CHAPTER TEN

RAJASTHAN¹

I. THE HOUSE OF MEWAR

THE RISE OF THE RAJPUTS

The most conspicuous phenomenon of the early medieval period was the rise into political prominence of new royal families, which are collectively known as Rajputs. During the period preceding and following the supremacy of the early and later Guptas, many foreign races, like the Sakas, the Pahlavas and the Hunas had come to India, settled in the northern parts of the country, assimilated Indian culture, manners and customs and got merged with the Kshatriyas and other warlike elements. The chiefs of these new races claimed descent from the sun, the moon and agni. Out of regard for their valour and their devotion to neo-Vaishnavism, the priestly class and the bards conferred upon them the status of Kshatriyas. As this new class enjoyed royal privileges, the title of Rajputs—Rajputra or princes of royal blood—was given to them. In course of time the Kshatriya and the Rajput became identical. Though it would be dull and tedious to trace the connecting link between the outgoing Kshatriyas and the newly emergent Rajputs, it is interesting to note that the Rajputs trace their genealogy in an unbroken line from the seventh or the eighth century. This kind of supposed continuity at least suggests, if it does not conclusively prove, that the Rajputs were the representatives of the Kshatriyas.

¹ The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes of this chapter:

ALB — Anoop Library, Bikaner.
Annals — Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan by Col. J. Tod.
Briggs — Tarikh-i Ferishta.
BSS — Bombay Sanskrit Series.
BRI — Bikaner Rajya-ka-Itihas.
DRI — Dungarpur Rajya-ka-Itihas.
GOS — Gayakwad Oriental Series.
ED — Elliot and Dowson, History of India as Told by Its Own Historians.
EI — Epigraphia Indica.
THE EXTENT AND PHYSICAL FEATURES OF RAJASTHAN

The land which the Rajputs occupied in northern India also came to be called after them—that is Rajasthan, ‘the abode of the princes’. It comprised independent and semi-independent principalities, the chief of which were Maru, Mada, Jangaladesh, Ajaymeru, Arbud, Mewar, Vagad, Devaliya, Dhundhar and Haraoti, roughly corresponding to the modern regions of Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Ajmer, Sirohi, Udaipur, Dungarpur and Pratapgarh, Jaipur, Kota and Bundi respectively. These units assumed their independent forms through a gradual process of expansion and contraction. But on the whole it remained approximately bounded by the empire of Delhi in the north, north-east and east, the province of Malwa in the south-west, Gujarat in the south and Uchh, Dipalpur and Multan in the west. It is now enclosed within the space of nearly 8° of latitude and 9° of longitude, embracing an area of about 3,50,000 square miles.2

Roughly speaking, Rajasthan in shape is an irregular rhombus presenting a great variety of physical features. The ranges of the Aravallis stretch from north to south-east in the midst of the great desert of the west, the cultivated plains of north-east and the prosperous plateau of the south-west. The river systems of north-eastern and south-western slopes contain the rich valleys and fertile and populous parts of Rajasthan.3

These geographical features have, to a large extent, determined the political boundaries and settlements of Rajasthan and affected the social, cultural and economic life of the people. The hilly regions offered facilities for complete military protection against attacks and provided strongholds for organizing defence. The desert areas also helped in securing refuge against the invaders. The physical surroundings of the region nourished a resolute, enduring and audacious

IHRC — Indian Historical Records Commission.
JASB — Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Jain Lekha Sangraha — P. C. Nahar, Jain Lekha Sangraha.
JARI — Jaipur Alwar Rajya-ka-Ithas—Gahilot.
Minhaj — Minhajus Siraj, Tabaqat-i Nasiri.
Nizamuddin — Tabaqat-i Akbari by Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhsh.
Rasmala — Forbes, Rasmala.
SBLU — Saraswati Bhashan Library, Udaipur.
SJGM — Singhot Jain Granth Mala.
SRI — Sirohi Rajya-ka-Ithas.
URI — Udaipur Rajya-ka-Ithas.
Vir Vinod — Kaviraja Shyamaldas, Vir Vinod.

2 Tod, Annals, p. 1.
3 Ibid., 7-15.
spirit, which enabled its inhabitants to hold out against their enemies, even when they were reduced to great straits. This feeling of security—the insularity of Rajasthan—has been the dominating fact of its history. It is true that its homeland as well as its border territories were often exposed to invasions during the period under review, but it is equally true that from the Arab invasions up to the beginning of the sixteenth century no invader succeeded in completely conquering it. The abundance of luxuriant vegetation, the peaceful atmosphere of the fertile valleys and productive land of the plateau have also contributed to the cultural development of Rajasthan.

RAJASTHAN AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

Towards the end of the fourteenth century of the Christian era the empire of Delhi had been reduced to meagre dimensions, while the provincial governors or maqtas, taking advantage of the chaotic state of the country, consolidated their territorial resources and declared themselves independent. Thus province after province separated itself from the Delhi sultanat. During this state of rapid disintegration and reintegration, various Rajput clans, among whom may be included the Guhilots, Chauhans, Rathors, Kachhwahas, Hadas, etc., who were exercising their political influence in different regions of Rajasthan, exerted their strength against the rulers of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat, although they were then too disunited to establish an empire or kingdom of Rajasthan. Of course, rulers like Rana Kumbha, Raja Jodha and Rana Sanga organized powerful states of their own, patronized arts and letters and asserted their military power against the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms and, later on, against the Mughals.

THE GUHILOTS OF MEWAR, BAPA RAWAL

The earliest Rajput clan, which is said to have migrated from Gujarat and dominated the south-western part of Rajasthan in the seventh century A.D., was that of the Guhilots. The importance of this clan was due, in the first instance, to its stability, for it outlived the eight centuries during which India was dominated by Delhi; but it also won honour and glory by the prolonged and determined resistance which it offered to Turkish aggression.

In the illustrious dynasty of Mewar the name of Bapa Rawal occupies a pre-eminent place. Starting with the occupation of the territory in and around Nagda, a small town fourteen miles to the north of Udaipur, he succeeded in capturing the fort of Chitor from Man Mori (the last king of the Mori line) with the blessings of Harita, a Pashupata saint. He is credited by the Khyats for having success-
fully repelled the attacks of an Arab general, probably Junaid. After living a long life of heroic efforts to extend his dominion far and wide, he retired in favour of his son, became a Shaivite recluse and died at a ripe old age. 4

Bapa's descendant, Khumman II (A.D. 812-36), maintained the warlike reputation of his predecessor in the ninth century by making a common cause with the rulers of Gujarat in checking the Arab expansion beyond Multan and Sindh during the caliphate of Mamun Rashid. 5

During the four centuries that followed, the Guhilots of Mewar had occasionally to face reverses at the hands of their powerful neighbours, the Chauhan kings of Sambhar, the Paramara kings of Malwa and the Chalukyas of Gujarat. 6 Ahar, their new capital near Udaipur, was occupied by Vakpatiraja II, the Chauhan king of Sambhar. 7 There was also a temporary occupation of Chitor by Munja II, the Paramara king of Malwa. 8 However, the Guhilots did not submit meekly but remained restive and gathered their strength slowly and steadily. The defeat of Prithviraja Chauhan by Mu'izzuddin Ghuri and the weakness of the kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa offered a favourable opportunity to Jaitra Singh (1213-61) to consolidate his own power and shake off completely the ascendancy of rival princes. He tried to check the advance of the Turks towards Rajasthan; but Ilutmish destroyed Nagda and this compelled Jaitra Singh to make Chitor the seat of the government. 9

Alaudeen's attack on Chitor in 1303 has been described in a previous chapter. Amir Khusran, who was personally present, says that two frontal attacks on the fort failed. Then, for some unknown reason, possibly an epidemic in the fort, Rana Ratan Singh came out of the fort, submitted and was forgiven. The heir-apparent, Khizr Khan, was given nominal charge of Mewar, but Malik Shahin, the naib-i barbek, was given real administrative responsibility. Malik Shahin, however, fled to Rai Karan in Gujarat, and Alaudeen assigned Chitor to Rana

4 Nensis's Khvat, f. 2(b): Shisod Vamshavali, f. 7b.
5 Rawal Ranaji—ri-vat, f. 5(b); Tod, Annals, Vol. I, 294.
6 Dynastic History of Northern India, II, 1153-63.
7 Prithviraja Vijaya, vv, 55-60.
Maldeva, who had been in his service and was the son of Rana Ratan Singh's sister (Brigg's Ferishta).

What happened to Chitor after the death of Maldeva is not clear. Perhaps tribal jealousies flared up, and Jaisa, a son of the deceased chief, fled to Delhi to seek the help of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. According to the Rajput bards the Sultan led an expedition to Chitor but was defeated and taken prisoner by Hamir. For various reasons this appears to be quite impossible. What may be justly presumed is that, taking advantage of the dynastic revolution at Delhi, Hamir (1326-64) occupied Chitor, ousted the Chauhans and laid the foundation of the Sisodia rule there.10 Not only this, he also helped Devi Singh Hada to expel the Minas and occupy Bundi.11 He consolidated his power and extended the frontiers of his kingdom. His influence and leadership were recognized by the rulers of Marwar, Amber and others as far as Gwalior, Raisen, Chanderi and Kalpi.12 He left a name which is still honoured for gallantry and valour of a very high order.

Hamir13 bequeathed a strong kingdom to his son, Kshetra Singh, who succeeded him about the year 1364. He worthy upheld the family reputation by capturing and annexing Ajmer, Jahazpur, Mandalgarh and Chhappan, and by obtaining a victory over Dilawar Khan Ghuri of Malwa. He also subjugated the Hadas of Hadavati.14

LAKHA (1382-1421)

Lakha mounted the throne of Chitor in 1382. His first act was the subjugation of the mountainous region of Marwar and the destruction of the frontier chiefs. He vanquished the Mers and Bhils of Chhappan, defeated the Sankhala Rajputs of Nagarchal at Amber and captured the Badnor region.15 He maintained the traditional hostility towards the Turks. Luck also favoured him for during his reign silver and lead mines were discovered at Jawar, which substantially strengthened the financial resources of the state. The wealth of the mines was utilized by him in rebuilding the temples and palaces, which had been levelled with the ground by Alauddin Khalji, and in constructing dams to form reservoirs and lakes. The Pichchola lake of Udaipur was excavated

10 Mahavirswnami Inscription, Chitor, V.S. 1495 (A.D. 1438), BSS, Vol. 23, 50.
11 Nensi's Khayat, f. 23.
12 Ojha, Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas, I, 233-43.
13 'Hamir' is the correct Rajasthan pronunciation, but Persian histories write it as 'Hamir' and this spelling has been adopted in the preceding chapters. I have written 'Hamir' in the text but 'Hamir' in the footnotes.
14 Kumbhalgarh Inscription, v. 198; Eklinga Inscriptions, v. 31; Bhavanagar Inscription, 119; Shringirishi Inscription, v. 7.
15 Eklinga Inscription, v. 35; Bhavanagar Inscription, 119; Chitor Inscription, v. 38; EI., Vol. 2, 415-16.
during his reign. He is known to have erected massive strongholds and ramps for organizing his military power. During his reign, two important Sanskrit poets, Jhoti Bhatta and Dhaneshwara Bhatta, lived at his court. Of Lakha’s numerous progeny, Chunda, the eldest, was his heir, but on account of strange circumstances he had to forgo his right of succession to the gaddi. Once the Rathor chief, Rao Ranmal of Mandor, sent an offer of his sister for Chunda, the heir of Mewar. Chunda being absent at the time, Rana Lakha in jest remarked that such an offer could not be meant for an old greybeard like himself. When the harmless jest was reported to the crown-prince, he declined the match. Thereupon the old Rana accepted the offer on condition that the male issue from the Rathor princess should succeed him. Chunda willingly and selflessly resigned his birth-right. In recognition of the voluntary sacrifice made by Chunda in renouncing his claim to the throne of Mewar, the Rana conferred upon him the privilege of the first place in the councils of the state and authorized him to superadd his symbol, the lance, on all deeds of grant. The Rawats of Salumber, the lineal descendants of Chunda, long held this right in memory of their filial respect of the great hero.

MOKAL (1421-33)

Mokal succeeded his father in 1421 at the age of twelve, and for a time Chunda conducted all public affairs on behalf of his minor brother with skill and devotion. But polygamy proved to be a fertile source of trouble. Hansa Bai, the queen-mother, watched the growing influence of Chunda with a suspicious and jealous eye; and regarding herself as the natural guardian of her minor son, she doubted the integrity of Chunda. And Chunda, out of regard for the feelings of his step-mother, retired to the court of Mandu, where he was welcomed with honour.

The queen-mother, then, invited Ranmal, her brother, from Marwar to take up the reins of the government in his hands on behalf of Mokal, the minor ruler. Ranmal took charge of the administration and conferred all high posts upon his own clansmen and numerous followers. Thus it appeared that Mewar was completely under the tutelage of the Rathors.

While Ranmal was attending to the business of the administration,

19 Ibid., 272.
Mokal was strengthening his territory by waging continuous wars against his enemies. He undertook an expedition to Nagaur and won a victory at Rampura over Firuz Khan about 1428. He overran the territories of Sambhar and Jalor. He is said to have succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. He also besieged the fort of Jahazpur and humbled the pride of the Hadas.20

Mewar not only became a great power during the reign of Mokal; the period was also marked by considerable intellectual and artistic activities. Mokal repaired the temple of Samidheshwara at Chitor, a magnificent relic of Rajput art. He constructed the ramparts around the Eklinga temple. The epigraphs of his time record benefactions to several temples of Shiva, Vishnu and Shakti. As a pious follower of Brahmanism, he constructed a beautiful tank at Papamochan Tirtha and celebrated tuladans of gold, silver and precious jewels. The famous sculptors, Mana, Fanna and Visal, flourished in Mewar under royal patronage. A scholar, Yogeshwar, better known as Kaviraj Vanivilas, and another scholar, Bhatta Vishnu, adorned his court with their learning. He took a great interest in the teaching of the Vedas to the Brahmans and established a seminary for the purpose.21

Towards the close of his life, Mokal’s enemies became very strong and powerful. As the result of a well-planned conspiracy, when he was busy quelling a revolt in the region of the western hills, he was murdered in cold blood by his uncles, Chacha and Mera, the natural sons of Kshetra Singh.22

KUMBHA (1433-68)

Mokal was succeeded by his son, Kumbha, in the year 1433. Kumbha’s first task was to punish Chacha and Mera along with their fellow-conspirators. Ranmal, the brother of Hansa Bai, who had recovered the throne of Marwar with the help of Mokal, came to Mewar with 500 horsemen to avenge the murder of his benefactor. He started with the Sisodia and Rathor contingents in pursuit of the assassins towards the Pai hills. Luckily he got the cooperation of a Bhil chief, who enabled him to trace the culprits in that inaccessible region. The zeal and intrepidity of his followers enabled him to capture the offenders, who were put to the sword. Many of their followers either shared the fate of their leaders or fell into the chains of bondage. The valiant Rathor took Chacha’s daughter to wife and reserved 500

20 Mokal Inscription, V.S. 1485, v. 51; Shringirishi Inscription, v. 14; Kumbhalgarh Inscription, v. 221; Dakshinadwara Inscription, v. 43.
girls, who had fallen into his hands, for distribution among his favourites.  

Raghadeva, brother of Chunda, who was assisting the Rana in conducting the administration of the state, did not like the idea of enslaving these innocent girls. He, therefore, removed the maidens to his own camp and organised a party of nobles to free the state from the growing menace of the Rathors. Ranmal, on his part, devised a plan to put an end to Raghadeva's life. One day the latter was invited to a darbar, where he was given a robe of honour. As he was putting it on, his arms became entangled with the sleeves, and he was cut to pieces then and there by Ranmal's men.

