.

In a letter dated 2nd of April year 1750, Vithal Shivdev wrote to the Peshwa about his visit to the place of Palacha near Narwar. He wrote that in the month of March the Marathas captured about 25 places in Narwar. The place of Salbai is very important and there trench is not possible. There is a fort and by the side of it there is the city of Jhansi. Many places of Narwar were taken. The fort of Salbai was impregnable. He tried his best to besiege it. Prawars etc. started to go to Palacha from there taking their forces. The soldiers fought the whole night and they let no opportunity missed. When they were dishonoured, they sieged the place.

1 Selections from Peshwa Dftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 40.
In the Siege of Lohgarh, Govind Rao Shivdev reached with infantry and artillery. Both the places of Salbai and Lohgarh were conquered by the Marathas. Only the posts of five mahals were left unconquered in Narwar.

In a letter dated 28th March 1749 Vithal Shivdev writes from Dholpur that he went with his forces to Datia. He successfully negotiated there. Then he went to Gwalior from Datia. He writes that he was not satisfied with the settlement of money matters effected at Narwar. The amount of 63 thousand was agreed from Narwar. He writes that 60 thousand had been agreed from Narwar for the last year. Out of that few amount has been collected and the few is still unpaid. Vithal Shivdev had gone first to Datia. Having finished their work at Datia, the soldiers came to the province of Jats. In a letter dated

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 26
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 41 - The date of the letter is 4th March 1749.
3 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 42 - but in this letter the amount agreed from Narwar is given 66 thousands.
4 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 43-44.
13th April 1749 Vithal Shivdev reports from a place near Agra that Bajirao Rama Chandra Hari went to Govind Ballal and Antaji and Patke went to Narl Shankar. They met at Datia. They are united.

Vithal Shivdev wrote a letter dated 9th June 1749 from Bhind, in the province of Bhadawar that he was encamping in the north for the monsoon and demanded funds to meet the expenses of his force. He had come at Bhadawar to recover Naroshankar's posts of Jhansi, Datia, Bhadawar, Kachhwa and Dhar etc. but he informed that these places could not be recovered without force. In a letter dated 27th August 1749, Vithal Shivdev wrote that a force of one thousand had been sent to Chinnaji Ram with Khando Moreshwar to collect the remaining tribute from Jhansi and Datia. Vithal Shivdev occupied some posts at Narwar and arranged the matters at Alapur, Somavali, Jatawar, Dandroli without occupying the posts of Salbai, Longarh, Chinor etc. Govindrao Shivdev had besieged

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 45
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 44, 45, 46, 47 and 54.
3 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 53, 58.
Chinore with five or seven hundred Sawars, during the time of Kartik Purnamasi. The place would had been conquered within two or four days. Vithal Shivdev reached upto the boundary of Bhadawar. After Dashbara Chimnaji Daman marched from Jhansi and besieged Sudhar in Kachhwadhar with his force and sent a letter to Vithal Shivdev. Vithal Shivdev marched from the boundary of Bhadawar and joined Chimnaji and occupied about five or seven posts Sikri, Sudhar etc. upto the month of February. Vithal Shivdev reported to the Peshwa in a letter dated January 1750 that the post of Arun near Narwar was sieged and captured. He tried to capture other posts also. He mentions that he left Narwar with the idea of capturing the remaining posts after Dashara.

In a letter of which the date has not been mentioned clearly, Antaji mentions the list of sawars sent in different mahals for the service of Laxman Pant according to his orders.

Baghu Yashwantrao, thorat and Rakhmaji etc. with two hundred sawars were sent to Gopal Keshav,

1 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 54, 55 dated 28th Jan. 1750;
No. 59 also dated about 20th Jan. 1750.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII No. 60.
the tax collector in the Pargana of Dhamoni. Soyaroji Thorat etc., about fifty sawars were given to Khando Purushottam, the tax collector in the Pargana of Mahoba, Shamrao Ramchandra etc. Twenty sawars were given to Madhavrao Venkatesh, the tax collector in the Pargana of Uchad. Shamrao Somvanshi etc. Twenty five sawars were given to Krishnaji Gopal, the tax collector in the Pargana of Hamirpur. Laxman Shivdev etc. Twenty five sawars were sent to the Kiledar of Prayag by Laxman Pant, Chimnaji Babaji and Govind Ballal etc. Twenty five sawars were sent to Bagho Purushottam, the tax collector in the Pargana of Sironj.

During the last months of the year 1750, the people of Orchha under the leadership of the youngest grandson of Raja Shupal Singh and the people of Kharagpur, Ujhyan, Palera, Kathor, Dhamra etc. created trouble and destroyed the country of Orchha and about fifty villages of the Khalisa provinces as Mau, Hanipur, Kurecha etc. They created much harm for the government.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, 67, The date given at this letter is 9th January, 1750 which is not clear.

When Naro Shankar came to know about it at Farrukhabad, he came to this province. The forces had been sent to different places due to rains. After Dashara Naro Shankar came to this place, defeated the rebellious and restored order in the country of the Raja and of the government.

In the year 1750, Safdar Jang, the Vazir, was defeated by the Rohillahs in Doab and called the Marathas for help. In the month of February 1751, Sindia and Holkar moved from Jaipur for the help of the Vazir after enthroning Madho Singh on the Jaipur throne. Safdar Jang agreed to pay them twenty five or thirty thousand perday. With the help of the Marathas the Rohillahs were defeated and driven far away from the Ganges. The main aim of Marathas in helping Safdar Jang was that they wanted to take the Hindu religious places of Kashi and Prayag from Safdar Jang which were in the province governed by Safdar Jang. They

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 27 dated 28 Nov. 1750.
2 Aitihasik Patren Yadi Vajere Lekh, Letter No.83 G.H. Khare, 'Select Articles', Pp. 113-114 also see the heading 'Safdarjang and the Rohillahs' in Chapter II.
demanded these places from Safdar Jang. He
granted them Sanads for these places and asked
the Emperor to issue a farman to the Marathas
for these places of Kashi and Prayag. Holkar
even wanted to destroy the mosque built near the
temple of Vishwanath at Benaras and the reconstruc-
tion of the temple by force but he dropped this
idea. The Marathas tried to take the possession
of these places but the circumstances changed.
Safdar Jang revolted and the Marathas were in
favour of Ghaziuddin II and the Emperor. They
could not take the possession of these two places.
They thought to use force also. But at the same
time the new Vazir Gazi-ud-din granted the sanad
of Benaras and 140 townships and villages round
about it to the Marathas. Gopal Govind Barve was
appointed as the collector in this place.

Ibid: Select Articles, P. 114; Selections
from Peshwa Baftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 114 dated
16th August 1754 - Malhar Holkar wrote the
Peshwa that he repeatedly writes about Kashi
and Prayag but did not receive any reply.
Ghazi-ud-din has been the Vazir and would
have come to Delhi. He wrote him that you
had ordered for taking the sanad for these
two places. Gangadhar Pant had gone to
Mathura. Ghazi-ud-din and Surajmal Jat were
there. He wrote that he has sent letter
to Gangadhar about Prayag and Kashi and he
would take them after the arrangement at
Delhi.
In a letter probably written in the year 1754 Vithal Shivdev expressed his views on the conquest of Delhi. He thought that if order would be restored in Bundelkhand, Doab, Prayag, Patna and Banghel Khand, the Marathas would get sufficient money and they would be able to collect lakhs of rupees as tribute from different places.

In the year 1754 an agreement was made between Baghunathrao and Chhatrasingh, the Raja of Narwar that the Parganas of Narwar, Sipri, Pohri, Kolaras etc. were assigned to Jadhavrao Shri Satwaji. The Raja had agreed to give half the collection of revenue to Jadhavrao and to take half of it himself in territory of Jadhav Rao except in Narwar as earlier. It was agreed that the work would be done according to this agreement. Jadhav rao would do the work according to the agreement with Chhatrasingh.

Early in January 1755, Jayapa Sindia was

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 97.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 87, Dated 5th June, 1754.
ordered to go to Raghunath after finishing the work of Narwar immediately. He was ordered to restore order and to capture Kashi, Prayag and Gwalior. Jayapa agreed to go to Raghunath after completing his work at Nagore. Babu Baohaskar with a force was sent to Doab to make the arrangements in kora - Jahanabad.

In a letter dated 22nd June 1755 Gopalrao Ganesh informed Rajehri Baba that he was assigned the fortress of Gwalior and reached there. He informed that it would take four days time in making the arrangement there and then he would march to Jahanabad. During the year 1755 Malhar Holkar arrived at Churki and defeated a small Maratha force. He captured some elephants or camels. About five or seven Maratha horses were killed and some were wounded. Some soldiers were also wounded on both sides. As water was

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 67, Dated January 1755.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXI, No. 87, Dated probably year 1755.
3 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 110.
available near Churki, so Malhar encamped at about one and half Koss distance from there and advised Bhagunathrao to halt near the river Vetravati. In a letter dated 28th September 1755 Antaji wrote to his agent at Poona about certain changes that Baghuba had effected in the management of the territory of Doab. The places of Kora-Jahanabad were in possession of Govind Ballal but Baghuba transferred them to Antaji to effect the arrangement there. Govind Ballal came from Doab and was not ready to leave the matter but would arise it at the court. Antaji was proceeding to Narwar to help Jayapa Sindhia's forces who had suffered from the murder of Jayapa.

By the end of the year 1755 Naro Shankar marched towards his district of Jhansi. On the way he wrote a letter to the Peshwa that he would reach at Jhansi within fifteen or twenty days. As he was not at Jhansi from two years and had want

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 121
2 Ibid., Vol. II, No. 52.
to Deccan, the money could not be collected at Jhansi and the order could not be restored so Naro Shankar had to collect the money and make the arrangement there so he wrote that he would go to Jhansi, live there for about a month, make the arrangement there and collect the forces. After it he proposed to march towards Narwar after effecting a junction with Shamsher Bahadur and Fawar.

In a letter dated perhaps 15th January 1756 Vithal Shivdev demanded funds from the Peshwa to pay rojmura to his soldiers as he had to go for the help of Naro Shankar at Jhansi.

In a letter dated 16th March 1756, Naro Shankar wrote the Peshwa that he came to Jhansi and lived there for about a month and made the arrangement there according to the orders of the Peshwa, prepared the forces and marched to Narwar with his forces. The same day Sagunabai

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 119, 120.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 122
3 Ibid. Vol. II, No. 61
when he reached Narwar, Shamsher Bahadur wrote to him that he was also arriving there and would proceed both together. Naro Shankar waited there for about fifteen days and received a letter of Jankoji Sindhia that the Narwar affair had finished successfully and he was also arriving to quell the disturbance in Doab. He wrote Naro Shankar not to come to Narwar. The zamindars had created disturbances in Doab, so Jankoji ordered Naro Shankar to go with Govind Pant there and to make the arrangement in the places of the government. Therefore Naro Shankar returned from Narwar, the Karkun Moropant from Govind Pant had come to call Naro Shankar. In a letter dated 23rd January 1756 Govind Ballal wrote to the Peshwa that he would first restore order in the province in the North by suppressing the recalcitrant zamindars and then return to the South. Naro Shankar had proceeded to Doab in order to restore order in that province along with Govind Pant Bundele.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 86
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 127; also Vol. XXI, No. 86 dated 26.5.1756.
3 Ibid. Vol. XXI, No. 81
4 Ibid. Vol. II, No. 61
In a letter written probably on 26th January, 1766, Govind Ballal wrote to the Peshwa that Bai Bitri Haripant sent his four hundred sawars to Gazipur before four months as there was need of forces. Other important soldiers went to Kara - Jahanabad. Govind Ballal himself went to Mainpuri due to the disturbances there. Pant soldiers went to Baja Jagatraj from Kalpi and settled the debts etc. Govind Ballal also came there. Both of them went to Kalinjar to settle the debts etc. At this time the disturbances arose in Doab. Disorder started in Sakurabad. Hari Pant went there with his forces. Govind Ballal wrote to the Peshwa that a force of five thousand should be sent immediately in Doab, otherwise the Marathas would lose their posts in Doab. Manaji Paygade reported to Janardan Pant from Kara - Jahanabad in Antarvid that Baghunathrao had taken the sanad of these Subahs from the Emperor and gave to Govind Ballal. But Baqurrullah Khan did not accept this sanad and fought a battle for one and a quarter month. The divisions of Gangadhar Bajirao,

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 124.

In a letter dated 26th May Naro Shankar wrote the Peshwa that he met with Govind Ballal on the bank of Ganga in Kara and Sahjetpur. Naro Shankar took bath at Prayag with six or seven hundred soldiers and came to Bundelkhand with Govind Ballal. He wrote that order will be restored there immediately and then he would move towards Jhansi taking departure from Govind Ballal. He wrote that arrangements have been made and now there is no trouble in this province, therefore he would move towards Jhansi.

In a letter dated year 1755-56, a list has been given of some Maratha provinces and the officers by whom they are managed -

1. The Province of Bundelkhand by Govind Ballal
2. The Province of Anteriy by Bapuji Mahadev

2 Ibid. Vol. XXI, No. 86.
3. The Province of Antarvid by Antaji Mankeshwar
4. The Province of Antarvid by Gopalrao Ganesh.
5. The Province of Antarvid by Govind Ballal.
Province of Bundelkhand, Mahals etc. by Hari Vithal, Maghram Bapuji and Gopalrao Bapuji.

