The Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhōṛs of Meṛṭo, Rājasthān

Select Translations Bearing on the History of a Rajpūṭ Family, 1462–1660

Volume 1–2

Richard Saran and Norman P. Ziegler, Translators and Annotators

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN CENTER FOR SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES
VOLUME ONE

TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

WITH

APPENDICES, GLOSSARY, INTRODUCTORY MATERIAL,

AND INDEXES
Dedication

This work is dedicated to Nārāyaṇ Śīṃh Bhāṭī, Sītāraṃ Lāḷas, Badriprasād Sākariyā, and John D. Smith,

Who edited the texts,
Compiled the dictionaries,
And wrote the grammars

Without which our endeavors would have been impossible.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The translations and accompanying notes which make up this work were originally funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH grant no. RL-00052-80-0960, 4-1-1980-3-31-1981). We are deeply grateful to the Endowment and its staff, particularly Dr. Susan Mango, David J. Wallace, Joyce F. Wendell, and Carrie Wolf, for their constant support both during the period of the grant and afterward. We also wish to express our appreciation to the anonymous reviewers who examined our proposal and found it worthy of consideration.

A special word of thanks is due to Dr. John D. Smith, of Cambridge, who read an early version of the translations with their accompanying notes and presented us with an outstanding critical commentary of immense value. He has saved us from many errors. In no way can he be held responsible for those that remain.

Many other persons have helped us in a variety of ways over the twenty years we have worked on this project. Frances Taft provided us with rare books from Rajasthan and thoughtful queries that led us to expand several areas of our research. Kailash Dan Ujwal and the late Indranath Bohra of Jodhpur, Rajasthan have both been helpful answering our questions about local history and culture. Peter E. Hook never ceased to prod us toward getting these volumes published. John F. Richards, Thomas R. Trautmann, and Stewart Gordon were decent enough to read portions of our work and offer enthusiastic encouragement. Members of the Rajasthan Studies Group, by their periodic questions and unceasing curiosity, have provided us with a powerful incentive to do justice to our sources and publish our results.

The late Om P. Sharma, formerly South Asia Bibliographer at the University of Michigan, was instrumental in acquiring books and microfilms on Rajasthan which simplified much of our research. Maureen Patterson, during her tenure as South Asia Bibliographer at the University of Chicago, helped provide us with copies of texts otherwise impossible to acquire.

Finally, we owe much to our spouses, Patricia Saran and Judy Ziegler, our friends, and our families, who somehow managed to remain both supportive and sympathetic over so many years.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF MAPS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSLATIONS</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. The Texts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Mumhato Nainsi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Conventions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Translation Methodology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Transliteration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Spelling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Abbreviations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Paragraphing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Manuscript variants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Dates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAJPUT SOCIAL ORGANIZATION</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUCCESSION LISTS</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRONOLOGY</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE TRANSLATIONS</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Vigat, 2:37-77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. &quot;Aitihasik Bāṭāṁ,&quot; pp. 42-44</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. &quot;Aitihasik Bāṭāṁ,&quot; pp. 48-56</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Khyaṭ, 3:38-40</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Khyaṭ, 3:87-102</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Khyaṭ, 3:115-122</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A: Some Important Towns of Middle Period Rājāsthān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B: Lists of Men Killed in Battles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C: Paṭo of Meṛtīyo Jagmāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīramdevot, 1559</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D: Mughal Land Revenue Administration: An Overview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOSSARY</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX OF PLACE NAMES</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration

1. Figure 1: Rajput Units of Descent ........ 68

LIST OF MAPS

Map

1. Middle Period Mārvār ........ 80-81
2. Jāt Migrations and Settlements ........ 85-86
3. Mārvār Terrain of the Battle of Samel, 1544 ........ 118-119
4A-B. Pato of Mertiyo Jagmāl Vīramdevot, 1559 ........ 128-129
5. Administrative Divisions of Meṛto Pargano, ca. 1660 ........ 153-154

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1. Yearly Pargano Revenue Totals ........ 30
2. Increase in Revenue Totals during Naiṣṭī’s Tenure as Des-Dīvān ........ 31
3. V.S. 1715 is Considered a Transitional Year ........ 32
4. Percentage Increase in Revenue Collected, V.S. 1711-14 ........ 33
INTRODUCTION

The edited translations that comprise Volume I of this publication, and the Marriage and Family Lists and Biographical Notes that make up Volume II have one primary purpose: to provide a basis for better understanding Rajpūts and the kingdoms of Rājasthān during the pre-modern period. Until recently, one major English language source has dominated this field: James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.* Tod was among the first British army officers of the early nineteenth century to gain an in-depth view of Rajpūts and Rājasthānī society. His comprehensive history of Rājasthān and its local kingdoms bespeaks his knowledge, gained through years of association with this area and painstaking work with local documents. Yet Tod himself was unaware of the sources used for the translations, the marriage lists, and the biographical notes which comprise these volumes. For his "Annals of Marwar," Tod relied primarily upon two poetic works from the period of Maharājā Abhāysinghjī of Jodhpur (1724-49): *Sūraj Prakās* by Cāraṇ Kaviyā Karṇīḍānējī, and *Rājrūpak* by Ratnū Cāraṇ Kaviyā Vīrbhān, supplemented with material from Rāṭhor genealogies (vamsāvalīs) and from local informants. These works were greatly inadequate, even in Tod's own estimation, for the periods prior to the reign of Maharājā Ajītsinghjī of Jodhpur (1707-24).

The writings of a number of historians in the last century have, of course, added much information to Tod's *Annals.* These include notably *Vir Vinod* by Cāraṇ Kavirājā Śyāmaldās in Urdu (Devanāgarī script), and the histories *Rājpūtāne kā Itihās* by Paṇḍit Gaurīśāṅkar Hīrācand Ojhā and *Mārvār*

---

6 Śyāmaldās, Kavirājā, *Vir Vinod,* 2 vols. in 4 parts (Udaipur: Rājyantrālaya, V. S. 1943 [A. D. 1886]).
kā Itihās by Paṇḍit Bīśveśvar Nāth Reu\textsuperscript{8} in Hindi. These works now serve as basic reference tools for historians of Rājasthān. More recently, scholars have begun publishing research in English and Hindi based upon the use of local sources, thereby making information on Rājasthānī history and culture available to a wider and less specialized audience.\textsuperscript{9} Only a very few original historical materials have been published in translation,\textsuperscript{10} however, despite the importance of Rājpūts and their unique role in the history of pre-modern north India.

Richard Saran and I present here for the first time in English an integrated series of original documents dealing with the history of a Rājpūt kingdom during the "middle period."\textsuperscript{11} The documents deal with the Rāḥor

\begin{footnotes}

\item[9] The bibliography following the two introductory sections includes a sampling of more recent works on Rajasthani history and culture. A full bibliography of English, Hindi, and Rājasthānī materials would require a separate volume.


\item[11] The term "middle period" designates a rather broad span of Rājpūt history extending roughly from the 12th century of the Christian Era into the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The period is defined according to Rājpūt traditions which mark its "beginning" in the 8th through 12th centuries. It was during this period that the Kṣatriya ancestors of the Rājpūts lost their kingdoms in northern and western India to the Muslims, and began their migrations into the area of Rājasthān. The period of migrations is seen as a time when authority was lost, when there was "mixing" among the castes, and when rank was cast in doubt. The middle period itself represents an era during which the Rājpūt successors to the Kṣatriyas re-established their former positions of rank through the conquest of new kingdoms and the reassertion of their authority. This period ends in the early 18th century with the decline of Mughal rule in north India and the Mahratta invasions of Rājasthān. It was during this time that the local sovereignties of Rājasthān once again came into jeopardy. The designation of middle period speaks to Rājpūt conceptions of history defined in terms of a cyclical alteration: rulership and order - loss of rank, distress and migration - re-conquest and reassertion of rank and authority.

For further comments, see: N. P. Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service in Rajasthani Culture: A Social History of the Rajputs of Middle Period Rajasthān"
Rajputs of Mārvār, western Rājasthān. They trace the history of a particular branch (sākh) of Rāthors, the Mērtīyos of Mērto in eastern Mārvār, over a period of some two hundred years from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, and detail their relationship with the Jodho Rāṭhor ruling house of Jodhpur and with other contemporary ruling houses of Rājasthān and north India.

We have chosen to focus on the Mērtīyos for several reasons. Their story records the emergence of a Rajput brotherhood (bhāībandh - lit. "brother-bound") into local prominence and follows the establishment of their kingdom on the eastern edge of Mārvār as a defined territorial unit. The evolution of the Mērtīyos as a brotherhood passed through several clearly defined stages. With regard to Jodhpur, Mērtīyo relations were characterized initially, in the mid-fifteenth century, by a mixture of mutual support among brothers and brothers' sons against outsiders, and by internal hostility over shares of ancestral lands, locally termed grās-vedh (lit. "share-battle"), among these same brothers. A second stage developed in the early sixteenth century and involved a clear separation of the Mērtīyos from the house of Jodhpur, with Mērtīyo attempts to consolidate their claims to ancestral lands within their own kingdom and to assert an equal precedence alongside Jodhpur. A study of the Mērtīyos in this context allows a unique view of the formation of a strong and independent Rajput cadet line, of the establishment and defense of a local territory, and of the internal relations among Rajput brotherhoods regarding issues of precedence, honor, patronage and service. The hostilities with Jodhpur that the Mērtīyo assertion of independence engendered occurred at a time of great political and social change in north India. This change included the collapse of the Delhi Sultānate before the Mughal advance under Bābur, the rise of the Afghan Sher Shāh Sūr (1540-45) to rule in Delhi, and the reconsolidation of Mughal authority under Akbar (1556-1605).

The long and bitter struggle between the Mērtīyos and Jodhpur was not isolated from these events taking place in north India. Rāv Vīrāmde Dūdāvat, ruler of Mērto (ca. 1497-1544) and son of one of the original founders of Mērto, was among the first local rulers in Rājasthān to form an alliance with the Muslims. He sought out Sher Shāh in 1543 to petition for aid in the recovery of his lands in Mārvār, which Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) had usurped in ca. 1535. Sher Shāh agreed to help Rāv Vīrāmde to further his own ends in Rājasthān. Sher Shāh's victory against Rāv Mālde at the battle of Samel (near Ajmer) on January 5, 1544 was due in great part to Rāv Vīrāmde's support. Rāv Vīrāmde was then able to return to the rule of Mērto.

With Akbar's succession to the Mughal throne in 1556, the nature of the conflict between these two Rāṭhor brotherhoods shifted from a question of local force to that of the legitimizing sanction of the Mughal Emperor's grant of jāgīr. Rāv Jaimal Vīrāmdeyot, Rāv Vīrāmde's son and successor to the rulership of Mērto (ca. 1544-57, 1562), soon became involved with the Mughals in his own attempts to secure his rights to ancestral lands. When Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur...
again usurped these lands, Jaimal joined Mughal service under Akbar and returned to Mārvār with a force of Mughals under the command of Mirzā Sharafu’d-Dīn Ḥusayn. They met Rāv Mālde’s warriors before Merṭo in 1562 and defeated them with great loss. Rāv Jaimal afterwards received Merṭo in ḥāgīr from Akbar.

Six years later, in 1568, this same Rāv Jaimal stood against Akbar at the historic battle of Citor in Mevār. Rāv Jaimal was related by marriage to the Sīsodiyo Gahlot ruling family. His father, Rāv Viramde, had married a daughter of Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Rāymal Kūṃbhāvat of Citor (ca. 1473-1509), and a daughter of one of his paternal uncles, Rātanī Dūdāvat, had been married to the Sīsodiyo Bhoyrāj Sāṅgāvat, a son of Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot (1509-28). This daughter was later to become the famous bhaktī poetess of Rājasthān known as Mīrāmātī. Rāv Jaimal was a leading commander of Rāṇo Sāṅgo’s successor, Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72). There at Citor during the battle against Akbar, Rāv Jaimal was killed by Akbar himself while Jaimal supervised the filling of a breach in the walls of the fort. Because of Rāv Jaimal’s display of great bravery at Citor, Akbar had his likeness carved in stone seated upon an elephant and placed at the entrance to the main gateway of the Red Fort in Agra, alongside that of Sīsodiyo Pato Jāgāvat, another distinguished Rajput warrior from this battle.

Rāv Jaimal’s son, Kesodās Jaimalot, and a paternal nephew, Narhardās Īsardāsot, were among the first Rāthors to enter Mughal service following the battle of Citor, and to give their daughters in marriage to the Mughals. Narhardās joined Akbar’s service ca. 1570 and married his uterine sister, Purāṅ Bāī, to Akbar in return for Akbar’s support of Kesodās’ claims to rulership at Merṭo. Shortly thereafter, Kesodās himself married one of his daughters to Akbar’s son, Prince Salīm (Jahangīr). A contemporary of theirs, Mērtīyo Kesodās Bhīṃvot, known in Mughal circles as Kesodās Mārū, was also in Akbar’s service. Under Akbar, he rose to considerable prominence.

---


13 Khyāt, 1:21; Reu, Mārvāṛ kā Itihas, 1:103, n. 5.

14 Regarding this marriage, see Vigat, 2:70 of the translated text, infra, and Biographical Note no. 119 for Meṭtiyō Kesodās Jaimalot. The details of this marriage are unfortunately shrouded in some uncertainty.

15 Kesodās Māṛū Bhīṃvot does not figure in the portions of text that we have translated. He is mentioned here because he was yet another among a number of Meṭtiyōs and other Rāṭhōrs whose careers were based upon service under the Mughals. Kesodās Māṛū was a Meṭtiyō of the Varsiṅghot branch (sākha), descended from Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat, one of the founders of Merṭo. Under Mughal Emperor Akbar, he rose to a position of influence and held the ḥāgīr of Vadhnor in northern Mevār over a period of years. He died sometime during the reign of Akbar’s successor, Jahangīr (1605-1628). See Rāṭhorom kī Khyāt Purānī Kaviṛgāṭī Murārdānī ke Yahāṁ se Likhī Gāṛ, Ms. no. 15677, no. 2, Rajasthan Prācyavidya Pratisthān, Jodhpur, p. 584.
members of this family in this and later generations were among the important Rajput warriors of the Mughals in campaigns in Gujarat, the Deccan and north India. These examples indicate not only the prominence to which Mertiyoos rose in the middle period, but also their intimate involvement in both local affairs and in the affairs of north India. Their careers and those of other contemporary Rajputs detailed in the translation material and in the biographical notes that accompany the translations, provide excellent data for the study of changing patterns and perspectives among individual Rajputs of the period.

Although Akbar initially recognized Mertiyo claims to local lands, with time all of Meerto became incorporated within the vatan jagir of the Jodho Rathor rulers of Jodhpur. Mertiyo responses to this subordination varied from cooperation and acceptance to outright protest and migration from Marvar itself. On the whole, however, most Mertiyos remained, for a time at least, outwardly accepting of Jodhpur authority. Then, after the death of Maharaja Jasvantsingh Gajsinghot of Jodhpur (1638-78), the Mertiyos again rebelled and sought to reassert rights as individuals and families to ancestral lands. This conflict occurred during a period of great local instability culminating in the Rajput wars against the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. This latter period of instability lies beyond the scope of the texts translated here, but its mention may serve to place in perspective the tenuous compromise of statecraft that evolved in Marwar over a century of Mughal suzerainty in the north. From the broader perspective of political and social change in north India in the middle period, the history of the Mertiyos offers, because of its integral connection with the fortunes of Jodhpur and Rajasthān as a whole, a deeper understanding of local rulership and authority, and of the impact of Muslim and particularly Mughal rule in north India on the organization and structure of a Rajput kingdom.

The companion Volume II that accompanies the translated material is organized in two parts. The first part provides detailed Marriage and Family Lists for the Jodho Rathor Rulers of Jodhpur. These lists extend over ten generations beginning with Rāv Jodho Rînmalot (ca. 1453-89), the founder of Jodhpur, whose sons, Varsinigh and Dùód Jodhavat, settled Meerto and laid the foundations for Mertiyo rule in eastern Marvar, and ending with Rājā Javantsinigh Gajsinghot (1638-78). The enumerations of wives, of sons, and of daughters and their places of marriage (where known), offer an important perspective on patterns of alliance within the ruling family of Rathors over a two-hundred-year period. They mark the manner in which these alliances evolved in relation to changing political fortunes in Marvar and neighboring Rajput kingdoms, and in the Muslim kingdoms of northern and western India, to the rulers of a number of which the Rathors of Jodhpur also gave daughters in marriage.

The Biographical Notes which follow the Marriage and Family Lists include entries for one hundred and sixty-three individuals mentioned in the translated texts. The majority of these notes (nos. 1-153) are about Rajputs of different families (kul) and branches (sākhān) who played roles of varying importance in the history of Meerto and Jodhpur during the period under review. There are also notes (nos. 154-163) about the Khānzādā Khān Muslims who
controlled Nāgaur during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and interacted in varying degrees with the Rāṭhoṛs of Jodhpur and Merto, and about members of several administrative jātīs of local importance including the Bhanḍārīs, Mumhatos and Pañcolīs.

These notes draw on information from a variety of sources, among the most important of which are the genealogical materials in the khyāts of Nainsī and Kavirājī Murārdānjī.16 Murārdān's khyāts were compiled contemporaneously with those of Nainsī, and one possesses an extensive genealogy of the Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛs which has been particularly helpful in the identification of Meṛtiyos who otherwise would remain obscure figures in the historical texts. The genealogies also furnish biographical data about these Rajpūts and their families, and allow the placement of individuals firmly within a network of kinship. Supplemented with material from other sources, they greatly facilitate an understanding of individual actions within a generational perspective.

The biographical notes are organized according to the different Rajpūt families (kul) and branches (sākhāṇ). They provide details about individuals who figure in the translated texts, and where appropriate, about the founders of particular branches. Three Jeso Bhaṭis are mentioned in the translated material, for example (see Biographical Notes nos. 1-3). All were military servants of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). One was killed in 1544 while defending the fort of Jodhpur against attack from Sher Shāh Sūr and his forces following Rāv Mālde's defeat at the battle of Samel. The other two died fighting at the battle of Meṛto in 1562, when Rāv Mālde's forces at the Mālgadh came under attack from the combined forces of Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Viṇamdevot and the Mughal commander, Mīrzā Sharaufud-Dīn Ḫusayn. Very little is known about these three men other than their places and dates of death. But the Jeso Bhaṭi as a group played an important role as supporters of the Rāṭhoṛ house of Jodhpur beginning with Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot (ca. 1453-89), and one Jeso Bhaṭī, Goyannās Mānāvat, later became pradhān of Jodhpur under Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisīnghot (1595-1619). Information is provided, therefore, about the founding ancestor of the Jeso Bhaṭīs of Mārvāṛ, Jeso Kalikaraṇot, and his sons and

---


17 Kavirāj Murārdānjī ki Khyāt kā Tarjumā, Ms. no. 25658, no. 1, Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur; Rāthoraṇṇ kī Khyāt Purāṇī Kavirājī Murārdānjī ke Yathāṃ se Likhī Gāi, Ms. no. 15672, no. 2, Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur; Rājputọṇ kī Khyāt: Kavirājī Murārdānjī kī Khyāt kā Tarjumā, Ms. no. 15671, no. 3, Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

18 Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 444-463. Frances Taft has supplied us with another Meṛtiyo genealogy, copied from the Udaibhāṅ Chāmpāvat ri Khyāt, but unfortunately too late to be used for these volumes. It appears that this text may have been the original Middle Mārvāṛ version of Murārdān, no. 2, which is mostly written in Hindi.
grandsons in order to set forth a context from which to understand the lives and actions of those individuals named in the translated material.

Lastly, some Rajpūts mentioned in the translation were individuals of importance both locally and at the Mughal court. One such individual was Dhīrāvat Kachvāho Rāmdās Ḫudāvat (see Biographical Note no. 19). Rāmdās rose from rather humble beginnings to a position of considerable power and influence at the Mughal court as a favorite of both Emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr. A broader range of information is, therefore, available about Rāmdās from both local documents and genealogies, and from Mughal Imperial writings including the works of Abū al-Fazl19 and the Memoirs of Emperor Jahāngīr.20 These materials provide a rich tapestry of information about the life of this important Rajpūt, which has been incorporated in his biographical note.

It is hoped that these two volumes together will offer the reader a unique opportunity to read and learn about Rajpūts and the history of Rājasthān from a local and individual perspective.

The remaining portions of this introductory section to Volume I provide information about the sources from which the translated materials were selected including a discussion of Mumhato Nainsī, the methodology employed in the translations, and the conventions used. Lastly, there is a section of importance to the general reader on Rajpūt social organization during the middle period.

Norman Ziegler
Denver, Colorado

---


INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSLATIONS

I. The Texts.

We have selected for translation six prose historical passages taken from three primary sources written in middle period Mārvār. These texts, except for a few short poems in Diṅgal,1 are in the same language, Middle Mārvārī, and were composed during the reign of Rājā Jasvantsingh (1638-1678) of Jodhpur. The passages translated all concern a pargano ("district") of Mārvār, Merto, and its rulers, the Mṛṭīyo Rāṭhors. They describe the founding of Mṛṭīyo rule at Merto town, the settling of the surrounding region, and events in the lives of leading Mṛṭīyos in the subsequent history of the pargano.

The longest of our selections is the Vāṭ Pargane Mṛte rī ("Account of Mṛto Pargano"). This vāṭ is contained in the Mārvār rā Parganāṁ rī Vigat,2 an enormous gazetteer-like work compiled and at least in part written by Mumhato Naiṃśi, an administrator who served both Rājā Gajsingh (1619-38) and Rājā Jasvantsingh of Jodhpur. The last year mentioned in this voluminous text is V.S. 1722/A.D. 1665-66; the data included within represent the efforts of several decades.

The Vigat ("List") gives historical and other information about seventeenth-century Jodhpur and its six adjoining parganos: Mṛto, Sojhat, Phālōdhī, Pokaraṇ, Jaitarāṇ, and Sivāṇo. The text is divided into seven major sections, entitled vāṭ, each of which concerns a particular pargano. The sections are subdivided into numbered entries or paragraphs. The largest section, the Vāṭ Pargane Jodhpur rī ("Account of Jodhpur Pargano"), contains 313 such entries; the Vāṭ Pargane Mṛte rī has 111. Every section begins with a short narrative, usually legendary in nature, discussing the early history of the pargano, and then continues in a chronological sequence of notes to record the coming to power of the Rāṭhor Rajputs within that pargano and subsequent events of local importance. The histories of Jodhpur and Mṛto parganos are much longer and more detailed than the others: the former comprises some 150 pages; the latter forty.

Following the chronicle entries, the sections each contain a mass of descriptive and statistical information. All the villages of the parganos are listed. Nearly every village is described in a brief note following its name, accompanied by statistics giving the yearly revenues produced by the village between V.S. 1715 and 1719 (A.D. 1658-59 to 1662-63). The kasbos, or main towns, of the parganos are discussed in more detail, with a census of households according to jāṭi given for

---


every *kasbo* save Jodhpur city. Besides all this, the sections have a variety of miscellaneous data: lists of taxes, information about local fairs, administrative classifications of villages, etc. John Smith has called the *Vigat* a kind of Domesday Book, and so it is. In its entirety, it provides more information about a region of India than does any other single source compiled prior to the advent of the British.

We have translated the first seventy entries of the *Vāt Pargane Mṛte ri*. These comprise the chronicle portion of this *vāt*; the last forty-one entries are all statistical or descriptive in nature. The *Vāt* begins with a legend concerning the founding of Merto by the Purānic hero Rāja Māndhāṭā, then proceeds in the following sixty-nine entries to record the settlement of Merto town in 1462 by Dūdo and Varsingh Jodhāvat, the rise of the Mṛfyos as a regional Rāṭhor brotherhood of some significance in Mārvār, the struggles between the rulers of Merto and Rāv Mālde (1532-62) of Jodhpur, the intrusion of the Mughals in 1562, and the incorporation of Merto Pargano into the domain of the Jodhpur Rājās during the early seventeenth century. The chronicle ends with the accession of Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh in 1638.

The second and third selections translated come from the *Rāv Mālde ri Bāt* included in a collection of historical texts edited by N. S. Bhāṭī and entitled by him *"Aitiḥāsik Bātiṃ"* ("Historical Stories"). This collection...

... contains short historical narratives about all of the Rathor rulers of Jodhpur from Rao Malde (1532-62) through Maharaja Surājsimgh (1595-1619), and also includes stories about Rao Jodho, the founder of Jodhpur city, and his father, Rao Rinmal. It is considered that all of these *batam* (tales) were written down in 1646, a date which is noted at the end of one of the stories. If this dating is correct for all of the stories, they were probably written under the direction or supervision of Nainsi, for the writer of the story which supplies the date has also noted that Mumhata Sundardas, Nainsi's brother, had ordered him to prepare it. All of the stories also come from the same old *bahi* (register), and are written in the same hand. As a whole, the narratives complement the *khyaṭ* of Nainsi by filling in material between the reigns of Rao Malde and Jasvantsimgh, and they coincide with much of the later historical sections of the *vigat* of Nainsi. From the contents, these narratives are clearly official histories, written with the aid of state records.

---


4 *Vigat*, 2:37-77.


6 Norman P. Ziegler, "Marvari Historical Chronicles: Sources for the Social and Cultural History of Rajasthan," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. 13,
Of the documents comprising the collection, the *Rāv Mālde rī Bāt* ("Story of Rāv Mālde") is the longest and most valuable to the historian. The style of this *bāt* is very much like that of the *Vāt Pargane Merte rī*; indeed, some passages are virtually identical, word for word. The account of Rāv Mālde's reign fills some forty pages of printed text and is probably the best source available concerning events in the life of this enigmatic and powerful Rāthor.

The first passage selected for translation (pp. 42-44) discusses the invasion of Mārvār by Sher Shāh in 1544, the flight of Rāv Mālde from the battlefield between Samel and Girī on Mārvār's eastern boundary, and the role played by the ruler of Merto, Viramde Dūdāvat, in deceiving Mālde and causing him to flee. The second passage (pp. 48-56) gives an account of the battle of Merto in 1554, records Mālde's acquisition of the town in 1557 following the battle of Harmāro, and ends with the capture of Merto by Mughal troops aided by Jaimal Viramdevot in 1562. Both passages from the *Rāv Mālde rī Bāt* nicely complement the material in the *Vāt Pargane Merte rī*, adding valuable details and clarifying obscure events.

The last three selections translated are from *Mumhato Nainsī's Khyāt*, an immense collection of tales, poems, historical stories, genealogies, descriptions of towns and regions, and other random facts pertaining to Rājasthān, Gujarāt, and...
central India compiled during the years Nainsī was in the service of the rulers of Jodhpur (1637-66). The word *khyāt* probably is derived from the Sanskrit *khyāti*, "fame," "renown." In middle period Rājasthān, a *khyāt* was a book of historical information, either taking the form of a chronicle or being a collection of miscellaneous data like Nainsī's or that of Bāṅkīdās, the court poet of Rājā Mānsīṅgh of Jodhpur (1803-43).

The bulk of Nainsī's *Khyāt* consists of sections, also called *khyāts*, which are devoted to particular Rajput *kul*. The printed text begins with the *Sisodiyāṃ rī Khyāt*, which concerns the Sīsodiyo Rajpūts of Mevār and includes stories and poems about prominent Sīsodiyoś, an annotated genealogy of the ruling line, brief genealogies of a few other major *sākhs*, and a geographical account of Mevār. Similar short *khyāts* follow, giving details about the Hāḍo Cahuvaṅs of Būndi and Koṭo, the Bhaṭīs of Jaisālmēr and Pūgāl, the Kachvāḥos of Āmber and Sekhāvaṭī, and other important Rajput *kul* and *sākhs* of the middle period. The last quarter of the second volume of the printed text and about half of the third contain stories and other information about the Rāṭhoṛs.

Nainsī's *Khyāt* has a bias toward the ruling families of western Rājasthān: the Rāṭhoṛs, Bhaṭīs, Sācoro Cahuvaṅs, Sānkhōs, Sodḥos, etc. The information concerning certain Rajput families that had military obligations to the Rāṭhoṛs of Mārvār is particularly full: we learn more about the Urjanot Bhaṭīs, a minor *sākh* serving the Jodhpur rulers, than we do about the Bundelos of Bundelkhaṇḍ. Clearly Nainsī had more information about such local *sākhs* than he did about the major ruling families of eastern Rājasthān and central India. But there are curious omissions also. Presumably Nainsī had at hand a good deal of data pertaining to the Rāṭhoṛs of Bīkānēr, yet his *Khyāt* contains only two short narratives about events there. Even more striking is the lack of information regarding the reigns of the Jodhpur rulers from Rāv Candrasen (1562-81) onward. One reason for these omissions may be that other documents (e.g., the *Vigat*) existed to fill the gaps in the *Khyāt*. Alternatively, perhaps the *Khyāt* was never finished (Nainsī was imprisoned in 1666 and committed suicide in disgrace in 1670).

We have selected and translated three stories from the *Khyāt* bearing upon events in the lives of leading Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛs. The first, *Ath Vāt Dūdai Jodhavat Megho Narsinghdāsot Sindhāl Māriyo tai Samai u* ("Now the Story of the Time that Dūdo Jodhavat killed Sindhāl [Rāṭhoṛ] Megho Narsinghdāsot"), delineates an

---


episode in the life of Dūdō Jodhāvat just prior to the settling of Meṛto town in 1462. The second story, misleadingly titled Ath Vāt Hardās Uhār ri Likhyate (“Now the Story of Hardās Uḥār is Written”), mainly outlines the growing hostility between Rāv Mālde, the ruler of Jodhpur (1532-62) and the Rāv of Meṛto, Viramde Dūdāvat (1497-1544) from the battle of Sevakī in 1529, when Mālde was kuṇvar (“prince”), to Sher Shaḥ’s occupation of Mārvar in 1544. The last selection, Ath Jaimal Viramdevot nai Rāv Mālde ri Vāt Likhyate (“Now the Story of Jaimal Viramdevot and Rāv Mālde is Written”), continues the account of the hostility between Rāv Mālde and the Rāṭhors of Meṛto, now under the leadership of Viramde’s son, Jaimal (Rāv of Meṛto, 1544-1557, 1562), during the years from Viramde’s death in 1544 to the battle of Meṛto in 1554.

The three stories are considerably different in style from the translated prose sections of the Vigat and “Aitiḥāsik Batam.” They are more in the nature of oral traditions, with a corresponding undated, almost timeless quality. One has to be reminded that the events described are occurring over a period of years, not weeks or months. This is not to say that these stories are less useful to the historian than the other selections. On the contrary, they provide insights into matters of honor, shame, prestige, and duty among Rajpūts not as common in the more chronologically organized texts.

One problem of these texts for the historian, however, is that they mention events removed by one or two centuries from the lifetime of the man primarily responsible for them, Munḥato Nainsī. As will be discussed below, Nainsī’s family had a long connection with the Jodhpur rulers. He undoubtedly had access to a wide variety of documents and manuscripts from earlier periods. As a high-ranking official within the Jodhpur bureaucracy, he also knew many important contemporaries who supplied him with information, oral and written, over the many years of his service. He often cites the source of his information. Yet in many instances he does not,
and so one is led to wonder if he merely selected, or actually wrote, those particular
texts.

A partial answer to this question comes from the later Khyāt of Dayālās Sindhāyac. Dayālās, who wrote in the mid-nineteenth century in Bikāner, included without attribution and only slight modifications long passages also contained in Nainśi's Khyāt, compiled nearly two hundred years earlier.17 One may compare a portion of the Ath Vāt Hardās Uhaṛ rī Likhyate with Dayālās's later version:

Nainśi:


(Then Hardās left. He went to Sojhat and met with Muṃhato Rāymal. Hardās settled in the vās of Viramde. Hardās told Rāymal: "If you would do battle with Rāv Gāṅgo, then I will stay with you; otherwise I shall not stay." Then Rāymal said: "Jī, for us there is only battle, twenty-four hours a day.")

Dayālās:

Pīche Hardās Kodhṇo chādnai Sojhat gayo, nai Rāymalsūṃ miliyo. Aru Rāymalnūṃ kahyo: "Jo the Rāv Gāṅgaisūṃ lāṛāī karo, to huṃ thāṃrai rahūṃ." Tad Rāymal kahyo: "Jī māhrāi to āṭh paṭr lāṛāī rahāi." Tārāṃ Hardās Uhaṛ Viramderai vās vasiyo.19

(Afterward Hardās left Kodhṇo and went to Sojhat, and he met with Rāymal. And he said to Rāymal: "If you would do battle with Rāv Gāṅgo, then I shall stay with you." Then Rāymal said: "Jī, for us there is only battle, twenty-four hours a day." Then Hardās Uhaṛ settled in the vās of Viramde.)

One might presume that Nainśi himself similarly included materials from much

---


18 Khyāt, 3:87.

19 Sindhāyac, Dayālāsṛī Khyāt, 1:46.
older, unattributed sources. He too may have rewritten them with slight modifications, such as more modern vocabulary or grammar in place of archaic terms or usages. Thus the three stories from his Khyât that we have selected may indeed be contemporary with the events they mention.20

Alternatively, Naïnsî may have composed entirely new stories, based on his knowledge and long experience. To explore this possibility, one may examine a text discussing events at the court of Râval Mâlo, ruler of Mahevo in western Mârvâr during the fourteenth century. The text concerns the arrival at court of Kumbho Kâmpaliyo, one of Râval Mâlo's Rajpûts, who happens to possess a fine mare that the Râval wants:

One branch (sâkh) among the Câhuvân [Rajpût] branches is called Kâmpaliyo .... Formerly Kumbho Kâmpaliyo was a great Rajpût .... Kumbho Kâmpaliyo possessed a very fine mare. In those days Râval Mâlo had acquired much land to the west [of Mahevo]. All the bhomiyo[s] of the west accepted Râval Mâlo's authority. He decided to take Kumbho's mare. At that time Râval Mâlo's pradhan was Bhovo Nâi. The Râval said to him: "This mare should be taken." Then Bhovo said: "Kumbho is not one who simply will hand over the mare." They summoned Kumbho and had [him] sit in court. 500 men, cîndhar[s] wearing armor, were seated in front. 500 men, gunners (tobec) remained standing, having touched off matches [for their guns] ....21

This story contains an anachronistic element which reveals that it cannot be contemporary with the events it describes. Fourteenth-century Mârvâr did not have gunners, who first appear in large numbers there only during the reign of Râv Candrasen of Jodhpur (1562-81). Naïnsî may have rewritten an old tale and added the gunners as a flourish that would make the events more plausible to his audience, but perhaps he simply told a new story containing some historical truths of which he was aware (Râval Mâlo ruled from Mahevo; he probably did conquer much land to the west, etc.).

Similar ambiguities surround other unattributed sections of his Khyât and to a lesser extent, his Vigât. And so, the historian using these sections cannot make easy judgements about their dates of composition.

20 These stories lack any sort of statement of attribution, even the simple "I heard a story like this."

21 Khyât, 1:247-248. The term cîndhar mentioned in the text refers to a type of warrior serving for food, clothing, and (occasionally) money.
Nainsi was a member of the Muhanot family of Mārvārī Osvāls. The Osvāls are Mahājans who are named after Osian or Osīān, as it is called in the Vigat, a village thirty miles north-northwest of Jodhpur. According to a legend, half of the population of Osīān converted to Jainism around V.S. 282 (225-26), and so the Osvāḷ jāṭī had its beginning. Over time others converted and joined, including many Rajputs. The internal structure of the jāṭī at present is complex, with more than 1,800 subdivisions. Most of the Osvāls are Jains.23

The Muhanot family claims descent from Muhan, brother of Kanhpāl, the son and successor of Rāv Rāy palpāl, a Rāṭhor Rajput who ruled Kher in Mārvār in the early fourteenth century. Muhan converted to Jainism, and his descendants following the Jain faith were called Muhanots and included in the Osvāḷ jāṭī. This much is generally accepted by scholars; the circumstances of his conversion are not. According to one tradition, one day when Muhan had gone hunting, he killed a pregnant doe. Stricken with remorse, he returned to Kher. While standing at a well in this village, he encountered the Jain ascetic Śivsen. He pleaded with Śivsen to bring the deer back to life. When Śivsen did so, Muhan converted to Jainism. This event supposedly took place in V.S. 1351 (1294-95).24

A second account of Muhan's conversion relates that because of the hostility of his brothers, he had gone to Jaisalmer during his father's reign and had received the protection of the Rāvaḷ there. While in Jaisalmer he fell under the influence of the Jain scholar Śrī Jīmāṇiṣkyaśūrī and converted to Jainism. Another version of Muhan's conversion in Jaisalmer indicates that he became enamoured of the daughter of the Jaisalmer pradhān, who was of the Śrīmāl Vaiśya jāṭī. When the pradhān complained to the Rāvaḷ, the Rāvaḷ decided to marry Muhan to the daughter. Upon his marriage in V.S. 1351, Muhan became a Jain. A son, Sampat, was born from this marriage; his descendants are the Muhanot Osvāls. A third version of the Jaisalmer episode indicates that the Rāvaḷ of Jaisalmer had forced Muhan to marry a Jain girl in revenge for Rāv Rāy palpāl's previously forcing a Bhatī Rajput to become a Cāraṇ. The descendants of the Jain wife of Muhan following the Jain faith are the Muhanots. This last is the account Manoharsimh Rāṇāvat himself prefers, but I see no real reason why it might be more credible than the others, all of which depend on the uncertain information about the fourteenth century provided by seventeenth-century

---

22 The following account of Nainsi is based primarily upon Manorsimh Rāṇāvat's excellent study of his life entitled "Muhanot Nainsi: uskā Vyaktiva tathā uskā Kāl," in idem, Itihāskār Muhanot Nainsi tathā uske Itihās-Granth (Jodhpur: Rājasthān Sāhiṭiyā Mandir, 1981), pp. 16-46. Where possible I have examined the original sources that Rāṇāvat used.


24 Rāṇāvat, p. 16.
Very little can be said with authority about the Muḥaṇots from Muḥaṇ's death until the lifetime of Muḥaṇot Aḍḍo Sūjuvaṭ in the sixteenth century, but clearly they were in the service of the Rāṭhor rulers of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur in those years. Aḍḍo Sūjuvaṭ himself was Naṁśi's paternal great-grandfather and served under Rāv Candrasen (1562-81) of Jodhpur. He shared the Rāv's long, difficult life in exile while the Rāv wandered about Rājasthān, visiting Dūṅgapur, Vāṁsvāḷo, and Mevār. When Candrasen returned to Mārvār and attacked Sojhat's Mughal garrison, Muḥaṇot Aḍḍo died in the battle there on Sunday, June 30, 1578. After Candrasen's death five years later, Aḍḍo's descendants and the other Muḥaṇots transferred their allegiance to Candrasen's elder brother, Udaiśīṅgh Māḷdevot (ruler of Jodhpur, 1583-95).

Inscriptions and khyāts mention the name of Muḥaṇot Jeso, Aḍḍo's son, but tell us nothing else about him. Much more is known about Jeso's son, Muḥaṇot Jaymaḷ Jesāvaṭ, who was Naṁśi's father. Jaymaḷ was born on Wednesday, January 31, 1582. He began his long period of service during the reign of Rājā Sūraśīṅgh Udaiśīṅghot, ruler of Jodhpur from 1595-1619. The Mughal Emperor Jahāṅgīr had ordered Sūraśīṅgh to Gujarat in 1606 to repress some rebels there. He obtained some parganos in jāgīr, including Bārnagar, of which he made Jaymaḷ the hākim. Jaymaḷ managed the affairs of Bārnagar until 1615. In that year, Jahāṅgīr presented Sūraśīṅgh with Phaḷodhī Pargano, and Muḥaṇot Jaymaḷ was appointed hākim of Phaḷodhī by Sūraśīṅgh.

In February of 1621 Prince Khurram (later Shāh Jahān) gave Rājā Gajsīṅgh Sūraśīṅghot (ruler of Jodhpur, 1619-38) Jālor Pargano. Gajsīṅgh appointed Jaymaḷ hākim of Jālor. Subsequently Gajsīṅgh obtained Sācōr Pargano (1622) and by 1624 or 1625 Muḥaṇot Jaymaḷ was the hākim there. Following a serious attack on Sācōr by an army of Kachīs which he successfully repulsed, Jaymaḷ had the walls of Sācōr rebuilt.

After a series of military campaigns against rebellious Rajpūṭ chiefs in Sūrācānd, Pokaraṇ, Rāḍharaṇ, and Mahevo, Gajsīṅgh appointed Jaymaḷ to the post of des-dīvān in 1629, replacing Šīṅghvi Sahasmal. The des-dīvān was the highest administrative office in the Jodhpur kingdom during the seventeenth century. Holders of the office had great control over the fiscal affairs of Jodhpur. They also had to function as military commanders in the absence of the rājās, who were often out of Mārvār involved in Mughal wars. Jaymaḷ performed as des-dīvān until 1633, when Gajsīṅgh replaced him with Šīṅghvi Sukhmal. He had developed a reputation for severity. During the famine of 1630-31 in Jālor, Jaymaḷ had refused to make any concessions in taxes and forced their full realization, a policy which drove the nearby chief of Rāḍharaṇ, Mahevo, into rebellion. Perhaps Gajsīṅgh was displeased with Jaymaḷ over this episode and so replaced him. Nothing more is heard of Jaymaḷ after

---


26 Ibid., pp. 18-19.

27 Vigat, 1:73; Rāṇāvaṭ, p. 19.
Jaymal had made two marriages, the first to the daughter of Mumhato Lālcand, Sarūpde, by whom he had four sons, Nainsi, Sundardās, Āskarān, and Narsīmdhdās; the second to Suhāgde, daughter of Śīṅghvī Bīrādsinī, who had one son, Jagmāl.

Jaymal's eldest son, Nainsī, was born on Friday, November 9, 1610. Nainsī himself was married twice, the first time to the daughter of Bhāndārī Nārāyāṇdās, the second to the daughter of Mumhato Bīhmāj. An interesting story is told about Nainsī's attempt to make a third marriage with the daughter of Kamo, a kāmdār from Bāhrāmer. At the time Nainsī was hākim of Jālor Pargano. His administrative duties kept him there, and so he sent only his sword to Bāhrāmer along with some retainers to represent him at the marriage. The kāmdār, Kamo, considered this an insult and married his daughter elsewhere. In revenge, an enraged Nainsī sent men to Bāhrāmer, had the main gates of the fort there removed, brought to him, and installed at the main gate of Jālor.

Not much is known of Nainsī's life before his first appointment in 1637. One may recall, however, that his ancestors had been in the service of the Rāthors since the fourteenth century. The family undoubtedly possessed many private papers and manuscripts relating to the royal family. Nainsī probably received training in the use and composition of documents from his father, Jaymal, who had been involved in the Jodhpur administration for twenty-seven years. His early training must have involved military training as well, for he, like his father, took part in several campaigns within Mārvār. His career may be studied by examining his activities in both administrative and military affairs.

On October 12, 1637, Muḥanot Nainsī was appointed hākim of Phalodhī Pargano in western Mārvār, a post previously held by Mumhato Jagannāth. For several years previously, Baloc raiders had been stepping up their operations in this pargano, and Jagannāth had been unable to suppress them. In March, 1634 Baloc Mughal Khān and Samāyāl Khān looted two villages of Phalodhī. Then, in September of 1636 the Baloc penetrated again, looting animals and material goods. Jagannāth lost several men attempting to stop them. Finally, on October 5, 1637, Baloc Mūdāphar Khān came upon Nenau village of Phalodhī, killed two Rajpūts

---

28 Jaymal was a munificent patron of the Jain Śvetāmbar sect. Several inscriptions from local temples in Jālor, Sācor, Nādol, Pālītānā, and Phalodhī attest to his generosity. His final inscription, found in the temple of Śāntināth in Phalodhī, is dated Tuesday, November 14, 1632 and refers to him as "Mantrīsvara," i.e., des-dīvān. For Jaymal's career, see Rāṇāvat, pp. 20-23.

29 Rāṇāvat, p. 23.

30 Ibid.

there along with their men, and came away with many animals. One week later Nainsi replaced Jagannath as hakim and made his way to Phalodhi, where he arrived on October 20, 1637. His mission was to end the Baloc raiding.32

The Baloc raider Mughal Khan Saroĩ returned to Phalodhi in December of 1637 and attacked Vap village with over one hundred mounted companions. Rav Mohandās of Vāp closed the gates and sent messengers to Nainsi in Phalodhi. Nainsi reached Vap with a few soldiers, enough to drive away Mughal Khan. Nainsi tracked down the Khān and, in a coordinated attack involving not only Rav Manohardās but also the Rāvaḷ of Jaisānlmer, killed him at the Ahvācī River on December 14, 1637.33 Many other Baloc were killed as well. For the moment, the raids were over. But then Rājā Gajsīṅgh died, and on Thursday, January 31, 1639, eight months into the reign of his young successor, Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh, the Baloc Mādo and Phatai Ālī attacked Phalodhi with 750 men. Nainsi and his brother, Sundardās, confronted them; they fled without a battle. This was the last of the Baloc raids against Phalodhi during Nainsi's stay there.34

During the middle period, the rugged terrain of eastern Jaitārāṇ and Sojhat parganos was the homeland of the Mers, a jāṭī of diverse origin whose members were often not under the control of either the Jodhpur rājās or the local Rajput thākürs. In 1642-43 Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh sent Nainsi to Sojhat to suppress a Mer rebellion. He attacked and defeated them. Many of their villages were burned down. Then again, in 1645-46, Nainsi, along with his brother Sundardās, received Jasvantsīṅgh's order to proceed against the Mer leader Rāvat Nārāyaṇ, who had begun looting villages of Sojhat from his mountain retreat. Nainsi and Sundardās destroyed several Mer villages and put an end to the forays of Rāvat Nārāyaṇ.35

A more complex problem arose over Pokaran in 1649 following the death of Rāvaḷ Manohardās of Jaisānlmer on November 11. Pokaran Pargano was situated on the boundary of the Jodhpur and Jaisānlmer domains. The Rāvaḷ of Jaisānlmer had held Pokaran since the reign of Rāv Candrasen of Jodhpur (1562-81). In the seventeenth century, the Mughal Emperors began to include Pokaran as part of the lands granted to the Jodhpur rājās, but the Jaisānlmer Rāvaḷ retained their de facto control. Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh had acquired Pokaran in 1638 when he succeeded Rājā Gajsīṅgh, but he made no attempt to exert authority over it. Then in 1650, Manbhāvatī Bāī, Rājā Gajsīṅgh's sister and the wife of the deceased Mughal prince Parvīz, petitioned Shāh Jahān to write a farmaṇ ordering Pokaran to be turned over to Jasvantsīṅgh. Jasvantsīṅgh's officers brought the farmaṇ to the new Rāvaḷ of

32 Rānāvat, pp.24-25.
34 Rānāvat, pp. 25-27.
35 Ibid., p.27.
Jaisalmer, Ramcandra, Manohardas's cousin, who rejected it with these words: "One does not obtain a fort upon demand. Pokaran will come [into your hands] after ten Bhati men have died."\(^{36}\) Jasvantsingh's response was to mobilize an army. Once assembled, this army consisted of several thousand men under three commanders. Nainsí himself was in the\(^{36}\) harāval, or vanguard, led by Nāhar Khān Rājsinghot, a Kūmpāvat Rāthor. They left Jodhpur on September 7, 1650, and arrived at Khāro village of Pokaran Pargano on September 22, 1650.\(^{37}\)

During this same period Shāh Jahān had inquired about the succession to the throne of Jaisalmer. The Rāthor Rājā of Kisangaṛh, Rāpsingh, had in his service Sabalsingh Dayāldāsot, Rāvāl Manohardas's other cousin. He had him touch the feet of the Emperor in a gesture of obeisance. Shāh Jahān gave Sabalsingh the throne and dispatched him to Jaisalmer. As Sabalsingh had no military equipment or retinue, he went first to Jodhpur and met with Rājā Jasvantsingh. Jasvantsingh supplied him with a horse, a\(^{37}\) sirpāv, expense money, and instructions: "You go to Phalodhī; my army is coming; they will help you."\(^{38}\) Sabalsingh remained in Phalodhī for some time, then joined Jasvantsingh's army in Khāro with five or six hundred men. On September 29, 1650, the combined army, now numbering 6,000 men, encircled Pokaran. An initial attack failed. Most of the army returned to camp. Nainsí, however, remained behind with some Bhati and Rāthor soldiers from Nāhar Khān's division. They attacked and penetrated the town of Pokaran, took up a position in a temple, and began a gun-battle with the soldiers inside the fort.\(^{39}\) After several more days of similar action, the enthusiasm of the Bhati soldiers inside the fort waned, and they came to an agreement to evacuate Pokaran. A few loyal Bhatīs refused to surrender and died confronting Jasvantsingh's army. After the capture of Pokaran on October 4, 1650, Jasvantsingh's army set out for Jaisalmer. Rāvāl Rāmcandra fled, and Sabalsingh became the new Rāvāl of Jaisalmer.\(^{40}\)

In 1659, Nainsí, now\(^{41}\) des-divan of Jodhpur, again became involved in a military conflict over Pokaran with the Bhatīs of Jaisalmer. The second military campaign against Pokaran has been described in minute detail by either Nainsí or one of his subordinates. The account has been published in the collection of documents entitled \textit{Jodhpur Hukūmat rī Bahl}.\(^{41}\)

In the fall of 1657, the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān fell ill. A war of

\(^{36}\)\textit{Vigat}, 2:298.

\(^{37}\) Rānāvat, pp. 27-28.

\(^{38}\)\textit{Vigat}, 2:300.


\(^{40}\) Rānāvat, pp. 28-30.

succession soon began between his sons. Jaspansaingh was sent to confront Prince Aurangzeb, coming from the Deccan, and Prince Murad, coming from Gujarat. On April 16, 1658, Jaspansaingh lost the battle of Dharmat to Aurangzeb. Most of Jaspansaingh's personal contingent was annihilated. Jaspansaingh accepted Aurangzeb's authority temporarily, but then abandoned him. The Rāval of Jaisalmer, Sabalsingh, took advantage of Aurangzeb's renewed hostility toward Jaspansaingh and obtained a farman for Pokaran on February 24, 1659. On March 26, 1659, an army from Jaisalmer under the leadership of Kumvar Amarsingh, Sabalsingh's son, seized Pokaran. But then Aurangzeb was forced to conclude an agreement with Jaspansaingh in order to prevent him from joining forces with Dārā Shikoh, another of Shāh Jahān's sons. As part of this agreement, Jaspansaingh received Pokaran again.42

On March 31, 1659, Jaspansaingh received the news that the Bhātīs had taken Pokaran. He dispatched an army under the leadership of Nainsī to re-establish his authority there. Nainsī gathered together an impressive force of 2,071 horsemen, 811 camel riders, and 2,622 footsoldiers, collected the military equipment necessary, and took 20,000 rupees from the Jodhpur treasury for other expenses. He and his army departed from Jodhpur at dawn on April 9, 1659. Along the way they learned that the Bhātī army had evacuated Pokaran but were continuing to loot villages in the area.43

Nainsī and his men reached Pokaran on April 19. One may pause a moment to contemplate the difficulty of marching thousands of men nearly 100 miles in eleven days through desert terrain in the heat of a Rājasthān April.44 Once in Pokaran, Nainsī sent messengers to the Bhātīs to inform them about Aurangzeb's having given Pokaran to Jaspansaingh. After resupplying the army, Nainsī departed after the Bhātīs with approximately 4,000 soldiers. On April 26 they reached the Jaisalmer border. Nainsī gave the soldiers permission to begin looting the villages of Jaisalmer. They advanced slowly, looting and burning as they went. Finally they returned to Pokaran on May 11, 1659. It had been an inconclusive but devastating campaign.45

After returning to Jodhpur, Nainsī received word that the Bhātīs had returned to the Pokaran/Phalodhī area and were themselves looting villages. Once again Nainsī left Jodhpur. He had to re-unite his soldiers, who had disbanded and returned to their homes. He arrived at Phalodhī on June 10. A long period of raiding and counter-raiding began, with the Bhātīs gradually losing ground. Finally a peace agreement was signed with the aid of Rājā Karan

---

42 Rānāvat, pp. 30-31.

43 Ibid., p. 31.


45 Rānāvat, pp. 32-34.
of Bikaner. Nainṣī returned to Jodhpur on August 4, 1659. For four months he had carried out a successful military operation in the worst heat of the Indian summer.46

At the time Nainṣī was appointed des-divān, he had been in the service of Jodhpur for twenty-one years, almost entirely as a hākim of various parganos. As noted, he had received his first appointment in October of 1637, when he was made hākim of Phalodhī. He remained in Phalodhī for at least two years, until 1639. From then until October, 1650, his status is unknown, although he did lead military operations against the Mers of Sojhat in May, 1642 and in 1645-46.47 Then, on October 16, 1650, he was appointed hākim of Pokaran. He held this position for about two months and then was transferred by Jasvantsīṅgh to Agra Province to become the new hākim of Udehī Paṅcāvīr Pargano in the district of Hiṅṭaun. Possibly he stayed there until August, 1652. At that time he was appointed hākim of Malāṁo Pargano, where he remained until June, 1656. Evidently he then became hākim of Vadhnor Pargano, his last appointment before becoming des-divan.48

During the years prior to his appointment, Nainṣī gathered much of the information that fills his Vigat and Khyāt. His accounts of the military campaigns in the Pokaran and Phalodhī areas come from this period. Wherever he went, he collected anecdotes and documents.49 His experience, coupled with his family’s long association with the Jodhpur rulers and their undoubted access to administrative records dating back to the previous century if not further, made him uniquely placed to assume the duties of the office to which Jasvantsīṅgh appointed him on May 18, 1658. Jasvantsīṅgh established his salary at 9,000 rs. yearly and gave him in addition a pato or land grant. Nainṣī was to remain des-divān until 1666.50

Probably one of his first tasks as des-divān was ordering the compilation of the pato bahī, or register of land grants, of V.S. 1714/1657-58.51 This document, which lists all holders of patos in V.S. 1714 and recipients of grants in succeeding years until V.S. 1729/1672-73, would give Nainṣī a clear picture of who held what lands in Mārvār, what those lands’ current assessed values were, and the relative strengths of the Rajput landholding groups. One would

46 Ibid., p. 34.

47 Possibly Nainṣī was hākim of Jālor between 1639 and 1650 and this was the period during which he had attempted to marry in Bāhārmer. Cf. p. 10, supra.

48 Ranāvāt, p. 35.

49 The collection of documents began as early as 1643-44, when Mumhato Lakho had the hakikat of Jaisalmer written for Nainṣī while in the military camp at Meṭṭo. Khyāt, 2:6.

50 Ranāvāt, p. 36.

51 The pato bahī is contained in "Jodhpur Hukūmat rī Bahī," pp. 125-237.
assume a new des-divan would have great interest in such information. Conceivably it is not a mere coincidence that the first year of the bahī and Nainsi’s first year of appointment are the same.

Certainly Nainsi began the compilation of his Vigat soon after he took office. The first year of village revenue statistics in the Vigat is V.S. 1715/1658-59. Evidently the village survey had been completed by the end of this year as V.S. 1715 revenue returns are given for every village (around 2,000 in all). Similar statistics are given for most of the villages for each of the following four years, V.S. 1716-19/1659-63. The Vigat also includes aggregate revenue statistics for seven parganos of Mārvār from V.S. 1711/1654-55 to V.S. 1720/1663-64. An analysis of these statistics, presented in Tables One and Two, reveals the success of Nainsi in increasing the revenues produced by the lands under his administration. The overall increase averaged 35.4% during the first six full years of Nainsi’s tenure. Only in Sojhat Pargano was there a decline. If one assumes that V.S. 1715 may have been a transitional year during which the Vigat’s village survey was completed, and that Nainsi may not have implemented any changes until the following year, the statistics become even more dramatic, as shown by Tables Three and Four, which demonstrate an average revenue increase of 74.2% during the four years V.S. 1716-19 as compared with the four years prior to V.S. 1715. Such a large difference in land revenue very likely was due to new, more efficient administrative methods and not to increased agricultural production or a change in weather conditions. But efficiency in extracting land revenue from peasants on the margin of existence is not always welcomed, as Nainsi was to find out.

Before 1666 there was no indication that Muhanot Nainsi had been anything other than a valued soldier-administrator of the Jodhpur kingdom. But while in Lahore in December of that year Raja Jasvantsingh abruptly made some major changes. On December 9, he appointed Rāthor Āskarān his new pradhān. Then, on December 24, he removed his des-divān, Nainsi, and tan-divān, Muhanot Sundardās (Nainsi’s brother), from office. After an investigation, Sundardās’s wealth was found in the possession of Rāthor Syāmsingh Gopālāsot. Syāmsingh lost his land grant and had to leave service.

Why did Jasvantsingh dismiss the Muhanot brothers? Some have suggested that Nainsi appointed too many of his relations to important offices. It is true that Nainsi’s two brothers, Āskarān and Sundardās, and later his son,

52 Tables One through Four are based on statistics given by the Vigat, 1:168-169, 402, 500, 2:10, 80, 281, 322.

53 Cf. Rāṇāvat, p. 42.

54 Tan-divān: an official of the Jodhpur kingdom whose main concerns were salaries and the reckoning of land grants. Sundardās was tan-divān from 1654 to 1666, and so he probably compiled the paṭṭā-bahi found in the "Jodhpur Hukumat rī Bahī," pp. 125-237, on the orders of his brother, Nainsi.

55 Rāṇāvat, pp. 40-41.
Muhanot Karamsi, held high positions within the Jodhpur administration, but this fact alone does not explain why Jasvantsingh, who appointed them all, would suddenly become concerned enough to remove Nainsi and Sundardas. Others have suggested that Nainsi had his rivals within the administration, which is possible but undocumented. One story suggests that Rajsingh Khimvavat, Jasvantsingh's famous pradhān, had something to do with Nainsi's fall from favor in 1666. As Dr. Rāṇāvat has pointed out, Rajsingh's death in 1640 removes him from this event by twenty-six years. One possible reason why Nainsi was dismissed comes from the Vigat itself. Amidst an account of pargano taxes in Meṛto is the following note:

In January-February of 1662 the rait [of Meṛto Pargano] went to the Mughal court and complained [about taxes]. Then ḯvaḵīl Manohardās made a reduction ... and Māhārājājī [Jasvantsingh] agreed [to it].

The previous autumn Nainsi had become aware that the Jāts of several villages were dissatisfied with local administration. He had attempted to placate them, but they refused to come and meet with him. Then, about a year later, in late 1662, the Jāts of Cāndārūn, Lavero, and Rāhīn villages assembled and appealed to the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, about the heavy tax burden they bore.

The appeals to Aurangzeb from the peasants of Meṛto in 1661 and 1662 probably did not disturb Aurangzeb as much as complaints from Haṃsār. Jasvantsingh had received this area after he was transferred from Gujarat in 1661. Nainsi had sent his son, Muhanot Karamsi, along with Paṅcolī Bachraj to Haṃsār to assume control of the administration there. Haṃsār was not in Rājāsthān. It had been more a part of the Mughal Empire than Jasvantsingh's Mārvār parganos, and what happened in it was of considerable concern to Aurangzeb. Thus when the local people complained to him in 1666 about the administration of Jasvantsingh's officials, Aurangzeb ordered the remission of 100,000 rupees (one lākh) to mitigate their difficulties. Jasvantsingh responded as well. He appointed Vyas Padmanābh the new ḥākin of Haṃsār and on December 24, 1666 removed Nainsi and Sundardās from office.

On March 11, 1667 Aurangzeb ordered Jasvantsingh to go to the Deccan. At this time Jasvantsingh summoned Nainsi to him. He departed for the Deccan with both Nainsi and Sundardās, who had been with him since autumn, 1666. In the camp at Aurangābad on November 29, 1667, Jasvantsingh

56 Ibid., pp. 43-45.

57 Vigat, 2:93.

58 Ibid, 2:94.

59 Haṃsār is in Haryana state, on the border of the old Bīkāner Princely State.

60 Rāṇāvat, p. 42.
ordered that they be imprisoned. They were held for one year, then Jasvantsingh released them and ordered that Naiṣī deposit 100,000 rupees in the Jodhpur treasury, exactly the same amount Aurangzeb had returned to the petitioners in Hamsār. Naiṣī refused to pay, and so, on December 28, 1669, he was imprisoned along with his brother once again. On August 3, 1670, Naiṣī and Sundardās, disgraced, killed themselves in Phūlmāri, a village not far from Aurangābād.61

The very methods by which Naiṣī extracted an unprecedented amount of revenue from the Mārvār parganās evidently had alienated those who paid the revenue. And so Jasvantsingh, faced with repeated complaints to his Emperor, removed and imprisoned Naiṣī and Sundardās. Historians may admire the documents left behind by Naiṣī, but his efficiency in office had its punishments as well as its rewards.

II. Conventions.

A. Translation methodology.

Marshall G. S. Hodson has divided translations into three types: recreative, explanatory, and precise study translations. Our translations fall into the latter category. Hodgson has defined the precise study translation as one whose aim is

... to reproduce the information carried by the original work, for the purposes of special study by those who cannot read the original language. Such a translation attempts to provide an equivalent communication of the original which readers can then interpret for themselves. For study purposes, the translation has to be maximally precise.... The translator must find an equivalent for every personal turn of phrase of the original, however superfluous it may seem, and must leave ambiguities, so far as possible, ambiguous. Such a translation almost necessarily requires a certain number of explicitly technical terms and a few footnotes or square brackets to pinpoint untranslatable implications.62

In general, we have followed Hodgson's guidelines. As he suggested, the methodology demands the inclusion of technical terms, which for various reasons are better left untranslated. Instead, we have defined these terms at length in footnotes when they are first encountered in the texts. In addition, we have provided a glossary comprising definitions for all such terms followed by lists of passages in which they appear.

We have translated kinship terms, but have placed the corresponding Middle

61 Ibid., pp. 45-46.

Mārvārī words after them in parentheses to save footnotes, as; "mother's brother" (māmo). Occasionally we have followed other translated terms with Middle Mārvārī equivalents in parentheses, as, for example, "soul" (jīv), but this practice has been kept to a minimum, as has the reverse: following indigenous words with parenthetical translations.

We have tried to represent the original texts faithfully without being overly literal. Thus we have not translated every pachai ("afterwards," "subsequently") or tarai ("then"), recognizing that to have done so would have made the English too repetitive. Similarly, we have deleted obvious redundancies and noted their omission in footnotes. We have made considerable use of brackets to add material not given but implied by the original. Ambiguities, difficulties of interpretation, comments on editorial mistakes or on misprints, points of grammar, etc., are all duly noted. Finally, we have attempted to the greatest extent possible to standardize the translations so that the same terms or phrases are rendered identically each time they occur.

B. Transliteration.

We have used the following system for the transliteration of Middle Mārvārī words:

Vowels: a ā i ī u ū
e ai o au

Consonants: k kh g gh ŋ

c ch j jh ŋ

t Ů d dh Ň l r

t Ů d dh Ň

p ph b bh m

y r l v

s h

Anusvār: ŋ

1. The scribes of middle period Rājasthān used only the anusvār to indicate both a nasalized vowel and the nasal before a consonant. We have distinguished between the two instances in our transliteration system and have transliterated anusvar before consonants as follows:

 ŋ before gutterals,
 ņ before palatals,
 Ň before cerebrals,
 Ć before dentals, and
 m before labials.

Before semivowels and sibilants anusvār is transliterated as ŋ.
2. Nasalized vowels before nasal consonants are not indicated in transliteration (hence *thano* instead of *thāmno*).

3. Final au, which is a scribal variant of final o, has in all instances been transliterated as o.

4. We have adopted a method for dealing with the unwritten vowel a similar to that used for modern Hindi: final a is considered unpronounced and hence not indicated; a deleted by rule\(^{63}\) is similarly omitted.

5. The symbol ष is considered an orthographic equivalent of ष and is accordingly transliterated as kh except when in a Sanskrit word (hence *khan* and not *śan*, but Viṣṇu, not Vikhṇu).

6. Finally, Sanskrit and Hindi words have been transliterated according to current scholarly conventions.

C. Spelling.

The beginning student of Middle Mārvārī cannot fail to be struck by the variant spellings so ubiquitous in the texts. For example, Lāḷas lists no less than fourteen additional forms of the proper name "Rāṭhoṛ."\(^{64}\) Naiṇśī himself often spelled the same word differently in the same story. Faced with such variety, we have been forced to standardize terms and proper names, aware on the one hand of the need to do justice to the original texts and on the other of the necessity of eliminating confusion in the mind of the reader.

1. Terms not translated, such as sāth, bhāibandh, etc., are transliterated according to the spellings under which they are defined in Lāḷas's *Rājasthānī Sabad Kos*, unless they are contrary to the usual (or only) spellings found in our texts (hence *ṭhākur* instead of *ṭhākar*, the variant preferred by Lāḷas). Certain terms well-known to those with a knowledge of Indian society are given as they are commonly written and not as they are spelled in Middle Mārvārī. Thus, Brāhmaṇ is preferred to Bāṃbhaṇ, jāti to jāt, dharma to dharam, and so forth. We have indicated the original Arabic and Persian forms of Middle Mārvārī words when known and where relevant.

2. Names of places are transliterated as they are ordinarily spelled in the texts. If there are but two dissimilar spellings to be found, we have given each as it occurs and footnoted the variant each time. Well-known names of places outside

\(^{63}\) For a statement of this rule, see Bruce R. Pray, *Topics in Hindi-Urdu Grammar*, Research Monograph Series no. 1 (Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, 1976), pp. 41-43.

\(^{64}\) Lāḷas, *RSK*, 4:1:4135.
Rājasthān are given in their standard forms, as for example, Malwa, Delhi, Gujarat, etc. (not Mālvā, Dilī, or Gujrat).

3. Hindu personal names have been standardized according to the way they are most commonly spelled in the texts. Muslim personal names have been similarly treated; where possible we have identified Muslim individuals in footnotes and given therein the standard Persian/Arabic versions of their names. Extreme variant spellings of personal names are mentioned in footnotes also.

D. Abbreviations.

\[\text{Jāti, kuḷ, and sākh names frequently are abbreviated in the chronicles: Rā. for Rāṭhor, Bhā. for Bhāṭī, Kā. for Kachvāho, etc. In such cases we have simply included the full name without abbreviation or bracketing, e.g., Rāṭhor Devidās instead of Rā. Devidās or Rā[lṭhor] Devidās.}\]

E. Paragraphing.

In general we have followed in our translations the paragraphing chosen by the respective editors of the texts, Badrīprasad Sākariyā and Nārāyāṃsinh Bhāṭī. The \text{Vigat} has numbered entries or paragraphs as well as the paragraphing done by Bhāṭī. We have retained the numbers for quick reference and also to preserve more exactly the sense of the original.

F. Manuscript variants.

Both the \text{Khyat} and the \text{Rāv Mālde rī Bāt} contained in "Aithāsik Bātāṇi" were edited from single manuscripts, but N. S. Bhāṭī edited the \text{Vigat} from two, which he labelled ka and kha. His policy throughout was to consider the ka ms. the "ideal" (\text{adarś}) and list kha ms. variants in footnotes. Our policy has been to indicate in footnotes wherever we have preferred kha ms. readings. We also have indicated variant spelling of proper names given in the kha ms. if the names appear in no other places in the texts.

G. Dates.

That chronicles indigenous to Rājasthān contain dates at all will perhaps surprise those whose only knowledge of the area's history comes from the hyperbolic prose of James Tod's \text{Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan}. That these dates are usually remarkably accurate, as is shown by the consistent corroboration by contemporary inscriptions and Persian chronicles, may surprise even the more knowledgeable students of the middle period. Still, the dating system used in our

texts is not without its regional quirks, which require elucidation for the reader's benefit.

It is evident that all the dates in these texts are in the luni-solar Vikrama Era, which began in 57 B.C. The Vikrama Era was one of two major eras (there are several minor ones) used in pre-modern India; the other is the Śaka Era, beginning in A.D. 78. In north India, the Vikrama luni-solar year generally began with the month Caitra, hence it was called Caitrādi Vikrama ("Caitra-first Vikrama"). But several regions in Rājasthān, including Mārvar, used a different system according to which the year began with the month Śrāvaṇa (the Śrāvaṇādi or "Śrāvaṇa-first" Vikrama luni-solar year). The last four months of the Śrāvaṇādi year are the first four of the following Caitrādi year; thus, if we see the date Vikrama Saṁvat ("Year") 1600, Vaisākh, in a text, and we know that the reckoning is Śrāvaṇādi, we must recognize that this corresponds to Vikrama Saṁvat 1601, Vaisākh by the Caitrādi reckoning, for Vaisākh is the second month of the new Caitrādi year and the tenth month of the old Śrāvaṇādi year. As standard conversion tables all use the Caitrādi reckoning, all Śrāvaṇādi dates falling in the last four months of the year must be changed similarly to Caitrādi dates before converting them into dates in the Christian Era.

An example found in the compilation entitled "Jodhpur Hukumat rī Bahī" provides proof of the usage of the Śrāvaṇādi Vikrama luni-solar year in seventeenth-century Mārvar. The text describes the day by day encampments of one Mumhato Kalo, who had been given a contingent of soldiers and sent to pillage the vast of a certain Bhatī Dvārkādās, beginning at the end of Vikrama Saṁvat 1715 and continuing into 1716:

Ăśāḍh, sudi 13 Wednesday. In Phalodhī.
Ăśāḍh, sudi 14 Thursday. In Phalodhī.
Ăśāḍh, sudi 15 [Friday]. In Phalodhī.
Śrāvaṇa, badi 1, 1716, Saturday. In Phalodhī.66

This sequence clearly indicates that the first day of the new year was the first day of the dark half (badi) of Śrāvaṇa. The sequence also reveals that the lunar month in Mārvar was reckoned as pūrṇimānta, "ending in the full moon" (i.e., sudi 15), an important fact for the correct conversion of Śrāvaṇādi Vikrama luni-solar dates to dates in the Christian Era.

Unfortunately for the modern reader, the writers of the Middle Mārvāri chronicles do not always provide such a clear indication of which reckoning they used, but to our knowledge all the dates in our texts are in the Śrāvaṇādi or "Śrāvaṇa-first" Vikrama Era and the lunar month is always pūrṇimānta.67 Whenever we have been able to corroborate a date, the reckoning has proved to be Śrāvaṇādī/ pūrṇimānta. Yet there are many dates that cannot be corroborated, and so one can never be completely certain if they are in the Śrāvaṇādi or Caitrādi Era.

---

66 "Jodhpur Hukumat rī Bahī," p. 50.

67 The lunar month was generally counted as pūrṇimānta in north India. See D. C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), p. 224.
Vikrama Year or if the lunar month is *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* ("ending with the new moon"). With the knowledge that the present weight of the evidence favors the *Śrāvanādi/pūrṇimānta* reckoning, we have converted all dates into the Christian Era accordingly.

Another problem of dating is that the dates in the text are often incomplete: perhaps just the year is given, or just the year and the month. We have used the following system to convert such incomplete dates:

(1) If just the year is given, we give both years of the Christian Era in which the months of the *Śrāvanādi* Vikrama year fall. V.S. 1625 in the text therefore is converted to 1568-69. If we know from other sources in which year a specific event took place, we have converted the incomplete date accordingly. For example, the text usually states simply that the great battle between Sher Shāh Sūr and Rāv Mālde took place in V.S. 1600 (1543-44). As we know that this battle occurred in 1544 rather than in 1543, we have used only the former year in our conversion.

(2) When the year and months are given, we give both months of the Christian Era year in which the days of the month of the Vikrama year fall: V.S. 1600, *Caitra*, is thus converted to March-April, 1544. If we know in which month an event occurred, we have given just that month and the year in our conversion.

We have used Cunningham’s *Book of Indian Eras* and Swamikannu Pillai’s *Indian Ephemeris* to convert all dates. Occasionally the corresponding Christian Era dates given by these authors are at variance with those given by G. H. Ojhā, the recognized expert on dates in Rājasthān’s inscriptions and chronicles, in his *Rājputāne kā Itihās* (History of Rajputana). In such cases we have placed Cunningham’s or Pillai’s dates in the text of the translation and Ojhā’s conversions in footnotes. Also, some dates in the text are obviously incorrect; we have converted these as they are and suggested the more likely dates in footnotes.

Richard D. Saran

---


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pargano</th>
<th>1711</th>
<th>1712</th>
<th>1713</th>
<th>1714</th>
<th>1715</th>
<th>1716</th>
<th>1717</th>
<th>1718</th>
<th>1719</th>
<th>1720</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merito</td>
<td>348325</td>
<td>183415</td>
<td>257169</td>
<td>246411</td>
<td>169520</td>
<td>512000</td>
<td>552309</td>
<td>571301</td>
<td>328576</td>
<td>160550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>304582</td>
<td>263059</td>
<td>289221</td>
<td>287875</td>
<td>155697</td>
<td>642202</td>
<td>432059</td>
<td>680464</td>
<td>424719</td>
<td>131829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sojhat</td>
<td>138600</td>
<td>168402</td>
<td>124573</td>
<td>120111</td>
<td>94168</td>
<td>146410</td>
<td>169424</td>
<td>185550</td>
<td>157810</td>
<td>72187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaitaran</td>
<td>119565</td>
<td>109076</td>
<td>109794</td>
<td>107616</td>
<td>94168</td>
<td>167517</td>
<td>226306</td>
<td>193978</td>
<td>133476</td>
<td>47732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalodhi</td>
<td>17924</td>
<td>23465</td>
<td>23613</td>
<td>19815</td>
<td>3920</td>
<td>37882</td>
<td>52299</td>
<td>71203</td>
<td>34400</td>
<td>12119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siwano</td>
<td>32275</td>
<td>34241</td>
<td>28515</td>
<td>20080</td>
<td>13888</td>
<td>44540</td>
<td>54634</td>
<td>57708</td>
<td>33295</td>
<td>25491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokaran</td>
<td>9870</td>
<td>9320</td>
<td>9013</td>
<td>10910</td>
<td>4028</td>
<td>8205</td>
<td>12036</td>
<td>16727</td>
<td>8320</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS** | 971141| 792690| 843611| 814532| 537104| 1560472| 1500784| 1778649| 1122315| 451628|

The totals in **bold** are those for the full Vikrama Samvat years that Naiṣṣī was *des-dīvān* for which information is available (V.S. 1715-20/1658-59-1663-64). No revenue information was returned for Pokaran Pargano in V.S. 1720.

---

**TABLE 1. Yearly *Pargano* revenue totals (numbers represent rupees).**
TABLE 2. Increase in revenue totals during Naiṣī's tenure as Des-Dīvān.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pargano</th>
<th>Average 1711-14</th>
<th>Average 1715-20</th>
<th>Increase/Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mērtō</td>
<td>258830</td>
<td>382376</td>
<td>+47.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>286184</td>
<td>411162</td>
<td>+43.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sojhat</td>
<td>137922</td>
<td>137592</td>
<td>-2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaitāraṇ</td>
<td>111513</td>
<td>143863</td>
<td>+29.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaḷodhī</td>
<td>21204</td>
<td>35304</td>
<td>+66.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīvāṇo</td>
<td>28778</td>
<td>38259</td>
<td>+32.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokaraṇ</td>
<td>9778</td>
<td>9863</td>
<td>+8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>855494</td>
<td>1158492</td>
<td>+35.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3. V.S. 1715 is considered a transitional year when the Vigat village survey was undertaken and its revenue totals are omitted. The four years preceding V.S. 1715 may then be compared with the four years following the survey (in **bold**).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pargano</th>
<th>1711</th>
<th>1712</th>
<th>1713</th>
<th>1714</th>
<th>1716</th>
<th>1717</th>
<th>1718</th>
<th>1719</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meṛto</td>
<td>348325</td>
<td>183415</td>
<td>257169</td>
<td>246411</td>
<td>512000</td>
<td>552309</td>
<td>571301</td>
<td>328576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>304582</td>
<td>263059</td>
<td>289221</td>
<td>287875</td>
<td>642202</td>
<td>432059</td>
<td>680464</td>
<td>424719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sojhat</td>
<td>138600</td>
<td>168402</td>
<td>124573</td>
<td>120111</td>
<td>146410</td>
<td>169424</td>
<td>185550</td>
<td>157810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaitāraṇ</td>
<td>119565</td>
<td>109076</td>
<td>109794</td>
<td>107616</td>
<td>167517</td>
<td>226306</td>
<td>193978</td>
<td>133476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalodhī</td>
<td>17924</td>
<td>23465</td>
<td>23613</td>
<td>19815</td>
<td>37882</td>
<td>52299</td>
<td>71203</td>
<td>34400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīvano</td>
<td>32275</td>
<td>34241</td>
<td>28515</td>
<td>20080</td>
<td>44540</td>
<td>54634</td>
<td>57708</td>
<td>33295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokaraṇ</td>
<td>9870</td>
<td>9320</td>
<td>9013</td>
<td>10910</td>
<td>8205</td>
<td>12036</td>
<td>16727</td>
<td>8320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>971141</td>
<td>792690</td>
<td>843611</td>
<td>814532</td>
<td>1560472</td>
<td>1500784</td>
<td>1778649</td>
<td>1122315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4. Percentage increase in revenue collected V.S. 1711-14 compared with four years (V.S. 1716-19) following the village survey year of V.S. 1715.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pargano</th>
<th>Average 1711-14</th>
<th>Average 1716-19</th>
<th>Increase/Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merto</td>
<td>258830</td>
<td>491015</td>
<td>+89.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>286184</td>
<td>544861</td>
<td>+90.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sojhat</td>
<td>137922</td>
<td>164799</td>
<td>+19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaitāraṇ</td>
<td>111513</td>
<td>180319</td>
<td>+61.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalodhī</td>
<td>21204</td>
<td>48946</td>
<td>+130.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sivāṇo</td>
<td>28778</td>
<td>47544</td>
<td>+65.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokaraṇ</td>
<td>9778</td>
<td>11322</td>
<td>+15.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS** 855494 1490555 +74.2%
Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used for works frequently cited:

\[\text{Ā’in-i-Akbarī}\] Abū al-Fazl ibn Mubarak, \textit{Ā’in-i-Akbarī}


\textit{Akbar Nāma}\ Abū al-Fazl ibn Mubarak. \textit{The Akbar Nāma of Abu-l-Fazl}

\textit{Āsop kā Itihās}\ Āsopā, Rāmkaraṇ. \textit{Āsop kā Itihās}

Athar Ali, \textit{Apparatus}\ Athar Ali, M. \textit{The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices, and Titles to the Mughal Nobility, 1574-1658}

\textit{Bānkīdās}\ Bānkīdās, \textit{Bānkīdās rī Khyāt}

\textit{Bhāṭī, Sarvekṣaṇ}\ Bhāṭī, Nārāyaṇāngh. \textit{Rājasthān ke Aitihasik Granthon kā Sarvekṣaṇ}

\textit{Cāmpāvat Rāṭhaur}\ Bhagavatsīṅh, Ṭhākur. \textit{Cāmpāvat Rāṭhaur}


\textit{Gehlot, Mārvār}\ Gehlot, G. S. \textit{Mārvār kā Saṅkṣipt Itihās}

\textit{Jahāṅgīr}\ Jahāṅgīr. \textit{The Tūzuk-i-Jahāṅgīrī; or, Memoirs of Jahāṅgīr}


**Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt** Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt. Edited by Raghuvīr Siṃh and Manoharsīnḥ Rāṇāvat

**Khyāt** Naiṃsī, Muṃhato, Muṃḥatā Naiṃsī viracit Muṃḥatā Naiṃsīṛī Khyāt

**Lāḷas, RSK** Lāḷas, Sītārām, Rājasthāṇī Sabād Kos

**Maāṭhir-ul-Umarā** Shāhnāvāz Khān Awrangābādī. The Maāṭhir-ul-Umarā

**Mūṇdiyār rī Rāṭhorāṁ rī Khyāt** Mūṇdiyār rī Rāṭhorāṁ rī Khyāt, MS no. 15635, no. 2

**Murārdān, no. 1** Kavirāj Murārdānji kī Khyāt kā Tarjumā

**Murārdān, no. 2** Rāṭhorom rī Khyāt Purāṇi Kavirājjī Murārdānji ke Yahāṃ se Likhī Gāī

**Murārdān, no. 3** Rajpūtom kī Khyāt: Kavirājjī Murārdānji kī Khyāt kā Tarjumā

**Ojhā** Ojhā, G. H., Rājpūtāṇe kā Itihās

**Paṃvār Vaṃś Darpaṇ** Siṃdhāyac, Dayālās. Paṃvār Vaṃś Darpaṇ. Edited by Daśrāth Śarmā

**Platts, Dictionary** Platts, John A., A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English

**Rāṭhorāṁ rī Vaṃśāvalī, ms. no. 20130** Rāṭhorāṁ rī Vaṃśāvalī. MS no. 20130, Rājasthān Prācyavīdyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

**Reu** Reu, B. N., Mārvār kā Itihās

**Sākariyā, RHSK** Sākariyā, Baddrīprasād, and Sākariyā, Bhūpati Rām, eds. Rājasthāṇī Hindi Sabād Kos
36

Tavārīkh Jaisalmer

Lakhmīcand. Tavārīkh Jaisalmer = The History of Jeysalmer

Tod, Annals

Tod, James, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan

Vigat

Naiṣṣi, Muṃhato. Mārvāṛ rā Parganāṃ rī Vigat

Vīr Vinod

Śyāmaldās, Kavirājā. Vīr Vinod

Full references will be found in the bibliography immediately following.

Other abbreviations:

B.N.

Biographical Notes

V.S.

Vikrama Saṃvat
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dictionaries, Glossaries, etc.


**English**


Lane-Poole, Stanley. The Mohommdan Dynasties: Chronological and Genealogical Tables with Historical Introductions (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., republished 1965.

Letter from Major W. H. Richards, Political Agent, Jaipur, to Lt. Co. Sir H. M. Lawrence, Agent Governor General, Rajputana, April 29, 1853, in "Law and Practice in Castes of Adoption and Succession to Sovereignties in Rajputana," Rajputana Agency Office Historical Record 27, 75/General, 1846, 1853, 1859, 1:11-16.


Hindi


---. Itihās Nibāj, arthāt, Marūdeśānār̥gat Svāsthān Nibājādhīpati Īdāvat Rāṭhauṛ Rājvanṣ kā Itihās. Mārvāra: Thīkānā Śrī Nibāj, [1931].


Manuscripts

Aitiḥāsik Tavārikhvār Vārtā. MS no. 1234. Rājasthānī Śodh Sarṃsthān, Caupāsīni.

Kavirāj Murardāṇī kī Khyāt kā Tarjumā. MS no. 25658, no. 1. Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratīṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

Mahārāj Śrī Gajisīṅghī kī Khyāt. MS no. 15666. Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratīṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

Mūndiyār rī Rāṭhōraṇī rī Khyāt. MS no. 15635, no. 2. Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratīṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

Rajpūtaṃ kī Khyāt: Kavirājjī Murardāṇī kī Khyāt kā Tarjumā, MS no. 15671, no. 3. Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratīṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

Rāṭhōraṇī rī Khyāt evaṃ Bhādrājan rī Khyāt. Personal family papers of Thākur Devisīngh of Thikānō Bhāḍrājan, Mārvār.
Rāthorāṁ ṭī Vāṃśāvalī. MS no. 20130, Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratīṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

Rāthorom ḵī Khyāt Purāṇī Kavirājī Murardāṇī ḵe Yahām ṭe Likẖī Gaī. MS no. 15672, no. 2. Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratīṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

Śrī Mahārāj Śrī Jasvantsingẖī ḵī Khyāt. MS no. 15661. Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratīṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

**Persian Sources**


**Published Middle Mārvāri and Ḍīngal Texts**


50


Rajpūṭ Social Organization:  
A Historical Perspective

For the general reader of these volumes, some discussion of Rajpūṭ social organization during the middle period is necessary both to facilitate proper identification of individual Rajpūṭs mentioned in the texts, and to provide a better understanding of the social reality in which Rajpūṭs of this period lived. This social reality was defined in terms of a complex network of kinship based upon patrilineal units of descent and relationships through marriage. The following discussion is divided into two parts. The first part offers an overview of Rajpūṭ kinship and focuses upon the Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Rajpūt, Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot, ruler of Merto in eastern Mārvār (1544-57, 1562), as an example of an individual Rajpūṭ of this period. The second part analyzes the terminology associated with Rajpūṭ units of descent and traces several important changes in the use of this terminology over time.

I

Meṛṭīyo Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot lived during the mid-sixteenth century. He and his family were surrounded by a world shaped by the Purāṇic traditions of the great Hindu epics. These epics with their king lists and Kṣatriya heroes provided not only an illustrious ancestry for Rajpūṭs, but also offered a conceptual framework within which they viewed the order of their own society. Central to this framework was the concept of time manifested in four cyclical ages (yugas), with each age involving a progressive disintegration of society. The fourth age (Kālī Yuga) in which Rāv Jaimal lived, was felt to be one of significant decline from former ages, a period of lasciviousness and loss of virtue, of the imperfect remembering of the sacred texts of the Vedas, and of the weakness of kings. Rajpūṭs as "sons of kings" saw themselves as being of less


stature and rank than the great warriors and kings of the epics. Their clan histories contain traditions of the loss of great kingdoms of the past, of migration and distress, of the mixing of castes and of the uncertainty of rank.  

Within this conceptual framework of time, genealogies were of utmost importance to Rajputs in defining rightful position and place in society. Elaborate family and caste genealogies had emerged by the mid-sixteenth century and early seventeenth centuries. These took two distinct forms. Most important were the vamsśāvalīs (lit. "line of the vamsś"); which placed emphasis upon ruling lines of local kingdoms and traced descent from forefathers who had lived both in the Kāli Yuga and in other ages of the world. Richard Saran has written that the composition of a vamsśāvalī was felt to be a task equal in merit to making a pilgrimage to a sacred shrine or performing libations to the manes. Like these acts, the composition of the vamsśāvalī was seen to purify the vamsś (vanśaśodhana) by properly linking Rajputs of the present age with their Kṣatriya ancestors of former ages and with the deities from whom they ultimately descended. Associated with the vamsśāvalīs were pīḍhiyāṁ (lit. "generations"). These genealogies provided lists of the various males members of each generation of a particular family, supplemented with important details about their lives including battles they had fought, lands they had held in grant (patō) from local rulers, and occasional information about marriages.  

Together, these two forms of the genealogy served important social and political functions. By listing family members and detailing positions held and acts performed, and by tracing descent from kings of this and other ages, the pīḍhiyāṁ and vamsśāvalīs served broad political functions in defining rank and status, and in establishing rights to land and rulership. In addition, they provided an ideological framework with reference to which these social and political relationships were explained and sustained.

---


4 L. P. Tessitori, "A Progress Report on the Work done in the year 1917 in connection with the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S. 15 (1919), pp. 19-26. It should be noted here that in the chronicles of Mumhato Nainsi, which date from the mid-seventeenth century, the distinction between vamsśāvalī and pīḍhiyāṁ as discussed here is indistinct. One finds examples of the term pīḍhiyāṁ being used interchangeably with vamsśāvalī. In general, however, the former term applies to lists of members of particular families, or more rarely, to short lists of the generations of the family of a local ruler. See: Khyāt, 1:77, 3:182.


6 For some excellent examples of pīḍhiyāṁ, see: Khyāt, 1:293-332, 2:152-195.

7 Ziegler, "Marvari Historical Chronicles ..., " pp. 237-238.
For Rajputs of the middle period such as Rav Jaimal Viramdevot, questions of genealogy and descent pertained first of all to the ordered hierarchy of patrilineal clans and lineages into which the Rajput caste (jāṭī) was divided. These clans and lineages were defined by ties of male blood to a common male ancestor and provided the basic units of reference and identification. Rajputs recognized six to seven different named units of descent. The most inclusive of these were the great vanś. These were originally seen to have been six in number\(^8\) and were distinguished by the particular guardian deities who gave them birth.\(^9\) As with all things in the cycle of time, these great vanś, being most powerful and pure, were seen to have emerged during the first or golden age (sat yuga). The vanś to which Meṛīyo Rav Jaimal Viramdevot belonged was the Sūryavamś ("family or dynasty of the Sun"). This vanś had emerged with the birth of the sun, Sūrya,\(^10\) and from this deity all Sūryavamśī Rajputs traced direct descent.

Through time, the Sūryavamś was seen to segment into distinct lines from which emerged more particularistic vanś or kul, such as the Gahlot, Kachvāho, Rāṭhor and others (see Figure 1, infra, for specific terminology associated with the different levels of descent among Rajputs). The Rāṭhor vanś to which Rav Jaimal belonged was felt to have originated during the second or silver age (tretā yuga) some 1,728,000 years after the birth of the Sun.\(^11\) The founding ancestor of the Rāṭhors was Rājā Rāṣṭesvar, a son of Rājā Jhalmalesvar. He was conceived in the body of his own father and was called "Rāṭhor" because he was given birth through his father's spine (rāṭho).

The story\(^12\) of Rāṣṭesvar's conception and birth tells that Rājā Jhalmalesvar originally had no sons. Being greatly concerned about the future of his line, he went into the forest with his wives to see the great sage (ṛṣī), Gotam. Gotam listened intently to the Rājā, and when he learned of the Rājā's plight, he immediately agreed to help. Gotam first ordered the Rājā to perform the great sacrifice and to feed the host of deities in attendance. Gotam then spoke a sacred mantra, the name of Śrī Parameśvarji, over a container of water, impregnating it with the power to produce a son. Finally, Gotam ordered the Rājā to give the water to his wives to drink, after which a son would be conceived and born. The

---

\(^8\) "Rāṭhodām rī Vaṃśāvalī," p. 10.

\(^9\) Khyāt, 1:1, 128, 134, 291, 2:3, 15.


\(^11\) "Rāṭhodām rī Vaṃśāvalī," pp. 5-6, 12-13.

\(^12\) I am here following Saran, "Conquest and Colonization ...," pp. 35-37, in his rendering of "Rāṭhodām rī Vaṃśāvalī," pp. 12-14. Saran notes that the Vaṃśāvalī contains a variant version of this same story (pp. 14-16). Both of these stories date from the late 16th century. Another version dating from the early 18th century is found in "Rāṭhaud Vaṃś rī Vigat," in Rāṭhaud Vaṃś rī Vigat evam Rāṭhaudām rī Vaṃśāvalī, ed. by Phatashimh (Jodhpur: Rājasthān Prācīvidyā Pratīsthān, 1968), pp. 1-2.
Raja agreed to follow Gotam's instructions, but during the night following, the Raja awoke with great thirst and mistakenly drank from the container of water himself. A foetus then began to grow within Jhalmalesvar's own body. And when it was time for the child's birth, a family goddess came to the Raja's aid. She split open Jhalmalesvar's spine (rātho) and removed a son from his body. The son was called Rāṣṭesvar. Afterwards, Gotam Ṛṣi gave this new Rājā his blessing and the family goddess granted him a kingdom. There Rāṣṭesvar is said to have founded the city of Kanauj as his capital and to have built a fort of gold.

Because of their close relationship with Gotam Ṛṣi, the Rathors assumed the gotra designation of Gotam. This gotra designation was seen to apply to all Rathors, for Gotam Ṛṣi was considered responsible for instilling among them the particular customs and behaviors (gotrācār) appropriate for their members, which distinguished them from Rajпутs of different gotra. For Rāv Jaimal Vīrandevot, the gotra designation was important primarily with regard to marriage, for it defined the boundaries of exogamy. All marriages with members of the same gotra, that is, with one's own gotī, were prohibited. In addition, hostility (vair) and murder within the gotra (gotrakadamb - lit. "gotra-destruction") were enjoined.

The Rathors were considered to be one of the thirty-six rājkulīs ("ruling or sovereignty possessing families") which had emerged during the second age. Tradition held that six rājkulīs had emerged from each of the six original vams, and each was in turn associated with its own particular fort or town which was its homeland (utan). As noted above, the Rathors were associated with Kanauj.


14 Ibid., pp. 20-22.

15 Phatahsimh, "Bhūmikā," in Rāṭhauḍ Vams rī Vigat evan Rāṭhauḍāṃ rī Vamsāvalī, p. 13; Ojhā, 1:348, 352-354; Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service ... ," pp. 38, 40. It should be noted here that during the middle period, the same gotra designation did not necessarily apply to all members at this level of segmentation (Level 3: see Figure 1, infra). In actuality, different branches of a vams or kul often had distinct gotra names of their own.


17 "Rāṭhodāṃ rī Vamsāvalī," pp. 9-11; Saran, "Conquest and Colonization ... ," pp. 25-27. Saran remarks of the 36 rājkulīs that:

The idea of the existence of thirty-six clans is quite old, developing at least as early as the twelfth century of the Christian Era. During subsequent centuries many lists ... were compiled in Rājaṭhān. An important facet of these lists is that no two seem to be identical: they differ according to when and where they were written .... One may consider the number thirty-six a conventional one expressing totality (p. 27).
in north India, where they were first seen to have established their sovereignty. Rāṭhōṛ affiliation with a particular family goddess (kuldevī) was also established in this period. The kuldevī that the Rāṭhōṛs worshipped was Pankhī Mātā, a goddess in the form of a black hawk who had been instrumental in helping the Rāṭhōṛs consolidate their authority within their kingdom.

During the third age (dvāpara yuga), several important Kṣatriya ancestors of the Rāṭhōṛs emerged. These were Śrī Rāmacandrajl (the Hindu God, Rām) and his two sons, Liv (Lava) and Kus (Kuṣa). The Rāṭhōṛs of Mārvāṛ (and the Sisodiyo Gahlots of Mevāṛ) trace descent from Liv, while the Kachvāḥos of Amber are said to have descended from Kus. Then in the fourth age (kālī yuga), the Rāṭhōṛs themselves divided into a number of different branches (sākhāṃ) which spread over north India. Thirteen branches are said to have emerged. The branch to which Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot belonged was called "Kamdhaj" after Rājā Kamdhaj, one of the great Rāṭhōṛ kings of Kanauj.

Rājā Kamdhaj was considered the direct ancestor of the last Rāṭhōṛ king of Kanauj, Rājā Jaicand, who according to tradition, was killed defending his capital against the Muslim invasion of north India in the thirteenth century.

With specific reference to the Rāṭhōṛs of Mārvāṛ, their "genealogical" history properly begins with Rāv Śiho Setramot (d. 1273). Again according to tradition, Rāv Śiho is considered a grandson of Rājā Jaicand. He is said to have migrated to Mārvāṛ in Rājasthān following the Muslim invasion and the fall of Kanauj, and to have founded a new kingdom of the Kamdhaj Rāṭhōṛs.

---

18 "Rāṭhodām ri Vamsāvalī," p. 10.


21 Ibid.


23 Khyāt, 2:266; "Rāṭhodām ri Vamsāvalī," p. 40; Vigat, 1:5. Rāv Śiho is known epigraphically from a memorial stone found at the village of Bīḥu near Pālī in central Mārvāṛ. The inscription on the stone records only that Śiho was a son of Rāṭhōṛ Kumvāṛ Setrām, and that he died on V. S. 1330, Kārtik, vadi 12 (October 9, 1273). See: Ojhā, 4:1:156-158; Reu, Mārvāṛ kā Itihās, 1:40.

Very little is known about the genealogical history of the Rāṭhōṛs of Mārvāṛ from the time of Śiho Setrāmot until roughly the time of Rāv Čūṇḍo Vīramot of Maṇḍor (d. ca. 1423). D. P. Henige, The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), states:

... Anyone inclined to accept the testimony of the Jodhpur khyāts regarding the names and numbers of rulers before Chunda must at the same time recognize that the chronicles have converted a kinglist into an ascendant genealogy (p. 205).
It is from Siho Setramot that Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot of Meṛto traced direct descent through some thirteen male ancestors to his own great-grandfather, Rāv Jodho Rīṅmalot, the founder of Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). Over the two centuries between the time of Rāv Siho Setramot and Rāv Jaimal of Meṛto, and during the following period into the mid-seventeenth century, the Kamdhaj Rāṭhors of Mārvār themselves became divided into numerous branches (sākhān). These branches are sometimes referred to as "thirteen" in number. But in actual fact there were many more. From Rāv Siho and his immediate sons and descendants emerged the Śindhal, Īḥār, Pethār, Mūlū and other branches. These branches spread widely throughout the lands of Mārvār, mingling with the branches of other Rajpūt clans and settling territories that became known as their homelands (utān). These lands were often referred to by the name of the group inhabiting and controlling the area, with the suffix "vāṭī" attached, meaning "share or portion" of the group.

In the early fourteenth century, the Mahevco Rāṭhors emerged in the area of Mahevo and Kher in western Mārvār. It is from this branch that the Rāṭhors of Jodhpur and Meṛto descend in direct line:

Rāv Salkho Tīḍāvat (Mahevo)
   I
Vīram Salkhāvat
   I
Rāv Ćūṇḍo Vīramot (d. ca. 1423) (Maṇḍor)
       I
Rāv Rīṅmal Ćūṇḍāvat (ca. 1428-38) (Maṇḍor)
           I
Rāv Jodho Rīṅmalot (ca. 1453-89) (Maṇḍor and Jodhpur)


27 Names of territories in Mārvār, such as Śindhalāvaṭī ("share or portion of the Śindhaḷs"), do appear in the texts designating areas held by these early groups of Rāṭhors or by other Rajpūts of the area. See: Khyāti, 2:308, 3:41, 48, 125; Vīgat, 2:235, 241.
From Rāv Rīnmal Cūṇḍāvat and his son, Rāv Jodho, emerged the branches of the Rāṭhors of Mārvār that became most prominent during the middle period and possessed sovereignty within the kingdom of Mārvār. These branches include the Cāṃpāvats, Jaitāvats, Jodhos, Kūṃpāvats, Merṭīyos, Udāvats and others. Each branch established its own homeland within Mārvār. Some, like the Merṭīyo branch to which Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot belonged, took their names from the particular territory in which they became established. Other branches took their names from their founders. For example, the Cāṃpāvats trace descent from Cāṃpo Rīnmalot, one of the sons of Rāv Rīnmal Cūṇḍāvat of Māndor. In like manner, the Jaitāvats trace descent from Jaito Pāṇcainot, a grandson of Rāv Rīnmal, and the Jodhos from Rāv Jodho Rīnmalot, the founder of Jodhpur.28

Depending on context, other levels of segmentation might be invoked. All the Rāṭhors who were descendants of Rāv Rīnmal Cūṇḍāvat, for example, were collectively referred to as "Rīnmalos" or "Rīnmalots"29 in contrast to other groups of Rāṭhors, such as the Sindhals, against whom they often stood regarding control of lands in Mārvār. In addition, these branches themselves became divided into more discrete units as particular families assumed importance through time. By the late seventeenth century, the Merṭīyos were divided among several segments including the Varsinghots, descended from Varsingh Jodhavat, one of the original founders of Merto; the Jaimalots, descended from Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot; and the Jagnāthots, descended from Jagnāth Goinddasot, a grandson of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot.30

Among Rajputs of the middle period, all of the units of descent as collectivities of individuals related through ties of male blood to a common ancestor were known as brotherhoods (bhāṭibandhān - lit. "brothers-bound").31 The higher units of descent, such as the great vanś, however, did not designate corporate brotherhoods in the sense that the collectivity of members possessed joint control over land or acted in concert. Membership at these levels was too widely dispersed over different territories in Rājasthān and Mārvār. The functionally corporate brotherhoods were the smaller, named internal segments of these large units of descent, such as the Merṭīyos, Cāṃpāvats and Jaitāvats.32 Even these groups did not necessarily include all members. In general, brotherhoods were from three to five generations in depth and controlled specified territories within which most of the members lived. These territories are often referred to in the texts as the collective heritage of the brotherhood

28 Gehlot, Mārvār kā Saṅkṣipt Itihās, pp. 160-161, 201-203.
30 Several of these named units of descent did not fully emerge among the Merṭīyos until the 18th century. See: Bāṅkīḍās, pp. 57-67.
31 For further discussion of this term, see: Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service ... ," pp. 45-47.
handed down from fathers and grandfathers (bāp-dādā)\textsuperscript{33} and held by brothers (bhāyāṁ), their sons (beṭāṁ), their brothers' sons (bhatījāṁ) and their grandsons (potrāṁ).\textsuperscript{34} While these brotherhoods acknowledged broader ties of descent and paid varying degrees of deference to senior or ruling lines, for the most part they looked upon themselves as separate and distinct units with equal rights to precedence and land with relation to other, more "distant" brothers.\textsuperscript{35}

Individual Rajputs as members of these brotherhoods were thus included within and acknowledged a series of units of descent extending out from themselves. Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot of Merto was first and foremost a Mertlyo and secondly a Rāṭhōṛ. With relation to Rajputs of other vams or kul, he recognized himself as a Rāṭhōṛ as distinct from a Gahlot, Kachvāḥo or Cāhuvān. But he also acknowledged more distant ties of male blood that existed among the Sūryavaṃśī Rajputs.

As an individual, he was himself known by a personal name given at birth and by the name of his father. To the name of his father a suffix was added to indicate "son of." Depending on the final letter of the father's name, this suffix would be "ot," "avat," "iyot," or "uvot."\textsuperscript{36} In the case of Rāv Jaimal, his full name was then:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Sūryavaṃśī} & \text{Rāṭhōṛ} & \text{Rajpūṭ} \\
(vaṁś) & (sākh) & (jāti) \\
\text{Kamdhaj} & \text{Rāṭhōṛ Mertlyo} & \text{Jaimal} \\
(sākh) & (sākh) & (personal name) \\
\text{Viramdevot} & & (son of Virande) \\
\end{array}
\]

The terms "clan" and "lineage" are generally employed in English to designate these different units of descent among Rajputs. Though acceptable, they should be used with the understanding that Rajputs of the middle period would not have recognized what is generally meant by these terms. "Putative

\textsuperscript{33} Khyāṭ, 1:87; Vigat, 2:48.

\textsuperscript{34} Khyāṭ, 2:50, 290; "Vāṭ Tiḍāi Chāḍāvat rī," p. 40; Vigat, 1:51.


\textsuperscript{36} For example: Jaimal Viramdevot, Prithīrāj Jaitāvāṭ, Prithīrāj Balūṭ/Balūvot, Śīghan Khetsiyot. See: Vigat, 2:57-59, 74.

Genealogical listings also present the personal names of Rajpūṭs followed by that of the father with the suffix "ro" meaning "of" (e.g., Kesodās Jaimal ro). In other cases, sons are listed as being "of the belly of" the individual listed as their father (e.g., Kesodās Jaimal rai pet ro). See: Khyāṭ, 1:355, 2:11, 162.
descent" from a common ancestor implied in the meaning of the term "clan" was not a defining criterion of the vams or any other Rajpūt unit of descent. If lines of specific descent to particular ancestors were questioned, the vamsvali or pūṭhiyām provided the names and set out the relationships to each other. This was their purpose. In addition, membership in a Rajpūt brotherhood was defined differently from that generally understood under the term "lineage." In contrast to the lineage which included members by birth only, the brotherhood defined membership through birth and through marriage. It included by birth all male descendants of the founder and all unmarried females, who were the daughters and sisters of the brotherhood. It also included by marriage all the wives of the male members of the group.

Rajpūts of the middle period considered marriage to be an act which transformed a woman's affiliation from a person related to her father and her father's brotherhood into a person related to her husband and her husband's brotherhood. Marriage was a sanskāra (lit. "polishing, refining"), a rite whose power affected substantial configurations in the world. The union of a woman with her husband was symbolized through the hāth-leva (lit. "hand-taking") rite.


38 Ibid.

39 In my dissertation work at the University of Chicago in 1973, I stated, following Ronald Inden's work on Bengali culture, that a woman "became related to her husband by male blood [through marriage] and was seen to possess the same substance and code for conduct that he possessed" (Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service ... ," p. 48). This statement needs modification. The woman is not changed bodily/substantially through marriage into someone related by male blood to her husband, but she does change her kinship status and her group affiliation, thereby becoming a member of her husband's family and brotherhood. This change is similar to that which Fruzzetti defines for Bengali culture: "In Bengali marriage women undergo a change of status through a change of gotra. Through the ritual a woman leaves her father's line and is adopted into the bangśa [line] of her husband and husband's father. The incoming wife of a male line is not seen, however, as undergoing a bodily transubstantiation at marriage; she neither changes to nor adopts her husband's blood (rakta). Married women continue to share their father's and brother's blood. Only the gotra ties with their father's side change at marriage." (Fruzzetti, The Gift of a Virgin, p. 120).

I have not had opportunity, for many reasons, to define in greater detail the specific dimensions of this change in Rājasthān culture. Central aspects of kinship among Rajpūts include, however, the definition of brotherhood as those who share descent from and male blood with a common male ancestor, the notion of the exclusively male transmission of blood and heredity, the inclusion within the brotherhood of all males born into it, all unmarried females, and all women brought into it through marriage, and finally, the fact that a woman's kinship status and some of her kinship relationships are changed through marriage, while she retains others including the blood link to her father and brothers.

