

and the very name of German (from *wer*, *bellum*)* might be found to be derived from the *feud* (*wer*) and *foe-man* (*weri*) of the Rajpoot.

If these coincidences are merely accidental, then has too much been already said; if not, authorities are here recorded, and hypotheses founded, for the assistance of others.

CHAPTER VII.

Catalogue of the Thirty-six Royal Races.

HAVING discussed the ancient genealogies of the martial races of Rajasthan, as well as the chief points in their character and religion analogous to those of early Europe, we proceed to the catalogue of the *Chhatees Raj-cula*, or "thirty-six royal races."

The table before the reader presents, at one view, the authorities on which this list is given: they are as good as abundant. The first is from a detached leaf of an ancient work, obtained from a Yati of a Jain temple at the old city of Nadole in Marwar. The second is from the poems of Chund,† the bard of the last Hindu king of Delhi. The third is from an estimable work contemporary with Chund's, the *Komarपाल चरित्र*,‡ or 'History of the Monarchy of An-hulwarra Puttun.' The fourth list is from the Kheechee bard.§ The fifth, from a bard of Saurashtra.

From every one of the bardic profession, from all the collectors and collections of Rajasthan, lists have been received, from which the catalogue No. 6 has been formed, admitted by the genealogists to be more perfect than any existing document. From it, therefore, in succession, each race shall have its history rapidly sketched; though, as a text, a single name is sufficient to fill many pages.

The first list is headed by an invocation to 'Mata Sacambhari Devi,' or mother-goddess, protectress of the races (*sachæ*).

Each race (*sacha*) has its '*Gotra Acharya*,'* a genealogical creed, describing the essential peculiarities, religious tenets and pristine locale of the clan. Every Rajpoot should be able to repeat this; though it is now confined to the family priest or the genealogist. Many chiefs, in these degenerate days, would be astonished if asked to repeat their '*gotra acharya*,' and would refer to the bard. It is a touchstone of affinities, and guardian of the laws of intermarriage. When the inhibited degrees of propinquity have been broken, it has been known to rectify the mistake, where, however, "ignorance was bliss."†

* D'Anville's derivation of German, from *wer* (*bellum*) and *manus*.

† Of his works I possess the most complete copy existing.

‡ Presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

§ Mog-jee, one of the most intelligent bards of the present day; but, heart-broken, he has now but the woes of his race to sing. Yet has he forgot them for a moment to rehearse the deeds of Pursunga, who sealed his fidelity by his death on the Caggar. Then the invisible mantle of Bhavani was wrapt around him; and with the byrd (*furor poeticus*), flowing freely of their deeds of yore, their present degradation, time, and place, were all forgot. But the time is fast approaching when he may sing with the Cambrian bard:

"Ye lost companions of my tuneful art,
"Where are ye fled?"

* One or two specimens shall be given in the proper place.

† A prince of Boondi had married a Rajpootni of the Malani tribe, a name now unknown: but a bard repeating the '*gotra acharya*,' it was discovered to have



LIST OF THE THIRTY-SIX ROYAL RACES OF RAJASTHAN.

OM! SACAMBHARI MATA.

ANCIENT MSS.*	CHUND BARDAL.†	KOMAR PAL CHARITRA.‡	KHEECHIE BARD.§	CORRECTED LIST BY THE AUTHOR.
Ieshwacu. Surya. Soma or Chandra. Yadu. 5. Chahuman (Chohan). Pramara. Chalook or Solanki. Purihara. Chawura. 10. Dodia. Rahtore. Gohil. Dabi. Macwahana. 15. Norka. Aswurea. Salar or Silara. Sinda. Seput. 20. Hun or Hoon. Kirjal. Huraira. Rajpali. Dhunpali. 25. Agnipali. Balla. Jhala. Bhagdola. Motdan. 30. Mohor. Kugair. Kurjeo. Chadlea. Pokara. Nicoompa. 36. Sulala.	Ravya or Surya. Suhra or Soma. Yadu. Cacoostha. 5. Pramara. Chohan. Chalook. Chunduk. Silar. 10. Abhira. Macwahana. Gohil. Chapotkut. Purihara. 15. Rahtore. Deora. Tak. Sindoo. Anunga. 20. Patuk. Pritihara. Didiota. Karitpal. Kotpala. 25. Hool. Gor. Nicoompa. Rajpalica. Kani. 30. Kalchoruk or Koor- churra.	Sanscrit Edition—MSS. Guzzuratti Dialect—MSS. Ieshwacu. Soma. Yadu. Pramara. 5. Chohan. Chalook. Chunduk. Silar (<i>Raj-Tilac</i>). Chapotcut. 10. Pritihara. Sukrunka. Coorpala. Chundail. Ohil. 15. Paluka. Mori. Macwahana. Dhunpala. Rajpalica. 20. Dahya. Toorunduleeca. Nicoompa. Hoon. Balla. 25. Hareal. Mokur. Pokara.	Gehlot. Pramara. Chohan. Solanki. 5. Rahtore. Tuar. Birgoojur. Purihara. Jhala. 10. Yadu. Cutchwaha. Gor. These subdivide the follow- ing do not, and are called eka, or single. Sengar. Balla. 15. Khurwar. Chawura. Dahima. Dahya. Byce. 20. Gherwal. Nicoompa. Dewut. Johya. Sikerwal. 25. Dabia. Doda. Mori. Mokarra. Abhira. Sarweya " <i>Chaiya</i> <i>tyn Sar</i> ." Purihara. Chohan.	Ieshwacu, Cacoostha, or Surya. Unwe, Indu, Som, or Chandra. Grahilote or Gehlote...24 Sacha. Yadu.....4 5. Tuar.....17 Rahtore.....13 Cushwaha or Cutchwaha. Pramara.....35 Chahuman or Chohan...26 10. Chalook or Solanki.....16 Purihara.....12 Chawura.....Single, Tak, Tank, or Takshac, Jit or Gete. 15. Hun or Hoon. Catti. Balla. Jhala.....2 Jaitwa or Camari. 20. Gohil. Sarweya, Silar. Dabi. Gor.....5 25. Doda or Dor. Gherwal. Birgoojur.....3 Sengar.....Single. Sikerwal.....ditto. 30. Byce.....ditto. Dahia. Johya. Mohil. Nicoompa. Rajpali. 36. Dahima.....ditto. Extra. Hool. Dahirya.

* The author, after the invocation to "the mother protectress," says, "I write the names of the thirty-six royal tribes."

† The bard Chund says, "of the thirty-six races, the four Agnipalas are the greatest—the rest are born of woman, but these from fire."

‡ As the work is chiefly followed with the exploits of Komarpal, who was of Chohan tribe, the author reserves it for a peroration to the last "of all the mightiest is the Chohan."

§ By name Mogje.

Most of the cula (races) are divided into numerous branches* (sacha), and these sacha sub-divided into innumerable clans (gotra),† the most important of which shall be given.

A few of the cula never ramified: these are termed *eka*, or 'single': and nearly one-third are *eka*.

A table of the 'eighty-four' mercantile tribes, chiefly of Rajpoot origin, shall also be furnished, in which the remembrance of some races are preserved which would have perished. Lists of the aboriginal, the agricultural, and the pastoral tribes are also given to complete the subject.

In the earlier ages there were but two races, Surya and Chandra, to which were added the four Agniculas;‡ in all six. The others are subdivisions of Surya and Chandra, or the sacha of Indo-Scythic origin, who found no difficulty in obtaining a place

(though a low one), before the Mahomedan era, amongst the thirty-six regal races of Rajasthan. The former we may not unaptly consider as to the time, as the Celtic, the latter as the Gothic, races of India. On the generic terms Surya and Chandra, I need add nothing.

GRAHILOTE or GEHILOTE.—"*Pedigree* of the Suryavansi Rana, of royal race, Lord of Cheetore, the ornament of the thirty-six royal races.*"

By universal consent, as well as by the gotra of this race, its princes are admitted to be the direct descendants of Rama, of the Solar line. The pedigree is deduced from him, and connected with Soomitra, the last prince mentioned in the genealogy of the Puranas.

As the origin and progressive history of this family will be fully discussed in the "Annals of Mewar," we shall here only notice the changes which have marked the patronymic, as well as the regions which have been under their sway, from Kanaksen, who, in the second century, abandoned his native kingdom, Kosala, and established the race of Surya in Saurashtra.

On the site of Virat, the celebrated abode of the Pandus during exile, the descendant of Ieshwacu established his line, and his descendant Vijya, in a few generations, built Vijyapur.†

They became sovereigns, if not founders, of Ballabhi, which had a separate era of its own, called the *Ballabhi Samvat*, according with S. Vicrama 375.‡ Hence they became

been about eight centuries before a ramification (sacha) of the Chohan, to which the Hara of Boondi belonged—divorce and expiatory rites, with great unhappiness, were the consequences. What a contrast to the unhallowed doctrines of Polyandry, as mentioned amongst the Pandus, the Scythic nations, the inhabitants of Sirmor of the present day, and pertaining even to Britain in the days of Cæsar!—" *Uxorēs habent deni duodenique inter se communes*," says that accurate writer, speaking of the natives of this island; "*et maxime fratres cum fratribus, parentesque cum liberis: sed si qui sint ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo queque deducta est.*" A strange medley of polyandry and polygamy!

* *Aparam sakham*, 'of innumerable branches,' is inscribed on an ancient tablet of the Grahilote race.

† *Gote*, *kamp*, denote a clan; its subdivisions have the patronymic terminating with the syllable '*ote*,' '*anot*,' '*sote*,' in the use of which euphony alone is their guide: thus, *Suktanot*, 'sons of Sukta'; *Kurmasote*, 'of Kurma'; *Mair-anot*, or *mairote*, mountaineers, 'sons of the mountains.' Such is the Greek *Mainote* form *maina* a mountain, in the ancient Albanian dialect, of eastern origin.

‡ From *agni* (q. *ignis* ?) 'fire,' the sons of Vulcan, as the others of Sol and Luna, or Lunus, to change the sex of the parent of the Indu (moon) race.

* *Vansavali, Suryavansi Rajculi Rana Cheetore ca Dhunni, Chhatees Culi Sengar*.—MSS. from the Rana's library, entitled '*Khoman Rasa*.'

† Always conjoined with Virat—"Vijyapur Viratgurih."

‡ A. D. 319. The inscription recording this, as well as others relating to Ballabhi and this era, I discovered

the Balaca-raes, or kings of Ballabhi; a title maintained by successive dynasties of Saurashtra for a thousand years after this period, as can be satisfactorily proved by genuine history and inscriptions.

Gajni, or Gayni, was another capital, whence the last prince, Siladitya (who was slain), and his family, were expelled by Parthian invaders in the sixth century.

A posthumous son, called Grahaditya, obtained a petty sovereignty at Edur. The change was marked by his name becoming the patronymic, and 'Grahilote,' *vulgo* 'Gehlote,' designated the Suryavansa of Rama.

With reverses and migration from the wilds of Edur to Ahar,* the Gehlote was changed to Aharya, by which title the race continued to be designated till the twelfth century, when the elder brother, Rahup, abandoned his claim to 'the throne of Cheetore,' obtained† by force of arms from the Mori,‡ and settled at Dongurpur, which he yet holds, as well as the title 'Aharya;' while the younger, Mahup, established the seat of power at Seesodia, whence Seesodia set aside both Aharya and Gehlote.

Seesodia is now common title of the race; but being only a subdivision, the Gehlote holds its rank in the cula.

The Gehlote cula is subdivided into twenty-four sacha, or ramifications, few of which exist :—

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. Aharya..... | At Dongurpur. |
| 2. Mangulia..... | In the Deserts. |
| 3. Seesodia..... | Mewar. |
| 4. Peeparra..... | In Marwar. |
| 5. Kalum..... | In few numbers,
and mostly now
unknown. |
| 6. Gahor..... | |
| 7. Dhornia..... | |
| 8. Godah..... | |
| 9. Mugrasah..... | |
| 10. Bhimla..... | |
| 11. Kamkotuc..... | |
| 12. Kotecha..... | |
| 13. Sorah..... | Almost extinct. |
| 14. Oohur..... | |
| 15. Ooseba..... | |
| 16. Nir-roop..... | |
| 17. Nadoria..... | |
| 18. Nadhota..... | |
| 19. Ojakra..... | |
| 20. Kootchra..... | |
| 21. Dosaud..... | |
| 22. Batewara..... | |
| 23. Paha..... | |
| 24. Poorote..... | |

YADU. The Yadu was the most illustrious of all the tribes of Ind, and became the patronymic of the descendants of Boodha, progenitor of the Lunar (Indu) race.

Yudhisthira and Baladeva, on the death of Crishna and their expulsion from Delhi and Dwarica, the last strong-hold of their power, retired by Mooltan across the Indus. The two first are abandoned by tradition; but the sons of Crishna, who accompanied them after an intermediate halt in the further Do-ab* of the five rivers, eventually left the Indus behind, and passed into Za-

in Saurashtra, as well as the site of this ancient capital occupying the position of "Byzantium" in Ptolemy's geography of India. They will be given in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

* Anundpur Ahar, or 'Ahar the city of repose.' By the tide of events, the family was destined to fix their last capital, Oodipur, near Ahar.

† The middle of the eighth century.

‡ A Pramara prince.

* The place where they found refuge was in the cluster of hills still called *Yadu ca dang*, 'the Yadu hills :—the *Joules* of Rennell's geography.

bulisthan, founded Gajni, and peopled these countries even to Samarkhand.

The annals of Jessulmeer, which give this early history of their founder, mix up in a confused manner* the cause of their being again driven back into India; so that it is impossible to say whether it was owing to the Greek princes who ruled all these countries for a century after Alexander, or to the rise of Islamism.

Driven back on the Indus, they obtained possession of the Punjab and founded Salbhanpur. Thence expelled, they retired across the Sutledge and Garah into the Indian deserts; whence expelling the Langahas, the Jolyas, Mohilas, &c., they founded successively Tannote, Derrwal, and Jessulmeer,† in S. 1212,‡ the present capital of the Bhattis, the lineal successors of Crishna.

BHATTI was the exile from Zabulisthan, and as usual with the Rajpoot races on any such event in their annals, his name set aside the more ancient patronymic, *Yadu*. The Bhattis subdued all the tracts south of the Garah; but their power has been greatly circumscribed since the arrival of the Rahoors. The Map defines their existing limits, and their annals will detail their past history.

JAREJA is the most important tribe of Yadu race next to the Bhatti. Its history is similar. Descended from Crishna, and migrating simultaneously with the remains of the Hariculas, there is the strongest ground for believing that their range was not so

wide as that of the elder branch, but that they settled themselves in the valley of the Indus, more especially on the west shore in Sewisthan; and in nominal and armorial distinctions, even in Alexander's time, they retained the marks of their ancestry.

Sambus, who brought on him the arms of the Grecians, was in all likelihood a Haricula; and the Minagara of Greek historians, Samanagara ('city of Samra'), his capital.

The most common epithet of Crishna, or Hari, was Shama or Sama, from his dark complexion. Hence the Jareja bore it as a patronymic, and the whole race were Samaputras (children of Sama), whence the titular name Sambus of its princes.

The modern Jareja, who from circumstances has so mixed with the Mahomedans of Seind as to have forfeited all pretensions to purity of blood, partly in ignorance and partly to cover disgrace, says that his origin is from Sham, or Syria, and of the stock of the Persian Jamsheed: consequently, Sam has been converted into Jam;* which epithet designates one of the Jareja petty governments, the Jam Raj.

These are the most conspicuous of the Yadu race; but there are others who still bear the original title, of which the head is the prince of the petty state of Kerowli on the Chumbul.

This portion of the Yadu stock would appear never to have strayed far beyond the ancient limits of the Suraseni,† their ancestral abodes. They held the celebrated Biana; whence expelled, they established Ke-

* The date assigned long prior to the Christian era, agrees with the Grecian, but the names and manners are Mahomedan.

† Lodurwa Puttun, whence they expelled an ancient race, was their capital before Jessulmeer. There is much to learn of these regions.

‡ A. D. 1157.

* They have an infinitely better etymology for this, in being descendants of Jambuvati, one of Hari's eight wives.

† The Suraseni of Vrij, the tract so named, thirty miles around Mathura.



rowli west, and Subbulgurh east, of the Chumbul. The tract under the latter, called Yaduvati, has been wrested from the family by Scindhia. Sri Mathura* is an independent fief of Kerowli, held by a junior branch.

The Yadus, or as pronounced in the dialects Jadoon, are scattered over India, and many chiefs of consequence amongst the Mahrattas are of this tribe.

There are eight sachæ of the Yadu race:

- | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------|
| 1. Yadu | Chief Kerowli. | |
| 2. Bhatti | Chief Jessulmeer. | |
| 3. Jareja | Chief Cutch Bhooj. | |
| 4. Sumaitcha..... | Mahomedans in Scind. | |
| 5. Mudaicha..... | | } Unknown. |
| 6. Bidmun..... | | |
| 7. Budda..... | | |
| 8. Soha..... | | |

✓ TUAR.—The Tuar, though acknowledged as a subdivision of the Yadu, is placed by the best genealogists as one of the 'thirty-six,' a rank to which its celebrity justly entitles it.

We have in almost every case the etymon of each celebrated race. For the Tuar we have none; and we must rest satisfied in delivering the dictum of the Bardai, who declares it of Pandu origin.

If it had to boast only of Vicramaditya, the paramount lord of India, whose era, established fifty-six years before the Christian, still serves as the grand beacon of Hindu chronology, this alone would entitle the Tuar to the highest rank. But it has other claims to respect. Delhi, the ancient Indraprastha, founded by Yudhisthira, and which tradition says lay desolate for eight

centuries, was rebuilt and peopled by Anungpal Tuar, in S. 848 (A.D. 792), who was followed by a dynasty of twenty princes, which concluded with the name of the founder, Anungpal, in S. 1220 (A.D. 1164), when, contrary to the Salic law of the Rajpoots, he abdicated (having no issue) in favour of his grandchild, the Chohan Pri-thwiraja.

The Tuar must now rest on his ancient fame; for not an independent possession remains to the race,* which traces its lineage to the Pandus, boasts of Vicrama, and which furnished the last dynasty, emperors of Hindusthan.

It would be a fact unparalleled in the history of the world, could we establish to conviction that the last Anungpal Tuar was the lineal descendant of the founder of Indraprastha; that the issue of Yudhisthira sat on the throne which he erected, after a lapse of 2,250 years. Universal consent admits it, and the fact is as well established as most others of a historic nature of such a distant period: nor can any dynasty or family of Europe produce evidence so strong as the Tuar, even to a much less remote antiquity.

The chief possessions left to the Tuars are the district of Tuargar, on the right bank of the Chumbul towards its junction with the Jumna, and the small chieftainship of Patun Tuarvati in the Jeypur state, and whose head claims affinity with the ancient kings of Indraprastha.

RAHTORE.—A doubt hangs on the origin of this justly celebrated race. The Rahtore genealogies trace their pedigree to Cush, the

* Its chief, Rao Manohur Sing, was well known to me, and was, I may say, my friend. For years letters passed between us, and he had made for me a transcript of a valuable copy of the *Mahabharat*.

* Several Mahratta chieftains deduce their origin from the Tuar race, as Ram Rao Falkia, a very gallant leader of horse in Scindhia's state,

second son of Rama; consequently they would be Suryavansa. But by the bards of this race they are denied this honour; and although Cushite, they are held to be the descendants of Casyapa, of the Solar race, by the daughter of a Daitya (Titan). The progeny of Hiranya Casipu is accordingly stigmatized as being of demoniac origin.

It is rather singular that they should have succeeded to the Lunar race of Cushnaba, descendants of Ajamida, the founders of Canonj. Indeed, some genealogists maintain the Rahtores to be of Cusika race.

The pristine locale of the Rathores is Gadhipura, or Canonj, where they are found enthroned in the fifth century; and though beyond that period they connect their line with the princes of Kosala or Ayodhya, the fact rests on assertion only.

From the fifth century their history is cleared from the mist of ages, which envelops them all prior to this time; and in the period approaching the Tatar conquest of India, we find them contesting with the last Tuar and Chohan kings of Delhi, and the Balica-raes of Anhulwarra, the right to paramount importance amidst the princes of Ind.

The combats for this phantom, supremacy, destroyed them all. Weakened by internal strife, the Chohan of Delhi fell, and his death exposed the north-west frontier. Canonj followed; and while its last prince, Jeychund, found a grave in the Ganges, his son sought an asylum in Marusthuli, "the regions of death."

Seoji was this son; the founder of the Rahtore dynasty in Marwar, on the ruins of the Puriharas of Mundore. Here they brought their ancient martial spirit, and a

more valiant being exists not than can be found amongst the sons of Seoji. The Mogul emperors were indebted for half their conquests to the *Lakh Turwar Rahtoran*, the 100,000 swords of the Rahtores; for it is beyond a doubt that 50,000 of the blood of Seoji have been embodied at once. But enough of the noble Rahtores for the present.

The Rahtore has twenty-four sachæ:—Dhandul, Bhadail, Chackit, Doohuria Khokra, Baddura, Chajira, Ramdeva, Kabria, Hatoondia, Malavat, Soondu, Kataicha, Muholi, Gogadeva, Mahaicha, Jeysinga, Moorsia, Jobsia, Jora, &c. &c.

Rahtore Gotra Acharya.—Gotama* Gotra (race),—Mardwunduni Sacha (branch),—Sookra-acharya Gooru (Regent of the planet Venus, Preceptor),—Garroopata Agni,† —Pankhani Devi (tutelary goddess, winged).

CUSHWAHA.—The Cushwaha race‡ is descended from Cush, the second son of Rama. They are the Cushites,§ as the Rajpoots of Mewar are the Lavites, of India.

Two branches migrated from Kosala: one founded Rotas on the Sone, the other established a colony amidst the ravines of the Cohari, at Lahar.||

* From this I should be inclined to pronounce the Rahtores descendants of a race (probably Scythic) professing the Booddhist faith, of which Gotama was the last great teacher, and disciple of the last Booddha Mahavira, in S. 477 (A.D. 533).

† Enigmatical—"Clay formation by fire" (*agni*).

‡ Erroneously written and pronounced Cutchwaha.

§ The resemblance between the Cushite Ramesa of Ayodhya and the Rameses of Egypt is strong. Each was attended by his army of satyrs, Anubis and Cynocephalus, which last is a Greek misnomer, for the animal bearing this title is of the Simian family, as his images (in the Turin museum) disclose, and the brother of the faithful Hanuman. The comparison between the deities within the Indus (called *Nil-ab*, 'blue waters') and those of the Nile in Egypt, is a point well worth discussion.

|| A name in compliment, probably, to the elder branch of their race, Lava.



In the course of time they erected the celebrated fortress of Niwur, or Nirwar, the abode of the celebrated Raja Nala, whose descendants continued to hold possession throughout all the vicissitudes of the Tatar and Mogul domination, when they were deprived of it by the Mahrattas, and the abode of Nala is now a dependency of Sindhia.

In the tenth century a branch emigrated and founded Ambar, dispossessing the aborigines, the Moenas, and adding from the Rajpoot tribe Birgoojur, who held Rajore and large possessions around. But even in the century the Cushwahas were but principal vassals to the Chohan king of Delhi; and they have to date their greatness, as the other families (especially the Ranas of Mewar) of Rajasthan their decline, from the ascent of the house of Timoor to the throne of Delhi.

The map shows the limits of the sway of the Cushwahas, including their branches, the independent Niroomkas of Macherri, and the tributary confederated Shikhavats.

The Cushwaha subdivisions have been mislaid; but the present partition into Kotrees (chambers), of which there are twelve, shall be given in their annals.

AGNICULAS.—1st, *Pramara*. There are four races to whom the Hindu genealogists have given Agni, or the element of fire, as progenitor. The Agniculas are therefore the sons of Vulcan, as the others are of Sol,* Mercurius, and Terra.

* There is a captivating elegance thrown around the theogonies of Greece and Rome, which we fail to impart to the Hindu; through that elegant scholar, Sir William Jones, could make even Sanscrit literature fascinating; and that it merits the attempt intrinsically, we may infer from the charm it possesses to the learned chieftain of Rajasthan. That it is perfectly analogous

The Agniculas are the Pramara, the Purihara, the Chalook or Solanki, and the Chohan.

That these races, the sons of Agni, were but regenerated, and converted by the Brahmins to fight their battles, the clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will disclose; and, as the most ancient of their inscriptions are in the Pali character, discovered wherever the Booddhist religion prevailed, their being declared of the race of Tusta or Takshac,* warrants our asserting the Agniculas to be of this same race, which invaded India about two centuries before Christ. It was about this period that Parswa, the twenty-third Booddha,† appeared in India; his symbol, the serpent.

The legend of the snake (Takshac) escaping with the celebrated work *Pingal*, which was recovered by Garuda, the eagle of Crishna, is purely allegorical; and descriptive

to the Greek and Roman, we have but to translate the names to shew. For instance:—

Solar.	Lunar.
Mireecha.....(Lux).....	Atri.
Kasyapa.....(Uranus).....	Samudra
	(Oceanus).
Vaivaswama or Surya....(Sol).....	Soma, or Ind
	(Iana; q. Lunus †).
Vaivaswamasoot Manu...(Fillus Solis)...	Vrihaspati (Jupiter).
Ella.....(Terra).....	Boodha (Mercurius).

* Figuratively, 'the serpent.'

† To me it appears that there were four distinguished Booddhas or wise men, teachers of monotheism in India, which they brought from Central Asia, with their science and its written character, the arrow or nail-headed, which I have discovered wherever they have been,—in the deserts of Jessulmeer; in the heart of Rajasthan, and the shores of Saurashtra; which were their nurseries.

The first Booddha is the parent of the Lunar race,
A. C. 2550.

The second (twenty-second of the Jains), Naminath,
A. C. 1120.

The Third (twenty-third do.), Parswanath,
A. C. 650.

The fourth (twenty-fourth do.), Mahivira,
A. C. 533,

of the contentions between the followers of Parswa, figured under his emblem, the snake, and those of Crishna, depicted under his sign, the eagle.

The worshippers of Surya probably recovered their power on the exterminating civil wars of the Lunar races, but the creation of the Agniculas is expressly stated to be for the preservation of the altars of Bal, or Iswara, against the Daityas, or Atheists.

The celebrated Aboo, or Ar-boodha, the Olympus of Rajasthan, was the scene of contention between the ministers of Surya and these Titans, and their relation might, with the aid of imagination, be equally amusing with the Titanic war of the ancient poets of the west.

The Booddhists claim it for Adi-nath, their first Booddha; the Brahmins for Iswara, or, as the local divinity, styled Achal-es.*

The Agnicoonda is still shewn on the summit of Aboo, where the four races were created by the Brahmins to fight the battles of Achal-es and polytheism, against the monotheistic Booddhists, represented as the serpents or Takshaes.

The probable period of this conversion has been hinted at; but of the dynasties issuing from the Agniculas, many of the princes professed the Booddhist or Jain faith, to periods so late as the Mahomedan invasion.

The Pramara, though not, as his name implies, the 'chief warrior,' was the most potent of the Agniculas. He sent forth thirty-five sachæ, or branches, several of whom enjoyed extensive sovereignties. 'The world is the Pramara's,' is an ancient saying denoting their extensive sway; and the 'No-

kote* *Marusthali* signified the nine divisions into which the country, from the Sutledge to the ocean, was partitioned amongst them.

Maheswar, Dhar, Mandoo, Oojein, Chandrabhaga, Cheetore, Aboo, Chandravati, Mhow, Maidana, Parmavati, Omrakote, Bekher, Lodurva, and Puttun, are the most conspicuous of the capitals they conquered or founded.

Though the Pramara family never equalled in wealth the famed Solanki princes of An-hulwarra, or shone with such lustre as the Chohan, it attained a wider range and an earlier consolidation of dominion than either, and far excelled in all, the Purihara, the last and least of the Agniculas, which it long held tributary.

Maheswar, the ancient seat of the Haya kings appears to have been the first seat of government of the Pramaras. They subsequently founded Dharanagar, and Mandoo on the crest of the Vindhya hills; and to them is even attributed the city of Oojein, the first meridian of the Hindus, and the seat of Vicrama.

There are numerous records of the family, fixing eras in their history of more modern times; and it is to be hoped that the interpretation of yet undeciphered inscriptions, may carry us back beyond the seventh century.

The era† of Bhoj, the son of Moonj, has been satisfactorily settled; and an inscription‡ in the nail-headed character, carries

* *Achal*, 'immoveable,' *Es*, contracted from *eswara*, 'lord.'

* It extended from the Indus almost to the Jumna, occupying all the sandy regions, Nokote, Arboodha or Aboo, Dhat, Mundodri, Khyraloo, Parkur, Lodurva, and Poogul.

† See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i, p. 227-

‡ Which will be given in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

it back a step farther,* and elicits an historical fact of infinite value, giving the date of the last prince of the Pramaras of Cheetore, and the consequent accession of the Gehlotes.

The Nerbudda was no limit to the power of the Pramaras. About the very period of the foregoing inscription, Ram Pramara held his court in Telungana, and is invested by the Chohan Bard, Chund, with the dignity of paramount sovereign of India, and head of a splendid feudal† association, whose members became independent on his death. The Bard makes this a voluntary act of the Pramaras; but coupled with the Gehlote's violent acquisition of Cheetore, we may suppose the successor of Rama was unable to maintain such supremacy.

While Hindu literature survives, the name of Bhoj Pramara and "the nine gems" of his court cannot perish; though it is difficult to say which of the three‡ princes of this name is particularly alluded to, as they all appear to have been patrons of science.

Chandragopta, the supposed opponent of Alexander, was a Mori, and in the sacred genealogies is declared of the race of Takshac. The ancient inscriptions of the Pramaras, of which the Mori is a principal branch,

declare it of the race of Tusta and Takshac, as does that now given from the seat of their power Cheetore.*

Salivahana, the conqueror of Vicramaditya, was a Takshac, and his era set aside that of the Tuar in the Dekhan.

Not one remnant of independence exists to mark the greatness of the Pramaras: ruins are the sole records of their power. The prince of Dhat,† in the Indian desert is the last phantom of royalty of the race; and the descendant of the prince who protected Hemayoon, driven from the throne of Timoor, in whose capital, Omrakote, the great Akber was born, is at the foot of fortune's ladder; his throne in the desert, footstool of the Bulotch, on whose bounty he is dependent for support.

Among the thirty-five sachæ of the Pramaras the Vihil was eminent, the princes of which line appear to have been lords of Chandravati, at the foot of the Aravali.

The Rao of Bijolli, one of the sixteen superior nobles of the Rana's court, is a Pramara of the ancient stock of Dhar, and perhaps its most respectable representative.

Thirty-five Sachæ of the Pramaras.

Mori.—Of which was Chandragopta, and the princes of Cheetore prior to the Gehlotes.

* S. 770, or A.D. 714.