Pargana of Berse was managed by Baghu Govind. The Mahal was managed by Naro Shankar.
The Sarkar of Sevreh was managed by Naro Shankar.
The Pargana of Uchad was managed by Dhondo Narayan. The Pargana of Chanderi was managed by Harbaji Krishna. The Pargana of Chanderi was managed by Sadasiv Damodar. The Pargana of Narwar was managed by Satvoji Jadhav Bao. The Pargana of Karoli Madrail was managed by Baji Sakhdev. The Pargana of Sambhalgarh was managed by Manohar Koner. The Sarkar of Sevreh was managed by Bhikaji Narayan. The forts of Madao and Sonegarh were also under Maratha Suzereignty. The province of Chanderi was managed by Hari Damodar.

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1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 78.
In a letter dated 19th October 1756, Naro Shankar wrote to the Peshwa that Antaji Mankeshwar marched from Gwalior to Gopalrao Ganesh to make the arrangement in Doab. He encamped with his forces on the boundary of Bhadawar and Kachhwadhar. He would live for some days there and then march to Narwar, having this idea he came to Gwalior from the above place. As he lived in the place of Bhadawar and Kachhwadhar and passed through it, he created great disturbances there. He cut the crop of Kharif there and collected the tribute there. In this province, the talukdar of Naro Shankar requested Antaji not to create disturbance there but he did not care of it and harmed to the places of Bhadawar and Kachhwadhar. The talukdar of this place and Laxman Narayan, the representative of Naro Shankar in Jhansi wrote a letter to Naro Shankar about the activities of Antaji's soldiers. Naro Shanker wrote a letter to the Peshwa to order Antaji to stop all these activities and to give Naro Shankar the money for these harms. Naro Shankar also asked the Peshwa to console Savant Singh of Orchha whose people demanded the evacuation of land in this Sarkar which except the land from
which tribute was to be collected.

Antaji and some other Maratha Sardars were ordered to go to the province of Orchha near Naro Shankar. Antaji and other Sardars followed this instruction.

During the year 1756, Saganabai, widow of the Peshwa's younger brother Janardan Pant went on a pilgrimage to Benaras. Antaji wrote her that Naro Shankar is at Jhansi. Saganabai reached at Prayag to take bath at Triveni on the occasion of Magh. Saganabai wrote to Antaji that her programme is to go for a pilgrimage to Mathura and then to return to South in the month of May (Jeth) after taking Magh bath. But Antaji wrote to her that a great disturbance has been created at Mathura due to the invasion of Abdali so your visit to Mathura is useless. He

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 88
2 Ibid. Vol. XXI, No. 97 dated probably 1757.
wrote her that you should return to South via Kalpi after taking Magh Bath.

In a letter dated 20th January 1757

Gopalrao Ganesh writes that Baveli Kar and Tapethar, province of Bidki, Province of Kunwarpur, province of Jajwad, Mohsanpur, Fatehpur, Ayasa, Harli and Hasba etc. ten mahals were assigned to him before Hari Vithal. Nine mahals were assigned to Govind Ballal. The Pargana of Phaphund was to be given to Gopal Ganesh. Gopal Ganesh took the sanads of all these mahals, but Govind Ballal didn't give the sanad of Phaphund. Gopal Ganesh asked him either to give him the sanad for Phaphund or to give him posts of four lakhs. Govind Pant gave Gopal Ganesh four parganas of two lakhs. He gave him the parganas of Kar, Karoli, Atharvana and Kotla and took the paper of the agreement of Phaphund. He made the arrangements in other mahals and collected tribute from there. Govind Ballal sent letters in the five mahals of Kar, Karoli, Kotla, Atharvana and Harli that these mahals have been assigned to me

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 96 dated 30th Jan. 1757, also letter No. 119 dated April 1757.
so you should not give tribute to any other and he did not send the sanad to Gopal Ganesh. Gopal Ganesh complained that though he was assigned all these mahals by the Peshwa but he received only two parts and one third part remained with Govind Ballal. Govind Ballal gave him the sanad only of five mahals. He waited for the sanad of the remaining five mahals but could not get. So Gopal Ganesh requested the Peshwa to send order 1 according to the agreement.

In the early months of the year 1757, Baji Rao ordered Govind Pant to pay one lakh to Shamsher Bahadur for his expenses. Shamsher Bahadur was in the north. He ordered him to collect tribute for this year from Bundelkhand and other mahals.

Devrao Meghsham, a confidential adviser of Baja Shahu, also accompanied Sajumabai in her pilgrimage to Benares. He wrote the Peshwa and Bhau from Jhansi that they went to Prayag for a

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 140; also Vol. XII, No. 170 dated 22.3.1757.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 142, Dated 2.2.1757.
pilgrimage and stayed at Kashi and Kuli for about eight months, then they came to Prayag for Magh bath. Raja Ravidra and Raja Raja Jaha also went for a pilgrimage to Kashi. At Prayag Ahmad Quli Khan gave his khilat, a horse and two warri to mother Sagunabai. Then he came in the camp of Devrao and also gave him khilat and a horse. Babuji came to Jhansi. Devrao Meghsham went in the fort of Prayag with his companions. They visited the tree of Vat there.

In a letter dated perhaps 30.3.1757 Benako Anaji requested Raghunathrao that the mahals of Garha Mendra, the territory of Baghel Khand, Arail etc. near Prayag were not under Maratha possession so he demanded the sanad for these territories. He wrote that Kora and Jahanabad near Prayag are also not in Maratha possession so he demanded the Raghunath to send a sanad there. He requested that the Emperor was at the fort of Prayag at this time. He would meet the emperor and make the arrangements in Kora and Jahanabad.

1 Selections From Paschma Laffar, Vol. XXI, No. 102 dated 5.3.1757; also letter No. 103 dated 5.3.1757.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII No. 145.
In a letter dated 2.4.1767, Naro Shankar informed Baghunathrao about the situation at Doab due to the invasion of Abdali. He wrote that Antaji was in the province of Karoli. There was no information that if he had come from there or not. The places of Bhadawar and Kachhwadhar had been ravaged and the people went in Gondwana. Pratap Mishra had created disturbance in the provinces of Datia and Orchha. The people did not give the money and fled from there. The money could not be collected for the rojmura.

In a letter dated 6.6.1767, Jotyaji More wrote to Sakharam Bapu that Govind Pant Bundele sent a letter to Rajshri Baba to send some divisions to him. Rajshri Baba sent four divisions of Trimbakrao Shredev, Rajshri Dhondo Dattatreya, Rajshri Govind Sahadeo and of Jotyaji More under Govind Pant Phadnis. Govind Ballal sent three divisions in Doab. The division of Jotyaji More was sent against Bundela chiefs Amansingh and Hindupat and others who were fighting and who obstructed the collection of dues from the province. Those people were punished who had created trouble and order was restored there. The Peshwa

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXVII, No. 146
ordered to send Mir Khan with a force to Orchha and ordered Bapu Rao that he should reach there immediately with Pratap Mishra. Baburao despatched Mir Khan and he himself also marched towards Bundelkhand to arrange the matters there. ¹

According to a letter dated 8.7.1757

Janardan Ram the servant of Gangaadhar Bajirao Bhatkar informed Sakharam Bapu that he went to pargana of Shahana in Khanpur to make arrangements in Narsana, Khanpur, Shahana etc., which were the posts of the Rohillahs. He occupied the posts of shahana, Narsinja, Jakhera and Khanpur and sent his forces then to Garhmukhteshwar. There were two or three important places of the Pathans in Shahana, in which arrangements were also to be made. There, Janardan Ram wrote to Sakharam to send two cannons between the period of light or ten days to capture these three places. ² Upto the month of September 1757, the Marathas had occupied about two or three hundred posts in Doab, order was restored there and the supremacy of the

Peshwa was established in Doab.

¹ Selections from Peshwa Dastar, Vol. XXVII, No. 189, dated probably 8.7.1757.
² Ibid. Vol. XXVII No. 188, dated 8.7.1757; also Vol. XVI, No. 137 dated 11.7.1757.
³ Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 204 dated 22.9.1757.
In the month of June 1757 Sadashivrao wrote a letter from Poona to Bhagunathrao who was in the north at this time to collect the various contributions from the various chiefs in Malwa and Bundelkhand. Perhaps the Peshwa had levied special contributions to meet the expenses incurred in driving away Abdali. Two lakhs were to be collected by Naro Shankar, one lakh from the Raja of Orchha and the other one lakh from the Raja of Datia. Five lakhs were to be collected by Hari Vithal from Jagatraj Bundele. The amount of 6,25,000 was to be collected by Govind Ballal from Aman Singh Bundele. One lakh were to be collected by Ram Chandra Ballal Bhaskute from Bhupalkar. Fifty thousand were to be collected by Vishnu Mahadev from the Raja of Khechikar. The amount of one lakh was to be collected by Manipatrao Kavse from the Raja of Mandalkar. The Peshwa wrote a letter to Bhagunathrao, with strict instructions for recovering all the dues from Doab. He wrote that the tribute of 8 lakhs was due from Kora and Jahanabad.

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In the month of July 1757, Rajshri Gopalrao also went to Jajmau to meet Shuja-ud-daula and to have a discussion with him. He wrote a letter to Sakharam Bapu from Jajmau that Nawab Shuja-ud-daula had agreed to come to him. But Raghunathrao wrote a letter to Gopal Ganesh not to come with Shuja-ud-daula at this time but to come after his arrival at Delhi. Gopal Ganesh tried to put off his own departure and also of Shuja-ud-daula from Jajmau until the arrival of Raghunath Rao at Delhi. Nawab Shuja-ud-daula had made an agreement with him. Gopalrao decided to capture some minor posts in the pargana of Jajmau in this period and to go to Raghunath after Dashara. Shuja-ud-daula sent Ali Beg Khan to Raghunathrao at Delhi and Gopal Ganesh went after some time after making the arrangement there.

In a letter dated 4th September 1757, Malhar Holkar informed the Peshwa that he was careful about the instructions which the Peshwa told him about

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1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 191, Dated 16.7.1757.
the occupation of the fort of Prayag and would refer this matter to Gangadhar Pant. He told that he would perform the work at Prayag after Dashara. In the month of September 1757 Damchandra Bhat came to Benaras. His work was completed. He requested Sakhrarampant to send letters to the officers of the Vazir about Benaras and other holy places. Antaji was also near Benaras. Vasudev Dikshit wrote a letter from Benaras that Baja Balwantsingh governed Benaras for about fifteen years. But the Vazir went to Benaras and started plundering it. He was trying to take the possession of Benaras. The people were afraid there. Basudeo Dikshit proposed to Baghunath that either he should himself come to Benaras or to send ten or fifteen thousand sawars with a Sardar to protect the city and its ruler Balwantsingh as Balwantsingh was loyal to the Peshwa. Balwantsingh had been independent in the year 1754 and ruled upto the year 1770. The places of Kora and Karse in Prayag were already in Maratha possession.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XxVII, No. 178, Dated 4.7.1757.
During the year 1737, Keshavrao, the Peshwa's agent at Delhi, came to Jhansi due to the invasion of Abdali in the north. When Abdali came to Delhi, Keshavrao left Delhi to protect his religion. He had gone to Jhansi with his son Badrinath and stayed near Jhansi fort. He took the pilgrimage of this province. He wrote from there that there were very few Mohammedans in Kurukshetra, Prayag, Benares and Gaya. He wrote a letter from Jhansi to Raghunath and informed him that he did not leave Delhi due to any difference with the Emperor and the Vazir but he went to Jhansi as he could not tolerate the interference of Abdali with his religion. The correspondence was continued between him and the emperor. He did not return to Delhi as the situation was not good there and remained at Jhansi. He went to Prayag for a bath in the months of January and April. He was passing his life doing worship etc.

During the year 1756 when Raghunathrao was returning to his country from north India, he also

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went to Jhansi during his return journey. Naro Shankar wrote to Bhagunath that he collected the dues from the Zamindars of the province in the north e.g. Jhansi, Datia, Orchha, Bhadawar and Kachhwa-Dhar etc. He compelled to evacuate about five hundred strong fortified places within eight days and brought them under his control.

By the end of the year 1758, disorders were raged in Bundelkhand. Sadashiv Ballal wrote to Baijari Baoji about these disorders and requested to send a man like Bhau to face the situation there. Jagat raj Bundele had died and there was the problem of succession. The Peshwa ordered Bhau to appoint the eldest son of Jagatraj in the state. Govind Ballal had written a letter to take the nazar of fifteen lakhs for the appointment of the eldest son. The Peshwa also agreed to despatch Shamsher Bahadur or Vithal Pant there. Gopal Bao Ganesh was also ordered to settle the matter.

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2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 92 dated 1.11.1758.
of Gumansingh, Khumansingh and Paharsingh Bundelas with the cooperation of Shamsheer Bahadur. Sakharam Bapu was also deputed to adjust the differences between the sons of Jagatraj Bundele. He captured the country and Jamalpur of Paharsingh but he had no money. So Sakharam collected the dues by pressure wherever it was possible. Gopalrao and Govind Pant with other sawars went sent for help. Sawai Gumansingh gave the state, sanad letter to Kirat Singh.

On 23rd February 1759 the Peshwa wrote a letter to Ramaji Anant who was the manager of the Sindias - "There are two or three undertakings to be achieved in connection with Shuja-ud-daulah. Take Benaras, Ayodhya and Allahabad from him. He had promised to Dada (in 1757) to cede Benaras and Ayodhya, but the case of Allahabad is still under discussion. If a settlement on the last point can be easily reached, make it."

