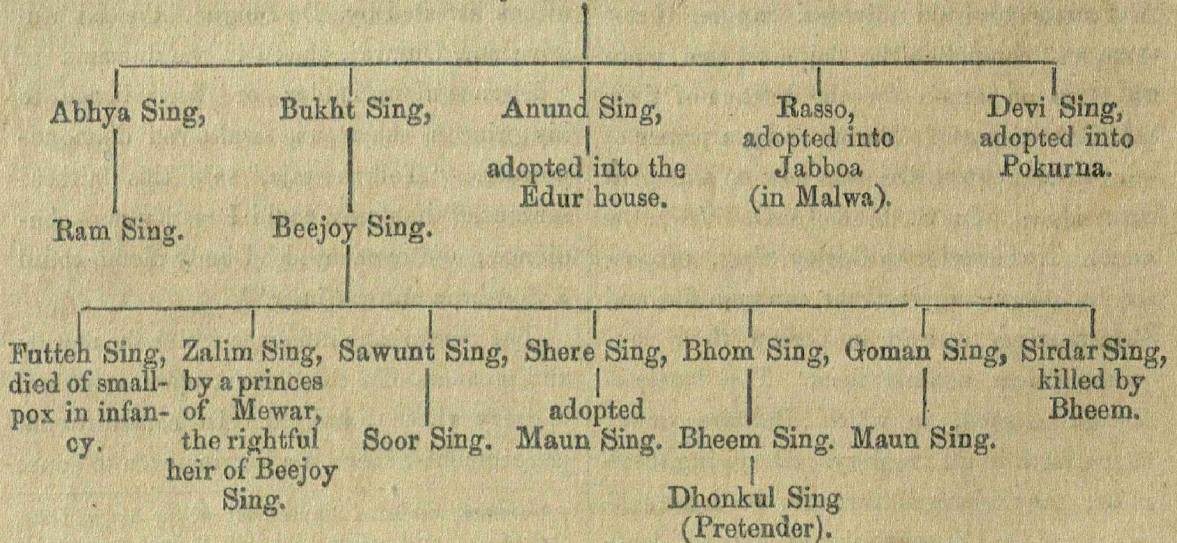


influence and corruption, in the vast portion of wealth and worth which cannot be engulfed in their vortex. But in these petty sovereignties, no such check is found, and the tone of virtue and action is given from the throne. The laws of semi-barbarous nations, which admit of licentious concubinage, has ever been peculiar to orientals, from the days of the wise king of the Jews to those of Beejoy Sing of Marwar; and their political consequence has been the same, the sacrifice of the rights of lawful inheritance to the heirs of illicit affection. The last years of the king of Maroo were engrossed by sentimental folly with a young beauty of the *Oswal* tribe, on whom he lavished all the honours due only to his legi-

timate queens. Scandal affirms that she frequently returned his passion in a manner little becoming royal dignity, driving him from her presence with the basest of missiles—her shoes. As the effects of this unworthy attachment completed the anarchy of Marwar, and as its consequences on deviating from the established rules of succession have entailed a perpetuity of crime and civil war, under which this unfortunate state yet writhes, we shall be minute, even to dullness, in the elucidation of this portion of their annals, to enable those who have now to arbitrate these differences to bring back a current of uncontaminated blood to sway the destinies of this still noble race.

Raja Ajit had fourteen sons :



So infatuated was Beejoy Sing with the *Pásbání* concubine, that on losing the only pledge of their amours, he 'put into her lap,' (adopted) his own legitimate grandchild, Maun Sing. To legalize this adoption,

the chieftains were ordained to present their *nuzzurs* and congratulations to the declared heir of Marwar; but the haughty noblesse refused 'to acknowledge the son of a slave' as their lord, and the Raja was compelled to



a fresh adoption to ensure such token of sanction. Content at having by this method succeeded in her wishes, the *Pásbáni* sent off young Maun to the castle of Jhalore; but fearing lest the experience of Shere Sing, his adopted father, might prove a hindrance to her control, he was recalled, and her own creatures left to guide the future sovereign of Marwar. The dotage of Beejoy Sing, and the insolence of his concubine, produced fresh discord, and the clans assembled at Malkasuni to concert his deposal.

Recollecting the success of his former measures to recall them to their duty, Beejoy Sing proceeded to their camp; but while he was negotiating, and as he supposed successfully, the confederates wrote to the chieftain of Raus, whose tour of duty was in the castle, to descend with Bheem Sing. The chief acquainted the *Pásbáni* that her presence was required at the camp by the Raja, and that a guard of honour was ready to attend her. She was thrown off her guard, and at the moment she entered her litter, a blow from an unseen hand ended her existence. Her effects were instantly confiscated, and the chief of Raus descended with Bheem, whose tents were pitched at the

Nagore barrier of the city. If, instead of encamping there, they had proceeded to the camp of the confederates, his arrival and the dethronement of Beejoy Sing would have been simultaneous: but the Raja received the intelligence as soon as the chiefs. Hastening back, he obtained the person of the young aspirant, to whom, to reconcile him to his disappointment, he gave in appanage the districts of Sojut and Sewanoh, and sent him off to the latter strong-hold; while to restrain the resentment of his eldest son, Zalim Sing, whose birth-right he had so unworthily sacrificed, he enfeoffed him with the rich district of Godwar, giving him private orders to attack his brother Bheem, who, though apprised of the design in time to make head against his uncle, was yet defeated and compelled to fly. He found refuge at Pokurna, whence he went to Jessulmer.

In the midst of this conflict, his dominions curtailed, his chiefs in rebellion, his sons and grandsons mutually opposed to each other, and the only object which attached him to life thus violently torn from him, Beejoy Sing died, in the month Asar S. 1850, after a reign of thirty-one years.



## CHAPTER XIV.

*Raja Bheem seizes upon the gadi.—Discomfiture of his competitor, Zalim Sing.—Bheem destroys all the other claimants to succession, excepting Maun Sing.—Blockaded in Jhalore.—Sallies from the garrison for supplies.—Prince Maun heads one of them.—Incurs the risk of capture.—Is preserved by the Ahore chief. Raja Bheem offends his nobles.—They abandon Marwar.—The fief of Neemaj attacked.—Jhalore reduced to the point of surrender.—Sudden and critical death of Raja Bheem.—Its probable cause.—The Vedyas or ‘cunning-men,’ who surround the prince.—Accession of Raja Maun.—Rebellion of Sowae Sing of Pokurn.—Conspiracy of Champasuni.—Declaration of the pregnancy of a queen of Raja Bheem.—Convention with Raja Maun.—Posthumous births.—Their evil consequences in Rajwarra.—A child born. Sent off by stealth to Pokurn, and its birth kept a secret.—Named Dhonkul.—Raja Maun evinces indiscreet partialities.—Alienates the Champavuts.—Birth of the posthumous son of Raja Bheem promulgated.—The chiefs call on Raja Maun to fulfil the terms of the convention.—The mother disclaims the child.—The Pokurn chief sends the infant Dhonkul to the sanctuary of Abhya Sing of Khetri.—Sowae opens his underplot.—Embroids Raja Maun with the courts of Amber and Mewar.—He carries the pretender Dhonkul to Jeipoor.—Acknowledged and proclaimed as Raja of Marwar.—The Majority of the chiefs support the pretender.—The Bikaner prince espouses his cause.—Armies called in the field.—Baseness of Holcar, who deserts Raja Maun.—The armies approach.—Raja Maun’s chiefs abandon him.—He attempts suicide.—Is persuaded to fly.—He gains Jodpoor.—Prepares for defence.—Becomes suspicious of all his kin.—Refuses them the honour of defending the castle.—They join the allies, who invest Jodpoor.—The city taken and plundered.—Distress of the besiegers.—Meer Khan’s conduct causes a division.—His flight from Marwar.—Persued by the Jeipoor commander.—Battle.—Jeipoor force destroyed, and the city invested.—Dismay of the Raja.—Breaks up the siege of Jodpoor.—Pays £200,000 for a safe passage to Jeipoor.—The spoils of Jodpoor intercepted by the Rahtores, and wrested from the Cuchwahs.—Meer Khan formally accepts service with Raja Maun, and repairs to Jodpoor with the four Rahtore chiefs.*

The intelligence of Beejoy Sing’s death was conveyed by express to his grandson Bheem, at Jessulmer. In “twenty-two hours” he was at Jodpoor, and ascending directly to the citadel, seated himself upon the *gadi*, while his rival, Zalim Sing, the rightful heir, little expecting this celerity, was encamped at the Mairta gate, awaiting

the “lucky hour” to take possession. That hour never arrived; and the first intelligence of Bheem being on “the cushion of Joda,” was conveyed to the inhabitants by the *nakarras* of his rival on his retreat from the city, who was pursued to Bhilara, attacked, defeated, and forced to seek shelter at Oodipoor, where, with an ample domain from





the Rana, he passed the rest of his days in literary pursuits. He died in the prime of life: attempting to open a vein with his own hand, he cut an artery and bled to death. He was a man of great personal and mental qualifications; a gallant soldier, and no mean poet.\*

Thus far successful, Raja Bheem determined to dismiss "compunctious visitings," and be a king *de facto* if not *de jure*. Death had carried off three of his uncles, as well as his father, previous to this event; but there were still two others, Shere Sing, his adopted father, and Sirdar Sing, who stood in his way: the last was put to death; the former had his eyes put out; and, soon after, the unfortunate prince released himself from life by dashing out his brains. Soor Sing, the favourite of all Beejoy Sing's descendants, remained. His superior claims were fatal to him and his life fell a sacrifice with the others.

A single claimant alone remained of all the blood royal of Maroo to disturb the repose of Bheem. This was young Maun, the adopted son of the concubine, placed beyond his reach within the walls of Jhalore. Could Bheem's dagger have reached him, he would have stood alone, the last surviving scion of the parricide.

"With none to bless him,

"None whom he could bless:"

an instrument, in the hand of divine power, to rid the land of an accursed stock. Then the issue of Abhoy Sing would have utterly perished, and their ashes might have been

\* My own venerable tutor, Yati Gyanchandra, who was with me for ten years, said he owed all his knowledge, especially his skill in reciting poetry (in which he surpassed all the bards at Oodipoor), to Zalim Sing.

given to the winds, and no memorial of them left. Edur must then have supplied an heir,\* and the doubtful pretensions of Dhonkul,† the posthumous and reputed son of the wholesale assassin Bheem, to sit upon the *gadi* of Ajit, would never have been brought forward to excite another murderous contest amongst the sons of Joda.

Having sacrificed all those within his reach who stood between him and the throne, Bheem tried to secure the last sole claimant in Jhalore. But the siege of such a strong-hold with his feudal levies,

\* Amongst the numerous autograph correspondence of the princes of Rajpootana with the princes of Mewar, of which I had the free use, I selected one letter of S. 1784, A.D. 1728, written conjointly by Jey Sing of Amber and Abhoy Sing of Jodpoor, regarding Edur, and which is so curious, that I give a *verbatim* translation in the Appendix (No. I). I little thought at the time how completely it would prove Abhoy Sing's determination to cut off all but his own parricidal issue from the succession. An inspection of the genealogy (p. 114), will shew that Anund Sing of Edur, who was not to be allowed "to escape alive," was his younger brother, adopted into that house.

† Dhonkul Sing, the posthumous issue of Bheem, the last of the parricidal line, whether real or supposititious, must be set aside, and the pure current of Rahtore blood, derived from Sooji, Joda, Jeswunt, and Ajit, be brought from Edur, and installed on "the gadi of Joda." This course of proceeding would meet universal approbation, with the exception of some selfish miscreants about the person of this pretended son of Bheem, or the chieftain of Pokurn, in furtherance of his and his grandfather's yet unavenged feud. A sketch of the events, drawn from their own chronicles, and accompanied by reflections, exposing the miseries springing from an act of turpitude, would come home to all, and they would shower blessings on the power which, while it fulfilled the duties of protector, destroyed the germ of internal dissension, and gave them a prince of their own pure blood, whom all parties could honour and obey. If a doubt remained of the probable unanimity of such policy, let it be previously submitted to a *punchayet*, composed of the princes of the land, *viz.* of Mewar, Amber, Kotah, Bhoondi, Jessulmer, &c., leaving out whichever may be influenced by marriage connexions with Dhonkul Sing.



or loose mercenary bands, was a tedious operation, and soon became an imperfect blockade, through which young Maun not unfrequently broke, and by signal formed a junction with his adherents, and plundered the fiscal lands for support. One of these excursions, however, an attempt to plunder Palli, had nearly proved fatal to him; they were attacked on their return, and young Maun, whose secluded education had confined him more to mental than to personal accomplishments, was unhorsed, and would have been captured, but for the prowess of the chief of Ahore, who took him up behind him and bore him off in safety. Nothing but the turbulence of the chiefs who supported Raja Bheem saved young Maun's life. A disputed succession has always produced an odious faction; and Bheem, who was not disposed to bend to this oligarchy, appears to have had all the imprudence of the dethroned Ram Sing: he threatened those entrusted with the siege to give them "oxen to ride instead of horses." The chiefs fired at the insult, and retired to Ganorah, the principal fief in Godwar; but disgusted with both parties, instead of obeying the invitation of young Maun, they abandoned their country altogether, and sought an asylum in the neighbouring states. Many fiefs were sequestered, and Neemaj, the chief seat of the Oodawuts, was attacked, and after a twelve months' defence, taken; its battlements were ignominiously destroyed, and the victors, chiefly foreign mercenaries, reinforced the blockade of Jhalore.

With the exile of his partisans and daily diminishing resources, when the lower town

was taken, there appeared no hope for young Maun. A small supply of millet-flour was all the provision left to his half-famished garrison, whose surrender was now calculated upon, when an invitation came from the hostile commander for Maun to repair to his camp, and adding "*he* was now the master; it was *his* duty to serve." On that day (the 2nd Kartik S. 1860, Dec. 1804), after eleven years of defence, his means exhausted, his friends banished, and death from starvation or the sword inevitable, intelligence came of Raja Bheem's demise! This event, as unlooked for as it was welcome, could scarcely at first be credited; and the tender of the homage of the commander to Maun as his sovereign, though accompanied by a letter from the prime minister Induraj, was disregarded till the *guru* Deonath returned from the camp with confirmation of the happy news, that "not a moustache was to be seen in the camp."\* Thither the prince repaired, and was hailed as the head of the Rahtores.

It is said that the successor of the *guru* Atmaram, "who carried all the troubles of Beejoy Sing with him to heaven," had predicted of young Maun Sing, when at the very zero of adversity, that "his fortunes would ascend." What were the means whereby the ghostly comforter of Raja Bheem influenced his political barometer, we know not; but prophetic *gurus*, bards, astrologers, physicians, and all the *Vēdyās* or 'cunning-men,'† who beset the persons of

\* This mark of mourning is common to all India. Where this evidence of manhood is not yet visible, the hair is cut off; often both.

† *Vēdyā*, or 'science': the term is also used to denote cunning, magic, or knowledge of whatever kind.





princes, prove dangerous companions when, in addition to the office of compounders of drugs and expounders of dreams, they are invested with the power of realizing their own prognostications.

On the 5th of Megsir, 1860 (A.D. 1804), Raja Maun, released from his perils, succeeded to the honours and the feuds of Beejoy Sing. He had occupied the 'cushion of Maroo' but a very short period, when the Pokurna chief "took offence," and put himself in hostility to his sovereign. The name of this proud vassal, the first in power though only of secondary rank amongst the Champawuts, was Sowae Sing, with whom now remained "the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Maroo." If the fulfilment of vengeance be a virtue, Sowae was the most virtuous son on earth. The dagger of Devi Sing, bequeathed to Subbula, was no imaginary weapon in the hands of his grandson Sowae, who held it suspended over the head of Raja Maun from his enthronement to his death-hour. Soon after Raja Maun's accession, Sowae retired with his partizans to Champasuni, a spot about five miles from the capital, where the conspiracy was prepared. He told the chiefs that the wife of Raja Bheem was pregnant, and prevailed on them to sign a declaration, that if a son was born, he should be installed on the *gadi* of Joda. They returned in a body to the capital, took the pregnant queen from the castle, and placed her in a palace in the city, under their own protection. Moreover, they held a council, at which the Raja was present, who agreed to recognize the infant, if a male, as the heir-apparent of Maroo, and to enfeoff him in the appan-

age of Nagore and Sewanoh; and that if a female, she should be betrothed to a prince of Dhoondar.

Posthumous births are never-failing germs of discord in these states; and the issue is inevitably branded by one party with the title of 'supposititious.' It is likewise a common saying, almost amounting to a proverb, that a male child is the uniform reform result of such a position. In due course, a male infant was born; but, alarmed for its safety, the mother concealed both its birth and sex, and placing it in a basket, conveyed it by a faithful servant from the city, whence it soon reached Sowae Sing at Pokurn. He bestowed upon it the inauspicious name of 'Dhonkul,' that is, one born to tumult and strife. It is said that, during two years he kept the birth a profound secret, and it is even added, that it might have remained so, had Rajah Maun forgot the history of the past, and dispensed even-handed justice. Wanting, however, the magnanimity of the Fourth Henry of France, who scorned "to revenge the wrongs of the Prince of Navarre," he reserved his favours and confidence for those who supported him in Jhalore, whilst he evinced his dislike to others who, in obedience to their sovereign, served against him. Of these adherents, only two chiefs of note were of his kin and clan; the others were Bhatti Rajpoots, and a body of those religious militants called *Bishen-swamis*, under their Mehunt, or leader, Kaimdas.\*

\* They follow the doctrines of Vishnu (Bishen). They are termed *gosens*, as well as the more numerous class of church militants, devoted to Siva. Both are *celibataires*, as *gosen* imports, from mastery (*sen*) over the sense (*go*). They occasionally come in contact, when



At the expiration of two years, Sowae communicated the event to the chiefs of his party, who called upon Raja Maun to redeem his promise and issue the grant for Nagore and Sewanoh. He promised compliance if, upon investigation, the infant proved to be the legitimate offspring of his predecessor. Personal fear overcame maternal affection, and the queen, who remained at Jodpoor, disclaimed the child. Her reply being communicated to the chiefs, it was for a time conclusive, and the subject ceased to interest them, the more especially as her concealed *accouchement* had never been properly accounted for.

Though Sowae, with his party, apparently acquiesced, his determination was taken; but instead of an immediate appeal to arms, he adopted a deeper scheme of policy, the effects of which he could not have contemplated, and which involved his own destruction, and with it the independence of his country, which was transferred to strangers, their very antipodes in manners, religion, and every moral quality. His first act was to procure a more powerful protection than Pokurn afforded; and under the guarantee of Chutter Sing Bhatti, he was sent to the *sirna* (sanctuary) of Abhoy Sing of Khetri.\* Having so far succeeded, he contrived an underplot, in which his genius for intrigue appears not below his reputation as a soldier.

their sectarian principles end in furious combats. At the celebrated place of pilgrimage, Heridwar (Hurdwar), on the Ganges, we are obliged to have soldiers to keep the peace, since a battle occurred, in which they fought almost to extirpation, about twenty years ago. They are the *Templars* of Rajast'han.

\* One of the principal chiefs of the Shekhawut confederation.

The late prince Bheem had made overtures to the Rana of Mewar for the hand of his daughter, but he died before the preliminaries were adjusted. This simple circumstance was deemed sufficient by the Champawut for the ground-work of his plot. He contrived to induce the voluptuous Juggut Sing, the prince of Jeipoor, to put himself in the place of Raja Bheem, and to propose for the fair hand of Kishna. This being accomplished, and nuptial presents, under a guard of four thousand men, being despatched to Oodipoor, Sowae intimated to Raja Maun that he would be eternally disgraced if he allowed the prince of Amber to carry off "the betrothed;" that "it was to the throne of Maroo, not its occupant, she was promised." The bait was greedily swallowed, and the summons for the *kher* (or levy *en masse*) of the Rahtores was immediately proclaimed. Maun instantly assembled three thousand horses, and joining to them the mercenary bands of Heera Sing, then on the frontier of Mewar, he intercepted the nuptial gifts of Amber. Indignant at this outrage, Juggut Sing took to arms, and the muster-book was declared open to all who would serve in the war which was formally declared against Maroo.

Having thus opened the drama, Sowae threw off the mask, and repaired to Khetri, whence he conveyed the pretender, Dhonkul, to the court of Juggut Sing at Jeipoor. Here his legitimacy was established by being admitted 'to eat from the same platter' with its prince; and his claims, as the heir of Marwar, were publicly acknowledged and advocated, by his 'placing him in the lap of his aunt,' one of the wives of the deceased





Raja Bheem. His cause thus espoused, and being declared the nephew of Amber, the nobles of Marwar, who deemed the claims of the pretender superior to those of Raja Maun, speedily collected around his standard. Amongst these was the prince of Bikaner, whose example (he being the most powerful of the independents of this house) at once sanctioned the justice of Dhonkul's cause, and left that of Raja Maun almost without support. Nevertheless, with the hereditary valour of his race, he advanced to the frontiers to meet his foes, whose numbers, led by the Jeipoor prince and the pretender, exceeded one hundred thousand men! This contest, the ostensible object of which was the princess of Mewar, like the crusades of ancient chivalry, brought allies from the most remote parts of India. Even the cautious Mahratta felt an unusual impulse in this rivalry, beyond the stimulants of pay and plunder which ordinarily rouse him, and corps after corps left their hordes to support either cause. The weightier purse of Jeipoor was the best argument for the justice of his cause and that of the pretender; while Raja Maun had only the gratitude of Holcar to reckon upon for aid, to whose wife and family he had given sanctuary when pursued by Lord Lake to the Attoc. But here Sowae again foiled him; and the Mahratta, then only eighteen miles from Maun, and who had promised to join him next day, made a sudden movement to the south. A bribe of £100,000, in bills upon Kotah, to be paid on Holcar's reaching that city, effected this desertion; which being secured, Juggut Sing and the pretender advanced to overwhelm their anta-

gonist, who was posted at Geengoli. As the armies approached each other, Raja Maun's chiefs rode up to salute him, preparatory, as he thought, to head their clans for the combat; but it was their farewell obeisance. The cannonade opened, they rallied under the standard of the pretender, and on Sowae advancing on the right of the allied line, so entire was the defection, that even the Mairtea clan, whose virtue and boast it is "to adhere to the throne, whoever is the occupant," deserted, with the Champawuts, Jaitawuts, and minor chiefs. Four chieftains alone abided the evil hour of Raja Maun, namely, Koochamun, Ahore, Jhalore, and Neemaj; and with their quotas alone, and the auxiliary bands of Boondi, he would have rushed into the battle. Hindered from this, he attempted his own life: but the design was frustrated by Seonath of Koochamun, who dismounted him from his elephant, and advised his trusting to the fleetness of his steed, while they covered his flight. The Raja remarked, he was the first of his race who ever disgraced the name of Rahtore by showing his back to a Cuchwaha. The position he had taken that morning was favourable to retreat, being a mile in advance of the pass of Parbutsir: this was speedily gained, and nobly defended by the battalions of Boondi, and those of Hundall Khan, in the pay of Raja Maun, which retarded the pursuit, headed by the Rao of Ooniara. Raja Maun reached Mairta in safety; but deeming it incapable of long resistance, he continued his flight by Peepar to the capital, which he reached with a slender retinue, including the four chiefs, who still shared his fortunes.



The camp of Raja Maun was pillaged. Eighteen guns were taken by Balla Rao Ingolia, one of Sindia's commanders, and the lighter effects, the tents, elephants, and baggage, were captured by Meer Khan; while Parbutsir, and the villages in the neighbourhood, were plundered.

Thus far, the scheme of Sowae and the Pretender advanced with rapid success. When the allied army reached Mairta, the prince of Jeipoor, whose object was the princess of Mewar, proposed to Sowae to follow up their good fortune, while he repaired to Oodipoor, and solemnized the nuptials. But even in the midst of his revenge, Sowae could distinguish "between the cause of Maun Sing and the *gadi* of Marwar;" and to promote the success of Jeipoor, though he had originated the scheme to serve his own views, was no part of his plan. He was only helped out of this dilemma by another, which he could not anticipate. Not dreaming that Raja Maun would hold out in the capital, which had no means of defence, but supposing he would fly to Jhalore, and leave Jodpoor to its fate and to the pretender, Sowae, desirous to avoid the further advance of the allies into the country, halted the army for three days at Mairta. His foresight was correct: the Raja had reached Birsilpoor in full flight to Jhalore, when, at the suggestion of Gaenmul Singwi, a civil officer in his train, he changed his intention. "There," said the Singwi "lays Jodpoor only nine coss to the right, while Jhalore is sixteen further; it is as easy to gain the one as the other, and if you cannot hold out in the capital, what chance have you elsewhere? while

you defend your throne your cause is not lost." Raja Maun followed the advice, reached Jodpoor in a few hours, and prepared for his defence. This unexpected change, and the halt of the allied army, which permitted the dispersed bands to gain the capital, defeated the schemes of Sowae.

With a body of three thousand men, selected from Hundall Khan's brigade, the corps of Bishenswamis, under Kaimdas, and one thousand foreign Rajpoots, consisting of Chohans, Bhattis, and Eendos (the ancient lords of Mundore), Raja Maun formed a garrison of five thousand men, on whom he could depend. So ample did he deem this number, that he despatched strong garrisons from Hundall's brigade, with some Deora Rajpoots, to garrison Jhalore, and preserve the distant castle of Amerkote from surprise by the Sindies. Having thus provided against the storm, he fearlessly awaited the result. But so alienated was his mind from his kindred, that he would not even admit to the honour of defending his throne the four faithful chieftains who, in the general desertion, had abided by his fortunes. To all their entreaties to be received into the castle, that "they might defend the *kangras* (battlements) of Joda," he replied, they might defend the city if they pleased; and disgusted with such a return for their fidelity, they increased the train of his opponents, who soon encompassed Jodpoor.

The town, little capable of defence, was taken and given up to unlicensed plunder; and with the exception of Filodi, which was gallantly defended for three months, and given to Bikaner as the reward of its alliance, the *an* of the pretender was pro-



claimed throughout Marwar, and his allies only awaited the fall of the capital, which appeared inevitable, to proclaim him king. But a circumstance occurred, which, awakening the patriotism of the Rahtores, thwarted these fair prospects, relieved Raja Maun from his peril, and involved his adversaries in the net of destruction which they had woven for him.

The siege had lasted five months without any diminution of the ardour of the defenders; and although the defences of the north-east angle were destroyed, the besiegers, having a perpendicular rock of eighty feet to ascend before they could get to the breach, were not nearer their object, and, in fact, without shells, the castle of Joda would laugh a siege to scorn. The numerous and motley force under the banners of Jeipoor and the pretender, became clamorous for pay; the forage was exhausted, and the partizan horse were obliged to bivouac in the distant districts to the south. Availing himself of their separation from the main body, Ameer Khan, an apt pupil of the Mahratta school, began to raise contributions on the fiscal lands, and Palli, Peepar, Bhilara, with many others, were compelled to accede to his demands. The estates of the nobles who espoused the cause of the pretender, fared no better, and they complained to the Xerxes of this host of the conduct of this unprincipled commander.

The protracted defence having emptied the treasury of Amber, the archintriguer of Pokurn was called upon to contribute towards satisfying the clamour of the troops. Having exhausted the means of his own

party, he applied to the four chieftains who had been induced to join the cause of the pretender by the suspicions of Raja Maun, to advance a sum of money. This appeal proved a test of their zeal. They abandoned the pretender, and proceeded direct to the camp of Ameer Khan. It required no powerful rhetoric to detach him from the cause and prevail upon him to advocate that of Raja Maun; nor could they have given him better counsel towards this end, than the proposal to carry the war into the enemy's country: to attack and plunder Jeipoor, now left unguarded. At this critical moment, the Jeipoor prince, in consequence of the representation of the Marwar chiefs, had directed his commander-in-chief, Seolall, to chastise Meer Khan for his lawless conduct. Seolall put a stop to their deliberations, attacked and drove them across the Looni, surprised them at Govingurh, again in a night attack at Hursoori, and pursued the Khan to Phaggi, at the very frontier of Jeipoor. Astonished at his own success, and little aware that the chase was in the direction projected by his enemy, Seolall deemed he had accomplished his orders in driving him out of Marwar; halted, and leaving his camp, repaired to Jeipoor to partake of its festivities. The Khan, who with his allies had reached Peeploo near Tonk, no sooner heard of this, than he called to his aid the heavy brigades of Mahomed Shah Khan and Raja Buhader (then besieging Iserdoh), and availed himself of the imprudent absence of his foe to gain over the Hyderabad *Rásála*, a legion well known in the predatory wars of that period. Having effected this object, he assailed the Jeipoor



force, which, notwithstanding this defection and the absence of its commander, fought with great valour, the battalions of Heera Sing being nearly cut to pieces. The action ended in the entire defeat of the Jeipooreans, and the capture of their camp, guns, and equipage. Prompted by the Rahtore chieftains, whose valour led to this result, Meer Khan rapidly followed up his success, and Jeipoor was dismayed by the presence of the victor at her gates. The generalship of the Khan was the salvation of Raja Maun; it dissolved the confederacy, and fixed the doom of Sowae, its projector.

The tempest had been some time gathering; the Rajas of Bikaner and Shapoorahad already withdrawn from the confederacy and marched home, when, like a clap of thunder, the effeminate Cuchwaha, who had in the outset of this crusade looked to a full harvest both of glory and of love, learned that his army was annihilated, and his capital invested by the Khan and a handful of Rahtores. Duped by the representations of Sowae, Rae Chund, *Déván* or prime minister of Jeipoor, concealed for some days these disasters from his sovereign, who received the intelligence by a special messenger sent by the queen mother. Enraged, perplexed, and alarmed for his personal safety, he broke up the siege, and sending on in advance the spoils of Jodpoor (including forty pieces of cannon), with his own chieftains, he sent for the Mahratta leaders,\* and offered them

£120,000 to escort him in safety to his capital; nay, he secretly bribed, with a bond of £90,000 more, the author of his disgrace, Ameer Khan, not to intercept his retreat, which was signally ignominious, burning his tents and equipage at every stage, and at length with his own hand destroying his favourite elephant, which "wanted speed for the rapidity of his flight."

But the indignities he had to suffer were not over. The chieftains whose sagacity and valour had thus diverted the storm from Raja Maun, determined that no trophies of Rahtore disgrace should enter Jeipoor, united their clans about twenty miles east of Mairta, on the line of retreat, appointing Induraj Singwi their leader. This person, who had held the office of *Déván* under two predecessors of Raja Maun, was driven to a temporary defection from the same suspicions which made the chiefs join the pretender. But they resolved to wash away the stain of this brief alienation from Raja Maun with the blood of his enemies, and to present as the token of returning fidelity the recaptured trophies. The encounter took place on the joint frontier. It was short, but furious; and the Cuchwahas, who could not withstand the Rahtores, were defeated and dispersed, and the spoils of the spoiler, including the forty cannon, were safely lodged in Kochamun. Flushed with success, the victors addressed the Raja of Kishengurh, who, though a Rahtore, had kept aloof, to advance funds to secure the continuance of Meer Khan's aid. Two lakhs of

\* Bapoo Sindia, Balla Rao Ingolia, with the brigade of Jean Baptiste, all Sindia's dependents. This was early in 1806. The author was then in Sindia's camp and saw these troops marched off; and in 1807, in a geographical tour, he penetrated to Jeipoor, and witnessed the wrecks of the Jeipoor army. The sands round the

capital were white with the bones of horses, and the ashes of their riders, who had died in the vain expectation of getting their arrears of pay.



rupees (£20,000) effected this object; and the Khan, pledging himself to continue his support to Raja Maun, repaired to Jodpoor. The four chiefs who had thus signalized them-

selves, preceded him, and were received with open arms; their offences were forgiven, and their estates restored, while Induraj was appointed Bukshee or commander of the forces.

## CHAPTER XV.

*Meer Khan's reception at Jodpoor.—Engages to extirpate Sowae's faction.—Interchanges turbans with the Raja.—The Khan repairs to Nagore.—Interview with Sowae.—Swears to support the Pretender.—Massacre of the Rajpoot chiefs.—Pretender flies.—The Khan plunders Nagore.—Receives £100,000 from Raja Maun.—Jeipoor over-run.—Bikaner attacked.—Meer Khan obtains the ascendancy in Marwar. Garrisons Nagore with his Pathans.—Partitions lands amongst his chiefs.—Commands the salt lakes of Nowah and Sambhur.—The minister Induraj and high priest Deonath assassinated.—Raja Maun's reason affected.—His seclusion.—Abdication in favour of his son Chuttur Sing.—He falls the victim of illicit pursuits.—Madness of Raja Maun increased.—Its causes.—Suspensions of the Raja having sacrificed Induraj. The oligarchy, headed by Salim Sing of Pokurn, son of Sowae, assumes the charge of the government. Epoch of British universal supremacy.—Treaty with Marwar framed during the regency of Chuttur Sing. The oligarchy, on his death, offer the gadi of Marwar to the house of Edur.—Rejected.—Reasons.—Raja Maun entreated to resume the reins of power.—Evidence that his madness was feigned.—The Raja dissatisfied with certain stipulations of the treaty.—A British officer sent to Jodpoor.—Akhi Chund chief of the civil administration.—Salim Sing of Pokurn chief minister.—Opposition led by Futteh Raj.—British troops offered to be placed at the Raja's disposal.—Offer rejected.—Reasons.—British agent returns to Ajmer.—Permanent agent appointed to the court of Raja Maun.—Arrives at Jodpoor.—Condition of the capital.—Interviews with the Raja.—Objects to be attained described.—Agent leaves Jodpoor.—General sequestrations of the fiefs.—Raja Maun apparently relapses into his old apathy.—His deep dissimulation. Circumvents and seizes the faction.—Their wealth sequestrated.—Their ignominious death.—Immense resources derived from sequestrations.—Raja Maun's thirst for blood.—Fails to entrap the chiefs.—The Neemaj chief attacked.—His gallant defence.—Slain.—The Pokurn chief escapes.—Futteh Raj becomes minister. Raja Maun's speech to him.—Neemaj attacked.—Surrender.—Raja Maun's infamous violation of his pledge. Noble conduct of the mercenary commander.—Voluntary exile of the whole aristocracy of Marwar.—Received by the neighbouring princes.—Maun's gross ingratitude to Anar Sing.—The exiled chiefs apply to the British Government, which refuses to mediate.—Raja Maun loses the opportunity of fixing the constitution of Marwar.—Reflections.*

Ameer Khan was received by Raja Maun with distinguished honours; a palace in the castle was assigned as his residence; valuable gifts were presented to him and great



rewards held in perspective, if, through his agency, the rebellion should be completely subdued. He swore to extirpate Sowae's faction, and in token of identity of views with Raja Maun, he was admitted to the honour of that last proof of devotion to his cause, "an interchange of turbans," with an advance of three lakhs, or £30,000, for the immediate payment of his bonds.

On the raising of the siege of Jodpoor, Sowae conducted the Pretender to the ap-panage of the heirs of Marwar, the city of Nagore. There they were deliberating as to their future plans, when a message was brought from Ameer Khan from Moondhia-wur, ten miles distant, begging permission to perform his devotions at the shrine of the Mooslem saint, Peer Tarkeen, the sole relic of the Islamite which Bukht Sing had spared. His request being complied with, he with a slight cavalcade left his camp, and having gone through the mummeries of devotion, paid his respects to Sowae. When about to take leave, he threw out hints of Raja Maun's ungrateful return for his services, and that his legions might have been better employed. Sowae greedily caught at the bait; he desired the Khan to name his terms, and offered £200,000 on the day that Dhonkul should possess the *gadi* of Jodpoor. The Khan accepted the conditions and ratified the engagement on the Koran, and to add to the solemnity of the pledge, he exchanged turbans with Sowae. This being done, he was introduced to the pretender, received the usual gifts, pledged his life in his cause, took leave, and returned to his camp, whither he invited the prince

and his chiefs on the following day to accept of an entertainment.

On the morning of the 19th of Cheit, S. 1864 (A.D. 1808), Sowae, attended by the chief adherents of the pretender and about five hundred followers, repaired to the camp of the Khan, who had made every preparation for the more effectual perpetration of the bloody and perfidious deed he meditated. A spacious tent was pitched in the centre of his camp for the reception of his guests, and cannon were loaded with grape ready to be turned against them. The visitors were received with the most distinguished courtesy; turbans were again exchanged; the dancing-girls were introduced, and nothing but festivity was apparent. The Khan arose, and making an excuse to his guests for a momentary absence, retired. The dancing continued, when at the word "*dug-ga*," pronounced by the musicians, down sunk the tent upon the unsuspecting Raj-poots, who fell an easy prey to the ferocious Pathans. Forty-two chieftains were thus butchered in the very sanctuary of hospitality, and the heads of the most distinguished were sent to the Raja Maun. Their adherents, taken by surprise, were slaughtered by the soldiery, or by cannon charged with grape, as they fled. The pretender escaped from Nagore, which was plundered by the Khan, when not only all the property of the party, but the immense stores left by the Bukht Sing, including three hundred pieces of cannon, were taken, and sent to Sambhur and other strong-holds held by the Khan. Having thus fulfilled his instructions, he repaired to Jodpoor, and received ten lakhs or £100,000, and two large towns, Moon-



dhiawur and Koochilawas, of thirty thousand rupees annual rent, besides one hundred rupees daily for table-allowance, as the reward of his signal infamy.

Thus, by the murder of Sowae and his powerful partizans, the confederacy against Raja Maun was extinguished; but though the Raja had thus, miraculously as it were, defeated the gigantic schemes formed against him, the mode by which it was effected entailed upon him and upon his country unexampled miseries. The destruction of the party of the pretender was followed by retaliation on the various members of the league. The Jeipoor territory was laid waste by the troops of Meer Khan, and an expedition was planned against Bikaner. An army consisting of twelve thousand of Raja Maun's feudal levies, under the command of Induraj, with a brigade of Meer Khan, and that of Hundall Khan with thirty-five guns, marched against the chief of the independent Rahtores. The Bikaner Raja formed an army little inferior in numbers, and gave his suzerain the meeting at Bapri; but after a partial encounter, in which the former lost two hundred men, he fell back upon his capital, pursued by the victors, who halted at Gujnair. Here terms were offered; two lakhs as the expenses of the war, and the surrender of the bone of contention, the town of Filodi, which had been assigned to Bikaner as the price of joining the confederacy.

The Khan was now the arbiter of Marwar. He stationed Ghufoor Khan with a garrison in Nagore, and partitioned the lands of Mairta amongst his followers. He likewise placed his garrison in the castle of Nowah,

which gave him the command of the salt-lakes of Nowah and Sambhur. Induraj and the high-priest Deonath were the only counsellors of Raja Maun, and all the oppressions which the chieftains suffered through this predominant foreign interference, were attributed to their advice. To cut them off, the chiefs in their turn applied to Ameer Khan, who for seven lakhs (£70,000), readily consented to rid them of their enemies. A plot was laid, in which some of his Pathans, under pretence of quarrelling with Induraj for their arrears, put this minister and the high-priest to death.

The loss of Deonath appeared to affect the reason of Raja Maun. He shut himself up in his apartments, refused to communicate with any one, and soon omitted every duty, whether political or religious, until at length he was recommended to name his only son Chuttur Sing as his successor. To this he acceded, and with his own hand made the mark of inauguration on his forehead. But youth and base panders to his pleasures seduced him from his duties, and he died, some say, the victim of illicit pursuits, others from a wound given by the hand of one of the chieftains, whose daughter he attempted to seduce.

The premature death of his only son, before he had attained the years of majority, still more alienated the mind of Raja Maun from all state affairs, and his suspicions of treacherous attempts on his person extended even to his wife. He refused all food, except that which was brought by one faithful menial. He neglected his ablutions, allowed his face to be covered with hair, and at length either was, or affected to be insane. He spoke



to no one, and listened with the apathy of an idiot to the communications of the ministers, who were compelled to carry on the government. By many it is firmly believed that the part he thus acted was feigned, to escape the snares laid for his life; while others think that it was a melancholy mania, arising from remorse at having consented to the murder of Induraj, which incidentally involved that of the *Guru*.\* In short, his alliance with the atrocious Khan exposed him to the suspicion of a participation in his crimes, which the bent of his policy too much favoured. In this condition—the government being managed by an oligarchy headed by Salim Sing (son of Sowae)—did Raja Maun remain, until the tide of events carried the arms of Britain even to the desert of Maroo.

When, in 1817, we invited the Rajpoots to disunite from the predatory powers, and to join us in establishing order throughout India, the young son of Raja Maun, or rather his ministers, sent envoys to Delhi. But ere the treaty was ratified, this dissipated youth was no more. On this event, the Pokurn faction, dreading Raja Maun's resumption of the government, made an application to Edur for a son to adopt as their sovereign. But splendid as was the offer, the Raja, who had but one son, rejected it, unless the demand were sustained by the unanimous suffrages of the nobles. Unanimity being unattainable, the faction had no alternative save the restoration of Raja Maun; but it was in vain they explained the new position of marwar, the alliance with

the English, which awaited his sanction, and the necessity that he, as the last prop of the royal family, should resume the reins of power. He listened to all with the most apathetic indifference. But although he saw in this new crisis of the political condition of his country, motives for effecting his escape from bondage, his mind was so tutored by bitter experience that he never for an instant betrayed its workings. When at length he allowed himself to comprehend the full nature of the changes which made even the faction desire his egress from solitude, so far from expressing any joy, he even disapproved of part of the treaty, and especially the article relating to the armed contingent of his vassals to be at the disposal of the protecting power, in which he wisely saw the germ of discord, from the certainty of interference it would lead to.

It was in December 1817 that the treaty\* was negotiated at Delhi by a Brahmin named Beas Bishen Ram, on the part of the regent prince, and in December 1818, an officer of the British government† was deputed to report on its actual condition. Notwithstanding the total disorganization of the government, from the combination of causes already described, the court had lost nothing of its splendor or regularity; the honour of all was concerned in preserving the dignity of the '*gadi*,' though its incumbent was an object of distrust and even detestation. The ministry at this period was conducted by Akhi Chund (*Dewan*), and Salim Sing of Pokurn, as the representative of the aristocracy, with the title of *bhanjgur*. All the

\* For the character of this priest, see Vol. I. p. 564.

\* See treaty, Appendix No. II.

† Mr. Wilder, superintendent of the district of Ajmer.



garrisons and offices of trust throughout the country were held by the creatures of a junto, of which these were the heads. There was, however, already the nucleus of an opposition in the brother of the murdered minister, named Futteh Raj, who was entrusted with the care of the city. The instructions of the agent were to offer the aid of the British government towards the settlement of Raja Maun's affairs; and at a private interview, three days after the agent's arrival, troops were offered to be placed at his disposal. But the wariness of his character will be seen in the use he made of this offer. He felt that the lever was at hand to crush faction to the dust; and with a Machiavelian caution, he determined that the existence of this engine should suffice; that its power should be felt, but never seen; that he should enjoy all the advantages this influence would give, without risking any of its dangers if called into action. Thus, while he rejected, though with thanks, the essential benefit tendered, qualifying his refusal with a sufficient reason—"reliance on himself to restore his state to order,"—he failed not to disseminate the impression amongst his chiefs, which was enough for his purpose, and which besides checked the dictation and interference that uniformly result from such unequal alliances.

Energetic councils and rapid decision are unknown to Asiatic governments, whose subjects are ever prone to suspicion whenever unusual activity is visible; and Raja Maun had been schooled into circumspection from his infancy. He appeared anxious to bury the past in oblivion, by choosing men of both parties for the inferior duties of the

ministry; and the blandness of his manners and his conciliatory address, lulled the most suspicious into security. After a short residence, the agent returned to Ajmer, having in vain tried to convince Raja Maun that his affairs were irretrievable without the direct aid of the paramount power, which he persisted in repudiating, assigning as his reason that he felt convinced, from "the measures then in train," he should accomplish the task himself: of these measures conciliation appeared to be the basis.

At this period\* an envoy was appointed, with powers direct from the Governor-General to Raja Maun, but he was for some months prevented from proceeding to his court, from various causes.†

\* In February 1819, the author had the political duties of Marwar added to those of the States of Oodipoor, Kotah, Boondi, and Sirohi.

† One of these was an unpleasant altercation, which took place between the towns-people of the Commercial Mart of Palli and an English gentleman, sent unofficially to feel his way as to the extension of commercial enterprise, carrying specimens of the staple commodities of our trade. This interference with the very fountain-head of their trade alarmed the monopolists of Palli, who, dreading such competition, created or took advantage of an incident to rid themselves of the intruder. The commercial men of these regions almost all profess the Jain religion, whose first rule of faith is the preservation of life, in beast as in man. By them, therefore, the piece-goods, the broad-cloths and metals of the Christian trader, were only less abhorred than his flesh-pots, and the blood of the goats sworn to have been shed by his servants within the bounds of Palli, rose in judgment against their master, of whom a formal complaint was laid before Raja Maun. It lost none of its acrimony in coming through the channel of his internuncio at Oodipoor, the Brahmin, Bishen Ram. Mr. Rutherford rebutted the charge, and an investigation took place at the capital on oath, upon which, as the merchants and the governor of Palli (a nephew of the minister), could not substantiate their charge, the latter was severely reprimanded for his incivility. But whether the story was true or false, it was quite enough for their purpose. The interdict between Mr. Rutherford and the inhabi-



The agent, who reached Jodpoor early in the month of November, found matters in nearly the same state as on his predecessor's departure in February. The same faction kept the prince and all the officers of government at their disposal. The Raja interfered but little with their measures, except to acquiesce in or confirm them. The mercenary bands of Sindies or Pathans were in miserable plight and clamorous for their pay, not having been accounted with for three years; and they were to be seen begging in the streets of the capital, or hawking bundles of forage on their heads to preserve them from starvation. On the approach of the agent of the British Government, the forms of accounts were gone through, and they gave in acquittances in full of all demands, on condition of receiving thirty per cent. of their arrears; but this was only a form, and with his departure (in about three weeks), they despaired even of that.

tants of Palli was more effectual than the *Sanitary cordon* of any prince in Christendom. The feeling of resentment against him reached the agent of government, who was obliged to support what appeared the cause of truth, even according to the deposition made before their own judgment-seat, and he was consequently deemed inimical to the prince and the faction which then guided his councils. Mr. Rutherford proceeded afterwards to Kotah, to exhibit the same wares; but he was there equally an object of jealousy, though from letters of recommendation from the agent, it was less strongly manifested. It furnished evidence that such interference would never succeed. It is well his mission did not appear to be sanctioned by the government. What evil might not be effected by permitting unrestricted and incautions intercourse with such people, who can, and do obtain all they require of our produce without the presence of the *producers*, who, whether *within* or *without* the pale of the Company's service, will not I trust be prematurely forced on Rajpootana, or it will assuredly hasten the day of inevitable separation!

The name of justice was unknown:—though, in allusion to the religion of the men in power, it was common to hear it said, "you may commit murder and no one will notice it; but woe to him who beats or maims a brute, for dogs are publicly fed while the soldier starves." In short, the sole object of the faction was to keep at a distance all interposition that might lead the prince to emancipate himself from their control. During the agent's stay of nearly three weeks, he had several private interviews with Raja Maun. The knowledge he had of the history of his ancestry and his own situation, and of the causes which had produced it, failed not to beget a corresponding confidence; and these interviews were passed in discussions on the ancient history of the country as well as on his own immediate affairs. The agent took leave with these words: "I know all the perils through which you have passed; I am aware how you surmounted them. By your resolution, your external enemies are now gone: you have the British Government as a friend; rely upon it with the same fortitude, and, in a very short time, all will be as you could desire."

Raja Maun listened eagerly to these observations. His fine features, though trained to bear no testimony to the workings within, relaxed with delight as he rapidly replied, "In one twelvemonths, my affairs will be as friendship could wish." To which the agent rejoined, "In half the time, Maharaja, if you are determined:" though the points to which he had to direct his mind were neither few nor slight, for they involved every branch of government; as



1. Forming an efficient administration.  
2. Consideration of the finances ; the condition of the crown lands ; the feudal confiscations, which, often unjust, had caused great discontent.

3. The re-organization and settlement of the foreign troops, on whose service the Raja chiefly depended.

4. An effective police on all the frontiers, to put down the wholesale pillage of the Mairs in the south, the Larkhanis in the north, and the desert Sahraes and Khosas in the west ; reformation of the tariff, or scale of duties on commerce, which were so heavy as almost to amount to prohibition ; and at the same time to provide for its security.