† "When the Pramara of Telung took sanctuary with Hara, to the thirty-six tribes he made gifts of land. To Kehr he gave Kuttair, to Rae Puhar the coast of Scind, to the heroes of the shell the forest lands. Ram Pramara of Telung, the Chukwa lord of Cojein, made the gift. He bestowed Delhi on the Tuars, and Puttun on the Chawuras; Sahhur on the Chohans, and Canouj on the Kamdhui; Mar-des on the Purihar, Sorat on the Jadu, Dekhan on Jawula, and Cutch on the Charun." (*Poems of Chund*)

‡ The inscription gives S. 1100 (A.D. 1044) for the third Bhoj; and this date agrees with the period assigned to this prince in an ancient Chronogrammatic Catalogue of reigns embracing all the Princes of the name of Bhoj, which may therefore be considered authentic. This authority assigns S. 631 and 721 (or A.D. 575 and 665) to the first and second Bhoj.

* Herbert has a curious story of Cheetore being called Taxila; thence the story of the Ranas being sons of Porus. I have an inscription from a temple on the Chumbul, within the ancient limits of Mewar, which mentions Taksilanagara, 'the stone fort of the Tak,' but I cannot apply it. The city of Thoda (Tonk, or properly Tanka) is called in the Chohan chronicles, Takatpur.

† Of the Soda tribe, a grand division of the Pramaras, and who held all the desert regions in remote times. Their subdivisions, Oomra and Soomra, gave the names to Omrakote and Oomrasomra, in which was the insular Bekher on the Indus; so that we do not misapply etymology, when we say in Soda we have the Sogdi of Alexander.

Soda.—Sogdi of Alexander, the princes of Dhat in the Indian desert.

Sankla.—Chiefs of Poogul, and in Marwar.

Klyr.—Capital Khyraloo.

Oomra and Soomra.—Anciently in the desert, now Mahomedans.

Vehil, or Bihil.—Princes of Chandravati.

Maipawut.—Present chief of Bijolli in Mewar.

Bulhar.—Northern desert.

Kaba.—Celebrated in Saurashtra in ancient times, a few yet in Sirowi.

Omuta.—The princes of Omutwarra in Malwa, there established for twelve generations. Omutwarra is the largest tract left to the Pramaras. Since the war in 1817, being under the British interference they cannot be called independent.

<i>Rehar</i> ,	} Grasia petty chiefs in Malwa.
<i>Dhoonda</i> ,	
<i>Soruteah</i> ,	
<i>Hurair</i> ,	

Besides others unknown; as Chaonda, Khejur, Sagra, Burkota, Posai, Sampal, Duceba, Kaipoosur, Kulinch, Kohila, Pupa, Kahoria, Dhund, Deba, Burhur, Jeepra, Posra, Dhoonta, Rikumva, and Tyka. Many of these are proselytes to Islamism, and several beyond the Indus.

CHAHUMAN OR CHOHAN.—On this race so much has been said elsewhere,* that it would be superfluous to give more than a rapid sketch of them here.

This is the most valiant of the Agniculas, and it may be asserted not of them only, but of the whole Rajpoot race. Actions may be recorded of the greater part of each of the Chhatees-cula, which would yield to none in

the ample and varied pages of history; and though the 'Tulwar Rhatoran' would be ready to contest the point, impartial decision, with a knowledge of their respective merits, must assign to the Chohan the van in the long career of arms.

Its branches (sachæ) have maintained all the vigour of the original stem; and the Haras, the Kheeches, the Deoras, the Sonigurras, and others of the twenty-four, have their names immortalized in the song of the bard.

The derivation of chohan is coeval with his fabulous birth: 'the four-handed warrior.' (*Chatoor bhooja Chatoor-bahu-Vira.*) All failed when sent against the demons, but the Chohan, the last creation of the Brahmins to fight their battles against infidelity.

A short extract may be acceptable from the original respecting the birth of the Chohan, to guard the rites of our Indian Jove on this Olympus, the Sacred Aboo: "the Gooru of mountains, like Soomer or Kylas, "which Achales made his abode. Fast but "one day on its summit, and your sins will be "forgiven; reside there for a year, and you "may become the preceptor of mankind."

Notwithstanding the sanctity of Aboo, and the little temptation to disturb the anchorites of Bal, "the Munis, who passed "their time in devotion, whom desire never "approached, who drew support from the "cow, from roots, fruits, and flowers," yet did the Daityas, envying their felicity, render the sacrifice impure, and stop in transit the share of the gods.

"The Brahmins dug the pit for burnt-sacrifice to the south-west (nairrit); but the "demons* raised storms which darkened the

* See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 133, Comments on a Sanscrit Inscription.

* Asooras-Daityas, which Titans were either the aboriginal Bhils or the Scythic hordes.

"air and filled it with clouds of sand, showering ordure, blood, bones and flesh, with every impurity, on their rites. Their penance was of no avail."

Again they kindled the sacred fire; and the priests, assembling round the *Agnicoonda*,* prayed for aid to Mahadeva.

"From the fire-fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his name, Prithihadwara.† A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*chaloo*) of the hand named Chalooka. A third appeared and was named Pramara.‡ He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others went against the demons, but they did not prevail.

"Again Vasishtha, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations; again he called the gods to aid: and, as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose, lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadriform (*Chatoor-rango*),§ whence his name, *Chohan*.

"Vasishtha prayed that his hope|| might be at length fulfilled, as the Chohan was depicted against the demons. Sacti-devi¶ on her lion, armed with the trident, descended and bestowed her blessing on the

"Chohan, and as Asapurna, or Kalika, promised always to hear his prayer. He went against the demons; their leaders he slew. The rest fled, nor halted till they reached the depths of hell. Anhul slew the demons. The Brahmins were made happy; and of his race was Prithwiraja."

The genealogical tree of the Chohans exhibits thirty-nine princes, from Anhul, the first created Chohan, to Prithwiraja, the last of the Hindu emperors of India.* But whether the chain is entire we cannot say. The inference is decidedly against its being so; for this creation or regeneration is assigned to an age centuries anterior to Vicramaditya: and we may safely state these converts to be of the Takshac race, invaders of India at a very early period.

Ajipal is a name celebrated in the Chohan chronicles, as the founder of the fortress of Ajmeer, one of the earliest establishments of Chohan power.

Sambhur,† on the banks of the extensive salt lake of the same name, was probably anterior to Ajmeer, and yielded an epithet to the princes of this race, who were styled Sambri Rao. These continued to be the most important places of Chohan power, until the translation of Prithwiraja to the imperial throne of Delhi threw a parting halo of splendour over the last of its independent kings. There were several princes whose actions emblazon the history of the Chohans. Of these was Manika Rae, who first opposed the progress of the Mahomedan arms. Even the history of the conquerors records that the most obstinate opposition which the arms

* I have visited this classic spot in Hindu mythology. An image of adi-pal (the 'first-created'), in marble, still adorns its embankment, and is a piece of very fine sculpture. It was too sacred a relic to remove.

† 'Portal or door (*dwar*) of the earth;' contracted to Prithihara and Purihara.

‡ 'The first striker.'

§ *Chatoor* or *Cha*, 'four;' *Anga*, 'body.'

|| *Asa*, 'hope;' *Purna* to 'fulfil;' whence the tutelary goddess of the Chohan race, Asapurna.

¶ The goddess of energy, (*Sacti*).

* Born in S. 1215, or A.D. 1159.

† A name derived from the goddess Sacambhari, the tutelary divinity of the tribes, whose statue is in the middle of the lake.

of Mahmoud of Ghizni encountered was from the prince of Ajmeer,* who forced him to retreat, foiled and disgraced, from this celebrated strong hold, in his destructive route to Saurashtra.

The attack on Manika Rae appears to have been by Kasim, the general of Walid, on the close of the first century of the Hegira. The second attack was at the end of the fourth century. A third was during the reign of Beesaldeva, who headed a grand confederacy of the Rajpoot princes against the foes of their religion. The celebrated Udaya Dit Pramari is enumerated amongst the chiefs acting in subserviency to the Chohan prince on this occasion, and as his death has been fixed by unerring records in A.D. 1096, this combination must have been against the Islamite king Modud, the fourth from Mahmoud; and to this victory is the allusion in the inscription on the ancient pillar of Delhi. But these irruptions continued to the captivity and death of the last of the Chohans, whose reign exhibits a splendid picture of feudal manners.

The Chohans sent forth twenty-four branches, of whom the most celebrated are the existing families of Boondi and Kotah, in the division termed Haravati. They have well maintained the Chohan reputation for valour. Six princely brothers shed their blood in one field, in the support of the aged Shah Jehan against his rebellious son Aurungzebe, and of the six but one survived his wounds.

The Kheechees of Gagrown and Ragoo-gurh, the Deoras of Sirohi, the Sonagurras of Jhalore, the Chohans of Sooe Bah and

Sanchore, and the Pawaitchas of Pawagurh, have all immortalized themselves by the most heroic and devoted deeds. Most of these families yet exist, brave as in the days of Prithwiraja.

Many chiefs of the Chohan race abandoned their faith to preserve their lands, the Kami-Khani,* the Surwanis, the Lowanis, the Kururwanis, and the Baidwanas, chiefly residing in Shikavati, are the most conspicuous. No less than twelve petty princes thus deserted their faith: which, however, is not contrary to the Rajpoot creed; for even Manu says they may part with wife to preserve their land. Eesurdas, nephew of Prithwiraja, was the first who set this example.

TWENTY-FOUR SACHÆ OF THE CHOHANS—Chohan, Hera, Kheechee, Sonigurra, Deora, Pabia, Sanchora, Goelwal, Bhadoria, Nur-bhan, Malani, Poorbea, Soora, Madraetcha, Sankraetcha, Bhooraetcha, Balaetcha, Tus-sairah, Chachairah, Rosiah, Chundu, Na-coompa, Bhawur, and Bankut.

CHALOOK OR SOLANKI.—Though we cannot trace the history of this branch of the Agniculas to such periods of antiquity as the Pramara or Chohan, it is from the deficiency of materials, rather than any want of celebrity, that we are unable to place it, in this respect, on a level with them. The tradition of the Bard makes the Solankis important as princes of Sooru on the Ganges, ere the Rahtores obtained Canouj. The genealogical test† claims Locote, said to be the ancient Lahore, as a residence, which

* About Futtehpur Jhoon-joonee.

† Solanki Gotra Acharya is thus:—"Madwuni Sacha—Bhardwaj Gotra—Gurh Lokote nekas—Sarasvati—Nadi (river)—Sham Veda—Kapileswar Deva—Cardu—man Bikeswar—Teen Purwur Zenar (zone of three threads)—Keonj Devi—Maipal Putra (one of the Penates)."

* Dharma Dheraj, father of Beesaldeva, must have been the defender on this occasion.

makes them of the same Sacha (Madwuni) as the Chohans. Certain it is, that in the eighth century we find the Langahas* and Togras inhabiting Mooltan and the surrounding country, the chief opponents of the Bhattis on their establishment in the desert. They were princes of Calian, on the Malabar coast,† which city still exhibits vestiges of ancient grandeur. It was from Calian that a scion of the Solanki tree was taken, and engrafted on the royal stem of the Chawuras of Anhulwarra Puttun.

It was in S. 987 (A.D. 931) that Bhojraj, the last of the Chawuras, and the Salic law of India were both set aside, to make way for the young Solanki, Moolraj,‡ who ruled Anhulwarra for the space of fifty-eight years. During the reign of his son and successor, Chaond Rae,§ Mahmood of Ghizni carried his desolating arms into the kingdom of Anhulwarra. With its wealth he raised those magnificent trophies of his conquest, among which the "*Celestial Bride*" might have vied with any thing ever erected by man as a monument of folly. The wealth abstracted, as reported in the history of the conquerors, by this scourge of India, though deemed incredible, would obtain belief, if the commercial riches of Anhulwarra could be appreciated. It was to India what Venice was to Europe, the entrepot of the products of both the eastern and western hemispheres. It fully recovered the shock

given by Mahmood and the desultory wars of his successors; and we find Sid Rae Jey Sing,* the seventh from the founder, at the head of the richest, if not the most warlike, kingdom of India. Two and twenty principalities at one time owned his power, from the Carnatic to the base of the Himalaya mountains; but his unwise successor drew upon himself the vengeance of the Chohan, Prithwiraja, a slip of which race was engrafted, in the person of Komarpal, on the genealogical tree of the Solankis; and it is a curious fact, that this dynasty of the Balica-raes alone gives us two examples of the Salic law of India being violated. Komarpal, installed on the throne of Anhulwarra, "tied round his head the turban of the Solanki." He became of the tribe into which he was adopted. Komarpal, as well as Sid Rae, was the patron of Booddhism; and the monuments erected under them and their successors claim our admiration, from their magnificence and the perfection of the arts; for, at no period, were they more cultivated than at the courts of Anhulwarra.

The Lieutenants of Shabudin disturbed the close of Komarpal's reign; and his successor, Ballo Mooldeo, closed this dynasty in S. 1284 (A.D. 1228), when a new dynasty, called the Baghela (descendants of Sid Rae) under Beesaldeva, succeeded. The dilapidations from religious persecution were repaired; Somnath, renowned as Delphos of old, rose from its ruins, and the kingdom of the Balica-Raes was attaining its pristine magnificence, when, under the fourth prince, Gehla Kurrin, the angel of destruction ap-

* Called Malkhani, being the sons of Mal Khan, the first apostate from his faith to Islamism. Whether these branches of the Solankis were compelled to quit their religion, or did it voluntarily, we know not.

† Near Bombay.

‡ Son of Jey Sing Solanki, the emigrant prince of Calian, who married the daughter of Bhojraj. These particulars are taken from a valuable little geographical and historical treatise, incomplete and without title.

§ Called Jamund by Mahomedan historians.

* He ruled from S. 1150 to 1201. It was his court that was visited by El Edrisi, commonly called the Nubian geographer, who particularly describes this prince as following the tenets of Booddha.

peared in the shape of Alla-udin, and the kingdom of Anhulwarra was annihilated. The Lieutenants of Tatar despot of Delhi let loose the spirit of intolerance and avarice on the rich cities and fertile plains of Guzerat and Saurashtra. In contempt of their faith, the altar of an Islamite Derveish was placed in contact with the shrine of Adinath, on the most accessible of their sacred mounts:* the statues of Booddha were thrown down, and the books containing the mysteries of their faith suffered the same fate as the Alexandrian library. The walls of Anhulwarra were demolished; its foundations excavated, and again filled up with the fragments of their ancient temples.†

The remnants of the Solanki dynasty were scattered over the land, and this portion of India remained for upwards of a century without any paramount head, until, by a singular dispensation of Providence, its splendor was renovated, and its foundations rebuilt, by an adventurer of the same race from which the Agniculas were originally converts, though Seharun the Tak hid his name and his tribe under his new name of Zuffir Khan and as Mozuffir ascended the throne of Guzerat, which he left to his son. This son was Ahmed, who founded Ahmedabad, whose most splendid edifices were built from the ancient cities around it.

Though the stem of the Solankis was thus uprooted, yet was it not before many of its branches (Sachæ), like their own indigenous burr-tree, had fixed themselves in other soils.

* Satrunjya.

† In 1822 I made a journey to explore the remains of antiquity in Saurashtra. I discovered a ruined suburb of the ancient Pattun still bearing the name of *Anurwara*, the *Nehrvara* which D'Anville had "fort a cœur de retrouver." I meditate a separate account of this kingdom, and the dynasties which governed it.

The most conspicuous of these is the Bhagela* family, which gave its name to an entire division of Hindusthan; and Bhagelkhund has now been ruled for many centuries by the descendants of Sid Rae.

Besides Bandoogurh, there are minor chieftainships still in Guzerat of the Bhagela tribe. Of these, Peetapoor and Theraud are the most conspicuous. One of the chieftains of the second class in Mewar is a Solanki, and traces his line immediately from Sid Rae: this is the chief of Roopnagurh,† whose strong-hold commands one of the passes leading to Marwar, and whose family annals would furnish a fine picture of the state of border-feuds. Few of them, till of late years, have died natural deaths.

The Solanki is divided into sixteen branches.

1. Bhagela—Raja of Bhagelkhund (capital Bandoogurh), Raos of Peetapoor, Theraud, and Adaluj, &c.
2. Beerpoora—Rao of Lanawarra.
3. Behila—Kulianpoor in Mewar, styled Rao, but serving the chief of Saloombra.
4. Bhoorta‡ } In Baroo, Tekra, and
5. Kalacha‡ } Chahir, in Jessulmeer.
6. Langaha—Mooslims about Mooltan.
7. Togru—Mooslims in the Punjnad.
8. Briku. Do. do.
9. Soorki—In Dekhan.
10. Sirwureah§—Gimrar in Saurashtra.
11. Raoka—Thoda in Jeypur.

* The name of this subdivision is from Bhaq Rao, the son of Sid Rae; though the bards have another tradition for its origin.

† I knew this chieftain well, and a very good specimen he is of the race. He is in possession of the famous war-shell of Jey Sing, which is an heir-loom.

‡ Famous robbers in the deserts, known as the Mal-doots.

§ Celebrated in traditional history.



12. Ranikia—Daisoori in Mewar.
13. Kharura—Allote and Jawura, in Malwa.
14. Tantia—Chandbhur Sakunbari.*
15. Almetcha—No land.
16. Kulamor—Guzerat.

PRITHARA OR PURIHARA.—Of this, the last and least of the Agniculas, we have much to say. The Puriharas never acted a conspicuous part in the history of Rajasthan. They are always discovered in a subordinate capacity, acting, in feudal subjection to the Tuars of Delhi or the Chohans of Ajmeer; and the brightest page of their history is the record of an abortive attempt of Nahur Rao to maintain his independence against Prithwiraja. Though a failure, it has immortalized his name, and given to the scene of action, one of the passes of the Aravali, a merited celebrity.

Mundawur† (classically Mundodri) was the capital of the Purihars, and was the chief city of Marwar which owned the sway of this tribe prior to the invasion and settlement of the Rahtores. It is placed five miles northward of the modern Jodhpur, and preserves some specimens of the ancient Pali character, fragments of sculpture and Jain temples.

The Rahtore emigrant princes of Canouj found an asylum with the Purihars. They repaid it by treachery, and Chonda, a name celebrated in the Rahtore annals, disposses-

sed the last of the Purihars, and pitched the flag of the Rahtores on the battlements of Mundawur.

The power of the Purihars had, however, been much reduced previously by the princes of Mewar, who not only abstracted much territory from them, but assumed the title of its princes—Rana.*

The Purihara is scattered over Rajasthan, but I am unaware of the existence of any independent chieftainship there. At the confluence of the Cohari, the Scind, and the Chumbul, there is a colony of this race, which has given its name to a commune of twenty-four villages, besides hamlets, situated amidst the ravines of these streams. They were nominally subjects of Sindhia; but it was deemed requisite for the line of defence along the Chumbul that it should be included within the British demarcation, by which we incorporated with our rule the most notorious body of thieves in the annals of Thug history.

The Purihars had twelve subdivisions, of which the chief were the Indoh and Sindhil: a few of both are still to be found about the banks of the Loony.

CHAWURA or CHAURA.—This tribe was once renowned in the history of India, though its name is now scarcely known, or only in the chronicles of the bard. Of its origin we are in ignorance. It belongs neither to the Solar nor Lunar race, and consequently we may presume it to be of Scythic origin. The name is unknown in Hindusthan, and is confined, with many others originating from beyond the Indus, to the peninsula of Saurashtra. If foreign

* Desperate robbers. I saw this place fired and levelled in 1807, when the noted Kureem Pindarree was made prisoner by Sindhia. It afterwards cost some British blood in 1817.

† Though now desolate, the walls of this fortress attest its antiquity, and it is a work that could not be undertaken in this degenerate age. The remains of it bring to mind those of Volterra or Cortona, and other ancient cities of Tuscany: enormous squared masses of stone without any cement.

* This was in the thirteenth century, when Mundawur was captured, and its prince slain, by the Rana of Cheetore.

to India proper, its establishment must have been at a remote period, as we find individuals of it intermarrying with the Suryavansa ancestry of the present princes of Mewar, when this family were the lords of Ballabhi.

The capital of the Chawuras was the insular Deobunder, on the coast of Saurashtra, and the celebrated temple of Somnath, with many others on this coast, dedicated to Balnath, or the sun, is attributed to this tribe of the Sauras,* or worshippers of the sun; most probably the generic name of the tribe as well as of the peninsula.†

By a natural catastrophe, or as the Hindu superstitious chroniclers will have it, as a punishment for the piracies of the prince of Deo, the element whose privilege he abused rose and overwhelmed his capital. As all this coast is very low, such an occurrence is not improbable; though the abandonment of Deo might have been compelled by the irruptions of the Arabians, who at this period carried on a trade with these parts, and the plunder of some of their vessels may have brought this punishment on the Chawuras. That it was owing to some such political catastrophe, we have additional grounds for belief from the annals of Mewar, which state that its princes inducted the Chawuras into the seats of the power they abandoned on the continent and peninsula of Saurashtra.

* The *Suroi* of the Greek writers on the Bactria, the boundary of the Bactrian kingdom under Apollodorus. On this see the paper on Grecian medals in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i.

† Many of the inhabitants of the south and west of India cannot pronounce the *ch*, and invariably substitute the *s*. Thus the noted Pindarrie leader Cheetoo was always called Seetoo by the Dekhanis. Again, with many of the tribes of the desert, the *s* is like a stumbling-block, which causes many singular mistakes, when Jessulmeer, the 'hill of Jessul,' becomes *Jhutmeer*, 'the hill of fools.'

At all events, the prince of Deo laid the foundation of Anhulwarra Puttun in S. 802 (A.D. 746), which henceforth become the capital city of this portion of India, in lieu of Ballabhipura, which gave the title of Balica-raes to its princes, the Balhara of the earlier Arabian travellers, and following them, the geographers of Europe.

Vena Raja (or, in the dialects, Bunraj), was this founder, and his dynasty ruled for one hundred and eighty-four years, when, as related in the sketch of the Solanki tribe, Bhoj Raj, the seventh from the founder, was deposed by his nephew. It was during this dynasty that the Arabian travellers* visited this court, of which they have left but a confused picture. We are not, however, altogether in darkness regarding the Chawura race, as in the Khoman Rassa, one of the chronicles of Mewar, mention is made of the auxiliaries under a leader named Chatunsi, in the defence of Cheetore against the first attack on record of the Mahomedans.

When Mahmood of Ghizni invaded Saurashtra and captured its capital, Anhulwarra, he deposed its prince, and placed upon the throne, according to Ferishta, a prince of the former dynasty, renowned for his ancient line and purity of blood, and who is styled Dabichalima; a name which has puzzled all European commentators. Now the Dabi was a celebrated tribe, said by some to be a branch of the Chawura, and this therefore may be a compound of Dabi Chawura, or the Chourasima, by some called a branch of the ancient Yadus.

This ancient connection between the Suryavansi chiefs and the Chawuras, or

* 'Relations anciennes des Voyageurs, par Renaudot.'

Sauras, of Saurashtra, is still maintained after a lapse of more than one thousand years; for although an alliance with the Rana's family is deemed the highest honour that a Hindu prince can obtain, as being the first in rank in Rajasthan, yet is the humble Chawura sought out, even at the foot of fortune's ladder, whence to carry on the blood of Rama. The present heir-apparent of a line of 'one hundred kings,' the prince Jovana Sing, is the offspring of a Chawura mother, the daughter of a petty chieftain of Guzerat.

It were vain to give any account of the present state of the families bearing this name. They must depend upon the fame of past days : to this we leave them.

TAK or TAKSHAC.—Takshac appears to be the generic term of the race from which the various Scythic tribes, the early invaders of India, branched off. It appears of more ancient application than Gete, which was the parent of innumerable sachæ. It might not be judicious to separate them, though it would be speculative to say which was the primitive title of the races called Scythic, after their country, Sakatai or Saca-dwipa, the land of the great Gete.

Abulgazi makes Taunak,* the son of Ture

* Abulgazi says, when Noah left the ark he divided the earth amongst his three sons : Shem had Iran : Japhet, the country of "Kuttup Shamach," the name of the regions between the Caspian sea and India. There he lived two hundred and fifty years. He left eight sons, of whom Ture was the elder and the seventh Camari, supposed the Gomer of Scripture.

Ture had four sons ; the eldest of whom was Tanuk, the fourth from whom was Mogul, a corruption of Mungul, signifying *sad*, whose successors made the Jaxartes their winter abode. Under his reign no trace of the true religion remained: idolatry reigned every where. Oguz Khan succeeded.

The ancient Cimabri, who went west with Odin's horde of Jits, Cattis, and Su, were probably the tribes descended from Camari, the son of Ture.

or Targetai, who appears to be the Turashka of the *Puranas* ; the Tukyus of the Chinese historians, the nomadic Tochari of Strabo, who aided to overturn the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and gave their name to the grand division of Asia, Tocharistan* or Turkistan : and there is every appearance of that singular race, the Tajuk,† still scattered over these regions, and whose history appears a mystery, being the descendants of the Takshac.

It has been already observed, that ancient inscriptions in the Pali or Boeddhist character have been discovered in various parts of Rajasthan, of the race called Tusta, Takshac, and Tak, relating to the tribes, the Mori, Pramara, their descendants. *Naga* and *Takshac* are synonymous appellations in Sanscrit for the *snake*, and the Takshac is the celebrated Nagvansa of the early heroic history of India. The *Mahabharat* describes, in its usual allegorical style, the wars between the Pandus of Indraprastha and the Takshaes of the north. The assassination of Parikshita by the Takshac, and the exterminating warfare carried on against them by his son and successor, Janmejaya,

* Tacash continued to be a proper name with the great Khans of Carazm (Chorasmia) until they adopted the faith of Mahomed. The father of Jellal, the foe of Jungheez Khan, was named Tacash. Tachkhund on the Jaxartes, the capital of Turkistan, may be derived from the name of the race.

Bayer says, "Tocharistan was the region of the Tochari, who were the ancient *Tocharoi* or *Tacharoi*. Ammianus Marcellinus says, "many nations obey the Bactrians, whom the Tochari surpass."—*Hist. Reg. Bact.*, p. 7.

† This singular race, the Tajuks, are repeatedly mentioned by Mr. Elphinstone, in his admirable account of the kingdom of Cabul. They are also particularly noticed as monopolizing the commercial transactions of kingdom of Bokhara, in that interesting work "Voyage d'Orenbourg a Bokhara," the map accompanying which, for the first time, lays down authentically the sources and course of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

who at last compelled them to sign tributary engagements, divested of its allegory,* is plain historical fact.

When Alexander invaded India, he found the Parætakaë, the mountain (*pahar*) Tak, inhabiting the Paropamisian range; nor is it by any means unlikely that Taxiles,† the ally of the Macedonian king, was the chief (*es*) of the Taks; and in the early history of the Bhatti princes of Jessulmeer, when driven from Zabulistan, they dispossessed the Taks on the Indus, and established themselves in their land, the capital of which was called Salbhanpura; and as the date of this event is given as 3008 of the Yudhishtira era, it is by no means unlikely that Salivahana, or Salbhan (who was a Takshac), the conqueror of the Tuar Vicrama, was of the very family dispossessed by the Bhattis, who compelled them to migrate to the south.

* The *Mahabharat* describes this warfare against the snakes literally; of which, in one attack, he seized and made a burnt-offering (*hom*) of twenty thousand. It is surprising that the Hindu will accept these things literally. It might be said he had but a choice of difficulties, and that it would be as impossible for any human being to make the barbarous sacrifice of twenty thousand of his species, as it would be difficult to find twenty thousand snakes for the purpose. The author's knowledge of what barbarity will inflict, leaves the fact of the human sacrifice, though not perhaps to this extent, not even improbable. In 1811 his duties called him to a survey amidst the ravines of the Chumbul, the tract called Goojurgar, a district inhabited by the Goojur tribe. Turbulent and independent, like the sons of Esau, their hand against every man and every man's hand against them, their nominal prince, Surajmul, the Jit chief of Bhurtpore, pursued exactly the same plan towards the population of these villages, whom they captured in a night attack, that Janmejaya did to the Takshacs: he threw them into pits with combustibles, and actually thus consumed them! This occurred not three quarters of a century ago.

† Arrian says that his name was Omphis, and that his father dying at this time, he did homage to Alexander, who invested him with the title and estates of his father Taxiles. Hence, perhaps (from *Tak*), the name of the Indus, *Attac*: not *Uttac*, or 'forbidden,' according to modern signification, and which has only been

The calculated period of the invasion of the Takshacs, or Nag-vansa, under Sesnag, is about six or seven centuries before the Christian era, at which very period the Scythic invasion of Egypt and Syria, "by the sons of Togarmah riding on horses" (the Aswas, or Asi), is alike recorded by the prophet Ezekiel and Diodorus. The Aboo Mahatmya calls the Takshacs "the sons of Himachal," all evincing Scythic descent; and it was only eight reigns anterior to this change in the Lunar dynasties of India, that Parswanath, the twenty-third Booddha, introduced his tenets into India, and fixed his abode in the holy mount Sarnet.*

Enough of the ancient history of the Tak: we will now descend to more modern times, on which we shall be brief. We have already mentioned the Takshac Mori as being lords of Cheetore from a very early period; and but a few generations after the Gehlotes supplanted the Moris, this palladium of Hindu liberty was assailed by the arms of Islam. We find amongst the numerous defenders who appear to have considered the cause of Cheetore their own, "the Tak from Asergurh."† This race appears to have retained possession of Aser for at least two centuries after this event, as its chieftain was one of the most conspicuous leaders in the array of Prithwiraja. In the poems of Chund he is called the "standard-bearer, Tak of Aser."‡

given since the Mahomedan religion for a time made it the boundary between the two faiths.

* In Behar, during the reign of Pradyota, the successor of Ripoonjya. Parswa's symbol is the serpent or Takshac. His doctrines spread to the remotest parts of India, and the princes of Ballabhipura of Mandodri and Anhilwarra all held to the tenets of Booddha.

† This is the celebrated fortress in the Candaish, now in the possession of the British.

‡ In the list of the wounded at the battle of Canouj he is mentioned by name, as "Chatto the Tak."

This ancient race, the foe of Janmejaya and the friend of Alexander, closed its career in a blaze of splendor. The celebrity of the kings of Guzerat will make amends for the obscurity of the Taks of modern times, of whom a dynasty of fourteen kings followed each other in succession, commencing and ending with the proud title of Mozuffir. It was in the reign of Mohammed,* son of the first Toglug, that an accident to his nephew Feroz proved the dawn of the fortunes of the Tak; purchased, however, with the change of name and religion. Seharun the Tak was the first apostate of his line, who, under the name of Wujeh-ool-Toolk concealed both his origin and tribe. His son, Zufir Khan, was raised by his patron Feroz to the government of Guzerat, about the period when Timoor invaded India. Zufir availed himself of the weakness of his master and the distraction of the times, and mounted the throne of Guzerat under the name of Mozuffir.† He was assassinated by the hand of his grandson, Ahmed, who changed the ancient capital, Anhulwarra, for the city founded by himself, and called Ahmedabad, one of the most splendid in the east.

With the apostacy of the Tak,‡ the name appears to have been obliterated from the tribes of Rajasthan; nor has my search ever discovered one of this name now existing.

