



Pertap Sing, who succeeded his brave father in his share of the patrimony, was at this crisis with his mother at Sikrae, a strong fort in the hills, ten miles from Khundaila. To save the town, the principal men dug up the grain-pits, selling their property to release their minor chief from further trouble. Having obtained all they could, the enemy proceeded to the lands of the Sadhanis. Oodipoor was the first assaulted, taken, and sacked; the walls were knocked down, and the floors dug up in search of treasure. After four days' havoc, they left it a ruin, and marched against the northern chieftains of Singhana, Jhoon-joonoo, and Keytri. On the departure of the foe, young Pertap and his kinsman, Nursing, took up their abode in Khundaila; but scarcely had they recovered from the effects of the Dekhani incursion, before demands were made by their liege lord of Amber for the tribute. Pertap made his peace by assigning a fourth of the harvest; but Nursing, in the procrastinating and haughty spirit of his ancestors, despised an arrangement which, he said (and with justice), would reduce him to the level of a common *Bhomia* landholder.

At this period, a remote branch of the Khundaila Shekawuts began to disclose a spirit that afterwards gained him distinction. Devi Sing, chieftain of Seekur, a descendant of Rao Tirmul of Kasulli, had added to his patrimony by the usurpation of no less than twenty-five large townships, as Lohagurra, Kho, &c.; and he deemed this a good opportunity, his chief being embroiled with the court, to make an attack on Rewasso; but death put a stop to the

ambitious views of the Seekur chieftain. Having no issue, he had adopted Luchmun Sing, son of the Shahpoora Thakoor; but the Jeipoor court, which had taken great umbrage at these most unjustifiable assaults of the Seekur chief on his weaker brethern, commanded Nundram Huldia (brother of the prime minister Doulet Ram), collector of the Shekhawut tribute, to attack and humble him. No sooner were the orders of the court promulgated, than all the *Barwuttias** gathered round the standard of the collector, to aid in the redemption of their patrimonies wrested from them by Seekur. Besides the Khundaila chief in person there were the *Puttawuts* of Kasulli, Bilara, and others of Tirmul's stock; and even the Sadhanis, who little interfered in the affairs of the Raesilotes, repaired with joy with their tribute and their retainers to the camp of the Jeipoor commander, to depress the Seekur chief, who was rapidly rising over them all. Nearly the whole troops of the confederacy were thus assembled. Devi Sing, it may be imagined, was no common character, to have excited such universal hatred; and his first care had been to make strong friends at court, in order to retain what he had acquired. He had especially cultivated the minister's friendship, which was now turned to account. A deputation consisting of a Chondawut chief, the Dewan of Seekur, and that important character the *Dhabhae*, repaired to the Huldia, and implored him in the name of the deceased, not to give up his infant son to hungry and revengeful *Bar-*

* *Barwuttia*, is 'one expatriated,' from 'bar,' 'out of,' and 'wuttun,' 'a country,' and it means either an exile, or an outlaw, according to the measure of crime which caused his banishment from his country.

roultias. The Huldia said there was but one way by which he could avoid the fulfilment of his court's command, which was for them, as he approached the place, to congregate a force so formidable from its numbers, as to exonerate him from all suspicion of collusion. With the treasury of Devi Sing, overflowing from the spoliation of the Kaimkhani of Futtehpoor, it was easy to afford such indemnity to the Huldia, at whose approach to Seekur ten thousand men appeared to oppose him. Having made a shew of investing Seekur, and expended a good deal of ammunition, he addressed his court, where his brother was minister, stating he could make nothing of Seekur without great loss, both of time, men, and money, and advising an acceptance of the proffered submission. Without waiting a reply, he took two lakhs as a fine for his sovereign, and a present of one for himself. The siege was broken up, and Seekur was permitted to prosecute his schemes; in which he was not a little aided by the continued feuds of the co-partner chiefs of Khundaila. Pertap took advantages of Nursing's noncompliance with the court's requisition, and his consequent disgrace, to settle the feud of their fathers, and unite both shares in his own person; and stipulated in return to be responsible for the whole tribute, be ready with his contingent to serve the court, and pay besides a handsome *nuzzerana* or investiture. The Huldia was about to comply, when Rawul Indur Sing of Samote, chief of the Nathawut clan, interceded for Nursing, and inviting him on his own responsibility to the camp, acquainted him with the procedure of his rival,

in whose name the patent for Khundaila was actually made out; "but even now," said this noble chief, "I will stay it if you comply with the terms of the court." But Nursing either would not, or could not, and the Samote chief urged his immediate departure; adding that as he came under his guarantee, he was desirous to see him safe back, for "such were the crooked ways of the Amber house," that if he prolonged his stay, he might be involved in ruin in his desire, to protect him. Accordingly, at dusk, with sixty of his own retainers, he escorted him to Nowulgurh, and the next morning he was in his castle of Govindgurh. The precautions of the Samote chief were not vain, and he was reproached and threatened with the court's displeasure, for permitting Nursing's departure; but he nobly replied, "he had performed the duty of a Rajpoot, and would abide the consequences." As the sequel will further exemplify the corruptions of courts, and the base passions of kindred, under a system of feudal government, we shall trespass on the reader's patience by recording the result.

Samote and Chomoo are the chief houses of the Nathawut clan; the elder branch enjoying the title of Rawul, with supremacy over the numerous vassalage. But these two families had often contested the lead, and their feuds had caused much bloodshed. On the disgrace of Indur Sing, as already related, his rival of Chomoo repaired to court, and offered so large a *nuzzerana* as to be invested with rights of seniority. Avarice and revenge were good advocates: a warrant was made out and transmitted to Indur Sing (still serving with the collector

of the tribute) for the sequestration of Samote. Placing, like a dutiful subject, the warrant to his forehead, he instantly departed for Samote, and commanded the removal of his family, his goods and chattels from the seat of his ancestors, and went into exile in Marwar. In after times, his Rani had a grant of the village of Peeplye, to which the magnanimous, patriotic, and loyal Indur Sing, when he found the hand of death upon him, repaired, that he might die in the lands of the Cuchwahs, and have his ashes buired amongst his fathers. This man, who was naturally brave, acted upon the abstract principle of *swamdherma*, or 'fealty,' which is not even now exploded, in the midst of corruption and demoralization. Indur Sing would have been fully justified, according to all the principles which govern these states, in resisting the iniquitous mandate. Such an act might have been deemed rebellion by those who look only at the surface of things; but let the present lords-paramount go deeper, when they have to decide between a Raja and his feudatories, and look to the origin and condition of both, and the ties which alone can hold such associations together.

To return: Pertap Sing, having thus obtained the whole of Khundaila, commenced the demolition of a fortified gate, whence during the feuds his antagonist used to play some swivels against his castle. While the work of destruction was advancing, an omen occurred foreboding evil to Pertap. An image of Ganesa, the god of wisdom and protector of the arts, (more especially of architecture), was fixed in the wall of

this gate, which an ill-fated and unintentional blow knocked from its elevated position to the earth, and being of *terracotta*, his fragments lay dishonoured and scattered on the payement. Notwithstanding this, the demolition was completed, and the long obnoxious gateway levelled with the earth. Pertap, having adjusted affairs in the capital, and proceeded against Rewasso, which he reduced, and then laid siege to Govindgurh aided by a detachment of the Huldia. Having encamped at Goorah, two coss from it, and twice that distance from Ranolli, its chief, who still espoused the cause of his immediate head, the unfortunate Nursing, sent his minister to the Huldia, offering not only to be responsible for all arrears due by Nursing, but also a handsome *douceur*, to restore him to his rights. He repaired to Khundaila, stationed a party in the fortified place of Nursing, and consented that they should be expelled, as if by force of his adherents, from Govindgurh. Accordingly, Soorajmul and Bagh Sing, the brothers of Nursing, in the dead of night, with one hundred and fifty followers, made a mock attack on the Huldia's followers, expelled them, and made good a lodgment in their ancient dwelling. Pertap was highly exasperated; and to render the acquisition useless, he ordered the possession of a point which commanded the *mahl*; but here he was anticipated by his opponent, whose party now poured into Khundaila. He then cut off their supplies of water, by fortifying the reservoirs and wells, and this brought matters to a crisis. An action ensued, in which many were killed on each side, when the traitorous Huldia interposed the five-

coloured banner, and caused the combat to cease. Nursing, at this juncture, joined the combatants in person, from his castle of Govidgurb, and a treaty was forthwith set on foot, which left the district of Rowasso to Pertap, and restored to Nursing his share of Khundaila.

These domestic broils continued, however, and occasions were perpetually recurring to bring the rivals in collision. The first was on the festival of the *Gangore*;* the next on the Ranolli chief placing in durance a vassal of Pertap, which produced a general gathering of the clans: both ended in an appeal to the lord-paramount, who soon merged the office of arbitrator in that of dictator.

The Sadhanis, or chieftains of northern Shekhavati, began to feel the bad effects of these feuds of the Raesilotes, and to express dissatisfaction at the progressive advances of the Jeipoor court for the establishment of its supremacy. Until this period they had escaped any tributary engagements, and only recognized their connexion with Amber by marks of homage and fealty on lapses, which belonged more to kindred than political superiority. But as the armies of the court were now perpetually on the frontiers, and might soon pass over, they deemed it necessary to take measures for their safety. The township of Tooe, appertaining to Nowulgurb, had already been seized, and Ranolli was battered for the restoration of the subject of Pertap. These were grievances which affected all the Sadhanis, who, perceiving they could no longer preserve their neutrality, determined to abandon their

internal dissensions, and from a system of general defence. Accordingly, a general assembly of the Sadhani lords, and as many of the Raesilotes as chose to attend, was announced at the ancient place of rendezvous, Oodipoor. To increase the solemnity of the occasion, and to banish all suspicion of treachery, as well as to extinguish ancient feuds, and reconcile chiefs who had never met but in hostility, it was unanimously agreed that the most sacred pledge of good faith, the *Noon-dab*,* or dipping the hand in the salt, should take place.

The entire body of the Sadhani lords, with all their retainers, met at the appointed time, as did nearly all the Raesilotes, excepting the joint chieftains of Khundaila, too deeply tainted with mutual distrust to take part in this august and national congress of all "the children of Shekhji." It was decided in this grand council, that all internal strife should cease; and that for the future, whenever it might occur, there should be no appeals to the arbitration of Jeipoor; but that on all such occasions, or where the general interests were endangered, a meeting should take place at "the Pass of Oodipoor," to deliberate and decide, but above all to repel by force of arms, if necessary, the further encroachments of the court. This unusual measure alarmed the court of Amber, and when oppression had generated determined resistance, it disapproved and disowned the proceedings of its lieutenant, who was superseded by Rora Ram, with orders to secure the person of his predecessor. His flight preserved

* See Vol. I. p. 449, for an account of this festival.

* *Noon* or *looa* 'salt,' and *dabna*, 'to dip, bespatter, or sprinkle.'



him from captivity in the dungeons of Amber, but his estates, as well as those of the minister his brother, were resumed, and all their property was confiscated.

The new commander, who was a tailor by caste, was ordered to follow the Huldias to the last extremity; for, in these regions, displaced ministers and rebels are identical. It was expected, if they did not lose their heads, to see them in opposition to the orders of their sovereign lord, whose slaves they had so lately proclaimed themselves; in fact, a rebel minister in Rajwarra, is like an ex-Tory or ex-Whig elsewhere, nor does restoration to the councils of his sovereign, perhaps in a few short months after he carried arms against him, plundered his subjects, and carried conflagration in his towns, excite more than transient emotion. The new commander was eager to obtain the services of the assembled Shekhawuts against the Huldias, but experience had given them wisdom; and they not only exacted stipulations befitting their position, as the price of this aid, but, what was of more consequence, negotiated the conditions of their future-connexion with the lord-paramount.

The *first* article was the immediate restoration of the townships which the Huldias had seized upon, as Tooe, Gwala, &c.

The *second*, that the court should disavow all pretensions to exact tribute beyond what they had voluntarily stipulated, and which they would remit to the capital.

Third, that on no account should the armies of the court enter the lands of the confederation, the consequences of which had been so strongly marked in the atrocities at Khundaila.

Fourth, that the confederacy would furnish a contingent for the service of the court, which should be paid by the court while so employed.

The treaty being ratified through the intervention of the new commander, and having received in advance 10,000 rupees for their expenses, the chief with their retainers repaired to the capital, and after paying homage to their liege lord, zealously set to work to execute its orders on the Huldias faction, who were dispossessed of their estates. But, as observed in the annals of the parent state, Jeipoor had obtained the distinction of the *jhoota durbar*, or 'lying court,' of the justness of which epithet it afforded an illustration in its conduct to the confederated chieftains, who soon discovered the difference between promises and performance. They had done their duty, but they obtained not one of the advantages for which they agreed to serve the court; and they had the mortification to see they had merely displaced the garrisons of the Huldias for those of Rora Ram. After a short consultation, they determined to seek themselves the justice that was denied them; accordingly, they assaulted in succession the towns occupied by Rora Ram's myrmidons, drove them out, and made them over to their original proprietors.

At the same time, the court having demanded the usual tribute from Nursing Das, which was always in arrear, he had the imprudence to stone the agent, who was a relation of the minister. He hastened to the Presence, "threw his turban at the Raja's feet," saying, he was dishonoured for ever. A mandate was instantaneously

issued for the sequestration of Khundaila and the capture of Nursing, who bade his liege lord defiance from his castle of Govindgurh: but his co-partner, Pertap Sing, having no just cause of apprehension, remained in Khundaila, which was environed by the Jeipoor troops under Assaram. His security was his ruin; but the wily Banyan (Assaram), who wished to seize at once the joint holders of the estate, offered no molestation to Pertap, while he laid a plot for the other. He invited his return, on the *buchun*, or 'pledge of safety,' of the Munohurpoor chief. Nursing did not hesitate, for rank as was the character of his countrymen in these degenerate days, no Rajpoot had ever incurred the epithet of *Buchunchook*, tenfold more odious than that of murderer, and which no future action, however brilliant, could obliterate, even from his descendants to the latest posterity. On the faith of this *buchun*, Nursing came, and a mock negotiation was carried on for the arrears for tribute, and a time fixed for payment. Nursing returned to Khundaila, and Assaram broke up his camp and moved away. The crafty Banyan, having thus successfully thrown him off his guard, on the third day rapidly retraced his steps, and at midnight surrounded Nursing in his abode, who was ordered to proceed forthwith to the camp.

Burning with indignation, he attempted self-destruction but was withheld; and accompanied by a few Rajpoots who swore to protect or die with him, he joined Assaram to see the issue.