Scarcely had the agent left Jodpoor, before the faction, rejoiced at the removal of the only restraint on their narrow-minded views, proceeded in the career of disorder. Whether the object were to raise funds, or to gratify ancient animosities, the course pursued by the Dewan and his junto was the same. Ganorah, the chief fief of Godwar, was put under sequestration, and only released by a fine of more than a year's revenue. All the minor chiefs of this rich tract suffered in the same manner, besides the indignity of having their lands placed under the control of a brother of the minister. Chandawul was put under sequestration, and only released on a very heavy fine. At length the Dewan had the audacity to put his hand on Ahwa, the chief fief of Marwar ; but the descendant of Champa replied, " my estate is not of to-day, nor thus to be relinquished." Gloom, mistrust, and resentment, pervaded the whole feudal body. They saw a contemptible faction sporting

with their honour and possessions, from an idea they industriously propagated, that an unseen but mighty power was at hand to support their acts, given out as those of the prince. If the Raja did dictate them, he took especial care it should not be seen ; for in the absence of the British agent, he once more resumed his sequestered habits, and appeared to take no interest in the government further than to promote a coalition between Akhi Chund and Futteh Raj, who was supported by a strong party of the chiefs, and the influence of the favourite queen. But Akhi Chund, who commanded, through his creatures, all the resources of the country, and its strong-holds, even to the castle of Jodpoor, rejected these overtures, and feigning that there were plots against his personal safety, left the city ; and the better to exclude his adversaries from the prince, resided entirely in the citadel.

Six months had thus fled. The fiat of Akhi Chund was supreme ; he alone was visible ; his orders alone were obeyed. Raja Maun was only heard of as an automaton, moving as the Dewan pleased. But while the latter was thus basking in the full sunshine of prosperity, enriching himself and his dependents, execrated by the nobles and envied by his fellow-citizens, they heard of his fall ! Then, the insanity of his master proved to be but a cloak to the intensity of his resentment. But a blind revenge would not have satisfied Raja Maun. The victims of his deep dissimulation, now in manacles, were indulged with hopes of life, which, with the application of torture, made them reveal the plunder of prince and subject. A schedule of forty lakhs, or £400,000, was



given in by the Dewan and his dependents, and their accounts being settled in this world, they were summarily dismissed to the other, with every mark of ignominy which could add to the horrors of death. Nugji, the *Kellédár*, and misleader of the late regent prince, with Moolji Dandul, one of the old allodial stock, had each a cup of poison, and their bodies were thrown over the 'Gate of Victory' (*Futteh Pol*). Jeveraj, a brother of the Dandul, with Beharri-das Kheechie, and the tailor, had their heads shaved, and their bodies were flung into the cascade beneath. Even the sacred character of "expounder of the *Védas*," and that of "revealer of the secrets of heaven," yielded no protection; and Beas Seodas, with Sri-Kishen, *Jotishé*, the astrologer, were in the long list of proscriptions. Nugji, commandant of the citadel, and Moolji, had retired on the death of the regent-prince; and with the wealth they had accumulated, while administering to his follies, had erected places of strength. On the restoration of Raja Maun, and the general amnesty which prevailed, they returned to their ancient offices in the castle, rose into favour, and forgot they had been traitors. Having obtained their persons, Maun secured the ancient jewels of the crown, bestowed on these favourites during the ephemeral sway of his son. Their condemnation was then passed, and they were hurled over the battlements of the rock which it was their duty to guard. With such consummate skill was the plot contrived, that the creatures of the minister, in the most remote districts, were imprisoned simultaneously with himself. Of the many subordinate agents thus confined,

many were liberated on the disclosure of their wealth; and by these sequestrations, Raja Maun obtained abundant supplies. The enormous sum of a crore, or near one million sterling, was stated; but if they yielded one-half (and this was not unlikely), they gave the means, which he was not slow to use, for the prosecution of what he termed a just punishment, though it better deserves the name of a savage revenge. Had he been satisfied with inflicting the last penalty of the law on the nefarious Akhi Chund, and some of the household officers whose fidelity ought ever to be firm, and with the sequestration of the estates of some two or three of the vassals whose power had become dangerous, or their treason too manifest to be overlooked, he would have commanded the services of the rest, and the admiration of all conversant with these events. But this first success added fuel to his revenge, and he sought out more noble victims to glut it. His circumspection and dissimulation were strengthened, not relaxed by his success. Several of the chiefs, who were marked out for death, had received, only a few days before, the highest proof of favour in additional lands to their rent-roll, and accident alone prevented a group of the most conspicuous from falling into the snare which had inveigled Akhi Chund. Salim Sing of Pokurn, and his constant associate Soortan of Neemaj, with Anar Sing of Ahore, and the minors of their clans, whose duty daily carried them to the court, as the chief advisers of the prince, formed a part of the administration of the Dewan, and they naturally took alarm upon his confinement. To obviate this, a deputation was





sent by the prince to tranquillize them by the assurance that, in the confinement of the minister, whose rapacity and misconduct deserved punishment, the Raja had attained all his ends. Thus, in order to encompass the destruction of the Pokurn chief, he would not have scrupled to involve all the rest. The prince, with his own mouth, desired the confidential servant of Anar Sing, who was his personal friend, to attend with the others. Their distrust saved him. The same night, the mercenary bands, to the number of eight thousand men, with guns, attacked Soortan Sing in his dwelling. With one hundred and eighty of his clan, he defended himself against great guns and small arms, as long as the house was tenable, and then sallied out sword in hand, and, with his brother and eighty of his kin, fell nobly in the midst of his foes. The remainder retreated with their arms to defend Neemaj and their infant chief. This gallant defence, in which many of the towns-people were slain, prevented a repetition of the attempt against the Pokurn chief, who remained on the defensive; until, seeing an opportunity, he fled to his asylum in the desert, or he would that day have renounced "the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Marwar," and which now contained the accumulated revenge of four generations; of Deo Sing, of Subbulla, of Sowae, and his own. His death would have terminated this branch of Ajit's issue, adopted into the house of Pokurn, in the history of which we have a tolerable picture of the precariousness of existence in Marwar.\*

\* In a letter addressed to the Government on these events, dated July 7, 1820, I observed, "The danger is,

What better commentary can be made on Raja Maun's character, than the few recorded words addressed to Futteh Raj, whom he sent for to the Presence, on the day succeeding these events? "Now you may perceive the reasons why I did not sooner give you office." This individual, the brother of the late Induraj, was forthwith installed in the post of Dewan; and with the sinews of war provided by the late sequestrations, the troops were satisfied, while by the impressaion so sedulously propagated and believed, that he had only to call on the British power for what aid he required, the whole feudal body was appalled: and the men, who would have hurled the tyrant from his throne, now only sought to avoid his insidious snares, more dangerous than upon force.

Neemaj was besieged and nobly defended; but at length the son of Soortan capitulated, on receiving the sign-manual of his prince promising pardon and restoration, guaranteed by the commander of the mercenary bands. To the eternal disgrace of the Raja, he broke this pledge, and the boy had scarcely appeared in the besieging camp, when the civil officer produced the Raja's mandate for his captivity and transmission to the Presence. If it is painful to record

that success may tempt him to go beyond the line of necessity, either for the ends of justice or security. If he stops with the Pokurn chief, and one or two inferior concerned in the coalition of 1806 and the usurpation of his son, with the condign punishment of a few of the civil officers, it will afford a high opinion of his character; but if he involves Ahwa, and the other principal chiefs, in these proscriptions, he may provoke a strife which will yet overwhelm him. He has done enough for justice, and even for revenge, which has been carried too far as regards Soortan Sing, whose death (which I sincerely regret) was a prodigal sacrifice."



this fact, it is pleasing to add, that even the mercenary commander spurned the infamous injunction. "No," said he; "on the faith of my pledge (*buchun*) he surrendered; and if the Raja breaks his word, I will maintain mine, and at least place him in security." He kept his promise, and conveyed him to the Aravulli mountains, whence he passed over to, and received protection in Mewar.

This and similar acts of treachery and cold-blooded tyranny completely estranged all the chiefs. Isolated as they were, they could make no resistance against the mercenary battalions, amounting to ten thousand men, exclusive of the quotas; and they dared not league for defence, from the dreaded threat held over them, of calling in the British troops; and in a few months the whole feudal association of Marwar abandoned their homes and their country, seeking shelter in the neighbouring states from the Raja's cruel and capricious tyranny. To his connection with the British Government alone he was indebted for his being able thus to put forth the resources of his policy, which otherwise he never could have developed either with safety or effect; nor at any former period of the history of Marwar could the most daring of its princes have undertaken, with any prospect of success, what Raja Maun accomplished under this alliance.

These brave men found asyla in the neighbouring states of Kotah, Mewar, Bikaner, and Jeipoor. Even the faithful Anar Sing, whose fidelity no gratitude could ever repay, was obliged to seek refuge in exile. He had stood Maun's chief shield against the proscription of Raja Bheem, when cooped

up in Jhalore, and sold his wife's ornaments, "even to her nose-ring," to procure him the means of subsistence and defence. It was Anar Sing who saved him when, in the attempt upon Palli, he was unhorsed and nearly made prisoner. He was among the four chiefs who remained by his fortunes when the rest deserted to the standard of the pretender; and he was one of the same body, who rescued the trophies of their disgrace from the hands of their enemies when on the road to Jeipoor. Last of all, he was mainly instrumental in the Raja's emancipation and in his resumption of the reins of government. Well might the fury of his revenge deserve the term of madness! In A.D. 1821, the greater chieftains of Marwar, thus driven into exile, were endeavouring to obtain the mediation of the British authorities; but another year had elapsed without the slightest advance to accommodation. Their conduct has been exemplary, but their degrading position, dependent on the scanty resources of others, must of itself work a cure. Their manly remonstrance addressed to the British functionary is already before the reader.\* He did not hesitate to tell them, that if in due time no mediation was held out, they must depend on themselves for redress!

Such was the political condition of Marwar until the year 1823. Had a demoniacal spirit of revenge not blinded Raja Maun, he had a fine opportunity to lay the principles of order on a permanent basis, and to introduce those reforms necessary for his individual welfare as well as for that of the state. He had it in his power to modify

\* Vol. I. p. 149.



the internal chiefs, and to make the whole the feud to the altered condition of subservience instead of having the glory of fixing affairs. In this country, he has (re- the constitution external protection) broken up posing of feudal association, and rendered the entire power an object of hatred the paramorence.

instead of rapidly sketched the history

Having this branch of the Rajpoot of this interest, destruction of their ancient race, from the anouj, and their settlement seat of empire, (ert more than six centuries in the Indian de, ent day, it is impossible to ago, to the pre, without a reflexion on the quit the subject ion of their alliance with anomalous condi, ment, which can sanction the British goverch a state of things as we the existence of su. It illustrates the asser- have just describe, rly part of this work,\* tions made in an ea, nciples which guide all of the ill-defined pri Rajpoots, and which, our treaties with the, d, will rapidly progress if not early remed, ull of misery to them, to a state of things t danger to ourselves. and of inevitable oil," as they emphati- These "men of the selves, cling to it, and cally designate them, ill-defined privileges, their ancient and we pertinacity; in their with an unconquerable them, whole genera- endeavours to preserve, t away, yet has their tions have been sw the very ratio of op- strength increased in, now the oppressors?

the dynasties of Ghazni, of Ghor, the Ghiljis, the Lodis, the Pathans, the Timoors, and the demoralizing Mahratta? The native Rajpoot has flourished amidst these revolu-

tions, and survived their fall; and but for the vices of their internal sway, chiefly contracted from such association, would have risen to power upon the ruin of their tyrants. But internal dissension invited the spoiler; and herds of avaricious Mahrattas and ferocious Pathans have reaped the harvest of their folly. Yet all these faults were to be redeemed in their alliances with a people whose peculiar boast was, that wisdom, justice, and clemency were the corner-stones of their power: seeking nothing from them beyond the means for their defence, and an adherence to the virtues of order. How far the protecting power has redeemed its pledge, in allowing years to pass away without some attempt to remedy the anarchy we have described, the reader is in a condition to judge. If it be said that we have tied up our hands, by leaving them free agents in their internal administration, then let no offer of support be given to the head, for the oppression of the vassal and his rights, co-equal with those of the sovereign; and if our mediation cannot be exerted, let us withdraw altogether the checks upon the operation of their own system of government, and leave them free agents in reality. A wiser, more humane, and liberal policy would be, to impose upon ourselves the task of understanding their political condition, and to use our just influence for the restoration of their internal prosperity, and with it the peace, present as well as prospective, of an important part of our empire. The policy which such views would suggest, is to support the opinion of the vast majority of the Rahtores, and to seize the first opportunity to lend at least our sanc-

\* Vol. I. p. 94.



tion to an adoption, from the Edur branch, of Rahtore blood, not only uncontaminated, but heirs presumptive to Joda, and exclude the parricidal line which will continue to bring misery on the country. If, however, we apply only our own monarchical, nay despotic principles, to this feudal society, and interfere but to uphold a blind tyranny, which must drive these brave chiefs to despair, it will be well to reflect and consider, from the acts we have related, of what they are capable. Very different, indeed, would be the deeds of proscribed Rajpoots from those of vagabond Pindarries, or degenerate Mahrattas; and what a field for aggression and retreat! Rumour asserts that they have already done themselves justice; and that, driven to desperation, and with no power to mediate, the dagger has reached the heart of Raja Maun! If this be true, it is a retribution which might have been expected: it was the only alternative left to

the oppressed chiefs to do themselves justice. It is also said, that the 'pretended' Raja Bheem is now on the gadi of Joda. This is deeply to be lamented. Raj Dhonkul will see only the party who espoused his pretensions, and that place in the faction will hold that place in the councils of his sovereign, which of right belong to the head of his clan, the Champa, to the Ahir, an exile in Mewar.\* Jealousy, feuds, and bloodshed will be the consequence, which would at once be averted by an adoption from Edur. Were a grand council of Rajpoots to be convened, in order to adjust the question, nine-tenths would decide as proposed; the danger of interference would be neutralized, and of peace and tranquillity would be the boon bestowed upon thousands, and, what is of some consequence, future danger to ourselves would be avoided.

\* He was so when the author left

India in 1823.



## CHAPTER XVI.

*Extent and population of Marwar.—Classification of inhabitants.—Jits.—Rajpoots, sacerdotal, commercial, and servile tribes.—Soil.—Agricultural products.—Natural productions.—Salt lakes.—Marble and limestone quarries.—Tin, lead, and iron mines.—Alum.—Manufactures.—Commercial marts.—Transit trade.—Palli, the emporium of Western India.—Mercantile classes.—Khartras and Oswals.—Kutars, or caravans. Imports and exports enumerated.—Charuns, the guardians of the caravans.—Commercial decline.—Causes. Opium monopoly.—Fairs of Moondhwa and Bhalotra.—Administration of justice.—Punishments Raja Beejoy Sing's clemency to prisoners, who are maintained by private charity.—Gaol deliveries on eclipses, births, and accession of princes.—Sogun, or ordeals: fire, water, burning oil.—Punchaets.—Fiscal revenues and regulations.—Buttae, or corn-rent.—Shenahs and Kunwarris.—Taxes.—Anga, or capitation tax.—Gaswali, or pasturage.—Kewari, or door-tax; how originated.—Sayer, or imposts; their amount. Dhannis, or collectors. Revenues from the salt-lakes.—Tandas, or caravans engaged in this trade.—Aggregate revenues.—Military resources.—Mercenaries.—Feudal quotas.—Schedule of fiefs.—Qualification of a cavalier.*

The extreme breadth of Marwar lies between two points in the parallel of the capital, viz. Girap, west, and Shamgurb, on the Aravulli range, east. This line measures two hundred and seventy British miles. The greatest length, from the Sirohi frontier to the northern boundary, is about two hundred and twenty miles. From the remote angle, N.N.E., in the Deedwanoh district, to the extremity of Sanchore, S.W., the diagonal measurement is three hundred and fifty miles. The limits of Marwar are, however, so very irregular, and present so many salient angles and abutments into other states, that without a trigonometrical process we cannot arrive at a correct estimate of its superficial extent: a nicety not, indeed, required.

The most marked feature that diversifies the face of Maroo, is the river Looni, which,

rising, on her eastern frontier at Poshkur, and pursuing a westerly course, nearly bisects the country, and forms the boundary between the fertile and sterile lands of Maroo. But although the tracts south of this stream, between it and the Aravulli, are by far the richest part of Marwar, it would be erroneous to describe all the northern part as sterile. An ideal line, passing through Nagore and Jodpoor, to Bhalotra, will mark the just distinction. South of this line will lie the districts of Deedwanoh, Nagore, Mairta, Jodpoor, Palli, Sojut, Godwar, Sewanoh, Jhalore, Beenmahl, and Sanchore, most of which are fertile and populous; and we may assign a population of eighty souls to the square mile. The space north of this line is of a very different character, but this requires a subdivision; for while the north-east portion, which in-



cludes a portion of Nagore, the large towns of Filodi, Pokurn, &c., may be calculated at thirty, the remaining space to the south-west, as *Gogadeoca-thul* or 'desert of Goga,' Sheo, Barmair, Kotra, and Chotun, can scarcely be allowed ten. In round numbers, the population of Marwar may be estimated at two millions of souls.

*Classes of Inhabitants.*—Of this amount, the following is the classification of the tribes. The Jits constitute five-eighths, the Rajpoots two eighths, while the remaining classes, sacerdotal,\* commercial, and servile, make up the integral number. If this calculation be near the truth, the Rajpoots, men, women, and children, will amount to five hundred thousand souls, which would admit of fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms, especially when we recollect that the Jits or Jats are the industrious class.

It is superfluous to expatiate on the peculiarities of the Rahtore character, which we have endeavoured to extract from their own actions. It stands deservedly high in the scale of the "thirty-six tribes," and although debased by one besetting sin (the use of opium), the Rahtore is yet a noble animal, and requires only some exciting cause to shew that the spirit, which set at defiance the resources of the empire in the zenith of its prosperity, is dormant only, not extinct. The reign of the present prince has done more, however, than even the arms of Arungzeb, to deteriorate the Rahtores. Peace would recruit their thinned ranks, but the mistrust sown in every house by un-

heard of duplicity, has greatly demoralized the national character, which until lately stood higher than that of any of the circumjacent tribes. A popular prince, until within these very few years, could easily have collected a magnificent army, *ek bāp cā bēṭā*, 'the sons of one father,' round the 'gadi of Joda:' in fact, the *panchas huzar turwar Rahtoran*, meaning the 'fifty thousand Rahtore swords,' is the proverbial phrase to denote the muster of Maroo, of which they estimated five thousand cavalry. This was exclusive of the household and foreign troops supported on the fiscal lands. The Rahtore calvary was the best in India. There were several horse-fairs, especially those of Bhalotra and Poshkur, where the horses of Cutch and cattiawar, the jungle, and Mooltan, were brought in great numbers. Valuable horses were also bred on the western frontier, on the Looni, those of *Rardurro* being in high estimation. But the events of the last twenty years appear to have dried up every source of supply. The breeding studs of Rardurro, Cutch, and the jungle are almost extinct, and supplies from the west of the Indus are intercepted by the Sikhs. The destruction of the predatory system, which created a constant demand, appears to have lessened the supply. So much for the general peace which the successes of Britain have produced.

In periods of civil commotion, or when the safety of the state was periled, we hear of one clan (the Champawut) mustering four thousand horse. But if ever so many of "the sons of Champa" were congregated at one time, it is an extraordinary occurrence, and far beyond the demand which the state

\* The district of Sanchore is almost entirely Brahmin, forming a distinct tribe, called the Sanchore Brahmins.



has upon their loyalty. To estimate what may be demanded of them, we have only to divide the rent-roll by five hundred rupees, the qualification for a cavalier in Maroo, and to add, for each horse, two foot-soldiers. A schedule of the greater feudal estates shall be appended.

*Soil, Agriculture, Products.*—The following is the classification of the different heads of soil in Marwar :—*Baikal*, *Chikni*, *Peela*, and *suffel*. The first (whose etymology I know not) pervades the greater part of the country, being a light sand, having little or no earthy admixture, and only fit to produce *bajra* (millet), *moong*, *moth*, (pulse), *til* (sesamum), melons and *gowdr*. *Chikni* (fat), a black earth, pervades the district of Deedwanoh, Mairta, Palli, and several of the feudal lands in Godwar. Wheat and grain are its products. The *peela* (yellow) is a sandy clay, chiefly about Kewnsir and the capital, also Jhalore and Bhalotra, and portions of other districts. It is best adapted for barley, and that kind of wheat called *pattageon* (the other is *katta-geon*); also tobacco, onions, and other vegetables : the staple millets are seldom grown in this. The *suffel* (white) is almost pure silex, and grows little or nothing, but after heavy falls of rain.

The districts south of the Looni, as Palli, Sojot, and Godwar, fertilized by the numerous petty streams flowing from the Aravulli, produce abundantly every species of grain with the exception of *bajra*, which thrives best in a sandy soil ; and in Nagore and Mairta considerable quantities of the richer grains are raised by irrigation from wells. The extensive western divisions of Jhalore, Sanchoe, and Beenmahl, containing five

hundred and ten towns and villages, which are *Khalisa*, or 'fiscal land,' possess an excellent soil, with the advantage of the rills from Aboo, and the great southern barrier ; but the demoralized government of Raja Maun never obtains from them one-third of their intrinsic capability, while the encroachment of the Sahraes, and other robbers from the Sindie desert, encroach upon them often with impunity. Wheat, barley, rice, *jooar* (millet), *moong* (pulse), *til* (sesamum), are the chief products of the richer lands ; while amidst the sandy tracts they are confined to *bajra*, *moong*, and *til*. With good government, Marwar possesses abundance of means to collect stores against the visitations which afflict these northern regions : but prejudice steps in to aid the ravages of famine, and although water is near the surface in all the southern districts, the number of wells bears no proportion to those in Mewar. The great district of Nagore, of five hundred and sixty towns and villages, the appanage of the heirs apparent of Maroo, in spite of physical difficulties, is, or has been made, an exception ; and the immense sheet of sandstone, on which a humid soil is embedded, has been pierced throughout by the energies of ancient days, and contains greater aids to agriculture than many more fertile tracts in the country.

*Natural productions.*—Marwar can boast of some valuable productions of her sterile plains, which make her an object of no little importance in the most distant and more favoured regions of India. The salt lake of Pachbhadra, Deedwanoh, and Sambhar, are mines of wealth, and their produce is exported over the greater part of Hindus-



tan ; while to the marble quarries of Mok-rano (which gives its name to the mineral), on her eastern frontier, all the splendid edifices of the imperial cities owe their grandeur. The materials used in the palaces of Delhi, Agra, their mosques, and tombs, have been conveyed from marwar. The quarries, until of late years, yielded a considerable revenue ; but the age for palace-building in these regions is no more, and posterity will ask with surprise the sources of such luxury. There are also limestone quarries near Jodpoor and Nagore ; and the concrete called *kunkur* is abundant in many of the districts, and chiefly used for mortar. Tin and lead are found at Sojut ; alum about Palli, and iron is obtained from Beenmahl and the districts adjoining Guzerat.

*Manufactures.*—The manufactures of Marwar are of no great importance in a commercial point of view. Abundance of coarse cotton cloths, and blankets, are manufactured from the cotton and wool produced in the country, but they are chiefly used there. Matchlocks, swords, and other warlike implements, are fabricated at the capital and at Palli ; and at the latter place they make boxes of iron, tinned, so as to resemble the tin boxes of Europe. Iron platters for culinary purposes are in such great demand as to keep the forges constantly going.

*Commercial Marts.*—None of these states are without traffic ; each has her mart, or *entrepôt* ; and while Mewar boasts of Bhilwara, Bikaner of Chooroo, and Amber of Malpoora (the city of wealth), the Rahtores claim Palli, which is not only the rival of the places just mentioned, but may make pretensions to the title of *emporium* of Raj-

pootana. These pretensions we may the more readily admit, when we recollect that nine-tenths of the bankers and commercial men of India are natives of Maroodes, and these chiefly of the Jain faith. The laity of the *Khartra* sect send forth thousands to all parts of India, and the Oswals, so termed from the town of Osi, near the Looni, estimate one hundred thousand families whose occupation is commerce. All these claim a Rajpoot descent, a fact entirely unknown to the European enquirer into the peculiarities of Hindu manners. The wealth acquired in foreign lands, from the Sutlej to the ocean, returns chiefly to their native soil ; but as neither primogeniture nor *majorats* are sanctioned by the Jain lawgivers, an equal distribution takes place amongst all the sons, though the youngest (as amongst the Getes of Asia, and the Juts of Kent), receives often a double portion. This arises when the division takes place while the parent is living, being the portion set apart for his own support, which ultimately falls to the youngest, with whom he probably resides. It would be erroneous to say this practise is extensive ; though sufficient instances exist to suppose it once was a principle.\* The bare enumeration of the tribes

\* There is nothing which so much employs the assessors of justice, in those tribunals of arbitration, the *punchaets*, as the adjudication of questions of property. The highest compliment ever paid to the Author, was by the litigants of property amounting to half a million sterling, which had been going the rounds of various *punchaets* and appeals to native princes, alike unsatisfactory in their results. They agreed to admit as final the decision of a court of his nomination. It was not without hesitation I accepted the mediation propounded through the British superintendent of Ajmer (Mr. Wilder) ; but knowing *two* men, whose integrity as well as powers of investigation were above all encomium, I could not refuse. One of these had given a striking



following commerce would fill a short chapter. A priest of the Jains (my own teacher), who had for a series of years devoted his attention to form a catalogue, which then amounted to nearly *eighteen hundred classes*, renounced the pursuit, on obtaining from a distant region, one hundred and fifty new names to add to his list.

Palli was the *entrepot* for the eastern and western regions, where the productions of India, Cashmere, and China, were interchanged for those of Europe, Africa, Persia, and Arabia. Caravans (*kutars*) from the ports of Cutch and Guzerat, imported elephant's teeth, copper, dates, gum-arabic, borax, coco-nuts, broad-cloths, silks, sandal wood, camphor, dyes, drugs, oxide and sulphuret of arsenic, spices, coffee, &c. In exchange, they exported chintzes, dried fruits, *jeeroh*, assafoetida from Mooltan, sugar, opium (Kotah and Malwa), silks and fine cloths, potash, shawls, dyed blankets, arms, and salt of home manufacture.

The route of the caravans was by Soorie Bah, Sanchoore, Beenmahl, Jhalore to Palli, and the guardians of the merchandize were almost invariably Charuns, a character held sacred by the Rajpoot. The most desperate outlaw seldom dared to commit any outrage on caravans under the safeguard of these

instance of independence in support of the award his penetration had led him to pronounce, and which award being set aside on appeal, through favoritism, he abjured every future call as an arbitrator. He was not a wealthy man, but such was the homage paid to his integrity and talents, that the greatest despot in India found it politic to re-assemble the court, have the case re-considered, and permit justice to take its course. In like manner, his demand was, that, before he agreed to devote his time to unravelling all the intricacies of the case, both litigants should sign a *moochilka*, or 'bond,' to abide by the award. I have no recollection how it terminated.

men, the bards of the Rajpoots. If not strong enough to defend their convoy with sword and shield, they would threaten the robbers with the *chandi*, or 'self-immolation,' and proceed by degrees from a gash in the flesh to a death-wound, or if one victim was insufficient a whole body of women and children was sacrificed (as in the case of the Bhamunia Bhats), for whose blood the marauder is declared responsible hereafter.

Commerce has been almost extinguished within these last twenty years; and paradoxical as it may appear, there was tenfold more activity and enterprize in the midst of that predatory warfare, which rendered India one wide arena of conflict, than in these days of universal pacification. The torpedo touch of monopoly has had more effect on the *Kutars* than the spear of the desert Sahrae, or *barwuttia* (outlaw) Rajpoot—against its benumbing qualities the Charun's dagger would fall innocuous; it sheds no blood, but it dries up its channels. If the products of the salt-lakes of Rajpootana were preferred, even at Benares, to the sea-salt of Bengal, high impost duties excluded it from the market. If the opium of Malwa and Harouti competed in the China Market with our Patna monopoly, again we intervened, not with high export duties, which we were competent to impose, but by laying our shackles upon it at the fountain-head. "*Aut Caesar, aut nullus*," is our maxim in these regions; and in a country where our agents are established only to preserve political relations and the faith of treaties, the basis of which is non-interference in the internal arrangement of their affairs—albeit we have not a single foot of land in sovereignty, we set forth our



*perwanas*, as peremptory as any Russian *ukase*, and command that no opium shall leave these countries for the accustomed outlets, under pain of confiscation. Some, relying on their skill in eluding our vigilance, or tempted by the high price which these measures produce, or perhaps reckoning upon our justice, and upon impunity if discovered, tried new routes, until confiscation brought them to submission.

We then put an arbitrary value upon the drug, and forced the grower to come to us, and even take credit to ourselves for consulting his interests. Even admitting that such price was a remunerating one, founded upon an average of past years, still it is not the less arbitrary. No allowance is made for plentiful or bad seasons, when the drug, owing to a scarcity, will bear a double price. Our legislation is for "all seasons and their change." But this virtual infraction of the faith of treaties is not confined to the grower or retailer; it affects others in a variety of ways; it injures our reputation and the welfare of those upon whom, for benevolent purposes, we have forced our protection. The transit duties levied on opium formed an item in the revenues of the princes of Rajpootana; but confiscation guards the passes of the Aravulli and Guzerat, and unless the smuggler wrap up his cargo in ample folds of deceit, the Rajpoot may go without his '*uml-pāni*,' the infusion of this poison, dearer to him than life. It is in vain to urge that sufficient is allowed for home consumption. Who is to be the judge of this? or who is so blind as not to see that any latitude of this kind would defeat the monopoly, which, impolitic in its origin, gave rise in its

progress to fraud, gambling, and neglect of more important agricultural economy. But this policy must defeat itself: the excess of quantity produced will diminish the value of the original (Patna) monopoly, if its now deteriorated quality should fail to open the eyes of the quick-sighted Chinese, and exclude it from the market altogether.\*

*Fairs.*—There were two annual fairs in his country, Moondhwa and Bhalotra; the first chiefly for cattle. The merchandize of various countries was exposed and purchased by the merchants of the adjoining states. It commenced with the month of Magh, and lasted during six weeks. The other was also for cattle of all kinds, horses, oxen, camels, and the merchandize enumerated amongst the imports and exports of Palli. Persons from all parts of India frequented them; but all these signs of prosperity are vanishing.

*Administration of Justice.*—The administration of justice is now very lax in these communities; but at no time were the customary criminal laws of Rajpootana sanguinary, except in respect to political crimes, which were very summarily dealt with when practicable. In these feudal associations, however, such crimes are esteemed individual offences, and the whole power of the government is concentrated to punish them; but when they are committed against the community; justice is tempered with mercy, if not benumbed by apathy. In cases even of murder, it is satisfied with fine, corporal

\* The Author learns that important modifications of this system have been made by the legislative authorities at home: of their extent he is ignorant, except that remuneration to chiefs for the loss of transit duties has not been omitted. This is as it should be!



punishment, imprisonment, confiscation, or banishment. Inferior crimes, such as larcenies, were punished by fine and imprisonment, and, when practicable, restitution ; or, in case of inability to pay, corporal punishment and confinement. But under the present lax system, when this impoverished government has to feed criminals, it may be supposed that their prisons are not overstocked. Since Raja Beejoy Sing's death, the judgment-seat has been vacant. His memory is held in high esteem for the administration of justice, though he carried clemency to excess. He never confirmed a sentence of death ; and there is a saying of the criminals, yet extant, more demonstrative of his humanity than of good policy : "When at large we cannot even get *rabri* (porridge), but in prison we eat *ladoo* (a sweetmeat)." Here, as at Jeipoor, confined criminals are maintained by individual charity ; and it is a well-known fact, that at the latter place, but for the humanity of the mercantile classes, especially those of the Jain persuasion, they might starve. Perhaps it is the knowledge of this circumstance, which holds back the hand of the government, or its agents, who may apply to their own uses the prison-fare. When once confined, the criminals are little thought of, and neglect answers all the ends of cruelty. They have, however, a source of consolation unknown to those who have passed "the bridge of sighs," or become inmates of the '*oubliettes*' of more civilized regions. That fortitude and resignation which religion alone can bestow on the one, is obtained through superstition by the other ; and the prayers of the prison are poured forth for one of those visitations

of Providence, which, in humbling the proud, prompts acts of mercy to others in order to ensure it to themselves. The celestial phenomena of eclipses, whether of the sun or moon, although predicted by the Pundits, who for ages have possessed the most approved theory for calculation, are yet looked upon with religious awe by the mass, and as "foreboding change to princes." Accordingly, when darkness dims the beams of Surya or Chandra, the face of the prisoner of Maroo is lighted up with smiles ; his deliverance is at hand, and he may join the crowd to hoot and yell, and frighten the monster Rahoo\* from his hold of the "silver-moon."† The birth of a son to the prince, and a new reign, are events likewise joyful to him.

The trial by *sogun*, literally 'oath of purgation,' or ordeal, still exists, and is occasionally had recourse to in Maroo, as in other parts of Rajpootana ; and, if fallen into desuetude, it is not that these judgments of God (as they were styled in the days of European barbarism) are less relied on, but that society is so unhinged that even these appeals to chance find no subjects for practice, excepting by Zalim Sing ; and he to the last carried on his antipathy to the *dhakuns* (witches) of Harouti, who were always submitted to the process by 'water.' Trial by ordeal is of very ancient date in India : it was by 'fire' that Rama proved the purity of Seeta, after her abduction by Ravana, and in the same manner as practised by one

\* The Rajpoots and Hindus in general hold precisely the same idea, of the cause of eclipses, as the Getae of Scandinavia.

† *Chandra-ma*. The moon is represented by silver, which is called after her (or him) *chandi*.



of our Saxon kings, by making her walk over a red-hot ploughshare. Besides the two most common tests, by fire and water, there is a third, that of washing the hands in boiling oil. It should be stated, that, in all cases, not only the selection but the appeal to any of these ordeals is the voluntary act of the litigants, and chiefly after the Puchaets, or courts of arbitration, have failed. Where justice is denied, or bribery shuts the door, the sufferer will dare his adversary to the *sogun*, or submission to the judgment of God ; and the solemnity of the appeal carries such weight, that it brings redress of itself, though cases do occur where the challenge is accepted, and the Author has conversed with individuals who have witnessed the operation of each of the ordeals.

*Punchaets.*—The Puchaets arbitrate in civil cases. From these courts of equity, there is an appeal to the Raja ; but as unanimity is required in the judges, and a fee or fine must be paid by the appellant, ere his case can come before the prince, litigation is checked. The constitution of this court is simple. The plaintiff lays his case before his Hakim of the district, or the Patel of the village where he resides. The plaintiff and defendant have the right of naming the villages (two, each,) from whence the members of the Puchaet are to be drawn. Information is accordingly sent to the Patels of the villages specified, who, with their respective Patwarris (Registers), meet at the *At'hae* or 'village-court.' Witnesses are summoned and examined on oath, the most common of which is the *gadi-ca-an*, 'allegiance to the throne,' resembling the ancient

adjuration of the Scythians as recorded by Herodotus. This oath is, however, more restricted to Rajpoots ; the other classes have various forms based upon their religious notions. When the proceedings are finished, and judgment is given, the Hakim puts his seal thereto, and carries it into effect, or prepares it for appeal. It is affirmed that, in the good times of Rajpootana, these simple tribunals answered every purpose.

*Fiscal Revenues.*—The fiscal revenues of Marwar are derived from various sources ; the principal are,

- 1st. "The *Khalisa*, or 'crown-lands ;'
- 2nd. "The salt lakes ;
- 3rd. "Transit and impost duties ;
- 4th. "Miscellaneous taxes, termed *Has-il*."

The entire amount of personal revenue of the princes of Marwar does not at present exceed ten lakhs of rupees (£100,000 sterling), though in the reign of Beejoy Sing, half a century ago, they yielded full sixteen lakhs, one-half of which arose from the salt lakes alone. The aggregate revenue of the feudal lands is estimated as high as fifty lakhs, or £500,000. It may be doubted whether at present they yield half this sum. The feudal contingents are estimated at five thousand horse, besides foot, the qualification being one cavalier and two foot-soldiers for every thousand rupees of income. This low estimate is to keep up the nominal value of estates, notwithstanding their great deterioration ; for a 'knight's fee' of Marwar was formerly estimated at five hundred rupees.

The sum of ten lakhs mentioned as the gross income of the prince, is what is ac-



tually realized by the treasury, for there are many public servants provided for out of the crown-land, whose estates are not included.

The revenues are collected from the ryots in kind. A corn-rent, the only one recognized in ancient India, and termed *Butta*, or 'division,' is apportioned equally between the prince and the husbandman : a deviation from the more lenient practice of former times, which gave one-fourth, or one-sixth to the sovereign. Besides this, the cultivator has to pay the expense of guarding the crops, and also those who attend the process of division. An assessment of two rupees is made on every ten maunds,\* which more than covers the salaries paid to the *Shenahs* (watchmen), and *Kumwarris*,† and leaves a surplus divided by the Patel and village register (*Patwarri*). A cart-load of *kurbi* (the stalks of *jooar* and *bajra*) is exacted from every cultivator as fodder for the prince's cattle ; but this is commuted for a rupee, except in seasons of scarcity, when it is stored up. The other officers, as the *Patwarris* and *Patels*, are paid out of the respective shares of the farmer and the crown, viz. one-fourth of a seer each, from every maunds of produce, or an eightieth part of the gross amount. The cultivators of the *Pattawuts* or feudal chiefs, are much better off than those of the *Khalisa* : from them only two-fifths are exacted ; and in lieu of all other taxes and charges, a land-tax of twelve rupees is levied on every hundred beegas of land cultivated. The cultivators repay this mild assessment by attachment to the chiefs.

\* The maund is about seventy-five lbs. weight.

† *Kun*, 'corn.'

*Angah* is a poll-tax (from *anga* 'the body') of one rupee, levied on adults of either sex throughout Marwar.

*Gasmali* is a graduated tax on cattle, or, as the term imports, the right of pasture. A sheep or goat is estimated at one ana (one-sixteenth of a rupee); a buffalo eight annas, or half a rupee ; and each camel, three rupees.

*Kéwari* is a tax on doors (*kéwár*), and is considered peculiarly oppressive. It was first imposed by Beejoy Sing, when, towards the latter end of his reign, his chiefs rebelled, and retired in a body to Palli to concert schemes for deposing him. Thither he fruitlessly followed in order to pacify them, and on his return found the gates (*kéwár*) of his capital shut in his face, and Bheem Sing placed upon the *gadi*. To supply the pecuniary exigencies consequent upon this embarrassing situation, he appealed to his subjects, and proposed a 'benevolence,' in aid of his necessities, of three rupees for each house, giving it a denomination from the cause whence it originated. Whether employed as a punishment of those who aided his antagonist, or as a convenient expedient of finance, he converted this temporary contribution into a permanent tax, which continued until the necessities of the confederacy against the present prince, Raja Maun, and the usurpation of the fiscal lands by the Pathans, made him raise it to ten rupees on each house. It is, however, not equally levied ; the number of houses in each township being calculated, it is laid on according to the means of the occupants, and the poor man may pay two rupees, while the wealthy pays twenty. The feudal lands are not exempted, except in cases of special favour.



In estimating the amount of the *sayer*, or imposts of Marwar, it must be borne in mind that the schedule appended represents what they have been, and perhaps might again be rather than what they now are. These duties are subject to fluctuation in all countries, but how much more in those exposed to so many visitations from predatory foes, civil strife, and famine! There is no reason to doubt that, in the "good old times" of Maroo, the amount, as taken from old records, may have been realized:

Jodpoor .....	Rs. 76,000
Nagore .....	75,000
Deedwanoh .....	10,000
Purbutsir .....	44,000
Mairta .....	11,000
Koleah .....	5,000
Jhalore .....	25,000
Palli .....	75,000
Jessole and Bhalotra fairs .....	41,000
Beenmahl .....	21,000
Sanchoore .....	6,000
Filodi .....	41,000
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>4,30,000</b>

The *Dhannis*, or collectors of the customs, have monthly salaries at the large towns, while the numerous petty agents are paid by a *per centage* on the sums collected. The *sayer*, or imposts, include all those on grain, whether of foreign importation, or the home-grown, in transit from one district to another.

The revenue arising from the produce of the salt lakes has deteriorated with the land and commercial revenues; and, though affected by political causes, is yet the most certain branch of income. The following

schedule exhibits what has been derived from this lucrative source of wealth:

Pachbhadra .....	Rs. 2,00,000
Filodi .....	1,00,000
Deedwanoh .....	1,15,000
Sambhur .....	2,00,000
Nowah .....	1,00,000
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>7,15,000</b>

This productive branch of industry still employs thousands of hands, and hundreds of thousands of oxen, and is almost entirely in the hands of that singular race of beings called *Bunjarras*, some of whose *tandas*, or caravans, amount to 40,000 head of oxen. The salt is exported to every region of Hindustan, from the Indus to the Ganges, and is universally known and sold under the title of *Sambhur Loon*, or 'salt of Sambhur,' notwithstanding the quality of the different lakes varies, that of Pachbhadra, beyond the Looni, being most esteemed.\* It is produced by natural evaporation, expedited by dividing the surface into pans by means of mats of the *Sirkunda* grass, which lessens the superficial agitation. It is then gathered and heaped up into immense masses, on whose summit they burn a variety of alkaline plants, such as the *saji*, by which it becomes impervious to the weather.

We may recapitulate what the old archives state of the aggregate fiscal revenues in past times, amounting to nearly thirty lakhs of rupees. It would be hazardous to say to what extent the amount was over-rated:

\* The average selling price at Jodpoor is two rupees the maund; four at Sambhur and Deedwanoh, and five at Pachbhadra, Filodi, and Nowah. Why the price at the capital is fifty per cent. lower than elsewhere I know not, even if this statement is correct.



1st. <i>Khalisa</i> , or fiscal land, } from 1,484 towns and } villages, .....	Rs. 15,00,000
2nd. <i>Sayer</i> or imposts .....	4,30,000
3rd. Salt lakes .....	7,15,000
4th. <i>Hasil</i> , or miscellaneous } taxes; fluctuating and } uncertain; not less than...	3,00,000
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	29,45,000
Feudal and ministerial estates ...	50,00,000
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b> .....	79,45,000

Thus the united fiscal and feudal revenues of Marwar are said to have amounted almost to eighty lakhs of rupees (£800,000). If they ever did reach this sum, which may be doubted, we do not err in affirming that they would now be over-rated at half that amount. Large fortunes are said to centre in the families of the ex-ministers, especially the Singwi family, reported to be immensely rich. Their wealth is deposited in foreign capitals. But much bullion is lost to the currency of these countries by the habits of secreting money. A very large treasure was discovered in Nagore by Beejoy Sing, when demolishing some old buildings.

*Military Forces.*—It only remains to state the military resources of the Rahtores, which fluctuate with their revenues. The Rajas maintain a foreign mercenary force upon their fiscal revenues to overawe their own turbulent vassalage. These are chiefly Rohilla and Afghan infantry, armed with muskets and matchlocks; and having cannon and sufficient discipline to act in a body, they are formidable to the Rajpoot cavaliers.

Some years ago, Raja Maun had a corps of three thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred horses, and twenty-five guns, commanded by Hundall Khan, a native of Paniput. He has been attached to the family ever since the reign of Beejoy Sing, and is (or was) familiarly addressed *kaka*, or 'uncle,' by the prince. There was also a brigade of those monastic militants, the *Bishenswamis*, under their leader, Kaimdas, consisting of seven hundred foot, three hundred horse, and an establishment of rockets (*bhan*), a very ancient instrument of Indian warfare, and mentioned long before gunpowder was used in Europe. At one period, the Raja maintained a foreign force amounting to, or at least mustered as, eleven thousand men, of which number two thousand five hundred were cavalry, with fifty-five guns, and a rocket establishment. Besides a monthly pay, lands to a considerable amount were granted to the commanders of the different legions. By these overgrown establishments, to maintain a superiority over the feudal lords which has been undermined by the causes related, the demoralization and ruin of this country have been accelerated. The existence of such a species of force, opposed in moral and religious sentiment to the retainers of the state, has only tended to widen the breach between them and their head, and to destroy every feeling of confidence.

In Mewar, there are sixteen great chiefs; in Amber twelve; in Marwar eight. The following table exhibits their names, clans, residences, and rated revenue. The contingent required by their princes may be estimated by the qualification of a cavalier, viz. one for every five hundred rupees of rent.



Names of Chiefs.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	Remarks.
FIRST CLASS.				
1. Kesari Sing ...	Champawut ...	Ahwa ...	100,000	Premier noble of Marwar. Of this sum, half is the original grant: the rest is by usurpation of the inferior branches of his clan.
2. Buktawar Sing.	Koompawut ...	Asope ...	50,000	
3. Salim Sing ...	Champawut ...	Pokurn ...	100,000	The Pokurn chief is by far the most powerful in Marwar.
4. Soortan Sing ..	Oodawut ...	Neemaj ...	50,000	The fief of Neemaj is now under sequestration, since the last incumbent was put to death by the Raja.
5. ....	Mairtea ...	Reah ...	25,000	The Mairtea is deemed the bravest of all Rahtore clans.
6. Ajit Sing ...	Mairtea ...	Ganorah ...	50,000	This fief formed one of the sixteen great fiefs of Mewar. The town, which is large, has been dismantled, and several villages sequestrated.
7. ....	Kurumsote {	Kewnsir, or {	40,000	
		Keemsir }		
8. ....	Bhatti ...	Khejurla ...	25,000	The only foreign chief in the first grade of the nobles of Marwar.
SECOND CLASS.				
1. Seonat Sing ...	Oodawut ...	Koochaman ...	50,000	A chief of considerable power.
2. Soortan Sing..	Joda ...	Khari-ca-dewa ...	25,000	
3. Pirthi Sing ...	Oodawut ...	Chundawul ...	25,000	
4. Tez Sing ...	Do. ...	Khada ...	25,000	
5. Anar Sing ...	Bhatti ...	Ahore ...	11,000	In exile.
6. Jait Sing ...	Koompawut ...	Baggori ...	40,000	
7. Pudum Sing...	Do. ...	Gujsingpoora ...	25,000	
8. ....	Mairtea ...	Mehtri ...	40,000	
9. Kurrun Sing...	Oodawut ...	Marote ...	15,000	
10. Zalim Sing ...	Koompawut ...	Roat ...	15,000	
11. Sowae Sing ...	Joda ...	Chaupur ...	15,000	
12. ....	.....	Boodsoo ...	20,000	
13. Seodan Sing ...	Champawut ...	Kaotah (great) ...	40,000	
14. Zalim Sing ...	Do. ...	Hursolah ...	10,000	
15. Sawul Sing ...	Do. ...	Degode ...	10,000	
16. Hookun Sing...	Do. ...	Kaotah (little) ...	11,000	





These are the principal chieftains of Marwar, holding lands on the tenure of service. There are many who owe allegiance and service on emergencies, the allodial vassals of Marwar, not enumerated in this list ; such as Barmair, Kottorah, Jessole, Phulsoond, Birgong Bankuria, Kalindri, Baroon-da, who could muster a strong numerical force if their good-will were conciliated, and the prince could enforce his requisition. The specified census of the estates may not be exactly correct. The foregoing is from an old record, which is in all probability the

best they have ; for so rapid are the changes in these countries, amidst the anarchy and rebellion we have been describing, that the civil officers would deem it time thrown away, to form, as in past times, an exact *patta'buhye*, or 'register' of feoffs. The ancient qualification was one horseman and two foot soldiers, "when required," for each five hundred rupees in the rental ; but as the estates have been curtailed in extent and diminished in value, in order to keep up their nominal amount, one thousand is now the qualification.





# ANNALS OF BIKANER.

## CHAPTER I.

*Origin of the state of Bikaner.—Beeka, the founder.—Condition of the aboriginal Jits or Getes.—The number and extensive diffusion of this Scythic race, still a majority of the peasantry in Western Rajpootana.—And perhaps in Northern India.—Their pursuits pastoral, their government patriarchal, their religion of a mixed kind.—List of the Jit cantons of Bikaner at the irruption of Beeka.—Causes of the success of Beeka. Voluntary surrender of the supremacy of the Jit elders to Beeka.—Conditions.—Characteristic of the Getic people throughout India.—Proofs.—Invasion of the Johyas by Beeka and his Jit subjects.—Account of the Johyas.—Conquered by Beeka.—He wrests Bhagore from the Bhattis, and founds Bikaner, the capital, A.D. 1489.—His uncle Kandul makes conquests to the north.—Death of Beeka.—His son Noonkurn succeeds.—Makes conquests from the Bhattis.—His son Jaet succeeds.—Enlarges the power of Bikaner.—Rae Sing succeeds.—The Jits of Bikaner lose their liberties.—The state rises to importance.—Rae Sing's connexion with Akber.—His honours and power.—The Johyas revolt and are exterminated.—Traditions of Alexander the Great amongst the ruins of the Johyas.—Examined.—The Pooniah Jits vanquished by Ram Sing, the Raja's brother.—Their subjection imperfect.—Rae Sing's daughter weds prince Salim, afterwards Jehangir.—Rae Sing succeeded by his son Kurrun.—The three eldest sons of Kurrun fall in the imperial service.—Anop Sing, the youngest, succeeds.—Quells a rebellion in Cabul.—His death uncertain.—Suroop Sing succeeds. He is killed.—Sujaun Sing, Zooranaun Sing, Guj Sing, and Raj Sing succeed.—The latter poisoned by his brother by another mother, who usurps the throne, though opposed by the chiefs.—He murders the rightful heir, his nephew.—Civil war.—Muster-roll of the chiefs. The usurper attacks Jodpoor.—Present state of Bikaner.—Account of Beedarati.*

Bikaner holds a secondary rank amongst the principalities of Rajpootana. It is an offset of Marwar, its princes being scions of the house of Joda, who established themselves by conquest on the northern frontier of the parent state ; and its position, in the heart of the desert, has contributed to the maintenance of their independence.

