



sure; they brought home young Nahar from his father's residence, and "bound round his head the turban of the deceased." In his name the death of the late chief was announced. It was added, that he hoped to see his friends after the stated days of '*matin*' or mourning; and he performed all the duties of the son of Deogurh, and lighted the funeral pyre.

When these proceedings were reported, the Rana was highly and justly incensed. The late chief had been one of the rebels of 1848;* and though pardon had been granted, yet this revived all the recollection of the past, and he felt inclined to extinguish the name of Sangawut.†

In addition to the common sequestration, he sent an especial one with commands to collect the produce of the harvest then reaping, charging the sub-vassals with the design of overturning his lawful authority. They replied very submissively, and artfully asserted that they had only given a son to Gokul Das, not an heir to Deogurh; that the sovereign alone could do this, and that they trusted to his nominating one who would be an efficient leader of so many Rajpoots in the service of the Rana. They urged the pretensions of young Nahar, at the same time leaving the decision to the sovereign. Their judicious reply was well supported by their ambassador at court, who was the bard of Deogurh, and had recently become, though *ex-officio*, physician to the prince.‡ The point was finally adjusted, and

Nahar was brought to court, and invested with the sword by the hand of the sovereign, and he is now lord of Deogurh Madaria, one of the richest and most powerful fiefs* of Mewar. Madaria was the ancient name of the estate; and Singramgurh, of which Nahar was the heir, was severed from it, but by some means had reverted to the crown, of which it now holds. The adoption of Nahar by Gokul Das leaves the paternal estate without an immediate heir; and his actual father being mad, if more distant claims are not admitted, it is probable that Singramgurh will eventually revert to the fise.

REFLECTIONS.—The system of feuds must have attained considerable maturity amongst the Rajpoots, to have left such traces, notwithstanding the desolation that has swept the land: but without circumspection, these few remaining customs will become a dead letter. Unless we abstain from all internal interference, we must destroy the links which connect the prince and his vassals; and, in lieu of a system decidedly imperfect, we should leave them 'none at all, or at least not a system of feuds, the only one they can comprehend. Our friendship has rescued them from exterior foes, and time will restore the rest. With the dignity and establishments of the chiefs, ancient usages will revive; and *nuzzerana* (relief), *khurg bundai* (investiture), *dussoond* (aids or bene-

degree, that maintained him at court. He said it was not fitting that the sovereign of the world should be served by clowns or opium-eaters; and that young Nahar, when educated at court under the Rana's example, would do credit to the country: and what had full as much weight as any of the bard's arguments was, that the fine of relief on the *Tulmar bundai* (or girding on of the sword) of a lack of rupees, should be immediately forthcoming.

* Putta.

* A. D. 1792.

† That of the clan of Deogurh.

‡ Apollo is the patron both of physicians and poets; and though my friend Umra does not disgrace him in either calling, it was his wit, rather than his medical

volence, literally 'the tenth'), and other incidents, will cease to be mere ceremonies. The desire of every liberal mind, as well as the professed wish of the British Government, is to aid in their renovation, and this will be best effected by not meddling with what we but imperfectly understand.*

We have nothing to apprehend from the Rajpoot States if raised to their ancient prosperity. The closest attention to their history proves beyond contradiction, that they were never capable of uniting, even for their own preservation : a breath, a scurrilous stanza of a bard, has served their closest confederacies. No national head exists amongst them as amongst the Mahrattas; and each chief being master of his own house and followers, they are individually too weak to cause us any alarm.

No feudal government can be dangerous as a neighbour: for defence, it has in all countries been found defective; and for aggression, totally inefficient. Let there exist between us the most perfect understanding and identity of interests; the foundation-step to which is to lessen or remit the galling, and to us contemptible tribute, now exacted, enfranchise them from our espionage and agency, and either unlock

them altogether from our dangerous embrace, or let the ties between us be such only as would ensure grand results: such as general commercial freedom and protection, with treaties of friendly alliance. Then, if a Tatar or a Russian invasion threatened our eastern empire, fifty thousand Rajpoots would be no despicable allies.

Let us call to mind what they did when they fought for Aurungzebe: they are still unchanged, if we give them the proper stimulus. Gratitude, honour, and fidelity, are terms which at one time were the foundation of all the virtues of a Rajpoot. Of the theory of these sentiments he is still enamoured; but, unfortunately for his happiness, the times have left him but little scope for the practice of them. Ask a Rajpoot which is the greatest of crimes? he will reply, '*goonchor*' 'forgetfulness of favours'. This is his most powerful term for ingratitude. Gratitude with him embraces every obligation of life, and is inseparable from *swamdharma*, 'fidelity to his lord.' He who is wanting in these is not deemed fit to live, and is doomed to eternal pains in Pluto's* realm hereafter.†

"It was a powerful feeling," says an historian‡ who always identifies his own emotions with his subject, "which could make

* Such interference, when inconsistent with past usage and the genius of the people, will defeat the very best intentions. On the grounds of policy and justice, it is alike incumbent on the British Government to secure the maintenance of their present form of government, and not to repair, but to advise the repairs of the fabric, and to let their own artists alone be consulted. To employ ours, would be like adding a Corinthian capital to a column of Ellora, or replacing the mutilated statue of Baldeva with a limb from the Hercules Farnese.

† To have a chain of prosperous independent states on our only exposed frontier, the north-west, attached to us from benefits, and the moral conviction that we do not seek their overthrow, must be a desirable policy.

* *Yamaloka*.

† The *goonchor* (ungrateful) and *satchor* (violation of his faith) are consigned, by the authority of the bard, to sixty thousand years' residence in hell. Europeans, in all the pride of mastery, accuse the natives of want of gratitude, and say their language has no word for it. They can only know the *nimmuck-haram* of the Ganges. *Goonchor* is a compound of powerful import, as ingratitude and infidelity are the highest crimes. It means, literally, "abandoner (from *chorna*, 'to quit') of virtue (*goon*)."

‡ Hallam, vol. i, 323.

Rajpoot virtues

"the bravest of men put up with slights and
"ill-treatment at the hand of their sovereign,
"or call forth all the energies of discon-
"tented exertion for one whom they never
"saw, and in whose character there was
"nothing to esteem. Loyalty has scarcely
"less tendency to refine and elevate the
"heart than patriotism itself." That these
sentiments were combined, the past history
of the Rajpoots will shew;* and to the
strength of these ties do they owe their
political existence, which has outlived ages
of strife. But for these, they would have
been converts and vassals to the Tatars, who
would still have been enthroned in Delhi.
Neglect, oppression and religious interfer-
ence, sunk one of the greatest monarchies of
the world;† made Sevaji a hero, and con-
verted the peaceful husbandman of the
Kistna and Godavery into a brave but
rapacious soldier.

We have abundant examples, and I trust
need not exclaim with the wise minister of
Akber, "who so happy as to profit by them?"‡

The Rajpoot, with all his turbulence,

* Of the effects of loyalty and patriotism combined, we have splendid examples in Hindu history and tradi-
tion. A more striking instance could scarcely be given
than in the recent civil distractions at Kotah, where a
mercenary army raised and maintained by the Regent,
either openly or covertly declared against him, as did
the whole feudal body to a man, the moment their
young Prince asserted his subverted claims, and in the
cause of their rightful lord abandoned all consideration
of self, their families and lands, and with their followers
offered their lives to redeem his rights or perish in the
attempt. No empty boast, as the conclusion testified.
God forbid that we should have more such examples of
Rajpoot devotion to their sense of fidelity to their lord!

† See statement of its revenues during the last emperor,
who had preserved the empire of Delhi united.

‡ Abul Fuzil uses this expression when moralizing on
the fall of Shahudin, king of Ghizni and first established
monarch of India, slain by Prithwiraja, the Hindu
sovereign of Delhi.

possesses in an eminent degree both loyalty
and patriotism; and though he occasionally
exhibits his refractory spirit to his father and
sovereign,* we shall see of what he is capable
when his country is threatened with dis-
memberment, from the history of Mewar and
the reign of Ajeet Sing of Marwar. In this
last we have one of the noblest examples
history can afford of unbounded devotion.

A prince, whom not a dozen of his subjects
had ever seen, who had been concealed from
the period of his birth throughout a tedious
minority to avoid the snares of a tyrant,†
by the mere magic of a name kept the dis-
cordant materials of a great feudal associa-
tion, in subjection, till, able to bear arms, he
issued from his concealment to head these de-
voted adherents, and reconquer what they had
so long struggled to maintain. So glorious
a contest, of twenty years' duration, requires
but an historian to immortalize it. Unfor-
tunately we have only the relation of isolated
encounters, which, though exhibiting a pro-
digality of blood and acts of high devotion,
are deficient in those minor details which
give unity and interest to the whole.

Let us take the Rajpoot character from
the royal historians themselves, from Akber,
Jehangir, Aurungzebe. The most brilliant
conquest of these monarchs were by their
Rajpoot allies; though the little regard the
latter had for opinion alienated the sym-
pathies of a race, who, when rightly man-
aged, encountered at command the Afghan

* The Rajpoot, who possesses but an acre of land, has
the proud feeling of common origin with his sovereign,
and in styling him *bapjee* (sire), he thinks of him as
the common father or representative of race. What a
powerful incentive to action!

† Aurungzebe.

amidst the snows of Caucasus, or made the furthest Chersonese tributary to the empire. Assam, where the British arms were recently engaged, and for the issue of which such anxiety was manifested in the metropolis of Britain, was conquered by a Rajpoot prince,* whose descendant is now an ally of the British Government.

But Englishmen in the east, as elsewhere, undervalue every thing not national. They have been accustomed to conquest, not reverses : though it is only by studying the character of those around them, that the latter can be avoided and this superiority maintained. Superficial observers imagine, that from lengthened predatory spoliation the energy of the Rajpoot has fled : an idea which is at once erroneous and dangerous. The vices now manifest from oppression will disappear with the cause, and with reviving prosperity new feelings will be generated, and each national tie and custom be streng-

thened. The Rajpoot would glory in putting on his saffron robes* to fight for such a land, and for those who disinterestedly laboured to benefit it.

Let us, then, apply history to its proper use. We need not turn to ancient Rome for illustration of the dangers inseparable from wide dominion and extensive alliances. The twenty-two Satrapies of India, the greater part of which are now the appanage of Britain, exhibited, even a century ago, one of the most splendid monarchies history has made known, too extensive for the genius of any single individual effectually to control. Yet was it held together, till encroachment on their rights, and disregard to their habits and religious opinions, alienated the Rajpoots, and excited the inhabitants of the south to rise against their Mogul oppressors. Then was the throne of Aurunzebe at the mercy of a Brahmin, and the grandson† of a cultivator in the province of Candeish held the descendants of Timoor pensioners on his bounty !

* Raja Maun of Jeypur, who took Aracan, Orissa, and Assam. Raja Jeswunt Sing of Marwar retook Caudul for Aurunzebe, and was rewarded by poison. Raja Ram Sing Hara, of Kotah, made several important conquests ; and his grandson, Raja Essuree Sing, and his five brothers, were left on one field of battle.

* When a Rajpoot is determined to hold out to the last in fighting, he always puts on a robe dyed in saffron.
† Sindia.



APPENDIX.

PAPERS REFERRED TO IN THE SKETCH OF A FEUDAL
SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN,

BEING

LITERAL TRANSLATION *from* INSCRIPTIONS and ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, *most of which are*
in the AUTHOR'S POSSESSION.

No. I.

Translation of a Letter from the expatriated Chiefs of Marwar to the Political Agent
of the British Government, Western Rajpoot States.*

After compliments.

We have sent to you a confidential person, who will relate what regards us. The Sirkar company are sovereigns of Hindusthan, and you know well all that regards our condition. Although there is nothing which respects either ourselves or our country hid from you, yet is there matter immediately concerning us which it is necessary to make known.

Sri Maharajah and ourselves are of one stock, all Rahtores. He is our head, we his servants: but now anger has seized him, and we are dispossessed of our country. Of the estates, our patrimony and our dwelling, some have been made khalisa,† and those who endeavour to keep aloof, expect the same fate. Some under the most solemn

pledge of security have been inveigled and suffered death, and others imprisoned. Moot-suddies,* officers of state, men of the soil and those foreign to it, have been seized, and most unheard of deeds and cruelties inflicted, which we cannot even write. Such a spirit has possessed his mind as never was known to any former prince of Jodhpur. His forefathers have reigned for generation; our forefathers were their ministers and advisers, and whatever was performed was by the collective wisdom of the council of our chiefs. Before the face of his ancestors, our own ancestors have slain and been slain; and in performing services to the kings,† they made the state of Jodhpur what it is. Whatever Marwar was concerned, there our fathers

* The names omitted to prevent any of them falling a sacrifice to the blind fury of their prince. The brave chief of Nimaj has sold his life, but dearly. In vain do we look in the annals of Europe for such devotion and generous despair as marked his end, and that of his brave clan. He was a perfect gentleman in deportment, modest and mild, and head of a powerful clan,

† Fiscal, that is, sequestered

* Clerks, and inferior officers of government.

† Alluding to the sovereigns of Delhi. In the magnificent feudal assemblage at this gorgeous court, where seventy-six prince stood in the Divan (*Dewan Khas*) each by a pillar covered with plates of silver, the Marwar prince had the right hand of all. I have an original letter from the great-grandfather of Raja Maun to the Rana, clate with this honour,

were to be found, and with their lives preserved the land. Sometimes our head was a minor; even then, by the wisdom of our fathers and their services, the land was kept firm under our feet, and thus has it descended from generation to generation. Before his eyes (Raja Maun's) we have performed good service: when at that perilous time the host of Jeypur* surrounded Jodhpur, on the field we attacked it; our lives and fortunes were at stake, and God granted us success: the witness is God Almighty. Now, men of no consideration are in our prince's presence: hence this reverse. *When our services are acceptable, then is our lord; when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land.*

He desires to dispossess us; but can we let ourselves be dispossessed? The English are masters of all India. The chief of sent his agent to Ajmeer; he was told to go to Delhi. Accordingly Thacoor went there, but no path was pointed out. If the English chiefs will not hear us, who will? The English allow no one's land to be usurped, and our birth-place is Marwar—from Marwar we must have bread. A hundred thousand Rahtores,—where are they to go to? From respect to the English alone have we been so long patient, and without acquainting your government of our intentions, you might afterwards find fault; therefore we make it known, and we thereby acquit ourselves to you. What we brought with us from Marwar we have consumed, and even what we could get on credit; and now, when want must make us perish, we are ready and can do any thing.†

* In 1806.

† The historian of the Middle Ages justly remarks, that "the most deadly hatred is that which men, ex-

The English are our rulers, our masters. Sri Maun Sing has seized our lands: by your government interposing these troubles may be settled, but without its guarantee and intervention we can have no confidence whatever. Let us have a reply to our petition. We will wait it in patience; but if we get none, the fault will not be ours, having given every where notice. Hunger will compel man to find a remedy. For such a length of time we have been silent from respect to your government alone: our own Sirkar is deaf to complaint. But to what extreme shall we wait? Let our hopes be attended to. Sumbut 1878, Sawun sood dooj. (August 1821.)

True Translation :

(Signed) JAMES TOD.

"asperated by proscription and forfeitures, bear their "country."

No. II.

Remonstrance of the Sub-Vassals of Deogurh against their chief, Rawut Gokul Das.

1. He respects not the privileges or customs established of old.
2. To each Rajpoot's house a chursa* or hide of land was attached: this he has resumed.
3. Whoever bribes him is a true man: who does not, is a thief.
4. Ten or twelve villages established by his puttaets† he has resumed, and left their families to starve.
5. From time immemorial sanctuary (*sir-nah*) has been esteemed sacred: this he has abolished.

* Hide or skin, from the vessel used in irrigation being made of leather.

† The vassals, or those holding fiefs (*putta*) of Deogurh.

6. On emergencies he would pledge his oath to his subjects (*ryots*), and afterwards plunder them.

7. In old times, it was customary when the presence of his chiefs and kindred was required, to invite them by letter: a fine is now the warrant of summons; thus lessening their dignity.

8. Such messengers, in former times, had a *tacka** for their ration (*bhatta*); now he imposes two rupees.

9. Formerly, when robberies occurred in the mountains within the limits of Deogurh, the loss was made good: now all complaint is useless, for his *foujdar*† receives a fourth of all such plunder. The *Mers*‡ range at liberty; but before they never committed murder: now they slay as well as rob our kin; nor is there any redress, and such plunder is even sold within the town of Deogurh.

10. Without crime, he resumes the lands of his vassals for the sake of imposition of fines; and after such are paid, he cuts down the green crops, with which he feeds his horses.

11. The cultivators§ on the lands of the vassals he seizes by force, extorts fines, or sells their cattle to pay them. Thus cultivation is ruined and the inhabitants leave the country.

12. From oppression the town magistrates|| of Deogurh have fled to Raepur. He

lays in watch to seize and extort money from them.

13. When he summons his vassals for purposes of extortion and they escape his clutches, he seizes on their wives and families. Females, from a sense of honour, have on such occasions thrown themselves into wells.

14. He interferes to recover old debts, distraining the debtor of all he has in the world; half he receives.

15. If any one have a good horse, by fair means or foul he contrives to get it.

16. *When Deogurh was established, at the same time were our allotments: as is his patrimony, so is our patrimony.** Thousands have been expended in establishing and improving them, yet our rank, privileges, and rights, he equally disregards.

17. From these villages, founded by our forefathers, he at will, takes four or five skins of land and bestows them on foreigners; and thus the ancient proprietors are reduced to poverty and ruin.

18. From of old, all his Rajpoot kin had daily rations, or portions of grain: for four years these rights have been abolished.

19. From ancient times the puttacts formed his council: now he consults only foreigners. What has been the consequence? the whole annual revenue derived from the mountains is lost.

20. From the ancient Bhoom† of the Frerage‡ the mountaineers carry off the

* A copper coin, equal to two-pence.

† Military commander; a kind of inferior *maire du palais*, on every Rajpoot chieftain's estate, and who has the military command of the vassals. He is seldom of the same family, but generally of another tribe.

‡ Mountaineers.

§ Of the Jit and other labouring tribes.

|| Chohutias, from *chohut*, 'civil jurisdiction.' In every town there is an unpaid magistracy, of which the

head is the Nuggur Seth, or chief citizen, and the four Chotias, tantamount to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who hold their courts and decide in all civil cases.

* Here are the precise sentiments embodied in the remonstrances of the great feudal chiefs of Marwar to their prince; see Appendix No. I.

† The old allodial allotments.

‡ Bhyad.

cattle, and instead of redeeming them, this foudjar sets the plunderers up to the trick of demanding rekwaalee.*

21. Money is justice, and there is none other: whoever has money may be heard. The bankers and merchants have gone abroad for protection, but he asks not where they are.

22. When cattle are driven off to the hills, and we do ourselves justice and recover them, we are fined, and told that the mountaineers have his pledge. Thus our dignity is lessened. Or if we seize one of these marauders, a party is sent to liberate him, for which the foudjar receives a bribe. Then a feud ensues at the instigation of the liberated Mer, and the unsupported Rajpoot is obliged to abandon his patrimony.† There is neither protection nor support. The chief is supine, and so regardless of honour, that he tells us to make money to the hills and redeem our property. Since this foudjar had power, 'poison has been our fate.' Foreigners are all in all, and the home-bred are set aside. Dekhanis and plunderers enjoy the lands of his brethren. Without fault, the chiefs are deprived of their lands, to bring which into order time and money have been lavished. Justice there is none.

Our rights and privileges in his family are the same as his in the family of the Presence.‡ Since you§ entered Mewar, lands long lost have been recovered. What crimes have we committed, that at this day we should lose ours?

* The *salvamenta* of our feudal writers; the *black-mail* of the north.

† 'Wutton.'

‡ The Rana.

§ The Author.

We are in great trouble.*

* With the articles of complaint of the vassals of Deogurh and the short extorted charter, to avoid future cause for such, we may contrast the following:—"Pour avoir une idee du brigandage que les nobles exercaient a l'epoque ou les premieres chartes furent accordees, il suffit d'en lire quelques-unes, et l'on verra que le seigneur y disait:—'Je promets de ne point voler, en-torquer les biens et les meubles des habitans, de les delivrer des totes ou rapines, et autres mauvaises con-tumes, et de ne plus commettre envers eux d'exac-tions.'—En effet, dans ces tems malheureux, vivres, meubles, chevaux, voitures, dit le savant Abbe de Mably, tout etait enleve par l'insatiable et aveugle avidite des seigneurs."—Art. 'Chartes,' Dict. de l'anc. Regime.

No. III.

Maharaja Sri Gokul Das to the four ranks (*char misal*) of Puttaets of Deogurh, commanding. Peruse.

Without crime no vassal shall have his estate or chursas disseized. Should any individual commit an offence, it shall be judged by the *four ranks* (*char misal*) my brethren, and then punished. Without consulting them on all occasions I shall never inflict punishment†. To this I swear by Sri Nathjee. No departure from this agreement shall ever occur. S. 1874; the 6th Paus.

† This reply to the remonstrance of his vassals is perfectly similar in point to the 43d article of *Magna Charta*.

No. IV.

Grant from Maharana Ur Sing, Prince of Mewar, to the Sindie Chief, Abdool Ruhim Beg.

Ramji ††

Gunesji ††

Eklingji ††

Sri Maharaja Dheraj Maharana Ur Sing to Mirza Abdool Ruhim Beg Adilbegote, commanding.

† Invocations to Ram, Gunes (god of wisdom), and Ek-linga, the patron divinity of the Sesodia Gehlotes.

Now some of our chiefs having rebelled and set up the impostor Rutna Sing, brought the Dekhany army and erected batteries against Oodipur, in which circumstances your services have been great and tended to the preservation of our sovereignty: therefore, in favour towards you, I have made this grant, which your children and children's children shall continue to enjoy. You will continue to serve faithfully; and whoever of my race shall dispossess you or yours, on him be Eklingji and the sin of the slaughter of Cheetore.

Particulars.

- 1st. In estates, 2,00,000 rupees.
- 2nd. In cash annually, 25,000.
- 3rd. Lands outside the Debarri gate, 10,000.
- 4th. As a residence, the dwelling-house called Bharat Sing's.
- 5th. A hundred beegas of land outside the city for a garden.
- 6th. The town of Mittoon in the valley, to supply wood and forage.
- 7th. To keep up the tomb of Ajmeri Beg, who fell in action, one hundred beegas of land.

Privileges and Honours.

- 8th. A seat in Durbar and rank in all respects equal to the chieftain of Sadree.*
- 9th. Your kettle-drums (Nagarra) to beat to the exterior gate, but with one stick only.
- 10th. Umr Bulaona,† and a dress of honour on the Dusrewa‡ festival.

* The first of the foreign vassals of the Rana's house.
† A horse furnished by the prince, always replaced when he dies, therefore called *Umr*, or immortal.
‡ The grand military festival, when a muster is made of all the Rajpoot quotas.

11th. Drums to beat to Ahar. All other privileges and rank like the house of Saloombra.* Like that house, yours shall be from generation to generation; therefore according to the valuation of your grant you will serve.

12th. Your brothers or servants, whom you may dismiss, I shall not entertain or suffer my chiefs to entertain.

13th. The Chaours† and Kirnia‡ you may use at all times when alone, but never in the presence.

14th. Munowur Beg, Unwur Beg, Chumun Beg, are permitted seats in front of the throne; Umr Bulaona, and honorary dresses on Dusrewa, and seats for two or three other relatives who may be found worthy the honour.

15th. Your agent (*Vakeel*) shall remain at court with the privileges due to his rank.

By command :

SAH MOOTIE RAM BOLIA,
S. 1826 (A.D. 1770) Bhadoon (August)
sood 11 Sonwar (Monday).

* The first of home-chieftains.
† The tail of the wild ox, worn across the saddle, bow.
‡ An umbrella or shade against the sun; from *kirn*, 'a ray.'

No. V.

Grant of the Putta of Bhynsrore to Rawut Lal Sing, one of the sixteen great vassals of Mewar.

Maharaja Juggut Sing to Rawut Lal Sing Kesurisingote,§ commanding.

Now to you the whole Pergunna of Bhynsrore|| is granted as *Gras*, viz.

§ Clan (gote) of Kesuri Sing, one of the great branches of the Chondawuts.
|| On the left bank of the Chumbul.

Town of Bhynsrore..... 3,000 1,500
 Fifty-two others (names uninteresting),
 besides one in the valley of the capital. Total
 value 62,000 31,000*

With two hundred and forty-eight horse
 and two hundred and forty-eight foot, good
 horse and good Rajpoots you will perform

* To explain these double *rekhs*, or estimates, one
 is the full value, the other the deteriorated rate.

service. Of this, forty-eight horse and forty-
 eight foot are excused for the protection of
 your fort ; therefore with two hundred foot
 and two hundred horse you will serve when
 and wherever ordered. The first grant was
 given in Pos, S. 1798, when the income
 inserted was over-rated. Understanding this,
 the presence (thuzoor) ordered sixty thousand
 of annual value to be attached to Bhynsrore.

No. VI.

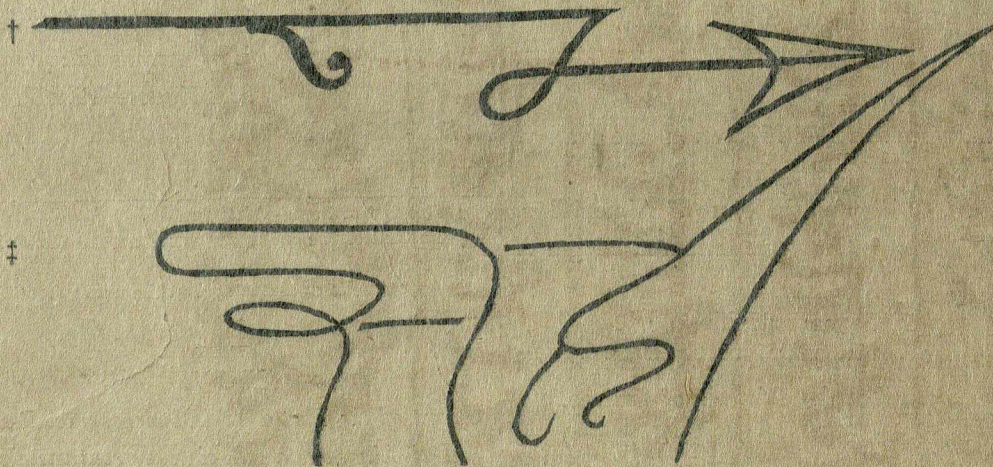
*Grant from Maharana Singram Sing of Mewar to his Nephew, the Prince Madhu Sing, heir
 apparent to the principality of Jeypur.*

SRI RAMJAYATI.

(Victory to Rama).

SRI GANES PRASAD,
 (By favour of Ganes).

SRI ERLINGA PRASAD,
 (By favour of Eklinga).



Maharaja Dheraj Maharana Sri Singram Sing, Adesatoo, commanding. To my
 nephew, Komar Madhu Sing-ji, *gras* (a fief) has been granted, *viz.*

The fief (*putta*) of Rampura ; therefore, with one thousand horse and two thousand
 foot, you will perform service during six months annually ; and when foreign service is
 required, three thousand foot and three thousand horse.

† The bhalla, or lance, is the sign-manual of the Saloombra chieftain, as hereditary premier of the state.

‡ Is a monogram forming the word *Sukate*, being the sign-manual of the prince.



While the power of the presence is maintained in these districts you will not be dispossessed.

By command :

PANCHOUJI RAECHUND and MEHTA MUL DAS.

S. 1785. (A.D. 1729); Cheit-sood 7th (); Mungulwar (Tuesday).

Addressed in the Rana's own hand.

To my nephew Madhu Sing.* My child, I have given you Rampura : while mine, you shall not be deprived of it. Done.

* *Bhanaij*, is sister's son ; as *Bhatija* is brother's son. It will be seen in the Annals, that to support this prince to the succession of the Jeypur Gadi, both Mewar and Jeypur were ruined, and the power of the Dekhanis established in both countries.

No. VII.

Grant of Bhoom Rekwali (Salvamenta) from the village of Dongla to Maharaja Khooshial Sing. S. 1806 (A.D. 1750), the first of Sawan (July).

1st. A field of one hundred and fifty one beegas, of which thirty-six are irrigated.

2nd. One hundred and two beegas of waste and unirrigated, *viz.*

Six beegas cultivated by Govinda the oilman.

Three, under Heera and Tara the oilmen.

Seventeen cultivated by the mason Hunso, and Lal the oilman.

Four beegas of waste and forest land (*purte, aaryana*) which belonged to Govinda and Heera, &c. &c : and so on, enumerating all the fields composing the above aggregate.

Dues and Privileges.

Pieces of money.....12

Grain.....24 maunds.

On the festivals of Rakhi, Dewalee, and Hooli, one copper coin from each house.

Seerano..... at harvest

Sookrie from the Brahmins.

Transit duties for protection of merchandise, *viz.* a pice on every cart-load, and half a pice for each bullock.

Two Platters on every marriage feast.

No. VIII.

Grant of Bhoom by the Inhabitants of Amlee to Rawut Futteh Sing of Amait.—S. 1814 (A.D. 1758).

The Ranawuts Sawunt Sing and Sobagh Sing had Amlee in grant : but they were oppressive to the inhabitants, slew the patels Joda and Bhaggi, and so ill-treated the Brahmins, that Koosul and Nathoo sacrificed themselves on the pyre. The inhabitants demanded the protection of the Rana, and the puttaets were changed ; and now the inhabitants grant in rekwalee one hundred and twenty-five beegas as bhoom to Futteh Sing.*

* This is a proof of the value attached to *bhoom*, when granted by the inhabitants, as the first act of the new proprietor though holding the whole town from the crown, was to obtain these few beegas as bhoom. After having been sixty years in that family, Amlee has been resumed by the crown : the bhoom has remained with the chief.

No. IX.

Grant of Bhoom by the Inhabitants of the Town of Dongla to Maharaja Zoorawur Sing, of Bheendir.

To Sri Maharaja Zoorawur Sing, the patels, traders, merchants, brahmins, and united inhabitants of Dongla, make agreement.

Formerly the "runners" in Dongla were numerous; to preserve us from whom we granted bhoom to the Maharaja. To wit:

One well, that of Heera the oilman.

One well, that of Deepa the oilman.

One well, that of Dewa the oilman.

In all, three wells, being forty-four beegas of irrigated (*peewal*), and one hundred and ninety-one beegas of unirrigated (*mal*) land. Also a field for joar.

Customs or Dignities (Murjad) attached to the Bhoom.

1st. A dish (*khansa*) on every marriage.

2nd. Six hundred rupees ready cash annually.

3rd. All bhoomias, *grasias*, the high roads, passes from raids and "runners," and all disturbances whatsoever, the Maharaja must settle.

When the Maharaja is pleased to let the inhabitants of Dongla reinhabit their dwellings, then only can they return to them.*

Written by the accountant Kutchia, on the full moon of Jeit, S. 1858, and signed by all the traders, brahmins, and townspeople.