A simple plan was adopted to secure Pertap, and he fearlessly obeyed the summons. Both parties remained in camp; the one was amused with a negotiation for his liberation on the payment of a fine; the other had higher hopes; and in the indulgence of both their vassals relaxed in vigilance. While they were at dinner, a party planted in ambuscade rushed out, and before they could seize their arms, made captive both the chiefs. They were pinioned like felons, put into a covered carriage, despatched under the guard of five hundred men to the capital, and found apartments ready for them in the state-prison of Amber. It is an axiom with these people, that the end sanctifies the means; and the prince and his minister congratulated each other on the complete success of the scheme. Khundaila was declared *khalisa* (fiscal), and garrisoned by five hundred men from the camp, while the inferior feudatories, holding estates detached from the capital, were received on terms, and even allowed to hold their fiefs on the promise that they did not disturb the sequestered lands.

CHAPTER VII.

Bagh Sing opposes the faithless court of Amber.—He is joined by the celebrated George Thomas.—Desperate action.—Bagh Sing placed in the fortified palace at Khundaila.—His garrison, with his brother, slain by Humunt Sing, son of Pertap.—Bagh regains the palace.—The lands of Khundaila farmed by Amber to two Brahmins.—They are expelled by the feudatory Barwuttias, who resist the court.—They become a banditti. Singram Sing, cousin to Pertap, their leader.—He avoids the treachery of the court.—His death.—The confederacy unite in the league against Jodpoor.—New treaty with the Amber court.—Liberation of Pertap and Nursing.—Grand union of the Shekhawuts.—Abhe Sing succeeds in Khundaila.—Treachery of the court.—Humunt regains Govindgurh, Khundaila, &c.—Restoration of Khooshialiram to the ministry of Jeipoor.—New investitures granted to the feudatories of Khundaila.—Abhe and Pertap inducted into their ancestral abodes.—Incident illustrative of the defects of the Rajpoot feudal system.—Khundaila assailed by Luchman Sing, chief of Seekur.—Gallant defence of Humunt.—His death.—Surrender of Khundaila to Luchman Sing.—The co-heirs exiled.—Power and influence of Luchman Sing.—Foils the designs of the Purohit.—Present attitude of Luchman Sing.—Subordinate branches of the Shekhawuts.—The Sadhanis.—Their territories wrested from the Kaimkhanis and Rajpoots.—The Keytri branch of the family of Sadhoo attains superiority.—Bagh Sing of Keytri murders his own son.—The Larkhanis.—Revenues of Shekhavati.

DEENARAM BOHRA was now (A.D. 1793-9) prime minister of Jeipoor, and he no sooner heard of the success of Assaram, than he proceeded to join him in person, for the purpose of collecting the tribute due by the Sadhani chief. Having formed a junction with Assaram at Oodipoor, they marched to Pursarampoor, a town in the heart of the Sadhanis, whence they issued commands for the tribute to be brought ; to expedite

which, the ministers sent *dhoos** to all the townships of the confederacy. This insulting process irritated the Sadhanis to such a degree that they wrote to Deenaram to withdraw his parties instantly, and retrace

* *Dhoos* is an expedient to hasten the compliance of a demand from a dependent. A party of horse proceeds to the township, and are commanded to receive so much per day till the exaction is complied with. If the *dhoos* is refused, it is considered tantamount to an appeal to arms.

his steps to Jhoonjoonoo, or abide the consequences; declaring, if he did so, that the collective tribute, of which ten thousand was then ready, would be forthcoming. All had assented to this arrangement but Bagh Sing, brother of the captive prince of Khundaila, who was so incensed at the faithless conduct of the court, after the great service they had so recently performed, that he determined to oppose by force of arms this infraction of their charter, which declared the inviolability of the territory of the confederation so long as the tribute was paid. He was joined by five hundred men of Keytri, with which having levied contributions at Singhana and Futtehpoor from the traitorous lord of Seekur, he invited to their aid the celebrated George Thomas, then carving out his fortunes amongst these discordant political elements. Nearly the hole of the Jeipoor mercenary and feudal army was embodied on this occasion, and although far superior in numbers to the confederation, yet the presence of Thomas and his regulars more than counterpoised their numerical inferiority. The attack of Thomas was irresistible; the Jeipoor lines led by Rora Ram gave way, and lost several pieces of artillery. To redeem what the cowardice and ill conduct of the general in chief had lost, the chieftain of Chomoo formed a *gole* or dense band of the feudal chivalry, which he led in person against Thomas's brigade, charging to the mouths of his guns. His object, the recovery of the guns, was attained with great slaughter on each side. The Chomoo chief (Runjeet Sing) was desperately wounded, and Buhadoor Sing, Pahar Sing, chiefs

of the Khangarote clans, with many others, were slain by discharges of grape; the guns were retrieved, and Thomas and his auxiliaries were deprived of a victory and ultimately compelled to retreat.*

The captive chiefs of Khundaila deemed this revolt and union of their countrymen favourable to their emancipation, and addressed them to this effect. A communication was made to the discomfited Rora Ram, who promised his influence, provided an efficient body of Raesilotes joined his camp, and by their services seconded their requests. Bagh Sing was selected; a man held in high esteem by both parties, and even the court manager of Khundaila found it necessary to retain his services, as it was by his influence only over his unruly brethren that he was enabled to make any thing of the new fiscal lands. For this purpose, and to preserve the point of honour, the manager permitted Bagh Sing to remain in the fortified palace of Khundaila, with a small party of his brethren: but on being selected to lead the quotas of his countrymen with the court commander, he left his younger brother, Luchman Sing, as his deputy.

No sooner did it reach the ears of Hunwunt Sing of Sillede, son of the captive Pertap, that Bagh Sing had joined the army, than in the true spirit of these relentless feuds, he determined to attempt the castle. As soon as the darkness of night favoured his design he hastened its accomplishment, escalated it, and put the un-

* Franklin in his life of George Thomas, describes this battle circumstantially; but makes it appear an affair of the Jeipoor court, with Thomas and the Mahrattas, in which the Shekhawuts are not mentioned. Thomas gives the Rajpoot chivalry full praise for their gallant bearing.—Memoir of George Thomas, p. 109.

prepared garrison to the sword. Intelligence of this event reached Bagh Sing at Ranolli, who instantly countermarched, and commenced the assault, into which even the towns people entered heartily, inspired as they were with indignation at the atrocious murder of the young chief. The day was extremely hot; the defendants fought for their existence, for their leader could not hope for mercy. The assailants were served with the best food; such was the enthusiasm, that even the women forgot their fears, and cheered them on as the ladders were planted against the last point of defence. Then the white flag was displayed, and the gate opened, but the murderer had fled.

Manji Das succeeded Deenaram as minister of Jeipoor; and Rora Ram, notwithstanding his disgraceful defeat and the lampoons of the bards, continued to be collector of the Shekhawut tribute, and farmed the fiscal lands of Khundaila to a Brahmin for twenty thousand rupees annually. This Brahmin, in conjunction with another speculative brother, had taken a lease of the *Mapa Rahdari*, or town and transit duties at Jeipoor, which having been profitable, they now agreed to take on lease the sequestered lands of Khundaila. Having not only fulfilled their contract the first year, but put money in their pocket, they renewed it for two more. Aided by a party of the *Sillehposhians* of the court, the minister of religion shewed he was no messenger of peace, and determined to make the most of his ephemeral power, he not only levied contributions on the yet independent feudatories, but attacked those who resisted, and carried several of their castles sword in

hand. The brave "sons of Raesil" could not bear this new mark of contumely and bad faith of the court,—“to be made the sport of a tailor and a Brahmin,”—and having received intimation from the captive chiefs that there was no hope of their liberty, they at once threw away the scabbard, and commenced a scene of indiscriminate vengeance, which the Rajpoot often has recourse to when urged to despair. They at once assailed Khundaila, and in spite of the resistance of seven thousand *Dadoopuntis*, dispossessed the Purohit, and sacked it. Then advancing within the Jeipoor domains, they spread terror and destruction, pillaging even the estates of the queen. Fresh troops were sent against them, and after many actions the confederacy was broken up. The Ranolli chief and others of the elder branches made their peace, but the younger branches fled the country, and obtained *sirna* (sanctuary) and subsistence in Marwar and Bikaner: Singram Sing of Soojawas (cousin to Pertap) sought the former, Bagh Sing and Sooruj Sing the latter, whose prince gave them lands. There they abode in tranquility for a time, looking to that justice from the prince which tributary collectors knew not; but when apathy and neglect mistook the motive of this patient suffering, he was roused from his indifference to the fate of the brave *Barvutteas*, by the tramp of their horses' feet even at the gates of his capital.

Singram Sing headed the band of exiles, which spread fear and desolation over a great portion of Dhoondar. In many districts they established *rekwalli*;^{*} and

* The *salvamenta*, or black-mail of our own feudal system.

being killed and the rest turned out. The well-known beat of the Raesilote *nakarras* awoke the Larkhanis, Neenas, and all the Rajpoots in the vicinity, who immediately repaired to the castle. In a few weeks the gallant Hunwunt was at the head of two thousand men, prepared to act offensively against his faithless liege lord. Khundaila and all the adjacent towns surrendered, their garrisons flying before the victors, and Khoshial Daroga, a name of note in all the intrigues of the *darbar* of that day, carried to court the tidings of his own disgrace, which, his enemies took care to proclaim, arose from his cupidity: for though he drew pay and rations for a garrison of one hundred men, he only had thirty. Accompanied by Ruttan Chund, with two battalions and guns, and the reproaches of his sovereign, he was commanded at his peril to recover Khundaila. The gallant Hunwunt disdained to await the attack, but advanced outside the city to meet it, drove Khoshial back, and had he not in the very moment of victory been wounded, while the Larkhanis hung behind, would have totally routed them. Hunwunt was compelled to retreat within the walls, where he stood two assaults, in one of which he slew thirty *Sillehposh*, or men in armour, the body-guard of the prince; but the only water of the garrison being from *tankas* (reservoirs), he was on the point of surrendering at discretion, when an offer of five townships being made, he accepted the towns.

Another change took place in the ministry of Amber at this period; and Khooshialiram, at the age of fourscore and four years,

was liberated from the state-prison of Amber, and once more entrusted with the administration of the government. This hoaryheaded politician, who, during more than half a century, had alternately met the frowns and the smiles of his prince, at this the extreme verge of existence, entered with all the alacrity of youth into the tortuous intrigues of office, after witnessing the removal of two prime ministers, his rivals, who resigned power and life together. Khooshialiram had remained incarcerated since the reign of Raja Pertap, who, when dying, left three injunctions; the first of which was that the Bohra (his caste) should never be enfranchised; but if in evil hour his successor should be induced to liberate him "he should be placed uncontrolled at the head of affairs."*

When this veteran politician, whose biography would fill a volume,† succeeded to the helm at Jeipoor, a solemn deputation of the principal Shekhawut chieftains repaired to the capital, and begged that through his intercession they might be restored to the lands of their forefathers. The Bohra, who had always kept up, as well from

* The second injunction was to keep the office of Foujdar, or commander of the forces, in the family of Simboo Sing, Googawut, a tribe always noted for their fidelity, and like the Mairteas of Marwar, even a blind fidelity, to the *gadi*, whoever was the occupant. The third injunction is left blank in my manuscript.

† His first act, after his emancipation from the dungeons of Amber, was the delicate negotiation at Dhonee, the castle of Chand Sing, Googawut. He died at Busswah, 22nd April 1812, on his return from Macheri to Jeipoor, where he had been unsuccessfully attempting a reconciliation between the courts. It will not be forgotten that the independence of the *Narocca* chief in Macheri had been mainly achieved by the Bohra, who was originally the *homme d'affaires* of the traitorous Narocca.



sound principle as from personal feeling, a good understanding with the feudality, willingly became their advocate with his sovereign, to whom he represented that the defence of the state lay in a willing and contented vassalage: for, notwithstanding their disobedience and turbulence, they were always ready, when the general weal was threatened, to support it with all their power. He appealed to the late expedition, when ten thousand of the children of Shekhji were embodied in his cause, and what was a better argument, he observed, the Mahrattas had only been able to prevail since their dissensions amongst themselves. The Bohra was commanded to follow his own good will and pleasure; and having exacted an engagement, by which the future tribute of the Raesilotes was fixed at sixty thousand rupees annually, and the immediate payment of a *muzzerana* of forty thousand, fresh *puttas* of investiture were made out for Khundaila and its dependencies. There are so many conflicting interests in all these courts, that it by no means follows that obedience runs on the heels of command; even though the orders of the prince were countersigned by the minister, the *Nagas*, who formed the garrison of Khundaila, and the inferior fiefs, showed no disposition to comply. The gallant Hunwunt, justly suspecting the Bohra's good faith, proposed to the joint rajas a *coup de main*, which he volunteered to lead. They had five hundred retainers amongst them; of these Hunwunt selected twenty of the most intrepid, and repaired to Oodigurh, to which he gained admission as a messenger from himself; twenty more

were at his heels, who also got in, and the rest rapidly following, took post at the gateway. Hunwunt then disclosed himself, and presented the fresh *putta* of Khundaila to the *Nagas*, who still hesitating to obey, he drew his sword, when seeing that he was determined to succeed or perish, they reluctantly withdrew, and Abhe and Pertap were once more inducted into the dilapidated abodes of their ancestors. The adversity they had undergone, added to their youth and inexperience, made them both yield a ready acquiescence to the advice of their kinsman, to whose valour and conduct they owed the restoration of their inheritance, and the ancient feuds, which were marked on every stone of their castellated *mahls*, were apparently appeased.

Shortly after this restoration, the Shekhawut contingents were called out to serve against the common enemy of Rajpootana, the notorious Meer Khan, whose general, Mahomed Shah Khan, was closely blockaded in the fortress of Bhongurh, near tonk, by the whole strength of Jeipoor, commanded by Rao Chand Sing of Dhoonee. An incident occurred, while the siege was approaching a successful conclusion, which well exemplifies the incorrigible imperfections of the feudal system, either for offensive or defensive operations. This incident, trivial as it is in its origin, proved a deathblow to these unfortunate princes, so long the sport of injustice, and appears destined to falsify the *dham*, who prophecied, on the acceptance of his self-sacrifice, that seven successive generations of his issue should occupy the *gadi* of Khundaila. In the disorderly proceedings of this feudal array, composed of

all the quotas of Amber, a body of Shekhawats had sacked one of the townships of Tonk, in which a Googawut inhabitant was slain, and his property plundered, in the indiscriminate pell-mell. The son of the Googawut instantly carried his complaints to the besieging general, Chand Sing, the head of his clan, who gave him a party of the *Shillehposh* (men in armour) to recover his property. The Shekhawuts resisted, and reinforced their party; Chand Sing did the same; the Khundaila chiefs repaired in person, accompanied by the whole confederacy, with the exception of Seekur; and the Googawut chief, who had not only the ties of clanship, but the dignity of commander-in-chief, to sustain, sent every man he could spare from the blockade. Thus nearly the whole feudal array of Amber was collected round a few *hakeries* (carts), ready to cut each other to pieces for the *point of honour*: neither would relinquish the claim, and swords were already drawn, when the Khangarote chief stepped between them as peace-maker, and proposed an expedient which saved the honour of both, namely that the plundered property should be permitted to proceed to its destination, the Khundaila prince's quarters, who should transmit it, "*of his own accord*," to the commander-in-chief of the army. The Shekhawuts assented; the havoc was prevented; but the pride of Chand Sing was hurt, who saw in this a concession to the commander of the army, but none to the leader of the Googawuts.