The murder of Raghadeva sent a thrill of horror through the entire state and naturally excited the jealousy of the chiefs of Mewar. Ranmal's overbearing action was taken to indicate an attempt to reduce the influence of the Rana and to ensure the dominance of the Rathor bureaucracy. In order to remove Ranmal from his position of authority, Chunda was invited to come back to his land and save it from the clutches of the Rathors. Chunda started immediately in response to this invitation, and on reaching Chitor, he removed the Rathor outposts from the neighbourhood of the fort. In the meantime the chiefs of Mewar, who were jealous of the Rathors, hatched a plot with the help of a fair maid, named Bharmali, with whom Ranmal was in love. She tied Ranmal to his bed with his turban at a time when he was quite intoxicated; he was then shot dead by those who were apprehensive of their position and the future of their country. Thus Rathor interference in Mewar politics came to an end.

**Kumbha's Wars and Conquests**

Having secured his power at home, Kumbha turned his attention to conquests. The warlike activities of the Sisodia house reached their zenith under him. The contemporary inscriptions discovered at Chitor, Kumbhalgarh, Ranpur and literary works, like the *Eklingamahatmya*, throw a flood of light on his exploits. He vanquished his enemies, reduced them to submission and added parts

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26 *Kirtisthmamhtha Inscription*, vv. 11, 12, 18-23, 150, 187, etc.
27 Kumbhalgarh Inscription, vv. 262-64.
28 *Ranpur Inscription, Bhavanagar Inscription*, 114.
29 *Eklingamahatmya, Rajavarnana*, vv. 1-304.
of their territories to his kingdom. Places like Virnadavati (Bundi), Hadavati (Kota), Chatsu, Malpura, Amradadi (Amber), Nardiyanagar (Narwar), Naraina, Giripur (Dungarpur) and Sarangpur were conquered by him and then returned to their rulers, who acknowledged his suzerainty or at least remained within the sphere of his political influence. He annexed Sapadalaksha (Sambhar), Didwana, Mandor, Nagaur, Ranthambhor, Sirohi, Gagraun, Abu, Mandalgarh, Ajayameru (Ajmer) and Toda. Places which fell within the jurisdiction of Mewar but showed signs of independence, e.g., Yagnapur (Jahazpur), Yogini-pur (Jawar), Vardhavan (Badnor) and Hamirpur (Hamirgarh) were taken after continued fighting. These expeditions resulted in the acquisition of immense wealth; Rana Kumbha won a reputation for victories over the enemies of his state and established garrisons on the frontiers of his kingdom.30

**Kumbhi’s Relations with Malwa**

When Kumbha ascended the throne, Malwa had attained to considerable power under Mahmud Khalji I. Malwa offered shelter to the chiefs of Mewar, who had some grievance or other against their own state. Thus Chunda, Ajia and Mahpa Panwar were received with open arms by the government of Malwa.31 The growing power of Malwa naturally did not look favourably towards the Rana’s assertion of suzerainty over Haraoti, Mandasor, Gagraun and other Rajput principalities of the border, which had once acknowledged the authority of Malwa. Moreover, Kumbha’s efficient garrisoning of his frontier outposts added to the Sultan’s anxiety. Further, a promise by the Rana to help Umar Khan to get the throne of Malwa from Mahmud Khalji was taken as an indication of hostile intentions of the Rana towards the Sultan.

The leaders of both kingdoms made no secret of their ambitions and were in search of some pretext for open hostility. The opportunity came when the Rana made a demand for the person of Mahpa Panwar, one of the assassins of Mokal, who had sought shelter with the Sultan. Mahmud, thinking that Mewar was in a state of turmoil owing to the rivalry between the Sisodias and Rathors, declined to surrender the refugee; and this refusal was taken as a signal for war. Immediately both armies moved forward and met in 1437 near Sarangpur, and a severe engagement ended in the utter rout of the Sultan’s forces. According to Rajasthan bardic traditions, which find confirmation in Ranpur and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions, the Rana burnt down Sarang-

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31 According to the historians of Malwa they were given jagirs within the state.
pur, captured countless captives, laid siege to Mandu and carried Mahmud as prisoner of war to Chitor. In commemoration of this victory he is said to have erected the triumphal pillar—Jaistambha—in the fort of Chitor.32

Mahmud Khalji was kept a prisoner in Bhakshi for a period of six months, after which on account of the Rana’s generosity, he was sent back to his kingdom. According to some writers this was an act of misplaced generosity due to lack of political insight, because Sultan Mahmud after regaining his freedom embarked on a ceaseless war of revenge against Mewar. But, in fact, the Rana acted wisely as it was not possible for him to keep control over Malwa for a longer time.

This defeat at the hands of Rana Kumbha continually rankled in the mind of Sultan Mahmud and he took full five years in making preparations to avenge the insult to which he had been subjected. There was some confusion in Mewar in 1438 after the murder of Ranmal; in 1441 Khem Karan, the brother of the Rana, was expelled from Mewar and found an asylum at Mandu; and in 1442 Sultan Mahmud marched against Mewar. He directed his first attack on the fort of Kumbhalgarh, which was repulsed by a desperate action of the Rajputs. Having failed to make any impression on the fort itself, the Sultan led an assault on the temple of Bhanmata, which was situated at the foot of the hill. The temple was properly garrisoned and could not be occupied immediately; but after seven days of heroic defence under the command of Dip Singh, the temple fell into the hands of the Sultan. It was razed to the ground and the images were burnt to ashes. The entire force then moved to Chitor; but here the stubborn resistance of the Rajputs made victory impossible. After all the inconvenience he had to face in crossing the hilly tracts of Mewar, the Sultan retreated back to his own capital.33

Owing to the repeated failures of the Malwa army, the Sultan began to feel that the attempt to conquer Mewar was a perilous enterprise. The physical features of the region and its great distance from Mandu made the permanent subjugation of Mewar impossible. Mahmud, therefore, decided to change his plan of action. He gave up the policy of attempting to penetrate into the interior of Mewar, but tried to occupy the border areas of Malwa, which were merely within Mewar’s sphere of political influence. With a grim determination he

32 Rampur Inscription, V.S. 1496 (A.D. 1439), lines 17-18; Kumbhalgarh Inscription, vv. 268-70; Nensi’s Khyat, f. 178a; Vir Vinod, Vol. I, 320. (There are pillars of victory both at Chitor and at Mandu. For an alternative interpretation see U. N. Day’s Chapter on Malwa — Editor.)

led his forces in 1444 against the Khichis of Gagraun, who had acknowledged the Rana’s suzerainty. The boldness and vigour of the Sultan’s army brought success and the fort was occupied within a week. Two years later he proceeded against the fort of Ranthambhor and put it under the command of Saifuddin.34

Emboldened by his success, the Sultan proceeded towards Ajmer in 1455 and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Gajadhar, governor of Ajmer. Saif Khan was appointed governor on behalf of Malwa and the attendants of the holy place were rewarded. After the border areas had been brought under the control of the Sultan and his line of communication had been properly guarded, better success attended his arms in his last expedition against Mandalgarh in 1457. The idols of the temples were overthrown and treated with indignity, and mosques were constructed from the material of the temples. After making necessary arrangements for the administration of the fort, Mahmud returned to his capital.35

**Relations of Kumbha with Gujarat**

During the confusion that followed the repeated and pressing offensive wars of Mahmud, Sultan Qutbuddin of Gujarat marched towards Mewar at the head of a large army on the pretext of avenging the wrong done to Shams Khan of Nagaur. The Deora chief of Sirohi also attended upon Qutbuddin on the way and appealed for his help in recovering the fortress of Abu, which had been forcibly seized from him by Rana Kumbha. The Sultan deputed Malik Shaban to lay siege to Abu and hand it over to the Deora chief, but the Rana’s forces rendered all his attempts futile. The Sultan, on his part, failed to recover Nagaur for Shams Khan. He laid waste the Rana’s territory in his rage and returned to his capital.36

On returning to his capital, Qutbuddin received a proposal from Mahmud Khalji for joint action against the Rana; the two sultans were to ravage those parts of the Rana’s territory which adjoined their dominions. The suggestion of a treaty to this effect was favourably received by Qutbuddin and in response to it the forces of Gujarat marched towards Kumbhalgarh in 1457. Mahmud, on his part, moved towards Mandor in order to invest the fort of Mandalgarh. From the account of Ferishta and the Kumbhalgarh inscription it appears that

34 *Ma’asir-i Mahmudshahi*, ff. 135b, 137a-b, 138b; *Zafirul Walih*, 199, cited in the chapter in this work on ‘The Independent Kingdom of Malwa’.
prolonged sieges and hardships exhausted the patience of both sultans, and they decided to retire to their capitals.\textsuperscript{37}

One cannot fail to observe that in these wars Rana Kumbha generally followed a defensive policy while the policy of the sultans of Malwa and Gujarat was offensive. The reason is not far to seek. The position of the Rana was difficult because he had to face internal disturbances as well as foreign invasions; in particular the Rathors headed by Jodha were a constant thorn in his side. He could not take the offensive against Malwa and Gujarat, but it must be said in his favour that, in spite of these prolonged wars, he did not lose an inch of his patrimonial kingdom and that the contest was left unfinished. The hostile relations between Rana Kumbha and the two sultans were left as an inheritance to their successors.

\textit{Kumbha's Achievements}

Kumbha was not only great in war, he was also great in the arts of peace. He was an accomplished scholar, learned in sacred lore, a poet of the highest order and a patron of learning. He was equally at home in logic, philosophy, mathematics, political science, grammar, metaphysics and general literature. The authorship of the commentary on \textit{Gita Govind}, named \textit{Rasika Priya}, and the last part of the \textit{Eklingamahatyam} have been attributed to him. There are references in contemporary records which lead us to conclude that four dramas were written by him. He had a good command of the Sanskrit, Prakrit, Karnatuki, Medapati and Maharashtri languages, and made extensive use of them in his writings. He was an excellent musician and possessed a knowledge of the science of music, which was unequalled in his time. He was an accomplished player on the \textit{vina}; his works, like \textit{Sangitaraja}, \textit{Sangita Minansa}, \textit{Sudprabandha} and \textit{Sangita Ratnakar}, are evidence of his mastery of the science. A great scholar himself, the Rana was also interested in the promotion of learning. He extended his patronage to Atri and Mahesh, the celebrated composers of the inscription of the Tower of Victory.\textsuperscript{38}

He took great interest in architecture and was an enthusiastic builder. In spite of the pressure of constant wars, he found time for beneficent undertakings. He repopulated Vasantapur, and built several palaces, monasteries, inns and schools. He dug several lakes for irrigation purposes as well as stepped wells and reservoirs for storing water.


\textsuperscript{38} Eklingamahatmya Rajvarnana, vv. 172-73; Kiritishambha Inscription, vv. 157-68, 191-92.
He constructed Kirtisthambha in Chitor, a monument of his genius and superb architectural taste. During his reign the temples of Sringar Chori, Kumbhashyam, Chaturmukha Vihar, etc. were constructed; they reveal the art of stone-building, sculpture, design and execution in its perfection.\(^{39}\)

His architectural capacity was also manifested in the construction of a line of gigantic forts, which are the highest achievements of his military and constructive genius. Forts like Kumbhalgarh, Achalgarh, Machan, Kolana, Vairat, etc. were constructed to strengthen the defences of Mewar and also to protect his frontiers against the Mers and the Bhils of Aravalli. He also strengthened the defences of Chitor and built seven of its gates and a road leading up the hill. Numerous artisans were employed by the state of whom Jaita, Napa, Punja, Dipa, etc. were well known. The chief architect of the state was Mandan, who was not only a qualified artisan but was also a great writer of books on architecture and sculpture.\(^{40}\)

It is a sad irony of fate that such an accomplished ruler should become the victim of a wanton assassination contrived in 1468 by Uda, 'the inordinately tyrannical son of Kumbha who bore wild ambition and passion'. Such was the end of Kumbha, who left behind him a name which is honoured in history and is remembered to this day as one of the greatest rulers of Hindu India.

**UDA (1468-73)**

On his accession to the throne in 1468, Uda found himself in a difficult situation. The nobles could not forget the murder of Rana Kumbha and secretly plotted to avenge it. Being helpless at home, Uda looked abroad for assistance to maintain his position. He handed over Abu to the Deora chief of Sirohi and bestowed Sambar, Ajmer and the adjacent districts on the ruler of Jodhpur to make sure of his help against his own kinsmen. The disaffected nobles of Mewar, in order to get rid of the patricide, invited Raimal, the younger brother of Uda, from Idar to Mewar. When in response to this invitation Raimal reached the hilly region of Chhappan, Uda tried to oppose his progress at various places like Jawar, Dadimpur, Javi, Pangarh and Chitor. But when Uda at last suffered a severe defeat at the capital, he made off for Sojat with some money and a few horses.

\(^{39}\) Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1907-8, 205, 211; History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 241-42; Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XXIII, 118; Sarda, Maharana Kumbha, 146-62.

\(^{40}\) Kirtisthambha Inscription, 8-10, 34-42; Kumbhalgarh Inscription, vv. 184-241; Qiba, Udaipur Rajya-ka Itihas, Vol. I, 308-12; Dr. R. P. Tripathi: Rajputs of Northern India (Ms.), 82-88.
Finding his position insecure in Marwar also, he left for the court of Mandu to seek the help of the Sultan of Malwa for regaining his authority. But the patricide, who was not destined to enjoy the sovereignty of Mewar again, was struck dead by a sudden stroke of lightning. His reign had lasted only for five years.41

RAIMAL (1473-1508)

Though Raimal had been successful in wresting the sceptre from the impious hands of his murderer-brother in 1473, he was not recognized as the rightful heir to the throne by a certain section of the nobles. Sahasmal and Surajmal, the two sons of the patricide, were also secretly plotting to avenge the defeat of their father. Another Surajmal, a son of Kshema Singh and a grandson of Rana Mokal, who had effectively brought under his sway the distant territory of Sadri, was also cherishing the dream of capturing the supreme authority for himself. During this period of crisis Raimal acted with commendable energy and ability. In order to meet the danger from his nephews, he strengthened himself by matrimonial alliances with his immediate neighbours. He gave one daughter in marriage to the Yadu chief of Girnar, and bestowed another daughter on the Deora chief of Sirohi. These early measures restored order in the state and re-established the moral prestige of the monarchy.

But such alliances could not make Mewar safe from external attacks. Taking advantage of the mutual jealousies and quarrels among the members of the royal family, Sultan Ghiasuddin of Malwa took up the cause of the sons of the deceased Uda and laid siege to the fort of Chitor. The Rana faced the invading army of Malwa with vigour and courage, and compelled the Sultan to raise the siege and return to Mandu. This was followed by an invasion of Malwa by the Rana, which caused damage and disorder on the frontier of Ghiasuddin’s kingdom.42

To avenge these defeats, Sultan Ghiasuddin sent an army under Zafar Khan to reduce the region of Mandalgarh. Zafar relentlesslv ravaged the eastern part of Mewar, but the forces sent by the Rana and headed by the princes, Prithviraja, Jaimal, and Sanga and by some chosen chiefs like Ram Singh, Patta, Kandhal, etc., fell upon the army of the Sultan and completely defeated it.43 Another expedition against Chitor led by Sultan Nasiruddin, successor of Ghiasuddin,

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42 Dakshinadwara Inscription, vv. 68-71, Bhavanagar Inscriptions, 121; Day, Medieval Malwa, 224.
43 Dakshinadwara Inscription, vv. 77-78, Bhavanagar Inscription, 121.
also met a similar fate in 1503. Thus the Rana walked in the footsteps of his forefathers; he was prepared for the hostility of the neighbouring state of Malwa and carried on a constant strife with Sultan Ghiyasuddin, whom he defeated in several pitched battles.