* This shows how *bhoom* was extorted in these periods of turbulence, and that this individual gift was as much to save them from the effects of the Maharaja's violence as to gain protection from that of others.

No. X.

Grant of Bhoom by the Prince of Mewar to an inferior Vassal.

Maharana Bheem Sing to Baba Ram Sing, commanding.

Now a field of two hundred twenty-five beegas in the city of Jehajpur, with the black orchard (*sham bagh*) and a farm-house (*nohara*) for cattle, has been granted you in bhoom.

Your forefathers recovered for me Jehajpur and served with fidelity; on which account this bhoom is renewed. Rest assured no molestation shall be offered, nor shall any puttaet interfere with you.

Privileges.

One seeranolh.*

Two hulmohs.†

Offerings of cocoanuts on the Holi and Dusrewa festivals.

From every hundred bullock-loads‡ or merchandize, twelve annas.

* A seer on each maund of produce.

† The labour of two ploughs (*bul*). *Hulmoh* is the personal service of the husbandman with his plough for such time as is specified. *Hulmoh* is precisely the detested *corvee* of the French regime. "Les *corvees* sont tout ouvrage ou service, soit de corps ou de charrois et betes, pendant le jour, qui est du a un seigneur. Il y avait deux sortes de *corvees*: les reeles et les personnelles, &c. Quelquefois le nombre des *corvees* etait fixe: mais, le plus souvent, elles etaient, a volonte du seigneur, et c'est ce qu'on appelait *corvees a merci*."—Art. 'Corvee,' Dict. de l'anc. Regime. Almost all the exactions for the last century in Mewar may come under this latter denomination.

‡ A great variety of oppressive imposts were levied by the chiefs during these times of trouble, to the destruction of commerce and all facility of travelling. Every thing was subject to tax, and a long train of vexatious dues exacted for "repairs of forts, boats at ferries, night-guards, guards of passes," and other appellations, all having much in common with the "Droit de Peage" in France. "Il n'y avait pas de ponts, de chaussees, d'ecluses, de defiles, de portes, &c. ou les feodaux ne fissent payer un droit a ceux que leurs affaires ou leur commerce forcaient de voyager."—Dict. de l'anc. Regime.



From every hundred and twenty-five ass-loads, six annas.

From each horse sold within Jehajpur, two annas.

From each camel sold, one anna.

From each oil-mill, one puloh.

From each iron mine (*Madri*), a quarter rupee.

From each distillation of spirits, a quarter rupee.

From each goat slain, one pice.

On births and marriages,* five platters (*khansa*).

The handful (*eech*) from every basket of greens.

With every other privilege attached to bhoom.

Irrigated land (*peewul*).....51 beegas.

Unirrigated do. (*mal*).....110 do.

Mountain do. (*mugro*).....40 do.

Meadow do. (*beera*).....25 do.

226 beegas.

Asar (June) S. 1853 (A. D. 1797).

* The privileges of our Rajpoot chieftains on the marriages of their vassals and cultivating subjects are confined to the best dishes of the marriage feast or a pecuniary commutation. This is, however, though in a minor degree, one of the vexatious claims of feudality of the French system, known under the term *nocages*, where the seigneur or his deputy presided, and had the right to be placed in front of the bride, "et de chanter a la fin du repas, une chanson guillerette." But they even carried their insolence further, and "pousserent leur mepris pour les vilains (the agricultural classes of the Rajpoot system) jusqu'a exiger que leurs chiens eussent leur couvert aupres de la mariee, et qu'on les laissat manger sur la table."—Art. '*Nocages*' Dict. de l'anc. Regime.

No. XI.

Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted to the town of Jhalra Patun, engraved on a Pillar in that City.

S. 1853 (A. D. 1797), corresponding with the Saka 1718, the sun being in the south, the season of cold, and the happy month of Kartika,* the enlightened half of the month, being Monday the full moon.

Maharaja Dheraj Sri Omeid Sing Deo,† the Foujdar‡ Raj Zalim Sing and Komar Madhu Sing, commanding. To all the inhabitants of Jhalra Patun, Patels,§ Putwarries,|| Mahajans,¶ and to all the thirty-six castes, it is written.

At this period entertain entire confidence, build and dwell.

Within this abode all forced contributions and confiscations are for ever abolished. The taxes called Bulmunsie,** Annie,†† and Rek Burrar,‡‡ and likewise all Bhet-Begar,§§ shall cease.

To this intent is this stone erected, to hold good from year to year, now and evermore. There shall be no violence in this territory This is sworn by the cow to the Hindu and the hog to the Mussulman: in the presence of Captain Dellil Khan, Choudree Sarcop Chund, Patel Lallo, the Mahesri Patwarri Balkishen, the architect Kalu Ram, and the stone-mason Balkishen.

* December.

† The Raja of Kotah.

‡ Commander of the forces and regent of Kotah.

§ Officers of the land revenue.

|| Land accountants.

¶ The mercantile class.

** Literally 'good behaviour.'

†† An agricultural tax.

‡‡ Tax for registering.

§§ This includes in one word the forced labour exacted from the working classes: the *corvee* of the French system.

Purmoh* is for ever abolished. Whoever dwells and traffics within the town of patun, one half of the transit duties usually levied in Haravati are remitted; and all mauppa (meter's) duties are for ever abolished.

No. XII.

Abolitions, Immunities, Prohibitions, &c. &c. Inscription in the Temple of Latchmi Narayan at Akola.

In former times tobacco was sold in one market only. Rana Raj Sing commanded the monopoly to be abolished. S. 1645.

Rana Juggut Sing prohibited the seizure of the cots and quilts by the officers of his Government from the printers of Akola.

No. XIII.

Privileges and Immunities granted to the Printers of Calico and Inhabitants of the Town of Great Akola in Mewar.

Maharana Bheem Sing, commanding, to the inhabitants of Great Akola.

Whereas the village has been abandoned from the assignments levied by the garrison of Mandalgurb, and it being demanded of its population how it could again be rendered prosperous, they unanimously replied: "not to exact beyond the dues and contributions (*dind dor*) established of yore; to erect the pillar promising never to exact above half the produce of the crops, or to molest the persons of those who thus paid their dues."

The Presence agreed, and this pillar has been erected. May Eklinga look to him who breaks this command. The hog to the Musulman and the cow to the Hindu.

* Grain thrown on the inhabitants at an arbitrary rate; often resorted to at Kotah, where the regent is farmer general.

Whatever contributions (*dind*) purmoh,* poolee,† heretofore levied shall be paid.

All crimes committed within the jurisdiction of Akola to be tried by its inhabitants, who will sit in justice on the offender and fine him according to his faults.

On Amavus‡ no work shall be done at the well§ or at the oil-mill, nor printer put his dye-pot on the fire.||

Whoever breaks the foregoing, may the sin of the slaughter of Cheetore be upon him.

This pillar was erected in the presence of Mehta Sirdar Sing, Sawul Das, the choudries Bhoput Ram and Doulut Ram, and the assembled Punch of Akola.

Written by the Choudrie Bhopji, and engraved by the stone-cutter Bheema.

S. 1856 (A. D. 1800.)

* Grain, the property of the Government, thrown on the inhabitants for purchase at an arbitrary valuation.

† The handful from each sheaf at harvest.

‡ A day sacred to the Hindu, being that which divides the month.

§ Meaning, they shall not irrigate the fields.

|| This part of the edict is evidently the instigation of the Jains, to prevent the destruction of life, though only that of insects.

No. XIV.

Prohibition against Guests carrying away provisions from the public Feast.¶

Sri Maharana Singram Sing to the inhabitants of Mirmi.

¶ The cause of this sumptuary edict was a benevolent motive, and to prevent the expenses on these occasions falling too heavily on the poorer classes. It was customary for the women to carry away under their petticoats (*ghagra*) sufficient sweetmeats for several days' consumption. The great Jey Sing of Ambar had an ordinance restricting the number of guests to fifty-one on these occasions, and prohibited to all but the four wealthy classes the use of sugar-candy; the others were con-

On all feasts of rejoicing, as well as those on the ceremonies for the dead, none shall carry away with them the remains of the feast. Whoever thus transgresses shall pay a fine to the crown of one hundred and one rupees. S. 1769 (A.D. 1713), Chait Sood 7th.

fined to the use of molasses and brown sugar. To the lower vassals and the cultivators these feasts were limited to the coarser fare: to joar flour, greens and oil. A dyer who on the Hooli feasted his friends with sweetmeats of fine sugar and scattered about balls made of brown sugar, was fined five thousand rupees for setting so pernicious an example. The *sad*, or marriage-present, from the bridegroom to the bride's father, was limited to fifty one rupees. The great sums previously paid on this score, were preventives of matrimony. Many other wholesome regulations of a much more important kind, especially those for the suppression of infanticide, were instituted by this prince.

No. XV.

Maharana Singram Sing to the merchants and bankers of Bakrole.

The custom of furnishing quilts (*see-rak*)* of which you complain, is of ancient date. Now when the collectors of duties, their officers, or those of the land revenue stop at Bakrole, the merchants will furnish them with beds and quilts. All other servants will be supplied by the other inhabitants.

Should the dam of the lake be in any way injured, whoever does not aid in its repair shall, as a punishment, feed one hundred and one Brahmins. Asar 1715, or June A.D. 1659.

* 'Defence against the cold weather' (*see*). This in the ancient French *regime* came under the denomination of "*Albergie* ou Hebergement, un droit royal. Par exemple, ce ne fut qu'après le regne de Saint Louis, et moyennant finances, que les habitans de Paris et de Corbeil s'affranchirent, les premiers de fournir au roi et à sa suite de bons oreillers et d'excellens lits de plumes, tant qu'il sejournerait dans leur ville, et les seconds de le regaler quand il passait par leur bourg."

No. XVI.

Warrant of the Chief of Bijolli to his Vassal, Gopal Das Suktawut.

Maharaja Mandhata to Suktawut Gopal Das, be it known.

At this time a daily fine of four rupees is in force against you. Eighty are now due: Gunga Ram having petitioned in your favour, forty of this will be remitted. Give a written declaration to this effect—that with a specified quota you will take the field; if not, you will stand the consequences.

Viz: One good horse and one matchlock, with appurtenances complete, to serve at home and abroad (*des purdes*), and to run the country* with the Kher.

When the levy (*kher*) takes the field, Gopal Das must attend in person. Should he be

* The '*douracts*' or runners, the term applied to the bands who swept the country with their forays in those periods of general confusion, are analagous to the armed bands of the middle ages, who in a similar manner desolated Europe under the term *routiers*, tantamount to our *robbers* (on the road), the *laburs* of the Pinderries in India. The Rajpoot *douract* has as many epithets as the French *routier*, who were called *escorcheurs*, *tardeveurs*, (of which class Gopal Das appears to have been) *mille-diables*, *Guilleries*, &c.

From the Crusades to the sixteenth century, the nobles of Europe, of whom these bands were composed (like our Rajpoots), abandoned themselves to this sort of life; who, to use the words of the historian, "préférent la vie vagabonde a laquelle ils s'étoient accoutumés dans le camp, a retourner cultiver leurs champs. C'est alors que se formerent ces bandes qu'on vit parcourir le royaume et étendre sur toutes les provinces le fléau de leurs inclinations destructives, repandre partout le effroi, la misère, le deuil et le desespoir; mettre les villes a contribution, piller et incendier les villages, égerger les laboureurs, et se livrer a des accès de cruauté qui font fremir."—Dict. de l'ancien regime et des abus féodaux, art. *Routier* p. 422.

We have this apology for the Rajpoot *routiers*, that the nobles of Europe had not; they were driven to it by perpetual aggressions of invaders. I invariably found that the reformed *routier* was one of the best subject: it secured him from indolence, the parent of all Rajpoot vices.

from home, his retainers must attend, and they shall receive rations from the presence.

Sawun sood dos (August 10th) S. 1782.

No. XVII.

Maharaja Odykurn to the Suktawut Simboo Sing. Be it known.

I had annexed Gooroh to fisc, but now from favour, restore it to you. Make it flourish, and serve me at home and abroad, with one horse, and one foot soldier.

When abroad you shall receive rations (*bhatta*) as follow :

Flour 3 lbs.

Pulse 4 ounces.

Butter (*ghee*) 2 pice weight.

Horses' feed 4 sheers at 22 takas
each seer, of daily allowance.

If for defence of the fort you are required, you will attend with all your dependants, and bring your wife, family, and chattels : for which, you will be exempted from two years of subsequent service.

Asar 14, S. 1834.

No. XVIII.

Bhoom in Moond-kati, or Compensation for Blood, to Jait Sing Chondawut.

The Patel's son went to bring home his wife with Jait's Rajpoots as a guard. The party was attacked, the guard killed, and there having been no redress for the murder, twenty-six beegas have been granted in moond-kati* (compensation).

* *Moond* 'the head,' *kati* 'cut.'

No. XIX.

Rawut Megh Sing to his natural brother,

Jumna Das, a putta (*put*) has been granted, viz.

The village of Rajpura, value... Rupees 401
A garden of mogra flower 11

Rupees..... 412

Serve at home and abroad with fidelity : contributions and aids pay according to custom, and as do the rest of the vassals.
Jait 14th, S. 1874.

No. XX.

Charter given by the Rana of Mewar, accepted and signed by all his Chiefs; defining the duties of the contracting Parties. A.D. 1818

Sid Sri Maharaja Dheraj, Maharana Bheem Sing, to all the nobles my brothers and kin, Rajas, Patels, Jhalas, Chohans, Chondawuts, Powars, Sarangdeots, Sukta-wuts, Rahtores, Ranawuts, &c. &c.

Now, since S. 1822 (A.D. 1776), during the reign of Sri Ur Sing-ji,* when the troubles commenced, laying ancient usages aside, undue usurpations of the land have been made : therefore on this day, Beysak badi 14th, S. 1874 (A.D. 1818), the Maharana assembling all his chiefs, lays down the path of duty in new ordinances.

1st. All lands belonging to the crown obtained since the troubles, and all lands seized by one chief, from another, shall be restored.

2nd. All Rekwali,† Bhoom, Lagut,‡ established since the troubles, shall be re-nounced.

* The rebellion broke out during the reign of this prince.

† Salvamenta,

‡ Dues.



3rd. Dhan,* Biswo,† the right of the crown alone, shall be renounced.

4th. No chiefs shall commit thefts or violence within the boundaries of their estates. They shall entertain no Thugs,‡ foreign thieves or thieves of the country, as Mogees,‡ Baories,‡ Thories:‡ but those who shall adopt peaceful habits may remain; but should any return to their old pursuits, their heads shall instantly be taken off. All property stolen shall be made good by the proprietor of the estate within the limits of which it is plundered.

5th. Home or foreign merchants, traders, Kaffilas,§ Bunjarries,|| who enter the country, shall be protected. In no wise shall they be molested or injured, and whoever breaks this ordinance, his estate shall be confiscated.

6th. According to command, at home or abroad service must be performed. Four divisions (*choukies*) shall be formed of the chiefs, and each division shall remain three months in attendance at court, when they shall be dismissed to their estates. Once a year, on the festival of the Doserra,¶ all the chiefs shall assemble with their quotas ten days previous thereto, and twenty days sub-

sequent they shall be dismissed to their estates. On urgent occasions, and whenever their services are required, they shall repair to the Presence.

7th. Every Puttawut holding a separate putta from the Presence, shall perform separate service. They shall not unite or serve under the greater Puttawuts: and the sub-vassals of all such chiefs shall remain with and serve their immediate Puttawut.*

8th. The Maharana shall maintain the dignities due to each chief according to his degree.

9th. The Ryots shall not be oppressed: there shall be no new exactions or arbitrary fines. This is ordained.

10th. What has been executed by Thacoor Ajeet Sing and sanctioned by the Rana, to this all shall agree.†

11th. Whosoever shall depart from the foregoing, the Maharana shall punish. In doing so the fault will not be the Rana's. Whoever fails, on him be the oath (*an*) of Eklinga and the Maharana.

[Here follow the signatures of all the chieftains of rank in Mewar, which it is needless to insert.]

* Transit duty.

† Ibid.

‡ Different descriptions of thieves.

§ Caravans of merchandize, whether on camels, bullocks or in carts.

|| Caravans of bullocks, chiefly for the transport of grain and salt.

¶ On this festival the muster of all the feudal retainers is taken by the Rana in person, and honorary dresses and dignities are bestowed.

* This article had become especially necessary, as the inferior chiefs, particularly those of the third class, had amalgamated themselves with the head of their clans, to whom they had become more accountable than to their prince.

† This alludes to the treaty which this chief had formed, as the ambassador of the Rana, with the British Government.



ANNALS OF MEWAR.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Gehlote Princes of Mewar.—Authorities.—Kanaksen the founder of the present dynasty.—His descent from Rama.—He emigrates to Saurashtra.—Ballabhipura.—Its sack and destruction by the Huns or Parthians.

WE now proceed to the history of the states of Rajpootana, and shall commence with the annals of Mewar, and its princes.

These are styled *Ranas*, and are the elder branch of the Suryavansi, or 'children of the sun.' Another patronymic is Raghuvansi, derived from a predecessor of Rama, the focal point of each scion of the solar race. To him, the conqueror of Lanka,* the genealogists endeavour to trace the solar lines. The titles of many of these claimants are disputed; but the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the prince of Mewar as the legitimate heir to the throne of Rama, and style him *Hindua Suraj*, or 'Sun of the Hindus.'† He is universally allowed to be the first of the 'thirty-six royal tribes;' nor has a doubt ever been raised respecting his purity of descent. Many of these tribes‡ have been swept away by time; and the genealogist, who abhors a vacuum in his mystic page, fills up their place with others, mere scions of some ancient but forgotten stem.

With the exception of Jessulmeer, Mewar is the only dynasty of these races* which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination, in the same lands where conquest placed them. The Rana still possesses nearly the same extent of territory which his ancestors held when the conqueror from Guzni first crossed the 'blue waters'† of the Indus to invade India; while the other families now ruling in the north-west of Rajasthan are the relics of ancient dynasties driven from their pristine seats of power, or their junior branches, who have erected their own fortunes. This circumstance adds to the dignity of the Ranas, and is the cause of the general homage which they receive, notwithstanding the diminution of their power. Though we cannot give the princes of Mewar an ancestor in the Persian Noshirwan, nor assert so confidently as Sir Thomas Roe his claims to descent from the celebrated Porus,‡ the opponent of Alexander, we can carry him

* See History of the Tribes.

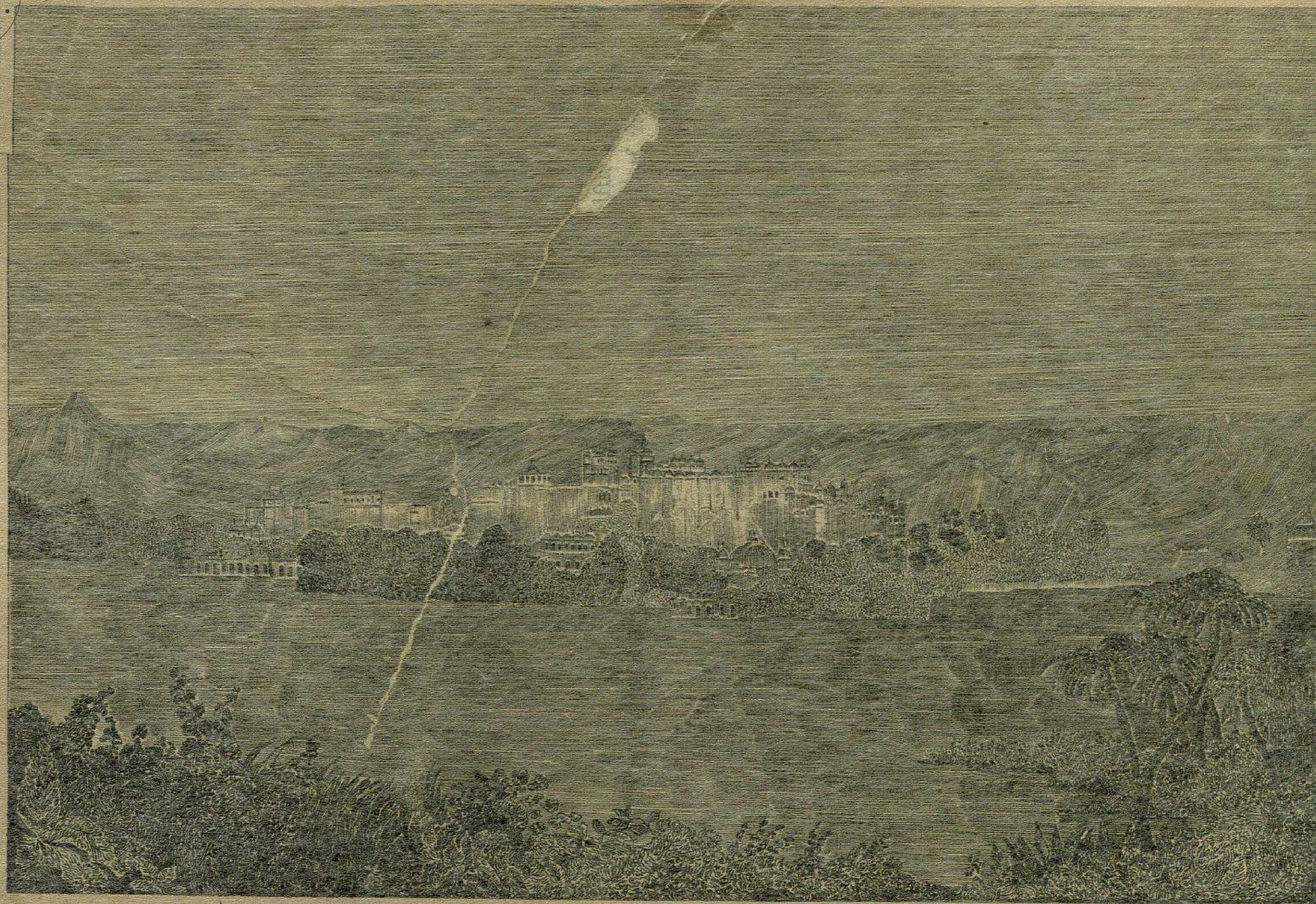
* Said to be Ceylon; an idea scouted by the Hindus, who transfer Lanka to a very distant region.

† This descendant of one hundred kings shews himself in cloudy weather from the *surya-gokra*, or 'balcony of the sun.'

‡ See History of the Tribes.

† *Nilab*, from *nil* 'blue,' and *ab* 'water;' hence the name of the Nile in Egypt and in India. *Scind* or *Sindhu*, appears to be a Scythian word: *Sin* in the Tatar, *t'sin* in Chinese, 'river.' Hence the inhabitants of its higher course termed it *aba sin*, 'parent stream;' and thus, very probably, *Abyssinia* was formed by the Arabians; 'the country on the Nile,' or *aba sin*.

‡ See p. 31.



Engraved by N.C. Bose.

EAST VIEW OF THE PALACE OF GODIPOOK.

into regions of antiquity more remote than the Persian, and which would satisfy the most fastidious in respect to ancestry.

In every age and clime we observe the same eager desire after distinguished pedigree, proceeding from a feeling which, though often derided, is extremely natural. The Rajapootras are, however, scarcely satisfied with discriminating their ancestors from the herd of mankind. Some plume themselves on a celestial origin, whilst others are content to be demi-celestial; and those who cannot advance such lofty claims, rather than acknowledge the race to have originated in the ordinary course of nature, make their primeval parent of demoniac extraction; accordingly, several of the dynasties who cannot obtain a niche amongst the children of the sun or moon, or trace their descent from some royal saint, are satisfied to be considered the offspring of some Titan (*Datya*). These puerilities are of modern fabrication, in cases where family documents have been lost, or emigration has severed branches from the parent stock; who, increasing in power, but ignorant of their birth, have had recourse to fable to supply the void. Various authors, borrowing from the same source, have assigned the seat of Porus to the Rana's family; and coincidence of name has been the cause of the family being alternately elevated and depressed. Thus the incidental circumstance of the word *Rhane* being found in Ptolemy's geography, in countries bordering on Mewar, furnishes our ablest geographers* with a reason for planting the family there in the second

century; while the commentators* on the geography of the Arabian travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries† discover sufficient evidence in "the kingdom of Rahmi, always at war with the Balhara sovereign," to consider him (notwithstanding Rahmi is expressly stated "not to be much considered for his birth or the antiquity of his kingdom") as the prince of Cheetore, celebrated in both these points.

The translator of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, following D'Anville,‡ makes Ozene (Oojin) the capital of a Porus,§ who sent an embassy to Augustus to regulate their commercial intercourse, and whom he asserts to be the ancestor of the Rana. But to shew how guarded we should be in admitting verbal resemblance to decide such points, the title of Rana is of modern adoption, even so late as the twelfth century; and was assumed in consequence of the victorious issue of a contest with the Purihara prince of Mundore, who bore the title of Rana, and who surrendered it with his life and capital to the prince of Mewar. The latter substituted it for the more ancient appellation of *Rawul*;|| but it was not till the thirteenth century that the novel distinc-

* Maurice and others.

† Relations Anciennes des Voyageurs, par Renaudot.

‡ D'Anville (*Antiquities de l'Inde*) quotes Nicolas of Damascus as his authority, who says the letter written by Porus, prince of Ozene, was in the Greek character.

§ This *Porus* is a corruption of *Puar*, once the most powerful and conspicuous tribe in India; classically written *Pramara*, the dynasty which ruled at Oojin for ages.

|| *Rawul*, or *Raoul*, is yet borne as a princely title by the Aharya prince of Dongurpur, and the Yadu prince of Jessulmeer, whose ancestors long ruled in the heart of Scythia. *Raoul* seems to have been titular to the Scandinavian chiefs of Scythic origin. The invader of Normandy was *Raoul*, corrupted to *Rollon* or *Rollo*.

* D'Anville and Rennell.

tion was generally recognized by neighbouring powers. Although we cannot for a moment admit the *Rahmi*, or even the *Rhane* of Ozene, to be connected with this family, yet Ptolemy appears to have given the real ancestor in his *Baleocuri*, the Balhara monarchs of the Arabian travellers, the Ballabhi-raes of Saurashtra, who were the ancestors of the princes of Mewar.*

Before we proceed, it is necessary to specify the sources whence materials were obtained for the Annals of Mewar, and to give some idea of the character they merit as historical data.

For many years previous to sojourning at the court of Oodipur, sketches were obtained of the genealogy of the family from the rolls of the bards. To these was added a chronological sketch, drawn up under the eye of Raja Jey Sing of Ambar, with comments of some value by him, and which served as a ground work. Free access was also granted to the Rana's library, and permission obtained to make copies of such MSS. as related to his history. The most important of these was the *Khoman Rasa*,† which is evidently a modern work founded upon ancient materials, tracing the genealogy to Rama, and halting at conspicuous beacons in this long line of crowned heads

particularly about the period of the Mahomedan irruption in the tenth century, the sack of Cheetore by Alla-oo-din in the thirteenth century, and the wars of Rana Pratap with Akber, during whose reign the work appears to have been recast.

The next in importance were the *Raj Vulas*, in the *Vrij Bhakha*, by Man Kubeswara;* and the *Raj Rutnakur*,† by Sudasheo Bhut; both written in the reign of Rana Raj Sing, the opponent of Aurungzebe: also the *Jey Vulas*, written in the reign of Jey Sing, son of Raj Sing. They all commence with the genealogies of the family, introductory to the military exploits of the princes whose names they bear.

The *Momadeva Prasistha* is a copy of the inscriptions‡ in the temple of 'the Mother of the Gods' at Komulmeer. Genealogical rolls of some antiquity were obtained from the widow of an ancient family bard, who had left neither children nor kindred to follow his profession. Another roll was procured from a priest of the Jains residing in Sanderai, in Marwar, whose ancestry had enjoyed from time immemorial the title of *Gooru*, which they held at the period of the sack of Ballabhipura in the fifth century, whence they emigrated simultaneously with the Rana's ancestors. Others were obtained from Jain priests at Jawud in Malwa. Historical documents possessed by several chiefs were readily furnished, and extracts were made from works, both Sanscrit and Persian, which incidentally mention the family. To these were added traditions or biographical anecdotes furnished in conversation by the Rana,

* The Balhara kings, and their capital Nehrwalla, or Anhulwarra Futun, have given rise to much conjecture amongst the learned. We shall, before this work is closed, endeavour to condense what has been said by ancient and modern authorities on the subject; and from manuscripts, ancient inscriptions, and the result of a personal visit to this ancient domain, to set the matter completely at rest.

† *Khoman* is an ancient title of the earlier princes, and still used. It was borne by the son of *Bappa*, the founder, who retired to Transoxiana, and there ruled and died: the very country of the ancient Seythie *Khomani*.

* Lord of rhyme.

† Sea of gems.

‡ These inscriptions will be described in the Personal Narrative.

or men of intellect amongst his chiefs, ministers, or bards, and inscriptions calculated to reconcile dates; in short, every corroborating circumstance was treasured up which could be obtained by incessant research during sixteen years. The Commentaries of Baber and Jehangir, the Institutes of Akber, original grants, public and autograph letters of the emperors of Delhi and their ministers, were made to contribute more or less; yet, numerous as are the authorities cited, the result may afford but little gratification to the general reader, partly owing to the unpopularity of the subject, partly to the inartificial mode of treating it.

At least ten genealogical lists, derived from the most opposite sources, agree in making Kanaksen the founder of this dynasty; and assign his emigration from the most northern of the provinces of India to the peninsula of Saurashtra in S. 201, or A. D. 145. We shall, therefore, make this the point of outset; though it may be premised that Jey Sing, the royal historian and astronomer of Ambar, connects the line with Soomitra (the fifty-sixth descendant from the deified Rama), who appears to have been the cotemporary of Vicramaditya, A. C. 56.

The country of which Ayodhya (now Oude) was the capital, and Rama monarch, is termed, in the geographical writings of the Hindus, *Koshala*; doubtless from the mother of Rama, whose name was *Kaushalya*. The first royal emigrant from the north is styled, in the Rana's archives, *Koshala-pootra*, 'son of Koshala.'

Rama had two sons, Loh and Cush: from the former the Rana's family claim descent. He is stated to have built Lahore, the an-

cient Loh-kote; and the branch from which the princes of Mewar are descended resided there until Kanaksen emigrated to Dwarica. The difficulty of tracing these races through a long period of years is greatly increased by the custom of changing the appellation of the tribe, from conquest, locality, or personal celebrity. *Sen** seems to have been the martial termination for many generations: this was followed by *Dit*, or *Aditya*, a term for the 'sun.' The first change in the name of the tribe was on their expulsion from Saurashtra, when for the generic term of *Suryavansi* was substituted the particular appellation of *Gehlote*. This name was maintained till another event dispersed the family, and when they settled in Ahar,† *Aharya* became the appellative of the branch. This continued till loss of territory and new acquisitions once more transferred the dynasty to Seesoda,‡ a temporary capital in the western mountains. The title of *Ranawat*, borne by all descendants of the blood royal since the eventful change which removed the seat of government from Cheetore to Oodipur, might in time have superseded that of *Seesodia*, if continued warfare had not checked the increase of population; but the Gehlote branch of the Suryavansi still retain the name of *Seesodia*.

