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**HISTORY
OF
MEWAR**

By the same Author

1. Maharana Kumbha
2. Veer Bhumi Chitter
3. Etibasika Sodh Sangrah

All in Hindi

In Press

Later Mewar

HISTORY OF MEWAR

[From earliest times to 1751 A.D.]

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RAM VALLABH SOMANI

30th March, 1976

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PREFACE

My aim in writing this work is to present a sincere study of the history of Mewar from the earliest times to this date. Having born at Bagor and brought up at Gangapur in Mewar, I had an innate desire to payoff the debt of my motherland in form of such a work. Though historians of eminence like Col. Tod, Shyamaldas and G.H. Ojha had already written histories of this tract, but with the availability of a mass of new material, brought to light during last few years, necessity was being felt to make a fresh attempt on the subject. Similarly the excavations at Bagor, Gilund, and Ahar and archaeological survey of the river Banas and its tributaries also encouraged me to write this chronological account. For the sake of convenience I have divided the book into two parts. In this first volume I have tried to trace out the chronological details from the earliest times to Maharana Jagatsingh II. In the second part I propose to give a complete account of the remaining period with appendices on source material etc.

I have made an earnest attempt for including sufficient new material in this book. For consulting personal collections, I have made several trips to Udaipur, Sitamau, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Ahmedabad, Delhi etc. Important historical sites of Mewar like Chittor, Kumbhalgarh, Mandalgarh, Haldighati, Bijolia, Ranakpur Rikhadeva Ahar, Nagari, Bagor, Delawara, Nathdwara, Kankroli, Charbhujia etc. have been visited by me more than once. I thus hope that this work will help enlighten the interest in the study of the history of this tract.

I have received considerable help from several friends and senior scholars to whom I think it my duty to offer grateful thanks. I will fail in my duty if I do not offer my most sincere gratitude to the Maharana Sahib of Udaipur who not only took keen interest in my work, but also made it possible to be published by granting liberal financial assistance.

R.V. Sonani



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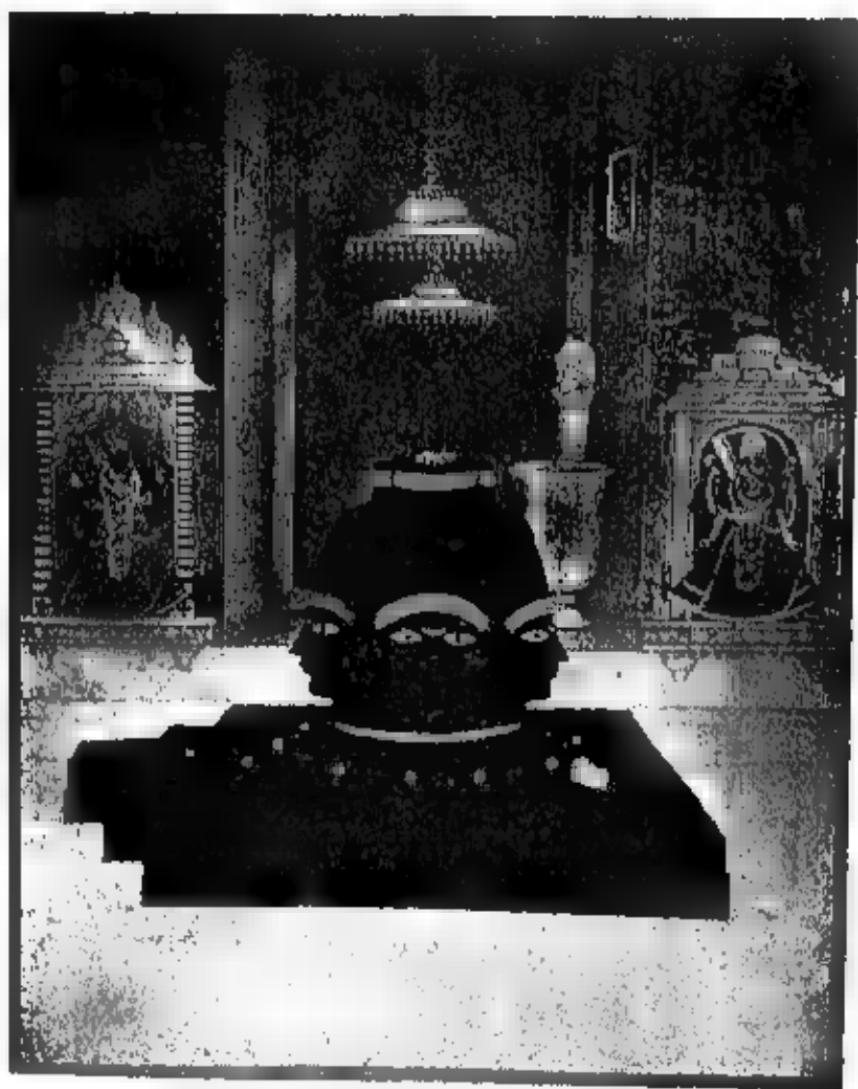
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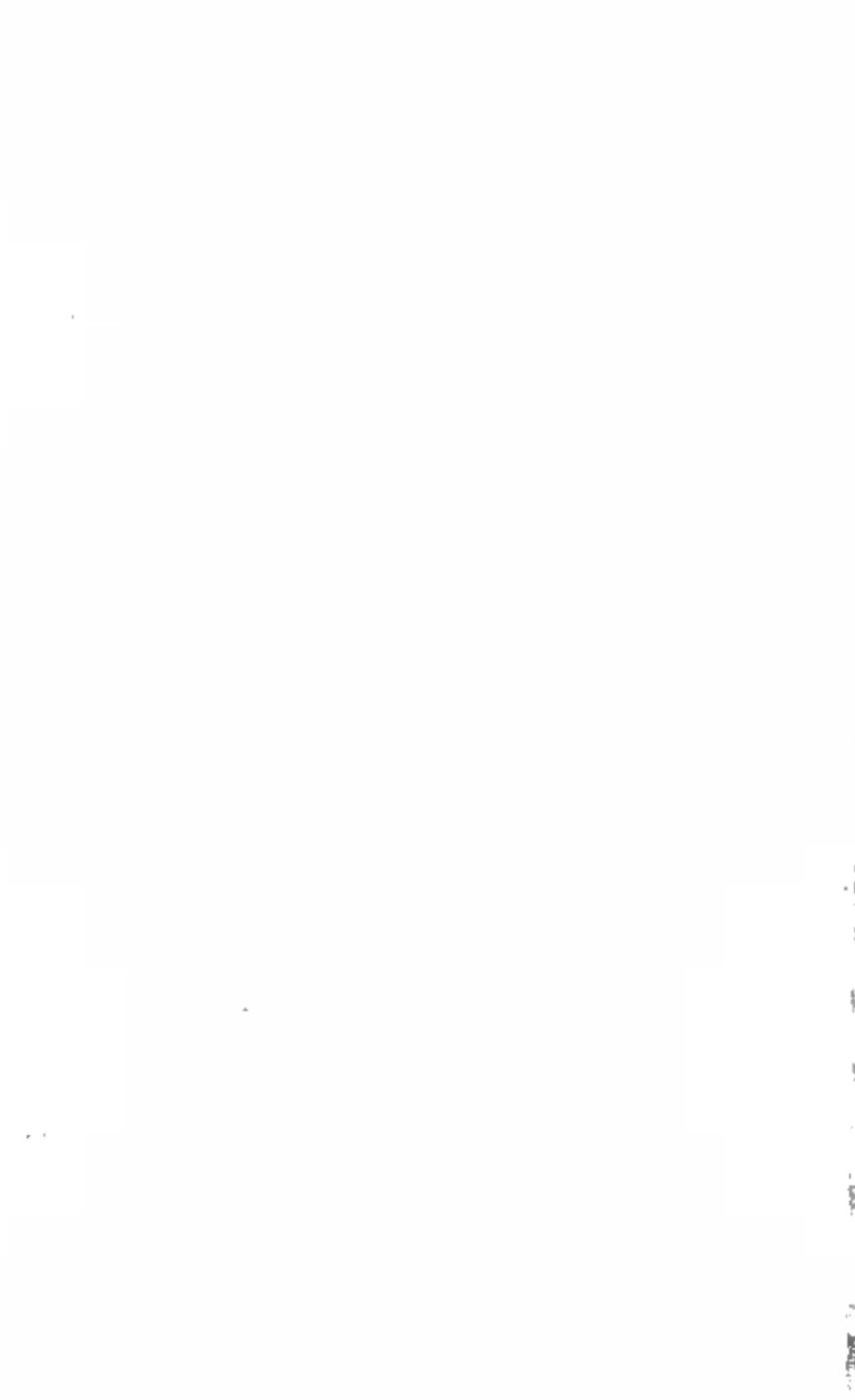
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ABBREVIATIONS

- A. S. I.—Archaeological Survey Reports of India
B. I.—Bhava-nagar Inscriptions
D.H.N.I.—Dynastic History of Northern India by H.C. Ray.
E. I.—Epigraphia Indica.
Firishtah—*Tarikh-i-Firishtah* (Trans. by Briggs).
I.A.—Indian Antiquary.
I.A.R.—Indian Archaeology—A Review.
I.H.Q.—Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ojha—Udaipur Rajya Ka Itihas by G.H. Ojha.
Tod—Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan by Col. James Tod.
-



SHRI EKLINGJI



Chapter-I

(a) Physical Features

Mewar, the heroic land of Guhilot-chivalry is situated between $23^{\circ}40'$ and $25^{\circ}28'$ north latitude and $73^{\circ}1'$ and $75^{\circ}48'$ east longitude.

At present, the entire erstwhile state of Mewar is covered by the three districts namely, Bhilwara, Chittor and Udaipur of the Rajasthan state. The rivers Sone and Mahi and the ranges of Aravali hills form its natural boundary in south and west respectively. It is surrounded by the district Ajmer and the sub-division Shahpura in north; the districts Bundi and Kotah, the sub-division Prataghar of Rajasthan and the district Mandaur of Madhya-Pradesh in east; the district Tonk in north-east, the districts Dungarpur and Banswara in south, Idar of Gujarat state in south-west and the districts Pali and Sirohi in west.

Origin of the word Mewar

It is hard to trace the origin of the word "Mewar". But it is believed that it was derived from *Mewa* or *Meda* tribe¹, who had settled here for a pretty long time. The Sanskrit scholars preferred to call it as Medapat. The earliest known references about its use are available of 10th century A.D. The *Dharma Pariksha* (MS) of Harisena, composed² at Chittor in VE 1014 (987 AD), the Hathund inscription³ of V. E. 1063 (906 AD) of Bala Prashad and *Jannu*

1. Erskine—The Rajputana Gazetteer (Mewar) p. 5; Maharana Kumbha by author p. 2.
2. एहु मेवाह देसे वन संकुसे विरचनज्ञपुर भिग्यम् धृष्टव त्रुते ।
(*Dharma-Pariksha* (MS) of Mahavir Bhawan, Jaipur.)
3. E.L. Xp. 20 verse 10/In *Prabandha Chintamani* of Sanskrit, the word Mewar is used instead of Medapat 'उपादसमि मेवाहे जालंघरेणि च' p. 95/However in Prakrit literature, we find the use of Mewar. "वित्तमूदाहिषी उमरीहेण रहे याहे
मेवाह देसो तथा रविक्षमो" (*Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa* p. 95).

*Sami-Charlu*⁴ completed in Dhar (MP) in VE 1076 (1019 AD), are the concrete examples about the use of this nomenclature with its far and wide publicity and prevalence. It transpires from the above that its use was universally adopted during the 10th Century A.D. Thus it can be conjectured that this word might have been in vogue much earlier.⁵

Our information about the exact name of the country, before the word Mewar came in use, is meagre. It is evident from the numismatic evidence that the area around Madhyamika Nugri was called Shibi Janapada during⁶ first century B.C. In the third century A.D., it was also known as "Malwa-State"⁷. In ancient geographical accounts Mewar has been enumerated separately from Chitor. Therefore, it seems that the area comprising of the western hill-tracts only was known as Mewar during pre-medieval times and eventually on the extension of the power of the Gubilots, the entire present tract came within its fold.

Hill tracts

The land of Mewar looks like a rectangular in shape. This state is almost surrounded by the ranges of the Aravali hills, embracing the wildest ridges and elevated plateau. The description of these hills is as under^{8A} :—

The North Western hills

The ranges of Aravalli-hills, coming from Ajmer Mewara, enter into the state near Pratapapur and Chhatrapur of

4. जम्मु सामिरेस व मेवाड़ वित्तदेश मालव [Jammu-Sami-Charlu-IX-19.]
5. If the passage भृगृत भै भृगृत occurring in *Brahata Samhita* (XIV-2) is taken into account, we can trace the origin of this word in 6th century A.D.
6. पश्चिमक्षय लिखि अनपद्म legend was used on the coins of Shibia. (An. Rep. A.S.I. Vol. VI p. 197).
7. "प्रदमन्त्रदर्शनविद् नालिवण्डविद्यवद्वारपिता" Nandasā-inscription of K.E. 282 (225 A.D.) E.I. XXVII p. 260.
8. In *Jammu Sami-Charlu* of 11th century A.D. Chitor is enumerated separately from Mewar. In a Kannada inscription of Balugambe, it is mentioned in Malwa (Ep. Cat III p. 134), as it formed the part of the state of the Parmars of Malwa. The Kumbhalgarh Inscription of VE 1517 (1460 AD) mentions the four divisions of kingdom of Jaitra Singh i.e. Chitrakuta, Aghaia, Mewar and Vagadia (E.I. XXIV Verses 154-55). This also proves that in the beginning, Mewar was used for a limited area.
- 8A. The detailed information of these hills was made available to me by Shri Madan Singh Jhala, and Ram Nath Dhabhai of Udaipur.

Tehsil Badaor. These ranges penetrate into the north-western direction of the state. The afforestation is less scanty and the ranges are mostly barren, having less chances of natural water resources. The important ranges of this side are those of Bairat, Dudeswar, Kamalighat etc. The area is mostly populated by the Mers and Rawats.

Jaraga-hills

These ranges derive their name from their highest peak known as Jaragni, which is 3215 ft MSL. Stretching from the north-west direction, these spread from Diver, like a palm of the hand, in the south and south-west direction towards Rupanagar and Kumbhalgarh. The western side of these Jaraga ranges is fairly high. There are some very important valleys and passes too. Two valleys, between Charhuja and Armet, are locally known as Shera-Nala and Borat, while the passes termed as *Nai* are of Jilawara and Khera. During the medieval times, these passes served as most strategic points. Kumbhalgarh fort is the most important stronghold, having a height of 3708 ft MSL. Mohi, Gogundah and Diver were the important entrance-out-posts of these hills.

Ranakpur and Gogundah hills

The ranges of Ranakpur and Gogundah start from the Jain temple of Ranakpur and go upto Gogundah (2776 ft MSL). The important ranges of this side are those of Rana Kakar, Mai, Gular, etc. which were among the hill-retreats of Maharana Pratap. The important passes of this side are those of Selimata and Sumur. The town Gogundah remained an important strategic place, as it is connected by Ishwali and Bhutala ranges on one side and Rupanagar ranges on the other side. Similarly, the Bhomat ranges start from here. Therefore, during medieval times, it was treated as a very important place. It is also connected by Mohi (Near Kankroli), an outpost of the western hills of Mewar.

Bhomat hills

From Gogundah, two parallel hill-ranges move towards the southern side, which meet at Sarawan. One range goes

through Oguna, Kamalnath (2638 ft MSL), Kolyari and Manpur, while the other range moves towards the west of the river Wakal, via Panarva. There is an open plain situated between these two ranges. These ranges are mostly covered by a mass of rugged hills, scrub forests, rocks and ravines. That was why, Maharana Pratap and Amar Singh-I preferred to stay here, during the time of their trouble. The hills of Kamalnath, Marawada, Phulawari etc. were among the important hill-retreats of Maharana Pratap. Debari, Mohi and Chirawa were the important entrance-outposts of these hills.

Girawa hills

The word "Girawa" is derived from the word "Giriwal". These Girawa ranges practically encircle Udaipur and its adjoining area. The ranges of Bhutala, Ishwari, Ghaser etc. are also included in outer Girawa-hills. Udaipur is encircled by the hills of Chirawa, Debari, Sagadar, Kamaloda, Mandirawala, Cheja-Ghati, Santu, Adinda, Ubethwar-Mahadeo, Pipaliya, Alsigarh, Pai-Kotada, Batol, Tidi, Jawarmala etc. Debari, Chirawa and Mohi were the entrance-outposts of these hills.

Mangara hills

The hilly tract situated in the south of the Girawa ranges is termed as Mangara. The important ranges of this side are those of Dingari, Andhari, Ujali, Shisa, Nathara, Semari, Kalyanapur, Kherawara etc. The town Chawand, situated among these ranges, remained the capital of Maharana Pratap and Amar Singh-I for some years. Strategically, it is also very important, as it remained mostly inaccessible to the invading Mughal forces.

Dharawada hills

The Eastern part of Jaisamand is locally known as Mewal. The ranges of this side are not very high. The south-eastern part of the state, contiguous to Pratapgarh state, is covered by a dense forest, known as Sitamata. The towns Unihala, Bhindar and Bansi were the important entrance-outposts of this area.

Uparamal-Plateau

The Uparamal region of the state consists of several ranges. The hill-ranges coming from Hadoti, enter into the state near Bijoliya and penetrate into the south-west direction of the state via Menal, Mandalgarh, Joganiamata, Begun, Bijepur, Bassi, Chittor, Sukhanand, Charabhuja and Bhaisarodgarh. These ranges are also not very high and afforestation is less scanty. Mandalgarh and Chittor, two important strongholds, are situated in this region.

Besides these ranges, there are several isolated hillocks. Among these, the ranges of Bharak, Chanwalcshwar, Harniya-Mahadeo, Banera, Mangrop, Sandamata etc. are worth quoting.

Plains

The central tract of the state is full of fertile plains, which are watered by the river Banas and its tributaries. These are comparatively open and well cultivated, having no forest. The soil is generally black and light-loam, suitable for the crops of cotton, maize, sugarcane, wheat, barley etc. Its classification can be done into the *Chahi* (irrigated), *Talabi*, *Nahari* (irrigated by the canals), *Mal*, *Kheda*, *Barani* (unirrigated), *Banjar* etc. Two crops of Kharif and Rabi are generally taken. The average height of these plains is about 600 ft. MSL. Before few years, deers, sambhars etc. were numerous, but these are gradually exterminated.

Rivers

The rivers and rivulets are many, but the followings deserve special mention.

1. Banas and its tributaries

Banas is the most important river of Mewar. It takes its origin from the western hill-tracts near Jaraga. The slope of the central tract of this state being towards north-east direction, Banas and all its tributaries, almost flow in that direction. The rivers Kothari, Khari, Manasi and Chandrabhaga take their origin from the western hills. Berach starts from the Girawa ranges and its tributaries, namely Wagan, Kadmal, Gambhiri etc. rise from the Dhariyawad and Chhoti-Sadari

hills. These rivers played an important role in shaping the history of this country. The earliest prehistoric colonies were developed on their banks.

2. Sabarmati and its tributaries

The river Sabarmati starts from Sarwan hills in Bhomat-area and enters in Gujarat state. Among its tributaries, Wakal is an important river. It takes its origin from the hills near Gogunkah and flows towards south. However, from Oguna and Manpura, its direction is changed and it moves towards Kotara and falls in the river Sabarmati in Idar state.

3. Soma and its tributaries

The river Soma rises from the village Soma in Mewar. It flows in south-east direction and enters the Dungarpur area, where it falls in the river Mahi. Among its tributaries, Jakham is very important, which starts from the hills near Chhoti-Sadri and after flowing near Dhariyawad, falls in the river Soma.

The river Chambal flows only a few miles in Mewar and the Rana Pratapsagar Dam is constructed on its Chuliya fall near Bhaisarodgarh in Mewar.

Dams and tanks

The physical features of the country also offered a good number of suitable sites for the construction of embankments for storage of water like *Jaya-Samudra*, *Raja-Samudra*, *Udai-Sagar*, *Pichola*, *Fateh-Sagar*, *Gambhiri Dam*, *Meja Dam*, *Rana Pratap-Sagar Dam* etc. A good number of tanks were also excavated in this country. Nearly all the villages have got one or more tanks reserved for irrigation purposes. The Narsasa Yupa inscription of year 282 (225 AD) mentions of a big tank. This shows that the irrigation by these tanks was quite popular in this country from the earliest times, which helped a lot in its economic development.

Forests

It seems that most of the hilly tract was covered by forests. The central fertile plains were also having natural growth of the trees

and *Aranyakas* did exist there, during early periods.¹⁰ But at present hilly tracts are only covered by the forests, which fall under the category of dry *deciduous* forest. Its cover is fairly dense during the monsoon months, comprising of annual as well as perennial species. The ecological study of the plant-vegetation of the hilly tracts of this area has not been fully done so far.

Natural calamities

The country has to depend upon the rains for its agricultural and other allied occupations. A drought is generally seen after every three or four years and the famine is the biggest natural calamity. Some times floods due to heavy rains, cause great destruction in the state. Among other calamities, plague, cholera, small-pox etc. are reported to have occurred occasionally.

Area

The dimension of the state varied from time to time. During the reigns of Maharana Kumbara and Sanga, when the power of the state was at its zenith, its boundaries almost touched the adjoining territories of the states of Malwa, Gujarat and Delhi. Subsequently, alienation of the territory started and state had to face a great shock i.e. during the Maratha incursions, when the fertile area of Nimach Morvan Jawad etc. was sequestered in order to liquidate their exorbitant demands. The uncontrolled civil strifes and family feuds in the royal house, resulted in the loss of Godawara, a very fertile area of the state. Thus the dimensions of the state were considerably reduced and the total area remained was only 14000 sq. miles.

Ancient routes

Although there is little information available about the ancient trade-routes that existed during the ancient period, but the use of the following routes can not be denied.

- 1) An Ancient trade route from Gujarat to Delhi passed through Rikhabdeva, Ahar, Eklingji, Delwara or Gogundah, Mohi, Bhilwara etc. in Mewar.
- 2) From Ahmedabad to Chittor, an alternate route passed through Vagada and Mandsaur.

10. The use of the word *Arani*, *Araniya* etc. for the villages, *Aranya Vasini-Devi*, *Aranya-Vahadern* etc. for goddesses and gods worshipped there, prove that forests might have existed in remote past in central plains also.

- 3) An ancient route from Pushkar and Ajmer to Dashpur and Avanti in Malwa, passed through Hurda, Rayala, Mandal, Bhilwara and Chittor in Mewar.
- 4) Leading from central India, a route passing through Gagron of Khichiwara and Mandalgarh of Mewar culminated at Chittor. This route from Gagron to Chittor, was often used by the Sultans of Malwa, who launched their offensive expeditions on the Guhilots, either via Rumpura or Mandalgarh.
- 5) From Mandor to Chittor, via Pali in Marwar and Madaria Kosithal or Bagor etc. in Mewar, a trade route existed.
- 6) From Udaipur to Chittor, via Karera and Kapasin, a route existed.

Influence of physical features in shaping history

The history of Mewar is greatly influenced by its physical features. Surrounded by the hills embracing the wildest ridges and elevated plateau, it virtually became a physically created stronghold. Therefore, it enjoyed freedom for a pretty long time and its rulers, managed to resist even the imperial powers, for a number of years. The hilly tracts also helped them to adopt guerilla-warfare during the invasions of the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat and the Mughal Emperors. They took shelter in these hilly tracts and fought with the enemy. Due to such natural conditions, the Maratha leaders Sindhia and Holkar¹¹ had covetous eyes on this country and also devised a plan to divide it among themselves, in order to fight with the British-troops. However, it could not materialise. In this way the physical features helped a lot in shaping the history of Mewar.

Reference in ancient literature

Few names of the mountains, rivers and ancient cities of Mewar, have also been found recorded in ancient literature. It seems that the nomenclature of these mountain ranges varied from

11. An abortive plan to divide Mewar between the Sindhia and Holkar was devised by Ambaji Ingle in 1803 AD, but it could not materialise, due to the timely action of the envoys of Mewar namely Rawat Sardar Singh Chundawat, Sangram Singh Shaktawat and Krishna Das Paucholi. [OJha II p. 69 & Vir-Virod pp 1734-35]

time to time. In earliest times, these ranges were known as a part of *Pariyatra* group. In Puranic texts,¹² the important rivers like Chambal, Banas, Kali-Sindhu, Kshipra, Chandan (Sabarmati), Mahi etc. are described to have their origin from these ranges. Subsequently it was also called Vindhya-giri. In epigraphic and literary records of medieval times, we have got a number of references calling these mountain ranges¹³ as a part of Vindhya-giri. For example, the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517, (1460 A.D.), *Ranakpur Stavana* composed in V.E. 1499 (1442 A.D.) and many other works contain this name. The massive grand edifice of the goddess *Vindhya-Vasini-Devi* at Eklingji reminds us of the existence of the use of the word Vindhya-giri for mountain ranges in Mewar. Eventually, these ranges are called *Adawala* or Aravali. The hilly plateau of north-eastern Mewar is called Uparamal. The earliest reference of this word is available in the Dhod inscription¹⁴ of V.E. 1285 (1168 A.D.). The south-western hilly tract is called Chhapan. The earliest known reference of this word is also available in the copper plate grant of Amritapal¹⁵ of V.E. 1242 (1185 A.D.). Mutha Nainrai, a historian of eminence, referred Kanthal, Antari Kherad, Borat, Giriwat, Mewal, Magara, Chhapan, Uparamal, Syalspatti¹⁶ etc. as the local names of the then existing regions of Mewar.

Banas and Chambal rivers are described at considerable length in ancient literature. A very interesting reference of the river Banas is available in Nasika-cave temple inscription of 1st. century B.C. of Ushayadatta,¹⁷ who is described to have taken bath at some holy place situated on the bank of this river. The river Chambal has been immortalised by Kalidasa in his famous work *Megha-Dutam*.

12. I.H.Q. XXVII p. 220.

13. The Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1460 A.D.) contains the name of the hills = Vindhya-giri. (Verses 29 and 30). The *Ranakpur Stavana* composed in V.E. 1499 (1442 A.D.) has the similar reference विन्ध्याश भूरि बिल्लीय भित्र नवलामारु । राजगृहं पिर वाष्पीत चतुरमुख प्रसादात्¹⁸. The ancient name of Biljoliya was Vindhya-Pali. भीरि बर्द्दू पयः सात्र हस्यं भित्र विष्वप्रसादात् Medapati Desh Tirtha Mala (MS).

14. *Parada* (Hindi) VIII No. 4 pp. 1-8, edited by R.C. Agrawal.

15. *Ojha Nibandh Sangraha* Vol. II p. 209.

16. *Nalnasi ki Khvat*, (Old Rajasthani Edition) pp. 67-70.

17. E.I. VIII p. 82.

(b) Pre and Proto History

Recent explorations¹ and excavations carried in Mewar prove the existence of palaeolithic culture there. However, more extensive study of artefacts in stratified condition is still needed. It is a fact that prehistoric period is sufficiently longer, which is to be interpreted mainly from the evidence preserved in rocks, moraines, river terraces, lithic tools and ceramic remains. Mewar seems to have been occupied by man, atleast for a hundred thousand years and history and cultural sequences of this period can only be traced by exploring and excavating its ancient sites. Therefore, no detailed account of this period can be prepared. However, on the basis of the material known so far, the pre and proto history of Mewar may be divided as under² :—

- (1) The Early Stone Age,
- (2) The Middle Stone Age,
- (3) The Mesolithic or Late Stone Age,
- (4) The Chalcolithic Age,
- (5) The Iron Age.

Early Stone Age

In 1953-54 A.D. the beds of the rivers Gambhir and Berach near Chittorgarh, the two streams near Singoli, the pebble conglomerate bed of the river Chambal and the slopes near the village Sonita were explored, as a result of which the choppers, hand-axes, cleavers and flakes were discovered. S.R. Rao discovered more sites in that district. From Sonita,^{3A} nineteen tools were found in the conglomerate bed of the river Chambal consisting of three choppers, four cleavers, eight scrapers, one ovate and remaining three of indeterminate shapes. The flakes are of Clactonian technique. In this way both Sohan choppers and Madras flakes were found together. Similarly the artefacts of both these industries were found from

1. V. N. Mishra—The Pre and Proto History of Mewar, published in 'Mewar through the Ages' pp. 1-6.

2. *Ibid* pp. 1-2.

3. I.A.R. 1953-54 p. 37.

3A. *Ibid* 1956-57 pp. 3-7.

Bhisarodgarh and Badoli. The rivers Banani⁴ and Ruparel and Nallas of Dhoda, Bhichore and Parasoli have also yielded a considerable number of palaeoliths, including hand-axes, choppers and scrappers. Thus, Mewar seems to have been a meeting⁵-place of the Sohan Industry of Punjab and Handaxes Industry of Madras. Dr. V.N. Mishra explored⁶ the valleys of the river Banas and its affluents—Kothari, Khari, Wagan, Berach, Kadmalji and Gambhiri and few important palaeolithic sites namely—Hamirgrah, Sarupganj Mandapia, Bigod, Jahazpur etc. (all in district Bhilwara) were noticed. He pursued his researches and made a systematic study of the stone age culture of the Berach basin. A perusal of his exploration reveals that these valleys represent the Acheulian⁷ culture. In the Berach basin, the artefacts were collected from these villages—(1) Darauli (2) Karanpur (3) Dhimara (4) Sarjana (5) Vallabhnagar (6) Gadarawas (7) Tukarawa (8) Dhanet and (9) Nagari, but Dhanet and Nagari have yielded a good number of implements.

Shri Vijaykumar of the department of Archaeology and Museums, Jaipur^{8A} has also collected 123 palaeoliths from Nagari (District Chittor), consisting of 42 flakes, 15 cores, 30 hand-axes, 21 cleavers and 14 scrappers.

The artefacts from the Gambhiri Industry were found in the Nalla flowing into the river Gambhiri near Chittor. Similarly, Rathanjana⁹, an important site near Nimbahera situated on Gambhiri, yielded a large number of hand-axes, cleavers and choppers. From Wagan⁹ Industry, the palaeoliths were collected from the villages—(1) Hajiakheri, (2) Bhutia, (3) Beawar and (4) Champakheri. In these villages the river-gravel is very rich in tools. Here the material of three different cultures was found together. The artefacts from Kadmalji were collected from the area

4. I.A.R. 1954-55 p. 58/1955-56 p. 68 plates LXXIVB and LXXV/1957-58 p. 45/1963-64 p. 29.

5. I.A.R. 1956-57 p. 6/Mortimer Wheeler-Early India and Pakistan p. 42.

6. ibid 1958-59 p. 42/1959-60 p. 39/1961-62 p. 38/1962-63 p. 18/1963-64 p. 29.

7. V. N. Mishra—Pre and Proto History of the Berach Basin South Rajasthan (Poona 1960) p. 22.

7A. Researcher—Vol. III-IV pp. 61-62.

8. I.A.R. 1954-55 p. 58.

9. V. N. Mishra op. cit. p. 48.

around Nimbahera. The palaeolithic site of Sigoh near Nimbahera, is also situated on the bank of Kadmal¹⁰.

The implements collected from these river-valleys are made of quartzite. The palaeoliths collected from Dhanet, Nagari and Gambhari are of fine bluish grey and pinkish quartzite.

A comparative study of these artefacts reveals that the three industries of Berach, Gambhari and Wagan have more or less equal percentage of various types of palaeoliths and thus form a homogeneous¹¹ group. But Kadmal Industry did not yield Levallois flakes and also there is a difference in the percentage of other types of tools.

The tools used by the early man¹² have served as all-purpose tools. They served as knives and were used to cut up a beast, scrap a bone, dig up the pigments or shape a stick. The early man, who used these implements, was passing his time by hunting the animals etc. Intense cold climate might have driven him to the caves and rock-shelters. The hill-fort of Chittor, probably, sheltered some of the earliest stone age communities.

Siwana valley near Mandsur was¹³ explored by A. P. Khatri, Wakankar and J.G. Joshi. Similarly Chanibal valley near Rampura was explored by Waneright and Wakankar. These sites, contiguous to Mewar, have also yielded numerous artefacts of considerable value.

Middle Stone Age

Middle palaeolithic tools-scrapers, points, choppers, borers etc. were first collected by Rao, while conducting the exploration of the beds of the rivers Gambhari, Berach, Nallas of Dhod and¹⁴ Parasoli. V.N. Mishra also collected these palaeolithic tools in the valleys of the Banas and its tributaries in the districts of Bhilwara and¹⁵ Chittor. Further work of Sankalia, Mishra, Sunderrajan, Sen Gupta, M.D. Khare etc. brought to light several sites having Middle Stone Age tools, in the districts of Chittor and Udaipur.¹⁶ But

10. I.A.R. 1954-55 p. 58.

11. V. N. Mishra—*op. cit.* pp. 67-68.

12. Majorie and O.H.B. Quenell—*Everyday Life in Prehistoric Times* (London 1959) p. 39 H. bel-Man in the Primitive World (London) p. 81.

13. A.P. Khatri—*The Prehistoric Malwa* (Thesis) Chapter II/J.G. Joshi—*Pre-Mauryan Malwa* (Thesis) Chapter II.

14. I.A.R. 1954-55 p. 58/1955-56 p. 68/1955-57 pp. 5-7.

15. *Ibid* 1958-59 p. 42/1979-80 p. 39.

16. *Ibid* 1961-62 p. 38/1933-34 pp. 29-30.

more tools could not be collected. The main reason of this seems to be the unavailability of requisite raw material like fine grained chert, jasper, chalcedony etc.¹⁷ V.N. Mishra conducted a systematic study of Middle Stone Age implements collected from the valleys of the rivers Wagan and Kadmal. In Wagan these tools, as stated above, were collected from the villages-(1) Hajia Kheri, (2) Beawar, (3) Bhutia and (4) Champa Kheri, with the tools of the Early Stone Age, few from stratified gravels while others from loose¹⁸ gravels. In other parts of the country also,¹⁹ very few tools were unearthed in stratified condition. From Newasa, on Godawari, these tools were found in stratified condition with the fossils of *Bor-Nomadicus*.²⁰ De Terra and Teilhard, who studied the tools of this age, found from the scratches at Narmada near Narasinghpur, observed that these tools belong to the third aggradational phase (minor) of the rivers.

A study of the available lithic material, found from the Berach basin, shows that typologically there was no break between the Early and²¹ Middle Stone Ages. The hand-axes and cleavers, which were made of quartzite in Early Stone Age, continued to be made in chert in the Middle Stone Age, though their size was comparatively reduced. Similar inference is noticed from the evidence collected from the rivers Lunl and Betawa.

Late Stone Age

The Post-Pleistocene and Post²²-Palaeolithic hunting and gathering economy was characterized by the small sized artefacts. The microliths are known as mesolithic phase in prehistory. The oldest microlithic industry in India is said to be of equal antiquity with the western mesolithic culture and was probably derived from that and occupied an intermediate position between Palaeolithic and Neolithic as in Europe.²³

17. V.N. Mishra—*op. cit.* p. 73.

18. *Ibid.*

19. B. Subbarao—*The Personality of India* pp. 65-66.

20. H.D. Sankalia—*From History to Prehistory at Newasa* (1954-55) p. 67 fn.

21. I.A.R. 63-64 p. 29.

22. De Terra and Peterson T.T.—*Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures* p. 320.

23. Ancient India No. 9 pp. 36-37/No. 9, p. 64/D.H. Gordon—*The Microlithic Industries in India "Man"* Vol. XXXVIII No. 19 pp. 21-24 (Zeuner Fredrick E.—*The Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat (Poona)* 1950.

S.R. Rao was the first to collect in 1954-55 microliths from the river banks at Bhilochor, Haripurs,²⁴ Singholi etc. in district Chittor. These included blades, burins, points, lunates, trapezes etc. The material used comprised of agate, quartz, jasper, chalcedony etc. The microliths made²⁵ of chert, jasper, chalcedony, agate and comprising of blades, points, side and end scrapers, fluted cores and crested ridge-flakes were collected from Kurias, Deotl and Mangrop (all in district Bhilwara) and Ballukhera in district Chittor. More microlithic sites were discovered in the villages Baxi Bedla, Bichri, Garua, Dabok Mander, Kanpur, Bijana, Mordai and Intali-(all in district Udaipur) and Bari Achaner and Beawar in district Chittor.²⁶ Fluted cores, blades, points and lunates of chert, chalcedony and agates were also obtained from Tara, Barnani and Kalikunja near Bhaisarodgarh in district Chittor.²⁷

Bagor

Bagor is situated on the bank of the river Kothari in district Bhilwara. The excavation was carried out here by the Deccan College, Poona and the Deptt. of Archaeology of Rajasthan. This site is very important and like Tilawara in Barmer, it has yielded valuable material ranging from Late Stone Age to Iron Age. The microliths are mostly collected from²⁸ surface and therefore our knowledge of the technology of microlith-makers was so far limited, as no idea of their stratifications was known from Mewar before the excavation of Bagor. This problem has now been solved. It was at the lowest level of Bagor (BG I) that the richest collection of microliths was noticed. In the phase I, the technology was entirely based on stone tools and people did not know the use of pottery. It seems that hunting and food-collection were the important means of their livelihood. They were living on the stone-paved floors and buried their dead within their settlements.²⁹ This culture existed in circa 4500 B.C.

24. I.A.R. 1954-55 p. 58/1955-56 pp. 68-69/1956-57 p. 8.

25. I.A.R. 1957-58 p. 49.

26. *Ibid* 1956-57 p. 8.

27. *Ibid*.

28. I.A.R. 1954-55 p. 58/1955-56 pp. 68-69/1956-57 p. 8.

29. Dr. V. N. Mishra's paper published in the Eastern Anthropologist--Vol. XXIV No. 3 pp. 287 to 280.

Chalcolithic Age

No evidence of the existence of the Neolithic Age has as yet been found in Rajasthan. The Late Stone Age seems to have continued here for a long time and transformed into the chalcolithic period. By and by, there began the use of pottery alongwith the microliths, as in other chalcolithic sites of Malwa.³⁰ The excavation at Bagor proves that this site was uninterruptedly occupied for a long time. From the phase II hand-made wares of comparatively poor quality were found together with microliths, the percentage of which, although slightly declining from phase I, is still quite significant.³¹

Ahar Culture

The excavation at Ahar was first undertaken by R. C. Agrawal. Its results being encouraging, extensive survey of Banas valley was carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India and more than 40 sites were discovered, which yielded Painted Black and Red Potteries.³² An excavation was also carried out at Gilund by the Govt. of India. Further, one more excavation was carried out at Ahar in 1961-62 A.D. under the supervision of H. D. Sankalis.

The excavations at Ahar have yielded valuable information about its ceramic industry. The Black and Red Wares³³ are very distinctive, having beautiful decorations with many designs. The microliths found from this site were comparatively less in quantity than from other chalcolithic sites. This site has also yielded several flat copper celts and fragments. Similarly copper fragments were also found from Gilund. Both Ahar and Gilund are situated near the copper producing area and therefore early chalcolithic man might have also unearthed this metal from there. It is also proved from the metal working furnaces that were used in³⁴ Ahar. The probable date of this culture can be placed between 1900 B. C. to 1200 B. C.

The excavations at Ahar have also yielded valuable information about the life of its early settlers. The Aharians were living in houses having mudwalls with sloping roofs. Bamboos were

30. The important chalcolithic sites of Malwa are Kayatha, Awara, Maheshwar, Navadatoli, Eran, Ujjain, Nagada etc.

31. The Eastern Anthropologist Vol. XXIV No. 3 pp. 258-259.

32. V.N. Mishra *op.cit.* pp. 148-149; I.A.R. 1954-55 pp. 14-15.

33. H.D. Sankalia—The Excavations at Ahar p. 10.

34. V. N. Mishra *op. cit.* p. 130.

used to support the roofs. Large size *Chulhas* were also found which seem to have been taken in use by some big families³⁵. Agriculture was known and wheat, barley, milo etc. were commonly eaten there. The non-vegetarian meal must also have been popular which is proved from the bones of swamp deer,³⁶ fish etc. The Aharians kept buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs, asses and dogs.. Thus they seem to have laid stress on increasing the cattle wealth.

Material from other sites³⁷ was collected *in situ*. The names of these sites are Daraull, Fachar, Rupawali, Balathal, Kheri, Tora-wat, Sirdi, Jawara, Gadariswas, Bansi, Champakheri, Gilund, Mirrol, Chhatrigheda, Pahuna, Marmi, Uncha, Jasamu, Kodu-Kota etc. All these sites have also yielded potteries mainly divisible into three groups (1) Red Wares, (2) Grey Wares and (3) Painted Black and Red Wares. Pottery-sherds found from Balathal and Gadariswas represent the major wares of this culture. It is interesting to note that Tan Ware sherds, having painted decoration, which were not found at Ahar, but are known from other Harappan sites, were found from Balathal, Bansi and Champakeri. These sites have also yielded a good number of pottery sherds. Most of these sites are situated in the districts of Udaipur and Chittor and a few in the district Bhilwara.

This proves that this culture disappears in eastern Mewar. From Chosala (District Ajmer), which is contiguous to Mewar, Black and Red Wares are found with Painted Grey Wares. But from Mewar, except few sherds from Gilund, no Painted Grey Wares are so far known.

The Black and Red Wares with paintings are also found from Manoti³⁸ (near Chambal Dam), Avara³⁹ (District Mandsaur) Kayatha⁴⁰ (District Ujjain). Eran, Maheshwar⁴¹—Navadatoli etc. of Madhya Pradesh. In the words of V. N. Mishra "A comparison

35. H.D. Sankalia *op. cit.* pp. 216-220.

36. *Ibid.*

37. V. N. Mishra *op. cit.* p. 149 fig. 41/I.A.R. 1956-57 p. ■

38. I.A.R. 1959-60 p. 25:

39. H.V. Trivedi's paper—The Excavations at Avara (published in the Journal of M.P. Itihas Patishad).

40. I.A.R. 1967-68 p. 27/Wakantak—The Kayatha Excavation Number of the Vikrama (University of Ujjain).

41. H.D. Sankalia—Excavations at Maheshwar—Navadatoli/H. D. Sankalia—Chalcolithic—Navadatoli Chapter VI.

of chalcolithic cultures of Bagor and Ahar provides interesting conclusions. The Aharians were full fledged farmers and had a knowledge of metallography. They were colonising a new territory. At Bagor, on the other hand, an essentially hunting and food gathering people were adopting through a cultural contact a good producing economy on small scale and some other material traits of a food producing culture⁴².

The discovery of iron brought a drastic change. In the words of V. N. Mishra⁴³ "The iron age settlement at Ahar seems to have come into existence several centuries after the end of previous settlement. At Bagor on the other hand the chalcolithic culture gave way to the iron using man".

42. Mewar Through the Ages pp. 1-5.

43. I took necessary help from Shri Devendra Handa in drafting this chapter.

(c) Early History

Epic-Period

It is hard to reconstruct the chronological history of early Mewar for want of authentic material. Before Aryan-settlement, it was wholly occupied by¹ ab-original-tribes like Bhiles, Minas etc. Eventually, the Aryans settled down here. Pushkar and Abu, both contiguous to Mewar, have been mentioned as important religious centres of the early Aryans. Therefore, it can be said that this country was also known to them in the remote past. The *Dharma-sutra* of Bodhayana (circa 600 B.C.) yields a definite² information about it. It mentions the *Parayatra* mountain as the southern boundary of *Aryavarta*. The Ramayan, Mahabharat and Puranas have specific references about this mountain, with the river Banas flowing³ from it. Therefore, we can definitely say that the Aryans had settled⁴ down here before circa 600 B.C.

The Mahabharat has also several references of Madhyamika-Nagari. In the great battle of Mahabharat, a king Shrutayudha,⁵ ruling in the country, situated on the bank of the river Banas, espoused the cause of the Kauravas. No details of this king are known. According to traditions, Bhim Pundava visited Chittor and constructed a citadel there. Bhimagori tank, situated in this fort is also attributed to him. The (Pradyotas of Avanti, seem to have occupied some part of this country, during the 5th century B.C. The Sisunaga, kings of Magadha, who occupied the kingdom of Avanti, might have annexed some⁶ part of Mewar also.

Mauryan Empire

There is no direct evidence to prove that the Mauryas had actually occupied Mewar. A controversy still exists about it, among the scholars. Their main arguments are — under :—

1. H. D. Sankalia—The Excavations at Ahar p. 232.
2. G. C. Raichaudhary—History of Mewar p. 7/D. C. Sircar—The Guptas of Kishkindha pp. 38-39.
3. I.H.Q. XXVII p. 222.
4. G. C. Raichaudhary *op. cit.* p. 7.
5. The Gosundi stone inscription furnishes the name of a king Sarvatata(E.I., Vol. XXII pp. 198-199), but we can hardly connect him with Shrutayudha.
6. D.C. Sircar *op. cit.* p. 29.

Adris Banerji believes that the Mauryas⁷ could not occupy Mewar. In support of his claim he says that the main trait of the Mauryan culture was N.B.P., which was not yet found from Mewar. Besides, the rock edict was incised at Bairat, which according to him, was a boundry-area and as such the occupation of the Mauryas in Rajasthan, beyond Bairat requires further evidence. Quite contrary to the above⁸, G.C. Raichaudhary believes that Mewar was occupied by them, as it is situated between Bairat and Ujjain.

The arguments produced by Adris Banerji are untenable. We can hardly deny the existence of the Mauryan rule by the non availability of the N.B.P.. The existence of the minor rock edicts is also not the evidence. These edicts seem to have been erected at important commercial places or religious sites and we can hardly judge the boundaries of the state by these as at Rupnath, a similar edict was incised, which was situated in the centre of the empire of Asoka. However, the local traditions associate Samprati^{9A} the great grandson of Ashoka, with the various sites in Mewar. If these traditions are believed, we can say that the Mauryas had occupied Mewar and on the disruption of their empire, the Sungas captured it.

Sunga Rulers

We have got no definite evidence whether Pushyamitra Sunga was having his sway over any part of Rajasthan. Two seals bearing⁹ the legend *Palitasa* (2nd or 3rd century B.C.) and *Visham-Visha(ya)* (2nd century B.C.) were found from Ahar. But further details about them are not known. D.C. Sircar¹⁰, on the basis of the Barli Inscription, preserved in the Ajmer Museum, suggests that the northern area of Rajasthan formed part of the dominion of the Sungas. But such inference can hardly be adduced from the above inscription. It is

7. Adris Banerji—History of Mewar—(Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda Vol. XII No. 4).

8. G. C. Raichaudhary —*op. cit.* p. 14.

9A. मायो हस्तिराज शीतलमयो दागदेवाचिं : (*Medapatalash Tritha-Mala* MS of 15th century A.D.) V. A. Smith—Early History of India (1924) p. 202/D.C. Sircar *op. cit.* p. 40.

9. H. D. Sankalia—*op. cit.* pp. 13-14.

10. D. C. Sircar—*op. cit.* p. 40.

still controversial¹¹ about its date. This inscription also refers to Madhyamika Nagari which proves that it was an important town. Several silver and punch marked coins, assignable to 3rd or 2nd century BC were also found from there. Patanjali, who was present in the reign of Pushyamitra Sunga, also refers to Madhyamika Nagari, which can be identified with the town of the same name situated near Chittor.

Greek Invasions

Patanjali, the grammarian, says¹² that during his living memory Saketa, and Madhyamika Nagari were besieged by the Greeks. But he does not mention the name of the invader. The scholars are also not unanimous about the identification of this invader. K.P. Jaysawal¹³, basing his argument on the inscription of Kharavel and description of Yuga Purana, says that the Greek king who launched an expedition over India was Demetrius. Numerous objections¹⁴ were raised against this identification. A. K. Narayan doubted the historicity of this invasion by saying that the¹⁵ quotations of Patanjali were simply school examples, having little historic truth and in case an invasion took place, it was of Menander and not of Demetrius, as the latter's penetration beyond Sauvira country into India requires further evidence. It is beyond doubt that Patanjali, who referred to this invasion was contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga. Therefore, the Greek kings, who could penetrate into India, were either Demetrius or Menander, as they were ruling at that time.

The Ayodhya inscription of Dhanna deva¹⁶ supplies very valuable information. According to it, Pushyamitra Sunga performed two horse sacrifices. The dates of these sacrifices are not exactly known, but it seems that the first was performed immediately after his usurping power, in order to establish his suzerainty, in 184 B. C.

11. I.A. LVIII p. 229/Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society 1950 pp. 67-68/G. H. Ojha *Shartiva-Prachin-Lipi-Mala* (Ajmer) p. 2-3/Journal of Bihar Research Society Vol. XXXVIII pp. 34-38/D. C. Sircar—*op.cit.* p. 40.
12. अस्मद् पद् वरनः शाकेनः । अस्मद् पद् वरनो मात्रमित्राण् ३-२-११.
13. E.I. XX p. 79.
14. G. C. Raichoudhury—Political History of Ancient India p. 9/A. K. Narayan—The Indo Greeks p. 82/Tarn—The Greeks in Bactria and India pp. 453-54.
15. A. K. Narayan *op. cit.* p. 82.
16. E.I. XX p. 57/G. H. Ojha—*Nagari-Pracharita-Patrika* Vol. II, No. 1, p. 201

and the second seems to have been performed immediately after the departure of the Greeks from India. A group¹⁷ of scholars also believes that these two performances were occasioned after the two different Greek invasions of Demetrius and Menander.

The Yavan conflict referred to in *Maṇeśikagnimitram* evidently took place in the later part of Pushyamitra's reign, when his grandson Vasumitra was quite grown up to command the forces, against the Greeks. As stated in it, the battle took place on the right bank¹⁸ of the river Sindhu, which may be identified with Kali Sindhu, a tributary of the Chambal, flowing in the northern Malwa and eastern Rajasthan. Vasumitra succeeded in defeating them. The invaders seem to have taken the route via Mandor, Madhyamika, Dashpur and after crossing the river Chambal gone towards Maithura. The local rulers of Madhyamika and Dashpur, also measured sword against them. It is corroborated from the inscription found at Anwaleshwar¹⁹ near Prajabgarh (District Chitor) which has a specific reference to protecting of the border of north against some enemies by Kulin son of Pona, who in order to commemorate this event, erected a *Kutisṭambha* there.

Therefore, keeping all these points in view, we can safely conclude that Menander invaded Madhyamika etc., about circa 150 B. C., which is also proved from the commentary of *Jainendra Vyakarana*²⁰.

Settlement of Shibus in Mewar (2nd century B.C.) :

Due to the repeated Greek in-roads, Shibus moved from the Punjab and succeeded to occupy eastern Mewar in the middle of the second century B.C. A good number of coins having the legend : "Majha-mikaya-Shibi-Janapadasa"²¹ were found from Madhyamika Nagari which proves the existence of their republic there. Their coins bear the symbol of a mountain on reverse, while the symbol of a tree appears on obverse. No detailed achievements

17. N. N. Ghosh—Early History of India p. 157.

18. *Maṇeśikagnimitram* Act 5.

19. "मृग उत्तर राजितेन साम्राज्यान्विते वीर्यं पूर्वेन" This Anwaleshwar inscription was discovered by J. G. Joshi, who edited it in *Varada* Vol XIII. I also re-edited it in *Varada* Vol. XIV.

20. अब्द्यानन्दकृष्णोपद्यात्...(Abdayanandi's commentary on *Jainendra Vyakarana*).

21. As Rep. A.S.I. Vol. VI p. 197/BMS Parmar—Researcher Vol. XII-XIII.

of this tribe are known. It seems that these Shibus issued their coins on the exodus²³ of the Greeks from Madhyamika Nagari.

Gosundi Stone Inscription

The Gosundi stone inscription²⁴, roughly assignable to the middle of the first century B.C., mentions of the performance of *Ashwa medha yajna* by a king Sarvatata of Gajayana branch (belonging to Kanya family) which proves that he was an independent ruler of considerable importance and had measured sword against some formidable enemy, whose account is unknown to us. The Greek invasions resulted into the exodus of various tribes including Malawas from Punjab, which greatly affected the history of the south-eastern Rajasthan, but nothing can be said with certainty about the adversaries of Sarvatata. However, for the study²⁵ of revival of Bhagawat-cult, this inscription is very important.

Beginning of New Era by the Malawas

In 57 B.C., the Malawas started a new^{26A} era, which is now known as Vikrama Era. According to its earlier dates recorded in the inscriptions, it seems that it was started in order to commemorate²⁷ the settlement of their republic. The tribe of Kshudrakas, which was living with them in the Punjab and with whom their confederate military arrangements existed²⁸, now finally assimilated into them. Thus this era was started to commemorate this event. Perhaps it has got no relation with any great victory. According to the numismatical evidence, the Malawas were living in Mewar, Nagar, etc. The Saka Kshatrapas were also extending their sway over this area and therefore, struggle between them was imminent.

Battle between the Malawas and the Kshatrapas

Among the earliest Kshatrapa rulers, Nahapan came in conflict with the Malawas. He sent his son-in-law Ushavadatta²⁷

22. D. C. Sircar *op. cit.* p. 43.

23. "सेवा सर्वतातो जपवेष्ट" E. I. Vol. XXII p. 199/D.C. Sircar *op. cit.* p. 41/From Sambher, a seal of this period bearing the name Sarvatata was also known.

24. R. C. Agrawal—*Rajasthan-Bharat* IV No. 4, pp. 3-5.

24A—For details see Author's paper—*Malawa-Samras* published in *Parada* Vol. IX No. 4.

25. मालवण विद्युता पते J.F. Fleet—*Corpus Inscriptions Indicarum* Vol. IIIP83/प्राचीनभारतिकात् कालवानाम् (*Ibid* p. 154)/मालवणाम् पते प्रतस्ते हुतं चिह्नं [E. I. XII p. 320]

26. I. H. Q. 1951 p. 280.

27. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78.

against them, who were fighting against *Uttama Bhadrakas*²⁸. When faced by the Kshatrapa army, the Malawas ran away. After successfully espousing the cause of *Uttam Bhadrakas*, Ushavadatta took a ceremonial bath at Pushkar and made²⁹ a pious donation of several cows. He also visited a holy place on the river Banas³⁰ (Perhaps Matrikundiya near Chittor) and went to Dashpur³¹. In this way the Malawas were defeated and were compelled to owe their allegiance to the Kshatrapas.

The Kshatrapas suffered a great setback at the hands of Satavahans. But Mahakshatrapa Rudradama soon retrieved the territory by defeating the Andhras. According to his Junagach inscription of the year 72 (160 A.D.), he successfully conquered several countries and was having his sway over Maru, Yaudheya republic, Avant³² etc. which were contiguous to Mewar. Therefore, a conjecture can be hazarded that Mewar was also forming part of his state. But soon the Malawas succeeded in re-establishing their sovereignty.

Nandasa Inscriptions (226 A.D.)

The Nandasa Yupa-pillar inscriptions of the K.E. 282(226 AD), (Situated near my home town Gangapur, District Bhilwara) yield a valuable information³³ about the existence of the Malawa republic there. These Malawas measured sword with their adversaries, the Saka Mahakshatrapas of Avanti. The names of their chiefs, mentioned in these³⁴ Yupa-inscriptions, are Jayavardhan, Bhriguvarthan, Jayasom, Nandisom and Bhaitisom, who were of Sogli-clan. Mahasenapati Nandisom performed a *Shashitatra Yajna* at Nandasa (District Bhilwara) in order to commemorate some event, which might be none else, than their victory over the Maha-

28. Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda Vol. X pp. 182-183;

29. राजा अद्यरात्रस्य जयपत्रस्य नहासम्य वर्षाशासी दीर्घी पुरोष यजापदातेन त्रिगोष्ठव भृत्यादेवत नवा ब्राह्मणाण्यो मुख्यं वाचनं तीर्थकरेन देवताभ्यां...” [E. I. VIII p. 78]

29A.—There is a controversy about the river Banas referred above. Some scholars identify it with the western Banas. But looking to Ushavadatta's visit to Pushkar and Dashpur, there are more chances to identify it with the Eastern Banas.

30. एव पुरे योग्यते योग्यते एव एव एव एव एव एव एव [Ibid. p. 78]

31. Ibid VIII p. 42/L. A. VIII p. 237.

32. “प्रद्यमध्येवतान्तिवर्षाभ्यर्थण विषयवत्तारपिता...” Ibid XXVII p. 252/L. A. LVII p. 53.

33. I.H.Q. XXIX No. I p.p. 80-82/D.C. Sircez op. cit. p. 42 f. n.

Kshatrapas of Ujjain. A few inscriptions referring to performance of sacrifices were also found from Eastern Rajasthan. D. C. Sircar believes that the Malawas also gave a crushing³⁴ defeat to the Kshatrapas at Barapala (Jaipur)³⁵ in 327 A. D. and also performed the sacrifices there. At Badava (Kotah) in 238 A. D.,³⁶ the Maukhari chiefs defeated some enemies and performed similar sacrifices there. In this way, the Malawas succeeded to cast off the yoke of suzerainty of the Mahakshatrapas.

The Nandesa inscription of 225 A. D. referred to above, is composed in good sanskrit, highly influenced by poetic imagination. Generally, the inscriptions of this period were composed in Prakrit or mixed dialects, but the use of such scholarly language proves the advancement of the Malawas in Sanskrit language³⁷ and literature. These Malawas seem to have continued to rule Mewar, Hadoti and northern Malwa till they were finally subjugated by the Guptas.

The Gupta Rulers

In the beginning of the fourth century A. D., the imperial Guptas rose to power. A reminiscence of Samudra Gupta's exploits³⁸ and his victorious engagements is preserved in the Allahabad inscription. He defeated the Malawas and extracted tribute from them. He was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta II, who annexed Avanti by defeating the Kshatrapa rulers. He appointed his son Govind Gupta at Ujjain. From this time the area around Mandaur was ruled by the local rulers, who according³⁹ to D.C. Sircar belonged to the tribe of the Malawas. According to the epigraphic sources, the names of the kings of this family are Jayavarman, Simhavarma, Narvarma (404-47 A. D.), Vishwavarma (-29 A. D.), Bandhuvarma (436 A. D.), Rudravarma etc., who ruled as the feudatories of the imperial Guptas.

34. D.C. Sircar—*op. cit.* p. 42/II suggests that the fragmentary record of Baranasi dated 284 (227 A. D.) also belonged to the Soghi clan of the Malawas, as their names also end in "Vardhan", like that of Malawas of Nandesa.

35. E. I. Vol. XXIV p. 118.

36. *ibid* XXIII p. 52.

36A. The inscription of K. B. 2²²⁵ (225 AD) is engraved with great care and the same text is incised horizontally and vertically on the same Yupa pillar.

37. J.F. Fleet—*op. cit.* pp. 1 to 17.

38. D. C. Sircar—*op. cit.* p. 42.

The inscription found at Madhyamika Nagari³⁹ of M.E. 481 (424 A.D.) mentions that a temple of Vishnu was constructed by Satyashura, Shrigandha, etc. But we do not exactly know whether they belonged to some royal family. At the same time, a fragment of a Yupa-pillar inscription of 4th or 5th century A.D., discovered from Madhyamika Nagari, having the account of the performance of the *Vajpeya yajna* there, is a broken piece and does not contain the name of a king in it. Therefore, we do not exactly know about the rulers of that time.^{40A} There is no direct evidence also, to prove whether the Guptas occupied Mewar. But the Chhoti Sadari⁴¹ inscription of M.E. 547 (490 A.D.) and the fragmentary inscriptions⁴² of Chittor of 6th century A.D., prove that the area around Madhyamika Nagari formed a part of the state of Dashpur. Therefore, the conjecture can be hazarded that the local rulers of Dashpur, who were the feudatories of the imperial Guptas, also had their sway, at least over the south-western Mewar.

After Kumargupta, his son Skandgupta succeeded to the throne. The internal dissensions and the invasions from outside resulted in the disintegration of the empire. The Bhiari stone inscription⁴³ also reveals that Skandgupta inflicted a crushing defeat on the *Pushyamitras*. In this contest, he was reduced to great strait and even had to spend nights on bare earth. The Mandsaur⁴⁴ inscription of M.E. 524 (467 A.D.) mentions that Prabhakar, whose antecedents are not known, undertook an arduous military campaign against the enemies of the Guptas. However, the area around Dashpur was subsequently captured by another dynasty named 'Vardhan'.

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39. प्रगवालहातुरुपयादाम्भा प्रसादः—हिन्दू नगरी अवधेत् राजेन मातुमित्रिनीत्यैवज्य
The Nagari inscription of M. E. 481 (424 A.D.), edited in *Varada* Vol. V by R.G. Agrawal/Annual report on the working of the Rajputana-Museum Ajmer 1915-16 p. 2.
40. “३४ यहे कामपेमे पूर्णो राम पूर्णीं रो” (Nagari inscription of 4th or 5th century A.D.)
- 40A. At Bairat (District Bhilwara), there is a rock-cut inscription of the Gupta-period. But this has not so far been deciphered.
41. E.I. XXX pp. 120-132.
42. *Ibid* XXXIV pp. 53-58.
43. J.F. Fleet—*op. cit.* pp. 52 to 54.
44. E.I. XVII p. 14/An. Rep. A.S.I. 1922-23 p. 187.

Chhoti Sadari Inscription (490 A.D.)

The Chhoti Sadari inscription⁴⁵ of M.E. 547(490 A.D.) contains the names of the kings Punyasom, Rajyavardhan, Rastravardhan Yasogupta, and Maharaja Gauri of *Manavayani Gotra*. Of these, Maharaja Gauri constructed a temple of the mother-goddess there. The second inscription of this family was found at Mandsaur having an account of the excavation of a tank for religious purposes. The latter inscription also contains the name of Adityavardhan as his overlord, who is also described to have vanquished some enemies, whose details are not given. It seems that the Vakataka⁴⁶ ruler Prithvi Sena II (470-490 A.D.) might have contested with him, as he has been mentioned in the Balaghat-plates to have defeated the ruler of Malwa. Attempts have been made to connect Adityavardhan⁴⁷ with Dravyavardhan mentioned in *Brihat Samhita* and the latter has been regarded as the father of Yasovardhan of Mandaur inscription⁴⁸ of M.E. 589 (532 A.D.). These rulers were very powerful and successfully measured sword against the Huns.

Hun-Invasions

The Huns proved a great enemy of the Gupta Empire. The Eran stone inscription of Gupta Era 191 (510 A.D.) mentions the death of⁴⁹ Goparaj, the valiant general of Bhanugupta, who fell fighting with the Huns and of his wife ascending the pyre. Another inscription⁵⁰ incised on a boar image of the first reignal year of Hun king Toraman, mentions Dhanyavishnu as his vassal, whose brother Matrivishnu remained a subordinate chief of Budhagupta. This shows that Toraman swept this region about 510-512 A.D. His son Mihirakul succeeded him, who also ruled over a vast territory. The Gwalior

45. ची महायन गीति : तेऽप्यः क्षितिरुक्त्वा दद्यतां सेन्द्रशु गोलतः ग्रासादोद्भुदरितानः (दर्शनः) इत्याप्याम देव्यः प्राचाराधिता E.I. XXX pp. 124-126/An. Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum Ajmer 1930 p. 2.

45A. विलाप त्रिवृक्षमध्ये रथो पूर्वं दक्षादिकः नरद्याद्यः नरेन्द्रादित्यर्थद्यः..(E.I. XXX pp. 129-130)

46. Bindu-Trakash—Aspects of Indian History and Civilization p. 96/I.H.Q. XXXIII p. 316.

47. V. V. Mirashi—Studies in Indology Vol. I pp. 58-59/I.H.Q. XXXIII p. 316.

48. J.F. Fleet—*op. cit.* pp. 58-59/I.A. XV p. 224.

49. *Ibid* pp. 91-92.

50. *Ibid* pp. 158-60.

inscription⁵¹ of 13th year of his reign, refers to the construction of a Sun temple there. These Huns were also having their sway over Mewar. Traditionally, it is believed that a good number⁵² of villages having their names as Hunaganva, Hunawas etc. were populated by them. Some villages of eastern Mewar are believed to have formed a part of the *Hun-Mandal*. This proves that the Huns also penetrated into Mewar and captured a vast territory there.

Governors of Yasovardhana

The Mandsaur inscription⁵³ mentions Yasovardhan's victory over Mihirakul "whose head had never previously been brought into immobility to obeisance to any other, except the God Siva". This shows that he emerged successful in the wars waged with the Huns and thus ousted them from the central and western India.

Recently, two fragmentary inscriptions⁵⁴ have been found from Chittor, which mention the name of a *Rajasthaniya* (Governor) who was the grandson of Varaha and son of Vishnudatta. According to Dr. Dashrathi Sharma⁵⁵, Varaha was having two sons, namely Vishnudatta and Ravikirti. Vishnudatta's son was appointed as a Governor of Madhyamika Nagari and Daspur first, who subsequently seems to have been replaced by Abhayadatta,⁵⁶ the son of Ravikirti. In this way, it can be said that both of them were the *Rajasthaniyas* (Governors) of Yasovardhan.

It seems that after Yasovardhana, his successors could not maintain his big kingdom and disruption started. The western Malwa was occupied by the Kalachuris as is evident from Abhona plates of Sankargana⁵⁷ of Kalachuri Era 347, (896 A.D.), which

51. *Ibid* pp. 161-164.

52. For this information I am obliged to Shri Balawant Singh Mehta of Udaipur.

53. J.P. Fleet *op. cit.* pp. 150-154.

54. यसवर्धन द्वारा लिखित: । राजस्थानीय...E.I. XXXIV pp. 55-58.

55. Researcher Vol. V-VI pp. 7-9.

55A. The Verse 19 of Mandsaur inscription of M.E. 589 (882 AD) mentions that Abhayadatta was governing the territory falling between *Vindhya* and *Parvatya* ranges and *Sinhalu* [विष्णुस्त—पारिपाशस्त्वात्: । आशिधोरस्त्वात्—राजस्थानीय दृस्य]. But this seems to be an exaggeration.

56. D.G. Sircar *op. cit.* p. 43/Dulipprakash *op. cit.* p. 95.

was issued from Ujjain, granting some land in village Villisika in Bhogavardhan *vishaya*, now in Andhra state. These Kalachuris were removed by the Maitraka ruler Siladitya-I Dharmaditya (605-609 AD), who occupied Ujjain, as is evident from *Manjushri-Mula-kalpa*. His younger brother also issued the Virdi⁵⁷ plates from Ujjain in Gupta Era 207 (616-617 A.D.).

Soon after, the northern Malwa and south-eastern Mewar witnessed a series of political changes.

Later Mauryas

The Maurya kings ruled over the⁵⁸ south-western Rajasthan and northern Malwa, from the beginning of the 7th Century A.D., for about 120 years. The earliest king of this local dynasty in Mewar was Chitrangada Mori, who is said ■ have constructed the present fort of Chittor on the old ruins, together with Chitrangada⁵⁹ tank. The *Chitrangada Prabandha* narrates that Raja⁶⁰ Shambharish, who according to Dashrath Sharma⁶¹ was a Chauhan ruler, invaded Chittor and defeated its Maurya king, but later on re-instated him there. The identification of Shambharish with the Chauhan ruler requires further evidence, as the penetration of the early Chauhans into Mewar is not known from any authentic sources.

Two inscriptions of the year 770 (713 A.D.) from Chittor, of a king Man, are known so far. One was found from Mansarovar tank and⁶² other from the Shankarghatta.⁶³ The Mansarovar inscription of the year 770 (713 A.D.) published by Tod, the stone slab of which is now untraceable, contains the name of four kings namely, Maheshwar, Bhim, Bhoj and Man. Maheshwar has been described in panegyric style as a mighty prince, "during whose sway the name of the foe was never heard." Bhim followed him. He is described as a ruler of Avanti, in Malwa. By insertion of the words "whose abode is

57. *Ibid* /Budha Prakash op. cit. p. ■

58. See—Author's paper "Man Mori" published in the Journal of the Rajasthan Institute of Historical Research Vol. III Nov. pp. 39 and *Varada* (Hindi). Vol. X No. I.

59. Muni Jinivijay—*Kumar Pal-Charitra-Sangraha* (S.J.G.S.) p. 47.

60. Muni Jinivijay—*Puratana Prabandha-Sangraha* (S.J.G.S.) pp. 103.

61. Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda Vol. X pp. 92-93.

62. Tod I p. 625.

63. *Rajasthan Bharat* Vol. IX pp. 30-31.

"Avanti" the writer has clarified that he was also the ruler of Malwa. Bhoj was his descendant. Perhaps he moved from Malwa and settled at Chittor due to the pressure of the Rastrakutas of Indragarh⁶⁴ (District Mandsaur). Man succeeded him, whose detailed account is given in verses 14, 15 and 17 of the Mansarovar inscription. He was a very important ruler. The Shankarghatta inscription of the year 770 (713 A.D.) yields the valuable information that he belonged to the *Grihapati* caste⁶⁵ and his full name was Manabhang. The Sun temple (Kalika Mataji temple) of Chittor, famous for its architectural details, a step well situated in front of it and the Mansarovar tank are attributed to him. *Samaraichcha Kaha* contains⁶⁶ an interesting reference of his invasion over Vasantagarh also.

What relations existed between the Mauryas of Chittor and the other Mauryan principalities of Hadoti and Mathura, we do not exactly know. It was the time when the Mauryas succeeded to re-establish themselves in a vast territory. The Guhila Dhanika in his Dhod inscription of the year 701 (644 A.D.) mentions Dhavallapa (Perhaps Maurya) as his overlord, who was enjoying the imperial titles like *Paramabhattaraka*⁶⁷ *Maharajadhiraja Parameswara*. The Kansawa⁶⁸ (Kotah) inscription of M.E. 795 (738 A.D.) describes Dhavallapa-Maurya, as his overlord. According to the Mathura inscription of 7th or 8th century A.D., the Maurya Karkaraj burnt the city of Kanauj⁶⁹. Yasovarma, whose details of exploits are preserved in *Gauda-Vaho*, flourished between 729-53 A.D. According to the Jain sources, he also belonged to the Mauryan dynasty. This proves that the Mauryas had succeeded to occupy a vast territory.

The progress of the Mauryas of Chittor was checked by the Arab invasion, the detailed account of which is given in the next chapter. Our information about the descendants of Man Mori is meagre. One inscription⁷⁰ of the year 811 (754 A.D.) was found

64. B.I. XXXII p. 113.

65. *Rajasthan Bharati* Vol. IX No. 2 pp. 30-31.

66. *Journal of the Rajasthan Institute of Historical Research* Vol. III p. 41.

67. परम भारतक व्यापाकाधिराज परमेश्वर कीर्ति(व) वस्त्रपूर्ण देव प्रभासे (ग') मान राजदेहे । गुहिम् तुलाणो ली ग (ह) निकल्पो (B.I. XX p. 123).

68. I.A. XIX p. 57.

69. B.I. XXXII p. 207.

70. Tod. I. p. 610.

from Chittor having the name of a King Kukudeshwar, but we cannot exactly determine his relations with Man Mori.

Haribhadra Suri

Haribhadra Suri, the famous Jain Philosopher, flourished in 8th century A.D. at Chittor. He was well versed in the Brahmanic literature and accepted Jainism under the influence of Jain nun Yakini-Mahattara. In the colophone of *Dharmakhyana*, he has clearly mentioned Chittor⁷¹ as a name of the place, where he completed his said work. His another work *Samarachchaka Karha* is very famous for its style. Thus during the 8th A.D., Chittor became a centre of art and learning and a good number of Jain monks visited this place to study the Jain philosophy etc. Among these, Virasena was very famous, who came from Deccan and remained for a couple of years there to pursue his studies on Jainology⁷².

71. In *garha* 123 the word 'धितराष्ट्र युद्ध' is specifically mentioned (*Dharmakhyana* S.J.G.S.) p. 32./Muni Jinvijaya—*Puratana-Prabandha-Sangarha* (S.J.G.S.) pp. 103-105.
72. The Verse 176 of *Shrutavatara* mentions Ellacharya as a great scholar "विष्णवट्टपूर्वसी श्रीमनेताचार्यं वसुत विद्वान्-शरणः) under whom Virasena pursued his studies. For details, see the authors book "Vir-Bhumi-Chittor, p. 154.

(a) **Guhadatta, the Progenitor of the Guhilot-families**

Mewar, richly endowed by nature, witnessed enormous prosperity. Its fertile plains and important commercial centres remained a standing temptation to the hordes of the hungry invaders, who came to devastate its fields and batten on its wealth. Fortunately, it remained under the suzerainty of the brave Guhilots, who with the spirit of constancy and enduring courage, resisted by displaying gallantry, prowess and personal courage. Col. Tod, therefore, rightly observed¹ that the Hindu tribe yielded unanimous suffrage to the princes of Mewar, as the first of the thirty-six ruling clans of the Rajputs. The progenitor of this family was Guhadatta.

Origin of the Guhilots

D.R. Bhandarkar's theory² that the Guhilots are originally Nagar-Brahmans was accepted generally by the majority of the scholars. This theory seems to have been propounded by Vedasharma, who in his Chittor inscription³ of V.E. 1331 (1274 A.D.) and Achleshwar temple inscription⁴ of V.E. 1342 (1285 A.D.) mentioned that Bappa-Rawal changed his priestly splendour for regal lustre. This conception of the Brahman origin of the Guhilots was already in existence during the⁵ time of Maharana Kumbha. G.H. Ojha refuted this theory⁶ by calling Vedasharma's interpretations as erroneous, as the latter based his theory on Atpur⁷ inscription

1. Tod I p. 179.
2. Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society Vol. V (1905) pp. 167-169.
3. R. I. pp. 74-77.
4. *ibid* pp. 84-87/I.A. XVI pp. 947-51.
5. E. I. XXIV p. 318.
6. Ojha I pp. 66-84.
7. आनन्दपुरीविनिर्वत्तिव्रक्तुलनदनो भाष्येणः ।
अयति श्री युहूराः प्रभवः श्रीयुविलंबस्त (I. A. XXXIX p. 106)

of V.E. 1034 (977 A.D.), where the word *Mahadeva* is used for Guh-datta, which can also be translated as a king as well as Brahman.

Another theory propounded by a group of scholars,⁸ who basing on the Chatusu inscription of Baladitya believed that the Guhilots are the *Brahma-Kshatras*. D.C. Sircar, G.C. Raichaudhary and D.R. Bhandarkar have given its interpretation, as that of a family springing from the parents, one of whom was a Brahman and the other Kshatriya. But this interpretation does not seem to be correct. In Verse 7 of the Chatusu-inscription, Bhartripatta Guhilot⁹ is compared with Ram, by naming both of them as *Brahma-Kshatras*. D.R. Bhandarkar, while editing the above inscription, transpired that Ram, referred to in the above passage, is obviously used for Parasuram. But in *Vishnu-Puran*, the members¹⁰ of Paurava-dynasty are also described as *Brahma-Kshatras*. Therefore, the word Ram, referred to above, can be taken for Lord Ramchandra, from whom the families of Guhilots claim their inheritance. In this way the arguments of these learned scholars about the origin of the word *Brahma-Kshatra* can hardly be agreed to.

Some earlier references mentioned below speak of the Guhilots as pure Kshatriyas.

1. The Udaipur Museum inscription of V.E. 1083(1020 A.D.) found from Nagada, has a reference of the ruler¹¹ of solar-race. (*Surya-Vamsa-Samudrapanna*). It is the earliest epigraphic evidence, supporting the traditional account of the Guhilots. The Nadrai inscription¹² of V.E. 1557 (1500 A.D.) also has a similar reference.

2. The Nagpur Museum inscription of 18th century A.D., belonging to the Guhilots family migrated from Chittor, mentions of the Guhilots¹³ as Kshatriyas. Similarly the Shringi-Rishi inscription of V.E. 1486 (1428 A.D.) also speaks¹⁴ of Kheta as Kshatriya.

8. G. C. Raichaudhary —History of Mewar pp. 29-24/D. C. Sircar—The Guhilots of Kankindha p. 22 E.I. XII p. 13.
9. “ब्रह्मकाशानिदीर्घविष्वमन्तरालसम्बद्धसमै रामतुल्यो चिकात्पः श्री (श्री)यद्योगम् पट्टी...” E. I. XII p. 13.
10. Ojha I pp. 79-80.
11. Journal of U.P. Historical Society Vol. X p. 25.
12. श्री सूर्यदीप याताराज्ञाचिराक श्री मि(मि) सारित्यवंशे श्री गुहलत याता (B. I. p. 14)
13. Nagari-Prachortni-Patrika Vol. VI No. I p.4.
14. केत्त लक्ष्मिपद्ममंजुरमणि (E.I. XXIII pp. 234-237).

These serve as an important evidence on the basis of which the theory of Brahman-origin, propounded by Veda Sharma, can easily be questioned, as his drafts of the inscriptions of V.E. 1331 (1274 A.D.) of Chittor and V.E. 1342 (1285 A.D.) of Achaleshwar, are full of historical mistakes.

Date of Guhadatta

Due to recent discoveries of numerous inscriptions, copper-plates and coins of early Guhilots from Vagada, Dhod (Jahazpur) and Nagar (Tonk), it becomes all the more necessary to reconsider the probable date of Guhadatta, the progenitor of the family.¹⁵ G.H. Ojha assigned his date as V.E. 623 (566 A.D.),¹⁶ basing on the genealogy given in the Atpur inscription of V.E. 1034 (977 A.D.), wherein Siladitya, whose Samoli inscription of the year 703 (648 A.D.) was known, has been described as a great grandson of Guhila. In this way the date has been ascertained by diminishing 80 years for four generations from the year V.E. 703 (648 A.D.). But this date does not seem to be conclusive and some corrections seem to be necessary, on the grounds mentioned below :—

1. The early Guhilot inscription of the year 741 (684 A.D.)¹⁷ found from Nagar (Tonk) was not discussed by Ojha. A series of names of the kings of Bhartripatta branch of Guhilots is given in it. On comparing these names, with the similar names recorded in the Chatsu inscription, the probable date of Bhartripatta, the founder of this branch, falls much nearer to the date of Guhila as assigned by Ojha.

2. The inscription of the year 701 (644 A.D.) found from Dhod¹⁸ (Tehsil Jahazpur) contains the name of Guhila Dhanika. He

15. For the details, see the following papers of the author.

- i) Guhadatta, the progenitor of the Guhilot families (Published in *Sindhabha*, Jaipur).
- ii) *Guhadatta-Ki Tithi* (Published in *Rajasthan Anushilan* Vol. I No. I, Jodhpur).
- iii) Guhilots of Vagada (Published in the "Journal of Rajasthan Historical Institute", Jaipur).
- iv) *Ethasik Shodh Sangrah* by the author pp. 7-14.

16. Ojha I p. 98.

17. The *Bharat Kavimudi* II pp. 273-76.

18. D.C. Sircar op. cit. p. 93 f.n./B.I. Vol. XXXV pp. 100-101/Val. XX p. 128.

seems to be a descendant of the Guhilots of Nagar branch. This proves that the Guhilots, upto that time, extended their several branches.

3. Recently, numerous inscriptions and copper plates¹⁹ of 7th and 8th centuries A.D. have been found of the Guhilots of Kishkindhapur (Kalyanpur-District Udaipur). These do not contain any similar name recorded in the early inscriptions of Mewar.

4. Even on a close examination of genealogies of the families of Nagar, Vagada and Mewar, we do not find any common name in them.²⁰ This clearly indicates that their separation had taken place several years before the 7th century.

Therefore, keeping all these points in view, we can not assign the date of Guhadatta, later than the first quarter of 6th century A.D.

Location of his state

The antecedents of Guhadatta can not be traced out for want of authentic material. In bardic chronicles, certain stories have been fabricated, where-in he has been described as a posthumous child of Siladitya,²¹ the Mairaka king of Vallabhi. But the Mairaka rulers were in no way connected with the legendary solar race to which Lord Ram belonged. Similarly, as these princes continued to rule at Vallabhi, upto the last quarter of 8th century A.D., their supposed movement towards Idar in 5th century A.D., after the destruction of their kingdom, requires further evidence. On the other hand, all the epigraphic and literary sources²² of Mewar unanimously speak of the migration of Guhadatta from Anandpur (Vadanagar in Gujarat). This proves that he came from the side of Gujarat and

19. D.C. Sircar *op.cit.* pp. 71-77.

20. Only the name of Bhartripatta occurs in the records of all the three branches. But in the Dhuleva plate of the year 73 (679-80 A.D.), ■ is mentioned as Samanta. (सहारव निर्मा राज्योः परिषद्वाप्त राज्योः पुष्टसां निर्वेस सामन्तं पर्याकृताकाशत्...). Apparently, he ■ different from Bhartripatta of Nagar branch, who flourished in circa 554 A.D.. In the Atpur inscription of V.E. 1034 (977 A.D.) the name of Bhartripatta is referred to with great respect. It mentions that Suktikumar obtained the glory of Bhartripatta. (पर्याप्तिर्वादः शीघ्रप्राप्तारात्मापाप्यत्—I.A. XXXIX p. 187). Therefore, he seems to have been ■ great warrior.

21. Tod Vol. I pp. 179-180/B.I, p. 141.

22. Ojha 1 p. 74/I.A. XXXIX p. 186/B.I, p. 75.

first established his power in Idar area, whence subsequently extended his sway over Vagada, Bhomat and Mewar.

A hoard of more than 2000 coins²³ was found near Agra in 1880 A.D., and a single coin was also discovered from Narwar, bearing the legends "Shri Guhila" and "Guhilapati" respectively. Rothanlal Samar of Udaipur²⁴ has also collected nine copper coins of Guhila. On the basis of these pieces of numismatic evidence, it may be argued that Guhila might have either migrated from the side of Uttar pradesh or subsequently moved towards Mathura, after establishing himself in Mewar. But we can not overlook the probability that the coins found from Agra and Narwar might have belonged to the Nagar branch of the Guhilots and do not pertain to Guhadatta, the progenitor of the Guhilot families.

The Guhilots are sub-divided into twentyfour branches or ramifications. Out of these, Ahada, Mangaliya, Sisodiya, Chandravat, Hul, Pipara etc. are important. The Chittor inscription of V.E. 1381 (1274 A.D.)²⁵ describes the Guhilots to have extended their innumerable branches. This mention also corroborates the fact.

23. An. Rep. A.S.I. Vol. IV p. 95/Ojha I p. 96 f.n.

24. J.N.S.I. Vol. XX pt. I pp. 26-27.

25. श्री महेश्वरिनारदसंग्रह (B.I. p. 74)

(b) Early Guhilots

Our information about the early Guhilot rulers of Mewar is meagre. Medieval inscriptions, though numerous, do not throw much light on this period. The Atpur inscription of V.E. 1034 (977 A.D.)¹ and the Kadmal plates of V.E. 1140 (1083 A.D.)² simply enumerate the names of the early rulers. According to these, Guhila was succeeded by Bhoja, who constructed a tank at Eklingji³. The Achaleshwar temple inscription of V.E. 1242 (1286 A.D.)⁴ describes him as a worshiper of Vishnu. After him, Mahendra⁵ and Nagaditya ascended the throne one after the other. According to the bardic traditions, Nagaditya lost his life in an encounter with the Bhils⁶ who were very powerful at that time.

Harshavardhan and Mewar

The rulers of Mewar had to face the danger of the imperial power of Harshavardhan (610-647 A.D.), the ruler of Kannauj. Although there is no direct evidence to prove that he had chastised the rulers of Mewar, but he did launch offensive expeditions on north-western Gujarat and wrested Vallabhi-Nagari by defeating its ruler Maitraka king Dharasena II Baladitya, who in his distress requested him for peace and had to take shelter with the Gurjar king Duda II (629-42 A.D.). Therefore, the presence of Harshavardhan in

1. I.A. Vol. XXXIX p. 186.

2. E. I. XXXI p. 241.

2A. E.I. XXIV p. 917 verse 25.

3. B.I. pp. 84-87.

4. Although G. C. Raichaudhary describes Mahendra and Nagaditya as one and the same ruler, having his full name as Mahendra-Naga, (History of Mewar p. 29) but G.H. Ojha, D.R. Bhandarkar and D.C. Sircar maintain that these two were separate rulers. (Ojha I p. 98, D.C. Sircar—The Guhilas of Kishkindha pp. 26-27) Their views are more convincing and plausible, as in the Atpur inscription of V.E. 1034 (977 A.D.) and the Kadmal plates of V.E. 1140 (1083 A.D.) the names of these rulers are given in the order of succession. Similarly, in verse 139 of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1460 A.D.), their names are enumerated as separate rulers.

5. Tod I p. 181.

Gujrat and Kathiawar regions suggests his preoccupation at least of Malwa and south-west Rajasthan⁶. From Vagada and Bhomat area, a good number of inscriptions and copper plates were found containing some unknown era, which according to D.G. Sircar is attributable to Harshavardhan⁷. Therefore, a conjecture can be hazarded that Harshavardhan was having his sway over Mewar.

Siladitya (646 A.D.)

Nagaditya was survived by Siladitya, one of the most important and enterprising rulers of Mewar. Reminiscences of his achievements are preserved in various inscriptions and other bardic accounts. The Samoli inscription of the year 703 (646 A.D.)⁸ yields the information that he was the vanquisher of the enemies. Similar account is also available in the Chittor inscription of V.E. 1831(1274 A.D.)⁹. It seems that he successfully washed away the influence of Harsha from Mewar, during the closing years of the latter's reign. It is proved by the continuous use¹⁰ of Vikrama era in the inscriptions of the kings of Mewar. The decline of the power of Harsha in western India is evident from the use of the high-sounding titles by Maitraka king Dharasena IV in about 646 A.D. After the death of Harshavardhan in 647 A.D., numerous independent kingdoms sprang-up and disruption of his empire started. Taking the advantage of such beneficial situation, Siladitya of Mewar also endeavoured to extend the boundaries of the state and captured Bhomat area. In this way, by his enterprising achievements he achieved great fame and strove hard to raise the political status of the principality of the Nagada-Ahar branch of the Guhilots. The Chittor inscription of V.E. 1831 (1274 A.D.)¹¹ describes that "even now when his name finds its way to our ears, it makes us forget the names of others."¹²

6. D.G. Sircar *op. cit.* p. 48.

7. B.I. XXX p. 1/XXXIV p. 167/XXXV p. 55.

8. *tbid* XX p. 99/*Nagar Pracharini Patrika* Vol. I p. 920.

9. शीलनाथ भव्यतो—परीमलधारि याति श्रुतिप्रसवकुटिसूति याति पूर्व पञ्चाधारकर्णिराज—
मणिषस्ति दे नारदे शृणिपालः ॥]■ B.I. pp. 74-77.

10. D.G. Sircar *op. cit.* p. 48.

11. B.I. pp. 74-77.

The Abu inscription of V.E. 1342 (1286 A.D.)¹² contains the similar account.

Jawar mines

It is believed that the zinc and copper mines at Jawar were excavated during Siladitya's reign, thereby causing tremendous increase in employment potentiality. Thus, Mewar witnessed immense prosperity which tempted the outside merchants to settle there. The Samoli inscription of the year 703 (640 A.D.) informs that *Faintaka shresthi*¹³ was a resident of Vatanagar who settled at Jawar, where he constructed a temple of mother goddess *Aranya-Vasini Devi*¹⁴.

Siladitya patronised the artist Shringadhar

A Buddhist writer *Lama Taranath*¹⁵ describes that the old-western school of art was developed by the artist Shringadhar under the patronage of king Siladitya in Maru country. A divergence of opinion¹⁶ exists about the identification of this king and some scholars consider him to be Harshavardhan Siladitya of Kannauj, while others identify him with Siladitya, the Maitraka ruler of Vallabhi. But there are more chances of the identification of Siladitya of Mewar with Sila mentioned by Taranath.

There is evidence to support this view. A good number of masterpieces of art¹⁷ were executed during the 6th to 8th centuries A.D. in the area, which comprised of the states of the Guhilots at that time. It can be adduced from the sculptures found from Samalaji, Siva-head and other pieces of images collected from Kalyanpur, Matrika images from Tanesar, male torso from Kajeda,

12. *ibid* p. 84-87.

13. E.I. XX p. 99.

14. *Aranya Vasni* or *Vindhya Vasini devi* was popularly worshipped not only in Mewar, but throughout central India also. For details, see *Oaud-Vaho* verses 305-309 / *Samavachcha Kaha VI* / *Kumbhalgarh* inscription verses 20-22 (E.I. XXIV p. 306).

15. *Tara Nath—History of Buddhism in India* (I.A. Vol. IV p. 101).

16. *Lalit Kala* No. 8 pp. 83-84.

17. R.C. Agrawala *Arts Asiatiques*— (Paris) 1965 XI pp. 43-45/XI (2) p. 60/ *Lalit Kala* No. 6 plate XX/Mahamika (Hindi) I p. 19-15/U. P. Shah—*The Sculptures from Samalaji and Rhoda* pp. 4-6,

images from Amjhera, Vishnu image from Bedia etc. Therefore, it can be said that Siladitya patronised artists and so there are more chances to believe that Shringadhar flourished under him.

Siladitya can not be identified with Bappa Rawal

In Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1480 A.D.)¹⁸, Siladitya has been identified with Bappa Rawal. D.C. Sircar¹⁹ and Dashrath Sharma²⁰ have also agreed to it. But it may be noted that the author of the Kumbhalgarh inscription was also confused about this controversy, as he has also mentioned Bappa as the founder of the family, in verses 121-126, and described Guhadatta as his son. Therefore, there are little chances of this identification. This matter is being dealt with separately below.

Aparajit and Mahendra

Siladitya was succeeded by his son Aparajit. An inscription of the year 718 (661 A.D.)²¹, found from village Kunda, (Near Nagada) describes that Aparajit's commander of forces was Varaha, whose wife Yasomati constructed a temple of Vishnu. No other account of his reign is now available. He was succeeded by his son Mahendra. Kaviraja Shyamaldas²² proposes to identify him with Bappa Rawal. But it seems inconsistent, as he has also accepted V.E. 810 (749 A.D.) as the date of his abdication. In this way, Kaviraja has assigned a long reign of 100 years, a period of at least two consecutive reigns, to an individual²³ ruler, which is unusual and unconvincing. According to bardic chronicles, Aparajit lost his life while fighting with the Bhils.

We do not have any definite information about the political relations that existed between the early Guhilots of Vagada and

18. E.I. XXIV p. 139.

19. D.C. Sircar—*op. cit.* p. 24 to 26.

20. Dashrath Sharma—Rajasthan through the Ages, pp. 236-237.

21. E.I. IV pp. 31-32. This inscription simply describes him—“राजा श्रीगुहिल-श्वरमनस्योदयीपूर्णतीर्थित्वस्तव्यात्माराम्भुपृष्ठस्तकमध्यात्मावस्त्रेपाग्नहृष्ट श्रीमान्तर्यपराजितः etc. which is a rather conventional one, having little historic truth.

22. Vir-Vinod pp. 250-51.

23. D.H.N.I. Vol. II p. 1159.

Nagada-Ahar²⁴ branch. Similarly, Mauryas of Chittor and Rashtra-kulas of Indragarh were also ruling over the territories contiguous to Mewar. But their relations with Mewar are not exactly known.

Kalabhoja (Bappa Rawal)

Mahendra was succeeded by Kalabhoja. G. H. Ojha has identified him with Bappa Rawal²⁵ about whom the traditions preserve innumerable memories. I endorse the views till some other evidence is known, as it is also corroborated from the Maharawal Pata's inscription of V.E. 1401 (1404 A.D.)²⁶ where in Khuman is described as a son of Bappa Rawal. At the same time, in the genealogy mentioned in Atpur inscription of V.E. 1034 (977 A.D.) he is mentioned as a son of Kalabhoja.²⁷ In this way, both Kalabhoja and Bappa can be termed as one individual ruler. But this identification is not fully convincing and sufficient material is still required to remove this obscurity.

A controversy also centres around the antecedents of Bappa, in the medieval epigraphs. The verse 123 of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1460 A.D.)²⁸ describes him as a *Vipra* meditating on the feet of Haritarashi, who bestowed upon him the kingdom of Mewar. This account seems to have been taken from the Chittor inscription of V.E. 1831 (1274 A.D.)²⁹. In *Raja-Vamsa-Varnana* of *Ekingn-Mahatmya*, there is another verse having the similar account, which itself was perhaps taken from the Atpur inscription of Saktikumar of V.E. 1084 (977 A.D.). The only difference between the above two accounts is that the former describes Bappa³⁰ as the *Purana Purusha* (progenitor), while the other mentions Guhadatta as the progenitor and Bappa as his descendant. In this way, these two accounts are quite contradictory to each other. But the Atpur inscription of Saktikumar of V.E. 1084 (977 A.D.) is the

24. It is rather interesting to note that the rulers of Mewar used 'Vikrama era' in their records. The Guhilots of eastern Rajasthan also adopted the same. But the Guhilots of Kishkindha did not use it.

25. Ojha I pp. 102-104.

26. श्रीमद्वापारसंवेदसूत्रसुचित् गुणगानाधिः (?) गुणवीरिचारबोधात्मामणिर्ण (?) नृपकृष्णर
भिः[ना] उच्चात् संपरेयः। गुणाणः... [unpublished inscription of Maharawal Pata]

27. दधाकेतुम् चोमिति [कालमोलज्ञोन्माण[मस्त] गुणः] [I.A. Vol. XXXIX p. 191]

28. E.I. XXIV p. 318.

29. E.I. pp. 74-79.

30. एवः स गुणः पुराणपुरुषः भारतम् निर्बहुना The Eking-Mahatmya MS.

earliest record dealing with the genealogy of the rulers of Mewar. As such Bappa-Rawal can not be treated as the father of Guhadatta.

The early life of this remarkable man is still wrapped in mystery. According to the bardic³¹ chronicles, his father lost his life in a bloody encounter with the Bhils of Idar and out of all male members of his family he alone could survive. He remained in disguise in the hills of Nagada. The loss of patrimony adversely affected the resources of the family. He was brought up by a Brahman lady of Nagada who engaged him to look after her cows. It is said that two faithful Bhil-adherents accompanied him, whose descendants were subsequently granted the jagirs of Oguna and Undri villages. It was during this time that he came in contact with Haritrashi, by whose grace he was successful in regaining his lost principality. Thereafter, he got the splendid temple of Eklingji³² constructed. Since then, the family of the rulers of Mewar has been regularly paying homage to the said deity.

Whether the word Bappa is merely an appellation

Scholars have attempted to explain³³ the term Bappa. According to Col. Tod, it is not a proper name, but signifies merely a child. But a group of scholars, namely, C. V. Vaidya, G. H. Ojha, Kaviraja Shyamaldas, D.R. Bhundarkar, Crooks etc. have admitted that this term and its variation were used to denote "father" in the sense of reverence. This interpretation also does not seem to be correct, as in the earlier epigraphs of V.E. 1018 (969 A.D.) of Unawas and V.E. 1028 (971 A.D.) of Eklingji,³⁴ Bappa has been described as the "moon" among the kings of the Guhilot dynasty. Similarly, stress has been laid on the description of his gallant and adventurous career in the later records and even during medieval times, a concept was propagated that he was the progenitor of the

31. Tod I pp. 182-186.

32. श्रीबाटे देवसाटे परिषितकपटे श्रोत्वकृटे शिरोटे । हारी हुरीत राज्ञे इव[भि]ज्ञतमवा शंभुरा-
शिर्षपूर्व । यस्यात्मा प्रसादावधिमत पात्तरे दम्भवत्तेन[न]रिकः निर्वर्ण शूष्मिताऽद्य शुद्धपूष्पागम्भा-
म्भास्तद्वृत्ति ॥२३॥ E.I. XXIV p. 317.

33. A. Mukherji—Medieval Studies p. 10.

34. श्रीबहितगोविनरेचाहं श्रीबप्तः विविडरत्नप् (The Ekling inscription of V.E. 1028/971 A.D.) Similarly, the Unawas inscription mentions श्री गृहितकृष्ण
बप्तको शूपः³⁵ [Varada Vol. VII No. 4 ■■■. 12-13].

Guhilot families.³⁵ We, therefore, do not see enough reason to believe that the word Bappa was simply an appellation of some ruler and not exactly the full name.

Some recent discoveries have yielded new information about it. The Dhuleva³⁶ plate of the year 73 of Maharaja-Bhatti, the ruler of Kishakindha (District Udaipur) contains a name of Bappa-datt or Bappa among the various royal dignities, which goes to prove that such names were quite popular at that time. Hence, some more plausible and convincing evidence is required for not recording his name in the genealogical tables.

His place in genealogy

The Atipur inscription of V.E. 1084 (077 A.D.) and the Kadmal plates of V.E. 1140 (1088 A.D.), both containing the detailed genealogy of the rulers of Mewar, do not mention the name of Bappa-Rawal at all. But at the same time, the Unawas inscription of V.E. 1016 (059 A.D.) and the Ekling inscription of V.E. 1028 (071 A.D.) record his name as a very eminent Guhilot prince. Therefore, it can also be conjectured that he might have been a member of some other branch of the Guhilot family, who like the Prajhar king Nagabhatt I, measured sword against the Arabs and strove hard to raise the status of his family. Therefore, his exact position in the genealogy of the rulers of Mewar has not so far been determined with certainty and a divergence of opinion exists about it. D.C. Sircar³⁷ and Dashrath Sharma, basing on the Kumbhalgarh inscription, have identified him with Siladitya, G.H. Ojha has recognised him as Kalabhoja,³⁸ while some others have attempted to identify³⁹ him with Khurman.

As already said the author of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1480 A.D.)⁴⁰ was also confused, when he mentioned two

35. The Ranakpur inscription of V.E. 1496 (1489 A.D.) line 1/The Chittor inscription of V.E. 1331 (1274 A.D.) verse ॥ /The Achaleshwar inscription of V.E. 1342 (1285 A.D.) verse 12/This misunderstanding also appears in the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1480 A.D.)

36. विवितं पश्चा भपा नहाराज बृप्यवदिः; तस्मैव पुष्पाच्चापतिविद्युते भद्रिशाश्राम्याग्रयः.....
E.I. XXX pp. 1-2.

37. D.H.N.I Vol. II p. 1159.

38. D.C. Sircar—*op. cit.* p. 24 to 26/Dashrath Sharma *op. cit.* p. 296-297.

39. Ojha I pp. 102-103.

40. I.H.Q. 1928 pp. 796-97./A. Mukherji—*op. cit.* p.

41. E.I. Vol. XXIV pp. 215.

Bappa Rawais, one as the father of Guhila, while the other as Siladitya. But the Samoli inscription of the year 703 (646 A.D.)⁴² of the reign of Siladitya, does not mention any such appellation for him. Therefore, there is little likelihood of his identification with Bappa. Besides, traditionally Khuman I, who happened to be the successor of Kalabhoja, as per Atpur inscription of V.E. 1024 (977 A.D.), has been described as a son and the successor of Bappa also. Therefore, there is more likelihood of his identification with Kalabhoja. S. Datta⁴³ has argued that the Guhilots claim their inheritance from Khuman also, who seemed to have loomed large in their mind for raising the status of their family. Therefore, his identification with Bappa is also possible. Similar argument was also put forward by D. R. Bhandarkar,⁴⁴ who basing on the average calculations of the reign of the individual rulers between Aparajit (V.E. 718/801 A.D.) and Allata (V.E. 1010/ 953 A.D.), came to the conclusion of identifying Bappa with Khuman. But a more reliable and independent source, the Uparaganva (Dungarpur) inscription of V.E. 1481 (1404 A.D.) of Maharawal Pata, describes Khuman⁴⁵ as a son and the successor of Bappa, as stated above. Therefore, the view expressed by G.H. Ojha, identifying Kalabhoja with Bappa, seems to be convincing. In this way, Bappa can be identified with Kalabhoja, although there are grounds to believe that a person with this name was also a member of the other Guhilot branch of Kishankindha.

His probable date

The exact dates of the reign of Bappa-Rawai are also not known. Col. Tod believes that he was born⁴⁶ in V.E. 789 (712 A.D.), occupied Chittor in V.E. 784 (727 A.D.) and subsequently abdicated in V.E. 820 (763 A.D.). G. H. Ojha and D.R. Bhandarkar, giving credence to the M.S. *Ektling Purana*, composed during the reign of Maharana Raimal, assumed the date of his abdication⁴⁷ as V.E. 810 (753 A.D.)

42. *Ibid* Vol. XX p. 99.

43. I.H.Q. 1928 pp. 796-796.

44. I.A. XXXIX pp. 186-191.

45. *Supra* f.n. No. 26 at page No. 40.

46. *Tod* I pp. 182-183.

47. रामदण्डा स्वपुराणं अथवेण्यपात्रः । अथद्विषयजाले च एवं नामाद्ये मुने ॥ (M.S. *Ektling Purana*)/Ojha I pp. 102-107/Vir-Prasad p. 252.

It seems that the Mori kingdom of Chittor was put to an end by the Arab incursion which took place before 730-40 A.D., the time of Navasari grant of Avani Janashraya.⁴⁸ Therefore, Bappa's occupation of Chittor became possible only after that year. Col. Tod also saw an inscription of the year 811 (754 A.D.)⁴⁹ containing the name of a prince Kukadeshwar, who ruled at that place. Therefore, Bappa's victory over Chittor seems to have taken place after V.E. 811 (754 A.D.). In this way, the dates given by Col. Tod, of his birth and abdication, can be taken into consideration.