JIT.—In all the ancient catalogues of the

thirty-six royal races of India the Jit has a place, though by none is he ever styled 'Rajpoot;' nor am I aware of any instance of a Rajpoot's intermarriage with a Jit. It is a name widely disseminated over India, though it does not now occupy a very elevated place amongst the inhabitants, belonging chiefly to the agricultural classes.

In the Punjab they still retain their ancient name of *Jit*. On the Jumna and Ganges they are styled *Jats*, of whom the chief of Bhurtpar is the most conspicuous. On the Indus and in Saurashtra they are termed *Juts*. The greater portion of the husbandmen in Rajasthan are Jits; and there are numerous tribes beyond the Indus, now proselytes to the Mahomedan religion, who derive their origin from this class.

Of its ancient history sufficient has been already said. We will merely add, that the kingdom of the great Gete, whose capital was on the Jaxartes, preserved its integrity and name from the period of Cyrus to the fourteenth century, when it was converted from idolatry to the faith of Islam. Herodotus informs us that the Getes were theists and held the tenet of the soul's immortality; and De Guignes,* from Chinese authorities, asserts that at a very early period they had embraced the religion of Fo or Booddha.

The traditions of the Jits claim the regions west of the Indus as the cradle of the race, and make them of Yadu extraction; thus corroborating the annals of the Yadus, which state their migration from Zabulis-

* He reigned from A.D. 1325 to 1351.

† 'The victorious.'

‡ The *Mirat Secundari* gives the ancestry of the apostate for twenty-three generations; the last of whom was Ses, the same which introduced the Nagvansa, seven centuries before the Christian era, into India. The author of the word gives the origin of the name of Tak, or Taunk, from *Tarka* 'expulsion,' from his caste, which he styles Khetri, evincing his ignorance of this ancient race.

* "The superiority of the Chinese over the Turks caused the great Khan to turn his arms against the Nomadic Getes of 'Mawer-ool-Nehr (Transoxiana), descended from the Yuchi, and bred on the Jihoon or Oxus, whence they had extended themselves along the Indus and even Ganges, and are there yet found. These Getes had embraced the religion of Fo."—*Hist. Gen. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 375.

than, and almost inducing us to dispense with the descent of this tribe from Crishna, and to pronounce it an important colony of the Yuchi, Yuti, or Jits. Of the first migration from central Asia of this race within the Indus, we have no record: it might have been simultaneous with the Takshac, from the wars of Cyrus or his ancestors.

It has been already remarked, that the Jit divided with the Takshac the claim of being the parent name of the various tribes called Scythic, invaders of India; and there is now before the author an inscription of the fifth century applying both epithets to the same prince,* who is invested moreover with the Scythic quality of worshipping the sun. It states, likewise, that the mother of this Jit prince was of Yadu race: strengthening their claims to a niche amongst the thirty-six Rajculas, as well as their Yadu descent.

The fifth century of the Christian era, to which this inscription belongs, is a period of interest in Jit History. De Guignes, from original authorities, states the Yuchi, or Jits, to have established themselves in the Punjab in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the inscription now quoted applies to a prince whose capital is styled *Salindrapura* in these

* "To my foe, salutation! This foe how shall I describe? Of the race of *Jit Cattida*, whose ancestor, the warrior Takshac, formed the garland on the neck of Mahadeva."

Though this is a figurative allusion to the snake necklace of the father of creation, yet it evidently pointed to the Jit's descent from the Takshac. But enough has been said elsewhere of the snake race, the parent of the Scythic tribes, which the divine Milton seems to have taken from Diodorus's account of the mother of the Scythæ:

"Woman to the waist, and fair;

"But ended foul in many a scaly fold?"

Par. Lost, book ii.

Whether the *Jit Cattida* is the Jit or Gete of Cathay (*da* being the mark of the genitive case) we will leave to conjecture.

regions; and doubtless the *Salivahanpura** where the Yadu Bhattis established themselves on the expulsion of the Tak.

How much earlier than this the Jit penetrated into Rajasthan must be left to more ancient inscriptions to determine: suffice it, that in A. D. 440 we find him in power.†

When the Yadu was expelled from *Salivahanpura*, and forced to seek refuge across the Sutledge among the Dahia and Johya Rajpoots of the Indian desert, where they founded their first capital, Derrawul, many from compulsion embraced the Mahomedan faith; on which occasion they assumed the name of *Jat*,‡ of which at least twenty different offsets are enumerated in the Yadu chronicles.

That the Jits continued as a powerful community on the east bank of the Indus and in the Punjab, fully five centuries after the period our inscription and their annals illustrate, we have the most interesting records in the history of Mahmoud, the conqueror of India, whose progress they checked in a

* This place existed in the twelfth century as a capital; since an inscription of Komarpal, prince of Anhumwarra, declares that this monarch carried his conquests "even to Salpur." There is a Syl-kote in Rennell's geography, and Wilford mentions "Sangala, a famous city in ruins, sixty miles west by north of Lahore, situated in a forest, and said to be built by Pooru."

† At this time (A.D. 449) the Jut brothers, Hengist and Horsa, led a colony from Jutland and founded the kingdom of Kent (*g. Canthi*, 'a coast,' in Sanscrit, as in Gothic *Konta*?). The laws they there introduced, more especially the still prevailing one of gavelkind, where all the sons share equally, except the youngest who has a double portion, are purely Scythic, and brought by the original Goth from the Jaxartes.

Alaric had finished his career, and Theodoric and Genserich (*viz*, 'king,' in Sanscrit) were carrying their arms into Spain and Africa.

‡ Why should these proselytes, if originally Yadu, assume the name of Jat? It must be either that the Yadus were themselves the Scythic Yuti, or Yuchi, or that the branches intermarried with the Jits, and consequently became degraded as Yadus, and the mixed issue bore the name of the mother.

manner unprecedented in the annals of continental warfare. It was in 416 of the Hegira (A.D. 1026) that Mahmoud marched an army against the Jits, who had harassed and insulted him on the return from his last expedition against Saurashtra. The interest of the account authorises its being given from the original.

"The Jits inhabited the country on the borders of Mooltan, along the river that runs by the mountains of Joud.* When Mahmoud reached Mooltan, finding the Jit country defended by great rivers, he built fifteen hundred boats,† each armed with six iron spikes projecting from their prows to prevent their being boarded by the enemy, expert in this kind of warfare. In each boat he placed twenty arches, and some with fire-balls of naphtha to burn the Jit fleet. The monarch having determined on their extirpation, awaited the result at Mooltan. The Jits sent their wives, children, and effects to Scind Sagur,‡ and launched four thousand, or, as others say, eight thousand boats well armed to meet the Q-znians. A terrible conflict ensued, but the projecting spikes sunk the Jit boats while others were set on fire. Few escaped from this scene of terror; and those who did, met with the more severe fate of captivity."§

* The Jiddoo ca Dang, or 'hills of Yadu,' mentioned in the sketch of this race as one of their intermediate points of halt when they were driven from India after the Mahabharat.

† Near the spot where Alexander built his fleet, which navigated to Babylon thirteen hundred years before.

‡ Translated by Dow, 'an island.' Scind Sagur is one of the Do-abs of the Punjab. I have compared Dow's translation of the earlier portion of the history of Ferishta with the original, and it is infinitely more faithful than the world gives him credit for. His errors are most considerable in numerals and in weights and measures; and it is owing to this that he has made the captured wealth of India appear so incredible.

§ Ferishta, vol. I.

Many doubtless did escape; and it is most probable that the Jit communities, on whose overthrow the state of Bikaner was founded, were remnants of this very warfare.

Not long after this event the original empire of the Gete was overturned, when many fugitives found a refuge in India. In 1360, Togultash Timoor was the great Khan of the Gete nation; idolators even to this period. He had conquered Khorasan, invaded Transoxiana (whose prince fled, but whose nephew, Ameer Timoor, averted its subjugation), gained the friendship of Togultash, and commanded a hundred thousand Gete warriors. In 1369, when the Getic Khan died, such was the ascendancy obtained by Timoor over his subjects, that the Couraltai, or general assembly, transferred the title of Grand Khan from the Getic to the Chagitai Timoor. In 1370 he married a Getic princess, and added Kogend and Samarkand to his patrimony, Transoxiana. Rebellions and massacres almost depopulated this nursery of mankind, ere the Getes abandoned their independence; nor was it till 1388, after six invasions, in which he burnt their towns, brought away their wealth, and almost annihilated the nation, that he felt himself secure.

In his expedition into India, having overrun great part of Europe, "taken Moscow, and slain the soldiers of the barbarous Ooroos," he encountered his old foes "the Getes, who inhabited the plains of Toheem, where he put two thousand to the sword, pursuing them into the desert and slaughtering many more near the Caggar."*

* Abulgazi, vol. ii chap. 16. After his battle with Sooltan Mahmoud of Delhi, Timoor gave orders, to use the word of his historian, "for the slaughter of a hundred thousand infidel slaves. The great mosque was fired, and the souls of the infidels were sent to the abyss of

Still the Jit maintained himself in the Punjab, and the most powerful and independent prince of India at this day is the Jit prince of Lahore, holding dominion over the identical regions where the Yuchi colonized in the fifth century, and where the Yadus, driven from Guzni, established themselves on the ruins of the Taks. The Jit cavalier retains a portion of his Scythic manners, and preserves the use of the chakra or discus, the weapon of the Yadu Crishna in the remote age of the Bharat.

HUN or HOON.—Amongst the Scythic tribes who have secured for themselves a niche with the thirty-six races of India, is the Hun. At what period this race, so well known by its ravages and settlement in Europe, invaded India, we know not. Doubtless it was in the society of many others yet found in the peninsula of Saurashtra, as the Catti, the Balla, the Macwahana, &c. It is, however, confined to the genealogies of that peninsula; for although we have mention of the Hun in the chronicles and inscriptions of India at a very early period, he failed to obtain a place in the catalogue of the northern bards.

The earliest notice of the tribe is in an inscription* recording the power of a prince of Behar, who, amidst his other conquests, "humbled the pride of the Huns." In the annals of the early history of Mewar, in the catalogue of princes who made common cause with this the chief of all the Rajpoots, when Cheetore was assailed in the first irruption of the Mahomedans, was Ungutsi, lord

"hell. Towers were erected of their heads, and their bodies were thrown as food to the beasts and birds of prey. At Mairta the infidel Guebres were flayed alive." This was by order of Tamerlane, to whom the dramatic historians of Europe assign every great and good quality!

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 136.

of the Huns, who led his quota on this occasion. De Guignes* describes *Ungut* as being the name of a considerable horde of Huns or Moguls; and Abulgazi says that the Tatar tribe who guarded the great wall of China were termed *Ungutti*, who had a distinct prince with high pay and honour. The countries inhabited by the Hiong-nou and the Ou-hou, the Turks and Moguls, called 'Tatar' from Tatan, the name of the country from the banks of the Irtysh along the mountains of Altai to the shores of the Yellow Sea, are described at large by the historian of the Huns; following whom and other original sources, the historian of the Fall of Rome has given great interest to his narrative of their march into Europe. But those who are desirous to learn all that relates to the past history and manners of this people, must consult that monument of erudition and research, the Geography of Malte-Brun.†

D'Anville,‡ quoting Cosmas the traveller, informs us, that the white Huns (*Leukoi Ounnoi*)§ occupied the north of India; and it is most probable a colony of these found their way into Saurashtra and Mewar.

It is on the eastern bank of the Chumbul, at the ancient Barolli, that tradition assigns a residence to the Hoon; and one of the celebrated temples at that place, called the Sengar Chaorie, is the marriage hall of the

* Hist. Gen. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 238.

† *Precis de Geographie universelle*. Malte Brun traces a connection between the Hungarians and the Scandinavians, from similarity of language: "A ces siecles primitifs ou les Huns, les Goths, les Jotes, les Ases, et bien d'autres peuples etaient reunis autour des anciens autels d'Odin." Several of the words which he affords us are Sanscrit in origin. Vol. vi. p. 370.

‡ *Eclaircissemens Geographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 48.

§ An orthography which more assimilates with the Hindu pronunciation of the name Hoon, or Oun, than Hun.

Hoon prince, who is also declared to have been possessed of a lordship on the opposite bank, occupying the site of the present town of Bhynsrar. In the twelfth century the Hun must have possessed consequence, to occupy the place he holds in the chronicle of the princes of Guzerat. The race is not extinct. One of the most intelligent of the living bards of India assured the author of their existence; and in a tour where he accompanied him, redeemed his pledge, by pointing out the residence of some in a village on the estuary of the Myhie, though degraded and mixed with other classes.*

We may infer that few convulsions occurred in central Asia, which drove forth these hordes of redundant population to seek subsistence in Europe, without India participating in such overflow. The only singular circumstance is, by what means they came to be recognized as Hindus, even though of the lowest class. Sudra we cannot term them; for although the Catti and the Balla cannot be regarded as, or classed with Rajpoots, they would scorn the rank of Sudra.

CATTI.—Of the ancient notices of this people much has been already said, and all the genealogists, both of Rajasthan and Saurashtra, concur in assigning it a place amongst the royal races of India. It is one of the most important tribes of the western peninsula, and which has effected the change of the name from Saurashtra to Cattivar.

Of all its inhabitants the Catti retains most originality: his religion, his manners, and his looks, all are decidedly Scythic. He occupied, in the time of Alexander, that

nook of the Punjab near the confluent five streams. It was against these Alexander marched in person, when he nearly lost his life, and where he left such a signal memorial of his vengeance. The Catti can be traced from these scenes to his present haunts. In the earlier portion of the annals of Jessulmeer mention is made of their conflicts with the Catti; and their own traditions* fix their settlement in the Peninsula from the south-eastern part of the valley of the Indus, about the eighth century.

In the twelfth century the Catti were conspicuous in the wars with Prithwiraja, there being several leaders of the tribe attached to his army, as well as to that of his rival, the monarch of Kanouj.† Though on this occasion they acted in some degree of subservience to the monarch of Anhulwara, it would seem that this was more voluntary than forced.

The Catti still adores the sun, scorns the peaceful arts, and is much less contented with the tranquil subsistence of industry than the precarious earnings of his former predatory pursuits. The Catti was never happy but on horseback, collecting his *black mail*, lance in hand, from friend and foe.

We will conclude this brief sketch with Captain Macmurdo's character of this race. "The Catti differs in some respects from the Rajpoot. He is more cruel in his disposition, but far exceeds him in the virtue of

* The same bard says that there are three or four houses of these Hoons at Tresaowee, three coss from Baroda; and the Kheechee bard, Mogjee, says their traditions record the existence of many powerful Hoon princes in India.

* The late Captain Macmurdo, whose death was a loss to the service and to literature, gives an animated account of the habits of the Catti. His opinions coincide entirely with my own regarding this race. See vol. i. p. 270, Trans. Soc. of Bombay.

† It is needless to particularize them here. In the poems of Chand, some books of which I have translated and purpose giving to the public, the important part the Catti had assigned to them will appear.

"bravery;* and a character possessed of more energy than a Catti does not exist. "His size is considerably larger than common, often exceeding six feet. He is sometimes seen with light hair and blue-coloured eyes. His frame is athletic and bony, and particularly well adapted to his mode of life. His countenance is expressive, but of the worst kind, being harsh, and often destitute of a single mild feature."†

BALLA.—All the genealogists, ancient and modern, insert the Balla tribe amongst the Raj-culas. The *byrd*, or 'blessing,' of the bard is "*Tatta Mooltan ca rao*,"‡ indicative of their original abodes on the Indus. They lay claim, however, to descent from the Suryavansi, and maintain that their great ancestor, Balla or Bappa, was the offspring of Lava, the eldest son of Rama; that their first settlement in Saurashtra was at the ancient Dhank, in more remote periods called Mongy Puttun; and that, in conquering the country adjacent, they termed it Ballakshetra (their capital Ballabhipura), and assumed the title of Balla-rae. Here they claim identity with the Gehlote race of Mewar: nor is it impossible that they may be a branch of this family, which long held power in Saurashtra. Before the Gehlotes adopted the worship of Mahadeva, which period is indicated in their annals, the chief object of their adoration was the sun, giving them that Scythic resemblance to which the Ballas have every appearance of claim.

The Ballas on the continent of Saurash-

tra, on the contrary, assert their origin to be Induvansa, and that they are the Balicaputras who were the ancient lords of Arore on the Indus. It would be presumption to decide between these claims; but I would venture to surmise, that they might be the offspring of Sehl, one of the princes of the Bharat, who founded Arore.

The Cattis claim descent from the Ballas: an additional proof of northern origin, and strengthening their right to the epithet of the bards, "Lords of Mooltan and Tatta." The Ballas were of sufficient consequence in the thirteenth century to make incursions on Mewar, and the first exploit of the celebrated Rana Hamir was his killing the Balla chieftain of Choteela. The present chief of Dhank is a Balla, and the tribe yet preserves importance in the peninsula.

JHALA MACWAHANA.—This tribe also inhabits the Saurashtra peninsula. It is styled Rajpoot, though neither classed with the Solar, Lunar, nor Agnicula races; but though we cannot directly prove it, we have every right to assign to it a northern origin. It is a tribe little known in Hindusthan or even Rajasthan, into which latter country it was introduced entirely through the medium of the ancient lords of Saurashtra, the present family of Mewar: a sanction which covers every defect. A splendid act of self-devotion of the Jhala chief, when Rana Pratap was oppressed with the whole weight of Akbar's power, obtained, with the gratitude of this prince, the highest honours he could confer,—his daughter in marriage, and a seat on his right hand. That it was the act, and not his rank in the scale of the thirty-six tribes, which gained him this distinction, we have decided proof in later times, when it was deemed a mark of great condescension

* It is the Rajpoot of Cattiwar, not of Rajasthan, to whom Captain Macmurdo alludes.

† Of their personal appearance, and the blue eye indicative of their Gothic or Getic origin, the author will have occasion to speak more particularly in his personal narrative.

‡ 'Princes of Tatta and Mooltan.'



that the present Rana should sanction a remote branch of his own family bestowing a daughter in marriage on the Jhala ruler of Kotah.*

This tribe has given its name to one of the largest divisions of Saurashtra, Jhalawar, which possesses several towns of importance. Of these Bankaneer, Hulwud, and Drangdra, are the principal.

Regarding the period of the settlement of the Jhalas tradition is silent, as also on their early history: but the aid of its quota was given to the Rana against the first attacks of the Mahomedans; and in the heroic history of Prithwiraja we have ample and repeated mention of the Jhala chieftains who distinguished themselves in his service, as well as in that of his antagonist, and the name of one of these, as recorded by the bard Chund, I have seen inscribed on the granite rock of the sacred Ginar, near their primitive abodes, where we leave them.

There are several subdivisions of the Jhala, of which the Macwahana is the principal.

JAITWA, JETWA, or CAMARI.—This is an ancient tribe, and by all authorities styled Rajpoot; though, like the Jhala, little known out of Saurashtra, to one of the divisions of which it has given its name, Jaitwar. Its present possessions are on the western coast of the peninsula: the residence of its prince, who is styled Rana, is Purbunder.

In remote times their capital was Goomlee,

whose ruins attest considerable power, and afford singular scope for analogy, in architectural device, with the style termed Saxon of Europe. The bards of the Jaitwas run through a long list of one hundred and thirty crowned heads, and in the eighth century have chronicled the marriage of their prince with the Tuar refounder, of Delhi. At this period the Jaitwa bore the name of Camari; and Sehl Camar is reported to be the prince who was driven from Goomlee, in the twelfth century, by invaders from the north. With this change the name of Camar was sunk, and that of Jaitwa assumed, which has induced the author to style them Camari; and as they, with the other inhabitants of this peninsula, have all the appearance of Scythic descent, urging no pretensions to connection with the ancient races of India, they may be a branch of that celebrated race, the Cimmerii of higher Asia, and the Cimlri of Europe.

Their legends are as fabulous as fanciful. They trace their descent from the monkey-god Hanuman, and confirm it by alleging the elongation of the spine of their princes who bear the epithet of *Puncheria*, or the 'long-tailed,' Ranas of Saurashtra. But the manners and traditions of this race will appear more fully in the narrative of the author's travels amongst them.

GOHIL.—This was a distinguished race: it claims to be Suryavansi, and with some pretension. The first residence of the Gohils was Junah Khergurh, near the bend of the Loony in Marwar. How long they had been established here we know not. They took it from one of the aboriginal Bhil chiefs named Kherwo, and had been in possession of it for twenty generations when expelled by the Rahtores at the end of the twelfth

* His son, Madhu Sing, the present administrator, is the offspring of the celebrated Zalim and a Ranawut chieftain's daughter, which has entitled his (Madhu Sing's) issue to marry far above their scale in rank. So much does superiority of blood rise above all worldly considerations with a Rajpoot, that although Zalim Sing held the reins of the richest and best ordered state of Rajasthan, he deemed his family honoured by his obtaining to wife for his grandson the daughter of a Cutchwaha minor chieftain.

century. Thence migrating to Saurashtra, they fixed at Perumgur; which being destroyed, one branch settled at Bugwa, and the chief marrying the daughter of Nundun Nugger or Nandode, he usurped or obtained his father-in-law's estates; and twenty-seven generations are enumerated, from Sompal to Narsing, the present Raja of Nandode. Another branch fixed at Seehore, and thence founded Bhownugger and Gogo. The former town, on the gulf of the Myhie, is the residence of the Gohils, who have given their name, Gohilwar, to the eastern portion of the peninsula of Saurashtra.

The present chief addicts himself to commerce, and possesses ships which trade to the gold coast of Sofala.

SARWYA or SARIASPA.—Of this race tradition has left us only the knowledge that it once was famous; for although, in the catalogues of the bard, it is introduced as the "essence of the Khetri race,"* we have only a few legends regarding its present degradation. Its name, as well as this epithet of the bard, induces a belief that it is a branch of the Aswas, with the prefix of *sar*, denoting 'essence,' or priority. But it is useless to speculate on a name.

SILAR or SULAR.—Like the former, we have here but the shade of a name; though one which, in all probability, originated the epithet *Larike*, by which the Saurashtra peninsula was known to Ptolemy and the geographers of early Europe. The tribe of Lar was once famous in Saurashtra, and in the annals of Anhulwarra mention is made of Sid Rae Jey Sing having extirpated them throughout his dominions. *Sular*, or *Silar*, would therefore be distinctively the

Lar.* Indeed, the author of the *Komarpat Charitra* styles it *Raj-tilae*, or 'regal prince;' but the name only now exists amongst the mercantile classes professing the faith of Booddha: it is inserted as one of the eighty-four. The greater portion of these are of Rajpoot origin.

DABI.—Little can be said of this tribe, but that it was once celebrated in Saurashtra. By some it is called a branch of the Yadu, though all the genealogists give it distinct importance. It now possesses neither territory nor numbers.

GOR.—The Gor tribe was once respected in Rajasthan, though it never there attained to any considerable eminence. The ancient kings of Bengal were of this race, and gave their name to the capital, Luknowti.

We have every reason to believe that they were possessors of the land afterwards occupied by the Chohans, as they are styled in all the old chronicles the 'Gor of Ajmeer.' Repeated mention is made of them in the wars of Prithwiraja, as leaders of considerable renown, one of whom formed a small state in the centre of India, which survived through seven centuries of Mogul domination, till it at length fell a prey indirectly to the successes of the British over the Mah-rattas, when Sindhia, in 1809, annihilated the power of the Gor and took possession of his capital, Supur.† A petty district, yielding

* *Su*, as before observed, is a distinctive prefix, meaning 'excellent.'

† In 1807 the author passed through this territory, in a solitary ramble to explore these parts, then little known; and though but a young *Sub*, was courteously received and entertained both at Baroda and Supur. In 1809 he again entered the country under very different circumstances, in the suit of the British envoy with Sindhia's court, and had the grief to witness the operations against Supur, and its fall, unable to aid his friends.

The Gor prince had laid aside the martial virtues,

* "*Sarweya Khetrie tyn sar*,"



about £5000 annually, is all this rapacious head of a predatory government has left to the Gor, out of about twelve lacs of annual revenue. The Gor has five sachas : Ontahir, Silhala, Toor, Doosena, and Bodano.

DOR or DODA.—We have little to say of this race. Though occupying a place in all the genealogies, time has destroyed all knowledge of the past history of a tribe, to gain a victory over whom was deemed by Prithwiraja worthy of a tablet.*

GHERWAL.—The Gherwal Rajpoot is scarcely known to his brethren in Rajasthan, who will not admit his contaminated blood to mix with theirs ; though, as a brave warrior, he is entitled to their fellowship. The original country of the Gherwal is in the ancient kingdom of Kasi.† Their great ancestor was Khortaj Deva, from whom Jessonda, the seventh in descent, in consequence of some grand sacrificial rites performed at Bindabassi, gave the title of Boondela to his issue. Boondela has now usurped the name of Gherwal, and become the appellation of the immense tract which its various branches inhabit in Boondelkhund, on the ruins of the Chundailas, whose chief cities, Kalinjara, Mohini, and Mohoba, they took possession of.

The Chundaila, classed by some of the genealogists amongst the thirty-six tribes, were powerful in the twelfth century, possessing the whole of the regions between the

Jumna and Nerbudda, now occupied by the Boondelas and Bhaghelas. Their wars with Prithwiraja, forming one of the most interesting of his exploits, ended in the humiliation of the Chundela, and prepared the way for their conquest by the Gherwals ; the date of the supremacy of the Boondela Manvira was about A.D. 1200. Madhukar Sah, the thirteenth in descent from him, founded Orcha on the Betwa, by whose son, Birsing Deva, considerable power was attained. Orcha became the chief of the numerous Boondela principalities ; but its founder drew upon himself everlasting infamy, by putting to death the wise Abul Fuzil,* the historian and friend of the magnanimous Akbar, and the encomiast and advocate of the Hindu race.

From the period of Akbar the Boondelas bore a distinguished part in all the grand conflicts, to the very close of the monarchy : nor, amongst all the brave chiefs of Rajasthan, did any perform more gallant or faithful services than the Boondela chieftains of Orcha and Duttea. Bagwan of Orcha commanded the advanced guard of the army of Shah Jehan. His son, Soopkurna, was Arungzebe's most distinguished leader in the Dekhan, and Dulput fell in the war of succession on the plains of Jajow. His descendants have not degenerated ; nor is there any thing finer in the annals of the chivalry of the West, than the dignified and heroic conduct of the father of the present chief.†

He became a zealot in the worship of Vishnu, left off animal food, was continually dancing before the image of the god, and was far more conversant in the mystical poetry of Krishna and his beloved Radha than in the martial song of the bard. His name was Radhaca-das, 'the slave of Radha ;' and, as far as he is personally concerned, we might cease to lament that he was the last of his race.

* See Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 133.

† Benares.

* Slain at the instigation of prince Selim, son of Akbar, afterwards the emperor Jehangir. See this incident stated in the emperor's own *Commentaries*.

† On the death of Madajee Sindhia, the females of his family, in apprehension of his successor (Dowlat Rao), sought refuge and protection with the Raja of Duttea. An army was sent to demand their surrender, and hostility was proclaimed as the consequence of refusal. This brave man would not even await the attack, but at the head of a devoted band of three hundred horse, with

The Boondela is now a numerous race, while the name Gherwal remains in their original haunts.

BIRGOOJUR.—This race is Suryavansi, and the only one, with the exception of the Gehlote, which claims from Lava, the elder son of Rama. The Birgoojur held considerable possessions in Dhoondar,* and their capital was the hill fortress of Rajore,† in the principality of Macherri. Rajgurbh and Alwa were also their possessions. The Birgoojurs were expelled these abodes by the Cutchwahas. A colony found refuge and a new residence at Anupsahar on the Ganges.

SENGAR.—Of this tribe little is known, nor does it appear ever to have obtained great celebrity. The sole chieftainship of the Sengars is Jugmohunpur on the Jumna.

SIKERWAL.—This tribe, like the former, never appears to have claimed much notice amidst the princes of Rajasthan; nor is there a single independent chieftain now remaining, although there is a small district called after them, Sikerwar, on the right bank of the Chumbul, adjoining Jaduvati, and like it now incorporated in the province of Gwalior, in Sindhia's dominions. The Sikerwal is therefore reduced to subsist by

their lances, carried destruction amongst their assailants, neither giving nor receiving quarter: and thus he fell in defence of the laws of sanctuary and honour. Even when grievously wounded, he would accept no aid, and refused to leave the field, but disdaining all compromise awaited his fate. The author has paused upon the spot where this gallant deed was performed; and from his son, the present Raja, had the annals of his house.

* Ambar or Jeypur, as well as Macherri, were comprehended in Dhoondar, the ancient geographical designation.

† The ruins of Rajore are about fifteen miles west of Rajgurbh. A person sent there by the author reported the existence of inscriptions in the temple of Nilkantha Mahadeva.

cultivation, or the more precarious employment of his lance, either as a follower of others, or as a common depredator.

They have their name from the town of Sikri (Futtehpur), which was formerly an independent principality.

BYCE.—The Byce has obtained a place amongst the thirty-six races, though the author believes it but a subdivision of the Suryavansi, as it is neither to be met with in the lists of Chund, nor in those of the *Komarpal Charitra*. It is now numerous, and has given its name to an extensive district, Bycewara in the Do-ab, or the land between the Ganges and Jumna.

DAHIA.—This is an ancient tribe, whose residence was the banks of the Indus, near its confluence with the Sutledge; and although they retain a place amongst the thirty-six royal races, we have not the knowledge of any as now existing. They are mentioned in the annals of the Bhattis of Jessulmeer, and from name as well as from *locale*, we may infer that they were the Dahæ of Alexander.

JOYHA.—This race possessed the same haunts as the Dahia, and are always coupled with them. They however extended across the Garah into the northern desert of India, and in ancient chronicles are entitled "Lords of Jungul-Desa," a tract which comprehended Heriana, Bhatnair, and Nagore. The author possesses a work relative to this tribe, like the Dahia, now extinct.

MOHIL.—We have no mode of judging of the pretensions of this race to the place it is allowed to occupy by the genealogists. All that can be learned of its past history is, that it inhabited a considerable tract so late as the foundation of the present state of Bikaner, the Rahtore founders of which ex-

pelled, if not extirpated, the Mohil. With the Malun, Malani, and Mallia, also extinct, it may claim the honour of descent from the ancient Malli, the foes of Alexander, whose abode was Mooltan. (*Qu.* Mohil-than?)

NICOOMPA.—Of this race, to which celebrity attaches in all the genealogies, we can only discover that they were proprietors of the district of Mandalgurb prior to the Gehlotes.