Having premised thus much, we must retrograde to the darker ages, through which we shall endeavour to conduct this celebrated

* *Sen*, 'army': *henk*, 'war.'

† *Ahar*, or *Ar*, is in the valley of the present capital, Oodipur.

‡ The origin of this name is from the trivial occurrence of the expelled prince of Cheetore having erected a town to commemorate the spot, where after an extraordinarily hard chase he killed a hare (*sasa*).

dynasty, though the clue sometimes nearly escapes from our hands in these labyrinths of antiquity.* When it is recollected to what violence this family has been subjected during the last eight centuries, often dispossessed of all but their native hills and compelled to live on their spontaneous produce, we could scarcely expect that historical records should be preserved. Cheetore was thrice sacked and destroyed, and the existing records are formed from fragments, registers of births and marriages, or from the oral relations of the bards.

By what route Kanaksen, the first emigrant of the solar race, found his way into Saurashtra from Loh-kote, is uncertain: he, however, wrested dominion from a prince of the Pramara race, and founded Birnagara in the second century (A.D. 144). Four generations afterwards, Vijya Sen, whom the prince of Ambar calls *Noshirwan*, founded Vijyapur, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of Saurashtra peninsula. Vidarbha was also founded by him, the name of which was afterwards changed to Seehore. But the most celebrated was the capital, Ballabhipura, which for years baffled all search, till it was revealed in its now humbled condition as Balbhi, ten miles north-west

of Bhownuggur. The existence of this city was confirmed by a celebrated Jain work, the *Satroonjya Mahatmya*.* The want of satisfactory proof of the Rana's emigration from thence was obviated by the most unexpected discovery, of an inscription of the twelfth century, in a ruined temple on the table-land forming the eastern boundary of the Rana's present territory, which appeals to the 'walls of Ballabhi' for the truth of the action it records. And a work written to commemorate the reign of Rana Raj Sing opens with these words; "In the west is Soorat-des,† "a country well known: the barbarians invaded it, and conquered *Bhal-ca-nath*;‡ all "fell in the sack of Ballabhipura, except the "daughter of the Pramara." And the Sanderai roll thus commences: "When the "city of Ballabhi was sacked the inhabitants "fled and founded Balli, Sanderai, and Nadole "in Mordur des."§ These are towns yet of consequence, and in all the Jain religion is still maintained, which was the chief worship of Ballabhipura when sacked by the 'barbarian.' The records preserved by the Jains give S.B. 205 (A.D. 524) as the date of this event.

The tract about Ballabhipura and northward is termed *Bhal*, probably from the tribe of *Balla*, which might have been the designation of the Rana's tribe prior to that of *Grahilote*; and most probably *Moolthan*, and all these regions of the *Catti*, *Balli*, &c. were dependent on *Lohkote*, whence emigrated *Kanaksen*; thus strengthening the surmise of the *Scythic* descent of the *Ranas*, though

* The wild fable which envelops or adorns the cradle of every illustrious family is not easily disentangled. The bards weave the web with skill, and it clings like ivy round each modern branch, obscuring the aged stem, in the time-worn branches of which monsters and demigods are perched, whose claims of affinity are held in high estimation by these 'children of the sun,' who would deem it criminal to doubt the *loin-robe* (*dhoti*) of their great founder, *Bappa Rawul*, was less than five hundred cubits in circumference, that his two-edged sword (*khanda*), the gift of the Hindu *Proserpine*, weighed an ounce less than sixty-four pounds, or that he was an inch under twenty feet in height.

* Presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

† Soorat or Saurashtra.

‡ The 'lord of Bhal.'

§ Marwar.

now installed in the seat of Rama. The sun was the deity of this northern tribe, as of the Rana's ancestry, and the remains of numerous temples to this grand object of Scythic homage are still to be found scattered over the peninsula; whence its name, *Saurashtra*, the country of the *Sauras*, or *Sun-worshippers*; the *Surostrene* or *Syrastrène* of ancient geographers: its inhabitants, the *Suros* of Strabo.

Besides these cities, the MSS. give Gayni* as the last refuge of the family when expelled Saurashtra. One of the poetic chronicles thus commences: "The barbarians had captured Gajni. The house of Silladitya was left desolate. In its defence his heroes fell: of his seed but the name remained."

These invaders were Scythic, and in all probability a colony from the Parthian kingdom, which was established in sovereignty on the Indus in the second century, having their capital at *Saminagara*, where the ancient *Yadu* ruled for ages: the *Minagara*† of Arrian, and the *Mankir* of the Arabian

geographers. It was by this route, through the eastern portion of the valley of the Indus, that the various hordes of Getes or Jits, Huns, Camari, Catti, Macwahana, Balla and Aswaria, had peopled this peninsula, leaving traces still visible. The period is also remarkable, when these and other Scythic hordes were simultaneously abandoning higher Asia for the cold regions of Europe and the warm plains of Hindusthan. From the first to the sixth century of the Christian era, various records exist of these irruptions from the north. Gibbon, quoting De Guignes, mentions one in the second century, which fixed permanently in the Saurashtra peninsula: and the latter, from original authorities, describes another of the Getes or Jits, styled by the Chinese *Yu-chi*, in the north of India.* But the authority directly

make it $26^{\circ} 40'$. I have said elsewhere that I had little doubt that Minagara, handed down to us by the author of the *Periplus*, as the *metropolis tes Skuthias*, was the *Saminagara* of the *Yadu* *Jharejas*, whose chronicles claim *Sewisthan* as their ancient possession, and in all probability was the strong-hold (*nagara*) of *Sambus*, the opponent of Alexander. On every consideration, I am inclined to place it on the site of *Sehwan*. The learned Vincent, in his translation of the *Periplus*, enters fully and with great judgment upon this point, citing every authority, Arrian, Ptolemy, Al-Biruni, Edrisi, D'Anville, and De la Rochette. He has a note (26, p. 386, vol. i.) which is conclusive, could he have applied it: "Al-Birun [equi-distant] between Debeil and Mansura." D'Anville also says: "de Mansora a la ville nommee Birun, la distance est indiquée de quinze parasanges dans Abulfeda," who fixes it, on the authority of the Abu-Rehan (surnamed Al-Biruni from his birth-place), at $26^{\circ} 40'$.

The ancient name of Hyderabad, the present capital of Scinde, was *Neroon* or *Nirun*, and is almost equidistant, as Abulfeda says, between *Dabul* (*Dewul* or *Tatta*) and *Mansoor*, *Sehwan*, or *Minagara*, the latitude of which, according to my construction, is $26^{\circ} 11'$. Those who wish to pursue this may examine the *Eclaircissemens sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 37 et seq., and Dr. Vincent's estimable translation, p. 386.

* See History of the Tribes, page 82, and translation of Inscription No. I. Vide Appendix.

* Gayni, or Gajni, is one of the ancient names of *Cambay* (the port of *Ballabhipura*), the ruins of which are about three miles from the modern city. Other sources indicate that these princes held possessions in the southern continent of India, as well as in the *Saurashtra* peninsula. *Tilatilpur Puttun*, on the *Godavery* is mentioned which tradition asserts to be the city of *Deogir*; but which, after many years' research, I discovered in *Saurashtra*, it being one of the ancient names of *Kundala*. In after times, when succeeding dynasties held the title of *Bhal-ca-rae*, though the capital was removed inland to *Anhulwarra Puttun*, they still held possession of the western shore, and *Cambay* continued the chief port.

† The position of *Minagara* has occupied the attention of geographers from D'Anville to Pottinger. *Scinde* being conquered by Omar, general of the caliph *Al-Mansoor* (*Abbasi*), the name of *Minagara* was changed to *Mansora*, "une ville celebre sur le rivage droit du Sind" "ou *Mehran*." "Ptolemee fait aussi mention de cette ville; mais en la deplacant," &c. D'Anville places it about 26° , but not so high as *Ulug Beg*, whose tables

in point is that of Cosmas, surnamed Indopleustes, who was in India during the reign of Justinian, and that of the first monarch of the Chinese dynasty of Leam.* Cosmas had visited Callian, included in the Balhara kingdom; and he mentions the *Abtelites*, or white Huns, under their king Golas, as being established on the Indus at the very period of the invasion of Ballabhipura.

Arrian, who resided in the second century at Baragaza (Baroach), describes a Parthian sovereignty as extending from the Indus to the Nerbudda. Their capital has already been mentioned, Minagara. Whether these, the *Abtelites* of Cosmas, were the Parthian dynasty of Arrian, or whether the Parthians were supplanted by the Huns, we must remain in ignorance, but to one or the other we must attribute the sack of Ballabhipura. The legend of this event affords scope for speculation, both as regards the conquerors and the conquered, and gives at least a colour of truth to the reputed Persian ancestry

* Considerable intercourse was carried on between the princes of India and China from the earliest periods; but particularly during the dynasties of Sum, Leam, and Tam, from the fourth to the seventh centuries, when the princes from Bengal and Malabar to the Punjab sent embassies to the Chinese monarchs. The dominions of these Hindu princes may yet be identified.

† D'Herbelot (vol. i. p. 179) calls them the *Haiathelah* or *Indoscythæ*, and says that they were apparently from Thibet, between India and China. De Guignes (tome i. p. 325) is offended with this explanation, and says: "cette conjecture ne peut avoir lieu, les Euthelites n'ayant jamais demeuré dans le Thibet." A branch of the Huns, however, did most assuredly dwell in that quarter though we will not positively assert that they were the *Abtelites*. The *Hya* was a great branch of the lunar race of Yayati, and appears early to have left India for the northern regions, and would afford a more plausible etymology for the *Haiathelah* than the *Te-le*, who dwelt on the waters (*ab*) of the Oxus. This branch of the Hunish race has also been termed *Nephthalite*, and fancied one of the lost tribes of Israel.

of the Rana: a subject which will be distinctly considered. The solar orb, and its type, fire, were the chief objects of adoration of Silladitya of Ballabhipura. Whether to these was added that of the lingam, the symbol of Balnath (the sun), the primary object of worship with his descendants, may be doubted. It was certainly confined to these, and the adoption of 'strange gods' by the Suryavansi Gehlote is comparatively of modern invention.*

There was a fountain (*Suryacoonda*) 'sacred to the sun' at Ballabhipura, from which arose, at the summons of Silladitya (according to the legend) the seven-headed horse Saptaswa, which draws the car of Surya, to bear him to battle. With such an auxiliary no foe could prevail; but a wicked minister revealed to the enemy the secret of annulling this aid, by polluting the sacred fountain with blood. This accomplished, in vain did the prince call on Saptaswa to save him from the strange and barbarous foe: the charm was broken, and with it sunk the dynasty of Ballabhi. Who the 'barbarian' was that defiled with blood of kine the fountain of the sun,† whether Gete, Parthian, or Hun, we are left to conjecture. The

* Ferishta in the early part of his history, observes that, some centuries prior to Vicramaditya, the Hindus abandoned the simple religion of their ancestors, made idols, and worshipped the host of heaven, which faith they had from Cashmere, the foundry of magic superstition.

† Divested of allegory, it means simply that the supply of water was rendered impure, and consequently useless to the Hindus, which compelled them to abandon their defences and meet death in the open field. Alla-o-din practised the same ruse against the celebrated Achil, the Kheechie prince of Gagrown, which caused the surrender of this impregnable fortress. "It matters not," observes an historian whose name I do not recollect, "whether such things are true, it is sufficient



Persian, though he venerated the bull, yet sacrificed him on the altar of Mithras;* and though the ancient Guebre purifies with the urine† of the cow, he will not refuse to eat beef; and the iniquity of Cambyzes, who thrust his lance into the flank of the Egyptian Apis, is a proof that the bull was abstractedly no object of worship. It would be indulging a legitimate curiosity, could we by any means discover how these 'strange'

tribes obtained a footing amongst the Hindu races; for so late as seven centuries ago we find Gotes, Huns, Catti, Ariaspas, Dahæ, definitively settled, and enumerated amongst the Chhatees rajoula.* How much earlier the admission, no authority states; but mention is made of several of them aiding in the defence of Cheetore, on the first appearance of the Faith of Islam, upwards of eleven hundred years ago.

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Goha.—He acquires Edur.—Derivation of the term 'Gehlote'.—Birth of Bappa.—Early religion of the Gehlotes.—Bappa's history.—Oguna Panora.—Bappa's initiation into the worship of Siva.—He gains possession of Cheetore.—Remarkable end of Bappa.—Four epochs established, from the second to the eleventh century.

Of the prince's family, the queen Pushpavati alone escaped the sack of Ballabhi, as well as the funeral pyre, upon which, on the death of Silladitya, his other wives were sacrificed. She was a daughter of the Pramara prince of Chandravati, and had

"that they were believed. We may smile at the mention of the ghost, the evil genius of Brutus, appearing to him before the battle of Pharsalia; yet it never would have been stated, had it not assimilated with the 'opinions and prejudices of the age.' And we may deduce a simple moral from 'the parent orb refusing the aid of his steed to his terrestrial offspring,' viz. that he was deserted by the deity. Fountains sacred to the sun and other deities were common to the Persians, Seythians, and Hindus, and both the last offered steeds to him in sacrifice. *Vide History of the Tribes, article Aswamedha, page 58.*

* The Bul-dan, or sacrifice of the bull to Bal-nath, is on record, though now discontinued amongst the Hindus.

† Pinkerton, who is most happy to strengthen his aversion for the Celt, seizes on a passage in Strabo, who describes him as having recourse to the same mode of purification as the Guebre. Unconscious that it may have had a religious origin, he adduces it as a strong proof of the uncleanness of their habits.

visited the shrine of the universal mother, Amba-Bhavani, in her native land, to deposit upon the altar of the goddess a votive offering consequent to her expectation of offspring. She was on her return, when the intelligence arrived which blasted all her future hopes, by depriving her of her lord, and robbing him, whom the goddess had just granted to her prayers, of a crown. Excessive grief closed her pilgrimage. Taking refuge in a cave in the mountains of Mallia she was delivered of a son. Having confided the infant to a Brahminee of Birnugur named Camalavati, enjoining her to educate the young prince as a Brahmin, but to marry him to a Rajpootnee, she mounted the funeral pile to join her lord. Camalavati, the daughter of the priest of the temple, was herself a mother, and she performed the

* See table, p. 63.

tender offices of one to the orphan prince, whom she designated Goha, or 'cave-born.' The child was a source of perpetual uneasiness to its protectors: he associated with Rajpoot children, killing birds, hunting wild animals, and at the age of eleven was totally unmanageable: to use the words of the legend, "how should they hide the ray of the sun."

At this period Edur was governed by a chief of the savage race of Bhil; his name Mandalica. The young Goha frequented the forests in company with the Bhils, whose habits better assimilated with his daring nature than those of the Brahmins. He became a favourite with the Vana-pootras, or 'children of the forest,' who resigned to him Edur with its woods and mountains. The fact is mentioned by Abul Fuzil, and is still repeated by the bards, with a characteristic version of the incident, of which doubtless there were many. The Bhils having determined in sport to elect a king, the choice fell on Goha; and one of the young savages, cutting his finger, applied the blood as the teeka of sovereignty to his forehead. What was done in sport was confirmed by the old forest chief. The sequel fixes on Goha the stain of ingratitude, for he slew his benefactor, and no motive is assigned in the legend for the deed. Goha's name became the patronymic of his descendants, who were styled *Gohilote*, classically *Grahilote*, in time softened to *Gehlote*.

We know very little concerning these early princes, but that they dwelt in this mountainous region for eight generations; when the Bhils, tired of a foreign rule, assailed Nagadit, the eighth prince, while hunting,

and deprived him of life and Edur. The descendants of Camalavati (the Birnuggur Brahmin), who retained the office of priest in the family, were again the preservers of the line of Ballabhi. The infant Bappa, son of Nagadit, then only three years old, was conveyed to the fortress of Bhandere,* where he was protected by a Bhil of Yadu descent. Thence he was removed for greater security to the wilds of Parassur. Within its impervious recesses rose the three-peaked (*tri-cutā*) mountain, at whose base was the town of Nagindra,† the abode of Brahmins, who performed the rites of the 'great god.' In this retreat passed the early years of Bappa, wandering through these alpine valleys, amidst the groves of Bal and the shrines of the brazen calf.

The most antique temples are to be seen in these spots—within the dark gorge of the mountain, or on its rugged summit,—in the depths of the forest, and at the sources of streams, were sites of seclusion, beauty, and sublimity alternately exalt the mind's devotion. In these regions the creative power appears to have been the earliest and at one time the sole object of adoration, whose symbols, the serpent-wreathed phallus (*lingam*), and its companion, the bull, were held sacred even by the 'children of the forest.' In these silent retreats Mahadeva continued to rule triumphant, and the most brilliant festivities of Oodipur were those where his

* Fifteen miles south-west of Jarrole, in the wildest region of India.

† Or Nagda, still a place of religious resort, about ten miles north of Oodipur. Here I found several very old inscriptions relative to the family, which preserve the ancient denomination *Gohil* instead of *Gehlote*. One of these is about nine centuries old.

rites are celebrated in the nine days sacred to him, when the Jains and Vaishnabs mix with the most zealous of his votaries: but the strange gods from the plains of the Yumuna and Ganges have withdrawn a portion of the zeal of the Gehlotes from their patron divinity Eklinga, whose dewan,* or vicegerent, is the Rana. The temple of Eklinga, situated in one of the narrow defiles leading to the capital, is an immense structure, though more sumptuous than elegant. It is built entirely of white marble, most elaborately carved and embellished; but lying in the route of a bigotted foe, it has undergone many dilapidations. The brazen bull, placed under his own dome, facing the sanctuary of the phallus, is nearly of the natural size, in a recumbent posture. It is cast (hollow) of good shape, highly polished and without flaw, except where the hammer of the Tatar had opened a passage in the hollow flank in search of treasure.†

Tradition has preserved numerous details of Bappa's‡ infancy, which resemble the adventures of every hero or founder of a race. The young prince attended the sacred kine, an occupation which was honourable even to the 'children of the sun,' and which they still pursue: possibly a remnant of their

primitive Scythic habits. The pranks of the royal shepherd are the theme of many a tale. On the *Jul Jhoolni*, when swinging is the amusement of the youth of both sexes, the daughter of the Solanki chief of Nagda and the village maidens had gone to the groves to enjoy this festivity, but they were unprovided with ropes. Bappa happened to be at hand, and was called by the Rajpoot damsels to forward their sport. He promised to procure a rope if they would first have a game at marriage. One frolic was as good as another, and the scarf of the Solankini was united to the garment of Bappa, the whole of the village lasses joining hands with his as the connecting link; and thus they performed the mystical number of revolutions round an aged tree. This frolic caused his flight from Nagda, and originated his greatness, but at the same time burthened him with all these damsels; and hence a heterogeneous issue, whose descendants still ascribe their origin to the prank of Bappa round the old mango-tree of Nagda. A suitable offer being shortly after made for the young Solankini's hand, the family priests of the bridegroom, whose duty it was, by his knowledge of palmistry, to investigate the fortunes of the bride, discovered that she was already married: intelligence which threw the family into the greatest consternation. Though Bappa's power over his brother shepherds was too strong to create any dread of disclosure as to his being the principal in this affair, yet was it too much to expect that a secret, in which no less than six hundred of the daughters of Eve were concerned, could long remain such. Bappa's mode of swearing his companions to secrecy

* Ekling-ca-Dewan is the common title of the Rana.

† Amongst the many temples where the brazen calf forms part of the establishment of Bal-Cesar, there is one sacred to Nanda alone, at Naen in the valley. This lordly bull has his shrine attended as devoutly as was that of Apis at Memphis; nor will Eklinga yield to his brother Serapis. The changes of position of the Apis at Naen are received as indications of the fruitfulness of the seasons, though it is not apparent how such are contrived.

‡ Bappa is not a proper name, it signifies merely a 'child.' He is frequently styled *Syeel*, and in inscriptions *Syeel Adhee*, 'the mountain lord.'

is preserved. Digging a small pit, and taking a pebble in his hand, "Swear," cried he "secrecy and obedience to me in good and in evil; that you will reveal to me all that you hear, and failing, desire that the good deeds of your forefathers may, like this pebble (dropping it into the pit) fall into the Washerman's well."* They took the oath. The Solanki chief, however, heard that Bappa was the offender, who, receiving from his faithful scouts intimation of his danger, sought refuge in one of the retreats which abound in these mountains, and which in after-times proved the preservation of his race. The companions of his flight were two Bhils: one of Oondree, in the valley of the present capital; the other of Solanki descent, from Oguna Panora, in the western wilds. Their names, Baleo and Dewa, have been handed down with Bappa's; and the former had the honour of drawing the teeka of sovereignty with his own blood on the forehead of the prince, on the occasion of his taking the crown from the Mori.

It is pleasing to trace, through a series of ages, the knowledge of a custom still 'honoured in the observance.' The descendants of Baleo of Oguna and the Oondree Bhil still claim the privilege of performing the teeka on the inauguration of the descendants of Bappa.

OGUNA PANORA is the sole spot in India which enjoys a state of natural freedom. Attached to no state, having no foreign communications, living under its own patriarchal head, its chief, with the title of Rana, whom thousand hamlets scattered over the

forest-crowned valleys obey, can, if requisite, appear at 'the head of five thousand bows.' He is a Bhoomia Bhil of mixed blood, from the Solanki Rajpoot, on the old stock of pure (*ocjla*) Bhils, the autochthones (if such there be of any country) of Mewar. Besides making the teeka of blood from an incision in the thumb, the Oguna chief takes the prince by the arm and seats him on the throne, while the Oondree Bhil holds the salver of spices and sacred grains of rice* used in making the teeka.

But the solemnity of being seated on the throne of Mewar is so expensive, that many of these rites have fallen into disuse. Jugut Sing was the last prince whose coronation was conducted with the ancient magnificence of this princely house. It costs the sum of ninety lacks of rupees (£1,125,000), nearly one entire year's revenue of the state in the days of its prosperity, and which, taking into consideration the comparative value of money, would amount to upwards of four millions sterling,†

* Hence, perhaps, the name *ku sh ke h* for teeka. Grains of ground rice in curds is the material to the primitive teeka, which the author has had applied to him by a lady in Goojargar, one of the most savage spots in India, amidst the *levy en masse*, assembled hostilely against him, but separated amicably.

† Such the pride of these small kingdoms in days of yore, and such their resources, till reduced by constant oppression! But their public works speak what they could do, and have done; witness the stupendous work of marble, and its adjacent causeway, which dams the lake of Rajsumund at Kankerowli, and which cost upwards of a million. When the spectator views this expanse of water, this 'royal sea' (*rajsaumund*) on the borders of the plain; the pillar of victory towering over the plains of Malwa, erected on the summit of Cheetore by Rana Mokul; their palaces and temples in this ancient abode; the regal residence erected by these princes when ejected, must fill the observer with astonishment at the resources of the state. They are such as to explain the metaphor of my ancient friend Zalim Sing,

* Deemed in the East, the most impure of all receptacles. These wells are dug at the sides of streams, and give a supply of pure water filtering through the sand.



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To resume the narrative : though the flight of Bappa and its cause are perfectly natural, we have another episode ; when the bard assuming a higher strain has recourse to celestial machinery for the *denouement* of this simple incident : but "an illustrious race must always be crowned with its proper mythology." Bappa, who was the founder of a line of a 'hundred kings,' feared as a monarch, adored as more than mortal, and, according to the legend, 'still living (*chiranjiva*),' deserves to have the source of his pre-eminent fortune disclosed, which, in Mewar, it were sacrilege to doubt. While he pastured the sacred kine in the valleys of Nagindra, the pious shepherd was suspected of appropriating the milk of a favourite cow to his own use. He was distrusted and watched, and although indignant, the youth admitted that they had reason to suspect him, from the habitual dryness of the brown cow when she entered the pens at even.* He watched, and traced her to a narrow dell, when he beheld the udder spontaneously pouring its stores amidst the shrubs. Under a thicket of cane a hermit was reposing in a state of abstraction, from which the impetuosity of the shepherd soon roused him. The mystery was revealed in the phallic symbol of the 'great God,' which daily received the lacteal shower, and raised such doubts of the veracity of Bappa.

No eye had hitherto penetrated into this natural sanctuary of the rites of the Hindu Creator, except the sages and hermits of ancient days (of whom this was the cele-

brated Harita*), whom this bounteous cow also fed.

Bappa related to the sage all he knew of himself, received his blessing, and retired ; but he went daily to visit him, to wash his feet, carry milk to him, and gather such wild flowers as were acceptable offerings to the deity. In return he received lessons of morality, and was initiated into the mysterious rites of Siva : and at length he was invested with the triple cordon of faith (*teen purwa zinar*) by the hands of the sage, who became his spiritual guide, and bestowed on his pupil the title of 'Regent (Dewan) of Eklinga.' Bappa had proofs that his attentions to the saint and his devotion to Eklinga were acceptable, by a visit from his consort, the lion-burn goddess. From her hand he received the *pascha*, the celestial fabrication, the work of Viswacarma (the Vulcan of Eastern mythology), which outvies all the arms ever forged for Greek or Trojan. The lance, bow, quiver, and arrows ; a shield and sword (more famed than Balisarda) which the goddess girded on him with her own hand : the oath of fidelity and devotion was the 'relief' of this celestial investiture. Thus initiated into the mysteries of 'the first' (*ad*), admitted under the banners of Bhavani, Harita resolved to leave his pupil to his fortunes, and to quit the worship of the symbol for the presence of the deity in the mansions above. He informed Bappa of his design, and commanded him to be at the sacred spot early

who knew better than we the value of this country : 'every pinch of the soil of Mewar contains gold.'

* *Gaoda-luk*, the time when the cows come home.

* On this spot the celebrated temple of Eklinga was erected, and the present high priest traces sixty-six descents from Harita to himself. To him (through the Rana) I was indebted for the copy of the *Sheo* (*Siva*) *Paran* presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

on the following morn; but Bappa shewed his materiality by oversleeping himself, and on reaching the spot the sage had already made some progress in his car, borne by the Apsaras, or celestial messengers. He checked his aerial ascent to give a last token of affection to his pupil; and desiring him to reach up to receive his blessing, Bappa's stature was extended to twenty cubits; but as he did not reach the car, he was commanded to open his mouth, when the sage did what was recorded as performed, about the same period, by Mahomed, who spat into the mouth of his favourite nephew, Hussein, the son of Ali. Bappa shewed his disgust and aversion by blinking, and the projected blessing fell on his foot, by which ~~queenliness~~ he obtained ~~any~~ invulnerability of weapons instead of immortality: the saint was soon lost in the cerulean space. Thus marked as the favourite of heaven, and having learned from his mother that he was nephew to the Mori prince of Cheetore, he 'disdained a shepherd's slothful life,' and with some companions from these wilds quitted his retreat, and for the first time emerged into the plains. But as if the brand of Bhavani was insufficient, he met with another hermit in the forest of the Tiger Mount,* the famed Goruknath, who presented to him the double-edged sword,†

* The *Nahra Mugra*, seven miles from the eastern pass leading to the capital, where the prince has a hunting seat surrounded by several others belonging to the nobles, but all going to decay. The tiger and wild boar now prowls unmolested, as none of the 'unlicensed' dare shoot in these royal preserves.

† They surmise that this is the individual blade which is yet annually worshipped by the sovereign and chiefs on its appropriate day, one of the nine sacred to the god of war; a rite completely Scythic. I had this relation from the chief genealogists of the family, who gravely

which, with the proper incantation, could 'sever rocks.' With this he opened the road to fortune leading to the throne of Cheetore.

Cheetore was at this period held by the Mori prince of the Prammar race, the ancient lords of Malwa, then paramount sovereigns of Hindusthan: but whether this city was then the chief seat of power is not known. Various public works, reservoirs, and bastions, yet retain the name of this race.

Bappa's connection with the Mori* obtained him a good reception; he was enrolled amongst the samunts or leaders, and a suitable estate conferred upon him. The inscription, of the Mori prince's reign, so often alluded to, affords a good idea of his power, and of the feudal manners of his court. He was surrounded by a numerous nobility, holding estates on the tenure of military service, but whom he had disgusted by his neglect, and whose jealousy he had provoked by the superior regard shown to Bappa. A foreign foe appearing at this time, instead of obeying the summons to attend, they threw up their grants, and tauntingly desired him to call on his favourite.†

Bappa undertook the conduct of the war, and the chiefs, though dispossessed of their estates, accompanied him from a feeling of shame. The foe was defeated and driven out of the country; but instead of returning to Cheetore, Bappa continued his course to the

repeated the incantation: "By the preceptor Goruknath, and the great god, Eklinga; by Takshac the serpent, and the sage Harita; by Bhavani (Pallas), strike!"

* Bappa's mother was a Prammar, probably from Aboo or Chandravati, near to Edur; and consequently Bappa was nephew to every Prammar in existence.

† We are furnished with a catalogue of the tribes which served the Mori prince, which is extremely valuable, from its acquainting us with the names of tribes no longer existing.



ancient seat of his family, Gajni, expelled the 'barbarian' called Selim, placed on the throne a chief of the Chawura tribe, and returned with the discontented nobles. Bappa, on this occasion, is said to have married the daughter of his enemy. The nobles quitted Cheetore, leaving their defiance with their prince. In vain were the spiritual preceptor (*Gooru*) and foster-brother (*Dabhae*) sent as ambassadors: their only reply was, that as they had 'eaten his salt,' they would forbear their vengeance for twelve months. The noble deportment of Bappa won their esteem, and they transferred to him their service and homage. With the temptation of a crown, the gratitude of the Grahilote was given. On their return they resaulted and carried Cheetore, and, in the words of the chronicle, "Bappa took Cheetore from the Mori and became himself the mor (crown) of the land:" he obtained by universal consent the title of 'sun of the Hindus (*Hindua suraj*), preceptor of princes (*Raj Gooru*), and universal 'lord (*Chukwa*).'

He had a numerous progeny, some of whom returned to their ancient seats in Saurashtra, whose descendants were powerful chieftains in that tract so late as Akber's reign.* Five sons went to Marwar, and the ancient Gohil† 'of the land of Kheir,' expelled and driven to Gohilwal, have lost sight of their ancestry, and by a singular fatality are in possession of the wreck of Ballabhipura, ignorant of its history and their connection with it, mixing with Arabs

and following marine and mercantile pursuits; and the office of the bard having fallen into disrepute, they cannot trace their forefathers beyond Kheirdhur.*

The close of Bappa's career is the strangest part of the legend, and which it might be expected they would be solicitous to suppress. Advanced in years, he abandoned his children and his country, carried his arms west to Khorasan, and there established himself, and married new wives from among the 'barbarians,' by whom he had a numerous offspring.†

Bappa had reached the patriarchal age of one hundred when he died. An old volume of historical anecdotes, belonging to the chief of Dailwara, states that he became an ascetic at the foot of Moru, where he was buried alive after having overcome all the kings of the west, as in Ispahan, Kandahar, Cashmere, Irak, Iran, Tooran, and Cafferisthan; all of whose daughters he married, and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called the Nosheyra Pathans. Each of these founded a tribe, bearing the name of the mother. His Hindu children were ninety-eight in number, and were called *Agni-upasi Suryavansi*, or 'sunborn fire-worshippers.' The chronicles also record that (in like manner as did the subjects of the Bactrian king Menander, though from a different motive) the subjects of Bappa quarrelled for the disposal of his remains. The Hindu

* The 'land of Kheir,' on the south-west frontier of Marwar, near the Loony river.