Having been out of direct contact with the field for several years, I am indebted to Richard Saran for helping keep me abreast of developments in the literature.
of the marriage ceremony, when the right hands of the bride and groom were bound together, palm to palm, with a red thread. Between the palms a small ball of mahendi, referred to as the ḥāṭh-pīṇḍ (lit. "hand-ball"), was placed. The red dye of the mahendi marked each palm as a mingling of the wife’s blood with that of her husband. This joining of hands was accompanied by the transforming power of appropriate words from the sacred texts, and was seen to unite the woman with her husband, making them one. A woman left her father’s home (pīhar) after marriage, and took up residence in her husband’s father’s home (sāstro), where she received a new personal name signifying her “birth” into her husband’s brotherhood. ⁴⁰

Accompanying these ideas about marriage was the Rajpūt’s belief in the exclusively male transmission of heredity within the marriage. Hereditary features were seen to be passed to children of the union through the seed (bīj, karaṇ) that a husband implanted in his wife’s belly or womb (pēṭ) during sexual intercourse.

Studies done during the British period provide support for the set of beliefs evident in local texts from the middle period. In his work on the laws of adoption and succession in Rājasthān done in 1853, Major W. H. Richards wrote, for example:

> . . . The Hindoo order of succession determines the nearness of kindred, with the exception that the adoption must be from among the lineal or collateral descendants of a common ancestor in the male line. Thus a brother’s son, grandson, or great-grandson may be adopted, but not a sister’s son or wife’s brother. Here the stirps or stock is considered changed by marriage. On the same principle descendants of remote kindred are preferred to all descendants of the female line or maternal kindred. (Italics added) ⁴¹

Some years later in 1871, Brandreth completed his *Treatise on the Law of Adoption in Rajpootana*. He stated:

---

⁴⁰ Lists of the wives of the Rāṭhōr rulers of Jodhpur often indicate both the birth name of the wife (pīhar ro nāṁ) and the new name she received upon marriage. For example, one wife of Rāv Šījō Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515) had the birth-name, Likhmībī, but was known at the Jodhpur court as Rāṇī Bhātiyānī Sāragdejī. Similarly, a wife of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat (1515-32) had the birth-name, Padmāvatībī, but was called Rāṇī Sīsodnī Uttamdejī at the Jodhpur court. See: *Murārdān*, no. 2. pp. 103, 112.

⁴¹ Letter from Major W. H. Richards, Political Agent, Jaipur, to Lt. Col. Sir H. M. Lawrence, Agent Governor General, Rajputana, April 29, 1853, in "Law and Practice in Cases of Adoption and Succession to Sovereignties in Rajputana," *Rajputana Agency Office Historical Record 27/General, 1846, 1853, 1859* (National Archives of India, Delhi, India), 1 (1853), p. 11.
... A sister's son or daughter's son is not reckoned of the family at all.\textsuperscript{42}

And:

... Blood relationship is calculated to be on the paternal side only. The female side is mere connexionship.\textsuperscript{43}

While marriage changed a woman's kinship status and joined her with her husband's brotherhood, it was also seen to create a special relationship between her husband's family and her own paternal family, who became sagos. The term \textit{sago} is related to the abstract noun \textit{sagāī}, meaning both "betrothal" and "alliance."\textsuperscript{44} Sagos defined one's relations by marriage, that is, those to whom one gave and/or from whom one received daughters in marriage. In a more general sense, sagos were allies and formed the other unit of primary reference and identification outside of the brotherhood for Rajpūts of the middle period.

Sagos included a range of individuals and groups: one's mother's and one's wife's families, the collective groups from which they came, and the relations by marriage of one's father and brothers. Genealogical entries for Rajpūts of this period often list the names of sagos alongside the names of individual Rajpūts, an indication of the importance in which they were held. Rāv Jaimal Viramdev of Meerto, for example, is listed as sister's son (bhānej) of the Tāņko Rajpūts. His mother was a sister of the Tāņkos.\textsuperscript{45} Other Rajpūts are referred to as daughter's son (dohitro) of a particular Rajpūt clan, a segment thereof, or of a specific individual from that clan.\textsuperscript{46}

A woman's ties with her father's home and with her brothers generally remained strong after marriage. She would continue to be called sister (bāt) or daughter (bett) of the brotherhood from which she had originally come,\textsuperscript{47} and her offspring were entitled to special considerations from her relations. These bonds were particularly strong between a mother's brother (māmo) and his sister's son.


\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{44} Kalikā Prasād, \textit{Brhat Hindi Koś} (4th ed. Vārāṇasī: Jāāmāṇḍal, V.S. 2030 [1973]), p. 1419; Platts, \textit{Dictionary}, p. 667. The terms \textit{sago/sagā} indicate "uterine or blood relationship" when used in compounds, such as \textit{sago bhāi} ("uterine brother").

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Murārdān}, no. 2, p. 459.

\textsuperscript{46} For examples, see: \textit{Khyāt}, 1:26, 28, 31, 2:141.

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Khyāt}, 2:41, 248, 292, 337, 3:64; \textit{Vigat}, 1:111. A wife also retained the name of the group from which she had come, and would be called "Rāṭhōṛ," "Bhāṭīyāṇī," Sāākhlī," or "Sisodṇī," etc. For examples, see: \textit{Khyāt}, 3:144, 259.
(bhānej), the mother's brother holding strong obligations of support and assistance for his sister's offspring. In the Rajput literature of the period, this relationship figures most prominently alongside that between a son and his maternal grandparents (nāno/nānī). 48

Bonds of alliance and support established between sagoš through the act of marriage also provided an important means for the settlement of hostilities (vair) between rival Rajput brotherhoods in the middle period. The marriage of a sister or daughter to an opposing group was employed particularly when a murder had been committed. In such instances, the brotherhood that had lost a member received a woman from the brotherhood responsible for the killing. This woman was usually given to a son or a brother of the murdered man as a means of equalizing loss. In addition, the marriage itself established an alliance with on-going obligations of support. 49

II

Figure 1, infra, sets out diagrammatically the different units of descent among Rajputs and gives the Middle Mārvārī terms used to designate them. For purposes of analysis, I have included terms in the figure that occur both in texts from the middle period and in texts and usage from the eighteenth century and after. The latter have been marked with an asterisk (*) to distinguish them.

Below Level 1, the level of caste (jāti), only Level 2, that of the great clans (Sūryavaṃśa, Somvaṃśa, Aṅgavaṃśa, etc.), finds exclusive designation by the single term vaṃś (lit. "bamboo; bamboo pole"). The usage of vaṃś in this context appears to be a standard literary convention. For Levels 3-5, several terms find virtually synonymous usage. These terms include jāti (or the diminutive jātiyo), vaṃś, kuḷ, and keḍ. In addition, gotra ("a person of one's own gotra") 50 is also used in contexts that make reference to these same levels of descent.

In a general sense, all of these terms mean "offspring, progeny; family, dynasty; brotherhood," or more loosely "assemblage, group." 51 The lexicons define each of them in terms of the other, giving the following equation:

\[ jāti = vaṃś = kuḷ = keḍ = gotra \]

48 Nānāno is the Middle Mārvārī term for the maternal grandparent's home. A passage in Viṇat, 1:51 specifically includes sisters' sons along with brothers and brothers' sons among the warriors of a local Rajput (≠ rai bhāḷ bhāṭīśm bhānejśm ... ). See also: Khyāt, 1:26-27, 206-207, 2:141, 269-276, 288, 304-305, 3:63-64, 68-69, 151.


50 Lāḷas, RSK, 1:769.

51 Ibîd., 1:525, 540, 605, 769; Brhat Hindi Koś, pp. 343, 399, 1207.
In a more specific sense, these terms define "those who share male blood (substance) and the particular inherent set of customs and behaviors (codes for conduct) within a moral order of caste." The synonymous usage of these terms for the different levels indicates that the units which they designate are all of the same order, albeit of greater or lesser inclusiveness depending on the level of segmentation invoked.

Other lower levels are designated by the single term sākh (lit. "branch, as of a tree"), although the term khāmp is occasionally found. These lower levels are considered segments, branches or divisions of the higher and more inclusive units. During the middle period, the term sākh was employed almost exclusively to refer to Level 6-7, and in appropriate contexts, also to Level 5. The very occasional usage of the term khāmp for Level 6 presages a change in the application of terminology beginning in the latter half of the seventeenth century. In the "Jodhpur Hukūmat rī Bahī," a text compiled during the reign of Mahārājā Jāsvantsingh Gajsinghot of Jodhpur (1638-78), for example, the term khāmp appears only once to designate Level 6. In contrast, the term sākh is an almost exclusive designation for this level in both this and other texts from the same period. However, by the eighteenth century, khāmp has replaced sākh as the designation for both Level 6 and Level 7. Sākh remains in usage primarily as a referent for Level 5.

The lexicons define khāmp like sākh in terms of jāti, vaṃś, and kul. But khāmp has the additional and more specific meaning of "a segment, a part, a piece, a slice." During this change in terminology, the different branches of the Rāṭhoṛs, such as the Merṭīyos, Cāṃpāvats, and others, all became referred to as khāmps. Accompanying this change in terminology was a progressive modification in the presentation of Rajpūt names in the texts. This modification is evident in lists of Rajpūts found in material dealing with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such lists were compiled for varying reasons. But they sought primarily to preserve the names of Rajpūt warriors who fought in the

---

52 Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service ... ," pp. 23-26, 36.
53 Prasād, Brhat Hindi Koś, pp. 1345, 1476; Lāḷas, RSK, 4:3:5484-5485.
55 Ibid.
56 For examples, see: Ibid., p. 19; Khyāt, 1:245, 248, 2:31, 112.
58 Prasād, Brhat Hindi Koś, p. 343; Lāḷas, RSK, 1:605.
army of a local ruler and/or who died in important battles. Two examples illustrate the importance of this modification.

Lists dealing with the period of Rāvī Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) set forth names of Rajpūts in a haphazard manner. The names of individual Rāthorṣ are mixed without seeming order or system among the names of Rajpūts of other clans, such as the Gahlots, Cahuvaṇs, or Bhāṭīs. In addition, named segments among the Rāthorṣ, such as the Meṛṭīyo, Cāṃpāvat, or Jodho, are rarely included as part of the identification of a Rajpūt. Only his personal name and the name of his father are given.

By contrast, lists of Rajpūts who served in the armies of Rājā Jasvantsūṅgh Gaṅsīṅgh of Jodhpur (1638-78) are presented in a very different manner. One such list in the "Jodhpur Hukumāt ri Bahī" sets forth the names of Rāthor Rajpūts according to clearly defined segments: Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhorṣ, Udāvat Jaitāraṇyaos (Udāvat Rāṭhorṣ of Jaitāraṇ Pargano), Jodho Rāṭhorṣ, etc. Rajpūts of these segments are still mixed without seeming order among groups of Rajpūts from other clans, and all are classified as ṭhākurṣ of different branches (sākh-sākh rā ṭhākur). But on the whole, these lists evidence a markedly increased formalization and systemization of material.

By the eighteenth century, Rajpūts were generally identified by khāmp designations in all such listings. In addition, even in textual passages where an individual Rajpūt is mentioned, the particular khāmp to which he belonged is noted. This change shows a still greater attention to categorization than in earlier periods. It may be noted here that Rajpūts of the modern period have carried this classification system even further with the introduction of the term nakh to designate the lowest level of segmentation (Level 7). Nakha (lit. "nail of the finger") has the same meaning as khāmp in this context, that is, "a piece, a part, or a segment."

This transition in the presentation of names and in the usage of terminology is significant. Several hypotheses present themselves as explanations. One relates to internal developments among Rāthorṣ and other Rajpūt clans over time. Most of the prominent branches of the Rāthorṣ of Mārvār, for example, descend either from Rāvī Rīṃmal Cūṃdāvat (ca. 1429-38) or his son and successor, Rāvī Jodho Rīṃmalot (ca. 1453-1489). By the mid-sixteenth century, these branches were well-defined groups with sizable memberships and with varying territories under their control. Over the next century, most of these branches developed additional internal segments as new families and groups rose to prominence. Some of these segments retained their original names with the qualifying addition of a founder's name, as among the Jaimalot Meṛṭīyo, mentioned above. Among others, the original names were

59 For examples, see Vigat, 2:59, 65-66, infra, in the translated sections of this volume.


61 Ajīt Vilās, pp. 72, 80, 86-87.

replaced with newer names of more recent "founders" or men of prominence. The relative stability in Mārvār that followed Mughal domination of Rājasthān and north India under Akbar may itself have fostered this process of segmentation among groups that retained association with original lands and kingdoms. From one perspective then, increasing complexity of terminology and greater sophistication in the presentation of names can be seen as a response to the greater number and complexity of named groups themselves.

Complementing this segmentation process were other influences that affected the manner in which local groups and individuals perceived themselves. Some of these influences are seen in the emergence of a strong indigenous literature, particularly in the area of Mārvār. Components of this literature are found in the lists of Rajpūts, such as those from the reign of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat, which derive from a tradition of recording the names of important warriors and their deeds, usually in the form of stories or tales (bātāṁ) in the vernacular.63 One passage in a text dealing with Rāv Mālde's reign specifically states that the Rāv ordered warriors chosen to fight in a battle "recorded name by name."64 Passages in other material relating to even earlier periods also contain similar references.65

John D. Smith has recently discussed the origin and importance of this vernacular tradition in connection with his reconstruction of the Vīṣaḷadevarāśa, a poetic composition that Smith dates to ca. 1450.66 Smith writes of this composition and its language of Middle Mārvārī:

Until [the mid-fifteenth century] the culturally dominant region of Rājasthān had been the kingdom of Mewār, but literature there was restricted to the 'classical' languages; vernacular Mewārī was not (and has never become) accepted as a literary medium. It would thus appear that the rise to unified power of the Rāṭhōrs [with the founding of Jodhpur under Rāv Jōdho Rīṅmalot in 1459] was the impetus necessary to bring about the earliest vernacular composition in Rājasthān. It is hardly surprising if the first works to be composed were of a popular nature, and probably derive at no great distance from folk-song and ballad; nonetheless, from these humble beginnings was to come into being one of the greatest of the [New Indo-Aryan] literary languages.67

63 Ziegler, "Marvari Historical Chronicles ...," p. 233.

64 "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," p. 50.

65 For an example, see: Khyāt, 2:228.


67 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
It is precisely this vernacular of Middle Mārvārī in which the prose chronicles compiled under Mumhato Nainsī in the mid-seventeenth century were written.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the loose collections of lists, the stories about the great deeds of warriors, and the compositions describing important events changed. L. P. Tessitori and following him, D. P. Henige, argue that the impetus for this change was political and was engendered specifically through Rajpūt contact with the Mughal court of Akbar (1556-1605). The compilation of much embellished genealogies and clan histories in this period is put forward as evidence.68 With reference to Mārvār and Bikāner, Tessitori remarks:

It is natural that there, before an Emperor [Akbar] who was ever ready to lend an interested and benevolent ear to stories, beliefs, and disputes of his subjects, the Princes of Rajputana brought all their mutual rivalries and their controversies about pre-eminence and seniority, and each tried to back his claim with pedigrees of his family. . . It was thus a spirit of emulation and ambition that awoke in the Rajput Princes who gathered at the Imperial Court, an interest in historical matters. . . now they began to inquire into the origins of their ancestors and the traditions concerning them, and to complete their pedigrees with long lists of paurāṇika names ....69

Tessitori argues further that even the format of the Rajpūt genealogies, especially the vaṃśāvaḷīs, which trace descent of rulers back to Adi Narāyana, derived from the model provided in the Akbar Nāma in which Akbar's ancestry is traced back to Adam.70

Mughal influence in Rājathān, Imperial concerns about ancestry and precedence, and Rajpūt attempts to emulate the traditions of the Imperial court for political advantage had an undoubted impact upon the forms and content of local compositions. I have also argued elsewhere that the emergence of local clan histories and genealogies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be seen as an adaptive response to the Muslim conquest and the threat it posed to local positions of precedence and power.71 This process may have begun in the early part of the sixteenth century. The rather voluminous material

in local chronicles about the reign of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur, for example, may
have been produced contemporaneously not only to commemorate Rāv Mālde's
reign, in itself remarkable, but also to record position and deed in response to the
continuing hostilities between Jodhpur and Merto. Muslim rulers from north
India entered into this conflict early on, for Sher Shāh Sūr (1540-45) became an
outside arbiter at the behest of Mērtīyo Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvāt, ruler of Merto
(ca. 1497-1544). Following his defeat of Rāv Mālde at the battle of Samel (near
Ajmer) in January of 1544, Sher Shāh also occupied Jodhpur for a short period.
Questions of precedence, rank and rights to land all figured prominently in these
on-going hostilities.

Both emulation of Mughal customs and forms, and needs to re-define
rank and precedence in response to outside threats speak to a process of
objectification that occurred in Rājasthān during the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries. This process helps to explain much of the increased categorization
and delineation of Rajpūt groups by name and level of segmentation which
appears in the terminology applied to Rajpūt units of descent. One other type of
influence that both Tessitori and Henige fail to note, however, also deserves
mention. This influence I shall term simply "bureaucratic." It emerged
secondarily from increasing Rajpūt contact with the Mughals. It is embodied in
various Mughal regulations pertaining to the ordering of men. An example
comes from the A’in-i-Akbarī. Under the "Regulations Regarding the Branding
of Animals" (Book II, A’in 7), the following is written:

> When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and
> inquired into the quality of the horses, he ordered that upright
> Bitikchās should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and
> write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their
> fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered.73

Coupled with general interest on the part of the Mughal Emperors in
ancestry and genealogy, regulations such as this one must have had a
considerable influence over time upon Rajpūt conceptions of themselves as
individuals and as members of larger groups. These conceptions would have
affected how they ordered information about themselves and the terms they used
to describe themselves.

Norman P. Ziegler

---

Librarians and other men of letters from the Delhi courts did occasionally seek
attachments in the darbārs of Rājasthān, and they undoubtedly exerted their own
influence on the form and content of local literature and composition. Mulla Surkh, a
former librarian from Humāyūn's court, for example, is known to have served in
Jodhpur during the time of Rāv Mālde Gāngāvat. However, no information is available
about specific activities in which he may have been involved. See: Ziegler, "Marvari
Historical Chronicles ... ,", p. 233.
Figure 1. Rajput Units of Descent

* Terms which occur in texts and usage from the eighteenth century and after.
Endnotes for Figure 1


9 *Khyāt*, 2:287.


12 *Khyāt*, 1:23, 111.


16 "Jodhpur Hukūmat rī Bahī," p. 22; Khyāṭ, 2:11, 16, 33, 72, 112; Vigat, 2:41, 68.

17 Bāṇkīḍāś, pp. 57, 62.

18 Modern usage among Rajpūts in Mārvār, based on information from a local informant, Ṭhākūr Gopālsinghji of Ṭhikāṇo Bhāḍrāṇ, Mārvār.
### Succession Lists of the Major Rajput Ruling Families of Middle Period Rajasthan

**Āhāro Gahlots of Đũngarpur**
- Rāval Udaisingh Gāngāvat ca. 1497-1527
- Rāval Prathīraj Udaisinghot ca. 1527-1549
- Rāval Āskaran Prathīrajot ca. 1549-1580
- Rāval Sahasmal Āskaranot ca. 1580-1606
- Rāval Puñjrajā Karamsīṅghot ca. 1609-1657
- Rāval Girdhardās Puñjrajot ca. 1657-1661
- Rāval Jasvantsīṅgh Girdhardāsot ca. 1661-1691
- Rāval Khumāṃsīṅgh Jasvantsīṅghot ca. 1691-1702

**Āhāro Gahlots of Vāṃsvālo**
- Rāval Jagmāl Udaisīṅghot ca. 1518-1544
- Rāval Jaisīṅgh Jagmālot ca. 1544-1550
- Rāval Pratāpsīṅgh Jaisīṅghot ca. 1550-1579
- Rāval Māṃsiṅgh Pratāpsīṅghot ca. 1579-1583
- Rāval Ugrasen Māṃsiṅghot ca. 1586-1613
- Rāval Udaibhāṇ Ugrasenot ca. 1613-1614
- Rāval Samārsī Udaibhāṇot ca. 1614-1660
- Rāval Kusalsīṅgh Samārsīyot ca. 1660-1688
- Rāval Ajabsīṅgh Kusalsīṅghot ca. 1688-1706
### Bhātīs of Jaisalmer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāvāl</th>
<th>Rāvāl Kehar Devrājot</th>
<th>1361-1397</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Kehar Lakhman Keharot</td>
<td>1397-1424 or 1437</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Vairṣī Lakhmanot</td>
<td>1424/37-1448</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Cācag/Cācī Vairṣīyot</td>
<td>1448-1464 or 1467</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Devidās Cācagot</td>
<td>1464/67-1491</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Jaitṣī Devidāsot</td>
<td>1491-1528</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Lūṅkaran Jaitṣiyot</td>
<td>1528-1551</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Mālde Lūṅkaranot</td>
<td>1551-1561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Harrāj Maldevot</td>
<td>1561-1577</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Bhīm Harrājot</td>
<td>1577-1613</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Kalyāṇḍās Harrājot</td>
<td>ca. 1613-1627</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Manohardās Kalyāṇḍāsot</td>
<td>1627-ca. 1650</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Rāmcand Siṅghot</td>
<td>ca. 1650-(1651?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Sabālsingh Dayāḷdāsot</td>
<td>1651?-1660</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāl Amarsingh Sabālsingh</td>
<td>1660-1702</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Bikāvat Rāthors of Bikāner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat</th>
<th>ca. 1485-June 17, 1504</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Naro Bikāvat</td>
<td>ca. September, 1504-January 13, 1505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ Bīkāvat</td>
<td>January 23, 1505-June 28, 1526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Jaitṣī Lūṅkaraṇot</td>
<td>ca. 1526-February 26, 1542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Kalyāṇmal Jaitṣiyot</td>
<td>ca. 1542-January 24, 1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Rāysiṅgh Kalyāṇmalot</td>
<td>ca. 1574-January 22, 1612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Dalpat Rāysiṅghot</td>
<td>March 28, 1612-January 25, 1614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Sūrsiṅghot Rāysiṅghot</td>
<td>ca. 1614-September 15, 1631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Karansingh Sūrsiṅghot</td>
<td>October 13, 1631-June 22, 1668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Anūpsiṅgh Karansiṅghot</td>
<td>ca. 1668-1698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Svarūpsiṅgh Anūpsiṅghot</td>
<td>ca. 1698-December 15, 1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devro Cahuvāns of Sīrohi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Lākho Sahasmalot</td>
<td>Founded Sīroẖī ca. 1395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Jagmal Lākhāvat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Akhaṁraj Jagmalot</td>
<td>ca. 1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Rāysingh Akhaṁrajot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Dūdo Akhaṁrajot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Māṁsingh Dūdāvat</td>
<td>Died ca. 1575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Surtāṇ Bhāṇot</td>
<td>ca. 1575-1610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Kālo Mehājaloṭ</td>
<td>ca. 1575-1575/ca. 1588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Rājsingh Surtāṇot</td>
<td>ca. 1610-1618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Akhaṁraj Rājsinghophot</td>
<td>ca. 1618-1665 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Udaibhāṇ Akhaṁrajot</td>
<td>ca. 1665-1676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Vairsal Udaibhāṇot</td>
<td>ca. 1676-1692</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hādo Cahuvāns of Būṇdi</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nāpo Ajītot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāmo Nāpavat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varsingh Ḥāmāvat (Ḥamūrot)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Nāraṇḍās Bhāṇḍāvat</td>
<td>Died ca. 1527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Sūrajmal Nāraṇḍasot</td>
<td>ca. 1527-1531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Surtāṇ Sūraṁjalot</td>
<td>ca. 1531-1554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Surjan Ṭunjōt</td>
<td>ca. 1554-1578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Bhoj Surjanot</td>
<td>ca. 1578-1607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Ratansiṅh Bhojāvat</td>
<td>ca. 1607-1631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Catrasāḷ Gopināṭhot</td>
<td>ca. 1631-1658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Bhāvirsingh Catrasāḷot</td>
<td>ca. 1658-1681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Anirudduisingh Kisansiṅghot</td>
<td>ca. 1681-1695</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Jodho Rāṭhors of Jodhpur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalot</th>
<th>May 12, 1459-April 6, 1489</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat</td>
<td>ca. 1489-March, 1492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat</td>
<td>March, 1492-October 2, 1515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Gāngo Vāghāvat</td>
<td>November 8, 1515-May 9, 1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat</td>
<td>May 21, 1532-November 7, 1562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Candrasen Māldevot</td>
<td>December 31, 1562-January 11, 1581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Udaisiṅgh Māldevot</td>
<td>August 4, 1583-July 11, 1595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Sūra-iṅgh Udaisiṅghot</td>
<td>July 23, 1595-September 7, 1619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Gajsiṅgh Sūra-iṅghot</td>
<td>October 6, 1619-May 6, 1638.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Jasvantsiṅgh Gajsiṅghot</td>
<td>May 25, 1638-November 28, 1678</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Mertiyo Rāṭhors of Merto

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāv Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat</th>
<th>March 7, 1462-ca.1492</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Siho Varsiṅghot</td>
<td>ca. 1492-ca. 1495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat</td>
<td>ca. 1495-ca. 1497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Viramde Dūdāvat</td>
<td>ca. 1497-1544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot</td>
<td>1544-January 27, 1557; 1562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesodās Jaimalot</td>
<td>ca. 1570-ca. 1577 (half of Merto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surtān Jaimalot</td>
<td>ca. 1572-ca. 1577 (half of Merto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesodās Jaimalot</td>
<td>1586-1599 (half of Merto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānhidās Kesodāsot</td>
<td>ca. 1599-ca. 1601 (half of Merto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surtān Jaimalot</td>
<td>February 12, 1586-ca. 1589 (half of Merto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balbhadar Surtāṇot</td>
<td>ca. 1589-ca.1596 (half of Merto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopāldās Surtāṇot</td>
<td>ca. 1596-ca. 1599 (half of Merto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagnāṭh Gopāldāsot</td>
<td>ca. 1599-ca. 1601 (half of Merto)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Rāv Candrasen did not retain possession of Jodhpur after 1565; his son Āskaraṇ was designated his successor upon his death in 1581 by a group of Rāṭhɔṛs in Sojhāt but was killed on March 25, 1582. Another of Candrasen's sons, Rāysiṅgh, was in Mughal service but was killed on October 17, 1583. None of Candrasen's sons ever ruled Jodhpur.
Rājāvat Kachvāhos of Āmber

Rājā Prithvirāj Candraseṇot
  January 17, 1503-November 4, 1527
Rājā Puraṇmal Prithviraṇjot
  November 5, 1527-May 1536
Rājā Bhīm Prithviraṇjot
  Two and one-half months in 1536
Rājā Ratansīṅgh Bhīmot
  1536-1547
Rājā Āskaran Bhīmot
  Ruled only a few days in 1547
Rājā Bhārmal Prithviraṇjot
  June 25, 1547-1574
Rājā Bhagvantdās Bhārmalot
  1574?-November 14, 1589
Rājā Mānsīṅgh Bhagvantdāsot
  November 26, 1589-July 6, 1614
Rājā Bhāvsiṅgh Mānsīṅghot
  July, 1614-December 13, 1621
Rājā Jaisiṅgh (I) Mahāsiṅghot
  December 18, 1621-August 28, 1667
Rājā Rāmsiṅgh Jaisiṅghot
  September 10, 1667-April, 1688

Sīsodiyo Gahlots of Mevār

Rāṇo Lākho Khetsot  ca. 1382-1420
Rāṇo Mokal Lākhāvat  ca. 1421-1433
Rāṇo Kūmbho Mokalot  ca. 1433-1468
Rāṇo Udaisingh Kūmbhāvat  ca. 1468-1473
Rāṇo Rāymal Kūmbhāvat  ca. 1473-May 24, 1509
Rāṇo Sāngo Rāymalot  May 24, 1509-January 30, 1528
Rāṇo Ratansīṅgh Sāṅgāvat  February, 1528-1531
Rāṇo Vikramāditya Sāṅgāvat  ca. 1531-1536
Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat  ca. 1537-February 28, 1572
Rāṇo Pratāp Udaisinghot  ca. 1572-January 19, 1597
Rāṇo Amarsīṅgh Pratāpot  January 19, 1597-January 26, 1620
Rāṇo Karansīṅgh Amarsīṅghot  January 26, 1620-March, 1628
Rāṇo Jagatsiṅgh Karansīṅghot  March, 1628-April 10, 1652
Rāṇo Rājsiṅgh Jagatsiṅghot  October 10, 1652-October 22, 1680
Chronology of Important Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month and Day</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1459</td>
<td>May 12</td>
<td>Founding of Jodhpur by Rāv Jodho Riṇmalot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1462</td>
<td>March 7</td>
<td>Settlement of Meṛṭo Town by Varsiṅgh and Dūdo Jodhāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1489</td>
<td>April 6</td>
<td>Death of Rāv Jodho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1489</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession of Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat in Jodhpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1492</td>
<td>March 1</td>
<td>Battle of Kusāṇo; death of Rāv Sātal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1492</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession of Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat in Jodhpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1492</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1492</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession of Siho Varsiṅghot in Meṛṭo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1495</td>
<td></td>
<td>Siho Varsiṅghot sent to Rāhīn by Dūdo Jodhāvat, who replaces him in Meṛṭo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1497</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Dūdo Jodhāvat; accession of Viṃande Dūdāvat in Meṛṭo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1515</td>
<td>October 2</td>
<td>Death of Rāv Sūjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1515</td>
<td>November 8</td>
<td>Accession of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat in Jodhpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1529</td>
<td>November 2</td>
<td>Battle of Sevakī; death of Sekho Sūjāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1531-32</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rāv Gāṅgo takes Sojhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1532</td>
<td>May 9</td>
<td>Death of Rāv Gāṅgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1532</td>
<td>May 21</td>
<td>Accession of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat in Jodhpur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ca. 1535  Rāv Mālde captures Meṛto from Vīramde Dūdavat

c. 1535  Battle of Reyām

1536  Conquest of Nāgaur by Rāv Mālde

1544  January 5  Battle of Samel; defeat of Rāṭhōrs by Sher Shāh Sūr

1544  End of January  Occupation of Jodhpur by Afghans

1544  February or March  Death of Vīramde Dūdavat

1544  Accession of Jaimal Vīramdevot in Meṛto

1545  Death of Sher Shāh Sūr

1546-47  Reoccupation of Jodhpur by Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat

1554  March 21  Battle of Meṛto

1556  Accession of Mughal Emperor Akbar

1557  January 24  Battle of Harmāro

1557  January 27  Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat retakes Meṛto from Jaimal Vīramdevot

1558-59  Construction of the Mālgadh in Meṛto begun

1559  July 28  Jagmāl Vīramdevot receives half of Meṛto Pargano in paṭo from Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat

1560-61  Completion of the Mālgadh in Meṛto

1562  Emperor Akbar gives Jaimal Vīramdevot Meṛto

1562  January 27  Siege of Meṛto by Mughal troops begins

1562  March 20  Battle of Sāṭalvās; Mughals gain complete control over Meṛto and its surrounding region
1562 December 31  Accession of Rāv Candrasen Māldevot in Jodhpur
1562-63  Jaimal Vīramdevot abandons Meṛto and flees to Mevār in the wake of Mīrzā Sharafu’d-Dīn Ḥusayn’s rebellion
1565  Rāv Candrasen Māldevot abandons Jodhpur to Mughal troops
1568 February 23  Jaimal Vīramdevot is killed by Mughals at the siege of Cītōr
ca. 1570  Kesodās Jaimalot receives one-half of Meṛto Pargano in jāgīr from the Mughal Emperor Akbar
1572  Surtān Jaimalot receives the other half of Meṛto Pargano from the Mughal Emperor Akbar
ca. 1577  Akbar removes Meṛto from the possession of Kesodās and Surtān Jaimalot
1581 January 11  Death of Rāv Candrasen Māldevot
1581  Āskaraṇ Candrasenot designated successor to Rāv Candrasen by Rāṭhor commanders at Sojhat
1582 March 25  Assassination of Āskaraṇ Candrasenot by his brother, Ugrasen Candrasenot
1582  Accession of Rāysiṅgh Candrasenot to throne of Jodhpur with Emperor Akbar’s support
1583 October 17  Death of Rāysiṅgh Candrasenot
1583  Accession of Udaisingh Māldevot (Moṭo Rājā) to throne of Jodhpur
1586 February 11  Surtān Jaimalot again receives one-half Meṛto Pargano from Akbar
1586  Kesodās Jaimalot again receives the other half of Meṛto Pargano from Akbar

ca. 1589

Death of Surtān Jaimalot; Balbhadār Surtānōt receives his half of Meṛṭo in jāgīr from Akbar

1595

July 11

Death of Udaiśiṅgh Māldevot

1595

July 23

Accession of Rājā Sūraiśiṅgh Udaiśiṅghot to throne of Jodhpur

ca. 1596

Death of Balbhadār Surtānōt; Gopālās Surtānōt receives his half of Meṛṭo Pargano from Akbar.

ca. 1599

Death of Kesodās Jaimalot, Gopālās Surtānōt, and several other leading Meṛṭiyōs at the battle of Bīḍ in the Deccan; Kāṁhīdās Kesodāsot receives Kesodās’s half of Meṛṭo Pargano in jāgīr from Akbar, and Jagnāth Gopālāsot receives Gopālās’s half

ca. 1601

Death of Kāṁhīdās Kesodāsot; Akbar transfers Jagnāth Gopālāsot from Meṛṭo

ca. 1602

Rājā Sūraiśiṅgh Udaiśiṅghot receives all of Meṛṭo Pargano in jāgīr from Akbar

1605

Death of Emperor Akbar; accession of Jahāṅgīr

1619

September 7

Death of Rājā Sūraiśiṅgh Udaiśiṅghot

1619

October 6

Accession of Rājā Gajsiṅgh Sūraiśiṅghot to throne of Jodhpur

1619

Meṛṭo transferred from the house of Jodhpur and given to Prince Khurram in jāgīr by his father, Jahāṅgīr

1623

May-June

Prince Parviz asserts control over Meṛṭo after Khurram's rebellion

1623

August 8

Rājā Gajsiṅgh receives all of Meṛṭo in jāgīr, but from Mahābat Khān, not the Mughal Emperor
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1625-26</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rājā Gājsiṅgh's possession of Meṛto is confirmed by the Mughal Emperor, Jahāṅgīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638</td>
<td>May 6</td>
<td>Death of Rājā Gājsiṅgh Śūrajiṅghot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638</td>
<td>May 25</td>
<td>Accession of Rājā Jasvantsiṅgh Gājsiṅghot to throne of Jodhpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1678</td>
<td>November 28</td>
<td>Death of Rājā Jasvantsiṅgh Gājsiṅghot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAP 1. MIDDLE PERIOD MĀRVĀR.
An Account of Meṛto Pargano

1. Meṛto\(^1\) was the first city\(^2\) in the pargano.\(^3\) So everyone says. I have heard also that for some time it was as follows: when Rāv\(^5\) Kanharde\(^6\) had much land, people say that he once had authority over Meṛto. After that this place remained deserted and desolate for many days. Here it became overgrown with many trees and shrubs.

2. Subsequently Rāv Jodho\(^7\) took Mārvār and on May 13, 1459, founded Jodhpur.\(^8\) Then he decided to give land to his brothers and sons. Rāv Jodho had two sons, Dūdo\(^9\) and Varsiṅgh,\(^10\) who were uterine brothers of

---

1 For an account of the early history of Meṛto, see Appendix A.

2 Ād sahar. The ād sahar was the initial settlement in a region. Cf. Vigat, 1.1, 493.

3 Pargano: an administrative and revenue unit or division of a district (sarkār). The term came into prominent use in Rājasthān only during the Mughal period.

4 Rājā Māndhātā: the Purānic hero Māndhāṭa, ruler of Ayodhyā.

5 Rāv: a title held by many Rajpūt rulers in middle period Rājasthān, including the Rāṭhors of Jodhpur (until 1583), Meṛto, and Bīkāner; the Bhāṭīs of Pūṅgāl and Vairsalpur; the Cauhūvāṅs of Būndi, Koṭo, Sirohi, and Jālōr, and numerous others.

6 Rāv Kanharde: The Sonagarō Cauhūvāṅ ruler of Jālōr during the reign of ‘Ala-ad-dīn Khiljī of Delhi (1296-1316). The Sonagarō branch (śākh) of the Cauhūvāṅ Rajpūt family (kula) takes its name from Suvarṇāgiri, an ancient name for Jālōr, a town situated sixty-five miles south-east of Jodhpur.

7 Rāṭhōṛ Jodho Rṇimalot, born April 1, 1416, Rāv of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur, ca. 1453-April 6, 1489.

8 V.S. 1515, Jeth, Sudi 11. Ojhā, 4:1:241, converts the date to May 12, 1459, a Saturday. The Indian Ephemeris of L.D. Swamikannu Pillai (reprint edition; Delhi: Agam Prakashan, 1982 [1922]), 5:120, indicates this day was May 13, 1459, a Sunday. Vigat, 1:38, gives the date V.S. 1515, Jeth, Sudi 11, Sanūvār (Saturday), which suggests that the day Jodhpur was founded probably was Saturday, May 12, 1459, and that whoever recorded the date did not use the tithi current at daybreak, Sudi 10, but rather the one beginning after the first pohar (three-hour period) of the day had expired, Sudi 11.

9 Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhōṛ Dūdo Jodhāvat (no. 104).

10 Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat (no. 146), ancestor of the Varsiṅghot Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhōṛs.
the womb of Sonagarī Cāmpā, daughter of Khīṃvo Satāvat.11 The Rāv said to them: "I give you Meṛto; you go [there] and settle." They accepted. He gave them a horse [and a] sirpāv12 and dispatched them. They took their carts, brought them to Cokṛī,13 and made camp. They went to inspect the hill of Cokṛī. At that time Rāṭhor Ėdo Kāṅhardevot, a Jaitmāl,14 had left Nāgaur,15 come to Gagrāṇo,16 and left [his] carts [there]. Rāṭhor Ėdo would go in all directions to hunt and also would wander about inspecting the whole land. While wandering, he had seen the site of Meṛto. Someone informed Ėdo: "Rāv Jodho's two sons have come to settle this17 land; they are of a mind to have a fort constructed on the hill of Cokṛī. They intend to settle a city on the lowland."18

Vigat, 2:38

3. Then Rāṭhor Ėdo Kāṅhardevot himself mounted [his horse] and went to Rāṭhors Varsingh [and] Dūdo. For several days he paid [his] respects. He became acquainted [with them]. Then he said to Rāṭhor Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat: "I hear, rāj,19 that you desire to settle this land. Have you thought of a place somewhere?" Then Varsiṅgh said: "We are resolved." Then Ėdo said: "Rāj! What place have you decided on?" Then Varsiṅgh [and] Dūdo came, mounted [their horses], and showed Rāṭhor Ėdo the hill of Cokṛī. Then they asked Ėdo: "What sort of place is this?" Ėdo said: "The place is well and good. [But] I have seen a fine site [for a settlement]. Rāj! Go there one time." Rāṭhor Ėdo took Rāṭhors Varsiṅgh [and] Dūdo Jodhāvat to where Meṛto city is situated.

11 The text has "of the Sonagarī, Campo Khīṃvāvat's daughter," which is either a textual or printing error. Vigat, 1:39 gives the correct reading, which we have followed here.

12 Sirpāv (Persian sar-o-pā): literally, "head-foot," a long dress or cloth such as a cloak reaching the length of the body, given by a ruler to a subordinate for particular actions of service, such as bravery in battle, etc. By the beginning of the nineteenth century sirpāv had also come to mean more generally an honorary gift, favor, or reward.

13 Cokṛī: the village Cokṛī Baḍī, situated twenty-four miles southwest of Meṛto. There is a large hill directly east of the village.

14 Jaitmālot Rāṭhor Ėdo Kāṅhardevot (no. 67).

15 For a historical account of Nāgaur, see Appendix A.

16 Gagrāṇo: a village located ten miles east of Meṛto.

17 The text has āṇ, apparently a mistake for ā, "this."

18 Talḥatī: The lowland around a hill or fort.

19 Rāj: ruler, sovereign, king, kingdom; a form of address conveying respect.
They saw the Kundal [and] the Bejpo, two early tanks. Afterward they saw the place where the kotri is in present-day Merto. Rāthrors Varsīṅgh [and] Dūdō were pleased. They brought [their] carts here and laid the foundations of a fort.

4. When they came to this place to live, two lions were standing at the site of the [future] kotri. One of them was a large lion; one a smaller lion. The large lion there roared. They drove [it] off; it went away from there. And the small lion sat in a cave there. Then an augur who was with them shook [his] head. At this moment Varsīṅgh saw [him]. He said: "Why did you shake [your] head?" [The augur] objected several times [to answering], but Varsīṅgh became obstinate and asked [again]. Then the augur said: "An omen of a singular nature has occurred." Then Varsīṅgh said: "What do you think of this omen?" The augur said: "Rāj! As long as you live, you will enjoy this place. Afterward Dūdō's descendants will live here; this place will not remain [the possession of] your sons [and] grandsons."

_Vigat, 2:39_

At that time Dūdō [and] Varsīṅgh were one. Within [them] the souls (jīv) were not separate. Varsīṅgh said: "Dūdō [and] I are one." Afterward he had the foundations laid for the kotri at the site [of] the [present] kotri. They say Varsīṅgh [and] Dūdō settled this place on Sunday, March 7, 1462, Hasat Nakhatr. All responsibility [for governing] was on Üdo's head. At that time the entire land of Merto was depopulated, so Rajpūts were coming [there]. They kept on settling. At that

---

20 The text, _kuṇḍal bejpo tālōv ād tho su dīthā_, is unclear, for _tho_ is masc. sing, while _dīthā_ is masc. pl. The Kundal and the Bejpo were two separate tanks. Our translation is merely a considered suggestion.

21 _Kotri_: the male section of a Rajput house; a courtyard surrounded by high walls; a small fort.

22 _Hasat Nakhatr_ (Sanskrit _Hasta Naksatra_): the thirteenth of the twenty-seven _nakṣatras_. A _nakṣatra_ is a star or cluster of stars, or a constellation representing one of the twenty-seven divisions of the lunar zodiac. _Nakṣatras_ also represent phases of the moon during its orbit of the earth, and are divided into auspicious (associated with the waxing moon) and inauspicious (associated with the waning moon). Margaret and James Stutley, _Harper's Dictionary of Hinduism_ (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), pp. 200-201. The word _riv_ (= _ravi_, "Sunday") appears in the _kha_ ms. only. March 7, 1462 was indeed a Sunday.

23 _Pradhān_: literally, "foremost," "chief," "principal," "most eminent." A chief minister, commander-in-chief, a general or leader of an army. Within the Rajput kingdoms, a Rajput generally held the post of _pradhān_, and this individual could be either from the same family (kul) as the ruler of the kingdom, or from a different family.
time the Đângō [Jāts]24 were in Nāgaur, in the direction of Savālakh.25 [Thīr] Rāj, son of Delo, lived in Kāthotī [village] of Jāyel;26 a vair27 occurred there. Then Thīr28 Rāj Đângō approached Rāv Varsingh [and] Đūdo. He said: "If you bring me, I shall cause all of the [empty] kheros29 to be settled." Then they favored Thīr Rāj as he had proposed. They settled Thīr Rāj right in Merto at the site of old Đângāvās30 and made him the desmukh caudhri31 of the whole

24 The text has Đīgā, Đângō (sing.), and Đāgā. Vigat, 2:41, has Đângā. Apparently Đângō (pl. Đângā) is the correct reading, as this form is used in the name of the ward of Meṛto town occupied by these Jāts, Đângāvās.

25 Savālakh: an area located to the northeast of Meṛto and to the southeast of Nāgaur. In ancient times this area was known as Sapādālakṣa, which became Savālakh in Apabhraṃśa. Formerly the Cahuṃ family had a kingdom here, for which reason they were known as the "Sapādālakṣya Kings." The area is still called Savālakh to this day. It is widely known for its black soil, rain-fed wheat, and excellent bullocks. Vigat, 3:109.

26 Kāthotī: a village thirty-five miles east of Nāgaur and forty-four miles north of Meṛto. Jāyel is seven miles west of Kāthotī. From the context of the sentence, Kāthotī village appears to have been part of an administrative subdivision of Nāgaur with its headquarters at Jāyel. In an earlier period, Jāyel was the homeland of the Khicī branch (sākh) of the Cahuṃ family (kul) of Rajpūts. Vigat, 3:109.

27 Vair: the debt of vengeance owed upon the murder of a family member, kinsman, or dependent.

28 The text has Ghar; the kha ms. has Thīr. The correct reading apparently is Thīr, which is the form given in the genealogy of the Đângōs (Vigat, 2:41). Also, in the kha ms., there is a textual addition that comes after tarai ("then"): "They left there, came to Ghāto village of Harsīr, and stayed. [But] they could not be contained there."

29 Khero: outlying village land on which temporary huts are built during the growing season; a small site more or less permanently inhabited but attached to a larger village often at some distance; a deserted site, either of a former small village or of land previously cultivated.

30 Purāṇo Đângāvās (literally, "old ward of the Đângos"). The town of Meṛto was originally comprised of three wards (vās): (1) Meṛto proper, inhabited in the mid-seventeenth century by many jātīs; (2) Đângāvās, inhabited by Jāts; (3) Sodhāvās, inhabited by Jāts and Turks. The nineteenth-century text "Pargano Meṛto" notes that the Đângō Jāts constructed a tank known as Đāngolī in Đângāvās during the time of Rāv Đūdo Jodhāvat and also remarks that for many years after its establishment Đângāvās was a ḍhāṇī, a settlement of huts near the fields of the inhabitants, situated some distance from the mother village. "Pargano Meṛto," in Naiṣīṇī, Mārvār rā Parganāṁ rī Vigat, vol. 2, edited by N. S. Bhāṭī (Jodhpur: Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratīṣṭhān, 1968), p. 437; Vigat, 2:116-117.

31 Desmukh caudhri: literally, "the country's chief caudhri." In middle period Mārvār, another was a title taken by the headmen of Jāt lineages.
country. Thīr Rāj was a powerful man. Afterward the Jāts of Savālakh were favored and kept coming and settling in the villages of Meṛto.32 All the villages of Meṛto were settled; the land became populous.

6. Jārauṛ Sāḥ Śrimal had the temple of Śrī Phalodhī33 Parasnāṭhū34 built in 1134-35. Afterward, in 1498-99, Surāṇo Hennrāj, son of Devrāj, restored [the temple]. In the Surāṇo jāṭī [are those of] the Paṃvār jāṭī [descended from Moḷan, who was] converted to [Jainism] by Dharamghokh Sur.35


8. They brought Jāts from these villages [and] these places and settled them in these villages:38

32 There is grammatical inconsistency in the text. Dilāṣa kar-kar nai and ṣaṅ-ṣaṅ are transitive and have as their object the Jāts of Savālakh; bastā gavā is intransitive and has as its object these same Jāts. We have given one possible "compromise" translation; another would be "They kept favoring and bringing the Jāts of Savālakh and settling them in the villages of Meṛto."

33 Śrī Phalodhī: The village Phalodhī, situated nine miles northwest of Meṛto.

34 Parasnāṭhū: the twenty-third Jain tirhantkara, Pāṛśvanāṭha.

35 The text has a cryptic jāṭī Surāṇaīī dharam dhokh [sic] surpatbodhiyā jāṭī Paṃvār. However, Vigat, 2:115 gives the following information:

In the city of Ujjain was Madhudev Paṃvār. His son, Surdev. His son, Sāṃval. His son was Moḷan. Śrī Dharamghokh Sur converted him and established the Jain religion. He named the gotra [the descendants of Moḷan] Surāṇaīī.

Thus the Surāṇo (sing.) jāṭī consisted of Paṃvārs descended from Moḷan, who was converted to Jainism by Śrī Dharamghokh Sur. The Paṃvār (Sanskrit Paramāra) Rajpūts ruled Ujjain and Malwa until the first decade of the fourteenth century, when they lost their main centers of power to invading Muslim armies. Dharamghokh Sur is a variant of Dharmaghoṣa Sūrī, the name of the founder of a chapter of Jain monks, the Dharmaghoṣa Gaccha, which became prominent in Jaisāmer and Nāgaur in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. See K. C. Jain, Jainism in Rajasthan (Sholapur: Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi, 1963), p. 62.

36 Kusāṇo: a village twenty-eight miles southwest of Meṛto and thirty-eight miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.

37 Māḍlīyo: probably Māḍsiyo village, located two or three miles south of Kusāṇo.

38 We have arranged the names given in the text into a table for the reader's convenience. When identifiable, the villages whence the Jāts came and those in which they settled are indicated on Map 2. "Jāṭ Migrations and Settlements."
Vigat, 2:40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Jāṭ Lineage]</th>
<th>[From]</th>
<th>[Settled in]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḍāṅgo</td>
<td>Kaṭhōṭī</td>
<td>Ḍāṅgāvās,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lohṛoyāh, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rāysalvās,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ḭdvo. 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thīrodo</td>
<td>Thīro [village] of Nāgaur</td>
<td>Sātalvās.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaḍīvaro</td>
<td>Ratāu</td>
<td>Phālo, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Badgāṃv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cāndelīyo</td>
<td>Cuvo</td>
<td>Mahevṛo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dugsato</td>
<td>Dustāu</td>
<td>Bhovalī. 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīdel 43 Rāṅṇo</td>
<td>Bugraṛo</td>
<td>Lāmbīyāṃ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kameṇḍīyo</td>
<td>Bhādu</td>
<td>Kairo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasṇīyo</td>
<td>Kasṇo</td>
<td>Reyāṃ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 Lyṛīyāū in the *kha* ms.

40 Ḫtīvo is the name given in the text; Ḫdbo is given in the *kha* ms. There are two possible identifications:

2. Possibly one of several villages of Deghāṇo subdivision of Meṛto Pargano, all in the same general area, which have Ḫtīvo as the first part of their names (*Vigat*, 2:191-193).

41 Phālo (Kālo in the *kha* ms.): Probably the village Phālko Baḍo, located in Āṇandpur subdivision of Meṛto Pargano (*Vigat*, 2:121).

42 Bhovalī: there are two possible identifications:

1. Probably Bhāvāl (Bhauval in the *kha* ms.), located in Āṇandpur subdivision of Meṛto Pargano (*Vigat*, 2:121).
2. Possibly Bhāṃvali (Bhavalī in the *kha* ms.), located in Deghāṇo subdivision of Meṛto Pargano (*Vigat*, 2:198).

43 Dīdelar in the *kha* ms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radu&lt;sup&gt;44&lt;/sup&gt; Gväro</td>
<td>Tago [village] of Nāgaur</td>
<td>Rāhan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetarvāl</td>
<td>Tetāro&lt;sup&gt;45&lt;/sup&gt; [village] of Nāgaur</td>
<td>Jhaṛāū.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Godāro [Jāṭ, son] of Pāṇḍo.&lt;sup&gt;46&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Bīkāner</td>
<td>Jhīthīyā,</td>
<td>Vaḍālī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somaḍvāl</td>
<td>Somrā&lt;sup&gt;47&lt;/sup&gt; [village] of Nāgaur</td>
<td>Rohīyo.&lt;sup&gt;48&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohaṛīyo</td>
<td>Kāṭhotī; they came with the Dāṅgo [Jāṭs]</td>
<td>Mokālo,</td>
<td>Aṛṇīyālō,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sahesrō.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigat, 2:41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goro</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Pādubaṛī,&lt;sup&gt;49&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Tāmbrauli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latṛyāl</td>
<td>Nāgaur</td>
<td>Lāmpolāi,</td>
<td>Kāarkkhī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirodī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohīlō</td>
<td>Sūbo&lt;sup&gt;50&lt;/sup&gt; of Nāgaur</td>
<td>Moḍṛī.&lt;sup&gt;51&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>44</sup> Ratu in the <i>kha</i> ms.

<sup>45</sup> Tetāro in the <i>kha</i> ms. is preferable to Tītṛī in the text.

<sup>46</sup> Pāṇḍo Godāro was a Jāṭ of Lāḍhaṛīyo village of Bīkāner. The Godāro Jāṭs of Lāḍhaṛīyo village became involved in a feud with the Sāharaṇ Jāṭs of Bhāraṇg village which resulted in the death of Pāṇḍo. The Godāros then appealed to their protector, Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat (no. 42), the founder and ruler of Bīkāner (ca. 1485-1504), who avenged Pāṇḍo. <i>Khyāt</i>, 3:13-15.

<sup>47</sup> Somrā in the <i>kha</i> ms. is preferable to to Somṛī in the text.

<sup>48</sup> Rohīyo: probably Rohīso village, located in Āṇandpur subdivision of Merto Pargano. There are two villages named Rohīso situated very near to each other in this area. The larger one is probably the village the Jāṭs originally settled. The two villages are one or two miles apart. <i>Vigat</i>, 2:121-122.

<sup>49</sup> Pādubaṛī: probably the village Pad[u]māvatī Vaḍī, located in Reyāṃ subdivision of Merto Pargano (<i>Vigat</i>, 2:199).
9. In those villages are all the Ānjaṇā Jāṭs. In ancient times the Dāṅgo [Jāṭs] were Cauhvān Rajpūts. Subsequently their ancestor, Jagsī, [grandson] of Chāju, became a Jāṭ. [A genealogy]:

1. Māhārikh.
2. Sam.
3. Phokat.
4. Vālāyo.
5. Chāju
6. Delū.

50 Sūbo (Persian șūba): a province; the largest administrative and revenue division of territory under the Mughal administrative system.

51 Modṛī: Probably Modro, the head village of Modro subdivision of Meṛto Pargano (Vigat, 2:166).

52 Ānjaṇā Jāṭs: according to tradition, the Ānjaṇā Jāṭs emerged as a designated jāti at the time of Rājā Prithiraj Cauhvān (late twelfth century). The Rājā is said to have assembled all the Jāṭs during his reign for the purpose of performing a census. Many other people of different jātis came along with the Jāṭs and, at meal time, the Rājā is said to have ordered those who were Jāṭs to sit and eat together while those of other jātis stood nearby and ate. All were counted with the Jāṭs in the census, but those who ate standing were called "Ānjaṇā." The saying "ūbho jiko ānjaṇā jīmā so Jāṭ" ("those who stand and eat cleanly/purely, they are Jāṭ") comes from this tradition.

Census reports and gazetteers from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries indicate that the Jāṭs of Mārvāṛ originally came from the north and were divided into three main divisions: (1) the Āsli or pure Jāṭs, claiming no Rajpūt ancestry, being descended from a strand of hair (jat) of the God Śiva's head, and having two endogamous subdivisions, the Godāros and the Punīyos; (2) those Jāṭs of Rajpūt ancestry; and (3) the Ānjaṇā Jāṭs of inferior rank. The nineteenth century census report indicates that the Jāṭs of higher rank and the Ānjaṇā Jāṭs mingle and intermarry, but that their internal subdivisions (khāmp) are separate and distinct. The names of the Ānjaṇā khāmps derive from the names of forefathers or from the gotras of Rajpūts.


The text indicates that Jagsī was Chāju's descendant; the genealogy following suggests that he was Chāju's grandson.

54 Sām in the kha ms.
7. Jagsī.
8. Dulorāv. 56
10. Dugar.
11. Vīko.
12. Chītar.
13. Hemo.
15. Khīṃvrāj.

10. In the ancient period Rājā Māndhatā had the temple of Mātājī 57 of Śrī Phalodhījī 58 constructed. After that there is a pillar dated 1026-27. There is one large pillar dated 1019-20. Afterward, in 1498-99, Surāṇo Hemraj renovated [the temple] on the order of Rāthor Varsiṅgh [and] Dūḍo.

11. All the land was settled. Rajpūts of many different sākhs 59 also settled. The responsibility [for governing] was the Jaitmālīs. Udo controlled all the affairs of state. 60 After awhile discord arose between Rāthor Varsiṅgh and Dūḍo. Rāthor Dūḍo left and went to Bīkāner. Back [in Mēṛto] a famine occurred. Not very much was obtained to eat.

Vigat, 2:42

Then the military and domestic servants (cākar-bābar), hīrägars, 61 and [other] subjects 62 who had come with Varsiṅgh from Jodhpur all began to go away.

---

55 Delo in the kha ms.
56 Dulerāv in the kha ms.
57 Mātājī: Mother Goddess.
58 Śrī Phalodhījī: the village Phalodhi, located nine miles northwest of Mēṛto.
59 Sākha: literally, "branch." Rajpūts perceived their jātī as divided into thirty-six great lineages, called either rājkulīs ("royal families") or rājvansh ("royal lineages"). The word vamsī also means "bamboo shoot," and the Rajpūts extend the imagery equating their royal lineages with the bamboo even further: subdivisions of the vamsī were known as sākha ("branches"), and, by the late seventeenth century, the word khāmp ("twig"), used for subdivisions of the sākh, had become common in Rājasthān. See the introductory section "Rajput Social Organization: A Historical Perspective" for a full discussion of these terms.
60 Udāvadu sārā rāj ro kām chai. Udāvadu perhaps is a mistake for Udāa núṇ.
61 Hīrágar: "one who performs hīro." Hīro is service performed with respect and devotion. In middle period Mārvār, the term hīrágar referred to a member of a class of military servants (Rajpūts and others) doing the more menial tasks, such as carrying baggage, attending to the accouterments of the Rajpūts of higher rank, etc.
Then Rāṭhor Varsīṅgh observed: "Why should we die this way?" Rāṭhor Varsīṅgh assembled a sāṭh and sacked Navlakhī Sāṃbhār. He looted much booty. Gold coins were carried off. In those days Ajmer was under the authority of the Pātsāh of Māṇḍū. Malū Khān was here, in charge of the sābo of Ajmer. He took [Varsīṅgh's raid] very badly, but he remained seated in Ajmer. A commemorative kaviṭṭ of the sacking of Sāṃbhār:

Implacably rending the lowland asunder, he made [as it were] a great mountain pass.

---

62 Paraj log, Paraj refers to the non-Rajpūt subjects of a ruler. Coupled with log, a word meaning both "people" and "people engaged in agriculture," "peasants," paraj may indicate the non-Rajpūt peasantry.

63 Sāṭh: one who accompanies or follows, a companion. In middle period Mārvār, the term was used in a technical sense to designate a contingent of soldiers comprised of both cavalrmen and footmen. Among Rajpūts, a sāṭh was usually composed of kinsmen (brothers and sons) of the leaders as well as other men attached to them or their subordinates as servants or retainers.

64 Navlakhī Sāṃbhār: "Nine-lākh Sāṃbhār." Navlakhī ("nine lākhs," "900,000") is an adjective of deliberate exaggeration used to indicate large numbers. Here the intent is to indicate that Sāṃbhār was a populous, wealthy town. Sāṃbhār is located fifty miles northeast of Ajmer and eighty miles east-northeast of Merto. For details concerning the early history of Sāṃbhār and its local importance, see Appendix A.

65 Sovan mor uḍiyā: literally, "gold coins flew away." Mor is a variant of mohar, a type of gold coin, but it also means "peacock." Perhaps a pun was intended.

66 For details concerning the early history of Ajmer and its strategic importance, see Appendix A.

67 Pātsāh (Persian pāḍshāh): a title assumed by Muslim rulers of the first rank in north India, such as the rulers of Malwa, Gujarāt, and Hindustān. The Pātsāh referred to here is Ghiyāṯ Shāh Khiljī of Malwa (1469-1501). See U. N. Day, Medieval Malwa: A Political and Cultural History, 1401-1562 (Delhi: Munshīram Manoharīlal, 1965), pp. 220-248, for details of his reign. Māṇḍū was the capital of the Malwa rulers.

68 Malū Khān (d. 1505) was governor of Ajmer at this time. His governorship is attested to by a tank called Malūsār, which he had constructed at the base of Tārāgadh, the hill fort at Ajmer (Ojha, 4:1:261, n. 4).

69 I.e., he took no action.

70 Sākh ro kaviṭṭ. Kaviṭṭ: a type of Đingal poem, the first four line of which are in one meter, the last two in another.

Breaking the fort to pieces, [like] a clay pot, shredding [it like] the bodice [and] petticoat [of a woman],
he set up a market place and served a liquor, the nectar of immortality (*amīras*), to the enemy soldiers. In perverse manner she played colors [with him] there, bearing the burden of [her heavy] breasts. A Gopi, in the form of Sāmbhar, Kānh [Krṣṇa] the cowherd, [in the form of] Varsīṅgh.

12. Still the provincial governor of Ajmer remained seated. At that time discord arose between Rāv Sātal and Kuṃvar Varsīṅgh. Varsīṅgh said to Sātal: "I too should obtain something out of [our] father's estate, Jodhpur." Then both their pradhāns came to Ajmer. Malū Khān said: "You both come here. I will advise [you]."

I have heard one story like this: Rāv Sātal and Rāthoṛ Varsīṅgh went to Ajmer. Rāthoṛ Varsīṅgh made a proposal to Malū Khān: "You give me Jodhpur; I shall give [you] a tribute of 50,000 rupees." Afterward, [some]

---


73 I.e., sent them to the next world.

74 *Rāng rami*. This is a reference to the Holī festival, when red dye and powder are throne upon people (often by women upon men). The *kavīt* suggests that Krṣṇa, in the form of Varsīṅgh, and a Gopi (see n. 16, infra), in the form of Sāmbhar, celebrated Holī, as it were, with Krṣṇa (Varsīṅgh) breaking pots, ripping women's clothes, and pouring out liquor, while the Gopi (Sāmbhar) responds by throwing red dye (her soldiers' blood). We are indebted to John Smith for this inference.

75 *Bhār bharat joban bharī*: literally, "bearing a burden, filled with youth."


77 *Sāmbhar jyarī*. *Jyarī* perhaps is a feminine variant of *jehro* ("like," "similar to"). Lālas, *RSK*, 2:1:1162.

78 Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat, ruler of Jodhpur, ca. 1489-92.

79 *Kuṃvar*: prince; title of the son of a ruler.

80 *Bāp kī* in the text probably is a mistake for *bāpī* or *bāpikā*, "father's estate."
Rāṭhors mediated and reconciled Rāv Sātal and Rāv Varsīṅgh. They came from there without meeting Malū Khān.  

13. Some say they themselves did not come; the pradhāns came; the pradhāns had held this conversation [with Malū Khān].

**Vigat, 2:43**

But Malū Khān only was concerned with Varsīṅgh. He said: "First, he sacked my [town], Sāmbhar; I demand my [looted] goods from him. Second, he had agreed to [pay] me a tribute; I helped him." At that time Rāv Sātal gave Varsīṅgh Kelāvo along with several [other] villages of Jodhpur. Malū Khān heard about these. He said: "You achieved your intent; why did you withhold this tribute of mine? Give me what you agreed upon." Malū Khān demanded; Varsīṅgh refused. Malū Khān gathered together an army. They came to the border of Merto [Pargano]. Then [Varsīṅgh] sent word to Rāv Sātal at Jodhpur. The Rāv said: "You must not do battle there. Bring [your] men quickly to Jodhpur." Then Varsīṅgh came to Jodhpur. Malū Khān came after [him]. He ravaged the land of Merto and also the land of Jodhpur. He made camp at Pimār, pillaged the whole countryside as far as Sathlāṇo, and took prisoners.

14. Rāv Sātal received this news. Then Rāv Sātal, Sūjo, and Varsīṅgh, the three brothers, mounted [for battle]. All of the sāth of Mārvār came and was assembled. The Rāv's camp was in Bīsalpur. That day all the

---

81 The text has ṭhathiyā, "they came there," which makes little sense, as the sentence begins with ṭhī, "from there." Perhaps ṭhathai is a mistake for ṭathai, "here," "this way." If so, the translation would read: "They came here/this way from there without meeting Malū Khān."

82 Malū Khān [V]arsīṅgh sum lāgto tho hj: literally, "Malū Khān only was attached/adhering to Varsīṅgh."

83 Kelāvo: the village Kelāvo Baño, situated sixty-five miles west of Merto and twenty-two miles north of Jodhpur.

84 Sudo in the text is a misprint for su do, "give it."

85 Pimār: a village located thirty-three miles east-northeast of Jodhpur and thirty-six miles southwest of Merto.

86 Sathlāṇo: a village twenty-two miles due south of Jodhpur.

87 Bandh kī: literally, "made an imprisonment." The term bandh ("bondage," "imprisonment") is used with the verbs karno ("to make, do") and pakarno ("to take, capture") with the meaning "to take prisoners."

88 Sūjo Jodhāvat, Rāv Sātal's successor and the ruler of Jodhpur, ca. 1492-1515.
responsibility [for decision-making] was on the head [of] Rāv Varjāṅg Bhīṃvot. The Rāvṳī said to Varjāṅg: "You decide about the battle." That day Varjāṅg was discontent. Varjāṅg sent word with a pradhān: "I am not considering doing battle [today]." Then the Rāv said to [his] pradhāns: "What should be done?" The pradhāns said: "He is a treacherous man, and self-interest is everything [for him]. Today the responsibility for the whole country is on his head. He should be appeased in every way [possible]." Then the Rāv asked: "How would he be appeased?" The pradhāns said: "He demands Bhāvī [village]." Strike Bhāvī on his head." Then [the Rāv] wrote a paṭo for Bhāvī and gave it [to Varjāṅg] Varjāṅg was pleased. He was considerably more enthusiastic.

Vigat, 2:44

He said to the Rāv: "I am going to spy on the [Muslim] army. The Mughals have encamped at Kusāṇo. You come and wait at such-and-such a place, one

---

90 Bhīṃvot Rāṭhoṛ Varjāṅg Bhīṃvot (no. 41).

91 These two sentences appear in the kha ms. only.

92 The text has Rāvāṁ, the oblique plural of Rāv, but the context suggests that only Rāv Sātal was speaking.

93 Bhāvī: a village located twelve miles south of Pīṃpāṛ village and thirty-six miles east of Jodhpur.

94 In rai māthai māro. Freely translated, the phrase would mean something to the effect of "give the bastard the village." As the editor of the Vigat, N. S. Bhāṭī, notes (n. 11), the phrase is idiomatic: it indirectly refers to the Rajpūṭ custom of raising the paṭo, or paper upon which the grant of land is written (see n. 95 infra), to the forehead (māthai paṭo carḥāṇo) when it is received from the ruler.

95 Paṭo: a written deed or title to land; lands granted by a ruler to a subordinate by such a deed in return for the obligation of military service.

96 Su orhī begī chāi. Begī is not in Lāḷas's RSK; it probably is a derivation from the Sanskrit vegin: "having velocity, swift, rapid, impetuous." M. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 1013. In the context, "enthusiastic" seems an appropriate translation of begī.

97 The term "Mughal" refers not to the Mughals who later achieved an empire in north India, but rather was a generic term used to describe Muslims of Central Asian origin.

98 Kusāṇo: a village located twenty-eight miles southwest of Meṛtō and thirty-eight miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.
Kos from Kusano. When night is over, I shall look over [their army, then] come to the rendez-vous." Varsingh, Satal, [and] Sújo stayed behind. Alone, Varjang approached the army. Then he cut a large bundle of grass. He became a [grass]-bearer in the army and observed the entire army. The whole day he went back and forth [from] the exit to the entrance [of the camp], made estimates, and then, returning when night fell, came to the Rāv at the rendez-vous. He reported on the particulars of the [Muslim] army: "Malú Khān, along with such-and-such size sāth, has pitched tents behind the tank at Kusano. All the prisoners of our land are [being held] in [their] army."

15. Varjang said: "Now there is no use delaying." Saying [this], he had two anis of the [Rathors] army formed. He provided a kettle-drum for both positions. They drew near, rushed [the camp], and fell upon [the Muslims]. The night was dark, panic broke out in the [Muslim] army. The Rathors also fought well. Rāv Varjang Bhimvat was particularly outstanding. Rāv Sújo Jodhāvat fell badly wounded. Malú Khān fled; they killed the Mughal Ghaduko. The prisoners were freed. They killed many Mughals. Victory was Rāv Satals. Rāv Varsingh came back to Merto and settled.

99 Kos: a unit of distance equal to approximately two miles.

100 Band in the text is a variant of bandh (see n. 87 to Vigat, 2:43 supra re: bandh).

101 Añī: the point of a spear, arrow, etc., the end, the tip; piece, fragment; a division of an army.

102 Andhīhārī (āndhī rī in the kha ms.) is a variant of andhīyār ("dark," "darkness").

103 Bhalo loh bāhyo: literally, "struck a fine blow."

104 Literally, "Rāv Varjang Bhimvat possessed much višeṣ." Višeṣ is "specialness," "outstanding quality." Those who are/have višeṣ are distinct from others.

105 Other sources indicate that Rāv Sātal was mortally wounded in this battle, but the Vigat, both here and on p. 40 of vol. 1, omits any reference to Sātal's death and only refers to Rāv Sújo being wounded. The Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt has the following information:

Rāv Sātal died fighting in this battle [at Kusano] on [Thursday], 1 March 1492. They cremated Sātal at the tank of Kusano .... Rāv Jodho had given Sojhat to Sújo, and while at Sojhat, Sújo fought a battle with the Turks .... Sújo was with [Sātal] in the battle of Kusano [and] was wounded [there].

Bānkādās, p. 8; Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, pp. 56-57; Ojhā, 4:1:262; Reū, 1:106-107. There is a cenotaph (chatrī) for Rāv Sātal at the tank in Kusano village. Vīr Vinod, 2:806-807.

106 Ghaduko: this Muslim is referred to in other sources as "Gharula." He was an important officer in the army and a noble from Sindh. In Mārvār, there is a large festival held each year to commemorate his death. During the festival, women of the
16. Malū Khān wrote a petition and sent it to the Pātsāh of Māṇḍū. Again an army came from Māṇḍū. Then they negotiated with Rāv Varsiṅgh. He too decided to make a pact. The Rajpūts forbade Rāv Varsiṅgh, but he did not accept [their] opinion. The Mughals also demanded concessions; he gave them. Varsiṅgh met Malū Khān in Ajmer. [Malū Khān] cordially honored the Rāṭhor.

In noble fashion he continually gave [Varsiṅgh] presents. He captured [Varsiṅgh's] trust. Varsiṅgh stayed in Ajmer with just a small sāth. Part of a month went by; then one day the Mughals summoned Varsiṅgh to the fort and seized him. Hul Jaito, [the son] of Pritham Rāv, and Sehlot Ajo Narbhāmot, a Cahuvaṅ, both died fighting. A sākh of [this]:

A scuffle occurred between Varsiṅgh [and] the fierce warriors [of Malū Khān]; there were "words" between the Hul and an elephant.

Kūmabhār jāti carry pitchers made with holes in them, in which candles have been placed. Mir Gharulā's presence is conjured up from these pots, the openings signifying the arrow wounds in his body. Each day the women wander through the villages carrying the pots on their heads and singing the song of Gharulā. On the last day of the festival, the pots are destroyed. Ojhā, 4:1:262, n. 1; Vīr Vīnod, 2:806-807.

107 The text has [V]arsiṅgh Ajmer Malukhdn num mēliyo, "Varsiṅgh sent Malū Khān to Ajmer," clearly incorrect. Possibly num mēliyo is a mistake for num miliyo, "met with"; we have based our translation on this possibility.

108 Dīli: "Of the heart, cordial, sincere, true, intimate." Platts, Dictionary, p. 525.

109 Basat: literally, "material," "stuff."

110 The names of Hul Jaito, son of Pritham Rāv, and the Sehlot Cahuvaṅ, Ajo Narbhāmot, appear only here and in one other source available to us. We have not been able to trace them genealogically. We know only that they were Rajpūts serving under Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat. See also Bāṅkidās, p. 57.

111 Sākh: literally, "evidence," "testimony"; one or more lines of verse commemorating some event.

112 Bāth: embraced, scuffle, hand-to-hand combat, duel.

113 Bāṅglām. Lālas, RSK, 3:2:2956 (under bānglo), glosses this word as "warrior" (yoddh); actually it means "the one like a tiger."
A dūho: 114

Upon [him] were the "immovable ones" (agam); he saw
the course (gam) of the army of elephants (gai ghar)
Ajiyo! 115 From the top of [your] head116 to the tips of
[your] toes the son of Narbharāv.117

A kavitt:

The maddened elephant was circling round.
White-tusked, monstrous,
like a high mountain, very intoxicated with liquor,
black,
now that elephant trumpeted: "Hey boy!" (Putā re!)
With [his] sābaś118 lance [the Hul] strikes defiantly,
saying: "Hey father!" (Bāba re!)

In Ajmer fort [were] the demon-host (i.e., the Muslim army) [and] the lion (i.e., Varsīṅgh) with [his] beloved companion, [the Hul].
The [Muslim] army, in a rage, strikes treacherously.
The elephant attacked Hul Jait[o].

17. News of Rāv Varsīṅgh's capture reached Rāthor Dūdo Jodhāvat in Bīkāner. Then Dūdo told Rāv Bīko119 the whole story, and he said: "Give me leave." In those days Rajpūts were fortresses of shame,120 so Rāv Bīko said: "Varsīṅgh is just [as important] to me as he is to you." Rāv Bīko pitched tents outside [Bīkāner] He told Dūdo: "You go the the vicinity of Meṛto and gather

114 Dūho: a rhymed verse possessing two lines; a couplet.

115 Ajiyo: a poetic form of Ajo.


117 Ajo is referred to as Ajo Narbhamot ("son of Narbhām") in the paragraph preceding the poems.

118 Sābaś: a type of lance (perhaps derived from sabal, "powerful").

119 Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat (no. 42), founder and ruler of Bīkāner, ca. 1485-1504, and the ancestor of the Bīkāvat Rāthors.

120 Lāj rā koṭ. Lāj ("shame") was used in Middle Mārvārī as one would use "honor" in English: the noble Rajpūts were those who possessed much shame (i.e., honor), as opposed to having little shame or being shameless.
your *sāth*." Dūdo came to Meṛto and gathered [his] *sāth*. Biko reached Meṛto in four days.\(^{121}\)

---

**Vigat, 2:46**

In addition, Rāv Sātal had [his] *sāth* readied\(^{122}\) in Jodhpur and mounted [for battle]. Rāv Biko [and] Dūdo took a large *sāth* and advanced on Ajmer from Meṛto. The news was received at Malū Khān's [residence].\(^{123}\) Malū Khān assembled a *sāth*. The fort was prepared [for siege]. A pradhān mediated. There was an agreement; [Malū Khān] quickly released Varsiṅgh and handed him over to Rāv Biko [and] Dūdo. But he had given Varsiṅgh a poison from which one dies in the sixth month.\(^{124}\) Rāv Biko [and] Dūdo brought Varsiṅgh to Meṛto. Varsiṅgh kept Rāv Biko [and] Dūdo in Meṛto seven days, showed them hospitality, then gave them leave.\(^{125}\)

18. Rāv Dūdo went to Sarvār.\(^{126}\) He subdued and took the best villages in all directions.\(^{127}\) [His] bhāībandh\(^{128}\) settled in the various villages. Rāv Dūdo lived in Sarvār. After six months, Varsiṅgh died. Varsiṅgh's son, Siho,\(^{129}\) was

---

\(^{121}\) We have preferred "four," the variant found in the *kha* ms., to "fourteen," the number in the text. Bīkāner is roughly one hundred miles from Meṛto; twenty-five miles per day would not be unreasonable for a short march.

\(^{122}\) *sāth* nūṃ cheṛā. Cheṛā evidently is a conjunctive participle formed from *cherāṇo*, "to cause [someone] to stir up, incite, stimulate."

\(^{123}\) The word *piṇ* ("too," "also") following *Malūkhān rai* in the text is redundant; we have left it untranslated.

\(^{124}\) Literally, "... a six-month poison, from which one dies in the sixth month." We have eliminated the redundancy in the text.

\(^{125}\) The last two sentences are rather garbled; we have combined them into what we consider the most probable reading and translated them accordingly.

\(^{126}\) Sarvār: a village located twenty-five miles east-northeast of Nāgaur and forty-nine miles due north of Meṛto.

\(^{127}\) We have preferred the Hindī variant given in the *kha* ms., cyārūṃ taraph kā ("of all directions") to the reading *capā catug karā* (?) in the text.

\(^{128}\) Bhāībandh: literally, "bound as brothers"; a brotherhood; those related through ties of male blood to a common male ancestor. Among Rajpūts, membership in a bhāībandh included all males sharing common descent, their unmarried daughters, and their wives, who became members through the act of marriage. See the introductory section "Rajpūt Social Organization: A Historical Perspective" for a full discussion.

\(^{129}\) Varsiṅghot Meṛtīyo Rāṭhor Siho Varsiṅghot (no. 147).
not so intelligent, but, thinking that the eldest son possessed experience, the pañco [and] military servants of Varsingh convened and gave the throne to him. Siho was quite simple-minded. Four months passed, [then] Rāv Śātal heard about the weak characteristics of Siho's sovereignty. Then Rāv Sātal [and] Sūjo established jurisdiction over [Siho and] Meṛto. They provided their hujdārs with some sāth and sent them to the grain market. They came and established their authority. They made camp in the city. They began to set up a form of rulership over the villages [and] hamlets also.

19. Then Varsingh's wife, Siho's mother, assembled her five men, the Rajputs, [and] the kāmdārs. When she inquired, everyone said: "There is no auspiciousness in your son, and Sātal [and] Sūjo, the rulers [of] Jodhpur, [are] powerful; who will respond to them?" Then Siho's mother asked the pañco: "What should be done?"

130 Badai ro bairo jān nai. There is a remote possibility that the reading should be badairo bairo jān nai, "knowing the elder (bañairo) [to be] a deaf person." Bairo means both "experience" and "deaf person."

131 Pañco: the committee of five important Rajputs that convened upon the death of a ruler to aid in the succession; more generally, a council of elders.

132 The text has in Meṛtā suṛ; presumably in refers to Siho.

133 Hujdār: an administrative official primarily concerned with the collection of revenue.

134 The text has mādhī dhānāṁ rī; the kha ms. has mādhī dāṇ rī. The correct reading probably is maṇḍī dāṇ rī, "grain market."


137 Bāṅkīdās, p. 57, indicates that Siho's mother was a Sāṅkhli Paṃvār (a woman of the Sāṅkhlo branch (sākh) of the Paṃvār Rajput family (kul)).

138 I.e., the five men of the pañco.

139 Kāmdār: literally, "one who has work." Kāmdārs (or kāmetī) were generally drawn from among a number of non-Rajput jāṭīs such as the Brāhmaṇ, Paṅcoli (Kāyastha), and Osvāl Jain and Vaiṣṇava (Munḥhatos, Bhaṅḍārīs, Siṅghavās, Lodhos, etc.). These officials performed not only record-keeping functions relating to the fiscal administration of local areas, but also police and military functions in the settlement and control of lands.
Then the pañco said: "You see the whole situation: today they took the market; tomorrow they will take the whole pargano. A recovery party must be formed; you must do this." Then this proposal pleased everyone: [that] they should agree upon a half-portion [of Meṛto's revenue] for Rāv Dūdo and bring him from Bīkāner. Siho's mother also decided on this arrangement. Then they secretly sent men to Dūdo in Bīkāner and summoned him. Afterward, within six or seven days, Rāv Dūdo came to Meṛto at midnight. Some say he slaughtered Rāv Sātal's men while they were sleeping. Some say he put them to flight.

20. For two years Rāv Dūdo took exactly half of the revenue of Meṛto for Siho. All responsibility was in Dūdo's hands. And I have heard a story like this, too: There was no auspicious quality in Siho. While Siho was drunk[140] [and] sleeping, Dūdo[141] had [his] dholtīyo[142] removed from Meṛto and sent to Rāhan[143] during the night. In the morning Siho awoke in a māliyo[144] in Rāhan. There were several servants [with him], whom he asked; "How [is] this?" They said: "Dūdo took Meṛto and gave you Rāhan." Then [Siho] said: "Dūdo will eat ghee and bāţi,[145] [but] we too will eat." Dūdo sat on the throne [in Meṛto], and Bārhath[146] Mahes Caturāvat, the Bārhath of the Meṛtiyos, said: "Dūdo preserved the dignity on Siho's head.[147]

140 The variant reading matvāle ("while drunk") in the kha ms. is preferable to the meaningless tavāvai in the text.

141 Sude in the text is a misprint or a mistake for Dūdai.

142 Dholtīyo: a type of bed larger and more luxurious than the ordinary bed.

143 Rāhan: a village located ten miles north-northeast of Meṛto.

144 Māliyo: a large bedroom built on the second floor of a large house or mansion (havelī), generally decorated with plaster, painting, and other embellishments.

145 Bāţi: small balls of heavy wheat flour cooked to form bread balls, which are served on feast occasions. The implication of this sentence is that Meṛto was a valuable and lucrative acquisition for Dūdo, allowing him to live in style.

146 Bārhath ("obstancy at the gate"): a synonym for Paulpāt ("recipient of the gate"), a title given to trusted Cāraṇs who, during times of siege, stood at the main gates (paul) of forts and were the first to fight and give their lives in its defense. These same Cāraṇs were also those who stood first in line (even before the Brāhmaṇ) during a wedding to receive gifts and offerings (neg, tyāg) from the members of the bride's party.

147 Ziegler has noted that "the position of one's head with relation to others was ... of great importance to the Rajpūt ... The head ... symbolized authority, leadership and more generalized notions of power, virility and manhood, and by extension that ability to assert oneself over others and rule." N. P. Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service in Rajasthani Culture: A Social History of the Rajputs of Middle Period Rajasthan" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1973), p. 78.
21. Dudo Jodhavat, born September 28, 1440.148 Dudo died in 1497-98. Rāv Viramde149 sat on the throne [in Merto]. Then he sent Siho to Rāhaṇ.150 Siho was simple-minded: Siho's three sons grew up [to be] great, fearsome warriors.151 Rāv Jeso, Rāv Gāṅgo, [and] Rāv Bhojo.152 Within the breasts of men like [these] three there was no room for Merto [in the possession of another].153 They went and met with Rāv Mālde.154 Rāv Mālde also greatly disfavored Rāv Viramde.

Vigat, 2:48

The Rāv goaded them. He said: "Merto belongs to your father." Then they proposed to Viramde: "We should obtain the share of our father [and] grandfather." Viramde said: "The share is now based upon [the abilities of] swordsmen."155 Then they too decided to fight. They removed [their] carts from

148 The kha ms. gives the variant date V.S. 1497, Asoj, Sudi 9 (October 5, 1440). There is general agreement among sources regarding the year of Dudo Jodhāvat's birth, but there are differences about the month and day. Reū, 1:103, n. 5., gives the date V.S. 1497, Asvin, Sudi 15 (October 10, 1440), and notes that Šādā (the fourth month of the Hindu calendar) has also been given as the month of birth, which would make the V.S. date correspond to July 4, 1441.

149 Meṛṭyo Rāṭhor Viramde Dūdāvat (no. 105), Rāv of Meṛto ca. 1497-1544. Dudo Jodhāvat had five sons: Vīramde, Paṅcāṅ, Rāymal, Rāysal, and Ratanṣī.

150 The statement that Rāv Viramde sent Siho to Rāhaṇ contradicts the preceding assertion that it was Dudo Jodhāvat who sent Siho to Rāhaṇ (Vigat, 2:47 supra).

151 Baḍī balāye uṭhīyā. Balāy, although feminine, was commonly used in Middle Mārvārī texts for male Rajpūṭs, in the sense of "one who inspires fear or awe by his presence," "a warrior," "a hero."

152 Varsīṅghot Meṛṭyo Rāṭhors Jeso Siḥavat (no. 150), Gāṅgo Siḥavat (no. 149), and Bhojo Siḥavat (no. 148), respectively.

153 I.e., they could not tolerate Viramde's possession of Meṛto.

154 Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat, son of Rāv Gaṅgo Vāghāvat and ruler of Jodhpur, 1532-62. The events referred to in the text actually took place before Mālde became Rāv of Jodhpur, during the reign of his father, Rāv Gaṅgo of Jodhpur (1515-32).

155 Tarvāṛiyāṃ. This probably is the oblique plural of tarvāṛiyo, "swordsmen," "man who carries a sword." However, tarvāṛiyāṃ is given as the oblique plural of tarvāṛ ("sword") in Khyāt, 3:117, line eight from the top of the page. Possibly, then, tarvāṛiyāṃ should be translated as "sword" instead of "swordsmen" in the sentence in Vigat, 2:48. Then the translation of the line would be: "The share is now based upon [the power of] swords." The editor of the Vigat, N. S. Bhārā, has followed this hypothesis in his n. 3 to Vigat, 2:48.
Rāhan. They engaged in much written correspondence with Rāv Mālde. Written assurance came from Rāv Mālde. They drove [their] carts toward Pīmpār. When two ghariś of the day were spent, fifty or sixty superior horsemen mounted up, came to the market square of Meṛto, and raided it. A pursuit party was sent after [them]. Subsequently it caught up to [them] as they were going to Kusāṇo. Their sāth also rejoined them. Here a great battle occurred. A large sāth from both sides died fighting. The three sons of Śiho were wounded. All [battle-field] responsibility was [placed] upon Rāthor Khaṅgār Jogaṉaṭ  by Rāv Vīramde. This Khaṅgār Jogaṉaṭ [and] Rāthor Bhāḍo Mokalot fell [under] heavy blows. Sāndho Mokalot, others too—the entire rāhavno of Vīramde—everyone was in this battle. There was no sirdār like Vīramde in

---

156 Pīmpār village lies forty-five miles southwest of Rāhan village.

157 Gharī: a period of time equal to twenty-four minutes.

158 Bāṁse bāhar choḍ huī. We have found no other instance of a verb stem plus hono; choḍ huī probably is a mistake for choḍī huī, a past participle. (Literally, the sentence might then be translated: "Behind, a released/dispatched pursuit party.")

159 Kusāṇo village is situated seven miles northeast of Pīmpār and thirty-six miles southwest of Rāhan.

160 Jodho Rāthor Khaṅgār Jogaṉaṭ (no. 82) was the son of Jogo Jodhāvat and the grandson of Rāv Jodho Rīṁmalot.

161 The text has Rāv Vīramde sārī mudār Rā. Khaṅgār Jogaṉaṭ par thī, literally, "Rāv Vīramde—all responsibility was upon Rā[thor] Khaṅgār Jogaṉaṭ." Our translation suggests the probable intent of this sentence.

162 Jaitmāl Rāthor Bhāḍo Mokalot (no. 68).

163 Pūre lohām paṛīyā; literally, "fell [under] full/complete blows." Loh means both "blow" and "weapon" in Middle Mārvāṛi. Lājāś, RSK, 4:1:4446.

164 Jaitmāl Rāthor Śāndho Mokalot (no. 71). Śāndho Mokalot was Bhāḍo Mokalot's brother.

165 Rāhavno: the members of the household of an important Rajpūṭ, including his wives and concubines, their offspring, the descendants of offspring produced by Rajpūṭ liaisons with women of different jāṇis in the past who formed part of the body of household servants, and other personal servants of various ranks.

166 Ar hīsā ro in the text is a mistake for ar hī, sāro; siko is a mistake for sako.

167 Sirdār (P. sardār): headman, chief, leader; representative of a community or group.
He struck down the three brothers on the battlefield. Viramde's sāth won the battle.

22. Afterward, on April 20, 1532, Rāv Gāngo died. Rāv Mālde sat on the throne. In four or five years Mālde roared [like a lion]. He increased in strength. Within Rāv Mālde’s breast there was no room for Merto in the house of another. Rāv Mālde sat on the throne. He increased in strength. Within Rāv Mālde’s breast there was no room for Merto in the house of another. Rāv Mālde plotted against Viramde, but Rāthors Jaito, Kumpo, Rāv Jeso, and Rāthor Khīmvo would not get involved.

168 The text has Viramde Īsar sirdār māhe ko na chai, which makes little sense. Perhaps Īsar ("God," a personal name) is a mistake for īśro ("such as," "like"); we have based our translation on this possibility.

169 Īn ūnāṃ hī bhāyāṃ nai khet pāryā in the kha ms. is preferable to īn ūnāṃ hī bhānt pāryā in the text.

170 April 20, 1532 = V.S. 1588, Jeṭh, Vadi 1 (see also Vigat, 1:42). There is some disagreement regarding the date of Rāv Gāngo Vāghāvat’s death. Ojhā, following Bāṅkidās, gives the date V.S. 1588. Jeṭh, Sudi 5 = May 9, 1532, which we have preferred and which is the Śrāvanadī reckoning, but Reu and Vīr Vinod convert this to May 21, 1531, which is the Caitrādī reckoning. "Aitihāsik Bātaṃ," p. 38, gives the date V.S. 1589, Jeṭh, Sudi 5 = May 9, 1532, if the reckoning is Caitrādī, but May 28, 1533, if the reckoning is Śrāvanadī. The circumstances of Rāv Gāngo’s death also are open to question. Some sources say he was killed from a fall out of a window of the palace. Others indicate that his son, Mālde, pushed him from the window when he was drunk. Bāṅkidās, p. 11; V. S. Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal Emperors (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966), p. 18 and n. 6; Murārdān, no. 2, p. 106; Ojhā, 4:1:281; Reū, 1:115 and n. 1; Vīr Vinod, 2:808.

171 The ceremony enthroning Rāv Mālde took place at Sojhat. Varying dates are given for the accession, including V.S. 1588, Āśādḥ, Vadi 2 = May 21, 1532 (Śrāvanadī reckoning; Ojhā, 4:1:284), V.S. 1588, Āśādḥ, Vadi 5 = June 5, 1531 (Caitrādī reckoning) or May 24, 1532 (Śrāvanadī reckoning; cf. Reu, 1:116), and V.S. 1588, Śrāvaṇ, Sudi 15 = July 29, 1531 (Bāṅkidās, p. 12; Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 76). We have preferred Ojhā’s conversion, May 21, 1532. See also Murārdān, no. 2, p. 114.

172 Jora in the kha ms. is preferable to jara in the text.

173 Dāv-ghāv in the kha ms. is preferable to ghāv in the text.

174 Rāthor Jaito Pañcāṅgot (no. 61), founder of the Jaitāvat branch of Rāthors.

175 Rāthor Kumpo Mahārājot (no. 95), founder of the Kumpāvat branch of Rāthors.

176 Cāmpāvat Rāthor Rāv Jeso Bhairavdāsot (no. 48).

177 Udāvat Rāthor Khīmvo Udāvat (no. 140).
in this matter. Rāv [Mālde] had formed an army [to fight] against the Sindhaḷs.\footnote{The Sindhaḷs are a branch (sākh) of Mārvār Rā́ṭhoṛs. They were powerful in eastern Mārvār during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly in the Jaitāraṇ and Bhādrājan areas.} Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvāt also brought his rāḥavāṇa.

\textit{Vigat}, 2:49

He was with this army. Rāv Mālde was a wily \textit{thākur}.\footnote{\textit{Thākur}: God; master, ruler, sovereign; one who rules a kingdom (among Rajpūṭs, the term is applied equally to the clan deity of a local kingdom, to the Rajpūt ruler himself, who is felt to rule as a subordinate and servant of this deity, and to other Rajpūṭs, who rule their lands directly under the ruler and who receive their authority from him.} He sent word to Daulatiyō\footnote{Daulatiyō: a diminutive nickname for Khāńzāda Muḥammad Daulat Khāń (no. 154), the ruler of Nāgaur, ca. 1516-36.} in Nāgaur: "Rāv Vīramde is with me. All the great Rajpūṭs [of Meṛto] are with Vīramde. Vīramde lives having captured your elephant.\footnote{A reference to a great war elephant, belonging to Muḥammad Daulat Khāń and named "Dariyājois," which was captured by Vīramde after the battle of Sevakī in 1529. See \textit{Khyaṭī}, 3:93-94.} You must come behind [the back of Vīramde], pillage Meṛto, imprison all of Vīramde’s men [and] close kinsmen,\footnote{\textit{Caco-baco}. This compound is derived from \textit{caco}, "father’s younger brother," and \textit{baco}, "son," "young male," and was used as a generic term to indicate all the junior agnates who lived with and served an important Rajpūt.} and take them away. They will give back your elephant, too. And they will give other retribution as well." And he had Paṃvār Paṅcāiṇ\footnote{Paṃvār Paṅcāiṇ Karamcandot (no. 24) of Čāṭsū, a town located thirty-five miles south of Jaipur.} informed: "You have Akho’s \textit{vaɪr} [to settle].\footnote{Meṛṭiyo Rā́ṭhoṛ Ratanśi Dūḍīvāt, Vīramde’s brother, had murdered a Paṃvār of Pīṣāṅgaṇ village named Akho Soḍhāvāt (no. 23).} And now the land of Meṛto is empty. Vīramde is with me with all of his sāṭh. What are you doing sitting down?" He summoned Rāṭhoṛ Gāṅgo Sīhāvāt and secretly told him: "Now there is an opportunity; you go and confiscate the fort of Meṛto." He employed these three stratagems. The Rāv did so in secret from Jaito [and] Kūmpo.

23. Four days went by; he held [these] conferences in secret. Then [Vīramde] asked some \textit{khavās}\footnote{\textit{Khavās} (Arabic khawāss): a male or female attendant or personal servant of a Rajpūt ruler or important land-holder.} [and] \textit{pāsvāns}.\footnote{Pāsvān: a male or female attendant or personal servant of a Rajpūt ruler or important land-holder.} "These days the Rāv does
not speak to me; what is he conferring about in secret?" Someone told [him] what news there was. Then [Viramde] wrote letters and sent them to Meṛto. A Raibāri187 brought the letters to Meṛto a watch before Daulatiyo [arrived]. Rāṭhoṛ Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat188 had come to Meṛto without requesting leave from Rāṭhoṛ Viramde. [The Raibāri] put the letters in Akhairāj's hands. Akhairāj prepared the fort for defense. He closed the gates. He sent scouts before [the enemy]; they brought back the information [that] the army had advanced to about four kos [from Meṛto]. He closed the main gates of the fort, climbed up on top of a tower, and stayed ready. Not very many retainers were inside the fort. Daulatiyo came189 and sacked and looted the city. And he came and began to reduce the fort. [His] sāth penetrated the fort.190 Then Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat observed: "There is no sāth [to aid us] nearby, and today Viramde's men are being captured. I see with my own eyes [that] there is no dignity in this situation.191 Today I must die." Then Akhairāj leaped from the wall of the fort [along with] fifteen to twenty men.192 Akhairāj wielded a nine-digit long lance193 in a dash [through the ranks of the enemy; some men] were struck, [others] warded it off.194

186 Pāsvān (Persian pās-bān): literally, "one who stands beside or in attendance"; a male body servant or a female concubine of a Rajpūt ruler or important landholder.

187 Raibāri: a member of a jāṭī having as its traditional occupation the transhumant herding of camels, sheep, and goats. Raibāris were often used as messengers also.

188 Jaitmāl Rāṭhoṛ Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat (no. 69). Akhairāj was Viramde's pradhān.

189 Āj in the text apparently is a misprint for the conjunctive participle āy.

190 Kōṭ num sāth vaḷīyo. The verb vaḷṇo has many meanings, including "to penetrate," "to pierce." See Lālas, RSK, 4:2:4549, entry no. 15 under vaḷṇo.

191 I.e., there was no dignity in Akhairāj's standing idly by while Viramde's men were being captured.

192 We have preferred the variant reading kōṭ ri bhāṅṭ thā kūḍīyo in the kha ms. to the reading kūḍīyā in the text.

193 Barchī: a short lance, usually made of iron, much favored by Rajpūts, which could be used as a stabbing weapon or hurled in battle.

194 Ke īṅgi ke taḷī: literally, "either it stuck or was warded off."
They joined weapons [in battle]. Daulatiyo fled. Victory was Akhairaj’s. Rathor Bhairavdas Bhadavat died fighting. Paṃvār Paṅcāin, [son] of Karamcand, came. They attacked Alṇiyyāvās, but they fled before Rāysal.

24. Rathor Gāngo Sihāvat was coming to Merto with 500 horsemen. He was coming in [the bed of] the river of Bāṇjāṅkurī. The thākurs were sleeping; he suddenly became separated from them all. When they came to a quarter kos [from Meṛto], Gāngo heard the palanquins of the thākurs, then--no palanquins. They turned back. For two ghāris [Gāngo] searched for the thākurs [and] palanquins, [but] he did not find them. Then Gāngo turned back from there. Vīrāmdē’s men brought this news to where Vīrāmdē’s tents were in the army of the Rāvji and secretly gave [Vīrāmdē] written reports. Upon looking at the reports, Vīrāmdē took a small sāth and, using the pretext of having to relieve himself, mounted up and departed. He said to the small sāth: “You must assemble at the third watch in such-and-such a place.” He had kept several

---

195 Jaitmāl Rathor Bhairavdas Bhadavat (no. 70), brother of Akhairaj Bhadavat (no. 69).

196 "They" refers to Paṃvār Paṅcāin Karamcandot (no. 24) of Cāṭṣū, and his brother, Rāvat Jagmāl Karamcandot (no. 25) of Cāṭṣū, who is mentioned in section 24, infra, as taking part in the attack on Alṇiyyāvās.

197 Alṇiyyāvās in the kha ms. is preferable to Lohiyyāvās (?) in the text. Alṇiyyāvās is a village twenty miles southeast of Meṛto.

198 Meṛṭīyo Rathor Rāysal Dūḍāvat (no. 106), brother of Rāv Vīrāmdē Dūḍāvat (no. 105) and son of Dūḍo Jodhāvat (no. 104).

199 Bāṇjāṅkurī: a village located five miles north of Jaitārān and situated one-half mile north of the Līrī River, an offshoot of the Lūṃī River of Mārvār. This river would be dry except during the rainy season. Meṛto is twenty-eight miles north of the village.

200 The text has chīṇṭ kapaṇiyo, "caught a drop," clearly irrelevant to the rest of the passage. The correct reading probably is chīṇṭak pārīyo, a compound verb: chīṇṭakṣno ("to become separated") plus pāṛṇo, which adds a degree of suddenness or violence to the main verb. See J. D. Smith, “An Introduction to the Language of the Historical Documents from Rajasthan, Modern Asian Studies, 9, 4 (1975), p. 457, for a brief discussion of compound verbs in Middle Mārvār.

201 The text has amakṛī ṭhaur, "amakṛī place." We have been unable to locate any place called amakṛī. Although it is not listed in either Lālas’s or Sākariyā’s dictionary, perhaps amakṛīlo-i is a synonym for the adjective phalāṇgol-i ("such-and-such") which appears in identical contexts twice in this same passage.
umrāvs [and] shrewd kāmdārs right in the camp. He had told them: "In the morning at this time demand leave from the Rāvjī and come [to me]. When the Rāvjī has you asked, Where is Vīramde?", then you must say: 'He informed us as follows: "I am going to relieve myself; afterward, if a hunt is to be found, I will go hunting too."' And so, the Rāv's men came. They said: "Where is Vīramdeji?" [Vīramde's] servants said: "He has gone to relieve himself; he will come soon." At the second watch a man came again. Then they said: "He has not come; we think he must be hunting." At dusk they had the news reported [to Mālde]. Then the shrewd thākurs who were in the camp sent word [to Mālde's men]: "As long as we were together, there was no news [of Vīramde]. But [afterward] a man came, who said: [Vīramde] was hunting at such-and-such a place. Twenty-two horsemen came there from Merto; they said: "Paṃvārs Paṅcāṅ [and] Jagmāl attacked such-and-such a place; much of Vīramde's sāth died fighting." We hear that is where Vīramde went."

Vigat, 2:51

During the night Vīramde's sāth remained in [Mālde's] army. In the morning the tent was loaded, and they went to the main entrance [of Mālde's tent] and informed the Rāvjī: "Vīramde, in this [manner], suddenly mounted up and departed. If we receive [your] order, we shall take leave." Then the Rāv summoned them into his presence and hastily gave them leave. Vīramde came to Merto. None of the strategems Rāv Mālde had employed was successful. The Rāv also was disgraced in Jaito [and] Kūmpo's presence.

---

202 Umrāv (from umarā’, pl. of Arabic amīr): a man of high rank; a noble. Under the Mughals, only those officers with a mansab rank of 1,000 jāt or more were considered to belong among the umrāvs or nobility of the Empire.

203 The text has umrāv 2 pukhtā kāmdār derai hī rākh gayā thā. Possibly the translation should be: He kept two umrāvs, shrewd kāmdārs, right in the camp." However, to our knowledge, umrāv and kāmdār were two separate categories.

204 Savārai in the kha ms. is preferable to su khārai in the text.

205 Paṃvār Rāvat Jagmāl Karamcandot of Cātsū (no. 25).

206 The text has Vīramde to in acuk caḍh khaḍyā. Apparently the word bhānt or tarai ("way," "manner") should have followed in.

207 Haḷbhaḷ kar. Haḷbhaḷ karṇo: "to make haste, to hurry; to make a commotion; to flatter, to pay compliments to; to treat with respect and deference; to welcome cordially."

208 Rāv hī Kumpā Jaitā bīc besāṅ paṛīyā. Besāṅ: The Persian prefix be- ("without," "devoid of") plus sāṅ, the Middle Mārvārī version of the Arabic shān, "rank, dignity, state, pomp, grandeur, glory; radiance, lustre." Platts, Dictionary, p. 719.
25. In the middle of that day the Pātsāh of Māṇḍū209 died. There was a certain kiledār210 at Ajmer; because of [the Pātsāh's death] he abandoned the fort during the night and went away. The news reached Vīramde: "The thānedār211 of Ajmer, [who] was inside [the fort], went away; the fort has fallen vacant." Then Rāv Vīramde took his sāth and mounted up. Ajmer came into his hands. The fort came into his hands.212 Mālde heard of this matter. Within the Rāv's

209 The text has Manḍovar; Māṇḍū, the capital of the Malwa Sultāns, is meant. See n. 212, infra.

210 Kiledār (Persian qil'a-dār): a person in charge of a fort. The kiledār was Sham Shera'1-Mulk, a noble serving the Sultan of Gujarat, Bahādur Shāh (1526-37). See n. 212, infra.

211 Thānedār: a person in charge of a garrison (thāño).

212 Merṭīyo Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat's fortuitous and apparently bloodless takeover of Ajmer occurred as a result of changes in political fortunes in north India, Malwa, and Gujarat in 1534-35, of which he took full advantage. The local chronicles supply no details about these changes. From their viewpoint, Ajmer was suddenly left unguarded due to the death of the ruler of Māṇḍū, a not uncommon occurrence on the death of a king. Later historians such as Ojha and Reu do not explain this event either, appearing rather to take the chronicles at face value. Ojha, for example, states only that "for some reason" the hākim of Ajmer left the city unprotected.

The specific reasons are to be found in the relations between the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn of north India and Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat in this period. Shortly after his accession to the throne of Gujarat, Sultān Bahādur (1526-37) began to expand his territory into areas of Malwa and Rājasthān. In 1531, he attacked and captured Māṇḍū. Shortly thereafter, the ruler of Māṇḍū, Maḥmūd Shāh Khiljī (1511-31), was killed, bringing to an end the Khiljī dynasty of Malwa, which had ruled since 1436. Within the year, Sultān Bahādur had extended his authority over areas adjacent to Māṇḍū and had additional plans to lay siege to Cītōr. However, the siege was postponed until 1533, when Sultān Bahādur marched a large army into southern Rājasthān, sending forces at the same time against Rinthambhōr under Mālik Burhān’l-Mulk and Mujahīd Khān and against Ajmer under Sham Shera’1-Mulk. Ajmer was taken from the Pāṃvār Rajpūts under Rāv Jagmāl Karamcandot (no. 25) by the 12,000 troops of Sham Shera’1-Mulk in 1533. In March of 1535, Sultān Bahādur also besieged and captured Cītōr from Sisodiyo Rāṇo Vikramāditya Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1531-36; see biographical note for Sisodiyo Gaḥlot Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat, no. 17).

Aware of the developments in Malwa, Emperor Humāyūn had travelled to Gwālior in 1533 or 1534, but he had not ventured further against Sultān Bahādur. Then in late 1534, he marched toward Cītōr. When his army drew near in 1535, Sultān Bahādur's commander at Cītōr, Mālik Burhān’l-Mulk, withdrew from the fort (which was soon reoccupied by the Sisodiys) and fled to Māṇḍū, where he joined Sultān Bahādur. Humāyūn then attacked Māṇḍū, which he captured by the middle of 1535, forcing Sultān Bahādur to flee to Cāmpāner and then to Div on the coast of Gujarat.

With the fall of Māṇḍū in 1535 (the event that the local chronicles interpret as the death of the king of Māṇḍū), Sham Shera’1-Mulk, the kiledār of Ajmer, withdrew from the city and travelled to Gujarat with his forces. The political vacuum created by this flight opened the city of Ajmer to Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat and allowed him to take
breast there was no room for Meṛṭo [under the authority of Vīramde]. When he heard that Ajmer had come into Vīramde's hands, a fire flared up within the Raṅ's body. Rāv Mālte sent [his] pradhāns to Rāv Vīramde and had them say: "Meṛṭo is yours, but in the house [of the Rāṭhors] I am the tikāyat; you are my bhāibandh servant. You yourself give Ajmer to me; the city [and] the fort are not for you to take." The pradhāns came to Meṛṭo. They told Vīramde [Mālte's] words. Vīramde did not comply with [Mālte's] statement. The pradhāns came back. The Rāv assembled [his] sāth. Rāv Vīramde's sāth came too. Rāv [Vīramde] assembled [his] sāth. At one time Vīramde, ready to die [in battle], was preparing the kotrl and the city of Meṛṭo for siege. Subsequently Vīramde's Rajputs [and] kāmdārs remonstrated with Vīramde:

Vigat, 2:52

"We have no walls [or] fort [in Meṛṭo]. If there is a siege of ten days or so, then Meṛṭo is as defenseless as a village of the plains. If you die, you will be salt in flour. Do not give an enemy a bundle of straw." Afterward Rāv Mālte attacked Meṛṭo. Rāv Vīramde had gone away four days previously, control virtually uncontested. M. S. Commissariat, A History of Gujarat, vol. 1 (Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1938), pp. 328-333, 350-356; Day, Medieval Malwa, pp. 319-327; Ojhā, 2:706-712, 4:1:285, ns. 2 and 3; Reu, 1:118-119; S. Tirmizi, Ajmer through inscriptions [1532-1852 A.D.] (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, 1968), p. 12.

