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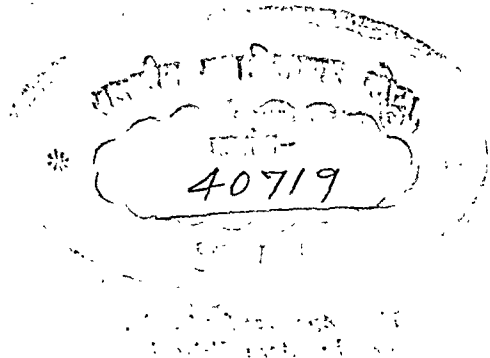
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Social Life In Medieval Rajasthan

[1500-1800 A. D.]

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Department of History,
University of Rajasthan, Jaipur



SOCIAL LIFE
IN
MEDIEVAL RAJASTHAN
[1500-1800 A.D.]

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
IMPACT OF MUGHAL INFLUENCE



LAKSHMI NARAIN AGARWAL
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© THE AUTHOR

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*With a Foreword
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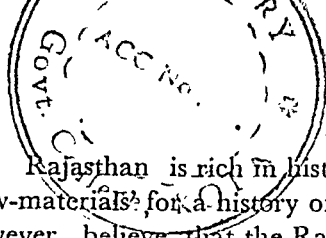
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Foreword

Rajasthan is rich in historical source-material and richer still in the 'raw-materials' for a history of Society, Art and Culture. Most people, however, believe that the Rajputs were primarily a military community, who were engaged allthrough their history in internecine warfare as well as in fighting the foreign invaders from the North-West, and consequently did not have leisure or aptitude for the cultivation of fine arts and of building up of stable social and administrative institutions or patronising scholars, philosophers, poets and men of art. Curiously enough this view is shared by scholars and even by many a professed historian. This probably accounts for the absence of scholarly attempts by our modern historians for producing an authoritative social and cultural history of Rajasthan, though there are quite a few good works of political history of most of the former princely States and one or two valuable works for the entire region that goes by the post-independence name of Rajasthan.

The credit of exploring the field and producing an authoritative work on the social life of medieval Rajasthan from 1500 to 1800 A.D. goes to Dr. G. N. Sharma, who is already known to scholars as the able author of *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, published as early as 1954. In the present work on which Dr. Sharma has bestowed years of devoted labour and which was recently approved as his thesis for the D. Litt. degree of the Agra University, he has traced the history and evolution of the contemporary religions, reform movements, language and literature, educational system, industrial development, agricultural activities, and trade and commerce. He has given a graphic account of the village and town life, fairs and festivals, amusements and recreations, from contemporary records and pictorial and sculptural evidences. One full chapter is devoted to the Mughal impact on the various aspects of the life of the people of Rajasthan. This learned author has, thus, discussed all the important aspects of cultural life with copious references to unpublished and published original sources. He has enriched the volume with numerous contemporary illustrations. The result is that we have now a scholarly and authoritative work on the social and cultural history of Rajasthan during the Mughal age. As I had an ample opportunity to watch the growth of Dr. Sharma's (D. Litt.) thesis from its inception to its completion, I am in a position to say that he has not left any source known to us untapped, and has brought throughout a judicious and well-balanced attitude and the ability of a ripe and unbiased scholar to bear on the subject. I have, therefore, great pleasure in commending Dr. Sharma's present work as a piece of sound, comprehensive and authoritative research work on the social and cultural history of Rajasthan during the Mughal age.

Agra, May 25, 1960.

—A. L. Srivastava.

PREFACE

The theme of social life in Rājasthān forms one of the most interesting studies in the history of medieval period. But as no connected account of the cultural institutions of the medieval period of Rājasthān is available, this study has been both pioneer and fascinating. The aim of this work is to survey the general course of society and culture of Rājasthān from 1500 to 1800 A.D., and furnish here, for the first time, a balanced account with sympathy and understanding. It seeks to offer a critical examination of the factors and forces that have moulded institutions, beliefs, rites, customs and patterns of life in the broad frame of the march of history. It also endeavours to trace the impact of Mughal civilisation on Rājasthān in order to appreciate the process of the cultural development.

In the following pages it has been attempted to collect all possible data available towards the reconstruction of the social and cultural history from the epigraphic, numismatic, literary and historical sources in Persian, Sanskrit and Rājasthāni. Similarly, the *khyātas*, *vāts*, *rāsos*, *vamsāvalis* and other prose chronicles have been sifted properly and made to yield profitable historical material. The work brings, for the first time, the representation of sculpture and painting for purposes of historical interpretation and illustration of social life.

I owe much to my teacher, Dr. A. L. Srivāstava, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt. (Lucknow), D. Litt. (Āgrā), for his affection and his encouragement in the task of studying the society of Rājasthān. My thanks are also due to Sri N. R. Khadgāwat, M. A., Director of Archives, Government of Rājasthān, Bikāner, who allowed me full facilities to study and prepare notes and transcript copies of the material from his offices located at various centres. To these names I must add that of Dr. G. C. Pande, Professor and Head of the Deptt. of History and Indian Culture, University of Rājasthān, whose kindly interest in this work has been a source of strength to me. I am also grateful to the authorities of the Saraswati Bhandārs, Udaipur and Kotah, Anup Library, Bikāner, Pustak Prakāsh, Jodhpur, Vidyāpeeth, Udaipur, Nāhata Collection, Bikāner and Art Galleries of the Jaipur Palace, Jaipur Museum and Bikāner Museum for giving me every facility that I desired. Further, I am indebted to Dr. N. L. Gupta, M.A., Lecturer in Geography and my pupil Sri Shirola, M. A., who respectively prepared for me the maps and sketches for illustrating facts. I wish to express my thanks to Prof. Henry, M. A., who has read the MS. carefully. I am very much obliged to my friends Shri K. L. Mod, M. A., and Shri H. S.

Sharma M. A., who have kindly prepared the index. I am also thankful to my publishers who have grudged no expenditure in making the book attractive and useful.

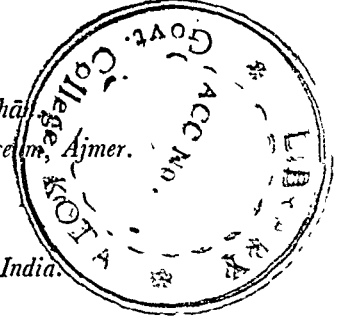
In indicating long vowels and nasal sounds, an approved system of transliteration of Sanskrit and Rājasthāni words with diacritical marks has been adopted in this work to give a clear idea of correct pronunciation of proper names and local and technical terms. Some names have been spelt as they are pronounced in the same way even now. The familiar proper names are generally given in the most usual spelling. At places the Vikram and Hijri Eras have been converted into Christian Era. The vast amount of transliteration and figuration involved the present volume, which has now grown considerably in size, and may have left some lapses and errors, in spite of best efforts to weed them out, which, the author hopes, will be overlooked.

Jaipur,
The 15th of August, 1968.


—G. N. Sharma.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------------|--|
| A.B. | <i>Āmber Bhandāra.</i> |
| Ain. | <i>Āin-i-Akbari.</i> |
| ALB. | <i>Anup Library, Bikāner.</i> |
| Annals. | <i>Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān.</i> |
| A.R.R.M. | <i>Annual Report of Rājasthān Museum, Ajmer.</i> |
| ASI. | <i>Archaeological Survey of India.</i> |
| ASR. | <i>Archaeological Survey Reports.</i> |
| ASWI. | <i>Archaeological Survey of Western India.</i> |
| BA. | <i>Bikāner Archives.</i> |
| Bk.R.I. | <i>Bikāner Rājya-kā-Itihās.</i> |
| B.R.I. | <i>Bānswāra Rājya-kā-Itihās.</i> |
| D.R.I. | <i>Dungarpur-Rājya-kā-Itihās.</i> |
| E. D. | <i>Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians.</i> |
| EI. | <i>Epigraphia Indica.</i> |
| Eng. tr. | <i>English Translation.</i> |
| Firishta. | <i>Tārikh-i-Firishtā.</i> |
| IA. | <i>Indian Antiquary.</i> |
| I.H.C. | <i>Proceedings of Indian History Congress.</i> |
| I.H.R.G. | <i>Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission.</i> |
| I.H.Q. | <i>Indian Historical Quarterly.</i> |
| Ins. | <i>Inscriptions.</i> |
| J.A.S.B. | <i>Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengāl.</i> |
| J.R.A.S. | <i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</i> |
| JA. | <i>Jodhpur Archives.</i> |
| J.R.I. | <i>Jodhpur Rājya-kā-Itihās.</i> |
| J.I.H. | <i>The Journal of Indian History.</i> |
| K.A. | <i>Kotāh Archives.</i> |
| KC. | <i>Khajānchi Collection, Bikāner.</i> |
| K.R.I. | <i>Kotāh Rājya-kā-Itihās.</i> |
| Muntakhab. | <i>Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh.</i> |
| Muntakhab (K). | <i>Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb.</i> |



| | |
|--------------------|--|
| MS. | <i>Manuscript.</i> |
| NIA. | <i>New Indian Antiquary.</i> |
| Nensi. | <i>Muhnot Nensi.</i> |
| O.D.R.U. (ODRU) | <i>Old Deposited Records, Udaipur.</i> |
| O.D.R.B. | <i>Old Deposited Records, Bānswāra.</i> |
| Ojha. | <i>Gauri Shanker Hirāchand Ojhā.</i> |
| OR. | <i>Old Register.</i> |
| O.R.I. | <i>Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur.</i> |
| PC. | <i>Persian Correspondence.</i> |
| PPJ. | <i>Pustak Prakāsh, Jodhpur.</i> |
| PRAS. | <i>Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of Western Circle.</i> |
| P.T. | <i>Persian Text.</i> |
| P.R.I. | <i>Pratāpgarh Rājya-kā-Itihās.</i> |
| Reu. | <i>Mārwār-kā-Itihās.</i> |
| SBLU. | <i>Saraswati Bhandār Library, Udaipur.</i> |
| SBLK. | <i>Saraswati Bhandār Library, Kotāh.</i> |
| S.R.I. | <i>Sirohi Rājya-kā-Itihās.</i> |
| The Imp. Gaz. Raj. | <i>The Imperial Gazetteer, Rājāsthān.</i> |
| The Imp. Gaz. C.I. | <i>The Imperial Gazetteer, Central India.</i> |
| Tuzuk. | <i>Tūzūk-i-Jahāngiri.</i> |
| UB. | <i>Uttar Bhārati.</i> |
| U.R.I. | <i>Udaipur Rājya-kā-Itihās.</i> |
| Vir Vinod. | <i>History of Mewār by Kavirāja Shyāmaldās.</i> |



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Land and its Bearing on Social Life

Position and Area

Rājasthān,¹ the abode of the princes, is a Sanskritized form of the *dingal* word *Rāyathāna*.² In the familiar dialect it is also termed 'Rājwādā'. the country of the *Rājās*.³ In the British days *Rājputānā* was an administrative nomenclature for a great territorial circle which included eighteen Native States,⁴ two Chiefships⁵ and the British district of Ajmer-Merwārā. It seems that the word Rājputānā was an adopted form from 'Rājputān'⁶, the plural of Rājputs in Persian.

Roughly speaking, in shape, Rājasthān is an irregular rhombus with its salient angles of the north, west, south, and east especially joined by the extreme outer boundary lines of the districts of Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Bānswārā and Dholpur. It is bounded on the west by Sind, and on the north-west, north and north-east by the Punjāb. On its eastern frontier there lie Uttar Pradesh and Gwālior. Its southern boundary touches the limits of Madhya Pradesh and Gujarāt.⁷

¹ In the pre-British days the entire region neither formed a single political unit of India nor was known by any single common name before the 17th century A. D. The first mention of Rājasthān as a compact land of the princes with territorial divisions, plains, and mountains occurs in the Inscription of V. S. 1765 (1708 A. D.), vv. 64-71. (The Sardār Museum, MS., Jodhpur). The relevant lines are :—

देश धर्म क्षेत्र सागर सपवित्र क्षेत्र तन्मध्ये
मेरू शिखर सराज विजय राजस्थान सन्तुपन्वासः'

² *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 4a, 'घटं पूर रामं परं रायथानम्'

³ Tod, *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 1.

⁴ Those states were :—

Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Bikāner, Alwar, Jaipur, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Karauli, Bundi, Kotāh, Jhālāwār, Pratāpgarh, Bānswārā, Dungarpur, Udaipur, Sirohi, Kishangarh and Tonk. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Rajputana Pro. Series, p. 1.)

⁵ They were the chiefships of Shāhpurā and Lāwā. (*The Imp. Gaz. Raj. Pro. Series*, p. 1.)

⁶ Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 1, has stated that Rajpootānā is a corrupt form of *Rāethāna*. (But he is not correct. *Rāethāna* is a corrupt form of Rājasthān.)

⁷ *Imp. Gaz.*, Raj., Pro. Series, p. 1.

This Rājasthān of our period under review comprised independent and semi-independent principalities which were better known after their special characteristic features. From the historical, epigraphic and literary works of both early and later mediaeval periods, we know that what we call the area of Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikāner, Ajmer, Nāgor, Sirohi, Udaipur, Dungarpur, Jaipur, parts of Alwar and Bharatpur and Bundi, were known as Maru,⁸ Māda,⁹ Jāngaldesh,¹⁰ Ajayameru,¹¹ Ahicchatrapur,¹² Arbud,¹³ Medpāt,¹⁴ Vāgad,¹⁵ Dhundhār,¹⁶ Mewāt,¹⁷ Hārāvati or Hādoti,¹⁸ respectively.

⁸ *Rāmāyana*, *Yudhakānda*, Canto 22, v. 33 ; *Ghosundi Inscription* of the 3rd of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha* (1504 A. D.), V. S. 1561, v. 4, J. A. S. of Bengāl, Vol. 56, Part I, No. 2. p. 80 ; *Morkhānā Inscription* of the 15th of the dark-half of the *Jyēṣṭha*, V. S. 1573 (1st May, 1516 A. D.), J. A. S. of Bengāl, Vol. XIII, pp. 214-215 ; *Karmachandra-vanshotkirtanakam-kāvya* by Jayasoma v., 320 ; *Guṇarūpaka*, f. 53 ; *Rājarūpaka*, f. 11 ; *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 8, f. 122 ; *Ajītodaya*, v. 7 ; *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 15 ; *Surajaprakāsha*, f. 93.

⁹ *Ghatiyālā Inscription* of the 2nd of the bright-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 919 (6th March, 862 A. D.). J. R. A. S., 1895, pp. 517-518.

¹⁰ *Mahābhārata*, *Bhīsmaparva*, Canto 9, v. 56 ; *Chirvā Inscription* of the 1st of the bright-half of the *Kartika*, V. S. 1330 (1273 A. D.), E, Vol. XXVII, pp. 285-292 ; *Rāo-Jetasi-Rau-Chhand*, v. 38 ; *Karmachandra-vanshotkirtanakam-kāvya*, v. 108.

¹¹ *Apabhraṃṣa-kāyatrāyī*, (G. O. S.), p. 112 ; *Prithvirājavijayā*, Canto VIII ; *Sārdā* : Ajmer, p. 37 ; Dasharath Sharmā, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 40.

¹² *Bijoliyān Inscription* of the 3rd of the dark-half of *Phālguna*, V. S. 1226 (5th Feb., 1170 A.D.), v. 12, EI, XXVI, pp. 90-106 ; Beal : *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 200 ; EI, Vol. III, p. 235 ; IA, Vol. 40, p. 28 ; *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 560, footnote No. 11.

¹³ *Achalesvara Inscription* of the 1st of the bright-half of the *Māgha*, V.S. 1342, (1285 A.D.), v. 49 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. 5, p. 86.

¹⁴ *Ādivarāha Temple Inscription*, Āhār, V.S. 1000 (943 A.D.). (Preserved by me in the archaeological gallery, M. B. College, Udaipur) ; A copper-plate grant of the 15th of the bright-half of the *Kārtika*, V. S. 1242 (9th Nov., 1185 A. D.), No. 30/126 (ORDU) ; *Ekalinga Mahātmya*, f. 20.

¹⁵ *Bhekrod Inscription* of the 3rd of the dark-half of the *Pausha*, V. S. 1291 (9th Jan., 1234 A.D.), Ojha's *D. R. I.*, p. 2, footnote, No. 3 ; *Varvāsā Inscription* of the 15th of the bright-half of *Aśādha*, V. S. 1359 (10th July, 1302 A.D.) Ojha's *D. R. I.*, p. 3 ; *Bābur-nāma*, f. 245 ; A. S. Beveridge, II, p. 573 ; Naini's *Khyāta*, f. 25 ; *Rajavilāsa*, Canto 8, f. 122.

¹⁶ *Wāqiat-i-Mushtāqī*, E. and D., IV, p. 551 ; *Akbar-nāma*, I, p. 196 ; H. Beveridge, I, p. 400 ; *Naini's Khyāta*, f. 12 ; *Surajaprakāsha*, f. 26.

¹⁷ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 131 (Susil Guptā) ; *Babur-nāma*, f. 250 ; Beveridge, II, p. 577 ; A letter No. 2850 of *Rabi-ul awwal*, H. 1124, 3rd of the bright-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 1769 (29th March, 1712 A.D.) PC, IV ; A letter No. 2947 of *Muharram* 9, H. 1140, 11th of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, V.S. 1784 (16th Aug., 1727 A.D.) PC, IV.

¹⁸ *Ekalinga Mahātmya*, v. 103 ; Naini's *Khyāta*, f. 34.

Besides, these parts were also variously known by their peculiar geographical features. As for example, the tract on the Māhi river around Pratāpgarh was called Kānthāl.¹⁹ It was so called because it formed the border or boundary (*Kānthā*) between Mewār on the north, Vāgad on the west, and Mālwā on the east and the south. Originally it was not the part of Rājasthān in the beginning of our period. The land between Devaliyā (Pratāpgarh) and Bānswārā consisted of fifty-six groups of villages and, therefore, that tract was called Chhappan.²⁰ The land between Dungarpur and Bānswārā was called Mewal.²¹ The area between Devaliyā and Mewal was called Mundal (*mandal*),²² and that around Bhensrod was Uparmāl²³ (plain over a plateau), and Kherād²⁴ was that part which was on the border of Hādoti, Dhundhār and Mewār. The area between the Jargā and Rāhaga mountains was called Deśeharo²⁵ (land covered with green grass). Another name for the area around Udaipur was Girwā,²⁶ land surrounded by *giri* or mountains.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Rājasthān presents a great variety of physical features. But since we possess no ancient or mediæval treatise on geography, the description of the physiognomy of the region has necessarily been based on the evidence obtained from the contemporary works which make pointed references to the geographical phenomena. These references no doubt apply to present-day Rājasthān also, as the general pattern of mountains, plains, deserts and valleys, remains obviously unchanged. Of course, there are minor changes regarding the courses of rivers, products and climatic conditions. It will be, therefore, useful to give here a rapid sketch of the geographical features in well-marked heads, such as the hilly region, plateau, plains, desert, river system, climate, rainfall and flora, and examine as to how they acted and reacted on the conduct and activities of men who inhabited Rājasthān.

Hilly Region

In order to make a general description of this great region intelligible, we may first take the mountain range, commonly called Arāvalli hills. The most conspicuous and elevated part of this range is a cluster of hills, which in Sanskrit phraseology is well termed—‘Arbud’²⁷ (Mount Ābu),

¹⁹ *Bihari Satasai*, f. 119 ; Erskine, ii A, p. 197.

²⁰ Naiṃsi's *Khyāta*, f. 12.

²¹ *Ibid.*, f. 45.

²² *Ibid.*, f. 11.

²³ *Ibid.*, f. 15.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 9.

²⁷ *Vrihad Gurvāvali*, V.S. 1340, p. 60 ; *Achalesvara Inscription*, V.S. 1342 (1285 A.D.), vv. 46, 49 and 51 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, pp. 85-86, *Jaina Inscriptions*, No. 874, Part I.

with its high peak at Achal and Guru Shikhar, the saint's pinnacle, rising to 5,653 feet above the sea. Thence under the names of Kanchangiri, Sudā hills, Chhappan hills, and other terms, it runs south of west, forming a great natural rampart across the entire length of Jālor and Sānchor districts,²⁸ until, north of Mārwar, it subsides into low ridges of Sātalmir and Jaisalmer.²⁹

From Mount Ābu the range of Arāvallis tends north-east. Its first appearance on a large scale is at Chitor. To the classical writers³⁰ of the 15th century, the hill of Chitor rises in the midst of a plain, full of caves, fountains and jungle. The continuity of this range, though in a detached form, has been traced by Bābur³¹ at long intervals in Mewāt, Sikri, Dholpur and Bāri.³² Yahyā-bin-Ahmad³³ and Abul Fazl³⁴ have also characterised this region as mountainous. Nizāmuddin Ahmad³⁵ and Badauni³⁶ name the hills of Alwar as 'Androon'. It is to be noted that, although this north-eastern range is the most important from the point of view of separating each of the two main divisions on either side of the Aravalli mountains, it is narrow and does not constitute a belt of mountainous country in the same sense as the range of Ābu.

The trend of the range in this section, says Bābur,³⁷ changes from north-east to south-east as it passes to Rañthambhor. As regards the hills in this region, Nizāmuddin³⁸ says that they are low, rough, rocky and jungly. Hence the range continues in the same direction to Ajmer, and here begins to widen out considerably in several parallel ranges extending to Nasirābad, Beawar and Todgarh. This strip of hilly country is called Merwārā, from the tribe of Mers which inhabit it.

Starting again from Mount Ābu, the main south-eastern range recovers its height, and under various names, runs in a easterly direction for

²⁸ *Vrihad Gurvāvali*, V.S. 1317, p. 51.

²⁹ *Akbar-nāma*, H. Beveridge, I, p. 374; Nainsi's *Khyāta*, pp. 10-15. *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 207.

³⁰ *Samidheśvara Inscription*, of the 3rd of the dark-half of *Māgha*, V. S. 1485 (19th Jan., 1428 A.D.), vv. 65, 67, 68 and 69, EI, Vol. 2, pp. 410-21; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V. S. 1517 (1460 A.D.), vv. 58-68, EI., Vol. XXIV, article No. 44, pp. 314-28.

³¹ *Bābur-nāma*, f. 207; A.S. Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 486.

³² Situated in 26° 39' N. and 77° 37' E., about 19 miles almost due west of Dholpur Railway station and 45 miles south-west of Āgrā. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 351).

³³ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, E. & D., Vol. IV, p. 61.

³⁴ *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 278; H. Beveridge, III, p. 406.

³⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, B. De., pp. 306-307.

³⁶ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, I, p. 413, E. & D., V, p. 490. The highest peak of this range is Raghunāthgarh (in Alwar), 3,450 feet high. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 234)

³⁷ *Bābur-nāma*, f. 282b, Beveridge, II, p. 606.

³⁸ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, p. 62. The plateau of Goramji which lies about 7 miles to the south-west of Todgarh has an elevation of 3,075 feet. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 448).

several hundreds of miles. The continuity of this range further extends to the hilly tracts of Mewār and Vāgad where it assumes its rocky, hilly and rugged character. The mountain of Handuwārā near Gogundā,³⁹ referred to by Nizāmuddin,⁴⁰ is no other than an important range of Jargā. He, while describing the character of this region, says that it is full of lofty hills, high mountains and thickly-wooded forests.⁴¹ In *Wāqiat-i-Jāhāngiri*⁴² the nature of the country has been termed as difficult of access. Kambū⁴³ designates these mountains as Dāman-i-Koh (skirt of hills), full of dreary forests.

This range has different names at different places on account of the diverse shape it has assumed. At Ekalingji,⁴⁴ as for example, where it is triangular in form, it is called Trikuta.⁴⁵ Near Udaipur it is fish-shaped and so it is known as Māchhalāmāgrā.⁴⁶ At some places it is also known by the name of the place nearby. The hill range of Dungarpur, after the temple of Dhanmātā is known as Dhanmātā Dungarā.⁴⁷ The hill near Sisārmā village is known as Sisārmomagro,⁴⁸ that near Chāvand⁴⁹ village is Chāvand-rā-Magrā,⁵⁰ and one near the temple of Bhawāni in Rājnagar,⁵¹ is Bhawānigiri. These ranges enclose deep cultivated valleys and provide numerous streams of water on which the crop depends.

The western and central ridges of this chain, as referred to by the contemporary writers,⁵² form almost impregnable barrier, the only access

³⁹ A small town about 16 miles north-west of Udaipur. (*Rāj. Gaz.*, Vol. II-A, pp. 110-111).

⁴⁰ *Tabaqāt*, E. & D., Vol. V, p. 398.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II. (P.T.), p. 33 ; B. De, pp. 492-493.

⁴² *Wāqiat-i-Jahāngiri*, E. & D., VI, p. 339.

⁴³ *Amal-i-Sālih*, ff. 50 and 55.

⁴⁴ A small village situated in a narrow defile, twelve miles to the north of Udaipur city. (*Rāj. Gaz.*, Vol. IIA, p. 106).

⁴⁵ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V.S. 1517, vv. 15-17.

⁴⁶ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 12.

⁴⁷ *Āghāta*, V.S. 1577 (1520 A.D.), *Dungarpur Rājpatra*, 5th June, 1945.

⁴⁸ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 12.

⁴⁹ A village near Sarārā, 35 miles south of Udaipur. (Ojha, *U.R.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 39-40).

⁵⁰ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, ff. 11-12.

⁵¹ The headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name, situated about 42 miles north by north-east of Udaipur. (*Rāj. Gaz.*, Vol. IIA, p. 9).

⁵² *Chirvā Ins.*, V.S. 1330 (1273 A.D.); *Viennā Oriental Journal*, Vol. XX, p. 155, EI, Vol. 27, pp. 285-292 ; *Rajavilāsa*, Canto 10, f. 55, v. 114 ; *Rājaparakāsha*, Canto 12, vv. 17, 20, 26 and 43 ; Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, p. 68.

to and from these are the passes of Deosuri-nāl,⁵³ Jhilwārā-nāl,⁵⁴ and the passes of Chirvā,⁵⁵ Deobāri,⁵⁶ Manpurā,⁵⁷ Begumpurā,⁵⁸ Sāyarā,⁵⁹ Ghānerāo,⁶⁰ Amberi⁶¹ and Khadiyā-nāl.⁶² Such a formation accounts for the great difficulty of communication across this section of the Aravallis.

One of the offshoots of this system bends further towards the south-east at Hārāvati (Hādoti), comprising Bundi and Kotāh. The range here traverses from south-east to north-west forming a double line of hills. Abul Fazl⁶³ has taken notice of this part as a hilly country full of defiles. He also referred to a lofty hill and termed it *Untagardan*—camel's neck, difficult to surmount.

The Influence of this Hilly Region

The ranges of the Arāvallis with their hills and valleys naturally became a sheltering home for a number of tribes like Bhils⁶⁴ and Mers,⁶⁵ since time immemorial. On account of their impregnability these indigenous inhabitants maintained within their folds an isolated existence and above all their culture. The ruggedness of hills made their intercourse with outsiders well-nigh impossible, and thereby they imbibed insular habits,—‘the world forgetting and by the world forgot’. By virtue of their

⁵³ About 78 miles north-west of Udaipur (Map, *Mewār Residency*).

⁵⁴ About 70 miles north-west of Udaipur. (Ojhā, *U.R I*, I, p. 3).

⁵⁵ About 11 miles north-west of Udaipur. (Map, *Mewār Residency*).

⁵⁶ About 7 miles east of Udaipur. (Map, *Mewār Residency*).

⁵⁷ About 90 miles east by north-east of Udaipur.

⁵⁸ Situated in 24° 59' N. and 75° 1' E., about 90 miles east by north-east of Udaipur. (*Rāj. Gaz.*, Vol. II-A, p. 95).

⁵⁹ About 33 miles north-west of Udaipur (*Rāj. Gaz.*, II-A, p. 122).

⁶⁰ About four miles south-west of Deosuri. (Map, *Mewār Residency*).

⁶¹ About four miles north of Udaipur. (Map, *Mewār Residency*).

⁶² It is near Sādri of Mārwar. (Map, *Mewār Residency*).

⁶³ *Akbar-nāma*, II, pp. 201-202, H. Beveridge, III, pp. 284-286; Naini's *Khyāta*, f. 35.

These ridges are cut through by passes of Jainwās, Rāingarh and Lakheri. The highest point is at the eastern end of Shāhabād, rising to 1,800 feet. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, pp. 445-449.)

⁶⁴ Bhilla is the Sanskritized form. The word Bhil is by some derived from the Dravidian word meaning ‘a bow’, which is a characteristic weapon of the tribe, and by others from the root of the Sanskrit verb meaning, ‘to pierce, shoot or kill’, in consequence of their proficiency as archers. (For greater details see:—*The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLIV, Part I, 1875, pp. 347-388; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, pp. 86-89; *Rājputānā Gazetteers, Mewar Residency*, 1908, and the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. X, 1924).

⁶⁵ *I. G*, Prov. Series, p. 458.

living in the hills they became mountaineering tribes. There they developed a special technique of their own to fight against heavy odds. The guerilla tactics became the special method of warfare of the Bhils which bewildered the Muslim forces on several occasions. Mahārāṇā Kumbhā,⁶⁶ Mahārāṇā Pratap,⁶⁷ Mahārāṇā Rājsingh⁶⁸ made an apt use of their tactics.

The Arāvallis was not only a seat of refuge for indigenous tribes but also a sheltering home for many a displaced *Kṣatriya* ruler, right from the 7th century A.D., to the beginning of our period of study. These new settlers, on account of their contact with the aborigines, and their life in the rugged environment, developed simple and rough manners. Jahāngir,⁶⁹ Mutāmid Khān⁷⁰ and Naiṇsi⁷¹ made note of this Rājput character in their respective works.

The important characteristic of mountains is their power to retard, arrest or deflect every phase of historical settlement and movement. The high mountain system presented the most effective barrier which the invaders or settlers met at every step. Due to rugged ravines and valleys of Arāvallis, the local rulers could hold their own against their Muslim enemies, even when they were reduced to grave straits. Wars of the Mewātis and those of the chiefs of Mewār and Mārwarz are apt illustrations in which physical conditions of hilly tracts greatly helped them to maintain their independence against heavy odds. In 829 H. (Nov., 1429 A.D.), Mubārak Shāh marched against Mewāt. Jallū and Kaddū, grandsons of Bahādur Nāhir, along with their Mewāti followers laid waste their own country and retained their independence in the mountain of Andwār beyond the reach of the arms of their enemies.⁷² At the time of Akbar's invasion of Chitor in 1567 A.D., Raṇa Udai Singh went to the hills of *Girwā* where he remained untraced.⁷³ Similar was the case with Rāo Chandra Sen of Mārwarz who preferred to remain in the recesses of hills and woods rather

⁶⁶ *Sangītarāja, Pāihyaratnakośa, Canto Lakṣhaṇa Parikṣhaṇa, v. 33; Firishtā, Tārikh, Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 42.*

⁶⁷ *Amarkāvya-Vaṁshāvali, f. 44 b; Rājaratnākara, Canto 7, vv. 21, 41, 42, ff. 35 & 36; Naiṇsi's Khyāta, Vol. 2, pp. 50, 55 and 58; Dayaldās's Khyāta, Vol. I, pp. 39 and 41.*

⁶⁸ *Rājāvilāsa, Canto 10, vv. 54-80, ff. 144 (a), 146 (b); Ibid., Canto 10, v. 82, ff. 146 (b), 147 (a); Ibid., Canto 10, v. 102, f. 149 (a).*

⁶⁹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri, Vol. I, p. 135, (P. T.); Memoirs of Jahāngir, (Susil Gupta), p. 98.*

⁷⁰ *Iqbāl-nāma (P. T.), Vol. III, p. 537.*

⁷¹ *Naiṇsi's Khyāta, f. 8b.*

⁷² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi, E. & D., Vol. IV, p. 61.*

⁷³ *Akbar-nāma (P.T.), p. 283; Muntakhab (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 103; Tarikh-i-Alfi, E. & D., V, p. 170.*

than submit to the Mughals.⁷⁴ Both Abul Fazl⁷⁵ and Jahāngir⁷⁶ have rightly said that on account of the availability of physical protection Rāṇā Pratāp and his son Rāṇā Amar Singh dared to disobey him and displayed pride on the strength of their hilly country. They never obeyed any king of Hindustān. Much of their (Mughal) energy was sapped by continuous warfare against them, but still they were far from being thoroughly subdued.

In addition to this, general infertility, paucity of arable land, harsh climatic conditions, and practical lack of communication with the outside world, have offered scant basis for subsistence in the mountainous regions. This is why, leaving aside a few scattered spots, hilly regions are mostly uninhabited wilderness and remain to-day areas of sparse population.

However, the hilly ranges had played their part in affecting religious settlements in Rājasthān. In the hope of safety from pursuits of Muslim invaders several rich families of Gujarāt and other neighbouring parts drew into isolated and barren places that are scarcely accessible or habitable, and thereby extended the habitable areas and built temples.⁷⁷ We find these refuge folks living in piled villages built by the side of valleys, hills, rivers, barren lands, all which can be classified as regions of retreat.

The mountain ranges had not only influenced the political and religious life of the people of Rājasthān but had also developed in them an ethnic proclivity. The picturesque ranges had wholesome and charming effect on the moulding of character of the people. While describing the land of Medpāt (Mewār) with hilly surroundings, the author of the *Achalesvara Inscription*⁷⁸ says that it is an abode of everything that is beautiful in the world. The writer of the *Ekalinga Inscription*⁷⁹ corroborates this view by stating that it excels paradise itself, and that its splendour has deprived all other cities and citizens of the pride of their glory. It is true that the description given by these writers suffers from hyperbolic delineation ; it is at least certain that the bounteous nature of the mountain region conditioned, to a very great extent, the development of taste, in the people, for beautiful objects and love for all that is attractive in life. The beautiful natural surroundings made the inhabitants love colourful objects. In the hilly areas of Rājasthān multi-coloured dresses are still preferred as the choicest garments.

Besides, we cannot ignore a great disadvantage which the people living in the mountainous regions have to face. They discourage budding of genius, because they are areas of isolation, confinement, remote from the great currents of men and idea. "They are regions of much labour

⁷⁴ *Akbar-nāma*, Vol. III, (P.T.), pp. 80, 81, 110, 111, 158 and 159.

⁷⁵ *Akbar-nāma*, f. 93, (P.T.), Vol. III, p. 135.

⁷⁶ *Tuzuk*, (P.T.), p. 135, R. & B., I, p. 274 ; *Wāqiat-i-Jahāngiri*, E. & D., VI, p. 33.

⁷⁷ *Jaina Inscriptions*, V.S. 1510 (1453 A.D.), Nos., 2457, 2458 and 2484 ; V.S. 1521 (1464 A.D.), No. 2350 ; V.S. 1579 (1522 A.D.), No. 2457.

⁷⁸ *Achalesvara Inscription*, V.S. 1342 (1285 A.D.), v. 7.

⁷⁹ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.), v. 6.

and little leisure, of poverty today and anxiety for the morrow, of toil-cramped hands and toil-dulled brains." Moreover, among mountains such people as skilful artisans, manufacturers, and professional people find it difficult to make a living. Again in such hilly backward regions poverty often makes the mountaineers resentful and quarrelsome.⁸⁰

Plateau

The next important natural feature is the region of the plateau, termed in epigraphic records as *Uttamādrī*,⁸¹ and locally known as *Uparmāl*. Its surface is most uneven, sometimes it is level and sometimes it rises in abrupt ridges. It stretches from Chitor to Begun, Bijoliyān and Māndalgarh. Thence it spreads to Hārāvati (Hādōti),⁸² comprising the areas covered by Mukandarā pass,⁸³ Chechat,⁸⁴ Khanpur,⁸⁵ Shāhabād⁸⁶ and Atru.⁸⁷ Its tabular form goes up to the fortress of Bundi, Dablānā,⁸⁸ Indergarh⁸⁹ and Lakheri.⁹⁰

Influences of this Feature on Social and Cultural Life

Just as the region of hills has contributed to the political and cultural life of Rājasthān, so also the plateau has wielded social, cultural and political influences of far-reaching importance. The plateaux of Bijoliyān

⁸⁰ *Samyaktva* by Taruṇa Prabhsuri, V.S. 1411, pp. 10-11; *Kānhadadeprabandha*, Canto 2, vv. 2-4, p. 63, ed. Jodhpur.

⁸¹ *Bijoliyān Rock Inscription*, V. S. 1226 (1169 A.D.), 60-61, EI, Vol. 26, p. 97. The term *Uttamādrī* stands for *Uparmāl* which extends from Baroli and Bhensrod in the south to Jahāzpur in the north, (EI., Vol. 26, p. 101).

⁸² Nainṣi's *Khyāta*, f. 34.

⁸³ About 32 miles south by south-east of Kotāh. *The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 386).

⁸⁴ The headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name, situated about 20 miles south-west of Kotāh. (Map, Kotāh Division, *Statistical Atlas, Raj.*, p. 12).

⁸⁵ The headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name, situated about 40 miles south-east of Kotāh. (Map, Kotāh Division, *Statistical Atlas, Raj.*, p. 12).

⁸⁶ The headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name, situated about 75 miles north-east of Kotāh. (Map, Kotāh Division, *Statistical Atlas, Raj.*, p. 12).

⁸⁷ The headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name, situated about 20 miles south-east of Kotāh. (Map, Kotāh Division, *Statistical Atlas, Raj.*, p. 12).

⁸⁸ A town in a north-easterly direction of river Mej in Bundi. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 283).

⁸⁹ A town in the northern hill range of Kotāh. *The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 366).

⁹⁰ A town in Bundi district, *Census of India, 1951*, Vol. X, Part II, A., p. 64, Jaipur, 1953).

and Ajmer helped weaving a thread of harmony and synthesis in the religious life of Rājasthān by virtue of their being centres of pilgrimages and fitting abodes for ascetics to practise ways and means of achieving salvations. There are notable places in uparmāl which are religious places^{90A} both for the Hīndus and Jains. Pushkar is a place in the centre of the plateau which is highly venerated by the Hīndus, as is the Dargāh Ajmer by the Muslims.

The low mountains of this region has been reputed to be the home of poets and artists, owing to abundant luxuriant surroundings and peaceful atmosphere. Chand Bardāi, the reputed author of *Prithvirāja-Rāso* and Surajmal Mishra of *Vamsha Bhāskar* flourished in the region, and whose works occupy the most prominent place in the literary productions of Rājasthān. Bādoli temple^{90B} of Kotāh region stands as an exquisite piece of architectural skill. Similarly Bundi painting has a specific place in the Rājasthān style of painting.

From the political significance the plateau holds an important position. The kingdom of Chauhāns came into existence in the bracing environment of this upland, which is comparatively well-watered and fertile, so far as the hill country is concerned. Since then Ajmer situated at the pinnacle of the plateau has always been considered pre-eminently useful by every imperial power. In order to keep control over the ruling chiefs of Rājasthān the Mughals made it a *Subāh*. It remained a cradle of Mughal authority and a base of Mughal operations in Rājasthān, from Akbar's time to the time of the later Mughals.^{90C} The Marāthās and the British also used it as nucleus of their strength and authority.^{90D}

The low reliefs of the plateau, moreover, present no serious obstacle to the numerous highways across them. From olden days Ajmer commanded, and still commands the main routes going to various directions.

Plains

Another striking natural feature of Rājasthān is the natural alluvial plains situated in between valleys, hills and dales, their levels being generally above the ordinary inundations of the rivers. At places it is partially covered with jungles. Bābur⁹¹ has referred to the charming plains and meadows of Firozpur and of the Kutilā lake in Mewāt which was

^{90A} *Bijolīyān Inscription*, V.S. 1226 (1169 A. D.), vv. 63-66 and 86.

^{90B} Tod, *Annals*, pp. 565-572.

^{90C} *Akbar-nāma*, (P.T.), Vol. III, p. 146; *Tabaqat*, (P.T.), p. 332; *Muntakhab*, (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 230; *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, (P.T.), p. 180; *Bernier's Travels*, pp. 90-91; *Tavernier's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 349; *Maāsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. I, p. 447.

^{90D} I. G., Pro. Series, p. 453.

⁹¹ *Bābur-nāma*, A. S. Beveridge, pp. 251 and 580.

then full of springs. Abul Fazl⁹² also refers to green meadows and springs as well as jungle abounding in lions and tigers in this area. The writers of the *Tārikh-i-Alfi*⁹³ corroborate this description. Captain Mundy,⁹⁴ who passed through Bharatpur on 13th January, 1828, just after the close of our period, referred to jungles around it.

The most typical of the alluvial plains of Rājasthān were in the central region. Abul Fazl⁹⁵ says that to the south and south-east of Āmber there were fertile plains. According to him, there were, towards the Kishangarh border, either open and treeless plains or thick jungles dotted here and there with hills. He adds that the forest of low land between Rañthambhor and Ajmer were best hunting grounds. Badauni⁹⁶ refers to a marshy lowland, 10 miles from Āmber, where an elephant named Rāma-Prasād was stuck in mud.

From Ajmer to Mālwā, says Jahāngir,⁹⁷ there are green and pleasant plains. In the south-western Rājasthān there is a plain in Mewār, which according to Naiṅsi,⁹⁸ extends from Koliyāri⁹⁹ to thirty miles in eastern direction. He further says that there are also narrow plains at intervals between the villages of Sirohi, Bānswārā, Bundi and Kotāh. From productive point of view, as he says, they are of great importance.

The Influence of Plains

When we think of plains, we recall the growth of civilization, wealth, leisure, contact with many minds, large urban centres where commodities and ideas are exchanged. This tract is thickly peopled, and to a great extent cultivated, though some of the inhabitants rely largely for subsistence on herds of cattle, which feed on the grass that covers this part after the rains. Within this region there are substantial villages and principal towns of Rājasthān, the account of which will be given in the chapter that follows.

Desert

The most conspicuous of the physical zones of Rājasthān is the great desert which extends from one edge of Rānn of Kutch to the southern border of the Punjāb, and includes the sterile parts of Jodhpur, Bikāner and Jaisalmer. Humāyun and his men had to pass through this

⁹² *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 406.

⁹³ *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, E. & D., V, p. 329.

⁹⁴ *The Journal of a Tour in India* by Captain Mundy, Vol. I, (ed. 1837), p. 62.

⁹⁵ *Akbar-nāma*, pp. 216-278 ; H. Beveridge, III, pp. 403, 404 and 406.

⁹⁶ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, II, p. 235. (Lowe).

⁹⁷ *Tuzūk*, (R. & B.), I, p. 348.

⁹⁸ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, ff. 12 and 61.

⁹⁹ About 35 miles north of Udaipur.

tract facing great difficulties during the days of his distress. His journey from Uch to the outskirts of Bikāner was one of fatigue and privations. The area was so dreary that, 'neither corn nor grass was to be had'. On account of scarcity of water some people accompanying Humāyun ran mad and others died. The entire tract was sandy waste, ill-watered and unproductive. Shifting sand-hills, locally termed '*dhrians*' were common. The whole region bore a desolate and dreary appearance. The water was generally brackish and found at the depth of 200 to 300 feet below the surface. The land was incapable of bearing blades of corn and looked like a sea of sand. Wells are so deep, says Manucci, that when water is drawn out of them with the help of oxen, those who set these animals to work beat a drum as a warning that the pot is at the mouth of the well, and they are about to draw water.¹⁰⁰

The Influence of Desert

This great belt of desert gives us a vast territory of rare historical uniformity. From time immemorial it has borne and bred tribes of wandering herdsmen. The environment of this dry area operates now to produce mostly the same mode of life and social organization in lonely parts as it did several hundreds of years ago. A most important feature of Maru, which had impressed itself forcibly on the character, religion and life of the people and also on its government, is the great desert. This huge desert had left a deep mark on its inhabitants. Hospitality, bravery and alarming habits, says the writer of the *Rajarupaka*,¹⁰¹ became second nature of the people of the desert. Making the movements difficult, in this dreary region, it had necessarily made government control very difficult ; for a distant chief could always rebel and take refuge in the desert if defeated. The rulers of Jodhpur and Bikāner had faced great difficulties in keeping Mertā, Jālor, Sānchor, Phugal, etc., in subjugation in the long chequered history of the states over which they ruled.¹⁰²

The desert of Mār wār, Jāngal and Jaisalmer influenced the history and life of the people of Rājasthān to a great extent. It has been little

¹⁰⁰ *Tezkereh-ul-Vākiāt*, p. 56 ; Gulbadan, *Humayun-nāma*, pp. 151-55 ; *Akbar-nāma*, I, pp. 182, 219, 371 ; H. Beveridge, I, pp. 375 and 539 ; *Tabaqāt*, f. 45 ; *Karamachandra-vanshotkīrtanakam-kāvya*, v. 5 ; *Firishṭā*, p. 219 ; Briggs, II, p. 93 ; Nainši's *Khyāta*, ff. 61 ; Tavernier, p. 63 ; Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 432.

¹⁰¹ *Rajarupaka*, Canto 16, vv. 33-39.

¹⁰² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Raverty, pp. 465 and 667 ; *Firishṭā* (Briggs), Vol. II, p. 16 ; *Pābu Temple Inscription*, V. S. 1615 (1558 A. D.) I. A. S., Vol. 12, p. 108 ; *Tawārikh-Jodhpur*, Bundle No. 40, Granth No. 7, ff. 49-77, 95-98 (BA) ; Tod, *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 560 ; *Vir Vinod*, II, pp. 806-807.

traversed and was little traversable. Jauhar¹⁰³ and Abul Fazl¹⁰⁴ describe at length the hardships and toils the royal fugitive and his party had to face in the 'Sahāra'. Sujān Rāy Khattri¹⁰⁵ says that the heat in the dreary desert of Rājasthān was so immense and the scarcity of water for miles together was so acute that the imperial forces could not reach the place. This peculiarity of the country kept it practically independent and was thought unworthy of a permanent occupation in the early mediaeval period. Sher Shāh after his victory over Māldeo had said in despair that 'for a handful of *bājra* (millet) he had nearly lost the empire of Hindustān.¹⁰⁶

As regards the population of the desert it was exceptionally scanty. The villages like Bhagsar, Doduni, Bariyavās, Dadurovās, etc., in Bikaner Division, according to the *Census Report* of V. S. 1913 (1856 A. D.) had a population not more than fifteen persons on average.^{106a} In the desert it clustered round the places where water was available. But as the supply of water dried or ceased either in ponds or wells the population shifted to another place. Naiṅsi gives a long list of the villages of the desert area in which the supply of water failed after 3 to 8 months, and as a result the inhabitation shifted to other places.¹⁰⁷

But inspite of all the disadvantages the desert had an importance in the Mughal history. As it lies on the way from the Mughal capital to Gujaṛāt and was on the route of the busy port of Cambay and manufacturing centres of Ahmadabād and Surat, the sole prospects of Mughal trade and military control naturally depended upon keeping firm control on the desert region. Akbar being alive to these needs garrisoned Mertā, Jālor and Nāgor, as the strongholds and outposts of the Mughals.¹⁰⁸ Aurangzeb, similarly, made strenuous efforts to keep Mārwar under him.¹⁰⁹

River System

Another physical feature which forms an interesting study is the river system of Rājasthān. Bābur¹¹⁰ had noticed that the hills of Rājasthān are the main sources of several rivers. A study of the courses of these rivers suggests that there are low distinct slopes, one towards north-

¹⁰³ *Tezkereh-ul-Vākiāt*, ff. 73-74.

¹⁰⁴ *Akbar-nāma*, (P. T.), I, p. 182.

¹⁰⁵ *Khulāsāt-ul-Tawārikh*, f. 33n.

¹⁰⁶ Abbās Sarwāni, *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi*, E. & D., IV, p. 406; *Muntakhab*, (Lowe), II, p. 479; Firishtā, (P. T.), p. 228; Briggs, II, p. 123.

^{106a} Bahi *Mardumshumāri*, V. S. 1913 (1856 A. D.) (BA).

¹⁰⁷ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 35b.

¹⁰⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 277.

¹⁰⁹ *Muntakhab* (K) (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 261; *Maāsir-i-Alamgiri*, (P.T.), pp. 175-76.

¹¹⁰ *Bābur-nāma*, f. 207, A. S. Beveridge, II, p. 486.

east and other towards south-west, Arāvallis forming a watershed in between the two slopes.

The river system of north-eastern slope is of great importance. Bābur¹¹¹ refers to the Chambal (Charmavati of Sanskrit literature) as the largest river of Rājasthān, having its origin in the Vindhyaś. Bāmani, Pudhoi (Pagdhoi) and Pān are earlier tributaries of this river.¹¹² Kālisind is another important tributary of the Chambal which passes through Dhulkot and meets it at Gāgron.¹¹³ Firishtā¹¹⁴ and Naiṅsi¹¹⁵ make the Banās as an important tributary of the Chambal. It originates in the Jargā hills and passes through the villages of Rohidā, Barvādā, Kothāriā, Kāmā, Khamnor, Pur, Akolā, Nandarāya, Chiheb, Ropā, Pāroli, Banerā and Bhagwantgarh. It meets the Chambal at Kandārgarh. River Khāri meets the Banās at Dābar.

Other important rivers of this slope are Māhi and Som which pass through the Dungarpur and Bānswārā districts¹¹⁶ The Jākam and Janjāli are the rivers of Devaliā.¹¹⁷

The most important river of south-western slope is the Luni with its source in the sacred lake of Pushkar. It flows through the desert area of Mārwar and falls in the Rānn of Kutch. According to Naiṅsi it covered a total of about 200 miles in its course and passed through 28 villages of Sānchor district.¹¹⁸ River Kāk¹¹⁹ is the chief river of Jaisalmer which empties itself in a tank.

The Influence of Rivers

Along these nature-made highways history repeats itself. The Chambal has admitted to Rājasthān a long list of settlers and invaders, covering the period from the early Āryan settlement to the Turkish and Mughal invasions. The early Āryans, in their gradual dispersion over north-western India, reached the Arabian Sea chiefly by a route running

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, f. 207, A.S. Beveridge, II, p. 485.

¹¹² Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, ff. 13 and 34.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, f. 34.

¹¹⁴ *Firishtā*, p. 419.

¹¹⁵ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 34. Other tributaries of the Chambal are Mej, Pārvati, Buguri, Sudā and Newān. Berach, Kothāri, Mashi, Dhil, Morel are important tributaries of the Banās. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, pp. 92, 98 and 170).

¹¹⁶ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 26. Annās, Erun, Chop and Haron are other minor streams of this area, vide *Mewār Residency*, pp. 128-160.

¹¹⁷ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, p. 94; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 161.

¹¹⁸ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, ff. 60 and 97.

¹¹⁹ It is probably the same stream which rises near the village of Katri, 17 miles south-west of Jaisalmar and forms a lake called Bhuj Tāl, vide *Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 207.

southward from the Indus-Ganges area to the eastern border of the Rājputānā desert and the western-foot of the Arāvalli Hills. The streams flowing down from this range across the thirsty plains unite to form the Luni river. Here a smooth and well-watered path brought the early Āryans of India to a fertile coast along the Gulf of Cambay.¹²⁰ For other settlers like Ābhiras and Gurjaras these rivers served as the guiding course for their march into the interior. The Āhar, Gambhiri, Khāri, etc., served as interior thoroughfares. These rivers played the same part in directing and expediting the forward movement of the Rājputs into the heart of Rājasthan. In 1428, the forces of Mubārak Shāh marched to Bayānā along the course of the Chambal.¹²¹ The Banās had been a guiding course for Mānsingh to reach to the interior of Mewār.¹²² In the palmy days of the Mughal empire during the seventeenth century, and doubtless much earlier, river courses became an established trade route between the sea and the rich cities of the upper Ganges.^{122a} The Western Railway, formerly known as Rājputānā Railroad, from Gulf of Cambay to Delhi, basically follows the river course.¹²³

The rivers are also convenient lines of demarcation and strategic lines of defence, as is proved by the military history of the Banās and countless other streams. Mānsingh at the battle of Haldighāti adopted the Banās¹²⁴ as his military frontier and so the Rupārel¹²⁵ served as a line of defence at the battle of Laswāri.

The most conspicuous influence of the rivers lies in their serving a useful purpose, acting as a boundary line between states, villages and *Parganāhs*. The Chambal, for example, formed the boundary between Jaipur and Kotāh, and Karoli and Gwālior.¹²⁶ The Māhi formed the boundary between Bānswārā and Dungarpur.¹²⁷ The Khāri flowed between Udaipur and Ajmer-Merwārā.¹²⁸

The rivers form a chief nucleus of civilization. They tend generally to be centres of population. They offer advantages that have always attracted settlement—fertile alluvial soil, a nearby water supply and access to market. It is thus not surprising to find that a large number of towns,

¹²⁰ Hans Helmolt, *History of the World*, Vol. II, p. 372, London and new York, 1902-1906.

¹²¹ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, (G. O. S., 1932), p. 217.

¹²² Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 11b.

^{122a} John Baptista Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 1641-1667, Vol. I, Chapter V, 1889.

¹²³ Sir Thomas Holdich, *India*, p. 305, London, 1905.

¹²⁴ *Tabaqāt*, (P. T.), p. 333 ; *Rājaprakāsha*, Canto 7, v. 16, f. 35a.

¹²⁵ *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 320.

¹²⁶ *The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, pp. 234 and 353.

¹²⁷ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 25b.

¹²⁸ *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 93.

like Kotāh, Bānswārā, Māndal, Kapāsin, etc., have been situated on the banks of rivers or on the banks of their tributaries.

Climate

From the climatic point of view the heat, except in hilly regions, in summer was great everywhere in Rājasthān, as it is now ; specially in the west and north-west it was excessive where hot winds and dust storms were very common. Babur,¹²⁹ speaking about the north-eastern Rājasthān, stated that it was very hot. Jauhar¹³⁰ says that it was unbearable in the desert of Mārwar. Abul Fazl¹³¹ spoke of the excessive heat of summer in Ajmer and Sāmbhar. Badauni¹³² while describing the heat experienced by him at Haldi-Ghāti during the month of June of 1576 wrote that at midday it was so hot that the very brain was boiled in the cranium, the air was like a furnace. But it was temperate at Ajmer.¹³³ Jahāngir¹³⁴ classed the area of Ajmer in 'second climate' and recorded that its air was nearly equable. However, the nights were cool and refreshing both in the desert and the hilly regions.¹³⁵ Winters were generally cool everywhere.¹³⁶

The air and water of Chāvand hills was branded as unhealthy by Jahangir.¹³⁷ We are told by the writer of the *Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Chagh-tāia*¹³⁸ that many of the Rāñā's men had died of the bad climate and heavy water of the mountainous region of Chāvand. According to Naiñsi¹³⁹ there were certain parts in Rājasthān, such as Devaliyā and the hilly regions of Sarārā (in Mewār), where the climate was not wholesome. The water of rivers, if drunk, produced adverse effect. And curiously enough also, it affected adversely if one waded through it. Col. Tod¹⁴⁰ also categorized the climate of Kotāh as unhealthy.

Climate also played a great part in determining the character of many soils. The sand-dunes of desert are the result of a desert climate. It also had a great effect on the character of plants and animals in different regions.

¹²⁹ *Babur-nāma*, f. 250 ; A.S. Beveridge, II, p. 577.

¹³⁰ *Tezkereh-ul-Vākiāt*, pp. 73-74.

¹³¹ *Akbar-nāma*, f. 97 ; H. Beveridge, II, pp. 297, 361 and 362 ; *Āin-i-Akbari*, II, p. 273.

¹³² *Muntakhab*, Lowe, II, p. 239.

¹³³ *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 273, (Jarrett and Sarkār).

¹³⁴ *Tuzūk*, I, (R. & B.), p. 340.

¹³⁵ *Inshā-i-Chandra Bhān*, f. 14.

¹³⁶ *Dholā-Māru-ri-Vat*, f. 396 ; *Surajaparakasha*, f. 26a ; *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 20a.

¹³⁷ *Tuzuk*, p. 134 ; R. & B., I, p. 273.

¹³⁸ *Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Chagh-tāia*, f. 317.

¹³⁹ Naiñsi's *Khyāta*, f. 28.

¹⁴⁰ Tod, *Annals*, III, p. 1707.

Rainfall

As there was variation in climate, so also in rainfall. It was unequally distributed in Rājasthān. Babur¹⁴¹ and Sujān Rāy Khattri¹⁴² spoke of scanty rainfall in the desert area, but it was quite heavy in the Arāvalli region of Chitor.¹⁴³ It was moderate in the central and north-eastern parts, while in the south-western parts it was so heavy that roads became impassable.¹⁴⁴ An ancient tradition¹⁴⁵ says that roads were closed and the use of boats was not possible in rivers due to floods in the rainy season. Literary works¹⁴⁶ of the period give a traditional description of the rainy season when the sky was overcast with clouds and the atmosphere filled with the noise made by birds like *pāpīhā*, *chātak* and peacock and the thunder of torrents and gushing streams. Though not real, it is at least suggestive of the values that mediaeval Rājasthān attached to it.

Flora

As regards vegetation resources, the hilly tracts, forest areas and the south-western parts of Rājasthān were very rich in early mediaeval period. Trees like the mango and the bamboo were in abundance at Arbuda (Mount Abu).¹⁴⁷ The hilly region of Mewār and forest of Kumbhalgarh and Chitor abounded in tall trees of the *sālār* (*Boswellia thurifera*), *dhāo* (*Anogeissus pendula*), *khadira* (*Acacia catechu*) and *palās* (*Butea frondosa*) varieties.¹⁴⁸ The defiles and hilly tracts of Mewār and Hāroti were full of trees like the *ām* (mango), *babul* (*Acacia arabica*), *bar* (*Ficus bengalensis*), *dhāk* (*Butea frondosa*) and *gular* (*Ficus glomerata*).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴¹ *Bābur-nāma*, f. 250 ; A.S. Beveridge, II, p. 577.

¹⁴² *Khulāsai-ut-Tawārikh*, ff. 5b and 6a.

¹⁴³ *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, E. & D., V, p. 170.

¹⁴⁴ *Takmilā-i-Akbar-nama*, E. & D., Vol. VI. p. 109 ; *Tuzuk*, p. 134, R. & B., I, p. 273.

¹⁴⁵ *Varshāritu-rā-Dohā*, f. 88, v. 22.

¹⁴⁶ *Chāndkunwar-ri-Vārtā*, f. 56a ; *Dholā-Māru-ri-Vāt*, pp. 37-39, vv. 507-525 ; *Rājvilāsa*, Canto I, vv. 40-59 ; *Pārsvanāth*, ff. 7-8, vv. 24-37 ; *Jasrāj-rā-Duhā*, vv. 55-56.

‘काली काजल सारखी घटा मंडाणी आज
पावस नित भडमंडियो चात्रक मोर उलास
विजलिया भवके जसा विरहण अधिक उदास’

¹⁴⁷ *Achalesvarā Inscription*, V.S. 1342 (1285 A.D.), v. 58 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscription*, No. 5.

¹⁴⁸ *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri Inscription*, V.S. 1331 (1274 A.D.), vv. 16-23 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. 4, p. 75 ; *Samidhesvara Inscription*, V. S. 1485 (1428 A. D.), v. 67, *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, VI, p. 100 ; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, Slab I, V.S. 1517, vv. 62-64, R.M., Ajmer, 1925-26, EI, Vol. 24, p. 28 ; *Satrunjaya Inscriptions*, V.S. 1587 (1530 A.D.), vv. 3-4 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, X, pp. 134-135.

¹⁴⁹ *Akbar-nāma*, III, pp. 193 and 201 ; H. Beveridge, III, pp. 272, 339, 284 ; *Muntakhab* (Lowe), II, pp. 239-240 ; *Tabaqāt*, pp. 322-333 ; B. De, II, pp. 492-493 ; *Tuzuk*, R. & B., I, p. 348 ; *Amal-i-Sālih*, f. 50.

The hills of Androon and Mewāt near Bāri, Dholpur and Sikri were full of mangoes, *Jāmun* (*Eugenia jambolana*),¹⁵⁰ etc. In these hills there were ebony trees. From the accounts of Persian chroniclers,¹⁵¹ it appears that the area from Sāngāner (near Jaipur) to Ajmer, Mewāt to Ajmer, Udaipur to Ajmer, Vāgad to Udaipur and Jodhpur to Jālor was well-wooded. Of course, in the desert areas there grew nothing except few thorny bushes.¹⁵²

Early Settlements in Rajasthan

From the study of the physiognomy of Rājasthān, it may rightly be concluded that this part of the country in general was very inhospitable and could not have ordinarily encouraged settlements. Only the Bhils, Minā and other aboriginal tribes who were generally the tillers and hunters by occupation, from prehistoric times for long, consequently chose a dry fertile country, called jāngal desh and the hilly regions of the south-western and the south-eastern parts of Rājasthān as fit places for their settlements.¹⁵³

Next to the aboriginal tribes references are found to the settlements of the Mauryans who after 4th century B. C., occupied the area around Jaipur and Ajmer. This is evidenced from 'Neo Black Polished' pottery met with at Choslā in Ajmer district and Gondi etc., in Jaipur district.¹⁵⁴ Another autonomous people called Sibis occupied, in or about 2nd century B. C., Madhyamikā superseding the successors of Sarvatrāta referred to in the *Ghosundi Inscription*.¹⁵⁵ Along with the Sibis the Abhirās and the Yaudheyas also left their original homes and settled in western Rājasthān.¹⁵⁶

In the early centuries of Christian era, Kushāns occupied Sarasvati and Drasadvati valley in Rājasthān in Bikāner district. This is supported by the so-called 'Rangmahal culture'.¹⁵⁷ The erection of the *Nāndsā Yupa Inscription* of 225-26 A.D. by Nandisoma of Mālava family on the occasion of the performance of *Ekashashtri-ratra-sattra* sacrifice established the sway

¹⁵⁰ *Bābur-nāma*, ff. 254, 262; A. S. Beveridge, II, pp. 585, 606; *Tabaqāt*, B. De, pp. 306-307.

¹⁵¹ *Akbar-nāma*, II, H. Beveridge, p. 371; *Tabaqāt*, p. 322; *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, E. & D., V, p. 32; *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi*, I, pp. 167 and 465; *Siyar-ul-Mutaākherin*, Vol. IV, p. 67.

¹⁵² *Dholā-Māru-ri-Vāt*, f. 64b; *Bikāner Gazal*.

¹⁵³ *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-55, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XII, June 1963, No. 4.

¹⁵⁵ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 161-162.

¹⁵⁶ *I. A.*, Vol. X, p. 167.

¹⁵⁷ *Rājputanā Desert—Its Archaeological Aspect*, *Bulletin of the National Institute of Science of India*, No. 1, 1952; *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia*. Series No. 40, No. 30, H. Rydh and others, 'Rangmahal', Lund., 1959.

of the Mālavas over Sahādā *tahsil* of Mewār and Sawaimadhopur of Jaipur district. Stray finds of coins of c. 353-54 A. D. in Mewār and Bānswārā bearing the name of Rudrasena III, show that south-western Rājasthān formed a part of Kṣhatrapa dominions.¹⁵⁸ Similarly Kotāh district was being held by Maukharis.¹⁵⁹

It must be remembered that although many of the aboriginal tribes were subdued during the course of invasions and settlements, referred to above, there is little doubt that the latter continued to exist and to form, at any rate, a very important and powerful section of the population.

By the time of the 7th century A. D., the 2nd horde of Āryan invaders, better known as Rājputs, came to Rājasthān being driven out of their homes in the Punjab, Gujarāt and the Gangetic valley by foreign invaders. Gradually they defeated, according to the legends, the earlier settlers by their heroic conflicts, and settled down in the areas occupied by them.

All the vast expanse of this area had been occupied by the Rājputs in the course of a long historical process. When first the Rājputs came upon the stage of Rājasthān history, in the period between the 7th and 12th centuries, they occupied only the south, the south-western, the north-western and north-eastern corners of Rājasthān as evidenced by inscriptions¹⁶⁰ of early period. From these corners they spread towards different directions of the interior, until by the 14th century Rājput settlers occupied practically the whole of Rājasthān. Both in this great expansion and in the remarkable persistence with which they meanwhile held their position, the Rājputs had demonstrated much fortitude and determination.

No other details of conflict between the Rajputs and the early settlers are forthcoming, nor is it possible to fix even an approximate date for the conflicts of the period, but there is no doubt that in the delightful legends of Jeta,¹⁶¹ Kotyā¹⁶² and Dungariyā¹⁶³ Bhils that have come down to us, we obtain glimpses of the great struggle in which Rājputs were the aggressors for many generations, but which ended in their (Bhils') subjection to the higher organization. It is also not difficult

¹⁵⁸ *E. I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 252.

¹⁵⁹ *E. I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 45 ; *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 251.

¹⁶⁰ *Aparājit Inscription* of the 5th of the bright-half of *Māgha*, V. S. 718, 2nd Nov., 661 A. D., *J.A.S.B.*, 1935, p. 122 ; *Bithu Inscription* of the 12th of the dark-half of *Kārtika*, V. S. 1330 (9th Oct., 1273 A. D.), *I. A.*, Vol. 40, p. 140 ; *Ojhā*, *J. R. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 146-155.

¹⁶¹ *Vaṃsha Bhāskar*, II, pp. 1621, 1624, 1626, 1627.

¹⁶² *Naiṃsi's Khyāta*, pp. 132-136, edited by Asopā ; *Vaṃsha Bhāskar*, III, pp. 1678-79.

¹⁶³ *Naiṃsi's Khyāta*, pp. 112-115, edited by Asopā.

to imagine that the ancient inhabitants were, in all probability, partly massacred, partly driven into the hills, and partly permitted to live side by side with the conquerors. If we consider the heavy losses which the defending tribes must have sustained, the wide area affected, and its mountainous character, this appears to be a reasonable hypothesis, and history shows it to be in accordance with the procedure of the most conquering nations.

In the course of war, the destruction was of course immediate, the victorious enemies usually setting fire to the rehabilitated areas. After the years of abandonment new settlers seem to have reoccupied the site, attracted by its strategically and commercially advantageous position and, the abundance of its water supply. Without removing the enormous mass of debris, it appears that they levelled off the ruined walls and used them as foundation for their own buildings. This process was repeated several times in course of years and, as 'occupation levels' succeeded one another, the town gradually rose above the surrounding plains. Āhar¹⁶⁴ in Udaipur and Basi¹⁶⁵ are the examples of this type of destruction and gradual occupation.

Of these Rājputs the Guhilots, the Chauhāns, the Pratihāras and the Parmāras were the most prominent. From the Inscriptions¹⁶⁶ of Pratihāras found in Mārwar, it is learnt that the sons of Pratihāra Harishchandra conquered Mandor about 613 A.D., and his great-grandson Nāgabhatta established his capital at Mertā. About 686 A.D., the next Rājput clan that came in forefront about the same time as the Pratihāras were the Chauhāns of Śākambhari, who established their government at Sāmbhar under their leader Vāsudeva.¹⁶⁷ The most renowned among the Rājput settlers of the 8th century A.D., were the Guhilots who in turn made Nāgaridh (Nāgdā), Āghātdurga (Āhar) and Chitrakut (Chitor) as centres of their political power.¹⁶⁸ In the middle of the 10th century A.D., Parmāras founded a kingdom in Vāgad (modern Bānswārā and Dungarpur States) with Utthunaka (modern Arthunā in Bānswārā) as the capital.¹⁶⁹ In the

¹⁶⁴ Dr. H. D. Sankhālā, *Beginning of Civilization in Rājasthān*, Second Seminar of the History of Rājasthān, pp. 1-16, (Udaipur, 1962).

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Mandor Inscription*, V.S. 894 (837 A.D.), *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 49; *Ghatiyālā Inscription*, V.S. 918 (861 A.D.), E. I., Vol. 9, pp. 279-80; *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, X, p. 48; Reu, *Glories of Mārwar and the Glorious Rāthors*, III; G. C. Choudhary, *Political History of Northern India*, Amritsar, 1954, pp. 37-38.

¹⁶⁷ *Bijoliyān Inscription*, v. 11, E. I., XXVI, pp. 84-112.

¹⁶⁸ *Aparājīt Inscription*, V.S. 718 (661 A.D.), E. I., Vol. 4, p. 31; *Āipur Inscription*, V.S. 1034 (977 A.D.), E. I., Vol. 39, p. 191; H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 1153-63.

¹⁶⁹ *Arthunā Inscriptions*, V.S. 1109 (1052 A.D.) and V. S. 1159 (1102 A.D.), Raj. Mu. Rep., 1915, p. 2, and E. I., XXI, p. 50, v. 25.

latter part of the tenth century a minor branch of the Parmāras established its sway in the region of Arbuda (Mt. Ābu), with its capital at Chandrāvati.¹⁷⁰ About 960 A.D., a branch of the Chauhāns established its authority at Naddula or Nādole.¹⁷¹ In the early years of the eleventh century Bhinmāl was founded as the capital of the Parmāras.¹⁷² In 1161 A.D., an important branch of the Chauhāns established its authority over Jālor.¹⁷³ About the 13th century the Rāthors established their sway over Pāli, Bithu and Kher of Mārwar.¹⁷⁴ A collateral branch of the Chauhāns of Ajmer established their power over Raṅthambhapur (Raṅthambhor), in the 13th century A.D.¹⁷⁵ About the same period Bundi and Kotāh came to be the seats of power of the Chauhāns who are better known as Hārās.¹⁷⁶

Within this natural region thus flourished several independent and semi-independent chiefs and chieftains whose warlike activities against the Sultāns of Delhi, Mālwā, Gujarāt, and local Chiefs determined the area of their respective territories. In order to be precise, let us now turn to the military activities and interstate relations, in brief, regarding the study of the extent of the territories of individual states of Rājasthān in or about the 15th century A.D.¹⁷⁷

Political Boundaries

The Rājput clan, which is said to have migrated from Gujarāt and dominated the south-western part of Rājasthān in the 8th century A.D., was that of the Guhilots.¹⁷⁸ The warlike activities of this house reached its zenith under Rāṇā Kumbhā (1433-1468 A. D.). The contemporary

¹⁷⁰ *Purnapāla Inscription*, V.S. 1099 (1042 A.D.); *Jhālodi Temple Inscription*, V.S. 1255 (1198 A.D.), etc., *Arbuda, Jain Lekha-sangraha*, part II, p. 97, part IV, p. 108; H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, p. 913, footnote 4.

¹⁷¹ *Nadol Copper-plates Grant*, V.S. 1218 (1161 A.D.), P. C. Nahar, *Jain-Lekha-Sangraha*, I, pp. 210-211.

¹⁷² *Bhinmāl Inscriptions*, V.S. 1060 (1003 A.D.), and V. S. 1067 (1010 A.D.), Reu, *Glories of Mārwar and the Glorious Rāthors*, IV.

¹⁷³ *Sundhā Hill Inscription*, E. I., IX, pp. 76-77, v. 36; P.C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-Sangraha*, I, pp. 205, 240.

¹⁷⁴ *Bithū Inscription* of V.S. 1330 (1273 A.D.), I.A., Vol. 40, p. 141.

¹⁷⁵ *Hammira-mahākāvya*, Canto IV, vv. 20-26; *Prabandha-kośa*, Canto IV, v. 32; *Singhi Jain Granthamālā*, VI, p. 134.

¹⁷⁶ Dr. M.L. Sharmā, *Kotā Rājya-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 56.

¹⁷⁷ *Vide* map of Rajasthan of the 15th century of this work.

¹⁷⁸ Guhilot is the Rājasthāni word for Sanskrit words like Guhilputra, Gobhilputra and Gohilya. After the name of Gohilya, the house of this dynasty is fitly termed as Gohil Vaṃsha. The reference to Guhil is made in the inscription of Aparājīt of the 5th of bright-half of *Mārgashirsha*, V.S. 718, 2nd Nov., 661 A.D., (*J.A.S.B.*), 1935, p. 122; E.I., IV, pp. 31-32; *A.S.I.*, Annual Report, 1920-21, p. 34.

Inscriptions discovered at Chitor,¹⁷⁰ Kumbhalgarh,¹⁸⁰ Rānpur¹⁸¹ and literary works like the *Ekalinga Mahātmya*¹⁸² throw favourable light on his exploits which vanquished his enemies, reduced them to submission and incorporated parts of their territories with his own. The places like Vrindāvati (Bundi), Hādāvati (country of the Hādā Rājputs), Chātsu,¹⁸³ Mālpurā,¹⁸¹ Āmrādātri (Āmber), Nārīyanagar (Narwār), Narāiṇa,¹⁸⁵ Giripur (Dungarpur) and Sārangpur were first conquered by him and then returned to their rulers who acknowledged his suzerainty or were at least under the sphere of his political influence.¹⁸⁶ He annexed Sapādāksha (Sāmbhar),¹⁸⁷ Didwānā,¹⁸⁸ Mandor,¹⁸⁹ Nāgor,¹⁹⁰ Raṅthambhor,¹⁹¹ Sirohji,¹⁹² Gāgron,¹⁹³

¹⁷⁹ *Kirtisthambha Inscription* of the 5th of the dark-half of *Mārgashirsha*, V.S. 1517 (3rd Dec., 1460 A.D.), Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. 23, Plates 20 and 21.

¹⁸⁰ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription* of the 5th of the dark-half of *Mārgashirsha*, V.S. 1517 (3rd Dec., 1460 A. D.), *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. 55, Part I, pp. 71-72.

¹⁸¹ Rānpur is a village lying 6 miles to the south of Sādri and about 14 miles east by south-east of Phālnā station (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 205); Rānpur *Inscription* of V.S. 1496 (1439 A.D.); *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1907-08, pp. 214-216.

¹⁸² *Ekalinga Mahātmya*, vv. 157-202.

¹⁸³ Chātsu is in the Jaipur Division, situated in 26° 36' N. and 75° 57' E., about two miles from Chātsu station on the Jaipur-Sawāimādhopur Railway (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 257).

¹⁸⁴ Mālpurā in the Jaipur Division, about 55 miles south-west of Jaipur city, situated in 26° 18' N. and 75° 23' E. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 264).

¹⁸⁵ Narāiṇā is in the Jaipur Division and is the headquarters of the *Dādūpanthi* sect of the Hindus. It is situated in 26° 48' N. and 75° 13' E., 41 miles west of Jaipur city.

¹⁸⁶ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V.S. 1517 (1460 A.D.), vv. 262, 264, 269; *Kirtisthambha Inscription*, V.S. 1517 (1460 A.D.), v. 6.

¹⁸⁷ A town in the Jodhpur Division situated in 26° 55' N. and 75° E. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 206).

¹⁸⁸ Situated in 27° 35' N. and 74° 35' E., about 130 miles north-east of Jodhpur city. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 194).

¹⁸⁹ The former capital of Mārwar, about 5 miles north of Jodhpur. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 199).

¹⁹⁰ Headquarters of a district of the same name in Jodhpur, situated in 27° 12' N. and 73° 44' E. Its fort has magnificent palaces and fountains. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 201).

¹⁹¹ It is a fort situated in 26° 2' N. and 76° 28' E. on an isolated rock, 1,578 feet above sea level. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 332).

¹⁹² Situated in the S.W. of Rājasthān, lying between 24° 20' and 25° 17' N. and 72° 16' and 73° 10' E. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 216).

¹⁹³ Situated in 24° 38' N. and 76° 12' E. at the junction of Ābu and Kāli Sind rivers, about 45 miles south-east of Kotāh city. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 382).

Ābu,¹⁹⁴ Mandalkar (Māndalgarh),¹⁹⁵ Ajayameru (Ajmer)¹⁹⁶ and Todā.¹⁹⁷ The parts which were within the fold of Mewār and were showing signs of independence like Yagnapur (Jahāzpur),¹⁹⁸ Yoginipur (Jāwar),¹⁹⁹ Vardhāvān (Badnor)²⁰⁰ and Hamirpur (Hamirgarh)²⁰¹ were restored to his possession by ceaseless wars.²⁰² He proudly carried his arms against the Sultāns of Mālwā and Gujarāt, and extended his sphere of political influence beyond Rājasthān.²⁰³ However, Mandor and Nāgor in his later days were taken back by the Rāthors, and Ābu was given back to the Deorā Chiefs by Udā, his successor.²⁰⁴ Sāmbhar was wrested by Dudā of Mertā²⁰⁵ from the weak hands of the patricide.²⁰⁶

The position earned by Rāṇā Kumbhā unfortunately received a setback during Rāimal's time (1473-1509 A. D.) due to internal disorder

- ¹⁹⁴ A celebrated mountain in the south of Sirohi situated in 24° 36' N. and 72° 43' E., 17 miles north-west of Ābu Road station. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 226).
- ¹⁹⁵ Situated in 25° 13' N. and 75° 7' E., about 100 miles north-east of Udaipur. (*The Imp., Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 139).
- ¹⁹⁶ Situated in 26° 27' N. and 74° 37' E., 275 miles south of Delhi. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 487).
- ¹⁹⁷ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 249, 251, 263; *Kirtisthambha Inscription*, vv. 6, 8, 11, 18, 23; *Ekalinga Mahātmya*, v. 157.
- ¹⁹⁸ The headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name, situated in 25° 37' N., and 75° 17' E., about twelve miles south-west of Deoli. (*Raj., Gaz.*, Vol. IIA, p. 111).
- ¹⁹⁹ It is 25 miles south of Udaipur and famous for silver mines, (Ojhā, *U. R. I.*, I, p. 39).
- ²⁰⁰ It is in the north-east of Udaipur, situated in 25° 5' N. and 74° 17' E. (*Raj. Gaz.*, IIA, pp. 90-91).
- ²⁰¹ A small town north of Udaipur, some 4 miles from the station of the same name of the Western Railway, (Ojhā, *U. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 21).
- ²⁰² *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 247, 250, 253, 254.
- ²⁰³ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 264, 268, 269; *Rāṇpur Inscription*, V. S. 1496 (1439 A. D.), l. 27; *Kirtisthambha Inscription*, V. S. 1517, vv. 146, 171; *Ekalinga Mahātmya*, v. 69; *Mīrāt-i-Sikandari*, f. 47; Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, pp. 49-150; Briggs, *Firishtā*, Vol. 4, pp. 208, 210, 214, 215, 223, 224; Nainsi's *Khyāta*, Vol. I, pp. 40, 42, 43; *Vir-Vinod*, Vol. I, pp. 317-335; Sārdā, *Mahārāṇa Kumbhā*, Chapters X and XII; Ojhā, *S. R. I.*, pp. 195-96; Ojhā, *U. R. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 279-315.
- ²⁰⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. 55, Part I, pp. 79-82; *Vir-Vinod*, Vol. I, p. 324; Sārdā, *Mahārāṇa Kumbhā*, p. 76; Ojhā, *U. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 325.
- ²⁰⁵ Headquarters of the district of the same name, about 9 miles south-east of Mertā station. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 197).
- ²⁰⁶ Reu, *Mārwār-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 99.

occasioned by intestine feuds²⁰⁷ of his family. However, he was successful in holding out most of the conquered territory of Kumbhā under him which is clear from several evidences. The Narlāi Inscription²⁰⁸ refers Godwād²⁰⁹ as a part under his possession. The grant of Ajmer and Parvatsar²¹⁰ by Rānā Sāngā, immediately after the death of Rāimal, to his benefactor Karamchand also leads us to believe that some part of Merwārā formed part of Mewār in Rāimal's time.²¹¹ The fact that the Chiefs of Amber, Narwār,²¹² Chanderi,²¹³ Bundi, Sāmbhar, Ajmer, Chātsu,²¹⁴ Lālsot,²¹⁵ Māroth,²¹⁶ Todā²¹⁷ and other regions fought on his side in his encounter against Zafar Khān, a general of Ghiyās-ud-din of Mālwā, shows that he (Rāimal) was an acknowledged leader of Rājasthān of his period.²¹⁸

As is clear from the contemporary sources, Vāgad (Dungarpur) under the leadership of Mahārāval Gangadās (1480-1496 A.D.) and Udai Singh (1496-1527 A.D.) kept pace during this period with the warlike activities of the Guhilots by maintaining ceaseless wars against the

²⁰⁷ Sārdā, *Māhārānā Sāngā*, pp. 13, 15, 44 ; Ojhā, *U. R. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 331-342 ; G. N. Sharma, *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 12.

²⁰⁸ *Narlāi Inscription*, V. S. 1597 (1540 A. D.) ; *Bhāvanagar Inscription*, XI, *Jaina Inscriptions*, Part I, No. 852, pp. 215- 216.

²⁰⁹ South of Jodhpur on the border of Sirohi and Mewār. *Administration Report*, Jodhpur, 1883, p. 117).

²¹⁰ Situated in 26° 53' N. and 74° 46' E., close to Kishangarh border and about 12 miles south of Makrānā station. (*Rāj. Gaz.*, Vol. IIIA., p. 211).

²¹¹ Munshi Devi Prasād, *Māhārānā Sāngā*, pp. 26-27.

²¹² District town in Madhya Pradesh. *The Imp. Gaz.*, Central India, p. 163).

²¹³ A town with an old fort in the Narwār district of Madhya Pradesh, situated in 24° 43' N. and 78° 9' E. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Central India, p. 163).

²¹⁴ About 25 miles south of Jaipur city. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 257).

²¹⁵ About 40 miles south-east of Jaipur, situated in 26° 35' N. and 76° 21' E. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 264).

²¹⁶ Situated in 27° 1' N. and 75° 1' E. on the northern edge of the Sāmbhar lake and about a mile east of Kuchaman-Road station. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 202).

²¹⁷ Situated in 26° 55' N. and 76° 49' E., about 62 miles east of Jaipur city. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 201).

²¹⁸ *Ekalinga Inscription* of the 10th of the bright-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 1545 (23rd March, 1488 A. D.), vv. 68, 77, 69, 71 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, p. 121 ; *Firishta*, Vol. IV, p. 243 ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, pp. 338-342 ; Sārdā, *Māhārānā Sāngā*, pp. 7, 8, 9 ; Ojhā, *U. R. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 328, 329 and 330.

rulers of Māndu and Gujarat in order to keep their territory intact.²¹⁹ From epigraphic records,²²⁰ we learn that Āntri, Chitri, Itāuā, Talwādā, Sāgwādā, Pārdā, Deva Somnāth, Kaṇbā, Kālinjārā, Kankruā, Asodā and Vejwādā were important places in the territory of Vāgad.

In or about the 15th century Ilā (Idar) was a bone of contention between Gujarāt and Mewār. According to the *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*²²¹ Mahārānā Kṣhatra Singh (1364-1382 A.D.) destroyed, about the middle of the 14th century, an army of Ami Shāh *alias* Dilāwar Khān Ghori of Mālwā near Chitor and imprisoned Raṇamalla of Idar. In 1515 A.D., Rānā Sāngā took interest in the affairs of a disputed succession to the throne of Idar and installed his candidate Rāimal, the son of Surajmal of Idar on the *gaddi*. Rāo Gāngā of Jodhpur was also a supporter of Rāimal. Mahārāwal Udai Singh, at the instance of Rānā Sāngā co-operated in the affair. Thus Idar at the beginning of our period came virtually under the sphere of influence of Mewār.²²²

Kānthāl (Pratāpgarh), the border state of Rājasthān, was originally a jāgir land from the Sultān of Māndu to Khem Singh²²³ and his successors from about the middle of the 15th century to the beginning of the

²¹⁹ *Rāmpol Inscription* of the 3rd of the bright-half of *Phālguna*, V.S. 1577 (21st Feb., 1520 A.D.), records the names of the warriors who fell fighting in the action against Gujarāt and Mālwā, vide *Dungarpur Rājpatra*, 5th June, 1945; Ojhā, *D.R.I.*, pp. 73-74.

²²⁰ *Āntri Inscription* of the 10th of the dark-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1526 (6th May, 1469 A.D.), v. 25; Ojhā, *D.R.I.*, p. 70; *Chitri Inscription* of the 1st of the bright-half of *Āśādha*, V.S. 1536 (20th June, 1479 A.D.); Ojhā, *D.R.I.*, p. 71; *Itāuā Inscription* of the 8th of the dark-half of *Pausha*, V.S. 1536 (5th Jan., 1480 A.D.); *Talwādā Inscription* of the 14th of the bright-half of *Āśādha*, V.S. 1538 (10th June, 1481 A.D.); Ojhā, *D.R.I.*, p. 72; *Pārdā Inscription* of the 7th of the dark-half of *Phālguna*, V.S. 1542 (25th Feb., 1486 A.D.); Ojhā, *D.R.I.*, pp. 72-73; *Deva Somnāth Inscription* of the 3rd of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1548 (31st March, 1492 A.D.); Ojhā, *D.R.I.*, p. 73; *Kānbā Inscription* of the 5th of the bright-half of *Māgha*, V.S. 1553 (10th Nov., 1495 A.D.); Ojhā, *D.R.I.*, p. 73; *Gadi Inscription* of V.S. 1556 (1500 A.D.); *Kālinjārā Inscription* of the 5th of the bright-half of *Phālguna*, 1578 (1st Feb., 1522 A.D.)

²²¹ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 21-29; *Bhāvanagar Inscription*, p. 119; *Kirtisthambha Inscription*, v. 23; *Ekalīngā Mahātmya*, v. 98.

²²² *Firishtā* (Briggs), Vol. IV, pp. 83 and 96; Nainsi's *Khyāta*, f. 29a; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, pp. 354-55; Sārdā : *Mahārānā Sāngā*, pp. 53-54.

²²³ Khem Singh, better known as Khemā, was the step-brother of Mahārānā Kumbhā, who due to his displeasure, had to go towards Mālwā to carve out a chiefship for himself. He got the territory near about Rāmpurā and Bhānpurā from Sultān Mahmud Khilji, vide *Khadvādā Bāvali Inscription*, vv. 26 and 64, V. S. 1541 (1484 A.D.), *Nāgri Prachārini Patrikā*, Vol. 12, V.S. 1988, pp. 1-96.

16th century, and as such it did not form part of Rājasthān in or about 1500 A.D. However, Khemsingh's successor Suraj Mal (1473-1530 A.D.) was conferred upon the jāgir of Sādri by Rānā Rāimal and in this capacity he fought against Ghiyās-ud-din of Māndu along with Rāimal. He also fought against Bābur as a confederate chief along with Rānā Sāngā at the battle of Khānuā in 1527 A.D. For three generations the rulers of Devliyā offered their loyal services to the house of Mewār in lieu of their jāgir of Sādri.²²⁴

Another important clan of the Rāthor which had migrated to the western part of Rājasthān under the leadership of Sihā, conquered Kher²²⁵ in Mallāni district, and planted the first Rāthor standard in or about 1243 A.D.²²⁶ Under the leadership of Jodhā (1438-1488 A.D.), who belonged to the same line, the political status of the Rāthors was raised and the territory of Mārwar²²⁷ under him included Mertā, Phalodj,²²⁸ Pokran,²²⁹ Mandor,²³⁰ Bhāndrājan,²³¹ Sojat,²³² Jaitāran,²³³ Shiva,²³⁴

²²⁴ Tod, *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 368 ; *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 61 ; Ojhā, *U.R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 403. Sādri is the small town situated in 24° 25' N. and 74° 29' E., about fifty miles east by south-east of Udaipur city. (*Raj. Gaz.*, Vol. II A., p. 93).

²²⁵ Seventy miles west of Pāli (*Administration Report*, Jodhpur, 1883, pp. 165-166).

²²⁶ *Bihu Inscription* of the 12th of the dark-half of *Kārikā*, V. S. 1330 (9th October, 1273 A. D.), IA., Vol. 40, p. 141, establishes the date of his death. Dr. Ojhā in his *Jodhpur-Rājya-ka-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 146-155, discusses the issue at length and concludes that Sihā established his authority around Kher in or about 1243 A.D.

²²⁷ Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 851 ; Reu, *J. R. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 102-103.

²²⁸ Situated in 27° 8' N. and 72° 22' E., about 70 miles north by north-west of Jodhpur city, (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 203).

²²⁹ Situated in 26° 55' E., about 85 miles north-west of Jodhpur city. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 204).

²³⁰ Situated in 26° 21' N. and 73° 2' E., about five miles of Jodhpur city. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 199).

²³¹ Situated about 60 miles in the south of Jodhpur. (Map, *Administration Report*, Jodhpur, 1883-84 A. D., p. 39).

²³² Situated in 25° 56' N. and 73° 40' E., on the left bank of the Sukri river, a tributary of the Luni, and about 7 miles north-west of Sojat Road Station on the Western Railway. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 206).

²³³ Situated about 65 miles in the east of Jodhpur. (Map, *Administration Report*, Jodhpur, 1883-84, p. 39).

²³⁴ Situated in the West of Pokran. (*Administration Report*, Jodhpur, 1883, pp. 36-37).

Siwānā,²³⁵ Sāmbhar, ²³⁶ Ajmer, some part of Godwād and a large portion of Nāgor district. However, under his successors some of its parts were snatched away by the chiefs of Mār wār of whom Udā was pre-eminent. The latter increased his territory by establishing his independent power at Mertā.²³⁷ During the reigning period of Sātal (1488-1491 A.D.), the area of Kundan,²³⁸ which he received from his father-in-law Devidās of Jaisalmer, was included in the territory of Mār wār.²³⁹ He also laid the foundation of the town of Sātalmer.²⁴⁰ In the beginning of our period when Sujā (1491-1515 A. D.) ruled the dominion of Mār wār it included Jodhpur, Phalodi, Pokran, Sojat and Jaitāran.²⁴¹ Nāgor and Jālor were under Bihāri Pathān, Majid Khān, and Ajmer, in turns, was ruled by Mallu Khān and the Rānās of Mewār.²⁴²

During the same period Jodhā's son Bikā (1472-1504 A.D.) by subduing Pathāns and other local chiefs founded an independent principality of Bikāner in or about 1488 A.D.²⁴³ By his dauntless wars he included Sirsā,²⁴⁴ Lādnu,²⁴⁵ Bhātner,²⁴⁶ Bhatindā,²⁴⁷ Singhānā,²⁴⁸ Rini,²⁴⁹ Nohar²⁵⁰ and Pungal²⁵¹ in his dominion and extended the boundary of Bikāner to the southern limits of the Punjāb. About 3,000 villages recognized

²³⁵ Situated in 25° 38' N. and 72° 26' E., about sixty miles south-west of Jodhpur city. (*Rājasthān Gaz.*, Vol. IIIA, p. 220).

²³⁶ Situated in 26° 55' N. and 75° E. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 206).

²³⁷ Ojhā, *J. R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 261.

²³⁸ It is on the western border of Jaisalmer.

²³⁹ *Pabu Temple Inscription*, V.S. 1615 (1558 A.D.), *J.A.S.*, Vol. 12, p. 108.

²⁴⁰ *Akbar-nāma*, I, p. 374.

²⁴¹ Reu, *J.R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 109.

²⁴² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Raverty, pp. 465 and 667; *Firishtā* (Briggs), Vol. II, p. 16; Tod, *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 560; *Vir Vinod*, II, pp. 806-807; Sārdā, *Mahārāṇā Kumbhā*, pp. 26-27.

²⁴³ Ojhā, *Bk. R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 96.

²⁴⁴ A town in the Punjab. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 20-21).

²⁴⁵ Situated in 27° 39' N. and 74° 24' E., about 130 miles north-east of Jodhpur. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 198).

²⁴⁶ A town and fort in Rājasthān about 120 miles north of Bikāner, (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. II, p. 378).

²⁴⁷ Situated in the north-east of Bikāner, about 90 miles from Suratgarh Railway Station. (*Tahsil Khasarā*, Bikaner, SOB).

²⁴⁸ A town in Bikaner Division. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, p. 529).

²⁴⁹ About 100 miles north-east of Bikāner. (*Tahsil Khasarā*, Bikāner, SOB).

²⁵⁰ About 110 miles north-east of Bikāner. (*Tahsil Khasarā*, Bikāner, SOB).

²⁵¹ About 45 miles north-west of Bikāner. (*Tahsil Khasarā*, Bikāner, SOB).

his authority. The whole territory comprised 40,000 square miles of land. Thus the combined territories of Bikāner and Jodhpur extended over the area between the Arāvallis in the south and Hisār in the north. Its western limits touched the borders of Jaisalmer and eastern Dhundhār (Jaipur) and Ajmer.²⁵²

In Jaisalmer (Mād of our period) there settled down in the 8th century A.D., a clan of Rājputs called Bhātti. In order to establish their authority they had to fight constant wars against the tribal clans of north and north-west, including the governors of Multān and Amarkot. During the reigns of Mahārāwal Kehar, Lakshmaṇa, Vairisi, Chāchak II and Devidās of the 15th century, the limits of Jaisalmer touched Amarkot in the west and Mallāni in the east.²⁵³

Hādoti before the beginning of our period was a dependency of Mewār. During the closing years of Rāo Bhān Deva's reign (1459-1503 A.D.), Hādoti had to suffer from temporary domination of the Sultāns of Māndu. Rāo Nārāyandās (1503-1527 A.D.), however reclaimed Hādoti by murdering Samarkandī and his son Dāud and regained his dominion. He also maintained good relations with Rāṇā Rāimal by helping him against Ghiyās-ud-din of Mālwa.²⁵⁴

Hādoti then comprised the territory on both the sides of the Chambal within the area of the plateau; Abherā, Kansuā, Rājapurā, Tehkhedā, Bhadaherā, Movāsh, Sripurā, Lahasodiyā, Arandakhedā, and Matundā being important places at the beginning of our period. Bambāvadā,²⁵⁵ Māndalgarh and Raṅthambhor (originally within Hādoti) belonged at this time to the rulers of Mewār.²⁵⁶

The central and the eastern side of Rājasthān was called Dhundhār, probably from a mound Dhundh near Jobner or from the river Dhund. About 1150 A. D., one of the successors of Dulhā Rāi wrested Amber

²⁵² Vithu Sujo, *Jetasi-rau-Chhand*, v. 48; Jaya Soma, *Karmachandravanshot-kirtankam-kāvya*, v. 124; Dayaldas, *Khyāta*, Vol. 2, f. 2; Munshi Devi Prasād; *Rāo-Bikā-ji-kā-Jiwan-charitra*, pp. 19-21; Ojhā, *Bk. R.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 90-111; *Bikāner Gazetteer*, p. 6; *J.A.S.B.*, 1917, p. 234.

²⁵³ *Bhatti-kāvya*, vv. 87, 114, 130, 184, 205 and 236; *Amarkot Inscription* of the third of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1561 (16th May, 1504 A.D.); *The Jaina Inscriptions* III, No. 2487, p. 119; *Tawārikkh Jaisalmer*, Bundle 75, *Bastā* No. 2, ff. 1-19 (BA); Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 1223.

²⁵⁴ *Rānpur Inscription*, V.S. 1496 (1439 A. D.); *Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 700, pp. 165-166; *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.); *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, p. 121.

²⁵⁵ Situated in 25° 13' N. and 75° 7' E., about a hundred miles north-east of Udaipur.

²⁵⁶ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.); *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, p. 121; *Revenue Files (KA)*, *Bastā* No. 4, *Nathi* No. 2-24 of V.S. 1600 (1543 A.D.); Ojha, *U.R.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 328-330.

from the Minās and made it his capital. Towards the end of the 14th century, the region, now called Shekhāvāti, came under the possession of the Kachchhavāhas. Thus the Kachchhavāhas by virtue of their hold on the ancient seat of Āmber and the rich and productive part of Shekhāvāt established their leadership in Dhundhār. Though this extensive area became the nucleus of the house of Āmber, the hereditary aristocracy which flourished within the same area held, at the beginning of the period under review, estates equal in status to the principal chiefship itself. During this early stage the state of Āmber with other estates owed their allegiance to the Guhilots of Mewār. We have already pointed out that the Chiefs of Āmber, Chātsu, Lālsot, Hindaun²⁵⁷ and others of Dhundhār joined the standard of Rāimal of Mewār against the forces of the Sultān of Māndu. Thus this territory at the beginning of our period was bounded by the hill ranges of the east running north and south along the border of Mewāt, the western borders touched Maru, the south-eastern boundary was formed by river Chambal, and its northern end adjoined Jāngal.²⁵⁸

Arbud (Ābu) including Sirohi was in its early days under Parmārs and then under the Chauhāns at the beginning of the 14th century.²⁵⁹ Its conquest by Rāṇā Kumbhā about 1437 A. D.,²⁶⁰ established Mewār's political supremacy over it. Jagmal (1483-1525 A. D.), the ruler of Sirohi recognized it in the form of assistance offered by him on the occasion of the invasion by Ghiyās-ud-din, the Sultān of Māndu on Mewar.²⁶¹ This small state during the beginning of our period was bounded on the north, north-east, and west by Maru, on the south by Gujarātra (Gujarāt) and on the west by Medpāt (Mewār). Villages as Chandrāvati,²⁶² Vāghsin (Vāghinā),²⁶³ Vasantpur (Vasantgarh),²⁶⁴ and

²⁵⁷ A town about 75 miles east by south-east of Jaipur city. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. V, p. 414).

²⁵⁸ Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, pp. 284-285. (R. and K. Paul, London, 1914); Sārdā, *Mahārāṇā Sangā*, p. 7, *The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Prov. Series, pp. 234-237.

²⁵⁹ *Achaleśvara Inscription* of the 1st of the bright-half of *Māgha*, 1342 V. S. (1285 A. D.); Sārdā, *Mahārāṇā Kumbha*, pp. 76-77; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, pp. 216-218

²⁶⁰ *Nadiyā Inscription* of V. S. 1494 (1437 A. D.); *Kirtisthambha Inscription*, V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.), vv. 11-12.

²⁶¹ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V. S. 1545 (1488 A. D.), vv. 69, 71; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, p. 121; Ojhā, *S. R. I.*, pp. 193-195; Ojhā, *U. R. I.*, pp. 327-330.

²⁶² Situated about four miles to the south of Ābu-Road Railway Station. It is famous for its antiquities. [Gahalot : *Rājputā, ā-kā-Iihās* (Sirohi), II, p. 17].

²⁶³ It is same as Vaghsano referred to by Naiṅsi in his *Khyāta*, p. 179.

²⁶⁴ It is about five miles south of Pindwādā Railway Station. It has rich antiquities. [Gahalot : *Rājputā-ā-kā-Iihās* (Sirohi), II, p. 16].

Chavarli,²⁶⁵ referred to in the epigraphic records were important villages of Sirohi.²⁶⁶

On the eastern side of Rājasthān there was the territory known by the name of Mewāt, comprising Bharatpur, Dholpur, Alwar and Karauli, held by Tonwar Rājputs of Delhi from about the 8th century A.D., and in parts by Jādon Rājputs from about the 12th century A.D. This part of the country was dominated by the Mewātīs and it came to be known as Mewāt. The Meos, who were the 'Ishmaelites of their own country', were harassed again and again by the Sultāns of Delhi from the 13th to 15th century. Their boundary ever remained in a state of fluctuation. According to Bābur if ever the Meos made submission it was of imperfect nature. It formed the north-eastern extent of Rājasthān during the commencement of our period from Mehrouṭi as far as Lādu Sarāi, which is close to Delhi.²⁶⁷

The political history of these principalities indicates a rough boundary line of Rājasthān at the commencement of our period. It is clear that the south-eastern Rājasthān was bounded by the Māhi, and that Kanthāl (Pratāpgarh) also lay on that border. Similarly, adjacent to this tract there was Chhappan, Medpāt (Mewār) and Vāgad which formed the southern and south-western boundary of Rājasthan. The western and south-eastern line of this area was formed by the ranges of the Jargā and Mālwā plateau respectively. The western, north-western and northern territory constituted the Mād (Jaisalmer), Maru (Mārwār) and Jāngal (Bikaner) respectively. The western border extended upto Amarkot in Sind. The northern boundary ended about the Sutlej beyond which were the Afghāns. The eastern boundary was formed by the plateau of Hādōti and Ajayameru (Ajmer), which further lowered down at Dhundhār. Of course, a greater portion of Mewāt during the early period of our study was included in the Delhi Sultanate. The north-eastern boundary of Rājasthān touched the area of Mewāt which was partly within the territory of the Afghāns and partly under the semi-independent Meos.²⁶⁸

Thus Rājasthān of the 1500 A.D., comprised the principalities of Medpāt (Mewār), Maru (Mārwār), Mād (Jaisalmer), Jāngal (Bikāner),

²⁶⁵ A village in the Ajāri *parganāh* of Sirohi.

²⁶⁶ *Vāghinā Inscription* of the 10th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V. S. 1359 (8th April, 1302 A. D.); *Jainā Ins.* I, No. 959, pp. 266-267; *Vasantagarh Ins.*, V. S. 1507; *Jainā Ins.* I, No. 954, p. 265.

²⁶⁷ *Bābur-nāma*, f. 250; A.S. Beveridge, II, p. 577; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, E. & D., Vol. V, pp. 306, 307, 310, 317, 324, 327, 335, 341 and 375; *Makhzān-i-Afghāni*, E. & D., Vol. V, pp. 93, 103 and 104; *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, E. & D., Vol. IV, pp. 37, 53, 61, 62 and 67; *Tarikh-i-Khānjahāni*, E. & D., Vol. V, p. 79; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, pp. 104, 105 and 223.

²⁶⁸ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, E. & D., V, pp. 306, 307 and 310; *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, E. & D., IV, pp. 53, 61, 62 and 67; *The Imperial Gaz.*, U. P., I, p. 223; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Pro. Series, p. 104.

Dhundhār (Jaipur), Hādoti (Bundi), Vāgad (Dungarpur), Arbud (Sirohi) and Mewāt. There were other semi-independent Chiefships like that of Mertā, Jālor and Nāgor under the Pathāns. Ajmer was, in turns, claimed by the Muslim governors, Mārwar and Mewār.²⁶⁹

After the close of the 15th century the boundaries of Rājasthān continued to expand. Rānā Sāngā, as Bābur says in his *Memoirs*,²⁷⁰ defeated Sultān Mahmud and took possession of the kingdom of Mālwa. He also defeated Muzaffar, extended his dominion up to Gujarāt and conquered Raṅthambhor, Sārangpur, Bhilsā,²⁷¹ Chanderi and Kandār.²⁷² The limits of Rājasthān of the time of Akbar are indicated in Abul Fazl's description of the *Subāh* of Ajmer,²⁷³ which included Mārwar, Mewār, Hadoti, Āmber, Bikāner, Sirohi and Jaisalmer, and was 168 *kos* in length and 150 *kos* in breadth. The historian's account of the *Parganāhs* and *Mahals* in the *Sarkārs* of Sirohi, Ajmer, Nāgor, Chitor, Raṅthambhor, Alwar, Tizārā, Jhālāwād, Jaipur and Jodhpur helps us in determining the political divisions of Rājasthān under its own rulers.²⁷⁴ Jahangir's *Tuzūk*²⁷⁵ confirms Abul Fazl's account of the *Subāh* and *Sarkārs*. Firishtā's account²⁷⁶ of Jālor and Gāgron shows that the boundaries of Rājasthān touched Gujarāt on one side and Mālwa on the other.

The northern frontier of Rājasthān has been specified by Sujān Rāy Khattri²⁷⁷ who says that Bikāner state was 160 *kos* in breadth and 150 *kos* in length. The districts of Chitor, Raṅthambhor, Jodhpur, Nāgor, Sirohi and Bikāner were, according to him, in the *Subāh* of Ajmer. The South-western boundary of Rājasthān was formed by Mewār which, according to Khafi Khān,²⁷⁸ was wide in area, 80 *kos* in length and 70 *kos* in breadth. The inclusion of the states of Rājasthān in the Mughal *Subāh* of Ajmer as so many *Sarkārs* or *Parganāhs* does not mean that these states had passed under the direct Mughal possession or administration. They remained under their hereditary Rājput Chiefs as before, but were described as *Sarkārs* or *Parganāhs* to satisfy the imperial vanity.

²⁶⁹ Vide Map of Rājasthān of 1500.

²⁷⁰ *Bābur-nāma*, ff. 206, 243 and 265 ; A. S. Beveridge, II, pp. 482, 562 and 612.

²⁷¹ A fortified town in Madhya Pradesh. (*The Imp. Gaz.*, II, pp. 392-94).

²⁷² *Bābur-nāma*, f. 206 ; A. S. Beveridge, II, p. 483 ; *Tabaqāt*, p. 190 ; *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, pp. 140, 166 and 167. Kandar—*Tahsil*-headquarters in the district of Sawaimadhopur. (*Population Statistics*, Jaipur, 1961, p. 13).

²⁷³ *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 273, (Jarrett and Sarkār).

²⁷⁴ *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 278-282, (Jarrett and Sarkār).

²⁷⁵ *Tuzuk* (R. and B.), I, pp. 340, 341.

²⁷⁶ Firishtā, pp. 253, 257 ; Briggs, II, pp. 213, 229.

²⁷⁷ *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, f. 33a.

²⁷⁸ *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, I, pp. 172-173.

Thus Rājasthān of the 18th century was bounded by the province of Agrā (Akbarābād) in the east, that of Mālwā in the south-west, Delhi (Shāhjahānābād) in the north, Gujarāt in the south and Dipālpur and Multān in the west. Thus emerged within this area new states like Bānswārā, Kushalgarh, Kotāh, Pratāpgarh, Jhālāwād, Alwar, Bharatpur and Karauli and rubbed shoulders with the already existing ones. Jālor and Nāgor merged in Mārwar and Ajmer formed a part of the Marāthā domination. These units assumed their independent forms through gradual process of expansion and contraction, spreading over three centuries. With the gradual penetration of the British paramountcy, the boundaries of these Rājput states were precisely defined, a development which is beyond the purview of this work. The province was now enclosed within the space of nearly 8° of latitude and 9° of longitude, being from 20° to 30° north latitude and 69° to 78° east longitude, embracing an area of 350,000 square miles. Its boundaries, as depicted in the map prepared under the direction of Col. Tod, were approximately the valley of Indus on the west, Bundelkhand on the east, the sandy tracts (south of Sutlej) in the north and Vindhya mountains on the south.²⁷⁹

The Influence of Geography in determining Political Boundaries

The foregoing account of the physical features and political history suggests that the whole region of Rājasthān constituted, in fact, one large geographical unit which has had a vital and determining influence upon the formation of its political boundaries and fixing the frontiers at the lines they occupy. The unity is so patent that the political boundaries of Rājasthān agree approximately with the physical features as detailed below.

The regions of Ābu, Mewār, Vāgad and Hādōti are bounded on the south and south-east by a series of ranges which separate Rājasthān from the northern frontiers of Gujarāt and Mālwā. To the north of the town of Jhālrapātan, the land rises by a very distinct slope to the level of a remarkable plateau. This plateau very gradually meets Gwalior and runs along the Chambal a little further north. Similarly, the neighbouring areas of several small off-shoots of Arāvallis notably the Sudā hills at Jaswantpurā, Chhappan-kā-Pahār near Siwānā and the Rājā hills at Jālor form the Gujarat-Rājasthān boundary in the south and south-eastern corner of Rājasthān.

In the west, right from Bikāner down to the edge of the Rānn of Kutch the 'great desert' forms the whole of the Rājasthān-Sind frontier and presents a complete boundary. This desert region is hopelessly arid and as great an obstacle to intercourse as can be imagined.

But where the boundary marches with north-eastern part of Rājasthān, the routes are wide and easy. This accounts for the fact that all along the Muslim period a major part of Mewāt either remained a

²⁷⁹ Tod, *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 1

subordinate division of the rulers of Delhi or remained a bone of contention between the Mewātis and their muslim opponents.

Impact of Geography

All civilizations are to some extent the product of geographical factors, but history provides no clearer example of the profound influence of geography upon a culture than in the historical development of Rājasthān. The forest area was inhabited originally by Bhils widely dispersed and organised into small, independent states. They were ousted by the Rājputs, who in turn had to face the Turks and the Mughals. The rôle of these facts, to the social and cultural history of Rājasthān, is of great significance.

Right from the 11th century A. D., to the 18th century A. D., the Turks and the Mughals attempted to seize control of the whole area of Rājasthān, but due to physical barriers they could achieve only a partial success. However, each of these invaders brought new social and cultural patterns, and each when it retreated left its imprint indelibly on the land they invaded.

Geography explains that the numerical strength of Muslims is smaller in the states lying to the west and south-west, and perhaps smallest of all in Mewār. The influence of the Mughals was powerfully felt in some parts of Rājasthān, leading to the conversion to Islām of many families. The areas situated nearest Delhi, such as those of Alwar, Ajmer and of the states bordering on the Jamunā were especially affected.²⁸⁰

Geographical conditions often have a direct effect on art, religion, education, government, and other phases of civilization. The progress and retrogress of human groups largely depend upon the environment. Nomadism, as for example, of the people living in Mārwar is a response to environment, while agricultural occupation of the people of the region of central Rājasthān is closely connected with the fertility of soil. Similarly the form of dwellings and planning of habitations owe much to the climate and vegetation of a region.

Among the factors referred to above the climatic conditions, the rainfall and the products, have always played a great part in the human geography and in shaping the physique, mental equipment and economic well-being of the inhabitants. Due to poverty and unhealthy climate the people of south-west Rājasthān have been comparatively shorter in stature than the people of northern Rājasthān. But the frugal means of livelihood had made them desparate and straightforward. The inhabitants of the desert, due to the scarcity of rainfall developed daring and enterprising habits as they had to shift frequently their homes from place to place in search of new place for their livelihood. As against this, the

²⁸⁰ M.A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, p. 85. (Calcutta, 1881).

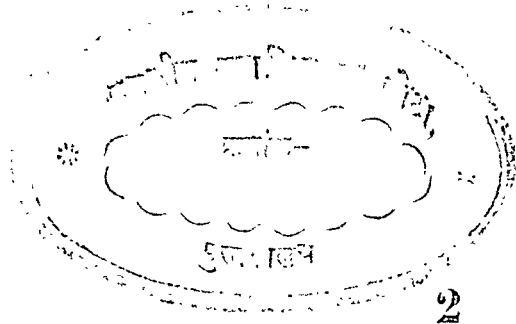
abundance and easy means of communication with average rainfall make the people of north-east Rājasthān stable and peace-loving by nature.

Geography had also contributed to the ethnic, religious and cultural solidarity of the people of Rājasthān. On account of their being shut up within their own environment, the people of Rājasthān did not deviate from their inborn love for their religion and culture. Even the Rājput princesses in Mughal *harem* are said to have followed their own way of life and religion. Badauni²⁸¹ says that they performed the *homa*. Prithvirāja of Bikāner and Jagannāth of Āmber, though being courtiers of the Mughal Court, remained staunch followers of Vaiṣṇavism.²⁸² It may be said that the Rājputs preserved their cultural entity.

Thus it becomes apparent that such geographical facts and their effects on man are virtually innumerable. In the context of these, we propose to study the social and cultural life of Rājasthān of our period under review.

²⁸¹ *Muntakhab* (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 261, E. & D., Vol. V, pp. 530-531. *Ibid.*, (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 301, E. & D., Vol. V, pp. 534-535.

²⁸² *Maāsir-ul-Umarā* (Beveridge), Vol. II, p. 56 ; *Bhaktamāla*, f. 26a, v. 124, f. 26b, v. 127.



Habitations in Rajasthan

The Siting and Plan of Villages

In early times the life of most men was closely connected with the soil, and consequently the villages were normally situated to give an easy access to cultivated or pastoral areas. This is generalisation, nevertheless, substantiated by a study of the sites of the period under review. The actual situation depended upon local features, and as far as it can be traced since the early mediaeval centuries, developed in different ways and at different places in different parts of Rājasthān. The form of the villages had usually been adapted to the natural features of the site, it generally being as compact or scattered as the topography would allow.

Some of the villages, keeping in view agricultural facilities and defensive considerations, clung to hill-tops or dispersed over the upland areas. The village of Chirkupa¹ (Chirvā in Mewār) was founded within the area surrounded by hills.² Sātalmēr in Jodhpur was situated on the top of the low ridge of hills.³ Many villages of Mewāt were perched upon the hills.⁴ In deep valleys with an east-west trend, villages, such as Kelwādā,⁵ and Kalinjṛā,⁶ were commonly founded on the sunny south-facing slopes.

The alluvium of river valleys proved easy to till, and yielded rich harvests, so that, in areas of dependable rainfall and regular river flow, men made their homes, where hard base provided space for founding villages. In this category the villages, like Hurrā, Jaithal, Bichri and Sadārā along the rivers Banās, Chambal, Mejā and Khāri respectively, usually followed lines above flood-level. Similarly springs were an obvious inducement to settlement, particularly if adjacent to agricultural land; accordingly, villages, like Kaladvās (Cīrwā district) and Dugāri (Bundi district), sprung out along spring lines.

¹ The modern name of this village is Chirvā near Ekalingaji, 14 miles south of Udaipur. *Viennā Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155-56.

² *Chirvā Inscription*, of the 1st bright-half of Kārtika, V. S. 1330 (16th Nov., 1273 A. D.), vv. 34-40, EI, Vol. 27, pp. 285-92.

³ *Akbar-nāma* (P. T.), p. 181; H. Beveridge, I, p. 374.

⁴ *Storiā-do-Mogor*, p. 458.

⁵ A village near Kumbhālgarh.

⁶ A village near Bānswārā.

In plains, where there was relatively flat land and where clearing had been easily possible, the presence of shelter and water became prime considerations, so that in case of Āhar,⁷ Mālpurā⁸ and Ropān^{8A} slight hill or a wood was made use of, which would break the force of the wind upon houses huddled together. In such villages the houses formed wings along two or more adjacent streets, with secondary by-lanes, subsequently, running between them.

The necessity for defence often occasioned the use of prominent features of the landscape. Examples of this kind are found in cases of settlements of Jāgirdārs, where small villages were laid under the protection of castles, which appeared almost growing out of the hillocks.⁹

In desert areas of Bikāner and Jaisalmer villages, like Phugal, Nini, and others were planned in a scattered state and laid far apart in small groups—presence of water, of course, being a prime consideration.¹⁰ The present available evidence shows that scattered settlements, each one comprising of not more than ten to twenty households at a maximum, are the usual forms of villages in these areas.¹¹

The general lay-out of villages of hilly areas, as mentioned in the contemporary sources,¹² was a cluster of huts, small and large, located on the side of low hills in an irregular order with a small open space between a group of houses. These hamlets were located on higher spots, because level spots, which could be irrigated, had to be reserved for growing maize or rice. The desire to economise level arable land did not alone dictate that choice of sites; the motive of protection, to some degree, against hostile attack was an additional factor. The huts with mud walls were thatched with straw, having no windows or ventilators but possessing a single door. These huts were usually surrounded by

⁷ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.), slab III, vv. 144-45, *Report Rājputānā Museum*, Ajmer, 1925-26.

⁸ *Rājratnākara*, v. 45, f. 55b.

^{8A} *Vide* sketches of maps, Kotāh, 1857 A. D. (KA, BA).

⁹ Villages of Devgarh, Delwādā, Hamirgarh, Gangrār, etc., are *Jāgirdari* villages in Mewār belonging to this category.

¹⁰ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 103b.

¹¹ (1) *Bahi Mardumshumāri*, V. S. 1913 (BA); (2) *I. G. I.*, Prov. Series, p. 399.

¹² (1) *Rājāvallabha*, canto IV, v. 36; *Tirthmālā*, V. S. 1529 (1472 A. D.), *Amber Bhandāra*, Register No. 6; (2) Sketches of the villages, Kānodia No. 284, Vido Nithol No. 270—Maps Kotāh Division, 1857 A. D. (KA, BA); (3) An idea of such villages may also be gathered from the 17th and 18th century paintings such as *Bhāgavata Dashamaskand* paintings, ff. 6-10 (PPJ), *Nāthcharitra*, illustrated, ff. 7, 9, 20, 27 (PPJ), *Ārsh*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, illustrated, ff. 10, 14, 28 (SBL), *Panchatantra* paintings, ff. 17, 27 (PPJ), etc.

thorny bushes meant for the cattle and a little stock of hay safe from other stray cattle or wild animals.

The houses of well-to-do farmers and artisans of larger villages like Ingodā (Mārwar), Nāgdā and Devkulpātan (Mewār) as described by the contemporary writers^{12A} consisted of one or two rooms with a verandah in front, roofed with tiles, and having a wide courtyard with one big entrance door which could afford the passing of a loaded bullock-cart. For animals a separate shed of thatched straw was reserved. In the simplest form a village dwelling unit also consisted of one single room with an adjoining courtyard which could often be reached only through the house. The family lived in the room, while the animals were kept in the courtyard and had to be led in and out through the room. Along with these types there were huts of poor farmers also with low mud walls. Tod¹³ also gives a similar description of huts of the villages Nikumbha and Umedpurā. The patterns of houses mentioned above tally with our personal experience of the types of houses that we see in the villages even these days.

These huts with their mud-walls were relatively comfortable, being cool in summer, and warm in winter, but they required constant attention. After the end of every rainy season, it was necessary to put a new layer of clay on the walls to mend minor damages caused by rain water, and every now and then the floors had to be coated with mud plaster to keep the level serviceable.^{13A} This is still practised in all villages and even in towns where there are mud walls.

The Equipments of the Household

The furnishing in these houses was very scanty. An inventory of the articles of two thefts preserved in a *Havālā Bahi*,¹⁴ gives an idea of articles which were the sole possessions of a farmer and an artisan of that period. The farmer had for himself, his wife and his children only two extra suits each. The ornaments were limited to a bracelet, a necklace and a pair of anklets made of silver. About 105 *paisā* (copper coins)

^{12A} *Ingodā Inscription* of the 11th of the bright-half of *Āśādha*, V. S. 1190 (15th June, 1133 A. D.), v. 5, EI, Vol. XXIV, pp. 314 and 328, IA, Vol. VI, pp. 55-56. *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri Inscription*, V. S. 1337 (1280 A. D.), v. 8; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IV, p. 74; *Tirathamālā*, V.S. 1749 (1692 A. D.); *Tirthamālāstavana*, V.S. 1750 (1693 A.D.) by Saubhāgya Vijaya, v. 24.

¹³ Tod, *Annals* II, p. 1654.

^{13A} *Ibid.*, pp. 552, 553 and 579, (R. K. Paul, London).

¹⁴ *Havālā Bahi*, Jodhpur, V.S. 1911 (1854 A.D.) My article 'Political and Social Conditions of Rājasthān in the 19th century, as revealed from *Havālā Bahi*', *Journal of Research of the University of Uttar Pradesh*. Vol. VII, No. 3, December, 1960, pp. 102-03.

and two silver coins were his valued hoard. The well-to-do artisan of the village also had the same type of articles, but in this case the number and choice varied with a little more addition. The cooking utensils were of brass. Extra clothes for the family were costlier. But the bedding equipments were *payāls* (grass mats) and *gudri* (rugged bed of torn-clothes) in both cases. Other equipments of the household were earthen wares and ordinary *chārphāis*.

Everyday Life

From a study of the contemporary works¹⁵ one can get a glimpse of certain aspects of the farmer's daily routine which does not differ much from that of our own times. The routine of a village house-wife was to fetch water from a well or a pond near-by, to prepare food, to look after the children, to milk the cow or to attend to other domestic work. The male members of the village were chiefly engaged in ploughing their fields, or taking care of their crops or reaping the harvest. The most interesting scene depicted in the contemporary paintings¹⁶ is the midday rest, the farmer sharing a crust of bread and a cup of *rāba*¹⁷ with his wife, under the shade of a tree in a corner of the field. The village boys or elders are engaged in driving bullocks round the Persian wheels to water the fields. Herds of kine with the tinkle of bells round their necks and flocks of sheep graze in the outskirts of the village. Some of the farmers have been painted as if they are going to a neighbouring forest to fetch faggots or thorns for burning fire or preparing a fence. While they go, they have a set of strong axes and bundle of breakfast suspended by the side of their armpits.

The life of the village as depicted in the paintings of the 18th and *Bahis* of the 19th centuries centred round a temple or a *chorā* (central platform) where the elders used to assemble daily for prayer or gossip. In the night they continued to sit there till midnight by fireside and discuss various topics of local interests, with their *huqqā* (pipe) going round from one corner to the other. Children would enjoy themselves with games during the day. The place also served the purpose of a club and a rest-house for the travellers.¹⁸

The Village as a Community

From the contemporary records we learn that in villages there was an energetic corporate life. The villagers of the mediaeval period showed

¹⁵ *Somasobhāgya-kāvya*, canto II, v. 5; *Chandrakunwar-ri-vārtā*, v. 196, f. 325; *Dohāsārsangraha*, v. 86, f. 8.

¹⁶ *Panchatantra* painting, ff. 34 and 36, 'midday rest of a farmer, (PPJ), *Śivapurāṇa* painting, f. 86, 'A wood-cutter' (PPJ).

¹⁷ A kind of liquid preparation of curd mixed with flour of maize.

¹⁸ *Panchātantra* painting, ff. 24, 34, 36 and 44 (PPJ), 18th century; *Mālarī Bahī*, V. S. 1914, 1st of the bright-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 1914 (1857 A.D.) (BA).

their enthusiasm towards the corporate life by undertaking activities like digging of wells and reservoirs for public use and constructing or repairing or maintaining of the village shrines. One Sāranga¹⁹ constructed a temple at Nāgdā in V. S. 1494 (1437 A. D.). The *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*²⁰ of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.) says that the charitable persons constructed rest-houses for the comforts of wayfarers in Mewār, Mārwar and other parts of Rājasthān. A voluntary gift from the village council of Āner (near Morwānā, Mewār) was given to the divinity in V. S. 1570²¹ (1513 A. D.). One Khetā in V. S. 1647 (1590 A. D.) presented forty-eight gold bars studded with pearls for the construction of a balcony of the temple at Rāṇakpur.²²

From the account of Col. Tod we learn that the villagers of the early 19th century had formed themselves in a self-conscious group. A tablet, discovered by Col. Tod, raised by the inhabitants of Rāsmi (in Mewār), further illustrates the fact that the villagers of that period were conscious of their rights and duties. It was so strong that they had some resort against oppression. It runs as follows :—

“Written by the merchants, bankers, priests and assembled *Panchāyats* of Rāsmi.....Whereas the Collector of town duties oppressed the merchant named Pākār, and exacted exorbitant duties on grain and ‘*reza*’ (unbleached cloth) for which we abandoned the place ; but the Government officers having forsworn all such conduct for the future, and prevailed on him to return, and having taken God to witness, we the assembled *panch*, have set up this stone to record it.”²³

Local Bodies

No account of the life in a village is complete without a brief reference to local institutions working in the villages. The evidence as to their exact composition, competence, and procedure is limited, but it is clear that they were age-old institutions, and they varied in accordance with the different purposes for which they functioned. For the socio-religious life of the villages two different units (*Sanīgha and Goṣṭhi*) have come to our notice, as delineated from contemporary evidences. These units had independent set of office-bearers and functionaries, and were quite distinct from administrative councils of Government consisting of semi-government officials.

¹⁹ *Nāgdā Inscription*, of the 15th of the bright-half of *Bhādrapada*, V. S. 1494 (12th Aug., 1437 A. D.) ; *Bhavānagar Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, pp. 112-13.

²⁰ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, slab I-III, V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.), v. 63, EI., Vol. XXIV, pp. 314-28, ARRM, Ajmer, 1925-26.

²¹ *Āner Grants*, V. S. 1570 (1514 A. D.), and V. S. 1647 (1590 A. D.)

²² *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 714, p. 171.

²³ Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 1729.

Samigha

From the Jaina evidences²⁴ we learn that in the villages there were *Samighas* consisting of all adult Jaina members--male and female, and monks and nuns. The function of these *Samighas* was to take vital decisions regarding the organization of functions of religious nature, inviting the teachers of religion to their villages, entertaining parties accompanying such teachers, etc. The leader of a *Samigha* was called *Samighapati*. These *Samighas* also organised tours to religious places. Those who were in charge of tours were designated *Mantris*, as *Mantri* for ration, *Mantri* for camp, *Mantri* for treasury, etc. Many of the *Samighas* of several places were grouped under *Samudāya*. The head of such *Samudāya* was known as *Samudāya Pramukh*. Besides these *Samighas* there were committees which were called *Goṣṭhis* (guilds). They were a kind of corporation of professionals, meant for looking after the local administration of the areas in which they flourished. In some places the guilds managed the affairs of local temples.

Panchayat

For social purposes we come across a body called caste *Panchāyat*. Every caste according to our records²⁵ had its own *Panchāyat* in a village. All the caste *Panchāyats* were more or less similar in their structure and in discharging functions. Ordinarily these *Panchāyats* decided cases of irregular marriages, illegal sexual intimacy, family quarrels, and any other behaviour of the members of the caste which was undesirable or against the prestige of the caste. The cases were decided according to prevailing customs and traditions in the open meeting of the *Panchāyat*. The punishment varied according to the position of the guilty and the nature of the crime. By paying a fine or offering a feast to the whole caste or to the leading *Panchas*, the offender could retrieve his position. The decisions of the *Panchāyat* were binding on the individual or group of offenders. The Government also respected the decision of the *Panchāyat*. One case of adultery regarding a barber's wife of Bijāsar (Bikāner Division) was settled by the representatives of caste *Panchāyats* of villages Bijāsar, Rājpurīyā, Samandsar and Punrasar in two sittings. The *panchās* were dined from the common

²⁴ *Osiān Inscription* of the 5th of bright-half of *Phālguna*, V.S. 1245 (4th Feb., 1188 A.D.); *Vrihad Gurvāvali*, pp. 57, 77, etc. *Jain Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 807, p. 198; *Parasvanāth Temple Inscription*, Jaisalmer, V.S. 1415 (1358 A.D.), pp. 11, 18 and 23; *Bhandārkar Report*, 1904-05 A.D., and 1905-06 A.D., p. 93, No. 49; *Nākodā Inscription* of 2nd of the bright-half of *Āsādha*, V.S. 1678 (1621 A.D.); *Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 726, p. 173; *Nadulāi Inscription*, V.S. 1686; *Jaina Inscription* No. 856, p. 217.

²⁵ *Hath Bahi*, IV, p. 42, Jd. BA); *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 10, *File* No. 29, V.S. 1749. *Todī Khyāta*, *Bastā* No. 40 (BA).

fund of the village.^{25A} Col. Tod²⁶ refers to the *Panchāyats* of Rāśmi whose decision to quit the village against the oppression of the Collector was of effective nature and as such the Collector was warned and the *Panchās* were prevailed on to return.

The *Dodi Tālkā Bahi*²⁷ of V.S. 1911 (1854 A.D.) preserves the details of several cases which the caste *panchāyats* of several villages of Mārwar decided. A *Nātā* case of Kaduā, an excommunication case of the wife of a *pinjārā* and a betrothal case of Shivadās Sādhu are some of them which were decided by imposing a fine, social boycott, and compromise respectively.

Though the decisions of the caste *Panchāyats* may be of rough and ready character, and the party pronouncing judgment may also be not free from corruption, they at least suggest that because both defendants and plaintiffs felt satisfied they served the immediate purpose. It must be noted that the members of the *Panchāyat* to a great extent acted like arbitrators. Their judgment generally could not entirely ignore the public opinion and ideal of justice which was supported by moral and religious sanctions. The systematic study of the disputes and their impartial settlement by non-official *panchāyats* constitute an important landmark in the study of rural life of mediaeval Rājasthān. The indigenous system and the customary law are extremely important from the point of view of 'historic-legal' aspect of our period of study.

The Village Council

Besides these types of units there was a body called *Pānchakula*²⁸ which it seems was a village council—semi-government body. Various inscriptions of the 13th to 15th centuries reveal that the *Pānchakula* was formerly composed of village elders, who were heads of various castes and religious groups of a village. The members of this council were assisted by a *Mantri* or *Āmatya* or *Mahāmātya* or *Selahatha* (*Salyahasta*) or any other village official. The *Hatundi Inscription*²⁹ of V.S. 1335 (1278 A.D.) indicates that Palhara, Sajjan, Dhina, Deva Singh and Ughan Singh were

^{25A} *Bahi-Adāltan-rā-Kāgzāt*, V.S. 1859 (1802 A.D.), BA ; *Hath Bahi* No. 2, f. 64, V.S. 1813 (1756 A.D.) ; *Amal-ri-chithi*, File No. 2, Jd. BA, V.S. 1858 (1801 A.D.).

²⁶ Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 1729.

²⁷ *Chitra Seva-Dodi-Tālkā-Bahi*, V.S. 1911, 30th of the dark-half of *Āśādhā* and 1st of the dark-half of *Jyēsthā*, *Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. VII, No. 3, Dec., 1960, pp. 100-101 by Dr. G. N. Sharma.

²⁸ Dr. Majumdar in his *Chālukya of Gujrāt* makes mention of such councils, *vide* p. 236.

²⁹ *Hatundi Inscription* of the 1st of the dark-half of *Śrāvaṇa*, V.S. 1335 ; *The Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 894.

the members of the *Pānchakula* of the village. *Sāmbhar Inscription*³⁰ of V. S. 1345 (1288 A.D.) mentions that Śri Karaṇa and Lāhana, etc., were appointed *Pānchakula* of the village by Sāmānt Singh. The *Kānhadadeprabandha*³¹ similarly mentions the names of the persons who were appointed as members of the *Pānchakula* by the state. The same body of *Pānchakula*, it seems, was known as *pañchāyat* in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

The Functions of the Panchakula

As regards its functions, it was in charge of land records and was authorised to transfer land and ownership according to the instructions received from the ruler of the state. The body was also authorised to collect taxes and sale of articles within the area of a particular village and allocate the money for charitable and public use. From the *Kānhadadeprabandha*³² and *Delwārā Inscription*³³ we are informed that the *pañchakula* of Delwādā, working under the state officials, decided for taxes to be levied on export and import of articles. Maharaja Kumbhā in V.S. 1494 (1437 A. D.) assigned ten *hala* in the presence of Purohit Bokhā and Shāh Sahānā, the two leading members of the council.³⁴ Similarly, Rāo Gangadās of Vāgad assigned land in Chikli in V. S. 1540 (1483 A.D.) to Joshi Veṇā in the presence of village elders who were in charge of land records.³⁵ This practice of assigning land and drawing the attention of village elders for the purpose of noting had been observed till the end of the 18th century A.D. As for example Mahārāj Kumār Ugar Singh of Udaipur addressed a letter to a body of persons of a village Kasbā Havālā for transferring certain taxes to the temple of Varāha in V. S. 1745 (1688 A. D.).³⁶ Similarly, a letter from the Mahārānā was addressed to *pañchās* for the adjustment of the share of Gulabchand of Kapāsīn in the duties realised in the year 1785 (1728 A.D.)³⁷ The *pañchās* of Udrāmsar, Jajurā, Mujāsar, Sawāi, etc., of Bikaner Division, according to *Mālri Bahis* of V. S. 1854 (1797 A.D.), 1856 (1799 A.D.) and 1857 (1800 A.D.) decided civil disputes concerning property, land and demarcation of fields.^{37A} Later on

³⁰ *Jaina Inscriptions*, No. 897, p. 233.

³¹ *Kānhadadeprabandha*, iv, v. 40.

³² *Ibid.*, v. 41.

³³ *Delwādā Inscription* of V. S. 1491; *Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 255-56, No. 2006.

³⁴ A *Copper Plate* grant of V. S. 1494, No. 285 (ODRU).

³⁵ *Chikli Plate*, 7th of the dark-half of *Phālguna* of V. S. 1540 in the possession of Joshi Veṇā of Dungarpur.

³⁶ A *patṭa* of the 3rd of the bright-half of *Kārtika*, V. S. 1745, No. 9 (ODRU).

³⁷ A *letter* of the 9th of the bright-half of *Mārgashirsha* V. S. 1785, No. 193(3) (ODRU).

^{37A} *Mālri Bahis*, V. S. 1854 (1797 A.D.), 1856 (1799 A. D.), 1857 (1800 A. D.), BA.

Chaudharis were appointed by the state who received the instructions of the government, announced them to the villagers and acted as heads of the *panchāyats*. They registered births, deaths and marriages, arresting the criminals, delivering them to the *hākim* and discharged many additional administrative functions with the co-operation of the villagers.³⁸

This kind of semi-government organisation for administering villages in Rājasthān must have been crowned with success. Its very composition reveals that it served as a link between the state and the village. By adjoining a government official with this kind of a unit the state remained in touch with the village problems, while local problems were tackled by those persons who were actually acquainted with the conditions of the village.

Urban Development

Though Rājasthān was essentially rural, there were also towns, scattered here and there. Strictly speaking, these towns were little more than large villages which grew into townships by virtue of their dimension and increased population. As most of these towns had developed from villages, they essentially retained rural surroundings. For example, outside the walls of the town of Udaipur³⁹ there were fields, meadows, the waste and woodland which provided food and raw material needed by the inhabitants. In such towns some of the people lived essentially rural lives, similar to those of the people of the villages, from which the town had grown. However, the initial growth of towns represented a cultural advancement beyond the stage of the agricultural settlements. Each phase of culture had produced typical urban forms, depending both on geographical environment and on the social heritage.

Before accounting for the distribution of the towns, we may examine in detail the causes of urban concentration. The Rājput settlements brought a new change in the scattered hamlets and villages of hilly regions and plains. They established many of their fortified towns on the site or near the earlier seat of settlement like that of Lodrava.⁴⁰ Dungarpur occupied the original habitations of *Dungariyā Bhil*.⁴¹ *Kotāh* was founded near the *Bhil* settlements of *Akailgarh* and *Āsalpur*.⁴² Previous tribal centres were frequently chosen, with the hope of retaining tribal loyalties. As the power of the Rājputs extended, other towns were set up at strategic points in a series of fortresses or stations along the border lines. Some such towns

³⁸ *Bastā* No. 40 ; *Havālā Bahi*, V. S. 1906 (1849 A. D.), 14th of the bright-half of *Mārgashirsha* ; *Rāthor-Dāneśvara-Vaṁshāvali*, p. 185.

³⁹ *Rājvilāsa*, Canto II, vv. 61-63.

⁴⁰ *Bhattivaṁshaprasasti*, vv. 110-12.

⁴¹ *Naiṁsi's Khyāta*, edited by Asopā, pp. 113-15.

⁴² M. L. Sharmā, *Kotah Rājyā-ka-Itihās*, vol. I, p. 33.

as Kotdā, Kherwādā, Eranpurā, etc., grew up as military centres in course of time.⁴³

From the 14th century onwards the influence of the chiefs and their nobles helped to create many notable towns. The establishment of royal household brought rapid growth to the capital towns. In the meantime under the patronage of prominent nobility, Jāgirdāri towns were set up, which grew in a tolerable size of an average mediaeval town. The governmental functions conducted in these towns was partly responsible for concentrating a large number of people in such centres. Again such towns grew large by attracting manufacturers of goods that require a location near their consumers. As the town expanded, its population offered an attractive labour supply to other manufactures. This is not all speculation. A systematic study of the towns like Kotāh, Udaipur, Jodhpur, etc., reveal that there are *junābās* and *nayābās* within the old towns, which point out the gradual expansions of towns time and again.

Along with these causes mineral products had contributory influence on urban growth. Jāwar⁴⁴ (Mewār), patānā and Bidāsar (Bikāner)⁴⁵ and Makrānā (Jodhpur)⁴⁶ etc., owe their position to mining. There were some towns which had variety of industries which catered to the needs of the growing population of the towns. Sāgwādā,⁴⁷ Bhiḷwārā⁴⁸ and Sujāngarh^{48A} are good examples of settlements which have expanded in this manner and which have diversified their industries to meet the demands of a rapidly expanding population.

Many towns developed as spiritual centres in the sense that they contained religious temples or religious symbols, the influence of which extended over a wide area. Some, such as Dhuleva,⁴⁹ Kolāyat^{49A} Deshnoka,⁵⁰ etc., are renowned religious towns and centres of pilgrimages. These centres at the same time housed a large permanent population, and in which the majority of the people are engaged in the business attached to temples.

⁴³ *Rājputānā Gazetteers*, Mewār Residency, Kotdā and Kherwādā, pp. 114-15.

⁴⁴ *Tirthamālā*, v. 77, ff. 76-77, V. S. 1529 (1472 A. D.), AB, Register No. 6; Ojhā, *Udaipur Rājyā-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 39.

⁴⁵ Ojhā, *Bikāner Rājyā-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 39.

⁴⁶ Ojhā, *Jodhpur Rājyā-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Bhattārakpattāvali*, V. S. 1697 (1640 A. D.), (AB), f. 18.

⁴⁸ *Bhattārakpattāvali*, V. S. 1704 (1647 A. D.), (AB), f. 23; *Rājputānā Gazetteers*, Mewār Residency, p. 97.

^{48A} *Bahī Mardumshumāri*, V. S. 1913 (1856 A. D.)

⁴⁹ *Bhattārakpattāvali*, V. S. 1704 (AB), f. 43; *Rājputānā Gazetteers*, *The Mewār Residency*, p. 118.

^{49A} *Devasthāna Bahī*, V. S. 1761 (1704 A. D.); *Bahī Surat Singh jāi*, V. S. 1847 (1790 A. D.) BA.

⁵⁰ Ojhā, *Bikāner Rājyā-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 52-53.

Again, of the many villages of mediaeval Rājasthān some, like Mertā, Pāli, Nāgor, referred to in the contemporary sources,^{50A} by virtue of their positions, were particularly suited to become the trading and cultural centres of an agricultural region, and there, as the years went by, markets were set up, temples built, and walls erected to protect the shops and commodities of wealthy traders and businessmen. These urban residents performed services for the people of the countryside. They collected the produce of the region, processed it into more useful forms, and dispatched it to outside markets. They provided a distribution centre from which the country people could secure goods produced elsewhere. Other services included governmental, social, religious, financial, and similar activities.

However, not all mediaeval towns developed from the villages by a spontaneous process. Many villages remained associated with a great family, religious order, or dignitary, and consequently increased in status and population. The development of Shāhpurā,⁵¹ Nāthdwārā⁵² and Kānkrolī⁵³ be attributed to this cause.

In some cases, villages have been victims of changing rural economy, and have either suffered shrinkage or have been abandoned. Large number of traders and artisans, as for example, who were living in Notampuri⁵⁴ (Nogāmā) and Arthunā,⁵⁵ owing to the growing importance of neighbouring centres, such as Bānswārā and Gadi, left their original villages and established themselves in the towns. Ruined temples and houses in these areas support this view.