† The reigning prince told the author that there was no doubt of Bappa having ended his days among 'the Turks:' a term now applied to all Mahomedans by the Hindu, but at that time confined to the inhabitants of Turkistan, the Turushka of the Purans, and the Takhshac of early inscriptions.

* See *Ayen Akberi*, who states fifty thousand Gohilotes in Sorat.

† Peparra Gohilotes.

wished the fire to consume them; the 'barbarian' to commit them to earth; but on raising the pall while the dispute was raging, innumerable flowers of the lotus were found in the place of the remains of mortality: these were conveyed and planted in the lake. This is precisely what is related of the end of the Persian Noshirwan.

Having thus briefly sketched the history of the founder of the Gehlote dynasty of Mewar, we must now endeavour to establish the epoch of this important event in its annals. Although Bappa Rawul was nine generations after the sack of Ballabhipura, the domestic annals give S. 191 (A.D. 135) for his birth; which the bards implicitly following, have vitiated the whole chronology. An important inscription* in a character little known, establishes the fact of the Mori dynasty being in possession of Cheetore in S. 770 (A.D. 714). Now the annals of the Rana's house expressly state Bappa Rawul to be the nephew of the Mori prince of Cheetore; that at the age of fifteen he was enrolled amongst the chieftains of his uncle, and that the vassals (before alluded to), in revenge for the resumption of their grants by the Mori, dethroned him and elevated as their sovereign the youthful Bappa. Notwithstanding this apparently irreconcilable anachronism, the family traditions accord with the inscription, except in date. Amidst such contradictions the development of the truth seemed impossible. Another valuable inscription of S. 1024 (A.D. 968), though giving the genealogy from Bappa to Sacti Komar and corroborating that from Cheetore, and which furnished convincing evidence, was not

sanctioned by the prince or his chroniclers, who would admit nothing as valid that militated against their established era 191 for the birth of their founder. After six years' residence and unremitting search amid ruins, archives, inscriptions, traditions, and whatever could throw light upon this point, the author quitted Oodipur with all these doubts in his mind, for Saurashtra, to prosecute his inquiries in the pristine abodes of the race. Then it was that he was rewarded, beyond his most sanguine expectations by the discovery of an inscription which reconciled these conflicting authorities and removed every difficulty. This marble, found in the celebrated temple of Somnath,* made mention of a distinct era — the *Saurashtra Samvat*, as being used in Saurashtra; which era was three hundred and seventy-five years subsequent to Vicramaditya.

On the sack of Ballabhi thirty thousand families abandoned this 'city of a hundred temples,' and led by their priests found a retreat for themselves and their faith in Mordur-des (Marwar), where they erected the towns of Sanderai and Balhi, in which latter we recognize the name of the city whence they were expelled. The religion of Ballabhi, and consequently of the colonists, was the Jain; and it was by a priest descended from the survivors of this catastrophe, and still with their descendants inhabiting those towns, that these most important documents were furnished to the author. The Sanderai roll assigns the year 305 (Ballabhi era) for the destruction of Ballabhi: another, also from Jain authority, gives 205; and as there were but nine princes from Vijaya Sen,

* Vide Appendix, Translation No. II.

* See Translation No. III.



the founder, to its fall, we can readily believe the first a numerical error. Therefore $205 + 375 = 580$ S. Vicrama (A. D. 524), for the invasion of Saurashtra by 'the barbarians from the north,' and sack of Ballabhipur.

Now if from 770, the date of the Mori tablet, we deduct 580, there remains 190; justifying the pertinacity with which the chroniclers of Mewar adhered to the date given in their annals for the birth of Bappa, viz. 191: though they were ignorant that this period was dated from the flight from Ballabhipur.

Bappa, when he succeeded to the Mori prince, is said to have been fifteen years old; and his birth being one year anterior to the Mori inscription, viz. S. V. 784 (A. D. 728),* is the period for the foundation of the Gehlote dynasty in Mewar: since which, during a space of eleven hundred years, fifty-nine princes lineally descended from Bappa have sat on the throne of Cheetore.

Though the bards and chroniclers will never forgive the temerity which thus curtails the antiquity of their founder, he is yet placed in the dawn of chivalry, when the Carolingian dynasty was established in the west, and when Walid, whose bands planted 'the green standard' on the Ebro, was 'commander of the faithful.'

From the deserted and now forgotten 'city of the sun,' Aitpur, the abode of wild beasts and savage Bhils, another memorial† of the princes of Mewar was obtained. It relates

to the prince Sacti Kumar. Its date is S. 1024 (A. D. 968), and it contains the names of fourteen of his ancestors in regular succession. Amongst these is Bappa, or Syeel. When compared with the chronicles and family archives, it was highly gratifying to find that, with the exception of one superfluous name and the transposition of others, they were in perfect accordance.

Humes says, "Poets, though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth, when they are the sole historians, as among the Britons, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations." The remark is applicable here; for the names which had been mouldering for nine centuries, far from the abode of man, are the same they had worked into their poetical legends. It was at this exact epoch that the arms of Islam, for the first time, crossed the Indus. In the ninety-fifth year of the Hegira,* Mahomed Bin Kasim, the general of the Kaliph Walid, conquered Sind, and penetrated (according to early Arabian authors) to the Ganges; and although Elmacin mentions only Sind, yet other Hindu states were at this period convulsed from the same cause: witness the overthrow of Manik-rae of Ajmeer, in the middle of the eighth century, by a foe 'coming in ships,' Anjar specified as the point where they landed. If any doubt existed that it was Kasim who advanced to Cheetore† and was defeated by

* This will make Bappa's attainment of Cheetore fifteen years posterior to Kasim's invasion. I have observed generally a discrepancy of ten years between the Samvat and Hegira; the Hegira reckoned from the sixteenth year of Mohamed's mission, and would if employed reconcile this difficulty.

† See Translation of Inscription No. IV.

* A. D. 713, or S. 769: the Inscription 770 of Maun Mori, against whom came the 'barbarian.'

† I was informed by a friend, who had seen the papers of Captain Macmurdo, that he had a notice of Kasim's having penetrated to Dongerpur. Had this gentleman lived, he would have thrown much light on these western antiquities.

Bappa, it was set at rest by finding at this time in Cheetore 'Dahir,* the Prince of Debeil.' Abul Fuzil records from Arabian authorities, that Dahir was lord of Sinde, and resided at his capital, Debeil, the first place captured by Kasim in 95. His miserable end, and the destruction of his house, are mentioned by the historian, and account for the son being found with the Mori prince of Cheetore.

Nine princes intervened between Bappa and Sacti Kumar, in two centuries, (twenty-

two years to each reign): just the time which should elapse from the founder, who 'abandoned his country for Iran,' in S. 820, or A.D. 764. Having thus established four epochs in the earlier history of the family, viz. 1st. Kanaksen, A.D. 144; 2nd. Silladitya, and sack of Ballabhi A.D. 524; 3rd. establishment in Cheetore and Mewar, A.D. 720; 4th. Sacti Kumar, A.D. 1068; we may endeavour to relieve this narrative by the notices which regard their Persian descent.

CHAPTER III.

Alleged Persian extraction of the Ranas of Mewar.—Authorities for it.—Implied descent of the Ranas from a Christian Princess of Byzantium.—The author's reflections upon these points.

HISTORIC truth has, in all countries, been sacrificed to national vanity: to its gratification every obstacle is made to give way; fictions become facts, and even religious prejudices vanish in this *mirage* of the imagination. What but this spurious zeal could for a moment induce any genuine Hindu to believe that, only twelve centuries ago, 'an eater of beef' occupied the chair of Rama, and enjoyed by universal acclaim the title of 'Sun of the Hindus;' or that the most ancient dynasty in the world could owe its existence to the last of the Sassanian kings:† that a slip from such a tree could be surrep-

titiously grafted on that majestic stem, which has flourished from the golden to the iron age, covering the land with its branches? That there existed a marked affinity in religious rites between the Rana's family and the Guebres, or ancient Persians, is evident. With both, the chief object of adoration was the sun; each bore the image of the orb on their banners. The chief day in the seven* was dedicated to the sun; to it is sacred the chief gate of the city, the principal bastion of every fortress. But though the faith of Islam has driven away the fairy inhabitants from the fountains of Mithras, that of Surya has still its devotees on the summit of Cheetore, as at Ballabhi: and could we trace with

* By an orthographical error, the modern Hindu, ignorant of Debeil, has written Delhi. But there was no lord of Delhi at this time: he is styled Dahir, Desput (lord) of Debeil, from *des*, 'a country,' and *put*, 'the head.'

† Yezdegird died A.D. 651.

* *Suraj-war*, or *Adit-war*, Sun-day; and the other days of the week, from the other planets, which western nations have taken from the East.

accuracy their creeds to a distant age, we might discover them to be of one family, worshipping the sun at the fountains of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

The darkest period of Indian history is during the six centuries following Vicramaditya, which are scarcely enlightened by a ray of knowledge: but India was undergoing great changes, and foreign tribes were pouring in from the north. To this period, the sixth century, the genealogies of the *Puranas* are brought down, which expressly declare (adopting the prophetic spirit to conceal the alterations and additions they have undergone) that at this time the genuine race of the *Yavans*† was extinct, and that a mixture of the *Yavans* with foreign barbarians, as the *Tushas*, the *Mauna*,* the *Yavan*,† the *Gandha*, and

Gardha-bin. There is much of truth in this; nor is it to be doubted that many of the Rajpoot tribes entered India from the north-west regions about this period. *Gor* and *Gardha* have the same signification; the first is Persian, the second its version in Hindi, meaning the 'wild ass,' an appellation of the Persian monarch Bahram, surnamed *Gor* from his partiality to hunting that animal. Various authorities state Byramgor being in India in the fifth century, and his having there left progeny by a princess of Kanouj. A passage extracted by the author from an ancient Jain MS., indicates that in "S. 523, Raja Gardha-bhela, "of Cacustha, or Suryavatsa, ruled in "Ballabhipura." It has been surmised that Gardha-bhela was the son of Byramgor, a son of whom is stated to have obtained dominion at Puttun; which may be borne in mind when the authorities for the Persian extraction of the Rana's family are given.

The Hindus, when conquered by the Mahomedans, naturally wished to gild the chains they could not break. To trace a common, though distant, origin with the conquerors, was to remove some portion of the taint of dishonour which arose from giving their daughters in marriage to the Tatar emperors of Delhi; and a degree of satisfaction was derived from assuming that the blood thus corrupted once flowed from a common fountain.*

* See History of the Tribes, pp. 79, 86, articles "Takshac," and "Jhala," or *Macnahana*, in all probability the *Mauna* of the *Purans*.

† The *Yavan*, or Greek princes, who apparently continued to rule within the Indus after the Christian era, were either the remains of the Bactrian dynasty or the independent kingdom of Demetrius or Apollodotus, who ruled in the Punjab, having as their capital *Sagala*, changed by Demetrius to Euthymedia. Bayer says, in his Hist. Reg. Bact. p. 84: "I find from Claudius Ptolemy, that there was a city within the Hydaspes yet "nearer the Indus, called *Sagala*, also Euthymedia; "but I scarcely doubt that Demetrius called it Euthy- "demia, from his father, after his death and that of "Menander. Demetrius was deprived of his patrimony "A.U.C. 562."

On this ancient city, *Sagala*, I have already said much; conjecturing it to be the *Salbhanpur* of the *Yadus* when driven from Zabulistan, and that of the *Yuehi* or *Yuti*, who were fixed there from Central Asia in the fifth century, and if so early as the second century, when Ptolemy wrote, may have originated the change to *Yuti-media*, the 'Central Yuti.' The numerous medals which I possess, chiefly found within the probable limits of the Greek kingdom of *Sagala*, either belong to these princes or the Parthian kings of *Minagara* on the Indus. The legends are in Greek on one side, and in the Sassanian character on the reverse. Hitherto I have not deciphered the names of any but

those of Apollodotus and Menander; but the titles of 'Great King,' 'Saviour,' and other epithets adopted by the Arsacidae, are perfectly legible. The devices, however, all incline me to pronounce them Parthian. It would be curious to ascertain how these Greeks and Parthians gradually merged into the Hindu population.

* The Hindu genealogist, in ignorance of the existence of Oguz Khan, the Tatar patriarch, could not connect the chain of Chagitai with Chandra. The Brahmin, better read, supplied the defect, and with his doctrine

Further to develop these claims of Persian descent, we shall commence with an extract from the *Oopdes Presad*, a collection of historic fragments in the Magauhi dialect. "In Goojur-des (Guzerat) there are eighty-four cities. In one of these, Kaira, resided the Brahmin Devadit, the expounder of the Vedas. He had an only child, Soobhaga ('of good fortune') by name, at once a maiden and a widow. Having learned from her preceptor the solar incantation, incautiously repeating it, the sun appeared and embraced her, and she thence became pregnant. The affliction of her father was diminished when he discovered the parent; nevertheless, [as others might be less charitable,] he sent her with a female attendant to Ballabhi, where she was delivered of twins, male and female. When grown up the boy was sent to school; but being eternally plagued about his mysterious birth, whence he received the nickname of *Gybie* ('concealed'), in a fit of irritation he one day threatened to kill his mother if she refused to disclose the author of his existence. At this moment the sun revealed himself: he

"gave the youth a pebble, with which it was sufficient to touch his companions in order to overcome them. Being carried before the Balhara prince, who menaced Gybie, the latter slew him with the pebble, and became himself sovereign of Saurashtra, taking the name of Silladitya* (from *silla*, 'a stone or pebble,' and *aditya*, 'the sun'): his sister was married to the Rajah of Baroach."

Such is the literal translation of a fragment totally unconnected with the history of the Rana's family, though evidently bearing upon it. The father of Silladitya, according to the Sanderai roll and other authorities of that period, was a Brahmin who lived two centuries before the Christian era.

The legend of the descent of the Ranas from Noshirwan: "The Rana's family consider themselves to be descendants of Noshirwan. They came to Berar (Berat), and became chiefs of Pernalla, which city being plundered eight hundred years prior to the writing of this book,† his mother fled to Mewar, and was

* This is probably the Silladitya of the Satrunjya Mahatmya, who repaired the temple on Satrunjya in S. 477 (A.D. 421).

† In perusing this fragment we are struck by the similarity of production of these Hindu Heliads and that of the celebrated Tatar dynasty from which Jungheez Khan was descended. The *Nuranyon*, or 'children of light,' were from an amour of the sun with Elancua, from which Jungheez was the ninth in descent. Authorities quoted by Petis de la Croix, in his life of this conqueror, and likewise by Marigny, in his History of the Saracens, affirm Jungheez Khan to be a descendant of Yazdegird, the last Sassanian prince. Jungheez was an idolater, and hated the very name of Mahoradan.

A courtier telling Aurungzebe of his celestial ancestry, gravely quoting the affair of the mother of the race of Timoor with the sun, the bigotted monarch coarsely replied, "Mama caba bood," which we will not translate.

‡ Akber commenced his reign A.D. 1555, and had been forty years on the throne when the 'Institutes' were composed by Abul Fazil.

of the metempsychosis animated the material frame of the beneficent Akber with the 'good genius' of a Hindu; and that of their mortal foe, Aurungzebe, with one of evil destiny, being that of Kal-jumun, the foe of Crishna. They gravely assert that Akber visited his ancient hermitage at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, and excavated the implements of penance used by him in his former shape, as one of the sages of ancient times; while such is their aversion to Aurungzebe, that they declare the final avatar, Time (*Kal*), on his white steed, will appear in his person.

The Jessulmeer annals affirm that the whole Turkish (*Turshka*) race of Chagital are of Yadu stock; while the Jam Jhareja of Kutch traces his descent from the Persian Jamshid, cotemporary with Solomon. These are curious claims, but the Rana's family would consider such vanity criminal.

"protected by Mandalica Bhil, whom the
"infant Bappa slew, and seized his terri-
"tory."*

The work which has furnished all the knowledge which exists on the Persian ancestry of the Mewar princes is the *Maaser-al-Omra*, or that (in the author's possession) founded on it, entitled *Bisat-al-Ganaem*, or 'Display of the Foe,' written in A.H. 1204.† The writer of this work styles himself *Latchmi Narrain Shufek Arungabadi*, or 'the rhymers of Arungabad.' He professes to give an account of Sevaji, the founder of the Mahratta empire; for which purpose he goes deep into the lineage of the Ranas of Mewar, from whom Sevaji was descended,‡

* Orme was acquainted with this passage, and shews his knowledge of the Hindu character by observing, that it was a strange pedigree to assign a Hindu prince, for Khusr, of the religion of Zoroaster, though compelled to many abstinences, was not restrained from eating beef; and Anquetil du Perron says of the Parsees, their descendants, that they have refrained since their emigration from slaying the cow merely to please the Hindu.

† The cryptographic date is contained in the numerical value of the letters which compose the title:

B. S. A. T. a. l. G. N. A. E. M. }
2. 60. 1. 9. 1. 9. 1000. 50. 1. 10. 40. }

As the total is only 1183, either the date is wrong, or a deficient value given to the numerals.

‡ Wilford, who by his indefatigable research and knowledge of Sanserit had accumulated extensive materials, unhappily deteriorated by a too credulous imagination, yet containing much valuable matter available to those sufficiently familiar with the subject to select with safety, has touched on this, and almost on every other point in the circle of Hindu antiquities. Ali Ibrahim, a learned native of Benares, was Wilford's authority for asserting the Rana's Persian descent, who stated to him that he had seen the original history, which was entitled "Origin of the Peishwas from the Ranas of Mewar." (Ibrahim must have meant the Satara princes, whose ministers were the Peishwas.) From this authority three distinct emigrations of the Guebres, or ancient Persians, are recorded, from Persia into Guzerat. The first in the time of Abu Beker, A.D. 631; the second on the defeat of Yezdegird, A.D. 651; and the third when the descendants of Abbas began to

quoting at length the *Maaser-al-Omra*, from which the following is a literal translation:

"It is well known that the Rajahs of Oodipur are exalted over all the princes of Hind. Other Hindu princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must receive the khushka, or tiluk of regality and investiture, from them. This type of sovereignty is received with humility and veneration. The khushka of these princes is made with human blood: their title is Rana, and they deduce their origin from Noshirwan-i-Adil (i. e. the Just), who conquered the countries of ———, and many parts of Hindusthan. During his life-time his son Noshizad, whose mother was the daughter of Kesar of Room,† quitted the ancient worship and embraced the 'faith‡ of the Christians,' and with numerous followers entered Hindusthan. Thence he marched a great army towards

prevail, A.D. 749. Also that a son of Noshirwan landed near Surat with eighteen thousand of his subjects, from Laristhan, and were well received by the prince of the country.

Abul Fuzil confirms this account by saying, "the followers of Zerdeht (Zoroaster), when they fled from Persia, settled in 'Surat,' the contracted term for the peninsula of Saurashtra, as well as the city of this name."

* The names are obliterated in the original. Ferishta informs us that Ramdeo Rahtore, sovereign of Kanouj, was made tributary by Feroz 'Sassan'; and that Pertap Chund, who usurped the throne of Ramdeo, neglecting to pay this tribute, Noshirwan marched into India to recover it, and in his progress subdued Cabul and the Punjab. From the striking coincidence of these original and decisive authorities, we may rest assured that they had recourse to ancient records, both of the Guebres and the Hindus, for the basis of their histories, which research may yet discover.

† Maurice, emperor of Byzantium.

‡ *Deen-i-Tersar*. See Ebn Haukal, art. *Serir*, or *Rassia*; whose king, a son of Byram Chassin, whom he styles a *Tersar* or Christian, first possessed it about the end of the sixth century.

"Iran, against his father Noshirwan; who
"despatched his general, Rambarzeen,* with
"numerous forces to oppose him. An ac-
"tion ensued, in which Noshizad was slain;
"but his issue remained in Hindusthan, from
"whom are descended the Ranas of Oodipur.
"Noshirwan had a wife from the Khakhan†
"of China, by whom he had a son called
"Hormuz, declared heir to the throne short-
"ly before his death. As according to the
"faith of the fire-worshippers‡ it is not cus-
"tomary either to bury or to burn the dead,
"but to leave the corpse exposed to the rays
"of the sun, so it is said the body of Nos-
"hirwan has to this day suffered no decay,
"but is still fresh."

I now come to the account of Yezd, "the
"son of Shariar, the son of Khoosru Purves,
"the son of Hormuz, the son of Noshirwan.

"Yezd was the last king of Ajim. It is
"well known he fought many battles with
"the Mahomedans. In the fifteenth year
"of the caliphate, Roostum, son of Feroch,
"a great chief, was slain in battle by Said-
"ul-kas, who commanded for Omar, which
"was the death-blow to the fortunes of the
"house of Sassan: so that a remnant of it
"did not remain in A.H. 31, when Iran was
"seized by the Mahomedans. This battle
"had lasted four days when Roostum Fe-
"rock Zad was slain by the hand of Hillal,
"the son of Il Kumna, at Said's command;

* The *Verames* of Western historians.

† *Khakhan* was the title of the kings of Chinese Tartary. It was held by the leader of the Huns, who at this period held power on the Caspian: it was also held by the Ooroos, Khozr, Bulgar, Serir, all terms for Russia, before its *Kesar* was cut down into *Czar*, for the original of which, the kings of Rome, as of Russia, were indebted to the Sanscrit *Kesar*, a 'lion.'—*Vide* Ebn Haukal, art. *Khozr*.

‡ *Deen-i-Majoosa*; literally, 'faith of the Magi.'

"though Ferdusi asserts by Said himself.
"Thirty thousand Moslems were slain, and
"the same number of the men of Ajim. To
"count the spoils was a torment. During
"this year (the thirty-first), the sixteenth of
"the prophet,* the era of the Hegira was
"introduced. In A.H. 17, Abu Musa of
"Ashur seized Hormuz, the son of the uncle
"of Yezdegird, whom he sent with Yezde-
"gird's daughter to Imam Hosein, and ano-
"ther daughter to Abubeker.

"Thus far have I† extracted from the his-
"tory of the fire-worshippers. He who has
"a mind to examine these, let him do
"so. The people of the religion of Zer-
"dusht have a full knowledge of all these
"events, with their dates; for the pleasure
"of their lives is the obtaining accounts of
"antiquity and astronomical knowledge, and
"their books contain information of two and
"three thousand years. It is also told, that
"when the fortunes of Yezdegird were on
"the wane, his family dispersed to different
"regions. The second daughter, Shehr
"Banoo, was married to Imam Hosein, who
"when he fell a martyr (*shuheed*), an angel
"carried her to heaven. The third daugh-
"ter, Banoo, was seized by a plundering
"Arab and carried into the wilds of Chi-
"chik, thirty coss from Yezd. Praying to
"God for deliverance, she instantly disap-
"peared; and the spot is still held sacred by
"the Parsees, and named 'the secret abode
"of perfect purity.' Hither, on the twenty-
"sixth of the month Bahman, the Parsees

* Mahomed, born A.D. 578: the Hegira, or flight, A.D. 622.

† It must be borne in mind that it is the author of the 'Maaser-al-Omra,' not the rhymist of Aurangabad, who is speaking.

“yet repair to pass a month in pilgrimage,
“living in huts under indigenous vines skirt-
“ing the rock, out of whose fissures water
“falls into a fountain below : but if the un-
“clean approach the spring, it ceases to
“flow.

“Of the eldest daughter of Yezdegird,
“Maha Banoo, the Parsees have no accounts;
“but the books of Hind give evidence to
“her arrival in that country, and that from
“her issue is the tribe Sesodia. *But, at all*
“*events, this race is either of the seed of No-*
“*shizad, the son of Noshirwan, or of that of*
“*the daughter of Yezdegird.*”*

Thus have we adduced, perhaps, all the points of evidence for the supposed Persian origin of the Rana's family. The period of the invasion of Saurashtra by Noshizad, who mounted the throne A.D. 531, corresponds well with the sack of Ballabhi, A.D. 524. The army he collected in Laristhan, to depose his father might have been from the Parthians, Getes, Huns, and other Scythic races then on the Indus, though it is unlikely, with such an object in view as the throne of Persia, that he would waste his strength in Saurashtra. Khusru Purves, grand-son of Noshirwan the great, and who assumed this title according to Ferdusi, married Marian, the daughter of Maurice, the Greek emperor of Byzantium. She bore him *Shirooeh* (the *Siroes* of the early Christian writers), who slew his father. It

is difficult to separate the actions of the two Noshirwans, and still more to say which of them merited the epithet of *adil*, or ‘just.’

According to the ‘Tables’ in Moreri,* Noshizad, son of Khusru the great, reigned from A.D. 531 to 591. This is opposed to the *Maaser-al-Omra*, which asserts that he was slain during his rebellion. Siroes, son of Khusru (the second Noshirwan) by his wife Marian, alternately called the friend and foe of the Christians, did raise the standard of revolt, and met the fate attributed to Noshizad; on which Yezdegird, his nephew, was proclaimed. The crown was intended for Shirooeh's younger brother, which caused the revolt, during which the elder sought refuge in India.

These revolutions in the Sassanian house were certainly simultaneous with those which occurred in the Rana's, and no barrier existed to the political intercourse at least between the princely worshippers of Surya and Mithras. It is, therefore, curious to speculate even on the possibility of such a pedigree to a family whose ancestry is lost in the mists of time; and it becomes interesting when, from so many authentic sources, we can raise testimonies which would furnish, to one even untinctured with the love of hypothesis, grounds for giving ancestors to the Ranas in Maurice of Byzantium, and Cyrus (Khusru) of Persia. We have a singular support to these historic relics in a geographical fact, that places on the site of the ancient Ballabhi a city called Byzantium, which almost affords conclusive proof that it must have been the son of Noshirwan who captured Ballabhi and Gajni, and destroyed

* For the extract from “the Annals of Princes (*Maaser-al-Omra*)” let us laud the memory of the rhymist of Arungabad. An original copy, which I in vain attempted to procure in India, is stated by Sir William Ouseley to be in the British Museum. We owe that country a large debt, for we have robbed her of all her literary treasures, leaving them to sleep on the shelves of our public institutions.

* Vide ‘Grand Dictionnaire Historique.’

the family of Silladitya; for it would be a legitimate occasion to name such conquest after the city where his Christian mother had birth. Whichever of the propositions we adopt at the command of the author of 'the Annals of Princes,' namely, "that the 'Sesodia race is of the seed of Noshizad, 'son of Noshirwan, or of that of Maha-Banoo, daughter of Yezdegird,'" we arrive at a singular and startling conclusion, viz. that the 'Hindua Suraj, descendant of a hundred kings,' the undisputed possessor of the honours of Rama, the patriarch of the Solar race, is the issue of a Christian princess: that the chief prince amongst the nations of Hind can claim affinity with the emperors of 'the mistress of the world,' though at a time when her glory had waned, and her crown had been transferred from the Tiber to the Bosphorus.

But though I deem it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any *male* branch of the Persian house, I would not equally assert that Maha-Banoo, the fugitive daughter of Yezdegird, may not have found a husband, as well as sanctuary, with the prince of Saurashtra; and she may be the Soobhaga (mother of Silladitya), whose mysterious amour with the 'sun'*

* It will be recollected that the various authorities given, state Raja Suraj (*sun*), of Cacustha race, to be the father of Silladitya. *Cacustha* is a term used synonymously with *Suryavansa*, according to the Solar genealogists. Those who may be inclined to the Persian descent may trace it from *Kai-caous*, a well-known epithet in the Persian dynasties. I am unacquainted with the etymology of *Cacustha*; but it may possibly be from *ca*, 'of or belonging to,' *Cusa* (Cush), the second son of Rama. I have already hinted, that the Assyrian Medes might be descendants of Hyaspa, a branch of the Indu-Mede of the family of Yayati, which bore the name of *Causika*.

compelled her to abandon her native city of Kaira. The son of Marian had been in Saurashtra, and it is therefore not unlikely that her grand child should there seek protection in the reverses of her family.

The Salic law is here in full force, and honours, though never acquired by the female, may be stained by her; yet a daughter of the noble house of Sassan might be permitted to perpetuate the line of Rama without the reproach of taint.*

We shall now abandon this point to the reader, and take leave of Yezdegird,† the last of the house of Sassan, in the words of the historian of Rome: "avec lui, on voit 'perir pour jamais la gloire et l'empire des Perses. Les rochers du Mazendaran et les sables du Kerman, furent les seuls 'asiles que les vainqueurs laisserent aux 'sectateurs de Zoroastre.'‡

* "The moral consequence of pedigree," says Hume, "is differently marked by the influence of law and custom. The male sex is deemed more noble than the female. The association of our ideas pursues the regular descent of honours and estates from father to son, and their wives, however essential, are considered only in the light of foreign auxiliaries," (Essays, vol. ii. p. 192.) Not unlike the Rajpoot axiom, though more coarsely expressed: "It is, who planted the tree, not where did it grow," that marks his idea of the comparative value of the side whence honours originate; though purity of blood in both lines is essential.

† A new era had commenced, not of Yezdegird's accession, as is supposed, which would have been vain indeed, when the throne was tottering under him, but consequent to the completion of the grand cycle of 1440 years. He was slain at Murve in A.D. 651, the 31st of the Hegira; on the eleventh year of which or A.D. 632 (according to Moreri), he commenced his reign.

‡ Gibbon was wrong. India afforded them an asylum, and their issue constitutes the most wealthy, the most respected and the most enlightened part of the native community of Bombay and the chief towns of that presidency.

§ Gibbon, "Miscellaneous Works," *Sur la Monarchie des Medes*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER IV.

Intervening Sovereigns between Bappa and Samarsi.—Bappa's descendants.—Irruptions of the Arabians into India.—Catalogue of Hindu Princes who defended Cheetore.

HAVING established Bappa on the throne of Cheetore S. 784 (A.D. 728), we will proceed to glean from the annals, from the period of his departure for Iran, S. 820 (A.D. 764) to another halting point—the reign of Samarsi, S. 1249 (A.D. 1193); an important epoch, not only in the history of Mewar, but to the whole Hindu race; when the diadem of sovereignty was torn from the brow of the Hindu to adorn that of the Tatar. We shall not, however, overleap the four intervening centuries, though we may not be able to fill up the reigns of the eighteen princes* whose “banner at this time was a golden sun on a crimson field,”† and several of whose names yet live recorded “with an iron pen on the rock” of their native abodes.