Lachman Sing, the chief of Seekur, who, as before stated, was the only Shekhawut who kept aloof from the affray, saw the moment was arrived for the accomplishment

of his long-concealed desire to be lord of Khundaila. The siege of Bhomguruh being broken up, in consequence of these dissensions and the defection of the confederated Shekhawuts, the Seekur chief no sooner saw them move by the circuitous route of the capital, than he marched directly for his estates, and throwing aside all disguise, attacked Seessoh, which by an infamous stratagem he secured, by inveigling the commandant, the son of the late Bohra minister. Then making overtures to the enemy, against whom he had just been fighting, for the sum of *two lakhs* of rupees, he obtained a brigade of the mercenary Pathans, under their leaders Munnoo and Mahtab Khan, the last of whom, but a few days before, had entered into a solemn engagement with Hunwunt, as manager for the minor princes, to support whose cause, and to abstain from molesting their estates, he had received fifty thousand rupees! Such nefarious acts were too common at that period even to occasion remark, far less reprehension.

The gallant Hunwunt now prepared for the defence of the lands which his valour had redeemed. His foeman made a lavish application of the wealth, which his selfish policy had acquired, and Rewasso and other fiefs were soon in his possession. The town of Khundaila, being open, soon followed, but the castle held out sufficiently long to enable him to strengthen and provision Kote, which he determined to defend to the last. Having withstood the attacks of the enemy, during three weeks, in the almost ruined castle, he sallied out sword in hand, and gained Kote, where he assembled all

those yet faithful to the family, and determined to stand or fall with the last stronghold of Khundaila. The other chiefs of the confederation beheld with indignation this unprovoked and avaricious aggression on the minor princes of Khundaila, not only because of its abstract injustice, but of the undue aggrandizement of this inferior branch of the Raesilotes, and the means employed, namely, the common enemy of their country. Many leagued for its prevention, but some were bribed by the offer of a part of the domain, and those who were too virtuous to be corrupted, found their intentions defeated by the necessity of defending their own homes against the detachments of Meer Khan, sent by desire of Seekur to neutralize their efforts. The court was steeled against all remonstrance, from the unhappy rupture at Bhongurh, the blockade of which, it was represented, was broken by the conduct of the followers of Khundaila.

Hunwunt and some hundreds of his brave clansmen were thus left to their own resources. During three months, they defended themselves in a position outside the castle, when a general assault was made on his intrenchments. He was advised to retreat into the castle, but he nobly replied, "Khundaila is gone for ever, if we are reduced to shelter ourselves behind walls;" and he called upon his brethren to repel the attack or perish. Hunwunt cheered on his kinsmen, who charged the battalions sword in hand, drove them from their guns, and completely cleared the intrenchments. But the enemy returned to the conflict, which lasted from morn until nightfall.

Another sortie was made; again the enemy was ignominiously dislodged, but the gallant Hunwunt, leading his men to the very muzzle of the guns, received a shot which ended his career. The victory remained with the besieged, but the death of their leader disconcerted his clansmen, who retired within the fort. Five hundred of the mercenary Pathans and men of Seekur (a number equal to the whole of the defenders), accompanied to the shades of the last intrepid Raesilote of Khundaila.

The next morning, an armistice for the removal of the wounded and obsequies of the dead was agreed to, during which terms were offered, and refused by the garrison. As soon as the death of Hunwunt was known, the Oodipoor chief, who from the first had upheld the cause of justice, sent additional aid both in men and supplies; and had the Keytri chief been at his estates, the cause would have been further supported; but he was at court, and had left orders with his son to act according to the advice of the chief of Bussao, who had been gained over to the interests of Seekur by the bribe of participation in the conquered lands. Nevertheless, the garrison held out, under every privation, for five weeks longer, their only sustenance at length being a little Indian corn introduced by the exertions of individual *Meenas*. At this extremity, an offer being made of ten townships, they surrendered. Pertap Sing took his share of this remnant of his patrimony, but his co-heir Abhe Sing inherited too much of Raesil's spirit to degrade himself by owing aught to his criminal vassal and kinsman. It would have been well for Pertap had he shewn the

same spirit; for Luchman Sing, now lord of Khundaila, felt too acutely the injustice of his success, to allow the rightful heir to remain upon his patrimony; and he only allowed sufficient time to elapse for the consolidation of his acquisition, before he expelled the young prince. Both the co-heirs, Abhe Sing and Pertap, now reside at Jhoonjoonoo, where each receives five rupees a day, from a joint purse made for them by the Sadhanis, nor at present* is there a ray of hope of their restoration to Khundaila.

In 1814, when Misr Sheonarain, then minister of Jeipoor, was involved in great pecuniary difficulties, to get rid of the importunities of Meer Khan, he cast his eyes towards the Seekur chief, who had long been desirous to have his usurpation sanctioned by the court; and it was stipulated that on the payment of nine lakhs of rupees (*viz.* five from himself, with the authority and force of Jeipoor to raise the rest from the Sadhanis), he should receive the *putta* of investiture of Khundaila. Meer Khan the mutual agent on this occasion, was then at Ranolli, where Luchman Sing met him and paid the amount, receiving his receipt, which was exchanged for the grant under the great seal.

Immediately after, Luchman Sing proceeded to court, and upon the further payment of one year's tribute in advance, henceforth fixed at fifty-seven thousand rupees, he received from the hands of his liege-lord, the Raja Juggut Sing, the *khelat* of investiture. Thus, by the ambition of Seekur, the cupidity of the court, and the jealousies and avarice of the Sadhanis, the birth-

right of the lineal heirs of Raesil was alienated.

Luchman Sing, by his talents and wealth, soon established his influence at the court of his sovereign; but the jealousy which this excited in the Purohit minister of the day very nearly lost him his dearly-bought acquisition. It will be recollected that a Brahmin obtained the lease of the lands of Khundaila, and that for his extortions he was expelled with disgrace. He proceeded, however, in his career of ambition; subverted the influence of his patron Sheonarain Misr, forcing him to commit suicide, ruined the prospects of his son, and by successful and daring intrigue established himself in the ministerial chair of Amber. The influence of Luchman Sing, who was consulted on all occasions, gave him umbrage, and he determined to get rid of him. To drive him into opposition to his sovereign was his aim, and to effect this there was no better method than to sanction an attack upon Khundaila. The Sadhanis, whose avarice and jealousies made them overlook their true interests, readily united to the troops of the court, and Khundaila was besieged. Luchman Sing, on this occasion, shewed he was no common character. He tranquilly abided the issue at Jeipoor, thus neutralizing the malignity of the Purohit, while, to ensure the safety of Khundaila, a timely supply of money to the partizan, Jumsheed Khan, brought his battalions to threaten the Purohit in his camp. Completely foiled by the superior tact of Luchman Sing, the Brahmin was compelled to abandon the undertaking and to return to the capital, where his anger made

* This was written in 1813-14.

him throw aside the mask, and attempt to secure the person of his enemy. The Seekur chief had a narrow escape; he fled with fifty horse, hotly pursued by his adversary, while his effects, and those of his partizans (amongst whom was the Samote chief) were confiscated. The Sadhanis, led by the chiefs of Keytri and Bussao, even after the Purohit had left them, made a bold attempt to capture Khundaila, which was defeated, and young Abhe Sing, who was made a puppet on the occasion, witnessed the last defeat of his hopes.

If necessity or expediency could palliate or justify such nefarious acts, it would be shewn in the good consequences that have resulted from evil. The discord and bloodshed produced by the partition of authority between the sons of Bahadoor Sing are now at an end. Luchman Sing is the sole tyrant in Khundaila, and so long as the system which he has established is maintained, he may laugh at the efforts, not only of the Sadhanis, but of the court itself, to supplant him.

Let us, in a few words, trace the family of Luchman Sing. It will be recollected that Raesil, the first Raja amongst the sons of Shekhji, had seven sons, the fourth of whom, Tirmul (who obtained the title of Rao), held Kasulli and its eighty-four townships in appanage. His son, Hurree Sing, wrested the district of Bilara, with its one hundred and twenty-five townships, from the Kaimkhanis of Futtehpoor, and shortly after, twenty-five more from Rewasso. Seo Sing, the son of Hurree captured Futtehpoor itself, the chief abode of the Kaimkhanis, where he established himself. His son,

Chand Sing, founded Seekur, whose lineal descendant, Devi Sing, adopted Luchman Sing, son of his near kinsman, the Shahpoora *thakoor*. The estates of Seekur were in admirable order when Luchman succeeded to his uncle, whose policy was of the exterminating sort. Luchman improved upon it; and long before he acquired Khundaila, had demolished all the castles of his inferior feudatories, not even sparing that of Shahpoora, the place of his nativity, as well as Bilara, Buthotie, and Kasulli; and so completely did he allow the ties of adoption to supersede those of blood, that his own father preferred exile, to living under a son who, covered with "the turban of Seekur," forgot the author of his life, and retired to Jodpoor.

Luchman Sing has now a compact and improving country, containing five-hundred towns and villages, yielding a revenue of eight lakhs of rupees. Desirous of transmitting his name to posterity, he erected the castle of Luchmangurh,* and has fortified many other strongholds, for the defence of which he has formed a little army which, in these regions, merits the title of regulars, consisting of eight battalions of *alligole*, armed with matchlocks, with a brigade of guns to each battalion. He has besides an efficient cavalry, consisting of one-thousand horse, half of which are *bargeers*, or stipendiary; the other half *jagheerdars*, having

* Luchmangurh, or "the castle of Luchman," situated upon a lofty mountain, was erected in S. 1862, or A.D. 1806, though probably on the ruins of some more ancient fortress. It commands a most extensive prospect, and is quite a beacon in that country, studded with hill-castles. The town is built on the model of Jeipoor, with regular streets intersecting each other at right angles, in which there are many wealthy merchants, who enjoy perfect security.

lands assigned for their support. With such means, and with his ambition, there is very little doubt that, had not the alliance of his liege lord of Amber with the English government put a stop to the predatory system, he would, by means of the same worthy allies by whose aid he obtained Khundaila,* before this time have made himself supreme in Shekhvati.

Having thus brought to a conclusion the history of the princes of Khundaila, we shall give a brief account of the other branches of the Shekhawuts, especially the most powerful, the Sadhani.

The Sadhanis are descended from Bhojraj, the third son of Raesil, and in the division of fiefs amongst his seven sons, obtained Oodipoor and its dependencies. Bhojraj had a numerous issue, styled Bhojani, who arrogated their full share of importance in the infancy of the confederacy, and in process of time, from some circumstance not related, perhaps the mere advantage of locality, their chief city became the *rendezvous* for the great council of the federation, which is still in the defile of Oodipoor.†

Several generations subsequent to Bhojraj, Jugram succeeded to the lands of Oodipoor. He had six sons, the eldest of whom, Sadhoo, quarrelled with his father, on some ceremonial connected with the celebration of the military festival, the *dosserah*‡ and quitting

the paternal roof, sought for his fortunes abroad. At this time, almost all the tract now inhabited by the Sadhanis was dependent on Futtehpoor (Jhoonjoonoo), the residence of a Nawab of the Kaimkhani tribe of Afghans, who held it as a fief of the empire. To him Sadhoo repaired, and was received with favour, and by his talents and courage rose in consideration, until he was eventually intrusted with the entire management of affairs. There are two accounts of the mode of his ulterior advancement: both may be correct. One is, that the Nawab, having no children, adopted young Sadhoo, and assigned to him Jhoonjoonoo and its eighty-four dependencies, which he retained on the Kaimkhani's death. The other, and less favourable though equally probable account, is that, feeling his influence firmly established, he hinted to his patron, that the township of———was prepared for his future residence, where he should enjoy a sufficient pension, as he intended to retain possession of his delegated authority. So completely had he supplanted the Kaimkhani, that he found himself utterly unable to make a party against the ungrateful Shekhawut. He therefore fled from Jhoonjoonoo to Futtehpoor, the other division of his authority, or at least one of his own kin, who espoused his cause, and prepared to expel the traitor from Jhoonjoonoo. Sadhoo, in this emergency, applied to his father, requesting him to call upon his brethren, as it was a common cause. The old chief, who, in his son's success, forgave and forgot the conduct which made him leave his roof, instantly addressed another son, then serving with his liege lord, the Mirza Raja Jey Sing,

* Khundaila is said to have derived its name from the *Khokur* Rajpoot. The *Khokur* is often mentioned in the Bhatti Annals, whom I have supposed to be the Ghuker, who were certainly Indo-Scythic. Khundaila has four thousand houses, and eighty villages dependent on it.

† The ancient name of Oodipoor is said to be Kaes; it contains three thousand houses, and has forty-five villages attached to it, divided into four portions.

‡ See Vol. I p. 438.



in the imperial army, to obtain succour for him; and some regular troops with guns were immediately despatched to reinforce young Sadhoo and maintain his usurpation, which was accomplished, and moreover Futtehpoor was added to Jhoonjoonoo. Sadhoo bestowed the former with its dependencies, equal in value to his own share, on his brother, for his timely aid, and both, according to previous stipulation, agreed to acknowledge their obligations to the Raja by an annual tribute and *nuzzerana* on all lapses, as lord paramount. Sadhoo soon after wrested Singhana, containing one hundred and twenty-five villages, from another branch of the Kaimkhanis; Sooltano, with its *chourasi* or divisions of eighty-four townships from the Gor Rajpoots; and Keytri and its dependencies from the Tuars, the descendants of the ancient emperors of Dehli: so that, in process of time, he possessed himself of a territory comprising more than one thousand towns and villages. Shortly before his death, he divided the conquered lands amongst his five sons, whose descendants, adopting his name as the patronymic, are called Sadhani; viz. Zoorawur Sing, Kishen Sing, Nowul Sing, Kesuri Sing, and Pahar Sing.

Zoorawur Sing, besides the paternal and original estates, had, in virtue of primogeniture, the town of Chokeri and its twelve subordinate villages, with all the other emblems of state, as the elephants, palkees, &c.; and although the cupidity of the Keytri chief, the descendant of the second son, Kishen, has wrested the patrimony from the elder branch, who has now only Chokeri, yet the distinctions of birth are

never lost in those of fortune, and the petty chief of Chokeri, with its twelve small townships, is looked upon as the superior of Abhe Sing, though the lord of five hundred villages.

The descendants of the other four sons, now the most distinguished of the Sadhanis, are,*

Abhe Sing of Keytri;
Shiam Sing of Bussao;
Gyan Sing of Nowulgurh;†
Shere Sing of Sooltano.