The Indian Tradition of Town-planning

It appears that the instruction laid down in the early works on Indian architecture were the guiding principles of the town-planning in our country. Vyās recommends in the Mahābhārata⁵⁶ that a capital town should be well-protected by a strong wall and hills. The Arthaśāstra⁵⁷ suggests that a new town should have a square gridiron plan, dividing the whole town into wards or sectors by six main roads, three running

^{50A} *Vrihad Gurūvali*, pp. 1, 8, 16, 24, etc.; *Mertā Inscription*, V. S. 1534 (1477 A. D.); *Jainā Inscriptions*, No. 751, p. 181; *Pāli Inscriptions*, V.S. 1686 (1629 A.D.); *Jaina-Inscriptions*, No. 827; *Akbar-nāma*, II, p. 517; *Arzi File*, No. 1, Jd. BA, Tavernier, p. 42.

⁵¹ *Anabhe-Vāṇi*, V.S. 1828 (1771 A.D.), ff. 48, 49, 67, 69, etc. Keval Rāma, *Shri Rāmā Snehi Sampradāya*, pp. 28, 29, etc.

⁵² *Rājputānā Gazetteers, The Mewār Residency*, p. 120.

⁵³ *Rājputānā Gazetteers, The Mewar Residency*, p. 113.

⁵⁴ *Yashodhar-Rās*, V.S. 1683 (1626 A.D.) (AB), f. 26.

⁵⁵ *Srenikmahamandalprabandha*, V.S. 1735 (1678 A.D.) f 3, (AB No.8).

⁵⁶ *Mahābhārata, Sabhāparv*, Ch. 21, vv. 2-3.

⁵⁷ *Arthaśāstra*, Chap. II, v. 29, p. 55 (Sāstri).

north and south and three east and west. According to it the chief temples should be located in the centre and the living quarters of different classes of the community should be segregated in separate wards. According to *Manāsārā*, *Mayamata* and *Kāmsutra*, the town should have impressive fortifications. The *Śukraniti* gives the respective position of the palace, the kitchen and the stables of elephants, horses, cows, camels, houses for chariots and barracks for the army and stores of grain, water and arms. As regards the selection of the site the *Aparājītaprechha* regards the confluence of two rivers and the proximity of a forest or hills as the most suitable site for the construction of a town.⁵⁸

These conventional rules of the town-planning, followed in ancient India, have been transmitted from age to age, and the plan of the towns of Rājasthān more or less, approximated to these rules. Veri Singh of Mewār erected, at the close of the 11th century, ramparts round Aghātpattan (Āhar, near Udaipur) with bastions and towers over it.⁵⁹ In Ingodā town of Mārwar, there existed a separate ward for the Brāhmaṇs called Brahmpuri.⁶⁰ Similarly, the towns of Nāgdā and Devakulpattan (Delwārā) in Mewār had rows of palaces, temples and a series of roads, crossing at several points.⁶¹

Mandan and Town-planning

The principles of the Indian traditions of town-planning were further emphasised by Mandan, a celebrated architect of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā, in *Rājavallabha*, an architectural treatise of high order. This work gives an idea of a high engineering skill and knowledge of technique of the mediaeval architecture and throws light on several aspects of town-planning. Like the classical writers, Mandan advises the construction of the royal palace either in the centre or on some high elevation. According to him an ideal palace should consist of male and female apartments, assembly-hall, dancing-hall, treasury, store-house, kitchen, dining-hall, a repository of arms, etc., allocated at specific spots. The treasury, the wardrobe and the temple, for example, should occupy the left side of

⁵⁸ *Manāsārā*, Chap. 9 ; *Mayamata*, Chap. 10 ; *Kāmsutra*, 2, p. 42 ; *Śukraniti*, Ch. 1, p. 434 ; and *Aparājītaprechha*, p. 113, quoted from the article 'City Architecture as depicted in the *Aparājītaprechha* of Bhuvanadeva, proceedings of I.H.C., 1958, p. 150-51.

⁵⁹ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription* of the 5th of the dark-half of *Mārgashirsha*, V.S. 1517 (3rd Dec., 1460 A.D.), Slab III, vv. 144-45, *Report, Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, 1925-26*.

⁶⁰ *Ingodā Inscription* of the 11th of the bright-half of *Āsādhā*, V.S. 1190 (15th June, 1133 A.D.), v. 5, EI, Vol. XXIV, pp. 314 and 328, IA, Vol. VI, pp. 55-56.

⁶¹ *Rasiyā-ki-chhatri Inscription*, V.S. 1331, v. 8 ; *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, IV, p. 74 ; *Gurvāvali*, V.S. 1489, vv. 353-354 ; *Delwadā Inscription*, V.S. 1494, *Devakulpātāka*, p. 13 ; *Somasaubhāgya-kāvya* of Soma, vv. 16 17, pp. 75-76 ; *Tīrthāmālastavana*, V.S. 1750, v. 24 (AB).

the palace, and the female apartments, with stores of fuel, water and arms be situated on the right side of it, Similarly, he fixes the location of the war-council, the dancing-hall, an apartment of worship and mansions for the king and his brothers in the centre. The whole palace, as suggested by him should be a compact citadel with circular towers and bastions all around. Moreover, he says that from the basement to the superstructure it should give an impression of solidity and provide a most pleasing sight.⁶²

Next to the royal quarters the general plan of the *bāzār* and wards formed an important consideration for Mandan. According to him, the main road should have shops of dealers in cloths, armaments, jewellery, betels, fruits, flowers, garlands, arms, etc., on both sides.⁶³ He is further in favour of arranging the cross-roads in such a manner so as to form squares.⁶⁴ He suggests that the houses of the members of different classes and communities, were to be allocated in the different parts of the town. He assigns, as for example, east for the houses of the Brāhmaṇs and the Kṣatriyas and those of Śūdras in the south. In this work the houses of the Vaiśyas have been located in the centre and those of the dyers and washermen in the north-west. He has appropriated the houses of fire-workers in the south-east and those of untouchables, prostitutes and Turks in the south-west.⁶⁵ This arrangement, it seems, has been suggested in the interest of efficiency and compact living of persons belonging to the same calling.

Similarly Mandan recommends that the shrines of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and those of Chāmundā, Bhairava and Hanumāna should be located in the southern part of the town. According to him there should be in a large town as many as forty step-wells, ten wells, four reservoirs and six ponds. The reservoirs, as he points out, should have four entrance doors, four carved verandahs and a central balcony.⁶⁶

Mandan also refers to the gardens as a part of towns. He recommends various kinds of fruit-bearing trees and flower-bearing plants and creepers as essentials for a good garden. He further recommends that a garden should also have raised seats (*Vedikā*), pavilions (*mandap*), showers and tanks for water pranks.⁶⁷

When Muslims got opportunities to make some additions and alterations in the towns of Rājasthān, they borrowed most of the old features of Rājput architecture, but at the same time provided spacious mosques,

⁶² *Rājavallabha*, Canto V, vv. 36-40, ff. 8-9.

⁶³ *Rājavallabha*, Canto IV, vv. 9, 18, ff. 6a, 6b.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Canto IV, v. 8, f. 6a.

⁶⁵ *Rājavallabha*, Canto IV, vv. 18-19, f. 6b.

⁶⁶ *Rājavallabha*, Canto IV, vv. 13, 26, 30, 31 and 32, ff. 6 and 7, Canto IX, vv. 18-23, f. 14.

⁶⁷ *Rājavallabha*, Canto IX, vv. 18-23, f. 14.

domes, minarets, mausoleums, arches and some specialities for the gardens.⁶⁸

Thus in the study of the planning of some of the towns of mediaeval Rājasthān, as sketched below, we may notice the characteristic features of ancient architecture of Hindus and the mediaeval architecture expounded by Mandan, as well as some of the distinguishing features of Muslim art.

Amber

The town of Āmber, which flourished from the 10th century to the 17th century A. D., retains glimpses of early mediaeval towns of Rājasthān. The ruins of this town suggest that it was founded by the side of a lake, amid a wild and romantic valley. The banks of the lake were spacious enough to accommodate the whole town overgrown with trees and intermingled with towers and temples. The crests of the hills on either side were crowned with gateways. The ruined buildings on the lower plane were the dwellings of dignitaries and rich merchants.⁶⁹

Above the lake, on its western side, there rose fortified palaces, with balconies and verandahs, connected with a long line of walls and towers, with an extensive castle on the hill. The Āmber palaces of Mān Singh (1592-1615 A. D.), Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh (1630-1668 A. D.) and Sawāi Jai Singh (1699-1744 A. D.) are so planned that it seems as if they emerged from the valley and their principal apartments cast an enchanting shadow down below.⁷⁰ Fergusson⁷¹ has classed the Āmber palaces as next in rank to those of Gwālior as models of Rājput architecture. But he feels that on account of the Mughal influence, the Āmber palaces suffer in comparison with those of Gwālior, which are characteristically Hindu in design, style and architectural originality. Their imposing gateways, *Diwān-i-khās* and *Diwān-i-ām* with double pillars, carved cornices, foliated arches, latticed openings, perforated parapets, pretty little gardens with fountains, approximately approach the Mughal style. It bears a strong impress of that influence with which Akbar's mind stamped everything that was done in India during his reign. Brown⁷² agrees that the Āmber *zenānā* palace having been executed most probably by masons trained in the *Akbari* style by the Mughal overseers, resembles the one in the Agra Fort.

⁶⁸ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic period), pp. 6, 8.

⁶⁹ (1) *Āmber Inscription* of 954 A. D., referred to by Fergusson in his *Indian Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 255; Hepper's *Indian Journal*, Chap. XXII, pp. 39-40, 31st Jan., 1823; (2) A sketch map of Āmber, 19th century (JR, BA); (3) *As Stones Speak*, pp. 1-2, (*Archaeological Dept.*, Jaipur).

⁷⁰ Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 255.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁷² Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Mediaeval Period), p. 128.

But these eminent art critics seem to have missed the fact that the basic plan of the Amber palaces, with their successive courtyards, suites of two small rooms at both ends, a central-hall, the verandahs, narrow passages and enclosed open space in between, is typically Rājput. Moreover the capitals and the doorways with sculptured peacock, elephants, men and animals are perfectly after Hindu style. The free and profuse use of colour and mirrors on the walls and in the ceilings reveal the Rājput love of bright colour. The position of the stables and store-houses, which may yet be seen in ruins, is in harmony with the recommendation of Mandan.⁷³

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Jaisalmar

Jaisā in 1156 A. D., founded Jaisalmeru (Jaisalmer) near the Som hill, surrounded by a dense forest and abounding in supply of water. The palace of Jaisalmer, founded in the same year on a hill, about 250 feet above the surrounding country, and modified by subsequent generations, was surrounded by high turrets and battlements. Separate suites of male and female rooms, together with numberless rooms for storing and other purposes, are typically Rājput in character. The group of residences, the balconies, the windows and the doorways have been so exquisitely carved as to form by themselves a treasure-house of Rājput art.⁷⁴

The account of Jaisalmer, preserved in the *Jaisalmer-Gazal* of V. S. 822 (1765 A. D.), shows that big capitalists, surrounded by Banjārās, had their shops of stock and exchange in the central part of the town. There was a separate market of cloth-dealers, grocers and confectioners. Similarly, there were places allotted to different craftsmen, such as goldsmith, dyers, thread-weavers, tailors, and arm-manufacturers. There were also betel and garland-sellers. The perfume-sellers used to move about in the streets and lanes to sell scents. Hawkers used to spread their articles for sale in the open *bāzār*. A large number of camels used to come daily to the Manik Chauk and the grain market from the neighbouring areas with a load of articles for sale.⁷⁵

Jaisalmer had many temples dedicated to Mahādeva, Mahāvīr, Śambhu, each with monasteries. There were several drinking-wells where even the ladies of well-to-do families used to go to fetch water. There were several streams and wells, which served as bathing places for

⁷³ *Rājavallabha*, Canto 5, ff. 8-12.

⁷⁴ *Bhattivamshaprasasti*, vv. 110, 111 and 234; *Jaisalmer Gazal*, vv. 1-7; *Tawārikh Jaisalmer*, Bundle 75, No. 2, ff. 1-19, BA; Brown: *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p. 128.

⁷⁵ *Jaisalmer Gazal*, vv. 70-75.

both men and women. There was a *Koshik-Rām-kā-Kund* surrounded by groves of trees and with a monastery for hermits who were devoted to the cult of Rāma. The Jet-Samand and Brahmā-Sar were big lakes with strong dams in Jaisalmer.⁷⁶

In the *Bhattivaṃshaprasāsti*⁷⁷ we find a graphic description of the garden of Jaisalmer, while in the *Jaisalmer-Gazal* reference is made to *Amar-bāg* with its waterfalls, baths, fountains and several flower-beds which approximates to the Mughal style.

Ajmer

Ajayameru (Ajmer) improved and expanded by subsequent additions under the early Chauhāns was a flourishing town in the 12th century A.D. It was full of temples, wide streets, wells, water-stalls and deep lakes, Anā Sāgar and Bisālsar built by Arṇorāj (about 1133-1153 A. D.) and Bisāldeva (1153-1163 A. D.) respectively.⁷⁸ An eulogy in Sanskrit says that the city of Ajmer has humbled the pride of Amarāvati (the mythicā city of god Indra) and of the city of Rāvaṇa (golden Lankā), and Śri Kriṣṇa's city of Dwārikā looked like an humble maid before the queen (Ajmer).⁷⁹ Similarly the *Tāj-ul-Māāsir*⁸⁰ records, "The gardens of Ajmer are robed in seven colours..... Flowers so adorn the gardens and the plains as if a garden had been sent to the earth from Heaven itself.....The fountains of sweet water in Ajmer compete with *kosar* (the spring water of Parādise)The city and the suburbs are exceedingly beautiful, owing to general brightness and light, the beauty and purity of its flowers, the purity of its air and earth, and abundance of water and trees, it is a place of inestimable enjoyment and luxury."

From the description of Ajmer as given in *Tāj-ul-Māāsir*, we further learn that prior to the beginning of our period it was practically a depopulated town with remains of ruined houses and temples. What a small place it was is clear from the fact that tigers used to roam where now stands the tomb of Khwājā Muin-ud-din Chishti.⁸¹ After Rāo Māldeo

⁷⁶ *Shāntināth Inscription*, V. S. 1583 ; *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2154 ; *Jaisalmer Gazal*, vv. 10, 11, 66, 94, 109, 121 and 128.

⁷⁷ *Bhattivaṃshaprasāsti*, v. 184 ; *Jaisalmer Gazal*, vv. 12, 107, 108, 111 and 113.

⁷⁸ *Prithvirājvijaya*, Canto VI, p. 155, Dr. G. H. Ojha's edition ; Dasharatha Sharmā : *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 43-65.

⁷⁹ *Prithvirājvijaya*, Canto VI, p. 156 (Dr. G. H. Ojha's edition) ; Sārdā : *Ajmer*, p. 38.

⁸⁰ *Tāj-ul-Māāsir*, Elliot, II, p. 215.

⁸¹ *Tāj-ul-Māāsir*, E. & D., II, pp. 215 and 225 ; Sārdā : *Ajmer*, p. 39.

of Mārṅwār occupied it in 1535 A. D., he tried to improve the town by strengthening the fortress and completing the half-finished water lift to carry water from a stream near-by into the fort of Tārāgarh.⁸² The major improvement of Ajmer begins from about 1561 A. D., when Akbar annexed it to the Mughal empire. The contemporary account⁸³ leads us to believe that he enclosed the city with strong ramparts and a moat. He also issued orders for repairing and enlarging the fort. Within the area of the fort, mansions and abodes of high and low were constructed.

All the nobles and officers also erected their residential quarters and gardens. Grants were made to the nobles for spending money by an award of land and houses in the vicinity of Ajmer. The emperor built the *Khāsā Bāzār*, now called *Dargāh Bāzār*. For the convenience of ladies of the royal harem a special passage was constructed. When ladies walked from the royal palace to the *Dargāh* curtains were arranged to prevent shop-keepers and passers-by to have a gaze at them. Akbar also constructed four gates, one in the north called *Delhi Gate*, second in the east called *Banskhad Darwāzā*, third in the south known as *Diggi Darwāzā*, and fourth in the west called *Tripolia Gate*. In 1569 A. D., Subedār Ismāil Khān constructed *Buland Darwāzā* for the shrine of Mirān Sayyid Husain, and Ghisu Khān built a mosque in Inderkot which is now in ruins. In 1570 A. D., Akbar built *Akbari Masjid* and *Phul Mahal* in the premises of the Khwājā's mausoleum. Thus the ruined and deserted town began to recover under the royal patronage of the Great Mughal emperor who took personal interest in its improvement. Abul Fazl had the satisfaction in stating that in a short period Ajmer grew up into a large town.⁸⁴

Jahangir also made additions to the town by building Daulat Bāgh and palaces. He repaired the *Visāl Tāl* and built a palace along its bank. Like his father he also constructed a small mosque in the *Dargāh* and presented the second *deg* (cauldron).⁸⁵

European travellers of Jahāngir's time, specially William Finch⁸⁶ (1608-1611 A. D.), say that the city of Ajmer at the foot of the mountain is not very extensive, though it is defended by a wall and a ditch around

⁸² *Akbar-nāma* (P.T.), I, p. 196 ; Beveridge, I, p. 400 ; Abbās : *Tārikh-i-Sher-Shāhi*, f. 138 ; *Tārikh-i-Firishtā* (P.T.), p. 219 ; Briggs, II, p. 93 ; Sārdā : *Ajmer*, p. 39 ; Reu : *Mārṅwār-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 119.

⁸³ *Akbar-rāmā* (P.T.), p. 356 ; Beveridge, II, p. 516 ; *Tabaqāt*, E. & D., V, p. 335 ; *Muntakhab* (Lowe), II, p. 234 ; *Firishtā* (Briggs), II, p. 234.

⁸⁴ *Akbar-nāma* (P.T.), II, p. 357 ; H. Beveridge, II, p. 517 ; Sārdā : *Ajmer*, pp. 39-40.

⁸⁵ *Tuzūk* (R. & B.), I, pp. 256, 269, 340 and 341.

⁸⁶ *Early Travels in India*, edited by Foster, O.U.P., 1921, William Finch 1608-1611 A. D., pp. 170-171.

it. Finch also refers to Anāsāgar and the sepulchre of *Khwāja Sāhib*. The buildings of the town, according to him were reasonably fair. But Sir Thomas Roe⁸⁷ who stayed at Ajmer from 22nd December, 1615 to 1st December, 1616 A.D., as an ambassador of King James I of England, was not impressed by the town. In his letter to Lord Carew, dated the 17th January, 1616 A.D., he writes, "The King now resides in a base old city wherein is no house but of mud, not so great as a cottage in Hounslow Heath, only himself hath one of stone. His lords live in tents." These words preserve a tone of apathy, which is clear from the fact that in spite of his stay there for about a year he has made no mention of the prominent places like *Dargāh*, *Adhāi-din-kā-Jhonparā*, *Dargāh-Bāzār* or the town-hall which were below his nose.

Shāh Jahān who had a great taste for buildings, built in 1637 A.D. marble pavilions, better known as *bārādaries*, and *hammām* (Turkish bath) on the bank of Anāsāgar. He also laid out a garden to the western side of the lake which is still known as *Shāh Jahāni Bāgh*. He extended and repaired the town wall, and built *Jāmi Masjid* and mausoleum over the tomb of Khwājā Sāhib. During his time one Miyān-Bāi built a mosque opposite Motikatrā in 1643 A.D., and Tilokdi (Tilok Devi), the daughter of Tānsen, Akbar's famous musician, built another in *Dargāh Bāzār*, in 1652. By the middle of the 17th century as recorded by the European travellers like Terry, Bernier and Petermundy, Ajmer grew into an important town of northern India.⁸⁸

During Aurangzeb's and his successors' time some more mosques as Sayyid Muhammad's mosque in the *Dargāh Bāzār* (1693 A.D.) and Abdullāhpurā tomb and Sayyid Abdullah Khān's mosque (1704 A.D.) were built. But when Ajmer passed from the hands of the Mughals to those of the Marāthās, it saw construction of several temples and also improvement in the town. In 1769 A.D., Santoji, the Marāthā Subedār of Ajmer, laid out a garden and a *bāzār* called *Chishti-Chaman* and Santapurā respectively. Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa's temple of *Mālikatlā-Mohallā*, Chārbhujā temple of *Tulsi-ki-Bagichi*, Ardha Chandresvara temple in *Nayā Bāzār* and others were constructed by the Marāthā governors of Ajmer in the 18th century. Shivāji Nānā who was appointed the

⁸⁷ *The Embassy of Sir Thomās Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul*, edited by William Foster (Hakluyt Society), II, p. 113 ; Sārdā : *Ajmer*, p. 40.

⁸⁸ An *Inscription* on the Arch, A.H. 1052, 1053, quoted by Sārdā in his *Ajmer*, p. 40 ; Terry, pp. 398, 400 and 401 ; Bernier, pp. 359-70 ; Petermundy, II, pp. 243-244 ; *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1902-03, p. 82 ; Sārdā : *Ajmer*, p. 41 ; Banarsi Prasad : *History of Shāh Jahān*, p. 62.

Marāthā governor of Ajmer in 1791 A.D., commenced the construction of a *bāzār* called *Nayā Bāzār*.⁸⁹

Thus, by the close of our period Ajmer grew up into a good township through Mughal and Marāthā attempts. Various Muslim buildings of religious and secular character, which adorned the town, were erected from the remains of its original buildings. This town which was basically indigenous bore Mughal touches in Idgāhs, mosques, royal-edifices, and a few country seats. In a word the town is symbolic of 'disjointed memorial of two distinct and distant eras' that of the independent Chauhāns, and of the conquering imperial Mughals. Col. Tod⁹⁰ during his visit to Ajmer in 1818 observed distinct traces of the Mughal impact on sculptured art of a former age. Though the town did not appeal to Tod as a magnificent town, he found it in an improving state. The main street was under construction, *Dargāh* and other edifices were in good state of preservation. Bishop Heber⁹¹ who saw Ajmer in February, 1824, was disappointed by its first view, as he expected it to be a large city. But he found it a well-built, moderate-sized town with white-washed buildings. The fort of Tārāgarh, Anāsāgar, *Bārādari* and the *Dargāh* were important objects he noted.

Bundi

When Rāo Devdā, about 1340 founded the town of Bundi, the main consideration was the existence of a gorge nearly surrounded by wooded hills. The town was later on strengthened by a walled fortification, through which ingress and egress were obtained by means of four gateways, namely, the *Bhairon Gate* on the west, the *Chogān Gate* on the south, the *Pātānṣol* on the east, and the *Shukl Bari* on the north. Within the fortification were situated temples, *bāzārs* and houses. The construction of the *Phul-sāgar* in the north-west, the *Jet-sāgar* in the north-east, and the *Sur-sāgar* in the south-east made its situation attractive and useful.⁹²

The palace of Bundi, constructed about 1342 A.D. and added and altered by generations of builders, rises above the town in pinnacled terraces on the slope of a hill. Its ill-arrayed and scattered suites of rooms belong to a special type of Rājput art of the early mediaeval period.⁹³

⁸⁹ Sārdā : *Ajmer*, p. 41.

⁹⁰ Tod : *Annals*, pp. 608-610 (R. & K. Paul, 1950).

⁹¹ Heber's *Indian Journal*, Chapter XXIII, pp. 48-49.

⁹² Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, I, p. 113 ; Tod : *Annals*, Vol. III, p. 1467 ; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, pp. 293-294.

⁹³ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, I, pp 154-155 (edited by Asopā).

Jodhpur

In the choice of a site of Jodhpur by Jodha in 1459 A. D., the main factor was the range of Chidiyātunk of Pānchetiya. Reservoirs like Kodamdesar (by his mother) and *Chānd Bāvali* and *Rānisar* were constructed by his wives to provide water for the town. Māldeo (1531-1562 A.D.) constructed the town wall. Five important gates, the *Sojatiya*, the *Nāgori*, the *Siwānchi*, the *Ajmeri* and the *Jalori* gates, named after the main towns which they faced, were added to it later on.⁹⁴

The palace of Jodhpur, constructed between the 15th and 18th centuries, crowns a rocky eminence guarded by bastions, ramparts and parapets. The fort with its smaller and irregular rows of buildings, named as Moti Mahal, Fateh Mahal, Phul Mahal, Shish Mahal, Śringār Chowki and Sabhamandap, gives the look of compactness and solidity. The gilded cupolas, carved panels, pierced screens of red stone and the intricate passages, along with open verandahs, called *chopāla*, in series are striking examples of mediaeval Rājput architecture.⁹⁵

The contemporary accounts throw sufficient light on town-planning, including roads, *bāzār* and residential buildings of Jodhpur. The writer of the *Ajitodaya*⁹⁶ says that the lanes branch off from the main road of Jodhpur. Lanes, roads and streets were not in straight lines. They grew sometimes wider and sometimes narrower on account of the platforms projecting from shops or houses. On both the sides of the main road there were cloth shops of costly varieties, like velvet, silk and embroidered stuffs.⁹⁷ There were the shops of goldsmiths and jewellers who were shown occupied with their crafts. The grocers, perfume-sellers, physicians, painters, retail shop-keepers, thread-workers, brokers, confectioners and

⁹⁴ *Satisthambha* of the 6th of the bright-half of Bhādrapada, V.S. 1516 (3rd sept., 1459 A.D.), J.A.S.B. : Vol. 13. (1917 A.D., pp. 217-218 ; Nainsi's *Khyata*, p. 131 ; Dāyāl Dās, *Khyāta*, vol. I, p. 8 ; *Ajitocharitra*, 11, v. 19, f. 18 ; *Ajitodaya*, Canto 29, v. 7 ; *Haqiqat Bahi*, 3rd of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 1821 (19th April, 1764 A. D.), 11th of the dark-half of *Māgha*, V. S. 1822 (16th Feb., 1765 A.D.), 11th of the bright-half of *Āsādha*, V.S. 1822 (29th June, 1765 A.D.), 12th of the bright-half of *Śrāvana*, V. S. 1822 (28th July, 1765 A.D.), 4th of the dark-half of *Chaitra* V. S. 1839 (1st April, 1782 A.D.); Ojhā : *J. R. I.*, p. 241 ; Reu : *Mārwār kā Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 92-93.

⁹⁵ *Haqiqat Bahi*, 5th of the dark-half of *Phālguna*, V. S. 1821 (8th March, 1764 A.D.) : Brown : *Indian Architecture*, p. 128 ; A. Coomārswāmy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 121.

⁹⁶ *Ajitodaya*, Canto I, v. 27.

⁹⁷ *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 17.

dyers and their shops were in different streets and lanes of the town.⁹⁸ People of one occupation lived generally in the same street, and there were tailors' street (*Darjijon-kā-vās*), potters' quarters (*Kumhārvādā*), shoemakers' quarters (*mochivādā*), etc.⁹⁹ The town was divided into separate wards for different *Varnas*, the classes. The Brahmaṇs lived in Brahmampuri, where they devoted themselves in studying the Vedas and performing sacrifices.¹⁰⁰ The *Vaiśyas* were located in the centre to carry their business and the wrestlers lived in an area where they used to keep themselves engaged in wrestling undisturbed.¹⁰¹

Contemporary works throw some light on temples, drinking wells and reservoirs which were the important constituents of the town of Jodhpur. There were several temples in each ward of the town.¹⁰² The temple of Ghanashyāma was a centre of religious life, to which the Mahārājās of Jodhpur usually paid their homage.¹⁰³

There were several wells and reservoirs like Rānisar, Abhaya Sāgar, Bāl-Samand, Gulābsar and other wells.¹⁰⁴ These reservoirs were not only useful for drinking and bathing purposes, but they were haunts of wrestlers.¹⁰⁵ *Kathās* were recited at their banks during religious months. On their banks were seen men of learning engaged in deliberation, recluses devoted to penances of various types, and devotees diffusing charity or performing 'homa' (sacrifice) after taking their dip in the sacred water.¹⁰⁶

We have a graphic account of the gardens of Jodhpur in the contemporary literary works. The gardens of Mandor and Bālsamand abounded in plantain, mulberry, grapes and mango trees. There were also flower plants of rose and jasmine. The introduction of *makhtul*, *norang* and *gulphul* flowers shows Mughal impact in the gardens of Mārwar. The setting of tiny water-falls and playing of fountains in the garden of Sur-sāgar, near Jodhpur, is in harmony with the Mughal art of gardening described by Bābur. Later on the state spent enormous amount of money on the maintenance of these gardens.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁸ *Gunāsāra*, ff. 51-52.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 52-53.

¹⁰⁰ *Gunāsāra*, ff. 51-52 ; *Ajitcharitra*, vv. 20-21, f. 19.

¹⁰¹ *Ajit Singhji-rā-Kavitta* f., 6b.

¹⁰² *Guṇasāra*, f. 52.

¹⁰³ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1823 (1766 A.D.)

¹⁰⁴ *Ajitcharitra*, v. 20, f. 19 ; *Guṇasāra*, f. 52 b : *Surajprakashā*, f. 49.

¹⁰⁵ *Abhaya Singhji-rā-kavitta*, v. 55.

¹⁰⁶ *Guṇabhā-ha*, vv. 28-33.

¹⁰⁷ *Bāburnāma*, ff. 225, 226-300 ; *Abhayavilasa*, ff. 21-22 ; Rs. 1,300 were spent on Bālsamand, Rs. 340 on Suraj Beri and Rs. 290 on Kāgā gardens in V.S. 1911 (1854 A.D.), *Vide Jamā-kharch-Bahi*, V. S. 1911 (1854 A. D.)

Bikaner

In choosing the site of Bikāner, which was founded in 1488 A.D., the existence of an elevation, and of rivulets, which now fill Sur-sāgar, were the main considerations. Gradually it was surrounded by a wall, crowned with battlements, closed by five gates and strengthened by a ditch all round.¹⁰⁸

As regards the old palace of Bikāner, founded about V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.), and built anew by Rāi Singh between 1588 to 1593 A.D., and after, perched on rocky eminence and consists of a long range of pavilions, towering over a massive gateway. The walls are surrounded by a continuous line of balconies and oriel-windows of varying designs, with kiosks and towers at intervals. The inner apartments of coloured plaster are in a way self-contained suites, interconnected with the courtyards and with small and extensive narrow steps and dark passages. Within the palace area there are gardens, temples, stables and store-houses of mediaeval type, of course, the pleasure garden, carved cornices, foliated arches and latticed openings have a touch of the Mughal style.¹⁰⁹

In Bikāner there was one main road which had shops dealing in cloths, fruits, garlands, betels, bangles, sweets, scents and ornaments. This road was interconnected with streets and lanes meant for persons of various professions, such as confectioners, dyers, washermen, basket-makers, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, oil-pressers, painters, shoemakers, bangle-manufacturers, barbers and utensil-manufacturers. Some of the localities were termed as *Chohattās*, with an open space or square of the town where busy-bodies used to gather and gossip. The houses of the members of the four castes were allocated to the different parts of the town. The central part where the Jains and Maheshwaris lived was called *Salunivād* and *Maheshwarvās*. The Brāhmaṇs occupied a part of the town and busied themselves in their studies, performance of penances and sacrifices. At an extremity there were quarters for prostitutes, who decked themselves in ornaments and costly costumes and attracted dandies of the town. In the vicinity of this locality, there were the houses of tailors.¹¹⁰

From several inscriptions we learn that between V.S. 1561-1673 (1504-1616 A.D.), some important Jaina temples were constructed in

¹⁰⁸ *Karmachandravanīshotkīrtanakam-kāvya*, v. 138 ; Naiṇsi's *Khyāta*, Vol. 2, p. 199 ; *Khyāta-Bikāner-ra-Rathorāri*, f. 17 ; Dayāldās : *Khyāta*, II, f. 2.

¹⁰⁹ *Bikāner Gazal*, v. 106 ; Brown : *Indian Architecture* (Islamic period), p. 128 ; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Raj. Pro. Series, p. 416.

¹¹⁰ *Bikāner Gazal*, vv. 4, 5, 10, 11, 17, 18, 27, 28, 38, 44, 45, 57 and 58.

Bikāner of which the temples of Shānti Nāth, Bhandā Shāh, Rishabhdeva and Ajit Nāth and the shrines of Śiva, Śakti, Viṣṇu, Lakshmināth and Ganesha are worth noticing.¹¹¹ The temple of Nāgñechi, the family deity of the Rāthors, situated outside the town is an important shrine. There were *dargāhs* and monasteries, belonging to various orders of Islām, Hinduism and Jainism, as centre of prayer and penances.¹¹² Similarly, there were wells and reservoirs, such, as Sursāgar, Anup Sāgar, Gogā-tāl, Navlakh-tāl Sarupde-sar, Achārya-kup, Nāth-sar, Pir-kund, Sisolāv and Harsolāv.¹¹³

Udaipur

Rāna Udaī Singh's choice of Udaipur in V.S. 1616 (1559 A.D.) was mainly guided by the existence of a girdle of hills and a lake by its side. Later on it was defended by a townwall and gateways.¹¹⁴

The palace of Udaipur, originally founded in V.S. 1616 (1559 A.D.) by Rānā Udaī Singh in the form of a small citadel, expanding gradually into a huge edifice, stands on the verge of an extensive lake surrounded by hills of a great beauty.¹¹⁵ Its fluted turrets and projecting balconies, supported on carved brackets, are an example of fine mediaeval masonry and unfold a memorable vision of loveliness and charm so conspicuous in Hindu art.¹¹⁶ The additions¹¹⁷ to it made by Amar Singh, Karan Singh, Jagat Singh and Rāj Singh in the forms of Amar Vilāsa, Karan Vilāsa and Bāri Mahal, with halls and fountains, slender columns and garden, reflect the influence of the Mughal style. But in essence the entire plan and the apartmental adjustment, together with the dining-halls, picture gallery, treasury, zoo, stables, storehouses of grain, arms,

¹¹¹ *Shāntināth Inscription* of the 1st of the dark-half of *Jaiṣṭha*, V.S. 1549 (1st June, 1492 A.D.), Nahātā's *Bikāner Lekhasangraha*, Introduction, pp. 28-29; *Bhāndā Shāh Inscription* of the 2nd of the bright-half of *Āśvina*, V.S. 1571 (20th Sept., 1514 A.D.); Nahātā's *Bikāner Lekhasangraha*, Introduction, p. 33; *Ajitnāth Inscription* of the 7th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1664 (8th May, 1607 A.D.), Nahātā's *Bikāner Lekhasangraha*, p. 34.

¹¹² *Karmachandravanishprabandha*, v. 254; *Parvānāh* of Maharaja Karan Singh for the monastery of Badā Upāsra of the 5th of the dark-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1705 (1st May, 1648 A.D.), Nahātā's *Bikāner Lekhasangraha*, Introduction, pp. 53-54.

¹¹³ *Bikāner Gazal*, vv. 106-110.

¹¹⁴ *Jagat Singh-kāvya*, v. 7, f. 14a; *Amal-i-Sālih*, f. 51; *Muntakhāb* (Lowe), I, p. 278; *Rājvilāsa*, Canto II, vv. 62-63; Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, Vol. I, p. 21; *Suryavamsha*, f. 52a; *Vir Vinod*, II, pp. 72-73; *Ojhā*, U.R.I., Vol. I, p. 421.

¹¹⁵ *Amal-i-Sālih*, f. 51.

¹¹⁶ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 9b.

¹¹⁷ *Rājvilāsa*, Canto II, vv. 73-78; *Udaipur Gazal*, vv. 18-21.

musical instruments, grass and water, gives it the appearance of compactness as suggested by Mandan.

The town of Udaipur, according to the contemporary writings,¹¹⁸ had long streets, interconnected with lanes, each specialising in some commodity. On the main road, leading to the palace, there were shops of confectioners. Adjoining this road there were lanes where goldsmiths and manufacturers of utensils plied their trade. A little further there were jewellers. The same main road led to *Kotwāli*. This was a very crowded locality as in its vicinity there were several lanes dealing with thread-work, perfumes, betel, arms of various kinds, ornaments and exchange of coins. As in other towns so in Udaipur the Brahmaṇs, Vaiśyas and Kṣatriyas lived in different localities. The artists like painters, lac-workers, arms-repairers, leather-workers, wood-workers (*kherādīs*), oil-pressers, wine-manufacturers and shoemakers lived in localities of their own, and carried on with their crafts. The cloth market was monopolized by the Bohrās, a class of Shiāh Muslims. There were special markets for grain and other articles where commodities were exhibited in heaps. The *Moti Chohattā* was the main market place of Udaipur.

From the archaeological and inscriptional sources we learn that some of the temples of Śiva and Mahāvīr were the earliest in Udaipur¹¹⁹. Jagannāth Rāi temple was most spacious and splendid of the temples constructed by Mahārājā Jāgat Singh in 1652 A.D.¹²⁰ There were hundreds of temples at Udaipur dedicated to Jagdish, Rāmchandra, Kurma, Harasidhi, Ganapati, Shitalādevi, Hazāreśvara, Jāgeśvara and Nilkanth.¹²¹ There were also several Jaina-monasteries.¹²² We are told by the contemporary writers that a speciality of Udaipur was the abundance of water in the form of lakes, reservoirs, streams, channels, wells and step-wells.¹²³

From the literary and documentary sources of our period we come across three kinds of gardens in Udaipur, namely, palace-gardens, town-

¹¹⁸ *Rājaviḷāsa*, Canto II, vv. 70-75 ; *Udaipur Gazal*, vv. 34-66.

¹¹⁹ The temple of Someśvara and Jāgeśvara seem to be the oldest of the temples, as they are about 10 to 12 feet below the level of the road at present. Temple of Vimalnāth in the heart of the city is also very old. It bears inscription of the 8th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1686 (20th April, 1629 A.D.)

¹²⁰ *Jagannāthraī Inscription* of the 15th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1709 (13th April, 1652 A.D.), EI, Vol. 24.

¹²¹ *Rājaviḷāsa*, Canto II, vv. 100-102.

¹²² *Rājaviḷāsa*, Canto, II, v. 103.

¹²³ *Amal-i-Sālih*, f. 51 ; *Jāgat Singh-kāvya*, v. 43, f. 53b ; Naiṇsi's *Khyāta*, ff. 9b and 10a.

gardens and private-gardens. Mahārānā Jagat Singh laid out a pleasure-garden in the water palace of Mohan Mandir, and public gardens at Udaipur.¹²⁴ Mahārānā Rāj Singh had great interest in the planning of public and royal gardens. He laid out a garden at Sarwaratuvilāsa palace with fruit trees, such as mango, coconut, orange, lemon, pomegranate and apple. The gardens had creepers of flowers like, rose, jasmine and pandanus.¹²⁵ These gardens, surrounded by high walls, pierced by lofty gateways, provided with channel of artificial irrigation and divided into series of flower-beds, sloping grounds and rows of fruit trees approximated to the typical Mughal gardens as described by Bābur and Jahāngir.¹²⁶ We also find reference to private gardens in a *parwānāh*¹²⁷ issued to Rāwal Sārang Deo by Mahārānā Sangrām Singh in V.S. 1788 (1731 A.D.) for laying out a private garden (*vādi*), comprising eight *bighās* of land. In Udaipur *Gazal*¹²⁸ there is a mention of private gardens owned by persons belonging to Brāhmaṇ, Vaiśya and Māheshwari communities.

Kotāh

Similarly, in the selection of the site of Kotāh the river Chambal was one of the considerations. The site of Kotāh, on the bank of Chambal was further improved by the consideration of a large and massive outer-wall all around the town in the years 1730 (1673 A.D.) and 1771 (1714 A.D.) of the Vikrama Erā. It had five main gates like *Surajpōl* and the *Pādanpōl*, *Khidri*, *Selār Ghāzi* and *Bhilwadi darwāzās* (gates).¹²⁹

Kotāh, which had increased in size and importance after 1625 A.D., when Jahāngir granted it to Madho Singh, was beautified by the construction of a palace in the southern extremity overlooking the river Chambal over a high elevation as revealed from the state papers.¹³⁰ The

¹²⁴ *Jagat Singh-kāvya*, Canto 7, v. 11. f. 37b ; Naiṇsi's *Khyāta*, f. 9b.

¹²⁵ *Rājvilāsa*, Canto 4, vv. 1-13.

¹²⁶ *Baburnāma*, ff. 225, 226-300 ; *Tuzūk* (R. and B.), II, p. 269.

¹²⁷ *Parwānāh*, No. 450 (O.D.R.U.), of the 5th of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, V.S. 1788 (9th Sep., 1731 A.D.)

¹²⁸ *Udaipur Gazal*, v. 44.

¹²⁹ *Mijāli Kharch Bastā* No. 11, V.S. 1730 (1673 A.D.) ; *Dowarkiparchā-Jāt*, *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 29, V.S. 1771 (1714 A.D.), File No. 41, *Bhandāra* No. 1, V.S. 1782 (1725 A.D.), (KA) ; Tavernier, p. 33.

¹³⁰ *Bastā* No. 11, V.S. 1750 (1693 A.D.). *Māmalik* expenditure ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, File No. 8 ; *Bhandārā* No. 15, *Bastā* No. 1, V.S. 1795 (1738 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 61, File No. 5, Deptt. *Bāje Tālkā*, V.S. 1833 (1776 A.D.) ; File No. 64, V.S. 1839 (1782 A.D.) ; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 383.

palace proper is an imposing pile of buildings. Its substantial additions and alterations in the *zenānā* palaces, the kitchen and the gardens were made by Mādho Singh, Rām Singh and Bhim Singh. The imposing gateway of the main palace, an open courtyard, inner temple, the narrow passages, the kitchen, and the *chaupāla* depict Rājput style ; while high perforated parapets, the pavilion, the *zenānā* palace, double pillars, the *Diwān-i-Ām* or the Hall of Audience, the Topkhānā and the *Dāru Khānā* are most nearly the reproduction of the Mughal type. The outer buildings within the fortified bastions, such as, the stables, the treasury, the chariot-shed and storehouses, in compact aggregation, are after the traditional fashion.

There were many temples in Kotāh, of which those of Nilkanth, Mathurādhish, Vrijanāth and Āsupuriji were of great importance.¹³¹ There were also *dargāhs* and mosques subsidised from the state treasury.¹³²

Though Kotāh had ample source of water supply from the Chambal, Mahārājā Rām Singh (1696-1707 A.D.) constructed the Rāvathā lake and Bhim Singh (1707-1720 A.D.) excavated several wells and step-wells for the use of the people living in the interior of the town.¹³³

As regards the gardens the archival records refer to *Rāma-bāgh*, *Dilkhush-bāgh* and *Rānā-vādi* at Kotāh.¹³⁴ There is a reference to a garden owned by a prostitute named *Gyāni* who laid out a garden and sunk a reservoir at the cost of over Rs. 500/- in V.S. 1839 (1782 A.D.)¹³⁵

Jaipur

Jaipur's planning took place under the inspiration and supervision of its own rulers. Sawāi Jai Singh II, who was a great scholar and patron of astronomy and other branches of learning, found Āmber inadequate for further expansion and improvement. In an open ground 7 miles from Āmber, he first installed curious and fantastic instruments, commonly known as *Janitar Mantar*, in or about 1718 A.D. After ten years of the installation of this instrument he, with the help of a learned Bengāli Pandit named Vidyādhār and his Jaina assistant, laid the foundation of a new town which he termed Jaipur, the town of victory or the

¹³¹ *Bastā* No. 11, *Nalhi* No. 14, V.S. 1831 (1774 A.D.)

¹³² *Bastā* No. 11, File No. 22, V.S. 1857 (1800 A.D.)

¹³³ *Bhandāra* No. 21, File No. 20, V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) ; Dr. M. L. Sharmā : *Kotāh-Rājya-kā-Itihās*, p. 309.

¹³⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 11, file No. 2, V.S. 1750 (1693 A.D.)

¹³⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 64, V.S. 1839 (1782 A.D.)

one founded by Jai Singh.¹³⁶ The site chosen was attractive, though not as strategic as Amber, being surrounded by a rugged hill and crowned with forts on the north and the east. A rivulet named Durbhavati was dammed in V.S. 1792 (1735 A.D.) and opened out in a lake called Mān-Sāgar under the supervision of an architect, Gangā Rāma.¹³⁷ Another lake of Jai-Sāgar further added water and boating facilities.¹³⁸ A painting¹³⁹ of the 18th century, which is symbolic of winter, depicts Amber as a flourishing town in the back-ground, and Jaipur, the newly planned town with its walls, gates, temples and mosques spread out in front and expanding.

The general plan of the town, as given in State records of the 18th century and *Budhivilāsa*,¹⁴⁰ of V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.) is rectangular in shape. The streets that cross the roads formed squares in the centre and these serve as market-places, such as *Rāma Ganj*, *Rāma Chowk*, *Chāndni-Chowk*, *Parvat Chowk*, *Vad Ganj*, *Chontrā Ganj*, etc. From the account preserved in *Budhivilās*¹⁴¹ it is clear that the whole town was divided in wards, meant for Brāhmaṇs, Rājputs, Vaiśyas and other castes. These wards were named as *Chhipāvās*, *Kumārvādā*, *Telivās*, *Brahmapuri* and *Maheshrivās*.¹⁴² According to Heber¹⁴³ there were seven wards meant for the Brāhmaṇs, Thākurs, ordinary Rājputs, Kāyasths Baniyās or traders, cow-herds and the palace area.

The palace as stated by the writer of *Budhivilāsa*,¹⁴⁴ was surrounded by a high embattled wall containing within it male and female apartments and quarters for courtiers, stables and the like. *Chandra Mahal*, *Pritamnivāsa*, *Sobhanivāsa*, *Sukhnivāsa*, *Chhabinivāsa*, *Sheesh Mahal* and *Mukat Mahal*, had suites of apartments interconnected with courtyards and corridors after Rājput fashion. It is interesting to note that the carved screens, balconies, arches and brackets are the delightful examples of Hindu architecture. But the *Diwān-i-Khās* and the *Diwān-i-Ām* with coloured columns and walls are of the Mughal style.

¹³⁶ Bānkidās' *Khyāta*, p. 124; Amber, *As Stones Speak*, p. 9. (Archeological Dept., Rājasthān publication).

¹³⁷ *Dasturkomvār*, Vol. 23, f. 295, V.S. 1792 (1735 A.D.).

¹³⁸ *Siyāhah-Huzur*, No. 51, V.S. 1792 (1735 A.D.).

¹³⁹ N. C. Mehtā : *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 37, Plate No. 12; A. Coomārswāmy : *Rājput Paintings*, Plate No. XII B.

¹⁴⁰ *Siyāhah Huzur*, V.S. 1794 (1737 A.D.), ff. 543, 855 and 1269; *Budhivilāsa*, ff. 8-9.

¹⁴¹ *Budhivilāsa* by Bakhat Rāma, V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.), ff. 9-12.

¹⁴² *Rojnāmchā of Potdār*, V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.), f. 17.

¹⁴³ Heber's *Indian-Journal*, Chapter XXII, pp. 33-39.

¹⁴⁴ *Budhivilāsa*; ff. 9-21; Heber's *Indian Journal*, Ch. XXII, pp. 33-39.

The palace gardens, *Rāma-bāgh*, *Jainiwās-bāgh* and *Kesardesar-bāgh* were extensive gardens, full of fountains, springs, palm trees and flowering shrubs with a succession of terraces and alcoves.¹⁴⁵ They were surrounded by a high embattled wall. Owing to many alterations, additions and subtraction the shape of these gardens has undergone a great change and it is difficult to have an idea of what they were exactly like those days. Nevertheless, we can have an idea of them through a contemporary writing.¹⁴⁶ According to it they had artificial irrigation in the form of channels, tanks, water-falls and fountains together with paths, pavilions, flower-beds of uniform cut and size, introduced in Jaipur through Mughal contact. We also find reference to private gardens in State records¹⁴⁷ as *Kehdāki Bagichi*, *Hirachand Johari's garden*, *Ghāt-bāgh* and *Kushāl-bag*. Some of these gardens accommodated religious men who used to come occasionally to Jaipur.

Mansions of Nobles

Just adjoining the areas of the palace and *bāzārs* of these towns, there used to be the mansions of the nobles, dignitaries and officers of the State. The mansions of Nandāji, Harnāth, Surtān-Sisod and *Amir-Shikār* were just near the Kotāh palace.¹⁴⁸ The nobles of Udaipur constructed houses of their own near the royal palace and stayed there.¹⁴⁹ The mansions of the Rāos of Delwādā, Āsind, Hamirgarh, Vijayarh, Kānkarwā and others can even now be seen in the vicinity of the palace at Udaipur. Similarly there were the mansions of Tanwar Ghāghtā and Bhandāri Girdhara on the way from the fort to the town of Jodhpur.¹⁵⁰

Since the mansions of high dignitaries were so varied in type as those of today, it is difficult to reduce them to one standard type. However, an idea of a typical house can be had from the layout of an ancient mansion¹⁵¹ at Chitor that has been cleared out recently from the heap of earth. This was the mansion of Jaimal, the defender of Chitor, during Akbar's invasion in 1567 A.D. The mansion is particularly large. It is situated on an eminence, commanding a fine view. It opens on a street and has a lofty entrance gate and a pair of massive folding-doors.

¹⁴⁵ Bānkidās' *Khyāta*, Vol. II, ff. 292, 297, 298.

¹⁴⁶ *Budhivilāsa*, ff. 8b and 9b.

¹⁴⁷ *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1853, f. 91, V.S. 1855, f. 307, V.S. 1862, f. 483.

¹⁴⁸ *Bastā* No. 11, *Bhandāra* No. 1, File No. 2, *Nathi*, 26, V.S. 1750 (1693 A.D.).

¹⁴⁹ *Amal-i-Sālih*, f. 51.

¹⁵⁰ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.) and V. S. 1839 (1782 A.D.)

¹⁵¹ A plan of Jaimal's mansion.

This main gate leads us to an open courtyard, enclosed on three sides by walls, with a small gateway which has on both sides raised platforms and a small room adjoining it for guards. The walls of this gate and the room bear blackish look due to the stuffy smoke of the fire from the guard's kitchen. As we enter this gate it does not straightway leads to the main courtyard, but it indirectly takes us by a side-door through a lobby into the principal courtyard of the interior. Ascending a few steps from this courtyard we reach the main building which has a square hall. All round there are ruins of colonnades that supported the upper storey. It seems that the device of constructing a hall over a hall with the help of wooden pillars was the special characteristic feature of that age, as is clear from the ruins of Padmini's palace or Udai Singh's palace at Chitor. On the right of this principal room there are few small rooms, one of which, it seems from a painted altar and smoky colour of the walls of incense, was used as a shrine of family god, who guarded the material goods of the house.

This mansion, as indicated by its high walls, was a three-storeyed building. The access to the second storey was through a stair-case. This storey too had a similar arrangement with a central-hall meant as a bedroom for the family. The side rooms were used for various purposes, as dining-room and storerooms. Another corner room seems to have been used as bathroom, for there is provision for letting the water out.

The third storey seems to have an open terrace surrounded by low-walls, with adjoining rooms used as bedrooms. These rooms had balconies overlooking the surrounding area. Here the rooms were mostly lighted in the night from the interconnected holes, but they must have sufficient daylight from balconies and small windows. Crossing the hall of the first floor, we find on the southern side a corridor that leads us to water-closets.

On the other side of the inner courtyard, we find traces of a few rooms in succession with a covered verandah used as a kitchen, as store-rooms and rooms for arms and armaments. At the extremity of this row of rooms there is a water-closet, probably for the use of the attendants who were on duty for whole time. Below this row of rooms there was a flower garden adorned with fountains and reservoirs.

The second gate of this mansion provided a narrow passage leading to another courtyard where there were covered verandahs supported on columns, in all the four sides of the courtyard, used as residential quarters for the domestic servants and the armed guards of the chief.

As regards the 18th century mansions that¹⁵² of Jhālā Zalim Singh's,

¹⁵² It was constructed in V.S. 1830 (1773 A.D.), *vide Bhandāra* No. 4, *Bastā* No. 24, *Nathi* No. 11, of V.S. 1830-1834 (1773-1777 A.D.) (*Vide* a plan of Jhālā Zalim Singh's mansion).

the premier and chief courtier of Kotāh, seems to be typical. The mansion of Jaimal was constructed at Chitor where there was plenty of space for building, so houses and group of houses could be spread out over a large area rather than built upwards to a great height. But at Kotāh on account of the presence of the palace on one side and the river Chambal on the other two sides, it was built three-storeyed house providing for accommodation by increasing the height but not the area of the building. This mansion has a low main gate with a provision to enter the main building through a lobby into the rectangular courtyard. All round this courtyard there are rooms with covered verandahs meant for dinner parties, consultation quarters and holding meetings and keeping records and stores. The same plan is repeated in the second storey and the third storey with devices of separate suites which had access through a common gallery running all along the four sides of the building from the interior. These suites had sitting-rooms, bedrooms, storerooms and a common verandah attached with bathrooms and water-closets.

The same form is discerned in the third storey with closed terraces and side rooms with covered verandahs. It seems that this storey was meant for bedroom in summer and rainy season, which commanded a fine view of the Chambal and the adjoining forest. One of the rooms in the second storey with low doors, niches and central sanctum and paintings of gods, was meant for a shrine. Two of the corner rooms of third storey have magnificent wall paintings in series, depicting a hunting scene and scenes of baths, gardens, peacocks and court life. Along this mansion there is an attached building enclosed by a wall and a covered verandah meant for the kitchen, storehouses and rooms for ladies. This building is connected with the main building through a corridor in the second storey. There is an inner courtyard with a plot for a pretty garden. Though this house is in every way a Rājput house, Mughal influence is discernible in its latticed-windows and arches.

The Houses of Upper-classes

It is difficult to have an idea of the exact types of houses of various classes and grades of people. The reason is not far to seek. The remains of early houses, which could have formed the basis of our study are few and far between, for so many of them were destroyed by invading armies and so many of them have been built anew. However, stray examples of ruins, description of which is preserved in the literary sources and old paintings, can give us glimpses of the various types of houses of that age.

Next to the mansions come the houses of middle-class and well-to-do people. Our knowledge regarding their pattern is derived from some references that are found about the houses of upper classes in the

Rajavallabha,¹⁵³ the *Rājavilāsa*¹⁵¹ and a document¹⁵⁵ of V.S. 1868 (1811 A.D.) From their contents which are corroborated from the paintings¹⁵⁶ and sculptured art¹⁵⁷ we are in a position to sketch a lay-out of a middle class man's house. Usually, a house was entered only through a covered gateway called *pol*, which was closed at night. In the day it served the purpose of a sitting-room. This gateway opened to a courtyard called *chank*, a square or rectangular open ground. Usually one or two steps lead to a *chaupāla* or *pattasāla* round which were grouped a few small apartments, one of which was used as a kitchen and other as a store, called *ovrā*. Ladies' activities centered in the *chaupāla*

Chaupāla was practically a living room, where spinning and weaving too were done, and where the family ate their meals or enjoyed their midday rest. Here too in one of the front niches the family deities, usually a *Devi* or an impression of *Sati's* palm were enshrined to guard the material goods of the house or safeguard the destiny of the members of the family. In some cases the plan of the ground floor was repeated on the upper storey which was connected by a staircase by the side of the *chaupāla*. The arrangement of the upper storey varied slightly. There was an open terrace for sleeping in summer and a *chitrasāli*, with balcony and arched niches over the *ovrā*, which served the purpose of a bed and drawing-room. As the name signifies, it was usually decorated with paintings of various types and kept scented with burning of perfumed oil lamps. The adjoining room called *medi* was meant for keeping valuables, money-chest and private records or documents. If there was a third storey, it was an open terrace all over the building. Only on one side there was a small room for use as a bedroom in rainy season or summer nights, furnished with paintings, beds and other toilet equipment. In Jaipur and Alwar particularly houses had latticed terraces, and parapets and verandahs had slender colonnades

¹⁵³ *Rājavallabha*, Canto 5, vv. 22, 23, 36, 37, Canto 6, vv. 3-34, Canto 8, vv. 35 and 39.

¹⁵⁴ *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 10, 114 ; *Jagavilāsa*, v. 179.

¹⁵⁵ *Sanchor mortgage document*, 7th of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V.S. 1868 (1811 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶ A. Coomarswamy : *Rājput Paintings*, Vol. II, Plate No. 1, mid 16th century and Plate VI, 18th century ; A Coomarswamy : *Rajput Paintings* Vol II, Plate No. 1.

¹⁵⁷ My article, 'Interpretation of Carving at Rāj-Samudra Lake', *Journal of Research of the University of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. V, No. 1, July, 1958, pp. 19-25.

after the Mughal style.¹⁵⁸

Sometimes a big house accommodated several families, each residing in a self-contained set of suites with a common courtyard. Such a house, a part of which could be used for the purpose of storing articles or goods or as a cow-shed by the owner, was called *noharā*. But to all intents and purposes such houses were elaborations of the houses of villagers of average means. The area covered by the pattern was between 20 by 37 cubits or 24 by 38 cubits on average. The cost of such plots varied between Rs. 10/- to Rs. 24/- in the currency of that age. Of course, a well-constructed *noharā* could be had for about Rs. 2,000/¹⁵⁹

The Houses of Artisans and Others

As against this, the quarters of artisans and craftsmen, as suggested by the ruins of several towns, usually faced a street or *seri*, their backs adjoining the houses of neighbours. The ground-floors of such houses were used as work-shops. In the upper-storey they and the members of their family lived. Sometimes such houses had projections over the street, as if they were trying to join another house opposite to them. Intermixed with these houses there were immense number of small houses, usually built of mud and thatched with straw, in which common men resided. They had one small door but no windows. The ruins of houses at Āmber, Ghāsā and Jāwar (near Udaipur), which have in part survived, represent the patterns of abodes as sketched above.

As regards general furniture and articles of use, it may be noted that they varied according to the rank and income of the family. From the *Rājavallabha*,¹⁶⁰ the *Khedmultank*¹⁶¹ and sculptured art,¹⁶² it is apparent

¹⁵⁸ *Rājavallabha*, Canto 6, vv. 23-33, Canto 7, vv. 1-30; *Vātsangraha*, f. 68a, V.S. 1792; *Phutkar Kavita*, p. 23; *Bhaktamāla*, v. 486, f. 44a; *Bhāgavata* paintings, *Pothi-khānā* paintings. Paintings of the Art gallery, Jaipur, show case No. 15 (18th century A.D.): 'A *Rāgini* set with houses, stair-cases, verandahs, etc.'; *Kunwar Sangrām Singh's* collection, paintings of houses and gardens (18th century).

¹⁵⁹ A *Pattā*, Udaipur, belonging to Mishri Lāl, (ODRU), 15th of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, V.S. 1765 (3rd Sept., 1708 A.D.)
A *Pattā*, Udaipur, belonging to Gosain Girijāpuri, (ODRU), No. 80, V.S. 1773 (1716 A.D.)

A note in the *Phutkar-kavitā*, V.S. 1781 (1724 A.D.), pp. 179-180.

A *Pattā*, Sirohi, 10th of the dark-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1813 (23rd May, 1756 A.D.)

¹⁶⁰ *Rājāvallabha*, Canto 8, vv. 1, 2, 3 and 18.

¹⁶¹ *Khedmultank*, f. 19.

¹⁶² My article, 'Kunwar Prithvirāja's *Chhati*, Kumbhalgarh', *Shodha Patrikā*, 1959, pp. 7-14.

that the mediaeval gentry in Rājasthān was fond of blue and red bed-covers, large and ornate bed-steads. Mirrors, fans, perfume containers and lamp-stand for candlesticks also formed a part of the equipments of an aristocratic family. The chairs were of cumbrous size. Velā, ¹⁶³ a notable architect of the 15th century, is depicted, at the *Vijayasthambha* of Chitor, contained in a big chair.

We learn from the literary works¹⁶⁴ and paintings¹⁶⁵ of the 17th and 18th centuries that apartments of princes and other highly-placed persons were furnished with beds and chairs supported on massive legs, either gilded or of solid gold and silver and studded with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. According to one writer¹⁶⁶ of the 17th century beds made of sandalwood were preferred by persons of high rank. Ladies suffering from the pang of separation from their husbands have been depicted in paintings,¹⁶⁷ as resting on beds of soft leaves and lotus petals. Bed sheets and a number of pillows of different sizes and colour, for cheeks, knees and head to rest on, were in vogue.¹⁶⁸ Pedestals for baths or to sit on were in common use in the houses of aristocrats.¹⁶⁹

It was usual with aristocratic families to have gilded and brocaded canopies, decorated with deep fringes of gold over their beds.¹⁷⁰ Flowered *sātin* canopies, raised over extensive apartments were fastened with red silken cords and large tassels of silk and gold were suspended at their corners. Flower pots, candlestick-stands, spit-pots, water jugs and the like, made of gold and silver, decorated the interior of the apartments.¹⁷¹ There were also fans of large dimensions which were run by a string pulled by maid-servants. Fans made of peacock tail were generally used to scare away flies.¹⁷² The floors of the interior rooms were covered with thick mattress with a fine white cloth spread over it. Curtains of thick cloth or bamboo chips partitioned the inner and the outer verandahs.¹⁷³

¹⁶³ 'Vijayasthambha, Chitor', Storey No. 3, Western corner.

¹⁶⁴ *Amarsāra*, v. 361 ; *Bhaktamāla*, v. 487, f. 44a ; *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 246.

¹⁶⁵ A. Coomārswamy ; *Rājput Painting*, II, Plate I, Rāgini Madhumāti ; N. C. Mehta : *Studies in Indian Paintings*, p. 26.

¹⁶⁶ *Achaldāskhichi-Umā-Devadi-ri-Vāt*, f. 51a.

¹⁶⁷ *Dholāmāru* (Illustrated), ff. 246 and 253.

¹⁶⁸ Nanda Das : *Nāmammanjari*, v. 49 ; *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1786 (1729 A.D.), f. 552.

¹⁶⁹ *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 21a ; *Dholāmāru*, f. 69a.

¹⁷⁰ *Padminichopāi*, vv. 397-398.

¹⁷¹ *Chand Kunwar-ri-Vartā*, f. 85b ; *Padminichopāi*, v. 400 ; Picture Gallery, Western wall, Bikāner Museum, 'Mansion of a Chief'.

¹⁷² *Siyāhah Huzur*, No. 890, V.S. 1799 (1742 A.D.)

¹⁷³ *Dohāsārasangraha*, f. 19b ; *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1791 (1734 A.D.) ; My article on *Rajnagar Carving*, *Uttar Bhārati*, Vol. V, 1958, pp. 19-25.

Similarly, from the inventories preserved in the archival records and from the contemporary *Khyātas* we get an idea of the utensils used for domestic purpose. They were mostly of brass and copper. But vessels, from spoons to dishes and jugs, made of gold and silver with inlay work of precious stones, were also known. They were of different size and cost, as *guniyā* (jug) costing Rs. 2434/-. Other utensils were variously known as *thāli* (dish), *chamcho* (spoon), *kudchhi* (spoon), *lohi* (pot), *dhakni* (lid), *tanbdo* (pot), *katoro* (cup), *kundi* (tub), etc.¹⁷⁴

Town and Village Life Compared

A Rājasthān village like an Indian village had a past. It emphasised, as we have observed in context of its study, on traditional values. Every aspect of life, daily routine, temple worship and the like had its sentimental side, which made life static. No change was rapidly accepted. The intercaste relations were bound with emotional ties. Rituals and practices were meant more for compact mass of villagers than for an individual. The sum total of a village was, as it is now, a concept. These features account for the existence of village against the wave of modernism.

A sober examination of urban living reveals many truths and part-truths in the urbanite's illusions. Towns were often filled with beautiful buildings, fine gardens and attractive palaces. The urbanites also had access to the finest foods and services. The description of large towns at least impresses about the pace of life. Song writers of the mediæval age had joined in singing the praises of their favourite towns, as we have seen. The poets have been prolific in composing songs about them. This explains that the towns became rich regions and strongholds to safeguard local wealth and local industries. In these respects the divorce between town and country, in many respects, remained pronounced.

But we must not lose sight of the conditions under which people in towns were required to live. Houses, except those of the wealthy, were built of mud and thatch, and were crowded together in narrow streets. All artisans of specialised craft had to live at one place due to the paucity of space. The lay-out of towns suggests that sanitation, of course, as we understand in our time, was sadly lacking. The darkest side of the picture was the terrible prevalence of misery and disease, often faced by townsmen after invasions or famine, the common phenomena of that age. In Kotāh in the years 1692, 1747 and 1776 a large number of boys and

¹⁷⁴ *Khyāta* Bikāner, f. 66; *Dastur Komvār*, V.S. 1853 (1796 A.D.), f. 689; *Vāt-Shāh Gyānā-ri*, f. 202.

girls were sold for want of food.¹⁷⁵ In Jodhpur the people were reduced to abject poverty after Marāthā invasions of 1755, 1760, 1782 and so on.¹⁷⁶ The pang of famine in the same years was equally taxing.

Forts

In Rājasthān the habitation was not confined to villages and towns only. Forts commonly termed as *gadhs* constituted important centre of population. Forts were sometimes used as residential headquarters for rulers only. Mandan¹⁷⁷ has given some important details about the forts. He says that for the safety of the inhabitants a fortress should be constructed on a high cliff, protected by bastions and gates and guarded by armed force. According to him it should be provided with wells, tanks and pools. There should be a provision for storehouse for arms, fuels and grain. Another writer Sadāśiva,¹⁷⁸ recommended the construction of a fort on some high level, with houses within the fort where Brāhmaṇs, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and craftsmen could reside. It should have ample provision of water, agricultural land and trees within it. In the first part of the fort, according to him, there should be the palaces. He located the council-hall in the eastern side, the treasury on the southern side, storehouses for arms in the western and the residence of the Chief-priest in the north-eastern corner. Then should come the market place and residential part for the subjects.

The forts of Rājasthān followed the model, generally speaking, laid out by Mandan and Sadāśiva. The earliest of the forts on record in Rājasthān is the fort of Chitor which tradition ascribes to Bhīma, the second of the Pāndavās. Another important ruler is said to have been Mān Mori¹⁷⁹ from whom it passed on to Bāppā in the 8th century A.D. It was in the time of Mahārānā Kumbhā that the fort was adorned with monuments and fortifications of note in the 15th century A.D. It is situated on an isolated mass of rock rising steeply from the plains, three miles and a quarter long and about twelve hundred yards wide in the centre. The circumference of the base is more than eight miles and its

¹⁷⁵ *Bhandār* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 10, File No. 14, V.S. 1749 (1692 A.D.) ; *Bhandār* No. 15, *Bastā* No. 2, V.S. 1804 (1747 A.D.) ; *Bhandār* No. 15 *Bastā* No. 3, V.S. 1813 (1756 A.D.)

¹⁷⁶ S.P.D., Vol. XXI, *Letter* No. 69 ; A *letter* from Mahādji to Bijay Singh dated 2nd day of the *Śrāvaṇa* V.S. 1839/ July 26, 1782, (BA) ; *Portfolio file* No. VI, *Letter* No. 44, Jodhpur Records, Bikāner Archives.

¹⁷⁷ *Rājavallabha*, Canto 4, vv, 3, 14, 15, 16 and 17.

¹⁷⁸ Sadāśiva : *Rājavinoda*, ff. 52-54.

¹⁷⁹ *Mān Mori Inscription*, V. S. 770 (713 A.D.), *vide* Tod's *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 625, Appendix No. III, R. K. Paul edition 1950.

height nowhere exceeds four to five hundred feet. The whole fort now practically gives an appearance of desolation. But it was one of the most thickly-populated and strongest forts of Rājasthān of our period. The principal approach to it is from the south-east angle by a zig-zag road through seven gates, of which *Patwanpol* and *Rāmapol* are the chief. Other approaches are the *Surajapol* on the east and *Lakhotā-Bāri* on the north. The fort is defended by four walls. The most conspicuous thing noticed in the *Kumbhalgarh* and *Ekalinga Inscription*, and supported by the accounts of Thomas Roe and Manucci, is the unlimited water supply formed through depression where rain water was stored, forming into springs and reservoirs such as, *Kukkuteśvara*, *Gomukha*, *Khātan Bāvali*, *Annamochana*, *Pāpmochana*, *Rāmakund* and *Chandra Tāl*. It never fell short of water during a siege.¹⁸⁰

The ruins show, that the south-eastern side of the fort was for the common people who owned houses of double and treble storeys of great beauty. Here resided all the four *varṇas* who were famed for their wealth and charity. In between the inhabited area there was the chief market place, called *Manik Chauk*, and a garden.¹⁸¹

The main temple of the family deity of Bhawāni stands on the main road of the fort. The magnificent residential palaces of rulers and mansions of the nobility occupy the elevated and central part of the fort. The most notable among them are the palaces of *Kumbhā*, *Padmini* and mansions of *Udai Singh* and *Jaimal*. *Kirtistambha* (12th century) and *Vijayastambha* (15th century) still stand as models of craftsmanship of the age to which they belong. Many other shrines dedicated to *Rāma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva*, *Durgā* and *Lakṣmi* were erected at places that were within the easy reach of all who worshipped them.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ *Samidheśvara Ins.*, V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.), v. 66, EI, Vol. 2, pp. 410-21; *Kirtistambha Ins.*, Slab I, vv. 41-57, Slab IV, v. 223; *Tarikh-i-Alāi* (E. & D.), III, pp. 76-77; *Tuzuk* (P.T.), p. 122; *Tārikh-i-Alfi* (E. & D.), v, p. 169; *Thomas Roe* by Foster, p. 82; *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārikh*, f. 32b; *Manucci*, I, p. 123; *Bānkidas' Khyata*, p. 87; *Tod*: *Annals*. Vol. I, p. 1829; A. Cunningham: *Archaeological Survey of Northern Indiā*, Vol. XXIII, 1887, p. 112; *Progress Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for the years ending, 30th July, 1905, and the month of March, 1906; *Smith*: *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 82.

¹⁸¹ *Samidheśvara Inscription*, V.S. 1485, v. 45; *Padminichopai*, vv. 12-16.

¹⁸² *Vijayastambha Ins.*, V.S. 1517, v. 284; *Ekalinga Ins.*, 1545, v. 10; *Tabaqāt*, Elliot, V, p. 325; *Amar Sara*, vv. 180-199; *Padminichopai*; vv. 394-395; *Maāsir-ul-Umarā* (Beveridge), p. 40; *Rājavilāsa*, Canto I, vv. 91-106; EI, Vol. XXIV, pp. 314-28; *A Painting of Chitor* (17th century), *Khajānchi-Collection*, Bikāner.

The same style of planning can be observed at Achalgarh in Ābu, where Vaśiṣṭha performed his austerities and Achala showed people the way for salvation.¹⁸³ In the V.S. 1509 (1452 A.D.) Mahārānā Kumbhā constructed the fort with strong gates, named Hanumānpol and Chāndpol.

The fort has several Jaina temples, monasteries, palaces, granaries, wells and lakes. Wealthy merchants like Vimalshāh (1032 A. D.), Vastupāla and Tejpāla (1231 A.D.) built at Delwādā fine Jaina temples rich alike in architectural beauty and religious sanctity.¹⁸⁴ Mahārājā Jaswant Singh's son Ajit Singh took his refuge in the hills of Ābu against Aurangzeb's wrath¹⁸⁵

Anotner notable fort is Kumbhalgarh or Kumbhalmeru of epigraphic records. It was designed by Mandan and built by Kumbhā from V.S. 1500-1515, and was the biggest monument of that ruler's military and constructive genius. Unlike Chitor, which stands on an isolated hill, Kumbhalgarh is enclosed one after another within several mountain ranges such as, the Nila, Shweta, Hemkut, Nishād, Gandhamadan and Himāvat. The fort itself is perched at the top of the central range at the height of about 3,568 feet above sea-level, and is well-defended by four gates with strong brazen doors and a series of walls, battlements and bastions. It was used by Rānā Kumbhā as his headquarters. His successors from Rānā Udai Singh to Rāj Singh also used it as an abode of royal household when the entire might of the Mughal Empire was pitted against Mewār. The formidable bastions and battlements are circular in shape and are so constructed as to make scaling by means of ladders difficult. Here, as in other forts, temples of Bhawāni und Nilkanth are in the first row of the buildings and other temples are scattered all over inside the fort. The palaces are situated on another elevation. Then follow the houses of the Bhils and other people. Mandan seems to have made good use of uneven character of the interior space by providing reservoirs at regular depressions where rain-water could easily be accumulated and at the same time surplus water from the higher level could be diverted to reservoirs at the lower level by means of underground channels. By the side of such reservoirs there were fields where grain could be grown

¹⁸³ *Achaleśvara Ins.*, V.S. 1342 (1285 A.D.), vv. 46-51, *Bhāvanagar Ins.*, V ; *Kirtisthambha Ins.*, 1517, vv. 12-13 ; *Abudharābattis Ins.*, v. 1-14.

¹⁸⁴ *Ābu Inscriptions*, V.S. 1088 (1031 A.D.), V.S. 1287 (1230 A.D.) ; *Achleśvara Inscription*, V.S. 1342, vv. 49-52, *Bhāvanagar Ins.*, V, p. 86.

¹⁸⁵ *Ajitodaya*, Canto 7, vv. 4-7 ; *Isardās*, ff. 75-77.

to make the fort self-sufficient.¹⁸⁶

Another fort of antiquity is Raṅthambhor near Sawāimadhapur in Jaipur district. It is situated on an isolated peak, 1,578 feet above sea-level. It is called Raṅthambhor from the name of two hills close to each other. One is called Rāṅ, and the other Thambur. The fort is built on Thambur surrounded by a massive wall and strengthened by towers and bastions. It was formerly in the possession of Jadon Rājputs and thereafter it was occupied by Prithvirāja Chauhān. Iltutmish seized the fort in 1226 A.D., Jalāluddin Khilji in 1291 A.D., and Alauddin in 1301, A.D. In 1516 A.D., it was under Malwā and sometimes after Rānā Sāngā captured it. The ruins of its palaces, storehouses and residential quarters reveal that it was built after the traditional plan.¹⁸⁷

Forts of Jodhpur, Jālor, Nāgor and Jaisalmer too are situated on elevated places and have to some extent the same type of situation, gates, wells, palaces, temples, etc.¹⁸⁸

The fort of Gāgron, 45 miles south-east of Kotāh, was said to have been constructed by Dor or Dodā Rājputs in the 12th century A.D. For sometime it was under Khichi occupation. After Achaldās Khichi's death, it alternately passed to Mahmūd Khilji and Rānā Sāngā, till it was conferred upon Mahārājā Bhim Singh by the Mughals. The rulers of Kotāh repaired it and made additions by constructing palaces. It too has temples and other buildings of the Rājput style. It is well-defended on account of its situation with rivers on its three sides and a formidable moat on the fourth.¹⁸⁹

The Military Architecture and Defence

A study of the forts as presented in the foregoing pages reveals that the Rājputs were great builders. Though most of these forts in Rājasthān are in the state of ruins, and a major part of them have largely

¹⁸⁶ *Kumbhalgarh Ins.*, vv. 130-143; *Ekalīnga Ins.*, V.S. 1545, vv. 50-51; Naini's *Khyāta*, f. 5; Cunningham: *Arch. Survey Report*, Vol. XXII, Plate No. 21; *Vir Vinod*. Vol. I, p. 334.

¹⁸⁷ *Tarikh-i-Alāi*, Elliot III, pp. 75-76; *Āshīqa* of Amir Khusrav, E. & D., III, p. 549; *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, Barani, S. Gupta ed., pp. 88-96; *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, E. & D., V, p. 175; *Tuzuk* (R. & B.), II, p. 58; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, pp. 266-267.

¹⁸⁸ For Jodhpur see, *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 197; For Jalore, *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, pp. 195-96; For Nagor, *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, pp. 201-202; For Jaisalmer, *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, p. 216.

¹⁸⁹ *Rājavilāsa*, v. 109; Naini's *Khyāta*, I, p. 115; *Bhandār* No. 3, *Bastū* No. 2, V.S. 1859 (1802 A.D.); *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj. Pro. Series, pp. 383-384; *Archaeological Survey of Northern India*, Vol. II.

perished, but whatever has been left out, is the most impressive witness of the military architecture of that time. Rānā Kumbhā's name is pre-eminent among the builders of forts. If his contemporary writers¹⁹⁰ are believed, he built more than 32 forts—small and big, of which a score of them still exist. Other Rājput rulers followed in his wake resulting in production of hundreds of forts. Even this day we can count about ten to fifteen forts in a journey of twenty miles in the hilly regions of Rājasthān. The purpose of constructing these forts as mentioned by Maṇḍan¹⁹¹ and Sadāśiva¹⁹² was to hold down the conquered country and keep the people in subjection and provide them a facility of protection and safety in times of need.

Small castles or fortified manor-houses were also fairly common; built with the same purpose between 15th to 18th centuries; some of them like Begun¹⁹³ and Bhainsrorgarh¹⁹¹ in Mewār, Jalor¹⁹⁵ and Pokran¹⁹⁶ in Mārwar etc., were surrounded by a moat or were at least upheld by high cliffs. Thus the whole of Rājasthān was secured by a net-work of forts.

These forts not only occupied a strategic importance in the military history of Rājasthān, but also had an admirable place in the military architecture of the period. The sites of Chitor,¹⁹⁷ Gāgron,¹⁹⁸ Raṅthambhor¹⁹⁹ and Kumbhalgarh²⁰⁰ were selected on an inaccessible precipices with a view to provide defence. Walls were constructed in several concentric rows from the entrance gates to the upper level; and

¹⁹⁰ *Chitorgarh Kirtisthambha Inscription*, Cunningham's *Archaeological Report*, Vol. XXIII, plate 21, v. 1-33; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, v. 34, 35, 36, 42, 125, 135, *Ekalinga Inscription*, v. 50; *Bhāvanagar Inscription*; IX, p. 210; *Vir Vinod*, I, p. 334; *Sārdā : Kumbhā*, pp. 120-21.

¹⁹¹ *Rājavallabha*, Canto 4, vv. 1-2.

¹⁹² *Sadāśiva : Rājavinoda*, f. 52.

¹⁹³ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for the year ending 30th June, 1905.

¹⁹⁴ *Rājputanā Gazetteers*, The Mewār Residency, pp. 95-96.

¹⁹⁵ *Imp. Gaz.*, Prov. Series, p. 195.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.

¹⁹⁷ *Samidheśvara Inscription*, V.S. 1485, v. 65; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IV, p. 100; *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545, vv. 7-10, *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IV, p. 118.

¹⁹⁸ *Achal-dāskhichi-ri-Vachanikā*, vv. 9-12, pp. 10-11.

¹⁹⁹ *Hamiramahākāvya ; Tuzūk*, II. R. and B., p. 58.

²⁰⁰ *Chitorgarh Inscription*, Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. XXIII, plate 21.

were extended in other directions in angles to lessen the chances of direct hit, and give all round defence. Obstacles were set up beyond the walls in the form of thorny bushes and trees or wide moats.²⁰¹ But it must be confessed that unfortunately military architects of that time had little foresight to clear away neighbouring mounds in order to lessen the chances of investment of the fort from that side. Near the fort of Chitor, for example, the hillock of Chitori provided facility to Bahādur Shāh and Akbar to station heavy artillery to break up the defence.²⁰² Similarly, the fort of Kumbhalgarh had to suffer in 1578 A.D., from a disadvantage of the presence of ravines, hollow spaces, projecting cliffs all around it, which formed a sheltering place for the enemies against the shooting of the arrows from the parapets, or rolling down of stones from above.²⁰³

But, however, the royal residence and the walls of the forts were constructed with a device which allowed narrow and secret passages for exit in the hour of discomfiture. The Rānā escaped in 1578 from the fort of Kumbhalgarh through such passages.²⁰⁴ These passages were also useful for egress and ingress, in case the entire base was not encircled by the enemies.

These forts were well-provisioned with guns, cannons, gun-powder, and adequate store of food material and other necessities of living, such as salt, *gur*, grain, oil, etc., so that they could hold out successfully against a long siege. Iron balls and artillery were also stored up for defence purposes in cellars.²⁰⁵ Khusray, Mullā Ahmad and Nizāmuddin also make mention of such provisions during the invasion of Ranthambhor (1301), and Chitor (1567 A.D.).²⁰⁶ A hidden store of gun-powder blasted the building of Jahazpur fort by catching fire by accident in the year 1945.²⁰⁷ Similarly, tons of iron balls of different size were discovered from the cellars of Jodhpur fort in the year 1955.²⁰⁸

²⁰¹ *Rājavalabha*, Canto 4, vv. 13-17 ; *Rājavinoda*, f. 53.

²⁰² *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (P.T.), pp. 261-262 ; *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* (S.B.L.), Vol. I, ff. 119-120 ; *Tezkereh-ul-Vākiāt*, (S.B.L.), ff. 4-7.

²⁰³ *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 340.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, III, p. 340 ; *Maāsir*, II, p. 593.

²⁰⁵ *Kanhadadeprabandha* of Padmanābh, Canto 4, vv. 33-39 ; *Achaldāskhichi-ri-Vachanikā, Vāt*, 21, p. 25 ; *Rajavalabha*, Canto 4, v. 3 ; *Rājavinoda*, f. 54.

²⁰⁶ *Tārikh-i-Alāi*, E. and D., Vol. III, pp. 74-76 ; *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, E. and D., Vol. V, p. 169-171 ; *Tabaqāt*, E. and D., Vol. V, p. 325.

²⁰⁷ *Tahsil Report*, Jahāzpur, File No. 275, 1945 A.D. (ODRU) ; *Jahāzpur Thānā Report*, File No. 170, 1945 A.D., (ODRU).

²⁰⁸ Old Deposited Records, Jodhpur, File No. 2477, 1955 (ODRJ).

An adequate supply of water by means of excavation of wells and reservoirs and ample provision of fields to grow grain were not neglected. Side by side with these material needs the forts did not lack from the point of view of supernatural defence by the presence of temples of Ganesha, Bhawāni and Hanumān, the deities associated with war.²⁰⁹ These at least gave mental satisfaction, to those who resided in the fort or to those who were fighting from the fort, that they were immune from the danger as long as the gods within the fort guarded their destinies. It was believed that they inspired confidence and strength in them.

From the administrative point of view the management of the fort was entrusted to a *Durg Rāja*, or *Kiledār*, who was a capable general and who staked his all at the period of crisis.²¹⁰ Jaimal and Pattā are the examples whose sacrifices for the cause of the defence of the fort of Chitor have become proverbial.²¹¹ Khichi Sunderdās was a *Kiledār* of Jodhpur fort during the times of Rām Singh and Bakhat Singh.²¹² Negi was also a *Kiledar* of Jodhpur fort who succeeded them.²¹³ Jaitsi was a *Havaldār* of the fort of Bikaner in V.S. 1833 (1776 A.D.)^{213A} Under such capable generals, as evidenced by the *Haqiqat Bahi*,²¹⁴ there were officers in charge of gates, keys, bastions and watch-towers who were vigilant day and night, specially at the hours of danger.

Another important defensive measure adopted for the forts was that proper care was taken for their repairs. Jaimal was found supervising the repairs of the fort-walls of Chitor at the time when mining operations were active.²¹⁵ Mahārānā Jagat Singh of Mewār took heed in repairing the fort of Chitor which was objected by the imperial authority.²¹⁶ Even otherwise the state authorities allotted funds for the up-keep of the

²⁰⁹ *Tārikh-i-Alāi*, E. & D., Vol. III, pp. 75-76 ; *Rājavallabha*, Canto 4, v. 2 ; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V.S. 1517, vv. 49-68, EI, Vol. XXIV, Article No. 44 ; *Kirtishambha Ins.*, v. 35, EI, Vol. XXIV, Article No. 44 ; *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545, vv. 9, 10 and 51, *Bhāvanagar Inscription*, IX, p. 118-120 ; *Tabaqāt*, E. & D., Vol. V, p. 325 ; *Maāsir-ul-Umarā*, p. 40 (Beveridge) ; *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 123.

²¹⁰ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545, v. 35 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, p. 119.

²¹¹ *Akbarnāma* (P.T.) Vol. II, p. 395 ; *Tabaqāt* (P.T.), p. 283 ; *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, pp. 170 ; *Tārikh-i-Firishūā* (P.T.), p. 257.

²¹² *Mundiyyār Khyāta*, Bakhat Singh, f. 10, *Bastā* No. 20, (BA).

²¹³ *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. IX, p. 44 (BA).

^{213A} *Kamthānā Bahi*, V.S. 1805-1874 (BA).

²¹⁴ *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. IX, pp. 44-45 (BA).

²¹⁵ *Akbarnāma* (P.T.), Vol. II, pp. 401-402 ; *Tabaqāt* (P.T.), p. 284 ; *Muntakhab* (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 103 ; *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, p. 173.

²¹⁶ *Jagannāthraī Inscription*, v. 51 ; Zahid Khān : *Khulāsā-i-Shāhjahannāma*, f. 239.

forts in normal times. About Rs. 4,000 were spent every year from the treasury of Chitor for the repairs of the walls all around the fort as it is evident from the records of the 17th century A.D.²¹⁷ The successors of Jaitā, the chief architect of Mahārānā Kumbhā, were entrusted with the charge of looking after the repairs of the fort of Chitor. The Kotāh Durbar sanctioned ten thousand rupees in the years V.S. 1821, 1835, 1849, and 1853 for the repairs of the forts of Gāgron, Fatehgarh and Nānāgarh.²¹⁸ It seems that there was a regular fund to spend on the repairs of the fort of Bikāner. Rs. 13,834 were spent in V.S. 1833 (1776 A.D.) on the repairs of the fort-wall and ditch of the fort of Bikāner. *Gajdhar* Sukharāmā and Ustad Abu Iso Muhammad were incharge of the repairs.²¹⁹ Similarly, under the supervision of Vyās Hanvant, Rāma and Moji Rāma Rs. 2498/6/6 cost for the repairs of the fort of Ratangarh between the years 1874-1878 of the Vikrama Era (1817-1821 A.D.)²²⁰

But such defences of the forts could stand against the enemies only for a short period. Lengthy blockades generally led to their capitulations. Chitor and Rañthambhor, on the occasion of prolonged sieges of the years 1567 and 1568 A.D., had to surrender when provision ran short.²²¹ The practice of providing protection to surplus population was short-sighted, which swelled up the number of inmates in the fort, causing hardship to the regular garrison, whose need was met with difficulty. When such an inadequate ingredient was shared by extra citizens and regular military strength, the obvious fate was a general dearth of provision. The defenders who needed proper nourishing at the time of hard duties naturally fell victim to infirmity of body which shattered the hope of survival. Moreover, cutting off the convoy, blockading the way, checking the reinforcement, etc., by the enemies rendered the defence ineffective. When no hopes were left under these circumstances the gates of the forts were opened and the natural alternative was a suicidal surrender.

²¹⁷ *Kilā-talkā-Bahi*, Chitor, V.S. 1742, 1748, 1750, etc. (ODRU).

²¹⁸ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 59, V.S. 1821 ; *Bastā* No. 61, V.S. 1835 ; *Bastā* No. 68, V.S. 1849 ; *Bastā* No. 70, *Bhandāra* No. 12, V.S. 1853.

²¹⁹ *Kamthānā Bahi*, V.S. 1805-1874 (BA).

²²⁰ *Kamthānā Bahi*, V.S. 1874-1878 (BA).

²²¹ *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, E. & D., V, pp. 170-175.



Structure of Society

Varna and Cāstes

Since the Vedic times our social structure was divided into four-fold divisions or *varṇas*,¹ the Brāhman, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra. Mediaeval Rājasthān had inherited this institution from the past. We find evidences of this not only in actual life but also in epigraphic and literary records of our period. According to the *Dharmaṣravartī*² persons belonging to various groups in this hierarchy followed one common way of life but had separate duties of their own. The Brāhmaṇs performed *yajya* and cultivated learning—the *Vedas* and the scriptures. The Kṣatriyas, who were termed *Rājputra*, engaged themselves in administration and war. The Vaiśyas' duties were the rearing of cattle, and the pursuit of agriculture and trade. The chief duty of the Śūdras was to serve the other three classes. According to this arrangement there was a place for everyman in the society, and each one had his rights and obligations.

From the contemporary writings we learn that it was also the duty of the rulers to protect the four *Varṇas* and help in the maintenance of discipline among them. Raghunāth, the writer of the *Jagatsingh-kāvya*³ observes that Mahārānā Jagat Singh (1628-1652 A.D.) employed his authority in regularising duties of the *Varṇas* and in seeing that the distinctive way of life, characteristic of each *Varṇa*, was preserved. Similarly, the *Ajitcharitra*⁴ says that Ajit Singh (1679-1724 A.D.), the ruler of Mārṇwār, was known for regularising the life of the four *Varṇas*.

¹ *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Puruṣsukta* : 'Brāhmaṇosya mukhmā, etc.' ; *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, v. 9, pp. 192-94 ; *Nādallāi Inscription*, V.S. 1200 (1143 A.D.) ; *Jaina Lekha Sangraha*, No. 845, pp. 213-214 ; *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri Inscription*, V.S. 1331, v. 7 ; *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, No. IV ; *Shatrunjaya Inscription*, V.S. 1587 (1530 A.D.), v. 3 ; *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, No. 1 ; *Ekalinga Mahātmya*, Chapter 26, v. 46.

² *Dharmaṣravartī*, V.S. 1733 (1676 A.D.), ff. 25-40.

³ *Jagatsingh-kāvya*, v. 3, f. 37a.

⁴ *Ajitcharitra*, v. 20, f. 19.

But *varṇa*, as a scheme specified in the literature quoted above, indicates cultural and idealistic state of society. On account of the growth of occupational groups intercaste marriages, advent of the foreigners, etc., further complications in society had arisen, with the result that the structure of society was no longer based on the four *varṇas*, but on numerous castes and sub-castes, based on birth, heredity, occupation and class privileges. These features rendered the social organisation a complex and complicated framework built round the traditional Hindu system represented by the caste system.

However, the practical aspect of the division of the society is apparent in the present castes and sub-castes which were locally termed *jatis*. They gradually evolved into several cultural and professional units from the association of many racial, tribal and professional groups within particular localities. Contemporary evidence⁵ refers to the existence of numerous castes during the period. Some of them were *Dādhihich*, *Nāgar*, *Dashorā*, *Parmāra*, *Solanki*, *Oswāl*, *Shāh*, *Seth*, *Suthār*, *Kāyasth*, *Kumhār*, *Bhojak*, *Rāo*, *Patel*, *Chitārā*, *Chāran*, *Manihar*, *Siklīgar*, *Sādhu*, *Chhinpā*, *Patwā*, *Minākār*, etc.

With the loosening of the ties of *varṇa* system two trends are clearly visible in the structure of the society of Rājasthān. One is the social-hierarchy where the respective position of the different groups were determined by order of precedence, and social superiority or inferiority. Within each group there were subgroups or sub-castes arranged in hierarchical order, bound by socio-religious customs. These subgroups or castes were largely governed by traditional rulers regarding intermarriage, interdinning and other forms of contact. This position created a permanent social distance between one caste and the other. Under this system castes were expected to follow traditional occupation sanctioned by religion. The other trend pertained to the integration of the different castes into an economic pattern. According to that occupations were not wholly exclusive; they were interdependent and flexible. A Brāhmaṇ, for example, besides following his traditional occupation was not debarred from cultivating land. Similarly, trading which was originally the function of the Vaiśyas, could be taken up by any other caste also.

⁵ *Pratāpgrah Inscription*, V.S. 1003 (946 A.D.); *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IX; *Ingodā Inscription*, V.S. 1190 (1133 A.D.), IA., Vol. VI, pp. 55-56; *Achalesvara Inscription*, V.S. 1342 (1285 A.D.); *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, Slab I, V.S. 1517 (1460 A.D.); *Rājputānā Museum Report*, Ajmer, 1925-26; *Chikli plate*, V.S. 1540; *Bhandāra*, No. 4, *Bastā* No. 10, V.S. 1721 (KA); *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1775 (1718 A.D.), f. 335, V.S. 1781 (1724 A.D.), ff. 30, 412, 481 and V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.) to V.S. 1856 (1799 A.D.), ff. 607-633.

In order to substantiate the two characteristics of the castes—hierarchical and occupational, we propose to examine socio-economic functions of major castes in Rājasthān.

The Brāhmanas

The Brāhmanas, as for example, were divided into a number of subsections. Contemporary evidence refers to existence of numerous castes or *jāti*, such as *Shrimāli*, *Nāgar*, *Bhattmewārā*, *Pokharṇā*, *Sikhwāl*, *Gour*, *Sanādhyā*, *Dādhiḥa*, etc. These Brāhmanas were engaged in both secular and religious pursuits. Several copper-plate grants of our period tell us about the professions followed by Brāhmanas. Those Brāhmanas who claimed moral and religious leadership engaged themselves in helping people in performing religious sacrifices and domestic ceremonies. Jhoting (V.S. 1485=1428 A.D.), Dhaneśvara Bhatta (V.S. 1485=1428 A.D.), and Dakṣiṇāmurti (V.S. 1770=1713 A.D.) were renowned for their learning and their skill in officiating at sacrifices and religious ceremonies.⁶

Attending to the daily services of worship at temples of deities had also grown into a profession. Joshi Kalji (V.S. 1682=1625 A.D.) who was in-charge of religious services at the temple of Vārāha was assigned the proceeds of forest tax.⁷ Persons like Hardeva and Rāma of the 17th century shared the revenue assigned to the temples by the rulers of Jodhpur.⁸ There were some who took to astrology, while there were others who were engaged in reciting *kathās* or epic tales. Joshi Puno, Rāma, Deva, Hara, etc., of the 18th century were astrologers of great repute and were patronised by the state of Kotāh.⁹ Kriṣṇa Bhatta and Gangādhara (V.S. 1813=1756 A.D.) were entitled to draw Rs. 121/- each from the treasury of Kotāh for reciting the *Bhāgavata*.¹⁰ Bhatta Śiva Kriṣṇa (V.S. 1858=1800 A.D.) was the reciter of *kathā* at Chitor and enjoyed the right of claiming four annas from the treasury of Chitor on the *Ekādasis* of every month.¹¹

⁶ *Samidheśvara Inscription*, V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.), v. 39 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, VI, p. 100 ; *Dakṣiṇāmurti Inscription*, V.S. 1770 (1713 A.D.) *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. 15, p. 183 ; Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 19-21, (Calcutta, 1881).

⁷ A *Pattā* of V.S. 1682 (1625 A.D.) (ODRU).

⁸ *Khāsā Parvānāh Bahi*, V.S. 1707 (1650 A.D.) (JA).

⁹ *Bhandāra* No. 15, V.S. 1804 (1747 A.D.)

¹⁰ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 57, V.S. 1813 (1756 A.D.)

¹¹ A *Pattā* of the 1st of the dark-half of *Āśoja*, V.S. 1858 (1800 A.D.), File No. 26/307/S. 93 (ODRU).

From epigraphic and documentary records¹² we learn that some of the leading Paliwāls of Mewār, Sanādhyās of Bikāner, Rāwals of Dungurpur Dādich of Malāni were the family priests to the chiefs of these States. They generally acted as representatives of the princes in matters of religious functions and were designated as *Rājgurus* or *Purohīts*. One of their duties was, and is, on the death of a member of the royal family, to take his ashes to the Ganges and to throw them in the river. Many of them by virtue of their preeminent position as religious preceptors held rent-free land.

As these Brāhmaṇs enjoyed considerable local prestige owing to the fact of their birth, and also because they were land-owners, they regarded themselves as the custodians of Hindu culture. They abhorred contamination with foreign-blood and were fearful of the growing influence of Islām. Usually they maintained ceremonial purity. The Brāhmaṇs of this category are even now found in the *Nāgirs*, *Bhattmeuārās*, *Avadichyas* and *Śrīmālīs* who do not have food cooked by a Brāhmaṇ other than their own caste. But we may observe that the Brāhmaṇs, who were believers in taboos and prohibitions, made an end of liberal era of Hinduism. Due to their conservatism of extreme nature such Brāhmaṇs failed to assume leadership, and due to an insoluble habit they remained backward.

But as uncertain pursuit of astrology and other Brāhmanical professions were not found much profitable, the Brāhmaṇs also engaged themselves in agriculture. Various inscriptions of the 15th to 17th centuries show how some Brāhmaṇs of Mewār-like Pandyā Mādhā, Tiwāri Vasudeva, Āmetā Ganpata, Vyās Jānā, Vyās Balbhadrā, Joshi Harnāth and Dhaneśvara Pandyā gave up their original occupations and took to agriculture.¹³ *Śrīmālī* and *Paliwal* Brāhmaṇs of Bikāner and Jaipur,

¹² *Bhandāra* No. 2, *Bastā* No. 4, V.S. 1756; *Copper-plate grants* (ODRU), V.S. 1767, 1788, 1798, etc.; *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 16, pp. 296, 481, V.S. 1807-1819, 1873 etc.; *Nakal Indrāj Bahi*, V.S. 1800 (Bikaner Archives); Sherring: *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 19-21 (Calcutta, 1881).

¹³ A *Copper-plate grant* of Rāimal, 30th of the dark-half of *Śrāvana*, V.S. 1551 (1st Aug., 1494) (ODRU); A *Pattā* of Rāimal, 30th of the dark-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1552 (24th May, 1495) (ODRU); A *Copper-plate grant* of the 13th of the dark-half of *Āṣāḍha*, V.S. 1555 (17th July, 1498) (ODRU); A *Copper-plate grant* of the 30th of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, V.S. 1582 (17th Sept., 1525) (ODRU); A *Copper-plate grant* No. 1007 (ODRU) of the 8th of the dark-half of *Kārtika*, V.S. 1656 (1st Oct., 1599); A *Copper-plate grant* of V.S. 1683 (1626 A.D.) (ODRU); Kisarvās *Copper-plate grant* of Bānswārā of the 11th of the bright-half of *Kārtika*, V.S. 1786 (6th Nov., 1729) (ODRU).

Sānchorā Brāhmaṇs of Sānchor, *Sukhwāl* of Ajmer, *Bagrās* of Jaipur were mostly agriculturists.¹⁴

The states' policy was also favourable to agriculture and offered room for a large number of Brāhmaṇs to be attracted by land. The *Chikāli-plate* of V.S. 1540 (1483 A.D.) shows that the donor extended to one Venā Brāhmaṇ the privilege of digging out stones and cutting the trees in 100 *bighās* of land for the construction of his house and other agricultural needs.¹⁵ Similarly, a donee was given all these advantages by Mahārānā Amar Singh in V.S. 1760 (1703 A.D.) for agricultural purposes.¹⁶ *Nāgdā* Brāhmaṇs of Sisārmā village were given guarantee of safety and remittance of rent and taxes when they were required to settle down in the village as agriculturists in V.S. 1765 (1708 A.D.)¹⁷ From a document of V.S. 1785 (1728 A.D.) we learn that the officer-in-charge at Kapāsin was directed to make every facility available to one Jitā Brāhmaṇ who was called upon to settle down in that village with other Brāhmaṇs.¹⁸

A geographical location of Jaisalmer, Bikāner, Bharatpur, Karauli, Nāgor, Mallāni and Bānswārā central to Rājasthān and the border areas, combined with a position at the confluence of several trade routes made it possible to absorb several Brāhmaṇ families of these areas in carrying trade. Some of the Pokharṇās of Bikāner, Jaisalmer and Mārwar, who were an energetic and hard-working people engaged in trade. Pāliwāls inhabiting the twelve villages on the western border of Bikāner were enterprising traders. Nandwānā Brāhmaṇs of Mārwar and Srimali Brāhmaṇs of Mallāni were active traders. The Brāhmaṇs of Karauli were mostly businessmen. They carried salt from Sāmbhar, Sugar from Āgra, cotton, ghee, and piece-goods to the neighbouring marts. Haiwāni Brāhmaṇs of Karauli had been carriers of merchandise for many generations. Most of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs of Bānswārā and Gour Brāhmaṇs

¹⁴ *Kānhadadeprabandha*, Canto 3, v. 29 ; *Pattās* Nos. 43-149, V.S. 1739-1807 (1682-1750 A.D.) (ODRU) ; *Chhātri Bahi*, Bikāner, V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.) ; *Rokad Bahi*, Bikāner, V.S. 1740 (1683 A.D.) ; *Rojnamacha Vadganj*, V.S. 1773 (1716 A.D.) ; *Sāyar*, Bānswārā, No. 3, V.S. 1866-1940.

¹⁵ *Chikāli-plate*, 7th of the dark-half of *Phālguna*, V.S. 1540 (1483 A.D.)

¹⁶ A *Photo-plate*, No. 242 (ODRU), 12th of the dark-half of *Posha*, V.S. 1760 (1703 A.D.)

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 242 A (ODRU), 8th of the bright-half of *Jaiṣṭha*, V.S. 1765 (1708 A.D.)

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 785 (ODRU), 7th of the bright-half of *Śravaṇa*, V.S. 1785, (1728 A.D.)

of Bharatpur were merchants, traders and money-lenders.^{18A}

As war condition was a general feature in mediaeval Rājastan some of the Brāhmaṇs also took to a military career. In *Achaldās-khichi-Vachanikā*¹⁹ we find the names of Rishi Sārang and Guru Nārāiṇa as brave Brāhmaṇ fighters against the Muslim forces. Purohit Garibdās was a great military general of Māhārānā Rāj Singh.^{19A} According to the author of *Rājarupaka*²⁰ many a Brāhmaṇs played a brave and heroic part along with Durgadās in all his activities against Aurangzeb. Pushkarṇā Akhairāj, Dronācharyya Vyās, Bālkrishṇā and Lakshmichand were important persons who were taken into confidence by Durgadās in order to devise a general plan of action for giving refuge to Prince Akbar. In the battle of Mertā (V.S. 1737), Purohit Raghunāth fell fighting like a valiant warrior.²¹ When Mahārājā Abhaya Singh led his forces against Haidar Quli Khān, Vyās Fatoḥ Dipchandot, Purohit Sivar Sunjo, Kehar and Nandlāl were posted as commanders of wings under the Mahārājā.²²

The Brāhmaṇs were not only engaged in army, they were also recruited into civil service of the States. One Madhusudan Bhatta was sent along with Rām Singh Jhālā to wait upon Sādullā Khān and dissuade him from his destructive designs against Chitor.²³ The Sanādhyās held important posts in Udaipur Darbār as the Master of ceremonies, *Kapaddārs* and Superintendents of the royal kitchen.²⁴ *Asopā* Brāhmaṇs have held important posts in Mārwar Darbār. *Pushkarṇā* Brāhmaṇs held the office of *Diwān* and *Bakhshi* in the reign of Mahārājā Mān Singh and Takhat Singh.²⁴

^{18A} *Bahi Khālsārā Gānvānri*, Bikāner, V.S. 1786-1816 (1729-1759 A.D.); *Sāyar*, *Bānswārā* No. 3, V.S. 1866-1930 (1809-1873 A.D.); *Karauli Tahsil* File No. 135, V.S. 1892-1948 (1835-1891 A.D.); *Dholpur Sāyar*, V.S. 1804-1909 (1747-1852 A.D.); Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 19-23, (Calcutta, 1881).

¹⁹ *Achaldās-khichi-Vachanikā*, p. 18, ed. Bikāner.

^{19A} *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 10, ff. 144a, 146b; *Dharmappravatti*, V.S. 1733 (1676 A.D.), f. 206.

²⁰ *Rājarupaka*, Chapter VI; also Introduction, p. 13.

²¹ *Mārwar-Khyāta*, Vol. II, pp. 145-145; *Rājarupaka*, Chapter XXXIV, (*Nāgari Prachariṇi Sabhā Edition*).

²² *Rājarupaka*, Chapter XXXIV; Dr. Qanungo: *Studies in Rājput History*, p. 57.

²³ *Rājaprasasthi-mahā-kāvya*, Canto 6, vv. 13-21.

²⁴ *Purohit Dewanāth's Diary*; *Kapaddārā Bhandāra* (ODRU), Files V.S. 1827, 1837, 1874, etc.; *Rasodā File* (ODRU), Files V.S. 1830, 1847, 1855, etc.; *Ojhā*: U.R.I., II, pp. 998-1001; *Kharitā*, Bahi, No. 6, ff. 48, 79, V.S. 1813-1817.

Similarly the Brāhman̄s of Jodhpur played an important part in the diplomatic history of the state. Asopā Naval Rāi and Pt. Jiwan Rāma acted as agents of Mahārājā Bijayasingh when they were deputed with a *tikā* for Tukoji Holkar in 1769 A.D.²⁵ A *Hundi* was sent to Sindia through Purohit Jiva Rāja on Feb. 2, 1785.²⁶ Vyās Akhaya Rāma was entrusted with the charge of a necklace of pearls to be given to Ambūji Ingle in 1799.²⁷ Kripā Rāma's services were utilised in visiting Sindiā's court many a times.²⁸ Pandit Sitāb Rāi and Vyās Deva Kriṣṇa were sent to pay Rs. 1,303,000 to Mahādji in V. S. 1848 (1791 A. D.)²⁹

In Dholpur at the end of the 18th century the Headmen of 51 villages were Sanādhyā Brāhman̄s. Several Brāhman̄s like Vrijanāth, Tiwāri Mohan Rāma, Bhatta Visannāth etc., were employed in the public service in Jaipur during the 18th century.³⁰ In Bundi, Bharatpur and Bānswārā many Brāhman̄s were officials in the states.³¹

References are also found of the Brāhman̄s who were looked down upon as the Brāhman̄s of inferior category on account of their following professions other than those of dignified nature. The Bhojak Brāhman̄s who engaged themselves as the worshippers of Jaina temples and earned their living by adopting the profession of cooks were regarded as inferior Brāhman̄s.³² The *Lehānā* Brāhman̄s of Mallāni were deemed low in rank, as they ate meat and drank spirits. Our records refer to the *Katiyās* as low caste Brāhman̄s of Mallāni, Kotāh and Udaipur who received the offers made over to dead persons; and ate the food given in charity during twelve days after the death of any one. Some of the Brāhman̄s were incorrigible beggars, Such Brāhman̄s are also another extremity who brought a bad name to a caste which had ever represented what was pure and noble in the society.³³

²⁵ A letter from Tukoji to Bijay singh, 10th of the dark-half of *Vaiśākha* V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.); PF. ii, B; LN.3, Jd.

²⁶ *Hath Bahi*, II, ff. 124-125.

²⁷ PF. II, B; LN. 6, Jd.

²⁸ *Jamā Kharch*, V.S. 1848 (1791 A.D.), No. 44 DK, JD.

²⁹ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1860-1897, 1900, etc. (JA).

³⁰ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 16, pp. 35-901; Sherring: *Hindu Tribes, and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 22-23.

³¹ *Jamā Kharcha Bahis*, V.S. 1825, 1837, 1840, 1900, 1915, etc. (Bharatpur, Bundi and Bānswārā, BA).

³² *Yashodharcharitra*, f. 39 (V.S. 1644, AB); Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, ed. Jd 1, p. 229.

³³ Sherring: *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 19-23.

The Rājputs

The Rājputs come next in the scale of social hierarchy by virtue of their being either the ruling class or the class associated with war. Much might be written on this caste, but offering an account of its heroic deed is not the object of this work. For our present purpose we shall confine ourselves chiefly to an enumeration of some of the divisions of Rājputs, and to an account of their position in social-hierarchy.

The Rājputs had been originally divided into two principal and co-ordinate branches, styled Suryavaṁshi or the Solar race, and Chandravaṁshi or the Lunar race, to which were added the four *Agnikulas* or Fire-born. Afterwards, as mentioned by the writer of *Kanhadadeprabandha*, they were further divided into thirty-six Rājput clans. Unfortunately the writer refers only to the Chauhāns, the Vāghelās, the Devadās, the Solankis, the Rāthors, the Parmāras, the Bāradas, the Hūnas, the Hariyādās, the Chāvadās, the Dodiyaś, the Jādavas, the Hūlas, the Nikumbhas and the Guhilots. This list can conveniently be supplemented by contemporary inscriptions and literature by adding Bhātis, Yaudheyas, the Varāhās or Birāhās, the Pratihārās, Tomars, Kachchhavāhās, Balās, Dāhimas, Dahiyās, Jethwās and Chandels.³¹

Each of these clans had its own princes and nobles. They were still further separated as stated by Bānkidās into sub-clans and families. The Bānswārā Chauhāns, as for example, had several sub-clans known as Mādwat, Hathyāt, Keringot, etc. The Hārās of Bundi had sub-clans of Bhojāvat, Jailāvat, Akhāvat, Udāvat, Indrasālōt, etc. Randhirot, Benirot, Māndāvat, Patāvat, etc., were the sub-clans of the Rathors of Bikaner. In Mārwar the Rāthors were subdivided into Champāvat, Kumpāvat, Pattāvat, Jagmālot, Tejmālot, etc. The Jodhāvats were further subdivided into number of clans as Bhārmalot, Mertīā, Bidāvat, Raimālot, etc. The sub-clans of Sisodiyās were Sāngāvat, Meghāvat, Jagāvat, Sarangdevot etc. This does not exhaust the long list of clans and sub-clans which were associated with the names of hundreds of renowned leaders of different clans and families. These Rājputs in brief, were almost as extensive in their ramifications as the Brāhmaṇs and had hierarchies within hierarchies of social and clannish nature.

As the contemporary accounts³⁵ go and our personal contact

³¹ *Prithvichandracharitra* by Manak Chand Suri, V.S. 1478, p. 155 ; (*Prachin Gujarāti Gadya Sandarbha*) ; *Kanhadadeprabandha*, Canto 3, vv. 38 ff., quoted from Dr. Dashrath Sharmā's *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 241-242 ; Bankidās's *Khyāta*, ed. Jd., pp. 1, 87, 108, 134, 150, 151, etc. ; Tod : *Annals*, pp. 68-99, (ed. R.K. Paul, London).

³⁵ *Ajitcharitra*, f. 13, v. 58 ; *Surajaparakāsha*, f. 47b, vv. 13-14 ; Tod : *Annals*, p. 529, (R.K. Paul).

suggests, the Rājputs were generally tall and well-made, with a good development of muscles. Long moustaches and flowing beard made them conspicuous. They were by heredity and instinct warriors of the first order. Valour and virility were the leading characteristics of these persons as a whole. A Rājput who had not proved his manhood by slaying a buffalo with one stroke of sword during the festival of *Navrātri* was forced by custom not to enter the portals of the royal palace of Udaipur, and was not allowed to share the carpet with the persons of his clan until he had killed a buffalo with a similar stroke of his sword during the same festival occurring the following year. Hence a brave Rājput in order to keep himself abreast with warlike activity regarded chase as the finest possible preparation for war and included it into the ceremonial and obligatory programme of his life.

These hierarchies were exclusive groups as regards the inter-marriages among members of the same clan was concerned. No matter how extensive the clan may be, it was viewed as one family. Just as a brother cannot marry a sister, so a man of the same clan could not marry a girl of the same clan. This obviously made the possibility of marriage of a person a bit complicated and difficult. Naturally two pernicious practices emerged out in the Rājput caste. One was demanding a big amount of money as dowry by the bridegroom from the bride's father. The other was the female infanticide, which became common among *Rājputs* to avoid inconveniences of marriage. A Report of the *Rājput-hitakāriṇi-Sabhā* throws ample light on these practices prevalent among the Rājputs.³⁶

Feudal System :

From this clannish organisation of Rājputs there evolved out a system which is commonly accepted as a feudal society. Colonel Tod³⁷ has identified this system with the feudal system of medieval Europe. Of course, the framework of Rājput society seems to possess many resemblances to the feudal society of mediaeval Europe, but the essentials of the Rājput system reveals the fact that the two systems are fundamentally different.

The socio-political set-up of Rājputs, as described by early writers³⁸ of the period under review, was essentially based on patriarchal

³⁶ File No. 1494 of 1889 A.D., No. X (11), Archives, Ajmer.

³⁷ Tod : *Annals*, pp. 108, 109, 128-132, (ed. R.K. Paul, London).

³⁸ *Somsaubhāgya-Kāvya*, Canto 10, v. 39 ; *Sangitarāja Pathyaratnakośa*, vv. 9, 47-63.

system. A Rājput Chief rules over a State as the head of a clan which was divided into numerous sub-clans, at the head of which were pretty chiefs, generally members of his own family. The relation between them was not so much of a lord and the vassals, but that of kinsmen, commonly termed as *Bhāiji*, *Kākāji* or 'chut-bhāi'. These kinsmen claimed social equality in all matters—domestic and political. This type of brotherly relation was officially acknowledged in letters^{38A} that passed between the lord and so called vassals. Although the chieftains were obliged to pay tribute and homage, and also to perform certain services to their chiefs, nevertheless the 'fiefs' in their possessions were their rightful shares which they claimed as their hereditary right. Similarly, their right to their estates and to headship over them was indefeasible, and in some cases as ancient as the right of the ruling chief to the state which he governed. Even the idea of their participation in war with the chiefs or rendering other civil and judicial services to the states was based on common partnership based on common interest.

The common partnership was recognised by bestowing of Jagirs in lieu of military or other services rendered by the vassals to their chiefs. There grew up, in course of time, some more obligations of *Jāgirdārs*, as Feudal incidents, viz, *Relief* or *Nazrānā*, *Rekh*, etc. 'A *Jāgirdār* had to pay a yearly military cess called *Rekh*, which was supposed roughly to be eight per cent of the gross rental value of the estate. *Chhatund Chākri* was another cess paid in Mewār by a *Jāgirdār* in lieu of exemption of personal attendance at the capital for a certain period of time. At the time of war they were also required to furnish one horseman for every thousand rupees worth of *Rekh*. When a thākur died in Mārwar, his heir paid a succession tax, known as *Hukamnāmā*, the amount of it was equal to three-fourths of three years' gross rental value of the estate concerned. The *Khadg-bandhi* or binding of a sword was also a relief that a new heir to the Jagir had to pay on the occasion of the ceremony conducted by the ruler when he (new heir) was recognised as the heir to his estate. The *Jāgirdārs* had also to pay *Tagirayāt* and *Mustasadi-kharch* to their chiefs.³⁹

^{38A} *Haridwār Bahi*, (Bik.), V.S. 1811 (1754 A.D.); *Arzi file*, No. 1/5, Jd. V.S. 1858 (1800 A.D.) A letter from the chief of Mārwar to Col. Tod, 2nd of the bright-half of *Śrāvaṇa*, V.S. 1787 / July 31, 1821, vide Tod, I, pp. 228-230.

³⁹ A letter dated 11th *Zul-Qāḍā*, 3/ Jan. 1, 1710, *Wakāyā Report* No. 1274, JP; A Letter dated 7th of the dark-half of *Pauṣa*, V.S. 1869 (Dec. 25, 1812, File *Amal--ki-Chūthi*, No. 105 (DR, Jd); *Mertiā Khyāta*, Vol. II, *Granth* No. 1, p. 1248, *Granth* No. 14, pp. 1355-1356, *Bastā* No. 101; *Malone Khyāta*, *Granth* No. 39, p. 12, *Bastā* No. 40, Jd.; Files concerning *Uthantri* and *Jāgir*, *Bastā* Nos. 22, 56, 60, 65 and 101 (BA).

On non-payment of relief the Jāgirs were confiscated. But this was not usually practised.^{39A}

In western states of Rajasthān generally the authority of the principal chiefs was of a very limited character. The chief of Salumber, for example, was the final authority to approve the successor over the *gaddi* of Mewār. Similarly, it was he who was in charge of the capital in case the ruling chief remained out for sometime from the capital. The *thākurs* or fief-holders of Bānswārā possessed full and entire jurisdiction within their estates, and would never allow their subjects to be summoned to the capital, or to be interfered with, or anyway punished, by orders of the sovereign chief.⁴⁰

In many cases, by virtue of their name and honour the feudal chiefs exerted a considerable amount of local influence. Each of the superior rank of *sardāi* of Mewār was entitled to a banner, kettle-drums preceded by heralds and silver maces when he passed through the capital town of the Rānā. Many of them commanded armies or divisions and subdivisions of armies, a great privilege of importance.⁴¹

Similarly, the feudal chiefs had a great influence in the political, military and administrative organization of the State of Mārwar. Mahārājā Bijaya Singh could wage war against the Marāthās only after consulting the leading nobles of his State.⁴² Their approval was essential for the succession of the next ruler.⁴³ The *thākurs* of Āhwā and Pokaraṇ had the right to attest by their signatures all grants of villages made by the Mahārāja by virtue of their being designated *Pradhān*.⁴⁴ The *thākur* of Bagdi had a privilege to put the *tilak* on the forehead of the ruler with his own blood from his thumb, on the occasion of the coronation.⁴⁵ The Parihār *Jāgirdārs* of Indā were alone authorised to guard the frontiers of Mārwar.⁴⁶ These *Jāgirdārs* enjoyed the privilege of using drums and

^{39A} A letter from Ajit Singh to *shiqdar* Dayāl Dās dated 7th of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 1766 (March 10, 1710), *Kharitā-Bastā*, No. 99 Jd ; A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated June 10, 1839, F.P. July 24, 1839, No. 38.

⁴⁰ Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, p. 7 ; Ojhā : *Udaipur-Rājya-kā-Itihās*, Vol. II, pp. 879-889.

⁴¹ Tod : *Annals*, p. 116, (R.K. Paul, London).

⁴² *Vijayavilāsa*, p. 129.

⁴³ A letter from Bijaya Singh to Mahādji dated 14th of the bright-half of *Pausha* (Jan. 8, 1791 A. D.), No. IV, p. 48, Jd (BA).

⁴⁴ A letter from Alves to Macnaghten dated Oct. 21, 1838, F. P. Dec. 26, 1838, No. 27.

⁴⁵ *Rāthor Dāi eśvara Vaniśāvali*, f. 338, vv. 249-250.

⁴⁶ *Parihār Khyāta of Indā*, ff. 26-27, *Bastā* No. 101, Jd.

palanquins while entering the portals of the royal palace.⁴⁷ The ruler declared a twelve-day state mourning during the death of a *Jāgirdār*, who happened to belong up to the seventh line of his family.⁴⁸

However due to the accessibility of the Muslim and Marāthā invaders the clan superiority of the vassals of the eastern states began to grow weaker by the 18th century in comparison to that of the western states. The reason is that the influence of the Muslim rule was felt greater in the eastern Rājasthān than further west. Moreover, the former contained a much smaller Rājput population than the latter. Zālim Singh well-nigh ruined the chiefs of Kotāh. The head of the Bundi State ruled almost absolutely and his chiefs had little privileges. In Bharatpur and Dholpur the power of the chief was supreme.⁴⁹

This kind of socio-political organization, referred to in the records,⁵⁰ arose from certain social and economic forces, and as such had a vitality of its own which accounts for its survival for a longer period of time.

A reference may also be made to *Girāsīā* and *Dhumia* chiefships of Rājasthān which throws further light on the feudal character of Rājput society. Those chieftains who held *giras* (*Grās*) i.e. subsistence, by a grant of the prince were required to perform service with a fixed quota of men either at the capital or outside the territory of the State. Of course, this kind of tenure was resumable and renewable.⁵¹ As against this proprietorship of land was called *Bhumiā* tenure. *Bhum* was given to Rājputs as compensation for bloodshed—for distinguished services in the field, for protection of a border or for watch and ward of the village.⁵² Hence *Bhumiās* held their lands by prescriptive possessions. They enjoyed hereditary, non-resumable, and inalienable property rights over such holdings. They paid a small quit-rent to their chiefs for their land, but were otherwise left uncontrolled. They were required, as specified from their grants, to render services like quelling feuds, protecting borders, defending their own villages from robbers and protecting the travellers within their own limits. Chiefs of Ognā, Pānarwā, Jawās were very powerful *Bhumiās* who could muster a considerable number of men for the defence of their own *Bhum*. There were smaller *Bhumiās* also who had a few acres of land rent free, and in return

⁴⁷ *Bhāti Khyāta (Bhikamkor-granth)* No. 23, ff. 9-10, *Bastā*, No. 101 ; *Bālān Khyāta, Granth* No. 4, ff. 177-178, *Bastā* No. 101, Jd.

⁴⁸ *Hath Bahi* No. II, f. 178, Jd.

⁴⁹ Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, pp. 6-7, (Calcutta, 1881).

⁵⁰ *Khāsā Rukkā Parwānāh Bahi*, Nos. 2, 22, pp. 3, 1, 110. (J.A)

⁵¹ Tod : *Annals*, p. 133, (ed. R. K. Paul, London).

⁵² *Sangitarāja*, (ed. Bikaner, 1946), p. 75.

rendered miscellaneous services, such as to keep watch in the village, escort state officials from village to village, escort state money from a village to the *parganāh*, to report important letters from the village to the *parganāh* headquarters.⁵³

A word may be said in connection with the abuses of socio-political set-up of the Rājputs. Owing to the absence of the law of primogeniture among the Rājputs the system gradually dwindled. Under this system every son, as he grew up, married, claimed his right to a separate share of his father's inheritance, and thus the ancestral estate constantly dwindled and cut off, till at last the whole family was reduced to a status of an agriculturist, who enjoyed none of the dignity and status which was claimed by the first ancestor. This state of affair with added degeneration has been graphically narrated by Mr. Aberigh Mackay, in his interesting book on the chiefs of Central India. He makes a significant and important statement respecting the Rājput chiefs of the 18th century as, "The saddest thing in all Rajwārā at the present day", he remarks, "is the condition of the royal caste. The children of the Sun and Moon, the children of the fire-fountain, seem to have forgotten the inspiring traditions of their race, and have sunk into the state of slothful ignorance and debauchery that mournfully contrast with the chivalrous heroism, the judicious and active patriotism, the refined culture, and the generous virtue of their ancestors. The memory of a hundred noble deeds that adorn their annal, is still fresh in the minds of all men ... Rānā Sāngā of Mewār, enemy of the Moghul ; Jai Singh Sewāi of Jeypore scholar, statesman, and soldier, Sur Singh, Gaj Singh, Jaswant Singh, the glorious paladins of Mārwar,—these are surely names to conjure with—yet they would now seem to excite but little emulation in the breasts of many of those in whose veins their blood flows, and who still bear their undying names. Hardly able to read or write his own language—ignorant of all pertaining to his country, pertaining to his race, pertaining to his state, pertaining to his sacred office as a ruler of men—the petty Rājput of the present day often saunters away his miserable existence in the society of abominable creatures that cast discredit on the name of servant. Besotted with spirits and opium, dull, morose, and wretched, he knows nothing of his affairs. He is generally hopelessly in debt. He seldom cares for anything but the merest shadow of his dignity, the ceremony with which he is treated. It never occurs to him to consider whether he wears his princely honours worthily, and whether those who

⁵³ *Kyām-Khān-Bāso*, v. 425 ; *Havālā Bahī*, V. S. 1911 ; G. N. Sharma : *Political and Social Condition of Rājasthān*, J.R.U. U.P., 1960, p. 97 ; Tod : *Annals*, p. 136 ; R. P. Vol. II, p. 30 ; Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, p. 9.

show him the outward observances and respect, love or honour him in their heart."⁵⁴

Whatever may have been the defects of the system, it should be admitted that the institution had its jurisdiction in the age it flourished. Under this system the patriotic nobles were always ready to lay down their lives for the glory of their rulers and the land. The socio-political structure of the system required that the warriors were to be sallied forth at a minute's call. On account of this Rājasthān never felt the dearth of soldiers. In the battle of Pātani fought on June 20, 1790, the Rāthor casualty was the heaviest, but the ruler of Mār wār could collect 36,000 soldiers within four months and reached Mertā to resist the Marāthās on Sept. 10, 1790 A.D.⁵⁵ The institution, though appears to be a negation of political authority, was very useful and potent in shaping the destiny of Rājasthān.

The Vaiśyas

The Vaiśyas who claimed their descent from Kṣatriyas, in course of time, due to the influence of Jainism, identified themselves as *Sarāvagis*, a corruption of *Shrāvak*, a lay-worshipper of Jaina. Their Kṣatriya origin is traceable from a study of the *gotras* of several Vaiśya families. In the *Upāsakādhyāyana* of V.S. 1742 (1685 A.D.) one Nabhā-chandra of Dungarpur has been referred to belonging to Thākur *gotra*.⁵⁶ Dayāldās' ancestors had been Śisodiyā Kṣatriyas.⁵⁶

In Vaiśyas also, like Brāhmaṇs and Rājputs, there are divisions and subdivisions of castes based on either the names of ancestors or place names. The most important of these divisions are Agarwāla, Oswāl, Paliwāl, Porwāl, etc. Agarwāls have subsections of Dāgā, Pugālī, Damānī, Mantri, Lodhā, Mundrā, Rāthī, etc. The subsections of Oswāls are Kothāri, Singhvī, Bhandāri, Seth, Mehtā, etc. The Paliwāls have no fewer than sixty-two separate sections. All these kinds of Vaiśyas are found in greater or smaller proportions in various villages and towns of Rājasthān. Their main profession was trade and money-lending business. Only few of them, as Agarwāls of Karaulī and Mallānī subsisted on agriculture. In Mewār several families of Nandwānā carried trade and agriculture side by side.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ G. R. Aberigh-Mackay : *The Chiefs of Central India*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁵ P. R. C. I., 260 ; HP. 570, 573, 574 ; Poonā *Akkbārāt*, Vol. III, p. 132 ; *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. 5, p. 151 Jd.

⁵⁶ *Upāsakādhyāyana*, vv. 14-16, f. 183 ; *Āmber Bhandāra*, No. 323.

^{56A} *Ojhā* : U. R. I. Vol. II, p. 994

⁵⁷ *Prithvichandracharitra* by Manik Chanda Suri, V. S. 1478, p. 155.

From the study of inscriptions and Jaina literāture, it appears that the main livelihood of the Vaiśyas during the period of our study was trade, banking and finance. As they happened to be related with commercial activities they became men of distinction and wealth. They occupied foremost place in the social-hierarchy and displayed intelligence and zeal in promoting the interest of their families from age to age. They imparted a great stimulus to the cause of their religion by subscribing their wealth for construction of temples and organizing congregations of fellow religionists to be held at various centres. The names of Khātu (Bilwādā), Sahānā (Sāgwādā), Jiwā (Pali), Lakji (Todā), Manirāma and Uttamchand (Jaipur) etc., are the examples who made their name and fame in this direction during the early 18th century.⁵⁸

But as Rājputs were straight warriors they needed persons who could help them in the administration of the state and managing the finances. Such help was readily available from the Vaiśyas, who were reputed for their administrative abilities, industry and thrift. Though valour was not their special trait, they marked out their career also as generals. We propose to enumerate the names of some of the leading persons of Vaiśyas who had significant role to play in the socio-political hierarchy during the mediaeval age.

According to the author of *Achaldās-khichi-Vachānikā*⁵⁹ Harpati, Lālū, Vaijāu and Vālau were brave fighters from the Vaiśya community. Mahārānā Sāngā appointed Bhārmal as the commander of the fort of Raṅthambhor. His two sons Bhāmā Shāh and Tārāchand distinguished themselves as greater warriors and administrators. Both of them fought side by side with Mahārānā Pratāp. Bhāmā Shāh and Tārāchand soon, through their services, came to the notice of the Mahārānā, who appointed Bhāmā Shāh his *Pradhān* and Tārāchand in-charge of Godwār district. Bhāmā Shāh continued to remain *Pradhān* of Mahārānā Amar Singh I, till he was removed from the position by death on Jan., 26, 1600. Tārāchand also enjoyed royal favour for a considerable period of his life. Bhāmā Shāh's son Jiwā Shāh and his son Akhairāja held the hereditary office of *Pradhān* in the reign of Amar Singh and Karan Singh respectively.^{59A}

⁵⁸ *Bhattāraṅg-pattāvali*, ff. 23-57, V. S. 1730-1757, *Āmber Bhandāra* No. 9; *Dastur Komwār* Vol. 21, pp. 7-901; Bānkidas's *Khyata*, pp. 174-177 (ed. Jaipur).

⁵⁹ *Achaldās-khichi-Vachānikā*, p. 18, (ed. Bikāner.)

^{59A} *A Copper-plate grant*, V. S. 1633 (1576 A.D.), *Jāgir Misal* No. 95, 26, 133 (ODRU) refers Bhāmā; *A Copper-plate grant*, V. S. 1685 (1628 A.D.), No. 161 (ODRU) refers to Akhairāja; Ojhā : U.R.I. II, pp. 992-994.

What Bhāmā was to Pratāp Singh, Dayāldās was to Mahārājā Rāj Singh. He managed the affairs in most judicious manner during the critical years of war of Mewār with Aurangzeb. A magnificent marble temple of Adināth, built on a hillock overhanging Rāj Samudra Lake still witnesses his love for Jainism and art.⁶⁰

Karmachandra was an able administrator, general and patron of art and learning who flourished during the reign of Mahārājā Rāj Singh of Bikāner. He acted as *Mantri* and maintained himself in power through his political foresight and diplomatic ability.⁶¹

Many names have come down to us from the *Rājarupaka*⁶² of Vaiśyas who were brave fighters and expert warriors. In the battle of Delhi at the time of rescue of Ajit Singh, Mehtā Visnā and Bhojrāj Bhandāri bravely laid down their lives. Āskaraṇ, Raichand Dipāvat, Sāwant Singh and Hemrāj were important Vaiśyas on whose counsel Durgādās counted in devising a plan for the rescue of Prince Akbar from Aurangzeb's clutches. Similarly, Bhandāri Khimsi was one of the trusted lieutenants of Ajit Singh in his dealings with the Sayyid brothers. Bhandāri Girdhar, Ratan, Dalo, Dhanrup, Bijaya Rāj, Lakshmichand, Singhvi Achal, Jodhmal and Jiwan were the leading warriors posted in the centre under Mahārājā Abhaya Singh in his attack against Haidar Quli Klān. Many other names may be furnished of the Vaiśyas who occupied responsible position in the State. Amar Singh Bhandāri acted as *vakil* of Abhaya Singh at the Mughal Court.⁶³ Mehtā Bijāyamal and Methā Sardārmal were Hākims of Nāgor.⁶⁴ Inder Rāj Singhvi was a powerful *diwān* and *bakhshi* of Mahārājā Mān Singh who was later on murdered by a deceitful action of Amirkhān in 1815 A.D.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *Adināth Inscription*, dated the 7th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1732 (1675 A.D.) refers to the life and achievements of Dayāldās ; Ojhā : *U. R. I.*, II, pp. 994-995.

⁶¹ *Karmachāndravanshotkirtanakam-kāvya*, vv. 167, 243, 244, 249, 250, 252, 260, etc. (MS. Anup Library, Bikāner).

⁶² *Rājarupaka* (Ed. *Nāgri Prachārīṇi*), vide Chapter VI, Introduction, p. 13, and Chapter XXXIV ; Dr. quanungo : *Studies in Rājput History*, pp. 56, 57.

⁶³ A letter from Abhaya Singh to Bhandāri Amar Singh, dated 2nd of the dark-half of *Kārtika*, V.S. 1787 (Oct. 16, 1730 A.D.) Jd.

⁶⁴ *Intajāmi Sigāh Bahi*, No. 58, Jd ; *Hukmanāma*, File No. 39, V. S. 1787 (1730 A.D.) Jd.

⁶⁵ *Haqīqat Bahi*, No. 10, f. 88, Jd ; A letter from Metcalfe to J. Adams dated 17th Oct., 1815, F. P. 10th Nov., 1815, No. 14 ; Another letter of Metcalfe to J. Adams dated 25th Oct., 1815, F. P. 10th Nov., 1815, No. 16.

In the records^{65A} of V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.) and V.S. 1857 (1800 A. D.) the names of Kanirāma and Amarchand occur respectively as *diwāns* of Jaipur.

During the 18th century Mojrāma and Khubrāma Paliwāl (Vaiśya) distinguished themselves for their ability and managing finances of Karauli State. Their contemporary Harsukh Paliwāl (Vaiśya) was appointed as officer in charge of custom, *toshākhānā*, *jamadhar khānā* and treasury, which he administered with understanding and efficiency. Budh Singh Paliwāl during the late 18th century, similarly, acted as the *diwān* of Karauli and managed the affairs of the state with political foresight and diplomacy.⁶⁶

The Kāyasths

In the socio-political hierarchy Kāyasths had important and independent role. From the functional point of view they stood between the Brāhman̄s and the Vaiśyas. In point of education and intelligence, this caste occupied deservedly a high position. As revenue officers, expounders of law and keepers of registers, says Manakchand Suri,⁶⁷ they rivalled the Vaiśyas. Being the counterpart of the Brāhman̄s and Vaiśyas their influence and importance was felt in every direction. As a Rājput chief was not prepared to trust a fellow Rājput as an adviser in political and revenue matters, his choice fell on a Kāyasth who by his intellect and enterprise was fitted to wield responsible duties. With the growing influence of the Mughals in Rājasthān, the importance of Kāyasths increased overwhelmingly, in all the courts, by virtue of their knowledge of Persian and efficiency in practical state-craft.⁶⁸

In Rājasthān Bhatnāgar, Pancholi and Māthur have been very prominent in playing their part as administrators and warriors. In the annals of Mārwar the names of Ratnā Pancholi (Medtā 1553 A.D.), Bhān Pancholi (Datāni 1583 A.D.), Todar Pancholi (Sisodari 1628 A.D.), Gordhan Pancholi (Dharmat 1658 A.D.), Vachchha Rāj (Frontier Wars 1674 A.D.), Hararāya (Delhi 1679 A.D.), etc., stand for their gallantry and self-sacrifice, who in the display of their loyalty at various actions noted against their names won eternal glory.⁶⁹

^{65A} *Jamā Kharcha Bahi*, Jaipur, V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.); V.S. 1857 (1800 A.D.) (BA).

⁶⁶ *Jamā Kharcha Bahi*, Karauli, 3rd of the dark-half of *Posha*, V.S. 1840 (1783 A.D.); Dolat Singh : *Paliwāl Jaina Itihās*, pp. 88-100, (Bharatpur).

⁶⁷ Manak Chand Suri : *Prithvichandracharitra*, V.S. 1478 (1421 A.D.), p. 155.

⁶⁸ *Rājavilāsa*, Canto II, v. 90.

⁶⁹ *A Pattā* V.S. 1610 (1553 A.D.), *Pattā Bahi*; a *Pattā*, V.S. 1640 (1583 A.D.), *Pattā Bahi*; *A Copper-plate grant*, V.S. 1685 (1628 A.D.); *A Pattā*, V.S. 1715 (1658 A.D.) Jd.; *Khyāta Medtiyā*, *Granth* No. 1,

When Mahārājā Jaswant Singh died and a large part of Jodhpur was conquered by the imperialists, Kāyasth Kesari Singh was sent to the imperial court to submit an account of his master's property. As a loyal servant he preferred death by taking poison rather than disclose his master's possessions.⁷⁰ Kāyasth Hari Rāi was one of the gallant fighters who died at Delhi on the occasion of the rescue of Ajit Singh. In the battle against Haidar Quli by Abhaya Singh Pancholi Bālkrishṇa, Lālo Hari Krishṇot, Dolo, Mādho and Rupo distinguished themselves by commanding the centre wing under the Mahārājā.⁷¹

Pancholi Bihari Das's ancestors occupied high position in Mewār from the 14th century onward. Pancholi Bhāgchand was a daring general of Jagat Singh. The Sahiwālā family which had the privilege to affix their sign in the form of 'sahi' were the traditional loyal officers of the State. They were generally the recipients of royal favour by obtaining honour and grant of villages, many of which their descendants held.^{71A}

In Jaipur Amar Singh *Kotwāl* received honour in V.S. 1783 for his efficient service in tracing thieves. Udayachand, Kani Rāma, Keval Rāmā, Gaj Singh and Khusāl Chand were holding various important posts in the state according to *Dastur Komwār* during the later part of the 18th century.^{71B}

The Chārans

In between the social order of the Rājputs and the status of the Brāhman̄s there is a caste of Chārans which exercises a great respectability and influence in Rājasthān. The speciality of the caste is that it combines in its character the characteristics of Rājputs and Brāhman̄s in an adequate manner. In literary pursuit and receiving gifts from the Rājputs a Chāran approximated himself to a Brāhman̄. As regards taking of flesh, drinking of liquor, worshipping of Śakti and engaging in war he resembled a Rājput. He was an equal partner of his Rājput chief both in war and peace. If he insisted for *neg* (customary gifts to the Chāran on occasions of marriage) from the bridegroom at the chief

Bastā No. 101, Jd. BA. ; *Khyāta Jaswantsingh, Granth* No. 7, *Bastā* No. 43, Jd. BA.

⁷⁰ *Rājarupaka*, p. 28 ; Dr. Qanungo : *Studies in Rājput History*, pp. 55, 56.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Chapter 34 ; Dr. Qanungo : *Studies in Rājput History*, pp. 55-57

^{71A} *Copper-plate grant*, 4th of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, V.S. 1709, No. 477 (ODRU) ; *Copper-plate grant*, 15th of the bright-half of *Jaiṣṭha*, V.S. 1741, No. 418 (ODRU) refers to Pancholi Chaturabhuja ; *Copper-plate grant*, 8th of the bright-half of *Śrāvāṇa* V.S. 1842, No. 184 (ODRU), refers to Girdhar.

^{71B} *Dastur Komwār*, No. 1, pp. 503-565.

portal, for which he is known as *Bārhatta* (*Dwārhatta*), he equally justified the name in terms by standing in the front row to receive the first blow of the sword at the gate.⁷²

Much has been written by Surajmal Miśra, Kavirāj Shyāmal Dās and Dr. Quanungo as regards the importance of the Chārāns, to which I do not propose to repeat, but draw a few traits about them in order to assess their position in the social hierarchy of mediaeval Rājasthān.

John Malcolm has described the functions and status of Chārāns as : "They rank as the genealogists of proud and ignorant chiefs ; and favoured individuals often combine with that office the station of counsellors, and establish an ascendancy over the minds of their superior, which is stronger from being grounded upon a mysterious feeling of awe. It is to them that the proudest Rājput looks for solace in adversity, and for increased joy and exultation in prosperity."⁷³

The most important vocation of Chārāns was to preserve the glorious deeds, of the Rājput dynasties to which they were attached, by means of composing songs worthy of recitation on occasions of assemblies and battle-field. They were also commissioned to write *Khyātas* (chronicles), *vartās* and *vātas* (stories), *rāso* (martial Epics), and *vamsāvalis* (descriptive genealogies).^{73A} The *Dingal* literature and *Dingal* language largely owe to this caste. The names of Dursā Ādhā,⁷⁴ Keshavdās,⁷⁵ Karnidān,⁷⁶ Virbhān,⁷⁷ etc., hold dignified position in the literary field of mediaeval India.