213 Tikāyat: a chosen successor; one designated to receive the throne and to have the tīko or red mark placed upon his forehead upon succession; one who has received the tīko.

214 Bhāibandh cākar: a military servant (cākar) who is also a member of one's brotherhood (bhāibandh).

215 Gadh kot. In most contexts, there is no substantial difference in meaning between gadh and kot; both usually mean "fort." Here, however, kot evidently means "walls" and, by extension, Ajmer city.

216 Kotṛī in the kha ms. is preferable to lī in the text.

217 Gadh kot. See n. 215 to Vigat, 2:51, supra. At this time Meṛṭo had only a small fort, the kotṛī, constructed during the time of Rāv Varsingh Jodhāvat.

218 I.e., of no consequence.

219 I.e., do not give an enemy even the slightest advantage. The text has puro; the kha ms. pulo. Pulo is the correct reading: "a tied bundle of straw or grass."
leaving Meṛto as it was.\textsuperscript{220} He went to Ajmer with [his] men [and] \textit{vāsī}.\textsuperscript{221} The Rāvjī proceeded to Meṛto and established [his] authority [there]. This event occurred around 1538-39.\textsuperscript{222} [Rāv Mālde] divided up the villages facing Ajmer among various important \textit{unmrāvs}. He kept a garrison in Meṛto. He gave a large \textit{pato} to Rāṭhor Sahaiso Tejsīyoṭ\textsuperscript{223} (Tejsī [was] the son of Varsīṅgh),\textsuperscript{224} a Meṛṭīyo, and settled him in Reyāṃ rī Vaḍī.\textsuperscript{225} Vīramde was very angry with Sahaiso. He said: "I shall kill Sahaiso today, in the morning." Rāṭhoṣ Sīḍhho Mokajloṭ,\textsuperscript{226} Akhairāj Bhāḍavat, Rāyṣal\textsuperscript{227}--all the Meṛṭīyos--\textsuperscript{228}--persistently restrained Vīramde and kept him [in Ajmer, saying]: "Sahaiso is your son.\textsuperscript{229}

\textsuperscript{220} \textit{Meṛto ubho mel nīṣaṛyo}: to leave (a town, fort, etc.) as it is without making defensive preparations; to abandon (a town, fort, etc.) without a fight.

\textsuperscript{221} \textit{Vāsī}: the people or subjects bound to an important Rajput who lived either in his village or town of residence (rāṣ, q.v.) or in nearby villages under his control and who performed various services for him according to their status, receiving in exchange his protection. Typically the \textit{vāsī} of an important man contained persons of many jātis, including a contingent of Rajput warriors, peasants such as Jāṭs, Sīrīvās, Pāṭels, etc., Vāṇīyos, Brāhmāṇs, Cāraṇs, and members of the lower jātis: Kumbhārs, Māḷīs, Sūtrās, and others. \textit{Vāsī} were divided among sons either before or upon the death of a Rajput thākur, each inheriting son taking his part of the \textit{vāsī} and going to live on his share (vaṇṭ, grās) of the paternal lands, a process referred to in the sources as \textit{juddāi} ("separation").

When Rajputs were forced to flee, as was Rāv Vīramde, they frequently took their \textit{vāsī} with them. For a discussion of the \textit{vāsī}, see R. D. Saran, "Conquest and Colonization: Rajputs and \textit{Vāsī} in Middle Period Mārvān" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1978), chapters 2, 3, and 4.

\textsuperscript{222} The date given here is incorrect. Authorities place Rāv Mālde’s conquest of Meṛto in 1534-35. \textit{Vigat}, 1:43, has 1542-43, also incorrect. See Tirmizi, \textit{Ajmer through Inscriptions}, pp. 12, 16.

\textsuperscript{223} Varsīṅghot Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṣ Sahaiso Tejsīyoṭ (no. 151).

\textsuperscript{224} A parenthetical remark by the author of the \textit{Vigat}, Naiṃśī.

\textsuperscript{225} Reyāṃ rī Vaḍī: another name for Reyāṃ village, located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto.

\textsuperscript{226} Jaitmāl Rāṭhoṣ Sīḍhho Mokajloṭ (no. 72).

\textsuperscript{227} Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṣ Rāyṣal Dūḍāvat (no. 106), Vīramde’s brother.

\textsuperscript{228} In a strict sense, "all the Meṛṭīyos" does not include Sīḍho or Akhairāj, who were Jaitmāl Rāṭhoṣ. But in a general sense, the phrase would include both Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṣ and those in their service, such as the Jaitmāls.

\textsuperscript{229} I.e., Vīramde’s relationship to Sahaiso, a junior member of Vīramde’s \textit{bhāībandh}, is that of a father to a son.
Rāv Mālde has divided Meṛto among so many [other] Rāṭhoṛs; kill them first, then kill Sahaiso." But within Vīrāmdē's breast there was no room for Sahaiso.

26. The scouts who had been sent by Vīrāmdē came [back]. They gave [their] news; they said: "Sahaiso is sitting in Reyāṃ with his sāth." When the night was a watch spent, Rāṭhoṛ Vīrāmdē himself mounted up and departed, not giving very much information to anyone. Sahaiso's scouts also were in action; they came and gave [him] the news [of Vīrāmdē's departure]. Rāv Sahaiso Tejsīyot and Rāṭhoṛ Vairsī Rāṇāvāt230 were friendly; Vairsī had come to Reyāṃ. Rāv [Mālde's] sāth, [including] Rāṭhoṛs Kūmpo Mahirajot, Rāṇo Akhairajot,231 Jeso Bhairavdāsot, [and] Bhado Paṅcāṅgot,232 was at the garrison in Raṛōd233 Vairsī had a she-camel, one that stayed fast for hours.234 He had his khavās mount it and sent him to Rāṭhoṛs Kūmpo [and] Rāṇo. He said: "[If you do not hurry], you might come when we have [already] died [or] killed [them], so come quickly!"235

Vigat, 2:53

The camel-rider arrived at midnight. Those thākurs, upon looking over the written message,236 mounted up and took the reins. Just before daybreak237 Rāṭhoṛ Sahaiso Tejsīyot donned the saffron robe238 and [with] five hundred men went outside Reyāṃ, spread cloths [on the ground], and sat down. At that time the Rāvjiī's sāth also had come near Reyāṃ. Rāṭhoṛs Kūmpo, Rāṇo, [and] Jeso, while still advancing [on the road to Reyāṃ], had sent ahead scouts, four riders [who were] owners of fine horses, off the road in the direction of Ajmer [and the

230 Akhairajot Rāṭhoṛ Vairsī Rāṇāvat (no. 31).
231 Akhairajot Rāṭhoṛ Rāṇo Akhairajot (no. 28).
232 Akhairajot Rāṭhoṛ Bhado Paṅcāṅgot (no. 32).
233 Raṛōd in the kha ms. is preferable to der (?) in the text. Raṛōd is a village located thirty-five miles west of Meṛto and six miles west of Ḡāsop village.
235 I.e., hurry or miss the battle.
236 Kagal dīthāṃ sāmā. Sāmā probably is a mistake for samāṃ, "at the time of."
237 Rāṭ ghaṛī 1 rai jhāṅjharkhow. Jhāṅjharkhō: "dawn," "early morning." The editor of the Vigat, N. S. Bhaṭī, translates this phrase as "one ghaṛī of the night remaining" (n. 1); we have followed his suggestion.
238 Kesariyā kar nai. Rajpūts put on saffron robes (kesariyo) to indicate their commitment to die in battle.
approaching] Viramde. These thākurs came to the open field of Reyām, and the scouts on horseback came and gave the news: "Rāji Viramde is coming." Then that thākur [to whom the news was told] did not go to the village [or] to Sahaiso; he made [all the men] go straight to where Viramde was coming. A battle took place near the village. There was a great clash of weapons. Here a large sāth from both sides died fighting. That day [was] a great day for Rāv Mālde, a great glory. The Rāv's sāth won the battle; fifty of Rāthor Viramde's men died fighting. Rāvat. Bhojo, [who was the son] of Gāngo [and] a Jaimāl [Rāthor], died fighting. Rāthor Sidho Mokālot again fell wounded. Viramde also showed outstanding prowess that day. He killed on five separate occasions with a knife and all alone urged [his] horse into the Rāv's sāth. The knife having splintered, Viramde snatched up eleven lances thrust by the Rāv's sāth. He held them together with the reins in [his] left hand. With difficulty a Bihārī sirdār from Jālōr brought Viramde twenty paces from the battlefield. That day Rāthor Bhojo Pañcāiṇot showed much prowess. Bhado jostled Viramde and

---

239 Gorvo: the open field outside a village; the open field where the village cattle are gathered before being taken out to graze in the scrub-brush.

240 The text has rājā, the vocative plural of rāj, indicating that several thākurs were being addressed, but the next sentence begins with o thākur, "that thākur." Perhaps rājā is simply a mistake for rāj.

241 Rāvat: a title held by many petty rulers in middle period Rājāstān, including the Rāthors of Ketū, Setrāvo, and Dechū, the Sīsodiys of Devaljiyo, and the Mers of Cāng.

242 Jaimāl Rāthor Rāvat Bhojo Gāṅgāvat (no. 76).

243 Churī kār in the text is a variant of churīkā, "knife." Churīkā pherno: to turn the knife, to kill with a knife.

244 The text has Jālōrī ro ek Bihārī sirdār; evidently Jālōrī is a mistake for Jālōr. Possibly, however, the translation could be: "a Bihārī sirdār, [son/military servant] of the Jālōrī." The Bihārīs were Paṭhāns (Afghans) of the Lohanī tribe. They claimed to have held the governorship of Bihar under the Tughluq Sultāns of Delhi, hence their name. In the late fourteenth century, the head of the family, Mālik Yūsuf, together with kinsmen and retainers, migrated during the course of a pilgrimage from Bihar to Jālōr, where he seized power from the local Cauhūvān ruler. Mālik Yūsuf died in ca. 1395 and was succeeded by his son, Mālik Ḥasan, who was recognized by the Tughluqs as the governor of Jālōr. The Bihārī Paṭhāns subsequently became supporters of the rulers of Gujarāt, serving them with 7,000 horsemen. They continued to hold Jālōr until 1538-39, when they were driven out by a Baloc adventurer, who in turn was forced to flee by an army sent by Rāv Mālde. After Mālde was defeated by Sher Shāh Sūr in 1544, the Bihārīs regained control of Jālōr, which they held with brief interruptions until the second decade of the seventeenth century. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Volume V, Cutch, Pālanpur, and Mahā Kāntha (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1908), pp. 318-320; M. Vyās, Jodhpur Rājīya kā Itihās (Jaypur: Pañcāsīl Prakāśaṇ, 1975), pp. 95-96.

**Vigat, 2:54**

They bandaged the wounded, came to Reyām, and helped them dismount. When Rāv Mālde heard of this affair, he touched heaven. From this battle onward, Meṛto became succulent for the Rāvji.

---


246 *Jhāliyāṁ māmhe. Jhāliyā*: wooden sticks or boards used to load goods into oxcarts. Here they apparently were used as stretchers to carry the wounded men.

247 *Saiddāno* (Persian shādiyāna): a musical instrument played on an auspicious occasion as a form of celebration.

248 Literally, "in that place [where] the field [of battle] had come into their hands." It is evident that Kūmpo and Bhado chose not to follow up their victory; they allowed Viramde to regain his strength and leave the battlefield. *Bānkīdās*, p. 12, no. 126 notes that on another, subsequent occasion in Bāṃvāḷī village Jaito Paṅcāïṇot restrained Kūmpo Mahīrājot from killing Viramde, saying

Do not kill Viramde! Viramde is a great Rajput. If he remains alive, he will bring someone [to aid him against Rāv Mālde] and fashion his own death.

The *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt* (p. 80) has a similar version of events but substitutes Cāṭṣū village for Bāṃvāḷī.

249 The text has *ghāv liyāṁ thā vāṃh nai Reyām āi utāriyā*. Our translation is conjectural, based on *ghāv liyāṁ* being a mistake for *ghāyaliyā* and *vāṃh* being a variant of *bāndh*. Literally, the translation would then be: "There were wounded men; they bandaged [them], came to Reyām, and set them down/helped them dismount."

250 *Ābh lāgo. The editor of the Vigat, N. S. Bhāṭi, translates this phrase as "became very pleased" (ati prasann huā) in n. 1, but it is possible Mālde may have been less pleased with his commanders' failure to follow up their victory and capture
27. Rāv Mālde, having passed the time for a year afterward,252 formed an army [to attack] Ajmer. He drove Rāṭhor Vīramde from Ajmer also. Ajmer came into his hands.253 Afterward Vīramde went to Nahārṇo254 one time. The Sekhāvat Kachvāhos255 protected [him] for some time. Day by day Rāv Mālde increased in strength. He gave Ajmer to Rāṭhor Mahes Ghaṛṣīyot256 in pāto. He took Dīdvāṇo.257 He gave Dīdvāṇo to Rāṭhor Kūṃpo Mahīrājot in pāto. He took Sāṃbhar. The Rāv's kāmdārs continuously came and stayed in Sāṃbhar. Then Rāṭhor Vīramde went to Cātsū258 There too the armies of the Rāv came

251 Rajpūts often expressed their relationships toward land in terms of food; land was "eaten" or "consumed" (dharī khāṇo, dharī bhogno) by the ruler in the symbolic language of the Rajputs, and thus the remark concerning the land's becoming succulent or tasty (ras pariyo) for Mālde is an indication that he had acquired full authority over it. For a discussion of Rajpūt tenets concerning land, see R. D. Saran, "Conquest and Colonization," pp. 88-90, 102.

252 Rāv Mālde's conquest of Ajmer may have come much sooner than one year after his defeat of Vīramde at Reyām, as Vīramde was in no position to defend the city.

253 Rāv Mālde captured Ajmer in 1535. He held the city until it was taken by Sher Shāh Sūr in 1543. There are still remains at Ajmer of a massive unfinished water-lift said to have been begun by Rāv Mālde to carry water to the top of the fort Tārāgadh, which overlooks the city. V. S. Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 22, n. 1; Murārdān, no. 2, p. 135; Ojhā, 4:1:286, n. 4; Reu, 1:119; Tirmizi, Ajmer through Inscriptions, pp. 12, 16. Vigat, 1:43-44, gives 1533-34 as the date for Mālde's conquest of Ajmer, which is incorrect.

254 Nahārṇo/Narāiṇo: a town located forty-five miles northeast of Ajmer. During this period, the town was ruled by Khaṅgār Jāmīlāt, from whom the Khaṅgārot Kachvāho branch (sākh) emerged. The Khaṅgārots are a cadet line of the Kachvāho rulers of Āmber. The Mughal Emperor Akbar gave this town to Khaṅgār's son, Naraṅdās, in jāgīr, hence its name, Narāiṇo. Khyāt, 1:297, 304.


Elswehere it is noted that Vīramde Dūḍāvat was taken in by Kachvāho Rāṣyal Sekhāvat, son of Sekho Mokalot. Khyāt, 1:296, 318-319, 3:98.

256 Ĉuṃḍāvat Rāṭhor Mahes Ghaṛṣīyot (no. 58).

257 Dīdvāṇo: a town 125 miles northeast of Jodhpur and sixty miles north of Ajmer. See Appendix A for a discussion of the local importance of Dīdvāṇo and its early history.
after [him]. Rathor Viramde went to Lālsoṭ. [Rāv Mālde] would not allow [him] to stay there either. Afterward Viramde went to Bāṃvalī and left [his] carts [there].

28. He sent his pradhāns, Rathor Akhairaj and Mumhato Khīmvo, to the sūbedār of Rīntīmbhor, who was a certain umrāv. Here no one went inside just to pay respects to this umrāv. They grew weary striving [to see him]. The Navāb never came outside the vault of the fort. They had nothing [with them] to give; [nothing] that they might give to the divān [and]

258 Cāṭsū: a town located thirty-five miles south of Jaipur city and Āmber. This reference to Rāv Viramde's staying in Cāṭsū is peculiar, as it was previously stated that a vair existed between the Meṛtīyos and the Paṃvārs rulers of Cāṭsū. See Vigat, 2:49, and Biographical Notes under "Paṃvārs of Cāṭsū."

259 Rāv Mālde's armies conquered Cāṭsū in 1541-42.

260 Lālsoṭ: a town located thirty-five miles east of Cāṭsū.

261 Bāṃvalī: a town located twenty miles east of Lālsoṭ.

262 Mumhato Khīmvo Lālāvat (no. 157).

263 Sūbedār (Persian şūbedār): an officer in charge of a province (šūbo).

264 Rīntīmbhor: a large fort and town situated forty miles south of Bāṃvalī village and sixty-five miles southeast of Jaipur, near Savāī Mādhopur. Because of its strategic location near the Bānas River, Rīntīmbhor controlled the passageway into the valley of the Chambal River (southern Rajasthan). Historically, its fortress was one of the most formidable in all India.

In 1541 Rīntīmbhor was captured by Sher Shāh Sūr from 'Usmān Khān, its governor under Qādir Shāh, ruler of Malwa. Sher Shāh then gave the fortress to his son, Salīm Shāh, in jāgīr. During this period, it was administered by Khīzr Khān. Governorship of the šūbo was at the same time given to Shuja'at Khān, to whom Sher Shāh had assigned the whole territory following his conquest of Gwalior and Malwa. Jain, Ancient Cities, pp. 330-334; P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, 1526-1658 (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1941), p. 58; R. P. Tripathi, The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire (reprint edition, Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1966), pp. 121-122.

265 Navāb (Arabic nawwāb): a governor of a town, district, or province; a lord; a prince, a deputy, one who rules in place of another.

266 Tekhāno (Persian tah-khāna): a vault, a cellar, a room underground.

267 Divān (Persian dīwān): a minister or head of a department at either the state level or the provincial level. In seventeenth-century Mārvāṛ, the dīwān was the chief minister over fiscal affairs and also performed military tasks on occasion.
the bagsī268 and [thereby] have [them] make entreaties [and] requests [on
Vīramde's behalf].

29. The Navāb had a son of fifteen [or] sixteen years. He would come
outside to play for a short time.269 Rāṭhoṛ Akhairāj Bhādāvat [and] the other
Rajpūts as well all said: "Let us leave; we shall go away." Then Mumnhato
Khīmvo, [the son] of Lālo, said:

Vigat, 2:55

"There is no place to go back to. Driven from Mārvār , we have come to
Bāṃvalī, a hundred kos from Meṛto. In this region,270 this Navāb has the full
authority of the Pātsāh. There is no place for us to put our feet." Then the
Rajpūts said: "What should be done?" Munhmato Khīmvo said: "I shall make
one [more] attempt." [They said]: "Do as you think best." Then, in the
morning, Mumnhato Khīmvo kept the Rajpūts in the camp, placed a betrothal
coconut271 in a doykāṇthro,272 put in some satin cloth [and] four expensive silk
cloths,273 and himself took it to where the Navāb's son was playing. His men
asked: "Who are you?" Munhmato Khīmvo said: "I am the servant of Rājā
Vīramde, and Vīramde is the brother274 of Rāv Mālde. He has become angry
with Jodhpur and has come to the Navābjī. Rājā Vīramde has sent me to offer
his daughter [in marriage] to the Mirjojī.275 I have come with the betrothal
coconut to make the sagāi."276 [The Navāb's son] heard the name of Rāv Mālde.

268 Bagsī (Persian bakhshī): "a paymaster, an officer whose special duty it was to keep
an account of all disbursements connected with military tenures." H. H. Wilson, A
Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms (1855; reprint edition, Delhi: Munshiram

269 Sāyto: probably this word is derived from the Persian sā'at, "time; an hour; a short
time, a little while; a minute; a moment." Platts, Dictionary, p. 625.

270 Manḍal: a district, region, area, realm.

271 It was customary among Rajpūts to send a coconut (nāler) to the family of a
prospective groom to express their willingness to betroth a daughter in marriage.

272 Doykāṇthro: probably this word is a variant of dokāthro, "possessing two sticks,"
evidently a name for a type of box or platform used to carry the betrothal coconut.

273 Misrū: "a type of expensive silk cloth." Lāḷas, RSK, 3:3:3757 (glossed under
misru). A'īn-i-Akbari, p. 100, notes that misrū is a type of silk cloth.

274 I.e., a kinsman of Mālde's; a fellow Rāṭhoṛ.

275 Mirjo (Persian mīrzā): a Muslim prince; a Muslim of high birth.

276 Sagāi: betrothal; alliance of marriage between two families or clans (kul, vanśa).
Then he realized: "The betrothal coconut of the daughter of Rājā Vīramde, brother of Rāv Mālde, has come." The various important men near the Mirjo offered [their] blessings: "They are very powerful men, a Rājā [and] a Rāv. Today among the Hindus no one else has such a dynasty. The betrothal coconut has come to the Mirjo from a very excellent place." The Mirjo was very pleased. He took [Mumhato Khīmvo] with him into the fort. The Mirjo had him sit by the main entrance and went into [the Navāb's quarters]. The servants of the Mirjo informed the Navāb: "Vīramde's pradhān has come, bringing the betrothal coconut of Rājā Vīramde, brother of Rāv Mālde." The Navāb was very pleased. He quickly summoned Mumhato Khīmvo into [his] presence. He honored the betrothal coconut. He gave him a sirpāv. Khīmvo said: "Vīramde's brothers, who are umrāvs, are in [his] camp." [The Navāb] ordered: "Bring them; I will have them pay respects [to me]." He sent a welcome to their camp. The Rajpūts said to Khīmvo: "What are you doing? We do not understand this matter." Then Mumhato Khīmvo said: "I will answer to Vīramdejī about this matter." Then at dusk the divān, Rāṭhōr Akhairāj, and the other Rajpūts went to the darbār280 [of the Navāb].

Vigat, 2:56

The Navāb summoned [them] into [his] presence and asked all about Rāṭhōr Vīramde. He allowed [Vīramde] to leave [his] carts in Bāṃvaḷī. He made out a parvāno281 giving rulership rights to [some] parganos. He gave all of them sirpāvs and dispatched them. He said: "May Vīramde come to me quickly. After Vīramde and I are [together] in one place, I shall write a petition to the Pāṭsāḥjī just as [Vīramde] tells [me] to." After coming here,282 they described everything in detail to Vīramdejī. Vīramdejī listened to [their] story and was pleased.

Within five or six days Rāṭhōr Vīramdejī, along with 400 horsemen, went to an audience with the Navāb. Vīramde told his whole story in detail to

277 The text has Navāb, but presumably Mirjo is meant, as the Navāb was at this time inside the fort of Rīnthambhīr. Possibly the implication is that the important men close to the Navāb, who at that time were looking after the Mirjo, offered their blessings.

278 Bunīyādī (Persian bunīyādī): literally, "men possessing a firm foundation (bunyād)," i.e., "strong men," "powerful men."

279 Nīmasyāṃ in the text is an apparent misprint for namāsyāṃ (first person plural of namāṣno, "to cause to bow down," "to have [someone] pay respects."

280 Darbār (Persian): the hall of audience of a ruler.

281 Parvāno (Persian parwāna): a written order addressed to a subordinate.

282 I.e., back from the Navāb's darbār to where Vīramde was.
the Navāb. The Navāb had this story [and] all current news\(^{283}\) delivered to the Pātsāhji, then petitioned [him on Viramde's behalf]. The Pātsāhji's order came back: "You did a noble deed giving Viramde Bānvalī; now give Rāṭhor Viramde some expense money and quickly send [him] into my presence."

30. Afterward the Navāb sent Viramde to the Pātsāh. Rāṭhor Viramde went to the dargāh.\(^{284}\) He paid respects to the Pātsāhji.\(^{285}\) He met with the dīvān [and] the bagsīs. He made known to the Pātsāhji, together with the dīvān [and] the bagsīs, all the details about himself [and] Rāv Mālde. The Pātsāhji was pleased with Rāṭhor Viramde. Even before this the Pātsāh had become irritated with Rāv Mālde, [for] at that time the ruler of Bīkāner\(^{286}\) as well as Kuṇvar Bhīmraj Jaitśiyot\(^{287}\) [and] Muṃhato Nago\(^{288}\) had also gone [to the Pātsāh] with complaints.\(^{289}\) But Rāṭhor Viramde, a wily man, told the Pātsāh a thousand tales. He made the next battle appear easy.\(^{290}\) The Pātsāh came to Agra from Sahasrām.\(^{291}\) He made complete military preparations\(^{292}\) and established a war-camp outside Agra.

\(^{283}\) Sārī vākā. Vākā probably is from the Arabic wāqi'a, "news," "intelligence."

\(^{284}\) Dargāh (Persian): the court of a ruler, including the various departments of his administration and their heads.

\(^{285}\) The Pātsāh whom Viramde met was Sher Shāh Sūr, Afghan ruler of Delhi and north India, 1540-45.

\(^{286}\) Bīkāvat Rāṭhor Rāv Kalyāṇmal Jaitśiyot (no. 46), ruler of Bīkāner, ca. 1542-74.

\(^{287}\) Bīkāvat Rāṭhor Bhīmraj Jaitśiyot (no. 47).

\(^{288}\) Muṃhato Nago (no. 158).

\(^{289}\) A local Rajput source mentions that Sher Shāh had once gone to Bīkāner during a period of difficulty (before he assumed the rulership of Delhi) and had come to know the family of Rāv Jaitśi Lūṅkaraṇot (no. 45; ruler of Bīkāner, ca. 1526-42), which gave him some personal assistance. Sher Shāh's extension of help now to Rāv Kalyāṇmal and Kuṇvar Bhīmraj, who had come to Delhi with Muṃhato Nago, would indicate a personal reason for Sher Shāh's enmity for Rāv Mālde relating to Rāv Jaitśis death and Mālde's conquest of Bīkāner in 1542. Dalpat Vilās, edited by Rāvat Sārasvat (Bīkāner: Sādul Rājāstāhānī Research Institute, 1960), pp. 4-5.

\(^{290}\) Āglo māmlo sahal kar dikhāyo: literally, "having made the next battle easy, caused [him] to see [it]."

\(^{291}\) Sahasrām: a town in what is now Bihar State, located ninety miles southwest of Patna.

\(^{292}\) Sulmān in the text evidently is an abbreviation of sūl-sāmān, "[military] supplies."
31. The news reached Rāv Mālde also. The Rāv's messengers went back and forth [summoning his sāth]. There were preparations for battle. The Pātsāh set out from Agra. The Pātsāh encamped at Hīdvān. The Rāv also mounted up and came to Meṛṭo from Jodhpur.

Vigat, 2:57

At that time 80,000 horse belonging to Rāv Mālde were assembled. The Pātsāh came to the vicinity of Mojābād. Rāv Mālde came to Ajmer. The opposing camps drew nearer and nearer. Pradhāns mediated; no pact was made. Pradhāns mediated separately between Viramde [and] Rāv Mālde. Men negotiated between Rāthoṛs Kūmpo [and] Jaito and created suspicion between master [and] servant. Rāv Mālde moved the camp back twice. The Pātsāh's camp was on the near side of Samel. The Rāv's camp was at Girrl.

Charo: a single man, single rider. Charos were sent to the thākurs in the service of a ruler to summon them to battle.

Hīdvān: a town seventy-five miles east-southeast of Jaipur (Hindaun on modern maps).

According to Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya and V.S. Bhargava, who have explored both Middle Mārvār and Persian chronicles, Rāv Mālde only had a force of 50,000 men at Samel. The local chronicles of Mārvār disagree. Some record that Mālde had a force of 80,000, while others indicate that it was Sher Shāh who had an army of this size. The Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī states that Sher Shāh's army numbered 50,000; other Muslim sources do not specify its size, noting only that it was very large. The actual size of both armies at Samel remains in some doubt. "Aḥbās Khaṇ Sarwaṇī, Tārīkhī-i-Šer Šāhī, translated by Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1974), p. 662, "Aitiḥāsik Bātām," p. 42; Bānkīḍās, p. 12; Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 29; Khwājāh Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, The Tabaqāṭ-i-Akbarī of Khwājāh Nizāmuddīn Ahmad: A History of India from the early Musalman Invasions to the Thirty-sixth Year of the Reign of Akbar, 3 vols., translated by B. De (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1927-40), 2:171; Murārdān, no. 2, p. 119; Ojhā, 4:1:302, n. 2.; Reu, 1:218; Viṅ Vinod, 2:810.

Mojābād: the town Mozābād or Mozāmābād, situated forty-five miles northeast of Ajmer.

I.e., between Rāv Mālde and Rāthoṛs Jaito and Kūmpo.

Samel: a village located in the Arāvalī hills twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer and twenty-three miles east of Jaitāran. The site of the battle is indicated by Map 3, "Mārvār Terrain of the Battle of Samel, 1544."

Girrl: a village located ten miles west-southwest of Samel village and fifty miles from Ajmer. The village lies on the edge of the plains near the western side of the Arāvalī hills.
Mälde said to Kämpo [and] Jaito: "Move the camp back once more." Then they said: "In the direction of the land beyond here [to the east] that the Rävji, a good son, had conquered, we did what the Rävji commanded. [But] we are not about to abandon and flee from the land beyond here [to the west] that your ancestors and our ancestors together had conquered." There was much arguing between the Räv and the Rajputs. Rathor Viramde sent his Bärhat, Päto, to the Räv and had him tell [the Räv] something. The Räv, without having asked Jaito [and] Kämpo [their advice], mounted a horse belonging to the guard-post and, when the night was a watch and a half spent, went away. Rathor Jaito Pańcainot, Rathor Kämpo Mahirajot, Rathor Khinvo, Rathor Jaitsi Üdävat, Sonagarö Akhairräi Riındhirot, Rathor Pańcain Karamsiyot, Rathor Vido Bhärmalot, and a large additional säth as well, 20,000 men, remained behind, ready to die. Another säth left with the Rävji. In the morning the battle took place on the bank of the Samel River. The thäkurs mentioned above died fighting, along with 5,000 of Räv Mälde's men.

---

300 Mää: literally, "mother-father," used in Middle Mārvārī in the sense of "ancestors" or "respected elders," i.e., those persons whom one treats with the respect accorded one's mother and father.

301 Gāḏh: stubbornness, firmness, argument.

302 Roharlyø Cārañ Päto Deväit. Meṛtīyo Räv Dūdo Jodhāvat had granted Päto the village Bíjolī in Altavo Subdivision (tapho) of Meṛtō Pargano (Vigat, 2:108).

303 Üdävat Rathor Khinvo Üdävat (no. 140).

304 Üdävat Rathor Jaitsi Üdävat (no. 139).

305 Sonagarō Cahuvañ Akhairräi Riındhirot (no. 9).

306 Karamsot Rathor Pańcain Karamsiyot (no. 92).

307 Bälävat Rathor Vido Bhärmalot (no. 37).

308 Various numbers are given in the texts, ranging from 12,000 to 20,000 men. "Aitihasik Batam," p. 44; Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 32; Reu, 1:130.

309 The battle of Samel between the forces of Räv Mälde Gaṅgāvat, ruler of Jodhpur and western Rājasthān, and Sher Shāh Sūr, Afghan ruler of Delhi and north India, took place on January 5, 1544.

310 Various counts of the dead appear in the texts, ranging from 1,000 to 11,000 of Räv Mälde's Rajputs, plus a large number of Sher Shāh's troops. Most of the local chronicles contain a fairly detailed listing of the more important warriors of Räv Malde's who were killed. Appendix B contains a composite list compiled from the various sources.
32. Rathor Viramde brought the Patsah to Jodhpur. A small sāth—Rathor Aclo Sivrājot, Rathor Tilokśī Varjangot, Bhāṭī Sāṅkar Sūrāvat, Rathor Sinhhaṅ Khetsiyot—died fighting at the Jodhpur fort.

33. The Patsah stayed in Jodhpur for some time. Then the Patsah, having stationed Sāids Ḥāsam [and] Ḵāsam in Mārvār and kept Ḵhavās Khān [there] as the only umrāv, set out from Jodhpur. He encamped in Meṛto.

311 Sher Shāh had occupied Jodhpur by the end of January, 1544. Bhargava, *Marwar and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 34.

312 Jodho Rathor Aclo Sivrājot (no. 80).

313 The text has Tilok Sivrājot, which is incorrect. This Rajput was Ūḍāvat (Baithvāsiyo) Rathor Tilokśī Varjangot (no. 143), whose name appears in other lists referring to the battle at the fort of Jodhpur.

314 Jeso Bhāṭī Sāṅkar Sūrāvat (no. 2).

315 Riṅmalot Rathor Sinhhaṅ Khetsiyot (no. 129).

316 The chronicles contain lists of varying length and completeness regarding those Rajputs who died at the fort of Jodhpur fighting against the army of Sher Shāh. For a composite list, see Appendix B.

317 Said (Arabic Saiyid): one who claims descent from the prophet Muḥammad.

318 Ḥāsam and Kāsam: probably a reference to Saiyids Ḥāshim and Qāṣim, sons of Saiyid Māḥmūd Khān of Barba. Māḥmūd Khān was an important noble in the service of the Sūrs who subsequently switched his allegiance to the Mughals. He was the first of the famous Saiyids of Barba to enter the service of the Mughal Emperors, and he became a personal favorite of Akbar’s. Ḥāshim, Qāṣim, and Aḥmad, Māḥmūd’s brother, also were in Mughal service, and Māḥmūd, Ḥāshim, and Qāṣim all took part in several Mughal military campaigns in Rājasthān, perhaps because they knew the region well from prior experience under Sher Shāh. *Āṭn-i-Akbari*, 1:424-425, 447, 461.

319 Khavās Khān: the Afghan Khawās Khān Masnād-ī-Ālī, one of Sher Shāh’s most important nobles. Khawās Khān first distinguished himself in the siege of Gaur in 1537. Subsequently he took part in the decisive battles fought by Sher Shāh against Humāyūn in 1539-40. He was placed in command of the sarkār of Sirhind after Sher Shāh’s conquest of the Panjab and by the time of Sher Shāh’s invasion of Mārvār in 1543-44 had become the premier military commander in the service of the Sūr Emperor. ‘Abbās Khān Sarwānī, *Ṭārīkh-i-Śer Śāhī*, pp. 261-262, 373-374, 377, 380, 445, 449-450, 455-456, 459, 465-467, 539, 600, 656-657.

320 The *Ṭārīkh-i-Śer Śāhī* notes that Sher Shāh left Khawās Khān, Īsā Khān Niyāzī, and "certain other chiefs" in the region around Nāgaur. Khawās Khān is said to have brought the regions of Nāgaur, Ajmer, and Mārvār under his control. *Ibid.*, pp. 656-657.
34. Vīramde obtained Merto. Rāv Kalyāṉmal321 obtained Bīkāner. The Pātsāḥ departed for Agra. While going to Agra,322 he gave leave to Vīramde.Shortly thereafter Vīramde died.

35. Rāṭhor Vīramde, born on November 19, 1477. The great battle occurred in January of 1544. In February or March of 1544 Vīramde passed away.

The Cāraṇ324 who mediated between Rāv Mālde [and Vīramde] was Vīramde’s Bārḥāth, Pāto. [A genealogy]:

1. Pāto.
2. Gāṅgo.
5. Mahes.

Once while Vīramde was [still] living Jaimal325 had settled in the Pātsāḥ’s vās.326 He obtained Muthrājī327 in jāgīr.328,329

321 Bīkāvat Rāṭhor Rāv Kalyāṉmāl Jaitsiyot (no. 46), son of Rāv Jaitsī Lūṅkaraṇot (no. 45) and ruler of Bīkāner, ca. 1542-74.

322 Āgre se jātaṃ. The oblique form se (properly, sai), from the adjective particle so ("like," "similar to"), is used in locative expressions of this type to add a slight degree of vagueness, as in the sentence mhai aṭhai sai dorāṃ chāṃ: "we are raiding (literally, "running") hereabouts" (Khyāṭī, 3:125, line 1 at the top).

323 Bāṅkīdās, p. 60, gives the following dates for Vīramde:

Birth: V.S. 1534, Migsar, Sudī 14 (November 19, 1477).
Death: V.S. 1600, Kāṭī (October-November, 1543).

324 Cāraṇ (f. Cāraṇī): A person belonging to a jāti whose traditional occupation is the composition of poems and songs of praise in honor of heroes and rulers; a bard.

325 Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107).

326 Vās: the town or village of residence of an important man; the residential area or ward of a jāti or group within a town or village. To settle in someone’s vās meant to enter his service and place oneself under his protection.

327 Muthrājī: probably the large town Mathurā, located thirty miles northwest of Āgrā

328 Jāgīr (Persian): a technical term from the Mughal period designating an assignment of revenue on land based on moveable or prebendal tenure.

36. After Viramde died, the Meṛtīyos met and gave the throne to Rāṭhor Jaimal Viramdevot. The Pātsāhjī also gave [Jaimal] Meṛto in jāgīr. For ten years Rāṭhor Jaimal enjoyed Meṛto in peace.

37. For three years Rāv Mālde lived on the mountain of Pīplān during a period of distress. In 1546-47 the Sūr Pātsāh died. The Pātsāh's people who were the garrison in the fort of Jodhpur left the fort empty and went to Khavās Khān Masādalī. They went to Khavāspur. Back [in Jodhpur] the fort lay vacant. The Māḷīs of Māṇḍor received the news [that] the fort was vacant. Then the Māḷīs entered [the fort]. They sent the news to the Rāvījī at Pīplān.

---

329 The two sentences beginning with "once" and ending with jāgīr are found only in the kha ms.

330 Sher Shāh's death occurred on May 22, 1545, some one and one-half years after the conquest of Jodhpur. During this period, Rāv Mālde apparently went first to Sivānō, where he stayed in the fort and hills nearby, then travelled in southern Mārvār near Jālōr and Parbatsar collecting men and materials. Vigat, 2:252, states that Mālde lived for awhile on the large hill or mountain (vado bhākar) of Pīplān, a village four or five miles southwest of Sivānō, during the Muslim occupation of Jodhpur. While there, he had a fort and a tank, the Raytalav, constructed on the mountain. Ojhā, 4:1:308; Reu, 1:132, Vigat, 1:180; Vīr Vīnod, 2:811.

331 Vikho: a period of distress during which a Rajpūt must leave his homeland. A vikho may occur during a military occupation, as in Rāv Mālde's case, or because of local adversities such as famine. Implied in the term are confusion of order and rank, as Rajpūts without land may be forced to take up new occupations. For an extended discussion of the vikho, see Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service ...," pp. 112-126, and idem, "Some notes on Rajpūt Loyalties during the Mughal Period," in Kingship and Authority in South Asia, edited by John Richards (Publication no. 3, [Madison]: [Dept. of] South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978), pp. 236-237.

332 The date given in the text, V.S. 1603 (1546-47) is incorrect. Sher Shāh died in 1545.

333 Masādalī: a corruption of Masnad-i-‘Alī, "Throne of ‘Alī," a title held by a number of Sher Shāh's nobles, including Khawās Khān.

334 Khavāspur: the village Khuvāspuro of Meṛto Pargano, located forty-five miles northeast of Jodhpur. The Tārīkh-i-Šēr Sāhī, p. 657, states that Khawās Khān built a "city" called Khawāspuro near the fort of Jodhpur.

335 Māḷī (f. Māḷān/Māḷṇ): a person of the gardener jāṭī.

336 Māṇḍor: a town situated five miles north of Jodhpur. Māṇḍor was the original seat of Rāṭhor rule in Mārvār.
38. The Rāv came to the fort. Five or six years passed, then, on March 21, 1554, Rāv Mālde once again attacked Merto. A battle occurred between Jaimal and Rāv Mālde at the Kuṇḍal [Tank]. There was a twist of fate. The Rāvji lost the battle; Jaimal won.

**Vigat, 2:59**

The following sāth of the Rāvji’s died fighting:

1. Rāṭhor Prithīráj Jaitāvat.
2. Rāṭhor Dhano Bhārmalot.
3. Sindhaḷ Ūṅgarsī.
4. Paṅcolī Abho.
5. Sohar Pitho Jesāvat.

337 V.S. 1610, *Vaisākh, Vadi* 2, the date also given by "Aitihāsik Bāṭam," p. 48, Bānkīdās, p. 13, and Vigat, 1:59. The *kha* ms. gives the date V.S. 1610, *Vaisākh, Vadi* 12 (March 30, 1554). Other dates given for this battle are:

(a) Śrāvaṇādī V.S. 1610 (Caitrādī V.S. 1611), *Vaisākh, Sudi* 2 (April 4, 1554). *Jodhpur Rāṣṭra ki Khyāt,* p. 87; *Murārdān,* no. 2, p. 131; Ojhā, 4:1:316, no. 2.

(b) V.S. 1610. Reu, 1:134.

The Meṛṭiyos had formed an alliance with Rāṭhor Rāv Kalyāṇmal Jaitiyot (no. 46) of Bīkāner (ca. 1542-74) at this time, and he came to their aid during the battle. Ojhā, 4:1:315; *Vīṛ Vinod,* 2:811.

338 Kuṇḍal: an ancient tank in Meṛto. See Vigat, 2:38.

339 Jaitāvat Rāṭhor Prithīráj Jaitāvat (no. 63).

340 Bāḷāvat Rāṭhor Dhano Bhārmalot (no. 39).

341 Sindhaḷ Rāṭhor Ūṅgarsī (no. 133).

342 Paṅcolī Abho Jhājhāvat (no. 161), one of Rāv Mālde’s kāṁdārs.

343 Sohar Rāṭhor Pitho Jesāvat. Variant lists present this individual as "Pitho Jāgāvat" and Pitho Jāsvantot (see Bānkīdās, p. 13, and Vigat, 1:59, respectively). We have found no other information concerning Pitho. According to G. D. Sharma, the Sohar Rāṭhoṛs stem from Sohar, great-grandson of Dhāndhāl, son of Rāv Āsthān Śhāvat. Rāv Āsthān was the Rāṭhor ruler of Kheṛ, a village sixty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur, and the son of Śhō Sētāmōt (d. ca. 1273), the founding ancestor of the Māvāṛ Rāṭhoṛs. J. S. Gahlot states that Sōbat Salkhāvat, son of Salkhō Tiḍāvat, a fourteenth-century Rāṭhor ruler, was the progenitor of the Sohar Rāṭhoṛs. "Jodhpur Hukūmat rī Bahī," p. 145, no. 1; J. S. Gahlot, *MĀVRĀ kā SāNKSĪPT ITHĀS* (Jodhpur: Gahlot Bindery Works, n.d.), pp 81-82.
1. Rāṭhōṛ Nago Bhārmalot. 344
1. Rāṭhōṛ Jagmāl Udaikaraṇoṭ. 345
1. Cauhuvaṇ Megho. 346
1. Paṅcolīs Rato [and] Neto. 347
1. Rāṭhōṛ Sūjo Tejśīyot. 348

39. Six persons, Rāṭhōṛ Jaimal’s Rajputs, died fighting:

1. Rāṭhōṛ Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat. 349
1. Rāṭhōṛ Motō Jogāvat. 350
1. Rāṭhōṛ Narāṇḍās, [son] of Candraṇv. 351
1. Rāṭhōṛ Candraṇv, [son] of Jodh. 352
1. Rāvāṭ Sagto, [son] of Sāṅgo. 353
1. Rāṭhōṛ Sāṅgo, [son] of Bhojo. 354

40. In the year 1557, on January 24, 355 discord arose between Hājī Khān356 and Rāṇo357 Udaiśīṅg.358 Rāv Mālde helped Hājī Khān. He provided

344 Bāḷāvāṭ Rāṭhōṛ Nago Bhārmalot (no. 38).
345 Karamsot Rāṭhōṛ Jagmāl Udaikaraṇoṭ (no. 91).
346 Sācoro Cauhuvaṇ Megho Bhairavdāsot (no. 8).
347 The text has Rato and Neto; the kha ms. omits Neto. A variant list presents only Rato’s name. Rato (no. 163) and Neto (no. 162) were sons of Paṅcolī Abho Jāḥjāḥavat (no. 161; see n. 342 for Vigat, 2:59, supra).
348 The kha ms. presents this name as "Rāṭhōṛ Sūjo Netaśīṅhot"; another list gives "Rāṭhōṛ Sūjo Jaitsīṅhot" (Bāṅkādās, p. 13). The name is obscure, and we have not been able to trace it to a particular Rāṭhōṛ branch (sākh).
349 Jātmālōṭ Rāṭhōṛ Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat (no. 69).
350 Jātmālōṭ Rāṭhōṛ Motō Jogāvat (no. 79).
351 Jātmālōṭ Rāṭhōṛ Narāṇḍās Candraṇv (no. 75).
352 Jātmālōṭ Rāṭhōṛ Candraṇv Jodhāvāt (no. 74).
353 We have been unable to identify this Jātmālōṭ Rāṭhōṛ with certainty. Possibly he was the son of Jātmālōṭ Rāṭhōṛ Sāṅgo Bhojvāt, infra.
354 Jātmālōṭ Rāṭhōṛ Sāṅgo Bhojvāt (no. 77).
355 The date given is the date of the subsequent battle of Harmāṛo between Hājī Khān and Rāṇo Udaiśīṅg.

356 Hājī Khān was a noble of Sher Shāh Surī (see note 375 for Vigat, 2:60, infra).
1,500 horsemen: Rathor Devidās Jaitāvat, Rathor Jagmāl Vīramdevot, Rathor Jaitmāl Jēsaṅvat, Rathor Lakhmāṇ Bhadāvat--a large sāth--and sent [them to Hājī Khān]. On Rāṇo Udaiśingh's side also so many Hindūs--with some military servants [and] some sagos--came and assembled:

**Vigat, 2:60**

1. Rāṇo Udaiśingh.
1. Jaimāl Vīramdevot, Meṛṭīyo Rathor.
1. Rāvāḷ Pratāp, master of Vāṃsvālo.

---

357 Rāṇo: A title held by several Rajput rulers in middle period Rājasthān, including the Sīsodīyos of Mevār, the Rathors of Sīvānāo, the Sāṅkhalo Panvārs of Rūn, the Panbhārs of Manaḍor, and the Sōḍho Panvārs of Umarkot (in modern Sindh). Rāṇo is also a personal name (e.g., Rāṇo Akhairājot).

358 Sīsodīyo Gahlot Rāṇo Udaiśingh Sāṅgavat (no. 17), ruler of Mevār, ca. 1537-72.

359 Jaitāvat Rathor Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65).

360 Rāvāḷ: a title held by several Rajput rulers of middle period Rājasthān, including the Rathors of Mehevo, the Bhaṭīs of Jaisālmer, the Āhāro Gahlots of Dūṅgarpur, and the Āhāro Gahlots of Vāṃsvālo.

361 Maheco Rathor Rāvāḷ Meghrāj Hāpavat (no. 103), ruler of Mehevo (western Mārvār).

362 Meṛṭīyo Rathor Jagmāl Vīramdevot (no. 124).

363 Čampāvat Rathor Jaitmāl Jēsaṅvat (no. 49).

364 Akhairājot Rathor Lakhmāṇ Bhadāvat (no. 33).

365 Sago: a relation by marriage; one to whom one gives or from whom receives a daughter or daughters in marriage.

366 Āhāro Gahlot Rāvāḷ Pratāpsingh Jaisīṅghot (no. 12), ruler of Vāṃsvālo ca. 1550-79. The territory of Vāṃsvālo lies directly to the south of Mevār.

367 "Aitihasik Bāṭam," p. 51, calls this ruler "Rāvāḷ Rāmcand [of] Toḍo"; Bāṅkīdās, p. 14, refers to him as "Rāvāḷ Ramcandra of Toḍorī." Naiṅṣī (Khyaṭ, 1:280) notes that there were branches of the Solaṅkī Rathor family (kul) at both Toḍo (the Bāḷhāṅot Solaṅkī) and Toḍārī (the Mahilgot Solaṅkī). The title of rāv was held by the ruling lines of both branches. Naiṅsī’s genealogy of the Mahilgot branch does not include a Rāv Rāmcand, so perhaps he was a Bāḷhāṅot Solaṅkī from Toḍo, located sixty-five miles southwest of Ajmer, on the northeastern edge of Mevār. Toḍārī lies sixty miles southeast of Ajmer, near Tōnk City.
This battle occurred in Harmaro.\footnote{It occurred twelve kos from Ajmer.} Rāno Udaisīṅgh fled. Rāthor Tejśī Ąṅgārīyot\footnote{[and] Bālīso Sūjo Śaṃvatot,}
famous umrāvs of the Rāṇo's, died fighting. Bālīso Sūjo remained [on the battlefield, killed] by the hand of Rāṭhōr Devīdās Jaitāvāt. The Rāvijī's sāth was very noble. Hājī Khān won the battle. Rāv Māldejī had come and stayed in Jaitāraṇ in order to send forth this army. The news reached the Rāvijī: "The Rāṇo fled; Hājī Khān won."

41. The Rāvijī was preparing to go against Merto. Just then the Rāvijī's spies, who had gone to Merto, brought news: "Rāṭhōr Jaimal's men, who were vāsī Rajpūts, all fled during the night and went to the Rāṇo's territories or to Bīkāner [and] Dhundhār." The Rāvijī proceeded to Merto from Jaitāran on January 27, 1557. [His] authority was established there. Afterward the Rāvijī thoroughly despised the Mertiyōs. He knocked down the homes of the Mertiyōs, made a level field [of them], had [them] plowed under, and had radishes sown [there].

Vigat, 2:61

Afterward, in 1558-59, he had [the construction of] the Mālgadh begun. In 1560-61 it was completed. He kept a garrison—Rāṭhōr Devīdās Jaitāvāt with a great sāth—in the Mālgadh.

other things one of his dancing girls. Hājī Khān then appealed to Rāv Mālde for aid, promising Ajmer in return.

Rāv Mālde had captured the garrison of Bhaṅgesar from Hājī Khān's men left in Mārvār on the death of Sher Shāh in 1545. "Aitihāsik Bātām, p. 50; Akbar Nāma, 2:72; Bāṅkādās, p. 14; Ojhā, 4:1:319-320; Reu, 1:136-137; Tirmizi, Ajmer through Inscriptions, p. 12; Vigat, 1:63.

376 Uḍāvat Rāṭhōr Tejśī Ḍuṅgārīyot (no. 138).
377 Bālīso Cahuvaṇ Sūjo Sāṃvatot (no. 4).
378 Jaitāraṇ: a town located fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur.
379 Dhundhār: the name for the territory around Āmber and Jaipur.

380 January 27, 1557 = V.S. 1613, Phāguṇ, Vadi 12, the date preferred by Ojhā, 4:1:320, for Rāv Mālde's conquest of Merto, also given by Vigat, 1:60, and by Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāti, p. 89. Vigat, 1:65 and 2:60 have V.S. 1613, Phāguṇ, Sudi 12 = February 10, 1557.


382 Mūḷā bavārīyā. The radish is a symbol for anything worthless or good for nothing. Platts, Dictionary, p. 1094.

383 The name of this fort appears as both Mālgadh and Mālkot in the Vigat and other texts from this period. We have standardized the name in our translation, using
On July 28, 1559, he gave half of Meṛto [Pargano] to Rathor Jagmāl Vīramdevot in paṭo. A copy of this [paṭo]:

List:

Thirteen [villages including] Nīlīyāṁ:

1. Nīlīyāṁ.
1. Ītāvo.
1. Mheraṇi.
1. Goṭhīro.
2. Vās Makāmpā.
1. Barno.
1. Vāvālalo.
1. Niṭāri.

(The above document tore. I have had the [names of the] villages following below copied from another document.)

1. Rāhaṇ.
1. Hirādro.
1. Ākelī.
1. Cāndāruṇ.
1. Pālī.
1. Dhanāpo.
1. Khīndāvṛo.
1. Gonaṛro.
1. Pālī Sīndhaḷe.

1. Lāmbo.
1. Altavo.
1. Durgāvās.
1. Goṭhīṛi.
1. Vagāṛ.
1. Ghagharṇo.
1. Phālkō.
1. Bhīṃliyo.
1. Nathāvrō.
1. Bollo.
1. Kurlāi.

Mālgadh to avoid confusion. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 2:856-857, notes that the Mālgadh lies "about a gun-shot to the south-west of the town and encloses an area of a mile and a half."

384 There is general agreement on dates for the start and the completion of the Mālgadh fort in Meṛto. One source ("Aitihāśīk Bāṭāṁ, p. 52) gives a more detailed date for the start, March 1, 1558. *Bāṅkidās*, p. 15; Ojhā, 4:1:320; *Vigat*, 1:60.

385 The villages listed are shown on Maps 4A-B, "Paṭo of Meṛtiyo Jagmāl Vīramdevot, 1559." Problems of identification are discussed in Appendix C.

386 This sentence is a parenthetical remark by the copyist of the kha ms.
MAP 4A. PATO OF MERTIYO JAGMÄL VIRAMDEVOT, 1559
MAP 4B.

MAP 4B. PAŢO OF MĒRTĪYO JAGMĀL VĪRAMDEVOT, 1559

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
[Mälde] set up a second arrangement, given below, to which he had [Jagmāl] swear a devaco in the temple of Mahāmāya at Phalodh! He

387 Siyārī in the kha ms.

388 The numbers 58 and 71 are given in the text. Apparently the intent was to divide the villages into two groups: those connected with Nilīyām (13) and those not (58). However, only nine villages are in the Nilīyām group and sixty-one, not fifty-eight, are in the second group. Possibly some of these sixty-one should be included in the Nilīyām group. The grand total is seventy instead of seventy-one.

389 Mälde had made Meṛīyo Jagmāl Vīramdevot kiledār of the Meṛto fort (the Mālgaḍh) at the time he granted him the villages in pata (see B.N. no. 124 for Jagmāl). Devidās Jaitāvat served alongside Jagmāl as commander of the troops of the garrison.

390 Devaco: an oath sworn in the name of a god or goddess. Such an oath need not be sworn in a temple, although that is the case in this passage.

391 Mahāmāya: the transcendant power of illusion personified as the goddess Mahāmāya, who is also identified with Durgā. Margaret and James Stutley, Harper's Dictionary of Hinduism, p. 171.
swore [the *devaco*] in front of Kûmvar Candrasen, Mângliyo Vîram, Cahuvañ Jhâñjhan, and Pañcoli Neto.

*Vigat*, 2:63

He swore [the *devaco*] standing at the side of Râthôr Jâitmal Pañcâínôt and Purohit Bhânidâs. Jagmâl swore the *devaco* to the following arrangement:

1. He would never turn [his] back on the Râvijî or Kûmvar Candrasen.
2. [He] would not retain Râthôr Cândo Vîramdevot or Râthôr Vâgh Jagmâlot in [his] vâs.

---

392 Phalodhi: the village Phalodhi of Merto Pargano, situated nine miles northwest of Merto.

393 Candrasen Mâldevot, son of Râv Mâlde Gângâvat and ruler of Jodhpur, 1562-81.

394 Mângliyo Gahlot Vîram Devâvat (no. 14). Vîram held the position of *hujdâr* in Râv Mâlde's service.

395 Sacoro Cahuvañ Jhâñjhan Bhairavdâsot (no. 7).

396 Pañcoli Neto Abhâvat (no. 162), the son of Pañcoli Abho Jhajhâvat (no. 161), a kâmdâr of Râv Mâlde's. *Vigat*, 2:59, lists Pañcoli Neto as having been killed at the battle of Merto in 1554 against Meṛtiyo Râthôr Jaimal Vîramdevot, along with his father Abho and his brother Rato.

397 Meṛtiyo Râthôr Jâitmal Pañcâínôt (no. 127) was the son of Pañcâîn Dûdâvat and the grandson of Dûdô Jodhâvat.

398 The Brâhmaṇ Purohit Bhânidâs Tejslyot Sîva, to whom Meṛtiyo Râthôr Jagmâl Vîramdevot gave one-half of the village Câmvađîyo of Merto Pargano.

399 The text includes items 5-8 of our enumeration under Section no. 43. We have not included this section number in order to retain the unity of the passage.

400 The text has *na râkho* ("you won't retain"), an apparent misprint for *na râkhâi* ("he would not retain").

401 The text has *Râv*, but there is no other indication that Cândo ever held this title. Probably *Râv* is a mistake for *Ra*, the standard abbreviation for Râthôr.

402 Meṛtiyo Râthôr Cândo Vîramdevot (no. 123).

403 Meṛtiyo Râthôr Vâgh Jagmâlot (no. 125).
[3]. He would not retain any military servant of the Ṛavji's without orders.

[4]. The grain of [each] Mahājan who comes back [to Meṛto] has been buried; of this, three portions belong to [Mālde], one portion of the grain belongs to the owners of the grain.

[5]. [Each] Rajput of Jagmāl's now will reside in Meṛto; after one year, [conditions] being peaceful, he will go to the village of [his] paṭo and reside.

[6]. Māṅgliyo Vīram, a hujdār of [Ṛāv Mālde's], will stay in Meṛto.

[7]. Then the fort will come down. They will retain the moat. They will tear apart two tanks, the Kuṇṭāl [and] the Kukso.

[8]. [Mālde's] kāmdars will make a camp in the city and live [there].

(The name of the Kalyāṇsarpā Tank was Kukso).406

44. [Mālde's men] levelled the entire village of Meṛto; they made fields of the [former] rulers' homes. They had established a [new] settlement, a city near the Dorāṇī Nāḍī.408 [People] say [the old settlement] had become various ruins.409 They had given the city the name "Nava Nagar" ("New Town").

45. On February 10, 1557, Meṛto had come into the Ṛavji's hands. It stayed [his] for five years, one month, [and] three days.411 Subsequently, during

404 Mahājan: literally, "great man." The name of a division of the Vāṇīyo jāṭi; a grain merchant.

405 The subject of this and the following sentence is unspecified; presumably the Ṛāv's officials in the city are the agents.

406 A parenthetical remark inserted by the author or by the copyist.

407 Vāsvaṇo. Lālas, RSK, 4:2:4640, merely glosses this word as "a place to live." Vāṇo/vāṇaṇo is a fairly common noun in Middle Mārvārī, defined by Lālas, RSK, 4:2:4583, as: (1) "a collection of water-vessels kept on a vehicle for bringing water"; (2) "the method or act of bringing water by the above means." Possibly one could translate the sentence in the Vigat as "They had established a [new] settlement [and] water supply, a city near the Dorāṇī Nāḍī."

408 Nāḍī: a small tank.

409 The text has vaik, evidently a misprint for kaik ("several," "various").

410 February 10, 1557 = V.S. 1613, Phāguṇ, Sudi 12, the date also given by Vigat, 1:65. Concerning the date of Ṛāv Mālde's conquest of Meṛto, see n. 380, supra.
the year 1562, Rāṭhor Jaimal Vāramdevot went to the *dargāḥ* again. The Pātsāhjī
gave [him] Meṛto. He sent in aid the Mughal Saraphdin with 7,000 horse. The Rāvji
received the news [that] the Pātsāh's army was approaching. Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvāt always stayed at the garrison in the Mālgadh of Meṛto. Upon [receiving] the news [of the advancing army], the Rāvji sent Kuṁvar Candrasen, Rāṭhor Prithīrāj Kūmpāvāt, Sonagaro Mānsīṅgh, Rāṭhor Sāṁvaldās, and an additional sāth, along with 2,000 horsemen.

*Vigat, 2:64*

[Mālde] said [to them]: "If you see some opportunity for a [successful] battle, then you should do battle. If not, then take Rāṭhor Devīdās [with you] and come [back] here." These thākurs came to Meṛto. The Pātsāhjī's army was powerful; they moved the camp back. Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvāt, along with a large sāth, turned around and entered the Mālgadh. The Mughals and Jaimal came and camped, besieging the Mālgadh. Kuṁvar Candrasen's camp was [at Sātalvās and Indāvar]. Sāṁvaldās came back [to Meṛto from there] and fell upon the

---

411 According to Ojha, 4:1:320, Rāv Mālde captured Meṛto from Jaimal Vāramdevot on V.S. 1613, *Phāguṇ, Vadi* 12 = January 27, 1557, and held it until shortly after the beginning of Akbar's seventh regnal year, which began on March 11, 1562. See also *Akbar Nāma*, 2:247.

412 The Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1603).

413 Mīrzā Sharafu’d-Dīn Ḥusayn, a descendant of Timur through his mother and hence a very distant relation of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. He was an important noble of Akbar's, acquiring a rank of 5,000 in Mughal service. In 1560, Akbar gave Sharafu’d-Dīn his sister Bakhshi Banu Begum in marriage and made him governor of Ajmer and Nāgaur, a position he held at the time of the Mughal attack on Meṛto. *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, 1:339-340, *Akbar Nāma*, 2:196-197.

414 Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor Prithīrāj Kūmpāvat (no. 97).

415 Sonagaro Cahuvari Mānsīṅgh Akhairājot (no. 10).

416 Varsiṅhot Meṛṭyio Rāṭhor Sāṁvaldās Udaisṅhot (no. 152).

417 *Gam*: probably from the Sanskrit word *gama*, "a going," "a course," "a road," and by extension, "a way," "a chance," "an opportunity."

418 *Akbar Nāma*, 2:248, notes that the Rajpūt force was about 500 warriors.

419 I.e., Devīdās refused to take part in the retreat; he turned around and entered the Mālgadh in order to confront the Mughals.

420 This sentence, literally "Candrasen's camp became/was," is incomplete. *Aitihāsik Patām*, p. 53, states that Candrasen moved the camp back to Sātalvās and Indāvar.
[Mughal] camp. 421 [He and his men] killed a hundred Mughals. Sāṃvaldās's leg was struck by a weapon. Then Rāṭhōṛ Sāṃvaldās's Rajpūts took [him] and left [the battlefield]. Rāṭhōṛ Jaimal [and] Saraphḍān rode after [them]. They caught up to [them] after coming fourteen kos. 422 There Sāṃvaldās turned around [to face them] and died fighting in noble fashion.

46. [The Mughals] besieged the Māḷḍāḍ. There were assaults 424 [on the fort]. Rāv Māḷḍē's letters were continually coming to Devīdās, [saying]: "You certainly are making a name for yourself, [but] you are causing the loss of my thākurāś." 425 [The Mughals] besieged the fort on January 27, 1562. 426 A tower exploded from a mine. 427 So Rāṭhōṛ Devīdās made a pact with the villages lying within four miles of each other and four and eight miles respectively to the southwest of Meṛto.

421 Once again the account in "Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," pp. 53-54, is more detailed. This source states that Sāṃvaldās remained behind after Candrasen had gone back to Jodhpur and carried out a night attack on the Mughal army surrounding Meṛto.

422 According to "Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 54, Sāṃvaldās proceeded in the direction of Reyāṃ village, located fifteen or sixteen miles southeast of Meṛto. It was near this village that the battle took place.

423 Val nai in the kha ms. is preferable to nai in the text.


425 Thākurāś: the quality or essence of a thākur; rulership, sovereignty, authority, kingdom, domain.

426 January 27, 1562 = V.S. 1618, Phāṅguṇ, Vadi 7 (see also Jodhpur Rājaḷī kī Khyāt, p. 92). Apparently the siege began on this date ("Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 55, give the alternate date V.S. 1619, Phāṅguṇ, Vadi Amāvas = February 22, 1563, which is incorrect). Mughal operations against Meṛto ended with the annihilation of Rāv Māḷḍē's sāṭh under the command of Devīdās Jaitāvāṭ near Sāṭāḷvāḍ near V.S. 1618, Cait, Sudi 15 = March 20, 1562, a date given by several sources, including Bāṅkīḍās, p. 17 (twice), and Vīgat, 1:61, 2:65-66. Variant dates include: V.S. 1618, Cait, Sudi 2 = March 7, 1562 (Jodhpur Rājaḷī kī Khyāt, p. 92); V.S. 1618, Cait, Sudi 5 = March 10, 1562 (Bāṅkīḍās, p. 16); V.S. 1619 Cait, Sudi 2 = March 7, 1562, Caitrāḍī reckoning, or March 26, 1563, Śṛvāṇāḍī reckoning ("Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 55); V.S. 1619, Cait, Sudi 5 = March 29, 1563, Śṛvāṇāḍī reckoning (Vīgat, 1:61, n. 3); V.S. 1619, Cait, Sudi 15 = March 20, 1562, Caitrāḍī reckoning, or April 8, 1563, Śṛvāṇāḍī reckoning ("Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 55).

427 Sābāṭ (Arabic sābāṭ): a covered approachway protecting the besiegers attempting to mine the towers or walls of a fortress; a mine. Akbar Nāma, 2:248-249, gives the following description of the Mughal advance and their attack on the fort at Meṛto:

When the army of victory arrived at the town the soldiers travel-stained as they were and with their swift coursers all in a sweat donned the armour of endeavor and upreared the flag of daring and without hesitation advanced to
Mughals and withdrew from [the fort].\(^{428}\) The Mughal Saraphdîn [and] Râthôr Jaimal were seated on the \textit{khândho}\(^{429}\) of the main gate [of the fort]. A footsoldier was in front of \(^{430}\) Râthôr Devidâs. In his hands was a gun,\(^{431}\) a personal possession of the Râvji's. A Mughal laid [his] hands on it. Devidâs had a \textit{kariyâlî} stick\(^{432}\) in [his] hands; he struck [the Mughal] a blow on the head with the stick near Râthôr Jaimal [and] Saraphdîn. [The Mughal's] brains gushed out and ran down toward [his] nose. Râthôr Jaimal said to Saraphdîn: "Devidâs is leaving [the fort] through the door of \textit{dharma},\(^{433}\) [as] you saw well.\(^{434}\)

\(^{428}\) Both Jâgmâl Viramdevot and Devidâs Jaitâvat made an agreement with the Mughals after much deliberation to relinquish the fort and leave all property behind. Jâgmâl did leave with a small contingent, while Devidâs set fire to the property and emerged from the fort with several hundred Rajputs to confront the Mughal army.

\(^{429}\) \textit{Khândho}: a wall standing out from the main wall and blocking or covering the main gate of a fort in order to shelter the entrance from direct attack.

\(^{430}\) \textit{Devidâs rai moñdai āgai}: literally, "before the face of Devidâs." One could also translate this fragment as "under Devidâs's supervision."

\(^{431}\) The text has \textit{bardukh}; the \textit{kha} ms. \textit{bandakî}. The correct reading probably should be \textit{bandukh}, a Middle Mârvârî form of the Arabic word \textit{bandûq}, "gun."

\(^{432}\) \textit{Kariyâlî gedî} in the \textit{kha} ms. is preferable to \textit{kariyâ lâgai} in the text. A \textit{kariyâlî} stick was a type of wooden stick banded with metal rings (\textit{kârî}).

Saraphdīn said: "I saw!" Jaimal began to speak: "He is not the sort of Rajpūt who abandons a fort and goes away, but Rāv Mālde was telling him: 'You are causing the loss of my domain.' [Devidās] is going unwillingly. If he reached Jodhpur, he would get Rāv Mālde and attack [us] during the night." 435

Vigat, 2:65

47. Saying these things took time. In the interim Rāṭhor Devidās went 200 paces. Then Saraphdīn said to Jaimal: "What should be done?" Jaimal said: "If you wish [to preserve] our safety, then catch up to Devidās from behind and kill him." 436 Then the kettledrum was struck. 437 Rāṭhor Jaimal [and] Mughal Saraphdīn rode after [Devidās]. Devidās and the Rāv's sāth, hearing the striking of the kettledrum, turned around and stood waiting [for Jaimal and Saraphdīn]. A battle occurred on this side of Sātalvas 438 on March 20, 1562. A list of the Rāv's sāth that died fighting, as follows: 439

1. Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat, in [his] thirty-fifth year. 440

1920), 2:1006; Vigat, 2:219. The connotation is not quite honorable, as the remark by Jaimal following in the text indicates.

434 The reading ṛūpā dīthā in the kha ms. is preferable to uḍdoge (?) in the text.

435 Rāv Mālde num rāṭ āpār āpar āvī: literally, "he would catch up to Rāv Mālde and attack during the night."

436 The Akbar Nāma, 2:249, notes that Rāṭhor Jaimal Viṛamdevot and other Rajpūts present with the Mughals had an old quarrel with Devidās Jaitāvat and the Rajpūts of the garrison (perhaps a reference to Devidās's participation in the battle of Harmāro and the subsequent occupation of Meṛto). After Devidās burned the property of the fort (see n. 428 to Vigat, 2:64, supra), they considered the agreement with the Mughals broken and urged the Mughals to attack.

437 Tarai nagāro huo. Nagāro hono is a synonym for nagāro vajno, "kettledrum to be struck." The kettledrum was struck to announce the commencement of battle or attack.

438 Sātalvas: a village located four miles southwest of Meṛto. Reu, 1:140, mentions that the battle took place between Meṛto and the village of Sogāvas [Sodhāvas], located one mile due west of Meṛto.

439 The chronicles contain lists of varying length and completeness regarding those Rajpūts who died at the battle of Sātalvas. For a composite list, see Appendix B.

440 The Akbar Nāma contains a story about Devidās that also appears in the khyāt literature about this Rajpūt. This story relates that Devidās was indeed not killed at Meṛto, but only wounded, and that he survived and appeared locally some ten to twelve years later in the dress of a wandering holy man. See B.N., no. 65. "Aitihāsik Bātam," pp. 83-84; Akbar Nāma, 2:250. "Bai Ṛāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat H.," in Aitihāsik
1. Rathor Bhakharsí Jaitávat. 441
1. Rathor Púrańmal, [son] of Prithíraj Jaitávat. 442
1. Rathor Tejsí, [son] of Urjan Pańcáiñot. 443
1. Rathor Isardás, [son] of Ráno Akhairajot. 444
1. Rathor Goind, [son] of Ráno Akhairajot. 445
1. Rathor Pato, [son] of Kúmpo Mahirajot. 446
1. Rathor Bhān, [son] of Bhojrāj, [who was the son] of Sádo Rúpāvat. 447
1. Rathor Amro Rámañvat. 448
1. Rathor Netsí Sihávat. 449
1. Rathor Jaimal Tejsíyot. 450
1. Rathor Rámno Bhairavdásot. 451
1. Rathor Bhákharsí Dúngarsíyot. 452
1. Rathor Aclo Bhāñot. 453
1. Rathor Mahes Pańcáiñot. 454

_Tavārīkhvār Vārtā_ (MS no. 1234, Rājasthānī Śodh Saṃsthan, Caupāsni), ff. 71-74; Reu, 1:139, n. 2.

441 Jaitávat Rathor Bhákharsí Jaitávat (no. 66).
442 Jaitávat Rathor Púrańmal Prithírajot (no. 64).
443 Akhairajot Rathor Tejsí Urjanot (no. 34).
444 Akhairajot Rathor Isardás Ráñávat (no. 30).
445 Akhairajot Rathor Goind Ráñávat (no. 29).
446 Kúmpāvat Rathor Pato Kúmpāvat (no. 96).
447 Rínmalot Rathor Bhān Bhojrājot (no. 130). _Rűpāvat_ in the _kha_ ms. is preferable to _Kűmpāvat_ in the text.
448 Cämpāvat Rathor Amro Rámañvat (no. 51).
449 Akhairajot Rathor Netsí Sihávat (no. 36). _Bānkīdās_, p. 16, lists him as Tejsí Sihávat, and on p. 17, has Netsí Sódāvat.
450 We have been unable to identify this Rathor with any certainty. He is listed as Jaimal Jaitsíyot in the _kha_ ms.
451 Cämpāvat Rathor Rámno Bhairavdásot (no. 50).
452 Jodho Rathor Bhákharsí Dúngarsíyot (no. 81).
453 We have been unable to identify this Rathor with certainty. He probably was the son of Bhān Bhojrājot (see n. 447, _supra_).
Vigat, 2:66

1. Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhōṛ Jaitmāl, [son] of Paṅcāṅ Dūḍāvat.\[455\]
1. Rāṭhōṛ Rindhīr Rāyśinghōt.\[456\]
1. Rāṭhōṛ Sāṅgo Rindhīrōt.\[457\]
1. Rāṭhōṛ Īsār Ghaṛṣīyōt.\[458\]
1. Rāṭhōṛ Rāṅo Jagnāthōt.\[459\]
1. Bhāṭī Pirāg Bhāṛmalōt.\[460\]
1. Maṃgliyo Dedo.\[461\]
1. Rāṭhōṛ Mahēs Ghaṛṣīyōt.\[462\]
1. Rāṭhōṛ Rājśingh Ghaṛṣīyōt.\[463\]
1. Maṃgliyo Vīrōṭ.\[464\]
1. Sāṅkhlo Tejśi.\[465\]
1. Bhāṭī Tilōkśi.\[466\]

---

455 Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhōṛ Jaitmāl Paṅcāṅ (no. 127).

456 This Rāṭhōṛ is listed as Rindhīr Rāysalōt in the kha ms. Vigat, 1:62, says that he was a military servant of Meṛṭīyo Jagmāl Vīrmdevōt. We have been unable to identify him with certainty.

457 This Rāṭhōṛ probably was the son of Rindhīr Rāyśinghōt (see no. 456, supra).

458 Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ Īsār Ghaṛṣīyōt (no. 57). The identity of this Rajpūṭ is uncertain, but he appears to be the brother of Rāṭhōṛ Mahēs Ghaṛṣīyōt, infra.

459 We have been unable to identify this Rāṭhōṛ.

460 Bhāṭī Pirāg Bhāṛmalōt was the son of Bhāṛmal Jeaśāvt, a descendant of Rāvāl Dūḍō of Jaisalmēr (early fourteenth century). Khvāt, 2:66, states that Pūno, Rāvāl Dūḍō’s grandson, died fighting in a battle at Cāṅg village during the time of Rāv Rīṁmal of Maṅḍor (ca. 1427-38). Subsequently the family of Puno’s son, Jaitō, became military servants in the service of Jodhpur. Pirāg Bhāṛmalōt was fifth in descent from Jaitō. Vigat, 1:62, also lists Pirāg among those killed at Sātalvās.

461 Maṃgliyo Gahlot Dedo (no. 13).

462 Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ Mahēs Ghaṛṣīyōt (no. 58).

463 Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ Rājśingh Ghaṛṣīyōt (no. 59).

464 Maṃgliyo Gahlot Vīrōṭ Devāvat (no. 14).

465 Sāṅkhlo Paṃvār Tejśi Bhojāvat (no. 27).
1. Bhāṭī Pitho. The term Turk (Turak) was used in seventeenth century texts from Mārvār to indicate a Muslim soldier, not necessarily one of Turkish extraction (for example, even Rajputs who converted to Islam were called "Turks"). Cf. Khyāt, 1:89. We have no information concerning Hamjo.

2. Bārḥaṭhs: 1. Jālap. 1. Jīvo. 1. Colo. We have no additional information concerning these three Carāṇs.

3. A Turk, Hamjo. We have no additional information concerning Hamjo.

467 Jeso BhatlPTtho Anandot (no. 1).

468 We have no additional information concerning these three Carāṇs.

469 The term Turk (Turak) was used in seventeenth century texts from Mārvār to indicate a Muslim soldier, not necessarily one of Turkish extraction (for example, even Rajputs who converted to Islam were called "Turks"). Cf. Khyāt, 1:89. We have no information concerning Hamjo.

470 Sutrār (f. Sutrārī/Sutārī): a carpenter. We have no additional information concerning Bhāṇidās.

471 Rāv Māldevot's date of death, V.S. 1619, Kāṭī, Sudi 12 = November 7, 1562 is generally agreed upon as given in the text. Vīgat, 1:42, says that he ruled thirty-one years. Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 76; Ojhā, 4:1:325; Reu, 1:141; Vīgat, 1:42. . Bāṅkidas, p. 18, has V.S. 1619, Kāṭī, Sudi 15 = November 10, 1562.

472 Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81) was Rāv Māldev's chosen successor. According to most sources, he ascended the throne of Jodhpur on December 31, 1562 (V.S. 1619, Pos, Sudi 6). "Aitihasik Bāṭāṁ," p. 78; Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 104; Ojhā, 4:1:332-333. Bāṅkidas, p. 20, has V.S. 1618, Pos, Sudi 6 = December 12, 1561 (incorrect); Reu, 1:148, gives the date November 11, 1562 (V.S. 1619, Mrgrsar, Vadi 1).

473 Grāsiyo: a holder of a share of land (grās); a bandit, a robber. Though chosen successor of Rāv Māldev, Rāv Candrasen was not unanimously accepted as ruler of Jodhpur. Factions quickly developed around Candrasen's elder uterine brother, Udāisingh (later the Moto Rājā of Jodhpur, 1583-95), who held Phalodhl in northern Mārvār in poto from Rāv Māldev (confirmed at Candrasen's accession), and Rām Māldevot, an elder half-brother whom Rāv Māldev had banished from Mārvār, and who coveted rulership over Sojhat. Upon accession, Candrasen held just the three areas of Sojhat, Jodhpur proper, and Jaitaran. Jaitaran was then under the Udāvat Rāṭḥors, who were military servants of the Jodhpur rulers. The presence of the Mughals and their intervention locally added much to the confusion and turmoil. Rām Māldevot shortly thereafter received Sojhat from the Mughals and consolidated his control there with their assistance. "Aitihasik Bāṭāṁ," pp. 78-79; Bāṅkidas, pp. 20-21; Murārāṇ, no. 2, pp. 154-158, 176; Vīgat, 1:67-68.

474 Jor Idgd: literally, "were forcefully fastened/attached [to him]."
On March 20, 1562, Rathor Devdas Jaitavat died fighting. Very soon thereafter Rav Malde passed away. Jaimal enjoyed [the rule of] Merto, which he had obtained from the Patsah. 476

Vigat, 2:67

Rathor Vithaldas Jaimalot 477 was doing military service at the dargah. With Rathor Jaimal [ruling] in Merto, the Mughal Saraphdin, having finished up the business involving Rathor Devidas, quickly went to the dargah. There was much affection between Jaimal and Saraphdin. While [Saraphdin] was there, 478 he did much to tend to the personal affairs of Jaimal. 479 As he was doing so, an offense of Saraphdin's came to the attention of the Patsah. 480 Saraphdin fled

475 Rinmal: in the broadest sense, any Rathor descended from Rav Rinmal, ruler of Manдор, ca. 1427-38. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the term Rinmal had come to indicate those Rathors who did not fall within a more restrictive classification, such as Jodho, Merthyo, etc. See Vol. 2 under "Rinmalot Rathors" for an extended discussion.

476 Literally, "from the Patsah's side" (Patsāhī tarap).

477 Meṛthyo Rathor Vithaldas Jaimalot (no. 117). Vithaldas was Jaimal Viramdevot's son.

478 "There" (uthai) refers to the Mughal court.

479 "He did much to tend to the personal affairs of Jaimal" is a conjectural translation of Jaimal ro khasmaṇo ... ghaṇo karai chai. Khasmaṇo is not to be found in either Lālas's or Sākariya's dictionary; it is perhaps derived from the Arabic word khashmaṇa: "inimically; --like a good husband; economically; attending to domestic affairs; husbanding; --s.m. housewifery." Platts, Dictionary, p. 490.

480 Literally, "a defect/fault (khāmī) in Saraphdin came to the Patsah's side." Khāmī is from the Persian word khamī, "rawness, unripeness, immaturity; inexperience; imperfection, defect, fault." Ibid., p. 485.

With the victory over Devidas Jaitavat, Meṛto and portions adjacent came under Mīrzā Sharafo’d-Dīn's control. Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot held Meṛto in jāgīr at this time with his approval. According to the Ā'in-i-Akbari, the Mīrzā rebelled shortly after his return to Agra with Akbar, after the conquest of Meṛto and shortly after his own father had come to Agra and been received with great honor by Akbar. The Mīrzā's father, Khwāja Mu'nīn, had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca. There was strain in the relationship between father and son, and the Mīrzā is said to have been suspicious of danger to himself, particularly after the fine welcome Akbar had given the Khwāja. Mīrzā Sharafo’d-Dīn fled Agra in October of 1562, going first to Ajmer and Nāgaur, his jāgīrs, and then on to southern Mārvār (Jālōr) and Gujarāt. In Gujarāt, he remained for some time with a Gujarati noble, Changiz Khān, and then joined the rebellion of the Mīrzās against Akbar in 1572-73.

When Mīrzā Sharafo’d-Dīn rebelled, Akbar appointed Husayn Qutb Khān jāgīrdar in his place and sent him to Nāgaur. The Mīrzā left Ajmer under the control of...
from there; he brought Rāthor Viṭhaḷdās with him. Saraphḍin camped at the Dāṅgoḷāi.\(^{481}\) Rāthor Viṭhaḷdās abruptly came to where Jaimal was seated in the darbār and remained standing. He [then] touched the feet [of Jaimal].\(^{482}\) Jaimal, observing [Viṭhaḷdās], grew worried. Quickly he rose from the darbār, went into the mahal,\(^{483}\) and asked [Viṭhaḷdās]: "Why have you come?" Then Viṭhaḷdās told Jaimal in detail the news of Saraphḍin.\(^{484}\) Jaimal said: "You did wrong." [Viṭhaḷdās] said: "It [was] unavoidable. There was no remedy [for what happened]." Then [Jaimal] asked: "Where is Saraphḍin?" [Viṭhaḷdās] said: "He is camped\(^{485}\) at the Dāṅgoḷāi." Jaimal went and met with Saraphḍin.

They conversed. [Saraphḍin] said: "My men are in Nāgaur; send for them quickly."

50. Then Jaimal provided Rāthor Sādūḷ Jaimalot\(^{486}\) with a small sāth and also a few military servants of Saraphḍin's and sent them to Nāgaur. They went [there], took [Saraphḍin's] men from the fort, and sent [them] off. Sādūḷ was coming behind [them]; meanwhile, the Pātsāh's ahadhī\(^{487}\) ran up from the post-station. They brought a pharmān\(^{488}\) to a certain jāgīrdār\(^{489}\) in Nāgaur:


\(^{481}\) Dāṅgoḷāi: a tank near Dāṅgāvās, one of the three original wards (vās) of Meṛto town. See n. 30 to Vigat, 2:39, supra.

\(^{482}\) Page lāṅgo: to touch the feet [of someone], to show subordination [to someone].

\(^{483}\) Mahal (Arabic maḥall): residence, palace; room or chamber of the residence of an important man; the wife or consort of a noble.

\(^{484}\) Saraphḍin ro uvāko. Uvāko probably is derived from the Arabic wāqīʿa, "news," "intelligence."

\(^{485}\) Literally, "seated" (baitho).

\(^{486}\) Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Jaimalot (no. 108). Sādūḷ was Jaimal's son.

\(^{487}\) Ahadhī (Arabic aḥadi): literally, "single man." A soldier under the Mughal Emperor Akbar's immediate orders who was paid in cash and held no jāgīr. Āʾin-ī-Akbarī, 1:20, 255.

\(^{488}\) Pharmān (Persian farmān): a royal decree, directive, or writ, issued to a subordinate from the hands of the Emperor only and requiring (under the Mughals) his seal for validity.

\(^{489}\) Jāgīrdār (Persian): the holder of an assignment of revenue on land (jāgīr) during the Mughal period. This particular jāgīrdār perhaps was Husayn Qull Khan, assigned Nāgaur after the flight of Sharaḍuḍ-Dīn (see n. 480 to Vigat, 2:67, supra).
"Saraphdīn has fled; Saraphdīn's men [in Nāgaur] cannot go." [The jāgīrdār], a mansabdār, rode after [them] with two to four hundred horsemen. He caught up to [them] going into Mērtō. Saraphdīn's men reached Mērtō safely. Rāv Sādūl Jaimalot was going along a fraction of a kos behind [them]. [The jāgīrdār and his horsemen] killed Sādūl along with forty [of his] men and turned back. Rāv Jaimal quickly gave leave to Saraphdīn. [Saraphdīn] perceived Rāṭhōr Jaimal's thoughts:

\[\text{Vigat, 2:68}\]

"My breach with the Pātsāh is complete. First, Vīṭhālādās left and came from the dargāh with Saraphdīn; next, Sādūl was killed in this way. There is no [safe] place left to talk [in Mērtō]."

51. In 1562-63 Jaimal went to Mevāṛ, abandoning Mērtō without a fight. The Rāṇō gave [him] Vadhnor. Afterward, on February 23, 1568, Akbar Pātsāh attacked Cīṭor. Rāṭhōr Jaimal died fighting then. Cāraṇs,

---

490 Mansabdār (Arabic manṣāb plus the Persian suffix -dār): the holder of a mansab in the Mughal service. The term mansab (literally, "post," "office") designated a military rank and an office in the administrative service of the Mughal Empire. The rank consisted of both a personal or jāt (Arabic zū) rank, which marked the status of a person among the nobles of the Empire, and a trooper or asvār (Persian suwar) rank, indicating the number of cavalrymen and horses an official or mansabdār was to maintain. All persons within the administrative system of the Empire were graded according to this rank order and given either military or civilian responsibilities. Payment on the basis of rank for duties performed was either in cash (naqda) or by an assignment of revenue on land (jāgīr).

491 The text has Rāv, but this may be a mistake for Rā.,. No other source indicates Sādūl held the title of Rāv.

492 Literally, "with the Pātsāh's side" (Pātsāhī taraph thā).

493 Marāṇo in the text evidently is a mistake for mārāṇo ("was killed"), a perfect passive participle.

494 Śīsodīyā Gaḥlot Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh Sāṅgāvat (no. 17), ruler of Mevāṛ ca. 1537-72.

495 Vadhnor: a northern district of Mevāṛ with its headquarters at the town of the same name, located forty-seven miles south-southwest of Ajmer.

496 Ojḥā notes that Akbar reached the plain before Cīṭor and encamped on October 23, 1567, and soon thereafter ordered the investment of the fort. Smith states that Akbar formed his camp on October 20 and completed his investment of the fort in the course of a month. The date given in the text, February 23, 1568, is in fact the date of Jaimal Viramdevot's death. While directing operations to mine the walls of Cīṭor, Akbar noticed a man dressed in a chief's cuirass standing at the breach in the wall and shot him. This man was Jaimal, who died from the wound. Ojḥā and Vīr Vinod assert that he was shot in the leg and died shortly thereafter; A. L. Silvāvā Ṛāṭhāvā Ṛāṭhāvā maintains that Jaimal...
servants of the Mértiyos, say [that] Jaimal had gone to Citor from Vadhnor with 500 men. The five hundred men, of various sâkhs, had gone up into the fort. Their [Carans] speak as follows: "Jaimal died fighting with the five hundred men, but [just] 200 men of Jaimal's, Jaimal's sâth, died fighting; [some of the other 300] men who also died fighting were Jaimâl Râthors, great Rajpûts of [the Mértiyos]."

52. An account of Saraphdîn's becoming estranged from the dargâh: The Pâtsâh's mother had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had sent Saraphdîn with the begam. There [in Mecca] a woman would have a viewing of the pûrs [only] if she "tied the edges" with a man, otherwise the mujâvar was killed instantly and that Ojha and Vir Vinod are categorically wrong, but he does not indicate specifically where he learned otherwise. Jaimal's death much weakened the resistance of the Rajputs against the Mughals.

Jaimal Viramdevot died at Citor along with his brother, Ísardâs Viramdevot, and two close paternal relations, Mértiyô Rûspî Surjanot and Mértiyô Karamcand Râysalot. By all standards, Citor was an extremely bloody victory for the Mughals. In addition to some 8,000 Rajpûts and 1,000 musketeers, over 40,000 peasants and servants attached to the fort and the soldiers were killed in the battle. Murârdân, no. 2, pp. 461-462, 507, 568, 572; Ojhâ, 2:727-728; V. A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, 1542-1605 (second edition, 1927; reprint edition, Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1966), p. 63; A. L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, vol. 1, Political History: 1542-1605 A.D. (second edition, Agra: Shîva Lala Agarwalla & Co., 1972), pp. 108-109; Tripathi, The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 205; Vir Vinod, 2:80, 82.

497 There is a gap in the text; we have supplied what seems to be a reasonable replacement for the missing words.

498 For the rebellion of Sharafu’d-Dîn, see n. 480 to Vigat, 2:67, supra. The story given here is probably a good example of the inevitably garbled chain of communication, for it was the Mîrzâ’s father who had gone to Mecca and returned and who was close to Akbar. He has apparently become confused somehow with Akbar’s mother in this story.


500 Darsan: a respectful glimpse or viewing of someone or something.

501 Pûr (Persian): an old man; a saint; a spiritual guide.

502 Cheřo: the upper edge of a woman’s sari. The editor of the Vigat, N. S. Bhâṭî, remarks (n. 5) that the edge of the wife’s sari was tied to the husband’s shoulder in order that the two might make a request of a devâtâ together, and he suggests that this custom is still current in Râjâsthân. It is not known whether or not this was a custom among Muslims in the Mughal period, however.

503 Mujâvar (Arabic mujâwir): the attendant at a Muslim shrine or mosque.
would not have [her] perform the viewing. The *begam* said to Saraphdīn: "You tie the edges with me." He objected very much, but the *begam*, the Pāṭsāh's mother, tied the edges [of her garment] to [his] headdress and they made the pilgrimage. They came [back]. The Pāṭsāh, who for some time disfavored [Saraphdīn], conspired against [him]. The Pāṭsāhīji was highly displeased [with Saraphdīn]. He began to speak: "First he was my slave; now he has become my father. Summon [him] from wherever he is and tell [him] I will behead [him]." Saraphdīn's agent at court wrote and sent Saraphdīn this information. For this reason Saraphdīn fled.

**Vigat, 2:69**

53. Rāṭhor Jaimal himself went with Saraphdīn as far as Sīrōhī in order to have him reach [there safely]. He told [his] ḍhāṭbandh back [in Meṛto]: "All of you must take the *vasī*, go to the lowland of Vadhnor, and stay [there]." Jaimal, returning [from Sīrōhī], came to Vadhnor via Bārāl. Rāṇo Udainsīngh also had come [near Vadhnor] in the direction of the mountains of Rūjpī [village] to hunt. He approached Jaimal, showed [him] favor, gave [him] Vadhnor, Karhērā, [and] Koṭhāṛīyō [in grant], and retained [him] in his vās, [Cītōr]. Rāṭhor Jaimal died fighting in Cītōr. There occurred a period of distress in the land for the Rāṇo. The Rāṇo had given Rāṭhors Surtān [and] Kesodās the fort Bor on a mountain three kos from the village Rūjpī.

---

504 Lāḷas, *RSK*, 3:3:3655, interprets *māṇḍ* in this sentence as a variant of *maur*, "headdress." But it might be a variant of *māṇḍaṃ*, "with force," "forcefully." If so, the translation would be as follows: "He objected very much, but the *begam*, the Pāṭsāh's mother, forced [him] to tie the edges and they made the pilgrimage."

505 I.e., by tying edges with Akbar's mother, he usurped the father's role.

506 Sīrōhī: a town ninety-five miles south of Jodhpur.

507 Literally, "come."

508 Bārāl: we have been unable to locate this village on modern maps of Mevrā.

509 Rūjpī: the village Rūpnagar, located fifty miles north-northwest of Udaipur.

510 Karhērā: a town forty-five miles north-northeast of Udaipur.


512 Meṛṭīyō Rāṭhor Surtān Jaimalot (no. 113), son of Jaimal Vīramdevot. The text has Surtān Kesodāsot, but this is a mistake. Kesodās was Surtān's half-brother.

513 Meṛṭīyō Rāṭhor Kesodās Jaimalot (no. 119), son of Jaimal Vīramdevot.

514 The fort Bor is located five miles east of Rūjpī and forty-seven miles north of Udaipur.
Their vast remained there for some time. The Śrī Catarbhujji Temple, [which] the Mertlyos had constructed, is there.

54. Four or five years thereafter, Rāṭhōṛ Jaimal's sons, Rāṭhōṛ Surtāṇ and Kesodās, went to the dargāh. The Patsāḥ [The Pātsāḥ] did not give them Meṛto right away. For a while the Patsāḥji gave Rāṭhōṛ Surtāṇ Jaimalot the pargano of Malāṛṇo near Rīṁthambhor in jāgīr [tenure]. While [the Meṛtīyos] were staying in Malāṛṇo [Pargano], a fight broke out with bhomiyoś living there [who were] kiledārs living in the main town (kasbo). Rāṭhōṛ Surtāṇ's servants, [about] one hundred men [who were] beldārs, killed a Turk who was a bhomiyo there.

55. I have heard a story like this: in 1580-81 or 1582-83, Rāṭhōṛ Surtāṇ Jaimalot obtained Sojhat [Pargano], given in jāgīr by the Pātsāḥ, for a

---

515 The text has in rī ("his"), but perhaps it should have ināṁ rī ("their"), since both Surtāṇ and Kesodās were in Bor.


517 The genealogy of the Meṛtīyos included in the Khyāt of Murārdān indicates that after Jaimal was killed at Citoṛ, Akbar sent word via Kachvāḥo Rājā Bhagvantdās Bhārmalot to Meṛtīyō Rāṭhōṛ Jaimalot in Meवār, informing him that he would receive Meṛto upon his coming to the Mughal court and showing his obeisance to the Mughal throne. Surtāṇ is said to have sent word back that he would not leave the service of the Sisodīyō Rāṇo for one year because this was against his dharma.

In the meantime, Meṛtīyō Rāṭhōṛ Narhardās Isardāsot (no. 120), Surtāṇ's paternal cousin, met with Akbar on behalf of Surtāṇ's half-brother, Kesodās. Akbar then granted one-half of Meṛto to Kesodās. Narhardās is said to have married his own sister, Purāṁ Bāī, to Akbar at this time (1568-69). Sometime later, Surtāṇ met with Akbar and received the other half of Meṛto in jāgīr. After a few years, it was revoked and he was given Sojhat in jāgīr in 1578-79; he also held Malāṛṇo near Rīṁthambhor. He obtained Meṛto originally in 1572-73. Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 462-464; 471-472, 512-513; Vigat, 1:389-390.

518 Malāṛṇo: a town twenty miles north of Rīṁthambhor.

519 Jāgīr (Persian): the technical term used to indicate the tenure of land held by a jāgīrdār; relating to or pertaining to a jāgīr (see Glossary).

520 Bhomiyo: literally, "one of the soil (bhom)"; a local; one who controls or asserts a dominant right over a small area of land.

521 Beldār: a person belonging to a jāṭī whose traditional occupation is excavating.

522 The kha ms. gives the variant date 1581-82.

523 The text has Pātsāḥi rī dinī jāgīr; evidently Pātsāḥi is an abbreviation of Pātsāḥī jāgīr, the standard phrase in such contexts.
During 1580-81, Rathor Surtan went to the dargah. The Patsah gave [Surtan] Meerto [Pargano]. When [Surtan] was dividing villages among [the Meertys], discord arose with Rathor Narhardas Isardasot. Narhardas was in the faction of Rathor Kesodas Jaimalot. Narhardas took Rathor Kesodas and left. No petition [put forth] there was successful.

Then Rathor Kesodas married his daughter to the Patsah and took away half of Meerto Pargano [in jagir].

Subsequently a certain wet-nurse of the Patsah's, who had gone to Gujarat, came to Meerto. Rav Surtan, master of Sirohi, had come with the wet-nurse as far as Meerto. And the Patsah's wet-nurse said to Rathors Surtan [and] Kesodas: "Escort me as far as Amber." Then they said: "Many

Surtan received Sojhat in jagir in 1578-79, as is noted in the account of Sojhat Pargano given in the Vigat (1:389-390). He held it for about one year, then it was overrun by Rav Candrasen Maldevot and his band of followers just shortly before Candrasen's death in 1581.

The text has Patsahi once again. See n. 523 supra.

Mertiyo Rathor Narhardas Isardasot (no. 120).

See n. 517 supra. Narhardas held the villages Reyam and Padu of Meerto Pargano in grant from Kesodas Jaimalot.

The respective accounts given by the Khyut of Murardan and the Vigat conflict. Murardan has no mention of Kesodas or Narhardas quitting Meerto at any time. From this source, Kesodas's holding of one-half of Meerto in jagir appears to have been continuous from his reception of it just after Jaimal Viramdevot's death at Citor in 1568 until his own death in the Deccan in 1599-1600. Narhardas held the jagir of Vadhnor in Mevar from Akbar, and it may have been here that they went for some time. Murardan, no. 2, pp. 471, 512-513.

It is not clear where "there" was. It could have been either Meerto or the Mughal dargah.

Literally, "Then, marrying Rāthor Kesodās's daughter to the Pātsāh, Kesodās took away half of Meerto [Pargano in grant]." This section is in disagreement with Murardan, no. 2, p. 512, which states that it was Narhardas Isardasot who married his sister to Akbar (see n. 517 to Vigat, 2:69, supra). For a discussion of the marriage, see B.N. under "Mertiyo Rathors," s.v. "Kesodās Jaimalot" (no. 119), n. 1.

Devro Cahuvān Rav Surtan Bhāṇot (no. 5), ruler of Sirohi, ca. 1575-1610.

Literally, "Have me reach/send me as far as Āmber."
whores like this one come and go." They would not escort her. Afterward she went to Agra. She went and told the Pātsāh: "No one treats me the way the Mērtīyos treated me. Tell [me your preference]: either you take Mērtō away from them, or I shall cut off the nipples of my breasts." Afterward [the Pātsāh] removed Mērtō [from their authority]. He gave Rāṭhoṇ Surtān Sarvār again. Surtān's vasi went there. And Rāṭhoṇ Kesodās's vasi stayed in Nāgejāv. Surtān's vasi stayed in Sarvār ten or twelve years afterward. After that, in 1586, the Pātsāh gave [Surtān and Kesodās] Mērtō again. Again Surtān [and] Kesodās returned to Mērtō.

57. In 1584 the Navāb Khānkhānō received the sūbo of Gujarāt. Rāṭhoṇ Surtān Jaimalot was in the contingent of the Navāb. In those days Jago

---

533 Rāṇḍ: a widow; a woman whose husband is dead but who has not become a saṭī ("virtuous woman"); a whore.

534 Inām thā Mērtō tāgīr karo. Tāgīr (Arabic taghūr) is a technical term used to refer to the transfer of jāgīrs in the Mughal period; here we have translated tagīr karo as "take away" rather than "transfer" in order to emphasize the brothers' loss of Mērtō.

535 This curious episode involving the Pātsāh's wet-nurse is paralleled by an event that occurred in the mid-seventeenth century in Mērtō, described by the traveller Jean-Baptiste Tavernier:

Mirda [Mērtō] is a large town, but badly built. When I arrived there, during one of my journeys in India, all the caravansārasās were full of people, because the aunt of Shāhjahān, wife of Shāista Khān, was then on her way, taking her daughter to marry her to Sultān Shujā, second son of Shāhjahān. I was obliged to order my tent to be pitched upon a bank where there were large trees on both sides, and two hours afterwards I was much surprised to see fifteen or twenty elephants which came to break off as much as they could of these great trees. It was a strange thing to seem them break large branches with their trunks, as we break a piece of faggot. This injury was done by order of the Begam to avenge herself of an affront by the inhabitants of Mirda, who had not received her, and had not made a present as they ought to have done.


536 Sarvār: (1) a town thirty-five miles southeast of Ajmer; (2) a village located twenty-five miles east-northeast of Nāgaūr and forty-nine miles due north of Mērtō. There is no indication that Surtān had held either place previously, but Mērtīyos Rāṭhoṇ Dūdo Jodhāvat (no. 104) had held Sarvār village, located to the north of Mērtō, in the fifteenth century.

537 Nāgejāv: a town eighteen miles southwest of Ajmer.

538 Khān Khānān Mīrzhā 'Abdūr-Rahīm, the son of Akbar's famous regent, Bairam Khān. Mīrzhā 'Abdūr-Rahīm was one of Akbar's most important nobles, a commander of five thousand in the Mughal service. For a detailed account of his career, see A'īn-i-
Järeco was a great bhomiyo in Gujarat. He caused nothing but harm to Ahmadabad city, skipping one day only to resume the next. Phaujdár, sikdár, kotvāl, --they all died striving [to capture him]; Jago came into no one's hands. He repeatedly would take forty to fifty horsemen and by means of trickery raid the bazaar [and] the market place at the main gate. Deer lost [their] tails [just] from mentioning Jago's name.


The Järecos were very powerful Rajputs in Kutch (around Bhuj city) and Saurashtra (around Navnagar city) at the time of the events described in the Vigat. Akbar had conquered Gujarat in 1573, but many areas of the province remained outside Mughal authority for over twenty years afterward. We have found no additional information concerning Jago Järeco himself; evidently he was head of a local Järeco branch in the vicinity of Ahmadabad.

Phaujdár (Persian faujdār): literally, "one who has an army (phauj)." A subordinate military official under the Mughals, responsible for the maintenance of law and order within a district (sarkār) of a province (sūbo); more generally, a military official responsible for a local area. During the reign of Shâh Jahân the phaujdārs of the Empire became involved with revenue collection as well. See Appendix D.

Sikdār (Arabic shiqq plus the Persian suffix -dār): under Sher Shâh, the revenue officer of a single pargano, whether appointed by the state or by the holder of a land grant; in the Mughal period, a synonym for kiron (see Appendix D); within the territory under the administrative control of the Râjâs of Jodhpur during the Mughal period, an official placed in charge of maintaining order within a town.

Kotvāl: during the Mughal period, the chief officer of police within a city or large town; the superintendent of the market.

Sārā pañc muā. Pañc probably is a mistake for pac, from the verb pañço, "to strive," "to labor."

Bhâgale. Lâlas, *RSK*, 3:3:3338, glosses bhâgâl/bhâgal as "coward," "one who flees from the battlefield." Possibly the translation of the sentence could be: "The coward, taking along forty to fifty horsemen, repeatedly would raid the bazaar [and] the market place at the main gate." The problem with this translation is that bhâgâle is oblique; one would have to assume that bhâgal was meant. Our translation is conjectural, based on bhâgale being a mistake for or a variant of bhagale. Bhaga: "trick," "deceit," "fraud." Platts, *Dictionary*, p. 190; Lâlas, *RSK*, 3:3:3268 (under bhagâl).

Karaí in the kha ms. is preferable to pherai in the text.

Hirañ bândâ huvai chai. The editor of the Vigat, N. S. Bhâti, suggests (n. 8) that this phrase is an idiom (muhâvâr) signifying that people were terrified by the very name of Jago.
One day Rāṭhor Viṭhaldās Jaimalot [and] Sīndhal Campo, [son] of Karamsi, had gone on a hunting trip along the bank of the Samarmatī River.

Vigat, 2:71

On the opposite side came people who had fled from Ahmadabad city. Viṭhaldās, having finished his hunting trip, was coming back. Meanwhile, the multitude of people who had fled were approaching. He asked: "You come fleeing in this manner—what sort of army comes behind you?" Among them was an intelligent fellow; he remained standing before Viṭhaldās and said: "Jago Jāreco, who is always doing great damage to Ahmadabad, is coming." Then Viṭhaldās and Campo said: "Which one is Jago?" Then the people said: "Jago is not hidden." [Viṭhaldās and Campo] said: "He is not hidden from you, but we do not recognize [him]." Meanwhile the Jāreco, Jago, came near. He became visible. Those whom they were asking said: "He is mounted on a bay-colored horse, wearing a red turban [and] chain-mail. He sparkles in the sun. He is the sirdār among the horsemen." Another one [is Ratno]. So-and-so [is] Ratno, so-and-so [is] Jago, riding the horses—Ratno [and] Jago [who] are destruction to all Gujarat. Talking took time; [Jago and Ratno] bore down on them. A skirmish occurred there. Rāṭhor Viṭhaldās [and] Sīndhal Campo killed Jago [and] Ratno along with ten to fifteen [other] men.

58. Rāṭhor Surtān did not receive the news. First the Navab received word that some Hindu had killed Jago. The Navāb himself mounted up and

548 Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Viṭhaldās Jaimalot (no. 117).

549 Sīndhal Rāṭhor Campo Karamsiyot (no. 136).

550 The Samarmatī River flows south from the Aravalli hills, from which it finds its source, travelling through Ahmadabad and on into the Gulf of Cambay.

551 Hajār meṅkhī: literally, "having a thousand metal nails"; a type of chain mail. Akbar Nāma, 2:472, notes that wearing hazār mīṅkhī armor was a mark of chieftainship among Rajputs.

552 Literally, "he is the sirdār among so many horsemen (itrai asvār)."

553 The beginning of this sentence, dājā Ratno Jago, is confusing; we have given what seems to be the most logical translation of the entire sentence.

554 Māmlo, from the Arabic mu’āmall, "trading, negotiating, bargaining with," etc. (Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary, p. 1266), is used in Middle Mārvārī with the meaning "battle" or "skirmish" as well.