Besides the patrimonies assigned to the five sons of Sadhoo, he left the districts of Singhana, Jhoonjoonoo, and Soorujgurh (the ancient Oreecha), to be held in joint heirship by the junior members of his stock. The first, with its one hundred and twenty-five villages, has been usurped by Abhe Sing of Keytri, but the others still continue to be frittered away in sub-infeudations among this numerous and ever-spreading *frerage*.

Abhe Sing has assumed the same importance amongst the Sadhanis, that Luchman Sing has amongst the Raesilotes, and both by the same means, crime, and usurpation. The Seekur chief has despoiled his senior branch of Khundaila; and the Keytri chief has not only despoiled the senior, but also the junior, of the five branches of Sadhoo. The transaction which produced the last result, whereby the descendant of Shere Sing lost Sooltano, is so peculiarly atrocious,

* It must be borne in mind that this was written in 1814.

† Nowulgurh contains four thousand houses, environed by a *seherpunna*. It is on a more ancient site called Roleani, whose old castle in ruins is to the south-east, and the new one midway between it and the town, built by Nowul Sing in S. 1802, or A.D. 1746.

that it is worth relating, as a proof to what lengths the Rajpoot will go "to get land."

Pahar Sing had an only son, named Bhopal, who being killed in an attempt on Loharoo, he adopted the younger son of his nephew, Bagh Sing of Keytri. On the death of his adopted father, the Sooltano chief, being too young to undertake the management of his fief in person, remained under the paternal roof. It would appear as if this alienation of political rights could also alienate affection and rupture all the ties of kindred, for his unnatural father embued his hands in the blood of his own child, and annexed Sooltano to Keytri. But the monster grievously suffered for the deed; he became the scorn of his kinsmen, "who spit at him and threw dust on his head," until he secluded himself from the gaze of mankind. The wife of his bosom ever after refused to look upon him; she managed the estates for the surviving son, the present Abhe Sing. During twelve years that Bagh Sing survived, he never quitted his apartment in the castle of Keytri, until carried out to be burned, amidst the execrations and contempt of his kinsmen.

Larkhanis.—Having made the reader sufficiently acquainted with genealogy of the Sadhanis, as well as of the Raesilotes, we shall conclude with a brief notice of the Larkhanis, which term, translated, "the beloved lords," ill-accords with their occupation, as the most notorious marauders in Rajpootana. *Larla* is a common infantine appellation, meaning 'beloved'; but whether the adjunct of *Khan* to this son of Raesil, as well as to that of his youngest, Taj-khan (the crown of princes), was out of compli-

ment to some other Mooslem saint, we know not. Larkhan conquered his own appanage, Dantah Ramgurh, on the frontiers of Marwar, then a dependency of Sambhur. It is not unlikely that his father's influence at court secured the possession to him. Besides this district, they have the *tuppa* of Nosul, and altogether about eighty townships, including some held of the Rajas of Marwar and Bikaner, to secure their abstinence from plunder within their bounds. The Larkhanis are a community of robbers; their name, like *Pindarri* and *Kuzzak*, is held in these regions to be synonymous with 'freebooter,' and as they can muster five hundred horse, their raids are rather formidable. Sometimes their nominal liege lord calls upon them for tribute, but being in a difficult country, and Ramgurh being a place of strength, they pay little regard to the call, unless backed by some of the mercenary partizans, such as Meer Khan, who contrived to get payment of arrears of tribute to the amount of twenty thousand rupees.

Revenues.—We conclude this sketch with a rough statement of the revenues of Shekhavati, which might yield in peace and prosperity, now for the first time beginning to beam upon them, from twenty-five to thirty lakhs of rupees; but at present they fall much short of this sum, and full one-half of the lands of the confederation are held by the chiefs of Seekur and Keytri:—

Rupees,

Luchman Sing, of Seekur, including Khundaila	8,00,000
Abhe Sing, of Keytri, including Kot-Pootli, given by lord Lake	6,00,000
Total	14,00,000



	Rupees.
Brought forward ..	14,00,000
Shiam Sing of Bussao, including his brother Runjeet's share of 40,000 (whom he killed).....	1,90,000
Gyan Sing of Nowulgurh, including Mundao, each fifty villages	70,000
Luchman Sing, Mayndsir, the chief sub-infeudation of Nowulgurh	30,000
Taen and its lands, divided amongst the twenty-seven great grandsons of Zoorawur Sing, eldest son of Sadhoo	1,00,000
Oodipoor-vati.....	1,00,000
Munohurpoor*	30,000
Larkhanis	1,00,000
Hur-ramjis	40,000
Total ..	20,60,000

* The Manohurpoor chief was put to death by Raja Juggut Sing (vide Madarri Lal's Journal of A.D. 1814), and his lands were sequestrated and partitioned amongst the confederacy : the cause, his inciting the *Raktis* or *Ratis* (an epithet for the proselyte Bhatti plunderers of Bhattiana) to invade and plunder the country.

	Rupees.
Brought forward ..	20,60,000
Girdhur-potas	40,000
Smaller estates	2,00,000
Total ..	23,00,000

The tribute established by Jeipoor is as follows :—

	Rupees.
Sadhanis.....	2,00,000
Khundaila	60,000
Futtehpoor	64,000
Oodipoor and Bubhye	22,000
Kasulli	4,000
Total ..	3,50,000

Thus, supposing the revenues, as stated, at twenty-three lakhs, to be near the truth, and the tribute at three and a-half, it would be an assessment of one-seventh of the whole, which is a fair proportion, and a measure of justice which the British Government would do well to imitate.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reflections.—Statistics of Amber.—Boundaries.—Extent.—Population.—Number of townships.—Classification of inhabitants.—Soil.—Husbandry.—Products.—Revenues.—Foreign army.—The feudal levies.

WE have thus developed the origin and progress of Cuchwaha tribe, as well as its scions of Shekhavati and Macherri. To some, at least, it may be deemed no uninteresting object to trace in continuity the

issue of a fugitive individual, spreading, in the course of eight hundred years, over a region of fifteen thousand square miles; and to know that forty thousand of his flesh and blood have been marshalled in the same

field, defending, sword in hand, their country and their prince. The name of 'country' carries with it a magical power in the mind of the Rajpoot. The name of his wife or his mistress must never be mentioned at all, nor that of his country but with respect, or his sword is instantly unsheathed. Of these facts, numerous instances abound in these Annals; yet does the ignorant *purdesi* (foreigner) venture to say there are no indigenous terms either for patriotism or gratitude in this country.

Boundaries and Extent.—The boundaries of Amber and its dependencies are best seen by an inspection of the Map. Its greatest breadth lies between Sambhur, touching the Marwar frontier on the west, and the town of Surout, on the Jat frontier, east. This line is one-hundred and twenty British miles, whilst its greatest breadth from north to south, including Shekhavati, is one hundred and eighty. Its form is very irregular. We may, however, estimate the surface of parent state, Dhoondhar or Jeipoor, at nine thousand five hundred square miles, and Shekhavati at five thousand four hundred; in all, fourteen thousand nine hundred square miles.

Population.—It is difficult to determine with exactitude the amount of the population of this region; but from the best information, one hundred and fifty souls to the square mile would not be too great a proportion in Amber, and eighty in Shekhavati; giving an average of one hundred and twenty-four to the united area, which consequently contains 185,670; and when we consider the very great number of large towns in this region, it may not be above, but rather below, the truth. Dhoondhar, the parent

country, is calculated to contain four thousand townships, exclusive of *poorwas*, or hamlets, and Shekhavati about half that number, of which Luchman Sing of Seekur and Khundaila, and Abhe Sing of Keytri, have each about five hundred, or the half of the lands of the federation.

Classification of Inhabitants.—Of these population, it is still more difficult to classify its varied parts, although it may be asserted with confidence that the Rajpoots bear but a small ratio to the rest, whilst they may equal in number any individual class, except the aboriginal *Meenas*, who, strange to say, are still the most numerous. The following are the principal tribes, and the order in which they follow may be considered as indicative of their relative numbers. 1. Meenas; 2. Rajpoots; 3. Brahmins; 4. Baniyas; 5. Jats; 6. Dhakur, or Kirar (qu. *Cirata* ?); 7. Goojurs.

Meenas.—The Meenas are subdivided into no less than thirty-two distinct clans or classes, but it would extend too much the annals of this state to distinguish them. Moreover, as they belong to every state in Rajwarra, we shall find a fitter occasion to give a general account of them. The immunities and privileges preserved to the Meenas best attest the truth of the original induction of the exiled prince of Nurwar to the sovereignty of Amber; and it is a curious fact, showing that such establishment must have been owing to adoption, not conquest, that this event was commemorated on every installation by a Meena of Kalikho marking with his blood the *teeka* of sovereignty on the forehead of the prince. The blood was obtained by incision of the great toe, and



though, like many other antiquated usages, this has fallen into desuetude here (as has the same mode of inauguration of the Ranas by the Ondeva Bhils), yet both in the one case and in the other, their cannot be more convincing evidence that these now outcasts were originally the masters. The Meenas still enjoy the most confidential posts about the persons of the princes of Amber, having charge of the archives and treasure in Jeygurh; they guard his person at night, and have that most delicate of all trusts, the charge of the *rawula*, or seraglio. In the earlier stages of Cuchwaha power, these their primitive subjects had the whole insignia of state, as well as the person of the prince, committed to their trust; but presuming upon this privilege too far, when they insisted that, in leaving their bounds, he should leave these emblems, the *nakarras* and standards, with them, their pretensions were cancelled in their blood. The Meenas, Jats, and Kirars, are the principal cultivators, many of them holding large estates.

Jats.—The Jats nearly equal the Meenas in numbers, as well as in extent of possessions, and are, as usual, the most industrious of all husbandmen.

Brahmins.—Of Brahmins, following secular as well as sacred employments, there are more in Amber than in any other state, in Rajwarra; from which we are not to conclude that her princes were more religious than their neighbours, but on the contrary, that they were greater sinners.

Rajpoots.—It is calculated that, even now, on an emergency, if a national war roused the patriotism of the Cuchwaha feudality,

they could bring into the field thirty thousand of their kin and clan, or, to repeat their own emphatic phrase, "the sons of one father," which includes the Narooocas and the chiefs of the Shekhawut federation. Although the Cuchwahs, under their popular princes, as Pujoon, Raja Maun, and the Mirza Raja, have performed exploits as brilliant as any other tribes, yet they do not now enjoy the same reputation for courage as either the Rahtores or Haras. This may be in part accounted for by the demoralization consequent upon their proximity to the Mogul court, and their participation in all its inveterate vices; but still more from the degradations they have suffered from the Marhattas, and to which their western brethren have been less exposed. Every feeling, patriotic or domestic, became corrupted whenever their pernicious influence prevailed.

Soil, husbandry, products.—Dhoondhar contains every variety of soil, and the *khureef* and *rubbee*, or autumnal and spring crops, are of nearly equal importance. Of the former *bajra* predominates over *jooar*, and in the latter barley over wheat. The other grains, pulses, and vegetables, reared all over Hindusthan, are here produced in abundance, and require not to be specified. The sugar-cane used to be cultivated to a very great extent, but partly from extrinsic causes, and still more from its holding out such an allurements to the renters, the husbandman has been compelled to curtail this lucrative branch of agriculture; for although land fit for *eeke* (cane) is let at four to six rupees per beega, sixty have been exacted before it was allowed to be reaped.

Cotton of excellent quality is produced in considerable quantities in various districts, as are indigo and other dyes common to India. Neither do the implements of husbandry or their application differ from those which have been described in this and various other works sufficiently well known.

Farming System.—It is the practice in this state to farm its lands to the highest bidder; and the mode of farming is most pernicious to the interests of the estate, and the cultivating classes, both of whom it must eventually impoverish. The farmers-general are the wealthy bankers and merchants, who make their offers for entire districts; these they underlet in *tuppas*, or subdivisions, the holders of which again subdivide them into single villages, or even shares of a village. With the profits of all these persons, the expenses attending collections, quartering of *burkendases*, or armed police, are the poor *Bhomias* and Ryots saddled. Could they only know the point where exaction must stop, they would still have a stimulous to activity; but when the crops are nearly got in, and all just demands satisfied, they suddenly hear that a new renter have been installed in the district, having ousted the holder by some ten or twenty thousand rupees, and at the precise moment when the last toils of the husbandman were near completion. The renter has no remedy; he may go and "throw his turban at the door of the palace, and exclaim *dohae Raja Sahab*!" till he is weary, or marched off to the cutwal's *chabootra*, and perhaps fined or making a disturbance. Knowing, however, that there is little benefit to be derived from such a course, they

generally submit, go through the whole accounts, make over the amount of collections, and with the host of vultures in their train, who, never unprepared for such changes, have been making the most of their ephemeral power by battenning on the hard earnings of the peasantry, retire for this fresh band of harpies to pursue a like course. Nay, it is far from uncommon for three different renters to come upon the same district in one season, or even the crop of one season, for five or ten thousand rupees, annulling the existing engagement, no matter how far advanced. Such *was* the condition of this estate; and when to these evils were superadded the exactions called *dind*, or *burrar*, forced contributions to pay those armies of robbers who swept the lands, language cannot exaggerate the extent of misery. The love of country must be powerful indeed which can enchain man to a land so misgoverned, so unprotected.

Revenues.—It is always a task of difficulty to obtain any correct account of the revenues of these states, which are ever fluctuating. We have now before us several schedules, both of past and present reigns, all said to be copied from the archives, in which the name of every district, together with its rent, town and transit duties, and other sources of income, are stated; but the details would afford little satisfaction, and doubtless the resident authorities have access to the fountain head. The revenues of Dhoondhar, of every description, fiscal, feudal, and tributary, or impost, are stated, in round numbers, at one crore of rupees, or about a million of pounds sterling, which, estimating the difference of the price of labour, may be

deemed equivalent to four times that sum in England. Since this estimate was made, there have been great alienations of territory, and no less than sixteen rich districts have been wrested from Amber by the Mahrattas, or her own rebel son, the Naroocha chief of Macherri.

The following is the schedule of alienations :—

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Kamah | } Taken by General Perron,
for his master Sindia ;
since rented to the Jats,
and retained by them. | |
| 2. Khori | | |
| 3. Pahari | | |
| 4. Kanti..... | } Seized by the
Macherri
Rao. | |
| 5. Ookrode..... | | |
| 6. Pundapun..... | | |
| 6. Gazi-ca-thana..... | | |
| 7. Rampoor (kirda)... | | |
| 8. Gaonrie..... | | |
| 9. Rinnie..... | | |
| 10. Purbainie..... | } Taken by De | |
| 11. Mozpoor Hursana | | |
| 12. Kanorh or Kanound* | } Boigne and
given to Morteza Khan, Baraitch,
confirmed in them by Lord Lake. | |
| 13. Narnol..... | | |
| 14. Kotpootlee... | Taken in the war of
1803-4, from the Mahrattas, and
given by Lord Lake to Abhe Sing
of Keytri. | |
| 15. Tonk..... | } Granted to Holcar by
Raja Madhu Sing ;
confirmed in sovereignty to Meer
Khan by Lord Hastings. | |
| 16. Rampoor | | |

It must, however, be borne in mind, that almost all these alienated districts had but for a comparatively short period formed an integral portion of Dhoondhar ; and that

* Kanorh was the fief of Ameer Sing, Khangarote, one of the twelve great lords of Amber.

the major part were portions of the imperial domains, held in *jaedad*, or 'assignment,' by the princes of this country, in their capacity of lieutenants of the emperor. In Raja Pirthwi Sing's reign, about half a century ago, the rent-roll of Amber and her tributaries was seventy-seven lakhs : and in a very minute schedule formed in S. 1858 (A.D. 1802), the last year of the reign of Raja Pertab Sing, they were estimated at seventy-nine lakhs : an ample revenue, if well administered, for every object. We shall present the chief items which form the budget of ways and means of Amber.