Bappa and Chittor

The antecedents of Kukadeshwar, mentioned in the fragmentary Chittor inscription, as stated above are not known. He might have been a descendant of Mori king Man or more probably he was the Pratihar king Kukustha, the successor of Nagabhat I, as the latter had swayed upto Ujjain. He was, of course not a Guhilots, ruler. A divergence of opinion exists among the scholars about Bappa's victory over Chittor and some of them have assumed that the Guhilots could have succeeded in conquering this stronghold only during the reign of Alata. But traditionally Bappa's victory over this fort is described at length. Therefore, it can hardly be denied, so long as no other contrary evidence is forthcoming.

Achievements of Bappa

A mighty adversary of Bappa was the Arab General Junaid, whose formidable forces, according to Arab writer Al-Biladuri, overran Kathiawar, Kutch, northern Gujarat, Ujjain, Saurashtra, western Rajasthan, Mandor⁵⁰ etc. and devastated these regions. Reminiscences of this event are preserved in the Navasari plates of 739 A.D., of Avani-Janashraya Pulkesin⁵¹, which mention that Saindhava, Kachha, Saurashtra, Chapotaka, Maurya and Gurjar kingdoms were raided by the Arabs. The Pratihar king Nagabhat I had striven with all his might to drive the invaders out of India. The local rulers of

48. श्रीमद्भगवत्संहिता अनुवाद कोटि नवीन यजुर्वेद सामग्री Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I Part I

p. 109 f.n. 2.

49. Tod II p. 610.

50. Elliot and Dawson Vol. I p. 126.

51. Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I Part I p. 109 f.n. 2.

Hadoti and Mewar seem to have helped him. The Maurya chief Dhawal⁵² of the Kotah inscription of V.E. 795 (738 A.D.) assumed high sounding titles. Similarly, Bappa might have also benefited from the situation. It seems that a coalition was formed by Nagbhat I with Bappa-Rawal and Dhawal of Hadoti. Together they successfully resisted the advancing forces of the Arabs. As the Maurya power of Chittor was put to an end by the Arabs, Bappa-Rawal took advantage of this situation and extended his sway over eastern Mewar. Tradition believes that he had built up the state on a stronger foundation by the assimilation of the Maurya power of Chittor.

After the exodus of the Arabs, a serious political development took place. The Pratihara king Nagbhat I had to face the opposition of the Rastrakuta king Dantidurga of Deccan, who occupied Ujjain and performed *Hiranyagarbha* ceremony⁵³ there. This proves that a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Pratiharas. But shortly after, Nagbhat I retrieved his position and extended his sway over vast territories, which is proved from the Hansot inscription of V.E. 813 (756 A.D.).⁵⁴ The early rulers of Mewar also contested with Karnatakas and the Cholas, as described in the inscription of V.E. 1081 (1274 A.D.)⁵⁵ of Chittor. It seems that Bappa also extended his help to the Pratiharas in their struggle with the Rastrakutas and thus succeeded in wresting the eastern part of Mewar.

52. I.A. XIX p. 57.

53. हिरण्यगर्भं राजमानवदिन्यां स्वस्थितम् । प्रतिहारीहृषे वै नवरेतादिराजकम् ॥१॥
The Sanjan plates of S.E. 793 [B.I. XVIII pp. 243-57].

54. श्रीनालानामसोक्तव्यसादकिकरताम्ये [ibid XII pp. 202-203 line 94].

55. B.I. pp. 74-77.

(c) Pratihars and Mewar

Khuman I (800 A.D.)

Bappa-Rawal was succeeded by his son Khuman I. Col. Tod who has mentioned only¹ one Khuman, out of the three rulers of the same name, describes him as an outstanding and enterprising ruler, who is stated to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Arab invader Al-Mamun. But the latter was the contemporary of Khuman II, or his immediate successor and therefore, his contest with the said invader was practically impossible. Similarly, his battle with Arab Governor Junaid, as stated by G. C. Raichaudhary² and M.L. Mathur³, was also not possible, as the said incursion took place in about 750 A.D.

Battle with the Ruler of Malwa

In *Ektling Mahatmya*, Khuman is described⁴ to have an encounter with a prince named Singh of Malwa. But nothing is known about his adversary. During this time, the Pratihars of western Rajasthan, the Rashtrakutas of south, and Pala Rulers of Bengal were struggling for wielding their supremacy over northern India. The province of Malwa remained a bone of contention between them. Mewar, which is contiguous to Malwa, could not have remained untouched. The Pratihar prince Nagbhat I died and his successor could not check the progress of the Rashtrakutas. The Rashtrakuta king Dhruva-Nirupam⁵ launched an offensive expedition in north and defeated the Pratihar king Vatsaraja. During this grim political situation, Upendra Parmar acquired⁶ Malwa. Looking to such political developments, the

1. Tod, I pp. 196-197.

2. G.C. Raichaudhry—History of Mewar p. 32.

3. I.H.Q. XXX No. 1, (March, 1954) pp. 32-33.

4. तृष्णामो मायरप्रसिद्धेभृषत् *Ektling-Mahatmya* (MS) V. 31.

5. E.I. Vol. VI p. 243 verse 8/J. A. Vol. XI p. 161.

6. Prajpal Bhatiya—The Paramans pp. 28-29.

struggle of Khuman I with some ruler of Malwa, can not be denied.

Invasion of Rastrakuta King Govind III

The Rastrakuta King Govind III of Deccan, successfully undertook an expedition over northern India before 800 A.D. A good number of copper plates⁷ of his reign have been found which contain the detailed account of this expedition. It is believed that he, after establishing his younger brother Indra in Gujarat, proceeded⁸ towards Rajasthan, and after defeating the Pratihar ruler, penetrated into Mewar, through the pass of Desuri⁹. At Hatundi (Dist. Pali) and Dhanopa (Dist. Bhilwara), he appointed his relatives to keep a vigilance over the activities of the Pratihars and their allies. It seems that he could not move further north and retreated to Malwa through Chittorgarh. The verse 4 of the Sirur grant of 800 A.D.¹⁰ of the time of his son Amoghavarsha I, mentions the victory of Govind III over Chitrakuta. A divergence of opinion exists about the identification of this place, but G.C. Raichaudhary has correctly identified it with the fort of Chittor in Mewar, as it was having¹¹ strategical importance. In the Sanjan plates of the time of Amoghavarsha I, Govind III has been described to have launched an expedition upto the Himalayas and also defeated Dharmapal and Chakrayudha. But this account is rather an exaggeration, as no contemporary records of his reign describe it. His progress seems

7. I.A. Vol. XI p. 161/B.I. Vol. VI p. 243/Vol. XXXVI pp. 283-296/Vol. XXII pp. 327-332/Vol. XXXVI pp. 283-296/Vol. XXIII pp. 204-214.
8. Using the Sanjan Plates, A.S. Altekar mentions that Govind III proceeded through Bundelkhand. [A.S. Altekar—The Rastrakutas and their times (1934) pp. 63-66.] But this account is not corroborated by any contemporary records. The Nasarika grant of Saka era 727 (805 A.D.) asserts that the rulers of Ganga, Vengi, Malwa, Vindhya and Gurjar countries surrendered themselves and a sculpture of goddess Tara was presented by Dharmapal to Govind III (B.I. Vol. XXXIV pp. 124-125). But according to D.G. Sircar, giving of a sculpture was not a trophy of victory (*ibid* p. 137). No other contemporary record mentions this victory. According to Altekar, the Rastrakuta records do not claim Kannauj to have been invaded by Govind III *op. cit.* pp. 64-70.
9. G. Buhler, while editing the Radhanpur grant, pointed out the route of Govind III through Gujarat (I.A. Vol. VI pp. 62-63), where he established his brother Indra.
10. Both from Hatundi (Pali) and Dhanopa (Bhilwara), the Rastrakuta inscriptions have been found. (B.I. Vol. X p. 16/I.A. Vol. XXXX p. 175).
11. I.A. Vol. XII p. 219.
12. G.C. Raichaudhary—*op. cit.* p. 55.

to have been checked by Nagbhat II in north, and that was why he could not¹³ penetrate beyond the territory of Sapadalaksha. The verse 138 of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1460)¹⁴ informs that Khuman of Mewar sought with the ruler of Deccan. Therefore, it can be said that the ruler of Mewar also measured sword with the Rastrakuta king Govind III.

It seems that the Rulers of Mewar lost the strong-holds of Chittor and Dhanora. However, due to the enterprising achievements of Khuman I, pompous titles were bestowed upon him by the later writers.

Successors after Khuman I

The Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1460 A.D.)¹⁵ enumerates the names of Mattata and Bharttripatta after Khuman. In this way the names of five princes namely, Singh, Khuman II, Mahayaka, Bharttripatta II and Khuman III were left. The writer seems to have studied the later records, such as the Chittor inscription of V.E. 1331¹⁶ and Achaleshwar inscription of V.E. 1342 (1286 A.D.)¹⁷. The Ranakpur inscription of V.E. 1406 contains 3 names, out of five leftout in the Kumbhalgarh inscription. These medieval inscriptions did not follow the genealogy given in the Atipur inscription of V.E. 1084¹⁸ and the Kadmal plates of V.E. 1140¹⁹. No detailed information about the successors of Khuman I is known. It seems that they were having their sway over western Mewar only and Chittor fort did not remain under them.

Dharani-Varah of Chittor

The fort of Chittor, together with the eastern Mewar taken by the Rastrakuta king Govind III, seems to have been handed over to the Mauryas, who also measured sword with the Pratihars, as is evident from the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihar

13. *Maharana Kumbha*, (Hindi) pp. 8-10 by the author.

14. E.I. Vol. XXIV p. 324 verse 196. The *Eking Mahatmya* (MS) verse 34 also has a similar account of the victory of Khuman I.

15. *Ibid.*

16. B.I. pp. 74-77.

17. *Ibid* pp. 84-90.

18. I.A. Vol. XXXIX pp. 186-191.

19. E.I. Vol. XXI p. 241.

Bauka. A poet²⁰ Mahuka flourished at Chittor in V.E. 887(830 A.D.), who in his work namely *Haramkhala*, mentioned the name of the ruler of the place — Dharanivarali. According to Dr. Dashrath Sharma, he was probably a Maurya king, whose descendants subsequently migrated to Orrisa, as is evident from an inscription of Udaivarma²¹ who is stated to have come from Chittor. This shows that the Mauryas could not remain at Chittor for long and the Pratihars took it over.

Bhoja Pratihar and Mewar

Recently an inscription of Bhoja Pratihar²² has been found at Chittor, which contains the account of construction of a school by one of his *Karmikas* posted there. It shows that he was having his sway²³ over Chittor. In order to check the inroads of Rastrakutas, he had overrun the south eastern Rajasthan and Avanti. The Pratapgarh inscription of V.E. 1003 (948 A.D.)²⁴ gives information that a ruling Chauhan family remained under his suzerainty. This suggests that Chittor was also taken by him at that time.

The Benares grant of Kalachuri prince Karna yields information that Kokal I, one of his ancestors, had granted freedom to *Chitrakuta-Bhupal* with Harsarnji²⁵ and others. Although, Chitrakuta in the above passage is usually identified with Chitrakuta in Bundelkhand and Harsa as Chandela prince, but according to G. C. Raichaudhary²⁶ the said Chitrakuta had never remained an important military outpost and one Guhilot Harsaraj also flourished at Chaisu who, according to the Chaisu inscription of Baladitya, conquered the kings of the north and presented good horses to his overlord Bhoja I. Therefore, it is also possible to identify Chitrakuta with Chittor of Mewar. But it is inconsistent with other material, as Chittor was

20. Dashrath Sharma—Rajasthan through the Ages p. 240/*Vir Bhumi Chittor* by the author p. 125.

21. *Ibid* pp. 125-126.

22. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 62-63 No. 2 1938.

23. D.H.N.I. vol. I pp. 585-87/Vol. II p. 1169.

24. E.I. Vol. XIV pp. 162-179.

25. योद्धा वस्त्रपराणे शीहुर्वं चित्रकृत्यापाणे । संकरये च राजानि पृष्ठासीदमवाहःपाणि । E.I. II pp. 906-7.

26. G.C. Raichaudhary *op. cit.* p. 35

already under the direct control of Bhuj Pratihari²⁷; which is evident from the inscription referred to above. The question of granting freedom to its ruler, therefore, does not arise at all.

Arab invasion

The *Khuman Rao* of Dalpat Vijay mentions that Mahmud Khurasanapati invested the stronghold of Chittor and Khuman II resisted it by displaying gallantry and prowess. According to Col. Tod, it was the invasion of Al-Manoon, who after deposing his brother, became Caliph in A. H. 108 (813 A.D.).^{27A} The Muslim historians maintain that as a result of the efforts of his general in Sindh, "a portion of Hind was also conquered and annexed to his empire". But no exact account is known. At this time, Chittor formed part of the domain of the Pratihars and the rulers of Mewar had their sway on the western Mewar only. In case this invasion took place at all, Khuman II might have resisted the same while living in western Mewar.

Relations with Rastrakutas of Deccan

Khuman II was succeeded by Mahayaka and the latter by Khuman III. We have very little information about these rulers. Bhartripatta II, who succeeded, was an ambitious ruler. He espoused²⁸ Mahalaxmi of Rastrakuta family. The Pratihars of Kannauj were becoming weak. The Rastrakuta king Indra III launched an expedition over Kannauj²⁹ and devastated the country. The Pratihar king Mahipal could not manage to defeat him. During the closing years of his reign, Rastrakuta king Krishna III invaded³⁰ and captured Chitrakuta and some other adjoining parts before 940 A.D. The Pratappargh inscription of V.E. 999 (942 A.D.)³¹ describes

27. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 62-63 No. B 838.

27A. Tod, I 198-199/Elliot and Dowson-History of India Vol. I pp. 128, 441-42/ I. H. Q. Vol. XXX No. 1 pp. 33-36.

28. शीघ्राकामसम्भवप च पादसम्पादोक्तवैकलिकोऽपि भर्तुपुः । तेषां
प्रावृत्यानुच्छेदपूरा महासम्भवीतिशिरा । I.A. XXXIX p. 191.

29. A.S. Altekar—op. cit. pp. 100-103/V.B. Mishra—The Gurjar Pratihars and their Times pp. 35-36.

30. A.S. Altekar op. cit. pp. 119-121/V.B. Mishra—op. cit. p. 40/G.C. Raichaudhary op. cit. p. 96.

31. E.I. Vol. XIV pp. 162-179.

Gehilot Bhartrupatta II of Mewar as *Maharajadhiraj*, by intentionally omitting the name of Pratihar king Mahendrapal I, although the name of the latter is mentioned in the second inscription of V.E. 1003 engraved on the same slab. Therefore, it seems that Bhartrupatta II was having hostile relations with the Pratihar rulers and seems to have extended his help to the Karnatak king Krishn III, during his expedition of northern India. The Devali³² and Kurhad³³ plates of Rastrakuta king Krishna III tell us that "when he had vanquished the important strongholds of Deccan and his strength considerably increased (evidently on hearing it), the hopes of regaining the stronghold of Chittor would have vanished from the hearts of the Pratihar rulers". It proves that the stronghold of Chittor was recaptured by the rulers of Mewar from the Pratihars with the help of the Rastrakutas and the Huns.

We have got another important information also about the relations between the Karnatak country and Mewar. The Sarneshwar inscription of V.E. 1010 (D.M. A.D.)³⁴ contains the account that the businessmen of Karnatak country were successfully conducting their business at Alwar. However, the family dissensions hastened the disintegration³⁵ of the Rastrakuta empire in Deccan and therefore, more benefit could not be derived from them.

Relations with the Hun Kings

The Hun chiefs of north-west Malwa were very powerful and formidable at that time. They fought several battles and had matrimonial alliance with Rajput chiefs. The Parmars of Malwa³⁶ had to launch several expeditions against them. Similarly, battles were fought between the Hun prince Jajjapa³⁷ and Balavarma of

32. *Ibid* Vol. V p. 194.

33. *Ibid* Vol. IV p. 284.

34. B.I. pp. 67-69.

35. The Rastrakuta king Krishna III was succeeded by Khotigna, about 968 A.D., who had to face an invasion of the Parma king of Malwa in 972 A.D. (*Patalachchi-Nama-Mala* no. 276). It is also mentioned in the Parmar inscriptions (E.I. Vol. I p. 255) / A. S. Altekar *op. cit.* p. 124/ Bhatiyani—*op.cit.* p. 44.

36. *Nava-Sahasraka-Charita* IX, X, versas 14-20/5.1. Vol. I p. 228/1. A. Vol. XLVI p. 15/ Vol. XX p. 201/ Ganguli—*History of Parmar Dynasties* pp. 40 and 52/Bhatiyani—*op.cit.* pp. 40, 50, 60-61.

37. E.L Vol. IX p. 8.

Saurastra. The Chedi prince Karna was also having his matrimonial relations with the Huns.³⁸

Somadeva in his *Niti-Vakyamrita* referred³⁹ to the fort of Chittor being taken by devising a stratagem with the help of the Huns. No definite fact can be adduced from this casual literary reference, as the name of the Hun king has not been mentioned in it and this event could also be attributed to the reign of the great Mihirkul, who had swayed over vast areas. But Somdeva's reference probably pertains to the reign of Bhairuprata II of Mewar, who seems to have also obtained help from the Huns in taking Chittor.

Allata's struggle with Pratihar king Devapal

Allata espoused the Hun princess⁴⁰ Hariyadevi and succeeded in obtaining help from the Huns. His reign was very glorious. He wielded his authority successfully by killing a Pratihar king Devapal.⁴¹ The Ahir Jain temple inscription, recently edited by the author, contains a valuable information about it. The Pratapgarh inscription of V.E. 1003 (940 A.D.)⁴² speaks of Prauhar king Mahendrapal II as the ruler. But the Siyadoni inscription of V.E. 1006 (948 A.D.)⁴³ does not give any account of Devapal, which proves that the latter had ruled for a very short period. In fact, after the death of Pratihar king Mahipal dissensions broke out and most of the feudatories turned as staunch enemies of the empire. This had hastened the disruption of the mighty empire of the Pratihars.

By the death of Devapal, the Pratihars seems to have lost their hopes to recapture Chittor and other territory from the rulers of Mewar.

38. The marriage of the Hun princess Alladevi, with the Chedi-prince seems to be a momentous event, as it has been repeatedly mentioned in nearly all the records of the successors of Karna. (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. IV pt. I pp. 293, 304 Pt. II p. 647).

39. य यते किं त्रूपादिपति: सुध्यपुष्टवहिष्मिः सुमटैः निरुक्तं भग्नात् (*Durga-Samudesh and Niti-Vakyamrita* No. 8).

40. Hariya Devi is stated to have founded a town-Harshapur in Mewar.

41. [इ]दं स्मरते यो वेष्टातं च चातुः । वन्नवह उगदातिशातविदसहस्रास्थलं संयुगे निर्विज्ञानरक्षण-
दीप्तं विश्वर्क्षं कवत भग्नात्... [The Ahir Jain temple inscription edited by the
author in *Varada* (Hindi) Vol. XIV no. 1 pp. 1-5].

42. E.I. Vol. XIV pp. 162-181.

43. *Ibid* Vol. I p. 162.

(d) Struggle for existence

The disruption of the mighty empire of the Pratihars resulted into the formation of several petty states in northern India. The Parmars of Malwa, the Chauhans of Ajmer and the Chalukyas of Gujarat contested among themselves for supremacy in western India. The rulers of Mewar also had to face these powers and in the fluid political condition of the north, they continued to resist without being despirited by their repeated reverses. This period is also very important for the cultural development in the state.

Allata

After defeating the Pratihar king Devapal, Allata succeeded in consolidating¹ his power. He developed Ahar town as a commercial centre and shifted his capital there. The Pipali inscription² of V.E. 1005 (948 A.D.), preserved in Pratap Museum Udaipur, can be attributed to his reign.

The Sarneshwar temple inscription of V.E. 1010 (953 A.D.)^{3A} contains a list of government officers and members of the cabinet. It also throws light as to how the temples were managed and what sort of taxes were being levied for this purpose. Another inscription of V.E. 1016 (959 A.D.), found from the village Unawas,³ has

1. Ahar Jain Temple Inscription edited by the author (*Varada* XIV No. I pp. 1-3).
2. *Ibid* Vol. VI No. I pp. 3-4.
- 2A. The Sarneshwar temple inscription mentions the names of the *Sandhi-vigrahaka*, *Aksha pattalika*, *Vandipati*, *Bhishagaraj*, *Pratihar* etc. (B.I. pp. 67-69) The Ahar Jain temple inscription mentions the name of his *Akshava-ttalika* as Mayur (अक्षवात्तलिका मयूरी ममुख्यतः), whereas the Sarneshwar temple inscription mentions the names of Mayur and Samudra,
3. ग्रन्थालयक नामांकने कालकाल सभी संस्कृता मर्तुःपुराणो *Varada* Vol. VII Oct. 1964 pp. 10-19.

recently been published by R.G. Agrawal. It contains the name of the king as Valwaka, who is also stated to be a son of Mahnlaxmi. The word Valwaka seems to be the local name of Allatta, as is apparent from *Samaraditya Samkshipta*, a Jain work⁴, wherein Pradyumnasuri has been described to have succeeded in a debate with Digambaras, in the court of the king Alluka of Mewar. The inscription of the Ambika temple at Jagat of V.E. 1017 (960 A.D.)⁵, although contains the name Samvapura, the son of a Vallaku but, as no titles have been mentioned with their names, nothing can be said about them with certainty.

Ambika temple

The Ambika temple of Jagat, constructed during the reign of Allata resembles the Khajuraho temples in architectural beauty. It is richly carved⁶ having an elaboration in design. It consists of a sancium with *Pancharath Sikkha* of seventeen turrets and a *Sabhamandapa* having many inscriptions ranging from the V.E. 1017 (960 A.D.) to V.E. 1745 (1688 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the Unawas temple of V.E. 1016 (969 A.D.) and the Ekling temple of V.E. 1028 (971 A.D.) are quite simple and plain in design, whereas the Ambika temple of Jagat is richly carved.

In this way, the reign of Allata⁷ witnessed immense prosperity, abounding in of masterpieces of art objects.

Naravahan (V.E. 1028)

The Sarneshwar inscription of V.E. 1008-1016⁸ mentions names of the five sons of Allata i.e. Naravahan, Gundal, Sodhaka, Siddha and Siluka. Naravahan, being the eldest, succeeded his father. While editing Kadmal plate of V.E. 1140⁹ (1083 A.D.), A. K. Vyas

4. "वार्ता जिताप्रस्तुत्याकाशभवि चलपादेन" *Samaraditya Samkshipta* (Introduction).

5. R.G. Agarwal-Arts Asiatiques 1964 (1) p. 48-Journal of Oriental Institute Baroda. Vol. XIV. No. 1/Varada Oct. 1964 p. 15.

6. The inscription of Ambika temple of Jagat of V.E. 1017 (960 A.D.), mentions that by doing renovations of step wells, temples, tanks etc. the benefits of constructing them as original-works are derived (जारी रखा हावर्गी उद्याने स्वनेत्र च मूनसंसार कर्त्तरो लक्ष्ये मूल कर्त्ता) But this does not mean that this temple was renovated.

7. B.I pp. 67-69.

8. E.I. XXXI p. 241.

observed that Allata's second son's name was Mahipal. But the text of the above plate being extremely faulty, no new name, unknown from other sources, can be introduced. According to D.G. Sirear, the word *Mahopamana*⁹ occurring in the above plate, can be corrected as *Mahibahan* and not Mahipal, which seems to be an other name of Naravahan only. Our information about the junior branch of descendants Allata, as mentioned in the Kadmal plates of V.E. 1140 (1083 A.D.) and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1480 A.D.), is meagre. We only know that Vairata, a member of this branch, subsequently acquired the throne of Mewar, in the second quarter of 11th century A.D., but the names of his predecessors are no where available.

Great debate of the Jains, the Shaivas and the Buddhas

For Naravahan's reign, we have got an inscription of V.E. 1028 (971 A.D.)¹⁰ of Ekling temple, which throws interesting light on the existence of the *Pashupata* sect and manifold activities of the *Pashupata Yagies*. According¹¹ to it, a great debate was held in the court of Naravahan, among the Shaivas, the Jains and the Buddhas, wherein the Shaivas are stated to have come out victorious. The Jain records also claim to have defeated the Shaivas in it. The *Lata-Vagada guruvalli* of Digambar Jains mentions that Prabhachandra, who is stated to have achieved eminence by composing *Vividhachar*, defeated the Shaivas in the court of Naravahan.¹² These Digambar Jains might have lived in Nagada, where the *Aloka-Parshwanath* temple¹³ of 10th century still exists.

The Ekling temple inscription of V.E. 1028 (971 A.D.)¹⁴ is very important, as it is the earliest record of the *Pashupata* sect found from

9. ibid p. 242 fn.

10. Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XXII pp. 166-167.

11. स्वाधारप्रहृष्टिप्रहृष्टिविधिविधिं इतरौतागिककन्तव्यसीगतामेवं विविद्या (ibid).

12. श्रीचिदकूटदुर्गे राजानरवाहनसमाप्ते विकटैश्चादिष्टैददमदहनवाचासक्षिद्विद्वाचारप्यषकां श्रीमद्भास्त्राक्षदेव (Vir-Bhumi Chitor by the author p. 154).

13. The Aloka Parshwanath temple of Nagada is found mentioned in the Bijolia inscription of V.E. 1226 (1169 A.D.), as an important Jain temple (E.I. Vol. XXVI pp. 109-12).

14. The Ekling temple inscription lines 19 and 14.

Mewar. Like Cimtra Prashasti of Gujrat, this inscription¹⁵ mentions that it was for the rigid fulfilment of the *Pashupata* vows that Lakulisha became incarnate, and also that the *Yogis* of Kushika branch were living there, who were having their fame throughout India. Supujitashasti was the chief priest at that time, who got the temple of Lakulisha constructed. The name of the *Akshapattalika* of Naravahan was Shripati, who was the son of Mayur, the *Akshapattalika* of Allata. Two important poets namely, Amra and Yogaraj, also flourished during this time in Mewar.

Saktikumar

Naravahan was succeeded by Salivahan, who ruled for a very short period between V.E. 1028 (971 A.D.) and V.E. 1034. G.H. Ojha believes that the Guhilots of Kathiyawar are his descendants¹⁶, but there is no evidence to prove it. Salivahan was succeeded by Saktikumar, who was an enterprising ruler. According to the Atpur inscription of V.E. 1034 (977 A.D.)^{16A} he was possessing three elements of power namely, *Mantrashakti*, *Prabhushakti* and *Utsahashakti*. This indirectly proves that he had efficient forces and capable ministers. According to M.L. Matbur he joined Jaipal against¹⁷ Sabuktigin. This hypothesis is based on the fact that he has been described, in the Chittor inscription of V.E. 1331, to have annihilated the enemies of his religion. Although, this inference is not supported by any contemporary authority, but it seems that like other Rajput chiefs, the rulers of Mewar might have sent their forces to fight against the invading forces. At that time, the border states of Rajasthan were grappling with the critical situation caused by the aggression of the formidable invaders. A conjecture can therefore, be hazarded that Saktikumar might have despatched his forces on any such occasion to help Jaipal. No definite proof, however, can be given about it.

15. शीराजदीर्घ वीतशोधितिरपृतस्मात्पुः शोधितिः—शोधितिष्ठ मित्रः पवे सुधीर्वेनकापटले-न्द्रेश्वर [Varada Vol. XVI No. pp. 1-3].
16. G.H. Ojha maintains that the descendants of Salivahan were ruling at Kheda who, after its fall migrated to Kathiyawar. But the Guhilots penetrated into Marwar much earlier. At Brahmanavada, a small principality of the Guhilots was ruling and it seems that they might have gone to Saurashtra.
- 16A. अविकुमा-पूत्सुतः अक्षिरयोजितः (IA XXXIX p. 191).
17. Journal of Indian History Vol. XXXII pt. II p. 149.

Invasion by Parmar king Munj

The Hathundi inscription of V.E. 1053 (996 A.D.)¹⁸ of Rastrakuta king Balaprasad informs that his father Dhaval extended his shelter to the king of Mewar, when Munj Parmar invaded his capital Ahir and captured it. This event took place in the reign of Saktikumar. The Parmar chief Vakpati Munj also defeated a Gurjar¹⁹ prince of Kannauj. The disastrous defeat of the ruler of Mewar forced him to surrender the stronghold of Chittor and he satisfied with Ahir and the south-eastern Mewar. The reason of the invasion of Parmars is nowhere found mentioned. But it seems that Saktikumar extended his sway over Hadoti with the help of the ruler of Kannauj and captured it. According to *Jambudvipa Prajanpal*²⁰ (MS) a ruler Sakai was having his control over Baran (District Kota), when the said work was completed. It seems that during this time the south-eastern Rajasthan remained the bone of contention between the rulers of Mewar and Malwa, and by the defeat of the ruler of Mewar the Parmars acquired and retained it till 14th century A.D. In this way, the rulers of Mewar not only lost Hadoti, but also the eastern Mewar. It adversely affected the fortunes of Mewar. To aggravate difficulty, a good number of chiefs also deserted the ruler of Mewar and went to the court of Malwa. The Jiran (District Mandasaur) inscriptions of 1000 A.D. and 1008 A.D.²¹ contain the name of *Mahasamantadhipati* Vigrahpal of Gubilot branch who migrated from Nagada. He seems to be a subordinate chief of the Parmars of Malwa.

Inscriptions of Saktikumar

Three important inscriptions of the reign of Saktikumar have been known so far. The Atpur inscription of V.E. 1084 (877 A.D.), discovered²² by Col. Tod, contains a detailed genealogy of the rulers of Mewar and records the erection of a temple of Nanigswami for

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18. संस्कृताद यदाचिः प्रकटमिव मर्त्ये भेषणादे भट्टाचार्ये राजान् पर्ये बनवार्ण रथे मुर्जपते B.I. Vol. X p. 10.
 19. A.K. Majumdar—The Chalukyas of Gujarat p. 28/Pratipal Bhatiya—The Parmars pp. 47-48.
 20. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author p. 13.
 21. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Gwalior State for the year 1937-38 p. 12/An. Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer 1936 p. 2.
 22. I.A. Vol. XXXIX p. 191.

which a grant was issued from Vatasthan, which can be identified with Baroda (District Dungarpur). Another inscription was noticed²³ by C. Bandel incised on a step leading to the terrace of a Jain temple of Ahar. It is now preserved in the Pratap Museum, Udaipur. It refers to the donation of 14 *drammas* to the Sun God. The third fragmentary inscription²⁴ is lying in another Jain temple of Ahar which contains an account in a panegyric style of the rulers from Allata to Saktikumar with their *Akshapallnikas*, namely, Moyur, Shripati, Gundal and Mattala.

Invasion by Chauhan Vakpatiraj II

Ahar being completely devastated, Saktikumar seems to have shifted his capital to Nagada. His son Ambaprasad succeeded him to the throne, whose name is found omitted in the genealogies recorded in the Abu inscription of V.E. 1342 (1285 A.D.)²⁵ and Ranakpur inscription of V.E. 1498 (1439 A.D.)²⁶, while in his place Suchivarma is mentioned immediately after his father. But the Chittor inscription of V.E. 1331 (1274 A.D.)²⁷ and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1480 A.D.)²⁸ describe him as the successor of Saktikumar. He had to face an aggression by the Chauhan King²⁹ Vakptiraj II and was slain while defending. His defeat resulted in the alienation of the territory of *Uparamal* from Mewar. He seems to have ruled for a short period. A good number of merchants and other citizens migrated from Mewar to save themselves from humiliation. Some of them settled in western Rajasthan while others went towards Malwa etc.

Successors of Ambaprasad

After Ambaprasad, his brothers³⁰ Suchivarma, Anantvarma, Narvarma, and Kirtivarma succeeded one after the other. The *Hastimata* temple inscription of Ahar, now preserved in the Pratap

23. C. Bandel—Journey in Nepal p. 82.

24. *Varada* Vol. XVI No. 1 pp. 1-4.

25. I.A. XVI p. 346.

26. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author p. 384.

27. B.I. p. 77/E.I. Vol. XXIV pp. 312.

28. नृपर्माणसकन्त्या च प्राप्तो वर्षां महीपतिः । क्षमो वर्षां वाप्रधावस्थं लक्षिते भास्तरो दृष्ट च ॥ वerses 142./E.I. Vol. XXIV pp. 317-319.

29. The *Prithviraj Vijaya Kavyam* Part V verses 58 to 60.

30. E.I. Vol. XXIV pp. 317-319 verse 142.

Museum Udaipur, contains the account that the temple of *Rohilleshwor* was constructed by Suchivarma.³¹ His queen was the daughter of a Chalukya family. These rulers seemed to have revived their hostility with the Parmars of Malwa. A.K. Vyas while editing³² the Kadmal plate maintained that Parmar Bhoj deposed Yogrāj and appointed Vairat as the ruler of Mewar. Although there is no direct evidence to prove it, but it is clear that Bhoj took active interest in the internal affairs of Mewar while remaining there for a pretty long time.³³

The inscriptions of Mewar are silent on this point. The Kadmal plate of V.E. 1140 (1083 A.D.) and Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1617 (1400 A.D.) simply narrate that after the death of Yogrāj, the main ruling line of the Guhilnis became extinct. Therefore, Vairat³⁴ of the junior branch of the descendants of Alata, succeeded. In fact, the hostility between the Parmars and the rulers of Mewar, continued unabated. The internal insecurity and repeated Parmar and Chauhan invasions diminished the power of the Guhilnis and Mewar was grappled in a critical situation causing adverse effect on the resources of the state. Quite contrary to this, the power of Bhoj Parmar was at its culmination. The rulers of Mewar maintained their independence in the hilly and inaccessible tracts only, while Bhoj Parmar, in order to reduce the refractory chiefs of Mewar to obedience, seems to have resided for some time at Chittor. His stay at the said place is proved from the various literary and epigraphic evidence. According to the Abu inscription of V.E. 1378 (1321 A.D.) and *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa Dhandhuk*, the Parmar chief³⁵ of Abu, took shelter with him, when Bhoj was residing there. Subsequently, Vimalshah went there and

31. B.I. pp. 72-73.

32. E.I. XXXI p. 242.

33. The Ujjain charter of Parmar Bhoj of V.E. 1078 (1021 A.D.) was issued from 'Nagdraha' which can be identified with Nagada in Malwa, and not with Nagada in Mewar. I.A. VI pp. 56-57.

34. तत्र एवं प्राप्ति भूनेषणाते भृत्यरितः ।

अपि एव्यु विष्टे तस्मिन् तत्त्वाणाम् [धृष्टद्वा] एता ॥१॥

पात्रावस्थटस्ताते वैरटोद्गुहिन्मिक्षवा; ॥ E.I. Vol. XXIV p. 310. Similar information is also available in verses 2 and 7 of the Kadmal plates V.E. 1140 (1083 A.D.) E.I. Vol. XXXI pp. 241-243.

35. E.I. Vol. VIII pp. 208-222/*Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa* (*Arbuda Kalpa*) verse 39.

brought him back in order to get him concereted with the ruler of Gujrat. In this way, the possibility³⁶ of Bhoj's taking part in the internal affairs of Mewar cannot be denied. Thus, he might have succeeded to appoint Vairat by deposing Yograj.

Construction of Tribhuvan Narayan Temple at Chittor

A temple of *Tribhuvan Narayan* was got constructed by Bhoj on the fort of Chittor. The Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330(1273 A.D.) A.D.) narrates that *Talaraksha Madan*³⁷ used to pay homage at the said temple. According to another inscription of V.E. 1358 (1301 A.D.)³⁸ Pratihar Dharnasingh got it repaired. Its name is also recorded as *Bhojaswami Deva Jagati*. Although G. H. Ojha has identified this temple with *Samidheshwar* of Chittor,³⁹ but on the basis of a pillar inscription of V.E. 1041 (984 A.D.),⁴⁰ I refute the theory. It seems that *Samidheshwar* temple was constructed during 10th century A.D. and was quite different from the *Tribhuvan Narayan* temple constructed by Bhoj. It was perhaps demolished during the invasion of Alauddin.

Nagada inscription of V.E. 1088

A. K. Vyas proposes that the fragmentary inscription of V.E. 1088 (1026 A.D.)⁴¹ lying in the Pratap Museum Udaipur, may be assigned to the reign of Vairat. We, however, do not find any direct or indirect reference, which may support this theory. The right half portion of this inscription being damaged, the names of the rulers are missing.^{41A} In its lines 5 and 6, the name of a certain ruler is mentioned, who used to give away gold in charity. His son was quite powerful and unrivalled like Indra (*Purandara-tva-pralima-prabhavah*). Similarly, it is difficult to hazard any definite

36. DHNI Vol. II p. 1177.

37. श्रीलोकदर्शक लिप्युक्तमारवणात्म देवगृहे । ये विस्तयति सम वक्तव्यं वरीष्वां इव विद्य-
निष्ठुः । The Chirawa inscription verse 91.

38. संवत् १३५८ बर्षे भाज्य दूरि १०—प्रतिहारवंसे—राजा मुहम्मदसिंह श्री शोभासामिन्द्र
ज्ञान... [Varada Vol. IX No. 1]

39. Ojha I p. 183.

40. See Author's paper *Samidheshwar Mandir Ka Nirman Ka* published in Varada Vol. No. XIV.

41. E. I. Vol. XXXI p. 242.

41A. Journal of the U.P. Historical Society (New series) Vol. X pt. I p. 24.

opinion about the word "Shridhar" appearing in its line 17. It may denote a ruler or might have been used as an appellation only. However, this inscription might have belonged to the Guhilat chiefs, as it was engraved at Nagada, which had close association with the rulers of Mewar.

Vairat to Vijay Singh

After Vairat, his son Hanspal ascended the throne and was succeeded by his son Vairisingh. For these rulers our information is meagre. In the Kadmal plate of V.E. 1140 (1083 A.D.), Vairisingh is described to have snatched his enemy's elephant with the help of those who received assistance from him in the past.⁴² The Palodi inscription also contains similar information of defeating the enemies, whose details are not available. In the Kumbhalgarh inscription⁴³ he has been described to have constructed the ramparts of 'Aghatapattan' (Ahar). It seems that he paid due attention to the defence of the city. A reminiscence of the achievements of Hanspal, Vairisingh and Vijaysingh is also preserved⁴⁴ in the Bheraghat inscription of 1155 A.D.. For Hanspal and Vairisingh, it is mentioned that they displayed conspicuous⁴⁵ gallantry while fighting with the enemies, who might be the Parmar rulers of Malwa. However, after the death of Bhoj Parmar confusion and chaos prevailed in Malwa. It was besieged by the combined forces of the Chalukyas and Kalachuris. Bhoj left no son behind him. Jaisingh I succeeded him, who was also removed after a couple of years and was succeeded by Udayaditya. The circumstances prevented him from being hostile to the rulers of Mewar. He extended⁴⁶ his hands for friendship not only to the ruler of Mewar but also to the Chauhans, the traditional enemies of his house. From the Bheraghat inscription it is learnt that Vijaysingh married Shyamaldevi⁴⁷ who was the

42. 2. 1, Vol. XXXI p. 243 verse 8.

४३. दण्ड: हृष्णप्रसादक मैटिरियो नुपातिष्ठी । १७५४ वरियोनेन भिक्षु श्रीमद्बाहुदर्पण ने प्राकार्द्रव्यचतुर्दशी कल्पार्थप्रश्नाखिता । १७५४ E. L. Vol. XXIV p. 325.

44. *Ibid* Vol. II p. 12.

45. *Abd* *vaccines* 17-19.

46. P. Bhatiya—The Paṇmara pp. 105-110.

४७. पूर्णोपतिविजयसिंह इसि प्रपदभाषः सदा जगति यस्म यक्षः सुमातुः ॥५०॥

तुर्स्पाभेषम्याभेषमप्यनायिनाथोदयादित्यसुरासूक्ष्मा ।

गुजारिनी यमाद्युदात्परिता विमतामर्गिरचित्तनी ५२१६ B.I., Vol. II pp. 12-13.

daughter of Udayaditya (1066-87 A.D.) of Malwa and the mother of Alhandevi, the queen of Kalachuri Gayakarna (1116 A.D.) of Dahal. This matrimonial alliance between the Parinars of Malwa and the Guhilots of Mewar helped in maintaining cordial relations between the two houses.

Inscriptions of Vijaysingh

The Kadmal plate of V.E. 1140 (1088 A.D.)⁴⁸ mentions Vijaysingh as *Param Bhalarak Mahrajadhiraj Parmeshwar Mandalik*. G.H. Ojha assigns the Paladi inscription of V.E. 1173 (1116 A.D.)⁴⁹ of Pashupat ascetics of Eklingji to his reign, but A. K. Vyas,^{50A} basing on the description of Arisingh available in its lines 6 and 7, correctly ascribes it to the reign of Arisingh, the successor of Vijaysingh. Some inscriptions, ranging from V.E. 1173 to 1189,⁵⁰ incised in a Shiv temple of Atganya (District Udaipur), mention Vijaypal as the ruler of the place. But he seems to be a different ruler, who probably belonged to the *Bharttripatta* branch of the Guhilots, as is apparent from the Thinkarada inscription of V.E. 1212 (1156 A.D.).⁵¹

Successors of Vijaysingh

After Vijaysingh, his son Arisingh succeeded. Two inscriptions, one from Ghasa (Delawara) and other from Paladi, belonging to his reign, are known. The *Tripurushdeva* temple of Ghasa (near Delawara) was got constructed in V.E. 1184 (1107 A.D.)⁵² by one *Rajputra Durlabhraj*. The Paladi inscription, referred to above, mentions a few names of Pashupat ascetics of Eklingji.^{52A} Our information about the successors of Arisingh, namely Chodsingh, Vikramsingh and Ranasingh, is meagre. It seems that internal dissensions broke out which threatened the security of the state.

48. E.I. Vol. XXXI pp. 241-242.

49. Ojha I pp. 141-142.

49A. E.I. Vol. XXX p. 8.

50. Three inscriptions of the year V.E. 1173, 1183 and 1189, referring to some donations given by Maharaja Vijaypal, are engraved in the temple of Atganya. The Ingoda inscription of V.E. 1190 clearly mentions him as a member of the *Bharttripatta* branch. अगस्त्यावानोविराजितम् पद्मशिखाद
महादाता विराजन परमेष्वर श्री विवेकपालदेव (I.A. Vol. VI pp. 55-56.)

51. Ibid Vol. LVI pp. 25-26.

52. संवत् ११६४ जावन शकि ११ शुक्ल ईश्वर श्वे दुष्कृत्य छुट पद (Varada Vol. V No. 2)

52A. E.I. Vol. XXX p. 8.

Rawal and Rana Branches

It was during the time of Ranasingh⁵³ that the ruling family branched off into two lines known as Rawal and Rana. The Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1480 A.D.) does not mention the above splitting up of the family, but the *Eking Mahatmya* deals with the above division and records the history of the junior branch also. The ruling family retained the title Maharawal or Rawal, whereas the junior branch came to be known as Rana. But subsequently, the junior branch predominated during the time of Hamir whence onwards the rulers of Mewar became known as Maharana. In the *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya* it is mentioned that the title of Rana was bestowed upon Rahapa by Maharawal Karna for his conspicuous⁵⁴ gallantry in defeating Mokalsi, the ruler of Mandor. But this version is not supported by sober history.

Parmar Narvarma and Mewar

The political condition of western India was much deplorable when violent and implacable feuds between the Parmars of Malwa, the Chalukyas of Gujrat and the Chauhans of Ajmer were raging. According to Dr. Bhatiya⁵⁵, Mewar played an important role throughout this tripartite struggle. According to epigraphic and literary sources, Narvarma (1004–1134 A.D.) was having his sway over Chittor. From the *Kharater Gachha pattavali* we learn that Narvarma granted two *parutha* coins for the daily worship of a certain Jain temple⁵⁶ of Chittor. This fact is also mentioned in an unpublished inscription of Saka-Era 1028 (1106 A.D.)⁵⁷ found

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53. अश्वर्णसूष्मि जल्दः द्विसोन्न विशालि भूसोके । एक राढम ताज्जी यथा ताज्जी परा महूर्ती ॥
The *Eking Mahatmya* (MS) verse 50.
54. *Ibid* verses 41 to 51 & 70 to 71/The name of Mokalsi Pratihar is no where available in History. The Guhilots were already occupying Kheda, Brahmanavada, Pipad and Kharawad etc. in Marwar much earlier to the reign of Ranasingh. For details see Author's paper *Brahmanavada as Guhilavamshi Shashaka* (Sodhpatrika).
55. P. Bhatiya—*op. cit.* p. 85–86.
56. विनवलमहारूप—“विलकृटे वेवग्रां दद्य भावकैः कारीदमास्त, तत्र पूजायं स्वर्वदपिकावानाऽपादव्युष्टं चतिरिं दायम्” हतो राजातुष्टः—विलकृट यज्ञपिकासत्त्व लाप्तसदान भविष्यतीति इत्यु [Muni jinvijay—The *Kharatargechha Brithada Gurvarali* p. 13].
57. *Virbhumi Chittor* pp. 26–27 by the Author.

from Chittor. From the various literary sources it is known that Chittor with its adjoining area was very much flourishing. Jinavallabha Suri and Jindadatta Suri⁵⁸ visited this place several times. After Narvarma, Malwa suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Siddharaj Jaisingh of Gujrat. Consequently, Chittor and other adjoining areas which formed the part of Malwa at that time, now formed the part of Gujrat⁵⁹.

Chalukya Kumarpal and Mewar

Siddharaj Jaisingh was succeeded by Kumarpal who, after coming to the throne, launched for expeditions on Sapadalaksha country and vanquished its Chauhan ruler twice. During his second expedition of V.E. 1207 (1150 A.D.) he paid homage at the *Samidheshwar* temple of Chittor and to mark the occasion made a grant of some villages for this temple⁶⁰. This fact is contained in an inscription of V.E. 1207 (1150 A.D.) which was composed by the Jain Poet Rankirti, a pupil of Jaykirti of Digambar sect. According to this, *Dandanayaka* Sajjan was incharge of the administration of the fort. He seems to be other than the former Sajjan *Dandanayaka* who was a contemporary of Siddharaj Jaisingh and most probably belonged to the *Kumbhakar* caste. Another inscription of the same year was also found from Chittor according to which Madhusudan's son Someshwar, one of the subordinate officers of Kumarpal, got constructed a Vishnu temple on the fort. According to the Bijoliya inscription of V.E. 1220, Visaladeva Chauhan vanquished⁶¹ Sajjan and captured the stronghold of Chittor, in order to wreck vengeance of the defeat of Arnoraj. But it seems that the Chalukyas recaptured it. The *Moh Parajaya*⁶², a contemporary work, mentions that the crown prince of Mewar used to visit the court of Kumarpal and play chess with him.

58. *Ibid* pp. 156-157.

59. *Ibid* p. 27.

60. E.I. Vol. II p. 521/Annual Report on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer 1931 pp. 2-3/*Virbhumi Chittor* p. 27 by the Author.

61. E. I. XXXI p. 109 verse 20/*Virbhumi Chittor* pp. 222-224 by the Author.

62. एस मेवाट निर्मल कुमारोः । एस घुरुषा हिष्म भद्रोवरो । एस अंदाधदी परो । एस नदूष भर्त्य
नदूषी... *Moh Parajaya* Act IV p. 68.

Rastrakutas of Dhanop

It seems that the Chalukyas could not penetrate into the western & north-eastern parts of Mewar. This territory was enjoyed by the Rastrakutas and the Chauhans. According to an inscription of V.E. 1063 (1006 A.D.) found from Dhanop⁶³ (District. Bhilwara), a small principality of the Rastrakutas was ruling there. As already stated, Rastrakuta King Govind III granted this patrimony to one of his relatives. The Dhanop inscription throws ample light on the account of the kings, Bhallila, Dantivarma, Buddharaj, Govindraj etc.. Dantivarma is described to have got constructed a temple of Siva, while his grandson Govindraj constructed a shrine of mother goddess. It reveals from the Dhanop inscription stated above that the place was invaded and the worship of the deity had to be temporarily discontinued.⁶⁴ Subsequently, when it was reoccupied by the Rastrakutas, the Saivite ascetic Nagpa Bhattacharya approached the king Chachcha and got the grant renewed. It seems that Saktikumar had vanquished the Rastrakutas, but later on after the defeat of the Guhilots at the hands of the Parmars, these Rastrakutas seem to have reoccupied it. No other information of the descendants of Chachcha is known. The only one inscription of this time found at Menal, V.E. 1212 (1165 A.D.)⁶⁵ also does not contain any such mention. It seems that these Rastrakutas could not survive against the imperial designs of the Parmars of Malwa and the Chauhans of Ajmer.

Uparamal under the Chauhans

As stated above, the territory of Uparamal was occupied by the Chauhans during the time of Ambaprasad. A good number of inscriptions of the 12th century A.D. are found, mostly containing accounts of manifold activities of Pashupat ascetics. From village

63. I. A. Vol. XL p. 175.

64. तिवलोकनमार्त्तिस्त्रीहर्ये[नै]वृद्धिमि[नै]दैः । मुदाया संयुग्मोद्य(१)ततः शीघ्रेत पंचिरे ॥७॥
पितृभूतो भवत्तीतो नन्म ग्रामारिकापितः । बनर्जनादिको[हष्ट्वा]देवस्तेन[यभासितः]८॥

Ibid p. 175.

65. इस्ति संवद् १२१२ वर्षे भारत्य मासे.....मंदिरिक तरवर्मकसुतः । राजकस्त्रियनुबनेवरस्तो
गेवनाव दृह तत्य संभवः । राम्फूट परात्मा पुत्र कोह्य युत्स्य च शीतिसिहृष्ट दीहितो
[Journal of Indian History, April 1962, pp. 9-14/A. Report on Indian
Epigraphy 1962-63 No. 3 p. 844.

Lahori (Jahazpur)⁶⁶ an inscription of V.E. 1211 of the time of Visaldeva Chauhan, was found having the name of Vishweswar Prajna, a Pashupat ascetic. Suhiyadevi, the queen of Prithviraj II of Ajmer, was a staunch follower of Pashupat sect. She got some temples constructed and made pious donations. One such temple was erected at Menal under the name Suheshwar. From the pillar inscription of this temple, it is gleaned that out of the income of this temple she granted 20 *Ajaya-priya-drammas*⁶⁷ to the *Ashadhareshwar* temple. The Dhod inscription of V.E. 1225,⁶⁸ also contains a similar account of donations by this queen and Kumarpal the local chief of Uparamal. Two Jain inscriptions of the time of Someswar Chauhan are known from Bijoliya. One of them contains an authentic genealogy of the Chauhan rulers of Ajmer, while in the other is engraved the great poem '*Urnata Stikhar Purana*'.⁶⁹ The Menal inscription of V.E. 1226 mentions the name of a Pashupat ascetic Bhava Brahmamuni.⁷⁰ Two inscriptions of V.E. 1228 and V.E. 1229 of Dhod have recently been published by Shri R.C. Agrawal containing the account of various grants to Pashupat Saivas⁷¹. From Anwalada, two Sati pillars⁷² having inscriptions of V.E. 1234 and V.E. 1245 are known. At Menal an inscription of V.E. 1235⁷³ is found incised on the pedestal of an image, representing king Someswara. This proves that the Uparamal territory was in the possession of the Chauhans upto the 12th century A.D. The Jain poet Ashadhar,⁷⁴ born at Mandalgarh then forming part of Sapadlaksha, moved subsequently to Malwa, as the territory was occupied by the Muslims.

66. *Maru Bharati* Vol. XII pp. 13-15.

67. PRASWC 1966-7 p. 59/Bhandarkar List No. 342/Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy 1962-63 No. B 842.

68. *Varada* Vol. VIII No. 4 (Oct. 1965) pp. 1-6.

69. E.I. Vol. XXVI pp. 110-111.

70. Bhandarkar List No. 346/An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy No. B 842.

71. *Varada* Vol. VIII No. 4 pp. 1-6.

72. An. Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer year 1923 pp. 2-3.

73. An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy 1962-63 No. B 845.

74. शीमानिति सपादेश विषयः काक्षमरो मुष्यस्त्रद वीरतिधममहतकरं नामास्ति दुर्गं भद्रं...
स्त्रेष्ठेष्ठेन सपादेश विषये मुष्यस्त्रदासाहिन्द्यनरेन्द्रोः परिभललूज्जितवर्गाचस्ति । प्राप्तं
पात्रवर्णणम्... [The Colophon of *Sagaridhar manuscripta*]

Guhilot Inscriptions from Marwar

Although, the Guhilots lost considerable territory of the eastern Mewar, but they succeeded to occupy some area in Marwar which is proved from inscriptions found at Bhinmal, Brahmanavada, Pokarana and some other places near Mandor. An inscription of 11th Century A.D. is available at Pokarana⁷⁵ (District Jaisalmer) which tells that a Guhilot chief Ghanghaka was slain while protecting the cows. The Guhilots ruled small principalities of Brahmanavada⁷⁶ and Kheda. The Rathors subsequently vanquished the Guhilots of Kheda by a treacherous strategem and took over their state. However, the Guhilots continued to rule ■ Brahmanavada till the V.E. 1387 (1330 A.D.)⁷⁷, as is evident from the Achaleshwar temple step-wall inscription of Guhilot Mokal.

- 75. See Author's paper — *Pokarana ke Shilalekh* published in *Shodh patrika*, Vol. XXII No. 2 pp. 67-69.
- 76. See Author's paper — *Brahmanavada ke Guhila-vansi Shashak* published in *Shodh patrika*, Vol. XVIII No. 2 pp. 30-35.
- 77. See Author's paper — *Achaleshwar Mandir ke Shilalekh* published in *Varada* Vol. XIII No. 2 pp 17-19.

(e) Other Guhilot Principalities

The Guhilots of Kishkindha

The ruins of the ancient town of Kishkindha are still visible near Kalyanpur (District. Udaipur). A good number of sculptures have also been salvaged from the site and now preserved in the Pratap Museum, Udaipur. Some inscriptions and copper plates¹ of the early Guhilots of Kishkindha, recently brought to light, prove the existence of a local principality flourishing during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Its relations with the early Guhilots of Nagada-Ahar branch of Mewar are not exactly known. An inscription of the year 703 (640 A.D.)² of the reign of Siladitya of Mewar was discovered from Samoli, a village about 50 miles away from Kalyanpur. Both these places are situated in the Bhomat area of Mewar. Thus, it seems that both of these families belonged to the same stock.

The earliest known ruler of this principality was Maharaja Padda. The Kalyanpur stone inscription, now preserved in the Pratap Museum, Udaipur, mentions of the construction of a Shiva temple during his reign by a certain person, out of money earned by righteous means, for the attainment of *Shiva-Sayujya*.³ The words *Tatha-Amnayam* used in the inscription, give an idea of the presence of the traditions of construction of temples there. Though the inscription does not bear any date, but judged on palaeographic ground, it can be assigned to the first half of the 7th century A.D.⁴ It neither contains the name of Kishkindha nor of the Guhilot clan, but its discovery being from Kalyanpur as well as the period to which it belongs, suggest that it must have belonged to the Guhilot

1. D.C. Sircar—The Guhilots of Kishkindha pp. 54-55/E.I. Vol. XXX p. I/XXXIV p. 167/XXXV p. 55.

2. E.I. Vol. XX p. 99.

3. अमायेन पवास्तारं विरामतारं धर्महः कारितं दुष्टिगोपेषय विवसादो (मु)ष्ट विद्धे । नी वहाराच एकुराज्ये E.I. Vol. XXXV p. 55.

4. Journal of Indian History Vol. XXXV Part I pp. 73-74/E.I. XXXV p. 55

branch of Kishkindha.⁵ It is perhaps the earliest inscription of this branch⁶.

Another ruler of this branch was Maharaja Devagana, whose name appears in the plates of the years 48 (653 A.D.) and 83 (689 A.D.) issued by Bhavihit and Balsht respectively. Both of them issued these grants while meditating at the feet of Devagana.⁷ In the plate of Bhavihit, the titles of Devagana are given as *Param Maheshwar* and *Anapta-Ashesha-Mahashubda*.⁸

Devagana was followed by Bhavihit, who seems to be a son of his brother, as the latter uses the word *Pitriya*⁹ for him. D.C. Sircar presumes that he usurped the throne from the successors of Devagana¹⁰, but there is no definite evidence to corroborate the same and the inference adduced by him does not seem to be conclusive. Contrary to this, Bhavihit mentions the name of Devagana, with due reverence and also ratified the grant made by him, which could not be executed in time. The title of Bhavihit was *Samaddi-gata-Pancha-Mahashabda*.

Another ruler of this branch was Maharaja Bappa¹¹, mentioned in the Dhuleva copper plate grant of Bheti of the year 73 (670 A.D.), where in the grant of village Ubburaka, given by him, has been ratified by Maharaja Bheti. V.V. Mirashi, while editing the above said plate¹², has opined that Bheti recorded his consent to the gift of Mnharnja Bappa-datti. D.C. Sircar, however, does not agree with this interpretation¹³ and suggests that the word Bappa-datti does not indicate any proper name and merely stands for 'father' in a sense of reverence. But in later inscriptions of Mewar, Bappa

5. D.C. Sircar—*op.cit.* pp. 57-58.

6. E.I. XXXV p. 55.

7. *Ibid* Vol. XXXIV p. 167.

8. प्रमाणैष्वरोवामुदीवद्वादृष्टः (:) श्री देवगणस्त्वादक्षमताग्राही

E.I. XXXIV p. 167.

9. स विदितं यथा नपारव विनृष्ट श्री देवगण(ग) पार्वीय शासनाद्वादामपेक्ष

(*Ibid*)

10. D.C. Sircar—*op.cit.* pp. 60-61.

11. विदितं यथा महाराजवप्पविदिः स्त्वैवपुष्टप्यय विभित्यर्थ (E.I. XXX p. 1)

12. *Ibid*.

13. D.C. Sircar—*op.cit.* pp. 62-63.

has been mentioned as a ruler. In the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1480 A.D.)¹⁴ two separate rulers by the name Bappa have been mentioned. Therefore, it will be worthwhile to take it as a proper name. Roshanlal Samar¹⁵ has attempted to identify Bappa of the Dhuleva plate with Bappa Rawal. His arguments have been counteracted by Jogendra Pal Singh¹⁶ who also agrees with D.O.Sircar. The traditions prevailing in Mewar, however, give an idea that a king with the name Bappa also ruled earlier to Bappa Rawal. But more evidence is needed to corroborate this theory and nothing can be said with certainty on this point, on the basis of the available material.

Another ruler was Maharaja Bhetti, whose relations with Bhavilhit are not exactly known. Though he does not mention the name of Devagana in his plate, but this grant being issued from the camp of Kishkindha, from where other Guhilot plates mentioned above were issued, he may also be taken as a Guhilot chief. The Dhuleva plate of the year 78 (670 A.D.)¹⁷ was first noticed by G.H. Ojha. It was later on¹⁸ edited by V.V. Mirashi. It is interesting to note that the grant was issued under the joint signatures of Bhetti and Samant Bhartripatta¹⁹. We do not know as to how this arrangement existed.

The plate of Maharaja Babhat of the year 83 (689 A.D.) though mentions the name of Devagana, does not mention the name of Bhetti, which is an interesting fact. A village Mitrapallika situated in Kishkindha *vishaya* was donated by him to the sons of a Brahman Goparaj. This plate also mentions the name of a *Rajputra* Ghoraghattaswamin, but we do not know anything about him.

The last known ruler of this family²⁰ was Kedachil, during whose reign a Shiva temple was constructed by a lady Vonna. It

14. E.I. Vol. XXIV p. 308.

15. Journal of Indian History Vol. XL Pt. II pp. 346-355.

16. Ibid Vol. XLII pp. 425-433.

17. An. Rep. on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer 1932-33 p. 2.

18. E.I. Vol. XXX p. I.

19. नारायणमेशिस्त्रहस्ती (१४)मतिव्यक्तम् स्म द्रुस्तः (Ibid)

20. E.I. Vol. XXXIV p. 167.

also furnishes the name of a Shaiva ascetic, Kukkatacharya. An unpublished inscription of village Basundhara²¹ (Distt. Dungarpur) mentions the performance of a sacrifice by Bhatta Dronaswami. Similarly, an unpublished inscription of Budheshwar (Distt. Dungarpur) of 9th century A.D. contains the name of Sagat, one of the descendants of Bhatta Dronaswami. These two inscriptions have not so far been edited. The Guhilots of Kishkindha suffered a great setback at the hands of the Rashtrakutas, who occupied a considerable territory and seem to have settled permanently in the conquered land. That is why, they are still there known as Chhappaniya Rathors. Finally, the Parmar and Guhilots of Mewar captured the Vagada territory. The Ajpur plates of V.E. 1034 (977 A.D.) of Saktikumar of Mewar were also issued from Baroda in Vagada.

The copper plates of the Guhilots of Kishkindha bear the dates 48, 73, and 83 without mention of any specific era. A divergence of opinion exists about the identification of this era. While G. H. Ojha and D. C. Sircar believe that the mention is of the Harsha era²², V.V. Mirashi suggests it to be a Bhattika era.²³ Roshanlal Samar takes it to be a local one²⁴, having no connection with Harshavardhan. Majority of the scholars have agreed with the views expressed by G. H. Ojha and D. C. Sircar. However, their arguments do not seem to be conclusive. For example, the Dhuleva plate also mentions the year as *Ashwayuja Samvatsara*, which does not tally by taking the year 73 of Harsh year as equivalent to 679 A.D., as twelve years' cycle of Jupiter corresponding to the above period was Jyeshtha. D. C. Sircar, agreeing on this anomaly, says that there were different almanacs, which did not tally with each other on some important points. The suggestion of V.V. Mirashi, to regard it as the Bhattika era, is also erroneous and has been

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21. The impressions of these inscriptions taken by Shri Surajmal Bagadiya were shown to me by the late Maharaja Virabhadra Singh I.A.S. of Dungarpur.
 22. An. Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer 1932-33 pp. 2-3.
 23. E.I. Vol. XXX pp. 1-4.
 24. Journal of Indian History Vol. XL pt. II pp. 346-355.

well refuted by D. C. Sircar, Dashrath Sharma²⁶ etc., on the ground that the Bhatis never entered this part of Rajasthan. The views expressed by Ojha & others carry sufficient weight, and we would very much like to subscribe to them but another find of a like nature also calls our attention. From Devanimori²⁷, about 40 miles from Kalyanpur, an inscription on a Buddhist relic casket has been found having the mention of the year 127 of Kathika era. As no details of this era are so far known, we may take it as a local era. Working on the same analogy, the era mentioned in the inscriptions and copper plates of the early Guhilots of Kishkindha, may also be taken as some local era. The Dhuleva²⁸ plate contains the passage *Rajya Pratipatti* which according to V. V. Mirashi means the era reckoned from the date of the acquisition of the kingdom. This also proves that the local Guhilots, on the acquisition of their state, started a new era. This was not strange, as dates in the reignal years were commonly recorded at that time. But more convincing evidence is still required to corroborate this statement.

The information pertaining to the administrative set up, gleaned from the inscriptions and copper plate grants of these rulers, is very interesting. The rulers were having their titles as *Avepta-Ashasha-Mahashabda*, *Samadhibata-pancha-Mahashabda*, and *Samuparjita-Panch-Mahashabda*. All these plates were issued from their capital Kishkindha. The copper plate grant of Bhavihit of the year 48 (658 A.D.) mentions the name of *Pur-Patta-Vishaya* which seems to have been used for the capital of the state i.e. Kishkindha. The *Samantas* were enjoying overwhelming powers, as is evident from the Dhuleva plate of the year 73 (679 A.D.), where the words *Shri Samanta-Bharttripattaya-Anumati* refer to the approval of the *Samanta* *Bharttripatta*.

These grants contain the names of several officers and also have the account of the levy of various taxes.

25. I.H.Q. Sept. 1959 p. 149/Dashrath Sharma—Rajasthan through the Ages Vol. I p. 682.

26. राजस्थानी कला विद्या संस्कृतीय एवं लोकात्मक ज्ञान के Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda Vol. XV Sept. 1965 p. 73.

27. राज्यप्रतिपत्ता (पालि) वर्ण: (वर्णः) त् (ति) समतिप्तिः अ (आ)स्यमुक्त उद्धरण्डः (त) (E.I. Vol. XXX p. 1)

Guhilots of Dhod, Nagar and Chatasu

Another important Guhilot principality was of the Guhilots of Dhod, Nagar and Chatasu. It seems that after the extinction of the tribal republic of the Malawas, the Guptas and the Huns captured this territory. Soon after the defeat of Mihirkul Hun at the hands of Yashovardhan, the Guhilots got a fortunate chance and captured this area. The earliest known inscription of this principality is the Dhod inscription of the year 701 (644 A.D.)²⁸. The Nagar inscription of the year 741 (684 A.D.)²⁹ contains four names of the early Guhilots rulers namely, Ishanbhatta, Upendrabhatta, Guhila, and Dhanika. These names are also mentioned in the Chatasu inscription of Baladitya, wherein they are described as the *Bhartripatta-Abhidhan*³⁰ Guhilots. Reckoning 20 years for each generation the date of Bhartripatta, the first ruler of this branch, may be assumed as V.E. 640 (683 A.D.). The Nagar inscription was not available to G.H. Ojha and G.V. Vaidya and so the date of Bhartripatta, assumed by them, needs correction. There is no other source to give more information about these four rulers.

The Dhod (Tehsil Jahazpur District, Bhilwara) inscription mentions the name of Guhila Dhanika, who owed his allegiance to a prince Dhavalappa³¹ who probably belonged to the Mauryan dynasty. There are chances to identify this Dhanika with the ruler of the same name mentioned in the Nagar inscription of the year 741 (684 A.D.). But this identification requires us to assume a lengthy reign of 45 years for him. An inscription of the year 887 (830 A.D.)³² containing the name of Dhanika, father of Ishanbhatta, was found at Nasun (District Ajmer). G.H. Ojha has identified this prince with that mentioned in the inscription of Dhod. But this identification does not seem to be correct, as the Nasun inscription does not contain any detailed account of these rulers and simply

28. E.I. Vol. XX p. 123/D.G. Sircar—*op. cit.* pp. 31-32.

29. The Bharat Kaumudi Vol. II pp. 267-276.

30. E.I. Vol. XII p. 11 verses 7 and 8.

31. परमस्तुरक यहारवाहिराज परमेश्वर ली(श)वसप्पदेवस्वर्द्ध(द)ड(श) वासि
Ibid Vol. XX p. 129 lines 1 and 2.

32. I.A. Vol. LIX p. 21. मण्डलाविष्वीमरीजानमटेस शीशनिक सुभूता श्री यामाड स्वामि
तुल्यं प्रदर्श।

mentions them as *Mandaladhipa*. As such, we can not associate Dhanika of Nasun inscription with that of Nagar. Besides, there is a gap of about two centuries between Dhanikas of the two inscriptions.

The Chatasu inscription is a very important record of the early Guhilots of eastern Rajasthan. According to this, Dhanika, mentioned above, was succeeded by his son Auka and the latter by his son Krishnaraj, who seems to have owed his allegiance to the Pratihars. Sankargana, son of Krishnaraj, fought for the sake of the Pratihars in the Gaud country. His son Harshraj also conquered the kings of north and presented a booty of horses to the Pratihar king Bhoj I. He was succeeded by his son Guhila, who also fought under the banner of the Pratihars and vanquished the Gaud king. His son Bhaita fought with the South Indian forces. Thus the entire line of these Guhilots⁵³ took an important part in the tripartite struggles of the Pratihars, Pals and Rastrakutas. The last known prince of this line was Baladitya, who got a temple of Murari constructed at Chatasu.

The *Mandakila Tal-Nagar*—inscription of V.E. 1043 does not contain any names of rulers. It simply mentions the word *Loka Nripa*. But as the area around Nagar formed part of the Guhilat territory at that time, this inscription can also be attributed to their reign. These Guhilots were subsequently defeated by the Chauhans, as is evident from some inscriptions of the Chauhans found at Vishalpur. Some *Bharttripatta-Abhidhan* Guhilots also ruled in Vagada during the 12th and 13th centuries and in central India during the 12th century A.D., but we can hardly fix their inter-relationship with the Guhilots of Chatasu.

The Guhilots of Vagada

The successors to the Parmars in Vagada were these *Bharttripatta Abhidhan* Guhilots. From Arthuna, the inscriptions of Vijaypal Parmar have been found upto V.E. 1166 (1108-09 A.D.). After this period we find some inscriptions of Guhilots Vijaypal from a temple of village Atganya. He acted as Governor of central India under the Chalukya king Skidhraj, as is evident from his

Ingoda inscription³⁴ of V.E. 1190. The Thakarada (District Dungarpur)³⁵ inscription of V.E. 1212 of his son Surapal mentions the name of Tribhuvanpal and Prithvipal as his predecessors. His successor was Anangopal. Samantsingh of Mewar captured the territory of Vagada, as is evident from the Solaj inscriptions³⁶ of V.E. 1226. But he could not stay there for a long and was removed by Amritpal before V.E. 1242, who reinstated himself with the help of the Ghalukyas. A copper plate grant was issued by him in the year³⁷ 1242. His inscriptions and copper plates are available upto the year V.E. 1281 (1204 A.D.).³⁸ He was succeeded by Vijaypal, whose inscription of V.E. 1265 (1208 A.D.) is also known. These rulers were subsequently removed by Jaitrasingh of Mewar.³⁹

34. I.A. Vol. VI p. 55-56.

35. संवत् १२७५ रथे... अर्तु पट्टामिकान् "श्रीपूर्वीपालदेव" (३:) राज्यत्व—महाराज श्रीलिमुदनपाल देव (४:) रथम् पृष्ठो (५:) महाराज श्री विजयपाल देव (६:) रथम् पृष्ठो (७:) महाराजभी शुभपाल देव (८:) प्रवैदनान् विजयराजे I.A. Vol. LVI p. 25.

36. An. Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer for the year 1914-15 p. 2.

37. *Ottar Nibatika Sangraha* Vol. II p. 207.

38. शे १२६१ रथे बोलिकर वरि ० (६०) इनी श्रम्पणास रथ्ये (Unpublished inscription of the Shiva temple of village Rama)

39. For details see Author's paper *Vagada-men: Guhila-Rajya-Ki-Sthapana* published in *Varada* (Hindi) and 'Foundation of the Guhilot power in Vagada' published in the Journal of the Rajasthan Institute of Historical Research, Jaipur/*Ethnauka-Shodha-Sangraha* by the Author pp. 16-17.

(f) Pre-Medieval Mewar

Samantsingh's battle with the Chalukyas

Earlier, we have seen that eastern Mewar remained under the subjugation of the Chalukyas of Gujarat and formed part of their state. Chalukya Kumarpal (1141-1171 A.D.) was succeeded by Ajaypal who was not a strong ruler. Maharawal Samantsingh¹ son of Khhemsingh of Mewar seems, to have fought fiercely with him in V.E. 1232 (1176 A.D.). There are numerous epigraphic and literary evidence available wherein Prahaladan, the younger brother of Patmar Dharavarsha of Abu has been mentioned to have succoured the said ruler of Gujarat, when the power of the latter was disastrously broken in a contest with Samantsingh of Mewar. The Abu Prashasti of V.E. 1287 (1230 A.D.), *Surahotsava Kavya*² and *Partha Parakrama Vyayoga* also mention this fact. According to these, initially a crushing defeat was inflicted on Ajaypal, who also received a severe wound, but subsequently, with the timely help of Prahaladan of Abu, emerged victorious. Luders while editing the Abu Prashasti of V.E. 1287 (1230 A.D.)³ identified the Gujarat ruler defeated by Samantsingh with Bhim II, but Ojha⁴ has convincingly identified him with Ajaypal, basing his examination on various literary sources. A.K. Majumdar, however, finds "no evidence" to show that the Gubilot Samantsingh had ever invaded Gujarat.⁵ He is of the

1. The earliest known date of Maharawal Samantsingh is V.E. 1224, as is evident from the Ghantashilata inscription (संवत् १२२४ चैत्र शुक्ली ४ रवि विते दोहरी शक्ते सोमाय वोने श्रीप्रेटालिदेव्याप्राचार्य श्री महाराजाक्षिराज श्री सोमदेव्य विवराज्ये राठवळ विद्य सुख मनुष्यण कारापित Varado Vol. V No. 3 p. 8).
2. सांनतसिद्धमुद्दे श्री अव्यपासनदेवः प्रह्लादोद्धरा मृत्युज्ञानिभिर्मापातः मुग्धरनामना पूरोहितेन श्री कट्टु-केवलरामान्न पुनः स वीर्यितः Surahotsava Kavya Canto-XV verse 32 f.n. 5/ G.D. Dalal—Partha-Parakrama-Vyayoga (G.O.S.) p. 4.
3. सांनतसिद्ध मृत्युज्ञानिभिर्मापातः श्रीप्रेटालिदेव्याप्राचार्यातिपरतामविलापिः । प्रह्लादसदगुणो दग्धुवोरा-भारिकारित्यमहापुनरक्षमसत्यं चकार ।३६॥ E.I. Vol. VIII p. 211.
4. Ojha I pp. 144-145.
5. A.K. Majumdar—Chalukyas of Gujarat p. 123/G.O. Raichaudhary—History of Mewar pp. 50-51.

opinion that "Samantsingh whose family upto that time was insignificant, took courage after the death of Kumarpal and tried to rescue Chittor region from the domination of Chalukyas. How far Samantsingh was successful, is not known. It may be noted that in his inscriptions upto 1202 A.D., Samantsingh used the modest title of *Maharaja*, whereas after that date he adopted the title of '*Maharajadhiraj*'. The above version is erroneous and can be challenged on the basis of epigraphic and various literary references. It seems that the learned scholar had confused while saying that Samantsingh of Mewar survived upto 1202 A.D. In fact, Samantsingh mentioned in the inscription of 1202 A.D. was the Chauhan ruler, son of Jayantsingh of Nadol, who was quite different from the Guhilot ruler of the same name.⁶ The assumption of A.K. Majumdar that Guhilot Samantsingh simply launched an expedition over Chittor region seems to be unjustified, as the personal contest with Ajaypal and intervention of the ruler of Abu were hardly possible at Chittor. It seems that the time chosen by Samantsingh was very opportune, as after the death of Kumarpal confusion prevailed all over the Chalukya dominion.⁷ Taking the advantage of this disorder, he extended his sway not only in eastern Mewar but also in the western side.

Battle of Kasarada and Mewar

Ajaypal was succeeded by his minor son Mularaja II. The most important event of his reign was the invasion of Mohammad Ghori. A fierce battle was fought at village Kasarada⁸ near Abu in 1178 A.D. where in the Rajputs emerged victorious. This was a unique victory in the sense that the invading forces were

6. For details see the following papers of the Author :—

(i) "*Uthamana Palati Aur Baghashi ke Shilalekh*" published in (*Sodhapa-trika* Vol. XXIII No. 2 pp. 65-70.

(ii) *Jayantsingh Chauhan ke Shilalekh* published in *Varada*, Vol. XII No. 4 pp. 5-6.

7. A.K. Majumdar—op. cit. pp. 125-131.

8. According to the Persian sources, the Turkish pressure was felt in western Rajasthan. Nagaur was conquered by Bahalim, the general of Bahram of Punjab. The *Vividha Tirsha Kalpa* mentions that the temple of *Phalodi-Purshwaranath* situated near Merta road railway station was molested by the forces of Mohammad Ghori. The *Kiradu* inscription of V.E. 1233 (1178 A.D.) mentions the destruction of the image of God Shiva by the *Yavans*, which was subsequently reinstalled. This shows that the Sultan passed through Merta Road, Kiradu etc.

badly defeated and quite a big number of them slaughtered, which forced the Sultan to escape to Ghazani. The rulers of Marwar and Abu also assisted the ruler of Gujrat in this struggle. The forces of Mewar seem to have remained aloof.

Kitu Sonagara in Mewar

Kitu Sonagara is supposed to be the founder of the Senagara branch of the Chauhans of Jalore. Being discontented with his lot at Nadol, he invaded Mewar and captured some part of it.⁹ Mulraj of Gujrat was also anxious to wreck vengeance of the humiliation of Ajaypal and to suppress the refractory elements in Mewar. But he could not take any action, soon after the battle of Kasarada, Gujrat suffered from implacable feuds and resurrections. Mulraja was destined to rule for a very short period and was succeeded by Bhim II, while a minor. The chronicles of Gujrat mention that his feudatories, taking the advantage of his minority, attempted to parcel out the kingdom amongst themselves. In Malwa also, Harishchandra, the successor of Jayarma Parmar acquired independent sovereignty by defeating the forces of Gujrat. This fluid political situation helped Kitu a lot to launch for an offensive expedition to chastise the ruler of Mewar. Another important factor which encouraged¹⁰ him for snatching the power in Mewar, was the discontented nobles, who had recourse to the dangerous expedient of extending their help against their master Samantsingh, as the latter wanted to withdraw their rights, and privileges. In this way, Kitu was successful in capturing the stronghold of Ghittor. According to Dr. Dashrath Sharma this event took place in V.E. 1284 (1177 A.D.)¹¹ but I think it might have taken place sometime after the battle of Kasarada and most probably in the reign of Bhim II.

Samantsingh in Vegada

After being ousted from Mewar, Samantsingh succeeded to capture a part of Vegada from the local Guhilots. Inscriptions and copperplates of Amritpal, son of Surapal the Guhilot chief of

9. Dashrath Sharma—Early Chauhan Dynasties pp. 148-145.

10. Achaleshwar temple inscription of V.E. 1342 verse 36. [I.A. Vol. XVI pp. 347-351.]

11. Dashrath Sharma—Rajasthan through the Ages I p. 277.

Vagada have been found from V.E. 1242 (1185 A.D.) to V.E. 1261 (1204 A.D.). Only one inscription of V.E. 1239 (1179 A.D.)¹² belongs to the reign of Samantsingh has been found from the Breshwar temple near village Solaja (Vagada). This proves that Samantsingh ruled in Vagada territory only for a few years; and Anritpal might have reinstated himself before V.E. 1242 (1185 A.D.).

Generally, Samantsingh is described as the progenitor of the ruling families of Dungarpur and Banswara. But this view can be counteracted on the basis of the Uparganva inscription of V.E. 1461 (1404 A.D.)¹³ wherein, Sihada, the first ruler of the ruling family of Vagada is described as a son of Jaitrarsingh of Mewar. This epigraph, being the earliest one dealing with the genealogy of Vagada rulers, seems to be authentic.

Kumarsingh:

Kumarsingh, younger brother of Samantsingh, is said to have succeeded him in Mewar. According to Nenasi, Samantsingh being pleased with the services rendered by this younger brother, granted the patrimony of Mewar to him. But this account is not supported by sober history. The Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1480 A.D.)¹⁴ mentions that Kumarsingh, with the help of the ruler of Gujarat, succeeded in expelling Kitu from Mewar. It seems that Samantsingh was ousted from the arena by Chalukya Bhimdev II of Gujarat, who appointed Anritpal in Vagada and Kumarsingh in Mewar, while keeping Ahir under his direct control. Mathansingh's successors:

Two inscriptions of the time of Mathansingh, one of V.E. 1239 (1179 A.D.)¹⁵ incised in the Shiva temple of the village Atganva-

12. An Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer year 1914-15 p. 2/Ethasika-Sodha-Sangraha by the Author pp. 16-17.
13. शैवसिंहो विग्रहेना सीहैनाडिक्षिण मही । राजमती व मूरातं सामाधाराभूतेन याः ॥ विवेद 2 [Unpublished Inscription of village Uparganva of V.E. 1461 (1404 A.D.)].
14. Nenasi & Khyaat Vol. I.
15. सीहसिंहहासामाप्तुष्टिर्वद्वे जातः । १५१३ भ्रताकुमारधिलोपूर्वकयमः प्रातीनं वर्त ॥ विशानिकासायामाप्त लीलूं संस्कृतु यथा ॥ १५० ॥ E.I. Vol. XXIV p. 223.
16. संवत् १२३६ वर्ष (वर्ष) अस (दिन) मु (मुदि) शुक्र (श्वेत) नानाहु भूताराजविपाल की वहार्तिह देव [The Atganva inscription] संवत् १२३२ वर्ष (दिन) सुदि ११ पूर्णि श्री भौद्धिप्रसादग्नि देव पूजा.....श्री भौद्धिप्रसाद देव विवरणी [The Jaisaval inscription]. Both these inscriptions, are published in Rajashah Sharati Vol. VII No. 4 pp. 3-4, by R.G. Agarwal.

and another dated V.E. 1242 (1185 A.D.) incised in the Vishnu temple of Ishawal, have recently been known. Both these inscriptions are found from the area lying south of Nagada, the capital of Mewar. Mathansingh was succeeded by his son Padmasingh. One inscription of his reign is found from the Shiva temple of village Narsinghpur in Tehsil Gogundah. His copper plates of V.E. 1251 (1194 A.D.)¹⁷ are also known which relate to the land grant in village Kadmal, which is situated 25 miles away in the north-west of Ahar.

Ahar grant of Bhim II

While retaining possession of Aghatpur (Ahar) the Chalukya king Bhim II, made a pious grant of some land with a well (Arhata) in Ahar, to a Brahman Rayldeva son of Bihad of Rayakwal caste, on the 2nd day of the bright half of Shravan of V.E. 1288 (1208-7 A.D.)¹⁸. It shows that the Chalukyas of Gujarat enjoyed it for a pretty long time.^{19A}

Jaitrasingh and the Chalukyas

Jaitrasingh ascended the throne after his father Padmasingh, sometime before V.E. 1270 (1213 A.D.), as he has been mentioned as the ruler in the Ekling¹⁹ temple inscription of that year.

The Ahar grant proves that the Chalukyas hegemony survived in Mewar till the beginning of the 13th century. But in the early years of his reign, Jaitrasingh seems to have cast off the yoke of suzerainty, most probably during the time when confusion prevailed in Gujarat, after Bhimdeva's discomfiture at the hands of Quibubuddin. This offered an excellent opportunity to him to defy the

17. The Narsinghpur inscription refers to certain grants for the Volkuteshwar temple, made by Mahareja Padmasingh. [कर्तव्य वेदस्य प्रवर्त्ता । एति च गुप्तेन महाराजा श्री पद्मसिंह देवो एषामि] The Kadmal plate of V.E. 1251 mentions his land grant. [संवत् १२५१ वर्षे महाराजाप्रियदेव श्री पद्मसिंह देवः मलि जगद्युक्त वर्तमानै ।] Varada Vol. IX No. I pp. 55-56/Sodhapatrika Vol. V No. 3 pp. 50-51.
18. महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वराधिनविलक्षणराज श्रीमद्भूमिदेवः । स्वभूमियमात्र मेवपासनकात :— श्री मधुदाम तत्पदे.....मगरकट्ट.....The Ojha Nibandha Sangrah Vol. IV pp. 32-33.
- 19A. In Kumbhalgarh inscription the words *Svikritam Aghatpuram Gurjar-Nripatim* (verse 13) have the sense that Kumarsingh agreed to surrender Ahar to the ruler of Gujarat. G.H. Ojha's interpretation that Kumarsingh recaptured Ahar with the help of the ruler of Gujarat does not seem to be convincing in view of the copper plate grant mentioned above.

authority of the ruler of Gujrat. It is known from the Ghaghara inscription of V.E. 1322 (1265 A.D.)^{18A} that Jaitrarsingh could not be humiliated by the lords of Gurjar land, Malwa, Turushka and Shakambhari. A similar account is also available in Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330 (1273 A.D.).¹⁹ It shows that he might have come in conflict with many powers, but his most momentous struggle might have been fought with the Gurjar Prince. The *Hamir Mada Mardan* of Jaisingh Suri, composed in the year V.E. 1280 (1229 A.D.)²⁰, informs that Jaitrasingh of Mewar was confident of the strength of his sword and so did not care to respond to the call of the ruler of Gujrat when Ilutmish invaded. Therefore, it is evident that the king of Mewar was reigning as an independent ruler at that time,

After the death of Bhim II in Gujrat, Tribhuvanpal succeeded him, who challenged the ruler of Mewar at Kotada. The Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330 (1273 A.D.) informs that a person Balaka of Talaraksha family was killed while fighting at Kotada (Kottadka) with Ranak Tribhuvan.²¹ The reign of Tribhuvanpal was of a very short duration and he was subsequently removed by the ambitious Visaldeva before V.E. 1308 (1246 A.D.). Therefore, this battle seems to have taken place between V.E. 1299 and 1308 (1242—1246 A.D.). The Patanarayan inscription of V.E. 1344 (1287 A.D.) speaks of Jaitrasingh's victory²² over Chandravati which was subsequently recovered by the Parmars.

Invasion by Ilutmish

Ilutmish invaded Gujrat. His army passed through Mewar

19. संक्षेप १२०८ वर्षे महाराजाशिराजवीरजीविहृदैमेषुराज... The *Surah* inscription of Eking temple.
 - 19A. श्रीमद्गुरुवर्तमानव तुरम्भकाकम्भरीवर्तीर्थस्य—
प्राची न मारनेनः स इवः क्षेत्रो जग्यु वैतर्यिष्ठ मुषः ॥१॥ [Varada Vol. V. No. 8 pp. 4-7.]
 20. व मारनीयेन न वीरेण न मारवेन न जाग्नेन ।
अभिभुविनायेन भवानि मातो न्नानि न लिष्येवतिवृद्ध वस्य ॥२॥
- The Chirawa Inscription,
21. प्रतिप्रादिवायुर्बाहुकथ्यनप्रसर्वशिवित्वपूर्वायप्राणकृष्णायपूर्विभित्वप्रसर्वशिवित्वपाट्यदिविभित्वात्—
वैदम् ज्येष्ठ गुरुम् गुरुरतः । ग्रिमुद्यनवारात्यणकम्भुद्य जग्न युद्धा परंसोऽ ॥१६॥
 22. वास्तवः कोट्यकाङ्क्षे श्रीजैवल्लिङ्गनपूरुरतः । ग्रिमुद्यनवारात्यणकम्भुद्य जग्न युद्धा परंसोऽ ॥१६॥
 23. For details, see Author's paper "Maharawali Jaitrarsingh ka Chandravati par Akromana, published in Varada Vol. XVI No. 4 pp. 1-4.

and devastated Nagada city. A detailed account of this event is available in *Hamir Mada Mardon*, a drama composed in V.E. 1286 (1220 A.D.) by Jaysingh Suri. A summary of its 3rd Act²⁴ is as below :—

King Viradhaval of Gujrat while talking with his minister says that Jaitrasingh, the king of Mewar, had a hostile attitude towards him, as he felt very much proud of the strength of his arms. In the meanwhile, one of his spies entered and informed of what had happened at Nagada. He related a vivid picture as to how the city was burnt and most of the citizens fled, being terrified, while others committed suicide.²⁵ He added that he consoled the terrified people by declaring that Viradhaval had reached with his full army. He concluded that when the news reached the Tarukka invaders they left the field in confusion.

The latter part of the story may be regarded as an exaggerated one, as the author has eulogised his generous patron Viradhaval. An account of this invasion is also preserved in the Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330 (1273 A.D.). According to it some Sultan invaded Nagada and devastated the city. A furious battle ensued at Bhutala near Nagada wherein Talataksha Yogrāj's eldest son Pemraj was killed.²⁶ The Ghaghara inscription of V.E. 1322 (1288 A.D.) and Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330 (1273 A.D.) elucidate that even the Sultan could not humble down the pride of Jaitrasingh. From this we can say that after some preliminary reverses, Jaitrasingh encountered the Sultan's forces and inflicted a crushing defeat, thereby causing retreat of the invading army.

The name of the invader is given in the said work as *Mila-chchhrikara*. According to G.H. Ojha it is a Sanskritized form of *Amir-i-Shikar*,²⁷ which according to *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* was the title of

24. *Hamir Mada Mardon* (G.O.S.) pp. 25-33.

25. उसो धनिकगच्छहरु करणेन न होत गई। एय वितिकम्म फलनिर्भियरहेत शासार्ह शूद्र मुपरियाई कारणि निहृषाद्। करह पश्चाति विवरहृष्ट कहर्यं विलापि यह दूसरो हीइरा केरि उसन निय हुड्हुक ग्रिष्ठतरेतु सम्बोधि वसवं पञ्जातिकम्म पविहु सरक्षेव नियमरिरेतु गुरिता *Hamir Mada Mardon* (G.O.S.) p. 27.

26. शासकहुरसने सर्वं धुरखान्न तेनिकीनुद्द्वा ; धूम्काहृष्टके वसवान् (सेप्यद.) पंकर्त्त प्राप्त ॥१६॥ The Chirawa Inscription.

27. Ojha I pp. 159-160.

Itutnash. Although D. R. Barnett and H.G. Ray object to the said identification, by saying that the word "Milachchhrikor" cannot phonetically be the Sanskritised form of *Amir-i-Shikar*, but Dashrath Sharma²⁸ regards it to be a *Paishachi* form. As regards the date of this expedition, G.H. Ojha has put the event about V.E. 1286 (1229 A.D.) whereas Dr. Dashrath Sharma²⁹ has placed it about V.E. 1270 (1222 A.D.), on the grounds that Vastupal, the chief organiser of anti-muslim-confederacy was serving as a governor of Cambay when the said incursion took place. As he remained on the said post between the years V.E. 1276 to 1278 and was removed from there in V.E. 1279, therefore the last date possible for the event would be V.E. 1270. But looking to the Charbhuj temple inscription of village Nandesama of V.E. 1279 (1222 A.D.)³⁰, wherein Jaitrarsingh is mentioned to have his capital at Nagada, it can hardly be placed in that year, as after the occurrence of the said event, he shifted his capital to Ahar. As already mentioned, the detailed account of this invasion is preserved in a contemporary work named *Hamir-Mada-Mardan*^{31A} composed in V.E. 1286 (1229 A.D.). The last date possible for this invasion, therefore, would be the above year of its completion. As such, this event can be placed between V.E. 1279 to 1286 (1222 to 1229 A.D.)

Sihad posted in Vagada

As already stated, Jaitrarsingh had successfully captured the territory of Vagada and given it to his son Sihad. Although G.H. Ojha and Dashrath Sharma have observed that Sihad was the grandson of Samantsingh of Mewar,³¹ but the above statement is not corroborated by the earlier epigraphic sources. The Uparganva inscription of V.E. 1481 (1404 A.D.)^{31A} tells us that the territory of

28. Dashrath Sharma—Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 655.

29. *ibid.*

30. संवद् १२७६ वर्षे ईमाल मुदि १३ सुको अर्थोहु योनागद्रहे पगहराजाशिराज की नथतयहेय कल्पान चिक्कपद्मे दान्ना[मुकद्द]ली करणे महा[.]जु[.]गरसिंह भविपत्री...[The Nandesama inscription]

30A. संवद् १२८६ वर्षे लालाड वदि ६ गती हमीर मद्द भर्त्तर्म नाम नाटक

31. Dashrath Sharma—*op. cit.* p. 650. For details see Author's paper "*Vagada ke Prarambhika Guhilī Vanshi Shashaka* published in *Sodh Patrika*.

31A. गैरिस्फो जियायेणा भीहेयाविजा महो। राजन्तरी इप्रवासं सामङ्काराकनेत या १२८० [unpublished inscription of Uparganva]

Vagada was conquered by Jaitrarsingh and was made over to Sihad. Other inscriptions also mention the name of Jaisingh — the father of Sihad, who should be none else than Jaitrarsingh of Mewar.

Battle of Arthuna

The Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330 (1273 A.D.)³² mentions that Madan the *Talaraksha* of Chittor, while fighting for Jessal, in the battlefield of Utthunaka (Arthuna), displayed conspicuous gallantry by punishing some *Panchalagudika* Jaitramal. The above adversary of Jessal having the title *Panchalagudika*, can not be identified with certainty. Perhaps, Jaitramal referred to above was Jaitugi, the ruler of Malwa. This identification is also corroborated by the Ghaghara inscription of V.E. 1322 (1265 A.D.) and the Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330 (1273 A.D.) which contain the account of the victory of Jaitrarsingh over some Malwa ruler. Jessal for whom Madan fought may be identified with Jaisingh son of Sihada. As already stated, he was the grandson of Jaitrarsingh and because of the close relations between the two houses, the ruler of Mewar despatched his forces to help Jessal. G.H. Ojha and Dashrath Sharma do not agree with the above identification by saying that the word Jessal is used for Jaitrarsingh himself. But this argument does not seem to be correct, as in the Uparganva inscription of V.E. 1461 (1484 A.D.)^{32A} Jessal is specifically mentioned as the son and successor of Sihad.

Battle with the Chauhans of Nadol

The Abu inscription of V.E. 1342 (1285 A.D.)³³ mentions the victory of Jaitrarsingh over the chief of Nadol which is also corroborated by the accounts preserved in the Ghaghara and Chirawa inscriptions. Earlier in V.E. 1278 (1221 A.D.) when Simhana³⁴ Yadava invaded Gujarat, Jaitrarsingh of Mewar and Udaisingh of Jalore and Nadol, while keeping a confederate military arrangement, also

32. अहम् प्रसन्नवर्त्तः सतसं कुतुष्टजनकादनः ॥२५॥

यः वौजेतसकार्यमद्युग्मकरणागते प्रहृष्टः । पञ्चमपुढिकेन हमे प्रकटजसो वैतमस्तेन ॥२६॥
[The Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330.]

32A. In verse 13 of the Uparganva inscription of V.E. 1461 the name of Jessal is mentioned.

33. नमूमनुलंकष (प) बाहुस्थीमुखकैन्याण्डकुं गदीनः ।

अर्थात् सुउद्धीशवहात्मस्ये रथा पूर्णोपय जिवंधिदः ॥४२॥ LA. Vol. XVI p. 349,

34. Dashrath Sharma—*op. cit.* pp. 651-52.

invaded northern Gujrat and devastated it. But it seems that later on their relations became strained which is proved from the account preserved in the Ghaghara and Chirawa inscriptions. However, Jaitrasingh could not succeed to conquer and annex Godawar which remained in the possession of the Chauhans.

Family of Jain Shresthi Ralha

During the time of Jaitrasingh, a Jain Shresthi Ralha flourished in Chittor. He was a very famous Jain merchant and performed several *Sangha Yatras*. A grand *Diksha Mahotsava* was arranged at Chittor in V.E. 1288 (1231 A.D.) in which Shresthi Laxmidhar also assisted him.³⁵ In V.E. 1295 (1238 A.D.) he went to Nalakachhapur in Malwa, where he got the book “*Karma Vipaka*”³⁶ written which is now preserved in the Jaisalmer Bhandar. A perusal of the colophone of this book proves that Mewar had witnessed enormous prosperity at that time.

Maharawal Tejsingh

Tejsingh had succeeded his father Jaitrasingh before V.E. 1309 (1252 A.D.)³⁷ The names of his ministers were Jalhan, Simandhar and Kanga. Jalhan remained in office for a few years only and was succeeded by Simandhar before V.E. 1316 (1259 A.D.) whose name is found mentioned in the copper plate of V.E. 1316 (1260 A.D.), the Ghasa inscription of V.E. 1317 (1260 A.D.), the colophone of *Shravaka Pratikramana Sutra Churni* of V.E. 1317 (1261 A.D.) and in

35. विक्रम [१२८८] ल्योम सुदि १२, अवितरसेन-मुख्येन अमृतपूर्णि... मुक्तादभी गणि नो रीला । आवादकदि २, श्री करमदेव-श्री नैमिनाथ-श्री पार्वनाथ प्रतिष्ठा लायु लक्ष्मीधर सा० राज्यह कारिता । १२८६ सन्नवपन्त शकुञ्जय इत्यन्यन लीर्येषु यात्रा ८० अपवरग्न सा० राज्यह साहृदयेन इता...[Muni Jinavijaya-Kharatargachha Brihada Guryarali pp. 49-50].
36. संवद १२६५ वर्ष ब्रह्मद्वयीमल्लके—श्री उपकोरार्थगीर सा० बाकापुर्वेळ श्री विक्रम वास्तव्येन चारित्रपादामणि श्री शकुञ्जयोजयनतादि महात्मीयं सार्पीकारण—सा० राज्यहकेष्य आतु देवा सहितेन कवेस्तुष्टु कर्मेविषाप लेखिता [For details see Author's paper published in Varada Vol. IX No. 3 pp. 6-7 and Dr. Dashrath Sharma's comments on it in Varada Vol. IX No. 4].
37. G.H. Ojha, on the basis of the colophone of MS *Pakritika* writt of V.E. 1309, having the words “श्रीमदाधारे महायात्राविराज—श्री अवतरसिद्धेन सत्यद्विष्टुष्टु द्युज्ञानितेजवस्तुष्टु विषयराज्ये”, maintains that Jayatsingh was ruling in V.E. 1309, whose feudatory was Jaysingh. But the correct form of this seems द्युष्टुष्टुपिष्टुष्टु राजा नि (नी) देवज्यसिद्धु, which indicates that Tejsingh the descendant of Jaitrasingh was ruling. [For details see R. C. Agrawal's paper published in Varada Vol. IX No. 1]

the Chittor inscription of V.E. 1323 (1266 A.D.).³⁸ Simandhar was a staunch follower of Jainism. One of his sister-in-laws, namely Dhandhi, got completed (MS) *Dasha Vaikalika Sutra Churni*³⁹ at Chittor in V.E. 1352, which is now preserved in the Patan Bhandar. His wife's name was Nibhalia Devi. He seems to be different from *Shravaka Samudhara*, son of Abhaya, mentioned in the colophone of V.E. 1309 (1262 A.D.) of *Dasha Shravaka Charitra Churni* (MS) of Purnabhadra written at village Bara in Mewar and now preserved in the Jaisalmer Bhandar.⁴⁰ He was replaced by another minister named Kanga in V.E. 1324 (1267 A.D.) whose name is found mentioned in the Chittor inscription of V.E. 1324 (1267 A.D.).⁴¹

No details of the various engagements of Tejsingh are available. He seems to have measured sword with Visaldeo Baghela of Gujrat. In the Kadi plate of V.E. 1317 (1290 A.D.) the latter is described to have destroyed the country of Mewar.⁴² But this statement is not fully convincing and needs further support, as Tejsingh also used the same title of '*Umapati Vara Labdhā*',⁴³ commonly used by the rulers of Gujrat, which could not have been allowed had he been under the Gujrat ruler.

Tejsingh also fought with Balban. In 1253-1254 A.D. when the latter was deprived of the "igta" of Nagor, by Nasiruddin Mahmud, he invaded Ranathambhor, Bundi and Chittor, but had to retreat without achieving any success. Again in 1255-1256 A.D. Nasiruddin's step-father Qutlugh Khan raised the standard of revolt and took shelter at Chittor. The Delhi forces pursued him and besieged the fort.⁴⁴ A battle was fought in the *Talakati* of Chittor wherein Talaraksha Ratna, the elder brother of Kshema, was slain.

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38. *Varada* Vol. IX No. 1 pp. 58 to 61/Vol. V No. 2 pp. 65-66/Ojha Vol. I pp. 169-70 f.n.
39. Muni Jinavijaya—*Jati Pustaka Prashasti Sangraha* Vol. I p. 33.
40. “मैरपाठे दरपालामात्सव्य दें० असयोग्यता पुन दमुदर आक वार्या कृष्णर पूज्या साधिति श्राविका...” [Colophone of *Dasha Shravaka Charitra Churni* MS No. 270 of Jaisalmer Bhandar]
41. *Varada* Vol. IX No. 1 p. 60.
42. मैरपाठकदेशकम्भुरायवल्लीकंदोच्छेनकुट्टालकस्य [I.A. Vol. VI p. 210.]
43. श्रीमवामाट्टुर्ये भव्याराजाविद्यापरमेष्वरमग्नारकउभापतिवर्लवध्यं प्रीहप्रतापसमाप्तु
44. *Briggs-Firistah* Vol. I p. 238.

A reminiscence of this event is also found recorded in the Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330 (1273 A.D.)⁴⁵ and Jatashankar temple inscription of 13th century preserved in the Nagpur museum. The forces of Mewar made a successful defence and forced the invading army to retreat. Vijayasingh Guhilot mentioned in the Nagpur museum inscription, referred to above, displayed conspicuous gallantry in the said battle, whose descendants later on moved to Central India.

A Jain inscription of V.E. 1826 (1269 A.D.) of Sewadi (District Pali) contains a reference to the grant made by Chachigadeva Sonagara at the *Mandapika* of Nadol⁴⁴ for the worship in the Jain temple of Karcra in Mewar. Basing on this inscription, a conjecture may be hazarded that Chachigadeva succeeded in occupying certain parts of Mewar. But this statement requires further evidence. It seems that the donation made by him was allowed to be paid from the *Mandapika* of Nadol which formed a part of his state. It can also be surmised that owing ■ the matrimonial relations that existed between the two houses, Chachigadeva gave this charity in a customary way. Till recently the shrines of Nathdwara owned such extensive Jagirs in almost all the erstwhile Rajput states.