They also performed a number of miscellaneous duties in connection with their high office. Karñiji, the Chāran woman who has been supposed to have helped Bikā to occupy the territory of Bikāner, is worshipped as a Devi and her shrine at Deshñok near Bikāner is held in great reverence by the Chārāns and Rājputs.⁷⁸ If traditions are believed, a saintly Chāran woman, mother of Baru Chāran helped Rānā Hammir from her own funds by supplying 500 horses for the recovery of Chitor.⁷⁹ Chāran Khemrāj saved the life of Kunwar Jagat Singh by

⁷² *Rājvilāsa*, Canto II, v. 91 ; *Medtā Khyāta*, No. 6/101, ff. 1009-11.

⁷³ John Malcolm : *A Memoir of Central India*, Vol. I, pp. 517-518.

^{73A} *Somsaubhāgya-kāvya*, Canto 8, v. 74.

⁷⁴ Contemporary of Mahārānā Pratāp.

⁷⁵ He was the writer of *Guṇarūpaka*.

⁷⁶ Writer of *Surajaparakāsha*.

⁷⁷ Writer of *Rājarūpaka*.

⁷⁸ *Khyāta Bikāner*, ff. 2-17, No. 189/11 (Anup Library).

⁷⁹ *Mewad-rā-Dhaniyan-ri-Vāt*. ff. 24-26. (*Rāmadwāra Collection*, Bhindar) ; Dr. Qanungo : *Studies in Rājput History*, p. 45.

killing Narukā Rājput who made an attempt to kill the prince. One Naru chāran fell fighting at the gate of the Jagadish temple when Tāj Khān and Ruhullāh Khān came to destroy it.⁸⁰

The Chārans of Mārwar have also played an important role in hours of need. According to the *Achaldāskhichi-Vachanikā*⁸¹ Chāran Magha, Sadau and Nāpau girded their loins against Muslim arms. In the year 1615 A.D., Narhar Chāran fell fighting in the action of Sur Singh against Kishan Singh of Kishangarh.^{81A} In the famous field of Dharmat in 1658 A.D., Jagmāl Khadiyā made his end as a valiant warrior.⁸² In the battle of Delhi when Durgādās planned the rescue of Ajit Singh, Chāran Sāndu and Mishan Ratan distinguished themselves as martyrs for the cause of their land. Chāran Jogidās, Mishan Bhārmal, Sarau, Āsal-Dhanu and Vithu Kanau were among the chosen brave warriors who escorted prince Akbar through his way to Shambhāji's court.⁸³

In the *Dastur Komwār*^{83A} the names of the Dhanraja Chāran (1801 A.D.) and Ghan Rāma (1822 A.D.) have been recorded as well-known traders. Many other names such as Āidān, Girvardān, Padam Singh, etc., have come down to us from the same record, who were recipients of rewards for their glorious actions and efficient services for the state of Jaipur.

The Bhāts

The caste of Bhāts is different from the caste of Chārans. They are genealogists, according to Pt. Śripāl,⁸⁴ and concern themselves about the pedigree of families belonging to various castes. They receive present at weddings. They performed the duties of marriage negotiators and reciters of genealogical history at public festivals. They had been notorious for their capacity as beggars, and were much dreaded by the families with which they are attached on account of their being in a position of distorting family history at public recitations, if they so chose, and of subjecting any member to general ridicule in public gathering.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 29-30 ; Dr. Qanungo : *Studies in Rājput History*, p. 46.

⁸¹ *Achaldāskhichi-Vachanikā*, p. 18, ed. Bikāner ; *Khyāta* Sur Singh, f. 25, *Bastā* No. 4 ; Reu : *Mārwar-ka-Itihās*, II, p. 663.

^{81A} *Tawārikh Jodhpur*, *Bastā* No. 75 ; Reu : *Mārwar-ka-Itihās*, II, p. 663.

⁸² *Khyāta Jaswant Singhji-ri*, Granth No. 7, *Bastā*, 43 ; Reu : *Mārwar-ka-Itihās*, pp. 663-664.

⁸³ *Tawārikh Jodhpur* (Jd. BA), *Bastā* No. 75 ; Dr. Qanungo : *Studies in Rājput History*, p. 47.

^{83A} *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 6, pp. 573-645.

⁸⁴ Pt. Śripāl : *Kumudchandragita*, V.S. 1734 (1677 A.D.), f. 34, (Āmber Bhandāra, Reg. No. 8).

Besides following their traditional functions the Bhāts also engaged themselves in cultivation of land. In Mārwar, Gāngu and Triloksi joined as soldiers in the engagement against Muslims in the 15th century. In the State of Bundi they had been carriers and traders with pack-bullocks.⁸⁵

Agricultural Occupation

In the foregoing description of caste system we have observed that some of the members of caste finding their traditional work unremunerative had of necessity or choice taken to agriculture. They retained the caste-calling only as supplementary to the main occupation. But there were certain castes who for all practical purposes adopted agriculture as their main occupation. Jāts of Bikāner, Jaisalmer and central Rājasthān, in official⁸⁶ records, have been termed as agriculturists. *Kunbi* or *Kurmi*, found especially to the south of the Aravalis, were agriculturists. The tillers of soil on estates bordering on the Luni were *Kalbi*.⁸⁷ *Kirs* were found in Ajmer district employed in the cultivation of melons.⁸⁸ *Mālis* were specially devoted to the cultivation of vegetables throughout Rājasthān. Most of the *Mālis* of Bikāner and Jodhpur took to business, finding cultivation less profitable. *Kiras* of Jaipur and Jhālāwād, and *Pihils* and *Bisonis* of Bikāner and *Dhākad* of Jhālāwād were agriculturists.⁸⁹ In the social ladder the position of the agricultural caste was just equivalent to the artisans of higher category.

Herdsmen

Ahirs were traditionally cattle herders. They domesticated cows and prepared *ghee*. In case of not getting sufficient number of cattle, they also fell upon land. *Gāyaris* kept goats and sheep. The breeders of camels were *Rebāris*. In Bharatpur they were camel drivers and cultivators.⁹⁰ *Gujars* were also a clan which followed the profession of herdsmen. They were found in all parts of Rājasthān and were well-

⁸⁵ *Achaldāskhichi-Vachanikā*, p. 18, ed. Bikāner ; *Jamā Kharch*, Nos. 43-44, (Jd) ; Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 54-60.

⁸⁶ *Bahis, Jaitpur and Jaisalmer*, V.S. 1726 (1669 A.D.) and V.S. 1744 (1687 A.D.) (BA).

⁸⁷ *Bahis Jaitāran*, V. S. 1768 (1711 A.D.) (BA) ; *Hāsāl Bahi* (BA), V.S. 1769 (1712 A.D.), V.S. 1825 (1768 A.D.)

⁸⁸ *Bahi Sarwār Tahsil*, V.S. 1775 (1718 A.D.) (BA).

⁸⁹ *Bahis, Jaitpur and Jhālāwād*, V. S. 1780-85 (1723-28 A.D.) (BA).

⁹⁰ Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 55-56.

known for their pastoral wealth. But as they had stouter maids, they were employed to look after royal princes and princesses and were known as *Dhāya mās*. Male members of this category were termed *Dhāya bhāis* or foster-brothers. On account of their honesty and loyalty they often rose to the position of trust and responsibility. Many a document of our period preserves the names of *Dhāya bhāis* such as Nagā, Jasā, Raghunāth, Bheru, Kishnā, Ruprāma etc., who attained high position in the States.⁹¹

Craftsmen

In this group goldsmiths, blacksmiths, *lakhārās* (bangle-makers and dealers in lac), *chipās*, (printers of cloths), *patwās* (braiders) weavers, *Ghanchās*, (basket-makers), *shikligars* (sharppers of iron implements), carpenters, *thatherās* (braziers), potters, etc., were included—but of these goldsmiths, *patwās*, carpenters and *thatherās* claimed a status distinctly superior to other artisans.⁹²

Other Occupations

Under this head were included washermen and barbers who constituted the lowest rung of the caste hierarchy. Under traditional arrangements they remained confined to their work for their earning. The occupation of shaving brought barber nearer to men of all status. As his services as barber were required so often in some socio-religious ceremonies and rituals associated with birth, marriage and death, his status in society was higher than that of a washerman. Some of these barbers entered into states services as *mashālchis* (torch-bearers) and *pharāshis* and worked independently outside the system of traditional arrangement.⁹³

Untouchables

Besides these groups of caste there was another group of people who were assigned lower status in Hindu society. A loose term *chāndāl* was used for them. This included *Kasāi*, *Chamār*, *Balāi*, *Borā*, *Regar*, *Bhangī*, *Bhāmbhi*, etc. Practising an occupation, such as butchery by *Kasāi*, tanning

⁹¹ *Kothār Bahi* (Bikāner), V.S. 1753 (1696 A.D.) ; Document No. 80, 13th of the dark-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1773 (1716 A.D.) (ODRU) refers Nagā *Dhāya bhāi* as an influential courtier of Mewār ; *Kharitā Bahi*, No. 1, f. 52, V.S. 1821.

⁹² *Kanhudadeprabandha*, Chap. II. vv. 80-92, pp. 80-81 ; *Siyāhah Huzur*, V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 15, *Bastā* No. 1, V.S. 1789 (1732 A.D.)

⁹³ *Siyāhah Huzur*, V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 15, *Bastā* No. 1, V.S. 1789 (1732 A.D.) KA, BA.

by *Chamār*, *Balāi*, and *Regar*, sweeping and scavenging by *Bhangī* and skinning dead animals by *Borā*, and herding swine by *Bhāmbhi*, puts a caste in the lowest ladder. Their despised position is clear from the *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri* Inscription⁹⁴ of V.S. 1331 (1274 A.D.), which says that Bhoja, the ruler of Mewār took *jayaśri* (victory) bathing it with water from the edge of his sword, as if it were polluted by a touch of the *chāndāls*. This shows that they were looked down as quite outside the pale of the society, and one who touched them accidentally had to clean and wash himself. The *Ekalinga Inscription*⁹⁵ of V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.) states that no higher class should show any kind of favour to them nor give them any charity. The sculptured art at the tower of victory in Chitor, where many classes of persons have been shown side by side, sweepers and other despised castes have been sculptured on one piece detached from the panels of other classes. They have also been sculptured with a broom, winnower, etc., as indicating objects for identifying them, and for keeping others away from them. Mandan⁹⁶ also allocates separate quarters from them outside the boundary of the town. In the *Govadhavyavasthādīpa*⁹⁷ of Gopal Bhattācharya cobblers, butchers, hunters, bird-catchers, leather-workers, etc., fall under the head of untouchables.

Although these untouchables were following their occupations they, specially *Khatik*, *Barāi*, *Chamār* and *Borā*, took to agriculture for supplementing their income. In the village of Rāshmi many of them are still both agriculturists and workers in their traditional occupations. The butchers who could not earn sufficient money from their profession, took to lifting stones and beams to cover roofs at Jodhpur in the late 17th century.⁹⁸ Similarly, in Kotāh they looked to other types of work.⁹⁹

Slaves

In the social hierarchy of mediaeval Rājasthān, slaves, generally termed as *dās*, *dāsi*, *golā*, *goli* and *chākar* constituted a group, though not in such numbers as to constitute a dominant element in the structure of

⁹⁴ *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri Inscription*, V.S. 1331 (1274 A.D.), v. 204; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. IV.

⁹⁵ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.), v. 10; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. IX.

⁹⁶ *Rājavallabha*, canto 4, v. 19, f. 6b.

⁹⁷ *Govadhavyavasthādīpa*, f. 25.

⁹⁸ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V. S. 1747 (1690 A.D.) (Jd); Reu: *Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, I, p. 381.

⁹⁹ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 11, *Nathi* No. 20, V.S. 1750 (1693 A. D.).

Hindu society.¹⁰⁰ During the period of our study, the institution of slaves comprised such persons as were captured in battles. Examples of this kind are not lacking. Kālbhoja's victory brought him a crop of maid-servants.¹⁰¹ Mahārānā Kumbhā brought from Sārangpur a large number of women, men and warriors as prisoners of war and made them slaves.¹⁰² Rānā Udai Singh converted his prisoners of war into slaves.¹⁰³ The captives had to serve their masters as long as they were not ransomed. Very often they were converted into slaves and their children born and brought up under the condition of servitude normally remained slaves of the new master. Sometime a free-man might sell himself and his family into slavery in times of dire distress. Many a time, as revealed from the Kotāh records, boys and girls were openly purchased and converted into slaves, and the State used to get a sale-tax which usually was one-fourth of the sale-price.¹⁰⁴ Poverty generally forced men into a class referred to above. Unrestricted rights of princes over their subjects, who had beautiful wives and had no scruple for their chastity or had no means to safeguard their honour, entered voluntarily or forcibly into slavery. Thus there grew up a heterogeneous class of casual persons, male and female, which remained attached with the princes and well-to-do aristocratic families.

These slaves had been used mainly for domestic, managerial or military purposes. The hereditary slave-girls were given away in dowry as if slaves were a medium of exchange and objects of animal passion. A contemporary painting¹⁰⁵ shows that a female slave was whipped in the presence of ladies of the harem, probably for a fault committed by her. It seems that the lot of slaves had been very unhappy. They had to under-go all sorts of hardships and humiliation and had to perform odd duties of a degrading nature.

It was also customary for the royal household to have a large establishment of slaves and a department. This department was called the department of *Rājāloka*. It used to look after the board, accommodation and employment of the slaves. On the recommendation of the depart-

¹⁰⁰ *Kanhadadeprabandha*, Chap. II, vv. 2-4, p. 63 ; *Chandra Kumar-ri-Vārta*, f. 60b ; *Triyāvinoda*, v. 64.

¹⁰¹ *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri Inscription*, V.S. 1331 (1274 A.D.), v. 23.

¹⁰² *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V.S. 1517, Slab IV, vv. 197, 252 and 268, EI., Vol. XXI, 1931-32.

¹⁰³ *Amarsāra*, f. 6a ; *Dharma Rāso*, V.S. 1784 (1727 A.D.) AB, No. 26.

¹⁰⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 10, V.S. 1749 (1692 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 63, *Nathi* No. 28, V.S. 1853 (1796 A.D.)

¹⁰⁵ *A Ranivās painting* painted by Gangā Rāma, V.S. 1793 (1736 A.D.), *Khājānchi Collection*, Bikāner.

ment, the State used to contribute money on the occasion of marriage or death of slaves. The widows and children of the deceased slaves were looked after by the chiefs.¹⁰⁶

From the traditional duties of the slaves it appears that slaves had no defined status or right in the social hierarchy. But their moral claims over their masters and constant contact with them earned for them elevated social status. The uncertain conditions of life and changing environment in the political situations helped to raise a talented and enterprising slave to social eminence. There are instances when female slaves were picked up for company and pleasure by the chiefs, and who through their enticing devices rose to the position of virtual mistresses of harems. In a work entitled *Rāi-dhan-ri-vārlā*¹⁰⁷, a maid-servant of low caste was entrusted by her mistress to act as a confidant to maintain discipline in the harem. Rāmo, Beno, Viro, etc., acquired position in the State of Sirohi, who were no other than ordinary slaves originally.¹⁰⁸ The horizontal move in the case of the slaves is significant. But sometimes these slaves maddened with power began to act oppressively. In disturbed times male slaves would enter the field of peasants and force them to part with their corn. As a precaution against such practices Verisāl II (1782-1807 A.D.) of Sirohi issued instructions against such mal-practices.¹⁰⁹

Aboriginal Tribes

Though the aboriginal tribes are not included generally in a social hierarchy they constitute a class which played an important role in the history of Rājasthān. The *Minās* and *Bhils* are most important tribes which are included into this category. *Minās* are found in the hilly regions of Kotāh, Bundi, Sirohi, Jahāzpur and Jaipur. They were powerful in the northern portion of Jaipur and Alwar. They were and are agriculturists in Dholpur and Bharatpur and great many were later on employed in these States as village watchmen. The *Minās* of Karauli were orderly people. In Bundi and Mewār they are called *Parihāra Minās*. In all they have thirty-six sections.^{109A}

¹⁰⁶ *Rājāloka Records*, Udaipur, V.S. 1781-1850, Bikāner, V.S. 1779-1857, Jodhpur, V.S. 1779-1857, etc. (BA); *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 6, pp. 779-815.

¹⁰⁷ *Vātsangraha*, f. 703.

¹⁰⁸ *Rājāloka Records*, Sirohi, V.S. 1783 (1726 A.D.), V.S. 1793 (1736 A.D.), V.S. 1814 (1757 A.D.) etc. (ODRS).

¹⁰⁹ *Copper-plate grant* of the 11th of the dark-half of *Vaisākha*, V.S. 1844 (13th May, 1787 A.D.)

^{109A} Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 78-79.

The *Bhils* are a wild, outcast race scattered over Rājasthān. They are found in greatest number in the area of Mewār, Dungarpur, Pratapgarh, Sirohi and Bānswārā. They are said to have been divided into sixteen sub-tribes. Some small chiefs, such as those of Ognā, Pānarwā and Jawās, regard themselves as of mixed Rājput and *Bhil* descent.¹¹⁰ They were and are still living in a state of savage independence.

Taruṇaprabha Suri who wrote in the beginning of the 15th century of the Vikrama Era gives a graphic account of the life and habits of the *Bhils*. According to him and other sources we gather that they lived together in *pāls* or collections of hamlets. Their villages were not compact, but a scattered series of isolated huts, well-defended with thorny hedges and wild growth of trees. This mode of living gave them greater security from their enemies and wild animals. In case of attack from their enemies they could also run away into the jungles and hills with their families and cattle.^{110a}

As regards their habits, the authors of the *Samyaktva* and the *Rājratnākara* say that plundering was one of the sources of their subsistence. Hunting and agriculture were also principal occupations which kept them engaged for a considerable period of time. They drank spirits, ate meat and were, as they are now, passionately fond of quarrelling and fighting. Their fighting instruments consisted of small swords or bows and arrows. They were morally and physically so well-qualified for war, and especially for war in so wild and rugged a country as their own, that the chiefs of Mewār were never short of man-power during their wars against the Mughals.¹¹¹

Though the *Minās* and *Bhils* were not regarded with much respect by other castes, the Rājputs had recognised their original proprietary rights through a singular custom. The coronation ceremony of a Rājput chief in any State, where there was a *Bhil* or *Minā* population, was not considered complete unless the 'Tikā'—or mark of kingship—was im-

¹¹⁰ Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 81-82.

^{110a} Taruṇaprabha Suri : *Samyaktva*, pp. 8-11 ; *Śringirishi Inscription*, V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.), v. 4.

¹¹¹ *Rājratnākara*, canto 7, vv. 41-42 ; *Copper-plate grant*, V.S. 1787 (1730 A.D.), No. 33 (ODRU) ; *I.G.I.*, Provincial Series Rājputānā, p. 89.

For greater details on *Bhils*, see *Rājputānā Gazetteer*, Mewār Residency, pp. 37, 139, 169 and 170 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, pp. 89-90 ; the *Journal of the Bihār and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. X, 1924 ; and the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLIV, Pt. I, 1875, pp. 347-388 ; and G.N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, pp. 5, 6, etc.

pressed upon the forehead of the new chief by the bleeding thumb of the head of the family to which that hereditary privilege belonged.^{111A}

The Mohammedans

The study of the social structure is not complete without a brief reference to the Muslim population of Rājasthān. Mohammedans are fewest in the States lying to the west and south-west, and fewest of all in Mewār and in greater number in Ajmer and Mewāt areas. This clearly shows that their relative strength depended upon the nearness to Delhi. The influence of the Sultans and the Mughal Emperors was powerfully felt in these parts of Rājasthān, and which could be easily inhabited by the Muslim artisans coming from the areas under Muslim control. Moreover, the areas near Delhi were also converted to Islam by their frequent visits to those parts. The *Meos* who were formerly Hindus, embraced Islam due to the pressure of the Muslim invaders. Many Chauhān families living in Fatehpur, Jhunjhunu and Shekhāwāti became Mohammedans. The *Kāyam-Khānis* were originally Rājputs. *Meos* were the converted Mewātis who were formerly Hindus.¹¹²

Though these Muslims had their own customs to follow, they were also influenced by some of the social customs of the Hindus to whom they originally belonged or with whom they came in contact. The Mohammedans of Anupgarh, Phugal and Mārot are called Pirdās. The denomination 'dās' adopted from the Hindus. In *Meos*, like Rājputs, intermarriage with the member of the same clan is not permissible. *Deswāli Banjārās* who were converted to Islam follow several customs of Hindu *Banjārās*. In Bikāner a section of the Muslims are called *Haiwāsi* who were the converts from *Haiwāsi* Brāhmins of Mārwar.¹¹³

Like Hindus, Islam had also adopted a kind of social hierarchy. With growing number of the Muslims in Rājasthān a certain amount of specialisation began in the social adjustment and functions of various classes of Muslims. At the top, there were Qāzis, the Sayyids, men of piety and religious devotion. The Qāzis residing at Udaipur, Āmber, Todā and Jodhpur, as for example, were enjoying privileged position.¹¹⁴ The *Kāyam-Khānis* on account of their descent from Chauhān Rājputs

^{111A} *Rāthor-Dāneśvara-Vamshāvalī*, vv. 249-250, p. 338.

¹¹² Bānkidās *Khyāta*, p. 167 (ed. RORI, Jaipur).

¹¹³ Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 78-86.

¹¹⁴ *Pattā* (ODRU), No. 415, dated the 4th of the dark-half of *Posha*, V.S. 1764 (1st Dec., 1707 A.D.) ; *Pattā* (ODRU), 5th of the bright-half of *Śrāvaṇa*, V.S. 1782 (2nd Aug., 1725 A.D.) ; *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1823 ; *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 18, p. 857.

regarded themselves higher in status than the other converted Muslims. The Pathāns who had settled in Bharatpur, Karauli and Alwar, and the Sayyids who were in greater number in Bikāner, Ajmer and Bundi, entered into the services of local chiefs as army-men. Their services were sometimes appreciated by a grant of lands. When Bijaya Singh was moving against the Marāthās during the battle of Mertā (1754 A.D.) one of the wheels of his cannons gave way. Rehmat Ali who was serving in his army at once repaired it, and the cannon was put into the field. In lieu of this service Rāsida village was granted to him.¹¹⁵ Similarly, *Kāyam-Khāni* Moti Khān offered his meritorious services to Mān Singh during the siege of Jodhpur in 1807 A.D. He was granted by Mān Singh the village of Meghādāna in Mertā district.¹¹⁶ The position of this class was just below the theologians and the ascetics. Then followed the Muslim masses. They were composed of artisans, like blacksmiths, stone-cutters, tinkers etc. Their social position was the same as the position of the artisans in Hindu society. The Hindu converts to Islam of lower class could not materially alter their social position by change of religion. Many of them entered government services, as referred to in the *Siyāhah Huzur*,¹¹⁷ as *mahāvats* (elephant-drivers), *Jalebdārs* (elephant-controllers), *bandukchis* (gunners) and *golandāzs* (cannoneers).¹¹⁶

The foregoing account of the structure of society suggests that the idea of hierarchy was relevant with both traditional and functional values of castes. The scale of fixing superior and inferior position depended upon the heredity and influence a particular caste exercised in the social set-up. Clean professions followed by a caste helped in assigning higher position to it in the social ladder. While unclean professions like butchery, tanning etc., determined lower status for the caste that practised such occupations. On consideration of customs and diet-discipline separate hierarchies were fixed in the same caste. As for example, the Brāhmins who took food prepared by their own men were deemed higher than those Brāhmins to whom fried food prepared by other Brāhmins was acceptable.

Again it may be observed that there had been a tendency in castes to move both vertically and horizontally. *Gujars*, as for example, followed the occupation of cattle-rearing and at the same time they had attempted to get respectable position by accepting the jobs of foster-mothers and foster-brothers in royal households. Similarly, Vaiśyas, as we have seen, joined public services either by giving away their traditional work

¹¹⁵ File No. 257/250 (BA), Aug. 9, 1761 (Jd. BA).

¹¹⁶ File No. 324/27, 1813 A.D. (Jd. BA.)

¹¹⁷ *Siyāhah Huzur*, Vol. 23, ff. 1-42, No. 128, V.S. 1791 (1734 A.D.)

altogether or retaining it as supplementary occupation. Even Brāhmaṇs have been mobile towards the occupation of war and royal services in kitchen. Thus horizontal spread with low-grading and up-grading had the characteristic tendency in various castes. However, it may be noted that the Brāhmaṇs or any upper caste never viewed with favour the horizontal spread of lower castes. The *Chamārs* must have been *Chamārs* to the Brahman. The social distance in this case was the same as in vertical position.

From the contemporary works it appears that the position which each caste occupied in the local hierarchy was frequently not clear. The social status of clean artisans was confusing. In one of the stories of the *Vātsangraha*¹¹⁸ it has been mentioned that a woman-dyer and a woman-blacksmith came to blows simply because one addressed the other 'an untouchable'. The same work records a quarrel between a goldsmith and a carpenter simply because the wife of the goldsmith after lifting water over the head of the female carpenter declared herself polluted and wished to be purified by the sprinkling of water, touched with gold, by another woman. These quarrels depict a clear tendency of lower classes to adopt customs of higher classes, so that by claiming superiority and by moving horizontally upward they could deserve higher position. But this horizontal spread was very often disapproved by those who claimed superiority from vertical position.

Inter-caste Relations

Apparently it appears that caste system presupposes exclusiveness of castes from one another. The fetishes of dietary and rigidity in marriage relations supports the above thesis. But in reality, social relations between one caste and the other at certain levels were evident. Take for instance the behaviour of certain castes towards the chief. On the occasion of the birth of the son of Ajit Singh, according to the contemporary accounts,¹¹⁹ the family priest was requested to note the time and prepare horoscope and accept the *dakṣiṇā* or the remuneration. The she-barber had a lot of work to do for which she was handsomely rewarded. Similarly, on the occasion of the marriage of Suraj Kunwar, daughter of Ajit Singh, *gur* was distributed to both high and low who were attached to the royal family. The dignitaries sent prized presents and persons of lower rank presented offers fitting to their status. To com-

¹¹⁸ *Vātsangraha*, ff. 44-51.

¹¹⁹ *Haqiqat Bahi*, 14th of the dark-half of *Mārgaśirṣa*, V.S. 1759 (1702 A.D.), and 2nd of the bright-half of *Phālguna*, V.S. 1759 (1702 A.D.) ; *Abhayodaya*, canto 2, vv. 4-9,

memorate the occasion, feast was served in which men of dignity participated. Men of lower order were also invited to a separate feast. The same type of relations have been observed in the case of the marriage of Bāiji Sardār Kunwari who was married to Mahārāja Prithvi Singh of Jaipur in V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.).^{119A} This type of inter-caste relation was prevalent in groups of middle and lower order. Those Brāhman̄s who did not participate in feast *sidhās* were offered to them. But we find no inter-caste free movement of this kind where vertical differences in status is very great, for example, the potters would not maintain any social contact with a *Chamār*.

But on economic plane, we can rightly presume that inter-caste relations must have been of different nature. In villages, the agriculturists stood in the need of *Chamārs* with some urgency as well as needed Brāhman̄s during the occasions of birth and death. Even in towns the services of artisans of clean and unclean occupations were imperative in every walk of life, as it is now.

It seems that relations between Hindus and Muslims during the period of our study were cordial, except when they faced in the battle-field. In normal times as peaceful citizens, Muslims lived in villages and towns as good neighbours, which is evident from the fact that no communal disturbances of note have been noticed during the period under review. The Muslim dyers of Ākola and Āhar were preferred to Hindu dyers working in printing in Mewār as revealed from the records.¹²⁰ In State services Muslim artists were employed in enamel work. In Jaipur State they held posts of gun-makers.¹²¹ As workers in stone they specialized themselves, and worked side by side with Hindu architects. Along with the list of Hindu stone-cutters, names of many Muslims occur which shows that in artisan group there was co-operation between both Hindus and Muslims.¹²² From the Census Reports¹²³ of the 19th century it appears that the houses of Muslims and Hindus in Bikāner Division existed side by side as hereditary house-owners, which further proves their cordial relations of permanent affiliation.

^{119A} *Byāva Bahi*, Bikāner, 4th of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V.S. 1827.

¹²⁰ *Jamā Kharcha Bahis* (ODRU), V.S.: 1720-1733, 1769, etc.

¹²¹ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. III, and XXIII, ff. 1, 42, 315, 323, 341, V.S. 1787-1810.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Bahi Mardum-shumāri*, V.S. 1913 (1856 A.D.), to V.S. 1940 (1883 A.D.), BA.

Evils of the Caste System

The foregoing description of the socio-economic hierarchy reveals that the society of mediaeval Rājasthān, like India was literally split up into hundreds of hereditary and occupational castes and sub-castes with different codes to guide the morals and behaviours of their members. Several rules and regulations of conduct bound the individuals into hide-bound hereditary folds beyond which they were not expected to see and act. This was responsible for disunion and consequent weakness in Hindu society. Under this system the position of lower castes, and specially that of untouchables was most deplorable who had to do all necessary services for the society and in return they were despised. They had to remain content with a life which was no better than death. This weakness of the caste structure was responsible for depriving and consequently weakening Hindu society by attracting many persons towards Islām. Besides forced conversions, Rājasthān like other places prepared Hindus of lower level to embrace Islām voluntarily. The converted Muslims of Pāhārsar, Saidpur, Helak and Rārā in Bharatpur are in greater number from lower order. *Desvāli* converts also belong to lower order.¹²⁴

Utility of the System

From the point of view of application caste system is undoubtedly inhuman and unjust. Caste divisions have prevented the development of homogeneity among the Hindus. But on the consideration of its fulfilling some important functions within the framework of Hindu society of mediaeval age one finds it of some importance. Viewing its benefit for the individual it prescribed certain norms which served the purpose of guiding him in determining moral and social conduct. Moreover, under the protection of the four walls of caste organization, normally, security of employment, marriage and help in time of need were provided. For the persons of specific occupation caste provided training and guidance from the very beginning spontaneously, resulting in acquisition of proficiency of high order which otherwise would have cost money and time to obtain that efficiency.

The tendency of caste towards horizontal mobility which could not be checked, afforded opportunities for outlet of surplus energies of individuals. Moreover, the socio-religious basis of caste system bestowed moral strength to the members to adhere to it, with the result that repeated convulsions, experienced on the occasion of external invasions or conversions, were borne with fortitude and calmness of exceptional kind.

¹²⁴ Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 79-91.

The very justification of the system is discernible in the fact that the tribal castes as well as Muslims of Rājasthān were no less affected by it.

As the entire structure of caste system is based on *karma* theory it consoled inferior castes to remain satisfied with their lot and to engage themselves in pursuit of useful activities for better prospects in future.

In view of the functions the caste system performed, it behoved persons of that age not to root out the system rather than reform it by purging the evils of untouchability, hatred, class rivalries, forces of disunion and exploitation with which it had always been suffering.

The Joint Family

In the study of social life of Rājasthān family had been the standard unit, as today, in some form or other at almost all levels of cultural development. In course of time it had developed into normal type of unit what we commonly call as the joint family. The usual form of familial grouping consisted of the father as the head of the family living with the wife or wives, sons, daughters, aged parents, grandchildren, brothers, uncles, cousins and nephews under the same roof.¹ The common pattern that had been observed in regard to family of the Hindus were extended and patriarchal types. Endogamous form was confined to Muslims.

The family in Rājasthān, as elsewhere in our country, had a special economic significance. That is to say, in the villages the family jointly owned the herds and flocks, land and house. As regards its broad features it held immovable property, specially land, in common, through which maintenance was extended to all the male and female members living in the family. After the death of the father the sons owned common inheritance, at least the paternal fields and wells in their possession. The very language of grants for such lands denotes the right over the land belonging jointly to the donees and their sons and grandsons.² At the end of such grants the donors mentioned a couplet³ which means, whoever would deprive the family of the right of possession of the land donated would become a filth-worm for years together. Cases of separate shares, being allotted to the fathers and sons in land grants, are rather

¹ *Rānakpur Inscription*, V.S. 1647 (1590 A.D.); *Jaina Inscriptions*, Part-I, No. 714; *Pali Inscription*, V.S. 1686 (1629 A.D.); *Jaina Inscriptions*, Part-I, No. 827.

² The commonly quoted line is, "Betā, potā, parpotā khayājāsī".

³ It runs as, "Swadattam pardattam vā yo haranti vasundharā Shasti Varsha Sahastrā ṇi Vistāyām jāyate krami."

rare. Various families of agriculturists of the period under review improved their financial status by working hard as a team.

This consciousness of mutual interest and obligations had been observed in the families living in towns where they jointly owed and worked in craft, or trade or business. The greatest worth of family tradition was that it developed the feeling of co-operation and consciousness of mutual responsibility. Prosperity of several traders and money-lenders referred to in the previous chapter, was built due to a concerted effort on the part of the whole family for it. This kind of family organization, bound by certain principles imparted solidarity to the family system and gave in a measure social security to its members.

However, instances are not lacking when this system suffered a setback when a member attempted to break ties of extended family for favour of individual establishment. Domestic quarrels and dissensions were responsible for separation, as several judicial cases of the 19th century reveal. Isar versus Ummaidmal (Pāli), Kanirāma versus Ajā (Belhumi), Jāni versus Bālā (Rohat) are cāses in point.⁴

The family system had a strong bound of religious sanction attached to it which kept it surviving for a longer period. Normally, it was difficult for an individual to get rid of it. Even in the cases of separation reliance on the authority and advice of elders remained a characteristic trait of the disjointed members, which is evident from the fact that family rituals, rites, marriages and mournings necessitated, as it is now, the presence of all the branches of family at one main family centre. In one of the records⁵ of V.S. 1677 (1620 A.D.), we find Khetsi of Mertā, installing an image of Shāntināth for the spiritual welfare of his mother, invited his sisters, brothers and uncles who were living at different places. The whole ceremony was conducted as a joint effort.

From our records we learn that families have been centres of merriments which made the collective life of society colourful and enthusiastic. Dungarsi family of Toda,⁶ Goverdhandās Agarwāl family of Hindon,⁷ Bhimji family of Sagwadā,⁸ Shāh Kumarji of Māndal,⁹ etc., initiated several

⁴ File *Mutallikā Adalti Fensle*, 3/7/ Jd, V.S. 1902 (1845 A.D.)

⁵ *Medtā Inscription*, V.S. 1677 (1620 A.D.) ; *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 750, p. 180.

⁶ *Jambucharitra*, V.S. 1601 (1544 A.D.), f. 114, *Āmber Bhandāra* No. 542.

⁷ *Bhattārakpattāvali*, V.S. 1733 (1676 A.D.), f. 25.

⁸ *Gulkā*, V.S. 1749 (1692 A.D.), f. 14, *Āmber Bhandāra*, No. 1522.

⁹ *Bhattārakpattāvali*, V.S. 1750 (1693 A.D.), f. 54, *Āmber Bhandāra*.

functions of importance and added life to the society of the 16th and 17th centuries.

But to give a fairly accurate view of Hindu family we should not lose sight of the fact that too much attachment to family discouraged the spirit of enterprise and initiative in young men for progress. It sometimes, according to several stories of bankruptcy and insolvency preserved in the *Vātsangraha*,¹⁰ led to nepotism, brought various abuses and tended to grow unmanageable. Traditionalism and aversion to changes incorporated with family life proved retrogressive to progressivism. In onward march towards modernism, Rajasthān still lacked at the end of the 18th century.

Family and the Socio-religious Life

The most conspicuous features of family life were the major events connected with the growth in the life of a person, such as birth, marriage and death, together with customs associated with them. These events and customs were observed in all sections of the Hindus, of course in the practices of minor details of the rituals and rites they were not identical. The status of a family was judged on the basis of the fulfilment of these rituals of the life cycle. They occupy a significant position in the socio-religious life of the Hindus.

Samskaras

A Hindu has to pass through certain ceremonials from birth to death and these are termed *samskāras*. As a matter of fact, the *samskāras* begin from the time of one's conception in his or her mother's womb and last till after death. They were sixteen in number, and reference to some is found in contemporary evidence. In respectable families the *simantonayana*¹¹ or the ceremony to ensure the safety of the child in the womb was performed by offering *ghee* to the fire and by observing local rites. In the *jātkarmasamskāra*,¹² or the birth-ceremony, the child was fed with a spoonful of a mixture of honey and *ghee*. In honour of the birth of the child great rejoicings were observed which included songs and distribution of coconuts and other articles. Well-to-do persons offered cows to

¹⁰ *Vātsangraha*, ff. 703, 708, 725, etc.

¹¹ *Dastri Records* of the 4th of the dark-half of *Māgha*, V.S. 1840 (21st Feb., 1783 A.D.)

¹² *Bhāgavata Dashmaskandha* (illustrated) of V.S. 1667, f. 39; *Jātkaramapaddhati* of V.S. 1739, f. 40; *Ajitcharitra*, Canto 5, v. 14, f. 41; *Dastur Komwār* (JA), Vol. XV, f. 37.

the Brāhmaṇs on such occasions. At the *nāmkaṛaṇa samskāra*¹³ which was performed either on the 10th day or the 40th day of the birth of the child, a name was chosen for the child and a horoscope, containing an account of good and evil stars, was prepared. At the *annapraśanasamskāra*¹⁴ or first feeding ceremony, held usually in the sixth month, the child was given *khīr* or rice cooked with milk and sugar, to the accompaniment of the Vedic verses and oblations of *ghee* poured into the fire. In the third year, the male child's tonsure or the *chudākarma*¹⁵ ceremony was observed. It was then that amidst pious rites the child's scalp was shaved, and only a topknot was retained. Another *samskāra* was the *vidyadhyaṇa*,¹⁶ when the child at the age of 4 or 5 was first taught to learn the alphabets. It may be observed that many of these ceremonies were rarely practised in their prescribed form by the lower classes. Of course, they were observed by women singing songs suitable for the occasion. But in the case of girls it was not incumbent on the higher classes to perform these ceremonies with care and attention.

The Brāhmaṇs, the Kṣatriyās and the Vaiśyas observed *upanayana*,¹⁷ the rite of initiation. At this ceremony the boy was to be clad in the garments of an ascetic. He was to be given a staff in his hand. A sacred-thread (*rajnopavita*) was to be hung over his left shoulder and under his right arm, and he was expected to wear it always from that day forward. At the time of the performance of the ceremony *Gāyatri mantra*, the most famous verse from the hymns of the Rig Veda, addressed to the old solar god 'Savitur', was whispered into the ear of the boy. It seems that the initiation ceremony was confined to the Brāhmaṇs, who maintain it to the present day, while others 'twice born' ceased to perform it in its full form. In royal Kṣatriya families it was performed in a formal manner on the occasion of marriage.

Marriage

Marriage in mediaeval Rājasthān was the most important sacred *samskāra*. It had to be observed by every member of the family, caste or creed, except those who voluntarily took up the vow of celibacy. In fact it remained a matter of religious and social obligation. As it is a debt which, according to Hindu *Śāstras*, all owe, there is no scope for courtship or pleasure. It is morally binding on all youths.

¹³ *Rājārasālu-ri-vāt*, v. 40, f. 62; *Rājāvilāsa*, Canto II, vv. 152-156; *Khedamulatanka*, f. 36b.

¹⁴ *Haqīqat Bahi*, V.S. 1840 (1783 A.D.)

¹⁵ *Mahmāni Bahi*, V.S. 1838 (1781 A.D.), (KA).

¹⁶ *Dastri Records*, V.S. 1840 (1783 A.D.), (JA); *Toji Records*, V.S. 1850 (1793 A.D.), (JA).

¹⁷ *Upanayanapaddhatti*, V.S. 1760 (1703 A.D.), ff. 40-80.

The normal type of marriage was the one arranged by parents usually within the same caste.¹⁸ There was no fixed age for marriage. It varied from 8 to 21 years. Mārvari was one and a half years of age and Dholā three when they were married.¹⁹ In the *Chand-Kunwar-ri-vārtā*²⁰ there is a reference to a trader who married when his beloved was nine years of age. Mālti, the bride was 18 and Madhu, the bridegroom, was about 20 or 22 when they were married.²¹ Kunwar Jagat Singh of Udaipur was 12 years of age when he was married to the Princess of Jaisalmer in V.S. 1676 (1619 A.D.)²²

From the contemporary records of our period we learn that before the marriage was solemnised various preliminary ceremonies were observed. For preliminary settlement²³ usually Bhāts and Bhātnis or Chārāns and Chārānis—a class of match-makers and family chroniclers, were deputed by aristocrats to find out whether the couples were likely to be suitable and well-matched. On satisfactory report the astrologers studied omens and compared the horoscopes of parties concerned. In case the horoscopes tallied, *tikā* or betrothal presents were sent to bridegroom's house through a party, deputed by the bride's father in token of the final settlement of the match.²⁴ The standard of the *tikā*-presents varied according to the means and status of persons. From a *Havāla Bahi*²⁵ (1854 A.D.), we learn that the betrothal presents from Śivadās Sādhu of village Rāyalā of Mārwar to Hemdās Sādhu (bride's father) consisted of one maund of millet, a necklace worth Rs. 10/- and anklets and bracelets worth Rs. 2/- and Rs. 8/- in cash.

But the *tikā*-presents from Mādho Singh to Kunwar Tej Singh of Jodhpur in V.S. 1833 (1776 A.D.), and those from Kunwar Sher Singh of Jodhpur to Mahārāṇā of Udaipur in V.S. 1840 (1783 A.D.) were of great value, consisting of 2 coconuts, each covered either with silver or

¹⁸ *Rājāvilāsa*, vv. 30-46.

¹⁹ *Dholā-Māru-ri-vāt*, f. 7b.

²⁰ *Chānd-Kunwar-ri-vārtā*, f. 56a.

²¹ *Madhu Mālti*, v. 78, f. 33b.

²² *Rājaprasasti*, vv. 2-4.

²³ *Achaldāskhichi-Umādevdi-ri-vāt*, ff. 43-48 ; *Bijā Sorath-ri-vāt*, ff. 27-28.

²⁴ *Guṇabhāshā*, ff. 5-8 ; *Portfolio file* No. 8, a letter of the year V.S. 1768 (1711 A.D.) ; *Dastri Records* of the 7th of the dark-half of Māgha. V.S. 1833, (11th Feb., 1776 A.D.)

²⁵ *Havāla Bahi*, V.S. 1911 (1854 A.D.), f. 55 ; my article 'Rājasthān Political and Social, etc.', *Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Dec., 1960, pp. 93-104.

gold sheets, 10 betel-nuts similarly covered with silver or gold sheets, 200 more coconuts, 5 *seers* of *gur*, 5 *seers* of betel-nuts, 5 *seers* of date-palm, 5 *seers* of sugar, 4 *seers* of pistachio, 8 *seers* of almond, 9 *seers* of lāc and some betel-leaves. Besides there were 21 pearls in place of rice to be implanted on the forehead over the *tilaka* or the mark of vermilion. For bridegroom and his relations, there were 63 suits of turbans of gold thread, *dhotis*, *bālābandis*, *goshpechs*, and pieces of cloths of various designs, jewelled ornaments, 15 horses with velvet and jewelled trappings and one thousand rupees in cash.²⁶

The bridegroom (Tej Singh) was then seated on a pedestal and *tilaka* was performed, the *purohit* (priest) putting the vermilion mark with pearls on his forehead. The coconuts and betel-nuts were offered to him and other articles were displayed as presents. These articles then were taken to the bridegroom's father for final presentation. The man in-charge of *tilaka* party was given a send-off with handsome presents, say Rs. 100/- in cash and some baskets full of sweets. After the *tilaka* the date of marriage was fixed and the wedding was performed exactly in the same manner as it is done nowadays.²⁷

Besides the orthodox practice detailed above, marriage by abduction was also in vogue. The *Ekalinga Inscription*²⁸ says that after defeating his royal enemies on the battlefield Rānā Kumbhā received their daughters in marriage, some came to him themselves, while others were presented to him by their guardians. There are instances of princesses marrying men of their choice. Chārumati, the daughter of the ruler of Kishangarh, invited Mahārāṇā Rāj Singh, who married her and carried

²⁶ *Rājarpaka*, f. 43 ; *Dastri Records, Bahi* of the 7th of the dark-half of *Māgha*, V. S. 1833 (11th Feb., 1776 A. D.) ; *Protfolio File No. 6*, V. S. 1858 (1801 A. D.)

²⁷ *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. 1, V.S. 1833 ; *Dastri Records*, V.S. 1833 ; *Dastri Records* of the 7th of the dark-half of *Māgha*, V.S. 1833 (11th Feb., 1776 A.D.) refer to *tilaka ceremony* ; *Bānkidās Khyāta*, II, f. 285 and *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. II, pp. 35-70 refer to dowry ; *Vatsangraha*; f. 407 refers to the worship of *Ganesha* and *Jawārā* ; *Bijā Sorath-vārtā*, f. 28b refers to various presents ; *Chand Kunwar ri-vārtā*, f. 61, and *Rājā Risālu-ri-vārtā*, ff. 63 and 76 refer to other rites *Dhota Māru-ri-vāt*, referred to *Mangalghat* ; *Achaldās-Khichi-ri-vāt*, refers to the rite of looking at the face of the bride by the bridegroom ; *Rājarpaka*, f. 45a refers to the *mandap* or *pavilion* ; *Guṇabhāsha*, f. 12b refers to several rites observed at the *mandap* ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 3, V.S. 1815 refers to the rite of *tuntiyā-ri-rāta*, a mock procession of the bride and bridegroom at the dead of night.

²⁸ *Ekalinga Ins.*, V.S. 1545; *Bhāvanagar Ins.*, IX.

her off to his capital.²⁹ Thus she avoided the disgrace of joining Aurangzeb's harem. In the *Phutkar-vātā*³⁰ there is the reference to a marriage in the forest by the consent of the parties which was solemnised later on in the presence of a local deity.

Those days also marriages were expensive on account of the dowry and *neg* system, and were a burden on the parents. Consequently, the birth of a female child was taken as an undesirable event. From the *Vātsangraha*³¹ it appears that for this reason one Narpāla poisoned a female child. We are told by Bānkidās³² that Mahārājā Ratan Singh convened a meeting of his chief nobles at Gaya in V.S. 1893 (1836 A.D.) and asked them on a solemn oath not to kill their female children. Yet the facts show that the inhuman practice was resorted to with great readiness wherever it seemed economically advantageous. Similarly the *neg* or money levied at the time of marriage by chārans was another very heavy burden to bride's father and family. From the proceedings of the *Rājput-hikāriṇi-Sabhā*,³³ preserved in the Ajmer Archives, it is clear that the *neg* was so taxing that it had become a problem to Rājputs of all categories.

Inter-caste Marriages

Inter-caste marriages were not altogether unknown during our period. According to an *Ātṭur Inscription*³⁴ of V.S. 1034 (977 A.D.), Shaktikumāra of Guhil dynasty married a Huna girl named Hariyādevi. Sadevtsa-Sānwal Gori was a daughter of Vaiśya and her marriage with a Rājput was solemnised with due ceremonies.³⁵ The *Vātsangraha*³⁶ mentions the marriage of a Rāja with the daughter of a printer. Chāchā and Merā, the sons of Mahārāṇā Mokal were born of a lady of carpenter caste.³⁷ According to the *Khedamulatanka*³⁸ a chief of Bhinmāl married a Brāhmaṇ girl, and

²⁹ *Rājaprasasti*, Canto 8, vv. 22-30; *Rājavilasa*, Canto 7; *Rāwal Rānāji-ri-vaṭ*, f. 3a; *Sisod-Vamshāvali*, ff. 31-32; G. N. Sharma: *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, pp. 159-160.

³⁰ *Phutkar-vātā* (ALB), ff. 118 and 126.

³¹ *Vātsangraha*, f. 283.

³² Bānkidās *Khyāta*, II, f. 361.

³³ File No. 1494 of 1889 A.D. No. Z (11), Archives, Ajmer.

³⁴ *Ātṭur Inscription* of the 1st of the bright-half of V.S. 1034 (977 A.D.), 1. 8, IE, vol. 39, p. 191.

³⁵ *Sānwal Gori-Vāt*, f. 5a.

³⁶ *Vātsangraha*, ff. 45a and 51a.

³⁷ Naiṇsi's *Khyāta*, f. 5a.

³⁸ *Khedamulatanka*, f. 35b.



the ceremony was solemnised later by religious rites. In royal harem of the Rājput Rājās there were several hundred ladies who belonged to various communities.³⁹ However, these ladies were not recognised as queens, but were known as *khavāsans* and *pardāyatans* or the kept-wives. They were, of course, given proper status in the harem.

Let us now say a word on the social and psychological forces which could have induced inter-caste marriages. The rulers and aristocrats sometimes married women of lower order or caste for personal reasons, as falling in love with them or winning a particular class which wielded a greater deal of political and military influence. It is important to note that dowry system and compulsory widowhood must have been mainly responsible for inter-caste marriages. The difficulty in getting suitable mates may also have been at the root of such marriages. The tendency among minor sub-castes to amalgamate themselves into independent caste-groups also seems to be another reason. The members of such independent castes are still termed in Rājasthān as *pānchadās* (mixed breed). But it is certain that the inter-caste marriages of the period under review never fostered an idea to break the caste system or to affect the unity in the Hindu community or make the society more self-conscious and united. Therefore, the choice towards inter-caste marriage was essentially impulsive or imperative in character. In brief, it was based more on economic or emotional factors than on principle.

Inter-religious Marriages

The Mughal contact with Rājasthān was responsible for the marriage of Rājput princesses with Mughal kings and their sons. There had been marriages before between the Hindus and Muslims but the practice of willing inter-marriage began from the time of Akbar and continued up to the reign of Farrukh-siyar (1713-1719) was of vital importance. The marriage of Rājā Bhārmal's daughter was an important marriage of its kind which opened a new era of policy of conciliation.⁴⁰ This was followed by the marriages of other Rājput princesses, such as those of Jaisalmer, Bikāner, Kotāh, etc., with the Mughal emperors and their sons.⁴¹ Jahāngir had married Princess Mān Bāi of Āmber in 1585.⁴² In 1586, he

³⁹ Mahārājā Vijaya Singh of Jodhpur (1752-1793 A.D.) had a kept-wife named Gulāb Rāi, *vide* Reu's *Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, I, pp. 390-391.

⁴⁰ *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 110 (P.T.), E. and D., VII, p. 254 ; *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 81.

⁴¹ *Akbar-nāma* (A.H. Beveridge), II, p. 242 ; *Nizāmuddin*, E. and D., Vol. V, pp. 273-274 ; *Maāsir-ul-Umārā*, II, p. 113 ; *The Cambridge History of India*, pp. 81 and 102.

⁴² *Akbar-nāma* (A.H. Beveridge), III, pp. 677-678 ; *Nizamuddin*, E. and D., V, p. 447 ; Badauni (Lowe), II, p. 352 ; Muhammad Hādī, p. 6 ; *Maāsir-ul-Umārā* (Beveridge), I, p. 404.

married Jodhā Bai or Jagat Gosain,⁴³ daughter of Udai Singh, the Motā Rājā and the daughter of Rāi Singh of Bikāner.⁴⁴ After his accession, he married the daughter of Jagat Singh, the eldest son of Rājā Mān Singh.⁴⁵ He also married the daughter of Rāwal-Bhim of Jaisalmer and called her by the title of Malikā Jahān.⁴⁶ Ajit Singh,⁴⁷ the ruler of Mārwar gave his own daughter Bāi Indra Kunwar to Farrukh-siyar and thus a chain of relationship was established between the rulers of Rājasthān and the Mughals.

There is no secret about this fact that these marriages were the outcome of political pressure on one hand and the policy of expediency on the part of Rājput Rājās on the other. Whatever may be the motive, it enhanced the position of the rulers of Rājasthān at the Mughal court and they became the custodians of the Mughal interest in India for generations. They became active participants in Mughal politics and military exploits through which they profited themselves and also served the interest of the Mughal empire. Several articles of *Silekhānā* of Jaipur, and paintings of the *Pothikhānā* of Jaipur and the *Pustak Prakāsh* of Jodhpur bear testimony to the fact that both the Rājputs and the Mughals were mutually benefited by such contacts. The marriages, in brief, made a deep impression upon the life and culture of the Mughals and the Rājputs. Of course, it was also responsible for the moral degradation of the princes in Rājasthān in the long run.

But it must be noted that inter-religious marriage was in itself a deviation from the tradition. When we come to the question of the reaction towards it, we find that the opposition from the contemporary poets and writers, who formed an important part of the enlightened community of Rājasthān, was effective. In the words of Prithvirāja of Bikāner there echoes a feeling of repugnance towards such a union. He says, "In the bāzār of this world, shameless women and honourless men abound, with Akbar as the customer. What would Pratap do in such a company? Other Rājputs sold themselves into slavery, but mindful of his ancestors' honour Pratap has kept his flag flying." We are here not much concerned with the credence of this story; what we intend is to reproduce the feelings of aversion against inter-religious marriage preserved in Rājput tradition. Similarly, several *Khayāta* writers of the 18th

⁴³ *Tuzuk*, R. & B., I., p. 19.

⁴⁴ *Akbar-nāma*, (A.H. Beveridge), III, p. 749; Badauni (Lowe), II, p. 304; Tod, II, p. 145.

⁴⁵ *Tuzuk*, R. & B., I, pp. 144-145.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁴⁷ *Siyār-ul-Mutāakhhirin*, Vol. I, pp. 75-77; *Munawwar-Kalām*, f. 4b; Jodhpur *Khayāta*, II, p. 165.

century have narrated in the same tone the interview of Rājā Mān Singh and Pratāp at Udaisāgar, in order to show a common dislike towards inter-religious marriages.

Polygamy

The account of marriage would be incomplete without a reference to polygamy. Although *Dharmasutra*,⁴⁸ *Smṛati*,⁴⁹ and *Arthaśāstrā*⁵⁰ discourage polygamy, our period had ample evidence of the fact that the kings courtiers, *sūdras* and members of wealthier class were polygamous ; and polygamy became common in our society. But it is difficult to say how it came into existence. It might have been to some extent due to the fashion of the age. It seems probable that due to frequent warfare men took to a life of sensual pleasure and one form of it was to have the multiplicity of wives. Secondly, it seems that in India birth of a son was taken as an essential fulfilment of marriage and in case of the first wife being barren, choice of a second one was not looked down upon in the society. Inclusion of a larger number of wives in the harem was a privilege of aristocracy, the prerogative of chiefs and rich men and a fashion of the age. The death or disappearance of a husband allowed lower order to marry again. The practice, termed as *niyoga* or levirate, also encouraged polygamy.

These facts can be substantiated from inscriptional as well as literary evidences. The *Ābu Inscription*⁵¹ of V.S. 1515 (1458 A.D.) mentions Sajjan and Rohini as wives of Sārā. The *Āmber Inscription*⁵² of V.S. 1531 (1474 A.D.) records that Māmal a Vaiśya had two wives namely, Somā and Udi. Lāli and Ardhi have been mentioned as co-wives in Jodhpur Inscription⁵³ of V.S. 1565 (1508 A.D.) All Rājput princes of our period had nine wives on an average. Mahārānā Pratāp (1540-1579 A.D.) had 11 wives,⁵⁴ Rāi Singh⁵⁵ (1594-1612 A.D.) of Bikāner had six and Abhaya Singh⁵⁶ 1724-1749 A.D.) of Jodhpur had twelve. The chief consort was termed as *patrāṇi*,⁵⁷ who had the privilege of being the mother of the heir-apparent,

⁴⁸ *Āpasthambha*, II, 5; Quoted from Basham, p. 173 (ed. 1954).

⁴⁹ *Nārada*, I, 190, Quoted from Basham, p. 173 (ed. 1954).

⁵⁰ *Arthaśāstra*, III, 2, Quoted from Basham p. 173 (ed. 1954).

⁵¹ *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 2022.

⁵² *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, p. 37.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, II, No. 597.

⁵⁴ *Ojhā* : R.I., Vol. I, p. 469.

⁵⁵ *Ojhā* : Bk. R.I., Vol. I, pp. 196-197.

⁵⁶ *Ojhā* : J.R.I., Vol. II, p. 670.

⁵⁷ *Rājā-Risālu-ri-vāt*, f. 62.

and the chief mistress of the house. Ordinarily the first wife was called senior or *vadi* and the second one as junior or *lodi*.⁵⁸

However, polygamous marriages were sometimes not very happy. Psychologically it was not possible for one husband to treat all his wives alike and similarly it was natural for all the wives to have mutual bitterness. Multiplicity of co-wives was responsible for intrigues, and poisoning of husbands or sons. One of the panels at Rājsamudra carving⁵⁹ and a contemporary painting⁶⁰ depict scenes of unhappiness and misery in polygamous houses. It was only in rare cases that this institution did not produce unhappiness. The *Satrunjaya Inscription*⁶¹ of V.S. 1587 (1530 A.D.) records that Panā's two wives were devoted to their husband, and were charitable, good-natured and virtuous. Similarly, *Paschimādri-strotram*⁶² says in a light vein that two wives are a source of love and joy to the heart.

Widowhood

Though marriage has all its attraction, the fate of the woman who loses her husband is pathetic. According to the contemporary literature⁶³ nowhere was a second husband permitted to a respectable woman. A widow, it appears, had no right to the share of her husband. The property of her deceased husband was looked after by the next senior male member of the family, uncle or son. Her claim in practice was only to her maintenance. In case she had no son or no other male member having rightful claim to the property, she had the right, as revealed from a document,⁶⁴ to mortgage her property and perform the *kriyā* (death-feast) of her husband. In order to keep the continuity of a family, in case of absence of any direct descendants, she had a right to adopt some other near relative or a daughter's son (*duhitra*).⁶⁵

A Hindu widow's life-long dependence on the male members, and her subordinate position under young wives, naturally subjected her to a

⁵⁸ *Jain Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 230-231.

⁵⁹ G.N. Sharma : *An Interpretation of Carving of Rajsamudra*, J.R.U.U.P., Vol. V, 1958, pp. 19-25.

⁶⁰ *Panchtantra* (illustrated), 'Two wives quarrelling', ff. 33, 44.

⁶¹ *Śatrunjaya Inscription*, V.S. 1587 (1530 A.D.), v. 16, *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, X ; *Jain Inscriptions*, III, pp. 35-40.

⁶² *Paschimādri-strotram*, v. 29, f. 25.

⁶³ *Sraavaka-vratādi-atichāra*, p. 63, (V.S. 1466/1409 A.D.)

⁶⁴ A document of the 8th of the dark-half of *Kārtika*, V.S. 1788 (11th Nov., 1731 A.D.), No. 26/17, *Jāgir*, 1955. (ODRU).

⁶⁵ A document of the 15th of the bright-half of *Pausha*, V.S. 1888, Collector's Office, Sirohi, Appendix X.

hard lot. All evidence^{65A} shows that life for her was drudgery. She would have to remain content with worn out and discarded clothes, sleep on ground and eat only as much food as was necessary for bare subsistence of life. She had to spend her whole life in devotion and observance of religious rites in the hope of reuniting with her husband in the next life. From a contemporary painting⁶⁶ it appears that she had to use coarse, black or dark brownish clothes, shave her head and wear no ornaments.

Moreover a widow's life had been miserable in the extreme when she was denied to attend either family or public festivals lest her presence should bring bad luck to those who were participating in such functions. Her presence was also regarded inauspicious, if by chance she crossed the way of one who was going out for some business.⁶⁷

Really it is a matter of great relief that some serious attempt was made to ameliorate the abject condition of a widow in mediaval Rājasthān. The writer of the *Ekalinga praśasti*⁶⁸ informs us that Mahārānā Rāimāl made it a rule that the property of a widow should not be confiscated. Similarly the Mahārā ā of Jaipur instructed a *parganāh* officer of Hindāon in 1711 A.D., that an allowance of Rs. 8 per month be paid to the widow of Lāl Behāri from the income of the Kotwāli of the *Tehsil*.⁶⁹ The Kotāh and Jodhpur records furnish a list of widows who were receiving regular aids from the State in the 18th century.⁷⁰ Rājā Jai Singh II tried to introduce widow remarriage in his State. But his attempt in this direction failed to achieve any result due to his mother's opposition to it.⁷¹

Divorce

The natural outcome of the polygamous and monogamic marriage was divorce as and when there was mal-adjustment, mutual antipathy,

^{65A} Jinasena : *Mahāpurāṇa*, Parva 26, verse 32, 9th century A.D. (AB); Ratnamandirgaṇi : *Upadesātaraṅgiṇi*, Canto, *Dānphalopadeśha*, v. 79, p. 33, Benares, Vir Samvat, 2437.

⁶⁶ *Khajanchi Collection* : A painting of the royal household with a widow as a maid-servant (18th century).

⁶⁷ *Kārtiviryastavarāja*, f. 10.

⁶⁸ *Ekalinga-praśasti*, v. 83.

⁶⁹ A letter dated 5th, of the dark-half of *Māgha*, V.S. 1768 (1711 A.D.) from the Mahārājā to an officer of *Parganāh* Hindāon, P.C. No.478.

⁷⁰ *Bhandāra*, No. 1, *Bastā* No. 63, *Nathi* No. 3, V.S. 1838 (1781 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 70, *Nathi* No. 12, V.S. 1853 (1796 A.D.) ; *Hath-Bahi*, No. 2, V.S. 1875, f. 103.

⁷¹ *Indian Social Reform*, p. 290, quoted by Dr. Datta in his *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the 18th Century*, p. 36, (ed. Calcutta, 1961).

mental and physical disparity between the couple, wilful desertion, conviction of infamous crime, habitual drunkenness, impotency and insanity. The orthodox view contained in *Dharmapravatti*,⁷² a compilation based on ancient sacred literature, on the ground that marriage was indissoluble and could not be annulled, did not allow divorce for any purpose whatsoever to the Brāhmaṇs, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. It was permitted in the lower order of society, if there were any ground for the same.

A copy of a document⁷³ preserved in an old manuscript of V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.) throws sufficient light upon this practice. It says that a mother made over her divorced daughter to one Nāthā of village Gosle in Bikāner. She held herself responsible for any claim that her daughter's former father-in-law might choose to make in future. The document was signed by Nāthā and the mother as well as other important villagers. Another case is of Nāthu of Kishorpurā who accepted a wife by *nātā*. In Kotāh divorce was permitted among many lower castes as revealed from the records of the 18th century.⁷⁴ In all these cases divorce was permitted when the property which the wives had brought along with the marriage was restored and the tax was paid to the States.

Whatever may have been the implications of divorce from religious point of view, it needs examination on rational ground. The idea of indissolubility of marriage in higher classes had certainly fostered the growth of adultery during the period of our study. In a single month of the year 1804 V.S., more than a dozen cases of adulterous intercourse among higher classes were recorded at Kotāh. We select a few⁷⁵ by way of illustrations. One Kesri (Brāhmaṇ lady) was found involved in a sexual intercourse with Dolā of the same caste. In another case, one Bābā Pokhardās and a lady Rupā (Rājput) were charged with illegal connection. Similar was the case of Moti (Vaiśya) and Devā carpenter. These cases of adultery were viewed with extreme disfavour, specially in the castes which did not recognise divorce. As a result the defaulters had to undergo certain social and legal penalties. If there had been some genuine reason for resorting to such sinful action disallowed by custom the defaulters' fate deserves sympathetic consideration.

⁷² *Dharmapravatti*, V.S. 1732 (1675 A.D.), vv. 21-44.

⁷³ The copy of a document of the 10th of the bright-half of *Āṣādhā*, V.S. 1774 (7th July, 1717 A.D.) preserved in the *Gutkā* No. 7, f. 41 (ALB).

⁷⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 16, *Bastā* Nos. 1-23, V.S. 1789 (1732 A.D.); *Bhandāra* No. 15, *Bastā* No. 2, V.S. 1804 (1747 A.D.)

⁷⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 26, *Bastā* No. 2, V.S. 1804 (1747 A.D.), File *Kotwāli Chabutrā* (KA).

Similarly, one divorced wife of Dharmā Māli at Nāgor left her children uncared for, who were later on listed as 'abandoned souls'. This was due to sheer cruelty and an overwhelming passion on the part of Dharmā's divorced wife.⁷⁶

The only way out of these confusions was that on some sound grounds divorce should have been made desirable, irrespective of class or creed.

Dr. Rādhākrishnan's view in this respect deserves quoting—"The marriage relation should be regarded normally as permanent. Divorce should be resorted to only in extreme cases of hardship, where married life is absolutely impossible. It is a drastic remedy which uproots one's whole life, and involves other lives as well. We expose children to a divided life and loyalty. In the interests of the children, the marriage tie must be regarded as permanent. Even when a marriage is childless, divorce is not to be freely granted. Marriage is not a mere contract; it is a part of the life of the soul. Risk and hardship are part of human life, and we must be prepared to face both. Divorces are much easier for men to bear than for women, for a man can throw himself into his work, and forget to a certain extent the disruption of his domestic life. For a woman it is loneliness."^{76A}

Prostitution

Prostitution existed side by side with polygamy and widowhood. One comes across evidence of prostitution in the early literature⁷⁷ which reveals that the prostitutes acted as singers and dancers in functions of secular and religious character. But the typical prostitute of mediaeval literature⁷⁸ was a beautiful and rich lady accomplished not only in music and dance but also in other arts such as poetry, acting, dressing, conjuring, sorcery, bewitchery and spying. Some of them mixed on equal terms with princes. In the panels of Vijayasthambha (Chitor), Rājasamudra dam and Rishabhadeva temple (Dhulev) poses and actions of prostitutes depict arts most suited to their profession. Several contemporary paintings⁷⁹ show that they were expert in teaching parrots.

⁷⁶ *Bahi Nāgor*, V.S. 1817 (1760 A.D.) (DR. Nāgor).

^{76A} Dr. S. Rādhākrishnan : *Religion and Society*, (London 1948), pp. 183-184.

⁷⁷ *Vrihadgurvāvali*, V.S. 1222 (1165 A.D.), p. 21.

⁷⁸ *Śravaka-vratādi-atichāra*, V.S. 1466 (1409 A.D.), p. 63; *Namaskāra Bālbodha* by Hema Hansagaṇi, V.S. 1500 (1443 A.D.), p. 166; *Chandraprabhacharitra*, f. 59 of Sawāi Pratap Singh's time, *Amber Bhandāra*.

⁷⁹ A painting of 'a parrot and prostitute', *Wall Paintings*, Jhālā Zalim Singh's Mansion, Kotāh, (18th century); A painting of 'a parrot and prostitute', *Khajanchi Collection*, Bikāner (18th century), No. 54.

In the *Sadevatsa-Sānwali-Gori-Vāt*⁸⁰ we catch a glimpse of a wealthy prostitute named Champakali, who is described as beautifully decked in ornaments and anointed with scents and perfumes in her palatial building, with all possible attractions. It says that prince Sadevatsa visited her residence with one thousand gold pieces to make use of secret intelligence collected by her.

The literature⁸¹ of the later Middle Ages, as *Bikāner Gazal* and *Jaisalmer Gazal* fully bears out the facts mentioned above. According to it the prostitutes of Bikāner and Jaisalmer lived in the best streets that were specially made for them. These streets had well-planned rows of houses and shops which were beautifully decorated with flowers and paintings. In front of the houses congregated young men of doubtful character used to pay visits to the public women. Some such women were immensely rich; one Gyāni was reputed to have laid out a garden near Kotāh and spent Rs. 500 over it.⁸²

The States of Rājasthān had a regular staff of prostitutes who were paid monthly salaries and were provided with seasonal rations, and rewards on festive occasions. The only duty assigned to them was to sing and dance in the court or in front of royal processions. The Jaipur records⁸³ of the 18th century preserve a large number of names of such prostitutes who were regularly paid and rewarded. One of them as we know from the *Dastur Komwār* (1806 A.D.), got money from the State in the form of an aid for the marriage of her daughter.

Sometimes courtesans of a pleasant disposition—beautiful, attractive, and who had mastered the arts of singing and dancing—were accepted as concubines by the princes. They even allowed them to live in palaces and pleasure gardens. Some of them were accorded a special position, and when these princes died they burnt themselves on their funeral pyres. There are references in *Ajitodaya*⁸⁴ and *Abhayavilāsa*⁸⁵ of a few concubines of this type who burnt themselves to death with the dead body of Ajit Singh of Mārwar.

⁸⁰ *Sadevatsa-Sānwali-Gori-Vāt*, f. 11b.

⁸¹ *Bikāner Gazal*, vv. 44-46; *Jaisalmer Gazal*, vv. 98-99.

⁸² *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 64, *Nathi* No. 28, V.S. 1838-39 (1781-82 A.D.)

⁸³ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 25, f. 335, V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.), ff. 937, 971, V.S. 1775 (1718 A.D.), f. 983, V.S. 1863 (1806 A.D.). Some of the names of such prostitutes are: Ānand Rāi, Uttam Rāi, Kishan Beli, Kishore Rāi, Gulab Rāi, Khumāni, Govindī, Chanchal Rāi, Jān Rāi, Diljāni, Nritya Vilāsa, etc.

⁸⁴ *Ajitodaya*, Canto 31, v. 32.

⁸⁵ *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 19a,

Prostitution, as practised at religious institutions, was very widespread in the later part of the period of our study. In some places, ordinary respectable women went to a temple and were duped in having intercourse either with a priest or a monk. The Nāths who were the religious heads of the temple of Ekalingaji were removed from their position on account of their indulging in adultery.⁸⁶ Similarly, the nuns living in the Ābu monasteries, as mentioned by the writer of the *Ābu Gazal*,⁸⁷ usually indulged in such acts of adultery. Probably, all such practices arose out of the attempt on the part of priests to bluff women to be bestowed with fertility either through gods' favour or through some supernatural intervention.

The *Devasthān records*⁸⁸ reveal that some women-dancers were also attached to the temples of *Jagannāth Rāi*, Udaipur, *Govindji*, Jaipur, and *Mathurādhish*, Kotāh to sing and dance before the idols daily or on specific religious functions, for which an yearly stipend was paid to them. These were often the children of mothers of the same profession, but they were not identical to the type of prostitutes termed *devadāsīs*.

The institution of prostitution, owing to its giving ease and release to the class of fighters who were away from homes for a long time, or to the persons who could not find complete satisfaction within the limitations of a conventional marriage, had its own justification. The prostitute had the advantage, as mentioned by the writer of the *Bikāner Gazal*,⁸⁹ that she was available at a moment's notice. Besides these services, she undoubtedly safeguarded the virtue of wives and daughters, at the cost of her prestige, which would have been otherwise impaired by persons who had no avenues or patience to woo women.

But we cannot fail to mention that the enthusiastic patronage which the prostitutes enjoyed in all the States of Rājasthān was liable to unpleasant abuses. The rulers who had scope for extra-marital relations with women within the restraints of decorum and decent limitation fall short of our estimation when they stooped down, as we saw, to the extent of assigning a position of dignity to them along with the respectful ladies of the harem. This attitude is nothing but a personal gratification. Under these circumstances, we are inclined to think that the prostitution as it

⁸⁶ Ojhā : *Udaipur-Rajya-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 33.

⁸⁷ *Ābu Gazal*.

⁸⁸ *Jagannāth Rāi Bhandāra*, *Bastā* No. 27, V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.), (D.R.U.); *Govindji-kā-Bhandāra*, *Bastā* No. 52, V.S. 1830 (1773 A.D.) (JA); *Mathuradhishji-kā-Bhandāra*, *Basta* No. 56, V.S. 1847 (1790 A.D.) (KA).

⁸⁹ *Bikāner Gazal*, vv. 71 and 74.

existed, was an undesirable kind of life endangering the health of the community, and damaging the psychological equilibrium of women and men. We propose condemnation not so much to prostitutes but to those who indulged in them.

Funeral Ceremony

In Hindu society the life of an individual consists of ceremonies from birth till death. The rite performed on the occasion of the funeral ceremony is called *antyeṣṭi*. The ideals laid down for the funeral ceremonies in the *Aśauca-Karma*,⁹⁰ based on earlier writings, are that the corpse is to be carried to the cremation ground as soon as possible after death. Before putting it on the funeral pyre, the corpse is to be washed in a river and then is to be put over the pyre with a thin sheet of cloth wrapped round the dead body. In the case of a lady, all the ornaments and gaudy dresses are to be taken off before her body is placed on the pyre. After putting it on the funeral pyre, the son, or a near relation of the dead is to go round the pyre and set fire to it. When the pyre is burnt half-way, friends and relations of the deceased, throw fagots on the burning pyre. According to a document⁹¹ the relations of the deceased attend the ceremony with fagots in their hands. Probably this custom came into vogue due to the fact that in those days there were no stalls of timber which could supply material for burning the dead body. On reciprocal basis neighbours and relations used to bring wood, as they do even now in the villages, for cremating the dead. A tax termed *Mushāna-Bhom*⁹² was collected by the sweepers after burning of the dead at the cremation ground. When all these posthumous ceremonies were completed the mourners returned home, bathing in the nearest river, tank or lake. Other contemporary writings also throw some light on this ceremony. *The Ajitodaya*⁹³ describes the funeral ceremony of Mahārājā Ajit Singh. His body was decked with fine dress, ornaments, wreaths of flowers, and carried to Mandor in a procession. The party was headed by his eldest son who was followed by other mourners. There were musicians and drummers singing devotional songs or repeating the name of Hari. Flowers and coins were also thrown over the body for poor and the needy. A pyre of sandal-wood in the form of a hut was constructed for burning the dead.

⁹⁰ *Aśauca-Karma*, ff. 175-195.

⁹¹ A document (ODRU), No. 59A of the third of the dark-half of *Māgha*, V.S. 1773 (16th Jan., 1716 A.D.)

⁹² *Popā-Bāi-ri-vārtā*, f. 85b.

⁹³ *Ajitodaya*, Canto 31, vv. 16-30.

On the third day of the cremation the *asthisanchaya* (bone-collecting) rite was conducted. A few close relatives repaired to the cremation ground and collected the bones of the deceased. This was accompanied by the uttering of sacred texts. The bones were immersed in the sacred river Ganga or any other river or in a stream near-by. Well-to-do people used to send the priest of their family to throw the bones in the Ganges. References are found in the records that grants of Jāgirs and presents were given to the local priests and to the priests at Gayā, Vārānasi and Haridwār on such occasions.⁹⁴

From the 10th to 12th day major *śrāddhās* were performed. On the eleventh day, eleven earthen pots, bearing some money were given to Brāhmaṇs. The various appurtenances like, beds, vessels, dresses and ornaments were distributed on the twelfth day to the Brāhmaṇs. The *śapindās*, or near relations, were considered impure for twelve days, till the performance of the *Vrasotsarga*, a *śrāddha* of the 12th day, released them from impurity and the deceased from the miserable ghosthood.⁹⁵

The obligatory rite common to all castes was the giving of a feast in honour of the dead. On the 11th and 12th day, the Brāhmaṇs and people of the deceased's caste were to be feasted.⁹⁶ Poor people had to borrow money because a feast on the occasion was compulsory. But all this was at a ruinous cost for the majority of the people who were already half-starved and half-naked. The consequence of such practices is reflected in a document⁹⁷ of 1750 A.D., which shows that the widow of one Dhanji mortgaged her small plot of land for Rs. 70/ to Jādavji to perform the *kāraj* (death-feast) of her husband. Rs. 62,944/- were spent on the occasion of the death-feast given in honour of the death of Mahārao Ajit Singh of Kotāh.⁹⁸ Well-to-do and royal families used to spend a lot on such occasion.^{98A}

Sati

Our description of the death ceremony is incomplete without a brief reference to *sati*. The *sati* is described as self-immolation by many

⁹⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 2, *Bastā* No. 4, V.S. 1756 (1699 A.D.) ; *Copper-plate grants* (ODRU), V.S. 1767 (1710 A.D.), 1788 (1731 A.D.), 1798 (1741 A.D.) etc.

⁹⁵ *Aśaucharatnam*, ff. 182-185.

⁹⁶ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, *File* Nos. 9, 15, 19, V.S. 1740 (1683 A. D.)

⁹⁷ *Phulpānkhadvālā Bahi*, f. 371, V.S. 1807 (1750 A.D.)

⁹⁸ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 57, V.S. 1815 (1758 A.D.)

^{98A} *Portfolio File*, Letter No. 4 of the 14th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1895 (1839 A.D.)

an early European traveller,⁹⁹ but it really means that a virtuous woman earns the name of virtuous living and devotion to her husband in life and in death. The Kherā Mandap¹⁰⁰ of Dhulev was constructed by *sati* Hari in V.S. 1431 (1374 A.D.) Many more examples can be cited where the term *sati* meant a lady of perfect fidelity to her husband. In order to convey the correct sense of the virtue the word *sati* has been derived from the word 'satyavrata', and applied to the burning of a virtuous woman with the dead body of her husband.

In earlier days the custom of *sati* was not very common.¹⁰¹ But in mediaeval times, it seems, this practice became more common, as is clear from numerous *sati*-stones and *sati*-impressions at the gateways of palaces and commoner's houses, raised in commemoration of many faithful wives and devoted husbands who either died a natural death or fell in battle-field.¹⁰² In the latter part of our period a *sati-Purāna*¹⁰³ in verse was also composed with a description of examples when the system was frowned upon in various quarters. We have numerous examples of the practice of *sati*, in which from the princesses down to the common women made an end of their lives. Many queens of the famous rulers of Rajasthan, like Mahārāṇā Pratap¹⁰⁴ and Rāj Singh¹⁰⁵ of Mewār, Māldeo¹⁰⁶ and Jaswant Singh¹⁰⁷ of Mārwar, Bikā¹⁰⁸ and Rāi Singh¹⁰⁹ of

⁹⁹ Bernier, pp. 41 and 306 ; Tavernier, p. 169.

¹⁰⁰ *Shantināth Temple Inscription*, Dhulev, V.S. 1431.

¹⁰¹ *Mahābhārata*, I, 138, 72-77, quoted from 'Life in the Guptā Age' by Saletore, p. 214.

¹⁰² Impressions of *sati*-palms at the gateways of the forts of Bikāner and Chitor are pre-eminent.

¹⁰³ A manuscript copy of the *Purāṇā* of the 18th century was discovered by me in the possession of Pandya Pyare Lal of Udaipur, vide my Survey Report of MSS. of Udaipur Division submitted to the Govt. of Rājasthān, 1961.

¹⁰⁴ Ojhā : *Udaipur Rājya-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 469.

¹⁰⁵ *Rāj Singh Chhatri Inscription* of the bright-half of the 10th of *Kārtika*, V.S. 1737 (22nd Oct., 1680).

¹⁰⁶ He died on the 12th of the bright-half of *Kārtika*, V.S. 1619 (7th Nov., 1562 A.D.)

¹⁰⁷ Jaswant Singh died on the 10th of the dark-half of *Pausha*, V.S. 1735 (28th Nov., 1678 A.D.)

¹⁰⁸ *Bikā's memorial slab* of the 5th of the bright-half of *Āśādhā*, V.S. 1561 (17th June, 1504 A.D.), quoted from Ojhā's B.R.I., p. 109.

¹⁰⁹ *Rāi Singh's memorial slab* of the 30th of the dark-half of *Māgha*, V.S. 1668 (22nd Jan., 1612), quoted from Ojhā's Bk. R.I., Vol. I, p. 196.

Bikāner, Mukand Singh¹¹⁰ and Bhim Singh¹¹¹ of Kotāh and Amar Singh¹¹² of Jaisalmer burnt themselves on the funeral pyres along with their husbands' bodies. Similarly cases of widows amongst the upper and lower classes of Hindu society committing *sati* are innumerable.^{112A} A Jain Inscription¹¹³ of V.S. 1648 (1591 A.D.) mentions the names of four wives of Tārā Chand of Sādri who committed *sati*. Kuri, Dhanni, Vāli, etc., are the names of women who burnt themselves after the death of their husbands at Mertā (1680 A. D.), Jāwar (1688 A. D.), Bāli (1700 A. D.) respectively.^{113A}

One can form an idea as to how the *sati* looked like from the *sati*-slab of Amar Singh's *Chhatri*,¹¹⁴ where the queen has been depicted seated on a horseback, with a sword in her hand. She had unveiled her face, bore the look of a bold lady. The *Ajitodāya*¹¹⁵ presents a vivid picture of the entire procedure of the performance of *sati*. As soon as the news of the death of Jaswant Singh was reported to his wives, they took their bath, put on saffron dresses and decked themselves in ornaments and flowers. They rode in palanquins, headed by the chief-queen on the horseback. On the way as they were passing they parted with their ornaments, throwing them away to be picked up by the needy. As soon as they reached the cremation ground at Mandor, they found the pyre ready in the form of a hut. They worshipped the funeral-pyre fire with flowers, they bowed before it, circumambulated the pile and then boldly plunged into the fire along with *khawāsans* and concubines.

It is interesting to know as to what impelled the women to commit *sati*. The *Chirvā Inscription*¹¹⁶ of V.S. 1330 (1273 A.D.) makes a reference to it. It says that Bholā the wife of Bālu burnt herself as she was unable to bear the pangs of separation from her husband who had died in the battle-field. This explains the noble sentiment of a *sati*. Another reason seems to be that a lady had firm belief that she would accompany her husband to heaven by going through the horrible but sacred rite.

¹¹⁰ *Rājaloḥa-Kāgzāt* (KA), V.S. 1715 (1658 A.D.)

¹¹¹ *Bhandāra I, Bāstā* No. 12, V.S. 1777 (1720 A.D.)

¹¹² *Gadiyālā-ki-Vāṃshāvali*, Amar Singh.

^{112A} Archaeological section, Bikaner, Exhibit No. 163, V.S. 1562, No. 194, V.S. 1804; Dayaldās *Khyāta*, Vol. II, f. 280.

¹¹³ *Jain Inscriptions*, I. No. 719, V.S. 1648 (1591 A.D.)

^{113A} *Sati-slabs* of Merta (V.S. 1737), Jāwar (V.S. 1745) and Bāli (V.S. 1757) (unpublished).

¹¹⁴ *Mahāsati Ahar* (unpublished).

¹¹⁵ *Ajitodaya*, Canto 4, ff. 21-24.

¹¹⁶ *Chirvā Inscription*, V.S. 1330 (1273 A.D.), v. 20; EI., Vol. XXVII, pp. 285-292.

This is why the action is always termed as '*sahagamana*,¹¹⁷ or ascending together to heaven. The spiritual significance of *sati*, therefore, was that the lady would meet her husband in the next world and enjoy perpetual bliss in heaven.¹¹⁸ But certain circumstances made the custom more or less obligatory or compulsory. When wars were common and a fate of a woman was insecure, she felt a strong desire to burn herself to death so that she might not be molested by foreign army or rulers. Such a desire was expressed by the wife¹¹⁹ of Kunwar Amar of Jodhpur when she embraced death by committing *sati* rather than exposing her life to indignity. Moreover, the life of hunger and scorn to which Indian widows were subjected made them ready to end their lives in an honourable manner rather than undergo all domestic servitude and drudgery. In course of time, these circumstances turned the system into an institution ; and under the pressure of social and religious obligation every high-born widow, willing or unwilling, had to submit herself to this practice. The desire to maintain one's chastity seems to be a supreme urge in a majority of cases. In the village of Āmli in Mewār, a Brāhmaṇ lady committed *sati* in order to save herself from the molestation of Sawant Singh, a *Bhomiya* of that village. When the report reached the Rānā he confiscated the *Bhom* and appointed some Rāwat Fateh Singh as *Bhomiya*.¹²⁰

The multiplicity of *sati*-slabs and palm-impressions of mediaeval times which can be seen in almost all the villages and towns show that the regular wars, which Rājasthān had to wage, gave a sort of stimulus to this system, and it was a common feature amongst women to resort to the practice of *sati* when it became exigent.

Whatever may have been the factors which made its continuance possible, it must be admitted that the *sati* practice was a shocking custom. Thanks to Rājā Rām Mohan Roy and William Bentinck's enlightened view that the Indian women were saved from a cruel death.

Jauhar

Associated with the practice of *sati* in Rājasthān in particular, was another rite which is called *Jauhar*, through which ladies made an end of themselves without waiting for the death of their husbands. The custom of *Jauhar* was more or less confined to the Rājputs. It was observed when a Rājput chief and his warriors were reduced to utter despair in an

¹¹⁷ Mahārāwal Bhim Singh's *Chhatri* of the 2nd of the bright-half of *Śrāvāṇa*, V.S. 1769 (1712 A.D.)

¹¹⁸ *Rāo Ratan Singh's Vachanikā*, p. 287.

¹¹⁹ *Surajaprakāsha*, v. 4, f. 32.

¹²⁰ *Pattā Āmli*, V.S. 1814 (1757 A.D.) (ODRU).

engagement. They usually resorted to the acts of setting fire to their holdings along with their wives and children when there was no hope of their survival, and there was every likelihood of their family falling into the hands of their enemies. The women embraced fatal end with the greatest intrepidity and pleasure, while men sallied forth to court a heroic death.

There are many well-known examples of *Jauhar* from the pen of contemporary writers of our period. In the year 1301 A. D., according to the *Tarikh-i-Alāi*,¹²¹ when Alauddin invaded Raṅthambhor, the Rāi lit fire at the top of the hill, threw his women and family into the flames, and rushing into the midst of the enemy with a few devoted adherents, sacrificed his life. We have a very graphic account from the pen of Padmanābha of the *Jauhar* at Jālore.^{121A} Similarly, when Bahādur Shāh invaded Chitor in 1535 A. D., and no hope was left for survival, before the gates of the fort were opened, Rāni Karmeti committed *jauhar* along with several ladies of the royal household and of nobles.¹²² The writers of the *Tārikh-i-Alfi*,¹²³ in noticing the death of Jaimal at the time of Akbar's invasion of Chitor in 1568 A. D., said that *jāuhar* was the name of a rite among the Hindus, and there was no escape from it. They collected their wives and children, goods and cattle, heaped fire-wood around the pile, and set fire to it with their own hands. By doing so, the warriors were free from the anxiety of their survivors and were in a position to dash against their enemies with full determination to make a supreme sacrifice for their motherland. During this invasion, *jauhar* was performed at the houses also in the fort.¹²⁴ Thus due to continuous warfare with the Mughals the *jauhar* became a common practice.

Amusements

Life was not all seriousness, devoted to duties or the performances of rites; it was also an object of interest in which amusements, sports and games played an important part. The pastimes in which both the rich and the poor were interested can be classified as indoor and outdoor.

¹²¹ *Tārikh-i-Alāi*, E. & D., Vol. III, p. 75.

^{121A} *Kanhadadeprabandha*, Vol. I, pp. 210-212.

¹²² A copper-plate grant of the 11th of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 1592 (29th March, 1535); Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 199b; *Rāwal-Rānāji-ki-Vāt*, ff. 85-86.

¹²³ *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, E. and D., V, pp. 173-174.

¹²⁴ *Akbar-nāma* (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 404; *Muntakhab* (P. T.), Vol. II, p. 104; *Tabuqāt* (P.T.), p. 284; *Iqbāl-nāma* (P.T.), Vol. II, pp. 228-229; *Amarkāvya-Vaiṅshāvali*, f. 37b; *Rāwal Rānāji-ki-Vāt*, f. 72; *Vaiṅshāvali-Param-Sivathi*, p. 68; Smith: *Akbar*, p. 69; G. N. Sharma: *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, pp. 76-77.

Among indoor games, gambling with dice, which was known to Indians since olden times,¹²⁵ was popular during our period. There is a reference in the *Sārṇāth Inscription*¹²⁶ of Āhar to gamblers who were required to offer a bagful of money of their stakes for the maintenance of the temple of Vārāha. From this it can be inferred that at the early mediaeval period there were regular gambling houses in Rājasthān which the then governments allowed to function on payment of a tax. Mandan¹²⁷ in his *Rāja Vallabha* has recommended the construction of a gambling hall attached to the king's palace. From the literary source we learn that the couple or a group of young men used to indulge in gambling dice and used to lose or win either a sum of money or a living being put at stake. Bijā,¹²⁸ a hero lost his wife, while playing dice with Khangār of Saurāṣṭra. Rāja Risālu¹²⁹ lost in the game of dice his horse and bagful of gold *mohars*.

Chess

Pictorial and classical sources of the period under review refer to a board game called chess or *śatranj*.¹³⁰ Our records¹³¹ show that a chess-board was divided into 64 squares. The game needed two players, who moved their respective chessmen representing two campaigning armies,

¹²⁵ *Arthaśāstra*, II, 29, *Raghuvaṇsa*, VI, 18, p. 122, *Harśacharitra*, p. 171, quoted from 'Life in the Gupta Age' by Saletore, pp. 155-156.

¹²⁶ *Sārṇāth Inscription*, V. S. 1010, *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, II, pp. 67-68.

¹²⁷ *Rājavallabha*, Canto 7, v. 42, f. 9b and Canto 9, v. 35, f. 15a.

¹²⁸ *Bijā-Sorath-ri-vāt*, f. 30a.

¹²⁹ *Rājā-Risalu-ri-vāt*, ff. 65-66.

¹³⁰ Basham in his 'Wonder That Was India', p. 208, gives the history of this game which may be summarised as : "By the early centuries of the Christian era, chess was played on a board of sixty-four squares (*aṣṭapāda*), with a king-piece, and pieces of four other types, corresponding to the corps of the ancient Indian army—an elephant, a horse, a chariot or ship, and four footmen. The original game needed four players, and their moves were controlled by the throw of the dice. As the game was played with pieces representing military forces, and its strategy suggested that of campaigning armies, it was known as *caturanga*, or 'four-corps'. In the 6th century, the game was learnt by the Persians, and when Persia was conquered by the Arabs it quickly spread all over the Middle East, under the name *śatranj*, the Persian corruption of *caturanga*. It developed into a game for two persons, each with two armies. It appears that the game was learnt by the crusaders from the Muslims, and soon spread over Europe. By the late Middle Ages it had almost attained its modern form as chess."

¹³¹ *Siyāhah Huzur*, No. 94, V. S. 1791 (1734 A. D.) and No. 1007, V. S. 1792 (1735 A. D.)

each player having sixteen pieces of a distinctive colour to distinguish the opposite sides, and consisting of one king, one queen or one *vazir*, two elephants, two camels, two horses and eight foot-soldiers or pawns. The total number of pieces or chessmen was 32, costing Rs. 4/- to 55/9/-. In dowry¹³² also gold chessmen studded with precious stones were presented. In such cases, the cost went up to several thousands.

We gather from the local sources¹³³ that Akbar's men were found playing this game when the Rājputs made a surprise attack on them at Ontālā near Udaipur in 1599 A. D. It seems that it was the most common diversion for the Mughal soldiers in camp. In the *Rāo Ratan Singh's Vachanikā*¹³⁴ Ratan Singh refers to the arrangement of his forces corresponding to the pieces of the game of *śataranj*. This shows that this game grew popular with the class of persons who were associated with military activities. Probably, it was through them that it attained its popularity in Rājasthān.¹³⁵ It was also a game of stakes in which large sums were either won or lost.¹³⁶

Chaupar

Chaupar is another important indoor game which was usually played by two persons at the quiet hours of night. Sometimes, kings and their courtiers participated in the game. Common people played it in their leisure hours. It was also a common pastime in the harem. Ordinarily, as the paintings of the period depict, the cloth-board, on which it is played, had four sides jutting out on four directions, from the rectangular space in the middle, and had little squares in three rows on each side. The game was usually played by one or two pairs of players. Each player used four pieces of the same shape but of different colours. Three ivory dice with dots marked from one to six were thrown to determine the move of the pieces allotted to the two pairs of players. Well-to-do people had pieces studded with pearls and dice made of jewels. The cost of sets of *chaupar*, as recorded in contemporary papers, varied from about Rs. 2/- to Rs. 2,000/-.¹³⁷

¹³² *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 25, V. S. 1857 (1800 A.D.), f. 138.

¹³³ *Rājaprakāsha*, ff. 24-25 ; *Vaṃshāvali-Rānājini*, f. 70a : *Suryavaṃshu*, f. 56 (a).

¹³⁴ *Rāo Ratan Singh-Vachanikā*, p. 269.

¹³⁵ *Bikāner Gazal*—'Koi Chaupar Śataranj khele nar vasi ganja'.

¹³⁶ *Jaihajāma-ri-vāt*, f. 179.

¹³⁷ *Achaldās Khichi-ri-Vārta*, f. 52 ; *Dholamāru-ri-Vāt* (illustrated), f. 81 ; *Siyāhah-Huzur*, Nos. 94, 1007, V. S. 1791-1792 ; *Ramcharitra paintings*, f. 82 (PPJ) ; *Kotāh paintings* (18th century) ; *Dastur Komwār*, No. 25, V. S. 1857 (1800 A. D.), ff. 81, 138.

Cards

The playing of cards appears to have been first introduced into Hindustan by Bābur.¹³⁸ Akbar seems to have made certain improvements in the game. From a description of the playing-cards given in the *Āin-i-Akbari*,¹³⁹ it is clear that it consisted of eight suits of 12 cards each with figures of Indian style. Other type of playing-cards was the *ganjafā*¹⁴⁰ consisting of 40 cards, played by common people in their spare time. Dr. A. Coomārswāmy¹⁴¹ has discovered among Rājput paintings the reproduction of a set of playing-cards, round in shape and about 3 inches in size. The figure represented on one of the cards is that of Kriṣṇa slaying *Shankhā-sur*.

Other indoor games¹⁴² were *charbhar* and *nārçhhāri* or tiger-goat, usually played on square and triangular figures respectively drawn or engraved on floor. Diagrams of these games have been discovered on the bank of Rāj Samudra, Jai Samudra and paved courtyards of old palaces of Āmber, Kotāh and Alwar. The random and frequent tracing of these figures suggest that these games were very popular among the labourers and domestic servants, who spent their leisure hours in these games which needed only pebbles to move and few *cowris* or shells for throw. In the *Dastur Komwār*¹⁴³ there is a reference to *cowri* game of 10 squares with 200 *cowris* to play with. Another game, called '*Govind Prema*'¹⁴⁴ consisting of 134 pieces made of either wood or ivory, has also been referred to.

A variety of outdoor games was also known in our period. Children played a game in an open field, in which they used their hands and sticks. The participants divided themselves into two parties, each trying to rush with a ball across the limit of the other. Rājput children loved to make a fort of mud and invade it. Another party of children tried to defend the mud-fort, and there was a contest between them.¹⁴⁵

Small children enjoyed driving toy-carts, revolving on wooden-wheel (*charkhi*) and top-spinning. Kite-flying, of course, was popular both with children and grown-up youths and even men and women. In one of the

¹³⁸ *Bāburnāma*, 307.

¹³⁹ *Āin*, I, pp. 318-320.

¹⁴⁰ *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1786 (1729 A. D.), f. 332 ; *Jai hazāma-ri-vāt*, p. 179.

¹⁴¹ A. Coomārswāmy, *Rājput Painting*, II, Plate LXXVII, A and B.

¹⁴² *Bikāner Gazal*, '*Char-bhar khelte bahu bāl*'.

¹⁴³ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 25, V.S. 1857 (1800 A.D.), f. 138.

¹⁴⁴ *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1786 (1729 A.D.), f. 333.

¹⁴⁵ *Rājaratnākara*, v. 32, f. 96a ; *Surajprākāsha*, f. 36.

stray paintings of a manuscript, Kriṣṇa has been depicted as flying kite and two of his fellow-friends shown running about.¹⁴⁶

In an illustrated copy of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* we find representations of several outdoor games prevalent in mediaeval Rājasthān. These are shown in connection with Kriṣṇa's early life. Of course, the painter has sketched the games with which he was familiar or which he might have played or witnessed. In one of the pictures¹⁴⁷ Kriṣṇa has been depicted as playing hide-and-peek, a game which is even now popular with our boys and girls. This game was also played in the harem.¹⁴⁸ In another picture¹⁴⁹ of the same set, one boy keeps standing and another gets up and closes the eyes of the first one, and the participants run in different directions, and the boy whose eyes are closed is required to search for them. This game has been termed as '*Nilāvan kridā*'. Another game was that of '*shalar*'¹⁵⁰ in which boys sit in pairs and hide by turns to be searched. Yet there was another game called throwing of fruit (*phal kshepan*)¹⁵¹ in the air. One of the boys threw the fruit in the air and the rest of the boys tried to catch it. In the *Panchatantra* painting¹⁵² we have an interesting indication of a game in which a boy would act as a horse and the girl as a driver, and vice versa. They would first throw and then catch up a ball. This game is even now played in the villages and is called 'horse-ball', '*ghodādari*'.

On the walls of Vairāt there is an illustration of a game, known as *dalkudāwani*, which is played by a group of boys. One of the boys who could not climb the tree in time had to stay on the ground and was to catch others who succeeded in climbing the tree. This game is played with a staff in hand.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶ *Dholā Māru-ri-Vāt* (illustrated), f. 63a ; Panels of Chokhelā palace wall paintings, 'A child with toy carts' and 'A child with *chakri*' (18th century); 'A lady with a *chakri*', painted by Ustād-Abji, in V.S. 1830 (1773 A.D.), Bikāner Picture-gallery ; Kriṣṇa flying a kite (18th century) Kc. No. 111.

¹⁴⁷ *Bhāgavata Dashmaskandha* (illustrated), V.S. 1667, f. 92, '*Netra-bandh*'.

¹⁴⁸ *Khajānchi Collection*, 'Ladies playing hide and seek in the harem'.

¹⁴⁹ *Bhāgavata Dashmaskandha* (illustrated), f. 168, '*Nilāvan-kridā*'.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 168b.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, f. 94.

¹⁵² *Panchatantra*, illustrated, f. 8.

¹⁵³ Reproduction of a painting of Vairāt (17th century) in possession of Shri Kripāl, Jaipur.

Wrestling and Boxing

We have ample depiction of wrestling and boxing in painting¹⁵⁴ and sculptures art,¹⁵⁵ which shows that these pastimes were cultivated as physical culture during the period under review. For the exercise of limbs and body the wrestlers handled circular discs.¹⁵⁶ Wrestling was also a profession, and wrestling matches were witnessed by men and also by ladies from the terraces of their houses.¹⁵⁷ Boys out for picnics also engaged themselves in wrestling matches.¹⁵⁸ Vivid description of wrestling occur in the mediaeval literature. The gladiatorial contest at the court of Rānā Amar Singh was a favourite pastime.¹⁵⁹ Mahārānā Rāj Singh had reserved Tuesday for duelling and wrestling.¹⁶⁰ Boxing was a popular pastime both in the court and with the commoners.¹⁶¹ In wrestling, the contestants raised their fists, tried to throw their hands into other adversary's armpits to bring the right leg at cross and keeping the left at the back in a slanting and stern position. Boxers and wrestlers were employed by the princes on monthly remuneration. Occasional favours were shown to them and rewards were given to them.¹⁶²

Animal fights

We have, in contemporary literary works, paintings, and sculptured art, references to animal fights between elephants, tigers, leopards, boars and bulls as favourite sports at the courts in Rājasthān. Mahārānā Amar Singh¹⁶³ enjoyed fights between horses and tigers and Mahārānā Rāj Singh¹⁶⁴ took delight in watching from the balcony of the royal palace,

¹⁵⁴ *Kalpāsutra* (illustrated), f. 81 ; My article, *Society in Western India as reflected in Kalpāsutra MS.*, 'A Journal of Indian Museums', Vol. XII, 1956, p. 70.

¹⁵⁵ My article, 'An Interpretation of the Carving at Rāj Samudra Lake,' *A Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 19-25, 1958.

¹⁵⁶ *Rāgamālā Set*, 'Hindolā Rāgā'—Boy-wrestlers with equipments for physical exercise, *Kunwar Sangrām Singh's Collection*, Nawalgarh.

¹⁵⁷ *Bhāgavata Dashamaskandha*, illustrated, f. 195.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 77.

¹⁵⁹ *Amarsāra*, f. 30b.

¹⁶⁰ *Rājaratnākara*, Canto 9, v. 26, f. 50.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Surajaprakāsha*, ff. 52-53 ; *Bhandāra*, No. 11, *Bastā* No. 4, records the pay of a wrestler as Rs. 2/- and occasional rewards amounting to Rs. 50/- per year. Also refer to the *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 61. File No. 13, V.S. 1835 (1778 A.D.)

¹⁶³ *Amarsāra*, v. 264, f. 30b.

¹⁶⁴ *Rājaratnākara*, vv. 12, 26, ff. 30, 81. For animal fights refer to *Panchatāntra* (illustrated), f. 47 and *Rāmacharitra* (illustrated), ff. 89-90.

elephant combats on Sundays, horse-fights on Mondays and ram-fights on other days. Prince Akbar at Chitor enjoyed the fight of animals when he was temporarily stationed there by his father.¹⁶⁵ On occasions of birthdays and religious festivals elephant fight was witnessed by the rulers and the ruled for which an open ground was preferred and the fighting elephants would meet each other face to face on the opposite sides of a wall, about four feet wide and six feet in height.¹⁶⁶ When the fight grew fierce and the animals became deadly engaged against each, they had to be separated by throwing of the fire balls or the use of thorny spears, etc.¹⁶⁷

Āin-i-Akbari says that camels were imported from Ajmer, Jodhpur and Bikāner for camel-fights at the Mughal Court, as the trained animals were available for such fights in Rājasthān.¹⁶⁸

Although animal and bird-fights were popular pastimes in earlier times as referred to by Nārada,¹⁶⁹ Vātsāyana,¹⁷⁰ Bāṇa¹⁷¹ and Dandin,¹⁷² it seems that its excessive use in the courts of Rājasthān was largely due to the Mughal contact. The European travellers like Thevenot¹⁷³ and Petermundy¹⁷⁴ refer to the fights of cocks, bulls and rams as entertainments both at the Mughal court and at the open compound in front of commoner's houses for young boys and grown-up people. In the *Rājaratnākara*¹⁷⁵ and the *Rājavinoda*¹⁷⁶ mention has been made of fighting of birds. In sculptured art at Rāj Samudra there are depiction of various birds and their fights. Contemporary sources also refer to the romantic term *Ishq-bāzi* or pigeon-flying which was enjoyed by common folk and

¹⁶⁵ *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 12, v. 119.

¹⁶⁶ Bānkidās *Khyāta*, f. 292 ; *Siyāhah Huzur*, V.S. 1828 (1771 A.D.), f. 1594.

¹⁶⁷ 'A panel of elephants and devices of controlling them,' my article 'Interpretation of Rājnagar-Carving,' *A Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. v, pp, 19-25, 1958.

¹⁶⁸ *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 151 (H. Blochmann).

¹⁶⁹ *Nārad Smṛiti*, XVII, I, p. 212, quoted from 'Life in the Gupta Age', p. 161.

¹⁷⁰ *Vātsāyana Kāmsutra*, pp. 19-20, quoted from 'Life in the Gupta Age', p. 161.

¹⁷¹ Bāṇa : *Harshacharitra*, p. 159, quoted from 'Life in the Gupta Age', p. 159.

¹⁷² Dandin, pp. 149-50, quoted from 'Life in the Gupta Age,' p. 160.

¹⁷³ Thevenot, Chapter XXI, p. 38.

¹⁷⁴ Petermundy, II, p. 128.

¹⁷⁵ *Rājaratnākara*, Canto 14, v. 12, f. 81a.

¹⁷⁶ *Rājavinoda*, f. 56a.

royal personages.¹⁷⁷ We learn from the Jaipur records¹⁷⁸ that from Āmber they were sent to the Mughal Court. *Chaugān* also grew popular with the princes of Rājasthān.¹⁷⁹

Martial Sports

Archery, swordsmanship, cudgelling, stickmanship, *patlābāzi*, etc., were much coveted amusements of the youths in the towns and at the courts of Rājasthān. Among the Rājputs a special significance was attached to fighting with tigers. When the warriors fell in such action a stone memorial showing the manner of their death was erected.¹⁸⁰

Hunting

Hunting was a favourite amusement of kings and nobles of our period. For a successful hunt, parties were sent out in search of prey. On their report, hunting expedition was organised. If the animal disappeared, the expedition was continued for several days and the hunting party waited and watched for days and nights. Usually, the chief hunter occupied his seat either in a shooting-box or on a chair, constructed for the purpose on a tree. The pipers, the drummers, the gunners and spearmen, with their hunting dogs decoyed the prey to a convenient spot from where he could be shot down. It was considered a point of honour to hunt a tiger or a boar face to face. Due to the Mughal influence, ladies of the royal household also shared the chair for hunt along with their husbands after the Mughal fashion. Weapons used for hunting were practically the same as used by the Mughals. In Mahārājā Abhaya Singh's time the *Amir-i-Shikār* (Lord of the Hunt) was in-charge of the royal hunt. In Kotāh there was a mansion of *Amir-i-Shikar* outside the main gate of the royal palace.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ *Rājavinoda*, ff. 61-64 ; *Surajaprakāsha*, ff. 48b, 82b ; *Khedmultanka*, v. 2, f. 18b.

¹⁷⁸ Persian Correspondence Vol. VI, *Letter* No. 2266 of the 9th *Zul Hijja*, H. 1122, 20th Jan., 1711 A.D.

¹⁷⁹ *Siyāhah Huzur*, V. S. 1780 (1723 A.D.), f. 543.

¹⁸⁰ *A Memorial Stone at Hanumanpol*, Kumbhalgarh, V.S. 1562 (1505 A.D.) ; *Memorial Stone of Gor Singh*, Deobāri, V.S. 1736 (1679 A.D.)

¹⁸¹ *Chandra-Kunwar-ri-Vārtā*, f. 54a ; *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. II, p. 328 ; *Surajaprakāsha*, f. 53a ; *Rājaprakāsha*, vv. 47, 85, ff. 32, 45 ; *Abhaya-vilāsa*, f. 28a ; *Rājavinoda*, ff. 61-64 ; *Ākheta Varman*, ff. 376-380 ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, File No. 13, V. S. 1835 (1778 A.D.) ; wall painting of the upper storey, Zalim Singh's mansion 'Zalim Singh and hunting scene' (18th century) ; 'Rājā and Rāni on horseback proceeding for hunt', *Kunwar Sangrām Singh's Collection*, Nawalgarh (18th century) ; A painting shows Durjansāl and his wife hunting the lions, *Picture Gallery*, Kotāh.

Boating, Swimming and Swinging

Boating was a recreation for nobles and ladies of high status. Kishan-garh painting in *Khajānchi Collection* depict ladies of royal household enjoying boating in a lake in moonlight night and the Mahārājā trying to get a lift in the boat wading through water. In summer season, bathing and swimming in lakes along with ladies has been referred to as pastime of Rānā Amar Singh.¹⁸² In rainy season the swinging of couple or companions to the tune of music was a notable form of amusement with aristocrats and commoners.¹⁸³

Other Entertainments

Professional entertainers, like jugglers and snake-charmers used to travel from place to place to provide entertainment to citizens and villagers with their performance in the lanes and streets of towns and villages. They attracted ladies and children or passers-by who gathered round them to enjoy the fun.¹⁸⁴

Acrobatic feats of rope-dancers called *nats* seem to have been very popular during our period. At the sound of the drum the *nat* boys or *nat* girls would climb over a rope and perform wonderful acrobatic feats, such as, throwing of dagger, jumping from a height and climbing over a long bamboo and the like to the great astonishment of the onlookers.¹⁸⁵

Music and Dance

The art of music formed a part of entertainment both for the rich and the poor during the period under review. The rulers of Rājasthān were great patrons of music. Mahārānā Kumbhā was the commentator of the *Gita Govinda*,¹⁸⁶ a lyrical work of high order. His work *Sangītarāja*¹⁸⁷ is an outstanding instance of what rich and delightful musical system can be. Mahārājā Anup Singh (1669-1698 A. D.) of Bikāner was exceedingly talented

¹⁸² *Amarsāra*, f. 31b ; Paintings of *Bhāgavata Dashmaskandha*, f. 419 and *Panchatantra*, f. 11 also depict bathing and swimming scenes.

¹⁸³ *Motimahal Wall Painting*, *Nathadwārā* and *Takhat Mahal Wall Paintings*, Jodhpur show swinging scenes.

¹⁸⁴ *Sadevats Sānwalgori Vāt*, f. 21b ; *Dholāmaru-ri-Vāt*, f. 51 ; A painting of 'Rāg Malhāra', *Picture Gallery*, Bikāner (18th century) ; *Takhat-Mahal Wall-painting*, 'Snake Charmer' (18th century) ; *A Group of Bundi Miniatures*, Prince of Wales Museum, 1954, No. 3, 'A Snake Charmer'.

¹⁸⁵ '*Takhat Mahal Paintings*, and other paintings of the 18th century ; Uttamchand, Vārik Rāi, Rangi Rāma, Firangi Ishār were the leaders of *nats* who visited Jaipur in V. S. 1814, 1820, 1823, etc. ; *vide Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 23, ff. 13-23, 344-437 etc.

¹⁸⁶ *Kīrtistambhapraśasti*, v. 157.

¹⁸⁷ *Sangītarāja*, Colophon (ed. Bikāner, 1946).

prince who, besides being proficient in music, was also gifted with a comprehensive knowledge of that subject. He himself wrote several works on music and patronised reputed scholars of music.¹⁸⁸ Space forbids even a brief description of the works on music during his period. But three writers do deserve mention. Dāmodar wrote the *Sangitadarpaṇa*, especially noted for its exquisite exposition.¹⁸⁹ The *Sangitamakranda*, a work of high order was written by Veda.¹⁹⁰ But the most monumental work on comparative music was the *Anuṣangitavilāsa*, written by the celebrated author Bhāva Bhatta, who was an excellent poet as well as a musician.¹⁹¹ Rājasthān besides these produced many front-rank musicians and connoisseurs of music who enjoyed high fame and repute in the 18th century A. D. Jaitsi the writer of the *Rāgakutuhala* was patronised by Mahārānā Ari Singh II. He was gifted with musical genius.¹⁹² Karim Khān and Abdullāh were famous musicians of Jaipur who flourished in the 18th century.¹⁹³

Music for the early mediaeval Rājasthān was pre-eminently an art for recreation. In one of the panels of the temple of Velā and Kābrā (Chitor) two instrumentalists are seen in the company of singers under the tree. This is a depiction of the traditional practice of the agriculturists and labourers who could find time after their hard work and enjoy the sweet melody and participate in singing. Such themes have been found repeated in several panels of the temples of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁹⁴ Sacred and ceremonial songs sung alternately and in chorus by ladies, as mentioned by the writers¹⁹⁵ of the period of our study, formed an important source of pleasure and devotion.

However, in the late mediaeval period music became largely the privilege of professionals who were usually of low caste. As professional singers came to be employed as paid servants, they were looked down upon as menials, and the regard which was originally shown to the art disappeared in course of time. A *Dholā Māru Painting*¹⁹⁶ of the 18th century clearly shows the lower position assigned to a lady-singer who sings for the enjoy-

¹⁸⁸ *Anuṣangitaratnākara*, Ojhā, B. R. I. I., pp. 285-287.

¹⁸⁹ *Sangitadarpaṇa*, No. 3457 (ALB), V.S. 1718 (1661 A. D.), f. 104.

¹⁹⁰ *Sangitamakranda*, No. 3468 (ALB), V. S. 1742 (1685 A. D.), f. 83.

¹⁹¹ *Anuṣangitavilāsa*, Ojhā, B. R. I. I., p. 286.

¹⁹² *Rāgakutuhala*, V. S. 1822 (1765 A. D.), No. 185 (SBLU), ff. 4a-6b.

¹⁹³ *Siyāhah Huzur*, V. S. 1827-1829 (1770-1772 A.D.), 1845 (1788 A.D.) etc.

¹⁹⁴ *Rāgakutuhala*, V. S. 1822 (1765 A. D.), No. 185 (SBLU), ff. 4a-6b.

¹⁹⁵ Dāmodar : *Sangitadarpaṇa*, No 3457, f. 104, v. 260 ; *Chandan-mala-jagiri-vārtā*.

¹⁹⁶ *Dholā Māru* (illustrated), PPJ, 18th century.

ment of the party seated on an elevated platform. In the state records¹⁹⁷ of Jaipur of the 18th century, singers were categorised with persons of low caste which further proves their low position in the social hierarchy.

Like music, dancing was also cultivated and applied with devotion and enthusiasm in Rājasthān. It was practised, as in music performances, with the accompaniment of several musical instruments, mentioned in the contemporary literature,¹⁹⁸ the chief of which were *vinas*, flutes, clappers, drums, *sitārs*, *tamburās*, pipes, horns, trumpets, harps, lutes, lyres, etc. The contemporary sculptured panels of Jagdish temple of Udaipur and Rājnagar represent the scenes of dancing with photographic exactitude, where every pose of movement of little finger or the eyebrow and hand-gesture is significant.¹⁹⁹

The writers²⁰⁰ of our period give at length the description of folk-dances which were performed by men and women with ease and grace at festivals. They also deal with the highly developed dance style which demanded years of training and practice. *Ghumara* dance in single and by a group of ladies was a favourite dance with the court and the common people.²⁰¹ Rājnagar carving depicts a scene of court dance where the prince is seated on a high seat, the nobles sitting or standing at their respective places, while a female dancer in scanty garments, and accompanied by a party of *tablā* and *sārangi* players gives her performance.²⁰² In later years, however, the art remained confined mostly with low caste who brought ill-name to the profession by making it too cheap for public gathering and depraved taste.²⁰³

The writers,²⁰⁴ of the period refer to certain indigenous dances of Rājasthān, as *bandha*, *kalpa*, *godli*, *chhechari*, *ghumara*, *gera* and *gavari*. Of

¹⁹⁷ *Siyāhah Huzur*, V.S. 1792-95 (1735-38 A.D.), V.S. 1812 (1755 A.D.), V.S. 1852 (1795 A.D.) and 1885 (1828 A.D.).

¹⁹⁸ *Sangitarāja*, p. 29, vv. 63-65; *Achaldās Khichi-ri-Vārtā*, No. 176 (SBLU), f. 45; *Abhayavilāsa*, No. 486 (PPJ), ff. 23, 25, 31; *Suraja-prakāsha*, ff. 47, 51.

¹⁹⁹ *Rajnagar Carving* by G. N. Sharmā, *A Journal of Research, Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. V, pp. 19-25, 1958.

²⁰⁰ Kumbhā: *Sangitarāja* (ed. Bikāner, 1946), p. 24, 25 etc.; Dāmodar: *Sangitadarpaṇa*, ff. 101, vv. 45, 46, f. 103, vv. 47-49, f. 104, vv. 258-260; *Bikāner Gazal* 'Ghumar Ghālī hai gher phundi ramat hai bahu pher'.

²⁰¹ *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 30a.

²⁰² *Rājnagar Carving*, G. N. Sharmā, J.U.P.P., 1958, pp. 19-25.

²⁰³ *The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique* (1629-1643), p. 241; *Chandraprabhacharitra*, f. 59 V.S. 1799 (1742 A.D.).

²⁰⁴ *Sangitadarpaṇa*, ff. 101-104; *Sangitamakranda*, ff. 15, 20, 27, 45 and 79; *Sangitaratnākara*, ff. 1-10; *Chandraprabhacharitra*, f. 59.

these the last two were the inspiring dances of Rājasthāni villagers. *Gera* was a spring dance. It began on the 15th of the bright-half of *Māgha* and played till the 5th of the dark-half of *Chaitra*. Wine was freely used during dancing hours. The drum-beaters stood in the middle. Beside them stood four to ten women. Men beat sticks and dance in rows stooping forward towards the marching row of women. As regards *gavari* dance it began on the *Rakshā-bandhana* and ended on the 30th of the dark-half of *Āṣoja*. It was a dance which Mahādeva and Pārvati were said to have enjoyed. Persons who took part in this dance dressed themselves as females. They were called *Rāi*, representing *Pārvati*. The man who represented Mahādeva was called *Budiā*. Other dancers were called *Kherās*, *Budiā* danced opposite to *Kherās*. *Trisula* (trident) was put in the middle as a symbol of Śakti. Lamps were lighted, incense was burnt and *pūjā* was performed with the accompaniment of beating of drums. Fray Sebastian²⁰⁵ was highly impressed by such folk-dances at Jaisalmer.

It may well be said in connection with musical and dancing activities of the period under review that of all arts music and dance contributed most to Rājasthān's culture by virtue of their being emotional, universal and appealing. It, for all intents and purposes, remained a social and religious art.

Dramatic Performances

Passing reference in early mediaeval sources indicate that dramatic performances called *rāsa* were frequently given. *Bhānds* and troupes of professionals of both sexes performed buffoonery and farce accompanied by music, dance and dialogue.²⁰⁶ Such performances, as written by Mandan,²⁰⁷ were either given in halls specially meant for the purpose, or given in homes of the rich.

Legends of the gods and ancient heroes, stories of historical kings of the past and popular tales formed an inexhaustible mine of dramatic material. The famous works based on this kind of material were : *Sakalkirti Rāsa*,²⁰⁸ *Jinadattacharitra*,²⁰⁹ *Mahavir-Rāsa*,²¹⁰ *Mahavircharitra*,²¹¹

²⁰⁵ *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique*. 1629-1643, Vol. I, p. 241, (Hakluyt Society, ed., 1926-27).

²⁰⁶ *Samyaktva* by Taruna Prabha Suri, V. S. 1411, p. 120.

²⁰⁷ *Rājavallabha*, Canto V, vv. 36-40, ff. 8-9.

²⁰⁸ *Sakalkirti-Rāsa*, V.S. 1492 (MS. Khandelwāl Jaina Temple, Udaipur).

²⁰⁹ *Lākhu : Jinadattacharitra*, V.S. 1606 (1549 A.D.), No. 536 (Āmber collection).

²¹⁰ *Mahāvīr-Rāsa*, V.S. 1607, (Āmber collection).

²¹¹ *Mahāvīrcharitra* by Padmā, V.S. 1609 (1550 A.D.) (Āmber collection).

Paraswanāthcharitra,²¹² *Hariśchanda-chopai-Rāsa*,²¹³ etc.

It has been mentioned in *Samyaktva* that sometimes males used to appear on the stage in ladies' garb to arouse interest and sentiments.²¹⁴ Some paintings from the *Māltimādhava* show that *rāsa* was performed with a minimum of stage appurtenances, only a curtain held out by two persons from both the ends was used to keep out the actors from the sight of the audience.²¹⁵ It seems from Jaina literature that a band of Jaina teachers during their halt at Pātan staged scenes from the stories of *Pāraswānāthcharitra* and *Hariśchanda-rāsa* in which Śrī Jinchandra Suri and his disciples took part. They portrayed scenes of mythology and legend in dance, song and dialogue.²¹⁶ Actors from Gujarāt and other places, called *Bhavaiya* and *Bahurupiā* headed by *Inām Baksh*, Chandan, *Chānd*, Bājgu and Nonat Rāma, went from place to place staging short-dramas for the entertainment of common people as well as for the court.²¹⁷

Though from the point of view of efficiency the mediaeval dramatic performances cannot favourably be compared with those of modern times, it is certain that the drama participants moved the audience to emotion and created warm and living impression on the onlookers. The very nature of the performances suggests that the dramas had spread rapidly through all levels of rural and urban society and was found associated with temples and courts alike. Thus these dramatic activities provided some social satisfaction to almost everybody from the dresser to the drum-beater, and from the actor on the stage to 'mum'.

²¹² *Pāraswanāthcharitra*, V.S. 1756 (1699 A.D.) (SBLU).

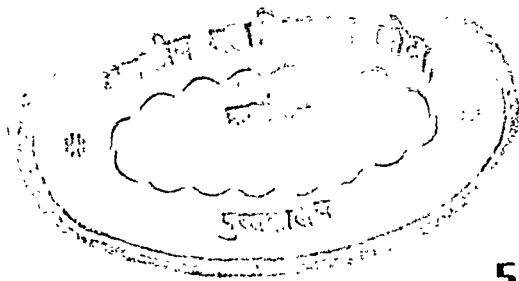
²¹³ *Hariśchanda-chopai-Rāsa*, f. 40a, V.S. 1804 (1747 A.D.)

²¹⁴ *Samyaktva* by Taruna Prabha Suri, V.S. 1411 (1354 A.D.), p. 120.

²¹⁵ *Māltimādhava*, (Illustrated), SBLU.

²¹⁶ *Hariśchanda-chopāi-Rāsa*, f. 40 b.

²¹⁷ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 23, ff. 13-23, 344, 437, 441, 538, 590, and 647, V.S. 1794 (1737 A.D.) and V.S. 1814 (1757 A.D.)



Dresses and Clothes

In the study of the life of the people of Rājasthān costumes form an interesting feature. Information regarding the dress of the period is available from contemporary literature, archival records, illustrated manuscripts, sculptures and paintings.

Costumes of the Dignitaries

It appears that the dress of the upper class of persons during the early mediaeval age was free from ostentation. The figures¹ of deities and persons of eminence, sculptured at Vijayasthambha Chitor and Māmādeva temple at Kumbhalgarh of the 15th century A. D., depict two types of garments. Some of the sculptures show that men used to wear a cloth which was wrapped round the waist. Such cloth is called *dhoti*. Others wore two pieces of cloth, the lower one was fastened round the waist with an elaborate plaiting in front and the upper one thrown over the shoulders, either in the manner of a shawl to cover the upper body or in narrow folds suspended from the neck to the knees. The *Kalpasutra*² has for dress a *dhoti* only, while the upper part of the body is bare. Rāo Jeitsi-rau-Chhand³ of V. S. 1591 (1534 A. D.) describes *chir* (*dhoti*) and *angabandha* (upper cover) worn by Jeit Singh (1526-1542 A. D.). In the *Ekalinga Mahātmya*⁴ of Rāimal's time, Bāpā's dress consists of those two articles which are termed *paridhāna* (lower garment) and *āchhādan* (upper garment).

This admirable economy and simplicity in dress yielded place to variety and richness in the second-half of our period. The change was due partly to the availability of cloth of various description and partly to

¹ My article on Chitor, M. B. College Magazine, March, 1950, pp. 17-20 ; My article on the memorial of Kunwar Prithvirāja, *Shodh-patrikā*, Vol. 10, March and June, 1959, p. 12.

² My article, 'Society in Western India as reflected in *Kalpasutra MS.*', *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XII, 1956, pp. 69-71.

³ Rāo Jeitsi-rau-Chhand, vv. 27 and 367, ff. 6 and 20.

⁴ *Ekalinga Mahātmya*, v. 22, f. 20.

the Mughal contact. A *parwānah*⁵ of Amar Singh II of Mewār awarded to Kushāl Singh of Vijayapur in V. S. 1762 (1705 A. D.) preserves the names of various kinds of garments worn by well-placed men, such as *dagali*,⁶ *dodhi*,⁷ *dovada*⁸ and *kano*.⁹ From literary and historical sources¹⁰ we learn that *jāmah*,¹¹ *vāgā*,¹² *jhhagā*¹³ and *gudadi*¹⁴ were worn by persons of status on festive occasions. In design and cut these garments resembled, in smaller or greater degree, the loose coats of the Mughals, variously known as *Takauchiya*, *peshwāz*, *dutāhi*, *qābā* and *gadar*.¹⁵ These long coats required about two *thāns* (two full pieces) of cloth with 8 *girihs* (digits) for the border.¹⁶

Of the garments *dodhi* of white colour and *kano* of *chikan* was worn during summer season, while *vanāti-dodhi* and *jāmah* with lining were used in winter. *Khes*, shawl, *pāmdī* were worn in four-folds or two-folds and were thrown over the shoulders in cold weather.

It is difficult to say what exactly the turbans of the upper class in the earlier part of the 15th century looked like. But the head-gear of the

⁵ *Parwānāh* of V. S. 1762 (1705 A. D.) of the 10th of the dark-half of *Vaiśakha* (28th March, 1705 A. D.), (*Vidyāpīth Collection* from Vijayapur Mewār).

⁶ It is an upper cover over the coat with a wadding of cotton and lining.

⁷ *Dodhi* has narrow folds at sleeves and waist. It has long ribbons stitched at arms and waist.

⁸ *Dovada* is a kind of upper covering of double folds.

⁹ It is a coat with long sleeves.

¹⁰ *Achuldās-khichi-ri-Vārtā*, f. 52b; *Guṇarupaka*, f. 4; Khem Kavi: *Pushchīmādrī Stotram*, v. 28, f. 25; *Rājarupaka*, f. 5a; *Abhaya Vilāsa*, f. 31a; *Rāo Ratan Singh's Vachanikā*, pp. 249, 264; *Kapadkutuhala*; v. 17, f. 8b; *Rāmcharitra* (Illustrated), p. 85; *Haqiqat Bahi*, V. S. 1831 (1774 A. D.); *Phutkar-Kavitā*, p. 85.

¹¹ *Jāmah* is a long robe with four angular points with narrow waist sash so popular during Akbar's reign. For its shape and cut refer Mughal Miniatures, *Lalitkalā Akadami*, Plate I, and Mewār Painting, *Lalit Kalā Akadami*, Plate I.

¹² *Vāgā* is an ordinary long coat resembling *lambi-Angarkhi*.

¹³ *Jhhagā* is like a skirt of elaborate folds and tied round the waist. It reaches up to ankles. For its shape and cut refer *Mewār painting*, front cover, *Lalit Kalā Akadami*, A. Coomārswāmy's *Rājput Painting*, II, Plate XIIB.

¹⁴ *Gudadi* is a padded cover put over the coat in winter.

¹⁵ *Qānūn-i-Humāyūni*, ff. 70-77; *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, (H. Bloachmann), pp. 94-96; A. Coomārswāmy: *Rājput Paintings*.

¹⁶ Amar Singh's *Parwānāh*, V. S. 1762 (1705 A.D.); *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1828 (1771 A. D.)

figures of dignitaries sculptured at Kumbhalgath¹⁷ suggests that the men of eminence in Rājasthān used to wrap some bright coloured cloth over the head. Another type of head-gear with circular and high front is depicted in the sculptured art of the memorial slabs belonging to the 15th and 16th centuries.¹⁸ It seems probable that from this circular and erect front head-gear developed the high-walled and threaded style of turban of the 17th and 18th centuries, variously called as *ṣāg*¹⁹, *chīrā*²⁰ and *khāngā*.²¹

It seems that turban with several folds, one upon the other, were a safeguard against the scorching sun of the desert. The turban received further elaboration on account of the Mughal contact. The *atpati pagri* used in Mewār painting was popular in Akbar's reign.²² The loose and tight turbans with a broad sash of the time of Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān were finely blended in the *Amar Shāhi*²³ turban of Udaipur, *Udai Shāhi*²⁴ of

¹⁷ Sculptures, *Victoria Hall gallery*, Udaipur, Nos. 63-69.

¹⁸ *Memorial Stone of Bikā*, of the 5th of the bright half of *Āṣādha*, V.S. 1561 (17th June, 1504 A. D.), *vide* Ojhā's *B.R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 109; My article on Kunwar Prithvirāj's memorial, *Shodhpatrikā*, Vol. 10, March and June, 1959.

¹⁹ *Gṛṇbhāshācharitra*, f. 68a; Govind Dās : *Nāgadamaṇa*, V.S. 1724, f. 38b; *Phutkar Kavītā* (Illustrated), p. 85; *Rāo Ratan Singh Vachanikā*, p. 256; *Kapadakutuhala*, ff. 7a-8b; *Sarangadhar* (Illustrated), f. 222; My article 'Mewar Paintings through Ages', *Journal of Research, Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1959, pp. 75-76.

²⁰ *Haqiqat Bahis*, V. S. 1827-1857 (JDA).

²¹ The turban of this type is commonly known as *Khanjardār*, a name given to it because the curved projection on top is like the flat, curved blade of a dagger, *vide* 'A group of Bundi Miniatures' by Karl J. Khandālwālā, Plate XX, *Cowdust*, C. 1760-1770 A.D., plate No. XXIII, Kriṣṇa and Rādhā, 1760-1770 A. D.; *Bundi Paintings*, *Lalit Kalā Academy*, Nos. 3-4; *Khāngā* is a corrupted form of *Khāndā* which means a *khanjar* or a dagger.

²² *Vel-ro-Patra* (Illustrated), f. 99; *Mughal Miniatures*—Rāi Krishṇadās (Lalit Kalā Akādemi), Plate 1; *Mewār Painting*, Introduction by Motichand.

²³ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa*, ff. 30 and 56; *Sukarkṣetra*, (Illustrated), f. 18; *Kādambari* (Illustrated), f. 49; N.C. Mehta : *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 18; A. Coomārswāmy: *Rājput Paintings*, p. 81.

²⁴ *Avatāra Gitā* (Illustrated), in the possession of Mohan Lāl Shāh, Inspector Devasthān Deptt., Govt. of Rājasthān; A Sculptured Dwārpāla, Dhulev.

Dungarpur, *Bundi Shāhi*²⁵ of Bundi-Kotāh, *Vijaya Shāhi*²⁶ of Jodhpur and *Mān Shāhi*²⁷ of Jaipur.

Selection of colour and brightness for turbans according to seasons and festivals was a speciality in Rājasthān. In rainy season, turbans of bright green colour, in winter *kasumbi* (bright-red) and in summer saffron coloured turban were commonly worn.²⁸ During the *Teej* festival *laharna*²⁹ or multi-coloured turbans were popular. On *Dasherā*, festival *madit*³⁰ or flowered designed turban of gold-thread was used. On the occasion of *Holi*, white or yellow-coloured turban was very common.³¹ These turbans were made more attractive by adding various kinds of decorative articles as *turrā*,³² *sarpech*,³³ *bālā-bandī*,³⁴ *dugdugi*,³⁵ *goshpech*,³⁶ *latkan*³⁷ and *fatehpech*,³⁸ which were made out of golden or silver threads and were studded with precious stones of various colours.

There were special turbans with *moda*³⁹ for army officers and for bridegrooms. The decorative articles for the turban grew popular by frequent contact between the princes of Rājasthān and the Mughal Emperors. When *Kunwar* Karan of Mewār visited the Mughal Court at Ajmer,

²⁵ *A group of Bundi miniatures in the Prince of Wales Museum*, by Kārl J. Khandālawālā, 'Cowdust'—1760-1770 A.D. ; Figure 18, *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, 1954, No. 3, p. 31.

²⁶ *Panchatantra Paintings*, ff. 1, 22, 47 (18th century).

²⁷ Mān Singh's and Sawāi Jai Singh's Paintings, *Pothi Khānā*, Jaipur ; Mādho Singh's, Bhagvata Singh's and Pratāp Singh's Paintings of V.S. 1843, 1854 and 1874 respectively, in the possession of Narāin-Sikligar of Udaipur.

²⁸ *Parwānāh* of Vijaya Singh, V.S. 1762 (1705 A.D.) ; *Kapadakutuhala*, f. 8 ; *Varshā-ratu-rā-Dohā*, f. 87a.

²⁹ *Kapadakutuhala*, ff. 7-8 ; *Siyāhah-Huzur*, V.S. 1866 (1809 A.D.), f. 119.

³⁰ Bankidās' *Khyāta*, II, f. 340.

³¹ *Parwānāh*, V.S. 1762 (1705 A.D.)

³² It is a bunch of gold threads tied on the turban.

³³ A gold thread covering of the turban.

³⁴ It is a coloured piece tied round the turban.

³⁵ It is a decoration of precious stones for a turban.

³⁶ It is also another variety of *sarpech*.

³⁷ It is a suspending article of gold threads.

³⁸ A cloth for tying the head.

³⁹ *Dholā Māru* (Illustrated), ff. 8 and 10 ; *Sukarkṣhetra* (Illustrated), f. 9 ; *Vachanikā*, p. 252 ; *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 23a.

he was presented many rich articles for the turbans besides other gifts.⁴⁰ Similar articles were given to Jagat Singh, son of *Kunwar* Karan in 1615 A.D.⁴¹ Jahāngir gave *Bālābandi*, *goshpech*, *kānpēch*,⁴² etc., to Sur Singh of Bikāner as a present on several occasions.⁴³ Vijaya Singh of Jodhpur presented *bālābandi*, *sarpech* and *kilangi* to Hasan Kuli Beg in 1772 A.D.⁴⁴ Thus these types of decoration of the turban began to be widely and commonly used by men of status after the Mughal fashion.⁴⁵

Other articles of dress which were commonly used by highly placed men were *rumāl* and *gulband* (costing about, Rs. 4/- to 50/-) tied as a muffler round the neck and worn with a knot in front.⁴⁶ *Phentā* tied round the head and *dupattā* thrown over the shoulder, were worn as additional garments.⁴⁷ *Kamarband*, tied round the waist and *patkā* tied over the waist-band, were of both ordinary and ornamental types. There was also *jāngiyā* referred to as underwear in a *parvānāh* of V.S. 1762 (1705 A.D.). Sometimes it was crudely embroidered with flower design.⁴⁸

The army officers and captains wore in the early part of our period, a kind of uniform which was plain and serviceable. The description preserved in *Kānhadadeprabandha* and reliefs from Samidheśvara temple and Vijaystambha are suggestive of the dress of warriors. There they have been represented with *dhoti* reaching nearly below the knees. A kind of a short coat or a *dupattā* is the only covering for upper body. In order to keep the upper and lower garments in proper position, these warriors used a waist-girdle with their ends suspended between their legs. Over the head there was a loose wrapper which was called *phentā*. There was not much

⁴⁰ *Tuzūk* (R. & B.), Vol. I, p. 340 ; T. Roe's Embassy, pp. 106, 108, 110 & 112 ; Terry, p. 389.

⁴¹ *Tuzūk* (P. T.), Vol. I, p. 145 ; Lahauri: *Pādshah-nāma* (P. T.), Vol. I, p. 176 ; *Amarkāvya Vamshāvali*, f. 49a ; G.N. Sharmā : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 138.

⁴² It is tied over the turban covering the ears.

⁴³ *A Farmān* No. 20 (Bikāner Archives), dated the 24th Oct., 1626 ; *Ibid.*, No. 24, dated the 11th Nov., 1627.

⁴⁴ *Havālā Bahi*, No. 3, V.S. 1829 (1772 A.D.)

⁴⁵ Manucci: *Storiā-do-Mogor*, II, p. 341.

⁴⁶ *Dastur Komwār*, ff. 60 and 73, V.S. 1790 (1733 A.D.) ; *Mahamāni Bahi*, (KA), V.S. 1841 (1784 A.D.) ; *Bānkidās' Khyāta*, II, f. 371.

⁴⁷ *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1789 (1732 A.D.) ; *Siyāhah Huzur*, V.S. 1799 (1742 A.D.) ; *Bānkidās Khyāta*, II, ff. 285 and 296.

⁴⁸ *Bikāner Gāzal* ; *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1823 (1766 A.D.) ; ff. 20 & 26 ; *Rojnāmchā* (KA.), *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, (1785 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, File No. 25, V. S. 1739 (1682 A. D.) ; *Havālā Bahi*, V. S. 1833 (1776 A.D.)

difference in the uniforms of the army officers of various grades, except perhaps in the quality of the material used.⁴⁹

On account of Mughal contact garments like *shalwār*, *payjāmah*, *izār* (trousers) and *izārband* became common in the later mediaeval society of Rājasthān.⁵⁰ The description of *izārband* (ribbon to tie the trousers) as preserved in our records,⁵¹ shows that it was painted with stars and had silver rings at its ends. The Hindu aristocracy, as it seems, followed the Muslim nobility in their dresses during the 17th and 18th centuries.

In order to protect feet, red footwear with pointed ends on both the sides were used invariably. Embroidered shoes of velvet were used by aristocrats.⁵²

Costumes of the Common Man

The costumes of the middle class, among whom may be included shop-keepers and artisans, were less ornate than the dress of the nobility. Their costumes seem in all probability to have consisted of a turban, an upper garment called *bakhtari*, a *dhoti* reaching below the knees and a *dupattā* round the neck and coming down from the shoulder to the waist in loose folds.⁵³

The dress⁵⁴ of a Brāhmaṇ was considered decorous and respectable, if he put on a *dhoti* of white or yellow colour and an *uṣarṇā* (short shawl) of reasonable size. He was generally bare-headed, except on ceremonial occasions when he wore a turban or cap with flaps to cover his head and ears from cold. A heavy blanket would sometimes protect the upper part of his body. Far less elaborate was the costume of common people, such

⁴⁹ *Kānhadādeprabandha*, Canto 1, v. 189, p. 40, ed. Jodhpur; *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 28, 29 and 45; *Maāsir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 325; *Mustakab-ul-Lubāb*, II, p. 22; *Abhayavilāsā*, f. 14a; *Rājārupaka*, ff. 5 and 7; Manucci : *Storiā*, p. 457.

⁵⁰ Trousers, as stated by Dr. Mazumdār in his *Chalukyās of Gujarāt*, p. 356 (ed. 1956), were probably copied from Central Asian *Sākas* or the *Kushāns* in early times; *Mahamāni Bahi*, V. S. 1844 (1787 A.D.)

⁵¹ *Paśchimādi Stotram*, v. 28; *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1790 (1733 A.D.), p. 57-58; *Siyāhah-Huzur*, III, V. S. 1856 (1799 A.D.), f. 70.

⁵² *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), f. 27; *Rāmcharitra* (Illustrated), f. 21; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 28 (KA).

⁵³ *Bhagavata Dashmaskandh*, V. S. 1667 (1610 A.D.), PPJ, (Illustrated) i. 21; *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 20-27; *Kriṣṇacharitra* (Illustrated), ff. 27, 45.

⁵⁴ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 28-29; A. Coomarswamy : *Rājput Paintings*, II, Plate No. VII, 'Devi and Brahmā.'

as, domestic servants, washermen, porters, cart-drivers and ordinary soldiers. A domestic servant in sculptured art at Vijayasthambha wears a long piece of cloth wound round the waist, hardly reaching the knees. His back is covered by a loose piece of cloth and his head is partially covered by a *phentā* (wrapping) of a small size. Some of the infantry men in *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* paintings⁵⁵ are dressed in *jāngiyā* (short trousers) without having any covering, either for the head or the upper part of the body. A Muslim water-carrier is painted in the *Panchatantra*⁵⁶ in a long *kurtā* (skirt) and a tight fitting *pāyjamāh* (trousers) which comes down to the knees. A messenger of the *Kādambari* and the *Panchatantra* paintings⁵⁷ has his tunic girt tight by a mud-stained strip of cloth and with a girdle bearing bells. A juggler of the *Panchatantra* paintings⁵⁸ wears a short *dhoti* and a cumbrous turban with ropy folds, interwoven in irregular manner. The pen picture of a beggar, preserved in the *Sadevatsa-Sānwali-gori-Vāt*,⁵⁹ makes him wear an ash-coloured garment of small size wrapped partly above the waist and partly below it. He has a staff in the hand and sandals on the feet. He is burdened with long locks of hair. In one of the pictures of the *Dholāmāru*⁶⁰ a beggar has a short *dhoti* and a small piece of rag on his head.