Schedule of the Revenues of Amber for S. 1858 (A.D. 1802-3), the year of Raja Jugut Sing's accession.

KHALSA, OR FISCAL LANDS.

	Rupees.
Managed by the Raja, or rented	20,55,000
Deori talooka, expenses of the queen's household.....	5,00,000
Sagird-pesha, servants of the household.....	3,00,000
Ministers, and civil officers	2,00,000
Jagheers for the Sillebposh, or men at arms.....	1,50,000
Jagheers to army, viz. ten battalions of infantry with cavalry	7,14,000

Total Fiscal lands... 39,19,000

Feudal lands (of Jeipoor Proper).....	17,00,000
Ooduk, or charity lands, chiefly to Brahmins....	16,00,000

Total .. 72,19,000

	Rupees.
Brought forward ...	72,19,000
Dan and Mauppa, or transit and impost duties of the country.....	1,90,000
Cucherri, of the capital, includes town-duties, fines, contributions, &c. &c.....	2,15,000
Mint	60,000
Hoondi-bharra, insurance, and dues on bills of exchange	60,000
Foujdari, or commandant of Amber (annual fine)	12,000
Foujdari, or commandant of city of Jeipoor.....	8,000
Bedaet, petty fines from the Cucherri, or hall of justice	16,000
Subzi-mandi, vegetable market.....	3,000
Total lakhs.....	77,83,000
Tribute... { Shekhavati	3,50,000
{ Rajawut and other feudatories of Jeipoor*	30,000
{ Kotrees of Harouti†	20,000
Total Tribute.....	4,00,000
Grand Total...	81,83,000

If this statement is correct, and we add thereto the Shekhawut, Rajawut, and Hara

* Burwarra, Kheerni, Sowar, Iserleh, &c. &c.
† Anterdeh, Bulwun, and Indurgurh.

tributes, the revenues fiscal, feudal, commercial, and tributary, of Amber, when Juggut Sing came to throne, would exceed eighty lakhs of rupees, half of which is *khalsa*, or appertaining to the Raja—nearly twice the personal revenue of any other prince in Rajwarra. This sum (forty lakhs) was the estimated amount liable to tribute, when the treaty was formed with the British government, and of which the raja has to pay eight lakhs annually, and *five-sixteenths* of all revenue surplus to this amount. The observant reader will not fail to be struck with the vast inequality between the estates of the defenders of the country, and these drones the Brahmins,—a point on which we have elsewhere treated :* nor can any thing more powerfully mark the utter prostration of intellect of the Cuchwaha princes, than their thus maintaining an indolent and baneful hierarchy, to fatten on the revenues which would support four thousand Cuchwaha cavaliers. With a proper application of her revenues, and princes like Raja Maun to lead a brave vassalage, they would have foiled all the efforts of the Mahrattas; but their own follies and vices have been their ruin.

Foreign army.—At the period (A.D. 1803) this schedule was formed of the revenues of Amber, she maintained a foreign army of thirteen thousand men, consisting of ten battalions of infantry with guns, a legion of four thousand *Nagas*, a corps of alligoles for police duties, and one of cavalry, seven hundred strong. With these, the regular contingent of feudal levies amounting to

* See Dissertation on the religious Establishments of Mewar, Vol. I. p. 398.



about four thousand efficient horse, formed a force adequate to repel any insult; but when the *kher*, or *levée en masse*, was called out, twenty thousand men, horse and foot, were ready to back the always embodied force.

A detailed schedule of the feudal levies

Schedule of the names and appanages of the twelve sons of Raja Pirthwi Raj, whose descendants form the bara-kotri, or twelve great fiefs of Amber.

of Amber may diversify the dry details of these annals, obviate repetition, and present a perfect picture of a society of clanships. In this list we shall give precedence to the *kotribund*, the holders of the twelve great fiefs (*bara-kotri*) of Amber.

Sons of Pirthwi Raj.	Names of Families.	Names of Fiefs.	Present Chiefs.	Revenues.	Personal Quotas.
1. Chuthurbooj.	Churhurbhojote.	Pinar and Bhugroo	Bagh Sing	18,000	28
2. Kullian ..	Kullianote ..	Lotwarra ..	Gunga Sing.....	25,000	47
3. Nathoo ...	Nathawut ...	Chomoo ...	Kishen Sing	1,15,000	205
4. Balbudhur ..	Balbudhurote ..	Acherole ...	Kaim Sing	28,850	57
5. Jugmul hisson Khangar ...	Khangarote ..	Thodree ..	Pirthwi Sing	25,000	40
6. Sooltan ..	Sooltanote ..	Chandsirr ..	.....	—
7. Puchaen ..	Puchaenote ...	Sambrā ...	Sullee Sing.....	17,700	32
8.	Googawut ...	Dhooonee ...	Rao Chand Sing...	70,000	88
9. Kaem ...	Khoombani ..	Bhanskho ...	Puddum Sing	21,535	31
10. Koombho ..	Koombhawut ..	Mahar ...	Rawut Suroop Sing	27,538	45
11. Soorut ...	Sheoburrunpota.	Neendir ...	Rawut Hurree Sing	10,000	19
12. Bunbeer ..	Bunbeerpota ...	Batko ..	Suroop Sing.....	19,000	35

It will be remarked that the estates of these, the chief vassals of Amber, are, with the exception of two, far inferior in value to those of the *sixteen* great chiefs of Mewar, or the *eight* of Marwar; and a detailed list of all the inferior feudatories of each *kotree* or clan, would shew that many of them have estates greater than those of their leaders: for instance, Kishen Sing of Chomoo has upwards of a *lakh*, while Berri Sal of Samote, the head of the clan (Nathawut), has only forty thousand: again, the chief of Ballahairi holds an estate of thirty-five thousand, while that of the head of his clan

is but twenty-five thousand. The representative of the Sheoburrunpotas has an estate of only ten thousand, while the junior branch of Gooroh has thirty-six thousand. Again, the chief of the Khangarotes has but twenty-five thousand, while no less than three junior branches hold lands to double that amount; and the inferior of the Balbudhurotes holds upwards of a lakh, while his superior of Acherole has not a third of this rental. The favour of the prince, the turbulence or talents of individuals, have caused these inequalities; but, however disproportioned the gifts of fortune, the attri-

bute of honor always remains with the lineal descendant and representative of the original fief.

We shall further illustrate this subject of the feudalities of Amber by inserting a general list of the clans, with the number of subdivisions, the resources of each, and the quotas they ought to furnish. At no re-

mote period this was held to be correct, and will serve to give a good idea of the Cuchwaha aristocracy. It was my intention to have given a detailed account of the subdivisions of each fief, their names, and those of their holders, but on reflexion, though they cost some diligence to obtain, they would have little interest for the general reader.

Schedule of the Cuchwaha clans; the number of fiefs or estates in each; their aggregate and quotas of horse for each estate.

Names of Clans.					Number of Fiefs in each. Clanship or Clan.	Aggregate Revenue.	Aggregate Quotas.
12*	Chuthurbhojote	...	...	...	6	53,800	92
	Kullianote	...	...	...	19	2,45,196	422
	Nathawut	...	...	...	10	2,20,800	371
	Balbudherote	...	...	...	2	1,30,850	157
	Khangarote	...	...	...	22	4,02,806	643
	Sooltanote	...	...	...	—	—	—
	Puchaenote	...	...	...	3	24,700	45
	Googawut	...	...	...	13	1,67,900	273
	Khoombani.	...	...	...	2	23,787	35
	Koombhawut	...	...	...	6	40,738	68
	Seoburrupota	...	...	...	3	49,500	73
	Bunbeerpota	...	...	...	3	26,575	48
4†	Rajawut	...	...	...	16	1,98,137	392
	Narooa	...	...	...	6	91,069	92
	Bhankawut	...	...	...	4	34,600	53
	Parinmalote	...	...	...	1	10,000	19
10‡	Bhatti	...	...	...	4	1,04,039	205
	Chohan	...	...	...	4	30,500	61
	Birgoojur	...	...	...	6	32,000	58
	Chunderawut	...	...	...	1	14,000	21
	Sikerwar	...	...	...	2	4,500	8
	Goojurs	...	...	...	3	15,300	30
	Rangras	...	...	...	6	2,91,105	549
	Khettris	...	...	...	4	1,20,000	281
	Brahmins	...	...	...	12	3,12,000	606
	Musulman	...	...	...	9	1,41,400	274

* The first twelve are the Bara-kotris, or twelve great fiefs of Amber.

† The next four are of the Cuchwaha stock, but not reckoned amongst the *Kotribunds*.

‡ The last ten are foreign chieftains, of various tribes and classes.

No doubt great changes have taken place since this list was formed, especially amongst the mercenary *Puttants*, or *Jagheerdars*. The quotas are also irregular, though the qualification of a cavalier in this state is reckoned at five hundred rupees of income.



We shall conclude the annals of Amber with the names of a few of the ancient towns, in which research may recover something of past days.

Mora—Nine coss east of Deonsah ; built by Mordhuj, a Chohan Raja.

Abhanair—Three coss east of Lalsont ; very ancient, capital of a Chohan sovereignty.

Bhangurh—Five coss from Tholai ; the ruins of an ancient town and castle in the hills, built by the old princes of Dhoondhar, prior to the Cuchwahas.

Amurgurh—Three coss from Kooshal-

gurh ; built by the Nagvansa.

Birat—Three coss from Bussye in Macherri, attributed to the Pandus.

Patun and *Ganipoor*—Both erected by the ancient Tuar kings of Delhi.

Khurar, or *Khandar*—Near Riuthumbor.

Ootgeer—On the Chumbul.

Amber, or *Amb-Keswur*, a title of Siva, whose symbol is in the centre of a *coond* or tank in the middle of the old town. The water covers half the *lingam* ; and a prophecy prevails, that when it is entirely submerged, the state of Amber will perish ! There are inscriptions.

ANNALS OF HARAVATI.

CHAPTER I.

Haravati defined.—Fabulous origin of the Agnicula races.—Mount Abuo.—The Chohans obtain Macavati, Golconda, and the Konkan.—Found Ajmer.—Ajipal.—Manik Rae.—First Islamite invasion.—Ajmer taken.—Sambhur founded; its salt lake.—Offspring of Manik Rae.—Establishments in Rajpootana.—Contests with the Mahomedans.—Beesuldeo of Ajmer; Goga Chohan of Mehera; both slain by Mahmud.—Beesuldeo, Generalissimo of the Rajpoot nations; his period fixed; his column at Delhi; his alliances.—Origin of the Hara tribe.—Anuraj obtains Asi.—dispossessed.—Ishtpal obtains Aser.—Rao Hamir.—Rao Chund slain.—Aser taken by Alla-o-din.—Prince Rainsi escapes to Cheetore; settles at Bhynsror, in Mewar.—His son Kolun declared lord of the Pathar.

HARAVATI, or Harouti, 'the country of the Haras,' comprehends two principalities, viz. Kotah and Boondi. The Chumbul intersects the territory of the Hara race, and now serves as their boundary, although only three centuries have elapsed since the younger branch separated from and became independent of Boondi.

The Hara is the most important of the twenty-four Chohan *sacha*, being descended from Anuraj, the son of Manik Rae, king of Ajmer, who in S. 741 (A. D. 685) sustained the first shock of the Islamite arms.

We have already sketched the pedigree of the Chohans,* one of the most illustrious of the "thirty-six royal races" of India.†

* See Vol. I. p. 72.

† According to Herodotus, the Scythic *saca* enumerated eight races with the epithet of royal, and Strabo mentions one of the tribes of the Thyssagetæ as boasting the title of *Basilii*. The Rajpoots assert that in ancient times they only enumerated eight royal *sacham* or

We must, however, in this place, enter into it somewhat more fully; and in doing so, we must not discard even the fables of their origin, which will at least demonstrate that the human understanding has been similarly constructed in all ages and countries, before the thick veil of ignorance and superstition was withdrawn from it. So scanty are the remote records of the Chohans, that it would savour of affectation to attempt a division of the periods of their history, or the improbable, the probable, and the certain. Of the first two, a separation would be impracticable, and we cannot trace the latter beyond the seventh century.

branches, viz. Surya, Soma, Hya or Aswa (qu. Asi?) Nima, and the four tribes of Agnivansa, viz. Pramara, Purihara, Solanki, and Chohan.

Abulgazi states that the Tatars or Scythians were divided into six grand families. The Rajpoots have maintained these ideas, originally brought from the Oxus.

"When the impieties of the kings of the warrior race drew upon them the vengeance of Parusarama, who twenty-one times extirpated that race, some, in order to save their lives, called themselves bards; others assumed the guise of women; and thus the *singh* (horn) of the Rajpoots was preserved, when dominion was assigned to the Brahmins. The impious avarice of the Sahasra Arjuna, of the Hya race, king of Maheswar on the Nerbudda, provoked the last war, having slain the father of Parusarama.

"But as the chief weapon of the Brahmin is his curse or blessing, great disorders soon ensued from the want of the strong arm. Ignorance and infidelity spread over the land; the sacred books were trampled under foot, and mankind had no refuge from the monstrous brood.* In this exigence, Viswamitra, the instructor in arms† of Bhagwan, revolved within his own mind, and determined upon, the re-creation of the Chetries. He chose for this rite the summit of Mount Aboo,‡ where dwell the hermits and sages (*Moonis* and *Risis*) constantly occupied in the duties of religion. and who had carried their complaints even to the *lecheer samudra* (sea of curds), where they saw the Father of Creation floating upon the hydra (emblem of eternity). He desired them to regenerate the warrior race, and they returned to Mount Aboo with Indra, Bramha, Roodra, Vishnu, and all the inferior divinities, in their train. The fire-fountain

(*anul-coond*) was lustrated with the waters of the Ganges; expiatory rites were performed, and, after a protracted debate, it was resolved that Indra should initiate the work of re-creation. Having formed an image (*pootli*) of the *dhurba* grass, he sprinkled it with the water of life, and threw it into the fire-fountain. Thence, on pronouncing the *sanjivan mantra* (incantation to give life), a figure slowly emerged from the flame, bearing in the right hand a mace, and exclaiming, "*Mar! mar!*" (slay, slay). He was called Pramari; and Aboo, Dhar, and Oojein were assigned to him as a territory.