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 164, dated Year 1759.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 179, dated 25.5.1759.
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 164-65.
On 21st March 1759 the Peshwa wrote a letter to Dattaji and Jankoji Sindia: "The wazir Imad-ul-mulk's heart is not sincere. Mansur Ali Khan's son will pay 50 lakhs if he is given the Wazir ship. If I order you to make this change, effect it on your return from Lahore. Formally when Ḍādā was near Delhi, Mansur Ali Khan's son had voluntarily offered to cede Benaras to us. If he is now made wazir (by us), he must cede both Benaras and Allahabad and pay 50 lakhs. If he refused to make the above traditional surrenders and asks for two or three years to complete the payment (of 50 lakhs), do not give him the wazirship. But give it if he pays 50 lakhs and at least Allahabad.

If you can go towards Bengal with the emperor and the Wazir after the rainy season, a great impression would be created; many Ruhela Zamindars would join our side from here. Ḍādā will go towards Allahabad via Bundelkhand. You march through the Doab, and this our superior strength will enable you to seize Allahabad by surprise. Thereafter, if Shuja-ud-daulah, on being thus threatened from two sides, cedes Benaras and
Allahabad and pays a heavy nazar, then you pursue the Emperor and the wazir to give him the Dakhshi ship.

The third course is that, if the wazir refuses to leave Delhi (for Bihar), then you should go and join Shuja, take from him Benares and Allahabad only but do not demand a money contribution, promise him half of Bengal and Bihar, make him accompany you, wrest Bengal and exact a large tribute from that province.

Out of these three plans, adopt whichever is found to be soundest."

Dattaji and Jankoji Sindia received the letter of the Peshwa regarding these orders. Dattaji Sindia marched from Sutlej river. He wrote a letter to the Peshwa that he has decided to go to the east and will go to Delhi to take the Vazir for going in the east with him. Keshavrao wrote to Peshwa from Jhansi, Dattaji and Jankoji

1 Aithasik Patrea Yadi Vagere Lekh No. 167, 166, 165, 171, Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 104, 99 also Vol. XII No. 163; Select Articles, p. 115; Fall of the Mughal Empire; Vol. II, pp. 155-166.

sent a message to the Vazir about Prayag and Kashi and requested for the sanad of these places. The Vazir was in favour of Shuja-ud-daula who was the nazim of Oudh. The places of Prayag and Kashi were in his possession. The Vazir gave them assurance that he would try for the sanad, on the other hand he gave assurance to Shuja-ud-daula and Shuja-ud-daula to the Vazir that he would face the Sardars when they would come here and you should make the arrangement. He writes that perhaps the Sardars would cross the Ganges and go to the east.

Dattaji wrote to Peshwa that if the Vazir would accept his demands that he should give the fort of Prayag, the sanad of Kashi and the Sarkar of Patna and whatever money would be received from these places the Vazir should take six anna and Dattaji ten anna, and would give sanad for these, then he would go with him. Otherwise he would go to the east and would perform the work of Peshwa in the east by putting pressure on Shuja-ud-daula. He decided to camp in the east and to do the work of Bengal during the rainy season.

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1 Selections From Peshwa Deftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 240, Dated 30.7.1759.
Najib Khan's Vakil had made an agreement with him that he would go with him towards east with his force. Dattaji wrote to Peshwa that if he would come with his forces at the time of his crossing the Yamuna according to the agreement then it was good, otherwise Dattaji would go the east after making the arrangement of Najib. He decided to go to Doab to look after the country there and then he would go to the country of Shuja-ud-daula making a bridge of Ganga. He wrote that he would work according to the situation after taking the control of zamindars and the land. He informed the Peshwa from Kunjpara that how much anxious he was to carry out the Peshwa's instructions to march into Bengal with Shuja-ud-daula and to take the control of the holy places of Hindus.

During the year 1759, Gowardhan Das, the brother of Narayandas went on a pilgrimage so letters were sent to Maratha tax collectors and

Mughals on different places to give him safe passage for going to pilgrimage. A letter of Narayandas shows the Peshwa's officers in the North to whom letters were written. Twenty-nine letters were issued.

A letter was sent to Balwantsingh, who was the Raja of Kashi, to the Subedar of Prayag, to Sundersha, the king of Gaya, to Ram Narayan of Patna, to the naik of Mansur Ali Khan in Ayodhya, a letter to Naro Ballal, the tax collector of Shahadra that you should get them reached up to Narinada giving him sawars and soldiers to Krishna Rao Ramchandra, the tax collector of the government of Vijaygarh, to Jiwaji Sinde Krishnaji Pawar, the tax-collector in Indore, a letter to the tax Collector of Ujjain that you should get him reached up to Sironj giving him a force for protection. Then he would go to Shrinathji, you should get him reached giving him sawars etc., a letter to Govind Ballal, to Mahadji Govind of Jhansi, to Govind Pant Waidh, Ganesh Shambhaji, to Gopalrao Ganesh of Kora Jahanabad, three letters to Aman Singh etc. Bundelas, one letter to Bagelya, a letter to Ruprao Khecher Zamindar in Doab, to the Raja of
Pratapgarh, a letter to the vakil of Prayag to make the arrangement, a letter to the Banaji of Udaipur that Gowardhan Das would stay at Udaipur and Nathdwara for about six months so you should take care of everything and at the time of this departure from there you should get him reached upto Ujjain Burhanpur sending forces for his protection, the same letter was written to Govind Krishna, the Vakil of Udaipur, two letters to the Bajas of Palpur and Nowlai, a letter to Vasudev Shambhaji, who was the tax collector in Diralpur and to Trimbak Rajdev who was the tax-collector in Diralpur and to Trimbak Rajdev who was the tax collector in Nowlai. A letter was also sent to Gowardhan Das that you should go on your pilgrimage comfortably.

Trimbak Bao wrote a letter from Prayag to the Peshwa that at present Baqulla Khan is the Subedar and Gulam Husain Khan is the Kiladar from the side of Shuja-ud-daula. There is no trouble
to the pilgrims as before. He collects dues according to the tradition. There is no prohibition to those who have the letter of the government. He writes that it is very easy to capture the country up to Bengal after the arrival of Maratha armies in Prayag.

Naro Shankar wrote a letter perhaps to Bhau dated 25th November 1760 that the Peshwa would go to Prayag via Chanda and Deogarh after his engagement. Bhau wrote a letter to Gopalrao Ganesh from the field of Panipat, who was working in Doab with Govind Ballal to control the Raja of Pratapgarh and Balwantsingh. He wrote that you should not disappoint the zamindars after performing work at Kashi but you should do your work after a compromise with them.

During the end of the year 1760 Gopal Ganesh Darve of Patighur Haswa and Kishanchand

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 175, Dated 15.11.1759.
2 Ibid. Vol. II, No. 133
of Kora marched with their forces to raid the country of Oudh. They crossed the Ganga river at Dalmau and Manikpur and plundered the villages of Phulpur and Nawabganj but Oudh forces attacked them and compelled Barve to take shelter in Kora - Jahanabad with a few followers.

After the battle of Panipat, Gopalrao Ganesh went to Kora - Jahanabad. The Peshwa sent a letter to him to come to Ujjain in his camp with his force and brothers. He decided to go but he received a letter of Malhar Holkar that Gaurs had created trouble in Bundelkhand therefore you should not move but stay at Kalpi. Therefore he sent the force near Ganesh Shambaji and performed the work at Charkheri and other places. Rajsari Subedar wrote another letter to him that the Vakils have come of Najib and Shuja-ud-daula and an agreement has been made with them. They would finish their arrangement in Doab and you should make

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 229-30
your arrangement there Gopal Ganesh wrote a letter to Shuja that he would make his arrangement in Doab. Shuja-ud-daula wrote to Beni Bahadur to from Doab but he was not ready. When Gopal Ganesh came to know it at Kapi, he sent Vyankat Kashirao Deshmukh, the Karunk, to Kora. He himself went to Balaji Govind with two thousand horses to cross the Yamuna with him to go in Doab. Balaji Govind went to Umargarh crossing the Yamuna. Beni Bahadur gave fourteen mahals with posts to Khechera and Kora to Rup Singh Chaudhry, and he himself marched across the Ganges and sent a letter to Gopalrao Ganesh to capture his posts which he received at Umargarh. Gopalrao asked Balaji Govind for five hundred and afterward two hundred horsemen but he did not give. Gopalrao came to Kalpi and Baji Rao, Tatya also reached there. They marched from Kalpi and reached at Hamirpur Ghat then they came to know that Khechera has made his arrangement in fourteen mahals and Saroopsing in Kora. When Venkat Kashirao came to Kora to meet Beni Bahadur, Beni Bahadur fled from there. Venkat Kashirao tried to establish his posts in Kora, at this time Saroopsing asked him.
for friendship and killed him deceitfully. Gopal Rao marched towards Kora when he came to know about this. Saroop Singh fled from there knowing about this. Gopal Rao reached at Kora. Khecher went into the fort of Gazipur leaving his posts of Bidki, Kuwarpur and Haswa. Gopal Rao sent two thousand force. They captured the posts of Bidki, Kuwarpur and Haswa. Now he had to make the arrangement of Khecher by laying the siege of the fort of Gazipur. Balaji Govind needed money for expense in Gazipur, so Gopal Rao sent a letter to Govind Pant and decided to drive out Khecher by laying seize as arrangement was not possible without expelling him. Some dues were taken by Beni Bahadur, some by Khecher and some by Gauhar. Gopal Rao wrote a letter to the Peshwa that he would meet him in the months of June - July after expelling Khecher.

Nago Shivdev wrote a letter to the Peshwa in May 1761 that the people of Datia have captured the fort of Sewarband and Maratha rule has finished in

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1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 263, Dated 14.5.1761.
this pargana. Bundelas have captured some villages near Jhansi and near Bade and Banipura and have created troubles in this territory. They captured the posts of the Marathas there. The place of Bhadawar was given to Bhadon. Only the fort of Bhind was in Maratha possession there. The zamindars had captured Maratha posts in Kachhwadhar. The tax-collector had gone to Gohad from there. The Maratha rule was only in the surrounding area of Jhansi. Guzar and Dhandare zamindars had created trouble there. In the pargana of Uchad also the zamindars were in power. The force which was sent to collect tribute also could not get Hojmura in Jhansi. Whatever was in the fort was given to the division of people which went to collect tax. The arrangement in these places was not possible without the arrival of a large army there.

In the month of May 1761 Dada Janardan wrote to Peshwa from Bajgarh that when the Peshwa went to Ujjain, Baja Hindupat, Paharsingh and

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1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 273, Dated 16.5.1761.
Guman Auman Singh started creating trouble but Janoji Bhosle reached at Sagar. Visaji Govind met him there and restored order there. The Bundela chiefs submitted at the arrival of Maratha arms and again were ready to create disorder after the departure of Maratha forces. Guman Singh and Khuman Singh met from Ganesh Pant and the territory of Jagatraj was captured by him. Only the post of Jaitpur etc. were remaining. They were under the control of Paharsingh. Paharsingh and Baja Hindupat were at Rajgarh. Paharsingh did not meet with Ganesh Pant. Krishanrao went to Baja Pahar Singh and Khuman Guman Singh. Ganesh Pant could not make the arrangement. He did not meet with Baja Hindupat according to the order of the Peshwa. Dado Janardan was near Hindupat and was waiting about the order of the Peshwa.  

Malhar Holkar wrote the Peshwa that he was ordered to arrange the matters near Pahar Singh calling Ganesh Sambhaji, the tax-collector. Having received this letter he sent Ganesh Sambhaji

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and Pant soldier to bring Pahar Singh to make an
close and he did not come. Holkar wrote the
Peshwa that the rainy season was coming nearer
and arrangement would be made after going to
this province after the rains.

The Peshwa ordered Malhar rao to take the
sanad of Kashi and Prayag from Gazi-ud-din and
wrote the Shuja-ud-daula would give these two
places if you would put pressure on him. Malhar
wrote the Peshwa that he has written to Gangadhar
many times. He would take the Sanad for these
two places after the arrival of Vazir at Delhi.
Holkar was also making efforts for it and wrote
to Peshwa not to be worried as the work would
be performed. In the month of May 1761 Satwaji
Jadhavrao also had gone to the province Narwar,
Sipri and Kolaras to make the arrangements there.

In a letter dated 12.5.1761 Gopal Keshav
wrote from Bhander, in the province, of Jhansi

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII,
No. 259, Dated Recd. 19.6.1761.

2 Ibid. Vol, XXVII, No. 265, Dated probably
21.5.1761.
that the zamindars did not pay him money. Only
the arrangement could be made there if a force
of two thousand would be sent there. The forces
had gone to the country. Vithal rao gave the
post of Salbai to the Baja of Narwar. The ruler
of Pachor, Jats and the Baluch of Gohad went to
the Jats. The Baluch Jat called the Baja of
Uchad. All the Jats had gathered and decided to
create disturbances in Narwar and Datia. They
captured the post of Bharoli in the pargana of
Uchad. Gopal Keshav sent a force there and gave
them money for expense taking the debt from
Jhansi. Gopalrao Bapu reached there for help from
Jhansi. The Mahals of Bhorsa etc. were in possess-
ion of Gopalrao. Ahirs had created disorder there
and captured and seized several posts so Gopalrao
went there. The Baja of Orchha etc. also created
disturbances in Jhansi.

In a letter dated 27.6.1761 Balaji Govind
and Gangadhar Govind wrote to Trimbakrao that
they went in Doab. Nawab Shuja-ud-daula had
established his posts at Kora and Kara but
evacuated them after an agreement. Only the fort of Gazipur was given by Beni Bahadur to Rooprao Khecher and his arrangement was to be done. In another letter Gopalrao Ganesh wrote to chintopant that Balaji Pant was gone to Doab and would establish his post at Akbarpur within a few days.  