It was in S. 1515 (A.D. 1459), the year in which Joda transferred the seat of government from Mundore to Jodpoor, that

his son Beeka, under the guidance of his uncle Kandul, led three hundred of the sons of Seoji to enlarge the boundaries of Rah-tore dominion amidst the sands of Maroo. Beeka was stimulated to the attempt by the success of his brother Beeda, who had recently subjugated the territory inhabited by the Mohils for ages.

Such expeditions as that of Beeka, undertaken expressly for conquest, were almost uniformly successful. The invaders set out





4. Asiag'h .....	150	Raotsir, Birmsir, Daundoosir, Gundacli.
5. Sarun .....	300	Kajjur, Phoag, Roochawas, Sowae, Badinoo, Sirsilah, &c.
6. Godarra .....	700	Poondrasir, Gosensir (great), Shekhsir, Gursisir, Garibdesir, Rungaysir, Kaloo, &c.
Total in the six Jit cantons .....		2,200
7. Bhagore .....	300	Bikaner, Nal, Kailah, Rajasir, Suttasir, Chutturgur'h, Rindisir, Beetnok'h, Bhavanipoor, Jeimulsir, &c.
8. Mohilla .....	140	Champur (capital of Mohilla), Saondah, Herasir, Gopalpoor, Charwas, Beedasil, Ladnoo, Mulsisir, Khurboo-ra-kote.
9. Kharri-putta, or salt district .....	30	
GRAND TOTAL .....		2,670

With such rapidity were states formed in those times, that in a few years after Beeka left his paternal roof at Mundore, he was lord over 2,670 villages, and by a title far stronger and more legitimate than that of conquest—the spontaneous election of the cantons. But although three centuries have scarcely past since their amalgamation into a sovereignty, one half of the villages cease to exist; nor are there now 1,300 forming the *raj* of Soorut Sing, the present occupant and lineal descendant of Beeka.

The Jits and Johyas of these regions, who extended over all the northern desert even to the Garah, led a pastoral life, their wealth consisting in their cattle, which they reared in great numbers, disposing of the superfluity, and of the *ghee* (butter clarified) and wool, through the medium of Sarsote (*Sarasvati*) Brahmins (who, in these regions, devote themselves to traffic), receiving in return grain and other conveniences or necessities of life.

A variety of causes conspired to facilitate the formation of the state of Bikaner, and the reduction of the ancient Scythic simplicity of the Jit communities to Rajpoot feudal sway; and although the success of his brother Beeda over the Mohils in some degree paved the way, his bloodless conquest could never have happened but for the presence of a vice which has dissolved all the republics of the world. The jealousy of the Johyas and Godarras, the two most powerful of the six Jit cantons, was the immediate motive to the propitiation of the 'son of Joda;' besides which, the communities found the band of Beeda, which had extirpated the ancient Mohils when living with them in amity, most troublesome neighbours. Further, they were desirous to place between them and the Bhattis of Jessulmer a more powerful barrier; and last, not least, they dreaded the hot valour and 'thirst for land' which characterized Beeka's retainers, now contiguous to them at Jangloo. For these weighty reasons, at a meeting of the



'elders' of the Godarras, it was resolved to conciliate the Rahtore.

Pandu was the patriarchal head of the Godarras; his residence was at Shekhsir.\* The 'elder' of Roneah was next in rank and estimation to Pandu, in communities where equality was as absolute as the proprietary right to the lands which each individually held: that of pasture being common.

The elders of Shekhsir and Roneah were deputed to enter into terms with the Rajpoot prince, and to invest him with supremacy over their community, on the following conditions:—

*First.*—To make common cause with them, against the Johyas and other cantons, with whom they were then at variance;

*Second.*—To guard the western frontier against the irruption of the Bhattis;

*Third.*—To hold the rights and privileges of the community inviolable.

On the fulfilment of these conditions, they relinquished to Beeka and his descendants the supreme power over the Godarras; assigning to him, in perpetuity, the power to levy *dhooa*, or a 'hearth-tax,' of one rupee on each house in the canton, and a land-tax of two rupees on each hundred beegas of cultivated land within their limits.

Apprehensive, however, that Beeka or his descendants might encroach upon their rights, they asked what security he could offer against such a contingency? The Rajpoot chief replied that, in order to dissipate their

fears on this head, as well as to perpetuate the remembrance of the supremacy thus voluntarily conferred, he would solemnly bind himself and his successors to receive the *tika* of inauguration from the hands of the descendants of the elders of Shekhsir and Roneah, and that the *gadi* should be deemed vacant until such rite was administered.

In this simple transfer of the allegiance of this pastoral people, we mark that instinctive love of liberty which accompanied the Gete in all places and all conditions of society, whether on the banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, or in the sandy desert of India; and although his political independence is now annihilated, he is still ready even to shed his blood if his Rajpoot master dare to infringe his inalienable right to his *bapota*, his paternal acres.

It is seldom that so incontestable a title to supremacy can be asserted as that which the weakness and jealousies of the Godarras conferred upon Beeka, and it is a pleasing incident to find almost throughout India, in the observance of certain rites, the remembrance of the original compact which transferred the sovereign power from the lords of the soil to their Rajpoot conquerors. Thus, in Mewar, the fact of the power conferred upon the Ghelote founder by the *Bhil* aborigines, is commemorated by a custom brought down to the present times. (See vol. i. p. 172.) At Amber, the same is recorded in the important offices retained by the *Meenas*, the primitive inhabitants of that land. Both Kotah and Boondi retain in their names the remembrance of the ancient lords of Harouti; and Beeka's descendants preserve, in a twofold manner, the recollec-

\* This town is named after the Islamite saint, Shekh Fureed of Pakputtun, who has a *durgah* here. He was greatly esteemed by the Jits, before the *bona dea* assumed the shape of a *Jitni*, to whom, under the title of *Carani Mata*, 'a ray of the mother,' all bend the head.



with a determination to slay or be slain ; and these forays had the additional stimulus of being on 'fated days,' when the warlike creed of the Rajputs made the abstraction of territory from foe or friend a matter of religious duty.

Beeka, with his band of three hundred, fell upon the Sanklas of Jangloo, whom they massacred. This exploit brought them in contact with the Bhattis of Poogul, the chief of which gave his daughter in marriage to Beeka, who fixed his head-quarters at Korumdesir, where he erected a castle, and gradually augmented his conquests from the neighbourhood.

Beeka now approximated to the settlements of the Jits or Getes, who had for ages been established in these arid abodes ; and as the lands they held form a considerable portion of the state of Bikaner, it may not be uninteresting to give a sketch of the condition of this singular people prior to the son of Joda establishing the feudal system of Rajwarra amongst their pastoral commonwealths.

Of this celebrated and widely-spread race, we have already given a succinct account.\* It appears to have been the most numerous as well as the most conspicuous of the tribes of ancient Asia, from the days of Tomyris and Cyrus to those of the present Jit prince of Lahore, whose successor, if he be endued with similar energy, may, on the reflux of population, find himself seated in their original haunts of central Asia, to which they have already considerably advanced.† In

the fourth century, we find a Yuti or Jit kingdom established in the Punjab ;\* but how much earlier this people colonized those regions we are ignorant. At every step made by Mahomedan power in India, it encountered the Jits. On their memorable defence of the passage of the Indus against Mahmood, and on the war of extirpation waged against them by Timoor, both in their primeval seats in Maver-ool-nehr, as well as east of the Sutlej, we have already enlarged ; while Baber, in his Commentaries, informs us that, in all his irruptions into India, he was assailed by multitudes of Jits† during his progress through the Punjab, the peasantry of which region, now proselytes to Islam, are chiefly of this tribe ; as well as the military retainers, who, as sectarian followers of Nanuk, merge the name of Jit, or Jat, into that of Sikh or 'disciple.'‡

In short, whether as Yuti, Getes, Jits, Juts, or Jats, this race far surpassed in numbers, three centuries ago, any other tribe or race in India ; and it is a fact that they now constitute a vast majority of the peasantry

of which kingdom affords him a favourable opportunity of realizing them.

\* See Inscription, Vol. I. p. 628.

† "On Friday the 14th (Dec. 29, A.D. 1525), of the first Rebi, we arrived at Sialkote. Every time that I have entered Hindostan, the Jits and Gujers have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes." The learned commentator draws a distinction between the Jit inhabitants of the Punjab and of India, which is not maintainable.

‡ "It is worthy of remark," says Colonel Pitman (who accompanied Mr. Elphinstone to Cabul), "that in the two first Doabehs (return of the embassy), we saw very few Sikhs, the Jat cultivators of the soil being in general Moosulmauns, and in complete subjugation to the Sikhs."

\* Vol. I. p. 31, Hist. of the Rajput tribes—Article, Jits, or Getes.

† Runjeet has long been in possession of Peshore, and entertained views on Cabul, the disorganised condition



of western Rajwarra, and perhaps of nothern India.

At what period these Jits established themselves in the Indian desert, we are, as has been already observed, entirely ignorant; but even at the time of the Rahtore invasion of these communities, their habits confirmed the tradition of their Scythic origin. They led chiefly a pastoral life, were guided, but not governed by the elders, and with the exception of adoration to the 'universal mother' (Bhavani), incarnate in the person of a youthful Jitni, they were utter aliens to the Hindu theocracy. In fact, the doctrines of the great Islamite saint, Shekh Fureed, appear to have overturned the pagan rites brought from the Jaxartes; and without any settled ideas on religion, the Jits of the desert jumbled all their tenets together. They considered themselves, in short, as a distinct class, and, as a Pooniah Jit informed me, "their *wuttun* was far beyond the Five Rivers." Even in the name of one of the six communities (the *Asiagh*), on whose submission Beeka founded his new state, we have nearly the Asi, the chief of the four tribes from the Oxus and Jaxartes, who overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria.

The period of Rahtore domination over these patriarchal communities was intermediate between Timoor's and Baber's invasion

of India. The former, who was the founder of the Chagitai dynasty, boasts of the myriads of Jit souls he "consigned to perdition" on the desert plains of India, as well as in Transoxiana; so we may conclude that successive migrations of this people from the great "storehouse of nations" went to the lands east of the Indus, and that the communities who elected Beeka as their sovereign, had been established therein for ages. The extent of their possessions justifies this conclusion; for nearly the whole of the territory forming the boundaries of Bikaner was possessed by the six Jit cantons, *viz.*

- |             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. Pooniah, | 4. Asiagh,           |
| 2. Godarra, | 5. Beniwal,          |
| 3. Sarun,   | 6. Johya, or Joweya; |

though this last is by some termed a ramification of the Yadu-Bhatti: an affiliation by no means invalidating their claims to be considered of Jit or Yuti origin.\*

Each canton bore the name of the community, and was subdivided into districts. Besides the six Jit cantons, there were three more simultaneously wrested from Rajpoot proprietors; *viz.* Bhagore, the Kharri-putta, and Mohilla. The six Jit cantons constituted the central and nothern, while those of the Rajpoots formed the western and southern frontiers.

*Disposition of the Cantons at that period.*

Cantons.	No. of Villages.	Districts.
1. Pooniah .....	300	Bahaderan, Ajitpoor, Seedmookh, Rajgur'h, Dadrew oh, Sankoo, &c.
2. Beniwal .....	150	Bookurko, Sondurie, Munohurpoor, Kooie, Bae, &c.
3. Johya .....	600	Jaetpoor, Koombanoh, Mahajin, Peepasir, Oodipoor, &c.

\* The Jits of the Agra province consider themselves illegitimate descendants of the Yadus of Biana, and have a tradition that their *wuttun* is Candahar.





tion of their bloodless conquest of the Jits. To this day, the descendant of Pandu applies the unguent of royalty to the forehead of the successors of Beeka; on which occasion, the prince places 'the fine of relief,' consisting of twenty-five pieces of gold, in the hand of the Jit. Moreover, the spot which he selected for his capital, was the birthright of a Jit, who would only concede it for this purpose on the condition that his name should be linked in perpetuity with its surrender. Naira, or Nera, was the name of the proprietor, which Beeka added to his own, thus composing that of the future capital, Bikaner.

Besides this periodical recognition of the transfer of power, on all lapses of the crown, there are annual memorials of the rights of the Godarras, acknowledged not only by the prince, but by all his Rajpoot vassal-kin, quartered on the lands of the Jit; and although 'the sons of Beeka,' now multiplied over the country, do not much respect the ancient compact, they at least recognize, in the maintenance of these formulæ, the origin of their power.

On the spring and autumnal\* festivals of the Holi and Dewali, the heirs of the patriarchs of Shekhsir and Roneah give the *tika* to the prince and all his feudality. The Jit of Roneah bears the silver cup and platter which holds the *ampoule* of the desert, while his compeer applies it to the prince's forehead. The Raja in return deposits a *nuzzerana* of a gold mohur, and five pieces of silver; the chieftains, according to their rank, following his example. The gold is

taken by the Shekhsir Jit, the silver by the elder of Roneah.

To resume our narrative: when the preliminaries were adjusted, by Beeka's swearing to maintain the rights of the community which thus surrendered their liberties to his keeping, they united their arms, and invaded the *Johyas*. This populous community, which extended over the northern region of the desert, even to the Sutlej, reckoned eleven hundred villages in their canton; yet now, after the lapse of little more than three centuries, the very name of *Johya* is extinct. They appear to be the Jenjooheh of Baber, who, in his irruption into India, found them congregated with the '*Juds*,' about the cluster of hills in the first *doabeh* of the Punjab, called "the mountains of Joude;" a position claimed by the Yadus or Jadoos in the very dawn of their history, and called *Jaddoo ca dang*, 'the Jaddoo hills.' This supports the assertion that the *Johya* is of Yadu race, while it does not invalidate its claims to Yuti or Jit descent, as will be further shewn in the early portion of the annals of the Yadu-Bhattis.\*

The patriarchal head of the *Johyas* resided at Bhuropal; his name was Shere Sing. He mustered the strength of the canton, and for a long time withstood the continued efforts of the Rajpoots and the Godarras; nor was it until 'treason had done

\* I presented a work on this race, entitled 'The Book of the *Johyas*,' (sent me by the prime minister of Jessulmer) to the Royal Asiatic Society. Having obtained it just before leaving Rajpootana, I never had leisure to examine it, or to pronounce on its value as an historical document; but any work having reference to so singular a community can scarcely fail to furnish matter of interest.

\* Vide Vol. I. p. 445, 469—for an account of these festivals.



its worst,' by the murder of their elder, and the consequent possession of Bhuropal, that the Johyas succumbed to Rahtore domination.

With this accession of power, Beeka carried his arms westward, and conquered Bhagore from the Bhattis. It was in this district, originally wrested by the Bhattis from the Jits, that Beeka founded his capital, Bikaner, on the 15th Bysak S. 1545, (A.D. 1489), thirty years after his departure from the parental roof at Mundore.

When Beeka was thus firmly established, his uncle Kandul, to whose spirit of enterprize he was mainly indebted for success, departed with his immediate kin to the northward, with a view of settling in fresh conquests. He successively subjugated the communities of Asiagh, Beniwal, and Sarun, which cantons are mostly occupied by his descendants, styled "Kandulote Rahtores," at this day, and although they form an integral portion of the Bikaner state, they evince, in their independent bearing to its chief, that their estates were "the gift of their own swords, not of his patents;" and they pay but a reluctant and nominal obedience to his authority. When necessity or avarice imposes a demand for tribute, it is often met by a flat refusal, accompanied with such a comment as this: "Who made this Raja? Was it not our common ancestor, Kandul? Who is he, who presumes to levy tribute from us?" Kandul's career of conquest was cut short by the emperor's lieutenant in Hissar; he was slain in attempting this important fortress.

Beeka died in S. 1551 (A.D. 1495), leaving two sons by the daughter of the Bhatti

chief of Poogul, viz. Noonkurn, who succeeded, and Gursi, who founded Gursisir and Ursisir. The stock of the latter is numerous, and is distinguished by the epithet *Gursote Beeka*, whose principal fiefs are those of Gursisir and Garibdesir, each having twenty-four villages depending on them.\*

Noonkurn made several conquests from the Bhattis, on the western frontier. He had four sons; his eldest desiring a separate establishment in his lifetime, for the fief of Mahajin and one hundred and forty villages, renounced his right of primogeniture in favour of his brother Jaet, who succeeded in S. 1569. His brothers had each appanages assigned to them. He had three sons, 1st. Calian Sing; 2nd. Seoji, and 3rd. Aishpal. Jaetsi reduced the district of Narote from some independent Grasia chiefs, and settled it as the appanage of his second son, Seoji. It was Jaetsi also who compelled 'the sons of Beeda,' the first Rahtore colonists of this region, to acknowledge his supremacy by an annual tribute, besides certain taxes.

Calian Sing succeeded in S. 1603. He had three sons, 1st. Rae Sing, 2nd. Ram Sing, and 3rd. Pirthi Sing.

Rae Sing succeeded in S. 1630 (A.D. 1573). Until this reign, the Jits had, in a great degree, preserved their ancient pri-

\* To the few who will peruse these annals of the desert tribes, it will be interesting to observe the development of families, and the maintenance, by such distinctive patronymics, of their origin. In the annals of this remote state, I shall not enter at any length into the history of their wars, which are, with a change of names and scene, all pretty much alike; but confine myself, after a succinct and connected genealogical relation, to the manners of the people, the aspect, productions, and government of the country.





vileges. Their maintenance was, however, found rather inconvenient, by the now superabundant Rajpoot population, and they were consequently dispossessed of all political authority. With the loss of independence their military spirit decayed, and they sunk into mere tillers of the earth. In this reign also Bikaner rose to importance amongst the principalities of the empire, and if the Jits parted with their liberties to the Rajpoot, the latter, in like manner, bartered his freedom to become a Satrap of Delhi. On his father's death, Rae Sing in person undertook the sacred duty of conveying his ashes to the Ganges. The illustrious Akber was then emperor of India. Rae Sing and the emperor had married sisters, princesses of Jessulmer. This connexion obtained for him, on his introduction to court by Raja Maun of Amber, the dignity of a leader of four thousand horse, the title of Raja, and the government of Hissar. Moreover, when Maldeo of Jodpoor incurred the displeasure of the king, and was dispossessed of the rich district of Nagore, it was given to Rae Sing. With these honours, and increased power as one of the king's lieutenants, he returned to his dominions, and sent his brother Ram Sing against Bhutnair, of which he made a conquest. This town was the chief place of a district belonging to the Bhattis, originally Jits\* of Yadu descent, but who assumed this name on becoming proselytes to the faith of Islam.

\* In the annals of Jessulmer, the number of offsets from the Yadu-Bhatti tribe which assumed the name of Jit, will be seen; an additional ground for asserting that the Scythic Yadu is in fact the Yuti.

Rae Sing, at the same time, completely subjugated the Johyas, who, always troublesome, had recently attempted to regain their ancient independence. The Rajpoots carried fire and sword into this country, of which they made a desert. Ever since it has remained desolate: the very name of *Johya* is lost, though the vestiges of considerable towns bear testimony to a remote antiquity.

Amidst these ruins of the Johyas, the name of *Sekunder Roomi* (Alexander the Great) has fixed itself, and the desert retains the tradition that the ruin called *Rung-mahl*, the 'painted palace,' near Dandoosir, was the capital of a prince of this region punished by a visitation of the Macedonian conqueror. History affords no evidence of Alexander's passage of the Garah, though the scene of his severest conflict was in that nook of the Punjab not remote from the lands of the Johyas. But though the chronicler of Alexander does not sanction our indulging in this speculation, the total darkness in which we appear doomed to remain with regard to Bactria and the petty Grecian kingdoms on the Indus, established by him, does not forbid our surmise, that by some of these, perhaps the descendants of Python, such a visitation might have happened.\* The same traditions assert that these regions were not always either arid or desolate, and the living chronicle alluded to in the note, repeated the stanza elsewhere given, which dated its deterioration from the

\* My informant of this tradition was an old inhabitant of Dandoosir, and although seventy years of age, had never left the little district of his nativity until he was brought to me, as one of the most intelligent living records of the past.



drying up of the *Hakra* river, which came from the Punjab, and flowing through the heart of this country, emptied itself into the Indus between Rory Bekher and Ootch.

The affinity that this word (*Hakra*) has both to the *Caggar*, and *Sankra*,\* would lead to the conclusion of either being the stream referred to. The former we know as being engulfed in the sands about the Heriana confines, while the Sankra is a stream which, though now dry, was used as a line of demarcation even in the time of Nadir Shah. It ran eastward, parallel with the Indus, and by making it his boundary, Nadir added all the fertile valley of the Indus to his Persian kingdom. The only date this legendary stanza assigns for the catastrophe is the reign of the Soda prince, Hamir.

Ram Sing, having thus destroyed the power of future resistance in the Johyas, turned his arms against the Pooniah Jits, the last who preserved their ancient liberty. They were vanquished, and the Rajpoots were inducted into their most valuable possessions. But the conqueror paid the penalty of his life for the glory of colonizing the lands of the Pooniabs. He was slain in their expiring effort to shake off the yoke of the stranger; and though the Ramsingotes add to the numerical strength, and enlarge the territory of the heirs of Beeka, they, like the Kandulotes, little increase the power of the state, to which their obedience

is nominal. Seedmook'h and Sankoo are the two chief places of the Ramsingotes.

Thus, with the subjugation of the Pooniabs, the political annihilation of the six Jit cantons of the desert was accomplished: they are now occupied in agriculture and their old pastoral pursuits, and are an industrious tax-paying race under their indolent Rajpoot masters.

Raja Rae Sing led a gallant band of his Rahtores in all the wars of Akber. He was distinguished in the assault of Ahmedabad, slaying in single combat the governor, Mirza Mohamed Hussein. The emperor, who knew the value of such valorous subjects, strengthened the connexion which already subsisted between the crown and the Rahtores, by obtaining for prince Selim (afterwards Jehangir) Rae Sing's daughter to wife. The unfortunate Purvez was the fruit of this marriage.

Rae Sing was succeeded by his only son, Kurrun, in S. 1688 (A.D. 1632).

Kurrun held the 'munsub of two thousand,' and the government of Doulatabad, in his father's life-time. Being a supporter of the just claims of Dara Sheko, a plot was laid by the general of his antagonist, with whom he served, to destroy him, but which he was enabled to defeat by the timely intelligence of the Hara prince of Boondi. He died at Bikaner, leaving four sons, 1. Pudma Sing, 2. Kesuri Sing, 3. Mohun Sing, and 4. Anop Sing.

This family furnishes another example of the prodigal sacrifice of Rajpoot blood in the imperial service. The two elder princes were slain in the storm of Beejipoor, and the tragical death of the third, Mohun Sing,

\* The natives of these regions cannot pronounce the sibilant; so that, as I have already stated, the *s* is converted into *h*. I gave as an example the name *Jahilmer*, which becomes 'the hill of fools,' instead of 'the hill of Jasil.' *Sankra*, in like manner becomes *Hankra*.



in the imperial camp, forms an episode in Ferishta's History of the Dekhan.\*

Anop Sing succeeded in S. 1730 (A.D. 1674). For the services of his family he had the castle and lands of Adoni conferred upon him, with 'the munsub of five thousand,' and the governments of Beejipoor and Arungabad. Anop Sing led his clans with the head of his race, the prince of Jodpoor, to quell a rebellion amongst the Afghans of Cabul, which having effected, he returned to the peninsula. Ferishta and the

\* The young desert chieftain, like all his tribe, would find matter for quarrel in the wind blowing in his face. Having received what he deemed an insult from the brother-in-law of the *Shazada*, in a dispute regarding a fawn, he appealed to his sword, and a duel ensued even in the presence-chamber, in which young Mohun fell. The fracas was reported to his brother Pudma, at no distance from the scene. With the few retainers at hand, he rushed to the spot, and found his brother bathed in his blood. His antagonist, still hanging over his victim, when he saw the infuriated Rahtore enter, with sword and shield, prepared for dreadful vengeance, retreated behind one of the columns of the Aum Khas (*Divan*). But Pudma's sword reached him, and avenged his brother's death; as the record says, "he felled him to the earth, cleaving at the same place the pillar in twain." Taking up the dead body of his brother, and surrounded by his vassals, he repaired to his quarters, where he assembled all the Rajpoor princes serving with their contingents, as Jaipoor, Jodpoor, Harouti, and harangued them on the insult to their race in the murder of his brother. They all agreed to abandon the king's army, and retire to their own homes. A noble was sent to expostulate by Prince Moozzim; but in vain. He urged that the prince not only forgave, but approved the summary vengeance taken by the Rahtore: they refused to listen, and in a body had retired more than twenty miles, when the prince in person joined them, and concessions and expostulations overcoming them, they returned to the camp. It was subsequent to this that the two elder brothers were slain. It is recorded of the surviving brother, that he slew an enormous lion in single combat. For this exploit, which thoroughly entitled him to the name he bore (*Kesuri*), 'the Lion,' he received an estate of twenty-five villages from the king. He also obtained great renown for slaying a Habshi or Abyssinian chief, who commanded for one of the southern princes.

native annals are at variance on his death; the former asserting that he died in the Dekhan, while the latter say that he left that country, disgusted with the imperial commander's interference about his ground of encampment, and that he died at Bikaner. He left two sons, Suroop Sing and Sujaun Sing.

Suroop, who succeeded in S. 1765 (A.D. 1709), did not long enjoy his honours, being killed in attempting to recover Adoni, which the emperor had resumed on his father's leaving the army.

Sujaun Sing, his successor, did nothing.

Zoorawur Sing became raja in S. 1793 (A.D. 1737). The domestic incidents of this, as of the preceding reigns, are without interest.

Guj Sing succeeded in S. 1802 (A.D. 1746). Throughout a long reign of forty-one years, this prince carried on border strife with the Bhattis and the Khan of Bhawalpore. From the former he took <sup>1746</sup> Rajasir, Kailah, Ranair, Suttasir, Bunnipoora, Mootalai, and other villages of inferior note; and from the Khan he recovered the important frontier castle of Anopgurh.

He laid waste, filling up the wells, a considerable tract of country west of the frontier post of Anopgurh, to prevent the incursions of the *Daodpotras*.\*

Raja Guj had some celebrity from the number of his offspring, having had sixty-one children, though all but six were the 'sons of love.' The legitimates were, Chutter Sing, who died in infancy; Raj

\* 'The children of David,' the designation of the tract and inhabitants subjects to the state of Bhawalpore, from its founder, Daod Khan, a native of Seistan.



Sing, who was poisoned by the mother of Soorut Sing, the reigning prince ; Soortan Sing and Ajib Sing, both of whom fled the paternal roof to escape the fate of their elder brother, and are now at Jeipoor ; Soorut Sing, Raja of Bikaner ; and Siam Sing, who enjoys a small appanage in Bikaner.

Raj Sing succeeded his father S. 1843 (A.D. 1787), but he enjoyed the dignity only thirteen days, being removed by a dose of poison by the mother\* of Soorut Sing, the fifth son of Raja Guj. The crown thus nefariously obtained, this worthy son of such a parent determined to maintain his authority by like means, and to leave no competitor to contest his claims. He has accordingly removed by death or exile all who stood between him and the '*gadi* of Beeka.'

Raj Sing left two sons, Pertap Sing and Joy Sing. On the death of Raj Sing, the office of regent, a word of ominous import in these regions, was assumed by Soorut Sing, who, during eighteen months, conducted himself with great circumspection, and by condescension and gifts impressed the chiefs in his favour. At length he broke his plans to the chiefs of Mahajin and Bahaderan, whose acquiescence in his usurpation he secured by additions to their estates. The faithful Bukhtawar Sing, whose family during four generations had filled the office of *dewan*, discovered the scheme, though too late to counteract it, and the attempt was punished by imprisonment. Prepared for the last step, the

regent collected foreign troops from Batinda and other parts, sufficient to overcome all opposition. The infant prince was kept secluded, and at length the regent issued the warrant in his own name for the nobles to assemble at the capital. Except the two traitors enumerated, they to a man refused ; but instead of combining to oppose him, they indolently remained at their castles. Collecting all his troops, the usurper passed to Nohur, where he enticed the chief of Bookurko to an interview, and lodged him in the fortress of Nohur. Thence he passed to Ajitpoora, which he plundered ; and advancing to Sankoo, he attacked it in form. Doorjun Sing defended himself with valour, and when reduced to extremity, committed suicide. His heir was put in fetters, and a fine of twelve thousand rupees was levied from the vassals of Sankoo. The commercial town of Chooru was next attacked ; it held out six months, when the confined chief of Bookurko, as the price of his own freedom, treacherously offered to put the tyrant in possession. He effected this, and a fine of nearly two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) was offered to spare the town from plunder.

By this act of severity, and the means it furnished, Soorut returned to Bikaner, determined to remove the only bar between him and the crown, his prince and nephew. In this he found some difficulty, from the virtue and vigilance of his sister, who never lost sight of the infant. Frustrated in all attempts to circumvent her, and not daring to blazon the murder by open violence, he invited the needy Raja of Nirwar to make proposals for his sister's hand. In vain she

\* She was the sister of the Jhulye chief, heir presumptive to the *gadi* of Jeipoor, on failure of lineal issue.



urged her advanced period of life ; and in order to deter the suitor, that she had already been affianced to Rana Ursi of Mewar. All his scruples vanished at the dower of three lakhs, which the regent offered the impoverished scion of the famous Raja Nala.\* Her objections were overruled and she was forced to submit ; though she not only saw through her brother's anxiety for her removal, but boldly charged him with his nefarious intentions. He was not content with disavowing them, but at her desire gave her the most solemn assurances of the child's safety. Her departure was the signal of his death ; for not long after, he was found strangled, and it is said by the regent's own hands, having in vain endeavoured to obtain the offices of the Mahajin chieftain as the executioner of his sovereign.

Thus, in one short year after the death of Raja Raj, the *gadi* of Beeka was dishonoured by being possessed by an assassin of his prince. In S. 1857 (A. D. 1801), the elder brothers of the usurper, Soortan Sing and Ajib Sing, who had found refuge in Jeipoor, repaired to Bhutnair and assembled the vassals of the disaffected nobles and Bhattis in order to dethrone the tyrant. But the recollection of his severities deterred some, while bribes kept back others, and the usurper did not hesitate to advance to meet his foes. The encounter, which took place at Beegore, was obstinate and

bloody, and three thousand Bhattis alone fell. This signal victory confirmed Soorut's usurpation. He erected a castle on the field of battle, which he called *Futtehghur*, 'the abode of victory.'

Flushed with this brilliant success, Soorut Sing determined to make his authority respected both at home and abroad. He invaded his turbulent countrymen, the Beedawuts, and levied fifty thousand rupees from their lands. Chooru, which had promised aid to the late confederacy, was once more invested and mulcted, and various other places were attacked ere they could join. But one solitary castle was successfully defended, that of Oh'hani, near Bahaderan. Here the usurper was foiled, and, after six months' fruitless siege, compelled to return to his capital.

Shortly after, he eagerly availed himself of an opportunity to punish the excesses of the Daodpotras, and to withdraw attention from himself, by kindling a popular war against these powerful and turbulent neighbours. The occasion was the Kerani chief of Tearoh demanding his aid against his liege lord, Bhawul Khan. As these border feuds are not extinguished even in these days of universal peace, it may not be uninteresting to see the feudal muster-roll of the desert chiefs on such occurrences, as well as the mode in which they carry on hostilities. It was very shortly before that victory had preponderated on the side of the Rahtores by a gallant *coup-de-main* of the lord marcher of Bikaner, who carried the castle of Mozgurh in a midnight assault. The hero on this occasion was not a Rahtore, but a Bhatti chief, in the service of

\* The story of Nala and Damyanti (or, *Nul Dumun*, as it is familiarly called in these regions) is well known in oriental literature. From Nal, the famed castle of Narwar is named, of which this suitor for the hand of the Bikaner princess was deprived by Sindia.



Bikaner, named Hindu Sing, who gained 'immortality' by the style in which he scaled the walls, put Mahomed Maroop Kerani, the governor, and the garrison to the sword, and brought away captive to Bikaner the governor's wife, who was afterwards ransomed for five thousand rupees and four hundred camels.

The outlaw who sought *sirna* at Bikaner, on this occasion, was of the same tribe, Kerani, his name Khodabuksh ('gift of God'), chief of Tearoh, one of the principal fiefs of the Daodpotras. With all his

retainers, to the amount of three hundred horse and five hundred foot, he threw himself on the protection of Soorut Sing, who assigned him twenty villages, and one hundred rupees daily for his support. The Keranies were the most powerful vassals of Bhawul Khan, who might have paid dear for the resumption of Tearoh, whose chief promised the Rajpoot nothing less than to extend his conquests to the Indus. Allured by this bait, the *kher* was proclaimed and the sons of Beeka assembled from all quarters.

		Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
	Abhoye Sing, chief of ... Bookurko .....	300	2,000	
	Rao Ram Sing, of ..... Poogul .....	100	400	
	Hatti Sing, of ..... Ranair .....	8	150	
	Kurrun Sing, of ..... Suttasir .....	9	150	
	Anop Sing ..... Jussaroh.....	40	250	
	Khet Sing ..... Jemunsir .....	60	350	
	Bheni Sing, of ..... Jangloo .....	9	250	
	Bhom Sing, of ..... Beetnoke .....	2	61	
	Feudal retainers.....	528	3,611	
	Park under Muji Purihar .....	—		21
Foreign Brigade	{ Khas Paega, or household troop .....	200	—	
in the	{ Camp of Gunga Sing .....	200	1,500	4
Raja's service.	{ Do. of Doorjun Sing.....	60	600	4
	{ Anoka Sing } .....	300	—	
	{ Laori Sing } Sikh chieftains .....	250	—	
Auxiliary Levies.	{ Bood Sing } .....	250	—	
	{ Sooltan Khan } .....			
	{ Ahmed Khan } Afghans.....	400	—	
	TOTAL ...	2,188	5,711	29





the valorous sons of Joda rushed sword in hand from the litters and covered vehicles, and treacherously cut off the best men of Mohilla. They kept possession of the inner fortress until tidings of their success brought reinforcements from Jodpoor. For this aid, Beeda assigned to his father, Ladnoo and its twelve villages, now incorporated with Jodpoor. The son of Beeda, Tez Sing, laid the foundation of a new capital, which he called after his father, Beedasil. The community of the Beedawuts is the most powerful in Bikaner, whose prince is obliged to be satisfied with almost nominal marks of supremacy, and to restrict his demands, which are elsewhere unlimited. The little region of the Mohillas, around the ancient capital Chaupur, is an extensive flat, flooded in the periodical rains from the surrounding *teebas* or 'sand-hills,' the soil of which is excellent, even wheat being abundantly produced. This *Oasis*, as it is entitled to be termed, may be twenty-five miles (twelve-cos) in extreme length, by about six in breadth. We cannot affirm that the entire Beedawut district of one hundred and forty villages, and to which is assigned a population of forty thousand to fifty thou-

sand souls, one-third being Rahtores, 'the sons Beeda' is within this flat. It is subdivided into twelve fiefs, of which five are pre-eminent. Of the ancient possessors, the indigenous Mohils, there are not more than twenty families throughout the land of Mohilla; the rest are chiefly Jit agriculturists and the mercantile castes.

We do the sons of Beeda no injustice when we style them a community of plunderers. Like the sons of Esau, "their hand is against every man:" and they are too powerful to fear retaliation. In former times they used to unite with the Larkhanis another horde of robbers, and carry their raids into the most populous parts of Jeipoor. In these habits, however, they only partake of the character common to all who inhabit desert regions. What nature has denied them, they wrest from those to whom she has been more bountiful. But it is to the absence of good government more than to natural sterility, that we must attribute the moral obliquity of the *Rajaputras*, "the offspring of regality," spread over these extensive regions, who little discriminate between *meum* and *tuum*, in all that refers to their neighbours.



## CHAPTER II.

*Actual condition and capabilities of Bikaner.—Causes of its deterioration.—Extent.—Population.—Jits.—Saraswati Brahmins.—Charuns.—Mallis and Naes.—Chooras and Thakories. Rajpoots.—Face of the country.—Grain and vegetable productions.—Implements of husbandry.—Water.—Salt lakes.—Local physiognomy.—Mineral productions.—Unctuous clay.—Animal productions.—Commerce and manufactures.—Fairs.—Government and revenues.—The fisc.—Dhooah, or hearth-tax.—Anga, or capitation-tax.—Sayer, or imposts. Pusacti, or plough-tax.—Malbah, or ancient land-tax.—Extraordinary and irregular resources.—Feudal levies, Household troops.*

THIS region is but little known to Europeans, by whom it has hitherto been supposed to be a perfect desert, unworthy of examination. Its present condition bears little comparison with what tradition reports it to have been in ancient times; and its deterioration, within three centuries since the Rajpoots supplanted the Jits, almost warrants our belief of the assertion, that these deserts were once fertile and populous; nay, that they are still capable (notwithstanding the reported continual increase of the sand) to maintain an abundant population, there is little room to doubt. The princes of Bikaner used to take the field at the head of ten thousand of their kindred retainers; and although they held extraordinary grants from the empire for the maintenance of these contingents, their ability to do so from their proper resources was undoubted. To other causes than positive sterility must be attributed the wretched condition of this state. Exposed to the continual attacks of organized bands of robbers from without, subjected internally to the never-end-

ing demands of a rapacious government, for which they have not a shadow of advantage in return, it would be strange if aught but progressive decay and wretchedness were the consequence. In three centuries, more than one-half of the villages, which either voluntarily or by force submitted to the rule of the founder, Beeka, are now without memorial of their existence, and the rest are gradually approximating to the same condition. Commercial caravans, which passed through this state and enriched its treasury with the transit duties, have almost ceased to frequent it from the increasing insecurity of its territory. Besides the personal loss to the prince, the country suffers from the deterioration of the commercial towns of Chooru, Rajgurh, and Rinnie, which, as *entrepots*, supplied the country with the productions of Sind and the provinces to the westward, or those of Gangetic India. Nor is this confined to Bikaner; the same cause affects Jessulmer, and the more eastern principalities, whose misgovernment, equally with Bikaner, fosters the spirit of rapine: the Maldotes of Jes-



The command-in-chief of this brilliant array was conferred on Jaitroh Matoh, son of the Dewan. On the 13th of Magh 1856 (spring of 1800) he broke ground, and the feudal levies fell in on the march by Kunasir, Rajasir, Kaili, Ranair, and Anohgurh, the last point of rendezvous. Thence he proceeded by Seogurh,\* Mozgurh, and Phoolra, all of which were taken after a few weeks' siege, and from the last they levied a lakh and a quarter of rupees, with other valuables, and nine guns. They advanced to Khyrpoor, within three miles of the Indus, when being joined by other refractory chiefs, Jaitroh marched direct on the capital, Bhawulpore, within a short distance of which he encamped preparatory to the attack. The Khan, however, by this delay, was enabled to detach the most considerable of his nobles from the Rajpoot standard: on which the Bikaner Dewan, satisfied with the honour of having insulted Bhawulpore, retreated with the spoils he had acquired. He was received by the usurper with contempt, and degraded for not fighting.

The Bhattis, smarting with the recollection of their degradation, two years after the battle of Beegore attempted the invasion of Bikaner, but were again repulsed with loss; and these skirmishes continued until S. 1861 (A. D. 1805), when Raja Soorut attacked the Khan of the Bhattis in his capital, Bhutnair. It capitulated after a siege of six months, when Zabta Khan, with his garrison and effects, was permitted to

retire to Rhania, since which this place has remained an appanage of Bikaner.

The coalition against Jodpoor was ruinous to Soorut, who supported the cause of the pretender, on which the usurper expended twenty-four lakhs of rupees, nearly five years' revenue of this desert region. On this occasion, he led all his troops in person against Jodpoor, and united in the siege, which they were however compelled to abandon with dishonour, and retrograde to their several abodes. In consequence of this, the usurper fell sick, and was at the last extremity: nay, the ceremonies for the dead were actually commenced; but he recovered, to the grief and misery of his subjects. To supply an exhausted treasury, his extortions know no bounds; and having cherished the idea that he might compound his past sins by rites and gifts to the priests, he is surrounded by a group of avaricious Brahmins, who are maintained in luxury at the expense of his subjects. His cruelty keeps pace with his avarice and his fears. The chief of Bookurko he put to death, notwithstanding his numerous services. Nahur Sing of Seedmookh, Gyan Sing and Goman Sing of Gundaili, amongst the chief feudatories of the state, shared the same fate. Choornu was invested a third time, and with its chief, fell into the tyrant's hands.

With this system of terror, his increasing superstition, and diminished attention to public duties, the country is annually deteriorating in population and wealth; and as if they had not misery enough within, they have not had a single good season for years.\* Owing to the disobedience of the

\* Its former name was Bullur, one of the most ancient cities of the desert, as is Phoolra, a Johya possession.

\* This account was drawn up in 1814.



northern chiefs, and the continual incursions of the *Rahts*, or 'Bhatti robbers,' who sweep the land of cattle, and often cut and carry off entire crops, the peasant Jit, the ancient lord of the soil, is often left to the alternative of starvation or emigration. Many have consequently sought shelter in the British frontier territories, in Hansi and Heriana, where they are kindly received. Since the English have occupied Sirsah and the lands belonging to the Bhatti Bahader Khan, the misfortunes of the cultivators of the northern parts of Bikaner have been doubled by the inroads of a band left without resource. In some parts, the Jits combine to protect themselves against these inroads: every hamlet has its host of defence, a tower of earth, on which is perched a watchman and kettle-drum, to beat the alarm, which is taken up from village to village, and when an enemy is discovered, all are in arms to defend their property. The unfortunate Jit is obliged to plough his fields under the load of shield and *sang*, or heavy iron lance; so that, at no distant period, the whole of this region must become as desolate as the tracts once possessed by the Johyas.\*

Such, at the end of three hundred and twenty-three years, is the change which a Rajpoot usurper has effected in the once comparatively populous communities of the Jits. From the founder, Beeka, to the present tyrannical governor, there have been only eleven descents though thirteen reigns, giv-

ing an average of thirty years for the one, and twenty-five for the other: a fact which speaks forcibly for the general morality of the descendants of Beeka.

Before we enter on the physical aspect of the country, we must make mention of Beedavati, the lands of 'the sons of Beeda,' now an integral portion of Bikaner. It will be borne in mind that Beeda, the brother of Beeka, led the first Rajpoot colony from Mundore, in search of a fresh establishment. His first attempt was in the province of Godwar, then belonging to the Rana: but his reception there was so warm, that he moved northward, and was glad to take service with the chief of the Mohils. This ancient tribe is by some termed a branch of the Yadus, but is by others considered a separate race, and one of the 'thirty-six royal races:' all are agreed as to its antiquity. The residence of the Mohil chief was Chaupur, where, with the title of *Thakoor*, he ruled over one hundred and forty townships. Beeda deemed circumvention better than open force to effect his purposes; and as, according to the Rajpoot maxim, in all attempts 'to obtain land,' success hallows the means, he put in train a scheme which, as it affords the least cause for suspicion, has often been used for this object. Beeda became the medium of a matrimonial arrangement between the Mohil chief and the prince of Marwar; and as the relation and natural guardian of the bride, he conveyed the nuptial train unsuspected into the castle of the Mohils, whose chiefs were assembled to honour the festivities. But instead of the Rahtore fair and her band of maidens,

\* While putting this to the press, rumour says that the chiefs of Bikaner are in open rebellion against the Raja, who has applied, but without success, to the British Government for support. This, if true, is as it should be.





sulmer and the Larkhanis of Jeipoor are as notorious as the Beedawuts of Bikaner; and to these may be added the Sahraes, Khosas, and Rajurs, in the more western desert, who, in their habits and principles, are as demoralized as the Bedouins of Arabia.

*Extent.—Population.—Soil.—Teebas or Sand-hills.*—The line of greatest breadth of this state extends from Poogul to Rajgurrh, and measures about one hundred and eighty miles; while the length from north to south, between Bhutnair and Mahajin, is about one hundred and sixty miles: the area may not exceed twenty-two thousand miles. Formerly they reckoned two thousand seven hundred towns, villages, and hamlets scat-

tered over this space, one-half of which are no longer in existence.

An estimate of the population of this arid region, without presenting some data, would be very unsatisfactory. The tract to the northwest of Jaetpoor is now perfectly desolate, and nearly so from that point to Bhutnair: to the north-east, the population is but scanty, which observation also applies to the parts from the meridian of Bikaner to the Jessulmer frontier; while internally, from these points, it is more uniform, and equals the northern parts of Marwar. From a census of the twelve principal towns, with an estimate, furnished by well-informed inhabitants, of the remainder, we may obtain a tolerably accurate approximation on this point:

Chief Towns.	No. of Houses.
Bikaner.....	12,000
Nohur .....	2,500
Bahaderan .....	2,500
Rinnie .....	1,500
Rajgurrh .....	3,000
Chooru .....	3,000
Mahajin .....	800
Jaetpoor.....	1,000
Beedasilr .....	500
Ruttungurrh .....	1,000
Daismookh .....	1,000
Senthal .....	50
	<hr/> 28,850
100 villages, each having 200 houses .....	20,000
100 Ditto ..... 150 ditto .....	15,000
200 Ditto ..... 100 ditto .....	20,000
800 hamlets ..... 30 each .....	24,000
	<hr/>
Total number of houses .....	107,850



Allowing five souls to each house, we have a total of 539, 250 souls, giving an average of twenty-five to the square mile, which I cannot think exaggerated, and making the desert regions depending on Bikaner equal, in the density of population, the highlands of Scotland.

Of this population, full three-fourths are the aboriginal Jits; the rest are their conquerors, descendants of Beeka, including the Sarsote Brahmins, Charuns, Bards, and a few of the debased classes, whose numbers, conjointly, are not one-tenth of the Rajpoots.

*Jits*.—The Jits are the most wealthy as well as the most numerous portion of the community. Many of the old Bhomia landlords, representatives of their ancient communal heads, are men of substance; but their riches are of no use to them, and to avoid the rapacity of their government, they cover themselves with the cloak of poverty, which is thrown aside only on nuptial festivities. On these occasions they disinter their hoards, which are lavished with unbounded extravagance. They even block up the highways to collect visitors, whose numbers form the measure of the liberality and munificence of the donor of the fete.

*Sarsote* (properly *Sarasvati*) Brahmins are found in considerable numbers throughout this tract. They aver that they were masters of the country prior to the Jit colonists. They are a peaceable, industrious race, and without a single prejudice of 'the order'; they eat meat, smoke tobacco, cultivate the soil, and trade even in the sacred kine, notwithstanding their descent from Singiricsha, son of Brahma.

*Charuns*.—The Charuns are the sacred order of these regions; the warlike tribes esteem the heroic lays of the bard more than the homily of the Brahmin. The Charuns are throughout revered by the Rahtores, and hold lands, literally, on the tenure of 'an old song.' More will be said of them in the Annals of Jessulmer.

*Mallis, Naes*, gardeners and barbers, are important members of every Rajpoot family, and to be found in all the villages, of which they are invariably the cooks.

*Chooras, Thaoris*, are actually castes of robbers: the former, from the Lakhi Jungle; the latter, from Mewar. Most of the chieftains have a few in their pay, entertained for the most desperate services. The Bahaderan chief has expelled all his Rajpoots, and retains only Chooras and Thaoris. The Chooras are highly esteemed for fidelity, and the barriers and portals throughout this tract are in their custody. They enjoy a very singular perquisite, which would go far to prove their being the aborigines of the country; namely, a fee of four copper coins on every dead subject, when the funeral ceremonies are over.

*Rajpoots*.—The Rahtores of Bikaner are unchanged in their martial qualifications, bearing as high a reputation as any other class in India; and whilst their brethren of Marwar, Amber, and Mewar, have been for years groaning under the rapacious visitations of Mahrattas and Pat'hans, their distance and the difficulties of the country have saved them from such afflictions; though, in truth, they have had enough to endure at home, in the tyranny of their own lords. The Rahtores of the desert have





fewer prejudices than their more eastern brethren; they will eat food, without enquiring by whom it was dressed, and will drink either wine or water, without asking to whom the cup belonged. They would make the best soldiers in the world if they would submit to discipline, as they are brave, hardy, easily satisfied, and very patient; though, on the other hand, they have imbibed some qualities, since their migration to these regions, which could only be eradicated in the rising generation: especially the inordinate use of opium, and smoking intoxicating herbs, in both which accomplishments 'the sons of Beeka' are said to bear the palm from the rest of the *Chatees rajpula*, the thirty-six royal tribes of India. The *piala*, or 'cup,' is a favorite with every Rajpoot who can afford it, and is, as well as opium, a panacea for *ennui*, arising from the absence of all mental stimulants, in which they are more deficient, from the nature of the country, than most of their warlike countrymen.