The Bhils, according to Taruṇ Prabha Suri and Padmanābha⁶¹ wore very little. The Vijayasthambha⁶² of Chitor also gives an idea of the dress of the Bhils and wood-cutters. They appear with a short loin-cloth which hardly cover their waist or thighs. They hold bows in one hand and keep arrows in the other. On their back they carry quiver-straps. They have nothing to cover their hair which grow in irregular fashion. In a painting of the *Kādambari*⁶³, Bhils have been shown with long luxuriant locks curl down to the neck.

Captain Mundy⁶⁴ noted that the common people in Bharatpur put on padded green frock and trousers, red *Kamarbanda* (waist-girdle), and

⁵⁵ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 28-29.

⁵⁶ *Panchatantra* (Illustrated), "Streets of a Town", f. 1.

⁵⁷ *Kādambari* Paintings (Illustrated), f. 37 ; *Panchatantra* Paintings (Illustrated), f. 41.

⁵⁸ *Panchatantra* Paintings (Illustrated), f. 51.

⁵⁹ *Sadevatsa Sānwali-gori-Vāt*, vv. 56 and 96 ; ff. 16 and 23.

⁶⁰ *Dholāmāru* (Illustrated), ff. 63 and 106 ; *Sarangadhar Paddhati*, f. 31.

⁶¹ *Samyaktva*, V.S. 1411, p. 89 ; *Kānhadādeprabandha*, Canto 2, Vol. 2-4, p. 63, ed. Jodhpur.

⁶² *Vijayasthambha*, Chitor, Storey 4th, left corner-piece.

⁶³ *Kādambari* (Illustrated), f. 37 ; *Rājāvilāsa*, Canto 10, vv. 91-97.

⁶⁴ Captain Mundy : *The Journal of a Tour in India*, Vol. I, pp. 65-66.

rakishly put a scarlet turban. The peasants had scanty *dhoti*, or waist-cloth. The country people in the interior part of Rājasthān, as a whole, had no other clothing than a piece of coarse cloth to hide their secret parts, being miserably poor.

The dress of monks was typical of the sect or order to which they belonged. The *Nāth-Temple Inscription*⁶⁵ of V. S. 1028 (971 A. D.) mentions that Kushik and other monks of Ekalinga, belonging to Nāth order or *Sādhus*, smeared ash on their hairs and wore the barks of trees and had braided hair. The Jaina monks⁶⁶ covered themselves with white *uttariya* (covering) which came down the feet. They had black staffs and dirt-scrappers. Some of the ascetics, according to Bābur⁶⁷ contented themselves with a simple loin-cloth (*langoti*), a decency-clout whose two ends hung below the navel. One pendant of this decency-clout is passed between the thighs and made fast below. The dress of the Hindu hermit in contemporary paintings⁶⁸ of the 17th and 18th centuries is of utmost complexity. A staff, a skin either of antelope or lion, a rosary, a girdle, an old rug, a red scarf hanging from his shoulder and a loin-cloth of limited length were his worldly possessions. His alms-bowl and a yoke—a pole to take rest on while standing or sitting, were additional equipments of this class of persons, who moved with these articles from place to place. Muslim faqir's *qafni* (long-coat) was so well-known that the painters of *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* and *Rāmācharitra*⁶⁹ have painted Rāvaṇa in that dress.

Costumes of Women

Women robed themselves in garments and had different modes of putting them on. During the early mediaeval period, the use of bodice to cover their breasts and arms was optional. Some female figures at Vijayasthambha⁷⁰ have bodice to wear while others are without them. A tight-fitting bodice or *choli*, covering the breast and leaving the lower part of the abdomen exposed, and covering the arms up to the elbows, was in vogue. In order to keep breasts in position laces were fastened at the back. They covered their heads with a big scarf, now called *odhani*. The

⁶⁵ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, II, p. 71.

⁶⁶ *Kalpasutra* (Illustrated), 'Mahamukti', f. 81b ; My article on *Society in Western India* as reflected in a *Kalpasutra Ms.*, *Journal of Indian Museum*, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 69-71.

⁶⁷ *Bāburnāma*, f. 217 ; Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 519.

⁶⁸ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 2 & 8 ; *Śivarahasya*, f. 29 (Illustrated); *Avatāragītā* (Illustrated), f. 37.

⁶⁹ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), f. 37; *Śrī Rāmācharitra* (Illustrated), f. 78.

⁷⁰ *Vijayasthambha*, Chitor, Storey Nos. 3 & 4 ; Image of Durgā of the 15th century A. D., *Jaipur Museum*, exhibit No. 11187.

painter of the *Kalpasutra*⁷¹ has depicted ladies wearing long, gaily-coloured *sāris*, broadest at the ends, coming down from the shoulders and hanging loose below the knees. Some sculptured figures⁷² show that a single piece of cloth called *sāri* served the purpose of wrapping the lower part and covering the upper body. The other variety for wrapping the lower part of the body consisted of a garment descending from the stomach to the ankles and fastened by means of a string. It was originally a loose cloth with tapering ends on lower sides, which gradually took up the shape of a skirt, and which in current expression is termed as *ghāgharā* or *ghāghri*.

But gradually, just as the male costume underwent changes in size and design, female attire was also subjected to radical changes in fashion with the contact of the Mughals. But it retained its originality in some details. The contemporary paintings⁷³ reveal that by and by *sāri* began to be so worn that one end gracefully led down in folds and other end suspending by the side of the other arm in angular form. The size of the *sāri* coming over the upper part was so adjusted that, if required, it could also be adopted as a kind of veil. The inconvenience of veiling and discomfort of long *sāri*, it appears, brought in the use of fine texture for it, so as to reveal the figure of the wearer and afford both facility and fashion.

Similarly, as we proceed further, the bodice with half-sleeves and length up to the breast underwent a change. It became fashionable to wear bodice or *choli* of long sleeves, covering the bust almost down to the waist. The further modification of bodice into *kurti* has been referred to in the *Dastur-Komwār*⁷⁴ of Jaipur Records, with half-armed and full-armed jackets with buttons or laces in front. The half-sleeved bodices coming up to the breast were, of course, not extinct.⁷⁵

Along with the bodice of new design, *gherdār-ghāghrā*⁷⁶ also became popular. In some cases it was of a reduced width and was termed as

⁷¹ *Kalpasutra*, V. S. 1536 (1479 A. D.), ff. 18, 38 and 64.

⁷² *Satisthambhas* of Kumbhalgarh at Hanumān Pol, V. S. 1564 (1507 A. D.), V. S. 1671 (1614 A. D.), V.S. 1682 (1625 A. D.), etc.

⁷³ *Bhagavata Dashmaskandha* (Illustrated), ff. 15-21 ; *Kriṣṇacharitra* Paintings, "Swakiyā and Parkiyā", Nos. 18-19 ; *Kavipriyā* (Illustrated), ff. 13 and 77 ; *Mān Lilā* (Illustrated), ff. 11, 12 & 13. A lady of *Khajanchi Collection*, 18th century.

⁷⁴ *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1856 (1799 A. D.), ff. 56, 97, 98 and 102.

⁷⁵ *Panchatantra* (Illustrated), ff. 27 and 33 ; *Kavipriyā* (Illustrated), 'Krishṇa and Gopika', f. 17.

⁷⁶ *Surajaparakāsha*, f. 48a.

lehengā.⁷⁷ The use of trousers, loose drawers, a skirt and a long scarf had begun to be used by some Hindu ladies after the Muslim fashion, serving in the harem of Rājput princes.⁷⁸

However, it is certain that the three garments, *sāri*, skirt and bodice of different design and size, constituted the common dress of ladies in our period. There were usually several varieties. For example, *sāri* was termed as *chol*, *nichol*, *dukul*, *pat*, *ansuk*, *vasan*, *chir*, *patori*, *chorso*, *odhni* and *chundri*.⁷⁹ For bodice the words like *kanchuki*, *choli*, *kānchali* and *kudti* were common.⁸⁰ *Ghāgharā*, *ghāghari* and *lahangā* were general terms in vogue for skirt.⁸¹ Besides these ladies of high rank wore shawls of fine Kashmir-make during winter. *Patkā* and *dupattā* were commonly worn by gentlemen and ladies alike.⁸²

The contemporary accounts show that these garments were costly and were ornamented with pearls, jewels, gold-laces and stars. They were also embroidered and bore designs of flamingoes, flowers and birds. Gold threads formed the texture of fabrics. They were also variegated with spots of designs of different colour.⁸³

Illustrated manuscripts, stray paintings and sculptured art of the period under review reveal a variety of patterns and styles of dress of ladies of various grades of society. *Sabri* of Vijayasthambha,⁸⁴ Chitor, has a short loin-cloth tied with flaps at the back. In an interesting picture of *Āsāvāri Rāga*,⁸⁵ Shabari, a Bhil woman, wears a short loin-cloth to cover her lower parts without any garment. Śurpanakhā of the *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa*⁸⁶

⁷⁷ *Kapadakutuhala*, f. 7a.

⁷⁸ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa*, ff. 2 and 5, 'Sitā wearing trousers and a *ghāgharā*'; Madho Singh and ladies with loose drawers, a shirt and a scarf, Nathu Śikligar's *Collection*, Udaipur (18th century).

⁷⁹ *Nāma Manjari* by Nand Dās, f. 5b; *Sanyoga Battisi*, f. 4a; *Kapadakutuhala*, v. 27.

⁸⁰ *Nāma Manjari*, v. 57, ff. 5b and 6a; *Sanyoga Battisi*, f. 4; *Rājāvilāsa*, Canto 1, v. 17; *Kapadakutuhala*; *Siyāhah Huzur*, f. 205a; *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1856 (1799 A. D.), f. 95.

⁸¹ *Kapadakutuhala*, f. 4a.

⁸² *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1856 (1799 A. D.), ff. 80, 85, 90, 94, 97 etc.

⁸³ Keshava Dās: *Mān Lilā*, v. 3, f. 11; *Siyāhah-Huzur*, V. S. 1789 (1732 A. D.), ff. 90, 92, 102 and 107; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, V. S. 1791 (1734 A. D.), ff. 42-44.

⁸⁴ *Vijayasthambha*, storey 4, corner piece.

⁸⁵ *Rāgini Painting*, *Āsāvāri Rāga*, *Western Gallery*, Jaipur *Pothi Khānā*, mid-sixteenth century.

⁸⁶ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 25, 27, 28, 29.

has been shown in a coarse *sāri* with red flowered skirt and a bodice of rough design. In one of the sculptured figures of Rishabha Deva temple, Dhulev,⁸⁷ a Bhilni, is dressed in a short skirt hardly reaching her knees, with a long bow and arrows in her hand. A woman messenger in the Kādambari⁸⁸ paintings has only short skirt and loose bodice. In the *Khajanchi Collection*, Bikāner, there is a picture⁸⁹ which depicts the dress of maid-servants. They wear each a short *sāri*, clumsy skirt and dirty bodice. In the same collection, a widow's dress consists of a brown *sāri*, dull-coloured skirt, and a dark-green bodice. Throughout our period dancing-girls and women musicians have been depicted, both in paintings and sculptures,⁹⁰ in half-nude state with half-sleeved bodice covering their breasts, and loose skirts. They wore trousers also.⁹¹ Similarly the dress of Jaina nuns consisted of a thick *sāri* and loose tunic of white colour.⁹² Mirā of the *Bhaktamāla*⁹³ has been shown only in a *dhoti* of yellow colour worn in male fashion. This seems to have been an approved dress of ladies who renounced the world.

Contemporary paintings⁹⁴ and records⁹⁵ of the 17th and 18th centuries show that coloured sandals, studded with gold threads and stars formed part of the dress of dignified ladies. Such sandals had pointed ends in front and no projection at the heels. But no painting shows poor women with shoes on.

As regards the nature of cloth and materials used for the garments, our records⁹⁶ of the 17th and 18th centuries yield rich information. They are variously known as *atlas*, *jāmdāni*, *kimkhāb*, *tassar*, *chhint*, *pārcho*, *masru*,

⁸⁷ Rishabha Deva temple, Dhulev, outer panel, 18th century.

⁸⁸ *Kādambari* (Illustrated), ff. 49 and 65.

⁸⁹ A painting from *Khajānchi Collection* by Gangārāma, V.S. 1793 (1736 A.D.)

⁹⁰ Dancing parties sculptured at Delwādā, Nāgdā, Chitor and Jagdish temples (11th century to 18th century A. D.), *Mārg-Rajasthan Sculpture*, March 1959, No. 2, pp. 15, 46, 69, 71.

⁹¹ G. N. Sharma : *Society as revealed from Rāj Samudra Carving*, Uttar Pradesh Research Journal, Vol. V. No. 1, 1958, pp. 19-25 ; *Samāj and Sanskriti, Rājsamudra Lake Shodhpatrikā*, March, 1958, pp. 54-68.

⁹² *Mālti Mādhava* (Illustrated), f. 9.

⁹³ *Bhaktamāla* (Illustrated).

⁹⁴ *Ārṣa Rāmāyana* (Illustrated), ff. 5 and 16 ; *Panchatantra* (Illustrated), ff. 27, 29, 30.

⁹⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 8, V. S. 1752 (1695 A. D.) ; *Dastari Records* V. S. 1808 (1751 A. D.)

⁹⁶ *Bastā* No. 4, *Bhandāra* No. 1, V. S. 1739 (1682 A. D.), ff. 1-2 ; *Siyāhah Huzūr*, V. S. 1791 (1734 A. D.), No. 25, ff. 1732-1758 ; Bankidās' *Khyāta*, II, ff. 96 and 304 ; *Haqiqat Bahi* No. 3, V. S. 1835 (1778 A. D.) ; *Kapadakutuhala*, ff. 7, 8 and 9.

chik, ilāyacho, lhirnā and the like. Similar names are given in the list furnished by Abul Fazl in the *Āin-i-Akbari*.⁹⁷ The names of the cloths⁹⁸ like, *Mahmudi chik, mir-i-bādlā, Norang-shāhi, Bahadur-shahi, Faruk-shāhi-chhint, Ālangiri-phento, bāftā,* and *momjāmāh-chhint,* suggest that they were introduced in Rājasthān through Mughal contact. These cloths grew popular and on the occasion of marriage, they formed special presents for the bride, bridegroom and their relatives.

We ought not omit mentioning in this connection that Rājput costumes, specially those of women, were very widely adopted in Mughal circles from Akbar's times onwards. All garments received as presents from Rājput States were carefully preserved. These served as models for the imperial workshops where workers prepared patterns and varieties of Rājput articles of dress. The occurring of the names of *chirā, fentā, Gangājal* cloth, *tansukh, sārī, lahangā, ghagharā,* etc., in the list of articles in the royal *kārkhānās* is a proof of the fact that these articles were in use in the Mughal circles.⁹⁹

Before we close the description of costumes, we shall point out a few observations on dresses and clothes. In matters of dress, it appears, there was no uniformity among the various social and religious groups of Rājasthān. If there was any uniformity it was among the lower classes which mainly consisted in reducing their clothing to a minimum. Among other general features mention may be made in this connection of the fact that the aristocracy gradually adopted a common dress for itself which was rich, while the vast masses poor people generally went about almost uncovered.

Ornaments

Like dress, ornaments too were of varieties and designs. Early sculptured figures¹⁰⁰ have *kundala* (earrings), *hāra* (necklace), *bāzubanda* (armlet), *mudrikā* (ring) for men and women. These ornaments were also referred to in the literature of the time. The *Ēkalinga Mahātmya*¹⁰¹ says that Hārta bestowed anklets on Bāpā to adorn his feet. The *Surajprakāsha*¹⁰² writes that Gaj Singh gave away bracelets and earrings to

⁹⁷ *Āin-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, Vol. 1, pp. 99-101.

⁹⁸ *Siyāhah Huzūr*, V. S. 1792 and 1793 (1735-1736 A. D.), ff. 1732-1758.

⁹⁹ *Āin-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, pp. 93-101; A. Coomārswāmy : *Rājput Paintings*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁰ *Kumbhalgarh Images*, Victoria Hall, *Archaeological-Gallery*, Udaipur, Nos. 60-67.

¹⁰¹ *Ēkalinga Mahātmya*, f. 21.

¹⁰² *Surajprakāsha*, f. 32.

his followers. In *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma and Sitā both have been painted with earrings and necklaces of the same size and shape.¹⁰³

The above list is not exhaustive. There were many more ornaments for ladies. They were worn almost on every part of the body. *Sishaphool* was worn on the forehead, and normally it cost about Rs. 107/-. *Rakhadi*, *bora* and *tikā* also decked the forehead.¹⁰⁵ The parting line of hair on the skull was decorated with a string of pearls, while the locks of hair were tied with a lace studded with gold and jewels.¹⁰⁶ There were several kinds of earrings. Star-shaped and flower-shaped ornaments termed as *karnaphool* were worn in the lower part of the ear in a fixed position, while leaf-shaped earrings known as *piṭal-patrā* and flower-shaped earrings known as *phool-zumkā* (costing about Rs. 218/-) and bud-shaped earrings known as *āgotya* (costing about Rs. 48/-) were worn on the upper part of the ears.¹⁰⁷

There is no mention of ornaments for the nose in the literature of the 15th and 16th centuries. But in the 17th and 18th century literature, paintings and sculpture, we find several references to nose-ring and nose-drops. It seems probable that they were borrowed from the Musalmans.¹⁰⁸ In *Padmini Chopāi*¹⁰⁹ of 1720 A. D., Padmini has been described wearing *vesar* studded with pearls and sapphire, shining like the colour of a peacock. Some works show that *Natha* and *vāri* were other types of nose-rings.¹¹⁰ These were suspended from a hole bored in the left nostril or in between the nostrils. They had pearls all round with a red ruby in the centre. According to Bānkidās, some ladies put on *Chuni*,¹¹¹ a nose-drop. Colouring the teeth and fixing in them *choupa* (nail) made of gold or pearls formed parts of decoration of well-to-do ladies.¹¹²

¹⁰³ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 2 and 8

¹⁰⁴ *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 58; *Sanyoga Battisi*, f. 4a; *Khedamultanka*, f. 37; *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 1, v. 28.

¹⁰⁵ *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1738 (1681 A. D.); *Sanyoga Battisi*, f. 4a; *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 1, v. 28.

¹⁰⁶ *Nāma Manjari*, v. 14, f. 2a; *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 1, v. 28.

¹⁰⁷ *Nāma Manjari*, v. 13, f. 2a; *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1774 (1717 A. D.); *Khedamultanka*, ff. 35 and 37; *Hath Bahi*, V. S. 1825 (1768 A. D.)

¹⁰⁸ N. C. Mehtā : *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ *Padmini Chopāi*, v. 184.

¹¹⁰ *Khedamultanka*, v. 14; *Nakha-Sikha*, v. 17, ff. 20 & 21; *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1774 (1717 A. D.); *Sānyoga Battisi*, f. 4a; *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 20a; *Bhawāni Chhand*, f. 39a; *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 7, v. 9 and 23.

¹¹¹ Bānkidās' *Khyāta*, II, f. 296.

¹¹² *Surajaparakāsha*, f. 48a.

There were many kinds of necklaces for the neck. One species is the *pote*¹¹³ of small beads of glass with a golden rod attached to the bunches on two sides. Below it is worn *nibori*.¹¹⁴ An ornament of this kind, but of bigger size and weight, is called *timaniyā*.¹¹⁵ Lower down the neck, another ornament called *tulsi*¹¹⁶ is worn which in shape is like the leaves of *tulsi* plant. Then follows the pearl necklace of one to nine strings.¹¹⁷ The last string has a box studded with jewels called *jugāwali*¹¹⁸ which comes down to the pit between the breasts. *Choki*¹¹⁹ is also a kind of necklace which dangles down to the stomach and is made of ruby. There are also similar type of ornaments¹²⁰ which are known as *kanth sari*, *kanthamāla*, *hāra* and *chandrahāra*. The three-stringed necklace is either called *champakali*¹²¹ or *hansahāra*. The first is designed after the petal of the *champā* flower and the second has a jewelled pendant of the shape of a swan. Along with these ornaments a necklace of large gold beads called *gunjmālā*¹²² and *jālro*¹²³ is worn round the neck. It descends to the abdomen and covers up the entire group of ornaments for the neck. Garlands¹²⁴ of flowers also add to the beauty.

Ornaments for fore-arms and wrists too were of many varieties.¹²⁵ On the fore-arms were worn broad and ornamented *bāzubanda* (bracelet) and *Rāmapāta* (three-fold *kadā*). Bangles of ivory, coconut or glass were worn along with gold or silver bangles. These bangles had silver and gold plating on them. Other ornaments for the wrists were *nogāri*, *kānkaṇa*, *gajrā*, *berkhā*, *chudī*, etc. These were sometimes richly inlaid with pearls and emeralds. Ordinary *nogari* cost Rs. 75/-, while one of special type cost Rs. 345/-. The cost of *bāzubanda* ranged between Rs. 190/- to

¹¹³ *Nakhasikha*, v. 84, f. 14b.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 86, f. 14b.

¹¹⁵ Bānkidas' *Khyāta*, Vol. II, ff. 339-340.

¹¹⁶ *Siyāhah Huzūr*, V.S. 1776 (1689 A.D.), f. 24.

¹¹⁷ *Rājarupaka*, f. 64.

¹¹⁸ Bānkidas' *Khyāta*, Vol. II, f. 340.

¹¹⁹ *Bhawāni Chhand*, f. 39a : *Nakhāsikha*, v. 92.

¹²⁰ *Guṇarupaka*, f. 126a ; *Chand Kunwar-ri-Vārtā*, f. 59a ; *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 20a ; *Surajaprakāsha*, f. 48a ; *Nakhasikha*, vv. 88-89, f. 14b.

¹²¹ *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 1, v. 20 ; *Bhawāni Chhand*, f. 39a.

¹²² *Bhawāni Chhand*, f. 39a.

¹²³ *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.), f. 50.

¹²⁴ *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 1, v. 29.

¹²⁵ *Guṇarupaka*, v. 10, f. 126a ; *Surajaprakāsha*, f. 48 ; *Bhawāni Chhand*, v. 25, f. 39 ; *Nāgamata*, f. 282b ; *Nakhasikha*, v. 11, 73-78, ff. 297 and 298 ; *Sanyoga Battisi*, v. 14, f. 4a ; *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 1, v. 16 ; *Hath Bahi*, V.S. 1825 (1768 A.D.)

Rs. 1000/- . The cost of *Chudi* also varied from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 376/-, and that of *kānkana* from Rs. 12/- to Rs. 300/- and even to Rs. 3000/-.¹²⁶

Anguthi, vinti, mudri, dāmṇā (two rings chained in one) and *hath-pāna* (shaped like betel-leaf) were popular types of ornaments for fingers, of which rings were worn by both sexes.¹²⁷ The cost of *hathpāna* was Rs. 120/- and those of *dāmṇā* was Rs. 77/-.¹²⁸ The representation of ornaments for waist in the sculpture,¹²⁹ paintings,¹³⁰ and literature¹³¹ was in the form of wide girdles of gold or silver called *kandorā* with hanging strings of pearls or bells of small size. Thus girdle had a self-explanatory name and was called namely *ksudraghantikā*¹³² (belled-belt). It was usually broad with four strands or one solid belt. It was worn by both men and women.

On the ankles ladies wore anklets which were of various shapes and designs. Each had its own name.¹³³ Those which were set with little tinkling bells were known as *pājeba, pāyala, nupura, ghungharū* and *jhānjhara*. They gave a sort of resounding sound when the wearer walked. There were other varieties with rattling pebbles filled in them. They were known as *jehari* and *nevru* or *nevri*. They were usually of silver, but aristocratic ladies had them made of gold with inlay work of jewels. The *pājeba* weighed about 41 *tolās* and those inlaid with ruby cost about Rs. 900/-, while *ghungharū* of ordinary variety cost about Rs. 20/-.¹³⁴

The ornaments for the pairs of the feet were *vinchhiyā, aṇvata, ānota, jarā, chhadā, pagapāna, polrā, pholri* and *chhallā*. They were of ordinary and ornamental design. The cost of jewelled *aṇvata* was about Rs. 234/- and that of ordinary *aṇvata*, weighing 6 *tolās* was about Rs. 25/-. The cost of

¹²⁶ *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.); Bānkidas' *Khyāta*, II, f. 66.

¹²⁷ *Nākhasikha*, v. 22; *Sanyoga Battisi*, ff. 1 & 4; *Hath Bahi*, V.S. 1825 (1768 A.D.)

¹²⁸ *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1758 (1701 A.D.); *Bhandāra* No. 4, *Bastā* No. 26, V.S. 1787 (1730 A.D.), ff. 44.

¹²⁹ The images of *Brahmā* and *Brahmāṇi* at *Mirā Bāi's* temple at *Ekalingaji* have a wide girdle of exquisite workmanship.

¹³⁰ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 8 & 16; *Bhāgavata* (Kotāh Museum), 17th century A.D.

¹³¹ *Nāma Manjari*, v. 64, f. 37b; *Bhawāni Chhand*, f. 39a; *Nakhasikha*, v. 9, f. 1b; *Rājāvilāsa*, v. 16.

¹³² *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 20a.

¹³³ *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 41a; *Rājāvilāsa*, Canto 1, vv. 13-14; *Khedamulatanka*, f. 35; *Bhawāni Chhand*, v. 26, f. 39a; *Nāma Manjari*, v. 65, f. 327; *Nakhasikha*, vv. 29 & 32, f. 3b; *Udaipur Gazal*, v. 22.

¹³⁴ *Khyāta Bikāner-rā-Rāthodāri*, ff. 66-67.

vinchhiyā of gold was about Rs. 90/- and that of *paḡapāna* was about Rs. 1200/-.¹³⁵

Women of ordinary status and means wore the same kind of ornaments and their mode of putting on was the same, except that they were made of silver. Of course, they did not wear them everyday and reserved them for festive occasions. From an inventory of thefts of Navalā and Bherudā, preserved in the *Hāvālā Bahi*,¹³⁶ we learn that poor women wore *naths* (nose-rings) costing about Rs. 16/- each, *valni* (nose-ring) worth about Rs. 16/- each, *touti* (ear-bunch) costing Rs. 7/-, *chudi* (bracelets) costing Rs. 5/- each, *gujari* (bracelets) costing Rs. 9/- each, *māḍlio* (pendant) costing Rs. 8/-, *mudri* (ring) costing Rs. 1/8, *virbali* (earrings) costing Rs. 10/-, and *davo* (double rings with chain) costing Rs. 5/-. Women of primitive tribes too had their ornaments but these were made of baser metals, like brass, copper and tin. The *Sabari* of Rāḡini painting¹³⁷ in the *Pothi Khānā*, Jaipur and Surpankhā of *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa*¹³⁸ have tin or brass bangles, armlets and anklets. In the *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri Inscription*,¹³⁹ the *gunjā* (*Abrus precatorious*) necklace is the breast ornament of a *Śabari*. *Maliyāgiri*, a fictitious lady, is made to wear a necklace with pendant, earrings and bangles of glass and bracelet of lac and anklets of mixed metal of brass and tin.¹⁴⁰

Children of well-to-do people wore bracelets, girdle and earrings. Anklets and bracelets of silver, popularly known as *kadās*, were worn by middle class children.¹⁴¹

Toilets and Cosmetics

Toileting was considered as essential as ornaments. Bath, anointment with unguents and perfumes were popular with all classes. Nāmedeva in his work of the *Graha-Snāna-Vichāram* gives instructions as to how one should take a bath. The directions, as he says, are derived from the

¹³⁵ *Nakhasikha*, vv. 21-22; *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1774 (1717 A. D.); *Khyāta Bikaner-rā-Rāthodāri*, ff. 66-77.

¹³⁶ *Hāvālā Bahi*, V. S. 1811 (1754 A. D.); My article on *Hāvālā Bahi*, *The Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. VII, No. 3, Dec., 1960, pp. 93-104.

¹³⁷ Rāḡini Painting, *Pothi Khānā*, Jaipur.

¹³⁸ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 27-28.

¹³⁹ *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri Inscription*, V. S. 1331, v. 31, *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. IV.

¹⁴⁰ *Maliyāgiri-ri-Vāt*, vv. 48-50, f. 3b.

¹⁴¹ *Nāgadāmana*, f. 38a; *Bhāgavata* (Illustrated), Museum, *Art Gallery*, Kotāh, Kriṣṇa at Gokul; *Art Gallery*, Museum, Jaipur, 'Vasudev, Deoki and Kriṣṇa', No. 213.

Smritis and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Feet, face and sacred thread should be washed first and next water, out of the palm-pit, should be sipped twice, and then *śikhā* (central lock) should be tied with *darbha* grass. After *prāṇāyāma* (control of breath) bath should be had facing the east. He says that hot-water bath should be avoided by those who want to keep themselves healthy and beget a son. He prescribed the use of oil before bath, but not on the 2nd, 6th, 8th, 10th and 13th day of the month. He also advised that after attending to call of nature one should take bath and repeat the process of *Prāṇāyāma* thrice.¹⁴²

These instructions were generally speaking followed by Brāhmins and other religious men. Well-to-do people had bathrooms attached to their houses. The bather would sit on a pedestal and his servants would rub perfumed oil on his body, pour water over his head from the jars of silver and gold. It was the usual practice to wrap a small piece of cloth round the waist at the time of taking bath, even in a secluded room. The towel was used to dry the body after bath. Aristocrats would apply perfume before putting on clothes. The common people took their bath in the open. One preferred to bathe in a river or a lake.¹⁴³

Ladies of high rank were assisted by maid-servants while bathing in their private bathrooms. These also saw to the arrangements of water, oil, comb and other articles of toilet. Anointing of the body with sweet smelling unguents (*uṣtan*) and then rubbing of perfumed oil was the preliminary to the bath. Scented paste for the body was used after bath. Assistance of maid-servants was essential in oiling.¹⁴⁴

It was common to wear long hair on the head. Hindu ascetics had matted locks (*jata*).¹⁴⁵ Jaina Sādhus pulled out their hair.¹⁴⁶ Primitive people allowed their hair to grow and tied them into knots over their heads. Forest-dwellers had long thick locks of hair curling at the ends and hanging over their shoulders.¹⁴⁷ Common men wore their hair cut.

¹⁴² *Graha-Snāna Vichāram*, ff. 178, 258, 267, 270 & 273.

¹⁴³ *Kalpasutra*, f. 26b, 'A Bathroom and its Equipments'; My article 'Society and Culture in Western India,' *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XII, 1956, pp. 69-71; *Suknāsācharitra* (Illustrated) 'A River Bath'.

¹⁴⁴ *Sadevatsa-Sāwaligori-Vāt*, f. 12a; *Khedamultanka*, 37b; A Wall Painting, Zalim Singh's *haveli*, Kotāh, 'Lady at her bath'; Bikaner Painting, (KC) Nos. 42; *Art Gallery*, Museum, Bikaner, 'Toilet of Princess'; A. Comārswāmy: *Rājput Painting*, Plate No. XLIX, -B.

¹⁴⁵ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), f. 66; *Nāthcharitra* (Illustrated), ff. 7, 8, 13 & 17.

¹⁴⁶ *Kalpasutra*, 'A Jaina Monk' (KC).

¹⁴⁷ *Vijayastambha*, 4th Storey, 'sculptured figures of forest-dwellers'; Dhulev Temple, outer-gallery, sculptured figures of forest-dwellers, (18th century A. D.)

The beard, if allowed to grow, was combed and kept in proper order. Some persons clipped their moustaches after they had come into contact with Muslims, and others had them in fantastic fashion—straight or erect.¹⁴⁸

The women of our age had various style of coiffures. They allowed their hair to grow long. In fact, the longer the hair the more beautiful they were considered to be. After their proper oiling and combing it was either parted into plaits (*veni*) or tied into a knot on the back of the head. If it was braided into a long plait, it was styled as the single braid (*ekveni*).¹⁴⁹

In order to improve on the gift of nature, ladies in particular and men in general utilized several artifices for the beautification of the face. Pastes commonly termed *chovā*, *abhir*, *amber*, *argajā* were applied to keep the body soft and scented. They were generally prepared out of plants and trees, as specified in the literature of our period under review. Several kinds of oils and sweet-smelling scents were prepared out of flowers like rose and jasmine and plants like sandal-wood. Black unguents termed *kājala* (collyrium) were applied to the eyes. Similarly, vermilion was used for red mark over the forehead and *hennā* (*Lawsonia alba*) over palms and feet by married women.¹⁵⁰

Food : Diet of the Common People

From contemporary evidences it is clear that vegetarian and non-vegetarian diets were in use side by side, but Hindu masses, in general, were accustomed to vegetarian food. Among peasants and villagers *ghāta*,¹⁵¹ *rāba*¹⁵² and thick bread were popular.¹⁵³ From the accounts papers,¹⁵⁴ preserved in the Kotāh archives, it is clear that the labourers were paid in kind, such as *gugri*, boiled food of *bājṛā* or maize for both the meals. The nature of such food can also be ascertained from the

¹⁴⁸ *Dholāmāru-ri-Vāt* (Illustrated), ff. 3 and 10, 'A Barāt Party' ; *Bikāner Gazal*.

¹⁴⁹ Sculptured figures of ladies at Nāgdā, Osiān, Bharatpur and Rāj-Samudra lake ; *Ārṣa Rāmāyana*, 'Sitā and Anusuyā', f. 7a ; *Khajānchi* -Collection, Bikāner, 'Ladies swimming in a lake', (18th century A. D.) ; *Kavipriyā* (Illustrated), ff. 8 & 90.

¹⁵⁰ *Dholāmāru-ri-Vāt*, f. 74a ; *Bhandāra* No. 10, V. S. 1748 (1691 A.D.) ; *Argajā Vidhi*, f. 102 ; *Anang-Ranga*, v. 24, f. 16 ; *Sadevatsa-Sānwaligori-Vat*, f. 11b ; *Bija-Sorath-ri-Vat*, f. 31a ; *Nakhasikha*, v. 131, f. 12a ; *Sanyoga Battisi*, v. 18, f. 4b ; *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 8, vv. 80, 81, 82 & 83 ; *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 26b ; Tavernier, p. 184 ; *Dastur Komwār*, f. 323, V.S. 1786 (1729 A. D.)

¹⁵¹ *Ghāta* is the boiled maize in grinded form.

¹⁵² *Rāba* is the boiled flour of maize or *bājṛā* mixed with curd.

¹⁵³ *Vātsangraha*, f. 345 ; *Bernier's Travel*, p. 354.

¹⁵⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 4, *Bastā* No. 10, V. S. 1743 (1686 A. D.)

*Haqiqat Bahi*¹⁵⁵ where it has been specified that the runners of post and soldiers on duty were supplied flour, *ghee*, *gur*, and salt as daily ration in lieu of allowance for their services. It also seems that ordinary people ate dry bread, dry fruits and fried barley and *khichri*.¹⁵⁶ The staple food of the common people of Rājasthān consisted of preparations made out of maize, barley, *bājra* and curd. They contented themselves with simple food.

Diet of Middle Classes

For the people, especially those of the middle classes, wheat, rice, *ghee* and *gur* were the primary food. This kind of food was served either in a plate of wood or a cup of brass popularly known as *vātkā*.¹⁵⁷ Leaves of *khākrā* (*Butea-frondosa*) also served the purpose of a cup and dish when they were stitched together with thorns or thin chips of bamboo. Fresh water seems to have been the only drink at meals.¹⁵⁸

Diet of Upper Classes

The princes and nobles enjoyed rich and varied dishes. Various dishes have been referred to in literary works. As for example, Amar Singh's daily food recorded in the *Amarsāra*¹⁵⁹ consisted of sweets like, *phenikā*, *mandikā*, *ghevara*, *khājājā*, *śashkuli*; vegetables made out of raisin and date-palm, milk and curd. Spices such as, pepper, cloves and cardamom were in general use. The wholesome and health-giving food consisted of several kinds of vegetarian soups and solid fare, saturated with perfumes and mixed with dry fruits. Bhatta Sadā-Shiva¹⁶⁰ gives a long list of various kinds of sweets prepared on special occasions. Some of these were *māshpheni*, *dadhi-laddu*, *bindumodaka*, *kushmāndādimodaka*, *kshirmodaka*, *dugdhamodaka*, *chandrahāsa*, *ghevera*, *kesarghevera*, *āmra-ghevera*, *dadhi vatikā* and *dursa-vilepi*. Preparations of rice, wheat and cooked vegetables of various sorts and pulses of different types were invariably¹⁶¹ used. *Achārs*, *murabbās* (pickles—spiced and sugared) and *phāpada*, a sort of dried cakes of

¹⁵⁵ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V. S. 1831 (1774 A. D.).

¹⁵⁶ *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, f. 184, p. 114; *Khichri*—Pelsaert (I, p. 162) describes it as composed of green pulse mixed with rice and cooked with water over a little fire. Usually a little butter and salt were added to it. For the preparation of *khichri* also refer to Tavernier, p. 124.

¹⁵⁷ *Khyāta-vāt-Sangraha*, f. 66a; *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, f. 184.

¹⁵⁸ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), f. 8; 'Rāma, Sitā and Lakṣmana dining at an *Āshrama*'.

¹⁵⁹ *Amarsāra*, vv. 345-351, f. 29a.

¹⁶⁰ Sadā Shiva : *Rājavinoda*, ff. 14-30.

¹⁶¹ *Khedamulatanka*, v. 20, f. 216; *Surajaparakāsha*, f. 54a; *Manorath-manjari*, ff. 13-14.

pulses, were served daily at meals.¹⁶² The last item in the menu was curd which was used in order to digest food.¹⁶³

The Manners of Eating and Cooking

These preparations were placed on stool of gold or silver or wood on a big tray with cups to contain liquid and semi-liquid soups and vegetables.¹⁶⁴ The partakers usually sat down in a line on a piece of fine cloth (*Pāntiyā*) spread over the ground.¹⁶⁵ The Brāhman, as in one of the paintings,¹⁶⁶ would sit on a separate *āsana* (mat) in silken *dhotis*. The food was kept apart and none was allowed to touch except those who were permitted by caste rules to touch it.¹⁶⁷ Before taking meals hands and feet were washed.¹⁶⁸ It was also usual to take betel after the meals.¹⁶⁹ The rich would mix with it costly spices, as mentioned in the *Rājivilāsa*.¹⁷⁰ Manucci¹⁷¹ also noticed the practice of using betel by everybody in India. According to him it is very medicinal. It is chewed along with 'arrecas (areca) and a little catechu (*kathā*)'. He observes that by chewing all these things together it makes the lips scarlet and gives a pleasant scent. He further observes that it is a common practice in India to offer betel-leaf by way of politeness when any one pays them a visit. It would be a great piece of rudeness to refuse it.

The Feasts and Banquets

For special occasions more elaborate dainties were prepared. Varieties of sweets, vegetables and other articles were very common among the upper class people. *Lāpsi*, a preparation of *gur*, *ghee* and wheat was served on the occasion of marriage or other religious rites.¹⁷² *Pāncha Pakwāna* or five sweets were quite common in marriages.¹⁷³ *Lādu*, *churmā*,

¹⁶² *Bhandāra* No. 1, File No. 47, V. S. 1746 (1689 A. D.); *Surajprākāsha*, f. 54a; *Parvānāh*--Kushal Singh, V. S. 1762 (March 28, 1706 A. D.)

¹⁶³ *Surajprākāsha*, f. 54a; *Padmini Chopai*, v. 420.

¹⁶⁴ *Gorā-Bādal Chopai*, v. 29; *Surajprākāsha*, f. 54a.

¹⁶⁵ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V. S. 1831 (1774 A. D.)

¹⁶⁶ *Bhāgavata Dashamskandh* (18th century), f. 152. (Art Gallery, Jaipur palace).

¹⁶⁷ *Khedamultanka*, v. 6, f. 20b.

¹⁶⁸ *Ajitodaya*, canto 19, v. 47.

¹⁶⁹ *Surajprākāsha*, f. 54a; *Padmini Chopai*, v. 420.

¹⁷⁰ *Rājivilāsa*, canto 18, v. 53.

¹⁷¹ Manucci; *Storiā-do-Mogor*, vol. I, p. 63.

¹⁷² *Khyāta Bikāner-rā-Rāthodāri*, f. 55; *Havālā Bahi*, V. S. 1831 (1774 A. D.)

¹⁷³ *Khedamultanka*, f. 21a.

and *siro* (*halwā*) were popular among Brāhman and were relished by them.¹⁷⁴ Vegetable dishes of bottle-gourd (*ghīā*), bitter-gourd (*karelā*), brinjal (*bengan*) and ash-gourd (*kaddu*) were specially prepared for festive occasions.¹⁷⁵ Sugared and salted *achārs* of mangoes, cloves and lemons provided sauce.¹⁷⁶ *Puris* and pulses were also freely used at banquets.¹⁷⁷ On special occasions white-loaves (*vadā*) kneaded with curd and seasoned with spices were served.¹⁷⁸ *Kheer* and *sikhrana*, milk and curd preparations were common at selected gatherings.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, *puvā*, sugared cakes fried with *ghee*, were very popular.¹⁸⁰

Roasted, fried and souped dishes mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbari*¹⁸¹ seem to have grown popular in Rājasthān in the later part of our period. The dishes served on the marriage occasion of Gaj Singh of Jodhpur at Rañthambhor and banquets arranged for the ruler of Āmber at Jodhpur give an idea of the Mughal impact on Rājasthān menu.¹⁸² The vegetable of thirty-two kinds and sweets of thirty-eight varieties were served. *Seva*, *khājā*, *amarti*, *khurmā*, *bari*, *mungodā*, *pakori*, besides many kinds of roasted and fried articles were popular at such feasts. Mān Kavi's reference to sweets like, *Akbari Jalebi* and *Kalyān Shāhi Choki*, and Harinam's mentioning of *Bābar Bari*, *kachori* and *pakori* indicate Muslim influence on our dietary. *Palao*, *Murabbā*, *Khurāsāni Khichri* and pudding of rice and pulses mixed with almonds, raisins and various colours now became common dishes on festive occasions.¹⁸³

As hunting of wild boars, antelopes, deer and other wild beasts was the fashion throughout history, it is not unlikely that meat formed one of the most important item of food among the Kṣatriyās. The *Rājprāsasti*¹⁸⁴ while extolling the valour of Bāppā says that flesh of four goats was his food. Mutton, venison and *palao* and *qabuli* were choice dishes at party arranged at Sur Sāgar, near Jodhpur, on the occasion of Abhaya Singh's

174 *Havālā Bahi*, V. S. 1827 (1770 A. D.) ; *Jain Ins.*, III, No. 2154.

175 *Manorath Vallari*, f. 13a.

176 *Surajaparakāsha*, f. 54a ; *Manorath Vallari*, f. 14a.

177 *Abhayavilāsa* f. 21b.

178 *Manorath Vallari*, f. 13a.

179 *Ibid.*, f. 14a.

180 *Rasoi Lilā*, f. 73a.

181 *Āin-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, pp. 59-69.

182 *Guṇarūpaka*, f. 12b ; *Rukmani Mangala*, f. 99b. *Surajaparakāsha*, f. 57 ; *Rasoi Lilā*, f. 73b.

183 *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 16a ; *Manorath Vallari*, f. 13a ; *Surajaparakāsha*, f. 54a ; *Guṇabhāshā*, v. 4, f. 12b.

184 *Rājprāsasti*, canto 3, v. 17.

(1724-1749 A.D.) marriage.¹⁸⁵ Similar preparations were served at a hunting feast arranged at *Khāsā-Odi* near Udaipur¹⁸⁶ during Jagat Singh's time (1734-1751 A.D.) Common people of lower rank also relished meat.¹⁸⁷

Drink

From contemporary records it is evident that taking of opium and drinking of wine were prevalent intoxicants of the age under review. Opium was in use among a large number of people. Bernier¹⁸⁸ dwells upon the practice of use of opium by the Rājputs. He says, "from an early age they (Rājputs) are accustomed to the use of opium, and I have sometimes been astonished to see the large quantity they swallowed. On the day of battle, they never fail to double the dose, and this so animates, or rather inebriates them, that they rush into the thickest of the combat insensible of danger. It is an interesting sight to see them on the eve of a battle, with the fumes of opium in their heads, embrace and bid adieus, to one another, as if certain of death." Opium also served a source of entertainment to thieves and other bad characters.¹⁸⁹ It is interesting to know from *Guṇasāra*¹⁹⁰ that when it was swallowed in solid form was styled *Amalu* and when it was diluted and modified it went by the name of *kasumbo*. It is equally interesting to know from *Amala-ro-Gita*¹⁹¹ that the opium taken early in the morning after bath was supposed to produce exhilarating effect, in the noon it caused giddiness, and in the evening it produced pleasing effect for all the twenty-four hours. Next to opium, wine was in common use in Rājasthān. Liquor was taken in cups and was poured from jugs.¹⁹² Women too of our later period indulged in intoxicants.¹⁹³ Excessive drinking often resulted in death. Jahāngir records that Mahā Singh, grandson of Mān Singh, had died from excessive drinking of wine at Bālāpur in the province of Berar. His (Māhā Singh's) father also died in 1617 A.D., at the age of 32 from excessive drinking.¹⁹⁴

Bābur noted that country liquors were prepared out of the juice of date-palm in the area near the bank of the Chambal and the neighbouring

¹⁸⁵ *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 306.

¹⁸⁶ *Ākheta-Vaṛṇana*, f. 378a

¹⁸⁷ *Tuzūk* p. 255.

¹⁸⁸ Bernier, pp. 39-40 ; also refer Manucci, II, p. 457.

¹⁸⁹ *Dholā Māru*, f. 75b.

¹⁹⁰ *Guṇasāra*, f. 49.

¹⁹¹ *Amala-ro-Gita*, v. 6, f. 8a.

¹⁹² *A painting of drinking revelry*, 1760 A.D. (KC) Nos. 45 and 149.

¹⁹³ *Harem scene*, Art Gallery, Jaipur (18th century).

¹⁹⁴ *Tuzūk*, I. p. 377.

villages.¹⁹⁵ In south-western Rājasthān extract of *mahuvā* (*Bassia latifolia*) was fermented to yield an intoxicant.¹⁹⁶ *Mofor* and *golsār* were a kind of wine which were used by the upper class people in Rājasthān.¹⁹⁷ Wine was openly sold at liquor shops.¹⁹⁸ Dancing girls were made to drink wine in order to add to the mirth and merriment in the open *darbār*.¹⁹⁹

Tobacco gained wide popularity in Rājasthān since its introduction at the Mughal court. It was either puffed through a pipe or a *hukkā*. The aristocrats used the pipe made of silver. A *hukkā* with inlay work of jewel cost about Rs. 1000/- and even more. Its wide popularity is evident from the fact that *hukkā* was used from the ladies of harem to the people of lower strata. *Jardā* and *surti*, special preparations of tobacco were used by nobility of the 17th and 18th centuries.²⁰⁰

Bhānga was commonly used by the communities like Brāhmaṇs, and Vaiśyas who abstained from wine. A Śiva temple or a wrestling ground formed a favourable place for persons addicted to *bhānga*.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ *Tuzūk-i-Bābari*, f. 285.

¹⁹⁶ Tod : *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 60, (R. and K. Paul, ed.)

¹⁹⁷ *Guṇasāra*, f. 49.

¹⁹⁸ *Dugoli Gazal*, f. 32.

¹⁹⁹ Rājnagar Carving, *Journal of Research, Uttar Pradesh*, July 1958, pp. 19-25.

²⁰⁰ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.) ; *Udaipur Gazal*, V.S. 1757 (1700 A.D.) ; *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1857 (1800 A. D.) ; *Khyata Bikāner-rā-Rāthodari*, f. 66.

²⁰¹ A Painting (18th century), Śiva temple with a party indulged in drinking *bhānga*, *Khajānchi Collection*, Bikāner.

Hindu Festivals

Apart from the ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, there were several festivals which were separately observed by the Hindus, Jains and Muslims, irrespective of their social status. The number of festivals associated with the Hindus, of course, was greater in comparison to that of the Jains or Muslim festivals. These festivals were both religious and secular, and had mythological or historical origin. The great peculiarity about them is that there is hardly a month which might not be associated with some festival or other. It is needless to give minute ethnographic details regarding the festivals. A few of them as enumerated below will illustrate the nature of the festivals and their place in the annual round of activities in Rājasthān.

Gangora

Of all the social and religious festivals, whether noted for worship or for public fairs, *Gangora* is the most remarkable. According to our records,¹ *Ísar* (Mahādeva) and *Ísri* (Pārvati) made of clay, who were worshipped by women of all castes for 15 days, were taken out to be immersed into water on the bright-half of the 3rd of *Śravaṇa* along with their wooden effigies (*Gangora*) and were brought back home. On the bank of a river or the edge of a lake where they were taken, females joined hands and danced. The *Haqīqat Bahi*² records that on that day the procession commenced accompanied by *Nāiks* and Purohit led by trumpets and drummers through the *bāzār* and taken to *Jālrā* Lake. The *Mahārājā* also joined the procession with his followers. From the *Kotāh* records³ we learn that a special court was to be held on this occasion, and parties of females of various castes, such as, *Kunjadiā*, *Bhadabhunjā*, *Lakhārā*, *Nāvadiyā*, etc., entered the palace gates dancing and singing, each party in their own characteristic fashion. Wrestlers also

¹ *Dastur Komwar*, V.S. 1814 (1757 A.D.)

² *Haqīqat Bahi*, V.S. 1831-33, 'A description of *Gangora* of Tuvarji and Pāswānji'.

³ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 62, V.S. 1838, File No. 3.

gave a display of their art. A fair was held at the edge of the lake called Gangoraghāt and fire-works were displayed to the great rejoicing of the onlookers.

Col. Tod⁴ gives a picture of the festival at Udaipur at the close of our period in his inimitable style. He says, "These and other rites known only to the initiated, having been performed for several days within doors, they decorate the images, and prepare to carry them in procession to the lake. During these days of preparation, nothing is talked of but *Gauri's* departure from the palace ;.....At length the hour arrives, the martial *nakārās* give the signal "to the cannonier without", and speculation is at rest when the guns on the summit of the castle of Eklinggarh announce that Gouri has commenced her excursion to the lake. The cavalcade assembles on the magnificent terrace, and the Rānā, surrounded by his nobles, leads the way to the boatsEvery turret and balcony is crowded with spectators, from the palace to the water's edge... ..A more imposing or more exhilarating sight cannot be imagined than the entire population of a city thus assembled for the purpose of rejoicing ; the countenance of every individual, from prince to the peasant, dressed in smiles."

Raksabandhan

Rakṣābandhan falls on the full-moon day of *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August). From the records of the period under review, it appears that it is a festival of Brāhmaṇs and in particular of brothers and sisters. Silk-cords bejewelled with rubies, pearls and gems of great value were presented by princesses of royal household to their brothers. It was tied round the right wrist by one's sister or a royal priest with a hope to ward off the evil. The brother who received the *rākhi* (amulet) was to protect the honour of his sister and make befitting presents. Karuṇāwati, the mother of Vikramāditya of Mewār, sent the *rākhi* to Humayun with an appeal to help her against Bahādur Shah of Gujarāt. Since then it appears that the festival had its impact on the Mughal society also. Akbar and Jahāngir had *rākhis* tied on their wrists by the Hindu courtiers⁵.

⁴ Tod : *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 455 (R.K. Paul, London).

⁵ *Āin* III, p. 319 ; *Badaoni*, II, p. 269 ; *Tuzūk*, R. & B., I, p. 246 ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 28, File No. 212/1, V.S. 1770 (1713 A.D.) ; *Portfolio* File No. 5, V.S. 1788 (1731 A.D.) ; *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 25, ff. 709, 914, 959, 961, 969 and 971 (V.S. 1788-1791) ; *Siyāhah Huzur* No. 18, V. S. 1791 and 1811, f. 2135 ; *Vamshāvali—Rānāji-ni*, f. 63.

Tija Festival

Of all the festivals that of *Tija*⁶ (the third) had an emotional appeal for the people of Rājasthān. It was a day of excursion and picnic to a garden or a river side when [the weather was cloudy and rainy. It was observed on the third day of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, and was called *Kājalitija* on account of dark and cloudy atmosphere and heavy rain.⁷ It was a day of passionate reunion of husbands and wives. A poem⁸ composed during the period under review described the passionate urge of a lady to keep company with her husband who was at a long distance from home. The husband on his part longed to be back and reached home after crossing rivers and rivulets without minding the difficulties in the way.

Literary works⁹ of the period tell us that women during the season wore green petticoats, red *sāris* and multi-coloured bodices. In this dress they would visit the *tija* fair. Men also would visit the fair to enjoy the fun in the company of ladies and maidens. They would sing in chorus or enjoy singing in groups with great enthusiasm. Some maidens would go to the fair to meet their lovers. Peddlers, hawkers and confectioners had a roaring trade. The night of the *tija* was also counted as the culminating point of the festival.

On this day, the princes would hold *darbārs* and confer rewards upon artists and others. The rulers too visited fair and added to the enthusiasm of their subjects. Sometimes there were also horse-races at Jodhpur on the *Tija* day.¹⁰

Col. Tod, who was in Rājasthān at the close of our period, says that the husbandmen of Rājasthān deemed the day as the most auspicious day to reinhabit deserted dwellings. "On this fortunate occasion", he writes, "a band of three hundred men, women and children, with colours flying, drums beating, the females taking precedence with brass vessels of water

⁶ "*Tija* is sacred to the mountain-goddess Pārvati, being the day on which, after long austerities, she was reunited to Śiva. She accordingly declared it holy and proclaimed that whoever invoked her on that day should possess whatever was desired."—(Tod, p. 461).

⁷ *Sānwaligori-Vāt*, f. 9a.

⁸ *Chandrakunwar-ri-Vārtā*, v. 17, f. 55a.

⁹ *Sadevatsa Sānwaligori-Vāt*, f. 9 : *Chandrakunwar-ri-Vārtā*, vv. 18-19, ff. 55-56 : *Bālvilāsa*, vv. 13, 17 & 18, f. 10.

¹⁰ *Siyāhah Huzur*, ff. 2134, 2150, V. S. 1811 (1754 A. D.); *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 25, f. 701, V. S. 1813. *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. 2, V. S. 1823 (1766 A.D.), V.S. 1824 (1767 A.D.) and V.S. 1831 (1774 A.D.)

on their heads, and chanting the *Suhailea* (song of joy), entered the town of Kapasean, to revisit their desolate dwellings, and return thanks on their long abandoned altars to Pārvati for a happiness they had never contemplated.¹¹

Ganesh Chaturthi

It falls on the fourth day of the month of *Bhādrapāda* (September). It was celebrated as the birthday of Ganesha, the war-lord. The main feature of the festival was the worship of a clay image of Ganesha by individual householders, as now, and a visit to the temples dedicated to that deity. In the *Haqiqat Bahi* reference has been made to the offer of *modak* (a kind of sweet) to Ganesh and to the decking of the image with shining silver-foils. This day was celebrated with considerable enthusiasm.¹²

Dashera

It was an important festival for the warrior class in particular. It was observed, as now, on the 10th of the bright-half of *Āsoja* (September-October) in commemoration of Lord Rāma's victory over Rāvaṇa. It was the culmination of the *Navarātri* festival—nine nights held in honour of Durgā, the warrior goddess. The festivities started, as now, from *Sthāpanā*. On this occasion, buffalos and goats were sacrificed at the shrine of Durgā, and various manifestations of the goddess in the forms of Rudrāṇi, Mahā Kāli and Chandikā were worshipped.¹³ For all nine days, the reciting of *Saptaśati*—a religious book of seven hundred verses was an important item of the festival.¹⁴ The *Haqiqat Bahi*¹⁵ of Jodhpur preserves a copy of the letter from Mahārājā Vijaya Singh to the District Officer of Nāgor of V. S. 1835 (1778 A. D.), in which full instruction for the celebrations were given by him. The letter throws sufficient light on the rituals and formalities observed on the occasion. According to it, on the first day the goddess Durgā's image was installed and jawārā or young-barley were sown and worshipped. On the 8th day, nine virgin girls, representative of Durgā were worshipped. On the 9th day, offerings were made to fire, and feasting and merry-making concluded the *Navarātri* festival. The *Jawārā* and the image of the goddess was taken

¹¹ Tod : *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 461-462.

¹² *Haqiqat Bahi*, 4th of the bright-half of *Bhādrapada*, V.S. 1827 (24th August, 1770 A.D.)

¹³ *Rājaratanākara*, Canto 15, f. 85, Canto 17, f. 96 ; *Gūṇarūpaka*, f. 75.

¹⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 11, V. S. 1750.

¹⁵ *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. 2, 14th of the dark-half of *Āsoja*, V.S. 1835 (19th October, 1778 A.D.)

to a pond or tank in procession amid great rejoicing and night vigil manifested with singing and dancing.

After nine nights, the *Navarātri* festival coincided with *Dasherā* celebration. In Rājasthān State *Dasherā* used to be celebrated in a magnificent style by the princes by holding *Darbārs*, receiving *nazars*, and conferring ranks and honour on deserving officers after the Mughal fashion. The vassals used to come to the Rānā on the *Dasherā* day to pay homage. On this occasion, horses and elephants were brought out for display. They were duly washed and groomed and decked. Jahāngir, after Rājplut fashion, while staying at Ajmer, celebrated the *Dasherā* festival in the usual manner. Decorated elephants and horses were brought before him for review. On this day, a procession was taken to the place where *sami* tree (*Prosopis spicigera*) was worshipped. Illumination and fire-works followed the celebration. According to an old tradition, the rulers of Rājasthān used to move out from their places to organise on that day a campaign against their neighbours on the pretext of *Aheriā* hunt. Mahārānā Rāj Singh on this ground led expedition to Badnor.¹⁶

R. C. Dutta,¹⁷ in his *Rambles of India*, gives a picture of a time, a little later than our period, which gives an idea how mediaeval custom still lingered and the *Dasherā* was celebrated with some spirit and enthusiasm in Rājasthān. He writes, "The Rājputs worship the sword on this occasion.....I witnessed the Mahārājā (of Jaipur) performing the worship, assisted by his priests and ministers; I saw the Mahārājā going out in a procession among joyous and enthusiastic crowds of people; and I also witnessed the grand closing review and festivities in an open plain adjoining the town. Fire-works and illuminations closed the scene, and as I came back to the city among tens of thousands of joyous, enthusiastic and loyal citizens crowding round their chief.....I could to some extent realise their loyalty, their pride, their joyousness."

Sharada Purnima

It is celebrated on the full-moon day of the month of *Āsoja*. Details of the celebration are given in *Abhayavilāsa*,¹⁸ which states that

¹⁶ *Karmachandra-Vanshot-kirtankam-Kāvyaṃ*, vv. 526-30; *Tuzūk*, R. & B. I, p. 252, II, pp.38, 100; *Rajaprākasha*, v. 92; *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 6, v. 1, *Rājaratnākara*, Canto 15, v. 38, f. 85; *Gujarupaka*, f. 104b; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, I, pp. 172-173; *Bhondāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 11, V S. 1750 records the variety of fire-works as *havāt*, *chambā*, *charkhi*, *hāṭphula* and *chhachhundari*; *Havālā Bahi*, No. 20, V.S. 1835.

¹⁷ R. C. Dutta : *Rambles of India*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁸ *Abhayavilāsa*, ff, 25-26.

the palace apartments should be decorated with white objects, a colour matching to the moon-lit night. The special dishes mentioned for the day were rice and milk. White dress and white flowers were used for decoration and worship.

Divali

Divāli, the corruption of the Sanskrit equivalent—*Dipāvāli*—row of lights or *Dipotsava* or festival of lights, was one of the most important Hindu festivals of our period. It started two days earlier with the worship of Mahālakshmi, the goddess of wealth. From an inscription¹⁹ of 1211 A.D., as well as literary works²⁰ of the 17th century, we learn that temples, palaces, streets, lanes, quarters and houses in towns and villages were beautifully illuminated during the night of the 15th of the dark-half of *Kārtika* (October-November). The States of Rājasthān, as it is evident from the *Kotāh* records,²¹ used to spend lavishly on illumination. In *Kotāh* alone six maunds of oil, costing Rs. 21 and a heap of cotton costing 26 *takkās*²² were provided in the budget of Kotāh State for illumination purposes. On this occasion fire-works, variously termed as *mehtāba*, *chhachhūndara*, *bhadākā* and the like were purchased from *Mehtāba-Khāna* for the night demonstration. This festival was preceded by sweeping the houses, cleaning and white-washing them.

The festival of *Divāli* has a special significance which varies with different persons. As for example, it was regarded as an auspicious day for the installation ceremony of temples.²³ The writers would commence or complete their literary works on this day.²⁴ It was the most popular festival of the Vaiśyas. They spent lavishly on this occasion. The State employees expected handsome rewards on this occasion. Keshava Rāi, a vakil of Jaipur requested the Mahārājā to send him money at Delhi for *Divāli* expenses.²⁵ Businessmen commenced their fresh accounts in their ledger on this day, writing on the first page 'Shri Mahālakshmi' and similar names of deities.²⁶ Exchange of sweets and presents

¹⁹ *Jālor Inscription*, V.S. 1268 (1211 A.D.); *The Jaina Inscriptions*, Part I, No. 900, p. 239.

²⁰ *Amar-kāvya*, f. 101; *Jasrāja*; *Bārāmāsi-rā-Dohā*, v. 12, f. 83; *Khedamultanka*, f. 38a (V.S. 1756).

²¹ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 45, V.S. 1746 (1689 A.D.)

²² Four *takkās* were equivalent to an anna.

²³ *Jālor Inscription*, V.S. 1268; *The Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 900, p. 239.

²⁴ *Śakunāvali*, V.S. 1714 (1657 A.D.) was completed on this day, vide the colophon of the manuscript.

²⁵ *Arzdasht*, No. 196, *Persian Correspondence* (JA), 5th of the *Ramazān*, H. 1116 (21st Dec., 1704 A.D.)

²⁶ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 41, V.S. 1716 (1659 A.D.)

and giving crackers to children formed an amusing part of the festival.²⁷

On this day courts were held by the rulers of the States, *nazars* were offered to them by officers and money from district headquarters were received. Orders for appointments and promotions were issued on this occasion.²⁸

The next day of the *Divāli* was *Goverdhanpujā* on which cattle, especially cows were worshipped and fed. In Nāthdwārā, Kotāh and Kānkroli several cows were presented to the deity. These were made to run over a heap of cow-dung and were duly worshipped and fed. The *Goverdhanpujā* followed by *Annakuta* festival, whose graphic account is available from the paintings and records of the 18th century. Heaps of boiled and fried grains as well as sweets were offered to the deity in Nāthdwārā and Kānkroli and in the end the part of the offer was looted by the Lodhā-Bhils who were supposed to have the traditional rights to enjoy the looted articles, since they had helped Rānā Rāj Singh in defending the shrines and the idols of Śrināthji and Dwārkādhishji against the Mughals. *Yamadivitiyā* or *Bhāiduja*, the day of brothers and sisters, falling on the next day of *Annakuta* was also an important festival when the brothers and sisters exchanged sweets and presents.²⁹

Sankranti

Contemporary records show that on this day falling in the month of *Māgha* charitable gifts were given to religious men. Rulers and men of position and means conferred grants of land on the learned Brāhmaṇs to earn religious merit for themselves. Ordinary persons fed the Brāhmaṇs or at least presented to them some preparations of sugar or *gur* mixed with til (oil-seeds). The young and old would assemble in an open field to play at ball and enjoy fun.³⁰

Vasanta Panchami

It falls on the 5th of the bright-half of *Māgha* (January-February). Among the Brāhmaṇs of high learning it was a day of religious gathering

²⁷ *Ibid.*, *Bastā* No. 28. V.S. 1770 (1713 A.D.)

²⁸ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 25, V.S. 1774, 1807, 1819, ff. 451, 937, 939, 940, etc.; *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1822 (1765 A.D.)

²⁹ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 25, V.S. 1774; A letter from Mahārājā Vijaya Singh, dated the 1st of the dark-half of *Kārtika*, V.S. 1838 (2nd Nov., 1781 A.D.) refers to *Annakuta* festival; *Bhāndāra* No. 1, File No. 33, V. S. 1847 (1790 A. D.); *Bhandāra* No. 3, *Bastā* No. 2, V.S., 1859 (1802 A.D.); Moti Mahal Paintings '*Annakuta and Goverdhanpujā*', late 18th century; Ratnachowk Painting, Nāthdwārā '*Annakuta*'.

³⁰ *Dharmapravratī*, f. 156.

and discussion and of intellectual feat. From the *Ekalinga Inscription*³¹ of V. S. 1545 (1488 A. D.), we learn that on this day a Brāhmaṇ, named Somnāth, invited learned Pandits to his place, performed sacrifices and engaged them in the *Śāstric* discussion. It appears that during the early part of our period, the festival was one of worship of Saraswati, the goddess of learning. The common people too observed this spring festival with zest. Maidens would go to a garden or a tank to adorn themselves with flowers and sandalwood-paste and come back home singing in sweet chorus, with bunches of leaves and flowers for decorating their homes.³² In royal household of Mewār, the festival was celebrated, as revealed in an order³³ of Amar Singh II of Udaipur, with merriments, the use of appropriate summer suits and rose scent which were bestowed by the Rānā on his courtiers. A special *darbār* was held in Kotāh on this day, and sweets, saffron and flowers were presented to the temples.³⁴

Holi

Of all the festivals of gaiety *Holi* may be accounted as the most popular of the ancient festivals of the Hindus. It falls on the full-moon day of the month of *Phālguna* (February-March). Its chief feature as revealed from the records is that Rājasthān used to assume a gala-day atmosphere for about a week. The most interesting and lively feature of the festivities, after burning the *Holi*, is the throwing of colour and coloured water. Everybody, big or small, old or young, participated in merry-making. Several paintings³⁵ depict *Holi* in its real spirit, showing gay revellers, both men and women, freely mixing and playing pranks and throwing coloured water through pipes. Many of the paintings depict either Krishṇa or Rāmā playing *Holi* in the manner peculiar to our period.

As revealed from literary and historical sources³⁶ singing and dancing were concomitants of the festivities. On this day, the rulers of

³¹ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545, v. 91, *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, p. 122.

³² *Pāñchsaheli-ra-Duhā*, vv. 5-7, f. 30b.

³³ Amar Singh II's *Pattā*, V.S. 1762 (1705 A.D.), (*Vidyā-Peeth Collection*, Udaipur).

³⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 6, V.S. 1860.

³⁵ *Rāmcharitra* (illustrated) No. 91, '*Holi khelana*'; Paintings of *Holi*, *Picture Gallery*, Jaipur Museum (18th century); A stray painting in *Dholāmāru* (illustrated); Jhālā Zalim Singh's *Haveli*, '*Swinging and Holi*' (18th century).

³⁶ *Guṇasāra*, f. 147b; Naiṇsi's *Khyāta*, f. 27b; *Surajprākāsha*, f. 58; *Rājprākāsha*, f. 93.

Rājasthān mounted on elephants headed processions and were greeted by group of ladies singing from the terraces of their houses. A large number of people collected to witness the royal procession and sprinkling of colour was done without reservation. The public had the freedom to throw colour on their ruler.

The official records³⁷ of Jodhpur give a graphic picture of this festival celebrated in the palace. They mention that tubs of coloured water were placed in courtyards and Mahārājā Vijaya Singh used to enjoy the throwing of water and colour with his nobles. Similar arrangements were made in the harem in which the Mahārājā participated. It was followed by a feast to which dignitaries were invited.

In the evening, a formal *Holi Darbār*³⁸ was held. The officers made presents and placed before the ruler the revenue in cash brought from district headquarters, like Nāgor, Mertā, Siwānā, etc. The *nazars* were presented. The Mughals too celebrated this festival in right royal fashion.³⁹

On the third day a dancing party of all sorts of people headed by a clownish pair and accompanied by a drunken crowd, dancing and singing loudly with phallic emblems paid homage to the Mahārājā. They were dismissed with robes of honour. But sometimes on this day many people indulged in quarrels which led to serious troubles. The writer of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhhirin* describes *Holi* as a Hindu festival where all kinds of rioting and disorder is allowed for three days. He further says that they throw dust at each other on this occasion, burn doors of straw, straywood and anything they could lay their hands on.⁴⁰

Our records⁴¹ refer to various other religious festivals, such as *Akshaya Tratiyā*, *Ratha Yātrā*, *Rādhāṣṭami*, *Hindolā*, *Devatāpūjana* and the like, which were celebrated with a great rejoicing and with a round of functions peculiar to them.

Paryusana

The holiest festival of the Jaina community, called *Pajūsana* (Par-

³⁷ *Hāqiqat Bahi*, No. 2, V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.), V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.), V. S. 1829 (1772 A.D.), V.S. 1906 (1849 A.D.), etc.

³⁸ *Bānkidās' Khyāta*, II, f. 297; *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 23, f. 345; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 41, V.S. 1746 (1689 A.D.); *Bastā* No. 10, V.S. 1749 (1692 A. D.); *Bastā* No. 11, V.S. 1750 (1693 A.D.)

³⁹ *Āin*, III, p. 321; *Tuzūk*, R. & B. I, pp. 245-46; Monserrate, p. 22; Bernier, p. 270; Petermundy, II, p. 219; *Storia*, II, p. 154; *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, I, pp. 409-410.

⁴⁰ *Hāqiqat Bahi*, No. 2, 2nd of the bright-half of *Phālguna*, V. S. 1831 (1774 A. D.); *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhhirin*, I, p. 263.

⁴¹ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 72, V. S. 1857 (1800 A. D.)

yuśanā), falls in the month of *Bhādrapada* and was celebrated for eight days. Many letters belonging to the 17th and 18th centuries preserved in the *Jaina Grantha Bhandārs* of Jaisalmer, Bikāner, Jodhpur and Udaipur, throw a great deal of light on this festival. Though these letters were mainly written for soliciting forgiveness for the writers' acts of omissions or commissions, they also refer to the festival when every layman (*Śrāvaka*) was required to worship or at least visit the temple of Jaina gods. They further record that everybody, young or old, was required to fast on the last day of the festival known as *Samvatsarikā*.⁴²

Ashtahika

Another noteworthy Jaina festival was the *Ashtahikā*, so named as it lasted for *ashta* or eight days. A 13th century inscription,⁴³ which refers to it shows, that it was a very old religious festival. It began on the 3rd day of the dark-half of *Chaitra* and lasted up to the tenth of the same month for eight days. The inscription further states that the rites of bathing and worshipping were performed by different Jaina communities such as, Prāgvāta, Ukeshwāla, Srimāl, etc., by turns.

Pancha Kalyanika

The *Ābu Inscription*⁴⁴ of Vastupāla and Tejpāla of V.S. 1287 (1230 A.D.) also refers to another festival, called *Pancha Kalyānika*. The ceremony refers to the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and the final deliverance of the saint.

Rathayatra

The Dhulev records⁴⁵ refer to the *Rathyātrā* festival of the Jainas during the period under review. This festival has been termed *Gujari-jātrā* in a Jaina temple inscription⁴⁶ from Mārwar belonging to V.S. 1233 (1176 A.D.). The Dhulev records mention that the statue of Arhat was borne in procession in high cars. They preserve lists of ornaments and dresses made over to the worshippers on that occasion and expenditure

⁴² Transcripts of the letters of the *Bhandārs* of Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Bikāner and Udaipur of the 17th and 18th centuries, *Nahātā's Collection*, Bikāner.

⁴³ *Ābu Inscription* of V. S. 1287 (1230 A.D.), EI, Vol. VIII, p. 200, Inscription No. 2.

⁴⁴ *Ābu Inscription* of V. S. 1287 (1230 A. D.), EI, Vol. VIII, p. 200, Inscription No. 2.

⁴⁵ *Dhulev Records*, V.S. 1759-1761 (1702-1704 A. D.), *Sigāh Mandir-kā-Utsava*.

⁴⁶ EI, Vol. XI, p. 51.

incurred on relevant items. It seems that this sort of *yātrā* was the popularising aspect of Jainism.

Jalayatra

Another important festival referred to in the Dhulev records⁴⁷ was *Jalayātrā*. It relates to the entertainment of the gods with music, both vocal and instrumental, pleasant and beautiful songs, and dances at the temple. It is the same festival that has been mentioned in the *Śatrunjaya Inscription*⁴⁸ of V.S. 1587 (1530 A.D.)

Dipotsava

It is the *Dipotsava* day of the Jains referred to in the *Jālor Inscription*⁴⁹ of V.S. 1268 (1211 A.D.). We learn from the same inscription that placing of a golden cupola on central hall for producing dramatic effect was an accompanying ceremony. As regards the origin of the *Dipotsava* it has been believed that the festival began to be celebrated after the passing away of Mahāvira, in commemoration of the light that he possessed.⁵⁰

Muslim Festivals

Of the Muslim festivals, our records mention *Muharrama*, *Id-i-Milād*, *Shab-i-Barāt*, *Id-ul-Fitr*, *Id-ul-Ḥuhā* and *Bārā Wafāt*. Our information regarding *Muharram*, the Muslim month of mourning, is based on the Archival records⁵¹ of Ajmer which reveal that it was, as it is now, concluded with a procession of *tāziāys*, assemblies, mourning and distribution of charity. Similarly, the *Id-i-Milād* or the feast of the Prophet's nativity was celebrated on the 11th of *Rabi-ul-Awwal* with great solemnity by Muslim masses amid rejoicings and feasts. The *Shab-i-Barāt* was celebrated in honour of the Prophet's ascent to Heaven in the night of the evening of the 14th. From the Dargāh records⁵² we learn that the Dargāh *Bāzār* of Ajmer and the tomb were illuminated and the expenses were

⁴⁷ *Dhulev Records*, V.S. 1759-1761 (1702-1704 A.D.), *Sigāh Mandir-ka-Utsava*.

⁴⁸ *Śatrunjaya Inscription*, V.S. 1587 (1530 A.D.), vv. 29-30; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, X, p. 29.

⁴⁹ *Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 239.

⁵⁰ For greater details of the festival see P. K. Gode, ABORI, XXVI, 226, Marget Stevenson : *Jaina-Festivities and Fasts*, 875-79 and Dr. A. S. Altekar : *op. cit.*, 291.

⁵¹ File No. 6, year 1822, Subject—'Traditional Rights', Archival Officer, Ajmer.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Dargāh File, No. 95, 15th Aug., 1823, Subject—'Supply of Oil for Illumination'.

provided in the Dargāh budget. *Id-ul-Fitr*⁵³ or the festival of breaking the fast of *Ramazān* was observed with exchange of visits to the houses of friends and relations and the meeting of one and all after the *Id* prayer. A conspicuous feature of the rejoicing was the display of fire-works and distribution of charity. The Durgāh authorities spent money to be distributed among the poor.⁵⁴ The *Id-ul-Zuhā* or *Bakr-Id* falling on the 10th of *Zul Hijja*, the 12th month of the Muslim year, was celebrated with the sacrifice of goats and sheep, and sometimes even cows. *Bārā Wafāt* was observed in the month of *Rabi-ul-Awwal* in honour of the Prophet's birth and death. From the Kotāh State records⁵⁵ we learn that the *qāzi* of the town was honoured by the Mahārājā with a robe of honour. The *Haqiqat Bahi*⁵⁶ says that the *Tāziya* festivals of 1775-1779 A.D., were accompanied by disturbance of public peace and the Mahārājā had to keep a vigilant eye on the processionalists.⁵⁷

General Observations

An analysis of the brief survey of the socio-religious festivals although reveals that the Hindus, the Jainas and the Muslims had practically independent ritual systems, which had very few points of contact on a social basis, they participated in some of them with interest and enthusiasm. From the Kotāh records⁵⁸ we notice that the *Kunjadiyās*, a class of Muslim ladies, participated in local dance organized during the *Gangora* festival. Similarly, we learn from the *Hat Bahi*⁵⁹ of V.S. 1824 (1767 A.D.) that the Muslims joined invariably in the Dasherā procession of the State. According to the *Dargāh records*⁶⁰ it is evident that the Hindus participated almost equally in *Urs* fair, of course, not for a religious motive, but perhaps for the sake of the fun that they expected to find in the fair. In the case of the Jains also we find that they co-operated in most of the Hindu festivals like the *Tīja* and *Gangora* by joining the

⁵³ *Ibid.*, File No. 74, 20th Jan., 1822, 'Supply of Articles on *Id-ul-Fitr*'.

⁵⁴ File No. 484, 8th Aug., 1842, Archival Office, Ajmer.

⁵⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 32, V. S. 1774, *Rojnamchā*; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Busta* No. 2, File No. 33, V. S. 1840; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 72, V.S. 1857, File No. 11.

⁵⁶ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1832-36.

⁵⁷ For greater details refer :—*Crook's Islām*, pp. 210-220 : *Outline of Islamic Culture*, pp. 704-715 : *Faiths, Fairs, and Festivals*, pp. 200-210.

⁵⁸ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 62, V. S. 1838 (1781 A. D.), File No. 3, K. A.

⁵⁹ *Hat Bahi*, V.S. 1824 (1767 A. D.), f. 25.

⁶⁰ *Dargāh Files*, 1821, 1842, 1870 A. D.), (Ajmer Archives).

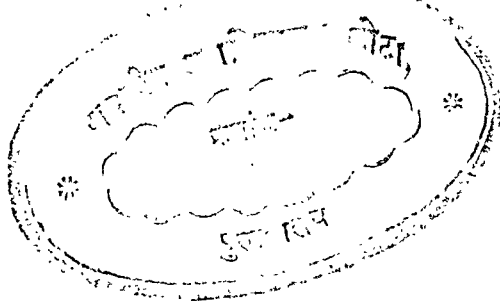
fairs held during those occasions, though they did not actually perform any worship.

Another important feature which deserves our notice is that the ceremonies and worships of some of the festivals like *Śiva Rātri*, *Navarātri* etc., catered for the religious emotions of a few Brāhman and Rajputs, the vast majority of other castes, specially of lower order, was passive and distant observer. For them they were popular occasions of social intercourse and enjoyment. It also appears from our records⁶¹ of the 17th and 18th centuries that the groups occupying higher status in the ladder of caste hierarchy were keener to observe these festivals than others. Of course, some of the all-India Hindu festivals like *Holi*, *Divāli* and *Dasherā* were a great occasion for enjoyment and pleasure for all classes of people.

Another significance of these festivals is that they proved to be one of the most stimulating factors for mediaeval Rājasthān's cultural life. In spite of the fact that Rājasthān had to face disasters and calamities of war, famine and plunder on several occasions, the local and general festivals were abided and observed with enthusiasm and gaiety. Even the introduction of new cults and religious faiths during the period of our study could not change the character of these festivals. On the other hand, as Dr. Ashraf thinks, the Hindu festivals added new life and variety to the Muslim festivals. The *Shab-i-Barāt* festival, as he remarks, is probably copied from the Hindu festival of *Śivarātri*⁶²

⁶¹ *Devasthān Dharmapūnya Bahi*, V. S. 1761 (1704 A. D.), Id ; *Bahi Pūnya*, V.S. 1814 (1757 A. D.), BA.

⁶² Dr. Ashraf : *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, p. 205.



The Character of Religion

Our study of mediaeval men of Rājasthān can never be complete unless it includes the study of his religion, for it is a most important and outstanding feature of human life. The religious life is an expression of manifestations, in beliefs and rites ; beliefs about sacred things and rites addressed to them. These beliefs and rites, are synthetic in character. They comprehend a unity for the heterogeneous elements composed of myths, cults, worships religious teachings, saints, temple building activities, pilgrimages and a living faith in spirits and magic. The complex of all these diverse factors constitutes the picture of the religious life, the history of which goes back to very early time. In order to appreciate the trends of the organic system of religion an attempt is made in the following pages at the systematic exposition of the religious beliefs and practices current among people of mediaeval Rājasthān, without entering into the problem of their origin and ritualistic details.

Vedic Religion and Rajasthan

Hinduism, as a whole, appears to be a compound of religion, race, country and social organisation. The religious life of the people of Rājasthān during our period centred round such activities of the people as concerned man's attitude towards life and God. The epigraphic records testify that the manifestation of religious life was embodied in the Vedic beliefs and practices. The *Ghosundi Inscription*¹ of the 2nd century B.C., records the performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice by Sarvatāta of Gājā family. The *Nāndsā Stone Pillar Inscription*² of the 3rd century A.D., refers to a sacrifice called 'Sastirātra' which was performed by Śaktiguṇaguru. The Maukharis of Badvā in the Kotāh State were by no means less enthusiastic in the cause of the Vedic religion. Sacrificial pillars³ preserved in the Kotāh Museum commemorate the *Trirātra* sacrifices performed by four of them. Two other chiefs of Jaipur State

¹ EI, Vol. XVI, p. 25 ; A.R.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1926-27.

² EI, Vol. VIII, p. 36.

³ EI, Vol. XXII, p. 52.

performed the same sacrifice towards the end of the 3rd century A.D.⁴ The *Pundarika* sacrifice was performed by another local ruler in Bharatpur State in 372 A. D.⁵ The *Rasiyāki-Chhatri Inscription*⁶ of V. S. 1331 (1274 A. D.) records that Bappā performed Vedic sacrifices and established *Yagnastambha* in the *Vedi* of the land of Nāgdā in the 8th century A.D. The *Achalesvara Inscription*⁷ of V.S. 1342 (1285 A.D.) mentions that Hārit's austerities and penances were supplemented by a series of sacrifices for the benefit of the world.

Just before our period Rānā, Kshetra Singh and Mahārānā Kumbhā were reputed performers of Vedic sacrifices.⁸ The author of the *Surajaprakāsha*⁹ says that during the reign of Mahārājā Abhaya Singh, a sacrificial fire was worshipped with great reverence at Jodhpur. Several paintings¹⁰ of the period illustrating Purānic lore depict, in popular and attractive form, the performance of sacrifices after the Vedic fashion. However, these Vedic sacrifices were in vogue among the aristocrats ; we hardly come across common people performing them on a large scale, as they were beyond their means.

To those, who have practically grown non-Vedic in their mental outlook as well as social behaviour, Vedic sacrifices may mean nothing but the fulfilment of the desires of a particular individual. It may also mean that sacrifices were performed with the aim of achieving tangible gain here or acquire some social recognition. But there are ample indications in the contemporary literature¹¹ that the sacrifices were a concerted action of many for purifying the atmosphere and producing a unified effect on the religious life of man. The act of making offerings to the gods and also doing something for the common good must have developed in the individual a sense that a man's life is not exclusively for

⁴ EI, Vol. XXVI, p. 118.

⁵ CH. III, p. 253, quoted from Dr. Majumdar's '*The Vākātaka Gupta Age*', p. 370.

⁶ *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, No. IV, p. 75.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, vv. 9-11, p. 85.

⁸ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, II, V.S. 1517, v. 81 ; *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545, v. 33 ; J. B. R. A., Vol. XLI, Part I.

⁹ *Surajaprakāsha* (PPJ), f. 47a.

¹⁰ *Kādambari* (illustrated), f. 38 (SBLU) ; *Bhāgavata Dashmaskandha*, Set No. 2, '*Yagna*' painting, No. A. G. 197, painted by Rāju, 1792 A. D., *Art Gallery*, City Palace, Jaipur ; '*Yagna*' at Kurukshetra by Vāsudeva, No. A. G. 425, painted by Jiwan, *Art Gallery*, City Palace, Jaipur.

¹¹ *Achalesvara Inscription*, vv. 9-11, *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, No. VI, p. 85.

his own benefit, but is meant for others also.

Hinduism

The Vedic sacrifices, as we have referred to above, were in vogue among the richer sections of society. The available evidence tends to show the orthodox sects, generally termed Hinduism, were, popular in Rājasthān from the early ages. In these sects, worships of Brahmā, Sun, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Rāma and other deities were pre-eminent.

Worship of Brahma

References to the worship of Brahmā are found in the inscriptions and other attributes of god in some form or other. The existence of Brahmā temples at Pushkar, Basantgarh, Kusmā (Sirohi) and Chinha (Bānswārā) shows that Brahmā was worshipped as a principal deity in Rājasthān till the 12th century A.D.¹² Other images found in the environs of several temples of Sewādi, Kirādu and Osiyān of Mārwar, Bijoliyān (Mewār), Basād (Pratāpgarh) and Māndalgarh testify the assumption.¹³ Several images of the early period preserved in the museum of Āmber, Ajmer and Jhālāwād also lead us to the conclusion that the worship of Brahmā was popular.¹⁴ This worship of Brahmā is traced up to the 15th century A.D. In an epigraphic record the temple of Hāthāl in Sirohi has been termed as *Brahmasthanā*, a place of devotion to Brahmā.¹⁵ Lakshman Singh, as recorded in the *Ekalinga Inscription*¹⁶ of V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.), had the happiness of being united with Brahmā.

After the 15th century, the cult of Brahmā seems to have merged in that of Śiva, Viṣṇu or Sun—a conception of *Triṣūra*. This is evidenced by the images of Bhāwal (Medtā), Rānpur (Mārwar) and Rāmgārh (Kotāh) in which these deities have been combined with that of Brahmā on account of the growing influence of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. However, Brahmā continued to be worshipped as a subsidiary deity which is clear from the fact that some of the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu at

¹² *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1906-07, pp. 171-178 ; Gopinātha Rāo : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, Vol. II, part II, pp. 511-12 ; Ojhā : *S.R.I.*, pp. 31-33 ; Ojhā : *B.R.I.*, p. 20.

¹³ *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey*, 1905, pp. 47-48 ; 1908, p. 53 ; *Archaeological Survey Report*, 1906-07, p. 174 ; 1908-09, p. 114 ; Ojhā : *P.R.I.*, p. 48 ; *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, p. 104.

¹⁴ S. Kramrisch : *Hindu Temples*, Calcutta, p. 402, Plate No. 57 ; *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey*, 1910, p. 154 ; Āmber Museum, *Archaeological Gallery*, piece No. 108 ; Jhālāwād Museum, *Archaeological Gallery*, piece No. 13.

¹⁵ Ojhā : *S.R.I.*, p. 53.

¹⁶ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. IX, v. 40.

Ekalingji, Chitor, Udaipur and Ajmer bear Brahmā's images with symbols of *mālā*, *kamandala*, book and long beard, installed in the main niches of the temple.¹⁷

The Saura Sect

Like Brahmā the Sun was also an object of worship in our early period. His images belonging to post-Gupta and later period at Mandor, Bedā, Pokharan, Kirādu, Bithu and Pāli in Mārwar and Mugad, Kanbā, Sarodā, Thākdā in Dungarpur as well as splendid temples of Sirohi, Chitor and Bhinmāl dedicated to the Sun remind us that the Sun-worship was prevalent up to the 11th century A.D., in western and south-western parts of Rājasthān.¹⁸

It is interesting to note that *Saura* worship was pre-eminent during the period when many Rājput-clans, especially the Guhilots, traced their origin from the Sun and claimed to be '*Suryavanshi*' or clans progenerated from the Sun.¹⁹ It is also evidenced that many of them were the worshippers of the Sun. Nāga Bhatta as revealed from the *Ruchakala (Mārwar) Inscription*²⁰ of V.S. 872 (815 A.D.) was a worshipper of the Sun. The *Pratāpgarh Inscription*²¹ of V. S. 1003 (946 A.D.) records Vinayapāla as a worshipper of the Sun. The invocatory phrases used in the inscription of Bhinmāl of the 12th century along with *Jagat-swāmin* and the use of the name of *Mahaswāmin* in the *Bāmnerā copper plate* of V.S. 1223 (1166 A.D.) are indicative of reference shown to the Sun.²² In the *Shrimāla Mahātmya*²³ one of the colophons relates to the growth of the Sun-worship in that area. From the *Rājaratanākara*²⁴ it appears that during the performance of daily *Sandhyā*, Rāj Singh offered water to the Sun. In the

¹⁷ *Amber Archaeological Gallery*, image of Brahmā Viṣṇu and Surya in one piece, No. 108 ; *Ajmer Museum, Archaeological Gallery*, image of *Lingodbhav*, referred to in the *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey*, 1910, p. 54 ; Trimurti of Bhāwal, referred to in the *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey*, 1911, p. 37 ; Rānpur Trimurti, *Vide Ojhā's J.R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 66 ; Rāmgarh image, *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey*, 1905, p. 50 ; *Shodh Patrikā*, March 1954, pp. 1-8.

¹⁸ *The Progress Report of Archaeological Survey*, 1907, p. 30 ; 1911, p. 39 ; 1908-09, pp. 110-15 ; 1909-10, pp. 94-110 ; *Administration Report, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur*, 1935, p. 5.

¹⁹ *Suryavamsha*, ff. 1-4.

²⁰ *Administration Report, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur*, 1935, p. 5.

²¹ *Ajmer Museum Report*, 1914.

²² *EI.*, part 13, p. 209.

²³ Referred in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 449-85.

²⁴ *Rājaratanākara*, Canto 16, v. 14, f. 81.

18th century illustrated manuscript of the *Rāmcharitra*,²⁵ *Suryanamaskāra* is depicted as one of the rites of worship. The symbolic engraving of the figure of the Sun on *Aghāts*²⁶ too indicate his elevated position in the age under review. The invoking of blessings of the Sun through poems and songs composed during our period of study prove that the Sun never ceased to be an object of worship.²⁷ The *Dastari Records*²⁸ give us some details of rituals of the Sun-worship as it was practised on the occasion of the birth of a son. It was customary, as it is now, for the mother to worship the Sun on the 11th day of the birth of her child. But there is no record to show that the temples dedicated to the Sun were erected during the period under review. The popularity of the Sun worship gradually declined as that of Śaivism, Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism increased during our period.

Saivism

The worship of Śiva has been the faith of the people from time immemorial. The earliest and most primitive conception of Śiva was that of a personified agency of wrath, fierceness, and destruction. Śiva is revered in his more benign form as Creator and Preserver of the World. The *Lingam* is the symbol of the creative power of Śiva, ever present in the universe. In popular worship, he is represented by many symbols or emblems.²⁹

Manifestation of Siva

Of all the deities Śiva was considered to be the highest as it is evident from several inscriptions. Early concepts of the god were Ekalinga, Śiva, Girisutāpati as recorded in the *Nāth Inscription*³⁰ of V.S. 1028 (971 A.D.). The *Chirvā Inscription*³¹ of V.S. 1331 (1274 A.D.) opens with a eulogy of the god Yogarājeśvara. In the *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri Inscription*³² of V. S. 1331 (1274 A.D.) the poet invokes the blessing of Śiva by addressing him as Samidheśvara and Chandra-Chūda. In the opening

²⁵ *Rāmcharitra* (illustrated), f. 82 (PPJ).

²⁶ *Aghāts* of Āhar preserved in the *Art Gallery* of M.B. College, Udaipur, belonging to the 18th century.

²⁷ *Suraj-ji-ro-silālko*, *Surajachhand*, *Suryastuti*, *Suryavarṇana*, etc., are the compositions of the period, vide *Maru Bhārati*, Vol. II, No. I, p. 25.

²⁸ *Dastari Bahi*, V.S. 1823, (Jod. A.)

²⁹ R. W. Frazer : *Indian Thought Past and Present*, pp. 248-50, London, 1916.

³⁰ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, II, lines 9-10, p. 70.

³¹ WZKM., Vol. XXI, vv. 1-3, p. 255.

³² *Ibid.*, No. 5, p. 84 ff.

verses of the *Achleśvara Inscription*³³ V. S. 1342 (1285 A.D.), obeisance is first made to Śīva and he is addressed as Deva, Prabhu, Achaleśvara, Bhawanipati, and Ekalinga. Homage is paid to him in other mediaeval inscriptions naming him as Pinākin, Śambhu and Swayambhū.

Saiva Sects

From the inscripational, literary and archival records it appears that Lakuliśa and Nāth sects of *Pāsūpata* at Udaipur and Jodhpur respectively were fairly popular. One of the followers of Lakuliśa named Hārīta, who is regarded as the last incarnation of Śīva established himself at Nāgdā, near Udaipur. He and his disciples preached the *Pāsūpata* doctrine to the rulers of Mewār and their subjects, and won admiration which ultimately made them the chief priests and heads of the temple and monastery of Ekalinga. The most important of the *Pāsūpata* preachers who flourished during the period under review, were Vedānga Muni, Supujita Rīśi, Sadyo Rīśi, Maheśvara Rīśi, Śīva Rīśi, Śāśi Guṇa Rīśi and Nara Hari, In V.S. 1687 (1630 A.D.) the priests of this order were replaced by one Rāmānand, a Sannyāsin order from Vārānasi, by Mahārānā Jagat Singh on account of their degeneration.³⁴

Lakulisa Rites

An idea of the rites and practices of the Lakuliśas can be had from the *Dainika-kriya*³⁵ of V. S. 1602 (1545 A. D.), which is based on the *Atri-smṛiti*, the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and the *Bhaviśya-purāṇa*. Their daily observances, according to this work, consisted of bathing thrice a day, worshipping Ekalinga three times a day, observing celibacy for life, shaving the head, wearing 'langoti' (loin-cloth), keeping a bamboo staff and putting on wooden sandals. Repeating the name of Śīva was their daily routine. Śīva was regarded by this sect as the Supreme Being and *linga* worship of Śīva was everywhere the predominant form of this faith.

Their austerities attracted followers. Two important images of Lakuliśa have come to light, one at Āhar³⁶ and another at Bānswārā³⁷ of the early mediaeval period which show that this sect had considerable influence in the south-western Rājasthān during that period.

³³ *Ibid.*, No. 5, p. 84 ff.

³⁴ Ojhā : *U.R.I.*, I. pp. 32-34 (Ajmer, 1928).

³⁵ *Dainika-kriyā*, ff. 28-29.

³⁶ Originally the image formed a part of the wall at the reservoir of Āhar ; now it has been placed in the Āhar Museum.

³⁷ Ojhā : *B. R. I.*, p. 18.

Nath Sect

Another sect associated with Śaivism was that of the Nāths, who were religious preceptors of the rulers of Jodhpur at the end of our period. The important teachers, according to the literature³⁸ of the Nāths, were Ādināth, Macchendranāth, Satyanāth, Santośnāth, Kāikapālnāth, Jsrāj, Āsthān, etc. They were greatly respected by the rulers and citizens of Mārwar. Mahārājā Mān Singh was a great devotee of the Nāths. The Mahāmandir, located at Jodhpur, was the central monastery of this sect.

Naths and Rites

We have very little record of the precise nature of the rites and mode of worship advocated by the Nāths. But according to the *Harśa Inscription*³⁹ of Vighraharāja, it appears that the early Nāth monks were free from undue attachment to worldly objects. They wore no clothes, and devoted all their time to the worship of Śiva. They bore bowl for begging as a means of livelihood. They smeared their bodies with ashes. Later on it seems that they began to attach themselves with temples of Śiva for which liberal grants of *Jāgirs* were given to them during the period under review.

From the study of the *Surajaparakāsha*⁴⁰ and the *Nāthcharitra*,⁴¹ the two illustrated manuscripts of the 18th century, it appears that the later Nāths gave up their austere standards of morality and began to wear a long red robe with a black cap coming down to their chins. Instead of smearing their whole body with ashes, they besmeared their foreheads, arms, chests and stomachs only with three lines of ashes. They wore baked earthen rings suspended in the middle part of their ears and grew long hair coming down to the neck in curls. They did not grow mustaches. Śivalingas installed in several rows were worshipped by the Nāths. Sometimes they addressed common gatherings also to popularise their sect.

Other sects associated with Śaivism were those of *Samnyāsins*, *Khākis*, *Sidd'ās*, and *Nāgās*. They had their monasteries or *akhārās* at

³⁸ *Nāt charitra*, ff. 2-12 ; *Nāth Chandrikā* by Uttamchanda, V. S. 1861, Granth No. 1, *Bastā* No. 14, Jd. B.A. ; *Jalandharnāth-ji-ro-Jas* by Mānsingh, Granth No. 30, *Bastā* No. 9 ; *Nāthji-ro-Varṇan*, by Śivanāth, Granth No. 30, *Bastā* No. 9, BA.

³⁹ *Harśa Inscription* of Vighraharāja II, v. 1030, (quoted from *Early Chauhān Dynasty*, p. 232).

⁴⁰ *Surajaparakāsha*, f. 47 (Illustrated).

⁴¹ *Nāthcharitra*, ff. 3-4 (Illustrated)

various places, such as Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bikāner, Jaipur and Kotāh. The rulers of these States assigned *jāgirs* to them or honoured them on occasions with grants of money for the maintenance of their order. The Archival records of Jaipur of the 18th century preserve the names of the important teachers who were shown all hospitality and honour by the rulers of Jaipur. They were Anūp Giri of Udaipur, Gosāi Atal Giri of Kotāh, Pundarika Khāki of Jaipur, Gorakhanāth of Kishangarh and Gangādhara of Jodhpur. From the contemporary paintings it appears that these sects preached and practised some of the extreme rites associated with Śaivism. Smearing the whole body with ashes, matted hair and a life of meditation marked them out as a class. Nudity was ordinarily resorted to by most of them. Some of them liked a solitary life and tortured the body through hunger, thirst, heat, cold and rain. They also practised penances by sitting near blazing fire under the hot midday sun. Sometimes they suspended their bodies downwards from the branches of trees, while at other times they kept their arms and legs motionless for several weeks, denying themselves any comfort.⁴²

The picture of the hermits, given by Tavernier⁴³ who travelled through Rājasthān is worth quoting. He said, "I have often met in the field, specially upon the lands of the Rājās, whole squadrons of these 'fakirs', altogether naked, dreadful to behold. Some held their arms lifted up in the posture mentioned; others had their terrible hair hanging about them, or else they had wreathed them about their head; others had dry and stiff tiger skins over their shoulders. I saw them pass thus quite naked, without any shame, through the midst of a great borough, I admired how men, women and children could look upon them so indifferently without being moved no more than if we should see pass some eremites through our streets, and how the women brought them alms with such devotion, taking them for very holy men, much wiser and better than others."

⁴² *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, II, v. 81; My article, 'The Second Slab of Kumbhalgarh Inscription', J.B.R.S., Vol. XLI, Part I, 1955. *Bahī* (Bikāner), V.S. 1759 (1702 A.D.); *Chitorgarh Gāzal*, V.S. 1760 (1703 A.D.), v. 21; *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. XV, V.S. 1782 (1725 A.D.), f. 122 (JA); *Ibid.*, V.S. 1808 (1751 A.D.) (JA), Vol. V. ff. 283-296; *Rāmācharitra* (Illustrated), ff. 21-82 (PPJ); *Bikāner Picture Gallery*, 18th century with an inscription at the back 'Anga vibhuti lagave, etc.'; Portrait of a yogini, No. 97, *Khajanchi Collection*, Bikāner.

⁴³ *Tavernier's letter* written to Mr. Chapelain, October 4, 1667, *Collection of Travels*, Vol. I, London, 1681, p. 102.

He further said : "I have seen many of them, who out of devotion went on long pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with iron-chains, like those that are put about the legs of elephants. Others, who, out of a particular vow, stood for seven or eight days upright upon their legs, which thereupon swelled as big as their thighs, without sitting or lying down, or without reposing themselves otherwise than by leaning some hours of the night upon a stretched cord. Others, who stood for whole hours upon their hands without wavering, the head down, and the feet upward : and so of many other sorts of postures so constrained and so difficult, that we have no tumbler able to imitate them....."

It is clear that the arrangements of afflicting and subduing the body in the manner pictured above (in majority of cases) were devoid of sincerity, and were indeed a mere performance or show of advertising the *sādhu* and attracting admirers. But such modes of asceticism are the neutralising, modifying and conquering processes of thoughts, desires and actions in the realisation of immortal rest. Moreover, by subduing the animal passion with the purification of the body, ascetic practices were also held by Hindu theologians⁴⁴ as necessary conditions for communication with the Divine Spirit.

Temple-building Activities

Most of the rulers of Rājasthān constructed temples dedicated to Śiva during this period. They also assigned villages for the maintenance of these temples. The *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*⁴⁵ contains a description of Kukadeśvara in the Ekalinga temple with a reservoir which dates back to V. S. 811 (755 A. D.). According to the *Ingodā Inscription*⁴⁶ of V. S. 1190 (1133 A. D.) Āgāsiyāka village was assigned to Gohadeśvara. Similarly, one Anangapāla Deva of Dungarpur endowed fifty *bighās* of land for the maintenance of Siddheśvara temple.⁴⁷

From inscriptions, it can be said that the Guhilot rulers of Mewār were devotees of Śiva through the ages. the *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*⁴⁸ of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.), writes that the temple of Ekalinga was built by Bappā. It was repaired from time to time by Mahārānā Mokal, Kumbhā

⁴⁴ *The Upanishads and Śhri Śankara's Commentary*, translated by S. Sitārāma Sāstri, Vol. I, p. 85.

⁴⁵ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V.S. 1517, EI, 24, vv. 51-54, pp. 304-28.

⁴⁶ IA, Vol. VI, pp. 55-56.

⁴⁷ *Thakrādā Grant*, V.S. 1212 (1155 A.D.), R.R.M., Ajmer, 1915-16.

⁴⁸ *1st Slab of Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 23-24, *Report, Rajputānā Museum*, Ajmer, 1925-26, EI., Vol. XXIV, pp. 314-28.

and Rāimal. The same authority⁴⁹ adds that the Dhāreśvara temple, with a reservoir attached to it, was built by Rāwal Samar Singh (1261-1302 A. D.). Another ruler of the same dynasty named Hamir (1361-1364 A. D.) is credited by the *Ekalinga Inscription*⁵⁰ of V. S. 1545 (1488 A. D.), with assigning revenue of Simhavallipura for the daily worship of Śamkara. According to the same authority⁵¹ Lakshmaṇa Singh (1382-1421 A. D.) made a gift of the town of Chiruva (Chirvā near Ekalinga) for the maintenance of Ekalinga. It further says that the village of Vandhanvāda (Bāndarwādā) and Rāmagrāma (Rāmgāon), were assigned to Ekalinga by Mokal.⁵² The *Kumbhagarh Inscription*⁵³ mentions that Samidheśvara temple at Chittor was renovated by Mokal and thereafter by Mahārānā Kumbha (1433-1468 A. D.). The latter, according to the *Ekalinga Inscription*,⁵⁴ made a gift of the villages of Nāgahrda (Nāgdā), Kathadāvana (Kāledā), Malakakhetaka (Mālkhedā) and Bhimānā to Umāmaheśvara. But the Muslim Sultans during their occupation of Mewār seized the endowment lands and hence Rāimal had to repair the temple and restore the villages to it.⁵⁵ Like his ancestors, Mahārānā Udai Singh (1540-1572 A. D.), gave away the village of Menāl to a Śiva temple of the place.⁵⁶ Mahārānā Jagat Singh's (1628-1652 A. D.) wife Gulāb Rāi, assigned 701 *bighās* of land for a temple of Śiva.⁵⁷ The *Virud*⁵⁸ (designation) of 'Bhawānīpati-*prāsādāptavaraprasāda*' used for Mahārānā Kumbhā and later on adopted by other rulers of the same dynasty shows that the Guhilots were ardent followers of Śaivism. These rulers were so devoted to Ekalinga that they took pride in designating themselves as *divānji* and looked upon the deity as the real ruler.

The rulers of Jodhpur too were worshippers of Śiva, and built temples and endowed them with land. Rāo Gangā's wife Nānik Devi in 1525 A. D., erected the temple of Achaleśvara at Jodhpur.⁵⁹ Maharājā Sur Singh

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vv. 34-35 and v. 167 of the 3rd slab.

⁵⁰ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545, v. 26.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, v. 31

⁵² *Ibid.*, v. 46.

⁵³ *Kumbhagarh Inscription*, slab I, vv. 41-50.

⁵⁴ *Ekalinga Inscription*, v. 58 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. IX.

⁵⁵ *Ekalinga Inscription*, v. 86

⁵⁶ A copper plate grant, No. 348 (ODRU), of Udai Singh's time.

⁵⁷ A copper plate grant, No. 355 (ODRU), V.S. 1794 (1737 A. D.). (ODRU)

⁵⁸ *Sangitarāja, Pāthyarathakośa* by Kumbhā, ed. C. Kunhan Raja, Bikāner, 1946, p. 8.

⁵⁹ A transcript copy of the copper plate grant, No. 285, Archival file of 1899 A. D.

(1595-1619 A. D.) constructed a temple of Rameśvara outside Chāndpol, Jodhpur.⁶⁰ Similarly, Ajit Singh installed a life-size image made of silver of Śiva-Pārvati in V. S. 1776 (1719 A. D.).⁶¹ Mahārājā Mān Singh was also a devout follower of Śaivism and granted land to several Śiva temples in the State, as given in the *Dastri Records*.⁶² The rulers of other states in Rājāsthān did not lag behind in the matter of constructing temples of Śiva and endowing them with land at the close of our period. The rulers of Bikāner endowed lands to Śiva temples.⁶³ Udaī Singh of Sirohī assigned the village of Savāli for the maintenance of the temple of Sāndeśvara in V. S. 1868 (1811 A.D.).⁶⁴ In V. S. 1884 (1827 A. D.) Veri Sāl of Sirohī gave a plot of land with a well for the worship of Mahādeva.⁶⁵

Besides the kings and queens, the feudatory chiefs and common people built Śiva temples to obtain spiritual merit for themselves and their relations. Every nook and corner of the table-land of Uparmāl^{65A} narrates a story about itself through either sculptures, epigraphs or archaeological remains belonging to the 10th to 12th centuries A. D., proving thereby that charitable persons took keen interest in the construction of temples of Śiva and endowing them with land and cash.⁶⁶ From an inscription⁶⁷ of V. S. 1624 (1567 A.D.) it appears that Sāmūl, a *Patel* constructed a temple of Khireśvara at Khadagdā. *Pradhān* Bhagchand of Udaipur remitted in V. S. 1682 (1625 A. D.) a local tax of thirteen and a half rupees for the village of Bhādujā and ordered that the amount be utilized for the purchase of saffron for the worship of Mahādeva in that village.⁶⁸ Rāi Sukhiyā of Dungarpur, at the close of our period, renovated the temple of Mahākāla at the top of the hill of Dhanmātā.⁶⁹

⁶⁰ Reu : *Mārwār-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 198.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

⁶² *Dastri Bahi*, V. S. 1803-1843 (1746-1786 A.D.)

⁶³ *Pratiśtā Bahi*, V. S. 1835 (1778 A. D.) (Bikāner Archives).

⁶⁴ A copper plate grant of V. S. 1868 (1811 A. D.) (ODRS).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, V. S. 1884 (1827 A. D.) (ODRS).

^{65A} Comprising Bijoliyān and Māndalgarh areas.

⁶⁶ *Bijoliyān Rock Inscription*, V. S. 1226 (1169 A. D.), EI., Vol. XXVI, pp. 84 ff.

⁶⁷ *Rājpatra*, Dungarpur, 5th January, 1948.

⁶⁸ A transcript copy of the document of V. S. 1682 (1625 A. D.), *Misal* No. 1124, f. 230 (ODRU).

⁶⁹ *Rājpatra*, Dungarpur, 5th January, 1948.

The majority of the temples constructed during the period under review bore images either of *Linga* or *Chaturmukh Linga* with no face or one face or four faces of Śiva carved on them.⁷⁰ Other forms of this god with figures of Pārvati, a trident and bull were also very common during the period under review.⁷¹

Saktism

It has been pointed out by a school of anthropologists and sociologists that the whole cult of Śakti with all its heterogeneous and theological fabrications may be regarded as a contribution to the complex texture of the Hindu religion and culture mainly, if not solely, by the pre-Aryans, or the non-Aryans aborigines.⁷² According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji⁷³ her worship has more of Dravidian and even Proto-Austrioid than Aryan elements in it. According to the Indian idea, Śakti worship is the worship of the female energy in nature, having the *yonī* and *yantra* for its accepted symbols. *Mantras*, *bija-mantras*, postures and gestures as prescribed in *Tāntrika* texts, composed at different times of our period of study, are necessary accompaniments of the mother-worship.

From both archaeological and epigraphic evidences it is clear that the mother-goddess was worshipped in Rājasthān in one form or another from the early age to the end of our period. Her chief forms that have come to light from the terra-cottas or inscriptional or archival references of early period are of varied characters, indicating her valour, anger and benevolence, which are manifested in Mātridevī,⁷⁴ Mahiśāsuramardini,⁷⁵ Durgā,⁷⁶ Pārvati,⁷⁷ Yogeśwari,⁷⁸ Dadhimati,⁷⁹ Kṣemkari,⁸⁰ Aranyavāsini,⁸¹

⁷⁰ Compare the images of Samidheśvara and Kukadeśvara at Chitor and those of *Archaeological Gallery*, Amber, Udaipur and Kotāh.

⁷¹ *Archaeological Gallery*, M. B. College, Udaipur.

⁷² S. B. Das Gupta : *Aspects of Indian Religious Thought*, p. 44, ed. Calcutta, 1957.

⁷³ Dr. S. K. Chatterji's Chapter on 'Race Movements and Pre-Historic Culture, (*Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan Series*, Vol. I).

⁷⁴ *Rede Excavation Circle*, edited by K.N. Puri, p. 26, plates Nos. 12-13.

⁷⁵ *Archaeological Gallery*, Amber,

⁷⁶ *Rede Excavation Circle*, edited by K.N. Puri, p. 30 ; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1929-30*, p. 180 ; *Bhamarmātā Inscription*, V. S. 1547 (1490 A. D.)

⁷⁷ Images at Kāmā (Bharatpur), Suratgarh, Rangmahal and Hanumān-garh ; *Rede Excavation Circle*, edited by K. N. Puri, p. 57 ; *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, Poona, p. 65 ; *Art and Architecture of Bikāner State*, 1954 (Oxford), p. 26, plate No. 4.

⁷⁸ *Gothmānglod Inscription*, 608 A. D. ; E. I., Vol. 12, p. 15.

⁷⁹ *Dadhīcha Anka*, August, 1952, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁰ *Vasantgarh Inscription*, V.S. 682 (625 A. D.)

⁸¹ *Sāmoli Inscription*, V. S. 703.

Vasundarā,⁸² Astamātrikā,⁸³ Rādhikā,⁸⁴ Lakṣmī,⁸⁵ Bhagwati,⁸⁶ Nandā,⁸⁷ Saraswati,⁸⁸ Katyayini⁸⁹, Vatayaksini,⁹⁰ Ambikā,⁹¹ Kālī,⁹² Sancikā⁹³, and Yogeswari.⁹⁴

But as we come nearer to our period we find that due to constant warfare with the invaders some specific manifestations of the mother-goddess in the form of Chandī, Bhawānī, Cāmundā, Kālī, Katyāyini, Rāṣṭrasenī and others, came into prominence ; and these were worshipped as an embodiment of vigour and awe, though most of the old forms also remained in vogue.

Temple-building Activities

The period under review saw the construction of several temples dedicated to Śakti by warriors who were directly and indirectly concerned with war. The Jaswantpurā Inscription⁹⁵ of V.S. 1319 (1262 A.D.) refers to a beautiful image of Chandikā installed on the day of Akṣayatriyā.

⁸² *Vasundara (Dungarpur) Inscription*, V. S. 7th century, *Vide* Ojhā's *D.R.I.*, 1936, pp. 18-19.

⁸³ *Administration Report, Archaeological Deptt.*, Jodhpur, p. 5.

⁸⁴ *Mandor Inscription*, 12th century.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Dolatpurā copper plate grant*, V.S. 900 (843 A. D.) *EL.*, Vol. V, p. 208.

⁸⁷ *Arnā (Jodhpur) Inscription*, V. S. 10th century, *Administration Report, Archaeological Deptt.*, Jodhpur, p. 5 ; Ojhā : *J. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 28.

⁸⁸ *Sāmbhar Inscription*, V.S. 998 (941 A. D.), v. 1, preserved in Sardār Museum, Jodhpur ; *Ekalinga Inscription*, 1028 ; *IA*. 58, Sept., 1929, pp. 234-36 ; H. C. Ray : *Dynastic History of Northern India*, 1926 Vol. 2, p. 1171.

⁸⁹ *Parvatsar Inscription*, V. S. 1056 (999 A. D.)

⁹⁰ *Ghotārsi Inscription*, V. S. 1003 (946 A. D.) ; Ojhā's *P. R. I.*, 1941, pp. 22-23.

⁹¹ *Ghatiyāla Inscription (Mārwar)*, V. S. 918 (861 A. D.), *vide Progress Report*, A. S. W. C., 1907, p. 34.

⁹² *Parvatsar Inscription*, V. S. 1056 (999 A. D.)

⁹³ *Osiyān Inscription*, V. S. 1236 (1179 A. D.) ; *Jainā Inscriptions*, I, No. 804, p. 198.

⁹⁴ *Chirvā Inscription*, V. S. 1330 (1273 A. D.) ; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, pp 155-159.

⁹⁵ *Jaina Inscriptions*, No. 994, pp. 253-58.

An inscription⁹⁶ refers to some gift made on the 11th day of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, during the reign of the illustrious Mahārānā Khetā, in the village of Sunāka, on the occasion of the pilgrimage of Devi Śrī Śivali. In the *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*⁹⁷ we have a description of Mahā-Lakṣmi with a lotus flower in her hand and an elephant on each side of her face. Her temple was built by Mahārānā Hamir (1326-1384 A.D.) at Chitor. The temple of this goddess is known as that of Annapurṇā. The same inscription mentions that Mokal constructed a temple of the Devi with an image of lion made of an amalgamation of all metals. It is mentioned in the inscription that in the village of Kelwādā, there existed a temple of Bāṇa-Mātā, which was destroyed by Mahmud Khalji of Māndu. Thākur Dip Singh defended the temple for six days, and on the seventh he fell fighting. The *Samidheśvara Inscription*⁹⁸ preserves a prayer to Girijā and refers to a temple of Bhagwati Bhawāni in the mountains. The *Śringiriśi Inscription*⁹⁹ of V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.) opens with an invocatory verse in praise of Bhārati, the goddess of learning. In the *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*¹⁰⁰ we have the description of the goddess Chandikā Vindhyāvāsini, whose shrine is situated on the slope of the hill, towards the north of Ekalinga temple. In the V.S. 1515 (1458 A.D.), Shāh Āshā constructed an image of Ambikā at Mount Ābu.¹⁰¹ In the V.S. 1686 (1629 A.D.) the temple of Ambā was erected at Pāli, during the reign of Mahārājā Gajā Singh of Jodhpur.¹⁰²

The rulers of Rājasthān had their own family deities, which were worshipped with great faith and devotion. Karṇiji of Deshpok¹⁰³ was the family deity of the rulers of Bikāner. Her temple was erected in V.S. 1473 (1416 A.D.). Mahārājā Ratan Singh, out of devotion, presented a cup of gold weighing 44 *tolās*, constructed railings of silver and erected marble platform in front of the image at the cost of Rs. 225/-. The house of

⁹⁶ *Sunāka Pillar Inscription*, V.S. 1356 ; EI., II, p. 33, No. 27.

⁹⁷ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 51-54 ; EI., Vol. XXIV, No. 44, pp. 314-28, A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1925-26.

⁹⁸ *Samidheśvara Inscription*, v. 3, Vir Vinod, I, p. 402.

⁹⁹ *Śringiriśi Inscription*, v. 1, lines 1-2, A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1924-25.

¹⁰⁰ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, I-III, v. 21, EI., Vol. XXIV, pp. 314-28.

¹⁰¹ *Jaina Inscriptions*, p. 261, No. 2022.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 205, No. 830.

¹⁰³ *Khyāta Dayāldās*, Vol. I, ff. 80-98 and 341-342 (ALB).

Jodhpur worshipped Nāgñechi¹⁰⁴ as family deity from the beginning of our period. Śīśodiyās of Mewār were the worshippers of Bāṇa Mātā¹⁰⁵ and the Kachchawāhas that of Annapurñā,¹⁰⁶ as is evidenced from the Archival records.

Another important manifestation of the mother goddess is that of Śītlā whose epigraphic reference is found in an inscription¹⁰⁷ of V.S. 1234 (1177 A.D.), when the temple of Sancikā was erected by one Gangādhar at Osiyān in Mārwar. There is another reference to Śītlā in the *Gogundā Inscription*¹⁰⁸ of V.S. 1423 (1366 A.D.) which records the construction of a temple in the village during the reign of Rānā Kṣhetra Singh. Her figure, as is evident from the image of this temple, is in a naked form mounted on an ass. The goddess has ten hands with a rosary (Akṣamālā), a winnowing basket and a water vessel. This goddess is regarded as a protector against smallpox and hence she is usually worshipped by all classes of people, when a patient is cured of the disease of pox. *Śitalāṣṭami* was, as it is now, the day of the festival referred to in the *Pāli Inscription*,¹⁰⁹ when she was worshipped by all kinds of people. From the Kotāh records¹¹⁰ we learn that out of the state fund the temple of Śītlā was whitewashed and painted. A full dress for the image, costing Rs. 65/-, was presented on the occasion of Śītlā festival, which fell on the 8th of the dark-half of *Chaitra*. In the year V.S. 1794 (1737 A.D.), according to the *Siyāhah-Huzur*,¹¹¹ the Mahārājā of Jaipur went in a procession to pay homage to Śītlā on this festive occasion. In V.S. 1825 (1768 A.D.) according to the *Dastri* records¹¹² offerings of presents, dress and ornaments were made to Śītlā Devi by the Mahārājā of Jodhpur on his recovery from smallpox. In V.S. 1838 (1781 A.D.) Mahārājā Kumār Chimnājī on his recovery from an attack of smallpox, was taken in procession

¹⁰⁴ *Bikāner Gazāl*, V. S. 1765 (1708 A. D.)

¹⁰⁵ *Sthāpanā File*, No. 227, V. S. 1789 (1732 A.D.) (ODRU).

¹⁰⁶ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol, VIII, f. 1, V.S. 1804 (1747 A.D.)

¹⁰⁷ *Osiyān Inscription*, V. S. 1234 (1177 A.D.); *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 805, p. 198.

¹⁰⁸ *Gogundā Inscription* of the 13th of the dark-half of *Āṣādhā*, V.S. 1423 (1366 A.D.)

¹⁰⁹ *Pāli Inscription*, V.S. 1686 (1629 A.D.); *Jainā Inscriptions*, II, No. 830, p. 205.

¹¹⁰ *Bastā* Vo. 11, *Bhandāra* No. 1, V.S. 1750 (1693 A.D.)

¹¹¹ *Siyāhah-Huzur*, V.S. 1794 (1737 A.D.), f. 169.

¹¹² *Dastri* Records, V.S. 1825 (1768 A.D.) and 1838 (1781 A.D.), *Bahi* No. 20.

the temple of the Devi and rich robes and ornaments were offered to the deity.

The Mother worship in India, and particularly in Rājasthan had deepened the religious consciousness of the Rājputs. It added a colour and quality to the very culture of the people. *Jai-mālāji-ki* was commonly adopted as a mode of salutation and slaughter. It is Śakti that stirred the life and intellect of the warriors and probably inspired most of the outstanding facts of valour in history.

Vaiṣṇavism

Viṣṇu first emerged from the mist of the past as a solar deity. He is supposed to have descended to earth in the forms of the deities Kriṣṇa or Vāsudeva, the Bhāgavata, the 'Adorable One'. He was worshipped as the one Deity who was infinite and eternal, willing to save those who were devoted to Him. He has also been regarded as an *avatāra* to teach the *Ekāntika* Dharma, the one Rule, that God was to be worshipped in faith and devotion and was ready, in grace, to give rest to all his loving and beloved worshippers. Tradition represents Kriṣṇa as of the Yādava tribe and eighth son of Vasudeva and Devaki, and as born at Mathurā, a place still sacred to all Hindus. In the Purānic period, following and continuing the epic traditions, Kriṣṇa appears not only as a deity but as the child Kriṣṇa. According to the Vedic and Purānic thought two phases of Vaiṣṇavism emerged ; the worship of Kriṣṇa was the worship of a personal God to be loved in adoring faith by disciples, and Vāsudeva was a deity infinite and eternal and full of grace. Another off-shoot of Vaiṣṇavism was the Kriṣṇa cult of which Vallabhāchārya was the most distinguished exponent. The path of devotion preached by him was called the *Puṣṭimārga*—the path of acquiring the grace of the Almighty. Non-attachment to worldly pleasures and desires and self-renunciation were the keynote of his teachings. Later on this Vallabhāchāryaism, in its degenerate form, became, as Monier Williams writes, the Epicureanism of the East. Its followers began to aim at securing the ends of religion by means of the indulgence of appetites, leading to great abuse.¹¹³

Vaiṣṇavism in Rajasthan

The worship of Viṣṇu in various forms and under several names in the period under review in Rājasthān dates back to some centuries before the

¹¹³ Keith : *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 548 ; R. G. Bhandārkar : "*Religious Systems*, p. 838 (1913) ; J. Campbell Oman : *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, London, 1903, pp. 116-117 ; R.W. Frazer : *Indian Thought, Past and Present*, London, 1915, pp. 200-212 ; Dr. Ishwari Prasad : *History of Mediaeval India*, (Allahabad, 1928), pp. 516, 517, 518.

birth of Christ. The *Ghosundi Inscription*¹¹⁴ of the 2nd century B. C., records the construction of a stone wall round the hall of worship of Sankarshaṇa-Balarāma and Vāsudeva by Sarvatāta of Gaja family. The fact that Viṣṇu was worshipped as early as the 2nd century B. C., is known from this inscription. From this time onwards the sculptured art and images at various places in Rājasthān reveal that Viṣṇu in his several manifestations was a prominent deity of the Hindus. Scenes from *Kriṣṇa Lilā* viz., the episodes of lifting of Goverdhana and of the defeat of demons like Śakatāsura, Kāliya, etc., have been represented on the sculptured pillars of about the 4th century A. D., at Mandor (ancient Māndayapur) in Mārwar.¹¹⁶ Some of the interesting terra-cottas of baked bricks from Rangamahāl¹¹⁵ of the early Guptā period depict Vaiṣṇava themes, most prominent of which are *Goverdhana-dhāran* (lifting of the Goverdhana mountain) and the *Dān-Lilā* scenes.¹¹⁷ These antiquities, now preserved in the museums of Jodhpur and Bikāner, throw a flood of light on the early development of Vaiṣṇava cult in north-western Rājasthān. Huge statues¹¹⁸ of Balarāma and Revti (his consort) discovered at Rupbās (Bharatpur), belonging to Gupta period, also show that Vaiṣṇavism has taken deep roots in that area. Udaipur Inscription¹¹⁹ of Aparājīt of V.S. 718 (661 A.D.) invokes the protection of God Viṣṇu and Hari and records that Aparājīt's wife Yoshomati, in order to cross the troubled waters of worldly existence, built a temple of Viṣṇu. The Inscription referred to above closes with words of adoration to Purushottama.

A *fragmentary inscription*¹²⁰ belonging to the early Pratihāra period from Mandor refers to Kriṣṇa playing with Rādhā and the Gopis at Gokul. Another piece¹²¹ from this very place makes reference to Vāsudeva. An

¹¹⁴ *A.R.R.M.*, Ajmer, 1926-27, p. 2 ; *EI.*, Vol. XVI, p. 25.

¹¹⁵ *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905-06, p. 135.

¹¹⁶ An ancient site about 4 miles from Suratgarh in the Bikāner Division.

¹¹⁷ *Progress Report Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1921, p. 115 ; H Goetz : *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, p. 26, figure No. 5.

¹¹⁸ Coomārswāmy, pp. 86-87 ; Rāi Krishnadās : *Prāchin Bhāratiya Murtikalā*, V.S. 2001, Banaras, p. 102 ; Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Calcutta, VI & XX, pp. 20, 98 ; *The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, XIII, pp. 70-71.

¹¹⁹ *EI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-33.

¹²⁰ Preserved in the *Sardār Museum*, Jodhpur. The line runs as :— 'Gopi girau Gokale sutva Radhikā,' etc.

¹²¹ Preserved in the *Sardār Museum*, Jodhpur. The line runs as :— 'Om Namō Bhagvate Vasudevāya'.

inscription¹²² from Kāmā enumerates various forms and names of Viṣṇu including the epithet Ghanashyāma, a name usually given to Kriṣṇa. In the Kotishwar temple of Kāmā a fragment of bas-relief¹²³ depicts *Gosthi Lilā* of Kriṣṇa. A sculpture of Balarāma by the side of Revati with a plough in his hand, discovered from Katāra (Bharatpur), now at the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer is very interesting. The early mediaeval temple at Osiyān,¹²⁴ Kekindā,¹²⁵ Kirādu,¹²⁶ and Sādri preserve several anecdotes of Kriṣṇa's life, carved in stone and adjusted in niches, or domical ceiling and panels of the outer-parts of the temples.¹²⁷ A black stone sculpture brought from Arthunā and preserved in the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, represents Yasodā and Kriṣṇa.¹²⁸ Another sculpture of Putnā at the Hanumāna temple of Arthunā depicts Vaiṣṇavite theme.¹²⁹ The figures of Kriṣṇa and Gopis in *Rāsa-Lilā* pose and a Viṣṇu image decorating the *Art Gallery of Albert Museum*, Jaipur, are fine pieces, and prove the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism, in Āmber and Sāmbhar.¹³⁰ A study of these sculptures and inscriptions throw an illuminating light on the growth and development of the cult of Kriṣṇa in several states of Rājasthān in the early mediaeval period.

With this background it can easily be appreciated why rulers and people in our period were the followers of the cult of Viṣṇu and Kriṣṇa. The *Ekalinga Inscription*¹³¹ of V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.) refers to the construction of a temple in honour of Dwārkādhisha by Mokal. According to

¹²² Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, XX, pp. 57-58 ; *IA*, X, p. 54.

¹²³ *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of Ināia, Western Circle*, Poona, 1919, p. 65.

¹²⁴ A town about 38 miles from Jōdhpur, situated about half a mile from the Railway station. Osiyān is on the branch line—Jodhpur-Pokhran Railway line.

¹²⁵ About 87 miles from Jodhpur.

¹²⁶ It lies about 124 miles from Jodhpur.

¹²⁷ *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1908-09, p. 104 ; *The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1946, p. 26 ; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1954, pp. 157-158.

¹²⁸ *Rājputānā Museum*, Ajmer, Exhibit No. 448/1 ; *Prabodha Bhārati*, Calcutta, February, 1944.

¹²⁹ Ojhā : *B.R.I.*, 1937, p. 19.

¹³⁰ Sahāni : *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sāmbhar*, p. 16 ; plate Ia ; Dr. S. P. Srivastava : *Rājasthān and Its Traditions*, 1951, p. 28 ; *Albert Museum*, Jaipur, Nos. 1193-1194.

¹³¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1945, p. 286.

the *Śringiriśi Inscription*¹³² he adored Nārāyaṇa in the form of Vārāha of Pushkar, being himself a devotee of the illustrious Nārāyaṇa. A big stone inscription¹³³ of the 5th of the bright-half of Māgha, V.S. 1500 (25th January, 1444 A.D.) fixed in a wall in a temple of Kriṣṇa on a hill near the village of Kadiyān, about 15 miles from Udaipur, records that during the reign of Mahārānā Kumbhā a Brāhmaṇ named Tilā Bhatta built the temple of Kriṣṇa. The *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*¹³⁴ contains a description of Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) whose temple at Chitor is situated near the Mahālakṣmi temple. This temple is generally associated with the Chārbhujā—four-handed Viṣṇu. Further we find a description of Kumbha Swāmi, now popularly known as Mirā Bāi temple of Chitor, which was erected by the Mahārānā in V.S. 1505 (1448 A.D.) and styled after his own name. The temple was originally dedicated to god Vārāha or the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Rānā Kumbhā also constructed a temple of Kumbha Swāmi at Kumbhalgarh. Four inscriptions¹³⁵ dated the full-moon-day of the bright-half of Mārgaśirsha, V.S. 1505 (1448 A.D.) record the installation of the images of Śridhara, Kriṣṇa-Rukmaṇi, Rāma-Lakshmaṇa and Mādhava-Tulsi by Kumbhā at Chitor. Two inscriptions¹³⁶ engraved on the images of Vāsudeva and Dāmodar of V.S. 1516 (1459 A. D.) also record that they were installed at Kumbhalgarh by the Mahārānā.

Similarly, a Jaisālmer Inscription¹³⁷ of V.S. 1583 (1526 A. D.) shows that Shāh Sahasmal had the Dashāvatāra (ten incarnations) of Viṣṇu with Lakṣminārāyaṇa painted in the temple of Sānti Nāth. In V. S. 1589 (1532 A. D.) a temple of Lakṣminārāyaṇa was constructed by the people at Barvāsā (Dungarpur).¹³⁸ Naiṇsi¹³⁹ says that a brother of Rānā Pratāp repaired the temple of Vārāha at Pushkar and spent one lakh of rupees over it. Jahāngir¹⁴⁰ was mistaken in attributing its construction to Sagar. It was originally constructed by King Aroṅrāja in the 12th century A. D.¹⁴¹ In V. S. 1617 a temple of Dwārkānāth was constructed there by

¹³² *Śringiriśi Inscription*, V.S. 1485, v. 17, A.R.R.H., Ajmer, 1924-25.

¹³³ Sārdā : *Mahārānā Kumbhā*, p. 173.

¹³⁴ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V.S. 1517, Slab I, v. 52, A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1925-26 ; EI., Vol. XXIV, Article No. 44, pp. 314-28 ; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, II, v. 75, J.B.R.S., Vol. XLI, Part I, 1955.

¹³⁵ *A.R.R.M.*, Ajmer, 1917-18, p. 2.

¹³⁶ Preserved in the *Victoria Hall Museum*, Udaipur.

¹³⁷ *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2154, pp. 35-40.

¹³⁸ Ojhā : *D.R.I.*, p. 88.

¹³⁹ Naiṇsi's *Khyāta*, f. 7.

¹⁴⁰ *Tuzūk*, R. & B., Vol. I, p. 254.

¹⁴¹ Sārdā : *Ajmer—Historical and Descriptive*, pp. 396-397.

Sajjanā Bāi.¹⁴² In 1651 A. D., Mahārānā Jagat Singh constructed the temple of Jagannāth Rāi at Udaipur, a remarkable structure of indigenous architectural design, at the cost of fifteen lakhs of rupces. In V. S. 1679 (1622 A. D.), Mahārāwal Punjā of Dungarpur constructed a huge temple of Goverdhannāth and assigned the village of Basaifor its maintenance.¹⁴⁴ Mahārānā Rāj Singh offered his assistance in getting the image of Śrī-Nāthji brought from Mathurā and in installing it at Ghāsā and then at Sinhād (Nāthdwārā).¹⁴⁵ Similarly, the image of Dwarkādhisha was installed at Kānkroli.¹⁴⁶ By the liberal grants made by the rulers and nobles of Rājasthān, these two temples became the richest temples of Rājasthān. A document of V. S. 1745 (1688 A. D.) shows that the income from the custom duties was granted to the Vārāha temple of Bundi by Mahārāj Kumar Ugra Singh.¹⁴⁷ At the close of our period Mahārājā Abhaya Singh of Jodhpur built a portion of the 'Heroes Hall' at Mandor and raised huge rock-cut statues of other gods.¹⁴⁸

There are references in the Archival records of Bikāner and Jaipur of several Viṣṇu temples dedicated to Chārbhujā and Kriṣṇa for which lands were assigned and donations made from time to time. The Vaiṣṇavite temples of Kalyānji and Jagat Śīromaniji at Āmber, belonging to the 17th and 18th century respectively, are of great aesthetic importance. The latter temple was built in memory of Kunwar Jagat Singh. The Govindji's temple is pre-eminent among the temples of that area. There a female figure of Revati 19 ft. 3 inches long and a male figure 9 ft. 2 inches long, belonging to 18th century, depict Vaiṣṇavite theme. In memory of Madho Singh of Jaipur, Bāi Chandrāvati constructed a Viṣṇu temple on a high plinth at Galtā in the Vikram year 1831 (1774 A. D.). Mahārājā Vijaya Singh built the temple of Ghanshyāma in V. S. 1817 (1760 A. D.), and his wife Gulāb Rāi that of Kunja Bihāri at Jodhpur.¹⁴⁹

Thus inscriptions and sculptures which depict Varāha, Śankarshana,

¹⁴² Ojhā : *D.R.I.*, p. 87.

¹⁴³ *Jagannāth Rāi Inscription*, V.S. 1709, EI., Vol. XXIV.

¹⁴⁴ Ojhā : *D.R.I.*, p. 110.

¹⁴⁵ A *Pattā*, dated 11th of the bright-half of *Vaisākha*, V.S. 1792, No. 308 (ODRU) ; Ojhā : *U.R.I.*, II., p. 547.

¹⁴⁶ A *Photo Plate* No. 26/406, B. *Jāgir* S. 95 (ODRU) ; *Kānkroli-kā-Itihās*, Vidyāvibhāga, Kānkroli, V.S. 1996, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴⁷ A *Pattā* No. 9 (Bundi) (ODRU), V.S. 1745.

¹⁴⁸ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1954, p. 345.

¹⁴⁹ Dr. Satya Prakāsh : *As Stones Speak*, Āmber, pp. 11-12, Bharatpur, p. 13, Galtā, pp. 10-11 ; *Reu* : *Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 393-394.

Nārāyaṇa, Sarveśvara, Vāsudeva and other inscriptions of Viṣṇu of the epics¹⁵⁰ emphasised with great force the worship of Kriṣṇa of the *Bhāgavata* as the lover of Rādhā, participating in sports and games with Gopis, in the 17th and 18th centuries. It acquired an added force inspired through poetry, painting, music and drama. The Kriṣṇa cult found expression in the illustrated manuscripts of the *Bhāgavatas*¹⁵¹ in the *Art Gallery* of Jaipur, the *Saraswati Bhandāras* of Kotāh and Udaipur, and the *Pustak Prakāsha* of Jodhpur in the 17th and 18th centuries. Erotic mysticism was made through paintings dealing with frolicsome scenes of Kriṣṇa's life on the bank of the Jamunā or in the recesses and the avenues of Kāmvan and Vrindāvan. These very themes were enacted by devotees of Kriṣṇa's cult. The coming of Śrināthji to Nāthdwārā, Dwārkādhisha to Kānkroli and Mathurādhisha to Kotāh marked a turning point in the development of Vaiṣṇavism of Pustimārga order in Rājasthān. It was accompanied by elaborate worship, rich offerings, music and dance of a peculiar pattern.¹⁵²

This cult was popular with the ruling families of Mertā, Kishangarh, Mewār, Mārwar, Kotāh and Jaipur. Contemporary paintings show that many a ruler of Rājasthān bore Vaiṣṇavite mark or *tilaka* on his forehead. A set of *Jotdāna* in the possession of the Mahārājā of Udaipur depict Rāj Singh and his successors with this mark. Rāj Singh with a *tilaka* is seen in a painting¹⁵³ with the image of Śri Nāthji. In the private collection of paintings of the Mahārājā of Kishangarh several paintings have figures with the Vaiṣṇavite *tilaka*. several rulers of Jaipur¹⁵⁴ too bear this mark. In Phoolmahal paintings of Jodhpur the picture of Vijaya Singh bears a *tilaka* mark.

¹⁵⁰ *EI*, XXII, pp. 198-205 ; D. R. Bhandarkar : *The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari*, 1920, Calcutta, p. 119 ; R.C. Chandar : *Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition*, 1920, Calcutta, pp. 152H ; *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society Lucknow*, XXI, pp. 121-22 ; *JISOA*, XIV, p. 24 ; *Journal of Oriental Institute, Barodā*, I (i), pp. 51-59 ; *PRASWC*, 1921, p. 95, plate XX.

¹⁵¹ *Bhāgavata* of Pustak Prakāsha, V.S. 1667 ; *Bhāgavata* of 1648 A.D. ; *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3 ; *Bhāgavata* of *Art Gallery*, Jaipur ; Gangoly : *Masterpieces of Painting*, Plate No. X ; N.C. Mehta : *Studies in Indian Paintings*, Plate 11 ; Dr. Motichand : *Mewār Paintings*, Plate No. 2 ; Dr. G.N. Sharma : *Mewār Paintings Through Ages, Uttar Bhārati*, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 62-63 ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Nāthdwārā Painting*, IHC, 1958, pp. 558-564.

¹⁵² MSS. *Pustimārgasevāpaddhatis*, 18th century, Temple Library, Kānkroli.

¹⁵³ Coomārswāmy : *Rājput Painting*, Vol. I, p. 41, Plate XIV.

¹⁵⁴ Mādho Singh and Jai Singh of Jaipur, No. 2202, *Art Gallery*, Jaipur Palace.

The rulers and the ruled in Rājasthān were by no means less enthusiastic in the cause of Vaiṣṇavism. The name of Mirā has become immortal for her devotion to Kṛiṣṇa. In one of the inscriptions¹⁵⁵, Rup Singh of Jaisalmer has been addressed as Śrī Nārāyaṇabhaktitāpāmatī, as he was absorbed in the devotion of Nārāyaṇa. In one of the letters¹⁵⁶ from Kishangarh, Vijaya Singh of Jodhpur has been addressed as Vaiṣṇavaseviparambhāgavata, that is one who is the devotee of Vaiṣṇavās and of the great god of the Bhāgavata. A correspondence¹⁵⁷ of the rulers of Jodhpur with other rulers of Rājasthān reveals that these rulers were enthusiastic about the spread of Vaiṣṇavism in their states. They provided facilities to the Goswāmīs of this cult such as, lodging and funds, whenever they visited their capital towns. From the Archival records,¹⁵⁸ Jaipur, we learn that Goswāmīs and their wives and daughters who came to Jaipur on various occasions were provided lodging in Khedkā-orchard or Ghāt-garden, and the ruling princes and people visited them with presents. In V.S. 1840 (1783 A.D.)¹⁵⁹ the ruler of Kishangarh convened at his capital a congregation of Sāta Svarūpa (seven images) of Puṣṭimārga on his own initiative. Vaiṣṇavism of this type was also in vogue among the commoners. One of the scribes of Rājyābhisekhaṇḍī named Narharidās and another Māṅgi Rāma introduced themselves in the colophon as Vaiṣṇavās.¹⁶⁰ This shows that Vaiṣṇavism of our period had a universality of appeal.