In a letter Trimbak Vishwanath wrote to Vishwasrao Laxman that the disturbances in Bundelkhand had made it impossible to realise revenue from this district and asked to send immediate help to put off these disturbances. He also informed him from the post of Sagar about the departure of Peshwa to Orchha.  

In a letter Trimbak Phadnis informed the Peshwa that Ganesh Shambhaji had created disturbances in Bundelkhand, Jhansi and other Maratha possessions and asked the Peshwa to punish him for his offence. In another letter Badrinath

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 6  
2 Ibid. No. 8  
3 Ibid. Vol. XXIX, No. 14, dated 15.10.1761; also Letter No. 25, dated 22.11.1761, also letter No. 15, dated 13.10.1761.  
wrote to Raghunath that Shuja-ud-daula had occupied Prayag and was also casting his eyes upon Bundelkhand.

In a letter Naroshankar wrote to Vishwasrao (the Subahdar of Jhansi from 1760 to 1770) that you should go to Sironj and meet their with Govind Kalyan. You should tell Govind Kalyan to do the arrangement of Sironj and Ahirwada and call Lijat Khan, Sujakhan and Ahirs and go with them to Jhansi, capture the fort of Jhansi and Karera and make the arrangement of the matters.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 24, Dated 17.11.1761.
CHAPTER VI

MARATHA ACTIVITIES IN THE AGRA PROVINCE
(1740-1761)

After the death of Peshwa Baji Rao I in 1740, the new Peshwa Balaji Rao called the Maratha agent Mahadev Bhat Hinge from Delhi and held a meeting with his officers, Sindia and Holkar and others in August at Poona to decide the further plans of Maratha foreign policy. All of them decided that the Peshwa himself should go to north to tackle the situation and to make the negotiations with the Nizam and Jai Singh.

On November 23, year 1740, the Peshwa

started from Poma towards the north. On 7th January 1741 he had a meeting with Nizam-ul-mulk at Edilabad on the Purna in Khandesh and came to an agreement with him.

The Peshwa now decided to seize Malwa with a large force. He started towards the north in March 1741. The Emperor decided to resist the invasions of Peshwa and appointed Jai Singh the Subahdar of Agra for this purpose. The Peshwa was ready to face the situation. He sent his officers to raid Doab. Peshwa moved towards Dholpur. Jai Singh told the Emperor that his force would be defeated due to the incapability of his officers in Deccan warfare. Jai Singh decided to make peace with the Peshwa by meeting with him personally.

A meeting was held near Dholpur between Jai Singh and the Peshwa from 12th to 19th May 1741.

Balaji Rao visited Jai Singh in his camp on 12th of May and Jai Singh on 16th May came in Peshwa's camp. Both of them discussed the matters and an agreement was arrived at with the provision: (1) Jai Singh and the Peshwa should remain friendly and help each other. (2) The Marathas to remain loyal to the Emperor (3) To get the grant of Malwa to the Peshwa within six months. On 20th of May, the Peshwa started for the south and reached early in July at Poona.

On 31st of August 1743 Peshwa and Baghujia signed an agreement at Satara. By this agreement, "The four Subahs of Malwa, Agra, Ajmer and Allahabad as well as the two estates of Tikari and Behojpur (inclusive of Daundnagar) in Subah Bihar, i.e., the tract lying west of Patna and east of Allahabad and yielding 12 lakhs rupees a year, were assigned to the Peshwa, while Baghujia was to enjoy the two Subahs of Bengal (including Orissa) and Oudh in their entirety and all Bihar except the mahals.

3 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XV, No. 86
yielding 12 lakhs reserved for the Peshwa; and each was strictly forbidden to interfere with the other's share."

During the year 1746-1747, a letter was written to Naror Shankar that one third part of the territory of Baja Sabha Singh and Baja Jagat Singh containing certain villages in the pargana of Irij have been taken by the government during this year. Govind Ballal would collect the tax in the territory of Sabhasingh now and Laxman Shankar in the territory of Jagatraj. (Selections from Satara Bajas and Peshwas Diaries Vol. I, Letter No. 28, Page 19).

In a letter perhaps dated year 1747 Antaji Mankeshwar wrote to Malhar Holkar that he and Vithal Shivdev were sent to the province of Gwalior to make arrangements there and performed some work there. In a letter dated 17.12.1947, Govind Ballal informed Bhaun that Laxman Pant and Dadopant went


2 *Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 16*
to Kalpi after a Skirmish with Gulab Singh at Indurki.

In a letter dated probably year 1748 Yashwant Rao Pawar informed the Peshwa that he came to the country of the Jats with Ramchandra Baba and made an arrangement with the Jats. He went to Mathura and Brindavan and then reached at river Kuwari crossing Chambal and was proceeding to the Deccan by regular marches.

In a letter Pandurang Shivdev Purandare wrote to Ramchandra Baba from Narwar to come to Datia, Gwalior. In a letter Vithal Shivdev wrote to the Peshwa that he reached at Gwalior in the month of February - March 1749. The zamindars of Sodhe created disturbances. The marathas evacuated some posts there. Then they marched from there and seized Salbai and Longarh. Balaji Samraj was at Gwalior with Balaji Mahadev. Vithal Shivdev requested the Peshwa to send more money.

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 25
2 Ibid, Vol. XXVII, No. 34, Dated 1748?
3 Ibid, Vol. XXVII, No. 38, Dated 25.1.1749?
and men for the defence of the province. In a letter Vithal Pant wrote to the Peshwa from Dholpur that he himself had reached at Datia with his forces. He arranged the matters there. He came to Gwalior from Datia but was not satisfied with the arrangement effected at Gwalior. He wrote to the Peshwa that he would not march to the South according to the order but would make the arrangement of Gwalior.

In a letter Vithal Shivdev wrote to the Peshwa that his soldiers came to the country of Jats crossing Chambal after performing the work at Datia. They reached near Agra and encamped there. The vakils of Surajmal came to them. Damodar Mahadev went to the Jats. He informed the Peshwa that an agreement would be made within few days. Malhar Holkar arranged the matters at Alapur and Somawali. The tribute remained from Tuwardhar, Jatavar and Dandroli but there were no chances for this collection.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 41 dated 4.3.1749.
In a letter Vithal Shivdev wrote to the Peshwa that he told the Sardars to leave the province of Gwalior but there was great work to be performed near Jats. After setting the matters with Jats, the soldiers came via Mathura. At the time of departure from there, a tribute of 66 thousand was settled from Narwar but it could not be collected by the month of June 1749 so the Marathas captured the posts of Pahyar and Dhuta but Vithal Shivdev had to release these posts owing to the intercession of Holkar on behalf of the Jats.

In a letter Vithal Shivdev wrote to Baghunath Rao that Malhar Holkar sent him to Gwalior after the completion of work near the Jats. Vithal Shivdev captured some posts at Narwar and came to Kachhwaedhar as he had to perform a number of works in the districts of Naro Shankar. He sent Khando Moreeshwar with one thousand force to Chinnaji Baman to collect the remaining tribute from the Rajas of Jhansi and Datia.

1 Selections from Peshwa Darbar, Vol. XXVII, No. 46, Dated 9.6.1749.
In a letter dated 15.1.1750 Vithal Shivdev wrote to Bhau from a place near Gwalior that there was very good arrangement at Gwalior. There was some apprehension of a rising in the province when the news of the death of Shahu reached there but the army checked it. Vithal Shivdev sent him the account of tribute of Gwalior province.

In a letter Vithal Shivdev wrote to the Peshwa from a place near Gwalior that he himself came to Narwar and captured all the posts except three of Salbai, Chinore and Lohgarh and settled the matters at Alapur, Somawali, Jatawar, Dandholi and came to the territory of Bhadawar. Govind Rao Shivdev had sieged Chinore with about seven hundred sawars and collecting other soldiers in this province. The post of Chinore would be conquered within few days. In a letter Vithal Shivdev informed the Peshwa that the post of Chinore was captured. He informed him that Bajirao Bapuji Baji Rao was at Jalpi.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 67, Dated 16.1.1750.
3 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 69, Dated about 20.1.1750.
In a letter dated perhaps 9.2.1751 Antaji Mankeshwar wrote to Bhaup from the place of Chirholi Tekampur in the province of Gwalior that he went to Laxman Shankar due to rains on the way and remained with him for about five months. Malhar Holkar wrote him three letters to meet him immediately with his forces as he was himself going to perform an important work of the Peshwa. He wrote to Laxman Shankar to send Antaji immediately but he did not send him. Then Antaji went to Kalpi with Laxman Shankar in the month of December 1750 and stayed there for one and a half month and performed all the work of Laxmnanpant. Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia wrote a letter to Kalpi that we had written you three letters to come but you did not come. They wrote him that they had to go to fight with Pathans after making arrangements at Jaipur so they wrote him to meet them at Jaipur or to meet them when they would go to Delhi to meet the Emperor. The Peshwa also wrote a letter to Antaji to do the work according to the order of Malhar Holkar. Antaji requested Laxman Pant to give him departure but he did not send him. Again in January 1751, both of Sardars wrote Antaji to come immediately. Antaji started to meet them and came
to the above mentioned place near Gwalior. He sent about four hundred sawars for the service of Laxmanpant in different mahals according to his order. Twenty five sawars under Shamrao Somvanshi were sent to krishnaji Gopal, Kamavisdar of Hamipur. Antaji marched from there and crossed the ghat of Chambal river near Karoli or Dholpur and reached at Jaipur near the Sardars marching through the country of Jats. The sanad of the faujdari of Gwalior was given to Vithal Pant. The arrangement of this territory and of the zamindars also came into his hands.

In the year 1750-51 letter shows that the management of an amal of the parganas of Karoli, Mandral, Zari and Mathura had already been given to Baji Sakhdev. Excluding this territory, the new area beyond Chambal viz., Wadi Dholpur, Zari, Mathura etc. were given to Bamiji Sakhdev for the collection of tribute from these places. He was ordered to bring the country under his authority and to increase the revenue there to get more and

1 Selections From Peshwa Deftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 67 dated 9.2.1751.
leave the profit to the Government. A sanad was
given to Ramaji Sakddev for this purpose.

After the death of Emperor Muhammad Shah
and on the accession of Ahmad Shah in 1748 when
the new appointments were made, the subahs of
Agra and Ajmer were given to Salabatjang. But
on 7th June 1751 these offices were taken from
Salabatjang. Javid Khan, the controller of
almost all affairs gave the chief paymastership
to Ghazi-ud-din Khan with the title of Amir-ul-Umara
together with the Subahdari of Agra while his
brother-in-law Intizam-ud-daula was given the
Subahdari of Ajmer and the title of Khan-i-Khanan.

In a letter dated 2.4.1750 Vithal Shivdev
wrote the Peshwa from Palacha, a place near
Narwar that the Vazir was at Kawnaaj. Navalrai
reached Chichendi in Doab against Hindusingh
Chandel. Hindusingh fled from there and came to

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1 Selections from the Satara Rajas and the
Peshwas Diaries, Vol. I, Letter No. 418,
P. 270.

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 342.

3 Ibid. P. 353.
Kalpi. Navalrai had made arrangements at Chichendi. Bapu Bajirao were present at Bhognipur, the force reached there Kalpi was sieged. Hindu Singh Chandel died. Navalrai wrote letters to Bapu Bajirao about this Bapu reached Itawah and besieged it. When Navalrai reached Kalpi, he had spread terror in the whole country.

In a letter dated 7.11.1750 Antaji wrote to Bhau to write a letter to Laxman Shankar that he should give leave to Bajirao Bapu and Antaji for four months to go to Gwalior. On 13th August, 1750 the Pathans under Ahmad Khan Bangash attacked Navalrai at Khudaganj. Navalrai was the deputy of Safdarjang in Doab. He was killed in the battle. Five thousand Pathans, Rajputs and others were killed in the battle. The Pathans got the victory. They plundered the camp of Navalrai. The Pathans collected large forces.

2 Ibid. Vol. II, No. 26
Safdarjang decided to defeat the Rohillahs with the help of Jats and Marathas. He called the Jats and Marathas under Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia to help him in his campaign against the Rohillahs. The Vazir opened negotiations with them to get their help.

Before the Vazir could get the Maratha help, on 23rd September 1750 a battle was fought between Safdarjang and Pathans at Bam Chatauni in Doab. The Vazir was defeated, Mirza Nasiruddin Mohammad and Isaq-Khan were killed and the Vazir Safdarjang was severely wounded. He became unconscious and was taken away from the battle field in the same position. He was thought to have been killed. Vazir's whole force was plundered. Many Pathan sardars were also killed.

When the news of the defeat of Vazir reached Delhi, his prestige and power received a great set back.

In a letter dated 26th September 1750, Murarji and Nareshwar informed Malhar that the Pathans started creating disturbances in Hastinapur. Safdarjang sent his lakhshmi Navalrai with twenty thousand force. A battle ensued but the force of Navalrai was routed. Navalrai was killed. Again a Sardar was sent with ten thousand force. He was also defeated. Safdarjang himself marched against the Pathans with a large force. Surajmal Jat, Hemraj Bakshi also moved against the Pathans. A great battle occurred. The Pathans were victorious.