*Face of the country.*—The whole of this principality, with the exception of a few isolated spots, or *oases*, scattered here and there, consists more or less of sand. From the eastern to the western boundary, in the line of greatest breadth, it is one continuous plain of sand, though the *teebas*, or sand-hills, commence in the centre of the country, the principal chain running in the direction of Jessulmer, and shooting forth subordinate branches in every direction; or it might be more correct to designate this main ridge, originating in the tracts bordering the eastern valley of the Indus, as terminating its elevations about the heart of Bikaner. On the north-east quarter, from Rajgurh

to Nohur and Raotsir, the soil is good, being black earth, slightly mixed with sand, and having water near enough to the surface for irrigation; it produces wheat, gram, and even rice, in considerable quantities. The same soil exists from Bhutnair to the banks of the Garah. The whole of the Mohilla tract is a fertile *oasis*, the *teebas* just terminating their extreme offsets on its northern limit: being flooded in the periodical rains, wheat is abundantly produced.

But exclusive of such spots, which are "few and far between," we cannot describe the desert as a waste where "no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens;" for though the poverty of the soil refuses to aid the germination of the more luxuriant grains, Providence has provided a countervailing good, in giving to those it can rear a richness and superiority unknown to more favoured regions. The *bajra* of the desert is far superior to any grown in the rich loam of Malwa, and its inhabitant retains an instinctive partiality, even when admitted to revel in the luxurious repasts of Mewar or Amber, for the *bhawtis*, or 'bajra cakes,' of his native sand-hills, and not more from association than from their intrinsic excellence. In a plentiful season, they save enough for two years' consumption. The grain requires not much water, though it is of the last importance that this little should be timely.

Besides *bajra*, we may mention *mot'h* and *til*; the former a useful pulse both for men and cattle; the other the oil-plant, used both for culinary purposes and burning. Wheat, gram, and barley, are produced in the favoured spots described, but in these are enumerated the staple products of Bikaner.





Cotton is grown in the tracts favourable for wheat. The plant is said to be septennial, even decennial, in these regions. As soon as the cotton is gathered, the shoots are all cut off, and the root alone left. Each succeeding year, the plant increases in strength, and at length attains a size unknown where it is more abundantly cultivated.

Nature has bountifully supplied many spontaneous vegetable products for the use of man, and excellent pasture for cattle. *Gowar*, *Katchri*, *Kukree*, all of the cucurbitaceous family, and water-melons of a gigantic size, are produced in great plenty. The latter is most valuable; for being cut in slices and dried in the sun, it is stored up for future use when vegetables are scarce, or in times of famine, on which they always calculate. It is also an article of commerce and much admired even where vegetables are more abundant. The copious mucilage of the dried melon is extremely nourishing; and deeming it valuable as an antiscorbutic in sea-voyages, the Author sent some of it to Calcutta many years ago for experiment.\* Our Indian ships would find no difficulty in obtaining a plentiful supply of this article, as it can be cultivated to any extent, and thus be made to confer a double benefit, on our seamen and the inhabitants of those desert regions. The superior magnitude of the water-melons of the desert over those of interior India gives rise to much exaggeration, and it has been gravely asserted by travellers in the sand

*teebas*,\* where they are most abundant, that the mucilage of one is sufficient to allay the thirst both of a horse and his rider.

In these arid regions, where they depend entirely on the heavens for water, and where they calculate on a famine every seventh year, nothing that can administer to the wants of man is lost. The seeds of the wild grapes, as the *bhoorut*, *burco*, *herra-ro*, *sewun*, are collected, and, mixed with *bajra*-flour, enter much into the food of the poorer classes. They also store up great quantities of the *nila ber*, *khyn*, and *kharil* berries; and the long pods of the *kajira*, astringent and bitter as they are, are dried and formed into a flour. Nothing is lost in these regions which can be converted into food.

Trees they have none indigenous (mangoes and tamarind are planted about the capital), but abundant shrubs, as the *babool*, and ever-green *peelon*, the *jhal*, and others yielding berries. The *Bedawnts*, indeed, apply the term 'tree,' to the *rooura*, which sometimes attains the height of twenty feet, and is transported to all parts for house-building; as likewise is the *nima*, so well known throughout India. The *phok* is the most useful of all these, as with its twigs they frame a wicker-work to line their wells, and prevent the sand from falling in.

The *ak*, a species of euphorbia, known in Hindustan as the *madar*, grows to an immense height and strength in the desert; from its fibres they make the ropes in general use throughout these regions, and they

\* I sent specimens to Mr. Moon roft so far back as 1813, but never learned the result.—See Article "On the Preservation of Food," *Edin. Review*, No. 45, p. 115.

\* Mr. Barrow, in his valuable work on Southern Africa, describes the water-melon as self-sown and abundant.



are reckoned superior, both in substance and durability, to those formed of *moons* (hemp), which is however cultivated in the lands of the Beedawuts.

Their agricultural implements are simple and suited to the soil. The plough is one of single yoke, either for the camel or ox: that with double yoke being seldom required, or chiefly by the *mallis* (gardeners), when the soil is of some consistence. The drill is invariably used, and the grains are dropped singly into the ground, at some distance from each other, and each sends forth a dozen to twenty stalks. A bundle of bushes forms their harrow. The grain is trodden out by oxen; and the *mol'h* (pulse), which is even more productive than the *bajra*, by camels.

*Water.*—This indispensable element is at an immense distance from the surface throughout the Indian desert, which, in this respect, as well as many others, differs very materially from that portion of the great African Desert in the same latitudes. Water at twenty-feet, as found at Mourzook by Capt. Lyon, is here unheard-of, and the degree of cold experienced by him at Zuela, on the winter solstice, would have “burnt up” every natural and cultivated production of our Hindu Seharra. Captain Lyon describes the thermometer in lat.  $26^{\circ}$ , within  $2^{\circ}$  of zero of Reaumur. Majors Denham and Clapperton never mark it under  $40^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit, and mention ice, which I never saw but once, the thermometer being  $28^{\circ}$ ; and then not only the mouths of our *mushiks*, or ‘water-skins,’ were frozen, but a small pond, protected from the wind (I heard, for I saw it not), exhibi-

ted a very thin pellicle of ice. When at  $30^{\circ}$  the cold was deemed intense by the inhabitants of Maroo in the tracts limiting the desert, and the useful *ak*, and other shrubs, were scorched and withered; and in north lat.  $25^{\circ}$ , the thermometer being  $28^{\circ}$ , desolation and woe spread throughout the land. To use their own phrase, the crops of gram and other pulses were completely “burnt up, as if scorched by the lightnings of heaven;” while the sun’s meridian heat would raise it  $50^{\circ}$  more, or up to  $80^{\circ}$ , a degree of variability at least not recorded by Captain Lyon.

At Daisnokh, near the capital, the wells are more than two hundred cubits, or three hundred feet, in depth; and it is rare that water fit for man is found at a less distance from the surface than sixty, in the tracts decidedly termed *thul*, or ‘desert:’ though some of the flats, or *oases*, such as that of Mohilla, are exceptions, and abundance of brackish water, fit for cattle, is found throughout at half this depth, or about thirty feet. All the wells are lined with basket-work made of *phok* twigs, and the water is generally drawn up by hand-lines.\*

*Sirr*, or ‘salt lakes.’—There are a few salt lakes, which, throughout the whole of the Indian desert, are termed *sirr*, though none are of the same consequence as those of Marwar. The largest is at the town of *Sirr*,

\* Water is sold, in all the large towns, by the *mallis*, or ‘gardeners,’ who have the monopoly of this article. Most families have large cisterns or reservoirs, called *tankas*, which are filled in the rainy season. They are of masonry, with a small trap-door at the top, made to exclude the external air, and having a lock and key affixed. Some large *tankas* are established for the community, and I understand this water keeps sweet for eight and twelve months’ consumption.



so named after the lake, which is about six miles in circumference. There is another at Chaupur about two miles in length, and although each of them frequently contains a depth of four feet of water, this entirely evaporates in the hot winds, leaving a thick sheet of saline incrustation. The salt of both is deemed of inferior quality to that of the more southerly lakes.

*Physiognomy of the country.*—There is little to vary the physiognomy of this region, and small occasion to boast either of its physical or moral beauties ; yet, strange to say, I have met with many whose love of country was stronger than their perceptions of abstract veracity, who would dwell on its perfections, and prefer a mess of *rabri*, or porridge made of *bajra*, to the greater delicacies of more civilized regions. To such, the *teebas*, or ‘sand-ridges,’ might be more important than the Himalaya, and their diminutive and scanty brushwood might eclipse the gigantic foliage of this huge barrier. Verdure itself may be abhorrent to eyes accustomed to behold only arid sands ; and a region without *tofans* or ‘whirlwinds ;’ or armies of locusts rustling like a tempest, and casting long shadows on the lands, might be deemed by the prejudiced, deficient in the true sublime. Occasionally the sand-stone formation rises above the surface, resembling a few low isolated hills ; and those who dwell on the boundaries of Nagore, if they have a love of more decided elevations than their native sand-hills afford, may indulge in a distant view of the terminations of the <sup>oc</sup> *Thullis*.

*Mineral productions.*—The mineral productions of this country are scanty. They

have excellent quarries of freestone in several parts, especially at Husairah, thirteen coss to the north-east of the capital, which yield a small revenue estimated at two thousand rupees annually. There are also copper mines at Beerumsir and Beedasil ; but the former does not repay the expense of working, and the latter, having been worked for thirty years, is nearly exhausted.

An unctuous clay is excavated from a pit, near Kolath, in large quantities, and exported as an article of commerce, besides adding fifteen hundred rupees annually to the treasury. It is used chiefly to free the skin and hair from impurities, and the Cutchie ladies are said to eat it to improve their complexions.

*Animal productions.*—The kine of the desert are highly esteemed ; as are the camels, especially those used for expedition and the saddle, which bear a high price,\* and are considered superior to any in India. They are beautifully formed, and the head possesses much blood and symmetry. Sheep are reared in great abundance, and find no want of food in the excellent grasses and shrubs which abound. The *phok*, *jowas*, and other prickly shrubs, which are here indigenous, form the dainties of the camel in other regions. The Nilgae, or elk, and deer of every kind, are plentiful ; and the fox of the desert is a beautiful little animal. Jackalls and hyænas are not scarce, and even lions are by no means unknown in Bikaner.

*Commerce and Manufactures.*—Rajgurh was the great commercial mart of this coun-

\* One thousand rupees have been given for one ; one hundred is the average value.



try, and the point of *rendezvous* for caravans from all parts. The produce of the Punjab and Cashmere came formerly, direct by Hansi-Hisar,—that of the eastern countries by Dehli, Rewari, Dadri, &c. consisting of silks, fine cloths, indigo, sugar, iron, tobacco, &c.; from Harouti and Malwa came opium, which supplied all the Rajpoot states; from Sindh, *via* Jessulmér, and by caravans from Mooltan and Shikarpoor, dates, wheat, rice, *loongees* (silk vestments for women), fruits, &c.; from Palli, the imports from maritime countries, as spices, tin, drugs, coco-nuts, elephants' teeth, &c. Much of this was for internal consumption, but the greater part a mere transit trade, which yielded considerable revenue.

*Woollens*.—The wool of the sheep pastured in the desert is, however, the staple commodity both of manufacture and trade in this region. It is worked into every article of dress, both male and female, and worn by all, rich and poor. It is produced from the loom, of every texture and quality, from the coarse *looie* or 'blanket,' at three rupees per pair (six shillings), to thirty rupees. The quality of these last is very fine, of an intermediate texture between the shawl and camlet, and without any nap: it is always bordered with a stripe of chocolate brown or red. Of this quality are the *do-patis* or 'scarfs' for the ladies. Turbans are also manufactured of it, and though frequently from forty to sixty-one feet in length, such is the fineness of the web, that they are not bulky on the head.

From the milk of the sheep and goats as well as kine, *ghee* or 'clarified butter' is made, and forms an important article of trade.

*Manufactures in iron*.—The Bikaneris work well in iron, and have shops at the capital and all the large towns for the manufacture of sword-blades, matchlocks, daggers, iron lances, &c. The sword-handles, which are often inlaid with variegated steel, or burnished, are in high request, and exported to various parts of India. They have also expert artists in ivory, though the articles are chiefly such as are worn by females, as *chooris*, or 'bracelets.'

Coarse cotton cloths, for internal consumption, are made in considerable quantities.

*Fairs*.—Annual fairs were held, in the months of Kartik and Phalgun, at the towns of Kolath and Gujnair, and frequented by the merchants of the adjacent countries. They were celebrated for cattle, chiefly the produce of the desert, camels, kine, and horses from Mooltan and the Lakhi Jungle, a breed now almost extinct. These fairs have lost all their celebrity: in fact, commerce in these regions is extinct.

*Government revenues*.—The personal revenues of the Raja were derived from a variety of sources: from the *Khalisa*, or 'crown-lands' imposts, taxes on agriculture, and that compendious *item* which makes up the deficiencies in all oriental budgets, *dind*, or 'contribution.' But with all these "appliances and means to boot," the civil list of this desert king seldom exceeded five lakhs of rupees, or about £50,000 per annum. The lands of the feudality are more extensive proportionally in this region than in any other in Rajpootana, arising out of the original settlement, when the Beedawuts and Kandulotes, whose joint acquisitions exceeded those of Beeka, would not admit him to



hold lands in their territory, and made but a slight pecuniary acknowledgment of his supremacy. The districts in which the crown lands lie are Rajgurb, Rinnie, Nohur, Garib, Ruttengurb, Ranniah, and more recently Chooru.

The following are the items of the revenue:—1st *Khalisa*, or fiscal revenue; 2d. *Dhooah*; 3d. *Angah*; 4th. Town and transit duties; 5th. *Pusaeti*, or 'plough-tax'; 6th. *Malbah*.

1st. The *fisc*. Formerly this branch of revenue yielded two lakhs of rupees; but with progressive superstition and prodigality, the raja has alienated almost two-thirds of the villages from which the revenue was drawn. These amounted to two hundred; now they do not exceed eighty, and their revenue is not more than one lakh of rupees. Soorut Sing is guided only by caprice; his rewards are uniform, no matter what the service or the object, whether a Brahmin or a camel-driver. The *Khalisa* is the only source which he considers he has merely a life-interest in. To supply the deficiencies, he has direct recourse to the pockets of his subjects.

2d. *Dhooah* may be rendered hearth-tax, though literally it is a smoke (*dhooah*) tax. All must eat; food must be dressed; and as they have neither chimneys nor glass windows on which to lay the tax, Soorut Sing's chancellor of the exchequer makes the smoke pay a transit duty ere it gets vent from the various orifices of the edifice. It only amounts to one rupee on each house or family, but would form an important item if not evaded by the powerful chiefs: still it yields a lakh of rupees.

The town of Mahajin, which was settled on Ruttun Sing, son of Raja Noonkurn, on the resignation of his right of primogeniture and succession, enjoys exemption from this tax. It is less liable to fluctuation than other taxes, for if a village becomes half-deserted, those who remain are saddled with the whole. *Dhooah* is only known to the two western states, Bikaner and Jessulmer.

3d. *Angah*. This is not a capitation but a *body* tax (from *angah* the body), and was established by Raja Anop Sing. It might almost be termed a property-tax, since it embraced quadrupeds as well as bipeds of every sex and age, and was graduated according to age and sex in the human species, and according to utility in the brute. Each male adult was assessed one *angah*, fixed at four anas (about sixpence), and cows, oxen, buffaloes, were placed upon a level with the lord of the creation. Ten goats or sheep were estimated as one *angah*; but a camel was equivalent to four *angahs*, or one rupee, which Raja Guj Sing doubled. This tax, which is by far the most certain in a country, perhaps still more pastoral than agricultural, is most providently watched, and though it has undergone many changes since it was originally imposed, it yet yields annually two lakhs of rupees.

4th. *Sayer*, or 'imposts.' This branch is subject to much fluctuation, and has diminished greatly since the reign of Soorut Sing. The duties levied in the capital alone formerly exceeded what is collected throughout the whole of his dominions; being once estimated at above two lakhs, and now under one. Of this amount, half is collected at Rajgurb, the chief commercial mart of





Bikaner. The dread of the *Rahts*, who have cut off the communications with the Punjab, and the want of principle within, deter merchants from visiting this state, and the caravans from Mooltan, Bhawalpoor, and Shikarpoor, which passed through Bikaner to the eastern states, have nearly abandoned the route. The only duties of which he is certain are those on grain, of four rupees on every hundred maunds sold or exported, and which, according to the average sale price of these regions, may be about two per cent.

5th. *Pusaeti* is a tax of five rupees on every plough used in agriculture. It was introduced by Raja Rae Sing, in commutation of the corn-tax, or levy in kind, which had long been established at one-fourth of the gross produce. The Jits were glad to compound, and get rid of the agents of corruption, by the substitution of the plough-tax. It formerly yielded two lakhs of rupees, but with decreasing agriculture has fallen, like every other source, to a little more than one-half, but still yields a lakh and a quarter.

6th. *Malbah* is the name of the original tax which the Jit communities imposed upon themselves, when they submitted to the sway in perpetuity of Beeka and his successors. It is the land-tax\* of two rupees on each hundred beegas of land cultivated in Bikaner. It is now unproductive, not realizing fifty thousand rupees, and it is said that a composition has been effected, by which it has been, or will be, relinquished: if so, Soorut Sing gives up the

sole legitimate source of revenue he possesses.

#### Recapitulation.

1st. Khalisa, or fisc*	1,00,000
2d. Dhooah .....	1,00,000
3d. Angah.....	2,00,000
4th. Sayer, imposts† .....	75,000
5th. Pusaeti, plough-tax .....	1,25,000
6th. Malbah, land-tax .....	50,000

TOTAL ..... 6,50,000

Besides this, the fullest amount arising to the prince from annual taxation, there are other items which occasionally replenish the treasury of Soorut Sing.

*Dhatoie* is a triennial tax of five rupees levied on each plough. It was instituted by Raja Zoorawur Sing. The whole country is liable to it, with the exception of fifty villages in Asiagati, and seventy of the Beniwal, conditionally exempted, to guard the borders. It is now frequently evaded by the feudal chieftains, and seldom yields a lakh of rupees.

In addition to these specific expedients, there are many arbitrary methods of in-

* Nohur district...	84	villages.	Revenue ...	Rs. 1,00,000
Rinnie .....	24	ditto .....		10,000
Raniah .....	44	ditto .....		20,000
Jalbli .....	1	ditto .....		5,000

Total original Fiscal Lands ..... 1,35,000  
since Rajgurb, Chooru, and other places recovered.

† Impost Duties in old times, viz.

Town of Noonkurn .. .. .	Rs. 2,000
Rajgurb .. .. .	10,000
Shekhsir .. .. .	5,000
Capital—Bikaner .. .. .	75,000
From Chooru and other towns .. .. .	45,000

1,37,000

\* *Mal* is the term for land which has no irrigation but from the heavens.



creasing the "ways and means" to satisfy the necessities or avarice of the present ruler, and a train of dependent harpies, who prey upon the cultivating peasantry, or industrious trader. By such shifts, Soorut Sing has been known to double his fixed revenue.

*Dind, Khooshali.*—The terms *Dind*, and *Khooshali*, though etymologically the antipodes of each other,—the first meaning a 'compulsory contribution,' the other a 'benevolence, or voluntary,'\*—have a similar interpretation in these regions, and make the subjects of those parts devoutly pray that their prince's house may be one rather of mourning than rejoicing, and that defeat rather than victory may be attendant on his arms.

The term *dind* is coeval with Hindu legislation. The bard Chund describes it, and the chronicler of the life of the great Sidraj of Anhulwarra, "who expelled the seven *Diddas*," or 'great evils,' whose initial letter was *d*, enumerates *dind* as one of them, and places it with the *Dholis* and *Dhakuns*, minstrels and witches, giving it precedence amongst the seven plagues which his ancestors and tyrant custom had inflicted on the subject. Unhappily, there is no Sidraj to legislate for Rajpootana; and were there fourteen *Diddas* by which Soorut Sing could swell his budget, he would retain them all for the oppression of the impoverished Jits, who, if they could, would be happy to expel the letter *S* from amongst them. But it is from the chieftain, the merchant, and

the banker, that the chief sums are realized; though indirectly the poor peasant contributes his share. There are fourteen collectors of *dind*, one to every *cheera* or division, and these are furnished with arbitrary schedules according to the circumstances, actual or supposed, of each individual. So unlimited are these exactions, that the chief of Gundaili for two years offered the collector of his quarter ten thousand rupees if he would guarantee him against any further demand during even twelve months; and being refused, he turned the collector out, shut the gates of his castle, and boldly bid his master defiance.

One of his expedients to levy a *khooshali*, or 'benevolence,' is worth relating: it was on the termination of his expedition against Bhutnair, which added this celebrated desert and castle to his territory, and in which he was attended by the entire feudal army of Bikaner. On his return, "flushed with conquest," he demanded from each house throughout his dominions the sum of ten rupees to cover the expenses of the war. If the tyrant-ridden subjects of Soorut Sing thus *rejoice* in his successes, how must they feel for his defeats! To them both are alike ominous, when every artifice is welcomed, every villany practised, to impoverish them. Oppression is at its height, and must work out its own cure.

*Feudal levies.*—The disposable force of all these feudal principalities must depend on the personal character of the Raja. If Soorut Sing were popular, and the national emergencies demanded the assemblage of the *kher*, or *levee en masse*, of the 'sons of Beeka,' he might bring ten thousand Raj-

\* *Khoosh* means 'happiness, pleasure, volition:—*ap ka khoosh*, 'at your pleasure.'

† This was written in 1813.





poots into the field, of whom twelve hundred might be good horse, besides the foreign troops and park; but under present circumstances, and the rapid deterioration of every branch of society, it may be doubted whether one-half could be collected under his standard.

The household troops consist of a batta-

lion of foreign infantry, of five hundred men with five guns, and three squadrons of horse, about two hundred and fifty in number; all under foreign leaders. This is independent of the garrison of the capital, whose commandant is a Rajpoot of the Purihar tribe, who has twenty-five villages assigned for the payment of his troops.

*Schedule exhibiting the Fiefs of Bikaner.*

Names of Chieftains.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	Retainers :		Remarks.	
				Foot.	Horse.		
Beri Sal     ...     ...	Beeko     ...	Mahajin ...	40,000	5,000	100	One hundred and forty villages attached to this fief, settled on the heir of Raja Noon- kurn, who consequent- ly forfeited the <i>gadi</i> .	
Abhe Sing    ..     ...	Benirote ...	Bookurko...	25,000	5,000	200		
Anop Sing    ...     ...	Beeko     ...	Jessanoh ...	5,000	400	40		
Paim Sing    ...     ...	Do.       ...	Baie       ...	5,000	400	25		
Chyn Sing    ...     ...	Benirote ...	Sawoh     ...	20,000	2,000	300	The first of the chiefs of Bikaner.	
Himmut Sing    ..     ...	Raot       ...	Raotsir    ...	20,000	2,000	300		
Seo Sing       ...     ...	Benirote ...	Chooru    ...	25,000	2,000	200		
Omed Sing       ...     }	Beedawut {	Bedasir    {	50,000	10,000	2,000		One hundred a forty <i>hoties</i> (familie lit. <i>chambers</i> ) of this class.
Jaet Sing       ...     ... }		Saondwa    {					
Buhader Sing    ...     }	Narnote {	Maynsir    {	40,000	4,000	500		
Sooraj Mull       ...     }		Teandesir    {					
Gomaun Sing    ...     ... }		Kattur       {					
Attie Sing       ...     }	Narnote ...	Kootchore    }	5,000	500	125		
Shere Sing       ...     ...		Neembaje...					
Davee Sing       ...     }	Narnote...	Seedmook    {	20,000	5,000	400		
Omeid Sing       ...     ... }		Kurripoora    {					
Soortan Sing    ...     ... }		Ajeetpoora    {					
Kurrni Dan       ...     }		Beasir       ... }					
Carried forward ...			255,000	36,300	4,190		



Names of Chieftains.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	Retainers :		Remarks.
				Foot.	Horse.	
		Brought forward ...	255,000	36,300	4,190	
Soortan Sing ...	Cutchwaha	Nynawass	4,000	150	30	These two fiefs are held by foreign nobles of the house of Amber, and the ancient Pramara, (vulg. Powar).
Puddum Sing ...	Powar ...	Jaetsisir ...	5,000	200	100	
Kishen Sing ...	Beeko ...	Hyadesir ...	5,000	200	50	
Rao Sing ...	Bhatti ...	Poogul* ..	6,000	1,500	40	The fief of Poogul was wrested from the Bhattis of Jessulmer.
Sooltan Sing ...	Do. ...	Rajasir ..	1,500	200	50	
Lukteer Sing ...	Do. ...	Ranair ...	2,000	400	75	
Kurnie Sing ...	Do. ...	Sutasir ...	1,100	200	9	
Bhom Sing ...	Do. ...	Chuckurra	1,500	60	4	
Four Chieftains,†						
viz.						
1. Bhonni Sing ...	Bhatti ...	Beetchnok	1,500	60	6	
2. Zalim Sing ...	Do. ...	Gurrialah...	1,100	40	4	
3. Sirdar Sing ...	Do. ...	Soorjerah ...	800	30	2	
4. Kaet Sing ...	Do. ...	Rundisir ...	600	32	2	
Chund Sing ...	Kurumsaut	Nokho ...	11,000	1,500	500	Twenty-seven villages dependent on this family from Jodpoor, and settled here eleven years.
phai Dan ...	Roopawut...	Badilah ...	5,000	200	25	
trium Sing ...	Bhatti ...	Jangloo ...	2,500	400	9	
laitsi ...	Do. ...	Jaminsir ...	15,000	500	150	Twenty-seven villages.
Issree Sing ...	Mundilah ...	Saroonda ...	11,000	2,000	150	
Puddum Sing ...	Bhatti ...	Koodsoo ...	1,500	60	4	
Kullian Sing ...	Do. ...	Naineah ...	1,000	40	2	
TOTAL.....			331,400	43,572	5,402	

If ever the whole feudal array of Bikaner amounted to this, it would assuredly be found difficult now, were the *ban* proclaimed, to assemble one-fourth of this number.

\* Poogul Putta.

† These chiefs are called Sirdars of Khari Putta, one of the original conquests of the founder, Beeka.



*Foreign Troops.*

	Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
Sooltan Khan.....	—	200	—
Anokha Singh, Sikh .....	—	250	—
Boodh Singh Dewarah .....	—	200	—
Doorjun Singh's Battalion.....	700	4	4
Gunga Singh's Battalion .....	1,000	25	6
	—	—	—
TOTAL FOREIGNERS .....	1,700	679	10
Park .....			21
	—	—	—
	1,700	679	31
	—	—	—

## CHAPTER III.

*Bhutinair, its origin and denomination.—Historical celebrity of the Jits of Bhutnair.—Emigration of Bersi.—Succeeded by Bhiroo.—Embraces Islamism.—Rao Duleech.—Hosein Khan, Hosein Mahmood, Emam Mahmood, and Buhader Khan.—Zabta Khan, the present ruler.—Condition of the country.—Changes in its physical aspect.—Ruins of ancient buildings. Promising scene for archaeological inquiries.—Zoological and botanical curiosities.—List of the ancient towns.—Relics of the arrow-head character found in the Desert.*

Bhutnair, which now forms an integral part of Bikaner, was anciently the chief abode of another Jit community, so powerful as at one time to provoke the vengeance of kings, and at others to succour them when in distress. It is asserted that its name is in no wise connected with the Bhattis who colonized it, but derived from the Bardai, or Bhat, of a powerful prince, to whom the lands were granted, and who, desirous to be the founder of a poetic dynasty, gave his professional title to the abode. In the annals of Jessulmer, it will be seen that there is another story accounting for the

appellation, which recalls the founding of Carthage or Byrsa. Both legends are improbable; and the Bhatti annals confirm what might have been assumed without suspicion, that to a colony of this race Bhutnair owes its name, though not its existence. The whole of the northern part is called Nair, and the ancient geographical nomenclature of Maroo-nali; and when some of the Bhatti clans became proselytes to Islam, they changed the vowel *a* to *u*, to distinguish them from the parent stock, viz. Bhatti for Bhutti. We shall, however, furnish evidence by and by, in the annals





of the original race, that in all probability the Yadu-Bhatti is the original Yuti colony from Central Asia ; and that "the Jit prince of Salpoor," whose inscription is in the first volume of this work, was the predecessor of these very races.

Neither the tract depending on Bhutnair, nor that north of it to the Garah river, presented formerly the scene of absolute desolation they now exhibit, and I shall append a list of towns, to which a high antiquity is assigned, whose vestiges still remain, and from which something might perhaps be gleaned to confirm or overturn these deductions.

Bhutnair has attained great historical celebrity from its position, being in the route of invasion from Central Asia to India. It is more than probable that the Jits, who resisted the advance of Mahmood of Ghizni in a naval warfare on the Indus, had long before that period established themselves in the desert as well as in the Punjab ; and as we find them occupying a place amongst the thirty-six royal tribes, we may infer that they had political power many centuries before that conqueror. In A.D. 1205, only twelve years after the conquest of India by Shabudin, his successor, Kootub, was compelled to conduct the war in person against the Jits of the northern desert, to prevent their wresting the important post of Hansi from the empire. When the unfortunate and greedy queen Rizzia, the worthy heiress of the great Ferroz, was compelled to abandon her throne to an usurper, she sought and found protection amongst the Jits, who, with their Scythian brethren, the Ghikers, assembled all their forces and

marched, with their queen at their head, like Tomyris of old, to meet her foes. She was not destined to enjoy the same revenge, but gained a glorious death in the attempt to overturn the Salic law of India.\* Again, in A.D. 1397, when Timoor invaded India, Bhutnair was attacked for "having distressed him exceedingly on his invasion of Mooltan," when he "in person scoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits." In short, the Bhuttis and Jits were so intermingled, that distinction was impossible. Leaving this point, therefore, to be adjusted in the annals of the Bhattis, we proceed to sketch the history of the colony which ruled Bhutnair when subjugated by the Rahtores.

It was shortly after Timoor's invasion, that a colony of Bhattis migrated from Marote and Phoolra, under their leader Bersi, and assaulted and captured Bhutnair from a Mahomedan chief ; but whether one of Timoor's officers, or a dependent of Delhi, remains unknown, though most probably the former. His name, Chigat Khan, almost renders this certain, and they must have made a proper name out of his tribe, Chagitai, of which he was a noble. This Khan had conquered Bhutnair from the Jits, and had acquired a considerable territory, which the Bhatti colony took advantage of his return to invade and conquer. Sixteen generations have intervened since this event, which bringing it to the period of Timoor's invasion, furnishes an additional reason for concluding the Khan of Bhutnair to have been one of his nobles, whom he may have left en-

\* I presented to Mr. Marsden a unique coin of this ill-fated queen.



trusted with this important point of communication, should he meditate further intercourse with India.

Bersi ruled twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son Bhiroo, when the sons of Chigat Khan, obtaining aid from the Delhi monarch, invaded Bhutnair, and were twice repulsed with great loss. A third army succeeded; Bhutnair was invested and reduced to great straits, when Bhiroo hung out a flag of truce, and offered to accept any conditions which would not compromise his castle. Two were named:—to embrace Islamism, or seal his sincerity by giving his daughter to the king. He accepted the first alternative, and from that day, in order to distinguish these proselytes, they changed the name of Bhatti to Bhutti. Six chiefs intervened between Bhiroo and

Rao Duleech, surnamed Hyat Khan, from whom Rae Sing of Bikaner wrested Bhutnair, and Futtehabad became the future residence of the Bhutti Khans. He was succeeded by

Hosein Khan (the grandson of Hyat), who recaptured Bhutnair from Raja Sujawun Sing, and it was maintained during the time of Hosein Mahmoud and Emam Mahmoud, until Soorut Sing made the final conquest of it from Bubader Khan, father to the present titular head of the Bhuttis,\*

Zabta Khan, who resides at Raniah, having about twenty-five villages dependent thereon.† Raniah was founded by Rae Sing of

Bikaner, and named after his queen (*Rani*), to whom it was assigned. It was taken by Emam Mahmood. The Bhutti Khan is now a robber by profession, and his revenues, which are said to have sometimes amounted to three lakhs of rupees, are extorted by the point of his lance. These depredations are carried to frightful extent, and the poor Jits are kept eternally on the alert to defend their property. The proximity of the British territory preventing all incursions to the eastward, they are thrown back upon their original haunts, and make the whole of this northern region their prey. To this circumstance is attributed the desertion of these lands, which once reared cattle in abundance, and were highly valued. It is asserted that from the northern boundary of Bhutnair to the Garah, there are many tracts susceptible of high cultivation, having water near the surface, and many large spaces entirely free from *thul*, or 'sand-hills.' To the drying up of the Hakra, or Caggar, many centuries ago, in conjunction with moral evils, is ascribed the existing desolation. According to tradition, this stream took a westerly direction, by Phoolra, where it is yet to be traced, and fell into the Indus below Ootch. The couplet recording its absorption by the sands of *Nair*, has already been given, in the time of Rao Hamir, prince of Dhat. If the next European traveller who may pass through the Indian desert will seek out the representative of the ancient Soda princes at Chore, near Amerkote, he may learn from their bard (if they retain such an appendage) the date of this prince, and that of so important an event in the physical and political history of

\* In S. 1857 (A.D. 1801), the celebrated George Thomas, for the sum of three lakhs, put the Bhuttis into the temporary possession of Bhutnair: but the succeeding year it was again taken from them by the Rahtores.

† This memoir was written in 1813-14, and may contain many inaccuracies, from its very remote situation, and the difficulty of obtaining correct information.



their regions. The vestiges of large towns, now buried in the sands, confirm the truth of this tradition, and several of them claim a high antiquity: such as the *Rung-mahel*, already mentioned, west of Bhutnair, having subterranean apartments still in good preservation. An aged native of Dhandoo-sir (twenty-five miles south of Bhutnair) replied, to my inquiry as to the recollections attached to this place, that "it belonged to a Powar prince who ruled once all these regions, when Sekunder Roomi attacked them."

An excursion from Hansi Hissar, our western frontier, into these regions, would soon put the truth of such traditions to the test, as far as these reported ruins are concerned; though what might appear the remains of palaces of the Pramaras, the Johyas, and the Jits of ancient days, to the humble occupant of a hut in the desert, may only prove the foundations of some castellated building. But the same traditions are circulated with regard to the more western desert, where the same kind of vestiges is said to exist, and the annals make mention of capitals, the sites of which are now utterly unknown. Considering the safety, and comparative ease, with which such a journey can be made, one cannot imagine a more agreeable pursuit, than the prosecution of archæological inquiries in the northern deserts of Rajpootana, where traditions abound, and where the existing manners, amongst such a diversity of tribes, would furnish ample materials for the portfolio, as well as for memoirs. Its productions, spontaneous or cultivated, though its botanical as well as zoological specimens may be limited, we

know to be essentially different from those of Gangetic India, and more likely to find a parallel in the natural productions and phenomena of the great African desert. The Bhuttis, the Khosas, the Rajurs, the Sahraes, the Mangulias, the Sodas, and various other nomadic tribes, present a wide field for observation; and the physiologist, when tired of the habits of man, may descend from the nobler animal to the lion, the wild ass, every kind of deer, the flocks of sheep which, fed on the succulent grasses, touch not water for six weeks together, while the various herbs, esculent plants and shrubs, salt lakes, natron beds, &c. would give abundant scope for commentary and useful comparison. He will discover no luxuries, and few signs of civilization; the *jhopra* (hut) constructed of poles and twigs, coated inside with mud and covered with grass, being little better than the African's dwelling.

We shall conclude this imperfect sketch of Bikaner and the desert with the names of several of their ancient towns, which may aid the search of the traveller in the regions on its northern border.—Abhore; Bunjarra ca Nuggur; Rung-Mahel; Sodul, or Sorutgurh; Machotal; Raati-bung; Kali-bung; Kiliansir; Phoolra; Marote; Tilwarra; Gilwarra; Bunni; Manick-Khur; Soer-sagur; Bhameni; Koriwalla; Kul-Dherani.

Some names in this list may be unimportant, but if two, or even one, should be the means of eliciting some knowledge of the past, the record will not be useful.

Phoolra and Marote have still some importance: the first is very ancient, and enumerated amongst the '*No-koti Marcoo-ca*,'





in the earliest periods of Pramara (vulg. *Powar*) dominion. I have no doubt that inscriptions in the ornamental *nail-headed* character belonging to the Jains will be found here, having obtained one from *Lodorva* in the desert, which has been a ruin

for nine centuries. Phoolra was the residence of Lakha *Phoolani*, a name well known to those versed in the old traditions of the desert. He was cotemporary with Sid Rae of Anhulwarra, and Udyadit of Dhar.





## ANNALS OF JESSULMER.

## CHAPTER I.

*Jessulmer.*—The derivation of its name.—The Rajpoots of Jessulmer called Bhattis, are of the Yadu race. Descended from Bharat, king of Bharatversha, or Indo-Scythia.—Restricted bounds of India of modern invention.—The ancient Hindus a naval people.—First seats of the Yadus in India, Prayaga, Mathura, and Dwarica.—Their international wars.—Heri, king of Mathura and Dwarica, leader of the Yadus.—Dispersion of his family.—His great grandsons Naba and Khira.—Naba driven from Dwarica, becomes prince of Maroosthali, conjectured to be the Maru, or Merve of Iran.—Jhareja and Jud-bhan, the sons of Khira. The former founds the Sind-samma dynasty, and Jud-bhan becomes prince of Behera in the Punjab.—Prithibahu succeeds to Naba in Maroo.—His son Bahu.—His posterity. Raja Guj found Gujni.—Attacked by the kings of Syria and Khorasan, who are repulsed. Raja Guj attacks Cashmere.—His marriage.—Second invasion from Khorasan.—The Syrian king conjectured to be Antiochus.—Oracle predicts the loss of Gujni.—Guj slain. Gujni taken.—Prince Salbahan arrives in the Punjab.—Founds the city of Salbahana, S. V. 72.—Conquers the Punjab.—Marries the daughter of Jeipal Tuar of Delhi.—Re-conquers Gujni.—Is succeeded by Balund.—His numerous offspring.—Their conquests.—Conjecture regarding the Jadoon tribe of Eusofzye, that the Afghans are Yadus, not Yahudis, or Jews.—Balund resides at Salbahana.—Assigns Gujni to his grandson Chakito, who becomes a convert to Islam and king of Khorasan.—The Chakito Moghuls descended from him.—Balund dies.—His son Bhatti succeeds.—Changes the patronymic of Yadu, or Jadoo, to Bhatti. Succeeded by Mungul Rao.—His brother Munsoor Rao and sons cross the Garah and take possession of the Lakhi jungle.—Degradation of the sons of Mungul Rao.—They lose their rank as Rajpoots.—Their offspring styled Abhorias and Juts.—Tribe of Tak.—The capital of Taxiles discovered.—Mungul Rao arrives in the Indian desert.—Its tribes. His son, Majun Rao, marries a princess of Amerkote.—His son Kehur.—Alliance with the Deora of Jhalore.—The foundation of Thanote laid.—Kehur succeeds.—Thanote attacked by the Baraha tribe.—Thanote completed S. 787.—Peace with the Barahas.—Reflections.

Jossulmer is the modern name of a tract of country comprehended, according to ancient geography, in *Maroosthali*, the desert of India. It is termed *Mer* in the traditional nomenclature of this region, from being a rocky (*mer*) oasis in the heart of the sandy



desert, interesting both from its physical features, and its position as the *ultima Thule* of independent Hinduism. Yet, however entitled to regard from its local peculiarities or its products, the history of the tribe which inhabits it presents a still more engrossing subject for investigation.

This tribe is the Bhatti, a branch of the Yadu or Jadoo race, whose power was paramount in India three thousand years ago; and the prince now governing this distant corner of India, claims descent from those Yadu kings who ruled from the Yamuna to the "world's end,"\* at that remote period.

It were preposterous to expect to find, in the annals of the people so subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, an unbroken series of historical evidence in support of this ancestry; but they have preserved links of the chain which indicate original affinities. In tracing the Yadu-Bhatti history, two hypotheses alternately present themselves to our minds, each of which rests upon plausible grounds; the one supposing the Bhattis to be of Scythic, the other of Hindu origin. This incongruity may be reconciled by presuming the co-mixture of the two primitive races; by enlarging our views, and contemplating the barrier, which in remote ages separated Scythia and India, as ideal; and admitting that the various communities, from the Caspian to the Ganges, were members of one grand family, having a common language and common faith,† in

that ancient central empire whose existence has been contended for and denied by the first names in science;‡ the Bharatversha of the Hindus, the Indo-Scythic empire of king Bharat, son of Budha, the ancestor of the Yadu-Bhattis, now confined to a nook of the desert.

It would be vain to speculate upon the first colonization of India proper by the *Rajcula*, or 'royal tribes.' It appears to have possessed an indigenous population prior to the races of Surya, or Indu, though the genealogies which give the origin of these degraded races of Cabas,† Bhils, Meras, Goands, &c. assert that they were all from the same stem, and that their political de-

ments, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the fourth class (i. e., *Sudra*.); *Paundracas*, *Odras*, and *Draviras*; *Cambojas*, *Yavanas*, and *Sacas*; *Paradas*, *Pahlavas*, *Chinas*, *Ciratas*, and *Chasas*.—Art. 43 and 44, chap. x. page 346.

It is a great mistake to suppose the Bactrian Greeks are these *Yavanas*, who are descended from Yavan, fifth son of Yayat, third son of the patriarchal Nahus, though the Ionians may be of this race. The *Sacas* are the *Saca*, the races of Central Asia, (the *Sacha* Rajpoot); the *Pahlavas*, the ancient Persians, or Guebres; the *Chinas*, the inhabitants of China; and the *Chasas*, inhabitants of the great snowy mountains (*hho*), whence *Kho-chasa* (the *Casia montes* of Ptolemy), corrupted to *Caucasus*.

\* The illustrious Cuvier questions the existence of an ancient central kingdom, because "ni Moise, ni Homere, ne nous parlait d'un grand empire dans la Hante-Asie." —(*Discours sur les Revolutions de la Surface du Globe*, p. 206.)—Who, then, were "the sons of Togarmah" (mentioned by Ezekiel) who conquered and long held Egypt?

† The Caba race is almost extinct; it was famed, even in the days of Crishna, as the savage inhabitants of Saurashtra. When the forester Bhil, who mortally wounded Crishna, was expressing his contrition for the unintentional act, he was forgiven, with the remark, that it was only retributive justice, as "in a former birth," as the godlike Rama, Crishna had slain him. Thus Rama appears as the subjugator and civilizer of these indigenous tribes, of whom the Cabas are described as plundering Crishna's family after his decease.

\* *Juggut Coont*, the point of land beyond Dwarica, the last strong-hold of the Yadus when their power was extinguished.

† Manu says: "The following races of *Cshatriyas*, by their omission of holy rites, and by seeing no Brah-



basement was the effect of moral causes. But as there is no proof of this, we must attribute the fable to the desire of the Brahmin archæologist to account for the origin of all things. Modern enquiries into these matters have been cramped by an erroneous and contracted view of the power of this ancient people, and the direction of that power. It has been assumed that the prejudices originating in Mooslem conquest, which prevented the Hindu chieftain from crossing the forbidden waters of the Attoc, and still more from "going down to the sea in ships," had always existed. But were it not far more difficult to part with erroneous impressions than to receive new and correct views, it would be apparent that the first of these restrictions is of very recent origin, and on the other hand, that the Hindus of remote ages possessed great naval power, by which communication must have been maintained with the coasts of Africa,\* Arabia, and Persia, as well as the Australian Archipelago.† It is ridiculous, with all the knowledge now in our possession, to suppose that

\* Whence the Hindu names of towns at the estuaries of the Gambia and Senegal rivers, the Tambaconda and other *condas*, already mentioned?

† Mr. Marsden, at an early period of his researches into Hindu literature, shares the merit of discovering with Sir W. Jones, that the Malayan language, disseminated throughout the Archipelago, and extending from Madagascar to Easter Island, a space of 200 degs. of longitude, is indebted to the Sanscrit for a considerable number of its terms, and that the intercourse which effected this was many centuries previous to their conversion to the Mahomedan religion. He is inclined to think that the point of communication was from Guzzerat. The legends of these islanders also abound with allusions to the *Mahabharat* and *Ramayana*. (See Asiatic Res. vol. vi. p. 226, Second Edition.)

Since Mr. M. wrote, the revelation of the architectual antiquities in these isles, consequent to British conquests, establishes the fact that they were colonized by the

the Hindus always confined themselves within their gigantic barriers, the limits of modern India. The cosmography of the *Poorans*, imperfect and puerile as it is, and some of the texts of Menu, afford abundant evidence of an intimate intercourse between the countries from the Oxus to the Ganges; and even in their allegories, we trace fresh streams of knowledge flowing into India from that central region, stigmatized in latter days as the land of the Barbarian (*Mletcha*). Menu corroborates the *Poorans*, from which we infer the fact, that in distant ages one uniform faith extended from *Sacadwipa*, the continent of the Sacæ, to the Ganges.\*

Suryas, whose mythological and heroic history is sculptured in their edifices and maintained in their writings. Nor should we despair that similar discoveries may yet disclose the link which of yore connected India with Egypt, and to which Ceylon was but the first stepping-stone. That Rama possessed great naval means is beyond doubt, inherited from his ancestor Sagara 'the sea-king,' twenty generations before the hero of Lanka, which place I have long imagined to be Ethiopia; whence ancient writers assert Egypt to have had her institutions, and that the Ethiopians were of Indian origin. Cuvier, quoting Syncellus, even assigns the reign of Amenophis as the epoch of the colonization of Ethiopia from India.—Page 180 of his '*Discours*,' &c.

\* The cosmography of the *Agni Pooran* divides the world then known to the Hindus into seven *dwipas*, or continents: one of these is "Saca-dwipa, whose inhabitants, descended from Bupha, are termed Sacaswara (i. e., *Saca-lords*)." His (Bupha's) offspring or descendants were Julud, Sookmar, Manichuk, Koorum, Ootures, Darbeeka, Drooma, each of whom gave his name to a *khand*, or division (*qu*. Sookmarkhand?). The chief ranges of mountains were Juldus, Raivat, Siamah, Induc, Amki, Rim, and Kesari. "There were seven grand rivers, viz. Mug, Mugud, Arverna, &c. The inhabitants worship the sun."

Slight as this information is, we must believe that the Sacadwipa or Sacatai, is the Scythia of the Ancients; and the Sacasware (the Sacas of Menu), the Sacæ so well known to western history, the progenitors of the Parthians, whose first (*ad*) king was *Arsaca*. The sun-worship indicates the adorer of Mithras, the Mitra or Surya of the Hindu; the Arverna recalls the *Araxes*



These observations it is necessary to premise before we attempt, by following the tide of Yadu migration during the lapse of thirty centuries, to trace them from Indraprastha, Surapura, Mathura, Pryaga, Dwarica, Judoo-ca-dang (the mountains of Jud), Behara, Gujni in Zabulistan; and again reflux into India, at Salbahana or Salpoora in the Punjab, Tunnote, Derawul, Lodorva in the desert, and finally Jessulmer, founded in S. 1212, or A.D. 1156.

Having elsewhere descanted at length on the early history of the Yadus,\* we may refer those who are likely to take an interest in this discussion to that paper, and proceed at once to glean what we can from the native annals before us, from the death of their leader, Heri-Crishna, to the dispersion of the Yadus from India. The bare fact of their migration altogether out of India proper, proves that the original intercourse, which conducted Budha, patriarch of the Yadu race, into India† (where he espoused

Ella, a princess of the Surya race, and by whom his issue was multiplied), was not forgotten, though fifty generations had elapsed from the patriarchal Budha to Heri—to whom and the chronicle we return.

“Pryaga\* is the cradle of the Yadus who are *Somavansa* (of the lunar race). Thence Mathura founded by Prururwa remained for ages the seat of power. The name of Jadoo (Yadu), of whom there were fifty-six tribes,† became famous in the world, and of this race was the mighty Heri-Crishna, who founded Dwarica.”