RAJ-PALI.—It is difficult to discover any thing regarding this race, which, under the names of Raj-pali, Raj-palica, or simply Pala, are mentioned by all the genealogists; especially those of Saurashtra, to which in all probability it was confined. This tends to make it Scythic in origin; the conclusion is strengthened by the derivation of the name, meaning 'royal shepherd:' it was probably a branch of the ancient Pali.*

DAHIRYA.—The *Komarpal Charitra* is our sole authority for classing this race with the thirty-six. Of its history we know nothing. Amongst the princes who came to the aid of Cheetore, when first assailed by the arms of Islam, was "the lord of Debeil, Dahir, *Des-pati*."† From the ignorance of the transcriber of the Gehlote annals, *Delhi* is written instead of *Debil*; but we not only have the whole of the names of the Tuar race, but Delhi was not in existence at this time. Slight as is the mention of this prince in the Cheetore annals, it is nevertheless of high value, as stamping them with authenticity; for this Dahir was actually the *despot* of Scind, whose tragical end in his capital Debeil is related by Abul Fuzil. It was in the ninety-ninth year of the Hegira that he

was attacked by Cassim, the lieutenant of the Caliph of Bagdad, and treated with the greatest barbarity. Whether this prince used *Dahir* as a proper name, or as that of his tribe, must be left to conjecture.

DAHIMA.—The Dahima has left but the wreck of a great name. Seven centuries have swept away all recollection of a tribe who once afforded one of the proudest themes for the song of the bard. The Dahima was the lord of Biana, and one of the most powerful vassals of the Chohan emperor, Prithwiraja. Three brothers of this house held the highest offices under this monarch, and the period during which the elder, Kaimas, was his minister, was the brightest history of the Chohan: but he fell a victim to a blind jealousy. Pundir, the second brother, commanded the frontier at Lahore. The third, Chaond Rae, was the principal leader in the last battle, where Prithwiraja fell, with the whole of his chivalry, on the banks of the Caggar. Even the historians of Shabudin have preserved the name of the gallant Dahima, Chaond Rae, whom they style Khandirai; and to whose valour, they relate, Shabudin himself nearly fell a sacrifice. With the Chohan, the race seems to have been extinguished. Rainsi, his only son, was by this sister of Chaond Rae, but he did not survive the capture of Delhi. This marriage forms the subject of one of the books of the bard, who never was more eloquent than in the praise of the Dahima.*

* Chund, the bard, thus describes Biana, and the marriage of Prithwiraja with the Dahimee: "On the summit of the hills of Druinadahar, whose awful load oppressed the head of Sesnag, was placed the castle of Biana, resembling Kylas. The Dahima had three sons and two fair daughters: may his name be perpetuated throughout this iron age! One daughter was married to the Lord of Mewat, the other to the Chohan. With her he gave in dower eight beauteous damsels and sixty-three female slaves, one hundred

* The final syllable *ea* is a mark of the genitive case.

† 'Chief of a country,' from *des*, 'country,' and *pati*, 'chief.' (*Qu.* *despotas*.)

Aboriginal Races.

Baugree, Mer, Kaba, Meena, Bhil, Seriah, Thori, Khangar, Goand, Bhurr, Junwar, and Sarud.

Agricultural and Pastoral Tribes.

Abhira or Aheer, Goala, Kurmi or Kulmbi, Goojur, and Jat.

Rajpoot Tribes to which no Sacha is assigned.

Jalia, Peshani, Sohagni, Chahira, Ran, Simala, Boteela, Gotchir, Malun, Ohir, Hool, Bachuk, Batur, Keruch, Kotuk, Boosa, and Birgota.

Catalogue of the eighty-four Mercantile Tribes.

Sri Sri Mal, Srimal, Oswal, Bhagairwal, Deendoo, Pooshkutwal, Mairtawal, Hursoruh, Soorurwal, Pilliwal, Bhumboo, Khundailwal, Dohilwal, Kehderwal, Deesawal, Goojurwal,

Sohorwal, Uggurwal, Jaelwal, Manutwal, Kajotiwai, Kortawal, Chehtrawal, Soni, Sojutwal, Nagur, Mad, Julhera, Lar, Knpole, Khuraita, Bururie, Dusora, Bamburwal, Nagudra, Kurbaira, Buttewura, Mewarra, Nurisngpura, Khaterwal, Punchumwal, Hunerwal, Sirkaira, Byce, Stukhi, Kumbo-
wal, Jeerunwal, Bhagelwal, Orchitwal, Bamunwal, Sreegoor, Thakoorwal, Balmi-
wal, Tepora, Tilota, Atburgi, Ladisaka, Bednora, Kheecho, Gusora, Bahaohur, Jaimo, Pudmora, Meherea, Dhakurwal, Mungora, Goelwal, Mohorwal, Cheetora, Kakulea, Bhareja, Undora, Sachora, Bhoongrawal, Mundahulu, Bramunia, Bagria, Dindoria, Borwal, Sorbea, Orwal, Nufag, and Nagora.
(One wanting.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Reflections on the present Political State of the Rajpoot Tribes.

HAVING thus taken a review of the tribes which at various times inhabited and still inhabit Hindusthan, the subject must be concluded.

In so extensive a field it was impossible to introduce all that could have been advanced on the distinctive marks in religion and manners; but this deficiency will be remedied in the annals of the most prominent races yet ruling, by which we shall prevent repetition.

"chosen horses of the breed of Irak, two elephants, and ten shields, a pallet of silver for the bride, one hundred wooden images, one hundred chariots, and one thousand pieces of gold."

The bard, on taking leave, says: "the Dahimala wished his gold, and filled his coffers with the praises of mankind. The Dahimee produced a jewel, a gem without price, the Prince Rainsi."

The author here gives a fragment of the ruins of Biana, the ancient abode of the Dahima.

The same religion governing the institutions of all these tribes, operates to counteract that dissimilarity in manners, which would naturally be expected amidst so great a variety, from situation or climate; although such causes do produce a material difference in external habit. Cross but the elevated range which divides upland Mewar from the low sandy region of Marwar, and the difference of costume and manners will strike the most casual observer. But these changes are only exterior and personal; the mental character is less changed, because the same creed, the same religion (the principal former and reformer of manners), guides them all.

We have the same mythology, the same theogony, the same festivals, though com-

memorated with peculiar distinctions. There are niceties in thought, as in dress, which if possible to communicate would excite but little interest; when the tie of a turban and the fold of a robe are, like Masonic symbols, distinguishing badges of tribes. But it is in their domestic circle that manners are best seen; where restraint is thrown aside, and no authority controls the freedom of expression. But does the European seek access to this *sanctum* of nationality ere he gives his *debtor and creditor* account of character, his balanced catalogue of virtues and vices? He may, however, with the Rajpoot, whose independence of mind places him above restraint, and whose hospitality and love of character will always afford free communication to those who respect his opinions and his prejudices, and who are devoid of that overweening opinion of self, which imagines that nothing can be learned from such friendly intercourse. The personal dissimilarity accordingly arises from *locale*; the mental similarity results from a grand fixed principle, which, whatever its intrinsic moral defect, whatever its incompatibility with the elevated notions we entertain, has preserved to these races, as nations, the enjoyment of their ancient habits to this distant period. May our boasted superiority in all that exalts man above his fellows, ensure to our Eastern empire like duration; and may these notions of our own peculiarly favoured destiny operate to prevent us from laying prostrate, in our periodical ambitious visitations, these the most ancient relics of civilization on the face of the earth! For the dread of their amalgamation with our empire will prevail, though such a result would be opposed not only to their happiness, but to our own stability.

With our present system of alliances, so pregnant with evil from their origin, this fatal consequence (far from desired by the legislative authorities at home) must inevitably ensue. If the wit of man had been taxed to devise a series of treaties with a view to an ultimate rupture, these would be entitled to applause as specimens of diplomacy.

There is a perpetual variation between the spirit and the letter of every treaty; and while the internal independence of each state is the groundwork, it is frittered away and nullified by successive stipulations, and these positive and negative qualities continue mutually repelling each other, until it is apparent that independence cannot exist under such conditions. Where discipline is lax, as with these feudal associations, and where each subordinate vassal is master of his own retainers, the article of military contingents alone, would prove a source of contention. By leading to interference with each individual chieftain, it would render such aid worse than useless. But this is a minor consideration to the tributary pecuniary stipulation, which unsettled and undetermined, leaves a door open to a system of espionage into their revenue accounts—a system not only disgusting, but contrary to treaty, which leaves ‘internal administration’ sacred. These openings to dispute, and the general laxity of their governments coming in contact with our regular system, present dangerous handles for ambition: and who so blind as not to know, that ambition to be distinguished must influence every vicegerent in the East? While deeds in arms and acquisition of territory outweigh the meek eclat of civil virtue, the periodical visitations to these kingdoms will ever be like the comet’s,

“Foreboding change to princes.” ✓

Our position in the East has been, and continues to be, one in which conquest forces herself upon us. We have yet the power, however late, to halt, and not anticipate her further orders to march. A contest for a mud-bank has carried our arms to the *Aurea Chersonesus*, the limit of Ptolemy's geography. With the Indus on the left, the Brahmapootra to the right, the Himalayan barrier towering like a gaint to guard the Tatarian ascent, the ocean and our ships at our back, such is our colossal attitude! But if misdirected ambition halts not at the Brahmapootra, but plunges in to gather laurels from the teak forest of Arracan, what surety have we for these Hindu states placed by treaty within the grasp of our control?

But the hope is cherished, that the same generosity which formed those ties that snatched the Rajpoots from degradation and impending destruction, will maintain the pledge given in the fever of success, 'that their independence should be sacred'; that it will palliate faults we may not overlook, and perpetuate this oasis of ancient rule, in the desert of destructive revolution, of races whose virtues are their own, and whose vices are the grafts of tyranny, conquest, and religious intolerance.

✓ To make them known is one step to obtain for them, at least, the boon of sympathy; for with the ephemeral power of our governors and the agents of governments, is it to be expected that the rod will more softly fall when ignorance of their history prevails, and no kind association springs from a knowledge of their martial achievements and yet proud bearing, their generosity, courtesy, and extended hospitality? These are Rajpoot virtues yet extant amidst all their revolutions, and which have survived ages of

Mahomedan bigotry and power; though to the honour of the virtuous and magnanimous few among the crowned heads of eight centuries, both Tatar and Mogul, there were some great souls; men of high worth, who appeared at intervals to redeem the oppression of a whole preceding dynasty.

The high ground we assumed, and the lofty sentiments with which we introduced ourselves amongst the Rajpoots, arrogating motives of purity, of disinterested benevolence, scarcely belonging to humanity and to which their sacred writings alone yielded a parallel, gave such exalted notions of our right of exerting the attributes of divinity, justice, and mercy, that they expected little less than almighty wisdom in our acts: but circumstances have throughout occurred in each individual state, to shew we were mere mortals, and that the poet's moral,

"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view," was true in politics. Sorrow and distrust were the consequence—anger succeeded; but the sense of obligation is still too powerful to operate a stronger and less generous sentiment. These errors may yet be remedied, and our Rajpoot allies yet be retained as useful friends: though they can only be so while in the enjoyment of perfect internal independence, and their ancient institution.

"No political institution can endure," observes the eloquent historian of the Middle Ages, "which does not rivet itself to the heart of men by ancient prejudices or acknowledged merit. The feudal compact had much of this character. In fulfilling the obligations of mutual assistance and fidelity by military service, the energies of friendship were awakened, and the ties of moral sympathy superadded to those of positive compact."



We shall throw out one of the assumed causes which give stability to political institution; 'acknowledged merit,' which never belonged to the loose feudal compact of Raj-warra; but the absence of this strengthens the necessary substitute, 'ancient prejudices,' which supply many defects.

Our anomalous and inconsistent interference in some cases, and our non-interference in others, operate alike to augment the dislocation induced by long predatory oppression in the various orders of society, instead of restoring that harmony and continuity which had previously existed. The great danger, nay, the inevitable consequence of pre-*severance* in this line of conduct, will be their reduction to the same degradation with our other allies, and their ultimate incorporation with our already too extended dominion.

It may be contended, that the scope and tenor of these alliances were not altogether unfitted for the period when they were formed, and our circumscribed knowledge; but was it too late, when this knowledge was extended, to purify them from the dross which deteriorated the two grand principles of mutual benefit, on which all were grounded, *viz.* 'perfect internal independence to them, and acknowledged supremacy' to the protecting power? It will be said, that even these corner-stones of this grand political fabric, are far from possessing those durable qualities which the contracting parties define, but that, on the contrary, they are the Ormuzd and Ahrimanes, the good and evil principles of contention. But when we have superadded pecuniary engagements of indefinite extent, increasing in the ratio of their prosperity, and armed quotas or contingents of their troops, whose loose habits and discipline would ensure constant complaint,

we may certainly take credit for having established a system which must compel that direct interference, which the broad principle of each treaty professes to check.

The inevitable consequence is the perpetuation of that denationalizing principle, so well understood by the Mahrattas, "*divide et impera.*" We are few; to use an Oriental metaphor, our agents must "use the eyes and ears of others." That mutual dependence which would again have arisen, our interference will completely nullify. Princes will find they can oppress their chiefs, chiefs will find channels by which their sovereign's commands may be rendered nugatory, and irresponsible ministers must have our support to raise these undefined tributary supplies; and unanimity, confidence, and all the sentiments of gratitude which they owe, and acknowledge to be our due, will gradually fade with the national degradation. That our alliances have this tendency cannot be disputed. By their very nature they transfer the respect of every class of subjects from their immediate sovereign to the paramount authority and its subordinate agents. Who will dare to urge that a government, which cannot support its internal rule without power unshackled and unrestrained by exterior council of espionage, it can maintain self-respect, the corner-stone of every virtue with states as with individuals? This first of feelings these treaties utterly annihilate. Can we suppose such denationalized allies are to be depended upon in emergencies? or, if allowed to retain a spark of their ancient moral inheritance, that it will not be kindled into a flame against us when opportunity offers, instead of lighting up the powerful feeling of gratitude which yet exists towards us in these warlike communities?

Like us they were the natural foes of that predatory system which so long disturbed our power, and our preservation and theirs were alike consulted in its destruction. When we sought their alliance, we spoke in the captivating accents of philanthropy; we courted them to disunite from this Abhimanes of political convulsion. The benevolent motives of the great mover of these alliances we dare not call in question, and his policy coincided with the soundest wisdom. But the treaties might have been revised, and the obnoxious parts which led to discord, abrogated, at the expense of a few paltry lacs of tribute and a portion of sovereign homage. It is not yet too late. True policy would enfranchise them altogether from our alliance; but till then let them not feel their shackles in the galling restraint on each internal operation. Remove that millstone to national prosperity, the poignant feeling that every increased bushel of corn raised in their long-deserted fields must send its tithe to the British granaries. Let the national mind recover its wonted elasticity, and they will again attain their former celebrity. We have the power to advance this greatness and make it and its result our own; or, by a system unworthy of Britain, to retard and even quench it altogether.*

* If Lord Hastings' philanthropy, which rejoiced in snatching these ancient states from the degradation of predatory warfare, expected that in four short years order should rise out of the chaos of a century, and "was prepared to visit with displeasure all symptoms of internal neglect, arising from supineness, indifference, "or concealed ill-will;" if *he* signified, "that government would take upon itself the task of restoring order," and that "all charges" on this score "would be demanded and rigidly exacted;" in fine, that "such arrangements would be made as would deprive them of the power of longer abusing the spirit of liberal forbearance, the motives of which they were incapable of understanding or appreciating;" what have they to hope from those without his sympathies?

Never were their national characteristics so much endangered as in the seducing calm which followed the tempestuous agitations in which they had so long floated; doubtful, to use their own figurative expression, whether "the gift of our friendship, or our arms," were fraught with greater evil. The latter they could not withstand; though it must never be lost sight of, that, like ancient Rome when her glory was fading, we use "the arms of the barbarians" to defend our conquests against them! Is the mind ever stationary? are virtue and high notions to be acquired from contact and example? Is there no mind above the level of £10 monthly pay in all the native legions of the three presidencies of India? no Odoacer, no Sevaji, again to revive? Is the book of knowledge and of truth, which we hold up, only to teach them submission and perpetuate their weakness? Can we without fresh claims expect eternal gratitude, and must we not rationally look for re-action in some grand impulse, which, by furnishing a signal instance of the mutability of power, may afford a lesson for the benefit of posterity?

Is the mantle of protection, which we have thrown over these warlike races, likely to avert such a result? It might certainly, if imbued with all those philanthropic feelings for which we took credit, act with soporific influence, and extinguish the embers of international animosity. "The lion and the lamb were to drink from the same fountain:" they were led to expect the holy *Satya Yug*, when each man reposed under his own fig-tree, which neither strife nor envy dared approach.

When so many nations are called upon, in a period of great calamity and danger, to make over to a foreigner, their opposite in

every thing, their superior in most, the control of their forces in time of war, the adjudication of their disputes in time of peace, and a share in the fruits of their renovating prosperity, what must be the result; when each Rajpoot may hang up his lance in the hall, convert his sword to a ploughshare, and make a basket of his buckler? What but the prostration of every virtue? It commences with the basis of the Rajpoot's,—the martial virtues; extinguish these and they will soon cease to respect themselves. Still, low running and meanness will follow. What nation ever maintained its character that devolved on the stranger the power of protection! To be great, to be independent, its martial spirit must be cherished; happy if within the bounds of moderation. Led away by enthusiasm, the author experienced the danger of interference, when observing but one side of the picture—the brilliant lights which shone on their long days of darkness, not calculating the shade which would follow the sudden glare.

On our cessation from every species of interference alone depends their independence

or their amalgamation,—a crisis fraught with danger to our overgrown rule.

Let Alexander's speech to his veterans, tired of conquest and refusing to cross the Hyphasis, be applied, and let us not reckon too strongly on our empire of opinion: "Fame never represents matters truly as they are, but on the contrary magnifies every thing. This is evident; for our own reputation and glory, though founded on solid truths, is yet more obliged to rumour than reality."*

We may conclude with the Macedonian conqueror's reason for shewing the Persians and his other foreign allies so much favour: "The possession of what we got by the sword is not very durable, but the obligation of good offices is eternal. If we have a mind to keep Asia, and not simply pass through it, our clemency must extend to them also, and their fidelity will make our empire everlasting. As for ourselves, we have more than we know what to do with, and it must be an insatiable avaricious temper which desires to continue to fill what already runs over."†

* Quintus Curtius, lib. ix.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. viii.



SKETCH

OF A

FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—History and constitution of Rajasthan.—General resemblance between the ancient systems of Asia and Europe.—Noble origin of the Rajpoot race.—Tahsils of Marwar.—Cutchwads of Ambar.—Sesodias of Mewar.—Gradation of Ranks.—Revenues and rights of the Crown.—Burrar.—Khur Lakur.

It is more than doubtful whether any code of civil or criminal jurisprudence ever existed in any of these principalities; though it is certain that none is at this day discoverable in their archives. But there is a martial system peculiar to these Rajpoot states, so extensive in its operation as to embrace every object of society. This is so analogous to the ancient feudal system of Europe, that I have not hesitated to hazard a comparison between them, with reference to a period when the latter was yet imperfect. Long and attentive observation enables me to give this outline of a system, of which there exists little written evidence. Curiosity originally, and subsequently a sense of public duty (lest I might be a party to injustice), co-operated in inducing me to make myself fully acquainted with the minutiae of this traditionary theory of Government; and incidents, apparently trivial in themselves, exposed parts of a widely-extended system, which, though now disjointed, still continue to regulate the actions of extensive communities, and lead to the inference, that

at one period it must have attained a certain degree of perfection.

Many years have elapsed since I first entertained these opinions, long before any connection existed between these states and the British Government; when their geography was little known to us, and their history still less so. At that period I frequently travelled amongst them for amusement, making these objects subservient thereto, and laying the result freely before my Government. I had abundant sources of intelligence to guide me in forming my analogies; Montesquieu, Hume, Millar, Gibbon:* but I sought only general resemblances and lineaments similar to those before me. A more perfect, because more familiar picture, has since appeared by an author,† who has drawn aside the veil of mystery which covered the subject, owing to its being till then but imperfectly understood. I compared the features of Rajpoot society with the finished picture of this elo-

* Vol. iii. Miscellaneous Works.

† Hallam's Middle Ages.

quent writer, and shall be satisfied with having substantiated the claim of these tribes to participation in a system, hitherto deemed to belong exclusively to Europe. I am aware of the danger of hypothesis, and shall advance nothing that I do not accompany by incontestable proofs.

The leading features of Government amongst semi-barbarous hordes or civilized independent tribes must have a considerable resemblance to each other. In the same stages of society, the wants of men must every where be similar, and will produce the analogies which are observed to regulate Tatar hordes or German tribes, Caledonian clans, the Rajpoot Cula (race), or Jhareja Bhyad (brotherhood). All the countries of Europe participated in the system we denominate feudal; and we can observe it, in various degrees of perfection or deterioration, from the mountains of Caucasus to the Indian ocean. But it requires a persevering toil, and more discriminating judgment than I possess, to recover all these relics of civilization: yet though time, and still more oppression, have veiled the ancient institutions of Mewar, the mystery may be penetrated, and will discover parts of a system worthy of being rescued from oblivion.

Mahratta cunning, engrafted on Mahomedan intolerance, had greatly obscured these institutions. The nation itself was passing rapidly away: the remnant which was left had become a matter of calculation, and their records and their laws partook of this general decay. The nation may recover; the physical frame may be renewed; but the *morale* of the society must be recast. In this chaos a casual observer sees nothing to attract notice; the theory of government appears, without any of the dignity which

now marks our regular system. Whatever does exist is attributed to fortuitous causes—to nothing systematic: no fixed principle is discerned, and none is admitted; it is deemed a mechanism without a plan. This opinion is hasty. Attention to distinctions, though often merely nominal, will aid us in discovering the outlines of a picture which must at some period have been more finished; when real power, unrestrained by foreign influence, upheld a system, the plan of which was original. It is in these remote regions, so little known to the Western world, and where original manners lie hidden under those of the conquerors, that we may search for the germs of the constitutions of European states.* A contempt for all that is Asiatic too often marks our countrymen in the East: though at one period on record the taunt might have been reversed.

In remarking the curious coincidence between the habits, notions, and governments of Europe in the middle ages, and those of Rajasthan, it is not absolutely necessary we

* It is a high gratification to be supported by such authority as M. St. Martin, who, in his 'Discours sur l'Origine et l'Histoire des Arsacides,' thus speaks of the system of government termed feudal, which I contend exists amongst the Rajpoots: "On pense assez généralement que cette sorte de gouvernement qui dominait il y a quelques siècles, et qu'on appelle *système féodal*, était particulière à l'Europe, et que c'est dans les forêts de la Germanie qu'il faut en chercher l'origine. Cependant, si au lieu d'admettre les faits sans discuter, comme il arrive trop souvent, on examine un peu cette opinion, elle disparaîtrait devant la critique, ou du moins elle se modifierait singulièrement; et l'on verrait que, si c'est des forêts de la Germanie que nous avons tiré le gouvernement féodal, il n'en est certainement pas originaire. Si l'on veut comparer l'Europe, telle qu'elle était au *xiii*^e siècle, avec la monarchie fondée en Asie par les Arsacides trois siècles avant notre ère, partout on verra des institutions et des usages pareils. On y trouvera les mêmes dignités, et jusqu'aux mêmes titres, &c. &c. Boire, chasser, combattre, faire et défaire des rois, c'était la les nobles occupations d'un parthe."—*Journal Asiatique*, vol. I, p. 65. It is nearly so with the Rajpoot.

should conclude that one system was borrowed from the other; each may, in truth, be said to have the patriarchal form for its basis. I have sometimes been inclined to agree with the definition of Gibbon, who styles the system of our ancestors the offspring of chance and barbarism. "Le système féodal, 'assemblage monstrueux de tant de parties que le tems et l'hazard ont remises, nous offre un objet très compliqué: pour l'étudier il faut le décomposer.'"^{*} This I shall attempt.

The form, as before remarked, is truly patriarchal in these states, where the greater portion of the vassal chiefs, from the highest of the sixteen peers to the holders of a *chursa*† of land, claim affinity in blood to the sovereign.‡

The natural seeds are implanted in every soil, but the tree did not gain maturity except in a favoured aspect. The perfection of the system in England is due to the Normans, who brought it from Scandinavia, whither it was probably conveyed by Odin and the Sacasenæ, or by anterior migrations, from Asia; which would coincide with Richardson's hypothesis, who contends that it was introduced from Tatar. Although speculative reasoning forms no part of my plan, yet when I observe analogy on the subject in the customs of the ancient Ger-

man tribes, the Franks or Gothic races, I shall venture to note them. Of one thing there is no doubt—knowledge must have accompanied the tide of migration from the east: and from higher Asia emerged the Asi, the Catti, and the Cimbric Lombard, who spread the system in Scandinavia, Friesland, and Italy.

"It has been very common," says the enlightened historian of the Feudal System in the Middle Ages, "to seek for the origin of 'feuds, or at least for analogies to them, in the history of various countries: but though it is of great importance to trace the similarity of customs in different parts of the world, we should guard against seeming analogies, which vanish away when they are closely observed. It is easy to find partial resemblances to the feudal system. The relation of patron and client in the republic of Rome has been deemed to resemble it as well as the barbarians and veterans who held frontier lands on the tenure of defending them and the frontier; but they were bound not to an individual, but to the state. Such a resemblance of fiefs may be found in Zemindars of Hindusthan and the Timariots of Turkey. The clans of the Highlanders and Irish followed their chieftain into the field: but their tie was that of imagined kindred and birth, not the spontaneous compact of vassalage.'"^{*}

I give this at length to shew, that if I still persist in deeming the Rajpoot system a pure relation of feuds, I have before my eyes the danger of seeming resemblances. But grants, deeds, charters, and traditions, copies of all of which will be found in the Appendix, will establish my opinions. I hope to prove that the tribes in the northern regions of

^{*} Gibbon, *Miscell.* vol. iii. Du gouvernement féodal.

† A 'skin or hyde.' Millar (chap. v. p. 85) defines a 'hyde of land,' the quantity which can be cultivated by a single plough. A *chursa*, 'skin or hyde' of land, is as much as one man can water; and what one can water is equal to what one plough can cultivate. If irrigation ever had existence by the founders of the system, we may suppose this the meaning of the term which designated a knight's fee. It may have gone westward with emigration.

‡ *Baupjee*, 'sire,' is the appellation of royalty, and, strange enough, whether to male or female; while its offsets, which form a numerous branch of vassals, are called *babav*, 'the infants.'

^{*} Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 200.

Hindusthan did possess the system, and that it was handed down, and still obtains, notwithstanding seven centuries of paramount sway of the Mogul and Pathan dynasties, altogether opposed to them except in this feature of government, where there was an original similarity. In some of these states—those least affected by conquest—the system remained freer from innovation. It is, however, from Mewar chiefly that I shall deduce my examples, as its internal rule was less influenced by foreign policy, even to the period at which the imperial power of Delhi was on the decline.

As in Europe, for a length of time, traditionary custom was the only regulator of the rights and tenures of this system, varying in each state, and not frequently (in its minor details) in the different provinces of one state, according to their mode of acquisition and the description of occupants when acquired. It is from such circumstances that the variety of tenure and customary law proceeds. To account for this variety, a knowledge of them is requisite; nor is it until every part of the system is developed that it can be fully understood. The most trifling cause is discovered to be the parent of some important result. If ever these were embodied into a code (and we are justified in assuming such to have been the case), the varied revolutions which have swept away almost all relics of their history were not likely to spare these. Mention is made of several princes of the house of Mewar who legislated for their country; but precedents for every occurring case lie scattered in formulas, grants, and traditionary sayings. The inscriptions still existing on stone would alone, if collected, form a body of laws sufficient for an infant community,

and these were always first committed to writing, and registered ere the column was raised. The seven centuries of turmoil and disaster, during which these states were in continual strife with the foe, produced many princes of high intellect as well as valour. Sanga Rana, and his antagonist, Sultan Baber, were revived in their no less celebrated grandsons, the great Akbar and Rana Pratap: the son of the latter, Umra, the foe of Jehangir, was a character of whom the proudest nation might be vain.

The pen has recorded, and tradition handed down, many isolated fragments of the genius of these Rajpoot princes, as statemen and warriors, touching the political division, regulations of the aristocracy, and commercial and agricultural bodies. Sumptuary laws, even, which append to a feudal system, are to be traced in these inscriptions: the annulling of monopolies and exorbitant taxes; the regulation of transit duties; prohibition of profaning sacred days by labour; immunities, privileges, and charters to trades, corporations, and towns; such as would, inclines more favourable to liberty, have matured into a league, or obtained for these branches a voice in the councils of the state. My search for less perishable documents than parchment when I found the cabinet of the prince contained them not, was unceasing; but though the bigotted Mahomedan destroyed most of the traces of civilization within his reach, perseverance was rewarded with a considerable number. They are at least matter of curiosity. The will evince that monopolies and restraints on commerce were well understood in Rajwarra, though the doctrines of political economy never gained footing there. The setting up of these engraved tablets or pillars, called

Seoras,* is of the highest antiquity. Every subject commences with invoking the sun and moon as witnesses, and concludes with a denunciation of the severest penalties on those who break the spirit of the imperishable bond. Tablets of an historical nature I have of twelve and fourteen hundred years' antiquity, but of grants of land or privileges about one thousand years is the oldest. Time has destroyed many, but man more. They became more numerous during the last three centuries, when successful struggles against their foes produced new privileges, granted in order to recall the scattered inhabitants. Thus one contains an abolition of the monopoly of tobacco;† another, the remission of tax on printed cloths, with permission to the country manufacturers to sell their goods free of duty at the neighbouring towns. To a third, a mercantile city, the abolition of war contributions,‡ and the establishment of its internal judicial authority. Nay, even where good manners alone are concerned, the lawgiver appears, and with an amusing simplicity:§ “From the public feast none shall attempt to carry any thing away.” “None shall eat after sunset,” shews that a Jain obtained the edict. To yoke the bullock or other animal for any work on the sacred Amavus,|| is also declared punishable. Others contain revocations of vexatious feesto officers of the crown; “of beds and quilts;”¶ “the seizure of the carts, implements, or cattle of the husbandmen,”**—the sole boon in our

own *Magna Charta* demanded for the husbandman. These and several others, of which copies are annexed, need not be repeated. If even from such memoranda a sufficient number could be collected of each prince's reign up to the olden time, what more could we desire to enable us to judge of the genius of their princes, the wants and habits of the people, their acts and occupations? The most ancient written customary law of France is A.D. 1088,* at which time Mewar was in high prosperity; opposing, at the head of a league far more powerful than France could form for ages after, the progress of revolution and foreign conquest. Ignorance, sloth, and all the vices which wait on and result from continual oppression in a perpetual struggle for existence of ages' duration, gradually diminished the reverence of the inhabitants themselves for these relics of the wisdom of their forefathers. In latter years, they so far forgot the ennobling feeling and respect for “the stone which told” their once exalted condition, as to convert the materials of the temple in which many of these stood into places of abode. Thus many a valuable relic is built up in the castles of their barons, or buried in the rubbish of the fallen pile.

We have, however, the books of grants to the chiefs and vassals, and also the grand rent-roll of the country. These are of themselves valuable documents. Could we but obtain those of remoter periods, they would serve as a commentary on the history of the country, as each contains the detail of every estate, and the stipulated services, in horse and foot, to be performed for it. In later times, when turbulence and disaffection

* Sanscrit, *Sula*.

† See Appendix, No. XII.

‡ See Appendix, No. XIII.