"Bramha was then entreated to frame one from his own essence (*ansa*). He made an image, threw it into the pit, whence issued a figure armed with a sword (*kharga*) in one hand, with the *veda* in the other, and a *zunoo* round his neck. He was named Chalook or Solanki, and Anhulpoor Patun was appropriated to him.

"Roodra, formed the third. The image was sprinkled with the water of the Ganges, and on the incantation being read, a black ill-favoured figure arose, armed with the *dhanoos* or bow. As his foot slipped when sent against the demons, he was called Purihar, and placed as the *poleoh*, or guardian of the gates. He had the *nonangul Marus-thali*, or 'nine habitations of the desert,' assigned him.

"The fourth was formed by Vishnu; when an image like himself, four-armed, each having a separate weapon, issued from the flames, and was thence styled Chaturbhooja Chau-han, or the 'four-armed.' The gods bestowed their blessing upon him, and

* Or, as the bard says, Dytes, Asuras, and Danoos, or demons and infidels, as they style the Indo-Seythic tribes from the north-west, who paid no respect to the Brahmins.

† Awud-gurni.

‡ My last pilgrimage was to Aboo.

Macavati-nagari as a territory. Such was the name of Gurra-Mundilla in the Dapur, or silver age.

"The Dytes were watching the rites, and two of their leaders were close to the fire-fountain; but the work of regeneration being over, the new born-warriors were sent against the infidels, when a desperate encounter ensued. But as fast as the blood of the demons was shed, young demons arose; when the four tutelary divinities, attendant on each newly-created race, drank up the blood, and thus stopped the multiplication of evil. These were

Asapurana, of the Chohan.

Gajun Mata.....Purihar.

Keonj Mata.....Solanki.

Sanchair Mata ...Pamara.

"When the Dytes were slain, shouts of joy rent the sky; ambrosial showers were shed from heaven; and the gods drove their cars (*vahan*) about the firmament, exulting at the victory thus achieved.

"Of all the thirty-six royal races (says Chund, the great bard of the Chohans), the *Agnicula* is the greatest: the rest were born of woman; these were created by the Brahmins!*—Gotr-acharya of the Chohans. Sham Veda, Somvansa, Madhooni sacha, Vacha gotra, panch purwar junoo, Laktn-cari nekas, Chandrabhaga Nadi, Brigoo

* It is by no means uncommon for this arrogant priesthood to lay claim to powers co-equal with those of the Divinity, nay often superior to them. Witness the scene in the *Ramayana*, where they make the deity a mediator, to entreat the Brahmin Vashishta to hearken to King Vishwamitra's desire for his friendship. Can any thing exceed this? Parallel it, perhaps, we may, in that memorable instance of Christian idolatry, where the Almighty is called on to intercede with St. Januarius to perform the annual miracle of liquefying the congealed blood.

neshan, Amba-ca-Bhavani, Balun Putra, Kal-Bhiroo, Aboo Achilleswar Mahadeo, Chatur-bhooja Chauhan."

The period of this grand convocation of the gods on Mount Aboo, to regenerate the warrior race of Hind, and to incite them against "the infidel races who had spread over the land," is dated so far back as the opening of the second age of the Hindus: a point which we shall not dispute. Neither shall we throw a doubt upon the chronicles which claim Prince Sehl, one of the great heroes of the *Mahabharat*, as an intermediate link between Anhul Chohan and Satpati, who founded Macavati, and conquered the Konkan; while another son, called Tuntur Pal, conquered Aser and Gowalcoond (*Golconda*), planted his garrisons in every region, and possessed nine hundred elephants to carry *puckals*, or water skins.

Let us here pause for a moment before we proceed with the chronicle, and inquire who were these warriors, thus regenerated to fight the battles of Brahminism, and brought within the pale of their faith? They must have been either the aboriginal debased classes, raised to moral importance by the ministers of the pervading religion, or foreign races who had obtained a footing amongst them. The contrasted physical appearance of the respective races will decide this question. The aborigines are dark, diminutive, and ill-favoured; the *Agniculas* are of good stature, and fair, with prominent features, like those of the parthian kings. The ideas which pervade their martial poetry are such as were held by the Scythian in distant ages, and which even Brahminism has failed to eradicate; while the

tumuli, containing ashes and arms, discovered throughout India, especially in the south about Gowalcoond, where the Chohans held sway, indicate the nomadic warrior of the north as the proselyte of Mount Aboo.

Of the four Agnicula races, the Chohans were the first who obtained extensive dominion. The almost universal power of the Pramaras is proverbial; but the wide sway possessed by the Chohans can only be discovered with difficulty. Their glory was on the wane when that of the Pramaras was in the zenith; and if we may credit the last great bard of the Rajpoots, the Chohans held *in capite* of the Pramaras of Telingana, in the eighth century of Vicrama, though the name of Pirthwiraj threw a parting ray of splendour upon the whole line of his ancestry, even to the fire-fountain on the summit of classic Aboo.

The facts to be gleaned in the early page of the chronicle are contained in a few stanzas, which proclaim the possession of paramount power, though probably of no lengthened duration. The line of the Ner-budda, from Macavati, or Macaouti, to Maheswar, was their primitive seat of sovereignty, comprehending all the tracts in its vicinity both north and south. Thence, as they multiplied, they spread over the peninsula, possessing Mandoo, Aser, Golconda, and the Konkan; while to the north, they stretched even to the fountains of the Ganges. The following is the bard's picture of the Chohan dominion:

“From ‘the seat of government,’ (*rajas-than*) Macaouti, the oath of allegiance (*an*) resounded in fifty-two castles. The land

of Tatha, Lahore, Mooltan, Peshore,* the Chohan in his might arose and conquered even to the hills of Bhadri. The infidels (*asuras*) fled, and allegiance was proclaimed in Dehli and Cabul, while the country of Nepal he bestowed on the Mallani.† Crowned with the blessing of the gods, he returned to Macaouti.”

It has already been observed, that Macaouti-Nagari was the ancient name of Gurr Mundilla, whose princes for ages continued the surname of Pal, indicative, it is recorded by tradition, of their nomadic occupation. The Aheers, who occupied all Central India, and have left in one nook (*Aheerwarra*) a memorial of their existence, was a branch of the same race, Aheer being a synonym for Pal. Bhelsa, Bhojpoor, Diep, Bhopal, Airun, Garspoor, are a few of the ancient towns established by the Pals or Palis; and could we master the still unknown characters appertaining to the early colonists of India, more light would be thrown on the history of the Chohans.‡

* The Mahomedan writers confirm this account, for in their earliest recorded invasion, in A. H. 143, the princes of Lahore and Ajmer, said to be of the same family, are the great opponents of Islam, and combated its advance in fields west of the Indus. We know beyond a doubt that Ajmer was then the chief seat of Chohan power.

† The Mallani is (or rather was) one of the Chohan Sachas, and may be the *Malli* who opposed Alexander at the confluent arms of the Indus. The tribe is extinct and was so little known even five centuries ago, that a prince of Boondi, of the Hara tribe, intermarried with a Mallani, the book of genealogical affinities not indicating her being within the prohibited canon. A more skilful bard pointed out the incestuous connection, when divorce and expiation ensued.

‡ All these towns contain remains of antiquity, especially in the district of Diep, Bhojpoor, and Bhelsa. Twenty years ago, in one of my journeys, I passed the ruins of Airun, where a superb column stands at the junction of its two streams. It is about thirty feet in

A scion from Macaouti, named Ajipal, established himself at Ajmer,* and erected its castle of Tarragurh. The name of Ajipal is one of the most conspicuous that tradition has preserved, and is always followed by the epithet of *chukwa*, or universal potentate. His era must ever remain doubtful, unless, as already observed, we master the characters said to belong to this race, and which are still extant, both on stone and on copper.† From what cause is not stated (most probably a failure of lineal issue), Pirthwi Pahar was brought from Macaouti to Ajmer. By a single wife (for polygamy was then unknown to these races), he had twenty-four sons, whose progeny peopled these regions, one of whose descendants, Manika Rae, was lord of Ajmer and Sambhur, in the year S. 741, or A. D. 685.

With the name of Manik Rae, the history of the Chohan emerges from obscurity, if not fable; and although the bard does not subsequently entertain us with much substantial information, we can trace his subject, and see his heroes fret their hour upon the uncertain stage, throughout a period of twelve hundred years. It was at this

height, and is surmounted by a human figure, having a glory round his head; a colossal bull is at the base of the column. I sent a drawing of it to Mr. Colebrooke at the time, but possess no copy.

* It is indifferently called *Aji-mer*, and *Aji-doorg*, the invincible hill (*mera*), or invincible castle (*doorg*). Tradition, however, says that the name of this renowned abode, the key of Rajpootana, is derived from the humble profession of the young Chohan, who was goat-herd: *Aja* meaning 'a goat' in Sanskrit; still referring to the original pastoral occupation of the Palis.

† I obtained at Ajmer and at Poshkur several very valuable medals, Bactrian, Indo-Scythic, and Hindu, having the ancient Pali on one side, and the effigy of a horse on the other.

era (A. D. 685), that Rajpootana was first visited by the arms of Islam, being the sixty-third year of the Hejira. Manik Rae, then prince of Ajmer, was slain by the *Asuras*, and his only child, named Lot, then an infant of seven years of age, was killed by an arrow while playing on the battlements (*kangras*). The invasion is said to have been from Sinde, in revenge for the ill-treatment of an Islamite missionary, named Roshan Ali, though the complexion of the event is more like an enterprize prompted by religious enthusiasm. The missionary being condemned to lose his thumb, "the disjointed member, flew to Mecca," and gave evidence against the Rajpoot idolator; when a force was prepared, disguised as a caravan of horse-merchants, which surprised and slew Doola Rae and his son, and obtained possession of Gurh-beetli, the citadel.

Puerile as is the transaction, its truth is substantiated by the fact, that the Caliph Omar at this very time sent an army to Sinde, whose commander, Abul Aas, was slain in an attempt on the ancient capital, Alore. Still nothing but the enthusiasm of religious frenzy could have induced a band to cross the desert in order to punish this insult to the new faith.

Whatever were the means, however, by which Ajmer was captured, and Doola Rae slain, the importance of the event has been deeply imprinted on the Chohans; who, in remembrance of it, deified the youthful heir of Ajmer: "Lot putra" is still the most conspicuous of the Chohan *penates*. The day on which he was killed is sanctified, and his effigy then receives divine honours from all who have the name of Cho-

han. Even the anklet of bells which he wore has become an object of veneration, and is forbidden to be used by the children of this race.

"Of the house of Doola Rae of Chohan race, Lot-Deo, the heir apparent, by the decree of Siva, on Monday the 12th of the month of Jeyt, went to heaven."

Manika Rae, the uncle of the youth (*putra*), (who is still the object of general homage, especially of the Chohan fair), upon the occupation of Ajmer, retired upon Sambhur, which event another couplet fixes, as we have said, in S. 741.* Here the bard has recourse to celestial interposition in order to support Manika Rae in his adversity. The goddess *Sacambhari* appears to him, while seeking shelter from the pursuit of this merciless foe, and bids him establish himself in the spot where she manifested herself, guaranteeing to him the possession of all the ground he could encompass with his horse on that day; but commanded him not to look back until he had returned to the spot where he left her. He commenced the circuit, with what he deemed his steed could accomplish, but forgetting the injunction, he was surprised to see the whole space covered as with a sheet. This was the desiccated *sirr*, or saltlake, which he named after his patroness *Sacambhari*, whose statue still exists on a small island in the lake, now corrupted to *Sambhur*.†

- * " *Samvat, sath soh ektalees*
Malut bali bes
Sambhur aya tuti surr-us
Manik Rae, Nur-es."

† An inscription on the pillar at Feroz Shah's palace at Dehli, belonging to this family, in which the word *sacambhari* occurs, gave rise to many ingenious conjectures by Sir W. Jones, Mr. Colcbrooke, and Colonel Wilford.

However *jejune* these legends of the first days of Chohan power, they suffice to mark with exactness their locality; and the importance attached to this settlement is manifested in the title of "Sambhri Rao," maintained by the Pirthwi Raj, the descendant of Manika Rae, even when emperor of all northern India.

Manika Rae, whom we may consider as the founder of the Chohans of the north, recovered Ajmer. He had a numerous progeny, who established many petty dynasties throughout Western Rajwarra, giving birth to various tribes, which are spread even to the Indus. The Kheechie,* the Hara, the Mohi, Nurbhana, Badorea, Bhowrecha, Dhunairea, and Bagrecha, are all descended from him. The Kheechies were established in the remote Do-abeh, called Sinda-Sugar, comprising all the tract between the Behut and the Sinda, a space of sixty-eight coss, whose capital was Keechpoor-Patun. The Haras obtained or founded Asi (*Hansi*) in Heriana; while another tribe held Gawalcoond, the celebrated Golconda, now Hyderabad, and when thence expelled, regained Aser. The Mohils had the tracts round Nagore.† The Bhadoreas had an appanage on the Chumbul, in a tract which bears their name, and is still subject to them. The Dhunaireas

* Called Kheech-kote by Baber.

† In the annals of Marwar it will be shewn, that the Rahtores conquered *Nagore*, or *Naga-doorg* (the 'serpent's castle'), from the Mohils, who held fourteen hundred and forty villages so late as the fifteenth century. So many of the colonies of Agniculas bestowed the name of *serpent* on their settlements, that I am convinced all were of the Tak, Takshac, or Nagvansa race from *Sacadvipa*, who, six centuries anterior to *Vicramaditya*, under their leader *Sehesnaga*, conquered India, and whose era must be the limit of Agnicula antiquity.

settled at Shahabad, which by a singular fatality has at length come into the possession of the Haras of Kotah. Another branch fixed at Nadole, but never changed the name of Chohan.*

Many chieftainships were scattered over the desert, either trusting to their lances to maintain their independence, or holding of superiors; but a notice of them, however interesting, would here, perhaps, be out of place. Eleven princes are enumerated in the *Jaega's* catalogue, from Manika Rae to Beesildeo, a name of the highest celebrity in the Rajpoot annals, and a landmark to various authorities, who otherwise have little in common even in their genealogies, which I pass over in silence, with the exception of the intermediate name of Hursraj,†

* The importance of Nadole was considerable, and is fully attested by existing inscriptions as well as by the domestic chronicle. Midway from the founder, in the eighth century, to its destruction in the twelfth, was Rao Lakhun, who in S. 1039 (A. D. 983), successfully coped with the princes of Nehrvalla.

"*Sumeah dos seh onchalees*

"*Bar ekhouta, Patun pyla pol*

"*Dan Chohan agavi*

"*Mewar Dhanni dind bhurri*

"*Tis bar Rao Lakhun thuppi*

"*Jo arumba, so kurri*"

Literally: "In S. 1039, at the farther gate of the city of Patun, the Chohan collected the commercial duties (*dan*). He took tribute from the lord of Mewar, and performed whatever he had a mind to."