Chachigadeva's daughter Rupadevi was married to Tejsingh, who after her husband's death seems to have moved to Marwar, where she constructed a step-well at village Badhutara in V.E. 1340 (1288 A.D.).⁴⁷ Jayataldevi, another queen of Tejsingh got constructed the temple of *Shyam Parshwanath* at Chittor in V.E. 1335 (1278 A.D.)⁴⁸ and made several donations for it from the *Mandapikas* of Khohar, Sajjanpur, Chittor etc. Chittor during Tejsingh's reign became the

45. विद्यार्थियों का सम्मेलन: स्पष्टीकरण सम्बन्धी:

श्रीचिरावाहारामाय श्रीमीमालिनी तुम्ह भगवार ४३६ The Chirawa inscription.

G.H. Ojha maintains that this battle was fought with the army of the ruler of Gujerat. But the Nagpur Museum inscription contains the account that विराज गुजरात विराज विराज विराज. Therefore, we can take this battle as fought with the forces of the Sultan of Delhi.

46. सं १३२६ वर्षे चैत तुरि १५ सोलेऽप्पैदू महाराजकुल वाचिगरेव करहैदा थाए असामवंशाय प्राप्तार्थीयोऽप्यव्यये स (द)इल घंडनिकायां उदाह पूर्वे दत्त इ... [See Author's paper published in *Vachartiki* (Bikaner) Vol. II No. 2 pp. 17-18.

47. E.I., Vol. IV pp. 313-324.

४८. मेहाटार्थिरति श्री सेवशिंह राज्या श्री वावटस्तवेभ्या श्रीस्यामपारबंगापवक्षाही इच्छेवये
कारित [The Chitter inscription of V.G. 1925.]

centre of Jainism, where eminent scholars like Ratnaprabha Suri, Pradyumna Suri etc. practised their scholastic pursuits.⁴⁹ The MS *Shravaka Pratikramana Sutra Churni* copied at Ahar in V.E. 1317, which contains some early *Apabhransha* miniatures, is now preserved in the Museum of Boston (America).

Inscriptions of Tejsingh

The Kadmal plate of V.E. 1316, the Ghasa inscription of V.E. 1317, the Ghaghara inscription of V.E. 1322 and the Chittor inscription of V.E. 1324 are some of the important inscriptions^{49A} of the time of Maharawal Tejsingh. The Kadmal plate mentions the grant of *Shavilas Bhumi* on solar eclipse. The Ghasa inscription refers to the grant for the maintenance of the temple of Tripurushadeva. The Ghaghara inscription of V.E. 1322 contains information about the Maheshwari family of Ratna, who got constructed a step-well at Danta (near Kapasin) and a temple named Kumbheshwar at Chittor. This inscription is very important for the history of the rulers, Padmasingh, Jaitrarsingh and Tejsingh. It was composed by *Jainacharya Ratnaprabha Suri*, the pupil of Bhuvanchandra Suri of Chaitragachchha. The Chittor inscription of V.E. 1324 records some constructions done on the instructions of Ratnaprabha Suri.

Samarsingh

In the Abu inscription of V.E. 1342 (1285 A.D.)⁵⁰ it is stated that Maharawal Samarsingh assisted the Gujrat ruler Sarangdeva Baghela against some Turkish invasion. It says that "Samarsingh, the son of Tejsingh and the leader of rulers of the earth, rescued the submerged land of Gujrat from the ocean—like *Turushkas*". It is rather difficult to identify this invader of Gujrat country. The contemporary Sultan of Delhi was Ghiyasuddin Balban, but he is not known to have made an expedition to western India. However, a reference to the invasion of *Turushkas* over Gurjar land is available in the

49. *Vibhumi Chittor* by the Author pp. 135-160.

49A. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. LV Pt. I pp. 46-47/
Varada Vol. V No. 2 pp. 65-66/Vol. IX No. I pp. 59-60/Vol. V No. 3
pp. 4-7.

50. शासकोवरपुः कृपानविजयसद्दृष्टां कुरुते गः कथाव्
अनन्तमुद्यरति एष गूर्जरमहोमुख्यं स्तुतेकार्णीवात् ।
वेदः सिंह तुतः षष्ठ एष समरः क्रोणोपरप्राप्तवी—
एष रोकलिकर्त्त्वं कोप्तु रमितापोले क्षम्योऽसुता ॥४१॥ I.A. Vol. XVI p. 390.

Inscription of Patnarayan of V.E. 1344 (1287 A.D.),⁵¹ wherein it is mentioned that Visal, the Governor of Sarangdeva, defeated the *Turushkas*. The Persian chronicles are silent on this point. Barni states that the friends of Sultan, like Adilkhan, Tabarkhan etc. requested him to undertake campaigns with his well-equipped army against the rulers of Malwa and Gujrat. But the Sultan replied in negative, as he was in constant apprehension of the invasion of Halja-keer, the grandson of Changizkhan Mangol. A.K. Majumdar⁵² is of the opinion that the invasion, mentioned in the Abu and Patnarayan inscriptions referred to above, was of some mobile army of the Mangols, which was repulsed by the joint efforts of the rulers of Gujrat, Abu and Mewar. This view seems to be correct. It was at this time that Samarsingh succeeded in capturing Abu from the Parmar King Maharawal Pata of Chandravati. The Abu inscription of V.E. 1342 (1286 A.D.)⁵³ records the construction of a *Matha* and installation of a golden staff in it by him. Pata's son Arjun could not regain his ancestral state and ruled over a small territory near Dantari. Finally, Abu was snatched from Samarsingh by Visaldeva⁵⁴, whose inscriptions from this area are known from V.E. 1344 to 1351. According to *Hamir Maha Kavya*, Chauhan Hamir of Ranathambhor also invaded Abu and Chittor, but it is not recorded in the Balavan inscription of V.E. 1345 (1288 A.D.), which contains the details of the exploits of Hamir. It cannot, therefore, be said with certainty whether he actually undertook the said campaign. Dr. Dashrath Sharma^{54A} has correctly pointed out that the account of *Digvijay* of Hamir, beyond Malwa, requires further evidence.

Invasion of Alauddin Khilji

In *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa*, it is mentioned that the invading army

51. *Ibid* Vol. LVI pp. 350.

52. A. K. Majumdar—*op. cit.* pp. 183-84.

53. राजा समरविहेन भावसंकरदासमारु : पठः सूक्ष्मदेवेन सहितः कारितोऽग्ने १३४२
The Achaleshwar temple inscription of V.E. 1342.

54. The antecedents of Vissideva are not known. In the Patnarayan inscription of V.E. 1344, he is mentioned as a son of Bhadadeva. The *Vimal Varahi* inscription of V.E. 1350 mentions him as the ruler of Chandravati.

54A. Dashrath Sharma—*Early Chauhan Dynasties* pp. 107-108.

of Ulughakhan, the general of Alauddin Khilji was offered *Dandam* by Samarsingh, the ruler of Mewar in V.E. 1350 (1290 A.D.).⁵⁵ According to G.H. Ojha⁵⁶ Samarsingh deserted the imperial army. H.C. Ray believes that Mewar was saved from devastation by paying homage to Ulughakhan.⁵⁷ The *Kashadade Prabandha* mentions that on being refused a passage to Gujarat through Marwar by the Sonegaras, Alauddin got it through Mewar from its ruler Samarsingh.⁵⁸ But it seems to be a doubtful mention. In fact, the invading forces of Alauddin Khilji were going from Delhi to Gujarat for which the route in vogue was through Mewar. It seems that the army passed through Delawara, Eklingji, Ahar and Dhaleva of Mewar and entered in Gujarat through Vagada. The rulers of Mewar offered strong resistance. Inspite of this the shrines of Delawara, Eklingji and Nagada were molested by the invading forces. However, there was no special impact of this invasion left on Mewar.

Inscriptions of Samarsingh

The Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1330, the Chittor inscriptions of V.E. 1331, 1335 and 1358 and the Abu inscription of V.E. 1342 are the important records of the time of Samarsingh. The Chirawa inscription, the earliest record of his reign, gives a valuable information about a *Talaraksha* (City Kotawal) family⁵⁹, the members of which had remained in constant service of the rulers of Mewar from the time of Mahansingh. The village Chirawa was given to them in Jagir, where they got constructed several temples. During the time of Maharawal Jaitrarsingh, the sons of Yogaraj displayed conspicuous gallantry in various engagements. His eldest son Pamaraj met a heroic death, while fighting with the forces of Sultan Ilutmish. Yograj's grandson Balaka died, while fighting at Kotada. Madan, his another grandson, displayed gallantry in the battlefield of Arthuna. He renovated the temples at Chirawa, which were got

55. जह तेरलपत्पन्नोवकामप्रिये ब्रह्मवदेष्मुरतापस्त अविद्वाभावा वस्त्रावगामधिक्वा दिस्तीपुरामो अतिग्रहणपेत्ति युवराजर्व परिहमो ; विश्वामित्राद्वै समरदीर्घं एव धार्तं वैषाम वैषो रुद्र रविष्वामो ; Muni Jinavijaya—Vividha Tirtha Kalpa p. 93.

56. Ojha 1 p. 75.

57. D.R.L.N.I. Vol. II p. 1165.

58. Dashrath Sharma—Rajasthan through the Ages 1 pp. 662–63.

59. Vir Vinod Vol. I. pp 397–401.

constructed by his ancestor Yogaraj and also granted some pieces of land for their maintenance. The inscription was composed by Ratnaprabha Suri.

The Chittor inscription of V.E. 1331, the Abu inscription of V.E. 1342 and the *Chakraswami* temple inscription of Chittor were composed by Ved Sharma,⁶⁰ the son of Priyapatu. He was a good poet of Sanskrit. Another important inscription of his reign is the Chittor inscription⁶¹ of V.E. 1335 wherein his mother Jaitaldevi is said to have got constructed a temple and made some donations on the advice of the Jain saint Pradyumna Suri of *Bhartlipuriya Gachchha*. The Chittor inscription⁶² of V.E. 1358 mentions the renovation of a temple named *Bhajeswamideva Jagali* by Pratibar Dharasingh etc.

Construction of Jain Shrines

Numerous inscriptions, colophones and other literary references are available which throw interesting light on the cultural development, which took place during the reign of Maharawal Samarsingh. According to *Kharatargachchha Pattevali*, the saint Jinprabodh Suri visited Chittor in V.E. 1334. To mark the occasion, Shresthi Dhandhal spent lavishly for the installation of several icons.⁶³ A *Diksha Mahotsava* was also celebrated. The colophones of MSS., namely *Chandro Dutabhidhan* and *Nighantu Shesha* of V.E. 1343 also contain an account of the said *Shrashti*.⁶⁴ Two inscriptions of V.E. 1334⁶⁵ now fixed in the Banvira wall of Chittor mention the construction of *Devakulikas* in Shantinath temple. As mentioned in a fragmentary inscription of V.E. 1358 the *Shringara Choriwari* temple having fine carvings, was completed during this time.

60. I.A. Vol. XVI p. 349.

61. The term *Udkara Drama* mentioned in this inscription refers to the coins in prevalence at that time. Similar term of *Srura Tanka* is also used in various literary works (For details see *Maharana Kumbho* by the Author pp. 317-318.)

62. *Varada* Vol. IX No. I pp. 64-65.

63. श्रीजिनिकायाम्बसतत्पुरा सां वाहृकावकाम्बा—श्री उमरीमहाराजामराजे प्रत्यासु नगरधर्मस्वामिसापके—प्रतिकामहोत्तमः संवादः [Muni Jinavijaya-Kharatargachha Brithada Gurvevali p. 56.]

64. *JalsalmerTada Patriya Suchi* p. 116/Maganlal Shah—*Prashasti Sangraha* p. 94/Vir bhumi Chittor by the Author p. 254.

65. स्वरित म १३३४ वैलाल सुदि । तुष्टिदेवी श्री वृहदगणे सां प्रवाल वृद्धि सां रत्नसिंह कारित श्री कालिनाथ वैसे सां चंभया वृद्धि सां महृणमार्दी तौडी तुष्टि तुपरम लालिकाग देवकुमिता कारिता (From the original inscription)

The Jain Kirtistambh of Chittor

The Jain *Kirtistambh* of Chittor is a fine piece of Jain art. Numerous inscriptions and casual literary references are known about it. Two fragmentary inscriptions of 13th century A.D., collected by G.H. Ojha from the heaps of stones lying at the foot of this edifice, mention the name of one Jija Bagherwal as the constructor of this *Kirtistambh*.⁶⁶ However, these inscriptions are very much damaged and do not throw any light on the history of his family. One of these inscriptions contains 13 verses from the *Nirvana-kand* and the other some text from Jain scriptures. The family of Jija subsequently migrated to Central India, where one of his descendants installed an image at Nandganva in V.E. 1541 (1484 A.D.)⁶⁷ and engraved an inscription on its pedestal, which has also a reference that this *Kirtistambh* was completed by Punyasingh son of Jija Bagherwal, one of his ancestors. There is another group of inscriptions which mention that this pillar was originally got constructed by one Kumarpal, while the renovation was done by Gunraj in V.E. 1494 (1438 A.D.).⁶⁸

Fortunately, I have succeeded in finding out a new inscription which has got verses from 21 to 45. A perusal of it proves that the construction was got done by the family of Jija.⁶⁹ His father was Naya, who got the *Chandraprabha* temple completed at Chittor. He spent lavishly in constructing other numerous Jain temples at Chittor, Khohar, Sanchor etc. But his most momentous work was the construction of the Jain *Kirtistambh*. However, he could not see it completed during his own life time and his son Punyasingh did it. The consecration ceremony was done by *Jainacharya* Dharmachandra of *Mulsangh*. On the basis of another unpublished inscription of V.E. 1357 (1300 A.D.), now lying in the Office of the Central Archaeological Deptt. Chittor, it may be proved that it had been completed by then.

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- 66. बधेरवाल कासीय सा० माय सुतः श्रीजाकेन स्तनम् कारापिंत [Edited by the Author in *Anekanta*, April 1969.]
 - 67. वर्त्ति यो संख्या १५४७ मेंगाट देहो विहकूट नगरे यो चांदप्रब चैतामये स्थाने निजभूजोपार्जित विराबेन यो कीर्तिस्तम्भआरोपकात्तिजिवात्तुत पुर्णितहृष्ण... [Edited by Muni Kantisagar].
 - 68. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XXIII p. 41.
 - 69. Edited by the Author in *Anekanta* (Delhi), April 1969.

(g) Sultan Alauddin and Mewar

After the death of Samarsingh, his adopted son Ratnasingh, who espoused the fair Padmini,¹ succeeded him to the throne of Mewar in 1301-1302 A.D..

Historicity of Ratnasingh

K.R. Qanungo, the eminent scholar,² while commenting on the historicity of Padmini, has also questioned the historicity of Ratnasingh. He says that the history and legend not only reveal one Ratnasingh, but four rulers of the same name, mentioned below, converging in the brave fight against Alauddin's imperialism.

- 1) Ratnasingh son of Rawal Samarsingh (Kumbhalgarh inscription).
- 2) Ratnasena son of Chitrasena and husband of Padmini (Jayasi's *Padmasat*).
- 3) Ratna son of Khema of Dhundhar tribe (who gave the name Dhundhar to the tract now known as Jaipur). He died while protecting the lower town of Chittor.
- 4) Ratna son of Hamir Chauhan of Ranathambhor, who sought refuge at Chittor after the fall of Ranathambhor.

It seems that the learned scholar has confused by saying that these four separate individuals have been linked into one by the *Bhatis* of Mewar. In fact, Jayasi's Ratnasena can hardly be enumerated as a separate ruler. Ratna, son of Khema mentioned at number three above, was simply a city Kotawal (*Talarakhsha*) who died nearly 50 years before the battle of Chittor of 1303 A.D., which is evident from the Chirawa inscription of V.E. 1830 (1278 A.D.)³. Therefore, mentioning of his name among the brave fighters of 1303 A.D. is altogether incorrect and perhaps creating a new history. Similarly,

1. Muni Jinavijaya—*Gora Badal Padmini Charita Choupai* (Introduction).

2. K.R. Qanungo—*Studies in Rajput History* pp. 12-13.

3. यित्तोत्तरले समरेष रहनः तपलसंहारकुतप्रवरतः ।
श्रीचित्रकृष्ण तपान्तिकामा श्रीसीद्धीत्तहेतु सर्वं मनार ॥१६॥
The Chirawa inscription

the fourth Ratnasingh is nowhere mentioned to have sought refuge and taken part in the said battle of Chittor, except in *Vamsha Bhaskar*, a modern work of 19th century A.D. The Nani Umarena inscription of V.E. 1525 (1468 A.D.) refers to the migration of the family of Ramdeva⁴, son of Hamir to Gujrat, after the fall of Ranathambhor. In this way, the arguments of Qanungo are quite fallacious and can hardly be relied upon. An inscription of the 5th day of the bright-half of Magh of V.E. 1359 (24-1-1303 A.D.)⁵ of the temple of the mother goddess at Datiba refers to the reign of Maharawal Ratnasingh. This date falls just four days before the march of Sultan Alauddin Khilji for the expedition of Chittor. In this way, the historicity of Ratnasingh can hardly be questioned.

Identification of Chittor mentioned in the Padmavat

K. R. Qanungo concludes his essay on the historicity⁶ of Padmavati with the following imaginary findings—

1. Chittor, mentioned by Jayasi, could not be identified with Chitrakuta, the famous capital of Mewar, but it is the place, having the same name, situated in the district Banda (U.P.).

2. Ratansena, mentioned by Jayasi, was not the ruler of Mewar, but was a local ruler of U.P., whose descendants subsequently migrated to Nepal, as is evident from the description preserved in the *Ratansen-Kulawati*.

Numerous absurdities are packed up in the above findings. It is surprising that the learned scholar took little care to consult the original text of *Padmavati*⁷, which refers not only to Chittor of Mewar but to Kumbhalgarh also as its neighbouring place. It also mentions Ratnasingh as the leader of the Hindus of India, a title which apparently applies to the rulers of Mewar. Similarly, the present ruling family of Nepal also claims its inheritance from the family of Mewar. Thus, the location of Chittor can not be questioned.

4. V. N. Reu—*Bharat ke Prachin Rajarishi* I. p. 279.

5. संवत् १३५९ शर्व या[म] सुरि ६ मुहामदी वर्षे हुई वैष्णवाटमेंसे चन्द्रसाराचालीसभलाहुत
जी रत्नराजहादेव काम्पाक्षिक्षयराज्ये... [Unpublished inscription]

6. K. R. Qanungo—*op.cit.* pp. 18-19.

7. अिरत्तरवद जी दृग्भवते । चारे दुर्गी वैष्णवे । *Padmavati* Chapter XXXII.

Aim of the invasion of Alauddin

As already stated, the forces of Alauddin while going to Gujrat in 1299 A.D., passed through Mewar and devastated Delawara, Eklingji, Ahar and a few other towns. After this expedition, the Sultan conquered Ranathambhor in 1299-1300 A.D. and also succeeded in suppressing the rebellions raised in various parts of his kingdom. The success thus achieved tempted him to embark upon more ambitious plans for territorial expansion⁸. Earlier in 1295 A.D., he had plundered Devagiri and was still having a covetous eye on this territory. For conducting effective incursions in Central India and the Deccan, his possession over Chittor and Malwa could be very helpful. The aim of his invasion on Chittor, therefore, was to fulfil his imperial designs only.⁹ A story of Sultan's infatuation for Padmini, the peerless beauty, is often associated with this invasion¹⁰. It was, of course, not strange for him to demand Padmini, as he had already put Devaldevi, the queen of Baghela Karna, in his seraglio and also demanded from Hamir Chauhan, his daughter Devaldevi, during the course of his invasion upon Ranathambhor. But, it does not look justified to ascribe the invasion on Chittor only to his desire to have Padmini. It cannot, however, be denied that he might have heard about her during the course of expedition¹¹ and put a demand for her.

The account of Invasion

Alauddin invaded Chittor only a few months after the accession of Ratnasingh, who had to face such a great calamity, which not only involved the security of his state, but the prestige and honour of his house also. The Sultan started from Delhi¹² on Monday, the 8th *Jamadi-us-Sani*, A.H. 702 (28th Jan. 1303 A.D.). It is not mentioned by which route he reached Chittor. It seems that he reached via Mandalgarh, but could not succeed to conquer it.¹³ Having

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8. Mohammad Habib and Khatriq Ahmad Nizami—A Comprehensive History of India Vol. V pp. 366-67.
 9. M. Habib—The Campaigns of Alauddin Khilji (1931) Introduction.
 10. Padmarat Chapter XXXIX/Udaisingh Bhatnagar—*Gora Baadal Padmini Charitra Choupati*.
 11. I.H.Q. XXVII No. 1 pp. 60-61.
 12. M. Habib—*op.cit.* pp. 47-48/M. Habib and Nizami—*ibid cit.* p. 387.
 13. The verse 7 of the Shringirishi inscription of V.R. 1485 and *Masir-i-Mahmud-shahfi* (MS) 202 (a) mention that Alauddin failed to conquer Mandalgarh (U.N. Day—Medieval Malwa p. 188 fn).

reached Chittor, the Sultan pitched his tents between the rivers Berach and Gambhari and encamped in front of the Lakhota Bari of the fort. Amir Khusrav says, "The two wings of the army were ordered to pitch their tents on the two sides of the fort. For two months, the flood of the swords went upto the waist of the hill, but could not rise any higher. The Sultan then ordered the fort to be pelted with the *Manjanigs*, as he had failed twice while conducting the direct frontal attack.¹⁴ Epidemic and flood also paralysed his garrison, thus aggravating his difficulties."¹⁵

When it became difficult for the Sultan to reduce the fort by direct attack, he devised a plan to raise a huge pile of earth in the southern side of the fort. At present, there are two hillocks existing in the southern side of the fort, out of which, the *Chittori* hillock is attributed to Alauddin, who got it completed under his personal supervision. Such device was also successfully adopted by him at Ranthambhor, during the course of his invasion. However, he could not succeed in reducing the fort by the *Manjanigs* placed on the hillock.

Treacherous plan of the Sultan

It seems that when the Sultan failed to achieve any success, he might have devised a plan to get hold of the fort treacherously. As the tradition goes to say, he agreed to retire on having a mere look of the face of Padmini reflected through a mirror.¹⁶ But the fact should be otherwise. It might be possible that relying on the faith of the Rajputs, the Sultan entered into the fort to settle the terms of peace and while returning managed to capture Ratnasingh deceitfully. The Sultan, then is said to have demanded Padmini as the price for the liberty of the king. The Persian chronicles are silent about this occurrence. But this event of captivity of the king is found narrated in a contemporary work namely, *Nabhinandan Jnoddhar*¹⁷ *Prabandha* of Karka Suri and can, therefore be relied upon.

14. M. Habib—*op.cit.* pp. 47-48.

15. Jayasi mentions in the *Padmavat* that the Rajputs managed to show the Queen's shadow through a mirror. But we don't think they could have agreed to bear such an indelible stain upon their honour. Firjatsh, who has taken the story of Padmini, mainly from oral sources, is altogether silent about this incident. Similarly, we do not find its mention in various *Rajashani Khyats*. It can, therefore, be said that this was purely a creation of Jayasi. [I. H. Q. Vol. XXVIII No. 1 pp. 60-66].

16. निलकृतद्वारा प्रजा संस्कार एवं तदनुषु । कं बद्धलिपिष्य ज्ञात्वास्त च शुरु मुरे ॥॥॥
Nabhi Nandan Jnoddhar Pratbandha canto IV.

Gora and Badal

A story, describing conspicuous gallantry of Gora and Badal at length, is often told.¹⁷ It is said that the sad news of the king's imprisonment alongwith the demand of Padmini reached the Rajput camp causing complete despair. They unanimously beseeched Laxmansingh, the incharge of the fort, not to disgrace the Rajputs by acceding to the proposals of the Sultan. After much deliberation, they devised a plan to send Gora and Badal with armed personnel, disguising as queen and her hand maids. This plan worked successfully and the king was rescued. But he could not succeed to return to the fort and was slain. We do not find any mention of this story in the Persian chronicles. On the other hand, however, we have various literary works composed about Gora and Badal, dating from 16th century A.D. Besides, there is a hint of this story available in verse 147 of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1460 A.D.)¹⁸ also. As such, we may rely on this story, leaving aside literary exaggerations and imaginary conceps.

Fall of Chittor

During the absence of the king, the fort remained under the charge of Laxmansingh of Sisoda. At last, when the stock of food-stuff remained insufficient, the Rajputs determined to perform *Jauhar*. The exact spot where it was done is not known. But it seems that it might have been performed either near Gomukh or inside the palaces. Later on, the Rajputs wearing saffron robes fought with great valour and sacrificed their lives. The Sultan emerged victorious. He entered the fort and ordered general massacre. According to Amir Khushrau, 30,000 persons were heinously murdered.¹⁹ All the important temples were razed to the ground.

Historicity of Padmini

There is a controversy about the historicity of Padmini. Dr. A. L. Shrivastava, M. Habib, S. Ray, S.C. Dutt, Dashrath Sharma,

17. Udaisingh Bhatnagar—*Gora Badal Chaupat*.

18. पुराणवेदः (पयः) बल सक्षमिष्टस्तरिमन्त्रते तुर्गवरं रखा ।

कुलदिविति कापुर्खीविशुक्ता न चापूर्खीतः पुर्णास्तपाचति ॥१९॥७१: E. I. Vol. XXI pp. 277-78.

19. According to B.P. Saxena, the murder of thirty thousand is obviously an error, as in Persian script three and thirty are written more or less the same way (M. Habib and Nizami—*op.cit.* p. 368 f.n.)

have seen an allusion of Padmini episode in the story of *Hud-Hud* referred to in *Khaṣaīn-ul-Futūh*. They believe that the analogy between Alauddin's operations against Chittor closely resembles with Solomon's expedition against Sheba, who also insisted on the surrender of Balaquis, the handsome queen.²⁰ But the validity of this interpretation has been questioned by K.R. Qanungo, K.S. Lal etc., who object to this assumption on the following grounds²¹—

- i) Padmini was merely a poetic imagination of Jayasi.
- ii) Her birth-place mentioned by Jayasi, as Ceylon, does not seem to be correct.
- iii) She is not found mentioned in *Khaṣaīn-ul-Futūh* etc.
- iv) Abul Fazl, who referred to this story in *Ain-i-Akbari*, might have taken the same from Jayasi.

As regards item No. 1, K.R. Qanungo does not seem to be right in thinking that Jayasi originated the story of Padmini. We have got the following points to disprove the above contention :

- a) Jayasi himself has mentioned that he has taken the story²² from the poet Bain.
- b) We find this story in *Chhitai Charita* composed at Sarangpur (M.P.) in V.E. 1683 (1526 A.D.)²³, a few years earlier to the composition of *Padmavat* by Jayasi.
- c) Hemratain wrote *Gora Badal Chaupai*, only a few years²⁴ after Jayasi. He has mentioned the two names of other poets, namely Hetamdan and Kavimalla, whose works he had seen. This proves that during the time of Jayasi, several versions of this story were already known.

As regards item No. 2, it is true that Ceylon could not have been the birth-place of Padmini. Jayasi, who dealt with this story in detail, as compared to other writers, created a confusion by saying that Ratansingh the King of Chittor went to Ceylon to marry

20. Dashrath Sharma—Rajasthan through the Ages, pp. 664-665.

21. K. R. Qanungo—Rajput Studies pp. 17-20.

22. कवा आरम्भ बैन कवि कहा (Padmavat-I).

23. Journal of Oriental Research Institute Vol. XIV No. 1 p. 81./Agarchand Nahta—*Padmini Charita Chaupai* (Introduction) p. 16.

24. द्वितीय कवियों ने अप्रकृति से बदल दिया | *Gora Badal Padmini Chaupai*.

Padmini and passed a few months there. This statement requires further evidence, as only after a few month's reign, he had to face an invasion of Alauddin. In fact, *Padmavat* of Jayasi is a poetic composition containing various literary traditions also. We find a similar description²⁵ in *Jinadatta Charita*, *Karkandu Chariu*, *Bharisayatta Kaha*, *Rayana Sahari Kaha* etc; wherein are described the heroes journeying overseas and returning with fair consorts. The *Rayana Sahari Kaha* which was composed at Chittor in V.E. 1407 (1440 A.D.), describes the hero's journey to Ceylon in similar circumstances. Therefore, we can take the story of Ratansingh's journey to Ceylon to espouse Padmini as a poetic imagination having little truth. The writer of *Amar Kavya Vanashivali* mentions Singoli as the birth-place of Padmini. In some *Vanashivalis*, Samaldvipa-Patan is mentioned as Ceylon, which however, cannot be located. Even if, we delete this part of the story of Padmini, it will have no material effect on the historicity of Padmini.

As regards item No. 3, it is true that there is no mention of Padmini in *Khazain-ul-Futuh*,²⁶ even though, Amir Khusrav, the writer of this work, was present at Chittor with Alauddin. It can however, be argued that he did not write as an official chronicler of the reign of Alauddin. He has only summarised all events of northern Indian expeditions of the Sultan and confined himself to such events only which were creditable to Alauddin. He has also omitted the accounts of capturing of Devaidevi, the queen of Baghela Karna and assassination of Jalajuddin Khilji. Therefore, we may conjecture that he intentionally avoided the account of Padmini also. Muhammad Habil remarks that "Khusrav will not utter a lie, but neither he will speak a truth, a whole truth."²⁷

As regards item No. 4, Abul Faazl does not seem to have taken the story from Jayasi, as he has himself mentioned that he has borrowed it from some other "Ancient Chronicles."²⁸ We know that *Padmavat* of Jayasi does not come under the category of

25. For details see Author's paper published in *Elhasika Sodh Sangraha* pp. 45-47 and in *Sodh Patrika* Vol. XIX No. 3.

26. M. Habib—*op.cit.* (Introduction) p. 12.

27. Jarret—*Ain-i-Akbari* II p. 274.

chronicles. Similarly, the use of the word 'ancient' proves that the sources of Abul Fazl might have been much older than Jayasi's *Padmavat*.

Looking to the above, we may challenge the theory that the story of Padmini was first originated by Jayasi. There are some other evidence also, which may help us in considering the historicity of Padmini.

1) An important character linked²⁸ with the story of Padmini is Raghava Chetan, whose historicity is proved from various contemporary sources. He was having much influence in the Delhi court. His *Tantrik* knowledge is also mentioned in *Kharataragachchha Pattaval* and other Jain works.

2) The palaces of Padmini are described in various²⁹ literary works. *Amarakavya Vamshavali* mentions the confinement of Sultan Mahmud Khilji II of Malwa there. The *Chittor Gazal* composed by the Jain poet Khetal in 1880 A.D., mentions the details of these palaces. This also proves the existence of these palaces in the name of Padmini.

Considering the above account we may conclude that the arguments of Qanungo and others do not carry much weight. The names of the queens are generally not found recorded in the inscriptions of Mewar. We do not similarly find the names of Mirabai, Panna Dhai etc. in the contemporary inscriptions. Therefore, only on these insufficient grounds, we should not deny the existence of Padmini.

Chittor under Khizrakhan

After reducing the stronghold of Chittor, Alauddin assigned it to his heir—apparent Khizrakhan by renaming it as Khizrabad.³⁰ As he was only a child of seven or eight years, the powers of administration were vested in *Naib-i-Barbek* named, Malik Shahin who acted as the local governor. He also left Chittor after a few months

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28. राघवचेतनो नामस्थी चरदसविष्णवप्राप्तो नरतंत्रवाचको । यो शास्त्राणुण मिस्त्रो शुद्ध । साहित्य विद्यालयी काग्जी । For details see Agarwalla and Nahta's paper—Raghava Chetan, published in *Nagar Pracharini Patrika*.
29. "संस्कृतम् परिपनी गेहे कारामा विश्वासूक्तेः" *Ethasika Shodha Sangraha* by the Author p. 56.
30. M. Habib *op. cit.* Introduction p. X.

out of fear³¹ of the Sultan and took refuge with Raja Karna of Gujrat. The post was then perhaps occupied by Malik Abu Muhammad. A few inscriptions bearing dates of the reign of Alauddin have also been noticed from Chittor, but these do not contain any name of the local governor. The inscription of A.H. 704 (1304–1305 A.D.)³² mentions the name of one Mamriz Alp Khan, but he does not seem to be a governor, as no title is mentioned. Another inscription of A.H. 709 (1310 A.D.) and a fragmentary inscription of Jama-Masjid only mention the name of Alauddin as the ruler.

Chittor given to Maldeva

According to Firistah,³³ the Sultan took Chittor from Khizra-khan and handed over to Sonagara Maldeva, who remained in the imperial service after the disastrous fall of Jalore in 1311–12 A.D.. He served the imperial order by joining several campaigns, with about 5000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, in which he evinced much valour. The fact of his appointment at Chittor, however, has been challenged by a number of scholars, on the ground that his name is not found recorded in the Persian inscriptions referred to above, noticed from Chittor. But it can be argued that the inscriptions being of the period from 1304 A.D. to 1310 A.D., the name of Maldeva could not have found a place in them, as he was appointed there subsequently in 1311–12 A.D.. He remained as a governor for seven years and had to face a severe opposition from Hamir, the son of Ajaysi Sisodia, who succeeded in desolating the plains of Mewar. Firistah³⁴ also mentions a rebellion of the Rajputs of Mewar, which also corroborates the fact of Hamir's success in conducting desolatory raids, as mentioned here above.

Transfer of Maldeva to Merta

It seems that shortly before the death of Alauddin, Maldeva was transferred to Merta, as the latter failed to check the predatory incursions of the Guhilots over Chittor. The name of Maldeva is found mentioned as the ruler of Merta in V.E. 1374–75 in the

31. M. Habib and Nizami—*op. cit.* p. 371.

32. E. I. Arabian and Persian Supplement 1955–56 p. 68/I.A.R. 1955–56 p. 92.

33. Briggs-Firistah Vol. I p. 363.

34. *Ibid* pp. 379–81.

*Pattavali*⁹⁵ and in the colophones of manuscripts. We may identify him with Maldeva Sonagara. This account is also proved from the account of Nenasi, who mentions a period of seven years of his governorship at Chittor.⁹⁶ Another evidence is the Persian inscriptions of the reign of Tughluq rulers, which do not mention his name as the governor of the place.

Vizit of Ain-i-Mulk

After the death of Alauddin, disorder prevailed throughout his kingdom and the evil of his despotic rule manifested. He was succeeded by Qutubuddin Mubarok Shah, who was not a strong ruler. Most of the nobles were divided. The Sultan in order to win popularity set all the prisoners free and withdrew all economic regulations enforced by his father. At this time insurrections in Gujarat were reported. *Ain-i-Mulk*⁹⁷ was deputed to quell the disturbances. He visited Chittor on his way and stayed there for a couple of days. When he was at Chittor, he heard of the unexpected end of Malik-Kasoor. Although he was willing to continue his march, but his retinue raised dissenting voices, as they were uncertain of their present postings and were anxious to watch the details of the events at Delhi. As such, he had to prolong his stay at Chittor. On hearing this, the Sultan deputed Malik Tughluq to ask *Ain-i-Mulk* to continue his march, but the nobles accompanying *Ain-i-Mulk* did not agree to march further. Malik Tughluq, thereupon, reported the matter to the Sultan at Delhi, who sent him again with the robes of honour and a firman for each of the nobles. This persuaded the march to be continued. This event proves that Chittor remained under the direct control of the Sultan and not under Maldeva.

Mewar under the Tughluqs

After the downfall of the Khiljis, Ghazi Malik became the Sultan of Delhi, under the name of Gayasuddin Tughluq, who was succeeded by his son Muhammad Tughluq. Two inscriptions of these Tughluq rulers have been found from Chittor, which contain

95. {१३७५} चाहुमानकुकोहासारणागतव्यक्षरराजकीयसातदेवेम गाहतरोपरोक्षेन लग्न-
मंडपमार्गः—थी सेवतारसने बनायातः । तजापि राणक थी भालदेवाम्बर्यर्थनया थीसमृद्धावस्थन-
भालाय व चतुर्विंशतिहस्तानि द्वितीया स्वनिवारणयोद्यं स्थानं परिनाम्य की कोगवाणा स्थाने
थी पुण्यासपायातः। (Muni Jinavijaya-Yuga Pradian Guravali p. 58).

96. Dashrath Sharman—*op. cit.* p. 670.

97. M. Habib and Nizami—*op. cit.* p. 432.

the name of Asaduddin Naib-i-Barbat. A portion of this inscription being broken, the name of the Sultan together with the year is missing and only the word "Tughluq Sultan" is visible. Another inscription of A.H. 725 (1325 A.D.)³⁸ also bears the name of Asaduddin, who was perhaps a cousin of Mohammad Bin Tughluq. On the authority of these two inscriptions it can be said that Chittor remained under the suzerainty of these Tughluq rulers.

Chittor granted to Sonagara

The Kacera Jain temple inscription of V.E. 1302 (1335 A.D.)³⁹ mentions Banvir, the son of Maldeva Sonagara, as the ruler of Chittor. It may be conjectured that during the course of the shifting of capital from Delhi to Daulatabad, when most of the nobles had to accompany the Sultan, the governorship of Chittor might have been transferred to Banvir, the son and successor of Maldeva Sonagara. But he could not retain it for a long time. Hamir seems to have captured it immediately after V.E. 1302 (1335 A.D.), by defeating Sonagara Banvir, who subsequently left for Godawar from where an inscription of V.E. 1304 (1337 A.D.)⁴⁰ of his reign has been noticed.

Inscriptions of Gangrar and Senawa

From Gangrar and Senawa (District Chittor) a few inscriptions of some Jain saints have been noticed. The Shiv temple inscriptions of Gangrar of V.E. 1375 and 1376 mention of the construction of *Neshadhikar*⁴¹ there. Similar information is also gleaned from the Senawa⁴² inscription of V.E. 1389, which mentions the construction of *Neshadhika* and a *Chandraprabha Chaityaleya*. These inscriptions are interesting, as on the basis of these, we may prove that the Jain saints were living there, inspite of the occupation of the Muslims. It

38. E.I. Arabian and Persian Supplement 1955-56 p. 69-70.

39. काश्मीर १३६२ दोष तुरि ५ रवे श्री खिलदुराकामे नहराचाहिराज भीष्मीचंद्र श्रीगामदेवनुमा बनवीर सरक़... (The Kacera inscription)

40. संवत् १३४४ वर्षे दीर्घ तुरि ११ शुक्ले श्री गासमनुरे श्री बद्धीरपेव राज्ये (The inscription of Kot Solankiyan)

41. श्रू १३७६ वर्षे श्री मूलहारे महिलापे चट्टारक श्री बद्धीसिंहेश्वराज शिख... निरेशिका...
Vir Bhumi Chitor by the Author op. 268-269.

42. स्वतिं पंडितापेत्य (चार्यः) श्री नरसेनदेव चित्तप्रसाद वसूल विजयसेनदेवस्य शीनवी शूलविन्द्र हेतुवेदः तदम निरेशिकाम् प० येवद्येव कारापिता... उ० ११०८ वर्षे श्री चांद्रप्रभाश्वरे प्रसिद्धिणा Ibid p. 269.

is also proved from the colophones⁴³ of V.E. 1365 and 1378 of MS *Kalikacharya Katha*, now preserved in the Shantinath Bhandar of Cambay, copied at village Bauna (Mewar) under the instructions of Abhayadeva Suri.

Chiefs of Sisoda

As already stated, a junior branch came into existence during the time of Maharawal Ranasingh. Our information about its early chiefs from Mahap to Prithvimal is meagre. Prithvimal's successor Bhuvansingh was a powerful chief. From Chandra one of his sons, a branch known as Chandrawat came into existence, the chiefs of which ruled over the territory of Rampura for a considerable time. Bhuvansingh's grandson was Laxmansingh, who is described to have fought with Gogadeva of Malwa. As already stated, he, while defending against the invasion of Alauddin, met a heroic death with his seven sons. Incidentally at this very time, the main ruling family became extinct by the death of Maharawal Ratnasingh in 1303 A.D. Therefore, Ajaysingh, the only surviving son of Laxmansingh of Sisoda, assumed power. He, however, had to take refuge in the hilly tracts of Kelawara, with his faithful adherents.

43. सं० १३६५ वर्षे प्राप्तपद बदी मकल्या तिथो जीमेशपाट मंडले बठना शामे कल्पुस्तिका लिखिता, Shah—Prashasti Sangraha p. 28.

(a) Consolidation of Power

Hamir, the son of Arisingh was brought up at his maternal abode, in the free atmosphere of village Unawa (Godawar) and had remained there till 1803 A.D. As already stated, Ajaysingh, the only surviving son of Laxmansingh and younger brother of Arisingh had to take shelter in the hilly tract of Kelawara. Hamir was also taken there. It is mentioned in the bardic chronicles that Ajaysingh, depriving his own sons namely Sajjansingh and Ajaysingh, chose Hamir as his successor, as he emerged victorious in a contest held with Munja Balecha, a formidable foe, at whose hands Ajaysingh was defeated several times.¹ This extraordinary valour shown by Hamir in defeating this adversary caused him to be elevated to the throne. Sajjansingh, the son of Ajaysingh made an unsuccessful attempt to expel Hamir, but later on he himself left Mewar for Deccan to seek his fortune.² Hamir remained with his supporters in the hilly tracts. He conducted continuous raids on the imperial army posted in Mewar and succeeded in desolating its central plains. His seat at Kelawara soon became the chief retreat of the emigrants from the plains. He now consolidated his position. The Bhil-chiefs of Oguna and Panarava also extended their help to him. He also exerted to seek support from other Rajput chiefs.

Battle with Raghavadeva

The village Jilawara³ is situated on a high plateau on the border of Mewar. Its chief Raghavadeva did not support Hamir and defied his orders also. Hamir, therefore, exerted his authority and snatched the place from him. This strategic place connects Kelawara with other parts of Mewar and Godawar and as such it was

1. *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* (MS) No. 876 Lf.15-17/*Eking Mahatmya* (MS) verse 90
2. अर्जीषी यो रा योदि देवा परा निकल्या स्त्रो वपवन जाता रह्या *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* (MS) Lf. No. 19(b).
3. The word "Jilawara" is often quoted as Chela or Chelavatsaka (चेला चेलावत्सक) E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 292/राजवं चेलाटेगमहंकारमहोविं *The Eking Mahatmya* (MS) verse 88.

very important to conduct desolatory raids. The Ekling temple inscription of V.E. 1545 (1488 A.D.)⁴ specifically mentions for him to have captured Jilawara when he was living at Kelawara. This event, therefore, seems to have taken place before his subjugation of Chittor. At the same time, he also defeated some Bhil-chiefs, who were supporting his adversary Raghavadeva. A. K. Vyas, while editing Shringirishi inscription of V.E. 1485 (1428 A.D.)⁵, mentions that Hamir humiliated the Bhils of Bhonar, but the original text does not contain any mention of the specific place of the Bhils⁶.

Conquest of Chittor

As already stated, Sultan Alauddin had granted Chittor in 1311 A.D. to Sonagara Maldeva who, in order to stop the desolatory raids of the Guhilots⁷ espoused his daughter to Hamir. Sultan Alauddin did not seem to have liked this matrimonial alliance and perhaps because of this, he soon transferred Maldeva to Merta by retaining Chittor under his direct control. This prompted Hamir to strive for expelling the imperial army from Mewar. His efforts, however, could succeed only when Sultan Mahmud Tughluq came to throne, who remained badly engrossed in his own affairs. It is mentioned that he captured Chittor by devising a treacherous strategem with the help of Jal Mehta, against Sonagara Banvir, the son of Maldeva. But nothing can be said on this point, as only a MS. *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* contains this story and no other *Vamshavalis* mention the same. On being ousted from Chittor, Banvir approached Sultan Mahmud Bin Tughlaq for help. The MS. *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* mentions the defeat of the above referred Sultan at the hands of Hamir⁸ in the battle-field of Singholi. But this account is not corroborated by any other contemporary records. Some *Vamshavalis* mention Hamir's battle with Malik Dahir and Sonagara Banvir at Sojat⁹. The *Mahavir*

4. B. I. p. 122.

5. B.I. Vol. XXIII p. 292.

6. वेसार्य पुरमप्रहीबरिमनानिषसत्तम्पुहापेक्षकान् (ibid).

7. यठा राठे यजो हनोर ची मेवाह में दोहवा—येका रहठा चंच कीवा, यदव फिर उके नहीं थरो खिटोड़ तुँ सोलीयथा नासेर रीचाप रे पोकस्था... [Rawal Ranaji ri Bat Lf. No. 20].

8. The MS *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* Lf. No. 26 mentions that the Sultan was made captive and was released, when he had agreed to surrender Ajmer, Ranathambhor and Narnia.

9. *Vamshavali* (MS No. 827 Lf. No. 35 (b)).

Prasad Prathasti of V. E. 1495 (1428 A.D.)¹⁰ narrates Hamir as the vanquisher of the *Turwikes*, who may be identified with the forces of Sultan Mahmud Bin Tughluq.

Dr. Mahdi Hussain¹¹ observes that Sultan Mahmud Bin Tughluq restrained from waging war with the ruler of Mewar and if at all any battle took place, it was with the imperial detachments posted in Mewar. This version seems to be correct. Hamir defeated Sonagara Banvir together with the generals of imperial detachments posted in Mewar. His present contest with Mahmud Bin Tughluq might have not taken place. The Sultan during his last days remained badly engrossed in other affairs of his state. Regular insurrections, dire famines and severe epidemics like plague broke out in other parts of his state. As such, he could not have managed to despatch reinforcement for recapturing Chittor.

G.H. Ojha assumes¹² the date of Hamir's occupation of Chittor as V.E. 1382 (1325 A.D.). But this date does not seem to be convincing, ■ the Kareda Jain temple inscription of V.E. 1392 (1335 A.D.)¹³, which mentions Banvir, the son of Maldeva, as the ruler of Chittor, seems to have escaped his notice. I, for the first time, pointed out¹⁴ the historical value of this inscription and came to the conclusion that the said event took place in V.E. 1304 (1337 A.D.). This date has now been adopted by other historians also. The MS *Rawal Ranaji ri Bai*¹⁵ also mentions the date of above event as V.E. 1303 (1330 A.D.). In view of the Kot-Solankiyan (Godawar) inscription of V.E. 1394 (1337 A.D.)¹⁶ of Sonagara Banvir, we can assume the date of Hamir's occupation of Chittor as V.E. 1394 (1337 A.D.).

10. Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XXIII p. 50.

11. Mahdi Hussain—The Tughluq-Dynasties p. 117.

12. Ojha I p. 229.

13. संवत् १३६२ षोड शुक्रि ७ रात्रे श्री किल्कुटस्थाने महादत्तात्रिपात्र प्रभीपन्न श्रीमात्तदेव गुरु दत्तदीरा सर्व...सिंगलुपार महावदेव गुहापिंड परंदेव गत्वा... (The Kareda Jain temple inscription).

14. For details see Author's paper "Hamir ki Chittor Vijay ki Titli" (Published in Rajasthan Bharati).

15. याणे हासीरसिंहची संवत् १३६३ षोडो तिराम्बे महाविद १० के दिन याणे विराज्या मै आणे केसी (Rawal Ranaji ki Bai (MS) Lf. No. 20).

16. E.I. Vol. XI p. 76.

Battle with the Ruler of Idar

A series of the battles were fought during the 15th century A.D. between the rulers of Mewar and Idar for the occupation of Bhomat territory. Hamir's battle with Jaitrakarna of Idar seems to be the earliest¹⁷ in which latter was killed. After achieving this success, the Mewar forces penetrated into the north-western¹⁸ parts of Idar State and devastated Palanpur¹⁹ town. Some *Vanshavalis* also mention that Hamir²⁰ captured a few towns of Gujrat, but the fact is not supported by any contemporary inscriptions of Mewar.

Help to Deva Hada

Deva Hada is described as a progenitor of the ruling families of Bundi and Kotah. The inscription of V. E. 1354 (1297 A. D.)²¹ lying incised in the Kedarnath temple situated near Bundi mentions Vijaypal as a ruler of the place. The names of his successors described in the *Surjan-Charita-Mahakarya*²² are Rayandeva, Kelhan, Gangadeva and Deva. Nenasi mentions Bagha as the father of Deva. These rulers had to contest regularly with the Minas, who were very powerful at that time. Hamir extended necessary help to Deva in capturing Bundi from the Minas.²³

Hamir was a brave and adventurous ruler, who fought successfully with his limited resources, against the imperial power of Delhi. He has been described as *Vishamghai-Panchanana*²⁴ i.e. acting like lion while conducting assaults. He had thus put Mewar on the path of glory. The temple of Kupanarayan and Eklingji were renovated by him and the present icon of Eklingji was also installed by him.

17. R.R. Halder—Idar and Maharanas Hamir (I.A. Vol. LV p. 11.)
18. A. K. Vyas, while editing the Shringirishi inscription of V. E. 1485 (1428 A.D.) mentions Hamir's victory over Banathambhot. But it is not corroborated from any sources,
19. राजपूताप्तं दुष्टा रदेशाद्युतामकं । कित्यान् वित्तकर्म् ए व्येष्ठं च एषो पर्याप्तः ।
The Ekling Mahashmya (MS) verse 89.
20. *Vanshavali* (MS) No. 827 Lf. No. 35(a).
21. Annual report on the working of the Rajputana Museum Ajmer year 1938 p. 2.
22. *Surjan Charita-Maha Karya* Chapter XIII verses 8-19.
23. Rawal Sarawat—*Mina-Itihaz* pp. 157-158./Rawal Ranaji et Bar (MS) Lf. 28-29.
24. *Rosika-Priya-Tika* of *Gita-Govind* introduction verse 8/The *Kirtistambha* inscription verse 18/The Kumbhalgarh inscription verse 180.

Hemir's son Kheta—His battle with the Hadas

After the death of Hemir, his son Kheta succeeded²⁵ in 1364 A.D. He also continued the tradition of his father and fought many battles. His relations with the Hadas of Bundi became strained. After Deva, his son Samarsingh succeeded him at Bundi and another son Ratapal at Bambavada. These Hadas were also occupying Mandalgarh, which once formed a part of Mewar and sequestered during the 12th century A.D. The Chauhans of Ajmer retained it for a few years and eventually the Hadas subdued it.

Maharana Kheta was having a covetous eye on this lost territory. By making an incursion, he succeeded in regaining Mandalgarh.²⁶ From there, he proceeded towards east and defeated the Hadas of Bambavada and Bundi. At Bambavada either Hada Kuntal or his son Mahadeva was ruling, who agreed to owe his allegiance to Kheta. The forces of Mewar further penetrated into Hadoti and laid a siege to Bundi, which was either ruled by Hada Samarsingh or his son Narpal. Thus Kheta succeeded in extending his sway and compelling the Hadas to yield.²⁷ The Menal inscription dated V.E. 1446 (1389 A.D.)²⁸ mentions that Hada Mahadeva had extended necessary help to Maharana Kheta against Amin Shah of Malwa. This proves that the Hadas were maintaining good relations at that time.

Kheta's battle with the Ruler of Idar

Another adversary of Kheta was the courageous and enterprising prince Ranamal of Idar, whose manifold activities are described at length in *Rasomal Chhand* and *Som Sobhagya Karya* etc.

According to the inscriptions of Mewar, Ranamal was badly defeated and was made captive by Kheta, who appointed Punja son

25. *Surya Vamsha Vanishavali* (MS) No 827 Lf. No. 98(b)/Maharana Kheta's first known inscription found from Gogundah is dated V.E. 1423 (1366 A.D.) which corroborates this date.

26. On the basis of the words "मालो विष्वरु पंखाकृति स्तो वित्ता यमसानये" used in the Shringirishi inscription, Ojha conjectured that Kheta could not succeed to capture the fort. According to him, the word *Bhogia* does not indicate its reduction. But this interpretation does not seem to be correct, as other inscriptions of Mewar invariably narrate the victory of Kheta.

27. ग्रामदी देवपटीन् ए किंवा उत्तरां चारथवृषभकार ।
[Verse 198 E. I. Vol. XXI p. 222]

28. Tod II pp. 597-598.

of Ranamal, as the ruler of Idar and extracted his²⁹ treasures. After detaining for some months under captivity at Chittor, Ranamal was later on released. Kheta is also described to have captured³⁰ Delawara and Sojat and defeated a prince Satal, but we do not know any details of these battles.

Battle with Amin Shah of Malwa

The Shringirishi inscription of V.E. 1486 (1428 A.D.)³¹ mentions that "Kheta conquered Amin Shah of Malwa in battle, leaving alive not a single man of his army and brought his entire treasure and countless horses to his own capital". G.H. Ojha³² has correctly identified this Amin Shah with Dilawar Khan Ghorī, who was appointed as the Governor of Malwa and after a few years he became an independent ruler. He launched for an expedition over Chittor. The Maharana offered stiff resistance and met him at Bakrol (Hamirgarh), nearly 20 miles away from Chittor and a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the invading army, which sustained heavy casualties. The earliest reference to this invasion is available in the Menal inscription of V.E. 1440 (1389 A.D.)³³, wherein it is stated that "Hada Mahadeva rescued the lord of Medapati and dragged Kheta from the grasp of Amin Khan like Chandra from Rahu. He trod the Sultan's army under his feet". The Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1460 A.D.)³⁴ also describes that Rana Kheta captured Amin Shah as a serpent captures a toad.

There is some difficulty in fixing the date of this event. U. N. Day³⁵ observes that Dilawar Khan Ghorī was appointed in Malwa in about 1290-91 A.D. According to him, all prior dates mentioned by the various historians, about his appointment in Malwa, are incorrect. Sir Walkely Haig³⁶ writes that the date of his appointment

29. The Kirtistambha inscription verse 29/The Kumbhalgarh inscription verse 196/B. I. ■. 119 verse 30.

30. E. I. Vol. XXIII p.-292.

31. भर्त्यामनिसत्तद्वसि प्रभावादिक्षिता ४ हृष्ण यवनान्तेयाम् ।
एः कोलजाति तुरगामसंक्षयान्तमादपत्तर्था किंश्च राजधानीय ॥६॥ E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 235.

32. Ojha I pp 250-53.

33. Tod II pp 597-598.

34. The Kumbhalgarh inscription verse 202/ B.I. Vol. XXI p. 282.

35. U. N. Day—Medieval Malawa pp. 10-12.

36. Wiseley Haig—Cambridge History of India Vol. III P. 949

is not precisely known, but he was certainly present in Malwa in 1302 A.D. and was probably appointed by Firoz Shah of Delhi, who died in 1388 A.D. As his invasion is proved from Hada Mahadeva's inscription of V.E. 1448 (1380 A.D.) and other inscriptions of Mewar, it can safely be adduced that he was certainly present in Malwa, before this event, which seems to have taken place in the closing years of Kheta's life.

Date of Kheta's death

According to Col. Tod and Ojha, Kheta breathed³⁷ his last in 1381 A.D. Another group of historians has tried to deduce this date as 1406 A.D. Their assumption is based on some imaginary findings that Kheta has been extolled, in the inscriptions of Mewar, to have imprisoned Ranamal of Idar, who had chastised and humiliated Zafar Khan of Gujarat in 1308-10 A.D. Similarly he also defeated Amin Shah, who was alive upto 1405 A.D. As both of the adversaries of Kheta survived upto about 1405 A.D., he might have also remained alive upto that time. But these arguments being completely inconsistent with other contemporary material mentioned below, are quite unconvincing. Kheta's death took place about 1380 A.D.

(1) The Kirtistambha³⁸ and Kumbhalgarh³⁹ inscriptions, wherein the above event is mentioned, were not composed during the life time of Kheta and so can not be treated as contemporary evidence. The intention of the poet in narrating the event of discomfiture of Zafar Khan at the hands of Ranamal was to extol the heroic victory of Kheta over such a formidable foe. Such versions are quite popular in Sanskrit works, which enhance the poetic beauty only. As such we can not take Zafar Khan's defeat by Ranamal as a contemporary event of Kheta's time.

(2) The *Som Sobhagya Kavya*⁴⁰ contains an interesting reference

37. For details see Authors' paper "Maharana Kheta ki Nidhan Tithi" published in *varada*.

38. The Kirtistambha inscription verso 23.

39. मात्यग्रामहेष्मग्रद्वरकरत्सिंहपतरावम्बूष्ठे यं वा (वा)नः पश्येदो एषर हति वगाखार्द कुरुठी व(व)धूव । सोद्य मस्तोरणादिः शक्तुलविजयावस्थेष्टदेहः कारागरे यदीप्ये नृपति-मरम्पुर्णे हस्तरं नापि लेषे । १२६५ E.I. Vol. XXI p. 282

40. श्री वाचकोशम् पर्य वाराभिनंदे संवत्सरे (१४५०)—श्री मत्स्यमिष्ठिनः व्यवाध्यसाधु गीरामदेवस्त्रिवीराम चूर्द्धमूर्धाः ।

[*Som Sobhagya Kavya*—Chapter V verses 14-17]

that when Somsundar Suri visited Mewar in V.E. 1450 (1303 A.D.), Maharana Lakha son of Kheta was ruling there. He sent his minister Ramdeva with his crown prince Chunda to receive the saint. This proves that Lakha succeeded to the throne before V.E. 1450.

(3) The Jawar copper plate of Maharana Lakha is dated V.E. 1402 (1404 A.D.),⁴¹ which clearly proves that he came to throne before this date.

Basing on these arguments, I had refuted the views expressed by these historians. I am glad that a senior scholar like Dashrath Sharma has also agreed with my views now.

The Dhuleva inscription

An inscription of V.E. 1431 (1374)⁴² engraved in the famous Jain temple of Dhuleva (District Udaipur) mentions that *Shresthi* Vija's son Haradan got that temple repaired on the advice of Bhattacharya Dharmakirti of *Kashtha Sangha*. This proves that the temple molested by Alauddin Khilji was got repaired at that time. In the Jain temple of Kareda (District Chittor) the *Diksha Mahotsavas* were arranged by Ramdeva Navalakha⁴³ at the preaching of Jinodaya Suri of *Kharataragachchha*.

Kheta's son Lakha-His battle with Zafar Khan

After Khetas' death, his son Lakha succeeded. He had to face an invasion of Zafar Khan, the Subedar of Gujrat. Due to some peculiarities of Persian script, sometimes we find a difficulty in reading the words having almost similar pronunciations. Such confusion is also noticed about the place where Zafar Khan laid a siege. In *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* and *Mirat-i-Sikandari* this place is mentioned as Mandu⁴⁴ in Malwa, while Nizamuddin Ahmad and Firistah, describe it as Mandalgarh in Mewar. But looking to the route taken by Zafar Khan, the place might have been situated on the western border of Mewar, instead of Mandalgarh and Mandu. Therefore,

41. संवत् १४६२ रा वर्ष मध्याह्नि पुस्तिरो महाराजा भीकाशदेव देवी औं भंडारी औं रहवट गास पट्... (Unpublished copper plate of Jawar).

42. Annual report on the working of the Rajputana Museum Ajmer year 1925 p. 2.

43. Muni Jin Vijay—*Vijnapti-Lekh-Sangraha* pp. 14-18.

44. Satish C Mishra—Rise of Muslim power in Gujrat p. 148.

possibility of this invasion upon Matsyendra-Durga (An ancient fort, on the ruins of which, the present fort of Kumbhalgarh was constructed) is definitely very much, in comparison to all other places mentioned above, as Zafar Khan passed through Jilawara, which is situated about a few miles away from that place. In the Jain work *Karmachandra-Vanshott-Kirtan-Kavyam*⁴⁵, there is a mention of an invasion upon this fort also. According to Persian chronicles, the Rajputs surrendered as pestilence⁴⁶ broke out in the fort.

Zafar Khan, while returning from Didawana, passed again through the same route and devastated the places visited by him. However, no permanent impact of this invasion seems to have been left, as the Mewar army soon recaptured the place.

Godawar Annexed

The invasion of Zafar Khan was an eye opener and the ruler of Mewar now determined to pay more attention to the defence of the border areas. That was why, in circa V.E. 1450, Maharana Lakha managed to capture the territory of Godawar, which is the most important event of his reign. But we do not find its mention in any of the inscriptions of Mewar. Even the Kumbhalgarh inscription, which contains the detailed accounts of the rulers of Mewar, has no reference as to how this territory was annexed to the Mewar state. From the inscriptions, we glean that the Chauhans ruled over this territory upto V.E. 1443 (1386 A.D.)⁴⁷, as is evident from the Nadlai inscription of Ranvir. Maharana Lakha seems to have captured this territory either from Ranvir or his sons Khinwa or Rajadhar.^{47A} Two inscriptions of his reign have been found from this area. One dated V.E. 1468(1411)⁴⁸ mentions the installation of iron-staff in the temple of Achleshwar at Mount Abu. This staff was prepared at Ghanerao, which formed part of his state. The other inscription of V.E. 1475 (1418 A.D.)⁴⁹ is incised in a Jain temple at Kot-Solankiyana.

45. *Karmachand Vanshott Kirtan Kavyam* verses 29-31.

46. De and Beni Prashad—*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Vol. III pp. 170-179/Briggs—*Tarikh-i-Firastah* Vol. IV p. 6.

47. R.I. Vol. XI pp. 63-64.

47A. *Vir-Bhumi-Chitor* ¶. 48.

48. Ojha I pp. 267-70.

49. Muni Jin Vijay—*Prachin Lekh Sangraha II* p. 221.

Other Victories

It is believed that some part of the territory known as Chhapan was annexed to his state by Maharana Lakha.⁵⁰ At the same time, he also paid attention to suppress the rebellion of Medas, living in the mountainous region of Badnor.⁵¹ But this victory was quite a short lived one, as these Medas continued to be hostile. Lakha's battle with some Solanki chief of Toda is also described by Tod, but it is not corroborated by other sources.

Shelter to Rana Mal Rathor

The arrival of Rao Rana Mal Rathor son of Rao Chunda of Mandor in Mewar has greatly influenced the history of the state. Being discontented with his fate at Mandor, he came in Mewar. He gave away his sister Hansabal in marriage to the Maharana. It is said that he wanted to marry her with the crown prince Chunda, but on Lakha's innocent joke, the prince refused to espouse her. At last, on seeing the obstinacy of his son, Maharana had to accept the proposal of marriage, which carrying the condition that Chunda would have to renounce his right to the throne, provided a son was born to Hansaba.⁵² As the luck would have it, a son named Mokal was born to her and Chunda, as per his promise, relinquished his right.

In this way, the arrival of Rao Rana Mal greatly influenced the royal family of Mewar. Eventually, the influence of Rathors predominated during the reign of Mokal and circumstances compelled Chunda to leave Mewar.

Arrival of Dodiya Chief in Mewar

It is said that on her journey to Dwarika, the queen mother of Mahatana Lakha had to face a sudden attack by some robbers. The Dodiya chief extended necessary help and escorted the party. On hearing this, the Maharana invited Dodiya Dhaval to settle in

50. A copper plate grant of village Juwar dated V. E. 1462 was noticed by Ojha, who regarded it to be a spurious one, as there was Saturday on the date of the issue of the plate instead of Wednesday. I also got a chance to examine the text of this plate. I regard it of the 15th century A.D. The territory of Chhapan was annexed to his state by Lakha, as is apparent by the epithet लोकप्रिय राजस्थित् used for Lakha.

51. E. I. Vol. XXI pp. 277-278/The Kirtitambha Inscription verse 26.

52. *Royal Rajputi Bar* (MS) Lf. 90.

Mewar and granted him a jagir of Rs. five lakhs comprising of villages Masuda Nandrai⁵³ etc.

Religious Charities

Maharana Lakha got the religious Hindu centers⁵⁴ like Benaras, Prayag and Gaya emancipated from the levy of pilgrim-taxes by paying off a lump sum amount in gold. Jotin Bhatta was his court-poet, who was given a village, named Pipali in Jagir. A similar donation was also given to his brother Dhaneshwar. Maharana also got excavated tanks at Chittor, Kelawara and Lakhawali.

Development of Delawara

The comparative peace and repose in Mewar of this period helped in developing trade and commerce. At the same time, excavation of silver mines at Jawar tended to the prosperity in the country. Delawara, situated on the Ahmedabad Delhi trade route, came into prominence. A good number of merchants migrating from other parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat settled themselves there. According to the Jain sources *Shresthis*⁵⁵ Ramdeva, Nimba, Visal, Megh, Kejha, Bhim, Katuk etc. were conducting their business successfully at that place. Maharana Lakha took personal interest in inviting some of them to settle in Mewar. Ramdeva⁵⁶ was his prime minister, who spent lavishly in the installation of several icons there. His wife Meladevi survived upto V.E. 1488 (1420 A.D.), when she is mentioned to have got the icons of Dronacharya and Jinvardhan Suri installed and copies of some MSS. prepared. The son-in-law of Ramdeva was Visal, who was a member of the family of Vatsaraj of Idar. The account of one of his brothers, Govind is mentioned in detail in the *Som Sobhaga Kavya*. Visal's wife Khimai and his sons Dhir and Champaka also got the copies of several Jain MSS. prepared and installed some icons at Delawara. Nimba invited Somsundar Suri there and performed festivities. It seems

53. *Surya Yamsha-Yamshenali* (MS) LI. 41.

54. E.I. Vol. XXI p. 278 verse 207/E.I. Vol. XXIII p. 236 verse 11/B. I pp. verse 38.

55. तेपगच्छतित्व यूनिशुलभ देवमुपाटके द्वे । देववीसलकेसहस्रद्वयमूर्तिनिवारदुकाल्पात्रः ॥५३॥ [Tappagachcha Guravalli quoted from Deva Kul Pataka].

56. *Maharana Kunbi* by the Author pp. 305-306.

that the Jain saints of *Kharataragachchha* of the Pippalaka branch had a predominating influence among the Jains.

Shresthi Gunaraj

*Shresthi Gunaraj*⁵⁷ was the resident of Chittor. According to the account preserved in the *Mahavir Prasad-Prashasti*, the members of his family were conducting their business at Ahmedabad and were the follower of *Tapagachchha* sect. He performed a *Sangh-Yatras* in V. E. 1457 (1400 A. D.) and 1462 (1405 A. D.) to Shatrunjaya and Rewantaka respectively. During the famine of V. E. 1468 (1411 A. D.), he spent benevolently to provide relief to afflicted persons. Under the guidance of Somsundar Suri, he again managed a *Sangha-Yatra* to Shatrunjaya in V. E. 1477 (1420 A. D.), after obtaining necessary permission from the Sultan of Gujrut. His most important work was the renovation of Mahavir Temple situated near the Jain *Kirtistambha* of Chittor.

Mokal's age at the time of accession

Col. Tod narrates⁵⁸ that immediately after the birth of Mokal, his father Lakha set out on a pilgrimage to Gayn instating him on the throne of Mewar. But this statement is not supported by sober history. According to epigraphic sources, he succeeded to the throne of Mewar, between the years V. E. 1476 (1419 A. D.) and 1477 (1420 A. D.), ■ the last known inscription of his father and the first known inscription of his own reign belong to these years respectively. According to the evidence given below, he seems to be ■ grown up man at the time of his accession to the throne—

i) Mokal's daughter Lala Mewari⁵⁹ was married to Achaldas Khinchi of Gagron, who performed *Jauhar* in the year V. E. 1480 (1423 A.D.), when the Sultan of Malwa invaded. This proves that the marriage of Lala was performed before V. E. 1480 (1423 A.D.). This can only be possible, when we assume the date of the birth of Mokal at least before V.E. 1452 (1395 A.D.).

ii) At the time of his death, Mokal was having grown up sons.

57: *Maharao Kumbha* by the Author pp. 306-307.

58. Tod's account is based on the *Vamshavalis* wherein Mokal is described to have come to throne in the year V.E. 1454 (*Surya Vamsha Vamshavali* No. 827 Lf. 41(a)).

59. *Rawal Ranaji et Bat* (MS) Lf. 90/*Vamshavali* No. 827 Lf. 41.

Besides Kumbha, Khema was his⁶⁰ another ambitious son, who conspired against his brother and took refuge in the court of the Sultan of Malwa, sometimes between the years V.E. 1493-94 (1480-87 A.D.). In case, Mokal was a minor in the year V.E. 1477 (1420 AD.), he could not have grown-up sons at the time of his death in the year V.E. 1490 (1433 A.D.)

Churda takes shelter in Malwa

Although Mokal was not a minor, but being elder, Churda wielded much influence and managed the administration of state with great ability. But the queen mother became jealous and always suspected foul play. Knowing the righteousness of his motives Churda left Mewar for Mandu, where he remained for a couple of years. However, he kept his uterine brother Raghavadeva in Mewar to keep a watch over the manifold activities of the Rathors.

Battle with the Sultan of Nagaur

Maharana Mokal successfully launched for an expedition against the Sultan of Nagaur. In Persian Chronicles, it is mentioned that Mokal was badly defeated at the hands of Piroz Shah, the Sultan of Nagaur and had to retreat, after having his three thousand Rajputs slain⁶¹ in the battle. Quite contrary to the above, the inscriptions of Mewar unanimously speak of the victory of Mokal.⁶² A casual literary reference to this battle is also available in *Kyam Khan Raso*,⁶³ which mentions the victory of Mokal and also records the heroic deeds of two Kayamkhani brothers named Taj Khan and Mahmud Khan, who are described to have plundered the camp equipage of Mewar army and snatched the royal umbrella. The participation of above Mahmud Khan Kayamkhani is also mentioned in the Kumbhalagarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1480 AD.)⁶⁴ The Gorishankar Tank inscription of A.H. 840 (1437 A.D.)⁶⁵

60. Gangaram in his work "Hari Bhushan Kavyam" mentions the date of birth of Khema as V.E. 1476 (1419 A.D.). He was the younger brother of Kumbha. This also corroborates that Mokal was not a minor in V.E. 1477 (1420 A.D.)

61. Bailey—History of Gujerat p. 148.

62. E.I. Vol. II p. 417/Vol. XXI p. 278/Vol. XXIII pp. 223-241/B.I. pp. 127-128.

63. *Kyam Khan Raso /Maharana Kumbha* by the Author p. 30.

64. पीरों स नव्वार्द गरालीरापार्य एः श्रोलकृ ।

पुराणिपात्रोण्यांत्यपासेष्यांत्यक्षिणः ॥ २७ ॥ E.I. Vol XXI p. 278 verse 221

65. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* year 1929-24 p. 15.

of Narena (District Jaipur), belonging to the family of the Sultan of Nagaur, mentions the victory of Malarana Mokal. It says that Mokal had invaded the towns namely, Narena, Sambhar, Didawana, etc. and captured them. He had dismantled the mosques and ravaged the country. On exodus of Mewar army, Muzahid Khan, the younger brother of the Sultan of Nagaur, recaptured these towns, rebuilt the mosques and repaired the fort. The Didawana inscription of A.H. 840 (1437 A.D.)⁶⁶ also records the repairs of the fort. Looking to the above, it can be said that Mokal succeeded against the Sultan of Nagaur. His victory over Sambhar is also mentioned in the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1460 A.D.).

Battle with the Sultan of Gujerat

Verse 14 of the Shringirishi inscription of V. E. 1486 (1428 AD)⁶⁷ narrates that Ahmad Shah, the Sultan of Gujerat, although irresistible in battle, had resorted to fleeing from the battle field, while fighting with the army of Mewar. A reference to the invasion of the Sultan of Gujerat in A. H. 881 (1427 AD)⁶⁸ upon Idar, Kelawara etc. is mentioned by Firozah and Nizamuddin Ahmad. An interesting reference of an abortive attempt to invade the fort of Machhindrapur (On the ruins of which, modern fort of Kumbhalgarh was constructed) is also available in the *Masir-i-Muhammad Shahi*.⁶⁹ On the basis of this also, it can be said that Ahmad Shah, the Sultan of Gujerat had remained unsuccessful in dislodging the fort.

Mokal's relations with other Rulers.

As already stated, Mokal has espoused his daughter named Lala Mewari to Achaldas Khinchhi of Gagron, who obtained a pledge to succour him at the time of danger. After a few days, when his capital was invaded in 1423 A.D. by the forces of Sultan Hoshang Shah Ghori of Malwa, he sent his son Dhir for getting reinforcement from Mewar. But before the arrival of this help, the fort fell into the hands of the invader. Lala Mewari performed *Jauhar* with other ladies present in the fort.

66. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica year 1949-50 F 22.

67. निरंगे गुरुहीति द्वारे संख्यको...E.I. Vol. XXIII p. 240.

68. Beni Prasad and De-Tubaquat-i-Akbari Vol. III p. 211.

69. Dr. Nural Human—*Masir-i-Muhammad Shahi* (Persian text) p. 28.

The rulers of Sirohi and Hadoti were also hostile to the ruler of Mewar. The Ekling temple inscription of V.E. 1545 (1488 AD)⁷⁰ mentions that Mokal emerged victorious in a battle fought at Jahazpur, which seems to have held with the Hadas of Bundi. Inspite of this success, these Hadas remained hostile. The ruler of Sirohi at the same time, snatched some villages of Tehsil Kotada of Mewar which were contiguous to his state. Regular insurrections were also reported from the disturbed areas of Badnor.

Invasion by the Sultan of Gujarat (1482 A.D.)

In A. H. 830 (1432 A. D.)⁷¹ Sultan Ahmad Shah, of Gujarat marched towards Nagaur and Mewar, following the route of Ahad, Delawara and Bhilwara in Mewar. On his arrival at Dungarpur, Maharwal Gayapal resisted. However, the Sultan succeeded to plunder his treasures.⁷² In Mewar, no preparations to meet him could be done, as at the same time, Maharana Mokal was assassinated. The Sultan devastated important towns, namely Abad, Eklingji, Delawara etc. and the temples were also molested. However, this invasion did not leave any far reaching impact on Mewar. The temples were soon repaired in the early years of the reign of Maharana Kumbha, the successor of Mokal.⁷³

Assassination of Mokal

On hearing the arrival of the forces of Gujarat, Maharana Mokal encamped at Tainhati of Chittor, to make preparations for meeting the invading army. At this time, when there were only a few attendants with him, Chacha and Mera accompanied with Mahapa Panwar of Shrinagar (Ajmer) made a sudden attack on his camp and killed him.⁷⁴ The foul assassination of Mokal thus made the position of the state more critical. This event took place in V.E. 1490 (1433 A. D.).

70. B. I. p. 119.

71. Briggs—Firistab Vol IV p. 33/Tabaqat-i-Akbari Vol. III p. 220;

72. Bayley—History of Gujarat pp. 120–121./Although the Shanti Nath temple inscription of V.E. 1525 mentions the victory of Maharawal Gayapa, but it seems to be an exaggeration.

73. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 61–62.

74. *Nenshi ki Khyas* II p. 116./Amor-Karya-Vanshavali (MS) Lf. No. 24,

Inscriptions of Mokal

The earliest known inscription of the reign of Mokal dated V. E. 1477 is engraved in the temple of Bijasanamata of Singholi (District Mandsaur).⁷⁵ Another inscription of V. E. 1478 is incised in the Shantinath temple of Jawar, which was got constructed by the descendants of⁷⁶ Shah Nana. The Shringirishi (Near Eklingji) inscription of V.E. 1485 contains the valuable historical information about the rulers⁷⁷ from Hamir to Mokal. It also mentions that Mokal had weighed himself against the gold and silver more than 26 times. The Samiddheshwar temple inscription of the same year mentions the renovation of the⁷⁸ temple. The Vidhyapeeth Udaipur inscription of V.E. 1487, edited by Shri Dev Kothari, contains information of the family of Brahman Suryapal of Haryana,⁷⁹ whose descendant, Vidhyadhar got constructed a step well. A fragmentary inscription of V. E. 1488 is available on a lintel of the Jain temple at Nagada.

75. Tod I p. 316.

76. संवद् १४७८ वर्षे शेष तु ६ राजाविराज थी मोकलरोप विजय राख्ये । *Kir. Vinod* Vol. I pp. 401-402.

77. E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 240.

78. *Ibid* Vol. II p. 417.

79. Edited by Shri Dev Kothari in *Shodh Patrika*.

(b) Maharana Kumbha

Maharana Kumbha succeeded his father Mokal in V.E. 1490 (1433 A.D.).¹ When he came to throne, there was an internal crisis, which had endangered the security of his state. Although the cruel assassination of Mokal was done on personal grounds, still two rival groups were functioning in the court circles, one of the Sisodiyas and the other of the Rathors. Kherna, the younger brother of Kumbha, being over-ambitious, wanted the throne of Mewar. Failing in his attempts to find sufficient supporters at Chittor, he left for Mandu to seek support of the Sultan in his evil designs. Kumbha had to face not only this internal crisis, but adverse external situation also. As already stated, the rulers of Sirohi, Bundi, Dungarpur etc. were keeping hostile attitude towards his father Maharana Mokal and succeeded to snatch away some villages of Mewar contiguous to their respective states. At the same time, there was a constant apprehension of the invasion of the Sultans of Nagaur, Malwa and Gujrat, who were having covetous eyes on Mewar.²

Action against Chacha and Mera

Kumbha had to take immediate steps to wreak vengeance of the foul murder of his father³ Mokal and to bring back refractory and hostile nobles to obedience. For this work, Rao Ranamal of Mandor also came and extended necessary help. Thus Kumbha marched against the traitors Chacha and Mera with the combined forces of the Rathors and Sisodiyas. In an encounter, Chacha and Mera were slain, while Mahapa Panwar and Chacha's son Eka, escaped and took shelter in the court of the Sultan of Malwa.⁴

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1. The earliest known inscription of the reign of Maharana Kumbha is the Padharada inscription of V.E. 1490 (1433 A.D.) संवत् १४९० वर्षे राजा कुम्भे प्रदर्शनाते उत्तरायने राजेन्द्रस्तो विमाक मासे कृष्ण वले ११ सोम उत्तर कालणग महाते—महाराजा कुम्भर्हि विवरण्य...” (Published in *Rajasthan Bharati*)
 2. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 55-56.
 3. *Amarkavya Yamsharali*(MS)Ls. 24/The Kittisambha inscription verse 24.
 4. *Nenasi-Ki-Khyat* (Dugar) Vol. I pp. 27-28/Vol. II p. 47/*Vir-Vinod* p. 318/*Rathor Yamsha-ri-Vigat* p. 9.

Conquest of Hadoti

As already stated, the Hadas were having hostile relations with the rulers of Mewar. Rao Beribhal or Bhan was ruling at that time in Bundi. The Hada chieftains were also having⁵ their sway on Kotah, Bambavada and Khatakar. Taking the benefit of the confusion which prevailed in Mewar after the death of Mokal, they succeeded to wrest the territory of Uparamal including the fort of Mandalgadh.

It became, therefore, necessary for Kumbha to recapture the same. In *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi*⁶, it is mentioned that Hadoti, which once remained under the subjugation of the Sultan of Malwa, was captured by Kumbha, after the death of Hoshang Shah. It seems that he first marched against Mandalgadh in V.E. 1403 (1436 A.D.). According to the epigraphic sources of Mewar, he succeeded to reduce this stronghold without any difficulty and discomfited the combined forces of the Hadas.⁷ Proceeding thence towards Bundi, he fought a furious battle with the Hadas at Jhajazpur⁸. After this battle, the Hindus were disheartened and soon yielded themselves at Bundi and Khatakar. On being agreed to owe their allegiance to him, Kumbha returned their principalities back to them.⁹

The political situation soon changed, when Mahmud Khilji came to throne in Malwa. He had undertaken several expeditions to bring Hadoti under his sphere of influence. Kumbha adopted a successful policy to give sufficient support to the Hadas against the invasions of the Sultan of Malwa.

5. *Panisha-Bhaskar* Vol. III p. 1959/The Meenai inscription of Hada Mahadeva of V.B. 1416 (Tad I pp. 597-98).

6. Sahili Hakim—*Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* edited by Nural Hussain Ansari. (Bengali Text) p. 46.

7. The Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1517 (1460 A.D.) verse 264. E.I. Vol. XXI p. 277

■ गुरीर विक्षेपे पातपुर दुरमिश्रयत् । verse 253 (ibid).

9. किंवा देववलेक्ष्मीविष्णवं हृषदाकटी हेतया ।

तन्नायामकरशान्विधाय च यदेवतमानुवत्तमयत् ।

दुर्गं गोपुरस्त गदपुरमपि ग्रीष्मा च वृग्वत्ती ।

श्रीसन्मण्डसत्यंमुच्छ विलक्षणात् विशालं गुरीष । verse 264 (ibid).

[*Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 71-73.]

Conquest of the Eastern part of Sirohi State

Rao Shrivabhan Devara had founded the town Sirohi and consolidated his power in the beginning of the 15th century A.D. His son Sahasrimal was very ambitious, who succeeded to annex some villages of Paragana Kotada of Mewar to his state. Maharana Kumbha, therefore, marched against him in 1436-37 A.D. and recaptured these villages. It seems that the eastern part of the Sirohi state, comprising of the *paraganas* of Ajuhari, Pindawara etc, was also wrested by him from the ruler of Sirohi, during this expedition. A copper plate grant of V.E. 1404 (1437 A.D.)¹⁰ issued from the camp Ranakpur, mentions that he gave away some land situated in the *paragana* Ajuhari, to a lady named Purbai etc. This also corroborates the above statement. However, he could not succeed to conquer Abu at that time. An unpublished copper plate grant of V.E. 1404 (1437 A.D.)¹¹ of Madhuwaji contains information of the installation of an iron staff by him in the temple of Rishikesh. But from Abu the inscriptions¹² of Devra Rajadhar Chunda, running from V.E. 1404 (1437 A.D.) to 1601 (1444 A.D.) are found. Therefore, it seems that although Kunibha proceeded upto Madhuwaji, but could not succeed to capture Mount Abu at that time.

Battle of Sarangpur (1497 A.D.)

Within a year of Hoshang Shah Ghor'i's death, the throne of Malwa was usurped by Mahmud Khilji. Masud Khan the grandson of Hoshang Shah took shelter with Ahmad Shah, the Sultan of Gujarat, who had agreed to espouse¹³ his cause. Umar Khan, one of the sons of Hoshang Shah, visited Mewar to seek support from Kunibha.¹⁴ From the Ranakpur inscription of V.E. 1496 (1430 A.D.) we¹⁵ glean a valuable information that the rulers of Gujarat and

10. स्वरित राणा दी कुम्हा धारेगता । दके परमा लोप्यं अजाहुदी प्रगतं चुरुचीय... दाई दी धूराई अनानि शोधत [Edited by the Author in the Journal of the Rajasthan Institute of Historical Research Jaipur.]
11. संवत् १४१४ या वर्षे पालियद सुली... राणा दी कुम्हकर [ग] धूरुदासल मह रासहि [हठी]... दी रीपीकेण आषम्येण परिता बावस कराणी [Unpublished Inscription.]
12. *Maharana Kunibha* by the Author pp. 79-81.
13. *Firistah*-Vol. IV p. 30/Tib III p. 222.
14. *Vir Vinod* I p. 927/*Firistah* Vol. IV p. 201.
15. "प्रवसपदाक्षमाकातिविक्षीमं दलगुब्रंस्तामुख्याण्प्रस्थिताहृगुक्षणविद्वस्त्व" [The Ranakpur Inscription].

Delhi bestowed a title of *Hindu-Suratan* upon Kumbha. This proves that some settlement took place between them, which might be none also than to re-establish the Ghori power in Malwa. The Sultan of Gujrat first invaded and laid a siege to the fort of Mandu. Maharana Kumbha taking the advantage of this situation also marched with Umar Khan against the Sultan of Malwa. He took the route through Ranathambhor, Narwar and Chanderi. According to *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* the fort of Shahar Noh (Perhaps Narwar)¹⁶ was besieged by the combined forces of Tomar Dungarsen of Gwalior and Maharana Kumbha. It was ably defended by Bihar Khan. Kumbha proceeding thence reached Chanderi and killed its *Mugil* Malik Haji. The local army also agreed to espouse the cause of Umar Khan. At this time, Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujrat detached his son with 6000 cavalry to Sarangpur, but soon recalled him back. Malik Isaq Kut-bin-Mulk, the *Mugil* of Sarangpur surrendered¹⁷ himself. Kumbha after capturing it successfully carried out depredations and collected a large amount. He, ■ the same time, had demolished several mosques and palaces and taken a good number of Muslim-ladies as captives. The Ranakpur inscription of V. E. 1406 and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. E. 1517 mention the detailed¹⁸ account of his victory over Sarangpur. Sultan Mahmud Khilji leaving the fort of Mandu under the charge of his father, went towards Sarangpur. His presence in the disturbed areas helped very much in getting the insurrections quelled. Umar Khan, who was present with the Mewar army, being exalted with this early success left the army with a few adherents and shut himself in an ambush. When Mahmud Khilji knew it, he at once invaded and killed¹⁹

16. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* (Per Text) p. 39. Shihab Hakim mention this event after the reduction of Chanderi etc. But at the same time he also says that Bihar Khan, the Governor of that place constantly requested the Sultan for sending the reinforcement. This shows that the fort was besieged much earlier.

17. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* p. 33/Firisteh Vol. IV p. 204/Tab III p. 222/ Bayley—History of Gujrat p. 123.

18. E.I. Vol. XXI p. 264 verses 268-270/The Ranakpur inscription lines 17-18/ *Ekling Mahatma* verse 56/

19. When Umar Khan was asked by one of his followers to leave the place, he declined by saying that Mahmud Khilji was the son of his father's servant. Therefore, it was not worthwhile for him to run away in front of him (Bayley op.-cit. p. 124).

Umarkhan. At this time, pestilence broke out in the Gujrat army. Therefore, Ahmad Shah had to retreat and was badly defeated by Mahmud Khilji. In this way, in spite of earlier reverses, Sultan Mahmud Khilji, succeeded in defeating the forces of Gujrat.

On hearing the sad end of Umar Khan, Maharana Kumbha returned back to Mewar. From Sarangpur, he took the route through Gagron, Janagarh, Mandsaur etc and annexed this territory of Khichiwara, Kanthal etc to his state. It is believed that he went as far²⁰ as Mandu, during this expedition. But it is not corroborated by sober history. No inscription of Mewar mentions his victory over Mandu. Similarly the *Kirtistambha* of Chittor is associated with this victory. It is true that its construction was undertaken in the year V. E. 1495 (1438 A.D.), immediately after returning from his expedition of Malwa. But we do not find any mention of its association with the above victory in the contemporary inscriptions. In an inscription found at the foot of this pillar, it is described as the *Vishnu-Stambha*.

Conquest of North-Eastern Rajasthan

The mutual alliance between Gujrat and Mewar did not remain for a long time and the conflicting interests debarred them from taking any action jointly. Soon after returning from the expedition against Sarangpur, Kumbha made an invasion in the territory of Sapadlaksha ruled by Firoz Khan, a relative of the Sultan of Gujrat. This event might have taken place in the middle of the year 1438 A. D. The Gorishankar tank inscription of Narena of A. H. 840 (1437 A. D.)²¹, which mentions a casual reference of the invasion of Maharana Mokal, does not record any event about Kumbha. At the same time, the Ranakpur inscription of V. E. 1496 (1439 A. D.)²² includes the name of Nagaur among the cities conquered by him. Therefore, this event can be placed between the years 1437 A. D. and 1439 A. D. and most probably after the battle of Sarangpur.

Mujahid Khan, the chief of Narena had undertaken the extensive repairs of several forts. This proves that Sultan of Nagaur,

20. *Vir-Yatna* I p. 328/H. B. Saraswati-Maharana Kumbha p. 40.

21. *Epigraphia-Indo Moscoviana* 1923 p. 15.

22. The Ranakpur Inscription lines 17 to 20.

under whom he was serving, made necessary preparations to defend his country. Kumbha, in order to check the power of Sultan, marched against him. He first reached Ajmer and captured it. He then marched against Narena, where a furious battle was fought with Mujahid Khan and defeated him²³. Few other important towns namely Sambhar, Nagaur, Khatu, Chatasur etc were also captured by him²⁴. However, after collecting a heavy booty from the Sultan of Nagpur, he returned back this territory to him.

Conquest of Mandor (1488-89 A.D.)

The differences between Sisodiya Raghavadeva and Rathor Ranamal were manifested at the time of quelling the disturbances of Chachha and Mera. Ranamal, who came from Mandor to espouse the cause of Kumbha, did not return to his capital. It is said that he preferred the fertile plateau of Mewar to the arid desert²⁵ of Marwar. While living at Chittor he began to take a prominent part in the administrative matters. The Sisodiyas, therefore, naturally felt frustrated. Raghavadeva, obviously being a hindrance to the Rathors, was put to an end by using a devious²⁶ plot. This heinous murder had excited much and roused a great indignation in the hearts of the Sisodiyas against²⁷ the Rathors. Soon Chunda and other adversaries of Ranamal, namely Eka Chachawati, and Mahapa Panwar, reached Chittor one by one. They succeeded also to poison the ears of Maharana Kumbha against Ranamal. Suspecting his proceedings Ranamal was also murdered²⁸ treacherously. His murder was thus a step to wreck vengeance of the assassination of Raghavadeva, which was a common incident of the age. Ranamal's son Jodha together with other Rathors at once fled to Marwar. Rao Chunda closely pursued them and captured Mandor, Sojat, Kayalana etc. From Sojat and Mandor, the colossal icons of

23. यन्तराणानारीरजागेऽस्मृत्वा निवृणुते शपथिभः /The Kirtistambha Inscription verse 8.

24. विषयक्तमपेक्षारंगदुर्जागद्युरागारेणतदाणकाऽवयोरुभीरपेहसकरद्यु दिलादूषारम्भानादिवाना-
भ्रह्मार्चुर्मलीसामावप्रहलप्रसापाधितवित्काणित्वासिमानश्च ।
(The Ranakpur inscription of V.E. 1496).

25. There are contradictory accounts available in the *khyats* of Mewar and Marwar. According to the *khyats* of Marwar, Ranamal remained faithful to his duties, but was slain suspecting his proceedings.

26. Vir-Vinod I pp. 320-21/Ojha I pp. 288-290.

26A. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author p. 94.

27. *Nawasi Ki Khyat* (Dugar) Vol. I p. 30.

Hanuman²⁸ were brought, which were subsequently installed in the fort of Kumbhalgarh and Ranakpur respectively.

Conquest of Dungarpur (1441 A. D.)

Maharawal Gopinath (also known as Gaipa), whose reign extended upto V. E. 1503 (1440 A. D.), wrested Jawar and other villages of Mewar contiguous to Vagada, during the last days of Maharana Mokal. The Surakhand inscription of V. E. 1404 (1437 A. D.)²⁹ mentions Rathor Kanha, as an independent ruler. The victory over Dungarpur is not recorded in the Ranakpur inscription of V. E. 1498 (1439 A. D.) therefore, this event seems to have taken place after it. The Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.E. 1817 (1460 A. D.)³⁰ mentions that Maharawal Gopinath, on reaching the Mewar army, took shelter in the hillocks, leaving his capital at the mercy of the invader. As the reign of Gopinath lasted in the year V.E. 1503, the invasion seems to have launched³¹ between the years V. E. 1406 and 1503. The Surajpole inscription of Dungarpur dated V. E. 1408 (1441 A. D.)³² records that it was besieged by some formidable enemy and a furious battle was fought there. It may be conjectured that this invasion was of Maharana Kumbha, who after defeating the forces of Maharawal annexed Jawar³³ to his state. The Maharawal agreed to owe his allegiance to him.

Invasion by Sultan of Malwa (1442-43 A. D.)

The growing power of Kumbha became an eye sore to Malumud Khilji, the Sultan of Malwa, who was eager to reduce him to extremes. However, being indulged in the campaign against Delhi, he could not move earlier. During his absence at Delhi, Kumbha

28. धर्मियांडवपुराङ्गुमन संदर्भितः कुम्भमेकुर्व (The Kirtibhimabha Inscription verse 91).
29. पुस्तकालयमेल अधिकृत द्वी कल्पशैल (Edited by R.C. Agrawal in Varada).
30. E.I. Vol. XXI p. 264-verse 266-267.
31. The colophone of MS. *Siddha Hema Vrishi* of V.E. 1504 mentions Somdas as the ruler of Vagada (संदृ १५०४ वर्षे दग्धं विर मुखि ११ शाखे द्वी निरिद्वे रात्रि द्वी बोहरास विजय राज्ये) This proves that before that year Maharawal Gopinath had breathed his last.
32. "संबद्ध १४३८ वर्षे ऐश्वर्यासे नृसंह पक्षे (ए) वासा गुरु द्विष्ट द्वी निरिद्वे द्वी सैन्य समागमौ... प्रतिहार चत्त (ऐश्वर्या) पात्रा... सन्तो द्विष्ट लोकान्तर..." (Unpublished Inscription of Dungarpur).
33. Maharana Kumbha is said to have renovated the temple of the mother goddess at Jawar (पोषिणी भविष्यते महावारा संहनो प्रसाद वास्त्रो यीविगीरुर चाक) The Colophone of MS *Gita-Govind*

further consolidated his position in Kanthal. Therefore, the Sultan proceeded³⁴ against him on 30, Nov, 1442 A.D. After crossing the river Betam (?) he reached Mewar and sent detachments to carry out depredations and demolish the temples. He then reached near Kelwara and made an abortive attempt to reduce the stronghold of Machhindrapur³⁵ (The ancient fort, on the ruins of which Kumbhalgarh was constructed). At Kelawara, the Sultan invaded the temple of Banamata, having massive ramparts looking like a castle. The Rajputs under Deepsingh displayed conspicuous gallantry and after a week's fighting the Sultan was successful in seizing the place. The temple was molested. A very romantic account of the destruction of its icons is described by Firuzah and Nizamuddin³⁶ Ahmad. At this time, the Sultan received intelligence of Kumbha's flight to Chittor in disguise as a *Jogy*. But this statement does not seem to be correct. Quite contrary to this *Zafar-ul-wala* mentions that Kumbha collected a large army at Chittor and penetrated into Malwa and conducted depredations³⁷ in the neighbourhood of Mandu. Therefore, the Sultan immediately left for Chittor. At the same time, he asked his father Ajam Humayun to command his forces posted in Kanthal and Mandsaur. He also sent a detachment under Taj Khan to protect the chief of Kalba, against the invasion of Maharana³⁸ Kumbha. In the meanwhile on receiving the news of the death of his father, he almost became distracted with grief and went to Mandsaur to make necessary arrangements to send the dead body of his father to Sadiyabad. After making necessary arrangements, he returned back to Chittor, leaving Taj Khan to command his forces, which were besieging Mandsaur. However, he could not achieve any success there at Chittor and decided to abandon the siege on the pretext that rainy season was approaching fast. At this time, on seeing the retreat of the forces of Sultan, Maharana Kumbha made a sudden attack on April 26, 1443 A.D. (25th Zulhijja A.H. 816) with 10,000 cavalry and 25000 infantry.

34. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* p. 52.

35. *Ibid* p. 59.

36. Firuzah Vol. IV pp. 208-209/Tab Vol. III pp. 513-514.

37. *Zafar-ul-wala* (Eng) p. 171.

38. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* pp. 53-54.

and caused heavy losses to the Sultan.³⁹ The account of the Persian chronicles that owing to the rainy season, the Sultan left Chittor, seems to be ridiculous, as in Mewar the rainy season begins in July and not in April. In this way, the attempts of the Sultan for reducing Maharana to extremities, proved futile.

Battle of Gagron (1444 A. D.)

When the Sultan failed to achieve any notable success from his campaign of Mewar, he limited his designs to recapture the forts of Khichiwara, recently annexed by Kumbha. He, therefore, proceeded with a large army and reached the suburbs of Gagron on Feb 3, 1444 A.D. (*Shawwal 13 A.H. 840*). At first, he encamped on the bank of the river Ahu (Towards the modern town Jhalawar). The fort was in the possession of Palansi, the son of Achaladas Khichi. His younger brother Dhirsingh was his commander, who went Mewar and brought reinforcement also. The battle continued for 7 days. The Rajput sallying out from the fort, fought vigorously. On the last day, when Dhir was slain, the Rajputs got disheartened. They at last decided to perform *Jauhar*. Palansi was allowed to go out from the fort. Next day, the remaining Rajputs died while fighting. The fort was captured by Mahmud Khilji,⁴⁰ who renamed it as Mustafabad. Soon after, the Sultan also succeeded in recapturing the other important strongholds of Khichiwara.

Invasions upon Mandalgarh (1444 and 1446 A.D.)

The Sultan of Malwa was interested to annex Madalgarh fort to his state. He, therefore, marched against it. On reaching in the vicinity of it, he encamped on the bank of the river Banas near Triveni. According to Shihab Hakim, initially some negotiations for settlement were made, through Chhitarmal and Teja Purohit. But these could not be materialised.⁴¹ The Rajputs displayed conspicuous gallantry and compelled the invaders to retreat without achieving any success. The description of the Persian chronicles that the Sultan had to return as the rainy season was forth coming, is a common way of recording the defeat in a guarded language.

39. *Ibid/Firistah* vol. IV p. 210/*Tab Vol. III* pp. 514-515.

40. *Ibid* p. 54-56/*Zafar-ul-Walla* p. 172.

41. *Ibid* p. 50.

To retrieve this disaster, Sultan Mahmud Khilji again marched with a big army on Oct. 11, 1448 A.D. When he reached near Ranathambhor⁴², he found it necessary to strengthen this fort, against the invasions of the Rajputs of Mewar and Gwalior. Thus he changed the governor Bahar Khan and appointed Malik Saifuddin in his place. He detached Taj Khan with a contingent against Bol, Pachawara etc., which were captured by Maharana Kumbha. Proceeding thence, he reached Mandalgarh and encamped on Triveni. This time also he could not go close to the fort. The Rajputs sallying out from the fort, made the fierce attacks on the besiegers. The battle continued for 3 days, and compelled the assailants to retreat.⁴³ The account of Persian chronicles that the Sultan, owing to the exigencies of time, had agreed to conclude peace by accepting jewels and species is rather an exaggeration. The aim of the invasion was to capture the fort, therefore, there is no reason to abandon the siege, except due to the pressure of the Rajputs.

Both Maharana Kumbha and Mahmud Khilji seem to have concentrated themselves to annex the territory of the eastern Rajasthan. Kumbha also strove hard to conquer this territory. Such political situation remained for a long time. After a few days, the Sultan marched against Bayana and after settling its affairs he proceeded towards Ranathambhor and subdued the fort of Alanpur. From there he detached Taj Khan with 8000 cavalry to lay waste the territory of Mewar⁴⁴. The Sultan himself returned via Hadoti. At Kotah, he removed Rao Sanda, who had owed his allegiance to Kumbha and in his place Rao Bhan was⁴⁵ appointed.

Conquest of Abu (1447 A. D.)

Earlier in V. E. 1494 (1437 A. D.) Kumbha succeeded to annex the eastern part of the Sirohi state to his kingdom. Due to constant inroads of the Sultan of Malwa, it became inevitable for him to strengthen his western borders also from the possible invasion of the Sultan of Gujarat. He, therefore, sent his forces under

42. Firishta mentions Rampura instead of Ranthambhor.

43. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* p. 58/Tab III p. 520/Firishta Vol. IV p. 214/U. N. Day-*op.cit.* p. 180/*Fir-Vinod I* p. 325/Sarada-*op.cit.* pp. 87-85.

44. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* p. 68/Tab III p. 520/Firishta Vol. IV p. 214-215.

45. *Vamsha-Bhaskar Vol. III* p. 1951/Maharana Kumbha by the Author pp. 71-73.

the command of the Dodiya Narasingh, the ancestor of the Chief of Sardargarh, who captured this stronghold by defeating the Devaras. According to the *Khyat* of Sardargarh, this event took place in⁴⁶ the year V. E. 1504 (1447 A.D.). It is also corroborated from the epigraphic sources. From Abu, no inscription⁴⁷ of Devara chief between the years V.E. 1506 (1449 A.D.) to V.E. 1624 (1467 A.D.) is known.

Battles for Hadoti and Ranathambhor (1452 A.D.)

In 1452 A.D., Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa marched against the chiefs of the Hadoti, Toda Bhim etc, as they again agreed to owe their allegiance to Kumbha. At the same time Dungarsingh of Gwalior and Maharana Kumbha⁴⁸ also managed to invade the town Sahar Nauh. The Sultan after settling the affairs of Bayana reached Toda Bhim and besieged it. The Rajputs defended it, but at last they evacuated the place and the fort was captured by the Sultan.

In the year A. H. 858 (1454 A.D.), when the Sultan of Malwa was badly indulged in the affairs of the southern Malwa, Kumbha managed to recapture the territory adjacent to Ranathambhor and Toda Bhim. Similar attempts were also made by Dungarsingh of Gwalior. The Sultan of Malwa, therefore, marched against the ruler of Gwalior and made an abortive attempt of its conquest.

Invasions upon Chittor and Ranathambhor

On hearing the occupation of Ranathambhor by Kumbha, the Sultan Mahmud Khilji despatched his forces under the command of his son Gayas-ud-din and he himself proceeded towards Chittor so that Kumbha might not be able to reinforce his detachment posted at Ranathambhor. This device proved successful and Gayas-ud-din succeeded to recapture the territory adjacent to Ranathambhor⁴⁹, except the main fort. Shihab Hakim mentions that

46. *Sardargarh-ki-Khyat* (M.S.) lf. 28.

47. The following inscriptions of V.E. 1506 have been found from Abu of the reign of Maharana Kumbha.

(1) The Machha village inscription. (2) The Delwara Jain temple inscription. (3) The Abu Road Railway High School inscription. (4) The Vashishtashram inscription.

48. *Mard-i-Mahmudkhilji* p. 76.