In a letter dated 8th October 1750 Malhar Holkar informed the Peshwa that Safdarjang marched against the Pathans with amirs and artillery. Surajmal Jat, Hemraj Bakshi also moved with their forces. The Pathans were on the south bank of Ganges. The battle occurred near Sitkund, which is near the ghat of Sohram and at twelve Kos distance from Mausamsabad. Many people were

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1 Selections From Peshwa Jafar, Vol. II, No. 21, also Vol. XXI, No. 32, 36.
killed and wounded. The Pathans got the victory. The forces of Safdarjang were disturbed. Vazir had a large force but it was not united. The Vazir came to Delhi. Surajmal Jat and Hemraj Bakshi also crossed the Yamuna. All the important soldiers were killed. The Pathans plundered the soldiers and artillery. After getting the victory, the Pathans moved towards Allahabad, reached there, plundered the city and put the fire there. Then they marched towards Benaras making a bridge over the Ganges.

Safdarjang took the suggestion from his friends. His friends suggested him to enter into an alliance with the Marathas. On their suggestion, he sent his agents Raja Jugal Kishore and Ram Narayan to bring Malhar Holkar to his help to crush the Pathans. Holkar and Sindia were

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 23
at this time at Jaipur. They seated Madho Singh on the Jaipur throne early in January 1751. After this the Peshwa called Sindia and Holkar back to the Deccan as he had made a plan of a campaign to get the Nizam out of the Deccan. But when Holkar and Sindia received the news that they had to go for the help of the Vazir, their officers Gangahdar Yashwant and Banoji Jadhav wrote to the Peshwa that the Vazir had called Sindia and Holkar to help him in defeating the Rohillahs and these officers would give preference to move for the help of the Vazir and asked for the order of the Peshwa. Holkar and Sindia also wrote a letter to Naro Shankar to join them at Delhi to help the Vazir in ousting the Rohillahs.

In the month of February Sindia and Holkar could move from Jaipur for the help of the Vazir after enthroning Madhosingh on the Jaipur throne.

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1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 40; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 404.

2 Ibid. Vol. II, No. 27.
and making arrangements in Jaipur. They marched towards Agra in order to meet Safdarjang.

The Vazir himself marched from Delhi on 21st February taking leave from the Emperor. The Vazir came in the camp of Mahabat Khan in Doab. He marched from there and on 26th February, he reached the camp of Kishan Das near the river. After two days Holkar joined him. He took Sindia and Holkar into his service on payment of Rupees twenty five thousand or thirty five thousand per day. At the same time he agreed to pay 15 thousand rupees per day to Surajmal Jat to maintain his troops to help the Vazir in his campaign against the Rohillahs. Surajmal Jat was in Vazir's service from earlier.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 38; also Vol. XXVII, No. 65, 64.

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 306.

3 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 41; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 404-405; New History of Marathas, Vol. II, P. 361. The dates given by Sankar are ten days less than Sardesai.

4 Seir-Muta Cherin, Vol. III, P. 305; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 404; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, PP. 361-362 has mentioned the amount of Rs. 25000 per day promised to the Marathas by the Vazir.
The Maratha generals Sindia and Holkar with 25 thousand strong force crossed the Yamuna and made a sudden attack on Shadil Khan at Nadirganj near Etawah on 20th March 1751. Shadil Khan was the governor of Ahmad Khan Bangash in Koil and Jalesar. He possessed only four thousand horse and four thousand foot. With the sudden attack of Maratha Sardars, Shadil Khan fled from there crossing the river. A number of Afghans were put to death or were imprisoned and the Marathas plundered a large booty.

Hearing the news of Shadil Khan's defeat, Ahmad Khan Bangash who was at Allahabad and had besieged it, lifted the siege and marched hurriedly with his army towards Farrukhabad for its defence as it was his capital. The Vazir and the Maratha Sardars marched to kill him. When the Marathas


found the gates closed, they burnt and put to sword all things in the area of this city.

Ahmad Khan Bangash got the time. He established his camp at Husainpur. Husainpur is a town which is at three Kos distance from Farrukhabad. When the Marathas found that there was no force in Farrukhabad, they went in the city and started plundering it. "The plunder made in that rich mart is past all computation, and is more than I dare say. But it may be easily conjectured from this that one single lump of precious stuffs was valued at sixteen lakhs rupees."  

In the mean while the Vazir with Surajmal Jat encompassed Ahmad Khan Bangash. A battle took place. The Afghans received every help by boats. The Vazir ordered his officer Nurul Hasan Khan Bilgrami to collect the boats and to throw a bridge across the Ganges river. Through this bridge he wanted to send over his troops.
Mahmud Khan was the son of Ahmad Khan Bangash. He had encamped on the other side of the Ganga river. He resisted this attempt. A large number of troops and cannons met with Nurul Hasan Khan after crossing over. Mahmud Khan tried to destroy the bridge but failed. His own camp was also unsafe due to the showers of cannon balls. In the meantime, Sadulla Khan who was the eldest son of late Ali Mohammad Khan Rohillah, reached there with a large force for the help of the Bangash. In the meantime the Vazir sent troops over the Ganga river. The arrival of Sadullah Khan increased the courage of Ahmad Khan Bangash. He joined Sadullah Khan and started a battle with Vazir in April 1751. The Marathas and jats made attacks on the enemy from two sides. A large number of Afghans were killed on the battle field. Ahmad Khan Bangash and Sadullah Khan fled from the battle field. They left behind ten or twelve thousand of their men as dead wounded or captives.

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A large amount of plunder and other material came into the hands of the victors, i.e., the Marathas. Thus the Pathans were defeated. They continued their flight and marched towards the foot of the hills. A large number of the Afghans lost their lives. The Marathas plundered the whole Rohillah country and the Vazir came back to Lucknow.

When the rains were about to finish, the Pathans marched towards Farrukhabad. The Marathas moved towards them and crossed the Ganges over the western side of it. The Vazir also marched from Lucknow. Crossing the Ganges he met the Maratha forces and took the offensive. The Pathans were driven back. They moved up the left side of the Ganga river and went to Aonla. They collected their property there. After it they took refuge at the lower part of the hills near Chilkuja.

2 Ibid. P. 307; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 408.
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 408-409.
The rains had already started. The Marathas wanted to pass the rainy season in the Afghan country. As the Marathas had helped the Vazir, the Vazir granted the Marathas all the territory from Nevol and Jalesar down to Farrukhabad and Kannauj. Thus the Afghans were absolutely ruined. The Afghans requested the Marathas and other generals to say to the Vazir that he should let them live. The Vazir finalised the treaty of Lucknow in February 1752 with the Rohillahs. Kannauj, Akbarpur Shah and other districts of Bangash in Doab were given to the Marathas in return for their services. A Maratha agent Govind Pant Bundele was given the hold of these places.

In the year 1752, the Vazir finalised a formal treaty with the Marathas to get their help

2 New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, P. 365,
to face the invasion of Abdali. The treaty was ratified on 12 April 1752 by the Vazir on support of the Emperor. By this treaty the Subahdari of Ajmer and Agra was granted to the Peshwa. He had to govern these Subahs according to the customary Mughal rules. The Peshwa was also granted the chauth of all twenty two Subahs.

In the year 1753 on 27th December Aqibat Mahmud, the chief agent of Imad, marched towards Faridabad district with Khandoji Holkar and his forces to take their help in his campaign against the Jats. He failed to capture Faridabad as his soldiers did not obey his agents. The Jats captured his posts established at Garhi, Hatin and other conquered places. He requested Imad to come himself there. Imad marched from Delhi to Ballabhgarh.

Khandoji laid his camp at Hodal which is at 17 miles south of Palwal. He sent his troops.


These troops plundered the surrounding Jat villages even Barsana, Nandgaon etc. These troops ousted the son of Surajmal from these places and established the posts of the Marathas there by the end of December 1753. This encouraged Aqibat and he plundered the jat village of Gangula and on 5th January, established his Thanah there. On 8th January Imad marched towards Palwal from Ballabhgarh and met with Khandoji at Hodal. He appointed Fateh Singh, the son of Bahadur Singh, the master of Ghasera fort, after taking it from the Jats as this fort was taken by Surajmal Jat from Bahadur Singh Bal Gajjar on 23rd April 1753. Now all the Jat territory on the banks of Yamuna came into the hands of Imad and he sent his officers to make the arrangements in all these places. Soon after this Khandoji went for the help of the Marathas when they sieged Kumbher.

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 513 - 514.
A letter dated 1753-53 shows that the parganas of Deolali, Derapur, Birban, Balber, Deoha and Nanamau were under the management of Govind Ballal and Navalrai. A letter dated 1753-54 addressed to Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia shows that the whole of the parganas of Etawah and Phaphund in the province of Doab was under the jurisdiction of the Marathas. There is a sanad dated 1753-54 in the name of Malhar that the Parganas of Kannauj, Devlali, Sakit, Alipurkhera, Soru, Gangeri, Panch Kane Mahals three and Sikandra are given to him as fauz Saranjam while the parganas of Birbar, Bikaspur, Balbare, Nanamau, Sewali Sewrabara, Sorakh, Sakalpur and Deoha were given to Jayapa Sindia as fauz Saranjam.

In the year 1753-54, a letter was written to Krishnaji Keshav that in the division of the territory that was made, pargana Akbarabad was

1 Selections From Peshwa Dairies, Vol. XXI, No. 47
given to Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia so you should give this pargana to the tax collectors of the above Sardars. As you had collected the tribute there last year, you should return it to these two Sardars.

A letter dated 26.2.1764 shows the names of Maratha officers in Doab and the Mahals which were under their collection -

Naro Shankar was the Kamavisdar in the parganas of Sevganpur and Nagadvati. Damodar Mahadev was the Kamavisdar in the parganas of Kannauj, Sikandra, Soru, Panchkana, Gangari and Jalali, Govind Ballal was the Kamavisdar in the parganas of Hirban, Bilaspur, Nanamau, Balbare, Mangalpur, Derapur, Deckali and in Deoha. Viswasrao Laxman was the Kamavisdar in the parganas of Shahpur Akbarpur, Sedi and Sewarbara. The parganas of Saket, Alipur Khera and Sakmatpur was under the Kamavisdar Govindrao Sakhaji. The pargana of Sarekh was under Kamavisdar Jagannath Vishambar.

2 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 81, P. 86.
In a letter dated 4.3.1754 Ganadhar Yashwant and Anandrao wrote to Jalhar that the pargana of Bithur in the province of Doab has been given to both of them and to Ramaji Anand by the Emperor, therefore you should give it after a compromise with government.

During the civil war at Delhi in the year 1753, Imad-ul-mulk had invited the Marathas for his help against the Vazir. He agreed to pay a large amount to them for this purpose. On receiving this invitation the Peshwa had despatched his brother Raghunath Rao under a powerful army. On 5th October 1753 this army crossed the river Narmada. Malhar Holkar, Govind Ballal Bandele also joined this army. In December 1753, they reached Jaipur via Indore and Ujjain to collect the tribute from many Rajput states because before the arrival of this marathas army, an agreement was made between the Emperor and the Vazir.

1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, No. 81, P. 86
During the civil war Surajmal Jat had supported the Vazir. The Emperor did not punish him for this. Imad-ul-mulk had a great hate for Surajmal Jat and wanted to punish him. He decided to utilize the presence of these Maratha troops to attack on Surajmal Jat.

Surajmal was a powerful ruler of Bharatpur. He possessed Dig, Kumbher and other fortified places. The Subahs of Agra and Ajmer were given to the Marathas. The Subah of Agra was close to his places of Bharatpur and Mathura. So Surajmal wanted to take the hold of Agra. The son of Malhar Holkar Khandeiao and Tatya moved to Delhi and reached there on 21st November to decide for a campaign against Surajmal Jat with Imad-ul-mulk. Imed met with him and joined him with his forces.

Surajmal tried his best not to fight a war. He sent his agent Roopram Kothari to the Marathas.

2 New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, P. 376
to maintain friendship with them and agreed to pay forty lakhs. Raghunathrao wished the amount of one Kroe. Surajmal was not agreed to pay. On 16th January 1754, the Maratha army reached to the famous Jat fort of Dig. The Marathas were chased out of Dig. A battle took place on that place. Both the sides suffered heavy losses. Jat Baja took shelter in strong forts of Dig, Kumbhar and Bharatpur. The Marathas attacked them. The Marathas did not possess siege guns. They only made plunders. On 20th January 1754 Raghunathrao was encamping at Pindare in Kumbher. He reached to the fort of Kumbhar on 28th February. He lived there till 22nd May. These forts could

1 New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, P. 377; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, Pp. 519-520; Sarkar writes that Surajmal agreed to pay four lakhs while Raghunath demanded two Krokes.

2 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 79; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 520.

3 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 96; also Vol. II, No. 36; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 520.

4 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 79.
not be occupied without the help of siege guns.  

Imad-ul-mulk requested the Emperor to give him heavy artillery.  

Malhar called Imad to Kumpher. In the month of March he started for Kumther from Mathura. He was joined by Aqibat Mahmud also. The alliess could not occupy the fort due to the lack of heavy artillery. On 17th March Khandeiao, the son of Malhar was killed by a shot. His three wives and seven maids burnt themselves on his pyre. Malhar felt much sorrow for the death of his son.  

Surajmal despatched mourning robes to Malhar and to the son of Khandeiao.

The siege of Kumpher continued for four months. Baghunath had also called Naro Shankar

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2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, P. 521.


with his forces for the work at Kumbher Naro
Shankar served him with his forces. There were
no chances of the victory of the Marathas.
Finally an agreement was finalised in the middle
of the month of May. Romram, on the part of
Surajmal promised thirty lakhs to be paid to
the Marathas in three yearly instalments. Imad
and Raghunath both left Kumbher. The first on
13th and the latter on 22nd May. They reached
Mathura on 23rd May. They had marched towards
Mathura with their forces to attack on Delhi, to
remove Ahmad Shah and to put another Emperor on
the throne. At the same time Imad despatched
Aqibat Mahmud to the Emperor at Sikandra on 25th
May to tell him that 50 thousand Marathas had
come in the territory close to him but now they are
not present. The Emperor and the Vazir did not
take care of it.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daltar, Vol. XXI, No. 60;
Vol. XXVII, No. 81, 134; Fall of the Mughal
Empire, Vol. I, P. 522; New History of the
that Romram also agreed to pay two krores to
Imad and the Marathas which Imad had imposed
upon Jat Raja to pay to the Emperor as Peshkash.