555 The text has Rā. Surtān num khabar huī nahīṃ tā paithī Navāb num khabar huī, literally, "Rāṭhor Surtān did not receive the news; before that the Navāb received the news." We have translated tā paithī simply as "first" to avoid confusion.
came there. The entire sāth of the sūbo mounted up and came. [Then] Rāṭhor Surtān mounted up and came. The Navāb asked [Viṭhāldās and Cāmpo]: "Who are you?" Rāṭhor Viṭhāldās [and] Sindhaλ Cāmpo said: "We are Surtān Jaimalot's military servants." The Navāb was very pleased. The Navāb cut off the heads of Jago [and] Ratno and brought [them] into the city. He asked responsible men in the city [to tell] the story of [Jago and Ratno]. The people of the city said: "Great glory for the Pātsāh! Good fortune for the Navāb! Today, [through] the killing of Jago [and] Ratno, Gujarat fell completely under the Pātsāhji's control." 556

Vigat, 2:72

The Navāb commanded Rāṭhor Viṭhāldās: "Make whatever request you have; I will petition the Pātsāh and have it given to you." Then Rāṭhor Viṭhāldās [and] Cāmpo made [this] request: "We are Rāṭhor Surtān Jaimalot's military servants. Navābji, if you have been pleased, have Meṛto given 557 to Rāṭhor Surtān." Thereafter the Navābji had [Meṛto] given [to him].


60. In 1596-97 Balbhahār Surtāṇot passed away. 561 Rāṭhor Gopāldās Surtāṇot 562 received Meṛto [City] with Surtān's share [of the villages]. And

556 Pātsāhji rai Gujrāt kharī ras parī. For ras parṇo, see n. 251 to Vigat, 2:54 supra.

557 Dirāvo in the kha ms. is preferable to diyo in the text.

558 Murārdān, no. 2, p. 464, says that the Emperor sent Surtān with Rājā Mānsingh Kachvāho to the east and that he died near Gokal in 1589-90.

559 Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Balbhādār Surtāṇot (no. 114), one of the sons of Surtān Jaimalot.

560 Surtān ri tāgīrī. Tāgīrī: that which has been transferred. Cf. n. 534 to Vigat, 2:70, supra.

561 Murārdān, no. 2, p. 465, notes that Balbhādār died in the Deccan from a wound received from a Turk during a fight at his camp. No date of death is given, but the date in the Vigat, 1596-97, would be a period of active Mughal campaigning in the Deccan against Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Berar, in the final years before the death of Akbar (1605).

562 Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Gopāldās Surtāṇot (no. 115). Balbhādār Surtāṇot had no sons, and therefore the land of Meṛto passed to his brother, Gopāldās.
Kesodās [continued] enjoying [his] share. In 1599-1600, in the Deccan outside Bīḍ city, a battle occurred between Cānd Bībī’s people and Ser Khojo, who was a sīrdār in the Pātsāh’s army. The Pātsāh’s army lost. Rāthor Gopāldās Surtānot, Rāthor Kesodās Jaimalot, [and] Rāthor Dvārkādās Jaimalot, three Meṛṭīyos, died fighting there. Kachvāho Rājā Jagnāṭh’s son Jagrūp also died fighting there. This battle occurred at the river that is outside Bīḍ City. Kachvāho Jagrūp’s chatri is [there]. [When] he lost the battle, Ser

563 Literally, “And Kesodās [continued] enjoying Kesodās’s share.” Cf. n. 530 to Vigat, 2:70, supra.

564 Bīḍ city lies in the western Deccan sixty-five miles east of Ahmadnagar.

565 Sultānā Cānd Bībī, wife of the Nizām Shāh of Bijapur and sister to the deceased ruler of Ahmadnagar, Burhānu’d-Dūn. Burhānu’d-Dūn had succeeded to the throne of Ahmadnagar in 1590 with Akbar’s assistance and then had repudiated the Mughals. Within a short time, Burhānu’d-Dūn died, and the state became split into four rival factions for the throne, with civil war emerging. Then, in 1595, the Mughals attacked, having been invited in by the Deccani faction, and a treaty was signed in 1596, with Ahmadnagar as a Mughal vassal state. The treaty lasted only a short time, and the Mughals returned to take Ahmadnagar in 1599-1600. In the interim period, Cānd Bībī had ruled a portion of the territory of Ahmadnagar including the fort at Ahmadnagar city. She was eventually killed by her own troops before the fall of Ahmadnagar in 1600. Y. M. Khan, The Deccan Policy of the Mughals (Lahore: United Book Corp., 1971), p. 62-65, 85-87; Srivastava, Akbar the Great, 1:391-422; Tripathi, The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 329.

566 Ser Khojo tho in the kha ms. is preferable to Ser Khām Jodhā in the text. This man was Sher Khwāja, a Sāiyid of Itāwa. For some details concerning his career, see Ā’in-i-Akbarī, 1:510-511.

567 In the months of mid-1599, Bīḍ was occupied by Mughal troops under Sher Khwāja after their defeat outside the city and was under heavy attack from the forces of Ahmadnagar. Bīḍ was hard pressed at this time, but was eventually relieved by reinforcements sent by Abu’l Fazl, whom Akbar had deputed to military duty in the Deccan. Khan, The Deccan Policy of the Mughals, p. 83; Srivastava, Akbar the Great, 1:438-439; Tripathi, The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 329.

568 Meṛṭīyo Rāthor Dvārkādās Jaimalot (no. 118). Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 504-505, indicates that Dvārkādās died fighting along with Kachvāho Ramcandro.

569 In addition to these three Meṛṭīyo Rāthor, six other Meṛṭīyos, Narbad Rāyalot, Prayāgdās Arjunot, Cakrasen Rāysīṅhgot, Narsinghdās Rūpsīṅhgot, Tātār Khān Açıjavat, and Devidās Varsiṅhgot, were also killed at Bīḍ. Ibid., pp. 556, 557, 559, 569.

570 The text has Mantup; the kha ms. Manṛūp. This Rajпут was in fact Rāj javat Kachvāho Jagrūp Jagnāṭhgot (no. 21), son of Rājā Jagnāṭh Bhārmalot of Toḍo and grandson of Rājā Bhārmal Prithirājot of Āmber.

Chatri: a cenotaph; a memorial erected for a fallen Rajput warrior.
Khojo fled and re-entered the fort [of Bīd]. Afterward Rāṭhor Jagnāth Gopāłdāsot received Rāṭhor Gopālās's half share and Kānhīdās Kesodāsot received Rāṭhor Kesodās's half.

**Vigat, 2:73**


62. Afterward, in 1604-05, Rāṭhor Kānhīdās passed away. Then the various important Meṛṭīyo ḫākūrs took a sāth of 2,000 horsemen and went to the dargāh. The Pātsāḥji would not accept Indrabhān as Kānhīdās's heir.

---

572 Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Jagnāth Gopālāsot (no. 116).

573 Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Kānhīdās Kesodāsot (no. 121).

574 Dhūrāvat Kachvāhō Rājā Rāmdās Udāvat (no. 19), who was a favored servant of Emperor Akbar’s.

575 Jodho Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajāsīṅgh Udaisīṅghhot, ruler of Jodhpur, 1595-1619, had succeeded to the throne of Jodhpur in 1595 while at Lahore, to which he had travelled with his father, Moto Rājā Udaisīṅgh Māldevot (1583-95), to meet with the Emperor, Akbar. There is some slight confusion about the exact date of succession. Vigat, 1:92, has V.S. 1651, Āśādh, Vadi 13, corresponding to June 25, 1595. Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 131, and Reu, 1:181, have V.S. 1652, Sāvāṇ, Vadi 12 (July 23, 1595), with which Ojhā (4:1:364) agrees. Bānkīdās, p. 25, has both V.S. 1651, Āśādh, Sudi 15 = July 11, 1595, and V.S. 1657, Āśādh, Vadi 11 = June 16, 1601. "Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭāṃ," p. 74, has V.S. 1642, Āśādh, Vadi 12, corresponding to June 3, 1586. The last two dates are clearly wrong; the choice appears to be between the date given by the Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt and accepted by Ojhā and Reu, the date given in the Vigat, and Bānkīdās's earlier date.

Sūrajāsīṅgh received the first half of Meṛtō in 1602, and then in 1605 received the other half. Ojhā, 4:1:370, gives the date May 30, 1605, for his receipt of all of Meṛtō (see also "Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭāṃ," p. 95).

With regard to the receipt of the first half of Meṛtō, Sūrajāsīṅgh had been on maneuvers with the Mughal army in the Deccan and had participated in the battle with Amarcampū on May 3, 1602. Here he played a prominent part in the winning of the battle. In return, he received the raiment of red and white, which became his colors, and one-half of Meṛtō. In the same year he also obtained the title of Savāṭī Rājā. See Reu, 1:185, and Vigat, 1:96.

576 Murārdān, no. 2, p. 472, states that Kānhīdās died in 1601-02.
Later, in 1605, Akbar Pātsāh gave Rājā Sūrajiṃgh Rāthor Kānhīdās's half, too. Merto remained [a possession of] Rājā Sūraisṅghji's as long as he lived.

63. On September 7, 1619, [Sūrajiṃgh] passed away in Mahaikar. Rājā Gajsingh received the throne of Jodhpur. Then Merto was transferred. Sāhjādo Khuram received [Merto, starting] from the māl [and] ghāsmārī of Merto. Abu, an amīn, came [to Merto]. He entrusted the [two] halves of the paragano to the custody of kirofī: one, Hājī Itbārī; the other, Mir Sako. Abu's hākmi lasted two years. Afterward, [beginning] with the

578 See n. 575 supra. Akbar died on October 16, 1605, shortly after making this grant to Rājā Sūrajiṃgh. Jahāngīr ascended the throne several days after Akbar's death, on October 24, 1605.

579 Literally, "It--as long as Rājā Sūrajiṃgh lived--Merto remained."

580 Mahaikar is located in the Deccan eighty miles east-northeast of Aurangabad.

581 On the death of Rājā Sūrajiṃgh at Mahaikar, Gajsingh (Jodho Rāthor Gajsingh Sūrajiṅghot, Rājā of Jodhpur, 1619-38) was in the Deccan with his father in the service of Jahāngīr. When the Emperor heard of Sūrajiṅgh's death, he sent a sirpāv from Agra to Gajsingh consisting of an elephant, horses with gold trappings, and other things. On October 6, 1619, he received the ḫiko of succession at Burhanpur from the son of Navāb Kháṅkhanān, Darāb Kháñ.

At the time of succession, Gajsingh received a mansab rank of 3,000 zāt, 2,000 suwār. Along with the rank came the following paraganos in jāgīr: Jodhpur, Sojhat, Sīvān, Jaitārān, Sātalmer, and Pokaraṇ (included but not under direct administration due to the occupation of the area by the Bhatīs of Jaisaḷmēr), all in Mārvaṇ, and Tervār-Mervārī in Gujarāt. Bāṅkidās, p. 27 (he gives the date of V.S. 1676,Āsoj, Sudi 10 = October 8, 1619, for the succession); Mahārāj Śrī Gajsingh kī Khyāt (MS no. 15666, Rājasthān Prācyavidya Pratisthan, Jodhpur), pp. 1-2; Ojhā, 4:1:388; Vigat1, 1:95, 105.

582 Sāhjādo (Persian shāhzhāda): the son of a shāh, a prince.

583 Sāhjādo Khuram: Prince Khurram (later Shāh Jahān), son of Jahāngīr. Khurram was subedār of Ajmer at this time.

584 Māl (Arabic): literally, "money"; the land revenue.

585 Ghāsmārī: literally, "grass-struck." A local tax levied on domestic animals at so much cash per type of animal. See Vigat, 2:95, for an example from Meṛto Pargano.

586 Vigat, 1:106, says that only the ghāsmārī tax was granted at this time.

587 Amīn (Arabic) and kirofī are names of Mughal revenue officials entrusted with the assessment and collection of land revenue. These two functionaries stand in an interesting relationship to each other in this passage. The period referred to in the text is 1619, during the middle of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr (1605-27).
year 1621-22, Sāhjādo Khuram divided up the entire pargano and gave [it] to his military servants [and] Rajputs in jāgīrī [tenure]. So it remained for two years. Details [and] a list of the villages in April-May, 1623 ....

64. [Khuram] gave Rājā Bhīm Amrāvat, a Sīsodiyo [Rajpūt], the town [of Meṛto] along with 204 villages. Rājā Bhīm himself came to Meṛto.

On November 11, 1619, Abu came to Meṛto and established [his] authority [there]. With Abu Kābo, the amīn, were the two kirofīs. Entrusted to him [were] five pafīs [in the charge of] Hāji Itbārī:

1. Havelī.
1. Āṇandpur.
1. Kalro.
1. Modro.
1. Moḍro.

 terminology used and the relationships defined, however, stem from the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān (1628-58) and after, near the time this account was set to writing. Properly designated, Abu Kābo should be the 'amīl or kirofī, and Hāji Itbārī and Mīr Sako the amīns serving under his authority.

For an overview of the Mughal land revenue administration and its development and functioning over time, see Appendix D.

We have no further information about the review officials mentioned in this passage.

588 Hākmi: an abstract noun formed from hākīm (Arabic ḥākim). A hākīm was an administrative official encharged with the authority over a district on behalf of an outsider. In this instance, Abu was an agent acting on behalf of Prince Khurram.

589 Khurram appears to have kept Meṛto in khalso tenure (see glossary) long enough to allow for surveying and assessment and then to have changed it into jāgīr land based upon what one supposes was a reasonably realistic assessment of actual revenue and value of land.

590 Tahal in the text has no relevant meaning. The word might be a mistake for the term taphsīl (Arabic tafṣīl), "details," "particulars," which appears in similar contexts. Cf. Vigat, 1:113, 171.

591 There appears to be a gap in the text, as only the grant to Rājā Bhīm Amrāvat is mentioned.

592 Sīsodiyo Gahlot Rājā Bhīm Amrāvat (no. 15).

593 Pafī: a term used for the administrative subdivisions of Meṛto, Nāgaur, and Jāłor parganos. The word tapho was also used for the Meṛto Pargano subdivisions, which are located on Map 5, "Administrative Divisions of Meṛto Pargano, ca. 1660."

594 The text has Phaldu, evidently a mistake for Kalro/Kalru, one of the subdivisions of Meṛto Pargano.
1. Rāhaṇ.

[And] four pāṭīs [that] were in the charge of Mīr Sako:

1. Reyāṃ.
1. Mokālo.
1. Deghāṇo.
1. Altavo.

_Vigat, 2:74_

Abu's custodianship lasted two years.

[Estimated revenue] produced\(^5\) in 1619-20 [and] 1620-21:

- Rs. 325,000 in 1619-20.
- Rs. 475,000 in 1620-21.

In May-June of 1623, Pāṭsāh Jāhāṅgīr came to Ajmer. Khuram rebelled.\(^5\)

Then Jāhāṅgīr placed all of [Khuram's] responsibilities on

\(^5\) The text has Māṇḍro, a mistake for Moḍro, one of the subdivisions of Meṛto Pargano.

\(^5\) The text has only upnā ("produced"); the round numbers suggest an estimate.

\(^5\) The revolt of Khurram/Shāh Jāhān (Khurram had been given the title "Shāh Jāhān" in 1617 by Jāhāṅgīr at the time he was made sūbedār of the Deccan) began in 1621. Jāhāṅgīr's health had begun failing as early as 1618, while he was in Gujarāt. He had suffered attacks of fever with signs of asthma, and in 1619, his eye problems reappeared. Then in 1620, he again suffered a relapse from asthma and became very ill while returning to Agra from Kashmir. This condition worsened from much drinking. From this time forward, his health remained very delicate and he relied more and more upon his wife, Nūr Jāhān, to run the government. In addition, in late January of 1621, the Prime Minister (vākīl) of the Empire, l'timad'u'd-Daulah, Nūr Jāhān's father, died, leaving Nūr Jāhān with virtually complete control over the Empire.

Nūr Jāhān feared Shāh Jāhān's power from his base in the Deccan, and she quickly moved to entrench her candidate for succession, Shāhriyār, the youngest son of Jāhāṅgīr, in a position of power. The court itself became divided into three factions around Nūr Jāhān and Shāhriyār, Khurram/Shāh Jāhān, and Khusrāw. Shāh Jāhān, upon learning of his father's illness in 1621 and of Nūr Jāhān's rise to supreme power in the Empire, quickly took measures to protect his own position. He first had his half-brother, Khusrāw, strangled to death at Burhanpūr in February of 1621. He later told Jāhāṅgīr that Khusrāw had died of colic (which the Emperor appears to have accepted), but the infamy of this deed clung to Shāh Jāhān throughout the rest of his life.

In the meantime, Qandahār was attacked by Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, and Shāh Jāhān, militarily the ablest of the Mughal princes and the most powerful, was ordered to the north by Jāhāṅgīr, who was in Kashmir at the time because of his health. Shāh Jāhān refused to move beyond Māṇḍū unless he was put in full command of the army of the Punjab and given Rinthāmbhōr in jāgīr, for the protection of his family. While
Parvej. 598 He gave Meṛto to Parvej. The phaujdār, Sadat Beg, attacked the kiroṛī, Sekh, in May-June [of 1623]. 599 He took the ghāsmārī [tax] in 1623-24.

[1] Rāṭhor Bhāṃv Kilāṇḍāsot [received] Āṇandpur village. 600
[1] Rāṭhor Ḥsārdās Kalyāṇḍāsot [received] Rohīso [village]. 603

65. Raṛājī [Gajsīṅgh’s] jāgīrdārs had seized the māḷ [and] ghāsmārī [tax] in 1619-20. Rāṭhor Rāṛēsīṅgh Khūṃvāvāt 604 approached Abu, [the amīn], and stayed in Meṛto twenty days in negotiations 605 over this [seizure]. He paid these negotiations were taking place, Qandahar fell to the Persians, raising Jahāṅgīr’s ire at Shāh Jahān (to Nūr Jahān’s pleasure).

Then in 1623, Shāh Jahān rose in revolt, supported by most of the great amīrs in the Deccan, Malwa, and Gujarat. He advanced from Māṇḍū with the large army and reached Fatehpur Sikr and Agra, which he partially looted. He also seized Dhulpur (near Agra), which had been assigned in jāgīr to Shāhriyār, and other tracts belonging to the jāgīr of Nūr Jahān. Afterwards, he marched toward Delhi, where he was defeated in battle and forced to retreat to Māṇḍū, pursued by the army under his half-brother, Parvīz, and Mahābat Khān. Jahāṅgīr himself came to Ajmer at this time for some months to oversee operations against Shāh Jahān, eventually retreatin to Kashmir, the only place he could now live in his worsening physical condition, before the end of the year. B. Prasad, History of Jahāṅgīr (Allahabad: The Indian Press Ltd., 1940), pp. 292-342; Tripathi, The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, pp. 393-397.

598 Parvej: Prince Parvīz, son of Jahāṅgīr and half-brother of Khurram.

599 We have been unable to identify either one of these officials. Presumably the kiroṛī, Sekh, was Khurram’s representative, whose local functions were taken away by the phaujdār, Sadat Beg, upon the outbreak of the rebellion and Parvīz’s reception of Meṛto.

600 Udāvat Rāṭhor Bhāṃv Kilāṇḍāsot (no. 142). Āṇandpur village was the head village of the Āṇandpur subdivision (paṇṭīṭapho) of Meṛto and is located twenty miles south of Meṛto.

601 Bhāṛmalot Rāṭhor Prithīrāj Baluvot (no. 40). Reyāṃ village was the headquarters of the Reyāṃ subdivision of Meṛto Pargano is located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto.

602 Jodho Rāṭhor Mahēsḍās Dalpatot (no. 89). Baḍāḷī village is located thirteen miles south-southeast of Meṛto.

603 Jodho Rāṭhor Ḥsārdās Kalyāṇḍāsot (no. 88). Rohīso village is located two miles southeast of Baḍāḷī village and fifteen miles south-southeast of Meṛto.

604 Kūṃpaḷvat Rāṭhor Rāṛēsīṅgh Khūṃvāvāt (no. 101).

rs. 50,000 cash and stationed Mumhato Velo with Abu [in Meṛto]. A fight occurred between some of Velo's and Abu's servants. [Velo said]: "Draw up a deed of discharge and give [it] to me." [Abu] had the deed of discharge made and brought [it to Velo].

66. Thereafter, in February-March of 1623, Sāhjādō Khuram rebelled against the Pātsāh, Jahāngīr. Śrīji was in the des. A battle occurred between the Pātsāh's [forces and] Khuram's [forces] near Delhi. Mahābat Khān fought [the battle] there. Rājā Vikmādīt, a Brāhmaṇ, was killed. Khuram fled. Jahāngīr, the Pātsāh, was coming to Ajmer. Mahārājā Śrī Gajsiṅghji went and met with Pātsāh Jahāngīr near Cātsū.

Vigat, 2:75

He paid [his] respects. The Pātsāh came to Ajmer. He designated Sāhjādō Parvej [his] heir-apparent, made Mahābat Khān the commander [of a military

---

606 Mumhato Velo (no. 160).
608 Śrīji: Naiṅsī's term of address for the rulers of Jodhpur under whom he served (Gajsiṅgh and Jasvantsīṅgh).
609 Des: land, geographic region; a term used by Naiṅsī in his Khyāt and Vigat to refer to the lands in Mārvār under the authority of the Jodhpur Rājā.
610 Mahābat Khān was one of the most powerful nobles in the service of Jahāngīr. He was widely known for his patronage of Rajpūts (he had four or five thousand in his service) and his opposition to the Iranian (Khurāsānī) faction at the Mughal court. For a detailed discussion of Mahābat Khān's career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, Maāthiṛ-ul-Umārā, translated by H. Beveridge, revised, annotated, and completed by Baini Prashad, 3 vols. (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1941-52-64), 2:9-28.
611 Rājā Vikmādīt (Bikramājī in Persian sources) was the title of the Brāhmaṇ Sundar Dās, who rose from the position of writer for Prince Khurram to that of Mīr Sāman under Jahāngīr. He was a native of Bandhū in the Allahabad District. He attained the rank of 5,000 zūt, 5,000 suwār in the Mughal service, took part in several military expeditions (most notably the siege of Kangra in 1620), and was killed by a bullet received in battle here, which the Vigat records. For some details of the Rājā's career, see ibid., 1:412-419.
612 Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 72, gives the date May 1, 1623, for this meeting.
expedition] under [Parvej's] supervision, and dispatched them from [Ajmer] after Khurram. Then the Navāb, [Mahābat Khān], highly recommended the Rājājī and had [his rank] increased one thousand jāt [and] one thousand asvār. [His] mansab was increased. The Navāb [and] Parvej took [him] with them. But [Gajsingh] did not obtain his full claim. At that time he obtained Phalodhi [Pargano] assessed at rs. 67,000 and Sāhjādō Parvej received all of

614 Navāb Mohobatkhan mūnḥāḍāi āgāi mudāit kar nai. This sentence fragment may be interpreted in two ways:

(a) "He made [Parvej] the commander [of a military expedition] under Mahābat Khān's supervision and ...."
(b) "He made Mahābat Khān the commander [of a military expedition] under [Parvej's] supervision and ...."

Either translation is problematic: the first is grammatically preferable (one would assume that the postposition num would follow Mahābat Khān's name if he were being made commander [mudāit]); the second is preferable on historical grounds (Mahābat Khān was the commander of this expedition; he was under Parvīz's nominal supervision) and for lexical reasons (mudāit is used in Middle Mārvārī texts to refer to one who has real, as opposed to nominal, responsibilities for decision-making). We have chosen the second alternative based on a parallel passage occurring in Vigat, 1:108, where it is stated clearly that Jahāngīr, at the time he made Parvīz heir-apparent, "gave Mahābat Khān full responsibility (sāri madār) under Parvej's supervision (Parvej rai mūnḥāḍāi āgāi)" and dispatched them after Khurram.

615 Jāt (Arabic zat) and asvār (Persian Suwar) were the two indices of rank (mansab) in the Mughal administration. See n. 490 to Vigat, 2:67, supra.


617 Rājā Gajsingh was in the Deccan at the time of Shāh Jahān's revolt and had shown initial sympathies toward his cause. He had then returned to Jodhpur, having been granted leave from Mahaikar where he had been posted in action against the Deccanis since early 1622. At the time of which the text speaks, he had just returned to the Deccan from Jodhpur. His rank was raised to 5,000 zat, 4,000 suwār.

Gajsingh's initial sympathy for Shāh Jahān's cause may have been due to the fact that Shāh Jahān was the son of Jodh Bāī, daughter of Gajsingh's grandfather, Moto Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot of Jodhpur (ruled 1583-95). Bāṅkīdās, p. 27; Mahārāj Šrī Gajsinghī ki Khyāt, pp. 21-22; Khan, The Deccan Policy of the Mughals, p. 155; Ojḥā, 4:1:390-392; Vigat, 1:107-108.

618 Talab (Arabic talab): the pay claim on a mansab.

619 Phalodhī: a town situated seventy-two miles northwest of Jodhpur.
the parganos comprising the khālso of the sūbo of Ajmer. Parvej received Meṛto among these [parganos] as well.

67. Afterward Sāhjādā Parvej gave Meṛto to a Said in jāgīrī [tenure].621 Then the Rājājī had [his] negotiator, Ṛāthor Rājsingh Khūṃvāvat, adamantly623 tell the Navāb four or five times: “For many days I have enjoyed [the lands] obtained by Rājā Sūrajsingh. I have enjoyed [them] and have retained the entire jamīyat624 so that the Navāb would have Meṛto given [to me] in the near future. My Ṛājpūts have stayed with me so many days in the hope of [my receiving] Meṛto. Now my Ṛājpūts heard in the darbār that the Sāhjādā is giving Meṛto to someone else, so all my Ṛājpūts are going away. And the Navābjī had my mansab increased, [but] I have not even obtained the [full] claim of this [mansab].” Afterward the Navāb petitioned Sāhjādā Parvej and had Meṛto given by the Sāhjādā. He wrote out a tāliko626 and gave [it to Gajsingh]. The Rājājī sent the tāliko to the des. Subsequently Ṛāthor Kānḫ Khūṃvāvat627 [and] Bhāṇḍārī Lūṇo628 brought the tāliko to Meṛto. At first Parvej’s men in Meṛto raised an objection. Then Ṛāthor Kānḫ [and] Bhāṇḍārī Lūṇo sent men to negotiate with them, and, after a little give-and-take, gave them leave. [Gajsingh] established [his] authority [over Meṛto] on August 8, 1580.

620 Khālso (Persian khālīsā): literally, "pure." Land directly administered and taxed by a ruler and his personal officials.

621 The text, Pachai Meṛto Sāhjādā Parvej Said nuṃ jāgīrī māṃhāi tho, is unclear. Literally, the translation would be: "Afterward, Meṛto--Sāhjādā Parvej--was to a Said in jāgīrī [tenure]." The kha. ms. differs, but it also confusing: Sāhjādāṃ nuṃ jāgīr meṃ deto tho, "He was giving [Meṛto] in jāgīr to the Sāhjādās (?)." Our translation suggests what might have been the intention of the author.

622 Bīc: middleman, negotiator.

623 The editor of the Vigat, N. S. Bhāṭi, takes gādhpur in the text to be a place-name (Vigat, 3:210); we believe -pur to be a variant of the suffix -pūr, "filled with," joined with gādh ("stubborn," "obstinate," etc.) to form an adverb, gādhpur, "stubbornly," "adamantly," "obstinately," etc.

624 Jamīyat (Persian jam‘īyat): the assemblage of men and horses in the service of a chief.

625 Yāṃhrā in the text evidently is a misprint for māṃhrā, "my."

626 Tāliko (Persian ta‘liqa): the certificate of appointment to all posts that required the approval of the Mughal Emperor. In this instance, however, Parvīz wrote the tāliko upon the petition of the Navāb, Mahābat Khān, hence the ensuing difficulties with the Mughal administration.

627 Kūṃpāvat Ṛāthor Kānḫ Khūṃvāvat (no. 100).

628 Bhāṇḍārī Lūṇo (no. 156).
1623. He did not obtain it in dargāhī mansab.629 It was given by the Sāhjādō personally,630 assessed at rs. 200,000, dāms631 8,000,000.

**Vigat, 2:76**

68. Two years later Mahābat Khān was in the Deccan under the supervision of Parvej. The Khurasānī632 misled the Pātsāh, Jahāngīr, and had [Mahābat Khān] called back from there. Phidāī Khān633 came to Burhānpur634 in 1625-26, bringing a pharmān from the person of the Pātsāh to all the umrāvs. The Sāhjādō [and] all the umrāvs prepared to leave with the Navāb. They came outside the city and made camp. The Rājījī stayed where he was in [his] camp. Then the Sāhjādō [and] the umrāvs all came back.635 The Sāhjādō [and] all the umrāvs persuaded [Rājā Gajsīngh to take the recall] very well. He went to the dargāh.636 Then Phidāī Khān, after speaking to Srijī, took Rāthor Rajsīngh with him to Lahore. Phidāī Khān went to Lahore and paid [his] respects [to the Pātsāh]. He had Rāthor Rajsīngh Khūmvāvat touch the feet of the Śrī Pātsāhī.

---

629 **Dargāhī mansab:** a mansab given by the Mughal Emperor.

630 **Sāhjādā rī āprī tārhā pur:** literally, "from the Sāhjādō's own side."

631 **Dām:** a copper coin equal to one-fortieth of a rupee.


633 Phidāī Khān: Fidāī Khan (Hedāyat Ullah), a protégé of Mahābat Khān's (at one time his vakī), who later became a servant of the Mughal Emperors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. For an account of his career, see *Māṯṭir-ul-Umārā*, 1:559-563. Ojhā, 4:1:395, indicates that this Muslim possibly was an advisor regarding mansabdārs at the darbār of Jahāngīr.

634 Burhānpur: an important town 110 miles north-northeast of Aurangabad. Burhānpur was the central base of operations for the Mughals in their campaigns against the Deccan Sūltānates.

635 This sentence is found only in the kha ms.

636 Ojhā, 4:1:395, notes that Gajsīngh had refused to leave camp out of fear for the anger of Navāb Mahābat Khān, who, he felt, would berate him at court and place him in a difficult position with the Emperor. Although Ojhā is not explicit about the reasons for this feeling, it may have been due to Gajsīngh's initial sympathy for the cause of Shāh Jahan when he was in the Deccan (see n. 617 to *Vigat, 2:75, supra*).
Phidāi Khān highly praised Rājāsinghjī. At that time Khojo Abdal Hasan637 was the Patsah's divān of the kaceri.638 Khojo Abdal Hasan prepared an accounting of the mansāb [of Gajsingh] and made [it] known to the Pātsāh: "Merto was not given to the Rājājī in dargāhī mansāb. Mahābat Khān showed favor [to Gajsingh] and had [Merto] given by Sāhjādo [Parvej]." [The Pātsāh] wrote out [a notice of] transfer for Merto.639 Afterward Phidāi Khān informed the Pātsāhjī: "The Rājājī had paid [his] respects [to you]; he was a candidate for an increase [in mansāb]. Why in this instance640 are you deciding to the contrary641 and transferring Merto?" Then the Pātsāh reversed Abdal Hasan and made a command. He had Merto kept as it was.642 [However], the assessment [of Mer to] was increased 2,000,000 dams (rs. 50,000). By this means Merto was assessed at rs. 250,000.

---

637 Khojo Abdal Hasan (Abal Husen in the kha ms.; Abal Hasan farther down on Vigat, 2:76): Khāja Abū-l-Hasan of Turbat, a district of Khurasan. He was an important member of the Iranian faction at the Mughal court (see n. 632 to Vigat, 2:75, supra). Beginning his career in the service of Prince Dānyāl, one of Akbar's sons, he later attained the position of dīwān of the Deccan under Akbar. Subsequently he became mūr bakhshī under Jahāngīr (1613) and then was appointed chief dīwān with a rank of 5,000 zāī, 5,000 suwār. He died in 1632-33, after attaining a rank of 6,000/6,000 under Shāh Jahān.

Vigat, 1:109 remarks that the Khwāja bore ill-will toward Gajsingh. He was an opponent of Mahābat Khān, and as such he may have objected to the Khān's petitioning Parvīz and having Meṛto given to Gajsingh.

For additional details concerning the career of Khwāja Abū-l-Hasan, see Maāṭhir-ul-Umarā, 1:128-130.

638 Kaceri: the department of the Mughal administration charged with reviewing documents.

639 Merto tāgīr men likhīyo: literally, "He wrote Merto in transfer." Mahārāj Śrī Gajsingh kī Khyāt, pp. 33-39, notes that Parvīz was angry with Gajsingh because of Mahābat Khān's favoring him and his words of praise for him. The Khyāt intimates that Khwāja Abū-l-Hasan was a person of the Prince and in his accounting made special note of the fact that Meṛto had not been an imperial grant, but had been given by Mahābat Khān. This tradition is in conflict with the details in the Vigat, which do not indicate that Parvīz was angry with Gajsingh.

640 Literally, "there" (taṭhāi). The literal translation of the entire sentence thus would be "Why are you deciding to the contrary there and transferring Meṛto?"

641 Sāmo in this clause apparently is used in the sense of "contrary" or "opposite," meanings given by Lālas, RSK, 4:3:5472.

69. Thereafter, in 1632-33, Pātsāh Shāh Jahān sent Asāp Khān along with many Hindus [and] Muslims against Bījāpur. At that time he had sent Rājā Gajsīṅghjī with Asāp Khān too. There was no accord between Asāp Khān and the Rājājī.

Vigat, 2:77

Asāp Khān came back. He complained a great deal about the Śrī Mahārājājī. Then [the Pātsāh] increased [the assessment] on all the lands [held by Gajsīṅghjī]. Once again he increased [the assessment] on Mērto 2,000,000 dāms. The total rekh became 12,000,000 dāms, the rupee [value] of which was 300,000.

70. On May 6, 1638, Rājā Gajsīṅghjī passed away in Agra. On May 25, 1638, Pātsāh Shāh Jahān gave Rājā Śrī Javsāntsīṅghjī the throne of Jodhpur. On that day [the assessment] on Mērto was again increased

---

643 Asāp Khān: the noble Āśaf Khān, Nūr Jahān's brother and the most powerful noble in the Iranian faction at the Mughal court. His daughter was the famous Mamtāz Mahāl, the favorite wife of Shāh Jahān, for whom he built the Tāj Mahāl. Āśaf Khān continued in favor after the death of Jahāngīr and acquired a rank of 9,000 zāt, 9,000 suwar under Shāh Jahān. He died in 1641. For some details of his career, see Maathīr-ul-Umarā, 1:287-295.

644 The text has Rājāsīṅghjī, clearly incorrect. Gajsīṅghjī is meant.

645 Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 76, notes that Gajsīṅgh was deputed along with Āśaf Khān against Muḥammad Adīl Khān, Sultān of Bījāpur, in December of 1631.

646 The assessments of the parganos Sojhat, Jaitāraṇ, and Mērto were increased at this time.

647 Rekh: assessment, evaluation.

648 At the time of Gajsīṅghjī's death, he had spent one lākh twelve kroṣs of rupees, taken out of the treasury built up by his father, Rājā Sūrajsīṅghjī, and had in addition taken out a loan of Rs. 1,300,000, for which he had mortgaged Jālōr Pargano to the imperial treasury. These debts were left to his son and successor, Javsāntsīṅghjī, to pay back. Bāṅkidās, p. 27; Mahārāj Śrī Gajsīṅgh kī Khyāt, p. 139; Ojāh, 4:1:407; Vigat, 1:105.

649 Javsāntsīṅghjī had been to Būndī to marry at the time he received the news of his father's death in Āgrā. Immediately after the marriage, he proceeded to Delhi, where he was given the throne of Jodhpur by Shāh Jahān himself. At the time of his succession, his mansab rank was raised to 4,000 zāt, 4,000 suwar, and he received the parganos Jodhpur, Sīvāṇo, Mērto, Sojhat, Phalodhī, and Sātalmer (Pokara) in jāgīr. Bāṅkidās, p. 29; Javsāntsīṅghjī kī Khyāt (MS no. 15661, Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur), pp. 1-2; Ojāh, 4:1:413-414; Vigat, 1:123-124.
2,000,000 dams. The total assessment there became 14,000,000 dams, the rupee [value] of which was 350,000.

---

650 The text has 2,000,00 dams. Apparently the word bīs ("twenty") should have followed lakh (100,000).
A great battle came up in the month of January, 1544, between the villages of Samel and Khäp. There is a river flowing before Samel. Its flow is toward Girri and Babro. On its near side are two small hills. The säth of Räv [Mälde]ji came to the battle between them. There was brush there. The entire battlefield there consisted of terraces. Now they have fallen. On the far side of the river of Samel are the chaṭrīs of the Mërtiyos. Once during the battle both Jaito [and] Kümpo dismounted while in the safety of the river bank and ate opium with the water of the river. They rinsed their mouths. Tightening the reins of their horses, they urged them up again and spurred them on into [the opposing army].

1 The battle of Samel between the forces of Räv Mälde of Jodhpur and those of Sher Shäh Sūr took place on January 5, 1544.

2 The text has Amel Khāpas, evidently a printer's mistake for Samel and Khäp, two villages located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer and twenty-three miles east of Jaitāraṇ town. Khäp is listed as "Khāp of Samel" in Vigat, 1:555.

3 Literally, "its direction is to Girri [and] Bābro." Bābro is situated seven miles to the west of Samel; Girri lies eight miles southwest of Bābro. The site of the battle is indicated by Map 3, "Mārvār Terrain of the Battle of Samel, 1544."

4 Ulai kānai: the near side; the side nearest Jodhpur.

5 Cauṭro: a raised platform; a terrace. Lands near the hills, particularly where there are potential waterways or streams, are often terraced with mud walls around them to contain water from runoff and rains. James Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, edited by William Crooke, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1920), 2:774, has an excellent description of terrace cultivation in the Arāvalis:

From the margin of the stream on each side to the mountain's base they have constructed a series of terraces rising over each other, whence by simple and ingenious methods they raise the waters to irrigate the rich crops of sugarcane, cotton, and rice, which they cultivate upon them .... Wherever soil could be found, or time decomposed these primitive rocks, a barrier was raised.

6 Literally, "having done battle" (vedh kar nai).

7 Rāṭhor Jaito Paṇcāṇjot (no. 61), one of Räv Mälde's pradhāns and the founder of the Jaitāvat branch of Mārvār Rāṭhors.

8 Rāṭhor Kümpo Mahirāṇjot (no. 95), Rāv Mälde's senāpati, or army commander, and the founder of the Kümāvat branch of Mārvār Rāṭhors.

9 It was a common custom among Rajpūts to take opium before or during a battle, both to steady nerves and to alleviate or deaden pain.
The Sūr Pātsāh, a Paṭhān,10 and the Rāṭhōr, Vīramde Dūḍāvat,11 advanced against Rāv Mālde. Vīramde Dūḍāvat brought [the Pātsāh’s] armies [to Mārvār]. Then Rāv Mālde, [having gone] as far as Harmāro,12 [a village] of Ajmer, confronted [them] with 80,000 horse.13 The encampments of the Pātsāh drew near. Then [Rāv Mālde] moved [his camp] back two or three kos. Samel became the Pātsāh’s camp. Gīrrī became the Rāv’s camp. Here the Rāv decided to move the camp back once more. He told Rāṭhōr Jaito Paṇcāḍīnāt [and] Rāṭhōr Kūmpo Māhīrājāt [this]. They said: "The land beyond [here] you obtained. And the land to the rear of here your ancestors and our ancestors obtained together. We shall not move back from here."

Then Vīramde Dūḍāvat played a trick and confused the Rāv.

It was dusk. [The first] four ghārīs of the night were gone. The Rāvjī had lain down on a dholīyo in [his] tent. He was wearing a sūṭhān.14 He was covered with a fine dupāṭo.15 Rāṭhōr Pato Kūmpāvāt16 [and] Rāṭhōr Udaisīsingh Jaitāvāt17 both were sleeping on the ground near the Rāvjī’s dholīyo. Meanwhile, a Cārān of Rāṭhōr Vīramde Dūḍāvat’s came and had [his] respects paid [to the Rāvjī while standing] at the entrance [to the tent]. Then the Rāvjī said: "Come inside." The Cārān sent word: "Vīramde has had [me] make a request. He has had [me] make [it] in secret. Rāj Stand outside at the entrance." Then the Rāvjī went outside wearing the sūṭhān, covered with the dupāṭo.

"Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 43

He conversed with that Cārān while standing near the tent-rope. Rāṭhōr Vīramde had fabricated a lie and sent word with the Cārān: "The Rāvs [of Jodhpur] drove us away, but even so we wish the throne [of Jodhpur to be] yours. Your Rajpūts have all met with the Pātsāh." Then the Rāvjī said: "Why should one think [so]?" The Cārān said: "The Pātsāh has given mohars18 to the umrāvs." Then the Rāvjī said: "The

---

10 Sher Shāh Sūr, the Afghan (Paṭhān) ruler of Delhi and north India, 1540-45.
11 Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhōr Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (no. 105).
12 Harmāro: a village situated fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer.
13 For the size of the armies present at Samel, see n. 295 to Vigat, 2:57.
14 Sūṭhān: a type of pajama covering the lower portion of the body; a type of chain mail fulfilling the same function.
15 The text has dupāṭi here and dupāṭo farther down the page. We have standardized the usage to avoid confusion. A dupāṭo was a type of shawl or cover-cloth commonly worn by Rajpūts.
16 Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhōr Pato (Pratāpsīṅgḥ) Kūmpāvāt (no. 96).
17 Jaitāvāt Rāṭhōr Udaisīsingh Jaitāvāt (no. 62).

mohar (Persian muhr): a gold coin. In Akbar’s time, the mohar had an accounting...
umrāvs are not the sort of men [who can be bribed]." The Čāraṇ said: "[Their] tents cannot be searched, but send a Sāhūkār;19 have the Modīs20 of the umrāvs estimate the mohars." So the Rāvji sent the Sāhūkār. Previously Viramde had withheld mohars from the hands of his own Modīs, having promised21 [them to] the Modīs [of the umrāvs]. And so [the Sāhūkār] came and told the Rāvji: "They have ready as many mohars as they need." Then [concern] entered the mind of the Rāvji. He came back [into his tent], quickly put on a vágo,22 tied on a dagger, tied on a sword, and did not even ask anyone [about the mohars]. There was a horse of the guardpost standing [nearby]; he mounted [it] and set out himself. He told the kāmdārs: "Come quickly with the camp equipment."

Then they began to take down the camp equipment. Rāthor Pato Kānhāvat,23 Rāthor Udaisingh Jaitāvat, [and] Rāthor Kümpoji received this news. These thākürs did not believe [what they had heard]. They sent for [additional] information; yet another man came and said: "The Rāvji departed." Then both brothers,24 Kümpoji [and] Jaitojī, came and sat down in one place. [Someone] had set free an elephant of the Rāv's; [men] had to search for it. It [was] the elephant [carrying] the Rāv's throne25 [and] had been injured.26 It [could] not be saved, [no matter] what they did.

value of nine silver rupees. Its exact value at the time of the battle of Samel in 1544 is unknown. For a discussion of the relationship between the mohar and the rupee in Mughal times, see Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707 (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), pp. 384-387.

19 Sāhūkār: a person who deals with money, a banker.

20 Modī: a grain merchant. H. H. Wilson, A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms (1855: reprint edition, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968), p. 344, has the following: "[Modī] most usually denotes the village shopkeeper, a sort of grocer or chandler and grain dealer, who sells a variety of of articles of necessity to the villagers, ... who are generally in his debt at an usurious rate of interest." Apparently Modīs also handled funds for important Rajpūts in middle period Mārvār.

21 Sadvāy: perhaps this conjunctive participle is from the verb sandāvno, a variant form of sandhāno, "to join," "to connect," "to promise," "to vow." Our translation is based upon this possibility.

22 Vāgo: a garment bound at the waist and extending down to the knees.

23 Akhairajot Rāthor Pato Kānhāvat (no. 35). There may be some confusion of names in the text between Pato Kānhāvat and Pato Kümpāvat, who is mentioned on p. 42, supra, as sleeping outside the Rāv's tent along with Udaisingh Jaitāvat.

24 Kümpo and Jaito were not actual brothers, but rather paternal cousins. The term "brothers" is used in a broader sense here, indicating those Rajpūts of close male blood belonging to the same brotherhood (bhāibandh).

25 Pāṭ ro hāthī. Literally, "the elephant of the throne," i.e., the elephant the Rāv would have ridden into battle.
Then Kûmpoî [and] Jaitoji had [it] shot by the men who searched [for it]. Afterward, they sent a man to the [Râv’s] tent and had [him] report how large a sâth had left [and] how large a sâth had stayed. The man came [back] and informed [them]: "A large sâth went with the Râvji. There are various important thâkurs [still here], and, up until now, quite a large sâth has remained. Twenty thousand horse have stayed." Then both thâkurs, Jaitoji [and] Kûmpoî, spread floor-cloths and sat down. They pondered: "What should be done?" Then they summoned all the great thâkurs. They asked [their opinion]; all thought this: "If we let Mârâv be lost now, where would we go?" And [so] thinking, they perceived: "Râv Mâlde left; the sâth [left] behind [is] small; we cannot match [the enemy] in a daytime battle." Then they mounted to carry out a night attack. There was some twist of fate. They wandered around all night [but still] did not find the innumerable horse of the Pâtsâh.

Meanwhile, it became morning. The Pâtsâh’s kettledrum was struck. [As] the Pâtsâh’s kettledrum was being struck, [the Rathors], as they wandered, came to the bank of the river of Samel. [27]

"Aîtihasik Bâtâm," p. 44

They did not find [the Pâtsâh’s army] during the night [because] Vîrâmde told the Pâtsâh: "The Rajpûts will attack [our] tents [during the night]; take down the tents." So the Pâtsâh took down the tents, retreated, and set up [the tents again].

Then [the Râthors] came to the bank of the river of Samel. Even before [they came there] the sâth of the [Pâtsâh’s] guardpost saw [them]. The Pâtsâhjî prepared for battle also. [29] Here both armies rushed forward and joined [in battle]. The

26 Vîrâriyo in the text is a misprint for vîgarîyo ("injured," "spoiled"), as the editor, N. S. Bhâthî, suggests in n. 5.

27 Navlâkh: literally, "nine lâkhs," "900,000," an adjective of deliberate exaggeration used to indicate very large numbers.

28 The text has râte lâbh nahiîn.; apparently the reading should be rate lâbholâbhaini nahiîn.

29 The Râthors were already prepared to fight, as they had been trying to carry out a night attack.

30 Kâthath nai. Lâîas, RSK, 1:399, defines kâthathno thus:

(1) To leave; (2) to come outside; (3) to move making the "kâthath" sound; (4) to move being in a frenzy/boil.

Sâkariya, RHSK, p. 192, defines kâthathno in this way:

(1) To be ready/prepared; (2) to be ready/prepared for attack; (3) to attack; (4) to be in a frenzy/boil; (5) to surge/overflow.
kettledrums sounded. These thākurs, Jaitoji [and] Kumpoji, destroyed an aṇṭi, a large harol\(^1\) of the Pātsāh’s army, and remained standing unharmed [on the battlefield]. Afterward there was a skirmish\(^2\) with Jalāl Jalūko.\(^3\) Jaitoji struck Jalāl’s chest [a blow] with [his] lance. Jalāl had full armor, so the lance did not break through, but Jalāl’s foot left the stirrups from the magic\(^4\) of the lance. Jalāl, [knocked back] on the hairs of [his] horse’s tail, fell down, and both front feet of Jaitoji’s horse broke [from Jaitoji’s] hurling the lance. Such strength Jaitoji showed! These thākurs died fighting. Another sāṭh died fighting. Ṛāṭhor Jaitoji died fighting in [his] sixtieth year. Kumpoji died fighting in [his] thirty-fifth year. Ṛāṭhor Pato Kānhāvat fought so [fiercely] that the blood of Pato’s body got on the Pātsāh’s body. The Pātsāh himself was in the battle, mounted on a very fine horse. He won the battle. Afterward, the Pātsābji came upon [the bodies of] Jaitoji [and] Kumpoji. He looked at [them]. He stood Jaitoji up and looked at [him]. He told Ṛāṭhor Viramde Dūḍāvat: “This Rajput did so much—I might have lost the Empire of Delhi. Perhaps if Rāv Mālde had stayed, I would have lost the battle.”\(^5\)

---

sound of armored men marching forward in step.

\(^{31}\) Harol (Persian harāwal): an advance guard of an army, a vanguard.

\(^{32}\) Kām: literally, "an action."

\(^{33}\) Jalāl Jalūko: Jalāl Khān Jalvāṇī, an Afghan chief in the service of Sher Shāh.

\(^{34}\) Jāl: magic, magical power.

\(^{35}\) One may contrast the description of the battle of Samel given here with that given by the Muslim historian, ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh Bādā’ūnī:

In short Shīr Shāh, who would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afgāns were far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve his army in calimity with the ignorant, boar-natured, currish Hindūs. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Māldeo’s army, to himself, couched in enigmatic language, the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Māldeo alive and deliver him up, upon the condition that such and such place should be given them as a reward. Having done this he so arranged that those letters fell into Māldeo’s hands, with the result that Māldeo became utterly suspicious of all his generals, and, in the dead of night, fled alone without looking behind him; and, notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct, and that this was all the handiwork of Shīr Shāh in his desire to raise dissension between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Māldeo’s mind. Kanhaiyā [Kūmpo], who was his minister and agent, abused Māldeo in violent terms, and taking four thousand resolute men devoted to death, or even more than this number, came down upon the army of Shīr Shāh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching
Five thousand Rathors out of twenty thousand died fighting. Fifteen thousand left [only] after having fought [with the enemy]. Rathor Jaitsi Vaghot, Rathor Jeso Bhairavdasot, Rathor Mahes Gharshiyot—these great thakurs left. Many others left. The Rāv left and came toward Sivāno to the mountains of Piplān. [Thereafter] the guros of the Ṛṃmals were in the hills. Kumpojī's [wife] became a satī [near the statue of] Mahākāl in Sāran.

the whole night, when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear. After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shūr Shāh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shūr Shāh or by the superior good fortune of Ḩiṣām, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and mutual assistance, binding their sashes together and joining hand to hand, attacked the army of the Afgāns with their short spears, which they call Barchcha, and with their swords. Shūr Shāh had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and trample them down. In the rear of the elephants, the artilleries and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world's page was polished, and freed from the dark lines of the land of infidels, and not one of the infidels got off with his life, nor was a single Muslim lost in that encounter.


36 Jodho Rathor Jaitsi Vaghvat (no. 85).
37 Cāmpāvat Rathor Jeso Bhairavdasot (no. 48).
38 Cundāvat Rathor Mahes Gharshiyot (no. 58).
39 Guoro: a hideout; a temporary village which may grow into a permanent settlement; a type of long-term camp, different from the dero or short-term camp in that it included all of the dependents of its Rajput master—peasants, Cārans, Brāhmans, potters, etc.—and not just those persons concerned with military service. Livestock was also kept in the guoro. See R. Saran, "Conquest and Colonization: Rajputs and Vāsīṣ in Midde Period Mārvār (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1978), pp. 88-89.
40 Sati: a "virtuous woman"; a woman who has immolated herself on her husband's funeral pyre.
41 Mahākāl: (1) Śiva as Lord of Time and hence of Death; (2) an image or statue of Śiva in this destructive aspect. The text has a cryptic Kūmpāji ri sati Sāran Mahākāl huī, but "Aitihāsik Bātam," p. 85, has the following:
Rāv Candrasen was cremated near the banyan tree (var) of Mahākāl of Sāran [village]. There were three satīs. Their chatriś are near [the statue of] Mahākāl.

From this passage, one might hypothesize that it was a tradition (during the sixteenth century, at least) for important Rāṭhorś to be cremated and their wives to become satīs near the statue of Mahākāl in Sāran village. See also "Aitihāsik Bātām," pp. 87-89; Vigat, 1:465.

Saran: a village located eighteen miles southeast of Sojhat.
Thereafter Rāv Mālde recalled again the enmity with the Meṛṭiyos. The Rāvji went against Meṛto in 1554. At that time these great thākurs were with [him]: Prithīraj Jaitāvat,1 Cāndo Vīramdevot,2 Ratansī Khīṃvāvat,3 Nago Bhārmalot,4 Prithīraj Kūmpāvat,5 and Mānsīṅgh.6 There was another large sāth too. They came to Indāvār7 and made camp. Jaimal8 sent a man to Prithīraj and had [him] say: "We are the Rāvji's Rajputs. Have us perform services; why kill us?" He as well as the five thākurs9 entreated with the Rāvji, but the Rāv, in a hostile mood, would not consider [their request]. On March 20, 1554,10 he carried out an attack [against Meṛto]. These [men]—Rāv Mālde himself, Prithīraj, and Nago Bhārmalot—[were] at the Jodhpur Gate.11 The large anī12 was on this side. Cāndo Vīramdevot had not joined [them] at the time of the battle. He had camped at Vaḍāgāṁv.13 He procrastinated a bit; [then] he came and joined [them] at Sāṭālvās14 [after the battle].

---

1 Jaitāvat Rāṭhor Prithīraj Jaitāvat (no. 63).
2 Meṛṭiyos Rāṭhor Cāndo Vīramdevot (no. 123).
3 Ūdāvat Rāṭhor Ratansī Khīṃvāvat (no. 141).
4 Bālāvat Rāṭhor Nago Bhārmalot (no. 38).
5 Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor Prithīraj Kūmpāvat (no. 97).
6 Sonagaro Cāhuvaṇ Mānsīṅgh Akhairājot (no. 10).
7 Indāvār: a village situated eight miles southwest of Meṛto.
8 Meṛṭiyos Rāṭhor Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107), Rāv of Meṛto, 1544-57 and also briefly in 1562.
9 The "five thākurs" referred to apparently were the Rāṭhor thākurs with Rāv Mālde at this time.
10 See n. 337 to Vigat, 2:58, for the date of the second attack on Meṛto.
11 I.e., the gate of Meṛto town facing Jodhpur.
12 Apparently the Rāv's army was divided into two anīs: one, referred to as the "Rāv's sāth" or the "large anī," situated near the Jodhpur Gate; the second, called the "anī of the Rīnumls" or simply the "other anī," situated near the Bejpo Tank and the koṭrī.
13 Vaḍāgāṁv: a village situated eleven miles south-southwest of Meṛto and five miles due south of Indāvār, mentioned above.
14 Sāṭālvās: a village situated four miles southwest of Meṛto.
Ratansi Khîmvavat, Jagmâl,15 [and] another large sâth as well, forming a [smaller] anîi in the direction of the Bejpo [Tank],16 had told [him]: "Come to the koṭrī." [Meanwhile] Jaimal was performing many religious devotions17 for Śrī Catarbhujī. The Ṭhâkur19 was pleased. There was a command: "Do battle; victory will be yours." So Jaimal himself came in front of the large anîi and remained [concealed] among some shrubs.20 The Râv's sâth did not even take very much notice [of him], and Jaimal's men went back and forth in between. They came and told Jaimal: "Prithîrâj [is] by himself, [sub]dividing the [large] anîi. The [smaller] anîi of the Rinmals is separate [near the Bejpo Tank]. The sâth is inattentive. If you rush upon [them] now, there is a chance. Also, Prithîrâj will come before you now to divide the [large] anîi." Then all of a sudden they made a quick attack. When Prithîrâj saw them, he dismounted. His anîi remained separate. A skirmish occurred here. Śrī Catarbhujī was Jaimal's ally. The fight began with Prithîrâj Jaitâvat. Prithîrâj showed great prowess. Fourteen men were struck down by his hand. The sword of his military servant, Hîṅgolo Pîpâro,21 broke. Then he snatched Surtân Jaimalot's22 sword, one embellished with silk,23 from [Surtân's] waist,24 took [it] away with him, summoned Hîṅgolo, and gave [it to him].

Nago Bhârmalot died fighting.

15 Meṛṭīyo Râṭhoṛ Jagmâl Vîrâmedov (no. 124).
16 The Bejpo was an ancient tank in Meṛto town (see Vigat, 2:38).
17 Sevd: service of a religious or devotional nature performed for a god, goddess, or religious teacher.
18 Śrī Catarbhujī: the patron deity of the Meṛṭīyo Râṭhoṛs (see n. 516 to Vigat, 2:69).
19 I.e., Śrī Catarbhujī.
21 Pîpâro is the designation of a branch (sâkh) of the Gahlot Rajpūt family (kuṭ). We have no additional information concerning Hîṅgolo.
22 Meṛṭīyo Râṭhoṛ Surtân Jaimalot (no. 113).
23 Sâjh resmî tho: literally, "the embellishment/decoration was silken."
24 Karīyâm suṁ. Karīyâm is "waist," but also is the plural of karî, "metal ring/band." Possibly karîyâm in this sentence refers to the embellishment (sâjh) of Surtân's sword. If so, the translation would read; "Then he snatched Surtân's sword, one embellished with silk [and] with metal bands, took [it] away with him, summoned Hîṅgolo, and gave [it to him]."
Caturbhujji himself mounted a horse and joined Jaimal's faction. The Rāvji's sāth, the [large] aṇī, fled. The Rāvji withdrew from there and remained standing to the rear. Jaimal, having won the battle, immediately turned back. He came before the gate near the koṭrī. Just then [the men of] the other aṇī, which was coming to this entrance of the Bejpo [Tank] after having taken the [nearby] villages under control and looted the city, perceived Jaimal returning. They thought: "He has come from there having lost [the battle]." This aṇī and Jaimal joined [in battle]. There Devīdās Jaitāvat was about to strike Jaimal a blow with a lance when out of the mouth of Ratansī Khīṃvāvat [came the words]: "Rāv [Jaimal] should be spared." That thākur, [Deviḍās], did not thrust the lance. Jaimal was a perceptive man. He realized: "I have acquired the backing of a powerful man." Then he went inside the gate. A dīhu concerning this [occurrence], the sākh of Ratansī Khīṃvāvat:

Jaimal, man of battle, one who troubled the land of Maṇḍovar, the son of Khīṃvo defeated the weapon before you. Jaimal closed the gate and remained seated [inside]. [The men of the aṇī] looted the market square and the city again, then came outside [the walls]. Previously [they] received the news [that] the Rāv had fled. Many men wrung [their] hands in regret over this occurrence. The sāth came to Sataḷvās and joined the Rāv. Then Rāṭhor Ķando Vīramdevot said a great deal to Rāv Mālde: "Make camp right here. Tomorrow we will attack. We will kill Jaimal." But the Rāvji did not consider [Ċando's] proposal. He made camp back at Ėṅgāṛo. In this battle [at Mėṛto] the following sāth of Rāv Mālde's died fighting.

---

25BHĪR: crowd, faction.

26KOṬRĪ kanai najīk paul rai munhaḍalai āyo. The word najīk is redundant in this sentence.

27Jaitāvat Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvat (no. 65).

28MHAI sabalo bol bāṃsaī nāṅkhīyo chai. We are uncertain of the precise meaning of the fragment bol bāṃsaī nāṅkhīyo chai; the sense of the entire phrase seems to be that Jaimal had put or placed strong words or a firm promise on his side (literally, "behind [him]"), i.e., that he had acquired the support of a powerful man (Ratansī Khīṃvāvat).

29Maṇḍovar: another name for Maṇḍor, a town situated five miles north of Jodhpur.

30Khemāl: apparently this is a poetic form of Khīṃvālo/Khīṃvāvat, "son of Khīmo/Khīmvo," a reference to Ratansī Khīṃvāvat.

31Gāṅgāṛo: a village situated seven miles west of Mėṛto.

32This list contains several redundancies, which we have eliminated for the reader's convenience.
Prithārāj Jaitāvat died fighting. He fought well. His sākh:

Destruction\(^{33}\) [itself] in hand-to-hand combats,\(^{34}\) a warrior with a collection [of] twelve lances [belonging to fallen enemies], Pīthal (Prithīrāj), destroying the renown\(^{35}\) [of others], killed so many in battle. There, in the Rāṭhōr family, several became men a second time,\(^{36}\) but none [your] equal in profound virtues, Pīthal!

Rāṭhōr Prithīrāj Jaitāvat [was] thirty years [old].
Rāṭhōrs Nago Bhārmalot [and] Dhano Bhārmalot, two brothers.
Rāṭhōr Jagnāl Udaikaraṇot.\(^{37}\)
Rāṭhōr Dhanrāj.\(^{38}\)
Dūṅgarsī.\(^{39}\)
Megho.\(^{40}\)
Abho.\(^{41}\)
Rato.\(^{42}\)
Sohar Pītho Jesāvat.\(^{43}\)
Sūjo Tejsiyot.\(^{44}\)

---

\(^{33}\) **Bibhar**: probably this is a variant of vibhār, "destruction."

\(^{34}\) **Vāthām**: the oblique plural of vāthi/bāth, "scuffle," "embrace," "duel," etc.

\(^{35}\) **Virad**: a laudatory title held by men of renown (e.g., kāj-bhujāl, "warrior capable of fighting Death/Time itself").

\(^{36}\) I.e., "died fighting." **Bhalaih** in the text is glossed by Lālas (RSK, 3:3:3317) as a variant of vāle, "again," "a second time."

\(^{37}\) Karamsot Rāṭhōr Jagnāl Udaikaraṇot (no. 91).

\(^{38}\) Probably Bālāvat Rāṭhōr Dhanrāj (Dhano) Bhārmalot (no. 39). If so, this would be yet another redundancy in this somewhat garbled list.

\(^{39}\) Sīndhal Rāṭhōr Dūṅgarsī (no. 133).

\(^{40}\) Sācoro Cahuvaṇ Megho Bhairavdāsot (no. 8).

\(^{41}\) Paṅcolī Abho Jhājhāvat (no. 161).

\(^{42}\) Paṅcolī Rato Abhāvat (no. 163), son of Abho Jhājhāvat.

\(^{43}\) Sohar Rāṭhōr Pītho Jesāvat. See n. 343 to **Vigat**, 2:59.
[These men] fell [on the battlefield].

"Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 50

Then the Rāv left [Gāṅgērō]. A military servant of Jaimal's, Sisodiyo Megho, came near to thrust a weapon at the Rāvī. Rāṭhor Kisandās Gāṅgāvat [and] Rāṭhor Dūṅgārīsī Udāvat realized: "He will strike the Rāv with [his] lance." Then they killed [Megho].

Afterward Jaimal [and] several [others] heard of this affair. Then Rāṭhor Kisandās came to the Rāv's vās [for protection]. Jaimal was infuriated. After that the Rāvī proceeded to Jodhpur.

At that time there was no Rajpūt like Pritharāj Jaitāvat in the Rāv's service, for which reason the Rāvī [was] very worried. The Rāvī gave Bagṛī to Pritharāj's son, Pūraṇmal. At that time Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat was in the sāth of Ratansī Khīṃvāvat. He had Bāṅjhāṅkūrī in pato. Devidās left there and came to the Rāvī. The Rāvī highly honored Devidās. Devidās greatly strengthened the Rāvī. The Rāvī thought: "He will achieve the aim of Prithirāj for me." Devidās requested orders from the Rāvī: "If [you] command [me], I shall depart one time and end the vair of Prithirāj." Then he went to [his] home, dispatched one thousand horsemen of the Rīṁmals, came [with them] to Reyāṁ, and invested [it]. [After] they had stayed [there] an entire day, Jaimal received word. Then the entire Merṭīyo colāvat.

---

44 Rāṭhor Sūjo Tejśiyot. See n. 348 to Vigat, 2:59.

45 No additional information is available concerning this Sisodiyo Rajpūt.

46 Jodho Rāṭhor Kisandās Gāṅgāvat (no. 87).

47 Udāvat Rāṭhor Dūṅgārīsī Udāvat (no. 137). Both Dūṅgārīsī and Kisandās were Jaimal's military servants at this time.

48 Bagṛī: a village situated fifty-two miles southeast of Jodhpur, near Sojhat.

49 Jaitāvat Rāṭhor Pūraṇmal Prithirājot (no. 64).

50 Bāṅjhāṅkūrī: a village situated five miles north of Jaitāraṇ and fifty-two miles due east of Jodhpur.

51 Vair ekarsur khaṛ bhāṅjḥāṃ. Vair bhāṅjho: "to break a vair"; i.e., to end the state of tension or hostility that exists for a lineage or an individual upon the murder of a kinsman or retainer.

52 Literally, "came."

53 Reyāṁ: a village situated twenty-eight miles northeast of Bāṅjhāṅkūrī and eighty miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.

54 colāvat: perhaps this word is a compound formed from colā ("bodies") plus vāṭ.
prepared for [battle] and came [to Meṛto] for an attack [on Devidās]. Jaimal stopped [them]. He said: "This [situation] is very favorable to them [now]. In the morning have the kettledrum struck." Devidās passed near Meṛto with [his] supplies loaded into one hundred plowman's carts. Even then no one came to oppose [him].

Subsequently Háji Khān,⁵⁵ [who had been] an umrāv of the Pātsāh's,⁵⁶ was going to Gujārāt. Discord arose between him [and] Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh.⁵⁷ Then Háji Khān sent word to the Rāvjī: "If you send a sāth to help me, then I will give you Ajmer." The Rāvjī became very thoughtful: "Who shall I send? Who will go?" Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat said to the Rāvjī: "I shall go. Rāj! Why do you worry?" The Rāvjī was very pleased. He praised [Devidās] much. He said: "Indeed you are my [man]! First, last, and always the shame⁵⁸ of Māṛvār is on your shoulders." Then the Rāvjī said to Rāṭhor Devidās: "Take with you the sāth you decide upon; you are dismissed." Devidās decided upon 1,500 horsemen. He had the ones selected recorded name by name.⁵⁹ The Rāvjī gave Devidās a horse [and] a sīrpāv and dispatched [him]. The following great thākurs were in the sāth:

"Aītihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51

Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat.
Rāṭhor Jagnāl Vīramdevot.⁶⁰
Rāvāl Meghrāj Hāpāvat.⁶¹
Rāṭhor Prithīrāj Kūmpāvat.⁶²
Rāṭhor Mahes Gharṣīyot.⁶³

("share," "portion"), signifying the living members of the Meṛtiyo sākh.

See n. 356 to Vigat, 2:60.

⁵⁵ Sher Shāh Sūr, Afghan ruler of north India, 1540-45.

⁵⁶ Sisodiyo Gaḥlot Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvat (no. 17), ruler of Mevār, ca. 1537-72.

⁵⁷ See n. 120 to Vigat, 2:45.

⁵⁸ The Rāṭhor rulers of Māṛvār were in the habit of recording the names of those men taking part in military endeavors. A passage in Nainśī's Khyāt (2:288) suggests that this may have been a practice since the reign of Rāvāl Māloji (fourteenth century):

Then they decided on a night attack. Māloji ordered: "Write down the names of the sīrdārs." He had the names of one hundred and forty sīrdārs written down.

⁶⁰ Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor Jagnāl Vīramdevot (no. 124).

⁶¹ Maheco Rāṭhor Meghrāj Hāpāvat (no. 103).

⁶² Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor Prithīrāj Kūmpāvat (no. 97).
Rāṭhōr Mahes Kūmpāvat, a military servant of the Rāṇo's, was in the opposing sāth. At that time Mahes had little material wealth. He had one village of Mevār, Nīprar, in pato. In the battle Mahēṣṭī protected the Rāṇo’s elephants, which were being seized. He brought them back, for which reason Mahes gained esteem. Afterward the Rāṇo gave Mahēṣṭī Bālī with seventeen other villages.

The Rāṣṭrs sāth came from [one direction]; Häjī Khān came from [another]. The Rāṇo also came to Harmāro. Here preparations for battle began. At that time Rāṭhōr Tejsī Dūṅgarsīyot was in the opposing army of the Rāṇo. He had come to meet [his] brothers. Afterward the Rāṇo asked Tejsī for information concerning Rāv Mālde's army: "Tell [me] the information [you have]." Then [Tejsī] said: "Rājī! I shall tell you what you ask." The Rāṇo said: "If the opposing army were to be defeated, how large a sāth [of theirs] would die fighting?" Tejsī said: "Five hundred Rāṭhōrs would die fighting." And the Rāṇo said: "If our army were to be defeated, how large a sāth [of ours] would die fighting?" Then Tejsī said: "Five to seven men would die fighting." Then Tejsī said: "Tejsī! This [battle] will end quickly!"

---

63 CUNDAVAT RĀṬHŌR MAHES GHARŚĪYOT (no. 58).
64 AKHAIRĀJOT RĀṬHŌR LAKHMĀṆ BHĀḌĀVAT (no. 33).
65 CĀMPĀVAT RĀṬHŌR JAITMĀṆ JESĀVAT (no. 49).
66 KŪMPĀVAT RĀṬHŌR MAHES KŪMPĀVAT (no. 98).
67 NĪPRĀṆ: we have been unable to find this village of Mevār on modern maps.
68 BĀLI: a large village forty-eight miles northwest of Udaipur and seventy-six miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.
69 Literally, "The Rāṣṭr’s sāth came from here; Häjī Khān came from there."
70 Harmāro: a village situated fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer.
71 ÛDĀVAT RĀṬHŌR TEJSĪ DŪṅGARSĪYOT (no. 138).
72 I.e., his fellow Rāṭhōrs who were in Rāv Mālde's army.
73 Literally, "flee" or "be destroyed" (bhājai).
74 Tejsī is saying that if the Rāṭhōrs were to lose, five hundred Rāṭhōrs would die because, being great warriors, they would all stay on the battlefield and fight to the death. But if the Rāṇo's army were to lose, only five or six Sīsodīyos would die because most would run away and not fight.
Very soon afterward the battle occurred. Ṛāṭhor Tejsī Ḍuṅgarsiyot, of firm resolve \[and\] world-famous, [said]: "I shall kill the sīrḍār, Ḫājī Ḵān."

After [that], Ḫājī Ḵān sat in an iron compartment on an elephant. He took many precautions. Even so Tejsī came and struck Ḫājī Ḵān a blow. Ṛāṭhor Devḍās Jaitāvat killed Bāḷīṣo Sūjo. Ḫājī Ḵān [and] the Rāvį’s sāṭh won the battle. The Rāṇo lost. He fled. At that time the following other desots were in the Rāṇo’s army:

Rāv Kalyāṇmal, the Bīkā[ner]iyō.
Rāv Durgo of Rāṃpuro.
Rāv Tejo of Devalīyo.
Rāv Rāṁ Khairāṛo of Jājpūr.
Rāv Narāyāṇ[ḍās] of İḍar.

\[76\] \textit{Vadievāḍ:} this word is problematic; it seems to be a compound adjective formed from \textit{vadi̓e,} which perhaps is the oblique past participle of \textit{vadno,} "to say," "to speak," "to decide," "to be stubborn," "to insist," etc. (Lāḷas, \textit{RSK,} 4:2:4501), plus the noun \textit{vāḍ,} "obstinacy," "promise," "word," etc. (Lāḷas, \textit{RSK,} 4:2:4611), used to qualify Tejsī. Cf. "Aitiḥāṣik Batam," p. 67, where the variant form \textit{vāḍiyevāḍ} appears in another passage concerning the same events. Our translation suggests one possible meaning of \textit{vadievāḍ:} others might be "of firm promise," "of spoken word," of determined stubbornness," etc.

\[77\] \textit{Ghanā jatan kiya:} literally, "made many efforts [to defend himself]."

\[78\] Bāḷīṣo Cahuvaṇ Sūjo Sāṁvatot (no. 4).

\[79\] \textit{Desot:} the ruler of a \textit{des} ("country").

\[80\] Bīkāvat Rāṭhor Rāv Kalyāṇmal Jaitsiyot (no. 46), son of Rāv Jaitsī Lūṅkaraāot (no. 45) and ruler of Bīkāner, ca. 1542-74.

\[81\] The text has Toḍā, evidently a mistake for Toḍāṛī. Cf. n. 367 for \textit{Vigat,} 2:60. Toḍāṛī lies sixty miles southeast of Ajmer, near Tonk.

\[82\] Candrāvat Sīsodiyo Gahlot Rāv Durgo Acṭāvat (no. 18), ruler of Rāṃpuro. The territory of Rāṃpuro lies east of Mevāṛ; Rāṃpuro town is 155 miles south-southeast of Ajmer.

\[83\] Sīsodiyo Gahlot Rāv (or Rāvat; see \textit{Vigat,} 2:60) Tejo Bīkāvat (no. 16), ruler of Devalīyo ca. 1564-93. Devalīyo town is situated seventy-two miles southeast of Ajmer.

Rāv Surjan, master of Būndī. 86
Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot [of Meṛto].
Rāval Āskaran of Duṅgarpur. 87
Rāval Pratāpsingh of Vāṃsvālo. 88

[The Sīndhalṣ] Rīṇdhīr [and] Dedo Kojhavat died fighting. 89

"Aitisāik Bāṭāṃ," p. 52

This battle occurred on January 24, 1557, a Sunday. 90 It was perceived [that] the Rāvjī’s sāth possessed much excellence. On the Rāvjī’s side the Sīndhalṣ Dedo [and] Rīṇdhīr died fighting. Afterward Hāji Khān gave leave to the [Rāṭhor] ḫākurs. The Rāvjī thought very well of Rāṭhor Devīdās. He had decided to give [him] Khairvo91 along with eighty-four [other] villages. The ḫujdārs said to the Rāvjī: "Their house is one of a kind. 92 One should ask [Devīdās] one time [what he wants]." Then the ḫujdārs said 93 to Devīdās: "The Rāvjī is saying that you performed a great deed. We shall give you whatever lands you want." Devīdās said: "If you would favor me, then have Bagṛī given to me." Then Devīdās was given Bagṛī with eighty villages. Pūraṇmal Prithīrāj94 was given Pacīk95 with the southwest of Mevāṛ and is directly west of Duṅgarpur.

86 Hādo Cahuvaṅ Rāv Surjan Urjaṅot, ruler of Būndī ca. 1554-85 (no. 6). Būndī is situated to the east of Mevāṛ. Būndī town lies ninety-five miles southeast of Ajmer.

87 Āḥāro Gahlot Rāval Āskaran Prithīrājot, ruler of Duṅgarpur ca. 1549-80 (no. 11). Duṅgarpur is located to the south of Mevāṛ and directly west of Vāṃsvālo.

88 Āḥāro Gahlot Rāval Pratāpsingh Jaisinghot, ruler of Vāṃsvālo ca. 1550-79 (no. 12). The territory of Vāṃsvālo lies directly to the south of Mevāṛ. The text mistakenly lists Rāval Pratāpsingh as ruler of Duṅgarpur and Rāval Āskaran (n. 87, supra) as ruler of Vāṃsvālo.

89 Sīndhal Rāṭhorṣ Rīṇdhīr and Dedo Kojhavat (nos. 135 and 134, respectively).

90 See n. 375 to Vigat, 2:60.

91 Khairvo: a village situated fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

92 Ek bhānt ro: "one of a kind," "unique," "singular," "strange." The "house" referred to is the Jaitāvat Rāṭhor house.

93 Literally, "asked" (pūchīyo).

94 Jaitāvat Rāṭhor Pūraṇmal Prithīrājot (no. 64). Rāv Mālde had given Pūraṇmal, Devīdās’s paternal nephew, Bagṛī village upon the death of Prithīraj Jaitāvat. See "Aitisāik Bāṭāṃ," p. 50.
twelve villages.

A few days thereafter Rāv Mālde quickly formed an army [to attack] Merto. Jaimal left Merto without a fight and went away. Rāv Mālde took Merto. The Rāvji had attacked from a camp in Jaitāraṇ.96 [Before] a battle occurred,97 Jaimal went away. The Rāv took Merto. He had the koṭṛi [and] the place [where] Jaimal's houses [were] knocked down. He knocked down the houses. He had radishes sown in the place [where] the houses [were].98 He took Merto in 1557.99

On March 1, 1558, Rāv Mālde began to have the Mālgadh constructed.100 And when he asked Rāṭhor Devidās [his advice], Devidāsjī restrained [him]. He said: "[Merto] is a village of the open field. The Merṭīyos are attached to it. They will constantly be bringing armies against Merto. If there is to be a fort, a few men101 will [have to] stay here. They will have to die. Otherwise, they will come [to you] when you summon [them]."102 But Rāv Mālde did not accept [what] Devidās said. He had the Mālgadh begun in 1558. In 1560 it was completed.

After having the fort made, he said to Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitavat: "You stay at the garrison in the Mālgadh." Devidās said: "Soon the Merṭīyos will bring armies [to Merto]. Then you will tell me: 'Come near [me] now.' Then I will not come. For that reason you must keep another [there]." The Rāvji began to talk: "Merto [is] in the face of attacks by the Pāṭśāḥ's armies. The Merṭīyos are strongly attached [to it]. Who else is the sort of man who would stay [there]?" The Rāvji was very obstinate and kept Devidās at the garrison in Merto.

"Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 53

In 1562 the Merṭīyo, Jaimal, went to the [Mughal] darbār and was

Bilāṛo.

96 Jaitāraṇ: a town located thirty-two miles south of Merto.

97 The text has vedh huī, "a battle occurred," but there was no battle at this time.

98 The text has māḷā vādiyā, "cut the radishes/roots." All the other sources suggest that Mālde sowed radishes on the site of the Merṭīyos' house. Vādiyā therefore probably is a mistake for vāvīyā/bāvīyā, "sowed."


100 Re: the dates for the contraction of the Mālgadh, see n. 384 to Vigat, 2:61.

101 Literally, "four men."

102 In other words, of what use is a fort in Merto if the men stationed there either must leave when attacked or die fighting in a losing cause?

103 Devidās is implying that he prefers dying in battle to abandoning Merṭo to the enemy.
dispatched from the *darbār* [with] the *sirdār* Saraphdīn\(^{104}\) [and] an army of the Pātśāh's.\(^{105}\) Rāv Mālde received the news. Then he sent an army in aid to Mērtō, [dispatching] Kumvār Candrasen\(^{106}\) along with Rāṭhōr Prithārāj Kūmpāvat, Mānsīṅgh Akhārārājot, [and] Sāṃvaldās, a Varsinghōt Meṛṭīyo,\(^{107}\) [and] providing [him] with an additional large *sāth*. He told Devīdās along with Candrasen: "If an opportunity arises, then you should do battle, otherwise you [Candrasen] come back with Devīdās." Candrasen came to Mērtō. The opposing armies drew near also. Then Candrasen decided: "There is no opportunity for battle. The Pātśāh's armies [are] strong." Then Kumvār Candrasen said to Devīdās: "Come, we shall go to the Rāvījī's presence." Devīdās said: "I pleaded with the Rāvījī at the very time [he built the Mālgadh]: 'Do not have the fort built and do not keep me at the garrison [in Mērtō].' Yesterday\(^{108}\) Prithārāj\(^{109}\) died fighting in this way at Mērtō. I would not appear noble coming [back to Jodhpur] having left Mērtō without a fight." Candrasen remonstrated with Devīdās a great deal, but Devīdās turned around and went into the Mālgadh. Rāṭhōr Sāṃvaldās Varsinghōt conversed with Devīdās during the night. Then he went to his *vasī*, which was somewhere nearby. Candrasen made camp back at Sātalvās [and] Indāvār.\(^{110}\) Rāṭhōr Sāṃvaldās Varsinghōt came there. Rāṭhōr Jaimāl came to Mērtō too, bring the Pātśāh's army. Then once again Candrasen assembled the entire *sāth* and deliberated. Rāṭhōr Sāṃvaldās Varsinghōt was an overly talkative *thākur*. He said: "Now how should one decide? Devīdās was a Rajpūṭ equal to [many] Rajpūṭs."\(^{111}\) He deliberated: "Who are the Rajpūṭs near you? One [is] a little one-eyed man! One is a Vānīyō!"\(^{112}\) The one-eyed man was Mānsīṅgh Akhārārājot, and Rāṭhōr Prithārāj Kūmpāvat, who was lazy, Sāṃvaldās called a Vānīyō. Afterward the talk became disagreeable. Rāṭhōr Prithārāj Kūmpāvat [and] Sonagaro Mānsīṅgh rose up behind [the back of Sāṃvaldās], filled with anger.

\(^{104}\) Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn (see n. 413 to *Vigat*, 2:63).

\(^{105}\) The Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605).

\(^{106}\) Candrasen Māldevot, Rāv Mālde's successor and Rāv of Jodhpur, 1562-81.

\(^{107}\) Varsinghōt Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhōr Sāṃvaldās Udaisinghōt (no. 152).

\(^{108}\) *Kāle*. Prithārāj actually had died eight years earlier.

\(^{109}\) Jaitāvāt Rāṭhōr Prithārāj Jaitāvāt (no. 63).

\(^{110}\) Sātalvās and Indāvār lie within four miles of each other, and four and eight miles respectively southwest of Mērtō.

\(^{111}\) Devīdās was not dead at this point but he no longer was with Candrasen's *sāth* to offer his advice.

\(^{112}\) *Ek kāṇṭīyo, ek vāṇīyo chai*: a sneering rhyme in the original. *Kāṇṭīyo*: diminutive of *kāṇo*, "one-eyed man." Vāṇīyo: a merchant or moneylender, a Baniya.
They complained about Sāṃvaldāṣījī's dishonorable action in the affair involving Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat.113

Rāṭhoṛ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat vāḷī kāṁ ṛī Sāṃvaldāṣījī māṇgai khāmī thē, tīṇ bāt ro gilo kīyo: literally, "There was a fault (khāmī) of action of Sāṃvaldāṣījī in the affair/matter involving Rāṭhoṛ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat; they complained about that affair/matter." This sentence and the following paragraph contain several obscure references, elucidated only by Norman Ziegler's discovery of a story about Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat (no. 99) and Sāṃvaldāṣī Udaisinghot. The story is of interest because it speaks directly to issues of honor and dishonor that stem from slights of behavior and actions that result from such slights. Māṇḍaṇ is portrayed in the story as a great warrior, while Sāṃvaldāṣī is presented as a rather obtuse, boorish Rajput, constantly getting himself into trouble through thoughtless acts. The dishonorable action to which the text refers is Sāṃvaldāṣī's flight before Māṇḍaṇ, leaving his wife to confront him in his stead and allowing Māṇḍaṇ to kill his mother and wound one of his elephants. The substance of the story is as follows:

Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat and Sāṃvaldāṣī Udaisinghot were both Rajpūts of prominence who moved about offering military service to local rulers in return for land. As the story opens, Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat had gone to Mevāṛ with a large sdth to attend a wedding at which the Sīsodiyo Rāṇo, Udaisingh Sāṅgāvā (ca. 1537-72) was also present. While he was there, the Mevāṛ people insulted him, suggesting that the sdth was not his own, but rather belonged to his brotherhood. The Rāṇo himself added further insult by suggesting that the sdth belonged to Abho Sāṅkhlo. These remarks angered Māṇḍaṇ greatly. He promptly left Mevāṛ for Vāṃsvālo, where he took service under the ruler there in return for a sizeable pato. Māṇḍaṇ remained in Vāṃsvālo for one year.

During this time Sāṃvaldāṣī Udaisinghot left Mārvāṛ for Mevāṛ, where he sought military service under Rāṇo Udaisinigh. The Rāṇo was pleased to receive Sāṃvaldāṣī. He honored him and later sent him some of his personal servants. Sāṃvaldāṣī insulted these servants by ordering one old man to warm water for his bath and putting his hands on another. News of these actions quickly reached the Rāṇo, who was infuriated and refused to retain Sāṃvaldāṣī in his service.

Sāṃvaldāṣī in turn went to Vāṃsvālo, arriving there shortly after Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat had departed following his term of service. The Rāvāḷ of Vāṃsvālo took Sāṃvaldāṣī into his service and gave him Māṇḍaṇ's old pato along with additional lands. The Rāvāḷ remarked when he granted these lands that Sāṃvaldāṣī had a great honor to uphold, for he had received the pato of Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat, a great Rajpūt of Mārvāṛ, along with another pato formerly belonging to a great Rajpūt of Vāṃsvālo. Sāṃvaldāṣī replied that he had received many such patos and that he did not know a Rajpūt named Māṇḍaṇ, son of Kūmpo.

A servant of Māṇḍaṇ's happened to overhear the slur and informed Māṇḍaṇ, who resolved to confront Sāṃvaldāṣī. Some of Māṇḍaṇ's Rajpūts cautioned him against involving the two Rāṭhoṛ bhāībandhīs (his own and Sāṃvaldāṣī's) in a fight, but he was not dissuaded, despite the sanctions for such actions (see n. 118 infra).

Māṇḍaṇ proceeded to ride to Sāṃvaldāṣī's village with his sdth. He and his men killed thirty of Sāṃvaldāṣī's Rajpūts during an initial confrontation. Māṇḍaṇ then entered Sāṃvaldāṣī's house and climbed up to the māliyo where Sāṃvaldāṣī and his wife, a Vāḍgūṭjār Rajpūt woman, had been sleeping. Sāṃvaldāṣī had heard the approach of Māṇḍaṇ and his men as they rode in on horseback, and had awakened. He was able to escape at the last moment by leaping down from the māliyo into the house of a

---

113 Rāṭhoṛ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat vāḷī kāṁ ṛī Sāṃvaldāṣījī māṇgai khāmī thē, tīṇ bāt ro gilo kīyo: literally, "There was a fault (khāmī) of action of Sāṃvaldāṣījī in the affair/matter involving Rāṭhoṛ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat; they complained about that affair/matter."
A certain servant of Sāṃvaldāś's, Kevāṅgīṇa, who was standing [nearby], heard [their complaint]. He went to where Sāṃvaldāś had pitched [his] tent and quarreled with [him, saying]: "Why did you say such a petty thing to that ṭhākur?"

"Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 54

Then he told Sāṃvaldāś the slanderous remark [they had made].\textsuperscript{114} "They are talking too, [saying]: 'Up to this point there is no fault of ours equivalent to Sāṃvaldāś's.'" When he heard these words, a fire flared up in Sāṃvaldāś's body. He rose up from his tent and went\textsuperscript{115} to the darbār. Sāṃvaldāś said to Prithīrāj [and] Mānsingh: "You complained about me; you did well. The world knows [that] I was offended [and] you were offended.\textsuperscript{116} Even at the time [of the incident involving Māṇḍan Kūṃpāvat] I was not the sort of Rajput [who] would flee, but Kūṃpo's dharma drove me away.\textsuperscript{117} Otherwise, Māṇḍan would have received the penance [imposed by] the bhāibandh, and up until now why hasn't he gone?\textsuperscript{118}"

The Rāv's darbār was convened. Within were the various important

\textsuperscript{114} \textit{Tarai} Sāṃvaldāś kahaṅ nai kahyo. \textit{Kahaṅ}: "a word, saying"; "a proverb"; "a slanderous remark, public slander."

\textsuperscript{115} Literally, "came."

\textsuperscript{116} \textit{Ek [vāṭ] uvāṃ tathā maṇum lāṅī.} \textit{Uvāṃ} ("they") apparently refers to Prithīrāj and Mānsingh. Since Sāṃvaldāś is speaking to them, we have substituted "you" for "they" in the translation.

\textsuperscript{117} \textit{Piṅ Kūṃpā rai dharam maṇum thel kāḥḥyo}. Sāṃvaldāś is suggesting that that his respect for Kūṃpo Mahīrājot, Māṇḍan's father (no. 95 under "Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhoṛ") led him to avoid a conflict with Māṇḍan. See also n. 118, infra.

\textsuperscript{118} Sāṃvaldāś is saying that had he stood his ground and allowed Māṇḍan to kill him, Māṇḍan would have incurred the penance imposed by the bhāibandh (bhāibandh ro prācī) for intra-lineage murder (gotrakadamb), which was a pilgrimage to Dvārkā, a town in Saurāṣṭra. Because Sāṃvaldāś fled, Māṇḍan did not have to go to Dvārkā to atone for killing him.

Rajpūts. [Sāṃvalḍās said]: "Devidās is in the fort with many Rīnmals. The Mughal army is on all sides. We might proceed with deliberate speed\textsuperscript{119} to the fort. Or we might join up with Devidās after killing the Mughals. Let him who would do as I do come forth. I shall proceed with deliberate speed\textsuperscript{120} to the fort." Candrasen departed and went to Jodhpur. Sāṃvalḍās assembled his sāṭh in two or three days and [then] decided to attack the Pātsāh's army. Sāṃvalḍās sent word to Rāṭhōṛ Devidās too: "I shall come to [you], rāj, if I am able. Have the door to the main gate [of the fort] kept open." Sāṃvalḍās carried out a night attack on the Pātsāh's army. He killed a large sāṭh there, people of the Pātsāh's. He killed fourteen sīrdārs. He destroyed the campsite of the fourteen sīrdārs. He killed fourteen sīrdārs [and] many other people. Rāṭhōṛ Sāṃvalḍās received a severe blow on the foot there as well. Many other [men of] the sāṭh were wounded also. Then Rajpūṭ Sāṃvalḍās's military servants remonstrated with him and brought him away [from the battle].

In the morning Jaimāl came and appealed to Saraphdin: "If the Rāṭhōrs are stubborn about this matter,\textsuperscript{121} they will strike constantly, time after time. We will not be able to stay in place here. Alternatively, come [with me now]; we shall ride after Sāṃvalḍās and kill [him]." Then Jaimāl took Saraphdin [with him] and reached Sāṃvalḍās at Reyāṃ [village]. A skirmish occurred there. Sāṃvalḍās fought very nobly. Sāṃvalḍās died fighting at Reyāṃ.

Rāṭhōṛ Devidās took refuge in the fort at Merto.\textsuperscript{122} Rāv Mālde's men constantly were coming to Devidās [with the message]: "Today you are making a name for yourself, but you are destroying all I have achieved.\textsuperscript{123} [If you] die today, my rāj will become weak." And Rāṭhōṛ Devidās Jaitāvat took refuge in the Mālgadh in Merto.

"Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 55

Then the Turks attached a mine\textsuperscript{124} to a tower and exploded [it]. After that there was a pact [between Devidās and the Mughals]. Rāṭhōṛ Gopāldāṣjī\textsuperscript{125} told this story: the

\textsuperscript{119} Cāḷ sum cāḷ bāṇḍh: literally, "binding/joining motion with motion."

\textsuperscript{120} Hūṃ sāṭhaḷ sum sāṭhaḷ bāṇḍhāṃ: literally, "I shall bind/join thigh with thigh."

\textsuperscript{121} Je in bāṭ māṭhai Rāṭhōṛ āyā. The perfective (āyā) is used here as a tense of possible condition. See J. D. Smith, "An Introduction to the Language of the Historical Documents from Rājasthān," Modern Asian Studies, 9, 4 (1975), pp. 456, 458. Bāṭ māṭhai āṇo: "to do what one has said; to be stubborn." Lāḷas, RSK, 3:2:2997.

\textsuperscript{122} Merto ro kot āṭiyō. Kot/gadh jhāḷo: "to take refuge in a fort" (literally, "to catch hold of a fort").

\textsuperscript{123} Literally, "you are destroying my entire creation (bandh)."

\textsuperscript{124} Sidhrō: a variant of sīndhrō, "a vessel made of camel skin for storing ghi or oil."

\textsuperscript{125} Rathōṛ Gopāldāṣjī: probably Meṛīyo Rāṭhōṛ Gopāldāṣ Sundārān (no. 128), the
Mughals made a pact with Devidâsji. The Mughals said: "You take what is yours and leave. And do not burn the stores behind [you]." They made a pact in this way. [However], Devidâs burned the stores [left] behind.

Saraphdîn and Jaimal came and sat on the main gate. Devidâs mounted up along with the entire sâth and left. A servant was going along in front of Devidâsji carrying a gun [that was] a personal possession of the Râvji's. Saraphdîn [and] Jaimal were sitting on the main gate. When Devidâs left, a servant of one of the Mughals put [his] hands on the Râvji's gun. Just then some thâkur's horse kicked out; [the blow] struck the shin-bone of Devidâs's leg. [His] leg broke. Then someone said: "The thâkur's leg broke." Then Devidâsji said: "Indeed this one [leg] is broken. [But], if I abandon Merto like this and go away, then, if there is justice in the house of Parameśvar,126 both my legs should break." Just then the Turk put [his] hands on the gun. And it fired. Devidâs perceived: "You seize[d] the gun." He gave the Turk a blow on the head with a stick he had taken up127 in one hand. The [Turk's] brains began to come out inside [his] nose. Devidâs went outside the fort. Then Jaimal said to Saraphdîn: "You see, Devidâs is leaving through the door of dharma.128 He is not the sort of Rajput who abandons a fort and goes away, but Rav Malde wrote Devidâs again and again, [saying]: 'Why are you weakening my thâkurâ?' So he has left. But you should see now how quickly Râv Mâlde comes. Devidâs is bringing [him] upon us." Then Saraphdîn said: "We will kill [Devidâs] right now."

Saraphdîn and Jaimal mounted up. The kettledrum was struck. Devidâs heard. He turned around and remained ready [for battle] once more. The battle occurred between129 Satalvas [and] Merto. The Mughals took the fort in February, 1563,130 on the last day of the dark fortnight [the twenty-second]. Some [people] say the battle [of Satalvas] occurred on March 26; [others say it occurred] on the last day of the bright fortnight [April 8].131

pradhân of Jodhpur under Râjâ Jasvantsîngh during the years V.S. 1699-1705 (1642/43-1648/49). Gopâlîs was a contemporary of Muîhato Sundârâs, Naiśî's brother, who is said to have had the last bût (and possibly all the others) in the "Aitihasik Bâtâm" collection written down in V.S. 1703 (1646-47). See "Aitihasik Bâtâm," p. 109. It is Gopâlîs who related the story concerning Devidâs in the text to the writer.

126 Parameśvar: the highest or supreme lord; God; a powerful or illustrious man.

127 Sâmbî thî. Sâmbhî: a variant of sambhâno, "to take up," "to raise up."

128 See n. 433 to Vigat, 2:64.

129 The text has bichai, evidently a misprint for bicaí, "between."

130 The siege of Merto had begun on January, 1562. See Vigat, 2:64.

131 See n. 426 to Vigat, 2:64, for a discussion of these dates. All are incorrect if the reckoning is Śrâvânâdî; if the reckoning is Câitrâdî the last date, V.S. 1619, Câit, Sudi 15, would convert to March 20, 1562, which is the date we have preferred for the battle of Satalvas. See also Vigat, 1:61, n. 3.
There Devidāsī died fighting along with the following sāth; a list of this [sāth] is written [below]:

Rāthor Devidās Jaitāvat, [age] thirty-five years.
Rāthor Bhākharsī Jaitāvat.
Rāthor Pūrāmnal, [son] of Prithirāj Jaitāvat.
Rāthor Tejsī, [son] of Urjan Paṅcāṇot.
Rāthor Goind, [son] of Rāṇo Akhairājot.
Rāthor Pato, [son] of Kūmpo Mahirājot.
Rāthor Bhāṅ, son of Bhojṛāj, [who was the son of] Sado Rūpāvat.

"Aitihāsik Bātām" p. 56

Rāthor Amro Rāmāvat.
Rāthor Sahso Rāmāvat.
Rāthor Netsī Sīhāvat.
Rāthor Jaimal Tejsīyot.
Rāthor Rāmo Bhairavdāsot.
Rāthor Bhākharsī Śūngarsiyot.
Rāthor Aclo Bhāṅot.

132 The chronicles contain lists of varying length and completeness regarding those Rajpūts who died at the battle of Sātalvas. For a composite list, see Appendix B.

133 Jaitāvat Rāthor Bhākharsī Jaitāvat (no. 66).

134 Akhairājot Rāthor Tejsī Urjanot (no. 34).

135 Akhairājot Rāthor Goind Rāṇavat (no. 29).

136 Kūmpāvat Rāthor Pato Kūmpavat (no. 96).

137 Riṃmalot Rāthor Bhāṅ Bhojṛājot (no. 130).

138 Čāmpāvat Rāthor Amro Rāmāvat (no. 51).

139 Čāmpāvat Rāthor Sahso Rāmāvat (no. 52).

140 Akhairājot Rāthor Netsī Sīhāvat (no. 36). See also n. 449 to Vigat, 2:65.

141 We have been unable to identify this Rāthor.

142 Čāmpāvat Rāthor Rāmo Bhairavdāsot (no. 50).

143 Jodho Rāthor Bhākharsī Śūngarsiyot (no. 81).

144 We have been unable to identify this Rāthor with certainty. He probably was the son of Bhāṅ Bhojṛājot (see n. 137 to "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 55, supra.
Rāṭhoro Maheś Paṅcāṅgot.\textsuperscript{145}
Rāṭhoro Jaimal Paṅcāṅgot, [son of] Paṅcāṅ Duḍāvat, a Meṛtiyo.\textsuperscript{146}
Rāṭhoro Rīndhir Rāysīṅghot.\textsuperscript{147}
Rāṭhoro Maheś Ghaṛṣīyot.\textsuperscript{148}
Rāṭhoro Sāṅgo Rīndhīrot.\textsuperscript{149}
Rāṭhoro Rājśīṅgh Ghaṛṣīyot.\textsuperscript{150}
Rāṭhoro Ḣaṛ Ghaṛṣīyot.\textsuperscript{151}
Māṅgliyo Vīram.\textsuperscript{152}
Rāṭhoro Rāṇo Jagnāṅhot.\textsuperscript{153}
Pīrag Bhārmalot.\textsuperscript{154}
Tejī.\textsuperscript{155}
Tilokṣī.\textsuperscript{156}
Dedo.\textsuperscript{157}
Pītho.\textsuperscript{158}
A Turk, Hamjo.\textsuperscript{159}

\hspace{1em}145 Karamsot Rāṭhoro Maheś Paṅcāṅgot (no. 93).

\hspace{1em}146 Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoro Jaimal Paṅcāṅgot (no. 127). The text has "Rāṭhoro Jaimal Paṅcāṅgot, Paṅcāṅ Duḍāvat, a Meṛtiyo," which is incorrect.

\hspace{1em}147 We have been unable to identify this Rāṭhoro with certainty. See n. 456 to Vigat, 2:66.

\hspace{1em}148 Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoro Maheś Ghaṛṣīyot (no. 58).

\hspace{1em}149 We have been unable to identify this Rāṭhoro with certainty. See n. 457 to Vigat, 2:66.

\hspace{1em}150 Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoro Rājśīṅgh Ghaṛṣīyot (no. 59).

\hspace{1em}151 Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoro Ḣaṛ Ghaṛṣīyot (no. 57).

\hspace{1em}152 Māṅgliyo Gahlot Vīram Devāvat (no. 14).

\hspace{1em}153 We have been unable to identify this Rāṭhoro.

\hspace{1em}154 Bhāṭī Pīrag Bhārmalot. See n. 460 to Vigat, 2:66.

\hspace{1em}155 Sāṅkhlo Paṃvār Tejī Bhojrajot (no. 27).

\hspace{1em}156 Jeso Bhāṭī Tilokṣī Parbatot (no. 3).

\hspace{1em}157 Māṅgliyo Gahlot Dedo (no. 13).

\hspace{1em}158 Jeso Bhāṭī Pītho Āṇandot (no. 1).

\hspace{1em}159 Re: the Turk, Hamjo, see n. 469 to Vigat, 2:66.
A Sutrār, Bhavaṇīdās. 160
Jīvo, a Bārhaṭh. 161
Jalap [and] Colo. 162

So many men died fighting. 163 Afterward Rāv Mālde did not form any army [to attack] Meṛto.

---

160 This man is called Bhavaṇīdās on Vigat, 2:66. We have no additional information concerning him.

161 No other information is available concerning Jīvo.

162 Jalap and Colo are listed as Bārhaṭhās on Vigat, 2:66. We have no additional information concerning them.

163 The text has āsāmī-ītrā kāṃ āyā, a mistake for āsāmī ītrā kāṃ āyā. Āsāmī: man,
Khyāṭ, 3:38

Now the Story of the Time that Dūdo Jodhāvat
Killed Megho Narsinghdāsot Sindhāl

Rāv Jodho had lain down. The storytellers were conversing. They were telling stories about those who rule. One said: "The Bhāṭīs do not have a single vair remaining [unsettled]." [Another] one spoke up: "The Rāthors have a vair." [A third] one stated: "One Rāthor vair remains [unsettled]." [Someone] said: "Which one?" They said: "The vair of Āskaraṇ Satāvat remains [unsettled]. The vair of the time that Narbadji captured Supiyārde." Then Rāv Jodhoji heard the conversation. He asked them: "What are you saying?" They said: "Jī, nothing at all." Then he spoke up: "No, no! Tell [me]!" Then they said: "Jī, Āskaraṇ himself had no son, and Narbadji also had no son. Thus this vair remains [unsettled]." Hearing this statement, Rāv Jodhoji kept [it] in mind.

In the morning, when [Rāv Jodhoji] was seated in the darbār, Kumvār Dūdo came and paid [his] respects. The Rāvji was displeased with Dūdo. The Rāvji said: "Dūdo! Megho Sīdhāl should be killed." Dūdo performed salām: The Rāvji spoke: "Dūdo! Narbadji captured Supiyārde; in exchange, Narsinghdās Sīdhāl killed Āskaraṇ Satāvat. Narsinghdās has a son, Megho; go and kill him."

1 Rāv Jodho Riniomalot, ruler of Manḍor and founder of Jodhpur, ca. 1453-89.

2 Rājviyān. There were two major ranks within the Rajput jātī: a higher rank consisting of those from ruling families, termed either rājviyān ("those who rule") or vadā gharāṃ rá chorū ("sons of great houses"); and a lower rank consisting of the Rajput peasantry (gaṃvār or padhrā Rajputs) and other minor or petty Rajputs (chuṭā Rajputs). For a discussion of internal ranking among Rajputs, see N. P. Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service in Rajasthani Culture: A Social History of the Rajputs of Middle Period Rajasthan" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1973), pp. 84-106.

3 Ćundāvat Rāthor Āskaraṇ Satāvat (no. 55).

4 Ćundāvat Rāthor Narbad Satāvat (no. 56), Āskaraṇ Satāvat's elder brother.

5 Sāṅkhīlī Pāṃvār Supiyārde, daughter of the Rūṇeco Sāṅkhlo Rāṇo Sīhaṛ Ĉacāgot, master of Rūṇ village of Jāṅgālū, an area of southern Bīkāner. Rūṇ lies twenty-eight miles south-southeast of Nāgaur and twenty miles northwest of Meṛto.

6 Meṛṭīyo Rāthor Dūdo Jodhāvat (no. 104).

7 Sindhāl Rāthor Megho Narsinghdāsot (no. 132).

8 Salām: literally, "peace." A salutation, either of parting or of greeting; an act of bowing to or acknowledging in some manner the superiority of someone.

9 Sindhāl Rāthor Narsinghdās Khīndāvat (no. 131).
Dūdo performed salām and started off.

*Khyāt*, 3:39

Then the Rāvjī said: "Dūdo! Don't go like this! You make preparations! Megho Śīndhāḷ is before [you]. You haven't heard Megho with your own ears." Then Dūdo said: "Either Megho [will kill] Dūdo, or Dūdo Megho."

Then Dūdo came to [his] camp, took his sāth, and mounted [his horse]. He went and camped three kos from Jaitāraṇ. Then he sent a man. [The man] went and told Megho: "Dūdo Jodhāvat has come. He demands [revenge for the death of] Āskaraṇ Satāvāṭ."

The man went and told Megho [this]. Then Megho said: "Why did he come [so] late?" [The man] said: "After he found out, Dūdo did not drink water until he came before [you]."

Then Megho climbed up into a māṭiyo. He called out: "Hey! Don't graze mares in this direction. Dūdo Jodhāvat has come; he will steal the mares." Then Dūdo spoke. He said: "Who is that speaking?" They said: "Jī, Megho is speaking." Then he said: "Oh? He can be heard at such a distance?" Then they said: "Jī, have you heard Megho Śīndhāḷ with your own ears, or not?" Then [Dūdo] sent word to Megho: "I have no concern with mares. I have no concern with wealth. My concern is with your head. We will fight one another."

On the next day Megho formed a sāth and came forth. Dūdo approached from the other direction. Megho said: "Dūdoji! You found an opportunity; all of my Rajpūts departed in my son's marriage procession. I am [on my own] here."

Then Dūdo said: "Meghoji! We two will fight one another. Why should we kill [other] Rajpūts?

---

10 Jaitāraṇ: a town situated fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur. Megho Śīndhāḷ was master of Jaitāraṇ at the time of the events described in the text.

11 "To demand [x]" (x māṅgo, x nūm māṅgo) is a stock phrase in tales of vengeance; cf. *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt*, p. 90, *Khyāt*, 1:350.

12 *Dūdai pāṇī āgai āy piyo chai*: literally, Dūdo, having come before [you], has drunk water. Constructions of this sort are common in Middle Mārvārī texts and serve to emphasize the commencement of one activity or state of being only upon the completion or cessation of another, as in the sentence *tūṁ gaḍh mar nai dāi*, literally, "die, then give up the fort," but much better translated as "don't give up the fort until you die." For this example, see *Vigat*, 2:219, line five counting from the top of the page.

13 I.e., toward Jaitāraṇ. Megho obviously is a man endowed with a very loud voice; he is shouting this insult to the entire countryside around Jaitāraṇ.


15 Literally, "second" (*bījai*).

16 Literally, "from this direction" (*iyai taraph sūṃ*).
Either Megho [will kill] Dudo, or Dudo Megho. We two alone will acquire the fruits of our actions." Then the sāth of both sīrdārs remained standing apart [from the two]. Megho came from one side; Dudo came from the other side. Then Dudo said: "Megho! Strike a blow." Megho said: "Dudo! You strike a blow." Then Dudo said again: "Megho! You strike the blow." Megho struck a blow; Dudo warded it off with [his] shield. Dudo remembered Pābūjī and struck Megho a blow. [Megho's] head was severed from [his] body and fell. Megho died fighting. Then Dudo took Megho's head and started off.