An intermediate period, from Bappa to Samarsi, that of *Sacti Kumar*, is fixed by the Aitpur inscription in S. 1024 (A.D. 968); and from the more perishable yet excellent authority of an ancient Jain MS. the era of Ullut, the ancestor of Sacti Kumar, was S. 922 (A.D. 866), four generations anterior. From Bappa's departure for Iran in A.D. 764, to the subversion of Hindu dominion in the reign of Samarsi, in A.D. 1193, we find recorded an intermediate Islamite invasion. This was during the reign of Khoman, between A.D. 812 and 836, which

event forms the chief subject of the *Khoman-Rasa*, the most ancient of the poetic chronicles of Mewar.

As the history of India at this period is totally dark, we gladly take advantage of the lights thus afforded. By combining these facts with what is received as authentic though scarcely less obscure or more exact than these native legends, we may furnish materials for the future historian. With this view, let us take a rapid sketch of the irruptions of the Arabians into India, from the rise of Islamism to the foundation of the Gaznivid empire, which sealed the fate of the Hindus. The materials are but scanty. El-Makin, in his history of the Caliphs, passes over such intercourse almost without notice. Abul Fuzil, though not diffuse, is minute in what he does say, and we can confide in his veracity. Ferishta has a chapter devoted to this subject, which merits a better translation than yet exists.* We shall, however,

* Amongst the passages which Dow has slurred over in his translation, is the interesting account of the origin of the Afghans; who, when they first came in contact with those of the new faith, in A.H. 62, dwelt around the Koh-i-Sooliman. Ferishta, quoting authority, says: “the Afghans were Copts, ruled by Pharaoon, many of whom were converted to the laws and religion of Moses; but others, who were stubborn in their worship to their gods, fled towards Hindusthan, and took possession of the country adjoining the Koh-i-Sooliman. They were visited by Kasim from Sinde, and in the 143d year of the Hegira had possessed themselves of the provinces of Kirman, Peshawar, and all within their bounds, (*sinoran*),” which Dow has converted into a province. The whole geographical description of the Kohistan, the etymology of

* See Genealogical Table.

† This, according to the roll, was the standard of Bappa.

in the first place, touch on Bappa's descendants, till we arrive at the point proper for the introduction of the intended sketch.

Of the twenty-four tribes of Gehlote, several issued from the founder, Bappa. Shortly after the conquest of Cheetore, Bappa proceeded to Saurashtra and married the daughter of Esupgole, prince of the island of Bunderdhiva.* With his bride he conveyed to Cheetore the statue of Vyan-mata, the tutelary goddess of her race, who still divides with Eklinga the devotion of the Gehlote princes. The temple in which he enshrined this islandic goddess yet stands on the summit of Cheetore, with many other monuments assigned by tradition to Bappa. This princess bore him Aprajeet, who from being born in Cheetore was nominated successor to the throne, to the exclusion of his less fortunate elder brother, Asil (born of the daughter of the Kaba (Pramara) prince of Kalibao near Dwarica), who, however, obtained possessions in Saurashtra, and founded a race called the *Asila Gehlotes*,† whose

the term *Rohilla*, and other important matter, is omitted by him.

* Esupgole is stated to have held Chowal on the main land. He was most probably the father of *Venraj Chawura*, the founder of Putun Anhulwara, whose ancestors, on the authority of the *Komarpat Charitra*, were princes of Bunderdhiva, held by the Portuguese since the time of Albuquerque, who changed its name to Deo.

† The ancient roll from which this is taken mentions Asil giving his name to a fortress, called Asilgurh. His son Beejy Pal, was slain in attempting to wrest *Khum-bayet* (Cambay) from Singram Dabi. One of his wives, from a violent death, was prematurely delivered of a boy, called Setoo; and as, in such cases, the Hindu supposes the deceased to become a discontented spirit (*choorail*), Chooraila became the name of the tribe. Beeja, the twelfth from Asil, obtained Sonul from his maternal uncle, Khengar Dabi, prince of Girnar, but was slain by Jey Sing Deo, prince of Surat. From these names compounded, *Dabi* and *Chooraila*, we may have the *Dabisalima* of Mahmood.

descendants were so numerous, even in Akber's reign, as to be supposed able to bring into the field fifty thousand men at arms. We have nothing important to record of the actions of Aprajeet, who had two sons, Khalbhoj* and Nundkumar. Khalbhoj succeeded Aprajeet, and his warlike qualities are extolled in an inscription discovered by the author in the valley of Nagda. Nundkumar slew Bhimsen Dor (*Doda*), and possessed himself of Deogurh in the Dekhan.

Khoman succeeded Khalbhoj. His name is remarkable in the history of Mewar. He came to the throne at the beginning of the ninth century, when Cheetore was assailed by another formidably invasion of Mahomedans. The chief object of the *Khoman Rasa* is to celebrate the defence made on this occasion, and the value of this *rasa* consists in the catalogue of the princes who aided in defending this bulwark of the Hindu faith. The bard, in an animated strain, makes his sovereign on this occasion successfully defend the 'crimson standard' of Mewar, treat with contempt the demand for tribute, and after a violent assault, in which the 'barbarian' is driven back, follow and discomfit him in the plain, carrying back the hostile leader, *Mahmood*, captive. With this event, which introduces the name of Mahmood two centuries before the conqueror of Gazni, we will pause, and resume the promised sketch of the intercourse of Arabia and Hindusthan at this period.

* Also called Kurna. He it was who excavated the Boraila lake, and erected the grand temple of Eklinga on the site of the hermitage of Harita, whose descendant, the present officiating priest, reckons sixty-six descents, while the princes of Mewar amount to seventy-two in the same period.



The first intimation of the Moslems attempting the invasion of India is during the caliphate of Omar, who built the port of Bassorah at the mouth of the Tigris, chiefly to secure the trade of Guzerat and Scind; into which latter country a powerful army penetrated under Abul Aas, who was killed in battle at Arore. The Caliph Oosman, who succeeded Omar, sent to explore the state of India, while he

prepared an army to invade it in person; a design which he never fulfilled. The generals of the Caliph Ali made conquests in Scind, which they abandoned at Ali's death. While Yezid was governor of Khorassan several attempts were made on India, as also during the caliphate of Abdool Melek, but without any lasting results. It was not till the reign of Walid* that any successful

* GEHLOTE AND COTEMPORARY PRINCES.

GEHLOTE PRINCES.	ERAS.		CALIPHES OF BAGDAD and KINGS OF GAZNI.	ERAS.		REMARKS.
	Samvat.	Christian.		A.H.	A.D.	
			<i>Caliphs of Bagdad.</i>			
Bappa, born.....	769	713	Walid (11th Caliph)	86 to 96	705 to 715	Conquered India to the Ganges, Scind conquered. The Mori Prince of Cheetore attacked by Mahomed (son of Kasim), the General of Omar, Battle of Tours, A.D. 732, and defeat of the Caliph's army, under Abdulrahman, by Charles Martel.
—obtained Cheetore	784	728	Omar II. (13th do.)	99 to 102	713 to 721	
—governs Mewar....	—	—	Husham (15th do.)	104 to 125	723 to 742	
—abandons Cheetore	820	764	Al-Mansoor (21st do.)	136 to 158	754 to 775	Final conquest of Scind, and the name of its capital, Arore, changed to Mansoorah. Bappa, founder of the Gehlote race in Mewar, retires to Iran.
Aprajeet.						
Khalbhaj	—	—	{ Haroon al Rashid } (24th do.)	170 to 193	786 to 809	Partition of the caliphate amongst Haroon's sons. The second, Al-Mamoon, obtains Zabulistan, Scind, and India, and ruled them till A.D. 813, when he became Caliph.
Khoman	868 to 892	812 to 836	Al-Mamoon (26th do.)	198 to 218	813 to 833	Invasion and attack on Cheetore from Zabulistan.
Bhartribhat,						
Sing-ji,						
Ullut,						
Nurbahan,						
Salbahan,			<i>Kings of Gazni.</i>			
Sacti Kumar.....	1024	968	Aleptegin	350	957	{ Inscription of Sacti-kumar from ruins of Aitpur.
Umba Pussao.						
Narvarma.....	—	—	Soobektegin.....	367	977	Invasion of India.
Jussoovarma	—	—	Mahmood	387 to 418	997 to 1027	{ Invasions of India, destruction of Aitpur.

invasion took place. He not only finally conquered Scind and the adjoining continent of India, but rendered tributary all that part of India on this side the Ganges.* What an exalted idea must we not form of the energy and rapidity of such conquests, when we find the arms of Islam at once on the Ganges and the Ebro, and two regal dynasties simultaneously cut off, that of Roderic, the last of the Goths of Andaloos, and Dahir Despati in the valley of the Indus. It was in A.H. 99 (A.D. 718, S. 777) that Mahomed bin Kasim vanquished and slew Dahir prince of Scind, after numerous conflicts. Amongst the spoils of victory sent to the caliph on this occasion were the daughters of the subjugated monarch, who were the cause of Kasim's destruction,† when he was on the eve of carrying the war against Raja Harchund of Kanouj. Some authorities state that he actually prosecuted it; and as Scind remained a dependency of the caliphate during several successive reigns, the successor of Kasim, may have executed his plans. Little is said of India from this period to the reign of Al-Mansoor, except in regard to the rebellion of Yezid in Khorassan, and the flight of his son to Scind. The eight sovereigns, who rapidly followed, were too

much engaged with the Christians of the west and the Huns on the Caspian to think of India. Their armies were then in the heart of France, which was only saved from the Koran by their overthrow at Tours by Charles Martel.

Al-Mansoor, when only the lieutenant of the Caliph Abbas, held the government of Scind and of India, and made the island of Bekher on the Indus, and the adjacent Arore,* the ancient capital, his residence, naming it Mansoorah; and it was during his government that Bappa Rawul abandoned Cheetore for Iran.

The celebrated Haroon al Rashid, cotemporary of Charlemagne, in apportioning his immense empire amongst his sons, gave to the second, Al-Mamoon, Khorassan, Zabulistan, Cabulistan, Scind, and Hindustan.† Al-Mamoon, on the death of Haroon, deposed his brother, and became caliph in A.H. 198 or A.D. 813, and ruled to 833, the exact period of the reign of Khoman, prince of Cheetore. The domestic history brings the enemy assailant of Cheetore from Zabulistan: and as the leader's name is given '*Mahmood Khorasan Put*,' there can be little doubt that it is an error arising from ignorance of the copyist, and should be *Mahmoon*.

Within twenty years after this event, the sword of conquest and conversion was withdrawn from India, and Scind was the only province left to Motawekel (A.D. 850), the grandson of Haroon, for a century after whom the throne of Bagdad, like that of ancient Rome, was sold by her prætorians to the highest bidder. From this time we

* Marigny (quoting El-Makin) Hist. of the Arabians, vol. ii. p. 283. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 47.

† "The two young princesses, in order to revenge the death of their father, represented falsely to the Khalif that Mahommed Kasim had been connected with them. The Khalif, in a rage, gave order for Mahmmed Kasim to be sewed up in a raw hide, and sent in that condition to court. When the mandate arrived at Tatta, Kasim was prepared to carry an expedition against Harchund, monarch of Kanouj. When he arrived at court, the Khalif shewed him to the daughters of Dahir, who expressed their joy upon beholding their father's murderer in such a condition," Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 119.

* Arore is seven miles east of Bekher.

† Marigny, vol. iii. p. 83. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 162.

find no mention whatever of Hindusthan, or even of Scind, until Soobektegin,* governor of Khorassan, hoisted the standard of independent sovereignty at Gazni. In A.H. 365 (A.D. 975) he carried his arms across the Indus, forcing the inhabitants to abandon the religion of their ancestors, and to read the Koran from the altars of Bal and Crishna. Towards the close of this century he made his last invasion, accompanied by his son, the celebrated Mahmood, destined to be the scourge of the Hindu race, who early imbibed the paternal lesson inculcating the extirpation of infidels. Twelve several visitations did Mahmood make with his Tatar hordes, sweeping India of her riches, destroying her temples and architectural remains, and leaving the country plunged in poverty and ignorance. From the effect of these incursions she never recovered; for though she had a respite of a century between Mahmood and the final conquest, it was too short to repair what it had cost ages to rear: the temples of Somnath, of Cheetore, and Girnar are but types of the magnificence of past times. The memorial of Sacti Komar proves him to have been the cotemporary of Soobektegin, and to one of his son's visitations is attributed the destruction of the 'city of the sun' (Aitpur),† his capital.

Having thus condensed the little information afforded by Mahomedan historians of the connection between the caliphs of Bagdad and princes of Hind, from the first to the

end of the fourth century of the Hegira, we shall revert to the first recorded attack on the Mori prince of Cheetore, which brought Bappa into notice. This was either by Yezid or Mahomed bin Kasim from Scind. Though in the histories of the caliphs we can only expect to find recorded those expeditions which were successful, or had some lasting results, there are inroads of their revolted lieutenants or their frontier deputies, which frequently, though indistinctly, alluded to in Hindu annals, have no place in Mahomedan records. Throughout the period mentioned there was a stir amongst the Hindu nations, in which we find confusion and dethronement from an unknown invader, who is described as coming sometimes by Scind, sometimes by sea, and not unfrequently as a demon and magician; but invariably as *mleetcha*, or 'barbarian.*' From S. 750 to S. 780 (A.D.

* Even from the puerilities of Hindu legends something may be extracted. A mendicant dervish, called Roshun Ali (i. e. the 'light of Ali'), had found his way to Gurh Beetli (the ancient name of the Ajmeer fortress), and having thrust his hand into a vessel of curds destined for the Rajah, had his finger cut off. The disjointed member flew to Mecca, and was recognized as belonging to the saint. An army was equipped in the disguise of horse-merchants, which invaded Ajmeer, whose prince was slain. May we not gather from this incident, that an insult to the first Islamite missionary in the person of Roshun Ali, brought upon the prince the arms of the Caliph? The same Chohan legends state that Ajpal was prince of Ajmeer at this time; that in this invasion by sea he hastened to Anjar (on the coast of Cutch), where he held the 'guard of the ocean' (*Samoodra ka Chouky*), where he fell in opposing the landing. An altar was erected on the spot, on which was sculptured the figure of the prince on horseback, with his lance at rest, and which still annually attracts multitudes at the 'fair (Mela) of Ajpal.'

The subsequent invasion alluded to in the text, of S. 750 (A.D. 694), is marked by a curious anecdote. When the 'Assors' had blockaded Ajmeer, Lot, the infant son of Manika Rae, was playing on the battlements, when an arrow from the foe killed the heir of Ajmeer who has ever since been worshipped amongst the lares

* His father's name was Aleptegia, termed a slave by Ferishta and his authorities; though El-Makin gives him an ancestor in Yezdegird.

† *Ait*, contracted from *Aditya*: hence *Ait-mar*, 'Sunday.'

694 to 724), the annals of the Yadus, the Chohans, the Chawuras, and the Gehlotes, bear evidence to simultaneous convulsions in their respective houses at this period. In S. 750 (A.H. 75), the Yadu Bhatti was driven from his capital Salpura in the Punjab, across the Sutledge into the Indian desert; the invader named Ferid. At the same period, Manika Rae, the Chohan prince of Ajmeer, was assailed, and slain.

The first of the Keechie princes who occupied the Do-abeh of Scind-sagur in the Punjab, as well as the ancestor of the Haras established in Golcoonda, was expelled at the same time. The invader is treated in the genuine Hindu style as a danoo, or demon, and is named 'Gyraram,' (*i. e.* restless) from *Gujlibund*,* a term geographically given to a portion of the Himalaya mountains about the glaciers of the Ganges. The ancestor of the founder of Putun was expelled from his petty islandic dominion on the coast of Saurashtra at the same time. This is the period when Yezid was the caliph's lieutenant in Khorassan, and when the arms of Walid conquered to the Ganges; nor is there a doubt that Yezid or Kasim was the author of all these revolutions in the Hindu dynasties. We are supported in this by the names

and penates of the Chohans; and as he had on a silver chain anklet at the time, this ornament is forbid to the children of the race. In all these Rajpoot families there is a pootra (*adolescents*) amongst the penates, always one who has come to an untimely end, and chiefly worshipped by females; having a strong resemblance to the rites in honour of Adonis. We have traced several Roman and Grecian terms to Sanscrit origin; may we add that of *lares*, from *larla*, 'dear' or 'beloved'?

* Signifying 'Elephant forests,' and described in a Hindu map (stamped on cloth and painted) of India from Gujlibund to Lanka, and the provinces west of the Indus to Calcutta; presented by me to the Royal Asiatic Society.

of the princes contained in the catalogue, who aided to defend Cheetore and the Mori prince on this occasion. It is evident that Cheetore was, alternately with Oojein, the seat of sovereignty of the Pramara at this period, and, as it became the rallying point of the Hindus, that this race was the first in consequence.* We find the prince of Ajmeer,

* The list of the vassal princes at the court of the Mori confirms the statement of the bard Chund, of the supremacy of Ram Pramara, and the partition of his dominion, as described (see p. 40, note) amongst the princes who founded separate dynasties at this period; hitherto in vassalage or subordinate to the Pramara. We can scarcely suppose the family to have suffered any decay since their ancestor, Chandragupta, connected by marriage with as well as the ally of the Grecian Seleucus, and who held Greeks in his pay. From such connection, the arts of sculpture and architecture may have derived a character hitherto unnoticed. Amidst the ruins of Barolli are seen sculptured the Grecian helmet; and the elegant ornament, the *Camcoomp*, or 'vessel of desire,' on the temple of *Anna-purna* (*i. e.* 'giver of food'), the *Indu Ceres*, has much affinity to the Grecian deity.

From the inscription (see No. 2.) it is evident that Cheetore was an appanage of Oojein, the seat of Pramara empire. Its monarch, Chandragupta (Mori), degraded into the barber (*maurya*) tribe, was the descendant of Srenika, prince of Rajgraha, who, according to the Jain work *Calpodrum Calka*, flourished in the year 477 before Vicramaditya, and from whom Chandragupta was the thirteenth in descent. The names as follows: Konika, Oodsen, and nine in succession of the name of Nanda, thence called the *No-nanda*. These, at twenty-two years to a reign (see p. 40), would give 286 years, which—477=191 S.V.+56=247 A.C. Now it was in A.C. 260, according to Bayer, that the treaty was formed between Seleucus and Chandragupta; so that this scrap of Jain history may be regarded as authentic and valuable. Asoca (a name of weight in Jain annals) succeeded Chandragupta. He by Koonal, whose son was Sumpriti, with whose name ends the line of Srenika, according to the authority from which I made the extract. The name of Sumpriti is well known from Ajmeer to Saurashtra, and his era is given in a valuable chronogrammatic catalogue in an ancient Jain manuscript from the temple of Nadole, at 202 of the Virat Samvat. He is mentioned both traditionally and by books, as the great supporter of the Jain faith, and the remains of temples dedicated to Mahavira, erected by this prince, yet exist at Ajmeer, on Abeo, Komulmeer, and Girnar. See *Plates*.

and the quotas of Saurashtra and Guzerat; Ungutsi, lord of the Huns; Boosa, the lord of the North; Seo, the prince of the Jharejas; the Johya, lord of Junguldes: the Aswuria, the Seput, the Koolhur, the Malun, the Ohir, the Hool, and many others, having nothing of the Hindu in name, now extinct. But the most conspicuous is "Dahir Despati from Dewail." This is erroneously written Delhi, the seat of the Tuars: whereas we recognize the name of the prince of Scind, slain by Kasim, whose expatriated son doubtless found refuge in Cheetore.

This attack on the Mori prince was defeated chiefly through the bravery of the youthful Gehlote. The foe from Gujlibund, though stated to have advanced by Mathura, retreated by Saurashtra and Scind, pursued by Bappa. He found the ancient seat of his ancestors, Gajni,* still in the possession of the 'Assoor': a term as well as *mlecha*, or 'barbarian,' always given to the Islamite at this period. Selim, who held Gajni, was attacked and forced to surrender, and Bappa inducted into this stronghold of his ancestors a nephew of his own. It is no less singular than honourable to their veracity, that the annals should record the fact, so contrary to their religion, of Bappa having married the daughter of the conquered Selim;

* It has already been stated that the ancient name of Cambay was Gayni or Gajni, whose ruins are three miles from the present city. There is also a Gajni on the estuary of the Myhie, and Abul Fuzil incidently mentions a *Gujnagar* as one of the most important fortresses of Guzerat, belonging to Ahmed Shah; in attempting to obtain which by stratagem, his antagonist, Hoshung, king of Malwa, was made prisoner. I am unaware of the site of this place, though there are remains of an extensive fortress near the capital, founded by Ahmed, and which preserves no name. It may be the ancient Gujnagar.

and we have a right to infer that it was from the influence acquired by this union, that he ultimately abandoned the sovereignty of Mewar and the title of 'Hindua Sooraj,' to become the founder of the 'one hundred and thirty tribes of Nosheyra Pathans' of the west. It is fair to conclude from all these notices regarding the founder of the Gehlote race in Cheetore, that he must have abjured his faith for that of Islam; and it is probable (though the surmise must ever remain unproved), that, under some new title applicable to such change, we may have, in one of the early distinguished leaders of 'the Faith,' the ancestor of the Gehlotes.

Let us now proceed to the next irruption of the Islamite invaders in the reign of Khoman, from A.D. 812 to 836. Though the leader of this attack is styled 'Mahmood Khorasan Put,' it is evident from the catalogue of Hindu princes who came to defend Cheetore, that this 'lord of Khorassan' was at least two centuries before the son of Soobektegin; and as the period is in perfect accordance with the partition of the caliphate by Haroon amongst his sons, we can have no hesitation in assigning such invasion to Mahmoon, to whose share was allotted Khorassan, Scind, and the Indian dependencies. The records of this period are too scanty to admit of our passing over in silence even a barren catalogue of names, which, as texts, with the aid of collateral information, may prove of some benefit to the future antiquarian and historian.

"From Gajuni came the Gehlote; the
"Tak from Aser; from Nadolaye the Cho-
"han; the Chalook from Rahirgurb; from
"Set-Bunder the Jirkera; from Mundore

"the Khairavi; from Mangrole the Mac-wahana; from Jeitgurb the Joria; from Taragurb the Rewur; the Cutchwaha from Nirwur; from Sanchore the Kalum; from Joengurb the Dussanoh; from Ajmeer the Gor; from Lohadurgurb the Chundano; from Kasoondi the Dor; from Delhi the Tuar; from Patun the Chawura, preserver of royalty (*Rijdhur*); from Jhalore the Sonigurra; from Sirohi the Deora; from Gagrown the Keechie; the Jadoo from Joonagurb; the Jhala from Patri; from Kanauj the Rahtore; from Chotiala the Balla; from Perungurb the Gohil; from Jesulgurb the Bhatti; the Boosa from Lahore; the Sankla from Roneja; the Sehut from Kherligurb; from Mandelgurb the Nacoompa; the Birgoojur from Rajore; from Kurrungurb the Chundail; from Sikur the Sikurwal; from Omergurb the Jaitwa; from Palli the Birgota; from Khunturgurb the Jareja; from Jirgah the Kherwur; from Cashmere the Purihara."

Of the Gehlote from Gajuni we have said enough; nor shall we comment on the Tak, or his capital, Aser, which now belongs to the British government. The Chohan, who came from Nadolaye, was a celebrated branch of the Ajmeer house, and claims the honour of being the parent of the Sonigurras of Jhalore and the Deoras of Sirohi. Nadole* is mentioned by Ferishta as falling a prey to

* I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nadole, one dated S. 1024. the other 1030. They are of Prince Lakha, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Putun, and levied tribute from the prince of Chestore. He was the cotemporary of Mahmood, who devastated Nadole. I also discovered inscriptions of the twelfth century relative to this celebrated Chohan family, in passing from Oodipur to Jodhpur.

one of Mahmood's invasions, who destroyed its ancient temples; but from erroneous punctuation it is lost in the translation as Bazule. Of Rahingurb and the Jirkhera from Setbunder (on the Malabar coast) nothing is known. Of the Kheiravi from Mundore we can only say that it appears to be a branch of the Pramaras (who reckoned Mundore one of the nine strongholds, '*No-kote*,' under its dominion), established anterior to the Puriharas, who at this period had sovereignty in Cashmere. Both the Dor and his capital, Dussoondi, are described in ancient books as situated on the Ganges below Kanauj.

It is a subject of regret that the annals do not mention the name of the Tuar prince of Delhi, which city could not have been re-founded above a century, when this call was made upon its aid. Abul Fuzil, Ferishta, their translators, and those who have followed them, have been corrected by the *Edinburgh Review*, whose critical judgment on this portion of ancient history is eminently good. I possess the original Hindu record used by Abul Fuzil, which gives S. 829 for the first Anungpal, instead of S. 429; and as there were but nineteen princes who intervened until his dynasty was set aside by the Chohan, it requires no argument to support the *four* instead of *eight* centuries. The former will give the just average of twenty-one years to a reign. The name of Anungpal was titular in the family, and the epithet was applied to the last as to the first of the race.

The name of the Chawura prince of Putun (Anhulwara) being recorded amongst the auxiliaries of Khoman, is another satisfactory

proof of the antiquity of this invasion; for this dynasty was extinct, and succeeded by the Solankis, in S. 998 (A.D. 942), fifty years prior to Mahmood of Gazni, who captured Putun during the reign of Chaond, the second Solanki prince.

The Sonigurra, who came from Jhalore, is a celebrated branch of the Chohan race, but we are ignorant of the extent of time that it held this fortress: and as nothing can invalidate the testimonies afforded by the names of the Chawura of Putun, the Cutchwaha of Nirwur, the Tuar of Delhi, and the Rahtore from Kanouj, there can be no hesitation at pointing out the anachronisms of the chronicle, which states the Deora from Sirohi, the Keechie from Gagrown, or the Bhatti from Jessulgurh, amongst the levies on this occasion: and which we must affirm to be decided interpolations, the two first being at that period in possession of the Pramara, and the latter not erected for three centuries later. That the Deoras, the Keechies, and the Bhattis, came to the aid of Khoman, we cannot doubt: but the copyist, ignorant even of the names of the ancient capitals of these tribes, Chotun, Sind-Sagur, and Tannote, substituted those which they subsequently founded.

The Jadu (Yadu) from Joonagurh (Girnar), was of the race of Crishna, and appeared long to have held possession of this territory; and the names of the Khengars, of this tribe, will remain as long as the stupendous monuments they reared on this sacred hill. Besides the Jadu, we find Saurashtra sending forth the Jhalas, the Ballas, and the Gohils, to the aid of the descendant of the lord of Ballabhipura, whose paramount authority

they once all acknowledged, and who appeared to have long maintained influence in that distant region.

Of the tribe of Boosa, who left their capital, Lahore, to succour Cheetore, we have no mention, further than the name being enumerated amongst the unassigned tribes of Rajpoots.* Ferishta frequently notices the prince of Lahore in the early progress of Islamism, though he does not tell us the name of the tribe. In the reign of the caliph Al-Mansoor, A.H. 143 (A.D. 761), the Afghans of Kirman and Peshawur, who according to this authority were a Coptic colony expelled from Egypt, had increased in such numbers as to abandon their residence about the 'hill of Suliman,' and crossing the Indus, wrested possessions from the Hindu princes of Lahore. This frontier warfare with a tribe which, though it had certainly not then embraced the faith of Islam, brought to their succour the forces of the caliph in Zabulistan, so that in five months seventy battles were fought with varied success; but the last, in which the Lahore prince carried his arms to Peshawur,† produced a peace. Hence arose an union of interests between them and the hill tribe of Ghiker, and all the Kohistan west of the Indus was ceded to them, on the condition of guarding this barrier into Hindusthan against invasion. For this purpose the fortress of Khyber was erected in the chief pass of the Koh-i-Damaun. For two centuries after this event Ferishta is silent on this frontier warfare,

* See page 92.

† The scene of action was between Peshawur and Kirman, the latter lying ninety miles south-west of the former.

stating that henceforth Hindusthan was only accessible through Scind. When Aliptegin first crossed the Indus, the prince of Lahore and the Afghans still maintained this alliance and united to oppose him. Jeipal was then prince of Lahore; and it is on this event that Ferishta, for the first time, mentions the tribe of Bhatti,* "at the advice of whose prince he conferred the command of the united forces on an Afghan chief," to whom he assigned the provinces of Mooltan and Lingham. From this junction of interests the princes of Lahore enjoyed comparative security, until Soobektegin and Mahmood compelled the Afghans to serve them: then Lahore was captured. The territory dependent upon Lahore, at this period, extended from Sirhind to Lingham, and from Cashmere to Mooltan. Bhatinda divided with Lahore the residence of its princes. Their first encounter was at Lingham, on which occasion young Mahmood first distinguished himself, and as the historian says, "the eyes of the heavens were obscured at seeing his deeds."† A tributary engagement was the result, which Jeipal soon broke; and being aided by levies from all the princes of Hindusthan, marched an army of one hundred thousand men against Soobektegin, and was again defeated on the banks of the Indus. He was at length invested and taken in Bhattinda by Mahmood, when he put himself to death. The successors of Jeipal are mentioned merely as fugitives, and always distinct from the princes of Delhi. It is most probable that they were of the tribe termed

Boosa in the annals of Mewar, possibly a subdivision of another; though Ferishta calls the prince of Lahore a Brahmin.

The Sankla from Roneja. Both tribe and abode are well known: it is a subdivision of the Pramara. Hurba Sankla was the Paladin of Marwar, in which Roneja was situated.

The Sehat from Kherligurh was a northern tribe dwelling about the Indus, and though entirely unknown to the modern genealogists of India, is frequently mentioned in the early history of the Bhattis, when their possessions extended on both sides of the Hyphasis. As intermarriages between the Bhattis and Sehats are often spoken of, it must have been Rajpoot. It most probably occupied the province of Sewad, the *Suvat* of D'Anville, a division of the province of Ash-nagar, where dwelt the Assaceni of Alexander; concerning which this celebrated geographer says, "Il est mention de Suvat comme d'un canton du pays d'Ash-nagar dans la meme geographie Turque." (Ecl. page 25.) The whole of this ground was sacred to the Jadu tribe from the most remote antiquity, from Mooltan, the hills of Joud, to Aswini-kote (the *Tshelin-kote* of D'Anville) which, built on the point of confluence of the Choaspes of the Greeks with the Indus, marks the spot where dwelt the Asaseni, corroborated by the Puranas, which mention the partition of all these territories amongst the sons of Bajaswa, the lord of Kampilnagara, the grand subdivision of the Yadu race. In all likelihood, the Sehat, who came to the aid of Khoman of Chcetore, was a branch of these Asaseni, the opponents of Alexander. The modern town of Deenkote appears to occupy the site of Aswini-kote, though D'Anville

* Dow omits this in his translation.