49. *Zafar-ul-Wala* p. 173.

when the Sultan was at his camp Jiwapur (Perhaps Jawar) the emissaries of Maharana Kumbha appeared before him and offered a large quantity of gold in order to avert the approaching calamity. But the Sultan did not accept as he was anxious to defeat⁵⁰ Kumbha. Firistah and Nizamuddin⁵¹ mention that the coins offered by the Kumbha had his name engraved on them. Therefore, the Sultan rejected this offer. But it does not seem to be correct. No gold coin of Kumbha has so far been known. The Sultan continued his march and detached Mansur-ul-Mulk to lay waste the country. At this time, the Sultan founded a town namely Khilachipur, where he stayed for a couple of days. According to *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi*, Maharana Kumbha sent his representative Parasuram to him and requested not to transgress the path of loyalty in future. According to *Zafar-ul-Walis* the Sultan remained encamped at Khilachipur⁵² and informed his son Gayas-ud-din, who was then at Bagalana that he would remain there till Rana Kumbha made his submission. This proves that this time also the attempts of Sultan remained abortive.

Invasions upon Ajmer and Mandalgarh (1455 A.D.)

In the year A. H. 859/1455 A.D. the Sultan of Malwa again marched against Maharana Kumbha. When reached near Mandsaur he sent a detachment under his son Gayas-ud-din and Salfullah Khan to conquer Janagurh. According to *Zafar-ul-Walis* this fort was a temporary residence of⁵³ Maharana Kumbha. The Rajputs defended it strongly and a battle was fought with ferocity. At last the Rajputs performed Jauhar and the fort fell in the hands of the Sultan of Malwa. Taj Khan, who was detached to plunder the territory of Jhain (Distt Sawai Madhopur), had come back and joined the Sultan near Mandsaur. After the rainy season, the Sultan marched towards Toda Bhim and invaded⁵⁴ the place. His soldiers, leaving their horses on the bank of the river, went close to the

50. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* p. 81.

51. Tab III pp. 527-528/Firistah Vol. IV p. 221.

52. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* p. 81.

53. *Zafar-ul-Walis* p. 179.

54. *Ibid* p. 173-174.

55. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* pp. 83-84/*Zafar-ul-Walis* pp. 173-174.

fort. The Rajput guards posted there evacuated the place in night and the fort fell in the hands of the Sultan. In the morning according the *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* a large number of citizens including merchants appeared before the Sultan and begged for protection. While he was there, a party of the chiefs of Ajmer appeared before him and requested that religious practices had been forbidden there. He, therefore, decided to march against Ajmer. While he was on his way, the chief of Badnor named Chita appeared before him and made a complaint against Maharana Kumbha, who had captured his fort. The Sultan assured him that he would restore it to him provided he agree to apostatize from faith. It seems that he was perhaps a Mewa of Badnor.⁵⁶ The Sultan extended necessary help in regaining his lost territory. He then marched towards Ajmer and encamped in front of the Daragah, near the lake Anasagar (Perhaps Dolat-Bag-area).

The fort of Ajmer was under the possession of Maharana Kumbha, whose representative Raja Gajadhar singh was governing the place. The Sultan Mahmud soon laid a siege to the fort. Gajadhar singh with his Rajputs sallying out from the fort, on four successive days, fought displaying gallantry and prowess. On the fifth day, Raja Gajadhar was slain while fighting. Immediately after his death despair prevailed in the Rajputs, who hurriedly retired to the fort. At the same time, some of the Maiwa soldiers also followed closely to the fugitive Rajputs into the fort and opened the gates.⁵⁷ Thus the Sultan succeeded in capturing it. He appointed Saif Khan as the Governor of Ajmer and also got constructed a mosque there. However, Maharana Kumbha managed to recapture it after a couple of days.

From Ajmer, the Sultan proceeded towards Mandalgarh and on reaching there, he encamped on the bank of the river Bonas near Triunsi. Dividing his army into three flanks, the Sultan placed them at three different points of the fort. Maharana Kumbha, who was present there made similar arrangements for defence. The Rajputs

56. Maharana Kumbha's victory over Badnor is mentioned in verse 224 of the Kunibhalgarh inscription. However, the name of his adversary available in various epigraphic and literary sources is Munec or not Chita. Therefore it seems that he might be the father of Munec.

57. *Masir-i-Mahmud shahi* pg 05.

sallying out from the fort, made such a severe counter attack on the assailants that the Amirs and Wazirs of Malwa requested⁵⁸ the Sultan to relinquish the siege operations and retire to Mandu. U.N. Day, a historian⁵⁹ of eminence, has admitted that Sultan Mahmud Khilji, finding it difficult to conquer that fort, returned to Mandu. In Persian chronicles, the bad state of camp equipage and approach of rainy season are given as the reasons for raising the siege. But we know that the fighting took place only for two days and the Sultan was already conscious of these facts. Therefore, it would be ridiculous to ascribe them as the reason of the retreat of the Sultan's army. We may call it as his defeat.

Battles with the Rathors (1452-1456 A.D.)

As already stated Maharana Kumbha annexed Mandor to his state and Ranamal's son Jodha with his few faithful adherents went towards the northern Rajasthan and passed a few years there. He made depredatory raids on Mandor and always lost men and horses. It is mentioned in the *khyats* of Mewar that Hansabai, the grand mother of Kumbha being of a Rathor scion, was sympathizing with Jodha in his forsaken state and requested Maharana to restore Mandor to him. Maharana assured her that he would not take any action, in case Jodha succeeded to recapture it. The queen mother conveyed this message to Jodha, who soon consolidated his position and succeeded in recapture the important out-posts of Marwar including Mandor in 1455 A.D., by killing Ahada Hingaloo and other commandants of Mewar. Although, the *Khyats* of Marwar do not agree to accept the above anecdote of Hansabai, but it is true that Kumbha was more powerful, who could have retrieved by expelling Jodha from Mandor⁶⁰.

Battles with the Sultan of Nagaur (1455-A.D.)

In the year A.H. 860(1455 A.D.) Sultan Firoz Khan of Nagaur died and his brother Mujahid Khan, having expelled his son Shamsh Khan, usurped the throne. Shamsh Khan, therefore, immediately fled to Chittor for getting necessary help from Maharana Kumbha. On reaching there Maharana agreed to espouse his cause on an

58. *Ibid* p. 85; *Tab III* p. 520/*Firistab* Vol. IV p. 223.

59. U.N. Day—*op.cit.* p. 186.

60. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author Chapter IV.

understanding that he was to dilapidate a part of the battlements of fort of Nagaur in token of his submission.⁶¹ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, the reason for keeping such a condition was to wreak vengeance of the defeat of Maharana Mokal at the hands of Firoz Khan.⁶² But this version is totally incorrect and can be refuted on the basis of the Narena inscription of Mujahid Khan of A.H. 840 (1435 A.D.),⁶³ which mentions the victory of Mokal. Maharana Kumbha invaded Nagaur and succeeded to reinstate Shamsh Khan there. Mujahid Khan being unable to resist ran away and took shelter in Malwa.

The relations between Maharana Kumbha and Shamsh Khan could not remain cordial, as the latter did not allow a part of his battlement to be broken in token of his submission. At the same time he also improved his fortifications and made necessary preparations to meet Kumbha. All these developments enraged Kumbha, who again marched against Nagaur. Shamsh Khan, unable to cope with the Mewar army, immediately left for Ahmadabad for obtaining reinforcement, leaving his army under the command of a senior officer. On reaching Ahmadabad, the Sultan Qutb-ul-din Ahmad of Gujrat conferred many favours upon him and also agreed to marry his daughter. He despatched his army, under the command of Malik Ghadi and Raja. Ramchandra, to reinforce the garrison of Nagaur.⁶⁴ But the combined forces of Nagaur and Ahmadabad were completely defeated.

Maharana Kumbha, thereupon, successfully took possession of the fort of Nagaur, demolished its bastions and extracted its treasures.⁶⁵ According to *Zafar-ul-Walla*, a large number of Muslims were slain and many of them were made captives. At the same time, Nagaur together with its adjacent territory of Sapatalaksha was captured by Maharana Kumbha. However, this territory was subsequently returned to the Sultan, who agreed to owe his allegiance to him.

61. Bayley—*op. cit.* pp. 148–149/*Zafar-ul-Walla* p. 11.

62. Tab III p. 230.

63. *Epigraphia Indica Arabian and Persian supplement* 1923 p. 1.

64. *Zafar-ul-Walla* p. 11/Bayley—*op.cit.* p. 140–149/Tab III p. 230/*Prishthah Vol. IV* p. 41.

65. *Zafar-ul-Walla* p. 11/The Kirtistambha Inscription of Chitor verses 11 to 23

Invasion by the Sultan of Gujarat (1456 A.D.)

On hearing this disaster, the Sultan of Gujarat was very much excited and marched against Kumbha in order to avenge the ravaging of Nagaur. When he reached in the vicinity of Abu, the Devara chief appeared before him and requested to extend necessary help in restoring Abu, which was forcibly seized by Maharana Kumbha. The Sultan after appointing Malik Shaban Irmad-ul-Mulk to wrest the fort, proceeded towards⁶⁶ Sirohi, the ruler of which place was defeated. The Sultan at this time came to know about the defeat of his army sent against Abu. Therefore, he gave orders to call Malik Shaban back. He also detached contingents to lay waste the territory of Godawar and to demolish the temples. When he came near Kumbhalgarh, Maharana Kumbha came out from the fort and attacked the Gujarat army. The Sultan failed to conquer the fort, and was compelled to retreat. The Persian Chronicles⁶⁷ mention that Maharana Kumbha sued for peace and offered a large sum in species and jewels. The *Zafar-ul-Walla* mentions that he had agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan of Gujarat and reimbursed the loss to the Sultan of Nagaur by paying 10,000 *Ashrafis*. But all these accounts are far from truth. The Sultan totally failed in this campaign and his attempts proved abortive.

Invasion by the Sultan of Malwa (1457 A. D.)

The Sultan Mahmud Khilji although failed to capture Mandalgadh, but by constant efforts he was successful in establishing his authority over the area around Ranathambhor. In order to have an effective control over Hadoti and Ranathambhor, he endeavoured to annex the territory of Uparamal including Mandalgadh also to his state. For this purpose he marched against Mewar on Dec. 26, 1456 A. D. and soon reached Mandalgadh. This time he made a personal survey of all important hillocks around the fort and chose the western⁶⁸ hillock as the base. He ordered to clear the jungle and at the same time he left sufficient army to fight with the Rajputs

66. The name of the Chief of Abu is given as Gita Devara by Nizamuddin (Tab III p. 281), but Kumbha wrested Abu from Gunda Devra (For details see *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 79-80)

67. Bayley-*op. cit.* p. 149-50/*Zafar-ul-Walla* p. 11-12/Tab III pp. 231-32 Firuz Shah Vol. IV p. 41-42.

68. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi*, p. 85

sallying out from the fort. The fort was besieged and *Manjabis* were placed on the hillocks. The Rajputs defended the fort by displaying prowess and gallantry and immediately repaired the damages caused to the ramparts. However, the Sultan succeeded in making a breach in the ramparts of outer fortification compelling the besiegees to evacuate it and take shelter in the inner fort. The Sultan managed to damage the water reservoir by concussion of the *Manjabis* and also filled in the ditch round the outer walls. This device proved very successful and the garrison inside the fort cried for water. They now decided to fight the last battle by coming out from the inner fort. Most of them were slain and the fort came in the possession⁶⁹ of the Sultan on Oct. 23, 1457 A.D., who remained there for 20 days and made necessary appointments of various officers. The temple in the fort was razed to ground and a mosque was constructed there. After making necessary preparations, the Sultan proceeded towards Chittor. He also despatched his forces under his sons, namely Gayas-ud-din and Fidai Khan, towards Kumbhalgarh and Bundi respectively. At this time, Maharana Kumbha was badly engrossed in the battles with the Sultan of Gujerat. Therefore, he could not send reinforcement there. However, he managed to recapture the fort only after a couple of days.

The invasions by the Sultans of Malwa and Gujerat

As already stated, the Sultans of Malwa and Gujerat, the traditional enemies of Mewar, entered into an offensive alliance against Maharana Kumbha. It was agreed between them⁷⁰ that Godawar and the south western Mewar, including Chittor, contiguous to Gujerat, were to be attached to Gujerat, while the central Mewar, Ajmer, Uparamal, Hadoti etc. to Malwa. They now decided to make simultaneous attacks. The Sultan Qub-ud-din of Gujerat first invaded Abu⁷¹ in 1457 A.D., but failed to conquer it. It is also corroborated by 14 inscriptions of V.E. 1515 (1458 A.D.)^{71A} which mention Kumbha as the ruler of that place. According to *Zafar-ul-*

69. *Ibid* pp. 85-89.

70. Bayley-op. cit. pp. 150-151/Miristah Vol. IV pp. 41-42.

71. Tab III p. 233/Miristah IV pp. 42-43/Zafar-ul-Wail p. 12/Mirat-i-Ahmadi p. 85.

71A. હો કૃષ્ણ પર્વત પરે એ ગુરુ રામાનાથ ગુરુસ્વામી :
[Maharana-Kumbha by the Author p. 348.]

Walia, the Sultan, then marched against Sirohi and carried pillage activities there. The Gujarat army thence proceeded towards Kumbhalgarh. Although Kumbha was willing to meet with Sultan Mahmud first, but finding Qutb-ud-din was approaching rapidly, he at once advanced to contest with him. As regards the details of the battle, the Persian chronicles do not agree with each other. But this time also the attempts of Sultan to defeat Kumbha proved futile. The account of these chronicles that Maharana purchased peace by making a payment of the huge quantity of gold is far from the truth.⁷²

The invasion by the Sultan of Gujarat (1458 A.D.)

Maharana Kumbha invaded Nagaur in A. H. 802 (1458 A.D.) and carried out depredations by defeating the Sultan. When this news reached Ahmadabad, the Sultan Qutb-ud-din was then badly engaged in a course of debauchery and took a month to make himself ready. The Gujarat forces, however, marched against Kumbhalgarh. On reaching near the fort, the Sultan found it difficult to reduce it. Therefore, he contented himself only to plunder the country. According to *Zafar-ul-Walis*, Maharana Kumbha sent emissaries at the camp Sarkhej⁷³ and begged, pardon. But this account does not seem to be correct. The Sultan could succeed only to plunder whatever wealth, goods, and animals he could lay hands on.

The Sultan of Malwa made an abortive attempt to capture Kumbhalgarh in the year A.H. 863 (1459 A.D.). He detached his son Gayas-ud-din, with a large army. But when it was known that it could not be reduced easily, he left the idea and returned to⁷⁴ Mandu. Again in the year A. H. 871 (1467 A. D.) the Sultan of Malwa marched against Jawar⁷⁵ in Mewar and demolished the temples. However, Maharana Kumbha compelled the Sultan to retreat. In fact after 1459 A. D. the pressure of the invasions of the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat was comparatively reduced, and no important battle was fought with them. However, the Sultan of Malwa succeeded in conquering Ranathambhor, Nainawa, Toda, Tonk etc.

72. *Vir Vinod* pp. 932-333/Sarada-op. cit. p. 102/*Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 146-147.

73. *Zafar-ul-Walis* p. 19.

74. *Masir-i-Mahmudshahi* p. 90,

75. *Ibid* p. 122-123.

A good number of the colophones of various MSS. found from this area corroborate the same.

In V. E. 1525 (1488 A. D.), Kumbha's life was cut short by his son Uda, at Kumbhalgarh.

Contribution towards Art and Architecture

Maharana Kumbha's reign had witnessed great architectural activities. Due to the repeated invasions of the Sultans of Malwa and Gujrat in Mewar, he had to strengthen the defences by constructing forts having massive ramparts. Out of 84 forts of Mewar, 32 are said to have been constructed by him. His state architects Jaita and Mandan attended various construction works. The details of the various architectural and sculptural activities attended during the period are given below :—

Chittor

During the invasion of Ala-ud-din Khilji, most of the important edifices were molested and some of them were also razed to ground. Therefore, renovation of these temples was required to be attended urgently. Maharana Mokal renovated the temple of Samiddheshwar and his son, Kumbha had also undertaken the repairs of the temple of Kumbhashyam.⁷⁶ It is believed that it was originally constructed during the 8th century A.D. and its super-structural part was mainly renovated during the time of Kumbha. Several Jain temples were also got repaired. The Shringar Chanwari⁷⁷ temple and Mahavir Prasad temple were attended by Bhandhari Bela and Osawal Gunaraj respectively. In front of Banvirwall there are old palaces where in Maharana Kumbha made several additions and alterations. It is a matter of great interest that the king who had constructed a beautiful *Kirtistambh* and had patronised the construction of the Ranakpur temple, showed little interest in his own residential matters. These palaces have got Tripoliya, Audience Hall, Ganesh temple, separate palaces for the queens and heir apparent etc.

76. Maharana Kumbha had installed a few icons in this temple on the 16th day of the bright half of *Magha* V.E. 1505. This shows that he had completed its repairs in that year.

77. The Shringar Chanwari was renovated in V.E. 1505 by Bhandhari Bela. It seems that this work continued upto V.E. 1513, when some icons were installed in that year.

Apart from these renovations, Maharana Kumbha himself sponsored several splendid architectural projects in Chittor. The *Kirtitambha* also known as the tower of victory is one of the important monuments constructed by Kumbha. It has got nine storeys with 127 staircases. Its construction was started in the year V.E. 1495 and completed in V.E. 1515. It is 122 ft. high and its width at⁷⁸ the base is 30 ft. It is decorated with several icons of gods, goddesses etc. Fergusson says that though *Kutub Minar* of Delhi is longer and loftier, it is a inferior to the *Kirtitambha* in design and execution. Architectural ornamentation and profuse decoration are its chief features. It was built by Maharana Kumbha's chief architect Jaita, whose inscriptions⁷⁹ ranging from V. E. 1499 to 1515, are incised in it.

The outer fortification of Chittor with its several gates is attributed to Maharana Kumbha. ■ is believed that there was a direct route from Chittor Talahati to the Rampole gate on the fort. But Kumbha got constructed a circuitous road with several gates. The Gomukh fountain was also embellished with several sculptures. A colossal icon of Vishnu was installed there just near the Shivalinga. Above this fountain, a Jain temple known as *Bhartiripuriya-Vihāra* was constructed in V.E. 1515.

Kumbhalgarh

The fort is defended by the series of the massive ramparts, battlements and bastions constructed upon the slopes of the hill. Its situation is very important and it was always regarded as an impregnable fort which was built by Maharana Kumbha on the ruins of the ancient fort namely Machhindrapur. On the surface of it, there is another hillock named Katargarh. There are some important monuments in its lower part constructed during the reign of Maharana Kumbha. Among these, the temples of Nilakantha, Tripurushdeva, Bawan Jinalaya, Mamadeva and a *Vedi* are worth quoting.⁸⁰ Several icons were installed by Maharana Kumbha in

78. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 274-279/*Vir Bhumi Chittor* pp. 165-191./The consecration ceremony of this structure was done on the 10th day of the bright half of Magha V.E. 1505.

79. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 393-394.

80. The *Kirtitambha* inscription verses 34 ■ 42.

81. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 285 to 290/*Varada Vol. VII No. 1* pp. 1-7./The consecration ceremony of this fort was done on the 19th day of dark half of Chaitra V.E. 1515.

the Mamadeva temple. The *Tagna Vedi* is a good specimen of Hindu architecture. Maharana Kumbha also constructed the palaces on the summit of the hillock namely Katargarh with a temple of Charnunda.

Eklingsji

The well known ancient temple of Eklingsji is situated 14 miles away from Udaipur. Among the religious shrines of Mewar, it deserves special mention. As already stated, the rulers of Mewar had paid homage to this deity regularly. Maharana Kumbha, renovated the main temple and also built a temple known as Kumbh-Swami having great architectural skill. Several icons of Vishnu in different forms were also carved in it. It is believed that it was built by his architect Mandan. For the maintenance of the main shrine, the Maharana also granted 4 villages namely Nagada, Katharsvana, Malakakhedi and Bhilmana.

Ranakpur temple

It is situated about 4 miles away from Sadari (Godawar) in district Pali. This temple is very vast and rather ambitious to cope up by a single financer. It was got constructed by Shresthi Dharana, on the model of the Chaumukha temple of Siddhapur (Gujrat). Its construction was started in V.E. 1494 and its consecration ceremony was done in V.E. 1496 by Som Sundar Suri of Tapagachchha, when only a part of the structure was completed. The construction work continued for several years. The name of its architect was Deepa.

The temple has got 4 faces on its all the four sides. In front of these, there are beautiful *Mandapas*, known as *Ranga Mandapa*, *Meghanada Mandapa* and *Nali Mandapa*. The western *Meghanada Mandapa* is superior to other *Mandapas* in architectural beauty and looks impressive. In all its four sides, the small shrines known as *Char-Khuni ke Mandir* were constructed. The Sonana marble stones were used in the entire temple and the sculptor exhibited his craftsmanship in fine carving. He had not only carried the traditional

82. *Rajasthan Bharati* (specifi number on Kumbha) pp. 115-116/Maharana Kumbha pb. 291-292.
83. The *Ranakpur-Stavan* of poet Meh, and the *Som Sobhagya Kavya* contain very interesting account of its consecration ceremony.
84. For details see M. A. Dhruvy's paper published in Western Indian Art 1965-66.

style known as Maru Gurjar, but also used vegetal and geometric figures, which seems to be an impact of Islam. The ceilings and pillars have fine carvings. The *Padmashilas*, *Lambikas* etc. of the ceilings are the best specimen of temple architecture of the 15th century A.D.

Achalgarh

On the peak of Mount Abu, Maharana Kumbha had fortified a citadel on the ancient ruins. Besides palaces, the tanks known as *Sawan Bhudar* were also constructed there. This fort has 4 principal gates. In the Achaleshwar temple, Maharana Kumbha got constructed a temple known as Kumbha-Swani and repaired the Mandakini Kund. During his reign, the Kharatargachchha-Vasahi in Delawara was got built by the Jain *Shastris* of Dhrada-caste⁸⁵ in V.E. 1515. Maharana Kumbha also remitted several taxes known as *Bolai*, *Rakhawali*, *Mundik*, etc to be levied at Abu, as is evident from his Delawara Jain temple inscription of V.E. 1506. An interesting equestrian⁸⁶ statue in bronze of God Kalanki's son Dharmarnj, now preserved in the Jain temple of Achalgarh, contains the inscriptions of V.E. 1580, which mention Kumbha as a ruler of Kumbhalgarh fort. It proves that even after his death and during the reign of his adversary Devaras, this statue was installed, which is a sign of his popularity there.

Maharana Kumbha also got constructed the fortis at Vasangarh, Badnor, Mahor, etc on the old ruins. Most of the temples of Delawara (Mewar) were completed during the 15th century A.D. In this way, it can be said that Maharana Kumbha's reign witnessed a renaissance in the art and architecture. During this time, we find the use of the traditional style as well as the new motifs.

Kumbha as a scholar

After the death of Parmar king Bhoj, Kumbha was the only Rajput ruler, who had patronised the art and learning to a great extent. He himself was a well versed in various branches of indology and took profound interest in producing the works of substantial

85. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 289-290.

86. 'एवं त् १५६६ नीतासर गुड १५ थी मेवाट देशे कुंगलमेर महादुर्गे थी राजा कुंभकर्ण विजय राज्ये कलकी अगतारस्य पूर्व घट्टपाल वरा राजा कोहुद्वारी ने पूजणे हारा पणा चार्य चोहू पूर्ण चाहूत कारापिड्डि' In fact in the year V.E. 1566, Maharana Kumbha was not alive and his grandson Ranga was on throne. Even then, mentioning his name as a ruler of the place proves that he was very popular there.

value. Of these works, the *Sangitaraj*, a best exposition of ancient Indian music, was completed⁸⁷ in VE. 1509 at Chitor. The Kirtitambha inscription also refers to the composition of this work by Kumbha. Although the authorship of this work is attributed to Maharana Kumbha, but it seems that it might have been composed by some South Indian Pandit, who on the death of Kumbha retired to the court of some king, named Kalasena, as the epithets of Kumbha, mentioned at various places in this work were subsequently ascribed to Kalasena with slight modifications. Dr. Brijmohan Jawaliya⁸⁸, has attempted to prove that this Kalasena ruled over a small territory near Nasik. The *Sangitaraj* is divided into the 5 parts known as the *Ratna-Koshas*. Another important work, the *Rasika Priya* commentary on the *Gita Govind* of Jayadeva⁸⁹ is held in very high esteem by the scholars. The commentator had attempted to make a complete and perfect musical setting of the various *Prabandhas* for the first time. He was also well conversant with the *Sangitaraj*, as he had referred to the same at various places. Another important works attributed to Kumbha are the commentary on the *Chandi Shataka* of Ban Bhatta, *Kamraj-Ratisar*, four dramas, *Sangita-Karina Deepaka*, *Sangita Ratnakar* etc. It is, of course true that Kumbha remained badly engrossed in various administrative matters and it was quite impossible for him to spare sufficient time for writing a voluminous treatise on music. But on the whole, the interest shown by him in patronising the scholars was a matter of great value. It remained a common tradition to ascribe the literary works written by the various scholars to their patrons. We find a hint of it also in the introductory verses of the commentary on *Gita-Govind*.

Among other scholars⁹⁰ who had flourished during this time, Mahesh, and Suradhar Mandan are worth mentioning. Kanha Vyas might have versified the *Eking Mahatmya* and the Kumbhal-

87. At the end of second *Prabandha* of *Gitarana Kosha* of *Sangitaraj*, it is mentioned "वीरलालोने दिल्लीये श्रवन्नोस्तावे वीथिकूट्युने नृत्यनश्वेती पदार्थ सहायर भद्रपदेश्वरसुष्यं लभते च". This also corroborates that this work was completed at Chitor.

88. Dr. Brij Mohan Jawaliya's papers published in *Vishambhara* (Bitner).

89. Dr. Premtata Sharma—*Sangitaraj* Vol. I (introduction).

90. *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author pp. 219-222.

garh inscription. Atri and Mahesh of Dashhpura caste composed the Kirtistambha inscription. Sutradhar Mandan compiled several books on ancient Indian traditions of art and architecture.

Important Shresthi Families

Among the important *shresthis* flourished during this period, Dharana, Sarang, Saharanpal, Visal, Gunaraj etc. deserve special mention. Dharana was the Porwal by caste, who settled at Mardari, where he got constructed the splendid temple of Ranakpur. During the famine of VE 1405, he spent benevolently. His elder brother Ratna settled at Mandu, whose descendant Salig, later on constructed the Jain temple on the summit of Achalgarh in VE. 1560. Navalakhia Ramdeva's sons namely Salana and Sarang were the residents of Delawara. Salana worked as the Prime-minister during the time of Maharana Mokal and Kumbha. Sarang constructed the temple of Adbhutaji at Nagada. Gunaraj renovated the temple of Mahavir at Chittor. Bhandari Bela, a follower of *Kharatargachchha*, attended the repairs of Shringar-Chanwari temple of Chittor.

Inscriptions

More than 100 inscriptions of the reign of Maharana Kumbha have been known so far. The earliest one is dated, VE. 1400 (1434 AD.) found from the village Padarada. The Delawara inscription of VE. 1401 (1434 AD.) mentions the levy of the taxes of 14 *Tankas* for the worship of Dharma Chintamani temple. The copper plate grant of VE. 1494, was edited by me. It mentions the donation of some land by Maharana Kumbha. The Mahavir-Prasad-Prasasti of VE. 1496 furnishes a valuable information about the rulers from Hamir to Kumbha and the Jain saint Som Sundar Suri together with *Shresthi* Gunaraj. D. R. Bhandarkar edited this inscription on the basis of a M.S. copied in VE. 1508. However, I have been able to collect a big fragment of this inscription. The Ranakpur inscription of VE. 1496 contains a detailed genealogy of the rulers of Mewar together with the various victorious engagements of Maharana Kumbha. The Kadiya stone inscriptions of VE. 1500 records the account of Tilha Bhatta, who was honoured by Maharana Kumbha. In Abu, there are few inscriptions of VE. 1506, engraved at village Mach, Delawara, Gomukh, etc. These inscriptions refor-

to the grants made by Maharana Kumbha, for the temples of Achala-garh, Delawara and Vaishnativashrama. The Delawara temple inscription is, however, important, as it mentions the remission of the pilgrimage taxes. The Kumbhalgarh inscription, originally engraved on several slabs, contains a detailed history of the rulers of Mewar. Recently few more fragments of this inscription were also collected while cleaning the debris near Mamadeva temple. In its first and second slabs the geographical account of Chittor, Eklingji, Kumbhalgarh etc. is given. The third and fourth slabs of this inscription are important, as a detailed history from Guhadatta to Maharana Kumbha is mentioned in them. In its verses 233 to 270 manifold activities of Maharana Kumbha are described. The Kirtistambha inscription of Chittor, bearing no date, was versified by Atri and Mahesh. It has a detailed account of the rulers from Hamir to Kumbha.

Kumbha ruled over Mewar for a period of 36 years. His reign witnessed immense prosperity. In the field of art and architecture, his contribution is noteworthy. There are a few rulers, during whose reign such splendid edifices in large number were built. At the same time no medieval Rajput ruler has patronized a good number of scholars like Maharana Kumbha. His most momentous work was to repulse the repeated invasions of the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat. It was for the first time that these Sultans had to sign a treaty, against a Hindu ruler and simultaneously invaded. But Kumbha made their attempts abortive. In this way, he was a great ruler.

■. For details of these inscriptions see *Maharana Kumbha* by the Author (Chapter XII), where I have given a detailed note.

(c) Maharana Raimal

After Mubarnu Kumbha's assassination in 1468 A.D., his eldest son Uda also known as Uda *Halyara* succeeded, who ruled for a short period of 6 years. His 2 copper plates of V.E. 1526 (1469 A.D.) were recently noticed by the Superintendent Archaeology and Museum Deptt., Udaipur. In order to win over the support of the rulers of Sirohi and Marwar, he had concluded settlements with them, by granting some land. It seems that the territory of Abu and eastern Sirohi conquered by Kumbha, was handed over to the Devaras in V. E. 1526 (1469 A.D.) by him. This fact is partially proved from the inscriptions found in Abu. We do not find any inscription of the Devaras from there, between the years V. E. 1500 and V. E. 1524. The inscriptions of V. E. 1526 engraved in the Pitalahar¹ temple of Abu, mentions the name of Devara Dungar singh as the ruler of the place. His father Devara Chundu was ruling upto V. E. 1501, as is evident from the Mungathala temple inscription. This proves that Devaras succeeded to recapture this territory immediately after the death of Kumbha. But the policy of appeasement did not give fruitful results. Kheina, the younger brother of Kumbha, was only the main supporters of Uda. A group of the chiefs of Mewar did not favour him and espoused the pretensions of his younger brother Raimal, who was then living at Idar.

Battles between Uda and Raimal

The disgruntled chiefs of Mewar collected an immense army and informed their intention to Raimal, who soon reached Mewar via Khed Brahma and Rishabhdeva. Maharawal Somdas of Dungarpur, according to an inscription of V.E. 1530, was present with his army in Mewar² in the year V. E. 1520. He also seems to have gone to help Raimal. A battle was fought at Jawar between

1. मैं १५२५ वर्ष का हूँ जो रोहिणी अमृतगिरी रेवदा श्रीराजधरतापर देवदा श्रीमृगरसिंह विजय राखे...”
[Jayant-Vijay—Arhud-Prachin-Jain-Lekh-Sandesh No. 107.]
2. राजल थी सोमदास भेवाडि कट्टुय पदारथा हता गिरा सबू रै वर्ष बैताल वरि अमावस्या भी सूर्य पां तिहाँ देव आगंति याद रेवदा उदाक छीयु।
[Un-published Inscription of V.E. 1530.]

the two rival parties. The Ekling temple inscription of V. E. 1545 (1488 A. D.) mentions that a fierce battle was fought at village Dadipur in which Khema, the main supporter of Uda, was³ slain. It records that by throwing the arrows like the showers of rain resulted in a river of blood in which Khema suffered the fate of a tree standing on its bank. Khema's death gave a death blow to the hopes of Uda. He could not resist the advancing forces of Raimal⁴ and was repeatedly defeated in the battles of Jawi and Panagarh. Consequently he had to vacate the fort of Chittor also, which was occupied by the latter. The Ekling temple inscription of V.E. 1545 (1488 A.D)⁵ mentions that Raimal with his numerous swift horses succeeded to conquer Chitrakot. Thinking Kumbhalgarh as invincible, Uda moved there. It was an irony of fate that his own supporters shut the gates of the fort, when he was out on a hunting excursion. This compelled him to leave Mewar.⁶ His family staying in this fort was allowed to accompany him and the fort was handed over to Raimal. We have no definite information as to what had happened to Uda, after his movement from Kumbhalgarh. It is mentioned in some of the chronicles that he went to Malwa to seek support from the Sultan,⁷ while others narrate that he resided for some days at Sojat and eventually moved towards Bikaner.

Invasion by the Sultan of Malwa

Sultan Gayus-ud-din (1480-1501 A. D.), the son of Mahmud Khilji, succeeded his father. The Persian Chronicles depict him as a pleasure seeking ruler, confined in his seraglio, leaving the affairs of the state in the hands of his son Nasir-ud-din. However, on the basis of the various contemporary epigraphic evidence, it can be proved that he undertook the arduous military campaign against the ruler of Mewar perhaps to espouse the cause of Uda. He, in the year V. E. 1530 (1473 A. D.) invaded Dungarpur and devastated the town. This fact is mentioned in an inscription of V. E. 1530 (1473

3. B. I. p. 121 verse 64.

4. *Vir-Vinod* p. 337/Ojha I p. 326.

5. B.I. p. 121 verse 65.

6. *Ibid* verse 66.

6A. *Surya Yamsha* (MS) LI. 44(a)/*Aniar-Kavya-Yamshuvall* I.C. 19-20.

7. Tab III pp. 543-46/Firistab—Vol. IV pp. 286-287/U. N. Day—*Medieval Mawia* pp. 223-225.

A. D.)⁸ of Rampole gate of Dungarpur, which records that valiant citizens namely Rata and Kala, met death, while defending against the invasion of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Khilji of Malwa. The Sultan passed through Ahad, Eklingji, Delawara and besieged Chittor. The Ekling temple inscription of V. E. 1545 (1488 A. D.) gives a detailed account of the battles. According to this Rainal's⁹ commander of Gaur race (Whose name is not given) displayed conspicuous gallantry and killed a good number of assailants from a bastion of the fort, which on his death was named after him as *Gaur-Shringa*. In order to commemorate his heroic deeds, the Maharana also set up his statue there. Zahir-ul-Mulk, the commander¹⁰ of the Malwa forces was slain with several other officers. The Sultan was badly defeated and was compelled to retreat.

Like his father Mahmud Khilji, Gayas-ud-din also endeavoured to take Mandalgarh fort in his possession. He, therefore, despatched forces under the command of Zafar Khan. The Maharana also made necessary preparations to meet him. He collected an immense army and proceeded towards Mandalgarh. The invading army was badly defeated and was obliged to retreat. The Mewar army pursued the retreating¹¹ army upto Kherabad in Ifadoti and plundered it. These repeated victories over the forces of Malwa gave a good name to Maharana.

Eastern Rajasthan

Maharana had to face the adverse internal situation. The Minas had threatened the security in Godawar. The Mers created troubles in Badnor and at the same time the intestine feuds fomented by Khema's son Surajmal aggravated the difficulties. Therefore,

8. संवत् १५५० वर्षे—भारिका पुरा सुह राह कालू मंडपाचम सुरक्षण भासीन भावि...
मृगरुर नावि ह—मीरसोन अनुपाजाता —प्राण छाँडी...
[The Ram Pole Gate Inscription of Dungarpur.]
9. कलिकट्टनीरी शीरवंशः तकों पुढे गुप्तिन् पर्यन् त विहुः । तमावेतनाप काम क्षमार ग्रामारा
कलिकट्टक श्वर्ण ॥५॥ [The Ekling Temple Inscription B.I. p. 121.]
10. *Ibid* varce 72/Surya Yamsha (MS) Lf. 45(a).
11. *Ibid* varce 77-78/Amar-Kavya-Yamshavali (MS) Lf. 19-20.
- 11A. For details see the following papers of the Author :—
 (1) The Solankies of Toda published in *Sambodhi* Vol. III No. 4 pp. 77-78
 (2) Sultan Gayas-ud-din and Rajasthan published in the *Journal of the*
Rajasthan Institute of Historical Research.
 (3) *Ethnical-Social-Sangraha* pp. 22-30.

he could not pay sufficient attention to aggrandize himself at the cost of the territory of other states. The fort of Ranathambhor was under the possession of Sultan Gayas-ud-din of Malwa, whose younger brother Kadam Khan was governing there. In the colophones of various¹² MSS, his name is mentioned as Ala-ud-din. From V. E. 1523, we do not find his name and instead of him only the name of Sultan, who seems to have taken it under his direct control, is available. The Sultan in 1482 A.D. successfully repulsed the invasion of Bahadur Lodi who invaded Alapur near Ranathambor.

Two important Rajput principalities of Toda¹³ and Bundi were also successfully annexed to his state by Sultan Gayas-ud-din. The chiefs of both of these places, being expelled from their states, took refuge in Mewar, where sufficient Jagirs, were bestowed upon them. According to a colophon of MS. *Lakshitar*¹⁴ of V.E. 1551 (1494 A.D.) the village Pur (Distt. Bhilwara) was in the possession of Solanki chief named Surjan of Toda. Subsequently he was posted at Badnor to quell the disturbances of Mers. Rao Surjan's daughter Tara was very peerless in beauty. The price of her hand asked by her father was the possession of Toda. Maharana's son Jaimal was slain, as he insisted Surjan to give away his daughter in marriage¹⁵ to him and rudely behaved with him. However, Kunwar Prithviraj, the eldest son of Miharana succeeded to recapture Toda by defeating its governor Lalji Khan and handed it over to Surjan, who espoused his daughter Tara to him.

The Hadoti remained under the possession of the Sultan of Malwa. The *Guruguna Ratnakar Kavye*¹⁶, composed in V. E. 1541

12. The Colophones of *Sikha-Chakra Katha Kornudi* (MS) of V.E. 1515, copied at Nainawa, *Pradyumna-Charita* (MS) of V.E. 1518 copied at Nainawa, *Edantra-Mata* (MS) of V.E. 1524 copied at Tonk, *Naya-Kumar-Charita* (MS) of V.E. 1528 copied at Nainawa and *Probodha-Mata* (MS) copied at Ranathambhor, mention Ala-ud-din as a ruler of this tract. [Sambodhi Vol. III No. 4 pp. 77-87.]
13. The colophones of MSS *Adipurana* (V.E. 1537), *Sukumal Charita* V.E. 1537 *Uttarpurana* V.E. 1538, copied at Toda, describe Sultan Gayas-ud-din as a ruler of the place [*Ibid*].
14. संवत् १५२१ वर्षे अमावास्या तु दि १२ भंग्स बाजौरे ल्लेकानसहै श्रीमेष्वरादेवै श्रीपूर नजौरे श्री बाहु चारुक्षय वंशे भीरा राजाधिराज तूयेसेन प्रस्तुतमाने [*Ibid*]
15. *Amar-Kavya Yamshavali* (MS) Ll. 20.
16. भूषणवटीमानवदेशनायक प्रजाप्रिवद्यज्ञमद् गुरुभूषणिका [*Guru-Guna-Ratnakar Kavya* Canto III verse 8.]

(1484 A. D.) mentions Hadoti, as a part and parcel of Malwa. The Colophones of *Bharti Sangraha* of V. E. 1541 copied at Kotah and *Sukumal Charita* of V. E. 1545 copied¹⁷ at Baran, contain the name of the ruler as Gayas-ud-din. Rao Bhan retained a Jagir of Bhilawara town¹⁸ as is evident from the colophone of V. E. 1550 of *Shatakarmopadesha Mala*. Soon he seemed to have captured his paternal state and returned at Bundi.

The Sultan of Malwa also succeeded to annex the territory of Chakasu, Sikar, Narena, Sambhar, Amber, Ajmer etc. to his state. In 1483 A. D. Ajmer was ruled by Ulga-i-Axam Qutlugh-Muanzam, who¹⁹ visited with 700 troops and 10 elephants to Sehor (M.P.) in order to celebrate the marriages of his sons. Subsequently when Mallu Khan was the Governor at Ajmer,²⁰ Kunwar Prithviraj invaded and plundered it. He is said to have got constructed a citadel on a hill near Ajmer.

Prithviraj

Maharana Raimal's eldest son Prithviraj was a very brave fighter. He took active parts in several engagements and always preferred adventurous and perilous enterprises. He remained incharge of Godawar with his headquarter at Kumbhalgarh for a considerable time. The Nadlai inscription of V. E. 1557 (1500 A. D.)²¹ also mention this fact. He exerted himself to allay the disturbances in Godawar and restored order there. He also got constructed a bastion in Kumbhalgarh fort and named it after his wife as the *Tara Burj*. His engagements with Surajmal and his allies are often quoted at length. Sarangdeva to whom Maharana granted a good Jagir of Bhesarodgarh became his opponent, as he expelled him from that place. Both Surajmal and Sarangdeva, after taking the necessary military help from other chiefs invaded Chittor. A battle was fought on the bank of the river Gambhari, wherein the invading

17. Dr. Kasliwal—*Prashasti Sangraha* p. 195

18. संवत् १५४५ वर्षे बेद सुधि १३ ताति वास्त्रे—राजारिताज वीचान विजयराज्ये भीमोदा चाये
भीचानप्र वित्तानप्रे [Dr. Kasliwal—*Rajasthan-Kc-Jain-Bhandaron-Ki-Suchi* Vol. III p. 72.]

19. Epigraphia-Indica [Arabian and Persian Supplement] 1964 p. 61.

20. *Vir-Vinad* p. 346-347/*Amar-Kavya-Vamshavali* lf. 20/*Raiwal-Ranaji-ri-Bat*
Lf. 52.

21. संवत् १५५७ वर्षे विकास नासे कुनल पके... रण वीरप्रसाद विजय चान प्राप्त राखे ! तत्पुल
गहाकुमार वीर्यीराज्ञामुक्तसनात् [The Nadlai Inscription]

army was badly defeated. After battle, Prithviraj dared to visit the camp of his adversaries and enquired about the wounds sustained in the battle. This shows his sanguinary character. On other occasions also, he visited frequently the abodes of Surajmal, without fearing any retributive measures²² against his life.

Invasion by Sultan Nasir-ud-din

After the death of Sultan Gayas-ud-din, his son Nasir-ud-din succeeded, after defeating his other rivals. In 1503 A. D. the Sultan marched against Chittor. Surajmal and his allies might have assisted him. But the Sultan got no success. In Persian chronicles²³ it is mentioned that Raimal with his chiefs agreed to owe his allegiance to the Sultan and offered a large sum as a tribute. The Sultan was also said to have given a daughter of a Rajput, whose name is given as Jiwandas by Firistah and Bhawandas by Nizamuddin, to be kept in his seraglio. She was afterwards named as Chittori Begam. But all these accounts are far from truth. In fact the Sultan was badly defeated, who was compelled to retreat without any success.

Rama Bai

Rama Bai was the daughter of Maharana Kumbha, who was espoused to Mandalik IV of Saurastra. Her marriage is not found described in the MS. *Mandalika-Nripa-Charita*²⁴ composed in V.E. 1517. Therefore, it seems that this marriage had taken place after that year. After a few years of marriage, Mandalika was badly defeated by Mohammad Begada of Gujrat in A. H. 874 (1470 A. D.). Subsequently he was forced to apostatize from faith, by embracing²⁵ Islam. Rama Bai, therefore, came to Mewar and settled here. A good jagir for her maintenance was given in the village Jawar. According to the Jawar inscription of V. E. 1554 (1497 A. D.), she was well conversant²⁶ with the treatise of Bharat and got constructed a temple of Damodar together with a tank on the fort of Kumbhalgarh and a

22. The *Hari-Bhushan-Karya* Canto II verses 18-28/III verses 2-3/The *Raval Ranaji ni Bar* (MS) also have a detailed account about these battles.

23. Tab III p. 570/Firistah Vol. IV p. 249.

24. *Bhartiya Vidhiya* (Bombay) Vol. XIV 1953 p. 96.

25. Bayley-History of Gujrat p. 187/Firistah Vol. IV p. 55.

26. The Jawar Inscription of V.E. 1554 lines 18 to ■ Edited by R. C. Agrawal (S.H.Q., Dec. 1958 pp. 215-225).

Kund at Jawar. Mandalika, perhaps visited Mewar on the occasion of the consecration ceremony of Rama Kund.

Disputes between the Princes

Maharana Raimal's sons namely Prithviraj, Jaimal and Sanga were ambitious. On hearing the prophecy of the Charani at Nahar Magara in favour of Sanga, his other brothers excited and would have falsified the prophecy by invading upon him, had Surajmal not interposed. However, Sanga succeeded to run away from there, but was closely pursued by his brother Jaimal. At this time, by chance, Rather Bida, who was going to Charbhuj, saw Sanga in wounded condition and extended his help to him, at the cost of his life. His cenotaph was subsequently erected there in V.E. 1561 (1504 A.D.)²⁷ Sanga had to remain under disguise for few months at Shrinagar under Karamchand Panwar.

Serious political developments²⁸ took place soon in Mewar. As already stated Jaimal was stabbed to death by the Solankies near Badnor, as he compelled Rao Surasen to marry Tarabai to him. Prithviraj, however, succeeded to conquer Toda and handed it over to Suratan. Tarabai was espoused to him, who built a bastion namely *Tara Burj* on the fort of Kumbhalgarh. However, he also lost his life by a treacherous plot of Rao Jagmal of Sirohi. In this way only Sanga remained to fulfil the prediction of the priestess. On receiving intelligence about Sanga from Karamchand Panwar, Maharana called him back and appointed him as "Maharaj Kumar." This event seems to have taken place about V.E. 1565 (1508 A. D.)

Maharana Raimal breathed his last in V. E. 1588. He was a pious minded and straight forward king. He got Ekling-temple renovated by appointing the architect Arjun. The villages Prahana and Thur were granted by him to his preceptor Gopal Bhatta.^{28A} A village Ratna Kheda was given to poet Maheshwar.

27. S.O. Dutt and A.C. Bannerji observe incongruous element in the *Nahar-Mangara* episode. According to them, Sanga might have committed some sedition offence against his father, which is also proved by his close association with Surajmal. [A. C. Bannerji—*Medieval Studies* p. 48]. But we do not find any evidence to prove the same.

28. *Vir Vinod* p. 321-33; *Rawal Ramaji-ni-Bat* (MS) 54.

28A. *Amar Kavya Vamshavali* L.f. 20.

Inscriptions

Few inscriptions and copper plates of his reign are noticed. The Ekling temple inscription of V. E. 1545 (1488 A. D.)²⁹ contains a valuable information about the rulers from Hamir to Raimal. For Raimal's battles with the Sultan of Malwa, this inscription gives a detailed description. The Jawar inscription of Rama Kund of V. E. 1554 (1497 A. D.)³⁰ gives an account of Rama Bai and his husband Mandalik. The Nadlai inscription of V. E. 1557 (1500 A. D.)³¹ of the time of Maharaj Kumar Prithviraj, mentions about the repairs of Nadlai temple and its *Devakulikas* by the descendants of Oswal Samada and Siha. The Ghosundi stepwell inscription V. E. 1561 (1504 AD)³² contains an account of Maharana's queen Shringardevi, the daughter of Maharaja Jodha of Marwar.

Some Jain inscriptions of V.E. 1538, 1543 and 1566 are also noticed from Chittor having several names of the saints of *Kharatar-gachchha* with their manifold activities.

29. B.I. p. 117-123.

30. I.H.Q. Dec. 1958 pp. 215-225.

31. B.I. 140-42/Ojba I. p. 345 fn.

32. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. LVI Pt. I (old) pp.79-82.

(d) Maharana Sanga

Maharana Sanga succeeded his father ■ the age of 27 on May 5, 1500 A. D. A. C. Banerji¹ has rightly observed that the local history of Mewar during his reign may be considered as a very significant chapter in the general history of India. As he had measured swords against the Sultans of Delhi, Malwa, Gujarat and also with Babar, his account, therefore, occupies a prominent place in the works dealing with the history of the 16th century A. D.

When he came to throne, most part of the eastern Rajasthan, which once formed part of the kingdom of Mewar during the reign of Maharana Kumbha, was wrested by the Sultan of Malwa. But Sultan Gayas-ud-din and Nasir-ud-din of Malwa did not embark upon the ambitious plans of territorial expansion. At the same time, Sultan Muhammad Begra of Gujarat did not march against Mewar like Qutb-ud-din. The Rajput chiefs of Bundi, Amer, Jodhpur, Sirohi, Idar, Toda, Bikaner, etc. were not powerful enough to contest with the ruler of Mewar. Therefore, there was a great scope for Sanga to aggrandize himself with the territories of other states contiguous to Mewar.

Taking the advantage of such situation Sanga, within a short span of time allayed the disorders occasioned by the intestine feuds. He now determined to undertake the campaigns against Ajmer² and captured it. Later on, he handed it over to Karmachandra Panwar of Shrinagar. Proceeding thence, he went towards Chatau and subdued it. According to *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*³, Maharana Sanga wrested Chatau from the Sultan of Delhi and placed it under the Jagir of Puranmal, who conducted atrocities on the Sayyids, living in the villages adjacent to it. The Khandhar inscription of V. E. 1508 (1511 A. D.)⁴ of Silahadi gives an idea that the power

1. A.S. Banerji—Medieval Studies p. 42.

2. *Vit Vinod—I* p. 954/*Amar Kavya Vanashavali* (MS) L.F. 20(b).

3. *Tarikh-i-Shahi* by Ahmad Yadgar (Cal 1939) p. 194.

4. —संवत् १५६८ वर्षे महाराजा किंचन्द्र शुद्धे – पर्वति महाराजे महारा(ब) शीसमही राजे... [Researcher Vol. VII-IX, p. 58.]

of Sikandar Lodi was considerably reduced in the eastern Rajasthan. Sanga, therefore, seems to have carried out depredations successfully there.

Idar Affairs (1514 A.D. to 1517 A.D.)

Rao Bhan of Idar had two sons namely, Surajmal and Bhim. Surajmal being the eldest succeeded him, but he did not enjoy a long reign and died only after a period of 18 months. His son Raimal being a minor, Bhim took possession of the state. He too died only after a few months and his son Bharmal succeeded him. Now two claimants namely, Raimal and Bharmal appeared and intestine feuds ensued. Raimal took shelter with Sanga, who had agreed to espouse his cause. To accomplish this object, Sanga took swift measures. He collected an immense army and marched against Idar. Mahataval Udaisingh of Vagada also accompanied with the Mewar forces. Sanga succeeded in capturing Idar by ousting Bharmal. He, after instating Raimal as a ruler of Idar, left for Mewar.⁵

In 1515 A.D. Bharmal deputed his trusted persons to wait on Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat for soliciting his aid. The Sultan being agreed to espouse his cause, issued stringent orders to Nizam-ul-Mulk of Ahmadanagar for accomplishment of this object. According to the Persian chronicles, Nizam-ul-Mulk succeeded in his object.⁶ In order to avoid pitched battles Raimal vacated Idar and took shelter in the hills of Visalnagar. Being encouraged with his earlier success, Nizam-ul-Mulk also went in his pursuit towards these hills. But he could not succeed in his plan and was badly defeated at the hands of Raimal, who also carried out plundering raids. The Sultan, who had by this time, returned back to Ahmedabad, directed Nizam-ul-Mulk to join him (1517 A.D.) and reproved him for his defeat.⁷

The Sultan then appointed Nasrat-ul-Mulk at Idar. When he was still in the neighbourhood, Raimal seizing the opportunity attacked Idar and slain Zahir-ul-Mulk, the Commandant of the

5. *Firistah*—Vol. IV p. 81/*Tab III* p. 299/*Bayley*—History of Gujarat pp. 252-53/*Zafar-ul-Wala* p. 99/*Mirat-i-Sikandar* p. 97.

6. *Bayley*—*op. cit.* p. 255/*Tab III* pp. 299-300/*Firistah* IV p. 83. According to these chronicles, this event took place in 1517 A.D.

7. *Bayley*—*op. cit.* p. 255/*Tab III* p. 300/*Firistah* IV p. 83.

Gujrat army.⁸ When this news reached, the Sultan sent a *firman* asking Nasrat-ul-Mulk to devastate Visalnagar, which according to him, had become an asylum of the rebels. Accordingly, he marched against Raimal, but could not succeed⁹ in curtailing his power. The Sultan, therefore, again posted Nizam-ul-Mulk at Idar.

Malwa Affairs

Mahmud Khilji II had succeeded with the help of Medani Ray in suppressing the rebellion of his disgruntled chiefs. Subsequent events¹⁰ developed in the favour of Medani Ray, who exercised such an authority that nothing but the name of Sultan was only left with Mahmud Khilji. This had created misunderstanding and the muslim nobles in multitude deserted Malwa. Subsequently, suspecting the fidelity of Medani Ray, the Sultan himself ran away to Gujrat, where the Sultan Muzaffar Shah II received him showing utmost¹¹ respect. When this news reached Medani Ray, he also sent messengers to Gujrat, requesting Sultan Mahmud Khilji to return back. But these attempts proved futile.

In Jan. 1518 A.D. the two Sultans marched against Medani Ray, who having left his son¹² at Mandu attempted to occupy Dhar. Alarmed at the strength of his adversaries, he went towards the northern Malwa. It was a very critical moment for him, as he could not be able to contest with such an immense army, which had laid a siege to Mandu. He, therefore, made a plan to keep the besieging army inactive for a considerable time and informed his son to send false messages accordingly to the Sultans. Acting on his instructions, the Rajputs from the fort conveyed a message on Jan. 8, 1518 A. D. to Muzaffar Shah that their garrison solicited an armistice for a month to arrange for their families¹³.

8. *Firistah* IV p. 83/*Tab III* p. 301/H.B. Sarwada—Maharana Sangha p. 55.

9. According to Bayley, Raimal fought several battles with the army of Gujrat and was sometimes defeated while sometimes emerged successful. (Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 253).

10. J. N. Day—*Medieval Malwa* p. 285/Bayley *op. cit.* p. 247.

11. *Tab III* pp. 600–601/*Firistah* IV p. 260/Bayley *op. cit.* p. 254/*Mirat-i-Sikandari* pp. 98–99.

12. The exact name of his son is not available. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikh-i-Firistah*, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi* etc. mention the name as Raipithora, to whom he confided the command of the fort (Bayley p. 256 fn.)

13. Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 256/Firistah does not mention this event/Nizamuddin Ahmad mentions that Medani Ray with Silahadi went to Chittor (p. 602).

and they would evacuate the fort at the termination of time. In the meanwhile Medani Ray went to Chittor and requested Sanga to espouse his cause. Sanga responded to his appeal and proceeded against Malwa. However, he made it clear to visit Sarangpur first, where he would act as circumstances should require. When this fact became known to Sultan Muzaffar Shah, he was very much perturbed and detached Adil Khan Asiri and Kiwam-ul-Mulk against Maharana Sanga. At the same time, perceiving the deceit and trick of the Rajput garrison of the fort, he directed his own forces to renew the siege-operations. After a week's fighting the fort of Mandu¹⁶ was captured on Feb. 18, 1518 A. D.

On hearing the fall of Mandu, Sanga resolved to acquire a part of northern Malwa and left the idea to proceed further towards that fort. It is mentioned in the Persian chronicles¹⁷ that, on hearing the ferocity of the massacre done at Mandu, Maharana Sanga left Ujjain and retreated to Mewar. But it is an exaggerated account. It is apparent that Medani Ray did not like to usurp the crown, but wanted to continue his ascendancy in Malwa for safeguarding the interests of the Hindus. It was, therefore, not desirable for Sanga to penetrate into Malwa, as the fort of Mandu had already fallen into the hands of his adversaries. He, therefore, seems to have taken the diplomatic steps and avoided to confront the combined forces of Malwa and Gujerat. At the same time, taking the benefit of the confusion prevailed in Malwa, he succeeded in capturing Gagron, which was handed over to Medani Ray,¹⁸ who was very much perturbed on hearing the sad end of his family. In this way, it is apparent that although Sanga failed to save Mandu, but his march in Malwa otherwise proved beneficial to him.

Battle with Ibrahim Lodi at Khatoli (1518 A. D.)

On the death of Sikandar Lodi, his son Ibrahim Lodi succeeded on Nov. 22, 1517 A. D. During the closing years of the reign of Sikandar Lodi, Maharana Sanga started to aggrandise himself at the cost of the Delhi territory. The hostility was further intensified when

14. Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 257.

15. U. N. Day—*op. cit.* pp. 296-297.

16. Tab III p. 604; Bayley p. 262; Firistah Vol. IV p. 86; Mirat-i Sikandari p. 106; U. N. Day—*op. cit.* p. 298 ff.; Vir Vinod p. 957.

17. Ojha I p. 354; *Amar-Kavya-Vanishevali* lf. 21.

taking the benefit of intestine feuds between Ibrahim Lodi and Jalal Khan, Maharana Sanga wrested some territory of eastern Rajasthan belonging to the Sultans of Delhi and annexed the same to his state. Nirodbhusan Roy¹⁸, while editing the history of Afghans, written by Niamatullah, observes that both Sanga and Ibrahim were not free to contest a battle immediately after the accession of the latter. But this statement does not seem to be correct. A battle was fought near the village Khatoli (District Bundi), wherein the Rajputs emerged victorious. A prince of Lodi family was also made captive. Maharana himself sustained severe wounds and lost his left arm by a sword cut and an arrow made him lame¹⁹. On receiving these injuries the Maharana disclosed his desire to vacate the throne, but his relative requested him to continue on the throne.

After his victory at Khatoli the Maharana continued his march and reached near Toda Bhim. Silahadi Purabiya was having his influence in this territory, as is apparent from the Khandhar inscription of V.E. 1568. Sultan Ibrahim, in order to recapture his lost territory, equipped a grand army under the command of Miyan Makhan and despatched it against Sanga.²⁰ He also issued a *firman* to make captive Miyan Hussain Farnauli and Miyan Maruf Farnauli. When it was known to them, they deserting the royal camp, went to meet Rana at his camp Toda Bhim. Sanga's strength was thus increased. Both the armies came into a violent clash near the village Barl (Dholapur). The Imperial army was badly defeated. According to *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, the van of the Rana's army was led by Sikha. Ibrahim Khan Sarawani in wounded condition rushed at him with his soldiers, but was badly injured and fell down on the ground. Sikha took him out from field and employed²¹ a physician to look after him. Sultan Ibrahim also started from Agra to meet Rana Sanga, but returned without any engagement. Sanga then marched to the river Gambhiri and set fire to the palaces built by Sikandar Lodi. At this place, the prince Gayas-ud-din, the son of Bahloj Lodi taken

18. Nirodbhusan Roy—Niamatullah's History of Afghans pp. 108-109.

19. Vir Vinod p. 354/Amar Kavya Yamshavali (MB) Lf. 21./Surya-Yamsha-Yamshavali (MS)

20. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* (MS) p. 170/Tarikh-i-Shahi by Ahmed Yadagar (Qal.) p. 79.

21. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* (MS) Lf. 171-2.

into captivity was appointed to the throne. According to *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*,²² the entire body of the Hindu and Muslim officers presented at this occasion, shouted the words *Ram Ram*. Miyan Hussain Famauli did not like to hear these words and decided to desert the Rana. It is also added in it that Maharana had more confidence on Sayyid Khan, which Miyan Hussain Famauli did not like. He sent Miyan Tah to Sultan Ibrahim, offering him unconditional allegiance.²³ This secret was betrayed and Rana barricaded his camp in night. On day break, Miyan Hussain appeared before Rana and informed his decision to desert. According to Rizaqullah Mushtaqi, Rana on this event completely out witted and at once fled away. In *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*, Miyan Hussain Famauli, knowing that a small number of the Rajputs had successfully routed out²⁴ 30,000 cavalry under Miyan Maruf, informed him his design to make a sudden attack in night. Accordingly Miyan Makhan and Miyan Hussain succeeded in their plan, when the Mewar forces together with their allies were rejoicing the victory. But this account has already been challenged by G. H. Ojha. In the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, Rizaqullah did not mention any such event. Therefore, the latter part of the events recorded in the above Persian chronicles seems to be an exaggerated account and can hardly be relied upon. Sangha successfully returned^{24A} to Chittor from Dholapur. According to Babar, he wrested a considerable territory adjacent to Chanderi from the Sultan of Delhi and handed it over to Medani Ray.

Battle of Gagron (1518-19 A. D.)

Sultan Mahmud Khilji II after collecting an immense army advanced to attack Gagron, in order to²⁵ curtail the power of Medani Ray. U.N. Day is correct in saying that Sultan was afraid of the revenge of the Rajputs. Therefore, he resolved to move against Gagron. On becoming aware of it, Medani Ray approached to Sangha,

22. *Ibid* Lf. 172.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Tarikh-i-Shahi* by Ahmad Yadgar (Cal.) pp. 79-83.

24A. Hasan Khan Mewali Ki Katha (MS) No. 1639 of the Jain temple of Toda Raisingh, mentions the defeat of Miyan Makhan [માયન માથે જાહેર રાજુ... મધ્યા હકી વી લાકે રાજુ : સાચા અણે કલો રાજુ ॥૧૫॥] Similar account is also available in *Amar Kavya Vanshavali* (MS) Lf. 21.

25. U. N. Day---*op. cit.* p. 300.

who marched with his army to espouse his cause. When this news reached, Sultan Mahmud Khilji II was very much perturbed and abandoning the siege operations marched against Maharana. The Maiwa forces thus moved swiftly and reached closed to the camp of Maharana. According to Firishtah, inspite of the opposition of Asaf Khan, the Commandant of the Gujarat army, the Sultan at once ordered²⁶ to assault on the forces of Mewar, encamping closed to his camp. The account mentioned by Nizam-ud-din is different from it. According to this, on hearing the arrival of the Malwa forces, Maharana²⁷, at once ordered to fight, without waiting to get them refreshed. It was a decisive battle. The army of the Sultan sustained heavy casualties. Asaf Khan's son and almost all his soldiers were slain. The life of the Sultan was saved by the strength of the armour he wore. But he received severe wounds and his horse was also disabled. Subsequently, he fell on the ground. The Rajputs recognised him and made him captive together with his prince. Maharana Sanga brought him to his tent, dressed his wounds and attended him in person. By this victory,²⁸ Maharana contended himself by taking the jewelled belt and crown of the Sultan. Some part of the north eastern Malwa, adjacent to Hadoti and Ranathambhor, was also annexed to his state.

Imprisonment of Sultan of Malwa.

Maharana Sanga took Mahmud Khilji II at Chittor and kept him under custody²⁹ at a place named "Bhakasi". He appointed a physician to heal his wounds. When the Sultan regained his health, the Maharana showing magnanimity, sent him back to Mandu with an escort^{30A} of 1000 Rajputs. However, he kept the young prince of Maiwa as the hostage. The author of *Mirat-i-Sikandari*³⁰ mentions that Maharana displayed honour and hospitality towards Mahmud Khilji fearing the wrath of other muslim-Sultans. But this statement

26. Firishtah Vol. IV p. 262.

27. Tab III p. 605.

28. Firishtah Vol. IV pp. 262-3/Tab III p. 606.

29. The *Amar Kavya Vanashavali* mentions the palace of Padmisi instead of Bhakasi, where the Sultan was kept under custody.

30A. In Tab III p. 607, an escort of 10,000 Rajputs is mentioned. But other authorities mention 1000 only.

30. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* p. 107/Baytey—op. cit. p. 264.

does not seem to be correct. F. L. Faridi, has correctly³¹ remarks that it is rather pity that the author has wrongly interpreted the chivalrous courtesy of the Sisodiya Rajputs. The generosity of Sanga was certainly greater than that of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujrat. Nizamuddin Ahmed has also³² accepted this fact by saying that the Sultan of Gujrat extended his help to him when he went to seek his support. But Maharana having captured the enemy in battle-field gave him back his kingdom, the parallel of which is rarely known. It seldom happened that if a Hindu prince made prisoner in the battle field by a Muslim Sultan was never spared without payment of a vast sum of money and jewels or sacrifice of his daughter to the royal seraglio of the Sultan.

Invasion upon Idar (1520 A.D.)

Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Gujrat appointed Mubariz-ul-Mulk in place of Nasarat-ul-Mulk at Idar. A certain wandering minstrel observed before him that there was no king equal to Sanga in Hindustan. He added that Raimal, the right claimant of Idar would eventually be succeeded with his help. On hearing this, Mubariz-ul-Mulk, became furious and with great arrogance replied "what sort of a dog is the Rana, and how can he protect Raimal ? Here I sit why does he not come ?" The bard immediately left for Chittor and informed the whole affairs to Maharana, who writhed like a snake and made necessary preparations to march against Idar, in order to adopt retributive measures.

The Mewar army proceeded towards Sirohi and collected necessary tribute from its ruler. The Sultan of Gujrat, when heard the advancement of Mabarana, was desirous of sending reinforcement³³ at Idar. But some of his Ministers being inimical to Mubariz-ul-Mulk restrained the Sultan from sending his army.³⁴ The Maharana then proceeded towards Dungarpur, the ruler of which place also

31. *Ibid* p. 107 fn.

32. Tab III p. 608/Firistah IV p. 263.

33. Bayley *op. cit.* p. 265/Tab III pp. 907-908/Firistah Vol. IV p. 88/Sarada-
op. cit. pp. 78-79/Ojha I p. 349.

34. Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 265.

35. Due to the rising of the *Girasiyas* (an aboriginal tribe) the Sultan had to pay more attention to quell the same and deputed Kiwam-ul-Mulk (Firistah Vol. IV p. 89/Tab III p. 308).

accompanied^{35A} him. Mubariz-ul-Mulk, wrote the account of these developments to the Sultan. But at this time also the Ministers misrepresented [the facts and reinforcement could not be sent at Idar. The Maharana acting energetically came down swiftly upon Idar with immense army consisting of more than 40,000 cavalry. By this time, Rao Ganga of Jodhpur and Biramdeva Medatiya also joined him with 7 and 5 thousand cavalry respectively. Mubariz-ul-Mulk, immediately summoned a war-council³⁶ and on its decision evacuated Idar and retreated to Ahmadnagar, where he was expecting reinforcement.

Next day Maharana Sanga arrived and successfully captured Idar after a tough fight with the soldiers of³⁷ Malik Bakhan. He gave Idar to Raimal and then proceeded towards Ahmadnagar in order to pursue Mubariz-ul-Mulk. The *Girasiya* chiefs of Gujrat also joined the Mewar army. The Gujrat soldiers were badly terrified and an apprehension of the invasion of Mewar army was occurring in their minds. Although the Persian-Chronicles mention that the Gujrat soldiers fought in an open field, but this account does not seem to be correct. The Rajput sources mention that Maharana Sanga laid a siege to the fort of Ahmadnagar. The contemporary Rajasthani sources record the heroic deeds of the Bagadiya-Chauhans.³⁸ It is said that Kanha son of Dungarsi Chauhan did self sacrifice by putting his body against the long iron-spikes allowing the elephants to open the gates of the fort. The Rajputs then rushed into the fort and captured the same. Mubariz-ul-Mulk, who was fleeing, was seen by the same bard before whom he called Sanga as dog and taunted on his flight. He, therefrom, returned back and was wounded.³⁹ Asad Khan and few other officers of Gujrat were slain while Mubariz-ul-Mulk, Safdar Khan etc. ran away to Ahmadabad. Sanga captured Ahmadnagar⁴⁰ and carried away plundering raids.

35A. Ojba—*Dungarpur Raja Ka Silhas* pp. 75-76.

36. Tab III p. 309/Firistah Vol. IV p. 89/Bayley p. 266/Sarada op. cit. pp. 78-79.

37. Bayley—op. cit. p. 267.

38. Vir Vinod I p. 359.

39. Tab III p. 309/Firistah Vol. IV p. 89/Bayley op. cit. II. 267/Sarada op. cit. p. 79/Mirat-i-Sikandari pp. 109.

40. *Amar-Kavya-Yamshavali* (MS) Lf. 21 mentions Sanga's victory over Idar and Ahmadabad. But his penetration into Gujrat upto Ahmedabad is not found recorded in the Persian chronicles.

He also made several inhabitants as captive. Proceeding thence, he marched towards Badnagar, but finding its residents to be the Brahmins exempted them from the pecuniary exactions. He then marched against Visalnagar, the local officer of that place shut himself into the fort. The Mewar army attacked the fort and captured the same. The Maharana collected a heavy booty and returned Chittor unopposed.⁴¹ He thus succeeded to instate his protege in Idar and this chivalrous campaign might have made his name a terror to the people of Gujarat.

Invasion by the Sultan of Gujerat (1521 A. D.)

The disastrous defeat at the hands of Sanga had greatly alarmed the Sultan Muzaflar Shah, who resolved to proceed in person against Mewar. But Malik⁴² Elias Sultan offered his services. Accordingly, in Dec. 1520, the Sultan after collecting an immense army consisting of one lac cavalry placed it under the command⁴³ of Malik Elias. At the same time, Kiwam-ul-Mulk was also sent with 20,000 cavalry and elephants. They first reached Modasa, where Taj Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk also joined. Malik Elias representing that so large army was unnecessary, left a part of ■ behind him, which subsequently joined him. From Modasa, they encamped at village Dhamola. Detachments were sent from there to ravage the country of Vagad. Dungarpur town was attacked and a fierce battle was fought. According to Rampole inscription, of V.E. 1577 (1521 A.D.) Rawal Gajja met heroic⁴⁴ death, while fighting with the army of the Sultan. From Dungarpur the invading forces passed through Sagawara and Baneawara. At this time, Suja-ul-Mulk, Saifdar-ul-Mulk and Nizam-ul-Mulk, who were on guard, fought with Rawal Udaisingh, [Ruler of Vagada] and some relative of Medani Ray, who were staying in an ambush for making an attack.

41. The Sanga's victory over Idar has been commemorated in the bardic songs [દિર એક મોતે ક્યાયે | હૈ દિર પરણ સાથ]

42. According to Donald F. Leach, Malik Elias was a Russian by birth. He was taken into slavery by the Turks and eventually became a ward of a merchant, who presented him to the Sultan Mahmud Beghara. The ruler was much pleased and soon he was given the title of Malik [India in the Eyes of Europe (16th century A.D.) Chicago (1968) p. 402.]

43. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* p. 111/Tab III pp. 313-314/Firizah IV pp. 91-92.

44. રાજિન શી સંદૃ ૧૫, બાપાસાંદી અંગ—બદેલ શી ગિસ્ટુરે સ્વાધારયાયા॥મગ્નાદાયાશી ચાંદેશયાં વિભેરાચ્છે સ્વાનો ક્રાંતે દહય ખુલણ સુતસ્પ ચ પુણ સુરતા સુત ગાં સુરતાન સુડાફરસ...સંતોષ રાવતાન જ્યબ સમિષિં... [Unpublished Inscription]

According to⁴⁵ Dr. Nagendrasingh, the *Khyats* of Vagada, reveal that this encounter with the Sultan's forces was a minor one, which restricted to a small contingent of not more than 100 armed men on either side. The invading army succeeded to molest the towns namely Dungarpur Galiyakot, Sagawara, Bansawara etc. and after crossing Kirachi Ghat, it reached in the vicinity of Mandsaur, which belonged to Maharana and was held by Ashokmal⁴⁶ (Parmar) for him. This fort was very strong having the walls ten yards thick. Malik Eias laid a siege to the fort and gave orders to dug *Sabats*.

Maharana Sanga with a large army advanced to the village Nandasa, situated about 25 miles away from Mandsaur and encamped there. Nearly all important Hindu Chiefs of Rajasthan with their armies joined him. The Maharana, according to Persian chronicles,⁴⁷ sent emissaries to Malik Eias, requesting him to abandon the siege operations. But this account can hardly be given credence, as on his return to Gujerat the Sultan admonished Malik Eias on his failure.

When the *Sabats* were under construction, Sharzat Khan Sarawani, an emissary of the Sultan of Malwa came and informed that Mahmud Khilji II was in full march to help him, in the siege-operations. At this time Malik Kiwan-ul-Mulk, who was left behind to ravage the territory of Vagad, had also joined. Soon after, Mahmud Khilji also came with a large army. Silahadi Tomar, who had come with Sultan of Malwa to fight against Sanga was dissuaded by Medani Ray to join the Gujerat army. Thus, enormous forces were⁴⁸ assembled on both the sides.

The Sultan of Gujerat, although made enormous preparations to wreak vengeance of the spoils done in the northern Gujerat lately by the Maharana and Malik Eias also gave solemn assurances to accomplish the same, but his various senior officers were creating

45. Dr. Nagendrasingh 10S—Bayley's History of Gujerat Appendix VII p.529.

46. Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 273.

47. *Ibid*/Tab III p. 314-315/Pigistah IV p. 92. Salihadi Tanwar attempted to conclude some settlement between Malik Eias and Maharana Sanga, but he failed. [Mirat-i-Sikandari pp. 112-113] Dr. Raghuvir Singh-Raisen Ka Shasaka Salihadi Tanwar (Nagari Pracharini Patrika Vol. LXVI No. 3-4 p. 167.

48. Bayley *op. cit.* p. 273.

troubles. The presence of Kiwan-ul-Mulk made his position more precarious, as the latter advanced his battery and wanted to enter into the fort, but Malik Elias, fearing that victory might be ascribed to him, kept him⁴⁹ away from taking any action. Similarly Mubariz-ul-Mulk with a part of his cavalry, wanted to march against the Maharana, but was intercepted by Malik Elias and brought him back and directed him to come into action only after the *Sabats* were exploded.

After a few days, the *Sabats* were exploded and a long breach also effected in the walls of the fort. However, the Rajputs were already conscious of this danger, who had removed their garrison from there. Therefore, this explosion also gave no satisfactory results.⁵⁰ Malik Elias, seeing that no co-operation was forthcoming from his officers, abandoned the siege-operation. A growing opposition was also seen. Some of his officers including Kiwan-ul-Mulk induced Sultan Mahmud Khilji II to fight against Sanga. Malik Elias protested to the Sultan not to march in concert with the troops of a few Gujarat officers,⁵¹ whose action against his orders was a breach of faith. At this time Maharana Sanga used diplomatic overtures. As we have seen, he had taken a son of Mahmud Khilji II of Malwa as hostage and kept with him, even after the release of the Sultan. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari*⁵² mentions that the Sultan came in agreement with the Rana at that time about the return of his son. This shows that as soon as Rana promised to return Mahmud's son, there remained no further interest of the Sultan to risk a pitched battle. His departure, evidently got Malik Elias nervous and he also decided to retreat without fighting. In this way, this strategy of Sanga proved very successful.⁵³ The account of Persian chronicles that Maharana sent his son as hostage with a large amount of money in present to the Sultan of Gujarat is far from the truth. According to *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, when Malik Elias, reached Ahmadabad, the Sultan reprimanded⁵⁴

49. *Ibid* p. 274/Tab III p. 315-316/Firistah Vol. IV pp. 92-93.

50. Oiba I pp. 357-358/Firistah Vol. IV p. 93/Tab III p. 316.

51. Firistah Vol. IV p. 93/Tab III p. 316/Bayley *op. cit.* p. 274.

52. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* p. 113/Bayley *op. cit.* p. 275.

53. Dr. Nagendra Singh—*op. cit.* Appendix VIII pp. 530-534.

54. Firistah's account is somewhat different from other chronicles. He says that when Malik Elias returned to Champaner to wait upon the Sultan of Gujarat, he was honoured and due rewards were given [Firistah Vol. IV p. 94]. But Tab (III p. 317) and Bayley (p. 275) mention that he was reprimanded and reprimanded by the Sultan.

and all the people of Gujerat called him a "coward". This account proves that the army of Sultan suffered a heavy setback. Dr. Nagendrasingh⁵⁶ has discussed this point in detail. According to him, an obvious attempt was made in Persian chronicles to uphold the position of the Sultan of Gujerat *viz-a-vis* that of Rana, who had an upperhand throughout the various engagements and saved his country also. Therefore, such account of the Persian chronicles are not worthy of credence.

Invasion of Sultan Ibrahim (1521 A. D.)

According to MS. *Parshwanath-Shrawana-Satabis*⁵⁷ composed in 1521 A. D., Sultan Ibrahim marched against Ranathambhor. On hearing the approach of Sultan, a panic was striken at Chatasu. The people soon vacated the town. Two poets vowed to the God Parshwanath for the victory of Sanga. Soon intelligence received about Sanga's victory and the poets accordingly versified the above poem. It is a contemporary and independent evidence on which we can have full credence. The Persian chronicles do not mention this invasion at all. According to *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*⁵⁸ Rana Sanga's representative Pooranmal conducted atrocities on the Sayyids, who were living in the villages adjacent to Chatasu. This was done in order to quell their disturbances. Later on, Rao Ramchandra was posted as his representative there. The Colophones of MSS *Kar-Kandu Charit* (V. E. 1581)⁵⁹, *Chandraprabha-Charita* (V. E. 1583)⁶⁰ and *Vardhaman Katha* (V. E. 1584)⁶¹ corroborate the above statement. At this time Maharana Sanga also granted Ranathambhor to his son Vikramaditya and made Surajmal Hada as his guardian.

Prince Bahadur Khan in Chittor

Prince Bahadur Khan was the son of Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujerat. He was very much ambitious and wanted the throne of

55. Dr. Nagendrasingh—*op. cit.* Appendix VIII.

56. यद्य सुसी वरपाणि संगामि, रथरंभुवि दुमरलड । यद्य इवाहिमु छाहिं कोमिज बसू केलि
भोक्तान्तर । रसेष्टु मुठ भजविज्ज चम्पावति विजु देल उब गए दहह विवर्जि ॥२१॥
[*Parshwanath-Shrawana-Satabis* (MS) Jain temple, Ajmer.]

57. *Tarikh-i-Shahi* by Ahmad Yadgar (Cal 1939) p. 314.

58. रथत् १५८१ वर्षे खेठ मुरि ६ पुस्तारे घटवावलो नाम नंबरे राज जी धमचंद एधे
[MS *Karkandu-Charit*.]

59. रथत् १५८३ वर्षे आलाड थरि ३ पुस्तारे राजा जी चंद्राम उन्हे चम्पावती नारे रथ जी
प्रतिक्रिया [MS *Chandraprabha Charita*.]

60. रथत् १५८४ वर्षे वैत थुटि १४ चम्पावती छोटे राजा जो चंद्राम राख्ये;
[MS *Vardhaman Katha*.]

Gujrat. He was also willing to conquer the fort of Chittor in retribution for the spoils done by Maharana at Ahmadnagar. In 1524 A.D., when the Sultan Muzaffar was⁶¹ in the vicinity of Idar, he requested the Sultan to increase his allowances, as these were insufficient to maintain his establishment. But the Sultan avoided. Therefore, being impatient of delay the prince left the camp without permission and proceeded first to Ahmedabad and eventually went towards Dungarpur. From there he went Chittor and took political asylum there. H. B. Sarada has correctly⁶² remarks that he was not ashamed to ask for shelter and hospitality of the very man, whose destruction he heartily desired and was secretly planning to accomplish. He remained at Chittor for a few days. An incident compelled⁶³ him to leave Chittor. It is said that while seeing the dance of the daughter of the Quazi of Ahmadnagar, he flew into rage and killed the nephew of Maharana. A great uproar arose. The Rajputs crowded round to kill him, who was still standing there with a sword dripping with blood in his hand. Then the Queen Mother, who was very sagacious woman and used to call the above prince as his son, rushed in with a dagger in her hand and declared that she would rip herself up if any body killed Bahadur Khan.⁶⁴ Thus the prince was saved, but he left the place and went towards Mewat and Delhi. The circumstances also compelled him to return back and stay at Chittor. The *Shatrunjaya-Tirthoddhar-Prabandha*⁶⁵ mentions that he took a loan of Rupees one lac from Karam Shah of Chittor, on a condition that when he would come to the throne of Gujrat, necessary permission to attend the renovation of the temple of Shatrunjaya⁶⁶ be given. Another important object achieved by him at Chittor was to develop friendship among the local Hindu Chiefs of Mewar, who might have helped him very much, during his subsequent invasions upon Chittor.

61. Firajtah 1V p. 96/Tab III p. 330/Bayley p. 279-280.

62. H. B. Sarada—*op. cit.* p. 90.

63. Bayley p. 329.

64. Bayley—*op. cit.* pp. 305-306.

65. Muni Jin-Vijay-Shatrunjaya-Tirthoddhar-Prabandha (Bhavnagar) Chapter II verses 21 to 29.

66. चुम्बक रामेन द्विष्टवीयोर्पि विधेयं सवता प्रपत्तात् ।

अब प्रतस्ये करमे तत्त्वोऽनुहास्याभिष्ठो गृह्णर्वदत्तस्य ।

मनुष्येऽवापत्तस्याद्युपकार तद् वापरताति पशुः ॥२६॥ (*Ibid*)

Sanga's power at Zenith

In V. E. 1578, Maharana Sanga's power was at zenith. Nearly all the Rajputs chiefs according to *Amar Kavya Yamshavali*⁶⁷ owed their allegiance to him. The contemporary work *Shatrunjaya Tirthodhar Prabandha*⁶⁸ mentions him as an Emperor of the northern India. Similar fact is also mentioned in the Toda inscription⁶⁹ of V. E. 1604. Col. Tod, has rightly observed⁷⁰ that eighty thousand horses, seven Rajas of the highest rank, nine Ruas and one hundred and four chieftains, bearing the title Rawal and Rawat with 800 war elephants followed him in the wars.

Intestine feuds in Gujerat (1626 A. D.)

Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujerat succeeded by his son Sikandar Shah in 1620 A. D. Latif Khan, his another son, was stung into rebellion and collected an immense army. Sikandar Shah took swift measures and sent Shirza Khan to oppose him. On hearing this, Latif Khan went to Chittor and perhaps obtained necessary help from Sanga. At this time Chand Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Bahadur Khan etc. of Gujerat were already at Chittor. Shirza Khan was defeated. Soon after Sikandar Shah was assassinated and a group of the nobles appointed Mahmud Shah II as the Sultan of Gujerat. Imdad-ul-Mulk attempted to solicit assistance from Babar and Sanga. The letter sent to Babar for this purpose was intercepted by Maharawal Udaisingh of Dungarpur.⁷¹ Sanga might to have refused to come in terms with the Chiefs of Gujerat. It seems that he together with his allies had already promised to espouse the cause of Bahadur Khan. The Rampura inscription⁷² of V. E. 1665, mentions that a fugitive prince of Gujerat, who was having good terms with the ruler of Mewar, visited Rampura during the

67. *Amar Kavya Yamshavali* (MS) Lf. 21-22,

68. शत्रुघ्नीयसिंहस्त्रिविद्याकृष्णादिवामोदिष्वल मृगिभास्तु
[*Shatrunjaya Tirthodhar Prabandha* Chapter I verse 80.]

69. सोनूरिय के बाहर बोडा साल ११ को राज्य राज थी उमामदेव
[The Toda Inscription V.E. 1604]

70. Bayley *op.cit.* p. 918.

71. Tab II: p. 950/Pristah Vol. IV p. 102/Bayley *op. cit.* p. 919

72. पुर्वोदेशाधिपति कक्षयो ध वाय भेदाट लंगिल्लै । गतवीः रसायमानो (तः) शरम नलदार
संकिंच दृष्टवान् ॥२५॥ [The Rampura Inscription of V.E. 1665.]

time of Rao Pratap and necessary help was provided to him. As Rao Pratap was a contemporary to Maharana Sanga, the fugitive prince might be none else than Bahadur Shah. Therefore, Sanga's support to Bahadur Shah in securing the throne of Gujrat^{72A} was of significant value.

***Relations with Babar**

After defeating Ibrahim Lodi in the battlefield of Panipat in 1526 A. D., Babar became the master of Delhi. The prince Muhammad Khan Lodi together with several fugitive Afghan Chiefs went to Chittor and took political asylum⁷³ there. Babar had to face still more important powers of India. His Afghan adversaries, though beaten in Panipat, were by no means ready to reconcile with him. Rana Sanga, according to his own words, was very powerful; who was consolidating his power in eastern Rajasthan. Besides these two powers, the people were hostile to the strangers and even the petty rulers were also prepared for obstinate resistance. Due to these developments, discontentment and consternation were also seen among his own soldiers. He, therefore, called the council of war to decide the further line of action. It seems that the councillors were not fully aware of the Rana's strength and therefore, they advised⁷⁴ to give priority in quelling the power of the Afghans of Bengal. But, leaving aside this decision, Babar endeavoured to move against Maharana Sanga. In case he would have marched against the Afghans of Bengal, there was a constant apprehension of intrusion of Sangas' forces into his kingdom. He was well aware of his strength. While in Kabul, he had despatched emissaries at Chittor to obtain his help in creating a diversion on Ibrahim's southern frontier. Sanga had also responded the same. The MS. *Hasan Khan Mewati Ki-Katha* and *Babar-Nama*, both mention that some mutual understanding took place between them. Perhaps, it was agreed between them that when Babar invaded Ibrahim Lodi from the north west direction, Maharana Sanga would simultaneously march against Agra in order

72A. *Vameharvali* No. 873 Lf. 199.

73. *Navadirul-Hikayat* (MS) of Abdul Nabi Lf. 307.

74. A. S. Beveridge—*Babar Nama* II 529.

75. *Ibid* pp. 530-531.

76. *Sadhi Patrika* Vol. XXI No. 4 p. 60.

to divert the attention of Sultan. This settlement was of course advantageous to Babar. At the same time, Maharana Sanga, who had embarked upon the territorial expansion, gladly acceded the plan thinking that the invader would leave India after carrying out depredations only and it would debilitate the Lodi kingdom also. But when Babar attempted to perpetuate his rule in Punjab, Sanga was taken aback. His chiefs also dissuaded him from marching against Ibrahim Lodi. Thus, he did not march against Agra. Probably, Babar would have not taken serious notice⁷⁷ of this had he not given further chances of provocations.

Rajput-Afghan confederation

According to the *Hasan Khan Mewati Ki Katha*⁷⁸, the Mewatis being agreed to fight under the banner of Mewar invited Sanga to invade Delhi. According to *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*^{78A}, Maharana Sanga, Hasan Khan Mewati and some Afghan chiefs had mutually agreed to nominate Muhammad Khan Lodi, the son of Sikandar Lodi, as the Sultan and concluded an alliance to fight against Babar in order to drive him out from India.

Battle of Bayana [Jan. 1527 A.D.]

Maharana Sanga soon reached Ranathambhor, which was already under his possession, in order to well equip his army there. At this time, Chandrabhan and Manikchandra Chauhans of Chanderwar (U.P.) came with their garrison, who were welcomed by Sanga, showing due respect to them. After making necessary preparations, the Mewar army soon marched against Bayana. Several Muslim chiefs, settling in the villages adjacent to Bayana were prevailing hostility. Therefore, Sanga dislodged them and annexed this territory to his state. During this campaign, he also laid a siege to the fort of Khandhar, which was under the possession of Miyan Hussain, the son of Miyan Makhan, who requested Babar for necessary help. But the latter avoided and the fort was captured by the Mewar army. Proceeding thence, he besieged Bayana. His march was noticed by

77. G. N. Sharma—Mewar and the Mughal Emperors pp. 20-21.

78. दुषि सापा इसनका कहे । भो आरे तो बायद रहे । केतो दिल्ली युहार्द आरे ।

[*Hasan Khan Mewati Ki Katha* (MS) verses 71-72.]

78A. *Tarikh-i-Shershahi* (Dhaka 1964) p. 16. Similar account is also available in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* (George Rivington) Vol. I p. 470.

Babar through Mahadi⁷⁹ Khwaja's people. He immediately despatched army under Muhammad Suleman Mirza, Yunas-i-Ali, Shah Mansur Barlas, Kittabeg Qismati, and Bhujaka. He also released Hasan Khan Mewati's son Nahar Khan, who was made captive during the battle of Panipat, in order to win over the Mewatis. But his attempts proved futile and Hassan Khan joined the Rana at his camp Toda Bhil.⁸⁰

The Mewar army which laid a siege to Bayana put the army of Babar in state of blockade. The reinforcement sent by Babar was badly defeated. The soldiers of Bayana garrison evacuated the place and Sanga captured the same. In the words of G. N. Sharma the battle of Bayana "stands out as last great triumph in the chequered career of Rana Sanga.—The Chaghtai Turks found that they had to contend with a foe more formidable than the Afghans."⁸¹ From Bayana, Sanga marched towards Bhusawar and captured it. At this time he also attacked Tijara, Gwalior and few other towns.

Babar left his camp near Agara on Feb. 16, 1528 A.D., after making necessary arrangements to safeguard Gwalior. He was very much perturbed and sent his men to bring the news about Rana, who was at that time encamping at Bhusawar. Abdul Aziz and Mullah Apaq who went to⁸² bring the news of Rana were suddenly attacked. Many of their retinue were made captives and Mullah Apaq, Mullah Daud, Mullah Nimat were slain. On hearing this, Babar despatched Muhib Ali, Mullah Hussain, Tahir Tibr etc. to help his advance guards. They also could not succeed and were badly defeated.

Despair in Babar's army

Babar himself accepted that due to rapidly advancement of Sanga and the praise given to him repeatedly by Shah Mansur, Qismati and the others from Bayana prevailed⁸³ despair in the army. At this time, a noted astrologer Muhammad Sharif declared that the planet Mars being in west whoever engaged while coming⁸⁴ from

79. *Babar Nama* II p. 5.

80. ६ दोउ सोबाज मिले नन खोय । कियो मंडु विदे नन खोय ।
की लगकरी बांधी ढाय । तुहम टोई कियो विसायु ॥५४॥

Hasan Khan Mewati Ki Katha (MS).

81. *Babar Nama* II p. 549.

82. *Ibid* p. 550.

83. A. S. Beveridge—*Humayun Nama* by Gulabadan Begam p. 98/*Babar Nama* II p. 551.

that direction would be defeated. As the forces of Babar were to march from the west a great despair was noticed in the hearts of his soldiers. The disturbance was reported from every side. Rapari and Chandawar were captured by Hussain Khan Nuhani and Qutb Khan respectively. The fort of Gwalior⁸⁴ was besieged by the Rajputs. Ajam Khan, when sent to reinforce it did not go there, but went to his own district. In this way, bad news came forth from all the directions. Desertion of the Indian soldiers became frequent.

Babar renounces wine

On Monday Feb. 25, 1526 A. D. Babar noticed that the misfortune coming to him was due to his sins. He determined to renounce wine.⁸⁵ Therefore, all the gold and silver goblets cups etc. used for drinking the wine were given away in charity to the *Daravashis*. He also vowed that in case he emerged victorious against Sanga, he would remit the *Tanga* from the Muslims. On Feb. 26, 1526 A.D., he issued a *firman* accordingly. He summoned all his soldiers and delivered a courageous speech. In this way, he did not loose his heart and strove hard to meet the challenge of Sanga.

Maharana's Preparations

The Maharana was having immense army under him. In the words of Gul-Badan Begum "Amirs⁸⁶ Rajas and Ranas every one of these, who had come earlier and paid homage to His Majesty(Babar) now became an enemy and joined the Rana, until, Kui Jalali, of Sambhal and Rupari *Paraga*⁸⁷ and Rais, Rajas and the Afghans became hostile. Nearly two lakhs cavalry assembled" According to Babar, the Maharana had collected⁸⁸ 2,01,000 cavalry. The *Shatrunjaya-Tirthoddhar-Prabandh*⁸⁹ mentions that Rana was having three lacs cavalry under him. The *Rana-Raso*⁹⁰ gives the number as 1,80,000 only. We do not exactly know the strength of Babar's

84. *Babar Nama* II p. 557.

85. *Ibid* II pp. 551-553.

86. *Humayun Nama* p. 98-99.

87. *Babar Nama* II pp. 561-62. The list seems to be incomplete. The Name of Sultan of Nagaur has not been included in it.

88. तद विष्णवपतिर्महीमितासाकृतिप्रधानोऽजिलभूमिशास्तः ।

[The *Shatrunjaya-Tirthoddhar Prabandh* Canto I verse 30.]

89. अस्ती सहस्र वट पक्ष मणु संग अदरावः । अेकनि यद् परिविति कर्त्तुं पक्षनि कहि अपार ॥७॥
Rana Raso (MS)

army also. According to *Afshana-e-Shahan*, he was having 80,000 cavalry under him.

Maharana's army was having several important chiefs and rulers. Babar mentions the names of Silahady Tomar, Udaisingh of Vagada, Medani Ray, Hasan Khan Mewati, Bharmal of Idar, Narpat Hada, some Satrvi chief of Kacha, Biramdeva Meditiya, Birsingh Bundela, Rao Ganga (of Jodhpur), Karamsingh, Chandrabhan Chauhan etc. However, this list seems to be incomplete. It does not mention the names of the Sultan of Nagaur, the rulers of Amber, Bikaner etc., whose forces evidently participated in the battle.

After the battle of Bayana, Sanga had passed a month in making necessary preparations and consolidating his position near Bhusawar. The detachments sent by him against Gwalior, Tijara etc. were succeeded in wresting these places. Being over confident of his strength, he did not invade upon Babar, when the latter was making preparations and his army was fully stricken with panic. Sanga's delaying the matter proved ruinous to his own cause.

Babar attempted in making negotiations by promising to earmark Bayana as the boundary of both the state. But the Allies of Maharana dissuaded him from accepting the same. Rana soon captured Bhusawar and reached near Khanawa.

Battle of Khanawa

The battle took place on March 17, 1526 A.D. at Khanawa, which is situated near Fatehpur Sikri. Medani Ray first made an attack from the left wing of Mewar⁹⁰ army upon the right wing of Babar's army in such a way that enemy could not resist it successfully. Soon after, Chin-Timur came to reinforce which had changed the condition of Babar's army. The Mustafa of Rum, who brought forward the match locks from his army⁹¹, made a fierce attack upon the Rajputs, but his attempts proved ineffective. Therefore, Babar sent Qasim-i-Hussain Sultan, Nizamuddin Ahmad and Qawam Beg to help. But the Rajputs' pressure again increased and he had to send more reinforcement under Hindu Beg Muhammad Kukuldash, Yunas Ali, Shah Mansur Burlas etc.

90. G. N. Sharma—*op. cit.* pp. 34-35.

91. *Babur Nama* II pp. 568-60.

The right wing of the Rajput army⁹² similarly made repeated and desperate attacks falling furiously on the left wing of Babar's army. A reinforcement⁹³ was soon sent under Mumin Ataka, Rustam Turkaman etc. When the Rajput pressure increased he again sent Khwaja Mahmud and Ali Ataka. But the Mughal army was having matchlocks, the use of which being unknown to the Rajputs, most of them were slain. By the death of Chandrabhan Chauhan, Hasan Khan Mewati⁹⁴, Sajja Chundawat, Karamchand etc. confusion prevailed among the Rajput camp. During this time, Sanga received a severe wound from an arrow, and was hurriedly removed from the battle field under the escort of Prithviraj of Amer to Basawa (District Jaipur) from where he was taken to Ranathambhor.⁹⁵

Jhala Ajja made Incharge of the Rajput army

During the absence of Rana, Rao Ratansingh of Salumbar was asked to personate him by assuming the insignia of royalty. But he declined, as his forefather Chunda relinquished it forever. Later on, it was bestowed upon Jhala Ajja. It took some time in deciding the matter. This delay proved fatal and gave time to the enemy for further attacks.

Silahadi and Sultan of Nagaur deserted

During this time, Silahadi and Khanazada of Nagaur deserting the Rana's side went to Babar and disclosed the news that Rana was taken away from the battle field. According to *Afshan-e-Shahan*, the defeat⁹⁶ of Mewar army was due to the treacherous move of Nagaur's army. The Khanzada decided to leave the side of the Rajputs, as they treated him disgracefully. Other authorities, however, put this stigma on the march of Silahady. But both of them deserted at the time when Maharana was removed from the battle-field and the position of the Rajput army had become weak.⁷

The Mewar army was disasterously defeated, as no matchlocks like Babar, were available with it.

The battle of Khanawa was a decisive battle, which had

92. *Ibid* p. 565.

93. *Ibid* p. 569-70

94. *Vir Vinod* I p. 365.

95. *Afshan-e-Shahan* (Sheikh Muhammad Kubir) MS Lf. p. 56.

96. *Ibid*.

changed the fate of Babar. After a few days, he recaptured⁹⁷ Bayana (March 20), Alwar (April 3), Gwalior, Bhusawar, Tijara and all other important places lately wrested by Sanga. Messengers conveying the news of victory were sent to all important places. The defeat of Sanga, practically brought to an end the Rajput national revival and political confederacy led by Mewar.

Death of Sanga

While living at Ranathambhor, Sanga made necessary preparations to meet Babar again. He promised not to enter into the city-walls of Chittor, till he would achieve victory against Babar. Soon after, when Babar invaded Chanderi, he also marched to help Medani Ray and reached Irich and Bhander. Babar also marched against Kapi. According to *Afshan-e-Shahan*⁹⁸, the Ranas' ministers and other nobles gave him poison at Irich, where he had breathed his last. The ministers, after appointing his son Ratansingh as the ruler of Mewar, returned Chittor. A good number of Afghan nobles, including Muhammad II also went with them at Chittor and took shelter there for a considerable time. The *Amar Kavya-Vamshavali*⁹⁹ also mentions that Rana Sanga was administered to poison at Irich and his body was removed at Mandalgarh. The other *Vamshavalis* of Mewar also give a ¹⁰⁰ precise account that the body of Sanga was taken away in a *Palaki* upto Mandalgarh. Unfortunately, we have got no other evidence to find out the fact. The copper plates mentioned below, refer of doing the annual *Shradha* and *Pratipita* celebration of his cenotaph. But these plates are also silent about the exact place, where he was cremated.

The exact date of this event is also not precisely known. But according to *Babar Nama*, Sanga was alive on the Jan. 30, 1528 A.D. On the basis of a copper plate grant, Arya Ramchandra¹⁰¹ concluded that he perhaps died on May 20, 1528 A.D. I have also examined the text of this plate and found it to be a genuine grant. It is dated

97. *Babar Nama* II pp. 576-583.

98. *Afshan-e-Shahan* Lf. 56-57.

99. *Amar Kavya Vamshavali* (MS) Lf. 21-22.

99A. The *Vamshavali* No. 218 mentions "काली विष युधोऽपासी पीड्यते घरा मानस-
युद भाग्य"

100. *Sodh Patrika* Vol. VI No. 2-3 pp. 23-30.

as V.E. 1587 and records some pious grant made on the occasion of annual¹⁰¹ *shradha* of Sanga. It was issued under the signatures of *Shah Sura*, who was a historical personality of *Pamecha* (Osawal) caste. Few colophones of MSS. and copper plates, bearing his name were also noticed pertaining to this period.¹⁰² On the basis of this plate, the date of Sanga's death can be assumed as May 20, 1528 A.D.

A copper plate grant of V. E. 1589 (1532 A.D.) belonging to the reign of Vikramaditya, contains the account of Joshi Nilakanth; who solemnized the *Pratishta* of the cenotaph of Maharana Sanga, was donated a land grant of 200 Bighas (4 *Halsas*) with three wells. Unfortunately, the place where it was built is not mentioned in it. The Rampore inscription of Chitor of V. E. 1595 mentions that a *Parali* (perhaps step-well) was excavated in the memory of Sanga. But it is also a scanty record.

Sanga was the greatest ruler of his time. He possessed undaunted courage and uncommon power of body. He had successfully measured swords against the Sultans of Malwa, Gujrat and Ibrahim Lodi. The combined forces of Malwa and Gujrat at Mandsaur, could not humble his pride. He was lacking an eye an arm and had crappled by a broken leg. At the same time he was having more than 80 honourable scars on his body. Babar trembled and hesitated to fight with him. He was a great diplomat and extended his shelter to the fugitive and dislodged chiefs. In other words, he was the last Hindu Independent Chief, of northern India, who was possessing extensive boundaries.

101. "संवत् १५८७ वर्षे वेठ शुभि १ एवा लोकानाम कु वीहुर दीन तुज श्रीयुक्ति प्रति तुम याकिस । सुखा तिथिरा दाह सुरा [ibid]
102. The colophones of MSS. *Awashyaka Brihada Vriti* (V.E. 1592), *Upasaka Dashanga Sutra* (V.E. 1597) and *Sthananga-Sutra* (V.E. 1597) (M. Shab—*Prashasti Sangraha* pp. 96-97.)
103. For details see R.C. Tiwari's paper. [The Journal of the University of Bombay 62-63 pp. 48-49.]
104. In *Vamshavallis* No. 278 Lf. 66/872 Lf. 61 (and *Surya Vamsha* Lf. 49 the date is given as V.E. 1588.

(e) Successors of Sanga

Ratnasingh.

After the disastrous discomfiture at Khanawa, despair prevailed in the Mewar army. Further hopes of contriving ambitious enterprises by the ruler of Mewar, like Sanga, were shattered. Although, after the battle of Khanawa, Babar did not risk another pitched battle direct with the Mewar forces and even refrained from pursuing them, but his strength was considerably increased. Thus consolidation of power became inevitable for the ruler of Mewar to regain his lost position.