The grand international conflicts amongst the “fifty-six Yadu tribes,” at Curukheta, and subsequently at Dwarica, are sufficiently known to the reader of Hindu history, and may be referred to elsewhere.‡ These events are computed to have happened about 1100 years before Christ. On the dispersion of these races many abandoned India, and amongst these, two of the many sons of Crishna. This deified leader of the Yadus had eight wives, and the offspring of the first and seventh, by a singular fate, now

applied to the Jaxartes; while Julud, the proper name of the son of the first king of Sacadwipa, appears to be the Juldus of the Tatar historian Abulgazi, who uses the same term as does the Hindu, to designate a range of mountains. Whence this identity between Pooranic and Tatar cosmography?

“A chief of the twice-born tribe (*i. e.* Brahmins) was brought by Vishan's eagle from Sacadwipa, and thus have Sacadwipa Brahmins become known in Jambudwipa” (India).—Mr. Colbrooke on Indian Classes, Asiatic Res. vol. v. p. 53. And Menu says that it was only on their ceasing to sanction Brahmins residing amongst them, that the inhabitants of these remote western regions became ‘*Mletcha*,’ or barbarians: testimonies which must be held conclusive of perfect intercourse and reciprocity of sentiment between the nations of Central Asia and India at periods the most remote.

\* *Vide* “Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules,” Transactions of the royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii.

† The *Bhagvat* says, “Budha (a wise man—a patriarch) came to Bharatkhand to perform penitential rites, and espoused Ella, by whom he had Prururwa (founder

of Muthura), who had six sons, viz. Ayu, &c. who carried on the lunar (Indu) races in India.” Now this Ayu is likewise the patriarch of the Tatars, and in that language signifies the moon, a male divinity both with Tatars and Rajpoots. Throughout there are traces of an original identity, which justifies the application of the term Indo-Scythic to the Yadu race.—*Vide* Genealogical table, Vol. I.

\* *Pryaga* is the modern Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, the capital of the Prasii of Megasthenes.

† This is alternately called *Chapun Cula* and *Chapun Crore*, “fifty-six tribes,” and “fifty-six millions,” of Yadus. As they were long supreme over India, this number is not inadmissible.

‡ Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. *Vide* paper entitled, “Comparison of the Hindu and Theban Hercules.”



occupy what may be termed the outposts of Hinduism.\*

Rookmani was the senior of these wives ; and the eldest of her sons was Pridema, who was married to a princess of Bidurba ; she bore him two sons, Anurad and Bujra, and from the latter the Bhattis claim descent. Bujra had two sons, Naba and Khira.

"When the Jadoos were exterminated in the conflict at Dwarika, and Heri had gone to heaven, Bujra was on his way from Mathura to see his father, but had only marched twenty coss (forty miles), when he received intelligence of that event, which had swept away his kindred. He died upon the spot, when Naba was elected king and returned to Mathura, but Khira pursued his journey to Dwarica.

"The thirty-six tribes of Rajpoots hitherto oppressed by the Yadus, who had long held universal dominion, now determined to be revenged. Naba was compelled to fly the holy city [Dwarica] ; he became prince of Marusthali in the west.

"Thus far from the *Bhagvat*, (says the Bhatti chronicler), and I continue the history of the Bhattis, by the Brahmin Sookhdherma of Mathura.

"Naba had issue Prithibahu.

\* Jambuvati was the name of the seventh wife, whose eldest son was called Samba—he obtained possession of the tracts on both sides the Indus, and founded the *Sind-Samma* dynasty, from which the *Jharejas* are descended. There is every probability that Sambus, of Samba nagari (*Minagara*), the opponent of Alexander, was a descendant of Samba, son of Crishna. The *Jhareja* chronicles, in ignorance of the origin of this titular appellation, say that their "ancestors came from Sham, or Syria."

"Khira had two sons, Jhareja and Jud-bhan.\*

"Jud-bhan was on a pilgrimage ; the goddess heard his views ; she awoke him from his sleep, and promised whatever he desired. 'Give me land that I may inhabit,' said the youth ; 'Rule in these hills,' replied the goddess, and disappeared. When Jud-bhan awoke, and was yet pending on the vision of the night, a confused noise assailed him ; and looking out, he discovered that the prince of the country had just died without issue, and they were disputing who should succeed him. The prime minister said, 'he dreamed that a descendant of Crishna had arrived at *Behera*,'† and pro-

\* Jid, Jud, Jadoo, are the various modes of pronouncing Yadu in the *Bhakha*, or spoken dialects of the west. *Jud-bhan*, 'the rocket of the Yadu,' would imply the knowledge of gunpowder at a very remote period.

† The precise knowledge of the topography of these regions, displayed in the Bhatti annals, is the most satisfactory proof of their authenticity. In the present day, it would be in vain to ask any native of Jessulmer the position of the "hill of Jud," or the site of *Behera* ; and but for the valuable translation of Baber's Memoirs, by Mr. Erskine, we should have been unable to adduce the following testimony. Baber crossed the Indus the 17th February 1519, and on the 19th, between that river and one of its great towns, the Behat, he reached the very tract where the descendant of Crishna established himself twenty-five centuries before. Baber says, "*Seven kos* from Behreh to the north there is a hill. This hill in the Zefer Nameh (History of Timoor), and other books, is called the Hill of Jud. At first I was ignorant of the origin of its name, but afterwards discovered that in this hill there were two races of men descended of the same father. One tribe is called Jud, the other Jenjuheh. From old times they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the *Is* and *Ulus* (political divisions) between Nilab and Behreh. Their power is exerted in a friendly and brotherly way. They cannot take from them whatever they please. They take as their share a portion that has been fixed from very remote times. The Jud is divided into various branches or families, as well as the Jenjuheh. The chief man amongst them gets the name of *Rae*,"—*Erskine's Baber*, p. 254.





posed to seek him out and invest him as their prince. All assented, and Jud-bhan was elected king. He became a great prince, had numerous progeny, and the place of their abode was henceforth styled *Judoo-ca-dang*, 'the mountains of Judoo.'

"*Prithvi-bahu* ('the arm of the earth'), son of Naba, prince of Marusthali, inherited the insignia of Sri-Crishna with the regal umbrella (*chhetri*) made by Viswacarma. He had a son *Bahubal*, ('strong arm'), who espoused Camlavati, daughter of Vijya Sing, Prince of Malwa, who gave in dower (*daaja*)\* one thousand horses of Khorasan, one hundred elephants, pearls, gems, and gold innumerable, and five hundred handmaids, with chariots and bedsteads of gold. The Puar (Pramar) Camlavati became the chief queen and bore her lord one son,

"*Bahu*, killed by a fall from his horse; he left one son,

"*Soobahu*, who was poisoned by his wife, a daughter of Mund Raja Chohan of Ajmer; he left a son,

Here is a decided confirmation that this Hindu colony preserved all their original manners and customs even to Baber's day. The tribe of Jenjuhels, beyond a doubt, is the tribe of Johya, so celebrated in the region skirting the Sutlej, and which will be noticed hereafter. I presented a small work entirely relating to their history, to the Royal Asiatic Society. As Baber says, they are of the same family as the Jews, they are probably the descendants of Jinj, the brother of Bhatti, who changed the family patronymic from Jadoo or Judoo to Bhatti; and thus it appears, that when the elder branch was driven from Gujni, they retreated amongst their relations of the hills of Jud. Baber was quite enamoured with the beauty of the hill of Jud, which, with its lake and valleys, he describes as a miniature Cashmere.—P. 255.

\* The Pramars were formerly the most powerful potentates of central India. Handmaids, and bedsteads of gold, were always a part of the *daaja* or dower of Hindu princesses,

"*Rijh*, who reigned twelve years. He was married to *Soobhagh Soondri*, daughter of Ber Sing, prince of Malwa. Having, when pregnant, dreamed that she was delivered of a white elephant, the astrologers, who interpreted this as an indication of greatness, desired he might be named *Guj*.\* as he approached manhood, the coco-nut came from Jud-bhan, prince of *Poorubdes* (the eastern), and was accepted. At the same time tidings arrived that from the shores of the ocean, the barbarians (*Metcha*), who had formerly attacked *Soobahu*,† were again advancing,

\* Abulfazl mentions Joga as prince of Gasmien and Cashmere, who was slain by Oguz Khan, the Patriarch of the Tatar tribes.

† In this early portion of the annals, there is a singular mixture of historical facts, and it appears that the Yadu scribes confound their connections with the Syrian and Bactrian Greeks, and with the first Mooslem conquerors. Imperfect as is this notice of Soobahu, his son Rijh, and grandson Guj, who were thus assailed by Ferid of Khorasan (Bactria), and his auxiliary, the king of Room (Syria), we have a powerful allusion of Antiochus the Great, who, two hundred and four years before Christ, invaded Bactria and India. Amongst the few facts left of this expedition is his treaty with Sophagasenus, the Indian monarch, in which the Syrian king stipulated for a tribute in elephants. There are, even in this medley of incidents, grounds for imagining that Sophagasenus is the Yadu prince of Gujni. Whether, out of Soobahu and Guj, the Greeks manufactured their Sophagasenus, or whether prince Guj could have been entitled Soobhagh-sen, in compliment to his mother, Soobhagh-Soondri, of Malwa, must be left for the speculative to decide. It is not unlikely that the nature of the tribute, said to have been elephants, which the Indian agreed to furnish to the Greek prince, may have originated with the name of *Guj*, which means 'elephant.'

There is at the same time much that refers to the early progress of Islam in these regions of central Asia. Price, in his excellent history, extracting from the *Kholausut-ul-Akbar*, says "Hejaug was entrusted with the government of Khorasan, and Obaidoolah with Seistan, who had orders from Hejaug, his superior, to invade Caubul, whose prince was Reteil or Retpeil, whom the Author supposes either a Tatar or Hindu prince. Artfully retiring, he drew the Mahomedan army into the defiles, and blocking up the rear, cut off their retreat, and Obaidoolah was compelled to purchase his



having Ferid Shah of Khorasan at the head of four lakhs of horse, from whom the people fled in dismay. The Raja sent scouts to obtain accurate intelligence, and marched to Harreou to meet him; while the foe encamped two coss from Koonjsheher.\* A battle ensued, in which the invader was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men,

liberation by the payment of seven hundred thousand dirhems."

This was the seventy-eighth year of the Hegira, or A.D. 697. Conjoined to what follows, it appears to have reference to Rijh, father of Guj. Again.

"Obaidoullah and Abdoorehman invaded Seistan with forty thousand men. The prince of Caubul tried the same manœuvre, but was outwitted by the Mohamedan, who conquered a great part of Caubul and acquired great booty, with which he returned to Seistan, to the great displeasure of Hejauge; and Abdoorehman entered into a confederacy with Retpeil to attack Hejauge, and absolve Caubul from tribute. Moghairah was the successor of Abdoorehman in Khorasan, while his father, Mohilel, was employed beyond the Jehoon, but died at Meru of a burning diarrhoea, bequeathing his government to Yezid."

This account of Moghairah's (the governor of Khorasan) death, while carrying on war against the Hindu Retpeil of Caubul, has much analogy to the sudden death of *Mamraiz*, the foe of Rijh of Zabulistan. One thing is now proved, that princes of the Hindu faith ruled over all these regions in the first ages of Islamism, and made frequent attempts, for centuries after, to reconquer them. Of this fact, Baber gives us a most striking instance in his description of Gujni, or, as he writes, *Ghazni*. He says, "I have seen, in another history, that when the Rai of Hind besieged Subaktegin in Gujni, ordered dead flesh and other impurities to be thrown into the fountain, when there instantly arose a tempest and hurricane, with rain and snow, and by his device he drove away the enemy." Baber adds, "I made then inquiry in Ghazni for this well, but nobody could give me the slightest information regarding it," p. 150. Doubtless, when Baber conquered India, and became better acquainted with the Hindu warriors, he would have got to the bottom of this anecdote, and have seen that the success of the *ruse* of Subaktegin arose out of the religion of his foes, who could not use water thus contaminated by the flesh of the sacred kinc. The celebrated Balabhi was reduced by the same stratagem.

\* Neither of these towns appears in any map. "There is a Koonj Reshak in Khorasan, and a Penjher in Balk."  
—Sir W. Ouseley's *Ebn Haukal*, p. 213-223.

and four thousand on the part of the Hindus. But the foeman rallied, the Raja Rijh, who again encountered him, was wounded and died just as prince Guj returned with Hansavati, his bride, daughter of Jud-bhan of the east. In two battles the king of Khorasan was vanquished, when he obtained an auxiliary in the king of Room (*Romi-pati*), to establish the Koran and the law of the prophet in infidel lands. While the armies of the Asuras were thus preparing their strength, Raja Guj called a council of ministers. There being no stronghold of importance, and it being impossible to stand against numbers, it was determined to erect a fortress amidst the mountains of the north. Having summoned his friends to his aid, he sought council of the guardian goddess of his race; who foretold that the power of the Hindus was to cease, but commanded him to erect a fort and call it *Gujni*. While it was approaching completion, news came that the kings of Room and Khorasan were near at hand:

*Roomi-pat, Khorasan-pat, hae, gai, pakhur, pai,  
Chinta terra, chith legi; soono Jud-pat Rae.\**

"The stick wounded the drum of the Jadoo prince; the army was formed, gifts were distributed, and the astrologers were commanded to assign such a moment for marching as might secure the victory.

"Thursday (*Vrishpatwar*) the 13th of Mah, the enlightened half of the moon, when one ghurri of the day had fled, was the auspicious hour; and the drum of departure sounded. That day he marched

\* "The king of Room and the king of Khorasan, with the horse (*hae*) elephants (*gai or guj*) caparisons (*pakhur*) and foot-soldiers (*pai or pack*) [are at hand]. Beware, let it enter your mind, oh Rae, Lord of the Judoos!"





eight coss, and encamped at Doolapoor. The combined kings advanced, but in the night the Shah of Khorasan died of indigestion. When it was reported to the king of Room (Shah Secunder Roomi) that Shah Mamraiz was dead, he became alarmed and said, 'while we mortals have grand schemes in hand, he above has other views for us.' Still his army advanced like waves of the ocean; caparisons and chains clank on the backs of elephants, while instruments of war resound through the host. Elephants move like walking mountains; the sky is black with clouds of dust; bright helmets reflect the rays of the sun. Four coss (eight miles) separated the hostile armies. Raja Guj and his chieftains performed their ablutions, and keeping the *Joginis*\* in their rear, advanced to the combat. Each host rushed on like famished tigers; the earth trembled; the heavens were overcast; nor was aught visible in the gloom but the radiant helm. War-bells resound; horses neigh; masses of men advance on each other, like the dark rolling clouds of Bhadoon. Hissing speeds the feathered dart; the lion-roar of the warriors is re-echoed; the edge of the sword deluges the ground with blood; on both sides the blows resound on the crackling bones. Here was Jud-Rae, there the Khans and Ameers, as if Time had encountered his fellow. Mighty warriors strew the earth; heroes fall in the cause of their lords. The army of the Shah fled; he left twenty-five thousand souls entangled in the net of destruction; he abandoned elephants and horses, and even his throne. Seven thousand Hin-

dus lay dead on the field. The drum of victory resounded, and the Jadoon returned triumphant to his capital.

"On Sunday, the 3rd of Bysak, the spring season (*Vasant*), the Rohini Nakhatra, and Samvat Dherma-raja (*Yudishtira*) 3008,\* seated on the throne of Gujni, he maintained the Jadoon race. With this victory his power became firm: he conquered all the countries to the west, and sent an ambassador to Cashmere to call its prince Kandrup-kel† to his presence. But the prince refused the summons: he said the world would scoff at him if he attended the stirrup of another without being first worsted in fight. Raja Guj invaded Cashmere, and married the daughter of its prince, by whom he had a son, called Salbahan.

"When this child had attained the age of twelve, tidings of another invasion came from Khorasan. Raja Guj shut himself up for three entire days in the temple of Cula-devi;‡ on the fourth day the goddess appeared and revealed to him his destiny: that Gujni would pass from his hands, but that his posterity would re-inherit it, not as Hindus but as Mooslems; and directed him to send his son Salbahan amongst the Hindus of the east, there to erect a city to be named after him. She said that he would have fifteen sons, whose issue would multiply; 'that he (Raja Guj) would fall in the defence of Gujni, but would gain a glorious reward hereafter.'

\* This date is circumstantial, and might be fixed or disproved by calculation; if the heterogeneous mixture of such widely separated incidents as those in Syro-Macedonian and Mahomedan History did not deter us from the attempt.

† No such name appears in Wilson's *Raj Tarangini*.

‡ Tutelary goddess, or "of the race (*cula*)."

\* The unclean spirits of Rajpoot martial mythology, who feed on the slain.



"Having heard his fate revealed, Raja Guj convened his family and kin, and on pretence of a pilgrimage to Jwala-mookhi,\* he caused them to depart, with the prince Salbahan, for the east.

"Soon after the foe approached within five coss of Gujni. Leaving therein his uncle Seydeo for its defence, Raja Guj marched to meet him. The king of Khorasan divided his army into five divisions; the Raja formed his into three: a desperate conflict ensued, in which both the king and the Raja were slain. The battle lasted five *puhars*,† and a hundred thousand Meers and thirty-thousand Hindus strewed the field. The king's son invested Gujni; for thirty days it was defended by Seydeo, when he performed, the *Saka*,‡ and nine thousand valiant men gave up their lives.

"When tidings of this fatal event were conveyed to Salbahan, for twelve days the ground became his bed.§ He at length reached the Punjab, where he fixed on a spot with abundance of water, and having collected his clansmen around him, he laid the foundation of a city which he named after himself, Salbahanpur. The surrounding Bhomias attended, and acknowledge his supremacy. Seventy-two years of the era of Vicrama had elapsed when Salbahanpur was founded, upon Sunday, the 8th of the month of Bhadoon.||

\* This volcano is a well-known place of pilgrimage in the Sewaluk mountains.

† A *puhar* is one-fourth of the day.

‡ For a description of this rite, see Vol. I. p. 253.

§ In conformity with the Hindu ordinances of *matim*, or mourning.

|| Here is another circumstantial date, S. 72, or A.D. 16, for the foundation of Salbahana in the Punjab, by the fugitive Yadu prince from Gujni. Of its exact posi-

"Salbahan conquered the whole region of the Punjab. He had fifteen sons, who all became Rajas: viz. Balund, Rasaloo, Dhurmungud, Vacha, Roopa, Sundur, Lekh, Juskurn, Naima, Maut, Neepak, Gangeou, Jugeou; all of whom, by the strength of their own arms, established themselves in independence.

"The coco-nut from Raja Jeipal Tuar was sent from Delhi, and accepted.\* Balund proceeded to Delhi, whose prince advanced to meet him. On his return with his bride, Salbahan determined to redeem Gujni from the foe and avenge his father's death. He crossed the Attok to encounter Jellal, who advanced at the head of twenty thousand men. Crowned with victory, he regained possession of Gujni, where he left Balund, and returned to his capital in the Punjab: he soon after died, having ruled thirty-three years and nine months.

tion we have no means of judging, but it could not have been remote from Lahore. It may be deemed a fortunate coincidence that I should discover that ancient inscription (Vol. I. p. 795) of this capital, styled *Sal-poor*, governed by a Gete or Jit in the fourth century; which suggested the idea (which many facts tend to prove), whether these Yadus (whose illegitimate issue, as will appear in the sequel, are called Juts) may not be the Yuti or Getes from Central Asia. The coincidence of the date of Salbahan-Yadu with that of the Saca Salivahan, the Tak, will not fail to strike the enquirer into Hindu antiquities: and it is not the least curious circumstance, that these Yadus, or Yuti, displaced the Takshac, or Tak, from this region, as will appear immediately. In further corroboration, see notes 2 and 4, p. 629-30 and Inscriptions, 11, p. 630 and 6, p. 636.

\* At every page of these annals, it is evident that they have been transcribed by some ignoramus, who has jumbled together events of ancient and modern date. The prince of Delhi might have been Jeipal, but if we are to place any faith in the chronology of the Tuar race, no prince of this family could be synchronous with the Yadu Salbahan. I am inclined to think that the emigration of Salbahan's ancestors from Gujni was at a much later period than S. 72, as I shall note as we proceed.



"Balund succeeded. His brothers had now established themselves in all the mountainous tracts of the Punjab. But the *Toorks*\* began rapidly to increase, and to subjugate all beneath their sway, and the lands around Gujni were again in their power. Balund had no minister, but superintended in person all the details of his government. He had seven sons: Bhatti, Bhupati, Kullur, Jinj,† Surmor, Bhynsreecha, Mangreo. The second son Bhupati (i. e. lord of the earth) had a son, Chakito, from whom is descended the *Chakito* (Chagito) tribe.‡

"Chakito had eight sons, viz. Deosi, Bharoo, Khemkhan, Nahur, Jeipal,§ Dharsi, Beejli-Khan, Shah Sur d.

"Balund, who resided at Salbhanpur, left Gujni to the charge of his grandson Chakito; and as the power of the barbarian (*mlecha*) increased, he not only entertained troops of that race, but all his nobles were of the same body. They offered, if he would quit the religion of his fathers, to make him master of Balich Bokhara, where dwelt the Oosbek race, whose king had no offspring but one daughter. Chakito married

her, and became king of Balich Bokhara, and lord of twenty-eight thousand horse. Between Balich and Bokhara runs a mighty river, and Chakito was king of all from the gate of Balichshan to the face of Hindusthan; and from him is descended the tribe of Chakito Moguls.\*

"Kullur, third son of Balund, had eight sons, whose descendants are designated Kullur.† There names were, Seodas, Ramdas, Asso, Kistna, Samoh, Gango, Jesso, Bhago; almost all of whom became Moosulmans. They are a numerous race, inhabiting the mountainous countries west of the

\* This is a most important admission of the proselytism of the ancient Indo-Scythic Yadu princes to the faith of Islam, though there can be no reasonable doubt of it. Temugin, better known by his *nomme de guerre*, Jungeez, the father of Chagitai, according to the Mahomedan historians, is termed an infidel, and so was *Tacash*, the father of Mahomed of Khwarezm: the one was of the Getic or Yuti race; the other, as his name discloses, of the Tak or Takshac, the two grand races of central Asia.—The insertion of this pedigree in this place completely vitiates chronology: yet for what purpose it could have been interpolated, if not founded on some fact, we cannot surmise.

† We can, by means of the valuable translation of the Commentaries of Baber, trace many of these tribes.

‡ It has already been stated, that the fifteen brothers of Balund established themselves in the mountainous parts of the Punjab, and that his sons inherited those West of the Indus, or Damaun. The Afghan tribes, whose supposed genealogy from the Jews has excited so much curiosity, and who now inhabit the regions conquered by the sons of Salbahan, are possibly Yadus, who, on conversion, to give more *eclat* to their antiquity, converted *Yadu* into *Yahudi*, or Jew, and added the rest of the story from the *Koran*. That grand division of Afghans called the *Euzefzye*, or 'Sons of Joseph,' whose original country was Caubul and Guzni, yet retain the name of Jadoon (vulgar of Yadu), as one of their principal subdivisions; and they still occupy a position in the hilly region east of the Indus, conquered by the sons of Balund. It would be a curious fact could we prove the Afghans not *Yahudis* but *Yadus*.

\* *Toork* is the term in the dialects which the Hindus apply to the races from central Asia, the *Turshka* of the *Pooranas*.

† Doubtless the ancestor of the Johya race, termed the Jenjueh by Baber, and who dwelt with the Juds in the hills of Jud, the Juddoo-ca-dang of the Bhatti MSS.

‡ However curious this assertion, of the Chagitais being descended from the Yadus, it ought not to surprise us: I repeat, that all these tribes, whether termed Indo-Scythic or Tatar, prior to Islamism, professed a faith which may be termed Hinduism.

§ As it is evident the period has reference to the very first years of Islamism, and it is stated that the sons of Guj were to be proselytes, it is by no means improbable that this is Jypal, the infidel prince of Khwarezm.—See Price's Mahomedan History.



Champo, Gokul, Mehraj, Hunsar, Bhaddon, Rasso, Juggo, all whose issue bore the name of Jinj;\* and in like manner did the other sons become the patriarchs of tribes.

"Bhatti succeeded his father Balund. He conquered fourteen princes, and added their fortunes to his own. Among his effects, he reckoned twenty-four thousand mules† laden with treasure; sixty-thousand horse, and innumerable foot. As soon as he mounted the *gadi*, he assembled all his forces at Lahore preparatory to the *teeka-dour*‡ destined against Bheerbhan Bhagel, lord (tai) Kenekpur. Bheerbhan fell in the battle which ensued, at the head of forty thousand men.

"Bhatti had two sons, Mungul Rao and Musoor Rao. With Bhatti, the patronymic was changed, and the tribe thenceforth was distinguished by his name.

"Mungul Rao succeeded, but his fortune was not equal to that of his fathers. Dhoondi, king of Guzni, with a mighty force, invaded Lahore;§ nor did Mungul Rao oppose him,

but with his eldest son fled into the wilds on the banks of the river. The foe then invested Salbahanpur, where resided the family of the Raja; but Musoor Rao escaped and fled to the Lakhi Jungle.\* There being only a cultivating peasantry in this tract, he overcame them, and became master of the country. Musoor Rao had two sons, Abhe Rao and Sarun Rao. The elder, Abhe Rao, brought the whole Lakhi Jungle under his control, and his issue, which multiplied, became famous as the Abhoria Bhattis. Sarun crellled with and separated from his other, and his issue descended to the rank of cultivators, and are well known as the Iron Juts.†

"Mungul Rao, son of Bhatti, and who abandoned his kingdom, had six sons: Mujum Rao, Kullursi, Moolraj, Seoraj, Phool, Kewala.

"When Mungul Rao fled from the king, his children were secreted in the houses of his subjects. A Bhomia named Satidas, of the tribe of Tak,‡ whose ancestors had been

\* Doubtless the junction of Jinj with that of Johya, another numerous tribe, formed the Jenjuheh of Baber; the Johyas of the Bhatti annals, now known only by name, but whose history forms a volume. The sons of Jinj have left numerous traces—Jenjian on the Garah; Jinjinalli in the desert, &c.

† Even the mention of an animal unknown in the desert of India, evinces ancient source whence these annals are compiled. Had the Yadu colony at this period obtained a footing in the desert, south of the Sutlej, the computation would have been by camel-loads, not by mules.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 288, for an account of this military foray.

§ This would almost imply that Lahore and Salbahan were one and the same place, but from what follows, the intervening distance could not have been great between the two cities. There is a Sangala, south of Lahore, near the alters of Alexander, and a Sailkote in our modern maps. Salbahan, Salbahanpur, or simply Sal-

poora, may have been erected on the ruins of Kampilaganari. We may hope that researches in that yet untouched region, the Punjab, will afford much to the elucidation of ancient history.

\* The Lakhi Jungle is well known in India for its once celebrated breed of horses, extinct within the last twenty years.

† Thus it is that the most extensive agricultural races spread all over India, called *Jats* or *Jits*, have a tradition that they are descended from the Yadu race, (qu. *Yuti*?) and that their original country is Candabar. Such was stated to me as the origin of the Jats of Biana and Bhurtpur. Why the descendants of Sarun assumed the name of Juts is not stated.

‡ This incidental mention of the race of Tak, and of its being in great consideration on the settlement of the Yadus in the Punjab, is very important. I have given a sketch of this tribe (Vol. I. p. 88), but since I wrote it, I have discovered the capital of the Tak, and on the very spot where I should have expected the site of *Taxila*, the capital of Taxiles, the friend of Alexander.



reduced from power and wealth by the ancestors of the Bhatti prince, determined to avenge himself, and informed the king that some of the children were concealed in the house of a banker (*sahoocar*). The king sent Tak with a party of troops, and surrounded the house of Sridhar, who was carried before the king, who swore he would put all his family to death if he did not produce the young princes of Salbahana. The alarmed banker protested he had no children of the Raja's, for that the infants who enjoyed his protection were the offspring of a Bhomia, who had fled, on the invasion, deeply in his debt. But the king ordered him to produce them; he demanded the name of their village, sent for the Bhomias, belonging to it, and not only made the royal infants of Salbahana eat with them, but marry their daughters. The banker had no alternative to save their lives but to consent: they were brought forth in the peasant's garb, ate with the husbandmen (*Juts*), and were married to their daughters. Thus the

In that sketch I hesitated not to say, that the name was not personal, but arose from his being the head of the *Takshac* or *Naga* tribe, which is confirmed. It is to Baber, or rather to his translator, that I am indebted for this discovery. In describing the limits of Banu, Baber thus mentions it: "And on the west is Desht, which is also called Bazar and Tak;" to which the erudite translator adds, "Tak is said long to have been the capital of Daman." In Mr. Elphinstone's map, Bazar, which Baber makes identical with Tak, is a few miles north of the city of Attoc. There is no question that both the river and city were named after the race of Tak or Takshac, the Nagas, Nagvansi, or 'snake race,' who spread over India. Indeed, I would assume that the name of Omphis, which young Taxiles had on his father's death, is *Ophis*, the Greek version of Tak, the 'serpent.' The Taks appear to have been established in the same regions at the earliest period. The *Mahabharat* describes the wars between Janmejaya and the Takshacs to revenge on their king the death of his father Parikhit, emperor of Indraprastha, or Delhi.

offspring of Kullur-rai became the Kullorea Jats; those of Moondraj and Seoraj, the Moonda and Seora Jats; with the younger boys, Phool and Kewala, who were passed off as a barber (*nar*), and a potter (*khomar*), fell into that class.

"Mungul Rao, who found shelter in the wilds of the Garah, crossed that stream and subjugated a new territory. At this period, the tribe of Baraha\* inhabited the banks of the river; beyond them were the Boota Rajpoots of Bootaban.† In Poogul dwelt the Pramara;‡ in Dhat the Soda§ race; and the Lodra|| Rajpoots in Lodorva. Here Mungul Rao found security, and with the sanction of the Soda prince, he fixed his future abode in the centre of the lands of the Lodras, the Barahas, and the Sodas. On the death of Mungul Rao, he was succeeded by

"Mujum Rao, who escaped from Salbahana-poor with his father. He was recognized by all the neighbouring princes, who sent the usual presents on his accession, and the Soda prince of Amerkote made an offer of his daughter in marriage, which was accepted, and the nuptials were solemnized at Amerkote. He had three sons, Kehur, Moolraj,¶ and Gogli.

\* The names of these Rajpoot races, several of which are now blotted from the page of existence, prove the fidelity of the original manuscript. The Barahas are now Mahomedans.

† The Boota is amongst the extinct tribes.

‡ Poogul from the most remote times has been inhabited by the Pramara race. It is one of the *No-Kots Maroo-ca*, the *nine castles* of the desert.

§ The Sodas of Amerkote have inhabited the desert from time immemorial, and are in all probability the Sogdi of Alexander. See Vol. I. p. 72.

|| Lodorva will be described hereafter.

¶ Moolraj had three sons, Rajpal, Lohwa, and Choochar. The elder son had two sons, Ranno and Geegoh; the



"Kehur became renowned for his exploits. Hearing of a caravan (*kafila*) of five hundred horses going from Arore\* to Mooltan, he pursued them with a chosen band disguised as camel-merchants, and came up with his prey across the Punjnud,† where he attacked and captured it, and returned to his abode. By such exploits he became known, and the coco-nut (*narjil*) was sent to Mujum Rao, and his two elder sons, by Allansi Deora, of Jhalore. The nuptials were celebrated with great splendour, and

on their return, Kehur laid the foundation of a castle, which he named Tunnote in honour of Tunno-devi. Ere it was completed, Rao Mujum died.

"Kehur succeeded. On his accession, Tunnote was attacked by Jesrit, chief of the Barahas,\* because it was erected on the bounds of his tribe; but Moolraj defended it, and the Barahas were compelled to retire.

"On Mungulwar (Tuesday), the full-moon of Mah, S. 787† (A. D. 731), the fortress of Tunnote was completed, and a temple erected to Tunno-Mata. Shortly after a treaty of peace was formed with the Barahas, which was concluded by the nuptials of their chief with the daughter of Moolraj."

Having thus fairly fixed the Yadu Bhatti chieftain in the land of Maruca, it seems a proper point at which to close this introductory chapter with some observations on the diversified history of this tribe, crowded into so small a compass; though the notes of explanation, subjoined as we proceeded, will render fewer remarks requisite, since with their help the reader may draw his

first of whom had five sons, Dhookur, Pohor, Bood, Koolro, Jeipal, all of whom had issue, and became heads of clans. The descendants of Geegoh bore the name of Khengar (*qu.* chiefs of Ginnar?) The annals of all these states abound with similar minute genealogical details, which to the Rajpoots are of the highest importance in enabling them to trace the affinities, of families, but which it is imperative to omit, as they possess no interest for the European reader. I have extracted the names of the issue of Moolraj to shew this. The Khengars were famed in the peninsula of Saurashtra—nine of them ruled in Joonagur Ginnar; and but for this incidental relation, their origin must have ever remained concealed from the archaeologist, as the race has long been extinct. On some future day I hope to present a sketch of Khengar's palace, on the sacred mount Ginnar, to the public.

\* The remains of this once famous town, the ancient capital of the upper valley of the Indus, I had the happiness to discover by means of one of my parties, in 1811. It is the *Alore* of Abulfazil, the capital of Raja Sehri, whose kingdom extended north to Cashmere, and south to the ocean; and the *Azour* of D'Anville, who, on the authority of Ebn Haukal, says, "*Azour of est presque comparable a Multan pour la grandeur.*" He adds, that Azizi places it "*trente parasanges de Mansora.*" If Mansora is the ancient Bekher (capital of the Sogdi), we should read *three* instead of *thirty*.

† *Punjnud* is the name which the Indus bears immediately below the point of confluence of the five streams (*punj-nadi*). The mere mention of such terms as the *Punjnud*, and the ancient *Arore*, stamps these annals with authenticity, however they may be deformed by the interpolations and anachronisms of ignorant copyists. Of Arore, or the Punjnud, excepting the regular *casids*, or messengers, perhaps not an individual living in Jessulmer could now speak.

\* This shews that the Baraha tribe was of the same faith with the Yadu Bhatti; in fact "the star of Islam" did not shine in these regions for some time after, although Omar, in the first century, had established a colony of the faithful at Bekher, afterwards Mansora. The Barahas are mentioned by Pottinger in his travels in Balochistan.

† There are but six descents given from Salbahan, the leader of the Yadu colony from Zabulistan in the Punjab, and Kehur, the founder of their first settlement in the desert of India. The period of the first is S. 72, of the other S. 787. Either names are wanting, or the period of Salbahan is croneous. Kehur's period, *viz.* S. 787, appears a landmark, and is borne out by numerous subsequent most valuable synchronisms. Were we to admit one hundred years to have elapsed between Salbahan and Kehur, it would make the period of expulsion from Zabulistan about S. 687, which is just about the era of Mahomed.





own conclusions as to the value of this portion of the Bhatti annals, which may be divided into four district epochs.

1st. That of Heri, the ancestor of the Yadu race.

2nd. Their expulsion, or the voluntary abandonment of India by his children, with their relations of the Hericula and Pandu races, for the countries west of the Indus: their settlements in Marusthali: the founding of Gujni, and combats with the kings of Room and Khorasan.

3rd. Their expulsion from Zabulistan, colonization of the Punjab, and creation of the new capital of Salbahanpoor.

4th. Their expulsion from the Punjab, and settlement in Mer, the rocky oasis of Maroo, to the erection of Tunnote.

It is the more unnecessary to enter into greater details on these outlines of the early Yadu history, since the subject has been in part treated elsewhere.\* A multiplicity of scattered facts and geographical distinctions, fully warrants our assent to the general truth of these records, which prove that the Yadu race had dominion in central Asia, and were again, as Islamism advanced, repelled upon India. The obscure legend of their encounters with the allied Syrian and Bactrian kings would have seemed altogether illusory, did not evidence exist that Antiochus the Great was slain in these very regions by an Indo-Scythian prince, called by the Greek writers Sophâgasenas: a name in all probability compounded from Soobahu and his grandson Gaj (who might have used

the common affix of *sena*), the Yadu princes of Gujni, who are both stated to have had conflict with the Bactrian (Khorasan) kings.

Seestan (the region of cold, 'see') and both sides of the valley, were occupied in the earliest periods by another branch of the Yadus; for the Sind-Samma dynasty was descended from Samba (which like Yadu became a patronymic)—of which the Greeks made *Sambus*—and one of whose descendants opposed Alexander in his progress down the Indus. The capital of this dynasty was *Samma-ca-kote*, or Samanagari, yet existing on the lower Indus, and which was corrupted into *Minagara* by the Greeks.

It is an interesting hypothesis, that would make the Chagitais descendants of the Yadus.\* In like manner, Bappa, the ancestor of the Ranas of Mewar, abandoned central India after establishing his line in Cheetore, and retired to Khorasan. All this proves that Hinduism prevailed in these distant regions, and that the intercourse was unrestricted between Central Asia and India. We have undiscovered fields of inquiry in Transoxiana, and in the still more accessi-

\* Mr. Wilson discovered the name of *Pandu* in Ptolemy's Geography of Sogdiana; and according to Ebn Haukal, the city of Herat is also called Heri. This adjoins Maru, or Murve and to Marusthali the Pandu and Hericula races retired on their exile from India. If ever these remote regions are searched for ancient inscriptions, we may yet ascend the ladder of Time. What was that *Hamiri* language, inscribed on the gate of Samarkand? (Ouseley, Ebn Haukal, p. 254.) The lamented death of that enterprising traveller, Mr. Brown when he was about visiting Transoxiana, leaves a fine field to the adventurous. The Buddhist colossal sculptures and caves at Bamian, with such inscriptions as they may contain, are of the highest importance; and I have little doubt, will be found of the same character as those discovered in the cave temples of India, attributed to the Pandus.

\* See "Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules," Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii.



ble region of the Punjab, where much exists to reward the archæologist: Salbahanpoor, Kampilnagari, Behera, the hill of Jud, perhaps Bucephalia,\* the seven towns of Ooch,

\* In a portion of the essay "On the Theban and Hindu Hercules," which I suppressed as better suited to an intended dissertation "On the Sepulchral Monuments of the Rajpoots," where I trace a close analogy between their customs and those of the Scythic and Scandinavian Warriors, my particular attention was drawn to that singular monument discovered by Elphinstone, called the "*Tope Manikyanla*." I had before (Trans. R. A. S. vol. i. p. 330) conjectured it to be one of the many mausoleums erected to Menander, but on observing the geography of St. Croix, in his '*Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*,' who places the city of Buce-

but, above all, the capital of Taxiles. Let us hope that, in this age of enterprize, these suggestions may be followed up: we can promise the adventurer a very different result from that which tempts the explorer of barbarous Africa, for here he would penetrate into the first haunts of civilization, and might solve one of the great problems which still distract mankind.

phalus on the very spot where the monument found by Mr. E. exists, I gave up Menander for Alexander's horse, and this, long anterior to its reported excavation by the Chev. Ventura, for whose subsequent observations we impatiently wait.



## CHAPTER II.

*Rao Kehur, contemporary of the Caliph Al Walid.—His offspring become heads of tribes. Kehur, the first who extended his conquests to the plains.—He is slain.—Tunno succeeds. He assails the Barahas and Langas.—Tunnote invested by the prince of Mooltan, who is defeated.—Rao Tunno espouses the daughter of the Boota chief.—His progeny.—Tunno finds a concealed treasure.—Erects the castle of Beejnote.—Tunno dies.—Succeeded by Beeji Rae.—He assails the Bahara tribe, who conspire with the Langas to attack the Bhatti prince. Treacherous massacre of Beeji Rae and his kindred.—Deoraj saved by a Brahmin.—Tunnote taken.—Inhabitants put to the sword.—Deoraj joins his mother in Bootaban.—Erects Deorawul, which is assailed by the Boota chief, who is circumvented and put to death by Deoraj.—The Bhatti prince is visited by a Jogi, whose disciple he becomes.—Title changed from Rao to Rawul.—Deoraj massacres the Langas, who acknowledge his supremacy.—Account of the Langa tribe.—Deoraj conquers Ladorva, capital of the Lodra Rajpoots. Avenges an insult of the prince of Dhar.—Singular trait of patriotic devotion.—Assaults Dhar.—Returns to Ladorva.—Excavates lakes in Khadal.—Assassinated.—Succeeded by Rawul Moond, who avenges his father's death.—His son Bachera espouses the daughter of Bullub-Sen, of Puttun Anhulwarra.—Contemporaries of Mahmoud of Gujni.—Captures a caravan of horses.—The Pahoo Bhattis conquer Poogul from the Johyas.—Doosaj, son of Bachera, attacks the Kheechies.—Proceeds with his three brothers to the land of Kher, where they espouse the Gohilote chief's daughters.—Important synchronisms.—Bachera dies. Doosaj succeeds.—Attacked by the Soda prince Hamir, in whose reign the Caggar ceased to flow through the desert.—Traditional couplet.—Sons of Doosaj.—The youngest, Lanja Beejirae, marries the daughter of Sidraj Solanki, king of Anhulwarra.—The other sons of Doosaj.—Jesul, and Beejirae —Bhojdeo, son of Lanja Beejirae, becomes lord of Ladorva on the death of Doosaj.—Jesul conspires against his nephew Bhojdeo.—Solicits aid from the Sultan of Ghor, whom he joins at Arore.—Swears allegiance to the Sultan.—Obtains his aid to dispossess Bhojdeo.—Ladorva attacked and plundered.—Bhojdeo slain.—Jesul becomes Rawul of the Bhattis.—Abandons Ladorva as too exposed.—Discovers a site for a new capital.—Prophetic inscription on the Brimsir-coond, or fountain.—Founds Jessulmer.—Jesul dies, and is succeeded by Salbahan II.*

THE dates of the varied events related in the preceding chapter may be of doubtful accuracy, but we have at length arrived on the *terra firma* of the Bhatti chronology. We may distrust the date, 3008 of Yudishthira's era, for the victory obtained by the Jadoon



princes of Gujni over the kings of Room and Khorasan;\* as well as that of S. 72 assigned for the exode of Salbahan and his Yadus from Zabulisthan, and their colonization of the Punjab;† but their settlements in the desert, and the foundation of Tunnote, their first seat of power, in S. 787 (A.D. 731), are corroborated by incontrovertible synchronisms in almost every subsequent reign of these annals.

Kehur, a name highly respected in the history of the Bhatti race, and whose exploit has been already recorded, must have been the contemporary of the celebrated Khalif Al Walid, the first whose arms extended to the plains of India, and one of whose earliest conquests and chief positions was Arore, the capital of Upper Sinde.

Kehur‡ had five sons; viz. Tunno, Ootirao, Chunnur, Kafrio, Thaem. All of them had offspring,§ who became the heads of

clans, retaining the patronymic. All were soldiers of fortune, and they conquered the lands of the Chunna Rajpoots;\* but the latter revenged themselves upon Kehur, whom they attacked and slew as he was hunting.

Tunno succeeded. He laid waste the lands of the Barahas,† and those of the Langaha of Mooltan. But Husein Shah advanced with the Langaha Pathans,‡ clothed in armour with iron helmets, with the men of Doodi,§ of Kheechee,|| the Khokur,¶ the Mogul, the Johya,\*\* the Jood,\*\* and Syed,

\* The tribe of Chunna is now extinct.

† These Indo-Scythic tribes were designated by the names of animals. The *Barahas* are the hogs; the *Noomries*, the foxes; *Takshacs*, the snakes; *Aswas* or *Asi*, the horses, &c.

‡ These Langaha Pathans were proselytes from the Solanki Rajpoots, one of the four Agnicula races. Probably they inhabited the district of Lumghan, west of the Indus. It is curious and interesting to find that the Solanki *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed,' claims Lokote as their settlement. The use of the word *Pathan* by no means precludes their being Hindus.

§ Baber, in his valuable Autobiography, gives us the names of all the tribes he met in his passage into India, and this enumeration goes far to prove the authenticity of the early annals of the Bhattis. Baber does not mention "the men of Doodi."

|| The introduction of the name of this tribe here is highly important, and very interesting to those who have studied, in the Rajpoot bards, their early history. The bards of the Kheechees give them this northern origin, and state that all *Sindsagur*, one of the *do-abehs* of the Punjab, belonged to them.

¶ The Khokur is most probably the Ghiker. Baber writes the name 'Guker,' a singular race, and decidedly Scythic in their habits even in his day.

\*\* Of the Joodis and Johyas we have already spoken as inhabiting the range called in the native annals *Jud-doo-ca-dang*, and by Baber 'the hill of Jud,' skirting the Behat. The position of Behera is laid down in that monument of genius and industry, the Memoir of Reinell (who calls it Bheera), in 32° N. and 72° 10' E.; and by Elphinstone in 32° 10', but a whole degree further to the east, or 73° 15'. This city, so often mentioned in the Yadu-Bhatti annals as one of their intermediate places of repose, on their expulsion from India and migration to Central Asia, has its position minutely

\* The emperor Baber tells us, in his Commentaries, that the people of India apply the term *Khorasan*, to all the regions west of the Indus.

† Notwithstanding the lapse of eleven hundred years since the expulsion of the Bhattis from the Punjab, and in spite of the revolutions in law, language, and religion, since the descendants of Salbahan abandoned that region, yet, even to this day, there is abundant testimony in its geographical nomenclature that the Bhattis had dominion there. We have *Pindi Bhattia-ca*, *Bhatti-ca-chuk*, in the very position where we should look for Salbahanpur.—See Elphinstone's Map.

‡ Although I omit the inverted commas indicative of translation, the reader is to understand that what follows is a free interpretation of the original chronicle.

§ Ooti-rao had five sons, Sorna, Sehesi, Jeeva, Chako, and Ujo; their issue had the generic term of *Ootirao*. It is thus their clans and tribes are multiplied *ad infinitum*, and since the skill of the genealogist (*bhat*) is required to keep them clear of incestuous marriages, even such uninteresting details have some value, as they stamp their annals with authenticity.



all mounted on horses, to the number of ten thousand men, to attack the Jadoo. They reached the territory of the Barahas, who joined them, and there they encamped. Tunno collected his brethren around him, and prepared for defence. During four days they defended the castle; and on the fifth the Rao ordered the gates to be thrown open, and with his son, Beeji Rae, sallied out sword in hand, and attacked the besiegers. The Barahas were the first to fly, and they were soon followed by the rest of the Asoors. The victors carried the spoils of the field into Tunnote. As soon as the armies of Mooltan and Langaha were driven off, the *coco-nut* came from Jeejoo, chief of the Bootas of Bootaban,\* and an alliance offensive and defensive was formed against the prince of Mooltan.

Tunno had five sons, Beeji Rae, Makur, Jeytung, Allun, and Rakecho. The second son, Makur, had issue Maipah, who had two sons, Mohola and Decao, the latter of whom excavated the lake known by his name. His issue became carpenters (*sootar*), and are to this day known as the 'Makur sootar.'†

pointed out by the Emperor Baber (p. 256), who, in his attack on the hill tribes of Jits, Geojurs, Gukers, &c. adjoining Cashmere, "expelled Hati Guker from Behreh, on the Behut River, near the cave temples of Gar-kotri at Bikrum," of which the able annotator remarks, that as well as those of But Bamian, they were probably Buddhist. Baber (p. 294) also found the Jits masters of Siakote, most likely the Salpoor of the Inscription, conquered from a Jit prince in the twelfth century by the Patun prince, and presumed to be the Sallbahanpoor founded by the fugitive Yadu prince of Gujri.

\* Bootaban, probably from *vannu*, pronounced in the dialect *bun*, the 'wild' or 'forest' of Boota.

† Illegitimate children can never overcome this natural defect amongst the Rajpoots. This we find among all classes of artizans in India, some of Royal but spurious descent.

The third son, Jeytung, had two sons, Ruttunsi and Chohir. The first repaired the ruined city of Beekumpur.\* Chohir had two sons, Kola and Gir-raj, who founded the towns of Kolasir and Girajsir.\*

The fourth son, Allun, had four sons, Deosi, Tirpal, Bhaoni, and Rakecho. The descendants of Deosi became Rebaris (who rear camels), and the issue of Rakecho became merchants (*baniahs*), and are now classed amongst the Oswal tribe.†

Tunno having, by the interposition of the goddess Beejasenni, discovered a hidden treasure, erected a fortress, which he named Beejnote; and in this he placed a statue of the goddess, on the 13th, the enlightened part of the month Megsir, the Rohini Nakshatra, S. 813 (A. D. 757). He died after ruling eighty years.

Beeji Rae succeeded in S. 870 (A. D. 814). He commenced his reign with the *teeka-dour* against his old enemies, the Barahas, whom he defeated and plundered. In S. 892, he had a son by the Boota queen, who was called Deoraj. The Barahas and Langahas once

\* These towns and lakes are well known, but have been seized by Bikaner.