Worship of Rama

In Vaiṣṇavism the worship of Rāma is an object of special adoration. As a matter of fact it emphasised on three distinct principles—*Para-brahma* or *Īswara* (The Supreme Spirit), *Chit* (The separate spirit), and *Achit* (Non-spirit). It recognised the merit of good works for the attainment of final exemption from further transmigrations.¹⁶¹ This sect had its own mendicant orders and its own monasteries.

¹⁵⁵ *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, p. 47.

¹⁵⁶ A letter from Sri Chandra Lal of Kishangarh addressed to Vijaya Singh of Jodhpur, *vide Portfolio File No. 4*, Letter No. 48.

¹⁵⁷ *Portfolio File No. 4*, Letter No. 4 to Kishangarh, V.S. 1815 ; *Ibid.*, Letter No. 9 to Jaipur V.S. 1858 ; *Ibid.*, Letter No. 14, Jaisalmer, V.S. 1858.

¹⁵⁸ *Dustur Komwār*, V.S. 1845-1862, ff. 296-483.

¹⁵⁹ *Portfolio File No. 4*, Letter No. 4 from Kishangarh, V.S. 1840.

¹⁶⁰ Colophon, *Rājyābhisekhaṇḍī*, No. 299, V.S. 1738 (SBLU) ; Colophon, *Kṛiṣṇadīvyastotram*, No. 1193, V.S. 1767 (1710 A.D.) (SBLU).

¹⁶¹ Bhāttācharya : *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 415 ; J. Campbell Oman : *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, pp. 118, 119, 120, London, 1903.

Worship of Rāma was also one of the popular forms of belief during the period under review. The rulers of Mewār claimed their descent from Rāma.¹⁶¹ A temple of Sitā of great antiquity at the village of Siyārāmā, about two miles from Udaipur shows that the cult of Rāma was associated with the ruling family of the Guhilots. We know from the *Samidheśvara Inscription*¹⁶² of V.S. 1458 (1401 A.D.) that Khshetra Singh had faith in Rāma. The *Jāwar Inscription*¹⁶³ states that the temple of Rāma Swāmi and Rāma Kund were constructed by Rāmā Devi, daughter of Kumbhā and wife of Mandalik at Jāwar. Sangram Singh II of Udaipur assigned 100 *bighās* of land¹⁶⁴ in the village of Bhuvānā for the maintenance of the temple of Sitā-Rāma in V.S. 1700 (1643 A.D.). These rulers used the invocatory phrase '*Rāmojayati*' before commencing the writing of official documents or copper-plate grants or stone-tablets and concluded them with the phrase '*Rāmārpaṇa*'.¹⁶⁵ From the official correspondence¹⁶⁶ of Jaipur, it is clear that the rulers of Jaipur used the invocatory phrase of 'Sitā-Rāmji'. From the Bānswārā grants and documents¹⁶⁷ of our period we conclude that '*Śri Rāmaji*' was used as a mark of devotion to the cult of Rāma.

Among deities worshipped during our period Ganeṣa is pre-eminent. His shrines were constructed either independently or his images were associated with one god or another. In almost all original works of the period the invocatory line at least or invocatory verses were dedicated to Ganeṣa, Vighraharāja, Vināyaka, Gajmukha, Gajvadana, etc. According to the

¹⁶¹ *Granth Vamṣāvali*, No. 209 ; *Vamṣāvali* No. 878; *Vamṣāvali-Rānāji-ni*, No. 607 ; *Śisodia-Vamṣāvali*, No. 867 ; *Surya Vamṣa*, No. 827. (SBLU).

¹⁶² *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. VI, v. 25.

¹⁶³ *Jāwar Inscription*, V.S. 1554 (1497 A.D.), A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1924-25.

¹⁶⁴ *Inscription* No. 824 (ODRU), V.S. 1700 (1643 A.D.)

¹⁶⁵ Copper plate grants of *Old Deposited Records*, Udaipur, V.S. 1565 (1508 A.D.) (No. 26/144), V.S. 1576 (1519 A.D.) (No. 26/47), V.S. 1587 (1530 A.D.) (No. 26/B/133), V.S. 1616 (1559 A.D.) (No. 214), V.S. 1689 (1632 A.D.) (No. 745), V.S. 1709 (1652 A.D.) (No. 265), etc.

¹⁶⁶ *Portfolio File* No. 9, letter No. 3 from Jaya Singh to Abhaya Singh, dated the 9th of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V.S. 1767 (1710 A.D.) ; *Portfolio File* No. 8, letter No. 1 from Pratap Singh to Vijaya Singh, dated the 10th of bright-half of *Śravana*, V.S. 1837 (1780 A.D.)

¹⁶⁷ Copper-plate grants of V.S. 1776 (1719 A.D.) (No. 227), V.S. 1802 (1745 A.D.) (No. 874), etc. ; Document from Rāwal Bisan Singh to Mahārānā of Udaipur, dated the 10th of the dark-half of *Āsoja*, V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.), vide Ojhā's *B.R.I.*, p. 118.

science of temple architecture all the main sanctums and the main gates of the temple must have an image of Ganeṣa in the centre of the beam of the door.

Other gods like Hanumāna and Bhairava were also popular objects of worship in our period. Mahārānā Kumbhā brought from Mandor a colossal image of Hanumāna and installed it at the main gate of Kumbhalgarh.¹⁶⁸ Similarly, an interesting Tripāda Murti of Bhairava of Kirādu in Jodhpur Division, of V.S. 1516 (1459 A.D.) has been discovered on a hillock.¹⁶⁹ During this period every village and town in Rājasthān had either a temple, shrine or altar dedicated to these gods, and the Hindus of the locality worshipped them either as principal gods or gods of subsidiary status.

Hindu Fasts

Fasts had also formed an important part of Hindu religious life. There is abundant contemporary evidence to show that fast-days were observed with meticulous care during the period under review.

Ekadasi

Of all *Vratās* the most commonly observed is *Ekādaśī* or the eleventh day of the fortnight when men and women generally keep fast. An illustrated manuscript of the *Ekādaśī Mahātmya* in local Mewāri dialect shows that it was prepared with a view to popularise its observance among the masses. Some of the illustrations¹⁷⁰ show that non-observance of the fast leads men to hell, where he shall have to undergo several penalties. The *Kotwāli Inscription*¹⁷¹ Pratāpgarh, enjoined the prohibition of killing of animals and pressing of oil on that day. The Kotāh records¹⁷² prescribe that on that day the Brāhman should be given uncooked food and on the next day before breaking the fast the Brāhman should be fed.

Three *Ekādaśīs*, one of the bright-half of *Jaistha*, and second of the bright-half of *Bhādrapada* and third of the bright-half of *Phalgunā* are respectively known as *Nirjalā*, *Jalajhulani* and *Āmalaka-Ekādaśī* which have to be observed with special rituals. As the illustration of *Ekādaśī*¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Sārdā : *Mahārānā Kumbhā*, p. 183.

¹⁶⁹ *The Journal of Indian Museum*, Vol. X, pp. 23-24, fig. 6.

¹⁷⁰ *Ekādaśī-ro-Patra* (Illustrated), ff. 9, 18, etc.

¹⁷¹ *Kotwāli Inscription* of Prithvi Singh's time (1708-1718 A.D.)

¹⁷² *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 72, File No. 8, V.S. 1857 (1800 A.D.)

¹⁷³ *Ekādaśī-ro-Patra* (Illustrated), f. 94.

shows, on *Nirjalā*, one has not to eat or drink anything till the end of the day. Similarly on *Jalajhulani*¹⁷⁴ the image of Viṣṇu is to be taken to a tank for a bath, thereafter one should partake of the offering made to God. The *Haqiqat Bahi*¹⁷⁵ of V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.), Jodhpur, writes that the fast was broken after the deity was taken to a pond in procession in which the Mahārājā also took part. This *Ekādaśi* was celebrated and is still celebrated with much pomp at Chārbhujā in Mewār where on this day pilgrims flock to the great fair at the temple and make offerings of money and sweets to Viṣṇu.¹⁷⁶ They return home with *Tulsi* garland and *Prasāda* given out of offerings. This they distribute among relatives living at long distances. On the *Āmalaka-Ekādaśi* the people worship Viṣṇu in the form of an *Āmlā* (Indian gooseberry) tree and keep fast.¹⁷⁷

Janmastami

For Vaiṣṇavism Janmāṣṭami falling on the 8th of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada* (August-September) is a day of fast when Kriṣṇa is said to have taken his birth in prison. The devotees keep fast on that day and the next day when Kriṣṇa was taken to Nanda Rāya's house at Gokul they celebrate *Nanda Mahotsava* by throwing curd and rejoicing at the birth of Kriṣṇa.¹⁷⁸

Navratri

For the believers in Śakti *Navarātri* or nine nights are recommended as fast days. After the performance of 'homa' and sacrifice of animals on the 9th day *śāktās* break their fast. This was common among Tāntrik Brāhmaṇs and the warrior class. It starts from the first day of the bright-half of *Āśvina* and concludes on the ninth of the same month. The Satdarśana Records supply useful details of the worship of sword as Durgā in Udaipur. A Nāth *sādhū* holds the sword for nine days without eating anything or taking rest.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ *Ekadaśi-ro-Patra (Illustrated)* f. No. 52 ; Pushkar Fair Fund File, No. Z (3) 23, Archival Records, Ajmer, 1885 A.D.

¹⁷⁵ *Haqiqat Bahi* No. 1, V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.)

¹⁷⁶ Ojhā : *U.R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 36.

¹⁷⁷ *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. 1, 11th of the bright-half of *Phālguna*, V.S. 1821 (14th March, 1764 A.D.)

¹⁷⁸ *Dharmpravatti*, f. 159 ; *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. 1, 8th of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, V.S. 1821 (18th Sept., 1764 A.D.), *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 2, File No. 33, V.S. 1847 (1790 A.D.) and V.S. 1859 (1802 A.D.)

¹⁷⁹ *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. 1, V.S. 1823, 1835 and 1840 ; *Satadarśana Records* (ODRU), 18th century (ODRU).

Siva Ratri

Śiva Rātri referred to in the records¹⁸⁰ of our period is, of course, the famous fast held in honour of Śiva even now. On the night following the 13th of the dark-half of *Phālguna* Mahādeva is worshipped during the whole night. The fast-observer keeps vigil at night and offers to the deity flowers, curd, honey and perfumes. From a painting¹⁸¹ of Deogarh (in Mewār) it seems that in the village fairs were held and processions were organised either on river-beds or by the side of the temple on this occasion.

This does not exhaust the list of Hindu *vratas*. According to our *Vratarāja* there were several types of *vratas* dedicated to various gods and goddesses; and the people of the period under review observed them. The *Rāma Navami*,¹⁸² the day of the birth of Rāma which falls on the 9th of the bright-half of *Chaitra* (March or April) was a day of fast. The *Nar Singh Chaturdaśī*,¹⁸³ which falls on the 14th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha* was an important fast. Generally women of our period kept fast on full-moon day and observed fast for three days of the *Vat-Sāvitrī Vrata*,¹⁸⁴ commencing from the 13th of the bright-half of *Jyēṣṭha* in honour of Sāvitrī, a paragon of conjugal fidelity who is said to have brought back her husband from *yama-loka* through *vrata*. *Riśi-Panchami*¹⁸⁵ was an important fast-day for men and women who smeared their bodies with cowdung, kept fast for the whole day and worshipped their ancestors by offering water on the 5th of the bright-half of *Bhādrapada*. The fast was broken by taking some mixture of milk, curd, urine and dung of the cow.

Hindu Pilgrimages

Pilgrimage also played an important role in the religious life of the Hindus. Paying homage and visiting pilgrim places has been regarded as an act of religious duty and merit. In the literary and epigraphic records there are references of pilgrimage to Gayā, Kāshi, Kānchi, Mathurā, Dwarkā

¹⁸⁰ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V. S. 1545, *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. IX, p. 123; *Āin*, III, p. 354 (Jarrot).

¹⁸¹ *A Deogarh Painting* of a procession on Śiva Rātri day. (18th century), *Shikligar Collection*, Udaipur.

¹⁸² *Haqiqat Bahi*, 9th of the bright-half of *Chaitra*, V.S. 1831 (21st March, 1774).

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 14th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1831 (25th April, 1774); *Dharmappravatti*, f. 164.

¹⁸⁴ *Vat-Sāvitrī Kathā* of V.S. 1838 (1781), ff. 50-75.

¹⁸⁵ *Haqiqat Bahi*, 5th of the bright-half of *Bhādrapada*, V.S. 1831 (10th Sept., 1774 A.D.)

and Vrindāvan. Pilgrimages to such spots are generally performed as acts of faith and devotion for the accumulation of religious merit or as atonement for sin. Sometimes, however, they are undertaken for the performance of *Śrāddha* or to convey the burnt remains of the bodies and to scatter the ashes on the purifying waters.¹⁸⁶ From inscriptional records¹⁸⁷ we learn that Lakshasen and Khshetra Singh went to *Tristhāli*, that is Gayā, Prayāga and Kāshī and distributed gifts and his weight in gold and built temples at Gayā. Mokal also visited Gayā and distributed his weight in gold.¹⁸⁸ Rānā Karan Singh performed a silver *tulā* on the bank of the Ganges.¹⁸⁹ His wife went to Dwārkā and there assigned land to Brāhmaṇs.¹⁹⁰ In the year V. S. 1698 (1641 A.D.) on the occasion of Deepāvāli festival the queen mother Jāmbuvati went on pilgrimage to Dwārkā, Mathurā, Gokul, Goverdhana and Prayāga, where she worshipped the god Raṇachhoda, took bath in sacred rivers and performed charities including silver-*tulā* gifts.¹⁹¹ Mahārānā Rāj Singh went to Benāras and gave a white horse to Madhusudana, the court poet.¹⁹² In V.S. 1769 (1712 A.D.), one of the *Shrāddha* ceremonies of Amar Singh II was performed at Gayā by Sukharāma—his family priest.¹⁹³

According to Jayasoma, Karan Singh the minister of Bikāner, performed the pilgrimage to Revati, Ābu and Dwārkā in V.S. 1542 (1485 A.D.).¹⁹⁴ Mahārājā Gaja Singh also performed pilgrimage to Banāras, Gayā and offered *pinda* (rice-balls) to his ancestors at *Pretshilā*.¹⁹⁵ According to contemporary literary works, Ajit Singh of Mārwar performed pilgrimage to Dwārkā and Vrindāvan and took his sacred bath in the waters of the river Jamunā.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, there are references in *Rājarupaka* of Abhaya Singh performing pilgrimage to Gayā, Gomti and

¹⁸⁶ M. Monier-Williams : *Hinduism*, (Calcutta, 1951), p. 120.

¹⁸⁷ *Śringiriśi Inscription* V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.), v. 11, A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1924-25 ; IV slab ; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V.S. 1517 (1460 A.D.), vv. 204-214.

¹⁸⁸ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, 1517, vv. 218-219.

¹⁸⁹ *Rājaprasasti*, canto V, slab VI, v. 10, EI, XXIX-XXX, p. 97.

¹⁹⁰ *A copper plate grant*, V.S. 1669, No 1499 (ODRU).

¹⁹¹ *Rājaprasasti*, canto V, slab VI, vv. 31-32 ; *Amarkāvya*, f. 101.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, canto VI, slab VII, v. 39.

¹⁹³ *A photo-plate* of the copper plate grant, V.S. 1769 (ODRU).

¹⁹⁴ Jaya Soma : *Karmachandravanshotkirtanakam Kāvya*, vv. 167-190.

¹⁹⁵ *Guṇarupaka*, v. 7, f. 138.

¹⁹⁶ *Ajitodaya*, canto 19th, v. 39, canto 20th, vv. 22-35, canto 28th, vv. 15-20 ; *Abhayavilās*, ff. 12, 15.

Dwārka.¹⁹⁷ A document says that Vijaya Singh of Jodhpur honoured the Gangā Guru with offerings when he visited Jodhpur in V.S. 1825 (1768 A.D.).¹⁹⁸

There were many places of pilgrimages in Rājasthān, Pushkar reputed to be the most conspicuous among them. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we find that Pushkar had been regarded as the most sacred lake in India. The inscriptional records²⁰⁰ reveal that taking a dip in the sacred water of the lake was considered an act of great merit. Both Abul Fazl²⁰¹ and Jahāngir²⁰² wrote of Pushkar as one of the greatest sacred lakes of Hindustan where a large number of temples were constructed by charitable persons. Sujān Rāy Khattri,²⁰³ the writer of the *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh* regarded Pushkar as a great religious place and said that pilgrimage to other places was of not much merit unless one had a dip in its waters.

References are found in literary and official records that in the bright-half of the month of *Kārtika* a fair was held, as even now, at Pushkar for seven days and pilgrims came in large number from far and near for taking sacred bath in the lake. Those who visited the place gave away something in charity, or performed some act of piety, or granted land to learned Brāhmaṇas on this occasion. The *Samidheśvara Inscription*²⁰⁴ of V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.) records that Mokāl gained a spotless *mandal* (disc) by performing *tulā* at Pushkar. Khshetra Singh also performed the *tulā* ceremony at the holy Pushkar on the full-moon day of the month of *Kārtika*.²⁰⁵ Sagar, the brother of Rāna Pratāp, repaired the temple of Varāha at the cost of many lakhs of rupees.²⁰⁶ Rāj Singh sent Ari Singh for performing the pilgrimage to Pushkar in V.S. 1733 (1676 A.D.).²⁰⁷ A stone inscription

¹⁹⁷ *Guṇarūpaka*, ff. 63-78.

¹⁹⁸ *Dastri Bahi*, V.S. 1825.

¹⁹⁹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, Canto 62, v. 28.

²⁰⁰ *Durgarāja Inscription* of 925 A.D., Ajmer Museum ; *Harsha Temple Inscription* of 973 A.D. (Jaipur), quoted by Sārdā in his *Ajmer*, p. 394.

²⁰¹ Abul Fazl : *Āin* (P.T.), III, p. 177 (Jarret and Sarkar), pp. 332-333.

²⁰² *Tuzūk* (P.T.), p. 124 ; *Tuzūk*, I, p. 254 (R. and B.)

²⁰³ *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh*, f. 32b.

²⁰⁴ *Samidheśvara Inscription*, v. 59 ; *Bhāvanagar Ins.*, VI.

²⁰⁵ *Śringiriśi Inscription*, V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.), v. 12, A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1924-25.

²⁰⁶ *Tuzūk*, R. & B., Vol. I, p. 254.

²⁰⁷ *Rājratnākara*. Canto 22, f. 131.

of V.S. 1776 (1719 A.D.) shows that the temple of Brahmā was repaired by a rich Brāhmaṇ lady named Bāi Phundi of Jaipur.²⁰⁸

In course of time Pushkar, besides being a religious place, became a place of fair and a centre for the sale of cattle and other articles.²⁰⁹ In the '*Rambles of India*'²¹⁰ the holy Pushkar is described in these words, "The travellers crossing the pathless desert from Multan, Jaisalmer, Bikāner and other western places come to the shore of this lake with feelings of gratitude and joy, and religious emotions naturally invest the lake with a high sanctity. We saw camels starting from this place to cross the desert, carrying men and women with their packages and supply of food and water." This description tallies with an illustration preserved in the *Dholā Māru Paintings*²¹¹ where the pilgrims have been shown preparing food, taking rest under the tree or getting ready to start for the next stage loaded with their luggage.

Another ancient centre of pilgrimage referred to in the *Bijoliyān Inscription*²¹² was located in the Bhimvana region of Bijoliyān and Māndalgarh *Tahsil*. It was Uttamādriśikhara with holy *tirthas* and temple of Śaiva and Jaina cults. The area is very rich in archaeological remains of superb architectural and sculptured beauty. The inscription referred to clearly indicates that it had become a Jaina and Hindu *tirtha* after the manifestation of Parshvanāth and Śiva at the beginning of the 13th century and since then both Śiva and Jain temples have flourished side by side. Gotamji of Pratapgarh was also an important centre.²¹³ Naiṅsi refers to *Gotama Tirtha* near Badnor as another important ancient pilgrim place where Madhu, Kaitabha and Rāvaṇa performed penances.²¹⁴

Besides these Rāmaderā in Mārwar and Garbor in Mewār were important pilgrim centres. At Rāmaderā a fair is held in honour of Rāma Devaji in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* and *Bhādrapada* which is attended by a large number of devotees of Rāma Devaji. In V.S. 1767 (1710 A.D.)

²⁰⁸ An inscription of the 5th of the bright-half of *Māgha*, V.S. 1776 (1719 A.D.) quoted by Sārdā in his, *Ajmer*, p. 397.

²⁰⁹ Tod : *Personal Narrative*, Chap. XXIX ; *Archival Records*, Ajmer, *Pushkar File*, No. 25, 1924 A.D.

²¹⁰ R.C. Dutt : *Rambles of India*, 1871-1895, p. 50 (Calcutta, 1895).

²¹¹ *Dholāmāru-ri-vāt* (Illustrated), No. 892, f. 56.

²¹² *Bijoliyān Rock Inscription*, V.S. 1226 (1169 A.D.), vv. 63-71, EI., Vol. XXVI, pp. 99-102.

²¹³ *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2154, V.S. 1583 (1526 A.D.); *Ibid.*, I, No. 874, V.S. 1659 (1602 A.D.)

²¹⁴ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 28.

Thākur Shambhal Singh of Pokaran was permitted to levy a tax for maintaining 50 horsemen to keep law and order in and about the pilgrim centre.²¹⁵ From the Devsthana records it appears that at Garbor about 3 to 5 thousand people attended to the *Jalajhulani Ekādaśī* for the years V. S. 1770-1776 (1713-1719 A.D.) to pay their homage to Chārbhujā.²¹⁶

There are other pilgrim centres also of great significance. Nāthdwārā and Kānkroli are the places where thousands of Vaiṣṇava devotees gathered to participate in the religious festivals of *Annakuta*, *Janmāṣṭami*, *Dola*, etc.²¹⁷ Other pilgrim centres referred to in our records are Galtā, near Jaipur, Kundiyān near Sahārā *Tahsil*, Triveṇi near Bigod and Deshṇok and Kolyāt in Bikāner.²¹⁸

Some Superstitions

Superstition also formed a part of belief among the people of the age. They were actuated partly out of fear and partly out of belief handed down from earlier generations. As for example, the killing of cows and killing of Brāhmaṇs were regarded great sins. This is why swearing by their names was common.²¹⁹ One of the most important Hindu superstition was the occurrence of eclipse and it was believed that Rāhu and Ketu had polluted the Moon or the Sun by their filthy touch and in order to get them free from the shadow of these evil stars, Hindus observed purification of their houses by throwing away earthen pots and bathing in the holy waters of rivers or tanks. As soon as they saw that the Moon or the Sun was free from eclipse they distributed alms and clothing to the poor. The Rājās used to donate lands to the Brāhmaṇs and temples. A large number of such donations were made on this occasion. According to the *Ekalinga Inscription*²²⁰ of V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.) Lakshmaṇa Singh

²¹⁵ *Dastri JRecords File* No. 618 (Aodhpur archival Office), V.S. 1767.

²¹⁶ *Devasthāna File* No. 247, *Sigāh-Garbor*, V.S. 1770-1776 (1713-1719 A.D.); A *Pattā* Garbor, V.S. 1776 (1719 A.D.), No. 1320 (ODRU).

²¹⁷ A *Pattā* of Sinhād, dated the 11th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1792 (1735 A.D.), No. 308 (ODRU); A Photo-plate No. 26/40 b. 13, *Jāgir S-95* (ODRU); *Sthāi Daftar*, V.S. 1780-1827 (1723-1770 A.D.), etc. (Nāthdwāra).

²¹⁸ *Bānkidās Khyāta*, f. 295; *Jāgir Misal*, No. 26/307, 1891; *Jāgir Misal*, No. 30 (B), 471, V.S. 1891 (ODRU); *Ojhā*: *Bk. R.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 52-53.

²¹⁹ *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, of V.S. 1200 (1143 A.D.) (No. 844), V.S. 1200 (No. 845), V.S. 1213 (No. 841), V.S. 1659 (1602 A.D.) (No. 890) pp. 211, 213, 214, 230 and 231).

²²⁰ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IX, v. 39.

made a gift of the village Pipli to a learned Brāhmaṇ Jhoting with all due ceremonies at the time of a solar eclipse. In V.S. 1613 (1556 A.D.) Uday Singh assigned the village Kulwāl on the occasion of an eclipse.²²¹ The Kotāh archives²²² refer to the gifts given to the Brāhmaṇs on such an occasion in V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.). The account of eclipse and its reaction on general public has been graphically given both by Bernier²²³ and Tavernier²²⁴ in an interesting manner.

There were superstitions which did not get support from the religious literature of the Hindus but were deep-rooted in the minds of the people. Spirits of departed men and women called *Bhuts* and *Bhutnis* were suspected to be wandering and haunting the atmosphere. In the *Samidheśvara Inscription*²²⁵ of V S. 1485 (1428 A.D.), there is a reference to the houses of Khshetra Singh's enemy looking horrible as if haunted by Bhutrāja. There is a story in the *Vāt Sangraha*²²⁶ that these *Bhutnis*, also called *Dākins* were so dangerous that they could devour human beings. In an attempt to catch hold of her victim once a *Dākin* made her own son victim of her wrath. In order to avoid such evil spirits, tying of charmed lockets or amulets or passing of air through a besom of peacock-plumage were recommended. The well-known Mārwaṇi was made immune from evil spirits by such devices.²²⁷ Similarly, there was a belief that necromancers controlled the devil by performing certain rites over a dead body in the cremation ground. It was also believed that such persons could win over the devil and let him loose on an adversary, causing him serious harm or even death. Belief in oracles and sooth-sayers was also common among persons of low order.²²⁸

It was superstitiously believed that if a child was born under an evil star his parents had to observe certain rites to free themselves from the evil effects. Jaya Soma²²⁹ says that such rites were performed by Karmachandra, a minister of Rāi Singh. It was thought that the flood in the river Chambal caused by natural reasons in V.S. 1746 (1689 A.D.) could be subsided by offering coconuts made of silver and flowers made

²²¹ A copper plate grant, V.S. 1613, No. 935 (ODRU).

²²² *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.); *Ibid.*, No. 11, *Bastā* No. 64, V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.)

²²³ Bernier, pp. 243-245 and 301-303.

²²⁴ Tavernier, pp. 179-181.

²²⁵ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. VI, v. 29.

²²⁶ *Vāt Sangraha*, *Vāt Rājā Chand-ri*, f. 37, No. 703 (SBLU).

²²⁷ *Dholāmāru-ri-Vāt*, V.S. 1613 (1556 A.D.), f. 61b, No. 892, (SBLU).

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 372.

²²⁹ *Karmachandravanshotkirtanakam-kāvya*, vv. 359-361.

of gold to the river.²³⁰ The appearance of *Dhumra Ketu* (Comet) in V.S. 1758 (1701 A.D.) was regarded as a bad omen, and in order to avert its evil effects gifts were given to Brāhmaṇs in Kotāh.²³¹

References are found in the contemporary literature regarding superstitious observance at the commencement and conclusion of journeys. A book called *Devi Śukana*²³² was compiled in V.S. 1670 (1613 A.D.) at Bikāner which recommends certain directions controlling journeys. It laid down that it was not necessary to try to find out auspicious hours during the eight days of holi, as all those days were auspicious. It said that the time when the stars of *Mākdī* appeared in the sky, the hour was favourable for starting on a journey. If early in the morning, it pointed out, one saw the face of a deer or a carpenter, evil would attend upon him. Works like *Amar Singh-rā-Duhā*,²³³ and *Śakunāvalis*²³⁴ contain notes regarding good and bad omens attending upon persons at the sight of a bird called *Derādi*. They stated that if that bird raised its wing on right side it would be auspicious to observe it. If it itched its arm, it would benefit the observer by getting an opportunity of sexual pleasure or procuring of elephants and horses. The works also prohibited journey or movement from the house in case one's way was crossed by a cat. They also referred that if a lion roared on the left at the time of marching, it would bring defeat and therefore the army should return to its original position.

Observations

From a point of view, superstitions, in comparison to religious beliefs, may be regarded as the foolish errors of a cowardly and weak-minded people, who are slaves to the idle fancies of their own imaginations, and whose reason has become so obscured that they are incapable of recognising the just and natural laws governing the safety of mankind. But to a student of Sociology²³⁵ there is no vital difference between superstition and religious beliefs; both are governed by intellectual attitudes and both are directed to unravel the mystery of the world. While supersti-

²³⁰ *Bhandāra* No. 41, V.S. 1746.

²³¹ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 19, V.S. 1758.

²³² *Devi Śukana*, V.S. 1670 (1613 A.D.), No. 322/4 (AL), ff. 4, 10, 11, 35-40.

²³³ *Amar Singh-rā-Duhā*, No. 96 (AL), ff. 214-223.

²³⁴ The works like *Śakun* No. 1091, *Śakunāvali* No. 188, *Śakunāvali* No. 563, *Śakunjovāriavidhi*, No. 563, etc., of SBLU record several fantastic superstitions.

²³⁵ D. N. Majumdar : *Races and Cultures of India*, (ed., Bombay, 1961), pp. 418-419.

tions deal with the occurrence of things in terms of hidden force, religion does not in terms of gods, goddesses, practices, rites and rituals. Suggestibility is the natural outcome either of superstition or religious rituals. Traditional order and specific discipline direct the mode of practices in both cases. It should not be forgotten, however, that a religion mixed up with magic, witchcraft, quackery and superstition becomes a source of hindrance to divine life. Hence such a dogmatic aspect of religion should not be allowed to interpose a barrier between man and God and spoil the essential simplicity of spiritual life.

Jainism

Amongst the still existing Indian sects, Jainism appears to be more rational than other systems of thought.²³⁶ According to tradition, Jainism was divided into two great sections. On the one hand were the *Digambaras*, the 'Space clad', who insisted on the nudity of their monks and who did not admit the full authenticity of the eleven *Limbs (Āṅga)*, and on the other the *Svetāmbaras*, or 'white-clad', whose monks wore white robes and who accepted the *Limbs*. The basic teaching of Jainism, as expressed in the sources of Indian tradition, may be expressed in a sentence: "The phenomenal individual consists of a soul closely enmeshed in matter, and his salvation is to be found by freeing the soul from matter, so that it may regain its pristine purity and enjoy omniscient self-sufficient bliss for all eternity."²³⁷ In essence, the Jain teaching closely resembles that of the early *Sāṅkhya* school of Hindu philosophy. Rigorous courses of penance and fasting have been emphasised as means to set souls free from the bondage of *karma* in this cult. Kindliness and non-violence are the component parts of Jainism. Clean-shaven head and face, the *chamar* (besom) and *Puttika* (mouth-veil) are characteristic outward symbols of Jaina tenets. Jainism in a way is "an atheistic, ascetic system of moral and spiritual discipline encouraging honesty and kindliness in personal relations, and a rigid and perhaps sometimes exaggerated non-violence."²³⁸

Jainism was not the religion of the rulers of Rājasthān during the period of our study. But we have ample epigraphic and literary sources to support the view that Jainism was a popular and living religion and was followed by trading classes, wealthy sections of the society. Jainism had gained a firm footing here since the early part of the 10th century A.D. It also seems that progress of Jainism in this part of the country

²³⁶ *Lokatatvanirṇaya*, vv. 32-33, quoted from *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 221.

²³⁷ *Sources of Indian Tradition*, compiled by W.M. Theodore De Bary and Others, ed., Delhi, 1963, p. 49.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

was largely due to the efforts of celebrated Jaina monks of various orders. By having a mastery of the different Indian systems of philosophic thought, astronomy, astrology and poetics, undoubtedly their influence in the spread of Jaina doctrines throughout Rājasthān had been considerable. Copious information is available regarding several schools²³⁹ of Jaina monks, the Khartara, Tapā, Anehala, Sander, Lukā, Kamal Kalash, Braliman and Sagara Gachchhas. Hundreds of such names can be cited to show that a large number of temples were constructed under their leadership.²⁴⁰ We propose to select a few examples of temples of importance. It has been known through an inscription that in 1031 A.D., during the reign of Bhima, Vardhmān Suri of Gujarāt consecrated the famous temple of Nemināth on Mt. Ābu. In V.S. 1473 (1416 A.D.) Vardhan Suri installed the image of Jinā at Jaisalmer.²⁴¹ An inscription²⁴² engraved on a pillar in the temple, known as Śingārchanvri at Chitor, dated V.S. 1505 (1448 A.D.) refers to the name of Jinasenasuri of the Kharatara-gachchhas order who performed the consecration ceremony along with other Jaina pontiffs like Jivarāja, Jinavardhana, Jinchandra, Jinsāgara, Jina-sundarasuri and Udayaśilagaṇi. An inscription²⁴³ engraved on the pedestal of a Jaina image lying in the Jaina temple at Vasantgarh in the Sirohi state, states that the image was set up in the Vasantpur Chaitya by Bhādaka, son of Dhansi and others and was consecrated by Muni Sunder Suri. In V.S. 1508 (1451 A.D.) Kakka Suri at Bikāner,²⁴⁴ Siddhāsan at Mānkāleśvara, Mārwar²⁴⁵ (V.S. 1530 = 1473 A.D.), Shanti Suri at Ajmer²⁴⁶ (V.S. 1557 = 1500 A.D.), Deva Ratna Suri at Jaipur²⁴⁷ (V.S. 1571 = 1514 A.D.), Vijaya Deva Suri at Mertā²⁴⁸ (V.S. 1677 = 1620 A.D.), Śri Muni Sunder at Jaisalmer²⁴⁹ (V.S. 1806 = 1749 A.D.) consecrated Jaina temples and

²³⁹ *Jain. Inscriptions*, I, No. 826, 837, 854, 904, 970, 2155, etc., record the names of religious leaders and the orders to which they belong.

²⁴⁰ Coomārswāmy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, p. 111 ; Percy Brown : *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, sc,iv.

²⁴¹ *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, pp. 5-7, No. 2113 ; *Bhandārkar's Report*, p. 93, No. 48 ; G.O.S No. 2, Appendix No. 2.

²⁴² A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1920-21, p. 5 ; Sārdā : *Mahārānā Kumbhā*, p. 175.

²⁴³ A.R.R.M., Ajmer, for 1924, pp. 3-4.

²⁴⁴ *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 1332, p. 64.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 1187, p. 284.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 515, p. 132.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 1171.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 750, p. 180.

²⁴⁹ *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 2508, p. 131.

installed votive images of their Tirthankaras. These religious teachers exercised great influence over the laity and settled internal conflicts among them. In V.S. 1797 (1740 A.D.) on the 8th day of the dārkh-half of *Chaitra*, Śrī Jina Mahendra Suri was successful in patching up the differences between two subdivisions of the Jains at Jaisalmer and stayed there for about a month to see the smooth working of the agreement.²⁵⁰ These preceptors also organised religious congregations called *Samghas* either to move from one place to another to visit holy places or to hold meeting at one place in the interest of Jainism. In V.S. 1790 (1733 A.D.) Bhat-tārak²⁵¹ Ratana Suri stayed at Makrodā in Sirohi for rainy season with his followers for the benefit of laity of that area. They were well looked after by the leading members of the order.

If Jainism had not received active patronage of the princes, the merchant princes like Tejpāla and Vastupāla and other charitable persons compensated the loss by supporting Jaina institutions and constructing temples.²⁵² A 13th century Vikram era *Rock Inscription of Bijoliyān*²⁵³ indicates that Uparmāl became a centre of Jaina pilgrimage when the temple of Pārsvanāth was constructed there. From an inscription²⁵⁴ on the pedestal of an image in the *Sardār Museum*, Jodhpur, we know that it was installed by a Jaina lady in V.S. 1237 (1180 A.D.) who was recognised as a *gaṇiṇī* or chief of the community of the Jaina nuns. Thousands of Jaina images, temples, halls, balconies and varandahs were erected and installed during the period under review as is evident from epigraphic records. The construction work of so many temples, wells, resthouses, etc., was fostered by the desire of attainment of spiritual merit by the devotee, his parents, sons, daughters and other relations. An inscription on the pedestal of the image of Vāsupuja clearly indicates this view when one Tolā made and installed the image of Vāsupuja in the Vikram year 1508 (1451 A.D) on behalf of his ancestor Rijā.²⁵⁵ In V.S. 1565 (1508 A.D.) Shāh Narā installed the metal images of Shāntināth and others at Jodhpur by spending huge amount of money.²⁵⁶ In V.S. 1585 (1528 A.D.) at Mount Ābu, Shāh Sahasmal constructed the towers and balcony facing

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, III, No. 2576, p. 186.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, No. 970, p. 246.

²⁵² Shāh : *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 21-22.

²⁵³ *EI.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 99.

²⁵⁴ *Sardār Museum, Jodhpur, Inscription of V. S. 1237 (1180 A. D.)*

²⁵⁵ *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 1332, p. 64.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 596, 597, 598, etc.

south in the Shambhavanāth temple.²⁵⁷ One Khetā of Gujarāt presented forty-eight gold bars studded with pearls for the balcony of the temple at Rāṇakpur in V.S. 1647 (1590 A.D.).²⁵⁸

In Jaisalmer (V.S.1673=1616 A.D.) Todarmal got constructed the doorway of the Vedagachchha monastery.²⁵⁹ In the same year golden staff and pinnacle of the temple were erected at a cost of rupees five thousand.²⁶⁰ At Nādlāi the whole community contributed for the installation of the votive image in the year 1686 (1629 A.D.).²⁶¹ In the Vikram year 1769 (1712 A.D.) Gangā Rāmā constructed *Pratiśālā* near the temple of the fort of Jaisalmer.²⁶² One Hemrāja constructed a monastery at Delwādā in V.S. 1798 (1741 A.D.).²⁶³ Besides the new erection work many devotees renovated the old temples and kept them in good state for devotional and religious purposes. The temple of Parsvanāth at Jirāwal, near Sirohi, was repaired at a cost of Rs. 30,111/-.²⁶⁴ The erection of magnificent temples and other charitable institutions were living testimony to the vigour and popularity of the Jaina faith in Rājasthān. Diffusion of erection work all over the country also became a potent factor in the spread of the faith. By virtue of being the places of pilgrimage, Mount Ābu, Rishabha Deva, Rāṇakpur and Mārṅwār became centres of Jainism during the period under review. Here Jaina monks settled down in monasteries and devoted themselves to writing or copying religious books either for their own use or for distributing them among the interested laity. Nuns had separate monasteries to live in.²⁶⁵

Jainism is so conservative a religion that hardly did it have great change or development during our period. However, it is interesting to note that Jaina saints like Shyāmasunder, Jinchandrasuri, Jinhansasuri and others who belonged to the 16th century brought out their works which had the merit of explaining the fundamental principles of Jainism in a very lucid and effective manner. They also wrote out poems on rational approach to Jaina cosmography, logic and ethics. These pieces

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, III, No. 2154, 35-40.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I, No. 714, p. 171.

²⁵⁹ *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2447, pp. 1107-1108.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 830, p. 205.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, No. 850, p. 217.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, No. 2501, pp. 124-125.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, II, No. 2008, p. 257.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I, No. 977, pp. 272-273.

²⁶⁵ Several Jaina MSS. (Old Register) No.s 1, 5 & 3, 4, as for example, of SBLU were written by monks in the monasteries.

of poems became so popular that they began to be sung from mouth to mouth on the occasion of worship and during pilgrimage.²⁶⁶

But it seems that on or about the 17th and 18th centuries the most important guiding principles of Jainism were not strictly adhered to and evil practices which held-down a soul were gaining ground both among the monks and Jaina laity. Some of the Jaina teachers and writers who were rationalists in their outlook and devoted sincerely to religion raised a powerful voice against all these corrupt practices and attempted to purify the Jaina church of many evils that were steadily dragging it down from the high and venerable position. The *Panchaindri-ki-Veli* (1668 A.D.),²⁶⁷ the *Terā-Kāthiyā* (1668 A.D.),²⁶⁸ the *Chharas-ki-Kathā* (1675 A.D.),²⁶⁹ the *Jina Dharma-ki-Vāt*,²⁷⁰ the *Kumud-chandragita* (1677 A.D.),²⁷¹ the *Dharma Rāso*,²⁷² the *Budhivilāsa*,²⁷³ (1770 A.D.) etc., preserve a message for every Jaina to value chastity, piety and self-control. These works condemned such monks who craved for pleasure and enjoyments, and raised a voice against their partaking of meat, drinking of wine, and associating with undesirable persons. In the *Ābu Gazal*,²⁷⁴ we find references to evil practices in the Jaina monasteries which brought ill name to the principle of piety and plain-living for which Jainism was so famous. The author of the *Gazal* advocates for the true path laid down in the Jaina scriptures.

Jaina Fasts

For keeping the heart pure Jainism stresses on fasts. The holiest of the fasts of Jains is observed on *Paryuṣaṇa Parva*, which falls in the month of *Bhādrapada* and is celebrated, as now, for eight days by *Śvetāmbaras* and for 15 days by *Digambaras*. On the last day which is known as the *Samvatsarika*, everybody young and old observed fast. On this day all good Jains, monks and laymen alike, were expected to confess their sins, pay their debts, and ask forgiveness of their neighbours, as they do even now, for any offence whether intentional or unintentional.

²⁶⁶ For details of this kind of literature refer to Nahātā's *Itihāsik Jaina Kāvya Sangraha*, *Gyānsār-granthāvali*, *Sāmānyasunderkusumānjali* and *Yugpradhān-Jindatta-Suri*.

²⁶⁷ *Panchaindri-ki-Veli*, V. S. 1725, *Chhakāi-ki-Veli* (Amber Bhandāra).

²⁶⁸ *Terā Kāthiyā*, V. S. 1725, *Śrāvaka Guṇa*, 21 (Amber Bhandāra).

²⁶⁹ *Chharas-ki-Kathā*, V. S. 1732, vv. 80-82.

²⁷⁰ *Jaina Dharma-ki-Vāt*, ff. 49-51 (Amber Bhandāra, No. 1523).

²⁷¹ *Sripāla: Kumudchandragita*, V. S. 1734 (Amber Bhandāra).

²⁷² *Dharma-Rāso* (Amber Bhandāra, No. 26).

²⁷³ *Bakhat Rama: Budhivilāsa*, V.S. 1827 (Amber Bhandāra, No. 1881), ff. 4, 15, 21, 22, 28, 71, etc.

²⁷⁴ *Ābu Gazal* (Nahāta collection).

This ceremony of confession and pardon is perhaps the finest and the noblest ethical feature of Jainism. The other fast-days were the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 11th, and 14th of every month in a year. The devoted Jainas used to conclude these fasts by offering water, sandal-paste, flowers, incense, lamp, rice, sweets and fruits to the images of Pārsvanāth, Nemināth and other Digambara Tirthankars. On such occasions the devotee invited relations and *Sādhus* from distant places and gave them presents of sweets and other things. Besides some fixed days from the 7th of the bright-half of *Chaitra* and again from the 7th of the bright-half of *Āśoja* were categorised as fast days. *Āṣādhā* also fell within the scope of the fast month. According to an inscription a good devotee should observe fast for 44 days in all during these months and that the craftsmen, like *telis* (oil-pressers), sweet-sellers, wine merchants and butchers should observe *aktās* or rest days in honour of the fasts observed by Jainas. Some of the devotees like Shāh Jiwā of Sirohi observed fast for 40 days at a stretch in V.S. 1603 (1546 A. D.)²⁷⁵

Jaina Pilgrimages

Like Hindus the Jainas had also their pilgrim places. Rāṅakpur, Dhulev, Karerā, Jāwar and Ābu were important pilgrim centres.²⁷⁶ On the 8th of the dark-half of *Chaitra* the Jainas assembled, as they do now, at Dhulev (40 miles south of Udaipur) to celebrate the birthday of Śri Rishabhadeva. The Dhulev records²⁷⁷ say that in the year V.S. 1757 (1700 A.D.) about ten thousand people from Mālwā, Gujārāt and Rājasthān participated in this fair.

It was customary with the Jainas in particular that they would go to their religious places in large groups called *Samīgha* under the leadership of some merchant prince or religious preceptor. The contemporary literature²⁷⁸ and the *Baṇanā Himmat Rāma Temple inscription*²⁷⁹ of Jaisalmer

²⁷⁵ *Pindwādā Inscription* of the 8th of the dark-half of *Māgha*, V.S. 1603 (25th Jan., 1546 A.D.), *Jaina Ins.*, I, No. 946; p. 262; *Pāli Inscription* of the 8th of the bright-half of *Vaiśakha*, V.S. 1686 (1629 A.D.), *Jain Inscriptions*, No. 826, Part I, 203; *Devaliyā Inscription* of the 13th of the bright-half of *Māgha*, V.S. 1774 (14th Jan., 1717 A.D.); Ojhā : *P.R.I.*, p. 209; footnote No. 3.

²⁷⁶ *Tirathāmālā*, V.S. 1529 (1472 A.D.) (MS. Khandelwālā Jaina Temple, Udaipur), ff. 65-78; *Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 644, 874, etc.

²⁷⁷ Dhuleva Records, V.S. 1757 (1700 A.D.), *Sigā Yātrā*, file No. 20.

²⁷⁸ *Bhattārākapattāvali*, V.S. 1697, 1757, No. 430 (Sambhavanāth temple, Udaipur).

²⁷⁹ *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, pp. 143-150, V.S. 1891, Jaisalmer, No. 2530.

throws light on the manner and organisation of such groups which travelled from place to place with religious object in view. The pilgrims travelled about 12 to 15 miles a day either on foot or on bullock-carts. They visited every town or village they came across. They were entertained to banquets sometimes by rich persons through whose town or village the party passed. The tour terminated with offerings of presents in money, sweets and clothes to the participants by the leader of the *samgha*.

Observations on Common Elements in Hinduism & Jainism

If one takes a total view of all the sects of Hinduism and Jainism he is impressed by certain important values of beliefs and practices common to them. Image worship, various rituals, prayers, meditations, pilgrimages, fasts and practices of temple construction, as for example, were the common links of all these sects. Nearly all traditional religions referred to above believed profoundly in image worship. The image perhaps was a best symbol of Supreme Being through which specially those whose intellectual horizon was narrower would understand the vast and ultimate reality about the Infinite. Thus the image worship was a means to develop religious spirit and a way to recognise the Supreme Godhead. Referring to this aspect Dr. Radhakrishnan observes : "For only the symbols that have been worn smooth by the handling of centuries can stir us to an apprehension of the Divine. The symbols are the concepts framed by the heart, thought and mind. We cannot dispense with them, as they are the ways by which we envisage the Eternal under the forms of time, the unchanging counsels of God under the forms of the changing world. The purpose of symbolism is to serve as pathways to spiritual awakening and development."²⁸⁰

Hinduism and Jainism also have several creeds and beliefs within their fold. These creeds and beliefs were merely the attempts of the finite mind to attain the Infinite. They were different because they were adapted to the different needs of the people, their race and history, their sex and temperaments. In fact whatever God one worships is identified with the Supreme, be it Śiva, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Durgā or Mahāvīr and Nemināth. Belief in these gods and goddesses was never taken as antagonistic, rather it was permissible during the period of our study. The worship of Gaṇapati was closely connected with Śaivism and Śaktism. A Śaiva was allowed to worship Viṣṇu without seriously injuring the interest of his creed. Mahārānā Kumbhā was both a devotee of Śiva and Viṣṇu alright. Sancikā, Ambikā and Chandikā were included into the Jaina fold, though these forms also formed the part of Śakti cult as referred to above.

²⁸⁰ Dr. Radhakrishnan : *Religion and Society*, p. 52, (London, 1948).

Similarly various rituals, prayers and ceremonial acts, though they differed in the character assigned to different gods, were recognised as common formulas for forceful expressions of the spirit of worship. They were vehicles to encourage faith in God, and purity of mind and conduct. The numerous fasts referred to above were intended as aids to self-control and inner purifications. Meditation was assigned an important position in the discipline of various creeds by virtue of its being a silent process of worship to God within. Pilgrimages, as a part of routine of nearly all sects, were the vehicles of unspoken convictions. It was the moral side of pilgrimages that was emphasised. Thus these institutions deepened the religious consciousness of the people and moulded their sense of higher values.

In all the sects we have observed that temple building was given high place and primary consideration. Naturally, this may lead some of us to hold with Dubois²⁸¹ that vanity, ostentation and desire to attract attention, were much more powerful factors that excited beneficence on the part of the wealthy in spending a part of their fortune in the construction and endowment of these sacred buildings. But it is necessary to emphasise in this connection that many of the charitable persons, referred to above, who utilised their hard-earned money in the construction of these temples, had felt their action as an infallible means of obtaining permanent bliss after death, and acquiring remission of their sin. In fact temples were visible symbols of Hindu religion. They had a practical as well as a religious significance. They were set up at the point which might remind the people of religion. They also contributed to the cause of culture and religion. They became centres of worship, and their construction encouraged the sculptors, architects and painters. Music and dance conducted in these religious places had suggestive power. They used to make people feel the indefinable power of religion. Temples also afforded a scope for the learned persons to deliver public sermons. These temples in a way became centres of education in our period of study.

Monastic order and monks were recognised by all sects referred to above. Leaving aside a few, the monks belonging to one order or the other, were devoted to prayer or to work of scholarly nature, particularly on the transcription of manuscripts. The Jaina monasteries were almost the sole abodes in which literary endeavour could be carried on and in which scholarship remained a practical object of daily routine. There is no exaggeration in saying that most of the great Rājasthān men of letters were monks and priests, the evidence for which will be provided in the context of the discussion on education.

²⁸¹ Dubois : *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Oxford, 1953, p. 577.

Islam

Islām in Rājasthān, as elsewhere, 'is a civilization founded upon religion'. The Islāmic law embraces the totality of life, teaches to the followers of Islām how to act and how to live righteously in the eyes of God. A great significance of life on earth is that it has an opportunity to serve God. The world to him is neither an illusion nor evil, it is a reality. The basic tenets and practices of religion which a true Muslim should associate with his life are *Tawhid* (oneness of God), *Salat* (prayer), *Zakāt* (alms), *Sawm* (fasting) and *Hajj* (pilgrimage). Among the other tenets of Islām may be mentioned the prohibition of eating pork and animals not slaughtered ritually, and of drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. The pleasures of paradise, the punishments of hell, advent of *mahdi* are widely believed. *Khātib* (preacher), *Imām* (prayer leader), *Muazzin* (one who calls to prayer), *Mufti* (one who renders decisions in matters of religious ritual) and a *Gadi* (religious judge) are the religious functionaries. Thus in Islām tradition and religion are intrinsically interwoven. The observance of the traditional forms and rites is an integral part of everyday life of a Muslim.²⁸²

The Muslim conquest of Ajmer in the end of the 12th century A.D., gave a fair prospect to the movement of expansion of Islām which was going on slowly on the western and the northern outskirts of Rājasthān from the 8th to the 11th century A.D. The occupation of Ajmer in 1192 A.D., as recorded by Hasan Nizāmi, swept away the whole influence of the Hindu faith, destroyed temples and established religion with full vigour and enthusiasm. His description of destruction has been worded as : "The Sultan (Muhammad Ghori) destroyed the pillars and fountains of the idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islām, and the customs of the law were divulged and established." The same writer narrates the victory of Muslim arms at Jālor under the leadership of Shams-ud-din Iltutmish resulting in the demolition of temples, construction of mosques and enslavement of the people.²⁸³

Henceforth the subsequent raids of Muslim arms during the reigning periods of Balban, Alāuddin Khalji, Jahāngir, Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb, achieved success in inflicting hardship on local inhabitants. The process of temple destruction and enslavement had a paralysing effect on Hinduism. The picture of Mewār and Mārwar, in particular, was, as we may

²⁸² W.M. Theodore De Bary : *Sources of Indian Tradition*, Delhi, 1963, pp. 371-374.

²⁸³ Elliot and Dowson : Vol, II, pp. 215, 238-239.

rightly conclude, one of unspeakable misery of the countryside, of population wasted, of peasants rendered homeless and of alarming amount of unrest and disorder. It had shattered the whole social order to its core.²⁸⁴

It was not only the sword which imposed Islām in Rājasthān ; the influence of Islām began to grow rapidly through missionary effort of mystic groups also which had arrived in India almost simultaneously with the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. Of them Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti and his eminent disciple Shaikh Hamid-ud-din established their centres at Ajmer and Nāgor respectively and made long strides in converting the lower strata in the population by removing the spirit of mistrust and isolation. Their simple and pious life, their intuitive intelligence, and their identifying with the prolema of the peoples went a long way in determining the range and sphere of their influence. Their liberal approach towards some of the basic problems of religion and morality not only infused a motive force in the Islāmic life in Rājasthān during the 13th century but made it a living ideal for the subsequent ages.²⁸⁵

During the course of these invasions and expansion of missionary activities, Muslim traders, craftsmen and soldiers also settled down in and around Ajmer, Jālor, Nāgor, Chitor and Māndal and openly practised their religion. The rulers of Rājasthān not only tolerated them but afforded all facilities for their domicile. In V.S. 1764 (1707 A.D.) Amarsingh assigned 100 *bighās* of land to Qazi Sultān Muhammad and allotted a share of the local tax.²⁸⁶ Mahārānā Sangrām Singh II in V.S. 1782 (1725 A.D.) granted concession to Qāzi Abdul Husain at Nand Rāi and extended warm hospitality to him.²⁸⁷ In Jodhpur a Qāzi was honoured with the robe of honour on the occasion of *Id* festival as revealed from the *Dastri Records*.²⁸⁸ Similarly, according to the *Dastur Komwār*²⁸⁹ there

²⁸⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, pp. 370-371 ; *Tārikh-i-Alāi*, E. and D., Vol. III, pp. 74-75 ; *Iqbāl-nāmā-i-Jahāngiri* (P.T.), Vol. III, p. 535 ; *Amal-i-Sālih*, (P.T.), Vol. I, p. 58 ; *Sisod Vamshāvali*, f. 29 ; *Rājaprasasti*, Canto 6, vv. 11-12 ; *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, (P.T.), pp. 193, 195, 198, 200, 201 ; *Muntakhāb-ul-Lubāb*, (P.T.), Vol. II, pp. 262, 263, 264.

²⁸⁵ *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 45, 156-164 and *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, pp. 13-14, etc. ; quoted by Nizāmi in his *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th century*, p. 185 ; *Muntakhāb*, (P.T.), p. 15 ; *Tārikh-i-Firishhta*, Vol. II, p. 377 (P.T.)

²⁸⁶ *Pattā* (ODRU), No. 415, dated the 4th of the dark-half of *Posha*, V.S. 1764 (1st Dec., 1707 A.D.)

²⁸⁷ *Pattā* (ODRU), 5th of the bright-half of *Śrāvāṇa*, V.S. 1782 (2nd Aug., 1725 A.D.)

²⁸⁸ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1823.

²⁸⁹ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 23, ff. 1-42.

were several craftsmen like Ali Nizām, Abdullāh, Alāibuksh, and others who were patronised by the State of Jaipur during the 18th century.

The Muslim religious activity during the period under review was confined to the construction of tombs and mosques. At Ajmer, Jodhpur; Jaipur, Alwar, Bharatpur, Kotāh, Udaipur and their neighbouring areas, mosques were constructed by the Muslims during our period.²⁹⁰ It appears that on the whole a liberal policy was adopted towards Islām by the rulers of Rājasthān. Both the religions flourished side by side. The rulers were sufficiently tolerant to donate towards the Dargāh of Ajmer²⁹¹ by way of grant of land or fund. In V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.) Mahārājā Ajit Singh granted the jāgir of the village Sarna to the Dargāh of Ajmer. Mahārāna Jagat Singh of Mewār (1734-1751 A.D.) conferred the villages of Rāyalā, Katdi, Arnetā and Kānyā on the Dargāh of Ajmer.²⁹² However, it also appears that sometimes difference of views arose between Hindus and Muslims on questions like the killing of cows. Once as recorded in the *Dastri Recods*²⁹³ the Muslims killed a cow on the *Id* festival which was strongly resented by the Hindus. The Mahārājā punished the culprits and warned them not to repeat such an act in future. The same record reveals that disturbances on the *Tāziā* day were put down with little difficulty at Jodhpur.

Muslim Fasts

Muslims of our period observed fasts during the month of *Ramazān*, which they began at sunrise and ended at sunset. Sweets and rich dishes were eaten early in the morning and also after the sunset. A pious Muslim was forbidden to eat anything during the day. Such fasts were termed as *Rozās*. At the time of the breaking of the fast, sweets or other preparations were given in charity to poor Muslims. For a month such fasts were observed, and they ended on the *Id* day (1st of *Shawwal*) with great rejoicing and solemnity.²⁹⁴ An account of the manner of these fasts is given in the Archival Records of the Ajmer *Dargāh*. There the charitable persons on the day of *Id* gave away food and money to poor Muslims. Mahādaji Sindiā sanctioned about Rs. 2,000/- for distributing

²⁹⁰ *Archaeological Survey*, XXIII, pp. 35-39.

²⁹¹ *Khāsā Parvānah Bahi*, No. 1, f. 54, 4th of the bright-half of *Āśoja*, V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.)

²⁹² A file No. 20/115, 93, (ODRU). For details refer to my book '*Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*', p. 223.

²⁹³ *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. 1, V.S. 1836 (1779 A.D.)

²⁹⁴ *Tuzūk*, p. 37; Lahori, I, p. 259; Bernier, (1914), p. 280.

²⁹⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 11, V.S. 1750; *Ibid.*, No. 1, *Bastā* No. 32, V.S. 1774; *Ibid.*, No. 1, *Bastā* No. 72, V.S. 1857.

food to the poor on the *Id* day as we know from the Budget papers of the Dargāh file.²⁹⁶

Urs

Muslims have a tradition for holding semi-religious fairs in honour of holy persons who had some association with their locality and who have given proof of their supernatural powers by doing miracles. Every winter in honour of Khwājā Sāhib and Mirān Sāhib a fair was held, as at present, at Ajmer. It attracted thousands of pilgrims from all over India. The management of the fair was in the hands of the '*Mutavalli*' whose office was a hereditary one. Through the Dargāh fund, charities were given to needy persons and cooked food was freely distributed to the poor. Many temporary shops were set up and stalls were erected near the *Dargāh*, the rent of which added to Dargāh fund. There is also a reference to the supply of lamps on the occasion of the *Urs* fair. Burning of incense, offering of flowers on the tomb, reading of Muslim scriptures, singing of religious songs and observing of the *Gushal* ceremony seem to be the most important religious rites of the fair²⁹⁷

A Spirit of Toleration and Harmony

We close the chapter with a word regarding toleration—an apostle of true appreciation of the great ideals underlying all Indian thoughts. The relations between the two religions Hinduism and Jainism, as it appears were very amicable. The spread and erection of temples and monasteries during our period with rapidity and enthusiasm from one corner of Rājasthān to the other, under rulers who were the followers of Hinduism, is a sufficient testimony of the fact that there existed a spirit of toleration in the age under review. From the inscriptions²⁹⁸ of the 12th century A. D., we know that Kumārpāl, a Jaina ruler of Gujarāt, who visited a Śiva temple at Chitor made an offering to the temple of *Samidheśvara*. The poet Rāmkiṛti, a follower of Jainism, who composed the inscription, wrote out several verses in the praise of Śiva with great faith in the *Sarva*, *Mrida* and *Samidheśvara*. Similarly, a Brāhman poet named Someśvara of the 13th century A. D., praised Nemināth of

²⁹⁶ *Dargah* file No. 1, 11th October, 1818 A.D.

²⁹⁷ *Muntakhāb* (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 87; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, E. & D., VII, pp. 246-247; *Archival Records*, Ajmer, No. 11, 13th Oct., 1819; Subject—'Supply of Lamps'; *Ibid.*, No. 24, 2nd July, 1820, Subject—'Rent of Dargāh Shop during Urs Fair'; *Ibid.*, No. 62, 18th Oct., 1821, Subject,—'Urs Fair'; *Ibid.*, Nos. 575 and 577, 10th April, 1856, Subject '*Misal regarding Gushal Ceremony*'.

²⁹⁸ Inscription of Kumarpāl, V. S. 1207 (1150 A. D.), EI. II, p. 421; Majumdār : *Chaulukyas of Gujarāt*, p. 106; Dr. Dasharath Sharmā : *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 54.

Ābu, and was patronised by Vastupāla, a great devotee of Jainism.²⁹⁹ This Vastupāla was above communal prejudices. He and his brother Tejpāla made generous donations to Hindu temples. In the year 1686 of Vikram era (1629 A. D.) one Kudhārān a Hindu carpenter by caste made an idol of Mahāvīr at Pāli to acquire religious merit.³⁰⁰ It has been recorded in the Dastri Records³⁰¹ of V. S. 1829 (1772 A. D.) that Vijaya Singh of Jodhpur, who was a staunch follower of, Vaiṣṇavism granted land for the construction of a Jaina monastery at Jodhpur. Similarly, in V. S. 1869 (1812 A. D.) Mahārājā Surat Singh of Bikāner erected a Jaina monastery at Bikāner.³⁰² A copper plate grant³⁰³ of the time of Mahārānā Bhīm Singh of Udaipur shows that land was granted to Bhatta Magana Rāma for reciting the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* daily in the temple of Rishabhadeva at Dhulev.

Of course, the position in the case of Islām was different. But even then the princes of Rājasthān always practised toleration. They recruited the Muslims in the army without reserve. Hakim Sur was an important officer in the army of Mahārānā Pratāp.³⁰⁴ Sayyid Saifuddin and Md. Husain Khan were some of the important Muslim officers of the Jaipur State of the later part of the 18th century.³⁰⁵ From the *Hat Bahi*³⁰⁶ of V. S. 1824 we know the names of several Muslim officers and craftsmen of note who served the State of Jodhpur during the 18th century. The princes patronised their art, appreciated their services and liberally donated towards their religious institutions. From the evidence already recorded, the Muslim citizens had liberty to follow their peaceful professions, like craft and agriculture.

²⁹⁹ *Ābu Inscription* of V. S. 1287 (1230 A. D.), EI, Vol. 8, p. 211.

³⁰⁰ *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 826, p. 203.

³⁰¹ *Dastri Bahi*, No. 1, V. S. 1829.

³⁰² Nāhātā : *Bikāner Lekha Sangraha*, p. 67.

³⁰³ A copper plate grant of V. S. 1874 (1817 A. D.) by Bāi Chandra Kunwar in the possession of Viṣṇurāma, the successor of Bhatta Maganrāma of Dhulev.

³⁰⁴ Badaoni : *Muntakhāb* (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 231—English Translation, Vol. II, p. 236 ; *Vir Vinod II*, p. 151 ; G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 95.

³⁰⁵ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 20, pp. 697, 983.

³⁰⁶ *Hat Bahi*, V. S. 1824.

Religious Reforms and the Revival of the Bhakti Cult

Background

Taking a retrospective survey of traditional religions as sketched in the foregoing pages, one cannot help being impressed with the following facts. Although the worship of Krishṇa and Rāma spread far and wide, although the cult of Śiva also flourished contemporaneously, although men paid homage at the shrines of Śakti, Ganesha, Hanumāna, although pilgrimages, fasting and rites and rituals had their hold over common belief, yet these kinds of beliefs and institutions, due to their complexity, were found unsatisfactory by some thinkers, and there was longing for a simple and unsophisticated form of religion. Taruṇaprabhasuri,¹ a writer of the 14th century referred to a class of thinkers who were critical about religious beliefs. One Haridāsa² who wrote the *Haribolachintāmaṇi* in V. S. 1650 (1593 A. D.) recommended purification of heart in place of formalities of rituals for finding God.

Moreover, with the expansion of political influence of Muslim arms, Islām with its monotheism and its abhorrence of idolatry made itself powerfully felt in the north-eastern and central part of Rājasthān. Some of the conquered people became converts to the proselytising creed of the conquerors. Amidst the desecrating of temples, persecution of the Hindus and levying of *Jiziyā* on them, as referred to in the *Ajītodaya*³ and the *Rājarupaka*,⁴ the question of preservation of Hinduism became of vital importance. In order to find out ways and means of preservation differently constituted minds viewed it in varying manner. Either

¹ *Samyaktva Śravaka Vrata*, V. S. 1411, pp. 1-4, *Prāchin-Gujrāti Gadya Sandarbha*, Ahmadābād V. S. 1986.

² *Haribolachintāmaṇi*, f. 215, V. S. 1650 (1593 A. D.) (SBLU).

³ *Ajītodaya*, Canto V, v. 5 (PPJ).

⁴ *Rājarupaka*, Prakāsha 2nd, vv. 1-2.

Hinduism be made softly alluring or it might be reformed and modified in a manner which may suit new condition. Udairaja,⁵ a writer of the early 17th century appears to have made a compromising approach to the problem. In one of his verses he refers to God as *Pidar* (father) and Śakti as *Mādar* (mother). Similarly, the writer of the *Viprabodha*⁶ (V. S. 1737=1680 A. D.) places Hari above all gods and rejects formalities. He assigns high place to prayer and denies the privileged position of *Jogi*, *Yati*, *Pandit* and *Shaikh*.

With the introduction of Islām and a new type of civilization in the midst of an old one, Rājasthān was quickened to absorb the best of those intellectual truths and spiritual ideas in newness of life. It was a state of transition from dogma to criticism. There appeared an incentive to the Hindu mind to consolidate themselves by simplifying their practices and scraping institutions and dogmas which lost stuff of life. The writer of the *Paśchimādrisotram*⁷, in 1651 A. D., for example, had a comprehensive appreciation of different expressions of one truth. He understood the essential unity of all religious quests, and discerned the common experience under different labels. Allāh and Akbar, Rām and Rahim, Gorakha and Gesu, Pir and Mir he invoked in the same breath in an attempt to patch up differences between Hinduism and Islām.

But in attending to the new stresses, conflicts and confusions, the Hindu view made room for some changes with no violent break with social heredity. The reconstruction advanced along the traditional modes of thought harmonious to *Dharma*. These trends were relevant to rational approach of religion which is better termed as *Bhakti* movement. In the words of Godidās,⁸ a writer of the 17th century, *Gyāna*, *Yoga*, *Sadhanā* and *Bhakti* were various pathways to reach the ultimate goal.

The impact of Hinduism and Islām produced important consequences. From the fourteenth century onwards, we notice in the teachings of the early mediaeval *Bhaktās* of Rājasthān, as recorded in the *Mohaviveka*⁹ of V. S. 1650

⁵ *Udai Rāj-rā-duhā*, V. S. 1771, vv. 8, 9, 19, 24, 25, 32, 38, 53, 119, etc., (SBLU) No. 618.

⁶ *Viprabodha*, V. S. 1737, f. 111, v. 47.

⁷ *Paśchimādrisotram*, V. S. 1708 (1651 A. D.), f. 25-28, vv. 5, 6, 7, 9, 14, 17, 19, 20, 38, 42, etc.

⁸ Godidās : *Gutkā Bhajana*, V. S. 1745, *Rāga Asāvāri*, f. 99.

⁹ *Mohaviveka*, ff. 442-443, V. S. 1650-51 (SBLU),

(1593 A. D.), the *Viprabodha*¹⁰ of V. S. 1737 (1680 A.D.) and the *Manasikha*¹¹ of V. S. 1779 (1722 A. D.) a liberal spirit and a happy and harmonious blending of Hindu and Muslim influences. Idolatry, caste system, meaningless rituals, etc., were denounced and instead a passionate feeling of love of God was preached. Devotion through singing, dancing and reciting the scriptures in the popular language were the means adopted to bring about Hindu solidarity. It is in this background that the *Bhakti* cult and the distinctive work of the religious reforms by saints, which dominated the religious mind of Rājasthān throughout the period of our study, has to be viewed.

It being impossible to cover a wide range of the achievements of saints and mystics extending to three centuries within the limited compass of a mere chapter, an attempt will, therefore, be made only to deal with the general tendencies and distinctive features associated with some of the marked Hindu mystics of mediaeval Rājasthān.

Goga

The *Bhakti* movement first made its appearance in the early mediaeval centuries in Rājasthān in the shape of such religious belief which was free from ritualistic intricacies of orthodox Hinduism. A lead in this direction was taken by one Gogā¹² who was the son of a feudatory Chauhān named Jevara of Dadrewā (in Bikāner Division). Though the period during which he is supposed to have flourished is controversial, it is certain from the *Śrāvakavratādi-atichār*,¹³ a Gujarāti book composed in V. S. 1460 (1403 A. D.), that by that time Gogāji was worshipped as a folk-god and classed along with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The Jaina writer denounced belief in him as a serious transgression of Jaina *Dharma*. In the *Rānāḥpur Inscription*¹⁴ of V. S. 1496 (1439 A. D.), Gogā has been referred to as a popular hero. According to the folk-songs¹⁵ and

¹⁰ *Viprabodha*, V. S. 1737, ff. 71-77, vv. 1-17.

¹¹ Dhruvadeva : *Manasikha*, V. S. 1779, ff. 37-42 (SBLU), No. 689.

¹² On the basis of the *Kyām Khān Rāso* and an inscription of V. S. 1270 (1213 A. D.) Dr. Dasharath Sharmā has concluded that Gogā was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin, and not of Firoz Shāh, as believed by Tod and some other writers who have followed his lead (*vide* Dr. Dashrath Sharmā's *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 327-328).

¹³ *Śrāvakavratādi-atichāra*, p. 62 (*Prāchin Gujarati Granth Sandarbha*).

¹⁴ *Rānāḥpur Inscription*, V. S. 1496 (1439 A. D.), line 13.

¹⁵ *Gogāpedi* by Āśā, *Granth No. 3, Bastā No. 9, Id. BA ; Bikāner Gazal*, V. S. 1765 ; *Rājasthān Bhārti*, Vol. VI, Nos 3-4, June 1959, pp. 27-32.

Dayaldās¹⁶ he was famous for his daring action against Arjan and Sarjan in rescuing cows from the hands of the supporters of the Muslims. He and his steed Jawādiā have grown immortal for the cause of pastoral interest. In commemoration of his name Gogānavami following on the dark-half of 9th *Bhādrapada* is celebrated with great devotion and rejoicings.

Tejaji

Another folk-god was Tejāji, the chief hero venerated by the Jāts of Mārwar, Ajmer and Kishangarh. He also lived in or about the 12th century A.D. According to a legend he was bitten on the tongue by a snake, which caused his death. Since then he is worshipped as a snake-god. It is yet believed by the rural community of Rājasthān that if a man bitten by a snake, tie a cord round his right foot, and pronounce the word 'Tejāji', he will recover. A fair is held at Kishangarh, in the month of July, in honour of Tejāji, and he is worshipped in a temple erected to his memory at Sarsārā. Most Jats wear round their necks an amulet of silver representing Tejāji on horseback, his sword drawn, and a snake in the act of biting his tongue. The universal reverence that Tejāji commands is evident from the fact that nearly all big villages of Rājasthān or groups of small villages own a temple with Tejāji's image for worship.¹⁷

Pabuji

According to the traditional anecdotes, a Rāthor hero in the person of Pābuji flourished somewhere about 1325 A.D. He as a hero-god is worshipped by his rural devotees as a saviour of mankind and pastoral wealth.

Mallinath

In the thirteenth century A.D. in Mallāni of Mārwar a famous warrior Mallināth ruled. He attained the position of *Siddha* (perfect) by his religious pieties and practices.

Deoji

Gujars' principal deity was Deoji who is supposed to have lived in or about the 14th century. He is credited with the working of miracles to save the life of his devotees.¹⁸

Although the folk-gods described above do not fall strictly within the scope of reformers on account of their being bound by crude beliefs in magic, miracles and spirits, they may be classed as the tribal religious

¹⁶ Dayaldās' *Khyāta*, ff. 87-90.

¹⁷ M. A. Sherring: *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, (Calcutta, 1881), p. 74.

¹⁸ *Pābuji-rā-duhā* by Mehā, *Granth* No. 5, *Bastā* No. 22, Jd. BA; Dayaldās' *Khyāta*, ff. 47-56 and 64-67; M.A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, p. 77.

heads. But a great importance of such beliefs recorded in the relevant literature¹⁹ was that the pastoral and agricultural class along with other low classes had a proud satisfaction that there was some supernatural world and a world of powers, spirits and miracles which shape their destiny. They had a full faith that through their own local-gods they could gain some material or social advantage. By brooding over the life and accomplishments of the local-gods they could understand the deep significance of religion that the gods were immortal and for men, death was inevitable and had to be accepted. By meeting at a congregation, yearly held at specific places, the devotees of these pastoral-gods could understand the value of kindness, righteousness, sincerity, justice, respect for law, etc., by singing the songs ascribed to the virtues of their dead heroes. The great worth of these 'desert-born geniuses for religion' was that without leading the simple minds of country-men towards the controversies of theology, they impressed on their followers the worth of unity, contemplation and virtues of life—the main themes of religion.

Thus was formed invisible hierarchy of popular gods in which the majority of rural classes believed. It was not surprising therefore that popular sentiment attributed miracles to the warrior-gods and on their death their residences became places of pilgrimage.

From the 14th century onwards a new form of *Bhakti* cult emerged, and that was an impact of Islām on Hinduism. In the north-eastern and central parts of Rājasthān, in and around Ajmer, Nāgor, Māṅḍal and Chitor, as we have seen, where some Sufi saints lived, circumstances became favourable for the meeting ground of the Hindus and Muslims. Impressed by the simplicity of the Muslim creed and its insistence upon the oneness of God, the Rājasthān reformers began to emphasise on love of God and meditation—the true aspects of religion. They denounced caste-bound society and ritual-ridden dogmas. In the *Akchharabāvani*,²⁰ the *Chitvilāsa*,²¹ the *Āṇa-rā-Duhā*,²² and the *Vīprabodha*²³ an attempt towards *synthesis* is clearly visible.

Dhanna

A modest beginning in the direction of reconciling orthodoxy with mysticism within Hinduism was made by Dhannā who was a Jāt by caste and is said to have been born in 1415 A.D. He belonged to Rājasthān,

¹⁹ *Gogāchauhān*, ff. 1-9 (ALB); Dayāldās' *Khyāta*, Vol. I, ff. 46, 54, 68, 73, 76, (ALB), No. 188.

²⁰ *Akchharabāvani*, V.S. 1676 (1619 A.D.), vv. 30-31 (SBLU).

²¹ *Chitvilāsa* by Jivā, f. 19a, 49a.

²² *Āṇa-rā-Duhā*, ff. 116-119, No. 596 (SBLU).

²³ *Vīprabodha*, ff. 71-77, vv. 1-18

but quitted his birthplace and went to Benāres to become a disciple of Rāmānanda. Some anecdotes of Dhannā related by Nābhāji indicate that he was a believer in God. His sayings like 'when the *Guru* caused the wealth of divine knowledge to enter into me, I meditated on God, and felt in my heart that He was One and I have embraced the love and service of God and known comfort', show that he believed that God could be realised through internal search and meditation. On many an occasion he saw that he had found God through love and meditation.²⁴

Jambha

To the latter half of the 15th and the early part of the 16th century belonged Jambhā who is said to have been born at Pipāsar in 1451 A.D. He was a Paramāra Rājput by caste. He insisted on 29 rigid principles for his followers of which non-injury to living beings, and abstaining from theft, robbery, etc., were most important. He preached to his followers the importance of worshipping Viṣṇu, performing *Homa* and attending to the evening service. Like Muslims he insisted on burying of dead, shaving of the head-knot, growing of beard, and remarriage of widows. He died at Tālwea village in Bikāner district in 1526 A.D. His disciples are known as *Viṣṇois* as they follow 29 cardinal doctrines propounded by him. They are a class by themselves and adopt their own way of life to strengthen their internal order by pious way of living. Every year on the 13th of the dark-half of *Phālguna*, *Viṣṇois* assemble at Tālwea in honour of their dead *Guru* who was an inspirer of free-thinking.²⁵

Raidās

Raidās, a cobbler belonged to a caste which has a very low social status. He was born at Benāres. As he was taking a great interest in religious saints and used to spend his money freely in their service, his father Ragghū turned him out of doors. Since then he passed his time by following his ancestral profession of mending shoes and living in a hut with his devoted wife. His simple living and high thinking won over many people to him.²⁶ It is believed that he also came to Chitor where Mirā accepted him as her *Guru*. His visiting Chitor is corroborated by a *chhatri* and his footprints, which can be witnessed in the courtyard of Kumbha-Swāmi temple at Chitor.

Though Raidās did not belong to Rājasthān he seems to be a popular saint of the area. The measure of his popularity and success in

²⁴ *Bharatricharitrangantha*, copied in V.S. 1650 (1593 A.D.), ff. 241-268 ; *Sukhsamvāda*, No. 581, ff. 2-12 ; *Bhaktmāla*, f. 12. v. 56.

²⁵ *Jāmbhāji-ra-gita* ; Ojhā : *Bk. R.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 19-20, footnote No. 2.

²⁶ Dr. Tarāchand : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, p. 179.

Rājasthān may be gauged by the fact that various *Bhandāras* of Rājasthān possess several copies of his *Bāṇis* and sayings which were read with great interest. It seems that his message had a wide appeal. His *Bāṇi* or sayings, given in the *Raidās-ki-Parchi*,²⁷ and the *Bhaktmālā*²⁸ breathe a spirit of humanity, toleration, self-surrender and freedom of thought. It also appears from his sayings that he did not like to entangle himself in the philosophical discussions about God, and had little faith in rituals and *Varṇāśrama*. He believed that *Varṇāśrama* (caste system), idol worship and worldly objects were misleading and illusory. In his eyes Hinduism and Islām were identical and reconcilable religions. He had no faith in the incarnations of God. According to him God was eternal and Supreme, and human beings were nothing but ignorant servants. From doctrinal point of view Raidās' views were similar to those of Kabir.²⁹ What humility sings in the following little song of this 'servant' of the Lord :

'My caste is low, O Lord !
My actions too, are soiled with sin !
But Thou, O Lord ! hast exalted high
This unclean man.
So singeth Raidās,
The cobbler, at Thy Door !'³⁰

Mira Bai

Along with the trends of synthesis of ideas the simple faith and the ideals of Vaiṣṇavism produced a ferment which was focussed by Mirā Bāi, the celebrated Rājput princess. Her name is shrouded in obscurity. As no contemporary source gives any reference to her name and the word Mirā sounds strange, attempts have been made, on etymological and linguistic studies, to derive the word from *Mir*,³¹ *Pir*,³² *Mihir*,³³ *Miyān-mirā*,³⁴ *Birā*,³⁵ etc., in order to draw one conclusion or the other relating to Mirā's life. But the interpretations which the modern writers put upon it

²⁷ *Raidās-ki-Parchi*, No. 166 (SBLU) by Parādās, vv. 12-13.

²⁸ *Bhakt-māla*, a transcript copy of V.S. 1724 (1667 A.D.) (SBLU) No. 579, v. 53, f. 12.

²⁹ *Raidās-ki-Bāṇi*, pp. 7-39, quoted by Dr. Tārāchand in his *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, pp. 179-180.

³⁰ *Raidās-ki-Bāṇi*, quoted from *Saint Mirā* by T.L. Vaswāni (Poona).

³¹ *The Saraswati* (Allahabad), Vol. 40, No. 3.

³² *The Santa Vāṇi*, No. 11, p. 24.

³³ Shāstri : *Kavicharitra*, Vol. I.

³⁴ *The Madhuri*, Mirā, pp. 114-115.

³⁵ *The Rājasthāni Sāhitya*, No. 2.

are not acceptable, for such names with Rājputs were not altogether unfamiliar in the middle ages. Māldeo had a daughter named Mirā Bāi who was married to a prince of Vāgad.³⁶ In Rājasthān, it was an accepted practice that generally the names of boys, girls, princes and princesses were chosen from the familiar objects. The names like Hirdak³⁷ (bull) for Rāo Asthān's son, Bijad³⁸ (seeds) for Jaimal's son, Indi³⁹ (thorny gate) for Chundās wife, Phulā,⁴⁰ (roasted maize) for Sātal's wife and Jewatā or Jewadā⁴¹ (rope) for Gangā's wife are instances in point. Thus Mirā is also a corrupted form of Merā which means a bumper harvest. It was the connection with the agricultural life which was the cause of the name and not *Mir* or *Pir* as many critics hold.

Just as Mirā's name has been controversial so also the dates of her birth, marriage and death continue to be subjects of controversy among scholars. According to Col. Tod⁴² Mirā was married to Mahārānā Kumbhā (1433-1468 A.D.). But there is no adequate reason for preferring the middle of the 15th century as the probable period of her career on account of the absence of the mention of her name in the contemporary evidences of Kumbhā's time. Similarly, on the basis of certain songs,⁴³ it has been presumed that she was a contemporary of Kabir, Tulsidās⁴⁴ and Akbar⁴⁵. If Kabir's period begins from 1425 A.D., as concluded by Dr. Tarā Chand,⁴⁶ her life stretches from about 1425 A.D. to 1605 A.D. This unusual length of time rules out the assumption of her being a contemporary of Kabir and Tulsi. Moreover, certain songs which associate her name with these persons (Kabir and Tulsi) cannot be accepted as a sure guide to determine her date as many of the songs are definitely posterior to her.⁴⁷ In any case it is difficult to hold to these contradictory views relating to her time. On the basis of sober facts of history deduced from the works of Hari Rāma, Nābhādās, Priyadās, etc.,

³⁶ Ojhā : *J.R.I.*, I, p. 329.

³⁷ *Jodhpur Rājya-ki-Khyāta*, I, pp. 19-20.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 734.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 48.

⁴¹ *Bānkidās' Bāten*, No. 818.

⁴² Tod : *Annals*, pp. 232-233 (R.K. Paul, London, 1950).

⁴³ 'Mirā Kabirā guṇa gāthi'.

⁴⁴ Dr. Mātā Prasād : *Tulsidās* (2nd Edition), p. 254.

⁴⁵ *Journal of the Gujarāt Research Society*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1956, 'Mira Bāi, Her Life and Times'.

⁴⁶ Dr. Tarā Chand : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, pp. 146-147.

⁴⁷ *Vrihat-Kāvya Dohan*, Mirā Bāi (ed. 1911), pp. 25-32.

the writers of the 16th century, her probable period may conveniently be fixed between 1500-1540 A.D.

Of Mirā it is related that she was the only daughter of Ratan Singh, the son of Dudā of Mertā. She was born in the far-off Mārwar in the village Kurki in or about V.S. 1555-1556 (1498-1499 A.D.). Unfortunately she lost her mother when she was a child. After her mother's death Mirā lived in Mertā with her grandfather, Dudāji.⁴⁸

From a tender age Mirā imbibed love and devotion towards Lord Krishna, being surrounded by the Hindu atmosphere and endowed with a keen and enquiring mind. She freely breathed an atmosphere of deep religiosity which was traditional in her family. Ratan Singh her father, Dudā her grandfather and Viram Deva her uncle were all followers of Vaiṣṇavism.⁴⁹ If tradition is believed the idea of Krishna came to Mirā through her grandmother. Once she saw a bridal procession and the bridegroom in it. Deeply impressed with the sight, she ran to her grandmother and asked with curiosity about her bridegroom. She offhand suggested the name of 'Girdhar Gopāl'. The child Mirā took suggestion out of it and since then Gopāl became a subject of special fascination to her. Thus began the orientation of her soul towards Śri Krishna.

In due course of time Mirā was married to Bhoj Rāja, the son of valiant Rānā Sāngā.⁵⁰ But the discharge of marital obligations was short-lived. Soon after her marriage, prince Bhoj Rāja died. About the same time in 1515 A.D.⁵¹ her grandfather Dudā also died. Then followed the death of her father at the battle of Khānuā and the ultimate defeat and death of Rānā Sāngā in 1530 A.D. The expulsion of her uncle Viram Deva from Mertā and his defeat by Māldeo in 1535 A.D.,⁵² were other tragic events which Mirā faced. The disasters of the Mughal invasion and of the inter-princely strife between Mertā and Mārwar as well as the harsh conditions of life of a widow in general were conducive to fill Mirā with a spirit of *Vairāgya* (detachment). Day and night, she would sit at Krishna's Feet and sing songs dedicated to the Lord. The words on her lips were 'Girdhar Gopāl'. It is said that in her ecstatic moments, witnessing this exuberance of the heart and complete effacement of the self, the Lord

⁴⁸ Priyadās : *Bhakt-māla Tika*, transcript copy V.S. 1789 (1732 A.D.) (SBLU), v. 465, f. 41a ; *Medtā-ri-Khyāta*, f. 939 ; Ojhā : *U.R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 359.

⁴⁹ Nābhadās : *Bhakt-māla*, transcript copy V.S. 1724 (1667 A.D.), (SBLU), vv. 101-102, f. 22a.

⁵⁰ Priyadās : *Bhakt-māla Tikā*, v. 465, f. 41a (Transcript copy V.S. 1789 (1732 A.D.) (SBLU).

⁵¹ Ojhā : *U.R.I.*, p. 359.

⁵² *Ibid*

would himself appear. Mirā grew, also, in the love of *Sadhus*. She served them with singular devotion and respect.⁵³

But this frantic display of self-surrender and utter recklessness of form and formalities greatly irritated Rānā Vikramājī. According to him it was a matter of shame for the family. It was a great slur upon the fair name of Chitor that the wife of the late heir-apparent should carry on such liaisons. It was he who subjected Mirā to many hardships. He as an insolent, passionate, vindictive and intolerant ruler could not tolerate her Vaiṣṇavite leanings. Day after day, was Mirā persecuted.⁵⁴ She bore it all in patience : she remained dauntless in her devotion to Sri Kriṣṇa : she stood adamant in belief, guarding her faith with meticulous care. Born in the race of the Rājputs, whose women boasted of the custom of *Jauhar* and who had for their ideal unshaken fidelity to their faith, she showed to the world that she would stand by her convictions, however terrible the consequences might be. In her love for the Lord Kriṣṇa, she could accept no compromise. She quitted Mewār and wandered like an ascetic from place to place in *Vrija*, and, as a reward for her devotion to Kriṣṇa, she was eventually, in a miraculous manner received into the image of her Lord, and thus, in appropriate fashion, parted from physical body in or about 1540 A.D.⁵⁵

An idea of the transcendental views held by Mirābāi may be gathered from the following anecdote⁵⁶ told of her : “When Mirābāi, the Rājput princess, who left everything for her love for Kriṣṇa, visited the renowned Rup Goswāmi of Brindāban, one of the chief *bhakt*s of Śree Gauranga (Chaitanya), Rup, an ascetic of the highest order, refused to see her on the ground that he was precluded from seeing the face of a woman. As a fact, Mirābāi was a most beautiful young princess, and he had not much faith in her pretensions. Hearing the message of Rup, Mirābāi replied, ‘Is he then a male ? If so, he has no access to Brindāban. Males cannot enter there, and if the goddess of Brindāban comes to know of his presence, she will turn him out. For does not the great Goswāmi know that there is but one male in existence, namely, my beloved Kanai Lāl (an endearing name of Kriṣṇa), and that all besides are females ?’ Rup

⁵³ Priyadās : *Bhakt-māla Tikā*, v. 468, f. 41b ; *Bhakt-māla Painting of Mirā* ; Bankidās : *Itihāsik Bāten*, No. 760.

⁵⁴ Priyadās : *Bhakt-māla Tikā*, v. 469, f. 42a.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 474, f. 43a ; Campbell Oman : *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, p. 134.

⁵⁶ Priyadās : *Bhakt-māla Tikā*, f. 42b, v. 472.

now understood that Mirābābāi was really a staunch devotee of Kṛiṣṇa and so agreed to see her."⁵⁷

Mirā should be classed as a woman-saint who was a seeker after God. Her quest for Kṛiṣṇa passed through three marked stages. One was the stage of search which she expressed : 'O friend, all the world sleeps : I, the separated one, sit awake.'⁵⁸ 'Abandon me not, my Lord.'⁵⁹ The other stage was the stage of Realisation for which she said, 'I got the wealth—the Jewel in the form of Rāma.'⁶⁰ Then came the stage of Mira's illumination, vision of the Lord, which she expressed :

"Mine is Girdhar Gopal, none else.

He who wears the peacock crown is Mirā's Lord."⁶¹

Mira left behind her a vast mass of poetry which gives the main lines of her thinking. The one was the break of bondage of attachment and self-dedication to the Lord. In the eyes of Mirā earthly things, all wealth, all worldly honours, all the joys of life were transient. Her only wealth and only joy was her Lord. All her attention was directed to concentration which was deepened into devotion. In a word we can say that she was 'bhakti-filled' and 'bhakti-intoxicated'. She believed in Lord Kṛiṣṇa as an incarnation of God and was Eternal and Absolute. Her religion was the religion of bhakti which had no scope for formality of worship or adherence to caste and creed. The highest work and the noblest service, Mirā realised, was worshipping Kṛiṣṇa through singing and dancing, the essential parts of devotion. She expressed that devotion in no other language but that of her class. Her abiding faith in the Lord was a revolt against the established canons of prevalent religion, the religion of books, of ceremonies and conventions. Thus she was a herald of a new age.⁶²

Mirā's Vaiṣṇavism can best be understood in the observations made by Coomārswāmy which runs as "Mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism differed in form from classic Vaiṣṇavism chiefly in the universality of its appeal, in laying stress upon feeling rather than knowledge, in its acceptance of this everyday world and the inner experience of everyman as the fullest possible revelation of Divinity, and nearer than any ritual ; and finally in its ultimate popular symbolism. These conditions in turn determined

⁵⁷ *Lord Gauranga or Salvation for All*, by Shishir Kumār Ghose, Vol. I, Introduction, p. xi, (Calcutta, 1897).

⁵⁸ '*Men Virhaṇi baithi jāgun, Jagat sab sobe ri āli*'.

⁵⁹ '*Chhod mat Jājyo ji Māhāraja*'.

⁶⁰ '*Māi men to Rāma Ratan Dhana payo*'.

⁶¹ '*Māre to Girdhar Gopal Dujo na koi*'.

⁶² Nābhāji : *Bhakti-māla*, transcript copy of V. S. 1724, No. 579 (SBLU) f. 21b, v. 99 ; *Bhandāra* No. 16, V. S. 1839.

the use of the language of the home and the village, rather than the classic Sanskrit...⁶³

Mirā's cult was a presiding force. It attracted the attention of princes and peasants to tread on the path which was devotion pure and simple. The author of the *Bhakt-māla* has recorded the names of several chiefs and chieftains as *Bhaktas*, prominent among whom were Akhey Rāj of Idar, Prithvirāja of Bikāner and Jai Singh of Jaipur. He gives the names of some princesses, like Rānāvati, the wife of Prithvi Rāja and Kichanī of Mārṅwār, as women *Bhaktas* who came in continuity after Mirā had passed away.⁶⁴

A small sect called *Mirābāis* composed of Brāhman and other caste widows, acknowledging the leadership of the Rājput princess, wearing dress in the manner of Mirā and professing the same attachment to Kriṣṇa is still in existence in Mewār. These *Mirābāis* maintain themselves on public charity and daily ration provided for them from charitable funds of Mewār State which may be traced from the 17th century onward.⁶⁵

Dadu Dayal

We find an echo of free-thinking in Dādu (1550-1605 A. D.), a saint who was a cotton-cleaner according to Muhsin Fāni, a tanner or curer (*mochi*) by profession according to Sudhākar Dwivedī, and a Brāhman according to Farquhar and Traill. His first name was Mahābali. After the death of his first wife he retired from worldly pursuits and became a disciple of Kamāl. He spent the major part of his life in Rājasthān and visited Ajmer, Āmber and other places. He is reported to have met Akbar. He died in the neighbourhood of the lake at Narāiṇā in 1605 A.D. Three edifices of the finest Makrānā marble have been erected to perpetuate his memory and creed. Among them the monastery has a very striking appearance. The great enclosure inside is decorated with pillars rising from a platform. In the inner part are deposited various sacred objects, among which Dādu's writings and the impressions of his feet are pre-eminent. On the shores of the lake at Narāiṇā is a mosque of considerable beauty, a composite of Muslim and Hindu style which was loved by Dādu. An annual festival is still held

⁶³ A Coomārswāmy : *Rājput Painting*, p. 28.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vv. 101, 126, 153, ff. 22, 26 and 32.

⁶⁵ *Sadavrat Tālkā Bahis*, Chitor, 17th to 20th century ; *Parmārth Kacheri Bahis* ; Udaipur, 18th century to 20th century.

at Narāiṇā in the memory of Dādu where Dādupanthis assemble to pay homage to one whose religion was the religion of love.⁶⁶

His poetic utterances, collected in the *Dādu Dayāl-ki-Bāṇi* and in the *Dādu Dayāl-rā-Duhā* breathe an atmosphere of free-thinking without any prejudice of caste and creed. His precepts are held in great veneration by his disciples. They reveal his belief in unity of God, in *Guru*, mercy, affection, righteousness. In one of his verses he refers that it is *Guru* who by his teachings enriches a disciple who is poor and helpless. He further says that the teacher's word is milk, it is only the effort through churning that a pupil can obtain *ghee* from it. According to him one can obtain Bliss by abandoning the world and repeating the name of *Rāma* or *Allāh* day and night. With regard to rituals, rites and formalities of worship he held the same view as Kabir. He insisted upon the unity of God and regarded Hindus and Muslims as two brothers. These and other liberal views he expressed in a mixture of dialects like Brijā Bhāshā, Rājasthāni, Punjābi, Rekhtā and corrupt Persian which could be understood by both Hīndus and Muslims.⁶⁷

Those who join Dādu's order eschew idolatry, shave their heads, teach morality, and wander about in all directions preaching the doctrines of Dādu. Dādu made disciples without caring for caste and creed. The religious movement started by him continued to gather momentum under his followers and disciples. In Sunderdās he had an eminent disciple who was born in 1596 A.D., at Deosā near Jaipur of a Baniyā community. He lived with his *Guru* for a short period and after his death he went to Benares for further study. When he returned home, he travelled in Rājasthān and preached the principles of Dādu. In Shekhāvāti he became friendly with Nawāb Alif Khān and his sons Daulat Khān and Tābir Khān. He died in 1689 A.D. He was a reputed scholar of both Sanskrit and Persian. His work *Sundervilāsa* shows that he drew knowledge from Hindu sources but preached the teachings of Dādu. Gradually the number of his followers increased who associated themselves with the monasteries established in different parts of Rājasthān. These monasteries were headed by one of the disciples of Narāiṇā sect. Jagannāthdās, and Mahant Santoshdās

⁶⁶ J. Campbell Oman : *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, p. 133 ; Sudhākar Dwivedi : *Dādu Dayāl-ki-Bāṇi*, Introduction ; Dr. Tarā Chand ; *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, p. 182.

⁶⁷ *Gurudev-ko-Anga*, V.S. 1651 (1594 A.D.), No. 742-751 (SBLU), ff. 1-22, vv. 2-3, 30, 116, 132 ; *Dādu Dayāl-ki-Bāṇi*, pp. 186, 323, 338, 455, etc. ; Dr. Tarā Chand : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, pp. 182-188.

were important *Gurus* holding *Gādi* of Udaipur in the later part of the 18th century.⁶⁸

Some of the *Dādu*'s followers organised themselves into a group of *Sādhus* known as *Khākhis*. The founder of this group was Kilh, who, according to *Nābhāji*, was among the disciples of *Śrīkriṣṇadās*. He laid emphasis on the inward faith in God, renunciation of pride and egotism and on trusting in *Guru* and loving God. His disciple, according to Wilson, was *Maluk Dās* (1574-1682). There was a monastery of *Malukdās*' order at Jaipur. He taught the same things which by his time had become popular all over India. He denounced idol-worship and *Māyā*. He preached oneness of religions.⁶⁹

Charandas

The tendency among the religious teachers to ignore some elements of the ancient creed and adopt new approach to bring about the religious synthesis between Hinduism and Islām continued in the later part of our period of study. At Dehrā in Mewāt there was born in 1703 A.D., one *Charandās* in the family of *Dhusar Baniyā*. He founded an order at Delhi in or about 1730, while he was yet a householder. He emphasised the unity of God, recitation of His name and the greatness of *Guru*. He denounced idolatry like *Kabir*. Both men and women were accepted as his disciples. He died in 1780 A.D.⁷⁰

Laldas

Lāldās who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century was another representative of the religious synthesis who attempted to reconcile Hinduism with Islām. He belonged to the Meos tribe and his sect flourished in Mewāt. His teachings did not differ from those of *Kabir*. To the teachers of *Lāldāsī* sect married life is not disallowed. Singing hymns accompanied with music forms an important part in their worship.⁷¹

Mavji

Another religious order of considerable importance of the 18th century was that of *Māvji*. It was a popular religion founded in or about

⁶⁸ *Haqiqat Bahi*, 1st of the dark-half of *Phālguna*, V.S. 1822 ; *Bhandāra* No. 16, V.S. 1859 ; Dr. *Tārāchand* : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, pp. 190-191.

⁶⁹ *Malukdās-ki-Vāṇi*, pp. 22, 27, 94 ; Dr. *Tārāchand* : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, pp. 189-191.

⁷⁰ *Sant Bāṇi Sangraha*, Vol. I, pp. 147, 176 ; Vol. III, pp. 176, 179, 185 ; Dr. *Tārāchand* : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, pp. 203-205.

⁷¹ *Tārāchand* : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, p. 195.

1700 A.D., by Māvji who was an Avadichya Brāhmaṇ of Sābali village of Dungarpur district. It is said that he married four wives, out of whom the first and the third were of his own community, the second was a Rājput and the fourth a widow of Patel caste. His passionate devotion to God won him renown as a mystic in Vāgad. He died in 1732 A.D. He was so much revered that very soon a ritual developed around his personality. He was deified as the tenth incarnation, and his image was shown all reverence in the temples constructed at Sāblā, Punjpur, Vaneśvara and Dhālāvālā in Dungarpur, Senspur in Mewār and Bārodā in Bānswārā. The monastery at Sāblā is headed by his successors who came from Avadichya Brāhmaṇs. They observe celibacy.⁷²

In theological belief Māvji insisted on the worship of Viṣṇu and he taught the doctrine of *Bhakti*. He admitted to his sect disciples from all Hindu castes and sexes without prejudice. His teachings have been embodied in his *Vāṇi* and his works like *Gyān Bhandāra*, *Akala Ramaṇa*, *Surānanda*, *Bhajana Stotra*, *Gyan Ratna Mālā*, *Kālingā Harāṇa*, etc., which he wrote in Vāgdī for the benefit of his followers. Though he justified the worship of idols and pilgrimage as useful for those who need them, yet in his *Vāṇi* he interpreted these practices in a way that brought them into harmony with the new ideals of social and religious equality. In his *Chopṛā* he dreamt of a future, purified of vices, untruths and inequalities. In one of his works *Nyāya* he answered 108 questions of his disciple Jiwandās dealing with God, heaven, righteous acts, etc., which embodied a new message for the individual and for society.⁷³

Ramcharan

Ramcharan, the founder of *Rāmsanehi* order, born in 1718, at Surāsena, in Jaipur territory was another reformer of the radical school of thought. His father's name was Bakhat Rāma and that of his mother Deuji. He was a Bijāvargi Vaiśya. Being endowed with a keen and enquiring mind, he became familiar with the profession of his father.⁷⁴ Then he soon began to seek a teacher. At the time when he was in search of a spiritual guide he met Kripārāma at Dāntra (a village in Mewār), who initiated him in the knowledge of Rāma in 1751 A.D., and made him his disciple.⁷⁵ He remained with his teacher for some time and wandered with

⁷² Ojhā : *D.R.I.*, pp. 17-18.

⁷³ *Māvji Vāṇi*, MS. Sabla Monastery) ; *Māvji Chopṛā*, referred to in Sāblā records of *Tahsil Āspur* ; A letter from the of Collector Dungarpur, No. 397 Con. dated 29th Dec., 1954.

⁷⁴ Swāmi Lāl Dās : *Rāmcharaṇji-Parchi*.

⁷⁵ *Gurulilāvīlāsa*, v. 44 ; *Rāmcharaṇji Parchi*, vv. 30, 31, 32.

him from place to place, until he came to Bhilwārā where he resolutely opposed idol-worship.⁷⁶ But there he greatly offended the idol believers and in consequence was subjected to much persecution at their hands. He then left Bhilwārā and returned to Shāhpurā in 1769 A.D., where he won many followers among Hindus, and his fame spread far and wide as a mystic and reformer. He died in 1798 A.D.⁷⁷ Since then Shāhpurā became the headquarters of his sect, but they are represented in several other places also. The Sādhus of his order live in monasteries, which admit men belonging to any Hindu caste. They wear pink-coloured garments and keep their heads, mustaches and beards shaved.⁷⁸ The members of this sect worship no images, and are influenced by love for Rāma, as their designation indicates.⁷⁹ Rāmcharaṇ believed in austere habits, and insisted on moral and religious discipline, both for the monastic and the lay members. The members of the sect were required to abstain from intoxicants as well as from tobacco. They were also required to be strictly vegetarians. Both men and women were required to take part daily in the worship of Rāma, though the two sexes were not permitted to do so at the same time. The religious services of the *Rāmsanehis* are said to have strong resemblance to those of the Muslims.⁸⁰

Rāmcharaṇ left behind him a vast mass of poetry known as '*Anabhai Baṇi*'. In it he used a mixed language—Brija Bhashā and Rājasthāni which could directly appeal the masses. Through it he preached that there is one God and that is Rāma. He believed that the *Guru* directs the devotee upon the right path to attain God. In his work he emphasised the value of the name of Rāma as an essence of Vedas, Purānas and Śāstras. Though the later *Gurus* of the order changed the outlook of puritanism of *Rāmsanehi* sect, it retains to a great extent the impress of Rāmcharaṇ's teaching.⁸¹

Observations

The general survey of the *Bhakti* movement be closed with a few observations. The religious reforms, as sketched above, fulfilled a basic need of the society which had been stunned by the violence of the Turkish

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vv. 51-53.

⁷⁷ *Śri Rāmsanehi Sampradāya*, ed. Bikaner, 1959, pp. 1-34.

⁷⁸ A painting of Ramasanehis of the 19th century.

⁷⁹ Dr. Tarachand : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, p. 205.

⁸⁰ J. Campbell Oman : *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, p. 133 ; Bhattāchārya : *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 447 ; Dr. Tārāchand : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, p. 205.

⁸¹ *Aaṅbhai Baṇi*, Canto *Sumraṅko Aṅga*, *Guru Mahimā* etc.; *Chintāmaṇi*, V.S. 1823 (1766 A.D.), Canto '*Manakh Avtār*'.

and Mughal raids. The founders of various religions tried to devise a scheme of moral and spiritual discipline with all its simplicity and directions necessary to meet the new situation. Moreover, by opening the path of devotion to depressed communities, the movement strengthened Hindu society by retaining them within the fold of Hinduism. When the class distinction was given up in some respects the stigma of inferiority was done away with and an equal status was assigned to persons of merit in matters of religious worship. Raidās was an example whose worth was recognised in spite of his low birth. On the spiritual plane his position was higher than that of the Brāhman̄s.

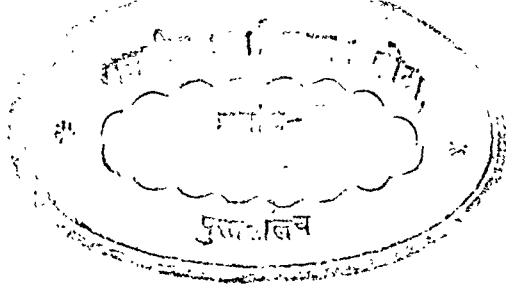
The message transmitted to masses by these saints through popular language made a wide appeal and the theological doctrines of great significance were known to ordinary persons who were devoid of the study of scriptures. Moreover, the teachings of the saints made it clear that both Hinduism and Islām can come nearer if the externals are overlooked and essence of both religions accepted. They at least succeeded in bringing the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. The doctrine of love, belief in one God and reverence to the *Guru* were the cardinal principles, as mentioned by Rupji,⁸² respected nearly by all religious reformers. Taking a total view of these sects it may be said that they were fairly rational and were successful in providing a spiritual basis for rapprochement.

But in assessing the value of these sects we must not lose sight of their limitations. The successors of these saints, 'as hinted by the writer of *Bamekhvār*⁸³ of 1700 A.D., who became *gadi*-holders, in course of time, by indulging in vices, defeated the aims and objectives of the founders of these paths. Rites and rituals in one form or the other were again imported against which these saints raised no voice. The general pattern of our society remained the same. Conservatism, orthodoxy, superstitions remained deep-rooted. The study of the Vedas remained the monopoly of the higher castes. The path of knowledge was still forbidden land for the Śūdras. Old ways of thinking and acting continued to be reared with varying strength and vitality. In the very fundamentals, it seemed, there was something which was lacking.

However, in spite of these short-comings the *Bhakti* movement sounded the innermost depths of the common consciousness. It was a revival of popular literature, which produced the lofty poetry of Kabir, the refined melodies of Mirā, and stirring *vaṅgis*, of Raidās, Dādu and others. Thus the period of these saints was a glorious epoch not only in the cultural history of Rājasthān but also Hindustan; for never before had there been such a spontaneous and fruitful upheaval of religious life.

⁸² *Kundaliyān Rupji*, ff. 189-217, vv. 1-18.

⁸³ *Bamekhavār* of V.S. 1757 (1700 A.D.), ff. 233-261, vv. 1-26.



Language and Literature

Rajasthani Language

In order to understand and appreciate the main trends of literary development it is worthwhile to dwell upon the growth of Rājasthāni language. From the *Bhābrū* inscription¹ (*Bairāt Edict*) of Asoka it seems that *Dhauri* type of dialect was used in Rājasthān both for state and common purposes during the Mauryan Age. It gradually degenerated into *Apabhraṃśa*² in or about 6th or 7th century A. D., giving birth to Hindi, Gujarāti and various other dialects of Rājasthān. In course of time the bards moulded it in their own way for singing the glories of their masters which assumed a new form commonly termed as old Mārwāri or *Dingal*.³ But it does not widely differ from the Gujarāti of

¹ *Second Bairāt Edict*, JRAS, 1908, pp. 491-92; Bhandārkar : *Asoka* (1955), pp. 78-79; Barua : *Ashka and His Inscriptions*, p. 48.

² *Prākṛit Chandrikā* classified *Apabhraṃśa* in 27 categories. Dr. Grierson gives the name of *Nāgar Apabhraṃśa* to the language in vogue in Gujarāt and Western Rājasthān. Dr. Suniti Kumār Chatterjee calls the same as *Sorāshtra Apabhraṃśa*. But both these names are misleading, because *Apabhraṃśa* known after Nāgar community or after a small country like Sorāshtra is unconvincing. Shri K. M. Munshi rightly terms it as *Gujar-Apabhraṃśa* on the basis that the Western Rājasthān and Gujarāt formed one cultural unit. For further details refer *Proceedings of All India Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan*, 33rd Session, Udaipur, p. 9.

³ Scholars define the word *Dingal* in different manners. Dr. Tessitori, *vide the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. X, p. 376, dismissed the word *dingal* as a language of rustics. According to Shri Gajrāj Ojhā, *vide his article in the Nagri Prachārini Patrikā*, Vol. 14, pp. 122-42, the word has been coined to serve as a parallel to *Pingal*. In the same issue, p. 255, Shri Purshottam Dās Swami states that it denotes a peculiar sound of a *damru*. In the *Kshātra Dharm Sandesh*, Vols. 6-7, p. 18, Shri Udai Rāj defines *dingal* as a language untrammelled with rules of grammar. Dr. Menāriā in his work '*Rājasthāni Bhāshā and Sāhitya*' pp. 20-22 has discussed the word at length and has formed the opinion that it is a combination of the words '*diy*' and '*l*' meaning thereby a language which is rough. None of these interpretations is based on an examination of the original works of this language. In fact

(Continued)

the present day as they both had their common parentage in *Apabhramśa*. From literary links and associations it seems that the period of this old Western Rājasthāni, as a common basis or source language of both Gujarāt and Rājasthān lasted till about 1550 A. D. On account of the close affinity—the romantic and heroic—*Kanhada-de-prabandha* has been claimed equally by Gujarātis and Rājasthānis. Similarly, the devotional songs of Mirābāi, who was a princess of Rājasthān, have been owned equally by Hindi, Gujarāti and Rājasthāni speaking people.⁴

But, however, it must be remembered that the natives of Rājasthān have never employed any general name for the language they have been speaking. This is why as late as the beginning of the 20th century Dr. Grierson had to invent the word Rājasthāni for the purpose of his survey, in order to distinguish it from Western Hindi on the one side, and from Gujarati on the other. He specified the area covered by this language. It is bounded, on its east by *Brij Bhāshā* and *Bundeli* dialects of Western Hindi. *Marāthi*, *Bundeli*, *Bhili*, *Khāndeshi* and *Gujarāti* cover it in the south. On its west from south to north, *Sindhi* and *Lahandā* are spoken. On its north *Lahandā*, *Punjābi* and *Bāngarū* dialects of Western Hindi are prevalent. Thus by virtue of occupying a vast area and having its own distinct features the Rājasthāni fitly deserves an independent treatment and position in the family of Indian languages. Literally speaking too Rājasthāni means the language of Rājasthān and as such the name chosen is appropriate.⁵

Main Dialects of Rajasthan and their Peculiarities

Though the records of our period do not ascribe any particular name for the language used in Rājasthān, they indicate various dialects which may be identified with *Mārwāri*, *Mewāri*, *Dhundhāriā*, *Mālvi*, *Hārōti* and *Vāgdi* referred to by Dr. Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India*.⁶ Let us proceed with our study of these different dialects which have their own peculiarities.

Kavirāja Bānkidās in his '*Kukavi Bāttisi*' written in V. S. 1871 (*Bānkidās Granthāvali*, Vol. 11, p. 81) uses the word '*dingal*' for the first time in context of *Pingal* and Sanskrit. Hereafter it gave rise to a controversy among scholars. The word needs further examination.

⁴ Ojha : *Rājasthān-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, pp. 23-24 ; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, BVBB, series, p. 506.

⁵ Dr. Grierson : *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 1-2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

Marwari

On account of vastness of Mārṅwār and the bulk of literary works preserved in it, *Mārṅwārī* was the most important dialect of Rājasthān. During the period of our study the area covered by it was greater than that occupied by all other Rājasthān dialects put together. It has been defined by Dr. Grierson⁷ as the Western dialect comprising within its fold districts of Jodhpur, Bikāner, Jaisalmer, Sirohi and Shekhāvātī of Jaipur where standard Mārṅwārī was always denoted by *Sa*. For example the writer of the *Haqīqat Bahi* of V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.) and 1838 (1781 A.D.) uses *Sanisar vār* for *Shanischar vāra* and *darsana* for *darshana*. In the use of past participle the termination 'ā' is generally preferred, as *padhāriyā* and *virājiyā*. In the same *Bahi* we find that the inflected passive voice is formed by adding *ij* to the root of the primitive verb. Thus *karṅo* (in active), 'to do' was changed to *karijṅo* in passive. Similarly, in place of *karvā*, for doing *karāṅ sāru* was used. In forming past tense in the same *Bahi* of V.S. 1838 (1781 A.D.) an additional letter *tho* was added as *āyo tho*.⁸

A mixed Mārṅwārī and Jaipuri was in vogue in certain areas like Ajmer and Kishangarh. One of the letters preserved in the *Portfolio File*, Jodhpur, throws some light on this mixed style. In one of the letters⁹ from Kishangarh of V.S. 1840 (1783 A.D.) to Mahārājā Vijaya Singh the word *khusi* (pleasure) retains Mārṅwārī and *chho* is Jaipuri in conveying the sense of verb substantive.

From some of the documents of Sānchor and Sirohi it is evident that in the southern part of Mārṅwār *Mārṅwārī* was mixed with Gujarātī. Use of *ne* for *re*, *thayo* for *huvo* and *ni* for *ri*, *dehāde* for *dane* (day) are typical Gujarātī uses in a copper-plate grant¹⁰ of V.S. 1617 (1560 A.D.)

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'श्री नागणैचीया माताजी पूजा करणसारू श्रीजी साहिव पधारिया'
'मिति चेत सुद न सनीसरदार दरसन करीजणौ रो हुकम'
'गांव सोमणारो जाट वेमो पटेल माघजीरे कासीदह मार घरे आयो थो' ।

⁹ *Portfolio File* No. 4, V.S. 1840. The relevant extract from the letter is as follows :—

'अप बडा हो सारा राठोडा का टीकाई सरदार हो सूरज छो.....अप्रंच प्रोहित
नंदलाल ने हजूर भेज्यो छे सो सारा समाचार अरज करसी.....अठारी तरफ
सु सारी वाता पुसी रषावे' ।

¹⁰ A *Copper-plate Grant* of V.S. 1617 (1560 A.D.), Sānchor, No. 37. The relevant extract is as follows :—

'गाम आमलीमा कैसा वामनने गेर भगडो थयो.....कैसा ब्रामणनी नात करी
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'श्री नागणैचीया माताजी पूजा करणसारू श्रीजी साहिव पधारिया'
'मिति चेत सुद न सनीसरवार दरसन करीजणौ रो हुकम'
'गाँव सोमणारो जाट वेमो पटेल माघजीरे कासीदह मार घरे आयो थो' ।

⁹ *Portfolio File* No. 4, V.S. 1840. The relevant extract from the letter is as follows :—

'अप बडा हो सारा राठोडा का टीकाई सरदार हो सुरज छो.....अप्रंच प्रोहित नंदलाल ते हजूर भेज्यो छे सो सारा समाचार अरज करसी.....अठारी तरफ सु सारी वाता पुसी रखावे' ।

¹⁰ A *Copper-plate Grant* of V.S. 1617 (1560 A.D.), Sānchor, No. 37. The relevant extract is as follows :—

'गाम आमलीमा कैसा वामनने गेर भगडो थयो.....कैसा ब्रामणनी नात करी महीनी चैतर वदी २ वार सुरज रे देहाडे' ।

of village Āmli of Sānchor. Similarly in the copper-plate grants¹¹ of Sirohi of V.S. 1603 (1546 A.D.) and 1844 (1787 A.D.), the use of *kidu* (done), *didhu* (given), *tane* (by the side), *vachalu* (in between) and *chhe* are pure Gujarāti denominations. In the *Mārṅwāri* of Jaisalmer and Bikāner the influence of *Sindhi*, *Punjābi* and *Bāngaru* is discernible from several inscriptions and documents of our period. The Portfolio File,¹² Jodhpur preserves letters from Bikāner and Jaisalmer in which the influence of *Sindhi* is visible. The pleonastic termination *rā* in *baderā* (elder) occurs in one of the letters referred to above which is specially common in *Sindhi*. In the same letter the termination *je* in *karije* is after *Punjābi* fashion. In another letter from Bikāner addressed to Vijaya Singh of V.S. 1818 (1761 A.D.) the termination *hek* in *katrahek* seems to be a variant of *hik* in *Sindhi*. Similarly, addressing the Mahārājā Surat Singh of Bikāner as a Sahabān in a copper-plate grant¹³ of V.S. 1873 (1816 A.D.) approximates *Punjābi* mode of address to a dignitary. However, in *Mārṅwāri* there are certain common features which have been noticed in these documents referred to above. In it the post-position of the genitive was *ro* and the verb substantive was *hu* (I am), *ho* (was). Its future tense was denoted sometimes by the typical *lā* in *jaūn-lā* (I shall go).

Mewari

Mewāri which has been classed as an important subdialect of *Mārṅwāri* was generally spoken in Mewār proper. It was also in use in the territory north of Pratāpgarh, in north-east of Mārṅwār, south of Ajmer, south of Kishangarh and in the hilly tract of Kherār a narrow strip of

¹¹ *Copper-plate Grants*, Sirohi (ODR), No. 42, V.S. 1603 (1546 A.D.) and V.S. 1844 (1787 A.D.), the relevant extracts are :—

‘जोसी रामाने उदक आघाटि कीघूं.....जोसी रामाने दीघूं.....संवत् १६०३ वर्षे काती सुदी १५’ ।

‘महाराई श्री वैरीसाल जी वचनात्.....ठीयंजू १ जनडीरा मारगरी तरौ वचुलु पुन्य करने दीघूं सकल्प करने चलु करे दीघूं’ ।

¹² *Portfolio File* No. 12, Letters of the 3rd of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V.S. 1818 (23rd March, 1761) and 1st of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, V.S. 1818 (17th August, 1761). The relevant extracts are :—

‘आपरे दरसन रो सुष हुआ महाराज बडेरा छो हुकम करिजे । वीजू कितराहेक जुवाब ठाकर सिरदारसिंह जी जाहर किया’ ।

¹³ A *Copper-plate Grant* of the 9th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V.S. 1873 (20th April, 1816) for a Jaina temple of Bikāner. The relevant phrase is :—

‘श्रीजी साहवा परसन होय ताँवा पतर करदीवी छे’ ।

land in between Mewār, Jaipur and Bundi territories.¹⁴ On the basis of a study of contemporary documents it may be inferred that *Mewāri* of our period partook of the general character of the dialects of eastern *Mārwāri*. Like *Mārwāri* it denoted verb substantive usually by *hu* (I am) and *ho* (was). But as it is a mixture¹⁵ of *Mārwāri* and *Jaipuri*, the typical *chhu*, *chho* and *chhe* of *Jaipuri* was also used in one of the letters¹⁶ by Mahārāni Rānāvati to Abhay Singh in V.S. 1795 (1739 A.D.). The use of *ha* in the letter with *ma* as *mahne* and *ar* or *har* for the word 'and' is typically *Mewāri*.

Dhundhari

Among another group of dialects which Dr. Grierson¹⁷ has termed Central Eastern Rājasthāni, Dhundhāri is most prominent. The *Toji Records*¹⁸ of Jaipur which preserve accounts and correspondence of the subdivisions of Jaipur State, throw ample light on the area where *Dhundhāri* was in use. It is clear from them that it was prevalent in the central and southern parts of Jaipur, some parts of Tonk, in the greater part of Kishangarh and the adjoining parts of the district of Ajmer. In a letter¹⁹ of Mahārājā Jay Singh of Jaipur to Ajit Singh of Jodhpur of V.S. 1767 (1710 A.D.) some important features of *Dhundhāri* can be noted. In it the post-position of genitive is *ko* and verb-substantive is *chhu* (I am) and for past tense *chho* (was). One form of the future tense takes suffix, *lā* or *li*. The use of single *mātrā* is always denoted by double *mātrās*. The pronoun for the first person is denoted by adding *ha* with *ma*. The use of *sh* is spoken and written in the form of *sa*. The cerebral *l* is very common. A dental *la* represents *ll*. The honorific persons are *āp* and *rāj*. The adjunct *ji* is frequent.²⁰

¹⁴ Dr. Grierson : *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 78.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ The relevant extract is :—

‘अँठा का समाचार भला छे आप वडा छै म्हाने प्रेम संतोष छै अर समाला की जडावली भेजी छे’ ।

¹⁷ Dr. Grierson : *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 31.

¹⁸ *Toji Records*, V.S. 1756-1800 (1699-1743 A.D.) JA.

¹⁹ *Portfolio File No. 9*, letter No. 2 (Jd.A.), V.S. 1767 (1710 A.D.)

²⁰ The relevant extract is as follows :—

‘जैस्यंघजी केन्य जुहार औघरिज्यौजी अँठा का समाचार श्रीजी की क्रीपा सो भला छै राजिका सदा भला चाहिजेजी अर हजूर पै मराडो ने मुचलको लिख दियो अरम्हे राजिका लिप्या माफिक राहवीच बैठ्या छा म्हाका व सब रजपूतां का मणास देस ही में छै सामिल हुआ पाछै जु संल्लाह ठा हरेली सुही की जेली सर समाचार दौलत स्यंघजी मालूम करेला’ ।

Haroti

To this central-western group belongs another dialect called *Hārāuti*, spoken in Bundi, Kotāh and the neighbouring parts of Jhālāwār and Chābrā parganāh of Tonk. It resembles, according to Dr. Grierson,²¹ *Dhundhāri* with a difference that it has adopted certain words and mode of speech after the earlier language of Huns and Gujars who had once settled down in this area. A study of two letters²² from Bundi and Kotāh, one of V. S. 1819 (1762 A. D.) and another of V. S. 1826 (1769 A. D.) reveals some distinct features of the dialect. It seems that vowel *e* is often preferred to *ai*. The agent takes the post-position *ne*. The genitive of reflexive pronoun is *āpno* and *āpko*. Like *Dhundhāri* we come across *chhu* and *chho* as verb substantive in *Hārāuti*. *Sh* is denoted by *sa* invariably.

Mewati

Another block of north-eastern Rajasthāni comprises *Mewāti* of Alwar, Dholpur and Bharatpur. Dr. Grierson²³ is of opinion that it is one of those forms of Rājasthāni which agrees most closely with Western Hindi. An intermediate form of speech and border dialect, fades off into the Braj Bhāshā dialect of Hindi. Its marked peculiarities may be discerned in a letter²⁴ of V. S. 1908 addressed to Mahārājā Bakhat Singh of Jodhpur by the ruler of Dholpur. The words like *likhayat* (writer of the letter) and *ihānke* (this place), *āpu* (your honour), *chahije* (desired) bear Rājasthāni mode, while the words like *bhayo* (happened) and *bhale* (good) belong to the standard Brij Bhāshā. The whole text assumes the form of a border dialect and it seems that Rājasthāni has faded off into Brij Bhāshā dialect of Hindi.

Malvi

Similarly, in the north-eastern part of Rājasthān comprising of

²¹ Dr. Grierson : *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 203 ; Dr. Menāriā : *Rājasthāni Bhāshā-aur-Sāhitya*, p. 9.

²² The relevant extracts of the letters of the *Portfolio File* Nos. 5 and 13 are as :—

‘लीपंत रावराजा श्री उम्मेदसिंह जी जुहार.....समाचार श्रीजी की कृपासु भला छै अप्रंची आप वड़ा छो सारी बात की खुसी राखोना गोपालदासकेनि पावा मुजरे अठा का समाचार महाराजजी की सुनजिर भला छै ।’

²³ Dr. Grierson : *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 3.

²⁴ *Portfolio File* (Jd. A.), No. 11, V. S. 1908. The relevant text is as under :—

‘महाराज राजराजेश्वर श्री तपतसिंहजी वहादुर जोग आइहा के समाचार भले हैं राज के सदा भले चाहिजे आगे इहां चिरंजीव महाराज श्री राजा वहादुरजी देव को विवाह है पटियार फेर महाराज के संबध भयो है ।’

Nimbaheṛā *tahsil* of Chitor, east and south-east of Kotāh and the eastern border of Mewār, Mālvi was spoken as these days. Its standard form, as mentioned by Dr. Menāriā,²⁵ may be discerned in the literary works of the *Chandra Sakhi* and the *Nat Nāgar*. There are a few typical points of this dialect drawn by Dr. Grierson²⁶ which are worth quoting. "There is the usual tendency to disaspiration and an uncertainty of the vowel scale . . . The cerebral *n* is more common . . . In the declension of nouns, we have a locative in *he* . . . In the pronouns we have *mahai* (to me). In the conjugation of verbs, the past tense of the auxiliary verb is *ho* (*hā, hi*), not *tho*. The imperfect of the finite verb is built on the central Rājasthāni system, with a verbal noun in *e*."

Sirohi

In the State of Sirohi, Ābu and a narrow strip of Jālor in Mārṅār, the dialect spoken with some variation was *Sirohi*. It is a mixed dialect where Gujarāṭi influence is very strong. The main features of this language can be illustrated with the help of some copper-plate grants²⁷ of our period. Mārṅārī declension as regards noun is usual and the verb substantive partly belongs to that dialect. *Chhu* and *hu* are optional. But as regards the conjugation of the finite verb it is pure Gujarāṭi. *He* in the beginning of a word is usually replaced by *ve*. *S* is commonly pronounced by *ch*, *chh* and *sh*. Whenever *s* is initial, it is pronounced as *h*, as *Shakrā* is written and pronounced as *Hakrā*. The suffix of genitive is *ro*, as *dhaniro*. Sometimes *che* is written as *chai*, *due* as *dui* and so on.

Vagadi

The dialect of the south-western Rājasthān, *i.e.*, of Dungarpur and Bānswārā, which Dr. Grierson²⁸ has classed as Bhilli is virtually *Vāgadi*

²⁵ Dr. Menāriyā : *Rājasthān-kā-Pingal-Sāhitya*, p. 176.

²⁶ Dr. Grierson : *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 258-259.

²⁷ A *Copper-plate Grant* of village Savali in Sirohi, of V. S. 1868 (1811 A. D.). The relevant extract is as follows :—

‘महाराजे श्री उदेयसिंहजी वचनारोता वाटी खालसारी लिपत परमने खालसारो गाम सवली श्री महादेवजी नी सारनेसरजी नु चडावीई सो इणगामरो हासिल कोठार लेसी गाव श्री सारनेस्वरजी रो छे’ ।

A *Copper-plate Grant* of the 15th of the bright-half of *Posha*, V. S. 1888 (18th Jan., 1831). The relevant extract is as follows :—

‘लिखतु सा करमसी री वहु अप्रंच गाम खाईरा तथा वालीरा गाम तथा गोंडवाड रा गाम मे मारे घणी रो लेनो देनो वे सो मारा वेटा हकरा रीवती साह हीमा रूपाजी ओतर में दीजो लीजो में राजी खुसी देने वेटे खुले लेने अननु सुपीयो से लगाने हवाले कीजो’ ।

²⁸ Dr. Grierson : *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX, Part III, pp. 1-3.

known after *Vāgad* of inscriptions²⁹. The learned writer seems to have given the name *Bhilli* arbitrarily. This part is not exclusively inhabited by Bhils, other communities also live there. It is clear from the documents³⁰ of the period that through *Gujarāti* garb *Vāgadi* comes essentially near Rājasthāni. As *Vāgad* had its political relation with Mewār for a long time, it was influenced by Rājasthāni to a great extent. But as it was on the border of Gujarāt it could not escape from adapting itself to Gujarāti. Strictly speaking we can class it as a mixed form of speech. The main characteristics of this dialect, as is clear from the extracts given in the footnote (No. 30), are that palatals have developed to *sa* sounds, and *sa* changes into *ha*. *Da* occurring between vowels is pronounced as *ra*. The suffix of the genitive is *ro* and *no*. *Chhe* of *Gujarāti* is transformed as *chhi* or *hun* and *shun* to *hu*. The letter *ā* is often pronounced as 'ō', as *pāg* is pronounced as *pog*.^{30A}

Mode of Writing and Script

Though we do not propose to enter into technicalities regarding the script and the art of writing of the period in detail, it is desirable to take note of certain features of the script used and the orthography followed during our period. The mode of writing which was common throughout Rājasthān—both in Sanskrit and Rājasthāni, was a legacy of the past which can very well be traced from the earlier inscriptions. The *Aparājit Inscription*³¹ of V. S. 718 (661 A. D.), which has been preserved in the *Victoria Hall Museum*, or a fragmentary inscription of Śakti Singh of the 11th century Vikram Era, (picked up and preserved by me in the Archaeological Gallery of M. B. College, Udaipur), may be taken as the basis for the later development of the script and art of writing. On the whole, the characters belong to the northern class of alphabets with some of the letters bearing even

²⁹ *Bhekrod Inscription* of the 15th of the bright-half of *Kārtika*, V. S. 1308 (1251 A.D.); *Varvāsā Inscription* of V. S. 1359 (1302 A. D.)

³⁰ The relevant extract from *Chikli plate*, V. S. 1540 (1483 A. D.) is:—
'संवत् १५४० वर्षे फागण वदि ७ सनो अघेह श्री गिरिपुरे राउल श्री गंगादास भादे-
सात जोसी वेणानह उदक करी आविजं छह तथा लुहडी चीखली माहि घुकडीनु
काठ छह तथा वडीआ खेत्रन कटका २ हल ३ तणी भूमी छह तेनी स्वस्या कुरिण
न करवी' ।

The flow of the mixed style has been observed in other documents also from Bānswārā and Dungarpur.

For details refer to my articles on the *Nāgāvādā Inscription*, V. S. 1675 (1618 A. D.) and *Pānchalvāsā Inscription* of V. S. 1701, 1710, 1744, 1754, 1769 and 1793, *Shodhapatrikā*, March 1957 and Sept., 1957. pp. 31-37 and pp. 1-6.

^{30A} Grierson : *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part III, pp. 1-4.

³¹ *EL*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

earlier forms. As for example *le*, *ta* and *ma* appear in them almost in square form. *Ta* is doubled and the sign of punctuation is denoted by a vertical line, followed by two dots like the sign of *visarga*. Similarly, in the *Bijoliyān Rock Inscription*³² of V. S. 1226 (1169 A. D.) the same trend is followed with some modification, though earlier trends have been retained in some cases. Here the initial vowel *i* has been inscribed in its ancient form, made up of two dots and a comma below. The consonant *jh* has been so formed as to appear like *kr*. The form of *na* is throughout similar to that of *ta*. *Ga* in its reduplicated form is throughout represented as *gn*. The use of *sa* in place of *sha* and *ba* for *va* is more frequent. The sound of *ph* is sometimes represented by *sh*. Nasals are throughout represented by *anuswār*. In the Kumbhalgarh Inscription³³ of V. S. 1517 we reach a stage when *Nāgari* characters which we come across in the 17th century inscriptions and manuscripts seem to have developed in their proper form with some peculiarities. *Va* is usually distinguished from *ba* except in few cases ; consonants are doubled with a superscript *r* as in *raddivam*, *durggam*, *varnmanam*, etc. *Sa* is used for *sh* in *Sita* and *anuswār* is used for nasal as *bhujango*.

The features noted above with slight variation in detail have also been observed in several documents, manuscripts, inscriptions, archival assets of note of our period from different parts of Rājasthān. A few examples will make the point clear. *The Chitli Inscriptions*³⁴ of V. S. 1532 (1475 A. D.) from Bānswārā use *b* for *v* and *jh* for *gh* as *bijhā*. The sound of *āu* is represented by *ua* as *ravua*. The nasal is denoted by *anuswār* in *Gangdās*. The *Kalpāsutra*³⁵ of V. S. 1536 (1479 A. D.) inscribed at Sikhārīā and Godwād bear the shape of the letters in square form after an earlier style.

Politically speaking with the beginning of our period the *Nāgari* characters had assumed a definite form which continued right up to the end of our period with a difference that the *Mahājani* character of corrupted form grew popular in the writing of accounts, keeping of records and carrying on of correspondence both for private and state purposes. Though the

³² EI., Vol. XXVI, pp. 86-90.

³³ EI., Vol. XXI, 1931-32, pp. 277-280.

³⁴ The relevant extract from my transcript copy is :—

‘स्वस्त संवत् १५३२ वर्ष प्रथम आसो सुदि र वअ छे वासवाला स्थानात् कुमर श्री गंगदास आदेशात् चीतली ग्रामे डा कड्का योगये भूमि दता हल भूमि अके हल २ ५० बीझा’ ।

³⁵ G. N. Sharma : *Society in Western India* as reflected in a *Kalpāsutra* Ms, *Journal of Indian Museum*, Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 69-71.

script and orthography varied from state to state, on the whole certain marked features remained common in Rājasthān. The most noteworthy peculiarity is the letter *da*, *ra*, *ga*, *ja*, retained their distinct character which we notice in the letters³⁶ by the rulers of Mārwar from various states like Bundi, Kotāh, Jaisalmer, Ratlam, Deogarh, Kishangarh, Nawalgarh, Fatehgarh, Tonk, Dholpur, Badnor, Alwar, Bikaner, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Jaipur, Udaipur, etc. In fact the characteristic curves and bends of different handwritings belonging to various areas, make the letters appear varied, though their basic structures remained the same. *Sa* and *kha*, *ya* and *tha*, *vā* and *cha*, *bha* and *ma*, *ka* and *pha*, *gha* and *dha* are almost similar in appearance. *Cha* is used to represent *chha*. A conjunct consonant is denoted sometime by a half *ra*. Single *ya* is noted as double *yya*. *Anuswāra* (dot for nasal sound) is invariably absent, though *da* and *a* generally bear the mark in the middle and bottom respectively. *Harsva* (short) *sa* at the end of a word is omitted. The letters *na* and *va* standing at the end of words represented as *na* and *ba*. *Cai*, *vai*, *yau* and *rau* are always used for *ce*, *ve*, *yo* and *ro* respectively in letters from Bikāner. The full-stop is never used ; all words are generally written under running lines without division of paragraphs, though there is deviation from this practice in the documents dealing with accounts. Letters from ruling chiefs are seldom signed.

The same features which have been referred to in the letters from the *Portfolio Files*, Jodhpur, are true in the case of the *Byāva Bahi* of *Dastri Records*³⁷ covering the period from V. S. 1776 to V. S. 2005 (1719 to 1948 A. D.)

As regards the mode of writing adopted for manuscripts, it is somewhat of the same nature. For example, in the manuscript of the *Rājaratnākara*³⁸ of Udaipur, the *Ajitodaya*³⁹ of Jodhpur, the *Gita Govinda*⁴⁰ of Pratāpgarh, the *Bhāgavata*⁴¹ of the *Saraswati Bhandāra* Kotāh and lot of others, letters *ta* and *pa* are so similar in appearance to *na* and *ya* respectively that they are hardly distinguishable. Similarly, it is difficult to find

³⁶ G. N. Sharma : *A Note on Portfolio Files*, Nos. 1-31, *Adyār Library Bulletin*, pp. 304-312.

³⁷ G. N. Sharma : *Some Aspects of Society and Culture of Rājasthān as revealed from Byāva Bahi of Dastri Records*, Jodhpur, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, April, 1956.

³⁸ G. N. Sharma : *A Note on Rājaratnākara*, I.H.R.C., 1951.

³⁹ G. N. Sharma : *A Note on Ajitodaya*, I.H.R.C., 1956.

⁴⁰ *Gita Govinda* in the possession of Pandyā Vijayashanker of Pratāpgarh, V. S. 1719 (1662 A. D.)

⁴¹ *Saraswati Bhandāra Kotāh*, V. S. 1805 (1748 A. D.), No. 876.

the difference in *ku*, *kra* and *u*. The stop, in verse and prose, is indicated by one or two vertical lines. *Halant m* at the end of a *pada* is replaced by *Anuswāra*.

There is a little variation between the script in inscription and that of the copper-plates of our period. *Ka*, *pha* and *gha*, *tra*, *ta*, *la* and *ja*, etc., have nearly the same form, but there is a slight difference and it can be noticed only by a practised eye. Similarly, the shape of *ta* and *na* and *sh* and *sha* can be recognised in the context of the sense in which the words are used. *S* and *sh*, *da* and *dh* *va* and *ba* are represented by *sa*, *da* and *va* respectively. The number 30 for *Amāvasyā* is denoted by the signs 'SS'. Full-stop is never used.⁴²

For correspondence and mercantile ledgers and documents a rough script corresponding to *Mahājani* was used. One of the spare leaves⁴³ of a Bahi of V.S. 1836 (1779 A.D.) from Dhulev in Mewār shows that carelessness in spelling, omission of vowels and illegibility are the speciality of this mode of writing. Some of the interesting words are 'Panlal j' for 'Pannālālji', 'Bhurl j', for Bhuralalji ; 'dan' for 'dānā', 'agachh' for 'angochho', 'rakampat' for 'rakampote', 'pamcha' for 'pomchā' and so on.

Sanskrit and its Use

With this brief description of the language, script and mode of writing we proceed to the assessment of the application of the languages in Rājasthān. Of these Sanskrit is pre-eminent. From the inscriptions and literary works of our period we notice that if Sanskrit was not a spoken language, it was neither a dead language. The contribution of the authors of several inscriptions, belonging to the early period, was a rich legacy for the period of our study. The *Ghosundi Inscription*⁴⁴ of about the second century B. C., the *Badvā Inscription*⁴⁵ (in Kotāh) of V.S 295 (238 A.D.); the *Nāndsā Stone Pillar Inscription*⁴⁶ of 3rd century A.D., and the *Sāmoli Inscription*⁴⁷ of V.S. 703 (646 A.D.) are compositions of high literary merit, and throw light on the progress of Sanskrit in Rājasthān. The *Aparājīt Inscription*⁴⁸ of V.S. 718 corresponding to 2nd Nov., 661 A.D.,

⁴² *Bikaner Inscription*, V. S. 1561 (1504 A. D.), J. I. II, pp. 67-68, No. 1350 ; *Nāmā Inscription*, 1659 (1602 A. D.), J.I. I, p. 230, No. 890 ; *Jaisalmer Inscription*, V. S. 1 63 (1606 A. D.) J. I. III, No. 2505, p. 128 ; *Bādmed Inscription*, V. S. 1676 (1619 A. D.), J. I. II, No. 747 ; *Pindwādā Inscription*, V. S. 1723 (1666 A.D.), J.I. I, No. 952, p. 264.

⁴³ It belongs to the 2nd of the bright-half of *Mārgśirśa*, V.S. 1836 (9th Dec., 1779).

⁴⁴ I.A., Vol. LVIII, p. 229 ; A.R.R. Museum, Ajmer, 1926-27, p. 2.

⁴⁵ Dr. M.L. Sharma : *K. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 4.

⁴⁶ E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 36.

⁴⁷ E.I., Vol. XII, No. 9, pp. 97-99.