§ See Appendix, No. XIV.

|| ‘Full moon.’—See Appendix, No. XIII.

¶ It is customary, when officers of the government are detached on service, to exact from the towns where they are sent both bed and board.

** Seized for public service, and frequently to exact a composition in money.

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 197.



went unpunished, it was useless to specify a stipulation of service that was nugatory; and too often the grants contained but the names of towns and villages, and their value; or if they had the more general terms of service, none of its details.* From all these, however, a sufficiency of customary rules could easily be found to form the written law of fiefs in Rajasthan. In France, in the sixteenth century, the variety of these customs amounted to two hundred and eighty-five, of which only sixty† were of great importance. The number of consequence in Mewar which have come to my observation is considerable, and the most important will be given in the Appendix. Were the same plan pursued there as in that ordinance which produced the laws of *Pays Coutumiers*‡ of France, viz. ascertaining those of each district, the materials are ready.

Such a collection would be amusing, particularly if the traditionary were added to the engraved laws. They would often appear *jejune*, and might involve contradictions; but we should see the wants of the people; and if ever our connection (which God forbid!) should be drawn closer, we could then legislate without offending national customs or religious prejudices. Could this, by any instinctive impulse or external stimulus, be effected by themselves, it would be the era of their emersion, from long oppression, and might lead to better notions of government, and consequent happiness to them all.

✓ NOBLE ORIGIN OF THE RAJPOOT RACE.—If we compare the antiquity and illustrious descent of the dynasties which have ruled, and some which continue to rule, the small sover-

eignties of Rajasthan, with many of celebrity in Europe, superiority will often attach to the Rajpoot. From the most remote periods we can trace nothing ignoble, nor any vestige of vassal origin. Reduced in power, circumscribed in territory, compelled to yield much of their splendour and many of the dignities of birth, they have not abandoned an iota of the pride and high bearing arising from a knowledge of their illustrious and regal descent. On this principle the various revolutions in the Rana's family never encroached; and the mighty Jehangir himself, the Emperor of the Moguls, became, like Cæsar, the commentator of the history of the tribe of Sesodia.* The potentate of the twenty-two Satrapies of Hind dwells with proud complacency on this Rajpoot king having made terms with him. He parishes heaven, that what his immortal ancestor Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, failed to do, the project in which Hemayoon had also failed, and in which the illustrious Akbar, his father, had but partial success, was reserved for him. It is pleasing to peruse in the commentaries of these conquerors, Baber and Jehangir, their sentiments with regard to these princes. We have the evidence of Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of Elizabeth to Jehangir, as to the splendour of this race: it appears throughout their annals and those of their neighbours.

✓ RAHTORES OF MARWAR.—The Rahtores can boast a splendid pedigree; and if we cannot trace its source with equal certainty to such a period of antiquity as the Rana's we can, at all events, shew the Rahtore monarch wielding the sceptre at Canouj, at

* Some of these, of old date, I have seen three feet in length.

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 190.

‡ Hallam notices these laws by this technical phrase,

* Sesodia is the last change of name which the Rana's race has undergone. It was first Suryavansa, then Grahilote or Gehlote, Aharya, and Sesodia. These changes arise from revolutions and local circumstances.

the time the leader of an unknown tribe of the Franks was paving the way towards the foundation of the future kingdom of France. Unwieldy greatness caused the sudden fall of Canouj in the twelfth century, of which the existing line of Marwar is a renovated scion.

CUTCHWAHAS OF AMBAR.—Ambar is a branch of the once illustrious and ancient Nissida, now Nirwur, which produced the ill-fated prince whose story* is so interesting. Revolution and conquest compelled them to quit their ancestral abodes. Hindusthan was then divided into no more than four great kingdoms. By Arabian† travellers we have a confused picture of these states. But all the minor states, now existing in the west, arose about the period when the feudal system was approaching maturity in France and England.

The others are less illustrious, being the descendants of the great vassals of their ancient kings.

SESODIAS OF MEWAR.—Mewar exhibits a marked difference from all the other states in her policy and institutions. She was an old established dynasty when these renovated scions were in embryo. We can trace the losses of Mewar, but with difficulty her acquisitions; while it is easy to note the gradual aggrandizement of Marwar and Ambar, and all the minor states. Marwar was composed of many petty states, whose ancient possessions formed an allodial vassalage under the new dynasty. A superior independence of the control of the prince arises from the peculiarity of the mode of acquisition; that is, with rights similar to the allodial vassals of the European feudal system.

The poorest Rajpoot of this day retains all the pride of ancestry, often his sole inheritance: he scorns to hold the plough, or to use his lance but on horseback. In these aristocratic ideas he is supported by his reception amongst his superiors, and the respect paid to him by his inferiors. The honours and privileges, and the gradations of rank, amongst the vassals of the Rana's house, exhibit a highly artificial and refined state of society. Each of the superior rank is entitled to a banner, kettle-drums preceded by heralds and silver maces, with peculiar gifts and personal honours, in commemoration of some exploit of their ancestors.

The martial Rajpoots are not strangers to armorial bearings,* now so indiscriminately used in Europe. The great banner of Mewar exhibits a golden sun on a crimson field: those of the chiefs bear a dagger. Ambar displays the *panchhranga*, or five-coloured flag. The lion rampant on an argent field is extinct with the estate of Chanderi.†

In Europe these customs were not introduced till the period of the Crusades, and were copied from the Saracens; while the use of

* It is generally admitted that armorial bearings were little known till the period of the Crusades, and that they belong to the east. The twelve tribes of Israel were distinguished by the animals on their banners, and the sacred writings frequently allude to the "Lion of Judah." The peacock was a favourite armorial emblem of the Rajpoot warrior; it is the bird sacred to their Mars (Kumara), as it was to Juno, his mother, in the west. The feather of the peacock decorates the turban of the Rajpoot and the warrior of the crusade, adopted from the Hindu through the Saracens. "Le paon a 'toujours ete l'emblemme de la noblesse. Plusieurs chevaliers ornaient leurs casques des plumes de cet oiseau; un grand nombre de familles nobles le portaient dans leur blazon ou sur leur cimier; quelques uns n'en portaient que la queue.'"—Art. 'Armoirie,' Dict. de l'ancien Regime.

† I was the first European who traversed this wild country, in 1807, not without some hazard. It was then independent: about three years after it fell a prey to Sindhia.

* Nala and Dumayaati.

† Relations anciennes des Voyageurs, par Renaudot.

them amongst the Rajpoot tribes can be traced to a period anterior to the war of Troy. In the Mahabharat, or great war, twelve hundred years before Christ, we find the hero Bhishma exulting over his trophy, the banner of Arjuna, its field adorned with the figure of the Indian Hanuman.*

These emblems had a religious reference amongst the Hindus, and were taken from their mythology, the origin of all devices.

Every royal house has its palladium, which is frequently borne to battle at the saddle-bow of the prince. Rao Bhima Hara, of Kotah, lost his life and protecting deity together. The late celebrated Kheechee† leader, Jey Sing, never took the field without the god before him. "Victory to Bujrung" was his signal for the charge so dreaded by the Mahratta, and often has the deity been sprinkled with his blood and that of the foe.

Their ancestors, who opposed Alexander, did the same, and carried the images of Hercules (*Baldeva*) at the head of their array.

The custom (says Arrian) of presenting banners as an emblem of sovereignty over vassals, also obtained amongst the tribes of the Indus when invaded by Alexander. When he conquered the Sacæ and tribes east of the Caspian, he divided the provinces amongst the princes of the ancient families, for which they paid homage, engaged to serve with a certain quota of troops, and received from his own hand a banner; in all of which he followed the customs of the country. But in these we see only the outline of the system; we must descend to more modern days to observe it more minutely. A grand picture is drawn of the power of

Mewar, when the first grand irruption of the Mahomedans occurred in the first century of their era; when "a hundred* kings, its "allies and dependents, had their thrones "raised in Cheetore," for its defence and their own individually, when a new religion, propagated by the sword of conquest, came to enslave these realms. This invasion was by Scind and Mekran; for it was half a century later ere "the light" shone from the heights of Pamert‡ on the plains of the Jumna and Ganges.

From the commencement of this religious war in the mountains westward of the Indus, many ages elapsed ere the 'King of the Faith' obtained a seat on the throne of Yudhisthira. Chund, the bard, has left us various valuable memorials of this period, applicable to the subject historically as well as to the immediate topic. Visaldeva, the monarch whose name appears on the pillar of victory at Delhi, led an army against the invader, in which, according to the bard, "the banners of eighty-four princes were assembled." The bard describes with great animation the summons sent for this magnificent feudal levy from the heart of Anterbed§ to the shores of the western sea, and it coincides with the record of his victory, which most probably this very army obtained for him. But no finer picture of feudal manners exists than the history of Prithwiraja, contained in Chund's poem. It is surprising that this epic should have been

* The monkey-deity.

† The Kheeches are a branch of the Chohans, and Kheechiwara lies east of Haravati.

* See annals of Mewar, and note from D'Anville.

† The Pamer range is a grand branch of the Indian Caucasus. Chund, the bard, designates them as the "Purbut Patt Pamer," or Pamer Lord of Mountains. From Pahar and Pamer the Greeks may have compounded Paropamisian, in which was situated the most remote of the Alexandrias.

‡ The space between the grand rivers Ganges and Jumna, well known as the Do-ab.

FEUDAL SYSTEM

allowed so long to sleep neglected: a thorough knowledge of it, and of others of the same character, would open many sources of new knowledge, and enable us to trace many curious and interesting coincidences.*

In persuing these tales of the days that are past, we should be induced to conclude that the *Couroltai* of the Tatars, the *Chougan* of the Rajpoot, and the *Cham de Mars* of the Frank, had one common origin.

Caste has for ever prevented the inferior classes of society from being incorporated with this haughty noblesse. Only those of pure blood in both lines can hold fiefs of the crown. The highest may marry the daughter of a Rajpoot, whose sole possession is a '*skin of land*':† the sovereign himself is not degraded by such alliance. There is no moral blot, and the operation of a law like the Salic would prevent any political evil resulting therefrom. Titles are granted, and even fiefs of office, to ministers and civil servants not Rajpoots: they are, however, but official, and never confer hereditary right. These official fiefs may have originally arisen, here and in Europe, from the same cause; the want of a circulating medium to pay the offices. The *Mantris*‡ of Mewar prefer estates to pecuniary stipend, which gives more consequence in every points of view. All the

higher offices—as cup-bearer, butler, stewards of the household, wardrobe, kitchen, master of the horse—all these are enumerated as ministerialists* at the court of Charlemagne in the dark ages of Europe, and of whom we have the duplicates. These are what the author of the Middle Ages designates as "improper feuds."† In Mewar the prince's architect, painter, physician, bard, genealogist, heralds, and all the generation of the foster-brothers, hold lands. Offices are hereditary in this patriarchal government; their services personal. The title even appends to the family, and if the chance of events deprive them of the substance, they are seldom left destitute. It is not uncommon to see three or four with the title of *pradhan* or *premier*.‡

But before I proceed further in these desultory and general remarks, I shall commence the chief details of the system as described in times past, and, in part, still obtaining in the principality of the Rana of Mewar. As its geography and distribution are fully related in their proper place, I must refer the reader to that for a preliminary understanding of its localities.

The local disposition of the estates was admirably contrived. Bounded on three sides, the south, east, and west, by marauding barbarous tribes of Bhils, Mers, and Meenas, the circumference of this circle was sub-

* Domestic habits and national manners are painted to the life, and no man can well understand the Rajpoot of yore, who does not read these.

Those were the days of chivalry and romance, when the assembled princes contended for the hand of the fair, who chose her own lord, and threw to the object of her choice, in full court, the *bur-mala*, or garland of marriage. Those were the days which the Rajpoot yet loves to talk of, when the glance of an eye weighed with a sceptre: when three things alone occupied him: his horse, his lance, and his mistress; for she is but the third in his estimation, after all to the two first he owed her.

† *Chursa*, a 'hide or skin.'

‡ 'Ministers,' from *Muntera*, 'mystification.'

* It is probably of Teutonic origin, and akin to '*Mantri*,' which embraces all the ministers and councillors of royalty. (Hallam, p. 195.)

† Hallam p. 193.

‡ One I know, in whose family the office has remained since the period of Prithwiraja, who transferred his ancestor to the service of the Rana's house seven hundred years ago. He is not merely a nominal hereditary minister, for his uncle actually held the office; but in consequence of having favoured the views of a pretender to the crown, its active duties are not entrusted to any of the family.

divided into estates for the chiefs, while the *khalisa*, or fiscal land, the best and richest, was in the heart of the country, and consequently well protected.

It appears doubtful whether the *khalisa* lands amounted to one-fourth of those distributed in grant to the chiefs. The value of the crown demesne as the nerve and sinew of sovereignty, was well known by the former heads of this house. To obtain any portion thereof was the reward of important services; to have a grant of a few acres near the capital for a garden was deemed a high favour; and a village in the amphitheatre or valley, in which the present capital is situated, was the *ne plus ultra* of recompense. But the lavish folly of the present prince, out of this tract, twenty-five miles in circumference, has not preserved a single village in his *khalisa*.

By this distribution, and by the inroads of the wild tribes in the vicinity, or of Moguls and Mahrattas, the valour of the chiefs was kept in constant play.

The country was partitioned into districts, each containing from fifty to one hundred towns and villages, though sometimes exceeding that proportion. The great number of Chourasis* leads to the conclusion that portions to the amount of eighty-four, had been the general subdivision. Many of these yet remain: as the 'Chourasi' of Jehazpur and of Komulmeer: tantamount to the old 'hundreds' of our Saxon ancestry. A circle of posts was distributed, within which the quotas of the chiefs attended, under "the Foudar of the Sima" (*vulgo* Seem), or commander of the border. It was found expedient to appoint from court this lord of

the frontier, always accompanied by a portion of the royal insignia, standard, kettle-drums, and heralds and being generally a civil officer, he united to his military office the administration of justice.* The higher vassals never attended personally at these posts, but deputed a confidential branch of their family, with the quota required. For the government of the districts there were conjoined a civil and military officer: the latter generally a vassal of the second rank. Their residence was the chief place of the district, commonly a strong-hold.

The division of the chiefs into distinct grades, shews a highly artificial state of society.

1st Class. We have the sixteen, whose estates were from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand rupees and upwards, of yearly rent. These appear in the presence only on special invitation, upon festivals and solemn ceremonies, and are the hereditary councillors of the crown.†

2nd Class, from five to fifty thousand rupees. Their duty is to be always in attendance. From these, chiefly, foudars and military officers are selected.†

3rd Class is that of *Gole*,† holding lands chiefly under five thousand rupees, though by favour they may exceed this limit. They are generally the holders of separate villages and portions of land, and in former times they were the most useful class to the prince. They always attended on his person, and

* Now each chief claims the right of administering justice in his own domain, that is, in civil matters: but in criminal cases they ought not, without the special sanction of the crown. Justice, however, has long been left to work its own way, and the self-constituted tribunals, the *punchaets*, sit in judgment in all cases where property is involved.

† See Appendix, No. XX.

* The numeral eighty-four.

indeed formed his strength against any combination or opposition of the higher vassals.

4th Class. The offsets of the younger branches of the Rana's own family, within a certain period, are called the *babas*, literally 'infants,' and have appanages bestowed on them. Of this class are Shapura and Bunera; too powerful for subjects. They hold on none of the terms of the great clans, but consider themselves at the disposal of the prince. These are more within the influence of the crown. Allowing adoption into these houses, except in the case of near kindred, is assuredly an innovation: they ought to revert to the crown, failing immediate issue, as did the great estate of Bhynsrorgurh, two generations back.

From these to the holder of a *chursa*, or hide of land, the peculiarity of tenure and duties of each, will form a subject for discussion.

REVENUES AND RIGHTS OF THE CROWN.—I need not here expatiate upon the variety of items which constitute the revenues of the prince, the details of which will appear in their proper place. The land-tax in the *khalisa demesne* is, of course, the chief source of supply; the transit duties on commerce and trade, and those of the larger towns and commercial marts, rank next. In former times more attention was paid to this important branch of income, and the produce was greater because less shackled. The liberality on the side of the crown was only equalled by the integrity of the merchant, and the extent to which it was carried would imply an almost Utopian degree of perfection in their mutual qualities of liberality and honesty; the one, perhaps, generating the other. The remark of a merchant recently, on the vexatious train of duties

and espionage attending their collection, is not merely figurative: "our ancestors tied 'their invoice to the horns of the oxen' at 'the first frontier post of customs, and no 'intermediate questions were put till we 'passed to the opposite or sold our goods, 'when it was opened and payment made 'accordingly; but now every town has its 'rights.' It will be long ere this degree of confidence is restored on either side: extensive demand on the one is met by fraud and evasion on the other, though at least one-half of these evils have already been subdued.

The mines were very productive in former times, and yielded several laes to the princes of Mewar. The rich tin mines of Jawara produced at one time a considerable proportion of silver. Those of copper are abundant as is also iron on the now alienated domain on the Chumbul; but lead least of all.†

The marble quarries also added to the revenue; and where there is such a multiplicity of sources, none are considered too minute to be applied in these necessitous times.

BURRAR.—*Burrar* is an indefinite term for taxation, and is connected with the thing taxed: as *ganeem-burrar*‡ 'war-tax;' *gurk geentee-burrar*,§ 'house-tax;' *hal-burrar*,

* Oxen and carts are chiefly used in the *Tandas*, or caravans, for transportation of goods in these countries; camels further to the north.

† The privilege of coining is a reservation of royalty. No subject is allowed to coin gold or silver, though the Saloombra chief has on sufferance a copper currency. The mint was a considerable source of income, and may be again when confidence is restored and a new currency introduced. The Cheetore rupee is now thirty-one percent. inferior to the old Bhilara standard, and there was one struck at the capital even worse, and very nearly as bad as the *moneta nigra* of Philip the Fair of France, who allowed his vassals the privilege of coining it.

‡ Enemy.

§ Numbering of houses.

'plough-tax;' *neauta-burrar*, 'marriage-tax;' and others, both of old and new standing. The war-tax was a kind of substitute for the regular mode of levying the rents on the produce of the soil; which was rendered very difficult during the disturbed period, and did not accord with the wants of the prince. It is also a substitute in those mountainous regions for the *jareeb*,* where the produce bears no proportion to the cultivated surface; sometimes from poverty of soil, but often from the reverse, as in Komalmeer where the choicest crops are produced on the cultivated terraces, and on the sides of its mountains which abound with springs yielding the richest canes and cottons, and where experiment has proved that four crops can be raised in the same patch of soil within the year.

The offering on confirmation of estates (or fine on renewal) is now, though a very small, yet still one source of supply; as is the annual and triennial payment of the quit-rents of the Bhoomia chiefs. Fines in composition of offences may also be mentioned; and they might be larger, if more activity were introduced in the detection of offenders.

These governments are mild in the execution of the laws; and a heavy fine has more effect (especially on the hill tribes) than the execution of the offender, who fears death less than the loss of property.

KHUR-LAKUR.—The composition for 'wood and forage' afforded a considerable supply.

* A measure of land.

When the princes of Mewar were oftener in the tented field than in the palace, combating for their preservation, it was the duty of every individual to store up wood and forage the supply of the prince's army. What originated in necessity was converted into an abuse and annual demand. The towns also supplied a certain portion of provisions: where the prince halted for the day these were levied on the community; a goat or sheep from the shepherd, milk and flour from the farmer. The maintenance of these customs is observable in taxes, for the origin of which it is impossible to assign a reason without going into the history of the period; they scarcely recollect the source of some of these themselves. They are akin to those known under the feudal tenures of France, arising from exactly the same causes, and commuted for money payments: such as the *droit de giste et de chevauche*.† Many also originated in the perambulations of these princes to visit their domains;‡ a black year in the calendar to the chief and the subject. When he honoured the chief by a visit, he had to present horses and arms, and to entertain his prince, in all which honours the cultivators and merchant had to share.

The duties on the sale of spirits, opium, tobacco, and even to a share of the garden-stuff, affords also modes of supply.‡

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 232.

† Hume describes the necessity for our earlier kings making these tours to consume the produce, being in kind. So it is in Mewar; but I fancy the supply was always too easily convertible into circulating medium to be the cause there.

‡ See Appendix, No. X.

CHAPTER II.

Legislative authority.—Rozina.—Military Service.—Inefficiency of this form of Government.

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY.—During the period still called “the good times of Mewar,” the prince, with the aid of his civil council, the four ministers of the crown and their deputies, promulgated all the legislative enactments in which the general rights and wants of the community were involved. In these the martial vassals or chiefs had no concern: a wise exclusion, comprehending also their immediate dependents, military, commercial, and agricultural. Even now, the little that is done in these matters is effected by the civil administration, though the Rajpoot Pradhans have been too apt to interfere in matters from which they ought always to be kept aloof, being ever more tenacious of their own rights than solicitous for the welfare of the community.

The neglect in the legislation of late years was supplied by the self-constituted tribunals, the useful punchaets, of which enough has been said to render further illustration unnecessary. Besides the resident ruler of the district, who was also a judicial functionary, there was, as already stated, a special officer of the government in each frontier Thana, or garrison post. He united the triple occupation of embodying the quotas, levying the transit duties, and administering justice, in which he was aided at the chabootra* or court, by assembling the Chotias or assessors of justice. Each town and village has its chotia, the members of which are elected by their fellow citizens, and remain as long as

they conduct themselves impartially in disentangling the intricacies of complaints preferred to them.

They are the aids to the Nagar Seth, or chief magistrate, an hereditary office in every large city in Rajasthan. Of this chotia the Patel and Patwarri are generally members. The former of these, like the Dusondée of the Mahrattas, resembles in his duties the *decanus* of France and the tithing-man in England. The chotia and punchaet of these districts are analogous to the assessors of justice called *scabini** in France, who held the office by election or the concurrence of the people. But these are the special and fixed council of each town; the general punchaets are formed from the respectable population at large, and were formerly from all classes of society.

The chabootras, or terraces of justice, were always established in the *khalisa*, or crown demesne. It was deemed a humiliating intrusion if they sat within the bounds of a chief. To ‘erect the flag’ within his limits, whether for the formation of defensive posts or the collection of duties, is deemed a gross breach of his privileged independence, as to establish them within the walls of his residence would be deemed equal to sequestration. It often becomes necessary to see justice enforced on a chief or his dependent, but it begets eternal disputes and disobedience,

* They were considered a sort of jury, bearing a close analogy to the *judices selecti*, who sat with the prætor in the tribunal of Rome.—Hallam.

* Literally ‘terrace,’ or ‘altar.’

till at length they are worried to compliance by *rozina*.

ROZINA.—When delay in these matters, or to the general commands of the prince, is evinced, an officer or herald is deputed with a party of four, ten, or twenty horse or foot, to the fief of the chief, at whose residence they take up their abode; and carrying, under the seal, a warrant to furnish them with specified delay (*rozina*) rations, they live at free quarters till he is quickened into compliance with the commands of the prince. This is only accelerator of the slow movements of a Rajpoot chieftain in these days, whether for his appearance at court or the performance of an act of justice. It is often carried to a harassing excess, and cause much complaint.

In cases regarding the distribution of justice or the internal economy of the chiefs' estates, the government officers seldom interfere. But of their *punchaets* I will only remark, that their import amongst the vassals is very comprehensive; and when they talk of the '*punch*,' it means the 'collective wisdom.' In the reply to the remonstrance of the Deogurh vassals,* the chief promises never to undertake any measure without their deliberation and sanction.

On all grand occasions where the general peace or tranquillity of the government is threatened, the chiefs form the council of the sovereign. Such subjects are always first discussed in the domestic councils of each chief; so that when the *wittenagemote* of Mewar was assembled, each had prepared himself by previous discussion, and was fortified by abundance of advice.

To be excluded the council of the prince is to be in utter disgrace. These grand divans produce infinite speculation, and the ramifications which form the opinions are extensive. The council of each chief is, in fact, a miniature representation of the sovereign's. The greater sub-vassals, his civil *pradhan*, the mayor of the household, the *purohit*,* the bard and two or three of the most intelligent citizens, form the minor councils, and all are separately deliberating while the superior court is in discussion. Thus is collected the wisdom of the magnates of Rajwarra.

MILITARY SERVICE.—In Mewar, during the days of her glory and prosperity, fifteen thousand horse, bound by the ties of fidelity and service, followed their prince into the field, all supported by lands held by grant; from the chief who headed five hundred of his own vassals, to the single horseman.

KNIGHT'S FEE OR SINGLE HORSEMEN.—A knight's fee in these states varies. For each thousand rupees of annual rent, never less than two, and generally three horsemen were furnished; and sometimes three horse and three foot soldiers, according to the exigence of the times when the grant was conferred. The different grants† appended will shew this variety, and furnish additional proof that this, and all similar systems of policy, must be much indebted to chance for the shape they ultimately take. The knight's fee, when William the Conqueror partitioned England into sixty thousand such portions, from each of which a soldier's service was due, was fixed at £20. Each portion furnished its soldier or paid *escuage*. The

* See Appendix, No. III.

* Family priest.

† See Appendix, Nos. IV, V, and VI.

knight's fee of Mewar may be said to be two hundred and fifty rupees, or about £30.

LIMITATIONS of SERVICE.—In Europe, service was so restricted, that the monarch had but a precarious authority. He could only calculate upon forty day's annual service from the tenant of a knight's fee. In Rajasthan it is very different: "at home and abroad, service shall be performed when demanded;" such is the condition of the tenure.

For state and show, a portion of the greater vassals* reside at the capital for some months, when they have permission to retire to their estates, and are relieved by another portion. On the grand military festival the whole attend for a given time; and when the prince took the field, the whole assembled at their own charge; but if hostilities carried them beyond the frontier they were allowed certain rations.

ESCUAGE or SCUTAGE.—Escuage or scutage, the phrase in Europe to denote the amercement† for non-attendance, is also known and exemplified in deeds. Failure from disaffection, turbulence, or pride, brought a heavy fine; the sequestration of the whole or part of the estate.‡ The princes of these states would willingly desire to see escuage more general. All have made this first attempt towards an approximation to a standing army: but, though the chiefs would make compensation to get rid of some particular service, they are very reluctant to renounce lands, by which alone a fixed force could be maintained. The rapacity of the court would gladly fly to scutages but in the

present impoverished state of the fiefs, such if injudiciously levied would be almost equivalent to resumption; but this measure is so full of difficulty as to be almost impracticable.

INEFFICIENCY of THIS FORM of GOVERNMENT.—Throughout Rajasthan the character and welfare of the estates depend on that of the sovereign: he is the main-spring of the system—the active power to set and keep in motion all these discordant materials; if he relax, each part separates, and moves in a narrow sphere of its own. Yet will the impulse of one great mind put the machine in regular movement, which shall endure during two or three imbecile successors, if no fresh exterior force be applied to check it. It is a system full of defects; yet we see them so often balanced by virtues, that we alternately biassed by these counteracting qualities: loyalty and patriotism, which combine a love of the institutions, religion, and manners of the country, are the counterpoise to systematic evil. In no country has the system ever proved efficient. It has been one of eternal excitement and irregular action; inimical to order, and the repose deemed necessary after conflict for recruiting the national strength. The absence of an external foe was but the signal for disorders within, which increased to a terrific height in the feuds of the two great rival factions of Mewar, the clans of Chondawut* and Suktawut,† as the weakness of the prince

* A clan called after Chonda, eldest son of an ancient Rana, who resigned his birthright.

† Sukta was the son of Rana Udaya Sing, founder of Udayapura, or Oodipur. The feuds of these two clans, like those of the Armagnacs and Bourguignons, "qui couvrirent la France d'un crepe sanglant," have been the destruction of Mewar. It requires but a change of names and places, while reading the one, to understand perfectly the history of the other.

* See Appendix No. XX, art. 6; the treaty between the chiefs and his vassals defining service.

† Appendix, No. XVI.

‡ Both of which I have witnessed.

augmented by the abstraction of his personal domain, and the diminution of the services of the third class of vassals (the Gole), the personal retainers of the crown; but when these feuds broke out, even with the enemy at their gates, it required a prince of great nerve and talent to regulate them. Yet is there a redeeming quality in the system, which, imperfect as it is, could render such perilous circumstances but the impulse to a rivalry of heroism.

When Jehangir had obtained possession of the palladium of Mewar, the ancient fortress of Cheetore, and driven the prince into the wilds and mountains of the west, an opportunity offered to recover some frontier lands in the plains, and the Rana with all his chiefs were assembled for the purpose. But the Suktawuts asserted an equal privilege with their rivals to form the vanguard,* a right which their indisputable valour (perhaps superior to that of the other party) rendered not invalid. The Chondawuts claimed it as an hereditary privilege, and the sword would have decided the matter but for the tact of the prince. "The *herole* to the clan which first enters Ontala," was a decision which the Suktawut leader quickly heard; while the other could no longer plead his right, when such a gauntlet was thrown down for its maintenance.

Ontala is the frontier fortress in the plains, about eighteen miles east of the capital, and covering the road which leads from it to the more ancient one of Cheetore. It is situated on a rising ground, with a stream flowing beneath its walls, which are of solid masonry, lofty, and with round towers at intervals.†

* Herole.

† It is now in ruins, but the towers and part of the walls are still standing.

In the centre was the Governor's house, also fortified. One gate only gave admission to this castle.

The clans, always rivals in power, now competitors in glory, moved off at the same time, some hours before daybreak—Ontala the goal, the herole the reward! Animated with hope—a barbarous and cruel foe the object of their prowess—their wives and families spectators, on their return, of the meed of enterprize; the Bard, who sang the praise of each race at their outset, demanding of each materials for a new wreath, supplied every stimulus that a Rajpoot could have to exertion.

The Suktawuts made directly for the gateway, which they reached as the day broke, and took the foe unprepared; but the walls were soon manned, and the action commenced. The Chondawuts, less skilled in topography, had traversed a swamp, which retarded them—but through which they dashed, fortunately meeting a guide in a shepherd of Ontala. With more foresight than their opponents, they had brought ladders. The chief led the escalade, but a ball rolled him back amidst his vassals: it was not his destiny to lead the *herole*! Each party was checked. The Suktawut depended on the elephant he rode, to gain admission by forcing the gate; but its projecting spikes deterred the animal from applying its strength. His men were falling thick around him, when a shout from the other party made him dread their success. He descended from his seat, placed his body on the spikes, and commanded the driver, on pain of instant death, to propel the elephant against him. The gates gave way, and over the dead body of their chief his clan rushed to the combat! But even this heroic surrender of his life failed to purchase the ho-

nour for his clan. The lifeless corpse of his rival was already in Ontala, and this was the event announced by the shout which urged sacrifice to honour and ambition. When the Chondawut chief fell, the next in rank and kin took the command. He was one of those arrogant, reckless Rajpoots, who signalized themselves wherever there was danger, not only against men but tigers, and his common appellation was the *Benda Thakur* ('mad chief') of Deogurh. When his leader fell, he rolled the body in his scarf; then tying it on his back, scaled the wall, and with his lance having cleared the way before him, he threw the dead body over the parapet of Ontala, shouting, "the vanguard to the Chondawut! we are first in!" The shout was echoed by the clan, and the rampart was in their possession nearly at the moment of the entry of the Suktawuts. The Moguls fell under their swords: the standard of Me-war was erected in the castle of Ontala, but the leading of the vanguard remained with the Chondawuts.*

This is not the sole instance of such jealousies being converted into a generous and patriotic rivalry; many others could be adduced throughout the greater principalities, but especially amongst the brave Rahtores of Marwar.