As to Raimal’s relations with the Lodi dynasty, there were a few skirmishes on his northern frontiers. But Mewar continued to enjoy external prestige because of the absence of any paramount all-India power or a formidable enemy who could either interfere effectively or utilize the internal differences within the kingdom to his own advantage. Sultan Sikander was too preoccupied for the affairs of the interior of Rajasthan.

Though Raimal faced the hostility of the Muslim states with success, he was unable to find a solution for the family feuds and dissensions which seriously threatened the internal security of the state. These dissensions centered round the ambitious plans of the princes of the blood royal. The four sons of Raimal—namely, Prithviraja, Jaimal, Jai Singh and Sanga—were characteristically brave and ambitious and had their separate dreams for acquiring the sovereignty of Mewar. Prithviraja had been nominated by his father as his successor owing to his great gifts and accomplishment; the title of ‘Maharaja-kunwar’ had been conferred upon him along with the fiefs of Godwad and Kumbhalgarh. This aroused the jealousy of Sanga, who was a man of intellect and sound judgement. But the chances of Sanga’s succession to the throne seemed remote as his brothers, Jaimal and Jai Singh, stood between him and Prithviraja. Sanga could only have the claims of these two princes put aside if he won over a section of the sardars and they pronounced Jaimal and Jai Singh unworthy of the throne because they were addicted to pleasures and sport. His plan of acquiring power also could not succeed unless Prithviraja, the heir-designate of Raimal, who commanded the respect and esteem of the nobility, was got rid of.

Fortunately Sanga found in Surajmal, a son of Kshema Singh and a grandson of Rana Mokal, another ambitious prince, who was trying to make himself the independent ruler of the south-eastern part of Mewar. Sanga and Surajmal made common cause against Prithviraja and Jaimal, and harboured designs of usurping the throne at a favourable moment. Prithviraja, on his part, was making his power stronger by consolidating his authority over territories, which were under his control.

44 Ferishta, Vol. IV, 243.
45 Vir Vinod, I, 337.
46 Bhavanagar Inscriptions, 141.
47 Sarda, Maharana Sanga, 15.
These dissensions for power among the four princes became an open secret. If tradition is to be believed, once all the four brothers along with Surajmal decided to entrust their future to an omen. They, therefore, repaired to the abode of Charna Devi, near Nahar Nagra. Prithviraja and Jaimal, who were confident of their position, entered the shrine first and seated themselves on a pallet; Sanga followed them and took his seat on the panther's hide of the goddess. Surajmal, the accomplice of Sanga, squatted with one knee resting on the same panther's hide which was occupied by Sanga. Before the disclosure of the mission by the princes, the sybil predicted the sovereignty for Sanga and a portion of it for his uncle. This prediction made Prithviraja restless; he drew his sword and aimed it at Sanga to falsify the omen.  

However, Surajmal came to the rescue of Sanga, who lost one of his eyes in the duel. This story may not be accepted as historically correct, but it at least suggests that both Surajmal and Sanga were conspiring against their rivals and were prepared to fulfil their ambitions by some kind of treachery.

In consequence of these quarrels, Sanga went into exile to save his life and wandered about among goat-herds and peasants. Then he went to Ajmer and took service with Karam Chand Pramara of Sringar. When his identity was revealed, the Pramara chief offered him the hand of his daughter and promised him all possible assistance. For the other princes the prospections were not at all bright. Jaimal, who was insistent for the hand of the daughter of Rao Surtan, was killed by him. Surajmal was compelled to leave Mewar. Prithviraja, who had been banished by his father, had to come back to attend to the businesses of the state on behalf of his father, who was disgusted at the declining condition of his dynasty. Unfortunately Prithviraja also met a sad end; he was treacherously poisoned by his brother-in-law, Jagmal of Sirohi. Under these unhappy circumstances Rimal died in 1508, nominating Jai Singh as his successor.  

**Rana Sanga (1508-28)**

It seems from the account of Nensi that the sardars passed Jai Singh over and managed to recall Sanga, the exiled prince, during the illness of the Rana. After Rimal's death in 1508, the destiny of

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Mewar came into the hands of Sangram Singh I, popularly known as Rana Sanga. Sanga did not find the throne of Mewar a bed of roses. The struggle between the brothers had adversely affected the financial and military resources of the state, and the sultans of Malwa, Gujarat and Delhi were making preparations to invade the kingdom. But the new Rana was well-suited to face the crisis. He was a distinguished warrior, an able general, an indefatigable organizer and a calculating politician. By nature and upbringing he was ambitious. Not content with the traditional glory and glamour of his ancestors, he further enhanced the prestige of his dynasty by rallying many rajas and rais under the crimson banner of the Sisodias.

Sanga's relations with Malwa and Gujarat

Inspired by such ambition and determination, Rana Sanga opened his career with fair prospects of success. The internal troubles, which had been brewing for some time in Malwa, turned to his advantage. Medini Rai, a Purbiya Rajput chief who had been instrumental in securing the throne of Malwa for Mahmud Khalji II and who had been working loyally and faithfully as the chief minister of the state, came to be suspected by his master and the Muslim nobles for the simple reason that he was conducting the administration very efficiently with the help of his Rajput associates. The exasperated Muslim nobles and the Sultan made an unsuccessful attempt to have Medini assassinated. This was followed by a revolt of the Purbiya Rajputs. Alarmed at the growing strength of the minister, the Sultan fled to Gujarat to seek the help of Muzaffar Shah II. Muzaffar responded readily and escorted Mahmud back to Mandu in 1517. Meanwhile Medini Rai, after reinforcing the Mandu garrison, had gone to Chitor to secure the assistance of the Rana. The Rana responded to his appeal, and took Gagraun, Bhilsa, Raisen, Sarangpur and Chanderi under his protection. Though he could not save Mandu from falling into the hands of the Gujarat army, he was successful in defeating a Malwa force which tried to regain Gagraun in 1518. In the course of this battle Mahmud Khalji II was wounded and taken as a prisoner to Chitor. Owing to this victory Malwa lay at the feet of the Rana. But as its annexation would have given rise to serious inter-state complications and created difficult administrative problems, the Rana very wisely treated the Sultan with Rajput magnanimity and attended to his wounds in person. After Mahmud had recovered, he was sent back to Mandu; the Rana was content to take his belt and crown as a trophy of victory. Kalpi, Bhilsa, Ranthambhor, Sarangpur and Chanderi were sliced off from Malwa and handed over to their old governors, who acknowledged the Rana as
their protector. Sanga also kept a son of the Sultan at his court as a surety for his future friendly conduct.50

The growing influence of Mewar and the power of the Rajputs in Malwa was not liked by Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat, and he was in search of some pretext for a direct conflict with Sanga. The opportunity came in connection with the succession question of Idar. On the death of Surajmal, his minor son, Raimal, and his nephew, Bhar Mal, both claimed the throne of Idar. Rana Sanga supported the cause of Raimal, while the Sultan of Gujarat supported Bhar Mal. The Gujarat army at first succeeded in driving Raimal from Idar, but in 1517 Raimal reoccupied Idar with the Rana's help. In order to achieve a definite success against Raimal, Muzaffar Shah placed Mubarrizul Mulk at the head of the Gujarat army. This made war almost inevitable. In 1520 the Rana invaded Idar, drove out Mubarrizul Mulk and, chasing him up to the walls of Ahmadnagar, defeated the Gujarat army there. He plundered Ahmadnagar and Visalnagar, established his protege in Idar and then returned to Chitor.51

Next winter (1520) Muzaffar Shah raised a very large army, which some historians have put at the impossible figure of one hundred thousand horsemen, to retrieve his prestige. The supreme command was entrusted to Malik Ayaz, the semi-independent governor of Junagarh. Ayaz mobilized the gigantic war-machine, which on its way ravaged and burnt Dungarpur and Banswara and besieged Mandasor. Here he was joined by Mahmud II of Malwa, who was equally anxious to retrieve his honour and recover his territory.52

Undeterred by the fighting strength of the two kingdoms, Rana Sanga came forward with a large army and encamped at Nandsa, ten miles from Mandasor. His plan was apparently to wait and see whether the Muslim army would make an assault on Mandasor or move forward for battle. Meanwhile in the Muslim camp counsels were divided between Ayaz, the general of the Gujarat forces, and Qawamul Mulk, commander of the Malwa army. Malik Ayaz preferred an immediate action against the Rana, while Qawamul Mulk desired to capture the Mandasor fort before tackling the Rana. There was also a difference as to which party should take possession of the Mandasor fort, after it had been captured. Rana Sanga probably knew of the differences of opinion between Ayaz and Qawamul Mulk.

50 Baburnama, f. 205; Ferishta, II, 564; Mir'at-i Sikandari (P.T.), Vol. I, 166, 167, 192; Mir'at Ahmadi, 105; Jagannath Rai Inscription; Rai Ratnakar, f. 32; Amar Kavya Vamshavali, f. 30; Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Rajputs of Northern India (Ms.), 105.
51 Mir'at-i Sikandari (P.T.), Vol. I, 140-50; Mir'at-i Ahmadi (Ms.), 101-08; Amar Kavya Vamshavali, f. 30; Forbes, Rasmala, 382-90; Bayley, 252-70.
52 Briggs, Vol. IV, 90-95; Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Rajputs of Northern India (Ms.), 106.
The Rana, on his part, did not desire a decisive conflict for various reasons. The policy of the Lodis in eastern Rajasthan had been hostile and Ibrahim Lodi was anxious to push his authority at least as far as Ajmer and Ranthambhor. Moreover, the situation in northern India was very uncertain as Babur had opened his campaigns on the frontiers of the Punjab. It was, therefore, necessary for the Rana to maintain his full fighting strength and not risk his men and material in a premature engagement.

Since Ayaz and the Rana were both in favour of a settlement, negotiations were conducted in a friendly spirit. An agreement was reached according to which the Rana was to send a handsome present to the Sultan of Gujarat along with a son, who was to live in Gujarat as a hostage; he also undertook to maintain peace and amity with the Gujarat kingdom. Mahmud of Malwa had the satisfaction of welcoming back his son, who had been detained as a hostage at the court of the Rana. The vagueness of the terms and the easy conditions of settlement show that both parties were anxious for peace. The Sultan of Gujarat took the settlement coldly as there was nothing in it for him to enthuse over; but as the Rana sent some gifts to him he was reconciled. It seems that this settlement enormously increased the influence of Rana Sanga at the court of Gujarat; this is proved by the fact that the Shahzadas, Bahadur, Chand Khan and Ibrahim, repaired to Chitor in 1524 to seek the Rana’s help against the intrigues of Sikandar, the crown-prince.\(^{53}\)

The Rana had hardly made his peace with Malwa and Gujarat when Sultan Ibrahim sent against him a large army under the general command of Mian Makhan. Other generals—Mian Husain, Zar Bakhsh, Mian Farmuli and Mian Ma’ruf—were also associated with him. The Rana advanced to meet the Afghan forces and won several pitched battles against them. He created such an impression of his power that Mian Husain Khan decided to join him. Then Ibrahim Lodi came to oppose the Rana in person at Ghatoli; the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter in the battle that followed, and they left a prisoner of the royal blood to grace the triumph of Chitor.\(^{54}\)

Although Rana Sanga had established his fame as one of the greatest warriors of the time and had proved his worth as a ruler and a statesman, he had now to meet Babur, an adversary who proved more than a match for him. Babur’s conquest of north-western India

53 Briggs, Vol. IV, 96; Nizamuddin, III, 184-91; Bayley, 277-78, 304-6; Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Rajputs of Northern India (Ms.), 109-10.

54 Bahurumana, II, 581 and 593; Amar Kanya Vamsahavali, f. 29(b); Vamsahavali, ff. 63, 64; Suryavamsa, f. 49; Vir Vinod, I, 354; Ojha, Udaipur Rajya-ka-Ithhas, Vol. I, 331.
and the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat made it evident that a clash between him and Sanga was inevitable. The decisive character of Babur's victory and his military operations after it had shocked the Rana. He was in search of some pretext for commencing hostilities; so when Hasan Khan Mewati requested him to support the claims of Mahmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim Lodi, against Babur, Sanga readily acceded and lost no time in establishing control over important frontier fortresses, like Kandar near Ranthambhor.\textsuperscript{55} He also moved rapidly to Bayana and drove out the Mughal garrison without any difficulty.\textsuperscript{56} Flushed by these successes, he then moved towards Khanua with an immense army.\textsuperscript{57}

Babur, on his part, watched these developments with undaunted courage and grim determination, though not without considerable anxiety. But as he was fully convinced that Sanga's power was a great obstacle to his scheme of expansion in northern India, he began to make preparations at Agra for an onslaught against the Rana by enlisting new soldiers. As there was no other alternative for him but to fight to the bitter end, he carefully marshalled his forces near Sikri.\textsuperscript{58} The allegation of a breach of faith on the part of Sanga, or of Babur's failure to fulfil his promise of dividing Ibrahim's kingdom between them, is not an adequate reason for the hostility between the two indomitable rivals.\textsuperscript{59} The decisive clash between them is sufficiently explained by their initial successes as well as their opposed economic and political interests. Hasan Mewati and many Indian Musalmans fought on the side of the Rana. The deadly conflict began at about half-past nine on 17 March 1527 at Khanua, and for a considerable period it appeared that the conflict would terminate indecisively. But unfortunately the Rana was severely wounded by an arrow and fainted. He was quickly removed from the battle-field to Baswa, while his place as commander was taken by Raja Rana Ajja, the Chunda of Halwad, who was adorned with the royal \textit{chhattra} and \textit{chaswar} and directed the operations. The advantage of fire-arms joined to the \textit{tulughma} charge as well as his superior generalship brought victory to Babur. The loss of life on the Mughal side was terrible, but the Rajputs also suffered a devastating slaughter.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{55} Baburnama, ff. 234b, 243a.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., ff. 234-35b.
\textsuperscript{57} The village by the side of the Pathpur-Sikri lake is still known by the name of Khanua.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., f. 224a; Amar Kaavya Vamshavali, f. 30b.
\textsuperscript{59} C. N. Sharma, \textit{Mewar and the Mughals}, 20-25, 27.
\textsuperscript{60} Baburnama, ff. 243-50; Amar Kaavya Vamshavali, f. 31; Phuskartia, f. 102; \textit{Mewar-ka-Samkshipta-Ithas}, ff. 141-42; Dr. Tripathi, \textit{Rajputs of Northern India (Ms.)}, 111-13.
When Rana Sanga regained consciousness at Baswa, he learnt that the battle was lost. He vowed never to enter the portals of Chitor till he had defeated his enemy. In memory of the disaster he also gave up wearing his turban and used to wrap a cloth round his head. He fixed his headquarters at Ranthambhor and began to prepare plans for further action. On hearing that Babur was engaged in the siege of Chanderi, he moved to its relief; but while encamped at Erich he was poisoned by some cowardly conspirators, who were afraid of the prospects of a second sanguinary war. As his condition deteriorated, he was taken to Kalpi, where he breathed his last on 30 January 1528. His body was removed to Mandalgarh, where his cremation-place, crowned by a chhatri, can still be seen.61

So far as the expansion of Mughal power was concerned, the consequences of the battle of Khanua were immense; the victory shifted the sovereignty of the country from the Rajputs to the Mughals, who were to enjoy it for over two hundred years. Nevertheless, the battle, so far as the Rajput powers were concerned, was not so destructive as the battle of Tarain between Prithviraja III and Mu’izzuddin Ghuri. Though it weakened the power of the kingdom of Mewar and lowered its general prestige, it did not destroy the grip of the Sisodias over their own kingdom, nor did it affect the social and economic conditions of life in the state.