Then his Rajpūts said: "Put Megho's head on [his] body. He is a great Rajpūt." Dudo put the head on the body. Afterward Dudo said: "Do not pillage a single village. Our business was with Megho." Having killed Megho, Dudo turned back. He came and performed taslim to Rājī Śrī Jodhojī. The Rājī was very pleased. The Rājī gave Dudo a horse [and] a sirpāv.

The Story of Dudo Jodhavat is concluded.

17 Āmpāmhīj sāmpḥaḥ husī. Sāmpphaḥ: a fight, battle, combat; less specifically, any action (kām) that has its karmic reward, or "fruit" (phal).

18 The following account of a similar encounter suggests that striking the first blow may have been a sign of inferior or lower rank based on age, position, or reputation:

Then Hemo said: "Kūmbhō! You strike a blow." Kūmbhō said: "Hemoji! You strike a blow." Hemo said: "Kūmbhō! You are a child. I have bandaged many [wounds with] nīm [leaves]." Then Kūmbhō said: "Hemoji! You strike the blow." Hemo said: "Kūmbhō! Up until now a weapon hasn't touched your body; you are a child. You strike the blow. I am an elder; why should I strike the blow?" Kūmbhō said: "Hemoji! You are senior in years, but I am senior in rank.... You strike the blow." Khyāt, 2:296.

19 Dhāndhalot Rāṭhor Pābūjī Dhāndhalot, a Rajpūt warrior of the early fourteenth century. He is believed to have been the son of Dhāndhal Āsthānōt, grandson of Rāv Śīho Sētramōt (d. 1273), who is considered the ancestor of the Mārvār Rāṭhorś. Pābūjī is associated with Kōli village (located eighteen miles south of Phalodhī), where there are two small temples dedicated to him. He is credited with many heroic deeds. For an account of Pābūjī, see John D. Smith, The Epic of Pābūjī: A Study, Transcription and Translation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 71-102; L. P. Tessitori, "A Progress Report on the Preliminary Work done during the year 1915 in connection with the Proposed Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S. 12 (1916), pp. 106-114.

20 Taslim: a salutation consisting of placing the back of the right hand on the ground and raising gently until the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head. The salute indicates that one is ready to give himself as an offering. A ṭāṣhlīṃ, 1:167.
Now the Story of Hardās Īhar Is Written

Hardās Mokalot had Kodhno with one hundred forty [other] villages. This Hardās would not do the simplest military service; he would merely come during Dasrāho and perform salām. Mālde, the Kumvar, would not tolerate this sham. He gave Kodhno to Bhān.

Hardās was such a fearsome man [that] no one whosoever would tell him. Bhān would perform the military service; Hardās enjoyed the rule of Kodhno. Three years passed in this manner. Then Bhān’s and Hardās’s hujdārs fought. Bhān’s hujdārs said: "Jī, you may rule. But do not speak to us. Bravo! For we allow you to live in the village with a revoked pato." Hardās heard. He said: "Hey! What is [this]?” Then they said: "Your pato is revoked." Having heard this statement, Hardās said: "Ah! I ate filth; I live in the village with a revoked pato." Then

1 Īhar Rāth̄h̄oṛ Hardās Mokalot (no. 144).

2 Kodhno: a village located twenty-eight miles west-southwest of Jodhpur.

3 Tikō Hardās lākār cākri na karai. There are two ways to interpret this clause. One may consider lākār ("stick") a reference to Hardās, as the editor of the Khyāt, B. P. Sākariyā, has done (n. 2). By this reasoning, Hardās was a "stick": a rigid, unyielding person. It is also possible to consider (as we have done) lākār cākri a unit meaning "stick military service," i.e., the simplest form of military service, which could have been performed even by the untrained village Rajput peasantry.

4 Dasrāho: a festival held in the month of Āsaj (September-October) to commemorate the victory of Rāma, King of Ayodhyā, over Rāvana, the demon-king of Sri Lanka. It was often customary at the time of this festival for Rajputās in the service of a local ruler to pay court at an official darbār, during which vows of loyalty and service were reaffirmed.

5 Mālde Gāṅgavat, son and successor of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat, ruler of Jodhpur 1515-32.

6 Īhar Rāth̄h̄oṛ Bhāṇ Kājāvat (no. 145).

7 Tāhr̄m Hardās iśī balāy nahīn jo koi iyainīn kahai. The structure of this sentence is peculiar: either nahīn is in the wrong clause or the conjunction ju ("that"), which should precede nahīn, has been omitted.

8 Among Rajputās, relationships between a ruler and subordinate warriors in his service were seen in forms of bonds between a master (dhāṇī) and a servant (cākār). These bonds were often symbolized by and expressed through the idiom of food, the master being obliged to feed and sustain his servant in return for the servant’s loyalty and support. Land itself within this idiom became equated with grain, or more generally, with food, sustenance, and protection. A Rajput who had eaten another’s grain was automatically indebted for the gift of life and support to serve in order to equalize the

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Hardās left.

He went to Sojhat⁹ and met with Mumhato Rāyimal.⁰ Hardās settled in the vās of Viramde.¹¹ Hardās told Rāyimal: "If you would do battle with Rāv Gāṅgo,¹² then I will stay with you; otherwise I shall not stay." Then Rāyimal said: "Jī, for us there is only battle, twenty-four hours a day."

*Khyāṭ, 3:88*

Then one day a battle occurred. A horse from Viram[de]ji's stable had been given to Hardās to ride; here both Hardās and the horse were badly wounded. Bhāṅ picked up Hardās and sent him to Sojhat. Hardās came to Sojhat. He had the wounds bandaged. Then Viramde said: "Be off, Hardās! You caused my five-thousand [rupee] horse injury." Hardās said: "Worthless Rajpūt! I caused injury to my own body as well." Hardās, offended, set off without [his] wounds having healed. He left the vās [of Viramde]. He set off in the direction of Sarkhel Khān¹³ [in Nāgaur].

At that time Sekho Sūjāvat¹⁴ lived in Pīmpār.¹⁵ Sekho stopped Hardās. He

exchange.

In this passage, the dissolution of this bond is also couched in the idiom of food, as if to say that the Rajpūt, Hardās, had swallowed a bitter pill, or that the symbolic food, the land, had turned sour in his stomach. For further discussion of this idiom and its importance for Rajpūt culture of the middle period, see N. P. Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service in Rajasthani Culture: A Social History of the Rajpūts of Middle Period Rajasthan" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1973), pp. 84-97.

⁹ Sojhat: a large town situated forty-six miles southeast of Jodhpur.

¹⁰ Mumhato Rāyimal Khetāvat (no. 159).

¹¹ Jodho Rāṭhor Rāv Viramde Vāghāvat (no. 84). Viramde was the half-brother of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat of Jodhpur (1515-32). Their father Vāgho Sūjāvat, who was designated successor to Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515), died during the lifetime of Rāv Sūjo. Gāṅgo then emerged as heir and upon Rāv Sūjo's death, succeeded to the throne of Jodhpur. The texts indicate conflict between Gāṅgo and Viramde at the time of succession, with final selection by the powerful Rāṭhor thākurs of Mārvār resting upon Gāṅgo. Viramde was given the rule of Sojhat and surrounding territory in compensation along with the title of rāv. He remained in opposition to the ruling house for some years afterwards. *Khyāṭ, 3:80-88; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 104-106; Vigat, 1:41.*

¹² Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat, son of Vāgho Sūjāvat and ruler of Jodhpur, 1515-32.

¹³ Khānzādā Khān Sarkhel Khān (no. 155).

¹⁴ Jodho Rāṭhor Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86).

¹⁵ Pīmpār: a village located thirty-three miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.

said: "They will say there are no Rajputs in Mārvār at all, for they did not have Hardās's wounds bandaged." Then Hardās said: "Sekho! Would you consider and retain me? If you would fight with Rāv Gāngo, then retain me, otherwise do not retain me." Sekho said: "Paramesvar will set things right. You may stay [with me]." Then Hardās stayed in Pimpār, the vās of Sekho.

Now Hardās and Sekho would confer in the mahals all night. Sekho's wives would stay sitting up wearing saris all night. Because of [their] fine clothes, they would suffer in the cold. Then one day Sekho's wives said: "Husband's mother (sāsūjī) We [nearly] died in the cold!" [Sekho's mother] said: "Wives! Why [so]?

They said: "Husband's mother! Your son confers with Hardāsjī [while we sit all night suffering in the cold.]"

Khyāt, 3:89

Then [Sekho's] mother said: "Wives! Today when Hardās returns, inform me." The wife whose turn it was stood blocking the path [of Hardās]. As soon as Hardās returned the succeeding night, she said: "Husband's mother! Hardās returns." Sekho's mother also was standing [nearby]. Hardās came down from above. The path [was] in the rāy-āṅgaṇ. Hardās came into the rāy-āṅgaṇ. Sekho's mother had him called inside; then she went and performed salām [to him]. She said: "Hardās [my] son! Take care; are you not bringing ruin upon the hut of Sekho's mother?"

Then he said: "Mājī! First the hut of Hardās's mother will be ruined, [only] after

---

16 Rank as a Rajpūt and among Rajpūts as a group was closely associated with a complex ideology relating to the body (deh, pind) and its preservation and sustenance. Threats to the body (either individual or collective) through loss of substance (blood/lohī or land/dhartī) were seen in terms of a threat to rank and power. For further discussion of this ideology, see N. P. Ziegler, "Action, Power and Service ..., pp. 67-83.

17 Car pohar: literally, "four watches' or "half the day." Here the meaning is "all night."

18 Literally, "die in the cold" (sīyāṃ marai).

19 A reference to the mother of Sekho Sujavat, daughter of Rāv Tejśi Varjāngot, the Sācoro Cahuvaṇ ruler of Sāncor in southern Mārvār. Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 67.

20 It was customary among Rajpūts for young wives to await the retirement of their husband dressed in finery and ready to receive him in bed. This is an amusing reference to this custom, the fine clothes of the wives being either silks or muslins.

21 Monāṃ khabar diyā. Diyā is a plural imperative in this sentence.

22 Rāy-āṅgaṇ: the courtyard of a ruler's residence.

23 Tāpro. The connotation of this word, a diminutive for home (ghar), might be likened to that of the phrase "humble home" in English.
that will the hut of Sekho's mother be ruined. Jodhpur will not be obtained without
the ruin of [someone's] hut, Mājī! Either [our] hut will be destroyed, or Jodhpur will
be obtained."25

Then Rāv Gāṅo's pradhāns came to Sekho, and they told Sekho: "Sekho!
All the land containing karar [grass] shall be yours; all the land containing bhurāt
[grass] shall be ours."26 Then Sekho said: "Excellent!"

Then Hardās came. Sekho said: "Hardās! They are proposing an excellent
division of the land." Hardās would not accept the proposition.

Then [a Cāraṇ], Jhūṭo Āsiyo,27 recited a dūho:

The Ūhar, Hardās, would not consider a single pledge [of
Rāv Gāṅo's].

Either all the sāmatho for Sekho, or all the grās for
Gāṅo.28

25 The point of this passage is that Hardās is subjecting Sekho to no more danger than
he faces himself, and that one has to take chances to get what one wants.

26 Karar grass (Iseilema laxum) is a tall, thin-leaved grass much used as fodder in
Mārvār; bhurāt grass (Cenchrus catherineus) is a burr grass, particularly abundant in
years of scarcity, when it is used as food. The seeds are about the size of a pin's head
and are enclosed in a prickly husk which readily clings to clothing or to animal hair or
fur. The seeds are ground to use as flour. Bhurāt is more common in the sandy, dry
tracts of Mārvār than is karar. The division of land proposed would have given Sekho
the agriculturally more productive eastern region of Mārvār but would have left Jodhpur
in Rāv Gāṅo's possession. Major K. D. Erskine, ed., Rajputana Gazetteers: Vol. III-
A, The Western Rajputana States Residency and the Bikaner Agency (Allahabad: The

27 Cāraṇ Jhūṭo Bīkāvat of the Āsiyo branch (sākh) of Cāraṇs, who was attached to the
court of Jodhpur. Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (ruler of Jodhpur, 1532-62) gave Jhūṭo the
small village called "Jhūṭa rī Vāsṇī," located seventeen miles south-southwest of

Cāraṇ Jhūṭo appears in this passage as a go-between. Cāraṇs in Rājasthān,
because of their sacred status, often assumed this role in negotiations between hostile or
warring groups.

28 Sekhai siglo sāmatho, (kā) Gāṅgai siglo grās. Sāmatho is defined by Lālas (RSK,
4:3:5473) as: (1) high place, platform; (2) more, much, many; (3) strong, powerful.
Grās literally means "mouthful" or "sustenance." By extension, the term came to mean a
share of land given to a Rajpūt for his maintenance (such shares were also called vaṇṭ,
which simply means "share" or "portion"). In Mārvār during the pre-Mughal period it
was customary for one son of a Rajpūt ruler to inherit his father's title, residence, and
the majority of his lands, while the other sons received smaller territorial shares termed
grās for their livelihood. The word grāsiyo was used to designate a holder of one of these
shares.

The sense of the dūho is that either Sekho will get "the high place" (i.e.,
Jodhpur), in addition to his share, or Gāṅo will get the "mouthful" (i.e., Sekho's share)
Then Hardās said: "What two divisions shall we make of the single [city of] Jodhpur? Jodhpur is but a small hill; shall I fix it on a lance and carry it behind you?"

Then the pradhān went back. He said: "ji! They would not consider an agreement. They will fight."

Rāv Gāngō assembled a sāth. He summoned Rāv Jaitsījī from Bīkāner. [Jaitsī] assembled another large sāth. Sekho and Hardās approached Sarkhel Khān in Nāgaur. [Hardās] told Sarkhel Khān: "We shall marry [our daughters] to you and Daulat Khān. Come to our aid." Then Sekho spoke: "Hey, Hardās! Whose daughters will you give? I have no daughter; you have no daughter." Then Hardās spoke: "Whose daughters? It will be raining swords on [us]. If we win, there are many Rinmals; we will marry two of their girls [to the two Khāns]. And if we [all] die fighting, who will be married [anyway]? Whose concern [will it be]?"

Having [spoken] thus, Sekho, [Hardās, and] Daulat Khān came to the drahs of Bairāī and camped.

An informant came [to Rāv Gāngō]. Then Rāv Gāngō asked: "Where did Daulatiyo come?" [The informant] said: "Raj. He came to Bairāī and camped. Victory is in your hands."

Rāv Gāngōjī came to Ghāŋghānī and camped. [Ghāŋghānī] is within two kos of Bairāī. After that, Rāv Gāngōjī sent word [to Sekho]: "Raj! Come yourself in addition to Jodhpur: Hardās will accept no compromise. There is alliteration involved as well: grās for Gāngō, sāmaṭho for Sekho.

29 The original settlement of Jodhpur was essentially a fort and houses built on and immediately around a hill.

30 Bīkāvat Rāṭhoj Jaitsī Lūṅkaraṇot (no. 45), Rāv of Bīkāner ca. 1526-42.

31 Khānzāda Khān Muhammad Daulat Khān (no. 154).

32 Tarvārmṛā māthai boṭh parśi: literally, "showers (boṭh) of swords will be falling on [us]."

33 Yuṃ kar nai: literally, "having done thus." Yuṃ kar nai and yuṃ kartām ("while doing thus") were stock phrases in Middle Mārvārī, translatable in a variety of ways according to the context.

34 Dra: a deep pool, a ditch.

35 Bairāī: a village located twenty-five miles northeast of Jodhpur.

36 Ghāṅghānī: a village located seventeen miles northeast of Jodhpur and eight miles southwest of Bairāī village. The text indicates two kos (about four miles), which is inaccurate.
and camp [here]. This [shall be] the border [between] us. Rāj! That much [is] yours. You are the elder, rāj, you are [my] father's brother (kāko).” [Gāṅgo] had his pradhāns speak in such a way.37 The pradhāns negotiated, but [Sekho] would not consider [the proposal].

Khyât, 3:91

[Sekho] said: "Ji, a brother's son (bhātrījo) enjoying [the rule of] the land while [his] father's brother sits [quietly by]? In such a situation I would not sleep.” He sent word to Rāv Gāṅgoji: "I have prepared a field of [the village] Sevakī38 [for combat].39 You and I will fight a battle there.” Rāv Gāṅgo said: "All right. I am ready just as I am, rāj!40 [Sekho] said: "The battle is tomorrow."

Then the Josīs41 said to Gāṅgo: "Rāj! Tomorrow a Jognī42 is facing us, [her] back to them." Rāv Gāṅgoji said43 to Rāv Jaitṣīji: "Rāvji! Tomorrow a Jognī is facing us, [her] back to them.” Rāv Jaitṣī said: "Rāj! [Tomorrow] the battle is not under our control, it is under theirs. [That is why] they [wish to] fight tomorrow only.” Then a Cārāṇ, Khemo Kiniyo,44 spoke: "Rāj! There may be a Jognī, but

37 Iso pardhāṅgo kiyo. This sentence is problematic; go may be Persian, meaning "word," "speech," "saying," etc. If so, the literal translation of the passage would be: "He caused/made a pradhāṅ-statement of this sort," i.e., Gāṅgo had his pradhāṅ make such a statement.

38 Sevakī village is located approximately midway between Bairāṇī and Gāṅghāṇī.

39 Sevakīro khetr mhe bhuhrīyo chai. Khet bhūṁrno: to remove the underbrush and other impediments from a field in order to prepare the area for the movements of men and horses in battle.

40 We have based our translation on the theory that rājī in the text is a variant form of the term of address rāj and not of the adjective rājī ("pleased"). The editor's punctuation is therefore incorrect. For an example of rājī used in place of the term of address rāj, see Lālas, RSK, 4:1:4131, example no. 4 under rājī. Gāṅgo's use of the term rāj for Sekho also is consistent with the form of address Gāṅgo used for his father's brother (kāko) on Khyât, 3:90.

41 Josī: an astrologer.

42 Jognī: any woman thought to possess magical powers; a witch or demoness; a female spirit ruling over periods of good and bad fortune. It was commonly believed that there were sixty-four Jognīs, located in different places on different dates. It was considered unlucky to travel in the direction of the Jognīs. H. A. Rose, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, 3 vols. (1883; reprint edition, Delhi: Punjab National Press, 1970), 1:243-248; Margaret and James Stutley, Harper's Dictionary of Hinduism (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), p. 350.

43 Literally, "asked" (puchīyo).
what does the Jognī ride?" Then [the Josīs] said: "Jī, the Jognī is riding a lion." [The Ĉāran] said: "Jī, summon a Brāhmaṇ, ask if the Jognī is riding some other mount." Then the Brāhmaṇ said: "Tomorrow the Jognī rides a crow." Then he said: "The crow flees from arrows. There are arrows in battle, so it will flee from the arrows of both Gāngo [and] Sekho."

While [they were speaking] in this way, day broke. Sarkhel Khān had an elephant, whose name was "Dariyājoīs". He had forty elephants on one flank [and] forty elephants on the other flank. He had weighted down the elephants, arming them with iron and fastening weapons to them. The elephants were in the front of [his] army.

Rāv Gāngo approached from [Ghāṅghāṃ]. Rāv Gāngojo, having formed [his] army, came before [the opposing army].

Khyāt, 3:92

Sekho had told Daulat Khān: "The Divāṇ45 will flee." On the day of battle,46 as the entire sāth [of Rāv Gāngo] used [its] weapons and [thus] showed its strength, Daulat Khān said: "Sekhojo! You were saying they would flee." Sekhojo said: "Khān Sāhib! Jodhpur is [in the balance], so why would they flee?" [Daulat Khān] thought: "Might there not be a trick?" Daulat Khān grew inwardly afraid.

Meanwhile the Rāv spoke: "If you [so] advise, I shall strike the [lead] elephant with an arrow, [or], if you [so] advise, I shall strike the mahout with an arrow." The [lead] elephant was approaching. The mahout was shouting. Then [Gāngo] hit the mahout with an arrow; the mahout fell. And he hit the elephant's temple with a second arrow. The elephant fled; Daulat Khān also fled. And Sekho stood his ground. Sekho did not consider fleeing. Sekho dismounted along with seven hundred men; there was a battle. Sekho died fighting along with [his] son. Hardās died fighting along with [his] son. The Turks fled. Many died. Many turned back.

[Before he died] Sekhojī was gasping convulsively on the battlefield. Then Rāv Gāngo asked: "Sekhojī! Whose land [is it now]?" Then Rāv Jaitśī had shade provided for Sekhojī. He had [Sekho] take opium. He served water [to Sekho]. Then Sekhojī asked: "Who are you?" He said: "I am Rāv Jaitśī." Sekho said:

additional information concerning Khemo; perhaps he was a descendant of the Kiniyo Ĉāran Viko, who was given the village Buṭelāv by Rāv Jodho Rīnmalot (ca. 1453-89). Buṭelāv is approximately eight miles north of Sojhat. Vigat, 1.488.

45 Divāṇ: a reference to Rāv Gāngo, ruler of Jodhpur. The rulers of Jodhpur were referred to as divāṇs, or "deputies," of the god Śiva, from whom their ancestors received their respective sovereignties. The rulers of Mevar also were known as divāṇs for a similar reason.

46 Literally, "tomorrow" (savaraī). The battle of Sevākī took place on November 2, 1529 (V.S. 1586, Migasar, Sudi 1). "Aitihāsik Bāţām," p. 37; Bānkīdās, p. 11; Vigat, 1:41. Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 72, and Vigat, 1:41, both have V.S. 1596, Migasar, Sudi 1 = November 11, 1539, which is incorrect.
"Ravji! What have I harmed of yours? We—father's brother [and] brother's son—were quarreling over land." Then Sekho said: "Jaitsi! Your fate shall be what mine has been." As [he spoke] in such a way, Sekho's soul (jīv) departed.

Khyāt, 3:93

Kumvar Malde took the best of what elephants there were. And the great elephant of the Khān's stable that had run away went to Merto. The Meṛṭiyos took it. Rāv Malde became hostile to the Meṛṭiyos over [the issue of) this elephant.

Now a Ghūmar

The wife asks: "Hey Daulatiyo! What did you do with [your] elephants?

[Daulat Khān replies]: "The Rāv took all the best ones; he gave back the 'buffalo calves'."

The wife asks: "Hey Daulatiyo! What did you do with [your] Muslim nobles?"

[Daulat Khān replies]: "I had a grave dug on a high hill; I embraced each one."49

47 Rav Jaitsī was killed February 26, 1542, when Rav Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur sent his Rajpūts under Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahirājot (no. 95; founder of the Kūmpavat branch of Mravār Rāṭhors) to attack Bīkāner. Rāv Mālde's forces conquered and occupied Bīkāner city, which they held for two years. Ojhā, 5:1:135-136.

48 Ghūmar: (1) a variant of ghūmaro, "flock," "herd," "heap," "siege," "encirclement"; (2) a type of folk dance performed by women in a circle; (3) a folk song used to accompany this dance.

49 The rhyme of the ghūmar is based upon a repeating pattern of kiyā/diyā, the Khan's answers in diyā. Other points:

(a) The wife addresses the Khan disrespectfully using the term re ("hey!") and also refers to him as Daulatiyo ("Little Daulat").

(b) The editor suggests that kethā in the text is to be translated as "how many" (kitne). However, kethā-kitho used with karṇo forms a unit meaning "what to do with?" For an example, see Khyāt, 1:2, where a Brāhmaṇ asks: "What shall I do with this son of a Rajpūt?" (O Rajpūt ro beṭo kitho karun?). In the ghūmar, the wife is asking what happened to all the elephants and Muslim nobles (mīyā) the Khan went into battle with, and not, as the editor suggests in his translation (bottom of Khyāt, 3:93), how many Muslims the Khan "made" and how many elephants he took.

(c) Bāṭhai bāṭhai diyā in the last line of the ghūmar is problematic. Lālas, RSK, 3:2:3002, suggests that bāṭhai is a variant of bāṭhām, "wrestling," "arm-embrace," "duel," etc. (RSK, 3:2:3001). Probably "arm-embrace" is the correct sense of bāṭhai in the ghūmar, its repetition therein indicating distribution of the embraces among the dead Muslims.
Now the elephant went to the Meṛṭīyos' [residence]. Then the Meṛṭīyos bound the wounds of the elephant. They were bringing the elephant inside; it would not fit through the entrance gate. Then they had the gate dug up and took the elephant inside. The augurs said: "You have done wrong in digging up the gate." They said: "It's done. What now?"

While they were so engaged, Rāv Gāngoḷī and Mālde heard that the elephant went to Meṛṭo, [the residence] of Vīramde. Mālde demanded the elephant. He said: "Jī, the elephant is ours; we fought [for it] and took it." The Meṛṭīyos would not give [them] the elephant. Then Vīramdejī said: "Give the elephant to Rāv Gāṅgo." Then the [other] Meṛṭīyos said: "We shall not just hand over the elephant. [But], if he would be our guest, we would feed him and give him the elephant." Then Mālde mounted up and came [to Meṛṭo]. They had food for Mālde.

**Khyāt, 3:94**

At that time the elephant was in Reyāṁ. Then the food was ready. They said: "Kūṁvarjī! Come, partake of the meal." In the meantime, the elephant, which was in Reyāṁ, is now coming [here]. Then [Mālde] said: "Jī, first we will take the elephant, then we will eat." Then Rāysal Dūḍāvat spoke up. "Jī, we too have [among us] obstinate boys like [you]. We will not give [you] the elephant. You must depart."

Then the Kūṁvar became infuriated and said: "Indeed you are not giving [me] the elephant, but my name is Mālde. I, Mālde, will have radishes sown on the site of Meṛṭo." Mālde came back to Jodhpur.

Then Rāv Gāngoḷī sent word to Vīramdejī: "What [is] this you have done? As long as I live, you are my paramēśvar. But I was not a match for [you]. Mālde has been insulted by you; he will cause you distress. Give the elephant its freedom." Then Vīramde sent word: "Fine, if it pleases you, we will send back the elephant." He sent horses for Rāv Gāṅgoḷī [and] the elephant for Māldejī. When the elephant came to Pimpār, [its] wounds split open and the elephant died. The men brought the
horses and presented them. And they said: "Jī, the elephant died coming into Pimpār." Then Rāv Gāṅgojī said: "An elephant came into my land and died. It [was] my [elephant] that came."

Then Kūṃvar Mālde spoke: "Jī, your elephant came, but my elephant did not come. When I can take [my] elephant, then I will take it." Rāv Gāṅgojī lived only one year after that.56

_Khyāt_, 3:95

When Rāv Gāṅgojī attained the _devlok_,57 Māldejī sat on the throne.58 Mālde was intent upon Vīramde now; so intent he would not allow him to draw a breath. He said: "Abandon Mērto and go to Ajmer and settle." Then Vīramdejī abandoned Mērto. The Pāṃvār [Rajpūts] used to live in Ajmer; Vīramdejī killed them and took Ajmer.59 Then Sahaiso60 fled and approached Mālde. Mālde gave [him] Reyāṃ with five [other] villages.

When Rāysal had prepared a feast at the Ānāsāgār,61 he summoned the entire sāth. Then he told Mumhato Khīṃvo:62 "We are going to eat the feast. You must not allow Rāv [Vīramde] to ascend the Vīṇṭī [Hill]."63 Whenever he will ascend the

56 Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat died in 1532.

57 _Devlok_: the realm of the _devs_, or gods; Paradise.

58 Re: Rāv Mālde's succession to the Jodhpur throne, see n. 171 to _Vigat_, 2:48.

59 Naiṃsi's chronology here is incorrect, with confusion both about time and events. The Pāṃvār Rajpūts did control of Ajmer in this period, but their rule ended when Sultan Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt extended his authority into central Rajasthan and occupied Ajmer. Meṛṭīyo Vīramde did not assert his authority over Ajmer until ca. 1535, and then only upon the fall of Māṇdū to the Mughal Emperor Humāyun and the subsequent departure of Bahādur Shāh's forces under Sham Sheru'l-Mulk from Ajmer. For further details, see n. 212 to _Vigat_, 2:51.

60 Varsinghot Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Sahaiso Tejṣīyot (no. 151).

61 Ānāsāgār: a large man-made lake situated on the northern side of Ajmer city. It was built in the mid-twelfth century by Arṇorājā Cāhamāna to purify the land, which had become polluted from the blood of Muslims killed there during a battle. Jain, _Ancient Cities_, p. 302.

62 Mumhato Khīṃvo Lālāvat (no. 157), Vīramde Dūdāvat's _pradhān_.

63 Vīṇṭī: a sizable hill of sandstone and granite situated on the western side of Ajmer city. It is an outlier of the Arāvalī hill system, in a low saddle of which Ajmer is built. The hill provides a view of the city to the east and of the plains of Mārvār extending westward across the far side of the Arāvalīs. The great fortress Tārāgadh (also called Gadh Vīṇṭī) is atop this hill. H. B. Sarda, _Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive_ (Ajmer: Fine Art Printing Press, 1941), pp. 49-59.
Vîntli [Hill], he will see the hill of Reyân. Then Sahaiso will come to mind. Then he will say: "I shall not drink water without [first] having killed Sahaiso." After telling the Mumhato [this], Räysal went to eat the feast.

And [Râv Viramde] said to Mumhato Khînvo: "You and I will go to the Vîntli [Hill] and send for sweets." Mumhato Khînvo forbade [him] one or two times, but he would not stay: he went and ascended the Vîntli [Hill]. Having ascended [it], he saw Mârvâr before [him]. Looking, he said: "Isn't that the hill of Reyân?" He said: "Indeed this hill is near. If I don't kill this Sahaiso, then he is my father."64 Afterward Räysal came with [him] too. The pradhâns told [Räysal] a great deal.

And Râv Mâlde was in Nâgaur.65 Râv Mâldeji said: "Viramde is on my chest." At that time ten thousand horse were at the Raìrod66 garrison, and within [were] these thâkurs: Jaito,67 Kûmpo,68 Akhairâj Sonagaro,69 [and] Viîdô Bhârmalot.70

**Khyât, 3:96**

They came to Reyân and camped. Their orders were: "Drive Viramde from Ajmer." Viramde departed [from Ajmer] during the night. He came to Reyân.71 And ahead, unknown [to him, Mâlde's] sâth was already prepared [for him].

---

64 Two interpretations of this sentence are possible:

(a) It may mean something to the effect of "I'll be damned if I don't kill this Sahaiso."

(b) Or it may mean that Sahaiso would be considered Viramde's superior if Viramde didn't kill him.

65 This reference to Nâgaur appears incorrect. Râv Mâlde did not capture Nâgaur until January of 1536. The events being referred to in the text took place ca. 1535. Ojhâ, 4:1:286-287.

66 Raìrod: a village located thirty-five miles west of Meîto and six miles west of Asop.

67 Jaito Paîcâînop (no. 61), founder of the Jaitäu branch of Mârvâr Râîhos.  

68 Kûmpo Mahirâjot (no. 95), founder of the Kûmpâvau branch of Mârvâr Râîhos.  

69 Sonagaro Câhûvau Akhairâj Rîndhirot (no. 9).

70 Bâlâvât Râîhoû Vîdô Bhârmalot (no. 37).

71 Tîko râtîro kharîyo Wîramde Reyân āyo: literally, "he departed during the night, Viramde came to Reyân." This phrasing doesn't make very good sense; perhaps the reading should have been tikâ râtîro kharîyo Wîramde Reyân āyo and the translation then "Viramde, departing that night, came to Reyân" (literally, "that-night-departed, Viramde came to Reyân").
Thereafter a battle occurred. Adversity befell Virämdē. Many of Virämdē's sdth died fighting. Three horses were cut down under Virämdē. He mounted a horse [wielding] a knife. He snatched up ten of the opponents' lances and held them together with the reins. He suffered four wounds on the head. Streams of blood went down into [his] beard.

Both armies, becoming satiated with battle, were standing [apart] on the far side [of the battlefield]. Virämdē was tending to his wounded men.

Then Pañcāyān came. He came and said: "Wherever will you find Virämdē in such a state [again] that you are not killing him today?" Then the sirdārs said: "Brother! Once [already] we have with difficulty averted misfortune on [our] chests. Brother! Virämdē will not die by our doing. And, if you would kill [him], that one [over there] is Virämdē."

Then Pañcāyān came upon Virämdē with thirty horsemen. And he called out to Virämdē. Then Virämdē said: "Hey, Pañcāyān! Is it you? Very well, come forth! Pañcāyān! There are many boys like you in Mārvār; if any one [of them] could press the back of Virämdē, then [why hasn't he]?” Pañcāyān drew the reins [of his horse] and remained standing right there.

**Khyāt, 3:97**

Then Virämdē said: "One such as [you] I might kill even while he stands [over] there. But, be off!" Then Pañcāyān turned the reins [of his horse] right back [around].

Then Kūmpoī said: "Rāj! Virämdē won't die easily like this!" Afterward Virämdē, having picked up his wounded men, came to Ajmer. [Mālde's] army also advanced to Nāgaur. Much adversity befell Virämdē. [His] entire sdth died fighting.

Rāv [Mālde] greatly feared Rāysal; he always held [Rāysal in] awe. Someone said Rāysal died fighting; someone said he did not die fighting. Then [Mālde] sent Mūlo the Purohit [to find out]. He came; he met Virämdē. He began

---

72 Virämdenunt alvi pari. Alvi: distress, difficulty, adversity. Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 65, indicates that alvi is an adjective meaning "difficult," "unbearable", "adverse"; here it is used as a noun.

73 The identity of this Rajpūt is uncertain, but he is probably Karamsot Rāthor Pañcāin Karamsiyot (no. 92), son of Karamsi Jodhāvat.

74 I.e., they had avoided being killed by Virämdē.

75 I.e., subdue or defeat Virämdē.

76 I.e., he turned the horse right around and galloped away.

77 Purohit Mūlo Kūmpāvat, a Sīvār Brāhmaṇ. Mūlo held five villages in grant from Rāv Mālde: Dhanḍharīyo and Kheṛāpo of Jodhpur Pargano (Lavero Subdivision), Dhuḥhariyo Vāṃsī and ČāharVAS of Soiḥat Pargano, and Viṃlāl of Jaitārān Pargano.
to speak: "Burn, [Viramde]! This very land [has become] harmful to you. It caused Räysal to die."

Then [Viramde] said: "Wait [a moment], for Räysal has quite minor wounds. A wound of this sort is not serious." And he sent word to Räysal: "You must provide [yourself with] a cushion and sit [where you are]. I am sending Mûlo to you." Then he said to Purohit Mûlo: "Go to Räysal yourself." Then Räysal had a Kachi horse saddled, tied on [his] weapon himself, mounted, and approached them, all the while making [his] horse gallop at full speed. Then they mounted up and came to Räv Mäle. They came and said: "Jî, Räysal is going about galloping [his] horse at full speed."

**Khyät, 3:98**

Then Räysal came back. [His] wounds burst open. Räysal died. When the news of Räysal's dying arrived, the armies [of Mäle] came again [to Ajmer]. They came and drove off ViramdejI.

Then [the Meṛtiyos] approached Räymal, a Sekhavat Kachvaho [Rajpūt]. Räymal performed many services for them. They stayed at Räymal's for one year. He made many arrangements for [their] safety. [The Sekhāvats' servants] performed various services [for the Meṛtiyos] according to the types of servants they were. Then ViramdejI said: "Räymalji! You [are] our great sago, you have

---

78 **Balo!** This imperative apparently has the same connotation as *jalo* in Marāṭhī: "Burn thee! Burn it! used in expressions of anger or scorn." J. T. Molesworth, compiler, *A Dictionary, Marāṭhī and English* (1857; corrected reprint edition, Poona: Shubhada-Saraswat, 1975), p. 311.

79 **A dhartij thāṁhīnūm jyān āyo.** Literally, "this very land, harm come to you." *Jyān* is from the Persian *ziyān*, "harm," "loss."

80 Kachi: from the region of Kutch. This area is situated to the southwest of Rajasthan and comprises the westernmost part of Gujarat fronting the Arabian Sea directly south of the Rann of Kutch.

81 **Asvār huy:** literally, "became a rider."

82 "They" (ai) apparently refers to Mûlo and his unspecified companions.

83 Sekhavat Kachvaho Rāmal Sekhavat (no. 22).

84 **Ghaṇṭi jāḥtā kīvī. Jāḥtā:** arrangement for protection. Sakariya, *RHSK*, p. 441.

85 Meṛṭiyō Rāṭhō Rāymal Dūḍāvāt of Rāḥīn village had married a daughter to Sūjo, Rāymal Sekhavat's son. Other marriage connections between the Meṛṭiyō Rāṭhōrs and the Sekhāvath Kachvahos are uncertain. It is possible that Meṛṭiyō Viramde Dūḍāvāt's son, Jaimal, had married among the Sekhāvath. Five of Jaimal's sons were born of Kachvaho wives; three of the five were uterine brothers and daughter's sons of Rāymal Sekhavat.
performed important services for us." Afterward Viūramdeji took leave of that place. Afterward Viūramdeji took Baumlı [village].\(^{86}\) He took Vanhațo [village].\(^{87}\) He took Varvāțo [village].\(^{88}\) After taking [Varvāțo], he stayed there.

Then Māldeji received [this] information. He said: "Viūramdeji has acquired a greater domain." Again he dispatched armies against Viūramdeji. The armies came to Mojābād.\(^{89}\) Viūramdeji got word [that] the armies had come to Mojābād. Then Viūramdeji said: "This time I will die fighting. This time I shall not leave [the battlefield]. Many times [previously] I left [it]. But this time I shall not abandon [the field of battle]. I shall not abandon [the battlefield] many times [again]. This time I will die fighting."

Then Muŋhato Khīmvo said: "Inspect the battlefield site. Look at the place where we will do battle." Then Viūramdeji [and] Muŋhato Khīmvo mounted [their horses] and went\(^{90}\) to inspect the site. Then Muŋhato Khīmvo went forward a bit.

\textit{Khyāt}, 3:99

Khīmvo said: "If you were [meant] to die [in battle], then you would have died in a battle for Meṛto. Why die in an alien land [now]?” Then he dragged [Viūramde] ahead and departed.

At Malārọ\(^{91}\) there was a thānedār, some Muslim, whom they went and met. This Muslim said: "I will have you meet the kiledār of Rinthambhor;\(^{92}\) he will have you meet the Patsāh.\(^{93}\) Next they met the kiledār of Rinthambhor. Then he took Viūramde into the presence of the Patsāh. He had [him] meet the Patsāh. The

mothers, but details are lacking. The specific connection with the Kachvāhos is also unspecified. Jaimal’s father, Rāv Viūramde Dūdāvāt, does not appear to have had any Kachvāho wives himself. See Harnath Singh Dundlod, \textit{The Sheikawats & their Lands} (Jaipur: Raj. Educational Printers, 1970), p. 12; \textit{Murārdān}, no. 2, pp. 473, 502, 504-507.

86 Baumlı (spelled Bāṃvaḷi on \textit{Vigat}, 2:54): a village fifty miles southeast of Jaipur.

87 Vanhațo: a village ten miles south-southeast of Baumlı.

88 Varvāțo: a village fourteen miles south-southwest of Baumlı.

89 Mojābād: the town Mozābād or Mozāmābād, situated forty-five miles northeast of Ajmer.

90 Literally, "came" (āyā).

91 Malārọ: a town ten miles east of Baumlı and twenty miles north of Rinthambhor.

92 Rinthambhor: a large fort and town situated forty miles south of Baumlı and sixty-five miles southeast of Jaipur. Re: the \textit{kiledār} of Rinthambhor, see n. 264 to \textit{Vigat}, 2:54.

93 Sher Shāh Sūr, Afghan ruler of Delhi and north India, 1540-45.
Pātsāhjī was kind to Viramdejī. Subsequently Viramdejī brought the Sūr Pātsāh against Māldejī. With eighty thousand horses Mālde confronted [them] at Ajmer.⁹⁴

Then Viramdejī devised a stratagem. He sent twenty thousand rupees to Kūmpo's camp. He said: "Please send us blankets." And he sent twenty thousand rupees to Jaito's camp. He said: "Please send us swords from Sīrohi." He played tricks like these.⁹⁵ And he sent word to Mālde: "Jaito [and] Kūmpo have met with the Pātsāh. They will capture you and give you to the Pātsāh. An illustration of this: If you see a surplus of rupees in their camp, then [you will] know [that] he provided expense money for them."

In the meantime Jalāl Jalūkō⁹⁶ began to speak: "Pātsāh salāmat!⁹⁷ Have one summoned from their side; I will be [the one] from the Pātsāh's side, and we will summon a soldier from their side [for a single combat]. Decide victory [or] defeat on this [basis]."

Khyāt, 3:100

Then the Pātsāh said to Viramde: "Does this arrangement one of my Pathāns is talking about meet with your approval or not?" Viramdejī said: "Pātsāh salamāt! I have seen the Pathān [but] once; summon the Pathān once again so that I might look at [him]." [The Pātsāh] summoned the Pathān. The Pathān came. Then Viramdejī, after looking [him over], said: "Pātsāh salamāt! Summon two more Pathāns like [this one]. Send these three from our side. And the other side will send Vīdō Bhārmalot. He will kill all these three, take their weapons, and go off safe and sound. Pātsāh salamāt! Indeed you must not decide [victory or defeat] on this [basis]!"

Viramdejī had sent information to Māldejī. The information [Viramde] had sent, that there was a surplus of rupees in the camp of the umrāvs, was in Māldejī's mind. Considerable fear arose in Mālde's mind. The fear was from the various things Viramdejī had suggested.⁹⁸

Afterward, when it was the evening watch, Jaito, Kūmpo, [and] Akhairāj Sonagarō were seated in Kūmpo's tent. Jait[sī] Údāvat⁹⁹ [and] Khūṇvo Údāvat¹⁰⁰

---

⁹⁴ Re: the number of warrior in the army of Rāv Mālde, see n. 295 to Vigat, 2:57.

⁹⁵ Isrā sā cinh kiyā. Cinh usually means "mark" or "sign." Molesworth, Dictionary, p. 287, notes that one meaning for cinh/cihn is "pranks." This meaning seems more appropriate here in the context of Viramde's actions.


⁹⁷ Salāmat: a salutation literally meaning "safety," "salvation," "health," etc. Salāmat was used to address both Hindus and Muslims of high rank.

⁹⁸ Literally, "had implanted (thahrā) [in Mālde's mind]."

⁹⁹ Údāvat Rāṭhor Jait[sī] Údāvat (no. 139).

¹⁰⁰ Údāvat Rāṭhor Khūṇvo Údāvat (no. 140).
were negotiating for the Rāṉjī. Whatever the Rāṉjī said they would come and tell [Jaito, Kūmpo, and Akhairāj]. They went and told the Rāṉjī what [Jaito, Kūmpo, and Akhairāj] said: "We will see that you reach Jodhpur." Hearing their answer, the Rāṉjī set out seated in a sukhpāḷ. The Rāṉjī's hand was on Khīṁvo's hand, and they were going along. Then Jaitsī Údāvat spoke: "Take leave, [Khīṁvo], people are expecting us." Khīṁvoji did not speak. Then Jaitsī spoke again.

**Khyāt, 3:101**

He said: "Khīṁvoji! You cannot manage such a distance. It is very far from Samel to Jodhpur." Then Khīṁvoji withdrew [his] hand and came back. The Rāṉ said: "Very well, it will be seen what happens." In the morning the battle occurred. People died fighting.

Then the Rāṉ went into the mountains of Ghughroṭ and stayed. The Sūr Pātsāḥ came to Jodhpur. Tilokśi Varjāṅgot was the kiledār in Jodhpur. He died fighting with three hundred Rajpūts. The Sūr Pātsāḥ stayed in Jodhpur four months. Māldeji cut down the acacia trees (bāvaḷ) of Meṛto; he told Viramde

---

101 Sukhpāḷ: a type of palanquin.

102 Lābh. Lābhno: to gain, acquire, obtain, find, attain.

103 Samel village lies eighty miles east of Jodhpur. The implication of Jaitsī's statement is that Khīṁvo cannot escort the Rāṉ to Jodhpur and come back in time to take part in the battle with Sher Shāh.

104 For comments regarding numbers killed in the battle of Samel, see n. 308 to Vigat, 2:57.

105 Ghughroṭ: a village four miles south-southwest of Śivāṇo on the northern edge of a large chain of rugged hills. Vigat, 2:255, notes that Ghughroṭ was a place to stay during a vikho, or period of distress during which a ruler must leave his realm and take refuge. Vigat, 2:58, states that Rāṉ Mālde went ot the village of Piplāṇ (located two or three miles west of Ghughroṭ) during this time of troubles.

106 Sher Shāh occupied Jodhpur in late January, 1544.

107 Údāvat Rāṭhor (Baithvāṣiy) Tiloksī Varjāṅgot (no. 143).

108 The actual length of Sher Shāh's residence in Jodhpur is unknown. Some sources give a time of up to one year. While at the fort of Jodhpur, he had a small mosque built in the place of a temple which was levelled. BāNKīdās, p. 13; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 126-127; Vigat, 1:58.

109 Bāvaḷ trees (Acacia arabica): an important indigenous source of timber. The leaves and pods are used for fodder in the hot weather; the bark is valuable in tanning and dyeing and the gum from the tree is an exportable item. Erskine, Rajputana Gazetteers, III-A, p. 48.
[this]. Then Viramde said: "I will cut down the mango trees of Jodhpur." Then the people said: "It is not proper, for you [to do] this." Then he took [his] knife and cut off a small mango-tree branch for a walking-stick. Afterward everyone went to his own residence (thikāṇo). And the Sūr Pātsāh went to Delhi.

He kept a garrison in Harvāro, a garrison in which he had stationed Paṭhān and [also] Viramde Dūdāvat [and] Kalyāṇmal, master of Dronpur. One day they rode out and imprisoned the vasī of Rāv Māldejī, which was in the mountains of Ghūghroṭ. After imprisoning [it], they came [back] to Harvāro. There

Haisāb: Lalās, RSK, vol. 4:3:221, gives the meanings "proper" (ucit) and "correct" (ṭhīk) for haisāb in this sentence, but he quotes no other context. Apparently this word is a variant of the Persian āsiabī, "proper", "accurate", "just." Platts, Dictionary, p. 477.

I.e., the sāth disbanded and the sirdārs went back to their own lands.

Sher Shāh seems to have remained in Jodhpur only long enough to organize his administration of the area and to establish an outpost of some 5,000 strong at Bhāngesar village near Sojhat. He then marched against Ajmer, which he conquered, only to return to Mārvār to pillage Pālī. He finally quit Mārvār in the latter part of 1544. V. S. Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal Emperors (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966), pp. 34-35; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 126-127; Ojhā, 4:1:308; R. P. Tripathi, The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire (reprint edition, Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1966), p. 126.

Harvāro: a variant of Harmāro, a village located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer city. The last three paragraphs of this sections (Khyāṭ, 3:101-102) are suspect as historical material for several reasons:

(a) There is no other reference to an outpost of Sher Shāh's at the village of Harvāro/Harmāro in Mevār. There seems to be some confusion with the battle of Harmāro, which took place in 1557.
(b) These paragraphs contain the only reference to Viramde's being stationed at an outpost of Sher Shāh's, an unlikely development given that most indications are he went directly to Meṣṭo to consolidate his foothold there.
(c) Time sequences are incorrect. If one assumes that the reference to Mālde's attack on a village is correct but that the village was Bhāngesar, the only large outpost of Sher Shāh's in Mārvār, and not Harvāro, then the attack would have occurred after the death of Sher Shāh in 1545. Viramde was already dead at this time, having died shortly after his return to Meṣṭo in 1544.

Vīḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ Kalyāṇmal Udālkaṇaṇot (no. 153). Kalyāṇmal was connected through ties of marriage with the Sekhāvat Kachvāhos of Amarsar and Sīkargādh. Kachvāho Rāymal Sekhāvat was his maternal grandfather, and it is to Rāymal that Viramde Dūdāvat went after his flight from Ajmer. Both Rāymal and Kalyāṇmal served under Rāv Lūṅkaṇaṇ of Bīkāner (1505-26) and were reputed to have been good friends and companions. Viramde was a sago of Rāymal's (see Khyāṭ, 3:98, supra, and n. 85 to same), and also a distant paternal cousin of Kalyāṇmal's. Khyāṭ, 3:151, 166; Ojhā, 5:1:117-118.
was some old woman, who began to speak: "Who is he?" Then they told [her]: "Kalyāṇmal, master of Dronpur." Then the old woman said: "Bravo! The noble one departed after causing the imprisonment of our fathers' mothers (dādiyāṁ) [and] fathers' sisters (kākiyāṁ) and putting female clothing on [his] head." Kalyāṇmal heard this retort. Then he made a vow [not to eat] grain.

*Khyāt, 3:102*

He said: "I will not eat115 [grain] until I cause the release of the prisoners." Then Vīramde began to talk: "They were our enemies and still you say [this]? A fine thing!" On the seventh day [of Kalyāṇmal's fast, Vīramde] had [him] drink milk; they got up. Whereupon Vīramde began to speak: "I will go there, to the Pāthāns' [residence], and petition on behalf of the prisoners." Kalyāṇmal was cognizant of omens. He said: "Rāj! Do not petition for the prisoners. In the morning Rāv Mālde's army will attack; all of the prisoners will be freed. Whoever has to die will die. And the Pāthāns will flee." Then Vīramde said: "Then, rāj, why do you not eat?" Kalyāṇmal116 said: "Vīramdeji! I will die fighting."

While they [talked] like this, day broke. Rāv Māldejī's army attacked the garrison. The Pāthāns did flee. Kalyāṇmal confronted [Mālde]. Then Rāv Māldejī said: "Kalyāṇmalji! Why should you die? We have come just because of you." Then [Kalyāṇmal] said: "No, Sāhib! When [the men of] the Pātsāh's garrison flee, then a few good men die." Kalyāṇmal died fighting there. Udaikaraṇ Rāymalot117 died fighting. The Pāthāns who fled went to Delhi.

Rāv Māldejī took the prisoners and went to the mountains of Ghūghroṭ. Vīramdejī came [back] to Meṛto and stayed. Afterward Rāv Māldejī came [back] to Jodhpur. A few Turks were [there]; they ran away.

*Concluded.*

---

115 The text has *jamīs*, a misprint for *jīmīs*, "I will eat."

116 The text has Kalyāṇdās, a mistake for Kalyāṇmal.

117 Udaikaraṇ Rāymalot: we cannot identify this Rajput with any certainty. He could be a son of Kachvāho Rāymal Sekhāvat, but he is not listed in Sekhāvat genealogies available to us. He might also be a son of Vīramde Dūdāvat's brother, Rāymal, but he is not listed in the available Meṛtīyo genealogies either. Perhaps the name is simply 错误.
Now the Story of Jaimal Viramdevot
and Rāv Mālde is Written

When Viramde1 attained the devlok, Jaimal2 obtained the throne of Merto. Then Rāv Mālde had word sent from Jodhpur. He said to Jaimal: "Men like me are your enemies. You must not give the entire pargano [of Merto] to [your] military servants. Keep something in the khālso as well."3

Then Arjan Rāymalot4 obtained Idvo5 from Jaimal. Jaimalī sent a man to Arjan. He told [the man]: "Summon the brother6 and bring [him to me]." And Arjan had promised [that] when a summons came [from Jaimal], he would not go to [his] home, he would go to Jaimalī. When the man came, Arjan was in [Idvo] village.

The man came and said: "Arjanī! Jaimal has summoned you. A letter of the Rāvjī's has come from Jodhpur; you must depart." Then Arjan spoke; he said: "Rājī! What has the Rāvī written in the letter?" [The man] said: "The Rāvī has written: 'You are giving the entire realm to [your] military servants. Are you keeping anything in the khālso as well?' And finally: 'Is there any such man [among Jaimal's military servants], anyone at all who would stand firm in the middle [of battle]?'"7 Arjanī said: "Rājī! My pato is secure;8 I will stand firm." [The man] said again: "Is there any such man who would stand firm in the middle [of battle]?

Arjanī felt insulted. He, [Arjan], not stand [firm], even a single time? He would speak in this way [to Mālde]: "Rāvī! When you and we fight, would any [man of yours] stand

---

1 Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Viramde Dūdāvat (no. 105).
2 Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107).
3 The implication of this statement is that Jaimal's military servants may be disloyal when faced with an enemy like Mālde; Jaimal would do better to keep his lands directly under his own authority.
4 Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛ Arjan Rāymalot (no. 111).
5 Idvo: a village located eighteen miles northeast of Merto.
6 Bhāṭī: brother; a member of one's brotherhood (bhāṭībandh); in this instance, a fellow Meṛtiyo.
7 Vicai hī ābhō rahai. Ībhō rahno: literally, "to remain standing." In the context of battle, this phrase often is used in the sense of "standing firm" in the face of the enemy. It also implies taking an active role in battle, as opposed to fleeing or remaining inactive (in the idiom of the period, "seated." Baitho rahno: to remain seated or inactive [on the day of battle]).
8 Sabalo: strong; large, extensive; powerful; firm, secure.
firm in the middle [of battle]?" Then Arjanji said: "Yes, rāj! I will stand firm. My paṭo, at least, is secure."

*Khyāt* 3:116

Then Arjanji came to [his] camp and said: "I have made a grand vow. They say one forgets in a single moment of battle [the saying]: 'Noble is he who performs nobly; ignoble is he who performs ignobly.' At that time a Sāṅkhlo [Rajput] of Jālsū was in [Arjan's] vās. He said: "Jī, I will remind [you]." [Arjan] said: "Bravo, great Rajput!" Then [the Sāṅkhlo Rajput] said: "Be cautious. They must have been offended by this [statement of yours]."

[Rāv Mālde] performed the Dasrāho pūjā during [the month] Āsaj, then

9 The language of this passage is rather cryptic, to say the least, and a summary may be of use to the reader:

Jaimal's man comes to Arjan Rāymalot, a loyal Meṛtīyo who has promised to go directly to Jaimal when summoned, and tells him about Mālde's remarks disparaging Jaimal's military servants. At first, Arjan is puzzled. His paṭo is secure; he will stand firm in battle. The man repeats Mālde's final insult: is there anyone among Jaimal's men who will stand firm? Arjan realizes this demeans him; he decides to throw Mālde's words back at him: is there any among Mālde's retainers who will stand firm when the Meṛtīyos and Mālde fight?

10 *Mhārō ẏ paṭo sabalo chai.* The particle ẏ has restrictive force in this sentence: Arjan is saying his own paṭo is secure; others may not be.

11 *Mhai mhoṭo bol boliyo. Bol:* word, statement, promise, vow.

12 *Riṇaktāl palakekmen. Riṇaktāl* apparently is a compound formed from riṇak, "the sound of a weapon or musical instrument") and tāl ("time," "occasion") used metaphorically to mean "battle." It may simply be a variant of riṇtāl/raṇtāl, "battle," "battlefield." *Palakekmen* appears to be *palak ek men* ("in one instant/moment") run together.

13 *Bhalo chai jakaṇ ro bhalo; bhūndo chai jairo bhūndo:* literally, "noble is he who possesses nobility/of whom there is nobility; ignoble is he who possesses ignobility/of whom there is ignobility." The editor of the *Khyāt*, B. P. Sākariyā, translates this saying (n. 2) as: "good is the outcome of goodness; bad the outcome of badness."

14 I.e., a man of the Sāṅkhlo branch (sākh) of the Pāṃvar family (kuṇ)

15 Jālsū: a village situated twenty-two miles northeast of Meṛo.

16 *Īyāṇraī ā [bāt] āgi hutī. Bāt lāgno:* words to be felt or to hurt; words to offend.

prepared an expeditionary force\textsuperscript{19} [to attack Meṛṭo]. Mālde came [to Meṛṭo Pargano] directly after forming the large army. He came to the village Gāṅgāṛṛo\textsuperscript{20} and made camp. [His] army raided in all directions. The rait log\textsuperscript{21} of Meṛṭo were being driven away. The land was being ruined. The land was being destroyed. And Ačlō Rāymalot\textsuperscript{22} was saying: "Jaimalī is summoning me, but here I shall sit during the day tomorrow." And Jaimalī was being very firm, [saying]: "Ačlō! You must come and come quickly!" Then Ačlō sent word [to Mālde's camp]: "Prithīrājī!\textsuperscript{23} Summon Akhairājī,\textsuperscript{24} so that I will stand firm during the day tomorrow.\textsuperscript{25} If you would favor me, do [so] well, otherwise I will join Jaimalī in the morning."

Then [Prithīrāj] said: "First we will kill Jaimal and afterward we will kill Ačlō. And, if they join together, we will kill them together."

At that time Jaimal was saying: "If our [conflict] with the Rāv were settled, [it would be] good." The responsibility [for negotiating] was held by [Jaimal's] pradhāns, the Jāitmāl [Rāṭhors] Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat [and] Candrāj Jodhāvat,\textsuperscript{26} [the sons] of brothers.\textsuperscript{27} (Both Bhāḍo [and] Jodho were [sons] of Mokal.)\textsuperscript{28} On them was placed the responsibility for Meṛṭo.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Ásoj: the seventh month of the Hindu luni-solar year (days 163-192), which may begin either in August or in September, depending on the initial day of the luni-solar year. The Dasrāho festival begins on the first day of Ásoj.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Muhim (Arabic muhim): expeditionary force; an army prepared to take part in a distant campaign. Cf. Khyāṭ, 1:39-40.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Gāṅgāṛṛo: a village situated seven miles west-northwest of Meṛṭo.
  \item \textsuperscript{21} Rait (Persian raʿiyat) in middle period Mārvār referred to the non-Rajpūṭ population that was not part of the vasi of any particular Rajpūṭ thākur. Rait in itself does not always imply the peasantry; coupled with log ("people"; "people engaged in agriculture"), it does.
  \item \textsuperscript{22} Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhōṛ Ačlō Rāymalot (no. 110).
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Jaitāvat Rāṭhōṛ Prithīrāj Jaitāvat (no. 63), a military servant of Rāv Mālde's.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} Jaimalot Rāṭhōṛ Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat (no. 69), one of the Meṛṭīyo's pradhāns.
  \item \textsuperscript{25} Apparently Ačlō is suggesting that he would join Rāv Mālde's forces only if Prithīrāj Jaitāvat could persuade Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat to do the same.
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Jaimalot Rāṭhōṛ Candrāj Jodhāvat (no. 74).
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Kākā-bāba rā: literally, "[sons] of father's brother [and] father." Akhairāj and Candrāj were related as paternal cousins.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} We have changed the word order slightly and treated this sentence as a parenthetical remark.
\end{itemize}
Jaimalji said: "Akhairaji! You go [to Malde]." Then Akhairaji said: "Raj! For what reason do you send me? And, if you are sending me, make provisions for battle." Then Akhairaji and Candraji set out.

Prithviraj had some familial tie\(^29\) with Akhairaji. These thakurs, [Candraji and Akhairaji], came to Prithvirajji's camp. They came and sent [the greeting] "Ram Ram"\(^30\) to Prithvirajji. Prithvirajji send word [back]: "I am bathing; afterward I also will come to the darbar [of Rav Malde]." In Prithvirajji's camp swords were being sharpened.\(^31\) Several Rajputs were [practicing] firing guns. A great uproar was going on. These sirdars, [Candraji and Akhairaji], observed [all this] and grew worried. Meanwhile Prithvirajji put on a va\(\)go, got ready, and went outside. He took these thakurs to the darbar.

Previously Rav Maldeji's darbar had been convened. These thakurs went and paid respects to Rav Maldeji. Nago Bharmalot\(^32\) was seated on one side [of the Rav]; Prithvirajji was seated on the other side. They seated these sirdars, [Candraji and Akhairaji], facing [the Rav]. Then Prithviraj spoke: "Ravji salamat! The pradhāns of Me\(\)to have come." Then the Ravji was talking. He said: "What are the pradhāns saying?" Prithviraj spoke: "They are speaking in this manner, mahāraj: \(^33\) 'Give Me\(\)to to us. We will perform military service for you.'" Then the Rav said: "We shall not give [them] Me\(\)to; we will give [them] another pa\(\)to." Just then Akhairaj spoke: "Raj! Are you speaking [for yourself], or are you saying what someone [else] said? Who gives Me\(\)to and who takes [it]?"

He who has given you Jodhpur has given us Me\(\)to."\(^34\) Then Nago Bhārma\(\)lota spoke: "Take care, [or] even the Rāv's Pa\(\)ṇḍ\(\)avas\(^35\) will kill you." Then Candraji spoke; he

---

\(^29\) Nāt\(\)ro: relationship, connection, familial tie. Perhaps Prithviraj and Akhairaj had married into the same family.

\(^30\) Rām Rām: a form of salutation used among Hindus only.

\(^31\) Tarvāryām nūm vādh lāgai cha\(\)i: literally, "[sharp] edges were being applied to swords."

\(^32\) Bālāvata Rā\(\)ṭ\(\)ho Nago Bhārmalota (no. 38).

\(^33\) Mahāraj: a respectful term of address slightly more honorific than rāj.

\(^34\) The implication of these two sentences is that the giving of Me\(\)to was not in the hands of Rāv Mālde, and its acceptance was not in the hands of Jaimal: both Me\(\)to and Jodhpur were given as shares (va\(\)ṇṭ) by Rāv Jodh Ro\(\)ṇmalota to his sons. Cf. Vīg\(\)at, 1:38-40, for a list of the lands Jodho divided among these sons.
said: "Either the Rāvji's Pāṇḍavas will kill Jaimalji's Pāṇḍavas, or Jaimal's Pāṇḍavas will kill the Rāvji's Pāṇḍavas. You will kill us, or we will kill you." Meanwhile Māldeji spoke: "O Prithirāj! Are these [men] really the pradhāns of Merto, or are there others?" Prithirāj said: "[Long] live the mahārāj! These [men] are indeed [the pradhāns]." Then the Rāvji said: "The feet of the Merto pradhāns are weak, brother!"

At that moment they became irritated and stood up. Akhairāj violently jerked [his] dupāto. The dupāto came apart in threads. And Cāndrāj tightened the leather cinch of a horse. All four feet of the horse came up [in the air]. Then these thākurs mounted [their own horses] and came [back] to Merto.

Back [in the Rāvji's darbār], the Rāvji had his people jerk [their] dupatās, but only Jaimal's Rajput jerked [his] in such a way [that it came apart in threads]. Then these thākurs came to Jaimalji. They came and told [their] story before Jaimalji. Jaimalji said: "Why would you have me fear dying? This is not to be." Then Īsardās [stole and] brought the Rāvji's horses, which had come to the tank in Gāṅgārīro to drink the water. Then Jaimalji said: "You openly humbled a great man.

Khyāt 3:119

Don't you know the Rāv will not give way to you?"

On the next day the besieging army advanced. Then the anīśis of both armies joined [in combat]. Shot [and] powder were being discharged. Then that [Sāṅkhlo] Rajpūt reminded Arjan Rāymalot [of his] vow. And he said: "Rāj! You were saying, 'I have made a grand vow.' The time [to remember it] is today."

Then Arjanji came in front of Nago Bhārmalot. And meanwhile Akhairāj, going forward, came in front of the Rāvji's elephants. Akhairāj drew near the elephants. Then two ribs of an elephant broke from a blow of Akhairāj's. Then Akhairāj said: "My concern is with Prithirāj." At this moment Prithirāj spoke. He said: "Dwarf! Why did you delay coming?" Akhairāj said: "I performed a service for the Rāvji's elephants." In the meantime Pravāgdās came [to battle] mounted on

---

36 Nago Bhārmalot has suggested that a mere stable hand could kill the pradhāns of Merto; Cāndrāj corrects him by saying that stable hands kill only other stable hands, not Rajpūt warriors: Rajpūts alone kill other Rajpūts.

37 Ėkato. Lālas, RSK, p. 326, notes that the ukaṭo is a leather cinch fastened to a camel's saddle. Here it is used with a horse's saddle.

38 Mērtīyo Rāṭhore Īsardās Vīramdevot (no. 109), Jaimal Vīramdevot's younger brother.

39 Lāgū hi phoj: literally, "the touching/contiguous army."

40 Khūtrō: dwarf, pigmy.

41 Mērtīyo Rāṭhor Pravāgdās Arjunot (no. 112).
an Iraqi horse. Even as the horse was galloping, he came and performed *salām* to Jaimalji. Then Jaimal spoke: "Prayāgiyō comes! I [always] would forgive his offences for this reason." Meanwhile the men of Rāv Māldejī’s army approached. And four blows fell on Prayāgdās’s head. And he went after [the men of] the army. At the moment he reached them, he raised [his] lance [to strike]. He said: "I shall thrust [the lance] into the Rāv’s head." At that very moment he braced the lance. Then—God knows why—he took out [his] bow and strove to force [it] onto the Rāv’s neck.

Prithirāj was fighting. Nago Bhārmalot was fighting. The rest of Rāv Māldejī’s army fled. The two sirdārs were fighting. At that time Prithīraj had a military servant, Hiṅgolo Pipāro, whom Prithīraj had promised a sword.

**Khyāt 3:120**

The first time [he tried] the bow lay lightly on the [Rāv’s] neck. On the second occasion, he whipped [his] horse and forced the bow onto the [Rāv’s] neck. Then someone came from behind and struck Prayāgdās a blow. Prayāgdās fell in two pieces. And the bow remained right on Rāv Māldejī’s neck. [The Rāv’s men] went ahead a bit. And he fell down.

42 Prayāgiyō: a diminutive or affectionate nickname for Prayāgdās.

43 I.e., Jaimal forgives Prayāgdās his offenses because Prayāgdās shows up when there is a battle.

44 *Itrai māṃhai to barchī kasiśi*. The editor of the *Khyāt*, B. P. Sākariyā, suggests (n. 19) that *kasiśi* is to be translated as "slipped" (*phīsal gai*), which is certainly plausible. However, in his own dictionary (Sākariyā, *RHIKS*, p. 216, he gives *kasāna* ("to draw tight," "to tighten," "to brace," "to tie, strap, or fasten"), *khīncnā* ("to draw," "to pull," "to fasten"), and *kasā jānā* ("to be drawn tight," "to be tightened," etc.) as meanings for the verb *kasiśa*). Lālas, *RSK*, p. 449, gives the meanings *kasā jānā* and *pratyaṅcā carhānā* ("to string the bow," "to get ready to fight") under *kasiśa*. The context suggests that Prayāgdās is something of a comic figure. Evidently he was about to kill Rāv Mālde with his lance, but then inexplicably took out his bow and attempted to strangle the Rāv with it.

45 *Koi Paramesvar ro khyāl huvo*: literally, "it was some notion of Paramesvar’s."

46 *Ūpar sai*: externally, superficially, lightly.

47 This sentence suggests that Prayāgdās was killed, but *Murārdān*, no. 2, pp. 465, 557, indicates that Prayāgdās died in 1598-99 in the Deccan during the battle of Bīḍ city. It may be that the characterization given here in this story has gained in the telling: i.e., Prayāgdās was only wounded.

48 Pipāro is the designation of a branch (sākh) of the Gahlot family (kuḷ). We have no additional information concerning Hiṅgolo.
Hīṅgolo said: "Prithīrajji! You promised me a sword. Give it [to me now]."
Prithīrajji said: "O Hīṅgolo! You demanded [it] at a fine time!" But a man mounted
on a dark-colored horse was coming; in fact it was Surtan Jaimalot51 [who] came. He
came; just as he was coming [near] he thrust a lance at Prithīraj. Prithīraj warded off
the lance. He said: "Little boy! Don't you come [to fight me]; tell your father that he
should strike Prithīraj a blow." After [saying that], Prithīraj plucked [Surtan's] sword
from [his] waist and awarded [it] to Hīṅgolo Pīpāro. [Hīṅgolo] said: "Noble [is]
Prithīraj! A sāmant52 of Mārvār." Then Prithīrajji said: "No, brother! Just the
Kumvār of Meṛto53 [is] noble."

Prithīraj, a great Rajpūt. A weapon could not strike Prithīraj in the front;
[he] had received a boon from a Jogī.54 Then Akhairaj Bhādāvat came and thrust a
weapon at Prithīrajji from behind.

Khyāt 3:121

Prithīraj said: "A curse on you, son of Bhādo! You licked a fine pot."55 Then
[Akhairaj] said: "The pot I licked belonged to a great house. Inside [that house] the
khic56 is plentiful."57 Prithīraj died fighting there. Nago Bhārmalot also died
fighting. Rāv Māldeji's army fled.

Then they gave Jaimalji the good news. They said: "Ji! Rāv Mālde fled." Jaimalji said: "He backed off before [our superior] courage.58 Announce the good
news in Meṛto of his having gone."

The kettledrums left behind by Rāv Māldeji came into [their] hands. [Jaimal] gave the kettledrums to Juglo, who was a Bāmbhū59 of Meṛto, and sent him

51 Meṛṭīyo Raṭhōṛ Surtan Jaimalot (no. 113), son of Jaimal Vīramdevot.
52 Sāmant: subordinate ruler (Sanskrit sāmanta).
53 I.e., Jaimal's son, Surtan Jaimalot.
54 Jogī: a yogī; a practitioner of yoga.
55 I.e., Akhairāj had finished off a fine man.
56 Khic: a food prepared by cooking wheat or millet with various sorts of pulse.
57 I.e., Prithīraj was a member of a great Rajpūt house (the Jaitāvat Raṭhōṛ house) and
there were many other Rajpūts in that house.
58 Chāṭī āgā sūṁ khisyo chai. Chāṭī, literally "chest" or "breast," was sometimes used
metaphorically to mean "courage" or "spirit." Cf. Vigat, 1:50, line ten from the top of
the page.
59 Bāmbhū: a leather-worker (hence untouchable); one fit to handle or touch leather
drums.
[to Mälde]. When that Bambhī came near the village Lāmbiyo, he observed: "I'll strike the kettledrums. These are Rāv Mālde's kettledrums, so they will go away [to him]." Then the Bambhī struck a kettledrum. Then he observed: "Be off to his [place], if you must go!"

Then Cāndo said [to Mälde]: "[Jaimal] is my brother. Why are you so alarmed? I will reason with him." Rāv Mālde then said: "Cāndo! See that I reach Jodhpur somehow." Cāndo said: "You must not give in to fear. He is no god. You must not fear Jaimal. I will see that you enter the fort of Jodhpur." Then Cāndo took everything that was with Rāv Māldeji—horses, elephants, wounded men—with him and sent Rāv Māldeji to Jodhpur.

*Khyat* 3:122

Rāv Māldeji went to Jodhpur and stayed there. Jaimalji ruled Meṛto contentedly.

*The Story of Māldeji [and] Jaimal is concluded.*

---

60 Lāmbiyo: a village situated eighteen miles due south of Meṛto.

61 Apparently this passage is meant as a joke: the Bambhī perhaps is tired from carrying the drums (Lāmbiyo being eighteen miles from Meṛto) and so he facetiously remarks that since they are Rāv Mālde's drums, they will go back on their own if he strikes them. However, there may be a cultural idiom involved here that we do not understand.

62 Jā ("be off") iyairai ("to his [place]") *je jāijai* ("if you must go").
APPENDIX A

Some Important Towns of Middle Period Rājasthān

I. Ajmer Town (26° 27' N., 74° 37' E.)

Ajmer is situated at the base of a low saddle in the Arāvallī hills which strike northeast and southwest across the center of Rājasthān. This strategic location eighty-five miles due east of Jodhpur made Ajmer one of the more contested towns of the region. Ajmer controlled the trade routes moving from north India west to Gujarat and the Arabian Sea, and into Sindh.

Originally known as Ajayameru or Ajayapura, the town was founded in the twelfth century by the Cāhamāna ruler, Ajayarājā, as his new capitol, which he moved from Sāmbhar in the north. Ajmer became a premium town in north India under Cāhamāna rule, and withstood several attacks from Muslim invaders. Then in 1192 Muṭz al-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghūr defeated Prthvīrājā III and took possession of the city. It returned to Cāhamāna rule soon after, but was then seized by Qūṭb al-Dīn Aybēg in 1195. From this time forward, control over the city changed hands many times among the various Muslim rulers of the Delhi Sultānate and prominent Rajpūt rulers such as the Sīsodiya Rāṇas of Cītōr. Maḥmūd Shāh Khalji I, ruler of Māṇḍū (in Malwa), 1436-1469, took control of the town in 1452 and rule remained with him and members of his family until 1531, when Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt asserted possession following his conquest of Malwa. Then in 1535 control again changed hands when Rāṭhōr Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvāt of Mērtō occupied the town following the withdrawal of the kīledār, Sham Shēru'l-Mulk, who was a subordinate of Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt.


II. Dīdvāṇo Town (27° 24' N., 74° 35' E.)

Dīdvāṇo town lies alongside a salt lake one hundred and twenty-five miles northeast of Jodhpur city and sixty miles north of Ajmer. An ancient town, it was under the rule of the Pratihāras and then the Cāhamānas from the eighth into the twelfth century. The Sultāns of Delhi subsequently occupied the town, and then, with the fall of the Sultānate, it became like Sāmbhar to its east, a contested prize fought over by the Sīsodiya Rāṇas of Cītōr, the Khānзāda Khāns of Nāgaur, and the Sultāns of Malwa and Gujarāt because of its salt industry. By the mid-fifteenth century, control over the town passed to the Khānзāda Khāns of Nāgaur, who held nominal control over the area until the
time of Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62).


III. Meṛtō Town (26° 39' N., 74° 2' E.)

Meṛtō was referred to both as Meḍantaka and Meḍatapura in the pre-Muslim period, but in the early Muslim period (12th century), its name changed to Medanipura. Its significance in this early period appears to stem from the fact that it was an important religious center and occupied a place on the trade routes moving from north India toward Sindh and Gujarat. Epigraphically, the earliest reference to Meṛtō is found in the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bauka, ca. 837. The inscription notes that one of Bauka's predecessors, Nāgabhāṭa, had established his capital at Meḍantaka. Pratihāra Nāgabhāṭa was the son of Narabhaṭa and the grandson of Rajilla, who originally established Pratihāra rule at Māṇḍor in central Mārvār in the sixth century.

Pratihāra rule in this area eventually fell to the Cāhamānas. A certain Rāṇā Māladeva Cāhamāna had his capital at Meḍantaka around 1319. This same Māladeva is associated with Javālipura (Jāḷor) in southern Mārvār and Cītṛakūṭa (Cīṭor) in Mevār.

Temporary Muslim rule extended over Meṛtō at the turn of the fourteenth century. The Pāṅḍukhā inscription of the V.S. year 1358 (A.D. 1301-02) mentions the rule of Alāvādī of Jōginīpura (‘Alā’ al-Dīn of Delhi) and his viceroy, Tājadī (Ṭāj al-Dīn) at Meḍantaka (Meṛtō).

No other references to Meṛtō in inscriptions or local texts have been found until the time of Rāv Jodhō Rīṇmalot and his sons, Varsīṅgh and Dūḍō Jodhāvat.

Archaeologically, there are few extant remains in Meṛtō proper dating from the pre-Muslim period. Those present include two eleventh century pillars and other structures in the temple of Lakṣmī, and the remains of a temple of Mahāvīra, built in 1113 by Abhayadevasuri in tribute to Jainism which flourished in this area from the twelfth century onwards. The town was of undoubted importance as a religious center from this time.

For reasons which are unclear, the town fell into obscurity during the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth, for it was uninhabited at the time the Rāṭhōṛ brothers Varsīṅgh and Dūḍō came to this area around 1462.

IV. Nāgaur Town (27° 4' N., 73° 49' E.)

Nāgaur is an important town on the trade route from north India west into Sindh. It is situated sixty miles north-northeast of Jodhpur city. Prior to 1198 when control over it passed into Muslim hands, the town was held by a series of Hindu dynasties extending back into the eighth century. Nāgaur had several Turkish governors between 1198-1270 and was a minto town for the Sultāns of Delhi. Rule passed to Rāṭhor Rāv Cūndo Vīramot, the ruler of Māṇḍor in central Mārvār, ca. 1399, after the fall of the Tughluq empire. Rāv Cūndo was subsequently killed at Nāgaur\(^1\) fighting against a coalition of Bhāṭi Rajpūts from Pūgāl and Muslim Pathāņs from the north including Khyām Khān from Hisār and Khīḍr Khān of Multān, who sought to assert control over the area. Nāgaur then became an independent seat of rule under a local Khānzāda Khān dynasty founded by Shams Khān Dandānī, a noble of Firūz Shāh of Gujarāt. Shams Khān was a younger brother of Zafār Khān, the founder of the independent Sultānate of Gujarāt, and he had established himself at Nāgaur by ousting its governor, Jalāl Khān Khokhar.

Later, following Shams Khān's death, Nāgaur became subject to inroads from the Rāṇos of Cītoṛ, and to conflict among various branches of the Khānzāda Khān family. Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur conquered Nāgaur in 1536 and again brought it under Rāṭhor rule. Rāv Mālde's rule lasted for eight years, then passed into Muslim hands following Rāv Mālde's defeat at the battle of Samel in 1544 at the hands of Sher Shāh Sūr.

Jain, Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan, p. 242-246.

V. Sāmbhar Town (26° 55' N., 75° 11' E.)

Sāmbhar is an ancient town which remained of considerable importance throughout the pre-modern period because of its position on trade routes and its value as a source of revenue from salt. The town is located at the southern extremity of a large salt lake lying some fifty miles northeast of Ajmer and eighty miles east-northeast of Merto. The salt lake extends northwest from the town for about twenty miles and varies in breadth from two to seven miles. It covers an area of nearly ninety square miles. Although dry much of the year, the lake fills with water during the rainy season, and may have water all year if the rains are exceptionally heavy.

Sāmbhar first came into prominence during the eighth and ninth centuries when the early Cāhamāṇa rulers controlled the area as subordinates of the Pratiharās. The Cāhamāṇas gained independence in the early tenth century during the rule of Sinharājā, and this independence lasted into the twelfth century when Ajayarājā Cāhamāṇa transferred his seat of rule to his newly founded city of Ajayameru (Ajmer).

Control over Sāmbhar passed to the Sultāns of Delhi in 1198, but again
changed hands in the following centuries in response to the political fortunes of
the Sultanate. Bálhānadeva, ruler of Rîṅthambhor, held the rule of Sāmbhār for
some time during the early thirteenth century, then in 1226 it again came under
Sultanate rule when Ilutmish led an army successfully against Rîṅthambhor and
Sāmbhār. Inscriptions indicate that Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq of Delhi governed
Sāmbhār in 1363. Sīsodiyo Râṇo Mokâl Lâkhâvat (ca. 1421-33) of Cîtor then
took control, only to be pushed out by the Muslim ruler of Nâgaūr, Mujâhid
Khân. Râṇo Mokâl's son, Râṇo Kûmbhâo Mokâlôt (ca. 1433-1468), reconquered
the area not long after his succession to rulership. Some time during the latter
part of Râṇo Kûmbhâo's rule, control passed under the authority of the Muslim
ruler of Mândû.

Jain, Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan, pp. 250-254;
APPENDIX B

Lists of Men Killed in Various Battles

According to Available Sources

I. Battle of Samel, January 5, 1544.

A. From Vigat, 1:56-57:

Bhāṭī Paṁcāṅ Jodhāvat
Bhimvat Kalo Surjanot
Nīmbo Ṭhāndot, Jeso [Bhāṭī]
Rāṭhor Bhavāṇīḍās Sūrāvat, Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Bhojo Paṁcāṅot, Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Ḥamīr Sīhāvat, Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Jayāl, [son] of Vīḍo Parbatot, Duṅgarot
Rāṭhor Jaito Paṁcāṅot, Akhairājot
[Rāṭhor] Jogo Rāvaḷot, Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Khīmvo, [son] of Uḍo Sūjāvat
Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahīrājot, Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Paṁcāṅ Kārṃṣīyot
Rāṭhor Pato Kānhāvat, Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Rāyal Mal Akhairājot, Rīṇimal
Rāṭhor Surtān Gāṅgāvat, Duṅgarot
Rāṭhor Udaiśingh Jaitāvat, Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Vīḍo Bhārmalot, Bāḷāvat
Rāṭhor Vairsī Rāṇāvat, Akhairājot
Sonagaro Akhairāj Rīṇdhīrot

B. From Vigat, 2:57:

Rāṭhor Jaito Paṁcāṅot
Rāṭhor Jaitśī
dūnāvot Kānhāvat
Rāṭhor Khīmvo Īīdāvat
Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahīrājot
Rāṭhor Paṁcāṅ Kārṃṣīyot
Rāṭhor Vīḍo Bhārmalot
Sonagaro Akhairāj Rīṇdhīrot

C. From Jodhpur Rājiya ki Khyāt, pp. 83-84:

Bhāṭī Bhairī [i.e., Mero] Akḷāvat
Bhāṭī Gāṅgo Varjāṅgot
Bhāṭī Ḥamīr Lākhāvat
Bhāṭī Kēlhan Āpmlal Hamūrot
Bhati Madhodas Raghodasot
Bhati Nimbo Patavat
Bhati Pañcañ Jodhavat
Bhati Suro Parbatot
Bhati Suro Patavat
Cāraṇ Bhāno Khetavat Dhadhvāriyo
Devro Akhairāj Banāvat
İndo Kisno
Jaitmal Vidavat Đungarot
Māngliyo Hemo Nimbavat
Pathān Oledākhān
Rāthor Bhārmal Bajavat
Rāthor Bhado Pañcaĩṅot
Rāthor Bhavānīdās, [son] of Sūro Akhairājot
Rāthor Bhojo Pañcaĩṅot
Rāthor Bhojrāj Pañcaĩṅot, Akhairājot
Rāthor Hāmo Sihavat
Rāthor Hardās Khāṅgārot
Rāthor Harpāl Jodhavat
Rāthor Jaimal, [son] of Vīdo Parbatot
Rāthor Jaito Pañcaĩṅot
Rāthor Jaitsī Rāghavat
Rāthor Jaitsī Udavat
Rāthor Jogo, [son] of Rāval Akhairājot
Rāthor Kalo Urjanot, Bhīṃvot
Rāthor Khīṅvo Udavat of Jaitāraṇ
Rāthor Khīṅvo Udavat’s military servant
Rāthor Kūmpo Mahirājot
Rāthor Maħes Dedavat
Rāthor Nimbō Anandot
Rāthor Pañcāṅ Karamsīyot
Rāthor Pato Kānhavat
Rāthor Rāymal Akhairājot, Rīṅmal
Rāthor Surtāṇ Gāṅgavat
Rāthor Udaiśingh Jaitavat
Rāthor Vīdo Bhārmalot, Bāl[āvat]
Rāthor Vairsī Rāṅavat
Sāṅkhlo Đuṅgarṣī Đhāmāvat
Sāṅkhlo Dhanṛāj Đhāmāvat
Soṅho Nātho Dedāvat
Sonagaro Akhairāj Rīṅdhīrot
Sonagaro Bhojrāj Akhairājot
Uṛha Surjan Narhardāsot
Uṛha Vīro Lākhavat

II. Siege of Jodhpur Fort, 1544.

A. From Vigat, 2:59:

Bhaṭṭi Sāṅkar Sūrāvat
Rāṭhor Aclo Sivrājot
Rāṭhor Sīṅghaṇ Khetsīyot
Rāṭhor Tilokṣī Varjāṅgot

B. From Vigat, 1:58:

Bhaṭṭi Malo Jodhavat, a Jesāvat
Rāṭhor Aclo Sivrājot
Rāṭhor Pato Durjansālot
Rāṭhor Tilokṣī Varjāṅgot, an Udāvat

C. From Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāṭ, pp. 85-86:

Bhaṭṭi Bhojo Jodhavat
Bhaṭṭi Malo Jodhavat, brother of Rāmo
Bhaṭṭi Nāthu Mālāvat
Bhaṭṭi Sāṅkar Sūrāvat
Īndo Sekho Dhanrājot
Jaimal
Nāyak Bhīkhū
Nāyak Jhājhaṇ
Rāṭhor Aclo Sivrājot
Rāṭhor Rāmo Viṃmot
Rāṭhor Sīṅghaṇ Khetsīyot
Rāṭhor Tilokṣī Varjāṅgot
Sohar Bhairav, son of Bhīṃv Sīhavat
Udāvat Sāṅkar Jaitsīyot

III. Battle of Meṛto, March 21, 1554.

A. Rāv Mālde Gāṅgavat's men.

1. From Vigat, 2:59:

Cahuvāṇ Megho
Paṅcolī Abho
Paṅcolī Neto
Paṅcolī Rato
Rāṭhor Dhano Bhārmalot
Rāṭhor Jagmāl Udaikaraṇot
Rāṭhor Nago Bhārmalot
Rāṭhor Prithuvṛj Jaitāvat
224

Rāthor Sūjo Tejsiyot
Sindhar Dhungarsī
Sohar Pitho Jesavat

2. From "Aitihasik Bātān", p. 49:

Abho
Dhungarsī
Megho
Rāthor Dhano Bhārmalot
Rāthor Dhanrāj
Rāthor Jagmāl Udaikaraṇoṭ
Rāthor Nago Bhārmalot
Rāthor Prithūrāj Jaitāvat
Rato
Sohar Pitho Jesavat
Sūjo Tejsiyot

3. From Vigat, 1:59:

Cahuvān Megho Bhairavdāsot
Paṅcolī Abho Jhājhāvat
Paṅcolī Rato, [son] of Abho
Rāthor Bhārmal Devidāsot
Rāthor Dhano Bhārmalot, a Bālāvat
Rāthor Dhanrāj Bhārmalot
Rāthor Dhungarsī
Rāthor Jagmāl Udaikaraṇoṭ [of] Khāṃvasar
Rāthor Nago Bhārmalot, a Bālāvat
Rāthor Prithūrāj Jaitāvat
Rāthor Rāghavde Barsalot, an Udāvat
Rāmo Pipāro
[Rāmo] Bhairavdāsot, a Cāmpāvat
Sohār Pitho Jagāvat

4. From Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, 87-88:

Cahuvān Śārdūl
Cahuvān Megho
Pipāro Hoglo
Pipāro Rāmo
Paṅcolī Abho Jhājhāvat
Paṅcolī Rato, Abho's son
Rāthor Dhanrāj Bhārmalot, a Bāl[āvat]
Rāthor Jagmāl Udaikaraṇoṭ of Khāṃvasar
Rāthor Nago Bhārmalot, a Bālāvat
Rāthor Prithūrāj Jaitāvat
B. Rāv Jaimal's Rajpūts.

1. From Vigat, 2:59:

Rāthor Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat
Rāthor Candrāv, [son] of Jodho
Rāthor Moṭo Jogāvat
Rāthor Narāṅdās, [son] of Candrāv
Rāthor Śāṅgo, [son] of Bhojo
Rāvat Sagto, [son] of Śāṅgo

2. From Vigat, 1:60:

Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat
Rāθor Cāndrāv Jodhāvat
Rāθor Moṭo, [son] of Jogo
Rāθor Narāṅdās Cāndrāvat
Rāθor Śāṅgo Bhojāvat
Rāvat Sagto Śāṅgāvat

3. From Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 88:

Jaitmālot Akhairāj Bhadāvat
Jaitmālot Candrāj Jodhāvat
Jaitmālot Śāṅgo Bhadāvat

IV. Battle of Sātalvās, March 20, 1562.

A. From Vigat, 2:65-66:

Bārhaṭṭ Colo
Bārhaṭṭ Jālap
Bārhaṭṭ Jīvo
Bhāṭi Pirāg Bhārmālot
Bhāṭi Pītho
Bhāṭi Tiloksi
Hamjo, a Turk
Māṅgliyo Dedo
Māṅgliyo Vīram
Rāṭhor Ačlo Bhāṇot
Rāṭhor Aṇṭho Rāṇāvat
Rathor Bhan, [son] of Bhojraj, [who was the son] of Sadoo Rupavat
Rathor Bhakharsi Dungarsiyot
Rathor Bhakharsi Jaitavat
Rathor Devidas Jaitavat
Rathor Goind, [son] of Rano Akhairajot
Rathor Isar Gharshiyo
t
Rathor Isardas, [son] of Rano Akhairajot
Rathor Jaimal Tejsiyot
Rathor Jaitmal, [son] of Pancha Dudavat, a Merriyo
Rathor Mahes Gharshiyo
Rathor Mahes Panchaionot
Rathor Netsi Sihavat
Rathor Pato, [son] of Kumpo Mahirajot
Rathor Puranmal, [son] of Prithiraj Jaitavat
Rathor Rajsingh Gharshiyo
Rathor Ramo Bhaivadastos
Rathor Rano Jagnathot
Rathor Rindhir Raysinghot
Rathor Sango Rindhirot
Rathor Tejsi, [son] of Urjan Panchaionot
Sankhlo Tejsi
Sutrar Bhanidhas

B. From Vigat, 1:61-63:

Barhath Colo
Barhath Jalap
Barhath Jivo
Bhati Pirag Bhamalot
Bhati Pitho Anandot
Bhati Tiloks, [son of] Parbat Anandot
Cauvan Viram Udavat
Hamir Udavat, Balaivat
Hamjo, Turk
Mangliyo Dedo
Mangliyo Viram Devavat
Rathor Aclo Bhanot
Rathor Akho Jagmalo, [descendant] of Kanhoo Cundavat
Rathor Amro Ramavat
Rathor Bhakharsi Dungarsiyo
t
Rathor Bhakharsi Jaitavat
Rathor Bhan, [son of] Bhojraj, [who was the son] of Sadoo Rupavat
Rathor Bhimuv Udavat, Balaivat?
Rathor Devidas Jaitavat
Rathor Goind, [son] of Rano Akhairajot
[Rāṭhor] Ṭisar Gharsiyot
Rāṭhor Ṭisardās, [son of] Rāṇo Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Jaimal Tejsiyot
Rāṭhor Jaimal Paṅcāiṇot, [son of] Paṅcāiṅ [Ḍ]udāvat
Rāṭhor Mahes Gharṣiyot
Rāṭhor Mahes Paṅcāiṇot
Rāṭhor Netsī Sihāvat, Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Pato, [son] of Kūmpo Mahirajot
Rāṭhor Prithirāj, [son of] Singhaṅ Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Pūranmal, [son] of Prithirāj Jaitāvat
Rāṭhor Rāmo Bhaivādāsot
[Rāṭhor] Ṭaṇo Jagnāthot
Rāṭhor Rin[?] Rāyaśalot, military servant of Meṛṭīyo Jagmāl
Rāṭhor Sāṅgo Rindaḥirot
Rāṭhor Sehso Rāmāvat
Rāṭhor Sehso, [son of] Urjan Paṅcāiṇot
Rāṭhor Tejsī, [son of] Urjan Paṅcāiṇot
Sāṅkhlo Tejsī Bhojuvot
Suthār Bhānīdās

C. From "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṃ", pp. 55-56:

Bārḥath Colo
Bārḥath Jālap
Bārḥath Jīvo
Dedo
Hamjo, a Turk
Māṇgliyo Vīram
Pītho
Pirāg Bhārmalot
Rāṭhor Ṭisar Gharsiyot
Rāṭhor Acło Bhāṅot
Rāṭhor Amro Rāmāvat
Rāṭhor Bhāṅ, son of Bhojṛāj, [who was the son of] Sado
Rūpāvat
Rāṭhor Bhākharsi Dūṅgarsiyot
Rāṭhor Bhākharsi Jaitāvat
Rāṭhor Deviḍās Jaitāvat
Rāṭhor Goind, [son] of Rāṇo Akhairājot
Rāṭhor Jaimal Tejsiyoṭ
Rāṭhor Jaimal Paṅcāiṇot, [son of] Paṅcāiṅ Dūḍāvat, a Meṛṭīyo.
Rāṭhor Mahes Gharṣiyot
Rāṭhor Mahes Paṅcāiṇot
Rāṭhor Netsī Sihāvat
Rāṭhor Pato, [son] of Kūmpo Mahirajot
Rāṭhor Pūranmal, [son] of Prithirāj Jaitāvat

D. From *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt*, pp. 93-94:

- Bārhaṭṭ Colō
- Bārhaṭṭ Jālap
- Bārhaṭṭ Jīvo
- Bhāṭṭ Pīrāg Bhārmalot
- Bhāṭṭ Pītho
- Bhāṭṭ Tiloksī
- Hamjo
- Māṅgliyo Dedo
- Māṅgliyo Viṛam
- Rāthoṛ Ḡāṛṣīyot
- Rāthoṛ Ḡāṛṣīyot
- Rāthoṛ Aclo Bhāṇot
- Rāthoṛ Amro Rāṇāvat
- Rāthoṛ Bāṃ Bhōjṛājot
- Rāthoṛ Bhākharsī Dūṃgarṣīyot
- Rāthoṛ Devīdās Jaitāvat
- Rāthoṛ Goind Rāṇāvat
- Rāthoṛ Jagmāl Viṃadevat
- Rāthoṛ Mahes Gharṣīyot
- Rāthoṛ Mahes Paṃcāṇīṇot
- Rāthoṛ Netsī Sīhāvat
- Rāthoṛ Pato Kūṃpāvat
- Rāthoṛ Pūraṇmāl Prithīrājot
- Rāthoṛ Rājsīṅgh Gharṣīyot
- Rāthoṛ Rāṇo Jagannāṭhhot
- Rāthoṛ Rāṃo Bhaṁrāvādāsot
- Rāthoṛ Sahso Rāṃāvat
- Rāthoṛ Sahso Urjanot
- Rāthoṛ Sāṅgo Rīṇḍhīrot
- Rāthoṛ Viṛam
- Sāṅkhlo Tejsī
- Suthhāṛ Bāṁnīdās
- V[iṭ]hū Meho
E. From Bankidas, p. 16:

Bhāṭī Pitho Āṇandot
Bhāṭī Tilokṣī Parbatot
Cahuvāṅ Jaitsī
gagmalji's military servant
Kāk Cāndāvat's [son]
Māngliyo Dedo
Māngliyo Viramdev
Rāṭhor Acjo Bhaṇot
Rāṭhor Akho Jagmālot
Rāṭhor Amro Āsāvat
Rāṭhor Amro Rāmāvat
Rāṭhor Amro Rāyāvat
Rāṭhor Bhākharsī Duṅgarsīyot
Rāṭhor Bhākharsī Jaitāvat
Rāṭhor Bhān Bhojrājot, a Rūp[āvat]
Rāṭhor Bīṁ Dūdāvat, a Bāl[āvat]
Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat
Rāṭhor Goind Rānāvat
Rāṭhor Hamūr Udāvat, Bāl[āvat]
Rāṭhor Īsardās Gharśiyot
Rāṭhor Īsardās, [son] of Rāṇo Akhārājot
Rāṭhor Jaimal Tejsīyot
Rāṭhor Jaitmāl Paṅcāṇot, a Meṛīyo
Rāṭhor Mahes Gharśiyot
Rāṭhor Mahes Paṅcāṇot, a Kārāmsiyot
Rāṭhor Pūranmal Prithirājot
Rāṭhor Pato, [son] of Kūmpo Mahirājot
Rāṭhor Prithirāj
Rāṭhor Pūranmal Prithirājot
Rāṭhor Rāṇo Jagnāthot
Rāṭhor Rāyśingh Gharśiyot
Rāṭhor Rīndhīr Rāymalot
Rāṭhor Sāngo Rāmāvat
Rāṭhor Sāngo Rīndhīrot
Rāṭhor Siṅghā, [son] of Akhārāj
Rāṭhor Tejsī Sīhāvat
Sāṅkhlo Tejsī Bhojāvat
Viram Dūdāvat's [son]

F. From Bankidas, p. 17:

Bārhaṭh Jālap
Bārhaṭh Jīvo
Bhāṭī Prīāgāṛs Bhārmalot
Bhāṭī Prīho
Bhāṭī Tiloksī  
Hamlo, a Turk  
Jaimal Tejsīyot  
Khāṭī Bhāṇidās  
Māngiyo Vīram  
Rāṭhaṛ Aclo Bhaṇot  
Rāṭhaṛ Amro Rāmāvat  
Rāṭhaṛ Bhākharsī Įuṅgarot  
Rāṭhaṛ Bhākharsī Jāitāvat  
Rāṭhaṛ Bhāṇ Bhojjājot  
Rāṭhaṛ Devidās Jāitāvat  
Rāṭhaṛ Goinddās Rāṇāvat  
Rāṭhaṛ Īsardās Ghāṛsiyot  
Rāṭhaṛ Īsardās Rāṇāvat  
Rāṭhaṛ Jaitisī, [son of] Urjan Paṇcāṇot  
Rāṭhaṛ Mahes Ghāṛsiyot  
Rāṭhaṛ Mahes Paṇcāṇot  
Rāṭhaṛ Netsī Sodāvat  
Rāṭhaṛ Pato Kūmpo Mahirājot's [son]  
Rāṭhaṛ Pūraṇnāl Prithirājot  
Rāṭhaṛ Rājsī Ghāṛsiyot  
Rāṭhaṛ Rāmo Bhaīravādāsot  
Rāṭhaṛ Rāṇo Jagnāthot  
Rāṭhaṛ Rīṇdhīr Rāṣiṅghot  
Rāṭhaṛ Sahso Rāmāvat  
Rāṭhaṛ Sahso Urjaṇot  
Rāṭhaṛ Sāṅgo Rīṇdhīrot  
Sānkhlo Tejsī 

V. Composite Lists.

A. Battle of Samel, January 5, 1544.

Bhāṭīs

Bhāṭī Hamūr Lākhāvat  
Bhāṭī Mādhodās Rāghodāsot  
Bhāṭī Nīmbo Patāvat  
Bhāṭī Sūro Parbatot  
Bhāṭī Sūro Patāvat  
Jeso Bhāṭī Gāngo Varjāṅgot  
Jeso Bhāṭī Mero AcĒāvat  
Jeso Bhāṭī Nīmbo Įṇandot  
Jeso Bhāṭī Paṇcāṇi Jodhāvat  
Kelhaṇ Bhāṭī Įpnaḷ Hamirot
Cāraṇṣ

Dhadhvārīyo Cāraṇ Bhāno Khetāvat

Cahuvāṇṣ
devṛ Čahuvāṇ Ākhairāj Banāvat
Sonagarō Čahuvāṇ Ākhairāj Rīndhīrōt
Sonagarō Čahuvāṇ Bhojraj Ākhairājōt

Gahlots

Māṅgliyo Gahlot Hemo Nimbāvat

Paṁvārs

Sāṅkhlo Paṁvār Dhanraj Dhāmāvat
Sāṅkhlo Paṁvār Ąungarsī Dhāmāvat
Sōḍho Paṁvār Nātho Dedāvat

Paṛihāṛs

Indo Paṛihār Kisko

Paṭhāṇṣ

Oledād Khān

Rāṭhoṛs

Ākhairājōt Rāṭhor Bhado Paṅcāinōt
Ākhairājōt Rāṭhor Bhavānīdās Sūrāvat
Ākhairājōt Bhojο Paṅcāinōt
Ākhairājōt Rāṭhor Hamūr Sīhāvat
[Ākhairājōt] Rāṭhor Jaito Paṅcāinōt1
Ākhairājōt Rāṭhor Jogo Rāvālot
[Ākhairājōt] Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahirājōt2
Ākhairājōt Rāṭhor Pato Kānḥāvat
Ākhairājōt Rāṭhor Rāymal Akhairājōt
Ākhairājōt Rāṭhor Udaisīṅgh Jaitāvat
Ākhairājōt Rāṭhor Vairṣī Rāṇāvat
Bālāvat Rāṭhor Vīḍo Bhārmalot
Bhīṅvot Rāṭhor Kalo Urjanōt

1 Founder of the Jaitāvat branch of Mārvāṛ Rāṭhoṛs.
2 Founder of the Kūmpavat branch of Mārvāṛ Rāṭhoṛs.
Dūṅgarot Rāṭhor Jaimāl Vīḍāvat
Dūṅgarot Rāṭhor Surtāṅ Gāṅgāvat
Karamsot Rāṭhor Paṅcāṅ Kāramsīyot
Rāṭhor Bhārmal Bājāvat
Rāṭhor Hardās Khaṅgarot
Rāṭhor Harpal Jodhāvat
Rāṭhor Jaitsī Rāghāvat
Rāṭhor Maḥes Dedāvat
Ūḍāvat Rāṭhor Jaitsī Ěḍāvat
Ūḍāvat Rāṭhor Khīṅvo Ěḍāvat
Ūhār Rāṭhor Surjan Narhardāsot
Ūhār Rāṭhor Vīro Lākhāvat

Others

Ūḍāvat Rāṭhor Khīṅvo Ěḍāvat's military servant

B. Siege of Jodhpur Fort, 1544.

Bhāṭīs

Jeso Bhāṭī Bhojo Jodhāvat
Jeso Bhāṭī Mālo Jodhāvat
Jeso Bhāṭī Nathū Māḷāvat
Jeso Bhāṭī Sāṅkar Sūrāvat

Nāyaks

Nāyak Bhīkhū
Nāyak Jhājhaṅ

Paṇihārs

Īndo Paṇihār Sekho Dhanrājot

Rāṭhōrs

Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Aĉlo Sivrājot
Rāṭhoṛ Pato Đurjaṅsāḷot
Rāṭhoṛ Rāmo Vīramot
Rīṁmalot Rāṭhoṛ Sīṅghaṅ Khetsīyot
Sohar Rāṭhoṛ Bhaiṅaṅ Bhīṁvot
Ūḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ Sāṅkar Jaitsīyot
Ūḍāvat (Baiṅvāśīyo) Rāṭhoṛ Tilokesī Varjāṅgot
Others

Jaimal

C. Battle of Merto, March 21, 1554.

1. Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's men:

**Cahuvāṇs**

Cahuvāṇ Śārdūl  
Sācoro Cahuvāṇ Megho Bhairavdāsot

**Gahlots**

Pīpāro Gahlot Hoglo  
Pīpāro Gahlot Rāmo

**Paṅcolīs**

Paṅcolī Abho Jhājhāvat  
Paṅcolī Neto  
Paṅcolī Rato Abhāvat

**Rāฑhors**

Bāḷāvat Rāṭhor Dhano Bharmalot  
Bāḷāvat Rāṭhor Nāgo Bharmalot  
Cāmpāvat Rāṭhor Rāmo Bhairavdāsot  
Jaitāvat Rāṭhor Prithirāj Jaitāvat  
Karamsot Rāṭhor Jagmal Udaikaraṇot  
Rāṭhor Bhārmal Devidāsot  
Rāṭhor Śūjo Jaitṣiyot/Tejṣiyot  
Śindhāḷ Rāṭhor Ḍūṅgarsi  
Sohār Rāṭhor Pītho Jesāvat  
Ūdāvat Rāṭhor Rāghavde Vairsalot  
Ūhār Rāṭhor Prithirāj

2. Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot's men:

Jaitmāḷ Rāṭhor Akhairāj Bhādāvat  
Jaitmāḷ Rāṭhor Candrāv Jodhāvat  
Jaitmāḷ Rāṭhor Motō Jogāvat  
Jaitmāḷ Rāṭhor Nārāṇḍās Candrāvat  
Jaitmāḷ Rāṭhor Śāṅgo Bhojāvat  
Rāṭhor Śagito Śāṅgāvat, Rāvat
D. Battle of Sātalvās, March 20, 1562.