It was a nice point to keep these clans

* An anecdote appended by my friend Umra (the Bard of the Sungawuts, a powerful division of the Chondawuts, whose head is Deogurh, often alluded to, and who alone used to lead two thousand vassals into the field) was well attested. Two Mogul chiefs of note were deeply engaged in a game of chess when the tumult was reported to them. Feeling confident of success, they continued their game; nor would they desist till the inner castle of this 'donjon keep' was taken, and they were surrounded by the Rajpoots, when they coolly begged they might be allowed to terminate their game. This the enemy granted; but the loss of their chiefs had steeled their breasts against mercy, and they were afterwards put to death.

poised against each other: their feuds were not without utility, and the tact of the prince frequently turned them to account. One party was certain to be enlisted on the side of the sovereign, and this alone counterbalanced the evil tendencies before described. To this day it has been a perpetual struggle for supremacy; and the epithets of "loyalist" and "traitor" have been alternating between them for centuries, according to the portion they enjoyed of the prince's favour, and the talents and disposition of the heads of the clans to maintain their predominance at court. The Suktawuts are weaker in numbers, but have the reputation of greater bravery and more genius, than their rivals. I am inclined, on the whole, to assent to this opinion; and the very consciousness of this reputation must be a powerful incentive to its preservation.

When all these governments were founded and maintained on the same principle, a system of feuds, doubtless, answered very well; but it cannot exist with a well-constituted monarchy. Where individual will controls the energies of a nation, it must eventually lose its liberties. To preserve their power, the princes of Rajasthan surrendered a portion of theirs to the emperors of Delhi. They made a nominal surrender to him of their kingdoms receiving them back with a *sunnud*, or grant, renewed on each lapse: thereby acknowledging him as lord paramount. They received, on these occasions, the *khelat* of honour and investiture, consisting of elephants, horses, arms, and jewels; and to their hereditary title of 'prince' was added by the emperor, one of dignity, *munsab*. Besides this acknowledgment of supremacy, they offered *nuzzerana**

* Fine of relief.

Rel with
nuzerana

and homage, especially on the festival of Noroza (the new year), engaging to attend the royal presence when required, at the head of a stipulated number of their vassals. The emperor presented them with a royal standard, kettle-drums, and other insignia, which headed the array of each prince. Here we have all the chief incidents of a great feudal sovereignty. Whether the Tatar sovereigns borrowed the customs from their princely vassals, or brought them from the highlands of Asia, from the Oxus and Jaxartes, whence, there is little doubt, many of these Sacha Rajpoots originated, shall be elsewhere considered.

The splendour of such an array, whether in the field or at the palace, can scarcely be conceived. Though Hemayoon had gained the services of some of the Rajpoot princes, their aid was uncertain. It was reserved for his son, the wise and magnanimous Akbar, to induce them become at once the ornament and support of his throne. The power which he consolidated, and knew so well to wield, was irresistible; while the beneficence of his disposition, and the wisdom of his policy, maintained what his might conquered. He felt that a constant exhibition of authority would not only be ineffectual but dangerous, and that the surest hold on their fealty and esteem would be the giving them a personal interest in the support of the monarchy.

He determined to unite the pure Rajpoot blood to the scarcely less noble stream which flowed from Oguz Khan, through Jungheez, Timoor, and Baber, to himself, calculating that they would more readily yield obedience to a prince who claimed kindred with them, than to one purely Tatar; and that, at all events, it would gain the support of their immediate kin, and might in the end become

general. In this supposition he did not err. We are less acquainted with the obstacles which opposed his first success, than those he subsequently encountered: *one* of which neither he nor his descendants *ever* overcame in the family of Mewar, who could never be brought to submit to such alliance.

Ambar, the nearest to Delhi and the most exposed, though more open to temptation than to conquest, in its then contracted sphere, was the first to set the example.

Its Raja Bhagwandas gave his daughter to Hemayoon; and subsequently this practice became so common, that some of the most celebrated emperors were the offspring of Rajpoot princesses.

Of these, Selim, called after his accession, Jehangir; his ill-fated son, Khosroo; Shah Jehan;* Kambaksh,† the favourite of his father; Aurungzebe, and his rebellious son Akbar, whom his Rajpoot kin would have placed on the throne had his genius equalled their power, are the most prominent instances. Feroxsere, when the empire began to totter, furnished the last instance of Mogul sovereign marrying a Hindu princess,‡ the daughter of Raja Ajeet Sing, sovereign of Marwar.

These Rajpoot princes became the guardians of the minority of their imperial

* The son of the Princess Jodh Bae, whose magnificent tomb still excites admiration at Secundra, near Agra.

† 'Gift of Love.'

‡ To this very marriage we owe the origin of our power. When the nuptials were preparing, the Emperor fell ill. A mission was at that time at Delhi from Surat, where we traded, of which Mr. Hamilton was the surgeon. He cured the King, and the marriage was completed. In the oriental style, he desired the doctor to name his reward; but instead of asking any thing for himself, he demanded a grant of land for a factory on the Hoogly for his employers. It was accorded, and this was the origin of the greatness of the British empire in the East. Such an act deserved at least a column; but neither "trophyed urn or monumental bust" marks the spot where his remains are laid.

nephews, and had a direct stake in the empire, and in the augmentation of their estates.

Of the four hundred and sixteen Munsubdars, or military commanders of Akbar's empire, from leaders of two hundred to ten thousand men, forty-seven were Rajpoots, and the aggregate of their quotas amounted to fifty-three thousand horse:* exactly one-tenth of the united Munsubdars of the empire, or five hundred and thirty thousand horse.†

Of the forty-seven Rajpoot leaders, there were seventeen whose munsubs were from one thousand to five thousand horse, and thirty from two hundred to one thousand.

The princes of Ambar, Marwar, Bikaner, Boondi, Jessulmeer, Boondelkhund, and even Shekawut, held munsubs of above one thousand; but Ambar only, being allied to the throne, had the dignity of five thousand.

The Raja Udaya Sing of Marwar, surnamed the Fat, chief of the Rahtores, held but the munsub of one thousand, while a scion of his house, Rae Sing of Bikaner, had four thousand. This is to be accounted for by the dignity being thrust upon the head of that house. The independent princes of Chanderi, Kerowli, Duttea, with the tributary feudatories of the larger principalities, and members of the Shekawut federation, were enrolled on the other grades, from four to seven hundred. Amongst these we find the founder of the Suktawut clan, who quarrelling with his brother, Rana Pratap of Mewar, gave his services to Akbar. In short it became general, and what originated in force or persuasion, was soon coveted from interested motives; and as nearly all the states submitted in time to give queens to the

empire, few were left to stigmatize this dereliction from Hindu principle.

Akbar thus gained a double victory, securing the good opinions as well as the swords of these princes in his aid. A judicious perseverance would have rendered the throne of Timoor immoveable, had not the tolerant principles and beneficence of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, been lost sight of by the bigotted and blood-thirsty Aurungzebe; who, although while he lived his commanding genius wielded the destinies of this immense empire at pleasure, alienated the affections by insulting the prejudices, of those who had aided in raising the empire to the height on which it stood. This affection withdrawn, and the weakness of Ferozkere substituted for the strength of Aurungzebe, it fell and went rapidly to pieces. Predatory warfare and spoliation rose on its ruins. The Rajpoot princes, with a shortsighted policy, at first connived at, and even secretly invited the tumult; not calculating on its affecting their interests. Each looked to the return of ancient independence, and several reckoned on great accession of power. Old jealousies were not lessened by the part which each had played in the hour of ephemeral greatness; and the prince of Mewar, who preserved his blood uncontaminated, though with loss of land, was at once an object of respect and envy to those who had forfeited the first pretensions* of a Rajpoot. It was the only ovation the Sesodia† had to boast for centuries of oppression and spoliation, whilst their neighbours were

* Abul Fazil's Institutes of Akbar.

† The infantry, regulars and militia, exceeded 1,000,000.

* See, in the annals of Mewar, the letter of Rae Sing of Bikaner (who had been compelled to submit to this practice), on hearing that Rana Pratap's reverses were likely to cause a similar result. It is a noble production, and gives the character of both.

† The tribe to which the princes of Mewar belonged.

basking in court favour. The great increase of territory of these princes nearly equalled the power of Mewar, and the dignities thus acquired from the sons of Timoor, they naturally wished should appear as distinguished as his ancient title. Hence, while one inscribed on his seal "the exalted in dignity, a prince amongst princes, and king of kings,"* the prince of Mewar preserved his royal simplicity in 'Maha-Rana Bhima Sing, son of Ursi.' But this is digression.

It would be difficult to say what would be the happiest form of government for these states without reference to their neighbours. Their own feudal customs would seem to have worked well. The experiment of centuries has secured to them political existence, while successive dynasties of Afghans and Moguls, during eight hundred years, have left but the wreck of splendid names. Were they to become more monarchical, they would have every thing to dread from unchecked despotism, over which even the turbulence of their chiefs is a salutary control.

Were they somewhat more advanced towards prosperity, the crown demesne redeemed from dissipation and sterility, and the chiefs enabled to bring their quotas into play for protection and police, recourse should never be had to bodies of mercenary troops, which practice, if persevered in, will inevitably change their present form of Government. This has invariably been the result, in Europe as well as Rajasthan, else why the dread of standing armies?

Escuage is an approximating step. When Charles VII. of France† raised his companies of ordnance, the basis of the first

national standing army ever embodied in Europe, a tax called '*taille*' was imposed to pay them, and Guienne rebelled. Kotah is a melancholy instance of subversion of the ancient order of society. Mewar made the experiment from necessity sixty years ago, when rebellion and invasion conjoined and a body of Sindies were employed, which completed their disgust, and they fought with each other till almost mutually exterminated, and till all faith in their prince was lost. Jeypur had adopted this custom to a greater extent; but it was an ill paid band, neither respected at home nor feared abroad. In Marwar the feudal compact was too strong to tolerate it, till Pathan predatory bands, prowling amidst the ruins of Mogul despotism, were called in to partake in each family broil; the consequence was the weakening of all, and opening the door to a power stronger than any, to be the arbiter of their fate.

GENERAL DUTIES OF THE PUTTAWUT, OR VASSAL CHIEF OF RAJASTHAN.—"The essential principle of a fief was a mutual contract of support and fidelity. Whatever obligations it laid upon the vassal of service to his lord, corresponding duties of protection were imposed by it on the lord towards his vassal. If these were transgressed on either side, the one forfeited his land, the other his signiory or rights over it."*

Feudal System

In this is comprehended the very foundation of feudal policy, because in its simplicity we recognize first principles involving mutual preservation. The best commentary on this definition of simple truth will be the sentiments of the Rajpoots themselves in two papers: one containing the opinions of the

* *Raj Raj eswara*, the title of the prince of Marwar: the prince of Ambar, *Raj Raj Indra*,

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 117.

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 173.

chiefs of Marwar on the reciprocal duties of sovereign and vassal;* the other, those of the sub-vassals of Deogurh, one of the largest fiefs in Rajasthan, of their rights, the infringement of them, and the remedy.†

If, at any former period in the history of Marwar, its prince had thus dared to act, his signiory and rights over it would not have been of great value; his crown and life would both have been endangered by these turbulent and determined vassals. How much is comprehended in that manly, yet respectful sentence: "If he accepts our services, then 'is he our prince and leader; if not, but our 'equal, and we again his brothers, claimants 'of and laying claim to the soil."

In the remonstrance of the sub-vassals of Deogurh, we have the same sentiments on a reduced scale. In both we have the ties of blood and kindred, connected with and strengthening national policy. If a doubt could exist as to the principle of fiefs being similar in Rajasthan and in Europe, it might be set at rest by the important question long agitated by the feudal lawyers in Europe, "whether the vassal is bound to follow the "standard of his lord against his own kindred "or against his sovereign:" which in these states is illustrated by a simple and universal proof. If the question were put to a Rajpoot to whom his service is due, whether to his chief or his sovereign, the reply would be, *Rajca malik weh pat; ca malik yeh*: 'He is the sovereign of the state, but this is my head': an ambiguous phrase, but well understood to imply that his own immediate chief is the only authority he regards.

This will appear to militate against the

right of remonstrance (as in the case of the the vassals of Deogurh), for they look to the crown for protection against injustice; they annihilate other rights by admitting appeal higher than this. Every class looks out for some resource against oppression. The sovereign is the last applied to on such occasions, with whom the sub-vassal has no bond of connection. He can receive no favour, nor perform any service, but through his own immediate superior: and presumes not to question (in cases not personal to himself) the propriety of his chief's actions, adopting implicitly his feelings and resentments. The daily familiar intercourse of life is far too engrossing to allow him to speculate, and with his lord he lives a patriot or dies a traitor. In proof of this, numerous instances could be given of whole clans devoting themselves to the chief against their sovereign;* not from the ties of kindred, for many were aliens in blood; but from the ties of duty, gratitude, and all that constitutes clannish attachment, superadded to feudal obligation. The sovereign, as before observed, has nothing to do with those vassals not holding directly from the crown; and those who wish to stand well with their chiefs, would be very slow in receiving any honours or favours from the general fountain-head. The Deogurh chief sent one of his sub-vassals to court on a mission: his address and deportment gained him favour, and his consequence was increased by a seat in the presence of his sovereign. When he returned, he found this had lost him the favour of his chief, who was offended, and conceived a jealousy both of his prince and his servant.

* See Appendix, No. I.

† See appendix, Nos. II. and III.

‡ *Pat* means 'head,' 'chief,' also, 'board,' 'throne'—like *tukht*, in Persian.

* The death of the chief of Nimaj, in the annals of Marwar, and Seogurh Feud, in the Personal Narrative, vol. ii.

The distinction paid to the latter was, he said, subversive of his proper authority, and the vassal incurred by his vanity the loss of estimation where alone it was of value.

OBLIGATIONS OF A VASSAL.—The attempt to define all the obligations of a vassal would be endless : they involve all the duties of

kindred in addition to those of obedience. To attend the court of his chief ; never to absent himself without leave ; to ride with him a hunting ; to attend him at the court of his sovereign or to war, and even give himself as a hostage for his release ; these are some of the duties of a vassal.

CHAPTER III.

Feudal Incidents.—Duration of Grants.

FEUDAL INCIDENTS.—I shall now proceed to compare the more general obligations of vassals, known under the term of 'Feudal Incidents' in Europe, and shew their existence in Rajasthan. These were six in number:—1. reliefs ; 2. fines of alienation ; 3. escheats ; 4. aids ; 5. wardship ; 6. marriage.

RELIEF.—The first and most essential mark of a feudal relation exists in all its force and purity here: it is a perpetually recurring mark of the source of the grant, and the solemn renewal of the pledge which originally obtained it. In Mewar it is a virtual and *bona fide* surrender of the fief and renewal thereof. It is thus defined in European polity : "A relief* is a sum of money due "from every one of full age taking a fief by "descent." It was arbitrary, and the consequent exactions formed a ground of dis-

content ; nor was the tax fixed till a comparatively recent period.

By *Magna Charta* reliefs were settled at rates proportionate to the dignity of the holder.* In France the relief was fixed by the customary laws at one year's revenue.† This last has long been the settled amount of *nuzzerana*, or fine of relief, in Mewar.

On the demise of a chief, the prince immediately sends a party, termed the *zabti* (sequestrator), consisting of a civil officer and a few soldiers, who take possession of the estate in the prince's name. The heir sends his prayer to court to be installed in the property, offering the proper relief. This paid, the chief is invited to repair to the presence, when he performs homage, and makes protestations of service and fealty ; he receives a fresh grant, and the inauguration terminates by the prince girding him with a sword, in the old forms of chivalry.

* "Plusieurs possesseurs de fiefs, ayant voulu en laisser perpetuellement la propriete a leurs descendants, prirent des arrangemens avec leur Seigneur ; et, outre ce qu'ils donnerent pour faire le marche, ils s'engagerent, eux et leur posterite, a abandonner pendant une annee, au Seigneur, la jouissance entiere du fief, chaque fois que le dit fief changerait de main. C'est ce qui forma le droit de *relief*."

"Quand un gentilhomme avait deroge, il pouvait effacer cette tache moyennant finances, et ce qu'il payait s'appelait *relief*, il recevait pour quittance des lettres de *relief* ou de rehabilitation."—Art. '*Relief*,' Dict. de l'anc. Regime,

* *Viz.* "the heir or heirs of an earl, for an entire earldom, one hundred pounds ; the heir or heirs of a baron, for an entire barony, one hundred marks ; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, one hundred shillings at most."—Art. III. *Magna Charta*.

† "Le droit de rachat devoit se payer a chaque mutation d'heritier, et se paya meme d'abord en ligne directe.—La coutume la plus generale l'avait fixe a une annee du revenue."—"L'Esprit des Loix," Liv. xxxi, chap. xxxiii,

It is an imposing ceremony, performed in a full assembly of the court, and one of the few which has never been relinquished. The fine paid, and the brand buckled to his side, a steed, turban, plume, and dress of honour given to the chief, the investiture* is complete; the sequestrator returns to court, and the chief to his estate, to receive the vows and congratulations of his vassals.

In this we plainly perceive the original power (whether exercised or not) of resumption. On this subject more will appear in treating of the duration of grants. The *kharg bandai*, or 'binding of the swords,' is also performed when a Rajpoot is fit to bear arms; as amongst the ancient German tribes, when they put into the hands of the aspirant for fame a lance. Such are the substitutes for the *toga virilis* of the young Roman. The Rana himself is thus ordained a knight by the first of his vassals in dignity, the chief of Saloombra.

RENUNCIATION OF RELIEFS.—In the demoralization of all those states, some of the chiefs obtained renunciation of the fine of relief, which was tantamount to making a grant in perpetuity, and annulling the most overt sign of paramount sovereignty. But these and many other important encroachments were made when little remained of the reality, or when it was obscured by a

series of oppressions unexampled in any European state.

It is in Mewar alone, I believe, of all Rajasthan, that these marks of fealty are observable to such an extent. But what is remarked elsewhere upon the fiefs being moveable, will support the doctrine of resumption though it might not be practised: a prerogative may exist without its being exercised.

FINE OF ALIENATION.—Rajasthan never attained this refinement indicative of the dismemberment of the system; so vicious and self-destructive a notion never had existence in these states. Alienation does not belong to a system of fiefs: the lord would never consent to it, but on very peculiar occasions.

In Kutch, amongst the Jhareja* tribes, sub-vassals may alienate their estates; but this privilege is dependent on the mode of acquisition. Perhaps the only knowledge we have in Rajasthan of alienation requiring the sanction of the lord paramount, is in donations for pious uses: but this is partial. We see in the remonstrance of the Deogurh vassals the opinion they entertained of their lord's alienation of their sub-fees to strangers, and without the Rana's consent; which, with a similar train of conduct, produced sequestration of his fief till they were re-inducted.

TENANTS OF THE CROWN MAY ALIENATE.—The agricultural tenants, proprietors of land held of the crown, may alienate their rights upon a small fine, levied merely to mark the transaction. But the tenures of these non-combatants and the holders of fees are entirely

* That symbolic species of investiture denominated 'improper investiture,' the delivery of a turf, stone, and wand, has its analogies amongst the mountaineers of the Aravali. The old baron of Bednor, when the Mer villages were reduced, was clamorous about his feudal rights over those wild people. It was but the point of honour. From one he had a hare, from another a bullock, and so low as a pair of sticks which they use on the festivals of the *Holi*. These marks of vassalage come under the head of 'petite serjantery' (petit serjantry) in the feudal system of Europe. (See Art. XLI. of *Magna Charta*.)

* Jhareja is the title of the Rajpoot race in Kutch; they are descendants of the Yadus, and claim from Krishna. In early ages they inhabited the tracts on the Indus and in Sewisthan.



distinct, and cannot here be entered on, further than to say that the agriculturist is, or was, the proprietor of the soil; the chief, solely of the tax levied thereon. But in Europe the alienation of the *feudum paternum* was not good without the consent of the kindred in the line of succession.* This would involve sub-infeudation and frerage, which I shall touch on distinctly, many of the troubles of these countries arising therefrom.

ESCHEATS AND FORFEITURES.—The fiefs which were only to descend in lineal succession, reverted to the crown on failure of heirs, as they could not be bequeathed by will. This answers equally well for England as for Mewar. I have witnessed escheats of this kind, and foresee more, if the pernicious practice of unlimited adoption do not prevent the Rana from regaining lands, alienated by himself at periods of contention. Forfeitures for crimes must of course occur, and these are partial or entire, according to the delinquency.

In Marwar, at this moment, nearly all the representatives of the great fiefs of that country are exiles from their homes: a distant branch of the same family, the prince of Edur, would have adopted a similar line of conduct but for a timely check from the hand of benevolence.†

There is, or rather was, a class of lands in Mewar appended to the crown, of which it bestowed life-rents on men of merit. These were termed *Chur-ootar*, and were given and taken back, as the name implies; in contradistinction to grants which, though origi-

nating in good behaviour, not only continued for life but descended in perpetuity. Such places are still so marked in the rent-roll, but they are seldom applied to the proper purpose.

AIDS.—Aids, implying 'free gifts,' or 'benevolences,' as they were termed in a European code, are well known. The *burrar* (war-tax) is well understood in Mewar, and is levied on many occasions for the necessities of the prince or the head of a clan. It is a curious fact, that the *dusood*, or 'tenth,' in Mewar, as in Europe, was the stated sum to be levied in periods of emergency or danger. On the marriage of the daughters of the prince, a benevolence or contribution was always levied: this varied. A few years ago, when two daughters and a grand-daughter were married to the princes of Jessulmeer, Bikaner, and Kishengurh, a schedule of one-sixth, to portion the three, was made out; but it did not realize above an eighth. In this aid the civil officers of Government contribute equally with others. It is a point of honour with all to see their sovereign's daughters married, and for once the contribution merited the name of benevolence.

But it is not levied solely from the coffers of the rich; by the chiefs it is exacted of their tenantry of all classes, who, of course, wish such subjects of rejoicing to be of as rare occurrence as possible.

"These feudal aids are deserving of our notice as the commencement of taxation, of which they long answered the purpose, till the craving necessities and covetous policy of kings established for them more durable and onerous burthens."*

The great chiefs, it may be assumed, were

* Wright on Tenures *apud* Hallam, vol. i. p. 185.

† The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, governor of Bombay. As we prevented the spoliation of Edur by the predatory powers, we are but right in seeing that the head does not become the spoliator himself, and make these brave men "wish any change but that which we have given them."

* Hallam,

not backward, on like occasions, to follow such examples, but these gifts were more voluntary. Of the details of aids in France we find enumerated, "paying the relief to "the suzerain on taking possession of his "lands;"* and by *Magna Charta* our barons could levy them on the following counts : to make the baron's eldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, or to redeem his person from captivity. The latter is also one occasion for the demand in all these countries. The chief is frequently made prisoner in their predatory invasions, and carried off as a hostage for the payment of a war contribution. Every thing disposable is often got rid of on an occasion of this kind. *Cœur de Lion* would not have remained so long in the dungeons of Austria had his subjects been Rajpoots.

In Ambar the most extensive benevolence, or *burrar*,† is on the marriage of the Raj Cumar, or heir apparent.

WARDSHIP.—This does exist, to foster the infant vassal during minority ; but often terminating, as in the system of Europe, in the nefarious act of defrauding a helpless infant, to the pecuniary benefit of some court favourite. It is accordingly here undertaken occasionally by the head of the clan ; but two strong recent instances brought the dark ages, and the purchase of wardships for the purpose of spoliation, to mind. The first was in the Deogurh chief obtaining by bribe the entire management of the lands of Singramgurh, on pretence of improving them for the infant, Nahar Sing, whose father was incapacitated by derangement. Nahar was a junior branch of the clan *Sangawut* a subdivision of the Chondawut clan, both, Sesodias

of the Rana's blood. The object, at the time, was to unite them to Deogurh, though he pleaded duty as head of the clan. His nomination of young Nahar as his own heir gives a colouring of truth to his intentions ; and he succeeded, though there were nearer of kin, who were set aside (at the wish of the vassals of Deogurh and with the concurrence of the sovereign) as unfit to head them or serve him.

Another instance of the danger of permitting wardships, particularly where the guardian is the superior in clanship and kindred, is exemplified in the Kalianpur estate in Mewar. That property had been derived from the crown only two generations back, and was of the annual value of ten thousand rupees. The mother having little interest at court, the Saloombra chief, by bribery and intrigue, upon paying a fine of about one year's rent, obtained possession—ostensibly to guard the infant's rights ; but the falsehood of this motive was soon apparent. There were duties to perform on holding it which were not thought of. It was a frontier post, and a place of rendezvous for the quotas to defend that border from the incursions of the wild tribes of the southwest. The Saloombra chief, being always deficient in the quota for his own estate, was not likely to be very zealous in his muster-roll for his ward's, and complaints were made which threatened a change. The chief of Chaond was talked of as one who would provide for the widow and minor, who could not perform the duties of defence.

The sovereign himself often assumes the guardianship of minors ; but the mother is generally considered the most proper guardian for her infant son. All others may interests of their own ; she can be actuated

* Ducange *apud* Hallam.

† *Burrar* is the generic name for taxation.

by his welfare alone. Custom, therefore, constitutes her the guardian; and with the assistance of the elders of the family, she rears and educates the young chief till he is fit to be girded with the sword.*

The Foujdar, or military manager, who frequently regulates the household as well as the subdivisions of the estate, is seldom of the kin or clan of the chief: a wise regulation, the omission of which has been known to produce, in these *maires du palais* on a small scale, the same results as will be described in the larger. This officer, and the civil functionary who transacts all the pecuniary concerns of the estate, with the mother and her family, are always considered to be the proper guardians of the minor. "Blood which could not inherit" was the requisite for a guardian in Europe,† as here; and when neglected, the results are in both cases the same.

MARRIAGE.—Refinement was too strong on the side of the Rajpoot to admit this incident, which, with that of wardship (both partial in Europe), illustrated the rapacity of the feudal aristocracy. Every chief, before he marries, makes it known to his sovereign. It is a compliment which is expected, and is besides attended with some advantage, as the prince invariably confers presents of honour, according to the station of the individual.

No Rajpoot can marry in his own clan; and the incident was originated in the Norman institutes, to prevent the vassal marrying out of his class, or amongst the enemies of his sovereign.

Thus, setting aside marriage (which even in Europe was only partial and local) and alienation, four of the six chief incidents marking the feudal system are in force in Rajasthan, viz. relief, escheats, aids, and wardships.

DURATION OF GRANTS.—I shall now endeavour to combine all the knowledge I possess with regard to the objects attained in granting lands, the nature and durability of these grants, whether for life and renewable, or in perpetuity. I speak of the rules as understood in Mewar. We ought not to expect much system in what was devoid of regularity, even according to the old principles of European feudal law, which, though now reduced to some fixed principles, originated in, and was governed by, fortuitous circumstances; and after often changing its character, ended in despotism, oligarchy, or democracy.

There are two classes of Rajpoot landholders in Mewar, though the one greatly exceeds the other in number. One is the *Grasya thacoor*, or lord; the other the *Bhoomia*. The Grasya chieftain is he who holds (*gras*) by grant (*putta*) of the prince for which he performs service with specified quotas at home and abroad, renewable at lapse, when all the ceremonies of resumption,* the fine of relief,† and the investiture take place.

The Bhoomia does not renew his grant, but holds on prescriptive possession. He succeeds without any fine, but pays a small annual quit-rent, and can be called upon for local service in the district which he inhabits for a certain period of time. He is the counterpart of the allodial proprietor of the

* The charter of Henry I. promises the custody of heirs to the mother or next of kin,—Hallam, vol. ii. p. 429.

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 190.

* *Zubti*, 'sequestration.'

† *Nuzzerana*.

European system, and the real 'zemindar' of these principalities. Both have the same signification; from *bhoom* and *zemin*, 'land'; the latter is an exotic of Persian origin.

GRASYA.—Grasya is from *gras*, 'a subsistence'; literally and familiarly, 'a mouthful.' Whether it may have a like origin with the Celtic word *gras*,* said to mean 'a servant,'† and whence the word vassal is derived, I shall leave to etymologists to decide, who may trace the resemblance to the *grasya*, the vassal chieftain of the Rajpoots. All the chartularies or puttast commence, "To *gras* has been ordained."

WHETHER RESUMABLE.—It has always been a subject of doubt whether grants were resumable at pleasure, or without some delinquency imputable to the vassal. Their duration in Europe was, at least, the life of the possessor, when they reverted§ to the fisc. The whole of the ceremonies in cases of such lapses are decisive on this point in Mewar. The right to resume, therefore, may be presumed to exist; while the non-practice of it, the formalities of renewal being gone through, may be said to render the right a dead letter. But to prove its existence I need only mention, that so late as the reign of Rana Singram,|| the fiefs of Mewar were actually moveable; and little more than a

century and a half has passed since this practice ceased. Thus a Rahtore would shift, with family, chattels, and retainers, from the north into the wilds of Chuppun;* while the Suktawut relieved would occupy the plains at the foot of the Aravali;† or a Chondawut would exchange his abode on the banks of the Chumbul with a Pramara or Chohan from the table-mountain, the eastern boundary of Mewar.‡

Since these exchanges were occurring, it is evident the fiefs (puttas) were not grants in perpetuity. This is just the state of the benefices in France at an early period, as described by Gibbon, following Montesquieu: "Les benefices etoient amovibles; bientot ils les rendirent perpetuels, et enfin hereditaires."§ This is the precise gradation of fiefs in Mewar; moveable, perpetual, and then hereditary. The sons were occasionally permitted to succeed their fathers;|| an indulgence which easily grew into a right, though the crown had the indubitable reversion. It is not, however, impossible that

* It might not be unworthy of research to trace many words common to the Hindu and Celt; or to inquire whether the Kimbri, the Juts or Getae, the Sacaseni, the Catti of the Elbe and Cimbric Chersonese, and the ancient Britons, did not bring their terms with their bards and *vates* (the Bhats and Bardais) from the highland of Scythia east of the Caspian, which originated the nations common to both, improved beyond the Volga and the Indus.

† Hallam, vol. i.

‡ *Patta*, a 'patent' or 'grant.' *Pattarat* 'holder of the fief or grant.'

§ Montesquieu, chap. xxv. liv, xxx.

|| Ten generations ago,

* The grand mountains and woody region to the south-west, dividing Mewar from Guzerat.

† The grand chain dividing the western from the central states of Rajasthan.

‡ Such change were triennial; and, as I have heard the prince himself say, interwoven with their customs was this rule that it caused no dissatisfaction; but of this we may be allowed at least to doubt. It was a perfect check to the imbibing of local attachment; and the prohibition against erecting forts for refuge or defiance, prevented its growth if acquired. It produced the object intended, obedience to the prince, and unity against the restless Mogul. Perhaps to these institutions it is owing that Mewar alone never was conquered by the kings during the protracted struggle of seven centuries; though at length worn out and worn out, her power expired with theirs, and predatory spoliation completed her ruin.