† The Oswal is the richest and most numerous of the eighty-four mercantile tribes of India, and is said to amount to one hundred thousand families. They are called, '*Oswal*' from their first settlement, the town of Ossi. They are all of pure Rajpoot birth, of no single tribe, but chiefly Puars, Solankis, and Bhattis. All profess the Jain tenets, and it is a curious fact, though little known, that the pontiffs of that faith must be selected from the youth of Ossi. The wealthy bankers and merchants of these regions scattered throughout India, are all known under one denomination, *Marmari*, which is erroneously supposed to apply to the Jodpoor territory, whereas, in fact, it means belonging to the desert. It is singular that the wealth of India should centre in this region of comparative sterility.



more united to attack the Bhatti prince; but they were defeated and put to flight. Finding that they could not succeed by open warfare, they had recourse to treachery. Having, under pretence of terminating this long feud, invited young Deoraj to marry the daughter of the Baraha chief, the Bhattis attended, when Beeji Bae and eight hundred of his kin and clan were massacred. Deoraj escaped to the house of the Purohit (of the Barahas, it is presumed), whither he was pursued. There being no hope of escape, the Brahmin threw the Brahminical thread round the neck of the young prince, and in order to convince his pursuers that they were deceived as to the object of their search, he sat down to eat with him from the same dish. Tunnote was invested and taken, and nearly every soul in it put to the sword, so that the very name of Bhatti was for a while extinct.

Deoraj remained for a long time concealed in the territory of the Barahas; but at length he ventured to Boota, his maternal abode, where he had the happiness to find his mother, who had escaped the massacre at Tunnote. She was rejoiced to behold her son's face, and "waved the salt over his head," then threw it into the water, exclaiming, "thus may your enemies melt away." Soon tired of life of dependence, Deoraj asked for a single village, which was promised; but the kin of the Boota chief alarmed him, and he recalled it, and limited his grant to such a quantity of land as he could encompass by the thongs cut from a single buffalo's hide? and this, too, in the depth of the desert. For this expedient he was indebted to the architect Kekeya, who

had constructed the castle of Bhutnair.\* Deoraj immediately commenced erecting a

\* This deception practised by the Bhatti chief to obtain land on which to erect a fortress is not unknown in other parts of India, and in more remote regions. Bhutnair owes its name to this expedient, from the division (*bhatna*) of the hide. The etymology of *Calcutta* is the same, but should be written *Khalcutta*, from the cuttings of the hide (*khal*). Byrsa, the castle of Carthage, originates from the same story. If there existed any affinity between the ancient *Pali* language of India and the Punic or Phœnician (as the names of its princes and their adjuncts of *bal* would indicate), and the letters B and Ch were as little dissimilar in Punic as in Sanscrit, then *Byrsa* would become *chursa*, 'hide or skin,' which might have originated the capital of the African Mauritania, as of the Indian Maruthan. Thus Marocco may be from *Maru-ca*, of, or belonging to Maru, the desert, also probably the origin of the *Murve* of Iran. The term Moor may likewise be corrupted from Mauri, and inhabitant of Maruca, while the Sehrae of our Indian desert is the brother in name and profession of the Saracen of Arabia, from Sehra, a desert, and zuddun, to assault. The Nomadic princes of Mauritania might therefore be the *Pali* or shepherd kings of *Maruthan*, the great African desert. And who were these Philita or *Pali* kings of Barbary and Egypt? It is well known that the Berbers who inhabited Abyssinia and the south coast of the Red Sea, migrated to the northern coast, not only occupying it, as well as Mount Atlas, but pushing their tribes far into the grand *sehra*, or desert. To those colonists, that coast owes its name of Barbary. From the days of Solomon and his cotemporary Sishac, an intimate communication subsisted between the eastern coast of Africa and India; and I have already hazarded the opinion, that we must look to this coast of Æthiopia and Abyssinia for the Lanka of the Rameses (Rameswar) of India; and from the former country the most skilful archaeologists assert that Egypt had her mythology, and more especially that mystery, the prominent feature of both systems—the *Phallic* rites, or worship of the *lingam*. *Berber*, according to Bruce, means a shepherd, and as *ber* is a ship in the language of India, *Berber* is a shepherd in the most literal sense and consequently the synonym of *Pali*. It has been asserted that this race colonized these coasts of Africa from India about the time of Amethophis, and that they are the *Yksos*, or 'shepherd-kings,' who subjugated Egypt. On this account a comparison of the ancient architectural remains of Abyssinia and Æthiopia with those of the ancient Hindus is most desirable. It is asserted, and with appearance of truth, that the architecture of the Pyramids is distinct from the Pharaonic, and that they are at once Astronomic and Phallic. In India, the symbolic pinnacle surmounting the temples of the sun-god are always





place of strength which he called after himself Deogurh, or Deorawul,\* on Monday, the 5th of the month Mah (*soodi*), the Pookh Nakshatra, S. 909.

Soon as the Boota chief heard that his son-in-law was erecting, not a dwelling, but a castle, he sent a force to raise it. Deoraj despatched his mother with the keys to the assailants, and invited the leaders to receive the castle and his homage; when the chief men, to the number of a hundred and twenty, entering, they were inveigled, under pretence of consultation, ten at a time, and each party put to death and their bodies thrown over the wall. Deprived of their leaders, the rest took to flight.

Soon after, the prince was visited by his

pyramidal. If the forthcoming history of the Berbers should reveal the mystery of their first settlements in Abyssinia, a great object would be attained; and if search were made in the old cave-temples of that coast, some remains of the characters they used might aid in tracing their analogy to the ancient Pali of the East: an idea suggested by an examination of the few characters found in the grand desert inhabited by the Tuaricks, which have a certain resemblance to the Punic, and to the unknown characters attributed to the Indo-Seythic tribes of India, as on their coins and cave-temples. Wide asunder as are these regions, the mind that will strive to lessen the historical separation may one day be successful, when connexion between Aethiopia (qu; from *aditya* and contracted *ait*, the Sun?) and Sarashtia, 'the land of the Sun,' or Syria of India, may become more tangible. Ferishta (vide Briggs' Translation, vol. iv. p. 408,) quoting original authorities, says, "inhabitants of Selandip, or the island of Ceylon, were accustomed to send vessels to the coast of Africa, to the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, from the earliest ages, and Hindu pilgrims resorted to Mecca and Egypt for the purpose of paying adoration to the idols. It is related also that this people trading from Ceylon became converts to the true faith at so early a period as the first caliphs," all which confirms the fact of early intercourse between Egypt and India.

\* Deorawul was one of the points of halt in Elphinstone's mission to Cabul. This discloses to us the position of the Boota territory, and as astronomical data are given, those inclined to prove or disprove the Bhatti chronology have ample means afforded.

patron, the jogi who had protected him amongst the Barahas, and who now gave him the title of *Sid*. This jogi, who possessed the art of transmuting metals, lodged in the same house where Deoraj found protection on the massacre of his father and kindred. One day, the holy man had gone abroad, leaving his *jirghirkunta*, or 'tattered doublet,' in which was the *Ras-coompa*, or 'elixir-vessel,' a drop of which having fallen on the dagger of Deoraj and changed it to gold, he decamped with both, and it was by the possession of this he was enabled to erect Deorawul. The jogi was well aware of the chief whom he now came to visit; and he confirmed him in the possession of the stolen property, on one condition, that he should become his *chela* and disciple, and, as a token of submission and fidelity, adopt the external symbols of the jogi. Deoraj assented, and was invested with the jogi robe of ochre.\* He placed the *moodrat* in his ear, the little horn round his neck, and the bandage (*langota*) about his loins; and with the gourd (*cupra*) in his hand, he perambulated the dwellings of his kin, exclaiming, *Aluc! Aluc!*† The gourd was filled with gold and pearls; the title of *Rao* was abandoned for that of *Rawul*‡ the *teeka* was made on his forehead; and exacting a pledge that these rites of inauguration should be continued to the latest posterity, the Baba Ritti (for such was the jogi's name) disappeared.

\* Called *geeroo*; garments coloured with this dye are worn by all classes of mendicants.

† The *moodra* is a round prickly seed worn by the ascetics as ear-rings.

‡ The Supreme Being; the universal and One God.

§ *Rawul* is still the title of the princes of Jessulmer, as it once was that of the Mewar house.



Deoraj determined to wreak his revenge on the Barahas, and he enjoyed it even "to stripping the scarfs from the heads of their females." On his return to Deorawul, he prepared for an attack on Langaha, the heir of which was then on a marriage expedition at Aleepur. There, Deoraj attacked and slew a thousand of them, the rest henceforth acknowledged his supremacy. The Langahas where gallant Rajpoots.

As the tribe of Langaha, will form this period go hand in hand in all the international wars of the Yadu-Bhattis, from their expulsion from the Punjab to their final settlement in the Indian desert, it is of some interest to trace its origin and destiny. It is distinctly stated that, at this epoch, the Langas were Rajpoots; and they are in fact a subdivision of the Solanki or Chalook race, one of the four *Agnicula*; and it is important to observe that in their *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed'; they claim Lokote in the Punjab as their early location; in all probability prior to their regeneration on Mount Aboo, when they adopted Brahminical principles. From the year S. 787 (A. D. 731), when the castle of Tunnote was erected by the leader of the Bhatti colony, down to S. 1530 (A. D. 1474), a period of seven hundred and forty-three years, perpetual border-strife appears to have occurred between the Bhattis and Langas, which terminated in that singular combat, or duel, of tribe against tribe, during the reign of Rawul Chachik, in the last-mentioned period. Shortly after this, Baber conquered India, and Mooltan became a province of the empire, when the authority of tribes ceased. Ferishta, however, comes to our aid and gives us an

account of an entire dynasty of this tribe as kings of Mooltan. The first of this line of five kings began his reign A. H. 847 (A. D. 1443), or thirty years anterior to the death of Rawul Chachik. The Mooslem historian (see Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 388), says that when Khizer Khan Syud was emperor of Delhi, he sent Shekh Yusooph as his lieutenant to Mooltan, who gained the esteem of the surrounding princes; amongst whom was Rae Sehra, head of the tribe of Langa, who came to congratulate him, and to offer his services and a daughter in marriage. The offer was accepted; constant communication was kept up between Seevee and Mooltan, till at length Rae Sehra disclosed the object of all this solicitude; he threw aside the mask, confined the Shekh, send him off to Delhi, and crowned himself king of Mooltan under the title of Kootub-u-din.

Ferishta calls Rae Sehra and his tribe of Langa, Afghans; and Abulfazil says, the inhabitants of Seevee were of the *Noomrie* (fox) tribe, which is assuredly one of the most numerous of the Jit or Gete race, though they have all, since their conversion, adopted the distinctive term of *Baloch*. The Bhatti chronicle calls the Langas in one page Pathan, and in another *Rajpoot*, which are perfectly reconcileable, and by no means indicative that the Pathan or Afghan of that early period, or even in the time of Rae Sehra, was a Mahomedan. The title of Rae is sufficient proof that they were even then Hindus. Mr. Elphinstone scouts the idea of the descent of the Afghans from the Jews; and not a trace of the Hebrew is found in the Pooshtoo, or language of this tribe,



although it has much affinity to the Zend and Sanskrit. I cannot refrain from repeating my conviction of the origin of the Afghans from the Yadu, converted into *Yahudi*, or 'Jew.' Whether these Yadus are or are not *Yuti* or *Getes*, remains to be proved.

To the south of Deorawul dwelt the Lodra Rajpoots; their capital was Lodorva, an immense city, having twelve gates. The family Purohit, having been offended, took sanctuary (*sirna*) with Deoraj, and stimulated him to dispossess his old masters of their territory. A marriage was proposed to Nirp-bhan, the chief of the Lodras, which being accepted, Deoraj, at the head of twelve hundred chosen horse, departed for Lodorva. The gates of the city were thrown open as the bridegroom approached; but no sooner had he entered with his suite, than swords were drawn, and Deoraj made himself master of Lodorva.\* He married the chief's daughter, left a garrison in Lodorva, and returned to Deorawul. Deoraj was now lord of fifty-six thousand horse, and a hundred thousand camels.†

At this period, a merchant of Deorawul, named Jiskurn, having gone to Dharanagari,

\* We are not told of what race (*cuta*) was the Lodra Rajpoot; in all probability it was Pramara, or Puar, which at one time occupied the whole desert of India. Lodorva, as will be seen, became the capital of the Bhattis, until the founding of their last and present capital, Jessulmer; it boasts a high antiquity, though now a ruin, occupied by a few families of shepherds. Many towns throughout the desert were formerly of celebrity, but are now desolate through the conjoined causes of perpetual warfare and the shifting sands. I obtained a copper-plate inscription of the tenth century from Lodorva, of the period of Beejiraj, in the ornamental Jain character; also some clay signets, given to pilgrims, bearing Jain symbols. All these relics attest the prevailing religion to have been Jain.

† A gross exaggeration of the annalist, or a cypher in each added by the copyist.

was imprisoned by its prince Brij-bhan Puar, and compelled to pay a ransom for his liberty. On his return to Deorawul, he showed the mark of the iron-collar to his sovereign, who indignant at the dishonor put upon his subject, swore he would not drink water until he had avenged the insult. But had not calculated the distance between him and his foe; in order, however, to redeem his pledge, a *Dhar* of clay (*gar-ra-dhar*) was constructed, on which he was about to wreak his vengeance, but there were Pramars in his army, who were at their post ready to defend their mock capital; and, as their astonished prince advanced to destroy it, they exclaimed—

*Jan Puar thyan Dhar heyn*

*Or Dhar thyan Puar*

*Dhar binna Puar nuhyn*

*Or nuhyn Puar binna Dhar,*

which may be thus translated:

"Wherever there is a Puar, there is a Dhar; and where there is a Dhar, there is a Puar. There is no Dhar without a Puar; neither is there a Puar without a Dhar."\* Under their leaders, Tejsi and Sarung, they protected the mock Dhar, and were cut to pieces to the number of one hundred and twenty. Deoraj approved their valour, and provided for their children. Being thus released from his oath, he proceeded towards Dhar, reducing those who opposed his progress. Brij-bhan defended Dhar during five days, and fell with eight hundred of his men; upon which Deoraj unfurled the flag of victory and returned to his late conquest, the city of Lodorva.

Deoraj had two sons, Moond and Chedoo;

\* Dhar, or Dharanagari, was the most ancient capital of this tribe, the most numerous of the Agnicula races. See a sketch of the Puars, or Pramaras, Vol. I. P. 69.



the last, by a wife of the Baraha tribe, had five sons, whose descendants were styled Cheda Rajpoots. Deoraj excavated several large lakes in the territory of Khadal (in which Deorawul is situated); one at Tunnote is called Tunno-sirr; another after himself Deo-sirr. Having one day gone to hunt, slightly attended, he was attacked by an ambush of the Chunna Rajpoots, and slain with twenty-six of his attendants, after having reigned fifty-five years. His kin and clans shaved their locks and moustaches, excepting.\*

Moond, who succeeded, and performed all the ceremonies during the twelve days. Having made his ablutions with the water from sixty-eight different wells, in which were immersed the leaves of one hundred and eight different shrubs and trees, a female of spotless virtue waved the burning frankincense over his head. Before him was placed the *punj-amrit*, consisting of curds, milk, butter, sugar, and honey; likewise pearls, gems, the royal umbrella, the grass called *dhool*, various flowers, a looking-glass, a young virgin, a chariot, a flag or banner, the *vela* flower, seven sorts of grain, two fish, a horse, a *nukhunk* (unknown), a bullock, a shell, a lotus, a vessel of water, the tail of the wild ox (*chaonr*), a female calf, a litter, yellow clay, and prepared food. Then, seated on the *lion's hide*,—(on which were painted the seven *dweepas* or continents of Hindu cosmography, apparelled in the dress of the Jogi, and covered with ashes (*bhuboot*), with the *moodra* on his ears),—the white *chaonr* (ox-tail) was waved over his head,

\* There is no *interregnum* in Rajwarra; the king never dies.

and he was inaugurated on the *gadi* of Deoraj, while the Purohit and chiefs presented their offerings. The *teeka-dour* was against the assassins of his father, who had congregated for defence, eight hundred of whom were put to death. Rawul Moond had one son, who was called Bachera. When about fourteen years of age the *coco-nut* came from Bullub-sen Solanki, Raja of Patun.\* He forthwith proceeded to Patun, where he married the Solanki princess, and died not long after his father.

Bachera succeeded on Saturday the 12th Sravan, S. 1035. The same rites of installation were performed; the *kanferra* (split-eared) Jogi was the first to put the regal *tilac* on his forehead, and 'his hand upon his back.' Rawul Bachera had five sons, Doosaj, Singh, Bappi Rao, Unkho, and Maall-Pusao; all of whom had issue, forming clans.

A merchant came to Lodorva with a caravan of horses, of which there was one of a

\* This affords a most important synchronism, corroborative of the correctness of these annals. Raja Bullub-sen of Patun (Anbulwarra) immediately followed Chamund Rae, who was dispossessed of the throne by Mahmood of Ghizni, in the year A. D. 1011, or S. 1067. Bullub-sen died the year of his installation, and was succeeded by Doorlubh, whose period has also been synchronically fixed by an inscription belonging to the Pramaras.—See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 223.

† This date S. 1035, is evidently an error of the copyist. Bachera married Bullub-sen's daughter in S. 1067, and he died in S. 1100; so that it should be either S. 1055 or 1065. It is important to clear this point, as Rawul Bachera was the opponent of Mahmood of Ghizni in his invasion of India, A. H. 393, A. D. 1000,=S. 1065 or S. 1066, the Samvatera being liable to a variation of ten years (Colebrooke). If we are right, a passage of Ferishta, which has puzzled the translators, should run thus: "Mahmoud directed his march against the Bhatti, and passing Mooltan, arrived at Behera, a Bhatti city."—Compare Dow, vol. i. p. 58, (4to. edit.) and Briggs, vol. i. p. 38.





race so superior, that a lakh of rupees was fixed as his price; the breed belonged to a Pathan chief, west of the Indus. To obtain it, Doosaj and his son Unkho put themselves at the head of a band, crossed the Indus, slew Gazi Khan, the Pathan chief, and carried off his stud.

Sing had a son, Sacha-rae; his son was Balla, who had two sons, Ruttun and Jugga; they attacked the Purihar prince Juggernath of Mundore, and carried off five hundred camels: their descendants are styled Singrao Rajpoots.

Bappi Rao had two sons, Pahoo and Mandun. Pahoo had likewise two, Beerum and Toolir, whose numerous issue were styled the Pahoo Rajpoots. The Pahos issued from their abode of Beekumpoor, and conquered the lands of Johyas, as far as *Devi-jhal*; and having made Poogul\* their capital, they dug numerous wells in the *thul*, which still go by the name of the Pahoo wells.

Near Khatoth, in the Nagore district of Marwar, there dwelt a warrior of the Kheechee tribe, named Jiddra, who often plundered even to the gates of Poogul, slaying many of the Jytung Bhattis. Doosaj prepared a *kafilā* ("caravan,") under pretence of making a pilgrimage to the Ganges, invaded unawares the Kheechee chief's territory, and slew him, with nine hundred of his men.

Doosaj, with his three brothers, went to the land of Kher, where dwelt Pertap Sing, chief of the Gohilotes,† whose daughters

they espoused. "In the land of Kher, the Jadoon showered gold, enriching it. In the *daeja* (dower) with his daughter, the Gohilote gave fifteen *Dewa-darries*, or 'virgin lamp-holders.' Soon after, the Baloches made an inroad into the territory of Khadal; a battle ensued, in which five hundred were killed, and the rest fled beyond the river. Bachera died, and was succeeded by

Doosaj, in the month of Asar, S. 1100. Hamir, prince of the Sodas,\* made an incursion in his territories, which he plundered. Doosaj, having unavailingly remonstrated, reminding him of ancient ties, he marched into Dhat, and gained a victory. Doosaj had two sons, Jesul and Beejiraj, and in his old age a third son, by a Ranawut princess of the house of Mewar, called *Lanja* Beejirae, who, when Doosaj died, was placed on the throne by the nobles and civil officers of the state. Previous to his elevation, he had espoused a daughter of Sidraj Jey Sing, Solanki. During the nuptial ceremonies, as the mother of the bride was marking the forehead of the bridegroom with the *tiluk* or 'inauguration mark,' she exclaimed, "My son, do thou become the portal of the north—the barrier between us and the king, whose power is becoming strong."†

according to the documents in the Rao's family. And we have only to look at the opening of the Annals of Marwar to see that form its colonization by the Rahtores, the Gohil community of *Kherdhar* was finally extinguished. To the general historian these minute facts may be unimportant, but they cease to be so when they prove the character of these annals for fidelity.

\* If this is the Hamira alluded to in the Annals of Bikaner, in whose time the Caggar river ceased to flow in these lands, we have another date assigned to a fact of great physical importance.

† Here we have another synchronism. In the *Komarpuṭ Charitra*, or history of the kings of Anhilwara Puttun, the reign of Sidraj was from S. 1150 to S. 1201, or A. D.

\* This was one of the points touched at in Mr. Elphinstone's journey.

† The chief of the Gohilotes is now settled at the Bhaonuggur at the estuary of the Myhie; where I visited him in 1823. The migration of the family from Kherdhar occurred about a century after that period,





By the princess of Puttun he had a son, who was named Bhojdeo, and who, by the death of his father when he attained the age of twenty-five, became lord of Lodorva. The other sons of Doosaj were at this time advanced in manhood, Jesul being thirty-five, and Beejiraj thirty-two years of age.

Some years before the death of Doosaj, Raedhuwal Puar, son (or descendant) of Udyadit of Dhar, had three daughters, one of whom he betrothed to Jeipal (Ajipal) Solanki, son of Sidraj;\* another to Beejiraj Bhatti, and the third to the Rana of Cheetore. The

1094 to 1145; the point of time intermediate between the invasion of Mahmud of Ghizni and the final conquest of India by Shahudin, during which there were many irruptions into India by the lieutenants of the monarch of Ghizni. There was in the reign of Musood, in A. H. 492 (A. D. 1098), four years after the accession of Sidraj; another in A. D. 1120, in the reign of Byram Shah, during which, according to Ferishta, the Ghaznevide general, Balin, rebelled and assailed the Hindu Rajas from Nagore, where he established himself. In all probability this is the event alluded to by the queen of Puttun, when she nominated the Bhatti prince as her champion.

\* The mention of these simultaneous intermarriages in three of the principal Rajpoot monarchies of that day, viz. Dhar, Puttun, and Cheetore, is important, not only as establishing fresh synchronisms, but as disclosing the intercourse between the Bhattis and the more ancient princely families of India. Udyadit Pramhar has been established beyond cavil (see Trans. R. A. S. vol. i. p. 223), and that of Sidraj, likewise, whose son and successor, Ajipal, had but a short reign when he was deposed by Komarpal, whose date is also found from inscription. It is a singular fact, that all the Rajpoot dynasties of these regions were established about the same epoch, viz. Puttun by the Churas, Cheetore by the Gehlotes, Delhi, refounded by the Tuars and the Bhatti principality by the descendant of Salbahan. This was in the middle of the eighth century of Vicramaditya, when the older Hindu governments were broken up. The admission of the Bhatti to intermarry with their families proves one of two facts: either that they were considered Rajpoots, notwithstanding their being inhabitants of the regions beyond the Indus; or, that the families mentioned, with which they intermarried, were Indo-Scythic like themselves.

Bhatti prince left Lodorva for Dhar at the head of seven hundred horse, and arrived at the same time with the Seesoda and Solanki princes. On his return to Lodorva, he erected a temple to *Sheslinga*, close to which he made a lake. By the Puar princess he had a son named Rahir, who had two sons, Netsi and Keksi.

Bhojdeo had not long occupied the *gadi* of Lodorva, when his uncle Jesul conspired against him; but being always surrounded by a guard of five hundred Solanki Rajpoots, his person was unassailable. At this time, the prince of Puttun was often engaged with the king's troops from Tatha. Jesul, in pursuance of his plan, determined to coalesce with the king, and cause an attack on Puttun (Anhulwarra), by which alone he could hope for the departure of the Solanki body-guard. Jesul, with his chief kin, escorted by two hundred horse marched to the Punjnad, where he saw the king of Ghor, who had just overcome the king of Tatha,\* and placed his own garrison there, and he accompanied him to Arore, the ancient capital of Sind. There he unfolded his views, and having sworn allegiance to the king he obtained a force to dispossess his nephew of his territory.

\* At every step we see, however meagre may be the outline, the correctness of this historical sketch. It was, according to Ferishta, in A. H. 555 (A. D. 1159, or S. 1215), that the prince of Ghor conquered Ghizni, and immediately after overran Mooltan and Sind (see Briggs, vol. i. p. 157); and doubtless it was on this occasion that the Bhatti prince swore allegiance to Shahudin, and obtained the force which drove his nephew from Lodorva, which being sacked by his auxiliaries, he founded Jessulmer in S. 1212. The three years' discrepancy between the Mahomedan and Hindu dates is of little consequence; but even this could be remedied, when we recollect that the Samvat, according to Mr. Colbrooke, is liable to a variation of ten years.



Lodorva was encompassed, and Bhojdeo slain in its defence. In two days the inhabitants were to carry off their effects, and on the third the troops of Ghor were permitted the license of plunder. Lodorva was sacked, and Kureem Khan departed for Bekher with the spoils.

Jesul thus obtained the *gadi* of Lodorva ; but it being open to invasion, he sought a spot better adapted for defence, and he found one only five coss (ten miles) from Lodorva. Upon the summit of a rocky ridge, he discovered a Brahmin, whose solitary hermitage adjoined the fountain of Brimsir. Having paid homage, and disclosed the purport of his visit, the recluse related the history of the triple-peaked hill, which overlooked his hermitage. He said, that in the *Treta*, or 'silver age,' a celebrated ascetic called Kak, or Kaga, resided at this fountain, after whom the rivulet which issued thence had its name of Kaga; that the Pandu Arjoon, with Heri Crishna, came there to attend a great sacrifice, on which occasion Crishna foretold that, in some distant age, a descendant of his should erect a town on the margin of that rivulet, and should raise a castle on *Tricuta*, the triple-peaked mount.\* While Crishna thus prophesied, it was observed to him by Arjoon that the water was bad, when Crishna smote the rock with his *chakra* (discus), whereupon a sweet spring bubbled up, and on its margin were ins-

\* If there were no better support for the assumed descent of the Bhatti founder of Jessulmer from the *yadus* of the *Bharat*, than this prophecy, we should be confirmed in our suspicion that they are a colony of the *Yuti*, and that the Brahmins took advantage of the nominal resemblance to incorporate them in the *Chatees Rajpula*, or thirty-six royal race.

cribed the porphetic stanzas which the hermit Eesul now pointed out to the Bhatti prince, who read as follows:

1.

"Oh prince of Jidoo-vansal come into this land, and on this mountain's top erect a triangular castle.

2.

"Lodorva is destroyed, but only five coss therefrom is Jesanoh, a site of twice its strength.

3.

"Prince whose name is Jesul, who will be of Yadu race, abandon Lodorpoora; here erect thy dwelling."

The hermit Eesul alone knew the existence of the fountain on whose margin these lines were engraved. All that he stipulated for himself was, that the fields to the westward of the castle should retain his name, "the fields of Eesul." He foretold that the intended castle should twice and a half times be sacked; that rivers of blood would flow, and that for a time all would be lost to his descendants.

on *Rubwar*, 'the day of the sun,' (a favorite day for commencing any grand undertaking with all these tribes), the 12th of Sravan, the enlightened half of the moon, S. 1212 (A. D. 1156), the foundation of Jessulmer was laid, and soon the inhabitants, with all that was valuable, abandoned Lodorva,\* and began to erect new habitations. Jesul had two sons, Kailun and Salbahan. He chose

\* Lodorva remains in ruins; a journey thither might afford subject-matter for the antiquary, and enable him to throw light upon the origin of the Bhatti tribe. It is ten miles N. W. of the present capital.



his chief ministers and advisers from the children of Sodil, of the Pahoo tribe, who became too powerful. Their old enemies, the Chunna Rajpoots, again invaded the lands

of Khadal; but they suffered for their audacity. Jesul survived this event five years, when he died, and was succeeded by his youngest son, Salbahan the II.

### CHAPTER III.

*Preliminary observations.—The early history of the Bhattis not devoid of interest.—Traces of their ancient manners and religion.—The chronicle resumed.—Jesul survives the change of capital twelve years.—The heir Kailun banished.—Salbahan, his younger brother, succeeds. Expedition against the Cati or Cathi.—Their supposed origin.—Application from the Yadu prince of Badrinath for a prince to fill the vacant gadi.—During Salbahan's absence, his son Beejil usurps the gadi.—Salbahan retires to Khadal, and falls in battle against the Baloches.—Beejil commits suicide.—Kailun recalled and placed on the gadi.—His issue form clans.—Khizzur Khan Baloch again invades Khadal.—Kailun attacks him, and avenges his father's death.—Death of Kailun.—Succeeded by Chachik Deo.—He expels the Chunna Rajpoots.—Defeats the Sodas of Amerkote.—The Rahtores lately arrived in the desert become troublesome.—Important synchronisms.—Death of Chachick.—He is succeeded by his grandson Kurrun, to the prejudice of the elder, Jaetsi, who leaves Jessulmer.—Redresses the wrongs of a Baraha Rajpoot.—Kurrun dies.—Succeeded by Lakhur Sen.—His imbecile character.—Replaced by his son Poonpal, who is dethroned and banished.—His grandson, Raning-deo, establishes himself at Marote and Poogul. On the deposal of Poonpal, Jaetsi is recalled and placed on gadi.—He affords a refuge to the Purihar prince of Mundore, when attacked by Alla-o-din.—The sons of Jaetsi carry off the imperial tribute of Tatha and Mooltan.—The king determines to invade Jessulmer.—Jaetsi and his sons prepare for the storm.—Jessulmer invested.—First assault repulsed.—The Bhattis keep an army in the field.—Rawul Jaetsi dies. The siege continues.—Singular friendship between his son Ruttun and one of the besieging generals.—Moolraj succeeds. General assault.—Again defeated.—Garrison reduced to great extremity.—Council of war.—Determination to perform the saka.—Generous conduct of the Mahomedan friend of Ruttun to his sons.—Final Assault.—Rawul Moolraj and Ruttun and their chief kin fall in battle. Jessulmer taken, dismantled, and abandoned.*

HAVING thus epitomized the Bhatti annals, from the expulsion of the tribe from the Punjab, and the establishment of Tunnote in the Indian, desert, in A.D. 731, to the foundation of the existing capital, Jessulmer, in

A.D. 1156, we shall continue the sketch to the present day, nearly in the language of the chronicle, adding explanatory notes as we proceed.

The interval between the erection of the





castle of Tunnote and the present time is exactly eleven hundred years; during which the historical narrative, whatever may be its value, is at least continuous, and the events recorded are corroborated, even in the darkest period, by numerous synchronisms in the annals of the other states; and viewed synoptically, it presents matter of deep interest to the explorer to Indian history. The period of four hundred and twenty-five years, embraced in the preceding chapter, is full of incidents. It is a record of a people who once deemed their consequence and their fame imperishable. And even were it less diversified by anecdotes descriptive of manners, it would still possess claims to interest as a simple relation of the gradual peopling of a great portion of the Indian desert. We see tribes and cities disappearing; new races and new capitals taking their place; and although not a syllable is written which bears directly upon religion, we can see, incidentally, the analogy of these Indo-Scythic tribes, from Zabulistan and Salbahana, with the Hindu, confirming what Menu says, that the *Sucas*, *Yavanas*, *Pehlavis*, and the *Khasas*\* of Central Asia, were all Chettris or Rajpoots. We now proceed with the chronicle.

Jesul, the founder of Jessulmer, survived the change of capital only twelve years. His elder son, Kailun, having given displeasure to the Pahoo minister, was expelled, and his younger brother placed upon the *gadi*.

Salbahan, a name of celebrity in the annals,

\* There is a race in the desert, now Mahomedan, and called *Khossas*. Elphinstone mentions the *Khasa-Khel*. Khasgar is 'the region of the Khasas,' the *Casia Regia* of Ptolemy.

renewed in the son of Jesul, succeeded in S. 1224 (A. D. 1168). His first expedition was against the Catti or Cathi tribe, who, under their leader, Jugbhan dwelt between the city of Jhalore and the Aravuli.\* The Cathi Rao was killed, and his horses and camels were carried to Jessulmer. The fame of this exploit exalted the reputation of Salbahan. He had three sons, Beejir, Banar, and Hasso.

In the mountains of Bhadrinath, there was a state, whose princes were of the Jadoon (Yadu) race, descended from the first Salbahan at the period of the expulsion from Gujni.† At this time, the prince of this state dying without issue, a deputation came

\* We can scarcely refuse our assent to the belief, that the Cathi, or Catti tribe, here mentioned, is the remnant of the nation which so manfully opposed Alexander. It was then located about Mooltan, at this period occupied by the Langas. The colony attacked by the Bhatti was near the Aravuli, in all probability a predatory band from the region they peopled and gave their name to, Cattiawar, in the Saurashtra peninsula.

† Mr. Elphinstone enumerates the Jadoon as a subdivision of the Eusofzyes, one of the great Afghan tribes, who were originally located about Cabul and Ghizni. I could not resist surmising the probability of the term Jadoon, applied to a subdivision of the Afghan race, originating from the Hindu-Scythic Jadoon, or Yadu; whence the boasted descent of the Afghans from Saul king of the Jews (*Yahudis*). The customs of the Afghans would support this hypothesis: "The Afghans (says the Emperor Baber, page 159), when reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy with grass between their teeth, being as much as to say, 'I am your ox.'" This custom is entirely Rajpoot, and ever recurring in inscriptions recording victories. They have their bards or poets in like manner, of whom Mr. Elphinstone gives an interesting account. In features, also, they resemble the Northern Rajpoots, who have generally aquiline noses, or, as Mr. Elphinstone expresses it, in the account of his journey through the desert, "Jewish features;" though this might tempt one to adopt the converse of my deduction, and say, that these *Yadus* of Gujni were, with the Afghans, also of *Yahudi* origin: from the lost tribes of Israel.



to Jessulmer to obtain a prince to fill the vacant *gadi*. Hasso was accordingly sent but died just as he arrived. His wife, who was pregnant, was taken with the pains of labour on the journey, and was delivered of a son under the shade of a *palas* tree, whence the child was called *Palaseo*. This infant succeeding, the *raj* (principality) was named after him *Plaseoh*.\*

Proposals of marriage came from Maunsi Deora of Sirohi. The Rawul left Jessulmer to the care of his eldest son Beejil. Soon after his departure, the foster-brother (*dhabhae*) of the young prince propagated the report of the Rawul's death in an encounter with a tiger, and prompted Beejil to assume the dignity. Salbahan, on his return finding his seat usurped, and having in vain expostulated with his traitorous son, proceeded to Khadal, of which Deorawul is the capital, where he was slain, with three hundred of his followers, in repelling an irruption of the Baloches. Beejil did not long enjoy the dignity: having in a fit of passion struck the *dhabhae*, the blow was returned, upon which, stung with shame and resentment, he stabbed himself with his dagger.

Kailun, the elder brother of Salbahan, who was expelled by the Pahoos, was now (A.D. 1200) recalled, and installed at the age of fifty. He had six sons, Chachick Deo, Palhan, Jeichund, Peetumsi, Petumchund, and Usrao. The second and third had numerous issue, who are styled Jaseir and Seehana Rajpoots.

Khizzur Khan Baloch, with five thousand

\* See Mr. Elphinstone's map for the position of the Jadoon branch of the Eusozzyes at the foot of the Sewalik hills.

men, at this time again crossed the Mehran (Indus), and invaded the land of Khadal, which was the second irruption since he slew Salbahan. Kailun marched against him at the head of seven thousand Rajpoots, and after a sever engagement, slew the Baloch leader and fifteen hundred of his men. Kailun ruled nineteen years.

Chachick Deo succeeded in S. 1275 (A.D. 1219). Soon after his accession, he carried on war against the Chunna Rajpoots (now extinct), of whom he slew two thousand, capturing fourteen thousand cows, and compelling the tribe to take refuge with the Johyas. Soon after, the Rawul invaded the lands of Rana Urmsi, prince of the Sodas, who, though taken by surprise, assembled four thousand horse: but was defeated, and forced to fly for shelter to the walls of his capital, Amerkote. The Puar was glad to obtain the absence of his foe by the offer of his daughter in marriage.\*

\* In this single passage we have revealed the tribe (*gote*), race (*oula*), capital and proper name, of the prince of *Dhat*. The *Soda* tribe, as before stated, is an important branch of the Pramara (Puar) race, and with the *Oomras* and *Soomras* gave dynasties to the valley of Sinde from the most remote period. The *Soda*, I have already observed, were probably the *Sogdi* of Alexander, occupying Upper Sinde when the Macedonian descended that stream. The *Soomra* dynasty is mentioned by Ferishta from ancient authorities, but the Mahomedan historians knew nothing, and cared nothing, about Rajpoot tribes. It is from such documents as these scattered throughout the annals of these principalities, and from the ancient Hindu epic poems, that I have concentrated the "Sketches of the Rajpoot Tribes," introductory to the first volume, which, however slight they appear, cost more research than the rest of the book. I write this note chiefly for the information of the patriarch of oriental lore on the Continent, the learned and ingenuous De Sacy. If this Mentor ask, "Where are now the Sodas?" I reply, the ex-prince of Amerkote, with whose ancestors Hemayoon took refuge,—in whose capital in the desert the great Akber was born,—and who could on the spur of the moment oppose four thousand



The Rahtores, recently established in the land of Kher, had become troublesome neighbours; Chachick obtained the aid of the Soda troops to chastise them, and he proceeded to Jessole and Bhalotra, where they were established: but Chadoo and his son Theedo averted his wrath by giving him a daughter to wife.\*

Rawul Chachick ruled thirty-two years. He had only one son, Tej Rao, who died at the age of forty-two, from the small-pox, leaving two sons, Jaetsi and Kurrun. To the youngest the Rawul was much attached; and having convened the chiefs around his death-bed, he entreated they would accede to his last wish, that his youngest grandson might be his successor.

Kurrun having succeeded, his elder brother, Jaetsi, abandoned his country, and took service with the Mahomedans in Guzerat. About this time, Mozuffer Khan, who occupied Nagore with five thousand horse, committed great outrages. There was a Bhomia of the Baraha tribe, named Bha-gaoti-das, who resided fifteen coss from Nagore, and was master of one thousand five hundred horse. He had an only

horse to invasion, has only one single town, that of Chore, left to him. The Rahtores, who, in the time of Urmsi Rana and Rawul Chachick, were hardly known in *Marudes*, have their flag waving on the battlements of the "immortal castle," (*amureuta*), and the Ameers of Sinde have incorporated the greater part of Dhat with their state of Hydrabad.

\* To those interested in the migration of these tribes, it must be gratifying to see these annals thus synchronically corroborating each other. About two centuries before this, in the region of Doosaj, when the Bhatti capital was at Lodorva, an attack was made on the land of Kher then occupied by the Gohilotes, who were, as related in the Annals of Marwar, dispossessed by the Rahtores. None but an inquirer into these annals of the desert tribes can conceive the satisfaction arising from such confirmations.

daughter, who was demanded by the Khan, and being unwilling to comply, and unable to resist, he resolved to abandon the country. For this purpose he prepared carriages, in which he placed his family and chattels, and at night proceeded towards Jessulmer; but the Khan, gaining intelligence of his motions, intercepted the convoy. A battle ensued, in which four hundred of the Barahas were killed, and his daughter and other females were carried off. The afflicted Baraha continued his route to Jessulmer, and related his distress to Rawul Kurrun, who immediately put himself at the head of his followers, attacked the Khan, whom he slew, with three thousand of his people, and re-inducted the Bhomia in his possessions. Kurrun ruled twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son,

Lakhun Sen, in S. 1327 (A. D. 1271). He was so great a simpleton, that when the jackals howled at night, being told that it was from being cold, he ordered quilted dress-ess(*duglas*) to be prepared for them. As the howling still continued, although he was assured his orders had been fulfilled, he commanded houses to be built for the animals in the royal preserves (*rumna*), many of which yet remain. Lakhun was the contemporary of Kanirdeo Sonigurra, whose life was saved by his (Lakhun's) wife's knowledge of omens. Lakhun was ruled by this Rani, who was of the Soda tribe. She invited her brethern from Amerkote; but the madman, her husband, put them to death, and threw their bodies over the walls. He was allowed to rule four years, and was then replaced by his son,

Poonpal. This prince was of a temper so



violent that the nobles dethroned him, and recalled the exiled Jaetsi from Guzzerat. Poonpal had a residence assigned him in a remote quarter of the state. He had a son, Lakumsi, who had a son called Rao Raningdeo, who by a stratagem pointed out a by Khurl\* Rajpoot, took Marote from the Johyas, and Poogul from the Thories, thieves by profession, whose chief, styled Rao, he made captive; and in Poogul he settled his family. Rao Raning had a son called Sadool, who alternately bathed in the sea of pleasure, and struggled in that of action: to their retreat the father and son conveyed the spoils seized from all around them.

Jaetsi obtained the *gadi* in S. 1332 (A.D. 1276). He had two sons, Moolraj and Ruttunsi. Deoraj, the son of Moolraj, espoused the daughter of the Sonigurra chief of Jhalore. Mahomed [Khooni] Padsha invaded the dominions of Rana Roopsi, the Purihar prince of Mundore,† who, when defeated, fled with his twelve daughters, and found refuge with the Rawul, who gave him Baroo as a residence.

Deoraj, by his Sonigurra wife, had three sons, Janghan, Sirwun, and Hamir. This Hamir was a mighty warrior, who attacked Kompoh Sen of Mehwo, and plundered his lands. He had issue three sons, Jaito, Loonkurn, and Mairoo. At this period, Ghorī Alla-oo-din commenced the war against the castles of India. The tribute of Tatha and Mooltan, consisting of fifteen hundred horses and fifteen hundred mules laden with trea-

sure and valuables, was at Bekher in progress to the king at Delhi. The sons of Jaetsi determined to lay an ambush and capture the tribute. Disguised as grain-merchants, with seven thousand horse and twelve hundred camels, they set out on their expedition, and on the banks of the Punjnuud found the convoy, escorted by four hundred Mogul and the like number of Pathan horse. The Bhattis encamped near the convoy; and in the night they rose upon and slew the escort, carrying the treasure to Jessulmer. The survivors carried the news to the king, who prepared to punish this insult. When tidings reached Rawul Jaetsi that the king was encamped on the *Anasagur* at Ajmer, he prepared Jessulmer for defence. He laid in immense stores of grain, and deposited all round the ramparts of the fort large round stones to hurl on the besiegers. All the aged, the infirm, and his female grandchildren, were removed into the interior of the desert, while the country around the capital for many miles was laid waste, and the towns made desolate. The Rawul, with his two elder sons and five thousand warriors, remained inside for the defence of the castle, while Deoraj and Hamir formed an army to act against the enemy from without. The sultan in person remained at Ajmer, and sent forward an immense force of Khorasanis and Koreishes, cased in steel armour, "who rolled on like the clouds in Bhadoon." The fifty-six bastions were manned, and three thousand seven hundred heroes distributed amongst them for their defence, while two thousand remained in reserve to succour the points attacked. During the first week that the besiegers formed their entrench-

\* This tribe is unknown to Central India.

† The title, tribe, and capital of this race, shew that the Bhattis were intimately connected with the neighbouring states.





ments, seven thousand Moosulmans were slain, and Meer Mohabet and Alli Khan remained on the field of battle. For two years the invaders were confined to their camp by Deoraj and Hamir, who kept the field, after cutting off their supplies, which came from Mundore, while the garrison was abundantly furnished from Khadal, Barmair, and Dhat. Eight years\* had the siege lasted when Rawul Jaetsi died, and his body was burnt inside the fort.

During this lengthened siege, Ruttunsi had formed a friendship with the Nawab Maboob Khan, and they had daily friendly meetings under a *khajira*-tree, between the advanced posts, each attended by a few followers. They played at chess together, and interchanged expressions of mutual esteem. But when duty called them to oppose each other in arms, the whole world was enamoured with their heroic courtesy. Jaetsi had ruled eighteen years when he died.

Moolraj III., in S. 1350 (A. D. 1294), ascended the *gadi* surrounded by foes. On this occasion, the customary rejoicings on installation took place, at the moment when the two friends, Ruttunsi and Maboob Khan, had met, as usual, under the *khajira* tree. The cause of rejoicing being explained to the Nawab, he observed that the Sooltan had heard of, and was offended with, these meetings, to which he attributed the protracted defence of the castle, and acquainted Ruttunsi that next day a general assault was commanded, which he should lead in

person. The attack took place; it was fierce, but the defence was obstinate, and the assailants were beaten back with the loss of nine thousand men. But the foe obtained reinforcements, and towards the conclusion of the year, the garrison was reduced to the greatest privations, and the blockade being perfect, Moolraj assembled his kinsmen and thus addressed them: "For so many years we have defended our dwellings; but our supplies are expended, and there is no passage for more. What is to be done?" The chiefs, Sehir and Bikunsi, replied, "a *saka* must take place; we must sacrifice ourselves:" but that same day the royal army, unaware of the distress of the besieged, retreated.

The friend of Ruttunsi had a younger brother, who, on the retreat of the royal forces, was carried inside the fort, when seeing the real state of things, he escaped and conveyed intelligence of it, upon which the siege was renewed. Moolraj reproached his brother as the cause of this evil, and asked what was fit to be done? to which Ruttunsi replied, "there is but one path open; to immolate the females, to destroy by fire and water whatever is destructible, and to bury what is not; then open wide the gates, and sword in hand rush upon the foe, and thus attain *swerga*." The chiefs were assembled; all were unanimous to make *Jesa-nuggur* resplendent by their deeds, and preserve the honour of the Jadoo race. Moolraj thus replied: "you are of a warlike race, and strong are your arms in the cause of your prince; what heroes excel you, who thus tread in the Chetrie's path? In battle, not even the elephant could stand before you.

\* This can mean nothing more than that desultory attacks were carried on against the Bhatti capital. It is certain that Alla never carried his arms in persons against Jessulmer.



For the maintenance of my honour the sword is in your hands ; let Jessulmer be illumined by its blows upon the foe." Having thus inspired the chiefs and men, Moolraj and Ruttun repaired to the palace of their queens. They told them to take the *sohag*,\* and prepare to meet in heaven, while they gave up their lives in defence of their honour and their faith. Smiling, the Soda Rani, replied, "this night we shall prepare, and by the morning's light we shall be inhabitants of *swerga*" (heaven) ; and thus it was with the chiefs and all their wives. The night was passed together for the last time in preparation for the awful morn. It came ; ablutions and prayers were finished, and at the *Raj-dwara*† were convened *bala*, *prude*, and *bride*.‡ They bade a last farewell to all their kin ; the *johur* commenced, and twenty-four thousand females, from infancy to old age, surrendered their lives, some by the sword, others in the volcano of fire. Blood flowed in torrents, while the smoke of the pyre ascended to the heavens : not one feared to die, every valuable was consumed with them, not the worth of straw was preserved for the foe. This work done, the brothers looked upon the spectacle with horror. Life was now a burthen, and they prepared to quit it. They purified themselves with water, paid adoration to the divinity, made gifts to the poor, placed a branch of the *toolsi*§ in their casques, the *saligram*§ round their neck ;

and having cased themselves in armour and put on the saffron robe, they bound the *mor*† (crown) around their heads, and embraced each other for the last time. Thus they awaited the hour of battle. Three thousand eight hundred warriors, with faces red with wrath, prepared to die with their chiefs.

Ruttunsi had two sons, named Garsi and Kanur, the eldest only twelve years of age. He wished to save them from the impending havoc, and applied to his courteous foeman. The Mooslem chief swore he would protect them, and sent two confidential servants to receive the trust ; to whom, bidding them a last farewell, their father consigned them. When they reached the royal camp they were kindly welcomed by Nawab, who, putting his hand upon their heads, soothed them, and appointed two Brahmins to guard, feed, and instruct them.

On the morrow, the army of the Sooltan advanced to the assault. The gates were thrown wide, and the fight began. Ruttun was lost on the sea of of battle ; but one hundred and twenty Meers fell before his sword ere he lay in the field. Moolraj plied his lance on the bodies of the barbarians : the field swam in blood. The unclean spirits were gorged with slaughter : but at length the Jidoon chief fell, with seven hundred of the choice of his kin. With his death the battle closed ; the victors ascended the castle, and Maboob Khan caused the bodies of the brothers to be

\* *Sohagun*, one who becomes *sati* previous to her lord's death. *Dohagun*, who follows him after death.

† Literally, 'the royal gate ;' an allusion to the female apartments, or *Raj-loca*.

‡ *Bala*, is under sixteen ; *prude*, middle-aged ; *bride*, when forty.

§ The funeral qualities of the *toolsi* plant, and the

emblematic *saligram*, or stone found in the Gunduc river, have been often described.