Sanga was one of the most notable princes of Rajasthan. He had passed his early life in adversity and suffered many reverses in conflict with his own kinsmen. Nevertheless, undaunted by his misfortunes, he had eventually triumphed against his enemies, established the sovereignty of Mewar over Rajasthan and successfully established his supremacy over Malwa and Gujarat. In diplomacy and lofty idealism, he was a leader par excellence. One of the greatest warriors of his time, he also proved his worth as a ruler and a statesman. Though Khanua proved to be a tragic climax to his military career, he was, nevertheless, at his best when struggling against his adversaries. Owing to his dauntless courage and love for his country, Sanga is still remembered as the champion of Indian interests and the protector of Indian culture.

61 Akbarnama, (P.T.), Vol. I, 139; Raval Ranoji ki vat, f. 81; Amar Kanya Vamshevati, f. 31b; Mewar-ka-Samkshipta Itihas, f. 143b.
II. THE GUHILOTS OF VAGAD

SAMANT SINGH

THE TERRITORY NOW COMPRISING the districts of Dungarpur and Banswara was known as Vagad in olden days. It was occupied chiefly by Bhils and to a small extent by Rajputs of the Chauhan and Premara clans. Samant Singh of Mewar was forced by circumstances to migrate to Vagad and to set up a separate principality with its capital at Baroda in the first half of the twelfth century. But his rule was short-lived. After a reign of about ten years, he was overpowered by Bhim Deva II, who established his sway about the year 1185 and posted his chief, Vijayapal, over Vagad. The fugitive prince, according to local traditions, repaired to the court of Prithviraja and died a martyr's death at the famous field of Tarain.

JAGAT SINGH AND DEVAPALA

When the control of Gujarat over Vagad had become lax, Jagat Singh recovered the lost power of his dynasty and reestablished his sway over his patrimony during the early part of the thirteenth century. His successor, Sinhad-deva, was a devotee of Shakti and repaired the famous temple of Jagat, which affords a striking example of medieval Hindu architecture. Vijaya Singh Deva, who succeeded his father sometime between 1234 and 1250, showed his devotion to Shaktism by offering a golden staff for the temple of Jagat. The epigraphic records available lead us to believe that the Chhappan area of Mewar also formed a part of his kingdom. His son, Devapala, is said to have extended his principality on the north-east by defeating the Pramaras of Arthuna and Galiyakot.

RAWAL VIR SINGH AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Rawal Vir Singh (1286-1303), Devapala's successor, defied the power of Dungariya Bhil by sending a large force which attacked

1 Boreshwara Inscription.
2 Virpura Inscription, V.S. 1242 (1185).
3 Ojha, Dungarpur Rajya-ka-Ithas, 52-53.
4 Somesbvara: Kirtikaumudi, canto 2, v. 61.
5 Jagat Inscription, V.S. 1277 (1221).
6 Ibid., V.S. 1306 (1250).
7 Ibid., Jhadol Inscription, V.S. 1308 (1251).
8 Dungarpur Khvat.
the *pal* of Dungarpur and destroyed it.\(^9\) Vir Singh was followed from 1303 to 1588 by a series of rulers like Bhachunda, Dungar Singh and Karma Singh, who completed certain works of public utility in the town of Dungarpur, such as the construction of gates and tanks, extension of the town and the founding of villages. During Dungar Singh’s time the capital of Vagad was removed from Baroda to Dungarpur.\(^10\) All these rulers assumed the title of *Rawal* and also retained the clan appellation of *Ahartiya* to perpetuate the memory of their affinity with their original home of Ahar. In contemporary records there are references to persons of the ranks of *Sandhivigrahika, Mahamatyya, Mantri, Pandit*, etc., proving that these rulers had raised the status of their small state to a position of preeminence.\(^11\)

Karma Singh was succeeded by his son, Kanhad Deva (1388-98). He is credited with having constructed some of the buildings at Dungarpur and a gate of the town.\(^12\)

Kanhad Deva was succeeded by his son, Pratap Singh (1398-1423). After a prosperous reign of about twenty-five years, Pratap Singh died about 1423 or 1424. That his reign was prosperous is well attested by his construction of the Patela lake, the Patela gate and the founding of the village of Pratappur.\(^13\)

**Gopi Nath**

The next ruler of Vagad was Gopi Nath (1424 to 1447 or 1448), better known as Gepa. We are told by the *Tabaqat-i Akbari* that Rawal Gepa fled away at the approach of Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat in 1433. It further says that subsequently Gepa repented and came back to wait upon the Sultan with befitting tribute.\(^14\) As against this description of Muslim victory, the *Antri Inscription* of 1468 mentions that Gepa attacked the Muslim army and repulsed it with heavy losses. Though it is very difficult to form a definite opinion about the result of this war, we are inclined to conclude that the Rawal tried to win the favour and good-will of the Sultan by paying him tribute. This assumption is further confirmed by the fact that Rana Kumbha led an expedition against Dungarpur to have it set free from the influence of the Sultan.\(^15\)

In domestic affairs Gopi Nath’s significant achievement was to

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9 *Malagnon Inscription*, V.S. 1343.
10 *Deea Inscription*, V.S. 1453; *Ojha, Dungarpur Rajya-ka-Ithas*, 62-63.
11 *Jagat Inscription*, V.S. 1277 (1221); *Badoda Inscription*, V.S. 1349 (1292).
12 *Kanhad Deea Inscription*, V.S. 1455 (1398).
13 *Pratap Singh Inscription*, V.S. 1456 (1399); *Badva Khyat*.
14 *Bayley, History of Gujarat*, 120.
15 *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V.S. 1517 (1460).
reduce to submission some Bhil chiefs, who had enjoyed independence for several years. He was a patron of art and architecture. He caused the temple of Deva-Somnath to be repaired, the Geb Sagar lake to be excavated and the Geb Pol gate to be constructed at Dungarpur. He died in 1447 or 1448, leaving his throne to his son, Som Nath or Somdas.

SOMDAS AND RAWAL GANGA DAS

Somdas (1447 or 1448-80) annexed the hilly region of Katara by defeating Bariya, a powerful Bhil chief of Chundawada. But his attempt to stand against Mahmud Khalji, who was on his way back to Malwa, proved unsuccessful. The Rawal purchased peace by paying Mahmud two lakhs of tankas and twenty-one horses. Similarly, the campaign of Ghivasuddin of Malwa in 1474 resulted in defeat and disaster for him. He died in 1480. Like his father he was a patron of art and architecture, and several Jain and Vishnu temples were constructed during his reign. The art of making copper and stone images also received due patronage. He encouraged learning by granting lands to Brahmins, who were reputed for their scholarship.

Rawal Ganga Das (1480-97), after ascending the throne of Dungarpur, devoted himself during his reign of seventeen years to defending the frontiers of his kingdom against his neighbours. Success attended his campaigns against Idar and the Bhils. By repairing old temples and granting lands to Brahmins, he gave proof of his charitable disposition.

UDAI SINGH

Udai Singh (1497-1527), the son and successor of Ganga Das, was by far the most eminent Rawal of his dynasty. He was a brave warrior, and both as a prince and a ruler, he gave proof of his valour by participating in all the wars, which Mewar fought against Zafar Khan in 1488 and Mubarizul Mulk of Malwa in 1514. He also helped the Rana in supporting the cause of the Rawal of Idar. He saved his kingdom with courage and ability from the aggression of

16 Antri Inscription, V.S. 1525 (1468).
18 Antri Inscription, V.S. 1525 (1468).
19 Ferisha, Vol. IV, 225.
20 Rampol Inscription, V.S. 1530 (1474).
21 Itava Inscription, 1538 (1480); Talwada Inscription, V.S. 1538 (1481); Deen Som Nath Inscription, V.S. 1548 (1491); Kanha Inscription, V.S. 1553 (1496).
22 Raimal Inscription, V.S. 1545 (1488); Rasmala, 285.
the Muslim generals sent against him by Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat to punish him for being in league with the Rana of Mewar. Udai Singh seems to have kept pace with the warlike activities of the Guhilots by fighting constant wars against the sultans of Mandu and Gujarat in order to keep his territory intact.

Udai Singh was not only a daring warrior but also a generous prince towards those who sought his aid. Bahadur Khan, who was driven away from Gujarat by his elder brother, seems to have taken shelter at Dungarpur. The Rawal treated him with chivalrous generosity and helped him by intercepting the letter for help, which the Gujarati nobles had sent to Babur against Bahadur. But Bahadur forgot the valuable assistance rendered to him by the Rawal during the most critical period of his career and raided his kingdom in 1526. Endowed with considerable courage and energy, he fought for Rana Sanga and met a glorious death at the battle of Khanua in 1527. During the last days of his reign, Udai Singh, perhaps to please one of his wives, divided his kingdom between his two sons, Prithviraj and Jagmal; the former got Dungarpur and the latter got Banswara. This division made the small kingdom of Vagad weak and gave rise to unhappy quarrels between his two sons.

23 Bayley, History of Gujarat, 272.
24 Ibid., 272, 319, 339.
25 Baburnama, 573.
26 Chicaguan Inscription, 1577 (1520).
III. THE GUHILOTS OF PRATAPGARH

KHEM SINGH

The foundation of the state of Pratapgarh was laid under strange circumstances. The chiefs of Pratapgarh belonged to the Guhilot clan of Rajputs, being descended from Khem Singh, the second son of Rana Mokal of Mewar. On receiving only a meagre jagir from his elder brother, Rana Kumbha, he forcibly occupied Sadri and a few villages on the south-eastern border of Mewar. But when the Rana was free from the preoccupation of punishing his father’s murderers, he deprived Khem Singh of his illegal possessions. This compelled Khem Singh to seek shelter with Mahmud Khalji of Malwa; he tried to deprive the Rana of his kingdom with Mahmud’s assistance, but a stubborn resistance on the part of the Rana rendered all his attempts futile. Later on, during Uda’s reign, he managed to get back Sadri as his appanage, and he continued to exercise his authority over it till he fell fighting at the battle of Dadimpura in 1473.1

SURAJ MAL

After the death of Khem Singh, his son, Suraj Mal, inherited the jagir of Sadri. Like his father he too was not satisfied with this petty jagir. His ambition was to establish his authority over the south-eastern corner of Mewar and to make himself an independent ruler. He, therefore, made an alliance with Sarangadeva, another descendant of Rana Lakha, and tried to foment quarrels among the sons of Rana Raimal in order to create dissension within Mewar. When he failed to achieve any success, he repaired to the court of Malwa to invoke the assistance of the Sultan against his own clan. The Sultan invaded the Rana’s country several times along with Suraj Mal, but most of his attempts proved futile. The Rana’s position could not be challenged; Suraj Mal, giving up all hopes of success, abandoned Mewar for good. He distributed the villages of his jagir among the Brahmans and bards and migrated towards the wilderness of Kanthal. Here he subdued the Bhils, erected the town and stronghold of Deolia and became the lord of a thousand villages. Thus the principality, later on known as Deolia-Pratapgarh, was founded. His death probably took place between 1528 and 1530. Suraj Mal was eulogised for his

1 Khadavada Inscription, v. 28, V.S. 1541 (1484); Ekalinga Inscription, v. 64, V.S. 1545 (1488); Nensi’s Khyat, Vol. I, 93-94; Vir Vinod, Vol. II, 1053-54; Ojha, Pratapgarh Raiya-ka-Ithas, 47-52.
plous acts, among which the construction of Sursagar and giving away lands in charity stand preeminent.2

The early history of this state is full of internal conflicts and the unsuccessful attempts of its rulers to interfere in the affairs of Mewar. The history of this region is, consequently, a dreary tale of conspiracies and strifes. The wars of revenge and intrigues undertaken by Khem Singh and Suraj Mal weakened the state to such an extent that it could never claim preeminence among the principalities of Rajasthan.

IV. THE RATHORS OF MARWAR

Another important clan of the Rajputs, which had migrated to the western part of Rajasthan, was that of the Rathors. The origin of the Rathors of Jodhpur, like that of other Rajput clans, has been a matter of controversy. Traditionally the ruling family is believed to have belonged to the Gahadwal clan of Kanauj. Another view is that the dynasty of Jodhpur was connected with the Rathors of Badaun, the contemporaries of the Gahadwals of Kanauj. Nothing can be said positively about these views; but the significance of these traditions lies in the fact that the ruling family of Marwar claimed descent from Rajputs of historic fame.

THE FOUNDER OF THE RATHOR DYNASTY

The founder of the Rathor dynasty of Marwar was Siha, son of Set Ram, who emigrated to Pali, probably to carve out his fortune, about the middle of the thirteenth century. Pali was then an opulent and prosperous city inhabited by Pallival Brahmans. Being a commercial centre, its relations with the neighbouring tribes of Mirs and Minas were none too peaceful, and the raids of these tribes were a constant source of danger and anxiety to the citizens. Siha, at the request of the citizens, undertook the responsibility of guaranteeing them freedom from aggression. He conquered the area round Pali, and planted the first Rathor standard in or about 1243. He died while resisting a Turkish invasion about 1273.

ASTHAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

His son and successor, Asthan, walked in the footsteps of his father. A warlike and powerful ruler, he extended his territory in the south-west as far as Khed in the Malani district by defeating the Guhilots and wrested Idar from its Bhil chief. He secured his western frontiers by handing over Idar to his brother, Sarang. Like his father he fell fighting against a Turkish army about 1291.

It is difficult to put the dates and events of the successors of Asthan in proper order till the end of the fourteenth century.

1 Rai Singh Inscription; V.S. 1650.
2 Reu, Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors, VIII-IX.
However, subsequent events prove that during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries they continued their policy of expansion by fighting ceaselessly against their neighbours. Rao Dhuhar, the eldest son of Asthan, for example, extended his possessions by bringing one hundred and fifty villages under his control. He captured Mandor by defeating the Parihars, but he could not retain it for long. He met his end while fighting against the Parihars in 1309. His eldest son, Rao Rayapal, again captured Mandor from the Parihars, but was destined to retain it only for a short period. By defeating the Pramaras he got possession of the Mallani region. He extended his territory towards Jaisalmer by killing Pharara, a Bhati Rajput who had put his cousin, Pabu, to death. His successor, Rao Karnpal, also met his sad end in one of his engagements against the combined forces of the Bhatis and the Turks. His son, Bhim, pushed the boundary of Marwar as far as the banks of the river Kak by defeating the Bhatis, but he died in one of his encounters with them.

Rao Jalanasi, another son and successor of Karnpal, humbled the pride of the Sodha Rajputs, the Muslim governor of Multan and the Solanks of Bhinmal owing to his military achievements, but he was also slain like his father while conducting his forces against the combined armies of the Bhatis and the Turks in or about 1328. Rao Chhada, the eldest son of Jalanasi, crossed swords with the Bhati of Jaisalmer and came into conflict with the Turkish governors of Jalor and Nagaur. Unfortunately he failed against the combined forces of the Sonigra and the Dora Chauhans and was killed in 1344. Rao Tida repelled the Sonigras, the Deoras, the Bhatis, the Baluchis and the Solanks; and died a hero’s death while defending the fort of Siwana against the Turkish army. His successor, Mallinath, who succeeded in recovering Maheva from the Turks, assumed the title of Rawal. He is reported to have held his own against the Muslim rulers of Sind and Malwa.