3 Say-Mutaqherin, Vol. III, P. 337; Fall of the
Malhar Holkar was not ignorant all about this. As the Emperor and the Vazir had refused to give heavy artillery, he was angry with them. He decided to attack on the Imperial camp at Sikandrabad, and to stop the supply of food and water and thus to occupy artillery. At night without intimating to Imad and Sindia etc., he crossed the river Yamuna at Mathura fort on 26th May. He reached near the forces of the Emperor. He shot the few rockets to know about the enemy. Nobody in the Imperial camp took care of it. In the night the news was received that Malhar was himself present there with a large force. The emperor and the Vazir became nervous. In the night the Emperor with his mother Udhabai and Samsam-ud-dawla., with the Vazir mounting on their elephants, fled from there with full speed towards Delhi. They did not say anything to anyone. They left all their family members, officers and all the baggage behind. After half an hour after their flight from there, the news spread in the camp. All the officers and soldiers with

little baggage and arms fled from Sikandrabad. The Marathas followed them and plundered. Knowing about the news of the Emperor's flight the ladies of the Imperial Harem also moved towards Delhi loading their valuable things on elephants. The Maratha troops fell upon these ladies in the night of 26th May. Malika Zamani and about three hundred ladies of the Harem were captured and put into confinement. All their valuable things were captured. The Marathas looted the camp of Sikandrabad. Holkar treated these ladies respectfully. He even did not touch them or their jewellery which they were putting on. Knowing about this act of Maratha troops on the Imperial ladies, Malhar and Imad felt ashamed. The royal jewellery was kept safely. Even then the Marathas plundered lakhs of gold and silver coins, tents, stores, artillery, raths, camels, horses and other baggage.

3 Ibid. P. 338; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, PP. 539-540.
On 24th May 1754 Raghunathrao was at Mathura, on 25th at Brindaban, on 26th and 27th May at Mat in pargana Mahavan on the north side of Yamuna in Doab, on 28th May at Barot in pargana Nok in Doab, on 29th at Utani, on 30th May at Kurol in Doab, on 31st at Motipur Jagapur and on 1st June he reached at Patpananj near Delhi on the north side of Yamuna.

In a letter Malhar Holkar wrote to the Peshwa from Gangauni that as he had given him instructions regarding the occupation of Kashi and Prayag, Gangadhar Pant was at Mathura and Ghazi-ud-din and Surejmal were also there. He would do this work after the arrangements at Delhi would be made.

A letter probably of Jayapa Sindia shows that he was ordered to go to Raghunath after finishing the work at Marwar and to make the arrangement of Kashi, Prayag and Gwalior. Jayapa replied

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 79.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 114, Dated 15.8.1754.
that he would join Raghunath after the investment of Nagor.

In a letter Raghunathrao informed Bhau and the Peshwa, that he came to Kasba Pohri in Narwar to capture the fort of Gwalior. The Bana of Gohad and Alju Jat etc. have been given the message to evacuate the fort but no agreement has been made. After an agreement, they would evacuate the fort. In a letter Vithal Shivdev wrote the Peshwa about the conquest of Gohad. He wrote that as the Marathas have conquered Gohad, the fort of Gwalior would obviously come into their possession. In a letter Vithal Shivdev informed Raghunathrao that the Bana of Gohad was defeated and the city of Gwalior was destroyed so the Bana agreed to give the fort of Gwalior and to go himself to Gohad but it could not be finalised. Antaji Pant wrote a letter to Bana and the Bana was at the fort.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 114, Dated 15.8.1754.
3 Ibid. No. 68, Dated probably 30.4.1955.
5 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 118, Dated about June 1755.
In a letter Gopal Ganesh informed Vishnu Pant from Gwalior that he came to the fort of Gwalior according to the order of Raghunath. He sent Bapurao Bhaskar in Doab with forces for the arrangement of Kora - Jahanabad and himself remained at Gwalior as the matter of Gwalior took time. He wrote that he would go to Doab after making the arrangement in the fort of Gwalior. Gopal Ganesh had occupied the fort of Gwalior on its evacuation by the Jats.\(^1\)

Raghunathrao reached at Pushkar on 3rd March 1755 after visiting Kannod, Namol, Sarai, Bhadora, Deoli etc. with Holkar. Then he went to Gwalior after its capitulation by Vithal Shivdev. \(^2\)

Then he returned to Poona.

In a letter Gopal Ganesh wrote to Bhau that he reached at the fort of Gwalior with the permission of Raghunathrao. An agreement was made

\(^1\) *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 87 dated year 1755.

with Balji Jat to evacuate his village and posts and to give his artillery and bullets from the fort. So he evacuated the villages and posts which were captured by Antaji Pant and Vithal Pant. He wrote that the Jats had taken all the things according to the agreement and gave the fort to Sana of Gohad after evacuating it. Gopal Ganesh established his post at the fort and went to the fort. He made the arrangements there and wrote that the present arrangements are quite inadequate and advised that an augmentation of the garrison should be stationed at the fort.

In a letter Antaji Pant wrote to his agent at Poona from a place near Konch at the bank of Yamuna that he came to Kalpi and met with Hari Pant Baba. Hari Pant Baba is well at Kalpi. He wrote that his Jagirs of Btawah, Phaphund and Sikandrabad in Doab had been given to Govind Ballal by Raghunathrao from the side of Antaji. Naro Shankar demanded some changes

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, No. 113, from dated 21.7.1755.
from Baghunathrao but Antaji opposed it.

In a letter Govind Ballal informed Bhau that Nawab Vazir had given the Pargana of Bhogaon in Jagir to Ahmed Khan Pathan of Farrukhabad. The Pargana of Bhogaon was close to Itawah, Phaphund and Shikhabad. The Pathans would come there and make disputes in these parganas and take them in their hands so Govind Ballal sent a message to the Vazir of Delhi and had taken the pargana after giving him Ijara. He changed the sanad of Vazir from Nawab Ahmad Khan and took the pargana in his hands after taking sanad.

A letter shows some provinces and the officers by whom they are managed:

The pargana of Gwalior was managed by Vithal Shivdev. The Pargana of Karoli and Wandraw was managed by Baji Sakhdev, Jalali and Philsad

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 70 dated 7.9.1755; also Vol. II, No. 52 dated 23.3.1755.

2 Ibid. Vol. XXI, No. 73 dated 20.10.1755.
by Bhagwantrao Anant and the fort of Gwalior by Gopalrao Ganesh. The Doab was under the management of Anlaji Manekshwar, Gopalrao Ganesh, Govind Ballal, Bapuji Mahadev.

In a letter Jankoji Sindia informed Naro Shankar that in the province of Doab there is the arrangement of the Marathas. Govind Pant has gone to Doab. Jankoji wrote to Naro Shankar to go to Doab and establish the amal of government there joining Govind Pant. He informed him that the parganas of Jalali, Bilram, Kasganj etc. in Doab were given to Bapu Mahadev and Damodar Mahadev earlier but now these parganas have been given to Antaji by the Peshwa. Baburao Damodar was sent there to establish amal. Jankoji wrote Naro Shankar that the amal of the government should be established there and he himself would reach in Doab after a short time.

In a letter Antaji informed to Sagunabai, widow of Peshwa's younger brother Janardan Pant

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, No. 78, dated year 1755-56.

who was on a pilgrimage to Benaras, from a place on the bank of Yamuna that he came to Gwalior from Narwar. The Emperor and the Vazir came to Doab from Delhi and wrote to Antaji to finish the amal in the country of the Government. Govind Ballal also wrote Antaji that if you would go to South then the amal would finish in Doab. So Antaji left some troops at Gwalior and went to Agra with his forces, stayed there for about three months. Govind Ballal also reached near Agra. He sent a Vakil to the Emperor and Vazir and made an agreement. The Agreement was made that Antaji should serve the Emperor with 10 or 12 thousand force. On the other hand, the Emperor and the Vazir would not create any disturbance in the territory of the Marathas. After this the Emperor had sent a horse, Jawahir, Sirpench etc., to Antaji at Agra. Antaji accepted it and came to Gwalior and after Dashara reached on the bank of Yamuna. Antaji had ten or twelve thousand force. He went to the Emperor and the Vazir.

In a letter Naro Shankar informed the Peshwa that Antaji marched from Gwalior to go near Gopalrao Ganesh to make the arrangements in Doab and reached on the boundary of the provinces of Bhadawar and Kachhwadhar with his forces. He stayed there for some time and again came to Gwalior with the idea of going to Marwar.

In a letter Krishnaji Keshav wrote to Sakhraram Bapu from Jalesar in Doab that he came to Jalesar and captured Jalesar from the Jats and compelled them to evacuate it. He also captured Akbarabad. He wrote Sakhraram Bapu to send sanad for these two mahals.

In the year 1766 when Abdali invaded India, the Maratha commander Antaji was immediately called to Delhi from Gwalior. Antaji immediately returned from Gwalior at the call of Vazir with 5000 troops.

Antaji with his little army fled towards Mathura and reached there on 4th February 1757. Here there was a small village in Mathura which was in possession of Trimbak Mukand Subahdar. Antaji lived in that southern territory mainly at Palwal for more than two months but he always remained at 40 or 50 miles distance from Delhi city. He did not fight the battle again with Abdali. Thus the Maratha forces went on the other side after plundering Doab and Delhi - Agra territory.

At this time Saganabai had come to Prayag for Magh Bath. She wrote to Antaji that she would come to pilgrimage of Mathura after Magh bath and then would go to South. But Antaji replied her to go to South via Kalpi and not to come to Mathura as Abdali had created disturbances there.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No.96, Dated 30.1.1757; No. 98 dated 6.2.1757; No. 99 dated 10.2.1757; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 81-82.

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 84.

3 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No.96
In a letter Antaji wrote to Baghunath that Naro Shankar was at Gwalior and Balaji Govind, Dhondo Pant and Trimbak Mukandrao were present in Doab.

In a letter Antaji informed the Peshwa that he is present at Palwal near Delhi and as he was ordered to remove his forces from Etawah, Shikohabad and Phaphund, the province of Govind Ballal, he has removed his forces from these places.

In a letter Devrao Meghasam who was on a pilgrimage with Sagunabai at the time of the invasion of Abdali writes the situation of the Maratha sardars at the time. He wrote that Purushottampant Devrao and his brothers are at Agra. Shamsher Bahadur and Naro Shankar also have gone to Agra from Jhansi. A battle occurred between Antaji and Abdali. Many Sardars were killed. They have gathered again. They have come to Mathura and then would go to Jaipur. In another letter he writes that some Maratha forces

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 100, dated February 1757.

2 Ibid. Vol. XXII, No. 143, Dated 23.2.1757.
are near Bhotal, some near Agra, some near Mathura and Shikohabad. Bhagunathrao and Malhar Holkar were at Hampura at this time. Shamsher Bahadur, Naro Shankar and Antaji were present at Agra.

In a letter Antaji refers that Itawah, Phaphund and Shikohabad were granted to him in jagir by the Emperor for his services. Antaji had appointed Govind Ballal, the tax Collector in his jagirs for two years. Govind Ballal collected the tax in these places. When he returned to South, the Peshwa refused to give the payment of tax to Antaji and had taken it for the government. he had confiscated his jagirs. So Antaji demanded the tribute collected from his jagirs in Doab to prepare a force and requested the Peshwa to give a new sanad for his Mahals in Doab. Hari Vithal was in Kalpi.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 103, 104, Dated 5.3.1757.
2 Ibid. No. 107, Dated 16.3.1757.
3 Ibid. No. 109 Dated March 1757, No. 119 dated 11.5.1757.
4 Ibid. No. 170 dated 22.3.1757.
In a letter Vithal Shivdev informed Raghunathrao from the place of Bhosawar that he has been given the sanad of the Subah of Agra. Roopram Katare had come near him. He inquired of Raghunathrao that whether he should negotiate with the Jats about the administration of the province of Agra and if he was not in favour of it, Vithal was ready to send the sanad to Raghunath. He wrote to him that if the administration of Agra would be done according to the will of Raghunath, he was agreed with it but he demanded the right to collect the tribute for himself. He wrote him that when you would leave the place, you should establish the administration of Vithal Shivdev there. He told him to give the Haveli of Agra and the mahals of Haveli for his administration, otherwise he was not ready to take the administration of the Subah.

Before leaving for his country, Ahmad Shah Abdali had installed Alamgir as the emperor. Ghazi-ud-din was appointed the Vazir and Najib Khan Rohillah was appointed Mir - Bakhshi. He

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 158, dated 27.5.1757.
sent to Shazi-ud-din and Najib to Doab with two princes. They were sent to Doab to drive out the Maratha intruders from there. They occupied the Jat posts in Doab joining with the Pathans of Samsabad. The Pathans of Samsabad captured Maratha posts in Doab. They rendered Maratha administration null and void there. A plan was made to send Vithal pant, Tatya and Gangadhar Yashwant with ten thousand force against them. It was also thought to take the help of Jats with their force.