⁴⁸ E.I., Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

says that Dāmodar, Brahmachārīn and Dāmodar II, Yashobhatta, Vatsa and Ajita were Sanskrit poets and inscription writers. From the several inscription names of illuminatis of the early period have come down to us. The *Pratāpgarh Inscription*⁴⁹ dated the 5th day of the dark-half of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in the Samvat year 1003 (946 A.D.) records the name of Hari Rīśīśvara and Trivikram as learned Pandits of the period. The Inscription⁵⁰ of king Allata in the temple of Sarneśvara at Āhar (near Udaipur) of the 7th day of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha* of Vikram era, 1010, corresponding to 23rd April, 953 A.D. mentions the names of Rīśi, Pramata, Guhisa, Garga, Rudrāditya and Vāmdeva, as learned men, and Pālu and Vellaku as two scribes of the period, living at Āhad, then a flourishing town in south-western Rājasthān. In the 12th line of the *Nāth Inscription*⁵¹ of V.S. 1028 (971 A.D.) there is a reference to Kushika and other *munis* who possessed vast knowledge. In the 15th line the name of Amarakavi, the composer of the inscription has been given. He was the son of a learned Pandit named Adityanāga and the pupil of Śri Vednāga Muni, who was well versed in the Vedas. The *Pādli Inscription*⁵² mentions the name of Pandit Harish Chandra as the author of an Inscription, dated V.S. 1173 (1116 A.D.). The *Ingodā Inscription*⁵³ of V.S. 1190 (1133 A.D.) gives the name of Kalhan, the son of Āshadhar, as the writer of the inscription. In the Inscription of Surpāldeva⁵⁴ of V.S. 1212 (1155 A.D.) belonging to Vāgad, there is a mention of Pandit Mahideva, the son of Pandit Śridhara. The *Chirvā Inscription*⁵⁵ of V.S. 1330 (1273 A.D.) records the names of several Jain Āchāryas who were great scholars among whom one Pārsvachandra, the pupil of Ratana was the chief composer of the text. The *Chitor Inscription*⁵⁶ of V.S. 1331 was composed by Veda Sharmā. The same poet wrote out the Inscription⁵⁷ of Achaleśvara in V.S. 1342 (1285 A.D.). Karma Singh was an engraver of great intelligence. The *Śringiriśi Inscription*⁵⁸ of V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.) informs us that its composer was Yogiśvara who enjoyed the epithets of *Vāñivilāsa* and *Kavirāja*, which can give us an idea of his scholarship. The same inscription mentions

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- ⁴⁹ I.A., Vol. XXXIX, p. 191 ; A.R.R. Museum, Ajmer, 1914, p. 2.
⁵⁰ E.I., Vol. IX, p. 189 ; I.A., Vol. 39, p. 187 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscription*, Plate No. 1010, pp. 67-69.
⁵¹ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, II, pp. 69-72.
⁵² Ojhā : *History of Rājasthān*. Fasc. II, pp. 445-46.
⁵³ I.A., Vol. VI, pp. 55-56.
⁵⁴ A.R.R. Museum, Ajmer, for 1915-16.
⁵⁵ *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, p. 155 ; E.I., Vol. XXVII, pp. 285-92.
⁵⁶ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IV, pp. 74-77.
⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 84-87.
⁵⁸ A. R. R. Museum, Ajmer, 1924-25.

the name of Phānā, the son of Hādā, as well-versed in mechanics and literature. The composer of the fine Inscription of Samidheśvara,⁵⁹ dated V.S. 1485, was Eknāth. Hundreds of such inscriptions,⁶⁰ among which the *Rāṇakpur Inscription*, and those of Jaisalmer, Bikāner, Jodhpur and Jaipur are pre-eminent, stand as an undying evidence of the literary progress that Rājasthān had made till the beginning of our period.

The tradition of the past was upheld by several royal authors of our period of whom Mahārānā Kumbhā was a great scholar and poet. Though his time does not fall within our period, the rich legacy of his age opened avenues for learning. The *Ekalinga Mahātmya*, a contemporary work informs us that the Mahārānā was well-versed in the *Vedas*, *Smritis* (law), *Mimāṃsā* (philosophy), *Nāṭya Śāstra* (Drama), *Rājanīti* (Political Science), *Upanishads* (Metaphysics), *Tarka* (Logic) and *Sāhitya* (literature). He was familiar with *Karnātaki*, *Mahārāstri* and other languages. His commentary of the *Gīta Govinda* is a testimony to the wide command that he had over Sanskrit prose and poetry. The last part of the *Ekalinga Mahātmya* is nothing but lyric poetry full of sweet music. Several works on music like the *Sangita Rāja*, the *Sangita Mimamsā*, the *Sudprabandha*, the *Rasikapriyā* (commentary on celebrated *Gīta Govinda*) and commentary on the *Sangita Ratnākara* have been ascribed to him. His love of architecture is testified by the fact that his architect Mandan wrote—the *Devamurti-prakarāṇa*, the *Prasādmandana*, the *Rāja Vallabha*, the *Ruṣamandana*, the *Vastumandana*, the *Vastu Śāstra*, the *Vastusāra* and the *Ruṣāvātāra* under his patronage. Mandan's son Govind is reputed to have been the author of the *Uddhār Dharīṇi*, the *Kālnidhi* and the *Dwārdīpikā*. His brother wrote the *Vāstumanjari*. Atri and Mahesh were the famous composers of the inscriptions on the Tower of Victory at Chitor.⁶¹

Mahārānā Rāyamal, who was also a patron of learning, honoured Maheśvara, the composer of the *Ekalinga Prasasthi*⁶² of V. S. 1545

⁵⁹ E.I., Vol. 2, pp. 410-21 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, pp. 96-100.

⁶⁰ Refer to *Jain Inscriptions*, I, II & III and *Bikāner Lekhasangraha* by A. Nahatā.

⁶¹ *Ekalinga Mahātmya*, *Rājavarṇana Adhyāya*, vv. 172-73 ; *Vijayā Stambha Inscription*. vv. 157-158 ; E.I., Vol. XXIV, pp. 314-28, Vol. XX, p. 297 ; G.N. Sharma ; *Second Slab of Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, *Journal of Bihar Society*, 956 ; *Kumbha's Commentary on Gīta Govinda*, p. 174 (Nirnaya Sāgar Press, Bombay) ; *Catalogue of MSS*, Existing in the Central Provinces, by F. Keilhorn, Nāgpur, 1874 A.D. ; *Aufrecht's Catalogues Catalogorum*, Part I, pp. 730-31, Leipzig, 1891 A. D. ; *Report of Second Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS*. in Rājputānā and C.I., 1905-06 A.D. ; Sārdā : *Mahārānā Kumbhā*, pp. 163-168.

⁶² *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IX, pp. 117-133.

(1488 A.D.), by offering him the title of poet-laureate of his court. The same spirit pervaded at the court of Mahārānā Jagat Singh and Rāj Singh, who patronised Bābu Bhatta and Raṅghoda Bhatta, celebrated writers of the *Jagannāth Rāi Inscription*⁶³ and the *Rāja Praśasthi-Mahākāvya*⁶⁴ respectively. The latter also wrote the *Amarkāvya Vamshāvali*.⁶⁵ During Rāj Singh's time flourished Sadā Śiva, the author of the *Rājaratnākara*,⁶⁶ a historical kāvya of great importance. Among the writers of short poems Mohan-Bhatta's⁶⁷ name, who wrote eight poems in praise of Rāj Singh, deserves mention.

Like the rulers of Mewār the princes of Mārwar also were scholars of high learning and patrons of men of letters. Mahārājā Jaswant Singh was himself the author of several works of which the *Prabandha Chandrodaya* is very famous. The *Ānandavilāsa* is another work written by him in Sanskrit verse. During his successor's time Dikshit Bālkriṣṇa wrote the *Ajitcharitra*, a work of great merit, both as a piece of literature and history. These works show the level of diction, metre and grace attained in that age.⁶⁸

The *Rāmgarh Inscription* of V.S. 1669 (1612 A.D.), preserved in Jaipur museum, composed by Pitāambar, the son of Padmākar, is a fine work of poetry in Sanskrit and shows that Mahārājā Mān Singh took great interest in cultural development of his people. Similarly, the activities of literary developments in Bikāner kept pace with those in other parts of Rājasthān, as is demonstrated by the presence of a large number of inscriptions and other works of exquisite merit. The *Karmachandravanshotkirtankam-kāvya*⁶⁹ composed in the praise of the versatile minister Karamchandra alone is sufficient to make the age glorious. The *Rāi Singh-Praśasti*,⁷⁰ though a panegyric is a fine specimen of graceful style and independent and corroborative source on the history of Rāi Singh of Bikāner. In the Anup Library are preserved a large number of Manuscripts dealing with astronomy, architecture, literature, poetics, dramaturgy, commentaries, music, etc. There were several writers like Maheśvara, the commentator of the *Shabdabodha*, Bhatta Sadāśiva, the writer of the *Rājavinoda*, Gajānanda, the author of the *Karṇa Bhushaṇa*, and Mudgal, the author of the *Vrata-*

⁶³ E.I., Vol. XXIV.

⁶⁴ E.I., XXIX-XXX, Appendix.

⁶⁵ My paper in the proceedings of I.H.R.C., 1945.

⁶⁶ My paper on *Rājaratnākara* in the proceedings of I.H.R.C., 1956.

⁶⁷ G.N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughul Emperors*, pp. 197-198.

⁶⁸ Reu : *Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

⁶⁹ Ojhā : *Bk. R. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁰ *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 262-279.

sārāvali who made valuable contributions to different branches during the 17th and 18th centuries. From the *Bikāner Jaina-lekhasangraha* we learn that the bulk of the inscriptions⁷¹ of Bikāner came from Jaina monks. The Bhatti-kāvya⁷² of Jaisalmer helps us to trace the dynastic history of the Bhātis and their achievements. It is a *Kāvya* possessing elegance and superbness of style. The inscriptions of Jaisalmer written in elegant prose and poetry are a Valuable contemporary source for the study of social and religious history of the area to which they belong. A large number of manuscripts preserved in the *Saraswati Bhandār*, Kotāh, and the *Public Library*, Bharatpur, prove that Hārouti and Mewāt made remarkable contribution towards the progress of Sanskrit during this period under review.

Even the small states like Dungarpur, Bānswārā and Pratāpgarh through inscriptions and works on various fields of study enriched Sanskrit in a remarkable manner. In V. S. 1700 (1643 A. D.) Chakrapāṇi composed the *Kirtikaumudi* consisting of eight chapters. It is an excellent treatise on astronomy and an original work on calculation. During the reigning period of Rāwal Jaswant Singh, the *Shringārādīpikā*, a work on erotics was composed by Govind in V. S. 1727 (1670 A. D.). The *Goverdhannāth Prashasti* is an admirable exposition on the art of writing poetry and it is blended with historical facts. My regional survey of Dungarpur and Bānswāra districts indicates that the bulk of contribution to Sanskrit literature was made by Jains and Brāhmanas from Vāgad. The celebrated polymaths like Bhattāraka, Tejo Ratna, Kanbi Sunder, Mān Sunder, Jyoti Sunder flourishing in the 17th and 18th centuries, were conversant with *Kāvya* and philosophical literature. The same survey shows that Pratāpgarh too had its share in the production of original and secondary literature. The *Kāvya Kusuma*, the *Muhurtachintāmaṇi*, a compilation work by Daversi of 1815 and the *Hari-Sāraswata* of V.S. 1841 (1784 A.D.) are important works of the period under review belonging to the Pratāpgarh Tahsil.⁷³

But this does not fully exhaust the list of the works compiled or produced independently during the period under review. For example, some works belonging to the *Saraswati Bhandār Library*, Udaipur, deal with several aspects of learning. The *Grahaṣṇānavichāram*⁷⁴ of V.S. 1705

⁷¹ *Bikāner Jaina-lekhasangraha*, Inscription Nos. 1257, 1259, 1376, etc.

⁷² A manuscript copy in the possession of Agarchand Nāhatā, Bikāner.

⁷³ My *Survey Report of Udaipur Division* submitted to the Government of Rājasthān, 1961.

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⁷⁴ MS. No. 1566, (SBLU).

(1648 A.D.) by Nāgdeva, the *Rājyaṣṭābhīṣekha Paddhātī*⁷⁵ by Jagannāth of V.S. 1709 (1652 A.D.) and the *Rājyaṣṭābhīṣekha-Paddhātī*⁷⁶ compiled by Chakrapāṇi in V.S. 1709, the *Āśowcharatna*⁷⁷ by Viśva Karmā, V.S. 1725 (1668 A.D.), the *Jātkarma-Paddhātī*⁷⁸ and the *Dharma-Pravattī*⁷⁹ by Nārāyaṇa of V. S. 1733 (1676 A.D.), and the *Chamatkārchintāmaṇi*⁸⁰ by Vidyānāth of V.S. 1734 (1677 A.D.), are adapted from earlier works on rituals. Historically they are of little importance, for they contain hardly any independent matter, many of their verses being taken directly from the earlier works. Their contents are derived from the *Smṛiti* literature. The main purpose of these compilations, as acknowledged by many of the compilers themselves, was that they were prepared for application and chanting at the ceremonies of bathing, coronation, thread and marriage ceremonies, etc.

Two other works of similar nature on medicine have been noticed, namely the *Chikitsākalikā*⁸¹ by Nīsta of V. S. 1683 (1626 A. D.) and the *Āśva Chikitsā*⁸² by Nakul of V. S. 1735 (1678 A. D.) which may be classed as best known works of our period. They deal with several human and animal diseases and their remedies. Hundreds of such works can be cited which lie preserved in the *Anuṣ Library, Bikāner*, the *Pustak Prakāsha, Jodhpur*, the *Saraswati Bhandāra, Kotah and Udaipur* and the *Public Library, Bharatpur*. On account of paucity of space these cannot be noticed here.

Rajasthani Literature

The period under review also saw a remarkable activity in the field of Rājasthāni literature. It being the spoken and the court language, received greater encouragement than Sanskrit. The personal interests of the rulers and the nobles also afforded a powerful impetus to its growth. Poets, philosophers and scholars flocked to their court in search of patronage. Those who were not attached to any patron received recognition occasionally and meritorious rewards were generously extended to them. The result was that in the domain of Rāso, historical Kāvya, poetry, prose, a mass of outstanding literature was produced. There are no systematic records to throw light on its activity in the various fields, but from the copious references that have come down to us we can draw an outline of the contributions of the master-minds of our age.

⁷⁵ MS. No. 1481 (SBLU).

⁷⁶ MS. No. 229 (SBLU).

⁷⁷ MS. No. 195 (SBLU).

⁷⁸ MS. No. 234 (SBLU).

⁷⁹ MS. No. 198 (SBLU).

⁸⁰ MS. No. 193 (SBLU).

⁸¹ MS. No. 494 (SBLU).

⁸² MS. No. 618 (SBLU).

The Rasos

The composition of the Rāso⁸³ style in Rājasthāni, which mainly comprises poems celebrating heroic deeds (*Veer-gāthās*), dates back to a very early period, say to the 12th century A. D., according to Muni Jin Vijaya.⁸⁴ The earliest of its kind is the shortest recension of the *Prithvirāja Rāso* of 1400 verses, containing some *apabhramśa* verses which, according to Dr. Dashrath Sharmā are extracts from some book which was the original Rāso.⁸⁵ It deals with the historical account of two famous battles which Prithvirāja fought with Jaichand and Muhammad Ghori and his marriage with Saṃyogitā. Being a popular work of Chand, it passed on from tongue to tongue and in this process yielded to changes and additions. This is why there is a large number of recensions of the *Rāso*, the largest of these being of 40,000 verses in which the historical figures recede into the background and their place is taken by many others who are nothing but the creation of bardic fancy. From internal and external evidences it has been proved that the longest of this *Rāso* is a very late work of the 17th century.⁸⁶

Another *Rāso*, popularly known as the *Buddhi Rāso* of Jallah, consisting of 140 verses and composed in or about V. S. 1625 (1568 A.D.) is an excellent work providing material for the study of the language used

⁸³ Hemchandra and Purshottama have used the word *Rās* in the sense of sports of cowherd or a systematic composition. The word has also been used in Gujarati and Rājasthāni literature in various forms as *Rās*, *Rasak*, *Rāso*, *Raiso*, *Rusou*, *Rasau*, *Rasu*, etc. For details see *Rājasthān-kā-Pingal-Sahitya*, pp. 24-27.

⁸⁴ *Purāṇanprabandha-sangraha*, *Sindhi-granthmālā*, Vol. II, *Sandesh Rāskam*, edited by Jin Vijaya Muni, p. 13.

⁸⁵ Dr. Dashrath Sharmā : *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 340.

⁸⁶ For further details the following works and papers may be referred to :

Prithvirāja Rāso, Introduction (*Nāgri Prachārīṇi Sabhā*, Benāras) ; *Prithvirāja Rāso*, Introduction (*Viśhva Vidyā Peeth*, Udaipur) ; *Prithvirāja Rāso-ki-Bhāshā* by Dr. Narwar Singh, p. 2 ; *Prithvirāja Rāso, Rājasthān Bhārti*, Bikāner, Vol. IV, Part I ; Dr. Menāriyā : *Rājasthān-kā-Pingal Sāhitya*, pp. 31-53 ; Col. Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, 1st edition, p. 254 ; Grierson : *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, pp. 3-4 ; Mohanlāl Pandya : *Prithvirāja Rāso-ki-Pratham Sanrakshā*, p. 1 ; K. Dās : *Prithvirāja Rahasya-ki-Navintā*, p. 87 ; Munshi Devi Prasād : *Prithvirāja Rāso* ; Vol. II, No. 2, Jan., 1940 ; *Nāgari Prachārīṇi Patrikā*, Vol. 5, V. S. 1901, p. 170 ; Har Prasad Shāstri : *Preliminary Report on the Operation in search of Manuscripts of Pārdic Chronicles*, p. 30 ; Dr. Dashrath Sharmā : *Prithvirāja-Rāso-ki-Kathāon-ka-Itihāsik Ādhār, Rājasthāni*, Calcutta ; Dr. Dashrath Sharmā : *Prithvirāja Rāso Sambandhi Kuchh Vichār, Vinā*, April, 1944.

during the period. Its subject-matter is also the love episode of imaginary personalities like the prince of Champāvati Nagari and his beloved Jaladhitarangīni.⁸⁷

Another work of this kind is the *Bisāldeva Rāso* which on linguistic and other internal evidences can be ascribed to the 16th century. The earliest copy of this *Rāso* discovered so far, is of V. S. 1633 (1576 A. D.) composed by a Gujarāti poet Narapati. Bisāl, the hero of the *Rāso* has been identified by Dr. G. H. Ojhā with Vighraharājā III. However, several events described in it are fictitious. The poet in his four cantos has dealt with the events of Bisāldeva's marriage, his journey to Orissa and the pangs of the separation of the queen in a vivid manner. Its language is a mixed Gujarāti and Rājasthāni.⁸⁸

The *Khumān Rāso* of Dalpat was composed in verse, consisting of eight cantos and containing the accounts of the rulers of Mewār from Bappā's time to Rāj Singh. The period of its composition has been determined between 1730-1760 A.D. by Dr. Menāriyā.⁸⁹ Dungar Singh's *Satrusāl Rāso* of 18th century approximates the style of the Prithvirāja *Rāso*. This style of composing *Rāso* has been very common in Rājasthān. I have come across several of such *Rāsos* of our period, such as the *Rāyamal Rāso*, the *Rānā Rāso*, the *Sagat Singh Rāso*, the *Ratan Rāso* and the *Sujān Singh Rāso*, the *Lilavati Rāso*, etc., which retain many archaic characteristics of the 18th century language and style.⁹⁰

Historical Kavyas

These *Rāsos* are more of literary than historical value, *Kāvyas* of the period have both literary and historical importance. Several of these were composed in the artificial metres of the classical poetry, while the heroic couplets agree in matter as well as form with the court epics. Most of them were written under the patronage of the rulers who were keen to perpetuate their exploits in various fields.

The earliest work of this kind is the *Rāo-Jetasi-Rāu-Chhand*, a *dingal* poem composed by Vethu Sujo, a poet in the service of Rāo Jetasi of

⁸⁷ *Rājasthān men Hastalikhit Granthon-ki-Khoja*, Vol. I, p. 76; Agarchand Nahātā and Bhanwar Lāl Nahātā : *Itihāsik Jain Kāvya Sangraha*, p. 138 ; Dr. Menāriyā : *Rājasthāni Bhāshā aur Sāhitya*, p. 121 (2006).

⁸⁸ *Nāgari Prachārīni Patrikā*, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 163-171 ; Dr. Menāriyā : *Rājasthāni Bhāshā aur Sāhitya*, (2006), pp. 85-90.

⁸⁹ Manuscript copy in the possession of Bundi Darbar, vide Dr. Menāriyā's *Rājasthāni Bhā. ā aur Sāhitya*, p. 82.

⁹⁰ My *Survey Report of the Historical Documents, Manuscripts, Paintings*, etc., submitted to the Government of Rājasthān, 1961.

Bikāner, about the year 1534 A. D. It was written to commemorate the victory of his master over Kāmrañ who had invaded that part of country from the Punjab. Two manuscripts, one dated Samvat 1591 (1534 A.D.) and the other 1720 (1663 A. D.) have come to my notice in the *Anup Library*, Bikāner.⁹¹

The *Guñarūpaka*⁹² of V.S. 1681 (1624 A.D.), another *dingal* poem, numbering about 1000 verses, was composed by Keshavdās to describe the reign of Gaj Singh of Jodhpur. It describes the grandeur of his court, his pilgrimages and his wars of note. Another narrative poem named the *Rājaparakāsha*⁹³ (*dingal*) by Kishordās of V. S. 1719 (1662 A.D.) deals with the heroic achievements and glory of Mahārāñ Rāj Singh. It comprises 130 stanzas, abounds in similes and much of it is genuine poetry. The *Rājvilāsa*⁹⁴ by Māñ composed in 18 cantos was commenced in V. S. 1734 (1677 A. D.) and was completed in V. S. 1737 (1680 A.D.). It is distinguished by bardic charm and independence of treatment and gives an account of political events of Mahārājā Rāj Singh of Mewār. The *Surājaparakāsha* and the *Vidadaśringārā* by *Karñidāñ* of Jodhpur are excellent works of *dingal*.⁹⁵ They were composed during the reign of Abhaya Singh of Jodhpur. The *Jagavilāsa*⁹⁶ of Nandrāma describes the daily life of Jagat Singh II of Mewār, his court and other events of his time. The *Sujāna Charitra*⁹⁷ of Sudan of V. S. 1802 (1745 A. D.) deals with the warlike activities of Surajmal of Bharatpur.

Hindi and Rajasthani Poems

The type of literature mentioned above does not exhaust poetic productions of our age. A large number of compact and stray verses and songs devoted to themes of love, social affairs, feasts, festivals, moral precepts and daring deeds of real or imaginary heroes and heroines were composed during the period under review. The 1st of its kind is the *Dholā-Māru-rā-Dohā*⁹⁸ by Kallol composed on or about V. S. 1530 (1473 A.D.). It represents not only the standard of the literature of the time but also throws sufficient light on the social life of Rājasthāñ of the 15th century. Another poet named Āshānanda⁹⁹ of village Bhādras of Jodhpur,

⁹¹ The text was edited by Dr. Tessitory and has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

⁹² *Reu : Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 20-24.

⁹³ Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 228.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Reu : Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 20-24.

⁹⁶ Dr. Menāriyā : *Rājasthani Bhāsha aur Sāhitya*, pp. 183-184.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-183.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-105.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

who flourished in the 16th century, was an author of works like the *Lakshmanāyana*, the *Nīranjanaprāna*, the *Gogāji-ri-Pedi*, the *Baghā-rā-Duhā*, the *Umade-Bhattyāni-rā-Kavitt* and several other songs. These works are remarkable for metrical devices and poetic thoughts. Isardās¹⁰⁰ belonging to the village Bhādres, wrote the *Hālā-Jhālā-ri-Kundaliyān* devoted to heroic theme. Dursā Ahādā¹⁰¹ of village Dhundhlā of Jodhpur who flourished in the 16th century was a reputed poet of high order, and could move Akbar by his verses of Rānā Pratāp's bravery. The *Dholā Māru ri-Chopāi* and the *Mādhavānal Kām kundala* composed by Kushalalabha¹⁰² in V. S. 1617 (1560 A. D.) are fine pieces of *dingal* poems written in natural but attractive style. Sāindān¹⁰³ of Jhādol in Mewār of V. S. 1709 (1652 A. D.) was a celebrated writer of the *Samwatasāru*, an incomplete manuscript composed in several metres. It is in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvati. One Kulpati¹⁰⁴ who composed several works like the *Rāsarahasya*, the *Sangrāmasāra*, the *Nakh-Sikha* in between V. S. 1724-1743 (1667-1686 A. D.) was a poet of *Vrij-Bhāshā* of high order. Harinābha¹⁰⁵ of Khandelā in Jaipur who wrote the *Kesar Singh Samar* about V. S. 1740-1754 (1683-1697 A. D.), was a poet of *pingal* style of literature. Umed Rāma¹⁰⁶ of Hanutiya of Jaipur was the celebrated author of the *Vāṇi-Bhāshā*, a work which excelled in narrative and imaginary virtues. Besides these there are several other stray metrical works, like the *Rāo Amar Singh-ri-Duhā*¹⁰⁷ the *Udai Rāj-rā-Duhā*,¹⁰⁸ the *Bārāmasā-rā-Duhā*,¹⁰⁹ the *Pāncha-saheli ra-Duhā*,¹¹⁰ the *Panretithi-rā-Duhā*,¹¹¹ the *Kāgad-rā-Duhā*,¹¹² the *Sātavār-rā-Duhā*,¹¹³ the *Phutkur-kavittā-Sangraha*,¹¹⁴ the *Padmini Chopāi*,¹¹⁵ etc., in the *Saraswati Bhandār Library*, Udaipur, the *Pustak Prakāsh*, Jodhpur and the

¹⁰⁰ Hirā Lāl : *Rājasthāni Bhāshā aur Sāhitya*, pp. 125-129.

¹⁰¹ Hirā Lāl : *Ibid.*, pp. 139-156.

¹⁰² Dr. Menāriyā, p. 141.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-162.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹⁰⁷ MS. No. 97 (ALB).

¹⁰⁸ MS. No. 618 (SBLU).

¹⁰⁹ MS. No. 180 (PPJ).

¹¹⁰ MS. No. 576 (SBLU).

¹¹¹ MS. No. 181 (SBLU).

¹¹² MS. No. 182 (SBLU).

¹¹³ MS. No. 171 (SBLU).

¹¹⁴ MS. No. 265 and 431 (SBLU).

¹¹⁵ MS. No. 191 (SBLU).

Anup Library, Bikāner, composed in stanzas devoted to moods, bliss, dejection, anger and devotion.

Bardic Chronicles

Bardic chronicles in the form of *Khyāta*, *Vaṃshāvalis* and *Vāts* constitute a most important branch of literature written in prose. They are found in large numbers and are found in various states with the persons associated with courts, rulers and nobles of Rājasthān. These chronicles were dedicated to individual rulers and were written in the spoken language of the time. The Naiṃsi's *Khyāta*¹¹⁶ or the chronicle by Mehtā Naiṃsi, minister to Mahārājā Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur is one of the best works known to us. It is not only a Gazetteer of Jodhpur as Dr. Tessitori thought but also a register of political events and economic statistics of Rājasthān. Next to it comes the *Kavirājā-ki-Khyāta*.¹¹⁷ It contains regular history of the Rāthors together with the anecdotes of Bhāti Govind Dās, Rāo Rāimal and Rāo Jodhā. The *Bānkidās-ki-Khyāta* describes the events of the reign of Rāo Bikā to that of Sardār Singh. The *Vaṃshāvalis* and the *Vāts* of the 18th century which are found in large numbers, also represent this category ; but they consist of eulogies of the rulers and give dates of their accession and death which in most cases are incorrect. The *Rāthodā-ri-Khyāta*¹¹⁸ of the *Anup Library* and the *Sisoda Vaṃshāvali*¹¹⁹ of the *Saraswati Bhandār* are instances of the works of this kind about the rulers of Bikāner, Jodhpur and Udaipur. But these suffer from fulsome eulogies about their masters and indulge in all sorts of exaggerations. The writers do not deal with facts of history until they approach their own times.

Literature in other Subjects

During our period the branches of study other than chronicles and poems were not neglected. The most important work on poetics is the *Bhāshā Bhushaṇa*¹²⁰ of Jaswant Singh. He was also a well-versed writer on philosophy. The *Aproksha Siddhānta*¹²¹ and the *Anubhav-Prakāsha*¹²² are his important manuals on philosophy. Jogidās of Pratapgarh wrote the *Haripīngala*¹²³ in V. S. 1721 (1664 A. D.), an independent treatise on poetics. Medicine was another favourite subject of study and as such

¹¹⁶ Shri Rām Sharmā : *A Bibliography of Mughal India*, pp. 149-151.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹¹⁸ MS. No. 189/11 (ALB).

¹¹⁹ MS. No. 867 (SBLU).

¹²⁰ Reu : *Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Ojhā : *P. R. I.*, p. 175.

works like the *Aśvāyurveda*¹²⁴ and the *Rasprakāsha*¹²⁵ were written during this period which are a witness to the gift and comprehensive knowledge of the writers. Astronomy and mathematics were also widely studied as is evident from the *Bhāshā Lilāvati* and the *Sarala Jyotisha*, books of repute preserved in the *Gyānavardhak Jain Bhandār*, Udaipur.

Another important feature of Rājasthāni literature is discernible in the tales and fables, where the writers either give dialectic and sententious note or reflect philosophical morals. The distinguishing feature of such tales is that they are to a considerable extent found either in a form of separate short stories or mixed together within the frame-work of a single narrative. Sometimes, within its limits several minor tales are introduced in support of a particular thesis. In the collection of manuscripts belonging to the *Saraswati Bhandār*, Udaipur, the *Pustak Prakāsh*, Jodhpur and the *Anup Library*, Bikāner, I have come across several of them. The *Ghanchi-Mochi-rā-Chhorā-ladiyā-tā-ri-Vāt*,¹²⁶ the *Phutkar-Vātā*,¹²⁷ the *Sadevatsa-Sānwal-Gori-ri-Vāt*,¹²⁸ the *Bijā-Sorath-ri-Vāt*,¹²⁹ the *Dholā-Māru-ri-Vāt*,¹³⁰ the *Achaldās Khichū-ri-Vātā*,¹³¹ the *Chānd Kunwar-ri-Vāt*,¹³² the *Rājā Risālu-ri-Vāt*¹³³ and the *Chandan Malayāgiri-ri-Vāt*,¹³⁴ are instances of this kind. The most notable work of this kind is the *Vāt-Sangraha*.¹³⁵ From literary, erotic and moralistic point of view, it is the most important and interesting work in this branch of Rājasthāni literature. It consists for the most part of fables, which are written in prose with an admixture of illustrative aphoristic verses here and there. We are not definite as to when this literature first assumed definite shape, but from certain internal and linguistic evidences it may be said that its major part was completed by the end of the 16th century.

Another type of poetry and prose literature was the translation of Sanskrit works into Hindi and Rājasthāni. The subject-matter for such works was derived from the *Purāṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Gītā*, the *Bhāgavata*, etc. The main purpose of the production of such

¹²⁴ MS. No. 617 (SBLU).

¹²⁵ MS. No. 103 (SBLU).

¹²⁶ MS. No. 174 (SBLU).

¹²⁷ MS. No. 214/10 (ALU).

¹²⁸ MS. No. 703 (SBLU).

¹²⁹ MS. No. 175 („).

¹³⁰ MS. No. 892 („).

¹³¹ MS. No. 176 („).

¹³² MS. No. 177 („).

¹³³ MS. No. 178 („).

¹³⁴ MS. No. 187 („).

¹³⁵ MS. No. 703 („).

works, as it is evident from the colophon of one of those works was that the knowledge contained in these works might be made available to those who did not know Sanskrit and who had an aptitude for the study of ancient religious literature. The best known and most popular of them are the *Simhāsanbattisi-Bhāshā*,¹³⁶ the *Brahmāndapurāṇa-Bhāshā*,¹³⁷ the *Yamunaṣṭhaka-Tikā*,¹³⁸ the *Rāmāyaṇa Bhāshā*,¹³⁹ the *Ekādashi-Bhāshā*,¹⁴⁰ and the *Rāmcharitra-Bhāshā*.¹⁴¹ Some of the writers were able not only to retain the main characteristics of the originals, but also to inspire noble sentiment and depth of feeling and emotion in the translations.

Devotional Literature

Space forbids a detailed account of the religious and philosophical works produced during the period under review. But mention may be made of some of them which are looked upon as authentic by the followers of various creeds. Religious experiences of the saints found abundant expression in poetry. The earliest among such works was that of *Tatvavettā* of Jaitāran in Jodhpur. He flourished during the early part of the 15th century A.D. He was a *Vaiṣṇavā* saint who in 98 stanzas sang the glory of Rāma, Kriṣṇa, Nārada and Janaka. Kriṣṇadās of Galtā (near Jaipur) belonging to the order of Rāmānuja lived between V.S. 1559-1584 (1502-1527 A.D.). He wrote the *Jugalmanacharitra*, the *Brahma Gītā* and the *Premtatvanirukta* in Vrij Bhāshā. He was followed by several disciples of whom Agardās was pre-eminent. Agardās lived about the middle of the 16th century. The *Rām Bhajan Manjuri*, the *Padāvali*, the *Dhyān Manjari* and the *Rahasya-traya* are the works of considerable merit and religious feelings and devotion.¹⁴²

In the field of devotional poems Mirā's¹⁴³ place is pre-eminent. Her stray songs which are found in abundance represent most beautiful, profound and poetical thoughts dedicated to the love of Lord Kriṣṇa.

¹³⁶ MS. No. 543 (SBLU).

¹³⁷ MS. No. 267 (,).

¹³⁸ MS. No. 269 (,).

¹³⁹ MS. No. 436 (,).

¹⁴⁰ MS. No. 266 (,).

¹⁴¹ MS. No. 46 (PPJ).

¹⁴² Hira Lal : *Rājasthāni Sāhitya*, pp. 272-294.

¹⁴³ Grierson : *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān*, p. 12 ; Munshi Devi Prasād : *Mirā Bāi-kā-Jivancharitra*, p. 24 ; Ojhā : *U.R.I.*, Vol. I, p. 359 ; Sārdā : *Mahārānā Sāngā*, p. 96 ; Dr. Pitāmbar Datt : *Hindī Kāvya-men-Nirgun-Sampradāya*, p. 41 ; Dr. Rām Kumār Varmā : *Hindī Sāhitya-kā-Vivechanātmak-Itihās*, p. 322.

Keshavadās¹⁴⁴ of Jodhpur wrote the *Vivek-Vārtā* in between V.S. 1610-1697 (1553-1640 A.D.). This work shows his philosophical approach to life. Prithvirāja¹⁴⁵ of Bikāner, a contemporary of Akbar, was a reputed poet of devotional themes. His works like the *Veli Kishan-Rukmani-ri* and *Dashabhāgavata-rā-Duhā* are well-known poetic pieces breathing love towards God, and having philosophic approach towards life. Parash-rāma,¹⁴⁶ the teacher of the Nimbārk doctrine, who flourished about the beginning of the 17th century, was an accomplished poet of *Pingal*. His works like the *Raghunāth-Charitra*, the *Sudāmā-Charitra*, the *Prahlāda-Charitra*, the *Hari Lilā* and the *Nand-līta* are examples of skilful form and diction. During the same period Mādhodās of Jodhpur wrote the *Rāma-Rāso* and the *Bhāshā Daśamskandha*, expounding the cause of *Bhakti*.¹⁴⁷ There were other writers like, Narharidās (V.S. 1648-1733) of Jodhpur, Kalyāndās of Samelā in Mewār and Nāgaridās of Kishangarh who made valuable contribution to religious literature of the 17th century.¹⁴⁸ The beauty, sweetness, devotion and wealth of emotion in these works are all worthy of praise. Mangal Rāma of Jaipur who wrote on doctrine of Dādu, and Charandās of Mewāt who wrote on devotional themes were well-known writers of the early 18th century.¹⁴⁹

Gavari Bāi¹⁵⁰ of Dungarpur V.S. 1815-1865 (1758-1808 A.D.) who wrote stray verses dealing with devotion and philosophy, Dayā Bāi¹⁵¹ of Mewāt (V.S. 1800=1743 A.D.) who wrote the *Dayābodha* and Sahajo Bāi¹⁵² of Mewāt of the same period, who wrote stray verses dedicated to her *guru* Charandās, were important poetesses and devotees. Rāmcharaṇ Hari Rāmdās, Dayāldās, Dariyāvji, Bālaka Rāma, Haridās, etc., were prolific writers¹⁵³ of *Rām Sanehi* sect. The *Rāmcharaṇji-ki-Vāṇi* consisting of 8000 verses, the *Guru Mahimā*, the *Nāma-mālā* and hundreds of others of

¹⁴⁴ Dr. Menāriyā : *Rājasthāni Bhāshā aur Sāhitya*, pp. 110-120.

¹⁴⁵ Ojhā : *Bk. R.I.*, p. 161.

¹⁴⁶ Manuscripts dealing with his works are in collection of Sthal, Udaipur.

¹⁴⁷ Dr. Menāriyā : *Rājasthāni Bhāshā aur Sahitya*, pp. 142-143.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-202.

¹⁴⁹ Dr. Menāriyā : *Rājasthāni Bhāshā aur Sāhityā*, pp. 226-227.

¹⁵⁰ Mohanlāl Shāh's Collection, Dungarpur, has a large number of verses by Gavari Bāi which are still sung in the area.

¹⁵¹ Dr. Menāriyā : *Rājasthāni Bhāshā aur Sāhitya*, p. 228.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.

¹⁵³ My Survey Report on the Rāmdwārā Collection, Shāhpurā, submitted to the Government of Rājasthān, 1961.

the kind were distinguished works which reveal uncommon learning, devotion towards Rāma and power of assimilation of philosophical thoughts. In brief, the literature of these devotees is the example of epigrammatic and aphoristic style full of force and charm that profoundly impress the reader. The songs and exquisite verses of the period written and unwritten—that have come down to us embody expressions of love and devotion, and feelings of tenderness and sincerity, besides smart melody that soothes the soul and dispels gloom and despondency.

The development of language and literature sketched in the previous chapter was the result of education that was obtained in Rājasthān during the mediaeval age. It will be well to form an idea of the state of education which moulded the civilisation of the period under review.

Aims and Ideology of Education

Despite lack of material, it can be said that education during the period was not without aim and ideology. In accordance with the *Somasaubhāgyā-kāvya*¹, education is a process of growth directed towards the achievement of the Supreme, and determination of social, economic and intellectual status. A clue to this is also furnished in the colophon² of the *Kalyānmandir Stotram*, transcribed in V. S. 1674 (1617 A. D.), in which Rīṣi Śiva Rāja, while mentioning the reason of copying the book said, that it afforded pleasure, provided an opportunity for study, gave livelihood and created chances of pleasing God. In the *Madhumālti*³, the purpose of education has been specified as a source of pleasure, knowledge and livelihood. Thus the object of learning was personal, religious and economic through which one could derive benefit of study and money and achieve satisfaction and salvation. Hence learning in Rājasthān, as in India, had been prized and pursued partly for its own sake and partly for the sake of religion. Side by side to the material gain it was sought as the means of salvation or self-realisation. It was an acquisition of objective knowledge and an aid in self-fulfilment. It was education in the methods of living and self-culture.

Different Types of Educational Institutions : Family Schools

The institutions by means of which aims of education were fostered fell into several categories. The largest category was that of the family, as school. The first school, the first pupil and the first teacher with whom the sense of service and sacrifice was associated was the home, the son, and the father. Education from the lowest grade to the highest standard

¹ *Somasaubhāgya-kāvya*, Canto II, vv. 45-55 (ed. Ahmedabad, 1905).

² *Kalyānmandir Stotram*, f. 7.

³ *Madhumālti*, ff. 74, 187, vv. 94-98.

was imparted by the father who was both a manager of the household and a teacher. This kind of system of education from father to son became an institution by itself in which the teacher and the taught were no other than the father and sons and grandsons. The *Ekalinga Inscription*⁴ of V. S. 1545 (1488 A. D.) refers to a *Bhragu* family in which Somanāth, Jhoting, Atri and Mahesh were born in regular succession and who acquired proficiency in the Vedas, Mimāmsā and Sāhityā, studying under the roof of the same house from father to son. Similarly, Bālakriṣṇa, Vithal, Kriṣṇāchārya and Gopālāchārya were renowned Pandits of the same family receiving education from father to son as mentioned in the *Kālnirṇayadīpikā*.⁵ In such family-schools, books formed an important part of the property and were inherited by the sons of the deceased father. From the colophon⁶ of a copy of the *Kādambari* it appears, that in V. S. 1684 (1627 A.D.), it was divided between the two sons of Kriṣṇa Bhatta as first-half and second-half. There are references in several literary works of the father preparing copies of standard books for his sons, grandsons and pupils to be studied. In V. S. 1724 (1667 A. D.) one Tiwāri Rāma, son of Śrangadhara, copied the *Karma Pradīpa*⁷ for the study of his sons and grandsons.

Ample references to the diverse economic pursuits of the time, noted by Bābur⁸ and other writers,⁹ indicate a diffusion of industrial education in Rājasthān through a family as school. The training in craft included various handicrafts like carpentry, blacksmithy, dyeing, tanning, sculpturing, carving, etc. Fortified towns, walls, palaces, wells, etc., are further indicative of the standard of material civilization attained through the artists and craftsmen who were generally trained by their fathers at home. All this economic progress was built up by master-craftsmen in the schools they conducted in connection with their crafts in their own homes. Phanā, Halā, Nalā, Kalā, etc., were trained in regular succession by their fathers in their own homes.¹⁰ Normally the home functioned as a school for imparting instruction in agricultural and commercial education.

These family schools had their individual standard and tradition extended to all parts of Rājasthān and thrived from age to age and

⁴ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V. S. 1545 (1488 A. D.), vv. 91-96; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IX, p. 122.

⁵ *Kālnirṇayadīpikā*, f. 136 (V. S. 1707=1650 A. D.)

⁶ *Kādambari*, f. 208.

⁷ *Karma Pradīpa*, f. 35.

⁸ *Bāburnāmā*, f. 290; Beveridge, II, p. 518.

⁹ *Early Travels in India*, William Finch, p. 148; Tavernier's *Travels*, p. 161.

¹⁰ *Jāina Inscriptions (Achalesvara Inscription)*, II, p. 261, No. 2025.

generation to generation. The secret of the success of these schools in spreading the learning and culture, entrusted to their custody, laid in the principle of decentralization. Thus the numerous family schools which sprang up in the different parts of the state were the chief agents in serving the spiritual, secular and economic needs of the society,

Homes of Teachers as Schools

In addition to these family-schools there were schools which were not detached buildings of brick or mortar like modern schools, but were colonies representing the talent, the piety, learning and the culture of the community. They served as a model of the highest level of life from which it filtered down to the lower planes of society. From the contemporary epigraphic records we gather some glimpses of such institutions and can have an idea about their maintenance. It seems that such institutions were the remnants of *Āśramas* of old days which were headed by a teacher of great repute and were maintained by land grants made either by rich persons or charitable rulers and by presents from princes and private persons. The *Ekalinga-mahātmya*¹¹ refers to Soma Sharmā Brāhmaṇ who was well-versed in the *Vedas* and the *Śāstras*. He was a great teacher and had sons, grandsons and pupils. His abode was the centre for performing sacrifices, entertaining people and diffusing charity to the needy. This description approximates to the description of *Āśramas*¹² of old. His institution was maintained by his professional earning as a priest and a preacher of the *Vedas*. Similarly, the *Bhragu Āśrama* referred to in the *Ekalinga Inscription*¹³ was a recipient of rewards in the form of two elephants, two *chanwars* (brooms) with gold handles and a white umbrella (*chhatra*) from Mahārānā Mokal. Even till that time it was customary for princes to go to study in an *Āśrama*. The son of Mahārājā Gaj Singh of Jodhpur studied at the *Āśrama* of a teacher referred to in the *Gujabhāsā Chitra*¹⁴.

Rent-free Villages as Centres of Learning

Besides these *Āśramas* there were also rent-free villages as centres of learning in our period. Rulers of the age, we learn from inscriptional sources, used to grant lands to learned Brāhmaṇs in order to encourage the cause of education. These Brāhmaṇs were not only devoted to various sacrifices, but they also became a source of attraction for students who

¹¹ *Ekalingamahātmya*, Canto 19, vv. 8-11.

¹² *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 396-400.

¹³ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.), vv. 91-96 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IX, p. 122.

¹⁴ *Gujabhāshā Chitra*, f. 5.

came to sit at their feet and study. Mahārānā Lakṣmaṇa Singh made a gift of the village of Pispalikā (Pipli near Rājnagar in Udaipur district) to a learned Brāhmaṇ named Jhoting in V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.)¹⁵ He also made a gift of a village near Chitor to Dhaneśvara Bhatta who was a renowned teacher of several pupils. Similarly, on the request of Mahārānā Sangrām Singh II, Dakṣiṇā Murti performed a sacrifice with several of his pupils who had studied the Vedas at his feet.¹⁶

Such schools were a natural formation, not artificially constituted. They were the homes of the teachers, and the pupils lived with them as members of their family. The constant and intimate association between teachers and taughts was vital to education as conceived in that system. Under that system the personal touch created a living and intimate relationship between the teachers and the taughts. Due to personal supervision there was very little scope for the growth of the tendency to repression in the pupils. Besides receiving the moral and educative benefit, the pupils got themselves protected against unwholesome influences by residing with the teachers.

Upasaras

In towns and in religious centres there was a type of institution known as *upāsarās*, developed for the cultivation and propagation of religious and secular learning. Such institutions were headed by a Jaina *Sādhu* each, who was helped by two or three of his pupils. Such institutions were parts of monasteries where monks used to live. Even elderly pupils were trained by Jaina *Sādhus* as depicted in the *Kalpasutra*¹⁷. Besides teaching and delivering sermons, in the monasteries, the monks were also busy copying classical manuscripts and illuminating them very beautifully. Pandit Hirānanda¹⁷ prepared one illustrated *Rāmāyaṇa* in the monastery of Chitor in V.S. 1708 (1651 A.D.). Several illuminated manuscripts and hand-copied manuscripts have come to light which were prepared by monks. These illuminations form one of the greatest contributions of the mediaeval period to the history of art and learning. A part of the monastery was meant for the school and library, constructed by some of the pious devotees. Shri Kṣemā Kalyāṇji constructed an *Upāsarā* at Bikāner for the stay, study and teaching of monks in V. S. 1858 (1801 A.D.)¹⁸

¹⁵ *Samidheśvara Inscription*, V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.), v. 39 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, VI, p. 100.

¹⁶ *Dakṣiṇa Murti Inscription*, V.S. 1770 ; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No 15, p. 155.

¹⁷ *Kalpasutra* (SBLU) 'Swapan Pathaka', f. 30a.

^{17A} *Ārṣha Rāmāyaṇa*, f. 72.

¹⁸ *Bikāner Jaina Lekha Sangraha* by Nahātā, p. 56.

Maths

A similar agency for the spread of education was the institution known as *Maths*. They were indigenous Indian examples of religious organisations, which regulated and controlled religious and educational life of the members of the order to which they belonged, and villages around them. The Savinā Kherā *Math* of Udaipur and Kaushik-Rāma *Math* of Jaisalmer, for example, influenced the religious and cultural life of Mewār and Jaisalmer respectively and acquired great power and popularity under Śiṣodiyā rulers of Udaipur and Bhāti rulers of Jaisalmer. These *Maths* headed by capable *Gurus* wielded a great cultural influence in those mediaeval days.¹⁹

Other Educational Institutions

Along with the family-schools there were also institutions for elementary education known as *Pāthśālā*, *Nesāl*, *Posāl*, *Choki*, etc., in the urban as well as rural areas where a sort of primary education was encouraged in almost every stratum of society as evidenced from literary and pictorial evidences.²⁰ According to Soma Kavi there was a school in Rāṇakpur where boys of various communities read.²¹ Mān Kavi has noted that in Rājnagar there was a school for the education of boys. The teachers in such schools taught while students in turn served them and collected gifts for their teachers.²² These schools were either housed in open verandahs or were held under the shade of the trees, where the students sat on the floor in front of the teacher who took his seat on an elevated place.²³ In the *Śiva Purāṇa* painting we see a teacher with his pupils attending their lessons under the shade of a tree.²⁴ In another picture of Kunwar Sangrām Singh, a large number of students are shown, with a teacher, sitting in regular rows of four each.²⁵ In such schools students were not required to wear any uniform. The sculptured art at Āhar has a panel on the column where a teacher on the pedestal is attended by pupils wearing only loin cloth. Some of them, as we see from

¹⁹ Mandan : *Pīṅṅād Mandan*, Canto 8th, v. 36, p. 151, ed., Jaipur, 1963; *Śāitdarśana Records* (ODRU) 17th to 18th centuries; *Jaisalmer Gazal*, vv. 121-128.

²⁰ *Vrihadā Gurvāvalī*, p. 12 (*Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhawan*).

²¹ *Somasaubhāgya-Kāvya*, Canto 9, vv. 42-43.

²² *Rājaviṭāsa*, No. 534 (SBLU), Canto II, vv. 103-104; *Bikāner Gazal*, V.S. 1765, v. 38.

²³ *A Panel of School* sculptured in the *Āhar Chhatri*, 18th century.

²⁴ *Śiva Purāṇa Painting*, f. 44.

²⁵ *A Painting* in the collection of Kunwar Sangrām Singh, 18th century.

the Śiva Purāṇa painting and Kunwar Sangrām Singh's painting, covered themselves with wrappers without any shirt or head-dress.

Observations

As the books were hand-written and a teacher's job was not attractive, there must have been considerable paucity of good books and teachers. Too much emphasis on memorizing and reciting, as recorded by the writers²⁶ of the period under review, made elementary education more or less mechanical. Keeping these points in view, one may say that the standard of primary education in mediaeval Rājasthān was inferior in comparison to our times. But it must also be kept in mind that the system at least helped the students to acquire a sort of rudimentary knowledge in matters essential for civic life. Moreover, considering the economy with which children were taught and the facility of reputed teachers made available to teach the children, the system was undoubtedly commendable. One gratifying feature regarding the position of village or town-teacher was that he enjoyed great social prestige. On the *Guru Purṇimā* day he was adorned and rewarded by his pupils, as mentioned in the *Siyāhah Huzur*²⁷, with great respect.

The Age of Studentship

The age at which the studentship commenced was fixed between five to seven years. In case of Soma Suri²⁸ it began when he was five years, while the apprenticeship of Jagannāth ji,²⁹ a Jaipur prince with Pundarika, a teacher, began in V.S. 1828 (1771 A.D.) when he was seven years of age. The total period of studentship seems to have been for a term ranging from twelve years to fifteen. According to the *Bhattāraka-Pattāvali*³⁰ Sri Kṣemakirti spent more than twelve years with his preceptor.

Holidays

For study there were no weekly holidays, but breaks on eighth, fourteenth, and new and full-moon days of every month. Eighths of every month were days of revision when no new lesson was taught. Study was not also permitted at a national festival or in sight of inauspicious omens. Schools were held practically the whole day and some-

²⁶ *Vrihada Gurvāvali*, pp. 2-4. (Bhāratiya Vidya Bhawan, V.S. 2013) ; *Somasaubhāgya-kāvya*, vv. 64-68.

²⁷ *Siyāhah Huzur*, V.S. 1727, 1738, 1740, 1780, etc.

²⁸ Soma : *Somasaubhāgya-kāvya* (Ahmadabad, 1905), Canto 2, vv. 45-46, p. 33.

²⁹ *Siyāhah Huzur*, No. 128, V.S. 1828, f. 1719.

³⁰ *Bhattāraka Pattāvali* (Amber Bhandār), transcript copy of V. S. 1704, f. 23.

times in the night also. There is no reference to summer or winter breaks as we know these days.³¹

Various Subjects of Study

The contents of elementary instruction comprised reading, writing and arithmetic.³² Soma Suri Kṣemakirti and many others received their first instruction in reading, writing alph abets^{32A} and arithmetic. We have come across many a painting of our period, referred to above, which preserves the letters of the alphabet and numericals for calculation, which shows that they formed an essential part of primary education. At lower stage lessons in dictation were common. This is shown in a painting^{32B} of the 18th century where several children are busy writing their lessons on wooden slates under the guidance of the teacher. At this stage reading aloud and in chorus was practised.

But for advanced courses, as mentioned in the *Kān adadeprabandha* and several other works³³ of the period, subjects like Purāṇas, logic, astrology, astronomy, ethics, metaphysics, literature, grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, medicine, veterinary science, etc., were taught. A large number of books which are available on these subjects in various manuscript libraries of Rājasthān further support the view that these were the subjects of study.

From several manuscripts we learn that the taste of study of subjects varied from person to person. Such subjects formed the curriculum of the period under review. Rathod Bhānji, son of Lādkhān of Udaipur, the contemporary of Mahārānā Rāj Singh, was interested in studying books on religion. Bhakta Shyāmdās copied for him manuscripts of the *Pāndava Gitā* and the *Guṇa Govinda* in V.S. 1725 (1668 A.D.)³⁴ Kesri Singh, a jagirdār of Athāṇā in Mewār liked books of religion, translated in local dialect. He himself copied out the *Daśmaskandha Bhāshā* in V.S. 1730 (1673 A.D.)³⁵ The *Sur Sāgar*, the *Simhāsan Battisi*, the *Satruṅjaya Uddhāra*,

³¹ *Rājaratnākara*, Canto 17, f. 94, v. 20.

³² *Vrihadā Gurvāvali*, V S. 1167 (1110 A.D.), pp. 2-4.

^{32A} Soma : *Somasaubhāgya-kāvya*, Canto 2, vv. 64-68, pp. 36-37 ; *Bhattāraka Pattāvali*, f. 23.

^{32B} *A Picture of a School*, Kunwar Sangrām Singh's Collection, 18th century.

³³ *Kānhadadeprabandha*, Canto 3rd, vv. 23-30 ; A *Gutkā* of MSS. Nos. 579-591, V.S. 1724 (1667 A.D.) (SBLU) and another *Gutkā* of MSS. Nos. 593-605, V.S. 1727 (1670 A.D.) (SBLU) contain works of these categories.

³⁴ Colophon, *Guṇa Govinda* and *Pāndava-Gitā-Stotram*, No. 1567 (SBLU).

³⁵ *Daśmaskandha-Bhāshā*, No. 108, f. 127b (SBLU).

the *Bhaktmāla*, the *Sukhasamvāda*, the *Dhyānilā*, the *Sukha Pachisi*, the *Parchi Kabir*, the *Nāgdaman*, the *Bhramara Geeta*, the *Guṇa Govinda*, the *Rasik Priyā*, the *Daśamaskandha-Bhāgwat-rā-Duhā*, the *Koksāra*, the *Siddhānt-sāra* etc., were other books in which princes, aristocrats and persons of religious bend of mind were interested.³⁶

From literary sources we gather interesting glimpses into princely education in vogue of our period of study. We learn that the princes were instructed in the Vedas, logic the *Dharm.a-sāstras*, Grammar and Politics. Music also seems to be a favourite subject of study for princes. The high standards of princes' training in various branches are illustrated by the instances of scholar kings and princes like Mahārānā Kumbhā and Kunwar Prithvirāja of Bikāner.

Military education was also an important part of the study of youths belonging to the Kṣatriyā community. Emphasis was laid on practical education. In the *Surajaprakasha*³⁷ it has been pointed out that young Kṣatriya boys took daily exercise in riding horses, mounting elephants, raiding forts, as well as in wielding bow and other weapons. A manuscript of the *Dhanurveda*,³⁸ prescribing standard length and breadth for bows and arrows, and dealing with military science, such as training and equipment of infantry, cavalry and artillery, was copied out by Bhatta Amara for the use of princes in V.S. 1730 (1673 A.D.). It is interesting to note that artillery was prescribed as a subject of study of Kṣatriya youngmen in Rājasthān during the 17th century.

It appears from a large number of books on medicine, in various libraries, that it was also a subject of study. In the introduction of the *Vaidya-mahotsava*,³⁹ composed in V.S. 1721 (1664 A.D.), based on an ancient treatise on medicine, the writer says that he compiled the work for the use of people in general. This shows that its study was very popular.

Methods of Study

From the subjects of study we now pass on to the methods of study prevailing in the period under review. Discussions and debates as

³⁶ MSS. Nos: 262, 540, 541 of V.S. 1765 and 1767; MSS. Nos. 174-177 of V.S. 1822 (SBLU).

³⁷ *Surajaprakāsha*, f. 36, v. 4.

³⁸ *Dhanurveda*, No. 1550, vv. 34-65, V.S. 1730 (1673 A.D.) (ALB).

³⁹ *Vaidyā-mahotsava* by Nayana Sukha, No. 578, V.S. 1721 (1664 A.D.), f. 1. (SBLU).

revealed from the *Mugdhāvabodha*,⁴⁰ the *Śambhava Nāth Inscription*⁴¹ and the *Ekalinga Inscription*⁴², formed an important method of imparting knowledge to students of higher standard. The use of discussion as a method of study led to the development of the faculty of disputation in the pupils. Śri Bhadra Muni, according to the *Śambhava Nāth Inscription*, was proficient in teaching through books and explaining different theories of learning through lectures. We learn from the *Ekalinga Inscription* that Gopāl Bhatta, preceptor of Rāimal, was a reputed speaker of his age. The same inscription refers to Mahesha as a great debater. From the *Kalpasutra*⁴³ painting it appears that teachers for higher studies taught their pupils orally. Sometimes preachers explained problems of life and death, etc., through dialogues. Explaining a subject by an intelligent and graduated series of questions and answers was also an important method. It should not be understood that these discourses left nothing for the pupil to think out for himself. The need for introspection and contemplation on his part, as appears from the *Ānandvilāsa*,⁴⁴ was never overlooked. For learning long passages, as recorded in the *Rājaraṭnākara*,⁴⁵ cramming by heart was generally recommended, and much attention was paid to recitation and prescribed pronunciation. A great value and potency was attached to the very sounds of the letters and syllables by which the sacred words were uttered. In reciting, gestures were freely used and were cultivated as an art by themselves.⁴⁶

The material of study and teaching was different from those in use in our days. Papers were not available in larger quantity, so most of the written exercises, according to the *Śrāvakavratādi-atichāra*⁴⁷ were worked on wooden boards or stone slates that could be washed off and used again and again. Reed pen was used for writing with ink which was prepared from smoke deposits and herbs. One Bundi painting⁴⁸ and the other in the possession of Kunwar Sangrām Singh, referred to above, also afford glimpses into the teaching material. In the former, the lady has wooden

⁴⁰ *Mugdhāvabodha*, V.S. 1450 (1393 A.D.), pp. 172-176, (*Prāchin Gujarāti Padya Sangraha*, Ahmadabad).

⁴¹ *Śambhavanāth Inscription*, V.S. 1494 (1437 A.D.), vv. 5-6.

⁴² *Ekalinga Inscription*, V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.); vv. 80 and 95.

⁴³ *Kalpasutra* painting, 'Sraavanapāthaka'.

⁴⁴ *Ānandvilāsa*, ff. 470-480, vv. 98-201.

⁴⁵ *Rājaraṭnākara*, Canto 16, f. 91, v. 43.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Śrāvakavratādi-atichāra*, V.S. 1466, p. 60 (*Prāchin Gujarāti Gadya Sandarbha*, Ahmadabad, V.S. 1986).

⁴⁸ A photograph copy of Bundi painting 'Dipak-rāgini' in my possession, No. 261 (18th century).

slate to write on with reed pen and ink-pot. In the latter the teacher has a rod in the hand and a mat to sit on. The students have no mats, they have ink-pots with pens of reed dipped in them. In a painting⁴⁹ of the City Palace, Jaipur, there is a girl student reading a book placed on a book-stand.

The books were either in the form of rolls or loose leaves of paper. They were also bound in one volume. There were, of course, no printed books; they were copied entirely by hand. Generally educated fathers used to prepare manuscript copies for their sons and grandsons, or teachers used to copy out books for their pupils. In V. S. 1679 (1622 A. D.), Mahesha of Ghānerav copied the *Sursāgara* for his pupil Tilokchand.⁵⁰ The *Simhāsanabattisi* was prepared by Doshi Jiwā for his son Sukhji in V. S. 1765 (1708 A. D.)⁵¹ Similarly, Saubhāgyaśrī copied out the *Pārasvanāth* for his pupil Mohandās in V. S. 1766 (1709 A. D.)⁵² These examples have been cited at random, otherwise thousands of books were copied out in this way during the period of our study.

It was also customary for persons to copy books for the use of others out of charitable disposition. Mahārāval Uday Singh's wife Mahābāi prepared a manuscript copy of the *Ādiya Purāna* for one Goverdhan Bhatta of Dungarpur in V.S. 1570 (1513 A.D.)⁵³ Similarly, one Manoharbāi of Sāgwādā, of her own accord, got prepared a manuscript of the *Khedmultanka* in V.S. 1756 (1699 A.D.) for a Brāhmaṇ named Avachalji.⁵⁴ Some of the important scribes of the late 17th and early 18th centuries were Govind Rāma, Sadāśivā, Nandadās, Bhatta Soma, Keshav Rāi, and Mitra Rāma of Mewār.⁵⁵ Hardeva Dās of Govindgarh, Yagya Datta, Bhatta Śankara Datta, Sampat Rāma Shukla, Rāma Sukh and Purushottama Dās were able scribes from Kotāh.⁵⁶ Viṣṇu of Jaipur, Prema Rāja and Mathe Joshi were scribes from Bikāner.⁵⁷ This does not

⁴⁹ City Palace, Art Gallery, No. 1213.

⁵⁰ *Sursāgar*, f. 20, V.S. 1679, No. 575 (SBLU).

⁵¹ *Simhāsanabattisi*, No. 540, V.S. 1765 (SBLU).

⁵² *Pārasvanāth*, No. 539, V.S. 1766 (SBLU).

⁵³ *Ādiya Purāna*, No. 347, V.S. 1570 (1513 A.D.), f. 118. (SBLU).

⁵⁴ *Khedmultanka* (Pratapgarh MS.), f. 78b.

⁵⁵ MSS. *Pāndava Gitā* (No. 138), *Amar Chandrikā* (No. 261), *Brāhmaṇ Sangraha* (No. 71), etc., (of SBLU), belonging to 17th and 18th centuries.

⁵⁶ MSS. *Smarāṇa Mandal* (No. 6280), *Dashkarma Paddhati* (No. 4875), *Partiṣṭā Mayukha* (No. 4957), *Rāma Paddhati*, of *Saraswati Bhandār Library*, Kotāh, of 17th and 18th centuries.

⁵⁷ MSS. *Rao-Jetasi-rau-Chhand* (No. 97), *Kishāṇa-Rukmaṇi-vel* (No. 4), etc., of *Anup Library*, Bikāner, of 17th and 18th centuries; MSS. Nos. 4554; 4834; 4938 of O.D.R., Jodhpur.

exhaust our list of scribes. Several hundreds of such names can be cited to show that it was not difficult to get all types of books from scribes.

From the colophons of some manuscripts it appears that scribes were paid in accordance with the number of verses they copied. This is why some of the scribes, as in the case of Mānak Chand,⁵⁸ noted down the number of verses they copied for calculating payment. From the Kotāh Records⁵⁹ we learn that the payment was generally made at different rates according to size and quality of work. One Sāligrāma of Kotāh was paid Rs. 8/10/3 for copying 212 verses of the *Muhurta-chintāmaṇi* in 1759 A.D. For transcribing the *Sārangdhara* of 6752 verses he was paid Rs. 9/10. He received Rs. 5/4 for copying 3655 verses of the *Varsha Pramodini*. It is clear that the writers had very small returns for their labours.

Sometimes the scribes were not highly educated. They, therefore, copied out mistakes as they were. They would very often put down a note in a verse⁶⁰ that the transcription had been prepared exactly in accordance with the text in the original and as such they should not be blamed for the mistakes occurring in the transcript copies.

The work of copying was not confined to the professional scribes. It was an art practised by respectable persons also. A manuscript of the *Kalpasastra*⁶¹ was copied by *Somā*, the son of Kumpā, the minister of Rāo Māldeo of Jodhpur. It bears beautifully copied letters in various colours.

But books were valuable treasures and writing was a difficult job, demanding hard labour and continuous sitting. One scribe Prema Rāja of Bikāner of the mid 17th century was of opinion that as the handwritten manuscripts were rare they should in no case be lent to any one.⁶² Similarly, some of the scribes of the late 18th century sounded a note of warning that as the copying work caused great strain to the eyes, back and loin, the books should be safeguarded against all possibility of being stolen.⁶³ They also warned that the books should be protected from oil and water, lest they should be soiled.⁶⁴

Degrees

We do not know exactly how a student, after completion of his education, was admitted to the degree in the special branch or branches of

⁵⁸ *Khedmultanka* (Pratapgrah MS.), f. 78

⁵⁹ *Bhandāra* No. 16, V.S. 1816.

⁶⁰ *Pala-kāvya Shalvasthānam*, No. 611 (SBLU), 186, V.S. 1672 :—
“यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्ट्वा तादृशं लिखितं मया
यदि शुद्धं अशुद्धं वा ममदोषो न दीयते” ।

⁶¹ *Kalpasastra of Khajānchi Collection*, Bikāner.

⁶² *Kīshaṇ Rukmaṇi-ri-Vel*, V. S. 1725 (1668 A. D.), No. 7 (AL).

⁶³ *Kāṛṣṇi Samhita*, No. 290, V.S. 1733 (1676 A. D.) (SBLU), f. 54.

⁶⁴ *Koṣakalpataru*, No. 723, V.S. 1754 (1697 A.D.) (SBLU), f. 380.

his study. It is, however, certain that scholars received appropriate titles. These are referred to in the colophons of several manuscripts or texts of inscriptions. The titles or degrees may be enumerated as follows. *Bhīshakavara*⁶⁵ was a title associated with medicine. Namba Singh who lived in the middle of the 13th century held this degree. *Kavi* and *Kavirāja* were the titles of those who had acquired proficiency in composing poems. Veda Sharmā,⁶⁶ a *Kavi* (poet), composed inscriptions for numerous temples, such as those of Samidheśvara and Chakra Swāmi. The *Śringī Riśi Inscription* of 1485 (1428 A.D.) refers to the title of *Kavirāja* with reference to one Yogeśvara.⁶⁷ *Vāchaspati* seems to have been a degree of high order.⁶⁸ The *Shambhava Nāth Inscription*⁶⁹ of Jālor of V. S. 1494 (1437 A. D.) refers to two distinct degrees, *Vāchakagariṣṭa* and *Vāchanāchārya*. One Jaya Sāgar holding the degree of *Vāchakagariṣṭa* was the teacher of Soma Kunjaru who possessed the degree of *Vāchanāchārya*. Sometimes the degree of *Pandit* and *Āchārya* denoted scholars of exceptional ability. Pandit Vivekadhiraṅgi and Pandit Lāvanya were reputed scholars of Sanskrit eulogy. Similarly, Ishwar Suri, belonging to the middle of the 16th century A. D., and well-known for his learning, was designated as *Āchārya*.⁷⁰ The title *Pandit* seemed to have also been borne by scribes and pupils of reputed scholars. Pandit Sumati Śekhara, who prepared the transcript copy of the *Nākodā Inscriptions* in V. S. 1667 (1610 A. D.) and V. S. 1678 (1621 A. D.) was a pupil of Upādhyāya Kanak Śekhara.⁷¹ Thus it seems that *Upādhyāya* was a higher title than that of a *Pandit*. *Mahopādhyāya* was also a title borne by reputed scholars like Jin Hamsagaṅgi, Vidyāsāgar,⁷² etc. From the *Dastur Komwār*⁷³ of the 13th century we

⁶⁵ *Jaswantpurā Inscription*, V. S. 1319 (1262 A. D.), *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 944, pp. 253-258.

⁶⁶ *Rasiyān-ki-Chhatri Inscription*, V. S. 1331 (1274 A. D.); *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. 4, v. 61; *Achleśvara Inscription*, V. S. 1342 (1285 A. D.), v. 60; *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, No. 5, p. 87.

⁶⁷ *Śringīriśi Inscription*, V. S. 1485 (1428 A. D.), A. M. R. Ajmer, 1925.

⁶⁸ An inscription of V. S. 1433 (1416 A. D.), *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2113, pp. 5-7; *Bhandārkar Report*, 1904-06, p. 93, No. 48; G. O. S., No. 21, Appendix No. 2.

⁶⁹ *Shambhava Nāth Inscription* V. S. 1494 (1437 A. D.), vv. 6-7; *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2139, pp. 15-20; *Bhandārkar's Report*, 1904-05, 1905-06, p. 96, No. 52; G. O. S. No. 21, Appendix No. 3.

⁷⁰ *Nādlāi Inscription*, V. S. 1597 (1540 A. D.); *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 852, pp. 215-16.

⁷¹ *Nākodā Inscriptions*, V. S. 1667 (1610 A. D.) and 1678 (1621 A. D.); *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, Nos. 724 and 726, pp. 173 and 174.

⁷² *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 2026, p. 241.

⁷³ *Dāstūr Komwār*, Vol. I, V. S. 1800 to 1862 (1743 to 1805 A. D.), ff. 417-483.

learn several names of persons who were entitled as *Kaviśvara*. They were. Amar Lāl, Ishwar Prasād, Udai Nāth, Khem Karaṇa, Gopā Rāma, Ganapata, Rāma Karaṇa, Lachhi Rāma, Mandan, Rasik Lāl, etc. In Kotāh, learned persons belonging to the later part of the 18th century A. D., like Venī Rāma, Ganesha Rāma, Mādhoji, Padmākara and Nāthu were known as *Guṇijana*.⁷⁴

Female Education

The available evidence shows that education in royal household was not denied to princesses. Royal princesses have been depicted in literature⁷⁵ (V.S. 1457-1499) drawing pictures of their lovers which leads us to conclude that painting was a popular subject with the females of royal order. The high standard of princesses' training in various branches are illustrated by the instances of scholar and poetess princesses. From the *Jāwar Inscription*⁷⁶ of V.S. 1554 (1497 A.D.) we learn that Ramā Bāi, the daughter of Mahārāna Kumbhā was well-versed in music and Hindu Śāstras. Mirā Bāi, the celebrated saint, seems to have been well-versed in Hindu philosophy. Ras Bāi, a princess of Delwādā had a great taste for love stories, and for whom such books were copied out by a scribe named Amar Sāgara⁷⁷. Women of high order were also taught dancing.⁷⁸ There is a manuscript copy in the *Pustak Prakāsh*, Jodhpur, of the *Rāmcharitra*⁷⁹, in Rājasthāni, illustrated with paintings prepared for the study of Padadāyatanji, the kept-wife of Mahārāja Vijaya Singh of Jodhpur. These examples go to prove that women in mediaeval days possessed wide knowledge, particularly of sacred and classical literature. For some of them, it seems, the study of classical or vernacular religious literature was a pious pursuit.

The education of women of middle-class was also in vogue. Sorath of Mārwar, a lady from middle-class family, was interested in the reading of books.⁸⁰ One Gangā Bāi of Udaipur got prepared a copy of the *Gītā Govinda* for her in V.S. 1756 (1699 A. D.)⁸¹ Recently several eighteenth

⁷⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 67, File No. 23, V. S. 1844.

⁷⁵ *Updeshamāla*, V.S. 1457-1499 (1400-1442 A.D.), p. 80 (*Prāchin GujaratiGadya-Sandarbhā*, Ahmadābād).

⁷⁶ *Jāwar Inscription* of V.S. 1554 (1497 A.D.), quoted by: Ojhā in his *U R. I.*, Vol: I, p. 322:

⁷⁷ Colophon, *Achaldās-Khichi-ri-Vārtā*, No. 176 (SBLU), f. 53.

⁷⁸ *Abhaya Vilāsa*, f. 19a, No. 486 (SBLU).

⁷⁹ *Rāmcharitra* (illustrated), No. 46 (PPJ).

⁸⁰ *Bijā Sorath-ri-Vārtā*, f. 28a (SBLU—No. 175).

⁸¹ *Gītā Govinda*, colophon, f. 69 (SBLU).

century letters⁸², referring to several aspects of the life in a harem, have been discovered in sealed bags addressed by ladies to the Mahārājās or Mahārānis of Jaipur, show that a few women attached to the royal household were able to read and write, and were able to correspond in the local dialect of that area.

As regards the education of girls in school we glean from the *Sadevatsa-Sānwali-Gori-Vāt*⁸³ that in well-to-do families, before a girl was married she at a tender age sometimes received co-education. But as soon as she reached the age of puberty she was withdrawn from school. However, those who could afford had their daughters coached at home by private tutors. The Jaipur *Pothi Khānā* preserves the picture⁸⁴ of a royal princess being taught by an old man within the premises of the palace. But it appears that the common people were not interested in sending their girls to schools and therefore the privilege of being educated was denied to them in our period. The percentage of female literacy was extremely low.

Relations between Teacher and Taught

The relations between the teacher and the taught were those of the father and the son. They were united by a common aim of preserving the traditions of learning. There is no evidence to show that any regular fee was charged from the students in any of the schools. The teachers used to remain content with such honorarium, as was voluntarily paid to them by the parents. From the *Sadevatsa-Sānwali-Gori-Vāt*⁸⁵ we learn that Sānwali appeared before her teacher with a present. From this it is certain that the income of the teacher mainly rested on presents offered by the student. This kind of relation enhanced the position of the teacher who was esteemed and respected by his pupils. The teacher of our period had great responsibility and power in correcting the students. They had to abide by certain rules of discipline and conduct. Whenever the teacher commanded them they obeyed with folded hands. The rod of the teacher was symbolic for correcting the student and therefore the teacher in the paintings⁸⁶ referred to above has been given a rod of special length. As the teacher felt that it is his responsibility to correct his students, he taught them selflessly, and therefore he was held in high esteem by the society. The bond between the teacher and the taught was

⁸² *Bikāner Archival Records*, Nos. 42/14-2 ; A letter of Tankunwar to Kushikunwar of V. S. 1804 (1747 A.D.) and that of Bhattyāñji of Jodhpur, V. S. 1838 (1781 A. D.) are instances.

⁸³ *Sadevatsa-Sānwali-Gori-Vāt*, ff. 2-8.

⁸⁴ *Pothi Khānā Picture Gallery*, painting No. 1213.

⁸⁵ *Sadevatsa-Sānwali-Gori-Vāt*, ff. 2-8.

⁸⁶ Refer to Kunwar Sangrām Singh's painting referred to above.

so cordial and permanent that after finishing his education a pupil was known as much after his teacher as after his father. Several writers instead of introducing themselves as the sons of their fathers preferred to be known as the pupils of their preceptors. As for example, the writer of the *Harichanda Chopai* named Jina Harsha introduced himself as the pupil of Śanti Harsh in V.S. 1744 (1687 A. D.)⁸⁷ Lakṣminiwās, the writer of *Rāma Paddhati* of Jaipur designated himself as the pupil of Nar Singh in V.S. 1771 (1714 A.D.)⁸⁸ The writer of the *Jaina Prakaraṇa* was a pupil of Vijaya Gaṇi of Rāmgarh.⁸⁹ Hundreds of such names show that the scholars of our period were usually known by the names of their teachers.

Instruction was derived not merely from regular schools, but also from other sources. Such were the reciters of *Kathās* from the *Purāṇas*. This institution of reciters of the *Purāṇas* was thus a very useful agency for the spread of learning and culture. By adopting local languages in expounding spiritual lore, the *Kathās* served well the cause of education. In a way adult education was conducted through professional reciters of the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. Grown-up people who had no time or means to attend schools listened to these recitals and managed to acquire some information on religious and moral learning. Such arrangements are evidenced from our archival records⁹⁰ Two documents^{90A} (1817 and 1837 A.D.) in the possession of Viṣṇu Rāma of Dhulev refer to the endowments made by the queen-mother and the prince of Mewār from time to time to his ancestors for reciting the *Bhāgavata* for the benefit of the public in the temple of Rishabha Deva. The reciters were offered presents on the conclusion of their *Kathās*.

Libraries

Libraries also constituted an important factor in education. Though there were no public libraries in Rājasthān as we know them in this age,

⁸⁷ *Harichanda Chopāi*, V. S. 1744 (1687 A. D.), f. 40b. (Pratapgarh MS.)

⁸⁸ Colophon *Rāma Paddhati*, No. 5878, V. S. 1771 (1714 A. D.), O.R.I.; Jodh.

⁸⁹ *Jaina Prakaraṇam*, No. 7242, (O.R.I., Jodh.)

⁹⁰ *Bhandāra* No. 15, V.S. 1804 (1747 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 57, V.S. 1813 (1756 A.D.) ; A *Pattā*, V.S. 1858 (1801 A.D.) (ODRU).

^{90A} A *Pattā* by Chandra Kunwar Bāi of the the 30th of the dark-half of *Mārgaśirsa*, V. S. 1874 (1817 A.D.) ; A *Ruqqā* of the 2nd of the bright-half of *Phālguna*, V. S. 1894 (1837 A. D.)

wealthy persons and scholars had their private collections of books. Garibadās,⁹¹ the head priest of Mahārānā Rāj Singh had a magnificent library. Gāndhi Raghunāth,⁹² a minister of Dungarpur had a valuable collection of books. Similarly, Vāgji,⁹³ an important chief of Mewār, had a big library of his own. It seems from several manuscripts of Vāgji's library that the books were classified according to the subjects, and they were wrapped in bundles. Bundle No. 87, as for example, had about seventy books and the total number of bundles was about 600. Many Jaina *Upāsarās*⁹⁴ of Rājasthān had good collections of books on various subjects.

The ruling princes of our period were also interested in owning libraries of their own. These had a staff consisting of librarians and scribes. In the Jaipur *Pothi Khānā*⁹⁵ there were several scribes such as Umeda Rāma, Gopi Rāma, Subhā Rāma, Tulā Rāma, Śiva and Guṇamaṇi who flourished in the latter part of the 18th century A.D. This *Pothi Khāna*, originally established by Mahārājā Mān Singh, gradually developed into a magnificent library with a rare collection of books and paintings. The *Vāṇi Vilās*⁹⁶ of Udaipur, now called the *Saraswati Bhandāra* had about 3,162 books bound in bundles numbering 115 in V.S. 1673 (1616 A.D.) It could boast of having a large number of rare works. The Anup Library⁹⁷ of Bikāner, organized by Mahārājā Anup Singh, has the credit to claim manuscripts of rare value in different branches of knowledge. Similarly, Jodhpur had the *Pustak Prakāsh*⁹⁸ from the time of Vijaya Singh. It grew into a rich library of books on classical subjects. Mahārājā Mān Singh of Jodhpur added a huge collection to it. In Kotāh there was the *Saraswati Bhandār* with books of great value from the 16th century to the 19th century A.D. It appears from a list of books in the Kotāh archives⁹⁹ that books were sometimes brought to the state as a part of the loot to

⁹¹ MSS. Nos. 290, 299, 308, 916, 1563, etc. (SBLU), belonged to the Purohit's Collections; MS. *Dharmaprawatti*, No. 198 (SBLU), *Garibadās Library*, Nos. 206-210.

⁹² MS. *Śanyogabattisi*, No. 509, V.S. 1766, colophon.

⁹³ MS. *Gītāsāra*, V.S. 1647 (1590 A.D.), Bundle No. 1, Serial No. 34 of *Vāgji's Collection*, SBLU, No. 134 ; MS. *Laghuchamatkāra-Chintāmaṇi*, No. 194 (SBLU), Vāgji's bundle No. 87.

⁹⁴ They are at Jaisalmer, Bikāner, Jodhpur, Pipād, Phalodi, Sardārsher, Churu, Jaipur, Jhunjhunu, Lādnū, Sujāngarh, Pāli, Kotāh, Udaipur, Bālotrā, Kishangarh, Nāgor, Medtā, Ajmer, etc., *vide Bikāner Jaina Lekh Sangraha*, p. 61.

⁹⁵ *Siyāhah Huzur*, No. 128, V.S. 1791 (1734 A.D.) ; *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1868 (1811 A.D.)

⁹⁶ *Pāla Kāvya*, No. 611 (SBLU), f. 186.

⁹⁷ *Ojhā* : *Bk. R. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 280-287.

⁹⁸ *Reu* : *Mārwār-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 25-26.

⁹⁹ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 28, V. S. 1770 (1713 A. D.)

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⁹⁹ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 28, V. S. 1770 (1713 A. D.)

enrich the existing library. A large number of such books were looted at Udaipur in V.S. 1770 (1713 A.D.) and taken to Kotāh.

Great care was taken for the preservation of books, which were costly manuscripts. The usual practice was to keep them packed in *Bastās* (wrappers of cloth) tied with durable strings. Books which were used by royal princesses and ladies were beautifully bound with silken covers of attractive colour or *chintz*. Sometimes books were kept in between two wooden planks so that the folios might remain intact. For manuscripts of bulky size, leather covers were generally used. The illustrated *Gītā Govinda*¹⁰⁰ of the 17th century, for royal use, has silken cover with designs. The *Rāmcharitra*¹⁰¹ of Tulachharāi of the 18th century has a fine and attractive cover. The Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*¹⁰² preserved in the *Vāni Vilās*, Udaipur and the *Bikāner-rā-Rathodā-ri-Khyāta*¹⁰³ in the Anup Library, Bikāner, have leather covers over them.

Muslim Learning

It seems that Persian education was in a flourishing state. In our archival records we have references to *Maktaba* attached to the *Dargāh*, Ajmer, for the sons of *Khādims*.¹⁰⁴ *Maulvis* were appointed on monthly pay to impart religious education, such as the recitation of the sacred text of the *Qurān*. Reading and writing, of course, was implied in this system of education. The records¹⁰⁵ of the 19th century show that the authorities of the *Dargāh* maintained these *Maktabas*. Besides, there were schools attached to the mosques and were maintained by charitable persons. In the Jaipur Archives, there is a *Hash-ul-hukm*¹⁰⁶ from Munim Khān, dated *Jamāda-ul-Ākhir* 3rd, H. 1121, 7th of the bright-half of *Śrāvana*, V. S. 1766

¹⁰⁰ MS. *Gītā Govinda*, No. 1586 (SBLU).

¹⁰¹ MS. *Rāmcharitra*, No. 46 (PPJ).

¹⁰² Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, No. 701 (SBLU).

¹⁰³ MS. No. 189/11 (ALB).

¹⁰⁴ "Khādims are all pensioners living free from the toil of labour. It is due to this late circumstance that we have so large a portion of our Mohammedan population in the city of Ajmer, idle and independent and consequently prone to intrigue." *Vide* Dargāh Correspondence No. 306—D/1/File No. 3, Letter from Davidson, 9th September, 1865.

¹⁰⁵ *Dargāh File* No. 58, 22nd August, 1821 ; *Ibid.*, No. 86, 16th Aug., 1822 ; *Ibid.*, No. 556, 3rd April, 1855 ; *Ibid.*, No. 654, 13th April, 1861 ; Education File No. 1, letter No. 380/1859 from S. W. Fallon, Inspector of Village School, Ajmer, dated 7th October, 1859.

¹⁰⁶ *Hash-ul-hukm*, No. 2232, Register Persian Correspondence, Vol. VI, (JA),

(1st August, 1709) to the Mahārājā of Jaipur, informing him that Iftikhar Khān, son of Mukhtār Khān, had assigned the income of custom duty and revenue of Beghampura, his jāgir, for the upkeep and maintenance of the tomb of his (Khān's) wife and the *Masjid* and school attached therewith, and that a *Farmān* was also issued in this connection desiring the Mahārājā to see that all things were done as pointed out.

It appears that there were institutions for higher studies called *madarsāhs*. In the year V. S. 1913 (1856 A.D.), one Pandit Deva Datta,¹⁰⁷ a teacher of *madarsāh* of Ajmer was awarded robes of honour by the ruler of Jaipur. This shows that either Pandits were employed in the *madarsāhs* to teach indigenous subjects or that Hindu schools were termed *madarsāhs* after Muslim fashion. However, by this time mutual give and take between Hindus and Muslims had become common. As Persian was the official language of the Mughal court and the princes of the states were in need of interpreters of letters received from the emperors, and writers of drafts to be submitted to the Mughal court, the Hindus especially Kāyasths learnt it as a matter of practical necessity. The Persian language was considered as a necessary accomplishment and became a source for building the fortune. Śrī Shyāmadās has been referred to in the *Ajitodaya* as pre-eminent among those who knew Persian in the 17th century.¹⁰⁸ It was during the period of our study that a number of persons belonging to Pancholi and Bhattnāgar caste were appointed in the states of Jaipur, Bikāner and Kotāh to responsible posts by virtue of their proficiency in Persian.¹⁰⁹ Among those who flourished in Mewār belonged to the Sahiwālā, Mahāsāni and Munshi families.¹¹⁰

State Aid to the Cause of Education

It is clear from the above description that education was mostly a private enterprise. The state aid or that of wealthy persons to teachers and institutions was voluntary. The patronage of princes to learned men in the form of regular stipends or occasional rewards also formed a part of state aid. In order to patronise learning Mahārājā Abhaya Singh bestowed handsome rewards several times on Bhārat-Narhar, Kavi Ādhā, Dadhivādiā Khemā, Sandhāyāch Kari, Bālu and Sādhunāth with a view to encourage the promotion of learning.¹¹¹ The rulers of Bikāner gave

¹⁰⁷ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. XV, V. S. 1913 (1856 A. D.), f. 704.

¹⁰⁸ *Ajitodaya*, Canto 5.

¹⁰⁹ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. I, pp. 503-565; *Jama-Kharch-Bahi*, V. S. 1787 (1730 A. D.), V.S. 1797 (1740 A. D.), V.S. 1800 (1743 A.D.), etc., (BA); *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 52, V. S. 1804 (1747 A. D.)

¹¹⁰ Ojhā; *U. R. O.*, Vol. II, pp. 996-998, 1035-1039.

¹¹¹ *Surajprakash*, f. 1, v. 1.

stipend to students like Vishandeva, Rāmbhatta, Vishwanāth who were studying at Banaras.¹¹² One Veṅi Rāma Vyās's loan was paid off by the State of Kotāh in V. S. 1786 (1729 A.D.), because of his scholarship.¹¹³ The *Kavishwaras* of Jaipur, namely, Mandan, Padmākar, Ishwariprasād and others were given an aid of Rs. 400/- in the Vikram year 1834 (1777 A. D.) out of the State budget to encourage their learning.¹¹⁴ The Kotāh archives of V. S. 1844 (1787 A. D.) show that Pāthak Padmākara, Ganesha Rāma and Mādhoji, etc., got monthly stipend of Rs. 4/- to Rs. 6/- simply because they were literates of the State.¹¹⁵

During our period we have no clear records to show that regular schools were run by the State. But there were occasions when the rulers of the States which were interested in education formulated plans for diffusing education among their people. Mahārānā Mokal is said to have made Brāhmaṇs to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the Vedas in a seminary especially established by him.¹¹⁶ Similarly, it is recorded in the *Karmachandra-vanshotkirtanakam-kāvya* that the State of Bikāner gave money for the maintenance of an institution which trained pupils in logic.¹¹⁷

The State endowed land for imparting religious education to a large number of pupils. The *Dastur Komwār* reveals that one Ranganāth, the son of Raghunāth, was granted land in Jaipur State in V. S. 1807 (1750 A.D.) to enable him to study at Banaras.¹¹⁸

Educational Contacts with Neighbouring and Distant Areas

Epigraphic records contain frequent references to Jaina monks from outside visiting Rājasthān for the purpose of attending to or presiding over religious functions. There were preceptors like Sunder Suri, Guṇa Vīr and Jinchandra Suri from Viramgām, Anilwādā and Multān respectively who came to Rājasthān in the beginning of our period and served the cause of Jainism by organizing religious ceremonies in Jaina temples of Rājasthān.¹¹⁹ Hemavimal Suri of Nāgpur presided over a function of

¹¹² *Tulāv-Bahi*, V. S. 1742.

¹¹³ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 44, V. S. 1786.

¹¹⁴ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. I, V. S. 1800-1862, ff. 417-483.

¹¹⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 67, File No. 23, V. S. 1844.

¹¹⁶ *Kumbhālgarh Inscription*, V. S. 1517, Slab IV, v. 217, Et., Vol. XXI, 1931-32.

¹¹⁷ *Karmachandra-vansho'kirtanakam-kāvya*, vv. 249-250.

¹¹⁸ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. XV, V. S. 1807, f. 629.

¹¹⁹ *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 2481 (V. S. 1516), No. 2455 (V. S. 1532) and No. 2484 (V. S. 1553), pp. 110-118.

Suvidhi Nāth at Jaipur in V.S. 1559 (1502 A.D.)¹²⁰ Nāthasurgani, a preceptor from Banaras advised Gangā Rāma of Jaisalmer to erect in V.S. 1769 (1712 A.D.) a varandāh in the temple.¹²¹ Their presence benefited their followers through their profound learning and influence.

For higher learning many students used to go to Banāras and Ujjain which were reputed seats of learning. They were encouraged by the States of Rājasthān who provided them stipends and gave endowments of land as referred to above. Similarly, with the growing influence of Muslims in upper India many a scholar from other parts of India migrated to Rājasthān where he received patronage at the hands of the Hindu princes. Sadāśiva,¹²² the celebrated writer of the *Rājaratnākara* writes in the introduction of his book that he came from Banāras due to the intolerant policy of Aurangzeb and domiciliated himself at Udaipur. A family of Kathondi Brāhmaṇs¹²³ of south also migrated to Udaipur of which Bābu Bhatta and Raṇachoda Bhatta, the respective writers of the *Jagannāth Rāi Prashasti* and the *Bājaprasasti* are the famous 'illumīpati' of the courts of Mahārānā Jagat Singh and Rāj Singh. They were favoured with awards of land and money for their scholarly attainments by their patrons.

The patronage of the princes of Jaipur and Kotāh was responsible for attracting many learned persons to seek employment under them during our period. The *Dastur Komwār*¹²⁴ of the 18th century records that Ambāpati, Harihara, Paras Rāma and Mahesha came from Bengal and received kind patronage from the rulers of Jaipur. Other Bengali scholars like Keshava Deva Bhattāchārya, Kāshi Nāth and Vāsu Deva are instances of this kind who adorned the court of Jaipur. Akhe Rāma Vyās, a learned Brāhmaṇ of Ratlām lived at the court of Jaipur. There were also at the court one Prāṇa Nāth, the physician, who belonged to Allahābād and Rāmjidās who hailed from Nepāl. From the Kotāh records¹²⁵ of the 18th century we learn that many such Pandits came from the South and Mālwa and enjoyed liberal patronage of the rulers of Kotāh.

¹²⁰ *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 581, p. 136.

¹²¹ *Jaisalmer Inscription*, V.S. 1769 ; *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2501, pp. 124-125.

¹²² *Rājaratnākara*, No. 718 (SBLU), vv. 6-13, ff. 2-3.

¹²³ *Jagannāth Rāi Inscription*, colophon, El., Vol. XXIV ; *Rājaprasasti*, Canto 1, vv. 9-10, Slab VII ; Canto VI, Slab XXV, v. 16, etc., El., XXI-XXX, pp. 1-3.

¹²⁴ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. XV, V.S. 1782 (1725 A.D.), V.S. 1801 (1744 A.D.), V.S. 1811 (1754 A.D.), V.S. 1833 (1776 A.D.) and V.S. 1841 (1784 A.D.), ff. 122-131, 475 and 719.

¹²⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā*, No. 28, V.S. 1770 (1713 A.D.), f. 139, and *Bhandāra* No. 16, V.S. 1816-1842 (1759-1785 A.D.)

Thus in our period, Rājasthān became a sheltering home for learning and a source of cultural contact between one state and another.

Some General Remarks

The foregoing account suggests that education in Rājasthān had retained many of the traditional features of the preceding few centuries, and conserved a particular type of corresponding system of education. But it seems that gradually the study of vernacular literature began to be combined with the time honoured classical works. The *Bhāgavata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were translated in Rājasthāni to serve the need of the time. Side by side the Islamic education had also its own place to fill under the patronage of the princes.

General Observations

But when we assess the mental powers and education of the mass of the people, however, we find a really startling contrast to the present. Education was almost entirely confined in a formal sense to the priests and persons patronised by the princes. The monastic schools did not undertake education of the young in the ordinary sense of the term, but concentrated on education for the priesthood. Somasundara Suri and Kshema Kirti, etc., as noted above, after their education in monasteries were selected for the priesthood.¹²⁶ Certainly it was taken for granted that the average Rājasthāni, except a small number of Brāhmaṇs and Baniyās, was unable to read and write.¹²⁷

Any kind of organized education for rural areas on large scale during the mediaeval centuries is seen to be impossible when it is remembered that Sanskrit was the language of the professional scholars and of the priesthood.¹²⁸ If attempts were made of translating classical works in local dialects they were of restricted nature.¹²⁹ Again within the general framework of education a commoner had sparing opportunity for educating himself, except attending to religious *Kathās*. The hand-copied manuscripts were not, of course, available outside the monasteries or Bhandārs, nor would they have been intelligible if they had been. There was, therefore, nothing to read. Here again, we find ourselves against an

¹²⁶ Soma : *Somasaubhagya-kāvya*, Cantos II-III, vv. 60-68 and vv. 1-48 ; *Bhattāraka-Pattāvalī*, f. 23 (*Amber Bhandār*).

¹²⁷ Sherring : *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, (Calcutta, 1881), p. 8.

¹²⁸ Bernier's *Travels*, p. 335.

¹²⁹ *Dashamaskand Bhāshā*, No. 108 (SBLU), transcribed V.S. 1730 ; *Gutkā* containing classical works in *Bhāshā*, Nos. 706, 707, 708, 709, 710 (SBLU), transcribed in V.S. 1793 (1736 A.D.)

impasse. With nothing available to read, formal education was out of the question. Although monasticism, priesthood, family environment and cultural centres and institutions, as surveyed, kept learning alive in the mediaeval age, many factors, as sketched above, tended to make the learning narrow and restricted. But we may also say that education in those days might have suffered from quantitative consideration, it hardly lacked the quality of learning. Yet the age produced many great scholars.

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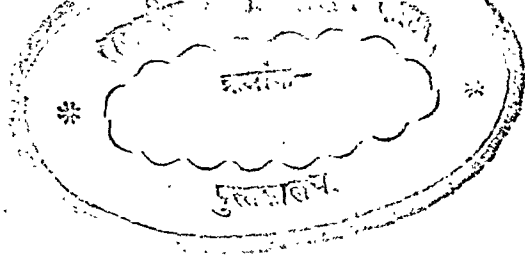
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Agriculture and Industrial Developments

Agriculture

The most important element in the economic life of the people of Rājasthān was agriculture. Although many different political and social factors had affected the development of agriculture through centuries, the basic facts of land, soil, system of cultivation, product, rural manufactures and industries, taxes etc., had been the foundations of rural life and their effects had always been apparent in the rural economy.

Land

Land was indeed the most important factor in agriculture, the sole ownership of which, as it seems from the ruler's titles, such as *Prithvipāla*¹ and *Bhupāla*,² belonged to the princes. From the expression like *ādeshtā*³ (by the order of), generally used in *Copper-plate Grants* and *Pattās*, it is certain that these chiefs had the authority to reappportion the land after certain period or at the death of original owner of the land. They had the right either to confiscate the land or transfer it from one cultivator to another or one owner to another. By the order⁴ of Mahārānā Jai Singh Joshi, Mayā Rāmā was allowed to reoccupy his land in Jawār in V.S. 1753 (1696 A.D.) the land which had been confiscated. Similarly, Joshi Nagā's land in Sāmtā which had been confiscated was again conferred upon him in V. S. 1788 (1731 A. D.)^{4A} Village Bhāduda of Godwād *parganāh*, which had been confiscated,^{4B} was returned to the original owner in V.S. 1813.

¹ *Ingodā Inscription*, V. S. 1190 (1133 A. D.), L. 2, JA., Vol. VI, pp. 55-56.

² *Vijayasthambha Inscription*, V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.), Part II, v. 3; Sārdā : *Kumbhā*, p. 212.

³ *Copper-plate Grants* No. 1725, V. S. 1589 (1532 A. D.), No. 866, V. S. 1713 (1656 A. D.), No. 1471, V. S. 1772 (1715 A. D.), etc. (ODRU).

⁴ *Pattā (uthantri)*, Jāwār, 2nd of the bright-half of *Mārgasīrsa*, V. S. 1753 (1696 A. D.)

^{4A} *Pattā* of Mahārānā Sangrām Singh, 8th of the dark-half of *Kārtika*, V. S. 1788 (1731 A. D.), No. 26/17, *Jāgir* 1995 (ODRU).

^{4B} *Hath Bahi* No. 2, f. 64, V. S. 1813 (1756 A. D.)

Such lands fell into five legal categories as *Khālisāh* (reserved land), *jāgir*, *bhum* (rent-free), *sāsaṇ* (*muāfi*) and *charnota* (meadow and common land).⁵

The most important of these lands is *khālisāh* which by the right belonged to the state, but in actual practice those who cultivated it were its masters as long as they paid the rent. The cultivators were generally, as now, undisturbed in their possessions so long as they paid the land revenue—*bhoga* or *hāsil*. By virtue of holding *pattās* the farmers were the occupier of rights of mortgage and sale, and enjoyed an indestructible title to the land so long as they paid the assessment upon it. This right in a sense was as a rule permanent and unlimited and could be sold or passed on in inheritance. To all practical purposes, therefore, *khālisāh* lands belonged to their holders. They were sold, mortgaged and given on contracts, as revealed from the contemporary documents.⁶

The second category was that of *jāgir* applied only to lands which were held by *jāgirdārs* as their share of right of inheritance in lieu of which they were required to offer services of military, civil or political nature. Such holders paid a fixed annual tribute, variously called *chhatunda*, *rekha*, *chākri*, etc. These lands were not usually liable to confiscation save for some grave political offence. Since this aspect has been dealt with in Chapter 2, it needs no further discussion or documentation here.

The third category was the *bhum*, which has also been noted in Chapter 3, held by *Bhumiās*, who paid a nominal quit-rent (*bhum-barār*), and performed such services as watch and ward of their villages, guarding the roads, escorting treasures, etc. As long as they did not neglect their duties they remained holders of land for ever. But such lands could not be sold.

The fourth category was of *sāsaṇ* or *muāfi* granted to Brāhman, Gosāins and other priestly castes, as well as Chāraṇs and Bhāts. The holders neither paid tribute nor performed service. The lands made into *sāsaṇ* or *muāfi* could not be sold or otherwise alienated, but must be kept intact in perpetuity with only its yield utilized for the purposes subserved by the condition specified in the grant for *sāsaṇ* or *muāfi*. The donors

⁵ *Imp. Gaz.*, Raj., Prov. Series, p. 123.

⁶ *Sale deeds* V.S. 1725 (1668 A.D.), V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.), V.S. 1835 (1778 A.D.), etc., vide Kotāh Archives, *Bhandāra* No. 27, *Bastā* No. 17; *Mortgage Deeds*, V.S. 1820 (1763 A.D.), V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.), V.S. 1840 (1783 A.D.), etc., vide Jodhpur Records (BA); *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1820-1840 (1763-1783 A. D.); *Hāsil Bahi*, Bikāner, V.S. 1809-1825 (1752-1768 A.D.)

usually conferred upon the donees like Kaduā,⁷ Rupā,⁸ Devā,⁹ etc., the perpetual right of possession over the land assigned to them in regular succession from fathers to sons, and sons to grandsons, as long as the Sun and Moon existed in firmament.

In cases of such lands mortgages were not uncommon. Such transactions were conducted in the presence of the relations, neighbours and other elderly men of the village who acted as witnesses. The Dhulev deed¹⁰ of V.S. 1807 (1750 A. D.) is a case in point, where Trivedi Jādav's wife, a *sāsan*-holder, recorded the mortgage deed of the land in the presence of Kapurji, Sadānanda and Amri, who were persons of some status and were also her relations. The examples of deeds of this nature are abundant during the period of our study, which show that the purposes subserved by the condition of *sāsans* have been defeated.

The fifth was *charnota* lands (meadows and common lands) used as grazing grounds, and which were the common property of the village as a whole or of several villages jointly.¹¹

Thus land formed the most important source from which the village derived its livelihood. The bulk of people of the period under review in villages were employed in the cultivation of land. We have already referred to the traditional and occupational aspects of society where it has been emphasised that not only agricultural classes like the Gujars, Jāts, Dhākads, etc., were engaged primarily in agriculture, but there were other castes also which were directly or indirectly connected with agricultural pursuits. The entire life was, as it is now, a co-operative undertaking. The farmers were taken to the tilling and harvesting the crops while their women assisted them in looking after animals and sharing in farm labour. The farmers' boys worked, as they do even now, for a number of years as shepherds, goatherds or cattleherds, till they reached the age of adolescence. The carpenters and blacksmiths co-operated with the husbandmen in making and mending ploughs and other

⁷ *Āghāt Chikali* (Bānswāra), 10th of the bright-half of *Āsoja*, V.S. 1532 (1475 A. D.), vide *Dungarpur Rājpatra* of 5th June, 1942.

⁸ *Janāitā Copper-plate* (Mewār), 15th of the bright-half of *Jyēṣṭha*, V.S. 1750 (1693 A. D.), No. 1035 (ODRU).

⁹ *Sirohi Copper-plate*, 11th of the dark-half of *Vaiśākha*, V. S. 1844 (1787 A. D.) (ODRS).

¹⁰ *Phulpānkhadī Bahī*, 7th of dark-half of *Phālguna*, V. S. 1807 (1750 A. D.), f. 10.

¹¹ *Copper-plate Grants* Nos. 232, 373, 546 (ODRU), 832, 943, etc. (JA), *Bhandāra* No. 52, File No. 45, V. S. 1823-1834 (1766-1777 A. D.), etc., refer to such lands; *Bahī Kāgdā-ri*, No. 10, V. S. 1854 (1797 A. D.), BA.

implements. A class of people engaged themselves in lending money to farmers and helping them in exchanging village produce. From the point of view of occupational structure the Rājasthāni villages, like the villages in other parts of India, were largely homogeneous units with land as a significant factor in the socio-economic life.¹²

As the amount of land allotted to each family was fixed by tradition, it was redistributed, generation after generation, among the successors of the original owner. As a result, the land was divided into several plots, called *katkas*.¹³ At the time of redistribution of land the quality of the soil, its nearness to water and similar other factors were taken into consideration. Several Copper-plate Grants¹⁴ refer to such small plots as at *nādi* (rivulet), *magro* (hill), *mahudo* (a kind of tree), *pāti* (lowlands), etc., in numerous widely scattered separate small plots. The drawbacks of this system were as obvious as they were numerous. It was difficult to cultivate fields broken up into small oddly-shaped plots lying far apart. Narrow strips running up and down, when ploughed longitudinally, must have brought rapid deterioration through erosion. From the point of view of profit the cultivator of a small plot could not produce as much as he needed for the maintenance of his family; the obvious result was either impoverishment or abandonment of the plots. On account of fragmentation of small holdings, Navlā Kāka,¹⁵ Lālo Hemaro¹⁶ and Devlo Kukāro¹⁷, for example, had to abandon their small share in the villages of Bāmniyā (Mewār), Bhuvāi (Bikāner), Sedā (Sirohi) respectively in the 18th century and became hired labourers in their villages, as evidenced by the notes of cancellation in the records of their holdings.

Classification of the Soil

In Rājasthān, the soil was classified and reclassified variously from time to time. In early mediaeval times the land that could be irrigated by one well was called *Kośavāhaka*¹⁸ or a land that could be irrigated by one

¹² Compare some interesting references in Tod's *Annals* for the village life, pp. 377-400, 509, etc. (R.K. Paul, London, 1950).

¹³ *Chikli-plate*, V.S. 1540 (1483 A.D.)

¹⁴ *Copper-plate Grants*, V.S. 1700 (No. 824), V.S. 1732 (No. 374), V.S. 1787 (No. 150), V.S. 1788 (No. 145), V.S. 1798 (No. 823), V.S. 1800 (No. 757), V.S. 1810, (No. 135), etc. (ODRU).

¹⁵ *Khatuni*, Bāmniyā, V.S. 1807 (1750 A.D.) (ODRU).

¹⁶ *Kāgdā-ri-Bahi*, V.S. 1820 (1763 A.D.), (BA); *Bahi Khālsā*, V.S. 1808 (1751 A.D.)

¹⁷ Settlement Records, Sirohi, Sedā, V.S. 1857 (1800 A.D.) (ODRS).

¹⁸ *Pratapgarh Inscription* of the 5th of the dark-half of *Margaśirsa*, V.S. 1003 (14th Nov., 946 A.D.), I, 31, *Report of Museum, Ajmer*, 1915-1916.

kośa or leather bucket. The land adjacent to common highway was termed as *sadhāra*¹⁹ and the fields bordering on a stream or near a well were classed as *kaccha*.²⁰ This very class of land namely, one near a well began to be called *dolikā*,²¹ *doli*, *dimadā* and *dhimdu*²² in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.

During the 17th and 18th centuries a fresh classification of the land was made. The land began to be classed as *piwala* (irrigated land), *talāi* (dry land from a pond), *kānkada* (outlying fields), *gulat-hānsa* (marshy land), *vidā* (grass-land), *rānkhada* (soil covered with loose stores), *nādi* (land adjacent to a rivulet), *māla* (black-loam), *magro* (hilly), *hakat-vahata* (cultivable and irrigable land), *vādi* (land for gardening) and *gormā* (manured home land).²³ At a later stage, it was classed as *Chāhi* (watered from wells), *Sairābā* (watered from canals) and *barāni*²⁴ (depending on rainfall).

The greater part of the territory of Rājasthān, comprising Jodhpur, Bikāner, Jaisalmer, Shekhāvāti and Ajmer consisted of sandy soil.²⁵ In the valley of the Bāngangā it was either black cotton or rich alluvial loam.²⁶ In Bundi the land was mostly of *māla* (black loam) category. *Chiknota* (black soil), *matiyāra* (sandy loam) and *bhūra* (brown loam) were other kinds of soils.²⁷

The System of Cultivation

No detailed references to the system of cultivation, then in vogue, are available. But whatever scanty account that has been made available

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1. 32.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1. 28.

²¹ *Bijoliyān Rock Inscription* of V.S. 1226 (1169 A.D.)

²² *Vāghinā (Sirohi) Inscription* of the 10th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha* V.S. 1359 (8th April, 1302 A.D.) ; *Jaina Inscription*, I, p. 267 ; *Pādiv Copper-plate (Sirohi)* of the 30th of the bright-half of *Kārtika*, V.S. 1603 (3rd Nov., 1546 A.D.) (Sirohi Archives).

²³ *Copper-plate Grants*, V.S. 1700 (1643 A.D.) (No. 824), V.S. 1732 (1675 A. D.) (No. 374), V.S. 1787 (1730 A.D.) (No. 150), V. S. 1788 (1731 A.D.) (No. 145), V.S. 1798 (1741 A. D.) (No. 823), V.S. 1800 (1743 A.D.) (No. 757), V.S. 1810 (1753 A.D.) (No. 135) and V.S. 1895 (1838 A. D.) (No. 6). (Old Deposited Records, Udaipur).

²⁴ *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj., Pro. Series, p. 328.

²⁵ *Tārikh-i-Dāudī*, E. & D. IV, p. 475 ; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, E. & D. V, p. 211 ; *Bikāner Gozal*, V.S. 1765 (1708 A.D.)

²⁶ *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 273 ; *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj., Pro. Series, p. 241.

²⁷ *The Imp. Gaz.*, Rāj., Pro. Series, p. 328.

to us reveals that practically it did not differ much from the present system followed in the villages, which have not been influenced by the modern system of cultivation.

The method employed in agriculture was nearly the same as we find today. Division of land in pieces known as *katkā* or *batkā* was very common. These *katkās* or *batkās* were further divided in small squares called *kyāris*. The *Chikli Plate*²⁸ of V.S. 1540 (1483 A.D.) refers to two *katkās* of an agricultural land belonging to Veṇā. Similarly, the *Panchatantra*²⁹ painting preserves sixteen square divisions of a small piece of land enclosed by a hedge, called 'Vāda', of thorny shrubs to prevent stray animals. When the crop came to its ripening time, regular watch was conducted by the owner of the land so that it might not be devoured by birds or beasts. Larger fields were looked after by hired watchmen who were given a share of the produce at the time of the collection of the crop. The service of this nature was termed *rakhavāli* in several documents.³⁰

The main agricultural implements were the same as *Kudāli*, *phāvdo*, *ghenti*, etc., used several hundred years ago. Ploughing with wooden ploughs drawn by oxen was in vogue. The importance of plough was emphasised to the extent that the cultivable land was measured by *hala*. One *hala* consisted of 50 *bighās* and one *halvā* or unit of two *hala* amounted to 100 *bighās*.³¹ Harvesting with sickle and winnowing by tossing corn in the wind, as it is done now, were the common methods adopted in agriculture.³²

Irrigation

In this part of the country several means were adopted for irrigating fields. The earliest reference of this is found in the *Pratāpgarh Inscription*³³ of V.S. 1003 which mentions irrigation through leather bucket called *koshvāhaka*. Bābur noticed irrigation through leather buckets in Bayānā. He says, "At the well-edge they set up a fork of wood, having a

²⁸ *Chikli Plate*, 7th of the dark-half of *Phālguna*, V.S. 1540 (1483 A.D.)

²⁹ *Panchatantra* (Illustrated), f. 4.

³⁰ *Bahi Jaitpur*, V. S. 1722 (1665 A.D.) (BA) ; *Kāgdā-ri-Bahi*, V.S. 1857 (1800 A.D.), BA ; *Bhandāra* No. 3, *Bastā* No. 11, V. S. 1858 (1801 A.D.), KA.

³¹ *A Copper-plate Grant of Thakrādā*, V.S. 1212 and another of V.S. 1589, No. 1725 (ODRU) ; Plate Nos. 477, 685, 184, 41C etc., (ODRU) ; G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 192.

³² *Ekādashimahātmya* (Illustrated), ff. 25-27 : *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa*, (Illustrated) f. 5 : *Panchatantra* (Illustrated), f. 34 (PPJ).

³³ *Pratāpgarh Inscription* of V.S. 1003, 1. 26, Part I, 1.31, Part IV, A. R. R.M. Ajmer, 1914.

roller adjusted between the forks, tie a rope to a large bucket, put the rope over the roller, and tie its other end to the bullock. One person must drive the bullock, another empty the bucket. Every time the bullock turns after having drawn the bucket out of the well, that rope lies on the bullock-track, in pollution of urine and dung, before it descends again into the well.”³⁴ Equally interesting is Bābur’s account of the Persian-wheel which he noticed in the district of Bayānā. In describing this method of irrigation he says, “People water by means of a wheel. They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel-axle a second wheel is fixed, and close to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns ; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed everywhere.”³⁵ He also refers to a third method of irrigating the fields—men and women carry water in pitchers by turns with great labour.³⁶

Nizāmuddin, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, confirms the method of irrigation through buckets in the territory of Bikāner. According to him the bucket was drawn up by a bullock by means of a rope passing over a wheel at the top of the well, and the rope was so long that a drum was required to make the bullock-driver hear, for the well was so deep that a call would not reach him.³⁷ Irrigation through channels or drains cut out from lakes or tanks, mentioned in the *Rājaprasāsti*,³⁸ was also in vogue. This type of irrigation suited level lands.

Pictorial evidence is available in the *Pustak Prakāsha*, Jodhpur, which preserves sketches of irrigation by means of Persian wheel which rotated with the help of oxen. The *Nāthcharitra* painting depicts a bucket of leather suspended from a string over the wheel and two men attending the process of diverting water from one field to another.³⁹

³⁴ *Bāburnāma*, f. 208a, Beveridge, II, p. 487.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 208, Beveridge, II, p. 486.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 208, Beveridge, I, p. 487.

³⁷ *Tabaqāt*, E & D., Vol. V, p. 212.

³⁸ *Rājaprasāsti*, Canto IX, Slab X, v. 30, EI., XXIX-XXX, pp. 101-103.

³⁹ *Panchatantra* (Illustrated) PPJ, *tantra* 4, f. 37 ; *Nāthcharitra* (Illustrated) PPJ.

The Produce of the Land

The agricultural produce of Rājasthān as a whole did not differ from what it is to-day except for the newly introduced cultivation of cabbages, tomatoes, potatoes, and the cultivation of wheat in Gangānagar district of Bikāner. In villages, where irrigation facilities through wells and tanks existed, rows of rice fields, rich rosary of pulses and fine fields of sugar-cane were found.⁴⁰ The principal crops of the desert area was *jawār* (millet), *bājrā*, barley and *moth*.⁴¹ In fertile areas of oases and rivulets of Sānchor, Jaisalmer and Bikāner, wheat, gram, *mung*, oil-seed and cotton were grown.⁴² Gram, coriander, pearl-millet and grey-gram were the chief crops of Hādōti.⁴³ Rice was the chief produce of Vāgad and Chhappan, wheat and gram were grown in Uparmāl, wheat, rice and gram, maize, hemp and pulses were sown in Mewār, and rice, wheat, gram and pulses were produced in the Jargā valley.⁴⁴ All types of food-stuff were grown in the fertile areas of Āmber.⁴⁵ According to Manucci,⁴⁶ wherever there existed water facilities and productive soil in the *subāh* of Ajmer harvests were plentiful and so also milk and butter. Pratāpgārḥ was known for rice, wheat, cotton and poppy plant.⁴⁷ The Jodhpur Records⁴⁸ give an exhaustive list of the crops collected from villages of Chhahar, Hunasro, Narharro, Kisigaro, Marvaro and Pokhraṅ of *khālisah* (reserve area) *parganāh* of Mārwar of which pearl-millet, *mung* (*Phaseolus mungo*), grey-gram, oil-seed, cotton, wheat and coriander were important.

These various kinds of land produce were appropriated to different seasons. Autumn harvest was termed as *siālu*, and spring *unālu*.⁴⁹ The former was the more important in that it covered a larger area, and the poor classes depended almost entirely on it for their annual food supply ; on the other hand, the money value of the spring harvest was generally greater, and it was often said that the agriculturists looked to it to pay

⁴⁰ *Ekalinga Inscription*, V. S. 1545 (1488 A.D.), v. 87, *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, IX.

⁴¹ *Akbarnāma*, p. 182 ; H. Beveridge, p. 375 ; *Firishtā*, pp. 228 and 420 ; Briggs, II and IV, pp. 123 and 551.

⁴² Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, ff. 12 and 61.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, f. 34.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 12.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 97.

⁴⁶ Manucci ; *Storia-do-Mogor*, II, p. 425.

⁴⁷ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, p. 127 (edited by Asopā) ; Tod : *Annals*, III, pp. 1670, 1671.

⁴⁸ *Hat Bahi* No. 1 of the 7th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V. S. 1824 (5th May, 1767 A. D.), ff. 31-48.

⁴⁹ *Copper-plate Grants*, V. S. 1704 (1647 A. D.) (Nos. 865 and 1720) and V. S. 1731 (1674 A. D.) (No. 861), etc. (ODRU).

their rent and the money-lenders on whom they were usually dependent for everything.

Rural Manufactures and Cottage Industries

Agricultural produce supplied the need of several crafts and industries to flourish in the villages. The craftsmen engaged in a number of industries were generally hereditary. On account of their being employed in a particular craft from generation to generation, they acquired skill and proficiency in the art, and the obvious result was that the output as a whole was satisfactory. Bābur⁵⁰ had spoken very high of the artisans of the north-eastern Rājasthān, who had gained efficiency and skill through their exclusive employment in the same profession. Of course, it must be admitted that the village craftsmen of mediaeval times could not make progress beyond certain limits, on account of the fact of their being subjected to administrative oppression of forced labour and a low social position assigned to those who followed unclean occupations. In Udaipur and Kotāh, as for example, gold-smiths, weavers and *barāis* had to offer their services to the states without claiming any remuneration in return. In addition to this they had to pay annas eight per year as vocation tax.⁵¹

The most important manufacture based on forest produce, in which specific classes like *Kalāl* and *Bhil* of the villages of Rājasthān were engaged, was that of spirit and liquor. Babur⁵² in his *Tuzūk* refers to persons in the Chambal valley engaged in collecting date liquor. He says that liquor was made out of date-palm trees. He further says that people make a wound in the tree, and into this wound insert a 'leaf-let', in such a way that all liquid flowing from the wound runs down it. The tip of the 'leaf-let' is set over the mouth of a pot suspended to the tree in such a way that it collects whatever liquor is yielded by the wound. This liquor is pleasant and exhilarating if drunk fresh; but if drunk after two or three days, it is quite intoxicating. References are found in our records of *mahuwā*⁵³ fruits used for manufacturing liquor. A group of small villages or substantial villages had one *Kalāl*⁵⁴ each for selling and manufacturing liquors.

⁵⁰ *Bāburnāma*, f. 290, Beveridge II, p. 518.

⁵¹ A *Pattā* No. 43, 3rd of the dark-half of V. S. 1756 (1699 A. D.), (ODRU); *Bhandāra* No. 16, V. S. 1789 (1732 A. D.), (KA); File No. 149 (5), V. S. 1807 (1750 A. D.), (ODRU); Tod; *Annals*, III, p. 1729.

⁵² *Bāburnāma*, f. 213, Beveridge II, pp. 508-509.

⁵³ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 32, V. S. 1774 (1717 A. D.), V. S. 1805 (1748 A. D.), V.S. 1830 (1773 A. D.), etc. (KA).

⁵⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 14, *Bastā* No. 1, V. S. 1826 (1769 A. D.), V.S. 1834 (1777 A. D.), V.S. 1842 (1785 A. D.), V.S. 1852 (1795 A. D.), etc. (KA); *Ṣakāt Bahi*, Nohrā (BA), V. S. 1814 (1757 A. D.)

Other noteworthy manufactures, referred to in our records,⁵⁵ based on agricultural produce were those of unrefined sugar and a variety of oils. *Kaṇbis* were engaged in weaving, spinning of cotton and bringing out finished pieces of cloth. Earthen pots and baskets were manufactured by potters and *ghānchās* respectively for the rural need. The *balāis* and *chamārs* engaged themselves in tanning and in the hereditary work of making shoes and leather-buckets. The villages had blacksmiths who were busy smelting iron-ore and preparing various agricultural implements, and articles of common use as, arms of irons, locks, keys, knives, nails, etc. The carpenters also constituted as one of the non-agricultural specialists who manufactured a great variety of goods—wooden utensils, wheels, sheds, ploughs and harnesses, etc.

The spare time of an agriculturist—whether land-owner, tenant-farmer, share-cropper, or day labourer, whose major part of time was spent in hard work at field, was utilised in making ropes and doing minor repairs of agricultural appliances. The writer of the *Dugoli Gazal*⁵⁶ significantly observed that even the village women, who kept themselves engaged daily in domestic and field work, from early in the morning till late in the night, took interest in home industry of spinning cotton on their simple spinning-wheels or *charkhās*.

The Land Tax

The land tax was the connecting link between the tillers of the soil and the states. *Bhoga* and *hāsil* were the terms used for the share due to the states. It was usually 1/4th or 1/3rd of the gross produce that a farmer had to pay to the state authorities. The *bhoga* was determined by *lātā*, a mode of collection of revenue when the state portion was taken in kind on the spot after duly measuring and weighing it, or by *kuntā*, a mode of collection of revenue by guess without undergoing the process of weighing.⁵⁷

Besides this share the agriculturist had to pay a cess on wood which was called *khadrākhada*.⁵⁸ Similarly, there were other cesses like *vettha* (forced labour) which the agriculturists had to undergo whenever an

⁵⁵ *Śrāvaka-vratādi-atichār*, p. 64, (Prāchin Gujrāti Sandarbha); *Bhandāra* No. 5, V. S. 1739 (KA); *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 32, V. S. 1789 (1732 A.D.), Nandgām (KA); *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1822 (1765 A.D.), districts Jalor, Medtā, Siwānā, Bilādā, Didwānā, Nāvā, etc.

⁵⁶ *Dugoli Gazal*.

⁵⁷ *Bokhrākhedi Grant*, 15th of the dark-half of *Śravaṇa*, V. S. 1593 (1536 A. D.), No. 866 and *Pattā* No. 193 (3), V. S. 1785 (1728 A. D.) (ODRU), etc.; Tod: *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 582-583 (Crook ed. 1920).

⁵⁸ *Pattā* of Bhāgchand to Kalji, 12th of the dark-half of *Vaiśākha*, V. S. 1682 (1625 A. D.) (ODRU).

occasion arose. The *gaontakkā* was a cess, which appears from a *Pattā* of V. S. 1745 (1688 A. D.), charged at different rates on the articles of exports and imports in a village. A document of V. S. 1745 (1688 A. D.) says that three *dāms* were realised for a donkey-load of vegetables in *Havālā* villages.⁵⁹ There was another cess called *gugri* which was valued only as a mark of proprietary recognition⁶⁰ charged from a certain portion of the harvest. In addition to the above the agriculturist had to render free services or *begāra*.⁶¹

The *Bikāner Bahi*⁶² of V. S. 1749 (1692 A. D.) mentions *kātha* (wood), *nāli* (irrigation), *sahar* (town), *thakrājā* (feudal dues), *takkār* (war), *sukhadi* and *khichadi* (perquisite) as cesses. The *Bahi*⁶³ of V. S. 1750 (1693 A. D.) reveals that *kil*, *haro*, *pātlā*, *dhuvo*, *ilkār* and *viram* were the types of *chungi* collected during Mahārājā Anup Singh's time. The *Bahi*⁶⁴ of Bhatner, V. S. 1752 (1695 A. D.) mentions *khurāk* (ration), *kasur* (fine), *kāgad* (post) and *badotri* (excess charges on exchange) as categories of a cess called *lāga*.

The *Rojnāmā*⁶⁵ of Jaipur V. S. 1773 (1716 A. D.) makes mention of *peshkash*,⁶⁶ *rāhadāri*,⁶⁷ *puro*,⁶⁸ and *chobhi*⁶⁹ as cesses collected from *parganāh* of *Pidā*. On cash crops *varād* was charged in order to meet the deficiency in the rent collected. It appears that it was a money cess levied for the rough attempt of equalisation on enticement of demand over 1/3rd or 1/4th of the state's share. The *Rojnāmā*⁷⁰ of Jaipur, V. S. 1826 (1769 A. D.) shows that *potdār* Raṇachhodadās collected *varād* in 19 *takkās* besides other

⁵⁹ *Pattā* No. 9, V. S. 1745 (1688 A. D.) (ODRU).

⁶⁰ Tod : *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 579.

⁶¹ For such practices refer *Pattās* Nos. 43 and 149 of V. S. 1730 (1673 A. D.) and 1742 (1685 A. D.) respectively (ODRU).

⁶² *Chhātri Bahi* (Bikāner), V. S. 1749 (1692 A. D.)

⁶³ *Rokada Bahi* (Bikaner), V. S. 1750 (1693 A. D.)

⁶⁴ *Bhatner Bahi* (Bikaner), V. S. 1752 (1695 A. D.)

⁶⁵ *Rojnāmā Potdār Parganāh Pidā* for the month of *Phālguna*, V. S. 1773 (1716 A. D.)

⁶⁶ It was a present to the state by land-holders or officers of status.

⁶⁷ It was a tax on commercial articles for the safe journey from one place to another.

⁶⁸ It was a contributory cess towards surplus of grass.

⁶⁹ A tax on the occasion of camp of royal persons.

⁷⁰ *Rojnāmā Vādganj*, 12th of the bright-half of *Śrāvāṇa*, V. S. 1826 (1769 A. D.)

taxes from Vadganj. From the Kotāh records⁷¹ it appears that the *varād* was also an indefinite term for taxation and was connected with the things taxed : as *ganīm-varād* or war tax, *ghara-varād* or house-tax, *chulā-varād* (oven-tax), and *hala-varād* or plough-tax.

From the Jodhpur records,⁷² we learn that there were several other duties that the cultivators had to pay. There was a *bābe* or a tax on certain share of the product for sale. There was another tax termed as *sedā* charged by the state when the original cultivator entrusted or passed on his field to another tiller. At the time of reaping the crop a tax was charged *nini* (permission to cut the crop). *Ghāsbechi* was a tax on grass sold. *Ghāsmāri* was a grazing tax on cattle, or as the term denotes, the right of pasture. The annual rate of tax levied by the state on sheep and goats was an anna per head, on a buffalo it was eight annas, and on a camel it was three rupees. *Sarānā* was a tax levied on import at the rate of one seer per maund of corn as the state share. *Siwādā* was charged on the border villages. On festivals such as Divāli and Holi, the villages had to pay a tax called *tiwāra*. *Vichhāyata* and *Suturkhānā* were charged for the royal carpets and royal stables respectively. In Jaipur we find reference to *farse* and *gupti* as war taxes.

Some of these cesses were sometimes remitted as shown in *pattās*⁷³ of V. S. 1752 and V. S. 1882 conferred upon Raṇachhoda and Joshi Kalji of village Bhādujā respectively.

Many of these taxes like *rāhadāri*, *ganīm-varād*, *peškash*, *jurāyan*, *zakāt*, etc., which were levied by the mediaeval sultans and their successors the Mughals, came into vogue in Rājasthān after Mughal contact. On the occasion of *Darbārs* the *parganāh* officers presented their collections before the Mahārājās. The officers who made good collections were rewarded

⁷¹ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.), V.S. 1789 (1732 A.D.), V.S. 1820 (1763 A.D.), etc. ; *Bhandāra* No. 14, *Bastā* No. 1, V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.), V.S. 1834 (1777 A.D.), V.S. 1836 (1779 A.D.), V.S. 1852 (1795 A.D.), etc. ; File Kotāh, No. 64/1839/26 and 70/1853/3.

⁷² *Parwānāh*, 1st *Ramzān*, H. 1109, V. S. 1755 (1698 A. D.) (JA) No. 2986, P. C.—V. III ; *Khāsā Parwānāh Bahi*, Jodhpur, V. S. 1823 (1766 A. D.) ; Tod : *Annals*, p. 118 (R.K. Paul) ; *Havālā Bahi* V.S. 1901 (1844 A.D.) V.S. 1906 (1849 A.D.) etc. ; G. N. Sharma : *Havālā Bahi*, *J. R. Universities of U. P.*, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 93-104, Dec., 1960.

⁷³ *Pattā*, 3rd of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, V. S. 1752 (1695 A. D.) (ODRU) ; *Pattā*, V. S. 1882 (1825 A. D.) (ODRU).

with promotions and honours. However, the entire system of taxation was oppressive and was a heavy charge on the cultivators.⁷⁴

Observation on the rural economy

The foregoing account of the rural condition suggests that economically a village was a self-sufficient unit with a set of workers who jointly contributed towards the progress of the productive process. In a word, the village community was the most effective institution of mediaeval Rājasthān. But on account of its being isolated the cultivators were devoid of initiative and enterprise which made their life stagnant. In productive years, as the state records reveal, they could pay the rent and sell their surplus to obtain the much needed cash for the purchase of those necessities not produced by them. But in lean years, which recurred with relentless frequency, the pang of hunger forced the cultivators to obtain loans for the subsistence of their families and themselves. Indebtedness was the scourge of the cultivators in Rājasthān. The villagers⁷⁵ of Lodhiyān borrowed money from a Shah in V.S. 1763 as against their field mortgaged for easing their financial position. A document⁷⁶ of V.S. 1868 (1811 A.D.) of Hālji of Sānchor district records that if on the appointed time the money advanced for his need was not paid off, the mortgagee was at liberty to sell the property in part or as a whole. In or about the end of V.S. 1824 (1767 A.D.) the total indebtedness of the farmers belonging to Bālesar, district Bikāner, as revealed from the *Khātā Bahi*⁷⁷ was Rs. 2,001, besides Rs. 1,502 as an amount of debt of the money-lenders who extorted an annual interest rate of 50 to 100 per cent. It seems that the Government made no attempt to relieve this situation.

More awkward than the position of small holders was that of the landless cultivators who worked as tenant-farmers or share-croppers. Leases of the villages⁷⁸ namely Amberi, Chirvā, Ghāsa., Bhāgthalo, etc., as for example, of the year V.S. 1792, were short, rarely extending beyond one

⁷⁴ *Wākiāt-i-Jahāngiri*, E. & D., VI, pp. 284-290 ; *Muntakhāb-ul-Lulbāb*, P. T., p. 87, E. & D., VII, pp. 246-249 ; *Persian Correspondence*, 4th Safar, H. 1124 (1711 A.D.), No. 865 ; *Dastri Records*, V.S. 1820-1827 (1763-1770 A. D.), etc. ; *Havālā Bahi*, 14th of the bright-half of *Māgha*, V. S. 1906 (1849 A. D.) ; *Havālā Bahi*, 30th of the dark-half of *Aṣādhā*, V. S. 1911 (1854 A. D.)

⁷⁵ *A Pattā*, 3rd of the dark-half of *Posha*, V. S. 1763 (1706 A. D.), No. 163 (3) (ODRU).

⁷⁶ *Tahsil Sānchar*, No. 6, Mizālik File; 7th of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 1868 (1811 A. D.)

⁷⁷ *Khātā Bahi*, V. S. 1824 (1767 A. D.), BA ; *Bahi Hāsil*, V. S. 1827 (1770 A. D.), BA.

⁷⁸ *Girvā File* No. 208, V. S. 1792 (1735 A. D.) (ODRU).

year, and thus supplied no incentive for investment and improvement. Usually in such cases the tenants had to bear all the expenses of cultivation and pay the land-owners one-third or more of the crops in kind as their share. In an alternative arrangement better known as *ādihāte*, the land-owners⁷⁹ of Karanpur, Karāri and Bildi ploughed the field and supplied half of the seed and received one-half of the produce.

From the foregoing account it appears that agriculture in Rājasthān possibly gave a lower return. The cultivators had to remain satisfied with a meagre reward for hard work. Even though the whole household of the agriculturists, including wives and children, worked, yet from their labours emerged incomes which left over little when the necessaries were to be supplied. The very fact that several adult generations were often crowded into one small house, referred to above, suggests that the reserve of capital and labour for building homes was scanty. The inventory⁸⁰ of thefts committed at the house of Navlā of Bherudā supports that even comparatively well-to-do peasants were able to acquire few worldly goods. The list shows that the farmer had only two *dhotis* and two turbans for him, four *sāries* costing between Rs. 2 - 4 for his wife and about ten utensils costing about Rs. 25.

Moreover, whatever scanty income and the slowly accumulated capital the farmers had was wiped out by war, famine, and pestilence. Wars brought loss to the areas over which armies moved, taking what was movable and destroying what was not. Such conflicts as Rājput-Mughal struggle and Rajput-Marāthā wars caused much destruction of life and property. Heavy taxes, feudal levies and outbursts of robbery by powerful and poor alike also told heavily on farmers' life. Yet, it is strange to record, through all painful sufferings there ran the common thread of contentment in peasantry that toiled to sustain itself and bore the burden of the military and political pressures. In brief, though there are observations, few and far between, on the life of the peasants, it can conveniently be asserted that the cultivators' lot was not certainly enviable. Their abject condition has been aptly described by Col. Tod⁸¹ in the words, "Thus the ryot went to work with a mill-stone round his neck ; instead of the exhilarating reflection that every hour's additional labour was his own, he saw merely the advantage of these harpies, and contented himself with raising a scanty subsistence in a slovenly and indolent manner....."

⁷⁹ File No. 209, V. S. 1802 (1745 A. D.) (ODRU).

⁸⁰ *Havālā Bahi*, 10th of the dark-half of *Āṣādha*, V. S. 1911 (1854 A. D.)

⁸¹ Tod : *Annals*. Also compare the account in his Chapter 18th.

Industries in Towns

As the role of the villages had been confined to providing food and some raw material, the towns concentrated in producing finished goods for distribution in land or for export outside. The princes of Rājasthān had played a novel part in the industrialisation of the country. Their going to the imperial court, and seeing the luxury of the Mughal emperors as a whole developed in them a taste for dress, food and dwellings of the Mughals. They became accustomed to rugs on the floor and tapestries on the wall. They liked to handle fine armour and swords such as few local workers could fashion. They created a demand which stirred the traders of Rājasthān to import goods from Mughal India and stimulated Rājasthāni craftsmen to produce things which were like them. Contact with the Mughals stirred the nobility also to improve its domestic furnishings. As the rich class developed a desire for more decorative products in wood, metal, stone, fibres, leather, etc., many a town in Rājasthān produced them. The concentration in the towns of all those elements devoted wholly or partly to occupations related to court-fashion, trade, administration, etc., attracted a considerable number of specialists in trades, crafts, arts, and professions to cater to the needs of the wealthy upper crust of society. This led to the development of many industries in Rājasthān.

Textiles

Cloth-making was a widely spread and important industry, catering for local markets. As there was a large-scale production of cotton in and around Uparmāl, Hāroti and Dhundhār, there sprang up centres of manufacture of cotton cloth such as Pāli,⁸² Delwādā,⁸³ Sironj⁸⁴ and Ajmer.⁸⁵ The labour supply for these centres must also have been abundant as they were amidst thickly-populated parts of Rājasthān. Moreover, the textile industry grew up rapidly in these and other centres, as it was thoroughly capitalized by capitalist clothiers, who owned the raw material and the finished product. There are evidences⁸⁶ which show that Nimb, Visāl and Meghā of Delwārā (15th century), Jhānjhan, Gundeva, Punyapāla

⁸² *Panchashatakavatti*, V. S. 1442 (1385 A.D.), *vide Paliwal Jaina Itihās*, p. 13.

⁸³ *Delwādā Inscription*, 2nd of the bright-half of V. S. 1491 (1434 A. D.)

⁸⁴ *Storia-do-Mogor*, I, p. 68.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 425.

⁸⁶ *Gurvāvali*, V. S. 1489 (1432 A. D.), vv. 353-354 ; *Jaina Inscriptions* I, pp. 59-60 ; *Haqiqat Bahi*, V. S. 1822 (1765 A. D.) (JA) ; ... *Bhandāra* No. 16, V.S. 1816-1842 (1759-1785 A. D.) (KA).

(16th century), Kalhan, Ratnā and Rājpal (17th century) of Mārwar, and Kāngiri, Bakhatgiri and Jayakriṣṇa (18th century) of Kotāh were the dealers and stockists in cloths.

Mention may also be made here of the weaving, dyeing and printing of cloths which were important handicrafts of the period under review. Spinners and weavers could produce fine muslins as referred to by the writers of the period under review. According to them the aristocratic ladies wore garments of extreme thinness. Sāngāner near Jaipur, Chitor, Sironj, Bharatpur and Udaipur were famous for 'calicuts' or 'calicos' having floriated prints in variegated colours, of which were made veils for women and scarfs for men. It also served for bed-covers and kerchiefs. The speciality of the printed 'calicos' of Sironj, noticed by Tavernier, was that the more they were washed, the brighter became the colour. It was supposed that it was due to the water of the river nearby that gave beauty and liveliness to the colours. The printing of colours on cloths was carried on during rainy season and then they were kept dipped into water for a long time till the colour grew fast. Thinner types of 'calicuts' (calicos) were also manufactured at Sironj which if put on would show the skin of the wearer. The variety was prepared for the ladies of the Mughal seraglio. Manucci mentions that Ajmer manufactured fine white cloth. Pāli also figures as an important place for dyeing and printing of cotton cloths. Bagru was famous for dyed or printed *chhint*. Kotāh and Udaipur were famous for printed *sāris* called *chundri* and *laharnā*. Jaisalmer produced superior types of blankets and other manufactured woollen stuff.⁸⁷

Another type of handicraft referred to in the *Dastur Komwār*⁸⁸ was the designing of stripes and flowers in silver and gold threads of finer cloths. The *Tārkash* and *Patwās* were engaged in this kind of work. Subhandās was a head *tārkash* and Gangā Rāma and Sāhib Rāma were the leading *patwās* of Jaipur (1727-1755 A. D.). The *tārkash* and *patwās* of Jaisalmer and Udaipur were experts in embroidery work⁸⁹

Metal-work

It appears that workers in metal had also acquired proficiency of marked importance during the period under review. From the *Kumbhalgarh*

⁸⁷ *Dastur Komwār*, III, f. 409, V. S. 1808; Tavernier, Chapter IV, Part II, p. 33; *Storia*, II, pp. 425, 429, 432; *Bahī Mahamāni* (KA), V. S. 1842 (1785 A. D.); *Mewār Painting*, Chundri and lady figures pp. 1-4 (Lalit Kalā); I. G. I. (P. Series), pp. 203, 211, 244, 255, 312, 382.

⁸⁸ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 23, f. 692, V. S. 1784 (1727 A. D.), f. 315, V. S. 1812 (1755 A. D.)

⁸⁹ Udaipur *Gazal*, vv. 37-39; Jaisalmer *Gazal*, vv. 74-102.

*Inscription*⁹⁰ we learn Mahārānā Mokal set up a lion, cast of the amalgam of all metals, as a vehicle of Devi and presented a gold Garuda to Viṣṇu. The *Inscription*⁹¹ dated V. S. 1468 (1411 A. D.) engraved on the magnificent iron *trishula* in the Achleśvara temple at Ābu, says that it had been manufactured in Chānerāo. Thousands of images cast of the amalgam of metals have been noticed in Jaina temples and are still found in a good state of preservation, ranging from the 15th to 18th centuries. They depict supreme craftsmanship. They preserve the names of workmen like Sāmāl of Mertā, Mansukha, Dhanā, Sādu of Jaisalmer and Velā of Udaipur.⁹² The *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*⁹³ and the *Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Chaghtāia*⁹⁴ write that Khān Jahān Kokultāsh went to Jodhpur, brought a large number of images of gold, silver and copper and ordered them to be thrown before the main mosque of Delhi.

Due to constant war conditions in Rājasthān during our period of study, craftsmen like, iron-workers gun-workers, and makers of gloves came into prominence. These craftsmen settled at several important towns where their skill was needed and brought return. The states too employed them and patronised them. Abul Fazl⁹⁵ writes that workmen in weapon-making were found in large numbers in Rājasthān. The industry of sword-making and making of daggers and knives was well-established in Sirohi, Udaipur and Jaipur. The *Dastur Komwar*⁹⁶ gives several names of craftsmen of 1730-1753 A. D. of Jaipur who were devoted to the production of articles useful for warfare. Ali Nizām Haidrābādi, Allāh Buksh, Ilāhi Buksh, Kallu and Momchanda were craftsmen who were incharge of the royal *karkhānās* for manufacturing weapons. Most of these Muslim craftsmen were imported from outside so that they might be of some use to the state in encouraging skilled art in metal-work.