§ Gibbon, Misc. Works, vol. iii. p. 189; *sur le systeme feudal surtout en France*.

|| Hallam, quoting Gregory of Tours; the picture drawn in A.D. 595.

these changes* were not of ancient authority, but arose from the policy of the times to prevent infidelity.

We ought to have a high opinion of princes who could produce an effect so powerful on the minds of a proud and turbulent nobility. The son was heir to the title and power over vassals' personals and moveables, and to the allegiance of his father, but to nothing which could endanger that allegiance.

A proper apportioning and mixture of the different clans was another good result to prevent their combinations in powerful families, which gave effect to rebellion, and has tended more than external causes to the ruin which the state of Mewar exhibits.

Throughout the various gradations of its nobility, it was the original policy to introduce some who were foreign in country and blood. Chiefs of the Rahtore, Chohan, Pramara, Solanki, and Bhatti tribes were intermingled. Of these several were lineal descendants of the most ancient races of the kings of Delhi and Anhulwarra Puttun;† and from these in order to preserve the purity of blood, the princes of Mewar took their wives, when the other princes of Hind assented to the degradation of giving daughters in marriage to the emperors of Delhi. The princes of Mewar never yielded in this point, but preserved their ancient manners amidst all vicissitudes. In like manner did the nobles of the Rana's blood take daughters from the same tribes; the interest of this foreign race was therefore

strongly identified with the general welfare, and on all occasions of internal turmoil and rebellion they invariably supported their prince. But when these wise institutions were overlooked, when the great clans increased and congregated together, and the crown demesne was impoverished by prodigality, rebellions were fostered by Mahratta rapacity, which were little known during the lengthened paramount sway of the kings of Delhi. This foreign admixture will lead us to the discussion of the different kinds of grants: a difference, perhaps, more nominal than real, but exhibiting a distinction so wide as to imply grants resumable and irresumable.

KALA PUTTAS.—It is elsewhere related that two great clans, descendants of the Ranas Rae Mul and Udyā Sing, and their numerous scions, forming subdivisions with separate titles or patronymics, compose the chief vassalage of this country.

Chondawut and Suktawut are the stock; the former is subdivided into ten, the latter into about six clans. Rajpoots never intermarry with their own kin: the prohibition has no limit; it extends to the remotest degree. All these clans are resolvable into the generic term of 'the race' or Cula Sesodia. A Sesodia man and woman cannot unite in wedlock—all these are therefore of the blood royal; and the essayists on population would have had a fine field in these quarters a century ago, ere constant misery had thinned the country, to trace the numerous progeny of Chonda and Sukta in the *Genesis** of Mewar. The Bhat's genealogies would still, to a certain extent, afford the same means.

* "Fiefs had partially become hereditary towards the end of the first race: in these days they had not the idea of an 'unalienable fief.' Montesquieu, vol. ii. p. 431. The historian of the middle ages doubts if ever they were resumable at pleasure, unless from delinquency.

† The Nehlvara of D'Anville and the Arabian travellers of the eighth century, the capital of the Ballam kings.

* *Janam*, 'birth: es, 'lord' or 'man.'

Descent gives a strength to the tenure of these tribes which the foreign nobles do not possess; for although, from all that has been said, it will be evident that a right of reversion and resumption existed (though seldom exercised, and never but in cases of crime), yet the foreigner had not this strength in the soil, even though of twenty generations' duration. The epithet of *kala putta*, or black grant, attaches to the foreign grant, and is admitted by the holder, from which the kinsman thinks himself exempt. It is virtually a grant resumable; nor can the possessors feel that security which the other widely affiliated aristocracies afford. When on a recent occasion, a revision of all the grants took place, the old ones being called in to be renewed under the sign-manual of the reigning prince, the minister himself visited the chief of Saloombra, the head of the Chondawuts, at his residence at the capital, for this purpose. Having become possessed of several villages in the confusion of the times, a perusal of the grant would have been the means of detection; and on being urged to send to his estate for it, he replied, pointing to the palace, "my grant is in the foundation of that edifice:" an answer worthy of a descendant of Chonda, then only just of age. The expression marks the spirit which animates this people, and recalls to mind the well-known reply of our own Earl Warrene, on the very same occasion, to the *quo warranto* of Edward: "by their swords my ancestors obtained this land, and by mine will I maintain it."

Hence it may be pronounced that a grant of an estate is for the life of the holder, with inheritance for his offspring in lineal descent or adoption, with the sanction of the prince,

and resumable for crime or incapacity: * this reversion and power of resumption being marked by the usual ceremonies on each lapse of the grantee, of sequestration (*zibti*), of relief (*nuzzarana*), of homage and investiture of the heir. Those estates held by foreign nobles differ not in tenure; though, for the reasons specified, they have not the same grounds of security as the others, in whose welfare the whole body is interested, feeling the case to be their own: and their interests, certainly, have not been so consulted since the rebellions of S. 1822,† and subsequent years. Witness the Chohans of Baidla and Kotario (in the Oodipur valley), and the Pramars of the plateau of Mewar, all chiefs of the first rank.

The difficulty and danger of resuming an old established grant in these countries are too great to be lightly risked. Though in all these estates there is a mixture of foreign Rajpoots, yet the blood of the chief predominates; and these must have a leader of their own, or be incorporated in the estates of the nearest of kin. This increase might not be desirable for the crown, but the subvassals cannot be turned adrift; a resumption therefore in these countries is widely felt, as it involves many. If crime or incapacity render it necessary, the prince inducts a new head of that blood; and it is their pride, as well as the prince's interest, that a proper choice should be made. If, as has

* "La loi des Lombards oppose les benefices a la propriete. Les historiens, les formules, les codes des differens peuples barbares, tous les monumens qu'on nous restent, sont unanimes. Enfin, ceux qui ont ecrit le livre des fiefs, nous apprennent, que d'abord les Seigneurs purent les oter a leur volonte, qu'ensuite ils les assurerent pour un an, et apres les donnerent pour la vie."—*L'Esprit des Loix*, chap. xvi. liv. 30.

† A. D. 1766.

often occurred, the title be abolished, the sub-vassals retain their sub-infeudations, and become attached to the crown.

Many estates were obtained, during periods of external commotion, by threats, combination, or the avarice of the prince—his shortsighted policy, or that of his ministers—which have been remedied in the late re-organization of Mewar; where, by retrograding half a century, and bringing matters as near as possible to the period preceding civil dissention, they have advanced at least a century towards order.

BHOOMIA, THE ALLODIAL PROPRIETOR.—It is stated in the historical annals of this country, that the ancient clans, prior to Sanga Rana,* had ceased, on the rising greatness of the subsequent new division of clans, to hold the higher grades of rank; and had, in fact, merged into the general military landed proprietors of this country under the term '*bhoomia*,' a most expressive and comprehensive name importing absolute identity with the soil: *bhoom* meaning 'land,' and being far more expressive than the new-fangled word, unknown to Hindu India, of *Zemindar*, the 'land-holder' of Mahomedan growth. These *Bhoomias*, the scions of the earliest princes, are to be met with in various parts of Mewar; though only in those of high antiquity, where they defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a footing; as in Komulmeer, the wilds of Chuppun, or plains of Mandalgurih, long under the kings, and where their agricultural pursuits maintained them.

Their clannish appellations, Kombawut, Loonawut, and Ranawut, distinctly shew from what stem and when they branched off;

and as they ceased to be of sufficient importance to visit the court on the new and continually extending ramifications they took to the plough. But while they disdained not to derive a subsistence from labouring as husbandmen, they never abandoned their arms; and the *Bhoomia*, amid the crags of the alpine Aravali where he pastures his cattle or cultivates his fields, preserves the erect mien and proud spirit of his ancestors, with more tractability, and less arrogance and folly, than his more courtly but now widely separated brethren, who often make a jest of his industrious but less refined qualifications.* Some of these yet possess entire villages, which are subject to the payment of a small quit-rent: they also constitute a local militia, to be called in by the governor of the district, but for which service they are entitled to rations or *paiti*.† These, the allodial‡ tenantry of our feudal system, form a considerable body in many districts, armed with match-

* Many of them taking wives from the degraded, but aboriginal races in their neighbouring retreats, have begot a mixed progeny, who, in describing themselves, unite the tribes of father and mother.

† Literally, 'a belly-full.'

‡ Allodial property is defined (Hallam, vol. i. p. 144) as "land which had descended by inheritance, subject to no burthen but public defence. It passed to all the children equally; in failure of children, to the nearest kindred." Thus it is strictly the *Meeras* or *Bhoom* of the Rajpoots: inheritance, patrimony. In Mewar it is divisible to a certain extent; but in Kutch, to infinity: and is liable only to local defence. The holder of *bhoom* calls it his *Adyapi*, i. e. of old, by prescriptive right; not by written deed.

Montesquieu, describing the conversion of allodial estates into fiefs, says, "these lands were held by Romans or Franks (i. e. freemen) not the king's vassals," viz. lands exterior and anterior to the monarchy. We have Rahtore, Solanki, and other tribes, now holding *bhoom* in various districts whose ancestors were conquered by the Sesodias; but left in possession of small portions insufficient to cause jealousy. Some of these may be said to have converted their lands into fiefs, as the Chohan lord of ———, who served the Saloombra chief.

* Cotemporary and opponent of Sultan Baber.

lock, sword, and shield. In Mandalgurh, when their own interests and the prince's unite (though the rapacity of governors, pupils of the Mahratta and other predatory schools, have disgusted these independents), four thousand Bhoomias could be collected. They held and maintained without support the important fortress of that district, during half a century of turmoil, for their prince. Mandalgurh is the largest district of Mewar, and in its three hundred and sixty towns and villages, many specimens of ancient usage may be found. The Solanki held largely here in ancient days, and the descendant of the princes of Puttan still retains his Bhoom and title of Rao.*

All this feudal militia pay a quit-rent to the crown, and perform local but limited service on the frontier garrison; and upon invasion,† when *Kher* is called out, the whole are at the disposal of the prince on furnishing rations only. They assert that they ought not to pay this quit-rent and perform service also; but this may be doubted, since the sum is so small. To elude it, they often performed service under some powerful chief, where faction or court interest caused it to be winked at. To serve without a *putta* is the great object of ambition. *Ma ca bhoom*, 'my land,' in their doric tongue, is a favourite phrase.‡

* Amidst ruins overgrown with forest, I discovered on two tables of stone the genealogical history of this branch, which was of considerable use in elucidating that of Anghulwarra, and which corresponded so well with the genealogies of a decayed bard of the family, who travelled the country for a subsistence, that I feel assured they formerly made good use of these marble records.

† See Appendix, Nos. XVI, and XVII.

‡ It was intimately acquainted with, and much esteemed, many of these Bhoomia chiefs—from my friend Puharjee (the rock), Ranawut of Umargurh, to

Circumstances have concurred to produce a remembrance even to the refined fiction, of giving up their allodial property to have it conferred as a fief. But in candour it should be stated, that the only instances were caused by the desire of being revenged on the immediate superiors of the vassals. The Rahtore chief of Dabla held of his superior, the Raja of Bunera, three considerable places included in the grant of Bunera. He paid homage, an annual quit-rent, was bound to attend him personally to court, and to furnish thirty-five horse in case of an invasion. During the troubles, though perfectly equal to their performance, he was remiss in all these duties. His chief, with returning peace, desired to enforce the return to ancient customs, and his rights so long withheld; but the Rahtore had felt the sweets of entire independence, and refused to attend his summons. To the warrant he replied, "his head and Dabla were together;" and he would neither pay the quit-rent nor attend his court. This refractory spirit was reported to the Rana; and it ended in Dabla being added to the fisc, and the chief's holding the rest as a vassal of the Rana, but only to perform local service. There are many other

the Kombawut of Sesodia on the highest point, lord of the pass of the Aravali; and even the mountain lion, Doonger Sing, who bore amongst us, from his old raids, the familiar title of Roderic Dhu. In each situation I have had my tents filled with them; and it was one of the greatest pleasures I ever experienced, after I had taken my leave of them, perhaps for ever, crossed the frontiers of Mewar, and encamped in the dreary pass between it and Marwar, to find that a body of them had been my guards during the night. This is one of the many pleasing recollections of the past. Fortunately for our happiness, the mind admits their preponderance over opposite feelings. I had much to do in aiding the restoration of their past condition; leaving, I believe, as few traces of error in the mode as could be expected, where so many conflicting interests were to be reconciled.

petty free proprietors on the Bunera estate, holding from small portions of land to small villages; but the service is limited and local, in order to swell the chief's miniature court. If they accompany him, he must find rations for them and their steeds.

So cherished is this tenure of Bhoom, that the greatest chiefs are always solicitous to obtain it, even in the villages wholly dependent on their authority: a decided proof of its durability above common grants.

The various modes in which it is acquired, and the precise technicalities which distinguished its tenure, as well as the privileges attached to it, are fully developed in translations of different deeds on the subject.*

RAJAS OF BUNERA AND SHAPURA.—We have also, amongst the nobility of Mewar, two who hold the independent title of prince or raja, one of whom is by far too powerful for a subject. These are the Rajas of Bunera and Shapura, both of the blood royal. The ancestor of the first was the twin-brother of Rana Jey Sing; the other, a Rana-wut, branched off from Rana Udy Sing.

They have their grants renewed, and receive the *khelat* of investiture; but they pay no relief, and are exempt from all but personal attendance at their prince's court, and the local service of the district in which their estates are situated. They have hitherto paid but little attention to their duties, but this defect arose out of the times. These lands lying most exposed to the imperial head-quarters at Ajmeer, they were compelled to bend to circumstances, and the kings were glad to confer rank and honour on such near relations of the Rana's house. He bestowed on them the titles of Raja, and added to

the Shapura chief's patrimony a large estate in Ajmeer, which he now holds direct of the British Government, on payment of an annual tribute.

FORM AND SUBSTANCE OF GRANT.—To give a proper idea of the variety of items forming these chartularies, I append several* which exhibit the rights, privileges, and honours, as well as the sources of income, while they also record the terms on which they are granted. Many royalties have been alienated in modern times by the thoughtless prodigality of the princes; even the grand mark of vassalage, the fine of relief, has been forgiven to one or two individuals; portions of transit duties, tolls on ferries, and other seigniorial rights; coining copper currency; exactions of every kind, from the levy of toll for night protection of merchandize and for the repairs of fortifications, to the share of the depredations of the common robber, will sufficiently shew the demoralization of the country.

DIVISION OF PUTTAS, OR SUB-INFEOUDATION.—Many years ago, when the similarity of the systems first struck my attention, I took one of the grants or *puttas* of a great vassal of Jeypur, and dissected it in all its minutiae, with the aid of a very competent authority who had resided as one of the managers of the chief. This document, in which the sub-division of the whole clan is detailed, materially aided me in developing the system.

The court and the household economy of a great chieftain is a miniature representation of the sovereign's: the same officers, from the *pradhan*, or minister, to the cup-bearer (*panairie*), as well as the same domestic

* See Appendix.

* See Appendix, Nos. IV, V, VI.

arrangements. He must have his *sheesh-mahal*,* his *bari-mahal*,† and his *mandir*,‡ like his prince. He enters the *durri-sala*, or carpet hall, the minstrel§ preceding him rehearsing the praises of his family; and he takes his seat on his throne, while the assembled retainers, marshalled in lines on the right and left, simultaneously exclaim, "health to our 'chief!'" which salutation he returns by bowing to all as he passes them. When he is seated, at a given signal they all follow the example, and shield rattles against shield as they wedge into their places.

We have neither the kiss nor individual oaths of fidelity administered. It is sufficient, when a chief succeeds to his patrimony, that his '*an*'|| is proclaimed within his *seem* or boundary. Allegiance is as hereditary as the land: "I am your child; my head and sword "are your's, my service is at your command." It is a rare thing for a Rajpoot to betray his Thacoor, while the instances of self-devotion for him are innumerable: many will be seen interspersed in these papers. Base desertion, to their honour be it said, is little known, and known, only to be execrated. Fidelity to the chief, "*Swam Dharma*," is the climax of all the virtues. The Rajpoot is taught from his infancy, in the song of the bard, to regard it as the source of honour here, and of happiness hereafter. The poet Chund abounds with episodes on the duty and beauty of fidelity; nor does it require a very fervid imagination to picture the affections

which such a life is calculated to promote, when the chief is possessed of the qualities to call them forth. At the chase his vassals attend him: in the covert of the forest, the ground their social board, they eat their repast together, from the venison or wild boar furnished by the sport of the day; nor is the cup neglected. They are familiarly admitted at all times to his presence, and accompany him to the court of their mutual sovereign. In short, they are inseparable.*

Their having retained so much of their ancient manners and customs, during centuries of misery and oppression, is the best evidence that those customs were rivetted to their very souls. The Rajpoot of character is a being of the most acute sensibility; where honour is concerned, the most trivial omission is often ignorantly construed into an affront.

In all the large estates, the chief must provide for his sons or brothers, according to his means and the number of immediate descendants. In an estate of sixty to eighty thousand rupees of annual rent, the second brother might have a village of three to five thousand of rent. This is his patrimony (*bapota*): he besides pushes his fortune at the court of his sovereign or abroad. Juniors share in proportion. These again subdivide, and have their little circle of dependants. Each new family is known by the name of the founder conjoined to that of his father and tribe: *Man Megsingote Suktawut*; that is, 'Man, family of Megh, tribe Suktawut.' The subdivisions descend to the lowest denomination.

* Mirror apartments.

† Gardens on the terrace within the palace.

‡ Private temple of worship.

§ Dholi.

|| *An* is the oath of allegiance. Three things in Mewar are royalties a subject cannot meddle with: 1. *An*, or oath of allegiance: 2. *Dan*, or transit dues on commerce; 3. *Kan*, or mines of the precious metals,

* I rather describe what they were, than what they are. Contentions and poverty have weakened their sympathies and affections; but the mind of philanthropy must hope that they will again become what they have been.

CHURSA.—*Chursa*, a 'hide of land,' or about sufficient to furnish an equipped cavalier. It is a singular coincidence, that the term for the lowest subdivision of land for military service should be the same amongst the Rajpoots as in the English system. Besides being similar in name, it nearly corresponds in actual quantity. From the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon government the land was divided into hides, each comprehending what could be cultivated by a single plough.* Four hides constituted one knight's fee,† which is stated to be about forty acres. The *Chursa* may have from twenty-five to thirty beegas; which are equal to about ten acres,—the Saxon hide.

For what these minor vassals held to be their rights on the great puttawuts, the reader is again referred to the letter or protest of the inferior puttawuts of the Deogurh estate—it may aid his judgment; and it is curious to observe how nearly the subject of their prayer to the sovereign corresponded with the edict of Conrad of Italy,‡ in the year 1037, which originated in disagreements between the great lords and their vassals on the subject of sub-infeudations.

The extent to which the subdivision before-mentioned is carried in some of the Rajpoot states, is ruinous to the protection and general welfare of the country. It is pursued in

some parts till there is actually nothing left sufficiently large to share, or to furnish subsistence for one individual: consequently a great deprivation of services to the state ensues. But this does not prevail so much in the larger principalities as in the isolated tributary thacoorats or lordships scattered over the country; as amongst the Jharejas of Kutch, the tribes in Cattiwari, and the small independencies of Guzerat bordering on the greater western Rajpoot states. This error in policy requires to be checked by supreme authority, as it was in England by *Magna Charta*,* when the barons of those days took such precautions to secure their own seigniorial rights.

The system in these countries of minute subdivision of fiefs is termed *bhyad*,† or brotherhood, synonymous to the tenure by frerage of France, but styled only an approximation to sub-infeudation.‡ "Give me my *bhut* (share)," says the Rajpoot, when he attains to man's state, 'the *bhut* of the *bhyad*,' the portion of the frerage; and thus they go on clipping and paring till all are impoverished. The 'customs' of France§ preserved the dignities of families and the indivisibility of a feudal homage, without exposing the younger sons of a gentleman to beggary and dependence. It would be a great national benefit if some means could be found to limit this subdivision, but it is an evil difficult of remedy. The divisibility of the Kutch and Cattiwari frerage, carried to the most destructive extent, is productive of litigation, crime, and misery. Where it has

* Millar's Historical View of the English Government, p. 85.

† Hume, Hist. of England, Appendix 2d, vol. ii. p. 291.

‡ "1. That no man should be deprived of his fief, whether held of the emperor or mesne lord, but by the laws of the empire and judgment of his peers.—2. That from such judgment the vassal might appeal to his sovereign.—3. That fiefs should be inherited by sons and their children, or in their failure by brothers, provided they were *feuda paterna*, such as had descended from the father.—4. That the lord should not alienate the fiefs of his vassal without his consent."

* By the revised statute "*Qui emptores*," of Edw. I., which forbids it in excess, under penalty of forfeiture.—Hallam, vol. i. p. 184.

† *Bhyad*, 'frerage.'

‡ Hallam, vol. i. p. 186.

§ Hallam, *ibid.*

proper limits it is useful; but though the idea of each rood supporting its man is very poetical, it does not and cannot answer in practice. Its limit in Mewar we would not undertake to assert, but the vassals are careful not to let it become too small; they send the extra numbers to seek their fortunes abroad. In this custom, and the difficulty of finding *daijas*, or dowers, for their daughters, we have the two chief causes of infanticide amongst the Rajpoots, which horrible practice was not always confined to the female.

The author of the Middle Ages exemplifies ingeniously the advantages of sub-infeudation, by the instance of two persons holding one knight's fee; and as the lord was entitled to the service of one for forty days, he could

commute it for the joint service of the two for twenty days each. He even erects as a maxim on it, that "whatever opposition was made to the rights of sub-infeudation or frerage, would indicate decay in the military character, the living principle of feudal tenure;"* which remark may be just where proper limitation exists, before it reaches that extent when the impoverished vassal would descend to mend his shoes instead of his shield. Primogeniture is the corner-stone of feudality, but this unrestricted sub-infeudation would soon destroy it.† It is strong in these states; its rights were first introduced by the Normans from Scandinavia. But more will appear on this subject and its technicalities, in the personal narrative of the author.

CHAPTER IV.

Rekwalee—Servitude—Bussee—Gola and Das—Private Feuds and Composition—Rajpoot Pradhans or Premiers.

REKWALEE.—I now proceed to another point of striking resemblance between the systems of the east and west, arising from the same causes—the unsettled state of society and the deficiency of paramount protection. It is here called *rekwalee*,* or 'preservation; the *salvamenta* of Europe.† To a certain degree it always existed in these states; but the interminable predatory warfare of the last half century increased it to

so frightful an extent, that superior authority was required to redeem the abuses it had occasioned. It originated in the necessity of protection; and the modes of obtaining it, as well as the compensation when obtained, were various. It often consisted of money or kind on the reaping of each harvest; sometimes in a multiplicity of petty privileges and advantages, but the chief object was to

* See Appendix, Nos. VII, VIII, and IX.

† This is the '*sauvement* ou *vingtain*' of the French system; there it ceased with the cause. "Les guerres (feudal) cessèrent avec le régime féodal, et les paysans n'eurent plus besoin de la protection du Seigneur; on ne les força pas moins de réparer son *château*, et de lui payer le droit qui se nommait de *sauvement* ou *vingtain*," Art. '*Château*,' Dict. de l'Anc. Régime,

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 186.

† "Le *droit d'aînesse* a cause, pendant l'existence du régime féodal, une multitude de guerres et de procès. Notre histoire nous présente, à chaque page, des cadets réduits à la mendicité, se livrant à toutes sortes de brigandages pour réparer les torts de la fortune; des aînés, refusant la légitime à leurs frères; des cadets, assassinant leur aîné pour lui succéder, &c."—See article, '*Droit d'aînesse*,' Dict. de l'Ancien Régime,

obtain *bhoom* : and here we have one solution of the constituted *bhoomia*,* assimilating, as observed, to the allodial proprietor. Bhoom thus obtained is irrevocable; and in the eager anxiety for its acquisition, we have another decided proof of every other kind of tenure being deemed resumable by the crown.

It was not unfrequent that application for protection was made to the nearest chief by the tenants of the fisc; a course eventually sanctioned by the government, which could not refuse assent where it could not protect. Here then, we revert to first principles; and 'seigniorial rights' may be forfeited when they cease to yield that which ought to have originated them, *viz.* benefit to the community. Personal service at stated periods, to aid in the agricultural† economy of the protector, was sometimes stipulated, when the husbandmen were to find implements and cattle,‡ and to attend whenever ordered. The protected calls the chief 'patron;' and the condition may not unaptly be compared to that of personal commendation,§ like *salvamenta*, founded on the disturbed state of society. But what originated thus, was often continued and multiplied by avarice and the spirit of rapine, which disgraced the Rajpoot of the last half century, though he had abundance of apologies for 'scouring the country.' But all *salvamenta* and other marks of vassalage, obtained during these times of

desolation, were annulled in the settlement which took place between the Rana and his chiefs, in A. D. 1818.*

But the crown itself, by some singular proceeding, possesses, or did possess, according to the *Putta Buhae* or Book of Grants, considerable *salvamenta* right, especially in the districts between the new and ancient capitals, in sums of from twenty to one hundred rupees in separate villages.

To such an extent has this *rekhwalee*† been

* In indulging my curiosity on this subject, I collected some hundred engagements, and many of a most singular nature. We see the chieftain stipulating for fees on marriages; for a dish of the good fare at the wedding feast, which he transfers to a relation of his district if unable to attend himself; portions of fuel and provender; and even wherewithal to fill the wassail cup in his days of merriment. The Rajpoot's religious notions are not of so strict a character as to prevent his even exacting his *rekhwalee* dues from the church lands, and the threat of slaughtering the sacred flock of our Indian Apollo has been resorted to, to compel payment when withheld. Nay, by the chiefs it was imposed on things locomotive: on caravans, or Tandas of merchandize, wherever they halted for the day, *rekhwalee* was demanded. Each petty chief through whose district or patch of territory they travelled, made a demand, till commerce was dreadfully shackled; but it was the only way in which it could be secured. It was astonishing how commerce was carried on at all; yet did the cloths of Dacca and the shawls of Cashmere pass through all such restraints, and were never more in request. Where there is demand no danger will deter enterprise; and commerce flourished more when these predatory armies were rolling like waves over the land, than during the succeeding halcyon days of pacification.

† The method by which the country is brought under this tax is as follows:—"When the people are almost ruined by continual robberies and plunders, the leader of the band of thieves, or some friend of his, proposes that, for a sum of money annually paid, he will keep a number of men in arms to protect such a tract of ground, or as many parishes as submit to the contribution. When the terms are agreed upon he ceases to steal, and thereby the contributors are safe: if any one refuse to pay, he is immediately plundered. To colour all this villainy, those concerned in the robberies pay the tax with the rest; and all the neighbourhood must comply or be undone. This is the case (among others) with the whole low country of the shire of Ross."—Extract from Lord Lovat's Memorial to George I. on the State of the Highlands of Scotland, in A. D. 1724,

* The chief might lose his *putta* lands, and he would then dwindle down into the *bhoomia* proprietor, which title only lawless force could take from him. See Appendix, No. IX.

† See Appendix, No. X, Art. 2d.

‡ This species would come under the distinct term of Hydages due by soccage vassals, who in return for protection supplied carriages and work.—Hume, vol. ii. p. 308.

§ Hallam, vol. i. p. 169.

carried when protection was desired, that whole communities have ventured their liberty, and become, if not slaves, yet nearly approaching the condition of slaves, to the protector. But no common visitation ever leads to an evil of this magnitude. I mention the fact merely to show that it does exist; and we may infer that the chief, who has become the arbiter of the lives and fortunes of his followers, must have obtained this power by devoting all to their protection. The term thus originated, and probably now (with many others) written for the first time in English letters in this sense, is *Bussee*.

BUSSEE.—Slavery is to be found in successive stages of society of Europe; but we have no parallel in Rajwarra (at least in name) to the agricultural serfs and *villains* of Europe; nor is there any intermediate term denoting a species of slavery between the *Gola** of the Hindu chief's household and the free Rajpoot, but the singular one of *bussee*, which must be explained, since it cannot be translated. This class approximates closely to the *tributarii* and *coloni*, perhaps to the *servi*, of the Salic Franks, "who were cultivators of the earth, and "subject to residence upon their master's "estate, though not destitute of property or "civil rights."† Precisely the condition of the cultivator in Haravati, who now tills for a task-master the fields he formerly owned, degraded to the name of *hallee*,‡ a ploughman.

"When small proprietors," says Hallam,

* In Persian *golam*, literally 'slave'; evidently a word of the same origin with the Hindu *gola*.

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 217.

‡ From *hal* 'a plough.' *Sylis* 'a plough' in Saxon. (Turner's Anglo-Saxons.) The *h* and *s* are permutable throughout Rajwarra. In Marwar, *Salim Sing* is pronounced *Halim Sing*.

"lost their lands by mere rapine, we may "believe their liberty was hardly less endangered." The *hallee* of Haravati knows the bitter truth of his inference, which applies to the subject immediately before us, the *bussee*. The portion of liberty the latter has parted with, was not originally lost through compulsion on the part of the protector, but from external violence, which made this desperate remedy necessary. Very different from the *hallee* of Kotah, who is servile though without the title—a serf in condition but without the patrimony; compelled to labour for subsistence on the land he once owned; chained to it by the double tie of debt and strict police; and if flight were practicable, the impossibility of bettering his condition from the anarchy around would render it unavailing. This is not the practice under the patriarchal native government, which, with all its faults, retains the old links of society, with its redeeming sympathies: but springs from a *maire du palais*, who pursued an unfeeling and mistaken policy towards this class of society till of late years. Mistaken ambition was the origin of the evil; he saw his error, and remedied it in time to prevent further mischief to the estate. This octogenarian ruler, Zaim Sing of Kotah, is too much of a philosopher and politician to let passion overcome his interests and reputation; and we owe to the greatest despot a state ever had, the only regular charter which at present exists in Rajasthan, investing a corporate body with the election of their own magistrates and the making of their own laws, subject only to confirmation; with all the privileges which marked in the outset the foundation of the free cities of Europe and that of boroughs in England.

It is true that, in detached documents, we see the spirit of these institutions existing in Mewar, and it is as much a matter of speculation, whether this wise ruler promulgated this novelty as a trap for good opinions, or from policy and foresight alone : aware, when all around him was improving, from the shackles of restraint being cast aside, that his retention of them must be hurtful to himself. Liberality in this exigence answered the previous purpose of extortion. His system, even then, was good by comparison : all around was rapine, save in the little oasis kept verdant by his skill, where he permitted no other oppression than his own.

This charter is appended* as a curiosity in legislation, being given thirty years ago. Another, for the agriculturalists' protection, was set up in A. D. 1821. No human being prompted either ; though the latter is modelled from the proceedings in Mewar, and may have been intended, as before observed, to entrap applause.

In every district of Haravati the stone was raised to record this ordinance.