† The sense of this passage has been quite perverted by Dow.



feels inclined to carry it into the heart of Bijore and place it on the rock (*silla*) Aornus. Such the Sehat; not improbably the *Soha*, one of the eight subdivisions of the Yadu.* When, in S. 785, the Bhatti chief Rao Tannoo was driven across the Sutledge, the Sehats are mentioned with other tribes as forming the army of Hussein Shah, with the Barahas, the Joudis, and Johyas (the Juds and Jinjohyas of Baber), the Bootas, and the 'men of Doode.'

The Chundail, from Kurrungurh, occupied the tracts now termed Boondelkhund.

We shall pass over the other auxiliary tribes and conclude with the Purihar, who came from Cashmere on this occasion: a circumstance entirely overlooked in the dissertation on this tribe;† nor does this isolated fact afford room for further discussion on a race which expelled the Pramaras from Mundore.

Such aids, who preserved Khoman when assailed by the 'Khorasan Put,' fully demonstrate the antiquity of the annals, which is further attested by inscriptions. Khoman fought twenty-four great battles, and his name, like that of Caesar, became a family distinction. At Oodipur, if you make a false step, or even sneeze, you hear the ejaculation of 'Khoman aid you!' Khoman, by the advice of the Brahmins, resigned the Gadi to his younger son, Jograz; but again resumed it, slaying his advisers and execrating the name of Brahmin, which he almost exterminated in his own dominions. Khoman was at length slain by his own son, Mangul; but the chiefs expelled the parri-

cide, who seized upon Lodurwa in the northern desert, and there established the Mangulia Gehlotes.

Bhartribhut (familiarly Bhatta) succeeded. In his reign, and in that of his successor, the territory dependent on Cheetore was greatly increased. All the forest tribes, from the banks of the Myhie to Aboe, were subjugated, and strongholds erected, of which Dhorungurh and Ujargurh still remain to maintain them. He established no less than thirteen* of his sons in independent possessions in Malwa and Guzerat, and these were distinguished as the Bhatewra Gehlotes.

We shall now leap over fifteen generations; which, though affording a few interesting facts to the antiquarian, would not amuse the general reader. We will rest satisfied with stating, that the Chohans of Ajmeer and the Gehlotes of Cheetore were alternately friends and foes; that Doorlub Chohan was slain by Bersi Raoul in a grand battle fought at Kowario, of which the Chohan annals state 'that their princes were now so powerful as to oppose the chief of Cheetore.' Again, in the next reign, we find the renowned Beesuldeo, son of Doorlub, combining with Raoul Tejsi of Cheetore to oppose the progress of Islamite invasion: facts recorded by inscriptions as well as by the annals. We may close these remarks on the fifteen princes, from Khoman to Samarsi, with the words of Gibbon on the dark period of Guelphic annals: "It may be presumed "that they were illiterate and valiant; that

* See page 67.

† See page 76.

* By name, Koolannger, Champanair, Choreta, Bhojpur, Loonara, Neemthore, Sodaru, Jodghur, Sandpur, Aetpur, and Gungabheva. The remaining two are not mentioned.

“they plundered in their youth, and reared
“churches in their old age; that they were
“fond of arms, horses, and hunting;” and

we may add, continued bickering with their
vassals within, when left unemployed by the
enemy from without.

CHAPTER V.

Historical facts furnished by the bard Chund.—Anungpal.—Prithwi Raj.—Samarsi.—Overthrow of the Chohan monarch by the Tatars.—Posterity of Samarsi.—Rahup.—Changes in the title and the tribe of its princes.—Successors of Rahup.

ALTHOUGH the whole of this chain of ancestry, from Kanaksen in the second, Vijya the founder of Ballabhi in the fourth, to Samarsi in the thirteenth century, cannot be discriminated with perfect accuracy, we may affirm, to borrow a metaphor, that “the two extremities of it are rivetted in truth:” and some links have at intervals been recognized as equally valid. We will now extend the chain to the nineteenth century.

Samarsi was born in S. 1206. Though the domestic annals are not silent on his acts, we shall recur chiefly to the bard of Delhi*

* The work of Chund is a universal history of the period in which he wrote. In the sixty-nine books, comprizing one hundred thousand stanzas, relating to the exploits of Prithwi Raj, every noble family of Rajasthan will find some record of their ancestors. It is accordingly treasured amongst the archives of each race having any pretensions to the name of Rajpoot. From this he can trace his martial forefathers who ‘drank of the wave of battle’ in the passes of Kirman, when ‘the cloud of war rolled from Himachal’ to the plains of Hindusthan. The wars of Prithwi Raj, his alliances, his numerous and powerful tributaries, their abodes and pedigrees, make the works of Chund invaluable as historic and geographical memoranda, besides being treasures in mythology, manners, and the annals of the mind. To read this poet well is a sure road to honour, and my own *Goora* was allowed, even by the professional bards, to excell therein. As he read I rapidly translated about thirty thousand stanzas. Familiar with the dialects in which it is written, I have

for his character and actions, and the history of the period. Before we proceed, however, a sketch of the political condition of Hindusthan during the last of the Tuar sovereigns of Delhi, derived from this authority and in the bard’s own words, may not be unacceptable. “In Putun is Bhola Bheem
“the Chalook, of iron frame. On the
“mountain Aboo, Jeit Pramara, in battle
“immovaeable as the star of the north. In
“Mewar is Samar Sing, who takes tribute
“from the mighty, aware of iron in the path
“of Delhi’s foe. In the midst of all, strong
“in his own strength, Mundore’s prince, the
“arrogant Nahar Rao, the might of Maroo,
“fearing none. In Delhi the chief of all
“Anunga, at whose summons attended the
“princes of Mundore, Nagore, Scind, Julwut*
fancied that I seized occasionally the poet’s spirit; but it were presumption to suppose that I embodied all his brilliancy, or fully comprehended the depth of his allusions. But I knew for whom he wrote. The most familiar of his images and sentiments I heard daily from the mouths of those around me, the descendants of the men whose deeds he rehearses. I was enabled thus to seize his meaning, where one more skilled in poetic lore might have failed, and to make my prosaic version of some value.

* Unknown, unless the country on the ‘waters’ (*Jul*) of Scind.

"and others on its confines, Peshawur, "Lahore, Kangra and its mountain chiefs, "with Kasi,* Prayag,† and Gurh Deogin. "The lords of Seemar‡ were in constant "danger of his power." The Bhatti, since their expulsion from Zabulistan, had successively occupied as capitals, Salbahana in the Punjab, Tannote, Derawul, which last they founded, and the ancient Lodurwa, which they conquered in the desert; and at the period in question were constructing their present residence, Jessulmeer. In this nook they had been fighting for centuries with the Lieutenants of the Caliph at Arore, occasionally redeeming their ancient possessions as far as the city of the Tak on the Indus. Their situation gave them little political interest in the affairs of Hindusthan until the period of Prithwi Raj, one of whose principal leaders, Achilles, was the brother of the Bhatti prince. Anungapal, from this description, was justly entitled to be termed the paramount sovereign of Hindusthan; but he was the last of a dynasty of nineteen princes, who had occupied Delhi nearly four hundred years, from the time of the founder Beelun Deo, who, according to a manuscript in the author's possession, was only an opulent Thacoor when he assumed the ensigns of royalty in the then deserted Indraprastha, taking the name of Anungapal,§ ever after titular in the family. The Chohans of Ajmeer owed at least homage to Delhi at this time, although Beesuldeo had rendered it al-

most nominal; and to Someswar, the fourth in descent, Anungapal was indebted for the preservation of this supremacy against the attempts of Kanouj, for which service he obtained the Tuar's daughter in marriage, the issue of which was Prithwi Raj, who when only eight years of age was proclaimed successor to the Delhi throne. Jeychund of Kanouj and Prithwi Raj bore the same relative situation to Anungapal; Beejipal, the father of the former, as well as Someswar, having had a daughter of the Tuar to wife. This originated the rivalry between the Chohans and Rahtores, which ended in the destruction of both. When Prithwi Raj mounted the throne of Delhi, Jeychund not only refused to acknowledge his supremacy, but set forth his own claims to this distinction. In these he was supported by the prince of Putun Anhulwara (the eternal foe of the Chohans), and likewise by the Purihars of Mundore. But the affront given by the latter, in refusing to fulfil the contract of bestowing his daughter on the young Chohan, brought on a warfare, in which this first essay was but the presage of his future fame. Kanouj and Putun had recourse to the dangerous expedient of entertaining bands of Tatars, through whom the sovereign of Gazni was enabled to take advantage of their internal broils.

Samarsi, prince of Cheetore, had married the sister of Prithwi Raj, and their personal characters, as well as this tie, bound them to each other throughout all these commotions, until the last fatal battle on the Caggar. From these feuds Hindusthan never was free. But unrelenting enmity was not a part of their character: having displayed

* Benares.

† Allahabad.

‡ The cold regions (see, 'cold').

§ *Anunga* is a poetical epithet of the Hindu Cupid, literally 'incorporeal'; but, according to good authority, applicable to the founder of the desolate abode, *palna* being 'to support,' and *unga*, with the primitive *an*, 'without body.'



the valour of the tribe, the bard or Nestor of the day would step in, and a marriage would conciliate and maintain in friendship such foes for two generations. From time immemorial such has been the political state of India, as represented by their own epics, or in Arabian or Persian histories : thus always the prey of foreigners, and destined to remain so. Samarsi had to contend both with the princes of Putun and Kanouj ; and although the bard says, " he washed his blade in the Jumna," the domestic annals slur over the circumstance of Sid Rae Jey Sing having actually made a conquest of Cheetore ; for it is not only included in the eighteen capitals enumerated as appertaining to this prince, but the author discovered a tablet* in Cheetore, placed there by his successor, Komarpal, bearing the date S. 1206, the period of Samarsi's birth. The first occasion of Samarsi's aid being called in by the Chohan emperor was on the discovery of treasure at Nagore, amounting to seven millions of gold, the deposit of ancient days. The princes of Kanouj and Putun, dreading the influence which such sinews of war would afford their antagonist, invited Shabudin to aid their designs of humiliating the Chohan, who in this emergency sent an embassy to Samarsi. The envoy was Chund Poondir, the vassal chief of Lahore, and guardian of that frontier. He is conspicuous from this time to the hour "when he planted his lance at the ford of the Ravee," and fell in opposing the passage of Shabudin. The presents he carries, the speech with which he greets the Cheetore prince, his reception, reply, and dismissal, are all pre-

* See Inscription, No. 5.

served by Chund. The style of address and the apparel of Samarsi betoken that he had not laid aside the office and ensigns of 'Regent of Mahadeva.' A simple necklace of the seeds of the lotus adorned his neck; his hair was braided, and he is addressed as Jogindra, or chief of ascetics. Samarsi proceeded to Delhi; and it was arranged, as he was connected by marriage with the prince of Putun, that Prithwi Raj should march against this prince, while he should oppose the army from Gazni. He (Samarsi) accordingly fought several indecisive battles, which gave time to the Chohan to terminate the war in Guzerat and rejoin him. United, they completely discomfited the invaders, making their leader prisoner. Samarsi declined any share of the discovered treasure, but permitted his chiefs to accept the gifts offered by the Chohan. Many years elapsed in such subordinate warfare, when the prince of Cheetore was again constrained to use his buckler in defence of Delhi and its prince, whose arrogance and successful ambition, followed by disgraceful inactivity, invited invasion with every presage of success. Jealousy and revenge rendered the princes of Putun, Kanouj, Dhar, and the minor courts, indifferent spectators of a contest destined to overthrow them all.

The bard gives a good description of the preparations for his departure from Cheetore, which he was destined never to see again. The charge of the city was entrusted to a favourite and younger son, Kurna : which disgusted the elder brother, who went to the Dekhan to Biedur, where he was well received by an Abyssinian chief,* who had there estab-

* Styled Hubshee Padsha.

lished himself in sovereignty. Another son, either on this occasion or on the subsequent fall of Cheetore, fled to the mountains of Nepal, and there spread the Gehloteline. It is in this, the last of the books of Chund, termed "the Great Fight," that we have the character of Samarsi fully delineated. His arrival at Delhi is hailed with songs of joy as a day of deliverance. Prithwi Raj and his court advance seven miles to meet him, and the description of the greeting of the king of Delhi and his sister, and the chiefs on either side who recognize ancient friendships, is most animated. Samarsi reads his brother-in-law an indignant lecture on his unprincely inactivity, and throughout the book divides attention with him.

In the planning of the campaign, and march towards the Caggar to meet the foe, Samarsi is consulted, and his opinions are recorded. The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host: brave, cool, and skilful in the fight; prudent, wise, and eloquent in council; pious and decorous on all occasions; beloved by his own chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the Chohan. In the line of march no augur or bard could better explain the omens, none in the field better dress the squadrons for battle, none guide his steed or use his lance with more address. His tent is the principal resort of the leaders after the march or in the intervals of battle, who were delighted by his eloquence or instructed by his knowledge. The bard confesses that his precepts of government are chiefly from the lips of Khoman;* and of his best episodes and allegories, whether on morals,

rules for the guidance of ambassadors, choice of ministers, religious or social duties (but especially those of the Rajpoot to the sovereign), the wise prince of Cheetore is the general organ.

On the last of three day's desperate fighting Samarsi was slain, together with his son Calian, and thirteen thousand of his household troops and most renowned chieftains. His beloved Pritha, on hearing the fatal issue, her husband slain, her brother captive, the heroes of Delhi and Cheetore "asleep on the banks of the Caggar, in the wave of the steel," joined her lord through the flame, nor waited the advance of the Tatar king, when Delhi was carried by storm, and the last stay of the Chohans, prince Rainsi, met death in the assault. The capture of Delhi and its monarch, the death of his ally of Cheetore, with the bravest and best of their troops, speedily ensured the further and final success of the Tatar arms; and when Kanouj fell, and the traitor to his nation met his fate in the waves of the Ganges, none were left to contend with Shabudin in the possession of the regal seat of the Chohan. Scenes of devastation, plunder, and massacre commenced, which lasted through ages; during which nearly all that was sacred in religion or celebrated in art was destroyed by these ruthless and barbarous invaders. The noble Rajpoot, with a spirit of constancy and enduring courage, seized every opportunity to turn upon his oppressor. By his perseverance and valour he wore out entire dynasties of foes, alternately yielding 'to his fate,' or restricting the circle of conquest. Every road in Rajasthan was moistened with torrents of blood of the

* I have already mentioned, that Khoman became a patronymic and title amongst the princes of Cheetore.

spoiled and the spoiler. But all was of no avail; fresh supplies were ever pouring in, and dynasty succeeded dynasty, heir to the same remorseless feeling which sanctified murder, legalized spoliation, and deified destruction. In these desperate conflicts entire tribes were swept away, whose names are the only memento of their former existence and celebrity.

What nation on earth would have maintained the semblance of civilization, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression, but one of such singular character as the Rajpoot? Though ardent and reckless, he can, when required, subside into forbearance and apparent apathy, and reserve himself for the opportunity of revenge. Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict, or human nature sustain, from a foe whose religion commands annihilation, and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure, and making calamity a whetstone to courage. How did the Britons at one sink under the Romans, and in vain strive to save their groves, their druids, or the altars of Bal from destruction! To the Saxons they alike succumbed; they, again, to the Danes: and this heterogeneous breed to the Normans. Empire was lost and gained by a single battle, and the laws and religion of the conquered merged in those of the conquerors. Contrast with these the Rajpoots; not an iota of their religion or customs have they lost, though many a foot of land. Some of their states have been expunged from the map of dominion; and, as a punish-

ment of national infidelity, the pride of the Rahtore, and the glory of the Chalcock, the overgrown Kanouj and gorgeous Anhilwarra, are forgotten names! Mewar alone, the sacred bulwark of religion, never compromised her honour for her safety, and still survives her ancient limits; and since the brave Samarsi gave up his life, the blood of her princes has flowed in copious streams for the maintenance of this honour, religion, and independence.

Samarsi had several sons;* but Kurna was his heir, and during his minority his mother, Karmadevi, a princess of Putun, nobly maintained what his father left. She headed her Rajpoots and gave battle† in person to Kootub-o-din, near Ambar, when the viceroy was defeated and wounded. Nine Rajas, and eleven chiefs of inferior dignity with the title of Rawut, followed the mother of their prince.

Kurna (the radiant) succeeded in S. 1249 (A. D. 1193); but he was not destined to be the founder of a line in Mewar.‡ The annals are at variance with each other on an event which gave the sovereignty of Cheetore to a younger branch, and sent the elder into the inhospitable wilds of the west, to found a city§ and perpetuate a line. It is stated generally that Kurna had two sons, Mahup and Rahup; but this is an error: Samarsi and Soorajmul were brothers; Kurna was the son of the former and *Mahup*

* Callianrae, slain with his father: Koomkurna, who went to Biedur; a third, the founder of the Gorkas.

† This must be the battle mentioned by Ferishta. See Dow, p. 169, vol. II.

‡ He had a son, Sirwan, who took to commerce, hence the mercantile Sésodia caste, Sirwanaes.

§ Dongurpoor, so named from *dongra*, 'a mountain.'



was his son, whose mother was a Chohan of Bhagur. Soorajmul had a son named Bharut, who was driven from Cheetore by a conspiracy. He proceeded to Scind, obtained Arore from its prince, a Moosulman, and married the daughter of the Bhatti chief of Poogul, by whom he had a son named *Rahup*. Kurna died of grief for the loss of Bharut and the unworthiness of Mahup, who abandoned him to live entirely with his maternal relations, the Chohans.

The Sonigurra chief of Jhalore had married the daughter of Kurna, by whom he had a child named Rindhole,* whom by treachery he placed on the throne of Cheetore, slaying the chief Gehlotes. Mahup being unable to recover his rights, and unwilling to make any exertion, the chair of Bappa Rawul would have passed to the Chohans but for an ancient bard of the house. He pursued his way to Arore, held by old Bharut as a fief of Cabul. With the levies of Scind he marched to claim the right abandoned by Mahup, and at Pally encountered and defeated the Sonigurras. The retainers of Mewar flocked to his standard, and by their aid he enthroned himself in Cheetore. He sent for his father and mother, Rangadevi, whose dwelling on the Indus was made over to a younger brother, who bartered his faith for Arore, and held it as a vassal of Cabul.

Rahup obtained Cheetore in S. 1257 (A. D. 1201), and shortly after sustained the attack of Shemsudin, whom he met and overcame in a battle at Nagore. Two great changes were introduced by this prince: the first in the title of the tribe, to Sesodia;

the other in that of its prince, from Rawul to Rana. The puerile reason for the former has already been noticed;* the cause of the latter is deserving of more attention. Amongst the foes of Rahup was the Purihar prince of Mundore: his name Mokul, with the title of Rana. Rahup seized him in his capital and brought him to Sesodia, making him renounce the rich district of Godwar, and his title of Rana, which he assumed himself, to denote the completion of his feud. He ruled thirty-eight years in a period of great distraction, and appears to have been well calculated, not only to uphold the fallen fortunes of the state, but to rescue them from utter ruin. His reign is the more remarkable by contrast with his successors, nine of whom are "pushed from their stools" in the same or even a shorter period than that during which he upheld the dignity.

From Rahup to Lakumsi, in the short space of half a century, nine princes of Cheetore were crowned, and at nearly equal intervals of time followed each other to 'the mansions of the sun.' Of these nine, six fell in battle. Nor did they meet their fate at home, but in a chivalrous enterprize to redeem the sacred Gya from the pollution of the barbarian. For this object these princes successively fell, but such devotion inspired fear, if not pity or conviction, and the bigot renounced the impiety which Pir-thimull purchased with this blood, and until Alla-o-din's reign, this outrage to their prejudices was renounced. But in this interval they had lost their capital, for it is stated as the only occurrence in Bhonsi's†

* See note, page 165.

† His second son, Chandra, obtained an appanage on the Chumbul, and his issue, well known as Chandera-

* So pronounced, but properly written Rin-dhaval, 'the standard of the field.'

reign, that he "recovered Cheetore" and made the name of Rana be acknowledged by all. Two memorials are preserved of the nine princes from Rahup to Lakumsi, and of the same character: confusion and strife

within and without. We will, therefore, pass over these to another grand event in the vicissitudes of this house, which possesses more of romance than of history, though the facts are undoubted.

CHAPTER VI.

Rana Lakumsi.—Attack of Cheetore by Alla-o-din. Treachery of Alla.—Rise of the Cheetore chiefs to recover Bheemsi.—Devotion of the Rana and his sons.—Sack of Cheetore by the Tatars.—Its destruction.—Rana Ajeysi.—Hamir.—He gains possession of Cheetore.—Renown and prosperity of Mewar.—Khaitsi.—Lakha.

LAKUMSI succeeded his father in S. 1331 (A.D. 1275), a memorable era in the annals, when Cheetore, the repository of all that was precious yet untouched of the arts

wuts, constituted one of the most powerful vassal clans of Mewar. Rampura (Bhanpara) was their residence, yielding a revenue of nine lacks (£110,000), held on the tenure of service, which from an original grant in my possession from Rana Juggut Sing to his nephew Madhu Sing, afterwards prince of Ambar, was two thousand horse and foot (see p. 154), and the fine of investiture was seventy-five thousand rupees. Madhu Sing, when prince of Ambar, did what was invalid as well as ungrateful; he made over this domain, granted during his misfortunes, to Holkar, the first limb lopped off Mewar. The Chandrawut proprietor continued, however, to possess a portion of the original estate with the fortress of Amud, which it maintained throughout all the troubles of Rajwarra till A.D. 1821. It shews the attachment to custom, that the young Rao applied and received 'the sword' of investiture from his old lord paramount, the Rana, though dependent on Holkar's forbearance. But a minority is proverbially dangerous in India. Disorder from party plots made Amud troublesome to Holkar's government, which as his ally and preserver of tranquillity we suppressed by blowing up the walls of the fortress. This is one of many instances of the harsh, uncompromising nature of our power, and the anomalous description of our alliances with the Rajpoots. However necessary to repress the disorder arising from the claims of ancient proprietors and the recent rights of Holkar, or the new proprietor, Guffoor Khan, yet surrounding

of India, was stormed, sacked, and treated with remorseless barbarity, by the Pathan emperor, Alla-o-din. Twice it was attacked by this subjugator of India. In the first siege it escaped spoliation, though at the price of its best defenders: that which followed is the first successful assault and capture of which we have any detailed account.

Bheemsi was the uncle of the young prince, and Protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hamir Sank (Chohan) of Ceylon, the cause of

princes, and the general population, who know the history of past times, lament to see a name of five hundred years' duration thus summarily extinguished, which chiefly benefits an upstart Pathan. Such the vortex of the ambiguous, irregular, and unsystematic policy, which marks many of our alliances, which protect too often but to injure, and gives to our office of general arbitrator and high constable of Rajasthan a harsh and unfeeling character.

Much of this arises from ignorance of the past history; much from disregard of the peculiar usages of the people; or from that expediency which too often comes in contact with moral fitness, which will go on until the day predicted by the Nestor of India, when "one sica (seal) alone will be used in Hindusthan."

woes unnumbered to the Sesodias. Her name was Pudmini, a title bestowed only on the superlatively fair, and transmitted with renown to posterity by tradition and the song of the bard. Her beauty, accomplishments, exaltation, and destruction, with other incidental circumstances, constitute the subject of one of the most popular traditions of Rajwarra. The Hindu bard recognizes the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alla-odin, who limited his demand to the possession of Pudmini; though this was after a long and fruitless siege. At length he restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rajpoot, he entered Cheetore slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish, returned. The Rajpoot, unwilling to be outdone in confidence accompanied the king to the foot of the fortress, amidst many complimentary excuses from his guest at the trouble he thus occasioned. It was for this that Alla risked his own safety, relying on the superior faith of the Hindu. Here he had an ambush; Bheemsi was made prisoner, hurried away to the Tatar camp, and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Pudmini.

Despair reigned in Cheetore when this fatal event was known, it was debated whether Pudmini should be resigned as a ransom for their defender. Of this she was informed, and expressed her acquiescence. Having provided wherewithal to secure her from dishonour, she communed with two chiefs of her own kin and clan of Ceylon, her uncle Gorah and his nephew Badul, who

devised a scheme for the liberation of their prince without hazarding her life or fame. Intimation was despatched to Alla, that on the day he withdrew from his trenches the fair Pudmini would be sent, but in a manner befitting her own and his high station, surrounded by her females and handmaids; not only those who would accompany her to Delhi, but many others who desired to pay her this last mark of reverence. Strict commands were to be issued to prevent curiosity from violating the sanctity of female decorum and privacy. No less than seven hundred covered litters proceeded to the royal camp. In each was placed one of the bravest of the defenders of Cheetore, borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters. They reached the camp. The royal tents were enclosed with *kanats* (walls of cloth); the litters were deposited, and half an hour was granted for a parting interview between the Hindu prince and his bride. They then placed their prince in a litter and returned with him, while the greater number (the supposed damsels) remained to accompany the fair to Delhi. But Alla had no intention to permit Bheemsi's return, and was becoming jealous of the long interview he enjoyed, when, instead of the prince and Pudmini, the devoted band issued from their litters: but Alla was too well guarded. Pursuit ordered, while these covered the retreat till they perished to a man. A fleet horse was in reserve for Bheemsi, on which he was placed, and in safety ascended the fort, at whose outer gate the host of Alla was encountered. The choicest of the heroes of Cheetore met the assault. With Gorah and Badul at their head, animated by the noblest

sentiments, the deliverance of their chief and and the honour of their queen, they devoted themselves to destruction, and few were the survivors of this slaughter of the flower of Mewar. For a time Alla was defeated in his object, and the havoc they had made in his ranks, joined to the dread of their determined resistance, obliged him to desist from the enterprize.

Mention has already been made of the adjuration, "by the sin of the sack of Cheetore." Of these sacks they enumerate *three and a half*. This is the 'half:' for though the city was not stormed, the best and bravest were cut off (*saka*). It is described with great animation in the *Khoman Rasa*. Badul was but a stripling of twelve, but the Rajpoot expects wonders from this early age. He escaped, though wounded, and a dialogue ensues between him and his uncle's wife, who desires him to relate how her lord conducted himself ere she joins him. The stripling replies: "He was the reaper of the harvest of battle; I followed his steps as the humble gleaner of his sword. On the gory bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain; a barbarian prince his pillow, he laid him down, and sleeps surrounded by the foe." Again she said: "tell me, Badul, how did my love (*peear*) behave?"—"Oh! mother, how further describe his deeds when he left no foe to dread or admire him?" She smiled farewell to the boy, and adding, "my lord will chide my delay," sprung into the flame.

Alla-o-din, having recruited his strength, returned to his object, Cheetore. The annals state this to have been in S. 1346 (A.D. 1290), but Ferishta gives a date thir-

teen years later. They had not yet recovered the loss of so many valiant men who had sacrificed themselves for their prince's safety, and Alla carried on his attacks more closely, and at length obtained the hill at the southern point, where he entrenched himself. They still pretend to point out his trenches; but so many have been formed by subsequent attacks that we cannot credit the assertion. The poet has found in the disastrous issue of this siege admirable materials for his song. He represents the Rana, after an arduous day, stretched on his pallet, and during a night of watchful anxiety, pondering on the means by which he might preserve from the general destruction one at least of his twelve sons; when a voice broke on his solitude, exclaiming "*Myn bhooka ho*;"* and raising his eyes, he saw, by the dim glare of the cheragh,† advancing between the granite columns, the majestic form of the guardian goddess of Cheetore. "Not satiated," exclaimed the Rana, "though eight thousand of my kin were late an offering to thee?"—"I must have regal victims; and if twelve who wear the diadem bleed not for Cheetore, the land will pass from the line." This said, she vanished.

On the morn he convened a council of his chiefs, to whom he revealed the vision of the night, which they treated as the dream of a disordered fancy. He commanded their attendance at midnight; when again the form appeared, and repeated the terms on which alone she would remain amongst them. "Though thousands of barbarians strew the earth, what are they to me? On each day

* 'I am hungry.'

† Lamp.

"enthroned a prince. Let the *kirnia*,* the "*chhatra*,* and the *chamara** proclaim his "sovereignty, and for three days let his "decrees be supreme : on the fourth let him "meet the foe and his fate. Then only may "I remain."

Whether we have merely the fiction of the poet, or whether the scene was got up to animate the spirit of resistance, matters but little, it is consistent with the belief of the tribe ; and that the goddess should openly manifest her wish to retain as her tiara the battlements of Cheetore on conditions so congenial to the warlike and superstitious Rajpoot, was a gage readily taken up and fully answering the end. A generous contention arose amongst the brave brothers, who should be the first victim to avert the denunciation. Ursi urged his priority of birth : he was proclaimed, the umbrella waved o'er his head, and on the fourth day he surrendered his short-lived honours and his life. Ajeysi, the next in birth, demanded to follow ; but he was the favourite son of his father, and at his request he consented to let his brothers precede him. Eleven had fallen in turn, and but one victim remained to the salvation of the city, when the Rana, calling his chiefs around him, said, "now I devote myself for Cheetore." But another awful sacrifice was to precede this act of self-devotion, in that horrible rite, the *Johur*, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the 'great subterranean retreat,' in chambers impervious

to the light of day, and the defenders of Cheetore beheld in procession the queen, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Pudmini closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element.

A contest now arose between the Rana and his surviving son ; but the father prevailed, and Ajeysi, in obedience to his commands, with a small band passed through the enemy's lines, and reached Kailwarra in safety. The Rana, satisfied that his line was not extinct, now prepared to follow his brave sons ; and calling around him his devoted clans, for whom life had no longer any charms, they threw open the portals and descended to the plain, and with a reckless despair carried death, or met it, in the crowded ranks of Alla. The Tatar conqueror took possession of an inanimate capital, strewed with brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay consumed the once fair object of his desire ; and since this devoted day the cavern has been sacred : no eye has penetrated its gloom, and superstition has placed 'as its guardian a huge serpent, whose "venomous breath" extinguishes the light which might guide intruders* to "the place of sacrifice."

* These are the insignia of royalty. The *kirnia* is a parasol, from *herau*, 'a ray' : the *chhatra* is the umbrella, always red : the *chamara*, the flowing tail of the wild ox, set in a gold handle, and used to drive away the flies.