At this time there was no powerful Maratha army in the north under an able general. Antaji was left near Delhi with 5000 force. The Vazir had agreed to pay 13 lakhs a year for them. Small troops were also there in the Jagirs of Antaji in Doab area as in Itawah, Phaphund and Shikohabad, in the jagirs of Hingine in the districts of Mirat and Bulandshahr. Peshwa's

1 Selections From Peshwa Dastar, Vol. XXI, No. 117.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 152.
officers were in Kora and Jahanabad to collect the tax there. But there was no main Maratha army in the north.

In a letter Gopalrao Bapu informed Sakharam Bapu that Gazi-ud-din and the Pathans had captured Maratha posts in Doab. The writer called him to make the arrangement in Doab and wrote him that without making the arrangement of Gazi-ud-din and the Pathans, the hold of the Marathas was not possible in Doab.

In a letter Keshavrao, the Maratha agent at Delhi, informed the Peshwa about the situation of Doab that Abdali had sent the two princes in Doab. Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad, the son of Ali Mardan Khan and Hafiz Bahmat Khawz also joined them. The Vazir also met with them. All of them plundered the Maratha posts in Doab. Keshavrao wrote letters to Bagnunath rao and Malhar Holkar to repair at Delhi from Bajputana but they replied that they would come to Delhi after finishing the

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 98.
work at Jaipur. Keshavrao informed Peshwa that if they would come near Agra after finishing the work at Jaipur, they would cross the Yamuna near Agra and the hold of the Marathas would be possible in Doab.

At last Raghunathrao sent a force of 25 thousand under Sakharam Bapu, vithal Shivdev, Antaji Mankeshwar and Gangadhar Yashwant to make the arrangement in Doab. It was also thought to win the support of Shuja-ud-daula for making the arrangement of the enemy.

With the arrival of the force sent by Raghunath Rao under Gangadhar Yashwant, Sakharam Bapu and other generals, in Doab, Shuja-ud-daula was very much satisfied and wanted the friendship with the Marathas. Bapuji Mahadev Vakil went to Delhi from Bharatpur.

1 Ibid. No. 117
2 Ibid. No. 126, 117, 122.
3 Ibid. No. 122, 123, dated 28.5.1757.
4 Ibid. No. 120, Dated 11.5.1757.
Raghunath wrote a letter to Shuja-ud-daula about the disturbances created by Ghazi-ud-din and the Pathans in Doab. He wrote to him to join the Maratha forces sent in Doab to make the arrangement of the enemy. But the Nawab replied that he could not go across immediately due to the possibility of a battle and wrote to Raghunathrao to meet with him immediately. But no letter was written to the Nawab so there were no chances of any good discussion with him.

Ghazi-ud-din also sent his Vakil to Shuja-ud-daula. At the same time the Nawab told the Marathas that he would not do the friendship with Ghazi-ud-din. But in reality Shuja-ud-daula wanted the friendship with the Vazir and went to meet Hafiz Rahmat Khan and the Vazir.

No agreement of Shuja-ud-daula could be made with the Vazir. The Vazir with the Rohillas led an expedition against the Nawab. A battle started between Ghazi-ud-din and
Shuja-ud-daula. Nawab Shuja-ud-daula asked the Marathas to defeat the enemy with their help and wrote Sakhraram and Tatya to come immediately. But they replied that it would take one week to come and if the battle would be finished or an agreement would be made on their arrival, their arrival would prove useless. Nawab sent Bhawani Das to Bapu and Tatya and was ready to do further activity according to their will. Sakhraram Bapu and other Marathas were ready to help the Nawab on the promise that the Nawab would not open negotiations with the enemy but the Nawab did it. The Emperor sent a farman to the Nawab that he has sent a letter to the princes and Wali-ud-din not to fight with you.

The force sent by Baghunathrao under Gangadhar Yashwant, Vithal Shivdev, Antaji, Tatya and other Maratha sardars arrived at Agra

1 Ibid. No. 130, 131.
2 Ibid. No. 135; also Selections from Peshwa Bafter, Vol. XXVII, No. 131.
in about the middle of May 1757. They first came to an agreement with the Jats about the remaining indemnity. On 17th June the Marathas reached at Kasganj crossing the Yamuna under Saktharam Bapu.

The Peshwa had given the Subahdari of Agra to Malhar Holkar. Holkar had nominated Vithal Shivdev as his deputy at Agra.

In a letter Dhondo Harba wrote to Saktharam Bapu from Shikohabad that he came to meet him from Jhansi. Here after Dhondo Harba heard the news that Saktharam has reached in Doab near Agra with forces. Therefore he himself crossed the Yamuna near Bateshwar. He enquired Saktharam Bapu where he should meet him.

Dhondo - Dattatraya also informed Saktharam Bapu from Mainpuri in Doab that as he was ordered

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1 Ibid. No. 131; also Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 71, 76.
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 102.
to come towards Agra, he would join him at the time of his crossing the Yamuna.

Purushottam Mahadev informed Baghumathrao from Etawah on the bank of Yamuna that he was written a letter by him to come immediately as the Pathans, Rohillas and the Vazir had reached on the South bank of Yamuna. The Rohillas, Pathans and the Vazir reached at Etawah by the bank of Yamuna from Parrukhabad. Purushottam Mahadev marched from there. The Vazir sent his son there and captured the place.

In a letter Balaji Govind wrote to Sakaram Bapu from Baroli in Pargana Bhogaon that the Baja of Buri has captured the pargana of Phaphund only fifteen villages have remaining. He has established his posts there. Although the Maratha squadrons were present there but they were not so much powerful to fight with him. He wrote him to come Doab himself to press the rebels. The Baja of

Buru sent his Vakil to Antaji and the Peshwa. He had captured four parganas and the land of five parganas Phaphund, Jalgaon, Deomali, Sakatpur and Etah etc.

Hearing about the arrival of the large Maratha army in Doab, Ghazi-ud-din and the Pathans of Farrukhabad left the Maratha posts which they had captured. The Marathas reestablished their posts there. Only some posts were in possession of Zamindars and some arrangements were to be made. The Vazir and the princes went across the Ganges to fight with Shuja-ud-daula.

On 2nd July Antaji reached Anupshahr.

In a letter Gopalrao informed Bakhunathrao that the Gangasingh Chandela etc. and Jahan Khan Pathan had captured the post of Sowli but he recaptured the post of Sowli and compelled them to evacuate after a skirmish with them.

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, No. 76, dated 20.6.1757.
2 Ibid. Vol. XX, No. 131, also Vol. II, No. 79, 76.
In a letter Sakharam Bhagwant informed
Raghunath Rao that he captured the posts of
Jalali, Bilgram from the rebels. In a letter
Trimbak Shivdev informed Sakharam Bapu from
Mainpuri that he has sieged Mainpuri but the
arrangement could not be made. The Raja has
captured some posts of Bhivgaon and has captured
a village near Saketi. A Wakyil was sent to make
an agreement with him. The force was also sent
to establish posts at Kannauj and Telgaon. The
posts of Shahana, Jakera, Narsija and Khanpur
was also captured. Only two or three places in
pargana Shahana were in the possession of the
Pathans. Janardan Khan demanded artillery from
Sakharam Bapu to capture these places also from
the Pathans. A force was sent to Garhmukteshwar.
The posts had been evacuated there also. A
Maratha force recaptured Sikandrabad. Najib's
agents fought with 3000 force two battles at Mirat

1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No.
177, dated 9.6.1757.
3 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 188 dated 8.7.1757; also
Vol. XXI, No. 137, dated 11.7.1757.
with the Marathas from 10th to 15th July. But the Rohillahs were defeated. Both the sides suffered heavy losses. Antaji's deputy defeated another Rohilla force of 1000 who was coming to establish Najib's power at Mirat. The Marathas recaptured Saharanpur, Mirat, Sikandrabad, Shikohabad, Phaphund, Etawah and Even Kora and Jahanabad from the hands of the Delhi Court and the Rohillahs. In a letter Trimbak Krishna and Janardan Ram informed the Peshwa that about two or three hundred posts have been captured in Doab, order has been restored there and the Peshwa's supremacy established in Doab. The Vazir and Ahmad Khan came to meet Antaji to pay their homage.

An agreement was also made with Surajmal Jat. His authority was accepted in his annexations. He was also given the permission to hold the fort of Agra on the condition that he would pay punctually the earlier promised tribute to the Marathas.

In a letter Govind Ballal wrote to Sakharam Bapu from the place near Kumarmoth that the situation

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1 Selections From Peshwa Deitar, Vol. XXVII, No. 163; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 99.

2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 204 dated 22.9.1757; also Vol. II, No. 84 dated 24.11.1757.

3 Ibid. Vol. XXI, No. 139, also Vol. II, No. 79.

4 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 113.
was very precarious in Doab. He requested him that the two squadrons of Gangadhar Bajirao should be permitted to stay in Doab for at least two months so that order could be established in Doab. He wrote that Ramaji Sakhaji was at Pirozabad. It was ordered to give the posts to Jats removing him from the place. According to the order Govind Ballal informed that he had established the posts of the Jats removing Ramaji Sakhaji from there.

In a letter Bajaram Govind wrote to probably that the leaders Khalil Khan and Islam Khan Bakhshi from the side of Nawab and Ahmad Khan and Mulla Mohsan and other leaders from the side of Hafiz Bahmat Khan have started and reached at Chabaram, which is at ten Kos distance from Farrukhabad. He wrote that the forces have not arrived according to the agreement. The forces will be collected on coming at Etawah or would be collected after going to Etawah. Having crossed the Jamunat near Etawah, I would join you within one or two days taking the leave from the Emperor.

2 Ibid. No. 157 dated 27.4.1788.
In another letter Purushottam Mahadev wrote to Baghunathrao from Itawah that he is informed that the forces have not arrived though nine or ten months have passed. He was ordered to return to his province within no time. Purushottam Mahadev informed Baghunath that Vazir was creating delay in his departure. He wrote that if Vazir would not cross the Yamuna tomorrow, he himself would come to Baghunath taking leave from the Vazir.

In the year 1756 Dattaji and Jankoji Sindia were sent towards north. Dattaji was appointed the Subahdar of Agra by the Peshwa in place of Malhar.

A letter dated 4.6.1757 shows that when Govind Ballal marched from Itawah towards north, he reached at Sikandrabad which was the post of Najib. Govind Ballal wrested this outpost from Najib's agents and established his post there and make the arrangements. Antaji induced Dattaji

1 Selections from Peshwa Darar, No. 158 dated 29.5.1756.
2 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 113.
that the tribute from this mahal was for the Peshwa and Govind Pant had created disturbance there. Now Najib would pay the tribute and asked Dattaji to write a letter to Govind Ballal not to create disturbances in the Pargana of Najib whose services he proposed to utilize. Letters were sent to Govind Ballal for this purpose.

In a letter Parashar Dadaji informed the Peshwa from the place Bole in Doab that Kushalsingh is the zamindar in Buru, in the Pargana of Phaphund. He created disturbances in the amal of the government so his arrangement was necessary. He had important talukas and posts in his possession and had captured the posts of the government creating the disturbances there. The writer besieged them and recaptured them after a labour of two and a half month. All his posts were captured. A large number of horses and men were killed. Kushalsingh was in Buru. The writer fought with him there. A severe clash occurred. A large number of horse and men were killed and wounded. Kushal Singh took flight in the night. Now there remained no work in his post.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 102.
In the year 1769 Abdali invaded India. Hearing the news about the invasion of Abdali, Dattaji started collecting allies. On 8th November a Jat force of 5000 men under Kothari joined him which was sent by Surajmal. The nawab of Farrukhabad, Ahmad Khan Bangash also joined him about the same time.

On Thursday 10th January 1760 in the morning the Abdalies and Rohillahs shot guns and cannons and crossed Yamuna. Sabaji who was guarding the ford opposed the enemies with his small force after informing Dattaji about this. Sabaji was defeated and driven back. Dattaji reached there with his force to oppose the enemy. The battle continued for about four hours. Dattaji was killed in the battle by a bullet. The Marathas started running from there leaving their general's body behind. The troops of Sabaji were destroyed but he saved himself. Qutbshah, the

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1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 150-151.
Guru of Naib, cut off the head of Mttaji and brought it to Abdali.

Jankoji reached there with his force and fought with the enemy four hours. Jankoji also received a bullet in the fleshy part of his upper arm and the bullet passed through his hand. The Marathas fled from there. They suffered heavy losses. The Maratha army after their defeat fled towards Delhi. Their enemy pursued them and great slaughter occurred. When Imad came to know about the defeat and slaughter of the Marathas he marched from Delhi to Bharatpur.

From Marari-Ghat the Maratha army marched upto the boundary of Jaipur via Bewari and the country of the Jats. Jankoji with his followers reached at Paniala near Kotputli in Jaipur kingdom

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on 14th January. Kotputli is at twenty five miles south of Namol. He also took with him the baggage, camp women and other non-combatants which were despatched from Delhi on 6th January. Malhar Holkar joined them and Kotputli on 15th January.

Abdali sent his vakils with letters to the Madhosingh the Baja of Jaipur, to Surajmal Jat and to Shroja to send tribute and to come to meet him and to drive the Marathas sardars in South from Northern India joining Abdali. Surajmal Jat replied that you should be the Emperor of Delhi and make the arrangement of the Marathas, then he assured him to pay the tribute accordingly, otherwise he told him that he could do nothing. Madhosingh replied the same answer and continued the correspondence. They thought that after a decisive contest between Abdali and the Marathas, they would join the powerful party.