5 Bhandarkar, Indian Antiquary, December 1911.
6 JASB, 1919, 38ff, quoted from Banerjee’s Medieval Studies, 41.
7 Bankidas, Aithihasik baten, Nos. 1614, 1672.
9 Bankidas, Khyat, No. 784.
10 Ibid., No. 786.
11 Ibid., No. 787. Reu, Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors, XII.
12 Bankidas, Aithihasik baten, No. 1616. (According to Khusrau’s Khaizainul Futuh, Rai Sital Deva had died in the defence of Siwana against Alaundin Khalji on 9 September 1309. But reference here, probably, is to a different struggle for the same fort — Editor.)
In short, the Siha branch of Rathors can be credited with deeds of valour and enterprise. They were not only able to keep their small kingdom intact but also successfully resisted the aggression of the Bhatis, Solankis, Chauhans, Johiyas and other neighbouring chiefs. They were gallant and active warriors and fought wars and met their heroic end in maintaining their independence. They also added Maheva, Bhinmal, Amarkot, etc. to their kingdom. Like the Sisodias of Mewar, they carried on an incessant struggle with the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat.14

RAO CHUNDA (1384-1423)

It was Rao Chunda, son of Rao Biram, who rose into prominence by establishing his power at Mandor, which he had received in dowry in 1395 from the Indas, a branch of the Parihars. He successfully resisted the attack of Zafar Khan of Gujarat on Mandor in 1396. Taking advantage of the confusion and disorder due to the weak rule of the Tughluqs of Delhi, he conducted continuous operations against the imperial officers and occupied Khatu, Didwana, Sambhar, Nagaur and Ajmer. By defeating the Chauhans he also captured Nadol. He not only invaded the imperial territories but also turned against his own brother, Jai Singh, and captured Phalodi in 1411, because Jai Singh did not cooperate with him in his expeditions against the imperial territories. But his enterprises entailed disaster to his life. Being jealous of his rising power, the Bhatis, the Sankhalas and the governor of Multan joined in a coalition against him. They invaded Nagaur and treacherously murdered Chunda in 1423. Nevertheless during Chunda's reign Marwar rose to a position of eminence.15

RAO RANMAL (1427-38)

Rao Chunda's eldest son, Rao Ranmal, renounced his claims to the throne of Marwar and left his native land for Mewar in 1408. Rao Kana and Rao Satta ruled over Marwar during his absence. Rana Lakha of Mewar received Ranmal with honour and gave him a jagir for his maintenance. The relations between the fugitive prince and the dynasty of the Sisodias were further cemented by the marriage of Hansa Bai, a sister of Rao Ranmal, with the Rana. On the death of Rana Lakha, his minor son, Rana Mokal, ascended the throne at the age of about twelve years, and Ranmal was asked to manage the affairs of the state. He helped the Rana during his attack on Nagaur,

14 Bankidas, Alithastik baten, Nos. 1061, 1063, etc.; Bayley, History of Gujarat, 148.
Jalor, Sambhar and Jahazpur. It was also due to him that his brother, Rao Satta, was successful in keeping Marwar, which then included Mandor, Pali, Sojat and Jaitaran, intact. With considerable valour and energy he reduced the Sonigras and the Bhatis to submission; he was also successful in his expedition against Jalor and he compelled the Behari Pathans to conclude peace with Marwar. After Rana Lakha's death, he was required to guide the destinies of Mewar. He acquired supreme influence in the state and appointed Rathors to offices of trust and responsibility. Getting jealous of his power, the Mewari nobles contrived to cut short his career by a treacherous murder in 1438.\(^{16}\)

**JODHA (1438-89)**

The history of the Rathors of Marwar becomes more definite from the time of Jodha, who after the murder of his father quitted Chitor for Marwar. Jodha during his flight was closely pursued by Rawat Chunda, the uncle of Rana Kumbha. He lost almost all his followers in the skirmishes that took place, and in order to be beyond the reach of his enemies, he went to Kahuni, near Bikaner, and began to enlist soldiers to drive away the intruders.\(^{17}\)

For fifteen years he was engaged in collecting a band of trusted men. He first effectively utilized their services in capturing Mandor in 1453, and then brought under his control the different parts of Marwar like Merta, Phalodi, Pokharan, Bhadrajan, Sojat, Jaitaran, Siva, Siwana, some part of Godwad and a large part of the Nagaur district. He extended his kingdom by vanquishing the neighbouring chieftains, and carried his raids in the north as far as Hisar, where his progress was stopped by the Afghans. Out of this extensive area, he entrusted Sojat to his elder brother, Merta to his own son, Bir Singh, and Chhapar Dronpur to Megha. He allowed one of his sons, Bika, to migrate to the Jangaladesha, where he laid the foundation of the independent state of Bikaner. By creating these principalities along the borders of Marwar, he secured the frontier defences of his state.\(^{18}\)

In order to consolidate his power, Jodha laid the foundation of a new fort and town in 1459, and named it Jodhpur; after his own name.\(^{19}\) Under his leadership the political status of the Rathors was


\(^{19}\) Nensi's Khyat, Vol. II, 131.
considerably raised; even Rana Kumbha entered into an alliance with him by fixing the boundaries between Mewar and Marwar. Kumbha’s successor, Rana Uda, sought his help against his own kinsmen by giving him Sambhar and Ajmer. After a strenuous career of forty years, he died in 1489.

JODHA’S SUCCESSORS

Jodha was followed by three Rathor successors, Rao Satal (1489-92), Rao Suja (1492-1515) and Rao Ganga (1515-32) during the period under review. Rao Satal extended his kingdom by the addition of Kundan, which he received from his father-in-law, Devidas of Jaisalmer. He also laid the foundation of the town of Satalmer. He was severely wounded in his deadly conflict with Mallu Khan, the governor of Ajmer, and this led to his death in 1492.

When Rao Suja ascended the throne of Marwar, the kingdom included Bahadmer, Kotara and Jaitaran in addition to the territory which had belonged to his ancestors. But during his reign some portions of this extensive territory were snatched by the feudal chiefs of the kingdom. The most important of them was Biram, who increased his power by establishing the independent principality of Merta. Rao Suja also seems to have come into conflict with the chiefs of Pokaran and Bahadmer, who entered on the scene as rivals against his authority and asserted their independance. He died in 1515 at the ripe age of seventy-six years.

After Suja came his grandson, Rao Ganga. He allied himself with Rana Sanga against Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat in 1517; he also offered his help to the Rana in resisting Mubarizul Mulk and in getting Rao Raimal seated on the gaddi of Idar. Lastly, he supported the cause of the Rana at the battle of Khanua, where two of his generals along with 4,000 warriors laid down their lives for the cause of the Rajputs in general and of the Rana in particular.

During the last few years of his life Rao Ganga devoted his energies to suppressing his uncle, Shekha, and his elder brother, Biram. Shekha with the help of Sarkhel Khan and Daulat Khan of Nagaur tried to capture Jodhpur in 1529, but he was killed in a battle

24 Nensi’s Khyat, Vol. II, 144.
25 Sarda, Maharana Sanga, 79.
26 Baburnama (SBL), f.246a.
fought near Sevaki, and his associates were forced to quit the field in 1529. Biram's patrimony, Sojat, was overrun and in order to humble his pride only the village of Bala was left to him for his maintenance. Ganga, according to some writers, died of an accidental fall from a window in 1532, but the more reliable authorities declare that he was pushed from the window by his ambitious son, Maldeva, when he was in a state of intoxication.

28 Reu, Glories of Marwar, XX.
29 Reu and Asopa.
V. THE RATHORS OF BIKANER

Bikaner is the most northern and the second largest division of Rajasthan. It is said to have taken its name from its capital, the city of Bikaner, i.e., the settlement or habitation (ner) founded by Rao Bika in 1488; others say that the spot on which the city stands was the birthright of a Jat, called Naira or Nera, who gave it up on the condition that his name was linked with that of Bika, and hence the word Bika-ner.1

Bika (1465-1504)

The chiefs of Bikaner belonged to the Rathor clan of Rajputs. Bika, the fifth son of Jodha, being ambitious and enterprising, left his father’s home in 1465, and led an expedition into the region of Jangala, which was then occupied by various tribes. The tract that he chose for his settlement was weakened by the mutual wars among the Bhatis, Johiys, Qaim-khanis,2 Mohils, Chauhans, Chayals and Khichis. A band of trusted warriors accompanied him together with his uncle, Kandhal, and his brother, Bida, to conquer the territory.3

Taking a straight route from Mandor, he reached Deshnok, where Karniji blessed him and predicted his future progress. Thereafter, Chandasar, Kodamdasar, Jangala and hundreds of villages around these towns fell before the advancing arms of Rao Bika. He strengthened his position by an alliance with Rao Shekha of Pugal, who gave his daughter in marriage to him. Fearing him as a formidable opponent, the Bhatis and the Jats measured swords with him, but they were forced to acknowledge his suzerainty. In 1488 he founded the town of Bikaner, which has given permanence to his name and fame.4

He hospitably received Uda of Mewar, who, having been driven from his kingdom by Raimal, was on his way to Mandu; the fugitive prince was allowed to live at Bikaner for some time. Rao Bika was

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1 Erskine, The Western Rajputana Residency and Bikaner Agency, 309.
2 The Qaim-khanis were originally Chauhan Rajputs but were converted to Islam. They are said to have formerly owned the tract of country now called Shekhawati, but were afterwards dispossessed by Shekhaji, the founder of the Shekhawat clan of Rajputs.
also successful in defeating Sarang Khan at the battle of Jhansa. After the death of his father, Bika led an expedition against Jodhpur but it seems that his attack was finally repulsed. Thus through his dauntless efforts Bika extended the boundaries of his state to the southern limits of the Punjab; including therein Sirsa, Ladnu, Bhatner, Bhatinda, Singhana, Rini, Nohar, Pugal, etc. He died in 1504 leaving a territory which comprised 40,000 square miles of land and about 3,000 villages. His advent marks the commencement of a new dynasty, which endured for over five hundred years.5

Rao Nara and Rao Lunakarna (1504-26)

Bika was succeeded by his eldest son, Rao Nara, whose reign was more or less uneventful. He died within a year of his accession, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Rao Lunakarna in 1505. Lunakarna was a powerful prince. He successfully fought with the neighbouring chiefs—the Chauhans of Dadrewa in 1509, the Qaim-khanis of Fathpur in 1512, and the Chayats of Chayatwada and the Khan of Nagaur in 1513. As a result of these conflicts he wrested 120 and 440 villages from the Qaim-khanis and Chayats respectively. To keep them within their limits, he posted strong Rathor garrisons at important centres.6

Having suppressed these chiefs, Rao Lunakarna led an expedition against Jaisalmer, proceeding straight to that fort with his army. The whole region round the fort was laid waste and the Rao’s army seized a vast amount of booty. The fort was besieged with such vigour that, being reduced to extremities, Jaitsi sued for peace. The Rao treated him kindly and gave back the fort to him. Jaitsi in turn married his daughters to the Rao’s sons.7

After this success, Lunakarna, determined to bring the northern region of Rajasthan under his authority, occupied Kanthaliya, Didwana, Vagad, Narhad, Singhana, etc., and marched against the Muslim ruler of Narnol. The chiefs of the neighbouring principalities became jealous of his growing power and joined the side of Narnol; and as a result Lunakarna was defeated and slain at the battle of Dhosi in 1526.8 According to Jayasoma, Rao Lunakarna was a charitable and righteous ruler and a patron of art and literature.9

author of *Jaitsi-ro Chhanda* credits him with having satisfied poets and scholars by giving them liberal grants. He was reputed to have taken proper measures to extend help to the famished population of his state.\(^10\)

10 *Jaitsi-ro Chhanda*, vv. 54, 55, 56, 62.
VI. THE BHATIS OF JAISALMER

EARLY HISTORY OF THE BHATIS

The origin of the Bhati state of Jaisalmer is shrouded in fable and legend. The Khyats ascribe to the Bhati a Lunar origin and consider them descendants of the Yadava dynasty.¹ Their ancestral residence was the western part of the Punjab, where they are said to have founded several towns, each associated with some section of the tribe.

In tracing the early history of the Bhatis, several hypotheses present themselves, and we propose to select one of them, which rests on plausible grounds, in order to give a brief and connected account of the early history of this tribe. Although the ruler, who founded the dynasty, retained the epithet of Yadava, one of his descendants, Bhati (fifth in the line), who was a renowned warrior and subdued many neighbouring chiefs, gave the new title of Bhati to his dynasty. He is designated as Maharawal in the Khyats and is credited with having founded the town of Bhatner in the Punjab.²

CONFLICT WITH THE TURKISH INVADERS

It is likely that during the period of their stay in the Punjab the Bhatis came into conflict with the Turkish invaders. On being pressed by these invasions, Maharawal Deva Raj (eleventh in the line) abandoned his original home, and settled in the desert of the northeastern region of Rajasthan, which has since then been the home of their descendants. In one of his exploits Deva Raj subdued the Lodra Rajputs, and captured the city of Lodrawa and made it his capital about the beginning of the eleventh century.³

Deva Raj's grandson, Vachha Raj (thirteenth in the line), who was endowed with considerable courage and energy, devoted himself to extending the limits of his kingdom. Vachha Raj and his successors measured swords with various clans, such as the Bhuts, the Channas,

¹ The relation between the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Yadavas of Rajasthan is not known. But it is not unlikely that they were related, for both are known to claim their descent from Krishna, who ruled Dwarka. After the death of Krishna, the tribe was dispersed; some members proceeded northwards and others southwards. After several generations the branches of the tribe established themselves in independence in their respective regions of north and south.
³ Ibid., Vol. II, 1199-1200.
the Barahas, the Langahars, the Sodhas and the Lodras. They also strengthened their position by entering into matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring chiefs.4

At the time of Bhujdeva (sixteenth in the line) his uncle, Jaisaldeva, moved by jealousy, conspired to kill him; but since he was always surrounded by his guards, Bhujdeva was personally unassailable. Jaisal, therefore, sought the help of Mu'izzuddin Churi and successfully ousted his nephew from power, and occupied his throne. Finding Lodrawa (or Lodrova), the former seat of the Bhatis, ill-adapted for defence, he established the capital of his kingdom at Jaisalmer.5

CONFLICT WITH KHIZR KHAN & ALAUDA DIN KHALJI

About 1200 Kailan (1200-1218) was the ruler of Jaisalmer. He repulsed an invasion led by Khizr Khan, a Baluchi chief who, having crossed the Indus, had entered Khadala. One of Kailan’s descendants, Karna Singh, protected Bhagwati Das Jhala from Izzuddin, the governor of Nagaur, who wanted to compel the Rajput chief to give the hand of his beautiful daughter to him. Karna Singh attacked Nagaur and defeated and killed the governor.6

Concerning the history of the Delhi sultans, reference is made by the Rajput chronicles to the campaign of Alauddin Khalji in the time of Maharawal Jait Singh I, who ascended the throne of Jaisalmer in 1276. The Sultan is said to have invaded Mandor, from where Rana Rupsi fled to seek shelter in Jaisalmer. This led prince Mulraj to plunder the imperial treasure while on its way from Bhakkarkot to Delhi, and the Sultan was provoked to diverting a part of his army to Jaisalmer. The Maharawal stood a prolonged siege which, according to Nensi, lasted for about twelve years (1300-12). This brought untold suffering to the garrison owing to the scarcity of food and provisions. In sheer desperation the Rajput ladies performed jauhar and the soldiers led by Mulraj and his brother, Ratan Singh, rushed out of the fort and died fighting to the last man. Jaisalmer remained in the hands of the Turks for the next two years. In the end it was restored by Nasiruddin Khan to Maharawal Ghadsi.7

4 Bhutti Kavya, vv. 87, 114, 130, 184; Tod, Annals, Vol. II, 1201.
5 Bhutti Kavya, vv. 205, 206, etc; Jaisalmer Khyat; Tod, Annals, Vol. II, 1204.