⁹⁰ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, Slab IV, V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.) vv. 224-225, EI., Vol. XXI, 1931-32.

⁹¹ Sārdā : *Mahārānā Kumbhā*, p. 10.

⁹² *Jaina Lekhasangraha*, Vol. II, Nos. 584-599 of V. S. 1480-1570 (1423-1513 A. D.) ; *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Nos. 583 to 599, 729-740 of V. S. 1611 (1554 A. D.) ; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Jaisalmer, Nos. 2155, 2164, 2505 of V. S. 1663 (1606 A. D.) ; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Jaipur, pp. 33-37 of V. S. 1601-1744 (1544-1687 A. D.) ; *Ibid.*, Udaipur, Nos. 1114-1122 of V. S. 1361 to 1705 (1304 to 1648 A. D.)

⁹³ *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, P. T., p. 175, E. and D. VII, p. 187.

⁹⁴ *Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Chaghtāia*, f. 119a.

⁹⁵ *Āin*, II, pp. 191-192.

⁹⁶ *Dastur Komwār* Vol. III and XXIII, ff. 1, 42, 315, 323, 341, V. S. 1787-1810.

From our records⁹⁷ of the 18th century, we learn that the cannons and guns were cast at Jodhpur and Merta. They were also cast at Kotāh and carried to Gāgron for the purpose of defence. For casting cannon at Kotāh 40 mds. of copper, 85 mds. of brass and 50 mds. of lead were purchased in V. S. 1859 (1802 A. D.)

Refined work in metals in general and in gold and silver in particular went hand in hand with the industry of weapon-making. Abul Fazl⁹⁸ bears testimony to the existence of excellent workmen such as, goldsmiths and jewellers in Rājasthān. The *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngiri*⁹⁹ records that Rānā Amar Singh presented to the prince a ruby, jars of pickles and jewelled arms which were locally made. He further mentions that on his way near Ujjain (1618 A. D.) Kunwar Karan presented jewelled vessels worth Rs. 21,000. He also records that Rāwal Samar Singh of Bānswārā offered a fine jewelled belt to him. He again writes that Rāwal Samar Singh of Bānswārā presented him a *pāndār* or box for betels which was locally made.¹⁰⁰ The *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*¹⁰¹ refers to 18 caparisons of gold and silver which Rānā Jay Singh presented to prince Āzam in 1681 A. D. at Rāj Samudra at the time of the treaty. In Kotāh there were expert goldsmiths and jewellers named Sukhpāl Chand, Lālu, Chatrā and Rāmchandra who were employed by the state to prepare jewelled ornaments, like rings, *dhugdhuḡi* and *tikās*. They were also required to prepare jewelled palanquins made of gold and silver in V. S. 1739 (1682 A. D.)¹⁰² In the *Khāsā Parvānāh Bahi*¹⁰³ is mentioned one Khusāl Chand who in V. S. 1829 (1772 A. D.) presented an enamelled jar to prince Fateh Singh of Jodhpur, The Jaipur jewellery and enamel work was of high order. Gumānimal and Thambandās were the pre-eminent craftsmen of Jaipur of the late 18th century and were patronised by the State.¹⁰⁴ Nāthdwārā too was famous for jewelled workmanship and workmanship of coloured enamel on silver and gold.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ P. R. C. XIV, 27 ; *Haqiqat Bahi*, No. 5, p. 94 (JA) ; *Bhandāra* No. 2, *Bastā* No. 2, V. S. 1859.

⁹⁸ *Āin*, II, pp. 192-273.

⁹⁹ *Tuzūk*, P. T., Aligarh ed. 1864, p. 135, R. and B., pp. 377-379.

¹⁰⁰ *Tuzūk*, R. & B., p. 379.

¹⁰¹ *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, P.T., p. 207, E. & D., Vol. III, p. 189.

¹⁰² *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, V. S. 1739 (1682 A. D.), File Nos. 3-5.

¹⁰³ *Khāsā Parvānāh Bahi* No. 1, V. S. 1829 (1772 A. D.) (Jod. A.)

¹⁰⁴ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. III, ff. 315, 395, 396.

¹⁰⁵ Cunningham : *A. S. of Northern India*, Vol. XXIII, pp.99-101 ; *I.G.I* (P. Series), p. 141.

Practically every kind of utensil of common use for instance vessels, basins, dishes, lids, cups, etc., were supplied by brass-workers. *Kasārās* of *Bhilwārā* and *Sawāi Mādhopur* had attained great skill in brass-work and copper-work. It seems that the mines of zinc at *Jāwar*, copper at *Bairāt* (*Jaipur*), *Chainpur* (*Mewār*), *Dhundhāri* and *Bidāsar* in *Bikāner* and iron in *Bigod* and *Jahāzpur* were worked to a certain degree for supplying raw material for metal-work.¹⁰⁶

Wood-work

Wood-work also constituted one of the most important hereditary industries. *Amir Khusrav*¹⁰⁷ is full of warm praise for the wood-work of *Jhain* (near *Ranṭhambhor*) captured by *Alāudhin Khilji* in 1299 A.D. From the *Kotāh Records*¹⁰⁸ we learn that wooden-toys were a speciality of *Udaipur* which were brought as articles of loot in V.S. 1770 (1713 A.D.) The *Dastur Komwār*¹⁰⁹ mentions the names of several carpenters of whom *Khemā*, who was in charge of the state *kārkhānā* in the middle of the 18th century, was pre-eminent. *Sawāi Mādhopur* and *Jahāzpur* had specialised in lacquered wooden articles.¹¹⁰ Wooden utensils, furniture of daily use, and artistically carved door-frames in a variety of patterns were manufactured in *Dungarpur* and *Bānswārā*.¹¹¹

Stone-work

Various accounts refer to a large number of workers who were engaged in construction of temples, palaces, forts and houses in towns. These edifices provided employment to a considerable number of skilled artisans and unskilled labour. Besides this sort of work helped the growth of subsidiary industries as stone-carving, sculpturing, engraving and manufacturing of bricks, mortar and lime, and quarrying stones. The temples at *Osiān*, *Nāgdā*, *Bādoli*, *Mount Ābu*, the palaces of *Chitor*, *Āmber*, *Jodhpur*, *Bikāner*, *Kotāh*, etc., all bear testimony to the fact that these industries had attained a high standard of efficiency, and maintained ancient building tradition to a great extent.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ *Āin*, II, pp. 192-273; *Khyāta-Bikāner-rā-Rāthodāri*, f. 119a; *Imp. Gaz.*, Prov. Series, pp. 203, 267.

¹⁰⁷ *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* by *Amir Khusrav*, E. and D., Vol. III, pp. 541-542.

¹⁰⁸ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 28, V.S. 1770 (1713 A.D.)

¹⁰⁹ *Dastur Komwār*, Vols. III and XXIII, ff. 323, 341, etc. V.S. 1787-1810 (1730-1753 A.D.)

¹¹⁰ *Imp. Gaz.*, Prov. Series, p. 267.

¹¹¹ *Administration Reports*, *Dungarpur* and *Bānswārā*, 1900-1915.

¹¹² *Brown*: *Indian Architecture* (Islamic period), Chapter XXII, pp. 126, 128; *Mārg*, March, 1959, 24-28, 33-38, 41-44, 54-59, etc.

Several inscriptions and works of the period of our study preserve names of engravers and architects who inscribed royal charters either on stone or copper plates, and constructed temples and state buildings. They were very popular and enjoyed either the patronage of princes or rich merchants. The *Aparājit Inscription*¹¹³ of V.S. 718 (661 A.D.) was engraved by Yashobhatta, son of Vatsa and grandson of Ajita. Amir Khusrāv¹¹⁴ praised the stone-work, gilded and plaster work by skilled masons employed for the construction of state building of Jhāin. The inscription¹¹⁵ of Samidheśvara was engraved by Visāla, son of Sutradhār Mahā, an artist of high repute in V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.) In the same year the *Śringiriśi Inscription*¹¹⁶ was engraved by Phanā who was well-versed in the science of architecture.

Mandan, as we have noted, was a skilled architect of Mahārānā Kumbhā under whose supervision a large number of temples, forts and palaces were constructed. From the *Rāṅpur Inscription*¹¹⁷ we learn that the chief architect of Rāṅpur temple was Dipaka. An inscription on the perforated stone window in the second storey of Vijayastambh, dated the 5th of the bright-half of *Phālguna*, V.S. 1499 (1442 A.D.) records that the architect Jaitā and his sons paid their homage to Samidheśvara after completing the construction of the great tower. The *Achalgarh Inscription*¹¹⁸ of V.S. 1515 (1458 A.D.) preserves the names of Mahiyā, Devā, Halā, Gadā, Hāpā, Nalā, Hānā and Kālā architects of great fame and name. The *Siwānā Inscription*¹¹⁹ of V.S. 1594 (1537 A.D.) preserves the names of Keshava and Karamchanda as engravers and architects of Māldeo. The *Jaisalmer Inscription*¹²⁰ of V.S. 1663 (1606 A.D.) records the names of Dhanā, Sedu, Sivdās, Jesā and Akhā as expert architects. The *Nāgor Inscription*¹²¹ of V.S. 1666 (1609 A.D.) mentions the names of Chānpā, Ratnā, Jodhā, Dāmā, Mannā and Dhannā as competent architects. In V.S. 1673 (1616 A.D.) there lived one Pānchā who constructed beautiful door-ways of the *upāsarā* or monastery of Jaisalmer.¹²² The names of Ujal, Jhaghā and Nārāyaṇa, who were the architects of the temples of

¹¹³ *Et.*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

¹¹⁴ *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl*, E. D., Vol. III, pp. 541-542

¹¹⁵ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, VI, p. 100, vv. 4-5.

¹¹⁶ *Śringiriśi Inscription*, v. 30, A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1924-25

¹¹⁷ *Rāṅpur Inscription*, line 46.

¹¹⁸ *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, p. 261, No. 2025 ; *Ibid.*, p. 167, No. 1715.

¹¹⁹ *Reu : Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 122.

¹²⁰ *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2447, pp. 108 and 109.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167, No. 1715.

¹²² *Ibid.*

Nākodā and Bādmed, are recorded in the Inscriptions¹²³ of V.S. 1676 (1619 A.D.) and V.S. 1678 (1621 A.D.). Mukunda, Kalyāna, Sukhdeva, Keso, Sunder, Lālā, etc., were skilled masons who were employed for engraving the inscription of *Rājāpraśasti* and for the construction of *Nochoki* and other buildings over the embankment of Rājsamudra lake.¹²⁴ Hundreds of names may be cited of architects of buildings and temples which bear witness to their skill as engineers and builders of our period of study.

Painting

Mention may be made here of the painting industry which had a very old tradition in Rājasthān. In the *Somasubhāgya-kāvya*¹²⁵ and the *Sangitarāja*¹²⁶ there are pointed references to the wall-paintings and paintings on the *pattas* or cloths meant for decoration of doors and pāndals erected for ceremonial purposes. Hundreds of names of painters who excelled in the art of painting have come down to us. The Album¹²⁷ No. 3 reveals the names of Faizullāh, Mir Ali and Fakir Ullāh as Muslim painters of Jaipur. From the *Rāgamālā*¹²⁸ set (1777-1802 A. D.) of Jaipur we learn the name of Mangal as a painter of great repute. The *Siyāhah Huzūr*¹²⁹ mentions the names of Tān, Sāhibā, Hirā, Udā, etc., as important painters of Jaipur of the middle of the 18th century. From the copies of the *Bhāgavata Dashamaskandha*¹³⁰ and the *Durgāpāth*¹³¹ set No. I, V. S. 1799 (1742 A. D.), belonging to the Mahārājā of Jaipur, we come across the names of several artists such as, Rāmsewaka, Gopāl, Udai, Lakṣmaṇa, Saligrāma, Jewana, Ghāsi, Hukmā, Rādhā Kriṣṇa, Chimana, Rāju, Sitārāma, Rājārāma, Dayārāma, and Hirā. The *Sivapurāṇa*¹³² of Jodhpur was illustrated by a joint labour of Dhirā, Mādhu, Dannā, Moti Rāma, Vidā, Maheshdān, Sivā Datta and Satidās. From the *Khajānchi Collection*¹³³

¹²³ *Ibid.*, I, Nos. 724 and 726.

¹²⁴ The *Bhāshā* portion occurring towards the end of the *Rajaprasasti Inscription*, slab 25th, E.I., Vol. XXIX-XXX, p. 3.

¹²⁵ *Somasubhāgya-kāvya*, Canto 5, v. 39, Canto 10, v. 51.

¹²⁶ *Sangitarāja*, *Pāthiyaratnakośa*, vv. 47-63, p. 67.

¹²⁷ *Album* No. 2, containing 30 paintings, Nos. 586-616, 1600-1725 A. D., *Art Gallery, Jaipur Palace*.

¹²⁸ *Rāgamālā*-set containing 40 paintings, Nos. 546-585, dated 1777-1802 A. D., *Art Gallery Jaipur Palace*.

¹²⁹ *Siyāhah Huzūr*, f. 2150.

¹³⁰ *Bhāgavata Dashamaskandha*, Set No. 2, Nos. 102-493, 1792-1810 A. D., *Art Gallery, Jaipur Palace*.

¹³¹ *Durgāpāth*, Set No. I, Nos. 1-101, 1799 A. D., *Art Gallery, Jaipur Palace*.

¹³² *Śiva Purāṇa* (Illustrated) PPJ, ff. 44, 66, 69, 70-77 and 85.

¹³³ *The Fact Finding Committee Report*, Archives Deptt., 1960.

we learn that Kewal Rāma, Rāma Narāyaṇa, Yoganandan, Ali Razā, Hasan Razā, Ruknuddin, Nuruddin, Ibrāhim, Kājam, Hasan and Ustā Isā were renowned painters of Bikāner who lived in the 17th and 18th centuries. From the Kotāh Archives¹³⁴ of 1801 A. D., we learn that the painters, Kālu, Harji, Gurja, etc., were patronised by the state. From the same record¹³⁵ we learn that colours for manuscript-painting and wall-painting were locally prepared with ingredients in varying proportions.

Leather-work

Leather industry was generally carried almost in all towns in Rājasthān. Though we have no account to verify the demand for leather goods from the common people, we may rightly presume that some of the articles made of leather were popular among all upper classes. The *Jamākharcha Bahis*¹³⁶ of Jaipur, Udaipur, etc., of the 17th and 18th centuries indicate that saddles, bridles, scabbards of swords, covers of books and shoes made of leather were purchased for general use in the states. In an early stage these things in crude forms were supplied by *chamārs* (leather-workers), but it seems that the *shikligars* and the *myāngars*, referred to in the 18th century records,¹³⁷ who had specialized themselves in preparing these articles with skill, were the sole distributors. Of course *mochis* (shoe-makers) met the need of the town-dwellers and the princes by preparing shoes, as they do even now.

Salt

Manufacture of salt was another industry which was practically confined to the portion of Rājasthān which lies north of the Aravalis, and where soil throughout is more or less saliferous. Salt of inferior character was manufactured at several localities like Kachar-Rewāsar in Shekhāvāti, Lonkaransar and Chāpur in Bikāner and Kānod in Jaisalmer. It was manufactured either by washing the saline, or from feeble brine obtained from wells sunk where the soil is saline, or by combination of both processes. But the more important and best salt sources were, and are, shallow, natural depressions of Sāmbhar, Didwānā, Phalodī, Panchbhadrā and Nāwā. The dealers of salt have been known as Luṇiya mahājans.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 61, File No. 13, V. S. 1859 (1802 A. D.)

¹³⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 3, *Bastā* No. 2, V. S. 1858-59.

¹³⁶ *Jamākharcha Bahis* for the 17th and 18th centuries (BA) ; File No. 12 Jd. (BA).

¹³⁷ *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. III and XXIII, ff. 315, 323, 341, V. S. 1787-1810 (BA) ; *Bhandāra* No. 15, *Bastā* No. 1, V. S. 1789 (KA) ; *Jamākharcha* (Jd), No. 43-44 ; *Ghodā-rā-Sāmān*, File No. 12 Jd.

¹³⁸ *Imp. Gaz.*, Prov. Series, pp. 102, 103, 408, 409, etc ; Ashton : *Salt Industries of Rājputānā* in the Journal of Indian Art and Industry, Vol. IX.

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Karmchand, Rupchand, Ugarchand, Dhannā, etc., were famous dealers in salt of Bikāner who flourished during the later part of the 18th century.^{138A}

As an article of daily consumption, salt formed a principal source of revenue to the states of Bikāner, Jaipur and Jodhpur. It appears from the figures supplied by the *Jamākharcha Bahi*¹³⁹ of 1800 that the excise income of Jodhpur State in the Vikram year 1799 (1742 A. D.) from salt lakes of Panchbhadrā was Rs. 1,00,000, from Didwānā it was Rs. 50,000, from Nāwā it was 70,000, and from Sāmbhar it was 69,750 rupees. Sutherland¹⁴⁰ in his report of 1847 refers to the yield of Sāmbhar to three lacs rupees per annum.

Opium

The manufacturing of opium formed an industry of Pratapgarh and Udaipur. References are found of the sale of opium being regularised through contractors who had to sell it at a fixed price and pay monopoly charges for a specified period. Col. Tod mentions that it fetched good price out of Rājasthān, where it was not manufactured, through smuggling.¹⁴¹

Paper

As regards paper industry reference is made to the 'white paper' of Ghosundā (Mewār) and Sawāi Mādhopur, which was prepared from the pulp made from grass, plants and cloths.¹⁴² In quality the paper was stiff and thick and as such it served a very useful purpose for drafting deeds, maintaining accounts, copying manuscripts and preparing illuminated manuscripts. For writing letters, paper from Gujrāt was imported which was beautified by preparing gilded margins and designs of flowers.¹⁴³ It appears, however, that the supply of the paper was limited. Even scrap papers were utilised for making the upper and lower covers of manuscripts by joining them in several lairs. A large number of manuscripts preserved in several manuscript *Bhandārs*¹⁴⁴ of Rājasthān stand as a testimony to the fact.

^{138A} *Bahi Gaj Singh*, V. S. 1809 (BA).

¹³⁹ *Jamākharcha Bahi*, No. 20, 1800 (BA).

¹⁴⁰ *Sutherland's Report*, 7th Aug., 1847, No. 845, p. 11.

¹⁴¹ Col. Tod : *Annals*, III, pp. 167^c-1671.

¹⁴² *Hat Bahi*, No. 1, V. S. 1822 (1765 A. D.)

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Saraswati Bhandāra*, Udaipur, *Āmber Bhandāra*, Jaipur, etc.

Other Minor Industries

Besides these industries there are references to several other minor crafts. Candles, and scents extracted from sandal-wood and rose flowers were flourishing industries of Kotāh and Kothariā in Mewār.¹⁴⁵ Sawāi Mādhapur had specialized in the manufacture of *khaskhas*-scent.¹⁴⁶ Jaipur and Pāli were known for ivory carving.¹⁴⁷ There are references in the Kotāh records regarding the manufacture of fire-works by *chipās*.¹⁴⁸ At Rakhav Deva, 40 miles south of Udaipur, stone of a dull green colour was quarried in the neighbourhood, and worked in effigies and vessels of domestic use, which were sold to numerous pilgrims who visited the place.¹⁴⁹ Glass-plating of superior type was a speciality of Pratāpgarh.¹⁵⁰ At Jālor saddles were manufactured.¹⁵¹ Felt, saddle and gun-cover were obtained from Mālpurā.¹⁵²

Wages

A glance on the wages of skilled and unskilled craftsmen and labourers will reveal that the industrialists had poor remuneration to receive in exchange of their labour. A *Bahi*¹⁵³ of V.S. 1727 (1670 A.D.) of Bikāner records that a mason's daily wages amounted to annas four to six. The same *Bahi* informs us that a tailor received Rs. 6 for sewing 11 loose shirts and 2 bodices for his four days' labour. The account papers¹⁵⁴ (V.S. 1750-1838=1693-1781 A.D.) of construction of palaces of Jaipur and Kotāh show that a skilled labourer got annas 6 to 8 and a supervising architect Rs. 1/2 per day. The same records mention that Manohar, a goldsmith was engaged for preparing ornaments on the wages of six annas per day.

¹⁴⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 11, V. S. 1750 (1693 A. D.); *Ekalinga Bhandāra*, Kothariyā File No. 728, V. S. 1758 (1701 A. D.) onwards.

¹⁴⁶ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V S. 1797 (1740 A. D.) ; *Imp. Gaz.*, Prov. Series, p. 267.

¹⁴⁷ *Siyāhah Huzūr*, V. S. 1811 (1754 A. D.)

¹⁴⁸ *Bhandāra* No. 3, *Bastā* No. 2, V. S. 1858 (1801 A. D.)

¹⁴⁹ *I.G.I.* (Pro. Series), p. 142.

¹⁵⁰ *Ojhā* : *P. R. I.*, p. 8.

¹⁵¹ *I. G. I.* (Prov. Series), p. 195.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

¹⁵³ *Shahar Lekho Bahi*, V.S. 1727 (1670 A.D.) (BA).

¹⁵⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 1, File No. 11, V.S. 1750 (1693 A.D.) ; *Rojnāmchā* (JA), V.S. 1783 (1726 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 13, V.S. 1835-1838 (1778-1781 A.D.)

The wages of unskilled labourers as mentioned in the Kotāh records¹⁵⁵ of 1689 A.D., vary between two to an anna.

The same records¹⁵⁶ of the 18th century also show that some labourers were also employed on payment of grain. The masons and carpenters who were engaged for the construction of the palace at Kotāh were given 14 *chhatānks* of grain, while the labourers were given four *chhatānks* per day. Those labourers who had bullock-carts or buffaloes of their own were also given fourteen *chhatānks* of grain daily. There were women-labourers too whose names have come down to us from these records. They were Pratāpi, Bhiki, Pāni, Heri, Humli, etc. They were provided two *chhatānks* to for *chhatānks* of grain for their daily work.

These scales of wages favourably compare with the wages paid to domestic servants or other servants of low category. The Bikāner Bahis¹⁵⁷ of the early and late 18th centuries throw some light on their wages. A *chokidār* was paid Rs. 2 per month. The pay of grooms, sweepers and gardeners has been recorded from a rupee to Rs. 3 per month. The whole-time maid-servants were maintained on daily ration. As for example, the employees of queen-mother Sodhiji were supplied a *pāyali* (equivalent to one seer) of millet per day. The extraordinary low wages as noted above are confirmed by the account left by Tavernier.¹⁵⁸ He mentions that while he was going from Surat to Āgrā through Rājasthān, he hired fifty men as guards on four rupees for a whole month. For three days he hired persons for which he only gave them three or four pounds of tobacco.

From the point of view of wages the prospects of government officials were not very encouraging. The pay of officers of position, according to the Bikāner *Bahi*¹⁵⁹ of V.S. 1764 (1707 A.D.) varied from Rs. 21 to Rs. 28 per month. An accountant's pay, according to the Kotāh Records¹⁶⁰ was Rs. 135 per year. An ordinary clerk could be engaged for Rs. 60 per year, while a senior clerk's pay was about Rs. 235 a year. The pay of a *kārkun* was about Rs. 64 and a *potdār* got Rs. 58 per year. A *kotwāl* was generally paid Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a month.

¹⁵⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 47, V.S. 1746 (1689 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 47, V.S. 1746 (1689 A.D.), File No. 11, V.S. 1750 (1693 A.D.).

¹⁵⁷ *Bahi* of the year V.S. 1764 (1707 A.D.) ; *Jamākharcha Bahi*, V.S. 1815 (1758 A.D.), V.S. 1830 (1773 A.D.) etc. (BA)

¹⁵⁸ *Tavernier's Travel in India*, Chapter V, Part II, Book I, pp. 40-42.

¹⁵⁹ *Bahi* of V.S. 1764 (1707 A.D.) ; *Jamākharcha Bahi*, V.S. 1815 (1758 A.D.), V.S. 1830 (1773 A.D.) (BA).

¹⁶⁰ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 2, V.S. 1835-1858 (1778-1801 A.D.)

Prices of Commodities

After forming an idea regarding the wages of artisans, labourers and government officials, let us consider some facts about the prices of necessities. Our records furnish details of prices of grain in times of famine as well as the periods of overproduction. In order to form some idea of normal prices we choose for the comparison of prices such records which are free from abnormal conditions. From the Kotāh and Jaipur Records¹⁶¹ of the late 17th and early 18th centuries we learn that 10 mds. of wheat could be purchased for Rs. 14 to 16. The same amount of grain and millet cost Rs. 11 to 12. The cost of 10 mds. of barley was about Rs. 9 to 10. One maund of pulses could be had for a rupee. One maund of *ghee* cost Rs. 25 to 30. As regards dried fruits, one seer of almond cost annas eight to ten. The cheapness was occasioned by abundant harvest and ample supplies of commodities.

A *dhoti* and a *sāri* of a coarser quality could be had for about Rs. 2, while a *sāri* of a variegated kind for Rs. 3 to 4. Ordinary piece of a coarse cloth was sold for Rs. 2 to 3 per 10 yards. An over-all sheet of a local variety could be purchased for annas 10 to 12 only. The cost of a turban for daily use was about two rupees. A piece of coarse *chhint* cost about Rs. 2 per 10 yards.¹⁶²

The prices of finer stuff varied according to the texture used or the nature of the market. The cost of a *laharnā* turban varied from Rs. 12 to 19, while the cost of a *madil* (gilded turban) went up to Rs. 50 to 60. The cost of *goshpech*, *bālābandi* and *dugdugi* varied from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 91 and that of a *sarpech* varied from Rs. 9 to 45. The prices of a *kamarband* and *putkā* (waist-band) have been recorded between Rs. 11 to 62. A *phentiyo* and *panjo* cost about Rs. 10 to 20. A *Mahamāni Bahi* of 1784 A.D. records the cost of a *pāyjamā* (trousers) from Rs. 2 to Rs. 50. The cost of a *izārband* (ribbon to tie the trousers) varied from annas eight to Rs. 5.¹⁶³

Our records of 1682-1784 A. D. furnish the cost of some of the female garments. The price of an embroidered *sāri* varied from Rs. 12 to

¹⁶¹ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.) ; *Ibid.*, No. 1, *Bastā* No. 10, V.S. 1749 (1692 A.D.) ; *Mahamāni Bahi*, V.S. 1844 (1787 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 3, *Bastā* No. 2, V.S. 1853 (1796 A.D.) ; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 2, V.S. 1853 (1796 A.D.)

¹⁶² *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, File No. 25, V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.) ; *Havātā Bahi*, V.S. 1833 (1776 A.D.)

¹⁶³ *Rojnānchā*, V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.) (KA) ; *Dastur Komuār*, V.S. 1785 (1728 A.D.), V.S. 1790 (1733 A.D.) ; *Hat Bahi*, V.S. 1834 (1777 A.D.) ; *Mahamāni Bahi* No. 9, *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, V.S. 1841 (1784 A.D.) ; *Bānkidās' Khyāta* II, ff. 296 and 371.

Rs. 778. The cost of an ordinary *odhani* was Rs. 7, that of a *chundri* of Kotāh was Rs. 9. A *chirā* could be purchased for Rs. 2/8 to Rs. 19/—, a *dupattā* for Rs. 40 and a shawl for Rs. 10 to Rs. 220. The cost of a *ghāghrā* (skirt) varied from Rs. 5 to Rs. 214. A silken *sāri* of Chinā cost about Rs. 42. A *Burhānpuri choli* (bodice) was very cheap, costing about Rs. 2/12. Ordinary *Lengā* of Jaipur cost Rs. 9. The golden lace for these garments approximately cost Rs. 2/12 per *tolā*, and a *sāri* needed lace about two *tolās* for single bordering.¹⁶⁴

Animals

The prices of animals during the 17th and 18th centuries were generally cheap. Ordinary camels could be purchased for 12 to 35 rupees. The cost of an ordinary horse was Rs. 5 to 20. The cost of milk-cows varied from Rs. 2 to 5. Bullocks and buffaloes could be had for 12 to 27 rupees. But the price of camel, horse and bullock of good breed ranged from Rs. 300 to 1500¹⁶⁵

This exceptional cheapness can be explained by the fact that the labour was very cheap and craftsmen and their families produced articles without stop, while the excess of production naturally brought down the prices. Of course the variation in the cost price of commodities of some kind indicates the purchasing power of the two groups and inequality in standard of living between the few rich and the many poor.

Observations on the Industrial Life of Mediaeval Rajasthan

We must remember that when we turn from agriculture to industry, the mediaeval panorama becomes far less crowded. The number of men who made their living by manufacturing was much smaller than those who lived on the yield from their work on the land.

Retail handicrafts was the chief feature of the industrial life until modern times, especially in such industries which were meant to meet a purely local demand. Weavers, masons, carpenters, tailors, shoe-makers, butchers, and many others processed goods and sold them direct to customers. But determining the position of these artisans we must keep in view that they were practically financed almost entirely by middlemen, who were interested in appropriating greater shares of profit for themselves and

¹⁶⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 4, *Bastā* No. 4, V. S. 1739 (1682 A. D.) ; *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1774 (1717 A.D.), f. 50 ; *Ibid.*, V.S. 1775 (1718 A.D.), f. 355 ; *Mahamāni Bahi*, V. S. 1841 (1784 A. D.)

¹⁶⁵ *Rājaprasasti*, Slab XXI, Canto 20, vv. 12-55 ; A letter from Mahādji to Bijaya Singh dated 5th of the bright-half of *Jaiṣṭha*, V. S. 1826 (8th June, 1769), (*Portfolio File*) No. 6, 8, (J.A.) ; *Roj-nāmānā*, V. S. 1842 (1785 A. D.) (KA).

leaving very little for the artisans. For the purchase of raw material the craftsmen had to borrow money from the *shāhukārs*. Under such circumstances the prospects of their life were not very bright.

Moreover, in the bureaucratic set-up of society, as we have seen, the craftsmen were seldom free from the obligations of paying fines and rendering free services to their superiors. It was quite late in the early 20th century that the forced labour extracted from the craftsmen was abolished.

Again we cannot lose sight of the fact that unemployment in industrial field must have been a familiar feature of the mediaeval life. Whenever the supply of raw material was cut short due to bad weather or primitive means of communication, there must have been periods of enforced leisure for the craftsmen. The usual recurrence of war or famine must have also upset the frugal economy of the workers. Hence their welfare was subjected largely to the regularity of employment and rate of payment.

It may also be observed in this connection that restrictions imposed on art through rigid rules regarding exclusiveness of a particular art, confined to a specific caste, must have resulted in lowering down the standard of skilled art in the long run.

A word on the nature of the industrial labour patronised by the princes will not be out of place. The industrialists who were employed by states for royal *kārkhānās* had security of employment ; they enjoyed state protection, and had privilege to receive encouragement time and again from the rulers of the states for the output of their crafts of excellent quality. Several craftsmen, whose names have been referred to above, received occasional rewards for their fine workmanship. Some of them were recipients of a recognized status in the court.

Trade and Commerce

Local Trade

Though the manufacture of some of the commodities was regularised in workshops owned by different states, much of the work produced was prepared and sold at the doors of home-cum-shops of the craftsmen. Normally each craft or trade was concentrated in a separate street or *bāzār*, where the craftsmen had their own workshops, stalls and homes. In the description of town-planning we have observed that most of the towns of Rājasthān had separate streets meant for different craftsmen who both lived and carried on their trade in that particular locality. Even upon this date many streets and lanes are still known after the various trades followed by the inhabitants, such as *Chīpāvās* at Jaipur, *Chitārāgali* and *Mochivādā* at Udaipur and so on.

Besides local transactions in the regular shops and specialized lanes, there were special markets or *mandis* in towns, referred to by contemporary writers, which served as a convenient place for the disposal of surplus corn or goods produced in the neighbouring areas. Capital towns like Jaisalmer, Bikāner, Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Ajmēr, Kotāh, etc., as well as commercial towns like Pāli, Mertā, etc., served as big clearing houses for the whole of Rājasthān.

Pedlars and local dealers actively participated in formulating domestic trade. An appreciable part of the output of some product was disposed of by the farmers, peddling their produce to the markets of nearby villages and towns. Business in big towns were also carried on with the help of brokers who finalised transactions by charging their commission from both parties. The trading class of *Vaiśyās*, whom we would treat separately, carried on their commercial activities through buying, selling, borrowing, lending, crediting and contracting processes.¹

Markets and Fairs

We also know through our records about the markets and fairs in

¹ *Rājavilāsa*, Canto II, vv. 92-136 ; *Udaipur Gazal*, vv. 34-66 ; *Ajītodaya*, Canto I, v 27 ; *Jaisalmar Gazal*, vv. 70-75.

which formal transactions took place, weekly or periodically, often in a sleepy little town or on the outskirts of some large centre. Sellers know that if they took their wares to the appointed spot on the proper day and hours, they would find buyers gathered there. Weekly fairs (*hāts*) have been referred to in the Jaipur records.² They were held at the villages of Dhahip, Jaspur and Rāmchowk of Jaipur. There were also periodical fairs of this category which lasted several days, or even some weeks. From the Kotāh records³ we learn that at Umaid Garh a fair lasted for several days from *Āświna* 4th to 15th of *Kārtika*. The state authorities undertook the responsibility of protecting those traders who participated in the fair. In one of the fairs of V.S. 1853 (1796 A.D.) the Mahārājā of Kotāh compensated the merchants for their loss incurred in a dacoity.⁴ Sometimes merchants were certified to bring their merchandise in the fairs and they were guaranteed safety of their merchandise and exemption from local taxes.⁵

Some of the landlords on whose lands fairs were held were authorised to protect and control them and collect tolls and stall-fees from the traders by special grants. Harnāth, Girdhar, Shripati, Ghāsi Rāma and Bhulo were the landlords who were entrusted with the charge of collection of tolls at the fairs of Devli, Māchāki and Nithāwā in Kotāh district, and were permitted share of the collection with the government in the year 1692 A.D.⁶

In some places like Pushkar, Parvatsar, Rājnagar and Nāgor fairs attained fame to an extent that goods and traders were attracted from a wide area, and their business was wholesale rather than retail. These places were also reputed for holding cattle fairs where horses, oxen, camels, cows and buffaloes were brought for sale. In order to levy or dispose off their animals and goods people came long distances.⁷

Observations on Local Trade

In an age of small trade volume and slow transportation such markets saved time and travel, and offered continuous opportunities for obtaining what the buyers desired. However, it must be noted that much trade was conducted privately, as for example, the purchase of

² *Rojnāmchā* V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.) (JA)

³ *Bhandāra* No. 1, File No. 12-61, V.S. 1835 (1778 A.D.)

⁴ *Bhanāra* No. 3, *Bastā* No. 3, File No. 28, V.S. 1853 (1796 A.D.)

⁵ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 1, File No. 33, V.S. 1858 (1801 A.D.)

⁶ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 101, V.S. 1749.

⁷ *Archival Records*, Ajmer, *Pushkar* File No. 25, (1824 A.D.); Tod : *Personal Narrative*, Chap. XXIX.

wool in areas of Jaisalmer and Bikāner and cotton in Kotāh or of grain in the western and eastern parts of Rājasthān, as informed by the contemporary records,⁸ by merchants who went around the producing regions and bought them at the spot. This resulted in making the farmer dependent on the middlemen, who were better acquainted with market conditions. In most cases⁹ the farmers also borrowed from these middlemen, who usually bound the producers either to sell them their produce at lower price or sell their produce through them. Murli, Lakshmichand, Karam Singh Mohtā, Devi Sonāvat, Mulsingh, etc., for example, were the middlemen of Bikāner division referred to in the records of the later part of the 18th century.^{9A} Such a marketing structure left the agricultural credit undeveloped.

As to the standard of commercial morality, we have scanty accounts to draw any conclusive inference. But various references¹⁰ made to individual fortunes amassed through commercial enterprise lead us to think that the tradesmen worked out every possible means of earning a dishonest penny. Cases¹¹ of adulteration and fraudulent weights, tried by tradesmen were not unknown during our period. In order to exercise an effective control against such mal-practices the governments appointed special officials to exercise rigid control over sale and purchase of food-stuff in open market. The supervising staff for markets of Jaipur and Kotāh regularised the dealings by drawing daily charts specifying prices of grain and goods.¹² In certain regions of Rājasthān, where there was predominance of the Mughals, attempts were made to regularise the sale of salt which was manufactured in Sāmbhar and other villages in or about

⁸ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 10, File No. 29, V.S. 1749 (1692 A.D.) (KA); *Rojnāmāh* Pidā, V.S. 1673 (1716 A.D.) for the month of *Phālguna*; *Rojnāmāh* Sāti and *Kāroi parganāh*, V.S. 1795 (1738 A.D.) for the month of *Posha*; *Bahī Gaj Singh*, V.S. 1819 (1762 A.D.) (BA).

⁹ Khemo of Bherundā and Lakhmo of Nāma promised to sell their crops to Hemrāj, *vide Jamākharcha Bahī*, Jodhpur, V.S. 1815 (1758 A.D.)

^{9A} *Zakāt Bahī*, V.S. 1814 (1757 A.D.) (BA); *Bahī Gaj Singh*, V. S. 1819 (1762 A.D.) (BA).

¹⁰ *Bhattārkapatāvalī*, V.S. 1697 (1640 A.D.) to V.S. 1757 (1700 A.D.), No. 430 (Sambhavanāth *Bhandāra*, Udaipur) refers to several individuals of this category.

¹¹ *Havalā Bahī*, V.S. 1911 (1854 A.D.) refers to the cases of adulteration and fraudulent weights at Nāgor and Sojat in which Bhurā Kābrā and Bhandāri Devachand were involved.

¹² *Nirakh Bāzār*, V. S. 1755 (1698 A. D.) (JA); *Nirakh Bāzār*, V. S. 1760 for the months of *Śravaṇa*, Jaipur and other villages (JA), ff 2-17.

Jaipur. This fact is ascertained from two letters,¹³ one from Muhammad Haiyāt of 5th *Jamāda-us-Sāni*, H. 1127, *Śrāwaṇa Sud* 7, V.S. 1767 (1710 A.D.) to the Mahārājā of Jaipur and another from the Mahārājā to Nāhar Khān, dated the 13th *Rajab*, 1127 H. (*Bhādo Sud* 15, V. S. 1767=1710 A. D.), forbidding the sale of salt in Jaipur above the fixed rate.

Interstate Trade

There are detailed evidences about the existence of interstate trade relations in Rājasthān. The literary sources¹⁴ of the 17th century mention that after the close of rainy season the traders went in groups to the neighbouring areas. Sometimes they would go to distant parts also and return after a very long period. From Naiṅsi¹⁵ we learn that cloth, tobacco, grains and salt were articles of interstate trade. For such trade Sirohi, Jālore, Phalodi, Bikāner, Jaisalmer, Ajmer, Āmber, Mertā, etc., were interconnected with roads. Nominal taxes on local imports and exports were levied at various centres. As for example, for a camel-load carrying 10 mds. (equivalent to 5 mds. of our days) of articles from Jaisalmer to Bikāner Rs. 3/4 were charged as tax, and annas 12 were charged on a horse-load. The *Bānjārās* also helped to maintain internal and external trade by carrying articles from one place to another. It appears from the *Dastri Records*¹⁶ of V.S. 1840 (1783 A. D.) that their arrival at Jodhpur with grain, particularly during famine, was welcomed. In V. S. 1840 (1783 A. D.) the Mahārājā of Jodhpur bestowed a necklace of pearls and robe of honour on Dhannā, Durgā, Moti and their leader Nānu who came to Jodhpur with grain.

Foreign Trade

The expansion of Rājasthān's foreign trade was facilitated by the state's favourable position between northern and southern parts of our country. From the early mediaeval period Rājasthān had maintained commercial connections between Delhi on one hand and Gujarāt and Mālwā regions on the other. In the Mughal period Ajmer, Nāgor, Mertā, Chitor, etc., served as links between the Mughal Empire in the north, and Mughal *subāhs* in the south. Rājasthān's trade with north, south, east and west was further facilitated when Bayānā, Amarkot, Morwānā,

¹³ *Persian Correspondence*, III, Letters Nos. 1181-1182 (JA).

¹⁴ *Varshāratu-ra-Dohā*, No. 183, v. 29, f. 88a (SBLU); *Chandra Kunwarri-Vārtā*, 55b (SBLU).

¹⁵ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, ff. 47a, 98a, 134a.

¹⁶ *Dastri Bahi*, 10th of the dark-half of *Posha* and 14th of the bright-half of *Posha*, V. S. 1840 (1783 A. D.)

Pātan and Amjar became the chief outlet for the exported and imported goods.¹⁷

The diversity of the state's natural resources and of the goods produced, on the one hand, and the rise of a wealthy upper class on the other, were conducive to the development of commerce. And indeed, trade—both foreign and domestic—played a role of paramount importance in Rājasthān's economic life of this period. Among the main items of export leather goods, arms, taxtiles, indigo and opium may be mentioned.¹⁸ Woollen cloth, wooden toys, gold and silver-wares were sent to the Mughal court as articles of presents. The import consisted of cloths date-palm, coconut, glass, gold, elephants, wine, velvets, dried fruits, embroidered curtains and other articles of decorations.¹⁹ Our records show that ready-made petticoats and blouses of fine cloth of Burhānpur, turbans of Sārangpur, embroidered *sāris* of Banāras and Pātan and flowered silk and *khimkhāb* of Gujarāt and woollen cloths of Kashmir, *chint* from Multān, fine cloths of Aurangābād were imported in Rājasthān.²⁰

There was a great demand for the supply of horses of good breed in the states of Rājasthān. In the *Sālihotra*²¹ compiled during the time of Mahārānā Jagat Singh the writer has emphasised that the animal was of immense need for war, racing, conveyance and pleasure-riding. For procuring the best horses for the royal stables the princes paid fancy prices. Sometimes horses were purchased from foreign traders on instalment basis. In V. S. 1707 Mahārānā Jagat Singh purchased a horse from Musā, and Rs. 1500/- were paid in two instalments to him.²² The *Rājaviḷāsa*²³ mentions that horses from Turkey and Irāq were in great demand. Madan Mirza

¹⁷ *Akbar-nāmā*. P. T., 7-14. II, pp. 517, 539, III, pp. 87, 92, 244, etc. ; *Tuzuk*, R. & B., I, pp. 340-349, II, pp. 63-64 ; *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh* by Sujān Rāy, ff. 276, 278a ; *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, I. ff. 103-105, 127, II, f. 92a.

¹⁸ Finch : *Early Travels in India, 1503-1619* (1921), p. 123 ; *Hāt Bahi*, V. S. 1823 (1766 A. D.) ; *Mahamāni Bahi*, Kotāh, V. S. 1843 (1786 A. D.)

¹⁹ *Jamākharch Bahi* No. 44 (JA), V. S. 1729-1735 (1672-1678 A. D.) etc. ; *Bahi Zakāt*. V. S. 1805 (1748 A. D.), V.S. 1814 (1757 A.D.), V.S. 1820 (1763 A.D.), etc. (BA) ; Tod : *Annals*, II, p. 107 ; Thorton, II, p. 324.

²⁰ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 4, V. S. 1739 (1682 A. D.) ; *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1785 (1728 A. D.), f. 20 ; *Dastur Komwār*, 6th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, V. S. 1791 (1734 A. D.), f. 323.

²¹ *Salihotra*, V. S. 1706 (1649 A. D.), (*Santināth Bhandāra*, Udaipur).

²² *Parwānah* of Jagat Singh, 15th of the bright-half of *Māgha*, V. S. 1707 (1650 A. D.) (*Vidya Pith Collection*, Udaipur).

²³ *Rājaviḷāsa*, Canto II, f. 46.

(V. S. 1779=1722 A. D.) was a broker of horses and Isā Khān (V. S. 1822=1765 A. D.) was a dealer in horses at Jaipur.^{23A}

When the merchants from outside entered the limits of states, sometimes every precaution was taken for their safe journey. In V. S. 1839 (1782 A. D.) Lālu and Malonu, dealers in elephants, came from Delhi to Jodhpur, and the state took the responsibility of their safe journey and honoured them by conferring upon them robes of honour in addition to paying them price of the elephants purchased.²⁴ A *parvānāh*²⁵ of V. S. 1863 (1806 A. D.) from the Rāo of Semāri (in Mewār) to Dolājī of Dhulev shows that ordinarily the foreign merchants had to pay an import duty to the state in addition to a fixed amount for providing them guards for the safe journey.

From our records²⁶ of the 18th century we get names of several merchants, besides already referred to above, who settled down in Rājasthān, being attracted by the prospects of big profits in internal and external trade. Uttamchand Gujarāti was a renowned merchant of Jaipur who was carrying on brisk trade between Jaipur and Gujarāt. Bhavānidās of Jaipur had a branch of cloth shop at Burhānpur. Shāh Sujān, Murlidhar, Bholānāth, Shāh Lakṣmaṇa, Sulemān Multāni, Pandit Gangādhār Kāngiri, Bakhatgiri, Jaikriṣṇa, Gulāb Bhārti, Bābā Dayālgiri, Shāh Ātmārāma and Gebilāl were well-known dealers in various articles at Kotāh. Hirā of Parvatsar, Rāichand and Devdatta of Udaipur were important merchants of the period of our study. Many other names of the merchants may be added who originally belonged to the Punjāb, Mālwā, Gujrāt and Kāshmir and made Rājasthān the land of their domicile.

On comparison of the nature of the articles imported and exported we are inclined to feel that Rājasthān was paying more on the goods of luxury needed for the princes, the royal families and the nobility than earning from some indigenous products. In determining the role of foreign trade we cannot ignore the lack of proper storage facilities, especially for cereals, and the lack of rapid and regular transport

^{23A} *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. 18, p. 729 ; Vol. 20, p. 187.

²⁴ *Dastri Bahi*, 13th of the dark-half of *Āsoja*, V.S. 1839 (1782 A.D.)

²⁵ *Parvānāh*, 13th of the bright-half of *Chaitra*, V.S. 1863 (1806 A. D.), *Phulpānkhadī Bahi* of Govind Rāma, Dhulev.

²⁶ A letter to Rāichand from Harchand, 1st of bright-half of *Kārtika*, V.S. 1754 (1697 A.D.) (*Vidyā Pith Collection*, Udaipur); A *Pattā* of Amar Singh II to Deva Datta, 3rd of the dark-half of *Posha*, V.S. 1763 (1706 A.D.) (ODRU); *Dastur Komwār*, Vol. XV, f. 85, V.S. 1799 (1742 A.D.); *Bhandāra* No. 16, *Bastā* No. 6, V.S. 1816 (1759 A.D.), V.S. 1842 (1785 A.D.), V.S. 1855 (1798 A.D.), etc.

connecting the producing centres with the main markets that Rājasthān of those days was facing. These facts adequately explain the weaknesses of the marketing structure, economic underdevelopment and unfavourable position of the volume of foreign trade.

Trade Routes

Trade and commerce required good roads for proper functioning. Military requirements also, it seems, had always stimulated road construction. Early epigraphic records²⁷ of 10th to 13th century mention routes which connected various towns of Mārwar and Mewār through Pāli, Jaisalmer, Āhad, Jālor, Medtā, Bādmed, Nadulāi, Junā, etc. They further mention that Madhyadesh (the midland country), the country lying between the Himālayās on the north, the Vindhya mountains on the south, Sindhu on the west, Prayāg on the east, Āgrā and Delhi on the north-east, were connected with various parts of Rājasthān.

With the coming of the Turks and the Mughals, and with the industrial and agricultural development, stimulus was given to Rājasthān traffic, specially with the northern empire and the provinces of Gujarāt and Mālwā. In order to join new marts or find new roads for marching armies, several routes, often triangular or more roundabout, came into prominence; some missed capital towns, others were interstate, and some included capital towns and cities outside Rājasthān. If we take up a map of Rājasthān, mark these regions and centres, and then draw lines joining each point, the result is a fairly good map of land lanes which Rājput and Mughal soldiers, or caravans and traders traversed.

From a *qasida*²⁸ by Farrukhi who is said to have accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni in his campaign from Multān to Gujarāt (commencing from 2nd *Shawwal*, 416 A.H., corresponding to 26th November, 1025), we learn that the Sultan's route lay through the strong fort of Lodorva (about ten miles north-west of Jaisalmer), Mallāni, Chiklodar Mātā hill and Anahilapātaka on the border of Gujarāt). In *Akbarnāmā*²⁹ there are

²⁷ *Sārānāth Inscription*, V.S. 1010 (953 A.D.), *Bhāvanagar Inscription*, No. 1, pp. 67-69; *Nādlā Inscription*, V.S. 1202 (1145 A.D.), *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 846, p. 214; *Pāli Inscription*, V.S. 1213 (1156 A.D.), *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 1716, p. 167; *Jālor Inscription*, No. 899, *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, pp. 238-239; *Junā Inscription* V.S. 1352 (1295 A.D.); *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, p. 243; *Bādmed Inscription*, V.S. 1352 (1295 A.D.); *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 749, pp. 179-180.

²⁸ A *Qasidā* by Farrukhi given in the appendix of the new reprint of E. & D., II, p. 797, quoted from Majumdar's *Chāulukyas of Gujarāt*, pp. 43-44, footnote No. 9, p. 433.

²⁹ *Akbarnāmā*, P.T., 7-14, II, pp. 517, 539, III, pp. 87, 92, 244, 272, 362, 269; *Tabaqāt*, E. & D., V, p. 354; *Iqbāl-nāmā-i-Jahāngiri* (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 262.

references to several routes from Āgrā to Ahmadābād. One passed through Fatehpur, Sāngāner, Ajmer and Nāgor. There was another branch road to Gujarāt from Nāgor through Sirohi and Jālor which was a shorter route. Abul Fazl says that Mān Singh from Gujarāt came by way of Idar to Dungarpur and thence to Udaipur. Rājā Bhagwāndās also took the same route and reached Gogundā, near Udaipur. There was a regular road from Ajmer to Māndalgarh and from there it led to Gogundā and Khamnor. From thence it crossed Haldighāti and led to Idar, Pānarwā and Ahmadābād stage by stage. William Finch³⁰ also refers to a route from Āgrā to Chitor and from Chitor to Ahmadābād via Chātsu, Lādnū, Mertā and Jālor. Firishtā³¹ also refers to several routes from Āgrā to Ahmadābād. From the *Khulāsai-Shahjahān-nāmā*³² and the *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh*³³ we learn that a road from Gujarāt ran to Āgrā via Sāmbhar, Māndal (in Mewār) and Ajmer. This way was adopted by prince Khurram when he marched from the Deccan to Āgrā at the news of the death of his father. Naiṅsi³⁴ says that a road from Udaipur to Idar went through Singri, Chandvāsa, Āhar, Panervā, Chhāli and Dalol. The *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*³⁵ says that Rānā Sāngā in his journey to Gujarāt adopted a route through Sārangpur and Mandisor. From Ahmadābād a road led to Jhālāwād also.

Another set of routes from Northern India to Mālwā was also of sufficient length. From the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*³⁶ we infer that Delhi and Mālwā were connected through Gwālior and Nāgor. This route was chosen by Nasiruddin Mahmud in 649 H. (1251-52 A. D.). Another route to Gwālior and Mālwā lay through Bayānā along the course of Chambal, through which Sultān Mahmud passed in 796 H. (June 1394 A. D.). From the *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*³⁷ we learn that from Mewār roads diverged to Gujrat and Mālwā. Bābur³⁸ says that there was a regular road from Āgrā to Gwālior, and Dholpur lay just along this road. On the basis of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*³⁹ it may be said that there was a direct route

³⁰ *Early Travels in India*, p. 170.

³¹ *Firishtā* (P.T.), p. 213.

³² *Khulāsā-i-Shahjahān-nāmā*, ff. 27-29.

³³ *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh* by Sujān Rāy, ff. 277b, 278a.

³⁴ Naiṅsi's *Khyāta*, f. 11a.

³⁵ *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, I, ff. 103-105, 127, II, f. 92a.

³⁶ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (G. O. S.), 1932, pp. 34, 166, 193, 217.

³⁷ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V. S. 1517, Slabs I-III, v. 63, EI., Vol. XXIV, pp. 314-28.

³⁸ *Tuzūk-i-Bāburi*, ff. 325-340 ; Beveridge, II, pp. 577-608.

³⁹ *Tabaqāt*, E. & D., V, pp. 211-213.

from Āgrā to Māndu via Mertā, Chitor, Raṅthambhor, Kotāh, Gāgron and Ujjain. Mālwā, according to Abul Fazl,⁴⁰ was connected with Udaipur through Dungarpur and Bānswārā. This route was adopted by Akbar and his generals several times in the course of his invasions of Mewār and Vāgad. From the *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngiri*⁴¹ we learn the names of the stages from Ajmer to Mālwā. These were Deo Rāi, Daswāli, Mawāl, Balodā, Bhālu, Kanrā, Rupālerā, Kakhvās, Amjar and Kherābād. There were also by-routes from Raṅthambhor to Bayānā.

According to the *Morwānā Inscription* of V. S. 1573 (1516 A. D.) there were roads to Multān from Rājasthān of which Morwānā, a town to the south-east of Bikāner and Derāwar were very important centres.⁴² A route from Ajmer through Nāgor was available for Ayodhyā.⁴³

There were several roads interconnecting important towns of Rājasthān. From the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*⁴⁴ we learn that *Bandagi-Rāyāt-i-Ālā* (Khizr Khān) set out for Nāgor from Āgrā and passed through Tonk and Todāh in 1416 A. D. There was a route along the river Manāsni⁴⁵ through Bayānā, Dholpur and Bāri which ran round Mewāt.⁴⁶ According to Gulbadan⁴⁷ and Jauhar⁴⁸ and Abul-Fazl,⁴⁹ Humāyun while going to Mārwar adopted the road leading to Nāgor and thence he went to Phalodi and stopped at Kul-i-Jogi, a pond nearby. On his return journey he went to Jaisalmer through Sātalmir. From Abbās Khān⁵⁰ we learn that Sher Shāh constructed a road from Āgrā to Jodhpur and one from Āgrā to Chitor. This road according to him also reached Kālīnjar through Khichiwādā. From Gogundā to Āmber the road passed through Bāgor and Māndalgarh. Ajmer was connected with roads leading to Āmber, Mewāt, Pāli, Mertā, Siwānā, Dunārā, Jodhpur and Sāmbhar.⁵¹ Chitor,

⁴⁰ *Akbarnāmā*, III, pp. 276-277.

⁴¹ *Tuzūk*, R. & B., I, pp. 340-349, II, pp. 63-64.

⁴² *Morwānā Inscription*, V. S. 1573, vide *Tesitori's Report* 1916, J.A.S.B., Vol. XIII, pp. 214-215.

⁴³ *Akbarnāmā*, P. T., p. 258.

⁴⁴ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (G. O. S.), 1932, p. 193.

⁴⁵ This is one of the names of the principal river which flows eastwards to the south of Alwar town.

⁴⁶ *Tuzūk-i-Bāburi*, ff. 250, 262; Beveridge II, pp. 577-608; Firishtā: P. T., p. 217.

⁴⁷ *Humāyun-nāmā*, p. 154.

⁴⁸ *Tezkereh-ul-Vākiāt*, ff. 73-76.

⁴⁹ *Akbar-nāmā*, Vol. I, p. 372.

⁵⁰ *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi*, ff. 141, 156, 157.

⁵¹ *Tabaqāt* (P. T.), pp. 335, 336.

Shivapur and Gāgron were connected by a road.⁵² According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*⁵³ Khān Khānan left Mewāt on 10th March, 1560, on his way to Nāgor and from Nāgor he left for Bikāner. According to the *Ajītodaya*⁵⁴ there was a direct route between Mewār and Godwād. There was also a road from Chitor to Sojat and Jaitāraṅ.⁵⁵ Chitor was also connected by a road with Raṅthambhor and Ajmer.⁵⁶ According to the *Abhayavilāsa*⁵⁷ there was a road from Jaipur to Jodhpur via Parvatsar, Ajmer, Pushkar, Mertā, Navkot and Champābāg. Mahārājā Gaj Singh of Bikāner went to Jaisalmer for his marriage following the route through Devayāt, Nokhedā, Sirod, Vāp, Khare, Rām Devrā, Odhani, Chanam and Bhatdarā-talāva as stated by Bānkidās.⁵⁸ On his return journey he took up another route through Lāthi, Pokran, Phalodī, Jāmbhā, Chāku and Bidāsar

A sketch of the gradual development of roads indicates that trade had been a great incentive to road building, and the location of mineral or agricultural surpluses, or, conversely, the demand for goods not supplied locally, stimulated road construction. Networks of roads therefore developed, linking the primary producing areas with the collecting and distribution centres. Such roads aided economic and cultural unification throughout the area of Rājasthān, besides fulfilling the main purposes—military mobility and commerce. Besides, they had widened the scope for human intercourse, and made possible the bulk transport of goods. These were, of course, but few of the many important consequences. But we cannot ignore the fact that enormous distances, severe climatic conditions, and scarcity of stone in desert areas account for the fact that ballasted roads appeared in Rājasthān only shortly before rail roads. In general, however, as described by poets⁵⁹ and travellers⁶⁰ a road in Rājasthān was a strip of land rather than a improved surface. Over the moors, through the passes or forests, or across the swamps it might be little more than a

⁵² *Ibid.*, E. & D., V, p. 264 ; *Firishta*, (P.T.), p. 257.

⁵³ *Tabaqāt*, E. & D., V, p. 264.

⁵⁴ *Ajītodaya*, Canto 17, v. 35.

⁵⁵ *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 119.

⁵⁶ *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, I, f. 118.

⁵⁷ *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 16a.

⁵⁸ Bānkidās, *Khyāta*, II, ff. 284-286.

⁵⁹ *Shrāvakavratādi-atichāra*, V.S. 1466, p. 64 ; *Chāndkumar-ri-Vārtā*, V.S. 1540, f. 55b (SBLU) ; *Vurśā Ratu-rā-Dohā*, ff. 12-18, 19. (SBLU) ; *Ajītodaya*, Canto 17, v. 35.

⁶⁰ William Finch : *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619), p. 170 ; Manrique : *The Travels of Fray Sebastien*, (1628-1643) Vol. II, p. 145.

path. In easier parts it was often so wide that a horseman could find some unbroken surface on which he could ride quickly ; but wheeled vehicles found the going hard in wet weather. Absence of bridges and causeways on roads practically held up travelling in the rainy season. Tavernier,⁶¹ referring to the 'Rajās land', says that people made use of goat-skins, which they blew up and filled with wind, and then tied them between their stomachs and bellies and swam across rivers. Children were put in round pots of earth which were driven before them.

On such roads the normal speed was the walking pace of man or animal. If we take into account the time taken by caravans and *Samghās*,⁶² moving about in the state for trade and pilgrim purposes, twenty miles was a good day's journey, and some daily stages were shorter. When news and mail had to be carried, the letter-bearers might cover thirty to thirty-five miles in a day. A journey of about sixty two miles from Jaipur to Todā took a post-runner named Nāthu Mirdhā⁶³ three days to complete it in V.S. 1751 (1694 A.D.), and when an express news was to be delivered from Sirohi to Udaipur in V.S. 1837 (1780 A.D.), the carrier Khemā⁶⁴ averaged thirty-two miles a day.

But the royal parties in times of emergencies took even shorter period in covering distances. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandāri*⁶⁵ mentions that Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt travelled from Māndu to Chitor covering 70 *kos* in a day. In the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*⁶⁶ there is a reference that in 1561 A. D., Akbar started for Ajmer and reached there through Sāmbhar and returned to Āgrā by forced march, and covered 120 *kos* in a day and a night. Mustaid Khān^{66A} and Khāfi Khān^{66B} record that Dārā left Ajmer and reached Ahmedābād, crossing the whole desert of western Rājasthān in eight day's time.

Inns

In connecting the trade routes and facilitating journeys inns played an important part.

⁶¹ Tavernier : *Travels in India*, Chapter V, Part II, Book I, p. 38.

⁶² *Bhattārapattāvali*, V.S. 1704 (1647 A.D.) (No. 430—Sāmbhava Nāth temple *Bhandāra*, Udaipur), ff. 23, ff. 25-52.

⁶³ *Niri Bahi*, V.S. 1751 (1694 A.D.), BA.

⁶⁴ *Rojnāmā* Sirohi, V.S. 1837 (1780 A.D.) ODRU.

⁶⁵ *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, 1, f. 116.

⁶⁶ *Tabaqāt*, E. & D., V, p. 273.

^{66A} *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, pp. 8-11.

^{66B} *Muntakhāb-ul-Lubāb*, Text, Vol. II, p. 80, E. & D., VII, p. 80.

From inscription and literary records we learn that there were rest-houses at regular intervals on the roads. The *Jālor Inscription*⁶⁷ of V.S. 1239 (1182 A.D.) records that the son of Yashodeva established a rest-house for the comforts of way-farers and traders. The *Somasaubhāgya-kāvya* and the *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*⁶⁸ of V.S. 1517 (1460 A.D.) says that in several villages and towns of Mewār there were inns for the travellers.

The Afghān and Mughal rulers also contributed to the construction of inns. Sher Shāh had built *sarāis* and halting places at every *kos*, on the roads constructed by him, between Āgrā and Jodhpur, Bayānā and Ajmer, and Āgrā and Chitor. Pots of water were placed at the doors of inns for the use of Musalmāns and Hindus. At every *sarāi* a mosque, a royal chamber (*Khānah-i-bādshāhi*) and a well were constructed; and to every mosque a *mūazzin* (crier), an *imām* (priest) and *shiqdār* (manager) were appointed, and lands were allotted for their support.⁶⁹ William Finch⁷⁰ while travelling between Bayānā and Āgrā saw gardens and rest-houses. He mentions that at every stage from Āgrā to Ajmer there was a *mahal* with lodging for sixteen great women. This account is corroborated by Nicholas Willington⁷¹ who travelled from Ajmer to Āgrā in 1612. He says that at every ten *kos* there was a lodging both for man and horse. He adds that between these places (which is estimated to be 120 *kos*), at every ten *kos* there were also residential palaces built by the order of Akbar for the use of the members of royal family. Tavernier⁷² also observed several such inns when he passed through Rājasthān. According to him these inns were great barns, raised and paved, where hundreds of men were found pell-mell together with their horses, mules and camels, where one is stifled with heat in summer, and starved with cold in winter, if it were not for the breathing of those animals, that warmed the place a little. He also makes mention of a large and commodious inn which was constructed on the border of Rājasthān by Begum Sāhibā, the daughter of Shāh Jahān for charitable reasons. However, wherever there were no inns, travellers, according to Bernier,⁷³ spent the noons under the shade of

⁶⁷ *Jālor Inscription*, 5th of the bright-half of *Vaisākha*, V.S. 1239; *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 899, pp. 238-239.

⁶⁸ *Somasaubhāgya-kāvya*, Canto VII, p. 12; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, Slabs I-III, V.S. 1517, v. 63, El., Vol. XXIV, pp. 314-28; A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1925-26.

⁶⁹ *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtāqi*, E. & D., IV, pp. 549-550.

⁷⁰ *Early Travels in India* (1608-1611), (O.U.P., 1921), pp. 148, 171.

⁷¹ *Early Travels in India* (1612-16), p. 225.

⁷² A *Letter to Lord Colbert*, Tavernier, p. 73 and *Tavernier's Travels*, Chapter IV, Part II, Book I, p. 30.

⁷³ *Bernier's Travels*, p. 309.

a banyan tree, if necessary, and spent the night in the open. It was also customary in Rājasthān that every village had a platform called *dharam-ki-otle* where travellers took rest during the night.⁷⁴

Insecurity of Travelling

In spite of the fact that there were good roads and there were inns at regular intervals, travelling was generally speaking unsafe. Many of the roads passed through dense jungles and hilly tracts where wild tribes and beasts like bears and tigers dwelt. There were areas in Shekhāvāti, Mewāt, Mārwar, Bewar and Mewār which were infested with robbers, and made travelling unsafe. We know for certain that the Mughal Government had to make special arrangements for guarding the routes at various stages in the territories of Sirohi, Mārwar and Mewār several times.⁷⁵ From a letter⁷⁶ of the Mahārājā of Āmber to Nāhar Khān, dated 8 *Jumādā-us-Sāni* 4, 1122 H. (24th July, 1710) we learn that the Khan's camp was looted by the people of Shekhāvāti. From another letter⁷⁷ from the Mahārājā to Nawāb Āsaf Khān dated the 9 *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, 1124 H. (5th April, 1712), we know that he had to send Mohan Singh to suppress the Mewāti vagabonds in the *Sarkār* of Alwar. It appears from another letter⁷⁸ of the Mahārājā to Nāhar Khān, dated 13th *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, 1124 H. (9th April, 1712) that states had to provide escort to the caravan for its safe journey through his territory. Similarly, another letter⁷⁹ of the Mahārājā addressed to Bādshāh Quli Khān, dated 6 *Muharram*, 1130 H. (29th November, 1717) shows that he had to send a large army for suppressing the Namkās who had laid waste the district of Alwar and were plundering the travellers. From a letter⁸⁰ of Nāzīr Gangādās to Muhrāj of Jaisalmer, dated V.S. 1854 (1797 A. D.), we learn that the robbers took away cows numbering 1,500 and buffaloes 300 as they were passing through his territory. From a letter⁸¹ of Victor Jucqremont to his father dated the 5th April, 1832, we learn that the mountainous region of Bewar and Ajmer was inhabited by one of the indigenous races of India which had no other business but brigandage to be carried on in the adjacent plains of Mārwar and Mewār.

⁷⁴ *Chandan Malyagiri-vārtā*, f. 2a.

⁷⁵ *Akbar-nāmā*, III, p. 64; *Tabaqāt*, E. & D., pp. 340-342; *Badshāhnāma* of Lāhori (P. T.), I, p. 168.

⁷⁶ A Letter No. 2340, Register No. VI, *Persian Correspondence* (JA).

⁷⁷ A Letter No. 2850, Register No. VI, *Persian Correspondence* (JA).

⁷⁸ A Letter No. 3032, Register No. VI, *Persian Correspondence* (JA).

⁷⁹ A Letter No. 3208, Register No. VI, *Persian Correspondence* (JA).

⁸⁰ A Letter dated 14th of V. S. 1854 (1797 A. D.), *Portfolio File* No. 8 (Jodhpur Archives).

⁸¹ *Letters from India, 1829-1832*, translated by Catherine Alston, London, 1936.

The danger that beset caravans and travellers from thieves in the area around Gāgron is attested by many stories recorded in the literary works of the period.⁸²

Transportation

For handling consignments of produce and merchandise and facilitating travelling bullock-carts, as mentioned by the contemporary writers⁸³ and depicted by artists,⁸⁴ were commonly used in the eastern parts of Rājasthān where ground was generally even and hard. For uneven tracts of hilly regions pack-horses and bullocks were used for carrying goods from one place to another.⁸⁵ Most commonly the *Banjārās*, referred to above, used to carry commodities like salt, grain, rice, wheat, gram, etc., from one place to another on the back of oxen whose number varied from 200 to 1,200 on average. Tavernier⁸⁶ says that they loaded an ox with 300 to 350 pound weight.

In desert, camel was the most convenient means of travelling and transport. Humāyun had a large number of them when he crossed the desert of Rājasthān.⁸⁷ Carts drawn by the camels were also used in Jaipur.⁸⁸ R. C. Dutt⁸⁹ in his *Rambles of India* said that in Jaisalmer, Bikāner and other western places camels carried men and women with their packages and supply of food and water.

In the contemporary records⁹⁰ we find references to porters who carried heavy packages in hilly regions or regions where human labour was abundant.

⁸² *Ulājarā-ri-Vāt*, ff. 150-152; *Devasarā-ri-Vārtā*, ff. 374-375; *Achaldās Khichī-ri-Vāt*, f. 46b.

⁸³ *Travels of Fray*—1629-1643, vol. I, p. 145; A letter No. 449 from the Mahārājā of Jaipur to the imperial court for a supply of 60 bullock-carts, 10th of the dark-half of *Phālguna*, V. S. 1763 (1706 A. D.), P. C. (JA).

⁸⁴ *Bhāgavata Dashamaskandha* paintings, ff. 153, 174 (PPJ).

⁸⁵ *Vastupāla Tirthyātrā*, V. S. 1825 (1768 A. D.) (*Āmber Bhandāra*); *Morā Devi Inscription*, Dhulev, V. S. 1876 (1819 A. D.)

⁸⁶ *Tavernier's Travel*, Chapter III, Part II, Book I, p. 27.

⁸⁷ *Tezkereh*, ff. 73-76; *Tabaqāt*, E. & D., V, p. 213.

⁸⁸ A letter from the Mahārājā of Jaipur, No. 449, V. S. 1763 (1706 A. D.), P. C. (JA); *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 57, File No. 13, V. S. 1815 (1758 A. D.)

⁸⁹ *Rambles of India*, 1871-1895, p. 50.

⁹⁰ A letter from the Mahārājā of Jaipur No. 449, V. S. 1763 (1706 A. D.) also refers to *kahārs* for carrying the load, P. C. (JA); *Vastupāla Tirtha-yātrā*, V. S. 1825; *Himmat Rāma Temple Inscription*, V. S. 1891, *The Jaina Sahitya Sanshodhak*, Vol. I, pp. 108-11.

Chariots drawn by a pair of bullocks or horses were common for dignitaries, rulers and army officers to travel.⁹¹ Closed carriages drawn by a pair of bullocks referred to in our records⁹² and painted in one of the Nāgor paintings⁹³ were used by ladies of rank. Swift steeds were used by princes and officers in expeditions, hunting and pleasure-riding.⁹⁴ Kings and princes travelled mounted on elephants seated on wooden or silver chairs or squared towers, commonly called *hawdāhs*.⁹⁵

Palanquins and *tāmjāms* (lift-chairs) were used by kings, brides and bridegrooms, which were carried by four to eight men. A similar number of lifters was kept in reserve on long journeys to relieve those already in harness. Closed palanquin covered with rich cloth or net of gold ornamented with precious stones or pieces of looking-glass was meant for ladies of royal families.⁹⁶

Communication

In carrying business and maintaining social contacts postal services of indigenous kind played an important part. The way-farers going from one village to another or one town to another were usually entrusted with carrying of letters. Dholā⁹⁷ was requested by a Shāh to carry his letter to the town he was passing through. This was an ordinary courtesy which a traveller was expected to show to the villagers and town-dwellers, through whose villages and towns he passed. For delivery of urgent letters letter-bearers were engaged by private persons to carry letters from one place to another. In such cases charges varied with the number of sheets of paper, the weight, and the distance to be covered. In V.S. 1723 (1666 A.D.) Meghā Shāh⁹⁸ paid Rs. 11 for a letter carried by Hirā from Mertā to Jodhpur, a distance of about 80 miles. Generally the letter-bearers collected the money from the recipients.

⁹¹ *Vastuṭpāla Tīrth-yātrā*, V. S. 1825 (1768 A. D.); *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (Illustrated), ff. 30, 31 etc. (SBLU).

⁹² *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1880 (1823 A. D.)

⁹³ A photograph of the painting in my possession taken from the collection of Udaī Lāl *Shiklīghar*, Udaipur.

⁹⁴ *Ajītodaya*, f. 21, v. 32; *Haqīqat Bahī*, V. S. 1821 (1764 A. D.); *Himmat Rāma Temple Inscription*, 5th of the bright-half of *Āṣādha* V. S. 1891 (1834 A. D.), *The Jaina Sāhitya Sanshodhaka*, Vol. I, pp. 108-111.

⁹⁵ *Haqīqat Bahī*, V. S. 1884.

⁹⁶ *Dastur Komwār*, V. S. 1791; *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 57, V. S. 1815 (1758 A. D.) (KA).

⁹⁷ *Dholāmaru-ri-Vāt*, f. 69b.

⁹⁸ *Chopanyā Chhītmal*, Mertā, V.S. 1723 (1666 A.D.)

By the 16th century state postal services for administrative and military purposes were becoming common. Since Sher Shah's time there had been at places, such as Ajmer to Jodhpur, and Ajmer to Chitor a kind of imperial post, with relays of horses and post-horses for the letter-carriers.⁹⁹ From two *hash-ul-hukms*¹⁰⁰ of the year 1711 A.D., it appears that the Mahārājā of Jaipur was required to make arrangements within his territory and the territory of Jāgirdārs for stationing horse-posts from Āgrā to Hyderābād and Mālwa.

From some *parwānāhs*¹⁰¹ of the Mahārājā of Jaipur to Megha Rāja, dated 30th *Rajab*, H. 1112, *Posha Sudi* 2, V.S. 1757 (1700 A.D.) we learn that experienced and trusted servants were employed to carry sealed letters bearing confidential news. In the *Siyāhah Huzūr*¹⁰² mention has been made of the names of Lādu, Kānā, Ānanda Rāja and Bhimā who were employed as post-men for carrying letters from Jaipur to the officers posted at Lahore, Udaipur and Delhi in V.S. 1790-1800 (1733-1743 A.D.) In Jodhpur Raikās and Mirdhās were employed to carry confidential letters and they were handsomely rewarded after they had delivered them.¹⁰³

Still quicker communications were arranged with the help of camel-posts. A *parwānāh*¹⁰⁴ of the year 1706 A.D. from the Mahārājā to Jagjiwandās suggests that a camel-post was running from Āgrā to Jaipur for the despatch of daily report to him about halts and marches of the royal army. The *Havālā Bahi*¹⁰⁵ of the 19th century records that there were arrangements of camels-post for Rs. 718 yearly and runners-post for Rs. 180 yearly between Jodhpur to Mount Ābu.

Currency

Rājasthān's internal and external trade virtually emphasised the importance of metallic currencies. Owing to want of space, as it is not possible for us to go into greater details of the type, weight and metals

⁹⁹ *Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhi*, ff. 156-157.

¹⁰⁰ *Hash-ul-hukm* from Samsām-ud-Daulā to the Mahārājā, dated 7th *Safar*, H. 1123, 16th March, 1711, and another from Kutulmulk, dated 12th *Muharram*, H. 1123, 19th February, 1711, P.C. Register VI, Nos. 2423-24.

¹⁰¹ P.C. Nos. 215, 617, 1041, etc.

¹⁰² *Siyāhāh Huzūr*, V.S. 1790-1800 (1733-1743 A.D.)

¹⁰³ A letter from Sawāi Jay Singh to Mahārājā Abhaya Singh, dated 12th of the bright-half of *Āśoja*, V.S. 1790 (1733 A.D.), *Portfolio* File No. 9, Letter No. 9.

¹⁰⁴ A *parwānāh*, dated 12th *Jummādā-us-Sāni*, H. 1118, 14th of the bright-half of *t-hādrapada*, V.S. 1763 (1706 A.D.), P.C. Register No. III, Letter No. 956.

¹⁰⁵ *Havālā Bahi*, V.S. 1911.

used for them, we may only refer to main types; and the value of the different denominations as and when available. The early Rājasthān was acquainted with the use of metallic money. It used coins of gold and silver both as medium of exchange and as measure of value. Payments to temples, princes, or to the tribute-imposing invaders were made at least partly in money. Epigraphic and literary sources of early mediaeval period make frequent mention to *dramma*¹⁰⁸ as a basic coin used for exchange. From the *Sārṇāth Inscription* of V.S. 1010 (953 A.D.) we learn that one *dramma* was charged as a tax for one elephant passing through Āhad of Mewār. Several inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries make mention of *dramma* and *elā* of gold and silver.¹⁰⁸ The *Katār Inscription*¹⁰⁹ of V.S. 1335 (1278 A.D.) of Godwād makes mention of 24 *drammas* to be offered to the deity per year. Another inscription¹¹⁰ of V.S. 1343 (1286 A.D.) further refers that Visālpriya offered 30 *drammas* of gold to the deity of Ratanpur which were expected to earn interest of 10 *drammas* of silver. According to literary sources¹¹¹ we learn that *nishka* was a unit of 16 *drammas* of silver.

From the early mediaeval inscriptions¹¹² it seems that a *dramma* had its smaller denominations of *drammārdha*, one-half, *drammāshṭa*, one-eighth, *dashkam*, one-tenth, *vimsatika*, one-twentieth and *ardha vimsatika*, one-fortieth.

Side by side to the use of *dramma* we also find in these inscriptions¹¹³ a mention of *rupaka* as one of the coins for transaction. This *rupaka*

¹⁰⁸ According to Haldhar the value of one *dramma* was from four to six annas, vide *Epigraphia Indica*. Altekar values it equivalent to annas six. Altekar : *op. cit.*, 367.

¹⁰⁷ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, pp. 67-69, v. 11.

¹⁰⁸ *Jaina Inscriptions*, No. 1706, p. 163 and p. 883.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 251.

¹¹⁰ *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, p. 251.

¹¹¹ *Upadeśātaraṅgiṇī* by Ratnamandirgaṇi, p. 42 (V.S. 1519=1462 A.D.); *Vakranāsikā*, f. 71a; *Lilāvati*, Canto I, v. 2; *Journal of Numismatic Society*, v. 15, p. 11; *Sindhi Jaina Granthmālā*, Calcutta, p. 7, footnote No. 8.

¹¹² *Ghanerāo Inscription*, V.S. 1172 (1115 A.D.); *Jaina Inscription*, No. 903, V.S. 1323 (1266 A.D.); *Jālor Inscription*, V.S. 1323 (1266 A.D.); *Jaina Inscription*, I, No. 903, *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, pp. 179-180, No. 238, p. 901, II, p. 226; *Lectures on Ancient Numismatics*, 1921, Calcutta, p. 207.

¹¹³ *Sārṇāth Inscription* of V.S. 1010 (953 A.D.); *Hathundi Inscription* of V.S. 1053 (996 A.D.); *Nādlāi Inscription*, V.S. 1202 (1145 A.D.); *Nādol Inscription*, V.S. 1202 (1145 A.D.); *Bhāvnagar Inscription*, v. 11, pp. 67-69; *Jaina Inscription*, I, Nos. 841, 846, etc.

gradually came to be termed 'rupaiyā' throughout Rājasthān, with its different varieties of different sizes. The word *nānak* was also current in Rājasthān for coins of all types. In the *Raṇakpur Inscription*¹¹⁴ of the 14th century it has been used for 48 gold coins spent over the construction of a balcony by Yashawant. Similarly in the *Todā Rāi Singh Inscription*¹¹⁵ of V.S. 1604 (1547 A.D.), it has been used for Mewār coin. In the *Karmachandravanshotkirtanakam-kāvya*¹¹⁶ *nānaks* have been mentioned for current coins. In Rājasthān the term *nānā* still denotes cash.¹¹⁷

Gradually as we come to our period we get references to another coin known as *tanka*. The *Delwādā Inscription*¹¹⁸ of V.S. 1491 (1434 A.D.) refers to 14 *tankas* as a grant for the maintenance of the temple out of the tax collected from the market. According to *Ratnamandirgaṇi*,^{118A} a writer of the 15th century A.D., silver, gold and copper *tankas* were used for transaction. According to the same writer old *tankas* were also accepted as medium of exchange. Similarly an inscription¹¹⁹ of V.S. 1522 (1465 A.D.) refers to 400 *tankaṣ* for the worship of a Jaina temple. Similarly six *tankas* was a tax levied for the temple, from the load carried through Morkhānā in Bikāner in V.S. 1573 (1516 A.D.)¹²⁰ According to the *Prākṛitpingala*¹²¹ the weight of one *tanka* was equivalent to four *māshās*. From the literary sources¹²² it appears that *tanka* later on was used as a weight of weighing medicinal and costly articles.

Firishtā¹²³ informs us that Mahārana Kumbhā struck gold coins. A few silver and copper coins of his time have also come to light. In the Māmadeva temple in the fort of Kumbhalgarh, an image of Kuber has been noticed, of the size of a man, with two attendants pouring coins from bags into plates. One plate contained circular coins and the other

¹¹⁴ *Raṇakpur Inscription*, V.S. 1445 (1388 A.D.) ; *Jaina Inscriptions*, No. 714, Part I, p. 171.

¹¹⁵ *Todā Rāi Singh Inscription*, of V.S. 1604 (1547 A.D.)

¹¹⁶ *Karmachandravanshotkirtanakam-kāvya*, v. 46.

¹¹⁷ The local saying runs as :—'Ganthe nānā'.

¹¹⁸ *Delwādā Inscription*, V.S. 1491 (1434 A.D.)

^{118A} *Upadeśtarangīni* (V.S. 1519=1462 A.D.) by Ratnamandirgaṇi, pp. 20, 47, 113 and 120, ed. Banaras, Vir Samvat, 2437.

¹¹⁹ *Epigraphia Indica*, II, No. V, p. 26.

¹²⁰ J.A.S. Bengal, Vol. XIII, pp. 214, 215 ; *Tesitori's Report* 1916 ; *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, p. 70.

¹²¹ *Prākṛitpingala*, Vol. 2, p. 459.

¹²² *Adbhutavilāsa*, No. 714 (SBLU), f. 1 ; *Ukhadnāmā*, f. 19a, V.S. 1736 (1679 A.D.) (SBLU).

¹²³ Firishtā, Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 221.

square ones. This shows that Mahārānā Kumbhā's coins were of two types, circular and rectangular. Some copper coins of five types of this period have also come to light which are either square or rectangular in shape. The obverse contains the name of Mahārānā Kumbhā, and the reverse either Kumbhalgarh or Ekalinga¹²⁴

The movements of coins within and without the Muslim empire of India were reflected in the history of currencies in Rājasthān. It appears that after the death of Prithvirāja III, the coins of the Sultān of Delhi and Mālwa were also found floating in Rājasthān as currency. The earliest were the *Firozshahi* coins of 1293 A.D.¹²⁵ Yādgār¹²⁶ informs us that Sultān Bahlol marched out against the Rānā, pitched his camp at Ajmer, made peace with him and struck coins in the name of the Sultān. Similarly, Niāmatullāh¹²⁷ states that Sikander took Nāgor from Muhammad Khan. He ordered the *Khutbā* to be read and coins to be struck at Nāgor in the Sultān's name. A new specimen of the coins¹²⁸ of Rānā Vikramāditya of Mewār is a case in instance. The coin under review belonged to Shri S.N. Varmā, Excise Sub-Inspector, Seoni, in the Chhindwārā district of Madhya Pradesh. The coin has been lost but only a photograph copy has been preserved by Shri S.L. Katara. The coin under reference was square in shape. On the obverse there were three lines. In the 1st there was an incomplete legend in *Devanāgrī* character which reads Vikramādi, who was no other than Vikramāditya (1531-1536 A.D.). In the second there was the date V.S. 1592, and in the third there were seen something like 'sha' and figure 'two' in *devanāgrī* script. On the reverse there was the name Mahmud II of Mālwa in Arabic character. *Ālam Shāhi*, *Norangshāhi*, *Firozi*, were the types of coins current in Rājasthān as revealed from our sources.¹²⁹ From Mahārājā Vijay Singh's coin (1752-1793 A.D.) of Mārwar we learn that on the obverse there was the name of Emperor Shāh Ālam II, inscribed in Persian characters and on the reverse the name of the mint (Jodhpur).¹³⁰ Hundreds of such varieties were struck in Rājasthān which bore Arabic characters and were dedicated to the rulers of individual states. Such

¹²⁴ Sarda : *Mahārānā Kumbhā*, p. 187.

¹²⁵ *The Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta; Vol. II, plates Nos. 170-188 ; *Ibid.*, Vols. XIII-XIV, plates Nos. 615-779 ; *Ibid.*, Vol. III.

¹²⁶ *Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Afghāni*, E. & D., V, p. 4.

¹²⁷ *Makhzān-i-Afghāni*, E. & D., V, p. 103.

¹²⁸ *Journal of the Numismatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 284-285.

¹²⁹ MS. *Bānkidās-ki-Khyāta*, II, f. 296 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 296, refers 'Firozi'.

¹³⁰ Reu : *Coins of Mārwar*, p. 5.

coins¹³¹ were *Kuchāmani* and *Gajshāhi* of Jodhpur, *Jhādshāhi* of Jaipur, *Udaipuri* of Udaipur, *Udaishāhi* of Dungarpur, and so on.

For smaller transactions copper coins of various size and value were in vogue. From an inscription¹³² of the *Vikram Samvat* 1597 (1540 A.D.), found in a step-well at Hirāvādi, it appears that 1,21,111 'phadiyās' were spent in building that reservoir. In a Mārwar chronicle the same amount has been stated as Rs. 15,000. From this we conclude that a *phadiyā* was in common use in Mārwar which was equivalent to 1/8th of a rupee. The prevalence of *phadiyā* has been noticed up to the 17th century A.D. From literary¹³³ and archival sources¹³⁴ we learn that *takkā*, *dām*, *paisā* and *dhinglā* were commonly used for petty purchases. The relative value of a *takkā* was about an anna while that of a *dām* was about half an anna. It seems that *paisā* and *dhinglā* of copper were the smallest unit used for transaction. Their use has been observed up to our own days. 192 *dhinglās* fetched a rupee in Mewār. *Chhadamis* and *cowries* formed the lowest medium of exchange for ordinary transactions in several parts of Rājasthān. They were realised as cess from the market of Parvatsar as revealed from a *Rojnāmā*¹³⁵ of V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.)

In Rājasthān of our period of study no less than thirty varieties of coins were in circulation, each of these, according to the trade usage of each different market, was acceptable, liable to different rates of discount usually known as *battā*. The Kotāh records¹³⁶ preserve a note on the exchange between one coin and another. As for example, in V.S. 1789 (1732 A.D.) for Rs. 7,829/12/6 *Gumānshāhi* Rs. 7,999/14/9 *Chittori* coins were accepted. Similarly for 2,900/- *Gumānshāhi*, 5,000 Gwalior coins were charged. Again for 2,07,000 *Gumānshāhi*, 2,25,000 *Chalani* coins were paid.

In the archival records¹³⁷ of Ajmer we have discovered a list of 26 kinds of coins current in Rājasthān, submitted by A. G. Davidson, Dy. Commissioner, Ajmer, to the Commissioner, Ajmer Merwārā, in the year 1864. This list furnishes relative weight in *māśa* and *ratti* of various kinds of coins which were accepted as legal tender till his time. From the list

¹³¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Prov. Series), Rājputānā, pp. 131, 151, 164, 214, 224, 248, 277, 291, 311, 333, 360, 378, 382, 412, 436 etc.

¹³² *Reu : Coins of Mārwar*, p. 3.

¹³³ *Chandana Malyāgiri-ri-vārtā*, f. 4ab, v. 64; *Sonāriphārsi*, No. 574, V.S. 1753 (1696 A.D.), f. 460.

¹³⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 10, V. S. 1749 (1692 A. D.), (KA); *Phulpānkhadi Bahi*, Dhuley, V. S. 1765-1780 (1708-1723 A.D.)

¹³⁵ *Rojnāmā* (AJ), V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.), f. 2.

¹³⁶ *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Basta* No. 10, V.S. 1749 (1692 A.D.) KA.

¹³⁷ *Currency File* 1, (9), *Letter* No. 429, 1864 A.D. In some cases the weight of the rupee does not tally with the weight of silver plus alloy. Weight for 'Meerkhani' is not given in the original. (All these cases are marked *asterisk* in the Table on p. 336.)

(Table below) we can conclude that up to the end of our period the coins noted below were used for common transaction. This list has been furnished in a tabular form as :

| Sr. No. | Name of the Coin | Weight of the Rupee in | | Weight of Silver | | Alloy in | |
|---------|------------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|
| | | Māsā | Ratti | Māsā | Ratti | Māsā | Ratti |
| 1. | Shree Shāhee | 11 | 4 | 10 | $\frac{3}{4}$ | 1 | $3\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 2. | Kuchāmani | 11 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 5 |
| 3. | Chittori | 11 | 4 | 8 | $7\frac{1}{2}$ | 2 | $4\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 4. | Udaipuri* | 11 | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | 8 | $4\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 5. | Kishanghari | 11 | 4 | 9 | $4\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 6. | Bundi | 11 | 7 | 11 | $1\frac{1}{4}$ | — | $5\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 7. | Kotāh | 11 | 7 | 11 | $4\frac{3}{4}$ | — | $2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 8. | Bikāneri | 12 | — | 11 | 6 | — | 2 |
| 9. | Pātun | 11 | 7 | 11 | $4\frac{3}{4}$ | — | $2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 10. | Jaipuri* | 12 | — | 11 | 6 | — | 3 |
| 11. | Vijay Shāhi | 12 | — | 11 | 5 | — | 3 |
| 12. | Shāhpuri | 11 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| 13. | Sarupshāhi | 11 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| 14. | Rāj Garh | 12 | — | 11 | $5\frac{1}{4}$ | — | $2\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 15. | Kānour | 11 | 3 | 10 | 3 | 1 | — |
| 16. | Oojeen | 11 | 7 | 11 | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | — | $4\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 17. | Indore* | 11 | 7 | 11 | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| 18. | Ahmadābād | 12 | 3 | 10 | $5\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | $5\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 19. | Unkhey Shāhi | 11 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| 20. | Bhopāl | 11 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| 21. | Mādhopuri | 11 | 6 | 10 | $4\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | $1\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 22. | Sālim Shāhi* | 11 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 2 | $1\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 23. | Bindrāban | 11 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 24. | Chāndori | 11 | 4 | 7 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 | $3\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 25. | Meerkhāni* | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 26. | Hyderābādi | 11 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 7 |

Observations on Medium of Exchange

The circulation of money had many baneful effects on mediaeval economic life. In the first place, the circulation of coins of small value helped the small producer, for he could then accept money instead of goods for the few wares he had to sell. In the second place, the metal could contain greater value in it in smaller dimension than stack grain or livestock. Thus it could be more easily accumulated, stored, concealed,

and consumed. Moreover, it could also be allowed to multiply by being invested or lent.

But, however, mediaeval coins were defective for several reasons. In the first place, minting methods were so simple and crude that any skilled rogue could easily counterfeit or tamper with coins. In spite of the fact that Gaja Singh¹³⁸ of Bikāner prescribed drastic penalties for counterfeiters, he failed to check the practice. In the second place as the value of coins was determined by the amount of precious metal they contained, it was subject to fluctuation. The obvious result was that there was little stability in the previous metal-content of the coin. In days of war and empty treasuries, specially of the 18th century various states of Rājasthān issued *chalanī*¹³⁹ coins in which content of silver was reduced to an extent that 100 debased coins could purchase hardly 30 to 35 current rupees. In a manner mediaeval money refused to discharge the primary duty of a standard currency.

Credit and Banking

Akin to currency was the banking system of Rājasthān. It emerged out of special circumstances. The need of disposal of agricultural surplus, financing industries and exchange of articles from rural to urban centres and vice versa stimulated the growth of a class which may be termed as middlemen. Again it was natural that if the producer could not move out due to his preoccupation to get his cotton, wool, metal, or to sell his produce, some middlemen must do it for him. If the raw material was costly, the cost of production beyond his means, and the payment long delayed, the small craftsmen must let someone else invest and wait for the money. The growth of luxury trades, of industries which served larger or foreign markets necessitated a party between the primary producer and the craftsmen. These kinds of trading and financing activities were responsible for the growing importance of the middlemen who are variously known in Rājasthān as *boharā*, *sethjis*, *sharāfs*, *baniyās*, etc. The development of this kind of a trading class represented indigenous banking for credit purposes.

The literature¹⁴⁰ of the period under review supplies ample evidence of the existence of bankers, in almost all the important trade centres; and

¹³⁸ *Sarab-Takkā-Bahi*, V. S. 1828 (1771 A. D.), V. S. 1836 (1779 A. D.), and V. S. 1840 (1783 A. D.), BA.

¹³⁹ *Bhandāra* No. 16; *Files* Nos. 1-23; V. S. 1789 (1732 A. D.).

¹⁴⁰ *Tirthāmālā. Amber Bhandāra*, Register No. 6, V. S. 1559 (1502 A. D.), ff. 67, 68, 73 etc.; *Sakalkīrti Rāsa*, V. S. 1704 (1647 A. D.); f. 18, (*Amber Bhandāra*, Register No. 6).

oft heir widespread influence in the life of the community of Rājasthān. Although no detailed information is available at one place regarding their pursuit, or a profession by a section of the community, we are in a favourable position to build up with the help of stray reference from our records¹⁴¹ that the bankers of Rājasthān had multifarious activities. Since each state issued its own currency, and there were scores of coins with different names, weights, and standard of fineness, many of the middlemen became money-changers to tell the relative value of these coins and to change foreign ones for native currency. These money-changers became money-lenders, and in course of time they were fledgling bankers. Referring to those of Udaipur, Mān Kavi¹⁴² and Bhāgya Sunder¹⁴³ mention that they changed money and purchased and sold bullion.

Besides there were minor bankers in almost all important towns or villages in those days. Some such bankers of the 16th and 17th centuries were Sahasmal (Dungarpur),¹⁴⁴ Villhā (Mandor),¹⁴⁵ Nagji (Bārdoli),¹⁴⁶ Kumudchand (Bādmed),¹⁴⁷ Shāh Goverdhan Dās (Shergarh),¹⁴⁸ etc. Many more may be cited who lent money to the agriculturists and the artisans of the area in which they were residing. There are references to the loans advanced to the agriculturists by the indigenous bankers for the purchase of seed, payment of land revenue or rent, purchase of carts or cattle and purchase of land. These are instances like that of Humlā of Baru (Kotāh),¹⁴⁹ Kherā of Pāti (Mewār)¹⁵⁰ and Navlā of Birā (Bikāner)¹⁵¹ who borrowed money from Hemā in 1703 A. D., Devji in 1739 A. D., and Lālā in 1745 A. D. respectively for social ceremonies such as birth, marriage and funeral.

There are copious references in the contemporary records of Jodhpur to *Nagar Seths* who were premier traders and money-lenders of the states.

¹⁴¹ *Bhandāra* No. 7, File No. 58, V. S. 1734 (1677 A. D.), File No. 68, V. S. 1758 (1701 A. D.), KA; *Rojnāmā*, Pidā, V. S. 1763 (1706 A. D.), V.S. 1769 (1712 A. D.) etc. (BA).

¹⁴² *Rājavilāsa*, vv. 130-132.

¹⁴³ *Udaipur Gazal*, v. 35.

¹⁴⁴ *Gutkā*, No. 48, V. S. 1548 (1491 A. D.) (*Āmber Bhandāra*).

¹⁴⁵ *Shānti Nāth Charitra*, V. S. 1591 (1534 A. D.) (*Āmber Bhandāra*), No. III.

¹⁴⁶ *Nagjinugita*, V.S. 1670 (1613 A.D.) (*Āmber Bhandāra*).

¹⁴⁷ *Kumadchandnugita*, V. S. 1734 (1677 A. D.) (*Āmber Bhandāra*).

¹⁴⁸ *Rāsamālā*, V. S. 1749 (1692 A. D.), No. 1522 (*Āmber Bhandāra*).

¹⁴⁹ *Bhandāra*, No. 27, *Bastā* No. 24, V. S. 1760 (1703 A. D.)

¹⁵⁰ *Girwā Records*, V.S. 1796 (1739 A. D.) (ODRU).

¹⁵¹ *Birā Bahi*, V.S. 1802 (1745 A. D.), BA.

They lent money to princes, who were in financial difficulties due to wars or other reasons. Nandwāna Boharās¹⁵² in the year 1766 A.D. advanced Rs. 1,10,000, and Seth Kushālchand¹⁵³ in the year 1806 A. D. advanced Rs. 50,000 to the State of Jodhpur. Similarly Seth Hirāchand¹⁵⁴ in the year 1809 A. D. and Singhvi Lālā Jagjī¹⁵⁵ in 1811 A. D. advanced Rs. 1,25,000 and Rs. 2,012 respectively to the Mahārājā of Jodhpur. In the year 1819 one Kumbhat Gulābdās¹⁵⁶ paid Rs. 25,000/- for the army expenses of the Marāthās for which he charged high rate of interest on the sum advanced. Similarly Seth Hirāchand¹⁵⁷ paid Rs. 1,25,000 monthly to the officers of Mukhtār Ud-daulāh. He was authorised to collect the money advanced by him through annual instalment from the district treasury. In monetary matters these *seths* exercised paramount influence.

The banking concerns of some of the *seths* had branches¹⁵⁸ in the important towns of Rājasthān and several parts of the country including Delhi, Āgrā, Ahmadābād, Burhānpur, etc. The branches were managed by their agents, who were known as *munims* or *gumāstās*. These banking houses used their own medium of exchange, on pieces of paper, commonly termed *hundīs* or bills of exchange. The party which accepted and paid for the bill received a small commission for the service. The use of bills in domestic and foreign trade seems to have grown very large during the later part of our study. An annual tribute of Rs. 3,10,079/12/0, as for example, was paid by Mahārājā Vijay Singh to Mahādji in V. S. 1848 (1791 A. D.) through a *hundi* to be encashed at Jaipur. Realisation of commission on *hundīs*¹⁵⁹ formed an important source of income of these concerns owned by the *seths*.

Operations of Money-lending

One of the usual methods of the bankers was to lend money. In villages usually loans were given for agricultural requirements on the understanding that the harvest of the season was to be sold to them or

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- ¹⁵² *Arzi Bahi*, No. 4, p. 286 (Jd. Records, BA), V.S. 1823 (1766 A.D.)
¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, No. 5, p. 96, Letter of V. S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) (Jd. Rec. BA).
¹⁵⁴ *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. XIV, Letter No. 27.
¹⁵⁵ *Jamā Kharch File* No. 43, Letter No. 43, V. S. 1867 (1810 A.D.) (Jd. Rec. BA).
¹⁵⁶ *Jamā Kharch File*, No. 43, Letter V. S. 1875 (1818 A. D.) (Jd. Rec. BA).
¹⁵⁷ A Letter from Mān Singh to an officer at Ajmer received on April 6, 1832, F. P. May 7, 1832, No. 32.
¹⁵⁸ *Siyāhah Huzur*, V. S. 1732 (1675 A. D.), V.S. 1734 (1677 A.D.), etc. (JA) ; *Bhandāra* No. 27, *Bastā* No. 73 V. S. 1793 (1736 A.D.)
¹⁵⁹ *Jamā Kharch Bahi*, No. 44, V. S. 1848 (1791 A. D.)

through them. But when the loans were larger or given for a long period, generally loans were advanced against pledge of movable or immovable property or personal surety. Ordinarily a deed was executed, specifying the name of creditor and his father, name of debtor and his father, amount of loan and rate of interest charged. It was to be attested by sureties. Such documents were often conditional sale deeds on the understanding that the land would be retransferred on payment of the loan. Where the debtor held possession of land or property regular interest was charged by the creditor. The entry of these facts were either made in the account-book of the banker or blank paper with signatures or marks of identity of debtor and witnesses.

Some of the facts as stated may be substantiated from two deeds. One of Sanchor¹⁶⁰ dated 7th of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 1868 (1811 A. D.) records that one Mālji Bhanshāli borrowed Rs. 140 from Bālji and mortgaged his house on condition that as long as the creditor would have physical possession of the house the borrower would be free from the payment of interest, and the creditor would be entitled to collect rent of the house. Another deed¹⁶¹ of V. S. 1870 (1813 A.D.) records that if on the appointed time the money was not paid off the mortgager Nāthu had to lose possession of the property and the mortgagee Pemā was at liberty to sell the property.

Interest Charged by Money-Lenders

From our records information is available regarding the rates of interest charged in those days. In most cases the rates of interest varied between 10 to 30 p. c. From a document¹⁶² of V. S. 1729 (1672 A. D.) we learn that one Ghanshyāma of Udaipur borrowed Rs. 13 from Chowdhry Nākā at the rate of one *dukdā* (about 3/4 of an anna) for a rupee per month. Other documents¹⁶³ of V. S. 1834-1835 (1777-1778 A. D.) of Sanakji Dugad reveal that usually the rate of interest charged was one *takkā* per rupee per month. From a letter¹⁶⁴ of Shri Kriṣṇa

¹⁶⁰ *Mizālik File* No. 6, V. S. 1868 (1811 A. D.), *Tahsil Sanchor* (Jd. Rec. BA).

¹⁶¹ *Bhandāra* No. 58, *File* No. 35 V. S. 1870 (1813 A. D.) (KA).

¹⁶² *A document*, 3rd of the bright-half of *Phālguna* V. S. 1729 (1672 A.D.) (*Vidya Peeth Collection*, Udaipur).

¹⁶³ *Rokad Bahi* of Sanakji (SBLU) 2nd of the dark-half of *Phālguna*, V. S. 1834 (1777 A. D.) and 1st of the dark-half of *Chaitra*, V. S. 1835 (1778 A. D.), ff. 248 and 260.

¹⁶⁴ *Portfolio File* No. 4, Letter No. 1, dated the 14th of the bright-half of *Kārtika*, V. S. 1866 (1809 A. D.)

Joshi of Kishangarh it appears that for urgent borrowing compound interest called *badotrā* was charged. A study of these and other documents¹⁶⁵ of the *Havāla Bahi*, of course of later dates, reveals that loans secured by ornaments, land, or other property carried the lowest rate of interest. The *Bahis* further reveal that the rates charged by the urban money-lenders were generally lower than those of the rural money-lenders. Loans given without security carried much higher rates of interest¹⁶⁶.

Migration of Bankers from Rajasthan

In the later part of our period of study we come across some cases of migrations of the bankers of Rājasthān to other places. Dr. Datta¹⁶⁷ refers to one Hirānānd Shāhu who came from Nagar in Mārwar to Patnā for banking business. His son Manik Chand established a banking-house at Dacca in 1700 A. D. In course of time the family of Hirānānd Shāhu attained the status of *Jagat Seth* and exercised influence and opulence in monetary matters during the later Mughal and early Company period. There were other bankers also of the same period who migrated to different parts of India, built fortune, and possessed status and influence. For instance one Hirā Chand¹⁶⁸ of Kotā had a banking-house at Aurangābād, the other Khemā¹⁶⁹ of Pāli established his business at Burhānpur, and the third Uttam¹⁷⁰ of Jaipur had a flourishing concern at Ujjain.

Though no specific cause of their migration has been recorded, it may be correctly surmised that these bankers migrated to other parts as the prospects of their business were better there in comparison to those in Rājasthān. The continuous warfare and chaos that resulted from the break-up of the Mughal empire and Marāthā raids seriously checked their activities in Rājasthān. In order to evade heavy pressure of demand of exacting loans from the princes they closed the branches of their native place and established new ones in several parts of the country. A report of Trevelyan¹⁷¹ to Colebrooke of August 9, 1828 supports this view, which mentions that the *shroffs* of Jodhpur had closed their shops as the *kotwāl* demanded rupees twenty thousands from them and maltreated them.

¹⁶⁵ *Havāla Bahi*, V. S. 1911 (1854 A. D.), PPJ.

¹⁶⁶ *File Adālti Fensle*, 3/7, Jd. V.S. 1902 (1845 A.D.) ; *Havāla Bahi*, V.S. 1921 (1864 A.D.), V.S. 1924 (1867 A.D.), etc. (PPJ).

¹⁶⁷ Dr. Datta : *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth Century* (1961), p. 172.

¹⁶⁸ *Bhandāra*, No. 29, *Bastā* No. 24, V.S. 1801.

¹⁶⁹ *Haqiqat Bahi*, V.S. 1824 (1767 A.D.).

¹⁷⁰ *Toji Records*, V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.), V.S. 1837 (1780 A.D.), V.S. 1844 (1787 A.D.) etc.

¹⁷¹ A letter from Trevelyan to Colebrooke dated August 9, 1828, F.P. (Sept., 5, 1828, No. 20).

Services of Indigenous Bankers

A study of the operation of banking in Rājasthān confirms that as a credit agency, with regard to their efficiency and accuracy, indigenous bankers held a unique position. Their being available at all times, free from formalities and delay, made them popular among their customers. Their taking interest in the cause of promotion of religion, art and literature which is evident from their activities of construction of temples and getting prepared the illustrated and other manuscripts, raised them high in esteem and confidence of the society. In promotion of trade and commerce their services were unchallengeable. In the days when modern facilities of banking were absent the role of the indigenous bankers had its own justification.

Abuses of Indigenous Banking

As their services were obvious so were their defects. Their greedy and exacting attitude proved more of harm than of help to the agriculturists of those days. By advancing loans they seized land of the farmers which is indicated by several cases preserved in the *Adālat File*¹⁷² of the 19th century. One Lālā Navalā was deprived of his land as he failed to pay back his loan which he had taken from Kasturchand of Nāgor on the security of future crop. The remarks of N. K. Sinhā quoted by Dr. Datta held good in Rājasthān also as regards the abuses attached to the activities of the *shroffs*. He rightly says that "the *shroffs* were past masters in the arts of dodging and sophistry and in those days of confusion in currency they often played their game too well. They took the fullest advantage of the intricacy, obscurity and fluctuations of the currency to serve their very selfish ends at the expense of the community."¹⁷³

Economic Consequences of War, (1500-1800).

During three centuries (1500-1800), at least 50 years witnessed campaigns important enough to merit mention on the pages of Rājasthān history. Since wars were an important factor, some analysis of their consequences deserve serious consideration. War imposed at least two important costs—the maintenance of the army and expenses of actual campaigns. The invasions of the Turks, the Mughals and the Marāthās affected the economic vitality of Rājasthān. The campaigns against them were very costly. During Akbar's invasion of Chitor 30,000 lives were

¹⁷² *Adālat-File*, No. 3/7, Jodhpur, V.S. 1902 (1845 A.D.), Jd. BA.

¹⁷³ Quoted from—K. K. Datta : *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 178 (Calcutta, 1961).

lost.¹⁷⁴ At the battle of Mertā¹⁷⁵ (1790 A.D.) the Rāthor casualty was 2,000 killed and 3,000 wounded. The destruction of property during these wars was enormous; fields were laid waste, villages and towns were burned. Such areas which suffered ravages were restored to productivity after a large influx of population and capital.

In the second place, victory conferred right to the victors to collect contribution or tribute from the conquered states. This right has been exercised by all the conquerors. Akbar, Shāhjahān, Aurangzeb and the Marāthā generals and Pindāries, all had imposed on the princes of Rājasthān the obligation to contribute regularly to their coffers. The Mughals followed this system in a modest manner, but the imposition of heavy tribute became a regular practice with the Marāthās. Bāji Rāo's visit to Udaipur of the year 1736 A.D. forced the Mahārānā to sign a treaty promising to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 1,60,000. To cover the payment the Banherā *parganāh* was ceded to the Marāthās.¹⁷⁶ As a result of the battle of Rājmahal, March, 1747 A.D. Mahārānā's war expenses had run up to Rs. 12,000 a day.¹⁷⁷

Ummed Singh of Kotāh had promised the Marāthās ten lakhs of Rupees as the price of their support he received in getting himself enthroned. In addition to this the *chauth* of Bundi, Nenne, and other places was allotted to Malhar and Jayāpa from June 1751 onwards.¹⁷⁸

The economic blows of Rāthor-Marāthā conflicts and alliances on the state of Jodhpur were not only hard but fatal. In 1748 A.D. Abhaya Singh secured the help of Holkar against his brother Bakhat Singh by paying rupees 11,000 per day.¹⁷⁹ Rām Singh authorised his agent Pandit Jagannāth to purchase the help of Holkar or Sindiā in 1751 by offering two months' advance for a force of 10 to 12 thousands.¹⁸⁰ As against this Bakhat Singh offered Rs. two lacs to Holkar through Rāj Singh so that he may not help Rām Singh.¹⁸¹ By a treaty signed between Jankoji

¹⁷⁴ *Akbarnāma* (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 407; *Tabaqāt* (P.T.) p. 284; *Muntakhāb*, (P.T.) Vol. II, p. 104.

¹⁷⁵ H.P. 579; C.P.C. Vol. IV, 610, 737; *Mārwār-ki-Khyāta*, Vol. III, pp. 90-91; *Mundiāyād Khyāta* (Vijaya Singh) pp. 235-253, *Bastā* No. 20.

¹⁷⁶ Sarkār : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 146.

¹⁷⁷ *Voṃṣa Bhāskar*, 3472, quoted by Sarkār : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 161.

¹⁷⁸ *Selections from the Satārā Raja's and Peshwās' Diaries*, ed. by G.O. Vad and Others, III, pp. 143 and 129.

¹⁷⁹ *Mārwār Khyāta*, II, p. 160.

¹⁸⁰ *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, p. 59.

¹⁸¹ *Rāthor Dāneshwar Vamśāvalī*, p. 366, v. 413.

Sindia and Vijaya Singh in February, 1756, the latter agreed to pay the tribute of Rs. 1,50,000 a year to the Marāthās regularly.¹⁸² In the years 1766-1769 Vijaya Singh paid to Mahadji Rs. 5,00,001 as tribute. Along with the tribute the Mahārājā had to offer presents to other Marāthā leaders and furnish 150 camels worth Rs. 30,000 and 95 pairs of oxen worth Rs. 21,850. The total compensation of the war of Mertā that Vijaya Singh was required to pay amounted to Rs. 11,63,112/13/3.¹⁸³

Besides tribute the State of Jodhpur had also to part with villages like Gangvā (Parwatsar district), Harsor (Degānā district), Paduvāli and Akeli (Mertā district) Makrānā, etc., in lieu of *Chauth*. At times they had to supply grass and salt for the army passing through Mārwar.¹⁸⁴

Thus these wars damaged the Rājasthān economy so severely that no restoration of pre-war conditions was possible. Wars and their aftermaths thus deeply affected the Rājasthān countryside. Under these circumstances Rājasthān's economy could not naturally remain steady. Huge drain on its resources inevitably caused its impoverishment. Its regrettable ruin has been graphically described by Col. Tod¹⁸⁵ whose words deserve quoting. "The plain of Mairtā is one continuous sepulchre, covered with altars to the manes of the warriors who, either in civil wars which distracted the state, or in the more patriotic strife with the southern Goths, have drenched it with their blood."

Economic Aspects of Famine

Sometimes normal life was greatly disturbed on account of famines due to the failure of rains. From the 17th century works,¹⁸⁶ such as, the *Samvatsar-Vichār*, the *Gurāchāra* and the *Mahāmāyikā* it appears that after four or five years on average there was an occurrence of famine. It was, therefore, suggested in these works that people should store corn and keep stock of copper and brass utensils to dispose them off at the time of dearth

¹⁸² S.P.D. XXI, 82; Aiti, *Patren*, 142; Letter from Mahadāji to Vijaya Singh dated 5th day of dark-half of *Jaistha* V.S. 1826 (June 8, 1769).

¹⁸³ *Jamā Kharch*, File, No. 4† (Jd. Records, BA); A letter from Mahadji to Vijaya Singh, dated 1st day of the bright-half of *Pausha* V.S. 1847 (January 5, 1791), P.F. VI, L.N. 57 Jd.

¹⁸⁴ A letter from Daulat Rāo to Vijaya Singh dated dark-half of *Śravāṇa* V.S. 1848, (July 27, 1791); P.F., VI, L.N. 60, Jd; A letter from Vijaya Singh to Mahadji, 1st of the bright-half of *Āṣadha*, V.S. 1847 (July 2, 1791 A.D.), IV, p. 45; Jd; Another letter of Vijaya Singh, V.S. 1848, B.A. 4, p. 48.

¹⁸⁵ Tod, *Annals*, I, p. 583.

¹⁸⁶ *Samvatsar-Vichāra*, ff. 4-14; *Gurāchāra*, ff. 16-17b; *Mahāmāyikā*, vv. 9-78, ff. 296-301.

to purchase grain. Both from literary and historical sources we learn that the frequency of famines caused great distress to the public at large. Scanty rainfall in Jaisalmer, Mārṡār and Bikāner in particular meant not only no crops or indiferent ones, but also difficulty in finding water for men and beast, as well as grass and fodder. Alauddin's march through Behon in Rājasthān, says Amir Khusrav,¹⁸⁷ was dreadful where owing to famine the people had their mouths shut on account of thirst, the earth was dry and not a blade of grass was available. Abul Fazl¹⁸⁸ mentions that in Mārṡār whenever a famine occurred, inhabitants left their homes and migrated to other parts. The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*¹⁸⁹ preserves an account of famine in Bayānā anda round it. It records that after the investment of the fort of Bayānā by Himu, a dreadful famine raged in the eastern province, so that the price of one seer of *jawār* rose to two and half *tankā*, and even at that price it could not be obtained. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by tens and twenties and even in great number, and found neither coffin nor grave. The common people fed upon the seeds of the thorny acacia, upon dry herbage of the forest, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days, as Badauni says, swellings rose on their heads and feet, so that they died. The author witnessed with his own eyes that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look at them. In the course of two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandman remained to till the ground. The insurgents also plundered the cities. He further states that while Himu encamped before Bayānā, the people died with the word 'bread' upon their lips. In the first years of Akbar's reign and in the year H. 1004 the scarcity of rain throughout Hindustān must also have affected Rājasthān.

The earliest recorded mention of a famine in Ajmer is contained in the *M. āsir-ul-Umarā*,¹⁹⁰ wherein it is stated that in 1613 A. D., wheat was sold at Ajmer at a rupee per seer. The next severe famine in Rājasthān occurred in 1661.¹⁹¹ In the *Khyāta Sangraha*¹⁹² there is a reference to famine in Thalvat (South-western Mārṡār) which caused many people to leave their homes and migrate to other parts for keeping their bodies and souls together. The famines of 1732 and 1742 A. D. affected almost

¹⁸⁷ Amir Khusrav : *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl*, E. & D., III, p. 540.

¹⁸⁸ *Akbarnāma*, II, p. 517.

¹⁸⁹ *Muntakhab*, Text, Vol. I, p. 413, E. & D., V, p. 40.

¹⁹⁰ *Maāsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 402.

¹⁹¹ *Rājavilāsa*, Canto 8, vv. 113-140.

¹⁹² *Khyāta-Vāt Sangraha*, f. 193b.

Sojat, Rāipur and Jetāran.¹⁹³ In 1747 A. D. a severe famine raged throughout Rājasthān, causing an utter failure of rains and crop. In the words of a Marāthā¹⁹⁴ observer, during this famine, "Men, it seems, cannot get even water for washing their faces. The whole country has been desolated. Even Udaipur is gone ; the Mahārānā has decided to vacate his city and go to the bank of the Dhebar lake and live there." On the basis of the description of the famine of 1747 given by the contemporary sources and sources nearly contemporary¹⁹⁵ Sir J. N. Sarkar¹⁹⁶ has rightly stated, "The water-courses dried up ; not a green blade could be seen anywhere ; month after month a dusty haze covered the horizon and never a drop of rain or dew. The cattle perished for want of fodder, and men from the dearth of grain."

According to tradition there was a severe famine in 1796 A. D., called *trepanya*-famine of V. S. 1853. Again the famine of the year 1812 A. D. had a long drought. It was a devastating famine ; three-quarters of the cattle died and a large tract of country became utterly depopulated. Grain price in capital cities rose more than 300 per cent between the years 1812-1813 A. D. As ever, starvation was followed by pestilence and underfed peasants and townfolk died like flies. The common sayings, "men ate man", and "the land became a desert in *unhotrā*"—V. S. 1869, remind people of that black patch of widespread famine.¹⁹⁷

In times of drought and famine, however, relief operations, as opening of charitable houses and digging of tanks for providing labour to needy persons were undertaken in Rājasthān. In the year 1570 A. D., Akbar ordered the digging of the Kukar-Talao at Nāgor.¹⁹⁸ Karam-chandra of Bikāner opened centres for the distribution of food to the poor during the time of a famine.¹⁹⁹ Rāj Singh excavated the Rājsamudra lake with a view to provide labour to the people of the area who were suffering from famine.²⁰⁰ The Mahārājā of Jaipur in the years 1711-1716

¹⁹³ A letter from Mahārājā Abhaya Singh to Amar Singh Bhandāri dated 1st day of the dark-half of *Bhādrapada*, V. S. 1789/27th July, 1732 (Jd. Records BA) ; S. P. D. Vol. XXVII, Letter No. 2.

¹⁹⁴ S. P. D., ii. 4, xxi. 19.

¹⁹⁵ *Mirāt Ahm*, ii, 364 ; *Vaṃsa Bhāskar*, 3446.

¹⁹⁶ Sarkār : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 159.

¹⁹⁷ *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. XIV, Letter No. 139 ; *Mundiyaḍ Khyāta* (Man Singh) pp. 105-108 ; *Bastā* No. 40, Jd. Records. BA.

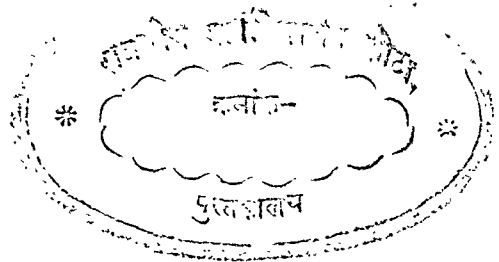
¹⁹⁸ *Akbar-nāma*, II, p. 517.

¹⁹⁹ *Karmachandravanshotkirtanakam-kāvya*, v. 188, 252, 297, 300, etc.

²⁰⁰ *Rājvilāsa*, Canto 8th, vv. 113-140

A. D. provided funds to relieve the distress of famine-stricken people of Amber.³⁰¹

In spite of relief work these dreadful famines produced devastating effects. The short term result of such famines was economic and social confusion. They were more serious, for they affected larger regions, and defective means of transportation prevented the importation of supplies from distant areas to counteract local scarcity. On the whole it appears that the period of good harvest never lasted more than two or three years, and were then followed by two or three years of poor or bad harvest, which were then followed by a famine. A Mārwarī proverb rightly says, "Expect one lean year in three, and one famine year in five."



³⁰¹ P. C. Register Nos. I and VIII (JA), Nos. 63 and 2608, 1711-1716 A. D.

Mughal Impact on Rajasthan

The impact of Mughal culture on Rājasthān was limited and confined to the court, the nobility and the upper section of the official class. In the religious and cultural life the rulers and the people adhered to a great extent to their traditional beliefs and customs, but their court life, formalities and manners were influenced by the Mughals. The Mughal influence came not all at once, but it penetrated slowly and gradually and was adopted after long resistance in most parts of Rājasthān. But the new pattern gathered round it the traditions of the past, and was stamped with a form that was unique and interesting. Thus, when we speak of the Mughal impact in dress, diet, language, manners, etiquette, art and literature, we mean not alone of what the Mughals gave to Rājasthān but also what had evolved out of the contact of two important and prominent races, the Mughals and the Rājputs, and which became a legacy of the age under review

Dress and Ornaments

A study of the sculptured art¹ and literature² of the early years of our period relating to the dress of deities and persons of eminence shows that neither the male nor the female costumes were marked by variety. The main dress worn by women was a long *sāri* which covered the waist and the shoulders simultaneously. The lower garment of men was a *dhoti* which was fastened round the waist and had elaborate plaiting in front and behind. The upper body was covered with a piece of cloth either in full fold or narrow fold. The folds of *dhoti* worn in the 16th century were scanty.³

But when many of the rulers of Rājasthān entered into alliances with

¹ Panels at Osīān, Vijayasthambha, Māmādeva temple, Kumbhalgarh, Delwāda temple, Ābu, Bādoli, Kirādu, etc., refer to the *Mārg, Rājasthān Sculpture*, pp. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 54, 55, 56, 57, etc.

² *Rāo-jetasi-rau-Chhand* (ALB), vv. 27, 367, pp. 6, 20.

³ *Kalpasutra, Journal of Indian Museum* by Dr. G.N. Sharma, Vol. XII, 1956, pp. 69-71.

the Mughal emperors and began attending the Mughal court and exchanging presents, they gradually adopted the Mughal dress. A few instances will clear the point. When prince Karan of Mewār first visited the Mughal court in 1615 A.D., a rich dress of honour was presented to him on behalf of Nur Jahān. When he took leave all sorts of cloths, carpets and cushions placed in a hundred trays were bestowed on him.⁴ From the *Khulāsāi-Shāh-Jahān-nāma*, we learn that the prince was given *sarpech*, *turrā-i-Marvārid*, *murassā-jādaū*, *bālāband* and *urbasi-Murassā*.⁵ From the *Dastur Komwār*⁶ we come across several kinds of dresses and ornaments such as *Nur-i-Bādā*, *Ālamgiri*, *Ālanjari-Farrukhshāhi*, *choli-Farrukhshāhi*, *ijār-Baftā*, *phentā-Mohammudi*, *jāmāh*, *kurtā* (shirt) and *chhint-Mohammadi* which were used by dignitaries of the Jaipur court on festive occasions. In the *Siyāhah Huzur*⁷ there is a reference to *Farrukhshāhi-sarpech*. We learn from our sources⁸ that one Gaj Singh was bestowed *Farrukhshāhi* turban, *kānpech*, *phentā*, *goshpech*, etc. by Shāh Jahān on several occasions.

The portraits⁹ of Vijay Singh of Jodhpur and Sawāi Jai Singh of Jaipur in full dress with trousers, *patkā*, *chākdār-jāmāh* and crested-turban with flat folds depict the dress worn by the rulers of Rājasthān in the later part of our period. The head decoration and ornaments, referred to by Muslim chroniclers, consisted of *turrā*, *sarpech*, *balābandi*, *dugdugi*, *goshpech*, *fateh-pech* and pearl necklaces.¹⁰ These dresses and ornaments were neither purely Rājasthāni nor Mughal. They constituted a kind of synthesis evolved during the second part or the later part of our period.

Contemporary paintings¹¹ and sculptures¹² of the sixteenth century give us an idea of the dress of women. They wore a petticoat below and the *sāri* over it. A bodice was used below the *sāri* to cover the bust. But after Mughal contact the dress of women under-went some changes. A long-bodice, a short *sāri* and a petticoat of several folds were used by

⁴ *Tuzūk*, R. & B., pp. 278-334.

⁵ *Khulāsā-i-Shāhjahān-nāmā*, f. 240.

⁶ *Dastur Komwār*, V.S. 1775, f. 934 ; V.S. 1788, f. 4 ; V.S. 1822, f. 38 ; V.S. 1824, f. 274 ; V.S. 1834, f. 649.

⁷ *Siyāhah-Huzur* No. 59, V.S. 1791.

⁸ Deviprasad : *Shāhjahān-nāmā*, p. 10 ; Bānkidās's *Khyāta*, f. 287.

⁹ Vijay Singh's portrait, Jodhpur Fort, 15×10 inches ; Sawāi Jai Singh's portrait, *City Palace Museum*, Jaipur, 5ft. × 3ft.

¹⁰ *Inshā-i-Chandra-Bhān*, f. 3 ; *Bādshāh-nāmā* (P.T.), p. 161 ; *Khulāsāi-Shāh-Jahāni*, f. 240.

¹¹ *Kalpasutra*, V.S. 1536, 'Lady Figures'.

¹² Sculptures of Uдай Shyām temple of Udaisāgar of Mahārānā Uдай Singh's time.

aristocratic women.¹³ As regards ornaments, it is difficult to say, what exactly was the contribution of the two peoples, the Rājputs and the Mughals. It is, however, certain that nose-pin and other variously designed ornaments as painted in the *Bhāgavata Dashamaskandha* of the Picture Gallery, Jaipur palace, are modifications of the Mughal and Rājput styles.¹⁴ This was the result of frequent mixing of the two people. The people of status and respectable means adopted a new style in dress and ornaments, and it became in course of time the standard fashion. But the common people as sculptured at Rājnagar-band¹⁵ and painted in the *Rāgamālā* series¹⁶ and the *Ekādashi-Kathā*¹⁷ retained their traditional costume.

Diet

The common man in Rājasthān ate preparations of maize, barley, *bājṛā*, *gur* and curd. From the *Intikhāb-i-Jahāngir-Shāhi*¹⁸ we learn that food of this kind was distributed amongst destitutes at Ajmer on Fridays. Other preparations relished by the common people were *gugri*, *ghāt*, *rāb*, *sogrā*, *rotā*, *lāpsi*, etc. The most common dish of our records¹⁹ served at banquet, on the occasion of marriage, was *lāpsi*. The staple food of people in Rājasthān consisted of grains and stuff which were produced in this part of the country and which could be prepared simply by adding water, curd and *gur*. After old manners the people in Rājasthān retained the habit of not dining with others. Serving august and sacred personages with special reservation continued till the concluding years of our period.²⁰ The accounts of certain suits filed at the court of Jodhpur, that have

¹³ Seven paintings of the *Rasikapriyā* Series (*Mewār-kalam*), Second quarter of the 17th Century, *Khajānchi Collection*, Bikāner.

¹⁴ *Bhāgavata Dashmaskandha* No. AG 198, 1792 A.D. ; 'Gopies offer food', *City Palace Museum*, Jaipur ; N. C. Mehtā : *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 21.

¹⁵ G. N. Sharma : *Society and Culture as depicted from carving at Rāj-samudra*, *Journal of Research, Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, 1961.

¹⁶ Three paintings from the *Rāgamālā* series, Early 18th century, 11·7 × 19·3 cms., *Khajānchi* collection, Bikāner.

¹⁷ *Ekādashi* (illustrated) 11th of the bright-half of *Vaiśākha*, folio No. 18, 'Thief and other commoners' (SBLU).

¹⁸ *Intikhāb-i-Jahāngir-Shāhi*, E. & D., VI, p. 449.

¹⁹ *Bhandāra* No. 4, *Bastā* No. 10, V.S. 1743 ; *Vāt Sangraha*, f. 345 ; *Khyāta-Bikāner-rā-Rāthodari*, No. 189/11 (ALB), f. 55.

²⁰ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (illustrated), f. 8a (SBLU) ; *Bhāgavata Dashamaskandha* (illustrated) 1792 A.D., No. 316, 'Feast to Brāhman's', *Art Gallery, City Palace*, Jaipur.

come to us through the *Havālā Bahi*,²¹ show that debarring a man from privilege of dining with ones own caste or community was regarded as the greatest punishment.

Our literary sources²² give a list of other dishes of sweets, vegetables, soups and solid fare which were fried and saturated with spices, sugar, perfumes and dried-fruits. These dishes became popular with the rulers, courtiers and other wealthy people who had developed contact with the Mughals. The reference to *Bābar-bari*, *kachori* in the *Rajavilāsa*²³ and *palao*, *murabbā*, *Khurāsāni-khichari* in the *Abhayavilāsa*²⁴ indicates Mughal contact. These stuffs have also been mentioned in the *Bikāner Gazal*, the *Jaisalmer Gazal* and the *Udaipur Gazal*, as available in the shops. This shows that these estates gained popularity among the middle class who could afford to purchase them.²⁵

Environment of the Hindu Kitchen

In Hindu kitchens cleanliness was observed in the preparation and service of food. It is difficult to go into details here, but a few examples would indicate its nature. If we take table manners, as detailed in the *Nitya-Vidhi*,²⁶ cleanliness was the most important consideration. High born Brāhmaṇs would put on silken-dress and would not touch any one who had not taken his bath. In a small spot known as *chauka* which was cleansed with mud and cowdung (which was regarded purifying object) food was served and nobody was allowed to eat anything outside it. This community ate what was prepared by themselves and abstained from eating food or sweets sold in the market. In this respect Mughal contact brought no change as far as Brāhmaṇs were concerned. Some of the paintings²⁷ reveal the rigid discipline at meals observed by this conservative section of the society up to the concluding period of our study.

²¹ G. N. Sharma : *Society and Culture as revealed from Havāla Bahi*, J.R.U., Uttar Pradesh, 1961.

²² *Manohar Vallari* by Bhagwāndās, No. 270, f. 13a (SBLU) ; *Surajaprakāsha*, f. 54a (PPJ) ; *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 21b ; *Guṇarūpaka*, f. 12b (PPJ).

²³ *Rajavilāsa*, Canto 8, v. 95.

²⁴ *Abhayavilāsa*, f. 16a.

²⁵ *Bikāner Gazal*, *Jaisalmer Gazal* and *Udaipur Gazal* of Nahātā's Collection, Bikāner.

²⁶ *Nitya-Vidhi* (ALB).

²⁷ *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (illustrated), SBLU, ff. 8-9 ; *Bhāgavata Dashama-skandha*, V.S. 1792 (1735 A.D.), No. AG366, *Art Gallery, City Palace, Jaipur*.

Manners and Etiquette

As regards manners and etiquette Rājasthān had its own peculiarities. There were different forms of salutation at home and outside in different states. In Mewār the greetings were exchanged with the word 'Jai Ekalingji' or 'Jai Rānjiki'. In Mārwar and Bikāner 'Jai Mātājiki' and Jai Lakṣminārāyaṇaji, respectively, were the usual forms. In Kishangarh and Kotāh with the increasing influence of Vaiṣṇavism Jai-Śrī-Kriṣṇa was the popular salutation in some sections. While in Jaipur it was Jai Ambā. These forms continued to be in vogue throughout our period. The Mughal contact could not bring any change in this practice. These forms of salutation have been retained in several invocatory letters.²⁸

The *Iqbālnāmā*²⁹ tells how the princes behaved when they met one another. When Khurram and Rānā met to conclude a treaty of peace the former took the latter's head and placed it to his breast. In the *Ārṣā Rāmāyaṇa*³⁰ paintings of this period, Sītā's head was placed by Anasuyā to her breast. This form of greeting gradually changed into low bowing by the courtiers and chiefs of Rājasthān after the Mughal fashion as revealed in the contemporary evidences.³¹

Literature and Language

Sanskrit :

In the domain of literature and language the period under review was very important. From several inscriptions and literary pieces it appears that throughout Rājasthān there was a systematic revival of the study of Sanskrit. During Kumbhā's time, who himself was a great scholar and writer, the study of Sanskrit literature got a great impetus.³² The traditions of his time were picked up by his successors which were further taken up by Rānā Amar Singh. During his reign Pandit Jiwādhar, the writer of the *Amarsāra* flourished. His work is a successful exposition of authentic history through the medium of Sanskrit poetry.³³ Another

²⁸ G. N. Sharma : *Portfolio Files, Adiyār Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXI, parts 3-4, pp. 304-312.

²⁹ *Iqbālnāmā*, (P. T.), III, p. 535.

³⁰ *Ārṣā Rāmāyaṇa* (illustrated), f. 7a.

³¹ *Āin*, I, p. 18; Badauni, II, 301, Tr. II, p. 310; Bernier, pp. 272-73, *Storia*, I, p. 195; *Rojnāmchā*, V.S. 1800-1820 (JA); *Dastri Records*, Jodhpur, 1820-35.

³² *Kīrtistambha Praśasthi*, vv. 191-192; *Ekalinga Mahātmya, Rājavarṇan*, vv. 172-173; *Report of the Second Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. in Rājputānā and C. I.*, 1904-06, p. 38.

³³ *Amarsāra*, No. 709 (SBLU); G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 224.

important work named the *Amar Bhuṣaṇa*³⁴ is a fine treatise on astronomy of the same period. During Jagat Singh's time Pandit Mohan Bhaṭṭa wrote the *Jagat Simhāṣṭaka*,³⁵ Raghunāth produced the *Jagat Singh-kāvya*,³⁶ and Lakṣmināth brought the *Jagannāth Rāi Praśasthi*.³⁷ During the reign of Rāj Singh there flourished Raṇachhod Bhatta, the celebrated author of the *Amar Kāvya vaṃshāvali*³⁸ and the *Rājpraśasthi-Mahākāvya*³⁹ which are notable works of literature and history. Another work namely the *Rājratnākara*⁴⁰ composed by Pandit Sadā Śiva, is a distinguished historical work written in graceful style. Dhundhi Rāja who wrote the *Rājratnākara*⁴¹ dealing with precious stones lived in the same age. Mukand's work of the *Rājasimhāṣṭaka*⁴² is important as regards diction and metre in Sanskrit.

Bikāner played a notable role in the production of works in Sanskrit language. The *Anup Library* of the state, now in the possession of the Mahārājā of Bikāner, possesses original books dealing with astrology, astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, ethics and the like. The *Karmachandravanshotkirtankam-kāvya* is an excellent piece dealing with the events of Mahārājā Rāi Singh's reign. The *Rāi Singh's Praśasti* attained a high watermark of scholarship of our age. One of the princes named Prithvirāja of Bikāner, a dignitary of Akbar's court, was a great scholar of his time.⁴³

The rulers of Jodhpur also were patrons of learning and some of them were themselves scholars. Mahārājā Jaswant Singh's age saw the growth of Sanskrit literature embracing various fields of study. The *Ānandvilasa*, the *Anubhavprakāsha*, *Aparokhsasidhānta*, the *Sidhāntbodha*, the *Sidhānt-sāra*, the *Chandraprabodha* and the *Nāyakābheda* are the works of great

³⁴ *Amar Bhuṣaṇa* (SBLU), No. 545 ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 224.

³⁵ *Jagat Simhāṣṭaka* (SBLU), No. 1304; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 225.

³⁶ *Jagat Singh-kāvya*, No. 715 ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, pp. 224-225.

³⁷ *EI.*, Vol. XXIV.

³⁸ *Amarkāvya vaṃshāvali* (SBLU) ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : 'A Note on *Amarkāvya vaṃshāvali*', I. H. R. C., 1946.

³⁹ *Rājpraśasthi Mahākāvya* (SBLU) ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, pp. 217-218.

⁴⁰ *Rājratnākara*, No. 718 (SBLU) ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : 'A Note on *Rājratnākara*', I. H. R. C., 1951.

⁴¹ *Rājratnākara* (SBLU) ; No. 907, Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 226.

⁴² *Rāja Simhāṣṭaka*, No. 1303 (SBLU) ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 226.

⁴³ *J. A. S. B.*, New Series, 16, 1920, p. 279.

importance which enliven the period of Jaswant.⁴⁴ The *Ajitodaya*⁴⁵ of Ajit's time and the *Abhayavilāsa* of Abhaya Singh's time make their reigns memorable in the field of Sanskrit literature. This list does not exhaust the literary productions of Jodhpur. The *Pustak Prakāsh Library of Jodhpur* preserves rare works which mark out the rulers for their patronage of Sanskrit literature.

The rich collection of the *Pothi Khāna* of Jaipur, originally said to have been established by Mahārājā Mān Singh, developed into a magnificent library with collections of rare books and paintings.⁴⁶

Rajasthani Language and Literature

Along with Sanskrit Rājasthāni language also made a remarkable progress during the period under review. Among the poets of this age, Bithū Sujo⁴⁷ of Bikāner, the author of the *Rāo-Jetasi-rau-Chand* stands pre-eminent. In Mewār Mān Kavi, the writer of the *Rājavilāsa* adopted descriptive and flowery style in introducing the story of the exploits and adventures of Rāj Singh's time. Shyām Gopāldās Dudāwat, Rāmā Ashiyā, Jogidās, Achaldās, Jetā Mahiyārio, Sādumal, Mān Singh Ashiyā, Jethā Rāma Dadhivādiyā were poets and writers of history. Hema wrote the *Guṇabhāṣācharitra* and Kavi Keshava wrote the *Guṇarūpaka*. The *Bhāv Virahi* and the *Guṇasāra* are attributed to Mahārājā Ajit Singh. The *Rājarūpaka* by Vir Bhān and the *Surajaparakāsha* by Karnidān are works of high order and belong to the reign of Abhaya Singh.⁴⁸

The development of *Vamshāvali* and *Khyāta* literature in prose during this period deserves a brief survey. A large number of *Vamshāvali* writers and *Khyāta* writers lived during the age under review, and tried to preserve the account of their country and contemporary rulers in an attractive and readable form. Naiṅsi of Mārwar and Dayāldās of Bikāner are notable *Khyāta* writers who prepared their *Khyāts* with diligence and based their accounts on contemporary evidence, like the *bahis*, the *attās* and other documents of a great value.

Persian Language

While Sanskrit and Rājasthāni had captured the literary field, Persian language was adopted for correspondence with the Mughal court.

⁴⁴ Reu : *Jodhpur-Rājya-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁵ Dr. G. N. Sharma : 'A Note on *Ajitodaya*', I. H. C., 1956.

⁴⁶ *Maāsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 48, praises Mān Singh of his intellectual attainments.

⁴⁷ Ojha : *Bk. R. I.*, Vol. V, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁸ Reu : *Mārwar-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 21-24 ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 199.

During this period Persian knowing man, usually Kāyasths were appointed to important posts and drafted letters in reply to the *farmāns* received from the Mughal court.⁴⁹ By dint of their ability they occupied eminent positions of *bakshi*, *vazir*, *vakil* and *qānungos* in different states. Their descendants are still known by their ancestral designation, though they no longer hold any such post nowadays. Some of these official designations like *hukamdār*, *Khāsābardār*, *khajānchi*, *kotwāl* (ancient *kotpāl*), etc., were freely borrowed from the Mughals. The Bikāner *Bahis*⁵⁰ refer to *Amī-Slikār*, *Sileh-Khānā*, *mevākhānā*, *modikhānā*, etc., in context of the names of some office holders and departments. The royal-seal of Sawāi Jai Singh bore on the reverse Nāgari characters and on the obverse Persian characters.⁵¹ The *Āvarjā* records⁵² of Jaipur refer to Shāh Minā Rāma as Āmil and a tax called *salāmi* realized from *mauzā* (village) Kishanpur. For the last year the expression used in these records is *sālguzishtā*. We frequently come across words like *potdār*, *Toshākhānā*, *Shuturkhānā*, etc., in the *Siyāhah Huzūr*.⁵³ We learn from the Kotāh archives⁵⁴ that many departments were termed after Mughal fashion as *philkhānā* and *shuturkhānā*. In spoken language the words like *huzur* for the ruler or officer and *huzuri* for royal servants were freely used. Our court-records⁵⁵ show that Persian words were very common in the courts. This is why up to this time a large number of technical terms used in the courts of nearly all the states of Rājasthān, though the script used was *devanāgarī*, were Persian.

Painting

During our period Rājasthān developed its own art of painting. The sculptured art of Nāgdā,⁵⁶ Osiān⁵⁷ and Chitor⁵⁸ shows that the traditions and trend of the Western school of Indian painting continued to be

⁴⁹ *Vir Vinod*, Vol. 11, preserves a large number of letters drafted by them.

⁵⁰ *Bahī* Jaisalmer, V. S. 1681 (1624 A. D.), V.S. 1744 (1687 A. D.) ; *Badā Kothār Bahī*, V. S. 1753 (1696 A. D.)