Malhar Holkar had joined Jankoji at Kotputli on 16th January. He had brought with him the Jat force and a force of Madhosingh after making friendship with him. At Kotputli they performed the funeral rites of Dattaji and discussed their future plans. At Kotputli all of them decided to send the camp - baggage and non - combatants to the Deccan with Govind Ballal. On 23rd January this party marched from Kotputli and on 3rd February they crossed Chambal river near Sambalghar moving via Karoli. Jankoji stayed in the rear and Malhar started his movement on 24th January with a force. He did not move directly towards Delhi but passed through Kausau and collected the ransom of ten thousand rupees. He roamed in South-west of Delhi, in Mewat district to get the opportunities.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI No. 185, 183.
2 Panipatcha Bansangram, P. 161; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XII, No. 185; Fall of the Mughal Empire, P. 160; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, P. 412.
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 161.
Abdali left Khizirabad on 27th January and proceeded against Surajmal via Shergarh which is at twenty miles north of Mathura. On 6th February he reached at Dig and attacked the fort. From there some of his troops marched and on 11th February they defeated a Maratha army in their west side by attacking them in the night. Abdali marched towards Mewat on the way to Narnol. It was reported to him that Malhar was there. The Maratha force disappeared in the north and on 18th February Abdali reached at Rewari. Abdali moved eight miles on the way to Delhi on 22nd February without knowing the position of the Maratha army. On 22nd February Malhar was present at Bahadurgarh which is at forty miles north of Rewari and on 24th he reached near Kalka Devi.

On 26th-27th Holkar reached in Doab at Sikandarabad crossing the Yamuna. On 27th he was at Dhanokot and on 29th at Khizirabad.

In a letter Keshavrao informed the Peshwa that Holkar and Jankoji were at Mewat, at fifty kosa.

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 162
3 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 162.
distance from Delhi. Some of his troops were near Malwa to face Abdali. Abdali had a large force as Najib and other Rohillahs had joined him. He sent letters to Surajmal, Madhosingh, to all the Rajas and to Shyua to come to meet him or to send forces and tribute. These Raja’s continued correspondence with him without breaking friendship. As on the one hand they were afraid of Abdali and on the other of the Marathas. Being informed of this Malhar decided that he had not so much strength to fight Abdali and decided to destroy his territory. If Abdali and the Rohillahs would come for the protection of their territory, then Malhar decided to go on the other side but he was ready to be defeated by Abdali. With the idea of destroying Sikandrabad, the post of Najib in Doab, the Marathas marched from Narnol and crossed the Yamuna coming near Delhi and reached Sikandrabad on 25th Feb. His plan was to destroy the territory on the both sides of the Ganges because the Rohillahs of both sides had gone near Abdali. Malhar destroyed and plundered the post of Sikandrabad and after this he started
destroying the territory on this side of the Ganges. At this time ten lakhs of treasure from the trans-Ganges territory of Najib had reached near Anupshahr. It was being carried on for the help of Abdali. Malhar sent his men to find a ford there and stayed there for three or four days. When Abdali came to know about this, he marched towards Delhi leaving his way to Jaipur. From there he despatched Jahan Khan and Najib with thirty or thirty five thousand strong force into Doab. Gangadhar Yashwant was at four Kos distance from his Sardars. On 4th March the Abdali forces attacked the camp of Malhar. The battle continued for two or four hours between the forces of Abdali and Gangadhar Pant near Sikandrabad. Malhar fled from there and reached Bharatpur in the country of Surejmal Jat. After one or two days Gangadhar Pant also reached Bharatpur in the territory of Jats crossing the Yamuna at Mathura. In the battle Anandrao Jadav,

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 126, 127, 128; Vol. III, No. 120 Dated 2.3.1760; No. 121 Dated 13.3.1760; Panigatcha Hansangram, P. 162; Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. III, P. 381.
Shetyaji Kharade and his son Fakirji and other good soldiers were killed. Their camp, baggage, booty etc. came into the hands of the Abdalies.

Ghazi-ud-din was at Bharatpur from earlier. Holkar called the Vakil of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and discussed peace terms proposed by Hafiz. Purushottam Mahadev Hingne was also called from Dig. He reached at Bharatpur. The Vakil visited Gangadhar Pant. In a letter Hingne wrote on 12th March that Hafiz agreed to come and visit the Sardars, to compel to return Abdali, and to join us with his force for the arrangement of Najib. He agreed not to help Najib. Our Sardars were agreed not to cross his path and not to ravage his territory. This agreement was made, sworn to and the Vakil was given departure. The Sardar remained at about fifteen or sixteen Kos distance from Bharatpur. Surajmal came and visited him. The Sardar gave assurance of friendship and sworn to on the leaves of Bel and Ganges water. Surajmal was given departure with robes of honour. He went to Bharatpur. Malhar reached at Saroti at ten Kos
distance from Bayana. But Malhar was not satisfied with this agreement. As in a letter he wrote to Vishnu Mahadev Gadre about this agreement and wrote that this agreement was not according to our ideas. As Najib was never agreed with the view that Abdali should return from India.

After getting victory on the Marathas Jahan Khan and Najib went near Itawah while Abdali went to Koil in Doab. Holkar was in the country of Jats and was waiting for the arrival of the fresh force from the Deccan for the arrangement of Abdali.

The Peshwa sent a force of 50 thousand under the command of Sadashivrao Bhaun, with his eldest son Vishwasrao as commander-in-chief to keep a check on Bhaun. Bhaun marched from Patdur on


14th March and reached at Sindkhed at about twenty or twenty-five miles distance from Patdur. Bhau left Sindkhed on 25th March and reached Burhanpur, 120 miles north to Patdur on the Tapti on 4th April 1760. On 13th April Bhau crossed the river Narmada at Handia and reached at Sironj on 6th May marching via Sihor (24th April) and Bersia (28 April). Bhau reached Gwalior on 30th May from Sironj marching via Arun (14th May, 25 miles north-west of Sironj), Miana (19th May, 32 miles north of Arun), Narwar (21st May) and Kaldhar Khechiwara, Sindia and Holkar were at Karoli, on the north-bank of the Chambal river. Bhau stayed at Gwalior for two days and here Malhar informed him to cross the Chambal a little east of Dholpur and not near Karoli. Bhau left Gwalior on 2nd June and crossed the river Kumari on 4th. On 8th he crossed the river Chambal about ten miles below Dholpur. He ordered his sardars not to ravage the country of

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1 Panipatee, p. 3, also letter No. 2,3. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 170-174, some dates given by Sarkar are different.
the Jats in which they had entered that day. 1
The Peshwa wanted to keep Jat Baja on his side.
He had also advised Bhau not to demand the balance
of the tribute of 1754 from Surajmal which he had
not paid. 2 3

Bhau stayed close to river Gambhir.

In a letter Bhau wrote to Govind Ballal on
10th June that he had crossed the river Chambal
and was at eighteen Kos distance from here. Sindia
and Holkar were expected to meet him within one
or two days. Then they would make the arrange­
ments for crossing the river Gambhir and would go
to Agra.

Holkar's Diwan Gangadhar Yashwant met
Bhau on 15th June and Malhar joined him on 18th
June. On 30th June Surajmal Jat met with Bhau
through the mediation of Malhar Holkar. Bhau
Marched from his camp about two miles to

2 Ibid. Vol. XXVII, No. 255.
3 Panipatcha Bansangram, Letter No. 3, P. 5.
4 Ibid. Letter No. 3, P. 5
welcome Surajmal. Surajmal agreed to help the Marathas with a contingent of ten thousand and to give refuge to their ladies and non-combatants on the basis that the Jat territory should not be molested and no tribute should be levied from him as the Jat country was on the main route of the Maratha army.

Bhau had written to Govind Pant from the month of May 1760 to collect the boats near Etawah to help his fast army in crossing the Yamuna into Doab and to remove the Afghan outposts from there and to create a distance between Abdali and Shuja. But Govind Pant could not collect the boats. The rains had started earlier this year and the water level was so high by the end of June that the river Gambhir could not be crossed. On the other hand Govind Ballal could not raid the


3 Panipatcha Hansangram, Letter No. 3, P. 5.
province of Shuja of the Ganges and the Jagirs of Najib in Upper Doab but Najib and Jahan Khan in his south ward march threatened the Maratha posts in middle - Doab about in the middle of May. At this time Bhau was at a long distance beyond Chambal. The Afghans laid the siege of the Maratha posts of Etawah and Shikohabad, and marched towards Bithur, in the north of Kanpur. The Maratha garrison left Shikohabad but continued to guard Etawah and Najib marched towards Oudh without capturing it.

From 8th June to 12th July Bhau remained on the north bank of Chambal at some distance south of Gambhir river. As the rains had started earlier this year, Bhau could not cross the Jamuna into Doab. For several weeks his horses, artillery and transport carts could not cross Gambhir due to the flood. As Govind Ballal could not construct a bridge of boats near Itawah, Bhau had to leave his plan to attack the Abdali in upper Doab and Oudh.

1 *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, PP. 174-176
On 14th July Bhau reached Agra with Malhar Holkar and Surajmal. Bhau saw the Yamuna and left the plan of making a bridge of boats on the river and to send a strong force in the Doab with the idea to go to Aligarh. Early in the month of July some of the troops of Surajmal tried to occupy the Jat posts on the east bank facing Mathura and Agra, crossing the river by one or two boats. They reached the number of two thousand, the increasing level of river Yamuna made them separate from their followers gathered at Mathura. No Maratha trooper remained successful in following these Jats for the help of Govind Ballal.

Bhau made a plan immediately. He had reached Agra on 14th July and after two days he reached at Mathura (16th July). On 21st July he sent a detachment of 10 thousand under Balwantrao with Imad and other Sardars to capture Delhi from the agent of Abdali. Imad

1 *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, PP.176-177.

and Surajmal who had come with the Marathas did not help the Marathas in this siege. On 28th July Bhau himself reached Delhi from Mathura.

On 3rd August the Vazir Imad and Surajmal became angry and they went to Ballabgarh quitting their camp at Sarai Badarpur, without the permission of Bhau. The Bhau's Secretary Mahipatrao Chitnis, Holkar's Diwan Gangadhar Tatya and Ramaji Anant, the manager of Sindia went to bring them back but failed. This defection of Surajmal was very much harmful for the Maratha interest. Now they had not any friend north of Narmada.

In a letter Trimbak Krishna and Janardan Ram wrote to Bhau from Ahirev in the pargana of Mainpuri that they have captured about two or three

1 Seir-Mutacherin, Vol. III, P. 384
2 Panipatcha Hansangram, Letter No. 3, P. 5.
4 Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, PP. 181-83.
hundred posts in Doab. In some of them the
posts of the Government have been established and
some have been left. The Amal has been established
there, some work is remaining which will be
completed within a few days.

A letter dated February 1761 shows that
Parvati Bai was expecting that Bhu Saheb would
reach at Gwalior with ten thousand force. Parvati
Bai had eight thousand soldiers with her.

A letter dated 26.4.1761 shows that Malhar
Holkar and others had gathered at Gwalior with
their forces, and after being gathered there they
sent Parvatibai to Maharashtra. In another
letter dated 27.4.1761 Naro Gangadhar writes that
Malhar Holkar, Nana Purandare and other Sardars
with 150 or fifteen thousand force and Parvati Bai

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 129
   Dated 19.8.1760.
were at Gwalior. These Sardars were ordered to come with Parvati Bai. Therefore they marched from there and came to the country of Khechi. Parvati Bai stayed at Ujjain. A letter dated 6.5.1761 shows that Bapuji Mahadev and Purushottam Mahadev were at Mathura.

In a letter Malhar Holkar wrote that he sent Gangaedar Thakur to Surajmal Jat to make an agreement about the mahals in Doab and established his amal in the territory across the Yamuna as before but the people went from the tax-collectors. He wrote that it is very difficult to secure order there without a force. He requested to send a force of five or seven thousand to secure order in Doab with the arrival of rains.

In a letter Ramchandra Tukdev wrote to Raghunath that Surajmal Jat has made the arrangement of the city of Agra and besieged the fort.

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1 Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 142
The fort is strong. He plundered the city and captured it and sat down laying the siege of the fort. Gangadhar Tatya was near Surajmal Jat with two or four thousand force. Balaji Govind wrote the Peshwa that he made several efforts to restore Maratha Prestige in Doab. Gangadhar Pant was at Mathura. He wrote that Surajmal had sieged the fort of Agra and the fort keeper was fighting with him.

In a letter Bala Govind and Gangadhar Govind wrote Trimbak Rao that they went in Doab. They fought with Pathans and Rohillahs at Mangalpur and Phaphund. The Pathans and Rohillahs evacuated these places after agreement and gave to the Marathas. Nawab Shuja had established his posts at Kora and Kara but evacuated them after an agreement. They wrote that they had sent their force to Sakurabad. Rohillahs came there.

Zamindars met with them and captured the Maratha posts there. The Zamindars decided to create disorder there. They wrote that they were trying their best to restore order wherever it was possible.

In a letter Balaji Govind wrote the Peshwa that a force of the Rohillahs entered in Sakurabad so he sent a force to Sakurabad. A letter dated 13.11.1761 shows that Trimbak Phadnis was at Kalpi.

1 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 6 Dated 27.7.1761.
2 Ibid. Vol. XXIX, No. 22.
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(i) Private Life of Shahu and the Peshwas Vol. XVIII.


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Abbreviations

I.H.Q.  ..  Indian Historical Quarterly.

N.H.M.  ..  New History of the Marathas

P.B.M.E.  ..  Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion.

P.P.M.C.  ..  Parties & Politics At The Mughal Court.

S.P.D.  ..  Selections From Peshwa Daftar

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