(The Rajput traditions seem to confuse the siege of Jaisalmer with the siege of Siwana, which (according to the poet Khusrau) lasted for about seven years. The Persian records are silent about Jaisalmer — Error.)
CONFLICT WITH NEIGHBOURING CLANS

After the death of Maharawal Jait Singh, a number of rulers ascended the throne of Jaisalmer. Most of them were involved in local conflicts with the neighbouring clans of the north and northwest and the rulers of Multan and Amarkot. An instance in point is that of Maharawal Vairsi (1396-1448), who helped Rao Jodha, the founder of Jodhpur, to recover his patrimony near about Mandor, which had been seized by the state of Mewar. His successor, Chachak II (1448-62), fought with the Langah chief of Multan and lost his life during the struggle. He was succeeded by his son, Devi Das, who ruled till 1497. He was engaged in a struggle with Rao Bika and interfered with the latter's efforts in consolidating his power at Bikaner. During the time of his successor, Jait Singh II (1497-1529), the state of Bikaner became aggressive. The Rao of Bikaner attacked Jaisalmer, plundered the state extensively, not even sparing the capital, but in the end came to terms.

The Bhatis, as a tribe, spread over an extensive belt of southern Punjab and north-western Rajasthan, including Jaisalmer, Bhawalpur, Bhatner, Nariana and Bayana. Some of its leading chiefs were valiant fighters and displayed extraordinary vigour and intrepidity in dealing with their foes. They were patrons of public works. In the course of their long predominence of about four centuries, various temples and lakes were constructed. The famous temple of Lakshminath and that of the Sun-god of Jaisalmer are ascribed to Rao Lakshmana and Rao Vairsi. Similarly, Jaisaldeva, Ghadsi and Jaiti constructed the dams of the lakes of Jaisalsar, Ghadsisar and Jaitbundh respectively. It was through their efforts that it became possible to consolidate and sustain local independence.

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8 Vairsi Inscription, V.S. 1493. 1497.
9 Chachak Inscription, V.S. 1518.
10 Jaisalmer Khyat.
11 Cabalot, Rajputana-ka-Ithas, 668.
12 Bhatti Kavya, vv. 87-236.
VII. THE CHAUHANS OF AJMER

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHAUHANS

IN SOME RESPECTS THE CHAUHAN TRIBE of the Rajputs is the most important, both for its valour and the extent of its expansion. But to have a correct idea of this famous tribe with its clans and sub-clans in the history of Rajasthan, we must survey its fortunes from the period preceding the Ghurian invasion. The story has been partly told in a previous chapter but it will bear retelling.

There were a number of Chauhan dynasties ruling in different tracts with their headquarters at Sambhar, Ranthambhor, Bhargukachcha, Nadol, Jalor, etc. Of these the Chauhans of Sambhar were the most important. Their cradle-land was Sapadalaksha or the region of Sambhar and Nagaur to which they might have migrated from trans-Hindustan (modern Uttar Pradesh). One of their chiefs, Samanta, came to a region where his services proved effective in stemming the tide of Arab expansion. Rising into influence and power during the regime of the Pratihars as their feudatories, one of their chiefs, Vigraharaaja II, struck for independence about 973. From that time onwards their progress was steady. By the close of the eleventh century they had established and fortified themselves effectively at Ajmer, the heart of Rajasthan. By 1164 eastern Punjab, Rewari, and north-eastern Rajasthan were under the suzerainty of the Chauhans. Their kingdom virtually extended to the foot of the Himalayas and thus they became the gate-keepers of the western plains of northern India and formed a barrier between the Ghaznavid state of the Punjab and Rajasthan.

PRITHVIRAJA III

The glory of the Chauhans rose to its height under Prithviraja III (1180-92), who played a conspicuous part in the history of India on the eve of the Ghurid conquest. From 1180 when he took the reins of government in his hands, he was engaged in a number of wars. After defeating his rival, Nagarjuna, and making his position strong in his

1 Harsha Inscription, vv. 11, 25; Bijoliyan Inscription, vv. 10-25; Hammirmahakavya, Canto I, vv. 1-20, Canto II, vv. 1-30; Prithvirajavijaya, Canto I, vv. 50-70; El; II, 116-27: El, XXVI, 84-112; Dynastic History of Northern India, II, 1069-76; Dasharath Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, 24-71.

2 Prithvirajavijaya, X-XII; Dr. R. P. Tripathi: Rajputs of Northern India, (Ms.), 3.
homeland, he entered upon a career of conquests and exploits. The Bhandanakas were the first to meet the brunt of his attacks; they were subdued and their territory was annexed. It included the area comprising the villages of Rewari tahsil, and Bhiwani and a part on the Alwar side.\(^3\) Next he turned his arms against Parmardin, the Chandel chief.\(^4\) The Chalukyan and Chauhan rivalry took a serious turn during his time, but neither of them could claim a decisive victory over the other.\(^5\)

Tradition speaks also of the opening of hostility between Jayachandra of Kanauj and Prithviraja. Both were ambitious of attaining to fame as conquerors, and their mutual rivalry made them sworn and implacable enemies. The well-known affair of Sanyogita’s abduction by Prithviraja, if true, would have accentuated this rivalry and paved the way for the destruction of both. The political relations between the Chauhans, on the one hand, and the Chandels and Gahadwals on the other, were seriously strained; and most likely a serious conflict would have followed but for the invasion of India by Mu’izzuddin Ghuri. Other Hindu kingdoms of northern India were also passing through similar phases; they were preoccupied either with the suppression of internal disorder or had to meet the attack of neighbouring states.\(^6\)

Taking advantage of the strained relations of the Chauhans with the Chalukyas on the one hand and with the Gahadwals on the other, Mu’izzuddin Ghuri, who had already conquered the Ghaznavid kingdom of the Punjab, first occupied Multan and Uchh and, making them as a sort of bridgehead, advanced towards Gujarat through Kiradu and Nadol in 1178.\(^7\) The Ghurian arms sustained a severe reverse at the hands of the Chalukyas; but Prithviraja, who could have intervened decisively on the Rajput side, preferred to remain a passive spectator, calculating wrongly that the conflict between the Chalukyas and the Ghurians would lead to the destruction of both parties and leave him supreme. This attitude was extremely short-sighted, for, as subsequent events were to show, the unwise policy of Prithviraja III proved detrimental both to the cause of Indian liberty and to Chauhan glory.

\(^3\) Dr. Dasrath Sharma: *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 74.
\(^4\) *Pranbandhachintamani*, Singheji Jain Granthamala, I, 1100; EI, V, (Appendix).
\(^5\) *Kharatargachchapattavali*, v. 1244.
\(^6\) *Prithvirajavijaya*, X, 2; XII, 1-38; *Prithviraja Raso*, *Samayás*, XLV-L and LX-LXI; Dr. R. P. Tripathi, *Rajputs of Northern India* (Ms.), 7.
\(^7\) *Tabaqaṭ-i Nasirī*, 449-51 (Raverty); *Tārikh-i Ferishta* (Briggs), I, 169.
MU'IZZUDDIN'S ATTACKS AND THE LOSS OF AJMER

With an intelligent grasp of the existing political situation in the northern India, Mu'izzuddin led his first attack against Prithviraja in 1191 and met the Chauhan forces at Tarain. The fight began with the Chauhan charge on the right and left flanks of the Ghurian army and resulted in its decisive defeat. But this victory meant only a temporary success. Prithviraja seems to have overestimated its significance, while Mu'izzuddin strove hard to prepare a second army. So he came again with an army, which some historians have put at the impossible figure of 1,20,000, to the same battle-field and avenged his former defeat by taking the Rajputs by surprise. This time the Rajputs were completely routed. The contest not only led to the downfall of the Chauhan power, but it also virtually ended the age of chivalry and heroism for which the Rajputs were reputed. The victory of Tarain was followed by the fall of Ajmer and Delhi.

The policy of the Turkish rulers of allowing Prithviraja's nephew to rule at Ajmer as their vassal was resented by Hari Raja, the brother of Prithviraja. Hari Raja had neither the ability nor the character to be an effective leader of the Chauhans. He captured Ajmer in 1194 but failed to retain it; and in despair and anguish he stupidly committed self-immolation along with his followers. The invasions of Mu'izzuddin Ghuri tore the political map of northern India of the twelfth century into shreds. No other invader since the days of Alexander had succeeded in influencing the history of this country to the same extent as Mu'izzuddin Ghuri. The second battle of Tarain in 1192 and the capture of Ajmer in 1194 produced changes at once kaleidoscopic and cataclysmic. Within ten years of the second battle of Tarain the advance of the Turkish arms made their influence felt from Anhilwara in Gujarat to Nadiya in Bengal. The disappearance of the Chauhan kingdoms of Ajmer and Delhi gave a stunning blow to the prestige and power of the Rajputs, and destroyed the cobweb of Rajput dynastic imperialism from one end of northern India to the other.

Though Ajmer was lost, the Chauhans remained a powerful clan in Rajasthan. They were still masters of Ranthambhor and of the area covered by Sambhar, Nadol, Jalor, Sachor, Bundi and Kotah.

8 Tabaqat-i Nasiri (Raverty), 455-60.
10 Tajul Ma'asir, ED, II, 215; De, Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 39.
11 Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Rajputs of Northern India, 11-12.
the resources of these principalities could be fully mobilised and concentrated against the Turkish invaders by a warlike and able leader, there was every chance of recovering the lost prestige of the Rajputs. But since these principalities involved themselves in family feuds, they remained weak and helpless.
VIII. THE CHAUHANS OF NADOL

Lakshmana, son of Vakpatiraja, was the founder of the principality of the Chauhans of Nadol. He made himself master of Nadol during the disorders that followed the death of the Chavda Raja, Samant Singh, in 960. He was a very brave ruler and extended his territory up to the present district of Jodhpur. He died about 983.\(^1\) He was followed by Sobhita, Balaraja, Mahendra, Ahila, Balprasada, Prithvipala, etc., who, like other Chauhans, maintained their position by undertaking wars against the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat. Ahila, for example, defeated the forces of Bhimdeva of Gujarat and cut off with his own hand the head of Sadha, the general of Bhoj of Malwa. He seems to have come into conflict with the army of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni when he pressed through Nadol and Anhilwara in the expedition against Somnath in 1024. Similarly one of the descendants of this branch, Prithvipala, defeated Karna of Gujarat.\(^2\)

But it seems that three or four generations later, in the time of Asraj, Alhan and Kelhan, the Nadol branch of Chauhans grew weak and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Solankis of Gujarat. Kelhan in 1178 fought against Mu'izzuddin Ghuri at the battle of Kayadran as a feudatory of Mulraja II. In or about 1205 the Nadol branch was absorbed by the Jalor branch.\(^3\)

The reign of the Chauhans of Nadol is also memorable for the cultural progress achieved during the period. The fort of Nadol is said to have been constructed by Lakshmana.\(^4\) Kelhan erected a golden torana, like a diadem, for the abode of the holy Someshwara.\(^5\) Though personally devoted to the worship of Shiva and Vishnu, the Chauhans of Nadol were catholic enough to offer gifts to Neminath, Rishabhadeva and Mahavir at Sevadi, Bali, Nadli, etc.\(^6\) A copper plate grant of Nadol informs us that Alhanadeva, after worshipping the Sun and Ishana and making gifts to Brahmans and gurus, granted a monthly sum of 5 drammas to a Jain temple of Mahavir from the office of a customs house in the Naddula talapada.\(^7\) Similarly reference

1 P. C., Jain Lekhasangraha, I, 210-11, 253-58.
2 E.I., IX, 76-77, vv. 14, 17, 22.
3 Sundha Hill Inscription, v. 26, Dynastic History of India, II, 1115; Singhot Jain Granthmala, Vol. I, 51; Choudhary, Political History of Northern India, 158.
4 Choudhary, Political History of Northern India, 148.
5 Sundha Hill Inscription, v. 34.
6 Choudhary, Political History of Northern India, 147-58.
7 Nadol copper plate grant, V.S. 1218; E.I, IX, 83-86.
is found in the Kiradu inscription to an edict of non-slaughter by which the subjects were forbidden by Alhan to slaughter living creatures on the 8th, 11th, and 14th days of both fortuaths of every month in the towns of Kiradu, Latashāda and Siva on pain of capital punishment. He also specified a scale of punishments for Brahmans, priests, ministers and others.8

8 Kiradu Inscription, V.S. 1216; JASB, IX, 66-70.
IX. THE CHAUHANS OF JALOR

The Jalor branch of the Chauhan dynasty was founded at Jalor about 1182 by Kirtipala, the younger brother of Kelhan of Nadol. This branch is also called Sonigra after the name of the hill Sovarnagiri of Jalor. His successor, Samar Singh, was a great builder. He built fortifications on the Jalor hill and mounted various kinds of munjanis on its ramparts. He founded the town of Samarpur and embellished it with gardens. He also weighed himself against gold, which he distributed among the Brahmins.1

He was succeeded by his son, Uday Singh, about 1205. Uday Singh extended his territory beyond Jalor by including in it Nadol, Bhinmal, Baharmer, Ratanpur, Sanchor and other neighbouring towns.2 He appears to have come into conflict with the rulers of Gujarat and Sindh and asserted his independent position.3 But his power was threatened by Ilutmish, who led an army to capture the fortress of Jalor. Though Ilutmish failed to reduce the fort, he compelled the Rai to sue for peace by offering camels and horses.4 The history of his successors, Chachigdeva and Samant Singh, has very little to record about their political activities but it, of course, preserves details about their religious deeds and grants made by them for the worship of various deities.5

Samant Singh's son, Kanhaddeva (1292-1310), was a brave warrior, who fought several times against the Turkish forces. He extended the limits of his kingdom beyond Marwar by measuring his strength with the chiefs of the neighbouring states. He earned fame for his just administration. Alauddin Khalji could not tolerate the growing power of the Rai. He, therefore, marched with a huge army under Kamaluddin Gurg to capture Jalor in 1309 or 1310. The fort was bravely defended by the Chauhans, but they had no alternative but to open the gate of the fort when no provisions were left and their chosen warriors, along with Kanhaddeva and his son, met their glorious end. The kingdom of Jalor thus ended about 1310.6

1 Jain Lekhasangraha, I, 205, 238, Nos. 730, 903. Ibid., 238-39; Sundha Hill Inscription, vv. 38, 40.
2 Sundha Hill Inscription, v. 43.
3 Puratanprabandhasangraha, SGCM, II, 51.
5 Jain Lekhasangraha, I, 233, 240, 244, 249, etc.
X. THE CHAUHANS OF RANTHAMBHOR

GOVINDA RAJA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Though Ajmer was lost, the Chauhans remained a powerful clan in Rajasthan. After the death of Hari Raja, his followers left Ajmer and went to Govinda Raja, the exiled son of Prithviraja, who had established his capital at Ranthambhor.\(^1\) After him the throne passed to his weak successors, whose reigns are not marked by any event of importance. Govinda Raja's son, Balhana, ruled for some time as a feudatory of Iltutmish.\(^2\) His brother, Prahlad, neglected the business of government and spent his time in hunting.\(^3\) After his death the mutual jealousies and quarrels of Viranarayana (Prahlad's son) and Vagbhatta (Prahlad's brother) plunged the principality into disorder. When Iltutmish came to know of this; he had Viranarayana treacherously murdered.\(^4\) Soon after his assassination the Sultan sent one of his generals against Vagbhatta; the general attacked the fort, captured it and killed Vagbhatta in 1226.\(^5\) Though Vagbhatta's successor, Jaitra Singh, was able to capture the fort of Ranthambhor, he was unable to get possession of the contiguous land. Having failed to save the rest of the principality from the aggression of the Turks, he finally abdicated in favour of his promising son, Hamir, in 1283 and went to live in the forest.\(^6\)

HAMIRDEVA (1283-1301)

Hamirdeva, son of Jaitra Singh, was one of the greatest kings who have ruled at Ranthambhor. His accession to the throne took place between 1283 and 1289.\(^7\) Like his forefather, Prithviraja, he raised his principality to a position of preeminence by embarking on a series of warlike expeditions. At the beginning of his reign Raja Arjuna of Sarasapura had to bear the brunt of his attack. Arjuna was defeated and reduced to submission.\(^8\) Hamir is also credited with having won

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1 Hammirmahakavya, IV, vv. 20-26.
2 Manglana Inscription, V.S. 1272.
3 Hammirmahakavya, IV, vv. 48-72.
4 Ibid., IV, vv. 72-126.
6 Hammirmahakavya, VIII, vv. 56, 72-105, 106; Dynastic History of Northern India, II, 1093-95.
7 Hammirmahakavya, Introductory, 47; EI, XIX, 45-52.
8 Hammirmahakavya, IX, vv. 15, 16.
victories over the ruler of Garhamandala, Raja Bhoja of Dhar, the Rana of Mewar and the chief of Mt. Abu.\(^9\) We, however, have no further evidence to support the great claims of his successes. What we can infer from local records is that Hamir collected rich presents and tributes from the neighbouring chiefs and won recognition as a warrior from the powerful rulers of Malwa and Mewar.