**Bārhaṭhs**

Colo
Jālap
Jīvo

**Bhāṭis**

Bhāṭi Pirāg Bhārimalot
Jeso Bhāṭi Pītho Āṇandot
Jeso Bhāṭi Tiloksi Parbatot

**Cahuvāṇs**

Cahuvāṇ Jaitsī
cahuvāṇ víram ūḍāvat

**Cārāṇs**

Vīthū Cāraṇ Meho

**Gahlots**

Māngliyo Gahlot Dedo
Māngliyo Gahlot víram Devāvat

**Paṇvārs**

Sāṅkhlo Tejśi Bhojāvat

**Rāṭhɔrs**

Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ Goind Rāṇavat
Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ Īsardās Rāṇavat
Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ Netsi Sihāvat
Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ Prithīraj Singḥāṇot
Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ Sahso Urjanot
Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ Tejśi Urjanot
Bāḷāvat Rāṭhoṛ Bhīṃv Īḍāvat
Bāḷāvat Rāṭhoṛ Hamīr Īḍāvat
Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ Akho Jagmālot
Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ Īṣar Ghaṛṣīyot
Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ Mahes Ghaṛṣīyot
Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ Rājśingh Ghaṛṣīyot
Cāmpāvat Rāthoṛ Amro Rāmāvat
Cāmpāvat Rāthoṛ Rāmo Bhairavdāsot
Cāmpāvat Rāthoṛ Sahso Rāmāvat
Jaitāvat Rāthoṛ Bhākhārsī Jaitāvat
Jaitāvat Rāthoṛ Devidās Jaitāvat
Jaitāvat Rāthoṛ Pūraṅmal Prithājot
Jodho Rāthoṛ Bhākhārsī Dūṅgarsiyoṭ
Karamsot Rāthoṛ Mahes Paṅcāṅgōt
Kūmpāvat Rāthoṛ Pato Kūmpāvat
Meṛtīyo Rāthoṛ Jaitmāl Paṅcāṅgōt
Rāthoṛ Aclo Bhāṇot
Rāthoṛ Jaimal Tejsīyot
Rāthoṛ Rāṅo Jagnāṭhot
Rāthoṛ Rīndhrī Rāysīṅgōt
Rāthoṛ Sāṅgo Rīndhīrōt
Rūpāvat Rāthoṛ Bhāṅ Bhojrajoṭ

Sutrārs

Sutrār Bhāṇidās

Turks

Hamjo, Turk
**APPENDIX C**

*Paṭo of Mṛṭīyo Jagmāl Vīramdevot, 1559*

**Identification of Villages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village as Listed</th>
<th>Village Identified</th>
<th>Administrative Area</th>
<th>Rekh</th>
<th>Vigat Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ākelī</td>
<td>Ākelī</td>
<td>Mokālo Tapho</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>2:133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Altavo</td>
<td>Altavo</td>
<td>Altavo Tapho</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>2:176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ānolī</td>
<td>(Ākolī Barī)</td>
<td>Moḍro Tapho</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>2:169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Barṇo</td>
<td>Barṇo</td>
<td>Sojhat Pargano</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>1:433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bhāduvāsṇī</td>
<td>Bhāduvāsī</td>
<td>Rāḥīṇ Tapho</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>2:158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bhaiyo</td>
<td>Bhaiyo</td>
<td>Altavo Tapho</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>2:177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bhīmliyo</td>
<td>(Bhūbhliyo)</td>
<td>Āṇandpur Tapho</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2:127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The *rekh* statistics date from the mid-seventeenth century; the *paṭo* was given in 1559.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village as Listed</th>
<th>Village Identified</th>
<th>Administrative Area</th>
<th>Rekh</th>
<th>Vigat Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Chāprī</td>
<td>Chāprī Baṛī</td>
<td>Rāhīṇ Tapho</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2:159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Cocīyāvās</td>
<td>Cecīyāvās</td>
<td>Moḍro Tapho</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>2:173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Cundhīyāṛṇ</td>
<td>Cundhīyo</td>
<td>Mokālo Tapho</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2:133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Dābriyāṇī</td>
<td>Dābriyāṇī</td>
<td>Rāhīṇ Tapho</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2:156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Dhāndhalvās</td>
<td>(Dhāndhalvās Jālap)</td>
<td>Moḍro Tapho</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>2:174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Dhāndhalvās Ūdo)</td>
<td>Moḍro Tapho</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>2:174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Dhāmaṇīyō</td>
<td>(Dhāmaṇīyō)</td>
<td>Moḍro Tapho</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>2:170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Dhāmaṇīyō)</td>
<td>Reyāṁ Tapho</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2:206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Dhanāpo</td>
<td>Dhanāpo</td>
<td>Kalro Tapho</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>2:147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Dumāṇī</td>
<td>Dumāṇī</td>
<td>Moḍro Tapho</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>2:170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Durgāvas</td>
<td>Durgāvas</td>
<td>Sojhat Pargano</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1:475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Ghaghaṇṭo</td>
<td>(Gagrāṇo)</td>
<td>Mokālo Tapho</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>2:133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Gonaṛṭo</td>
<td>Gonaṛṭo</td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>2:187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village as Listed</td>
<td>Village Identified</td>
<td>Administrative Area</td>
<td>Rekh</td>
<td>Vigat Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Gorharī</td>
<td>(Gorehari Karanāṃ) (Gorehari Cāṅcā)</td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>2:195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Goṭhaṇ</td>
<td>Goṭhaṇ</td>
<td>Kalro Tapho</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>2:145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Goṭhṛī</td>
<td>Goṭhṛō</td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Goṭhṛō</td>
<td>Goṭhṛō</td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Hāsāvas</td>
<td>(Haṃsavās) (Haṃsāvas)</td>
<td>Kalro Tapho</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>2:150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sojhat Pargano</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Hīdāvās</td>
<td>(Hīdāvās Gurrī ro) (Hīdāvās Codhṛyāṃ ro)</td>
<td>Reyāṃ Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reyāṃ Tapho</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2:206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Hīrādṛō</td>
<td>(Sīhāsṛō)</td>
<td>Reyāṃ Tapho</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>2:200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Īṭāvo</td>
<td>Īṭāvo</td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2:193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Īṭāvo Khīyāṃ rī</td>
<td>Īṭāvo Khīcīyāṃ rī</td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Jāvli</td>
<td>Jāvli</td>
<td>Rāhīṇ Tapho</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>2:156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Jodhrāvas</td>
<td>Jodhrāvas Baro</td>
<td>Reyāṃ Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village as Listed</td>
<td>Village Identified</td>
<td>Administrative Area</td>
<td>Rekh</td>
<td>Vigat Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Juläño</td>
<td>Juläño</td>
<td>Modro Tapho</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2:168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Kānlī</td>
<td>Kānlī</td>
<td>Reyāṁ Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Kerīyo</td>
<td>Kerīyo</td>
<td>Modro Tapho</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2:171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Khātejāī</td>
<td>Khātojāī</td>
<td>Rāhīṅ Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Khīdāvas</td>
<td>(Khīdāvās)</td>
<td>Modro Tapho</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2:175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Khīndāvro</td>
<td>(Khīnvāvās)</td>
<td>Reyāṁ Tapho</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2:211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Khuhaṛī</td>
<td>Khuhaṛī Baṛī</td>
<td>Rāhīṅ Tapho</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2:158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Lāmbo</td>
<td>Lāmbo Jāṭāṛī ro</td>
<td>Mokālo Tapho</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>2:130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Luṅgiyo</td>
<td>Luṅgiyo</td>
<td>Reyāṁ Tapho</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>2:212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Maḍāvro</td>
<td>Maḍāvro</td>
<td>Reyāṁ Tapho</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2:205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Māṅkīyāvas</td>
<td>Māṅkīyāvās Baṛō</td>
<td>Reyāṁ Tapho</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>2:209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village as Listed</td>
<td>Village Identified</td>
<td>Administrative Area</td>
<td>Rekh</td>
<td>Vigat Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Mherāsṇī</td>
<td>Mehrāvās, Mehrīyāvās</td>
<td>Āṇandpur Tapho</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>2:124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2:189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Nathāvṛo</td>
<td>Nathāvṛī</td>
<td>Modro Tapho</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>2:173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Nībrī</td>
<td>Nībrī Kothāriyā rī, Nībrī Kalām</td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2:190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2:188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Nīliyāṃ</td>
<td>Nīliyāṃ</td>
<td>Āṇandpur Tapho</td>
<td>7000</td>
<td>2:121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Pāḍubāḍī</td>
<td>Paḍukhāṃ rī Vāṃṣī</td>
<td>Havelī Tapho</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2:117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Pāḷrī</td>
<td>Pāḷrī Baṛī</td>
<td>Modro Tapho</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>2:168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Pāḷrī Sindhale</td>
<td>Pāḷrī Sidh</td>
<td>Kalro Tapho</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>2:143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Pāṅciyāvas</td>
<td>Pāṅcrāro</td>
<td>Deghāṇo Tapho</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2:194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Phālko</td>
<td>Phālko Baṛo</td>
<td>Āṇandpur Tapho</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2:124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Pithāvas</td>
<td>Pithāvās</td>
<td>Mokālo Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Rāṃhaṇ</td>
<td>Rāhaṇ Khās</td>
<td>Rāhīṇ Tapho</td>
<td>11000</td>
<td>2:153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Rāyṣalvās</td>
<td>Rāyṣalvās</td>
<td>Reyāṃ Tapho</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>2:203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village as Listed</td>
<td>Village Identified</td>
<td>Administrative Area</td>
<td>Rekh</td>
<td>Vigat Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Sāraṅgvas Ś</td>
<td>(Sāraṅgvas Ś)</td>
<td>Haveli Tapho</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2:117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sāraṅgvas)</td>
<td>Sojhat Pargano</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1:459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Saru</td>
<td>(Saraṃ)</td>
<td>Sojhat Pargano</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1:464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Sathāno</td>
<td>(Sathāno Sāraṅgvas)</td>
<td>Reyāṃ Tapho</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2:211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sathāno Khurad)</td>
<td>Reyāṃ Tapho</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2:204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Sāyavas</td>
<td>(Sīrīyāvās)</td>
<td>Reyāṃ Tapho</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2:204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Sīrīyāri Sojhat ri</td>
<td>(Sīrīyāri Maheli)</td>
<td>Sojhat Pargano</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>1:470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sīrīyāri Vās Ś)</td>
<td>Sojhat Pargano</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1:472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. Thāharvas Śi</td>
<td>Thāharvas Śi</td>
<td>Sojhat Pargano</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1:450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Thāt</td>
<td>Thāt</td>
<td>Reyāṃ Tapho</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>2:204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. Tīghrīyo</td>
<td>(Tīghro)</td>
<td>Āṇandpur Tapho</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>2:126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Tīghro)</td>
<td>Moḍro Tapho</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>2:170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Üdhīyāvas</td>
<td>Üdhīyāvās</td>
<td>Moro Tapho</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2:174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Vagaṛ</td>
<td>Bagāṛ</td>
<td>Moḍro Tapho</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>2:167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67. Vākhalvas</td>
<td>(Ākhalvās)</td>
<td>Kalro Tapho</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2:148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village as Listed</td>
<td>Village Identified</td>
<td>Administrative Area</td>
<td>Rekh</td>
<td>Vigat Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Vās Makāmpā</td>
<td>Bāṅkāvās</td>
<td>Āṇandpur Tapho</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>2:124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69. Vāvalalo</td>
<td>Bāvalalo</td>
<td>Moḍro Tapho</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2:172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69 villages of the total 71 were listed. In all cases where the identification is uncertain the village names are placed in parentheses. The corresponding numbers on Map 5, "Pato of Meṛṭīyo Jagmāl Vīramdevot, 1559", are also in parentheses if uncertain.
APPENDIX D

Mughal Land Revenue Administration: An Overview

Land revenue administration in Mughal India was concerned with two primary activities: the assessment of revenue on lands and the collection of this revenue. The revenue system was based on a variety of methods inherited from previous rulers of north India during the early years of Emperor Akbar's reign (1556-1605). These included varying methods of assessing production for both the autumn (kharif) and the spring (rabī') crops, and fixing revenue demands. One method called hast-o-būd involved a rough estimate of the area of all cultivated land in a village without any kind of measurement of the area under crops, an estimate of production, and finally a fixing of the revenue demand in cash and kind. Alongside this very crude method was another called kankūṭ. Kankūṭ involved a stricter assessment based upon actual field measurement using a rope (jarūb) or walking off distances, then estimating crop yields by unit through first-hand observation. Demands under this method were fixed primarily in kind through various methods of share-cropping, referred to locally as baṭā or bhāoli (or by the Persian term ghalla-bakhshī). Several methods of share-cropping were in evidence, including division of a field of standing crop, division of the crop after it had been cut and stacked in readiness for threshing, and finally baṭā proper or division of the crop on the threshing floor. Revenue farming with grants of land to locals at fixed prices was also current in some areas.

These methods of fixing demand and collecting revenue, while workable, posed inherent difficulties. Share-cropping divided the risks between the peasants and the state, and provided a relatively simple and easy method of fixing demand. However, it was expensive and cumbersome to operate because it required an army of officials to administer. These officials had to watch local village lands and crops and do the actual collection, in itself a major task. Additional problems were present because of the necessity of transport and storage of goods over large areas of the Empire.

The methods of assessment were also crude, there being no standardized measures, and were equally hard to administer. The assessments generally did not distinguish adequately between lands of differing quality, nor did they have a means of adjusting demand in relation to yearly fluctuations in crops, yields and prices at local levels. The fixing of demand was, in addition, open to serious abuses. Reliance was placed entirely on the fairness of the assessor who estimated land area and production. Corruption and inefficiency compounded difficulties present in the systems of assessment and collection.

By the thirteenth year of Akbar's reign (1569-70), a situation had emerged in the Empire which rendered the functioning of the land revenue system, particularly as this affected assignments of revenue on land (jāgīr), virtually impossible. Land revenue assignments (jama') no longer bore any relation to the amounts of revenue actually collected (hāṣīl). Emperor Akbar had, in essence, an inflated paper valuation of his empire which bore little
relation to land areas under production and the revenues derived from these lands.

Akbar had attempted to correct some of the shortcomings in his land revenue administration in his eleventh regnal year. He had placed his Imperial diwan, Muzaffar Khān, and then Muzaffar Khān's successor, Rājā Todār Mal, in charge of all revenue affairs for the Empire. They began a more consistent gathering of information about lands and crop production from the local hereditary officials concerned with village revenue accounts (qānūngos) and other knowledgeable men. The new assessment (jama’) which emerged was an improvement, but it still remained far from actual collection figures (hāsil).

Akbar finally initiated a series of reforms beginning in his nineteenth regnal year (1575-76) which fundamentally altered the Imperial revenue system. He first resumed all jāgīrs throughout the Empire with the exception of those assigned in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. He then ordered the establishment of a system for fixing permanent local cash rates for different crops and assessing values on land. The latter was finally accomplished in his twenty-fourth regnal year, based on a ten-year schedule (jama’-i dah-sāla) determined through actual field measurement using bamboo rods linked with iron loops (an innovation of Akbar's to ensure uniform measurement), yields by year and crop prices. Actual field measurement did not extend to all parts of the Empire, but included only the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Malwa, and portions of Ajmer and Gujarat.

The new jama’ based upon the ten-year schedule allowed the development of a system called zabt, a payment of land revenue in cash based upon actual measurement of land and assessment of production. The zabt system involved the preparation and use of cash rates (dastūr-al ‘amals or dastūrs) derived from information the local qānūngos had provided about lands, crops and revenues. New valuations were determined yearly, and cash rates eventually became fixed for particular areas. Revenue assessment and the fixing of the revenue demand became a matter of establishing a proportion of average production multiplied by averaged cash rates for an area.

Akbar reorganized the machinery of revenue administration in order to facilitate the compilation of a new and more accurate jama’. He first had all crown lands (khālīsā) divided into administrative districts (parganās, mahals). These small administrative unites were grouped, in turn, into larger divisions (sarkārs) and finally unified into provinces (ṣubās). There were one hundred and eighty-five parganās designated, each of which was expected to yield one kror of ṭankas, or 250,000 rupees.

An ‘amīl (also called ‘amalguzār) was appointed over each administrative district (parganā). This ‘amīl was initially responsible for both revenue assessment and revenue collection. It is this official, the ‘amīl, who became known as the kīroṭī (the official associated with/responsible for a kror of ŏtankas). Kīroṭīs were placed over one or more parganās and had wide powers to settle the boundaries of lands under their jurisdiction, assess production on the land, set revenue demands based on local prices, and administer the collection of the revenue itself. Subordinate to the kīroṭī/‘amīl were officials known as amīns who were in charge of the revenue parties sent to local villages to carry out the
actual measurement and assessment of lands. The amīns reported back to the kirořīs, who in turn conveyed local information to the Imperial divāns posted at each of the provincial headquarters, where all revenue accounts were audited.

This system of land revenue administration functioned in all crown lands (khālīsa) during the latter years of Akbar’s reign and during the reign of his successor, Jahāngīr (1605-27). Then, when Shāh Jahān (1628-58) succeeded to the Mughal throne, there was a reversal of roles among local revenue officials. Shāh Jahān had his divān, Islām Khān, make several changes in the land revenue system in order to curb abuses which had grown up (indeed the system as a whole had been fraught with abuse since its inception, due in large measure to the heavy-handedness of the kirořīs/amīls). Islām Khān transferred the work of the kirořīs/amīls to the amīns, whose duty it became to assess the revenue. Actual collection became a separate function under the kirořīs.

Islām Khān’s successor, Sa‘adullah Khān, later reduced the powers of the kirořīs even further. This change was made in order to counter the local practice which had emerged of combining the functions of the kirořī and the faujdār, the local official charged with the maintenance of law and order. The practice of combining these two functions in one person had led to a great increase in local abuse of the land revenue system.

***

It seems evident from the material about Merto that not only were qānūngos involved in the development and administration of the local land revenue system, but that a zabī system based on dastūrs evolved which extended both to Merto Pargano and to other nearby areas of Mārvār (see Vigat, 2:83-84, 2:88, 2:96 for mention of qānūngos, zabī, and the ‘amal dastūr for Merto).

Irfān Habib has written of the extension of the Mughal revenue system into Rājasthān that

Some of the Rajput states seem to have been influenced considerably by the general pattern of Mughal administration. In the kingdom of Jodhpur, for example, a kind of jagirdari system existed. The Raja held a few villages in each pargana for his own treasury, while he assigned the rest in pattas, equivalent to jagirs, to his officers in lieu of their pay.... It even appears from the Ain that in some Rajput states, especially Ambir and Jodhpur, an attempt was made to copy the Zabt method of revenue assessment established in the imperial territories. But if these states copied the Mughal system, they did so of their own volition. Nor was the copying ever one hundred per cent. Jodhpur, for example, did not have qānūngos, officials whose functions were vital for the working of the jagirdari system. Nor did it enforce the Zabt, for though it had established cash revenue rates it did not apparently come round to measuring the land, and the Ain fails to provide areas statistics for its territory. Finally, these states were, after all, exceptions, and there
is no reasons to believe that the chiefs in general ever followed their example.¹

Based on material in the *Vigat*, a reassessment of Habib's observations appears to be in order.

---

GLOSSARY

A

ahadḥī [A. ʾahādī] Literally, "single man." A soldier under the Mughal Emperor Akbar's immediate orders who was paid in cash and held no jāgīr. Vigat, 2:67.


aṇī The point of a spear, arrow, etc., the end, the tip; piece, fragment; a division of an army. Vigat, 2:44; "Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," pp. 44, 48-49; Khyāt, 3:119.

Āsoj The seventh month of the Caitrādi Vikrama and the third month of the Śrāvaṇādi Vikrama luni-solar year. Āsoj may begin either in August or in September, depending upon the initial day of the luni-solar year. Khyāt, 3:116.

āsvār [P. suwār] One of the two indices of rank in the Mughal administration. See also jāt and mansab. Vigat, 2:75.

B

bagsī [P. bakhshī] A paymaster, an officer whose special duty it was also to keep an account of all disbursements connected with military tenures. Vigat, 2:54, 2:56.


Bārḥaṭh Literally, "Obstinacy at the gate." A synonym for Paulpāt ("Recipient of the gate"), a title given to trusted Cāraṇs who, during times of siege, stood at the main gates (paul) of forts and were the first to fight and give their lives in the fort's
defense. These same Cărăṇs were also those who stood first in line (even before the Brāhmaṇ) during a wedding to receive gifts and offerings (neg, tyāg) from the members of the bride's party. Vigat, 2:47, 2:57-58, 2:66; "Aitihasik Bātān," p. 56.

**bāfi**

Small balls of heavy wheat flour cooked to form bread balls, which are served on feast occasions among the well-to-do. Vigat, 2:47.

**begam [P.]**

A title of Mughal women. Vigat, 2:68.

**Beldār (f. Beldārī)**


**bhāibandh**

Literally, "bound as brothers"; a brotherhood; those related through ties of male blood to a common male ancestor. Among Rajputs, membership in a bhāibandh included all males sharing common descent, their unmarried daughters, and their wives, who became members through the act of marriage. Vigat, 2:46, 2:51, 2:69; "Aitihasik Bātān," p. 54.

**bhomīyo**

Literally, "one of the soil (bhom)"; one with intimate knowledge of a local area, a local; one who controls or asserts a dominant right over a small area of land. Vigat, 2:69-70.

**bhurat (cenchrus biflorus)**

A burr grass, particularly abundant in years of scarcity, when it is used as food. The seeds are about the size of a pin's head and are enclosed in a prickly husk which readily clings to clothing or animal hair or fur. The seeds are ground to use as flour. Khyāt, 3:89.

**C**

**Cărăn (f. Cărănī)**

A person belonging to a jāti whose traditional occupation is the composition of poems and songs of praise in honor of

(Srī) Catarbhujī


caudhrī

A title taken by the headmen of Jāṭ lineages. Vigat, 2:39.

chatri


colāvaṭ


D

dām

A copper coin equal to one-fortieth of a rupee. Vigat, 2:75-77.

darbār [P.]


dargāh [P.]

The court of a ruler, including the various departments of his administration and their heads. Vigat, 2:56, 2:63, 2:67-69, 2:73, 2:76.

dargāhī mansab

A mansab (q.v.) given by the Mughal Emperor. Vigat, 2:75-76.

Dasrāho

A festival held in the month of Āsoj (August-September) to commemorate the victory of Rāma, king of Ayodhya, over Rāvana, the demon king of Śrī Lanka. It was often customary at the time of this festival for Rajpūts in the service of a local ruler to pay court at an official darbār (q.v.), during which vows of loyalty and service were reaffirmed. Khyāt, 3:87, 3:116.
Land, geographic region; a term used by Nainsī in his Vigat and Khyāt to refer to the lands in Mārvār under the authority of the Jodhpur rājā. Vigat, 2:74-75.

desot


devako

An oath sworn in the name of a god or goddess. Vigat, 2:62-63.

devlok

The realm of the devs, or gods; Paradise. Khyāt, 3:95, 3:115.

dharmar

Obligation, duty, code of conduct. In middle period Mārvār, dhārma was considered to be inherent in one's jāti and to be maintained by acts (kāṃ) appropriate for that jāti. Vigat, 2:64; "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṃ," pp. 54-55.

dīvān [P. diwān]

(1) A minister or head of a department at either the state or provincial level. Vigat, 2:54-56, 2:76. (2) A title held by the Rāthor rulers of Jodhpur and the Sisodiyo rulers of Cītōr and Udaipur, who were considered dīvāns or "deputies" of the god Śiva, from whom their ancestors were believed to have received their respective sovereignties. Khyāt, 3:92.

doykāntro

A type of box or platform. Vigat, 2:55 (see also n. 2 for Vigat, 2:55).

draḥ

A deep pool, a ditch. Khyāt, 3:90.

dūho

A rhymed verse generally possessing two lines; a couplet. Vigat, 2:45; "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṃ," p. 49; Khyāt, 3:89.

dupato

G

ghari


ghasmari


ghumar

Flock, herd, heap, siege; a type of folk dance performed by women in a circle; a folk song concerning this dance. *Khyāt*, 3:93.

gras

Literally, "mouthful" or "sustenance." By extension, the term came to mean a share of land given to a Rajpūt for his maintenance (such shares were also called *vanta*, which simply means "share" or "portion"). In Mārvā during the pre-Mughal period it was customary for one son of a Rajpūt ruler to inherit his father’s title, residence, and the largest share of his lands and retainers, while the other sons received smaller territorial shares termed *gräs* for their livelihood. *Khyāt*, 3:89.

grasiyo


guro

A hideout; a temporary village which might grow into a permanent settlement; a type of long-term camp, different from the *dero* or short-term camp in that it included all of the dependents of its Rajpūt master—peasants, Cāraṇs, Brāhmaṇs, potters, etc.—and not just those persons concerned with military affairs. Livestock was also kept in the *guro*. "Aitihāsik Bātān," p. 44.

H

hākmi

An abstract noun formed from *hākim* [A. hākim]. A *hākmi* was an administrative
official encharged with the authority over a district on behalf of an outsider. *Vigat*, 2:73.

**harol** [P. harāwal]

An advance guard of an army, a vanguard. "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 44.

**Hasat Nakhtar** (S. Hasta nakṣatra)

The thirteenth of the twenty-seven nakṣatras. A nakṣatra is a star or cluster of stars, or a constellation representing one of the twenty-seven divisions of the lunar zodiac. Nakṣatras also represent phases of the moon during its orbit of the earth, and are divided into auspicious (associated with the waxing moon) and inauspicious (associated with the waning moon). *Vigat*, 2:39.

**hīrāgar**

"One who performs hīra." Hīra is service performed with respect and devotion. In middle period Mārvār, the term hīrāgar referred to a member of a class of military servants (Rajpūts and others) doing the more menial tasks, such as carrying rockets, attending to the accoutrements of the Rajpūts of higher rank, etc. *Vigat*, 2:42.

**hujdār**


**J**

**jāgīr** [P.]

A technical term from the Mughal period designating an assignment of revenue on land, based on moveable or prebendal tenure. *Vigat*, 2:58, 2:69.

**jāgīrdār** [P.]

The technical term used to indicate the tenure of land held by a jāgīr dār; relating to or pertaining to a jāgīr. Vigat, 2:69, 2:73, 2:75.

The assemblage of men and horses in the services of a chief. Vigat, 2:75.

One of the two indices of rank in the Mughal administration. See also avsār and mansab. Vigat, 2:75.

Genus, type, community, caste. Vigat, 2:39.

A yogi; a practitioner of yoga. Khyāt, 3:120.

Any women believed to possess magical powers; a witch or demoness; a female spirit ruling over period of good and bad fortune. It was commonly believed that there were sixty-four Jogṇīs, located in different places on different dates. To travel in the direction of the Jogṇīs was considered unlucky. Khyāt, 3:91.


The department of the Mughal administration charged with reviewing documents. Vigat, 2:76.

Literally, "one who has work." Kāmdārs (or kāmētī) were generally drawn from among a number of non-Rajpūt jātis such as the Brāhmaṇ, Paṇcoli (Kāyastha), and Osvāl Jain and Vaisṇava (Mūmhatos, Bhāndāris, Singhavīs, Lodhos, etc.). These officials performed not only record-keeping functions relating to the fiscal administration of local areas, but also police and military functions in the settlement and control of lands. Vigat,
254

**karar** (Dicanthium annulatum)  
A tall, thin-leafed grass much used as fodder in Marvar. *Khyāt*, 3:89.

**kariyālī**  
A type of wooden stick banded with metal rings (karī). *Vigat*, 2:64.

**kavītt**  
A type of Ḍīṅgal poem, the first four lines of which are in one meter, the last two in another. *Vigat*, 2:42.

**khālso** [P khāliṣa]  

**khāṇḍo**  
A wall outside the gate of a fort made to shelter the entrance from direct attack. *Vigat*, 2:64.

**khavās** [A. khawāṣṣ]  
A male or female attendant or personal servant of a Rajput ruler or important landholder. *Vigat*, 2:49, 2:52.

**khero**  
Outlying village land on which temporary huts are built during the growing season; a small site more or less permanently inhabited but attached to a larger village often at some distance; a deserted site, either of a former small village or of land previously cultivated. *Vigat*, 2:39.

**khīc**  
A food prepared by cooking wheat or millet with various sorts of pulse. *Khyāt*, 3:115.

**kiledār** [P. qil‘adār]  

**kīroḍī**  

**kos**  
A unit of distance measurement equal to approximately two miles. *Vigat*, 2:44,
255


koṭrī


koṭvāḷ

During the Mughal period, the chief officer of police within a city or large town; the superintendent of the market. Vigat, 2:70.

kuṇvar


M

Mahājan

Literally, "great man." The name of a division of the Vāṇīyo jātī; a grain merchant. Vigat, 2:63.

Mahākāḷ

Śiva as Lord of Time and hence of Death; an image or statue of Śiva in this destructive aspect. "Aitihāsik Bātāṇ," p. 44.

mahal [A. maḥall]

Residence, palace; room or chamber of the residence of an important man; the wife or consort of a noble. Vigat, 2:67; Khyāt, 3:88.

mahārāj

A respectful term of address slightly more honorific than rāj (q.v.). Khyāt, 3:117-118.

mājī

A respectful term of address for a female elder. Khyāt, 3:89.

māl [A.]


Māṭī (f. Māṭañ/Māṭnī)

A person belonging to a jātī whose traditional occupation is gardening. Vigat, 2:58.
māṭīyo
A large bedroom built on the second floor of a large house or mansion (havelī), generally decorated with plaster, painting, and other embellishments. Vigat, 2:47; Khyät, 3:39.

mansab [A. maṇṣab]
Literally, "post," "office." The term mansab designated a military rank and an office in the administrative service of the Mughal Empire. The rank consisted of both a personal or jāt [A. zāt] rank, which marked the status of a person among the nobles of the Empire, and a trooper or asvār [P. suwar] rank, indicated the number of cavalrymen and horses an official or mansabdār was to maintain. All persons within the administrative system of the Empire were graded according to this rank order and given either military or civilian responsibilities. Payment on the basis of rank for duties performed was either in cash (naqda) or by an assignment of revenue on land (jāgīr). Vigat, 2:75-76.

mansabdār [A. maṇṣab + the P. suffix -dār]
The holder of a rank (mansab) in the Mughal service. Vigat, 2:67.

mirjo [P. Mīrzā]
A Muslim prince; a Muslim of high birth. Vigat, 2:55.

Modī
A village grain merchant or grocer. "Aitihāsik Bātāṁ," p. 43.

mohar [P. muhr]

mujāvar [A. mujāwīr]
The attendant at a Muslim shrine or mosque. Vigat, 2:68.

N

nāḍī
A small tank. Vigat, 2:63.
**navāb [A. nawwāb]**
A governor of a town, district, or province; a lord, a prince; one who rules in place of another. *Vigat*, 2:54-56, 2:70-72, 2:75-76.

**P**

**pañco**
The committee of five important Rajpūts that convened upon the death of a ruler to aid in the succession; more generally, a council of elders. *Vigat*, 2:46-47.

**Pāṇḍav**
A stable hand, a groom. *Khyāt*, 3:118.

**parameśvar**
The highest or supreme lord; God; a powerful or illustrious man. "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 55; *Khyāt*, 3:88, 3:94.

**pargano**
An administrative and revenue unit or division of a district (*sarkār*). The term came into prominent use in Rajasthan only during the Mughal period. *Vigat*, 2:37, 2:56, 2:69, 2:73, 2:75; *Khyāt*, 3:115.

**parvāno [P. parwāna]**
A written order addressed to a subordinate. *Vigat*, 2:56.

**pāsvān [P. pāś-bān]**
Literally, "one who stands beside or in attendance"; a male body servant or female concubine of a Rajpūt ruler or important landholder. *Vigat*, 2:49.

**paṭī**
A term used for the administrative subdivisions of Meṛto, Nāgaur, and Jālōr parganos. *Vigat*, 2:73.

**paṭo**

**pātsāḥ [P. pādshāḥ]**
A title assumed by Muslim rulers of the first rank in northern India, such as the

**pharmān** [P. farman]

A royal decree, directive, or writ, issued to a subordinate from the hands of the emperor only and requiring (under the Mughals) his seal for validity. Vigat, 2:67, 2:76.

**phaujdār** [P. faujdar]

Literally, "one who has an army." A subordinate military official under the Mughals, responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the collection of revenue within a district (sarkār) of a province (sūbo); more generally, a military official responsible for a local area. Vigat, 2:70, 2:74.

**pīr** [P.]

An old man; a saint; a spiritual guide. Vigat, 2:68.

**pradhān**

Literally, "foremost," "chief," "principal," "most eminent." A chief minister, commander-in-chief, a general or leader of the army. Among Rajpūts, the post of pradhān was held predominately by Rajpūts themselves, either of the same clan or of a different clan than the ruler of a local state. Vigat, 2:42-43, 2:46, 2:51, 2:54-55, 2:57; Khyāt, 3:89-90, 3:95, 3:116-18.

**pūjā**


**Purohit**

A Brāhmaṇ employed as a family priest. Vigat, 2:63; Khyāt, 3:97.

**R**

**rāhavṣo**

The members of the household of an important Rajpūt, including his wives and concubines, their offspring, the descendants of offspring produced by Rajpūt liaisons with women of different
Raibārī (f. Raibāraṇ)  
A member of a jāti whose traditional occupation was that of transhumant herding of camels, sheep, and goats. Raibāris were often used as messengers also. Vigat, 2:49.

rait [A. ra'iyat] log  

rāj  

Rām Rām  
A form of salutation used among Hindus only. Khyāt, 3:117.

rāṇo  
A title held by several Rajpūt rulers in middle period Rājasthān, including the Śisodiys of Mevār, the Rāthors of Śivāṇo, the Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvārs of Rūn, the Pārīhārs of Maṇḍor, and the Śodho Pāṃvārs of Umarkot (in modern Sindh). Rāṇo is also a personal name (e.g., Rāṇo Akhairājot). Vigat, 2:59-60, 2:68-69; "Aitihasik Bātām," pp. 50-51.

rāv  
A title held by many Rajpūt rulers in middle period Rājasthān, including the Rāthors of Jodhpur (until 1583), Mērto, and Bīkāner; the Bhāṭis of Pūṅgāl and Vairālpur; the Cahuṉās of Būndī, Koṭo, Sīrohī, and Jālor, and numerous others. Vigat, 2:37, 2:39, etc.

rāval  
A title held by several Rajpūt rulers in middle period Rājasthān, including the Bhāṭis of Jaisālmēr, the Rāthors of Mahevo, and the Āhāros of Dūṅgarpur and Vāṃsvāhlo. Vigat, 2:59-60; Aitihasik Bātām, p. 51.
rāvat A title held by a large number of petty rulers, both Rajpūt and non-Rajpūt, in middle period Rājasthān. Vigat, 2:60.

rāyāngan The courtyard of a ruler's residence. Khyāt, 3:89.

rekh Assessment, evaluation. Vigat, 2:77.

S

sābal A type of lance (perhaps derived from sabal, "powerful"). Vigat, 2:45.

sagāt Betrothal; alliance of marriage between two families or clans (kuḷ, vaṃs). Vigat, 2:55.

sago A relation through marriage; one to who one gives or from whom receives a daughter or daughters in marriage. Vigat, 2:59; Khyāt, 3:98.


sākh (1) Literally, "branch." Rajpūts perceived their jāti as divided into thirty-six great lineages, called either rājkūḷīs ("royal families") or rājvaṃśi ("royal lineages"). The word vaṃśi also means "bamboo shoot," and the Rajpūts extend the imagery equating their royal lineages with the bamboo even further: subdivisions of the vaṃśi were known as sākhīs ("branches"), and, by the late seventeenth century, the word khāṁp ("twig"), used for subdivisions of the sākhī, had become

**salām [A.]**

Literally, "peace." A salutation, either of parting or greeting; an act of bowing to or acknowledging in some manner the superiority of someone. *Khyāt*, 3:38, 3:119.

**salāmat [A.]**


**sāmant [S. sāmanta]**

Subordinate ruler of high rank. *Khyāt*, 3:120.

**sāmatho**

High place; platform. *Khyāt*, 3:89.

**sāth**

One who accompanies or follows, a companion. In middle period Mārvār, the term was used in a technical sense to designate a contingent of soldiers comprised of both cavalrymen and footmen. Among Rajputs, a sāth usually was composed of kinsmen (brothers and sons) of the leaders as well as other men attached to them or their subordinates as servants or retainers. *Vigat*, 2:42-46, 2:48-53, 2:56-57, 2:59-61, 2:63-65, 2:67-68, 2:71, 2:73; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," pp. 42-44, 48-55; *Khyāt*, 3:39-40, 3:90, 3:92, 3:95-97.

**sātī**

A woman who has immolated herself on her husband’s funeral pyre. "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 44.

**sikdār [A. shiqq + the P. suffix -dār]**

Under Sher Shāh, the revenue officer of a single **pargano,** whether appointed by the state or by the holder of a land grant; in the Mughal period, a synonym for kīrīrī (q.v.), within the territory under the
**sirdār** [P. sardār]  

**sirpāv** [P. sar-o-pā]  
Literally, "head-foot," a long dress or cloth such as a cloak reaching the length of the body, given by a ruler to a subordinate for particular actions of service, such as bravery in battle, etc. By the beginning of the nineteenth century *sirpāv* had also come to mean more generally an honorary gift or reward. *Vigat*, 2:37, 2:55-56; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 50; *Khyāt*, 3:40.

**Śrījī**  
A phrase by which Muḥmāto Naṅṣī referred to the rulers of Jodhpur under whom he served (Rājā Gajsīṅgh (1619-38) and Rājā Jāsvantsīṅgh (1638-1678)). *Vigat*, 2:74.

**sūbedār** [P. śubahdār]  
An officer in charge of a *sūbo* (q.v.). *Vigat*, 2:54.

**sūbo** [P. śubah]  
A province; the largest administrative and revenue division of territory under the Mughal administrative system. *Vigat*, 2:41-42, 2:70-71, 2:75.

**sukhpaḷ**  

**sūthāṇ**  
A type of pajama covering the lower portion of the body; a type of chain mail fulfilling the same function. "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 42.

**Sutrār** (f. Sutrārī/Sutārī)  
A person belonging to a *jāti* whose traditional occupation is carpentry. *Vigat*, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56.

Administrative control of the rājās of Jodhpur during the Mughal period, an official placed in charge of maintaining order within a town. *Vigat*, 2:70.
T

tālīko [P. ta‘īqa] The certificate of appointment to all posts that required the approval of the Mughal emperor. Vigat, 2:75.

taslim [A.] A salutation consisting of placing the back of the right hand on the ground and then raising it gently until the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head. The salute indicates that one is ready to give himself as an offering. Khyāt, 3:40.

thākur God; master, ruler, sovereign; one who rules a kingdom (among Rajputs, the term is applied equally to the clan deity of a local kingdom, to the Rajput ruler himself, who is felt to rule as a subordinate and servant of this deity, and to other Rajputs, who rule lands directly under the ruler and who receive their authority from him). Vigat, 2:49-50, 2:53, 2:57, 2:64, 2:73; "Aitihasik Batam," pp. 43-44, 48, 50, 52-53, 55; Khyāt, 3:95, 3:117-118.

thākurāī The quality or essence of a thākur; rulership, sovereignty, authority; kingdom, domain. Vigat, 2:64; "Aitihasik Batam," p. 55.


ṭikāyat A chosen successor; one designated to receive the throne and to have the ṭiko or red mark placed upon his forehead upon succession; one who has received the ṭiko. Vigat, 2:51.

U

umrāv [A. umāra’, pl. of amīr] A man of high rank; a noble. Under the Mughals, only those officers with a mansab rank of 1,000 jāt or more were considered to belong among the umrāvs.
A garment bound at the waist and extending down to the knees. "Aitihasik Bátāṃ," p. 43; Khyät, 3:117.

The debt of vengeance owed upon the murder of a family member, kinsman, or dependent. Vigat, 2:39, 2:49; "Aitihasik Bátāṃ," p. 50; Khyät, 3:38.


The town or village of residence of an important man; the residential area or ward of a jāti or group within a town or village. Vigat, 2:58, 2:63, 2:69; "Aitihasik Bátāṃ," p. 50; Khyät, 3:87-88, 3:116.

The people or subjects bound to an important Rajput who lived either in his village or town of residence (vās, q.v.) or in nearby villages under his control and who performed various services for him according to their status, receiving in exchange his protection. Typically the vasī of an important man contained persons of many jātis, including a contingent of Rajput warriors, peasants such as Jāṭs, Sīrvīs, Paṭels, etc., Vāṇīyos, Brāhmaṇaṅs, Čaṇaṅs, and members of the lower jātis: Kumbhāṛs, Māḷis, Surṭāṛs, and others. Vasīs were divided among sons either before or upon the death of a Rajput thākur, each inheriting son taking his part of the vasī and going to live on his share (vaṇṭ, grās, q.v.) of the paternal lands, a process referred to in the sources as judāri ("separation"). Vigat, 2:52, 2:60, 2:69-70, 2:72; "Aitihasik Bátāṃ," p. 53;
INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abdal Hasan, Khojo</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abho Jhāhāvat, Pañcolī</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:59;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Kabö, amīn</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:73-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acło Bhāṇot, Rāṭhor [sākh unknown]</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acło Rāymalot, Merṭīyo Rāṭhor</td>
<td>Khyāt, 3:116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acło Sivrājot, Jodho Rāṭhor</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åhāro Gahlots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åskaraṇ Prithīrājot, Rāval</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:60;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratāpsingh Jaisinghot, Rāval</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:60;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajo Narbhāṅnot, Sehlot Cahuvaṇ</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar, Mughal Emperor</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:63-64, 2:67-73;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhairāj Bhādāvāt, Jaitmāl Rāṭhor</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:49, 2:52, 2:54-55, 2:59; Khyāt, 3:116-121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhairāj Rīndhūroit, Sonagar Cahuvaṇ</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:57; Khyāt, 3:95, 3:100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhairājot Rāṭhors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhado Pañcāinot</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:47, 2:52-53, 2:58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goind Rāṇāvāt</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:65;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isardās Rāṇāvāt</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakharmaṇ Bhadāvat</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:59;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netsī Sīhāvāt</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:65;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pato Kān̄hāvāt</td>
<td>&quot;Aitihāsik Bātām,&quot; pp 43-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇo Akhairājot</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:52-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tejsī Urjānot</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:65;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vārisī Rāṇāvāt</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amro Rāmāvāt, Cāmpāvāt Rāṭhor</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:65;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åñjānā Jāts</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjaṇ Rāymalot, Merṭīyo Rāṭhor</td>
<td>Khyāt, 3:115-116, 3:119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asap (Asaft) Khān</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:76-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśiyo Cāraṇ, Juṭho Bikāvāt</td>
<td>Khyāt, 3:89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åskaraṇ Prithīrājot, Rāval, Åhāro Gahlot</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:60; &quot;Aitihāsik Bātām,&quot; p. 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åskaraṇ Satāvāt, Cūṇḍāvāt Rāṭhor</td>
<td>Khyāt, 3:38-39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bālāvat Rāṭhors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhano Bhārmalot</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:59;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nago Bhārmalot</td>
<td>Vigat, 2:59;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Aitihāsik Bātām,&quot; pp 48-49; Khyāt, 3:117-121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Vido Bhārmālot Vigat, 2:57; Khyāt, 3:95, 3:100
Bālhaṇot Solāṇkī, Rāmcand, Rāvaḷ Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51
Balbhādar Surtāṇot, Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor Vigat, 2:72
Balīso Cahuvaṇ Sūjo Sāṃvatot Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51
Bāmbhī Juglo Khyāt, 3:121
Bāṇiyo "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 53
Bāraḥṭ Cāraṇs
Colo Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Jalāp Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Jīvo Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Mahes Caturāvot, Rohaṛīyo Vigat, 2:57-58
Pato Devāīt, Rohaṛīyo Vigat, 2:57-58
Bhāḍo Mokalot, Jaimāḷ Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:48
Bhado Paṇcāṇot, Akhairājot Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:47, 2:52-53, 2:58
Bhākarsī Dūṅgarsiyoṭ, Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:65; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Bhaṇḍārī Lūṇo Meghrājot Vigat, 2:75
Bhāṇ Kajavot, Ūhā Rāṭhōṛ Khyāt, 3:87-88
Bhāṇidās Tejsīvot, Śīvā Brahmāṇ, Purohit Vigat, 2:63
Bhāṇidās, Sutrā Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Bhārmaṇalot Rāṭhōṛs
Bhārmaṇalot Rāṭhōṛ Prithīrāj Balu𝘂ot Vigat, 2:74
Bhāṭī Rajpūṭ Pirāg Bhārmaṇalot Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Bhāṭīs Khyāt, 3:38
Bhīm Amrāvat, Śīsōḍīyo Gaḥlot, Rājā Vigat, 2:73
Bhīmrāj Jaitṣīvot, Bīkāvot Rāṭhōṛ, Kuṃvar Vigat, 2:56
Bhīṃv Kilāṇḍāsot, Úḍāvot Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:74
Bhīṃvot Rāṭhōṛs
Bhīṃvot Rāṭhōṛ Varjāṅg Bhīṃvot Vigat, 2:43-44
Bhojo Gāṅgāvat, Jaimāḷ Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:53
Bhojo Sīhāvat, Varsinghot Meṛtiyo Rāṭhōṛ, Rāv Vigat, 2:47-48
Bīkāvot Rāṭhōṛs
Bhīmrāj Jaitṣīvot, Kuṃvar Vigat, 2:56
Bīko Jodhāvat, Rāv Vigat, 2:45-46
Jaitṣī Lūṅkaraṇot, Rāv Vigat, 2:56; Khyāt, 3:90-92
Kalyāṃmal Jaitṣīvot, Rāv Vigat, 2:58, 2:60
Bīko Jodhāvat, Bīkāvot Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:45-46

C

Cahuvaṇ Rajpūts
Ajo Narbhāḥot, Schloṭ Cahuvaṇ Vigat, 2:45
Jhāṇjhaṇ Bhaṅgarvāḍāsot, Sāṇcoro Cahuvaṇ Vigat, 2:62
Megho Bhaṅgarvāḍāsot, Sāṇcoro Cahuvaṇ Vigat, 2:59; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 59
Sūjo Sāṃvatot, Bāliso Cahuvaṅ  
*Vigat*, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51
Surjan Arjunot, Hādo Cahuvaṅ, Rāv  
*Vigat*, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51

Cämpā Sonagarī, daughter of Sonagaro Cahuvaṅ Khimvo Satāvat  
*Vigat*, 2:37

Cämpāvat Rāṭhors

Amro Rāṇāvat  
*Vigat*, 2:65; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Jaitmāl Jaisāvat  
*Vigat*, 2:59; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51
Jeso Bhairavdāsot  
Rāmo Bhairavdāsot  
*Vigat*, 2:65; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Sahaiso Rāṇāvat  "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56

Campo Karamsiyot, Śīndhal Rāṭhoṛ  
*Vigat*, 2:70-72
Cand Bībī, Sultāna  
*Vigat*, 2:72
Cāndo Viromdevot, Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛ  
Candrasen Māldevot, Jodho Rāṭhoṛ, as Kuṃvar  
*Vigat*, 2:66
Cāndrāj Jodhāvat, Jaitmāl Rāṭhoṛ  
*Vigat*, 2:59; *Khyāt*, 3:116-118
Candrāvat Sisodiyo Gahlot Durgo Acīḷavat, Rāv  
*Vigat*, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51

Cāraṇ (appellation)  
Cāraṇs

Catro Jaimalot, Roharīyo  
*Vigat*, 2:58
Colo, Bārhaṭ  
*Vigat*, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Gāṅgo Pātāvat, Roharīyo  
*Vigat*, 2:58
Jaimal Gāṅgāvat, Roharīyo  
*Vigat*, 2:58
Jālap, Bārhaṭ  
*Vigat*, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Jīvo, Bārhaṭ  
*Vigat*, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Juṭho Bīkāvat, Āśīyo  
*Khyāt*, 3:89
Khemo, Kiniyo  
*Khyāt*, 3:91
Mahes Caturāvat, Roharīyo, Bārhaṭ  
*Vigat*, 2:47, 2:58
Pato Devāit, Roharīyo, Bārhaṭ  
*Vigat*, 2:57-58

Catarbhujī, Śrī (deity of the Meṛtiyo Rāṭhors)  
*Vigat*, 2:69; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 48-49

Catro Jaimalot, Roharīyo Cāraṇ  
*Vigat*, 2:58
Colo, Cāraṇ, Bārhaṭ  
*Vigat*, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56

Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhors

Āskaraṇ Satāvat  
*Khyāt*, 3:38-39
Īsar Gharsīyot  
*Vigat*, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56
Mahes Gharsīyot  
Narbad Satāvat  
*Khyāt*, 3:38
Rājsingh Gharsīyot  
*Vigat*, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56

D

Dāṅgā Jāts  
*Vigat*, 2:39-41

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Daulat Khan (Daulatiyo), Khānza Khān  Vigat, 2:49-50;  Khyāt, 3:90, 3:92-93
Dedo, Māngliyo Gałhot Vigat, 2:66; "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 56
Dedo Kojhāvāt, Sīndhāl Rāṭhor "Aithāsik Bāṭām," pp. 51-52
Devro Cahuvaṇ Surtāṇ Bhaṇot, Rāv Vigat, 2:70
Dhāndhaloṭ Rāṭhors
Dhāndhaloṭ Rāṭhor Pābūjī Dhāndhaloṭ Khyāt, 3:40
Dhano Bāhrālmoṭ, Bāḷāvāṭ Rāṭhor Vigat, 2:59; "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 49
Dharamdokh Sūr, Jāin Vigat, 2:39
Dhīrāvāṭ Kavcāḥo Ṛājā Rāṃdās Ḫḍavāṭ Vigat, 2:73.
Duṅgarsī, Sīndhāl Rāṭhor Vigat, 2:59; "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 49
Duṅgarsī Ḫḍavāṭ, Ṣudāvāṭ Rāṭhor, Rāv "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 50
Durgo Acḷāvāṭ, Candrāvāṭ Sīsodiyo Gaḷhot, Rāv Vigat, 2:60; "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 51
Dvārkāḍās Jaimalōṭ, Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Vigat, 2:72

G

Gaṛṣingh Sūraṅsīṅghoṭ, Jodho Rāṭhor, Ṛājā Vigat, 2:73-77
Gaḷhot Rajpūṭs
Bhīm Amṛrāvāṭ, Sīsodiyo Gaḷhot, Ṛājā Vigat, 2:73
Dedo, Māngliyo Gaḷhot Vigat, 2:66; "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 56
Durgo Acḷāvāṭ, Candrāvāṭ Sīsodiyo Gaḷhot, Rāv Vigat, 2:60; "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 51
Megho, Sīsodiyo Gaḷhot "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 50
Pratapsīṅgh Jaisīṅghoṭ, Āḥāṛo Gaḷhot, Ṛaval Vigat, 2:60; "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 51
Āskarāṇ Prithiṛājōṭ, Āḥāṛo Gaḷhot, Ṛaval Vigat, 2:60; "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 51
Tejo Bīkāvāṭ, Sīsodiyo Gaḷhot, Rāv "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 51
Gaṅgo Pāṭavāṭ, Roḥarīyo Cāraṇ Vigat, 2:58
Gaṅgo Śīhāvāṭ, Varsīṅghoṭ Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor, Ṛav Vigat, 2:47-50
Gaṅgo Vāṁhāvāṭ, Jodho Rāṭhor, Ṛav Vigat, 2:48; Khyāt, 3:87-95
Ghaduko Mughal Vigat, 2:44
Gopāḷḍās Sūndardāsōṭ, Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor "Aithāsik Bāṭām," p. 55
Gopāḷḍās Surtāṇōṭ, Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Vigat, 2:72
H

Hádő Cahuvaśn Surjan Arjunot, Rāv Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bāṭām," p. 51
Hājī Itbārī, kiroī Vigat, 2:73
Hājī Khān Vigat, 2:59-60; "Aitihāsik Bāṭām," pp. 50-52
Hamjo, Turk Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bāṭām," p. 56
Hardās Mokalot, Ḫār Rāṭhōṛ Khyāt, 3:87-90, 3:92
Ḩīṅgolō Pipāro Vigat, 3:120; "Aitihāsik Bāṭām," p. 48
Huḷ, Jaito Prithamrāvat Vigat, 2:45

I

Īḍareco Rāṭhōṛs

Īḍareco Rāṭhōṛ Nārāyaṇāḍās Pūṇjāvat, Rāv Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bāṭām," p. 51
Indrabhāṇ Kānhiḍāsot, Mṛtiyo Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:73
Īsār Ghaṛṣṭiyōt, Čūṇḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bāṭām," p. 56
Īsārdās Kālīyāṇāsot, Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:74
Īsārdās Rāṇāvat, Akḥaiṛaṭoṛ Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:65
Īsārdās Vīrāmdevot, Mṛtiyo Rāṭhōṛ Khyāt, 3:118

J

Jagmāl, Pāṃvār, Rāvat Vigat, 2:50
Jagmāl Uḍaikaraṇot, Karamsot Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:59; "Aitihāsik Bāṭām," p. 49
Jagnāṭh Bhārmalot, Rājāvāt Kachvāho, Rājā Vigat, 2:72
Jagnāṭh Gopāldāsot, Mṛtiyo Rāṭhōṛ Vigat, 2:72-73
Jago, Jareco Vigat, 2:70-71
Jagrūp Jagnāṭhot, Rājāvāt Kachvāho, Kumvar Vigat, 2:72
Jahāṅgūr, Mughal Emperor Vigat, 2:73-76
Jaimal Gāṅgāvat, Rohāṛiyo Čarāṇ Vigat, 2:58
Jaitāvāt Rāṭhōṛs

Pūranmal Prithīrājoṭ Vigat, 2:65; "Aitihāsik Bāṭām," pp. 50, 52, 55
Udaisingh Jaitavat "Aitihasik Bätäm," pp. 42-43
Jaitmål Jesāvat, Cāmpāvat Rāṭhor Vigat, 2:59; "Aitihasik Bätäm," p. 51
Jaitmål Rāṭhors Vigat, 2:37, 2:68; Khyāt, 3:116
Akhairāj Bhaḍāvat Vigat, 2:49, 2:52, 2:54-55, 2:59; Khyāt, 3:116-121
Bhaḍo Mokalot Vigat, 2:48
Bhairavādās Bhāḍāvat Vigat, 2:50
Bhojo Gāṅgāvat Vigat, 2:53
Cāndrāv Jodhāvat Vigat, 2:59; Khyāt, 3:116-118
Moṭo Jogāvat Vigat, 2:59
Naraṅdās Cāndrāvat Vigat, 2:59
Sagto Sāṅgāvat Vigat, 2:59
Sāndho Mokalot Vigat, 2:48
Sāṅgo Bhojāvat Vigat, 2:59
Sidho Mokalot Vigat, 2:52-53
Ūdo Kāṅhardevot Vigat, 2:37-39, 2:41
Jaito Prithamrāvat, Hul Vigat, 2:45
Jaitsī Lūṅkaraṇot, Bīkāvat Rāṭhor, Rāv Vigat, 2:56; Khyāt, 3:90-92
Jaitsī Ěūḍāvat, Ěūḍāvat Rāṭhor Vigat, 2:57; Khyāt, 3:100
Jaitsī Vāṅghāvat, Jodho Rāṭhor "Aitihasik Bätäm," p. 44
Jārauro Sāḥ Śrimal, Jain Vigat, 2:39
Jāreco Rajpūts
 Jago Vigat, 2:70-71
Ratno Vigat, 2:71
Jasvantsīṅgh Gajsīṅghot, Jodho Rāṭhor, Rājā Vigat, 2:77
Jāṭ Thīṛ Rāj Delāvat Vigat, 2:39
Jeso Bhāṭīs
Pitho Āṇandot Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihasik Bätäm," p. 56
Sāṅkar Sūrāvat Vigat, 2:57
Tiloksi Parbatot Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihasik Bätäm," p. 56
Jeso Sīhāvat, Varsīṅghot Mṛtiyo Rāṭhor, Rāv Vigat, 2:47-48
Jhānjhan Bhairavādāsot, Sācoro Cahuval Vigat, 2:62
Jīvo, Cāraṇ, Bārhaṭ Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihasik Bätäm," p. 56
Jodho Rāṭhors
Aclo Sivrājot Vigat, 2:57
Bhākharsī Dūṅgarsiyoṭ Vigat, 2:65; "Aitihasik Bätäm," p. 56
Candrasen Māḷdevot, as Kūṇvar Vigat, 2:62-64; "Aitihasik Bätäm," p. 53-54. As Rāv Vigat, 2:66
Gajsīṅgh Sūrajśīṅghot, Rājā Vigat, 2:73-77
Gāṅgo Vāṅghāvat, Rāv Vigat, 2:48; Khyāt, 3:87-95
Īsārdās Kālyāṇāsot Vigat, 2:74
Jasvantsīṅgh Gajsīṅghot, Rājā Vigat, 2:77
Jaitsī Vāghāvat "Aitiḥāsik Bātām," p. 44
Jodho Rīṃmalot, Rāv Vigat, 2:37; Khyāt, 3:38-40
Khaṅgār Jogāvat Vigat, 2:48
Kisandās Gāṅgāvat "Aitiḥāsik Bātām," p. 50
Mahesdās Dalpatot Vigat, 2:74
Sātaḷ Jodhāvat, Rāv Vigat, 2:42-44; 2:46-47
Sekho Sūjāvat Khyāt, 3:89-92
Sūjo Jodhāvat, Rāv Vigat, 2:43-44, 2:46
Sūrajisīṅgh Udaisiṅghot, Rājā Vigat, 2:73-75
Viramde Vāghāvat, Rāv Khyāt, 3:87-88
Jodho Rīṃmalot, Rāv Vigat, 2:37; Khyāt, 3:38-40
Juglo, Bāmbhī Khyāt, 3:121
Juṭho Bīkāvat, Āsiyo Cāraṇ Khyāt, 3:89

K

Kachvāhō Rajpūts
Jagnāth Bhārmalot, Rājā Vigat, 2:72
Jagrūp Jagnāthot, Kumṇvar Vigat, 2:72
Rāmdās Udāvat, Dhirāvat Kachvāhō, Rājā Vigat, 2:73
Rāyimal Sekhāvat, Sekhāvat Kachvāhō Khyāt, 3:98
Kalyāṃmal Udaikaraṇot, Vīḍāvat Rāthōṛ Khyāt, 3:101-102
Kānharde, Sonagarō Cahuṃn, Rāv Vigat, 2:37
Kānhasīṅgh Khīṃvāvat, Kūmpāvat Rāthōṛ Vigat, 2:75
Kānhdās Kesodāsot, Meṃṭiyo Rāthōṛ Vigat, 2:72-73
Karamsot Rāthōṛs
Jagmāl Udaikaraṇot Vigat, 2:59; "Aitiḥāsik Bātām," p. 49
Mahes Paṃcāṇīṇot Vigat, 2:65; "Aitiḥāsik Bātām," p. 56
Paṃcāṇ Karamsīṣyot Vigat, 2:57; Khyāt, 3:96-97
Kesodās Jaimalot, Meṃṭiyo Rāthōṛ Vigat, 2:69-70, 2:72
Kevāṅgīn "Aitiḥāsik Bātām," p. 53
Khairāṛo Soḷaṅkī Rām, Rāv "Aitiḥāsik Bātām," p. 51
Khāṅgār Jogāvat, Jodho Rāthōṛ Vigat, 2:48
Khāṅkhāṇo, Naṁvā (Khāṅ Khāṅnān Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm) Vigat, 2:70-72
Khāṅzāda Khāṅs
Daulat Khāṅ (Daulatīyo) Vigat, 2:49-50; Khyāt, 3:90, 3:92-93
Sarkhel Khāṅ Khyāt, 3:88, 3:90-91
Khavās Khāṅ Vigat, 2:57-58
Kherno Kiniyo, Cāraṇ Khyāt, 3:91
Khīṃvo Lāḷāvat, Muṇṭhato Vigat, 2:54-55; Khyāt, 3:95, 3:98-99
Khīṃvo Ūḍāvat, Ūḍāvat Rāthōṛ Vigat, 2:48, 2:57; Khyāt, 3:100-101
Khurasamī Vigat, 2:76

Khuram, Sähjädo, Mughal \textit{Vigat}, 2:73-75
Kisandäs Gängävat, Jodho Rāṭhoro "Aitihäsik Bātāṁ," p. 50
Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoro

Kānhasīṅgh Kūmpāvat \textit{Vigat}, 2:75
Mahes Kūmpāvat "Aitihäsik Bātāṁ," p. 51
Māṇḍaṅ Kūmpāvat "Aitihäsik Bātāṁ," pp. 53-54
Rājśīṅgh Kūṁvāvat \textit{Vigat}, 2:74-76


L

Lūṇo, Bhaṇḍārī \textit{Vigat}, 2:75

M

Mahābat Khān, Navāb \textit{Vigat}, 2:74-76
Mahēvco Rāṭhoro

Mahes Caturāvat, Rohāriyo Cāraṇ, Bāṅhaṭh \textit{Vigat}, 2:47, 2:58
Mahes Kūmpāvat, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoro "Aitihäsik Bātāṁ," p. 51
Mahesdās Dalpatot, Jodho Rāṭhoro \textit{Vigat}, 2:74
Malū Khān \textit{Vigat}, 2:42-44, 2:46
Māṇḍaṅ Kūmpāvat, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoro "Aitihäsik Bātāṁ," pp. 53-54
Māṅgliyo Gahlot

Megho Bhaiṛavāḍasot, Sāccoro Cahuvaṅ \textit{Vigat}, 2:59; "Aitihäsik Bātāṁ," p. 49
Megho Narsinghddasot, Sindhaḷ Rāṭhor \textit{Khyāt}, 3:38-40
Megho, Sīsodīyo Gahlot "Aitihäsik Bātāṁ," p. 50
Aeṛo Rāymnālot \textit{Khyāt}, 3:116

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Balbhadar Surtänot  *Vigat*, 2:72
Dvärkädäs Jaimalot  *Vigat*, 2:72
Gopåläs Sündardäsot  "Aitihäsik Bätäm," p. 55
Gopåläs Surtänot  *Vigat*, 2:72
Indrabhän Kanhïdäsot  *Vigat*, 2:73
Isârâs Víramdevot  *Khyät*, 3:118
Jagnâth Gopåläsot  *Vigat*, 2:72-73
Kânhïdäs Kesodäsot  *Vigat*, 2:72-73
Kesodäs Jaimalot  *Vigat*, 2:69-70, 2:72
Narhardäs Isârâsot  *Vigat*, 2:69-70
Prayagdäs Arjanot  *Khyät*, 3:119-120
Sâdûl Jaimalot  *Vigat*, 2:67-68
Vâgh Jagmâlot  *Vigat*, 2:63
Vîthałâs Jaimalot  *Vigat*, 2:67-72
Mîr Sako, *kîroî*  *Vigat*, 2:73
Mojî Jogâvat, Jaimâl Råthôr  *Vigat*, 2:59
Mughal Ghaduko  *Vigat*, 2:44
Mûlo, Purohit  *Khyät*, 3:97
Mumhatos
Nago  *Vigat*, 2:56
Râymal Khetâvat  *Khyät*, 3:87
Velo  *Vigat*, 2:74

N

Nago Mumhato  *Vigat*, 2:56
Pabūji Dhāndhalot, Dhāndhalot Rāṭhōr  
Paṅcāyaṇ Karamcandot, Paṅvār of Cātsū, Rāvat  
Paṅcāin Karamsīyot, Karamsot Rāṭhōr  
Paṅvār Rajpūts  
Akhō Sodhāvat, Paṅvār of Cātsū  
Jagmāl, Paṅvār of Cātsū, Rāvat  
Paṅcāyaṇ Karamcandot, Paṅvār of Cātsū, Rāvat  
Tejsī Bhojāvat, Jāṅgaḷvo Sānkhhō Paṅvār  
Paṅcolis  
Abhō Jhājḥāvat  
Neto Ābhāvat  
Ratno Ābhāvat  
Pīrāg Bāḥrmaiḷ, Bhaṭṭī  
Parvej, Sāḥjādo, Mughal (Parvīz)  
Paṭhān  
Pato Devāt, Rōhariyo Cāran, Bārbhāṭ  
Pato Kānhāvat, Akhairājot Rāṭhōr  
Pato (Pratāpśīṅgh) Kūṃpāvat, Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhōr  
Phidāi (Fidāi) Khān  
Pīpāṛo Gahlot, Hīṅgolo  
Pītho Āṇandot, Jeso Bhāṭī  
Pītho Jēsāvat/Jagāvat, Sohar Rāṭhōr  
Pratāpśīṅgh Jaisīṅghot, Āḥāro Gahlot, Rāval  
Prithrāj Balūvot, Bāḥrmaḷot Rāṭhōr  
Prithrāj Jaitāvat, Jaitāvat Rāṭhōr  
Prithrāj Kūṃpāvat, Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhōr  
Prayāgdās Arjanot, Mēṛṭyō Rāṭhōr  
Pūrānmaḷ Prithrājot, Jaitāvat Rāṭhōr
Purohits

Bhāṇīdās Tejsiyot, Śivar, Brāhmaṇa

Muḷo, Brāhmaṇa Khyāt, 3:97

R

Raibārī Vigat, 2:49
Rāja Māndhātā Vigat, 2:37, 41
Rājśīṅgh Ghaṛsīyot, Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhor Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 56
Rājśīṅgh Khīṃvāvat, Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhor 2:74-76
Rām, Khairaro Sōḷaṅkī, Rāv Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 51
Rāmcand, Bāḷhanot Sōḷaṅkī, Rāva Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 51
Rāmdās Udāvat, Dīḥrāvat Kachvāho, Rājā Vigat, 2:73
Rāmo Bhaiavravāsot, Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhor Vigat, 2:65; "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 56
Rāṇo Akhairājot, Akhairājot Rāṭhor 2:52-53
Ratansī Khīṃvāvat, Udāvat Rāṭhor "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," pp. 48-50
See also individual listings under:

Akhairājot Rāṭhor
Bāḷāvat Rāṭhor
Bhārmalot Rāṭhor
Bhīṃvot Rāṭhor
Bīkāvat Rāṭhor
Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhor
Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhor
Dhāṇḍhalot Rāṭhor
Īḍareco Rāṭhor
Jaitāvat Rāṭhor
Jaitmāl Rāṭhor
Jodho Rāṭhor
Karamsot Rāṭhor
Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhor
Mahevo Rāṭhor
Meṛtīyo Rāṭhoṛs
Rīṃmalot Rāṭhoṛs
Sīndhāḷ Rāṭhoṛs
Sohar Rāṭhoṛs
Ūdāvat Rāṭhoṛs
Ūdāvat (Baithvāsīyo) Rāṭhoṛs
Ūhar Rāṭhoṛs
Varsīṅghot Meṛtīyo Rāṭhoṛs
Vidāvat Rāṭhoṛs

**Ratno, Jaṛeco** *Vigat*, 2:71
Ratno Abhāvat, Paṅcolī *Vigat*, 2:59; "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," pp. 49
Rāymal Khetāvat, Muṃhato *Khyāṭ*, 3:87
Rāymal Sekhāvat, Sekhāvat Kachvāḥo *Khyāṭ*, 3:98
Rīṇḍhīr Koḷhāvat, Sīndhāḷ Rāṭhoṛ "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," pp. 51-52
Rīṃmalot Rāṭhoṛs
Singhan Khetsīyot *Vigat*, 2:57
Roharīyō Čārans
 Catro Jaimalot *Vigat*, 2:58
Gaṅgo Pāṭāvat *Vigat*, 2:58
Jaimal Gaṅgāvat *Vigat*, 2:58
Mahes Cahurāvat, Bāṛhaṭh *Vigat*, 2:47; 2:58
Pato Devāt, Bāṛhaṭh *Vigat*, 2:57-58

**S**

Sāḍat Beg (Sa’adat Beg) *Vigat*, 2:74
Sāḍūl Jaimalot, Meṛtīyo Rāṭhoṛ *Vigat*, 2:67-68
Sagto Sāṅgāvat, Jaimāḷ Rāṭhoṛ, Rāvat *Vigat*, 2:59
Sahaiso Tejśīyot, Varsīṅghot Meṛtīyo Rāṭhoṛ *Vigat*, 2:52-53; *Khyāṭ*, 3:95
Sahaiso Rāmāvat, Čāṃpāvat Rāṭhoṛ "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," p. 56
Said (Saiyid) *Vigat*, 2:75
Said Hāsām (Saiyid Hāshim) *Vigat*, 2:57
Said Kasām (Saiyid Qāsim) *Vigat*, 2:57
Sācoro Cahūvāṃs
 Jhāṅjhāṅ Bhaṅravādāṣot *Vigat*, 2:62
Megho Bhāṅravādāṣot *Vigat*, 2:59; "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," p. 49
Sāṇḍho Mokaḷot, Jaimāḷ Rāṭhoṛ *Vigat*, 2:48
Sāṅgo Bhoḷāvat, Jaimāḷ Rāṭhoṛ *Vigat*, 2:59
Sāṅkar Sūrāvat, Jeso Bhāṭī *Vigat*, 2:57
Sāṅkhlo Pāmṛvārs

Supiyärde Sāṅkhī, daughter of Rūñeco Sāṅkhlo Sīhar Cācāgot  

3:38

Tejśī Bhōjavat, Jāṅgalvo Vigat, 2:66; "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 56

Sāṁvalḍās Udaisīṅghot, Varnāṅghot Mṛṭīyō Rāṭhoṛ Vigat, 2:63-64; "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," pp. 53-54


Sarkhel Khān, Khāṅzāda Khān Khyāt, 3:88, 3:90-91

Sāṭal Jodhavat, Jodho Rāṭhoṛ, Rāv Vigat, 2:42-44, 2:46-47

Seḥlot Cahuvaṅ Ajo Narbhāmōt Vigat, 2:45

Seḵhavat Kachvāhos Vigat, 2:54; Khyāt, 3:98

Rāyml Seḵhavat Khyāt, 3:98

Sekho Sūjāvat, Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Khyāt, 3:88-92

Ser Khojō Vigat, 2:72

Shāh Jahān, Mughal Emperor Vigat, 2:76-77


Sīdho Mokalot, Jaitmal Rāṭhoṛ Vigat, 2:52-53

Sīndhaḷ Rāṭhoṛs

Cāmpo Kārāmsīyot Vigat, 2:70-72

Dedō Kojkhaḷavat "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," pp. 51-52

Dūṅgarsī Vigat, 2:59; "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 49

Megho Narsinghdāsot Khyāt, 3:38-40

Narsinghdās Khīṅḍāvat (Vidāvat) Khyāt, 3:38

Rīṇḍhīr Kojkhaḷavat "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," pp. 51-52

Sīṅghāṅ Khotsīyot, Rīṃmalot Rāṭhoṛ Vigat, 2:57

Sīsodīyo Gahlōts

Bhīṃ Amrāvat, Rājā Vigat, 2:73

Durgo Aclāvat, Candrāvat, Rāv Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 51

Megho "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 50

Tejō Bīkāvat, Rāvat "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 51


Soḥaṛ Rāṭhoṛs

Soḥaṛ Rāṭhoṛ Pītho Ēsāvavat/Jagāvavat Vigat, 2:59; "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 49

Soḷāṅkī Rājpūts

Rāṁ, Khairāro, Rāv Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 51

Rāmcand, Bālhaṇoṭ, Rāvāl Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 51

Sonagaro Cahuvaṅs

Cāmpā Sonagārī, daughter of Sonagaro Khīṃvo Sāṭāvavat Vigat, 2:37

Akhairāj Rīṇḍhīrōt Vigat, 2:57; Khyāt, 3:95, 3:100

Kāṁharde, Rāv Vigat, 2:37

Māṇsingh Akhairājōt Vigat, 2:63; "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," pp. 48, 53-54

Sūjo Jodhāvavat, Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Vigat, 2:43-44, 2:46

Sūjo Sāṁvatōt, Bālīṣo Cahuvaṅ Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 51
Supiyârde, Sânkhâli, daughter of Rûneco Sânkhlo Pañvâr Sihar Câcâgot  
*Khyât*, 3:38
Sûrâjsîning Udaisînghot, Jodho Râthor, Râja *Vigat*, 2:73-75
Surâo Hemrâj Devrâjot, Jain *Vigat*, 2:39, 2:41
Surjan Arjuot, Hâdo Cahuvañ, Rav *Vigat*, 2:60; "Aitihasik Bâtâm," p. 51
Surtân Bhâñot, Devro Cahuvañ, Rav *Vigat*, 2:70
*Khyât*, 3:120
Sutrâr Bhânîdâs *Vigat*, 2:66; "Aitihasik Bâtâm," p. 56

T

Tejo Bîkâvat, Sisodîyo Gahlot, Râvat "Aitihasik Bâtâm," p. 51
Tejsî Dûngarsîyot, Ûdâvat Râthor *Vigat*, 2:60; "Aitihasik Bâtâm," p. 51
Thîr Râj Delâvat, Dânggo Jât *Vigat*, 2:39
Tîlokî Varjångot, (Baîthvâsiyo) Râthor *Vigat*, 2:57; *Khyât*, 3:101
Hamjio *Vigat*, 2:66; "Aitihasik Bâtâm," p. 56

U

Udaiûkaraû Râyimalot [sâkh unknown] *Vigat*, 3:102
Udaisîning Jaitâvat, Jaitâvat Râthor "Aitihasik Bâtâm," pp. 42-43
Udaisîning Sângvâvat, Sisodîyo Gahlot, Râño *Vigat*, 2:59-60; 2:68-69;  
"Aitihasik Bâtâm," pp. 50-51
Îdâvat Râthors  
Bhîmvo Kalyândusot *Vigat*, 2:74
Dûngarsî Ûdâvat, Rav "Aitihasik Bâtâm," p. 50
Jaitśî Ûdâvat *Vigat*, 2:57; *Khyât*, 3:100
Khîmvo Ûdâvat *Vigat*, 2:48, 2:57; *Khyât*, 3:100-101
Ratansî Khîmvaçâvat "Aitihasik Bâtâm," pp. 48-50
Tejsî Dûngarsîyot *Vigat*, 2:60; "Aitihasik Bâtâm," p. 51
Îdâvat (Baîthvâsiyo) Râthors  
Tîlokî Varjångot *Vigat*, 2:57; *Khyât*, 3:101
Ûhar Râthors  
Hardâs Mokalot *Khyât*, 3:87-90, 3:92
Bhân Kâjavat *Khyât*, 3:87-88
V

Vāgh Jagmālot, Meṛtiyo Ṛāṭhoṛ  Vigat, 2:63
Vairṣī Rāṇāvat, Akhairājot Ṛāṭhoṛ  Vigat, 2:52
Varjāṅg Bhīṃvot, Bhīṃvot Ṛāṭhoṛ  Vigat, 2:43-44
Varsinghot Meṛtiyo Ṛāṭhoṛs
   Bhojo Sihāvat, Rāv  Vigat, 2:47-48
   Gāṅgo Sihāvat, Rāv  Vigat, 2:47-50
   Jeso Sihāvat, Rāv  Vigat, 2:47-48
   Sahaiso Tejsīyot  Vigat, 2:52-53; Khyāṭ, 3:95
   Sāṃvajdās Udaisīnghot  Vigat, 2:63-64; "Aitihāṣik Bātāṃ," pp. 53-54
   Siho Varsinghot, Rāv  Vigat, 2:46-48
Velo, Mumhato  Vigat, 2:74
Vīdāvat Ṛāṭhoṛs
   Kalyāṃmal Udaikaraṇot  Khyāṭ, 3:101-102
Vīdo Bhārmalot, Bālāvat Ṛāṭhoṛ  Vigat, 2:57; Khyāṭ, 3:95, 3:100
Vikmādīt, Brāhmaṇ, Rājā  Vigat, 2:74
Vīramde Vāṛghāvat, Jodho Ṛāṭhoṛ, Rāv  Khyāṭ, 3:87-88
Vīṭhāldās Jaimalot, Meṛtiyo Ṛāṭhoṛ  Vigat, 2:67-68, 2:70-72
INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

A

Agra  Vigat, 2:56, 58, 70, 77
Ahmadabad  Vigat, 2:70, 2:71
Ākeli  Vigat, 2:61
Ālāṇiya vās  Vigat, 2:50
Altavo  Vigat, 2:61, 2:73
Āmber  Vigat, 2:70
Ānandpur  Vigat, 2:73, 2:74
Ānolī  Vigat, 2:62
Aṇṇiyālo  Vigat, 2:40

B

Bābro "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 42
Baḍālī  Vigat, 2:74
Badgāṃv  Vigat, 2:40
Bagrī "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," pp. 50, 52
Bairāī  Khyāt, 3:90
Bālī "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51
Bāmnvalī  Vigat, 2:54, 2:55, 2:56
Bāṇjhaṅkurī  Vigat, 2:50: "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 50
Bārāl  Vigat, 2:69
BaRN  Vigat, 2:61
Baumli  Khyāt, 3:98
Bhādū  Vigat, 2:40
Bhāduvasī  Vigat, 2:62
Bhaiyo  Vigat, 2:62
Bhāvī  Vigat, 2:43
Bhīṃliyo  Vigat, 2:61
Bhovālī  Vigat, 2:40
Bīd  Vigat, 2:72
Bījāpur  Vigat, 2:76
Bīkāner  Vigat, 2:40, 2:41, 2:45, 2:47, 2:56, 2:58, 2:60; Khyāt, 3:90
Bīsalpur  Vigat, 2:43
Bollo  Vigat, 2:61
Bor  Vigat, 2:69
Bugra ṛō  Vigat, 2:40
Būndī  Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51
Būrphaṅpur  Vigat, 2:76
C

Cāṇḍārūṇ Vigat, 2:61
Cāṭśū Vigat, 2:54, 2:74
Chāprī Vigat, 2:62
Cītor Vigat, 2:68, 2:69
Cocīyāvās Vigat, 2:62
Cokrī Vigat, 2:37, 2:38, 2:39
Cundhiyāṃ Vigat, 2:62
Cuvo Vigat, 2:40

D

Dābrīyāṇī Vigat, 2:62
Dāṅgāvās Vigat, 2:39, 2:40
Deccan Vigat, 2:72, 2:76
Deghāṇa Vigat, 2:73
Delhi "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 44; Khyāt, 3:101, 3:102
Devalīyo Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 51
Dhāmaṇīyo Vigat, 2:62
Dhūṇḍhār Vigat, 2:60
Dīdvāṇo Vigat, 2:54
Droṇpur Khyāt, 3:101
Dumāṇī Vigat, 2:62
Dūṅgarpur Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 51
Durgāvās Vigat, 2:61
Dustāū Vigat, 2:40

G

Gāṅgāṛo "Aitihāsik Bātām," pp. 48, 50; Khyāt, 3:116, 3:118
Ghagharṇo Vigat, 2:61
Ghāṅghāṇī Khyāt, 3:90, 3:91
Ghūghrōt Khyāt, 3:101, 3:102
Girrī Vigat, 2:57; "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 42
Gonarṇo Vigat, 2:61
Gorhari Vigat, 2:62
Goṭhaṇ Vigat, 2:62
Goṭhṛi Vigat, 2:61
Goṭhra Vigat, 2:61
Gujarat Vigat, 2:70, 2:71; "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 50
H

Harmāro Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihasik Bātāṁ," pp. 42, 51
Harvāro Khyāt, 3:101
Hāsāvās Vigat, 2:62
Hāvelī Vigat, 2:73
Hīdāvās Vigat, 2:62
Hīdvān Vigat, 2:56
Hīrādṛṇa Vigat, 2:61

I

Īdar "Aitihasik Bātāṁ," p. 51
Īdvo Vigat, 2:40; Khyāt, 3:115
Īndāvaṇ Vigat, 2:64; "Aitihasik Bātāṁ," pp. 48, 53
Ījāvo Vigat, 2:61
Ījāvo Khīyāṇ ro Vigat, 2:61

J

Jaitāraṇaṇ Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihasik Bātāṁ," p. 52; Khyāt, 3:39
Jāipur Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihasik Bātāṁ," p. 51
Jālsū Khyāt, 3:116
Jāvī Vigat, 2:62
Jāyel Vigat, 2:39
Jhārāū Vigat, 2:40
Jhīthiśya Vigat, 2:40
Jodhrāvas Vigat, 2:62
Julāṇo Vigat, 2:62

K

Kairo Vigat, 2:40
Kākhāṛkhī Vigat, 2:41
Kānṛ Vigat, 2:62
Kairo Vigat, 2:73
Karheṛ Vigat, 2:69
Kasṇo Vigat, 2:40
Kathotī Vigat, 2:39, 2:40
Kelaṇo Vigat, 2:43
Keriṇo Vigat, 2:62
Khairvo  "Aitiḥāśik Bātām," p. 52
Khāp  "Aitiḥāśik Bātām," p. 42
Khāṭelāī  Vigat, 2:62
Khavāspur  Vigat, 2:58
Khīḍāvas  Vigat, 2:62
Khīṇḍāvṛo  Vigat, 2:61
Khuhari  Vigat, 2:62
Kǒdhro  Khṛṭ, 3:87
Koḥhariyo  Vigat, 2:69
Kurlai  Vigat, 2:61
Kusāṇo  Vigat, 2:39, 2:44, 2:48

L

Lahore  Vigat, 2:76
Lāsoṭ  Vigat, 2:54
Lāṃbīyāṃ  Vigat, 2:40
Lāmbīyo  Khṛṭ, 3:121
Lāmbo  Vigat, 2:61
Lāṃpoḷāī  Vigat, 2:41
Lohroyāh  Vigat, 2:40
Luṅgiyo  Vigat, 2:62

M

Madāvṛo  Vigat, 2:62
Māḍliyo  Vigat, 2:39
Mahaikar  Vigat, 2:73
Mahevrō  Vigat, 2:40
Malāṛṇo  Vigat, 2:69; Khṛṭ, 3:99
Maṇḍor  Vigat, 2:58
Maṇḍovar  "Aitiḥāśik Bātām," p. 49
Maṇḍū  Vigat, 2:42, 2:44, 2:51
Maṇḍiyāvas  Vigat, 2:62
Mecca  Vigat, 2:68
Mevāṛ  Vigat, 2:68; "Aitiḥāśik Bātām," p. 51
Mherasṇī  Vigat, 2:61
Mōdko  Vigat, 2:73
Nāgaur  
Nāgelāv  
Nahārno  
Nathāvro  
Navlakhī Sāmbhar  
Navo Nagar  
Nibrī  
Nīliyāṇ  
Nirprā: "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 52

Pacīk  "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 52
Pacīplo  
Pādubāḍī  
Pāḷri Sīndhaḷe  
Pāḷrī  
Pānčīyāvas  
Phālko  
Phālō  
Phālodhī  
Pīmpār  
Pīplāṇ  
Pīthāvas  
Rāhān  
Rāmpuro  "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 51
Rārod  
Ratāū  
Rāysalvās  
Reyāṃ  "Aitihāsik Bātām," pp. 50, 54;  
Rinthambhhor  
Rohīso  
Rohīvo  

Moḍrī  Vigat, 2:41
Mojaibād  Vigat, 2:57; Khyāt, 3:98
Mokālo  Vigat, 2:40, 2:73
Muthrājī  Vigat, 2:58

N

P
Rūpī Vigat, 2:69

S

Sahasrām Vigat, 2:56
Sahesro Vigat, 2:40
Samarmatī River Vigat, 2:70
Sāmbhar Vigat, 2:42, 2:43, 2:54
Sārāṇ "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 44
Sārāṇgaśī Vigat, 2:62
Saṅgu Vigat, 2:62
Sarvā Vigat, 2:46, 2:70
Sāthāṇo Vigat, 2:62
Sāthlāṇo Vigat, 2:43
Savālakh Vigat, 2:39
Śāyavas Vigat, 2:62
Śevakī Khyāt, 3:91
Siṁhā Vigat, 2:62
Śīrō Vigat, 2:69; Khyāt, 3:99
Śīvāṇo "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 44
Sojhat Vigat, 2:62, 2:69; Khyāt, 3:87, 3:88
Śomrā Vigat, 2:40
Śrī Phalodhī Jī Vigat, 2:41

T

Tago Vigat, 2:40
Tāṃbrāulī Vigat, 2:41
Tetārō Vigat, 2:40
Thāharvaṇī Vigat, 2:62
Thāṭī Vigat, 2:62
Thīro Vigat, 2:40
Tīghrīyō Vigat, 2:62
Toḍārī Vigat, 2:60; "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 51

U

Ūdhīyavas Vigat, 2:62
V

Vāḍāgāṁv "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," p. 48
Vāḍālī Vigat, 2:40
Vadhnor Vigat, 2:68, 2:69
Vagar Vigat, 2:61
Vākhalvas Vigat, 2:62
Vāṃsvālo Vigat, 2:60; "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," p. 51
Vanhato Khyāt, 3:98
Varvāro Khyāt, 3:98
Vās Makāmpā Vigat, 2:61
Vāvaḷalo Vigat, 2:61
THE MṚṬĪYO RĀṬHORS OF MṚṬO, RĀJASTHĀN:
SELECT TRANSLATIONS BEARING ON THE HISTORY OF
A RAJPŪT FAMILY, 1462-1660

Translated and Annotated by
Richard D. Saran and Norman P. Ziegler

Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asian Studies
Number 51

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
CENTERS FOR SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES
VOLUME TWO

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

WITH

INTRODUCTION, GLOSSARY OF KINSHIP TERMS,

AND INDEXES
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LISTS OF THE RULERS OF JODHPUR</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Jodho Rinmalot</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāv Candrasen Māldevot</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moto Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaiśinghot</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Gajsiṅgh Sūrajsinghot</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Javantsiṅgh Gajsiṅgh</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES</strong></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RAJPÜTS</strong></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṭīs</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeso Bhāṭīs</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 1) Pītho Āṅandot</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 2) Sāṅkar Sūrāvat</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 3) Tiloksi Parbatot</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cahuvāṅs</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāḷīśo Cahuvāṅs</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 4) Sūjo Sāṃvatot</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devṛō Cahuvāṅs</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 5) Surtāṅ Bhāṅot, Rāv</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hāḍo Cahuvaṇs  
(no. 6) Surjan Urjaṇot, Rāv  

Sācoro Cahuvaṇs  
(no. 7) Jhāṇjhaṇ Bhairavadāsot  
(no. 8) Megho Bhairavadāsot  

Sonagaro Cahuvaṇs  
(no. 9) Akhairāj Rindhirot  
(no. 10) Mānsingh Akhairājot  

Gahlots  

Āhāro Gahlots  
(no. 11) Āskaraṇ Prithīrājot, Rāval  
(no. 12) Pratāpsingh Jaisīṅghot, Rāval  

Māngliyo Gahlots  
(no. 13) Dedo  
(no. 14) Viram Devāvat  

Śisodiyo Gahlots  
(no. 15) Bhīm Amrāvat, Rājā  
(no. 16) Tejo Bīkāvat, Rāvat  
(no. 17) Udaisiṅgḥ Sāṅgāvat, Rāpo  
(no. 18) Candrāvat Durgo Acḷāvat, Rāv  

Kachvāhos  

Dhīrāvat Kachvāhos  
(no. 19) Rāmdās Udāvat  

Rājāvat Kachvāhos  
(no. 20) Jagnāth Bhārmalot, Rājā  
(no. 21) Jagrūp Jagnāthot, Kuṃvar  

Sekhāvat Kachvāhos  
(no. 22) Rāymal Sekhāvat  

Paṇvārs  

Paṇvārs of Cāṭsū  
(no. 23) Akho Soḍhāvat  
(no. 24) Paṅcāṅ Karamcandot, Rāvat  
(no. 25) Jagmāl Karamcandot, Rāvat  

Sānkholo Paṇvārs  
(no. 26) Jāṅgalvo Nāpo Māṇakrāvat, Rāṇo  
(no. 27) Jāṅgalvo Tejsī Bhojāvat  

Rāṭhɔrs

Akhairajot Rāṭhɔrs
(no. 28) Rāṇo Akhairajot
(no. 29) Goind Rāṇāvat
(no. 30) Ėsardās Rāṇāvat
(no. 31) Vairī Rāṇāvat
(no. 32) Bhado Paṅcāṅgot
(no. 33) Lakhman Bhadāvat
(no. 34) Tejsī Urjanot
(no. 35) Pato Kānhāvat
(no. 36) Netsī Sīhāvat

Bālāvat Rāṭhɔrs
(no. 37) Vido Bhārmalot
(no. 38) Nago Bhārmalot
(no. 39) Dhano Bhārmalot

Bhārmalot Rāṭhɔrs
(no. 40) Prithīrāj Baḷūvot

Bhīṃvot Rāṭhɔrs
(no. 41) Varjāṅg Bhīṃvot

Bīkāvat Rāṭhɔrs
(no. 42) Bīko Jodhāvat, Rāv
(no. 43) Naro Bīkāvat, Rāv
(no. 44) Lūnkarāṇ Bīkāvat, Rāv
(no. 45) Jaitsī Lūnkarāṇot, Rāv
(no. 46) Kalyāṅmal Jaitsiyot, Rāv
(no. 47) Bhūmrāj Jaitsiyot, Kuṃvar

Cāmpāvat Rāṭhɔrs
(no. 48) Jeso Bhairavdāsot
(no. 49) Jaītmāl Jesāvat
(no. 50) Rāmo Bhairavdāsot
(no. 51) Amro Rāmāvat
(no. 52) Sahaiso Rāmāvat

Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhɔrs
(no. 53) Kānho Cūṇḍāvat, Rāv
(no. 54) Sato Cūṇḍāvat, Rāv
(no. 55) Ėskaraṇ Satāvat
(no. 56) Narbad Satāvat
(no. 57) Ėsar Ghaṛṣiyot
(no. 58) Mahes Ghaṛṣiyot
(no. 59) Rājsīṅgh Ghaṛṣiyot
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idareco Rathors</th>
<th>224</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(no. 60) Nārāyaṇḍās Puṇḍāvat, Rāv</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaitāvat Rathors</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 61) Jaito Paṅcāṇḍot</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 62) Udaisingh Jaitāvat</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 63) Prithūrāj Jaitāvat</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 64) Purāṇmal Prithūrājot</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 65) Devīdās Jaitāvat</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 66) Bhākharsī Jaitāvat</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaitmālot Rathors</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 67) Ūdo Kānhārdevot</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 68) Bhāḍo Mokāloṭ</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 69) Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 70) Bhairavdās Bhāḍāvat</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 71) Sāndho Mokāloṭ</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 72) Sidho Mokāloṭ</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 73) Jodho Mokāloṭ</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 74) Candraj Jodhāvat</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 75) Naraṇḍās Candrajot</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 76) Bhojo Gāṅgāvat, Rāv</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 77) Sāṅgo Bhojāvat</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 78) Sagto Sāṅgāvat</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 79) Moṭo Jogāvat</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jodho Rathors</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 80) Acśo Sivrājot</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 81) Bhākharsī Duṅgarsīyot</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 82) Khaṅgār Jogāvat</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 83) Vāgho Sūjāvat</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 84) Viṃande Vāghāvat, Rāv</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 85) Jaitśi Vāghāvat</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 86) Sekho Sūjāvat</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 87) Kīsandās Gāṅgāvat</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 88) Īsardās Kalyāṇḍāsot</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 89) Mahesdās Dalpatot</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karamsot Rathors</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 90) Udaikaran Karamsīyot</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 91) Jagmāl Udaikaraṇot</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 92) Paṅcāṇḍ Karamsīyot</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 93) Mahes Paṅcāṇṇot</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 94) Dhanrāj Karamsīyot</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kümpāvat Rathors</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no. 95) Kümpo Mahirājot</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(no. 96) Pato (Pratāpsingh) Kūmpāvat 307
(no. 97) Prithūraj Kūmpāvat 308
(no. 98) Mahes Kūmpāvat 308
(no. 99) Māṇḍan Kūmpāvat 312
(no. 100) Kānḫāsiṅgh Khīṃvāvat 320
(no. 101) Rāsiṅgh Khīṃvāvat 320

Mahevco Rāṭhors
(no. 102) Häpo Varsiṅghot, Rāval 332
(no. 103) Meghrāj Häpāvat, Rāval 333

Mṛṭīyo Rāṭhors
(no. 104) Dūḍo Jodhāvat, Rāv 337
(no. 105) Viramde Dūḍāvat, Rāv 340
(no. 106) Rāysal Dūḍāvat 346
(no. 107) Jaimal Viramdevot, Rāv 346
(no. 108) Sāḍūl Jaimalot 351
(no. 109) Isardās Viramdevot 351
(no. 110) Acło Rāymalot 352
(no. 111) Arjaṅ Rāymalot 352
(no. 112) Prayādgās Arjaṅot 353
(no. 113) Surtāṅ Jaimalot 353
(no. 114) Balbhadar Surtāṅot 356
(no. 115) Gopāḷdās Surtāṅot 356
(no. 116) Jagnāth Gopāḷdāsot 357
(no. 117) Viṅhaḷdās Jaimalot 357
(no. 118) Dvārkādās Jaimalot 358
(no. 119) Kesodās Jaimalot 359
(no. 120) Narḥardās Isardāsot 362
(no. 121) Kānḫīdās Kesodāsot 363
(no. 122) Indrabhāṅ Kānḫīdāsot 363
(no. 123) CāndoViramdevot 364
(no. 124) Jagṃāl Viramdevot 365
(no. 125) Vāgh Jagmālot 367
(no. 126) Kalo Jagmālot 367
(no. 127) Jaitmāl Paṅcāṅot 367
(no. 128) Gopāḷdās Sundardāsot 368

Rīṇmalot Rāṭhors 378
(no. 129) Siṅghaṅ Khetsīyot 378
(no. 130) Bhāṅ Bhojṛājot 379

Sindhaḷ Rāṭhors 382
(no. 131) Narsinghdās Khīṅdāvat (Vīḍāvat) 383
(no. 132) Megḥo Narsinghdāsot 383
(no. 133) Dūṅgarsi 384
(no. 134) Dēdo Koṭhāvat 384
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>458</td>
<td>Pañcolis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>459</td>
<td>(no. 161) Abho Jhājhāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>459</td>
<td>(no. 162) Neto Abhāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>459</td>
<td>(no. 163) Ratno Abhāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>461</td>
<td>Rājasthānī Kinship Terminology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>471</td>
<td>Index of Personal Names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>521</td>
<td>Index of Place Names</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Volume II provides supplementary information to the translations about the history of Meṛto and the Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛs of Mārvār, Rājasthān. The translations include mention of many individuals who played roles of varying importance in the history of Meṛto and Jodhpur. Some held prominent positions, while others were warriors whose names appear only once in a list of men killed in a particular battle. In all cases, it is important to know something about their lives and their families in order to understand better the context in which they lived and their motivations for action. These pages are offered in the hope that they will facilitate such an understanding.

The material is organized into two sections:
1. Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur
2. Biographical Notes

Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur

This section presents a detailed listing of the wives (rāṇīs), sons, and daughters of the Rāṭhōṛ rulers of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur over nine generations from Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot (ca. 1453-89) to Rājā Jasvantsingh Gajsīṅghot (1638-78). While general information is available in English language publications about the reigns of these rulers, detailed information about their families is not so readily available. These listings attempt to rectify this situation, and include (where known):

1. The name of the branch (sākh) and clan (vaṃś, kul) from which the wife came;
2. The wife's birth name, by which she was known at her paternal home (pihar);
3. The new name given to the wife upon her marriage, by which she was known at her husband's father's home (sāstro);
4. The dates of marriage, birth of children, and of death;
5. The names of all sons born to the wife, with brief mention of significant events in the lives of the more important sons. If a son has been included in the Biographical Notes, the number of his Note, e. g., (no. 105), follows his name;
6. The names of all daughters born to the wife, with their dates and places of marriage.

This information provides important information about Rāṭhōṛ patterns of alliance through marriage, and details the manner in which these patterns
developed over time in relation to the changing political fortunes of Rājasthān and north India.

**Biographical Notes**

The Biographical Notes provide information about the lives of all individuals mentioned in the translated texts, with the exception of the following:

1. Rāthor rulers of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur, and important Muslim rulers of north Īndia, such as Sher Shāh Sūr (1540-45) and Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605). Information about these individuals is readily available in English language sources;
2. A small number of Rajpūts and other individuals, about whom only minimal information is known from sources available. Such individuals are treated in a footnote to the translated texts themselves.

The Biographical Notes include entries of varying length for one hundred and sixty-three different individuals referenced in the translations. The entries are numbered sequentially no. 1 - no. 163, and are divided into three groupings to facilitate location of specific notes: Rajpūts, Muslims, and Administrative Jātis.

**Rajpūts:** The section on Rajpūts covers Notes no. 1 - no. 153. Individual Rajpūts are identified by a four-part name. The first two elements are the names of the branch (sākh) and the clan (vams, kuḷ) to which the Rajpūt belonged, such as Hādo Cahuvaṅ, Sisodiyo Gahlot, or Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor. The third and fourth elements are the personal name of the individual followed by his father's name with the suffix meaning "son of." For example:

Jaitavat Rāṭhor Jaito Paṇcāṇot (Jaito, son of Paṇcāṇ)
Kūmpavat Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahirājot (Kūmpo, son of Mahirāj)
Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor Vīramde Dūḍāvat (Vīramde, son of Dūḍo)

These four elements provide the structure for the organization of the Notes themselves. The section is ordered first alphabetically by clan, and then within the clan, alphabetically by branch. The Notes for individual Rajpūts within subsections are placed in approximate chronological order according to family groupings.

To facilitate the location of specific Notes, two devices have been employed. First, all Notes are numbered sequentially, and the number of a Rajpūt's specific Biographical Note accompanies him wherever his name is mentioned either in a footnote to the translated texts or in different sections of the Biographical Notes where his name may appear in discussion. The reader can easily turn to the specific number in the Notes for that individual and locate the information about him.
Second, there is an alphabetical listing by personal name at the front of each subsection pertaining to the branch of a clan, of all individuals included in the subsection. Knowing a Rajput's personal name and the name of the branch and clan to which he belongs, the reader can turn to the appropriate subsection of the Notes and locate the number of the Note for the individual from the listing at the front of the subsection.

To site an example, in order to locate the Biographical Note for Meṛtīyo Rāṭḥor Jaimal Vīramdevot, the reader can turn either directly to the Note for Meṛtīyo Jaimal (no. 107), or turn to the Meṛtīyo subsection for the Rāṭḥors, then look at the listing at the front of the subsection for Jaimal Vīramdevot. The number of Jaimal's Note (no. 107) is listed in front of Jaimal's name, allowing easy location of the Note itself.

If the reader knows only the personal name of the Rajput along with his father's name, he or she may refer to the general index of names at the end of the volume. This index provides listing of all individuals in the Biographical Notes by personal name, and gives the number of the individual's specific Biographical Note.

Biographical subsections (Jeso Bhāṭī, Hāḍo Cahuvaṅ, Sisodiyo Gahlot, etc.) also include genealogical charts, placed at the end of the subsections. These charts list all of the individuals with Notes along with some close family members, and trace their relationships to each other. Each individual is numbered on the genealogical chart by generation and by placement within the generation on the chart itself for easy reference and location. This number locator follows the names of the individuals in the alphabetical listing at the front of each subsection. A listing will appear as follows:

**(no. 107) Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1)**

with the number of the individual's Biographical Note (i.e, no. 107), the personal name, (son of) father's name, and then the location on the genealogical chart (i.e., generation 8, position 1, beginning on the left).

Note: for Rāṭḥors, genealogical charts generally begin with Rāv Salkho (1-1) and his son, Vīram Salkhāvat (2-1), ancestors dating from the fourteenth century whose genealogical position in relation to later generations is known with certainty.

The subsections on branches of different Rajput clans include not only information about individuals belonging to this branch who are mentioned in the translated texts, but also material about the origin and early history of the branch. The subsection on the Jeso Bhāṭīs, for example, includes short Notes on three Jeso Bhāṭīs (no. 1 - no. 3) mentioned in the translated texts, and a somewhat longer lead section on Bhaṭi Jeso Kalikaranot. Bhāṭi Jeso was the founding ancestor of the Jeso Bhāṭīs of Mārvā. It was he and his sons who established ties with the Rāṭḥor rulers of Jodhpur following the marriage of Jeso Kalikaranot's sister to Jodhpur ruler, Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515).

The founders of different branches, as in the case of the Jeso Bhāṭīs, were often separated by several generations from the individuals who are
included in the Notes. In other cases, the founders of branches are Rajpūts who lived during the period discussed in the translations. Rāṭhor Jaito Paṅcāṇjot and Kūmpo Mahirājot, for example, were founders of the Jaitāvat and Kūmpāvat sākhs of Mārvār Rāṭhor. Both of these Rajpūts served under Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) and were killed at the battle of Samel in January of 1544, fighting against the Afghan Sher Shāh Sūr. Properly speaking, these individuals belonged to branches of Rāṭhor other than Jaitāvat and Kūmpāvat, for these groupings did not emerge until after their deaths. They are referred to in the texts under discussion as Akhairājot Rāṭhors. However, material about them belongs with that for their descendants, who were Jaitāvat ("son of" Jaito) and Kūmpāvat ("son of" Kūmpo). This organization provides a better and more coherent ordering for the Notes.

Information about origins and founders offers an important and necessary context for understanding the lives of individual members of a brotherhood, who may have lived generations apart. Both immediate family relations and the larger network of kinship through time provided the context from which individual actions emerged.

Muslims and Administrative Jātis: This section consists of Notes no. 154 - no. 163. It includes a brief section on the family of Khānzāda Khān Muslims who ruled at Nāgaur for a period of years during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and sections on the members of three different administrative jātis who played roles of varying importance in the history of Mērto and Jodhpur. Because less is known from local sources about these individuals, the sections themselves are devoted more to a general discussion of the jāti than to the lives of the individuals mentioned in the texts, about whom often only a personal name and a few other facts are in evidence.

Source References

Considerable attention has been given to the notation of sources from which material has been gathered for both the Marriage and Family Lists and the Biographical Notes.

Sources for the Marriage Lists have been arranged by individual wives of rulers and placed in footnotes. This ordering should facilitate the investigation of particular marriages and children of marriages which readers may wish to pursue.

Source references for the Biographical Notes have generally been placed at the end of individual sections, so the reader may go immediately to sources for that individual. The only exceptions are where there is limited information about a group of related individuals. In such cases, the sources have been placed together at the end of the section for these individuals.
List of Figures
(Genealogical Charts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rāṭhor Rulers of Jodhpur</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bhāṭi Ruling Family of Jaisalmer</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jeso Bhāṭīs of Mārvāṛ</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Devrō Cahuvāṇs of Sirohi</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hāḍo Cahuvāṇs of Bündī</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sācoro Cahuvāṇs</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sonagaro Cahuvāṇs of Mārvāṛ</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Candrāvat Šisodiyo Gahlots</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Šisodiyo Gahlots</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rāmdāś's Genealogy According to &quot;Patal-Pota&quot;</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Rāmdāś's Genealogy According to Naiṃśī's Khyāī</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rājāvat Kachvāhos of Toḍo and Gwalior</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sekhāvat Kachvāhos of Amarsar and Khandelo</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Paṃvārs of Cāṭsū</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sāṅkhlo Paṃvārs of Rūṇ and Jāṅgāḷu</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Akhairājot Rāṭhorś</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bāḷāvat Rāṭhorś</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bhārmalot Rāṭhorś</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bhīṃvot Rāṭhorś</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Bīkāvat Rāṭhorś</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Cāmpāvat Rāṭhorś</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Jaitāvat Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Jaitmālot Rāṭhoṛs of Śivāṇo</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Jaitmālot Rāṭhoṛs of Merto</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Jodho Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Karamsot Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Mahevco Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Rīṇmalot Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Údāvat Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Údāvat (Baithvāsiyo) Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Varsīṇghot Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Vīḍāvat Rāṭhoṛs</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Khānzāda Khāns of Nāgaur</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used for works frequently cited:

Ā‘īn-i-Akbarī
Abū al-Fazl ibn Mubārak, Ā‘īn-i-Akbarī

"Aitihasik Bātām"
"Aitihasik Bātām." In Paramparā, part 11, pp. 17-109

Akbar Nāma
Abū al-Fazl ibn Mubārak. The Akbar Nāma of Abu-I-Fazl

Āsop kā Itihās
Āsopā, Rāmkaraṇā. Āsop kā Itihās

Athar Ali, Apparatus
Athar Ali, M. The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices, and Titles to the Mughal Nobility, 1574-1658

Bānkīdās
Bānkīdās, Bānkīdās rī Khāyāt

Bhāṭi, Sarvekṣaṇ
Bhāṭi, Nārāyaṇaśiṃh. Rājasthān ke Aitihasik Granthoṃ kā Sarvekṣaṇ

Cāmpaṃvat Rāṭhaur
Bhagavatsiṃh, Ṭhākur. Cāmpaṃvat Rāṭhaur

Census Report, 1891
"Mārvār ki Qaumoṃ kā Itihās." Riport Mardumśumārī Rāj Mārvār bābat san 1891 Īsvi, part 3

Gehlot, Mārvār
Gehlot, G. S. Mārvār kā Saṃkṣipt Itihās

Jahāṅgīr
Jahāṅgīr. The Tūzuk-i-Jahāṅgīrī; or, Memoirs of Jahāṅgīr

Jaisalmer rī Khāyāt
Jaisalmer rī Khāyāt. Paramparā, parts 57-58. Edited by Nārāyaṇaśiṃh Bhāṭi

**Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt**  Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt. Edited by Raghuvīr Sīnī and Manohar Sīnī Rāṇāvat

Khyāt  Naiṃsi, Muṇṭhato, *Muṇṭhāta Naiṃsī viracīt Muṇṭhāta Naiṃsīrī Khyāt*

Lāḷas, RSK  Lāḷas, Sīṭārām, *Rājasthānī Sabad Kos*

Maāṭhir-ul-Umarā  Shāhnavāz Khān Awrangābādī. *The Maāṭhir-ul-Umarā*

Mūndiyār rī Rāṭhorāṃ rī Khyāt  Mūndiyār rī Rāṭhorāṃ rī Khyāt, MS no. 15635, no. 2

Murārdān, no. 1  Kavirāj Murārdānī kī Khyāt kā Tarjumā

Murārdān, no. 2  Rāṭhorom rī Khyāt Purāṇī Kavirājjī Murārdānī ke Yahāṇī se Likhī Gāī

Murārdān, no. 3  Rajpūtom kī Khyāt: Kavirājjī Murārdānī kī Khyāt kā Tarjumā

Ojhā  Ojhā, G. H., *Rājpūtānī kā Itihās*

Paṃvār Vaṃś Darpaṇ  Siṃḍhāyac, Dayālādās. *Paṃvār Vaṃś Darpaṇ*. Edited by Daśrath Śarmā


Rāṭhorāṃ rī Vaṃśāvalī, ms. no. 20130  Rāṭhorāṃ rī Vaṃśāvalī. MS no. 20130, Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

Reu  Reu, B. N., *Maṛvāṛ kā Itihās*

Sākariyā, RHISK  Sākariyā, Bāḍrīprasād, and Sākariyā, Bhūpātī Rāṃ, eds. *Rājasthānī Hindi Śabd Koś*
Tavārīkh Jaisalmer

Lakhmīcand. Tavārīkh Jaisalmer = The History of Jeysalmer

Tod, Annals

Tod, James, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan

Vigat

Naiṅsī, Muṁhato. Mārvār rā Parganāṁ rī Vigat

Vir Vinod

Śyāmaldās, Kavirājā. Vir Vinod

Full references will be found in the bibliography (vol. one, pp. 37-50)

Other abbreviations:

B.N. Biographical Notes

V.S. Vikrama Saṁvat
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LISTS
OF THE
RULES OF JODHPUR

Rāv Jodho Riṃmalot (ca. 1453-89) (5-1)
Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat (ca. 1489-92) (6-2)
Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515) (6-3)
Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat (1515-32) (8-1)
Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (1532-62) (9-1)
Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81) (10-1)
Moṭo Rājā Udaisīṅgh Māldevot (1583-95) (10-2)
Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh Udaisīṅghot (1595-1619) (11-1)
Rājā Gajsīṅgh Sūrajsīṅghot (1619-38) (12-1)
Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh Gajsīṅghot (1638-78) (13-1)
### Figure 1. Rāṭhoṛ Rulers of Jodhpur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1-1)</th>
<th>Rāv Salkho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2-1)</td>
<td>Vīram Salkhāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Cūndo Vīramot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Riṃmal Cūṇāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Jodho Riṃmalot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6-1)</td>
<td>Nimbo Jodhāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6-2)</td>
<td>Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6-3)</td>
<td>Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7-1)</td>
<td>Vāgho Sūjāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Candrasen Māldevot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10-2)</td>
<td>Moṭo Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11-1)</td>
<td>Rājā Sūrajiśingh Udaiśinghot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12-1)</td>
<td>Rājā Gaiśingh Sūrajiśinghot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13-1)</td>
<td>Rājā Jasvantiśingh Gaiśinghot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rāv Jodho Riṃmalot (5-1)

Born: Tuesday, April 1, 1416
Died: April 6, 1489 (unconfirmed by inscriptional evidence)
Ruled: ca. 1453 - April 6, 1489
Mother: Rāṇī Bhātiyāṇī Kōramde, daughter of Bhāti Rāv Rāṇagde Lakhamsiyot of Pūṅgal.