Lakhun drew upon him the arms of Soobektegin, and his son Mahmoud, when Nadole was stripped of its consequence; its temples were thrown down, and its fortress was dilapidated. But it had recovered much of its power, and even sent forth several branches, who all fell under Alla-uddin in the thirteenth century. On the final conquest of India by Shahbudin, the prince of Nadole appears to have effected a compromise, and to have become a vassal of the empire. This conjecture arises from the singularity of its currency, which retains on the one side the names in Sanscrit of its indigenous princes, and on the other that of the conqueror.

† Hursraj and Beejy Raj were sons of Aji-pal, king of Ajmer, according to the chronicle.

common to the *Hamir Rasa* as well as the *Jaega's* list. The authority of Hursraj stretched along the Aravali mountains to Aboo, and east of the Chumbul. He ruled from S. 812 to 827 (A.H. 138 to 153), and fell in battle against the Asuras, having attained the title of *Ari-murdhan*. Ferishta says, that "in A.H. 143, the Mooslems greatly increased, when issuing from their hills they obtained possession of Kirman, Peshore, and all the lands adjacent; and that the Raja of Lahore, who was of the family of the Raja of Ajmer, sent his brother* against these Afghans, who were reinforced by the tribes of Ghilij, of Ghor and Caubul, just become proselytes to Islam;"* and he adds, that during five months, seventy battles were fought with success; or, to use the historian's own words, "in which *Sepahi sirmah* (General Frost) was victorious over the infidel, but who returned when the cold season was passed with fresh force. The armies met between Kirman and Peshawer; sometimes the infidel (Rajpoot) carried the war to the *Kokistan*, 'mountainous regions,' and drove the Moosulmauns before him; sometimes the Moosulmauns, obtaining reinforcements, drove the infidel by flights of arrows to their own borders, to which they always retired when the torrents swelled the Nilab (*Indus*)."

Whether the Raja of Ajmer personally engaged in this distant combats the chronicle says not. According to the *Hamir*

* This is a very important admission of Ferishta, concerning the proselytism of all these tribes, and confirms my hypothesis, that the Afgans are converted *Jadoons* or *Yadus*, not *Yahudis*, or Jews. The *Gor* is also a well-known Rajpoot tribe, and they had only to convert it into Ghor. *Vide* Annals of the Bhattis.

Rasa, Hursraj was succeeded by Doojgundeo, whose advanced post was Bhutnair, and who overcame Nasir-oo-din, from whom he captured twelve hundred horse, and hence bore the epithet of *Sultan Grahā*, or 'King-seizer.' Nasir-oo-din was the title of the celebrated Soobektegin, father to the still more celebrated Mahmood. Soobektegin repeatedly invaded India during the fifteen years' reign of his predecessor Aliptegin.

Passing over the intermediate reigns, each of which is marked by some meagre and unsatisfactory details of battles with the Islamite, we arrive at Beesildeo. The father of this prince, according to the Hara genealogists, was Dherma-Guj, apparently a title,—'in faith like an elephant,'—as in the *Jaega's* list is Baer Beelundeo, confirmed by the inscription on the triumphal column at Dehli. The last of Mahmood's invasions occurred during the reign of Beelundeo, who, at the expense of his life, had the glory of humbling the mighty conqueror, and forcing him to relinquish the siege of Ajmer. Before we condense the scanty records of the bards concerning Visala-Deva,* we may spare a few words to commemorate a Chohan, who consecrated his name and that of all his kin, by his deeds in the first passage of Mahmood into India.

Goga Chohan was the son of Vacha Raja, a name of some celebrity. He held the whole of Jungul-des, or the forest lands from the Sutlej to Heriana; his capital, called Mehera, or, as pronounced, *Goga ca Mairi*, was on the Sutlej. In defending this he fell, with forty-five sons and sixty nephews; and as it occurred on Sanday (*Rubwar*),

* The classical mode of writing the name of Beesildeo.

the ninth (*nomee*) of the month, that day is held sacred to the *manes* of Goga by the "thirty-six classes"* throughout Rajpootana, but especially in the desert, a portion of which is yet called *Gogadeo ca thul*. Even his steed, *Javadia*,† has been immortalized, and has become a favourite name for a war-horse throughout Rajpootana, whose mighty men swear "by the *saca* of Goga," for maintaining the Rajpoot fame when Mahmood crossed the Sutlej.

This was probably the last of Mahmood's invasions, when he marched direct from Mooltan through the desert. He attacked Ajmer, which was abandoned, and the country around given up to devastation and plunder. The citadel, Gurh-Beetli, however, held out, and Mahomed was foiled, wounded, and obliged to retreat by Nadole,‡ another Chohan possession, which he sacked, and then proceeded to Nehrwalla, which he captured. His barbarities promoted a coalition, which, by compelling him to march through the western deserts to gain the

* *Chataes-pon*.

† It is related by the Rajpoot romancers that Goga had no children; that lamenting this, his guardian deity gave him two barley-corns (*java* or *jao*), one of which he gave to his queen, another to his favourite mare, which produced the steed (*Javadia*) which became as famous as Goga himself. The Rana of Oodipoor gave the author a blood-horse of Kattiawar, whose name was *Javadia*. Though a lamb in disposition, when mounted he was a piece of fire, and admirably broken in to all the *manege* exercise. A more perfect animal never existed. The author brought him, with another (*Mirg-raj*), from Oodipoor to the ocean, intending to bring them home; but the grey he gave to a friend, and fearful of the voyage, he sent *Javadia* back six hundred miles to the Rana, requesting "he might be the first worshipped on the annual military festival;" a request which he doubts not was complied with.

‡ See note p. 388, for remarks on Nadole, whence the author obtained much valuable matter, consisting of coins, inscriptions on stone and copper, and MSS., when on a visit to this ancient city in 1821.

valley of Sinde, had nearly proved fatal to his army.

The exploits of Beesildeo form one of the books of Chund the bard. The date assigned to Beesildeo in the *Rasa* (S. 921) is interpolated—a vice not uncommon with the Rajpoot bard, whose periods acquire verification from less mutable materials than those out of which he weaves his song.*

Chund gives an animated picture of the levy of the Rajpoot chivalry, which assembled under Beesildeo, who, as the champion of the Hindu faith, was chosen to lead its warriors against the Islamite invader. The Chalook king of Anhulwarra alone refused to join the confederation, and in terms which drew upon him the vengeance of the Chohan. A literal translation of the passage may be interesting :—

“ To the Goelwal Jait, the prince entrusted Ajmer, saying, ‘ on your fealty I depend ;’ where can this Chalook find refuge ? He moved from the city (Ajmer), and encamped on the lake Visala,† and summoned his tributaries and vassals to meet him. Maansi Purihar, with the army of Mundore, touched his feet.‡ Then came the Ghelote, the ornament of the throng ;§

* We have abundant checks, which, could they have been detailed in the earlier stage of inquiry into Hindu literature, would have excited more interest for the hero whose column at Dehli has excited the inquiries of Jones, Wilford, Colebrooke.

† This lake still bears the name of *Beesil-ca-tal* notwithstanding the changes which have accrued during a lapse of one thousand years, since he formed it by damming-up the springs. It is one of the reservoirs of the Looni river. The emperor Jehangir erected a palace on the banks of the Beesil-ca-tal, in which he received the ambassador of James I. of England.

‡ This shews that the Purihars were subordinate to the Chohans of Ajmer.

§ The respectful mention of the Ghelote as ‘ the ornament of the throng,’ early proves that the Cheetore

and the Pawasir, with Tuar,¹ and Rama the Gor;² with Mohes the lord of Mewat.³ The Mohil of Doonapoor with tribute sent excuse.⁴ With folded hands arrived the Baloch,⁵ but the lord of Bamuni abandoned Sinde.⁶ Then came the Nuzzur from Bhutnair,⁷ and the *Nalbundi* from Tatta⁸ and Mooltan.⁹ When the summons reached the Bhomia Bhatti of Derrawul,¹⁰ all obeyed ; as did the Jadoon of Mallunwas.¹¹

princes came as an ally. How rejoicing to an antiquary to find this confirmed by an inscription found amidst the ruins of a city of Mewar, which alludes to this very coalition ! The inscription is a record of the friendship maintained by their issue in the twelfth century,—Samarsi of Cheetore, and Pirthwiraj, the last Chohan king of India—on their combining to chastise the king of Patun Anhulwarra, “ in like manner as did Besildeo and Tejsi of old unite against the foe, so,” &c. &c. Now Tejsi was the grandfather of Rawul Samarsi, who was killed in opposing the final Mooslem invasion, on the Caggar, after one of the longest reigns in their annals : from which we calculate that Tejsi must have sat on the throne about the year S. 1120 (A. D. 1064.) His youth and inexperience would account for his acting subordately to the Chohan of Ajmer. The name of Udyadita further confirms the date, as will be mentioned in the text. His date has been fully settled by various inscriptions found by the author. (See Transactions Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. page 223.)

1 This Tuar must have been one of the Dehli vassals, whose monarch was of this race.

2 The Gor was a celebrated tribe, and amongst the most illustrious of the Chohan feudatories ; a branch until a few years ago held Sooe-Soopoor and about nine lakhs of territory. I have no doubt the Gor appanage was west of the Indus, and that this tribe on conversion became the Ghor.

3 The Mewoh race of Mewat is well known ; all are Mahomedans now.

4 The Mohils have been sufficiently discussed.

5 The Baloch was evidently Hindu at this time : and as I have repeatedly said, of Jit or Gete origin.

6 “ The lord of Bamuni,” in other places called Bamunwasso, must apply to the ancient Brahminabad or *Dewul*, on whose site the modern Tatta is built.

7 See Annals of Jessulmer.

8 9 All this evinces supremacy over the Princes of this reigon : the Soda, the Samma, and Soomura.

10 Of Derrawul we have spoken in the text.

11 Mallunwas we know not.

The Mori¹² and Birgoojur¹³ also joined with the Cuchwahs of Anterved.¹⁴ The subjugated Meras worshipped his feet.¹⁵ Then came the army of Takitpoor, headed by the Goelwal Jait.¹⁶ Mounted in haste came Udyā Pramār,¹⁷ with the Nurbhan¹⁸ and the Dor,¹⁹ the Chundail,²⁰ and the Dahima.²¹

In this short passage, a text afforded for a dissertation on the whole genealogical history of Rajpootana at that period. Such extracts from the more ancient bards, incorporated in the works of their successors, however laconic, afford decisive evidence that their poetic chronicles bore always the same character; for this passage is introduced by Chund merely as a preface to the history of his own prince, Pirthwiraj, the descendant of Beesildeo.

A similar passage was given from the ancient chronicles of Mewar, recording an invasion of the Mooslems, of which the

histories of the invaders have left no trace. The evidence of both is incontestable; every name affords a synchronism not to be disputed; though the isolated passage would afford a very faint ray of light to the explorer of those days of darkness, yet when the same industrious research has pervaded the annals of all these races, a flood of illumination pours upon us, and we can at least tell who the races were who held sway in these regions a thousand years ago.

Amidst meagre, jejune, and unsatisfactory details, the annalist of Rajpootana must be content to wade on, in order to obtain some solid foundation for the history of the tribes; but such facts as these stimulate his exertions and reward his toil: without them, his task would be hopeless. To each of the twenty tribes enumerated, formed under the standard of the Chohan, we append a separate notice, for the satisfaction of the few who can appreciate their importance, while some general remarks may suffice as a connection with the immediate object of research, the Haras, descended from Beesildeo.

In the first place, it is of no small moment to be enabled to adjust the date of Beesildeo, the most important name in the annals of the Chohans from Manik Rae to Pirthwiraj, and a slip from the genealogical tree will elucidate our remarks.

12 13 14 The Moris, the Cuchwahs and Birgoojurs require no further notice.

15 The Meras inhabited the Aravali.

16 Takitpoor is the modern Thoda, near Tonk, where there are fine remains.

17 Udyadita, now a hand-mark in Hindu history.

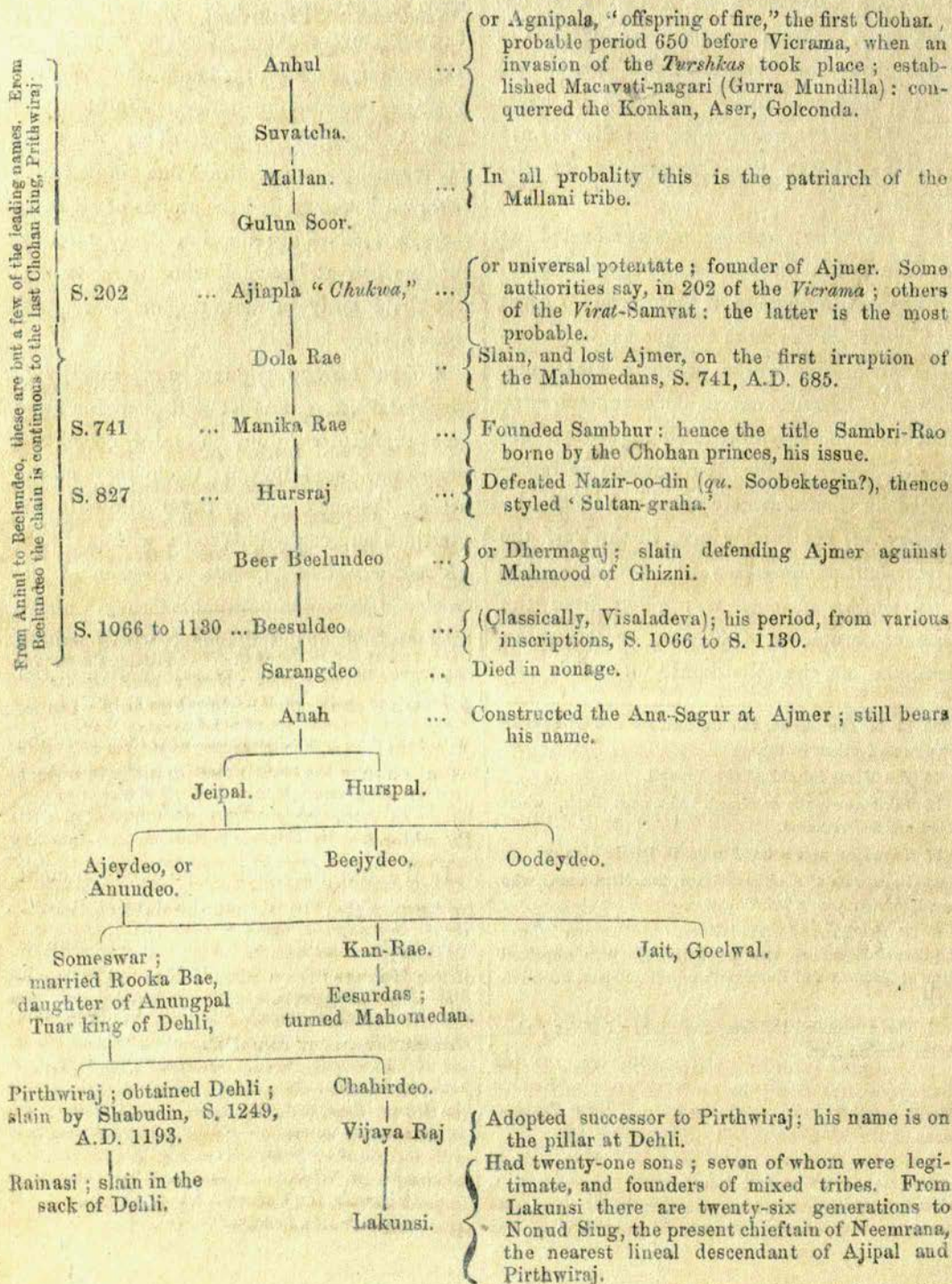
18 See annals of Shekhavati for the Nurbhans, who held Khundaila as a fief of Ajmer.