His reign also saw the beginning of a conflict with the Delhi empire. Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji (1290-96), as described in a previous chapter, planned the siege of Ranthambhor but gave it up on ground of the lives it would cost.

This victory raised the reputation of Hamir, and some new Muslim or Mongol officers, who had rebelled against the army of Delhi in 1299 during its return from its victorious campaign from Gujarat, fled to Hamir for protection. Ulugh Khan, the Sultan’s brother, demanded that Hamir should, as a good neighbour, hand over the fugitives. Hamir, in spite of the advice of his counsellors, who saw no reason for risking the dynasty for foreigners with no moral claims upon it, refused to hand over the refugees and the Sultan ordered Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to proceed against Ranthambhor.

Two Rajput deserters from Hamir’s kingdom, named Bhoja and Pitama, also instigated the Sultan against Hamir. The siege and fall of Ranthambhor has been described in a previous chapter and the details need not be repeated. But it has to be noted that the Sultan had to come and direct the siege in person, that there were three rebellions against him while he was away from Delhi, and that the fort could only be taken after the construction of a pasheb during the terrible summer months of 1301. Hamirdeva and his men, whose provisions were also exhausted, died fighting at the head of the pasheb after the Rajput ladies had committed their bodies to the flames according to the sacred rite of jauhar. It is difficult to guess at the sources of Hamir’s strength, but all the best fighting men and all the resources of the Delhi empire under its most capable ruler were needed for the reduction of Ranthambhor. In view of Jalaluddin Firuz’s failure before Ranthambhor, Alauddin had no alternative but to persist in the siege. Still Hamir’s advisers were correct. It was not necessary for him to challenge Delhi with no consideration for the fortunes of his dynasty or the welfare of his subjects.

With the death of Hamir the glory of the Chauhan branch of Ranthambhor also came to an end. In the annals of Rajasthan Hamir is not only remembered for his valour in war but also for his policy of toleration towards different sects. When he visited Ujjain, he

\(^9\) Ibid., vv. 17-47.
worshipped Mahakala; and during his stay at Pushkar, he offered his devotion to Adivarsha. At Abu he worshipped both Rishabhadeva and Achaleshwara. He celebrated a kotiyajna sacrifice to which a large number of Brahmanas from all over the country were invited. The ceremony was concluded by observing munivrata or living a life of seclusion for a month.¹⁰

¹⁰ ibid., Canto IX, vv. 77-99.
XI. THE CHAUHANS OF SIROHI

DEORA KINGDOM

The chiefs of Sirohi belong to the Deora sept of the Chauhan clan of Rajputs. It appears that Lumba, who owed his origin to a Deora Chauhan of Jalor, founded the Deora kingdom, consisting of Abu and Chandrawati, which he wrested from the Pramaras about 1311. Lumba is said to have died in 1321. Nothing eventful is known of his five immediate successors—Tej Singh, Kanhardeva, Samant Singh, Salkha, and Ranmal—except that they restored the temple of Achaleshwara and endowed villages to the temple of Vashistha. All these rulers appear to have had their capital sometimes at Chandravati and sometimes at Achalgarh (about four miles north of Abu).¹

FOUNDATION OF SIROHI

Ranmal was succeeded by Shivabhan, who founded the town of Shivapuri below the Siranwa hill in 1405 and built a fort on the top of the hill. His son, Sahasmal, found the site of Shivapuri unhealthy and decided to transfer his capital to a place with a better strategic position; so the town of Sirohi was founded in 1425. The removal of the capital from Chandravati to the new site may have been also due to the attacks of the neighbouring powers, in particular Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. It is rightly believed that the latter carried off a good deal of marble from Chandravati to be used for his newly founded town of Ahmadabad.²

Sahasmal, like an ambitious ruler, extended his kingdom by annexing a part of the neighbouring territory of the Solanki Rajputs. Finding Rana Kumbha engaged in punishing rebels, he marched with his victorious army to the frontiers of Mewar and took possession of a few border villages. But the Rana sent an expedition against Rao Sahasmal under Dodiya Narsingh, who by force of arms conquered Abu, Basantgarh and Bhula and annexed the eastern part of Sirohi territory to Mewar in or about 1437. The Rana later on built the fort of Achalgarh and the temple of Kumbhaswami and a lake and a palace there to celebrate his victory.³

¹ Achaleshwara Inscription, V.S. 1397; Rajputana Gazetteer, Part 3A, 298; Sirohi Rajya-ka-Ithias, 155.
² Ojha, Sirohi Rajya-ka-Ithias, 193; Sitaram, History of Sirohi Raj, 164-65.
³ Ojha, Sirohi Rajya-ka-Ithias, 195.
It was Lakha, the son and successor of Sahasmal, to whom Rana Uda handed over Abu, which Rana Kumbha had seized. During the course of the conflict the Rana's forces had inflicted severe losses on the Gujarat army, which had laid waste the country through which it passed. Lakha was a benevolent and enlightened ruler. He recalled the people, who had left the kingdom during the days of disorder, to settle there again. His public works, like the construction of the temple of Kalika Mata and the Lakhelao tank, speak of his munificence.4

Lakha was succeeded by his ambitious son, Jagmal. In order to strengthen his position he allied himself with Rana Raimal of Mewar in routing Bahlul Lodi in 1474. He was credited with having defeated and captured Malik Majid Khan of Jalor in a battle; but later on Majid was released after the payment of a handsome ransom of turquoise worth nine lakhs.5

But family feuds for position and influence began to affect the inner harmony of the Sirohi state. Jagmal's younger brother, Hamir, by a sheer act of aggression seized nearly half of the state and began to harbour designs of ascending the throne. He was paid back in his own coin and was killed in action, but his refractory attitude contributed to creating a disorderly atmosphere in the state. When confusion and lawlessness had become the order of the day, a party of merchants was robbed of its goods and four hundred Persian and Khurasani horses while on its way from Delhi to Ahmedabad. The matter was reported to Mahmud Shah Begarha of Gujarat who thus got an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the state. The Sultan wrote a letter to the Rao asking him either to surrender the horses and goods or prepare for an invasion. Jagmal, finding that the robbery had been committed within the limits of his state, returned everything with a suitable tribute. This undoubtedly undermined the prestige of the Rao.6

In 1523 Jagmal was succeeded by his son, Akheraj I, who was such a renowned warrior as to get the epithet of Urana Akheraj—'the flying Akheraj'. His military enterprises continued unabated towards the north-west; this is proved by the fact that he built the fort of Lohiana in Jodhpur territory. He fought at the battle of Khanua as an ally of Rana Sanga. We are told by the writer of Vashistha Inscription that Akheraj I was a mighty king in his dynasty; this is expressed in the title—'Maharaj Shri'. He died in 1533.7

4 Ibid., 201; Tod, Annals, Mewar, Chapter VIII.
5 Ojha, Sirohi Rajja-ka-Ithias, 204-5; Rajputana Gazetteer, Part 3A, 240
7 Vashistha Inscription, V.S. 1589; Badla temple Inscription, V.S. 1589; Dr. G. N. Sharma, Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, 36.
XII. THE CHAUHANS OF HARAOTI

DEVA SINGH

The region consisting of the two principalities of Bundi and Kota, which were formerly separate, is called Haraot. Deva Singh, a chief of Bambavada (Mewar) who belonged to the Hada sept of the great Chauhan clan, captured this region from the Usara tribe of the Minas, and erected Bundi, the capital of the Hadas, in the heart of the Bandu valley in 1241.1 He defeated Gajmal, Manohardas, Jaskaran and other enemies and conquered Khatpur, Patan and Karwar. He claimed victory over the Gonds from whom he wrested Genoli. He is also credited with having defeated a Turkish army at Lakhieri. Being a devoted worshipper of Shakti, he constructed the temple of Gangeshwari along with a step-well in Umarthan. After extending his kingdom from Bambavada to the region on the left bank of the Chambal, he abdicated in favour of his son, Samar Singh, in 1243.2

SAMAR SINGH

Deva Singh's son, Samar Singh, was equally ambitious. He renewed the struggle with the Kotia sept of the Bhils and claimed victories over them. Their strongholds in and around Akalgarh and Mukandara pass were first completely destroyed and then converted into guard-houses of the Hadas. As Jaitra Singh, son of Samar Singh, had taken the leading part in suppressing the tribes, he was allowed to keep control over that region with Kota as its capital in 1274. He also measured swords with Goda, Panwar and the Med Rajputs, and captured Kaithun, Siswali, Barod, Railawan, Ramgarh, Mau and Sangod. Thus the Hada kingdom during his time extended over a large part of the present Bundi and Kota districts.3

Samar Singh also seems to have come into conflict with the Turks. About 1252-53 he successfully defended Bundi and Ranthambhor against Balban's raid. But when Ala'uddin's forces invaded the fort of Bambavada, he met his end in a heroic defence against the invaders.4

4 Dr. M. L. Sharma, Kota Rajya-ka-Itihas, I, 62-63; Tod, Annals, Vol. III, 1478-79; Majumdar, The Struggle for Empire, 121.
NAPUJI AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Samar Singh was succeeded by Napuji. Napuji, like his father, brought Maheshdas Khichi and Ropal Solanki under subjection, and wrested Palaitha and Toda respectively from them at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In his action against the Solankis, Jaitra Singh of Kota died. These victories enabled Napuji to extend the limits of his kingdom up to Patan-in the south and Toda in the north. He probably met his end in one of his engagements against Alauddin Khalji in 1304.5

After the death of Napuji, his son, Hallu, ascended the throne, but his reign was short. The only remarkable achievement recorded about him is that he subdued the chief of Sisvali, when he tried to assume independence. He abdicated in favour of his son and retired to live a peaceful life at Varanasi.6

Hallu's successor, Bir Singh, proved to be an incompetent ruler; so confusion and disorder were inevitable. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, Rana Lakha (1382-1420) of Mewar marched against Bir Singh. Bir was defeated and the fortresses of Mandalgarh and Bambavada were captured by the Rana, who also subjugated other Hadala lands. In 1432 Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujarat extracted tribute from Bundi and Kota. Three times (in 1449, 1453 and 1459) Mahmud Khalji of Mandu led his army against Bundi. In its last defence, Bir Singh, the ruler of Bundi, lost his life. The Sultan carried off two of his sons, Samar Singh and Amar Singh, to Mandu and converted them to the Muslim faith. They were given the names of Samarkandi and Umarkandi.7 Unfortunately the weak successors of the energetic early rulers had not the courage or the ability to save the kingdom from the aggressions of its external enemies.

After the death of Jaitra Singh, referred to above, Surjan and Dhirdeh occupied the throne of Kota. Their reigns also were not marked by any event of importance except the construction of twelve lakes in the vicinity of the town. But during the days of aggression and disorder, they remained loyal to the dynasty of Bundi.8

Bando, the next ruler of Bundi, devoted himself energetically to the suppression of disorder. He distributed grain freely in the famine stricken areas. But finding his position weak, his two apostate brothers

6 Bundi-ki-Taurikh.
attacked his kingdom. As a result Bando was driven back with heavy losses to the hills of Matunda, where he died in 1503.9

RAO NARAIN

The military record of Rao Narain, son of Bando, is one of triumph. In order to centralize the authority of the state, he embarked upon the policy of suppressing those nobles who had made themselves independent. This he succeeded in accomplishing with the faithful services of some of the Hada chiefs. He frustrated an attempt on the part of the Sultan of Malwa to take possession of Haraotí by having Daud, son of Samarkandi, murdered. He also fought against the Sultan of Malwa in alliance with Rana Raimal of Chitor. His relations with Mewar were further strengthened when the Rana married his niece to him. He also joined the Rajput confederacy under the leadership of Rana Sanga against Babur at Khanua in 1527. The courageous Rao, who had done so much for his state, was assassinated about 1529 due to a conspiracy organised by a baronial clique, headed by the sief-holder of Khatkado, when he and his brother, Narbad, were engaged in a hunting excursion.10 Up to this time the dynasty of the Hadas seems to have acknowledged the political preeminence of Mewar, and the state of Kota was in subordination to Bundi Raj.11

9 Rajasthan District Gazetteers, Bundi, 36.
XIII. THE KACHHWAHAS OF DHUNDHAR

ORIGIN OF THE KACHHWAHAS

The origin of the Kachhwahas of Dhundhar, who ruled over the principality of Jaipur, including Shekawati, has been a subject of acute controversy. The prevalent legend traces back their lineage to Kush, the second son of Rama, who ruled at Ayodhya. On the other hand, most modern scholars hold that the dynasty of these rulers was named after the region which was originally occupied by a tribe, known as Kacchapakas. As this tribe was subdued by them, they naturally took the title of Kacchhapaha, Kacchapaghata and Kacchapahana. In common speech they were called Kachhwahas. Some writers link up the Kachhwahas with Kacchapavahini, the family deity of this sept, while others are inclined to believe that the rulers of this dynasty traced their origin to Kurma, the father of Vatsavagha. We do not know in what exact relation Kurma stood to the founder of this dynasty, but we learn from some epigraphs that he was an outstanding monarch owing whom several rulers of this house have been called Kurnavamsi, a title which corresponds to Kachwaha.

Whatever might have been the origin of the dynasty, it appears that the early ancestors of Kachhwahas migrated from eastern India to Rohtas on the Sone river, and from there after several generations, Raja Nal migrated westward across the Jumna. His followers ruled over the territories of Gwalior, Dubkunda and Narwar as subordinate chiefs of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. But when the power of the Gurjara-Pratiharas disintegrated, the Kachhwahas became independent.