GOLA—DAS—(*Slaves*).—Famine in these regions is the great cause of loss of liberty : thousands were sold in the last great famine. The predatory system of the Pindaries and mountain tribes aided to keep it up. Here, as amongst the Franks, freedom is derived through the mother. The offspring of a *golee*† or *dasi* must be a slave. Hence the great number of *golas* in Rajpoot families, whose illegitimate offspring are still adorned in Mewar, as our Saxon slaves were of old, with a silver ring round the left ankle, instead of the neck. They are well treated, and are

often amongst the best of the military retainers ;* but are generally esteemed in proportion to the quality of the mother, whether Rajpootnee, Moslem, or of the degraded tribes : they hold confidential places about the chiefs of whose blood they are. The great-grandfather of the late chief of Deogurh used to appear at court with three hundred *golas*† on horseback in his train, the sons of Rajpoots, each with a gold ring round his ankle : men whose lives were his own. This chief could then head two thousand retainers, his own vassals.‡

Tacitus describes the baneful effects of gambling amongst the German tribes, as involving personal liberty ; their becoming slaves, and being subsequently sold by the winner. The Rajpoot's passion for gaming, as remarked in the history of the tribes, is strong ; and we can revert to periods long anterior to Tacitus, and perhaps before the woods of Germany were peopled with the worshippers of Tuisto, for the antiquity of this vice amongst the Rajpoot warriors, presenting a highly interesting picture of its pernicious effects. Yudhisthira having staked and lost the throne of India to Duryodhana, to recover it hazarded the beautiful and virtuous Droupadi. By the loaded dice of his foe she became the *golee* of the Coorua, who, triumphing in his pride, would have unveiled her in public ; but the deity presid-

* See Appendix, No. XIX.

† The reader of Dow's translation of Ferishta may recollect that when Kootub Udin was left the viceroy of the conqueror, he is made to say, "he placed one *Gola* upon the throne of Ajmeer ;" mistaking this appellation of the natural brother of the last Hindu sovereign for a proper name. He is mentioned by the bard Chund in his exploits of Prithwinaja.

‡ I have often received the most confidential messages, from chiefs of the highest rank, through these channels.

* See Appendix, No. XI.

† Female slave.

ing over female modesty preserved her from the rude gaze of the assembled host; the miraculous scarf lengthened as he withdrew it, till tired, he desisted at the instance of superior interposition. Yudhishthira, not satisfied with this, staked twelve years of his personal liberty, and became an exile from the haunts of Kalindi, a wanderer in the wilds skirting the distant ocean.

The illegitimate sons of the Rana are called *das*, literally 'slave:' they have no rank, though they are liberally provided for. *Bussee* signifies 'acquired slavery;' in contradistinction to *gola*, 'an hereditary slave.' The *gola* can only marry a *golee*; the lowest Rajpoot would refuse his daughter to a son of the Rana of this kind. The *bussee* can redeem* his liberty; the *gola* has no wish to do so, because he could not improve his condition nor overcome his natural defects. To the *bussee* nothing dishonourable attaches: the class retain their employments and caste, and are confined to no occupation, but it must be exercised with the chief's sanction. Individuals reclaimed from captivity, in gratitude have given up their liberty: communities, when this or greater evils threatened, have done the same for protection of their lives, religion, and honour. Instances exist of the

population of towns being in this situation. The greater part of the inhabitants of the estate of Bijolli are the *busee* of its chief, who is of the Pramara tribe: they are his subjects; the Rana, the paramount lord, has no sort of authority over them. Twelve generations have elapsed since his ancestor conducted this little colony into Mewar, and received the highest honours and a large estate on the plateau of its border, in a most interesting country.*

The only badge denoting the *bussee* is a small tuft of hair on the crown of the head. The term interpreted has nothing harsh in it, meaning 'occupant, dweller, or settler.' The numerous towns in India called *Bussee* have this origin; chiefs abandoning their ancient haunts, and settling† with all their retainers and chattels in new abodes. From this, the town of *Bussee* near Tonk (Rampura), derived its name, when the Solanki prince was compelled to abandon his patrimonial lands in Guzerat; his subjects of all classes accompanying him voluntarily, in preference to submitting to foreign rule. Probably the foundation of Bijolli was similar; though only the name of *Bussee* now attaches to the inhabitants. It is not uncommon, in the overflowing of gratitude, to be told, "you may sell me, I am your *bussee*."‡

* The *das* or 'slave' held a fief in Rajasthan, but he never can rise above the condition in which this defect of birth has placed him. "L'affranchissement consistait à sortir de la classe des serfs, par l'acquisition d'un fief, ou seulement d'un fonds. La nécessité ou s'étaient trouvés les seigneurs féodaux de vendre une partie de leurs terres, pour faire leurs équipages des croisades, avait rendu ces acquisitions communes; mais le fief n'anoblissait qu'à la troisième génération." Serfs who had twice or thrice been champions or saved the lives of their masters, were also liberated. "Un évêque d'Auxerre déclara qu'il n'affranchirait gratuitement, "qui que ce soit, s'il n'avait reçu quinze blessures à son service."—See article '*Affranchissement*,' Dict. de l'ancien Régime,

* I could but indistinctly learn whether this migration, and the species of paternity here existing, arose from rescuing them from Tatar invaders or from the calamity of famine.

† *Bussena*, 'to settle.'

‡ I had the happiness to be the means of releasing from captivity some young chiefs, who had been languishing in Mahratta fetters as hostages for the payment of a war contribution. One of them, a younger brother of the Poorawut division, had a mother dying to see him; but though he might have taken her house in the way, a strong feeling of honour and gratitude made him forego this anxious visit: "I am your Rajpoot, your *gola*, your *bussee*," He was soon sent off to his

PRIVATE FEUDS.—COMPOSITION.—In a state of society such as these sketches delineate, where all depends on the personal character of the sovereign, the field for the indulgence of the passions, and especially of that most incident to the uncontrollable habits of such races—revenge—must necessarily be great. Private feuds have tended, with the general distraction of the times, to desolate this country. Some account of their mode of prosecution, and the incidents thence arising, cannot fail to throw additional light on the manners of society, which during the last half century were fast receding to a worse than semi-barbarous condition, and, aided by other powerful causes, might have ended in entire annihilation. The period was rapidly advancing, when this fair region of Mewar, the garden of Rajasthan, would have reverted to its primitive sterility. The tiger and the wild boar had already become inmates of the capital, and the bats flitted undisturbed in the palaces of her princes. The ante-courts, where the chieftains and their followers assembled to grace their prince's cavalcade, were over-grown with dank shrubs and grass, through which a mere footpath conducted the 'descendant of a hundred kings' to the ruins of his capital.

In these principalities the influence of revenge is universal. Not to prosecute a feud is tantamount to an acknowledgment of self-degradation; and, as in all countries where the laws are insufficient to control individual actions or redress injuries, they have few scruples as to the mode of its gratification.

mother. Such little acts, mingling with public duty, are a compensation for the many drawbacks of solitude, gloom, and vexation, attending such situations. They are no sinecures or beds of roses—ease, comfort, and health, being all subordinate considerations.

Hence feuds are entailed with the estates from generation to generation. To sheathe the sword till 'a feud is balanced' (their own idiomatic expression), would be a blot never to be effaced from the escutcheon.

In the Hindu word which designates a feud we have another of those striking coincidences in terms to which allusion has already been made: *wer* is 'a feud,' *weree*, 'a foe.' The Saxon term for the composition of a feud, *wergeldt*, is familiar to every man. In some of these states the initial vowel is hard, and pronounced *ber*. In Rajasthan *ber* is more common than *wer*, but throughout the south-west *wer* only is used. In these we have the original Saxon word *war*,* the French *guer*. The Rajpoot *wergeldt* is land or a daughter to wife. In points of honour the Rajpoot is centuries in advance of our Saxon forefathers, who had a legislative remedy for every bodily injury, when each finger and toe had its price.† This might do very well when the injury was committed on a hind, but the Rajpoot must have blood for blood. The monarch must be powerful who can compel acceptance of the compensation, or *moond-kuttie*.‡

* Gilbert on Tenures, art. 'Warranty,' p. 169.

† "The great toe took rank as it should be, and held "to double the sum of the others, for which ten scyllings was the value without the nail, which was thirty "scealta to boot."—Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol.ii. p. 133.

‡ Appendix, No. XVIII. The laws of composition were carried to a much greater extent amongst the Hindu nations than even amongst those of the Anglo-Saxons, who might have found in Manu all that was ever written on the subject, from the killing of a Brahmin by design to the accidental murder of a dog. The Brahmin is four times the value of the soldier, eight of the merchant, and sixteen times of the Sudra. "If a "Brahmin kill one of the soldier caste (without malice), "a bull and one thousand cows is the fine of expiation, "If he slays a merchant, a bull and one hundred cows "is the fine. If a Sudra or lowest class, ten white cows "and a bull to the priest is the expiation." Manu legislated also for the protection of the brute creation,

The prosecution of a feud is only to be stopped by a process which is next to impracticable; namely, by the party injured volunteering forgiveness, or the aggressor throwing himself as a suppliant unawares on the clemency of his foe within his own domains: a most trying situation for each to be placed in, yet not unexampled, and revenge in such a case would entail infamy. It was reserved for these degenerate days to produce such an instance.

The Raja of Shapura, one of the most powerful of the chiefs of Mewar, and of the Rana's blood, had a feud with the Ranawut chief, the Bhoomia proprietor of Amargurh. Omeda,* the chief of Shapura, held two estates: one was the grant of the kings of Delhi, the other of his own sovereign, and each amounting to £10,000† of annual rent, besides the duties on commerce. His estate in Mewar was in the district of Mandalgurh, where also lay his antagonist's; their bounds were in common and some of the lands were intermixed: this led to disputes, threats, and blows, even in the towns of their fathers, between their husbandmen. The Bhoomia Dellil was much less powerful; he was lord of only ten villages, not yielding above £1,200 a year; but they were compact and well managed, and he was popular amongst his brethren, whose swords he could always command. His castle was perched on a rock, and on the towers facing the west (the direc-

tion of Shapura) were mounted some swivels: moreover a belt of forest surrounded it, through which only two or three roads were cut, so that surprise was impossible. Dellil had therefore little to fear, though his antagonist could bring two thousand of his own followers against him. The feud burned and cooled alternately; but the Raja's exposed villages enabled Dellil to revenge himself with much inferior means. He carried off the cattle, and sometimes the opulent subjects, of his foe, to his donjon-keep in Amargurh for ransom. Meanwhile the husbandmen of both suffered, and agriculture was neglected, till half the villages held by Omeda in Mandalgurh became deserted. The Raja had merited this by his arrogance and attempts to humble Dellil, who had deserved more of the sympathies of his neighbours than his rival, whose tenants were tired of the payments of *birchee-dohae*.*

Omeda was eccentric, if the term be not too weak to characterize acts which, in more civilized regions, would have subjected him to coercion. He has taken his son and suspended him by the cincture to the pinnacle of his little chapel at Shapura, and then called on the mother to come and witness the sight. He would make excursions alone on horseback or on a swift camel, and be missing for days. In one of these moods he and his foe Dellil encountered face to face within the bounds of Amargurh. Dellil only saw a chief high in rank at his mercy. With courtesy he saluted him, invited him to

and if the priest by chance kills a cat, a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow, he must drink nothing but milk for three days and nights, or walk four miles in the night—*Vide Institutes of Manu*, edited by that able orientalist, Professor Haughton.

* Omeda, 'hope.'

† Together £20,000, equal to £100,000 of England, if the respective value of the necessaries of life be considered.

* *Birchee* is 'a lance.' In these marauding days, when there was a riever in every village, they sallied out to 'run the country,' either to stop the passenger on the highway or the inhabitant of the city. The lance at his breast, he would call out '*dohae*,' an invocation of aid. During harvest time *birchee dohac* used to be exacted.

his castle, entertained him, and pledged his health and forgiveness in the *munwar piala*.* they made merry, and in the cup agreed to extinguish the remembrance of the feud.

Both had been summoned to the court of the sovereign. The Raja proposed that they should go together, and invited him to go by Shapura. Dellil accordingly saddled his twenty steeds, moved out his equipage, and providing himself with fitting raiment, and funds to maintain him at the capital, accompanied the Raja to receive the return of his hospitality. They ate from the same platter,† drank of the same cup and enjoyed the song and dance. They even went together to their devotions, to swear before their deity what they had pledged in the cup—oblivion of the past. But scarcely had they crossed the threshold of the chapel, when the head of the chief of Amargurh was rolling on the pavement, and the deity and the altar were sprinkled with his blood! To this atrocious and unheard-of breach of the laws of hospitality, the Raja added the baseness of the pilferer, seizing on the effects of his now lifeless foe. He is said, also, with all the barbarity and malignity of long-treasured revenge, to have kicked the head with his foot, apostrophizing it in the pitiful language of resentment. The son of Dellil, armed for revenge, collected all his adherents, and confusion was again commencing its reign. To prevent this, the Rana compelled restitution of the horses and effects; and five villages from the estate of the Raja were the *moondkuttie* (wergeldt) or compensation to the son of Dellil. The rest of the estate of the murderer was eventually sequestered by the crown.

* 'Cup of invitation.'

† This is a favourite expression, and a mode of indicating great friendship: "to eat of the same platter" (*thali*), and drink of the same cup (*piala*)."

The feuds of Arjah and Seogurh are elsewhere detailed, and such statements could be multiplied. Avowal of error and demand of forgiveness, with the offer of a daughter in marriage, often stop the progress of a feud, and might answer better than appearing as a suppliant, which requires great delicacy of contrivance.*

Border† disputes are most prolific in the production of feuds, and the Rajpoot lord-marchers have them entailed on them as regularly as their estates.

The Border chiefs of Jessulmeer and Bikaner carry this to such extent, that it often involves both states in hostilities. The *wer* and its composition in Mandalgurh will, however, suffice for the present to exemplify these things.

RAJPOOT PRADHANS OR PREMIERS.—It would not be difficult, amongst the *Majores Domus Regie* of these principalities, to find parallels to the *Maires du Palais* of France. Imbecility in the chief, whether in the east or west, must have the same consequences; and more than one state in India will present us with the joint appearance of the phantom and the substance of royalty. The details of

* The Boondi feud with the Rana is still unappeased, since the predecessor of the former slew the Rana's father. It was an indefensible act, and the Boondi prince was most desirous to terminate it. He had no daughter to offer, and hinted a desire to accompany me *incog.* and thus gain admission to the presence of the Rana. The benevolence and generosity of this prince would have insured him success; but it was a delicate matter, and I feared some exposure from any arrogant hot-headed Rajpoot ere the scene could have been got up. The Raja Bishen Sing of Boondi is since dead; a brave and frank Rajpoot; he has left few worthier behind. His son, yet a minor, promises well. The protective alliance, which is to turn their swords into ploughshares, will prevent their becoming foes: but they will remain sulky border-neighbours, to the fostering of disputes and the disquiet of the merchant and cultivator.

† Seem—Kankur.

personal attendance at court will be found elsewhere. When not absent on frontier duties, or by permission at their estates, the chiefs resided with their families at the capital; but a succession of attendants was always secured, to keep up its splendour and perform personal service at the palace. In Mewar, the privileges and exemptions of the higher class are such, as to exhibit few of the marks of vassalage observable at other courts. Here it is only on occasion of particular festivals and solemnities that they ever join the prince's cavalcade, or attend at court. If full attendance is required, on the reception of ambassadors, or in discussing matters of general policy, when they have a right to hear and advise as the hereditary council (*punchaet*) of the state, they are summoned by an officer, with the prince's *johar*,* and his request. On grand festivals the great *nagaras*, or kettle-drums, beat at three stated times; the third is the signal for the chief to quit his abode and mount his steed. Amidst all these privileges, when it were almost difficult to distinguish between the prince and his great chiefs, there are occasions well understood by both, which render the superiority of the former apparent: one occurs in the formalities observed on a lapse; another, when at court in personal service, the chief once a week mounts guard at the palace with his clan. On these occasions the vast distance between them is seen. When the chief arrives in the grand court of the palace with his retainers, he halts under the balcony till intimation is given to the prince, who from thence receives his obeisance and duty. This over, he retires to the great *durrikhana*, or hall of audience,

appropriated for these ceremonies, where carpets are spread for him and his retainers. At meals the prince sends his compliments, requesting the chief's attendance at the *rasorah** or 'feasting hall,' where with other favoured chiefs he partakes of dinner with the prince. He sleeps in the hall of audience, and next morning with the same formalities takes his leave. Again, in the summons to the presence from their estates, instant obedience is requisite. But in this, attention to their rank is studiously shewn by *rogqua*, written by the private secretary, with the sign-manual of the prince attached, and sealed with the private finger-ring. For the inferior grades, the usual seal of state entrusted to the minister is used.

But these are general duties. In all these states some great court favourite, from his talents, character, or intrigue, holds the office of premier. His duties are proportioned to his wishes, or the extent of his talents and ambition; but he does not interfere with the civil administration, which has its proper minister. They, however, act together. The Rajpoot Premier is the military minister, with the political government of the fiefs; the civil minister is never of this caste. Local customs have given various appellations to this officer. At Oodipur he is called *bhanjgurh*; at Jodhpur, *pradhan*; at Jeypur (where they have engrafted the term used at the court of Delhi) *moosahib*; at Kotah, *kelladar*, and *dewan* or regent. He becomes a most important personage, as dispenser of

* A salutation, only sent by a superior to an inferior.

* The kitchen is large enough for a fortress, and contains large eating halls. Food for seven hundred of the prince's court is daily dressed. This is not for any of the personal servants of the prince, or female establishments; all these are separate.



the favours of the sovereign. Through him chiefly all requests are preferred, this being the surest channel to success. His influence, necessarily, gives him unbounded authority over the military classes, with unlimited power over the inferior officers of the state. With a powerful body of retainers always at his command, it is surprising we have not more frequently our 'mayors of Burgundy and Dagoberts,* our 'Martels and Pepins,' in Rajasthan.

We have our hereditary Rajpoot premiers in several of these states: but in all, the laws of succession are so regulated, that they could not usurp the throne of their prince, though they might his functions.

When the treaty was formed between Mewar and the British Government, the ambassadors wished to introduce an article of guarantee of the office of *pradhan* to the family of the chief noble of the country, the Rawüt of Saloombra. The fact was, as stated, that the dignity was hereditary in this family; but though the acquisition was the result of an act of virtue, it had tended much towards the ruin of the country, and to the same cause are to be traced all its rebellions.

The ambassador was one of the elders of the same clan, being the grand uncle of the

hereditary *pradhan*. He had taken a most active share in the political events of the last thirty years, and had often controlled the councils of his prince during this period, and actually held the post of premier himself when stipulating for his minor relative. With the ascendancy he exercised over the prince, it may be inferred that he had no intention of renouncing it during his life-time; and as he was educating his adopted heir to all his notions of authority, and initiating him in the intrigues of office, the guaranteed dignity in the head of his family would have become a nonentity,* and the Ranas would have been governed by the deputies of their mayors. From both those evils the times have relieved the prince. The crimes of Ajeet had made his dismissal from office a point of justice, but imbecility and folly will never be without 'mayors.'

When a Rana of Oodipur leaves the capital, the Saloombra chief is invested with the Government of the city and charge of the palace during his absence. By his hands

* Dagobert commended his wife and son Clovis to the trust of Æga, with whom she jointly held the care of the palace. On his death, with the aid of more powerful lords, she chose another mayor. He confirmed their grants for life. They made his situation hereditary; but which could only have held good from the crowd of imbeciles who succeeded Clovis, until the descendant of this mayor thrust out his children and seized the crown. This change is a natural consequence of unfitness; and if we go back to the genealogies (called sacred) of the Hindus, we see there a succession of dynasties forced from their thrones by their ministers. Seven examples are given in the various dynasties of the race of Chandra, (See *Genealogical Tables*, No. II.)

* So many sudden deaths had occurred in this family, that the branch in question (Ajeet Sing's) were strongly suspected of 'heaping these mortal murders on their crown,' to push their elders from their seats. The father of Padma, the present chief, is said to have been taken off by poison; and Pahar Sing, one generation anterior, returning grievously wounded from the battle of Oojein, in which the southrons first swept Mewar, was not permitted to recover. The mother of the present young chief of the Thala tribe of the house of Gogoonada, in the west, was afraid to trust him from her sight. She is a woman of great strength of mind and excellent character, but too indulgent to an only son. He is a fine bold youth, and, though impatient of control, may be managed. On horseback with his lance, in chase of the wild boar, a more resolute cavalier could not be seen. His mother, when he left the estate alone for court, which he seldom did without her accompanying him, never failed to send me a long letter, beseeching me to guard the welfare of her son. My house was his great resort: he delighted to pull over my books, or go fishing or riding with me.

the sovereign is girt with the sword, and from him he receives the mark of inauguration on his accession to the throne. He leads, by right, the van in battle; and in case of the siege of the capital, his post is the *sooraj-pol*,* and the fortress which crowns it, in which this family had a handsome palace, which is now going fast to decay.

It was the predecessor of the present chief of Saloombra who set up a pretender and the standard of rebellion; but when foreign aid was brought in, he returned to his allegiance and the defence of the capital. Similar sentiments have often been awakened in patriotic breasts, when roused by the interference of foreigners in their internal disputes. The evil entailed on the state by these hereditary offices will appear in its annals.

In Mewar the dignity is hereditary in the house of Ahwa; but the last brave chief who held it became the victim of a revengeful and capricious sovereign,† who was jealous of his exploits; and dying, he bequeathed a curse to his posterity who should again accept the office. It was accordingly transferred to the next in dignity, the house of Ausope. The present chief, wisely distrusting the prince whose reign has been a series of turmoils, has kept aloof from court. When the office was jointly held by the chiefs of Nimaj and Pokurna, the tragic end of the former afforded a fine specimen of the prowess and heroism of the Rahtore Rajpoot. In truth, these pradhans of Marwar have always been mill-stones round the

necks of their princes; an evil interwoven in their system when the partition of estates took place amidst the sons of Joda in the infancy of this state. It was, no doubt, then deemed politic to unite to the interests of the crown so powerful a branch, which when combined could always control the rest; but this gave too much equality.

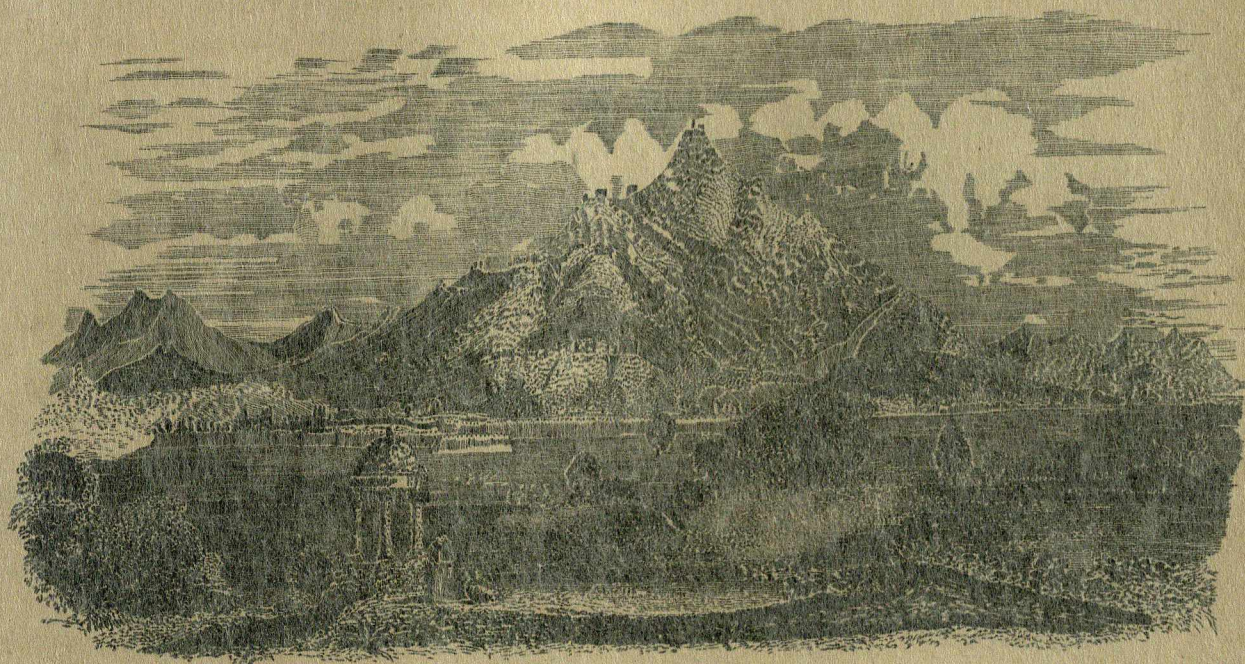
Deo Sing, the great-grandfather of the Pokurna chief alluded to, used to sleep in the great hall of the palace with five hundred of his clan around him. "The throne of Marwar is in the sheath of my dagger," was the repeated boast of this arrogant chieftain. It may be anticipated that either he or his sovereign would die a violent death. The lord of Pokurna was entrapped, and instant death commanded; yet with the sword suspended over his head, his undaunted spirit was the same as when seated in the hall, and surrounded by his vassals. "Where, traitor, is now the sheath that holds the fortunes of Marwar?" said the prince. The taunt recoiled with bitterness when he loftily replied, "with my son at Pokurna I have left it." No time was given for further insult; his head rolled at the steps of the palace; but the dagger of Pokurna still haunts the imagination of these princes, and many attempts have been made to get possessed of their strong-hold on the edge of the desert.* The narrow escape of the present chief will be related hereafter, with the sacrifice of his friend and co-adjutor, the chief of Nimaj.

In Kotah and Jessulmeer the power of the ministers is supreme. We might describe their situation in the words of Montesquieu.

* *Surya*, 'sun'; and *pol*, 'gate.' *Polia*, a porter.

† "The *cwr* can bite," the reply of this chief, either personally, or to the person who reported that his sovereign so designated him, was never forgiven.

* His son, Subbul Sing, followed in his footsteps, till an accidental cannon-shot relieved the terrors of the prince.



Engraved by N. C. Bose.

SALOOMERA.

RESIDENCE OF RAWUT PUDDUM SING. IN MEWAR.



"The Pepins kept their princes in a state of imprisonment in the palace, shewing them once a year to the people. On this occasion they made such ordinances as were directed by the mayor; they also answered ambassadors, but the mayor framed the answer."*

Like those of the Merovingian race, these puppets of royalty in the east are brought forth to the *Champ de Mars* once a year, at the grand military festival, the *Dusrewa*. On this day, presents provided by the minister are distributed by the prince. Allowances for every branch of expenditure are fixed, nor has the prince the power to exceed them. But at Kotah there is nothing parsimonious, though nothing superfluous. On the festival of the birth of Crislna, and other similar feasts, the prince likewise appears abroad, attended by all the insignia of royalty. Elephants with standards precede; lines of infantry and guns are drawn up; while a numerous cavalcade surrounds his person. The

son of the minister sometimes condescends to accompany his prince on horseback; nor is there anything wanting to magnificence, but the power to control or alter any part of it. This failing, how humiliating to a proud mind, acquainted with the history of his ancestors and imbued with a portion of their spirit, to be thus muzzled, enchained, and rendered a mere pageant of state! This chain would have been snapped, but that each link has become adamant from the ties this ruler has formed with the British Government. He has well merited our protection; though we never contemplated to what extent the maintenance of these ties would involve our own character. But this subject is connected with the history of an individual who yields to none of the many extraordinary men whom India has produced, and who required but a larger theatre to have drawn the attention of the world. His character will be further elucidated in the *Annals of Haravati*.

CHAPTER V.

Adoption.—Reflections upon the subjects treated.

ADOPTION.—The hereditary principle, which perpetuates in these estates their virtues and their vices, is also the grand preservative of their political existence and national manners: it is an imperishable principle, which resists time and innovation: it is this which made the laws of the Medes and Persians, as well as those of the Rajpoots, unalterable. A chief of Mewar, like his sovereign, never dies: he disappears to be

regenerated. "*Le roi est mort, vive le roi!*" is a phrase, the precise virtue of which is there well understood. Neither the crown nor the greater fiefs are ever without heirs. Adoption is the preservative of honours and titles; the great fiefs of Rajasthan can never become extinct. But, however valuable this privilege, which the law of custom has made a right, it is often carried to the most hurtful and foolish extent. They have allowed the limit which defined it to be effaced,

* *L'Esprit des Loix*, chap. vi, liv. 31.

and each family, of course, maintains a custom, so soothing to vanity, as the prospect of having their names revived in their descendants. This has resulted from the weakness of the prince and the misery of the times. Lands were bestowed liberally which yielded nothing to their master, who, in securing a nominal obedience and servitude, had as much as the times made them worth when given; but with returning prosperity and old customs, these great errors have become too visible. Adoptions are often made during the life of the incumbent when without prospect of issue. The chief and his wife first agitate the subject in private; it is then confided to the little council of the fief, and when propinquity and merit unite, they at once petition the prince to confirm their wishes, which are generally acceded to. So many interests are to be consulted on this occasion, that the blind partiality of the chief to any particular object is always counterpoised by the elders of the clan, who must have a pride in seeing a proper Thacoor* at their head, and who prefer the nearest of kin, to prevent the disputes which would be attendant on neglect in this point.

On sudden lapses, the wife is allowed the privilege, in conjunction with those interested in the fief, of nomination, though the case is seldom left unprovided for: there is always a presumptive heir to the smallest sub-infeudation of these estates. The wife of the deceased is the guardian of the minority of the adopted.

The chief of Deogurh, one of the sixteen Omras of Mewar, died without issue. On his

death-bed he recommended to his wife and chiefs, Nahar Sing for their adoption. This was the son of the independent chieftain of Singramgurh, already mentioned. There were nearer kin, some of the seventh and eighth degrees, and young Nahar was the eleventh. It was never contemplated that the three last gigantic* chieftains of Deogurh would die without issue, or the branches, now claimants from propinquity, would have been educated to suit the dignity; but being brought up remote from court, they had been compelled to seek employment where obtainable, or to live on the few acres to which their distant claim of birth restricted them. Two of these, who had but the latter resource to fly to, had become mere boors; and of two who had sought service abroad by arms, one was a cavalier in the retinue of the prince, and the other a hanger-on about court: both dissipated and unfitted, as the frerage asserted, "to be the chieftains of two thousand Rajpoots, the sons of one father."† Much interest and intrigue were carried on for one of these, and he was supported by the young prince and a faction. Some of the senior Puttawuts of Deogurh are men of the highest character, and often lamented the sombre qualities of their chief, which prevented the clan having that interest in the state to which its extent and rank entitled it. While these intrigues were in their infancy, they adopted a decided mea-

* Gokul Das, the last chief, was one of the finest men I ever beheld in feature and person. He was about six feet perfectly erect, and a Hercules in bulk. His father at twenty was much larger, and must have been nearly seven feet high. It is surprising how few of the chiefs of this family died a natural death. It has produced some noble Rajpoots.

† *Eth bay sa beta.*

* As in Deogurh.