After the death of Sanga, his oldest surviving¹ son Ratnasingh succeeded him. His other sons, named, Vikramaditya and Udaisingh, with their mother, Hadi Karmavati, were living at Ranathambhor, which was assigned to them. The management of this Jagir was under the guardianship of Surajmal Hada, as both of them were minor. By allotting this big Jagir to Vikramaditya, by Sanga, certain problems were created, which had far reaching influence and foreshadowing intestine feuds. Ratnasingh, although had given his half hearted consent to the above grant, but keeping in view the strategical importance of this stronghold, was anxious to have it under his direct control. Therefore, he sent Puranmal Pachhiya to Ranathambhor,² to bring his mother and brothers at Chittor, in order to keep them away from any possible intrigues. He also, asked his mother to send the accumulated treasures including the jewelled crown and golden griddle received from the Sultan of Malya by Sanga. But she evaded and Surajmal informed to settle the matter, when he would meet with Maharana at Chittor.

Fearing the possibility of retributive measures by Maharana against Ranathambhor, Hadi Karmavati sent diplomatic mission³ under Ashok Parmar⁴ to Babar, who reached there on Sept. 29,

1. Sanga's eldest son was Bhujraj, who expired during the life time of his father.

2. Vr. Vinod II, p. 5/Qibha I, p. 389.

3. A.S. Beveridge—Babar Nama II p. 612.

4. During the time of Sanga Ashokmal was the Kildar of Mandore. His descendants subsequently held the Jagir of Bijolia.

1528 A.D. Babar received him with proper care. He was having a covetous eye on the stronghold of Ranathambhor. Therefore, during discussions, he laid stress on its surrender. He also desired that Vikramaditya should owe⁶ his allegiance to him. Ashok wanted to exchange Bayana with Ranathambhor. But looking to its strategical importance, Babar avoided and desired to give Shamshabad. However, no settlement could be done there. Babar himself hurriedly moved to Gwalior and invited Ashok for further discussions there. On reaching the said place, Ashok agreed ~~in~~ the terms proposed by Babar. On this settlement Babar sent Hensi son of Deva, a local Rajput⁷, ~~in~~ bring the keys of the fort of Ranathambhor. A message was also conveyed to the Queen Mother expressing his readiness for extending necessary help in securing the throne of Mewar for Vikramaditya, if the latter would remain sincere. But this settlement could not be acted upon⁸ and remained abortive, as the Rajputs did not agree to surrender such an important stronghold. It seems that they only wanted to create a terror in the hearts of Maharana, so that he might not indulge against Ranathambhor.

Battles with the Sultan of Malwa

As already stated that Mahmud Khilji II of Malwa was disasterously defeated by Sanga. He was waiting for an opportunity to fight with the ruler of Mewar. After the death of Sanga, he detached Shirza Khan with an army⁹ to lay waste the country of Rana. According to *Tarikh-i-Alfi*¹⁰ he was actuated by these three motives (i) to chastise Rana (ii) to recover some territories of Malwa, which had captured by Sanga and (iii) to punish Silahady Tanwar, who was in concert with Rana and had recently seized some territory belonging to the kingdom of Malwa. But the attempts of the Sultan proved futile. Shirza Khan was badly defeated.

At the same time, Maharana with a large army penetrated into Malwa and reached¹¹ village Sampaliya (Near Sarangpur).

5. *Babar Nama* II pp. 612-613.

6. *Ibid* pp. 616-617.

7. According to the local sources, Tatuchand Kavadiya, the father of Bhama Shah, insisted on retaining such an invincible fort under possession of the the Rajputs. His proposals were acceded by the Queen Mother.

8. *Firistah* Vol. IV pp. 268-67/Tab III p. 610-611/Bayley—History of Gujarat p. 348.

9. Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 348 fn.

10. *Ibid* p. 349.

Having ravaged the country around it, he then proceeded towards Ujjain to confront Sultan Mahmud Khilji ■ of Malwa. At the time when Maharana Sanga entered into Malwa, Sultan of Gujerat, being in concert with the Sultan of Malwa, had extended necessary help to the latter. But soon situation was changed. Now dissensions had broken out between these Sultans. Due to arrogant temper, Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, could not develop his faith among his adherents. He in his perplexity and distress summoned Mehin Khan of Sewas and Silahady to help him against the invasion of Mewar. When they waited on him they were given¹¹ some extra-ordinary honours. Both of them, thus suspecting a foul play, deserted him and went to the camp of Maharana which had disheartened the Sultan. The Mewar army succeeded ■ defeating the Malwa-troops near Ujjain and carried out depredations successfully.

Bahadur Shah's invasion against Malwa

Sultan Bahadur Shah's brother Chand Khan, who remained for a few months at Chittor, later on moved to Mandu and took political asylum there. Rezi-ul-Mulk, a noble from Gujerat, attempted to get necessary help from Babar in placing Chand Khan¹² on the throne of Gujerat. Bahadur Shah reproached to Mahmud Khilji for giving countenance to the intrigues and asked him to surrender Chand Khan, to which he evaded. Hearing no response, Bahadur Shah was deeply smarted, but did not risk ■ intrude into Malwa at that time.

The recent success of the ruler of Mewar in Malwa had greatly augmented his sphere of influence there. Chiefs of Malwa, including Silahady preferred to come under his protectorship. These developments had enraged Bahadur Shah, as he himself was making the plans to devour the territories of Malwa and Mewar. Openly, he did not like to come into clash with Maharana Ratnasingh the ruler of Mewar, as he was having cordial relations¹³ with him. The disturbances followed by the invasion of Mewar in Malwa had greatly debilitated its kingdom. This had encouraged Bahadur Shah to sweep away there.

11. Tab III pp. 610-611/Firistab Vol. IV p. 266/Bayley—op. cit. p. 349 fn.

12. Tab III p. 610/Firistab Vol. IV p. 265/Bayley op. cit. p. 349 fn.

13. Vamrkhavali No. 673 Lf. No. 123.

However, he was also having an apprehension of the penetration of Mewar-forces into Gujerat during his absence, so he was desirous of getting an assurance to that effect from Maharana. For this purpose, he took a circuitous route and encamped at Kirachi-Ghat, where he was expecting the arrival of Maharana. From that camp, he despatched his *vakils* to the camp of Maharana in Malwa, who also sent his *vakils* named, Dungarsingh¹⁴ and Jayraj to wait on the Sultan. After a few days, the Maharana while returning from Malwa stayed there. At this time, both the Sultan and Maharana paid customary visits to each other's camp. The Persian Chronicles, in order to uphold the position of Sultan, did not mention his visit to the camp of Maharana. But according to the Rajput sources¹⁵ he paid a visit to the above camp. A careful study of the events prove that the Sultan was desirous for getting his kingdom free from any possible in-road during his absence in Malwa. Therefore, taking the benefit of his personal friendship with Maharana,¹⁶ he visited his camp and succeeded in getting necessary assurances from him. This had freed the Sultan, who acting energetically moved against Malwa. A crushing defeat was inflicted by¹⁷ him on the forces of Malwa and its territory was annexed to his state.

During the medieval times, the balance of power was maintained between the neighbouring states of Malwa, Gujerat and Mewar. None of them was powerful enough to devour the state of other. However, Maharana's alliance with Bahadur Shah in suppressing the Sultan of Malwa proved fatal. The Sultan of Gujerat became more powerful and formidable, who was now looking desirous to humiliate the ruler of Mewar, for which he was watching a suitable opportunity.

Death of Maharana

The Maharana failed in bringing his step mother at Chittor, in

14. *Firistah* Vol. IV pp. 266-67/Tab III p. 611/*Sodh Patrika* Vol. XIV No. 1 p. 22.

15. The MS *Ram Ratan Singhji ra Jhulan*, an almost contemporary work mentions that the Sultan Bahadur Shah visited the camp of Maharana and waited on him—*उत्त बाहुबरी वै सरसि विष बीज हु कगो ।
विषारु आह यदपीया दह देल्हि जासने ॥*
Sodh Patrika Vol. XIV No. 1 p. 93.

16. Arya Ramchandra—Maharana Udaisingh and the Sur Kings of Delhi (I.H.Q. XXX No. 4 p. 311).

17. Tab III p. 353/*Firistah* Vol. IV p. 268/Bayley op. cit. p. 353.

order to have his full control over Ranathambhor. He made Surajmal responsible for this. Their relations were further adversely affected, as the latter had carried away Kachhwaha Prithviraj's daughter,¹⁸ who was going to be espoused to Maharana. This had further fomented their feuds. In order to wreak vengeance the Maharana invited Surajmal for hunting excursion. At Gokarna,¹⁹ which is situated on the borders of Mewar and Bundi, both Maharana and Surajmal lost their lives. It is said that while pursuing game the Maharana first attacked Surajmal, who immediately fell on ground and in wounded condition he also counterattacked and killed Maharana in a single stroke.

Col Tod has rightly observed that Ratansingh "possessed all the arrogance²⁰ and martial virtue of his race. Like his father, he determined to make the field his capital and commanded that the gates of Chittor never should be closed, boasting that its portals were Delhi and Mandu". However, he failed to improve his relations with his brother Vikramaditya's guardian Surajmal Hada. Similarly, his alliance and diplomatic overtures with Bahadur Shah subsequently proved fatal and brought serious results in the state.

The Shatrunjaya Inscription of V.E. 1587

The Shatrunjaya inscription of V.E. 1587 is very important record belonging to the reign of Maharana Ratnasingh. In its beginning, it contains a brief account of the rulers of Mewar. The renovation of the Jain temple at Shatrunjaya (Gujrat) was attended with the special permission of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat by Karmashah²¹ of Chittor. Therefore, this inscription records a detailed account about the various benevolent activities of this family. The *Shatrunjaya-Tirthadhar-Prabandh* which was composed at this time, also mentions the above account. For carrying out the above

18. The *Vamshavali* No. 273 Lf. 133/No. 877 Lf. 67.

19. 'हाते राक्षी हैं जेठ आदो पले पुस्ति देसे दीवारें राहो छाँटी उपरे एक हाथ हूँ तो शाना री लायज मैं केटा रा पसा पकड़े मैं तृष्णा हाथ सूँ कटाई बाहो सो रावजो मैं दीवान भैता रहया [Rawal Raneji ki Bat (MS) Lf. 82.] :

20. Tod I p 247.

21. जो रत्नसिंह राज्ये राजमध्यापनरमार धोरवः । श्री कर्मसिंहः वशो गुणो व्यवहारित्वो नव्ये— उत्ताति शोभपूर्णी श्रीमद्भावुदारो तृष्णः । तस्य प्राप्यद्युम्रगामं दुःखीके समयाशो । (The Shatrunjaya Inscription of V.E. 1587). For details see—Muni-Jin-Vijay—Shatrunjaya Tirthadhar Prabandh Canto-II verses 47-66.

renovation a good number of architects were²² also employed from Chittor. The work was supervised by Vivekachitir Gani and Vivek Mandir Pathak of *Tappa-gachchha*.

Sanga's Son Vikramaditya

Vikramaditya succeeded his brother Ratnasingh. The circumstances under which he came to throne of Mewar were not very favourable to him. He did not attempt to develop his faith on his chiefs and admonished them. He also employed a good number²³ of *Payakas* (Wrestlers) and lavished them those gifts and approbations to which so far only the Rajput chiefs had arrogated their exclusive rights. Therefore, the important chiefs rapidly deserted him.

Raisen-Affairs

Being arrogant with the behaviour of Silahady, the Sultan Bahadur Shah made him captive treacherously and laid a siege to the fort of Raisen, which was ably defended by Laxmansingh, the brother of Silahady. Bhupat Ray, the son of Silahady went to Chittor and requested for necessary help to Maharana, who being agreed to espouse his cause, marched with a large army²⁴ consisting of 40,000 cavalry. This had alarmed the Sultan, who detached Imdad-ul-Mulk and Mir-Mahmu-Khan against Rana. When reached near the village Berisa (?) they came to know that Rana was approaching with a large army. They communicated this message to the Sultan, who was very much perturbed. He did not like that two Rajput-forces simultaneously fight against him and endeavoured to intercept the army coming from Chittor, on its way. He, therefore, leaving the siege-operations under the charge of Ikhtiyar Khan, hurriedly moved there by covering 140 miles within 24 hours and joined his detachments. Reaching near the camp of Rana, he adopted diplomatic overtures and sent emissaries to wait on him. The Persian Chronicles mention that Rana, on learning the arrival of Sultan in person, decided not to come into clash. He sent his *vakils* to wait on the Sultan for²⁵ protesting him about the ill treatment with Silahady.

22. भी रिप्पुलाल सू. दीक्षा सू. पोदा सू. गोमा सू. देवा [ibid]

23. विक्रमादित्यरो खत्वे खोटो पकडयो । राजपूतो है सूर मही कीवो । ऐसी शापक नामा सात हुवार रावल [Rawal Ranajitji Bar (MS.) Lf. 84.]

24. Bayley—op. cit. p. 360/Tib III pp. 362-63/Firistah Vol. pp 116-119.

25. Bayley—op. cit. p. 362.

According to Nizam-ud-din Ahmad,²⁶ the Sultan communicated his reply to Maharana that at present his forces and grandeur were greater than himself. If he refrained from fighting, he would properly behave with Silahady. On taking this assurance the Mewar army together with Bhupat Ray went back to Chittor. The Sultan soon returned to Raisen and captured the fort on May 6, 1532 A.D. It seems that the steps taken by Maharana in going against Bahadur Shah were ill-calculated and proved ruinous to his own state. Had he proceeded upto Raisen, he would have compelled the Sultan to raise the siege from the fort. By doing this, he would have gained the same also. But by returning from the way, no purpose was solved. This had sowed the seed of animosity between Mewar and Gujarat and unnecessarily gave a chance to the Sultan for invading Chittor on this ostensible ground.

Battles of Gagron and Mandsaur (1532 A.D.)

Maharan's apathy towards the growing menace of Bahadur Shah plunged his kingdom into anarchy and strife. No proper arrangement of reinforcement and collection of arms and ammunition could be done. Bahadur Shah, who was consolidating his position, in Malwa soon detached his army under Mahmud Shah Asiri against²⁷ Gagron, fort, which was wrested by Sanga from Mahmud Khilji and had been forming part of the kingdom of Mewar from that time. The local *kiledar* Ram Singh ably defended by displaying prowess and gallantry. When Mahmud Asiri failed to achieve any success, the Sultan himself came in person there. Since no reinforcement was provided from Chittor, the Rajputs evacuated the fort and the Sultan captured it. He spent a few days there in celebrating festivities and entertainments. From there, Imad-ul-Mulk²⁸ and Ikbtiyar Khan were sent against Ranthambhor and Mandsaur. The fort of Ranthambhor²⁹ was ably defended by the Rajputs so it could not be captured. From there, the above commandants marched against Mandsaur. There being no proper arrangement inside that fort, the local *kiledar* Madhusingh evacuated it and fort fell³⁰ in the

26. Tab III p. 364.

27. Firishtah Vol. IV p. 123/Tab III p. 368.

28. Bayley *op. cit.* p. 368/Tab III p. 368/Firishtah Vol. IV p. 123.

29. Firishtah IV p. 123.

30. Bayley *op. cit.* p. 368/Tab III p. 368.

hands of the Sultan. At Chittor, "there was no senior officer, who could manage the affairs of the State properly. Senior Rajput Chiefs and Ministers including Karma Shah were having cordial relations with the Sultan and some of them were even hatching plots against the life of Maharana³¹. They, unmindful of their duties, encouraged the Sultan to march against Chittor.

Invasion of Bahadur Shah upon Chittor (1533 A.D.)

Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, who was having a covetous eye on Chittor, desired its reduction in order to revenge the disgrace of Sultan Muzaffar Shah's defeat at the hands of Sanga. For this purpose, he made necessary preparations³² by collecting several big guns, arms and ammunitions in large quantity, and enlisted several soldiers. When these preparations were completed, he gave orders to Mahmud Shah Asiri to march against Chittor and Khudawand Khan, the Wazir of Mandu was directed to join him. (Nov. 1532 A.D.). When this invading army reached Mandasaur, proposals for settlement by offering a handsome tribute were sent through the rukis by the Maharana. But some chiefs of Mewar, who were present with the invading army, dissuaded from concluding^{33A} any settlement. The Sultan was also informed about these developments through Shuja-at Khan, but he too rejected this offer, as he wanted to fulfil his long cherished dream of conquering Chittor and directed his army to continue its march.

The detachments sent under Tatar Khan as an advance pickets captured the³⁴ Talahati and 2 gates of Chittor, named Padai Pole and Bheta Pole (Jan. 31, 1533 A.D.) without any difficulty, as the Rajputs had evacuated these places and transferred the civil populations, to the fort. Mahmud Khan Asiri and Khudawand Khan reached there with the big cannons and heavy stock of arms and ammunitions. (Feb. 16, 1533 A.D.). After a few days, the Sultan himself arrived there and personally took great pains in arranging the siege operations. He kept^{35A} Tatar Khan and Medani Ray against

31. G. N. Sharma—Mewar and the Mughal Emperors p. 43.

32. Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 369.

32A. *Vir Vinod II* p. 27/Ojha I p. 594.

33. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* p. 178/Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 370.

34. *Ibid.*

Mahman Pole; Alif Khan against Lakhota Bari and Mallu Khan Sikandar Khan and other Malwa nobles against Dheli-Burj. The big cannon brought from Diu was placed on the southern hillock, named Chittori Burj and Rumi Khan was made incharge of it. He was asked for cannonading so fiercely that the walls of the fort be battered down. There were no sufficient preparations to cope with the situation. The Queen Mother also tried to obtain necessary help by sending^{34A} his envoy to Humayun, who did not response to her call.³⁵ Before a year, when Maharana marched to espouse the cause of Raisen, he was having 40,000 cavalry with him. But after this a good number of chiefs had alienated and only a few of them now rejoined him.

The successful firing from the artillery^{36A} began to batterdown the bastions and important buildings of the fort. The continuous cannonading caused a great horror which shuddered the people. The Rajput army soon reduced to straits and fall of the fort became apparent. The inhabitants perceiving that no help from outside became possible, contrived to settle the matter by negotiations. They thus requested to Queen Mother, who sent his zeikils to the camp of Bahadur Shah. The settlement was concluded on March 24, 1553 A.D. on these humiliating terms³⁶ :—

- (i) To surrender the districts of Malwa wrested by Sanga.
- (ii) To give the jewelled crown and golden belt taken from the Sultan of Malwa by Sanga.
- (iii) To make payment of five lacs Tarkas together with one hundred horses and ten elephants in form of indemnity.

This settlement had its far reaching results. The reputation earned from the courageous achievements of Sanga was greatly impaired by it. Taking benefit of such derogatory position of Mewar, the Sultan now tended to aggrandize himself with more territories of its dependancies.³⁷ For this purpose, he detached Burhan-ul-Mulk and Mujahid Khan against Ranthambhor and

^{34A.} *Ranaji Sri Sat* Lf. 81(b).

^{35.} G. N. Sharma—*op. cit.* p. 45.

^{35A.} *Mirat-i-Sikandari* p. 178; Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 371.

^{36.} *Mirat-i-Sikandari* pp. 178-79; Bayley *op. cit.* pp. 372; *Frishtah* Vol. IV p. 124; Tab III p. 369.

^{37.} *Mirat-i-Sikandari* pp. 179; Bayley p. 372.

Shamshir-ul-Mulk with twelve other officers against³⁸ Ajmer. As there were no sufficient army available, these forts soon fell in the hands of the Gujarat army.

Humayun, had successfully quelled the disturbances of Muhammad Zamin Mirza, who raised the standard of revolt by asserting vain pretensions. He soon managed to fly to the court of Bahadur Shah and took political asylum there. This had fomented animosity between Sultan Bahadur Shah and Humayun.³⁹ Bahadur Shah, who was seeing cherished dreams of conquering Delhi, detached Tatar Khan with a efficient army to march against the Mughal forces. This was the time when his power was rather at zenith.

Invasion of Bahadur Shah upon Chittor

Being encouraged⁴⁰ by the division of the Rajputs, Sultan Bahadur Shah planned to accomplish his innate desire to capture and devour the entire kingdom of Mewar. Few Rajput chiefs of Mewar who were then serving under the Sultan of Gujarat, also instigated him for invading Mewar. After making necessary preparations he marched against Chittor through Hadoti. A battle was fought at village Loicha, in Bundi, where Mewar forces were defeated. The Sultan continued his march and soon reached the suburbs of Chittor. At this critical time, a good number of chiefs of Mewar, Bundi etc. collected there responding to the appeal⁴¹ of Queen Mother. A War Council was convened and on its recommendations, Maharana Vikramaditya and his brother Udaisingh were removed to Bundi under the escort of Rawat Udayaditya, Chakrasena etc. Baghsingh⁴² of Devaliya was made incharge of the Rajput garrison posted in Chittor to defend the country.

38. Ajmer was then under Jagmal Parmar, which is evident from the colophon of MS. *Bharishya-Datta-Charita* संक्ष १५८ वर्ष मात्रिक मात्रे हम्बपते दीप बृहपति पासरे। अजमेर नहगङ वास्तवे राज ली वगदाह श्रीप्रभुरूपामे...
Dr. Kasliwal—*Prashasti-Sangraha* p. 149.
39. Bayley op. cit. pp. 374-375.
40. यदी पात्र आह थीरो दू' थाहपो यारीं मुद्दीर के ताईं दोहोत्र दुरा रेखाया—धर्माद्वितीय के राजपूत वस्ता वैठा है जिसे एक वयत है—[Rawal Ranaji ki Bat Lf. 84].
41. It is said that the chiefs reproached to Maharana for having his utter faith on *payakas* वीराण माप केता वा कि रजपूत दू'ही करे है। वारा ऐंडे एक भूषणी घोड़ दू' थोड़ी वस्तार है द्वृप चेसो करतेवा वायको रट फन हाय-देखने। [ibid.]
42. Ganganam—*Hari-Bhushan-Mahakavya* IV, verses 3-31 and V 1-20.

On hearing the destruction of his army, sent under command⁴³ of Tatar Khan against Humayun, Bahadur Shah was very much perturbed and discussed this matter with his chiefs. All of them unanimously desired to abandon the siege of Chittor and pursue Humayun first, except Sadar Khan, who laid stress to give priority on the reduction of Chittor. The Sultan acting on his advice left the idea to raise the siege. However, he cunningly dissuaded Humayun from any action⁴⁴ pretending that he was indulged in the battle with the infidels. The Queen Mother also attempted to get help by sending an emissary named Padma Shah to Humayun's court; but he in the words⁴⁵ of Donald F. Leach, remained strangely inactive. Dr. G.N. Sharma^{46A} is correct when he says that "Humayun's convictions proved ruinous to his own cause and destructive to the Rajputs. If at the proper moment he had attacked Bahadur Shah he would have killed two birds by one stone, fulfilling his duty of chivalry by responding to the Rajput appeal and saving himself from the botherations of following Bahadur Shah from place to place." Similar views have also been expressed by S.R. Sharma.

Siege-Operations

Proper arrangement of defence was made inside the fort. Attempts were also made not to keep any important bastion unprotected.⁴⁷ Baghsingh being the commandant of the army remained at Bherupole. Solanki Bherudas was posted in Hanumanpole, Rajarana Sajja and Singha remained in Ganeshpole, while Dodiya Bhan together with other Rajputs were posted to other important points.

Bahadur Shah left the direction⁴⁸ of the siege to Rumi Khan. He encouraged him by giving a false promise to appoint him as the Governor of this fort after its reduction. Rumi Khan, therefore, exerted himself in showing the strength of cannonading by placing

43. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* pp. 186-187/Piristah Vol. IV p. 126/Tab III p. 371.

44. B. K. Banerji—Humayun Badushah p. 68.

45. Donald F. Leach—*India in the Eyes of Europe* (16th century A.D.) Chicago, 422.

46A. G.N. Sharma—*op. cit.* The *Vanshavali* No. 877 (L. 68), 879 (L. 134) and *Royal Ranaji ki Bat* (L. 67) mention Humayun's visit at Chittor in order to help the Mabarans. But this account does not seem to be correct. He visited Chittor only to settle his scores with his brother Askari.

46. Ojha I pp. 398-99/Vir Vinod p. 51/Tod I p. 371.

47. Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 381/Piristah Vol. IV p. 126/Tab III p. 371.

his guns on the hillocks, situated in the southern extremity of the fort. A *sabot* was also excavated near Bika-Koh, which was blasted in the first week⁴⁹ of March 1535 A.D. Hada Arjun with more than 500 Rajputs were blown away by it. But the Rajput garrison was not disheartened and bravely defended the breach by repelling many assailants. The Queen Mother herself clad in armour, set an example of courageous devotion. In the words of a contemporary European writer, she successfully commanded⁵⁰ a detachment consisting of 2000 cavalry and good infantry. She, by her courageous actions, infused the feeling of do and die among the defenders.

The Rajput garrison, perceiving that no reinforcement was forthcoming, decided to fight a last battle. They were not prepared to defend against the cannonading which was so fierce that out side walls of the fort and bastions were badly damaged. They now decided⁵¹ to perform *Jauhar* of a good number of ladies including Queen Mother. Next day the gates were opened and the important chiefs named, Baghsingh of Devaliya, Solanki Bherudas of Desuri, Rajrana Sajja of Delwara, Duda, Salta, and Karma Chundawais, Dodiya Bhan etc. were slain while fighting. The fort was captured⁵² on March 8, 1535 A.D. The city was abandoned to plunder with a general massacre for 3 days. The Sultan now changed his mind and instead of fulfilling his promises to Rumi Khan, he appointed Malik Hassan Khan Bahadur-ul-Mulk as the Governor of Chittor.⁵³ Humayun, who was waiting like a silent spectator at Sarangpur, started towards Mandsaur, where a crushing defeat was inflicted on Bahadur Shah, who ran away after mercilessly destroying his treasures and other objects there.⁵⁴ Malik

49. रिका खोदी नीम सुरंग लकादो । रैवलीब हाव तुरज रहो । शोट च'छो उपरे राव जर्जुन हावो कु'दी रो पाव से लकुरा सू चाहे । *Raval Ranaji et Bar* (MS) Lf. 85.
49. Donald F. Leach—*op. cit.* p. 422.
50. एतेवि हावी शभर हवार टेरेहु जनाया थावे घडी बीध हवार ठकुर काम आया । *Raval Ranaji et Bar* (MS) Lf. 86. Besides, a good number of ladies and children also suicided [*Nenasi ki Khvat*].
51. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* p. 187.
52. In *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, it is mentioned that the Sultan was desirous of fulfilling his promise to Rumi Khan, but his nobles dissuaded him. Therefore, he changed his mind. However, this action proved fatal and the tragic end of Mandsaur battle was due to the treacherous move of Rumi Khan.
53. Bayley—*op. cit.* p. 385/Taf III p. 374/Firistah Vol. IV pp. 127128.

Hassan Khan might have left Chittor immediately after the defeat of Sultan at Mandsaur. According to *Hari-Bhusan-Mahakavya*, Raja Singh, son of Baghsingh of Devaliya held the fort, till Vikramaditya came from Bundi.⁵⁴

Assassination of Vikramaditya

According to *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat*, Vikramaditya, even after the above catastrophe he was not desirous to improve his relations with his important chiefs and sometimes admonished and even derided at them. Once he behaved scornfully towards his two leading chiefs,⁵⁵ who instigated Banvir to assassinate him. Accordingly his life was cut short in V. E. 1592 through a wanton⁵⁶ plot by Banvir, the natural son of Prithviraj.

The Jhaliya-Plate

Among the copper plates of Vikramaditya, the Jhaliya-plate is very important. It was issued on the 11th day of bright half of Vaishakh V.E. 1589, when Maharana went to celebrate his marriage in Mandalgarh. It also contains the name of Rawat Bhawanimal and Hada Arjun, who stand as the witnesses.⁵⁷ However, we do not find the name of the chief of Mandalgarh in it. But it can be conjectured that Rawat Bhawanimal referred to above was probably of the Solanki race, who held this fort as the Jaleshwar temple inscription of Mandalgarh⁵⁸ dated V.E. 1617 contains the name of its chief of Solanki race with his title as Rawat. The Balanot-Solankies held this fort for a long time.

Banvir

Soon after the assassination of Vikramaditya, the assassin also attempted in stabbing Udaisingh, the younger brother

54. Gangaram—*Hari-Bhusan-Mahakavya* stanza V verter 20-28.

55. In *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* (MS) (Lf. 89) the name of Karmachandra Panwar is mentioned among the disgruntled chiefs. But he was slain in the battle of Khanawa and his son Jagmal was ruling over Ajmer in V.E. 1589, which is evident from a colophon of MS. *Bhavisya-Datta-Charita* (Kashiwal—Prashasti Sangraha Supra p. 186 fo.

56. *Vamshavallis* (MS) No. 877 Lf. 68/No. 878 Lf. 138/*Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* Lf. 90/MS. *Rajawali* mentions उमरव सारा भेला। एवह वान यी भेला नहीं।

57. स्वस्त्र यी पहारआदीराज महाराजा ओ विक्रादित्य आदेशातु—यी उनी भावभक्ती पाठ यीवा पदारपा वाई तथा परलगा नाया तिरो चोरी भवे ददक किहो। रा० यी रावत भवानी दास यी हाता अरबन विरामन—स्वस्त्र १५८६ वर्ष ईसाव सुरि ११ [The Jhaliya copper plate]

58. सिंध ओ संस्कृ १६१७ वर्ष यातोहर सुरि ११—रावत यी बसी भरकींगा योलानी राज यी जालेसुर यीरो प्राप्तोद उद्धरयो...[Unpublished inscription of Mandalgarh]

and successor of Vikramaditya to death. But the latter was saved due to the fidelity of Panna-Dhay, who sacrificed his own son.

Banvir did not consider himself safe in Chittor. He at first tried to appease the public by granting remission in levy of taxes. His Ram pole inscription of Chittor dated V.E. 1593 also mentions remission in custom duty from the Brahmins⁶² and the Charans. Several land grants were issued⁶³ to the important Brahmins. In the memory⁶⁴ of Maharana Sanga a *javati* (Step-well ?) was also got constructed by him in V.E. 1585. But these attempts did not give fruitful results. The important chiefs deserted him one by one and subsequently he was defeated by Udaisingh in V. E. 1598. In the words of Arya Ramchandra⁶⁵ he was a brave, great and magnificent ruler. But his illegitimate birth brought his fall.

Mirabai

Mirabai, the daughter of Medatiya Biramdeva's brother Ratnasingh, was born at village⁶⁶ Kudaki. Her date of birth is not precisely known. But it seems that she was born⁶⁷ after 1600 A.D. Col. Tod mentions that she was a most celebrated princess of her time for beauty and piety. It is said that her uncle Biramdeva looked after her and brought her up at Medata in V. E. 1578 (1616 A.D.). She was given away in marriage to Maharana Sanga's eldest son Bhojraj, who did not enjoy a long life and died in V.E. 1580 (1623 A.D.). The death of her husband in prime of youth changed the course of her life and she devoted herself completely to Lord Krishna. During the reign of Maharana Vikramaditya, she had to face great hardships. The ruling prince did not relish her excessive devotion to religion and piety and compelled her to shun these

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59. महाराजाधिराज महाराणा भी बनवीर जादेलातु समसत चारण वरामन बोग्य ताम दपान
मृगति कोटी [The Rampole inscription of Chittor edited by the Author in
Parada.]
 60. महाराजाधिराज महाराणा भी बनवीर [भावे] चार... हजार बाष्ठड शहठ कोटी बोग्यी चोलान
[ibid.]
 61. महाराजाधिराज महाराणा भी बनवीर भी यावेशातु—यमाकीषी भर्या पाहडी कोटी चोला
की चोलारी पद्ध कोटी [ibid.]
 62. L.H.Q. Vol XXX No. 4 p. 811.
 63. Dr. Kalyan Singh Sekhawat mentions the village Bijoli and not Kudaki as the birth place of Mirabai. [Mirabai Ki Jivan Yatra Aur Karya p. 46.] But he has quoted no authority. The MS *Mira-Parichayi* specifically mentions the village Kudaki as the birth place of Mirabai.
 64. *Vir Bhumi Chittor* by the Author pp. 134-135.

activities. It is also said that he hatched a plot to cut her life short. In such circumstances, she had to leave Mewar and went to Medata. Luck befell her there also. Maldeva, the ruler of Jodhpur, soon captured it and compelled its chief Biramdeva to ramble in vain towards Chatasu Tonk etc. Mirabai, then made up her mind to perform pilgrimage to various Hindu shrines of Northern India. It is said that in 1604 A.D., when she was in Dwarika, Maharana Udaisingh went there to bring her back to Chittor. Legend goes that, while dancing in front of the Portrait of Lord Krishna, she beseeched his ever lasting affection. The Portrait extended its arms and engulfed her body making her disappear from earth. The above legend gives us an idea that she died at Dwarika.

Mirabai's devotional songs contain tender expression and are widely sung. It is believed that she imbibed ideas of dedications to Lord Krishna from her early childhood and maintained it throughout her life. This was the time, when Ramanand founded a new sect and taught *Bhakti-Marg*, according to which salvation can be attained through devotion irrespective of caste creed sex etc. Mirabai was highly influenced by his teachings and decried in her songs all worldly discriminations between man and man. She thus laid a stress on adoption of *Bhakti-Marga* for attainment of salvation and disfavoured complicated and manifold activities of yog, sacrifice and asceticism. According to her, it is rather a mirage to seek happiness in this transitory world. Her songs are, therefore, expressive of a true and deep rooted desire for God. She preferred *Madhurya Bhakti*. Even today several widows, who lead religious and secluded life are called "Mirabais". They profess to follow Mirabai. Out of several poetic compositions attributed to Mirabai, the songs are very famous.

The Ekling temple inscription (V.E. 1592)

The Ekling Math inscription of V.E. 1592 records that saint Narhari, who was the pupil of Vishwanath, got renovation⁶⁰ of the monestary attached to the said temple done. It gives an idea that Pashupati saints removed by Maharana Kumbha could not succeed in regaining their posts. Maharana Sanga perhaps, appointed Vishwanath to lookafter regular worship of the shrine. This inscription was

65. एकलिंगमठेऽध्यः श्रीमद्वैष्णवमठिन् स्थापित ब्रह्मस्तुतान् गरह्यतः
[Unpublished inscription]

composed by Dashora Parashuram.⁶⁶ He remained a poet in the court of Maharana Sanga also. The *Shatrunjaya Tirthoddhar Prabandh* mentions his debate with a Jain saint at Chittor.

The Annapurna temple inscription of Chittor (V.E. 1598)

Few Surah inscriptions of the time of Banvir incised at Rampura gate of Chittor were edited and published by the Author of this book, in *Shodh Patrika* and *Varada*. One more interesting inscription of his reign engraved in Annapurna temple of Chittor, mentions his grant in perpetuity of village Arawar. It is interesting to note that he had given away this charity immediately after perpetrating the foul murder of Vikramaditya.

The inscription also records the pious donations of the villages namely Kundal, Khedi, Chogawadi and Panotya by Maharana Kumbha, Raimal, Sanga and Ratnasingh respectively.⁶⁷

66. अन्नपुरा शत्रीय पंचित पूर्णोदाम हठेय शत्रीयः [ibid.]

67. The *Shatrunjaya Tirthoddhar Prabandh* Cont. I.

68. *Vir Bhami Chittor* p. 248 by the Author.

(a) Maharana Udaisingh

As already stated, Maharana Vikramaditya was assassinated by Banvir, who in order to perpetuate his rule also attempted to murder Udaisingh, the brother and successor of Vikramaditya. But the dutiful nurse Pannadhay, saved the life of the above young prince¹ and intentionally placed his own son to be stabbed to death by the said assassin. After successfully removing him from the palace, Udaisingh was taken to Devaliya and Dungarpur, but the rulers of these places, fearing the consequence of detection, refused to extend any sort² of help. Thence he was also taken to Idar. But finding insufficient supporters there also, he was taken to Kumbhalgarh, where Ashashah Devapura, the *kiledar* of the place, gladly agreed to espouse his pretensions by giving him shelter there. According to *Rawal-Ranaji ri-Bat*³ (MS), his existence remained hidden there for seven years and this secret was eventually betrayed by his aristocratic appearance. But this statement requires some corrections. On the basis of the following copper plates, brought to light by Dr Ramchandra Siwari,⁴ it can be said that he was already enthroned in V.E. 1593 (1586 A.D.), as the ruler of Mewar with Ashashah as his Pradhan.

(i) The copper plate grant dated the⁵ first day of dark half of Posh VE. 1593 (1586 A.D.) mentions the donation of some pieces of land in village Banasi by Maharana Udaisingh.

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1. Udaisingh was removed with the help of a woman of Bari caste, perhaps through Lakhota Bari. [*Rawal-Ranaji ri Bat* (MS) Lf. 89/I, H.Q. XXX No. 4 p. 311 fn. 38]
 2. *Vamshavali* (MS) No. 877 Lf. 69/No. 873 Lf. 136/ *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* (MS) Lf. 90-91.
 3. *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* (MS) Lf. 99.
 4. *Journal of the University of Poona* Vol. IV and *Journal of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XXXVIII.
 5. મહારાજાના જાહાજા વર્દેસયાંગો બાદેશાટુ પંચસામા જાત દોષથી માટ્ય ગાંધે કારી પડયાના કાણથી રે કમીના...દા ૧૫૮૮ [ibid]

(ii) The copper plate grant dated the 16th day^{6A} of bright half of Kartika V.E. 1594 records Udaisingh as the ruler of Kumbhalgarh.

(iii) The copper plate dated the 18th day⁶ of bright half of Posh V.E. 1596, mentions the grant by Maharana Udaisingh to Derashri Shiv of village Bijagot.

(iv) The copper plate grant dated the 2nd day of dark half of Phagan V.E. 1597 (1540 A.D.)⁷ was issued in favour of Thakur Ganga and Bagha of Nadol by Maharana Udaisingh.

The above plates are very important in shaping the history of this period. On the basis of these plates, we can say that Udaisingh was rather busy in reviving his authority in western Mewar.

When the news of Udaisingh's arrival at Kumbhalgarh reached Chitor, Banvir,⁸ at first, had no reliance on it. However, when the spies deputed by him for this purpose confirmed it, he was very much perturbed. Fearing the adoption of some retributive measures against his life, he built a massive wall to protect his palaces. Day by day, important chiefs and his supporters started alienate him.

Udaisingh and his supporters initially restrained from coming into clash with Banvir and desired to concentrate themselves in consolidating their power. They took necessary help from the Sonagaras and the Sanchoras of Marwar. Akheraj Sonagara of Pali with Rathor Kumpa, Chauhan Bhagawandas, Sanchora Prithviraj etc. came for this purpose at the camp Nadol.⁹ The poet Sandu Rama, who also accompanied them, appeared before Maharana and versified some songs, eulogizing the heroic and adventurous deeds of Maharana Sanga. In order to develop more cordial relations between them, Sonagara Akheraj gave away his daughter in marriage to Maharana. It is said that at the time of the celebrating this marriage, the Sonagaras and the Sanchoras promised to succour him in gaining the throne of Mewar.

6. महाराजाविराज महाराणा रवीरवंशकी आदेशात् वैरासी सिधः शोध नाथ बीजगोल... द्वंद्व
१५८६ वर्षे पोख युद्धे १५ दूए और युद्ध चाह युद्ध [ibid]

7. महाराजाविराज महाराणा शोध नाथवंशकी आदेशात् काकुर गांगा रामुर बाला... शो १५८७
वर्षे कालगंग युद्ध [ibid]

8. Rawal Ranaji r/ Baf (MS) Lf. 94-95.

9. Vamshavali No. 877 (Lf. 69) mentions that Udaisingh fought with some Hajji Khan at Nadol. But Rawal Ranaji r/ Baf does not mention it.

6A. महाराजाविराज महाराणा रवीरवंशकी आदेशात्... शो १५८४ यात्रिक युद्धे १५ [ibid]

Soon all the important chiefs of Mewar and Pali joined the Maharana at Kumbhalgarh. At the same time, he also succeeded in obtaining necessary help from the rulers of Sirohi, Bundi and Idar.¹⁰ Two important chiefs of Maholi and Tana abstained themselves in attending him. Maharana, thus, after collecting the forces^{10A} marched against Maholi in V.E. 1597 (1540 AD.). Banvir also sent a detachment under Tomar Kunwarsingh. Both these forces came into a violent clash and fought with great ferocities.¹¹ Solonky Meda, the chief of Maholi and Tomar Kunwarsingh were slain while fighting. Proceeding thence, the Maharana marched against Tana, which was under Sankhala Maloji, who ably defended the place for more than a month. One day, when he was going out alone was seen by the soldiers of Udaisingh. They at once assaulted on him and killed him there. Thus, Tana¹² was captured. Now Banvir shut himself in the capital. Proceeding from Tana, Maharana Udaisingh laid a siege to the fort of Chittor. It is mentioned in the *Rawal-Ranaji¹³ ni Bat* that Banvir's ministers had betrayed him and allowed one thousand soldiers of Udaisingh to enter into the fort of Chittor, under the garb of reinforcement of food supplies. These soldiers, on entering into the fort, soon killed the soldiers of Banvir and captured the fort. Maharana Udaisingh, showing magnanimity, did not kill Banvir and allowed him to go out with his family from Chittor. According to *Amar-kavya-Vamshavali¹⁴* he first moved towards Jawar and thereafter left for central India and settled on the bank of the river Rewa.

The date of this event is generally mentioned as V.E. 1597, which seems to have been taken from the *Amar-kavya-Vamshavali¹⁵*. But on the basis of the following contemporary evidence, we do not find this date as authentic one.

10. *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* (MS) Lf. 98.

10A. Maharana Udaisingh was having 20,000 cavalry with him, while Banvir's allies had only 10,000. [For details see Arya Ramchandra Tiwari's paper—Maharana Udaisingh and Sur Emperor of Delhi—I.H.Q. XXX No. 4 p. 311].

11. *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* Lf. 98/*Vamshavali* No. 877 Lf. 69/No. 875 Lf. 136.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid* Lf. 99–100/The *Vamshavali* No. 877 Lf. 69/No. 873 Lf. No. 136/*Amar Kavya Vamshavali* Lf. No. 24

14. *Amar Kavya Vamshavali* Lf. No. 24

15. वर्द्धे सप्तमवत्याक्ष्येऽपि पंचदशे लक्षे द्वाहीकरमेति श्रीमानुषविजयोऽपि किञ्चकृते प्रविद्यः (*Ibid*)

(i) The colophone of MS. *Upasaka-Dashanga-Sutra*¹⁶, which was copied at Chittor on the 8th day of dark half of Phalgun V.E. 1597 (1540 A.D.), mentions Banvir as the ruler of the place.

(ii) Similarly, the colophone of MS. *Sthananga-Sutra*¹⁷, which was copied at Chittor on the 10th day of bright half of Ashadh V.E. 1597 (1540 A.D.), also records Banvir as its ruler. Therefore, it is clear that by the end of V.E. 1597 (1540 A.D.), Udaisingh could not have captured Chittor. In this way it can be said that this event took place in V.E. 1598(1541 A.D.). The *Khyats* of Marwar^{18A} mention that Maharana Udaisingh presented an elephant named Basaniray with four lakh Firozi coins to Maldeva, in lieu of the services rendered by the Rathors. But this account is not corroborated from any other sources of Mewar.

Invasion of Maldeva

At the beginning of his reign Maharana Udaisingh had to face the growing opposition of the Rathors. It is said that Maldeva was desirous to marry his own sister in law, and for fulfilment of his desire he pressed her father Jhala Jainsingh. Fearing possibility of retribution against him, Jhala at that time, half heartedly, gave his consent. But after a few days, he married her to Maharana Udaisingh. This had sowed the seeds of animosity between these two houses. Maldeva felt it as his personal insult and endeavoured to obtain her by force. He, therefore, despatched a strong force under the command of Panchayan Karmasingot and Bida Bharmalot against Kumbhalgarh. Maharana¹⁸ successfully defended the fort and repulsed the invasion. This had given a good name to him. But a long standing rupture manifested between them.

Sher Shah and Chittor

Abbas Khan Sarawani mentions in the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*^{19A} that Sher Shah marched against Chittor in A.H. 950 (1543 A.D.),

16. शंख १५९८ वर्षे काल्यम् राजे न बृष्टवारे शी खितकूट दुर्गे राजाधिराज भी बलवीर राजे... [A.M. Shah—*Prashasti-Sangraha* p. 96].

17. शंख १५९८ वर्षे आवाह शुद्धि १० लोडे । शी खितकूट बालंगद याराजाधिराज भी बलवीर राजे... [*Ibid*].

17A. Mangilal Vyas—*Jodhpur Raja ka Itihas* pp. 100-102.

18. *Vamshavali* No. 873 Lf. 197.

18A. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (Dhaka 1964) pp. 198-199; Elliot and Dowson IV p.406; S.B.P. Nigam—*Suri-Vamsha ka Itihas* ■. 215.

after having dispersed Maldeva's forces. When he was about 12 Kos from Chittor the Maharana surrendered the keys of the fort to him. Firistah's statement is some what different. According to him, Maharana concluded¹⁹ some settlement with Sher Shah. Abbas Khan²⁰ also mentions that Sher Shah after taking it into his possession appointed Shams Khan, the younger brother of Khawas Khan, Miyan Ahmad Sirawani and Hussain Khan Khilji there. According to *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*²¹, an Afghan garrison consisting of 3000 soldiers was also posted there for its protection. The *Afashana-e-Shahan*²² adds that Khawas Khan got constructed a masque in the Talabati of Chittor and excavated several tanks and step wells in Mewar. He is also said to have fortified several hillocks in north eastern Mewar. A road connecting Chittor with Agra was also constructed. During this time, Hussain Khan Tastadar, one of the officers of Sher Shah, going from Sindh²³ to Bengal visited Chittor. All these accounts prove that not only Chittor, but also the north-eastern Mewar was successfully wrested by Sher Shah.

However the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* and *Tarikh-i-Shahi* do not at all mention the Sultan's visit at Chittor. According to *Tarikh-i-Daudi*²⁴ Sher Shah, after bringing the country of Marwar into his possession paid his visit to the shrine of Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chisti and returned to Agra at the end of A.H. 960 (1543 A.D.). In this way, it does not mention the march of Sultan towards Chittor. Col Tod, who had mainly relied upon the Rajput-sources, does not mention²⁵ this event. But modern scholars like K.R. Qanungo, G.H. Ojha etc. give due credence to the statement of Abbas Sarawani. Qanungo²⁶ observes that Sher Shah acquired Chittor, without any

19. G. N. Sharma—Mewar and the Mughal Emperors pp. 55-56.
20. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shah* p. 199.
21. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* by Shekh Rizkulla Mushtaqi (MS) Lf. 99/Billot and Dowson IV p. 531.
22. *Afashana-e-Shahan* (MS) by Shekh Muhammad Kabir Lf. 192-193/S.B.P. Nigam op. cit. p. 115.
23. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* (MS) Lf. 97.
24. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (Abdullah) p. 129/The *Afashana-e-Shahan* mentions that Maharana, on hearing the march of Sultan in his country, made necessary preparations to meet him.
25. Tod I p. 255.
26. K. R. Qanungo—Sher Shah, p. 329.

difficulty, as no stiff resistance was made by the ruler of Mewar, who had not yet recovered from the evil-effects of the civil-dissensions. G.H. Ojha says²⁷ that Udaisingh considered it unwise to fight with Sher Shah and managed to surrender the keys of the fort. G.N. Sharma,²⁸ elucidates the point by saying that Udaisingh, finding himself unable to drive away the invader from Mewar sent the keys to Sher Shah, when he was encamping at Jahazpur. The Sultan wisely accepted and desisted his march. In the words of G.N. Sharma, Sher Shah's possession over Chittor remained nominal. Dr. Ramchandra Tiwari²⁹ believes that there had been several engagements with the forces of Sher Shah between Ajmer and Chittor. But according to him the guerilla bands of Mewar could not impede the progress of Sultan, who continued his march up to Chittor, where no opposition was made.

A careful study of the above chronicles proves that neither the Sultan nor his chiefs were prepared to fight any battle at that time with the Rajputs. According to *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*³⁰, Sher Shah's nobles represented to him that as the rainy season was approaching, it was advisable to go into cantonments. Hearing this, Sher Shah replied "I will spend the rainy season in a place, where I can carry out my work" and marched towards the fort of Chittor. This statement gives an idea of self-conceited feelings of the Sultan. The fact should have been otherwise. This fort, where two important rivers flow from opposite directions, could not have been successfully invested during the rainy-season. We know during the medieval times, whenever any Sultan laid a siege to this fort, full preparations were made for a month³¹ under his personal supervision. Similarly the surrendering of keys by Udaisingh, in order to yield himself before the Sultan, might be an imaginary creation of the Persian writers. A ruler having three important³² strongholds like Kumbhal-

27. Ojha I p. 406.

28. G. N. Sharma—Mewar and the Mughal Emperors pp. 55-56.

29. I.H.Q. XXX No. 4 p. 511.

30. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (Dhaka 1964) p. 190.

31. Sultan Al-ud-din Khilji, Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Akbar when invested this fort, full preparations were made for a month or two.

32. For details see Author's paper "Sher Shah Aur Chittor published in *Sodh Pariksa* Vol. XXIV No. 3-4 pp. 105-107.

garh, Chittor and Mandalgarh could not have surrendered himself without fighting, specially when he was having full support of the chiefs of Mewar, Pali, Bundi, Sirohi etc. Had he surrendered the keys of the fort, he should have also repeated the same during the time of Akbar. In this way, it can be concluded that account of surrendering of keys is merely an imaginary creation of the Persian-Chroniclers. The *Afashana-e-Shahen* mentions that Maharana, on hearing the march of Sultan in his country, made necessary preparations to meet him and the fort of Chittor was also repaired. This shows that the account of *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* is full of exaggerations and hardly worthy of credence.

It seems that the Sultan, leaving his army in the suburb of Ajmer, returned to Agra by the end of A.H. 960 (1543 A.D.). He, after spending a few months there, rejoined his forces about the middle of June 1544 A.D. The local traditions³³ believe that Sher Shah remained encamped at Jahazpur, for a considerable period. While living there his army might have come into clash with some guerilla³⁴ bands of Mewar and skirmishes had taken place. The Sultan from there marched against Khinchiwara and detached his son Adil Shah against Ranathambhor. This proves that he might not have gone against Chittor.

Sher Shah and Kumbhalgarh

An inscription of V.E. 1540 (1540 A.D.) incised in a stepwell ■ Toda Rai Singh (Distt Tonk) refers to the name of Solanki Ramchandra³⁵ as a local chief of the place. It also mentions the name of Udaisingh ■ the ruler of Kumbhalgarh and Islam Shah as the ruler of Delhi. Basing on this inscription, D.C. Sircar observes³⁶ that Udaisingh remained a subordinate vassal of Islam Shah. According to him, mentioning of Rana Udaisingh as a ruler of Kumbhalgarh seems ■ suggest that he was staying at this place till the end of

33. ■ N. Sharma—op. cit. pp. 55-56.

34. विस्तीर्णः बेरकारिकेस्त वैरी महानपूर्वः ।
नद्योतोदवस्थिषुपूर्वात् हस्ताम्भः ॥

(Amar Karya Varushawali M.S. L. 24).

35. संवत् १५०४.....राज वी रामचन्द्र राज्ये वर्तमाने—पाति शाहि देव लाहि पूरि । उस पुल पश्च लाहि असतम साहि । की शारी वर्तमाने । सर्वे शूषि की दरब, जोया लाक ११ को इसमु राज वी इंसान देव । उस पुल उदयसिंह देव एवं तुंडमनेर राज्ये वर्तमाने..... [For details see Authors paper—The Solankies of Toda published ■ Sambodhi]

36. I.H.Q. Vol. XXX No. 1 p. 25.

1547 A.D., while the fort of Chittor continued to be in the possession of the Afghan-Governors. However, his views were challenged by Dr. Ramchandra³⁷ Tiwari ,according to whom, the above inscription does not record any such fact. It simply enumerates the names of the important rulers of Delhi and Chittor, to whom the Solankies of Toda owed their allegiance. Such inscriptions were³⁸ also found from Rampura, Bundi, Sitamau etc., having the names of the rulers of Mewar and the Mughal Emprors of Delhi. Therefore, on the basis of this inscription, we can not deduce any such finding. Kumbhalgarh had remained an important seat of the rulers of Mewar and Godawne was also governed from there. Most of the coins of Maharanra Kunibha and Sanga³⁹ also bear the name of this fort on them. Similarly several inscriptions of Kumbha⁴⁰ simply describe him as a ruler of Kunibhalgarh. On the basis of these, we can argue that the Toda Raisingh inscription also mention the name of Kumbhalgarh, probably on the same lines.

Other Victories

On the death of Sher Shah, his son Islam Shah succeeded him. Adil-Khan, another son of Sher Shah, who was⁴¹ the Governor of Ranathambhor contested for the throne and intestine feuds ensued. Khawas Khan, who was the incharge of western Rajasthan espoused the cause of Adil-Khan. Islam Shah hatched a plot against him by informing him with solemn oath that he had forgiven⁴² all his seditious offences and begged him to attend the court, so that he might be sent against the Rana of Mewar, who had stung into rebellion. At the same time he also despatched a secret communication to the Governor of Sambhal to put him to death. This statement is rather interesting and gives an idea to us that Rana had upto that time attempted for the expulsion of the Afghans from his dependencies in Hadoti, Khichiwara, Kanthal Mandsaur etc. We can fix the dates

37. *Ibid* Vol. XXX No. 4 p. 311.

38. *Ibid* Vol. XXXI No. 3 p. 274.

39. Roshnai Samar—The Coins of Mewar (Published in J. N. S. I. Vol. XXV, Part 1, p. 67 plate V.)

40. *Supra* p. 142 fn. 86.

41. *Tarikh-i-Khan Zahari-a-Makharan-i-Afghan* (by Sayyid Muhammad Imamud-din) Dhaka 1960 p. 352.

42. *Tarikh-i-Shahi* by Ahmad Yadgar pp. 251-52.

on the basis of the contemporary Jain sources. Several Jain MSS, which were copied in Ranathambhor, Toda, Nenawa etc., may help us in shaping the history of this period. The colophone of *Jingadatta-Charita* copied at Ranathambhor in⁴³ V.E. 1006 (1549 A.D.) mentions Khizra Khan as Governor under Islam Shah. The colophones of *Yasodhar Charita*⁴⁴ of V.E. 1610 (1553 A.D.) mentions Solanki Ramchandra of Toda as a vassal of Islam Shah Sur. But in the colophone of *Naya-Kumar-Charita*⁴⁵ of V.E. 1612 (1555 A.D.) no such mention is available. The *Amar-Kavya-Vamshavali*⁴⁶ describes that Maharana Udaisingh, after successfully expelling the Afghans from Toda, assigned it to Solanki Ramchandra. The above event might have placed about 1554-55 A.D. This was the time when various Afghan Governors were badly indulged in their own affairs. The civil dissensions and insurrections had also broken out in various parts of the state which had weakened the kingdom. Sujjat Khan, the Afghan Governor⁴⁷ of Malwa had suffered a lot at the hands of Islam Shah. These circumstances helped Udaisingh in⁴⁸ capturing a vast territory in Basad, Khinchwara, Hadoti, Merwara etc, and distributed it among his chiefs. Saindas was granted Gagron, Barod, Bhesarodgarh and Begam. Ramsah Tomar was gratified by granting some territory in Basad. According to *Fateh Nama*⁴⁹ issued by Akbar Maharana was having his possession over this territory upto 1587 A.D.

Maharana Udaisingh seems to have followed a definite policy. He distributed these Jagirs in order to prepare a strong defence line. He granted Bundi to Rao Surjan by ousting Rao Surtan. Rampura was under Rao Durga, who owed his allegiance to him. In this way he made necessary arrangement in his kingdom by granting land in profusion to the prominent families.

43. K.C. Kasliwal—*Rajasthan-Ka-Jain-Bhandaon ki Suchi* Vol. III p. 69.

44. K.C. Kasliwal—*Prashasti-Sangraha* p. 163.

45. *Ibid* p. 113.

46. *Amar-Kavya-Vamshavali* (MS) L.t. 24.

47. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. IV pp. 489-452.

48. *Amar-Kavya-Vamshavali* (MS) L.t. 24.

49. *Fateh Nama* (MS) Abul Kasim Namkin Myskhians Namkin MS. (Aligarh) L.t. 25(a) to 32(b).

Invasion against Dungarpur (1556 A.D.)

Maharana, after settling the affairs of the eastern Rajasihān, paid his attention towards the Vagadā and Chappan. He asked the rulers of Dungarpur and Banswara to owe their allegiance⁵⁰ to him. The ruler of Banswara agreed. But the ruler of Dungarpur was dissuaded by his chiefs named Sanwaldas and Karmasi Chauhans not to accept any such humiliating proposals. He, therefore, resented. Maharana sent his forces under the command of Rawat Jagga against Dungarpur. Both these forces came into a violent clash on the bank of the river Mahi, wherein the Mewar army was disasterously defeated and its Commander Jagga was also slain. Bagadiya Chauhans Karansingh and Sanwaldas displayed⁵¹ conspicuous gallantry and both met heroic death while fighting. The Baneshwar inscription of V.E. 1617 (1600 A.D.)⁵² of Maharawal Ashakarna records the heroic victory of the army of Dungarpur over Mewar forces. Thus relations⁵³ between Maharana and the ruler of Dungarpur remained hostile for a few years.

Battle of Haramada (1557 A.D.)

Maharana Udaisingh's battle with Hazi Khan is often described at length in the Persian Chronicles. The reasons of provocations are differently described in the *khyats* of Mewar and the Persian Chronicles. According to the Persian Chronicles Akbar, on coming to throne, sent Fir Muhammad Sirwani against Hazi Khan, who was then ruling in Mewar. On arrival of the Mughal army Hazi Khan left the place and proceeded towards Gujrat with 6000 cavalry and 160 elephants. Abu-l-Fazl mentions "Rana Udaisingh, who was a great ruler demanded certain things from him and put⁵⁴ him to intolerable troubles."⁵⁵ Similar account is also available in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*,⁵⁶ according to which Rana demanded from him 40 maunds

50. *Amar Kavya-Vamshavali* Lf. 24.

51. *Prachin-Rajasthani-Geet* (Udaipur) Vol. VII pp. 40-57.

52. पूर्वोरमानपो योगावसानणः शिवान्तः । यस्य निष्ठरवर्गेभ्येवपाटप्रचिज्ञितम् ॥१६॥
The Baneshwar temple inscription of V.E. 1617.

53. The *Amar Kavya* mentions "प्रसापो यागवादेभो रावलो मृत्यु चाक्षत् । परार्द्ध यायवा वीरामकाण्ड्य राघवः । इय मूरका कुते एवं इदातो..." But the ruler of Dungarpur did not paid any tribute during that time to the ruler of Mewar.

54. *Akbar Nama* by Abu-l-Fazl (Translated by H. Beveridge) Vol. II pp. 71-72

55. *Ibid.* p. 71 fn.

of gold, an elephant named Ichhiya, and a dancing girl named Rangrai. Niamat-ul-lah in the *Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahan Lodi*⁵⁶ repeats the same facts and adds that Hazi Khan was deeply indignant on unusual demand for Rangrai, who according to him was an inseparable member of his seraglio. He was, however, prepared to give away gold and elephant, but the Maharana did not agree and a battle became imminent.

The *Kiyats* of Marwar record⁵⁷ some other details. According to these, when Hazi Khan was proceeding towards Gujrat, Maldeva intercepted his march by attacking upon him. Finding himself unsafe he sued for help to Maharana, who responding to his call marched to espouse his cause. On hearing the arrival of Mewar army the Ruthors left the field and Hazi Khan was saved from an impending danger. However, when he could not fulfil the exorbitant demand of Maharana, in lieu of the military help rendered by him, the Mewar forces assailed upon him. This time he requested for help to Maldeva, who consented and marched against the Mewar forces.

The battle between the two contending parties named Hazi Khan and Maharana Udaisingh took place at village Hiraramada in Jan. 1557 A.D. Both these forces came into a violent clash and a fierce battle ensued for more than three hours. The Mewar forces displayed conspicuous gallantry. According to *Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahan-Lodi*,⁵⁸ not a single Afghan was seen with not less than five wounds. Perhaps, at this time Maldeva joined the battle in the side of Hazi Khan. On arrival of reinforcement from Marwar Maharana left the field. Hazi Khan, according to the *Akbar-Nama*,⁵⁹ soon captured Ajmer. Although, the *Amar-Kavya Vaishnavaali*,⁶⁰ mentions that Maharana had successfully routed out the Afghans and continued his possession over Ajmer, but this version does not seem to be correct.

56. *Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahan Lodi* by Niamat-ul-lah (Edited by S. M. Imam-ud-din (Dhaka) p. 349/S. B. P. Nigam—*op. cit.* 375).

57. *Jodhpur Kiyat* I p. 76/Nenshi (Ungar) Vol. I p. 61-62/Reu—*Marwar-Ka-lithas* I pp. 136-137/D. L. Vyas—*Marwar-Ka-lithas*.

58. *Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahan Lodi* p. 72.

59. *Akbar Nama* II p. 71.

60. अबरेत य यशाह मुरसालाय ह सदी । रथाय महं देराव फलमेन्यो गृहीतवान् ॥
Amar Kavya Vaishnavaali L. 24.

This battle had far reaching results. It had ruptured the relations between the ruling families of Marwar and Mewar. Maharana's obstinacy to fulfil his demand for a dancing girl, named Rangrai, proved ruinous and humiliating to his cause.

Forts of Ranathambhor and Gwalior

During the time of Islam Shah Sur, the fort of Ranathambhor was under the Governorship⁶¹ of Jajjar Khan, whose names as Sangram Khan and Hijaz Khan are also mentioned in the *Munt-Khab-ul-Tawarikh*⁶² and *Tarikh-i-Afz*⁶³ respectively. Akbar in 1560 A.D. despatched his army under the command of Habib Ali Khan to reduce the fort, but he failed. Jajjar Khan desired to vacate the fort, on getting some ready money, for which the Mughal commander did not agree. After a few days, Hada Surjan managed⁶⁴ to take possession of it, on making requisite payment to Jajjar Khan. Under the instructions of Maharana he also extended his sway upto Shivpuri, Abu-l-Fazl in *Akbar-Nama* asserts that Rana Uday Singh's⁶⁵ feudatory Rao Surjan had forcibly seized several villages in the vicinity of the said fort. Akbar made several abortive attempts to wrest this fort. Rao Surjan's penetration upto Shivpuri is confirmed by Al-Badaoni. According to him Akbar sent his forces in 1550 A.D. against Hada Surjan under the command of Hussain Khan,⁶⁶ who is said to have performed brilliant exploits at Shivpuri and compelled him to shut himself up in the fort of Ranathambhor. But after a few days due to rebellion of Khan Khana, Hussain Khan returned back to Agra and Hada Surjan succeeded in recapturing Shivpuri. According to *Fateh Nama*⁶⁷, when Akbar invaded Chittor Maharana was having his possession over Shivpuri, Ranathambhor, Gagron etc.

The fort of Gwalior, which was in the possession of the Afghan Governor, named Suhail Khan (also known as Bahal Khan or Bhil

61. *Akbar Nama* II pp. 192-193.

62. *Munt-Khab-ul-Tawarikh* (Translated by W. H. Lowe) II p. 25.

63. Elliot and Dowson Vol. V p. 175.

64. *Munt-Khab-ul-Tawarikh* II p. 25/*Akbar Nama* II p. 193.

65. *Akbar Nama* II p. 193.

66. *Munt-Khab-ul-Tawarikh* Vol. II p. 29.

67. Abul-Kasim Namiki *Munshiat-e-Namakin* (MS) ff. 25(a) to 32(b)/both Abu-l-Fazl and Badoni, mention that the fort of Shivpuri was evacuated by Hada Surjan, when Akbar invaded Chittor.

Khan), was one of the important fortress of the northern India. Taking benefit of the weakness of the Afghan Governors, Maharana instigated Ramsah Tomar, who was then enjoying a Jagir in Mewar to recapture his ancestral seat. He might have extended necessary military help to him also. Abdul-J-Fazl in *Akbar Nama*⁶⁸ mentions that Ramsah succeeded in his campaign and captured the fort. In *Tarikh-i-Alfi* it is mentioned⁶⁹ that he took possession of the fort on making a suitable payment to the Afghan Governor. On receiving this intelligence Akbar sent his forces under the command of Qiya Khan against Gwalior. Ramsah Tomar, sallying out from the fort, fought furiously. But at last when Habil Ali Khan and others came to assist Qiya Khan he was defeated⁷⁰ and fort came in the possession of Akbar. According to *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Ramsah returned⁷¹ back to Mewar.

These events prove that Maharana Udaisingh, taking benefit of weakness of the local Afghan-Governors, attempted to protract his sway over a vast territory and succeeded in consolidating his power.

Foundation of Udaipur Town

The most important work, which Maharana Udaisingh undertook, was the foundation of Udaipur town. The use of gun-powder had proved the futility of the old strategy of fighting. He was already well aware of this new development and had seen the fate of Chittor during the invasions of Bahadur Shah. While realising these facts he endeavoured to prepare a new defence line in the mountainous region. The town Ahad was⁷² a prosperous site and at that time now Jain temples were also⁷³ built there on the ancient ruins. It also remained a capital of the rulers of Mewar for a considerable time. Therefore, Maharana Udaisingh chose a site for Udaipur town in its vicinity,

68. *Akbar Nama* II p. 88.

69. Elliot and Dawson Vol. V p. 167.

70. *Akbar Nama* Vol. II p. 118.

71. Elliot and Dawson Vol. V p. 168.

72. श्री १८०३ वर्षे माहसुदि १५ गुरी पूर्णि श्री बालाजी पुर वासन्त्य नारायण जातीयसाः मुन्ता... जाति विष कार्त्ति प्रविश्चित् [Unpublished Inscription in the *Vijaygarhachchha Upasara Bhilwara*].

73: An unpublished inscription of V.E. 1585 lying incised in the Digambar Jain temple of Ahad mentions that a certain Jain *shreshthi* of Bhilwara attended the renovation of the temple.

having encircled by series of the mountains and dense forests. He stroved hard in attracting people to settle there. He himself built a palace known as Moti Mahal (now situated on the bank of the Fateh Sagar Lake) and completed some parts of the city palaces also. He also got excavated a lake known as Udaisagar at the same time. On its completion Maharana performed a silver *Tula-Dan* and granted a village in charity to Bhatt Chhitu and Laxman.⁷⁴

Maharana was not satisfied with this all. He also desired to inhabit the entire tract of Girawa. For this purpose, he made several land grants. Dr. G.N. Sharma has noticed⁷⁵ such 50 copper plates also. It seems that the Maharana allured the people by ganting land in profusion to inhabit in the Girawa Region. He also attracted a few families of his trusted nobles and other chiefs belonging to martial races to settle there. These attempts proved very successful and the entire Girawa soon developed as a bulwork against the Mughal invasion.

Protection to Certain Chiefs

Maharana granted a sanctuary to Buz Babadur,⁷⁶ the fugitive Afghan Chief of Malwa. Similarly Medatiya Jaimal was given due honour by granting him a big Jagir of the villages Kotharia,⁷⁷ Badnor and Kareda. Mansingh, the fugitive⁷⁸ prince of Sirohi, was given a Jagir of Barakana and Bijawas. Good Jagirs were also bestowed upon Medatiya Isardas, Medatiya Ida, Rathor Hingaldas etc. In this way extending of hospitality to the dislodged chiefs by the Maharana was a hostile action in the eyes of the Mughal Emperor, who wanted to crush his power on some pretext.

Akbar and Mewar

Nizam-ud-din Ahmad,⁷⁹ while describing the main aim of Akbar's invasion in Mewar, mentions that several *Rajas* and *Zamindars* had become vassals of the Imperial Mughals. But Rana Udaisingh of Mewar, having confidence in the strength of his forts, did not

74. *Amar-Kavya Vanishavali* (MS) ff. 25-26; *Raj-Prashasti* IV 17-18.

75. G.N. Sharma—*op. cit.* p. 57.

76. *Muha Khab-ut-Tawarikh* II p. 40/Tab II p. 262.

77. श्री १६२३ वर्ष मारवाडे कृष्णपटो चतुर्भिंशि सोमपादे यो फोलारिया नगर मध्ये चालूक्य शीक्षणलजी राज्ये (M. Shah—*Prashasti Sangraha* p. 113).

78. Ojba I pp. 409-410.

79. Tab II p. 262.

agree to owe his allegiance to Akbar. Therefore, his country was invaded by the Mughal forces. According to *Fateh Nama*,^{79A} Akbar sent emissaries to Maharana with a specific proposal for making a permanent settlement between the two ruling families. But the Maharana, who was not inclined to enlist himself among the Mughal Mansabdaras resented this offer. Therefore, confrontation of these two powers became imminent.

Several other reasons are also ascribed by the various writers, for this invasion. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad⁸⁰ and Badoni⁸¹ relate it to the act of Maharana's hospitality to Baz Bahadur, the fugitive Afghan chief of Malwa. According to Abu-i-Fazl,⁸² its aim was to crush the Rana's "audacious and arrogant pride". Immediate reason of provocation, according to him, was the flight of Maharana's son Shaklisingh (who was in Imperial Service) from the Imperial Camp at Bari. This incident enraged the Mughal Emperor Akbar, who at once made up his mind to invade Mewar. But this ostensible ground is not found mentioned in other contemporary Persian Chronicles and *Fateh Nama*. This incident might be⁸³ true, but it would be too much to stretch it to the conclusion that this was the special pretext or provocation⁸⁴ for a gigantic battle.

While discussing the reasons,⁸⁵ we have to keep in mind some important points also. Maharana Udaisingh was then one of the important rulers of Rajasthan. The important strongholds of Chittor, Kumbhalgarh and Mandalgarh were directly under his possession.

At the same time the fort of Ranathambhor, Shivapuri, Gagron⁸⁶ Mau Medan, Kotah, etc. were also in occupation of the chief's owing allegiance to him. Akbar, who was making a plan to strengthen his

79A. *Fateh Nama*—Abdul Kasim Namkin—*Manshal-e-Namkin* (MS Aligarh)
Lf. 25(a) ■■■ (b).

80. Tab II p. 262.

81. *Munta-Khab-ut-Tawarikh* (W. H. Lowe II) p. 48.

82. *Akbar Nama* II pp. 441-42.

83. The *Sagat-Raso* also mentions this incident (MS) verses 31-33.

84. V. A. Smith—Akbar the Great Mughal p. 61.

85. The *Fateh Nama* mentions that Akbar's aim against Chittor was also to strengthen the Islam and to offend the Infidels.

86. *Sirpa* p. 204.

foothold and carved out his empire, did not like the independence of Maharana and heartily desired to make him his vassal by hook or crook. According to G N. Sharma⁸⁷ his policy for giving priority for reducing the Maharana to extremities was based on "correct understanding of the politics of Rajasthan and psychology of the Rajput chieftains of the time". No important Rajput ruler, except the ruler of Amber, had entered into an alliance with him. Thinking of the respectable and strong position of Rana, he was eager to make him his vassal first, so that other Rajput chiefs would yield themselves, without exhibiting any obstinate resistance. The subsequent events prove that this understanding gave substantial benefits to the Empor. Soon after the reducing of Chittor, several Rajput rulers tended themselves ■ enter into an alliance with the Mughal Empor, even by negotiations. That was perhaps the obvious reason, why Akbar was very keen to capture the fort of Chittor and make Maharana his vassal.

Preparations of the Mughal Empor

Akbar made necessary preparations for his campaign against Chittor. The *Paragan* of Bayana⁸⁸ was given in Jagir to Asaf Khan, who was ordered to collect provisions and materials for army. The Mughal Empor, then proceeded to Bari on August 30, 1507 A.D. with the "avowed intention" of hunting.⁸⁹ Proceeding thence, he soon reached Shivpuri. Seeing the overwhelming number of Imperial army, Rao Surjan's army evacuated. This fort was then placed under the command of Nazar Bahadur.⁹⁰ The fort of Kota was similarly captured and given to Shah Mohammad Khan Qandhari. The Mughal army then came to Gagron and encamped in its vicinity. Akbar was equally anxious to quell the disturbances caused by Mirza Ulugh and Shah Mirza in Malwa. For this purpose, he despatched a part of his army under the command of Shahab-ud-din⁹¹ towards Malwa. At the sametime, Asaf Khan and Wazir Khan were asked to march towards Mandalgarh,⁹² which was under the command of

87. G.N. Sharma—op. cit. pp. 57-58.

88. *Mura Khab-ut-Tavarikh* II p. 105.

89. *Ibid/Akbar Nama* p. 442/Tib II p. 252.

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Akbar Nama* p. 444.

Bailu Solanky. After fighting for a few days, the Rajputs deserted the fort and went to Chittor.⁹²

Preparations of Maharana

On receiving intelligence of Akbar's march against Mewar, Maharana immediately convened the war council. After detailed discussions, it was resolved that Maharana should retire to the hilly tract of western Mewar with his family and 6000 Rajputs. It was also decided that eight thousand Rajputs be left at Chittor under the able command of Jaimal Medatiya.⁹³ Acting on this decision Maharana retired to the hilly tract after making necessary arrangements for arms, ammunition and food stuff in the fort. The inhabitants, living in the vicinity of Chittor, were asked to either retire to the hilly tract of Mewar or seek refuge in the fort. At the same time he also managed to devastate the villages adjacent to Chittor so that the assailants could not procure even grass.^{93A}

The act of leaving Chittor by Maharana has been stigmatised by numerous scholars. Some of them condemned him as "coward". All these remarks are perhaps uncharitable. Dr. G.N. Sharma has correctly analysed the situation by saying that Maharana "in obeying⁹⁴ the council exhibited good sense and loyalty to the feudal order. But unfortunately posterity, aware of the heroic struggle of Pratap and Sanga, condemned him without making an adequate allowance for the circumstance." We may say that the Maharana had correctly estimated his strength and had bowed down to the decision of the General Assembly of the chiefs. Similar decision was also taken during the second sack of Chittor. In this way, we will not be justifying in denouncing the Maharana for his timely action of leaving Chittor and obeying the decision of his council.

Siege Preparations

Marching from Gagron, Akbar arrived at the outskirts of Chittor on Thursday, Oct. 20, 1567 A.D. Next day he came close to the

92. *Ibid* p. 464.

93. Nearly all the Persian Chroniclers mention that Maharana retired to the hilly tract leaving the fort under the command of Medatiya Jaimal. Col. Tod records the name of Saindas as the commander. But there is no evidence to prove the same.

93A. *Amar-Kavya-Vamshavali* Lf. 27.

94. G.N. Sharma—*op. cit.* p. 52.

fort⁹⁵ and encamped there. Accompanied by some courtiers, he rode out and made a circuit of the fort. The surveyors were ordered to carry out measurement of its circumference. After making a preliminary survey, he divided the areas around the fort among his different nobles for setting up their batteries there. Being desirous of capturing the Rana, he detailed Hussain Kuli Khan towards Udaipur and Kumbhalgarh in his search. But he rambled in vain and finding no trace of the Rana, returned back to Chittor after ravaging⁹⁶ the environs of Udaipur. At the same time Asaf Khan was sent to tackle Rampura, which was under the possession of Chandrawat Rao Durga.⁹⁷ He succeeded in his plans and also laid waste the country adjacent to it.

At first Khan Alam and Adil Khan⁹⁸ dared to reach in close proximity of the fort and made direct desparate attacks. But there were several dexterious artillery men present in the fort, who made their attempts ineffective and compelled them to recede. In this engagement most of the assailants were severely wounded. Akbar, finding the direct attacks perilous, ordered for selecting proper spots. Thus, several batteries in the circuit of the fort were established. Out of these following deserve special mention.⁹⁹

(i) The principle battery was set up in front of Lakhota Bari, where Hussain Khan Chugatai, Rai Pitardas, Ikhtiyar Khan, Quazi Ali Bagadadi etc. were posted.

(ii) Another battery was established in front of Surajpole under the supervision of Sujha-at-Khan, Raja Todarmal, Qasim Khan etc.

(iii) Towards the south of the fort a battery under the command of Asaf Khan, Khwaja Abdul Mazid etc. was set up.

According to *Fatih-Nama*,¹⁰⁰ heavy cannons were sent for from

95. *Akbar Nama* II p. 485/Tab. II pp. 443-44 *Munta-khab-ul-Tawarikh* II p. 105/*Tarikh-i-Akbari* by Muhammad Aziz Kandhari (Rampur) p. 109.

96. *Ibid.*

97. Rao Durga, who was a feudatory of Maharana of Mewar, soon owed his allegiance to Akbar. His battles with Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat and Suhel-Khan of Ahmad Nagar are described in the Rampura inscription of V.E. 1665.

98. *Akbar Nama* II p. 486.

99. *Ibid.* p. 467.

100. Abul-Fazl mentions that sending for large mortars from magazines might cause a great delay, a large mortar available with army was placed there for use. [*Akbar Nama* II p. 457].

the capital. Meanwhile a large mortar was placed on the hillock (probably on Mohar Mangari) situated at the southern extremity of the fort. It seems that the eastern and northern sides of the fort being faced with hard stones and rocks, batteries from the cannons could not do much harm. The writer of *Tarikh-i-Afzal*¹⁰¹ asserts that even on the southern side of the fort the small cannons, *Zarb Zans*, *Sangrads* and *Manjaniks* also could not prove successful. At last, when heavy cannons were brought from the capital, they were placed on Mohar Mangari.

Arrangement for defence

All the Persian writers unanimously¹⁰² assert that the Rajputs made an excellent arrangement for defence inside the fort. They were having closest watch on various activities of the enemy and prevented them from carrying out their work close to the fort. Senior commandants were posted against the principle batteries to meet the challenge of the Mughals. Jaymal Medatiya remained at Lakhota Bari¹⁰³ to face the battery of Hussain Khan. Rawat Saindas, who was made incharge of the garrison posted at Surajpole, was pitched against the battery of Sujha-at-Khan. Ballu Solanki was posted at Chittori Burj to defend against invasion from the battery of Asaf Khan. Other chiefs were posted at different places and no part of the fort was left unprotected. A huge stock¹⁰⁴ of arms, ammunition and food stuff was provided for. Even after the capture of fort¹⁰⁵ the Mughals got a large number of arms and ammunition. According to Rajasthani sources, a lady named Pema¹⁰⁶ stirred up the feelings of the inhabitants of the fort against the Mughals and kindled in them patriotic feelings to do and die for the sake of the country. Thus, a high sounding moral was seen among the besieged.

Sabats constructed

When it became difficult to reduce the fort by direct attacks,

101. Elliot and Dowson Vol. V p. 170.

102. *Akbar Nama* II p. 467-468/Tab. II p. 345/Elliot and Dowson V p. 173/
Fateh Nama/Tarikh-i-Akbari pp. 110-110.

103. *Vit-Vinod* II p. 75.

104. Elliot and Dowson Vol V p. 170.

105. *Fateh Nama* (*Munshai-e-Namkin MS.*) LF. 25 (a) to 35 (b).

106. *Sodh Patrika* XXI No. 3 pp. 44-45.

the Emperor ordered to construct the *Sabats*¹⁰⁷, two towards the side of Lakhota Bari and one outside Chitori Burj. Nearly 5000 builders, carpenters, stone masons, smiths, sappers etc. were engaged in the work. The defenders, when came to know of these developments, were astounded and sent Sanda Silhadar¹⁰⁸ and Sahib Khan to the Mughal camp to discuss terms of treaty. Some Mughal officers persuaded the Emperor to accept the offer, but he insisted on the personal appearance of the Maharana and thus no settlement could be arrived at. However, on failure of the talks, the defenders were not disheartened. They prepared themselves to face the consequences at any cost and endeavoured to obstruct the construction of *Sabats*. The soldiers and artillery men, assembling on the walls and bastions of the fort, exerted themselves by showering balls and arrows continuously on the workmen¹⁰⁹ engaged in the construction of *Sabats*. Although precautions were taken by using the thick roof of the hides of cow and buffalows, no day passed without loss of two hundred workmen. The Emperor by paying lavishly¹¹⁰ fascinated the greedy workmen to continue on work even in such perilous circumstances. After strenuous efforts of the Emperor, *Sabats* were completed by the middle of Dec. 1567 A.D.

On Dec. 17, 1567 A.D. Akbar ordered to set fire to these *Sabats*. The *Sabat* constructed¹¹¹ in the battery of Sujha-at-Khan did not take fire properly. At the same time the two *Sabats*, built towards the Lakhota Bari were also fired simultaneously. But one of these exploded earlier than the other, due to some technical flaws. This caused a bastion of the fort blow into air resulting in heavy breach in the walls of the fort. The invading army ■ once rushed towards the breach. Then the second *Sabat* also exploded. This hurled into air several senior officers¹¹² of the Mughal Army

107. *Akbar Nama* II pp. 467-468/Tab. II p. 344/*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* II p. 106/*Tarikh-i-Akbari* p. 112.

108. *Fateh Nama/Akbar Nama* II p. 467.

109. *Akbar Nama* II pp. 467-468/Tab. II p. 345/*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* II p. 106/Elliott and Dowson Vol. V ■ 172.

110. *Akbar Nama* II pp. 467-468.

111. *Ibid.*

112. *Ibid/Tab. II* p. 345/*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* II p. 106/*Tarikh-i-Akbari* p. 113/The *Fateh Nama* does not mention this incident.

together with a few defenders, who were barring their entry into the breach. Heavy pieces of the rocks and stones blown into air caused death of several Mughal soldiers. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad¹¹³, who was present on spot, mentions that the stones even of 200 maunds were carried away by these explosions to a distance of 3 to 4 kros and nearly 500 soldiers of the Mughal Army were killed. The noise of these^{113A} explosions resounded upto several miles and it astonished those who heard it. The entire scene became quite horrible. According to *Tarikh-i-Alfi*¹¹⁴, the vast quantity of dust and smoke prevented all the movement in the army for some time. The entire area surrounding the fort was showered with the corpes and dismembered limbs of the people caught in this explosion.

Despair in the Mughal Army

The Emperor was disheartened by the said event. According to *Tarikh-i-Alfi*¹¹⁴ the Mughal Army was greatly distressed and was anxious to abandon the siege. But no one had courage to propose the same. Akbar, who determined not to relinquish this undertaking, now became conscious that this renowned fort could not be reduced without patience and well planning. At this time, he also vowed to visit the holy shrine at Ajmer on foot, after the reduction of the fort.

The Mughal Emperor was also conscious that the walls of the fort could not be battered down without the use of the *Sabats*. He, therefore, decided to construct the same in front of the Surajpole, in the battery of Qasim Khan and Todarmal. The Rajput, from the fort, continued to obstruct the above work. Akbar was surprisingly saved from the balls several times.¹¹⁵ Once, when he was on inspection towards Lakhota Bari, a ball fell near him and killed Jaisal Khan, who was standing near him. On some other occasion, when he was towards Chittori Burj, suddenly a ball from the fort fell near him and killed twenty men. Similarly, a bullet killed Khan-Alam, who was standing near him. Nizamuddin Ahmad¹¹⁷ has also narrated

113. *Ibid/Tab. II p. 345.*

113A. *Akbar Nama* mentions that the noise resounded to the extent of 50 miles. But the *Antar-Karya-Vanshikosha* incations only to the extent of 5 miles. (एवं यहानेव एवं दृष्टिकोशाच्छि एतम्) ।

114. Elliot and Dawson Vol. V pp. 172-173.

115. Elliot and Dawson Vol. V p. 173.

116. *Akbar Nama* II pp. 470-471.

117. *Tab. II p. 345.*

similar incident. All these events prove that the besieged persons maintained a high spirit to meet the challenge of the Mughals.

Death of Jaimal

At last, the *Sabat* in the battery of Qasim Khan was exploded (Feb 20, 1567 A.D.). But by its explosion no great success could be achieved. The Rajputs from the fort did such a fierce firing that the assailants could not dare to come forward for entering into the breaches, caused by the above explosion. The besieged persons attempted to fill them up by the pieces of cotton rags and wood and set fire, which also¹¹⁸ compelled the invaders to desist from their intrusion. The *Tarikh-i-Akbari*¹¹⁹ mentions that the Mughals succeeded to capture the lower rampart of the fort. But this fact is not described by any other writer. Quite contrary to this, the *Fatih Nama* asserts that no notable success could be achieved even after the explosion of the above *Sabat* and fierce firing continued for three days. However, on the third day, a portion of outer rampart was battered down by violent¹²⁰ cannonading. All these activities of the enemy excited Jaimal for persuading his men to resist and¹²¹ fight to their last attempt. When he was instructing to fill up a breach, he was perceived by Akbar, who shot him by his musket named Sangram, perhaps in front of Surajpole¹²². The Persian chronicles mention that he breathed his last on that spot. But, according to the Rajput sources he was badly wounded there and was removed to his house. The Rajputs were thus greatly disheartened and decided to perform *Jauhar*. Rishabhdas, a contemporary Jain poet, mentions that due to shortage of food stuff in the fort, the people were compelled to purchase the same at abnormal rates.¹²³ But at the same time the *Fatih Nama* asserts that the Mughals succeeded to seize accumulated stock of food stuff in the

118. *Fatih Nama/Tarikh-i-Akbari* p. 114.

119. G.N. Sharma *op. cit.* p. 67.

120. *Tarikh-i-Akbari* p. 114.

121. According to *Akbar Nama* also fierce fighting took place during these 2 nights (Feb. 21 and 22 1567 A.D.) and a day (Feb. 23) and the soldiers of both the sides neither took sleep nor food. (*Akbar Nama* II p. 471).

122. Elliot and Dowsou Vol. V p. 173.

123. *Akbar Nama* II p. 471.

124. मदाफरी महमूदीज अन्य विशेष माहिं बेचार ।
दद राजा परजा गड माहिं आकुल आकुल भाष ॥

Rishabhdas—*Hir-Vijay Suri Raso* composed in 1628 A.D.

fort after its reduction. Therefore, it seems that the *Jauhar* was solemnised at various places only due to serious condition of Jaimal. According to *Akbar Nama*¹²⁵ these rites took place outside the houses of Patta, Chauhan Ishardas and Rathor Sahib Khan.¹²⁶ Probably it was also performed in front of the Samiddheshwar temple.¹²⁷ Jaimal, according to Rajput sources died on the next day, while fighting between the Bheru Pole and Hanuman Pole, where his cenotaph still exists.

Last phase

After performing the *Jauhar* in the night of Feb. 23, 1667 A.D., the Rajput, becoming reckless of their lives, opened the gates of the fort and wearing saffron robes they marched to fight the last battle. The Mughal soldiers at once attempted to intrude into the fort. Several elephants¹²⁸ in batches were sent in night there through the breach. First of them was Giribaz Dhokar, who was stationed near the wall of the fort. Then Madhukar, Jangia, Sabdaliya and Kadira elephants were sent. Chauhan Ishardas¹²⁹, with daring rashness seized the tusk of Madhukar and struck him with his dagger. Elephant Jangia received the same fate. Elephant Kadira ran away on hearing noise and tumult of the kettle drums of the Rajputs coming to fight towards the breach. Elephant Sabdaliya, that came outside the fort, was attacked by the Rajputs and was killed. Accompanied by several officers and soldiers, the Emperor entered into the fort through the main gate. Patta, with his followers, was posted at Rampole Gate. The Emperor perhaps passed through the Govindshyam temple¹³⁰ and reached the above gate, when one of his elephant trampled Patta to death, whose cenotaph still exists there. In the fort there were 8000 soldiers and about 30 to 40

125. *Akbar Nama* II p. 472.

126. According to Abul-Fazl about 900 women were burnt. But this account is hardly worthy of credence. Col. Tod mentions that nine queens, five princes and the families of all the chiefs, who took part in the battle, perished in the flames of holy fire.

127. While cleaning debris in front of the Samiddheshwar temple the pieces of bones, ash etc. were found, which also prove the same.

128. *Akbar Nama* II p. 479.

129. *Ibid*; *The Raj Prashasti Mahakavya* cant. V. 20.

130. The Govind Shyam temple mentioned in the *Akbar Nama* could not be identified with the Kumbh-Shyam temple. There were several temples existing at Rampole Gate and it seems that the existing Vaishnava temple, facing north, was constructed on the ruins of the said Govindshyam temple.

thousand peasants. The Rajput soldiers collecting in groups fought desparate battles at various spots. According to the Rajput sources Jaimal died while fighting between Bheru Pole and Hanuman Pole where his cenotaph exists. Chundawat Saindas died while fighting at Surajpole gate, where his memorial is still visible.¹³¹ In every street, Bazar etc. of the fort fierce fighting continued throughout the day. Some Rajputs, who assembled in the important temples, palaces, houses etc., laid down¹³² their lives while fighting. Some of the musketeers, fearing the wrath of the Emperor, ran away and those, who remained into the fort, were put to great troubles. The Mughal Army put them with their family members in chains and killed them. A general massacre was ordered. Rishabhdas, the Jain poet, mentions¹³³ that Akbar being furious gave orders that no body be left alive in the fort. Even a group of merchants, who appeared before him, for begging protection was got killed by him. The atrocities let loose by Akbar caused the death of about 30,000 people.¹³⁴ He was greatly enraged by obstinate resistance and showed no generosity, which he usually exhibited to the conquered. Abul-Fazl,¹³⁵ for justification of the above action, mentions that when Sultan Alauddin captured this fort, the peasantry was not put to death as it had not engaged in fighting. But on this occasion, they too had shown a great zeal and activity. Therefore, their excuses after emergence of victory, were of no avail and general massacre was thus justified. This monstrous massacre was never to be forgotten by the Rajput race. Dr. G. N. Sharma¹³⁶ has correctly analysed the fact by saying, "the immense slaughter has left a deep stain on the memory and character of the Emperor, who scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. The triumph of the great Mughal was sullied by this act of disgraceful cruelty." Several temples and palaces were razed to ground.

131. Tod I p. 200/Ojha I pp.416-417/*Prachin Rajasthan Geet* Vol. XI p. 97.

132. *Akbar Nama* II p. 476. The temple of Mahadeva mentioned by Abul-Fazl was the Samiddheshwar temple situated in front of the Kirtistambh.

133. फिरोज़ को मर कुती छोके सरकुं मारो होरी।

बहुवन निलगा कारणि जावे ते बमधरि पढूवावे॥

Hir-Vijay Suri Raso (composed in 1692 A.D.).

134. *Akbar Nama* II p. 475/*Amar Kavya Yamsharali* (MS.) 28 (b).

135. *Ibid.*

136. G.N. Sharma *op. cit.* p. 69.

The above account proves that the Rajput Army was full of valiant soldiers. Jaizmal and Patta fought so heroically that even the Emperor appreciated their valour and their statues^{136A} were caused to be made, which were placed at the most conspicuous entrance of his palace at Agra. These were subsequently removed to Delhi. Bernier, who visited Delhi in 1663 A.D., also witnessed them.¹³⁷

Akbar remained on the fort for 3 days and made necessary arrangements. He made it over to Asaf Khan¹³⁸ and left for Ajmer on Feb. 28, 1587 A.D. For fulfilment of his vow, the Emperor, accompanied by his courtiers and many of the ladies of Harem, went on foot to Ajmer. The *Akbar Nama* mentions that the party went on foot up to Mandal only.

Udaisingh after the fall of Chittor

After leaving Chittor, Maharana Udaisingh remained for a few days at Udaipur and Kumbhalgarh. He divided his army into two parts and sent a flank of it to cut the supply of food stuff of the Mughals. But he could not succeed. The *Faisla Nama* mentions that during the siege operations he remained strangely inactive in the environs of Udaipur. With a garrison of 5000 soldiers, he could have conducted sudden raids on the assailants, specially when they were badly stricken with panic after the explosion of the second *Sabat* in the Lakhota Bari. After the fall of Chittor, Akbar did not risk another battle with Maharana and returned to Agra. Udaisingh went towards Raj Pipala for a few days. The disastrous discomfiture at Chittor had greatly disheartened him.

The colophone of Ms. *Samyukta-Katha-Kaumudi*¹³⁹, copied at Kumbhalgarh in V.E. 1625 (1568 A.D.), mentions that Udaisingh

136A. Van Don Broecke, while writing in 1629 or 1630 A.D. mentions about these statues at Agra. These were subsequently removed by Shahjahan to Delhi. [G.N. Sharma—*op cit.* p. 71].

137. Bernier, writing from Delhi in July 1663 A.D. mentions about them—“These two great elephants together with two resolute men sitting on them do at the first entry into the fortress make an impression of I know not what greatness and awful terror.” [V.A. Smith. *op. cit.* p. 95/G. N. Sharma *op. cit.* pp. 71-72 fn.]

138. *Akbar Nama* II p. 476.

139. “सं. १६२५ वर्षे जाके १५६० प्रवर्तमाने दशिनामने मात्रे शुक्लपते यज्ञा तिरो शनी औ हुमलगढ़ महाद्वारे रा० श्री उदयसिंह राये.....

[The colophone of (MS) *Samyukta-Katha-Kaumudi* Amer Shastra Bhawan, Jaipur.]

was having his possession over Kumbhalgarh. The Bedia¹⁴⁰ inscription of V.E. 1626(1568 A.D.) also records the same account. This village, being situated near Udaipur, it can be said that he was having his possession over Udaipur and Kumbhalgarh. But he rambled in vain for a period of 4 years and did not perform any notable work during this period. He could not proceed in help when Akbar invaded Ranathambhor. On Feb. 28, 1572 A.D., he died at Gogundah, leaving behind him 25 sons and 20 daughters.

140. "राजनित ली संवत् १६२६ वर्षे श्री महाराजमसंख्या । रणो श्री उदेशिह की पड़..... [Edited by R.C. Agrawal in the Western Indian Art 65-66 pp. 30-33].

(b) Maharana Pratap

When we speak about Maharana Pratap, his equestrian prototype figure, clad in armour, catches our attention. He is one of our national heroes, whose unflinching devotion to his country together with unparalleled patriotism inspired the freedom fighters.

Maharana Pratap inherited the enemy of the Mughals. He made up his mind not to yield, at any cost, ■ Akbar and so continued to fight against his coercive measures. For fulfilment of this plan successfully, he, with boundless self confidence adopted a definite policy by provoking hostility against the Mughals and fighting guerilla-wars. Moving swiftly throughout his country, he enlightened the masses and stirred them up for getting themselves ready to confront the Imperial forces. For this purpose, he succeeded in registering support not only of the martial races, but also from the common men, including aboriginal Bhils. His most important contribution was to prepare an atmosphere of obstinate resistance in his country against the irresistible Mughals.

Maharana Udaisingh, exhibiting his coolness towards his son Pratap, wished that instead of the latter, his another¹ son Jagmal be allowed to succeed him. Although, this decision was against the conventions of Mewar family, but Pratap did not show any sort of displeasure towards his father. However, on his father's death a faction of the nobles, headed by Tomar Rama Shah² of Gwalior, and Rawat Kishansingh got him ascended to the throne, on Feb. 28, 1572 A.D. at Gogundah. The usual coronation ceremony was performed at Kumbhalgarh, after a few days which was attended by all important chiefs of Mewar and Rao Chandrasen of Marwar. There being no supporters, Jagmal left Mewar and sought refuge in the Mughal court, where he was honoured by granting to him the

1. *Amar-Kavya Vanisarali* (MS)/*Rawal Ranaji et Bai* (MS) Lf. 102.

2. बदी पांच ठाकूरा (पताप लिखो री) बांह पकड़ के दरोपरी से बाया । बाये देखे हो बबमसन्नी इरीआने यादो करे बेठा है सो उठोवा नहीं । बदी चाहत लिखो जो बांह पकड़े ने उठाया.....रावा पताप लिखो ने बादी बेताया [Rawal Ranaji et Bai Lf. 102].

Jagir of Jahazpur which was subsequently exchanged with a part of Sirohi state. He was later on,³ slain while fighting in the battle field of Dantani, on Oct. 17, 1583 A.D.

When Pratap came to throne, only the western hilly tract of Mewar and Godawar were in his possession. The central fertile plain and the forts of Chittor and Mandalgarh⁴ formed part of the Mughal Empire. In the great battle of Chittor, Mewar lost many of its brave fighters and spent its resources lavishly, reimbursement of which was practically impossible for him at that time. Atrocious massacre of a good number of inhabitants done by the Mughals at Chittor had roused a feeling of indignation and hatred in his heart against them and therefore, he was determined to wreak vengeance.

The ruling family of Mewar had been carrying out its fight against several Muslim chiefs. Among them, Pratap's adversary Akbar was probably the most powerful ruler. After victory over Chittor, he refrained from pursuing Maharana Udaisingh. But his power increased considerably. Several Rajput chiefs realising that the power of the Imperial Mughals was irresistible, preferred to enter into alliance with Emperor Akbar. Being over ambitious Akbar desired to engorge the territories of other adjoining states. His empire then was perhaps far from commensurate with his ambitions. For its fulfilment, he heartily desired strong support from the Rajputs. He carried out his plan of conciliation yet further by persuading them to give away their daughters to⁵ the royal seraglio. This sort of matrimonial alliances proved very successful and the Rajput chiefs soon became close associates and supporters of the empire. But Maharana Pratap disliked such marriages, which might contaminate⁶ the blood of his race and rather discouraged them. In this way, there was a vast difference in the thinking of Pratap and Akbar.

Sometimes Pratap is stigmatised⁷ for not extending his support to Akbar in getting so the called National Government formed. But

3. Lala Sitaram—History of Sirohi Raj. p. 187/Ojha I p. 425/G.N. Sharma—Mewar and the Mughal Emperors p. 75

4. *Ain-i-Akbari* II p. 279.

5. The Kachhwaha-Chief of Amer was the first Rajput ruler, who gave away his daughter to the Mughal Emperor in March 1562 A.D. (H. Beveridge *Akbar Nama* II p. 248/Beigarmi—Sawanish-i-Akbari (MS) ff. 51).

6. *Amar-Kavya-Vanisvara* (MS No. 1661) ff. 41-42/Raj Ratnakar (MS) Canto-VII verses 3 to 6/Rerail Ranaji ri Bat (MS) ff. 106.

7. *Maharana Pratap Smriti-Grantha* (Udaipur) p. 182.

scholars arguing like this, do not take into consideration the circumstances under which the Rajputs were required to serve the Mughal Emperor. The *Dalpat-Vilas*,⁸ a contemporary work, contains many details about Akbar's arrogant and atrocious conduct. It depicts several incidents, which prove that a self respecting people would not like to bear such disparaging treatment from the Emperor. Although the Hindus enjoyed freedom from any religious persecution, but even then a feeling of religious fanaticism did pervade and several senior Mughal officers acted otherwise. A glaring example of this sort of feeling is the destruction of several Hindu and Jain shrines, made at Chittor, during the course of invasion by the forces of Akbar. Therefore, Pratap was not ready to co-operate with the Mughals. He considered them as invaders, against whom, his father and grand father had measured swords. Dr. Dashrath Sharma⁹ has correctly analysed the facts by saying that the stories of Akbar's treatment with the Rajputs must have reached Maharana Pratap, which made him realise the utter ignominy in submitting to Akbar. According to him, the Rajput chivalry lived on, after 1557 A.D., not in the persons of rich Rajput grandees like Maharaja Mansingh and Raisingh, but in the brave fighters like Maharana Pratap and others, who preferred to live in an atmosphere of full freedom.

Akbar attempts for negotiations :

It seems that Akbar did not make hasty in dealing with Pratap and deliberately refrained from taking any action against him. He was anxious to settle the matter by peaceful negotiations. A question arises as to why he did not invade Mewar in order to espouse the cause of Jagmal, whom his father had already nominated as his successor, in preference to Pratap and who also sought refuge in his court. It seems that the Mughal forces were then badly engrossed in quelling disturbances in Gujarat. Akbar, therefore, avoided to take any action against Mewar, because of its contiguity with the disturbed area of Gujarat. In marching against Mewar, at that time, there was a possibility of joint action by the disgruntled element of Gujarat and Mewar, against the Mughals.

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- B. *Dalpat Vilas* is a Rajasthani work which was written during the reign of Akbar. It was edited by my friend Shri Rawat Saraswat and published by Sadul Rajasthani Research Institute, Bikaner.
9. *Maha ana Pratap Smriti Grantha* (Udaipur pp. 182-183).

Akbar's first emissary, who waited upon Maharana Pratap, was Jalal Khan Korachi.¹⁰ He visited Mewar, while going to Gujarat in August/Sept. 1572 A.D. However, no discussion on any matter seems to have taken place and he reached Ahmadabad on Nov. 27, 1572 A.D. In order to keep the road from Delhi to Gujarat open¹¹ and safe from any plundering raids of the Rajputs of Mewar, Akbar detailed Raisingh of Bikaner for this purpose.

Attempts of Mansingh

After victory over Gujarat, when Mansingh was returning to Agra, he was asked by¹² Akbar to attempt for a settlement with Mewar by peaceful negotiations (April, 1573 A.D.). After defeating the Maharawal of Dungarpur in the battlefield of Bilapanha¹³ on April 18, 1573 A.D. he reached Udaipur via Salumbhar. His main aim was to persuade Pratap to owe his allegiance to Akbar. Maharana Pratap, who was then living at Gogundah, came to Udaipur to meet him. Having encamped¹⁴ on the bank of Udaisagar lake, Mansingh went alone ■ pay a visit to the Maharana. According to *Akbar Nama*, Pratap "made promises about going¹⁵ to the Sublime Court, but raised objections and gave Mansingh leave to depart, while he himself stayed procrastinate". This gives a clear hint that the Maharana plainly refused to attend the Mughal Court.