⁵¹ *Āvarjā* Records, Jaipur Archives, V. S. 1782 (1725 A. D.), f. 3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, V. S. 1720 (1663 A.D.), V. S. 1766 (1709 A. D.), V. S. 1822 (1765 A. D.), ff. 72-74.

⁵³ *Siyāhah Huzūr*, ff 3, 62, 468, 1549, V. S. 1780-1793 (1723-1736 A. D.)

⁵⁴ *Bhandāra* No. 1, 64/1839/1850/5/10.

⁵⁵ *Court Records*, BA, V. S. 1720-1857 (1663-1800 A. D.)

⁵⁶ Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Two Forgotten Capitals of Mewār*, Modern Review, 1946.

⁵⁷ *Mārg, Rājasthāni Sculpture*, Vol. XII, No. 2, March, 1959, pp. 52-53.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

followed, specially in Mewār and Mārwarz. In the evolution of Rājasthāni⁵⁹ painting the Jain miniature paintings⁶⁰ of illustrated manuscripts of the 13th to 15th centuries exercised a wide and profound influence. The 'Shravakapratikraman Sutrachurn'⁶¹ of the 13th century of Āhad and the *Supasanāhachariyam* of 1423^{61A} should be taken as a standard of Rājasthāni art in its early phase. The art indicates emotional feelings of the figures and provides a key to the secular and religious life of the age. Its miniatures are in highly conventionalised style of the Western Indian school. They afford a clear proof of the similarity between the cultures of Gujarāt and Rājasthān.

Similarly, the *Kalpasutra* paintings⁶² of the 15th and 16th centuries in the possession of Sri Motichand Khajānchi, Bikāner, the *Saraswati Bhandāra Library*, Udaipur, and the *Pustakprakāsha*, Jodhpur, depict conventionalised style of the Western Indian school. The dresses and ornaments of the figures to a great extent resemble those of the figures of the fresco paintings of Ajantā⁶³ or the figures of several Jaina Manuscripts of Gujarāt of this period.

It is not only in the sculptured pieces or in the Jaina Manuscripts that the art of Western India has its echo in Mewāri and Mārwarz Art,

⁵⁹ Brown (*Indian Painting*, p. 51) terms it 'Rājput Painting' with a view to emphasise the nature of the patronage it received from the Rājputs. N. C. Mehtā (*Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 5) prefers to call it 'Hindu' in order to convey the sense that it was inspired by Hindu culture and Hindu religion. But both the words 'Rājput' and 'Hindu' are misleading. The word 'Rājput' may mean that the Rājput Rājās patronised the art or the art was executed by the Rājputs only. Similarly, the word 'Hindu' may also mean that it represented Hindu mythology or Hindu ideals. But because it was the result of the brush, both Hindu and Muhammadans and it selected themes not only from Hindu mythology but also from the court life of the Mughal and the secular life of the common people, it may more accurately be termed as Rājasthān painting. The word Rājasthān exactly explains the nature of painting associated with the locality, environment and themes.

⁶⁰ *Indian Art through Ages*, p. 6 ; *Journal of the Oriental Art*, pp. 46-47.

⁶¹ W. N. Brown : *The Story of Kulka Plate No. 2*, 1933 ; Dr. Coomārswāmy : *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, pp. 236-240 ; Sārābhāi : *Jain Prakāsha*, 1936 ; *Shodhpatrikā*, Vol. 5, March, 1959.

^{61A} *Sri Vijayavallabha Suri Smārak Granth*, Bombay, 1956 p. 176.

⁶² Four folios from *Kalpasutra*, V.S. 1438 (1381 A.D.), Two folios from *Kalpasutra*, Khajānchi collection, Bikāner, Nos. 1 and 6 ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Society in Western India as reflected in the Kalpasutra*, *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XII, 1956.

⁶³ *Ajantā Cave*, XVIII.

but it also reveals itself in full measures in the manner and method of applying colour on the walls. Several patches of colour and designs can yet be seen on the walls of the old palaces of Chitor, Udaipur, Chāwand and Jodhpur belonging to these centuries. They furnish a clear evidence of the close affinity of Mewāri and Mārwarī art with the Western Indian Art.⁶⁴

By the end of the 16th century the Mārwar and the Mewār painting entered a new phase during the time of Māldeo and Rānā Pratāp. On account of its inaccessibility and its natural surroundings, the Rānā's new capital of Chāwand provided opportunities of peacetime activities like education and art. The result was that in the time of Rānā Amar Singh several literary works and paintings were produced. Some incomplete *Rāgini* and the *Bhāgavata* paintings preserved in the personal collections of Gopi Kriṣṇa Kanoriyā of Calcutta and Kārī Khandālwalā of Bombay, were painted at Chāwand in or about 1605 A.D. Bright colours and the angularity in the drawing of faces and costumes indicate the vestiges of Western Indian tradition in these sets. One of these paintings bears the name of a Muslim artist, Sāhabadi. This leads us to think that it is a mistake to divide art with reference to creed, for here a Muslim painter worked for his Hindu patron without any religious or sectarian prejudice.⁶⁵

In the powerful and prosperous reign of Māldeo of Jodhpur Mārwarī school of painting assumed an independent form. The *Uttaradhyānsutra* of 1:91 A.D., preserved in the Barodā Museum, is indicative of the change. Māldeo's military taste has also been reflected in the Chokhelā palace where the wooden beams are full of scenes of the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa and various aspects of *Saptaśati*.

The classical school nurtured in Mewār and Mārwar began to lose its pre-eminence after the establishment of friendly relations between the princes of these states and the Mughal emperors.⁶⁶ Hereafter the art of painting grew more sophisticated and individual with a tendency towards the adoption of the Mughal technique. Nevertheless it remained true to traditional beliefs and continued treatment of familiar scenes associated

⁶⁴ Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār Painting through the Ages, Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 62-63.

⁶⁵ Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 210 ; Dr. Motichand : *Mewār Paintings*, p. 2 ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār Painting through Ages, Uttar Bhārati*, 1959, p. 6.

⁶⁶ *Tuzūk*, (P. T.), Vol. I, p. 134 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Sālih*, Vol. I, pp. 60-61 ; Naini's *Khyāta*, f. 8(b) ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 102.

with daily life or inspired by classical subjects. A few illustrations will make the point clear. One *Nāyaka Nāyikā set*⁶⁷ of the *National Museum*, probably of 1640 A.D. and the *Madhyādhira picture* are the earliest paintings of Jagat Singh's period. Here in one of the pictures the hero has been depicted in *Chākdar jāmah* of Akbar's period and loosely-bound-type turban of Jahangir's reign. Similarly, the *Bhāgavata set*⁶⁸ of Jodhpur of V.S. 1667 (1610 A.D.) has the dresses of Arjuna and Kriṣṇa of Akbar's period. The dresses of ladies are pure Mārwarī, but the ornaments bear Mughal impact. As we proceed further, as regards time, the paintings of Mewār and Mārwar depict the pavilion with slender-faced columns typical of Jahangir's time. However, in such paintings flower plants of the background and heroine's dresses are typically Rājasthāni.

The age of Jagat Singh is important for the execution of illustrated copies of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of the Mewār school of the mid-17th century. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* became the chief gospel, Kriṣṇa, the supreme God, and Rādhā, the supreme goddess of the devotees. The illustrated *Bhāgavata* of Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Kotā libraries and the *National Museum*, New Delhi, are the typical examples of this period. The copies echo the growing importance of Vaiṣṇavism in Rājasthān.⁶⁹

The painters and their patrons of the period were concerned not only in the production of illustrated manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, they were equally interested in executing of illustrated *Rāmāyaṇa* also. The illustrated *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Prince of Wales Museum* was painted by Manohar in 1649 A.D. at Udaipur in the reign of Mahārānā Jagat Singh.⁷⁰ Similarly, a manuscript named *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* belonging to the *Saraswati Bhandāra Library*, Udaipur, was copied by Mahātmā Hirānand at Chitor in the V.S. 1708 (1651 A.D.).⁷¹ These paintings illustrate the manner in which the Rājasthāni and the Mughal character became blended together. The costumes of ladies are typically Mewārī. The brilliant colour schemes belong to Mewār art, but the drawing of figures and treatment of architecture is Mughal. The series of domes of the palaces crowning the palace walls, the night scenes, processions and the row of warriors and their equipments, give us an idea of the grandeur and setting of social life and custom which were adopted in Rājasthān after the Mughal

⁶⁷ *Mewār Painting*, Plate No. 1, (*Lalit Kalā Akadami*).

⁶⁸ It belongs to the *Pustak Prakāsh*, Jodhpur.

⁶⁹ *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3.

⁷⁰ Dr. Motichand : *Mewār Paintings*, Pl. No. 2, *Lalit Kalā Akademi*.

⁷¹ Dr. G.N. Sharma : *Mewār Painting through the Ages*, *Uttar Bhārti*, 1959, p. 64.

pattern. Similarly, the *Rāgamālā*⁷² of the *National Museum*, ascribed to circa 1650 A.D. is best of its kind. Here Kriṣṇā's dress is the costume commonly worn by the Mughal courtiers. The *Rasikapriyā*⁷³ in the Bikāner *darbār* collection has now been proved to have been painted in the middle of the 17th century. Similarly, paintings of the *Gitāgovinda*⁷⁴ of the mixed Gujarāti-Mewāri dialect, in the collection of the *Prince of Wales Museum*, belonging to circa 1650, is an excellent example depicting the loves of Kriṣṇa and Rādhā.

An analysis of the pictorial art of Jagat Singh's period shows the Mewāri genius in its pure form, intimately related with themes of love and devotion. The subjects of its inspirations are poetry, music, drama and epics. It presents an idealistic and nationalistic outlook of life. Through it the artist seeks the worldly pursuits as well as spiritual salvation. The colour scheme of the early paintings of this period consists of white, red, yellow, green, pink, blue and black. Papers used for these paintings are of a coarse variety, the surface of which is usually coated with white pigment of rice water. In the artists' representation of deer, monkeys, birds and peacocks close observation is apparent.⁷⁵

The women of this school of painting are in exact likenesses of Mewāri ladies with prominent noses, round faces, firm breasts, slender waists and fish-shaped eyes. The common men of this school are the representatives of emotional intensity and simplicity. Their figures are usually long and thin but their expressions are significant. Emphasis on expression and simplicity of the lines are the chief characteristic of the style. In this art nature is represented in simple and direct form. The great beauty of Mewār school of painting is the primitive force of expression beautifully blended with high ideal and simple colour scheme consisting of lacquer-red, saffron and yellow colours. It is much nearer to the primitive taste and Hindu idealism than the paintings of any other subdivisions of Rājasthān schools. But the artist of Mewār is not only true to religious symbolism but is also familiar with the traditional beliefs and familiar scenes associated with daily life. However, as this school gradually attained age, it assimilated in its body certain Mughal traits

⁷² Dr. Motichand : *Mewār Paintings*, Plate No. 5, *This Rāgmālā* set is called '*Gem Palace Rāgamālā*', as it was purchased for the *Gem Palace*, Jaipur. The *Rāgamālā* literary means a 'garland of melodies'. Usually the series of the *Rāgamālā* consists of 36 illustrations.

⁷³ Dr. Goetz : *Art and Architecture of Bikāner*, Pl. No IX.

⁷⁴ *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 52, and Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 9-16.

⁷⁵ Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār Painting through Ages*, J.R.U., Uttar Pradesh, Vol. VI, No. 2, October. 1959, p. 65.

also. These traits are visible in *gherdār-jāmāh*, *patkā* (waist-sash), transparent *choli* and *orñi* and domed pavilions and turreted parapets in the paintings of the period.⁷⁶

After Jagat Singh's death in 1652 A.D., the school continued to flourish during the reign of Rāj Singh (1652-1680 A.D.) and Jai Singh (1680-1698 A.D.). The characteristic of the paintings of this period can be observed in the *Gita Govinda* painting in the collection of Śrī Kumār Sangrām Singh of Nawalgarh. The *Rāgamālā*, the *Bārāmāsā*, the *Ekādashi Mahātmya*, the *Kādambri*, the *Prithvirāj-ro-vel*, etc., belonging to the *Saraswati Bhandāra library*, Udaipur. The art of this period reveals the social condition of the common people and their everyday life. The treatment of trees, pavilions, curtained doors and worked carpets is in the Mughal manner. In the miniature of Kriṣṇa, lifting mount Goverdhana, the enamel-like effect in colouring and high finish indicate increasing influence of the Mughal school. In the miniature of Kriṣṇa sporting in the Jamunā, one can easily observe certain changes in colour and drawing to suit the requirements of the period. However, it must be admitted that all these paintings retain the traditions of early Mewār art and paint a true picture of the contemporary customs and manners.⁷⁷

In Mārwar painting of Ajit Singh's time, a new style developed. The Mughal themes, such as harem scenes, etc., painted on the walls of Jodhpur Palace, began, to be given prominence. During the reigns of Vijay Singh and Mān Singh large number of illustrated manuscripts of the *Panchatantra*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Sidh Sidhāntapaddhati*, the *Nāth Charitra*, etc. with mixed themes of devotion and luxury were produced. In the paintings men and women appear stouter. The treatment of trees, domes, bottles, jugs, curtains and carpets have been painted after Mughal style. In some of the paintings, depicting scenes of water, sky and stars, one can easily observe certain changes in colour and drawing to suit the requirements and taste of the period. The chief characteristic feature of the period is that the themes embrace everyday life of the common people. It seems that the painters have taken care for the depiction of the life of the barbers, peasants, washermen, wood-cutters, mythical objects and epic tales. The big sized paintings of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, belonging to the later part of the 18th century, preserve on their back the names of painters,

⁷⁶ Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār Painting through Ages*, J.R.U. of Uttar Pradesh, Vol. VI, No. 2, October, 1959, pp. 66-67.

⁷⁷ *Mewār Paintings*, Plate Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10 (*Lalit Kalā Akādemi*) ; Dr. G.N. Sharma : *Mewār Painting through Ages*, J.R.U. of Uttar Pradesh, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1959, pp. 67-71.

some of whom such as Nurā, Muhmad, Sefu, etc., are Muslims. The prominent Hindu painters were Rāma, Nāthu, Chāju and others.⁷⁸

The Mārwar school too had to its credit comprehensive pictures of every walk of life. The painters of this school have not ignored the spiritual urge of men and women of the age. In some of the paintings there are depictions of love expressed in erotic motifs of heroes and heroines. Another important feature of this school is that yellow colour has been used in profusion. Brushy mustaches, red *phundā*, high-walled turbans are some of the other specialties of this style. But the increasing use of transparent *jāmāh*, domes, pointed *jāmāh* and gold colour in these paintings show the impact of the Mughal art with all its richness and variety.⁷⁹

The Bikāner painting took its form after the Mārwar pattern. It reached its climax during the reign of Mahārājā Anup Singh (1669-1698 A.D.). It is clear from the *Khajānchi Collection* that notable artists of his time were Rāma Lāl, Ali Razā and Hasan. They were expert in synthesising the Mārwar and the Mughal techniques. Some of the paintings afford interesting study of the court-life at Bikāner which had borrowed some elements of the etiquette and formalities. The palace paintings on the fort of Bikāner furnish lively examples of hunting scenes, life of the ladies in the harem and the depiction of the Epic and the Puraṇic tales. Due to its physical proximity to the Punjāb this school approximates to the Punjāb style. Another characteristic feature of the Bikāner school is that it accommodates within it the style of the Deccan '*kalam*', thereby making it more interesting and unique. The kind of intermixture of styles was possible as the rulers of this state had spent many years in the Deccan.⁸⁰

Another important school which had a close relation with Mewār is the Bundi school. This school continued for long to have its affinity with Mewār due to political ties with that state. On *Rāgamālā* painting of the *Bhāratiya Kalā Bhawan*, Banaras, and another painting of the *Bhairvi Rāgini* in the *Allāhābād Museum* show the characteristic features of this Bundi school. Pointed nose, *patolāksha*, short stature of the figures and

⁷⁸ *Bulletin Barodā Museum*, Vol. V, p. 46 ; *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. IV, 1948.

⁷⁹ Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Chitrakalā and Rājasthān*, *Shodhpatrikā*, 1957, pp. 120-121.

⁸⁰ Refer 'Two women enjoying fireworks' (1715 A.D.), 'Portrait by Ali Razā (17th century)', 'Portrait of Ustād Shahābuddin (18th century)', 'Portrait of Hasan (18th century)', etc., from the *Khajānchi Collection*, Bikāner.

profusion of red and yellow colours are the special features of these paintings. But domes and transparent clothes betray Mughal impact. In the matter of dress of ladies they are closer to the art of Mewār. But from the time of Rāo Surjan (1554-1585 A.D.) (a contemporary of Akbar) and Rāi Ratan (a contemporary of Shāh Jahān) the Bundi school gradually assimilated Mughal techniques on account of their contact with the Mughal court. The paintings of this period, the adjustments of gardens, fountains, night scenes, male attires betray Mughal influence. In the depiction of flowers, trees and other natural objects, like rivers, hills, etc., the painters seem to have been inspired by the physical environment around Bundi. This school exerted such an influence on the art of the neighbouring states that Kotāh even after becoming an independent state could not shake off its servility to the Bundi style. This is proved by the fact that one of the wall-paintings of a lady at bath preserved in the upper storey of the Zalim Singh's *haveli* at Kotāh is a copy of the similar painting preserved at Bundi. Other paintings in the Zalim Singh's *haveli* bear traces of Bundi *kalam* of the 18th century. The *Bhāgavata* paintings of the Kotāh Museum are typically after the Bundi *kalam*.⁸¹

From the point of view of beauty the paintings of Kishangarh have been recognised as those of a high quality. The most striking thing about this school is that although Kishangarh is so near Jaipur and its ruling dynasty originated from Jodhpur, it has distinct identity of its own. There is little doubt that the production of pictorial art was traditional in Kishangarh, but it is equally true that its ripe age dates from Sāwant Singh (1699-1764 A. D.). Another important aspect of pre-eminence of this school may be ascribed to Nāgridās of Kishangarh, who was not only a patron of art but also himself an expert painter. His themes were beloved *Buni Thani* and Rādhā. His contemporary Nihālchand was also an artist of superb order. The Nāgridās paintings and the paintings of Nihālchand form a school by themselves. Due to the sincere efforts of these artists, Kishangarh school acquired a name in the realm of fine art. The themes chosen by the painters of this school were from the classical poems of *Vrijabhāshā*. The figures in these paintings have tall statures and pointed and raised nose of extraordinary length. The natural objects in this school are taken from the neighbouring areas of Kishangarh. In dress the art has borrowed the then prevalent fashion of Farrukhsiyar's time. As regards night scenes, processions and court scenes, it resembles the

⁸¹ *A group of Bundi miniatures in the Prince of Wales Museum*, by Kārī Khandālāwālā, *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 3, 1854, pp. 25-35, Plates XV-XXIV; *Bundi Painting—Lalit-kālā-Akademi*; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Chitrakālā-aur-Rājasthān Shodha-patrikā* Vol. 11, Nos. 3-4, March and June, 1960, pp. 121-122.

Mughal art. In brief, it may be stated that as far as charm and beauty is concerned the Kishangarh school is unrivalled. In this school there is a fine blending of art, love and devotion in their perfect form.⁸²

The Jaipur and Alwar school betray greater impress of the Mughal style than any other school of Rājasthān. The reason is obvious. Due to the closer contact with the Mughals both the ruling houses had great opportunities for give and take. In one of the *chattris* of Āmber there are murals painted on its ceiling. A mural of *Kālidaman* at Āmber of 1600-1615 A. D. is supposed to be the finest and oldest example of early Mughal period.⁸³ In the *Pancham Rāga* painting (1650-1675 A. D.) belonging to the collection of Kumar Sangrām Singh, Nawalgarh one notices the local background, with dresses and ornaments nearing the Mughal patterns.⁸⁴ In these paintings the primitive character of the Jaipur school predominates. But other paintings of the *Bhāgavata Dashamaskandha*,⁸⁵ the *Rāgamālā*⁸⁶ set, the *Durgāpāth*⁸⁷ and an Album No. 3 consisting of portraits of Humāyūn, Jahāngir, Shāh Jahān, Aurangzeb and Tānsen bear the setting of colour nearing Mughal taste and the dresses of *Gopis*, *Gwalās* and *Kriṣṇa* approximating Mughal fashion. In this school paintings of night scenes, harem and hunting ladies' attire resemble Mughal ways of living.⁸⁸ Some of these paintings depict ladies in trousers, caps, short *orñi* (*sāri*) after the Persian style. Round faces and fair complexion also reveal Mughal impact.

How a definite Mughal impact had made its way through the Alwar school can clearly be perceived in several paintings of the Mughal emperors and generals prepared by the artists who were driven away by Aurangzeb and who had sought patronage of the rulers of Alwar. Lots of paintings belonging to the early 18th century and the late 19th century decorate the Art Gallery of Alwar and Jaipur Museums and are witnesses

⁸² *Kishangarh Painting*—*Lalit-Kalā Akademi*, Paintings of Kriṣṇa offering flowers to Rādhā (1750 A. D.) and Rādhā and the Kriṣṇa on the bank of river (1760 A. D.), *Khajānchi Collection*, Bikāner; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Chitrakalā-aur-Rājasthān*, *Shodhpatrikā*, Vol. II, Nos. 3-4 March & June, 1960, pp. 122-123.

⁸³ *Kālidaman copy of a Mural at Āmber of 1600-1615 A. D.* by Kripāl Singh Shekhāwat, *Collection Mahārājā of Jaipur Museum*.

⁸⁴ *Pancham Rāga*—circa 1650-1675, Collection : Kumar Sangrām Singh.

⁸⁵ *Bhāgavata Dashamaskandha*, Set No. 2, of 1792, City Palace, Jaipur.

⁸⁶ *Rāgamālā* set containing 41 paintings of 1777-1802, City Palace, Jaipur.

⁸⁷ *Durgāpāth* set No. 1, 1799, City Palace, Jaipur.

⁸⁸ Paintings of the upper gallery of City palace, Jaipur; *Jaipur Unique Contribution to Rājasthān* by Sangrām Singh, *Rājasthān Lalit Kala Akademi*, 1962.

of the increasing Mughal influence. The paintings of Kṛiṣṇa and Rādhā, a prince and a musician, *Rāga Kedārā* and *Malhār* in the *Khajānchi Collection* of Bikāner are exquisite examples of the 18th and the 19th centuries art of Alwar.⁸⁹

No account of Rājasthāni painting can be complete without a brief reference to the Nāthdwārā⁹⁰ school of paintings. This school dates after V. S. 1728 (1671 A. D.) when the image of Śri Nāthji was removed to Sinhād by Goswāmi Dāmodarji under the patronage of Rānā Rāj Singh⁹¹ to escape sacrilege at the hands of Aurangzeb.⁹² The party was also accompanied by painters from Vrija. It appears that in order to keep alive the legend that Śri Nāthji⁹³ appeared to Goswāmiji in a dream and commanded him to find his buried image near the Goverdhan hill where tracks of cows offered milk from their udders to the image, these painters for the first time started executing pictorial representation of this event. This original manifestation of Śri Nāthji with the buried image, the offering of milk, Śri Vallabha in the act of establishing the image in a shrine with a Rājput prince and princesses by his side are quite peculiar ideas of this school.

With the growing importance of village Sinhād as a centre of pilgrimage, other painters⁹⁴ from Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Alwar and Delhi flocked to this place by the beginning of the 18th century. This group of the painters coming from different localities followed the same theme of

⁸⁹ Paintings Nos. 140, 149, 161, etc., *Catalogue of Alwar Museum*, Alwar, published by Archeological Deptt., 1961; *Report of the Fact Finding Committee*, Jaipur, 1961, Nos. 132-136.

⁹⁰ Prof. O. C. Gangoly in the *Bulletin of the Barodā State Museum*, Vol. I, part II, p. 31, while describing a set of Nāthdwārā paintings designates them as the Udaipur school. Using the Udaipur school as synonymous for the Nāthdwārā school appears to be misleading. In the first place the Udaipur school came into existence after the treaty of 1615 A. D., when Udaipur was finally established as the capital of Mewār; while the Nāthdwārā school dates sufficiently late after V. S. 1728 (1671 A. D.)

⁹¹ O. C. Gangoly has wrongly called him Rānā Rāmsingh, p. 34 of the same article.

⁹² Ojha : *U. R. I.*, Vol. I, p. 35 and Vol. II, p. 547.

⁹³ Two copper-plate grants of the Old deposited records of Udaipur dated V. S. 1792 & 1793 (1735-1736 A. D.) designate the idol as Goverdhan Nāth, God of Goverdhan hill.

⁹⁴ Several painters of Nāthdwārā still distinguish them by three classes—Gor, Jāngid and Purviā. The first class referred to above traces its origin from Udaipur; the second from Jaipur and Jodhpur, and the third from Alwar and Delhi.

manifestation of Śrī Nāthji along with other religious and secular themes of their original place with which they were acquainted. In the Moti Mahal paintings of Nāthdwārā can be seen diverse groups in different background but with one above noted common theme.

Thus Rājasthān painting of the mediaeval period is a fine blending of the indigenous system with the Mughal technique of the scheme of colour and themes of court life.

It is very difficult to give some illustrations of the early paintings of this school of the 17th century because most of the valuable treasures have been either sold to foreigners or have been lost or destroyed in the course of constant warfare which marked the history of Rājasthān. We are indebted to Prof. O. C. Gangoly for a graphic account of a set of Nāthdwārā paintings of the 18th century preserved in the Barodā Museum. These paintings are a very interesting series of cloth paintings devoted to various phases of the life of Śrī Kriṣṇa and Vallabhāchārya, and of the images of Śrī Nāthji, of Janmāṣṭami festival, Rāsmandal, etc.⁹⁵

Important characteristic features of these paintings deserve our attention. According to professor Gangoly they are painted not on paper but on cotton cloth, probably with some glue medium. A peculiar mannerism can be observed in the pose of hands, one of which is held up in a sharp right angle, the other hand being placed in a freer pose by a *gopi*. In the group of *gopis* there is a considerable depth of feeling and conviction and there is a general animation and liveliness in the composition. The landscape background has been formed by various groups of trees, as plantain, *deodār* and *kadamba*. Decorative wide border, with a floriated pattern and with conventionally arranged leaves, is the striking feature of the series. In some pictures there are also ornamental borders. The celestial cart at the top of the picture carrying the *devās* who rain down flowers on the mystic dance below, are all of the same type, decorated with the effigies of peacocks, except one with the head of a bull, suggesting that its inmate may be Śiva. In the group of *gopis* there is no attempt made to differentiate individual features of faces, a convention persistently followed in Rājasthān as well as Kāngrā paintings. This identity of type is emphasised in the peculiar physiognomy of the profile faces, with oblique eyebrows and a fantastic shape of eye with its eye-lines running up to meet the termination of the eyebrow. The long nose, short and firm lips and the descending tresses of locks of hair ending in peculiar curls

⁹⁵ *Bulletin of the Barodā State Museum*, Vol. I, Pt. II, 1944, pp. 3, 31-39, 93.

and the transparent robe through which the shape of the limbs can be seen, contribute to the building of a stereo-typed pattern.⁹⁶

The group has yielded a group of lively composition, depicting a group of worshipping cows, arranged in rows, very typically represented by two examples described and analysed by Coomarswāmy. One is the buried image of Śrī Nāthji. A variation of this theme has also been illustrated in the form of worshipping of Śrī Nāthji and groups of cows in *Rupam* by him. Recently, I have discovered some of the exquisite paintings of Śrī Nāthji and Vithalnāthji in the collection of Śrī Chunni Lāl of Nāthdwārā. They had been prepared by Rāma Chandra, an ancestor of the owner who lived late in the 18th century. The family of the owner originally belonged to Jaipur and therefore, leaving aside Vaiṣṇavite theme, the characteristic features of the Jaipur *kalam* are easily distinguishable in it. These are nearest to the Barodā series. Similarly, in other paintings of Rādhā and Kriṣṇa, belonging to late 18th century, in the possession of Śrī Udai Rāma whose ancestors came originally from Jodhpur, we find several traits of the Jodhpur art.⁹⁷

The figures of this *kalam* are of round faces. Their extending hands have thin fingers. Women wear ornaments of Mewāri style and coloured clothes. Kriṣṇa with all ornaments usually worn by the Rānās and *sardārs* appear only in yellow *dhoti* with a *kirita* composed of pearls and peacock feathers. One more striking feature of this school is the prominence of *Vanmāl* and *Vaijayantimāl* worn by Kriṣṇa which comes down to the knees. The dancing poses of *gopikās* reach near those of Mewār art. Thus the Nāthdwārā school of painting is a rich and enlightened art, especially devoted to Kriṣṇa cult scenes, presented in Rājasthāni background.⁹⁸

The account of Rājasthāni painting shows that inspite of some fundamental differences in local characteristics between one school and another, there is some uniformity in the choice of subjects and in the costumes of the objects. If Mughal traits have been adopted they have been done for decoration and not for the basic ideas behind the art. The assimilation of the two makes the production of art national. The artists

⁹⁶ Summarized from 'A group of Vallabhāchārya paintings and their relatives' by Gangoly, *Bulletin of the Barodā State Museum and Picture Gallery*, Vol. I, Pt. II, 1944, pp. 36-39.

⁹⁷ Coomārswāmy : *Rājput Paintings*, Vol. I, p. 41 ; A Pastoral Paradise, *Rupam*, Nos. 42-44, 1930 p. 14 ; Dr. G.N. Sharma : *Nāthdwārā Paintings*, I.H.C., 1958.

⁹⁸ Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār Painting through Ages*, *Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 59-76, October, 1959, pp. 74-76.

of Rājasthāni school are essentially the peoples' artists, though they were attached to the courts of the rulers. They were selfless workers without any desire for popularity or reward. These things go to make the art of painting a subject of devotion and love, and in this respect it differs from the Mughal painting, though it had absorbed some traits of the latter.⁹⁹

Architecture

With regard to architecture of the period the most noteworthy feature was the blending of the Rājput and Mughal styles in such a manner that the local arrangements and styles remained undisturbed, and the edifices acquired added beauty and charm to a great extent. The earliest Mughal impact can be traced in the palaces like the Amar Mahal, the Jagamandir and the Badipol gate constructed by Mahārānā Amar Singh. The arches, profuse decoration, stone lattices and ornamented pillars differ widely in these buildings from the simple and indigenous constructions of Moti Magari and Kumbhalgarh palaces. The palaces of Rānā Karan Singh such as the Moti Mahal, the Mānik Chowk, the Dilkhush Mahal, etc., approximate to the Mughal style. Jagat Singh added gardens, fountains, domes and towers to these palaces. Rāj Singh constructed the garden palace of the Sarva Ratu vilās after Mughal style with fountains and domed chambers. The Mughal architectural features in these edifices can be seen only in matters of detail, of course, the conceptional techniques remained Indian.¹⁰⁰

The palaces at Jodhpur, such as the Phool Mahal, the Shish Mahal, the Ranga Mahal, etc., have cusped arches, slender pillars, latticed windows and massive halls, which differ to a great extent from the earlier structures of the *zanānā* palaces in the background with low roofs, projecting caves, long beams and carved brackets. During Ajit Singh's time, who had greater contacts with the Mughals, there evolved out-structures which were typically Mughal. The Ajit Stambha and the garden attached to it with square flower beds, running fountains and cisterns at Mandor are instances in which the Mughal style predominates.¹⁰¹

As regards the old palaces of Āmber, where the basic set-up though purely Rājasthāni is marked by the beauty and influence of Mughal style.

⁹⁹ Rāi Krishṇadās : *Bhārat-ki-Chittrakalā*, pp. 56, 78 ; *Hindustāni*, April, 1931, pp. 227, 239 ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Chittrakalā and Rājasthān*, *Shodhpatrikā*, Vol. II, No. 3-4, March and June, 1960, pp. 125-126.

¹⁰⁰ *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 269-271 ; Ojhā : *U.R.I.*, Vol. II, p. 528 ; Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 197.

¹⁰¹ *I. G. I.*, (Pro. Series), p. 197 ; Reu : *Mārṅār-kā-Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 28-29.

If any state of Rājasthān which has borrowed many of the architectural forms from the buildings of the Mughals it is that of Jaipur. About Āmber palaces, Mr. Brown observes, "Two halls within the square are prominent, the *Diwān-i-Ām* or the Hall of Audience and the entrance to the palace itself, both of which in style are apparently improvisations from the existing architecture of the Mughals. Of these the former most nearly reproduces the Mughal type of hypostyle hall, its double pillars, clusters of brackets, wide-eaves, and high perforated parapet above, being reminiscent of the pavilion known as the Zenānā Palace in the fort of Allahābād, the example at Āmber having been most probably executed by masons trained in the Akbari style by Mughal overseers."¹⁰²

As regards the palaces of Bikāner and Kotāh it must be said that both the exterior or the interior sides of their buildings are picturesque. The structured and artistic style of these buildings are common. The hanging balconies, long varāndāhs supported on rows of elaborately carved brackets are interesting features of the palaces. These palaces were so designed that every part fulfilled its function. Its rooms appear to have been devised for seclusion, its terraces for the cool air or opening, its corridors for convenience, each compartment, court, hall, and passage had its own use, and was introduced in the scheme to accord with the requirements of the age which were after both Rājput and Mughal style.¹⁰³

Although the Mughal dynasty has passed away and the Rājput kingdoms too have come to an end, but in the people's ways of life, fashions, dress, diet, language and literature there is even now the stamp of these two important races. The synthesis of these two cultures is our cherished heritage. The *Havālā Bahis*, *The Toji Records* and other 19th and 20th centuries documents show that the official title of *Qānungo*, *Tahsildār*, *Musāhib*, *Khajānchi*, *Kotwāl*, etc, were designations of officers in almost all the states of Rājasthān until our own days. All rulers before the merger of the states used to hold *durbārs* exactly after the Mughal fashion in spite of the fact that the spirit of those institutions had vanished long ago. Many a families, specially of Kāyasths who were employed as interpreters and draftsmen of royal correspondence continued to serve the states after our period of study in the capacity of important officers bearing the titles of *Bakshi*, *Sahivālā*, *Mahāsāni*, etc. The official records of these states show that the fiscal system, coinage and some of the taxes of the Mughal times lingered in Rājasthān.

¹⁰² Brown : *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, p. 128.

¹⁰³ *Jamā Kharch Bahi*, V.S. 1852 (Bikāner) ; I. G. I. (Prov. Series), pp. 416-417 ; Brown : *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)*, p. 128.

It is not necessary to multiply examples to show that it is hard to be shaken off from the legacy of the period. In many direction we feel that the past is still with us. But we must remember that all past is not purely Mughal and purely Rājasthāni. It is the healthy remnant of goodwill and happy memories of the two races which were once foes and then friends. In the light of this impact and understanding let us hope and plan so that Rājasthan may remain, as in the past, a safe repository of all that is good with human race.



Select Bibliography & References

In studying the social and cultural history of medieval Rājasthān (1500-1800 A.D.), one is faced with a paucity of material, and what is available is not found in one place. In order to have a glimpse into the age attempts have been made in this thesis to dig out hidden treasures from archival repositories and private custodies, which furnish useful information about the period. Literature of various categories in Sanskrit, Persian, Rājasthāni, Hindi and English has been of great help in interpreting the social and cultural history of the period. The authorities¹ for this thesis may be classified under the following heads :—

- A. Inscriptions.
 - (a) Prākṛit, (b) Sanskrit, and (c) Rājasthāni.
- B. Documents and Letters.
 - (a) Persian, (b) Rājasthāni, and (c) English
- C. Persian Sources.
- D. Archival Records.
 - (a) Bikāner, (b) Kotāh, (c) Jodhpur, (d) Jaipur, (e) Udaipur, and (f) Ajmer.
- E. Sculptures.
- F. Illustrated Manuscripts and Paintings.
- G. Travellers' Accounts.
- H. Contemporary Literature.
 - (a) Sanskrit, (b) Rājasthāni, and (c) Hindi.
- I. Maps and Sketches.
- J. Modern Works.
 - (a) English, (b) Hindi, and (c) Rājasthāni.
- K. Journals, Reviews and Gazetteers.
 - (a) English, and (b) Hindi.

A. Inscriptions

(a) Prākṛit

1. *Bhābru Inscription* : Noticed in the J.R.A.S., 1908,

¹ For a more detailed treatment of the sources, see my book '*A Bibliography of Medieval Rajasthan*', Agra, 1965.

pp. 491-492, and Bhandārkar's *Asoka*, pp. 69, 78, 87 and 96.

2. *Ghatiyālā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 910 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions* I, pp. 259-260.
3. *Ghatiyālā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 918 : Noticed in the J.R.A.S., 1895, pp. 517-518.

(b) *Sanskrit*

1. *Aparājit Inscription* : Dated V.S. 718 : Noticed in the J.A.S.B., 1935, p. 122, EI, IV, pp. 31-32 ; and the A.R.R.M., Ajmer, 1920-21, p. 34.
2. *Mānmoni Inscription* : Dated V.S. 770 : Noticed by Col. Tod in his *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 625, Appendix No. III, R.K. Paul edition, London, 1950.
3. *Durga Rāja Inscription* : Dated V.S. 982 : *Ajmer Museum*.
4. *Ādivarāh Temple Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1000 : Preserved by me in the *Archaeological Gallery*, M.B. College, Udaipur.
5. *Pratāpgarh Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1003 : Noticed in the A.R.R.M., Ajmer.
6. *Sānnāth Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1010 : Noticed in the *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, II, pp. 67-68, Plate No. 34.
7. *Harsha Temple Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1030 : Noticed by Sārdā in his *Ajmer*, p. 394.
8. *Hatundi Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1053 : Noticed in the *Bhāvanagar Inscription*, III, pp. 68-69.
9. *Ingodā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1190.
10. *Nādallāi Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1200 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, 845, pp. 213-214.
11. An *Inscription* of V.S. 1200 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, p. 213.
12. *Nādol Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1202 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 844.
13. *Nādol Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1202 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscription*, I, No. 846.
14. *Thakrādā Copper-plate* : Dated V.S. 1212 : Noticed by me in my work *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 192.
15. An *Inscription* of V.S. 1213 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, p. 214.
16. *Nādol Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1218 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 389, p. 207.

17. *Bijoliyān Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1226 : Noticed in the *EI.*, XXVI, pp. 90-106.
18. *An Inscription of V.S. 1236* : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, p. 883.
19. *Jālor Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1239 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 899, pp. 238-239.
20. *A Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1242 : Noticed by me in my work *Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 1.
21. *Jālor Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1268 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 900, p. 239.
22. *Ābu Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1287 : Noticed in the *EI.*, Vol VIII, p. 200, No. 2.
23. *Bhekrod Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1291 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his *Dungarpur Rājya-kā-Itihās*, p. 2, footnote, No. 3.
24. *Ghānerāo Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1320 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, p. 276.
25. *Jālor Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1323 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, Part I, No. 903.
26. *Bithu Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1330 : Noticed in the *IA.*, Vol. 40, p. 141.
27. *Chirvā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1330 : Noticed in the *EI.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 285-292.
28. *Rasiyā-ki-Chhatri Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1331 : Noticed in the *Bhāvnagar Inscription*, IV, pp. 74-77.
29. *Katār Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1335 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, p. 251.
30. *Achaleshvara Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1342 : Noticed in the *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, No. 5, pp. 84-87.
31. *Ratanpur Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1343 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 706, p. 163.
32. *Bādmēd Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1352 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, pp. 179-180.
33. *Vāghinā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1359 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 959, pp. 266-267.
34. *Śringiriśi Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1485 : Noticed in the *A.R.R.M.*, Ajmer, 1924-25.
35. *Samidheshvara Temple Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1485 : Noticed in the *EI.*, Vol. II, p. 410 and also in the *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, No. VI, pp. 96-108.

36. *Delwādā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1491 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 2006, pp. 255-256.
37. *Shambhava Nāth Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1494 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2139, pp. 15-20.
38. *Nadiyā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1494 : *Rājputānā Museum*, Ajmer.
39. *Rāñpur Temple Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1496 : Noticed in the *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, No. 8, pp. 113-117, and the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1907-1908, p. 216.
40. *Vasantagarh Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1507 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 265, and the *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924, pp. 3-4.
41. *Inscriptions* : Dated V.S. 1506, 1508, 1510, 1515, 1559, 1686, 1687 and 1764 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, Nos. 715, 724, 771, 782, 904, etc.
42. *Chitor Vijayasthambha Inscription* or *Kirtisthambha Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1517 : Noticed in the Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. 23, Plates Nos. 20 and 21.
43. *Kumbhalgarh Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1517 : Noticed in the *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. 55, Part I, pp. 71-72.
44. *Āntri Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1526 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his *D.R.I.*, p. 70.
45. *Ābu Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1515 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 597.
46. An *Inscription* of V.S. 1522 : Noticed in the *E.I.*, II, No. 5, p. 26.
47. *Itāvā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1536 : Unpublished.
48. *Chitri Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1536 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his *D.R.I.*, p. 71.
49. *Talwādā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1538 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his *D.R.I.*, p. 72.
50. *Khadavādā Bāvli Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1541 : Noticed in the *Nāgri Prachārīṇi Patrikā*, Vol. 12, V.S. 1988.
51. *Pārda Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1542 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his *D.R.I.*, pp. 72-73.
52. *Ekalinga Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1545 : Noticed in the *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, pp. 117-133.
53. *Devasomnāth Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1548 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his *D.R.I.*, p. 73.

54. *Shāntināth Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1549 : Noticed in the *Bikāner Lekhasangraha*, pp. 28-29.
55. *Kaṇbā Inscription* : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his D.R.I., p. 75.
56. *Jāwar Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1554 : Noticed in the A.R.R.M., Ajmer 1924-25.
57. *Gadi Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1556 : Unpublished.
58. *Amarkot Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1561 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2487, p. 119.
59. *Ghosundi Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1561 : Noticed in the J. A. S. B., Vol. 56, Part I, No. 2, pp. 79-80.
60. *Bikāner Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1561 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 1350, pp. 67-68.
61. *Bhāndāshāh Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1571 : Noticed in the *Bikāner Lekhasangraha*, p. 29.
62. *Morkhānā Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1573 : Noticed in the J. A. S. B., Vol. XIII, pp. 214-215.
63. *Kālinjarā Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1578 : Unpublished.
64. *Śatrunjaya Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1587 : Noticed in the *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, No. 10, pp. 134-135.
65. *Pindawāda Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1603 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 946, p. 262.
66. *Pābu Temple Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1615 : Noticed in the J. A. S., Vol. 12, p. 108.
67. *Bikāner Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1650 : Noticed in the J. A. S. B., Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 262-279.
68. *Nānā Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1659 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, p. 230, No. 890.
69. *Rishabhadeva Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1661 : Noticed in the *Bikāner Lakhasangraha*, p. 33.
70. *Jaisalmer Inscription* : Dated 1663 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, III, No. 2505, p. 128.
71. *Ajit Nāth Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1664 : Noticed in the *Bikāner Lakhasangraha*, p. 34.
72. *Bādmed Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1676 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No, 747.
73. *Medtā Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1677 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 750, p. 180.

74. *Ghāṇerāo Temple Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1677 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, II, No. 1717, pp. 168-169.
75. *Pāli Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1686 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 826, p. 203.
76. *Jagannāth Rāi Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1709 : Noticed in the *EI.*, Vol. XXIV.
77. *Pindawāda Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1723 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, No. 952, p. 264.
78. *Rājaprashasti* : Dated V.S. 1732 : Noticed in the *Report of the Rājputāna Museum*, Ajmer, 1917-18 ; pp. 2-3, and *EI.*, Vols, XXIX-XXX.
79. *Jodhpur Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1765 : *Sardār Museum*, Jodhpur.
80. *Daskināmurti Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1770 ; Noticed in the *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, No. 15, p. 155.

(c) *Rājasthāni*

1. *Kherodā Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1494 : Unpublished :
2. *Chikli Plate* : Dated V.S. 1540 : Unpublished.
3. *A Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1551 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.
4. *A Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1592 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.
5. *Bokharā Khedi Grant* : Dated V.S. 1593 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.
6. *Sirohi Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1613 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Sirohi.
7. *Kalwāl Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1613 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.
8. *Sānchor Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1617 : Unpublished : Sānchor Tehsil, Copy No. 37.
9. *Menāl Copper-plate Grant* of Udaisingh's time ; Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur, 348.
10. *A Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1656 (1599 A.D.) : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.
11. *An Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1659 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, pp. 230-231.
12. *A Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1669 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.

13. *Copper-plate Grants* : Dated V.S. 1700 (No. 824), V.S. 1704 (No. 865), V.S. 1731 (No. 861), V.S. 1752 (No. 374), V.S. 1787 (No. 150), V.S. 1788 (No. 145), V.S. 1798 (No. 823), V.S. 1800 (No. 757), V.S. 1810 (No. 135) and V.S. 1895 (No. 6) : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur,
14. *Pratāpgarh Inscription* : Belonging to the period of Prithvi Singh : Unpublished : Preserved in the *Kotwāli* of the town.
15. A *Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1748 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.
16. A *Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1767 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.
17. *Bānswārā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1769 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Bānswārā.
18. A *Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1769 : Unpublished : O.D.R. Udaipur.
19. *Devaliā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1774 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his P.R.I., p. 209 ; footnote No. 2.
20. *Devaliā Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1774 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his P.R.I., pp. 210-211, footnote No. 3.
21. *Pratāpgarh Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1776 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his P.R.I., p. 214.
22. *Pushkar Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1776 : Noticed by Sārdā in his *Ajmer*, p. 397.
23. *Bānswārā Grant* : Dated V.S. 1776 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Bānswārā, No. 227.
24. A *Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1786 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.
25. A *Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1788 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur.
26. A *Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1794 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur, No. 355.
27. *Śivaṇpur Inscription* : Dated V.S. 1810 ; Unpublished : O.D.R., Udaipur, No. 133/1.
28. *Sirohi Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1844 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Sirohi.
29. *Sāvali Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1868 : Unpublished : O.D.R., Sirohi.
30. *Bikanner Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V.S. 1873 : Unpublished

31. *Sirohi Copper-plate Grant* : Dated V. S. 1884 : Unpublished ; O. D. R., Sirohi.
32. *Himmat Rāma Temple Inscription* : Dated V. S. 1891 : Noticed in the *Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 143-150.

B. Unpublished Documents, Letters, etc.

(a) *Persian*

1. *Janāngir's Farmāns* : Dated 1626 and 1627 A. D. : Bikāner Archives, OR. BA.
2. A *letter* No. 1587 from the Mahārāja of Jaipur : Dated 1107 H. (1696 A. D.) : PC. Register V.
3. A *parvānāh* : Dated 1109 H. (1698 A. D.) : PC., III, no. 2986.
4. A *parvānāh* from the Mahārājā to Meghrāja : Dated 1112 H : PC. No. 215.
5. A *parwānah* : Dated 1118 H. (1706 A. D.) : PC., III, No. 956.
6. A *letter* of the Mahārājā of Jaipur to Dāud Khān : Dated 1119 H. (1707 A. D.)
7. A *letter* from the Mahārājā to Nāhar Khān : Dated 1122 H. (1710 A. D.) : PC., III, No. 1181.
8. A *letter* to the Mahārājā from Muhammad Hayāt : Dated 1122 H. (1710 A. D.) : PC., III, No. 1181.
9. A *letter* from the Mahārājā of Āmber to Nāhar Khān : Dated 1122 H. (1710 A. D.) : PC., Register No. VI, letter No. 2340.
10. A *letter* : Dated 1711 A. D. : PC. No. 2266.
11. *Hashullukms* : Dated 1123 H. (1711 A. D.) : PC., VI, No. 2423-24.
12. *Arzdāshts* from the Mahārājā of Āmber to the Emperor : Dated 1711 and 1716 A. D. : PC. VII, No. 63.
13. A *parwānāh* from the Mahārājā to Jagajivandās : Dated 1124 H. (1712 A. D.) : PC., III, No. 1041.
14. A *letter* from the Mahārājā to Nāhar Khān : Dated 1124 H. (1712 A. D.) ; PC., VI, No. 3032.
15. A *dastak* to the Mahārājā of Jaipur : Dated 1124 H. (1712 A. D.) : PC., II, No. 525.
16. A *letter* from the Mahārājā of Āmber to Nawāb Āsaf Khān : Dated 1124 H. (1712 A. D.) : PC., III, No. 2850.

17. A letter : Dated 1124 H. (1712 A. D.) : PC., 11.
18. A letter : Dated 1124 H. (1712 A. D.) : PC., IV, No. 2850.
19. An *arzdāsh*t from the Mahārājā of Āmber to the Emperor : Dated 1716 : PC., VII, No. 2608.
20. A letter from the Mahārājā to Bādshāh Quli Khān : Dated 1130 H. (1717 A. D.) ; PC., VI, No. 3208.
21. A letter : Dated 1140 H. (1727 A. D.) : PC., IV, No. 2947.

(b) *Rājasthāni* (Unpublished)

1. A *pattā* of Bhāgachand to Kalji : Dated V. S. 1682 : ODRU.
2. A document : Dated V. S. 1729 : *Vidyāpitha* Collection, Udaipur.
3. A *parwānāh* : Dated V. S. 1738 : ODRU, No. 450.
4. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1745 : ODRU, No. 9.
5. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1745 : ODRU, No. 9.
6. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1752 : ODRU.
7. A letter to Rāichanda from Harichanda : Dated V. S. 1754 : *Vidyapith* Collection, Udaipur.
8. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1756 : ODRU, No 43.
9. A *parwānāh* to Kushāl Singh : Dated V. S. 1762 : *Vidyapith* Collection, Udaipur.
10. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1763 : ODRU, No. 163 (3).
11. A *pattā* to Misri Lāl ; Dated V. S. 1765 : ODRU.
12. A letter from Jai Singh to Abhaya Singh : Dated V.S. 1767 : *Portfolio File*, Jodhpur, No. 9.
13. A document : Dated V. S. 1773 : ODRU, no. 59A.
14. A document from Rāwat Bisan Singh to the Mahārāna, Udaipur : Dated V. S. 1774 : Noticed by Dr. Ojhā in his B: R. I, p. 118.
15. A *pattā* to Gosāin Girirāja Puri : Dated V. S. 1773 : ODRU, No. 80.
16. A letter to the *panchās* of Kapasin from the Mahārānā : Dated V. S. 1785 : ODRU, No. 193 (3).
17. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1785 : ODRU, No. 193 (3).
18. A document : Dated V. S. 1788 (1731 A. D.) : ODRU, Jāgir, 1995, No. 26/17.

19. A letter from Sawāi Jaisingh to Mahārāja Abhaya Singh : Dated V. S. 1790 : *Portfolio File*, No. 9.
20. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1792 : ODRU, No. 308.
21. A *Collection of the 18th century letters* from the Rānis to the queen mother or other Rānis or from *Khavāsans* to the Mahārānis or Mahārājās : *File*, Nos. 42/14-2, Archival Department, Bikāner.
22. A letter from Pratāp Singh to Vijaya Singh : *Portfolio File*, No. 9.
23. *Transcript copies of the letters of Kṣhamāpaṇa of the 17th and 18th century* : *Nahatā's Collection*, Bikāner.
24. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1807 : ODRU.
25. A *pattā*, Sirohi : Dated V. S. 1813 : ODRS.
26. A document : Dated V. S. 1814 : ODRU, *File*, No. 10, No. 536.
27. A letter to the ruler of Kishangarh : Dated V. S. 1815 : *Portfolio File*, No. 4.
28. A letter : Dated V. S. 1818 : *Portfolio File*, No. 3.
29. A letter from Bundi : Dated V. S. 1819 : *Portfolio File*, No. 3.
30. A letter from Kotāh : Dated V. S. 1826 : *Portfolio File*, No. 3.
31. A letter of Mahārāja Vijaya Singh : Dated V. S. 1838 : *Portfolio File*.
32. A letter : Dated V. S. 1840 : *Portfolio File*, No. 4.
33. A letter : Dated V. S. 1840 : *Portfolio File*, No. 4.
34. A letter : Dated V. S. 1854 : *Portfolio File*, No. 8.
35. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1858 : ODRU, No. 26/307/S. 93.
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38. A letter : V. S. 1866 : *Portfolio File*, No. 4.
39. *Sānchor Mortgage Document* : Dated V. S. 1868 : Sānchor 'Tehasil.
40. A *pattā* : Dated V. S. 1882 : SBLU.
41. *Nāthpatras* : *File*, No. 20, JD and BA.
42. A document : Dated V. S. 1888 : ODRS, Appendix C, 1888

43. A letter from the Mahārājā of Dholpur to the Mahārājā of Jodhpur : Dated V. S. 1908 : Portfolio File, No. 11.

(c) *English*

1. A letter of Victor Jucquemont to his father dated the 5th April, 1832 (*Letters from India, 1829-1932*), translated by Catherine Alsion, London, 1936.
2. A letter, No. 380/1859 from S. W. Fallon, dated the 7th October, 1859.

C. Persian Sources

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2. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* by Abu Umar Minhāj-ud-din, Utman bin-Sirāj-ud-din, edited by Lees, *Bib., Indica*, Calcutta, 1864, translated into English by H. G. Raverty, *Bib., Indica*, Calcutta, 1897.
3. *Tārikh-i-Alāi* or *Khazāin-ul-Futūh* by Amir Khusrav, Persian text, ed. by S. M. Haq, Aligarh, *Sultāniya Historical Society*, 1927 ; translated by M. Habib in *JIH.*, VIII, and later published as a book under the title 'Campaigns of Alāuddin Khalji' ; Bombay, 1931, ED., Vol. III.
4. *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl* by Amir Khusrav, ED., Vol. III.
5. *Ashīqa* or *Diwal-Rāni-wa-Khizr Khān* of Amir Khusrav, ED., Vol. III, pp. 544-556.
6. *Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* by Ziyā-ud-din Barani, edited by Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *Bib., Indica*, Calcutta, 1862, translation from S. Gupta edition has been used.
7. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* by Yahyā bin Ahmad, Persian text, Calcutta, 1931, and English translation by K. K. Basu, G. O. S., LXIII, 1932. Some extracts have been translated in ED., Vol. IV, which I have used for the present work.
8. *Wāqiat-i-Mushtāqi* or *Tārikh-i-Mushtāqi* by Rizqullāh-Mushtāqi. I have used extracts translated in ED., Vol. IV.
9. *Tuzuk-i-Bāburi* (SBLU, MS. No. 173), English translation by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge.
10. *Humāyun-nāma* by Gulbadan, translated by A. S. Beveridge 1902.
11. *Tazkirat-ul-Wākiat* (SBLU, MS. No. 136) by Jauhar, translated into English by Major Charles Stewart.
12. *Qanun-i-Humāyuni* by Khwāndamir (SBLU, MS. No. 175), translated by Bains Prashad, Calcutta, 1940.

13. *Akbar-nāma* (Pheeroz Shāh's personal collection, Udaipur, MS. Vol. II and Persian Text, N. K. Press, Lucknow) by Shaikh Abul Fazl. The Persian edition published in the *Bib. Indica* Series, Vol. I in 1872, Vol. II in 1881, and Vol. III in 1887. It is translated into English by H. Beveridge and published by the A. S. B. in the same series in three volumes, 1897-1910.
14. *Takmila-i-Akbar-nāma* (Extracts translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI) of Ināyatullah. The whole of this work in English translation is appended to volume III of Beveridge's translation of *Akbar-nāma*.
15. *Āin-i-Akbari* (Persian Text, Vols. I-II, Aligarh, 1272 A. H.) by Abul Fazl, translated into English by Blochmann (1873), Vol. I, and Jarrett, Vol. II, (1894), and Vol. III, (1894), and Vol. III by J. N. Sarkār (1947), *Bib. Indica* series.
16. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Persian Text, N. K. Press, Lucknow and ED., Vol. V,) of Nizāmuddin Ahmad. B. De has translated it in three volumes which have been published in the *Bib. Indica* series, Calcutta, 1927. Its Persian text in three volumes has been published at Calcutta, 1927-35.
17. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* (Persian Text, Vols. I, II, III, *Bib. Indica* series, Calcutta) by Abdul Qādir Badāuni, translated into English by Ranking and Lowe.
18. *Tārikh-i-Alfi* by Mulla Ahmad and Others.
19. *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi* (SBLU. MS. in one Vol. No. 134) by Abbās Sarwāni.
20. *Tārikh-i-Khān Jahāni wa Makhzān-i Afghāni* by Niāmat-ullāh, translated into English by B. Dorn, entitled *History of the Afghāns*, London, 1829-36. The extracts translated in ED., Vol. V. have been used.
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23. *Iqbāl-nāmā* of Mutamid Khān, Persian Text, Vols. I, II, III, N. K. Press, Lucknow.
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25. *Tārikh-i-Dāudi* by Abdullāh, extracts translated in ED., Vol. IV.
26. *Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Afāghina* of Ahmad Yādgar ; SBLU MS. 153.
27. *Bādshāhnāma* of Abdul Hamid Lāhori, Persian Text, Vols. I-II, *Bib. Indica*, 1867.
28. *Shāhjahān-nāma* of Ināyat Khān, extracts translated in ED., Vol. VII.
29. *Amal-i-Sālih* by Muhammad Sālih : SBLU. MS.
30. *Inshā-i-Chandra Bhān* by Chandra Bhān : SBLU. MS. no. 148.
31. *Khulāsā-i-Shāh Jāhān-nāma* by Zahid Khān : SBLU. MS. No. 148.
32. *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri* by Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khān, Persian Text, *Bid. Indica*, 1870-73, English translation, Calcutta, 1947.
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35. *Munawwar-Kalām* by Shivdās Lakhnavi, photostat copy of the MS., Raghbir Library, Sitāmau.
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38. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* by Ali Muhammad Khān : SBLU. MS. Vols. I-III, No. 167.
39. *Maāsir-ul-Umarā* by Shāhnawāz Khān, published by the A. S. B. in three volumes : SBLU. MS. Vols. I-II, Nos. 113-114.

D. Archival Records in Rajasthan (Unpublished).

(a) Archival Records, Bikāner

1. *Patākās*, Revenue Records : Dated V. S. 1624-1800.
2. *Jaisalmer Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1716.
3. *Byāva Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1722.
4. *Jaitpur Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1722.
5. *Jaitpur Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1726.

6. *Shahar-Lekhā Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1727.
7. *Jaisalmer Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1744.
8. *Chhātri Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1747.
9. *Rokad Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1750.
10. *Riṇi Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1752.
11. *Badā Kothār Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1753.
12. *Modi Khānā Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1754.
13. *Hāsil Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1761.
14. *Mahal-tālkā-Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1764.
15. *Byāja Bahis* : Dated V. S. 1814-1821.
16. *Kamthānā Bahis* : Dated V. S. 1805-1874.
17. *Devasthān and Dharmapūṇya Bahis* : Dated V. S. 1805-1824.
18. *Bahis Zakāt* : Dated V. S. 1805-1819.
19. *Punya Tānkadā Bahis* : Dated V. S. 1822-1845.
20. *Mālri Bahis* : Dated V. S. 1800-1845.
21. *Hāsil Khālisāh* : Dated V. S. 1825.
22. *Byāva Bahi* : Dated V. S. 1827.
23. *Bahi Kāgdāri* : Dated V. S. 1811-1857.
24. *Bahi Gaj Singh* : Dated V. S. 1843.
25. *Taksāl Bahis* : Dated V. S. 1828-1840.
26. *Bahis Mardumśumāri* : Dated V. S. 1903-1913.

(b) *Kotāh Archival Records*

1. *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā*, No. 62 (V. S. 1838), *Bastā*, No. 11 (V. S. 1749-1750), *Bastā*, No. 72 (V. S. 1757), *Bastā*, No. 32 (V. S. 1774), *Bastā*, No. 57 (V. S. 1815), *Bastā*, No. 62 (V. S. 1838), etc. refer to Hindu and Muslim festivals.
2. *Bhandāra*, No. 1, *Bastā*, No. 4, File, No. 25 (V. S. 1739), *Bastā*, No. 28 (V. S. 1770), *Bastā*, No. 4 (V. S. 1841-1844), etc., refer to the names of garments and other articles and their costs.
3. *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā* No. 3 (V. S. 1815) refer to various rites of marriages.
4. *Bhandāra*, No. 4, *Bastā*, No. 410 (V. S. 1743) refer to daily wages of labourers.
5. *Bhandāra* No. 1, *Bastā*, No. 4 (V. S. 1739) refer to the wages of craftsmen.

6. *Bhandāra*, No. 16, file, No. 1-23 (V. S. 1789) refers to coins.
7. *Bhandāra*, No. 16 (V. S. 1816-1949) refers to educational developments.
8. *Mijālīs Kharch Bastā*, No. 11 (V. S. 1730) refers to the expenditure on construction.
9. *Rojnāmchā, Bastā*, No. 4. (V. S. 1739-1804).
10. *Mahamāni Bahi, Bastā*, No. 4 (V. S. 1841-1844).
11. *Māmlik Kharch, Bastā*, No. 11 (V. S. 1750).
12. *Dowarki Parchājāt, Bastā*, No. 29, *Bhandār*, No. 1.

(c) *Archival Records, Jodhpur*

1. *Byāva Bahis* (V. S. 1765-1796) record the day-to-day ceremonies of the marriages of the period.
2. *Portfolio Files* (V. S. 1769-2004) ; Noticed by me in the *Adyār Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXI, parts 3-4, pp. 304-312.
3. *Haqiqat Bahis* (V. S. 1821-2005) : Noticed by me in the *Adyār Library Bulletin*, Vol. XIX, parts 3-4, pp. 232-240.
4. *Havālā Bahis* (V. S. 1822-1939) : Noticed by me in the *Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol VII, No. 3, pp. 93-104, December, 1960.
5. *Dodhi Tālkā Bahis* (V. S. 1911-1920) : Noticed by me in the *Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 93-104, 1960. A.D.
6. *Khāsā Parwānāh Bahis* (V. S. 1822-1905).
7. *Hat Bahis* (V. S. 1824-1940).
8. *Arzi Files* (V.S. 1815-1857) contain letters of request from several persons to the Mahārājās of Jodhpur.

(d) *Archival Records, Jaipur*

1. *Siyāhah Huzūr* : Dated V.S. 1733 to 1811 : These are in the form of daily diaries, recording the expenditure and income of the state along with the accounts of festivals and ceremonies observed by the royal personages.
2. *Dastur Komwār* : These are the records bound in 32 volumes. They furnish all kinds of information social, cultural and religious. *Dastur Komwār* of V.S. 1758, 1774, 1775, 1771, 1781, 1789, 1790, 1792, 1794, 1807, 1811, 1853, 1856, 1857, 1862 etc., have been used in this work.
3. *Rojnāmchās of Potdār Vadganj and Pidā* of V.S. 1783 and 1826 throw light on the town-planning of Jaipur and refer to several cesses collected during the period.

4. *Toji and Adsatta Records* from V. S. 1700-1857 refer to the land revenue, crops cultivated, demands per *bigha* made, method of cultivation followed, remission granted in cases of damage to crops etc.

(e) *Archival and Private Records, Udaipur Division*

1. Dhulev Records, V.S. 1751-1761 refers to the Jaina festivals.
2. Devasthān File No. 247, *Sighā Gadbor*, V.S. 1760.
3. *Rājloka Records*, Udaipur, V.S. 1781-1850 refer to several families of slaves attached to the palace.
4. *Sthāi Daftar*, Nāthdwārā, refer to religious ceremonies.
5. *Shatadarshaṇa Records* of the 18th century : ODRU.
6. File No. 20/115, 93, ODRU, refers to the donation to the *Dargāh* at Ajmer.
7. *Māwaji Chopdā* throws light on the religious sect of Māwaji.
8. *Phulpānkhadi Bahis*, Dhulev, 17th and 18th century, preserve valuable information regarding the religions and economic condition of the period.

(f) *Archival Records, Ajmer*

1. *Dargāh File*, No. 1, 11th Oct. 1818 A.D., refers to the *Dargāh Budget*.
2. *Dargāh File*, No. 11, 13th Oct., 1819 A.D., refers to the Urs fair.
3. *Dargāh File*, No. 58, 22nd August, 1821 A.D., refers to the *maktab*.
4. *Dargāh File*, No. 74, 20th Jan., 1922 A.D., refers to the festival of *Id-ul-Fitr*.
5. *Dargāh File*, No. 86, 16th August, 1882 A.D. refers to the *maktab*.
6. Dargah File, No. 6, 1822 A.D. refers to the *Taziā* festival.
7. *Dargāh File*, No. 95, 15th August, 1823 A.D., refers to the festival of *Shab-i-Barāt*.
8. *Dargāh File*, No. 550, 3rd April, 1855 A.D., refers to the education of the children of the *khādims*.
9. *Dargāh File*, No. 654, 13th April, 1861 A.D., also refers to the education of the children of the *khādims*.
10. *Currency File*, No.1 (9), *Letter* No. 429, 1864 A. D. refers to 26 kinds of coins of different values and weight in use.
11. Ajmer File, No. 1494, 1886 A.D. No. 2 (1), refers to the *nega* or money levied at the time of marriage by the Chārāns from their patrons.

E. Rajasthan Sculptures

1. *The Mandor pillars* : Noticed in the A.S.S.R., Calcutta, Vol. III and XX and the *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIII.
2. The images of the Sun at Mandor, Bedlā, Pokharaṅ, Kirādu, Sarāda, Thakdā, Sirohi, Chitor and Bhinmāl : Noticed in the PRAS., 1907, p. 30.
3. *An image of Trimurti* : Āmber Archaeological Gallery, No. 108.
4. *Trimurti of Bhāwal* : Noticed in the PRAS, 1911, p. 37.
5. *The images of Brahmā* belonging to the temples of Sewādi, Kirādu, Osiyān, Bijoliyān, Basād, Mandalgarh : Noticed in the *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey*, 1905, pp. 47-48, 1908, p. 53, 1910, p. 154, *Āmber Museum*, No. 108 and *Jhālāwād Museum*, piece No. 13.
6. *The images of Lakulisha of Āher and Bānswārā* : Noticed by Ojhā in his B.R.I., p. 18.
7. *The images of dancers, Pārvati, Śiva, Yakṣas, etc.*, collected from the fort of Chitor, preserved by me in the M.B. College Museum, Udaipur : Dated 15th century.
8. *A panel at the Velā Kābrā Temple*, Chitor : Dated 15th century : Noticed by me in my article on Chitor, M.B. College Magazine, March, 1950, pp. 17-20.
9. *The images of Deities* belonging to Vijayasthambha : Dated 15th century : Noticed in my article on Chitor, M.B. College Magazine, March, 1950, pp. 17-20.
10. *The dancing parties* sculptured at Delwādā, Nāgdā, Chittor and Jagadish temples : Dated 11th century to 18th century : Noticed in *Mārg*, March, 1959, No. 2, pp. 15, 46, 69 and 71.
11. *An image of Durga* : Dated 15th century : Jaipur Museum, exhibit, No. 11187.
12. *The images of Brahmā and Brahmāṇi* : Mira's temple Ekalingji.
13. *The Kumbhalgarh images*, Nos. 60-67, preserved at *Victoria Hall Museum*, Udaipur.
14. *The memorial stone of Bikā* : Dated V.S. 1561 : Noticed by Ojhā in his B.R.I., Vol. I. p. 109.
15. *The Kr. Prthvirāja's memorial* : Dated 16th century : Noticed

- by me in the *Shodhapatrikā*, Vol. 10, March and June, 1959, p. 12.
16. The *images of Pārwati and other deities* : Noticed in the P.R.A.S., p. 63.
 17. *The figures of Satisthambhas*, Kumbhalgarh : Dated V.S. 1584, 1671, 1682, etc.
 18. *The figures of Vāsudeva, Deoki and Kriṣṇa*, No. 213, *Albert Museum*, Jaipur.
 19. *The figures of the memorial stone of Gor Singh*, Deobāri : Dated V.S. 1736 : Noticed by me in my work '*Mewār and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 150, footnote 77, 2nd ed.
 20. *The carved panels at Rājsamudra* : Noticed by me in the *Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. V, July, 1958.
 21. *A figure of the Bhilni*, Rishabhadev temple, Dhulev : Dated 18th century.

F. Illustrated Manuscripts and Paintings

1. *Kālkāchārya Kathā* ; Dated V.S. 1438 : *Khajanchi Collection*, Bikāner.
2. *Kalpasutra* : Dated V. S. 1517 : *Khajānchi Collection*, Bikāner.
3. *Kalpasutra* : Dated V.S, 1536 : Noticed by me in the *Journal of Indian Museum*, Vol. XII, 1956 : SBLU.
4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Kotāh Museum) of the 17th century.
5. *Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha* : Dated V.S. 1667 ; *The Pustak Prakāsh Library*, Jodhpur.
6. *A Ragini Set* : Dated V.S. 1675 : *The Art Gallery Palace Museum*, Jaipur, No. 3692/385.
7. *Dholāmāru-ri-Vāt* : Dated V.S. 1677 : SBLU., No. 418.
8. *Ārsha Rāmāyana* : Dated V.S. 1708 : SBLU., No. 1667.
9. *Śukar-Kṣhetra-Mahātmya* : Dated V.S. 1712 : SBLU., No. 1666 : Noticed by me in the J.R.U.U.P., 1959, p. 66.
10. *Velro-patra* : SBLU. No. 945 : Noticed by me in the J.R.U.U.P., Vol. VI, 1959, p. 68.
11. *Kādambari* : SBLU., No. 1655 : Noticed by me in the J. R. U. U. P., Vol. VI, 1959, p. 68.
12. *Avatārgitā* : Dated V. S. 1733 : *Śri Mohan Lāl Shāh MS.*, Dungarpur.
13. *Kriṣṇacharitra* : Dated V. S. 1760 : SBLU, No. 950.
14. *Kavīpriyā* : Dated V. S. 1780 : SBLU, no. 630.

15. *Bhāgavata Sets*, Nos. I and II, : Dated V. S. 1792 and 1799 : *Art Gallery*, Jaipur Palace.
16. *A Durgāpāth Set*, No. I : Dated V. S. 1799 : *Art Gallery*, Jaipur Palace.
17. *A Rāgmālā Set* : Dated V. S. 1777-1802 : *Art Gallery* Jaipur Palace.
18. *Gītagovinda* : SBLU, No. 1586.
19. *Sārangadhar Paddhati* : SBLU, No. 934 ; Noticed by me in the J. R. U. U .P. 1959, p. 69.
20. *Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha* of the 18th century : The Pustak Prakāsha, Jodhpur.
21. *Śrī Rāmācharitra Paintings* of the 18th century : The Pustak Prakāsha, Jodhpur, No. 46.
22. *Ekādashi Mahātmya* of the 18th century : SBLU : Noticed by me in the J. R. U. U. P., 1959, pp. 67-68.
23. *Bhaktamāla* : Dated V. S. 1789 : SBLU. No. 271.
24. *Panchatantra* : Dated V. S. 1860 : Noticed in the *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. IV, 1948, pp. 44-45.
25. *Śiva Purāṇa* : *Dholiyā-kā-Kothār*, Jodhpur.
26. *Śukanāścharitra* of the 19th century : *Dholiyā-kā-Kothār*, Jodhpur.
27. *Rāmāyaṇa Paintings* : Dated V. S. 1860 : The Pustak Prakāsha, Jodhpur : Noticed in the *Journal of Indian Museum*, Vol. IV, 1948, p. 41.
28. *Nāthcharitra* : Dated V. S. 1880 : *Dholiyā-kā-Kothār*, Jodhpur.
29. *Siddha Sidhānta Paddhati* : Dated V. S. 1881 : The Pustak Prakāsha, Jodhpur.
30. *Śiva Rahasya* : Dated V. S. 1884 : *Dholiyā-kā-Kothār*, Jodhpur.
31. *Suraja Prakāsha* : Dated V. S. 1887 : The Pustak Prakāsha, Jodhpur.
32. *Paintings* from Kr. *Sangrām Singh's Collection*, Nawalgarh, 18th and 19th centuries.
33. *Paintings* from *Khajānchi's Collection*, Bikāner, 18th and 19th centuries.
34. *Paintings* of the *Art Gallery*, Jaipur Palace, 18th century, Nos. 875, 1213, 1392, 2202, 2171, 1725.

35. *Nathdwārā Paintings* of the 17th to 18th centuries : Noticed by me in the *Proceedings of the I. H. C.*, 1958, pp. 558-564.
36. *Śikligarh Collection*, Udaipur of the 19th century : Noticed by me in the *Proceedings of the I. H. C.*, 1958, pp. 558-564.

G. Travellers' Accounts

1. Monserrate (1580-82)—The *Commentary* of, English translation from Latin by J. S. Hoyland, annotated by S. N. Banerji, 1922, OUP.
2. William Finch : *Travels of William Finch* (1608-11). *The Early Travels in India*, edited by Foster (OUP), 1921.
3. Sir Thomas Roe (1615-19) : '*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul*', edited by William Foster and published by Hakluyt Society.
4. Pelsaert : *The Remonstrantie* of, translated by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Camb., 1925.
5. Terry (1622) : *Terry's Voyage to East Indies*, London, 1655 and 1777.
6. Petermundy : *Travels in India*, Hakluyt Society.
7. Manrique Fray Sebastien's (1628-43) *Travels*, ed. Luard and Hosten, 1927.
8. Tavernier : *The Travels in India*.
9. Manucci (1653-1708) : *Storia do Mogor*, translated and annotated by William Irvine, Vols. I-IV (1907-08).
10. Bernier (1658)—*Bernier's Travels in the Mughal Empire*, edited by Archibald Constable (1891) and V. A. Smith, Oxford (1934).
11. Thevenot (1667) : *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot*, translated into English, 1686, edited by S. N. Sen, 1949.
12. Captain Mundy : *The Journal of a Tour in India*, Vol. I.
13. Bishop Heber : *His Voyage to India*, in two volumes, London, 1827.

H. Contemporary Literature

(a) Sanskrit Literature

1. *Apabhramsakāyatrāyī Pattāvalī* : Dated V. S. 1171 : Noticed in *G. O. S.*, p. 112, and *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 40.
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I Maps and Sketches

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2. A sketch of Āmber Palace—19th century (JA).
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4. A map—Udaipur Division, Settlement Office, Udaipur.

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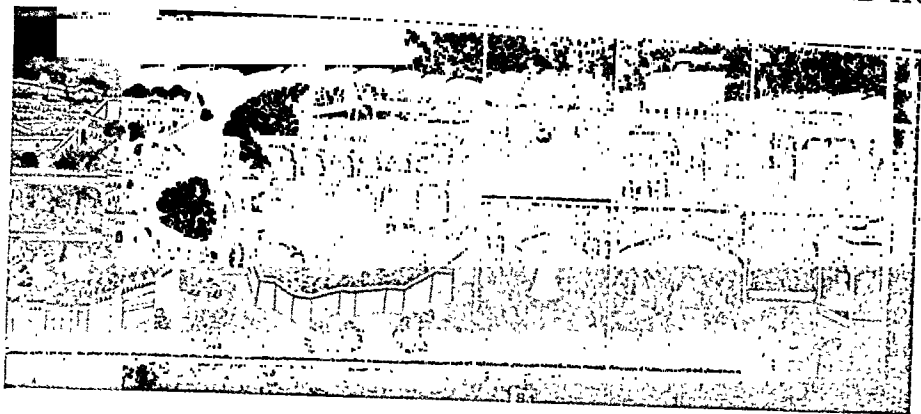
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1. PATTERNS OF TOWN, VILLAGES, PALACES, MANSIONS AND HUTS



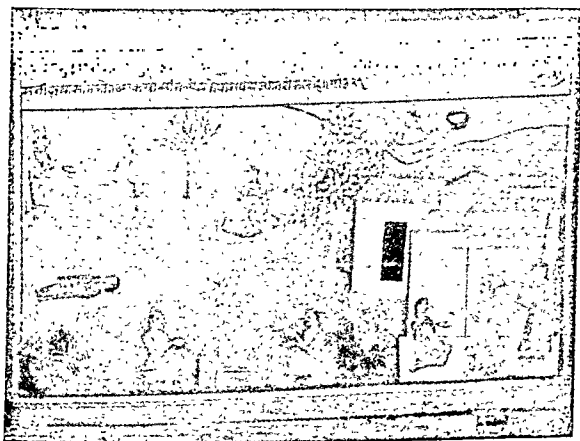
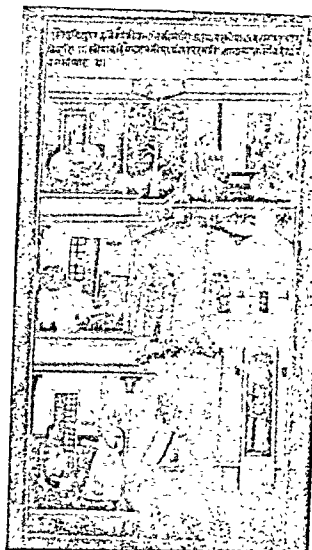
(a) A fortified town.
(MS. *Ramayana* painting, 18th century)



(b) A busy town.
(MS. *Kadambari* 17th century)



(c) A view of a palace.
(MS. *Krishnaritra* 18th century)

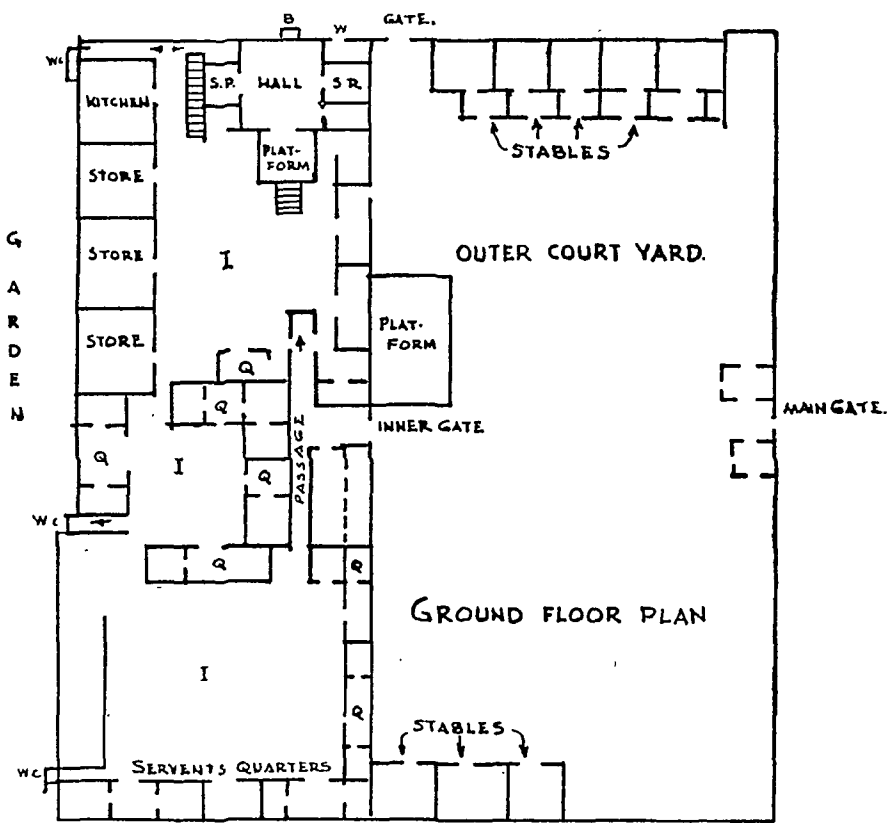
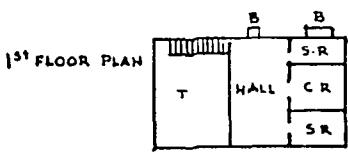
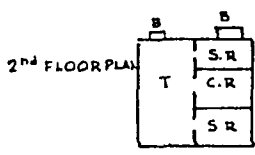


(d) Patterns of royal quarters, mansions and huts.
(MS. *Krishnaritra*, *Harivamsharopatra* & *Eklingamahatmya*)

[See pp. 42-64.]

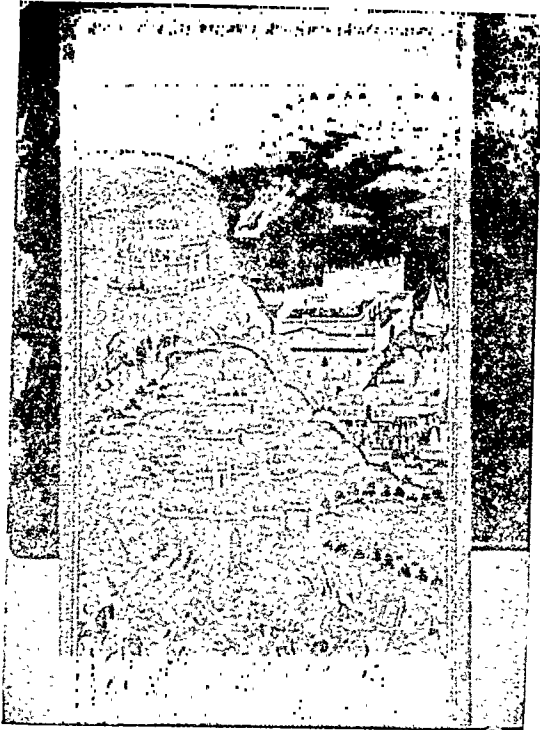
JAIMAL'S - MANSION (CHITOR GARH)

SCALE: 1"=48'

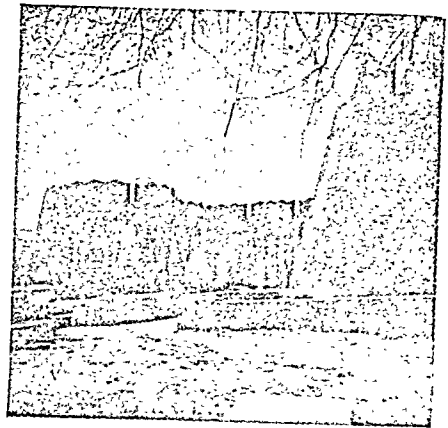


- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| W = SECRET WAY FOR ESCAPE | T = TERRACE |
| O = QUARTERS FOR PERSONAL ATTENDANTS | CR = CENTRAL ROOM |
| I = INNER COURTYARD | SR = SIDE ROOM |
| | B = BALCONY. |

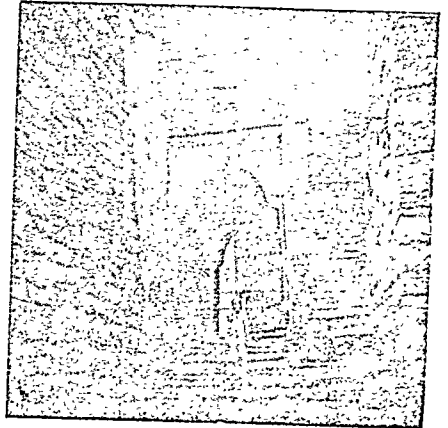
3. FORTS OF RAJASTHAN



(a) Siege of the fort of Chitor.
(From a painting of the 17th century)



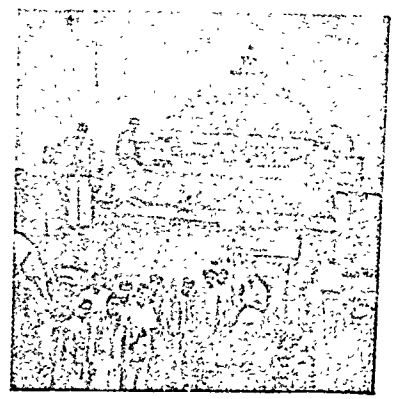
(b) Fort Gateway, Gagron.



(c) Interior of the fort of Gagron.

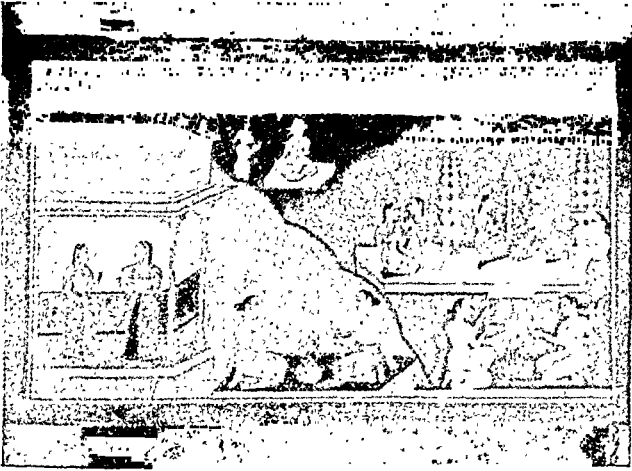


(d) Aerial view of the site of Kumbhalgarh.



(e) Interior of an apartment of Kumbhalgarh palace.

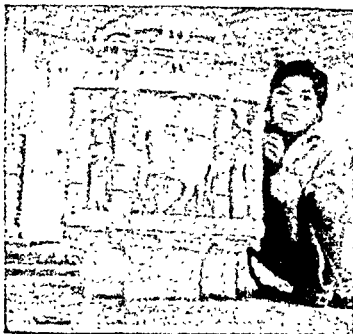
4. DOMESTIC EVENTS



(a) Marriage ceremonies.
(MS. *Kadambari*, 17th century)



(b) Marriage ceremony and marriage procession.
(MS. *Varahapurana*, 18th century)



(c) A Sati Memorial, Arhar, 17th century.

5. ACROBATIC FEATS

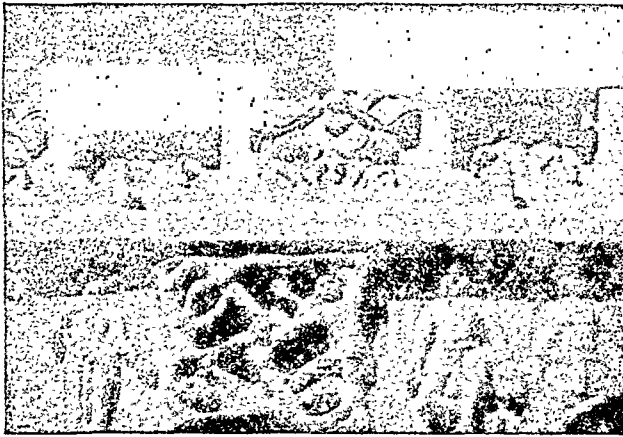


(MS. *Ekadashi Mahatmya* and a *Ragini* painting, 18th century)

(6)
6. PHYSICAL FEATS



(a) Wrestling.
(MS. *Kalpasutra*,
15th century)



(b) Physical
feats.
(Sculptured
panel from the
Jagadish
temple)



(c) Physical feats.
(From a Ragni
painting, 18th century)

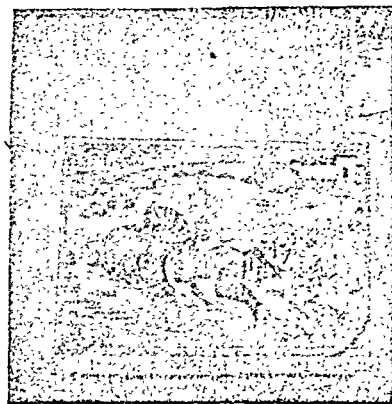
(7)
7. MARTIAL SPORTS



(a) Archery and Swordmanship.
(MS. Kadambari, 17th century)



(b) Gorsingh fighting with a tiger.
(Gorsingh's Memorial Deobari, V. S 1736)

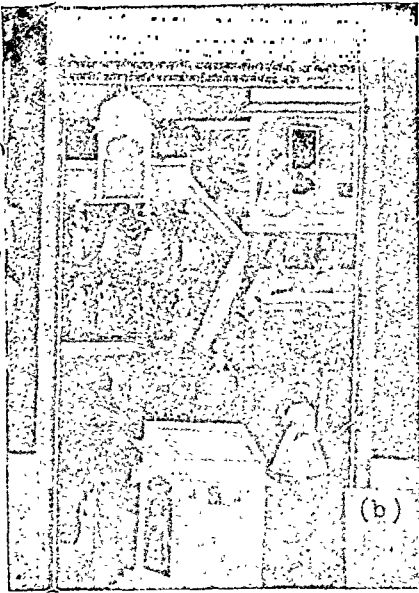


(c) Animal fight.
(A painting of Kotah Museum)



(d) Maharaja Durjansal and his wife hunting the tigers.
(A painting of Kotah Museum)

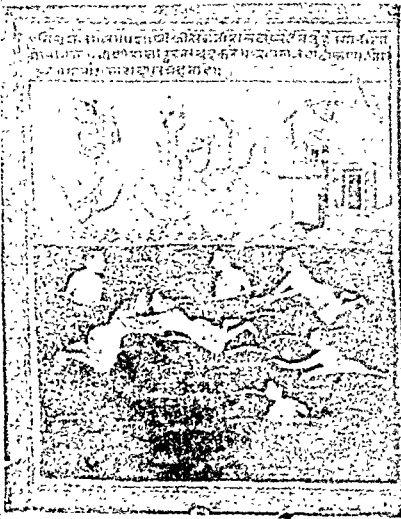
8. POPULAR AMUSEMENTS.



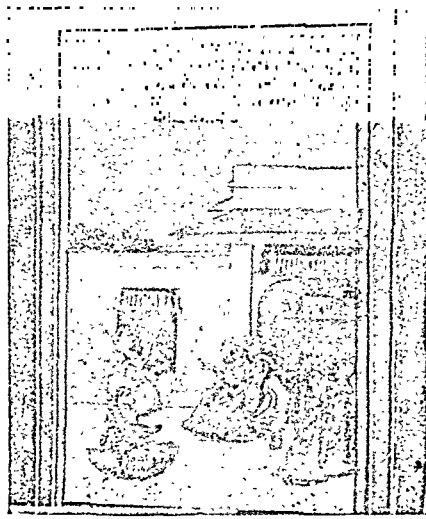
(a) Phundi Dance.
MS. Krishnacharitra, 18th century)



(b) Chaupar, a common pastime in the harem.
(A painting, Kotah Museum, 18th century)



(c) A pair of dancer and a flute player (upper panel)
swimming (lower panel). (MS. Dholamaru, 18th century)



(d) Music in
a harem (A
Ragini painting,
18th century)



Commoners playing chaupar.
(MS. Ekadashi, 18th century)

9. DRESSES OF THE DIGNITARIES



) Pratap Singh with *Kano*, *patka* and high turban
(A stray painting, 18th century)



(b) Udai Singh and his noble with *dodhi*, *daglo* and tight fitted turban.
(A stray painting, 18th century)



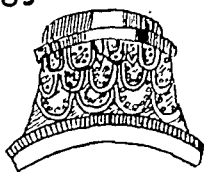
Madhosingh with *Jhhago* and turban.
(A stray painting, 18th century)



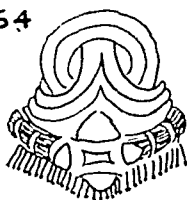
(d) Warriors' dresses—Local and Mughal.
(MS. *Arsha Ramayana*, 17th century)

HEAD-ORNAENTS & TURBANS (BASED ON SCULPTURES VICTORIA MUSEUM. 15TH & 16TH CENTURIES

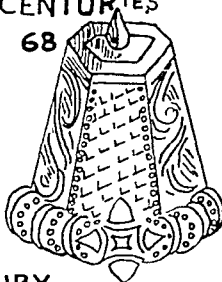
63



64



68

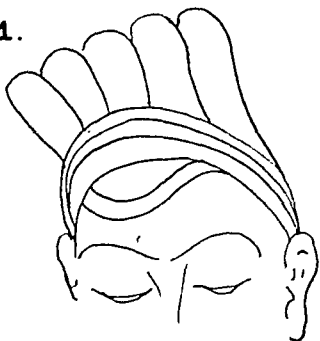


71



17TH CENTURY. (JAGDISH TEMPLE)

1.



2.



3.



GORISINH MEMORIAL. DEOBARI

4.



5.



6.



18TH CENTURY

1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



DRESSES BASED ON SCULPTURES OF TOWER OF VICTORY,
CHITOR, 15th. CENTURY.

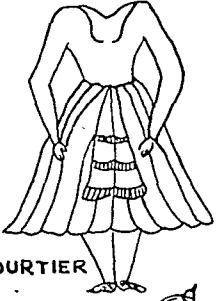


SCULPTOR.



KIRAT

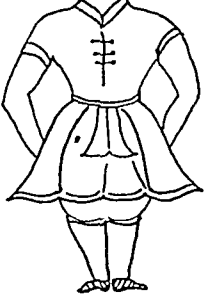
MALE DRESSES 17TH.CENTURY (BASED ON ILLUSTRATIONS FROM
ĀRSHA RAMAYANA)



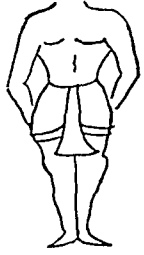
COURTIER



ATTENDANT



WARRIOR



FOOTMAN



WARRIOR IN A
COAT OF ARMS



FAQUIR

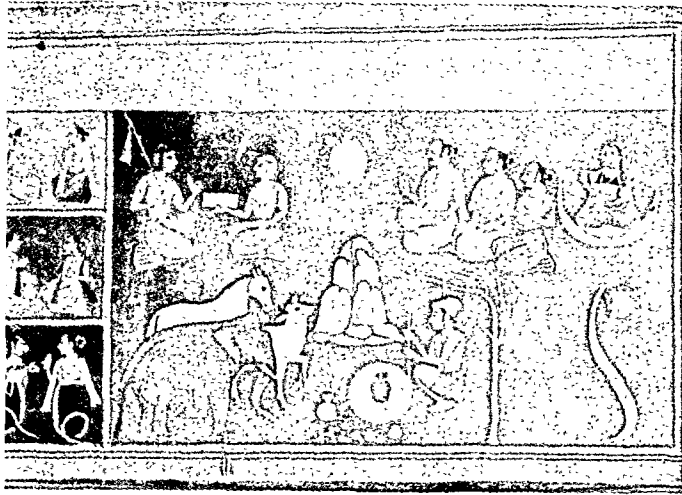


AGRICULTURIST

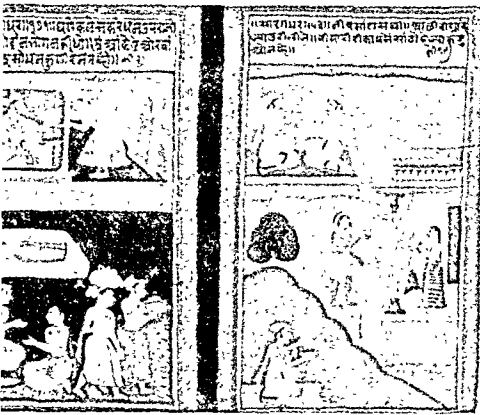


BANIYĀ

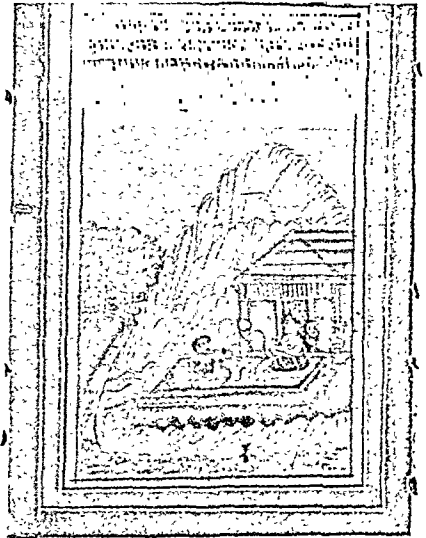
13. DRESSES OF VARIOUS PROFESSIONALS



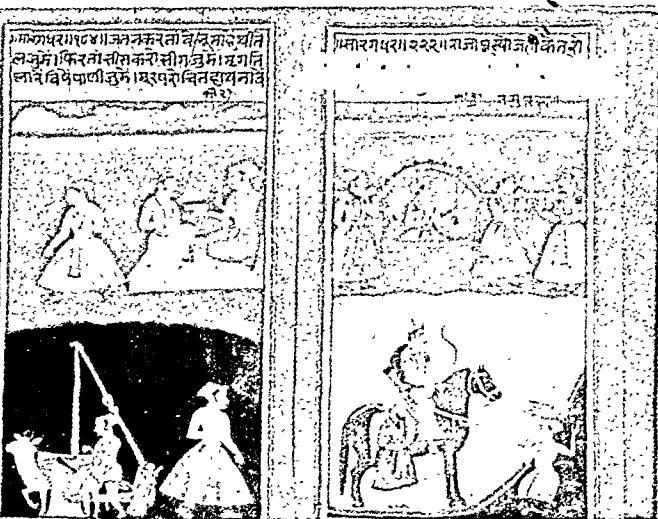
(a) A reciter of the *Kath*
(upper panel) and a pott
(lower panel)
(MS. *Ekadashi Mahatmya*,
18th century)



(d) A Coolie and a beggar.
(MS. *Sarangadhara*, 18th century)



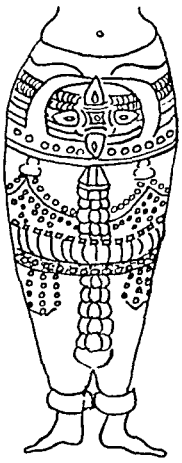
(c) Snake-Charmer
(Bundi painting, 18th century)



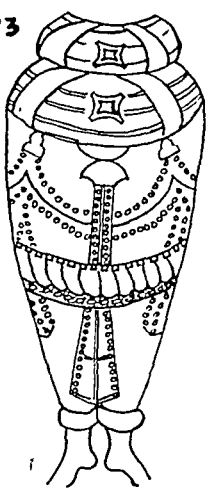
(b) Palanquin-bearers (up
panel) and an oil-presser
(lower panel)
(MS. *Sarangadhara*,
18th century)

DESIGNS OF SKIRTS FROM CONTEMPORARY SCULPTURES
15TH CENTURY.
(VICTORIA MUSEUM)

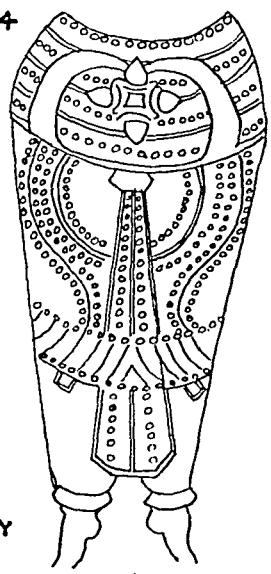
71



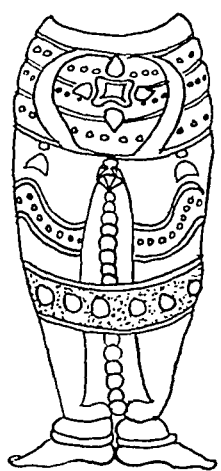
73



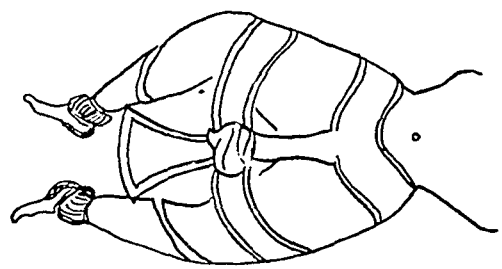
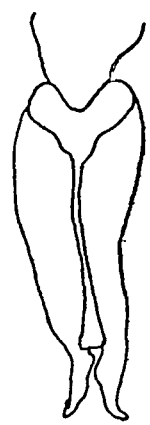
74



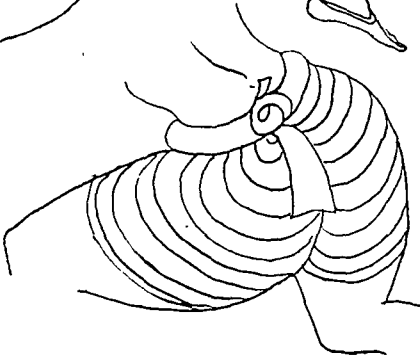
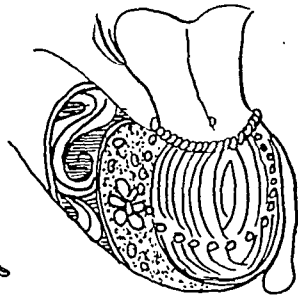
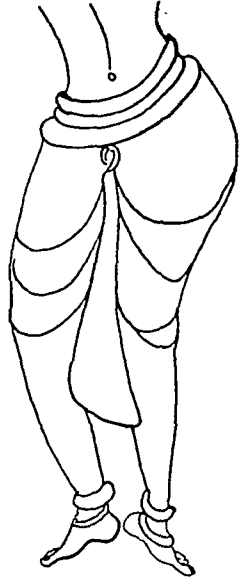
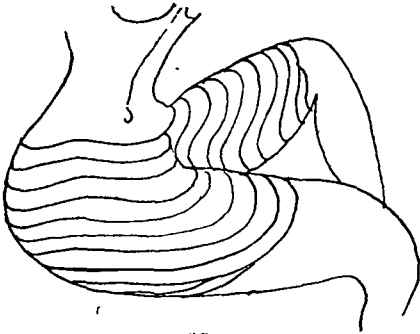
81



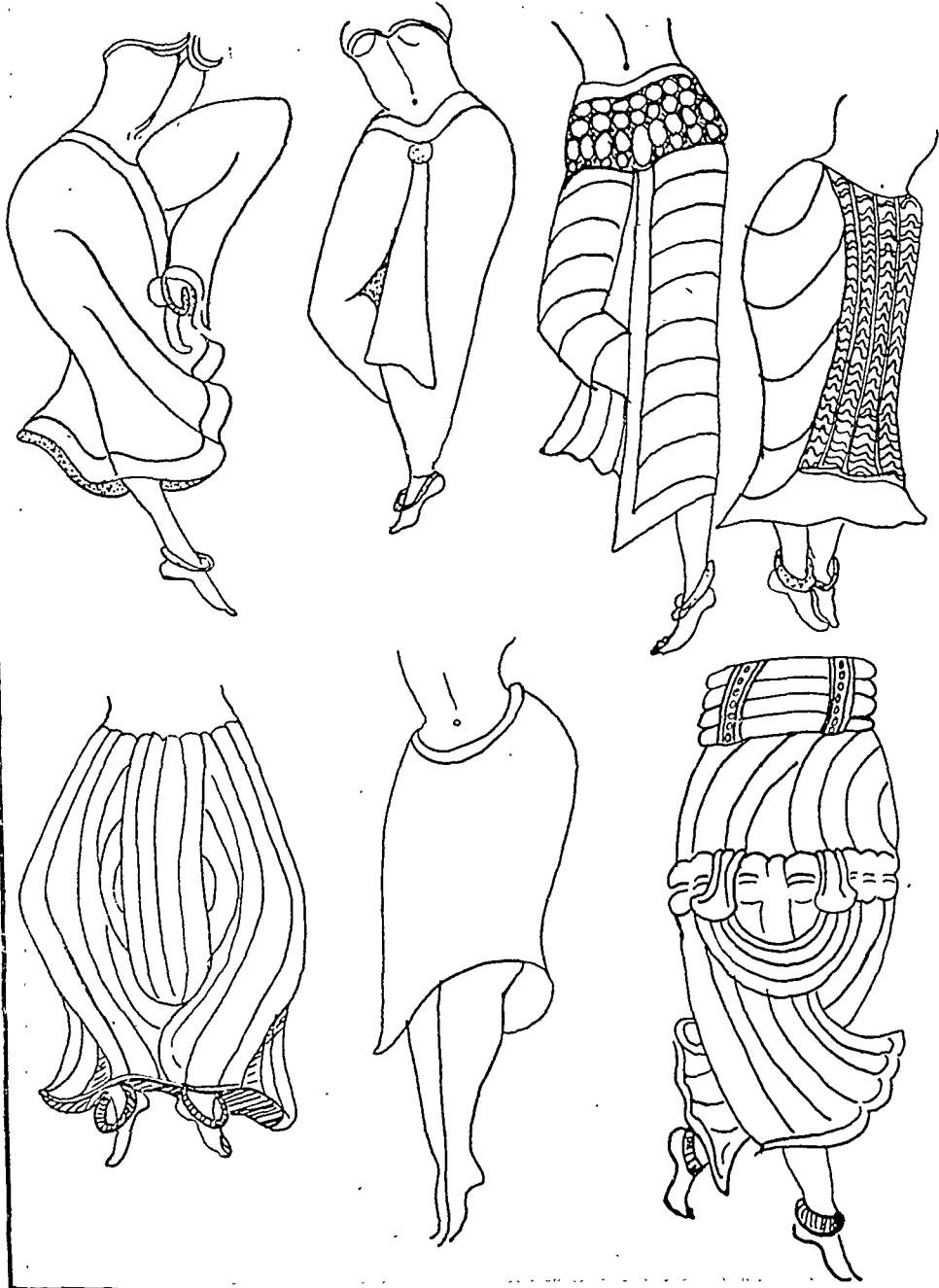
TOWER OF VICTORY
(CHITOR, GARH)



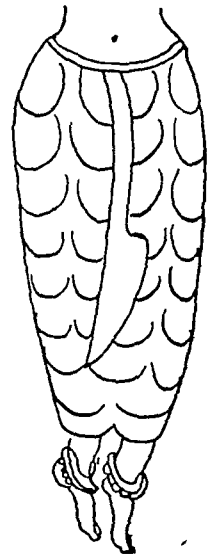
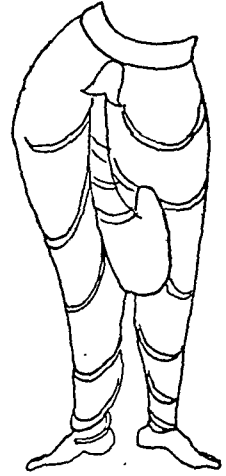
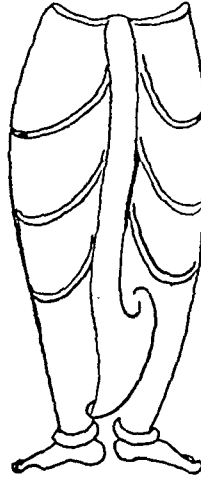
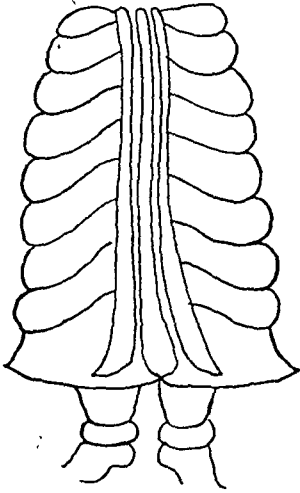
**DESIGNS OF SKIRTS FROM KALPASUTRA.
16TH CENTURY.**



DESIGNS OF SKIRTS FROM SCULPTURES OF JAGADISH TEMPLE.



DESIGNS OF SKIRTS FROM RĀMĀYANĀ & PANCHATANTRA
PAINTINGS, 18TH. CENTURY.



18. WOMAN'S GARMENTS



(a) Forms of skirt, bodice and Sari.
(MS. *Kalpasutra*, 15th century)



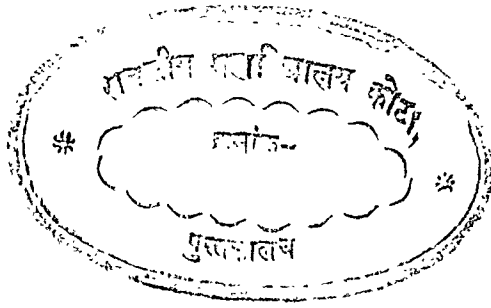
(b) *Chundri* or sari variegated with spots.
(MS. *Khedamulatanka*, 17th century)



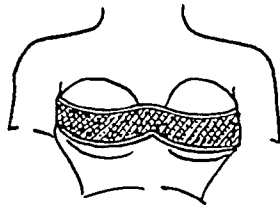
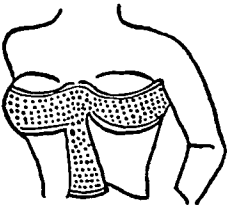
(c) Embroidered *sari* with designs of flamingoes and flowers.
(MS. *Kavipriya*, 18th century)



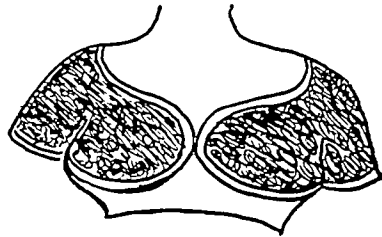
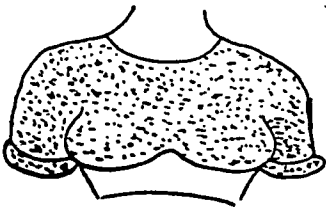
(d) Changes in ladies' dresses due to Mughal contact.
(MS. *Rasamanjari*, 18th century)



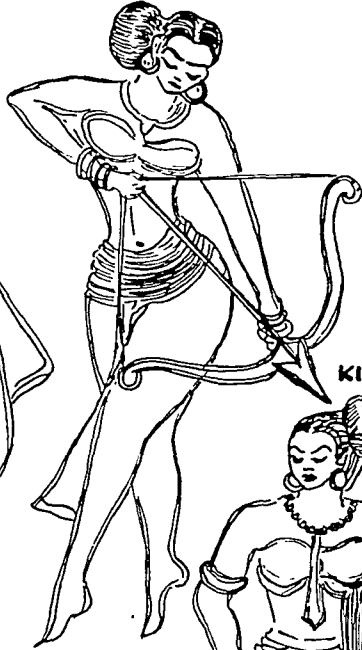
16th Century Bodices (AHAR CHHATRI.)



17th CENTURY. (JAGADISH TEMPLE)



LADIES DRESSES BASED ON SCULPTURES OF TOWER OF VICTORY
CHITOR, 15TH CENTURY.
DANCING GIRL SABARI



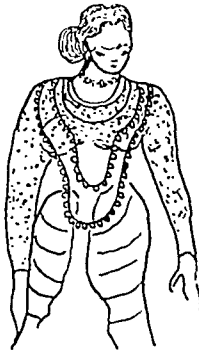
KIRĀT



MAID-SERVANT WITH A
FAN.



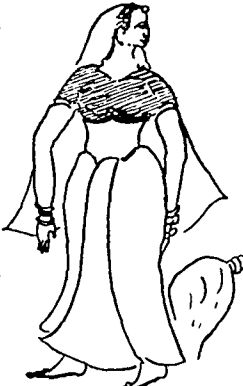
DANCING GIRL.



MODE OF DRESSING OF LADIES BASED ON CONTEMPORARY-PAINTINGS
18TH CENTURY.

MAID-SERVANTS

1.



(KAVIPRIYA)

2.



(RASMANJARI)

3.

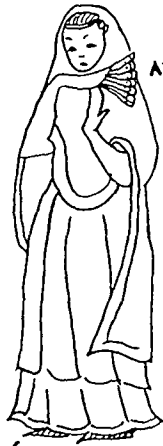


DANCER



(BHAKTMĀL)

ATTENDANT.



(NAGOR PAINTING)

GUJARI



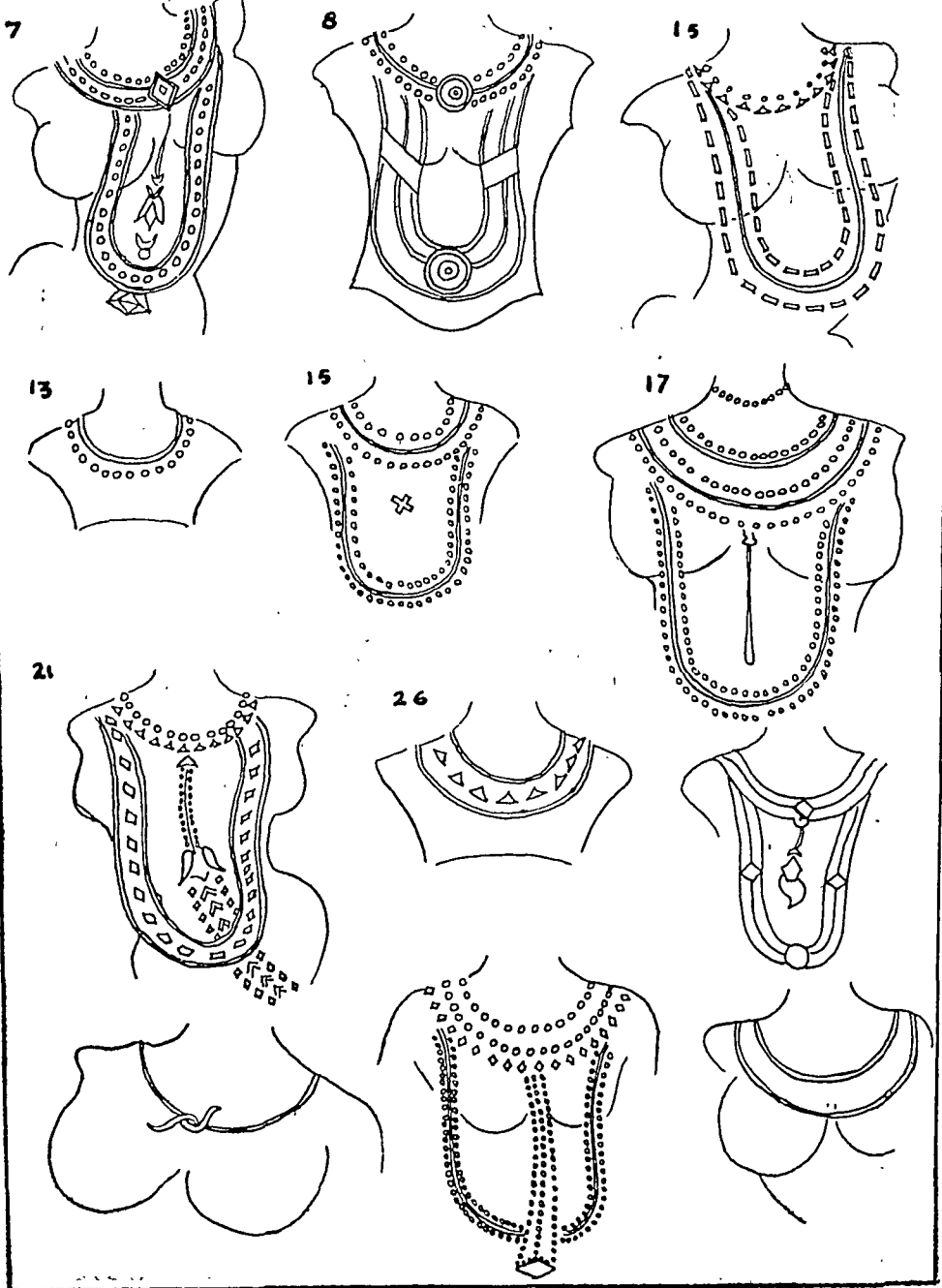
(MEWAR PAINTING)

MATHI.



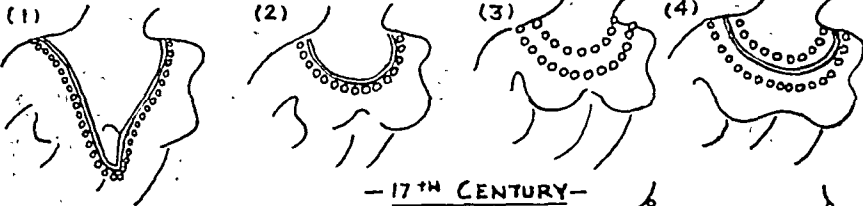
(EKADASHI MRHAT-MYA)

NECKLACES, 15TH CENTURY - VICTORIA HALL MUSEUM.

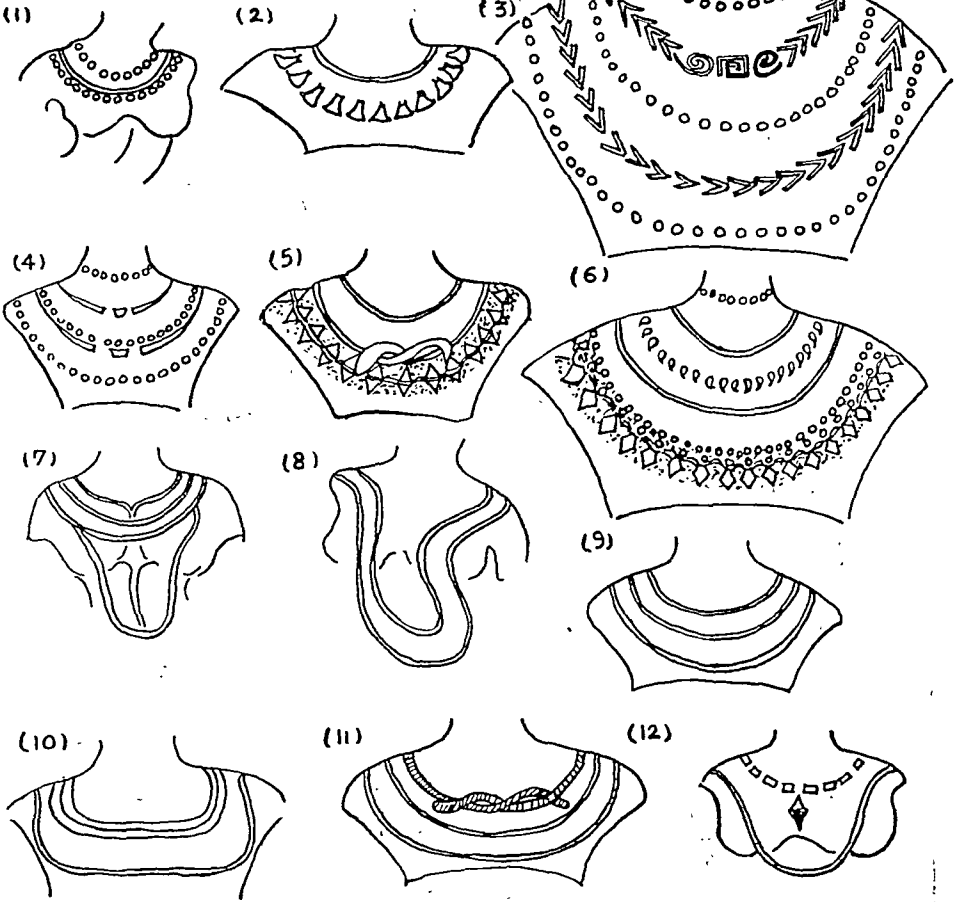


NECKLACES 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES UDAI SAGAR AND JAGADISH TEMPLES.

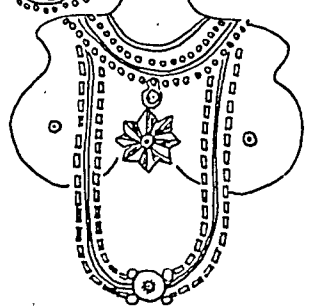
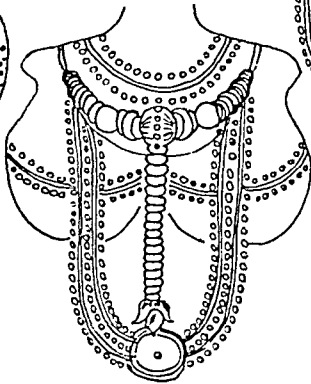
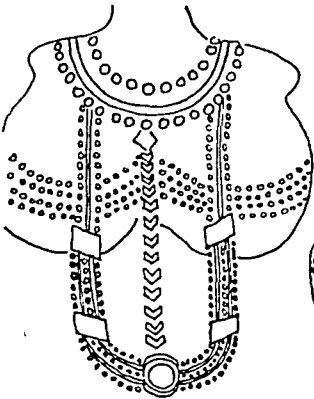
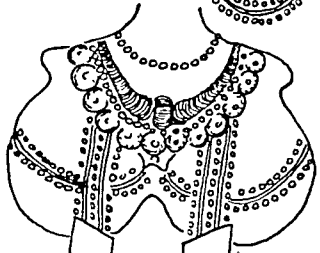
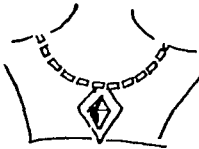
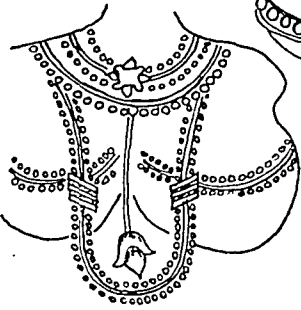
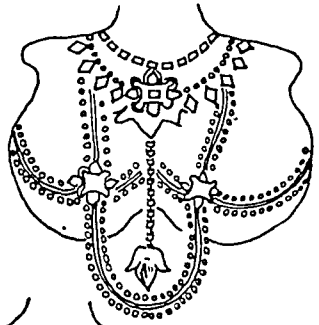
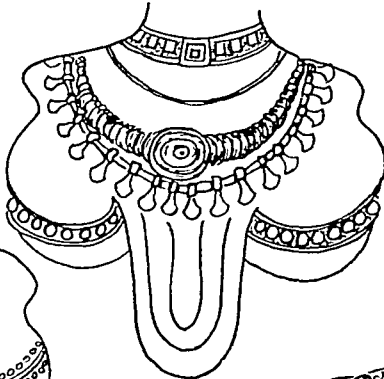
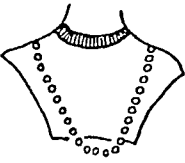
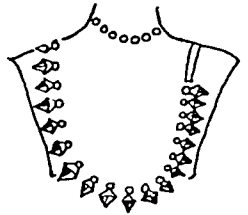
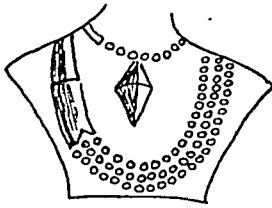
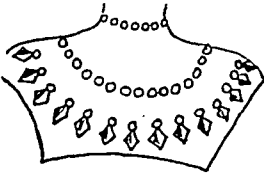
-16TH CENTURY-



-17TH CENTURY-



NECKLACES AND CHEST ORNAMENTS BASED ON CONTEMPORARY SCULPTURES AND PAINTINGS, 18TH CENTURY.



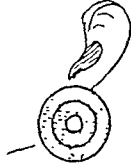
EAR-RINGS & WRIST ORNAMENTS. (VICTORIA MUSEUM UDAIPUR
15th CENTURY.



1



9



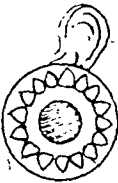
13



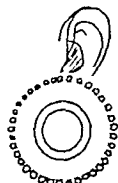
15



17



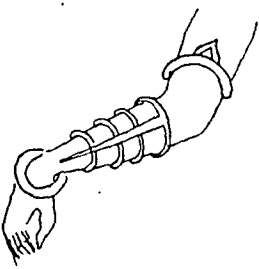
18



27



33



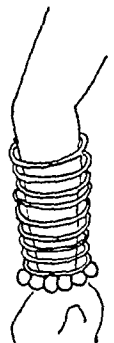
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8



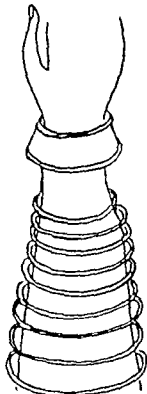
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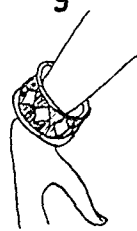
17



17



30

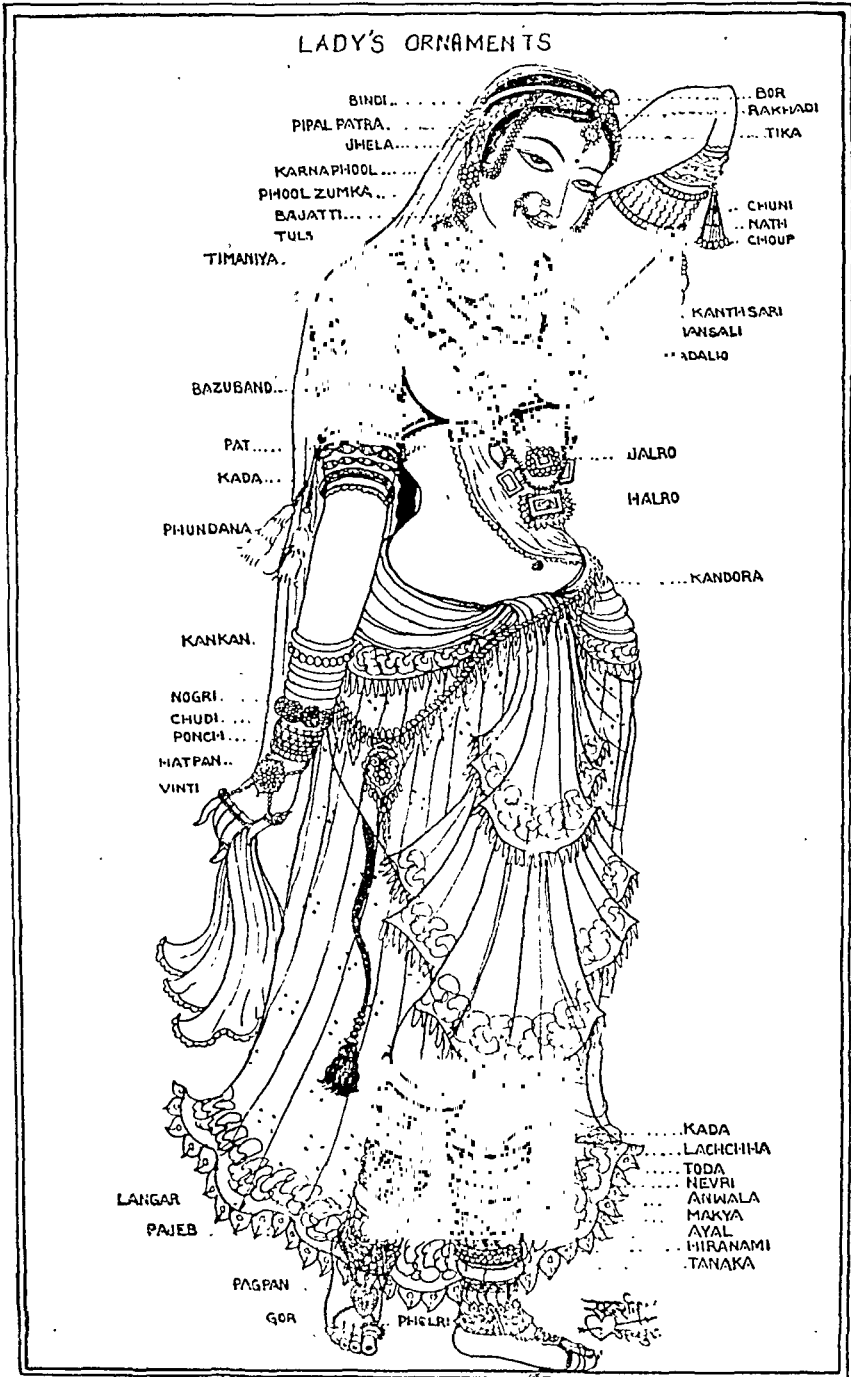


36



17

LADY'S ORNAMENTS



MODES of HAIR DRESSING

(From Contemporary Evidences)
15th CENTURY



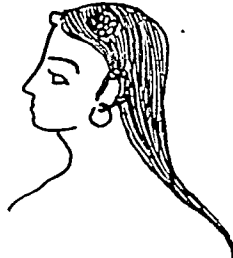
16th CENTURY - HAIR - DRESSING
(AHAR-CHHATARI)



17th CENTURY .



18th CENTURY
(KAVIPRIYA)



ILLUSTRATIONS - P

28. FESTIVALS



(a) Festival of Holi.
(MS. *Raskopatra*)

[See pp. 173-174.



(b) Festival of Holi.
(MS. *Kavipriya*)

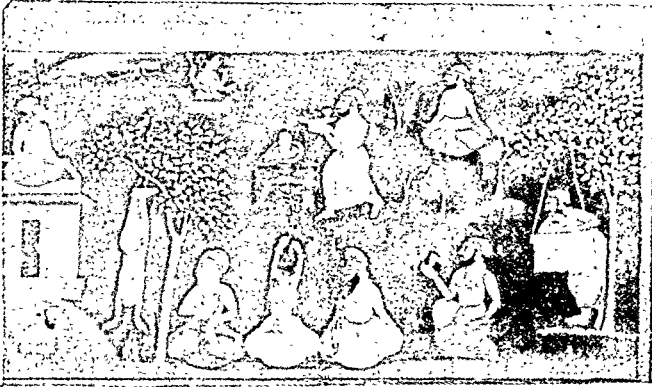
[See pp. 173-174



(c) Procession of a deity on the *Jal Jhulani* Ekadashi.

[See p. 203.

29. PENANCES AND SUPERSTITIONS



(a) Various modes of penances
(MS. *Ekadashi Mahatmya*, 18th century)

[See p. 186.



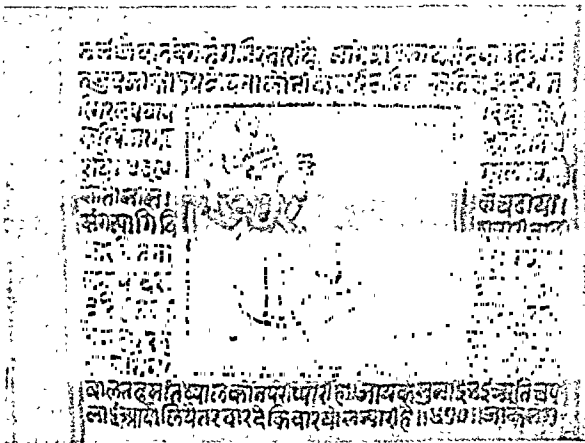
(d) A faquir exercising a child.
(Nagor painting, 18th century)

[See p. 209. .

30. SOME BHAKTAS



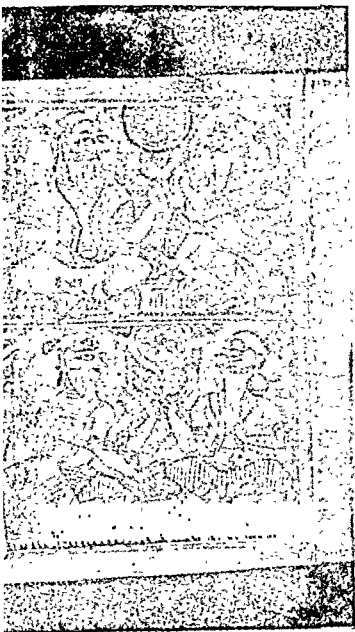
(a) Pipa and a Lion.
(MS. Bhaktamala, 17th century)



(b) Mira adoring Krishna.
(MS. Bhaktamala, 17th century)



(c) Dancing Bhaktas.
(MS. Bhaktamala, 17th century)



a) Jaina monks teaching elderly pupils.
S. Kalpasutra, 16th century)



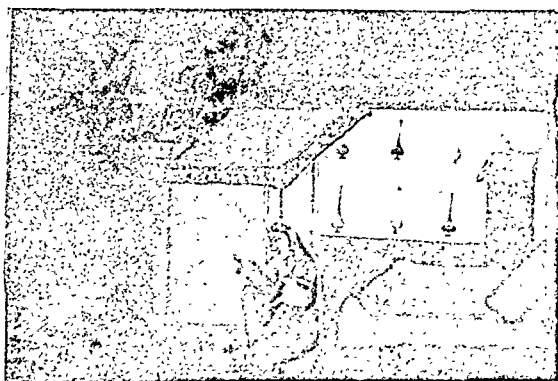
(b) Teacher's Home as School.
a Chhatra Ahar, Sculptured panel from 17th century



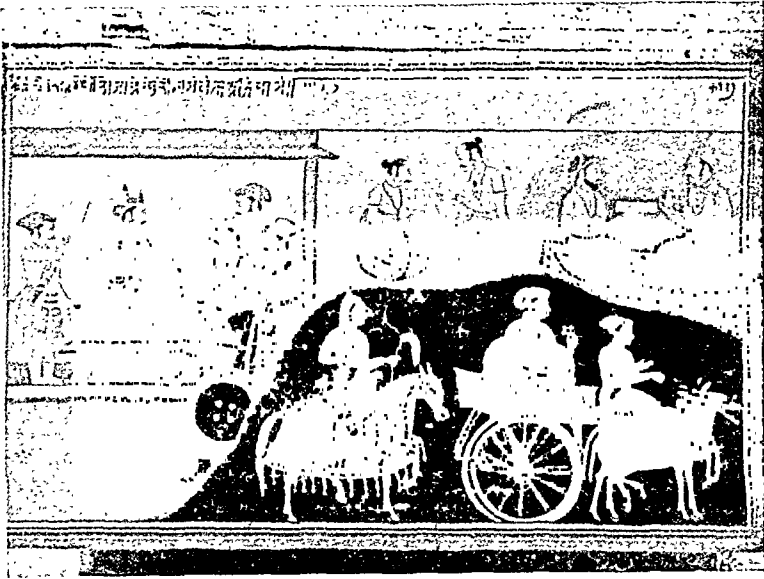
(c) A teacher and a taught.
(From a Ragini painting, 18th century)



(d) Education of Women. (From a Ragini painting, 18th century)



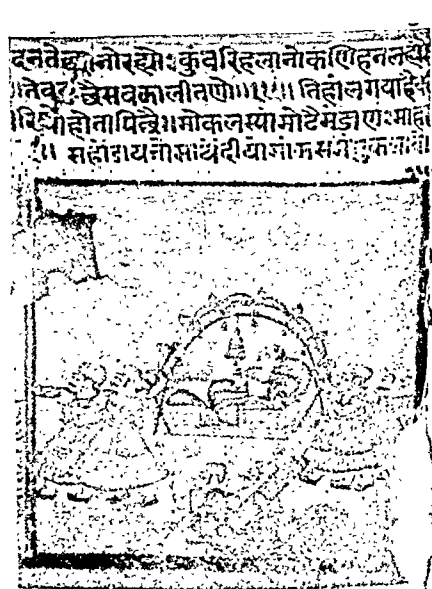
32. THE CHIEF CONVEYANCES OF RAJASTHAN.



(a) A horse and a cart.
(MS. Ekadashimahatmya.)

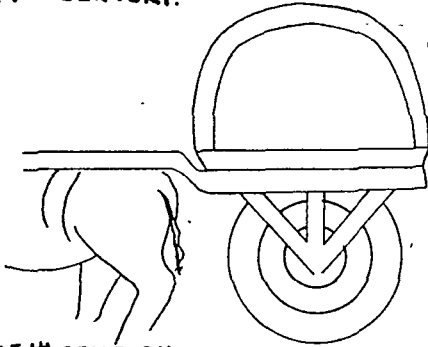


(p) A Camel
(MS. Dholamaru.)



(c) Palanquin.
(MS. Dholamaru.)

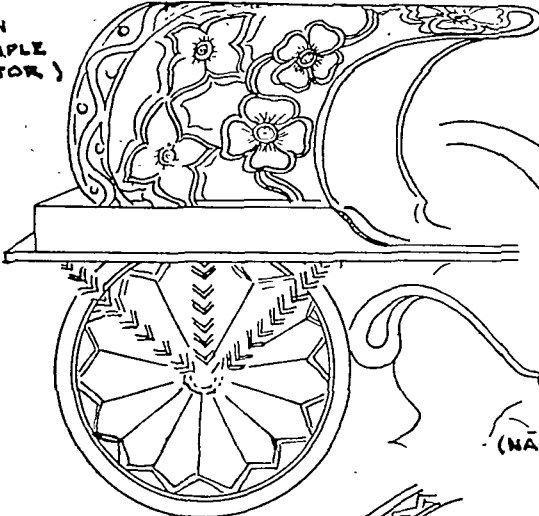
CHARIOTS AND CARTS BASED ON CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCES.
14TH CENTURY.



(SAMIDHESWAR TEMPLE CHITOR)

15TH CENTURY.

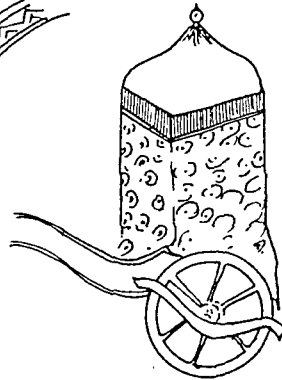
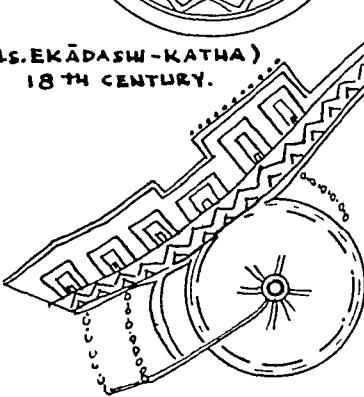
(JAIN
TEMPLE
CHITOR)



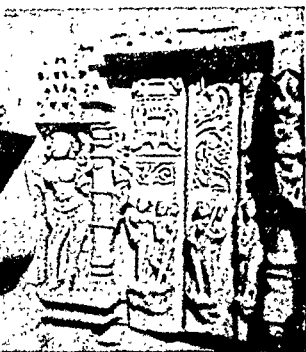
(MS ARSHA RAMAYANA)
17TH CENTURY

(NAGOR-PAINTING)
18TH CENTURY

(MS. EKĀDASH-KATHA)
18TH CENTURY.



34. SCULPTURED ART.



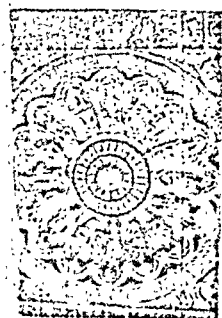
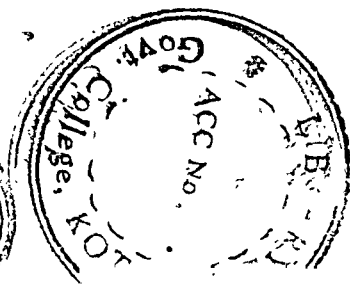
(a) A corner of Mira's temple, Ekalingaji, 16th century.



(b) Details of a pillar at Nauchauki, 17th century.



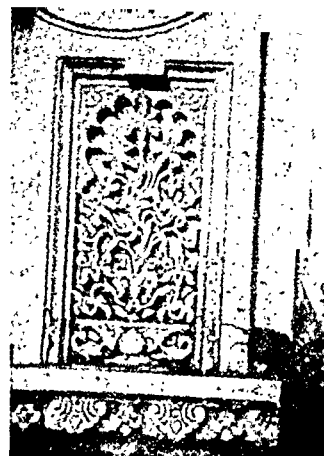
(c) Frieze, Jagdish temple, Udaipur, 17th century.



(d) Ceiling, Nauchauki, 17th century.



(e) Sculptured panel from the Keshava Rai Temple, Deogarh, 18th century.



(f) Laticed niche at Jodhpur palace, 18th century.