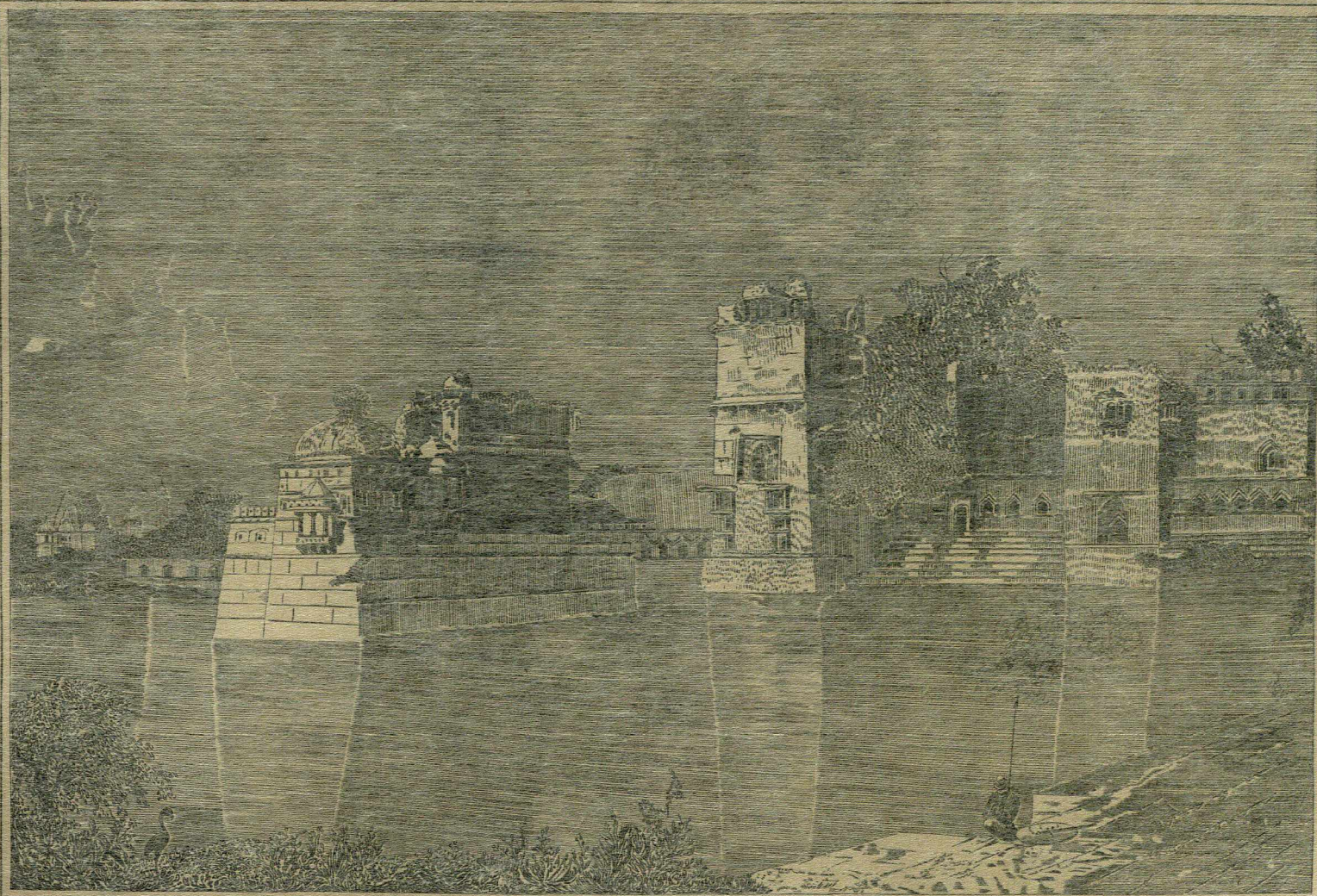
* The author has been at the entrance of this retreat, which, according to the *Khoman Rasa*, conducts to a subterranean palace, but the mephitic vapours and venomous reptiles did not invite to adventure, even had official situation permitted such slight to these prejudices. The author is the only Englishman admitted to Cheetore

Thus fell, in A.D. 1303, this celebrated capital, in the round of conquest of Alla-odin, one of the most vigorous and warlike sovereigns who have occupied the throne of India. In success, and in one of the means of attainment, a bigotted hypocrisy, he bore a striking resemblance to Aurungzebe; and the title of 'Secunder Sani,' or the second Alexander, which he assumed and impressed on his coins, was no idle vaunt. The proud Anhulwara, the ancient Dhar and Avanti, Mundore and Deogir, the seats of the Solankis, the Pramaras, the Puriharas and Taks, the entire Agnicula race, were overturned for ever by Alla. Jessulmeer, Gaggrown, Boondi, the abodes of the Bhatti, the Keechoe, and the Hara, with many of minor importance, suffered all the horrors of assault from this foe of the race, though destined again to raise their heads. The Rattores of Marwar and the Cutchwahas of Ambar were yet in a state of insignificance: the former were slowly creeping into notice as the vassals of the Puriharas, while the latter could scarcely withstand the attacks of the original Meena population. Alla remained in Cheetore some days, admiring the grandeur of his conquest; and having committed every act of barbarity and wanton dilapidation which a bigotted zeal could suggest, overthrowing the temples and other monuments of art, he delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalore, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals. The palace of Bheem and the fair Pudmini alone appears to have escaped the wrath of Alla; it would be pleas-

ing could we suppose any kinder sentiment suggested the exception, which enables the author of these annals to exhibit the abode of the fair of Ceylon.

The survivor of Cheetore, Rana Ajeysi, was now in security at Kailwarra, a town situated in the heart of the Aravali mountains, the western boundary of Mewar, to which its princes had been indebted for twelve centuries of dominion. Kailwarra is at the highest part of one of its most extensive valleys termed the Shero Nalla, the richest district of this alpine region. Guarded by faithful adherents, Ajeysi cherished for future occasion the wrecks of Mewar. It was the last behest of his father, that when he attained 'one hundred years' (a figurative expression for dying), the son of Ursi, the elder brother, should succeed him. This injunction, from the deficiency of the qualities requisite at such a juncture in his own sons, met a ready compliance. Hamir was this son, destined to redeem the promise of the genius of Cheetore and the lost honours of his race, and whose birth and early history fill many a page of their annals. His father, Ursi, being out on a hunting excursion in the forest of Ondwa with some young chiefs of the court, in pursuit of the boar entered a field of maize, when a female offered to drive out the game. Pulling one of the stalks of maize, which grows to the height of ten or twelve feet, she pointed it, and mounting the platform made to watch the corn, impaled the hog, dragged him before the hunters, and departed. Though accustomed to feats of strength and heroism from the nervous arms of their countrywomen, the act surprised them. They

since the days of Herbert, who appears to have described what he saw,



Engraved by N.C. Bose.

PALACE OF RAJA BHEEM & PUDMONDRI.
IN CHERTORE.



descended to the stream at hand, and prepared the repast, as is usual, on the spot. The feast was held, and comments were passing on the fair arm which had transfixed the boar, when a ball of clay from a sling fractured a limb of the prince's steed. Looking in the direction whence it came, they observed the same damsel, from her elevated stand,* preserving her fields from aerial depredators; but seeing the mischief she had occasioned she descended to express her regret, and then returned to her pursuit. As they were proceeding homewards after the sports of the day, they again encountered the damsel, with a vessel of milk on her head, and leading in either hand a young buffalo. It was proposed, in frolic, to overturn her milk, and one of the companions of the prince dashed rudely by her; but without being disconcerted, she entangled one of her charges with the horse's limbs, and brought the rider to the ground. On inquiry the prince discovered that she was the daughter of a poor Rajpoot of the Chundano tribe.† He returned the next day to the same quarter and sent for her father, who came and took his seat with perfect independence close to the prince, to the merriment of his companions, which was checked by Ursi asking his daughter to wife. They were yet more surprised by the demand being refused. The Rajpoot, on going home, told the more prudent mother, who scolded him heartily, made him recall the refusal, and seek the prince. They were married,

* A stand is fixed upon four poles in the middle of a field, on which a guard is placed armed with a sling and clay balls, to drive away the ravens, peacocks, and other birds that destroy the corn.

† One of the branches of the Chohan,

and Hamir was the son of the Chundano Rajpootnee. He remained little noticed at the maternal abode till the catastrophe of Cheetore. At this period he was twelve years of age, and had led a rustic life, from which the necessity of the times recalled him.

Mewar was now occupied by the garrisons of Delhi, and Ajeysi had besides to contend with the mountain chiefs, amongst whom Moonja Balaitcha was the most formidable, who had, on a recent occasion, invaded the Shero Nalla, and personally encountered the Rana, whom he wounded on the head with a lance. The Rana's sons, Sujunsi and Ajimsi, though fourteen and fifteen, an age at which a Rajpoot ought to indicate his future character, proved of little aid in the emergency. Hamir was summoned, and accepted the feud against Moonja, promising to return successful or not at all. In a few days he was seen entering the pass of Kailwarra with Moonja's head at his saddle-bow. Modestly placing the trophy at his uncle's feet, he exclaimed: "recognize the head of your foe!" Ajeysi "kissed his beard,"* and observing that fate had stamp'd empire on his forehead, impressed it with a teeka of blood from the head of the Balaitcha. This decided the fate of the sons of Ajeysi; one of whom died at Kailwarra, and the other, Sujunsi, who might have excited a civil war, was sent from the country.† He departed for the Dekhan, where his issue was destined to avenge some of the wrongs the parent country had sustained, and eventually to overturn the monarchy of Hindusthan;

* This is an idiomatic phrase; Hamir could have had no beard.

† *Des desā.*

for Sujunsi was the ancestor of Sevaji, the founder of the Satara throne, whose lineage* is given in the chronicles of Mewar.

Hamir succeeded in S. 1357 (A.D. 1301), and had sixty-four years granted to him to redeem his country from the ruins of the past century, which period had elapsed since India ceased to own the paramount sway of her native princes. The day on which he assumed the ensigns of rule he gave, in the *teeka dower*, an earnest of his future energy, which he signalized by a rapid inroad in the heart of the country of the predatory Balaitcha, and captured their stronghold Possalio. We may here explain the nature of this custom of a barbaric chivalry. The *teeka dower* signifies the foray of inauguration, which obtained from time immemorial on such events, and is yet maintained where any semblance of hostility will allow its execution. On the morning of installation, having previously received the *teeka* of sovereignty, the prince at the head of his retainers makes a foray into the territory of any one with whom he may have a feud, or with whom he may be indifferent as to exciting one; he captures a stronghold or plunders a town, and returns with the trophies. If amity should prevail with all around, which the prince cares not to disturb, they have still a mock representation of the custom.

* Ajeyi, Sujunsi, Duleepji, Seoji, Bhoraji, Deoraj, Oogursen, Mahoolji, Khailooji, Junkoji, Suttooji, Sambaji, Sevaji (the founder of the Mahratta nation), Sambaji, Ramraja, usurpation of the Peishwas. The Satara throne, but for the jealousies of Oodipur, might on the imbecility of Ramraja have been replenished from Mewar. It was offered to Nathji, the grandfather of the present chief Sheodan Sing, presumptive heir to Cheetore. Two noble lines were reared from princes of Cheetore expelled on similar occasions; those of Sevaji and the Ghorkas of Nepal.

For many reigns after the Jeipur princes united their fortunes to the throne of Delhi, their frontier town, Malpura, was the object of the *teeka dower* of the princes of Mewar.

"When Ajmal* went another road," as the bard figuratively describes the demise of Rana Ajeyi, "the son of Ursi unsheathed the sword, thence never stranger to his hand." Maldeo remained with the royal garrison in Cheetore, but Hamir desolated their plains, and left to his enemies only the fortified towns which could safely be inhabited. He commanded all who owned his sovereignty either to quit their abodes, and retire with their families to the shelter of the hills on the eastern and western frontiers, or share the fate of the public enemy. The roads were rendered impassable from his parties, who issued from their retreats in the Aravali, the security of which baffled pursuit. This destructive policy of laying waste the resources of their own country, and from this asylum attacking their foes as opportunity offered, has obtained from the time of Mahmood of Gazni in the tenth, to Mahomed, the last who merited the name of Emperor of Delhi, in the eighteenth century.

Hamir made Kailwarra† his residence, which soon became the chief retreat of the emigrants from the plains. The situation was admirably chosen, being covered by several ranges, guarded by intricate defiles, and situated at the foot of a pass leading

* This is a poetical version of the name of Ajeyi; a liberty frequently taken by the bards for the sake of rhyme.

† The lake he excavated here, the '*Hamir-tallao*,' and the temple of the protecting goddess on its bank, still bear witness of his acts while confined to this retreat.

over the mountain into a still more inaccessible retreat (where Komulmeer now stands),* well watered and wooded, with abundance of pastures and excellent indigenous fruits and roots. This tract, above fifty miles in breadth, is twelve hundred feet above the level of the plains and three thousand above the sea, with a considerable quantity of arable land, and free communication to obtain supplies by the passes of the western declivity from Marwar, Guzerat, or the friendly Bhils of the west, to whom this house owes a large debt of gratitude. On various occasions, the communities of Oguna and Panora furnished the princes of Mewar with five thousand bowmen, supplied them with provisions, or guarded the safety of their families when they had to oppose the foe in the field. The elevated plateau of the eastern frontier presented in its forests and dells many places of security; but Alla† traversed these in person, destroying as he went: neither did they possess the advantages of climate and natural productions arising from the elevation of the other. Such was the state of Mewar: its places of strength occupied by the foe, cultivation and peaceful objects neglected from the persevering hostility of Hamir, when a proposal of marriage came from the Hindu governor of Cheetore, which was immediately accepted, contrary to the wishes of the prince's advisers. Whether this was intended as a snare to entrap him, or merely as an insult, every danger was scouted by Hamir which gave a chance to the recovery of Cheetore. He desired that

'the cocoa-nut* might be retained,' coolly remarking on the dangers pointed out, "my feet shall at least tread in the rocky steps in which my ancestors have moved. A Rajpoot should always be prepared for reverses; one day to abandon his abode covered with wounds, and the next to re-ascend with the *mor* (crown) on his head." It was stipulated that only five hundred horse should form his suit. As he approached Cheetore, the five sons of the Chohan advance to meet him, but on the portal of the city no torun,† or nuptial emblem, was suspended. He however accepted the unsatisfactory reply to his remark on this indication of treachery, and ascended for the first time the ramp of Cheetore. He was received in the ancient halls of his ancestors by Rao Maldeo, his son Bunbeer, and other chiefs,

* This is the symbol of an offer of marriage.

† The *torun* is the symbol of marriage. It consists of three wooden bars, forming an equilateral triangle; mystic in shape and number, and having the apex crowned with the effigies of a peacock, it is placed over the portal of the bride's abode. At Oodipur, when the princes of Jessulmeer, Bikaner, and Kishengurh simultaneously married the two daughters and granddaughter of the Rana, the toruns were suspended from the battlements of the tripolia, or *three-arched portal*, leading to the palace. The bridegroom on horseback, lance in hand, proceeds to break the torun (*torun toorna*), which is defended by the damsels of the bride, who from the parapet assail him with missiles of various kinds, especially with a crimson powder made from the flowers of the *palasa*, at the same time singing songs fitted to the occasion, replete with *double-entendres*. At length the torun is broken amidst the shouts of the retainers; when the fair defenders retire.

The similitude of these ceremonies in the north of Europe and in Asia, increases the list of common affinities, and indicates the violence of rude times to obtain the object of affection; and the lance, with which the Rajpoot chieftain breaks the torun, has the same emblematic import as the spear, which, at the marriage of the nobles in Sweden, was a necessary implement in the furniture of the marriage chamber. *Vide* "Northern Antiquities."

* See Plate, view of Komulmeer.

† I have an inscription, and in *Sanscrit*, set up by an apostate chief or bard in his train, which I found in this tract.

'with folded hands.' The bride was brought forth, and presented by her father without any of the solemnities practised on such occasions; 'the knot of their garments tied and their hands united,' and thus they were left. The family priest recommended patience, and Hamir retired with his bride to the apartments allotted for them. Her kindness and vows of fidelity overcame his sadness upon learning that he had married a widow. She had been wedded to a chief of the Bhatti tribe, shortly afterwards slain, and when she was so young as not to recollect even his appearance. He ceased to lament the insult when she herself taught him how it might be avenged, and that it might even lead to the recovery of Cheetore. It is a privilege possessed by the bridegroom to have one specific favour complied with as a part of the dower (*daaja*), and Hamir was instructed by his bride to ask for Jal, one of the civil officers of Cheetore, and of the Mehta tribe. With his wife so obtained, and the scribe whose talents remained for trial, he returned in a fortnight to Kailwarra. Kaitsi was the fruit of this marriage, on which occasion Maldeo made over all the hill tracts to Hamir. Kaitsi was a year old when one of the penates (Kaitr Pal) was found at fault, on which she wrote to her parents to invite her to Cheetore, that the infant might be placed before the shrine of the deity. Escorted by a party from Cheetore, with her child she entered its walls; and instructed by the Mehta, she gained over the troops who were left, for the Rao had gone with his chief adherents against the Mers of Madaria. Hamir was at hand. Notice that all was ready reached him at Bagore. Still he met

opposition that had nearly defeated the scheme; but having forced admission, his sword overcame every obstacle, and the oath of allegiance (*an*) was proclaimed from the palace of his fathers.

The Sonigurra on his return was met with 'a salute of arabas,'* and Maldeo himself carried the account of his loss to the Ghilji king Mahmood, who had succeeded Alla. The 'standard of the sun' once more shone refulgent from the walls of Cheetore, and was the signal for return to their ancient abodes from their hills and hiding-places to the adherents of Hamir. The valleys of Komulmeer and the western highlands poured forth their 'streams of men,' while every chief of true Hindu blood rejoiced at the prospect of once more throwing off the barbarian yoke. So powerful was this feeling, and with such activity and skill did Hamir follow up this favour of fortune, that he marched to meet Mahmood, who was advancing to recover his lost possessions. The king unwisely directed his march by the eastern plateau, where numbers were rendered useless by the intricacies of the country. Of the three steppes which mark the physiognomy of this tract, from the first ascent from the plain of Mewar to the descent at the Chumbul, the king had encamped on the central, at Singolli, where he was attacked, defeated, and made prisoner by Hamir, who slew Hari Sing, brother of Bunbeer, in single combat. The king suffered a confinement of three months in Cheetore, nor was liberated till he had surrendered Ajmeer, Rinthumbore, Nagore, and Sooe Sopur, besides paying fifty lacks of rupees and one hundred ele-

* A kind of arquebuss.

phants. Hamir would exact no promise of cessation from further inroads, but contented himself with assuring him that from such he should be prepared to defend Cheetore, not within, but without the walls.*

Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemutch, Jeerun, Ruttunpur, and the Kairar, to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity; and as he gave the grant he remarked: "eat, serve, and be faithful. You were once the servant of a Toork, but now of a Hindu of your own faith; for I have but taken back my own, the rock moistened by the blood of my ancestors, the gift of the deity I adore, and who will maintain me in it; nor shall I endanger it by the worship of a fair face, as did my predecessor." Bunbeer shortly after carried Bhynsrore by assault, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbul was again added to Mewar. The Chieftains of Rajasthan rejoiced once more to see a Hindu take the lead, paid willing homage and aided him with service when required.

Hamir was the sole Hindu prince of power now left in India: all the ancient dynasties were crushed, and the ancestors of the present princes of Marwar and Jeypur brought their levies, paid homage, and obeyed the summons of the prince of Cheetore, as did the chiefs of Boondi, Gwalior, Chanderi, Raeseen, Sicri, Calpee, Aboo, &c.

Extensive as was the power of Mewar before the Tatar occupation of India, it could scarcely have surpassed the solidity of

sway which she enjoyed during the two centuries following Hamir's recovery of the capital. From this event to the next invasion from the same Cimmerian abode, led by Baber, we have a succession of splendid names recorded in her annals, and though destined soon to be surrounded by new Mahomedan dynasties, in Malwa and Guzerat as well as Delhi, yet successfully opposing them all. The distracted state of affairs when the races of Ghilji, Lodi, and Soor alternately struggled for and obtained the seat of dominion, Delhi, was favourable to Mewar, whose power was now so consolidated, that she not only repelled armies from her territory, but carried war abroad, leaving tokens of victory at Nagore, in Saurashtra, and to the walls of Delhi. The subjects of Mewar must have enjoyed not only a long repose, but high prosperity during this period, judging from their magnificent public works when a triumphal column must have cost the income of a kingdom to erect, and which ten years' produce of the crown-lands of Mewar could not at this time defray. Only one of the structures prior to the sack of Cheetore was left entire by Alla, and is yet existing, and this was raised by private and sectarian hands. It would be curious if the unitarian profession of the Jain creed was the means of preserving this ancient relic from Alla's wrath. The princes of this house were great patrons of the arts, and especially of architecture; and it is matter of surprise how their revenues, derived chiefly from the soil, could have enabled them to expend so much on these objects and at the same time maintain such armies as are enumerated. Such could be effected

* Ferishta does not mention this conquest over the Ghilji emperor; but as Mewar recovered her wonted splendour in this reign, we cannot doubt the truth of the native annals.

only by long prosperity, and a mild, paternal system of government; for the subject had his monuments as well as the prince, the ruins of which may yet be discovered in the more inaccessible or deserted portions of Rajasthan. Hamir died full of years, leaving a name still honoured in Mewar, as one of the wisest and most gallant of her princes, and bequeathing a well-established and extensive power to his son.

KHAITSI succeeded in S. 1421 (A.D. 1365) to the power and to the character of his father. He captured Ajmeer and Jehajpur from Lilla Patan, and re-annexed Mandalgurh, Dussore, and the whole of Chuppun (for the first time) to Mewar. He obtained a victory over the Delhi monarch Hemayoon at Bakrole; but unhappily his life terminated in a family broil with his vassal, the Hara chief of Bunaoda, whose daughter he was about to espouse.

LAKHA Rana, by this assassination, mounted the throne in Cheetore in S. 1439 (A.D. 1383). His first act was the entire subjugation of the mountainous region of Merwarra, and the destruction of its chief stronghold, Beratgurh, where he erected Bednore. But an event of much greater importance than settling his frontier, and which most powerfully tended to the prosperity of the country, was the discovery of the tin and silver mines of Jawura, in the tract wrested by Khaitsi from the Bhils of Chuppun. Lakha Rana has the merit of having first worked them, though their existence is superstitiously alluded to so early as the period of the founder. It is said the "seven metals (*heft-dhat*)"* were

* *Heft-dhat*, corresponding to the planets, each of

formerly abundant; but this appears figurative. We have no evidence for the gold; though silver, tin, copper, lead, and antimony, were yielded in abundance (the first two from the same matrix), but the tin that has been extracted for many years past yields but a small portion of silver.* Lakha Rana defeated the Sankla Rajpoots of Nagarchal,† at Ambar. He encountered the emperor Mahomed Shah Lodi, and on one occasion defeated a royal army at Bednore; but he carried the war to Gya, and in driving the barbarian from this sacred place, was slain. Lakha is a name of celebrity, as a patron of the arts and benefactor of his country. He excavated many reservoirs and lakes, raised immense ramparts to dam their waters, besides erecting strongholds. The riches of the mines of Jawura were expended to rebuild the temples and palaces levelled by Alla. A portion of his own palace yet exists, in the same style of architecture as that, more ancient, of Rutna and the fair Padmini; and a minster (*mundir*) dedicated to the creator (Bramha), an enormous and costly fabric, is yet entire. Being to "the one," and consequently containing no idol, it may thus have escaped the ruthless fury of the invaders.

Lakha had a numerous progeny, who

which ruled a metal; hence Mohar, 'the sun,' for gold; *Chandra*, 'the moon,' for silver.

* They have long been abandoned, the miners are extinct, and the protecting deities of mines are unable to get even a flower placed on their shrines, though some have been re-consecrated by the Bhils, who have converted Latchmi into Seetlamata (Juno Lucina), whom the Bhil females invoke to pass them through danger.

† Jhoonjoonoo, Singhana, and Narbana, formed the ancient Nagarchal territory.



have left their clans called after them, as the Loonawuts and Doolawuts, now the sturdy allodial proprietors of the alpine regions bordering on Oguna, Panora, and other tracts in the Aravalli.* But a circumstance which set aside the rights of primogeniture, and transferred the crown of Cheetore from

his eldest son, Chonda, to the younger, Mokul, had nearly carried it to another line. The consequences of making the elder branch a powerful vassal clan with claims to the throne, and which have been the chief cause of its subsequent prostration, we will reserve for another chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

Delicacy of the Rajpoots.—The occasion of changing the rule of primogeniture in Mewar.—Succession of the infant Mokulji, to the prejudice of Chonda, the rightful heir.—Disorders in Mewar through the usurpations of the Rahtores.—Chonda expels them from Cheetore and takes Mundore.—Transactions between Mewar and Marwar.—Reign of Mokulji.—His assassination.

If devotion to the fair sex be admitted as a criterion of civilization, the Rajpoot must rank high. His susceptibility is extreme, and fires at the slightest offence to female delicacy, which he never forgives. A satirical impromptu, involving the sacrifice of Rajpoot prejudices, dissolved the coalition of the Rahtores and Cutchwahas, and laid each prostrate before the Mahrattas, whom when united they had crushed: and a jest, apparently trivial, compromised the right of primogeniture to the throne of Cheetore, and proved more disastrous in its consequences than the arms either of Moguls or Mahrattas.

Lakha Rana was advanced in years, his sons and grandsons established in suitable

domains, when "the cocoa-nut came" from Rinmul prince of Marwar, to affiancé his daughter with Chonda, the heir of Mewar. When the embassy was announced, Chonda was absent, and the old chief was seated in his chair of state surrounded by his court. The messenger of Hymen was courteously received by Lakha, who observed that Chonda would soon return and take the gage; "for," added he, drawing his fingers over his mustachios, "I don't suppose you send such playthings to an old greybeard like me." This little sally was of course applauded and repeated; but Chonda, offended at delicacy being sacrificed to wit, declined accepting the symbol which his father had even in jest supposed might be intended for him: and as it could not be returned without gross insult to Rinmul, the old Rana, incensed at his son's obstinacy, agreed to accept it himself, provided Chonda would

* The Sarungdeote chief of Kanorh (on the borders of Chuppan), one of the sixteen lords of Mewar, is also a descendant of Lakha, as are some of the tribes of Sondwara, about Furfurah and the ravines of the Cali Sinde.



swear to renounce his birthright in the event of his having a son, and be to the child but "the first of his Rajpoots." He swore by Eklinga to fulfil his father's wishes.

MOKULJI was the issue of this union, and had attained the age of five when the Rana resolved to signalize his finale, by a raid against the enemies of their faith, and to expel the 'barbarian' from the holy land of Gya. In ancient times this was by no means uncommon, and we have several instances in the annals of these states of princes resigning 'the purple' on the approach of old age, and by a life of austerity and devotion, pilgrimage and charity, seeking to make their peace with heaven 'for the sins inevitably committed by all who wield a sceptre.' But when war was made against their religion by the Tatar proselytes to Islam, the Sutledge and the Caggar were as the banks of the Jordan—Gya, their Jerusalem, their holy land; and if their destiny filled his cup, the Hindu chieftain was secure of beatitude,* exempted from the troubles of 'second birth,'† and borne from the scene of probation in celestial cars by the Apsaras,‡ was introduced at once into the 'realm of the sun.'§ Ere, however, the Rana of Cheetore journeyed to this bourne, he was desirous to leave his throne unexposed to civil strife. The subject of succession had never been renewed; but

discussing with Chonda his warlike pilgrimage to Gya, from which he might not return, he sounded him by asking what estates should be settled on Mokul. "The throne of Cheetore," was the honest reply; and to set suspicion at rest, he desired that the ceremony of installation should be performed previous to Lakha's departure. Chonda was the first to pay homage and swear obedience and fidelity to his future sovereign: reserving, as the recompense of his renunciation, the first place in the council, and stipulating that in all grants to the vassals of the crown, his symbol (the lance), should be superadded to the autograph of the prince. In all grants the lance of Saloombra* still precedes the monogram of the Rana.†

The sacrifice of Chonda to offended delicacy and filial respect was great, for he had all the qualities requisite for command. Brave, frank, and skilful, he conducted all public affairs after his father's departure and death, to the benefit of the minor and the state. The queen mother, however, who is admitted as the natural guardian of her infant's rights on all such occasions, felt umbrage and discontent at her loss of power; forgetting that, but for Chonda, she would never have been mother to the Rana of Mewar. She watched with a jealous eye all his proceedings; but it was only through the medium of suspicion she could accuse the integrity of Chonda, and she artfully asserted that, under colour of directing state affairs, he was exercising absolute sovereignty, and that if he did not assume the title

* *Mook.*

† This is a literal phrase, denoting further transmission of the soul, which is always deemed a punishment. The soldier, who falls in battle in the faithful performance of his duty, is alone exempted, according to their martial mythology, from the pains of 'second birth.'

‡ The fair messengers of heaven.

§ *Suraj Mandal.*

* The abode of the chief of the various clans of Chondawut.

† Vide p. 154.



of Rana, he would reduce it to an empty frame. Chonda, knowing the purity of his own motives, made liberal allowance for maternal solicitude; but upbraiding the queen with the injustice of her suspicions, and advising a vigilant care to the rights of Sesodias, he retired to the court of Mandoo, then rising into notice, where he was received with the highest distinctions, and the district of Hallar was assigned to him by the King.

His departure was the signal for an influx of the kindred of the queen from Mundore. Her brother Joda (who afterwards gave his name to Jodhpur) was the first, and was soon followed by his father, Rao Rimmul, and numerous adherents, who deemed the arid region of Maroo-des, and its rabri, or maize porridge, well exchanged for the fertile plains and wheaten bread of Mewar.

With his grandson on his knee, the old Rao "would sit on the throne of Bappa Rawul, on whose quitting him for play, "the regal ensigns of Mewar waved over "the head of Mundore." This was more than the Sesodia nurse* (an important personage in all Hindu governments) could bear, and bursting with indignation, she demanded of the queen if her kin was to defraud her own child of his inheritance. The honesty of the nurse was greater than her prudence. The creed of the Rajpoot is to "obtain sovereignty," regarding the means as secondary, and this avowal of her suspicions only hastened their designs. The queen soon found herself without remedy, and a remons-

trance to her father produced a hint which threatened the existence of her offspring. Her fears were soon after augmented by the assassination of Ragudeva, the second brother of Chonda, whose estates were Kailwara and Kowaria. To the former place, where he resided aloof from the court, Rao Rimmul sent a dress of honour, which etiquette requiring him to put on when presented, the prince was assassinated in the act. Ragudeva was so much beloved for virtues, courage, and manly beauty, that his murder became martyrdom, and obtained for him divine honours, and a place amongst the *Dii Patres* (*Pitri-deva*) of Mewar. His image is on every hearth, and is daily worshipped with the Penatés. Twice in the year his altars receive public homage from every Sesodia, from the Rana to the serf.*

In this extremity the queen-mother turned her thoughts to Chonda, and it was not difficult to apprise him of the danger which menaced the race, every place of trust being held by her kinsmen, and the principal post of Cheetore by a Bhatti Rajpoot of Jessul-

* The *Dhae*. The *Dhabhaes*, or 'foster-brothers,' often hold lands in perpetuity, and are employed in the most confidential places; on embassies, marriages, &c.