DULLAH RAI AND HIS SUCCESSORS

While branches of the Kachwaha dynasty were ruling at Gwalior, Dubkunda and Narwar, Dullah Rai, a scion of the Narwar branch, defeated the Badgujara and took possession of the fortress of Dosa. He then reduced the Mina chief of Manch and built the fort of Ramgarh. Later on he compelled other Minas to submit to him and to surrender Khoha, Jhotwada and Caiitor. Thus after years of warfare Dullah Rai is said to have subdued many petty chiefs, both

2 Bengal Asiatic Report, 1913, 24.
4 Sangamner Inscription, V.S. 1658; Revana Temple Inscription, V.S. 1661; Lili Inscription, V.S. 1803, 1814; Cahanot, Jaipur and Ahcar Rajya-ku-Ithas, 55-58.
5 Sasubahu Temple Inscription, Gwalior, V.S. 1150; IA, XV, 33-46.
Rajputs and Minas, and to have founded the small state of Dhundhar. When returning on one occasion from visiting the shrine of Jamwaya Mata, his passage through that region was opposed by the Minas, who had temporarily acknowledged his supremacy. He gave them battle but was killed after slaying a vast number of his foes.  

His son, Kakildeva, gathered a powerful army and resumed the struggle against the Minas. He captured the fort of Amber about 1037 from Bhatto, the leader of the Soosawat Minas, and made it his headquarters. He also subdued the Yadavas and added Med and Bairat to his territory.

Janaddeva emulated the exploits of his grandfather, Kakildeva, by defeating the Minas again. The next ruler, Panjandeva, seems to have come into conflict with the Chandels and wrested Mahoba from them. He was one of those who enabled Prithviraja Chauhan to carry off Samyogita, the princess of Kanauj. But he met his end in the battle of Tarain while fighting against the Churids.

Punjandeva was succeeded from about 1070 to 1389 by a series of rulers—Malsi, Bijaldeva, Ramdeva, Kilhan, Kuntal, Jansi, Udaikaran, Narsingh and others—who were not wanting in warlike qualities. Malsi, for example, gained a victory at Rutrali over the ruler of Mandu. Others also increased their resources by raids against the Minas, Chauhans and Yadavas, and became independent masters of Dhundhar. They were followed by Udaikaran and Chandrasen, who defeated the Qaim-khanis sometime between 1439 and 1467 and brought the productive area of Shekhawati within their territory. These rulers, in order to consolidate the newly acquired regions, seem to have assigned appanages to their younger sons who were styled as ‘Narukas’, ‘Patalas’, ‘Pithavats’, ‘Shekhawats’, ‘Nathavats’, etc., after the names of their progenitors.

Chandrasen was succeeded by his son, Prithviraja (1503-27), who was a devoted follower of Krishinadas, a Ramanuja of Galta. His wife, Balabai, was also a great devotee. As a feudatory of Rana Sangha, he fought against Babur and helped in removing the wounded Rana from the battle-field. He reorganized the Kachhwa nobility in twelve chambers, styled as the bara kotri. In course of time the descendants of this hereditary aristocracy were elevated to high positions, both in the state and outside it. The separation of the branch of Jobner, for example, led to the establishment of several baronial fiefs belonging to the Khangarot branch of the Kachhwas.

6 Tod, Annals, 282.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid., 284; Cambridge History of India, Vol. III. 534.
XIV. THE YADAVAS OF KARAULI

VIJAYAPALA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Like the Bhatis of Jaisalmer, the chiefs of Karauli also belonged to the Yadava clan of Rajputs. This Yadava dynasty of Karauli began with Vijayapala. He migrated from Mathura and settled in the hilly region of eastern Rajasthan, where he laid the foundation of the fort and the capital of Vijayamandirgarh in 1040. This fort was later on known as Bayana. The Khyata writers refer to his conflict with the Turkish invaders from Ghazni. In contemporary records he is called Paramabhattarakaka, which establishes his political preeminence in this line. He may have lived till 1093. The fort of Bayana, as we shall see, was captured by the Ghurid invaders.¹

Tawanpala (1093-1159), son of Vijayapala, was a powerful king of this dynasty. In the course of a long reign of sixty-six years he did much to increase the power of his kingdom by constructing the fort of Tawangarh (the Thankar of Persian histories), fifteen miles from Bayana, and by making fresh conquests. He extended his kingdom by bringing within it the major parts of Dang, Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Gudgaon, Mathura, Agra and Gwalior. His political sovereignty over the wide expanse of territory is further established by his title of Paramabhattarakaka Maharajadhira Parameswara.²

The two succeeding rulers, who followed Tawanpala, could not maintain their hold over their patrimony, partly due to the conflicts within the family and partly owing to the growing power of their feudatories. They also failed in opposing Mu'izzuddin Ghuri, who took possession of Bayana and Tawangarh (or Thankar) in 1196. From 1196 to 1327 the chronology of this line is uncertain. It seems that this period was marked by disorder and that the fortunes of the dynasty had declined for a time.³

RAJA ARJUNPALA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Raja Arjunpala (1327-61), son of Gokuldeva, was one of the greatest kings of this dynasty. By defeating Miyan Makkhan of Mandraval, who was unpopular in the region, he again got a foothold in his home territory. He further established his authority over his kingdom by suppressing the Minas and the Panwar Rajputs. He

1 Jaisalmer Khyat; Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. 20, 38; Karauli Gazetteer, 2.
2 Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. 20, 3.
3 Chronology of India, 170.
is also credited with having founded the town of Kalyanpur (Karauli) in 1348, and making it beautiful with mansions, lakes, gardens and temples.\footnote{4}{Elliot, Vol. V, 98; Gahlot, History of Rajputana, 601-2.}

Arjunpala's successors were more or less insignificant. They became involved in family feuds and this made them too weak to face the onslaught of their enemies. During the reign of Prithvipala, the Afghans captured Tawangarh (Thankar) in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Though he repulsed the attack of the ruler of Gwalior, he failed to suppress the Minas who had grown formidable.\footnote{5}{History of Rajputana, 602-3.}

Maharaja Chandrapal (fifteenth in the line) was a religious-minded ruler; he could not withstand the attack of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, who penetrated into his kingdom and stormed his capital in 1454. The victorious Sultan retired to his capital after handing over Karauli to his son, Fidvi Khan. After being ousted from Bayana, Chandrapala led the retired life of a devotee at Untagarh. It seems that he and his successors retained their authority over a narrow strip of land around the place of their refuge till one of his successors, Gopaldas, got back a portion of his territory during Akbar's time.\footnote{6}{Akbarnama, III, 157, 434, 598; Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, 564, 593.}
XV. THE TANWARS OF DHOLPUR

The early history of Dholpur is lost in darkness. According to local tradition, Dholpur derives its name from Raja Dholun Deva Tanwar (an offshoot of the family reigning at Delhi), who established his kingdom between the Chambal and Banganga rivers about 1005. He made Belpur on the Chambul the capital of his state, 10 miles south-west of the present town of Dholpur. He also seems to have built in the ravines of the Chambal a fort, the ruins of which can yet be seen.1

It is likely that the narrow strip of territory, which constituted this state, was a part of the kingdom of Kanauj, which under the Rathors extended westward towards the open country along the Chambal. For a while the Yadavas of Karauli also occupied some parts of this state as is proved by the fact that they built a fort at Dholpur in 1120.2

Before the Ghurid invasion a major part of the state was under Gwalior. Mu'izzuddin Ghuri overthrew the kingdom of Kanauj in 1194 and the forts of Bayana and Gwalior along with their territories came under the command of his generals in 1196. From this time onward the Tanwars tried to capture the Gwalior fort and the land round it; and there was a constant struggle during which the country beyond the Chambal was conquered and lost.3

In order to reduce Gwalior, Sikandar Lodi sent a force in 1502 under Alam Khan Mewati, Khan-i-Khanan Luhani and Khawas Khan to occupy Dholpur, which was a dependency of Gwalior. Raja Vinayakdeva, the ruler of Dholpur, resisted with all his might and caused a serious loss of men and material among the invaders. When the news of these reverses reached Sikandar, he lost no time in reaching the place of action. But as soon as it was known that the Sultan had arrived, Vinayakdeva retreated to Gwalior, leaving a handful of soldiers in the Dholpur fort. Before the overwhelming strength of the invaders the Rajputs could not hold the fort for long, and it came into Sikandar’s hands in 1504.

Flushed with this victory, the Sultan’s men laid waste the whole country, seized much booty, indulged in plunder and destroyed the temples. The fort was then put in charge of Adam Lodi. When

the Sultan was returning to Agra via Dholpur after his Gwalior campaign, he gave back Dholpur to Vinayakdeva. But when a campaign against Gwalior was again organized in 1505, the Raja was replaced by Qamaruddin and the fort was properly garrisoned. The Tanwar chiefs of Dholpur, it seems, gradually sank to the position of mere zamindars and finally succumbed to Babur after holding out for a short time. Under Akbar Dholpur belonged to the subah of Agra.4

4 Tarikh-i Daudi by Abdullah (Allahabad University Ms.), 68; Ma’asir-i Rahimi, Persian Text, I, 403; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Persian Text, I, 324; Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani (India Office Library Ms.), 101; A. B. Pandey, The First Afghan Empire in India, 132-35.
XVI. THE MEWATIS

The region of Mewat may be roughly described as north-eastern Rajasthan which contained parts of Dig, Bharatpur, Rewari and Alwar. From local tradition it appears that the whole of Mewat was held by the Yaduvamshi Rajputs continuously from about the eighth century to the thirteenth century. Mahesh, the lord of Mewat, is said to have offered homage to Bisaladeva Chauhan of Ajmer. His descendant, Mangal, who had strengthened his position by entering into matrimonial alliance with the Dahiya Rajputs, attempted to assert his own power against the Chauhans; but Prithviraja III coerced him into obedience. Largely in cooperation with the Chauhans and other dynasties in eastern Rajasthan, they engaged in wars against the Turks.1

The earliest mention of the Mewatis in Muslim chronicles is found with reference to Iltutmish, who captured Bayana, Tawangarh (Thankar) and a part of Alwar and took prompt measures to check their power. But his success proved temporary; and the Mewatis got back the greater part of their lost territory as soon as the Turkish forces were withdrawn. As the century progressed, they continued their offensive. Early in the reign of Mu’izzuddin Bahram, hostilities between the Mewatis and the Turks began again. Chiyasuddin Balban, then governor of Hansi and Rewari, sent an army against the ‘Hindu rebels of Kohpayah’. This compelled them to take to organized plunder and robbery along with the Chauhans. They harried the districts under Turkish control and carried their arms up to the outskirts of Delhi.

Again when the government of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud was facing the formidable danger of Qutlugh Khan’s rebellion and the invasion of the Mongols, the Mewatis, under the leadership of one Malka, revived their marauding activities; they seized cattle from the districts of Hansi, Haryana, the Siwalik region and Bayana in 1256 and distributed them among the Rajputs who were living as far as Ranthambhor. In 1258 Balban twice invaded and devastated Mewat, but the enterprises of the Mewatis continued unabated. Their success must be attributed partly to the incompetence of

1 Cunningham, Reports, XX, ii; Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III, 167-68; Elliot, Vol. IV, 278; Ojha, Rajputana, I, 238.
Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and partly to the extent and density of the jungles which sheltered them.²

It was only after Balban had ascended the throne that the Mewati menace was rooted out. He first suppressed the Mewatis and captured their fortresses. Other neighbouring chiefs, who had been cooperating with them, were also reduced to obedience. The woods round the capital were cleared and the dens of the robbers were converted into guard-houses assigned to Afghans. By putting a large number of Mewatis to the sword, the region was rendered safe and freed from trouble for a long time. For about a century after that the Mewati chiefs appear to have maintained cordial relations with the Turks.³ The Yaduvamshi Rajputs, the ancestors of the present Meos and Khanzadas, were probably converted to Islam during the reign of Firuz Tughluq.

After the death of Firuz Shah, Bahadur Nahir, who was a very powerful Mewati chief and resided in a fort (Kotal or Kotila) in the Tijara hills, occupied a prominent place among the nobles of Delhi. He was a gallant and active warrior and fought for Abu Bakr Shah against Prince Nasiruddin Muhammad Tughluq, but in the end he suffered a severe defeat and Muhammad occupied the throne in 1390. After that Bahadur Nahir was treated as a rebel chief by Muhammad Tughluq and his successor, Nasiruddin Mahmud Tughluq. The imperial forces ravaged Mewat and plundered the lands of Bahadur Nahir several times. But Bahadur continued his resistance by occupying a strategical position in Jhirka and making inroads into environs of Delhi.⁴

It appears that Bahadur Nahir’s attitude towards Timur in 1398 was one of submission. But when Saiyyid Khizr Khan laid claim to suzerainty, Bahadur opposed him and did not lose heart even when his main fortress, Kotila, was levelled with the ground by the Saiyyids in 1421. Thus Bahadur Nahir played a prominent part on the political stage for more than thirty years, both by asserting his authority at the court of Delhi and by strengthening his position within the hilly ranges of Mewat.⁵

Khizr Khan was succeeded in 1421 by Saiyyid Mubarak Shah, who concentrated his energies on suppressing the Mewatis. A force was despatched in 1424 to ravage rebellious Mewat. The Mewatis, on

⁴ For Bahadur Nahir’s activities prior to Timur’s invasion, see the chapter on, ‘The Successors of Firuz Shah’.
their part, laid waste their own country, took refuge in the hilly fast-
ness of Jahara and forced the imperial army to retreat. In order to
reduce them to obedience, Saiyyid Mubarak Shah marched against
Jallu and Kaddu, the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir, in 1425. They,
receiving assistance from other Mewatis, laid waste their own territ-
tories and retreated to Indor, a place of refuge in the Tijara hills. The
imperial army laid siege to Indor and captured it. Flushed with this
success, it advanced and captured Alwar. In the campaign of 1427
Kaddu was put to death, but Jallu continued his stubborn resistance.
A year later Mubarak again marched against Mewat, carrying fire and
sword throughout the land, and compelled the Mewatis to come to
terms.6

In 1451 Bahlul Lodi succeeded to the imperial throne. In order
to make his position strong against his neighbours, he led his army
against Ahmad Khan Mewati, who held the country from Mahruali
to Ladhu Serai, near Delhi. Ahmad offered a stubborn resistance, but
was overpowered by Bahlul, who reduced him to obedience and
forced him to send his uncle, Mubarak Khan, as his representative
to the Delhi court. He was deprived of seven parganas, but was allowed
to retain the rest of his land as a tributary. But when Ahmad Khan
supported the cause of Husain Shah of Jaunpur in 1465, Bahlul
chastized him and induced him to submit after immense losses.7

During Sikandar Lodi’s reign, though Alam Khan Mewati held the
position of a respected noble at the Delhi court, Mewat was not
included in the kingdom of Delhi. In the period of confusion following
the rebellions of Ibrahim Lodi’s officers and the emergence of the new
power of the Mughals, Hasan Khan Mewati, following the example
of his forcfathers, declared his independence. He joined hands with
Rana Sanga against Babur and fell fighting in the battle of Khanua.
Babur advanced from Fathpur Sikri, occupied the important outposts
of Mewat and gave a pargana to Nahir Khan, son of Hasan Mewati,
who swore fealty to him. Thus the Khanzadas as a political force ceased
to exist. Unlike Bahadur Nahir and Hasan Mewati, they never appeared
as the powerful opponents or allies of the Mughal empire. Their power-
ful forts of Tijara and Alwar were controlled by the Mughal governors
or fort-commandants. Of course, the Khanzadas retained their local
importance, which did not quite disappear till the present century.8

7 Yadgar, Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afaghina, 10 (Bib. Ind. P.T.); Nizamuddin, Tabaqat-i
Akbari, I, 302-8 (Bib. Ind. P.T.); Abdul Baqi, Ma’anir-i Rahimi, I, 441-46; Ni’amatullah :
Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani, 81; Pandley, The First Afghan Empire in India, 67, 78.
8 Baburnama (Beveridge), Vol. II, 573; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat, Vol. II, 38; Briggs,
G. N. Sharma, Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, 37.