The following section on Rāv Jodho Riṃmalot is divided into two parts. The first provides a composite listing of Rāv Jodho's brothers. Many of these men played roles of importance in the history of Mārvār and Bīkāner. Their exact number is unknown, but sources list twenty-five to twenty-seven brothers. Virtually no information is available about their mothers. The listing of these brothers is organized, therefore, into four alphabetical groupings based on what is known of their activities.

The second part of this section presents a detailed listing of all of Rāv Jodho's wives, sons and daughters.

Brothers

A. Brothers who died in childhood:
   1. Goyand
   2. Karamcand: died of smallpox.
   3. Sagto
   4. Sāyar: drowned in a tank at the village of Dhaṅlo; is said to have become a spirit (pitār).

B. Brothers included in Rāv Jodho's division of the lands of Mārvār following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459:
   1. Akhairāj: received Bagṛi village (see "Akhairājot Rāthaṛs," infra).
   2. Bhākhar: died before the founding of Jodhpur; his son, Bālo, received the three villages of Khārlo, Khārrī, and

---

1 We are following Ojhā, 4:1:235, here. Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 55, gives the date of Saturday, March 28, 1416 for Rāv Jodho's birth.

2 General sources for this section include: Gehlot, Mārvār, pp. 160-162; Khyāt, 3:40; Murārdān, no. 1, pp. 205-208; Ojhā, 4:1:225-226; Reu, 1:80; Vigat, 1:38-39; Vīr Vinod, 2:805-806.

3 Dhaṅlo village: located twenty-seven miles south of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.

4 Bagṛi village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat.
Sähli (located to the south of Jodhpur; see "Bälāvat Rāṭhọṛs," infra).

3. Campo: received Kāparro and Baṇār villages (see "Cāmpāvat Rāṭhọṛs," infra).

4. Dūngarsī: received Bhädrājuṇ village; the Dūngarot sākh of Mārvār Rāṭhọṛs emerged from his descendants (see "Rīṇmalot Rāṭhọṛs," infra).

5. Jagmāl: died before the founding of Jodhpur; his son, Khetsī, received the village of Netrān. Two sākhs of Mārvār Rāṭhọṛs descend from Jagmāl: the Jagmālot and the Khetsīyot (see "Rīṇmalot Rāṭhọṛs," infra).

6. Karṇo: received Lūṇāvās village; founder of the Karaṇot sākh of Mārvār Rāṭhọṛs.

7. Māṇḍalο: received Sānduṛo village in the area that later became Bīkāner; founder of the Māṇḍalot sākh of Bīkāner and Mārvār Rāṭhọṛs.

8. Pātō: received Karṇu village; founder of the Pātāvat sākh of Mārvār Rāṭhọṛs.

9. Rūpo: received Cāḍī village; founder of the Rūpāvat sākh of Mārvār Rāṭhọṛs (see "Rīṇmalot Rāṭhọṛs," infra).

10. Vairo: received Dūdhuṛ village from Rāv Jodho; founder of the Vairāvat sākh of Mārvār Rāṭhọṛs.

C. Brothers who left Jodhpur with Rāv Jodho's son, Biko Jodhāvat, and participated in the founding of Bīkāner:

1. Kāndhal: founder of the Kāndhalot sākh of Bīkāner Rāṭhọṛs.

2. Lākho: founder of the Lākhāvat sākh of Bīkāner Rāṭhọṛs.

---

5 Kāparro village: located twenty-eight miles east of Jodhpur.

6 Baṇār village: located eight miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.

7 Bhādrājuṇ village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.

8 Netrān village: located twenty-one miles north-northeast of Jodhpur.

9 Lūṇāvās village: located twenty miles southwest of Jodhpur.

10 Karṇu village: located sixty miles north of Jodhpur.

11 Cāḍī village: located fifty-eight miles north of Jodhpur.

12 Dūdhuṛ village: located eleven miles south of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.
4. Údo: founder of the Údavat sākh of Bikaner Rāthors.

D. Brothers whose activities are unknown:
2. Hāpo: his descendants are known as both "Rinmalots" and "Hāpāvats" in Mārvār.
3. Jaitmāl: his son, Bhojraj, was founder of the Bhojrajot sākh of Mārvār Rāthors.
5. Sāṇḍo: founder of the Sāṇḍavat sākh of Mārvār Rāthors.
6. Sindho: his descendants are called "Rinmalots."
7. Tejsī: founder of the Tejsīyot sākh of Mārvār Rāthors.

Rāṇīs, Sons, and Daughters

1. Rāṇī Haḍī Jasmādejī

The texts list this Rāṇī's name as both "Jasmāde" and "Koramde." Jasmāde appears to be the name she received upon marriage to Rāv Jodho. Koramde may have been her pīhar name, but this name was also the name of Rāv Jodho's mother, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyānī Koramdejī. Its ascription to one of Rāv Jodho's wives may indicate some confusion in the sources.

The name of Haḍī Jasmādejī's father is uncertain. The texts list his name variously as Hāḍo Cahuvaṇ Jīṭmāl Devot, Ajīṭ Māldevot, and Devīdās Jaimālāt of Būndi. Jīṭmāl Devot's name appears in the genealogy for the Hāḍo Cahuvaṇs recorded in the Khyāt of Naiṣṭi, 1:101. Jīṭmāl was a son of Hāḍo Devo Bāṅgāvat, the founder of Hāḍo rule in Būndi, 1342-43. Given Rāv Jodho's birth in 1416, it would appear on genealogical grounds alone that Hāḍo Jīṭmāl Devot could not have been Jasmāde's father. The name Ajīṭ Māldevot appears to be a corruption of Jīṭmāl Devot. It does not appear in the Hāḍo genealogy in Naiṣṭi's Khyāt, nor does the name Devīdās Jaimālāt. Without further information, it is not possible to know the identity of this Rāṇī's father with certainty.

S - Nimbo: designated successor to the Jodhpur throne; died while a kuṃvar (see "Jodho Rāthors," infra).

---

S - Sātal: Rāv Jodho’s successor to the Jodhpur throne ca. 1489.
S - Sūjo: born August 2, 1439; succeeded Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat to the Jodhpur throne in March of 1492.

2. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Pūrāṃjī 14
   Daughter of Kelhan Bhāṭī Rāv Vairsal Cācāvat of Pūṅgaḷ and Vairsalpur (ca. 1448-64).

S - Karamsī: (see "Karamsot Rāṭhoṛs," infra).
S - Rāypāḷ: founded the Rāypāḷot sākh of Mārvāṛ Rāṭhoṛs
S - Vanvīr: founded the Vanvīrot sākh of Mārvāṛ Rāṭhoṛs.
S - Jasvant
S - Kūmpo
S - Candrāv

D - Bhāgāṃ: married to Khāṇzāda Khān Salho Khān (Ṣalāḥ Khān, ca. 1467-69) of Nāgaūr in 1464-65 by her two uterine brothers, Karamsī and Rāypāḷ. Her brothers received from Salho Khān, in turn, the important villages of Khīṃvsar and Āsop15 in sāḷā kāṭārī (lit. "wife’s brother-dagger").16


3. Rāṇī Śāṅkhli Nāraṅgdeji 17
   There is uncertainty about the identity of this Rāṇī’s father. This uncertainty extends both to the name of her father and to the branch of Śāṅkhlos (Rūṇeco or Jāṅgālvo) from which he came. Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāṭ, pp. 55, 57, states that Nāraṅgde Śāṅkhli was a daughter of Śāṅkhlo Paṃvāṛ Māṇḍo Jaitāvat, and refers to her as a Rūṇecī, of the Śāṅkhlos of Rūṇ village18 in Mārvāṛ. Khyāṭ, 3:8, confirms that Jodho Riṃmalot married among the Rūṇeco Śāṅkhlos, stating:

14 Bāṅkīdās, p. 8; Khyāṭ, 2:117, 3:158-159; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 431, 600-601; Ojḥā, 4:1:252; Vigat, 1:40.

15 Khīṃvsar and Āsop are located sixteen miles apart from each other some fifty-four miles north-northeast and fifty miles northeast of Jodhpur, respectively.

16 Sāḷā kāṭārī: the customary gifts which the brother(s) of the bride claim from the groom at the end of the marriage, following the couple’s circumambulation of the fire. At this time, the wife’s brother (sāḷo) takes up a sword or dagger and grabs hold of the groom’s ear, demanding his presents or gifts (neg). These generally consist of weapons and/or money, but can also take the form of parcels of land or villages. See: Census Report, 1891, 3:1:33-34.


18 Rūṇ village: located twenty miles northwest of Meṛtō and fifty-nine miles northeast of Jodhpur.
[Jodho] proceeded to [the home of] the Sānhkhlos of Rūṅ. The Sānhkhlos took a betrothal coconut and came before the Rāvīj. The designated successor (tīkāyat) of the Sānhkhlos was called Rāvat; his daughter was married to the Rāvīj.

Ṛṛṭhorām ṛi Vamśāvalī, MS no. 20130, f. 35, gives Nāraṅgejī's father's name as Māndāṇ Jaitāvat, while Ḳhyaṭ, 3:31, in a section entitled "Ath Vāṭ Rāv Sihojī (rai Vamṣ) ṛi" (Now the Story of Rāv Sihojī's Vamṣ), includes the following entry:

Rāv Jodhojī's wife (antevar), Nāraṅge Sānhkhī, [was] Rāṇo Māndāṇ Ruṇṭavat's daughter.

The Māndāṇ referred to here was a Sāňkhlo of Rūṅ, "Rāṇo" being a common title assumed by the Rūṇeco Sānhkhlos. Ṯigat, 1:39, lists two alternative names for the father, Rāṇo Maḍājėctot and Rāṇo Māḍāsinghot, both of which appear simply to be corruptions of Māndo/Māndāṇ Jaitāvat.

ṱhyaṭ, 1:341, lists an individual by the name of "Rāṇo Māndo [son] of Jaiṭṣī," in its genealogy of the Rūṇeco Sānhkhlos. This individual is presumably Māndo Jaitāvat, but the Ṯhyaṭ gives no information about him, listing only his name.

Elsewhere in Ṭigat, 1:31, Naiṇṣī provides a cryptic entry about Sāňkhīlī Nāraṅgejī's father. As if writing a note to himself, he refers to two different Sāňkhlos who might have been the father: Sāňkhlo Māndo [Jaitāvat] and Sāňkhlo Nāpo Māṇjakrāvat (no. 26) of the Sāňkhlos of Jāṅgālu.19 He states:

Previously Sāňkhlo Nāpo Māṇjakrāvat - Māndo [Jaitāvat] was the dhanī - [either] his daughter [or] Nāpo's, Nāraṅge Sāňkhī, ... was married [to Rāv Jodho].

In support of Nāpo Sāňkhlo as the father, Ṭāṅkīḍūs, p. 74, records that Sāňkhīlī Nāraṅgejī's eldest son, Bīko Jodhāvat, was a sister's son (bhānej) of the Sāňkhlos of Jāṅgālu.

It is difficult to evaluate this information. Jāṅgalvo Sāňkhlo Nāpo Māṇjakrāvat was closely associated with Rāv Jodho and with Sāňkhīlī Nāraṅgejī's two sons, Bīko and Vīdo. It may be that for this reason, he became, over time, Nāraṅgejī's father.20 The weight of the evidence rests, however, with Rūṇeco Sāňkhlo Māndo/Māndāṇ Jaitāvat/Jaiṭṣīyot as the father.

The date of this marriage is also uncertain. According to Ṯhyaṭ, 3:8, it took place sometime during Jodho Riṇmalot's period of distress (vikhaū)
following his father Rāv Rīṃmal Cūṇḍāvat's murder at Citor ca. 1438. This
dating is problematic, however, given at least one of the dates of birth for
Nāraṅgde's eldest son, Bīko.

S - Bīko: different dates are given for Bīko's birth including
August 5, 1438 and July 14, 1440 (adhika vais) or August 14, 1440
(nīja vais). Bīko founded the kingdom of Bīkāner, and a Rāthor sākh
bearing his name emerged after him (see "Bīkāvat Rāthors," no. 42,
infra).

S - Vīdo: (see "Vīdāvat Rāthors," infra).

4. Rāṇī Sonagarī Cāṃpābāī (pīhar name) 2¹
Daughter of Sonagar Cahuṇ Cūṇḍw Satāvat of Pāli village 2² in
eastern Mārvār.

S - Varsiṅgh: born sometime prior to 1440 (see "Varsiṅghot
Meṛtīyo Rāṭhos," no. 146, infra).

S - Dūdo: varying dates appear in the texts for Dūdo's birth,
including June 15, September 28, October 6 and October 10, 1440, and
July 4, 1441 (see "Meṛtīyo Rāṭhos," no. 104, infra, and Vigat, 2:47, n.
148 of the translated text).

5. Rāṇī Hulṇī Jamnādeji (or Jāṅāneji) 2³
Daughter of Hul Cahuṇ Gōlot Vāṇvīr Bhojavat (or Vīrbhāṅ Bhojavat).

S - Jogo: (see "Jodho Rāṭhos," infra).

S - Bhārmal: (see "Bhārmalot Rāṭhos," infra).

6. Rāṇī Vāghelī Vināṇjī 2⁴
Daughter of Vāghelo Soḷānkī Urjāṇ Bhīmrājot.

S - Sāmvatśī
tS - Sivrāj (see "Jodho Rāṭhos," no. 80, infra).

7. Rāṇī Soḷānkaṇjī 2⁵

2¹ Khyāt, 1:207; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 444, 583; Ojhā, 4:1:253-254; Reu, 1:103, n. 5;
Vigat, 1:39, 2:37.

2² Pāli village: located forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

2³ Khyāt, 3:31; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 403, 422; Ojhā, 4:1:253; Vigat, 1:39.


2⁵ Murārdān, no. 2, p. 98.
8. Rāṇī Cahuvaṇī

9. Rāṇī Sisodīṇī

Daughter of Sisodiyo Gaḥlot Rāṇo Mokaḷ Lākhāvat, ruler of Cītoṛ (ca. 1421-33), and uterine sister of Rāṇo Kumbho Mokaḷot, ruler of Cītoṛ (ca. 1433-68); given to Rāv Jodho in marriage, ca. 1453.

Miscellaneous

Several additional sons of Rāv Jodho, whose mothers are not known with certainty, are mentioned in the sources. These sons include:

S - Abhāyrāj
S - Jagmāl
S - Lakhmaṇ
S - Nātho
S - Rūpsingh

The texts also list several daughters of Rāv Jodho, whose mothers are not known. The names of these daughters and their places of marriage are:

D - Śrīṅgārdēvī: married to Sisodiyo Gaḥlot Rāṇo Rāymaḷ Kūmbhāvat, ruler of Cītoṛ (ca. 1473-1509).
D - Rūpkumṇvarbāi: married to Bhāṭī Rāval Cāco Vairṣiyot, ruler of Jaisalmer (1448-64 or 1467). Her son by Rāval Cāco was Rāval Devidās Cācāvat, ruler of Jaisalmer (1464 or 1467-91).

26 Ibid.

27 Paṇḍīt Badrī Šarma, Dāsapoṃ kā Itihās (Jodhpur: Şeṇāsadana, V.S. 2011 [A.D. 1954]), p. 13; Cāmpāvat Rāṭhaṛ, p. 6. This marriage is not included in the lists of Rāv Jodho's marriages found in other primary sources. References to it appear only in the two above noted secondary sources that deal with the history of the Cāmpāvat Rāṭhoṛs of Mārvār.


29 Khyāṭ, 1:206-207, 3:133.


31 Jaisalmerṛī Khyāṭ, pp. 64-65; Tavārīkṛ Jaisalmer, p. 47.
D - (name unknown) married to Shams Khān Kyām Khān, the master of Jhūnjhaṇūṃ.  

Marriage Lists

Lists of Rāv Jodho's marriages and of his sons and daughters are contained in the following primary sources. These sources reference all marriages except those for Rānis no. 7, no. 8, and no. 9. The sources are:

Jodhpur Rāja ki Khyāt, pp. 55-58.
Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 98-99.
Rāṭhorāṃ ri Vaṃśāvalī, MS no. 20130, ff. 35-36.

Other references include:


---

Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat (6-2)

Born: (?)
Died: March of 1492
Ruled: ca. 1489 - March, 1492
Mother: Rāṇī Hāḍī Jasmādejī of Bündī

Rāṇīs, Sons, and Daughters

1. Rāṇī Bhatiyāṇī Harakhaī (pihar name)
   Daughter of the Kelhaṇ Bhatīs of Vikūmpur.

2. Rāṇī Bhatiyāṇī Phulāṇ

Miscellaneous

Rāv Sātal is said to have had five other wives. There are no references to these wives by name among the sources available. All are said to have become satīs following Rāv Sātal's death. There are no sons or daughters listed in any of the chronicles.

General References

Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyaṭ, p. 57; Murārdān, no. 2, p. 100; Ojhā, 4:1:259-260, 262-263; Vīgat, 1:39.

1 See supra, Rāv Jodho Rinmalot, Rāṇī no. 1, for a discussion of the confusion surrounding the identity of Rāṇī Jasmādejī’s father.
Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (6-3)

Born: Sunday, August 2, 1439
Died: Tuesday, October 2, 1515
Ruled: March, 1492 - October 2, 1515
Mother: Rāṇī Hāḍī Jasmādejī of Būndī

Rāṇīs, Sons, and Daughters

1. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Sāraṇgdejī (pihar name Likhmibāī)²

The name of this Rāṇī's father is variously given in the sources as Bhāṭī Jīvo Urjanot, Kalikaraṇ Keharot and Jeso Kalikaraṇot, a son of Kalikaraṇ Keharot's.

No listing is found for a Jīvo Urjanot in the genealogy of the Bhāṭīs in the Khyāt of Naiṃsi. The name Jīvo is possibly a corruption of Jeso. Most references associate Bhāṭiyāṇī Likhmibāī with Jeso Kalikaraṇot and his father, Kalikaraṇ Keharot. From textual evidence, it appears that this Rāṇī's father was Kalikaraṇ Keharot of Jaisalmer, a son of Rāvāḷ Kehar Devrājot (1361-97). Likhmibāī's brother, Jeso Kalikaraṇot, was the founder of the Jeso sākh of Mārvār Bhāṭīs (see "Jeso Bhāṭīs," infra).

S - Vāgho: born December 16, 1457³ (see "Jodho Rāṭhoṛs," no. 83, infra).
S - Naro: founder of the Narāvat sākh of Mārvār Rāṭhoṛs.

2. Rāṇī Cahuvaṇjī ⁴

Daughter of Sācoro Cahuvaṇ Rāv Pithamrāv Tejṣīyot of Sācor.

S - Sekho: (see "Jodho Rāṭhoṛs," no. 86, infra).
S - Devīdās

¹ See supra, Rāv Jodho Rīnumalot, Rāṇī no. 1, for a discussion of the confusion surrounding the identity of Hāḍī Jasmādejī's father.

² "Aitihasik Bātāṁ," p. 37; Bāṅkīdās, pp. 9, 119; Khyāt, 2:152-153, 3:34, 104-105, 215; Murārdān, no. 2, p. 431; Ojhā, 4:1:269; Vigat, 1:40-41. The Vigat of Naiṃsi references Vāgho Sūjāv at as the son of Rāṇī Māṅgliyāṇī Sāraṇgde, the daughter of Māṅgliyāṇo Gahlot Pāṅcū Vīramdevot. This information is incorrect. It probably involves confusion with Rāṇī no. 3, infra.

³ This date is from Ojhā, 4:1:269. Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 68, records a date of birth of Friday, April 15, 1468, which appears to be in error. See: Ojhā, 4:1:260-270, n. 5, for his discussion of issues surrounding the dating of Vāgho's birth.

⁴ Bāṅkīdās, pp. 9, 163; Khyāt, 1:241-242; Ojhā, 4:1:270.
3. Rāṇī Māṅgliyāṇī Sarvandejlā 5
   Daughter of Māṅgliyā Gahlot Rāṇo Pāṭū Hamīrōt (Rāṇāvat)
   S - Īdo: (see "Īdavat Rāṭhorś," infra).
   S - Pirāg (or Prāg)
   S - Sāṅgō

4. Rāṇī Sāṅkhli Sahodṛāṇji (or Soharadejlā) 6
   Some uncertainty surrounds the name of this Rāṇī's father. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 103, refers to him as Gopāl Mahirajot. However, no listing for an individual of this name is found in the genealogy of the Sāṅkhlo Paṃvārs in the Khyāt of Naṁsi. This genealogy does list a Mahiraj Gopāldevot, a Sāṅkhlo of the Jāṅgalvo sākh, closely associated with Rāṭhor Rāv Cūṇḍo Vīrāmot of Maṅḍor (d. ca. 1423). Although this Mahiraj was too far removed genealogically from Rāv Sūjo to have married a daughter to him, it is possible that this "daughter" came from one of his sons or grandsons.
   S - Prithṛāj
   S - Nāpo

Miscellaneous

The sources list two more sons and a daughter for Rāv Sūjo:

   S - Tilokṣī: (mother unknown).7
   S - Nātho: Bāṅkīdās, p. 112, records that Nātho was the daughter's son (doḥitro) of Bhāṭī Rāval Harrāj Māldevot of Jaisālmēr (1561-77). This information is incorrect. From other sources, it is evident that Nātho was not Rāv Sūjo's son, but rather a daughter of Bhāṭī Rāval Harrāj named Nāṭhukumvar. Nāṭhukumvar lived in Jodhpur at the court of her maternal grandfather, Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (see infra, Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat, Rāṇī no. 3, D - Sajnāṁbāī).8
   D - Khetūbāī (mother unknown): married to Hāḍo Cauhūvāṅ Rāv Nāraṇḍās Bhāṇḍāvat of Būndī (d. ca. 1527). Khetūbāī's son by Rāv Nāraṇḍās was Sūrajamal Nāraṇḍāsot, ruler of Būndī, ca. 1527-31.9

---

5 Bāṅkīdās, pp. 8-9; Ojhā, 4:1:270.
6 Khyāt, 1:347; Ojhā, 4:1:270.
7 Bāṅkīdās, p. 9; Reu, 1:110.
8 Bāṅkīdās, p. 112; Tavārīkh Jaisalmer, p. 53.
9 Khyāt, 1:102.
The chronicles record an interesting story about Khetūbāī and Rāv Nāraṇdās. The Rāv is said to have been addicted to opium and accustomed to taking exceedingly large amounts each day. Khetūbāī found her husband in an open field on one occasion, where he had fallen asleep in a stupor while urinating. She threw the end of her sārī over him to cover him and to hide his shame. The following morning when the Rāv awoke and found his wife standing over him, he was pleased and granted her one wish that was within his power to fulfill. Khetūbāī asked only that she be allowed to keep his opium pouch. Khetūbāī gradually reduced the amount of opium the Rāv consumed each day thereafter. Before long, she also gave birth to a son named Sūrajmal.

Marriage Lists

Lists of Rāv Sūjo's marriages, and his sons and daughters are contained in the following primary sources:

*Jodhpur Rājya kī Khāyāt*, pp. 67-68.
*Mūrārdaṇī*, no. 2, pp. 102-104.
*Rāṭhordāṇī rī Vāṃśāvalī*, MS no. 20130, ff. 46-47.

Other general references include:

Ojha, 4:1:262, 264, 269; "Rāṭhadūr Vāṃś rī Vīgat," pp. 10-11;
Reu, 1:110; *Vīgat*, 1:39; *Vīr Vinoḍ*, 2:807.

---

10 *Bāṅkīḍīs*, p. 144; *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khāyāt*, p. 69; *Khāyāt*, 1:102, 107; *Rāṭhordāṇī rī Vāṃśāvalī*, MS no. 20130, f. 48. *Bāṅkīḍīs*, *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khāyāt* and *Rāṭhordāṇī rī Vāṃśāvalī* refer to Khetūbāī as the daughter of another of Rāv Jodho Rinmalot's sons, Sūrajmal. This information appears incorrect.
Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat (8-1)

Born: Thursday, May 6, 1484
Died: May 9, 1532
Ruled: November 8, 1515 - May 9, 1532
Mother: Kumvṛṇāi Čauhuṇāi Udānbāi (Udaiķuṇvar - pīhar name),
daughter of Čauhuṇāi Rām Kaṃvṛṇāv (or Rāvat Rāmkaran).

Rāṇīs, Sons, and Daughters

1. Rāṇī Sānkhlī Gāṅgādejī

2. Rāṇī Sīsodī Tītuttamdejī (pīhar name Padmāvatībāi)
   Daughter of Sīsodīyo Gahlot Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot of Citor (1509-28).
   Uttamdejī was at her paternal home (pīhar) at Citor when Rāv Gāṅgo
died in 1532. Her uterine brother, Udaisirī Gāṅgāv (Rāṇo of Citor, ca. 1537-
72), would not allow her to become a satī. Uttamdejī then waited, and when
Citor came under attack from the Mughals in 1568, she took part in the jauhar
within the fort.

3. Rāṇī Dēvṛī Māṇakdejī (pīhar name Padmābāi)
   Daughter of Dēvṛo Čauhuṇāi Rāv Jagmāl Lākhāvat of Sīrohi.

   S - Mālde: born Friday, December 5, 1511; succeeded Rāv
   Gāṅgo to the Jodhpur throne.
   S - Vairsal
   S - Mānsīṅgh
   D - Sonbāi: married to Bhāṭī Rāvaḷ Lūṅkaraṇ Jaitsīyot of
   Jaisāḷmner (1528-51).

4. Rāṇī Bhāṭīyāṇī Phulāṃbāi (pīhar name)
   She became a satī at the time of Rāv Gāṅgo's death.
   D - Rājkūṇvar (or Rāykūṃvarbāi): married to Sīsodīyo Gahlot
   Rāṇo Vikramaditya Sāṅgāv of Citor (ca. 1531-36).

---

1 Ojha, 4:1:282.
2 Bāṅkādās, p. 11; Ojha, 4:1:282.
4 Bāṅkādās, p. 12; Ojha, 4:1:282.
5. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Lāḍbāī (pihar name)⁵

S - Kisandas: (see "Jodho Rāṭhorṣ," no. 87, infra).

6. Rāṇī Kachvāḥī Candrāvalbāī (pihar name)⁶
She became a satī at the time of Rāv Gāṅgo's death.

7. Rāṇī Sonagarī Sabirbāī (pihar name)⁷
She became a satī at the time of Rāv Gāṅgo's death.

D - Cāmpābāī: married to Devro Cahuvaṇ Rāv Rāyaśīṅgh Akhairājot of Sīrohī. Her son by Rāv Rāyaśīṅgh was Udaiśīṅgh Rāyaśīṅghot, who succeeded to the throne of Sīrohī.

The Khyāt of Nainsī records that Cāmpābāī was a wise and respected wife of Rāv Rāyaśīṅgh's. She was murdered in Sīrohī, however, some years after Rāv Rāyaśīṅgh's death as a result of conflict over succession to rule in Sīrohī.

Cāmpābāī's son, Udaiśīṅgh, was a minor when Rāv Rāyaśīṅgh died. The Rāv had ordered before his death that the throne pass to his brother, Dūdo Akhairājot, and that Dūdo should protect and raise his son, Udaiśīṅgh, to assume rulership in Sīrohī when he came of age. Dūdo Akhairājot became rāv with the support of the pāne Rajpūṭ (lit. "the five Rajputs"); the council of elders), and he fulfilled Rāv Rāyaśīṅgh's order, raising Udaiśīṅgh to rule and keeping his own son, Mānsīṅgh Dūḍāvat, away from the throne.

When Rāv Dūdo died, the pradhān and pāne Rajpūṭ gave the tiko of succession to Cāmpābāī's son, Udaiśīṅgh Rāyaśīṅghot. Rāv Udaiśīṅgh had his father's brother's son, Mānsīṅgh, given the village of Lohiyāṇo for his maintenance, but soon after, had him driven from the land. Mānsīṅgh went to Mevār and took service under the Rāṇo of Cītōr, under whom he became a devoted military servant.

Rāv Udaiśīṅgh died childless not long thereafter from smallpox, and the leading Rajpūṭs of Sīrohī called Mānsīṅgh back from Mevār and seated him on the throne. Cāmpābāī learned shortly after Rāv Mānsīṅgh's accession, however, that her son Udaiśīṅgh's wife was pregnant. She sent a message to the wife, saying: "Tomorrow our grandson will be born. Who is Mānsīṅgh to enjoy the rule of this land?"
This message fell into Rāv Mānsīṅgh's hands and he had both Cāmpābāī and Udaiśīṅgh's pregnant wife killed.

---

⁵ Murārdān, no. 1, p. 632; Ojhā, 4:1:282.
⁶ Ojhā, 4:1:282.
8. Rāṇī Devṛī Jevantābāī (or Jaivantāṇ) (*pīhar* name)⁸

   S - Sāḍūl
   S - Kānho

9. Rāṇi Jhāli Premaldeji (or Premdeji)⁹
   She became a satī at the time of Rāv Gāṅgo's death.

10. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyaṇi Karametji ¹⁰
    She became a satī at the time of Rāv Gāṅgo's death.

Marriage Lists

Lists of Rāv Gāṅgo's marriages, and of his sons and daughters by these marriages, are contained in the following primary sources. These sources reference all marriages except that of Rāṇi no. 10:

*Jodhpur Rājya kī Khvāt,* pp. 71-76.
*Murārdān,* no. 2, pp. 112-113.
*Rāṭhorāṁ ri Vaṃśāvalī,* MS no. 20130, ff. 52-53.

Other general references include:


⁸ *Murārdān,* no. 1, pp. 638-639; *Ojhā,* 4:1:283.
⁹ *Ojhā,* 4:1:283.

---


Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (9-1)

Born: Friday, December 5, 1511
Died: November 7, 1562
Ruled: May 21, 1532 - November 7, 1562
Mother: Rāṇi Devrī Māṇakdejl (pihar name Padmābāi), daughter of Devrī Cahluvān Rāv Jagmāl Lākhāvat of Sīrohī.

Rāṇīs, Sons, and Daughters

1. Baṛī Rāṇī Ćundāват Sisodṇī Pohpāvatījī (pihar name Parvatībāi)
   She went to her pihar to live, and died there.

2. Rāṇī Bhāṭīyāṇī Úmādejī (pihar name Rāmkunvār)
   Daughter of Bhāṭī Rāvaḷ Lūṅkaraṇ Jaitśiyot of Jaisāḷmer (1528-51). Rāvaḷ Lūṅkaraṇ was himself a daughter's son of the Bāhārner Rāṭhors. His mother was Bāhārnerī Rāṭhōr Lāchamdejl (pihar name Sītābāi).
   Úmādejī was married to Rāv Mālde on Friday, March 30, 1537 at Jaisāḷmer. She became angry with the Rāv in 1538-39 while at Ajmer, and thereafter remained apart from him. When Rāv Mālde drove his son, Rām Māldevot (see Rāṇī no. 16, S - Rām, infra), from Mārvār in 1547-48, Úmādejī joined this son in exile in Mevār. Úmādejī was at the village of Kelvo in Mevār, which was a village of Rām's vasī, on Tuesday, November 10, 1562 when news of Rāv Mālde's death arrived, and she became a satī there. Rām Māldevot made preparations to ride to Jodhpur even before the rite of Úmādejī's satī had begun, and Úmādejī is said to have cursed Rām at the time of her burning, saying that a woman should never entrust herself to a co-wife's (sok's) son.
   A cenotaph (chatrī) was built for Úmādejī at Kelvo village.
   Sources do not specify the reasons for Úmādejī's anger at Rāv Mālde. Informants of the author's in Jodhpur indicate that this anger grew out of Rāv Mālde's favoritism for a court singer/dancing girl (olganī).

3. Rāṇī Jhālī Nāraṅgdejl (or Navrāṅgdejl; pihar name Ardhanbāi)
   Some uncertainty surrounds the identity of this Rāṇī's father. Rāṭhorāṃ rī Vamśāvalī, MS no. 20130, f. 63, lists him as Jhālō Mero Sūjāvat. No individual by this name appears in the genealogy of the Jhālos in the Khyāt of

---

1 This date is from Ojhā, 4:1:325, and Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 76. Bāṅkīdās, p. 18, provides the alternate date of November 10, 1562.


Naiṅsī. The name Mālo Siṅghot does appear in this genealogy, and one of Mālo's sons was a military servant of Rāv Mālde, holding several villages in *pato* from him. Mālo himself was also a close relation of other Jhālos who married daughters to Rāv Mālde. It is possible that the name of Rāṇī Nāraṅgedjī's father was Mālo Siṅghot, not Mero Sūjāvat. Without further evidence, however, his identity remains in doubt.

Rāṇī Nāraṅgedjī became a *sati* at the time of Rāv Mālde's death.

---

D - Rājkumṇvarbāī⁴: married to Hāḍo Cahuvaṅ Rāv Surtāṅ Sūrajmal of Būndī (ca. 1531-54). Rāv Mālde murdered a daughter of the Hāḍos who had been given to him in marriage (see *infra*, Rāṇī no. 21) sometime after Rājkumṇvarbāī was married. The Hāḍos killed Rājkumṇvarbāī in retaliation. The exchange of brides between the Hāḍos of Būndī and the Rāṭhores of Jodhpur ceased for some time thereafter.

D - Pohpāṃvatībāī⁵: married to Āhāro Gahlot Rāvāl Āskaraṇ Prīthīrājot of Dūngarpur (ca. 1549-80). She became a *sati* at the time of the Rāval's death.

D - Kankāvatībāī⁶: married to the Pātsāḥ of Gujarat, Mahṃūd III (1537-54). Her married name was Nāraṅgedjī. Kankāvatībāī went to live with her sister, Sajnāṃbāī (see *infra*) in Jaisāḷmer after the Pātsāḥ's death, bringing much wealth with her. She died in Jaisāḷmer.

D - Haṃsbaī⁷: married to Sekhāvat Kachvāho Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ Sūjāvat of Amarsar.⁸ Her son by Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ was Māṅakrāv Lūṅkaranot.

D - Ratanāvatībāī⁹: married to Paṭhāṅ Hājī Khān. She came in mourning to her half-brother, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot, at Jodhpur after Hājī Khān's death. She followed Rāv Candrasen into exile from Jodhpur in southern Mārvār and the Arāvallis in the 1570s and remained with him thereafter. Rāv Candrasen's successor, Moṭo Rājā Udaiśiṅgh Māldevot (1583-95), sent her to Nāgaur to live. She died there in 1592-93. A *chatrī* was built at Nāgaur in her memory.

---

⁴ Bāṅkīdās, p. 20; Khyāṭ, 1:109; Ojhā, 4:1:327; *Vigat*, 1:53.
⁵ Bāṅkīdās, pp. 20, 107; Ojhā, 4:1:327; *Vigat*, 1:52.
⁶ Bāṅkīdās, p. 20; *Vigat*, 1:52. Neither *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāṭ* nor *Rāṭhorāṃ rī Vamsāvālī*, MS no. 20130, reference this daughter or her marriage.
⁷ Bāṅkīdās, p. 20; Khyāṭ, 1:319; Ojhā, 4:1:328; *Vigat*, 1:52.
⁸ Amarsar: located forty miles due north of Jaipur in central Rājasthān.
⁹ Bāṅkīdās, p. 20; *Vigat*, 1:52. Neither *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāṭ* nor *Rāṭhorāṃ rī Vamsāvālī*, MS no. 20130, reference this daughter or her marriage.
29

D - Sajnāmbāi\(^{10}\): married to Bhātī Ravāl Harrāj Māldevot of Jaisalmer (1561-77). Ravāl Harrāj was himself a daughter's son of the Bāharmer Rāthors. His mother was the daughter of Bāharmer Rāthor Rāv Purnrajj. Sajnāmbāi's married name was Harakhāndejī. Her son by Rāvāl Harrāj was Bhīmv Harrājot, successor to the Jaisalmer throne (1577-1613). One of her daughters by Rāvāl Harrāj named Nāthukāṃvar, lived at her maternal grandfather Rāv Mālde's court at Jodhpur.

D - Manāvatībāī\(^{11}\): married to Vāghelo SoḷankJī Vīrbhadro Rāmcandrāvat, Rāv of Bāndhavgaḍh.

Rānī Jhālī Nāraṅgedejī had three or four other daughters, all of whom died young.

4. Rānī Jhālī Hīrādeji\(^{12}\)

Granddaughter of Jhālīo Jaito Sajāvat, a military servant of Rāv Mālde holding the village of Khairvo\(^{13}\) in eastern Mārvār in paṭo, and daughter of Jaito's son, Māno Jaitāvat of Haṿad. Jhālīo Jaito Sajāvat also married a daughter to Rāv Mālde (see infra, Rānī no. 5).

The Vigat of Naṁṣī, 1:55, lists this Rānī's father incorrectly as Jhālīo Rāyśingh Mānsinghot of Haṿad. Jhālīo Rāyśingh's son, Candrasen Rāyśinghot, received a daughter in marriage from one of Rāv Mālde's sons, Udaisingh Māldevot (see infra, Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot, Rānī no. 9, D - Satyabhamānabai). This marriage may account for the confusion in the Vigat.

S - Rāymal: one of his daughters was married to Prince Dānyāl on October 2, 1595.

D - Indrāvatībāī: married to Rājāvat Kachvāho Rājā Āskaraṇ Bhīṁvraject of Gwalior.

5. Rānī Jhālī Sarūpdeji\(^{14}\)

Daughter of Jhālīo Jaito Sajāvat, a military servant of Rāv Mālde's holding the village of Khairvo in paṭo.

---

\(^{10}\) Bankidas, pp. 20, 112; Jaisalmer ri Khyat, p. 42; Khyat, 2:92, 98; Ojhā, 4:1:328; Tavārikh Jaisalmer, p. 53; Vigat, 1:52.

\(^{11}\) Khyat, 1:133; Ojhā, 4:1:329; Murārdān, no. 2, does not reference this daughter or her place of marriage.

\(^{12}\) Akbar Nāma, 3:1041; Bankidas, p. 20; Khyat, 1:303, 2:256, 264; Murārdān, no. 1, p. 605; Ojhā, 4:1:326, n. 4, 329; Vigat, 1:55.

\(^{13}\) Khairvo village: located eleven miles southeast of Pālī in eastern Mārvār.

\(^{14}\) "Aitihasik Batam," p. 56; Bankidas, p. 18; Khyat, 2:262, 264; Murārdān, no. 1, p. 598; Ojhā, 4:1:326, n. 1; Vigat, 1:47-48, 55, 65, 76, 2:5.
Several sources list Rāṇī Sarūpdejī's father incorrectly as Jhālo Sūjo Rājāvat (or Rājo Sūjāvat). Rāṭhoraṁ rī Vaṃśāvalī, MS no. 20130, f. 63, records that Sarūpde was sent in dolo to Rāv Mālde. Sarūpdejī attempted to become a satī at the time of Rāv Mālde's death in November of 1562, but her son, Candrasen, who succeeded to the Jodhpur throne, prevented her and had her put in confinement in order to keep her alive. Candrasen eventually released Sarūpdejī, and she then became a satī. She is said to have cursed Rāv Candrasen and his kingdom because he prevented her from burning with Rāv Mālde. 15

S - Udaisingh: born Sunday, January 13, 1538. He succeeded his younger brother to the Jodhpur throne in 1583 as the Moto Rājā. S - Candrasen: born Saturday, July 30, 1541. He succeeded Rāv Mālde to the Jodhpur throne.

6. Rāṇī Cahuvaṇ Indrādejī (pihar name Indāmbāī) 16
   Daughter of Cahuvaṇ Rāv Dalpat (identity uncertain). Indrādejī became a satī at the time of Rāv Mālde's death.

D - Durgāvatībāī: married to Kachvāhī Rājā Bhagyavantdās Bhārmalot of Āmber (ca. 1574-89).

7. Rāṇī Jādam/Jādav Rājbāī (pihar name) 17
   Sister of Rāv Manḍīlīk (identity uncertain). She became a satī at the time of Rāv Mālde's death.

S - Āskaraṇ: born on Thursday, October 15, 1551. He died at the age of five years.

8. Rāṇī Vāghelī Pohpāṃvatībāī (pihar name)
   She died at her pihar.

9. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Ratanbāī (pihar name) 18
   Daughter of Bhāṭi Mahirāvaṇ Jaitsīyot of Jaisalmer. Bhāṭi Mahirāvaṇ was a son of Rāvaḷ Jaitsī Devīdāsot (1491-1528) and a brother of Rāvaḷ Lūṅkaraṇ Jaitsīyot (1528-51). Rāṇī Ratanbāī went to Mathuraḷī on a pilgrimage and died there.

15 The Vigat of Naiṇsi, 1:76, records incorrectly that Udaisingh's and Candrasen's mother was Devṛ Paṃdā, the daughter of Devṛ Cahuvaṇ Rāv Jgmtāl Lākhāvat of Siṇhā. Devṛ Paṃdābāī (married name Māṇakadejī) was their grandmother (see supra).

16 "Aitihasik Batam," p. 54; Khyāt, 1:297; Ojhā, 4:1:329; Vigat, 1:56.

17 "Aitihasik Batam," p. 56; Murārdān, no. 1, p. 626; Ojhā, 4:1:327, n. 3; Vigat, 1:56.

18 Khyāt, 2:28; Tavārīkh Jaisalmer, p. 49.
10. **Rāṇī Kelhaṇ Bhāṭiyāṇī Kīsnāvatījī**
   She became a *sati* at the time of Rāv Mālde's death.

11. **Rāṇī Jāmvālī Kāṭhiyāṇjī**
   Daughter of Bālo Jagmāl Sūrāvat. She went to Puṣkārjī and died there in 1607-08.

12. **Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇjī Jashar**
   She was married at Meṛto and became a *sati* at Reyāṃ village at the time of Rāv Mālde's death.

13. **Rāṇī Sonagarī Dammājī**
   She died during Rāv Mālde's lifetime.

   S - Gopāḷḍās: he became angry with Rāv Mālde and went to Ḫār to live. While there, he became involved with Vāgheli Udhal, wife of Cavro Rāvaḷ Āso. Vāgheli Udhal eventually came to live in Gopāḷḍās's home, and in retaliation, the Cavros killed Gopāḷḍās. The *vair* which then arose between the Rāṭhors of Jodhpur and the Cavros of Ḫār was not settled until the time of Rāv Mālde's successor, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81). The Cavros married a daughter to Rāv Candrasen's son, Āskaraṇ, and then to Rāv Candrasen's elder uterine brother, Moto Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot (see *infra*, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot, Rāṇī no. 4, S - Āskaraṇ, and Moto Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot, Rāṇī no. 12).

14. **Rāṇī Sonagarī Lāḍbāī (pihar name)**
   She died during Rāv Mālde's lifetime.

   S - Prithirāj: Rāv Mālde sent Prithirāj and his paternal relation, Pratāpsī Vāghāvat, with Prithirāj's uterine sister, Lālbāī (see *infra*), when he gave Lālbāī to Sher Shāh Sūr in *doḷo* following the battle of

---

19 *Vigat*, 1:56.

20 "Aitiḥāṣīk Bāṭaṃ," p. 56; *Vigat*, 1:56.

21 **Reyāṃ village**: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto in eastern Mārvāṛ.

22 **Murārdān**, no. 1, pp. 626-627; Ojha, 4:1:327, n. 4.

23 **Bāṅkāḍān**, p. 20; **Murārdān**, no. 1, p. 626.

24 Pratāpsī Vāghāvat was a son of Jodho Rāṭhor Vāgho Sūjāvat. See *infra*, "Jodho Rāṭhors," Vāgho Sūjāvat (no. 83).
Samel in January of 1544. Prithiraj apparently remained outside of Mārvār for the remainder of his life, for he later died in north India.

S - Kānho
D - Lālbāzī: given to Sher Shāh Sūr in doło in January of 1544 following Rāv Mālde’s defeat at the battle of Samel.

15. Rāṇī Sonagari Pūrbāī (or Purānībāī) (pīhār name)

Daughter of Sonagaro Cahuvaṇ Akhairāj Rīndhīrot, a military servant of Rāv Mālde’s holding the village of Pālī in paṭo (see infra, “Sonagaro Cahuvaṇs,” no. 9).

Rāṇī Pūrbāī became a satī at the time of Rāv Mālde’s death.

16. Rāṇī Kachvāhī Lāchāpdejī (or Lāchāaldejī)

Daughter of Sekhāvat Kachvāho Rātansī Sekhāvat of Amarsar. Rāṇī Lāchāpdejī was living in the village of Kelvo of Mevār at the time of Rāv Mālde’s death. She had gone there to live with her son, Rām Māldevot (see infra), who was in exile from Mārvār. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Umādejī (see supra, Rāṇī no. 2) was with her in Kelvo, and both she and Rāṇī Umādejī became satīs at Kelvo upon receipt of the news of the Rāv’s death.

S - Rām: two dates of birth are given for Rām, February 12, 1530 and 1531-32 (month and day unspecified).

Rāv Mālde drove Rām from Mārvār following Rām’s attempt to usurp power at Jodhpur in 1547-48. Rām went first to Mevār, where he remained for some years with his mother and Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Umādejī, who had become disaffected with the Rāv very shortly after her marriage and had joined him in his exile. Rām eventually took service under the Mughals, from whom he received Sojhat in eastern Mārvār in jāgīr. He came into direct conflict with Rāv Mālde’s successor to the Jodhpur throne, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81), over control of lands in Mārvār, and it was only with Mughal assistance that this dispute was resolved. Rām died at Sojhat on either May 9 or May 23, 1574.

D - Jasodābāī: married to Khāṇzāda Khān Muḥammad Daulat Khān of Nāgaур (see “Khāṇzāda Khāns,” no. 154, infra).

25 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

26 "Aitihāṣik Bāṭāṁ," p. 56; Vigat, 1:56.

27 Pālī village: located forty miles southeast of Jodhpur.

28 Bāṅkīdās, pp. 18, 20; Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 103; Khyāt, 1:327; Murārdān, no. 1, p. 591; Ojhā, 4:1:326, n. 3; Reu, 1:144, n. 1; Vigat, 1:55.
17. Rani Kachvahi Sahodramji  
Daughter of Kachvaho Bhimraj Priththrajot of Amber. Bhimraj was a daughter's son (dohitro) of Bikanker Rathor Rav Lunkaran Bikavat (1505-26) and son of Kachvaho Raja Priththraj Candrasenot (1503-27).
Rani Sahodramji made an oath to Rav Malde that she would not remain behind him after his death. She was at her piha when news of the Rav's death came, and members of her paternal family would not allow her to become a sati. She then began to fast, refusing all foods except buttermilk (chach) to drink. She died three months later.

18. Rani Sodh Kasumbhabai (pihar name)  
Daughter of Sodho Pamvar Rano Pato (or Patal) Gaangavat of Umarkot. This Rani was brought from Umarkot to Manidor in dolo and married there. She became a sati at the time of Rav Malde's death.

19. Rani Sodh Lohariji
She died at Sivano in Mavr during the time of Rav Malde's exile from Jodhpur following his defeat at the battle of Samel in January of 1544.

D - (name unknown): died very young in 1555-56.

20. Rani Ahari Ratanadeji (pihar name Lachbain)  
Daughter of Aharlo Gahlot Raval Priththraj Udaisinghot (Gaangavat) of Dungarpur (ca. 1527-1549).

S - Ratansii: born on Sunday, October 6, 1532.
S - Bhojaraj: born January 24, 1534.

21. Rani Hadli Rambhavatiji (pihar name Dropdabain)  
Daughter of Hado Cahuvan Rav Suraajmal Naraandasot of Bundi (ca. 1527-31). Rav Suraajmal was a daughter's son (dohitro) of Rathi Rav Suyo Jodhavat of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515) (see supra, Suyo Jodhavat, D - Khetubai [mother unknown]).
Rav Malde drove this Rani from the palace at Jodhpur and had her killed when he saw her laughing at his younger uterine brother, Mansingh (see supra, Rav Gango Vaghvavat, Rani no. 3, S- Mansingh). In retaliation, the Hadlos killed
Rājkumvīrbāi, a daughter of Rāv Mālde’s who had been married to Hādo Rāv Sūrajmal’s son, Surtān Sūrajmalot (see supra, Rānī no. 3, D - Rājkumvīrbāi).

S - Vikramādīt

22. Rānī Bhāṭīyāṇī Dharbāi

There is some confusion in the texts regarding the identity of this Rānī’s father. His name is variously given as both Bhāṭī Prithīraj Dujānsalot of Vikūmpur and simply Bhāṭī Prithīraj. There is no listing for a Bhāṭī Prithīraj Dujānsalot in the genealogy of the Kelhān Bhāṭīs recorded in the Khyāt of Nāṁśī. This name appears, therefore, to be incorrect. A Bhāṭī Prithīraj Netsīyot does appear in this genealogy. He was a Khīṃvo Bhāṭī and Rāv of Vairsalpur, fourth in line of descent from Rāv Jaitsī Khīṃvāvat. This Bhāṭī Prithīraj was probably Bhāṭīyāṇī Dharbāi’s father.

The confusion about names and designation of the proper branch of Bhāṭīs may be related to the following: a Kelhān Bhāṭī named Rāv Dujānsal Varsinghot did marry a daughter to Rāv Mālde’s son, Udaisingh Māldevot (see infra, Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot, Rānī no. 4). The Khīṃvo Bhāṭīs of Vairsalpur are a branch of the Kelhān Bhāṭīs of Vikūmpur.

Rānī Bhāṭīyāṇī Dharbāi was married at Maṇḍor and died in 1599-1600.

S - Bhan
D - Mīrāṇbāī: married to the Bagṛīyo Cauhuvāns of the Bāgār region of Mevār.

23. Rānī Ṭāṅkaṇī Jamnādeji

This Rānī’s father is variously listed in the texts as Kīṃsno Kālhaṇot and Vīko Kīsnāvat. It has not been possible to identify him further from sources available.

Rānī Jamnādeji became a satī at the time of Rāv Mālde’s death.

D - Bālhabāī: married either to Sodho Paṇvār Rāysal Gāṅgāvat, a son of Rāṇo Gaṅgo Cāmpāvat of Úmarkoṭ, or to Sodho Paṇvār Rāṇo Varsingh (Vairsī) Nāraṇot of Úmarkoṭ (sources are unclear). She came back to Jodhpur to live after her marriage and was given the village of Sāṃvatkuvo in paṭo for her maintenance. She died in 1603-04.

---

33 Khyāt, 2:121, 128; Murārdān, no. 1, p. 617; Ojha, 4:1:327; Vigat, 1:56.

34 “Aitihāsik Bāṭīṛ,” p. 56; Bāṅkīdās, p. 20; Khyāt, 1:358; Ojha, 4:1:329; Vigat, 1:52-53, 55.

35 Sāṃvatkuvo village: located thirty-two miles north-northeast of Jodhpur.
24. Rāṇī Candrāvatījī
Daughter of Candrāvat Sīsodiyo Gahlot Rāv Acło Rāymalot of Rāmpuro.

25. Rāṇī Sīsodiī Likhmī (pihar name)
Daughter of Sīsodiyo Gahlot Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvat of Cītor (ca. 1537-72).

Miscellaneous

The texts list varying numbers of sons for Rāv Mālde, ranging between twelve and twenty-two. The total number appears to be twenty-one or twenty-two. Several of these sons were born of court concubines or prostitutes (pātar), and of court singers (olgaṇī). Sons born of the latter include:

Of pātar:
- Duṅgarsī and Mahesdās, born of Ṭīpū (or Ṭīvū) Guḍī, a daughter of Māṇo Guḍo of Rohila.

Of olgaṇī:
- Isardās, Jaimal, Likhmīdās, Netsī, Rūpśīṅgh, Tejsīṅgh, Ṭhākūrsī, Tilokśī.
(Unknown): Rāypāl, Javantsīṅgh, Kalvāṇdās.

Rāv Mālde had one daughter who was born of a concubine, and several others whose mothers' names are unknown. These were:

D - Bāghrāva (mother unknown): sent in doļo to the Vāgbhelos.
D - Sūjśumvārbāī (mother unknown): married to Bhāṭī Rāvāl Mālde Lūṅkaranot of Jaisalmer (1551-1561). Rāvāl Mālde's mother was Īḍarecī Rāṭhor Haṃsābāī, the daughter of Rāv Jaimal of Īḍar.
D - Kalāvatībāī (mother unknown): married to Bhāṭī Akhairāj.
D - Gāṅgābāī (mother unknown): married to Devṛō Cauḥvāṇī Mero.
D - Rukhmāvatī: daughter of Ṭīpū (or Ṭīvū) Guḍī, a pātar of Rāv Mālde. Rukhmāvatī was sent in doļo to the Mughal Emperor Akbar.

---

36 Khyāt, 3:246, 248.
37 Rāṭhorām rī Vāṃśavaḷī, MS no. 20130, f. 64.
38 Bāṅkīdās, p. 19; Murārdān, no. 1, pp. 586, 591, 598-599, 605, 615-617, 622-623; Ojḥā, 4:1:326-327; Reu, 1:144.
39 Vigat, 1:53.
40 Khyāt, 2:91; Tavārīkh Jaisalmer, pp. 50, 52.
41 Bāṅkīdās, p. 20; Ojḥā, 4:1:327, n. 6; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 148-149; Rāṭhorām rī Vāṃśavaḷī, MS no. 20130, f. 64.
Marriage Lists

Lists of Rāv Mālde's marriages and of his sons and daughters are contained in the following primary texts, which reference all marriages except that of Rāṇī no. 25:

_Murārdān_, no. 2, pp. 139-147.
_Rāthorān rī Vaṃśāvalī_, MS no. 20130, ff. 62-64.

Other general references include:

Rañës, Sons, and Daughters

1. Bañë Rani Cahuvañ Kalyändëji

   S - Ugrasen: born on Wednesday, August 2, 1559. Ugrasen was killed in 1582-83 following his murder of his younger half-brother, Āskarañ (see infra, Rani no. 4, S - Āskarañ).

   D - Jámotibăï: married to Dūngarot Devро Cahuvañ Vījo Harrājot at Bhādrājūn3 in Mārvār while Rañë Candrasen lived there during his exile from Jodhpur.4 Jámotibăï became a satī at the time of Vījo Harrājot's death in 1588.

2. Rani Naruki Kachvahi Suhāgdeji
   Daughter of Naruko Kachvaho Viro. Rani Naruki remained behind Rañë Candrasen after his death. She went to live at her pihar in the village of Phāgi.
3. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyānī Sobhādejī (pihar name Kankānde)⁷

D - Karamṇībāī: married to Sīsodīyo Gahlot Rāṇo Udaiśingh Sāṅgavat of Cītōṛ (ca. 1537-72) on either December 9 or December 13, 1569 at Bhāḍrājun in Mārvār, during Rāv Candrasen's exile from Jodhpur.

4. Rāṇī Sīsodnī Sūrajdejī (pihar name Cāndābāī)⁸
Daughter of Sīsodīyo Gahlot Rāṇo Udaiśingh Sāṅgavat of Cītōṛ. Sūrajdejī was married to Rāv Candrasen on Tuesday, April 23, 1560 at Cītōṛ. She survived Rāv Candrasen and received the village of Sīvṛā in paṭo for her maintenance from Rāv Candrasen's successor to the Jodhpur throne, Motō Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot (1583-95). Paṅcoli Neto and Bhāṇḍārī Māṇo went with her from Jodhpur to Sīvṛā and served under her there. She left Mārvār in 1584-85 and settled in Mathurajī, where she died in 1613-14.

S - Āskaraṇ: born on Monday, June 19, 1570. Āskaraṇ's half-brother, Ugrāsen Candrasenot (see supra, Rāṇī no. 1, S - Ugrāsen), killed Āskaraṇ on March 25, 1582 when he was but twelve years old. Murārdān, no. 1, p. 600, records that the murder took place while Āskaraṇ lay asleep on a cot at the village of Sīrīyārī,⁹ and that Khetsīyot Rāṭhōṛ Sekhō Sāṅkarot killed Ugrāsen in turn in 1582-83. Āskaraṇ's wife, Cāvṛī Gopāḷdejī, became a sātī at Jodhpur following Āskaraṇ's murder.

---

⁶ Neither Jodhpur Rāljya kī Khyāt nor Rāṭhorīm rī Vaṃśāvalī, MS no. 20130, list Rukhmāvatībāī as a daughter of Rāv Candrasen’s.

⁷ "Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭām," p. 80; Bāṅkīdās, p. 22; Khyāt, 2:92, 97; Ojhā, 4:1:351; Vigat, 1:69.

⁸ "Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭām," pp. 78, 87-89; Bāṅkīdās, pp. 21-22; Murārdān, no. 1, p. 600; Ojhā, 4:1:350, n. 4, 351; Vigat, 1:70.

⁹ Sīvṛā village: located nine miles southeast of Sojhat.

¹⁰ Sīrīyārī village: located twenty miles southeast of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.
5. **Rāṇī Kachvāhi Kaṅkūndeḥī (or Kukamdeḥī; pihar name)**

The identity of this Rāṇī's father is uncertain. The texts list him by the name of Kachvāho Jogī. It has not been possible to identify him further from materials available.

6. **Rāṇī Devṛī Ahaṅkārdējī**

Daughter of Devṛo Cahuvaṇ Rāv Mānsingh Dūḍāvāt of Sīrohī (d. ca. 1575).

Ahaṅkārdējī was married on Tuesday, June 22, 1568 at Sīrohī. She survived Rāv Candrasen. She went to Mathurājī in 1602-03 and she died there.

D - Kamlāvatībāī: married to Rājāvāt Kachvāho Gordhan Āskaranot, a son of Rājā Āskaran Bhīṁvrajot of Gwalior.

D - Rāykuṇṭavārībāī: married to Kachvāho Sabālsingh Mānsinghot, a son of Rājā Mānsingh Bhagvantdāsot of Āmber (1589-1614). She became a sātī at the time of Sabālsingh's death.

D - (name unknown): married to Sīsodīyo Gahlot Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat of Cītōr (ca. 1537-72).

7. **Rāṇī Bhatiyeṇi Harakhandējī (pihar name Sahodarāṃbāī)**

Daughter of Kelhaṇ Bhatī Rāṃ Paṅcaīnōt of Vairasalpur.

Harakhandējī survived Rāv Candrasen, and Rāv Candrasen's successor, Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot (1583-95), gave her the village of Gopāsār in pāto for her maintenance. She died at Gopāsār in November or December of 1640.

8. **Rāṇī Bhatiyeṇī Premaldejī**

The identity of this Rāṇī's father is uncertain. The texts list both Kelhaṇ Bhāṭī Rāv Jaiso Varsinghot of Pūṅgaḷ and Rāv Jaiso's paternal nephew, Rāv Ḍūṅgarsi Dujaṃsalot, as her father. Rāv Jaiso Varsinghot appears to be correct. Textual confusion may result from the fact that Rāv Ḍūṅgarsi also married a daughter of Rāv Candrasen's (see infrā, Rāṇī no. 12).

Premaldejī died at Vikūmpur in 1626-27.

---

11 *Khyāt*, 1:140-142, 298, 303.

12 Ibid., 2:119.

13 *Vigat*, 1:333, lists a village by the name of Gopāsārīyo, located twenty-seven miles north-northwest of Jodhpur. Gopāsār and Gopāsārīyo are probably the same village.

14 *Khyāt*, 2:127-128.
9. **Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Jagīsāṃbāī (pihar name)**
   Daughter of Jeso Bhāṭī Meho Tejśiyot, a military servant of Rāv Candrasen's.
   Jagīsāṃbāī became a sātī at the time of Rāv Candrasen's death.

10. **Rāṇī Soḍhījī Meghāṃbāī (pihar name)**
    Daughter of the Soḍho Paṃvārs of Īmarkoṭ. Meghāṃbāī became a sātī at the time of Rāv Candrasen's death.

11. **Rāṇī Cauhuvaṇ Pūrbāṃjī**
    Pūrbāṃjī became a sātī at the time of Rāv Candrasen's death.

12. **Rāṇī Kelhaṇ Bhāṭiyāṇī**
    Daughter of Kelhaṇ Bhāṭī Rāv Dūṅgarsī Dujaṃsalot of Vikūmpur.

13. **Rāṇī Hāḍī**
    Daughter of Hāḍo Cauhuvaṇ Rāv Surjaṇ Urjaṇot (Narbadot) of Būndī (ca. 1554-68).
    Rāṇī Hāḍī was married on February 21, 1569 at Rinthambhor. Rāv Surjaṇ gave Rāv Candrasen an elephant, fifteen horses and jewelry worth rs. 15,000 in dowry.

**Marriage Lists**

Lists of Rāv Candrasen's marriages and of his sons and daughters are contained in the following primary texts. These texts reference all marriages except those of Rāṇīs no. 12 and no. 13:

- *Murārdān*, no. 2, pp. 164-166.
- *Rāṭhorāṇī ri Vanīśāvalī*, MS no. 20130, ff. 69-70.

Other general sources include:


---


Moṭo Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot (10-2)

Born: Sunday, January 13, 1538
Died: Friday, July 11, 1595
Ruled: August 4, 1583¹ - July 11, 1595
Mother: Rāṇī Jhālī Sarūpdejl, daughter of Jhālō Jaito Sajāvat, a military servant of Rāv Mālde’s holding the village of Khairvo² in eastern Mārvār in paṭo.

Rāṇīs, Sons, and Daughters

1. Baḥī Rāṇī Soḷaṅkāṇī Nachraṅdejl (pīhar name Kaṅkāde)³
   Daughter of Soḷaṅkī Sāṃvatśī Raymalot of Desuri in Godhvār.⁴
   Nachraṅdejl was married to Udaiśingh while he was a kunvar to settle a vair that had arisen between the Rāṭhorṣ of Jodhpur and the Soḷaṅkīs. She died at Jodhpur in 1589-90, while the Moṭo Rājā was in Sīrohi.

   S - Narhardās: two different dates are given for his birth: Thursday, December 17, 1556 and October 10, 1557.
   D - Rambhāvatībāī: married to Bhāṭī Khetsī Māldevot, a son of Bhāṭī Rāvaḷ Mālde Lūṅkaraṇot of Jaisalmīr (1551-61). Khetsī Māldevot was himself a daughter’s son (dohītro) of Bīkāner Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Jaitśī Lūṅkaraṇot (ca. 1526-42).
   D - Dhanbāī: married to Chirmī Khān of Nāgaur.⁵
   D - Rāykuṇvar: married to Rājāvat Kachvāho Rājā Rājśingh Āskaraṇot of Gwalior.

---

¹ This date is from Ojha, 4:1:354, and Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 118. "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 91, gives the date of October 14, 1583.

² Khairvo village: located eleven miles southeast of Pālī in eastern Mārvār, and fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.


⁴ Desuri: located ten miles southeast of Nādūl in Godhvār.

⁵ Neither Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt nor Rāṭhorāṃ rī Vaṃśāvalī, MS no. 20130, mention this daughter or her marriage to Chirmī Khān.
2. Rāṇī Sīsodñī Apuravdejī
Daughter of Sīsodīyo Gahlot Rām (or Pharasrām) Udaiśinghot, a son of Rāṇo Udaiśingh Sāṅgyot of Čītōr (ca. 1537-72).
Apuravdejī died in 1596-97.

S - Bhagvandās: born on Tuesday, September 21, 1557 and died on October 1, 1594.
S - Bhopatsingh: two different dates of birth are given in the texts: Monday, October 17, 1558 and October 26, 1568. Bhopatsingh was killed at Masudo village (near Ajmer) by either Panvār Sādūl Māldevot or his son on November 25, 1596 or December 4, 1606 (sources conflict). Panvār Sādūl was a Rajpūt from the Panvārs of Cāṭśū in central Rājasthān. He had held several villages of Jaitāraṇ Pargano in Mārvār in jāgīr from the Mughal Emperor Akbar.
D - Candramatī: died young.

3. Rāṇī Kachvahi Ankārdejī (pihar name Pūrbāī)
Daughter of Sekhāvat Kachvāho Mansingh Tejsiyot, a brother of Rāmsingh Tejsiyot, who also married a daughter to Udaiśingh Māldevot (see infra, Rāṇī no. 5).
Ankārdejī died while she was in Phālōdhī with Kūṃvar Udaiśingh, during the early years following Rāv Mālude's death in 1562.
S - Akhairāj: died in battle while his father was at Samāvalī in north India, prior to Udaiśingh's succession to the throne of Jodhpur in 1583.

4. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyānī Jasvandejī (pihar name Ḥarakhāṃbāī)
Daughter of Kelhaṇ Bhāṭī Rāv Dujaṇsāl Varsīnghot of Vikūmpur.
Some uncertainty exists in the texts regarding this Rāṇī's name. Jasvandeot appears to be the name she received at the time of her marriage to Udaiśingh Māldevot. However, sources also refer to her both by her pihār name, Ḥarakhāṃbāī, and by the name Pōhpāvātī. The latter name appears incorrect. This was the name of Rāv Dujaṇsāl's son Rāymal Dujaṇsalot's daughter, who was also married to Udaiśingh Māldevot (see infra, Rāṇī no. 14).


7 This date comes from Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 124. This same text (p. 128) gives the alternate date of June 15, 1558, and Bāṅkīdās, p. 24, records the date of September 12, 1557.


The texts also display some discrepancy regarding the date of this Rani's death. One source indicates that she died following her marriage, before reaching Jodhpur, and another that she died in 1600-01 at Jodhpur. The latter date appears correct. It was again Rāv Dujaṅsāl's son Rāymal's daughter who died before reaching Jodhpur.

D - Dāmetībāī: married to Kachvāhō Jaimal Rūpsīyot, a grandson of Rājā Prithīrāj Candrasenot of Āmber (1503-27).

The Mughal Emperor Akbar sent Kachvāhō Jaimal on an expedition to Bengal in 1583, during which he took ill near Causa and died from heat prostration and over-exertion. Dāmetībāī's son and his Kachvāhō relations attempted to force Dāmetībāī to become a satī when they received word of Jaimal's death. News of this situation reached Akbar, who took it upon himself to stop the Kachvāhos and allow Dāmetībāī to live. She died some years later in 1626-27.

5. Rāṇī Kachvāhī Uttamdejī (pihar name Ratanāvatībāī) 10
Daughter of Sekhāvat Kachvāhō Rāmsīṅgh Tejśīyot of Amarsar,11 who was a brother of Mānsīṅgh Tejśīyot (see supra, Rāṇī no. 3).

S - Kīratsīṅgh: born on December 15, 1567.
S - Mādhosīṅgh: born on September 24, 1575 or October 16, 1581.
S - Jaitsīṅgh: died in 1631-32.
D - Jasodābāī: married to Kachvāhō Sūrsīṅgh Bhagvantdāsot, a son of Rājā Bhagvantdās Bhārmalot of Āmber (ca. 1574-89). She became a satī at the time of Sūrsīṅgh's death.
D - Kamlāvatībāī: married to Khići Cahuvaņ Rāv Gopāldās of Mau (modern Mhow).
D - Pemāvatībāī: married to Rāv Bhāro of Bhuj.

6. Rāṇī Rājāvat Kachvāhī (pihar name Sītābāī)
Rāṇī Kachvāhī died at Jodhpur during the Moto Rājā's lifetime. Her father's name is unknown.

S - (name unknown): died young.

7. Rāṇī Cahuvaņ Ajāyabdejī (pihar name Kaṅkābāī) 12

---

10 Bāṅkīdās, pp. 24-25, 142; Khyāt, 1:300, 326; Murārdān, no. 1, p. 586; Ojhā, 4:1:362-363.

11 Amarsar village: located forty miles due north of Jaipur in central Rājasthān.

12 Bāṅkīdās, pp. 24-25, 146, 162; Khyāt, 1:233, 312; Ojhā, 4:1:363.
Daughter of Sācoro Cahuvaṅ Mahkaraṅ Rāṇāvat, a military servant of Rāv Mālde.

This Rāṇī died in 1617-18.

S - Dalpat: born on Sunday, July 18, 1568. Dalpat's daughter's son (dohitro) was Hāḍo Rāvrājā Bhāvsīṅgh Catrasālot of Būndī (ca. 1658-81).

S - (name unknown): died young.

D - Kīsnāvatībāī: married to Kachvāho Tilokṣī Rūpsīyot, a grandson of Rājā Prithīrāj Candrasenot of Āmber (1503-27). Tilokṣī's father, Rūpsī Vairāgī, was a Mughal mansabdār holding Parbatsar in jāgīr from Emperor Akbar. Kīsnāvatībāī became a satī at the time of Tilokṣī's death.

8. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Kapūrdejī 13
Daughter of Gāḍālo Kelhan Bhāṭī Kamo Goyandot.

S - Sakatsīṅgh: born on Saturday, November 29, 1567 or Monday, December 15, 1567 as Udaisīṅgh's third or fourth son, while Udaisīṅgh held Phalodhī14 as his share of the lands of Mārvār.

At a relatively early age, Udaisīṅgh granted Sakatsīṅgh the paṭo of Hūngāmīv village15 for his maintenance, and Sakatsīṅgh went there to live with his family and retainers. Local chronicles speak of Sakatsīṅgh as a dutiful son (sapūṭ) and state that Udaisīṅgh presented him to Emperor Akbar, who took him into his service and granted him a mansab of 500 zāt. Sakatsīṅgh rose steadily in the Emperor's esteem, and Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 128, records that he attained a rank of 3,000 zāt by the time of his death. He also received the title of rāv.

Suspicion of Sakatsīṅgh began to grow due to the favor in which he was held at the Mughal court, and Jeso Bhāṭī Goyanddās, pradhān of Jodhpur under Rājā Surajīsirī Udaisīṅghot (1595-1619), secretly administered poison to him outside the Red Fort at Agra one day because Sakatsīṅgh "desired to have Jodhpur written [into his jāgīr]" (ibid.). The date of this murder is uncertain, but it would have occurred between March of 1605, when Sakatsīṅgh received an increase in

---


14 Phalodhī: located seventy-two miles north-northwest of Jodhpur.

15 Hūngāmīv village: located seventy-two miles north-northwest of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.
mansab rank to 1600/300, and May of 1615, when Bhāṭī Goyanddās was killed at Ajmer.16

A daughter of Sakatsiṅgh named Līlāvatībāī was married to Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān). The date of this marriage is uncertain. A single reference to Līlāvatībāī in Vigat, 1:111, places her with Shāh Jahān at Juner in the Deccan in 1627-28. This source notes that Shāh Jahān sent her to Jodhpur with a message of conciliation for Rājā Gajsingḥ Sūrajaṅghot (1619-38) following Emperor Jahāngīr's death in October of 1627.

Frances Taft (personal communication) believes that in all likelihood this marriage took place between the years 1623-27, during the time Shāh Jahān was in rebellion against his father and sought to strengthen ties with Jodhpur.

9. Rāṇī Bhāṭyānī Santokhdejī (pīhar name Sajnāṃbāī)17

Daughter of Bhāṭī Sūrajmal Lūṅkaraṇot, a son of Rāval Lūṅkaraṇ Jaitṣiyot of Jaisālmer (1528-51).

Santokhdejī died in 1620-21.

D - Rājkumvar: married to Saktāvot Sīsodiyo Gahlot Bhāṇ Saktāvot of Mevār.

D - Satyabhamabal: married to Jhalo Rano Candrasen Rāysinghot of Halvad. Udaisīṅgh's brother, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81), arranged this marriage.

10. Rāṇī Rājāvat Kachvāhī Manrāṅgdejī 18

Daughter of Rājāvat Kachvāho Rājā Āskaraṇ Bhiṃvrājot of Gwalior.

Manrāṅgdejī died at Lahore on Monday, May 21, 1593.

S - Jasvantsingh: died young.

S - Sūrajsingh: born on Tuesday, April 24, 1571. Sūrajsingh succeeded the Moto Rājā to the Jodhpur throne. He was adopted by an oḷgaṇī ("court singer") of the Moto Rājā's named Harbolām while he was young. "This oḷgaṇī became a sātī at Lahore at the time of the Moto Rājā's death. When Sūrajsingh ascended the throne in 1595, he had a stepwell built in Harbolām's name near Bālsamand Lake at Jodhpur.

S - Pūrāṇmal: died at the age of nine years.

16 Surjan Simh Sekhavat, Kharvā kā Vṛhad Itiḥās, p. 23, gives May 30, 1606 (V.S. 1662, Jeth, Sudī 4) as the date of Saktasīṅgh's death, but offers no source for this date.

17 Bāṅkidās, p. 93; Khyāt, 1:26, 2:90, 256.

S - Kisansingh: born April 28, 1583. He founded the kingdom of Kisangadh in central Rājasthān.
S - Kesodās: died young.
S - Rāmsingh: died young.
D - Manāvatībāi (Mānibāi): born on Wednesday, May 13, 1573; married to Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr), who gave her the name Tāj Bībī. Her son by Jahāngīr was Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahan), born September 5, 1592. She was called Jagat Gosā’īn at the Mughal court, and was popularly known as Jodhībāi.
D - Rāmkuṃṇaṭbāi: died young.
D - Tilokṣībāi (or Līlāvatībāi): died young.
D - Pranmatībāi: married to Ahārō Gahlōt Kārāṃsī Sahasmalōt, a son of Rāvāl Sahasimalōt of Dūṅgārpur (ca. 1580-1606). Pranmatībāi died at Jodhpur on Monday, August 10, 1640.

11. Rānī Cahuvaṇ Suhāgdeji (pihar name Pūrbānibāi)

The identity of this Rānī's father is uncertain. The texts list him by the names Vais Dhundhanjī and Surtānījī. They also note that Suhāgdeji was the brother's daughter (bhātitī) of a Devsen. From sources available, it had not been possible to identify these men further.

Suhāgdeji was married in Īdar in 1584-85. She died some years later in 1599-1600 at Jodhpur.

D - Gāṅgābāi: married to Nārūkō Kachvāhō Rāmcandro Rāymalōt at Sāmāvālī in north India. She became a satī at the time of Rāmcandro's death.

19 Bānkidās, p. 25, and Mūrārdān, no. 2, pp. 187-188, 199, offer three different dates for Manāvatībāi's marriage to Prince Salīm: V.S. 1643 (1586-1587), V.S. 1644 (1587-1588), and V.S. 1645 (1588-1589). It is known that the marriage occurred sometime after February of 1585, the date Prince Salīm celebrated his first marriage to a daughter of Kachvāhō Rājā Bhagvantādās Bhrāmālōt of Āmber. Frances Taft (personal communication) places this marriage in late 1586 based on her investigation of Mughal sources.

The Akbar Nāma does not give a date for this marriage, but both the Jahāngīrnāma and the Ma'asir-i-Jahangīri give the date of A.H. 994 (December, 1585-December, 1586). See Khwaja Kamgar Husaini, Ma'asir-i-Jahangīri: A Contemporary Account of Jahangīr, edited by Azra Alavi (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1978), p. 13 (text) and p. 26 (Introduction), and Jahāngīr, The Jahangīrnama: Memoirs of Jahangīr, Emperor of India, translated, edited, and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 6. The marriage was celebrated at Lahore, and because Akbar did not reach Lahore until May of 1586, it can therefore be dated to 1586. Taft also notes that Prince Salīm was married to a daughter of Rāthōr Rājā Rāyānsingh Kalyāṇmalōt of Bīkāner (ca. 1574-1612) at Lahore in 1586 (Akbar Nāma, 3:748-749).

20 Khyāt, 1:318.
12. **Rani Cavro Sigardeji**

   Daughter of Cavro Aso of Idar. Sigardeji was married in 1584-85 to settle the *vair* between the Cavros of Idar and the Rāṭhors of Jodhpur that had arisen when the Cavros killed Gopāldās Māldevot, a son of Rāv Māldev Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (see *supra*, Rāv Māldev Gāṅgāvat, Rāṇī no. 13, S - Gopāldās). She died in 1618-19.

   D - Rukhmāvatībāi: married to Kachvāho Rājā Mahāsīṅgh Jagatsīṅghot on Sunday, November 26, 1598 at Jodhpur. She became a *sātī* at the time of Rājā Mahāsīṅgh's death in 1616-17 at Balapur in the Deccan.

13. **Rani Cahuvāṇji**

   Daughter of Sācoro Cahuvāṇ Vaṅvīr Siṅghāvat, a grandson of Vāgho Pithamrāvat's. Vaṅvīr was a military servant of Rāv Mālde's of Jodhpur, and he founded the village of Vāghāvās nead Kodhño in western Mārvār. His daughter was married on Tuesday, December 29, 1589 at the village of Sathlāṇo. She became a *sātī* at Lahore at the time of the Moṭo Rājā's death.

14. **Rani Bhatiyāṇi Pohpavatijī**

   Daughter of Kelhan Bhatī Rāymal Dujānsalot, a son of Rāv Dujānsal Varsiṅghot of Vikūmpur.

   Pohpavatijī died following her marriage, while enroute from her paternal home (*pīhar*) to Jodhpur.

15. **Rani Sonagarī Jasodājī**

   Daughter of Sonagarō Cahuvāṇ Bhāṇ Akhairājot, a son of Akhairāj Rindaṅhrot's (see *infra*, "Sonagarō Cahuvāṇs," no. 9). Bhāṇ was a military servant of the Rāṇo of Mevar.

   Jasodājī became a *sātī* at Maṇḍoṛ upon the arrival of the Moṭo Rājā's turban from Lahore with news of his death.

---

21 *Bāṅkidas*, p. 25; *Khyāt*, 1:297; Ojha, 4:1:363, n. 7.


23 Kodhño village: located twenty-eight miles west-southwest of Jodhpur. Vāghāvās is situated eight miles further southwest from Kodhño.

24 Sathlāṇo village: located twenty-two miles south of Jodhpur.


---

16. Rāṇī Devrī Lādīji (pīhar name Rāṇībājī)26
Daughter of Devrī Cahuvaṅ Rāv Kalo Meḥājalot. Rāv Kalo was a military servant of the Moṭo Rājā during the latter part of his life, and he held several villages in Mārvār in paṭo from the Rājā. Lādīji was married in 1589-90. She became a saṭī at Lahore at the time of the Moṭo Rājā's death.

17. Rāṇī Cahuvaṅ Tārāmatī ji27
Daughter of Cahuvaṅ Jivo. The Khyāt of Naṁṣi, 1:241, 243, lists two Cahuvaṅ Jivos in its genealogy of the Sācоро Cahuvaṅs, a Jivo Gāṅgāvat and a Jivo Goyanddāsot. The Khyāt provides no information about Jivo Goyanddāsot. Jivo Gāṅgāvat was a military servant of Udaisingh Māldevot's before he succeeded to the throne of Jodhpur in 1583. Following Udaisingh's accession and return to Mārvār from Sāmāvalī in north India, he granted Jivo Gāṅgāvat the paṭo of Māṇaklāv village.28 It is probable that this Jivo was Tārāmatī ji's father. Tārāmatī ji became a saṭī at Lahore at the time of the Moṭo Rājā's death.

18. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyānī29
Some doubt exists about the identity of this Rāṇī's father. The Khyāt of Naṁṣi, 2:132, lists a Bhāṭī Jaimal Kālāvat as father in its section detailing marriage ties between the Rāṭhor of Jodhpur and the Kelhan Bhāṭīs of Vikūmpur. However, Khyāt does not list a Bhāṭī by the name of Jaimal Kālāvat in its genealogy of the Kelhaṅs of Vikūmpur. Elsewhere, Khyāt, 2:199, lists a Bhāṭī Kalo Jaimalot in its genealogy of the Rūpsī Bhāṭīs. Kalo Jaimalot's father, Jaimal Devrājot, was a military servant of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur, who died in the defense of the fort of Jodhpur following Rāv Mālde's defeat at the battle of Samel in January of 1544. It is possible that Rūpsī Bhāṭī Kalo was the father of this Rāṇī Bhāṭiyānī, and not Kelhan Bhāṭī Jaimal Kālāvat.

19. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyānī30
Daughter of Khīṁvo Bhāṭī Jaimal Sāṅgāvat (Khīṁvāvat) of Vairsalpur.

---

26 Bāṅkūdās, p. 155; Khyāt, 1:160.
27 Khyāt, 1:241, 243.
28 Māṇaklāv village: located eleven miles north of Jodhpur.
29 Khyāt, 2:132, 199.
30 Ibid., 2:121, 132.
Miscellaneous

One additional son of the Moto Rājā's is listed:

S - Karaṇsīṅgh (mother unknown).\textsuperscript{31}

Marriage Lists

Lists of the Moto Rājā's marriages and of his sons and daughters are contained in the following primary sources. These sources reference all marriages except those of Rāṇīs no. 18 and no. 19:

\textit{Murārdān}, no. 2, pp. 193-201.  
\textit{Rāṭhorāṇī rī Vaṃśāvalī}, MS no. 20130, ff. 76-79.

Other general references include:

Rājā Sūrasiṅgh Udaisiṅghhot (11-2)

Born: Tuesday, April 24, 1571
Died: Tuesday, September 7, 1619
Ruled: July 23, 1595 - September 7, 1619
Mother: Rāṇī Kachvāhī Manrāṅgdejī, daughter of Rājāvat Kachvāho Rājā Āskaraṇ Bhūmrājot of Gwalior.

Rāṇīs, Sons, and Daughters

1. Baḍī Rāṇī Sisodī Manorathdejī
   Daughter of Sisodiyo Gahlot Sakatsiṅgh Udaisiṅghhot, a son of Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh Sāṅgāvat of Citor (ca. 1537-72).
   Manorathdejī was married to Sūrasiṅgh while he was living with his father, Kuṁvār Udaisiṅgh Māldevot, at Phalodhī in northern Mārvār. She died young at her pīhar.

2. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Sūjāndejī (pīhar name Gulābkumvarbāī or Bālhāī)
   Daughter of Kelhan Bhāṭī Goyanddās Paṇcāṇot of Pūṅgāl and Vairsalpur.
   Sūjāndejī was sent in dolō to Sūrasiṅgh and married to him while he was a kumvar. The marriage took place at Māndor on Saturday, April 24, 1585. Sūjāndejī became a satī at the time of Rājā Sūrasiṅgh's death. She was with him in the Deccan when he died.

   S - (unnamed): aborted at eight months in 1586-87.
   S - Pratāpsiṅgh: born in September or October, 1592 at Lahore.
   He died at the age of eight months. His wet-nurse (dhāy) was the wife of sikdār Sobho (tentatively identified as Jāṅgālvo Sāṅkhlo Paṃvār Sobho Harbāmōt).

---

1 We are following Ojha, 4:1:364, here. Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 131, gives the date of Wednesday, April 25, 1571 for Sūrasiṅgh's birth. Other dates given in the sources include April 5, 1570, and April 15 and April 16, 1571. See: "Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṁ," p. 94; Bāṅkīdāś, p. 25; Vigat, 1:92, n. 2.

2 This is the date given in Ojha, 4:1:364; Bāṅkīdāś, p. 25, gives the alternate date of September 6, 1619.

3 Khyāt, 1:26.

3. Rani Kachvahi Sobhagdeji (pihar name Kisnavatibai)⁵
   Daughter of Sekhavat Kachvaho Durjansa Karamsiyot.
   The Mughal Emperor Akbar took this girl as his daughter. He married her to Surajsingh at Lahore on Sunday, June 23, 1588 while Surajsingh was a kuṃvar. She died at Burhanpur in the Deccan in July or August of 1609.

   S - Gajsiingh: born on Thursday, October 30, 1595⁶ at Lahore. He succeeded Raja Surajsingh to the Jodhpur throne.
   S - Jasvantsingh: born in 1588-89 in Gujarat. He died at the age of five months.
   D - Manbhavatibai: born in 1598-99. She was married to Prince Parviz in 1623-24 in return for Parviz's grant of Meṛto Pargano to her uterine brother, Raja Gajsiingh. She remained a resident of Emperor Jahangür's household after Prince Parviz's death in 1626.
   D - Kalyanukumvar: died young.

4. Rani Āhārī Surtandeji (pihar name Jasodābāi)⁷
   Daughter of Āharo Gahlot Rāvaḥ Sahasmal Āskaraṇot of Ɗùṅgarpur (ca. 1580-1606).
   Surtandeji was married on Friday, May 21, 1591 in Ɗùṅgarpur. She died on Monday, March 25, 1633 (adhika vais) or April 24, 1633 (niya vais) while at Baijnathjl enroute home from a pilgrimage.

   S - Sabaljsingh: born on Saturday, August 15, 1607. He held Phalodhi in jāgīr from Emperor Akbar, in addition to areas in Gujarat. He died at Phalodhī on Friday, January 24, 1647 from poison administered to him by a slave.

5. Rani Bağī Jādam/Jādav Suhagdeji (pihar name Pohpāṃbāi)
   Daughter of Jādav Rāva Māndlik.
   Suhagdeji was sent in ɗoḷo to Rāja Sūrajsingh and married at Jodhpur on Friday, June 4, 1591.

6. Rani Paṃvār Caturaṅgdeji⁸
   Daughter of Paṃvār Sāṅgo Māldevot (of the Paṃvārs of Cāṣtū),

---


⁶ Bānkīdās, p. 27, Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, pp. 157, 161, and Ojhā, 4:1:388, all record this date. Vigat, 1:105, gives the alternate date of October 15, 1595.


⁸ Bānkīdās, pp. 27, 138; Khyāt, 1:298-299; Paṃvār Vamā Darpan, p. 30.
Caturaṅgdeji was married in the village of Āraī on Sunday, June 20, 1591. She died at Lahore in 1593-94.

D - Āskuṃvarbāi: given in adoption to Rāṇī Sūjāndeji (see supra, Rāṇī no. 2). Āskuṃvarbāi was married to Kachvāho Rājā Bhāvśingh Mānsinghot of Āmber (1614-21). The marriage took place on either June 20 or July 3, 1616. She became a satī at Burhanpur in the Deccan at the time of Rājā Bhāvśingh's death. She had only one daughter, Rūpkuṃvar, who died young.

7. Rāṇī Soḷāṅkaṇī Manorathdeji ⁹
Daughter of Soḷāṅkī Khetsī Sāṃvatsīyot of Desuri in Goḍhvār. Khetsī was a military servant of Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Amarsiṅgḥ Pratāpsiṅghot of Mevār (1597-1620).

Manorathdeji was married in the village of Sīrīyārī in Mārvar on Monday, February 18, 1594. She died in November or December of 1606.

8. Rāṇī Jāreći Sahibdeji (pihar name Lādbāi)
Daughter of Jāreco Jām Satrasāl of Nayanagar.

Sahibdeji was given in dolō to Rājā Sūraṇisīṅgh. The marriage took place at Ahmadabad on Monday, January 24 or Tuesday, January 25, 1597. She died at the fort of Jodhpur on Friday, March 23, 1649.

9. Rāṇī Bōrī Ratanadeji (pihar name Phulāṃbāi) ¹²
Daughter of Boro Cāhuvān Rāv Vāgho Vījāvat of Sayāṇo village.

Ratanadeji was sent in dolō to Rājā Sūraṇisīṅgh and married to him at Ahmadabad on January 30 or February 14, 1597. She died in 1651-52.

S - Vijāysiṅgh: lived only fourteen (or twenty-four) months.

10. Rāṇī Soḍhī Uchrangdeji ¹³
Daughter of Soḍhो Paṃvār Rāv Candrasen Pāṭāvat (or Soḍhो Bāṅkīdās) of Ümarkoṭ.

Uchaṅgdeji was married at Ahmadabad on Saturday, April 22, 1598.

⁹ Bāṅkīdās, p. 135.
10 Desuri: located ten miles southeast of Nāḍūl in Goḍhvār.
¹¹ Sīrīyārī village: located twenty miles southeast of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.
¹³ Khvāt, 1:359; Paṃvār Vamsī Darpan, p. 33.
11. **Rāṇī Devṛī Hirādeji** *(pihar name Kaṃvlāvatibāi)*

Daughter of Devṛo Cahuvān Rāv Kalo Mehājālot.

Hirādeji was sent in *doḷo* to Rājā Sūrajśīṅgh. She came first to Agra, then to Mathurājī, where the marriage took place on Monday, June 25, 1604. She died at Jodhpur on Saturday, August 8, 1647.

S - Vīrände: born in 1607-08. He died at the age of six years.
S - (name unknown): died young.

12. **Rāṇī Vīrampurī Nāraṅgdeji** *(pihar name Cāmpābāi)*

Daughter of Rāṇo Vanvīr.

Nāraṅgdeji was married at Ahmadābad on Sunday, August 17, 1606. She died at Jodhpur in either October/November of 1623, or November/December of 1633.

13. **Rāṇī Bhāṭīyāṇī Amolakhdeji** *(pihar name Parvatiibāi)*

Daughter of Bhāṭī Sahasmal Māldevot, a son of Bhāṭī Rāvaḷ Mālde Lūṅkaranot of Jaisālmer (1551-61). Sahasmal had settled in Mārvār.

Amolakhdeji was married at the village of Bīḷāro in 1607-08 while Rājā Sūrajśīṅgh was on his way to Agra. She died on Friday, September 7, 1677.

D - Mrigāvatibāi: married to Kachvāhō Rājā Jaisīṅgḥ Mahāśīṅghot of Amber (1621-67). Her marriage took place at Jodhpur on Monday, November 25, 1622, three years after Rājā Sūrajśīṅgh’s death in 1619.

14. **Rāṇī Paṃvār Gāṅgādeji** (or Raṅgādeji)

Daughter of Paṃvār Sādūḷ Māldevot (of the Paṃvārs of Cāṭsū).

Gāṅgādeji was married at Burhanpur in the Deccan in 1609-10 to settle the *vair* that had arisen between the Rāthhrs of Jodhpur and the Paṃvārs of Cāṭsū over the death of Kuṃvar Bhopatsīṅgh Udaisīṅgh (see *supra*, Moṭo Rājā Udaisīṅgh Māldevot, Rāṇi no. 2, S - Bhopatsīṅgh). Kuṃvar Bhopatsīṅgh was killed several years prior in either 1596-97 or 1606-07.

Gāṅgādeji became a *sāṭī* at the time of Rājā Sūrajśīṅgh’s death.

---

14 *Bāṅkīdās*, p. 155.


16 Bīḷāro village: located forty-one miles east-southeast of Jodhpur.

15. **Rāṇī Lohri Jādam/Jādav Sūjandeji** 18
   Daughter of Jādav Pahār Khān (or Pādhān).
   Sūjandeji was married at Burhanpur in the Deccan in 1609-10. She was at Jodhpur when Rājā Sūrajsingh died in the Deccan in September of 1619. She proceeded to Maṇḍor on Wednesday, June 21, 1620 and became a sattī there.

16. **Rāṇī Kachvahi Norāndeji** (pihar name Amrām)19
   Daughter of Sekhāvat Kachvaho Tīrmanrāy Rāyṣalot and granddaughter of Kachvaho Rāyasal “Darbārī” Sūjavat.
   Norāndeji was married at the village of Khanḍeolo on Sunday, June 7, 1612. She became a sattī at the time of Rājā Sūrajsingh's death.

   D - Indrakumvar: born on Tuesday, July 28, 1618. She died at the age of four years in 1622-23.

17. **Rāṇī Kachvahi Śingardeji** (or Raṅgādeji)20
   Granddaughter of Dhīravat Kachvaho Rāmdās Darbārī Udāvat (no. 19).
   Śingardeji was sent in dolo and married at the village of Maṇḍal on December 2, 1614 while Rājā Sūrajsingh was proceeding from Udaipur in Mevār to north India. She died on Sunday, November 23, 1628 at Puṣkarkī (near Ajmer). She was beginning a pilgrimage to the Ganges River.

**Miscellaneous**

   D - Prabhāvatībāī: a daughter of Rājā Sūrajsingh's by his concubine, Mohaṇī. Prabhāvatībāī was married following the Rājā's death to Bhāṭī Candrasen Pāṭcāvat of Jaisaḷmer by her half-brother, Rājā Gajsingh Sūrajsinghot (1619-38). Her marriage was conducted in Jodhpur at the home of Jeso Bhāṭī Goyanddās Mānāvat, who had been pradhān of Jodhpur under Rājā Sūrajsingh. Rājā Gajsingh gave Bhāṭī Candrasen a pato village in dowry, and retained him in his personal service.21

**Marriage Lists**

Lists of Rājā Sūrajsingh's marriages and of his sons and daughters are contained in the following primary sources:

*Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt*, pp. 131, 156-161.

---

18 *Vigat*, 1:93.
19 *Khyāt*, 1:320, 323.
Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 207-213 (Murārdān does not reference Rājā Sūrajsingh's daughter, Prabhāvatībāi, born of his concubine, Mohanī).
Rāthorāṇ rī Vaṃśāvalī, MS no. 20130, ff. 99-100.

Other general sources include:

Rājā Gajsingh Sūrajsinghot (12-1)

Born: Thursday, October 30, 1595
Died: Sunday, May 6, 1638
Ruled: October 6, 1619 - May 6, 1638
Mother: Rāṇī Kachvāhī Sobhāgdeji, daughter of Sekhāvat Kachvāho Durjaṃsāl Karamsiyot.

Rāṇīs, Sons and Daughters

1. Barī Rāṇī Kachvāhī Kalyāndeji (pihar name Rūpvaṭībāī or Rūpmaṭībāī)¹
   Daughter of Kachvāho Kuṃvar Jagrūp Jagnāthhot, a son of Rājā Jagnāth Bhārmalot of Toḍo.
   Kalyāndeji was born on Tuesday, September 9, 1595. Her marriage to Gajsingh took place at Toḍo in 1605-06. She died in October or November of 1648.

   D - Candravatlbaī (or Candramatlbaī): born on Wednesday, August 24, 1614. She was married to Vāghelo Soḷāṅkī Rājā Amarsiṅgh Vikramādityot of Bāndhavagadh, Rīvān and Mukandpur on Saturday, February 22, 1634. She returned to Jodhpur in 1650-51 after Rājā Amarsiṅgh's death, and she died at Jodhpur in 1669-70.
   D - Pūrbāī: died young.
   D - Aṇḍibāī: died young.
   D - Pimaikumvar: died young.

2. Rāṇī Āmratdeji (or Imaratdeji; pihar name Rāykuṃvarbāī)²
   Daughter of Sācoro Āmmatbāī Śikhhro Mahkaranot, a son of Mahkaran Rānāvat, who had married a daughter to Moṭo Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot of Jodhpur (see supra, Moṭo Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot, Rāṇī no. 7). Śikhhro Mahkaranot was a military servant of the Moṭo Rājā. He received the village of Khejarlo³ and three others in pāto from the Moṭo Rājā.
   Āmratdeji was married at the village of Khejarlo in January or February of 1608. She died at Jodhpur on Tuesday, January 20, 1663.

   S - Acaḷṣīṅgh: born in 1613-14; died young.

¹ Bāṅkīdās, pp. 28-29, 102; Khyāt, 1:133, 300-301; Ojhā, 4:1:408.
² Bāṅkīdās, pp. 28, 162; Khyāt, 1:233; Ojhā, 4:1:408, n. 1.
³ Khejarlo village: located thirty-nine miles east of Jodhpur.
3. **Rānī Sisodnī Pratāpdejī (pihar name Rukhmāvatībāī)**
   Daughter of Saktāvāt Sisodiyo Gahlot Bhān Saktāvāt of Mevār.
   Pratāpdejī was born on Monday, October 2, 1598. Her marriage took place at Mathurajī on Monday, September 19, 1607 and was arranged by her maternal grandfather, Varsinghot Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Kesodās "Mārū" Bhīṁvot. She received the rank of rānī at Jodhpur on Wednesday, November 27, 1622. She died in Lahore on Friday, May 30, 1634.

4. **Rānī Candrāvat Kasmīrdejī**
   Daughter of Candrāvat Sisodiyo Gahlot Rāv Čando Durğāvat of Rāmpuro.
   Kasmīrdejī was married at Rāmpuro on Friday, April 24, 1612 while Gajsiṅgh was a kuṇvar.

5. **Rānī Bhātiyāṇī Lachaḷdejī** (or Lāḷdejī) (pihar name Rāmkūṃvarbāī)
   Daughter of Bhāṭī Rāvāl Kalyāṇdās Harrājot of Jaïsalmer (ca. 1613-27).
   Lachaḷdejī was born on Sunday, November 25, 1593. Her marriage took place at Jaisalmer on Friday, January 1, 1613 and was arranged by her paternal uncle, Rāvāḷ Bhīṃv Harrājot (1577-1613). She died at Mathurajī in 1667-68.

6. **Rānī Sonagari Mansukhdejī (pihar name Bhagvatībāī)**
   Daughter of Sonagaro Cahunvān Javant Māṃsṅghot of Pāḷī village.
   Mansukhdejī was born on Tuesday, January 21, 1595. Her marriage took place at the village of Mīṇīyārī in Godhvār on Saturday, April 9, 1614. She left Jodhpur with her son, Amarsingh, on Sunday, March 1, 1635 and settled with him at Nāgaur. She died at Nāgaur on Tuesday, June 15, 1641.

---

4 Bāṅkīdās, pp. 29, 93; Mahārāj Śrī Gajsiṅghī kī Khyāt, MS no. 15666, Rājasthān Prācyavīdyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur, pp. 17-18; Khyāt, 1:26; Murārdān, no. 3, pp. 125-126; Ojhā, 4:1:408; Vigat, 1:110, 123.

5 Bāṅkīdās, p. 33; Khyāt, 3:248.

6 Bāṅkīdās, pp. 28, 34, 113; Khyāt, 2:98.

7 Bāṅkīdās, p. 34; Khyāt, 1:208; Ojhā, 4:1:407-408.

8 Pāḷī village: located forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

9 This Rānī's marriage apparently took place almost five months after the birth of her son, Amarsingh. The circumstances behind this late marriage are unknown.
S - Amarsingh: born on Friday, December 11, 1613. He received the title of rv from the Mughal Emperor Shâh Jahân along with the jãgîr of Pargano Nägaur.

7. Râñî Vâgheli Kasûmbhađeji
   Daughter of Vâghelo Solanjî Sângî. Kasûmbhađeji was born on Friday, December 5, 1595. She was married at Jodhpur in June of 1615 in the home of sîkîr Sobho (tentatively identified as Jângalvo Sânhklo Pânvîr Sobho Harbhâmot). She had been sent in dol from Ïdar to Râjâ Gajsîngh.

8. Râñî Jâreco Norângdeji
   Daughter of Jâreco Jam Sâh, master of Nayanagar. Norângdeji was sent in dol to Râjâ Gajsîngh at Burhanpur in the Deccan. She was married at the village of Râvar on Friday, April 12, 1622. She died during the night at Jodhpur on Wednesday, January 21, 1663.

9. Râñî Kachvâhi Sûrajdeji
   Daughter of Kachvâho Râjâ Bhâvsîngh Mânsînghot of Amber (1614-21). Sûrajdeji was married at Amber on Monday, November 4, 1622. The marriage was arranged by Râjâ Jaisîngh Mahâsînghot (1621-67). She became a satî at the time of Râjâ Gajsîngh's death at Agra in May of 1638.

D - (name unknown): born in 1636-37. She died young at Burhanpur in the Deccan.

10. Râñî Narûkî Kachvâhi Kesardeji
    Daughter of Narûko Kachvâho Candrabhân Jâitsîyot, the master of Panvâr. Candrabhân had settled in Mârvâr in 1611-12, and he held the village of Râhan in pato from Râjâ Sûraj Singh Udaisînghot. He later took service under Mughal Emperor Jahângîr. Kesardeji was born on June 10, 1608. Her marriage took place on Tuesday, May 27, 1623 at the village of Panvâr during the time Râjâ Gajsîngh

---

10 Jodhpur Râjya kî Khyât, p. 199, converts this date to December 30, 1614, which is incorrect, but on p. 272, converts this same date correctly to December 11, 1613. Ojhâ, 4:1:408, lists the date correctly.

11 Banâkidâs, p. 34.

12 Ibid.; Khyât, 1:298-299; Vigat, 1:111.

13 Banâkidâs, p. 34; Khyât, 1:315.

14 Râhan village: located ten miles north-northeast of Meṛto.
was traveling in the area of Rāmpuro on the Chambal River. She was in Jodhpur when the Rāja died, and she became a *sati* at Maṇḍor on Monday, May 14, 1638.

11. **Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (pīhar name Udaikumvarbāī)**  
   Daughter of Bhāṭi Rāvaḷ Manohardās Kalyāṇdāsot of Jaisālmēr (ca. 1627-50).

**Marriage Lists**

Lists of Rāja Gajsingh's marriages and of his sons and daughters are contained in the following primary sources. These sources reference all marriages except that of Rāṇī no. 11:

*Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt*, pp. 161, 197-201.  
*Rāṭhorām rī Vaṃśāvalī*, MS no. 20130, ff. 118-119.

Other general references include:


---

15 Jaisalmer rī Khyāt, p. 74; Tavārīkh Jaisalmer, p. 56.
Rājā Javsantsiṅgh Gaḍsiṅghot (13-1)

Born: Tuesday, December 26, 1626
Died: Thursday, November 28, 1678
Ruled: May 25, 1638 - November 28, 1678
Mother: Rāṇī Siṅodī Pratāpdeği, daughter of Saktāvat Siṅodīyo Gaḥlot Bhāṅ Saktāvat of Mevār.

Rāṇīs, Sons, and Daughters

1. Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇi Jarsuṅdeği (pihar name Pemkuṁvarbāṛī)¹
   Daughter of Bhāṭī Rāvaḷ Manohardās Kalyāṅḍāsot of Jaisalmer (ca. 1627-50).
   Jarsuṅdeği was born on Saturday, September 15, 1627. She was married to Javsantsiṅgh while he was a kuṇvar on Tuesday, April 25, 1637 at Jaisalmer. She died on Wednesday, April 10, 1650 and was cremated on the banks of the Jumna River in Delhi.

2. Rāṇī Hāḍī Javsantdeği ²
   The texts list several different pihar names for Javsantdeği. These include Kalyāṅbāṛī, Kāṅkuṁvar, and Rāṃkuṁvar. From sources available, it is not possible to determine which name is correct.
   Javsantdeği was born on either July 10 or August 9, 1627. She was married to Javsantsiṅgh while he was a kuṇvar on Saturday, May 5, 1638 at Bündi. She received the rank of mahārāṇī on Friday, April 22, 1670 at Aurangābāḍ. She died in Bündi.

3. Rāṇī Cauvāṇ Jagrūpdeği (pihar name Rāykuṁvarbāṛī)³
   Daughter of Sācoro Cauvāṇ Dayāḷdās Sīkhraṇāṭ.
   Jagrūpdeği was born on Monday, June 4, 1632. ⁴ She was sent in doḷo to Rājā Javsantsiṅgh and married at Bīḷāro village ⁵ on either January 19 or February 2, 1641 while the Rājā was returning to Jodhpur from Lahore.

¹ Bāṅkidās, pp. 33, 113.
² Ibid., pp. 34, 146; Vigat, 2:462.
³ Bāṅkidās, p. 34; Khyāṭ, 1:233.
⁴ Jodhpur Rājiya kī Khyāṭ, p. 262, records this date. Rāṭhorāṇī rī Vaṃśāvalī, MS no. 20130, f. 155, gives the date of June 11, 1626, which is incorrect.
⁵ Bīḷāro village: located forty-one miles east-southeast of Jodhpur.
4. Rani Kachvahi Jasmadeji ⁶
   Daughter of Sekhavat Kachvaho Raja Dvarkadas Girdhardasot of Khandejo.
   Jasmadeji was born on Friday, August 20, 1624. She was married at Khandejo on Wednesday, February 24, 1641.

   D - Pratapkuvar: born on Tuesday, August 21, 1649. She died one day after birth.