The Rajput sources narrate a detailed account about this meeting. According to these chronicles, Maharana Pratap arranged a feast on the bank of Udaisagar Lake, but he himself avoided his presence there and sent his son Amarsingh to entertain the guest. Mansingh took it as his personal insult and returned without taking meals.¹⁶ This version is also corroborated by other records of Jaipur House. Thus Mansingh's mission proved a total failure.

10. Tab. II p. 375/Muhammad Arif Kaandhari-Tarikh I-Akbari p. 155.

11. Briggs-Firistah Vol. II pp. 234-235/Tab II pp. 372-373/Munshi-Khab ut Tavarikh II p. 144.

12. *Akbar Nama* Vol. III p. 57.

13. द्वंद्व १६२६ वर्ष लेखाक्ष कवि २ उनके राजव वास्तवरमी प्रथी राजव राज कामा.....
साहु जी अकबर नी कोब सु वरमूला चांद सुरज साक हृष्णपुर मा बाड मुजा
[Unpublished Inscription of Bilapanha]

14. प्रदापत्तिहो गोगु-दासरे यज्ञं व्यवहार इवन् । ब्रह्मोदयपुरे पूर्वोदयसामार उत्थुः ।
[Amar Kavya] MS/Akbar Nama II p. 57 also mentions of the same fact.

15. *Akbar Nama* III p. 57.

16. *Amar Kavya-Vamsharali* (MS No. 166) 41 42/Raj Ratnakar (MS) cant. VII Verses 3 to 6/Rawal Ranaji r/ Bais (MS) 106/This account ■ also corroborated from the records of Jaipur House.

Other Missions.

After some days disturbances were again reported in Gujarat. Akbar had to visit it personally and succeeded in quelling the rebellion there by Sept. 2, 1573 A.D. After making necessary arrangements, he left Ahmadabad for Fatehpur Sikri on Sept 13, 1573 A.D. Before leaving he detailed¹⁷ Raja Bhagwantdas with some other chiefs towards Idar and Mewar. After settling the affairs of Rewaliya, a slave of Sher Khan and reducing Narayandas to extremities, Bhagawantdas paid a visit to Gogundah. Abu-l-Fazl records that the Maharana sent his eldest son Amarsingh to the Mughal court and he himself begged excuse for his appearance¹⁸ there. But his account is not worthy of credence. Badaoni, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad etc do not mention it. Jahangir in his Memoirs¹⁹ asserts that no eldest son of the ruler of Mewar had so far visited the Mughal court, before the settlement of 1615 A.D. Thus ■■■ these contemporary Mughal records lead us to believe that the account of Abu-l-Fazl is rather an exaggeration. The mission of Bhagawantdas totally failed. Abu-l-Fazl himself records that the Maharana²⁰ said to Bhagawantdas, "A feeling of desolation had taken possession of him. When his desolated heart should become soothed by lapse of time, he would come and do homage in person". This clearly proves that Pratap had rather clearly refused to attend the Mughal court.

An attempt was again made later on. Todarmal, who was coming back after 2 months' stay in Gujarat, was asked by Akbar to visit Gogundah and meet Maharana Pratap also. No details of his mission are available. But when he visited Gogundah in Dec. 1573 A.D. the Maharana extended due hospitality to him. According to *Rana-Raso*²¹ the Maharana agreed to give away his elephant named Ramprasad ■■■ him. But it seems that when no settlement on other points was arrived at Todarmal refused to take the above offer. Thus his mission also proved abortive.²²

The above account proves that all the missions, to settle the problem of Mewar peacefully, failed. A question arises as to why

17. *Akbar-Nama* III p. 90.

18. *Ibid* p. 92.

19. Rogers and Beveridge—*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* Vol. I p. 259.

20. *Akbar-Nama* III pp. 92-93.

21. *Rana-Raso* (MS) Verses 254 to 260.

22. Abu Turab Ali—*Tarikh-i-Gujrat* p. 94; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* p. 111.

a settlement could not be arrived at inspite of earnest desire of the Mughal Emperor, and what were those terms which Pratap disliked to accept. Although there is no clear hint available, it seems that Akbar might have insisted on the personal appearance of Rana or his heir-apparent in the Mughal court with suitable amount of tribute. Looking to Akbar's relations with other Rajput Chiefs he might have pressed for surrendering of the Rana's daughter to the royal seraglio. These proposals were clearly unacceptable to Pratap²³. Similarly, he did not like to enlist himself among the Mughal Mansabdars. In this way, it became evident, even in December 1573 A.D., that he would not yield to the Mughal Emperor and a confrontation of his forces with the Mughals was thus imminent. **Maharana's preparations.**

Maharana Pratap made necessary preparations to meet the challenge of the Mughals. All important outposts and forts of western Mewar were strengthened. Another important step taken by him was to desolate the plains. All the inhabitants living there were compelled to retire to the hilly tracts and no crops were allowed to be sown²⁴ there, so that the invading army could not procure food stuff.

In order to boost up the moral courage of his followers, he interdicted himself from luxury and amourousness till the fort of Chittor was redeemed. Use of gold and silver dishes was forbidden. He was fortunate that he got complete cooperation from his chiefs, who not being tempted by the wealth and good fortune under the Mughals, exhibited a high sense of fidelity. By taking their help, the Maharana remodelled his government according to the exigencies²⁵ of time and available slender resources. His main work was to get his country ready for obstinate resistance against the repeated Mughal invasions in which he proved very successful.

Battle of Haldighati

On reaching Ajmer in first the week of March 1576 A.D. Akbar made necessary preparations for despatching his army against²⁶

23. *Rana Pratap Singh/ra Jhudana* (MS); *Rana Rao Yoree 261/Biruda-Chhitor-start* by Durass Adha/Rawal-Ranaji ri Bat (MS) Ll. 106-108.

24. G.N. Sharma—*op. cit.* p. 81.

25. Tod-I p.270.

26. Tab II p. 484/*Munt Khab-wt Tawarikh* II p. 233/*Akbar Nama* III p. 286.

Mewar. The Rajput sources narrate that the Emperor being exasperated at the insult inflicted on Mansingh at Udaisagar lake, decided to invade Mewar²⁷. The *Rana Raso*, however, gives another account of it. According to this, when the Rana carried out depredations in the Imperial territory of Sironj, the Emperor was alarmed²⁸ and resolved to make an attack. But, these seem to be the contributory causes of the battle. The main reason, according to Abu-l-Fazi²⁹, was the disobedience and hostility of the Rana. As already stated Akbar's attempt to persuade Pratap for owing his allegiance to him failed even in Dec. 1573 A.D. He waited for two years more perhaps to give an opportunity to the latter for cool thinking. But seeing obstinacy of Pratap, he decided to send his forces for reducing him to extremities. Mansingh Kachhwaha³⁰ was nominated to command the forces which were to be despatched for this enterprise. According to the *Iqbal-Nama*³¹ and his appointment was made with the specific object to compel the Rana for a pitched battle. This understanding was based on the facts that his ancestors had owed their allegiance to the rulers of Mewar for a pretty long time. It was presumed that the Maharana would be provoked by the inferior status of the commandant of the Imperial army and would come out in person to confront him for a pitched battle. This device proved very helpful to the Mughals.

Kachhwaha Mansingh was accompanied³² by 5000 regular soldiers. Some officers named Ghazi Khan Badakhsni, Khwaja Gya-sud-din, Asaf Khan, Saiyid Ahmad, Saiyid Hashim Barha, Kachhwaha Jagannath, Saiyid Raju, Mihtar Khan etc. were sent with him. Asaf Khan was nominated as the Bakhsni of the army. Mansingh left Ajmer on April 3 1575 A.D. and soon reached³³ Mandalgarh where he stayed for about two months to wait for additional

27. *The Udaipur ri Khyan* (MS) Lf. 182; *Vamshavali* No. 828 Lf. 65/No. 867 Lf. 25; *Rawal Ranaji ri Bat* Lf. 106; *Amor-Kavya Vamshavali* (MS) No. 1669; *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya* IV-21.

28. *Rana Raso* (MS) Verses 263-266.
29. *Akbar Nama* III p. 296.

30. According to R.N. Prasad, appointment of Mansingh was made looking to his personal qualities. (*Reja Mansingh* p. 42). But several Muslim Officers did not relish it.

31. Mutamid Khan—*Iqbal Nama* ■ p. 247

32. *Akbar Nama* III p. 237.
33. *Ibid.*

reinforcement. The Maharana considered it derogatory to allow him to enter unopposed into Mewar. He was, therefore, impatient to confront him at Mandalgadh.³⁴ But on a sane advice from Tomar King Rama Shah he abandoned this idea. Descending from the hilly tract of Kumbhalgarh, he fortified himself in the defiles of Gogundah. All important chiefs of Mewar and the Bhils accompanied³⁵ him there. Among them the names of Chundawat Kishandas, Rathor Ramdas, Jhala Man (Bida), Jhala Man, Dodiya Bhim, Tomar Rama Shah Bhama Shah, etc. are noteworthy. Marching from there Pratap encamped at village Lohsing situated about 8 miles from Haldighati. Proceeding from Mandalgadh Mansingh also reached Malela and made necessary preparations there. The Rana's movements could not be properly noticed by him. Nenasi writes that³⁶ once Mansingh, when he went on a hunting excursion, was seen by the spies of the Rana. On getting this report the Rana was persuaded by Hakim Khan Sur and a few other chiefs for immediate action. But he did not relish such sort of cowardly act.

Account of the battle (June 18, 1576 A.D.)

The soil being yellow like turmeric, the glen is renowned ■ "Haldighati", which being very narrow even two persons could hardly pass at a time. The site Badashahi Bagh is often quoted as the battle field, but it is too small a place for an engagement of about 8000 cavalry^{37A} and a good number of elephants. A. L. Shrivastava,³⁷ while analysing the accounts of the Persian Chronicles, maintains that "the first battle took place outside the entrance of Haldighati in the plains between the said pass and the village Khamnore. Subsequent fighting, however, took place in the plain south-west of Khamnor extending upto the southern part of the river Banas."³⁸ Both the intending armies were properly marshalled. Arrangements in the Imperial

34. *Iqbal Nama* II p. 382/*Akbar Nama* III p. 244.

35. *Vir Vinod* II p. 131/Ojha I p. 432/G.N. Sharma—op. cit. p. 84.

36. *Nenasi ki Khyan* (Dugar) Vol. I pp. 68-69.

36A. The Mewar tradition gives the strength of the Imperial army as 8,000 and that of the Rana as 22,000. The *Raval Raniji et Bar* gives the number of Rana's army as 24,000. But Budboni, who was present on the spot, mentions 5000 under Mansingh and 3000 under the Rana. Thus this account of the rival forces seems to be convincing.

37. Dr. A.L. Shrivastava's paper, "The battle of Haldighati" published in the *Maharana Pratap Smriti Granth* pp. 175-181.

army was³⁸ like this. Mansingh himself was in the Centre, the Saiyids of Barha were on the Right wing; Ghazi Khan Badakhshi Rai Lunakarna were in the Left wing; Jagannath, Khwaja Ghyasuddin and Asaf Khan were in the Van; Madhosingh and other distinguished men in the *Altamsh*; Mihar Khan and others were in the Rear³⁹. In its front line there were about 80 skirmishers called *Chuca-i-Horawal*. In Mewar's army the "Rana was in the Centre; Tomar⁴⁰ Rama Shah had the right wing, while the left was commanded by Bida Jhala; Ramdas son of Jaimal was in the Van."⁴¹ The Bhils under their chief Punja remained concealed and did not take any part in the battle. The Rana had also not set apart any section of his army as the Reserve. However, the above arrangement of his army could not be acted upon properly as he had to come out from the narrow pass.

Hakim Khan Sur from the army of the Maharana suddenly appeared at the mouth of Haldighati pass in the morning of June 18, 1576 A.D. The Rana soon followed him⁴². They made such a fierce invasion upon the Mughal army that it had disorganized the Chickens of the front line under Saiyid Hashim Barha, and advance guards under Asaf Khan and Jagannath. They mixed up together and suffered "complete" defeat.⁴³ According to Badaoni, it was due to the unevenness of the ground, the large quantity of thorns and the serpentine twistings of the roads. The Rajputs of the Mughal army led by Kachhawa Lunakarna also fled away. At this time Asaf Khan and most probably Badaoni also ran to the shelter of the Mughal centre. Kachhawa Jagannath fought desperately and was about to fall but was rescued⁴⁴ by the timely help of the Reserves sent under Kachhawa Madhosingh. However, they too could not stand the onslaught of the troops of Mewar and left their posts.

The Rana's right wing under the command⁴⁵ of Tomar Rama Shah, made a similar effective attack upon the left wing of

38. *Akbar Nama* Vol. III pp. 244/*Muntakhab-ul-Tavarikh* Vol. II p. 236.

39. *Ibid* p. 245/*Amar Kavya Yamshavali* (MS) Lf. 83(b).

40. I have followed the description given by Dr. A.L. Shrivastava who believes that the eye-witness account of Badaoni, is vitiated by the lack of correct sequence of the events which is to be corrected by Abu-i-Fazl's brief but precise description (A.L. Shrivastava's paper 'The Battle of Haldighati').

41. *Muntakhab-ul-Tavarikh* II p. 236.

42. *Akbar Nama* III p. 245.

43. *Muntakhab-ul-Tavarikh* II p. 237.

the Mughal army. This too proved irresistible and resulted into the flight of several Mughal officers. The Shekh Zadas of Sikari fled away. An arrow struck Shah Mansur, who soon left the field. Ghazi Khan, the Mullah, stood in the battlefield for some time, but later on fled away saying "Flight from overwhelming odds is one of the traditions of the prophet⁴⁴". The Saiyids of Barha and some other youths under Saiyid Hassaim Barha displayed conspicuous gallantry. They were attacked by Jhala Man (Bida) and inspite of their obstinate resistance, they too failed to check the progress of the Mewar army. The fugitive Mughal soldiers, who had left the field, had gone upto 10 to 12 miles from Haldighati. Thus the Mewar forces succeeded in disarraying the front line, advance guards and Left and Right wings of the Mughal army.

Taking benefit of the disorder that⁴⁵ prevailed in the Mughal army, Rama Shah of Mewar army forged ahead towards the Mughal centre and performed such prodigies of valour against the Rajputs of Mansingh as baffle description. The Mughal soldiers hurriedly came forward to check his progress but were badly defeated and some of them had to run away. Mansingh soon came there and inspired his soldiers to fight with dashing courage. The Maharana then sent his elephants⁴⁶ to break the Mughal Centre. The Maharana's elephant named Luna wounded the Mughal elephant named Gajniukh, who was about to fly, when the Mahabat of the former was killed by a bullet, which compelled Luna to turn back. The Maharana replaced it by another elephant named Ramprasad, who threw down several Mughal soldiers including the elephant named Gajraj. But due to the death of the Mahabat it was seized by Hussain Khan of the Mughal army⁴⁷. Now the Mewar army successfully pushed itself forward to the Mughal Centre and both the armies raged a fierce hand to hand fight. Amid such circumstances, the Rana propelled himself and came within a striking distance of Mansingh. His steed Chetak planted its⁴⁸ forefeet on the head of the elephant

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid* p. 238; *Akbar Nama* III p. 245.

46. *Akbar Nama* pp. III pp. 245-246.

47. *Ibid* p. 246.

48. The Rajput sources, which only contain the details of it, give different accounts. *Raj Ratnakar* (MS) mentions that Mansingh's elephant trumpeted and ran away, when it was attacked by Chetak. (VII-59 to 41). The *Raj Prashasti* records the different attacks of Amarasingh and Pratap. (*IV-23-24*). *Amar Kanya* (MS) gives a more detailed account. According

of Mansingh, making it easy for him to deliver his blow more infuriatedly. Accordingly he hurled his spear towards him but, finding enough time, the latter managed to dive himself into his *howdah* and thus made the invasion ineffective by parrying the blow. The Mughal army, seeing him in danger, gathered around him and fought desperately. Machhosingh Kachhwaha inflicted a wound on the Rana, who counter attacked and killed Bahlol Khan, a senior Mughal officer. Seeing the Rana in danger, Jhala Man (Bida) took away his royal insignia and put it on his own head. All this was done within a few moments. Although the Rana was reluctant to leave the battlefield, but being badly wounded, he had to do it. Ramsingh and Raja Rama Shah⁴⁹ with his three sons fell fighting bravely.

Up to this time a good number of the Mughal soldiers had already left the field and their strong military array was also completely disorganised. Looking to this, Mihatarang, a Mughal officer posted in the Rear, came forward and shouted with a kettle drum about the arrival of the Mughal Emperor with reinforcement. Hearing this the fugitive Mughal troops stopped their further march and soon returned to the battle field. They now assembled in the plains situated in the south-west direction of village Khamnor. The Imperial army which was completely disheartened, was now encouraged on hearing the arrival of the Emperor and resumed fighting. Perhaps the personal exploits related by Badaoni⁵⁰ took place at this time when on advice from Asaf Khan, he killed the Rajputs indiscriminately. The soldiers of Mewar, who were fighting since early morning were exhausted. The extreme heat of mid June aggravated their difficulties. They were having no reserve to meet this challenge. In the words of Abu-l-Fazl,⁵¹ the Rajputs, who were becoming more and more predominant, now lost the heart

to this Dodiya Bhim who was with Pratap, first appeared before Mansingh to bid him "Juhar". Pratap, thereafter propelled towards him and attacked him.

49. Akbar Nama III p. 246/During the reign of Maharana Karnasingh, a cenotaph of Ramabai Tomar was constructed there which has an inscription of V.E. 1681.
50. A. L. Shrivastava's paper—"The Battle of Haldighati" published in the Pratap Smriti Granth (Udaipur).
51. Akbar Nama III p. 246.

on hearing of the arrival of reinforcement. At the death of Jhala Man (Bida) the soldiers of Mewar deserted the field.

With regards to the casualties on both sides, our authorities differ in their estimates. Perhaps a total number of 650 soldiers was⁵² killed on both sides. Several chiefs of Mewar lost their lives. Prominent among them were Neisingh, Dodiya Bhim, Sonagara Man, Rathor Ramdas, Sankardas, Tomar Ram Shah and his 3 sons, Hakim Khan Sur Rama Sandu etc. Of the Mughal Army about 150, men were slain. Due to excessive heat and incessant fighting since early morning the Mughal army was so badly exhausted that they had no energy left to pursue the Mewar soldiers. In the words of Badaoni, they⁵³ also apprehended sudden attacks. Dr. R. N. Prasad maintains that the real reason for not pursuing the vanquished army was some what else. The Kunwar's chief aim was to humble the Rana by inflicting a crushing defeat on him, but he never wished to harass or torture him, since the Rana still occupied a position of respect not only in his own eyes but also in the eyes of the Kachhawa Rajputs. But this statement is not corroborated by any of the contemporary sources. The eyewitness account of Badaoni⁵⁴ mentions the real cause of abandonment of pursuit. He says "When the air was like a furnace and no power of movement was left in the soldiers the idea became prevalent that the Rana by stealth and stratagem would keep himself concealed behind the mountains. This was the reason, why they made no pursuit, but returned to their tents."⁵⁵ Abdul-Fazl also records the similar facts.⁵⁶

Both the Rajputs and the Mughals claimed to have emerged victorious in this battle. The Persian Chronicles specially *Munshi-Khabut-Tawarikh* categorically affirms that the Mughal⁵⁷ army after this battle did not rejoice this "avowed victory." Contrary to this they were badly stricken by a panic of sudden invasion by the Rajputs. Mansingh even did not dare to allow his soldiers to go in

52. Almost all the contemporary writers like Badaoni, Abu-l-Fazl, Mutamid Khan etc. mention this figure of the total casualties.

53. R. N. Prasad—*op. cit.* pp. 50-51.

54. *Munshi-Khabut-Tawarikh* II p. 238/Mansingh's gallantry is also described by Badaoni, who was an eye witness. Therefore, we can hardly say that he was having a soft corner for Pratap.

54A. *Akbar Nama* III p. 200.

55. *Munshi-Khabut-Tawarikh* II p. 239.

search of food stuff. Badaoni also mentions an interesting fact. He says that when he was performing journey⁵⁶ with elephant named Ramprasad seized in the above battle, he attempted to circulate the news of the victory at a number of places. But none gave credence to his statement. Apart from this, no officer was^{57A} rewarded by the Emperor on the so called victory. Mansingh and Asaf Khan were called back to the court and for a few days they were forbidden from appearance⁵⁷ before the Emperor, who did not relish their incapacities in arranging food stuff in time and thus getting the army famished. These accounts prove that the claim of the Mughals does not carry sufficient weight. The Rajput sources⁵⁸ also mention an exaggerated account of their victory. By analysing the facts we may say that no party succeeded in achieving "complete victory" Mansingh's campaign failed in its primary object viz., subjugation of Mewar and killing or capturing of the Maharana. Thus the result of this battle was perhaps "drawn".

Activities of the Mughals after the battle

Next day, (10th June 1576 AD.) Mansingh with his army went to Gogundah via Bhutala⁵⁹ and captured it after killing 20 watchmen. Even there the Mughal army did not consider itself safe and an apprehension of sudden attack by the Rajputs kept on haunting them. As such they barricaded the streets, and dug a trench to such a depth that the horses could not jump over it. Badaoni⁶⁰ writes that no food stuff could be procured to commissariat. Maharana Pratap successfully cut down the supply line and compelled them to depend on mangoes and flesh of animals. On getting news of such unsatisfactory condition the Emperor sent Mahmud Khan, a special messenger of the court, to Gogundah to enquire into the matter.

56. *Ibid* p. 242.

56A. Badaoni mentions that only Ubazi Khan Badakhs, Mirsar Khan, Ali Murad Uzbek etc. were honoured by presents. But, all the rest though they fell from the position of confidence were dismissed without punishment (*ibid* p. 249). This also corroborates the above statement.

57. *Tab II* p. 493.

58. इस्ता घरे बहुताया, एवं बहेमां प्रशापिति हृष्मयागमे प्रो। सा विद्या मानवी द्विष्टम्भः संकोचयन्ती चरणी पराहमुखी ॥५७॥ The Jagdish Temple Inscription/Similar information is available in The *Raj Prashasti VI* p. 91/Raj Prakash (MS) Lf 21.

59. *Munt-Khab-ut-Tawarikh II* p. 240.

60. *Ibid* p. 243.

He remained there for a day and collected necessary information. According to Badaoni,⁶¹ he submitted a report favourable to Mansingh. The Emperor was over all pleased at this, but was annoyed at their having abandoned pursuit of the Rana. Nizamud-din⁶² Ahmad, Badaoni and Abu-l-Fazl, all of them, record that the Emperor became furious and forbade appearance of Mansingh and Asaf Khan before him, ■ they prohibited their soldiers from plundering and devastating the Rana's lands.

Maharana's preparations after the battle.

After leaving the battlefield the Maharana moved towards Balicha, where his favourite steed Chetak lost its life. His brother Shaktisingh⁶³ met him there and gave him his horse. After burrying his horse there, he went to village Kaleda, via Dabuna and Balita, where soon his followers also assembled. Arrangements were made to remove the wounded soldiers to Kolyari, a remote place, about 40 miles away from Gogundah, surrounded by the hills of Kamal-nath, Sarwan and Jhadol. The Maharana with his soldiers remained in hiding in the hilly tracts of the Western Mewar and carried on ceaseless guerilla-war fare. The Banjaras were not allowed to pass through this territory with food-stuff. After a few days the rainy season set in, which impeded operations of the Mughals. In September 1576 AD., when Mansingh and Asaf Khan returned to Ajmer the Maharana recaptured Mohi and Gogundah.⁶⁴ The battle of Haldighati could not exhaust his power. In the words⁶⁵ of A. L.

61. Ibid

62. Ibid p. 247/Tar II p. 493/Akbar Name III pp. 255-260.

63. Some scholars have challenged the authenticity of this story (Ojha I p. 440/G. N. Sharma op. cit. p. 91/S. N. Prasad op. cit. p. 51). But the Sagai Raso given relevant details of it (Lf. 8). Shaktisingh's participation in the battle of Haldighati is also proved from other sources like Vanshevali (MS) No. 867/Amarkavya-Vanshevali, Raj Prashasti etc.

64. The following two copper plates found from villages Mohi and (Pipali) near Mohi corroborate it.

1. महाराजाचिराज महाराणा श्री प्रतापसंघ भविष्यत भाष्म महि मरु खण्ड ३ उक्त भाष्माद
कीषा संक्रत् १६३३ वर्षे आदीश वटि ८ कुम्भमें भाष्म [The Mohi plate].

2. महाराजाचिराज महाराणा श्री प्रतापसंघ भावेष्यत भाष्म शीपसी कपा [कोरो] उक्ते
भाष्मादे दता कुम्भमें भाष्म १६३१ वर्षे भावेष्यत भाष्म हुदि ११ [The Pipali plate].

65. A.L. Srivastava's paper, "The Battle of Haldighati" published in the Pratap Suriit Granth (Udaipur).

Shrivastava, "It proved to be a blessing in disguise, by giving him fresh confidence. He now determined to continue his struggle. Haldighati is a dividing line between Pratap's policies and activities before June 18, 1576 A.D., and after that date.....The lessons of Haldighati became responsible for a change in character of warfare between Pratap and Akbar."

Soon after the battle, Pratap strove hard in making a coalition⁶⁶ with Rao Surtan of Sirohi, Narayandas of Idar and Taj Khan of Jalore against the authority of Akbar. They made a plan to plunder the royal treasures in Gujarat and carry out depredation in the Imperial Provinces of Malwa and Gujarat. The Rana might have helped Duda, son of Rao Surjan, who raised the standard of revolt against Akbar.

On hearing of these developments Akbar himself came⁶⁷ to Ajmer on Sept. 26, 1576 A.D. At this time Mansingh and other officers, returned from Mewar and appeared before the Emperor. As already stated, they were reprimanded by him for having abandoned the pursuit of the Rana. From Ajmer⁶⁸ Akbar despatched a part of his troops against Sirohi, Jalore and Idar under the commands of Tarson Khan, Saiyid Hashim Bahra and Raja Raisingh. Instructions were given to them to settle the matter by peaceful negotiations and always to use soothing and admonitory language in dealing with these seditious chiefs. This army succeeded in Jalore and Sirohi. But Narayandas of Idar did not agree to owe his allegiance to Akbar. Joining Pratap he continued to revive hostility by conducting desolatory raids in Gujarat. To encounter him Tarson Khan was detailed to Patan and Raja Raisingh was posted at Nadot⁶⁹ in Gujarat.

Akbar's visit.

Successful escape of Pratap and Narayandas from the grasp of the Mughals perturbed Akbar, who resolved to visit Mewar personally in order to crush the power of the Rana. Before leaving Ajmer he sent Bhagawandas,⁷⁰ Mansingh, Qutbuddin Khan etc. towards

66. G.N. Shukla *op. cit.* p. 75

67. *Akbar Nama III* p. 259.

68. *Ibid* pp. 266-267.

69. *Ibid* p. 267.

70. *Ibid* p. 272/*Munt-khab-ar-Tawarikh II* pp. 248-249;

Gogundah to extirpate the Rana from there. At the same time Qulij Khan, Khweja Gya-sud-din, Ali Asaf Khan etc. were sent against Idar. They were also instructed to escort the caravan of the pilgrimage of Sultan Khwaja, the Mir Haji, which was passing through Gogundah, Panarawa, Khed Brahma and Idar. On arrival of this army the Maharana went away into the hilly area of Kumbhalgarh. The outposts of Mohi and Godundah were recaptured by the Mughals.

On leaving Ajmer on Oct 11, 1570 A.D. Akbar⁷¹ reached Mohi. From there he gave orders ■ Qutab-ud-din Khan and Bhagwantdas to remain posted at Gogundah.⁷² Leaving the caravan ■ Panarawa, therefore, both of them returned to the said place while Quliz Khan continued his march with the pilgrims. From Mohi the Emperor soon reached Udaipur. While staying there he planned to encircle the hills with a view to capturing the Maharana and destroying his hilly resorts. For this purpose, he made the following arrangements.⁷³

1. Ghazi Khan Budakhs, with Sharif Atka, Mujahid Khan, Turk Subhan Quli etc. was posted at Mohi with 3000 cavalry.

2. Abdur-Rahman Beg, son of Jalal-ud-din Beg, and Abdur Rahman Beg son of Muyid Beg with 500 troops, were kept at Madarlyा.

3. Raja Bhagawantdas and Qutub-ud-din Mubannia Khan, who were posted at Gogundah, left the place without permission. The Emperor, therefore, got furious, but after wards granted them pardon. They, with Sayyid Abdulla Khan, were kept at the Debari Ghati entrance of Udaipur.

4. Shah Fakhr-ud-din and Jagannath Kachhawa were posted at the outpost of Udaipur city.

However, these Mughal forces could not succeed in their plan. The physical features of the country greatly hampered their progress. The surprise attacks of the guerilla bands of Mewar struck panic even among the senior Mughal Officers, who desisted from further

71 *Ibid* p. 274/At Mohi, several nobles of Mewar appeared before the Emperor.

72. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad mentions that the Emperor desiring to make the Maharana captive posted Bhagwantdas etc. at Gogundah (*Ibid* II p. 495).

73. *Ibid* p. 496/*Akbar Nama III* pp. 274-275/*Mu'it-khab-ul-Tawarikh* p. 249.

March in the hilly areas. Being unsuccessful in his primary object to make the Maharana captive, Akbar left Mewar⁷⁴ for Malwa. The Mughal forces posted at Idar, under the command of Quliz Khan, also met the same⁷⁵ fate. On departure of the Mughal army the Maharana recaptured Gogundah and Mohi. Hearing this, Akbar in May 1577 A.D., again sent Raja Mansingh, Bhagwantdas and Mir Bahar Khan against Mewar.⁷⁶ On arrival of this army the Maharana returned to his hilly abodes. This Mughal army remained in Mewar only for two months and returned thereafter. Maharana Pratap recaptured these outposts.

Battle of Kumbhalgarh (1577-78 A.D.)

Having repeatedly failed in subduing the Rana, Akbar resolved to undertake a massive campaign against Mewar. For this purpose he despatched his army on Oct. 15 1577 A.D. under the command of Shahbaz Khan Bukhshi.⁷⁷ He was accompanied by Qazi Khan Badakhs, Sharif Khan Atka, Salyid Kasim, Saiyid Hussain Behra, Bhagwantdas, Mansingh etc. For obvious reasons of akinness to caste Bhagwantdas and Mansingh were sent back to the Imperial court. On request from Shahbaz Khan, Shekh Ibrahim Fatehpuri, an officer having well acquaintance with the hill affairs, was sent with additional reinforcement.

On hearing of the arrival of this army the Rana made necessary preparations. Deserting Kelawara and other towns of this area he confined himself to the fort of Kumbhalgarh. Shahbaz Khan proceeded towards Kelawara and took possession⁷⁸ of it. He then marched towards Kumbhalgarh and encamped⁷⁹ near Haram Khor Tekari. Maharana Pratap, who was then present in the fort, put

74. Akbar left Udaipur for Malwa at about the end of the year 1576 A.D. He passed through Banewara and Dungarpur.
75. Tab II p. 499/Akbar Nama III pp. 280-281/Munt-khab-ul-Tavarikh II pp. 251-252.
76. Akbar Nama III p. 277.
77. Ibid p. 339/Tab II p. 516.
78. Ibid/Tab II p. 516.
79. Abu-l-Fuzi mentions that the Mughal army made several unsuccessful attempts to capture the outer fortification of the fort, but failed. Therefore, the garrison was disheartened. However, by constant efforts the Mughal army succeeded in capturing some part of the fortified area (near Haram Khor Tekari).

up gallant and obstinate resistance. The cannonading from the Tara Burz and Chogon of the fort completely stemmed advancement of the enemy. Shahbaz Khan also, placing the cannons on Haram Khor Tekari, situated just in front of Tara Burz, battered the fort. Near the Nimbupole of the fort, the inlays of the cannon-balls are still visible in the walls. However, the Mughals could not do any substantial harm and failed to reduce the fort. Now Shahbaz Khan made up his mind to hatch some plot to destroy the big cannon of the fort and also to damage its water reservoirs. Col. Tod imputes⁸⁰ the charge of treachery to some Devara Chief, who had gone over to the side of the Mughals. Although Abu-l-Fazl, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, and Badaoni do not refer to any such event of treacherous plot, Arif Kandhari in his *Tarikh-i-Akbari*⁸¹ makes a special mention of this. The big cannon of the fort was burst into pieces by adopting treacherous⁸² means. The Rajputs were thus disheartened and requested the Maharana to evacuate the place. Having appointed Sonagara Bhan⁸³ as the commandant of his forces, Pratap left the place by the way of Parasuram Mahadeva and soon reached Ranakpur. From there, he went towards Chawand.

The Rajputs left in the fort then collected near Rampole and the precincts of the temples and opened the gate. The assailants rushed towards the entrance and a fierce hand to hand combat took place. The Rajputs displayed stiff resistance but plurality of the assailants helped them. Nearly all the Rajputs lost their lives. They successfully resisted the Mughals from entering the fort till the last drop of blood in their⁸⁴ veins. At last the fort fell in to the hands of the Mughals on April 3 or 4, 1578 A.D. Several temples of the fort were molested. A casual literary reference is of MS. *Bhoj-Charitra*⁸⁵ of which the colophone mentions usual performance of

80. Tod I p. 271.

81. Hazr Muhammad Arif Kandhari—*Tarikh-i-Akbari* pp. 262-263.

82. For details see Author's paper "Kumbhalgarh ka Yuddha" published in the *Pratap Smriti Granth* (Udaipur).

83. पढ़ी कुम्भगढ़ चरवा उठे कोज पट्टूबो । राज हुई । गह बूटो नहीं । दग नोगर से जीतावर पदवा । देखो परवाहे कोज मे बढ़ो । जदी दीवानजी से नीतरपा । भाज समुद्री काल अप्ति । [Rawal Ranaji ki Bar p. 108.]

84. *Akbar Nama* III p. 240/Tod I p. 271.

85. "संक्षेप १६१४ वर्षे ईश्वर विने अकबर प्रातिशाह श्रम राजी कुम्भगढ़ निवासी फिल्म चलति....." [The colophones of *Bhoj Charitra* (MS.) Jaisalmer Bhander].

religious rites there, even after the occupation of the fort by the Mughals.

Shahbaz Khan placed this fort under the command of Ghazi Khan Badakhshi. He also despatched the forces against Gogundah and Udaipur under the command of Muhammad Khan, who wrested these towns. Farid Khan, who was sent against Chawand, succeeded in capturing the same. The Maharana was thus dislodged from his important hilly retreats. He now moved towards Chhapan and subsequently went to Bhomat area, where he made Kamalnath Sarawan hills as his retreat. Shahbaz Khan, after this momentous victory, returned from Mewar in May 1578 A.D. and appeared before the Mughal Emperor in June 1578 A.D. at his camp on Jhelam.

Shahbaz Khan's invasions (1578 to 1580 A.D.)

After the departure of Shahbaz Khan, Pratap recaptured all important outposts including Gogundah. Shahbaz Khan, who was again detailed for duty in Mewar, left Fatehpur Sikri⁸⁷ on Dec. 15, 1578 A.D. and soon reached Mewar. On his arrival the Maharana again returned to his hilly abodes. Tarachand Kawadia⁸⁸ was wounded by Shahbaz Khan, when he was returning after conducting plundering raids in Malwa. The latter also made unsuccessful attempts to capture Maharana Pratap. He remained in Mewar for about 3 months and returned to Fatehpur Sikri on April 6, 1579 A.D.

After departure of the Mughal army Maharana again occupied the outposts recently wrested by Shahbaz Khan. In order to strengthen his meagre resources, he carried out depredations in the Imperial province of Malwa. Shahbaz Khan, who was ordered by Akbar⁸⁹ for launching an invasion, again left for Mewar on Nov. 11, 1579 A.D. This time Pratap had to face great hardships. The Mughal army chased him persistently, but he kept on eluding successfully. In the words of Abu'l-Fazl the Maharana was then disheartened. Every morning he thought that this would be his last day. It

■ Tod I p. 271; *Ranajit si Bet* (MS) p. 100.

87. *Akbar Nama* III pp. 380-381;

88. Dr. Raghuvir Singh—Maharana Pratap, pp. 36-37/G.N. Sharma op. cit. p. 99; *Vir Vinod* II p. 163.

89. *Akbar Nama* III pp. 459-60/Tab II p. 538.

was amid such circumstances that Shahbaz Khan tried hard to make him captive. Once when he was staying⁹⁰ in the house of Tajmal Sisodiya, he was attacked by the Mughals. But he managed to escape. He was thus beset on every side, dislodged from his important hilly retreats and closely pursued by the Mughals from glen to glen. His chief cause of anxiety was his family. But the faithful Bhils often gave them shelter and concealed⁹¹ them at the time of invasion. Frequently, he had to abandon ready meals for want of time to eat. Col. Tod describes an interesting anecdote, according to which the Maharana was annoyed on hearing a piercing cry of his daughter, when even a cake of grass-flour was snatched out from her hand by a wild cat. He, therefore, communicated a message to the Mughal Emperor for his readiness to owe allegiance to him.⁹² However, subsequently he changed his attitude on receiving a letter containing stinging couplets from Rathor Prithviraj of Bikaner. But none of the contemporary chronicles of the Mughal court narrate this incident. Therefore, this anecdote does not seem to be correct. However, it is true that the Maharana was facing great hardships. Events forced him to leave Mewar and he went towards Jaisawant-pura. Shahbaz Khan was also summoned back from Mewar in May 1580 A. D. by Akbar to the Mughal court.

Bhama Shah's timely help

The Maharana left Mewar with the members of his family. At this time Bhama Shah met him at village Chuliya and made an offer of his accumulated wealth for the cause of his country. This amount was sufficient for the maintenance⁹³ of 5000 men for twelve years. This magnificent offer enabled him to replenish and mobilize his army again. Bhama Shah was thus honoured for having saved⁹⁴ his

90. *Ibid* p. 480.

91. Col. Tod mentions that the Bhils frequently carried some of the children of the Maharana into their baskets and concealed them in the hills of Jawar. The bolts and rings used for the cradles of these royal children are still visible in the hill ranges (Tod I pp. 271-72).

92. *Ibid*.

93. राजा वीर प्रदापसिंहजी न चिला माहे पातसाहुमी दी कोळ योऽवायो । लालवालि भयुँ ही वट्टुने मर्ही.....ठें डा आंगो लहुयो । बारा दरस साँई पांच हजार योळी नो पातस ताँई आली जसो । सोँई.....वैष्णव [Vamshavali (MS) referred to in the *Pratap Smriti Granth* p. 134].

94. *Ethasika Shodh-Sangrah* by the Author, pp. 69.

country at such a critical time. Pratap then returned from Sunda Jasawantpura and encamped at Dholan in Mewar.

Khan Khana's invasion

After Shahbaz Khan, Dastan Khan was appointed as the Governor of Ajmer, but he soon died at Boli on Oct. 24, 1580 A.D. Abdur Rahim Khan Khana replaced him as the Governor of Ajmer and Incharge of Mewar affairs. But he was not very active like Shahbaz Khan. Once, according to *Raj Prashasti*, Kunwar Amarsingh seized his Begams and presented them before the Maharana, who did not relish such activities. During the times of Maharana Kumbha and Sanga, several Muslim ladies were made captive in siege operations and were not returned. But Pratap, whose policy was to fight not as an imperialist, returned these ladies with due honour. After Dec. 1581 A. D. Khan Khana mostly remained at Fatehpur Sikri. Therefore, he could not pay sufficient attention to Mewar affairs and thus Mughal operations in Mewar were much impeded. The Mughal commandants holding important outposts in Mewar, were badly stricken by panic of sudden invasion by the Rajputs. This state of affairs provided a few month's respite to the Maharana. Thus consolidating his power he invaded Diber, which was under the charge of Sultan Khan Gori as *Thanedar*⁹⁵. He was badly defeated and slain by Kunwar Amarsingh (1582 A.D.). This fateful victory changed the Maharana's destiny. He also pursued the fugitives and invaded the outposts of Amet and Madariya which were also deserted by their *Thanedars*. Thereafter, Kumbhalgarh was recaptured by defeating its Mughal Commander Abdullah Khan (1588 A.D.). In this way within a short span of time the Maharana gained the entire western Mewar.

Invasions of Jagannath Kachhawa (1594-85 A.D.)

Seeing that Abdur Rahim Khan Khana had failed to subdue Pratap, Jagannath Kachhawa was appointed to chastise him. A big army was sent under his command. Jafar Beg was appointed as its Bakhshi. After making necessary arrangements, they left Fatehpur Sikri⁹⁶ on Dec. 5, 1584 A.D. When they reached

95. अपरेक्षा: बनवानीदाराणा हरये व्याद मुकामिनी वस्त्रोम्प शेखानास ता: पुगः ॥
Raj Prashasti IV verses 32-33.

96. *ibid* IV verse 16; The full name of Sultan Khan Gori was perhaps Serima Sultan Khan. [सुलतन सेरिमाख जलवाह वज लिखित]

Mandalgarh, Jagannath, leaving a part of the army there, went in pursuit of the Rana. Saiyid Raju, one of his lieutenants also marched with a part of his army. Both of them made futile attempts to trace the Rana, and subsequently left Mewar being unsuccessful.

A fresh attempt was again made on Sept 17, 1585 A.D. by sending Jagannath Kachhawa against Mewar. This time he strove hard and invaded the hilly abodes of the Rana and plundered them. Proceeding further, the Mughal army reached Dungarpur and invaded the place where it could collect a large amount of booty. In Mewar however, nothing substantial could be achieved.

On departure of the Mughal army Pratap, made up his mind to regain his authority over Chhapan, Vagad etc. He, therefore, detached his army under the command of Rawat Bhan against Sur Khand.⁹⁸ A successful encounter was held on the bank of the river Som.

Last days of Pratap

After 1585 A.D. Mughal pressure was considerably reduced. During these years Akbar was engrossed in other affairs of his empire and found a new field for his ambition in the South. Pratap soon managed to recapture all the 86 important outposts of Mewar excluding Mandalgarh and Chitor. Several copper plates, colophones of MSS and inscriptions corroborate this fact. A perusal of the copper plate⁹⁹ of V.E. 1644 (1587 A.D.) of Rikhabdeva, the colophone of M.S. *Gora Badal Chauhan*¹⁰⁰ copied at Sadari (Godawar) in V.E. 1645 (1588 A.D.), the copper plate of Pander¹⁰¹ (Jahazpur) dated V.E. 1647 (1590 A.D.) etc. pertaining to his reign, prove that a considerable territory was regained by him, which he managed to enjoy throughout the latter part of his life.

98. *Ibid* pp. 703-704.

99. The Suk-Khand inscription of V.E. 1642 (1585 A.D.) refers to this event.
महाराजाधिराज प्रतापसिंगवी ने राठड का राज पराप्ति कर : सिंहीशाल का एक महाराज
कीका जा सुखन्द नगर.....

100. *Bhikasika Sodh Sangraha* p. 67.

101. संचार सोमसही वणधाम । वाचम तुदि वंचम तुविसाम ।
दुर्व्याद दरगढ राण प्रताप । प्रतपच दिव बधिक प्रताप ॥
The colophone of *Gora Badal Chauhan*.

102. विष्व भी महाराजाधिराज महाराजाची ची प्रतापसिंगवी आदेशातु प्रगमे वहाजपुर ई भाग वडे
मध्ये हज घर्सी वीणा ११ करे वीणा भीमुळे । साह भागा । सवद १६४५ चाहो मुरी १५ ।

A notable occurrence of this period was the desertion of his brother Sagar, who sought refuge in the Mughal court. The main reason of animosity between the two brothers was the proposal of a matrimonial alliance with the ruling family of Sirohi, which Sagar disliked.

Maharana Pratap breathed his last at Chawand on Jan. 19, 1597 A.D. He was cremated on the bank of a stream near the village Bandeli, where his cenotaph still exists.

Bhama Shah and Tarachand

Our information about the ancestors of Bhama Shah is meagre. His father Kavadiya Bharamal served as the *kiledar* of Ranathambhor under Maharana Sanga, Rainasinh and Vikramaditya. After the second sack of Chittor, the events changed rapidly in the eastern Rajasthan. The family of Bharamal left Ranathambhor during this period and settled at Chittor. While living at Chittor, this family soon turn as millionaires.¹⁰³ Maharana Pratap invited Bhama Shah and his brother Tarachand to serve under him. Bhama Shah was appointed as the Prime Minister while Tarachand was made the Hakim of Godawar. Both these brothers were good generals. They took active part in several battles and also successfully carried out plundering raids in Malwa. The biggest service rendered by Bhama Shah was the presenting of all his accumulated treasure to Maharana Pratap, at the time when the latter resolved to leave Mewar for want of money. By this generous offering Pratap succeeded in enlisting a good number of soldiers again. Thus this endowment had changed the fate of the country. Maharana Pratap was fortunate that he had such loyal followers whom the Mughal authorities could not allure. Tarachand¹⁰⁴ was the patron of art and music. His son Suratan got constructed a stepwell at Sadari. The *Gora Bedal Charitra*¹⁰⁵ was composed by Hemratan under the patro-

103. संवत् १६१६ निकटस्थि महारुद्देश कालावियानके बारबल छनी तथा बड़ीयोग्यता.....एवं पृष्ठे अप्टाइटमकोटपो घनम्य द्रकटी भवनि [The Nagpurijo Lunkogachchhya Pottorall].
104. संवत् १६१४.....महाराजाविहार महाराजा औ जयराजिदु विजयराजदे उत्तराल झांतीय कालाविया नोल आरम्भ साह थी गोराबेलाय एकादश चठो संस्कृत सम्पूर्णर्थ एवं यार्ष थी गोराविहार कारित तत्पुरेन साह थी संस्कृता. {The stepwell inscription of Sadari}
105. संवत् सोतह साह विद्युत वाक्य सुविदि पञ्चनि सूचिसाम : साविसरादि मुरि भासूलाह वदरीक्ष्म विष्वुलन राइ : तसे भिसुराई तारापन्न भवनि शाचि ज्ञातरीन हन्त : The Gora Bedal Charitra 612 to 614.

name of Tarachand. This family was the staunch follower of Lunka Shah (*Bais Sampradaya*) and spent lavishly for the development of this sect. Bhama Shah's son Akshyachand also remained Prime Minister during the periods of Maharana Amar Singh, Karnasingh and Jagatsingh. Though his successors could not remain on the above post, they were held in high esteem throughout the country.

Inscriptions and Copper plates

Only a few inscriptions and copper plates of the reign of Maharana Pratap are known. The Pratap Museum inscription of V.E. 1680, seems to be a spurious record as its date does not tally with the Ephemeris. The Surakhand inscription of V.E. 1642 has been challenged on the basis of its language and contents. But these remarks do not have sufficient weight. Comparing its language with that of the Mandal inscription of the cenotaph of Jagannath Kachhwaha, we may hold it as a contemporary one. It refers the defeat of Mansingh at the hands of the Rana which is also mentioned in the other records of Mewar. The Maharana also remained in hilly retreats which are adjacent to Surakhand. Therefore the grant can hardly be termed as spurious one. It has some exaggerated account only. Among the copper plates, the Sanjhana plate of V.E. 1633, is an important one, as it refers to the event of some plundering raids [by the Mughals]. The *patta* of Delawara of V.E. 1639 seems to be a spurious record, as the battle referred to in it took place during the reign of Maharana Amarsingh I.

(C) Maharana Amarsingh

After the death of Maharana Pratap his son Amarsingh I, born on March 6, 1550 A. D., succeeded him on Jan. 10, 1597 A. D. Numerous inscriptions found from Jiran (Distt. Mandsaur), Nana Bera and Sadari (Distt. Pali), belonging to the early years of his reign, prove that his authority extended over Mewar, Godawar and Northern Malwa. According to Col. Tod¹, he remodelled the administrative setup and revised the assessment of Land Revenue. Treading on the footsteps of his father he resolved not to yield to the Mughal sovereignty.

Invasion by Salim (1600 A.D.)

As mentioned earlier, Akbar failed to subdue Maharana Pratap. On the latter's death, he got another chance to fulfil his ambition. For this purpose he despatched a strong force² with Raja Mansingh, Shah Kuli Khan and other senior Mansabdars under the nominal command of Prince Salim. Abu-l-Fazl mentions that Prince Salim, used to luxury and drunkenness as he was, spent much time at Ajmer. His lieutenants exerted themselves in capturing important³ outposts of central Mewar. The Maharana, following the policy of his father, took shelter in the hilly tracts of western Mewar. His forces too offered gallant resistance and made surprise attacks on the newly established outposts of the Mughals. Sultan Khan Ghori, posted at Bagor, was suddenly invaded by the Mewar troops and was slain. After a few days, Prince Salim arrived at Udaipur and directed his commandants to chase the Mewar contingents more actively. When these activities of the Mughals were geared up, the Maharana made a counter attack in the imperial territory near Malpura⁴ and plundered several towns. The Prince

1. Tod I p. 257/G.N. Sharma-Mewar and the Mughal Emperors pp. 108-109.
2. H. Beveridge-Akbar Nama Vol. III p. 1155/Beniprasad-History of Jahangir p. 173.

3. Vir Vaid V. II pp. 217-218; Rawat Ranaji ni Bat (MS) p. 108.

4. Akbar Nama Vol. III p. 1155. In Rajasthani Sources the Maharana is said to have laid waste the Imperial territory of Malpura and Toda.

ଶେ ଏହି ଧରଣ ମାଲପୁର କଷାଯା । ଶେ ଏହି ଧରଣ ତାଳ ଗଢ଼ ଦୋଢ଼ ମୁଦ୍ରଣା ॥

Pochin Rajasthan Geet (Udaipur) Vol.VIII/Amar Kavya (MS.) lf. 3B also contains the similar information.

at once sent Madhosingh Kachhawa with troops to drive him out. Meanwhile, the Maharana made a sudden night-attack upon the Mughal garrison and fought with Raza Kuli, Lal Beg, Mubariz Beg, Aliq Khan etc. The Mughal outpost of Unthala, which was under Shamsh Khan Kayam Khani⁵, was captured by a shrewd device.⁶ This dealt a death-blow to the hopes of the Mughals.

Man Singh Kachhawa, who was then serving as the Governor of Bengal, had to return on news of disturbances breaking out there. On his departure, major part of the Mughal army also left Mewar. The Maharana then recaptured all the outposts which were seized by the Mughals in this expedition. In this way, the Mughal army failed to achieve any notable success. Some Mughal officers were left at Mandal. A Bhati chief named Isardas⁷ and Abdulla Khan⁸ were slain there in 1603 A. D.

Other attempts to invade Mewar.

Prince Salim, weary of waiting for succession, broke into open rebellion, but having reconciled soon, he was again sent against Mewar. Several senior Mansabdars were ordered to accompany him. But the Prince did not march towards Mewar and stayed at Fatehpur Sikri⁹. He thus totally refused to undertake this march and left for Allahabad. Akbar became furious at this sedulous con-

5. दिल्लीपते-मुंबदर बड़े कारपालानकम् जटाताश्व (Ref. Prashasti V 4)/Kayam Khan Raso p. 59 and 122.
6. It is said that both the Chundawats and the Sakawats were contending as to who should reserve the right to guard the Van of Mewar. The Maharana asked both these rival claimants that one who entered the fort of Unthala first would reserve the above right. The Chundawats succeeded in it and they continued to guard the Van of the forces of Mewar. The Sakawats also displayed conspicuous gallantry. One of their leaders; Battlu Saktawat did self-sacrifice by putting his body against the sharp iron spikes of the gate of the said fort and got it opened with the help of elephant. *Vr. Vinod* pp. 217-218/Ojha I p. 476}.
7. *Akbar Nama* Vol. III p. 455/Rogers and Beveridge—*Tuziq-i-Jahangiri* vol. I p. 273.
8. संवद् १६० दिन विष्णुतिवार वर्द्ध कातिवद् ११ सूली श्रीपति यादी रावधानपति ओहिया अकबर बसादूरीन.....महाराव की दीवान मासोरिहुवी राय थी ईरामस थी राजी यादो जेसलमेर था। (Unpublished inscription of Mandal) For Isardas, see Nennai Vol. II pp. 389, 386.
9. संवद् १६० वर्द्ध कातिवद् ११—विष्णुतिवार-बद्रुल्लाल यारथे.....[unpublished inscription of cenotaph No. I of Mandal]. Abdulla Khan referred to in the above cenotaph inscription of Mandal was a descendant of Saiyyid Muhammad of Jaunpur and was a leader of Mahdawis [Zakhira-ul-Khawasim by Farid, edited by Saiyyid Moinul Haq (Karachi) p. 15 fn.
10. *Akbar Nama* Vol. III pp. 1233-34/*Saqaf Nama* (Persian text) Vol. II p. 496.

duct and resolved to make a fresh attempt by sending Khusrū, Sagar etc. against the Maharana. But this plan too could not be executed as the Emperor breathed his last on Oct. 13, 1605 A.D.
Invasion by Parwiz (1605-1606 A.D.).

On Akbar's death his son Salim ascended the throne and assumed the pompous title of Jahangir. On gaining power he strictly followed the policy of his father and sent a large force consisting of 10000 cavalry against Mewar,¹¹ under the nominal command of his 18 year old son Parwiz. The actual supervision, however, was entrusted to Asaf Khan, the Wazir. Abdur Razak Mamuri was appointed as the Bakhshi. Some senior Mughal officers and Mansabdars viz. Raja Jagannath Kachhwaha, Sagar, Madhosinh Kachhwaha, Raial Darabari, Sheikh Ruqunuddin, Sher Khan Afghan, Madhosinh Sekhawat etc. were also sent. The prince was instructed to settle the matter by peaceful negotiations and not to chastise the Maha rana, provided he agreed to owe allegiance to the Mughal throne. The Maharana made necessary preparations to meet this army and shifted his capital to Chawand, which is situated in the hilly area. This town was then in a prosperous condition. The famous set of Ms. *Ragamala*, having early Rajasthani miniature paintings,¹² completed at Chavand by the artist Nisaradi in 1605 A. D, very well speaks of its glory. After closing all important passes of the hills, the Maharana posted chiefs of his army to protect them. Several battles took place. The Mughal army¹³ led by Khan-Khana was badly defeated by the Mewar army near Diwer pass. At the same time, the Bhils of Panarva had a successful encounter with the Mughal army which was posted between Unthala and Debari and carried depredations in the territory.

After a few days Prince Khusrū raised the standard of revolt (April 1606 A.D.). Jahangir had to proceed in his pursuit. In such disturbed circumstances, it was quite unsafe for him to leave Agra unprotected. Therefore, he conveyed a message to Parwiz to return to Agra immediately by abandoning Mewar. At this time, a Jain

11. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Eng.) Vol. I p. 26.

12. "सुखम् १६५२ वर्षे रैगाला सूवि ३ फेब्रुरी राहारी चार०४ मध्ये" (The colophon of the *Ragamala*).

13. *Vir Vinod* 12 pp. 222-223/Ojha I p. 400/G.N. Sharma *op. cit.* pp. 112-113.

merchant named Khamesara Khinwab, allured prince Bagha of Mewar, posted at Mandalgarh, to seek refuge in the Mughal court. On his advice, Bagha visited the Mughal court, without taking permission from his father Maharana Amarsinh and appeared before the Mughal Emperor at Lahore.¹⁶ After remaining there for a few days he returned to Chittor with Sagar. Jahangir in his Memoirs mentions that the Maharana sent this prince as the hostage, but *Rana Raso* clearly records that he left for the Mughal court without permission from his father and remained in the hostile camp with Sagar at Chittor for a few months.

Appointment of Sagar at Chittor.

As stated earlier, Sagar the son of Maharana Udaisingh, left Mewar and sought refuge in the Mughal court, during the last days of Maharana Pratap. In order to disconcert the unity of the Rajputs of Mewar Jahangir appointed him at Chittor¹⁷ by promoting him to the rank of 3000 *Zat* and 1000 *Sewars*. The *Rana Raso* mentions of the grant of *Panch Hazari Mansab*.¹⁸ But it does not seem to be correct. Generally, the rulers of Mewar, after the settlement of 1615 A.D., were given this Mansab of *Panch Hazari Zat*. Therefore, Dayaldas, the writer of the *Rana Raso* perhaps used this word in the sense that Sagar was having official recognition by the Mughals. He was granted¹⁹ the *Paraganas* of Sadari, Begun, Bagor, Phuliya, Kapasin etc. in addition to Chittor. However, he could not attract important chiefs of Mewar to join him. Dayaldas mentions that Chittor developed as an isolated monastery,²⁰ where no important chief went. Only Kanwar Bagha, Khamesara Khinwa and a few others remained with him at Chittor, but the number was insignificant.

16. आप कुंशर हिंहि तमे पिलवी ताहि कहूँ जाहि । थोंचा लोनसरा पिल्ली कुबथ पंक चिपटाई ॥
The *Rana Raso* (MS.) verse 658.

17. *Tazq-i-Jahangiri* (MS.) Vol. I p. 79.

18. *Ibid* p. 112.

19. परत पाई अहांगीर हुधि बपरि धीड़ि परई परई ।
इतार पंच अनसव उपरि करि अपान विज कर एहि ॥
Rana Raso (MS.) verse 555.

20. In the firman issued on May 11, 1615 A.D. by Jahangir to Karmasingh, it is mentioned that the *paraganas* of Kapasin, Sadari, Phuliya, Bagor, Begun etc. were taken back from Sagar. Therefore, it proves that these were granted to him also.

19. *Rana Raso* (MS) verses 556-559.

When no important chief extended his support to Sagar the intended schism could not be created. On the other hand the Maharana became furious and made necessary preparations to carry-out depredations in the imperial territory of Sironj, Malpura and Gujrat.²⁰ Kunwar Bhimsingh was detailed for this purpose in Gujrat, while Prince Karnasingh was sent against Sironj. The *Rana Raso* mentions that both of them got rich booties. The Maharana again shifted his capital to Chawand²¹ from safety point of view.

Invasion by Mahabat Khan (1608 A.D.)

Being alarmed by the above developments, the Mughal Emperor decided to undertake a gigantic campaign against Mewar by deputing Mahabat Khan. A strong army consisting of 12000 fully armed cavalry, 500 Ahadies, 2000 musketeers, 60 elephants and 80 pieces of artillery, was also sent with him.²² In order to encourage him, his Mansab was raised to 3000 *Zat* and 2500 *Sawars*, and a sum of Rs. Twenty lacs was placed at his disposal.

Mahabat Khan left for Mewar on July 28, 1608 A.D. Some important chiefs and Mansabdars named Zafar Khan, Suja at Khan, Bundels Raja Birsingh, Kachliawa Narayandas, Bahadur Khan, Muiz-ul-mulk etc. also accompanied him. The Mughal army seems to have come in Mewar via Mandal and Chittor and made Uonthala as the base. From there, the Mughals succeeded to establish their outposts²³ at various places. On the report of Mahabat Khan, Raja Kishandas of the Mughal army was awarded by the Emperor for displaying conspicuous gallantry. His mansab was thus raised to 2000 *Zat*²⁴ and 1000 *Sawars*. At this time, on a complaint that the Rana's family was staying at Sojat, Jahangir²⁵ confiscated the said *paragana* from the ruler of Jodhpur and granted it to Rathor Karamsenra Ugrasenot, Saktwai²⁶ Achaldas and his son Narahardas invaded the outpost of Mandal but were slain in the encounter. Jagannath Kachhawa was wounded and ran away from the battle-

20. *Ibid* verses 567 to 575.

21. शुष्य दुलास अमरेष न्यु धोनह पछ रखाम । गहु फिरही दिरोज की मुती कार सुराम ॥
Ibid verse 558.

22. *Tuzug-i-Jahangiri* (Eng.) Vol. I pp. 146-147/*Rana Raso* (MS.) verses 572-597.

23. *Ramu-Raso* (MS.) verse 637.

24. *Tuzug-i-Jahangiri* (Eng.) Vol. I p. 159.

25. *Gaju Guri Rupak-Bundit* by Gudan Keshodas Intro. pp. 16-18/*Marwar-Ra Paraganan ki-Ulgat* Vol. I p. 390.

26. *Rana Raso* (MS) verses 629-630.

field. Kunwar Baghsingh, who had returned from the Mughal camp, displayed conspicuous gallantry. Chundawat Meghsingh made²⁷ a successful sudden attack on the Mughal army. It is said that he carried some buffaloes, having oil soaked rags fixed on their horns. Reaching near the Mughal camp, he set fire to the rags causing great panic in the camp of the enemy. The Mughal soldiers soon ran away leaving their camp equipage behind them. The early success of Mahabat Khan thus changed into a disgraceful defeat. He totally failed to check the desolating raids. This is also proved from a contemporary Dutch²⁸ Chronicle of Mughal India and the *Rana Raso*.²⁹ Mahabat Khan was called back and was posted in Deccan. He left Mewar leaving Sagar ■ Chittor and Jagannath Kachhwaha³⁰ at Mandal. The Emperor now resolved to send another general who could blockade the Mewar army in the hilly abodes.

Abdullah Khan's invasion (1609 A.D. to 1611 A.D.)

Abdullah Khan was made³¹ incharge of the Mewar campaign and was posted in place of Mahabat Khan in June 1609 A.D. He was awarded the title of Firoz Jang. Abdur-Razaq was appointed as the Bakhshi. According to a contemporary Dutch Chronicle,³² the Maharana first sent a large number of Rajputs to check his progress, but they were defeated and had to return to Chawand. The Mughal army soon succeeded in establishing its outposts at various places. Gazani Khan Jalori was posted ■ Nadol,³³ whose 3 inscriptions of 1609 A.D. are known from the place. He got the citywalls of that town repaired and molested the famous Jain temples of Ranakpur,³⁴ Nadol, Nadiai, Barakana etc. His manasab

27. *Vir Vinod II* p. 223.

28. Brij Narayan and Shri Ram—A contemporary Dutch chronicle of Mughal India p. 44.

29. *Rana Raso* (MS.) verse 633/Abdul Hamid Lubori also records a similar account.

30. *Rana Raso* (MS.) verse 652.

31. *Tuziq-i-Jahangiri* (Eng.) Vol. I p. 156.

32. Brij Narayan and Shri Ram—op. cit. p. 44.

33. संवत् १६०९ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ सुवि १२ शुक्लाश्रे पाताह की सजेम साह नुर की महमद बहादुर [राज्ये] गवलीराजी बालसोरा आडोल.....(Unpublished inscription of Shahi temple of Nadol).

34. The temple of Ranakpur was renovated in 1621 A.D. by Potawal Hemraj and Vanji, during the reign of Maharana Karnasingh. The temples of Nadni, Nadiai etc. were undertaken for renovation in the reign of Maharana Jagatsingh I.

was, therefore, raised by the Emperor. Subsequently, Kanwar Gajsingh of Jodhpur replaced him. He also succeeded in defeating the Mewar forces at several places.³⁵

Chawand Captured

Abdullah Khan succeeded in establishing his outposts at Unthala and Gogundah from where he managed to blockade the Mewar forces in the narrow passes of the mountains. Once he seized a few elephants of the Mewar army³⁶ and compelled the Rajputs to evacuate their western hilly abodes. They reassembled at Chawand. According to a Dutch chronicle,³⁷ Abdullah Khan also invaded the said place, "which was the residence of the Maharana. No king of Delhi had even attempted to reduce it, owing to its strong position and vast wilderness; high mountains and deep valleys." But he got the forest cleared and narrow passes were opened by employing a number of stone-cutters & masons. When the Maharana heard of these developments he deserted the place and went towards the western hilly tracts. Abdullah Khan³⁸ centralised his forces, in order to save himself from sudden Rajput raids. When he came in proximity of Chawand, he ordered to clear the jungle of bamboos. Thereafter, he laid a siege to the fort. About 2000 to 3000 Rajputs staying there, displayed memorable resistance and nearly all of them lost their lives fighting a fierce hand to hand battle. At last, Abdullah Khan succeeded in seizing the place, whereupon he demolished the temples. Large size icons of Hindu Gods and Goddesses³⁹ were removed from there and sent to Agra. On hearing this momentous success, the Emperor raised his Mansab⁴⁰ to 5000 Zar.

Hardships to Maharana (1610 A. D.)

After leaving Chawand the Maharana faced great hardships for some days. According to a Dutch Chronicle⁴¹ Abdullah Khan closely chased him, covering ■ to 40 Kos daily. Keshavadas

35. *Gaj-Gun-Riqak-Bandh* pp. 16-18.

36. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Eng.) Vol. I p. 157.

37. J.S. Hoyland. *The Empire of Great Mogal (1928)* (Translated from De Laet's work written in 1691 A.D.) pp. 183-184.

38. Brij Narayan and Shri Ram—*op. cit.* p. 14. अवृत्तिः पानः स वायप्तं प्राप्तो—
गोपद्वयात् लक्ष्मीसत् (*Amar Kavya* (MS.) Lf. 37.)

39. Brij Narayan and Shri Ram—*op. cit.* p. 14.

40. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* Vol. I. p. 178.

41. Brij Narayan and Shri Ram *op. cit.* p. 44.

Chauhan displayed conspicuous gallantry. The *Rana Rasa*⁴² contains many details of his exploits. By the end of 1610 A.D., the Maharana reorganised his army and instead of posting at various places he centralised it in the western hill-ranges of Kumbhalgarh. From there he continued his activities of sudden attacks upon the Mughal army. At this time he made an unsuccessful attempt to plunder the imperial treasures being carried from Ahmedabad to Delhi. A fierce fight took place with the Rathors near Khendrajun⁴³ (Marwar), wherein several chiefs named Dodiya Sada, Suja, Agra, Gopaldas, and Jagmal, Duda Sangawat, Rathor Haridas etc. of Mewar army were killed. In spite of this the Maharana did not lose his heart and determined to fight again.

Battle of Ranakpur (1611 A. D.)

At Ranakpur fierce fighting⁴⁴ took place between the forces of the Maharana and the Mughals. Several important chiefs of Mewar, namely, Duda Sangawat, Narayandas Sonagara, Surajmal, Ashakaran, Puraninal son of Sekha, Haridas Medatiya, Jhala Deda, Keshavadas Chauhan and Mukanddas Rathor laid down their lives and the Mewar army emerged victorious. Abdullah Khan's expedition thus proved a total failure. The Emperor himself was busy with the affairs of Deccan. He wanted to mobilize a strong force from Gujarat. He, therefore, transferred⁴⁵ Abdullah Khan there in 1611 A.D. who left Mewar for Gujarat in August 1611 A.D., leaving Basu Tomar as Incharge of the Mewar campaign.

Other Events

Suspecting his collusion with the Rajputs of Mewar Raja Basu Tomar was soon called back. It is said that he took away from Chittor an icon⁴⁶ of Girdhar Gopal, worshipped by Mirabai. Mirza

42. छन छन छन सोरी गही बम जन जन रान कुटि । विराम पाठु शालो मालो बाहुमत लिय कुटि ॥
Rana Raso (MS.) vctrc 764.
43. *Gaf-Gun-Rupak-Bandhi* pp. 16-18.
44. *Rana-Raso* (MS) verses 677-727.
45. शरदु सो कलिकृष्ण भयो यो नवाब प्रसादि (*Ibid* 717). The *Rana-Raso* describes the various heroic deeds of Kcodas Chauhan. On his death Jahangir felt happy. त्रिपति देवदास त्रिपति सुनि सुनि यायो चहापीर (*Ibid* 727).
46. *Vr Vinod* II p. 228/Kaviraj believes that Maharana gave away village Jbinthiyan in charity to the Purohit of Basu with whom the above icon was sent. But the copper plate mentioned below does not supply any such information. बहुराजविराज महाराजा यो जमरसिंहले बावेसामु युद्धेति यापत काय चाय सोप्यो रेखासी रो पत्तावो को उदक आधार करे यसा दीवी जिंहो १६१२ बर्षे सालम
कुम्भा २ ।

Aziz was appointed in 1613 A. D. to command⁴⁷ the Mughal forces posted in Mewar. Khusuru Bi-Uzbeg was appointed Fauzdar of Mewar by raising his Mansab to 1000 *Zat* and 1000 *Sawars*. But they also failed in achieving any notable success. Abdul Hamid Lahori has rightly remarks that all the Mughal⁴⁸ commanders, namely Parviz, Mahabal Khan, Abdullah Khan etc. could not succeed in reducing the Maharana to extremities. According to a Dutch chronicle⁴⁹ the Maharana soon recaptured Udaipur, Mandal, Pur etc. In a fierce battle at Mandal, Jagannath Kachhwaha,⁵⁰ Narayandas⁵¹ etc. were slain, whose cenotaphs were erected there in 1613 A. D.

Khurram sent against Mewar (1613 to 1615 A. D.)

When a number of important generals failed to cow down the Maharana, the Mughal Emperor resolved to proceed himself to supervise the campaign. He left Agra⁵² on Sept. 7, 1613 A.D. and reached Ajmer on Nov. 8. From there he sent prince Khurram against Mewar on Dec. 17, 1613 A. D. He was accompanied by many Mansabdars and important Rajput rulers named, Raja Sursingh of Jodhpur, Raja Kishansingh of Rupanagar, Rao Ratansingh Hada, Surajmal Tomar, Vikramaditya Bhadoria, Nawajis Khan etc. Fidai Khan was appointed as the Bakshi of the army. Necessary arrangements for reinforcement by 12000 cavalry were also made. Khan Azam, the Subedar of Malwa and Abdullah Khan, the Subedar of Gujrat were also asked to reach Mewar with their forces. Similar instructions were given to Deccan from where a part of the Mughal forces headed by Birsingh Bundela, Mahmud Yakub Khan etc. arrived in Mewar. In this way, the Mughal Emperor planned a gigantic campaign against Mewar.

Khurram reached Udaipur via Chittor and Debari. The Maharana left the central tract of Mewar and sought refuge in the

47. G.N. Sharma *op. cit.* p. 116/Beni Prasad *op. cit.* pp. 216-217.

48. Abdul Hamid Lahori—*Padashah Name* Persian Vol. I p. 167/Vir Vinod II p. 231.

49. Brij Narayan and Shri Ram—*op. cit.* p. 16/j.S. Hoyland—*op. cit.* p. 186.

50. पारिधाहि सलेम बहुमदीर विजयराज्ये पत्रिकाहि दिल्ली के पूरक व तोके उमरव खगमान छट्ठी की प्रतिष्ठा हुई.....संवत् १६१० (Inscription of Baibis Khambha cenotaph of Mandal).

51. संवत् १६१० विश्वामित्रे दुर्गपदे.....नारायणदास विश्वे छो...[Inscription of cenotaph No. 5 of Mandal]

hilly tracts. He instructed his chiefs⁵² named, Chauhan Ballu and Prithviraj, Rathor Sanwidas, Jhala Haridas, Panwar Subh Karna, Chundawat Meghsingh, Jhala Kalyan, Rathor Kishandas etc. to make sudden attacks on the Mughal forces and plunder their food stuff. Looking to this, Khurram made an efficient arrangement for timely supply of food stuff⁵³ by appointing Jamal Khan Turki, Dost Beg, Saiyid Hazi, Arab Khan and Saiyid Shihab at Mandai, Kapasain, Unthala, Debari and Nahar Magara respectively. They were instructed to keep a vigilant watch and escort the caravans coming from Ajmer or Malwa. From his camp at Udaipur⁵⁴, Prince Khurram wrote a letter to the Maharana to settle the matter peacefully. But the Maharana continued his resistance against the Mughals. During this time Narayandas, one of the chiefs of Mewar⁵⁵, lost his life in an encounter with the Mughals (Jan., 1614 A. D.).

Khan Azam's non-co-operation

Khan Azam, the Subedar of Malwa, was anxious to assume the command of the Mughal forces sent against Mewar. On appointment of Prince Khurram he became furious and did not pay respect to him. Thereupon, the Prince lodged a complaint with the Emperor. On receiving such news, the Emperor at first made an attempt to get them reconciled. He sent Ibrahim Hussain to inform Khan Azam that this expedition was undertaken on his advice and therefore he was expected to extend his whole hearted co-operation. When no progress was seen by these admonitory instructions the Emperor sent Mahabat Khan⁵⁶, who made the Khan captive at Udaipur and sent him to Gwalior. His family residing at Mandasaur was brought by Muhammad Taqi. In this way this difficulty was removed.

Mughal's penetration into the hilly tracts (1614 A. D.)

Dividing his army into four flanks⁵⁷, Prince Khurram appointed Abdullah Khan, Dilawar Khan, Saiyid Saif Khan and Mahammad Taqi as the Incharge of each flank. They were directed to encircle the hilly-tracts of Mewar (Feb., 1614 A. D.). The Maharana was

52. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Eng) I pp 255-256.

53. *Vir Viyad* II pp. 231-232.

54. *Padshah Nama* (per) Vol. I p. 168/Brij Narayan and Shri Ram—*op.cit.* p. 46.

55. *Rana Rasa* (MS) L. 11-114.

56. *Ibid* verses 743-745.

57. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Eng) I p. 258.

58. *Padshah Nama* (per) Vol. I Part A p. 168.

then living at Chawand. He was invaded by Abdullah Khan. The Rajputs displayed gallantry⁵⁹ and prowess. But the plurality of the Mughals compelled them to desert the place and proceed towards Idar. While evacuating the place, the Maharana's elephant named Alam-guman, together with some other elephants, fell into the hands of the Mughals (March 1014 A.D.) These elephants were sent to the Emperor at Ajmer on March 21, 1614 A.D. During this time, on reconunandations of Prince Khurram, the Mansab of Saif Khan⁶⁰ Bahra and Dilawar Khan, who displayed conspicuous gallantry while fighting against the Rajputs of Mewar, were raised to 500 *zat* and 200 *Sewars* each.

The Maharana's son Bhim Singh attacked⁶¹ Abdullah Khan's army and displaying dashing courage he reached in front of the latter's camp. The Mughal army was surprised at it. Abdullah Khan was so ashamed by this event that he did not come out for several days to fight with the Rajputs. The forces led by Mahammad Taqi were also badly defeated.

Mughal outposts in the Hilly-tracts

Prince Khurram resolved to establish various outposts in the hilly-tracts so that the desolating raids of the Rajputs could be checked properly. These were the places, from where routes for hilly tracts originated. At Kumbhalgarh he appointed Badi-uj-jum Khan with some dexterous artillery men. Similar outposts were also established at Jhadol, Gogundah, Anjana, Oguna, Chawand, Bijapur, Jawar, Madari, Panarara, Kewada, and Sadari,⁶² where senior officers, Mansabdars and chiefs named, Saiyid Saif Khan, Sagar, Dilawar Khan, Ferud Khan, Hada Ratansingh, Beram Beg, Ibrahim Khan, Mirza Murad, Sajawat Khan, Jahid Khan and Ruju Surisingh of Jodhpur were appointed respectively.

After leaving Chawand, the Maharana went towards the hilly-tracts of Idar but continued making sudden attacks on the Mughal army. At this time, Jhala Shatrusal, serving under the ruler of Marwar, returned to Mewar. He with Jhala Kalyan and Bhopal, made a sudden attack on the army of Abdullah Khan posted near Chawand, wherein they got severly wounded. Jhala Kalyan

59. *Tuzq-i-Jahangiri* (Eng) I p. 255/J.S. Hoyalde, *op.cit.* p. 187.

60. *Tuzq-i-Jahangiri* I p. 250.

61. Ojhii I p. 490-91/G.N. Sharina *op. cit.* p.

62. *Padshah Nama* Vol. I Part A (Awal Daur) pp 1-2.

took refuge in a deserted temple⁶³ and did not allow the Mughal soldiers to make him captive till even a single arrow remained in his quiver. When all the arrows were exhausted he would no longer save himself was sent ■ Gogundah and was slain in the battle at village Rewaliya (near Gogundah). His younger son Kantha was, therefore, subsequently granted Gogundah in Jagir by Maharana Amarsingh after the settlement with the Mughals in 1615 A.D.

Difficulties of the Maharana

The entire hilly tract of Mewar was closely encircled by the Mughal forces. All important towns were badly ruined. Sir Thomas Roe⁶⁴, who passed through Mewar while going to Ajmer by the end of the year 1614 A.D., mentions that all important towns of Mewar were depopulated. Chittor, which he visited, was also then completely ruined. A small state like that of Mewar, fighting continuously against the Mughals from the time of Maharana Udaisingh, was having only meagre resources as compared to the Mughals. In spite of this the Maharana was not ready to owe his allegiance to the Mughals. But according to Jahangir, a malignant disorder prevailed in the troops of Mewar and desertion⁶⁵ became frequent. The Mughal officers were closely pursuing the Maharana and it became apparent that he might leave Mewar, like his father Maharana Pratap. The Mughal Emperor, who wanted to settle the matter of Mewar once for all asked Prince Khurram to make earnest efforts to this effect. According to *Rana Raso Khurram* wrote a letter to the Maharana for arriving at a settlement on moderate and honourable terms. On receipt of this letter, the Maharana discussed the matter with his chiefs. He was persuaded by some his chiefs, his Pradhan Dungarsingh and Puronit Kasidas to accept⁶⁶ the proposals. The Maharana, therefore, sent Shahib Karan and Jhala Haridas to the camp of the Prince for asking him to send his persons to assure the Maharana of the honourable terms. The prince received them showing due respect and sent them to the Emperor with Mirza Shukrullah and Sundardas. Jahangir narrating the event in his *Memoirs* writes⁶⁷, "My lofty mind was

63. *Ibid.*

64. William Foster--The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe ■ the Great Mughal p. 50.

65. *Tuzq-i-Jahangiri* I p. 273.

66. *Rana Raso Verses 750-770*.

67. *Tuzq-i-Jahangiri* I ■ 274.

also desirous not to destroy the old families, therefore, as per request of my son, I gave a gracious *firman* to satisfy the Rana by impressing a *Panja* on it." But quite contrary to this, Sir Thomas Roe, writes⁶⁸ "the true descended heir of Porus called Rana, is lately conquerred by composition than force, the king having rather bought him than won him". This independant source is very important. This shows that the Mughal officers had devised some plan and allured some important officers, Pradhans & Purohits etc. to make the Maharana agreed to some permanent settlement. Prince Khurram as per request of the Maharana, sent Raja Sursingh and Raja Narasinghdeva to assure him of honourable treatment.

Meeting of Prince Khurram with the Maharana (Feb., 5, 1615 A.D.)

The Prince held a court at Gogundah on Feb., 5, 1615 A.D. which was attended by Maharana Amarsingh. According to the Memoirs of Jahangir⁶⁹ the Maharana touched the feet of the Prince and the latter lifted him up and gave due respect to him. Mutamid Khan⁷⁰, who had witnessed the entire meeting, also mentions of the same fact in his *Iqbal Nama*. The Maharana presented a ruby⁷¹ costing Rs. 50,000/- to the Prince, who also gave a valuable Khilliat, a sword, a jewelled dagger, a horse and an elephant to him. After the visit of the Maharana, his eldest son Karna also waited upon the Prince. He was also granted a khilliat and other valuable objects. The following terms of treaty were mutually agreed to between⁷² them.

- (1) The Maharana would send his eldest son to the Mughal court to wait upon the Emperor.
- (2) The Maharana would provide a contingent consisting of 1000 *sawars* to fight under the Mughals.
- (3) The stronghold of Chittor would not be repaired by the Maharana.

68. William Foster *op. cit.* p. 90.

69. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* I p. 276.

70. *Iqbal Nama* (Per III) p. 536.

71. This ruby originally belonged to the rulers of Jodhpur, Rao Chandra Sena during the time of his trouble sold it to Maharana Udaisingh. Maharana Amarsingh presented it to Khurram who, subsequently made it over to the Emperor. its value was about Rs. 50,000. Jahangiri got the following inscription engraved on it. "बहुत्यान मुर्गेवर हीने पुसाजशत राना बनर्सिंह प्रेषणम् नवृद्ध" (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* I p. 286).

72. *Ibid* 275-77/Vir Vinod II pp. 237-238/Ojha p. 497/G.N. Sharma --*op. cit.*

The Rana Raso mentions of some extra details of the settlement.⁷³ But the same are not corroborated from other sources. Prince Karna was taken to Ajmer to ratify the above treaty. Mirza Shukrullah and Sundardas were ordered to escort him and a sum of Rs. 50,000/- was sanctioned to defray expenses on his journey.

Prince Karna in Ajmer

Emperor Jahangir being happy with his son Khurram on his victory of Mewar ordered his chiefs and Mansabdars, who were present at Ajmer to wait upon him at his camp at village Deori, near Ajmer. On Sunday, Feb. 15, 1615 A.D., Khurram⁷⁴ reached Ajmer on horse-back in a huge procession. He appeared before the Emperor and presented 1000 Asharsis and 1000 Rupees. A similar amount was presented as offering⁷⁵. The Emperor embraced the Prince and gave due honour to him. To celebrate the victory a ceremonial Darabar was also held in Ajmer.

On request of prince Khurram, the Emperor called Prince Karna to appear before him. Sir Thomas Roe, who witnessed⁷⁶ this meeting, tells that Karna paid due respect by kneeling three times and touching the ground with his head. Jahangir embraced him and permitted him to stand on the left side and also honoured him by granting a rich Khilliat. While staying at Ajmer, the Emperor attempted to win him over. According to him, Karna⁷⁷ having wild nature had never seen big Assemblies and courts. Therefore, during his stay at Ajmer, fresh grants were bestowed upon him. On Feb. 16, 1615 A.D. he was taken to the Royal Female Apartments where he waited upon Nurjahan Begam, who granted him a Jewelled sword, a horse and an elephant. The Emperor also took him for hunting excursions and displayed his feat of the hunting craft. On June 5, 1615 when Karna left for Mewar, all presents received by him at Ajmer totalled⁷⁸ to Rs. 2 lacs, besides 110 horses and 5 elephants. Mubarak Khan Sajjawal was appointed

73. Dr. Brij Mohan Jawaliya believes that Rungaji Bollya also made attempts to get the settlement done (Varoda Vol. XII No. 3). But this statement is not corroborated from other sources.

74. *Tuzq-i-Jahangiri* I pp. 276-277.

75. *Ibid* p. 277.

76. William Foster—*op. cit.* p. 127.

77. *Tuzq-i-Jahangiri* I p. 277.

to accompany him. Jahangir also conveyed a verbal message to the Maharana for maintaining cordial relations.

Firman granted to Karnasingh

On May 11, 1615 A.D., a *firman*⁷⁸ was granted to Prince Karnasingh. According to this the Maharana was given a Mansab of 6000 *zat* and 5000 *Sawars*. The fort of Chittor along with the *Paraganas* of Phuliya, Railam, Bansawara, Jiran, Niwach, Arnod etc. was granted to him. Rana Sagar was removed from Chittor and the *paraganas* of Nagaur⁷⁹ was granted to him. In this way the entire territory of Mewar was handed over back to the Maharana.

Jahangir, in order to admire the valour of the Rajputs, got marble statues of Maharana Amarsingh⁸⁰ and Prince Karna prepared from Deccan, which were installed in his garden at Agra near Jharokha-Darshan. The Maharana in order to maintain cordial relations with the Mughal Emperor sent Prince Jagatsingh⁸¹ with Haridas Jhaia to Ajmer. The Prince appeared before the Emperor⁸², who granted him a *khiliat* worth Rs. 20,000/- together with a horse, an elephant etc. Jhala Haridas was also given a *Khiliat* etc.

Rehabilitation in Mewar

After the settlement with Mughals the Maharana paid his attention towards the rehabilitation programme. The chiefs, who had displayed conspicuous gallantry, were given good jagirs. While doing this, Rawat Megha of Begham estranged himself from the Maharana, as his ancestral Jagir was granted to Chauhan Ballu. He went to the Mughal court, where he was granted the Jagir of Malpura⁸³ on March 6, 1616 A.D. But subsequently the Maharana invited him to come back to Mewar, where his ancestral Jagir was restored to him. Chauhan Ballu was granted Bedla and

78. *Ibid* p. 299-94.

79. *Vir-Vinod II* pp. 240-247.

80. *Kiom Khan Raso* verse 760 From Nagaur a few inscriptions mentioning Sagar are also known,

(1) The Muridhar temple of Nagaur contains an inscription of 13th day of bright half of Yash V.E. 1671, mentioning Sagar as the ruler of the place.

(2) The Upasara of Nagaur has an inscription mentioning Rana Sagar and Hemachandra Suri.

81. *Tuzug-i-Jahangiri* Vol. I p. 396/William Foster op. cit. pp. 245, 246, 254.

82. राजा अमरसिंहजा जगतीरत्य दृष्टये राजहस्ति॒ श्रैवित्तम् *Amar Karya* (MS)

83. *Tuzug-i-Jahangiri* Vol. I p. 296, 310, 311.

84. *Vir-Vinod II* p. 252.

Gangrar instead of Begham. Similarly Gogundah, an important outpost, was granted to Jhala Kanha, son of Satrusal. All other chiefs also got their ancestral jagirs restored with slight alterations.

Now regular contact with the Mughals resulted in necessary administrative reforms. The first Kaji appointed at Udaipur was Mullah Janjal Khan, who is referred to in a Persian inscription dated V.E. 1673(1616 A.D.) at the Badipole⁸⁵ of Udaipur.

Prince Karna in contact with the Mughals

... Prince Karna visited the Mughal court⁸⁶ at Agra in 1617 A.D. and after staying there for one month and 23 days he returned to Udaipur. Prince Khurram, while going to Deccan, passed through Mewar where the Maharana welcomed him and presented 5 elephants, 27 horses and some precious jewels. The prince however, retained⁸⁷ only 3 horses and returned the rest. The Maharana sent his son Karnasingh with a contingent to the Deccan, who remained⁸⁸ there for a period of 7 months.

The Maharana breathed his last at Udaipur on Jan. 26, 1620 A.D. and was cremated at Mahasatiyan in Ahad. He had 11 sons named Karnasingh, Surajmal, Bhim, Arjunsingh, Ratansingh and Baghsingh.

Col. Tod⁸⁹ mentions that Maharana Amarsingh, on coming to the throne, was badly addicted to luxury and it was only on being instigated by the chief of Salumbar that he took to arms. But this statement is not worthy of credence. He was a good warrior and fought several battles. He followed the policy of his father and always avoided pitched battles. He employed guerilla tactics of warfare so effectively that the Mughal forces were baffled. When his resources were drained by incessant fights, he agreed to come to a settlement with the Mughals quite unwillingly. We can hardly stigmatise him for this. This was perhaps the most suited step according to the circumstances. The Mughals had become formidable. It was practically impossible for the ruler of Mewar to confront them single handed.

85. हृष्ट १६७३ वर्ष मार्गेसिर कवी ल हुज़र राजाविराज महाराणा ने अमरसिंहकी दिर्घीन महाराजकुआर को करवाई—तुरकी दुर्ग लिखा थाकी यूना जमालका [The Inscription of Badipole, City Palace Udaipur].

86. *Tuzuk-i-Sahangiri* Vol. I p. 310.

87. *Ibid* Vol. I pp. 344-345.

88. *Ibid* Vol. II p. 70.

89. *Tod* I p. 279.

According to *Amarsar*⁹⁰ (MS.) Maharana Amarsingh was a great patron of art and learning. The famous artist Nisaradi flourished under him, who completed the famous set of *Ragamala* (MS) having early miniature paintings. A palace named Badal Mahal was got constructed by him in Udaipur. The *Amar Kavya* mentions that he gave away a village Holi to Bhatta Laxminath.

The Gaduliya Luhars

It is believed that the Gaduliya Luhars left Chittor after its fall in 1568. They continued to help the ruler of Mewar during their battles with the Mughals. They also promised not to enter Chittor till it was recaptured by the Maharana. After the settlement of 1615 A. D., when they left the hopes for re-gaining Chittor by measuring swords they left Mewar and preferred to lead a nomadic life.

But there being no authentic evidence in support of this tradition, we can not say anything definitely. However, their association with Mewar's struggle with the Mughals can not be denied. After independence, at the instance of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, they entered to the fort of Chittor in 1956 A. D.

(d) Maharana Karansingh

After the death of Maharana Amarsingh, his eldest son Karnasingh succeeded him on Jan., 26, 1620 A.D. at the age of 42. The Mughal Emperor Jahangir sent a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant¹ to him with Raja Kishandas on Feb., 25, 1620 A.D.

As already stated, during the life time of his father, Maharana Karna also participated actively in many engagements against the Mughals. In order to relieve his father from pecuniary embarrassment, he carried out depredations in the imperial territory of Melwa and collected a heavy booty. After settlement with the Mughals, he visited the Mughal court several times and got chances to learn their administrative, judicial and revenue systems. On coming to the throne he did several reforms.² Ancient division of the *paraganas* was reorganized. The palaces were enlarged and the defence of the city was strengthened by constructing walls around it. Dr. G. N. Sharma has correctly³ mentioned that the construction of the buildings and walls increased the employment potentiality of the dislodged persons. Poet Bidur⁴ says that the Maha-ann strove hard to restore peace and prosperity to his country. The predatory activities checked by him helped very much in brisking the trade in his country. All the towns, which were desolated by the repeated Mughal invasions were now in a stage of flourishing prosperity.

Renovation of Ranakpur temple (1621 A.D.)

An important event of the reign of Maharana Karna was the renovation of the Jain temple of Ranakpur. Gazani Khan Jalori, the Mughal commandant of Nadol, molested several Jain temples of Godawar, including the Ranakpur temple. After settlement with the Mughals the renovation of this temple was attended to by

1. Rogers and Beveridge—*Tarug-i-Jahanifri* Vol. II pp. 123-124.

2. *Vir Veed* II p. 269.

3. G. N. Sharma—Mewar and the Mughal Emperors p. 126.

4. *Prachin Rajasthan-Gesi* (Udaipur Vol.) XI p. 42.

Porawal Hemraj and Vanji,⁴ the sons of Biradba, as per instructions of Vijaydeva suri of Tapagachchha.

Sirohi Affairs

After the death of Rao Suratan of Sirohi, his son Rajsingh succeeded him. But he could not manage the affairs of his state properly. His own brother Sursingh and one of his ministers named Prithviraj Sujawat, estranging themselves, adopted a hostile attitude towards him. As he was the grandson of Maharana Amarsingh from his mother's side, Maharana Karna singh was apparently anxious for his welfare. He, therefore invited him⁵ together with his adversaries named Sursingh and Prithviraj at Udaipur in order to reconcile their scores. But it could not give any fruitful results. After a few days, Prithviraj was assassinated by Rajsingh. But the latter's son Akheraj successfully escaped from Sirohi and sought refuge at Udaipur. The Maharana became furious and in order to punish the assassin, he sent a detachment against Prithviraj. The Mewar army, after curtailing the power of the disgruntled chief succeeded in installing Akheraj on the throne of Sirohi.

Help to Khurram (1623 A.D.).

The most important event of Maharana Karna singh's reign was to extend necessary shelter to prince Khurram. After disastrous defeat of the Mughal army in Kaudhar, Khurram was detained to the place for a massive campaign. But he did not relish it and showed his reluctance in proceeding there, as a fear lurked in his heart that his reputation might be ruined if perchance he had to face defeat. Circumstances compelled him to raise the standard of revolt against his father. After plundering Agra he moved further towards north and was defeated at Billohpur (March 1623 A.D.). He now decided to seek necessary help from the Rajput princes and came to Udaipur. The Maharana received him displaying utmost hospitality.⁶ At first he was lodged in the Delawara Haveli. Subsequently he was shifted

4A. शंकु १६५८ वर्षे राजाकम्भिरि ११ वार मुख सेवाट राजाविराज राजा नी कर्णिंदु विषय
राज्ये तत्समवे निवारेकस्त्रि उपदेशन ५० वेळा १०० विषय ५० होमहस्त प्रतिष्ठायू तत्पात्रक
श्रावण वातीय वीरपा तत्पुर वा ० हेमराज वसनी कृतिः [Unpublished Inscription
of Ranakpur temple.]

5. Late Sitaram History of Sirohi, Raj 1., Prachin Rajasthan-Govt. Vol. XI
p. 49.

6. *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya* V-verse 13.

to Jagmandir palace ■ his desire. In order to maintain lasting relations both the Maharana and Khurram exchanged their turbans with one another. Even today, the said turban of Khurram is preserved in the Pratap Museum Udaipur. It is believed that the mosaic work of art available in the Jagmandir palace attracted the prince⁷ so much that he also got the same pattern executed at Agra. The Maharana's younger brother Bhim remained with the prince throughout the adversities. He successfully measured sword for his sake and secured the provinces of Bengal and Bihar for him after fierce fighting. But he soon died in the battle-field of Damadama.⁸ The Prince on coming to throne granted the big Jagir of Toda to Bhim's son Raisingh. According to G. N. Sharma Prince Khurram lived in Mewar⁹ for about 4 months, between March 1623 A.D. to August 1623 A.D. There after he proceeded towards the Deccan via Jado-i and obtained necessary military help from Gopaldas Gaur of Lakhari also. According to poet Bidur, the Maharana also extended necessary help to Mahabat Khan¹⁰, a senior Mughal officer, when he rose into rebellion against the Mughal Emperor. After staying for a few days in Mewar he moved towards Devaliya. The events changed rapidly. Jahangir expired and Asaf Khan, the father-in-law of Khurram messaged him to reach Agra soon. While returning from the Deccan Khurram passed through Mewar and stayed at Gogundah. The Maharana paid a visit to him there on Jan., 2, 1628 A.D. and saluted him as the Emperor¹¹ of India. He also sent his brother Arjunsingh with the Prince. However, he could not see his reign for a longer time and breathed his last only after 2 months in March 1628 A.D.¹² leaving behind him 7 sons and 2 daughters.

The Maharana had enjoyed eight years' reign of complete repose. But he failed to bring the rulers of Dungarpur, Bansawara

7. Udaipur Guide p. 23.

8. गोरखावार्दि चारण राजा की भीमकी बृहनांदर है.....संघट १६२३ रा दर्श कोव दुवि ५, मु.मु. की भीमगी चारामदी मध्ये मृत [The cenotaph inscription of village Muchind. This inscription was erected after a few months from the death of Bhim.]

9. G.N. Sharma—op. cit. p. .

10. *Pratik Rajasthani Geet* Vol. XI pp. 47-48.

11. Shah Jehan Nania (Tr. Dr. Raghuviralingh and Manoharsingh Rawat) p. 46.

12. Poet Bidur mentions that before a few days of his death the Maharana went to Chitor, where he fell ill. [पहाड़ी चरण री पालवी चित्तोऽप्यर्थी]

and Devaliya under his subjugation as per *firman* of the Mughal Emperor. The prosperity of the Mughal court also allured them to get themselves enlisted as *nawabs*. Thus, their ambition brought about a conflict with the ruler of Mewar. But no decisive action was taken from any side.

According to the Rampole inscription¹³ of Chittor dated V.E., 1678 the Maharana gave away three villages namely Mansabo, Tharawali and Jadana to Robadiya Barahat Lakha. The palaces known as Janana Rawala, Karna Vilas, Toranpole, Bara Darikhana, Ganesh Dyodhi, Chandra Mahal etc. were got constructed by him.

(e) Maharana Jagatsingh

After the death of Maharana Karansingh, his son Jagatsingh succeeded him. The usual coronation ceremony was performed on April 28, 1626 A.D. The Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan sent a robe of honour and a *firman* for him with Badagujar Virnarayan.¹ Unlike his father, he was an ambitious and enterprising ruler, who resolved to assert his authority over the neighbouring states, that were included in the *firman* given to his father by the Mughal Emperor.

Battle with the ruler of Dungarpur (1628 A.D.)

During the last days of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, Maharawal Punja² of Dungarpur visited the Mughal court and succeeded in getting himself enlisted as a Mansabdar. Immediately after the accession of Shahjahan, he also waited upon him and received the mansab³ of 1000 *zat* and 500 *sawars* which was subsequently enhanced to 1500 *zat* and 1600 *sawars*.⁴ While doing so he resolved to estrange himself from the ruler of Mewar. Although he visited Udaipur at the time of the coronation of Maharana Jagatsingh, he immediately left the place without attending the said function due to some misunderstanding.⁵ The Maharana being enraged at this detached his forces against Dungarpur, under the command of Akshayraj Kavadia in April 1628 A.D. A fierce battle was fought on the bank of the river Soma, wherein Chauhan Suja, the commander of the

1. *Shah-Jahan Nama* by Munshi Devi Prasad (Edited by Dr. Raghuvir Singh and Ranawat Manoharsingh (MS) p.7.
2. The ruler of Dungarpur remained hostile to the rulers of Mewar for a long time. Maharana Udaisingh invaded Dungarpur. Thereafter the relations between the two houses could not be improved.
3. *Shah-Jhan-Nama* p. 7.
4. *Ibid/Ranawat Manoharsingh-Shahjahan-ka-Hindu-Manasabdar* p. 5.
5. A contemporary writer Bidur gives a detailed description of it. He mentions that the Maharawal did not offer suitable presents to the new Maharana. While entering Udaipur City, he used the royal insignia, kettle drums etc. which provoked the Maharana, who insisted upon him to pay sufficient amount in form of *Dandam* (दंडम यात्रा वापि सर्वे शत्रुं विजयते). The Maharawal, thereupon, replied that his country is quite separate and he was not subordinate to the Maharana. Therefore, no such charge of *Dandam* was possible. If any demand was pressed upon it would be settled on the battlefield. [Prachin-Rajasthani-Ges Vol. XI pp. 54-55].

forces of the Maharawal, displayed conspicuous gallantry and met a heroic death.⁶ The Mewar army emerged victorious. Proceeding thence, it laid a siege to Dungarpur town. The Maharawal came out to confront it, but finding himself unable to resist he left for Delhi to lodge a complaint to the Mughal Emperor. The Mewar army plundered Dungarpur town and demolished a section of the palaces built of sandal wood.⁷ This ruptured the amicable relations between these two houses.

Battle for the territory of Basad (1628 A.D.)

As already stated, the *paragana* of Basad was also granted to the ruler of Mewar at the time of settlement with the Mughal Emperor in 1615 A.D. The ruler of Devaliya was having a covetous eye on it. But he avoided to come into direct clash with the Maharana and so induced Jan-Nisar, the Mughal Fauzdar of Mandsaur, to manage a *patta* of this territory. By constant efforts the design bore fruits, Jaswantsingh, the ruler of Devaliya, instigated him to wrest this territory forcibly.⁸ Acting on his advice he sent a large force against the out post of Modi (Pan Modi), which was then under the possession of Saktawat Jaswantsingh (Ancestor of the Chiefs of Bansi), a feudatory of the Maharana. Although, the Mewar contingent put forth a stiff resistance, the plurality of the assailants gave them victory. The Maharana lodged a complaint to the Mughal Emperor, who did not like to displease him on such petty accounts, and so issued a *firman*⁹ on Nov., 20, 1628 A.D. asking Jan-Nisar to hand over the above territory to the Maharana. As such, this territory came back in the possession of the Maharana. But it adversely affected his relations with Jan-Nisar and Jaswantsingh of Devaliya.

Murder of Jaswantsingh of Devaliya (1628 A.D.)

The Maharana became arrogant on the hostile attitude of Jaswantsingh of Devaliya and heartily desired to wreak vengeance

6. The Jagdish temple inscription verse 54 (E.I. Vol. XXIV pp. 56-64/Raj-Prashasti V 18-19/Raj Rathakar (MS.) 42 (b) verse 7. The mention of the battle with Chauhan Suja is available in it (कच्छा राजपत्र निकृष्ट एव राजपत्र गरिष्ठा). Poet Bidur also mentions of his battle with the Mewar army.

7. Raj Prashasti I V 18-19,

8. Vir-Vinod p. 1057/Ojha II p. 522/Ojha—Pratapgarh Raja ka Itihas pp. 128-129.

9. Vir-Vinod pp. 1058-59.

of the death of his commander at Modi: His success against Dungarpur had emboldened him. He hatched a plan and invited¹⁰ Jasawantsingh to Udaipur. On arrival at Udaipur with his party, Jasawantsingh was accorded a rousing reception and was lodged at Champa Bag with his 1000 soldiers. The Maharana asked him to shun hostile activities. But when no satisfactory reply was forthcoming the Maharana was persuaded by his chiefs to teach a proper lesson in him. Accordingly, Rathor Ramsingh was detailed for this purpose. All sources of the Mewar history tell us that Ramsingh invaded him during midnight and put him to death with all his retinue. But *Haribhusan Mahakarya*¹¹ mentions that the battle took place only when the Maharawat was returning to Devaliya. This latter account, however, is not worthy of credence. The Maharana definitely got him murdered at Udaipur, in a midnight attack. This action of the Maharana, however was hasty and proved ruinous to his own cause. It antagonised a section of the Mughal nobles and resulted in consequent loss of the sympathy of the Mughal Emperor. Rathor Ramsingh¹², after putting Jasawantsingh to death, proceeded towards Devaliya and captured the place without any opposition. Harisingh, the son and successor of Jasawantsingh had already been taken to the Mughal court by Jodhsingh of Dhamotiar, where Devaliya was conferred upon him by disassociating it from Mewar. This grant was made possible with the help¹³ of Mahabat Khan between 1680-1688 A.D. Devaliya could remain in possession of the ruler of Mewar for a few months only and the entire area, except the *paragana* of Dhariyawad, was recaptured by Harisingh.