\* On two occasions the Rajpoot chieftain wears the *mor*, or 'coronet ;' on his marriage, and when going to die in battle ; symbolic of his nuptials with the *Apsara*, or 'fair of heaven.'





carried from the field and burned. The *saka* took place in S.1351, or A.D. 1295. Deoraj, who commanded the force in the field, was carried off by a fever. The royal garrison kept possession of the castle during two years,

and at length blocked up the gateways, and dismantled and abandoned the place, which remained long deserted, for the Bhattis had neither means to repair the *kangras* (battlements), nor men to defend them.



## CHAPTER IV.

*The Rahtores of Mehwo settle amidst the ruins of Jessulmer.—Driven out by the Bhatti chieftain Doodoo, who is elected Rawul.—He carries off the stud of Feeroz Shah.—Second storm and saka of Jessulmer.—Doodoo slain.—Moghul invasion of India.—The Bhatti princes obtain their liberty.—Rawul Gursi re-establishes Jessulmer.—Kehur, son of Deoraj. Disclosure of his destiny by a prodigy.—Is adopted by the wife of Rawul Gursi, who is assassinated by the tribe of Jesur.—Kehur proclaimed.—Beemlade becomes sati.—The succession entailed on the sons of Hamir.—Matrimonial overture to Jaita from Mewar.—Engagement broken off.—The brothers slain.—Penitential act of Rao Raning.—Offspring of Kehur.—Soma the elder departs with his hussie and settles at Girapur.—Sons of Rao Raning become Mooslems to avenge their father's death.—Consequent forfeiture of their inheritance. They mix with the Abhorias Bhattis.—Kailun, the third son of Kehur, settles in the forfeited lands.—Drives the Dahyas from Khadal.—Kailun erects the fortress of Kerroh on the Behah or Gara.—Assailed by the Johyas and Langas under Ameer Khan Korai, who is defeated.—Subdues the Chahils and Mohils.—Extends his authority to the Punjnad.—Rao Kailun marries into the Samma family. Account of the Samma race.—He seizes on the Samma dominions.—Makes the river Indus his boundary. Kailun dies.—Succeeded by Chachik.—Makes Marote his head-quarters.—League headed by the chief of Mooltan against Chachik, who invades that territory, and returns with a rich booty to Marote.—A second victory.—Leaves a garrison in the Punjab.—Defeats Maipal, chief of the Doondis.—Asini, or Aswini-Kote.—Its supposed position.—Anecdote.—Feud with Satilmer.—Its consequences. Alliance with Hybut Khan.—Rao Chachik invades Peeleebunga.—The Khokurs or Glakurs described.—The Langas drive his garrison from Dhooniapoor.—Rao Chachik falls sick. Challenges the prince of Mooltan.—Reaches Dhooniapoor.—Rites preparatory to the combat. Worship of the sword.—Chachik is slain with all his bands.—Koombho, hitherto insane, avenges his father's feud.—Birsil re-establishes Dhooniapoor.—Repairs to Kerore.—Assailed by the Langas and Baloches.—Defeats them.—Chronicle of Jessulmer resumed.—Rawul Bersi meets Rao Birsil on his return from his expedition in the Punjab.—Conquest of Mooltan by Baber.—Probable conversion of the Bhattis of the Punjab.—Rawul Bersi, Jait, Noonkurn, Bheem, Munohur-das, and Subbul Sing, six generations.*

SOME years subsequent to this disastrous event in the Bhatti annals, Jugmal, son of Maloji Rahtore, chief of Mehwo, attempted a settlement amidst the ruins of Jessulmer, and brought thither a large force, with seven hundred carts of provisions. On hearing this the Bhatti chiefs, Doodoo and Tiluksi, the sons of Jesir, assembled their kinsmen, surprised the Rahtores, drove them from the castle, and captured the supplies. Doodoo, for this





exploit, was elected Rawul, and commenced the repairs of Jessulmer. He had five sons. Tiluksi, his brother, was renowned for his exploits. He despoiled the Baloch, the Manguleo, the Mehwo, and the Deoras and Sonigurras of Aboo and Jhalore felt his power. He even extended his raids to Ajmer, and carried off the stud of Feeroz Shah from the Anasagur (lake), where they were accustomed to be watered. This indignity provoked another attack upon Jessulmer, attended with the same disastrous results. Again the *saka* was performed, in which sixteen thousand females\* were destroyed; and Doodoo, with Tiluksi and seventeen hundred of the clan, fell in battle, after he had occupied the *gadi* ten years.

On the death of Rawul Doodoo, in S. 1362 (A. D. 1306), the young princes, Gursi and Kanur, by the death of their patron Maboob, were left to the protection of his sons, Zoolficar and Gazi Khan. Kanur went privately to Jessulmer, and Gursi obtained leave to proceed westward to the Mehwo tract, where he married Bimaladevi a widow, sister to the Rahtore, who had been betrothed† to the Deora. While engaged in these nuptials, he was visited by his relation Soningdeo, a man of gigantic strength, who agreed to accompany him on his return to Dehli. The king made trial of his force, by giving him to string an iron bow sent by the king of Khorasan, which the nervous Bhatti not only bent but broke. The inva-

sion of Dehli by Timoor Shah\* having occurred at this time, the service of Gursi were so conspicuous that he obtained a grant of his hereditary dominions, with permission to re-establish Jessulmer. With his own kindred, and the aid of the vassals of his friend Jugmal of Mehwo, he soon restored order, and had an efficient force at command. Hamir and his clansmen gave their allegiance to Gursi, but the sons of Jesir were headstrong.

Deoraj, who married the daughter of Roopra, Rana of Mundore, who had a son named Kehur, who, when Jessulmer was about to be invested by the troops of the Sooltan, was conveyed to Mundore with his mother. When only twelve years of age, he used to accompany the cowherds of the old Rao's kine, and his favourite amusement was penning up the calves with twigs of the *ak*, to imitate the picketting of horses. One day, tired of this occupation, young Kehur fell asleep upon the hole of a serpent, and the reptile issuing therefrom, arose and spread its hood over him as he slept. A *Charun* (bard, or genealogist), passing that way, reported the fact and its import immediately to the Rana, who, proceeding to the spot,

\* The Rajpoots, by their exterminating *sakas*, facilitated the views of the Mahomedans. In every state we read of these horrors.

† The mere act of being betrothed disqualifies from a second marriage: the affianced becomes a *raud* (widow), though a *homari* (maid).

\* Even these anachronisms are proofs of the fidelity of these Annals. Ignorant native scribes, aware but of one great Moghul invasion, consider the invader to be Timoor; but there were numerous Moghul invasions during the reign of Alla-oo-din. In all probability, that for which the services of the Bhatti prince obtained him the restoration of his dominions was that of Eibak Khan, general of the King of Transoxiana, who invaded India in A.H. 705 (A.D. 1305), and was so signally defeated, that only three thousand out of fifty-seven thousand horse escaped the sword, and these were made prisoners and trod to death by elephants, when pillars of skulls were erected to commemorate the victory.—See Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. page 364.





found it was his own grandson whom fate had thus pointed out for sovereignty. Gursi, having no offspring by Bimaladevi, proposed to her to adopt a son. All the Bhatti youth were assembled, but none equalled Kehur, who was chosen. But the sons of Jesir were displeased, and conspired to obtain the *gadi*. At this time, Rawul Gursi was in the daily habit of visiting a tank, which he was excavating, and they seized an occasion to assassinate him; whereupon, in order to defeat their design, Bimaladevi immediately had Kehur proclaimed. The widowed queen of Gursi, with the view of securing the completion of an object which her lord had much at heart, namely, finishing the lake *Gursi-sirr*, as well as to ensure protection to her adopted son Kehur, determined to protract the period of self-immolation; but when six months had elapsed, and both these objects were attained, she finished her days on the pyre. Bimaladevi named the children of Hamir as the adopted sons and successors of Kehur. These sons were Jaita and Loonkurn.

The coco-nut was sent by Koombho, Rana of Chestore, to Jaita. The Bhatti prince marched for Mewar, and when within twelve coss of the Aravali hills, was joined by the famous Sankala Meeraj, chief of Salbanny. Next morning, when about to resume the march, a partridge began to call from the right: a bad omen, which was interpreted by the brother-in-law of the Sankala, deeply versed in the science of the *Sookuni* and the language of birds.\* Jaita drew the rein of his horse, and to avert the evil, halted

that day. Meanwhile, the partridge was caught and found to be blind of an eye, and its ovary quite filled. The next morning, as soon as they had taken horse, a tigress began to roar, and the *Sookuni* chieftain was again called upon to expound the omen. He replied that the secrets of great houses should not be divulged, but he desired them to despatch a youth, disguised as a female *Nae* (barbar class), to Komulmer, who there would learn the cause. The youth gained admission to 'the ruby of Mewar,' (*Lala Mewari*), who was anointing for the nuptials. He saw things were not right, and returning made his report; upon hearing which, the Bhatti prince married Marrud, the daughter of the Sankla chief. The Rana was indignant at this insult, but a sense of shame prevented his resenting it; and instead of proclaiming the slight, he offered his daughter's hand to the famous Kheechee prince, Achildas of Gagrown, and it was accepted.\* Jaita met his death, together with his brother Loonkurn, and his brother-in-law, in an attempt to surprise Poo-gul: he fell with a hundred and twenty followers. When the old Rao, Raningdeo, discovered against whom he had thus successfully defended himself, he clad himself in black garments, and in atonement performed pilgrimage to all the shrines in India.† On

\* The Kheechee prince, we may suppose, had no follower skilled in omens—they lived very happily, as appears by the Kheechee chronicle, and she bore him a son, who was driven from Gagrown. The scandal propagated against the 'ruby of Mewar' was no doubt a ruse of the Sankla chief, as the conclusion shews. However small the intrinsic worth of these anecdotes, they afford links of synchronisms, which constitute the value of the annals of all these states.

† Sadoo was the son and heir of Raningdeo, and it was from this portion of the Bhatti annals I extracted that singular story, related at page 627, Vol. I., to illustrate

\* It is scarcely necessary to repeat that this is a free translation of the chronicle.



his return, he was forgiven and condoled with by Kehur.

Kehur had eight sons: 1st. Somaji, who had a numerous offspring, called the Soma-Bhattis; 2d. Lukmun; 3d. Kailun, who forcibly seized Beekumpoor, the appanage of his elder brother Soma, who departed with all his *bussie*,\* and settled at Giraup; 4th. Kilkurn; 5th. Satul, who gave his name to an ancient town, and called it Satulmer. The names of the rest were Beejo, Tunno, and Tejsi.

When the sons of Raningdeo became converts to Islam, in order to avenge their father's feud with the Rahtore prince of Nagore, they forfeited their inheritance of Poogul and Marote, and thenceforward mixed with the Abhorria Bhattis, and their descendants are termed Momun Bhutti. On this event, Kailun, the third son of the Rawul, took possession

the influence which the females of Rajpootana have on national manners. The date of this tragical event was S. 1462, according to the Bhatti annals; and Rana Mokul the cotemporary of Rawul Jait and Rao Raningdeo, was on the throne of Mewar from S. 1484 to S. 1475. The annals of this state (p. 219) notice the marriage of the 'Ruby' to Dheruj, son of Achildas, but say nothing on the other point. A vague recollection of some matrimonial insult being offered evidently yet prevails, for when a marriage was contracted in A.D. 1821, through the author's intervention, between the Rana of Oodipoor's daughter and the present Rawul Guj Sing of Jessulmer, it was given out that there was no memorial of any marriage-alliance between the two houses. After all, it may be a vain-glorious invention of the Bhatti annalist.

\* The term *bussie* has been explained in Vol. I. p. 134. The *bussie* is a slave in the mildest sense; one who in distress sells his liberty. His master cuts the *choti*, or lock of hair, from the centre of the head, as a mark of bondage. They are transferable, like cattle. This custom prevails more in the desert states than in central Rajwarra; there every great man has his *bussie*. Shiam Sing Champawut of Pokurn had two hundred when he fled to Jeipoor, and they all fell with him fighting against the Mahratta. All castes, Brahmins and Rajpoots, become *bussies*: they can redeem their liberty by purchase.

of the forfeited lands, and besides Beekumpoor, regained Deorawul, which had been conquered by their ancient foes, the Dahya Rajpoots.

Kailun built a fort on the Beyah, called, after his father, Kerroh, or Kerore, which again brought the Bhattis into collision with the Johyas and Langas, whose chief, Amur Khan Korai attacked him, but was defeated. Kailun became the terror of the Chahils,\* the Mohils,\* and Joyhas,\* who lived in this quarter and his authority extended as far as the Punjnad. Kailun married into the Samma family of Jam,† and arbitrated their

\* These three tribes are either extinct, or were lost on becoming proselytes to Islamism.

† The Samma or summa tribe, which is well known in Mahomedan history, as having given a dynasty to Sinde in modern times, is a great branch of the Yadus, and descended from Samba, son of Crishna; and while the other branch colonized Zabulisthan, the latter made the original name of Yadus, the sons of Sam lower his name the patronymic in Seistan and th-nagar, valley of the Indus. Samma-ka-kote, or Sammas original was the capital, which yet exists, and was the opponent of the Greeks. S was the chief of the Sammas. Previous is fair to infer, was the chief of the Sammas. Samba meaning 'of, or belonging to Sammas' in the sense of Crishna, from his dark complexion, he was the son of Jambuvati, one of the eight wives of this deified Yadu. The Jharejas of Cutch and Jams of Sinde and Saurashtra are of the sam stock. The Sind-Samma dynasty, on the loss of their faith and coming into contact with Islam, to which they became proselytes, were eager to adopt a pedigree which might give them importance in the eyes of their conquerors; Sam was transformed into Jam, and the Persian king, Jamshid, was adopted as the patriarch of the Sammas, in lieu of the legitimate Samba. Ferishta gives an account of this dynasty, but was ignorant of their origin. He says, "The Zemindars of Sinde were originally of two tribes or families, Somuna and Soomura; and the chief of the former was distinguished by the appellation of Jam."—Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 422. The historian admits they were Hindus until A. H. 782 (A.D. 1380, S. 1436); a point of little doubt, as we see the Bhatti princes intermarrying with this family about twenty years subsequent even to the date assigned by Ferishta for their proselytism.

I may here again state, once for all, that I append



disputes on succession, which had caused much bloodshed. Shujahit Jam, whom he supported, accompanied him to Marote, on whose death, two years after, Kailun possessed himself of all the Samma territory, when the Sinde river became the boundary of his dominion. Kailun died at the age of seventy-two, and was succeeded by\*

Chachick-deo, who made Marote his headquarters, to cover his territories from the attacks of Mooltan, which took umbrage at the return of the Bhattis across the Garah. The chief of Mooltan united in a league all the ancient foes of the Bhattis, the Langas, the Johyas, the Kheeches, and all the tribes of that region. Chachick formed an army of seventeen thousand horse and fourteen thousand foot, and crossed the Beyah to meet his foes. The encounter was desperate; the Bhattis were victorious, and returned with rich spoil to Marote. In the year following, another battle took place, in which seven hundred and forty Bhattis were slain, and three thousand of the Mooltan. By this success, the conquests of Chachick were extended, and he left a garrison (*thana*) under his son in Asini-kote, beyond the Behah, and returned to Poogul. He then attacked Maipal, chief of the Doondis, whom he defeated. After this victory he repaired to Jessulmer, to visit his brother Luknun, reserving the produce of the lands dependent on Asini-kote† for his expenses at court.

these notes in order not to interfere with the text which is abridged from the original chronicle.

\* It is said that Rinnul succeeded; but this was only to the northern portion, his appanage; he lived but two months.

† Position unknown, unless it be the *Tchin-kot* of D'Anville, at the confluence of the river Cabul with the Indus.

On his return home by Baroo, he was accosted by a Jinj Rajpoot,\* pasturing an immense flock of goats, who presented the best of his flock and demanded protection against the raids of Birjung Rahtore. This chief had wrested the celebrated fortress of Satulmer,† the abode of wealthy merchants, from a Bhatti chief, and extended his forays far into the desert, and the Jinj was one of those who had suffered by his success. Not long after Rao Chachick had passed by the pastures of the Jinj, he received a visit from him, to complain of another inroad, which had carried off the identical goat, his offering. Chachick assembled his kinsmen, and formed an alliance with Shoomar Khan, chief of the Seta tribe,‡ who came with three thousand horse. it was the custom of the Rahtores of Satulmer to encamp their horse at a *tank* some distance from the city, to watch, while the chief citizens used daily to go abroad. Chachick surprised and made prisoners of the whole. The bankers and men of wealth offered large sums for their ransom; but he would not release them from bondage, except on condition of their settling in the territory of Jessulmer. Three hundred and sixty-

There is no doubt that this castle of the Bhatti prince was in the Punjab; and coupled with his alliance with the chief of Sehat or Swat, that it is the Tchin-kot, or Ashnagur of that celebrated geographer, whence the Acesines of the Greeks.

\* I may here repeat, that the Jinj and Johya were no doubt branches of the same race; the Jenjuheh of Baber, who locates them about the mountains of Joude.

† Now belonging to Marwar, and on its north-western frontier; but I believe in ruins.

‡ Most likely the Swatees, or people of Swat, described by Mr. Elphinstone (vol i. p. 506), as of Indian origin, and as possessing a kingdom from the Hydraspes to Jellalabad, the *Suastene* of Ptolemy



five heads of families embraced this alternative, and hence Jessulmer dates the influx of her wealth. They were distributed over the principal cities Deorawul, Poogul, Marote, &c.\* The three sons of the Rhatore were also made prisoners; the two youngest were released, but Mairah, the eldest, was detained as a hostage for his father's good conduct. Chachick dismissed his ally, the Seta chief, whose grand-daughter, Sonaldevi, he married. The father of the bride, Hybat Khan,† gave with her in *daeja* (dower) fifty horses, thirty five slaves, four palkis, and two hundred female camels, and with her Chachick returned to Marote.

Two years after this, Chachick made war on Thir-raj Khokur, the chief of Peeleebunga,‡ on account of a horse stolen from a Bhatti. The Khokurs were defeated and plundered; but his old enemies the Langas, taking advantage of this occasion, made head against Chachick, and drove his garrison from the new possession of Dhooniapoor.§

\* It must not be forgotten, that Satulmer was one of the Bhatti castles wrested from them by the Rhatores, who have greatly curtailed their frontiers.

† From this and many other instances we come to the conclusion that the Tatar or Indo-Scythic title of Khan is by no means indicative of the Mahomedan faith. Here we see the daughter of the prince of Swat, or Suvat, with a genuine Hindi name.

‡ The position of *Peeleebunga* is unknown; in all probability it has undergone a metamorphosis with the spread of the faith, over these regions. As before mentioned, I believe this race called *Khokur* to be the Ghiker, so well known to Baber, and described as his inveterate foes in all his irruptions into India. Their manners, especially that distinctive mark, polyandry, mentioned by Ferishta, mark the Ghikers as Indo-Scythic. The names of their chiefs are decidedly Hindu. They were located with the Joudis in the upper part of the Punjab, and according to Elphinstone, they retain their old position, contiguous to the *Eusofzye Jadoons*.

§ Dhooniapoor is not located.

Disease at length seized on Rawul Chachick, after a long course of victorious warfare, in which he subdued various tracts of country, even to the heart of the Punjab. In this state he determined to die as he has lived, with arms in his hands; but having no foe near with whom to cope, he sent an embassy to the Langa prince of Mooltan, to beg, as a last favour, the *jood-dan*, or 'gift of battle,' that his soul might escape by the steel of his foeman, and not fall a sacrifice to slow disease.\* The prince, suspecting treachery, hesitated; but the Bhatti messenger pledged his word that his master only wished an honourable death, and that he would only bring five hundred men to the combat. The challenge being accepted, the Rawul called his clansmen around him, and on recounting what he had done, seven hundred select Rajpoots, who had shared in all his victories, volunteered to take the last field, and make *sunkluf* (oblation) of their lives with their leader. Previous to setting forth, he arranged his affairs. His son Guj Sing, by the Seta Rani, he sent with her to her fathers' house. He had five other sons, *viz* Koombho, Birsil, Bheemdeo, (by Lala Rani, of the Soda tribe), Rutto and Rindheer, whose mother was Soorajdevi, of Chohan race. Birsil, his eldest son, he made heir to all his dominions, except the land of Khadal (whose chief town is Deorawul), which he bestowed upon Rindheer, and to both he gave the

\* In this chivalrous challenge, or demand of the *jood-dan*, we recognize another strong trait of Scythic manners, as depicted by Herodotus. The ancient Getae of Transoxiana could not bear the idea of dying of disease; a feeling which his offspring carried with them to the shores of the Baltic, to yeut-land or Jutland!



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Meanwhile, Rawul Chachick marched to Dhooniapoor, 'to part with life.' There he heard that the prince of Mooltan was within two coss. His soul was rejoiced; he performed his ablutions, worshipped the sword† and the gods, bestowed charity, and withdrew his thoughts from this world.

The battle lasted four *ghurris* (two hours), and the Jadoon prince fell with all his kin after performing prodigies of valour. Two thousand Khans fell beneath their swords: rivers of blood flowed in the field; but the Bhatti gained the abode of Indra, who shared his throne with the hero. The king crossed the Behah, and returned to Mooltan.

While Rindheer was performing at Deorawul the rites of the twelve days of *matum*, or 'mourning,' his elder brother, Koombho, afflicted with insanity, rushed into the assembly, and swore to avenge his father's death. That day he departed, accompanied by a single slave, and reached the prince's camp. It was surrounded by a ditch eleven yards wide, over which the Bhatti leaped his horse in the dead of night, reached the harem, and cut off the head of Kaloo Shah, with which he rejoined his brethren at Deorawul. Birsil re-established Dhooniapoor,

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Rawul Bersi, who at this time occupied the *gadi* of Jessulmer, went forth to meet Rao Birsil on his return from his expedition in the Punjab. In S. 1530 (A.D. 1474), he made the gates and palace of Beekumpoor.

We may, in this place, desert the literal narrative of the chronicle, what follows is a record of similar border-feuds and petty wars, between 'the sons of Kailun,'† and the chiefs of the Punjab, alternately invaders and invaded, which is pregnant with mighty words and gallant deeds, but yielding no new facts of historical value. At length, the numerous offspring of Kailun separated, and divided amongst them the lands on both sides of the Garah; and as Sultan Baber soon after this period made a final conquest of Mooltan from the Langas, and placed therein his own governor, in all probability the Bhatti possessors of Kerore-kot and Dhooniapoor, as well as Poogul and Marote (now Mahomedans), exchanged their faith (sanctioned even by Menu) for the preserva-

\* This fortress, erected by Rao Kailun, is stated to be twenty-two coss, about forty miles, from Bahwulpore; but though the direction is not stated, there is little doubt of its being to the northward, most probably in that *do-abah* called *Sind-Sagur*.

† Couple this martial rite with the demand of *jood-dan*, and there is an additional reason for calling these Yadus, Indo-Scythic. See Vol. I. p. 468, for an account of the worship of the sword, or *Kharg-thapna*.

\* The foregoing (from page 221), including the actions of Kailun, Chachick, and Birsil, must be considered as an episode, detailing the exploits of the Raos of Poogul, established by Kailun, third son of Rawul Kehur of Jessulmer. It was too essential to the annals to be placed in a note.

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\* There never was any thing so degrading to royalty as the selfish protection guaranteed to it by this Lycurgus of the Hindus, who says, "Against misfortune, let him preserve his wealth; at the expense of his wealth, let him preserve his wife; but let him at all events preserve himself, even at the hazard of his wife and riches."—*Menu on Government, or on the Military Class*. The entire history of the Rajpoots shews they do not pay much attention to such humanly maxims.

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He passes from the main stem, to Rawuls Jait, Noonkurn, Bheem, Munohur-das to Subbul Sing, five generations, with little further notice than the mere enumeration of their issue. With this last prince, Subbul Sing, an important change occurred in the political condition of the Bhattis.



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## CHAPTER V.

*Jessulmer becomes a fief of the empire.—Changes in the succession.—Subbul Sing serves with the Bhatti contingent.—His services obtain him the gadi of Jessulmer.—Boundaries of Jessulmer at the period of Baber's invasion.—Subbul succeeded by his son, Umra Sing, who leads the tika-dour into the Baluch territory.—Crowned on the field of victory. Demands a relief from his subjects to portion his daughter.—Puts a chief to death who refuses.—Revolt of the Chunna Rajpoots.—The Bhatti chiefs retaliate the inroads of the Rahtores of Bikaner.—Origin of frontier-feuds.—Bhattis gain a victory.—The princes of Jessulmer and Bikaner are involved in the feuds of their vassals.—Raja Anop Sing calls on his chiefs to revenge the disgrace.—Invasion of Jessulmer.—The invaders defeated.—The Rawul recovers Poogul.—Makes Barmair tributary.—Umra dies.—Succeeded by Jeswunt. The chronicle closes.—Decline of Jessulmer.—Poogul.—Barmair.—Filodi wrested from her by the Rahtores.—Importance of these transactions to the British Government.—Khadal to the Gara seized by the Daodpotras.—Akhi Sing succeeds.—His uncle, Tej Sing, usurps the government.—The usurper assassinated during the ceremony of Las.—Akhi Sing recovers the gadi.—Reigns forty years.—Bahwul Khan seizes on Khadal.—Rawul Moolraj.—Suroop Sing Mehta made minister.—His hatred of the Bhatti nobles.—Conspiracy against him by the heir apparent, Rae Sing.—Deposal and confinement of the Rawul.—The prince proclaimed.—Refuses to occupy the gadi.—Moolraj emancipated by a Rajpootini.—Resumption of the gadi.—The prince Rae Sing receives the black khelat of banishment.—Retires to Jodpoor.—Outlawry of the Bhatti nobles.—Their lands sequestrated, and castles destroyed.—After twelve years, restored to their lands.—Rae Sing decapitates a merchant.—Returns to Jessulmer.—Sent to the fortress of Dewoh.—Salim Sing becomes minister.—His character. Falls into the hands of his enemies, but is saved by the magnanimity of Zoorawur Sing.—Plans his destruction, through his own brother's wife.—Zoorawur is poisoned.—The Mehta then assassinates her and her husband. Fires the castle of Dewoh.—Rae Sing burnt to death.—Murder of his sons.—The minister proclaims Guj Sing. Younger sons of Moolraj fly to Bikaner.—The longest reigns in the Rajpoot annals are during ministerial usurpation.—Retrospective view of the Bhatti history.—Reflections.*

WE have now reached that period in the Bhatti annals, when Shah Jehan was emperor of India. Elsewhere, we have minutely related the measure which the great

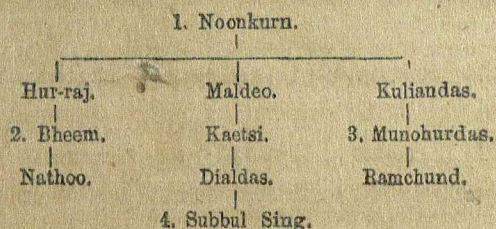
Akber adopted to attach his Rajpoot vassalage to the empire; a policy pursued by his successors. Subbul Sing, the first of the princes of Jessulmer, who held his dominions



as a fief of the empire, was not the legitimate heir to the 'gadi of Jessul.\* Munohurdas had obtained the gadi by the assassination of his nephew, Rawul Nathoo, the son and heir of Bheem, who was returning from his nuptials at Bikaner, and had passed the day at Filodi, then a town of Jessulmer, when poison was administered to him by the hands of a female. But it was destined that the line of the assassin should not rule, and the dignity fell to Subbul Sing, the third in descent from Maldeo, second son of Rawul Noonkurn.

The good qualities of young Subbul, and the bad ones of Ramchund, son of the usurper, afforded another ground for the preference of the former. Moreover, Subbul was nephew to the prince of Amber, under whom he held a distinguished post in the government of Peshore, where he saved the royal treasure from being captured by the Afghan mountaineers. For this service, and being a favourite of the chiefs who served with their contingents, the king gave Jeswunt Sing of Jodpoor command to place him on the gadi. The celebrated Nahur Khan

\* Noonkurn had three sons, Hur-raj, Maldeo, and kaliandas; each had issue. Hur-raj had Bheem (who succeeded his grandfather Noonkurn). Maldeo had Kaetsi, who had Daldas, father of Subbul Sing, to whom was given in appanage the town of Mundilla, near Pokurn. The third son, Kaliandas, had Munohur-das who succeeded Bheem. Ramchund was the son of Munohur-das. A slip from the genealogical tree will set this in clear light.



Koompawut\* was entrusted with this duty, for the performance of which he received the city and domain of Pokurn, ever since severed from Jessulmer.

This was the first considerable abstraction from the territories which had been progressively increased by Rawul Jessul and his successors, but which have since been woefully curtailed. A short time before Baber's invasion, the dependencies of Jessulmer extended on the north to the Garah river,† west to the Mehran or Indus; and on the east and south, they were bounded by the Rahtores of Bikaner and Marwar, who had been gradually encroaching for two centuries, and continue to do so to this day. The entire *thul* of Barmair and Kottorah, in the south, were Bhatti chieftainships, and eastward to the site of Bikaner itself.

Umra Sing, son of Subbul, succeeded. He led the *tika-dour* against the Baloches, who had invaded the western tracts, and was installed on the field of victory. Soon after, he demanded aid from his subjects to portion his daughter, and being opposed by his Rajpoot minister, Raghonath, he put him to death. The Chunna Rajpoots, from the north-east, having renewed their old raids, he in person attacked and compelled them to give bonds, or written obligations, for their future good conduct.

\* Another synchronism (see Annals of Marwar for an account of Nahur Khan) of some value, since it accounts for the first abstraction of territory by the Rahtores from the Bhattis.

† The Garah is invariably called the Behah in the chronicle. Garah, or Gharra, is so called, in all probability, from the mud (*gar*) suspended in its waters. The Garah is composed of the waters of the Behah and sutlej.



Provoked by the daily encroachments of the Kandulote Rahtores, Soonder-das and Dilput, chiefs of Beekumpoor, determined to retaliate: "let us get a name in the world" said Dilput, "and attack the lands of the Rahtores." Accordingly they invaded, plundered, and fired the town of Jujoo, on the Bikaner frontier. The Kandulotes retaliated on the towns of Jessulmer, and an action took place, in which the Bhattis were victorious, slaying two hundred of the Rahtores. The Rawul partook in the triumph of his vassals. Raja Anop Sing of Bikaner was then serving with the imperial armies in the Dekhan. On receiving this account, he commanded his minister to issue a summons to every Kandulote capable of carrying arms to invade Jessulmer, and take and raze Beekumpoor, or he would consider them traitors. The minister issued the summons; every Rahtore obeyed it, and he added, as an auxiliary, a Pathan chief with his band from Hissar. Rawul Umra collected his Bhattis around him, and instead of awaiting the attack, advanced to meet it; he slew many of the chiefs, burnt the frontier towns, and recovered Poogul, forcing the Rahtore chiefs of Barmair and Kottorah to renew their engagements of fealty and service,

Umra had eight sons, and was succeeded by Jeswunt, the eldest, in S. 1758 (A. D. 1702), whose daughter was married to the heir-apparent of Mewar.

Here ends the chronicle, of which the foregoing is an abstract: the concluding portion of the annals is from a MS. furnished by a living chronicler, corrected by

other information. It is but a sad record of anarchy and crime.

Soon after the death of Rawul Umra, Poogul, Barmair, Filodi, and various other towns and territories in Jessulmer, were wrested from this state by the Rahtores.\*

The territory bordering the Garah was taken by Daod Khan, an Afghan chieftain from Shikarpoor, and it became the nucleus of a state called after himself Daodpotra.

Jeswunt Singh succeeded. He had five sons, Juggut Sing, who committed suicide, Esuri Sing, Tej Sing, Sirdar Sing, and Sooltan Sing. Juggut Sing had three sons, Akhi Sing, Bood Sing, and Zoorawur Sing.

Akhi Sing succeeded. Bood Singh died of the small-pox; Tej Sing, uncle to the Rawul, usurped the government, and the princes fled to Dehli to save their lives. At this period, their grand-uncle, Hurri Sing (brother of Rawul Jeswunt), was serving the king, and he returned in order to displace the usurper. It is customary for the prince of Jessulmer to go annually in state to the lake Gursi-sirr, to perform the ceremony of *Las*, or clearing away the accumulation of mud and sand. The Raja first takes out a handful, when rich and poor follow his example. Hurri Sing chose the time when this ceremony was in progress to

\* The most essential use to which my labour can be applied, is that of enabling the British Government, when called upon to exercise its functions, as protector and arbitrator of the international quarrels of Rajpootana, to understand the legitimate and original grounds of dispute. Here we perceive the germ of the border-feuds, which have led to so much bloodshed between Bikaner and Jessulmer, in which the former was the first aggressor; but as the latter for the purpose of redeeming her lost territory, most frequently appears as the agitator of public tranquillity, it is necessary to look for the remote cause in pronouncing our award.



attack the usurper. The attempt did not altogether succeed ; but Tej Sing was so severely wounded that he died, and was succeeded by his son,

Sowae Sing, an infant of three years of age. Akhi Sing collected the Bhattis from all quarters, stormed the castle, put the infant to death, and regained his rights.

Akhi Sing ruled forty years. During this reign, Bahwul Khan, son of Daod Khan, took Derawul and all the tract of Khadal, the first Bhatti conquest, and added it to his new state of Bahwulpoor, or Daodputra.

Moolraj succeeded in S. 1818 (A.D. 1762). He had three sons, Rae Sing, Jaet Sing, and Man Sing. The unhappy choice of a minister by Moolraj completed the demoralization of the Bhatti principality. This minister was named Suroop Sing, a Bania of the Jain faith and Mehta family, destined to be the exterminators of the laws and fortunes of the 'sons of Jessul.' The cause of hatred and revenge of this son of commerce to the Bhatti aristocracy arose out of a disgraceful dispute regarding a *Bukhtun*, a fair frail one, a favourite of the Mehta, but who preferred the Rajpoot, Sirdar Sing, of the tribe of Aef. The Bhatti chief carried his complaint of the minister to the heir-apparent, Rae Sing, who had also cause of grievance in the reduction of his income. It was suggested to the prince to put this presumptuous minister to death ; this was effected by the prince's own hand, in his father's presence ; and as the Mehta, in falling, clung to Moolraj for protection, it was proposed to take off Moolraj at the same time. The proposition, however, was rejected with horror by the prince, whose vengeance was satisfied. The Rawul

was allowed to escape to the female apartments ; but the chieftains, well knowing they could not expect pardon from the Rawul, insisting on investing Rae Sing, and if he refused, on placing his brother on the *gadi*. The *an* of Rae Sing was proclaimed ; but no intreaty or threat would induce him to listen to the proposal of occupying the throne ; in lieu of which he used a pallet (*khat*.) Three months and five days had passed since the deposal and bondage of Moolraj, when a female resolved to emancipate him: this female was the wife of the chief conspirator, and confidential adviser of the regent prince. This noble dame, a Rahtore Rajpootni, of the Mahecha clan, was the wife of Anop Sing of Jinjinali, the premier noble of Jessulmer, and who, wearied with the tyranny of the minister and the weakness of his 'prince, had proposed the death of the one and the deposal of the other. We are not made acquainted with any reason, save that of *swamdherma* or 'fealty,' which prompted the Rahtorni to rescue her prince even at the risk of her husband's life ; but her appeal to her son Zoorawur, to perform his duty, is preserved, and we give it *verbatim* : "should your father oppose you, sacrifice him to your duty, and I will mount the pyre with his corpse." The son yielded obedience to the injunction of his magnanimous parent, who had sufficient influence to gain over Arjoon, the brother of her husband, as well as Megh Sing, chief of Baroo. The three chieftains forced an entrance into the prison where their prince was confined, who refused to be released from his manacles, until he was told that the Mahechi had



promoted the plot for his liberty. The sound of the grand *nakarra*, proclaiming Moolraj's repossession of the *gadi*, awoke his son from sleep; and on the herald depositing at the side of his pallet the sable *siropa*,\* and all the insignia of exile,—the black steed and black vestments,—the prince, obeying the command of the Rawul, clad himself therein, and accompanied by his party, bade adieu to Jessulmer and took the road to Kottoroh. When he arrived at this town, on the southern frontier of the state, the chief proposed to 'run the country;' but he replied, "the country was his mother, and every Rajpoot his foe who injured it." He repaired to Jodpoor, but the chieftains abided about Sheo Kottoroh and Barmair, and during the twelve years they remained outlaws, plundered even to the gates of Jessulmer. In the first three years they devastated the country, their castles were dismantled, the wells therein filled up, and their estates sequestrated. At the end of the twelve, having made the *tilak*, or oath against further plunder, their estates were restored, and they were re-admitted into their country.

The banished prince remained two years and a-half with Raja Beejy Sing, who treated him like a son. But he carried his arrogant demeanour with him to Jodpoor; for one day, as he was going out to hunt, a Bania, to whom he was indebted, seized his horse by the bridle, and invoking the *an* of Beejy Sing, demanded payment of his debt. The prince, in turn, required him, with the

invocation "by Moolraj!" to unloose his hold. But the man of wealth, disregarding the appeal insolently replied, "what is Moolraj to me?" It was the last word he spoke; the sword of Rae Sing was unsheathed, and the Bania's head rolled on the ground: then turning his horse's head to Jessulmer, he exclaimed "better be a slave at once, than leave on the bounty of another." His unexpected arrival outside his native city brought out the entire population to see him. His father the Rawul, sent to know what had occasioned his presence, and he replied, that it was merely preparatory to pilgrimage. He was refused admittance; his followers were disarmed, and he was sent to reside at the fortress of Dewoh, together with his sons Abhe Sing and Dhonkul Sing, and their families.

Salim Sing, who succeeded his father as prime minister of Jessulmer, was but eleven years of age at the time of his murder. His young mind appears, even at that early age, to have been a hot-bed for revenge; and the seeds which were sown soon quickened into a luxuriance rarely equalled even in those regions, where human life is held in little estimation. Without any of that daring valour which distinguishes the Rajpoot, he overcame, throughout a long course of years, all who opposed him, uniting the subtlety of the serpent to the ferocity of the tiger. In person he was effeminate, in speech bland; pliant and courteous in demeanour; promising, without hesitation, and with all the semblance of sincerity, what he never had the most remote intention to fulfil. Salim, or, as he was generally designated by his tribe, *the Mehta*, was a

\* *Siropa* is the Rajpoot term for *khelat*, and is used by those who, like the Rana of Oodipoor, prefer the vernacular dialect to the corrupt jargon of the Islamite. *Sir-o-pa* (from 'head' *sir*, to 'foot' *pa*) means a complete dress; in short. *cap-a-pied*.





a signal instance of a fact of which these annals exhibit too many examples, namely the inadequacy of religious professions, though of a severe character, as a restraint on moral conduct: for though the tenets of his faith (the Jain) imperatively prescribe the necessity of "hurting no sentient being," and of sitting in the dark rather than, by luring a moth into the flame of a lamp, incur the penalty attached to the sin of insect-murder, this man has sent more of "the sons of Jessoh" to *Yamaloka*,\* than the sword of their external foes during his long administration. He had scarcely attained man's estate when the outlawed chiefs were restored to their estates by a singular intervention. Raja Bheem Sing had acceded to the *gadi* of Marwar, and the Mehta was chosen by the prince of Jessulmer, as his representative, to convey his congratulations, and the *tika* of acknowledgment on his succession, to Raja Beejy Sing. On his return from this mission, he was waylaid and captured by the outlawed chieftains, who instantly passed sentence of death upon the author of their miseries. The sword was uplifted, when, 'placing his turban at the feet of Zoorawur Sing' he implored his protection—and he found it! Such is the Rajpoot;—an anomaly amongst his species; his character a compound of the opposite and antagonistical qualities which impel mankind to virtue and to crime. Let me recal to the mind of the reader, that the protector of this vampire was the virtuous son of the virtuous Rajpootni who,

with the elevation of mind equal to whatever is recorded of Greek or Roman heroines, devoted herself, and a husband whom she loved, to the one predominant sentiment of the Rajpoot, *swamdherma*, or 'fealty to the sovereign.' Yet had the wily Mehta effected the disgrace of this brave chief, to whom the Rawul owed his release, from bondage and restoration to his throne, and forced him to join the outlaws in the sand-hills of Barmair. None of this paint more strongly the influence of his brethren first of the Bhatti chiefs over the life of their than the act of preserving their hands; for mortal foe, thus cast into aim from the act, not only did they dissuade him from the act, but prophesied his repentance of such mistaken clemency. On one condition was stipulated, their restoration to their homes. They were recalled, but not admitted to court a distinction reserved for Zoorawur alone.

When Rae Sing was incarcerated in Dewoh, his eldest son, Abhe Sing, *Rajkumar*, 'heir-apparent,' with the second son, Dhonkul, were left at Barmair, with the outlawed chiefs. The Rawul, having in vain demanded his grand-children, prepared an army and invested Barmair. It was defended during six months, when a capitulation was acceded to, and the children were given up to Moolraj on the bare pledge of Zoorawur Sing, who guaranteed their safety; and they were sent to the castle of Dewoh, where their father was confined. Soon after the castle was fired, and Rae Sing and his wife were consumed in the flames. On escaping this danger, which was made to appear accidental, the young princes were

\* Plato's realm.



confined in the fortress of Ramgurh, in the most remote corner of the desert, bordering the valley of Sind, for their security and that of the Rawul (according to the Mehta's account), and to prevent faction from having a nucleus around which to form. But Zoorawur, who entertained doubts of the minister's motives, reminded the Rawul that the proper place for the heir-apparent was the court, and that his honour stood pledged for his safety. This was sufficient for the Mehta, whose mind was instantly intent upon the means to rid himself of so conscientious an adviser. Zoorawur had a brother named Kaitsi, whose wife, according to the courtesy of Rajwads, had adopted the minister as her brother. Kaitsi had adopted the minister as to her wish to see her husband become lord of Janginalli. The tempter succeeded: he furnished her with poisoned comfits, which she administered to the gallant Zoorawur; and her lord was inducted into the estates of Janginalli. Having thus disposed of the soul of the Bhatti nobility, he took off in detail the chiefs of Baroo, Dangri, and many others, chiefly by the same means, though some by the dagger. Kaitsi, who, whether innocent, or a guilty participant in his brother's death, had benefited thereby, was marked in the long list of proscription of this fiend, who determined to exterminate every Rajpoot of note. Kaitsi knew too much, and those connected with him shared in this dangerous knowledge: wife, brother, son, were therefore destined to fall by the same blow. The immediate cause of enmity was as follows. The minister, who desired to set aside the claims of the children of Rae Sing to the gadi, and

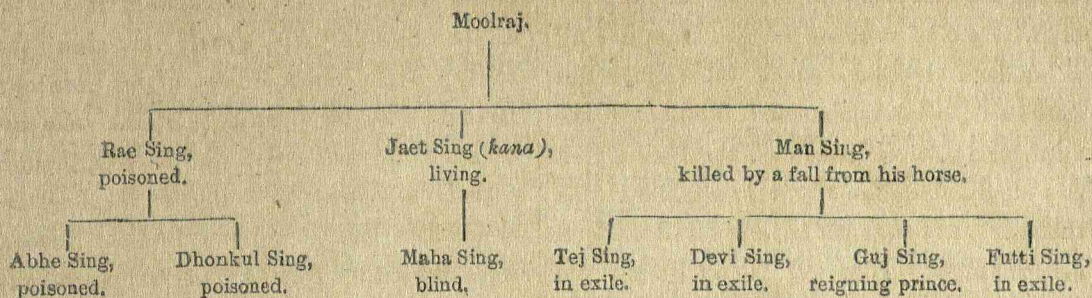
to nominate the youngest son of Moolraj as heir-apparent, was opposed by Kaitsi, as it could only be effected by the destruction of the former; and he replied, that "no co-operation of his should sanction the spilling of the blood of any of his master's family." Salim treasured up the remembrance of this opposition to his will, though without any immediate sign of displeasure. Soon after, Kaitsi and his brother Suroop were returning from a nuptial ceremony at Kunero, in the district of Bhalotra. On reaching Beejoraye, on the Jessulmer frontier, where the ministers of the Mehta's vengeance were posted, the gallant Zoorawur and his brother were conducted into the castle, out of which their bodies were brought only to be burnt. Hearing of some intended evil to her lord, Kaitsi's wife with her infant son, Megha, sought protection in the minister's own abode, where he had a double claim, as his adopted sister, to sanctuary and protection. For five days, the farce was kept up sending food for herself and child; but the slave who conveyed it remarking, in coarse, unfeeling language, that both her husband and her brother were with their fathers, she gave a loose to grief and determined on revenge. This being reported to the Mehta, he sent a dagger for her repose.

The princes, Abhe Sing and Dhonkul Sing, confined in the fortress of Ramgurh, after the murder of Kaitsi were carried off, together with their wives and infants, by poison. The murderer then proclaimed Guj Sing, the youngest but one of all the posterity of Moolraj, as heir-apparent. His brothers sought security in flight from this fiend-like spirit of the minister, and are now



refugees in the Bikaner territory. The following slip from the genealogical tree will

shew the branches so unmercifully lopped off by this monster :



Maha Sing, being blind of one eye\* (*kana*) could not succeed; and Man Sing being killed by a fall from his horse, the Mehta was saved the crime of adding one more "mortal murder to his crown."

It is a singular fact, that the longest reigns we know of in Rajwarra occurred during ministerial usurpations. The late Maharao of Kotah occupied the *gadi* upwards of half

\* A person blind of one eye is incompetent to succeed, according to Hindu law. *Kana* is the nickname given to a person labouring under this personal defect, which term is merely an anagram of *anka*, 'the eye.' The loss of an eye does not deprive an occupant of his rights—of which we had a curious example in the siege of the imperial city of Dehli, which gave rise to the remark, that the three greatest men therein had only the complement of one man amongst them: that Emperor had been deprived of both eyes by the brutality of Gholam Kadir; the besieging chief Holcar was *kana*, as was the defender, Sir D. Ochterlony. Holcar's name has become synonymous with *kana*, and many a horse, dog, and man, blind of an eye, is called after this celebrated Maharatta leader. The Hindus, by what induction I know not, attach a degree of moral obliquity to every individual *kana*, and appear to make no distinction between the natural and the acquired defect; though to all *kanas* they apply another and more dignified appellation, *Sukracharya*, the Jupiter of their astrology, which very grave personage came by his misfortune in no creditable way,—for, although the *guru*, or spiritual head of the Hindu Gods, he set as bad a moral example to them as did the classical Jupiter to the tenants of the Greek and Roman Pantheon.

a century, and the Rawul Moolraj swayed the nominal sceptre of this *oasis* of the desert upwards of fifty-eight years. His father ruled forty years, and I doubt whether, in all history, we can find another instance of father and son reigning for a century. This century was prolific in change to the dynasty, whose whole history is full of strange vicissitudes. If we go back to Jeswunt Sing, the grandfather of Moolraj, we find the Bhatti principality touching the Garah on the north which divided it from Mooltan; on the west it was bounded by the Punjnad, and thus included a narrow slip of the fertile valley of Sinde; and we have seen it stretch, at no remote period, even to the ancient capital Mansoorah, better known to the Hindu as Rori-Bekher, the islandic capital of the Sogdi (*Soda*) of Alexander. To the south, it rested on Dhat, including the castles of Sheo, Kootoroh, and Barmair, seized on by Marwar; and in the east embraced the districts of Filodi, Pokurn, and other parts, also in the possession of Marwar or Bikaner. The whole of the state of Bhawalpoor is formed out of the Bhatti dominion, and the Raho-tors have obtained therefrom not a small



portion of their western frontier. This abstraction of territory will account for the heart-burnings and border feuds which continually break out between the Bhattis and Rahtores, and "the children of David (*Daodputras*)."

Could the same prophetic steel which carved upon the pillar of Brimsir the destinies of the grandson of the deified Heri, eleven hundred years before Christ, have subjoined to that of Jessoh the fate which awaited his descendant Moolraj, he would doubtless have regarded the prophecy as conveying a falsehood too gross for belief.