* On the 8th day of the *dhussarah*, or 'military festival,' when the levies are mustered at the *Chaogan*, or 'Champ de mars,' and on the 10th of Cheit, his altars are purified, and his image is washed and placed thereon. Women pray for the safety of their children; husbands that their wives may be fruitful. Previously to this, a son of Bappa Rawul was worshipped; but after the enshrinement of Ragoodeva, the adoration of Kulesputra was gradually abolished. Nor is this custom confined to Mewar: there is a deified *Putra* in every Rajpoot family,—one who has met a violent death. Besides Eklinga, the descendants of Bappa have adopted numerous household divinities: the destinies of life and death, Byen-mata the goddess of the Chawuras, Nagnaitcha the serpent divinity of the Rahtores, and Khetra-pal, or 'fosterer of the field,' have with many others obtained a place on the Sesodia altars. This festival may not unaptly be compared to that of Adonis amongst the Greeks, for the *Putra* is worshipped chiefly by women.

meer. Chonda, though at a distance, was not inattentive to the proverbially dangerous situation of a minor amongst the Rajpoots. At this departure he was accompanied by two hundred Ahaires or huntsmen, whose ancestors had served the princes of Cheetore from ancient times. These had left their families behind, a visit to whom was the pretext for their introduction to the fort. They were instructed to get into the service of the keepers of the gates, and being considered more attached to the place than to the family, their object was effected. The queen-mother was counselled to cause the young prince to descend daily with a numerous retinue to give feasts to the surrounding villages, and gradually to increase the distance, but not to fail on the "festival of lamps"* to hold the feast (*gote*) at Gosoonda.†

The injunctions were carefully attended to. The day arrived, the feast was held at Gosoonda; but the night was closing in, and no Chonda appeared. With heavy hearts the nurse, the Purohit,‡ and those in the secret, moved homeward, and had reached the eminence called Chitoree, when forty horsemen passed them at the gallop, and at their head Chonda in disguise, who by a secret sign paid homage as he passed to his younger brother and sovereign. Chonda and his band had reached the *Rampol*,§ or upper gate, unchecked. Here, when challenged, they said they were neighbouring chieftains, who hearing of the feast at Gosoonda, had the honour to escort the prince home.

* The *Dewalli*, from *dewa*, 'a lamp.' This festival is in honour of Latchmi, goddess of wealth.

† Seven miles south of Cheetore, on the road to Malwa.

‡ The family priest and instructor of youth.

§ *Rampol*, 'the gate of Rama.'

The story obtained credit; but the main body, of which this was but the advance, presently coming up, the treachery was apparent. Chonda unsheathed his sword, and at his well-known shout the hunters were speedily in action. The Bhatti chief, taken by surprise, and unable to reach Chonda, launched his dagger at and wounded him, but was himself slain; the guards at the gates were cut to pieces, and the Rahtores hunted out and killed without mercy.

The end of Rao Rinnul was more ludicrous than tragical. Smitten with the charms of a Sesodia handmaid of the queen, who was compelled to his embrace, the old chief was in her arms, intoxicated with love, wine, and opium, and heard nothing of the tumult without. A woman's wit and revenge combined to make his end afford some compensation for her loss of honour. Gently rising, she bound him to his bed with his own Marwari turban:* nor did this disturb him, and the messengers of fate had entered ere the opiate allowed his eyes to open to a sense of his danger. Enraged, he in vain endeavoured to extricate himself; and by some tortuosity of movement he got upon his legs, his pallet at his back like a shell or shield of defence. With no arms but a brass vessel of ablution, he levelled to the earth several of his assailants, when a ball from a matchlock extended him on the floor of the palace. His son Joda was in the lower town, and was indebted to the fleetness of his steed for escaping the fate of his father and kindred, whose bodies strewed the *terre-pleine* of Cheetore, the merited reward of their usurpation and treachery.

* Often sixty cubits in length.



But Chonda's revenge was not yet satisfied. He pursued Rao Joda, who, unable to oppose him, took refuge with Hurba Sankla, leaving Mundore to its fate. This city Chonda entered by surprise, and holding it till his sons Kontotji and Munjaji arrived with reinforcements, the Rahtore treachery was repaid by their keeping possession of the capital during twelve years. We might here leave the future founder of Jodhpur, had not this feud led to the junction of the rich province of Godwar to Mewar, held for three centuries and again lost by treachery. It may yet involve a struggle between the Sesodias and Rahtores.

'Sweet are the uses of adversity.' To Joda it was the first step in the ladder of his eventual elevation. A century and a half had scarcely elapsed since a colony, the wreck of Kanouj, found an asylum, and at length a kingdom, taking possession of one capital and founding another, abandoning Mundore and erecting Jodhpur. But even Joda could never have hoped that his issue would have extended their sway from the valley of the Indus to within one hundred miles of the Jumna, and from the desert bordering on the Sutledge to the Aravali mountains: that one hundred thousand swords should at once be in the hands of Rahtores, 'the sons of one father (*ek Bap ea Betan*).'

If we slightly encroach upon the annals of Marwar, it is owing to its history and that of Mewar being here so interwoven, and the incidents these events gave birth so illustrative of the national character of each, that it is, perhaps, more expedient to advert to the period when Joda was shut

out from Mundore, and the means by which he regained that city, previous to relating the events of the reign of Mokul.

Hurba Sankla, at once a soldier and a devotee, was one of those Rajpoot cavaliers '*sans peur et sans reproche*,' whose life of celibacy and perilous adventure was mingled with the austere devotion of an ascetic; by turns aiding with his lance the cause which he deemed worthy, or exercising an unbounded hospitality towards the stranger. This generosity had much reduced his resources when Joda sought his protection. It was the eve of the '*Sudda Birt*,' one of those hospitable rites which, in former times, characterized Rajwarra. This 'perpetual charity' supplies food to the stranger and traveller, and is distributed not only by individual chiefs and by the government, but by subscriptions of communities. Even in Mewar, in her present impoverished condition, the offerings to the gods in support of their shrines and the establishment of the '*Sudda Birt*' were simultaneous. Hospitality is a virtue pronounced to belong more peculiarly to a semi-barbarous condition. Alas! for refinement and ultra-civilization, strangers to the happiness enjoyed by Hurba Sankla. Joda, with one hundred and twenty followers, came to solicit the 'stranger's fare:' but unfortunately it was too late, the '*Sudda Birt*' had been distributed. In this exigence, Hurba recollected that there was a wood called *mujd*,* used in dyeing, which among

* The wood of Solomon's temple is called *al-mug*; the prefix *al* is merely the article. This is the wood also mentioned in the annals of Guzerat, of which the temple to 'Adinath' was constructed. It is said to be indestructible even by fire. It has been surmised that

other things in the desert regions is resorted to in scarcity. A portion of this was bruised, and boiled with some flour, sugar, and spices, making altogether a palatable pottage; and with a promise of better fare on the morrow, it was set before the young Rao and his followers, who, after making a good repast, soon forgot Cheetore in sleep. On waking, each stared at his fellow, for their mustachios were dyed with their evening's meal; but the old chief, who was not disposed to reveal his expedient, made it minister to their hopes by giving it a miraculous character, and saying "that as the grey of age was thus "metamorphosed into the tint of morn* "and hope, so would their fortunes become "young, and Mundore again be theirs."

Elevated by this prospect, they enlisted Hurba on their side. He accompanied them to the chieftain of Mewoh, "whose "stables contained one hundred chosen "steeds." Pabooji, a third independent of the same stamp, with his 'coal-black steed,' was gained to the cause, and Joda soon found himself strong enough to attempt the recovery of his capital. The sons of Chonda were taken by surprise: but despising the numbers of the foe, and ignorant who were their auxiliaries, they descended sword in hand to meet the assailants. The elder† son of Chonda with many adherents was slain; and the younger, deserted by the subjects of Mundore, trusted to the swiftness of his horse for escape; but being pursued, was

overtaken and killed on the boundary of Godwar. Thus Joda, in his turn, was revenged, but the "*feud was not balanced.*" Two sons of Cheetore had fallen for one chief of Mundore. But wisely reflecting on the original aggression, and the superior power of Mewar, as well as his being indebted for his present success to foreign aid, Joda sued for peace, and offered as the *moondkati*, or 'price of blood,' and "to quench the feud," that the spot where Manja fell should be the future barrier of the two states. The entire province of Godwar was comprehended in the cession, which for three centuries withstood every contention, till the internal dissensions of the last half century, which grew out of the cause by which it was obtained, the change of succession in Mewar severed this most valuable acquisition.*

Who would imagine, after such deadly feuds between these rival states, that in the very next succession these hostile frays were not only buried in oblivion, but that the prince of Marwar abjured "his turban and his bed" till he had revenged the assassination of the prince of Cheetore, and restored his infant heir to his rights? The annals of these states afford numerous instances of the same hasty, overbearing temperament governing all; easily moved to strife, impatient of revenge, and stedfast in

the fleets of Tyre frequented the Indian coast: could they thence have carried the *Al-Mujil* for the temple of Solomon?

* This wood has a brownish red tint.

† This is related with some variation in other annals of the period.

* There is little hope, while British power acts as high constable and keeper of the peace in Rajwarra, of this being recovered: nor, were it otherwise, would it be desirable to see it become an object of contention between these states. Marwar has attained much grandeur since the time of Joda, and her resources are more unbroken than those of Mewar; who, if she could redeem, could not, from its exposed position, maintain the province against the brave Rahtore.



its gratification. But this satisfied, resentment subsides. A daughter of the offender given to wife banishes its remembrance, and when the bard joins the lately rival names in the couplet, each will complacently curl his mustachio over his lip as he hears his "renown expand like the lotus," and thus "the feud is extinguished."

Thus have they gone on from time immemorial, and will continue, till what we may fear to contemplate. They have now neither friend nor foe but the British. The Tatar invader sleeps in his tomb, and the Mahratta depredator is muzzled and enchained. To return.

MOKUL, who obtained the throne by Chonda's surrender of his birthright, was not destined long to enjoy the distinction, though he evinced qualities worthy of heading the Sesodias. He ascended the throne in S. 1454 (A.D. 1398), at an important era in the history of India: when Timur, who had already established the race of Chaghai in the kingdoms of central Asia, and had prostrate the throne of Byzantium, turned his arms towards India. But it was not a field for his ambition; and the event is not even noticed in the annals of Mewar: a proof that it did not affect their repose. But they record an attempted invasion by the king of Delhi, which is erroneously stated to have been by Feroz Shah. A grandson of this prince had indeed been set up, and compelled to fly from the arms of Timur, and as the direction of his flight was Guzerat, it is not unlikely that the recorded attempt to penetrate by the passes of Mewar may have been his. Be this as it may, the Rana Mokul anticipated and met him beyond the passes

of the Aravali, in the field of Raepur, and compelled him to abandon his enterprize. Pursuing his success, he took possession of Sambur and its salt lakes, and otherwise extended and strengthened his territory, which the distracted state of the empire consequent to Timur's invasion rendered a matter of difficulty. Mokul finished the palace commenced by Lakha, now a mass of ruins; and erected the shrine of Chatoorbhooj, 'the four-armed deity,' in the western hills.

Besides three sons, Rana Mokul had a daughter, celebrated for her beauty, called Lal Bae, or 'the ruby.' She was betrothed to the Keechie chieftain of Gagrown, who, at the *Hatleva** demanded the pledge of succour on foreign invasion. Dheruj the son of the Keechie, had come to solicit the stipulated aid against Hoshung of Malwa, who had invested their capital. The Rana's head-quarters were then at Madaria, and he was employed in quelling a revolt of the mountaineers, when Dheruj arrived and obtained the necessary aid. Madaria was destined to be the scene of the termination of Mokul's career: he was assassinated by his uncles, the natural brothers of his father, from an unintentional offence, which tradition has handed down in all its details.

Chacha and Maira were the natural sons of Kaitsi Rana (the predecessor of Lakha); their mother a fair handmaid of low descent, generally allowed to be a carpenter's daughter. 'The fifth sons of Mewar' (as the natural children are figuratively termed) possess no rank, and though treated with kindness, and

* The ceremony of joining hands.

entrusted with confidential employments, the sons of the chiefs of the second class take precedence of them, and 'sit higher on the carpet.' These brothers had the charge of seven hundred horse in the train of Rana Mokul at Madaria. Some chiefs at enmity with them, conceiving that they had overstepped their privileges, wished to see them humiliated. Chance procured them the opportunity : which however cost their prince his life. Seated in a grove with his chiefs around him, he inquired the name of a particular tree. The Chohan chief, feigning ignorance, whispered him to ask either of the brothers ; and not perceiving their scope, he artlessly did so. "Uncle, what tree is this?" The sarcasm thus prompted, they considered as reflecting on their birth (being sons of the carpenter's daughter), and the same day, while Mokul was at his devotions, and in the act of counting his rosary, one blow severed his arm from his body, while another stretched him lifeless. The brothers quickly mounting their steeds, had the audacity to hope to surprise Chetore, but the gates were closed upon them.

Though the murder of Mokul is related to have no other cause than the sarcasm alluded to, the precautions taken by the young prince Koombho, his successor, would induce a belief that this was but the opening of a deep-laid conspiracy. The traitors returned to the stronghold near Madaria, and Koombho trusted to the friendship and good feeling of the prince of Marwar in this emergency. His confidence was well repaid. The prince put his son at the head of a force, and the retreat of the assassins being near his own frontier, they were en-

countered and dislodged. From Madaria they fled to Paye, where they strengthened a fortress in the mountains named Ratakote ; a lofty peak of the compound chain which encircles Oodipur, visible from the surrounding country, as are the remains of this stronghold of the assassins. It would appear that their lives were dissolute, for they had carried off the virgin daughter of a Chohan, which led to their eventual detection and punishment. Her father, Sooja, had traced the route of the ravishers, and mixing with the workmen, found that the approaches to the place of their concealment were capable of being scaled. He was about to lay his complaint before his prince, when he met the cavalcade of Koombho and the Rahtore. The distressed father 'covering his face,' disclosed the story of his own and daughter's dishonour. They encamped till night at Dailwara, when, led by the Chundani, they issued forth to surprise the authors of so many evils. Arrived at the base of the rock, where the parapet was yet low, they commenced the escalade, aided by the thick foliage. The path was steep and rugged, and in the darkness of the night each had grasped his neighbour's skirt for security. Animated by a just revenge, the Chohan (Sooja) led the way, when on reaching a ledge of the rock the glaring eye-balls of a tigress flashed upon him. Undismayed, he squeezed the hand of the Rahtore prince who followed him, and who on perceiving the object of terror instantly buried his pignard in her heart. This omen was superb. They soon reached the summit. Some had ascended the parapet ; others were scrambling over, when the minstrel slipping, fell,



and his drum, which was to have accompanied his voice in singing the conquest, awoke by its crash the daughter of Chacha. Her father quieted her fears by saying it was only 'the thunder and the rains of Bhadoon : ' to fear God only and go to sleep, for their enemies were safe at Kailwa.

At this moment the Rao and his party rushed in. Chacha and Maira had no time to avoid their fate. Chacha was cleft in two by the Chundanah, while the Rahtore prince laid Maira at his feet, and the spoils of Ratakote were divided among the assailants.

CHAPTER VIII.

Succession of Koombho.—He defeats and takes prisoner Mahmood of Malwa.—Splendour of Koombho's reign.—Assassinated by his son.—The murderer dethroned by Raemul.—Mewar invaded by the imperial forces.—Raemul's successes.—Feuds of the family.—death of Raemul.

KOOMBHO succeeded his father in S. 1475 (A.D. 1419); nor did any symptom of dissatisfaction appear to usher in his reign, which was one of great success amidst no common difficulties. The bardic historians* do as much honour to the Marwar prince, who had made common cause with their sovereign in revenging the death of his father, as if it had involved the security of his crown; but this was a precautionary measure of the prince, who was induced thus to act from several motives, and above all, in accordance with usage, which stigmatizes the refusal of aid when demanded: besides "Koombho was the nephew of Marwar."

It has rarely occurred in any country to have possessed successively so many energetic princes as ruled Mewar through several

centuries. She was now in the middle path of her glory, and enjoying the legitimate triumph of seeing the foes of her religion captives on the rock of her power. A century had elapsed since the bigot Alla had wreaked his vengeance on the different monuments of art. Cheetore had recovered the sack, and new defenders had sprung up in the place of those who had fallen in their 'saffron robes,' a sacrifice for her preservation. All that was wanting to augment her resources against the storms which were collecting on the brows of Caucasus and the shores of the Oxus, and were destined to burst on the head of his grandson Sanga, was effected by Koombho; who with Hamir's energy, Lakha's taste for the arts, and a genius comprehensive as either and more fortunate, succeeded in all his undertakings, and once more raised the 'crimson banner' of Mewar upon the banks of the Caggar, the scene of

* The *Raj Rattana*, by Binchor Bhut, says: "the Mundore Rao was pradhan, or premier, to Mokul, and conquered Nowah and Deedwana for Mewar."

Samarsi's defeat. Let us contrast the patriarchal Hindu governments of this period with the despotism of the Tatar invader.

From the age of Shahbudin, the conqueror of India, and his cotemporary Samarsi, to the time we have now reached, two entire dynasties, numbering twentyfour emperors and one empress, through assassination, rebellion, and dethronement, had followed in rapid succession, yielding a result of only nine years to a reign. Of Mewar, though several fell in defending their altars at home or their religion abroad, eleven princes suffice to fill the same period.

It was towards the close of the Ghilji dynasty that the satraps of Delhi shook off its authority and established subordinate kingdoms: Beejipur and Golconda in the Dekhan; Malwa, Guzerat, Joinpur in the east; and even Calpee had its king. Malwa and Guzerat had attained considerable power when Koombho ascended the throne. In the midst of his prosperity these two states formed a league against him, and in S. 1496 (A.D. 1440) both kings, at the head of powerful armies, invaded Mewar. Koombho met them on the plains of Malwa bordering on his own state, and at the head of one hundred thousand horse and foot and fourteen hundred elephants, gave them an entire defeat, carrying captive to cheetore Mahmood, the Ghilji sovereign of Malwa.

Abul Fuzil relates this victory, and dilates on Koombho's greatness of soul in setting his enemy at liberty, not only without ransom but with gifts. Such is the character of the Hindu: a mixture of arrogance, political blindness, pride, and generosity. To spare a prostrate foe is the creed of the Hindu

cavalier, and he carries all such maxims to excess. The annals, however, state that Mahmood was confined six months in Cheetore; and that the trophies of conquest were retained we have evidence from Baber, who mentions receiving from the son of his opponent, Sanga, the crown of the Malwa king. But there is a more durable monument than this written record of victory: the triumphal pillar in Cheetore, whose inscriptions detail the event, "when, shaking the earth, "the lords of Goojur-khund and Malwa, "with armies overwhelming as the ocean, invaded Medpat." Eleven years after this event Koombho laid the foundation of this column, which was completed in ten more: a period apparently too short to place "this "ringlet on the brow of Cheetore, which "makes her look down upon Meru with "derision." We will leave it, with the aspiration that it may long continue a monument of the fortune of its founders.

It would appear that the Malwa king afterwards united his arms with Koombho, as, in a victory gained over the imperial forces at Jhoonjoonoo, when "he planted his standard in Hissar," the Malwa troops were combined with those of Mewar. The imperial power had at this period greatly declined: the Khootba was read in the mosques in the name of Timoor, and the Malwa king had defeated, single-handed, the last Ghorian sultan of Delhi.

Of eighty-four fortresses for the defence of Mewar, thirty-two were erected by Khoombho. Inferior only to Cheetore is that stupendous work called after him Koombhmeer* "the hill of Khoombho," from its

* Pronounced *Komulmeer*. See Plate.

natural position, and the works he raised, impregnable to a native army. These works were on the site of a more ancient fortress, of which the mountaineers long held possession. Tradition ascribes it to Sumprit Raja, a Jain prince in the second century, and a descendant of Chandragupta; and the ancient Jain temples appear to confirm the tradition.* When Koombho captured Nagore he brought away the gates, with the statue of the god Hanuman, who gives his name to the gate which he still guards. He also erected a citadel on a peak of Aboo, within the fortress of the ancient Pramara, where he often resided. Its magazine and alarm-tower still bear Koombho's name; and in a rude temple the bronze effigies of Koombho and his father still receive divine honours. Centuries have passed since the princes of Mewar had influence here, but the incident marks the vivid remembrance of their condition. He fortified the passes between the western frontier and Aboo, and erected the fort Vasunti near the present Sirohi, and that of Macheen, to defend the Shero Nalla and Deogurh against the *Mairs* of Aravali. He re-established Ahore and other smaller forts to overawe the Bhoomia† Bhil of Jarole and Panora, and defined the boundaries of Marwar and Mewar.

Besides these monuments of his genius, two consecrated to religion have survived; that of "Koombho Sham," on Aboo, which, though worthy to attract notice elsewhere, is here eclipsed by a crowd of more interesting objects. The other, one of the largest edifices existing, cost upwards of a million

sterling, towards which Koombho contributed eighty thousand pounds. It is erected in the Sadri pass leading from the western descent of the highlands of Mewar, and is dedicated to Rishub-deva.* Its secluded position has preserved it from bigoted fury, and its only visitants now are the wild beasts who take shelter in its sanctuary. Koombho Rana was also a poet: but in a far more elevated strain than the troubadour princes, his neighbours, who contented themselves with rehearsing their own prowess or celebrating their lady's beauty. He composed a *tika*, or appendix to the "Divine Melodies,"† in praise of Crishna. We can pass no judgment on these inspirations of the royal bard, as we are ignorant whether any are preserved in the records of the house: a point his descendant, who is deeply skilled in such lore, might probably answer.

Koombho married a daughter of the Raktore of Mairta, the first of the clans of Marwar. Meera Bae was the most celebrated princess of her time for beauty and romantic piety. Her compositions were numerous, though better known to the worshippers of the Hindu Apollo than to the ribald bards. Some of her odes and hymns

* The Rana's minister, of the Jain faith, and of the tribe Porwar (one of the *twelve and a half* divisions), laid the foundation of this temple in A.D. 1438. It was completed by subscription. It consists of three stories, and is supported by numerous columns of granite, upwards of forty feet in height. The interior is inlaid with mosaics of cornelian and agate. The statues of the Jain saints are in its subterranean vaults. We could not expect much elegance at a period when the arts had long been declining, but it would doubtless afford a fair specimen of them, and enable us to trace their gradual descent in the scale of refinement. This temple is an additional proof of the early existence of the art of inlaying. That I did not see it, is now to me one of the many vain regrets which I might have avoided.

† *Gita Govinda.*

* See plates.

† A powerful phrase, indicating 'possessor of the soil.'

to the deity are preserved and admired. Whether she imbibed her poetic piety from her husband, or whether from her he caught the sympathy which produced the "sequel to the songs of Govinda," we cannot determine. Her history is a romance, and her excess of devotion at every shrine of the favourite deity with the fair of Hind, from the Yamuna to "the world's end,"* gave rise to many tales of scandal. Koombho mixed gallantry with his warlike pursuits. He carried off the daughter of the chief of Jhalawar, who had been betrothed to the prince of Mundore: this renewed the old feud, and the Rahtore made many attempts to redeem his affianced bride. His humiliation was insupportable, when through the purified atmosphere of the periodical rains "the towers of Koombhomeer became visible from the castle of Mundore, and the light radiated from the chamber of the fair through the gloom of a night in Bha-
 "doon,† to the hall where he brooded o'er his sorrows." It was surmised that this night-lamp was an understood signal of the Jhalani, who pined at the decree which ambition had dictated to her father, in consigning her to the more powerful rival of her affianced lord. The Rahtore exhausted every resource to gain access to the fair, and had once nearly succeeded in a surprise by escalade, having cut his way in the night through the forest in the western and least guarded acclivity: but, as the bard equivocally remarks, "though he cut his way through the *jhal* (brush-wood), he could not reach the *Jhalani*."

* *Juggut Koont*, or Dwarica.

† The darkest of the rainy months.

Koombho had occupied the throne half a century; he had triumphed over the enemies of his race, fortified his country with strongholds, embellished it with temples, and with the superstructure of her fame had laid the foundation of his own—when, the year which should have been a jubilee was disgraced by the foulest blot in the annals; and his life, which nature was about to close, terminated by the poignard of an assassin—that assassin, his son!

This happened S. 1525 (A.D. 1469). Ooda was the name of the parricide, whose unnatural ambition, and impatience to enjoy a short lustre of sovereignty, bereft of life the author of his existence. But such is the detestation which marks this unusual crime, that, like that of the Venetian traitor, his name is left a blank in the annals, nor is Ooda known but by the epithet *Hatiaro*, 'the murderer.' Shunned by his kin, and compelled to look abroad for succour to maintain him on the throne polluted by his crime, Mewar in five years of illegitimate rule lost half the consequence which had cost so many to acquire. He made the Deora prince independent in Aboo, and bestowed Sambhur, Ajmeer, and adjacent districts, on the prince of Jodhpur* as the price of his friendship. But a prey to remorse, he felt that he could neither claim regard from, nor place any dependence upon, these princes, though he bribed them with provinces. He humbled himself before the king of Delhi, offering him a daughter in marriage to obtain his sanction to his authority; "but heaven manifested its vengeance to prevent

* Joda laid the foundation of his new capital in S. 1515, ten years anterior to the event we are recording.

"this additional iniquity, and preserve the "house of Bappa Rawul from dishonour." He had scarcely quitted the divan (*dewan-chaneh*), on taking leave of the king, when a flash of lightning struck the '*Hatiaro*' to the earth, whence he never arose. The bards pass over this period cursorily, as one of their race was the instrument of Ooda's crime.

There has always been a jealousy between the *Mangtas*, as they term all classes 'who extend the palm,' whether Brahmins, Yatis, Charuns, or Bhats; but since Hamir, the Charun influence had far eclipsed the rest. A Brahmin astrologer predicted Koombho's death through a Charun, and as the class had given other cause of offence, Koombho banished the fraternity his dominions, resuming all their lands: a strong measure in those days, and which few would have had nerve to attempt or firmness to execute. The heir-apparent, Raemul, who was exiled to Eidur for what his father deemed an impertinent curiosity,* had attached one of these bards to his suite, whose ingenuity got the edict set aside, and his race restored to their lands and prince's favour. Had they taken off the Brahmin's head, they might have falsified the prediction which unhappily was too soon fulfilled.†

* He had observed that his father, ever since the victory over the king at Jhoonjoonu, before he took a seat thrice waved his sword in circles over his head, pronouncing at the same time some incantation. Inquiry into the meaning of this was the cause of his banishment.

† During the rains of 1820, when the author was residing at Oodipur, the Rana fell ill; his complaint was an intermittent (which for several years returned with the monsoon), at the same time that he was jaundiced with bile. An intriguing Brahmin, who managed the estates of the Rana's elder sister, held also the two-

RAEMUL succeeded in S. 1530 (A.D. 1474) by his own valour to the seat of Koombho. He had fought and defeated the usurper, who on this occasion fled to the king of Delhi and offered him a daughter of Mewar. After his death in the manner described, the Delhi monarch, with Sehesmul and Soorajmul, sons of the parricide, invaded Mewar, encamping at Siarh, now Nathadwara. The chiefs were faithful to their legitimate prince, Raemul, and aided by his allies of Aboo and Girnar, at the head of fifty-eight thousand horse and eleven thousand foot, he gave battle to the pretender and his imperial ally at Ghassa. The conflict was ferocious. "The streams ran blood," for the sons of usurper were brave as lions; but the king was so completely routed that he never again entered Mewar.

Raemul bestowed one daughter to Surji (Yadu), the chief of Girnar; and another on the Deora, Jeymul of Sirohi, confirming his title to Aboo as her dower. He sustained the warlike reputation of his predecessors, and carried on interminable strife with

fold office of physician and astrologer to the Rana. He had predicted that year as one of evil in his horoscope, and was about to verify the prophecy, since, instead of the active medicines requisite, he was administering the *Heft dhat*, or 'seven metals,' compounded. Having a most sincere regard for the Rana's welfare, the author seized the opportunity of a full court being assembled on the distribution of swords and coco-nuts preparatory to the military festival, to ask a personal favour. The Rana, smiling, said that it was granted, when he was entreated to leave off the poison he was taking. He did so; the amendment was soon visible, and aided by the medicines of Dr. Duncan, which he readily took, his complaint was speedily cured. The 'man of fate and physic' lost half his estates, which he had obtained through intrigue. He was succeeded by Umra the bard, who is not likely to ransack the pharmacopœia for such poisonous ingredients; his ordinary prescription being the 'amrit.'

Gheas-o-din of Malwa, whom he defeated in several pitched battles, to the success of which the valour of his nephews, whom he had pardoned, mainly contributed. In the last of these encounters the Ghilji king sued for peace, renouncing the pretensions he had formerly urged. The dynasty of Lodi next enjoyed the imperial bauble, and with it Mewar had to contest her northern boundary.

Raemul had three sons, celebrated in the annals of Rajasthan. Sanga, the competitor of Baber, and Prithwi Raj, the Rolando of his age. Unhappily for the country and their father's repose, fraternal affection was discarded for deadly hate, and their feuds and dissensions were a source of constant alarm. Had discord not disunited them, the reign of Raemul would have equalled any of his predecessors. As it was, it presented a striking contrast to them: his two elder sons banished; the first, Sanga, self-exiled from perpetual fear of his life, and Prithwi Raj, the second, from his turbulence; while the younger, Jeimal, was slain through his intemperance. A sketch of these feuds will present a good picture of the the Rajpoot character, and their mode of life when their arms were not required against their country's foes.

Sanga* and Prithwi Raj were the offspring of the Jhali Queen; Jeimal was by another mother. What moral influence the name he bore had on Prithwi Raj we can surmise only from his actions, which would stand comparison with those of his prototype the Chohan of Delhi, and are yet the delight of

the Sesodia. When they assemble at the feast after a day's sport, or in a sultry evening spread the carpet on the terrace to inhale the leaf or take a cup of kusomba, a tale of Prithwi Raj recited by the bard is the highest treat they can enjoy. Sanga, the heir-apparent, was a contrast to his brother. Equally brave, his courage was tempered by reflection; while Pirthwi Raj burned with a perpetual thirst for action, and often observed "that fate must have intended him to rule Mewar." The three brothers, with their uncle, Surajmul, were one day discussing these topics, when Sanga observed that, though heir to 'the ten thousand towns' of Mewar, he would waive his claims, and trust them, as did the Roman brothers, to the omen which should be given by the priestess of Charuni Devi at Nahra Mugro,* the 'Tiger's Mount.' They repaired to her abode. Pirthwi Raj and Jeimal entered first, and seated themselves on a pallet: Sanga followed and took possession of the panther hide of the prophetess; his uncle, Surajmul, with one knee resting thereon. Scarcely had Prithwi Raj disclosed their errand, when the sybil pointed to the panther-hide† as the decisive omen of sovereignty to Sanga, with a portion to his uncle. They received the decree as did the twins of Rome. Prithwi Raj drew his sword and would have falsified the omen, had not Surajmul stepped in and received the blow destined for Sanga, while the prophetess fled from their fury. Surajmul and

* About ten miles east of Oodipur.

† *Singhasana* is the ancient term for the Hindu throne, signifying 'the lion-seat.' Charuns, bards, who are all *Maharajas*, 'great princes,' by courtesy, have their seats of the hide of the lion, tiger, panther, or black antelope.

* His name classically is *Singram Sing*, 'the lion of war.'