Action against Banswara and Sirohi

The Maharana had to send his forces against Maharawal Samarsingh of Banswara, under the command of his Pradhan Bhagchand Kayastra, as the former did not agree to owe his allegiance to him. The Mewar force laid a siege to Banswara.¹⁴ The Maharawal

10. *Ibid* pp. 318-319/p. 1060 Ojha [I p. 522/Raj Prashasti V 20-21].

11. *Haribhusan Mahakarya* VIII 1-8.

12. Rathor Ramsingh was the great grandson of Rao Chandrasen of Marwar (Chandrasen-Ugrasen-Karmasen-Ramsingh). He came to Mewar and enjoyed the Jagir of Jojawar (Distt. Pali). However, in 1640 A.D., he went to the Mughal court and got himself enlisted as an Imperial Mansabdari.

13. Ojha—Pratapgarh-Rajya-ka Idhar pp. 143-144.

14. *Raj Prashasti* V-27-28/The Bedawas inscription of V.R. 1728 (1668 A.D.) of the family of Bhatnagar Bhagchand also contains a specific reference to this event (*Vir Vinod* II p. 381).

evacuated the place and went to the hilly area. Chauhan Bhimsingh of Arthuna put up a stiff resistance, but he could not impede the progress of the Mewar army. At last, Samarsingh appeared before the commander of the Mewar forces and sued for peace. According to the Bedawas inscription, he surrendered ten villages together with the gross income of the custom of the state. But the *Raj Prashasti* mentions the levy of Rs. 2 Lacs. We may, therefore, presume that the gross income from the custom of the state, together with that of the ten villages might have been about Rs. 2 lacs. The Bedawas inscription also mentions that the Mewar army stayed there for about six months. It also laid a siege¹⁵ to Sirohi and devastated the place. Some territory adjoining to Godawar, belonging to Toga Balicha, was also annexed by the Maharana to his state.

Attempts to appose the Mughal Emperor

The Maharana's activities against Dungarpur, Banswara, Devalliya and Sirohi displeased the Emperor, but he avoided taking any active steps. The Maharana sent Jhala Kalyan of Delawara, who visited the Mughal¹⁶ court on Dec. 23, 1633 A.D. and remained there for a few days. The Emperor sent him back on Feb. 9, 1634 A.D. with valuable presents for the Maharana.

The contingent sent by the Maharana under the command of Bhopat Rai (the Ancestor of Dhariyawad family) to assist the Mughal Emperor in the Deccan campaign displayed conspicuous¹⁷ gallantry in Ambarkot (March 23, 1633 A.D.). This contingent also took part against Shahji¹⁸ (Feb. 18, 1636 A.D.). Rajsingh, the heir-apparent of the Maharana, waited¹⁹ upon the Emperor at his Ajmer camp on Dec. 1, 1636 A.D. and presented 7 horses. The Emperor relieved him on Dec. 4, 1636 A.D. with some presents for the Maharana. Rao Ballu Chauhan and Rawat Mansingh Chundawat, who accompanied Rajsingh, received *khiliats* from the Emperor. Jhala Kalyan appeared before the Emperor on Dec. 3, 1637 A.D. to congratulate him on behalf of the Maharana on his victory over the Deccan. He was relieved on Jan. 30, 1637 A.D. Rajsingh²⁰, the heir-apparent of

15. *Raj Prashasti* V 25.

16. *Shah Jahan-Nama* (edited by Dr. Raghuvin Singh and Manohar Singh (MS) Vol. I pp. 66-67.

17. *Ibid* pp. 60-61.

18. *Ibid* 97.

19. *Ibid* I p. 116.

20. *Ibid* II pp. 64-65.

the Maharana, again waited upon the Emperor at his camp at Jogi ka Dera near Ajmer on Nov. 10, 1634 A.D. and was relieved on Nov. 19, 1634 A.D.

The *Padashah Nama* and *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chagatai* mention that the Emperor, becoming²¹ furious with the Maharana, despatched a part of his army against Chittor but the Maharana took a wise step by sending his heir-apparent to the Mughal court with presents and thus averted the calamity. Jhala Kalyan was again sent to the Mughal court²² in Sept. 1644 A.D. He was sent back by the Emperor on Sept. 30 with various presents. In this way several attempts were made by the Maharana to appease the Emperor by sending presents with senior chiefs and the heir-apparent.

Some Chiefs enlisted as Mansabdars

Sujansingh, the ancestor²³ of the ruling family of Shahpura, was enjoying the Jagir of Palana, in Mewar. His relations with the Maharana became strained and he went to the Mughal court, where he got a *patta* of *paragana* Phuliya with a mansab of 500 *zat* and 300 *sawars*, with the help of Rajsingh²⁴ of Toda on May 10, 1631 A.D. His Mansab was further raised to 1000 *zat* and 400 *sawars* (Jan. 9, 1644 A.D.), when he accompanied prince Murad in the campaign of Balkh and Badakhsah. Garibdas²⁵ and Jhala Raisingh²⁶ also went to the Mughal court and succeeded in enlisting themselves as Imperial Mansabdars. Garibdas received the Mansab of 1600 *zat* and 700 *sawaras*, while Rajsingh received 100 *zat* and 200 *sawars*. They returned to Mewar after the death of Maharana Jagaisingh.

Pilgrimages done

The Maharana's mother Jambuvati performed pilgrimages²⁷ to Mathura, Gokai, Sukarkshetra, Prayag, Kasi, etc. in 1648 A.D. with his grandson Rajsingh and maternal granddaughter Nand Kumari (Daughter of Maharaja Karnasingh of Bikaner). At Soron, she

21. G.N. Sharma—Mewar and the Mughal Emperors p. 132.

22. *Shah-Jahan-Nama* II p. 77.

23. Sujansingh was the son of Surajmal and grandson of Maharana Amar singh I. Dr. B.M. Jawaliya has published a letter mentioning the circumstances under which he was compelled to leave Mewar (*Varada* Vol. XVI No. 2 pp. 1-3.) But the letter seems to be a spurious one.

24. *Shahpura Rojya ki Khyat* (MS) (Sitarau) Vol. I p. 29.

25. Ranawat Manoharsingh—*Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars* p. 45.

26. *Ibid* p. 47.

27. *Rej Prashasti* V 38-44/The Jagdish temple inscription slab III verso 27,

together with Nand Kumari were weighed against silver, while Rajsingh was weighed against gold.

In 1641 A.D. Jambuvati again went on pilgrimage to Dwarika²⁸, where she was again weighed against silver. The Maharana himself went with a big retinue of cavalry and infantry to Onkareshwar²⁹ and erected a *Tulastambh* there on July 6, 1617 A.D. An inscription of this date, incised at the outside of the said temple records this pilgrimage and other charities of the Maharana. While returning, he was confronted by some petty officer³⁰ of the Imperial army posted in Malwa, but no battle was fought.

Charities given

The Maharana performed several *Tuladans*. In early years of his reign, he weighed himself against silver, but from³¹ the year 1648 A.D. he did *Tuladanas* of gold. In Onkareshwar, he weighed himself against gold on 22nd June, 1647 A.D. On his birth day on August 26, 1648 A.D. he performed charity of *Kalpauroiksha*. On his another birth anniversaries³² falling in V.E. 1707 (1680 A.D.) and V.E. 1708 (1681 A.D.) he gave *saptasager* and *Vishvachakra* charities.

There are eight *Tulastambhas* of beautifully carved stones erected on the left side of the Badi pole gate of the city palace at Udaipur, which were raised by him in order to commemorate his *Tuladan* ceremonies. Similar *stambhas* were also erected in the Ekling temple. Several inscriptions recording these annual *Tuladans* are also known. In V.E. 1709, when the installation of the image of Jagannathray took place, the Maharana gave away the charities³³ of golden *Kalpalata* and a thousand cows etc. to the Brahmins. (May 13, 1652 A.D.) In *Raj-Ratna ar (MS)* Pandit Sadashiv has given a detailed account of³⁴ this event in canto VII.

Jagdish temple and Jagmandir

The Maharana got the famous temple of Jagdish³⁵ constructed at Udaipur. The job was entrusted to Pancholi Arjun, the son of

28. *Ibid* V 81-82.

29. E. I. Vol. XXIV pp. 56-64 fn.

30. The Mughal Emperor did not relish it. He has mentioned it as one of the causes of invasion against Mewar during the reign of Maharana Rajsingh (S.R. Sharma—Maharana Rajsingh p. 29).

31. *Raj Prashasti* V. 35-36.

32. *Ibid* V-37-38/Jagdish temple Inscription, slab I, verses 110-111.

33. Jagdish temple Inscription slab II, verses 16-17.

34. *Raj Ratnakar (MS)* Lf. 43 to 47.

35. *Raj Prashasti* V-40-49.

Kamal. The chief masons were Sutradhar Bhana and his son Mukand. Facing towards east, this temple has a raised platform. The main temple in the centre has an exceptionally high shikhar. The image of Lord Jagannathray, styled after the name of the Maharana, was installed in the temple, on May 13, 1653 A.D. It is a good specimen of the 17th century architecture prevalent in Mewar. Another important work completed by the Maharana is the Jagmandir palace. It is believed that some part of this palace was constructed during the time of Maharana Karnasingh, but it was brought to completion by Maharana Jagatsingh.

Inscriptions

Several inscriptions and copper plates of the reign of Maharana Jagatsingh have been known. The Jagannathray temple (Jagdish temple) inscription³⁶ of V.E. 1709 is a very important record of his reign. Out of three different parts of this inscription incised on four slabs, two belong to the reign of Jagatsingh. The genealogy of the rulers of Mewar has been given from Ram, from whom the rulers of Mewar claim their descent. But the description is more poetical than historical. However, it gives valuable information about Maharana Sanga and Pratap. The only historical information available about Jagatsingh pertains to his invasion of Dungarpur. In part 'B' of this inscription, the details of various pilgrimages done and charities given away by Maharana Jagatsingh are available. Other inscriptions of his reign, the Shantinath temple inscription of Jawar dated V.E. 1694, the Ranakpur inscription of V.E. 1708 and the Barakana, Nadol and Nadlai Jain temples inscriptions, mention about the manifold activities of the Jains. The Maharana granted remission of custom duties during³⁷ the local fairs of Ranakpur and Barakana. The Rameshwari Prasad (Now known as Chechaniyon ka Mandir) Prashaati³⁸ of V.E. 1700, composed by Bhatta Mathuraranath, gives information about the Maharana's younger brother Arisingh, whose Dhaya (foster mother) got the said temple constructed. The Ekling temple inscription of V.E. 1708 mentions about various

36. R. I. Vol. XXIV pp. 56 to 68.

37. The *Rana-Bhumi-Vanish-Prakash* (MS) also contains the similar information (Nahata-Collection Bikaner).

38. *Vr-Vividh*, pp. 399-400.

activities of the Shaiva ascetics. One of his officers named Mohansingh Saktawat⁵⁹ got some MSS. copied at Aurangabad in V.E. 1707 (1850 A.D.), having miniature paintings. Similarly, his purohit Garibdas was a good patron of learning. A good number of MSS. were copied at Udaipur under his orders. Manohar was also an artist of this period.

Grant of Jahazpur to Rathor Maheshdas

Rathor Maheshdas (Ancestor of Sitamau family) was enlisted as Imperial mansabdar on Jan. 15, 1636 A.D. and granted the Jagir of *Paragana* Jahazpur. Soon after the grant he shifted his head-quarter from Pisangana to this place. He made several land-grants in this *paragana* between the years 1638 A.D. to 1641 A.D. In 1642 A.D., when the *paragana* of Jalor was granted to him, he moved his family there. Therefore, this *paragana* was taken back from him by the Mughal Emperor

59: संवत् १७०७ वर्षे प्रांगिना रथि के खनी.....जाते सोसीसया महाराजा बणभालगी गुप्त नोहरासिहरी पठनार्थे। अवरेयबाद मध्ये (Lafit Kala No. 15 p. 20).

(f) Maharana Rajsingh

Maharana Rajsingh, born on Sept. 24, 1629 A.D., succeeded his father¹ on Oct. 10, 1653 A. D. He performed a *Ratra-Tula-Dan*² immediately after coming to the throne. His traditional coronation ceremony was observed with much of festivities on Feb. 3, 1663 A.D. and a *Rajat-Tula-Dan*³ was also performed at that time. After a few days he gave away his sister in marriage to Anupasingh of Bikaner.⁴ On this occasion, he spent lavishly and also managed the marriages of several girls of his relatives with different Rajput Chiefs. But these celebrations could not be continued for a long time, as his relations with the Mughal Emperor developed adversely.

Mughal Invasion (1654 A.D.)

During the last days of Maharana Jagatsingh, relations between the Maharana and the Mughal Emperor became strained, although no military action was taken from either side. On April 19, 1653 A. D. Emperor Shah Jahan also sent a robe of honour and a jewelled dagger, along with elephants & horses, for Maharana Rajsingh. A *firman* conferring upon him the usual mansab of 6000 *Zai* and 5000 *Sawars* was also sent with Gaur Naradaman⁵ and Jhala Kalyandas. But, inspite of this official recognition, their relations could not remain cordial, as the Maharana did not discontinue the repairs to Chittor fort, started by his father. This was in contravention of the agreement made by his ancestor Maharana Amarsingh with the Mughal Emperor, according to which none of his posterity were to fortify⁶ the stronghold of Chittor, without permission from the Mughal Emperor. Before leaving Delhi for Mewar, the Emperor received reports of the above renovation on Sept. 4,

1. *Raj Prashasti* V. 22-23/Ojha II-531-532.

2. "राणा भी बासिन्हालक थी राजसिंह दृपदि: प्रीतेक्षिगामो रत्ने: तुर्णं तुर्णं अवरमन्" [The Pratap Museum Udaipur inscription of V.E. 1709] S. R. Sharma objects to it by saying that *Raj Prashasti* and *Raj Vilas* do not at all mention of it. but this inscription, being the earliest record of Rajsingh's reign, can hardly be questioned.

3. *Raj Prashasti* V 2-3.

4. *Ibid* VI 2-3.

5. *Devi Prasad-Shah Jahan Nama* I.I p. 18.

6. Robert and Beveridge—*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* Vol. 1 pp. 275-277.

1654 A.D. Some other reasons have also been ascribed to his displeasure. It is said that when the Emperor was busy in the affairs of Kandhar, the Maharana went on a pilgrimage with a huge retinue of Cavalry and Infantry, in the Imperial territory of Malwa, without seeking permission from the Emperor. The Maharana reduced his fighting contingent in Kandhar from 2,500 to 1,000 *Sawars* in 1653 A.D. He also gave sanctuary to Garibdas, an Imperial fugitive Mansaldar (Dec. 1653 A.D.). All these activities displeased the Emperor who resolved to settle this matter under his personal supervision.

These reasons, however, do not seem to be very sound. The accounts preserved by Munshi Chandrabhan mention that the Maharana had carried out minor repairs to the fort. In the words of S. R. Sharma⁷ "a new wall 16 yards high had been added on the side of the fort, where it is easy to climb the hill. This wall was 16 yards wide at some places and 3 to 3½ yards only in other places." Thus no major repair was undertaken. Similarly, reduction in the contingent, fighting in Kandhar, was also a flimsy ground. It seems that the Emperor was perhaps inclined to take action against the new Maharana. He also delayed his official recognition for about six months. He also sent a *firman* on Sept 18, 1654 A.D. to Mirza Raja Jaisingh to reach Ajmer with his forces.⁸

When such developments came to the notice of the Maharana, he at once sent a mission of his leading Chiefs, including Chauhan Ramchandra of Bedia, Jhala Raghodas, Rathor Sanwidas and Purohit Garibdas, to the Mughal Emperor by the end of Sept. 1654 A.D. They waited upon the Emperor on Oct. 4, 1654 A.D., in the camp at Khairpur⁹ and attempted to dissuade him from invading Mewar. They also requested Prince Dara to act as an intercessor.

Munshi Chandrabhan in Mewar

On a request from Prince Dara, the Emperor sent Munshi Chandrabhan to the Maharana with a message to send his eldest son to the Court. He also insisted¹⁰ upon early despatch of 1000 *Sawars* to

7. S.R. Sharma—Maharana Raisingh and his times p. 29.

8. *Ibid* p. 23 fn.

9. *Ibid* p. 24

10. Elliot and Dawson Vol VII p. 104.

the Deccan. Chandrabhan¹¹ reached Udaipur on Oct. 23, 1654 A.D., and remained¹² there for a few days. When Sadullah Khan invaded Chittor, he was present¹³ at Udaipur.

Invasion by Sadullah Khan

In order to demolish the repairs done to Chittor, the Emperor despatched a large army consisting¹⁴ of several Mansabdars and 1500 Musketeers, under the command of Sadullah Khan. Necessary preparations for reinforcement were also made. Orders were given to Sayasta Khan to keep his troops ready if required. Prince Aurangjib was instructed to post his son Sultan Mahmud¹⁵ with 1000 troops at Mandsaur. The Mughal army, on entering into the territory of Mewar, commenced plundering and devastating raids. It soon reached Chittor on October 27, 1654 A.D. and laid a siege to the fort. The Maharana did not like to fight a pitched battle and so removed his forces from there. He sent Bhatta Madhusudan to discuss the terms of treaty with Sadulla Khan at Chitor. The *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya* contains a very interesting¹⁶ account of the conversation held between them. The Khan denounced the action of the Maharana in extending his shelter to the fugitive imperial Mansabdars and arranging extensive repairs to Chittor, for which the Bhatta gave categorical replies to him. S. R. Sharma has objected to the historicity¹⁷ of the above statement of Ranachlod by saying "It is preposterous to believe that the Rana would send a mission to the Mughal commander at Chitor, when a negotiator on behalf of the Emperor was present in Udaipur". But, it is clear that the Maharana wanted to settle the matter by peaceful negotiations. This matter was already being discussed at Udaipur with Munshi Chandrabhan. Therefore, in order to save Chittor from destruction, it can be argued, that he might have also sent a mission to Sadullah

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11. Munshi Chandrabhan was the resident of Patiyala. He was a scholar of Persian. His letters known as *Inta-e-Brahmin* are very famous.
 12. S.R. Sharma *op. cit.* p. 62.
 13. The *Raj Prashasti* is silent about his mission.
 14. Elliot and Dowson Vol. VII p. 103/Benji Prasad—History of Shah Jahan p. 320/G. N. Sharma—Mewar and the Mughal Emperors pp. 135-136/S.R. Sharma *op. cit.* p. 62.
 15. G.N. Sharma *op. cit.* p. 136.
 16. *Raj Prashasti VI* pp. 11 to 21/Debari Inscription of V.E. 1743 verses 21 and 23.
 17. S.R. Sharma—*op. cit.* p. 52.

Khan. But the latter was not satisfied with his arguments and ordered to demolish¹⁸ the repairs done to the fort of Chittor, by employing a large number of workers with pickaxes and spades. In this way, within a short period of 15 days, the Mughal army succeeded in the above work. This action of the Mughal army was, perhaps, very hasty.

Settlement with the Mughal Emperor

The *Raj Prashasti* does not give any specific information as to how the hostility was terminated. It seems that Munshi Chandrabhan succeeded in settling the matter with the Maharana. According to *Shah-Jahan-Nama*¹⁹ the Maharana sent a letter on Nov. 2, 1654 A.D. to Prince Dara for sending an officer from the Mughal Court with whom the heir-apparent might be sent. According to these proposals, Shaikh Abdul Karim, the Diwan of Prince Dara, was sent to Mewar. Munshi Chandrabhan also despatched four letters from Udaipur, as known from *Itisa-e-Brahmin*. A perusal of these letters shows that he had succeeded in persuading²⁰ the Maharana for settling the matter. According to the second letter, the Maharana expressed his readiness to send his heir-apparent to the Mughal court, provided the Mughal forces were recalled from Mewar. The third letter shows that the Emperor sent a *firman*, having some assurances in it. Thus the young prince of 11 years was sent from Udaipur with eight leading chiefs, who waited upon the Emperor at his camp at Malpura²¹ on November 20, 1654 A.D. The Emperor received them demonstrating due respect. He named the prince as "Sohagasingh"²². After six days' stay at the Mughal camp, this party was allowed to return to Udaipur on Nov. 26, 1654 A.D.

Sequestration of territory (1654 A.D.)

The *Raj Prashasti* mentions that a gift of 14 towns was awarded by the Emperor through the good offices of Sadullah Khan. S. R. Sharma believes that out of these, Badnor was given to Arjun son of

18. Waris mentions that the entire fort was raked to the ground. But this is an exaggerated account. Chandrabhan mentions that only the additions were destroyed. (S.R. Sharma op. cit. p. 24 (n. 57).

19. *Shah Jahan Nama* III p. 108;

20. *Vtr Vinod* pp. 409-412.

21. *Shah Jahan Nama* III p. 108.

22. *Raj Prashasti* (V. 24-25) mentions the name of prince as Sultansingh instead of Sohagisingh. Perhaps, the name given by the Emperor was not liked by the Maharana who changed it to Sultansingh.

Vithaldas. But, on the basis of the *firman*²³ dated August 7, 1658 A.D., given by Aurangjib to Maharana Rajsingh, it appears that Badnor was not in the possession of the Maharana at that time. The account of *Raj Prashasti*, therefore, does not seem²⁴ to be correct. Quite contrary to this, we find that when Rajsingh undertook his military campaign of *Tikadaur* in 1658 A.D., the towns Dariba, Mandal, Mandalgarh, Banera etc. were not in his possession. This shows that the sequestration of territory including the *paragans* of Pur, Mandal, Mandalgarh, Badnor etc. was actually effected. Perhaps it was done by the Mughal Emperor immediately after the invasion of Sadullah Khan. The fort of Chittor alone was, however, returned to the Maharana at that time. This sequestration of land was taken seriously by the Maharana who resolved to wreak vengeance at opportune time.

Tikadaur (1658 A.D.)

During the illness of the Emperor, his sons Dara, Suja, Aurangjib and Murad were busy making desperate attempts to contest intestine feuds. Each of them wrote letters to the Maharana asking for his help to them. Taking it as a golden opportunity, he resolved to revive warlike activities of *Tika Daur* and to launch for an offensive expedition in the Imperial territory. The revival of hostility by him was thus in retribution of the humiliation done by Emperor Shah Jahan. In *Raj Prashasti* his invasion²⁵ upon Mandalgarh is mentioned as a separate event, but in *Rajsingh Guna-Rupaka* (MS) it has been linked with the events of *Tika Daur*. The Maharana left Udaipur and reached Gogundah²⁶ with his several important chiefs. From there he sent Raghavadas to drive out the Rathors from the fort of Mandalgarh, while he himself proceeded towards Maipura. His exploits were²⁷ as under :

1. Destruction of Dariba town.

23. *Vir Vinod* pp. 428-431.

24. E.I. XXX No. 2 Appendix II ■ fn:

25. *Raj Prashasti* VI The Dariba Inscription of V.E. 1743 verse 25.

26. *Rajsingh-Guna-Rupak* (MS) contains a detailed account of *Tika Daur*. It was edited by Shri Sobhangsingh Sekhwat in *Mujhamika* (Udaipur) Vol. I, pp. 120-123.

27. *Raj Prashasti* VII, V. 21 to 45/*Rai Vilas VI/Raj Ratnakar* (MS) Cant. 10, *Rajsingh-Guna-Rupak*.

2. Levy of Rs. 22,000 from the residents of Mandal, Rs. 26,000 from the residents of Banera and Rs. 22000 from the residents of Shahpura.

3. A sum of Rs. 36,000 was realised from Rayasinh Sisodia of Toda. Knyastha Fatchichand was sent with the forces against him as he had accompanied Sadullah Khan when the Mughal army had invaded Chittor.

The *Raj Prashasti* mentions of a levy of Rs. 80,000 whereas the Bedawas Inscription of V.E. 1725, speaks of Rs. 36,000, but the latter seems to be convincing, as it was got engraved by the family of Fatchichand. The Sayiki, an independent contemporary source, mentions of the destruction of food stuff in huge quantity at Toda, by the forces of Mewar.

4. Plundering of Malpura town for 7 or 9 days and collecting of a heavy booty from there, which was under the Gaur²⁸ Rajputs.

5. Carrying out of plundering raids on Jalazpur, Sawar, Phuliya, Kekri, Tonk, Sambhar, Lalsot, Chakasu etc.

The Maharana seems to have taken²⁹ the route leading through Pur, Mandal, Banera, Shahpura, Kharawada, Jahazpur, Sawar and Kekri. At Kekri he also received a *Nisan* from Prince Dara asking him for necessary help. But the Maharana refrained from obliging him. From there, he went towards Malpura and a detachment was sent against Toda. From Malpura, he seems to have gone towards Chakasu. By the end of May, 1658 A.D., when he reached the bank of river Chichani (Distt. Sawai Madhopur), he was informed of the victory of Aurangjib. He then resolved to send his brother Arisingh and his son Sultansingh³⁰ to felicitate him on his victory, with a view to maintaining good relations with him. From there he returned to Mewar. In this way, he tactfully completed his *Tika Daur*.

War of succession and Mewar (1658 A.D.)

During the war of succession, the Maharana was requested by all the princes to support their pretensions. But he remained aloof. He was against Prince Dara, as the expedition under Sadullah Khan and sequestration of his territory were conducted under his advice.

28. दा० १६१० वर्षे...मालपुरा सपरे श्री कर्त्तुम मीर राज्ये [Unpublished inscription].

29. *Raj Ratnakar* (MS) L.C. 55(b).

30. *Raj Prashasti* VIII 1-3.

However, Prince Aurangjib remained in close contact with the Maharana. He wrote five *Nisans* during this period. In a *Nisan* written in February, 1658 A.D., it is mentioned that Udaikaran Chauhan and Shankar Bhatt were sent back to Mewar and Mahavir Singh Sisodiya, as desired by the Maharana, was placed in charge of the detachment retained in the Deccan. Indra Bhatt was also asked to convey some message to the Maharana, as is evident from *Nisan* No. 2 (Feb. 1658 A.D.). A *Khilliat* and a jewelled ring were also sent by Aurangjib to the Maharana. The reply might have been given by the Maharana but the same is not available to us. However, a perusal of *Nisan* No. 3 & 4 reveals that the Maharana asked for the territory of Mandor together with other adjoining areas having an annual income of 1 crore 30 lacs *Dam*. The Prince, according to these proposals, asked the Maharana to send promptly his heir-apparent, with his forces, to support his pretensions. The Maharana however, resolved to maintain neutrality and continued to carry out *Tika Daur* operations. It seems that Aurangjib, though wanted to have some active help from the Maharana, was also pleased at his neutrality. In *Nisan* No. 5 (May 1658 A.D.) he communicated³¹ the news of his victory at Dharmat. The Maharana's emissaries, sent to convey felicitations to Aurangjib, paid a visit to the Emperor on July 21, 1658 A.D. at Salimpur, when he was pursuing Dara. Prince Sultansingh³² was received, but Arisingh with a part of his contingent was asked to accompany the Emperor. He was later on relieved from the Imperial Camp at Ray Reyan ki Sarai, on August 7, 1658 A.D. As per promise, the Emperor issued a *firman*³³ on August 7, 1658 A.D. by which the states of Dungarpur and Banswara, together with *paraganas* of Gyaspur and Basad, then

31. *Vir Vinod* pp. 415-424.

32. The Persian sources mention of a mission under Arisingh and Lal Kanwar. On the other hand *Raj Prashasti* (VIII 1 to 3) says that only Arisingh went to the Mughal Court. Prince Sardarsingh was sent to assist Aurangjib against Shuja (VIII 5-6). Lal Kanwar of the Persian records was perhaps Sultansingh. The *Vir Vinod* (II p. 424) mentions that Prince Sultansingh went to the Court. He seems to have accompanied Arisingh.

33. *Vir Vinod* II pp. 424-425.

34. *Raj Prashasti* (VIII 3-4) mentions that Aurangjib granted Dungarpur etc. to Arisingh, who made them over to Raj singh. But on going through the text of the *firman* dated Aug. 7, 1658 A.D., we find that it was originally granted to Raj singh. Arisingh, perhaps, brought the *firman* personally from the Emperor.

Forming part of Devaliya state, and also the *paragnas* of Mandalgadh and Badnor, formerly snatched away from the Mewar state, were granted to the Maharana. His status was also raised to 6000 *Zat* and 6000 *Sawars*. Prince Sardarsingh fought in the army of Aurangjib against Suja at Khajawah (January 5, 1659 A.D.) Prince Dara, after his sad discomfiture at Dharmat, fled towards the Punjab and subsequently sought refuge in Gujrat. On receiving an invitation from Maharaja Jaswantsingh of Jodhpur, he later on went towards Sirohi. From there he addressed a letter to the Maharana³⁵ on January 15, 1659 A.D. soliciting his help. He also insisted that as Prince Sardarsingh, sent with a detachment to help Aurangjib, had returned now, he could be able to support his pretensions. But the Maharana did not pay any heed and continued to help Aurangjib. He also presented two swords to Aurangjib.

Dungarpur, Banswara and Devaliya

The Maharana despatched his army under his Pradhan Kayastha Fatehchand against the rulers of Banswara, Dungarpur and Devaliya. At Banswara Maharawal Samarsingh (1615-1660 A.D.) was vanquished, who offered Rs. one lac in cash, a couple of male and female elephants and 10 villages, together with the right to collect the custom duty from his state. But the Maharana³⁶ simply accepted the elephants together with Rs. 5,000 and returned all other items to him. It seems that the final settlement took place in the time of his son Maharawal Kushalsingh³⁷, as is apparent from the Debari Inscription of V.E. 1743. From Banswara, Fatehchand moved towards Devaliya. Maharawat Harisingh was defeated and he fled away from the battle field. His mother presented her grandson, named Pratapsingh, before Fatehchand alongwith Rs. 5000 and a cow-elephant³⁸. The Maharawat went to Delhi and lodged a complaint against the Maharana, but the Emperor paid no attention

35. *Vir Vinod II* pp: 492-498.

36. *Raj Prashasti* (VIII 18-21) mentions of the levy of Rs. 20,000. But the Bedawas inscription speaks of Rs. 3000/- only.

37. The Verse 27 of the Debari inscription of V.E. 1743 mentions of Raik Singh's victory over Maharawal Kushalsingh of Banswara (देवरी राजस्वात्रि रायक सिंह विजय). G.H. Ojha believes it to be a separate event. But it is not corroborated from other sources.

38. The *Raj Prashasti* VIII 21-24/The Debari Inscription of V.E. 1743, verse 28. The Bedawas inscription of V.E. 1725 mentions of the levy of Rs. 5000 instead of Rs. 20,000 mentioned in *Raj Prashasti*.

to it. However, the Maharana attempted to reconcile with him. While going towards Basad (June, 1659 A.D.) he called the Maharawat through the leading chiefs of Sadri, Salumbhar, Bedla and Bhindar. According to *Raj Prashasti*³⁹ the Maharawat agreed to owe his allegiance to the Maharana by offering Rs. 20,000 and a couple of cow and bull elephants. But their relations continued to Maharawal Giridhardas of Dungarpur visited remain strained. Udaipur in 1659 A.D.⁴⁰ and expressed his willingness to owe allegiance to the Maharana. He unfortunately breathed his last in 1661 A.D. and his successor Jaswantsingh also maintained cordial relations with the rulers of Mewar.

Marriage with Charnamati 1660 A.D.)

The relations between the ruler of Mewar and the Mughal Emperor, which had improved to a considerable extent at the time of the accession of Aurangjib, were again affected adversely only after a short period of two years. It was due to the fact that the Maharana, on her request, clapped with Charnamati, the daughter of Roop Singh Rathor of Kishangarh, who was to be married to Aurangjib.

The Mughal Emperor considered it a hostile action and orders were therefore, issued to confiscate the *paraganas* of Gyaspur and Basad. These *paraganas* were then granted⁴¹ back ■ Maharawat Harisingh of Devaliya.

Maharana's attempts to get the paraganas back (1661 A.D.)

The Maharana made attempts to get the *paraganas* of Gyaspur and Basad back. He sent Udai Karan Chauhan to the Mughal court for the purpose, but could not succeed. The Mughal Emperor also sent a senior officer to pacify the Maharana. Maharawat Harisingh also attempted to capture these *paraganas* but the Maharana did not withdraw his troops posted at the outpost of Semaliya, situated in the Basad territory. A complaint in this respect was also lodged by the Maharawat with the Mughal Emperor through his sons Pratapsingh and Amarsingh. The Maharana was asked by the Mughal Emperor⁴² to vacate the said outpost and remove his contingent posted under the command of Kushalsingh of Bansawara, as

39. *The Raj Prashasti* VIII v. 9 to 15.

40. *Ibid* verse 30.

41. *Vir Vinod* II p. 439/Ojha II p. 512.

42. G.H. Ojha-*Pratappgarh Rajya ka Itihara* pp. 161-162.

is apparent from letter dated April 10, 1662 A.D., sent to the Mahrarawat by Raja Raghunath from the Mughal Court. After a few days, the contingent posted there was removed by the Mewar state, as is confirmed by the letter written by Saiyyid Nawajis Khan.⁴³ But the Maharana did not lose his heart and resolved to carry on attempts to get these *paraganas* back. The Mahrarawat of Devaliya also sent an application through Qutubuddin Khan to the Mughal Emperor, requesting him not to grant these *paraganas* back to the Maharana. An assurance was given⁴⁴ to him vide letter dated May 16, 1664 A.D. But in spite of his best attempts the Maharana could not regain these *paraganas*.

Help to Akheraj of Sirohi (1668 A.D.)

Devara Akheraj of Sirohi was dethroned and made captive by his son Uday Bhan. The usurper also succeeded in getting the support of his chiefs. When the Maharana came to know of this, he despatched his forces under the command of Ranawat Ramsingh, who succeeded in driving out the usurper and reinstating Akheraj.⁴⁵

Vaishnava Icons in Mewar

Aurangjib, in order to follow strictly the policy of iconoclasm, issued a general order to demolish all important Hindu temples. A timely action was, therefore, taken to remove certain Vaishnava icons from Mathura, Gokul and Brindawan. The icon of Dwarkadhish had, however, been removed earlier in 1603 A.D., due to the family feuds between the ancestors of the present *Tilakayats* of Kan kroli and Surat. When the *Tilakayat* appeared before the Maharana, in Jan. 1664, A.D. he renewed the grant of village Asotiya,⁴⁶ which the former already held, being given away by Maharana Jagatsingh, when he visited Mathura on a pilgrimage. He also ordered to construct a temple at the village which was completed in 1665 A.D.⁴⁷ The above icon was installed there in 1669 A.D. on its arrival from

43. *Ibid* p. 163.

44. *Ibid* p. 162.

45. Lala Sitaram—History of Sirohi Raj p. 201.

46. महाराजाधिराज महाराजा श्री राजसिंहद्वारा आदेशात् गुरुहाई प्रानवल्लभी कम्ब याम १ अष्टादशिमी पठगते घोड़ीरे—उषक बाषाट कर रामार्पण कीशी.....संवत् १७२१ वर्षे मगसर शुक्ले ३० [The copper plate No. 2 of the Kankroli temple].

47. संवत् १७२२ वर्षे महाबुद्धी & मुरल शोधी स्थापिता ५०० साल उपरी श्री गुरुहाई श्री विरधरमात्मी.....साहू हंसराज बंधार्ड सहजी गंगादाम [Inscription of the stepwell of Asotiya].

Ahmadabad. It was received by Rajarana Sultansingh of Sadri and was kept in a Mohra, before it was taken to Asoliya (Kankroli).

The icon of Shri Nathji was removed from Goverdhan in 1660 A.D. and was kept at Agra for some days, where the Annakuta was celebrated. Goswami Govind Raiji took the above icon at various places, but no ruler, fearing the wrath of the Mughal Emperor, agreed to grant shelter. In 1671 A.D., when this icon was at Chapanani (near Jodhpur), the above Goswami visited Mewar and secured assurance for its safety from the Maharana. Thereafter, on December 6, 1671 A.D., it was brought to Mewar⁴⁸. The Maharana himself received the party, when it entered his state and offered due respects. It was installed on March 10, 1672 A.D. at Ghater, which later on became known as Nathdwara.

The icon of Vithal Nathji was also brought to Mewar by Tilakayat Hariraj. At first he remained at village Khamnor⁴⁹ for some days, but later on he also settled at Nathdwara. These events of granting shelter to the Vaishnava icons created misunderstanding in the mind of the Emperor, but no action was taken in this respect.

Events of Marwar

Maharaja Jaswantsingh of Marwar breathed his last at Jamrud (Kabul) on November 28, 1678 A.D. The next day, the news of the sad demise⁵⁰ was communicated to various rulers including the Mughal Emperor and Maharana Rajsingh. The two queens of the late Maharaja, who were pregnant, gave birth to his two posthumous sons at Lahore in February, 1679 A.D. On hearing of the death of the Maharaja, the Mughal Emperor resolved to annex Marwar to the Mughal Empire. With this view, he personally moved to Ajmer and supervised the siege operations from there. Practically no resistance was offered at Jodhpur and within a short span of time, the entire territory of Marwar⁵¹ was subjugated.

Preparations in Mewar

It was evident that Aurangjib was bent upon curtailing the power of the Rathors, in order to wreak vengeance of the battle of

48. *Sampradaya-Kalpadrum* (MS) Lf 109/ S.R. Bhattacharya op. cit. p. 29.

49. *Ibid* Lf. 119.

50. Jodhpur vi Khyat Lf. I 276/V.S. Bhargava—Marwar and the Mughals pp. 116-121.

51. *Masir-i-Alamgir* (translated by J.N. Sarkar) pp. 106-107.

Dharmat, wherein the late Maharaja Jaswantsingh had measured swords against him. He not only deprived his lawful heir from his state, but also plotted a strategem to apostasise him from his faith. Mewar being contiguous to Marwar, the Maharana apprehended aggression from the Mughal Emperor and so made necessary preparations to meet the same. According to a report sent by Gangaram⁵² at Ajmer on January 4, 1679 A. D., the Maharana had already made necessary preparations to face the possible danger and Sanwaldas was deputed with 5000 soldiers to protect the northern borders. But at that time he avoided to provoke hostility in open and waited for further developments.

The prince sent to the Mughal Court (1679 A. D.)

The Maharana sent his vakil to the Mughal Emperor, then staying at Ajmer. He also assured the Emperor that the heir-apparent could also be sent to the Mughal Court, if desired. The Mughal Emperor, desiring to have the fullest support of Maharana Rajsingh, issued a *firman* on March 8, according to which Muhammad Naim⁵³, the Bakshi of Prince Kajnbukhsh, was sent to Udaipur for escorting the Prince to the Mughal Court. On arrival of Muhammad Naim at Udaipur, the Maharana sent his son Jaisingh with Jhala Chandrasen and Purohit Garibdas. On reaching Delhi⁵⁴, Rathor Indrasingh, son of Raisingh, went to the Mewar tent and took the prince before the Emperor on April 11, 1679 A. D., who offered a cordial reception and granted him a pearl necklace, a brocade, an elephant and a horse. Similar presents were also given to Jhala Chandrasen and Purohit Garibdas. The party left Delhi on April 29, 1679 A. D. Having taken a bath in the Ganges at Gadh Mukteshwar, they visited the holy shrines at Mathura and Brindavan⁵⁵ and returned to Udaipur on May 26, via Chakasu, where they were seen⁵⁶ on May 12.

Enforcement of Jaziya (1679 A.D.)

The Mughal Emperor enforced the Jaziya tax on the non-Muslims. Orders to this effect were promulgated on April 12,

52. *Waqiya-Sarkar-Ranathambhor* (MS) I.C. 191.

53. *Vir Vinod II* pp. 455-58.

54. Juhunoth Sarkar-*Mastr-i-Alamgiri* pp. 107-108/Raj Prashasti (XXII-4) mentions that prince Jaisingh waited upon the Emperor, when the latter was encamping near Delhi (विलक्षणः कोलायुग्मेत्वे अष्टाप्रति शिविर उपर्ये)

55. *Raj Prashasti* XXII-5/Mastr-i-Alamgiri p. 198/S.R. Sharma *op.cit.* p. 59.

56. *Waqiya-Sarkar-Ranathambhor* (MS) I.C. 226.

1679 A. D. The Maharana protested by sending⁵⁷ a letter to the Mughal Emperor. There are 3 copies of this letter known so far. J. N. Sarker believes that it was originally written by Shivaji and not by Rajsingh. S. R. Sharma⁵⁸ also agrees to this by saying that when *Jaziya* was enforced Prince Jaisingh was present at Delhi, and as such the Maharana could have hardly protested. It cannot, however, be totally denied, that it was a matter of common concern ■ all the Hindu subjects. It can be argued that copies of this letter might have been distributed among important Hindu Chiefs, for being communicated from their sides to the Emperor. As the Maharana of Mewar always claimed to be the chief of Hindu subjects there were more grounds for his writing such a letter.

Disturbances in Mewar (1679 A. D.)

The intention for sending the heir-apparent to the Mughal court was to remove any misunderstanding and also to prepare an atmosphere of mutual faith. But there was a great tension existing on the border areas. According to the reports received at Ajmer certain chiefs of Mewar invaded⁵⁹ the imperial territory on April 12, 1679 A. D. and looted it. Similar disturbances were also reported from Mandal and Hurada. Mansingh Rathor (of Kishangarh), the *Thaneedar* of outpost Mandal, was replaced in May, 1679 A. D. by Nuram Ali, the *Diwan*⁶⁰ of Suba Ajmer. The latter deputed an Ameen as his representative. But he also could not check the plundering raids of the Rajputs. On May 18, the Ghundawats—Vijaysigh⁶¹, Fatchsingh and Ajabsingh of Bhadu, made a sudden attack on village Uthawas and carried away booty worth Rs. 8000. However, their further advancement towards Mandal was checked. The Qazi of Mandal despatched a report of this incident to Ajmer after making a detailed enquiry. Nazim, a subordinate Mughal Officer at Ajmer, visited Udaipur⁶² on June 12. He reported that the Maharana had repaired the Debari-gate. He also added that somebody mutilated the icon in a temple at

57. Tod I pp. 303-304. For details of the letter see, *Historical fragments of the Mughal Empire* pp. 87-92.

58. S. R. Sharma—*op. cit.* 67-69.

59. *Waqt-i-Sarkar-Ranathambhor* (MS) Lf 198.

60. *Ibid* Lf 223.

61. *Ibid* Lf 223.

62. *Ibid* Lf 239.

Kankroli, which created a great havoc and the whole atmosphere became tense and anti-Mughal, linking this incident with the Emperor's policy of inconoclasm.

Exchange of letters

The Maharana extended his support to Rathor Prince Ajisingh and granted ⁶³ twelve villages, including Kelwa, to him as an appanage. Khan Jahan reported the matter to the Emperor in April, 1670 A.D. when the Mewar Prince Jaisingh was in the Mughal Court. On receiving such alarming news the Mughal Emperor sent a *firman*⁶⁴ on July 12, 1670 A. D. with Rashid Beg asking him to remain loyal and not to harbour the Rathor fugitives. The Maharana communicated his reply through Tahawwar Khan stationed at Ajmer and sent presents consisting of a horse with gold trappings, 18 robes⁶⁵ of honours, and an embroidered Kashniri shawl. However, as he had made up his mind to estrange himself from the Emperor, he continued to encourage his chief to create disturbances in the imperial territory.

On seeing the situation out of control, the Emperor proceeded to Ajmer on September 26, 1670 A. D. to supervise the affairs personally. On his instructions Tahawwar Khan wrote a letter on October 12,⁶⁶ to the Maharana asking him to stop his seditious activities. The Maharana sent a reply⁶⁷ which was received at Ajmer on November 2, 1670 A. D. through Asad Khan the wazir. In this letter he mentioned that the Hadi queen of Jodhpur visited for a day only and thereafter moved to her homeland. He also added that Hasan Ali, a Mughal Officer, when came in search of the said queen, was also provided with all facilities. The third letter⁶⁸ was written on November 4, to him by Asad Khan the Wazir, asking him to find out the whereabouts of the said queen. By this time the Emperor had already resolved to invade the Rana in order to subdue him. The Maharana, however, did not

63. राज्य कर्ता भूमियाँ जो दीन वाले थे : सम्राट् ब्रिटेनों द्वारा उनका नियन्त्रण किया गया। *Raj Vtar* IX, 203.

64. *Wagya-Sarkar-Ranathambhor* (MS; LI 246).

65. *Ibid* LF. 291.

66. *Ibid* LF. 375.

67. *Akhbarat* year 23 pt. 1 (Sikamati) LF. 22.

68. *Ibid* LF. 37.

take a serious notice of it. This exchange of letters is also proved by *Raj Vilas* of poet Man. The Emperor wanted to dissuade the Maharana from extending any sort of help to the Rathors. But he could not achieve any success.

Invasion against Mewar

Soon after his arrival at Ajmer on Sept. 26, 1670 A. D., Aurangjib despatched a part of his forces on Oct. 27, under the command of Tahawwar Khan with a stringent order to make Ajitsingh captive. When Tahawwar Khan reached Godawar, an advance party under Qurawai Khan was despatched⁶⁹ to lay waste the country of the Rana near Desuri pass. The advance party was badly defeated by the Rajputs in an encounter which took place near Desuri pass, perhaps near Nadlai. Tahawwar Khan also rushed to help him, but he too could not succeed in curtailing the power of the Rajputs and drifted towards Raj Nagar. The *Raj Vilas*⁷⁰ contains the details of this battle. According to this, Rathor Gopinath of Ghanerao and Solanki Vikram of Rupa Nagar displayed conspicuous gallantry. They not only defeated the Mughal army but also plundered its treasures. On getting such alarming news the Emperor resolved to proceed himself towards Mewar. Before leaving Ajmer he made elaborate preparations.⁷¹ He gave orders to prince Muazzam posted in the Deccan, to reach Ujjain immediately. Similar orders were also issued to prince Muhammad Azam, posted in Bengal, to reach Mewar with his army. Hussain Ali⁷² was posted at Jetaran and Sojat to keep a vigilant watch over the activities of the Rajputs. For his help, Medatiya Sujansingh was posted as the *Fauzdar* of Jetaran. The Emperor left Ajmer on Nov. 30, and encamped at Deorai, (Near Ajmer). Prince Akbar, coming from Mehta joined him there.⁷³ He was ordered to proceed towards Mewar and Tahawwar Khan was placed under

69. *Raj Vilas* X verses 8-13.

70. *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* (MS) 77(a).

71. देव सूरि रुपसि बदल लेना तिन जिरिया । सुन्दूर लालिक जगत भरेक विधि राका राष्ट्रसर मुद्रा ।
Raj-Vilas XI-14.

72. Elliot and Dowson Vol. VII p. 299.

73. *Akhbarat* year 29 pt. I (Sitanmu) Lf. 51.

74. *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* Lf. 77(b). According to the *Akhbarat* dated Nov. 30, 1679 A.D., Prince Kumbukhan, Khan Jahan Bahadur, Muhammad Azam and Asad Khan also waited upon the Emperor.

him. Proceeding from Deorai, the Emperor reached Mandal and encamped there for a few days. Prince Muhammad Azam, who joined him there (December 16), was also instructed to proceed against the Maharana.

Preparations by the Maharana

When the Maharana heard of these developments, he immediately convened the war council, and on its recommendations he deserted Udnipur and moved to Nainwara (Distt. Udaipur) with his treasure, members of the family and followers⁷⁵. He resolved to depopulate all important towns of Mewar, so that the Mughal forces could not procure food stuff. The citizens of Pur, Mandal, Rayala and Hurada, the towns then held in possession by the Mughals⁷⁶, were reported to be panic stricken. Although the Mughal officers were quite cautious, they were always afraid of the possible sudden attacks by the Rajputs. The Maharana also made elaborate preparations to resist the invasion, which were as under :

1. Singhvi Dayaldas was posted towards Mandalgarh. His pillage-activities⁷⁷ were brought to the Imperial notice in the last week of October, 1679 A. D., by the *Waqiya Navis*. He chastised the Mughal officers and ravaged important towns—namely Nenawa, Toda etc. (December 30). The Maharana asked him to keep a close watch on the activities of the Mughals in that area and see that no food stuff is allowed to pass in their hands. From April 1680, he concentrated his activities⁷⁸ in the Northern Malwa.

2. Medatiya Sanwaldas was instructed to have his camp in the hilly tracts of Badnor in order to keep a watch over the territory extending from Mandal & Rayala to Badnor. He successfully ravaged⁷⁹ Rayala (January 9, 1680 A. D.), Kercda⁸⁰ (March 23, 1680 A.D.), Pur, etc. and fought with Ruhilla Khan, the *thansidar* of Badnor.⁸¹

75. *Raj Prashasti XII* verse 22/The *Raj Vilas* contains more details about the Journey of the Maharana. According to it, the Maharana held his first camp near the hill of Devimata, where several chiefs of Paonra, Mespur, Jawar and Judo, with fifty thousand Bhils, appeared before him. The Maharana after posting them at different places went to Nainwara.

76. *Waqiya-Sarkar-Ranathambhor* Lf. 275, 286, 280.

77. *Ibid* 107, 108.

78. *Raj Vilas XII* verse 88.

79. *Waqiya-Sarkar-Ranathambhor* Lf. 411.

80. *Ibid* Lf. 425.

81. *Raj Vilas XVI*.

3. Rajkumar Bhim was ordered to carry out depredations in the Northern Gujerat. He successfully penetrated into Gujerat as far as Badanagar and ravaged it. He also succeeded in collecting a booty of Rs. 40,000/- from there. Similarly a sum of Rs. 2,00,000/- was extracted by him from Ahmadnagar.⁸²

4. Rajkumar Jaisingh was posted in Basad territory.

5. Rathor Gopinath, Solanki Vikramaditya, etc, were posted at Debari.

6. Purawat Sabalsingh with the Chundawats was posted in Rajnagar territory.

7. Jhala Pratapsingh was posted at Chirawa.

Events of Udaipur Area (January, 1680 A.D.)

Aurangjib left Mandal on January 3, 1680 A.D. for Debari and attacked it the other day. A fierce battle was fought in which Rathor Gorisingh, son of Boludas⁸³ of the Mewar army, was killed along with a number of his soldiers. The Mughal army succeeded in occupying the place. The assailants now resolved to lay waste the country around Udaipur. On Jan. 6, 1680 A. D., Prince Muhamad Azam and Khan Jahan were ordered to visit Udaipur. Two other senior Mughal officers, named Rubilla Khan and Yakataz Khan were detailed to demolish⁸⁴ the important temples of that area. On reaching Udaipur, they besieged the Jagadish temple which was protected by 20 Rajputs. When the Mughal soldiers came to molest the temple, the Rajputs came out of the temple one by one and killed a good number of the Mughals. It seems that the Mughal soldiers could only disfigure⁸⁵ some icons fixed in the outer walls of the temple. The *Raj Vilas* mentions of some other details. According to this⁸⁶ Rawat Udaibhan and Chauhan Amarsingh were posted at the outpost of Udaipur. Being pleased with the activities of Udaibhan, the Maharana granted him twelve villages.

82. *Ibid* XV/Raj Prashasti XXII 28-29.

83. संवत् १७३६ वर्षे पोस शुक्रे १४ पातिशाह औरंगज़ाब देवनारी जायो वडे राठीक गोदारम वसु दासीर काम आणे [The Debari Inscription].

84. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. VII pp. 187-188/*Fasuhat-i-Alamgir* (MS) ff. 79(a).

85. *Masir-i-Alamgir* mentions of the destruction of the images only. Recently a good number of Jain icons were unearthed from Delawara (Mewar), which seems to have hidden at the time of the invasion of Aurangjib.

86. *Raj-Vilas* Chapter XII,

Prince Akbar and Tabewwar Khan had to fight a fierce battle with the Mewar army at Raj Nagar. According to the *Raj Prashasti*⁸⁷ several Rajputs met heroic death while fighting with the Mughals. After letting loose atrocities and carrying out depredations in that area, Prince Akbar left for Udaipur. From there, he⁸⁸ resolved to see the temple of Eklingji, but could not proceed beyond the Chirnwa Ghat fearing sudden attack by the Rajputs. Having seized two elephants from the army of the Mughals, Jhala Pratap Singh presented them to the Maharana. The Balas of Bhadesar (Distt. Chittor) brought a pack of horses, a herd of elephants and a string of camels and presented to the Maharana when he was staying at Nainwara. The Emperor himself proceeded towards⁸⁹ Udaipur on January 24, 1680 A.D. and encamped at Udnisagar where the Rajputs made a sudden attack on his camp in the night.

Hasan Ali in Hilly Tracts

Hasan Ali Khan, who was ordered to chase the Maharana, proceeded towards Udaipur with 7000 picked soldiers. But he lost his way and went towards Jhadol. From there he could not contact the main Mughal army. Aurangjib became anxious⁹⁰ to know of his whereabouts. Even the regular scouts refused to go in reconnaissance for fear of the Rajputs. After persuasion, Mir Shihab-ud-din went in his search and brought necessary information about him after a couple⁹¹ of days. According to the *Raj Vilas* a battle was fought at Nainwara,⁹² between Hasan Ali Khan and the Mewar Army (Jan. 22). Rawat Ratansingh (of Salumbhar), Rawat Mahasingh (of Begun) and Rao Kesarisingh Chauhan (of Parasoli) displayed conspicuous gallantry and defeated Hasan Ali. According to the *Raj Prashasti*⁹³ the casualty on both the sides in the above battle was of about 500 persons. According to the Persian chronicles, Hasan Ali emerged victorious and the Maharana left the place. He carried⁹⁴ away enormous quantity of grain, which he presented to

87. *Raj Prashasti* XXII verses 11 to 14.

88. *Ibid* verse 20.

89. Elliot and Dawson Vol. VII p. 188.

90. *Fatahat-i-Alamgiri* (MS) 79.

91. A period of 20 days mentioned in the *Fatahat-i-Alamgiri* seems to be reasonable.

92. *Raj Vilas* Chapter XIII.

93. *Raj Prashasti* XXII verses 23-24.

94. Elliot and Dawson VII p. 188.

the Emperor on Jan 30. While living at Udaipur the Emperor completed his religious obligation by dismantling 173 temples situated in the vicinity of Udaipur. Now it became apparent that direct attacks in the hilly areas would be ruinous to the Mughals. Most of the commandants were unwilling to undertake such perilous campaigns pleading the difficulty of transport. According to the *Raj Vilas* they requested the Emperor to have their camp near Chittor from where the Rajputs could be easily chased in the plains.

Events of Chittor

Leaving Udaisagar on Feb. 22, Aurangjib reached Chittor where 63 temples were demolished. Shaktawat Gangadas (of Banasi) suddenly attacked⁹⁵ the Imperial army at Chittor. Several Mughal soldiers ran away and 9 elephants were seized by him which were presented by him to the Maharana. In order to check these raids by the Rajputs the Emperor posted Hasan Ali and Prince Akbar at Chittor, who reached there on March 6. Khan Jahan who waited upon the Emperor was granted 500 *Ashrafis*. Having tired with these fruitless activities the Emperor left Mewar on March 6 and reached⁹⁶ Ajmer on March 22, 1680 A.D. The Udaipur valley was evidently abandoned by the Mughals upto this time.

Peace Negotiations

The Maharana pretended to open peace negotiations in order to dupe the Mughal authorities. The *Thanedar* of Pur reported that the Maharana sent Nilakanth Mahajan of Nolai⁹⁷ on April 9 for making peace negotiations. Dodiya Mahasingh and Madhosinh Chauhan also accompanied him. Padashah Kuli Khan invited the Vakils of Mewar and the matter was discussed with Garibdas and Sabalsingh. Aurangjib was informed accordingly. He however, refused to entertain the overtures (May 30). The *Raj Prashasti* contains some more details. According to this the Mugbal Emperor demanded three districts of Mewar and Rs. Three lacs in cash as indemnity which not being agreed to by the Maharana no settlement could be arrived at.

95. *Raj-Vilas* Chapter XII Verses 27 ■ 35.

96. *Ibid* Chapter XIV.

97. S.R. Sharma *op.cit.* p. 74.

98. *Akhbarat* year 23 pt. II f. 33.

99. S.R. Sharma—*op. cit.* p. 75.

100. *Waqiya-Sarkar Ranadhambar* (Sitamau) Lf. 450.

101. *Raj Prashasti* XXII 45-46.

Surprise Attacks by Mewar Army

The Maharana also continued his sudden attacks. He divided his army¹⁰² into three flanks and posted them in the areas of (1) Raja Samand (2) Neemuch and (3) Mandsaur (April 8.) The subedar of Malwa, not being able to check the pressure of the Rajputs, was¹⁰³ degraded (April 16) by the Emperor by reducing his title by 500 *Zat* and 500 *sawars*. Singhavi Dayal Shah and prince Jaisingh carried out depredations in the Imperial territory. Dayal Shah also successfully¹⁰⁴ plundered several towns of Malwa. Thus, the Rajputs succeeded in creating a terror in the hearts of the Mughal Officers, who one by one refused to enter the hilly tracts, saying that the army was motionless due to fear.

Events of Badnor Area

The Maharana deputed Medatiya Sanwaldas to fight against Ruhilla Khan, the *Thanedar* of Badnor. The *Raj Vilas*¹⁰⁵ mentions that Sanwaldas laid a siege to the fort of Badnor and defeated the Mughal army. Soon after, Indrasingh was appointed as the *Thansdar* of that place. Medatiya Sanwaldas went on creating disturbances. The *Waqiya-Nawis*¹⁰⁶ reported on April 8 that he plundered several villages near Badnor while having his headquarter in the hilly area of Karera. Similar information about him was also reported¹⁰⁷ on April 22. The Mughals, however, allured his sons Amarsingh and Arjunsingh, who appeared before Medatiya Mokhamsingh, the *Thanedar* of Pur, for getting themselves enlisted in the Imperial army. Indrasingh failed to check the sudden attacks¹⁰⁸ and pillage activities of Sanwaldas and left the place (May 22). Thereafter, Munsingh of Kishangarh was appointed as the *Thanedar* of Badnor. Padshah Kuli also came there and returned after staying for a few days¹⁰⁹. Sanwaldas successfully carried on his activities and even threatened Akbar's communications with Ajmer.

102. *Waqiyat-Sarkar-Ranathambhor* Lf. 450.

103. *Akhabarat* year 23 pt. III Lf. 212.

104. *Raj-Vilas* Chapter XVII.

105. *Ibid* Chapter XVI.

106. *Waqiyat-Sarkar Ranathambhor* Lf. 442.

107. *Ibid* 443.

108. *Ibid* 452/*Akhabarat* year III pt. IV Lf. 18.

109. *Ibid* 489.

Difficulties of the Mughal army

To wage war with the Maharana was one of the biggest headaches to the Mughal Emperors. They had to make necessary preparations by mobilising their resources to a great extent. When Aurangjib failed to achieve any success, he made drastic changes in the organisational set-up. The outpost of Neemuch was put directly under the charge of Prince¹¹⁰ Akbar (March 27). Mukhtar Khan, the subedar of Malwa, was instructed¹¹¹ to meet Prince Akbar with a part of his army (March 28). Hasan Ali was sent towards Neemuch,¹¹² for ravaging the country (April 3). The Thanadar of Garoli was bestowed upon Abdullah¹¹³ Khan who was made responsible for despatch of food-stuff (April 4). He was subsequently replaced by Hasan Ali¹¹⁴ Khan (April 17). Sabalsingh was appointed as¹¹⁵ Thanaedar of Neemuch while Medatiya Mokhamsingh was appointed at Pur.

Rahamutullah, the Kiledar of Mandalgarh,¹¹⁶ reported on April 22, that the labourers engaged for the repairs of the fort ran-away fearing sudden attacks by the Rajputs. The Thanaeder appointed at Begun did not join at all. Pur was invaded¹¹⁷ several times by the Rajputs (April 8, and April 12). Medatiya Mokhamsingh, the Thanaedar of that place, could not succeed in checking these activities. His slender resources were exhausted. He requested Padshah Kuli Khan for immediate financial assistance. Similar circumstances prevailed in Mandal. Kachhawa Haranah let loose atrocities there and¹¹⁸ killed several innocent persons making fictitious allegations against them. At this, several residents left the place (May 22). The Rajputs successfully seized the food stuff being carried from Malwa on 10,000 pack-oxen. Instructions were, therefore, given by the Mughal Emperor

110. The out post of Neemuch was very important. Raghu Nath Medatiya was appointed as Thanaedar of this place (March 4, 1689), who was killed on March 15, (Akhabarat year 23 pt. II fn. 83 and 100). This outpost was used for supervising transport of foodstuff to Chittor.

111. Akhabarat year 23 Pt. III f. 50.

112. Ibid f. 99.

113. Ibid f. 112.

114. Ibid f. 219.

115. Ibid f. 110.

116. Waqlya-Sarkar-Ranathambhor Lf. 461.

117. Ibid f. 445.

118. Ibid f. 482.

to keep a strict watch over¹¹⁹ the movement of the provisions. It was also ordered to avoid the route through Kosithal (May 22). Muhammad Amin Khan, the Subedar of Malwa, was ordered to take up position between Ahmadabad and Mewar. In spite of this, Prince Bhim of Mewar carried out depredations in Badanagar¹²⁰ and Ahmail Nagar and extracted a heavy booty from there¹²¹. These effective raids created panic in Ahmadabad. He was called back by the Maharana.

Re-shuffling of the Mughal Commandants :

Prince Jaisingh made¹²² a sudden attack on the Imperial army stationed at Chittor and put it to a tremendous loss. By this unexpected event the position of prince Akbar became precarious. He was made responsible for the unsucces of the Mewar campaign (June 17). Thereupon the Emperor, in high wrath, transferred him to Marwar and made Prince Azam in charge of the operations in Mewar. Qasim Khan and Sujaat Khan were posted at Chittor to assist him. Mansingh Rathor¹²³ of Kishangarh was posted as *thansdar* of Pur and Padshah Kuli Khan was asked to reach Jodhpur while Prince Akbar was directed to have his camp at Medata. Hasan Ali who was ordered¹²⁴ to reach Chittor (July 1,) joined there on July 8.

Plan to encircle the hilly tracts

Aurangjib, living at Ajmer, was controlling the entire war operations. He made a plan to encircle the hilly tracts from three sides for capturing the hill-abodes of Rajputs. Prince Akbar was instructed to invade from the side of Desuri while Azam and Muazzam were instructed to penetrate through Debari and Raj-Samand respectively. Prince Akbar reached Sojat on July 18 and made extensive preparations for procuring food-stuff.¹²⁵ He wanted to establish outposts at Soimeshwar and Sadari, but the Emperor did not permit him to do so. Padshah Kuli Khan also did not obey his orders to proceed to Sadari where the Rajputs were creating

119. *Ibid* f. 408.

120. *Ibid* f. 442/Reports were also received that the ruler of Idar also plundered some villages of Gujarat (*Ibid* f. 472).

121. *Raj-Vilas XV/Raj Prashasti XXII* verses 26-29.

122. *Ibid* XVIII.

123. *Waqiya-Sarkar-Ranathambhor* Lf. 489/*Adab-i-Alamgiri* letter No. 659.

124. *Akhabaras* year 23 pt. IV f. 249-278.

125. *Adab-i-Alamgiri* Letter No. 734.

troubles.¹²⁶ Other senior Mughal Commandants, named Shujat Khan, Salabat Khan and Mukhtar Khan, also refused to proceed there. Prince Bhim was reported to have engaged in creating disturbances in the western Rajasthan and northern Gujrat where people were panic-stricken. He also invaded the camp of Padshah Kuli Khan at Khod (September 24). The Maharana closed all the passes. Similarly the progress of Prince Azam was also checked by the Rajputs. Akbar reached Nadol (September 21) where a battle was fought on October 11, in which the Rajputs were defeated¹²⁷. Meanwhile, Maharana Rajsingh breathed his last on October 22. It is said that poison was administered to him, but there is no positive evidence to prove this fact. Some contemporary¹²⁸ writers mention of his death due to fever or illness.

The Maharana espoused 18 queens from whom he had 9 sons and 9 daughters. It was prevalent that he was responsible for the death of one of his queens, a Purohit and a son. A strategem was plotted against his life by his queen Chandramati who desired to install her son Sardarsingh on the throne. The plot unfortunately could not be carried through and the intriguers were put to death. Prince Sardarsingh also committed suicide, knowing the evil intention of his mother, while his wife Amar Kumari became sati at her paternal abode at Ratlam in V.E. 1727 (1670 A.D.)

Construction of works of public utility

The Maharana was deeply interested in construction of temples and palaces and excavation of tanks. Some of these deserve special mention, viz (i) Sarva-Ritu-Vilas Garden (ii) Renovation of Debari Gate with its walls (iii) Ambamata temple of Udaipur (iv) Rang Sagar tank (v) Jana Sagar tank (vi) Palaces on Nawchauki, Raj Samand (vii) Raj Nagar town (viii) Renovation of Indra Sagar at Eklingji (ix) Trimurti Bawadi at Debari. In V.E. 1707, when he was the crown prince he got built a palace known as *Kumar-Sandh* having fine paintings. He also brought to completion the erection

126. The *Wagya* (Lf. 510) mentions that Medatiya Gupinath and Sonang were making plundering raids in the Godawar from Somerbhore to Desuri.

127. *Raj-Rupak* pp. 62-90; *Fasuhat-i-Alamgiri* (MS) f. 77b 78b.

128. The *Wagya*-nawis and the writer of *Sayki* have mentioned it. For details see—Shri Shiv Charan Meoariya's paper published on this subject in *Vishwanandhara*.

of four small temples dedicated to Siva, Ganapati, Surya, and Shakti, situated in the premises of the Jagdish temple of Udaipur.

Raj Samudra Lake

Originally the idea of constructing the lake was conceived when the Maharana went to Jaisalmer for his marriage in the year V.E. 1698 (1641 A.D.). But it could not be acted upon before V.E. 1718 (1681 A.D.). The dam was constructed across¹²⁹ the river Gomati. Originally the plan was to submerge about 16 villages, but only 5 were completely submerged. Its *Muhurti* was done on wednesday Jan. 1, 1682 A.D. Strenuous efforts were made in making the bed of the river dry. Several persian wheels were commissioned for this purpose. After a period of 3 years the foundation was laid on Monday, April 17, 1685 A.D. About 60,000 workmen were employed for this purpose. Temporary structures were built in its vicinity which lateron developed and formed part of Raj Nagar town. The Maharana laid in foundation in Feb., 1609 A.D. On June 26, 1670 A.D., the main dam was completed. Other construction work continued for a few years more. A big boat constructed by the shipwrights of Surat, Lahore and Gujrat was launched on August 26, 1674 A.D. Its consecration ceremony was done with much pomp and show in Jan., 1676 A.D. Invitations were sent to all important Rajput rulers. The Maharana and his Purohit Garibdas weighed themselves against gold, while a few others were weighed against silver. On Jan. 15, 1676 A.D. the Maharana undertook a journey around the lake with large retinue and completed it within 6 days. The naming ceremony of the lake was done on Jan. 20, 1676 A.D. Various donations and charities were given away on this occasion which were distributed among 46,000 Brahmins present on the spot. Several gifts were also presented to some important rulers.

The Maharana's younger brother Arisingh was sent on pilgrimage¹³⁰ to Gaya in V.E. 1733 (1678 A.D.)

Inscriptions

The Ekling temple inscription of V.E. 1709 is the earliest one of the reign of Maharana Rajsingh. It records his weighing against precious stones. The Jagdish temple contains an inscription of his

129. S.R. Sharma op. cit. Chapter IV and V/Raj Prashasti Chapters IX to XXI.

130. *Raj Ratnakar* (MS) Chapter XXI verses 18-19.

reign recording the construction of Kumar-Saudh palace and Sarbat Vilas garden. The Bedawas inscription of V.E. 1725 mentions of Bhagchand and his son Fatehchand, who served as the Pradhans of the state and commanded the Mewar armies sent against Bansawara and Toda respectively. The Badi Tank inscription of V.E. 1726 mentions that a sum of 2,61,000 was spent on its construction. The Maharana performed *Rajat-Tula-Dan* at the time of its consecration ceremony and gave away the villages Gilund and Devapura to Purohit Garibdas. The most important inscription of his reign is the *Raj Prashasti*, which was engraved during the reign of his son Jaisingh. It is one of the biggest inscriptions and contains 24 cantos. Its major part records the construction of the dam, the summary of which has already been given in the preceding para. It also contains a vivid description of the reign of Maharana Rajsingh and Jaisingh. The Digamber Jain temple (Bada Bazar) inscription of the V.E. 1726, a few inscriptions of V.E. 1709 and 1736 of the temple of Basna Gotra at Udaipur¹⁹¹ and four inscriptions of V.E. 1732 at Raj Samand throw sufficient light on the manifold activities of the Jains. Several Copper plates containing the account of land grants are also known.

Literary activities

Maharana Rajsingh was a great patron of art and learning. According to the verse composed by him and engraved on a slab at Raj samand, he preferred to give due respect to the poets. Sadashiv, Bhatt Ranchhod, Mansingh, Kishordas, Shrotriya Mukund, Bhatta Shrilal etc., were the important poets. Sadashiv's work *Raj Ratnakar*, is very useful for the study of the reign of Maharana Rajsingh and Jaisingh. Bhatt Ranchhod son of Madhusudan was a Telang Brahmin of Kathundi family. This family frequently received several donations from the rulers of Mewar. He was a good scholar of sanskrit and gave a detailed description of the construction of the

191. Shri Bhanwarlal Chittora of Udaipur sent a copy of this inscription to me, for which I feel obliged.

192. सं० १७०२ वर्ष मारुपाले शुक्ल १५३ त्रियोदशी मेषपाठे चरणपुर नगरे महाराणा बी राजसिंह राज्ये—बाल्कण योले सा गंगा भाव धूरपाठे शूष्मनैव विवक्ष्य आरापित [Unpublished inscription] सं० १७३५ वैशाख शुक्ला ३—चरणपुरे बी राजा राजसिंह राज्ये—इफल दीते—क० विवक्ष्यसिह—तीमधर विव कारापित [Unpublished inscription].

dam at Raj Nagar. Mansingh was a Jain-Yati who composed *Raj-Vilas* having minute details of the reign of Maharana Raj Singh. He breathed his last in the latter part of the year 1680 A.D. Kishor-das's work the of *Raj Prakash* was completed before V.E. 1719, — he confined his work to the description of *Tika-daur* only and its copy was got prepared in V.E. 1719. Bhatt Shrilal's work *Raj Singh-Varnanam* is not a work of historical value. Several Jain poets, namely Tejsingh, Tej-muni, Lalchand, Manzagar, Maheshmuni, Pad-mavijay, Muni Kheta, Kunakvijay etc. flourished during his reign.

(g) Maharana Jaisingh

Maharana Jaisingh, born on Dec 5, 1653 AD, succeeded his father Maharana Rajsingh.¹

Battle with Aurangjib continued

At the time of the death of Rajsingh, the battle with the Mughals was at its full swing. Prince Akbar, who was then besieging Desuri pass, had to face a stiff resistance from the Rajputs under the commands of Prince Bhim and Solanki Bika. The *Raj Prashasti*² mentions that they had successfully checked the progress of Tahawwar Khan for a period of 8 days. However, by constant efforts, the Mughals succeeded in crossing the pass (Nov. 22, 1680 A.D.) and reached Jilawara. While crossing the pass Prince Bhim successfully encountered and slew several Mughal soldiers. Akbar's plan to invade Kumbhaigarh remained abortive as the physical condition of the tract compelled him to desist from his further march with heavy artilleries. He was having³ only 6000 soldiers and 3000 match-lockmen, who were quite insufficient for such an ambitious plan. Having stationed at Jilawara, he ordered to let loose atrocities in⁴ the area. (Nov. 30, 1680 A.D.) A good number of residents were made captives, who were distributed as slaves⁵ among his soldiers. However, he totally failed to check the surprise attacks by the Rajputs. Having continuously failed in Mewar and Marwar, he was smarting under disgrace and even discontinued writing letters to his father.

Dayal Shah's activities

Singhavi Dayal Shah took courageous steps and successfully carried out depredations in Malwa and collected heavy booty from Sarangpur, Mandu, Ujjain, Chanderi etc. He thus succeeded in

1. The identification of this place—Kandaj, where his coronation took place can not be done correctly. The *Raj Prashasti* simply mentions that यज्ञः कंदाजे नगरे निविद असनोद् यसी कथमित्यै...., प्राचीविद्वाद्विषयति ॥
2. *Raj Prashasti* XXIXI Verses 13-15.
3. S.R. Sharma—Maharana Rajsingh and his times p. 82/Jadunath Sarkar—History of Aurangjib III (1928) p. 351.
4. *Adab-i-Alamgiri* letter No. 700.
5. *Ibid* letter No. 726.

repairing the slender resources of the Maharana.⁶ He also made a sudden attack (Nov. 27, 1680 A.D.) on the Mughal army posted at Chittor under the command of Prince Azam.^{6A} A fierce battle took place. During the battle, circumstances compelled him to slay his own wife in order to save her from being carried away by the Mughals. Although his daughter was seized by the Mughal soldiers they had suffered heavy loss at his hand. A good number of them also managed to escape.

Diler Khan's activities

Azam Khan deputed Diler Khan with 15000 soldiers to chase the Maharana and his commandants. He entered into Mewar through the ranges of the Chhapan and reached Gogundah. Rawat Ratan-singh Chundawat was posted to protect the western Ghat of Mewar. Diler Khan⁷ could not get out from there. No food stuff could also be collected by him. His forces were badly defeated by the Rajputs. He could hardly save his life by getting out in a night with the help of a Brahmin.

Rebellion of Prince Akbar

After disastrous discomfits at Nadol (Oct. 1680 A.D.) and Desuri (Nov. 1680 A.D.) the Rajputs realised that it was quite difficult for them to continue pitched battles with the Mughals. The assailants were also facing great hardships. The physical condition of the country debarred them from successful penetration. The shortage of food stuff also endangered their lives. In this way, both the parties were realising the futility⁸ of prolonging the battle. Maharana Rajsingh and his allies hatched a plan to create a rift in the Mughal army by sponsoring a rival claimant to the throne of Delhi. They first made negotiations with Muazzam posted in Mewar, but failed owing to timely and sane warning from his mother Nawabbai.⁹ They now tempted Akbar to rebel against his father. The Rajputs first induced Padshah Kuli Khan for this treasonable act. Later on, they abetted Akbar for this seditious offence by saying that his father's bigotted attempts to root out the Rajputs had

6. Tod I P. 312.

6A. *Futuhat-i-Alamgir* (MS) 80a

7. *Raj Prashasti* XXIII 16 ■ 26.

8. Dr. Raghuvir Singh—Rathor Durgadas (MS) pp. 43-44.

9. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. VII p. 300.

threatened the stability of the Empire. But due to the death of Mahrana Raja Singh no action could be taken. Soon after the accession of Maharana Jaisingh, these negotiations were resumed. It seems that when Padshah Kuli Khan reached Jilawara the Maharana communicated the message to the Prince through him by saying, "If you wish that the honour of Hindustan should not be totally lost, we clasp the skirt of your robe and hope for deliverance and happiness at your¹⁰ hands." The Maharana's agent Kesarisingh also visited him urging him to accept the above proposals. The Prince attempted to dupe his father by writing that the Rajput emissaries had visited his camp and he might bring them to court provided the matter was settled.

When all preparations were ready, Akbar declared himself as the Emperor at Nadol on January 1, 1681 A.D. Aurangjib learnt about this rebellion on January 7, 1681 A.D. at Ajmer. Except for a few guards¹¹, he was having no army with him. Therefore, he was much annoyed and after strengthening his position and arranging for reinforcement from various places, he reached Dorai (Near Saradhana Railway Station) on January 26, 1681 A.D. Akbar with the Rajput army also encamped near by. Aurangjib cunningly devised a strategem by writing a forged letter to his son Akbar wherein he applauded him for betraying the Rajputs successfully and directed him to follow strictly the pretended scheme to annihilate them. This plan proved successful and the Rajputs, apprehending danger, detached themselves from Akbar and¹² retreated. Next day Akbar also pursued them and took shelter with Durgadas. He was first taken towards Western Rajasthan, but thinking him unsafe he resolved to move towards the Deccan through the defiles of Mewar,¹³ where the Maharana also provided escort to him.

Peace Negotiations

When Aurangjib came to know that Prince Akbar could not be captured, he endeavoured to make settlement¹⁴ with the Maharana

10. J.N. Sarkar—*op. cit.* III (1928) pp. 355-356,

11. Jadunath Sarkar—*Masir-i-Alamgiri* p. 123.

12. *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* f 82 (b) to 83 (a)/*Masir-i-Alamgiri* p. 125/*Raj Rupak* p. 11.

13. Akbar in a letter to Shambha I asserted that the Maharana had extended his hospitality to him. But seeing himself unsafe there he came to the Deccan (J.N. Sarkar—*House of Shivaji*). But S.R. Sharma believes that the Rajput sources do not reveal any such fact (S.R. Sharma *op. cit.* p. 84).

14. S.R. Sharma—*op. cit.* p. 86.

on whatever terms agreeable to him. Shyamsingh, son of Garibdas,¹⁵ and grandson of Maharaja Karnasingh, who was then serving in the army of Diler Khan, started overtures for settlement. He paid a visit to the Maharana and requested him to utilise the opportunity of Akbar's rebellion by making a settlement with the Mughal Emperor. On his advice the Maharana sent Rawat Ghatiram Shakawat, Rawat Rukmangad and Kesarisingh ■ Ajmer. The Maharana¹⁶ also put forth certain claims, the important points of which are as below. This letter was presented to the Emperor through Sursingh and Narahari Bhatt.

1. Let Chittor with the *Prayagras* of Malwa adjacent to it be restored.
2. Let the conversion of Hindu temples and palaces into mosques be discontinued.
3. No extra commands be imposed regarding deputation of Mewar forces in the services of the Mughal Emperor.
4. Let the Marwar State be restored to the descendant of Maharaja Jaswantsingh.

The Emperor issued a *firman*¹⁷ on February 23, 1681 A.D. to the Maharana, through Prince Muazzam, wherein he agreed to maintain his status ■ per settlement made by Maharana Amarsingh with Jahangir in 1615 A.D. As regards his other demands, he assured to consider them sympathetically, provided he would appear before Prince Azam in token of his submission. When these negotiations were in progress, Prince Azam¹⁸ wrote to him on April 3, 1681 to make Akbar, the fugitive prince, captive, who was then proceeding towards Mewar. The Mughal Emperor insisted upon his son Azam to use his influence and dissuade the Maharana from extending any sort of help to Akbar. Diler Khan, one of his commandants posted in Mewar, took active part in these overtures. It seems that the Maharana apprehended some foul play on the part of the Mughal

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15. राजपतीकर्त्तव्यसंग्रहितीयप्रभु श्री गरीबदासरात्मकः इतापिष्ठः [Raj Prashasti XXIII 52-53]
 16. According to the letter published in *Vir Vinod* (pp. 659 ■ 661) ■ the Maharana also put some demands before prince Azam. [The Prince gave his approval] on the condition that he would follow them, when full powers were vested in him.
 17. The *Firman* dated *Safar* 14, year 24 (Feb. 29, 1681) from Muazzam to the Maharana. (*Ibid* II p. 651-654).
 18. *Ibid* II p. 639.

Emperor, Diler Khan, therefore, extended his assurance by writing a letter¹⁹ on June 10, 1681 A.D. Even then the Maharana still hesitated and so Diler Khan surrendered his sons as hostages²⁰ to the camp of the Maharana. On his thus winning over the Maharana, the Emperor was much pleased with Azam.^{20A}

Meeting between Azam and the Maharana

A meeting between Azam and the Maharana was arranged at Rajamand²¹ on June 14, 1681 A.D. The Maharana with 7000 cavalry, 10,000 Infantry and leading chiefs attended that meeting. Prince Azam alongwith Diler Khan, Hussain Ali Khan, Rathor Ramsingh of Ratlam and Hada Kishansingh of Kotah welcomed him. The Maharana²² made an offering of 500 Ashrafies and 18 horses with gold and silver trappings. The Prince embraced him and desired him to sit on his left side. A *Khilliat*, an elephant, a dagger etc. were given to him. The Prince also gave some assurances about restoration of the *Paraganas* and reduction in the contingent. A sum of Rs. one lakh was fixed as *Jaziya*. According to *Masir-i-Alamgiri* the Maharana agreed to surrender three *paraganas* namely Mandal, Pur and Badnor in lieu of the *Jaziya*. But this arrangement seems to have been done after August 1681 A.D. and not at the time of the settlement. An indemnity of 3 crore *Dams* was also fixed against the Maharana. Out of this 40,000 were excused.

Grant of firman

On July 14, 1681 A.D. the Maharana²³ sent a letter to the Mughal Emperor, which was duly acknowledged. As per agreement a firman was granted on July 18, 1681 A.D. (*Rajjab* 12, *Sanneh Julius* 24). According to this, the Maharana was granted²⁴ a Mansab of 5000 *Zat* and 5000 *Sawars*. The *paraganas* namely Pur, Mandal, Mubarakpur, Mar dalgarh and Badnor were granted to the Maharana.

19. *Ibid* II p. 653-654.

20. *Masir-i-Alamgiri* p. 128.

20A. *Arzdasht* from the vakil to Maharaja of Jaipur dated August 29, 1681 A.D. (Indian Historical Records Commission 1951 catalogue of papers p. 83).

21. *Masir-i-Alamgiri* p. 128/*Raj Prashant* XXIII 31-51.

22. *Ibid*.

23. *Akhbarat* year 24 (Sitamau) Lf. 24.

24A. Maharana Rajsingh was having a Mansab of 6000 *Zat* and 6000 *sawars* since the date of Aurangzeb's accession (*Supra*). But Jaisingh was granted a Mansab of 5000 *Zat* and 5000 *sawars*, perhaps on the basis of the settlement of 1616 A.D.

Out of the indemnity payable by the Maharana the Emperor granted remission of 1 crore and 40 lakh *Dams*. Instalments were fixed for the balance. The *Pashkash* sent²⁴ by the Maharana, consisting of 4 swords, 1 horse with gold embroidered trappings, 16 swords 1 Jamadhar etc. was received by the Emperor on July 10, 1681 A.D. Bakshi Muhammad²⁵ Naim, attached with Prince Kambahsh, was detailed for delivery of the *firman* to the Maharana. Before his march, nine robes of honour, an elephant costing Rs. 10,000 a Jamadhar costing Rs. 5000, and a horse with gold trappings were also sent by the Mughal Emperor to the Maharana. On July 20, 1681 A.D. similar presents²⁶ sent by the Maharana to Prince Azam, Muazzam, Diler Khan etc. were received. Muhammad²⁷ Naim started for Udaipur on July 25, 1681 A.D. He remained there for a few days after delivery of the *firman* and returned on August 13, 1681 A.D. A sum of Rs. 4,000 was given²⁸ to him as a reward by the Maharana.

Relations with the Mughal Emperor (1681 to 1698 A. D.)

In spite of the settlement referred to above, Aurangjib avoided his march to Deccan²⁹ through Mewar, fearing sudden attacks by the Rajputas. (Aug. 27, 1681 A.D.). However, after the settlement of 1681 A.D. relations between the Maharana and the Mughal Emperor remained cordial. The following points only remained as bone of contention between them.

- (1) Timely payment of *Jaziya*.
- (2) Despatch of a contingent to Deccan.
- (3) Restoration of three *paraganas*.

The *firman* granted ■ the Maharana does not contain any specific order about the payment of *Jaziya*.³⁰ Prince Azam wrote a letter to the Maharana,³¹ wherein he assured to recommend his

24. *Akhbarat* year 24 Lf 19.

25. *Ibid* Lf 19/A copy of the *firman* is given at pages 665-666 of the *Vir-Vined*.

26. *Ibid* Lf 32.

27. *Ibid* Lf 47.

28. *Ibid* Lf 47.

29. *Ibid* Lf 140.

30. The *Masir-i-Alamgiri* mentions that 3 *paraganas* were given by the Maharana in order to liquidate the payment of *Jaziya*. But it was not done at the time of settlement. The Maharana paid Rs. one lac in August 1681 A.D. immediately after that settlement. Therefore, this arrangement might have been done after that date.

31. *Vir-Vined* II p. 656.

above claim. But, perhaps the Emperor was not prepared to give any concession on this religious obligation. The Maharana, therefore, in order to liquidate the payment of *Jaziya* paid some gold coins worth Rupees 1 lac to Prince Azam. On Aug. 4, 1681 A. D. it was reported by Muhammad³² Khan, the Mughal officer, that there was a difference of Rs. 3000 in the exchange value of these *Ashrafies*. However, this difference was waived. This *Peshkash* of the Maharana was sent to the Mughal Emperor through Sanwalsdas³³ and Kriparam (August 6, 1681 A. D.). When the Maharana did not despatch his contingent to the Deccan, Prince Azam wrote³⁴ a *Nishan* to the Maharana on July 27, 1684 A.D. for this purpose. He insisted on early despatch of 1000 *sawars* under the command of some relative or a trustworthy chief. But it is not clear whether these *sawars* were despatched at that time. However, in 1684 A.D., the Mewar contingent was present in the Deccan.³⁵

As already stated, the Emperor had granted *paraganas* namely Pur, Mandal, Mandsigarh, Badnor etc. to the Maharana. But the actual possession was not given. After a few days, Badnor³⁶ was granted to Sujansingh Sisodiya. (August 17, 1681 A.D.). On a false complaint from Muhammad Anawar, the then Diwan of the *paraganas* of Pur, about the invasion of the Maharana, his mansab was reduced³⁷ by 100 *Zat* and 20 *sawars* (Nov. 26, 1681 A.D.). When the possession of the *Paraganas* was not given to the Maharana, he discontinued payment of *Jaziya*. In 1690 A.D. the Mughal Emperor granted *Paraganas* of Pur (Pur, Mandal) and Badnor to the Maharana³⁸ in lieu of payment of Rs. One lakh annually towards *Jaziya*. But when this payment could not be arranged regularly these were again taken back. In 1694 A.D., Badnor was under Sujansingh Sisodiya. On a complaint from a merchant about illegal seizure³⁹ of his horses, his mansab was reduced by 100 *Zat* (June 26,

32. *Akhbarat* year 24 Lf 79.

33. *Ibid* Lf 82.

34. The *Nishan* (July 27, 1681 A.D.) from A am to the Maharana Mr. *Vinod* II p. 665-666.

35. *Akhbarat* year 38 Lf 194.

36. *Ibid* year 25 Lf.

37. *Ibid* year 24 Lf 349.

38. The firman dated *sawwal* 9, *tanneh* 34 from wazir Aam Khan to the Maharana (*Vir-Vinod* pp. 669 ■ 671).

39. *Akhbarat* year 38 Lf ■■■

1604 A.D.) Similarly Mandalgarh also continued under the Mughal Emperor. For a few years this *paraganas* was taken on *Izara* by Kunwar Amarsingh.⁴⁰ The Maharana failed to recover all these *paraganas*. He remained badly engrossed in the domestic problems during the latter part of his life and did not show his earnestness towards these affairs.

Revolt of Prince Amarsingh

Prince Amarsingh, the eldest son and successor of Maharana Jaisingh rose into rebellion against his father. Several causes are ascribed to it. It is said that during the absence of his father he let loose an insurated elephant into the city. On such activities, his father reprimanded him. Being insurated he went towards⁴¹ Bundi. The chief of Mewar were divided. Amarsingh was joined by Rawat Kesarisingh, Rawat Mahasingh, Maharaj Suratsingh, Udal Bhan Jhala Sajja etc. The Hada auxillaries of 10,000 men of Bundi also joined him. He also wrote two letters to Wazir Asad Khan⁴² for espousing his cause. But no active support from the Mughal Emperor was received. With the help of his army he successfully captured Udaipur city. The Maharana, who desired to avert the civil war, retired to Ghanerao. The Rathor contingent consisting of Durgadas⁴³, Sonang etc. also came forward to help him. The chief of Ghanrao was sent to exposituate the Prince. At this a settlement⁴⁴ was reached according to which Amarsingh was given an espionage at Raj Nagar and the Maharana agreed not to intercede in his affairs.

Bhim at the Mughal Court

At the time of this settlement with the Mughal Emperor the Maharana's younger brother Bhim was not present. Azam was anxious to know of his whereabouts. The Maharana informed him that he was no longer having good relations with him. The Emperor attempted to win over Bhim, and Diler Khan was asked to contact him. After much persuasion Bhim met Diler Khan on July 28, 1681 and gave his consent to serve under the imperial order. On

40. *Vir-Vinod* pp. 732-34.

41. *Ibid* pp. 674 to 680.

42. Prince Amarsingh sent Kusalsingh Sisodiya to enlist the support of the Emperor.

43. Prince Amarsingh appointed Kesarisingh Chauhan as Mumhib and Governdandas Bhatnagar as his *Pradhan*.

44. Dr. Raghuvir Singh—*op. cit.* p. 71.

recommendations of Diler Khan the Emperor granted him Bhatinda. He was taken to the Emperor at Ajmer by Fateh Mamur⁴⁵, the son of Diler Khan, where he waited upon the Emperor on August 11, 1681. He was received by some senior mansabdars namely Gajansar Khan, Muransar Khan and Bakshi-ul-Mulk Ruhilla Khan. The Emperor bestowed the title of Raja⁴⁶ upon him and a mansab of 4000 Zat and 3000 Sawars was given to him. He also attempted to have Mangrol as *Watan-Jugir* but it was rejected. Therefore, he made a fresh application for Mau Maidan, which was granted after much persuasion (December 24, 1681 A.D.). He was kept at Ajmer and no active service was given to him for some days. On his request he was allowed to go to the Deccan but he could not reach there till August 11, 1686 A.D. and died on August 26, 1694 A.D. His son Azabsingh waited upon the Emperor (August 21, 1681 A.D.) who received him favourably.

Bhagwantdass⁴⁷, the son of Arisingh, the younger brother of Maharana Rajasingh, also desired to serve in the Mughal army and requested for the same. A firman was issued to him on September 18, 1681 A.D. for the above purpose. He was given audience⁴⁸ on November 24, 1681 A.D. and was enlisted in the Imperial army.

Invasions upon Banswara (1686 A.D., 1691 A.D. and 1698 A.D.)

Maharawal Azabsingh of Banswara remained hostile and did not extend any help to the rulers of Mewar during their struggle with the Mughals. In the years 1686 A.D.⁴⁹ and 1691 A.D.,⁵⁰ the Mewar army invaded his state and defeated him badly. Again in the year 1698 A.D., the Mewar army gave him a crushing defeat. It seems that the Maharawal was attempting to capture the Dangal territory. The fighting came to an end when he had given an undertaking for surrendering the said territory to the Maharana.

The Maharana expired on September 23, 1698 A.D., leaving 4 sons, namely Amarsingh, Pratapsingh, Umedsingh and Takhtasingh and four daughters behind him.

45. *Akhbarat* year 24 p. Lf. 49.

46. *Ibid* p. 94.

47. *Ibid* year 25 Lf. 100.

48. *Ibid* Lf. 343.

49. सन् १६८६—सोहिंस भासवी दीपाली दी पोत शास आमा [The Sunarpur Inscription].

50. सन् १६९१—लोहरीआ भासवी दीपाली दी पोत शास आमा [The Lebariya Inscription].

(h) Maharana Amarsingh II

On the death of Maharana Jaisingh, his eldest son Amarsingh, then residing at Raj Nagar, proceeded towards Udaipur on September 20, 1698 A.D. for assuming sceptre. At Debari, Damodardas Paucholl, the then Pradhan, with leading chiefs, senior officers and notable citizens accorded him a warm welcome. From there Amarsingh proceeded towards Udaipur and entered the City in a huge procession. His usual coronation ceremony was observed after a few days in January 1699 A.D.

Maharana Amarsingh possessed inherent greatness as a general and administrator having enterprising ambitions. The early years of his reign were distinguished by the feats of his arms. He contrived to chastise the rulers of Dungarpur, Banswara and Devoliya, as these rulers did not present³ themselves at the time of his coronation, with suitable offerings. He also intimated the Mughal Emperor⁴ of this impertinence on their part.

Invasion against Dungarpur (1699 A.D.)

The Maharana despatched his forces against Dungarpur, under the command of Damodardas Paucholl and Surasingh. These forces, on reaching Vagad, successfully laid waste the country and defeated the forces of the Maharanvi in an engagement held on the bank of the river Soma. An inscription⁵ of the 9th day of the dark half of Baisakh V.E. 1736 (May 1699 A.D.) incised on a pillar of the Deva Somanath temple contains the accounts of this battle. The *Akhabarat*⁶ dated July 23, 1699 A.D. also mentions the defeat of the

1. According to verse 174 of the *Amarsingh-Abhishekha-Kavyam* (MS) it was performed on the 5th day dark half of Maghi V.E. 1736 (Jan. 1699 A.D.). According to the *Akhabarat* dated July 16, 1699 A.D. a report was conveyed from Ranathambhor about the death of Maharana Jaisingh and accession of Amarsingh. But it seems to be incorrect.
2. *Vid-Vinod* pp. 755-76/Ojha II p. 596.
3. Letter from Wazir Awd Khan to Maharana Amarsingh dated Sushir 10, Samvat 1736 (July 28, 1699) (Shyamaldas Collection R.S.A.).
4. संदर्भ १०२२ वर्षे देवालय गुरि ६ शुक्र महाराज स्तो शुक्रसिंह पंचोली वामोदरालालजी इन्द्रधनुष कोठ (मेने) परार्थ जब हासी जाहा चपल.....(The Deva Somanath Temple Inscription)
5. *Akhabarat* year 43 126(a).

forces of the Maharawal at the hands of those of Mewar. After disastrous discomfiture, the Maharawal requested for peace and a settlement was arrived at according to which he agreed⁶ to pay a sum of Rs. 1,75,000 as booty. Out of this, Rupees one lac were required to be paid in cash immediately and for the balance the following instalments were fixed.

(1) Rs. 35,000 to be paid in V.E. 1756 (1699 A.D.) at summer harvest.

(2) Rs. 40,000 ■ be paid in V.E. 1757 (1700 A.D.) at winter harvest.

It seems that the cash payment of one lac, required to be paid immediately, could not be liquidated by the Maharawal. Therefore, Rawat Dwarkadas with a part of Mewar army was left in Vagad for effecting the above recovery. All persuasion having failed he adopted vigorous measures and exerted pressure upon the Maharawal for arranging early payment which resulted in recovery.

Complaint of the Maharawal of Dungarpur

Feeling indignant on ferocious activities of the Mewar army in his state, the Maharawal lodged a false complaint to the Emperor against the Maharsana, wherein he stated that the latter had undertaken repairs to Chittor fort by violating the terms of the treaty conducted⁷ by the ancestors of the Maharana with the Mughal Emperors. He further added that the Maharana had chastised him as he did not agree to accompany him with his forces for carrying out depredations in the Imperial territory. This complaint was lodged⁸ through Abdur-Rauf, a senior Mughal Officer. It was conveyed to the Emperor by Rubilla Khan.⁹ The Emperor desired to write a strong letter to the Maharana reprimanding him on his hostile action. Accordingly a letter¹⁰ was addressed to the Maharana on July 28, 1699 A.D. The Maharana's emissaries named Ramray, Baghmal and Prithviraj, who were then present in the Mughal court,

6. Agreement dated Jeth Sudi 5, V.E. 1755 (1756) executed by Maharawal Khumansingh (*Vr-Vnod* p. 1009).

7. *Supra* p. 255.

8. Letter dated Rabi I, 4 *Sanneh* 43 (August 20, 1699 A.D.) from Asad Khan Wazir to Kushalsingh Saktawal (Shyamaldas Collection R.S.A.).

9. *Akhbarat* year 44 Lf. 126(a).

10. Letter from Wazir Asad Khan to Maharana Amarsingh dated Safar 10, *Sanneh* 43 (July 28, 1699 A.D.)/ (Shyamaldas Collection R.S.A.)

pleaded his case. As the Mughal Emperor was badly engrossed in the affairs of the Deccan, he could not pay sufficient attention to it. He also issued stringent orders to the Subedars of Maiwa and Gujarat to find out the facts.¹¹ When these officers enquired into the matter they found the complaint to be capricious and baseless.

Invasion against Banswara

As already stated, the relations between Maharana Jaisingh and Maharawal of Banswara remained strained and the Mewar army made invasions in Banswara state for occupying the Dangal territory. According to an inscription¹² of V.E.1754 (1698 A.D.) some military officers of the Banswara state were slain, while fighting with the Mewar army. This shows that the Mewar forces were already engaged in fighting in Banswara before the coronation of Maharana Amarsingh II.

On coming to the throne Maharana Amarsingh II invaded Banswara state and in order to restrain the hostile activities of the Maharawal, he captured the Dangal territory. Maharawal Azabsingh could not make a stand against the Mewar army and lodged a complaint to the Mughal Emperor against the intrusion of the Mewar forces into his state. The Maharana successfully pleaded his case in the Mughal court by producing an agreement entered into by Maharawal Kushalsingh, the father of Maharawal Azabsingh. The Mughal authorities were satisfied by it. Wazir Asad Khan¹³ directed the Maharawal not to provoke hostility for restoration of the said territory.

Invasion against Devaliya

The Maharana's relations with the Devaliya state were also strained. But no details of any engagement are known. Only a reference to the Maharana's invasion¹⁴ into that state is available in the letter dated 1699 A.D. of Keshavdas Kayastha, written from the Mughal court, wherein he advised the Maharana to shun the

11. Letters dated Muhamarram I, Samvat 144 (June 8, 1700 A.D.) from Wazir Asad Khan to Farail Khan and the Subedar of Gujarat [*ibid*].
12. संवत् १६९८ दरमे सूरक्षा नदि २ लिखे नायक सरवाह काम बास्वा दीवानकी नी भोज जारी तारे (The Satipole inscription of Banswara).
13. Letter from Wazir Asad Khan to Rawal Azabsingh dated Zilkad Samvat 146 (April 11, 1702 A.D.) *Vir Vinod* p. 747.
14. Letter from Kayasthi Keshavdas to the Maharana dated A.H. 1111 (1698 A.D.) (*ibid* p. 735).

aggressive attitude towards the Maharawat of Devaliya. According to *Akhbarat*¹⁵ dated Dec. 4, 1699 A.D., Maharawat Pratapsingh, when detailed for duty to accompany Mukhtiyar Khan, the Subedar of Malwa, informed the Emperor that the Maharana might intrude in his state during his absence and he, therefore, wanted to continue on his present posting at Kirachi-Ghat. The Emperor acceded to these proposals. The Maharana seems to have suspended his aggressive activities in that area looking to the displeasure of the Mughal Officers.

Tikadaur (1699 A.D.)

In order to accomplish Tikadaur the Maharana collected a large army and marched towards Malpura via Bundi in 1699 A.D. His march towards Bundi was reported to the Emperor. (Sep. 10, 1699 A.D.) On receiving the above news the Emperor¹⁶ was much annoyed. He instructed his wazir to write a strong letter to the Maharana asking him to adhere to the old treaty with his house. The Mansab of the Maharaja of Bundi was reduced by 500 *Zat* and 200 *sawars*. The *firman* and *khiliat*, which were to be sent to the Maharana, were kept in abeyance. Wazir Asad Khan¹⁷ wrote a letter to the Maharana asking him as to why he moved with such a large army without the approval of the Mughal authorities. (Sept. 1699 A.D.). The Maharana replied that he simply proceeded¹⁸ to undertake a pilgrimage and was having no evil intention (Oct. 1699 A.D.). The Mughal authorities were not pacified with his reply. Asad Khan, the Wazir, instructed the Maharana not to move outside his state with such huge army, without the permission of the Emperor. In this way he could not carry out depredations in the imperial territory of Malpura.

Mandalgarh, Badnor, Pur and Mandal

Another important factor which affected the Maharana's relations with the Mughal Emperor was of the *paraganas* of Mandalgarh, Badnor, Pur and Mandal for which the Maharana had a reasonable claim. This territory¹⁹ was retained by the Mughal Emperor

15. *Akhbarat* year 43 LF 40.

16. *Ibid* p. 180/Report of *Waqiya-Nawis* of Ajmer dated Rajab II, Samvat 19 (Dec. 24, 1699 A.D.)/*Vit-Vinod* p. 739.

17. Letter from Wazir Asad Khan to the Maharana dated Rabi I Samvat 43 (Sept. 13, 1699 A.D.) (*Ibid* p. 717).

18. *Asli* from the Maharana to the Mughal Emperor dated Kartika Sud 5 V.E. 1756 (Oct. 29, 1699 A.D.) (*Ibid* p. 799).