That the offspring of the deified prince of Dwarica, who founded Guzni and fought the united king of Syria and Backtria, should, at length, be driven back on India, and compelled to seek shelter under the sign of the cross, reared amidst their sandhills by a handful of strangers, whose ancestors, when they were even in the maturity of their fame, were wandering in their native woods, with painted bodies, and offering human sacrifices to the sun-god,—more resembling Balsiva than Balcrishna,—these would have seemed prodigies too wild for faith.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Rawul Moolraj enters into treaty with the English.—The Raja dies.—His grandson, Guj Sing, proclaimed. He becomes a mere puppet in the minister's hands.—Third article of the Treaty.—Inequality of the alliance. Its importance to Jessulmer.—Consequences to be apprehended by the British Government.—Dangers attending the enlarging the circle of our political connexions.—Importance of Jessulmer, in the event of Russian invasion.—British occupation of the valley of the Indus considered.—Salim Sing's administration resumed. His rapacity and tyranny increase.—Wishes his office to be hereditary.—Report of the British agent to his Government.—Palliwals self-exiled.—Banker's families kept as hostages.—Revenues arising from confiscation.—Wealth of the minister.—Border-feud detailed to exemplify the interference of the paramount power.—The Maldotes of Baroo.—Their history.—Nearly exterminated by the Rahtores of Bikaner.—Stimulated by the minister Salim Sing.—Cause of this treachery.—He calls for British interference.—Granted.—Result.—Rawul Guj Sing arrives at Oodipoor.—Marries the Rana's daughter.—Influence of this lady.*

It was in the *Samvat* (era) of Vicrama, 1818, that Rawul Moolraj was inaugurated on the throne of Jessoh; and it was in the year of our Lord 1818, that a treaty of perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests" was concluded between the



Honourable East-India Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj, the Raja of Jessulmer, his heirs and successors, the latter agreeing "to act in subordinate co-operation with the British government, and with submission to its supremacy."\* This was almost the last act of Rawul Moolraj, who had always been a mere puppet in the hands of Mehta Salim Sing or his father. He died A. D. 1820, when his grandson, Guj Sing was proclaimed.

Rawul Guj Sing was fitted, from his years, his past seclusion, and the examples which had occurred before his eyes, to be the submissive pageant Salim Sing required. Isolated, in every sense, from intercourse with the rest of mankind, by the policy of the minister, had no community of sympathy with them, and no claim upon their aid. Surrounded by the creatures of Salim Sing, who, even to their daily dole, ascribe every thing to this man's favour, each word, each gesture, is watched and reported. The prince himself, his wives and family, are alike dependents on the minister's bounty, often capriciously exercised. If he requires a horse, he must solicit it; or if desirous of bestowing some recompense, he requests to be furnished with the means, and deems himself fortunate if he obtain a moiety of his suit.

It will be observed from the date of this treaty (Dec. 1818,) that Jessulmer was the last of the states of India received under the protection of the British Government. Its distance made it an object of little solicitude to us; and the minister, it is said, had many

long and serious consultation with his oracles before he united his destiny with ours. He doubted the security of his power if the Rawul should become subordinate to the British government; and he was only influenced by the greater risk by being the sole state in Rajwarra without the pale of its protection, which would have left him to the mercy of those enemies whom his merciless policy had created around him. The third and most important article of the treaty\* tranquillized his apprehensions as to external foes; with these apprehensions all fear as to the consequences arising from ministerial tyranny towards the princely exiles was banished, and we shall presently find that this alliance, instead of checking his rapacity and oppression, incited them. But it is necessary, in the first place, to bestow a few remarks on the policy of the alliance as regards the British Government.

Its inequality requires no demonstration: the objects to be attained by it to the respective parties having no approximation to parity. The advantages to Jessulmer were immediate: and to use the phraseology of the treaty, were not only of "great magnitude," but were vitally important. From the instant the treaties were exchanged, her existence as a permanent state, which was not worth half a century's purchase, was secured. Her power had been gradually declining, and reign after reign was narrowing

\* Art. III. "In the event of any serious invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jessulmer, or other danger of great magnitude occurring to that principality, the British Government will exert its power for the protection of the principality, provided that the cause of the quarrel be not ascribable to the Raja of Jessulmer."

\* See Appendix No. III. for a copy of this treaty.



her possessions to the vicinity of the capital. One state, Bhawalpoor, had been formed from her northern territory ; while those of Sindé, Bikaner and Jodpoor, had been greatly aggrandized at her expense ; and all were inclined, as occasion arose to encroach upon her feebleness. The faithless character of the minister, Salim Sing afforded abundant pretexts for quarrel, and the anarchy of her neighbours proved her only safeguard during the later years of her independent existence. Now, the British Government having pledged itself to exert its power for the protection of the principality, in the event of any "serious invasion," her fears either of Sindies, Daodputras, or of Rahtores, are at rest. The full extent of this pledge may not have been contemplated when it was given ; like all former alliances, it is the base of another step in advance. Instead of restricting the vast circle of our political connexions, it at once carried us out of India, placing us in actual contact and possible collision with the rulers of Sindé and the people beyond the Indus. Marwar and Bikaner being already admitted to our alliance, the power of settling their feuds with the Bhattis is comparatively simple ; but with Daodputra we have no political connexions, and with Sindé, only those of "perpetual friendship, and mutual intercourse:" but no stipulation ensuring respect to our remonstrances in case of the aggression of their subjects on our Bhatti ally. Are we then to push our troops through the desert to repel such acts, or must we furnish pecuniary subsidies (the cheapest mode), that she may entertain mercenaries for that object? We must view it, in this light, as an event,

not only not improbable, but of very likely occurrence. Our alliance with Cutch involved us in this perplexity in 1819. Our armies were formed and moved to the frontier, and a declaration of war was avoided only by accepting a tardy *amende* in no way commensurate with the insult of invading, massacring, and pillaging our allies.\* In this instance, our means of chastisement were facilitated by our maritime power of grappling with the enemy ; but if the insult proceeds from the government of Upper Sindé (only nominally dependent on Hyderabad), or from Bhawalpoor, how are we to cope with these enemies of our ally? Such wars might lead us into a *terra incognita* beyond the Indus, or both the spirit and letter of the treaty will be null.

What, therefore, are the advantages we can hold out to ourselves for the volunteer of our amity and protection to this oasis of the desert? To have disregarded the appeal of Jessulmer for protection, to have made her the sole exception in all Rajpootana from our amicable relations, would have been to consign her to her numerous enemies, and to let loose the spirit of rapine and revenge, which it was the main object of all these treaties to suppress: the Bhattis

\* The attitude assumed by the energetic Government of Bombay, Mr. Elphinstone, on that occasion, will for a long time remain a lesson to the triumvirate government of Sindé. To the Author it still appears a subject of regret, that, with the adequate preparation, the season, and every thing promising a certainty of success, the pacific tone of Lord Hastings's policy should have prevented the proper assertion of our dignity, by chastising an insult, aggravated in every shape. A treaty of amity and mutual intercourse was the result of this armament: but although twelve years have since elapsed, our intercourse has remained *in statu quo*; but this is no ground for quarrel.





would have become a nation of robbers, the Bedouins of the Indian desert. Jessulmer was the first link in a chain of free states, which formerly united the commerce of the Ganges with that of the Indus, but which interminable feuds had completely severed; the possibility of reunion depending upon a long continuance of tranquillity and confidence. This object alone would have warranted our alliance with Jessulmer. But if we look to futurity, to the possible invasion of India, which can best effected through the maritime provinces of Persia, the valley of the Indus will be the base of the invader's operations. The possession of Jessulmer would then be of vital importance, by giving us the command of Upper Sind, and enabling us to act against the enemy simultaneously with our armies east of the Delta, the most practicable point of advance into India. We may look upon invasion by the ancient routes pursued by Alexander, Mahmood, and Timoor, as utterly visionary, by an army encumbered with all the *material* necessary to success, and thus the valley of Sind present the only practicable route. But it would be a grand error, both in a political and military point of view, to possess ourselves of this valley, even if an opportunity were again to occur. It is true, the resources of that fertile region, so analogous to Egypt, would soon, under our management, maintain an army sufficient to defend it; and this would bring us at once into contact with the power (Persia) which cling to us for support, and will be adverse to us only when rendered subservient to Russia. It were well to view the possible degradation and loss of power to Russia, in Europe,

as likely to afford a fresh stimulant to her ancient schemes of oriental aggrandisement. By some these schemes are looked upon as Quixotic, and I confess myself to be of the number. The better Russia is acquainted with the regions she would have to pass, the less desire will she evince for an undertaking, which, even if successful in the outset, would be useless; for if she conquered, she could not maintain India. But, to me, it still appears imperative that this power should formally renounce such designs; the state of perpetual preparation rendered necessary by her menacing position, being so injurious to our finances, is worse than the actual attempt, which would only entail upon her inevitable loss. We lost, through our unwise economy, a noble opportunity of maintaining an ascendancy at the court of Caubul, which would have been easily prevailed upon, for pecuniary aid, to make over to us the sovereignty of Sind (were this desirable), which is still considered a grand division of Caubul.

But setting the political question aside, and considering our possession of the valley of Sind only in a military point of view, our occupation of it would be prejudicial to us. We should have a long line to defend, and rivers are no barriers in modern warfare. Whilst an impassable desert is between us, and we have the power, by means of our allies, of assailing an enemy at several points, though we are liable to attack but from one, an invader could not maintain himself a single season. On this ground, the maintenance of friendship with this remote nook of Rajpoot civilization is defensible, and we have the additional incitement of rescuing



the most industrious and wealthy commercial communities in India from the fangs of a harpy: to whom, and the enormities of his government, we return.

No language can adequately represent the abuse of power with which the treaty has armed the rapacious minister of Jessulmer, and it is one of the many instances of the inefficacy of our system of alliances to secure prosperity, or even tranquillity to these long-afflicted regions; which although rescued from external assailants, are still the prey of discord and passion within. It will not be difficult, at the proper time and place, to make this appear.\* The Mehta felt the advantages which the treaty gave him, in respect to neighbouring states; but he also felt that he had steeped himself too deeply in the blood of his master's family, and in that of his noblest chieftains, to hope that any repentance, real or affected, could restore to him the confidence of those he had so outraged. With commercial men, with the industrious husbandman or pastoral communities, he had so long forfeited all claim to credit, that his oath was not valued at a single grain of the sand of their own desert dominion.

The bardic annalist of Rajpootana, when compelled to record the acts of a tyrant, first announces his moral death; then comes the metempsychosis,—the animating his frame with the spirit of a demon. In this manner is delineated the famed Visaldeo, the Chohan king of Ajmer. Whether the

Bhatti minister will obtain such a posthumous apology for his misdeeds, a future historian will learn; but assuredly he is never mentioned, either in poetry or prose, but as a vampire, draining the life-blood of a whole people. For a short time after the treaty was formed, he appeared to fall in with the march of universal reformation; but whether it was that his crimes had outlawed him from the sympathies of all around, or that he could feel no enjoyment but in his habitual crimes, he soon gave ampler indulgence to his rapacious spirit. The cause of his temporary forbearance was attributed to his anxiety to have an article added to the treaty, guaranteeing the office of prime minister in his family, perhaps with a view to legalize his plunder; but seeing no hope of fixing an hereditary race of vampires on the land, his outrages became past all endurance, and compelled the British agent, at length, to report to his government (on the 17th December 1821), that he considered the alliance disgraceful to our reputation, by countenancing the idea that such acts can be tolerated under its protection. Representations to the minister were a nullity; he protested against their fidelity; asserted in specious language his love of justice and mercy; and recommenced his system of confiscations, and punishments, with redoubled severity. All Rajwarra felt an interest in these proceedings, as the bankers of Jessulmer, supported by the capital of that singular class, the Palliwalls, are spread all over India. But this rich community, amounting to five thousand families, are nearly all in voluntary exile, and the bankers fear to return to their

\* It is my intention (if space is left) to give a concise statement of the effects of our alliances, individually and collectively, in the states of Rajwarra with a few hints towards amending the system, at the conclusion of this volume.





native land with the fruits of their industry, which they would renounce for ever, but that he retains their families as hostages. Agriculture is almost unknown, and commerce, internal or external, has ceased through want of security. The sole revenue arises from confiscation. It is asserted that the minister has amassed no less than *two crores*, which wealth is distributed in the various cities of Hindusthan, and has been obtained by pillage and the destruction of the most opulent families of his country during the last twelve years. He has also, it is said, possessed himself of all the crown-jewels and property of value, which he has sent out of the country. Applications were continually being made to the British agent for passports (*perwanas*), by commercial men, to withdraw their families from the country. But all have some ties which would be hazarded by their withdrawing, even if such a step were otherwise free from danger; for while the minister afforded passports, in obedience to the wish of the agent, he might cut them off in the desert. This makes many bear the ills they have.

We shall terminate our historical sketch of Jessulmer with the details of a border-feud, which called into operation the main condition of the British alliance,—the right of universal arbitration in the inter-national quarrels of Rajpootana. The predatory habits of the Maldotes of Baroo originated a rupture, which threatened to involve the two states in war, and produced an invasion of the Rahtores, sufficiently serious to warrant British interference. It will hardly be credited that this aggression, which drew down upon the Maldotes the vengeance of

Bikaner, was covertly stimulated by the minister, for the express purpose of their extirpation, for reasons which will appear presently; yet he was the first to complain of the retaliation. To understand this matter, a slight sketch of the Maldote tribe is requisite.

The Maldotes, the Kailuns, the Birsungs, the Pohurs, and Tezmalotes, are all Bhatti tribes: but, from their lawless habits, these names have become, like those of Bedouin, Kuzzak, or Pindarri, synonymous with 'robber.' The first are descended from Rao Maldoo, and hold the fief (*putta*) of Baroo, consisting of eighteen villages, adjoining the tract called Khari-putta, wrested from the Bhattis by the Rahtores of Bikaner, who, to confess the truth, morally deserve the perpetual hostility of this Bhatti lord-marcher, inasmuch as they were the intruders, and have deprived them (the Bhattis) of much territory. But the Rahtores, possessing the strongest, about twenty-five years ago exercised it in the most savage manner; for, having invaded Baroo, they put almost the entire community to the sword, without respect to age or sex, levelled the towns, filled up the wells, and carried off the herds and whatever was of value. The survivors took shelter in the recesses of the desert, and propagated a progeny, which, about the period of connection with the British, re-occupied their deserted lands. The minister, it is asserted, beheld the revival of this infant colony with no more favourable eye than did their enemies of Bikaner, whom, it is alleged, he invited once more to their destruction. The lawless habits of this tribe would have



been assigned by the minister as his motive for desiring their extermination; but if we look back (p. 232), we shall discover the real cause in his having incurred the lasting enmity of this clan for the foul assassination of their chief, who had been a party to the views of the heir apparent, Rae Sing, to get rid of this incubus on their freedom. The opportunity afforded to take vengeance on the Maldotes arose out of a service indirectly done to the British government. On the revolt of the Peshwa, he sent his agents to Jessulmer to purchase camels. One herd, to the number of four hundred, had left the Bhatti frontiers, and whilst passing through the Bikaner territory were set upon by the Maldotes, who captured the whole, conveyed them to Baroo. It is scarcely to be supposed that such an aggression on the independence of Bikaner would have prompted her extensive armament, or the rapidity with which her troops passed the Bhatti frontier to avenge the insult, without some private signal from the minister, who was loud in his call for British interference; though not until Nokha and Baroo, their principal towns, were levelled, the chief killed, the wells filled up, and the victorious army following up its success by a rapid march on Beekumpoor, in which the fiscal lands began to suffer. The minister then discovered he had overshot the mark, and claimed our interference,\* which was rapid

and effectual; and the Bikaner commander the more willingly complied with the request to retire within his own frontier, having effected more than his object.

The tortuous policy, the never-ending and scarcely-to-be comprehended border-feuds of those regions, must, for a long while generate such appeals. Since these associated bands attach no dishonour to their predatory profession, it will be some time before they acquire proper notions; but when they discover there is no retreat in which punishment may not reach them, they will learn the benefits of cultivating the arts of peace, of whose very name no trace exists in their history.

We have lost sight of the Rawul, the title of the prince of Jessulmer, in the prominent acts of his minister. Guj Sing, who occupies the *gadi* of Jessoh, to the prejudice of his elder brother, who are still in Bikaner, appears very well suited to the minister's purpose, and to have little desire beyond his horses, and vegetating in quiet. The physiognomists of Jessulmer, however, prognosticate the development of moral worth in due season: a consummation devoutly to be wished, and the first symptom of which must be the riddance of his minister by whatever process. The artful Salim deemed that it would redound to his credit, and bolster up his interest, to seek a matrimonial alliance with the Rana's family of Mewar. The overture was accepted, and the coco-symbol transmitted to the Rawul, who put himself at the head of the Bhatti chivalry to wed and escort his bride through the desert. The Rahtore princes of Bikaner and Kishengurb, who were at

\* The author has omitted to mention that he was Political Agent for Jessulmer; so that his control extended uninterruptedly, almost from Sindh to Sindh: i.e., from the Indus, or great Sindh, to the *Choota-Sindh*, or little river. There are streams designated Sindh, in Central India, a word purely Tatar or Scythic. *Aba-Sin*, 'the Father-river,' is one of the many names of the Indus.



the same time suitors for the hands of another daughter and a grand-daughter of the Rana, simultaneously arrived at Oodipoori with their respective *corteges*; and this triple alliance threw a degree of splendour over the capital of the Seesodias, to which it had long been a stranger. Guj Sing lives very happily with his wife, who has given him an heir to his desert domain. The influence of high rank is seen in the

respect paid to the Ranawut-ji, (the title by which she is designated,) even by the minister, and she exerts this influence most humanely for the amelioration of her subjects.\*

\* I had the honour of receiving several letters from this queen of the desert, who looked to her father's house and his friends, as the best objects for support, whilst such a being as Salim was the master of her own and her husband's destiny.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Geographical position of Jessulmer.—Its superficial area.—List of its chief towns.—Population.—Jessulmer chiefly desert.—Muggro, a rocky ridge, traced from Cutch.—Sirrs, or salt-marshes.—Kanoad Sirr.—Soil.—Productions.—Husbandry.—Manufactures.—Commerce.—Kuttars, or caravans.—Articles of trade.—Revenues.—Land and transit taxes.—Dhanni, or Collector.—Amount of land-tax exacted from the cultivator.—Dhooa, or hearth-tax.—Thali, or tax on food.—Dind, or forced contribution.—Citizens refuse to pay. Enormous wealth accumulated by the minister by extortion.—Establishments.—Expenditure.—Tribes.—Bhattis.—Their moral estimation.—Personal appearance and dress.—Their predilection for opium and tobacco.—Palliwal, their history.—Numbers, wealth, employment.—Curious rite or worship.—Palli coins.—Pokurna Brahmins.—Title.—Numbers.—Singular typical worship.—Race of Jut.—Castle of Jessulmer.*

THE country still dependent on the Rawul extends between  $70^{\circ} 30'$  and  $72^{\circ} 30'$  E. long, and between the parallels of  $26^{\circ} 20'$  and  $27^{\circ} 50'$  N. lat., though a small strip protrudes, in the N. E. angle, as high as  $28^{\circ} 30'$ . The irregular surface may be roughly estimated to contain fifteen thousand

square miles. The number of towns, villages, and hamlets, scattered over this wide space, does not exceed two hundred and fifty; some estimate it at three hundred, and others depress it to two hundred: the mean cannot be wide of the truth. To enable the reader to arrive at a conclusion



as to the population of this region, we sub-join a calculation, from data furnished by the best-informed natives, which was made in the year 1815; but we must add, that

from the tyranny of the minister, the population of the capital (which is nearly half of the country), has been greatly diminished.

Towns.	Fiscal and Feudal.	Number of Houses.	Number of Inhabitants.	Remarks.
Jessulmer ...	Capital ...	7,000	35,000	{ The chief has the title of Rao, and twenty-four villages dependent, not included in this estimate.
Beekumpoor ...	Puttaet ...	500	2,000	
Seeruroh ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	{ Kailun Bhatti: the Kailun tribe extends to Poogul. Rawulote chief.
Nachna ...	Do. ...	400	1,600	
Katori ...	Fiscal ...	300	1,200	
Kabah ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	
Kooldurro ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Suttoh ...	Puttaet ...	300	1,200	
Jinjinialli ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	Rawulote: first noble of Jessulmer.
Devi-Kote ...	Fiscal ...	200	800	
Bhaup ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Balana ...	Puttaet ...	150	600	
Sutiasoh ...	Do. ...	100	400	
Baroo ...	Do. ...	200	800	{ Maldote: has eighteen villages attached, not included in this.
Chaun ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Loharki ...	Do. ...	150	600	{ All of the Rawulote clan.
Noantulloh ...	Do. ...	150	600	
Lahti ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	
Danguri ...	Do. ...	150	600	
Beejoraye ...	Fiscal ..	200	800	
Mundaye ...	Do. ..	200	800	
Ramgurh ...	Do. ..	200	800	
Birsilpoor ...	Puttaet ..	200	800	
Girajsir ...	Do. ..	150	600	
Two thousand and twenty-five villages and hamlets, from four to fifty houses each; say each average twenty, at four inhabitants to each ..			56,400	
			18,000	
TOTAL			74,400	



According to this census, we have a population not superior to one of the secondary cities of Great Britain, scattered over fifteen thousand square miles; nearly one-half, too, belonging to the capital, which being omitted, the result would give from two to three souls only for each square mile.

*Face of the country.*—The greater part of Jessulmer is *thul*, or *rooe*, both terms meaning 'a desert waste.' From Lowar, on the Jodpoor frontier, to Kharra, the remote angle touching Sinde, the country may be described as a continuous tract of arid sand, frequently rising into lofty *teebas* (sand-hills), in some parts covered with low jungle. This line, which nearly bisects Jessulmer, is also the line of demarcation of positive sterility and comparative cultivation. To the north, is one uniform and naked waste; to the south, are ridges of rock termed *muggro*, *rooe*, and light soil.

The ridge of hills is a most important feature in the geology of this desert region. It is to be traced from Cutch Bhooj, strongly or faintly marked, according to the nature of the country. Sometimes it assumes, as at Chohtun, the character of a mountain; then dwindles into an insignificant ridge scarcely discernible, and often serves as a bulwark for the drifting sands, which cover and render it difficult to trace it at all. As it reaches the Jessulmer country it is more developed; and at the capital, erected on a peak about two hundred and fifty feet high, its presence is more distinct, and its character defined. The capital of the Bhattis appears as the nucleus of a series of ridges, which diverge from it in all directions for the space of fifteen

miles. One branch terminates at Ramghur, thirty-five miles north-west of Jessulmer; another branch extends easterly to Pokurn (in Jodpoor), and thence, in a north-east direction, to Filodi; from whence, at intervals, it is traceable to Gurriala, nearly fifty miles due north. It is a yellow-coloured sand-stone, in which ochre is abundantly found with which the people daub their houses.

These barren ridges, and the lofty undulating *teebas* of sand, are the only objects which diversify the almost uniform sterility of these regions. No trees interpose their verdant foliage to relieve the eye, or shelter the exhausted frame of the traveller. It is nearly a boundless waste, varied only by a few stunted shrubs of the acacia or *mimosa* family, some succulent plants, or prickly grapes, as the *bhoorut* or burr, which clings to his garment and increases his miseries. Yet compared with the more northern portion, where "a sea of sand without a sign of vegetation"\* forms the prospect, the vicinity of the capital is a paradise.

There is not a running stream throughout Jessulmer; but there are many temporary lakes or salt-marshes, termed *sirr*, formed by the collection of waters from the sand-hills, which are easily dammed-in to prevent escape. They are ephemeral, seldom lasting but a few months; though after a very

\* So Mr. Elphinstone describes the tract about Poogul, one of the earliest possessions of the Bhattis, and one of the *No-koti Maru-ca*, or "nine castles of the desert," around whose sand-hills as brave a colony was reared and maintained as ever carried lance. Rao Raning was lord of Poogul, whose son originated that episode given Vol. I p. 493. Even these sand-hills, which in November appeared to Mr. Elphinstone without a sign of vegetation, could be made to yield good crops of bajra.



severe monsoon they have been known to remain throughout the year. One of these, called the Kanoad SIRR, extends from Kanoad to Mohungurh, covering a space of eighteen miles, and in which some water remains throughout the year. When it overflows, a small stream issues from the SIRR, and pursues an easterly direction for thirty miles before it is absorbed: its existence depends on the parent lake. The salt which it produces is the property of the crown and adds something to the revenue.

*Soil, husbandry, and products.*—Notwithstanding the apparent poverty of this desert soil, nature has not denied it the powers of production; it is even favourable to some grains, especially the *bajra*, which prefers a light sand. In a favourable season, they grow sufficient for the consumption of two and even three years, and then they import only wheat from Sinde. When those parts favourable for *bajra* have been saturated with two or three heavy showers, they commence sowing, and the crops spring up rapidly. The great danger is that of too much rain when the crops are advanced, for, having little tenacity, they are often washed away. The *bajra* of the sand-hills is deemed far superior to that of Hindusthan, and prejudice gives it a preference even to wheat, which does not bear a higher price, in times of scarcity. *Bajra*, in plentiful seasons, sells at one and a half maunds for a rupee: \* but this does not often occur, as they calculate five bad seasons for a good one. *Jooar* is also grown, but only in the low flats. Cotton is produced in the same soil as the *bajra*.

\* About a hundred-weight for two shillings.

It is not generally known that this plant requires but a moderate supply of water; it is deteriorated in the plains of India from over irrigation: at least such is the idea of the desert-farmer, who perhaps does not make sufficient allowance for the cooler substratum of his sand-hills, compared with the black loam of Malwa. A variety of pulses grows on the sheltered sides of the *teebas*, as *mong*, *moth*, &c.; also the oil-plant (*til*) and abundance of the *gowar*, a diminutive melon, not larger than a hen's egg, which is sent hundreds of miles, as a rarity. Around the capital, and between the ridges where soil is deposited or formed, and where they dam-up the waters, are grown considerable quantities of wheat of very good quality, turmeric, and garden-stuffs. Barley and *gram* are, in good seasons, reared in small quantities, but rice is entirely an article of import from the valley of Sinde.

*Implements of husbandry.*—Where the soil is light, it will be concluded that the implements are simple. They have two kinds of plough, for one or two oxen, or for the camel, which animal is most in requisition. They tread out the grain with oxen as in all parts of India, and not unfrequently they yoke the cattle to their *hakerries*, or carts, and pass the whole over the grain.

*Manufactures.*—There is little scope for the ingenuity of the mechanic in this tract. They make coarse cotton cloths, but the raw material is almost all exported. Their grand article of manufacture is from the wool of the sheep pastured in the desert, which is fabricated into *looes*, or blankets,





scarfs,\* petticoats, turbans, of every quality. Cups and platters are made from a mineral called *aboor*, a calcareous substance, of a dark chocolate ground, with light brown vermiculated stripes; female ornaments of elephants' teeth, and arms of an inferior quality. These comprehend the artificial productions of this desert capital.

*Commerce.*—Whatever celebrity Jessulmer possesses, as a commercial mart, arises from its position as a place of transit between the eastern countries, the valley of the Indus, and those beyond that stream, the *Kuttars* (the term for a caravan of camels) to and from Hyderabad, Rory-Bekher, Shikarpoor and Ootch, from the Gangetic provinces, and the Punjab, passing through it. The indigo of the Doab, the opium of Kotah and Malwa, the famed sugar-candy of Bikaner, iron implements from Jeipoor, are exported to Shikarpoor † and lower Sinde; whence elephants' teeth (from Africa), dates, coco-nuts, drugs, and chundus, ‡ are imported, with pistachios and dried fruits from Bhawalpoor.

*Revenues and taxes.*—The personal revenue of the princes of Jessulmer§ is, or rather was, estimated at upwards of four lakhs of rupees, of which more than one lakh was

from the land. The transit duties were formerly the most certain and most prolific branch of the fiscal income; but the bad faith of the minister, the predatory habits of the Bhatti chiefs proceeding mainly from thence, and the general decrease of commerce, have conspired nearly to annihilate this source of income, said at one time to reach three lakhs of rupees. These imports are termed *dan*, and the collector *dannie*, who was stationed at convenient points of all the principal routes which diverge from the capital.

*Land-tax.*—From one-fifth to one-seventh of the gross produce of the land is set aside as the tax of the crown, never exceeding the first nor falling short of the last.\* It is paid in kind, which is purchased on the spot by the Palliwal Brahmins, or Banias, and the value remitted to the treasury.

*Dhooa.*—The third and now the most certain branch of revenue is the *dhooa*, literally 'smoke,' and which we may render 'chimney or hearth-tax,' though they have neither the one nor the other in these regions. It is also termed *thali*, which is the brass or silver platter out of which they eat, and is tantamount to a table-allowance. It never realizes above twenty thousand

\* I brought home several pairs of these, with crimson borders, sufficiently fine to be worn as a wintersawl in this country.

† Shikarpoor, the great commercial mart of the valley of Sinde, west of the Indus.

‡ *Chundus* is a scented wood for *mallas*, or 'chaplets.'

§ I have no correct data for estimating the revenues of the chieftains. They are generally almost double the land-revenue of the princes in the other states of Rajwarra; perhaps about two lakhs, which ought to bring into the field seven hundred horse.

\* This, if strictly true and followed, is according to ancient principles: Menu ordains the sixth. I could have wished Colonel Briggs to have known this fact, when he was occupied on his excellent work on "the Land-tax of India;" but it had entirely escaped my recollection. In this most remote corner of Hindusthan, in spite of oppression, it is curious to observe the adherence to primitive custom. These notes on the sources of revenue in Jessulmer were communicated to me so far back as 1811, and I laid them before the Bengal Government in 1814-15.



rupees annually, which, however, would be abundant for the simple fare of Jessulmer. No house is exempt from the payment of this tax.

*Dind.*—There is an arbitrary tax levied throughout these regions universally known and detested under the name of *dind*, the make-weight of all their budgets of ways and means. It was first imposed in Jessulmer in S. 1830 (A. D. 1774), under the less odious appellation of “additional *dhooa*, or *thali*,” and the amount was only two thousand seven hundred rupees, to be levied from the monied interest of the capital. The Mahesris agreed to pay their share, but the Oswals (the two chief mercantile classes) holding out, were forcibly sent up to the castle, and suffered the ignominious punishment of the bastinado. They paid the demand, but immediately on their release entered into a compact on oath, never again to look on the Rawul’s (Moolraj’s) face, which was religiously kept during their mutual lives. When he passed through the streets of this capital, the Oswals abandoned their shops and banking-houses, retiring to the interior of their habitations in order to avoid the sight of him. This was strenuously persevered in for many years, and had such an effect upon the prince, that he visited the principal persons of this class, and “spreading his scarf” (*pulla pussaona*),\* intreated forgiveness, giving a writing on oath never again to impose *dind*, if they

would make the *dhooa* a permanent tax. The Oswals accepted the repentance of their prince, and agreed to his terms. In S. 1841, and 1852, his necessities compelling him to raise money, he obtained by loan, in the first period, twenty-seven thousand, and in the latter, forty thousand rupees, which he faithfully repaid. When the father of the present minister came into power, he endeavoured to get back the bond of his sovereign abrogating the obnoxious *dind*, and offered, as a bait, to renounce the *dhooa*. The Oswals placed more value on the virtue of this instrument than it merited, for in spite of the bond, he in S. 1857 levied sixty thousand, and in 1863 eighty thousand rupees. A visit of the Rawul to the Ganges was seized upon as a fit opportunity by his subjects to get this oppression redressed, and fresh oaths were made by the prince, and broken by the minister, who has bequeathed his rapacious spirit to his son.

Since the accession of Guj Sing, only two years ago,\* Salim Sing has extorted fourteen lakhs (£140,000). Burdbhan, a merchant of great wealth and respectability, and whose ancestors are known and respected throughout Rajwarra as *Sahoocars*, has been at various times stripped of all his riches by the minister and his father, who, to use the phraseology of the sufferers, “will never be satisfied while a rupee remains in Jessulmer.”

*Establishments, Expenditure.*—We subjoin a rough estimate of the household establishment, &c. of this desert king.

\* *Pulla pussaona*, or ‘spreading the cloth or scarf,’ is the figurative language of intreaty, arising from the act of spreading the garment, preparatory to bowing the head thereon in token of perfect submission.

\* This was written in 1821-2.



	Rupees.
Burr* ... ..	20,000
Rozgar Sirdar† ... ..	40,000
Sebundies or Mercenaries‡ ... ..	75,000
Household horse, 10 elephants, 200 camels, and chariots ... ..	36,000
500 Bargeer horse ... ..	60,000
Rani's or queen's establishment ... ..	15,000
The wardrobe ... ..	5,000
Gifts .. ...	5,000
The kitchen ... ..	5,000
Guests, in hospitality... ..	5,000
Feasts, entertainments ... ..	5,000
Annual purchase of horses, camels, oxen, &c. ... ..	20,000
<b>TOTAL</b> ... ..	<b>Rs. 2,91,000</b>

The ministers and officers of government receive assignments on the transit-duties, and some have lands. The whole of this state-expenditure was more than covered, in some years, by the transit-duties alone; which have, it is asserted, amounted to the almost incredible sum of three lakhs, or £30,000.

\* The *Burr* includes the whole household or personal attendants, the guards, and slaves. They receive rations of food, and make up the rest of their subsistence by labour in the town. The *Burr* consists of about 1,000 people, and is estimated to cost 20,000 rupees annually.

† Rozgar-Sirdar is an allowance termed *kansa*, or 'dinner' to the feudal chieftains who attend the Presence. Formerly they had an order upon the Dannis, or collectors of the transit-duties; but being vexatious, Pansa Sah, minister to Rawul Chaitra, commuted it for a daily allowance, varying, with the rank of the person, from half a silver rupee to seven rupees each, daily. This disbursement is calculated at 40,000 rupees annually.

‡ Sebundies are mercenary soldiers in the fort, of whom 1,000 are estimated to cost 75,000 rupees annually.

*Tribes.*—We shall conclude our account of Jessulmer with a few remarks on the tribes peculiar to it; though we reserve the general enumeration for a sketch of the desert.

Of its Rajpoot population, the Bhattis, we have already given an outline in the general essay on the tribes.\* Those which occupy the present limits of Jessulmer retain their Hindu notions, though with some degree of laxity from their intercourse with the Mahomedans on the northern and western frontiers; while those which long occupied the north-east tracts towards Phoolra and the Garah, on becoming proselytes to Islam ceased to have either interest in or connection with the parent state. The Bhatti has not, at present, the same martial reputation as the Rahtore, Chohan, or Seesodia, but he is deemed at least to equal if not surpass the Cuchwaha, or any of its kindred branches, Nirooka or Shekhavat. There are occasional instances of Bhatti intrepidity as daring as may be found amongst any other tribe; witness the feud between the chiefs of Poogul and Mundore. But this changes not the national characteristic as conventionally established; though were we to go back to the days of chivalry and Pirthiraj, we should select Achilesa Bhatti, one of the bravest of his champions, for the portrait of his race. This Bhatti Rajpoot, as to physical power, is not perhaps so athletic as the Rahtore, or so tall as the Cuchwaha, but generally fairer than either, and possessing those Jewish features which Mr. Elphinstone remarked as characteristic of the Bikaner Rajpoots. The Bhatti in-



termarries with all the families of Rajwarra, though seldom with the Ranas of Mewar. The late Juggut Sing of Jeipoor had five wives of this stock, and his posthumous son, real or reputed, has a Bhattiani for his mother.

*Dress.*—The dress of the Bhattis consists of a *jamah*, or tunic of white cloth or chinz reaching to the knee; the *cumurbund*, or ceinture, tied so high as to present no appearance of waist; trowsers very loose, and in many folds, drawn tight at the ankle, and a turban, generally of a scarlet colour, rising conically full a foot from the head. A dagger is stuck in the waistband; a shield is suspended by a thong of deer-skin from the left shoulder, and the sword is girt by a belt of the same material. The dress of the common people is the *dhoti*, or loin-robe, generally of woollen stuff, with a piece of the same material as turban. The dress of the Bhattianis which discriminates the sex, consists of a *ghagra*, or petticoat, extending to thirty feet in width, made generally of the finer woollen, dyed a brilliant red, with a scarf of the same material. The grand ornament of rich and poor though varying in the materials, is the *chaori*, or rings of ivory or bone, with which they cover their arms from the shoulders to the wrist.\* They are in value from sixteen

\* The chaori of ivory, bone, or shell, is the most ancient ornament of the indo-Scythic dames, and appears in old sculpture and painting. I was much struck with some ancient sculptures in a very old Gothic church at Moissac, in Languedoc. The porch is the only part left of this most antique fane, attributed to the age of Dagobert. It represents the conversion of clovis, and when the subject was still a matter of novelty. But interesting as this is, it is as nothing when compared to same sculptured figures below, of a totally distinct age; in execution as far superior as they are dissimilar in character,

to thirty-five rupees a set, and imported from Muska-Mandive, though they also manufacture them at Jessulmer. Silver *kurris* (massive rings or anklets) are worn by all classes, who deny themselves the necessities of life until they attain this ornament. The poorer Rajpootnis are very masculine, and assist in all the details of husbandry.

The Bhatti is to the full as addicted as any of his brethren to the immoderate use of opium. To the *umlpani*, or 'infusion,' succeeds the pipe, and they continue inhaling mechanically the smoke long after they are insensible to all that is passing around them; nay, it is said, you may scratch or pinch them while in this condition without exciting sensation. The *hooka* is the dessert to the *umlpani*; the panacea for all the ills which can overtake a Rajpoot, and with which he can at any time enjoy a paradise of his own creation. To ask a Bhatti for a whiff of his pipe would be deemed a direct insult.

*Palliwal.*—Next to the lordly Rajpoots, equalling them in numbers and far surpassing them in wealth, are the Palliwals. They are Brahmins, and denominated *Palliwal* from having been temporal proprietors of *Palli*, and all its lands, long before the Rahtores colonized Marwar. Tradition is silent as to the manner in which they became

which is decidedly Asiatic: the scarf, the *champa-kulli* or necklace, representing the buds of the jessamine (*champa*), and *chaoris*, such as I have been describing. To whom but the Visigoths can we ascribe them?—and does not this supply the connecting link of this Asiatic race, destined to change the moral aspect of Europe? I recommend all travellers, who are interested in tracing such analogies, to visit the church at Moissac, though it is not known as an object of curiosity in the neighbourhood.



possessed of this domain ; but it is connected with the history of the *Pali*, or pastoral tribes, who from the town of Palli to Palit-hana, in Saurashtra, have left traces of their existence ; and I am much mistaken if it will not one day be demonstrated, that all the ramifications of the races figuratively denominated *Agnicula*, were Pali in origin : more especially the Chohans, whose princes and chiefs for ages retained the distinctive affix of *pal*.

These Brahmins, the Palliwals, as appears by the Annals of Marwar, held the domain of Palli when Seoji, at the end of the twelfth century, invaded that land from Canouj, and by an act of treachery first established his power.\* It is evident, however, that he did not extirpate them, for the cause of their migration to the desert of Jessulmer is attributed to a period of a Mahomedan invasion of Marwar, when a general war-contribution (*dind*) being imposed on the inhabitants, the Palliwals pleaded *caste*, and refused. This exasperated the Raja ; for as their habits were almost exclusively mercantile, their stake was greater than that of the rest of the community, and he threw their principle men into prison. In order to avenge this, they had recourse to a grand *chandi*, or 'act of suicide ; but instead of gaining their object, he issued a manifesto of banishment to every Palliwal in his dominions. The greater part took refuge in Jessulmer, though many settled in Bikaner, Dhat, and the valley of Sinde. At one time, their number in Jessulmer was calculated to equal that of the Rajpoots. Almost all the in-

ternal trade of the country passes through their hands, and it is chiefly with their capital that its marchants trade in foreign parts. They are the *Metayers* of the desert, advancing money to the cultivators, taking the security of the crop ; and they buy up all the wool and *ghee* (clarified butter), which they transport to foreign parts. They also rear and keep flocks. The minister, Salim Sing, has contrived to diminish their wealth, and consequently to lose the main support of the country's prosperity. They are also subject to the visits of the Maldotes, Tejmalotes, and other plunderers ; but they find it difficult to leave the country owing to the restrictive *cordon* of the Mehta. The Palliwals never marry out of their own tribe ; and, directly contrary to the laws of Menu, the bridegroom gives a sum of money to the father of the bride. It will be deemed a curious incident in the history of superstition, that a tribe, Brahmin by name, at least, should worship the bridle of a horse. When to this is added the fact, that the most ancient coins discovered in these regions bear the Pali character and the effigies of the horse, it aids to prove the Scythic character of the early colonists of these regions, who, although nomadic (*Pali*), were equestrian. There is little doubt that the Palliwal Brahmins are the remains of the priests of the Palli race, who, in their pastoral and commercial pursuits, have lost their spiritual power.

*Pokurna Brahmins*.—Another singular tribe, also Brahminical, is the Pokurna, of whom it is calculated there are fifteen hundred to two thousand families in Jessulmer. They are also numerous in Marwar and

\* See page 12.



Bikaner, and are scattered over the desert and valley of the Indus. They follow agricultural and pastoral pursuits chiefly, having little or no concern in trade. tradition of their origin is singular: it is said that they were *Bildars*, and excavated the sacred lake of Poshkur or Pokur, for which act they obtained the favour of the deity and the grade of Brahmins, with the title of *Pokurna*. Their chief object of emblematic worship, the *khodala*, a kind of pick-axe used in digging, seems to favour this tradition.

*Juts or Juts.*—The Juts here, as elsewhere, form a great part of the agricultural population: there are also various other tribes, which will be better described in a general account of the desert.

*Castle of Jessulmer.*—The castle of this desert king is erected on an almost insulated peak, from two hundred and fifty feet in height, a strong wall running round the

crest of the hill. It has four gates, but very few cannon mounted. The city is to the north, and is surrounded by a *seherpunna* or circumvallation, encompassing a space of nearly three miles, having three gates and two wickets. In the city are some good houses belonging to rich merchants, but the greater part consists of huts. The Raja's palace is said to possess some pretension to grandeur, perhaps comparative. Were he on good terms with his vassalage, he could collect for its defence five thousand infantry and one thousand horse, besides his camel-corps; but it may be doubted whether, under the oppressive system of the monster who has so long continued to desolate that region, one-half of this force could be brought together.\*

\* It has been reported that the dagger has since rid the land of its tyrant. The means matter little, if the end is accomplished. Even assassination loses much of its odious character when resorted to for such a purpose.





# SKETCH OF THE INDIAN DESERT.

## CHAPTER I.

*General aspect.—Boundaries and divisions of the desert.—Probable etymology of the Greek oasis.—Absorption of the Caggar river.—The Looni, or salt-river.—The Runn, or Rin.—Distinction of thul and rooe.—Thul of the Looni.—Jhalore.—Sewanhi.—Macholah and Morseen.—Beenmal and Sanchoe.—Bhadrajoon.—Mehwo.—Bhalotra and Tilwarra.—Eendovati.—Gogadeo-ca-thul.—Thul of Tirruroe.—Thul of Khawur.—Mallinath-ca-thul, or Barmair.—Kherdhur.—Junah Chotun.—Nuggur Goorah.*

HAVING never penetrated personally further into the heart of the desert than Mundore, the ancient capital of all Maroost-hali, the old castle of Hissar on its north-eastern frontier, and Aboo, Nehrwalla, and Bhooj, to the south, it may be necessary, before entering upon the details, to deprecate the charge of presumption or incompetency, by requesting the reader to bear in mind, that my parties of discovery have traversed it in every direction, adding to their journals of routes living testimonies of their accuracy, and bringing to me natives of every *thul* from Bhutnair to Omurkote, and from Aboo to Arore.\* I

wish it, however, to be clearly understood, that I look upon this as a mere outline, which, by shewing what might be done, may stimulate further research; but in the existing dearth of information on the subject, I have not hesitated to send it forth, with its almost inevitable errors, as (I trust) a pioneer to more extended and accurate knowledge.

After premising thus much, let us commence with details, which, but for the reasons already stated, should have been comprised in the geographical portion of the work, and which, though irrelevant to the historical part, are too important to be thrown into notes. I may add, that the

\* The journals of all these routes, with others of Central and Western India, form eleven moderate-sized folio volumes, from which an itinerary of these regions might be constructed. It was my intention to have drawn up a more perfect and detailed map from these,

but my wealth forbids the attempt. They are now deposited in the archives of the Company, and may serve, if judiciously used, to fill up the only void in the great map of India, executing by their commands,



conclusions formed, partly from personal observation, but chiefly from the sources described above, have been confirmed by the picture drawn by Mr. Elphinstone of his passage through the northern desert in the embassy to Cabul, which renders perfectly satisfactory to me the views I before entertained. It may be well, at this stage, to mention that some slight repetitions must occur as we proceed, having incidentally noticed many of the characteristic features of the desert in the *Annals of Bikaner*, which was unavoidable from the position of that state.

The hand of Nature has defined, in the boldest characters, the limits of the great desert of India, and we only require to follow minutely the line of demarcation; though, in order to be distinctly understood, we must repeat the analysis of the term *Marroosthali*, the emphatic appellation of this 'region of death.' The word is compounded of the Sanscrit *mri* 'to die,' and *sthali*, 'arid or dry land,' which last, in the corrupted dialect of those countries, becomes *thul*, the converse of the Greek *oasis*, denoting tracts particularly sterile. Each *thul* has its distinct denomination, as the 'thul of Kawur,' thul of Goga, &c.; and the cultivated spots, compared with these, either as to number or magnitude, are so scanty, that instead of the ancient Roman simile, which likened Africa to the leopard's hide, reckoning the spots thereon as the *oases*, I would compare the Indian desert to that of the tiger, of which the long dark stripes would indicate the expansive belts of sand, elevated upon a plain only less sandy, and over whose surface numerous

thinly-peopled towns and hamlets are scattered.

Maroosthali is bounded on the north by the flat skirting the Garah; on the south by that grand salt-marsh, the Rin, and Koliwarra; on the east by the Aravulli; and on the west by the valley of Sind. The two last boundaries are the most conspicuous, especially the Aravulli, but for which impediment, Central India would be submerged in sand; nay, lofty and continuous as is this chain, extending almost from the sea to Delhi, wherever there are passages or depressions, these floating sand-clouds are wafted through or over, and form a little *thul* even in the bosom of fertility. Whoever has crossed the Bunas near Tonk, where the sand for some miles resembles waves of the sea, will comprehend this remark. Its western boundary is alike defined, and will recal to the English traveller, who may be destined to journey up the valley of Sind, the words of Napoleon on the Lybain desert: "Nothing so much resembles the sea as the desert; or a coast, as the valley of the Nile:" for this substitute "Indus," whence, in journeying northward along its banks from Hyderabad to Ootch, the range of vision will be bounded to the east by a bulwark of sand, which, rising often to the height of two hundred feet above the level of the river, leads one to imagine that the chasm, now forming this rich valley, must have originated in a sudden melting of all the glaciers of Caucasus, whose congregated waters made this break in the continuity of Maroosthali, which would otherwise be united with the deserts of Aracacia.





We may here repeat the tradition illustrating the geography of the desert, *i. e.*, that in remote ages it was ruled by princes of the Powar (Pramara) race, which the *sloca*, or verse of the bard, recording the names of the nine fortresses (*No-koti Maroo-ca*), so admirably adapted by their position to maintain these regions in subjection, further corroborates. We shall divest it of its metrical form, and begin with Poogul, to the north; Mundore, in the centre of all Maroo; Aboo, Kheraloo, and Parkur, to the south; Chotun, Omurkote, Arore, and Lodorva, to the west; the possession of which assuredly makes the sovereignty of the desert. The antiquity of this legend is supported by the omission of all modern cities, the present capital of the Bhattis not being mentioned. Even Lodorva and Arore, cities for ages in ruins, are names known only to a few who frequent the desert; and Chotun and Kheraloo,\* but for the traditional stanzas which excited our research, might never have appeared on the map.

We purpose to follow the natural divisions of the country, or those employed by the natives, who, as stated above, distinguish them as *thuls*; and after describing these in detail, with a summary notice of the principal towns whether ruined or existing, and the various tribes, conclude with the chief lines of route diverging from, or leading to, Jessulmer.

The whole of Bikaner, and that part of Shekhavati north of the Aravali, are comprehended in the desert. If the reader will

refer to the map, and look for the town of Kanorh, within the British frontier, he will see what Mr. Elphinstone considered as the commencement of the desert, in his interesting expedition to Cabul.\* "From Delly to Canound (the Kanorh of my map) a distance of one hundred miles is through the British dominions, and need not be described. It is sufficient to say, that the country is sandy, though not ill cultivated. On approaching Canound, we had the first specimen of the desert, to which we were looking forward with anxious curiosity. Three miles before reaching that place we came to sand-hills, which at first were covered with bushes, but afterwards were naked piles of loose sand, rising one after another, like the waves of the sea, and marked on the surface by the wind like drifted snow. There were roads through them, made solid by the treading of animals; but off the road our horses sunk into the sand above the knee." Such was the opening scene; the route of the embassy was by Singana, Jhoonjoonoo, to Chooroo, when they entered Bikaner. Of Shekhavati, which he had left, Mr. Elphinstone says: "it seems to lose its title to be included in the desert, when compared with the two hundred and eighty miles between its western frontier and Bahawalpoor, and, even of this, only the last hundred miles is absolutely destitute of inhabitants, water, or vegetation. Our journey from Shekhavati to Poogul, was over hills and valleys of loose and heavy sand. The hills were exactly like those which are sometimes formed by the wind on the sea-shore, but far exceeding them in

\* It is fifteen miles north of Chotun.

\* It left Dehli the 13th October 1803.