19 20 The Dor and Chundail were well known tribes; the latter contended with Pirthwi-Raj, who deprived them of Mahoba and Kalingar, and all modern Boondelkund.

21 The renowned Dahima was lord of Biana; also called Druinadhar.

CHOHAN GENEALOGY.

From Anhul to Beelundeo, these are but a few of the leading names. From Beelundeo the chain is continuous to the last Chohan king, Prithwiraj.



The name of Beesildeo (*Visaladeva*) heads the inscription on the celebrated column erected in the centre of Feroz Shah's palace at Delhi. This column, alluded to by Chund, as "telling the fame of the Chohan," was "placed at Nigumbode," a place of pilgrimage on the Jumna, a few miles below Delhi, whence it must have been removed to its present singular position.*

The inscription commences and ends with the same date, viz. 15th of the month Bysakh, S. 1220. If correctly copied, it can have no reference to Beesildeo, excepting as the ancestor of *Prativa Chahmana tilaca Sacambhari bhupati*; or 'Pirthwiraja Chohan, the anointed of Sambhur, Lord of the earth', who ruled at Delhi in S. 1220, and was slain in S. 1249 retaining the ancient epithet of 'Lord of Sambhur,' one of the early seats of their power.† The second stanza, however, tells us we must distrust the first of the two dates, and read 1120 (instead of 1220), when Visaladeva "exterminated the barbarians" from *Aryaverta*. The numerals 1 and 2, in Sanscrit, are easily mistaken. If, however, it is decidedly 1220, then the whole inscription belongs to *Prativa Chahmana*, between whom and Visala no less than six princes intervene,‡ and the opening is merely to introduce Pirthwiraja's lineage in which the sculptor has foisted in the date.

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. i. p. 379, Vol. vii. p. 180, and Vol. ix. p. 453

† I brought away an inscription of this, the last Chohan emperor, from the ruins of his place at Hasi or Hansi, dated S. 1224. See comments thereon, Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. i. p. 133.

‡ These inscriptions, while they have given rise to ingenious interpretations, demonstrate the little value of mere translations, even when made by first rate scholars, who possess no historical knowledge of the

I feel inclined to assign the first stanza to Visaladeva (Beesildeo), and what follows to his descendant Pirthwiraj, who by a conceit may have availed himself of the anniversary of the victory of his ancestor, to record his own exploits. These exploits were precisely of the same nature,—successful war against the Islamite, in which each drove him from *Aryaverta*; for even the Mooslem writers acknowledge that Shahbudin was often ignominiously defeated before he finally succeeded in making a conquest of northern India.

If, as I surmise, the first stanza belongs to Beesildeo, the date S. 1120, or A.D. 1064, and this grand confederation described by the Chohan bard was assembled under his banner, preparatory to the very success, to commemorate which the inscription was recorded.

tribes to whom they refer. The inscription was first translated by Sir W. Jones in 1784 (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. i). A fresh version (from a fresh transcript I believe) was made by Mr. Colebrooke in 1800 (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. vii), but rather darkening than enlightening the subject, from attending to his pundit's emendation, giving to the prince's name and tribe a metaphorical interpretation. Nor was it till Wilford had published his hedge-podge Essay on Vicramaditya and Salivahana, that Mr. Colebrooke discovered his error, and amended it in a note to that volume; but even then, without rendering the inscription useful as a historical document. I call Wilford's essay a hedge-podge advisedly. It is a paper of immense research; vast materials are brought to his task, but he had an hypothesis, and all was confounded to suit it. Chohans, Solankis, Ghelotes, all are amalgamated in his crucible. It was from the *Sarangadhar Padhati*, written by the bard of Hamira Chohan, not king of Mewar (as Wilford has it), but of Rinthumbor, lineally descended from Visaladeva, and slain by Alla-o-din. Sarangadhar was also author of the *Hamir Rasa*, and the *Hamir Cavya*, bearing this prince's name, the essence of both of which I translated with the aid of my Guru. I was long bewildered in my admiration of Wilford's researches; but experience inspired distrust, and I adopted the useful adage in all these matters, "*nīl admirari*."

In the passage quoted from Chund, recording the princes who led their household troops under Beesildeo, there are four names which establish synchronisms: one, by which we arrive directly at the date, and three indirectly. The first is Udyadit Pramar, king of Dhar (son of Raja Bhoj,) whose period I established from numerous inscriptions,* as between S. 1100 and S. 1150; so that the date of his joining the expedition would be about the middle of his reign. The indirect, but equally strong testimony consists of,

First, The mention of "the Bhomia Bhatti from Derrawal;† for had there been any thing apocryphal in Chund, Jessulmer, the present capital, would have been given as the Bhatti abode.‡

Second, The Cuchwahas, who are also described as coming from *Anterved* (the region between the Jumna and Ganges); for the infant colony transmitted from Nurwar to Amber was yet undistinguished.

The third proof is in the Mewar inscription, when Tejsi, the grandfather of Samarsi, is described as in alliance with Beesildeo.

Beesildeo is said to have lived sixty-four years. Supposing this date, S. 1120, to be the medium point of his existence, this would make his date S. 1088 to S. 1152, or A. D. 1032 to A.D. 1096; but as his father, Dherma Guj, "the elephant in faith," or Beer Beelun Deo (called Malun Deo, in the *Hamir Rasa*), was killed defending Ajmer on

the last invasion of Mahmood, we must necessarily place Beesil's birth (supposing him an infant on that event), ten years earlier, or A.D. 1022 (S. 1078), to A.D. 1086 (S. 1142), comprehending the date on the pillar of Delhi, and by computation all the periods mentioned in the catalogue. We may therefore safely adopt the date of the *Rasa*, viz. S. 1066 to S. 1130.

Beesildeo was, therefore, contemporary with Jeipal, the Tuar king of Delhi; with Doorlub and Bhima of Guzzerat; with Bhoj and Udyadit of Dhar; with Pudumsi and Tejsi of Mewar; and the confederacy which he headed must have been that against the Islamite king Modud, the fourth from Mahmood of Ghizni, whose expulsion from the northern part of Rajpootana (as recorded on the pillar of Delhi) caused *Aryaverta* again to become 'the land of virtue.' Mahmood's final retreat from India by Sinde, to avoid the armies collected "by Byramdeo and the prince of Ajmer," to oppose him, was in A.H. 417, A.D. 1026, or S. 1082, nearly the same date as that assigned by Chund, S. 1086.

We could dilate on the war which Beesildeo waged against the prince of Guzzerat, his victory, and the erection of Beesil-nuggur,*

(both preserved in my version of Chund) they have inserted Jessulmer. By such anachronisms, arising from the emendations of ignorant bards, their poetic chronicles have lost half their value. To me the comparison of such passages, preserved in Chund from the older bards, and distorted by the modern, was a subject of considerable pleasure. It reconciled much that I might have thrown away, teaching me the difference between absolute invention, and ignorance creating errors in the attempt to correct them. The Kheechie bard, no doubt, thought he was doing right when he erased Derrawal and inscribed Jessulmer.

* This town,—another proof of the veracity of the chronicle,—yet exists in Northern Guzzerat.

* See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

† See Annals of Jessulmer, for foundation of Derrawal, p. 236.

‡ In transcribing the annals of the Kheechies, an important branch of the Chohans, their bards have preserved this passage; but ignorant of Derrawal and Lodorva

on the spot where victory perched upon his lance; but this we reserve for the introduction of the illustrious Pirthwiraj. There is much fable mixed up with the history of Beesildeo, apparently invented to hide a blot in the annals, warranting the inference that he became a convert, in all likelihood a compulsory one, to the doctrines of Islam. There is also the appearance of his subsequent expiation of this crime in the garb of a penitent; and the mound (*dhoond*), where he took up his abode, still exists, and is called after him, *Beesil-ca-dhoond*, at Kalik Jobnair.*

According to the *Book of kings* of Gomund Ram (the Hara bard), the Haras were descended from Anuraj, son of Beesildeo; but Mog-ji, the Kheechie bard, makes Anuraj progenitor of the Kheechies, and son of Manika Rae. We follow the Hara bard.

Anuraj had assigned to him in appanage the important frontier fortress of Asi (*vulg.* Hansi). His son Ishtpal, together with Agunraj, son of Ajey-Rao, the founder of Kechchpoor Patun in Sind-Sagur was preparing to seek his fortunes with Rundheer Chohan prince of Gowalcoond: but both Asi and Goleonda were almost simultaneously assailed by an army "from the wilds of Gujlibund." Rundheer performed the *saca*; and only a single female, his daughter, named Soorahbae, survived, and

she fled for protection towards Asi, then attacked by the same furious invader. Anuraj prepared to fly; but his son, Ishtpal, determined not to wait the attack, but seek the foe. A battle ensued, when the invader was slain, and Ishtpal, grievously wounded, pursued him till he fell, near the spot where Soorahbae was awaiting death under the shade of a *peepul*: for "hopes of life were extinct, and fear and hunger had reduced her to a skeleton." In the moment of despair, however, the *ashtwa* (*peepul*) tree under which she took shelter was severed, and *Asapurna*, the guardian goddess of her race, appeared before her. To her, Soorahbae related how her father and twelve brothers had fallen in defending Goleonda against 'the demon of Gujlibund.' The goddess told her to be of good cheer, for that a Chohan of her own race had slain him, and was then at hand; and led her to where Ishtpal lay senseless from his wounds. By her aid he recovered,* and possessed himself of that ancient heirloom of the Chohans, the famed fortress of Aser.

Ishtpal, the founder of the Haras, obtained Aser in S. 1081† (or A. D. 1025); and as Mahmood's last destructive visit to India, by Mooltan through the desert to Ajmer,

* Or, as the story goes, his limbs, which lay dismembered, were collected by Soorahbae, and the goddess sprinkling them with "the water of life," he arose! Hence the name *Hara*, which his descendants bore, from *har*, or 'bone,' thus collected; but more likely from having lost (*kara*) Asi.

† The Hara chronicle says S. 981, but by some strange, yet uniform error, all the tribes of the Chohans antedate their chronicles by a hundred years. Thus Beesildeo's taking possession of Anhulpoor Patun is "nine hundred, fifty, thirty and six" (S. 986), instead of S. 1086. But it even pervades Chund, the poet of Pirthwiraj, whose birth is made 1115, instead of S. 1215; and here, in all probability, the error commenced, by the ignorance (wilful we cannot imagine) of some rhymers.

* The pickaxe, if applied to this mound (which gives its name to Dhoondar), might possibly shew it to be a place of sepulture, and that the Chohans, even to this period, may have entombed at least the bones of their dead. The numerous *tumuli* about Hyderabad, the ancient Gowalcoond, one of the royal abodes of the Chohans, may be sepultures of this race, and the arms and vases they contain all strengthen my hypothesis of their Scythic origin.

was in A. H. 417, or A. D. 1022, we have every right to conclude that his father Anuraj lost his life and Asi to the king of Ghizni; at the same time that Ajmer was sacked, and the country laid waste by this conquerer, whom the Hindu bard might well style "the demon from Gujlibund."* The Mahomedan historians give us no hint even of any portion of Mahmood's army penetrating into the peninsula, though that grasping ambition, which considered the shores of Saurashtra but an intermediate step from Ghizni to the conquest of Ceylon and Pegu,† may have pushed an army during his long halt at Anbulwarra, and have driven Rundheer from Golconda. But it is idle to speculate upon such slender materials; let them suffice to illustrate one new fact, namely, that these kingdoms of the south as well as the north were held by Rajpoot sovereigns, whose offspring, blending with the original population, produced that mixed race of Mahrattas, inheriting with the names, the warlike propensities of their ancestors, but who assume the name of their abodes as titles, as the Nimalkurs, the Phalkias, the Patunkars, instead of their tribes of Jadoon, Tuar, Puar, &c. &c.

Ishtpal had a son called Chand-kurn; his son, Lok Pal, had Hamir and Gumbir, names well known in the wars of Pirthwiraj. The brothers were enrolled amongst his

one hundred and eight vassals, from which we may infer that, though Aser was not considered absolutely as a fief, its chief paid homage to Ajmer, as the principal seat of the Chohans.

In the *Canouj Samya*, that book of the poems of Chund devoted to the famous war in which the Chohan prince carries off the princess of Canouj, honourable mention is made of the Hara princes in the third day's fight, when they covered the retreat of Pirthwiraj:—

"Then did the Hara Rao Hamir, with his brother Gumbir, mounted on Lakhi steeds, approach their lord, as thus they spoke: 'Think of thy safety, Jungul-es,* while we make offerings to the array of Jychund. Our horses' hoofs shall plough the field of fight, like the ship of the ocean."

The brothers encountered the contingent of the prince of Kasi (Benares), one of the great feudatories of Canouj. As they joined, "the shout raised by Hamir reached Doorga on her rock-bound throne." Both brothers fell in these wars, though one of the few survivors of the last battle fought with Shabudin for Rajpoot independence, was a Hara:—

Hamir had Kalkurna, who had Maha Mugd; his son was Rao Bacha; his, Rao Chund.

Amongst the many independent princes of the Chohan race to whom Alla-o-din was the messenger of fate, was Rao Chund of Aser. Its walls, though deemed impregnable, were not proof against the skill and valour of this energetic warrior: and Chund

* 'The elephant wilds.' They assert that *Ghizni* is properly *Gujni*, founded by the Yadus; and in a curious specimen of Hindu geography (presented by me to the Royal Asiatic Society) all the tract about the glaciers of the Ganges is termed Gujlibun, or Gujlibu, the 'Elephant Forest.' There is a "*Gujingurk*" mentioned by Abulfazil in the region of Bijore, inhabited by the Sooltano, Jadcon, and Eusofyze tribes.

† See Ferishta, life of Mahmood.

* Jungul-es, 'lord of the forest lands,' another of Pirthwiraj's titles.