19. *Supra* p. 302.

in lieu of the payment of *Jaziya*-tax. In the year 1689 A.D., it was agreed to by the Maharana to pay a sum of Rs. one lac in cash to have the *paraganas* redeemed. But this amount could not be paid in stipulated time. Therefore, these *Paraganas* were taken back by the Emperor in 1691 A.D. The *paraganas* of Mandalgarh²⁰ was taken on *Izara* at Rs. 1,03,000 per annum for the period 1691 to 1692 A.D. and at Rs. 1,08,000 p.a. for the period 1694 to 1697 A.D. by Amarsingh himself during the life-time of his father Maharana Jaisingh. The management of this *paragna* was entrusted to his nominee Mohasingh. Due to natural calamities in the years 1692 and 1694 A.D., the amount of *Izara* was reduced by 14000 and 14300 respectively. Later on the *paraganas* of Mandalgarh and Badnor were assigned on May 28, 1699 A.D. to Karansingh²¹ son of Jujarsingh Rathor, raising his mansab to 700 *Zat* and 800 *sawars*. The Maharana who was desirous to get these *paraganas* back, became furious and sent his forces against the Rathors. Sayid Abdullah Nazim²² managed to check the above army by sending a strong force (Nov. 21, 1699 A.D.). The Maharana requested²³ the Emperor to either keep these *paraganas* under his direct control or grant them back to him. In V.E. 1756 (1699) A.D. he wrote to some Mughal prince about the sercurities of Rathor Ramsingh, the agent²⁴ of Karansingh Rathor posted at Mandalgarh. Wazir Asad Khan also²⁵ wrote to the Subedar of Ajmer for checking unlawful trespass by the Rathors of Mandalgarh in the adjoining territory of the Mewar State. In spite of growing opposition from the Maharana, the Rathors continued to have their possession over Mandalgarh. According to *Akhbarat* its *Fauzdar* was Firoz Khan (July 16, 1707 A.D.)

Similarly the *paragna* of Mandal was granted to Jagatsingh Rathor²⁶ on August 14, 1699 A.D., who reached there on Aug. 30. The Chundawats of Bhadu invaded Mandal and put him to great difficulties. However, this *paragna* continuously remained under the

20. *Vitr-Vino* : pp. 792-794.

21. *Akhbarat* dated May 19 and May 28, 1699 A.D. (year 43,Lf.101(a) & 106).

22. *Ibid* Lf. 32 (b)/*Vitr-Vinod* p. 799.

23. *Vitr-Vinod* pp. 739-40,

24. Arsi from the vikls of Mewar to the Wazir Asad Khan V.B. 1756 (1700 A.D. (*Ibid* p. 740).

25. Letter from Wazir Asad Khan to the Subedar of Ajmer dated Zilkad 4, Samva 14 (April 14, 1700 A.D. (*Ibid* 742-43).

26. *Akhbarat* year 43 Lf. 138(b).

possession of the Rathors for a considerable time. Nizam-ud-din son of Khwaja Ali was appointed as the *Thanedar* of Rayala²⁷ (*paraganas* Mandal) on July 25, 1703 A.D., which proves that upto that time this *paraganas* was not under the occupation of the Maharan.

Mewar contingent in the Deccan.

The Maharana's Vakil Ramray, Baghmal, Kushalsingh Sakawat, Jagrup etc. who were present in the Deccan, repeatedly requested the Emperor to restore the *paraganas* Mandal, Pur, Mandalgarh and Badnor. On July 24, 1699 A.D., a mansab of 100 *Zat* and 100 *sawars* was bestowed upon Ramray.²⁸ The Mewar contingent present in the Deccan was detailed against Dhanaji Jadava and a battle took place wherein Prithviraj,²⁹ one of the military officers, displayed conspicuous gallantry. Soon after this the contingent returned to Mewar. The Emperor again asked the Maharana for sending 1000 *sawars* to the Deccan. Wazir Asad Khan³⁰ also laid stress on early despatch of the contingent. He also assured that the *firman* and the *paraganas* would be granted thereafter. The Maharana despatched a few *sawars* under the command of Mokham-singh ■ accompany Azam Shuh. This contingent reported to the above prince at his camp Nolai (Bada-Nagar) in Maiwa.³¹ This contingent, on reaching the Deccan, was detailed for duty on Feb. 14, 1703 A.D. under Nasarat Khan.³² Subsequently it was posted under Islam³³ Khan of Rampura on June 18, 1703 A.D. to escort the royal treasures going from Deccan. On its return from the above service, this contingent was again posted under Nasarat Khan in the Deccan.

The Mughal Emperor, who was present in the Deccan, did not like to come into clash with the Maharana. On August 8, 1699 A.D. he sent the usual presents consisting of a horse and 200 Mohars to the Maharana.³⁴ On July 15 and 16, 1700 A.D. he also instructed to keep ready the *firman* and *khiliqis* to be sent to the Maharana. But

27. *Ibid* year 46 LF 233.

27.1 Ramray the Wakil of Mewar was given a mansab of 100 *Zat* and 100 *Sawars* (*Ibid* year 43 LF 29(b)).

28. *Ibid* year 48 LF 51(a).

29. *Vir-Vinod* p. 741.

30. *Ibid*.

31. *Akhabarat* year 47 LF 229.

32. *Ibid* 47 LF 343.

33. *Ibid* 43 LF 124(a).

except for an elephant, which was sent through Sayyid Azim ul-ullah, the grant of other presents³⁴ and *sirman* was deferred. The Maharana also sent an elephant and 46 horses to prince Azam Shah, which³⁵ were received by him on Sept. 8, 1701 A.D. In this way the Maharana's relations with the Mughal authorities were not very satisfactory, although no military action was taken from any side.

Abu and Sirohi

The Maharana was also having a covetous eye on the adjoining state of Sirohi. He managed to take this principality on *Izara* at 1 crore *Dams* per annum³⁶ (March 1703 A.D.). But due to active support of the Rathors, Devara king Durjansal of Sirohi interdicted the Maharana from collecting the land revenue. On the Maharana's complaint the Subedar of Malwa wrote to Yunis Ali, the *Fauzdar*, to dissuade Rathor Ajitsingh from extending any sort of help against the Maharana. But this attempt bore no fruitful result. The local chaudharies and *nawungos* of the Sirohi State, who were also against the authority of the Maharana, mongered mischievous news among the public that the area had been taken back from the Maharana. The Subedar of Malwa also instructed Ali Muhammad, the *Fauzdar*, to keep a strict watch on such sort of activities. But due to non-support from local revenue-authorities, revenue could not be collected fully and the Maharana had to handover the area back.

Rampura Affairs

The Chandrawat Rajputs had been ruling at Rampura. Gopalsingh, the then Chief, was dethroned by his son Ratansingh. He lodged a complaint to the Mughal Emperor, who gave instructions to Mukhtiar Khan, the Subedar of Malwa, to make Ratansingh captive (April 30, 1699 A.D.). However, Ratansingh apostatised from faith and embraced Islam, on the advice of Mukhtiar Khan. On receiving the news, Gopalsingh with his 3 other sons left the Mughal army without permission (April 27, 1700 A.D.). The Emperor appointed Sher Afghan on April 29 to make him captive. Gopalsingh, however, managed to reach Malwa where he collected

34. *Ibid* year 44 Lf 180(b) 277(a) 290(a).

35. *Vir-Vinod* pp. 746-77.

36. *Ibid* p. 749.

37. *Ibid* p. 749.

a sizable army.³⁸ (June 10). The Maharana³⁹ and Hada Ramsingh also agreed to espouse his cause. Gopalsingh made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Rampura by force. The Maharana gave shelter to him and also asked the Chiefs of Malaka and Bajana to render necessary help. Ratansingh (Islam Khan) intimated the fact to Sayasta Khan, the Subedar of Malwa. Baghamal, the vākil of Mewar was asked to report in the matter. On constant pressure from the Mughal authorities, he also executed⁴⁰ a bond that the information about active help of the Maharana ■ Copalsingh supplied by Ratansingh (Islam Khan) was not altogether correct. It seems that the Maharana did not extend his whole hearted support to Gopalsingh. At last, finding no supporter, Gopalsingh surrendered himself and appeared before the Mughal Emperor⁴¹ (October, 8, 1703 A.D.). His mansab was restored to him on February 8, 1704 A.D.

War of succession and Mewar

On the death of Aurangjib in 1707 A.D. his surviving sons plunged into bitter fratricidal struggles against the bequest of their father. Both Muazzam and Azam wrote letters to the Maharana for seeking necessary help. But the Maharana sent customary presents and letter of congratulations to Muazzam only (April 17, 1707 A.D.). Prince Azam⁴² succeeded to register necessary support of big Rajput grantees like Jaisingh and Ajitsingh. Col. Tod mentions that the Maharana sent a contingent under the command of a Shaktawat Chief for the help of Muazzam. He also adds⁴³ that a settlement was reached by the Maharana with the latter on certain points. For want of the original document, nothing can be said with certainty on this point. It can be argued that when Azam had granted many favours to the Rathors and other Rajput chiefs,

38. *Akhabard* year 44 Lf 252.

39. *Ibid* Lf 254.

40. *Vir-Vinod* p. 748.

41. *Akhabard* year 47 Lf 207.

42. Tod I p. 316/Irvine-Later Mughals I pp. 22-23.

43. The following points were agreed to [Tod, I pp. 318-9(5)].

"1. The reestablishment of Chittor as in the time of Shah Jahan.

2. Prohibition of kite-killing.

3. The restoration of all the districts held in the reign of Shah Jahan.

4. Freedom of faith and religious worship as during the Govt. of him whose nest is paradise (Akbar).

5. Whoever shall be dismissed by you shall receive no countenance from the king.

■ The abrogation of the contingent of the service of the Deccan."

Muazzam could have also done the same to gain support from the Maharana. In the battle field of Jajua, Prince Muazzam emerged victorious on June 6, 1707 A.D.

Invasion upon Mughal territory

During the war of succession the Maharana⁴⁴ proceeded in June 1707 A.D. to devastate the Mughal territory. Like his grandfather Rajsingh, he also proceeded via Pur, Mandal and Shahpura etc. Perhaps he also succeeded to capture Pur and Mandal. He laid a siege⁴⁵ to Shahpura, but due to some amicable settlement he raised the siege. On the request of Brahman Dalaaram, he proceeded towards Malpura in order to devastate the place and its adjoining territory. Meanwhile, the war of succession came to an end and the Maharana returned to Mewar. While he was on way, Umedsingh the heir-apparent of Shahpura appeared before him at his camp at Guraria and attempted to reconcile the scores. The Maharana⁴⁶ granted him the village Paroli. As per firman granted to him on Nov. 14, 1708 A.D. the chief of Shahpura succeeded to seize Jahazpur by ousting the Jagmalot Ranawats. But he maintained cordial relations with the Maharana.

Triple-Alliance (1708 A.D.)

Bahadur Shah, on coming to the throne made announcements to follow the policy of conciliation and agreed not to punish any one for fighting against him. But Maharaja Jaisingh of Amer was not allowed to keep his entire ancestral state and some part of it was granted to his younger brother Vijaysingh. The former attempted to seek support from the Maharana and Rathor Ajitsingh. On July 22, and Aug. 26, 1707 A.D. he communicated⁴⁷ to the Maharana that the Emperor was not happy with him, as he joined the side of Azam. The Maharana gave him assurance for supporting his case and also attempted to winover the support of Ghazi-ud-din Khan a powerful Turani noble. At the same time, the Emperor was not happy with Ajitsingh, who after the death of Aurangjib captured a major part of Marwar including Jodhpur having expelled Imperial forces from there (March 1707) and was still having a rebellious and refractory

44. *Sodh Patrika* Vol. XX No. 1 pp. 68-69.

45. *Shahpura Rajya ki khyat* (Sitasmar MS.) lf. 80-84.

46. *Ibid.*

47. V.S. Bhattacharya-Sawai Jaisingh and his Times pp. 43-45.

48. J. N. Sarkar—History of Jaipur (Sitasmar MS) Chapter XIII p. 8.

attitude. Looking to this, in order to curb the power of these chiefs the Emperor left Agra on Oct. 24. From his camp at Bhusawar he appointed Mihrab Khan, as the *Fauzdar* of Jodhpur. On reaching Amer on January 7, 1708 A.D. the Emperor ordered for its confiscation. Lateron, its name was changed to Mominabad (March 1). Jaisingh's request to have it on *ksara* was also turned down. Proceeding thence the Emperor reached Ajmer.

The Maharana was having a close watch on the activities of the Mughals. Durgadas Rathor, who was then living in Mewar since April 27, 1707 A.D., was asked by the Maharana to proceed⁴⁹ towards Jodhpur. The Maharana, looking ■ the grim political situation, gave sane advice to Ajitsingh to refrain from fighting and reconcile with the Emperor. When the Emperor was at Ajmer Ajitsingh sent Mukandsingh and Bakhatsingh with a written request of apology. Durgadas also made a petition for allowing him to attend the Mughal court. The Emperor issued *firman* to Ajitsingh and Durgadas in the last week of January 1708 A.D. Ajitsingh appeared before the Emperor on February 12 and Durgadas on February 29. A part of Marwar State was granted to Ajitsingh, except Jodhpur (April 13). The Rathors were not satisfied by it. The Maharana also sent his brother Takhat Singh with some presents, who waited⁵⁰ upon the Emperor on February 21, at Medata. The Emperor in return sent a jewelled dagger costing Ra. 8000 as a present to the Maharana. The Emperor soon returned to Ajmer. The Maharana sent his heir-apparent⁵¹ who waited upon him on March 21. The Emperor insisted on the personal appearance of the Maharana, which he avoided. His *vakils*, Baghamal, Jhala Kanha etc. requested the Mughal Emperor, for the grant of the *paraganas* of Pur, Mandal, Mandalgarh and Badnor, but their request was not acceded to. The Emperor passed through Shahpura and Chittor. The Maharana went towards the hilly tract inspite of the written assurances given by Asad Khan vide his letter dated March 18, 1708 A.D. As the Maharana, defying the orders⁵² of the Mughal Emperor, did not present himself before him, the Emperor was much vexed. But as

49. Dr. Rahuvin Singh's paper Rubor Durgadas published in *Nagar Pracharani Patrika*.

50. Irvine-Later Mughals-I pp. 45-46.

51. *Akhbarat* of Bahadur Shah's reign ff. 110.

52. Irvine-*op. cit.* p. 49.

he was busy with march towards south he avoided any battle at that time.

Maharaja Ajitsingh and Jaisingh continued their march with the Emperor in semi-captivity with a hope to regain their ancestral states. The Emperor wanted to keep them away from their respective states, so that they might not be able to create any trouble in his absence. Durgadas, Champawat Mukanddas and many other nobles, following Ajitsingh and Jaisingh, requested them to return without waiting for any favourable response from the Emperor. They argued that it would be quite difficult for them to return after crossing the river Narbada. The Maharana, who was watching the entire developments, intimated the same fact to them through Pancholi Biharidas. On April 20, the Emperor left his camp⁶³ at Mandaleshwat for the next halt. Acting on the advice received, Maharaja Jaisingh and Ajitsingh accompanied the Emperor for a few miles and having deserted thereafter soon reached Devaliya. They also informed the Maharana that they were reaching Mewar for soliciting his help. Proceeding from Devaliya, they reached Sadar on April 25. A letter was written⁶⁴ from there by Mukanddas to Biharidas Pancholi, stating therein about the peaceful journey. Baghmal, the vakin of Mewar in the Mughal court, also reached there. These two rulers soon reached⁶⁵ village Gadiawa (near Debari) where the Maharana came in person to receive them. From there these rulers were taken to Udaipur demonstrating due respects. Ajitsingh was lodged at Krishna Vilas palace, while Jaisingh at Sarvaritu palace. On the second day, a ceremonial darbar was arranged by the Maharana, wherein befitting welcome was accorded to these rulers. While living at Udaipur, these rulers decided to regain their states by the strength of their arms. The Maharana assured to extend whole-hearted help to them. In this way a triple alliance was effected.

Marriage of Chandrakumari

In order to cement their friendship, the Maharana agreed to give away his daughter Chandrakumari in marriage to Maharaja Jaisingh. Before solemnising⁶⁶ the marriage certain terms were

53. Ibid: Vlr.-Vined p. 768; Jodhpur Khyal II p. 82/Ojha-History of Jodhpur II p. 534.

54. Letter from Mukanddas to Pancholi Biharidas dated Jyestha Vad 2 V.E. 1764 (April 25 1708 A.D.) (Shyamaldas Collection, Letter No 1064 RSA).

55. Vlr Vined pp. 769-70.

56. Kapadeswara Jaipur Document No. 1460.

affianced to in writing by Maharaja Jaisingh (May 26, 1708 A.D.). According to these the offspring of this queen was to succeed him to the throne irrespective of age and seniority among his sons. Besides this, he also agreed to give her all other privileges admissible to a chief queen. The term of succession agreed to by Maharaja Jaisingh was clearly a violation of the rule of primogeniture prevalent in the Rajputs. It created a great trouble resulting in a civil war. Jaisingh, who was then in great need of the support of the Maharana, accepted these terms.

Attempts for Negotiations

The Mughal Emperor, apprehending disturbance by the Rajputs, issued a firman to Raja Jaisingh on the day he left the imperial camp, wherein his mansab and patromony was restored to him. But he doubted the sincerity of the Emperor. At the same time Prince Jahandar Shah⁵⁷ wrote a *Nishan* on April 24, 1708 A.D. to the Maharana asking him not to harbour the fugitive Rajas, who had left the camp without permission. He added that these rulers be asked to send their petitions apologizing to the Emperor. Nawab Azaf-ud-daula also wrote a similar letter to him. The Maharana sent⁵⁸ a categorical reply stating that until the *Watan-Jagirs* were not fully restored to them, Jaisingh and Ajitesingh would creat trouble.

Action against Jodhpur and Amer

The Maharana, on receipt of the *Nisan* from Jahandar Shah, sent the applications of these rulers through Mir-Sukra-ul-lah for granting their patromonies to them. He waited for a period of 2 months thinking that the Emperor might grant their states back to them. But when no progress was seen, the allies decided to take possession of the territories by the strength of their arms. The combined Rajput forces laid a siege to Amer but failed. On June 19, the Emperor was informed of the possibility of the joint action of the Rajputs. He directed the Subedar of Mathura to suppress the disturbances of the Rajputs. On July 5, Jahandar Shah wrote a *Nishan* to the Maharana asking him to advise the Rajas to sit silent and also to dismiss Chhabara Ramchandra, who made an abortive attempt to capture Amer. On receipt of this letter, the Maharana

57. *Vir-Vinod* pp. 773-774.

58. The Maharana mentioned clearly in his reply, "दोनों जातीज (पर्याप्ति और वर्गीकरिता) और दुपरियाल राजों के साथ बाल नहीं बांधेंगे" (*ibid* p. 778).

sent a customary reply. He, however, made it clear that until the *Watan-Jagirs*⁵⁹ of the rulers were not restored to them the disturbance might increase.

The next step of the allies was to lay a siege to Jodhpur. Mihrab Khan, the *Fauzdar* left the place as no reinforcement could be made⁶⁰ available to him. (July 3, 1708 A.D.). After a few days Chhabra Ramchandra and Sanwaldas of Mewar again invaded Amer and succeeded to capture it, after defeating Sayid Hussain Barha, in the battle field of Kaladera⁶¹.

Battle of Sambhar

The Sayids continued their attempt to capture Amer. For this purpose, they collected a huge army. Necessary financial assistance was also provided by the Emperor. Hearing of these developments, Maharaja Jaisingh, Ajitsingh and Durgadas assembled⁶² at Pushkar. It was resolved that Durgadas be sent to Mewar for bringing the Maharana himself to lead the army. But he could not proceed. The combined army proceeded towards Ajmer and encamped near it, but had to leave soon there being no proper⁶³ arrangement for food-stuff, and they were repulsed by the Subedar Shuja-at Khan Barha. Durgadas also joined them after 8 days. A battle was fought at Sambhar which continued for about 4 hours. The Rajputs kept themselves in ambush near the Devayani tank and made surprise attack on the Sayids. Several Mughal soldiers were slain including⁶⁴ Husain Khan Barha. Sanwaldas, the commandant of Mewar army, also displayed conspicuous gallantry.

59. The Maharana also replied to the Prince "अप्सर द्वीपत यह है जिस काम में आपने पाये तो वह इन सौंगों को उत्तरार्द्ध नहीं द्योगे और ऐसा मानव होता है जो द्विवृत्तानि में एक अंतर रखता है" [ibid p. 777].
60. *Ajnodaya XVII* pp. 34-35/Suraj-Prakash ■ Chapter VI, p. 81.
- 60A. Narendra Singh—'Thirty Decisive Battles of Jaipur' pp. 67-68/Irvine op. cit. I p. 68
61. Letter from Mahasani Chaturbhuj to Biharidas dated Kali Budi II V. E. 1765 (Oct. 1708 A.D.) Shyamalidas collection entry No. 1058 R.S.A./Letter from Bhandari Vilhaldas to Pancholi Biharidas dated Kali Budi 7 V.E. 1765 [ibid 1091] These rulers left Pushkar on Kali Budi, 9.
- 61A. According to Satishchandra (*op. cit.*, p. 35) these Rajputs were repulsed by the Subedar of Ajmer. Bhandarkari Vilhaldas in a letter to Biharidas (Shyamalidas collection No. 1091 R.S.A.) also stated the same fact. But Mahasani Chaturbhuj mentions the non-arrangement of food stuff [ibid 1058 R.S.A.]
62. Letter from Mahasani Chaturbhuj to Pancholi Biharidas dated Kali Sudi 1 V.E. 1765 [ibid No. 1068 R.S.A.]

Pur & Mandal captured

Sanwoldas, while returning from Sambhar was opposed by Firoz Khan, the *Fauzadar* of Pur and Mandal and was slain while fighting. Firoz Khan, however, could not successfully confront the Rajputs and left the field. In this way these *paraganas* were recaptured by the Mewar army in 1708 A.D.

Durgadas in Mewar

After the battle of Sambhar, Ajitsingh and Jaisingh returned to their capitals. Durgadas was sent to Udaipur for conveying some message to the Maharana. On reaching Udaipur, looking to Ajitsingh's resentment towards him, he did not show his interest in returning to Marwar. Therefore, the Maharana allowed him the Jagir of Vijaypur with a maintenance⁶³ allowance of Rs. 15,000/- After a few days the village Sadari in Godawar was granted to him where he shifted his family.

Negotiations

As mentioned above, the Rajput rulers, clearly defying the authority of the Mughals, successfully carried on their campaign. Their success was a great blow to the Imperial prestige. Shuja-at-Khan, the Governor of Ajmer, who failed to suppress the disturbance of the Rajputs, was replaced by Abdulla Khan. On receiving report of the march of Abdulla Khan with his army, Jaisingh wanted to intercept him on his way. But the Maharana gave him sane advice not to indulge singly, but to take action in concert with Ajitsingh. However, Shuja-at-Khan was reinstated in his office at Ajmer. In the Mughal court a group of the nobles headed by Munim Khan, underestimating the strength and resources of these Rajput chiefs, was in favour of adopting a stern policy towards them. But after the battle of Sambhar, the Emperor himself was willing to settle this problem. At the intercession of Prince Azim-ush-Shan, and Asad Khan, on Oct. 6, 1708 A.D. the states of Jaipur and Jodhpur were restored to Jaisingh & Ajitsingh on the condition that they would abolish their *Thanas* at Didwana and Sambhar⁶⁴ and accept appointment in Gujarat and Kabul respectively. This brought about an uneasy truce. These Rajput Chiefs were not ready to go on their

63. Tod I p. 318.

64. Raghuvir Singh—Durgadas (MS) Lf. 99-100.

65. Satishchandra—*op. cit.* pp. 35-36/V.S. Bhatnagar—*op. cit.* pp. 78-79.

appointment to such far away places. Fresh negotiations were made on this point. The Maharana,⁶⁶ who was actively supporting their cause, also held correspondance with Ghazi-ed-din Khan and other Mughal chiefs.

After defeat and death of Kam Bakhsh on January 3, 1709 A.D. the Emperor soon returned from the Deccan. News of the rising of the Sikhs in the Punjab forced him for a speedy solution of the Rajput problem. He soon appointed Ghazi-ed-din Khan as Governor of Ajmer, who was having cordial relations with the Rajputs. On receiving report of the arrival of the Emperor, these Rajput rulers made a plan to undertake a joint action against the authority of the Mughals. The Maharana, leaving Udaipur under the charge of Rathor Durgadas, went towards hilly areas. Ajitsingh and Jaisingh collected a huge army consisting of 70,000 cavalry which was ready for launching an attack on Ajmer. The Emperor did not like to indulge into a war with the Rajputs. He, therefore, sent a robe of honour and a horse to the Maharana on Jan. 7, 1710 A.D. He did not mind the Maharana's hostile action in not sending his heir apparent to wait upon him, when he was passing so close to Mewar. At the request of Baghmal, the Vakil of Mewar, he also changed his direction and did not pass through Mewar. On reaching near Tonk, the Emperor gave orders to Mahabat Khan and Chhatrashal Bundela to persuade Ajitsingh⁶⁷ and Jaisingh for their audience in the court. After much persuasion a meeting was arranged on June 11, 1710 A.D. near Toda. Prince Azim-ush-Shan was sent to escort both these rulers. A ceremonial darbar was held wherein the rulers presented themselves before the Emperor. After the meeting they were allowed two month's leave. However, their appointment orders in Kabul and Gujrat were not cancelled. Maharaja Jaisingh consulted the Maharana, who advised him to settle the matter after discussing with Ajitsingh. When these development were going on the Maharana breathed his last on Dec. 10, 1710 A.D.

Colo Tod has⁶⁸ rightly mentions that the Maharana died "leaving the reputation of an active and high minded prince, who well upheld

66. Letter from the Maharana to Jaisingh Kartik Budi 3 V. E. 1766 (Oct. 10, 1709 A.D.)

67. Akhaharal of Bahadur Shah's reign dated Jan. 7, 1710.

68. *Ibid* dated May 17, 1710/The Mewar Vakil's Report dated Shridawa Budi 4, 1767. (*Vir-Vinad* pp. 781-83).

69. Tod I pp. 321-22.

his station and prosperity of his country notwithstanding the anarchy of the period." He played an important role. "Probably" he might have prevented Ajitsingh from drifting apart from other Rajput princes--He played the nobles role of his life when he led the Kachhawa and the Rathors out of the storm to success and victory."¹

Construction of Kankroll Temple

During the reign of Maharana Rajsingh, when the icon of Dwarkadish was brought to Mewar, it was installed at village Asotiya. In V.E. 1751 (1694 A.D.) due to heavy flood, the temple was enshrouded with water. The icon was removed from there with difficulty. Kunwar Amarsingh, who was then ruling at Rajasamand, managed to install the icon at a Haveli situated between Darikhana and the Mangari. Maharana Jaisingh gave away the village Amaloi to Goshwami Brij Bhushanji in V.E. 1763. The work of construction of the temple continued, which was completed in V.E. 1756 (1700 A.D.).

The Maharana also granted a village Dadhalya to the Ekling temple in V.E. 1765 (1708 A.D.). On the bank of Pichhola, Dhaneshwar temple was got constructed by the family of Soni Kasidas in V.E. 1761. The Vaidhyanath temple inscription of V.E. 1777 mentions of construction of some palaces by the Maharana.

(h) Maharana Sangram Singh II

After the death of Maharana Amarsingh II in 1710 A.D. his son Sangram Singh II succeeded¹ him. His coronation ceremony was observed in April, 1711 A.D.

Relations with the Mughal Emperor

Maharana Amarsingh II attempted to get the *firman* of the *panchayats* of Pur, Mandal, Mandalgadh and Badnor, which he had successfully seized in 1708 A.D. and were still in his possession. On persistent efforts by his Vakil in the Mughal Court the *firman* was granted, but before it could reach him, Maharana Amarsingh breathed his last. At this, the Mughal officer on way for this duty, was recalled.² After the death of Maharana Amarsingh, the possibility of the invasion of the Mughal Emperor against the Rajput states of Amer, Jodhpur and Mewar increased. Maharaja Jaisingh³ apprehending the invasion, strongly urged the new Maharana to contact the Marathas for intruding into Malwa. As already stated, Maharana Amarsingh strove hard to get Ajit Singh and Maharaja Jaisingh reconciled with the Emperor. But both of them were not satisfied on the point of their postings. Therefore, despite of repeated summons from the court, they were reluctant to appear. Even after reaching Narnaul in Jan. 1711, they leisurely covered a distance of a few miles upto Delhi, within a period of about 6 months. Such defiant activities of these rulers were seriously noticed by the Emperor. The Mewar Vakil present in the Mughal court reported⁴ this matter to the Maharana. The whole atmosphere in the Mughal Court had deve-

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1. Col. Tod mentions the date of accession of Sangram Singh as 1716 A.D. but the Vaidyanath inscription specifically mentions it in the year V.E. 1767 (1711 A.D.) which is also corroborated from other contemporary records.
 2. *Vir-Vinod II*, p. 935.
 3. Letter from Jaisingh to Bihardas dated January 9, 1711 A.D. (JSA)
 4. The Mewar Vakil's report dated Bhadawa Sudi 12 V.E. 1768 (*Vir-Vinod* pp. 943-59). Letter from Kanhaiji Jhala to Bihardas (Shyamadas collection RSA No. 25).

loped against the Rajput Chiefs.⁵ Except the usual mansab no *firman* of the *paraganas* of Pur, Mandal etc. was bestowed upon Maharana Sangramsingh II by Emperor Bahadur Shah.

Invasion by Ranabaz Khan Mewati.

The *Paraganas* of Pur, Mandal and Badnor were granted to Ranabaz Khan Mewati and Mandalgarh was bestowed upon Rathor Indrasingh. (February/March 1711 A.D.). Indrasingh, knowing that the *paragana* granted to him was a bone of contention, did not attempt to take possession. But Ranabaz Khan, at the instance of Prince Muiz-ud-din and Zulficqar Khan, proceeded against Mewar. Prince Azim-ush-Shan communicated a message⁶ to the Maharana that he should not be allowed to take possession of these *paraganas*. According to a contemporary work *Mahara-Yasha-Prakash* Ranabaz Khan was accompanied by Sardar Khan, Nahar Khan, Firoz Khan, Dalel Khan etc. On receiving intelligence of his march, the Maharana decided to intercept him on the border of Mewar. For this purpose he despatched a large army headed by the Chiefs, Chauhan Devabhan (Kothariya), Rathor Suratsingh, Sanga (Devagarh), Dodiya Hathi singh, Gangadas (Bansi), Jhala Sajja (Delawara), Rathor Jaisingh (Badnor), Samansingh (Bambhora) etc. In an engagement held at Bandhanwara Ranabaz Khan together with his chiefs was slain and the Maharana succeeded to retain the *paraganas* in his possession.

A divergence of opinion exists as to who killed Ranabaz Khan. Jaisingh of the family of Badnor, Samantsingh of Bambhora and Mahasingh of the Kanod family are described in different sources to have killed him. But the contemporary work *Mahara-Yasha-Prakash* composed by Asiya Mansingh, in 1768 (1711 A.D.), mentions Mahasingh as the killer of Ranabaz Khan whom the Maharana had also honoured by making some grants.

5. Some incidents took place which also added fuel to the fire. Some Sikhs carrying a letter of the Maharana were made captive by the Governor of Agra. This matter was also brought to the notice of the Emperor. Jahandar Shah made complaints of the hostile activities of the Rajput Chiefs. Other group was also active. Azim-ush-Shan requested the Maharana for arranging a large scale Maratha depredations in Malwa (V. S. Bhatnagar Life and Times of Sawai Jaisingh pp. 87-89).

6. *Vir-Vined* pp. 438-39.

Ibid/Ojha II pp. 611-614/Varada Vol. XXII No. 4 pp. 40-41.

8. The Vaidyanath temple inscription also mentions of the name *Sant* शंतस्थाने वरदानीरेत् यानविष्टो गुणि सन्तवान् ।

When the news of the defeat and death of Ranabat Khan Mewati reached the Emperor at Lahore a group of the Senior Mughal Officers was much annoyed. But no concrete action could be taken against Mewar as Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah breathed his last (Feb. 27, 1712 A.D.) and his sons soon plunged into a bitter fratricidal war of succession. The leading Rajput rulers did not show any inclination to take sides in it. Raja Pratapsingh, the uncle of the Maharana, was already present at Lahore and was trying to propitiate the Emperor. But he too restrained from taking any sides. Jahander Shah emerged successful in the battle, but remained in power only for a period of 8 months and was subsequently defeated by Farrukhsiyar with the help of the two Salayid brothers.

Relations with Farrukhsiyar

The Maharana maintained cordial relations with Farrukhsiyar. Soon after his coronation the Maharana sent due presents with Thakur⁹ Kusalsingh of Vijaypur. The Maharana's uncle Pratapsingh was granted Toda Raisingh by the Emperor. At the instance of Maharaja Jaisingh, the *firman* originally granted by Bahadur Shah to the Maharana was also ratified by the new Emperor¹⁰ (April, 1713 A.D.). Moreover, a *firman* of *paragana* Haveli was also issued on Nov. 9, 1715 A.D. granting a Jagir of 7,27,50,000 *Dam*, to the Maharana¹¹. Biharidas Pancholi of Mewar remained in close contact with the Emperor. By his efforts the Maharana could get the *firman* of *Paragana* Rampura¹² and the permission to construct 'Tripoliya'¹³ gate in the palace of Udaipur. So far the rulers of Mewar had remained isolated from the affairs of the Mughal court. They had no lucrative ambitions for the territorial expansion and confined their demands to the ancient states of Sirohi, Idar and also of Dungarpur, Banswara and Devaliya. Maharaja Jaisingh played an important role

9. V.S. Bhatnagar—*op.cit.* p. 100.

10. *Ibid* p. 184.

11. *Kapaddwara Document* (Jaipur) No. 644.

12. *Ibid* No. 647. It seems to have been issued on March 12, 1714 A.D. instead of Dec. 5, 1722 as mentioned in the Descriptive list of the documents in the Kapaddwara collection of Jaipur (N.A.I.) 1971 p. 57. The original document contains the mention of 3rd regnal year, which belongs to the reign of Farrukhsiyar. Similarly document No. 536 issued in the 5th regnal year seems to have been issued on Sept. 16, 1716 A.D. instead of June, 1724 A.D. [*Ibid* p. 19]

13. *Vir-Vaid* p. 956.

and had predominating influence on the Maharana. By his efforts, the Emperor granted the *firman* of the states of Dungarpur, Banswara¹⁴ and Devaliya to the Maharana, in the 6th regnal year. When the Emperor reimposed abnoxious tax of *Jaziya*, he wrote a *firman* mentioning of the circumstances that compelled him to take the decision under the instance of the Sharif of the Mecca.

Rampura Affairs

As already stated, Ratansingh son of Gopalsingh had embraced Islam and was known as Islam Khan. He was given the title of Muslim Khan¹⁵ by Bahadur Shah on August 3, 1707 A.D. Gopalsingh's other son Himatsingh made an unsuccessful attempt with the help of the Maharana to capture Rampura (September 4, 1709 A.D.). After the death of Ratansingh in the battlefield of Sunera (Nov. 8, 1712 A.D.) his son Badansingh succeeded him. Soon after some disturbances were reported in the area. It was then granted to the Maharana on the condition that he would pay¹⁶ a sum of Rs. 50,000 as *Peshkash* and would suppress the rebellion. At the instance of the Maharana, Gopalsingh made an attack upon Rampura and captured it (December 1714 A.D.). Maharaja Jaisingh attempted to reconcile¹⁷ between Gopalsingh and his grandson Badansingh (January 1715 A.D.). But Badansingh was not satisfied with this arrangement and broke into rebellion. He soon recaptured Rampura. (March 1716 A.D.). In the vicinity of Mandsaur, Ruhella Dost Muhammad and Prithvisingh of Devaliya created troubles. Taking necessary military assistance from Ruhella Dost Muhammad, Gopalsingh recaptured Rampura by killing Badansingh¹⁸ (May 1716 A.D.). Reconciling with the Maharana, he also succeeded to get the *firman* of this area from the Mughal Emperor (July 1716 A.D.). The Mughal¹⁹ Emperor granted this *paraganas* to the Maharana on payment of Rs. one lakh as *Peshkash*.

14. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (GOS. No. 43) p. 190.

15. *Vir-Vinod* pp. 954-955.

16. *Akhbarat Bahadurshahi* dated August 3, 1707 A.D.

17. *Kapadeawara Jaipur Document No. 647*/See also *supra* fn. 12.

18. *Akhbarat Farrukhshiyar*, (Sitamau) Vol. I f. 273/Vol. II f. 108.

19. *Ibid* p. 216, 225, 294-5 and 312.

20. Letter from Maharana Sangramsingh to Maharaja Jaisingh dated Sawan Budi 11, V.E. 1717 (August 1717) J.S.A.

(Sept. 16, 1715 A.D.). The Maharana heartily desired to remove^{20A} the Chandrawats from Rampura. He therefore wrote a letter to Maharaja Jaisingh urging him for the same. The Maharana despatched his army under the commands of Pancholi Biharidas, Bharatsingh²¹ of Shahpura, Rathor Durgadas etc. This army marched via Dungarpur. Maharaja Jaisingh also sent Dhabai Roopram²² and Kiratsingh to Rampura to help the Mewar army. The Ruhella, on receiving information of their arrival, soon evacuated the place which was captured by the Mewar army. For purpose of having effective control by the Maharana, Gopalsingh was persuaded to surrender a part of his state to the Mewar Govt. He was, therefore, taken to Udaipur, where he entered into an agreement on August 27, 1717 A.D. with the Maharana, according to which land yielding a total revenue of Rs. 3,76,775 was made over to the Maharana. Another refractory element was Ratansingh's other son Sangramsingh who was then living at Bhanpura. Durgadas²³ persuaded him to surrender to the Maharana like his grandfather. He was taken to Udalpur in August 1721 A.D. where he agreed to owe his allegiance to the Maharana. In Nov. 1727 A.D. while pursuing Chittarsingh Hada, Durjansal Hada penetrated into Rampura territory and created trouble. Sangramsingh, escaped and managed²⁴ to get the firman of Rampura from the Emperor, but while on his way he was killed at the instance of Maharaja Jaisingh. Thus the Maharana retained a part of Rampura till it was granted to Bhanuj

20A. Kapadeswara Jaipur Document No. 656.

21. It seems that liberatingh was assured of a grant of a part of Rampura on July 2, 1717 AD (*Shahpura Rajya Ki Khyat* MS I pp. 101-103).
22. Letter from Kiratsingh to Maharaja Jaisingh dated July 17, 1717 A.D. (Indian Historical Records Commission, Catalogue of Records (Jaipur session) p. 88.
23. Kaviraja Shyamaldas collection No. 1044 (RSA) *Vn-Vmod* pp. 973-76/. According to this apportionment, the Maharana received the *paraganas* of Haveli, Amad, Pathar, Dantoli, Antari, Sanjet, Chandawas, and Sankhdar having 415 villages and Rs. 3,76,775 as revenue. Gopalsingh retained the *Paraganas* of Rampura, Kamala, Garoth, and a part of Sankhdhar having a revenue of Rs. 4000/-.
- 23A. Kaviraja Shyamaldas collection (RSA) No. 1044.
24. V. S. Bhatnagar Op-cit p. 193.

Madhosingh^{24A} (son of Sawai Jaisingh from Chandra Kumari) in 1728 A.D.

Relations with Dungarpur :

According to the firman issued by the Mughal Emperor, the states of Dungarpur, Banswara and Devaliya were assigned to the Maha ana. The Maharana sent an army to Dungarpur under the commands of Rathor Durgadas, Biharidas, Bharatsingh of Shahpura etc. in May²⁵ 1717 A.D. When it reached Dungarpur, the Maharawal agreed to pay a sum of Rs. 1,26,000. Biharidas immediately left for Rampura and after settling its affairs, he returned via Devaliya and Banswara. When he reached Phalod in the territory of Dungarpur, an agreement was entered into by the Maharawal on September 27, 1717 A.D., according to which he agreed to surrender an elephant named Dantila²⁶ together with Rs. 25,000. When Maharawal Ramsingh expired and Shrivisingh succeeded, he visited Udaipur after his coronation and agreed to pay a sum of Rs. 4,00,000 as *Talawar Bandi*.

Relations with Banswara :

Pancholi Biharidas, while returning from Rampura in September 1717 A.D., visited Banswara and compelled Maharawal Bishansingh to pay a sum of Rs. 26,000 together with an elephant²⁷. After a few years when the Maharana sent his army against Idar in 1728 A.D., the Maharawal did not join it. At this the Maharana sent an army under the commands of Dhabhai Nagraj and Pancholi Kanha against Banswara. The Maharawal could not resist it and agreed to pay a sum of Rs. 85,000 to the Mewar state.

Relations with Pratapgarh :

Maharawal Prithvisingh of Devaliya was very ambitious. At

24A. *Kapadadwara Jaipur Document No. 1429, 1395, 1119, 1457, 1479, 1495 and 1413/According to Parawen dated Chaitra Sud 7 V.E., 1786 (March 25 1729 A.D.) from Maharana Sangramsingh to Madhosingh Rampura was granted to him on the condition that the latter would serve the state with 1000 Sawars and 1000 horses for six months and thereafter with 3000 Sawars and 3000 horses./Vir-Vinod pp. 975-976.*

25. विष्णवी महाराजाहिराज महाराजा भी श्रवणसिंह की जातेश्वर ब्रह्मपुर वंशी विष्णवीजाय द्वारा प्राप्तिकृते का १६६३ ईति १४ (Devra Sompath inscription) (also see Kaviraja Shyamaldas collection Letter No. 1096 (R.S.A.).

26. *Vir-Vinod p. 1010/ibid-1035* p. 1011/*ibid-1035* pp. 1054-35.

27. *Ibid-1035.*

28. *Ibid-1035.*

29. *Ibid-1035.*

first he maintained good relations with the Mughal Emperors.³⁰ Bahadur Shah granted him a *firman* of the *paraganas* of Basad (August 1, 1709 A.D.). His Mansab was increased to 1000 *Zat* and 700 *sewars*. He also received a *firman* from Jahandar Shah on April 12, 1712 A.D. Farrukhshiyar also treated him favourably as is evident from the *firman* dated March 14, 1714 A.D. But soon after he changed his mind and adopted a hostile attitude towards the Mughal authorities of Malwa. A complaint was lodged against him on November 8, 1716 A.D. by Maharaja Jaisingh. He was also assisted by the refractory Chief of Rampura. The Emperor ordered Kutab-ul-Mulk to enquire into the matter. Meanwhile, the Maharana received the *firman* of this state. His army sent under the command of Rathor Durgadas and Pancholi Biharidas visited Devaliya, while returning from³¹ Rampura. Prithvisingh, the Mahrarawat of Devaliya, agreed to surrender, but no details of the agreement are available. The Maharana granted the *paraganas*³² of Dhariyawad to his son.

Relations with Shahpura :

During the last days of Maharana Amarsingh the *paraganas* of Jahazpur was bestowed upon Bharatsingh, the chief of Shahpura³³ (November 14, 1708 A.D.). Jagannat Ranawats, who were living in the area, protested against the authority of Shahpura. However, Bharatsingh succeeded to capture Pander, Beri, Sakargarh etc.³⁴ The Chief of Banera also attempted to take Jahazpur³⁵ on *Izara*. Similarly, a dispute between both these families wrangled about the boundaries of village Musa etc. Biharidas Pancholi urged both of them to come to an amicable³⁶ settlement (1711 A.D.). The Maharana sent Biharidas Pancholi to bring the Chief of Shahpura³⁷ to Udaipur. A usual *Peshawai* was given to him (1717 A.D.). The Maharana was in need of his help for suppressing the rebellion of

30. G. H. Ojha *Pratapgarh Rajya ka Itihas* pp.202-203.

31. *Akhbarat* (Farukhshiyar) dated Nov. 8, 1716 A.D.

32. Letter from Durgadas to Biharidas dated Kati Bedi 6, V.E. 1774 (Shyamaldas collection No. 1078 R S.A.).

33. G. H. Ojha—*Pratapgarh Rajya Ka Itihas* p. 208.

34. *Shahpura Rajya Ki Khyat* MS Vol. I, P. 80-84.

35. *Ibid* pp. 90-94.

36. Letter from Sultansingh of Banera to his mother Indrechiji dated Nov. 10, 1709 A.D.

37. *Shahpura Rajya ki-Khyat* MS Vol. I, f. 98.

the Chandrawats. Therefore, he also agreed to grant some villages of Rampura³⁸ to him. But Bharatsingh was not satisfied and desired some land in the vicinity of Shahpura. The Maharana, therefore, granted the *paraganas* of Jahazpur and Phuliya³⁹ and a village Devali (*Paragana Bhinal*) to Kunwar Umedsingh of Shahpura on making payment of the *Peshkash* of Rs. 7,000, 17001 and 2001 respectively. The Maharana also requested Sawai Jaisingh⁴⁰ to help Umedsingh in establishing his authority over these *paraganas*.

Help to Abhaysingh :

Maharaja Ajitsingh's son Bakhtasingh abetted by his elder brother Abhaysingh to commit patricide, assassinated his father (1724 A.D.). This heinous murder was very much resented by the people. A group of chiefs boldly supported Anandsingh and Raisinh, the sons of Ajitsingh. A malignant disorder prevailed in Marwar. Abhaysingh was then present at Delhi. The Emperor recognised him ■ the ruler of Marwar and granted him a mansab of 7000 *Zat* and 7000 *Sawars*, with the title of *Raj Rajeshwar*. Sawai Jaisingh, who played an important role, openly supported the pretensions of Abhaysingh and detached a large army against Anandsingh and Raisinh. On the request of Sawai Jaisingh⁴¹ the Maharana also sent his forces under the command of Pancholi Kanha (October 1724 A.D.). This army remained in Marwar for a few months and was called back⁴² ■ June 1725 A.D.

Idar-Affairs :

The Maharana was desirous to take Idar in his possession. On the advice of Sawai Jaisingh, he also sent a *Hundi* of Rs. 1 lac to him and requested him to handover⁴³ its *patta* to Solanki Ramsingh being sent for this purpose (August 1723 A. D.). But it could not materialise. Meanwhile, Anandsingh and Raisinh succeeded in making their hold on Idar. On the advice of Sawai Jaisingh,

38. *Ibid* pp. 101-103.

39. *Muchalika* of Kumrat Umedsingh dated Kati Sud 12 V.E. 1785 (*Vir-Vinod* pp. 972-973).

40. Letter from Maharana Sangramsingh ■ Sawai Jaisingh dated Sawan Budi 6 V.E. 1784 (J.S.A.)

41. Letter from Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh to Dabhai Nagraj dated Magazir sudi 6 V.E. 1781 (Nov. 11, 1724) J.S.A./V.S. Bhatnagar *op.cit.* p. 178.

42. V.S. Bhatnagar *op. cit.* p. 180.

43. Letter from Maharana Sangramsingh to Sawai Jaisingh dated Bhadawali Budi V.E. 1779 (Shyamaldas Collection R.S.A.).

Abhayasingh agreed to handover this place to the Maharana on the⁴⁴ condition that the latter would put Anandsingh and Raisingh to death. The Mewar army sent under the commands of Saktawat Jaisingh (Bhindar) and Dhabhai Nagraj captured Idar. However, Anandsingh and Raisingh managed to escape from there and went to Sirohi. The Mewar army chased them and compelled them to leave the said place. After carrying out plundering raids near Jetaran, both these rebel brothers surrendered before the Maharana.⁴⁵ They were taken to Udaipur. On persistent efforts of Sawai Jaisingh Idar was granted back ■ them, on their giving the pledge that they would not create disturbances and would not leave Udaipur.

Maratha raids :

In 1711 A.D. the Marathas crossed the Narmada and penetrated into the Northern India. Vigorous resistance was deemed necessary to save the imperial territory of Malwa from their regular inroads. In October 1716 A. D. instructions were⁴⁶ sent to the various chiefs for sending military contingents to the Deputy Governor of Malwa. The Maharana despatched his forces under Pancholi Biharidas. According to the *Khyat* of Shahpura the Maharana sent his forces under the command of the Chief of Dhikola also against the Maratha free booters, and succeeded in expelling them from Jiran, Gangdhar etc. Biharidas⁴⁷ with a contingent of 25000 soldiers was having his camp near Rampura, where the Ruhillas were also taking position (Jan. 1718 A.D.). At this time Dhabad, a Maratha officer entered into Malwa. In an encounter with them, two officers of Amer named⁴⁸ Ruparam and Bhatta Himatrai, were made captives. But they managed to get free with the help of Biharidas (February 1718 A.D.). In 1724 A.D. and 1726 A.D. the Marathas again created disturbances in Mewar. The Maharana sent his Vakil to Sawai Jaisingh for taking necessary⁴⁹

44. Letters dated Asad Budi 7 V.E. 1784 from Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh to the Maharana and letter of this date from Maharaja Abhayasingh to the Maharana (*Vir-Vinod* p. 967-99).

45. Letter from Maharaja Abhayasingh to Maharana dated Bhadawa Budi 2, V.E. 1785 (*Ibid* p. 970).

46. Dr. Raghuvir Singh's paper in *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, p. 64,

47. Letter from Keshavadas to Maharaja Jaisingh February 20, 1718 (Jaipur records Hindi Vol. V (Sitamau) p. 10.

48. K. S. Gupta—Mewar and the Maratha relations p. 21.

49. *Kapadadwara* Jaipur, Document No. 854 (Push Budi 5, 1781 (Nov. 24, 1724 A.D.) Jaipur Records (Sitamau) Vol. V p. 28.

steps against the Marathas. In 1725 A.D. Gopal Pant and Appaji Pant, two Maratha envoys, visited Udaipur to persuade the Maharana to use his influence in the Mughal Court for recognising their claim for collecting *Chauth* in Malwa. In 1726 A.D. Jadu Rai a Vakil of Shahu visited Udaipur and requested the Maharana to canvass help in the Mughal court for securing the *chauth* of Gujarat. His proposals ■ get Shahu enlisted as Imperial Mansabdar with a Jagir worth Rs. Ten lacs in each of the provinces of Gujarat and Malwa were recommended by the Maharana and Jaisingh. Shahu also urged to his officers named⁵⁰ Udaji Panwar, Khanderao, Pilaji Gaikwar, Udai Kanwar etc. not ■ creat any disturbance in the territory of Mewar. In spite of this appeal wide-spread disturbances of the Marathas took place in Mewar. The Maharana apprehending further expansion of the activities of the Marathas requested Sawai Jaisingh to take timely steps against⁵¹ them. But no such action was taken. In order to maintain good relations with Shahu, the Maharana sent Deep Singh, Mansaram and Baghsingh to his court. On his request a copy of *Ektling-Sawar* was also sent to him.

In 1732 A.D., when Sawai Jaisingh was appointed as the Governor of Malwa, he entered into an agreement with the Maharana. According to this, the Maharana was required to contribute 9000 *sawars* and 9000 *pyadas* as against⁵² 24000 *sawars* and 24000 *pyadas* to be contributed by Sawai Jaisingh. The division of the revenue of this province was agreed to at the ratio of 1 : 2 between the Mewar and the Jaipur States. But this agreement could not be acted upon for a long time. Due to pressure from the Marathas this confederate military arrangement proved unsuccessful. A battle was fought at Mandsaur in February 1738 A.D. in which the Rajputs were badly defeated. They were required to pay a sum of Rs. 5 lacs to the Marathas.

Bundi-Affairs :

Hada Budhsingh lost his state and served under Sawai Jaisingh in Malwa (1715 A.D.). Though with the help of Sawai Jaisingh, he got back the *firman* of his state (May 1716 A.D.), but could not maintain peace in his territory. His relations with his Kachhawa-

50. *Ibid* Documents No. 1506, 1508, 1509, 1510 and 1513.

51. Jaipur Records (Hindi) (Sitamau) Vol V, f. 65-68.

52. *Ibid*.

queen, on the point of his son Bhawanisingh, remained strained. Sawai Jaisingh, lateron, got him dethroned and instated Daleasingh on May 10, 1730 A.D. Budhsingh first visited Udaipur, but the Maharana did not relish his esoteric activities of *Kaula-Sampradaya* and openly declined to help him against the designs of Sawai Jaisingh. Therefore, he went to Begun. His favourite queen attempted to secure help from the Marathas and on April 22, 1734 A.D. Bundi was regained for a few days. The intestine feuds created a great trouble and encouraged the Marathas to take active part in the family affairs of the Rajput chiefs.

Maharana Sangramsingh breathed his last on Jan. 11, 1734 A.D. Many anecdotes are popular about his humane behaviour, charities etc. During his reign, greater portion of the alienated territory of his state was regained.

Inscriptions

The inscriptions engraved in the Vaidhyanath temple of Sisarama and Dakshinamurti temple of Udaipur and stepwell inscriptions of Eklingji and Bedla are noteworthy. The Vaidhyanath¹³ inscription of V.E. 1777 is divided into five parts (*pratitaras*). Its first part refers to the traditional account of the rulers of Mewar. In the second part the battle with the Mewatis is described. The third part describes charities given away by the Maharana to Brahmins Dakshinamurti, Sukhanand, Pundriksha, Karvalakant etc. The fourth part contains the account of the ancestors of Devakumari, the mother of the Maharana, who got the said temple constructed. The *pratistha* ceremony was observed with great pomp and show in V.E. 1772, when several chiefs and rulers were invited to attend the same. The Dakshanamurti inscription of V.E. 1770 mentions of the installation of the icon of *Raj Rajeshwar* (Shiv). It has 29 lines containing a traditional account of Maharana Sangramsingh. The stepwell inscription of Bedla contains a brief account of the chiefs of Bedla and of their spending of Rs. 73,780 on it. The Ekling step-well inscription having 32 verses contains a detailed account of the Dhay¹⁴ Bhila of the Gujar family attached with Chandra Kumari married to Sawai Jaisingh. The *Surat* inscription of Brahmepuri Udaipur dated

53. It is edited by Shri Sivacharan Menariya in *Anveshana* Vol. I, No. 2 pp. 113-115.
 54. મિલામિલો ફેલવાન ગુરી...રદેકસિવાચાલીનસૂર્ય - પામતીની કર્માદિતરેણ કૃત
[Unpublished inscription]

V.E. 1781 refers to the order of the Maharana that no brahmin⁵⁵ should sell his land situated in Brahmapuri to Non-Brahmins. This shows the Maharana's interest that the Brahmapuri be solely inhabited by the Brahmins. The Humad Jain temple inscription of V.E. 1781 mentions of the construction of the temple and installation of an icon of Shitalnath⁵⁶ under instructions of Jayaratna Suri of Tappagachchha. Several landgrants of the Maharana's reign⁵⁷ are also known.

The Maharana's sons and their families

Maharana Sangram Singh II had four sons. His eldest son Jagatsingh succeeded him. His other sons named Nathsingh, Baghsingh and Arjunsingh received the jagirs of Begor, Karajali and Shivrati, respectively. Maharaj Nathji had 5 sons namely Bhimsingh, Suratsingh, Zalimsingh, Bhagawatsingh and Bakhtasingh. The descendants of Bhimsingh, later on, were adopted as the Maharanas from Sardarsingh to Sajjansingh. Baghsingh of Karajali had a son named Bherusingh. Arjunsingh of Shivrati had 2 sons namely Shivsingh and Bahadursingh. Maharana Fatehsingh and Bhagawat singh were adopted from the descendants of Shivsingh. In this way, these three families played an important role in the succession cases of the Mewar House.

Artist Jagannath

Artist Jagannath flourished during the reign of Maharana Sangram Singh II. His miniature paintings of Mewar school known as the *Satasayee* (1720 A.D.), *Gita Govind* (1724 A.D.) and *Sundar Shringar* (1726 A.D.) are quite attractive. At the foot of one of the paintings he had specifically mentioned that he had executed this work for the amusement of the Maharana. He often quoted good verses which prove that he was not only an artist but a poet also.

55. नरपतिशाल महाराजा की हंडामार्गि बादेहातु—बापनधर देवेना हो गया रा भाव है
देवे त्रीन बरग मै देख पावे नहीं [Unpublished inscription]
56. शीरपाटवेस उदयपुरतारे महाराजा की संपादनाये संवल्प प्रसाद पंचारो आवारे हुंव
शानीव—संभगी गांडी शम्बी—की बररान सूरि उपदेहात शीरीदमविव प्रतिष्ठित
[Unpublished inscription]
57. The Maharana gave away the villages Chalawa and Rathana to the Ekling temple. [Edited by the Author in the *Maffhamika* Vol. I pp. 77-79].

(a) Maharana Jagatsingh II

Maharana Jagatsingh, born on September 9, 1709 A.D., came to the throne of Mewar on January 11, 1784 A.D., at the age of 25 years. His usual coronation ceremony was observed on June 9, 1784 A.D.

As already stated, the concerted efforts of Sawai Jaisingh and Maharana Sangram Singh to drive out the Marathas from Malwa failed totally. The Marathas under the command of the Holkar, swept away the said province and humiliated Sawai Jaisingh in the battle field of Mandsaur. The latter had to purchase peace by making a payment of Rs. 6 lakhs¹ in cash and grudgingly conceding to assign 28 paraganas² in Malwa, to the Marathas in lieu of the Chauth. This agreement practically promoted the interests of the Marathas in Malwa. As already stated, they were pressing their demand for regular payment of the Chauth from the Imperial territory. This grant clearly proved to be an excuse for their territorial aggrandizement.³ The Rajput rulers were also greatly alarmed by their active participation in the intensive⁴ feud of Bundi (April-1784 A. D.). The Rajputs now resolved to find out some solution to their increasing menace.

Hurada conference

A conference of the important rulers of the Rajput states was convened at village Hurada (District-Bhilawala) to devise measures to keep the Marathas away and also to decide the course of possible action to be adopted against them. Before the commencement of the conference private meetings between important chiefs also took place and one such was held between Sawai Jaisingh⁵ and Abhaytingh at Ajmer. The Maharana alongwith Hada Durjanshal of

1. According to the agreement mentioned in *Vir-Vinod* (p. 924) a sum of Rs. five lacs only was paid instead of Rs. six lacs.
2. S.P.D. XIV {2, 7, 9/XV, 6./V, G. Dighe—Peshawa Baji Rao and the Maratha Expansion p. 212.
3. Dr. Satish Chandra—Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court p. 219.
4. *Vamska-Bhaskar* pp. 3212-14.
5. *Haqiqat Bahi* No. 2 Jodhpur (R.S.A.) f 35 to 36/Marwar ki Khyat (MS) II f. 142-143.

Kotah came from Udaipur. Sawai Jaisingh came forward upto village Rupaheli, in a mark of honour, to receive the Maharana. Thus, on July 17, 1724 A.D., the conference was held under the chairmanship of the Maharana, wherein the following points were unanimously agreed to⁶—

1. All are united in good and in evil and none will withdraw therefrom, on which oaths have been made and faith pledged which will be lost by whoever acts contrary thereto. The honour and shame of one is that of all and in this is every thing contained.
2. No one shall countenance the traitor of the other.
3. After the rains the affairs shall commence and the Chiefs of each party assemble at Rampura and if from any cause, the head cannot come, he will send the Kunwar or some personage of weight.
4. Should from inexperience such Kunwar commit error, the Rana alone shall interfere to correct.
5. In every enterprise, all shall unite to effect it.⁷

Moreover, it was agreed to by all that the command of this confederate army be given to the Maharana.

In spite of the fact that the conference was attended to by all the important Rajput rulers of Rajasthan it could not bear any fruitful results. A question arises as to why it failed, specially when a similar triple alliance between Maharana Amarsingh II, Maharaja Jaisingh and Ajitsingh could produce successful results. The reply is very clear. In 1708 A.D., when the triple alliance took shape, there was no clash of mutual interests, which could debar the rulers from taking effective steps. But the political condition was quite different now. Sawai Jaisingh, being an opportunist,⁸ wanted to impose his supremacy over smaller states. His relations with Abhaysingh were also strained. Although the Maharana attempted to reconcile their differences⁹ but personal vanity and egoism restrained them from taking any joint action. Their positions in the

6. Tod I pp. 329-330; *Vir-Vinod* pp. 1220-21. / *Kapodadhwara* Jaipur, Document No. 1497.

7. J. N. Sarkar—History of Jaipur State (MS. Sitamou) Chapter XV f. 57.
8. In a letter dated Asoj Sud 7, V.E. 1791, Sawai Jaisingh wrote to the Maharana "According to Shri Diwan's Commands, I have entered into terms of friendship with Abhaysingh". Similarly, Raja Abhaysingh wrote to the Maharana on Asoj Sud 6, V.E. 1791.

9. Similar attempts to drive out the Marathas from Rajasthan by making concerted efforts were also made several times during the years 1743, 1751, 1759 A.D. But mutual clash of interests always proved a handicap.

Mughal Court often brought their jealousies into conflict. The Maharana himself was quite young and was not a competent diplomat like Sawai Jaisingh. In this way the Hurada-Conference bore no fruitful results.

Action against the Marathas (1734-35 A. D.)

The Mughal authorities were also conscious of the danger of the penetration of the Marathas into the north. Therefore, they also attempted to chalk out some programme and directed the Rajput rulers to partake. By the end of 1734 A. D., the Mughal Emperor despatched two forces under the command of Qamar-ud-din⁹ and Bakhshi Khan-i-Dauran. The Rajput-Chiefs of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Kotah joined with their forces. The Maharana also despatched a contingent under Biharidas Pancholi to Rampura to¹⁰ join the same. But this campaign also proved unsuccessful. The Marathas not only successfully resisted the above invasion but succeeded to penetrate¹¹ in Jaipur territory, which was then left defenceless. Jaisingh with his army had to rush up to Jaipur to save his State from depredations (February 28, 1735 A. D.). On his advice, Wazir Khan-i-Dauran induced the Marathas¹² to retire beyond Narmada, on getting a payment of Rs. 22 lakhs. This agreement was, however, not ratified by the Emperor. The policy of appeasement followed by Jaisingh was adversely observed by many senior nobles of the Court including Abhay Singh of Jodhpur. The Emperor was deeply annoyed. The stigma of discomfiture was shifted upon Jaisingh. In order to wreck vengeance, he invited Peshawa Bajirao to the north to discuss further programme, offering him¹³ to bear his expenses and assuring him to secure for him the Chauth of Malwa. In this way, Sawai Jaisingh directly promoted the interests of the Marathas in Malwa and northern¹⁴ India.

Invasion upon Shahpura (1735 A. D.)

As already stated, Maharana Sangram Singh granted Jahanpur, Phuliya etc. to Umed Singh of Shahpura. Soon after his death the

9. Elliot and Dowson VIII p. 51/S.P.D. XIV No. 23.

10. Letter from Maharana Jagat Singh to Pancholi Biharidas dated Aoij Sud 6, 1791 (Tod I p. 334).

11. S.P.D. XIV No. 21 and 23/Vamika-Bhaskar p. 327.

12. S.P.D. XIV No. 23 and 27/Hungre Daftari-I No. 2/History of Jaipur State (MS) Chapter XIV p. 9/Letter from Hemraj to Zorawarni dated Chaitra Sud 14, V E. 1792 (March 26, 1735), J.S.A.

13. S.P.D. XIV No. 39 and 47.

14. I took necessary help from Shri Jayanesh Ojha Research Scholar, University of Udaipur, in writing this chapter.

latter adopted a hostile attitude towards the ruler of Mewar. His relations with Maharana Jagatsingh were strained due to some misunderstanding.¹⁵ According to the *Khyat* of Shahpura, he carried out depredations in Bhilwara town also. At this the Maharana invaded Shahpura. On hearing his march against that place, Sawai Jai Singh also sent a detachment for the help of the Mewar army. The Chiefs of Mewar could not develop their reliance on this step of Sawai Jai Singh. At the intercession of Devisingh of Begun, Umedsingh agreed not to fight. He surrendered himself before the Mewar army and also agreed to pay a sum of Rs. three lakhs as¹⁶ an indemnity.

Marriage of the Maharana's daughter (1736 A. D.)

The Maharana gave away his daughter in marriage to Kunwar Vijaysingh of Marwar. At the time of marriage, Vijaysingh gave an undertaking that the male offspring from this queen would succeed him irrespective of age and seniority among his sons. In case of the daughters, they would not be given in marriage to any Mohommadan.

Attempts of the Marathas to settle Chauth

Failure of the Hurada Conference, followed by the discomfiture of the Mughal army, resulted into increasing pressure from the Marathas on the various States of Rajasthan in general and Mewar in particular. They now attempted to settle the terms of *Chauth* with the Rajput rulers. The Peshawa attempted to persuade the Maharana through his envoy to settle the terms of *Chauth*. Pancholi Biharidas informed the Maharana about some understanding¹⁷ with the Marathas, but his letter in question contains no details. It seems that when the Maharana came to the throne, cordial relations existed with the peshawa. The Mewar vakkis Dhabhai Nagaraj and Munahi Shobharam suggested to Maratha chief Shahu and his Officer Lala Bhagirath

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15. In the *Khyat* of Shahpura some incidents are recorded. According to these the Maharana invited Umedsingh for help in some administrative matters. When his demand to remove the chief of Salumbar was not succeeded to be decided to leave Udaipur. On this occasion some malicious plot was also hatched against his life which he successfully escaped. *Shahpura Raja Ki Khyat* (Sitamau) II p. 39-47.
 16. According to the *Khyat* of Shahpura, only a sum of Rs. 1.00 lac was paid in cash and for the balance, a member of the royal family was sent as the protege, who was later on allowed to return (Letter from Bharat Singh to Ayamal dated May 8, 1744 A.D. J.S.A.)
 17. Letter from Pancholi Biharidas to the Maharana (Tod. I p.p. 334-335)

Munshi to send formal presents¹⁸ to the Maharana. Accordingly presents were sent with Lala Bhagawandas, son of Bbagirath Munshi. Shahu's Vakil Sadashiva Ballala sent by him to Mewar for settling the terms of Chauth, intimated him¹⁹ vide letter dated November 17, 1735 A.D. that the Maharana, though he had expressed his readiness to pay some token amount to the Marathas, was unwilling to sign any treaty. He added that Sanwatsingh, one of his Chiefs, also visited his camp in this connection. While concluding his letter sent to Bapuji Panta, he advised to press the Maharana for entering into a written agreement with the Maratha authorities. The Peshwa²⁰ also wrote to Biharidas Pancholi for an early settlement of the Chauth. But these overtures did not yield any decisive results and no agreement was signed at that time. However, Sadashive reported that he received Rs. 8, 96, 000/- from Kotah and Mewar²¹ States, and a sum of Rs. 60,000/- was still outstanding against Mewar. But it is not clear as to how this amount was computed. During the time of Maharana Sangramsingh, the *Paragana 'Budha'* was assigned in Jagir to Narayan Rao, a relation of the Holkar. Even after leaving Mewar, the²² Maharana used to send the income of this *paragana* to him. But the amount calculated above might be different from it, as it was payable to the Peshawa, and not to the Holkar.

Visit of the Peshawa's Mother (1735 A. D.)

The Peshawa's mother Radhabai, while performing pilgrimage to various shrines in northern India, visited Udaipur²³ on May 6, 1735 A.D. The Maharana received her graciously. From Udaipur, she moved to Eklingji, Nathdwara, Kankroli²⁴ etc.

Visit of Bajirao Peshawa (1736 A. D.)

The warm reception to Peshawa's mother accorded by the Maharana helped in maintaining cordial relations with the Peshawa. Still the Maharana was not inclined to finalise any written agreement.

18. S.P.D. XIV No. 20.

19. *Ibid* XXX No. 142 and 143.

20. K. S. Gupta—*op. cit.* p. 43/The Journal of Bharat Itihas Samsodhan Mandal (Quarterly) Vol. XXXVII July–October 1952 p. 180.

21. Dr. Raghuvir Singh's paper—Peshawa Bajirao's visit and first financial settlement of Mewar MS.

22. Shyamaldas collection (RSA) Nos. 1079–80. According to these *Isars* of 'Budha' was fixed as Rs. 1,75,000 in the year V.E. 1798.

23. Letter from Hemraj to Zerawarsingh dated Chaitra Sud 14, V.E. 1792 (J.S.A.)

24. J. N. Sarkar—The fall of the Mughal Empire Vol. I p. 159.

The Peshawa, on the advice of Sawai Jaisingh, was willing to visit northern India to discuss the problems with the latter. He made up his mind to take the route through Udaipur. When the news of his visit reached, great anxiety was felt at Udaipur. The Maharana was not happy at it and wanted to avoid his meeting with the Peshawa. As such, he informed Biharidas Pancholi by a letter²⁵ that "if a meeting is to take place at all, it should be arranged beyond Devaliya". But when the Peshawa was on his way to Udaipur Rawat Kesarising of Salumbar was sent by the Maharana with 8000 picked soldiers²⁶ to invite him to visit the place.

Peshawa Bajirao reached Udaipur via Dungarpur by the end of January 1736 A.D.²⁷ He was accorded suitable welcome and was lodged in Champa Bagh. The main objective of his visit was to settle the long pending issue of the payment of Chauth. He was advised by one of his friends to be liberal and²⁸ to accept whatever the Maharana agreed to pay.

His meeting with the Maharana was arranged in the first week of February 1736 A.D. Proper care was taken in arranging his seat which was placed near the Rajagaddi. The Maharana himself came to the gate of the Darbar Hall to receive him. The Peshawa removed the chair which was placed for him. At this the Maharana asked him as to what he was²⁹ doing? He humbly replied that he wanted to be treated as one of his Chiefs. When discussion about the Chauth started, he insisted upon the cessation of Paraganas Banera permanently from Mewar, which the Maharana resented. But after much persuasion a sum of Rs. 1, 80, 000/- was agreed to, be paid annually to the Marathas for a period of 8 years. No copy of this agreement is now available. But in the financial settlement of 1766 A.D., an annual sum of Rs. 1, 80, 000³⁰ was recorded to have settled during the Peshawa's visit to Udaipur in 1736 A.D. Therefore, it seems that for the period of 8 years Rs. 12,00,000/- were fixed. As against this aggregate amount of Rs 12 lacs, Rs. 11,25,000/- was required to be paid as under and the³¹ balance was foregone.

25. Letter from Maharana Jagatsingh to Pancholi Biharidas dated September 22, 1734 A.D. (Tod. I p. 344).

26. S.P.D. XIV No. 50-51/XXX Nm. 160, 142.

27. Ibid XIV p. 51.

28. Ibid XIV No. 54/XXX No. 142/S.P.D. (New Series) I No. 27.

29. Vansha Bhaskar p. 3236-39./J. N. Sarkar *op.cit.* p. 162.

30. J. N. Sarkar *op.cit.* II p.

30A. Vir-Vinod p. 1228/E.S. Gupta *op.cit.* p. 45.

Rs. 2,00,000	<i>Mijamani</i>
Rs. 45,000	Rabi crop of V. E. 1792
Rs. 90,000	for the year V. E. 1793
Rs. 1,20,000	for the year V. E. 1794
Rs. 1,50,000	for the year V. E. 1795
Rs. 5,20,000	for the years V. E. 1796 to 1798

Rs. 11,25,000/-	

The payment of this amount was made as below:—

Rs. 6,00,000	through Sadashiva Panta
Rs. 10,000	through Pandit Ram Chandra
Rs. 4,45,000	(through Govind Rao from the Revenue of Banera from V. E. 1796 and 1799 (1730-42 A. D.)

Rs. 11,25,000/-	

On perusal of the payments made, it is known that the amount could not be liquidated in time. Several letters were written by the Maratha officers for this purpose.³¹ Pandit Ramchandra sent a letter to Pancholi Biharidas in July, 1736 A.D. and the Peshawa himself wrote to Devichand, a senior officer of Mewar, for arranging early payment. The work of the Receiver-General of Mewar tribute was originally entrusted to the Holkar, but latter on the Sindhia was made incharge. In this way, Peshawa Baji Rao's visit to Udaipur brought fruitful results and helped a lot in creating mutual understanding between Poona and Mewar houses. The Maharana presented³² two horses to Baji Rao, who also reciprocated by sending presents through Gopalsingh of Devallya.

Jagamandir Episode (4-2-1736 A.D.)

The Peshawa also visited Jagamandir palaces. In *Vanrha-Bhaskar* it is stated that the Maharana invited the Peshawa to these lake palaces. Considering it to be a foul play against him life, Peshawa Baji Rao became furious and gave stringent orders

31. K.S. Gupta—*op. cit.*, p. 46.

32. S.P.D. XXX 321/The Journal of Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal July-Oct. 1952 p. 56.

32A. *Vanrha-Bhaskar* pp. 2968-68.

33. S.P.D. XXXIII No. 980.

to carry out plundering raids in Udaipur city. In order to pacify him, the Maharana had to pay a huge amount. But this account does not seem to be correct. This alleged incident is neither recorded by any contemporary Maratha writer nor by any Persian-historian. Quite contrary to this, in the despatches of the Maratha-officers from Udaipur to Poona, it is recorded that every³³ thing was going quite peacefully there. Had the city been molested, it might have been narrated at length in the letters. Therefore, the episode may be taken as an imaginary creation of Suryamal Mishra, the writer of *Vamska-Bhaskar*.

In fact, the Peshawa visited Jagannandir on February 4, 1736 A.D. He spent the following amounts there³⁴ :—

Rs. 4	in charity
Rs. 30	to the boatmen for carrying the party to the lake palaces.
Rs. 5	to the gardeners
<hr/>	
Rs. 39	

The Peshawa with his party left Udaipur and proceeded towards Jaipur via Eklingji, Nathdwara, Bhilwara and Jahazpur.
Nadir Shah's invasion

On hearing of the rapid advancement of Nadir Shah the Mughal Emperor urged the various Rajput rulers to hasten with their forces to save the imperial capital.³⁵ Peshawa Bajirao was also anxious to take some concerted action against the invader. Accordingly, he wrote to the Maharana³⁶ on March 23, 1739 A.D. for a joint action by Mewar, Jaipur and the Marathas. But no action was taken from the side of Mewar.

Relations with Sawai Jaisingh

When Abhaysingh of Jodhpur invaded Bikaner, Sawai Jaisingh, in response to Bikaner's appeal for help, set out against Jodhpur with a large army. The Maharana also, in³⁷ response to an urgent call from Sawai Jaisingh, reached Ajmer with an immense army. On hearing of the concentration of these forces,

34. S.P.D. XXX No. 321.

35. Letter from Mehta Gulab to Maharaja of Shahpura dated Dec. 28 1738 A.D. (*Vid-Vined* p. 1223).

36. The Journal of Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal July/Oct. 1952 p. 64.

37. V. S. Bhatnagar - Sawai Jaisingh and his times p. 260.

Abhaysingh was compelled to make a treaty on humiliating conditions on July 25, 1740 A.D. Abhaysingh's younger brother Bakhtasinh, who remained an active supporter of Sawai Jaisingh upto this time, rejoined his brother. He made an abortive attempt to defeat Sawai Jaisingh in the battle field of Gagawana. However, relations between Sawai Jaisingh and Abhaysingh remained strained. The Maharana attempted to reconcile their differences. Abhaysingh wrote to Jaisingh on June 9, 1741 A.D. that he had³⁸ reconciled his scores with him, as desired by the Maharana. But despite this assurance, they could not maintain friendly relations. When Sawai Jaisingh performed *Ashwa-Medha Yajna*, in 1741 A.D., the³⁹ Maharana sent his congratulations on the occasion.

Rising of Prince Pratapsingh (1743 A.D.)

The Maharana's relation with his eldest son Pratapsingh remained strained. Pratapsingh, who adopted a defiant attitude, gave sanctuary to several Hada Chiefs. This act also displeased Sawai Jaisingh. On the orders of the Maharana, Nathji of Bagor, Jasawantsingh of Devagarh, Raghavadeva of Delawara, Umedsingh of Shahpura and Bharatsingh of Sanawad laid a trap and made him captive. His supporter Padmasingh was⁴⁰ given due punishment. Saktiawat Umedsingh, on hearing of the captivity of the prince, came forward to fight for his sake. As per orders of the Maharana, his own father Suratsingh killed him. Pratapsingh was not released from imprisonment through out the life of the Maharana.

Firman granted by the Emperor (1743 A.D.)

Maharana Sangram singh captured Shahpura. Similarly, the Chief of Banera also agreed to serve Maharana Jagatsingh. These Chiefs were Imperial Mansabdars and therefore they were also required to pay *Nazarana* to the Subedar of Ajmer. On the request of the Maharana, the Emperor issued^{40A} a *Firman* on September 13, 1743 A.D. asking the Subedar of Ajmer to forbid the levy of the *Nazarana*, for the *paraganas* of Shahpura, Banera, Jahazpur

38. *Ibid* p. 262.

39. Letter from Maharana Jagatsingh to Sawai Jaisingh dated Ashadh Sudi 10, V. B. 1798 (J. S. A.)

40. Letter from Maharana Jaisingh to Maharana Jagatsingh dated Posh Sudi 12, V. E. 1799 (J. S. A.)

40A. *Firman* dated 5th Shaban A.H. 1156 (Sept. 18, 1743 A.D.) from Kamrud-din Waxir (*Vir-Vhad*) pp. 1242 to 1244.

and Sawar. Maharana Jagatsingh also renewed the *patta* of Jahazpur⁴¹, Sawar etc. amounting to Rs. 1,00,000/- (January 7, 1745 A.D.) given by Maharana Sangram Singh II to the chief of Shahpura. He also gave orders to the residents living in the vicinity of Shahpura state not to trespass in the Kherad territory, which was then in the possession of the Chief of Shahpura.

Madhosingh's claim for Jaipur State

As already stated, Sawai Jaisingh at the time of his marriage with Chandrakumari, affianced to allow her male child to succeed him, irrespective of his age and seniority. This was done in different circumstances, under pressure, for seeking help from the ruler of Mewar. When Madhosingh was born in 1728 A.D., Sawai Jaisingh apprehending possible intensive feud, managed to have a *patta* of Rampura for the said child from Maharana Sangram Singh, with whom he maintained cordial relations. When Madhosingh grew up, Maharana Jagatsingh asked Sawai Jaisingh to transfer the possession of Rampura in favour of Madhosingh, the original grantee. Accordingly, its possession was handed over to Rawat Kubersingh on behalf of Madhosingh, as desired by the Maharana. Sawai Jaisingh, as he desired to keep Madhosingh away from the throne of Jaipur, got an agreement executed⁴² by some leading chiefs of Mewar for not espousing the cause of Madhosingh (March 19, 1741 A. D.). But this was not abided by them.

Concentration of forces at Jamoli

After the death of Sawai Jaisingh in 1743 A. D., Ishwarsingh, being the eldest son, succeeded him. The Maharana made elaborate preparations to wrest the throne of Jaipur for his nephew, Madhosingh. At the same time, Hada Durjan Shal was also anxious to secure the throne of Bundi for Umedsingh, the son of Budhsingh. Both of them were thus anxious to measure swords against Ishwarsingh. After Annakuta, the Maharana invited Hada Durjan Shal to Udaipur and a meeting was arranged at Nahara-Magnara, where it was settled to march against Ishwarsingh. By the end of year 1743 A. D., the Hada and Mewar forces were concentrated

41. *Shahpura Khvat* II p. 115.

41a. *Kepadadwara* (Jaipur) Document No. 1495.

42. Letter from Raja Bakhtsingh to Maharaja of Amer dated December 5, 1748 A.D. (J.S.A.)

at Jamoli near Jahazpur. Ishwarisingh also marched simultaneously. But he avoided to fight and his forces remained inactive at Pander for about 40 days. Meanwhile, overtures for settlement started. By the attempts of Raja Ayamal Khatri, the Minister of Jaipur, Ishwarisingh agreed to part with some territory of Tonk and Toda having an income of Rs. 5.00 lakhs annually. (December 19, 1743 A. D.) The truce could not last long. It seems that the parley was not done with full consent of the Hadas. They continuously created⁴⁵ disturbances in the Hadoti (January 1744 A. D.). On April 23, seventy seven persons were killed⁴⁶ in a skirmish held between the Kotah and Bundi armies. Madhosingh who grudgingly accepted the above settlement, now pressed the Maharana for seeking support from the Marathas. The Holkar's forces were reported to be⁴⁷ present near Udaisagar lake (Mewar) in June 1744 A. D.

Battle of Toda

The Maharana and the Hadas soon collected their forces near Jahazpur⁴⁸ (August, 1744 A.D.). They succeeded to seek support of Faqar-ud-daulah, the newly appointed Governor of Gujarat. Several Chiefs of the Jaipur State, also went to Toda and met Madhosingh.⁴⁹ The allies successfully captured Khandar, Alanpur, Barawara etc. (Sept.), which were subsequently⁵⁰ re-captured by the Jaipur forces. Maharana Ishwarisingh was then present at Delhi. The unexpected success of the allies, compelled Raja Ayamal to proceed to the Maratha camp for seeking active military help. The Maharana also sent his envoys⁵¹, named Ranawat Sanwantsingh and Kuber-singh, to the above officers. It seems that Maharaja Bakhtasingh⁵² of

45. *Vamsha Bhaskar* p. 9221.

46. Letter from Ajitsingh to Ayamal dated Jan 26, 1744 (J.S.A.)

47. Letter from Dalecir Singh to Ishwarisingh dated May 8, 1744 A.D. (J.S.A.)

48. An interesting account of this period is mentioned in a letter dated August 27, 1744. दीक्षात को कृष्ण मार्ग वर्षी (August) में जो सो हाल दुखी नहीं। राजवत्त मारक्षिंह बैरावाव परे पड़ते हैं। वियां कब्रहमामा भी वो के ३ कोस दूर है। मारक्षिंह की कामदार बीसनहिंच महाराज अमरसिंह कर्ते गयो हैं। राजवत्त सामग्रिक दृष्टि री करक चास्ति है। (Amer record No. 1801/4 D.C.S. No. 237) Also from Hemraj to Vidhyadhar dated August 30, 1744 (J.S.A.)

49. From Hemraj to Vidhyadhar dated Sept. 4, 1744, (J.S.A.)

50. *Ibid*

51. From Vidhyadhar to Ayamal dated Nov. 7, 1744 A.D.

52. For the participation of the Rathors, Ishwarisingh also attempted (Letter from Kushalsingh to Vidhyadhar dated Sept. 14, 1744). *Shahpura & Khyat* II, p. 114.—)

Nagaur also accompanied them. No Maratha General, except the Holkar agreed to espouse his cause. After attending the *Annakuta*-ceremony⁵¹ at Nathdwara, the Maharana also set out towards Toda. He also despatched a part of his army against the Chief of Sawar,⁵² who had adopted a hostile attitude and seized the village Devall from the Khalsa area. On⁵³ arrival of the Mewar forces in November 1744 A.D., the above Chief showed his willingness to transfer the possession of the village, but his son Salisingh displayed stiff resistance and fought till his body was smashed to pieces. The village was ultimately taken into possession by the Mewar forces. The combined forces of Mewar and Hodoti soon proceeded further and successfully carried out plundering raids in Jaipur State. Seeing that no Maratha forces were forthcoming for help, the Chiefs of Jaipur state, in the absence of Maharaja Ishwarisingh, who was then at Delhi, made a plan to dupe the generals of the combined forces of Mewar and Hadoti. They entered into⁵⁴ an agreement on Nov. 12, 1744 A.D., according to which, they assured to insist upon Ishwarisingh to spare 1/3 part of his state in favour of Madhosingh and to shun his hostile activities against Kotah state. A separate agreement was⁵⁵ entered into by Sardarsingh of Uniyara and Jagatsingh, wherein they assured to persuade Ishwarisingh for the above agreement and in case he might be rigid, they would stand in the side of Madhosingh. Next day, they also intimated Ishwarisingh as to how they successfully beguiled⁵⁶ the generals of Mewar.

Soon after this settlement, the combined forces captured⁵⁷ Malpura (November 22). In this way, most of the Nagarchal territory was wrested from Jaipur. Raja Ayamal went to the Maratha camp for securing necessary help. On returning to Jaipur, Ishwarisingh, soon set out with his armies towards Jahazpur. On Nov. 30, both the confronting armies⁵⁸ reached near Banathali.

51. Letter from Daulatram ■ Ajitdas dated Oct. 16, 1744 (J.S.A.)

52. *Vir-Vinod* p. 1231

53. Amer Records 1801/4 D.C.S. No. 39 (J.S.A.)

54. Kapoddawara Jaipur Documents No. 1113 and 872,

55. *Ibid.* No. 720.

56. Letter from Hemraj to Vidhyadhar dated Nov. 19, 1744 (मी बहाराजा का वे दिन पर्यंत तुम्हरे को परन्ती हीयसी तो की है। अबारपे लिखवेता तो लिखविपै है।) (J. S. A.)

57. Letter from Zalisingh Rathor ■ Vidhyadhar dated Nov. 22, 1744 (J.S.A.)

58. From Hemraj to Vidhyadhar dated Nov. 30, 1744 A.D. (J.S.A.)

(on the bank of the river Banas, near Devali), but no fighting took place. The Mewar envoys, who had gone to the Maratha camp for securing help, failed in their attempt. The Maratha leaders gave categorical replies that they could extend their help to Madhosingh, provided the latter was satisfied with a Jagir⁵⁹ of Rs. five lakhs. On receiving this reply, the Maharana exhorted the chiefs residing in the *Paraganas*⁶⁰ of Mandalgarh, Badnor and Jahazpur to reach soon with their forces. By the attempts of Kubersingh⁶¹ of Salumber, a settlement was made between the Maharana and Ishwarsingh, according to which Madhosingh had to remain satisfied with⁶² the Jagir of Rs. 5.00 lakhs (Dec.). Raja Ayamal assisted by Jayappa Sindhia, carried out plundering raids in Hadoti. The Apaji of Kotah army was wounded. The *Vamsha-Bhaskar* narrates that the Jaipur forces suddenly invaded the Mewar army then encamped at Toda and put it to heavy losses. The Maharana had to purchase peace on making a⁶³ payment of Rs. ■ lakhs. But this version does not seem to be worthy of credence. The Marathas demanded Rs. 22 lakhs from the Maharana for getting Madhosingh enthroned at Jaipur. No contemporary Maratha record mentions the levy of this amount. The Mewar army had to retreat on arrival of large Maratha forces and to satisfy itself with the settlement made by the attempts of Kubersingh.⁶⁴ Elated with this success, Ishwarsingh displayed his resentment against the Hadas. His army sent under Raja Ayamal against the forces of Umedsingh was initially defeated at Bichodi on July 20, 1745 A.D., but subsequently emerged victorious in the battle held at Devapura on Aug. 6, 1745 A.D.

59. *Hijras-Dastar* Vol. I Letter dated Jan. 11, 1745 A.D.

60. Letter from Devakaran to Umedsingh, the chief of Shahpura dated Jan. 28, 1745 (*Shahpura-ki-khyat*.)

61. It is interesting to note that a heavy amount of the *Nazarana* was imposed upon Kubersingh for not obeying the orders (Mehta Sangram Singh collection No. 39/738 (R.S.A.). But according to the letter dated Maha Sud 12, V.E. 1801 (Feb. 1742 A.D.) Kubersingh did strive hard for settlement. यहां ईश्वरीसिंहजी दु परा कोल काला चारी बात रो लीदो नी। राजा थी माथोतिष्ठवी रो पट्टरो हथा थारो साकारा रो एक बैंकर करणो—बद्धो वधम तो शिरीसिंहवी की हो—
महाराजाजी या रवापद दुआ छ।

62. *Vamsha-Bhaskar* p. 3328 and 3580.

63. *Vir-Vined* p. 1293.

Battle of Rajamahal (1747 A.D.)

Raja Ayamal went to Udaipur⁶⁴ in November, 1746 A.D. to settle the matter, but no amicable settlement was reached. Both the contending parties made attempts to secure the Maratha help. The Maharana sent⁶⁵ Kaniram ■ the Peshaws, who offered an amount of Rs. fifteen lacs provided active military help was given to Madhosingh. The Holkar also wrote to the Peshawa in August 1748 A.D. for espousing the cause of Madhosingh. But due to severe famine⁶⁶, when all important towns were desolated and even the Maharana shifted his capital to Dhebar, action had to be postponed. Inspite of this, Madhosingh and Durjanshal Hada pressed him for early action. They also held a meeting at Nathdwara on October 4, 1746 A.D and decided to register the Maratha support. Accordingly, Kaniram was again sent to the Holkar at Kalpi. But due to resentment by Ranoji Sindhia and Ramchandra Baba, no substantial Maratha help could be obtained. However, Malhar Rao Holkar agreed to send his son on receiving Rs. two lakhs for fulfilment of the following demands-

1. Four *paragars* of Tonk, Toda, Malpura and Niwal be given to Madhosingh.
2. The state of Bundi be restored to Umedsingh.

Early in February 1747 A.D., the Maharana and Ishwarisingh despatched their forces. The Mewar army sent in advance was led by Bharatsingh. The Jaipur forces were⁶⁷ commanded by Harnarayan, Sivnath, Jlnadas Terapanhi and Hirralal. On reaching Raj Mahal, Rawat Kubersingh, Takhtasingh etc of the Mewar⁶⁸ army paid a visit to the camp of Ishwarisingh. The Peshawa also sent Nimbaji Khatake and⁶⁹ Munshi Ramray to his camp

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64. Letter from Ayamal to Vidyadhar dated Maghaar Sudi 7, 1802 (Nov. 1743) *Shakhpura Khyat* II p. 123-129,
65. S.P.D. XXVII No. 17, 18 & ■.
66. *Ibid* XXI No. 191 *Vamsha-Bhasker* pp. 3445-49.
67. Letter from Ayamal to Vidyadhar dated Sept. 30, 1746 (J.S.A.)
■ *Ethashik-Patra Vyohar* No. 68/76 S.P.D. XXVII No. 18 *Sinde-Sukt Iithas-che-Sadhane* Vol. IV 41.
68. S.P.D. II No. 1 & 2.
70. Letter from Hemraj to Hirralal dated March 31, 1747 (J.S.A.)
71. Letter from Santothm to Ajabram dated March 26, 1747 A.D./Letter from Harihar to Vidyadhar dated April 17, (J.S.A.)
72. S.P.D. II No. 1 The letter No. 68 of *Ethashik-Patra Vyohar* dated March 7, refers to some-early incident about the resentment of the Maharana towards the Marathas.

for having an amicable settlement. According to the *Vamsha Bhaskar*⁷³ Ishwarisingh invaded the advance guard of the Mewar forces and severely defeated them in March, 1747 A.D. Elated with this success he advanced upto Bhilawala and ravaged the place. But this account does not seem to be correct. The contemporary letters available in the Jaipur records prove that no battle was fought. On the request of Rawat Kubersingh and Takhat Singh, Ishwarisingh, did not proceed against⁷⁴ Mewar and stayed at Rajmahal. A *Kolanama* was made⁷⁵ between both these parties on April 10, 1747 A.D., according to which Toda was given to Madho Singh on the condition that he would not dispossess the Narukas living in the area. For fulfilment of this agreement, Madho Singh would come to Tonk on July 29, 1747 A.D. Similarly, settlement of Bundi was also made⁷⁶ on April 23, 1747 A.D. But the Maharana was not appeased. The armies of Jaipur, Udaipur and Kotah left the field in the last week of April without any fighting.

Attempts to secure Maratha help

Now the Maharana resolved to secure active Maratha support, without which it was quite difficult for him to get his nephew enthroned at Jaipur. Kaniram⁷⁷ Pancholi and Jalsingh Saktawat were sent to the camp of the Holkar. They offered heavy amount as cost of their support. The Peshawa at first consulted Baba Ramchandra who did not relish the active participation in the family feuds of the Rajput chiefs. But succumbing to temptation⁷⁸ the Peshawa agreed to espouse the cause of Madho Singh (October 14, 1747 A.D.) The Holkar also urged the Peshawa⁷⁹ for this cause. The Mewar envoys remained in the camp of the Holkar upto January 15, 1748 A.D. The Peshawa, during his journey to northern India in 1748 A.D., also attempted to settle this matter⁸⁰. He invited Ishwarisingh for discussion. But due to his flight from the battle field of Manpur on March 11, 1748 A.D., Ishwarisingh did not like to meet the

73. *Vamsha-Bhaskar* 1460-69/J. N. Sackar-*op. cit.* p. 179/S.P.D. II No. 5, 4.

74. Letter from Santoshram to Ajabram dated March 26, 1747 A.D. (J.S.A.)

75. Amer Records No. 1804/2 D.G.S. No. 80.

76. *Ibid.*

77. S.P.D. (New series) I No. 88, 89/S.P.D. XXI No. 17.

78. S.P.D. (New series) I No. 89.

79. *Sind-Shahi Itikas-cha-Sadhan* Vo.. No. III letter No. 198.

Peshawa, who was then present at Niwal. He not only rejected his offer ¹⁰ to spare ¹¹ half of his state in favour of Madhosingh but insisted upon him to espouse his pretensions reminding of the cordial relations that existed between the Peshawa and his father. However the four *paraganas* in question were captured (April 29, 1748 A.D.) by Malhar Rao¹² Holkar and Gangadhar Rao.

The combined forces of Mewar and Kotah were advancing towards Jaipur with the Holkar. Ishwarisingh also made elaborate preparations. He succeeded in securing the help of Surajmal Jat to encounter them. A battle was fought at Bagru (August, 1748 A.D.) in which he was badly defeated and was compelled to take shelter in the fortress. It is said that Maratha leader Gangadhar, who was won over with gold by Jaipur Ministers, induced the Holkar to conclude a treaty, according to which Bundi was to be restored to Umedsingh and the 4 *Paraganas* were to be granted to Madhosingh¹³. At the same time a heavy amount was also agreed to be paid to the Marathas.

Payment to the Marathas (1748 A.D.)

The financial settlement of 1736 A.D. expired in 1744 A.D. In 1745 A.D. Malhar Rao Holkar visited Mewar to collect *Chauth*, but due to other urgent engagements¹⁴ he had to return. He again came in 1748 A.D. and ravaged some villages, but this time also he had to move to Bundelkhand on an urgent call from Jayappa-Sindbia.

The Peshawa came in 1748 A.D. to Aspur. Rawat Kubersingh of Salumber and Pancholi Bhawanidas were sent to receive him. They discussed the payment of *Chauth* and renewal of the financial settlement of 1736 A.D. According to a *Bahi* of *Dakhanis*, available in the collection of Mehta Sangramsingh, the following payments were made by the Mewar Government.¹⁵

Total arrear accumulated	Rs. 6,93,000/-
Amount paid on 27.4.1749	Rs. 4,08,000/-
	<u>Rs. 2,25,000/-</u>
Abatement allowed	(—) Rs. 18,1,000/-
Net outstanding	<u>Rs. 1,07,000/-</u>

80. S.P.D. XXVII No. 30.

81. J. N. Sarkar-*op. cit.* p.

82. *Maratha Itihas the Sudhane* by Rajwade Vol. No. 192; *Vansh-Bhaskar*.

83. K. S. Gupta-*op. cit.* p. 69.

84. *Ibid.*

Suicide by Ishwari Singh (1751 A.D.)

After the battle of Bagru, misfortune fell upon Ishwari Singh. His chiefs were divided⁸⁵ into two groups. Raja Ayamal Khatri died on February 9, 1747 A.D. His son Keshavadas suffered the wrath of Ishwari Singh. Suspecting his collusion with Madhosingh, he was ordered to commit suicide by swallowing ■ poison. Vidhyadhar, another senior minister of the time of Sawai Jaisingh, was too old to perform diplomatic duties. Similarly, another minister, Shivnath Bhays, was taken into custody due to intrigues of his rivals. Now only Har Govind Natani remained in office. The condition of the state had also become deplorable. The amount agreed to be paid to the Marathas could not be liquidated⁸⁶. At the same time the widow of the deceased minister Keshavadas made a pathetic appeal to the Maratha leaders for taking vengeance of the foul murder of her husband. This also added fuel to the fire. The Maratha leaders Malhar Rao and Gangadhar Tantia marched against Jaipur on September 29, 1750 AD. from Khandesh and laid a siege to Jaipur. Ishwari Singh, seeing himself helpless, committed suicide on December 12, 1750 A.D. for which he got a cobra to bite him.⁸⁷ The devise having proved futile, he sucked the diamond in the ring which resulted in instantaneous death. Madhosingh was immediately summoned to succeed him to the throne. On his succession, the Marathas put forth exorbitant demands. Due to pressure from the Marathas for early payment, quarrels wrangled. On January 10, 1751 A.D. a massacre⁸⁸ of the Marathas took place in Jaipur city. However, in order to propitiate the Peshwa the paragana of Rampura⁸⁹ was given to him. The Mewar state had to spend its resources lavishly in this succession case for seeking the Maratha support.

Nathdwara Conference of Vaishnavas

At Nathdwara, a conference of the Vaishnavas was held. It was attended to by the rulers of Kotah, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bundi, Rampura, Dungarpur, Banswara, Sirohi & Pratapgarh along with

85. S.P.D. XXVII No. 24.

■. Narendrasingh op. cit. pp. 156-157.

87. S.P.D. II No. 15.

88. Vamsa Bhaskar p. 3518/J.N. Sarkar op. cit. I 303.

89. S.P.D. II No. 91/XXVII No. 65.

90. E. S. Gupta op. cit. p. 64.

other 160 important chiefs of Mewar. It is not known as to what decision was taken at that time. A controversy centers around⁹¹ about the date of this conference. Pravin Kavi mentions it in the year V.E. 1796. In *Vamsha-Bhaskar* the date of this conference is mentioned as V.E. 1798, while in some other works it is stated to have held in V.E. 1805.

Jagat Vilas

The Maharana constructed Jag-Niwas palace. Its account of construction is preserved in *Jagat Vilas Kavya* composed by Nandram. Its foundation was laid on April 22, 1743 A.D. and the work was completed after 35 months. The consecration ceremony was performed with much pomp and show.

The Maharana breathed his last on June 5, 1751 AD.

91. On the basis of the information supplied by Dr. B. M. Jawaliya

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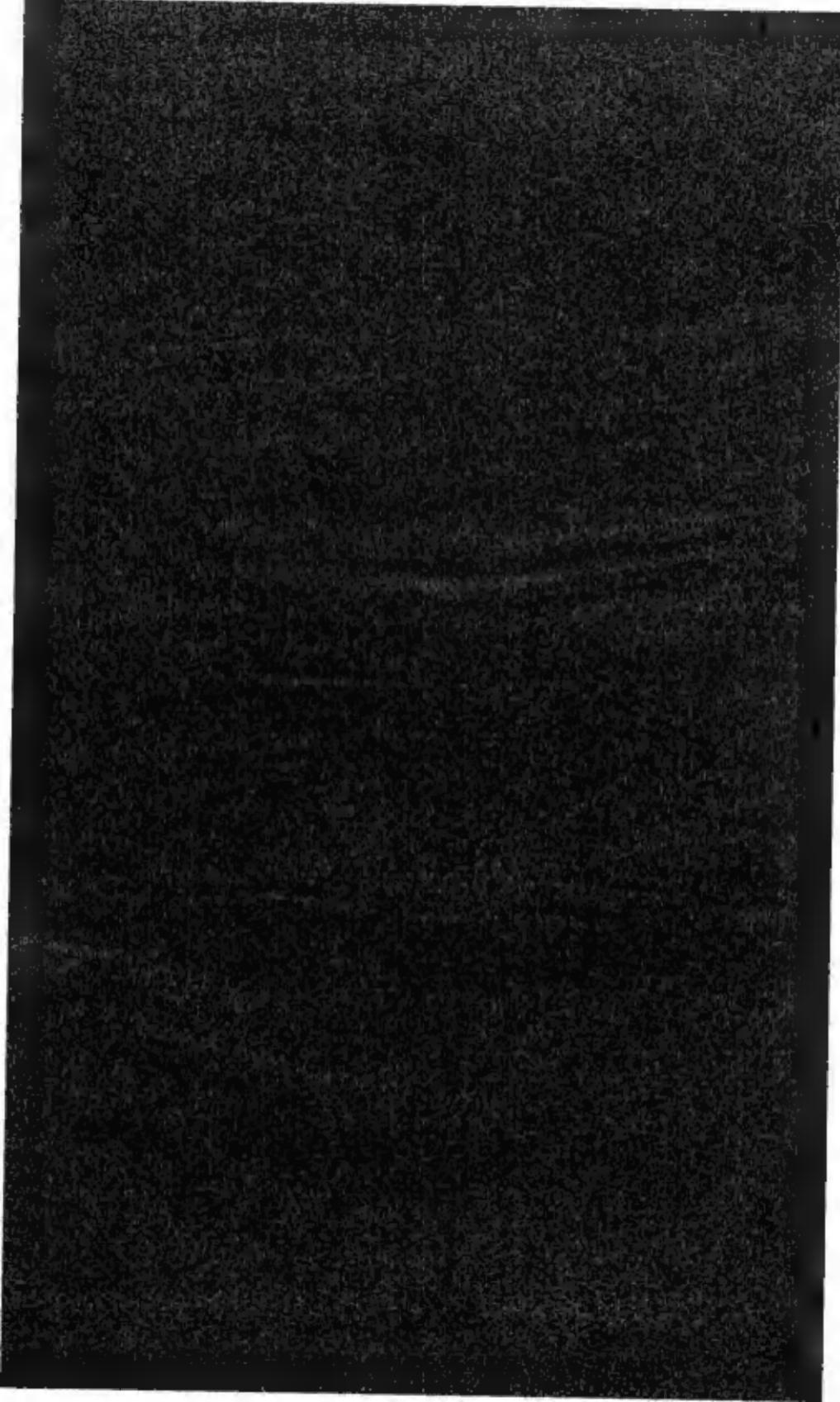
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