5. Rani Jadav (Jadam) Jaivantdeji
   Daughter of Jadav Prithiraj Rayarsinghot.
   Jaivantdeji came in dolo from the village of Corau near Junagadh. She was married at Jodhpur on Monday, May 13, 1644.

   D - Mahakumvar: born on Saturday, May 31, 1645. She died on Wednesday, January 6, 1647.

6. Rani Gaur Jasrangdeji (pihar name Carmatibai) ⁷
   Daughter of Gaur Manohardas Gopaldasot.
   Jasrangdeji was born on Saturday, June 27, 1635. She was married to Raja Jassvanti Singh at the order of Emperor Shâh Jahân to end the vair between the Rathors of Jodhpur and the Gaurs that emerged following the death of Raja Jassvanti Singh's half-brother, Râv Amarsi Singh Gajisinghot. ⁸ The marriage took place at Rînthambhor on Friday, February 8, 1650 under the supervision of Gaur Raja Vithaldas. Jasrangdeji died on Monday, September 1, 1662.

7. Rani Kachvahi Atraangdeji (pihar name Jankumvarbaj) ⁹
   Daughter of Sekhavat Kachvaho Raja Varsingh Dvarkadasot of Khandejo, and daughter's daughter (dohitri) of Hado Cahuvari Ravraj Rantasingh Bhojrajot of Bundi (ca. 1607-58).
   Atraangdeji was born on Tuesday, August 19, 1634. She was married at Khandejo on Tuesday, May 28, 1650 or May 17, 1651.

   S - Prithiraj: born at Jodhpur on Thursday, July 1, 1652. He died in Delhi on Wednesday, May 8, 1667.

---

⁶ Khyât, 1:321-322.
⁷ Bânkídâs, p. 34; Ojhâ, 4:1:409-410.
⁸ See Endnote to this section for a discussion of the circumstances surrounding Râv Amarsi Singh Gajisinghot's death and Raja Jassvanti Singh's resultant marriage of a daughter of the Gaurs.
⁹ Bânkídâs, pp. 34-35; Khyât, 1:322.
D - Ratanāvatī: born in 1655-56.

8. Rāṇī Sīsodīṅi Jasṛūpeḍī (pīhar name Rūpkumvarbāī)
   Daughter of Sīsodīyo Gahlot Viramde Sūrajmalot, a grandson of Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Amarsingh Pratāpsīṅgh of Mevār (1597-1620).
   Jasṛūpeḍī was born in 1643-44. She was married to Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh at Mathurājī on Wednesday, April 20, 1657. She died on Tuesday, October 21, 1662.

9. Rāṇī Devṛi Atiṣukhdeṛi (pīhar name Āṇandkuṃvarbāī)
   Daughter of Devṛo Cahuvaṅ Rāv Akhaṅraṅ Rājśiṅghot of Sīrohī (ca. 1618-65).
   Atiṣukhdeṛi was born in 1643-44. She was married on Wednesday, March 30, 1659 in Sīrohī while Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh was enroute to Gujarat. Atiṣukhdeṛi died at the fort of Jodhpur on Sunday, December 29, 1658.

   Mūndiyāṛ ri Rāṭhorāṃ ri Khyāt, pp. 138-139, states that the Devṛos presented this Rāṇi in doḷo to the Rājā in order to settle the vair which had arisen between the Devṛos of Sīrohī and Jodho Rāṭhoṛs of Jodhpur. This vair arose when Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Rāyśiṅgh Candrasenot was killed at the battle of Datāṇi in Sīrohī on October 17, 1583. Rāv Rāyśiṅgh was a son of Rāv Candrasen Māḷdevot of Jodhpur (see supra, Rāv Candrasen Māḷdevot, Rāṇi no. 2, S - Rāyśiṅgh).

10. Rāṇī Candrāvat Jaisukhdeṛi (pīhar name Nabhāvatibāī)
    Daughter of Candrāvat Sīsodīyo Gahlot Rāv Amarsingh Harīśiṅghot of Rāmpuro.
    Jaisukhdeṛi was born on Saturday, February 21, 1646. Her marriage took place at Rāmpuro on April 9, 1665 while Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh was enroute from Poona in the Deccan to north India. The Rājā received forty horses and one elephant in dowry. Jaisukhdeṛi became a satī at the time of Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh’s death.

    S - Jagatsīṅgh: born on Friday, January 4, 1667. He died during the night on Saturday, March 4, 1676.

---

10 Khyāt, 1:30.
12 Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 270, records this date. Rāṭhorāṃ ri Vaṃsāvalī, MS no. 20130, f. 156, gives the date of December 16, 1708. It is not possible to know which date is correct, and the difference may be due to scribal error.
13 See infra, "Devṛo Cahuvaṅs," Rāv Surtāṅ Bhaṅgot (no. 5), for more details about this battle and its aftermath.
14 Vigat, 1:150.
D - Udaikumvarba: born in January or February of 1676\textsuperscript{15}; died young.

11. Rāṇī Jādav Jaskumvarjl\textsuperscript{16}

Sources are in conflict regarding the identity of this Rāṇī's father. He is listed as both Jādav Rājā Chatraman (or Chatrasāl) Mukandot of Karauli, and Jādav Kuṃvār Bhupāl Chatramānnot, a son of Rājā Chatraman's. From sources available, it is not possible to determine his identity with certainty.

Jaskumvarjl was married on Saturday, April 15, 1665 in the village of Hibhavan near Karauli, while Rājā Javsantsīṅgh was returning to Mārvār from Poona in the Deccan.


12. Rāṇī Kachvāhi Narūkīji\textsuperscript{17}

Daughter of Narūko Kachvāho Phatahsīṅgh Lāḍkhanot of Kāṅkoṛ village.

S - Dalthambhaṅ: born on Wednesday, February 19, 1679 following Rājā Javsantsīṅgh's death at Lahore; died young.

Marriage Lists

Lists of Rājā Javsantsīṅgh's marriages and of his sons and daughters are contained in the following primary sources:

\textit{Mundiyār rī Rāṭhorāṁ rī Khyāt}, pp. 138-139 (this source does not reference Rāṇī no. 4).
Ojhā, 4:1:468-469.
\textit{Rāṭhorāṁ rī Vaṃśāvalī}, MS no. 20130, ff. 155-156.

Other general sources include:


\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Rāṭhorāṁ rī Vaṃśāvalī}, MS no. 20130, f. 156, records this date. It is preferable to that given in \textit{Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt}, p. 271, which lists the date of January/February, 1665 for the child's birth. This latter date appears incorrect.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Vīgat}, 1:150; \textit{Vīr Vinod}, 2:1499-1500.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Bāṅkidas}, p. 35; \textit{Khyāt}, 1:318.
Rāv Amarsingh Gajsinghot's Death
and
Rājā Jasvantsingh's Marriage of a Daughter of the Gauṟs

Rājā Jasvantsingh's marriage of a daughter of the Gauṛs is of interest because the Gauṛs were not directly responsible for Rāv Amarsingh's death. Rāv Amarsingh was the eldest son of Rājā Gajsingh Sūrajsinghot (1619-38). He was a Mughal mansabdar of rank, who at the time of his death, held Nāgaŭr in jagīr from Emperor Shāh Jahān. He had received Nāgaŭr in 1638 on the death of Rājā Gajsingh.

On July 25, 1644 Amarsingh stabbed and killed Śaḷābat Khaṇ Naushan ĄMahī, the second Imperial Bakhshī, with his dagger in the private parlor of Sultān Dārā Shikoh's house at Agra, where the Emperor was living and holding court. Imperial mace-bearers in attendance upon the Emperor then took Amarsingh's life. These killings occurred after the evening prayers, while the Emperor was writing farmān with his own hand. Rāv Amarsingh had been absent from the Imperial darbār for some time due to illness, and he had come to court this evening during his convalescence in order to pay his respects to Shāh Jahān and to present him with a customary gift. After performing obeisance before the Emperor, he took his assigned position standing to the right of the throne. But he suddenly drew his dagger and attacked Śaḷābat Khaṇ who was on the Emperor's left. He caught the Khaṇ unawares, stabbing him under the breast and killing him instantly.

Khalīl Ullah Khaṇ and Gauṛ Arjuṇ Viṭhaldāsot, a son of Gauṛ Rājā Viṭhaldās's, who were among those present, both drew weapons and attacked Rāv Amarsingh on the Emperor's order. The Rāv was able to ward off Khalīl Khaṇ's blows, but Gauṛ Arjuṇ struck and wounded him while himself sustaining a cut to his ear from Amarsingh's dagger. Imperial mace-bearers then fell on the Rāv and killed him. A series of pitched battles followed with Amarsingh's Rajpūts. Maṭṭhir-ul-Umarā, 1:234, reports:

After [Rāv Amarsingh was killed], Mīr Khaṇ Mīr Tūzak, and Mulak Chand the accountant of the daulāṭkhānakhāṣ, brought the body of Amar Singh, in accordance with orders, outside the vestibule (dīhlīz) of the khilwatkhāna (private chamber) and sent for his [Rāv Amarsingh's] men, in order that they might take it to his house. Fifteen of his servants heard of the affair and laid hands on their swords and daggers; Mulak Chand was killed, and Mīr Khaṇ was wounded and died on the following night. Meanwhile the Aḥaḍīs and others came out and sent that rabble to hell. Six of the mace-bearers were killed and...
six were wounded. Not content with this, a number of Amar Singh's servants resolved what they would go to [Gaur] Arjan's house and kill him.

The Emperor learned what had occurred and attempted to have matters explained to Amarsingh's men, and to quiet and disperse them to their homes. They would not be dissuaded, however, and the Emperor finally sent Saiyyid Khan Jahān Bārha along with a number of the Imperial bodyguard to oppose these Rajpūts, and many of them were killed.

Maṭhir-ul-Umārā (ibid.) notes that "Though the king made inquiry into the origin of this uproar, nothing appeared except the long use of intoxicants aggravated by the illness of some days." Contrary to this assertion, there appear to have been a number of factors contributing to this outbreak of hostilities. Earlier that year a boundary dispute had arisen between Jākhāniyo village of Nāgaour and Silvo village of Bīkāner, and fighting had broken out between opposing forces. A number of men on both sides were killed, but the sāth from Bīkāner had gained the upper hand. Rāv Amarsingh wrote to his men at Nāgaour afterwards, ordering them to assemble another sāth and prepare to attack Bīkāner. He then entreated the Emperor to allow him to attack Bīkāner in retaliation for his earlier defeat, but the Emperor forbade this action. Bīkāner Rājā KāranSingh Sūrsinghot (1631-68), upon learning of Rāv Amarsingh's plans, petitioned Śalābat Khān to appoint an amin to settle the dispute. Śalābat Khān did appoint an amin, and appears openly to have sided with Bīkāner. This slight greatly offended Amarsingh.

It is unclear why Śalābat Khān sided with Bīkāner, but he seems to have taken a personal dislike to Rāv Amarsingh. Mūndiyār Rī Rāṭhorām Rī Khyāt, pp. 125-126, reports that Rāv Amarsingh had formed a relationship with Śalābat Khān's wife, whom he is said to have visited in Agra when the Khān was away on Imperial business. This liaison angered Śalābat Khān, who according to this khyāt, tried unsuccessfully on a number of occasions to kill the Rāv.

On the evening of July 25 when Rāv Amarsingh came to pay his respects to the Emperor, Śalābat Khān approached him and spoke disrespectfully to him. Their exchange led to angry words, and the Khān's provocation contributed directly to Rāv Amarsingh's attack in the darbār. According to "Mahārāv Śrī Amarsinghji Rāṭhor Rī Vāt," pp. 113-114, a text composed in 1649 just five years after Rāv Amarsingh's death, Śalābat Khān approached Amarsingh as he entered the private chamber, questioning why he had been absent for so many days, and asking if he had brought a gift for the Emperor. Amarsingh explained about his illness, but Śalābat Khān persisted, saying, "Rāvjī, have you remained absent because of the news of the fighting with Bīkāner?" implying directly that the Rāv could not show his face because he had been shamed by his loss. The Khān then openly stated, "Rāvjī, your sāth has run away before, and now again it will flee." Rāv Amarsingh then cursed the Khān, retorting, "Spider (makrā)! Shut up!" The exchange of insults continued until Amarsingh drew away to pay his respects to the Emperor and present his gift. As he then went to his place in the chamber, the Khān taunted him, saying, "What, does the Rāvjī act like an
These words enraged Amarsingh and he drew his dagger and attacked Salabat Khan.

Regardless of the reasons behind this enmity and the immediate cause of Amarsingh's death, the Rathors held the Gaurs responsible.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

RAJPÜTS

MUSLIMS

ADMINISTRATIVE JĀTIS
The Jeso Bhāṭīs are an important group of Rajpūts in Mārvār. Their association with the Rāṭhors and with Jodhpur dates from the mid-fifteenth century, when a sister of Bhatī Jeso Kalikaraṇoṭ, the founder of this brotherhood (bhaibandh), was married to Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Kūṃvar Sūjo Jodhāvat (Rāv of Jodhpur, ca. 1492-1515). Within a short span of years, members of the Jeso Bhāṭīs emerged among the staunchest supporters of the Jodhpur throne, and a number of them became important thākurs in Mārvār with influential positions at court.

Early History of the Jeso Bhāṭīs

The Jeso Bhāṭīs descend from Bhatī Jeso Kalikaraṇoṭ (3-1). Jeso was the son of Kalikaraṇ Keharot (2-1) and grandson of Rāvāḷ Kehar Devraṇjot (1-1), ruler of Jaisaḷmehr (1361-97).¹ No information is available about Jeso's father,

¹ Sources reviewed all state explicitly that Jeso Kalikaraṇoṭ was a son of Kalikaraṇ Keharot and grandson of Rāvāḷ Kehar Devraṇjot. However, the Khaṭī of Naṅsi, 2:116, 144, also lists a Kalikaraṇ as son of Rāvāḷ Kehar Keharot of Pungal, who was himself a son of Rāvāḷ Kehar Devraṇjot of Jaisaḷmehr (see infra, Figure 2. Bhāṭī Ruling Family of Jaisaḷmehr). Khaṭī records that the descendants of the latter Kalikaraṇ were associated with a village called Tāṅpāṇo. There appears to be no village by this name in the area of Pungal, and the name is suspiciously close to that of Tāṅo village of Mevār, which Jeso Kalikaraṇoṭ received from the Rāṅo of Citoṛ. The confusion about the village and the recurrence of the name Kalikaraṇ for a son and grandson of Rāvāḷ Kehar's, which is most unusual, especially considering that Kalikaraṇ and Kehar were uterine brothers (Khaṭī, 2:75-76), casts some doubt on the Jeso Bhāṭī genealogy.

The sources compound the confusion between the Kalikaraṇs in the following manner: Naṅsi's Khaṭī, 3:7, refers to a Kalikaraṇ Bhatī (father unspecified, but presumably Kehar Keharot), who rode with the Kehaṇ Bhatīs against Rāṭhōṛ Bīko Jodhāvat (no. 42) and was killed in battle near Kōramdesar (located eleven miles due west of present-day Bikaner). This battle occurred while Bīko Jodhāvat was establishing a foothold in the area which later became known as Bikaner. Ojha, 5:1:94-95, mentions this same battle in his history of Bikaner. But he identifies the Bhatī involved as Kalikaraṇ Keharot of Jaisaḷmehr, noting that Rāvāḷ Kehar Devraṇjot's son, then aged eighty, went to help the Kehaṇs against Bīko Jodhāvat and was killed there in 1478-79.

Jaisaḷmehr ri Khaṭī, p. 62, lists no son of Rāvāḷ Kehaṇ Keharot's by the name of Kalikaraṇ. However, it does list a son by the name of Lunkaṇ. It is possible that Lunkaraṇ is the correct name and that the name confusion is due to "scribal error" in the transmission and recording of names.
Kalikaran Keharot, except the name of his mother. She was the Devri Cahuvaṇā Lāchāṇ. Regarding Jeso Kalikaranot himself, uncertainty extends both to questions about his family and to issues of chronology relating to events of his life.

There is detail in local sources only about the maternal side of Jeso's family. This information is difficult to interpret, however. The relationships in question concern those among Bhāṭī Jeso Kalikaranot, the Sāṅkhlo Paṇvār Harbhū Mahirājot of Baimhungaṭi village, and Bhāṭiyyāṇī Likhmibāī (pihar name) who was married to Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Sūjo Jodhāvat and lived at the Jodhpur court as Rāṇī Bhāṭiyyāṇī Sāraṇgdeji.

Sources record the following contradictory information about these individuals:

1. "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 37, states that Likhmibāī was Jeso's daughter (beṭī) and Harbhū's daughter's daughter (dohitri).
2. Khyāṭ, 3:7, states that Jeso was Harbhū's sister's son (bhāṇej).
3. Khyāṭ, 3:103-104, records that Jeso was Harbhū's daughter's son (dohitro) and Likhmibāī was Jeso's sister, presumably born of the same mother (the text is unclear).

Given the broad range of possible degrees of kinship evident here, with Jeso either Harbhū's daughter's husband, daughter's son or sister's son, and Likhmibāī either Jeso's daughter or sister, these accounts are impossible to reconcile. The weight of both this and other evidence, however, points to the probability that Jeso was Harbhū's daughter's son, and that Likhmibāī was Jeso's uterine sister. These relationships appear most logical, given other details available about the lives of these individuals.

The Khyāṭ of Nainstå, 3:103-104, records, for example, that Jeso and Likhmibāī were brother and sister, that Bhāṭī Kalikaran Keharot of Jaisalmer had married at Sāṅkhlo Harbhū's home, and that the Sāṅkhlo Harbhū was Jeso and

To add to the confusion, Bhaṭṭivamś Praśasti (see: Ojḥā, 5:1:94-95, n. 3, for a complete reference to this text) also mentions a Lūṅkaraṇ with relation to the Bhāṭī attack on Kōṟamdesar. The Praśasti identifies this Lūṅkaraṇ, however, as Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ Bīkāvat, who was Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat's son and ruler of Bīkāner, 1505-26. The Praśasti was composed by Vyāś Govind Madhuvan during the rule of Bhāṭī Rāvaḷ Kālyāṇāḍa Harrajot of Jaisalmer (ca. 1612-26) It is apparent that the individuals involved have become confused over the passage of time. Ojḥā, who references the Praśasti in his discussion of the history of Bīkāner, discounts the passage dealing with this Lūṅkaraṇ. It may be, however, that while certain parts of the Praśasti are in error, the name Lūṅkaraṇ and his association with the Kelhaṇ attack against Bīko Jodhāvat are correct.

2 Baimhungaṭi: located eleven miles due west of Phalodhī village in northern Mārvār.

3 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Sūjo Jodhāvat, Rāṇī no. 1.
Likhmibai's maternal grandfather (nāno). There is no evidence that another of Harbhū's daughters was married to Bhāṭi Kalikaran. Jeso and Likhmibai, therefore, appear to have been uterine brother and sister. This same entry in Khyāt also notes that Harbhū's daughter remained at her father's home (pihar) following her marriage to Kalikaraṇ Bhāṭi, and that she gave birth to Likhmibai at Bainmhaṭi village.

Khyāt, 2:152-153, records a slightly different version of Likhmibai's birth. It states:

[Jeso] went to the open fields [before] Kiraro⁴ and stayed; there Rāṇī Likhmī was born . . ; then she was sent to Harbhū's [home], the maternal grandfather's home (nānāno).

Finally, Khyāt, 3:7, places Jeso Kalikaraṇot at Harbhū's home during a time he would have been a child or early adolescent, and it appears that Jeso and Likhmibai were both closely associated with their maternal grandfather's home throughout much of their early lives.

Information concerning events of Jeso Kalikaraṇot's life covers the period from the early 1440s to the late 1460s or early 1470s. Again there are difficulties with chronology and fact. The events recorded in the texts include the following:

1. Jeso was in Baimhaṭi village in the early 1440s.
2. He left Jaisalmer and proceeded first to the village of Kiraro (near Phalodhī) and then to Bhaunḍo village of Nāgaur.⁵
3. He had a fort built at Bhaunḍo village.
4. He came to live in the vās ("residence, dwelling") of Rāthor Sūjo Jodhāvat of Jodhpur.
5. He went to Citor and received the village of "Tano, the one [formerly] belonging to Mālo Solankī (Tāno Mālo Solankivālo)⁶ and 140 others in pata from Sisodiyo Rāṇo Kūṁbhō Mokalot (ca. 1433-68).
6. He left Citor for Delhi in order to organize an attack upon Jaisalmer.
7. He died "two months" after reaching Delhi.

Khyāt, 3:7, places Jeso in Bainmhaṭi village with his maternal grandfather, Sāṅkhlo Harbhū Mahirajot, in the early 1440s. It is unclear from the text whether Jeso was living in Bainmhaṭi at this time or merely visiting there with his mother. Regardless, the dating of the early 1440s rests upon Jeso's presence in this village at the time Rāthor Jodho Rīnmalot came to Bainmhaṭi to visit Harbhū Sāṅkhlo, who was a well-known omen-reader and seer (pūr). Jodho

⁴ Kiraro: located twelve miles north of Phalodhī.
⁵ Bhaunḍo: located twenty-five miles southwest of Nāgaur.
⁶ Tano: located near Todgarh some sixty-four miles northwest of Citor.
Rinmalot was living in Jāṅgaḷu at the time. His father, Rāv Rinmal Cūndāvat, had been murdered at Cītōr ca. 1438, and in the wake of his death, Jodho had fled Mevār for Mār vār while the Sisodiyaos under Rāṇo Kūmbhō occupied Māndo and much of eastern Mārvār. Jodho himself then began the process of collecting Rajpūts and horses for the conquest of Māndo which finally bore fruit ca. 1453, fifteen years after his father's murder. There is no indication that Jeso Kalikaranot was included in the discussions which took place at Baiṁhgaṭī or that he took part in any of the subsequent Rāṭhor actions against the Sisodiyaos. Both omissions lend support to the probability that Jeso was a boy at this time.

Jeso's presence in Baiṁhgaṭī in the early 1440s appears to have coincided with Likhmibāī's birth. Her birth is also placed in the early 1440s for the following reasons: Entries regarding Likhmibāī's birth (Khyāṭi, 3:103-104) record that she was born under the vaḍo or māul nakhatra. This lunar asterism, considered by some the twenty-fourth, and by others the seventeenth or nineteenth, contains eleven stars which appear to be the same as those in the tail of Scorpio and are, therefore, considered unlucky. Prospective bridegrooms whom Harbhū Sāṅkhlo approached with offers of marriage all considered Likhmibāī unacceptable. She was, therefore, married "late" to Rāṭhor Sūjo Jodhāvat. Her first son by Sūjo was Vāgho Sūjāvat (no. 83), born in December of 1457. If Vāgho's birth took place shortly after Likhmibāī's marriage, this marriage would have occurred in the mid-1450s, not long after Sūjo's father, Rāv Jodho Rinmalot, conquered Māndo from the Sisodiyaos ca. 1453. Furthermore, if Likhmibāī was in her late teens at the time of her marriage, she would have been born in the early 1440s. This dating coincides with Jeso's presence in Baiṁhgaṭī village at the time of Rāṭhor Jodho Rinmalot's visit.

Khyāṭi, 2:152, indicates that Jeso "left Jaisāḷmer." This departure must refer to his journey to Baiṁhgaṭī village as a boy. He and his mother may have quit Jaisāḷmer at his father's direction because of conflicts either within his own family or within the Bhāṭī brotherhood. Khyāṭi records only that Jeso went to Kiraro village (near Phałodhi) and that Likhmibāī was born there. However, Kiraro appears to have been a stopping place only and, as noted above, it is probable that Likhmibāī was born at Baiṁhgaṭī village itself.

Khyāṭi (ibid.) also notes that when Jeso left Jaisāḷmer, he "did not stay in any village of Phałodhi at any time." This passage is difficult to interpret given the fact that Jeso either lived in or visited Baiṁhgaṭī, a village of Phałodhi, and that his mother and sister were there. The statement in the Khyāṭi appears to refer not to Jeso himself, but rather to his sons and for the following reasons: Jeso's sister, Likhmibāī, gave birth to two sons by Sūjo Jodhāvat, Vāgho and Naro

7 Jāṅgaḷu: located sixty-five miles northeast of Phałodhi and twenty-four miles south of present-day Bīkāner.


9 Sūjo Jodhāvat would have been between fourteen and eighteen years of age at this time. He was born on August 2, 1439.
Sūjāvat. Her second son, Naro, received Phalodhī and its surrounding area for his maintenance from Rāv Sūjō. An inscription at the fort of Phalodhī dated Monday, March 27, 1475 (Caitrādī) or Monday, April 15, 1476 (Śrāvaṇādī) records the erection of the main gate of the fort during Naro's rule. Khyāt, 3:103-114, records that Naro went to Phalodhī with his mother, and that he was involved there for a number of years in the consolidation of these lands under his authority. Because Naro was Jeso Kalikaraṇot's sister's son (bhānej), Naro was the "receiver" in the network of kinship. It would have been inappropriate for Jeso's sons to take from him or from Likhmībā, their father's sister, or to occupy and live in villages under Naro's control. Jeso's sons themselves first settled in Khaīrho and Sojhat, villages of Mārvār located some distance to the south and southeast respectively of Phalodhī.

This prohibition appears not to have extended past the second generation. Another inscription at the fort of Phalodhī dated Wednesday, December 3, 1516 records the erection of pillars on the outer gateway of the fort during the time of Naro Sūjāvat's son, Hamīr Narāvat. The inscription includes mention of a Bhāṭī Nībā who was at the fort with Hamīr. This Bhāṭī may have been Jeso Kalikaraṇot's grandson, Nimbo Āṇandot (5-3). Nimbo was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) and held the important village of Lavero in paṭo from the Rāv. This village was to become a central place for the Jeso Bhāṭīs of Mārvār for many generations to come.

It is difficult to say when Jeso reached Bhaūndo village of Nāgaur. Khyāt, 2:153, states only that Jeso went to Bhaūndo and had a fort built there. His arrival may have coincided with the period of political unrest in Nāgaur that began in the mid-1450s. The ruler of Nāgaur, Khānāzāda Khān Firūz Khān I, died in 1451-52. A succession struggle between his son, Shams Khān II, and his brother, Mujāhid Khān, followed his death, which was not settled until 1454-55. This dispute, into which Sīsodyī Rāṇo Kūmbo Mokaḷoṭ of Cīṭor (ca. 1533-68) also entered, may have allowed Jeso to occupy Bhaūndo and to consolidate his position there. He may have been recruited by one of the sides in this struggle. Jeso eventually left Bhaūndo for Cīṭor, but he retained control over Bhaūndo. Khyāt, 2:153, states that Jeso's vasī stayed behind him there. This village remained in his family for one more generation.

Jeso was probably drawn to Cīṭor by the growing power and influence of Sīsodyī Rāṇo Kūmbo Mokaḷoṭ, who was able to assert direct control in the area of Nāgaur for a brief period before being drawn into a series of conflicts

---

10 See: L. P. Tessitori, "A Progress Report on the Preliminary Work done during the year 1915 in connection with the Proposed Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S. 12 (1916), p. 94. Tessitori gives the date as V.S. 1532, Vaisākh, vadi 2 (?), Somvār, noting that the number for the day of the month is unclear on the inscription. Dates given here are, therefore, calculated for Somvār ("Monday"), which is vadi 5 and vadi 6, respectively, for the Caitrādī and Śrāvaṇādī dates.

11 Lavero: located thirty-four miles north-northeast of Jodhpur.
with the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa. Jeso received a sizable *pato* grant from Rāṇo Kumbhā when he reached Cītor. This grant included Tāṇo village and 140 others. Tāṇo is located along the eastern base of the Arāvalli hills near Todgārh, some sixty-four miles northwest of Cītor. If it is assumed that the 140 other villages of this grant were contiguous with Tāṇo, Jeso would have controlled an important tract of lands along the northern edge of Mevār fronting Ajmer. Unfortunately, no information is available about Jeso's years in Mevār or the services which he may have performed for Rāṇo Kumbhā. It is known only that Jeso killed a man at Tāṇo village who was the father of Rāmdās, a Cauhāṇ Rajput of the Mālhān branch (*sākh*). The hostilities (*vair*) that arose from Rāmdās's father's murder continued into the next two generations of Jeso Bhāṭīs.

Much uncertainty surrounds the date of Jeso's arrival in Jodhpur, where he lived in the *vās* of Rāṭhī Sūjo Jodhāvat. *Khyāt*, 3:105, records only that "Likhmī's brother, Jeso, came [and] stayed [in] Sūjo's *vās*." Jeso's coming may have occurred at the time of Likhmīnī's marriage to Sūjo, placed in the mid-1450s. But it is more likely that he came to live in Sūjo's *vās* either while enroute to Cītor or after he had been in Mevār for some time. *Khyāt*, 2:153, states only that "Here [at Bhāṇḍo, Jeso] had a fort built and kept [his] men, and he [himself] went to the Rāṇo at Cītor."

It is also unclear how long Jeso remained in Mevār before proceeding on to Delhi. *Khyāt*, 2:153, records of his life in Mevār only that:

> After coming [to Mevār] during the time of Rāṇo Kumbhā, the *pato* [of Tāṇo and 140 other villages] was established. [Then Jeso] said to the Dīvān [Rāṇo Kumbhā] - "[If you] say [that is, give me permission], then I would go to the *dargāh* [at Delhi] one time; I would attack Jaisalmer."

Regardless of the time, Jeso would have reached Delhi during the reign of the Afghan Bahlūl Lodi (1451-89). His intention appears to have been to enlist the aid of the Sultān in an attack against Jaisalmer. However, he died two months after reaching the city. It is difficult to connect Jeso's trip to Delhi with any event in Jaisalmer that might have occasioned it. Jeso's arrival in Delhi can be placed in the late 1460s, during the final years of Rāṇo Kumbhā's rule, or in the early 1470s some years after the Rāṇo's death in 1468.

* ***

Jeso had four sons of whom there is record: Āṇand (4-1), Bhaivādās (4-2), Jodho (4-3), and Vanvīr (4-4). About Jodho there is no information, and of Vanvīr it is known only that he received the village of Khairvō in *pato* (probably from Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalot, ca. 1453-1489).

Bhaivādās succeeded to Jeso's lands in Mevār. *Khyāt*, 2:153, records that the Rāṇo of Mevār "gave Bhaivādās Jēsāvat the title of rāv and Tāṇo

---

13 Khairvo: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.
village [along with] 140 [others] in pațo." At the same time, Bhairavdās kept at least part of the vasi he inherited from his father at Bhaunḍo village of Nāgaur. Bhairavdās also received Dhaulharo from Sūjo Jodhāvat, and is said to have settled this village. The date of the grant is uncertain. Khyāt, 2:178, records that "Rāv Sūjo" made the grant. But Sūjo did not succeed to the rulership of Jodhpur until ca. 1492. It is probable, therefore, that the grant was made during the rule of Sūjo's father, Rāv Jodho Rīṁmalot.

The circumstances surrounding Bhairavdās's death are also unclear. One entry in Khyāt, 2:153, states:

[Bhairavdās's] vasi was at Bhaunḍo village of Nāgaur. The Baloc took the herd of Bhairavdās's vasi. Bhairavdās caught up to [the Baloc] with 40 [of his own] men, and [he] died in battle.

Elsewhere, Khyāt, 2:178, relates that at the time Bhairavdās settled Dhaulharo village of Sojhat, a military servant of Sūjo Jodhāvat's named Sūrmālḥān held the nearby village of Copro. A disagreement arose over the border between these two villages, and a battle broke out, during which Sūrmālḥān killed Bhairavdās.

These accounts are difficult to reconcile. The name "Sūrmālḥān" is of interest, however. Sūrmālḥān appears to be an incorrect rendering of Sūr Mālḥān, a Cahuvaṇ Rajput named Sūr of the Mālḥān sākh. This Sūr Mālḥān may have been a relation of Rāmdās Mālḥān's, whose father Jeso Kalikaranot killed at Tāṅo village in Mevāṛ a number of years before. If so, Sūr Mālḥān's killing of Bhairavdās would be related to the settlement of the vair between the Jeso Bhāṭīs and the Mālḥān Cahuvaṇs.

Bhairavdās married a daughter named Karametībāī to Rāthor Mahirāj Akhairājot. Her son by Mahirāj was Rāthor Kūmpo Mahirājot (no. 95), the founder of the Kūmpāvat branch of Mārvār Rāthorṣ and commander of the armies of Jodhpur under Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (1532–62).

Little is known about Bhairavdās's brother, Ānand Jesāvat, other than the fact that he avenged Bhairavdās's death. Again, the accounts from Nainsī's Khyāt are contradictory. Khyāt, 2:153, records that Ānand lived in Rāv Sūjo's vās at Jodhpur. Ānand is said to have sought out Sūrmālḥān and killed him at Ahilānī village of Godhvār. Khyāt, 2:178, relates that Sūrmālḥān fled Mārvār after killing Bhairavdās and went to Mevāṛ. Ānand is then said to have brought

---

14 Dhaulharo: located eighteen miles west-northwest of Sojhat in eastern Mārvāṛ.

15 Copro: located eight miles to the north of Dhaulharo village, and eighteen miles northwest of Sojhat.

16 Ahilānī: located twelve miles south of Khairvo village on the south side of the Sumeri River.

a company of men (sāth) from Jaisalmer and to have killed Sūrmaḷḥan near the villages of Ahilāṇī and Indravāro.¹⁷

That Anand brought a sāth from Jaisalmer is difficult to accept if he were living in Rāv Sūjo's vās. It would appear either that Anand originally went to live in Jaisalmer after his father Jeso's death, and only came to Jodhpur to avenge Bhairavādāś's murder, or that the reference to Jaisalmer is simply wrong. No other information is available about Anand Jesavat.

The Rāno of Cītor (probably Rāṇo Rāyimal Kūmbhāvat, ca. 1473-1509) gave Bhairavādāś's son, Acalādāś (5-4), the paṭo of Tāṇo village when Bhairavādāś died. Khyāt, 2:153, states that the vasī could not remain at Bhaṇḍo village of Nāgar, however, when Acalādāś succeeded Bhairavādāś. The reasons are unclear from the texts. This association with Bhaṇḍo was not re-established until the early seventeenth century when one of Jeso Kalikaranaṭ's descendants, Surtān Māṇāvāt (7-1), held it for a short time. To compensate for this loss, Rāṇi Likhmī requested that Rāv Sūjo grant Acalādāś the village of Copro, formerly held by the Mālhaṇ Cauvāṇ, Sūr, for his vasī. Acalādāś then moved the vasī to Copro while he himself remained in Mevāṛ. He was eventually killed in Copro village by Rāmdās Mālhaṇ, whose father Bhāṭī Jeso Kalikaraṇaṭ had killed at Tāṇo village of Mevāṛ some year earlier, thus bringing the vair full circle.


(no. 1) Pitho Āṇandot (5-1)

Pitho Āṇandot was a son of Āṇand Jesāvat (4-1) and grandson of Jeso Kalikaraṇaṭ (3-1), the founding ancestor of the Jero Bhāṭīs of Māṛvāṛ. He was a military servant of Rāv Māḷḍe Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). All that is known about him is that he was killed at Meṛṭo in 1562. He was fighting there under Rāṭhor Devīḍās Jaitāvāt (no. 65) against Meṛṭīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīṛamdevot

¹⁷ Indravaṇo: located one mile to the north of Ahilāṇī on the north side of the Sumerī River.
(no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under the command of Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḫūsain.


(no. 2) Sāṅkar Sūrāvat (6-3)

Sāṅkar Sūrāvat was a great-grandson of Bhāṭī Jeso Kalikaraṇot (3-1) through Jeso's son, Bhairavdās Jesāvat (4-2) and Bhairavdās's son, Sūro Bhairavdaśot (5-4). The texts refer to Sāṅkar as a vāḍo Rajpūt ("great warrior") of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Sāṅkar came into prominence at the time of Rāv Mālde's occupation of Ajmer ca. 1535 when the Rāv made him kiledār of the fort at Ajmer and gave him the village of Bhinār in paṭo. When Rāv Mālde's Rajpūts began to vacate the fort of Ajmer in 1543 in the face of Sher Shāh Sūr's advance from north India, Vigat, 1:58, states that Sāṅkar wished to remain at the fort and die in its defense. His Rajpūts eventually took him away, however, and brought him to Jodhpur. Rāv Mālde then posted him at the Jodhpur fort.

Sāṅkar remained at the fort during the battle of Samel (near Ajmer)19 in January of 1544. He was later killed at the fort when Sher Shāh attacked and occupied Jodhpur following his victory at Samel. One of Sāṅkar's descendants, Jeso Bhāṭī Goyanddās Mānāvat (7-2), the pradhān of Jodhpur under Rājā Sūrāsīṅgh Udāsiṅghot (1595-1619), had a cenotaph built in Sāṅkar's remembrance. This cenotaph is no longer present at the fort of Jodhpur and there is some confusion about its original location. "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 45, states that it was built at the fort near the small mosque that Sher Shāh had constructed there during his occupation. But Khyāt, 2:180, records that the cenotaph was built on the embankment of a tank (pāj) of the fort. Without further evidence, it is not possible to establish which one of these locations is correct.20

Sāṅkar Sūrāvat had two sons, Hamīr and Vairsal. Both served under Rājā Udāsiṅgh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95) and died in battle on his behalf.


18 Bhinār: located twenty-nine miles south-southeast of Ajmer.

19 Samel village is located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

20 Norman Ziegler questioned the Director of the Jodhpur Fort and Museum, Nāhar Siṅgh Mahevco, about the location of this cenotaph during a visit to Jodhpur in 1981. Nāhar Siṅgh indicated that although a great deal of investigation had been done, no one had been able to identify either the location of Sher Shāh's mosque, no longer in existence, or the location of Sāṅkar Sūrāvat's cenotaph. There are several tanks built at varying levels and distances from the main fort itself. None of these showed any indication that their embankments had once held the cenotaph.
(no. 3) **Tiloksī Parbatot** (6-1)

Tiloksī Parbatot was a great-grandson of Bhāṭī Jeso Kalikaranot (3-1). No information is available about Tiloksī's father, Parbat Āṇandot (5-2). Of Tiloksī himself it is known only that he was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Tiloksī was killed along with his paternal uncle, Pītho Āṇandot (5-1) (no. 1), and other Jeso Bhāṭīs at the battle of Meṛto in 1562. Here Rāv Mālde's Rajpūts under the command of Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65) fought against Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrza Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn.

Figure 2. Bhati Ruling Family of Jaisalmer

Rāval Jesal
Rāval Kalhan
Rāval Ĉacagde

Tejrāv Ĉacagdevot

Rāval Jaitsi Baṟo Tejravat
Rāval Lűṅkaraṇ Karaṇot
Rāval Jaitsi Karaṇot
Rāval Lakhansen Karaṇot
Rāval Puṇpāl Lakhansenot

Rāval Mūlrāj Jaitsiyot

Devraj Mūlrājot

Rāval Kehar Devrajot (ca. 1361-97)

Rāval Keharot (Keharot (Bhatīṣ))
Rāval Lakhaṇaṇ Keharot
Kalikaraṇ Keharot
Jeso Kalikaraṇot (Jeso Bhatīṣ)

Rūpsī Lakhaṇaṇot Rāval Vairsī Lakhansenot
(Rūpsī Bhatīṣ)

Ūgo Vairsiyot Rāval Cāco Vairsiyot
Pato Ugavat Rāval Devids Cacavat
Naraṇḍās Patavat Rāval Jaitsi Devidsot
Haro Naraṇḍāsot

Rāval Lűṅkuṇaṇ Jaitsiyot Mahirāvaṇ Jaitsiyot

Pāñco Haravat

Candrasen Pāñcāvat Rāval Mälde Lűṅkuṇaṇot Sūraṇjmal Lűṅkuṇaṇot

Rāval Harrāj Mäldevot Khetsi Mäldevot Sahasmal Mäldevot

Rāval Kalyāṇās Harrājot Rāval Bhīm Harrājot

Rāval Manobhās Kalyāṇāsot
Figure 3. Jeso Bhātīs of Mārvār

(1-1) Rāval Kehar Devrājot (Jaisālmer)
(2-1) Kalikaran Keharot
(3-1) Jeso Kalikaraṇot (Jeso Bhātīs of Mārvār)

(4-1) Āṇand Jesāvat
(4-2) Bhairavdās Jesāvat
(4-3) Jodho Jesāvat
(4-4) Vaṇvīr Jesāvat

(5-1) Pītho Āṇandot
(5-2) Parbat Āṇandot
(5-3) Nimbo Āṇandot

(6-1) Tiloksī Parbatot
(6-2) Māno Nimbāvat

(7-1) Surtāṇ Mānāvat
(7-2) Goyanddās Mānāvat
Little is known about the origins of the Bālīso branch (sākh) of the Cahuṃs. There is reason to associate this brotherhood with the village of Bālī in southern Mārvār and to link its name with that of the village. As with other Rajput branches whose names derive from places with which they were originally associated, it seems probable that the name "Bālīso" comes from Bālī village. In this regard, Sākariyā, RHSK, 2:891, defines the term Bālīs dharā as:

1. Bālī Pargano of Mārvār. 2. The region in the vicinity of Bālī town in Goḍhvār. 3. The land under the authority of the Vālīsā [sic] Cahuṃs.

This definition is supported by the association of the Bālīso Rajputas as a group with the town and area of Nadūl in the Khyāt of Naiṇsī, 3:48.

The Bālīsos held lands under the Rāṇos of Mēvār prior to 1540. The texts do not specify which lands or for what periods, other than to locate the Bālīso sākh in Goḍhvār around Nadūl and Bālī. Their location in Goḍhvār, the traditional Śisodiyo influence in and control over much of Goḍhvār prior to the rule of Rāthor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62), and the designation of the Bālīsos as poḷ rā cākār ("servants of the gate") of Mevār (cf. Vigat, 1:49) also indicate that the Bālīsos' relationship with Mevār and the Rāṇos of Cītor was a long standing one.

Sujo Sāṃvatot

Sujo Sāṃvatot appears in local texts first in relation to events that occurred in Mārvār in 1540-41. He then disappears, only to re-emerge some fifteen years later as a participant in events in Mēvār in 1556-57. Sujo came to Jodhpur in 1540-41 to seek service under Rāthor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat. Rāv Mālde welcomed him and granted him an important village in pāṭo. In 1556-57,
Sūjo was one of the pradhāns of Sisodīyo Rāṇo Udaiśīṅgh Sāṅgāvat of Mevār (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). He played an important role in events leading up to Rāṇo Udaiśīṅgh's battle at Harmāro with Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur and Paṭhāṅ Hājī Khān. He was killed at Harmāro on January 24, 1557.

The texts do not specify Sūjo's reasons for coming to Jodhpur ca. 1540. They indicate only that he was angry with Rāṇo Udaiśīṅgh and left Mevār to settle in the vās ("residence, dwelling") of Rāv Mālde. Vigat, 1:48, records that upon Sūjo's arrival in Jodhpur, Rāv Mālde showed him great respect and retained him, granting him the pato of Khairvo village. The Rāv also "performed a great many kindnesses [for Sūjo] and questioned [him] in detail."

That a local ruler would welcome and retain a warrior who had left another kingdom to seek service in his own was not uncommon in this period. Rāv Mālde's more than favorable reception of Bālīsō Sūjo bears explanation, however. It appears based upon the enmity that had emerged between Rāv Mālde and Rāṇo Udaiśīṅgh shortly before Sūjo's arrival in Jodhpur.

Relations between these two rulers had grown suddenly hostile in 1540-41. Only shortly before ca. 1537, Rāv Mālde's warriors under the leadership of Sonagarā Cauvān Akhairāj Rindhlrot (no. 9), who had married a daughter to Rāṇo Udaiśīṅgh, had ridden into Mevār to unseat a pretender to the rulership of Cītār, Sīsodīyo Vanvār Prithūrājot, and bring Udaiśīṅgh to the Sīsodīyo throne at Kumbhalmer. This supportive relationship altered ca. 1540 when Rāṇo Udaiśīṅgh married a sister of Rāv Mālde's wife, Rānī Hājī Sarūpdejjī, who was a daughter of Jhālō Jaito Sājāvat. Vigat, 1:47-48, presents the circumstances surrounding this marriage as follows:

Jhālō Jaito Sājāvat was a military servant of Rāv Mālde's, holding the village of Khairvo in pato from the Rāv. The Rāv had come to Khairvo in 1540-41 as a guest of the Jhālōs, bringing his wife, Hājī Sarūpdejjī, and other wives from the court at Jodhpur with him. While at Khairvo, the Rāv heard many taunts from the co-wives (saukām) about Jhālī Sarūpdej's sister, who was said to be exceptionally beautiful (nipāṭ rūpvaṇṭ). The co-wives told the Rāv that "Sarūpdej's sister is so pretty, there is no other as pretty as she." The Rāv himself saw the girl shortly after hearing these remarks, and he immediately desired to marry her. He had the Jhālōs informed of his wish, but they were not agreeable, responding that they had already married one of their daughters to the Rāv. When the Rāv persisted and the Jhālōs still refused, the Rāv threatened to marry their daughter by force.

At this point, Hājī Sarūpdejī attempted to persuade her brothers and fathers (bhāṅ bāpaṃ) to comply with Rāv Mālde. The Jhālōs hedged, but finally agreed with the Rāv's demands, at the same time secretly planning a deception.

---

4 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevār.

5 Khairvo village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

6 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Mālde Gaṅgāvat, Rānī no. 5.
They set the marriage date for one and one-half months from that time and convinced the Rāv to return to Jodhpur until it was time for the wedding. As soon as the Rāv departed, they sent word to Sisodiyo Rāņo Udaiasingh of Mevār, offering their daughter to him. This offer undoubtedly arose from the Jhālos' prior ties with Mevār dating from the rule of Sisodiyo Rāņo Sāṅgo Raymalot (1509-28). The Jhālos had first migrated into Mevār during his reign. They left only after Rāņo Sāṅgo's defeat in battle at Khanua in north India in 1527, fighting against the Mughal Bābur. Upon Rāņo Udaiasingh's agreement to the marriage, the Jhālos left Khairvo and proceeded toward Mevār. The Rāņo met them enroute and married Jhālī Sarūpdojī's sister at their camp.

Rāv Mālde quickly learned of the Jhālos' deception and directed his anger for this slight at Rāņo Udaiasingh. He placed outposts throughout Godhvar and sent a contingent of Rajputs (sāth) against the Rāņo's fortress of Kumbhalmer. Rāv Mālde's attack against this fortress was unsuccessful, but both he and the Rāņo directed raiding parties into each other's lands for some months thereafter.

It was during this period that Bālīśo Sūjo Sāṁvatot arrived in Jodhpur. Rāv Mālde retained him and granted him the Jhālos' former pato of Khairvo village in return for his pledge of service. The Rāv also ordered Sūjo to join a force riding against Mevār. Before setting out from Jodhpur for his village, however, Sūjo told the Rāv:

five to seven times - "We are the servants of the gate (pol rā cākar) of Mevār. Rāvji! There are thousands of different tasks [I might do; you] may dispatch me to that place, but [you] should excuse me from this service" (Vigat, 1:49).

Rāv Mālde did not listen to Sūjo and obstinately repeated his order. Bālīśo Sūjo then asked permission to leave for Khairvo, stating that when the army arrived on its way to Mevār, he and his men would be ready to join it.

Sūjo proceeded on to his pato village. But while settling there, conflict arose with some Cāmpāvat Rāṭhos living in villages neighboring Khairvo. Vigat (ibid.) states that this conflict emerged because Sūjo and the Bālīśos were outsiders (pardinī) whom the Cāmpāvats wanted to drive away. In response, Sūjo decided to quit Mārvār, and as he was leaving, his men attacked and looted two villages in the pato of the Cāmpāvats, killing "twenty Rajpūts of Mārvār." 7

Sūjo returned to Mevār when he departed Khairvo, and he sent pradhāns to Rāņo Udaiasingh. The pradhāns reported to the Rāņo all that had happened, and the Rāņo was very pleased. He sent his man (ādmi) to Sūjo, in turn, with a horse and a sirpārī in gift. The man presented these to Sūjo and then brought him into the presence of the Rāņo. Rāņo Udaiasingh took Sūjo into his service

---

7 Other, later sources indicate that Sūjo "refused" to do as the Rāv ordered, that is, to ride against Mevār, and that he left Mārvār as a consequence of this refusal. Cf. Ojha, 2:270, n. 2; Vīr Vinod, 2:70-7.
once again and granted him the former *pato* of the Bālisos (unspecified in the texts) along with the town of Nāḍūl and twelve other villages.

*Vigat,* 1:49, states that Rāv Mālde was both very saddened (ghano dukh pāyo) and greatly distressed with Sūjo (ghano darad Sūjā sum rākhiyo chai) when he learned what had happened. But then, when Sūjo took occupation of Nāḍūl, the Rāv could not abide this affront and summoned Bālavat Rāṭhor Nago Bhārmalot (no. 38), ordering him to proceed against Nāḍūl and kill Sūjo by any means possible. Nago Bhārmalot and his two brothers, Viṅjo and Dhano (no. 39), were important Rajputs in Mārvār at this time. Together these Bālavats set out against Nāḍūl with five hundred horse (asvār) and an unspecified number of foot (pālā). The battle they fought with Sūjo near Nāḍūl is of interest and is recounted here in some detail, based on information from *Vigat,* 1:50-52.

The Bālavats moved by stealth to within a *kos* of Nāḍūl, then sent twenty to twenty-five horsemen before the gates of the town as a ruse, ordering the horsemen to cause a disturbance by breaking the water pots of the women at the wells and stealing off with the herds. The Bālavats reasoned that the Bālisos would come in pursuit of these horsemen and that the Bālavats' main force could then fall on and kill them. While the ruse worked at first, as the outcry was raised, Bālīso Sūjo suspected a trick, and he stopped his brothers and sons from following the raiders. He then ordered men summoned from the nearby villages and gathered a force of two thousand horse and foot. He set out in pursuit of the raiders with this small army. Ten *kos* from Nāḍūl the Bālisos caught up with the Bālavats, and in the battle which ensued, one-hundred and forty of the Bālavats were slain. *Vigat,* 1:50, records that Nago Bhārmalot was wounded and both of his brothers, Viṅjo and Dhano, were killed. Other sources indicate that Dhano did not die in this battle, but was killed later in another battle fought in the service of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur (see "Bālavat Rāṭhorś," *infra,* for details).

The Bālavat force fled from the field following their defeat, stopping at the village of Daharo some twelve miles east-northeast of Nāḍūl. The Bālisos pursued them there, and as they approached, Sūjo and his brothers, brothers' sons, and sisters' sons (bhāṭi bhatijim bhānejim) saw Nago Bhārmalot riding away. Two of Sūjo's brothers' sons, two of his sisters' sons and a Sahlot Rajput with them wanted to stop Nago and kill him. Sūjo attempted to stop them, saying:

> There is no deep-seated hostility (*vair*) between us and them; do not follow after Nago. [He] is not such a Rajput that he would run away, but [his] military servants [and his] brotherhood persuaded [and] forcefully took him away. He is an exceptional warrior (*barī balāy*); you should not speak his name (*Vigat,* 1:51).

Despite Sūjo's words, five or six horsemen rode after Nago. When Nago saw them coming, he stopped to confront them. He struck one man in the chest with

---

8 Nāḍūl town: located some twenty miles south of Khairvo village in Godhvār.
his lance, throwing it with such force that it passed out of the man's back, into
the hindquarters of the horse and through the horse's testicles. Nago gave a great
shout while removing the lance, and it is said that another two of the Bālīso men
fell senseless and did not speak for six months afterwards out of fear.

Rāv Mālde sent no further armies against Nāḍūl, and the Bālāvats
exacted no revenge for their humiliating defeat at Bālīso Sūjo's hands. The
chronicles contain no further information about Sūjo until he is mentioned again
with reference to the battle of Harmāro. He reappears here as a pradhān of
Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Udaisingh of Mevār, and he played an important role in the
events leading up to and during this battle against Hājī Khān and Rāv Mālde's
forces from Jodhpur.

Hājī Khān was a noble of Sher Shāh Sūr. Following Sher Shāh's death
in 1545, he assumed control over Alvar (Mevāt) and was there at the time of
Akbar's succession to the Mughal throne in 1556. Akbar sent Nāṣiru'l-Mulk Pīr
Muḥammad Sarvānī to drive Hājī Khān from Alvar. Hājī Khān fled with his
army to Ajmer, where he usurped control. But he quickly came into conflict
with Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur, who had heard of his coming with a large treasury
in train. Rāv Mālde dispatched a force against Ajmer. This venture ended in
stalemate, however, because Hājī Khān appealed to Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Udaisingh for
aid. The Rāṇo agreed to help and sent a force of Rajpūts to Ajmer. Their arrival
halted the Rāṭhōr advance on the city, and both armies then turned back to their
own lands and dispersed.

The Rāṇo sent two of his pradhāns, Údāvat Rāṭhor Tejśī Dūngarsiyot
(no. 138) and Bālīso Sūjo Sāṃvatot, to Ajmer shortly thereafter to demand
payment from Hājī Khān for his support against Rāv Mālde. The Khyāt of
Naṁśī. 1:60-61, states that the Rāṇo ordered his pradhāns to tell Hājī Khān:

I supported you against Rāv Mālde. [In payment] give me
several elephants [and] some gold, [and] you have a band [of
women]; in it is the dancing girl (pāṭar), Raṅgrāy, so give [her]
to me.

Both Tejśī and Sūjo requested that the Rāṇo not demand this form of payment
from Hājī Khān. But the Rāṇo persisted and sent them to Ajmer against their
will.

Údāvat Tejśī and Bālīso Sūjo informed Hājī Khān of the Rāṇo's
demands when they arrived in Ajmer. Hājī Khān refused the demands, saying
that he had nothing to give and that the pāṭar, Raṅgrāy, was his wife and
therefore could not be given away. He then dismissed the Rāṇo's pradhāns who
returned to Mevār, and he dispatched two of his men to Rāv Mālde at Jodhpur to
ask for his support against the Rāṇo. "Aitiḥāsik Batām," p. 50, records that he
offered Rāv Mālde the city of Ajmer in return for this support.

Both sides in this affair now prepared for battle. Rāv Mālde sent fifteen
hundred chosen warriors under the command of Rāṭhor Devīdās Jāitāvat (no. 65)
to Ajmer to join with Hājī Khān's army, while the Rāṇo assembled an equally
large force comprised of local rulers allied with Mevār and their Rajpūts. They
met at the village of Harmāro to the south of Ajmer on January 24, 1557 as Hājī
Khān was leaving Ajmer for Gujarat. The Khyāt of Naiṇsī, 1:61, records that Ḫūvāt Teṣī Ḫūngarsīyat and Bālīsō Sūjo mediated between the opposing armies before the battle and said to the Rāṇo: "[You] should not fight [this] battle. Five thousands Pāṭhāṃs and a thousand Rāṭhōrs both will die." But the Rāṇo would not accept their counsel. The field was then cleaned (khet bhuhārīyo) for battle.

During the fighting that followed, the armies of Ḫājī Khān and Rāv Mālde defeated the Rāṇo's forces. Both Ḫūvāt Teṣī and Bālīsō Sūjo were killed along with many others. Bālīsō Sūjo's death came at the hands of Rāṭhōr Devīdās Jaitāvat. Vigat, 1:52, states that Devīdās challenged Sūjo to single-handed combat, saying: "Sūjo, [be] alert, [for] today I demand [revenge for the deaths of] Rāṭhōrs Viṅjo and Dhano [Bhārmaloṭ]." Devīdās then killed Bālīsō Sūjo with his spear.

Vigat, 2:60, refers to Bālīsō Sūjo as one of the renowned nobles (nāṃvījādik umrāv) of the Rāṇo's who died at Harmārō by Rāṭhōr Devīdās's hand. Devīdās's challenge to Sūjo stemmed from the defeat and humiliation of the Bāḷāvat Rāṭhōrs at Naḍūl some seventeen years earlier. By 1557 the leading Bāḷāvat thākurs were all dead and it was left to Devīdās Jaitāvat to end the vair. Viṅjo Bhārmalot had been killed near Naḍūl ca. 1540. Nāgo Bhārmalot died at Samel in January of 1544, and his remaining two brothers, Dhano and Vīḍo, were both killed at Meṛto in 1554.

Devṛo Cahuvaṇṣ
d
(no. 5) Surtan Bhāṇot, Rāv (8-3)  
(Ruler of Sirohī, ca. 1571-1610)

Surtan Bhāṇot descends from a collateral line of the ruling house of Sirohī. He was born in 1559-60 and succeeded to the rulership of this kingdom in 1571-72 at the age of twelve years. His succession inaugurated a period of internal disruption and local factionalism similar to that which had characterized the reign of his predecessor, Rāv Mānsīṅghh Dūndavat (8-2). The Sisodiyo Gahlots under Rāṇo Pratāpsīṅghh Udaisīṅghot of Mevār (1572-97) and the Mughals under Akbar both entered into the affairs of this kingdom, adding to the turmoil. Rāv Surtan ruled intermittently during the first twenty years following his accession. It was only in the 1590s that he was able to consolidate his authority. He maintained it thereafter as a nominal subordinate of the Mughals until his death in 1610 at the age of fifty-one years. His reign spanned some thirty-nine years during which he is said to have fought and emerged victorious from fifty-two battles. Local chronicles speak of him as a great warrior and a generous ruler who granted some eight-four villages in sāṃsaṅ to Brāhmaṇs and Cāraṇs.

The Khyāt of Naiṇṣī, 1:141, provides detail about events leading to Surtan’s succession. These events speak to the internal rivalries and factionalism that plagued the Sirohī ruling family of this period. The Khyāt records that on some occasion shortly before Surtan’s succession, Surtan’s predecessor, Rāv Mānsīṅghh Dūndavat, poisoned Surtan’s pradhān, Paṃvr Paṇcāiṅ, in an attempt to force contributions from Surtan’s vasī. Rāv Mānsīṅgh afterwards went to Ābū in the hilly region of southwestern Sirohī, where he became involved in a disagreement with one of his personal attendants (khavās) and "shoved" him. This khavās was Paṃvr Kalo, a brother’s son (bhatījo) of Paṃvr Paṇcāiṅ’s. In retaliation for being shoved, Paṃvr Kalo stabbed Rāv Mānsīṅgh one evening with a dagger, mortally wounding him.

Rāv Mānsīṅgh had no sons. The Devros in attendance upon the Rāv asked him to whom the tīko of succession should be given. Rāv Mānsīṅgh’s last wish was that Surtan Bhāṇot succeed him. The Khyāt provides no rationale for Rāv Mānsīṅgh’s choice of Surtan, who was a paternal relation several times removed from his family. Following the Rāv’s wishes, however, the Devros, led by Duṅgarot Devṛ Viṭo Ḥarrājot (10-1), brought the young boy, Surtan Bhāṇot, forward and seated him on the throne at Sirohī.

Rāv Surtan thus came to power with the primary support of the Duṅgarot Devros. The Duṅgarots were the most powerful branch of Devros outside of the ruling family. The Khyāt of Naiṇṣī, 1:162, refers to them as the "defenders/protectors of the land" (des rā āgaḷ - lit. "wooden bar or bolt [for fastening a door] of the land," and bhaṛ kiṃvāṛ - lit. "warrior-door"), that is,
those who remained steadfast in battle and barred the advance of the enemy into the land.

The leader of the Duṅgarots, Vijo Harrājot, had been a primary influence around the throne prior to Surtān's succession, and Vijo quickly asserted his power over the new ruler. He became Surtān's dhanī-dhorī (lit. "master-leader"), assuming a primary role in managing the affairs of the kingdom at the same time that he plotted against Surtān for control of the throne. Rāv Mānsingh's wife, a Bāhārmēri Rāṭhoṛ, was pregnant at the time of his death. She gave birth to a son not long after Surtān was placed on the throne. The birth of this son marked the outbreak of open hostilities at the Sirohi court, for it was around this boy that Vijo Harrājot began laying plans to unseat Rāv Surtān.

The Bāhārmērī quickly perceived the threat to her son, and she took him from Sirohi to her paternal home (pīhar) to ensure his safety. With Mānsingh's infant son gone from the capitol, Devro Vijo sought further to consolidate power around himself in order to exclude Rāv Surtān and seat Mānsingh's infant son on the throne in Surtān's stead. To accomplish this end, Duṅgarot Vijo had first to remove the influence of Surtān's father's brother (kāko), Devro Sūjo Rindhirot (7-5), who was Surtān's primary support at the Sirohi court. Devro Sūjo was a powerful and influential Rajput, "who had gathered many fine Rajputs [and] many fine horses [in his service]" (ibid., 1:143). Vijo Harrājot talked with those Duṅgarots around him about the need to kill Sūjo Rindhirot. Many spoke against him, saying, "Do not do this thing. Surtān has already become the master (dhanī) of Sirohi" (ibid.). But Vijo would not heed their advice and proceeded on his own. Through a paternal cousin, Duṅgarot Rāvāt Sekhāvat (10-4), he sent Rajputs to Devro Sūjo Rindhirot's home when an opportunity arose, and had him murdered. Vijo then proceeded to take possession of all of Sūjo's lands and possessions. Sūjo's wife managed to escape with two of her sons, Prithūraj Sujāvat (8-5) and Syāmdās Sujāvat (8-6), while a third son, Mānō Sujāvat (8-4), died fighting against Vijo Harrājot.

Vijo now summoned Rāv Mānsingh's infant son from Bāhārmēr in western Mārvār, where his mother had taken him. The Bāhārmērī complied with this summons and returned to Sirohi with her son. Upon receipt of news of their coming, Vijo Harrājot went out to receive them and escort them to the capitol. Rāv Surtān, in the meantime, realizing that his primary support was now gone and that he had little chance of survival if he remained at Sirohi, left the capitol one day on the pretext of going hunting, and went to Rāmsen village1 where he took refuge. Devro Sūjo Rindhirot's wife, who had fled to Ābu with her two sons, now came and joined him there.

With Surtān gone from the capitol, Duṅgarot Vijo welcomed Rāv Mānsingh's son there. The mother brought the boy (dāvṛro) and placed him in Vijo's lap (gave him over for adoption). However, the infant died suddenly, thwarting Vijo's plans to place him on the throne and rule through him. Not to be deterred, Vijo attempted to assert his own right to the throne. He spoke with the Duṅgarots, Samro Narsinghot (9-5) and Sūro Narsiṅghot (9-6), the sons of

---

1 Rāmsen village: located eighteen miles northwest of Sirohi town.
Narsingh Tejsiyot (8-8), saying, "Give the jiko to me" (ibid., 1:144). But these Devros refused to recognize his claim, stating that there were many of the former ruler of Sirohi, Rāv Lākho’s (4-1), belly (Rāv Lākho rai peṭ rā), and that even if there were but a year old baby boy (of his line) living, that child would be recognized before Viço as the legitimate ruler of Sirohi.

Viço remained undeterred. While alienating the support of these influential Düngarots who left Sirohi in anger, he placed himself on the throne and began to rule. His usurpation was very short-lived, lasting only some four months, for Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Pratāpsingh Udaisinghot of Mevār now entered into local affairs on behalf of Devṛo Kalo Mehājalot (7-3). Kalo Mehājalot was a grandson (potro) of Sīrohi Rāv Jagmāl Lākhāvat (5-1) and a sister’s son (bhānej) of the Sīsodiyo ruling family. Rāṇo Pratāp sent a force in support of Kalo into Sīrohi and forced Düngarot Viço to flee south to Idar. He then seated Kalo on the throne and provided him with a firm base of operations from Kumbhaḷmer, his fortress on the western edge of the Arāvallis some forty-five miles east-northeast of Sīrohi town. Once Rāv Kalo established himself at the capitol, Surtāṅ Bhāṅot came from Rāmsen village and made obeisance before him. Rāv Kalo then took Surtāṅ into his service as one of his military servants. Surtāṅ received several villages in pāṭo from the new Rāv and "from time to time" performed service.

Rāv Kalo’s rule at Sīrohi proved short-lived as well. Just as the Düngarot Devros were the primary power behind the throne during Rāv Surtāṅ’s brief rule and in prior years, the Cibo Devros led by Cibo Khimvo Bhārmalot assumed this role under Rāv Kalo. And while those Düngarots who left Viço Harrājot took service under Rāv Kalo, they quickly became dissatisfied with him because the Cibos alienated their support and in turn undermined Rāv Kalo himself.

The Khyāt of Nainṣī, 1:145-146, relates a story which characterizes this alienation. The Khyāt tells that Rāv Kalo arose from his darbār one day while several Düngarots, including Samro and Sūro Narsinghot, remained seated in the chamber on a small carpet (dulico). Seeing them there, a Cibo named Pāṭo ordered the phārās ("spreader of carpets") to "pick up and bring the dulico." The phārās went to the darbār only to find the Düngarots seated on it. He then came back without it. When Cibo Pāṭo asked him why he had not brought the carpet, he replied that those men were sitting on it. Cibo Pāṭo rebuked him, exclaiming, "What! Are they [like] your father [that you treat them with such deference]? Take up the carpet and bring it!" The servant then returned to the darbār and requested the carpet from the Düngarots. They arose in disgust, knowing the Cibo’s designs, and stated, "Even if Parmeśvar wished it, we will

---

2 See Khyāt, 1:169, for an attenuated genealogy of the Cibo Devros listing Khimvo Bhārmalot.

not now sit upon Rāv Kalo’s floor cloth (jājam⁴),” that is, they would not sit in Rāv Kalo’s darbār again.

They proceeded to their homes, greatly offended. And they informed Surtān of what had taken place, saying, "If you would come, we would join with you." They met with Surtān at Rāmsen village where they again placed the jāko on his forehead and began to treat him as ruler. From this time forward, they endeavored once again to seat Surtān on the throne at Sīrohī.

This faction of Devros urged Rāv Surtān to summon Dūngarot Vijo Harrājot from Iđar, where he had fled. Despite earlier problems, Rāv Surtān agreed to their suggestion. Vijo was a very influential Devro. Khyāt, 1:146, 148, speaks of him both as a fearsome warrior (balāy) and as a discerning, far-sighted Rajput who was skilled in battle (rāh-vedī Hij�pat).⁵ Given Surtān’s age and position of weakness, it is understandable that he might again turn to Vijo Harrājot. Vijo himself seized upon this opportunity to return. Rāv Kalo quickly learned of his coming, and he sent a force of some five hundred men under the command of Devro Rāvat Hāmāvat to bar his way. But Vijo defeated this army with a small force of one hundred and fifty of his own Rajputs.

Dūngarot Vijo afterwards presented himself before Rāv Surtān and begged forgiveness for his past offenses. Without other visible support, Rāv Surtān joined forces with him. Vijo immediately urged the Rāv to enlist further aid from the ruler of Jālɔr, Mālik Khān-i-Jahān. Rāv Surtān then sent a man to Jālɔr with an offer of a lākh of rupees in return for the Mālik’s aid. Khān-i-Jahān replied that he would not ask the members of his brotherhood (bhāibandh) to die in battle for a lākh of rupees, but he would be ready to come if Surtān would agree to give four parganos of Sīrohī. While there was disagreement within Rāv Surtān’s ranks, the Mālik’s demands were finally met. Mālik Khān-i-Jahān then joined the Rāv with fifteen hundred horse. Three thousand additional warriors had gathered by the Rāv in the meantime, and this combined force defeated Rāv Kalo’s army of four thousand in a decisive battle near the village of Kālandhāri.⁶ The Khyāt of Nainsī, 1:147, records that the Khān’s Vihāriyos (Bihāri Pathans) showed exceedingly great valor at this battle, and contributed much to the victory. Dūngarot Samro Narsinghot died fighting on behalf of Rāv Surtān. Rāv Kalo was forced to flee with great loss. Among his Rajputs killed was Cibo Pāto. Rāv Kalo’s wives and family (Kalā rā mānas) were at Sīrohī when Rāv

---

⁴ Jājam: a checkered or figured linen cloth spread on the floor or over a carpet for sitting; a floor cloth. See: Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 437; McGregor, The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary, p. 366.

⁵ The term rāh-vedī has the additional meanings of "plunderer, looter, and bhomiyo," all of which might be applied to Dūngarot Vijo. See: Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 1159.

⁶ Kālandhāri village: located eleven miles west-northwest of Sīrohī town.
Surtān occupied the city. The Rāv made certain the women were treated with respect, and he had them seated in sejhvalos and delivered to Kalo.

Surtān then ascended the throne at Sīrohi a second time in 1574-75, three years after his initial succession. He was now fifteen years old.

Relying on Đungarot Vijo quickly proved a mixed blessing for Rāv Surtān. Within a short time, Vijo controlled the administration of the kingdom. Day by day Devrā Vijo grew more powerful, and soon open enmity reasserted itself between Surtān and Vijo. But Surtān had little power in his own person and could do nothing to assert himself against Vijo. During this time, the Rāv married a Bāhārmerī Rāṭhor. When the Bāhārmerī came to Sīrohi and saw the manner in which Vijo acted, she exclaimed, "What is the situation here in this kingdom (thākurā)? Are you master, or is Vijo?" (ibid., 1:148). Rāv Surtān replied that there were no Rajpūts in the land who would oppose a fearsome warrior (balāy) like Vijo. But the Bāhārmerī counseled that if Surtān would fill their stomachs, he would have many Rajpūts in the land. Rāv Surtān then had his wife call twenty men from her paternal home (pihar), and twenty exceedingly powerful (nipat prabal) men came. These men became Surtān's personal bodyguards (pāsvān).

Rāv Surtān's circumstances now appeared brighter. Other Rajpūts began to gather by him. Even Devrā Vijo's two brothers, Lūṇo Harrājot (10-2) and Māṇo Harrājot (10-3), separated themselves from Vijo and joined with Rāv Surtān, whose authority continued to increase. One day thereafter, the Rāv had Vijo driven from the capitol. Đungarot Vijo then proceeded to the village of his vasi, where he waited.

The year 1576 ushered in a new set of circumstances for Rāv Surtān, for Sīrohi came under direct pressure from the Mughals. Early in this year, Emperor Akbar had received word that Tāj Khān of Jālōr and Devrā Rāv Surtān of Sīrohi had joined in support of Sisodīyo Rāṇo Prāṭapsingh of Mevār in his rebellion against the Mughals. Given Surtān's age and circumstances in Sīrohi, it is uncertain what his actions were. But it would seem probably that the Devrās offered support to the Sisodīyos.

Akbar sent Bikāvat Rāṭhor Rājā Rāysiṅgh Kalyāṃmalot of Bikāner (ca. 1574-1612), Tarson Khān, Saiyyid Hāshim Bārha and others against them, with instructions that "they were to begin by using soothing and admonitory language in order that they might guide the recalcitrants into the highway of obedience" (Akbar Nāma, 3:267). When the Imperial army reached Jālōr, Tāj Khān quickly swore allegiance to the Emperor. The army then moved on toward Sīrohi. Rāv Surtān, deeming it prudent, took this opportunity to meet with Rājā Rāysiṅgh, whom he welcomed to Sīrohi with great respect and hospitality. Akbar Nāma states that "The Rai of that place also awoke from his somnolent fortune, and came with an ashamed countenance to the servants of dominion." Đungarot Vijo

---

7 Sejhvalo: a carriage used to convey women in purdah, with sides that are enclosed with curtains, and in which bedding has been spread for seating. See: Lāḷas, RSK, 4:3:5797.
gathered a large sāth and also ventured forth to meet with the Rājā. Vijo sought to entice the Rājā's allegiance to his cause, but the Rājā would not agree to support him in his bid for rulership in Sirohī. The Rājā held further talks with Rāv Surtān, and he promised to drive Dūngarot Vijo from Sirohī in return for the Rāv's pledge of one-half the lands of Sirohī to the Mughal throne.

Rāv Surtān accepted this offer. Rājā Rāysiṅgh then drove Devro Vijo from the land. The Rājā sent word to the Emperor, informing him of the cession of lands and his assistance to the Rāv in driving out the bandit (grāśīyo) Vijo. He made the ceded lands khalāso and placed an outpost (thāno) there with five hundred horse (asvār) under Rāthor Madno Pātāvat. He asked the Emperor to send revenue officials (karoris) to assume charge, and closed by stating, "Rāv Surtān is [your Majesty's] obedient military servant (hukmī cākar)" (Khyāt, 1:150).

Rāv Surtān, "together with Tāj Khān, set off to perform the worship of prostration at the holy threshold" (Akbar Nāma, 3:267), while the Rājā and Saiyyid Hāshim Bārha took up quarters at Nādūl in order to close the routes to and from Mevār during their on-going campaign against Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Pratāpsiṅgh. Rāv Surtān left the Imperial court shortly afterward, however, without permission from the Emperor, and "from his ill-fate, and native savagery, came to his own country with an evil intention" (ibid., 3:278). Akbar, in turn, dispatched Rājā Rāysiṅgh and Saiyyid Hāshim once again against this kingdom in early 1577. Word of their conquest of Sirohī reached the Emperor on February 27, 1577. Akbar Nāma, 3:278-279, includes a brief account of this conquest from records that Rājā Rāysiṅgh sent to court:

At the signal from H. M. [Akbar], Rai Rai Singh, Saiyad Hāshim and other servants went to conquer that country [Sirohī], and to punish that evil-disposed person [Rāv Surtān]. They began by entering the country and besieging him. As the fort was strong, and he was without calculating reason, he thought that the lofty hills would protect him, and his arrogance increased. The warriors took up their abode there and proceeded to act leisurely instead of rapidly. Rai Rai Singh sent for his family from his home. He whose fortune was slumberous (the Rai of Sirohī) attacked the caravan on the road with a number of determined men. Many Rajputs who were with the convoy... fought bravely and there was a great fight. Many fell on both sides, but by the blessing of daily-increasing fortune that audacious highlander was defeated and became a vagabond in the desert of failure. He abandoned Sirohī and went off to Abugarh... The victorious bands came to the fort [of Ābū] by the aid of daily-increasing fortune, and so strong a fortress, such

---

8 See Glossary, Volume I, for full meaning of this term.

9 Nādūl: located fifty miles to the northeast of Sirohī.
as great princes would have found difficult to conquer, came into the hands of the party of loyalists with little effort. [Devro Rāv Surtān] was bewildered by the majesty of the Sultanate of the Shāhīnshāh and fell to supplications. He took refuge with the auspicious servants, and made the key of the fort the means of opening the knot of his fortune, by delivering it to them. Rai Rai Singh left the fort in charge of able men, and proceeded to court along with the Rai of Sirohi.

While administrative and revenue officials (divān-bagsī) had, in the meantime, come to Sirohī and begun taking control of the ceded lands in the Emperor's name, another outsider intruded into the affairs of the kingdom, this time in the person of Sisodiyo Jagmāl Udaisinghāhot. Sisodiyo Jagmāl was a son of Rān̄o Udaisiṅḡh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) who had been passed over in succession to the throne of Citrō in favor of Rān̄o Udaisiṅḡh's eldest son, Pratāṁśiṅḡh, who now ruled in Mevār. Jagmāl was a son of Rān̄o Udaisiṅḡh's favored Bhātiyāṇī wife, and the Rān̄o had designated him as his chosen successor. But the leading Sisodiyoś at court passed him over in favor of Pratāṁśiṅḡh. Jagmāl in turn left Mevār in anger and offered his service to the Mughal Emperor.

Jagmāl had married one of the daughters of the former ruler of Sirohī, Devro Rāv Mānśiṅḡh Dūdāvat, and was familiar with Sirohī lands. Once at the Imperial court, he used his relationship with Rāv Mānśiṅḡh's family to support his petition for the grant of Sirohī lands in jāgīr. The Khyāt of Naiṅsī, 1:150, also indicates that the divān and bagsis sent word to Akbar about Sisodiyo Jagmāl. Akbar was well disposed to accept Jagmāl's petition and he granted him the lands. Dūṅgarot Viyo had also gone to court at this time to represent his own cause against Rāv Surtān. But Akbar denied his petition, and when Sisodiyo Jagmāl left for Sirohī, Dūṅgarot Viyo joined with him.

Rāv Surtān came forward to meet Sisodiyo Jagmāl when he arrived bearing the Imperial certificate of appointment (tañiko), and he handed over to Jagmāl one-half of the lands of his kingdom. But hostilities quickly developed between Rāv Surtān and Sisodiyo Jagmāl. The Rāv continued to live in the ruler's quarters of the palace (pāṭ rā gharāṁ) at Sirohī, while Sisodiyo Jagmāl and his family were relegated to quarters elsewhere. Naiṅsī's Khyāt, 1:150, indicates that Sisodiyo Jagmāl's wife, Rānī Devṛī, complained to her husband, saying, "Why is another living in my father's home while we are here?" She encouraged the enmity between her husband and Rāv Surtān. On one occasion shortly thereafter when Rāv Surtān left the palace, Sisodiyo Jagmāl and Dūṅgarot Viyo attempted to usurp control at the capitol. However, they met with stout resistance from military servants loyal to Rāv Surtān, who included Soḷāṅkī Sāṅgo and the Asiayo Cāraṇs Dūdo and Khaṅgār. Shamed by this defeat, Jagmāl took Dūṅgarot Viyo and returned to the Mughal court to seek redress before the Emperor.

Rāv Surtān brought other difficulties upon himself during the late 1570s. He provided refuge for Rāthor Rāv Candrasen Mādevot of Jodhpur (1562-81) after the Mughals drove him from Mārvār. Rāv Candrasen remained for two
years in Sirohi before proceeding on to Vāṃsvālo and Đungarpur in southern Rājasthān. When he left Sirohi, he entrusted the safety of his mother and wives to Rāv Surtān at the Devro court.

Then in 1581-82 the Rāv had Saiyyid Hāshim Bokhārī murdered. Akbar had appointed Saiyyid Hāshim to oversee affairs in Sirohi along with Mīr Kalān and Kamālī’-d-Dīn Ḥūsayn Diwānā. Rāv Surtān’s Rajpūts fell on and killed the Saiyyid during a moment of negligence on the part of the Mughals. Rāv Surtān remained in control of Sirohi during this time, however, and he continued to maintain a nominal allegiance to the Mughal throne. Vīgat, 2:70, records, for example, that in 1582-83 the Rāv escorted a wet-nurse of Akbar’s from Gujarāt to Mērto in Mārvār.

Akbar finally revoked Rāv Surtān’s rights to rulership in Sirohi in 1583. He granted Sirohi, in turn, to Sisodiyā Jagmāl Udaisirighot. Jagmāl returned to Sirohi with the support of an Imperial army under I’timād Khān, Rāv Rāysīṅgh Candrasenot, a son of Rāv Candrasen Mālvdevot of Jodhpur who held Sojhat in eastern Mārvār in jāgīr from Akbar, and Kolīsingh, master of Dāntīvār. Akbar ordered I’timād Khān to occupy Sirohi and to make the lands over to Jagmāl. The Khān was able to accomplish this task, forcing Rāv Surtān to flee once again into the hills. I’timād Khān afterwards retired from Sirohi, leaving Sisodiyā Jagmāl to assume final control with the assistance of Rāv Rāysīṅgh Candrasenot and Kolīsingh. But with the departure of many of the Imperial troops for Gujarāt, Rāv Surtān emerged from hiding and met Jagmāl’s and Rāv Rāysīṅgh’s forces near the village of Datānī. Rāv Surtān had reached twenty-four years of age at the time of this great victory.

The Khyāt of Nainsī, 1:151-152, records that prior to this battle, the Rathors in Jagmāl’s army thought it would be best if they weakened Rāv Surtān’s forces by attacking the villages of the Rajpūts in his vasī (Rāv Surtānrai vasirā Rajpūṭāṃrā gānī), thereby drawing these Rajpūts away from the Rāv as they sought to protect their own lands. They decided to dispatch Đungarot Vījo

---

10 Datānī: located thirty-one miles southwest of Sirohi town.

11 Akbar Nāma, 3:614, records incorrectly that the battle in which Rāthoṛ Rāv Rāysīṅgh and Sisodiyā Jagmāl were killed was fought at Sirohi, where the Rāv and Jagmāl had set up quarters. It notes:

... Jagmāl entered Sirohi [town]. The presumptuous one (S. Deorah) retired to the ravines. Rai Singh [and others] were left to help Jagmāl. When the victorious troops marched to Gujarāt, that wayward one [Rāv Surtān] renewed his turbulence, ... The wicked man came upon their quarters by secret paths. Those two men (Jagmāl and Rai Singh) awoke out of the sleep of neglect and preserved their honour by bravely sacrificing their lives.

See also: Ojhā, Sirohi Rājya kā Itihās (Rev. 2nd. ed. Jodhpur: Rājasthān Granthāgār, 1999 (1936)), p. 239, for his comments on this passage.
Harrajot along with Rāthor Khimvo Māṇḍāno, Rāthor Rām Ratansīyot and a number of Turks (Muslims) against the pargano of Bhitrot to accomplish this end. Dūṅgarot Vījo spoke out against this plan to Rāthor Rāv Rāyśīṅgh and Sīsodiyo Jagmāl. He said, "[Beware]. If you separate me off from yourselves, then Rāv [Surtān] will attack you." But the Rāthor thākurs made light of his words and replied sarcastically, "Even in a village with no rooster [to greet the dawn] night still ends" (Khyāt, 1:151), thereby saying, we don't need you; we can take care of ourselves without you. Dūṅgarot Vījo then departed in the direction of Bhitrot, and Rāv Surtān, true to Vījo's words, took full advantage of Vījo's absence. He had the kettledrums sounded, and with the help of Vījo's paternal cousin, Dūṅgarot Samro Narsinghot (9-5), quickly fell upon the Rāthor camp at Dātāṇi.

This historic battle took place on October 17, 1583.

---

12 See Khyāt, 1:151, n. 18, for the editor's explanation of this proverb.

13 Ojhā, Sīrohī Rājāyā kā Itihās, pp. 232-233, notes that the well-known Cāraṇ Kavi Āḍho Durso was with Rāthor Rāv Rāyśīṅgh at Dātāṇi and fell wounded in battle there. Rāv Surtān found him on the field after the fighting. A Rajpūṭ with him was ready to kill the Cāraṇ, not knowing who he was, but Āḍho Durso declared that it was not proper for Rajpūts to kill men like himself, that he was a Cāraṇ. Rāv Surtān replied that if he were a Cāraṇ, he should recite a dūho in honor of Dūṅgarot Samro Narsinghot, who had fallen in battle that day. Āḍho Durso recited a poem that pleased the Rāv very much, and the Rāv had the Cāraṇ seated in a palanquin and taken from the battlefield. He had his wounds tended, and when the Cāraṇ returned to health, the Rāv made him his paulpāṭ Cāraṇ and granted him several villages in sāṃsaṃ.

Āḍho Durso was widely known throughout Rājasthān for his poetry, and rulers of Jodhpur and Udaipur alike gave him and his sons villages, showing them great respect and deference. In 1586 Moto Rājā Udaīsīṅgh Māldevot of Jodhpur sequestered lands that Rāṭhōrs Kalo and Karaṇ Rāmōt had given in sāṃsaṃ to the Cāraṇs (and Brāhmaṇs) in Sojhat Pargano of eastern Mārvār. To protest the Moto Rājā's actions, a large number of Cāraṇs gathered at Āutivo village and cut their throats with daggers in a mass suicide. Āḍho Durso was present at Āutivo. He also cut his throat, but Murārdān, no. 2, p. 186, records that he did not die on that day.

14 During the reign of Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh Udaīsīṅgh of Jodhpur (1595-1619), efforts were made to settle the vair that arose between the Rāṭhōrs of Jodhpur and the Devrōs of Sirohī over Rāv Rāyśīṅgh Candrasenot's death, and to arrange for the return to Jodhpur of all of the stolen property, which included Rāṭhōr Rāv Rāyśīṅgh's kettledrums. Rāv Surtān Bhānoṭ's son, Rājsīṅgh, had succeeded him to the throne in 1610. Rāv Sūrajsīṅgh soon became involved in hostilities with his younger brother, Sūrsīṅgh, who sought a way to usurp control of the throne for himself and his family. Sūrsīṅgh met with Jodhpur Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh in 1611-12 to gain his support in his bid for power. He offered to marry one of his daughters to Kumvar Gajsīṅgh Sūrajsīṅgh (Rājā of Jodhpur, 1619-38), and the daughters of his Devrō supporters to twenty-nine of Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh's Rajpūts whose family members had been killed at Dātāṇi. He also promised to give Kumvar Gajsīṅgh the bejeweled dagger of Vījo Harrajot's, and ensure the return of all Rāv Rāyśīṅgh's belongings, including his kettledrums, which Rāv Surtān had stolen. The Rājā for his part was to support Sūrsīṅgh in his bid for power, seat him on the throne at Sirohī, and then present him before the Mughal Emperor and see that he and
Rāv Surtān again assumed control at Sīrohī following this decisive victory. He ruled there in relative security until 1588. During this short period of five years, the peace was disturbed only when Sisodiyo Sāgar Udaisinghot raided into Sīrohī to avenge the death of his brother, Jagmāl.15 Ğungarot Vījo also left Sīrohī and returned to the Mughal court to petition the Emperor for the grant of Sīrohī to him in jāgīr. This time Akbar agreed. Vījo's petition to the Emperor appears to have been aided by the support he received from Dhirāvat Kachvāho Rājā Rāmdās Udāvat (no. 19), who was Emperor Akbar's petition-bearer (arajvegī). Ğungarot Vījo had approached Kachvāho Rāmdās in 1587 with offers of the marriage of one of his daughters. Kachvāho Rāmdās accepted this offer, and helped to arrange the marriage of this daughter to his sister's son. This alliance undoubtedly helped Vījo's bid for power in Sīrohī.

Vījo returned to Sīrohī in February of 1588 with an Imperial army under the command of Rāthor Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95) and Jāmbeg. Rāv Surtān again fled Sīrohī for Ābū on the approach of Imperial troops. The Mughals encamped at the village of Nītoro for one month, raiding and looting the surrounding lands. Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh carried out a series of inconclusive operations, as much to avenge the death of his brother's son, Rāv Rāysingh Candrasenot, as to punish Rāv Surtān. The Imperial forces also planned a deception, and using the offices of Kūmpāvat Rāthor Ṭhākur Vairsal Prithrājot of Bagrī village16 in Mārvār, had several of Rāv Surtān's leading Rajpūts summoned to the Imperial camp on the pretext of holding settlement talks. These Rajpūts included the Ğungarots Pato Sāṃvatsiyot, Sūro Narsinghot (9-6), Sūro's son, Togo Sūrāvat (10-4), and Ėibo Devro Jeto Khīmāvat. Once these men were in camp, they were murdered at the hands of Rāthor Rām Ratansiyo. Rāṭhor Vairsal Prithrājot only learned of this deception afterwards, and he rode into the Moṭo Rājā's camp in anger and killed Rām Ratansiyo.

stipulating all of the above was written down and signed on February 12, 1612. This agreement came to naught, however, for Sūrsingh soon came to battle with Rāv Rāysingh and was defeated and forced to flee Sīrohī. See: Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyātī, pp. 145-149, for a detailed listing of this agreement and all of the marriages it entailed; Ojha, 4:1:373-374; Ojha, Sīrohī Rājya kā Itihās, p. 232.

15 Ojha, Sīrohī Rājya kā Itihās, pp. 243-244, writes that Sisodiyo Rāṇo Pratāp refused to be party to these raids into Sīrohī on the part of his brother, but instead allied himself through marriage with Rāv Surtān. When talk of the marriage of his son Amarsingh's daughter, Kesarkumvar (Sukh Kumvar), to Rāv Surtān had first begun, Rāṇo Pratāp's brother, Sāgar, had remonstrated before the Rāṇo, saying that he should seek revenge for Jagmāl's death at Rāv Surtān's hands. But Rāṇo Pratāp disregarded his words. He told Sāgar that he should go ahead and do as he wished, but he should understand that his family had not gained their honor by going to Delhi and filling their bellies serving the Muslims. Rāṇo Pratāp proceeded with the marriage of his granddaughter to Rāv Surtān, whom, according to Ojha, he considered one of his equals.

16 Bagrī village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.
before the Moto Rājā. He then committed suicide by stabbing himself in the stomach with his dagger.\footnote{There is a memorial stone to Ṭhākur Vairsal Prithirājot at the village of Nitoro. See: Ojhā, 4:1:359.}

Dūṅgarot Vījo himself was killed during one of these operations in Sirohī when he and Jāmbeg rode off with a separate raiding party apart from the Moto Rājā. With a void now in the rulership, the Moto Rājā seated Devro Kalo Mehājalot (7-3)\footnote{The Moto Rājā received one of Devro Kalo’s daughters in marriage in 1589-90. See Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Moto Rājā Udaisiṅgh Māldevot, Rāṇī no. 16.} once again on the throne of Sirohī. The Moto Rājā also demanded a large tribute from Rāv Surtān including two lākhs of rupees and a number of horses, and he held several of Rāv Surtān’s family members hostage to ensure the payment of this tribute.

Despite these events and the sanctions placed against him, Rāv Surtān soon emerged from the hills and reasserted his own authority in Sirohī. Rāv Kalo Mehājalot was forced to flee without fighting to Mārvār, where he entered the service of Moto Rājā Udaiśiṅgh. The Moto Rājā granted Kalo the village of Bhādrājun\footnote{Bhādrājun: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.} in paṭo. Devro Kalo remained there until his death in 1604.

With Dūṅgarot Vījo now dead, Rāv Kalo in Mārvār, and Mughal forces employed elsewhere, Rāv Surtān spent the remaining years of his rule in relative peace. There is mention of only two episodes of outside interference. Akbar Nāma, 3:985, records that in 1593 Moto Rājā Udaisiṅgh of Jodhpur "took leave to go to Sirohi in order that he might reduce the proprietor there to obedience, or else prepare punishment for refractoriness." These operations appear to have been inconclusive. However, in 1595 Rāv Surtān was forced to pay a penalty (daṇḍ) to the Moto Rājā’s son and successor, Rāḥoṛ Rājā Sūrajiśiṅgh Udaiśiṅghhot of Jodhpur (1595-1619). Rājā Sūrajiśiṅgh exacted this penalty on behalf of Emperor Akbar while he was was enroute from Jodhpur to Gujrat on Imperial business.

Rāv Surtān died on September 12, 1610. He had twelve wives and two sons. His eldest son by his Sisodi Rāṇī was Rājśiṅgh Surtāṅot (9-1). Rājśiṅgh succeeded Rāv Surtān to the throne of Sirohī. A second son named Sūrśiṅgh Surtāṅot (9-2) was also born.
The texts offer differing dates for Rāv Sahasmal Sobhāvat’s founding of Sirohī. Khyāt, 1:135, records the date of March 27, 1396, while Vr. Vinod, 2:1096, states that the original city of Saranvahi (Sirohī) was founded near the mountain named Saranvād on April 7, 1395.
Figure 4. Devro Cahuvals of Sirohi
(continued from the preceding page)

(1-1) Rinmal Salkhavat
    (2-1) Sobho Rinmalot
    (3-1) Rav Sahasmal Sobhavat (Sirohi)
        (see previous page)
    (2-2) Duŋgar (Duŋgarots)\(^3\)
        (3-2) Jhanjho
        (4-2) Gajo
        (5-2) Bhindo
        (6-4) Alan Bhindoavat
        (7-6) Tejsi Alanot
    (3-2) Dungar (Duŋgarots)\(^2\)
    (4-2) Jhanjho
    (5-2) Gajo
    (6-4) Alan Bhindoavat
    (7-6) Tejsi Alanot
    (8-7) Rudo Tejsiyot\(^3\)
    (8-8) Narsingh Tejsiyot
    (9-3) Harrāj Rūdāvat
    (9-4) Sekho Rūdāvat
    (9-5) Samro Narsiṅghot
    (9-6) Sūro Narsiṅghot
    (10-1) Viyo
    (10-2) Lūno
    (10-3) Māno
    (10-4) Rāvat Sekhāvat

\(^2\) Presented here is the genealogy of the Duṅgarots as recorded in the Khyāt of Naṁsi, 1:162-168. Ojhā, Sirohi Rājya kā Itihās, p. 217, and Ojhā, 2:727, n. 2, list a differing order for the first four generations, as follows: Gajo, Duṅgar, Jhanjho, Bhindo.

\(^3\) Ojhā, Sirohi Rājya kā Itihās, p. 217, gives the name “Dūdo Tejsiyot”.
Hādo Cahuvaṅs

(no. 6) **Surjan Urjaṅot, Rāv** (12-2)

Hādo Rāv Surjan Urjaṅot, ruler of Būndī (ca. 1554-78), began his career as a military servant of Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh Sāṅgāvat of Mevār (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). He became a close companion of the Rāṇo and served under him until shortly after the fall of Cītōr to Akbar in 1568. Both his rise to power in Būndī and his position of local authority were intimately tied to the Rāṇo and to Cītōr. He then made obeisance to Akbar in 1569 and served under the Mughals in varying capacities until 1578-79, when he retired from Mughal service. He went to Benares to live with his family and died there in 1585-86. Rāv Surjan achieved the rank of 2,000 zāṭ as a mānsābdār in Mughal service. Despite this prominence, he always carried with him the shame of being the Rajput commander of Rīnthambhor who submitted to Akbar without battle.

As a military servant of Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh’s in the period prior to 1554-55, Surjan initially held twelve villages in paṭo. The Rāṇo then gave him the pargano of Phūliyo as an increase after he was wounded while performing some service for the Sisodiyo ruler. The Rāṇo later revoked this grant and gave Surjan Vadhnor in northern Mevār in exchange.

Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh supported Surjan’s struggle for power in Būndī in 1554-55 against a paternal relation, Hādo Rāv Surtan Surajmalot (12-1), who proved incompetent. Rāv Surjan continued in the Rāṇo’s service during the early years of his rule, holding Būndī in grant from him. He was a major ally of the Rāṇo’s at the battle of Harmāro in January of 1557, during which the Rāṇo’s forces were defeated by the combined armies of Rāṭhōr Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-1562) and Paṭhāṅ Hājī Khān. Soon after Harmāro, Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh expressed his increased confidence in Rāv Surjan, giving him seven parganos in paṭo and entrusting him with the keys to the fortress of Rīnthambhor. The seven parganos included in addition to Būndī with its three-hundred and sixty villages, the following: Pāṭaṅ, Koṭo, Kāṭakhaṅ, Nainvāy, Āṃrātado, and Khairāvad.

Rāv Surjan remained in control of the fortress of Rīnthambhor from 1557 until early 1569. He was a constant companion of the Rāṇo during this period, and he accompanied the Rāṇo on his pilgrimage to Dvārkājī in Saurashtra, which the Rāṇo made in order to perform a penance for his murder of a close kinsman at Cītōr. While at Dvārkājī, Rāv Surjan asked the Rāṇo’s

---

1 Rāv Surjan’s father, Urjaṅ Narbadot, was Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh’s mother’s father (nāno).

2 Vadhnor: located forty-seven miles south-southwest of Ajmer.

3 Harmāro: a village lying fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevār.
permission to have the temple of Rînchorji at Rînthambhor rebuilt, which he did following his return.

The Mughal Emperor Akbar invested Cîtor in 1568. After his defeat of Rāṇo Udaisîngh's forces and his occupation of this fortress, Akbar sent an army under the command of Ashraf Khān against Rînthambhor. Akbar himself soon followed, reaching Rînthambhor in early February of 1569. He ordered batteries set in place and the siege of the fortress to commence. Desultory fighting occurred for more than a month between Râv Surjan's Rajputs and the Mughal army. Râv Surjan then sent his two sons, Dūdo (13-1) and Bhoj (13-2), to meet with Akbar and arrange an end to the siege and a transfer of the fortress to the Mughals. Akbar Nāma, 2:494, records that Râv Surjan's sons

succeeded, by the instrumentality of some high officers, in obtaining an interview [with Akbar] and placed the foreheads of supplication on the threshold of sincerity. They begged the pardon of their father's offenses and requested that they might perform the prostration (sijda).

Maâthir-ul-Umarâ, 2:2:917-918, adds the following details:

It is said that in the end of the month of Ramaḍān Emperor said that if the garrison did not surrender that day, the fort on the morrow— which was the 'Īd day— would be the gabaq-bâzî (archery or gunnery) target. Surjan became frightened and losing heart sent as emissaries to the Presence his sons Dûdâ and Bhoj together with a number of his officers. After the interview orders were passed for presenting both of them with robes of honor. When they were taken out of the royal enclosure for putting on the Khil'ats, one of the companions, whose brain was deranged, thought that an order had been issued for the arrest of Surjan's sons. Consequently out of loyalty he lost control and drew his sword. One of the servants of Râja Bhagwân Dâs tried to restrain him, but that mad man used his sword on him. He ran to the royal enclosure, and wounded Pûran Mal son of Kân Shaikhâwat and two others, and with his sword cut into two Shaikh Baha'-ud-Dîn Majdhub Badâyûnî. Thereupon a servant of Muzaffar Khân killed him.

The sons of Surjan were stricken with remorse at this occurrence, but as they were innocent, the Emperor excused them, and after granting them robes of honour allowed them to return to their father.

---


Rāv Surjan himself later met with the Emperor. *Akbar Nāma*, 2:245, notes:

Sūrjan, in order that his honor might be preserved, begged that one of [Akbar's] . . . intimate courtiers might come and introduce him to the court . . .

Akbar agreed to this request and sent Ḫusayn Qulî Khān to escort the Rāv. Rāv Surjan then emerged from the fort, and on March 22, 1569 "prostrated himself at the threshold."

The *Khyāt* of Naïnsī, 1:112, records that Rāv Surjan told Akbar during their meeting that while he was submitting to Mughal authority, he was under an oath of allegiance to the Rāṇo of Mevār and would not be sent on any military campaigns against him. Akbar accepted this condition at the time of Rāv Surjan's submission. He then brought the Rāv into Mughal service and granted him four *parganos* in the area of Benares for his maintenance.

Akbar appears to have been pleased that Rāv Surjan submitted to his authority. But he held a low estimation of him as a warrior, for when he returned to Agra, he had the likenesses of two of the great Rajpūts who had been killed fighting at Cītor, Meṛtiyo Raḥṭor Jaimal Virāṃdevot (no. 107) and Sīsodiyo Gahlot Pato Jagāvāt, carved in stone seated upon elephants and placed as columns at the main doorway to the Red Fort, while he had Rāv Surjan's likeness carved in the form of a dog on one of these same columns. This slight from the Emperor greatly shamed Rāv Surjan.

For a number of years thereafter, Rāv Surjan held the Gadha-Katanga territory of Jabalpur in *jāgīr* from Akbar. The Emperor exchanged this land in 1575 for Fort Canadh (Cunar). Then in 1578 Akbar decided on the conquest of Būndī. This action arose in response to local disruptions in the area which Surjan's elder son, Dūdo, had caused. Rāv Surjan's younger son, Bhoj, had come to court to live at the Emperor's "foot" following Rāv Surjan's capitulation at Rinthambhūr in 1569. Rāv Surjan's elder son, Dūdo, left Rinthambhūr without the Emperor's permission, fleeing to Mevār. There he took service under Rāṇo Udaiśingh, who "established some daily wage and gave [it to him]." Dūdo then proceeded to enter into the affairs of Būndī, and Akbar sent a force under Rāv Surjan, his son, Bhoj, and Zain Khān Kokaltāsh to chastise Dūdo and bring Būndī securely within the orbit of the Mughal throne. This operation proved successful, and afterwards Akbar promoted Rāv Surjan to the rank of 2,000 zāt.

Rāv Surjan remained at court in attendance upon the Emperor for a short period after the conquest of Būndī. He then went to live at Benares with his family in 1578-79. He had a palace constructed there. Surjan apparently left active service under the Mughals at this time. While he was in Benares, his younger son, Bhoj, continued to live at court. His elder son, Dūdo, was pardoned in 1579, and he also came to live at court. Akbar then stationed him in the Punjab. But he again left his station without permission from the Emperor and returned to Mevār and Būndī.

Rāv Surjan died in Benares in 1585-86. Emperor Akbar gave the *tīko* of succession to Surjan's younger son, Bhoj, and granted him Būndī in *jāgīr*.  

Bhoj's succession precipitated a *grāsvedh* (lit. "share-battle") between Bhoj and his elder brother, Düdo, over the rulership of Bündi, a conflict into which the Mughals also entered.

*A'ln-i-Akbari*, p. 510, records that Bhoj Surjanot, who carried the title of ṛāv, received Bündi from Akbar in *jāgīr* in 1578, and that he served under Kachvāho Rājā Mānsīṅgh Bhagvantdāsot of Āmber (1589-1614) against the Afghans in Orissa, and under Shaikh Abūl-Fazl in the Deccan. Ṛāv Bhoj then committed suicide in 1607-08. This action was the result of his refusal to consent to the marriage of his daughter's daughter to Emperor Jahāṅgīr. The *A'īn* notes:

In the first year of his reign, Jahāṅgīr wished to marry Jagat Singh's daughter.⁵ Rāy Bhoj, her grandfather, refused to give his consent, and Jahāṅgīr resolved to punish him on his return from Kabul. But Rāy Bhoj, in the end of 1016 [1607-08], committed suicide. The marriage, however, took place . . .

It is said that Rāthor and Kachhwāha princesses entered the imperial Harem; but no Ḥāḍā princess was ever married to a Timuride.

Rāv Surjan was a sister's son (*bhānef*) of the Gahlots. His son, Düdo, was the daughter's son (*dohitro*) of Cāmpāvat Rāṭhor Jēso Bhairavdāsot (no. 48) of Mārvār, and his son, Bhoj, was the daughter's son of Āhāro Gahlot Rāv Jagmāl Udaisingh of Vāṃsvālo (ca. 1518-44).


---

⁵ Rājāvat Kachvāho Jagatsingh Mānsīṅghot, eldest son of Rājā Mānsīṅgh Bhagvantdāsot of Āmber (1589-1614).

Figure 5. Ḥāḍo Cahuvaṅs of Būndī

1. Ḥāḍo Vijaipālot (Nāḍūl sākh of Cahuvaṅs)
2. Bāṅgo Ḥāḍavaṭ
3. Devo Bāṅgavaṭ (Ḥāḍos of Būndī)
4. Jīṭmal Devot
5. Nāpo Jīṭmalot
6. Ḥāmo Nāpavaṭ
7. Varsingh Ḥāmavaṭ
8. Vairo Varsinghota
9. Bhāṅḍo Vairāvaṭ

(10-1) Rāv Nāraṅḍās Bhāṅḍavaṭ  
(10-2) Narbad Bhāṅḍavaṭ
(11-1) Rāv Sūrajmal Nāraṅḍāsot  
(11-2) Urjaṅ Narbadota
(12-1) Rāv Surtāṅ Sūrajmalot  
(12-2) Rāv Surjan Urjaṅdot

(13-1) Dūḍo Surjanot  
(13-2) Rāv Bhoj Surjanot
(14-1) Rāv Ratansī Dūḍavaṭ
(15-1) Gopīnāth Ratansiyot
(16-1) Rāv Catrasāl Gopīnāthot
Sācoro Cahuvāṇs

(no. 7) Jhāṅjhāṅh Bhaivardāsot (4-1)
(no. 8) Megho Bhaivardāsot (4-2)

The Sācoro Cahuvāṇs

The Sācoro Cahuvāṇs take their name from the town of Sācor in southern Rājasthān. The Khyāt of Naiṇṣi, 1:229, records that Sācor came under Cahuvāṇ rule on January 24, 1085 when Vijaisalānūt seized it from the Dahīyo Rajpūt Vijairāj. This information is incorrect. This area was under the control of the Solānki Rajputs of Gujarat between the tenth and the twelfth centuries. Cahuvāṇ control began in the late thirteenth century when the Cahuvāṇ ruler of Jālōr extended his authority over Sācor. It continued into the early fifteenth century, finally ending in 1421. In this year, Mir Mālik defeated Sācoro Rāv Varjāṅg Pātāvat (1-1) in battle and captured the town. The Khyāt of Naiṇṣi, 1:232, states that Varjāṅg's son, Jaisinghde Varjāṅgot (2-1), was also master (dhaṇṇi) of Sācor, but it is not known to what degree he exercised authority in this area.

Rāv Jaisinghde was a contemporary of Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaisihng Sāṅgavat of Mevāṛ (ca. 1537-72; no. 17), whose sister he married, and of Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgavat of Jodhpur (1532-62).


(no. 7) Jhāṅjhāṅh Bhaivardāsot (4-1)

Jhāṅjhāṅh Bhaivardāsot is listed in the texts under review simply as Jhāṅjhāṅh Cahuvaṇ. He was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgavat of Jodhpur, and was attached to the Rāv's personal service. The genealogy of the Sācoro Cahuvāṇs in the Khyāt of Naiṇṣi, 1:238, indicates that he resided in the vās ("residence, dwelling") of Rāv Mālde. Jhāṅjhāṅh held the village of Mehagro in pāṭo from the Rāv. He is mentioned only once in the texts, his presence noted at the time Rāv Mālde granted one-half of the villages of Meṛto to Meṛtīyo Rāṭhṇor Jagnāl Vīrāmdēvot (no. 124). This grant took place in July of 1559 following the laying of foundations for the Mālgadh at Meṛto. Jhāṅjhāṅh was a

1 Sācor town is located one hundred thirty miles southwest of Jodhpur and seventy miles west of Sīrohī.

2 Jālōr is situated sixty-six miles northeast of Sācor.

3 Mehagro: located twelve miles west of Sīvāṇo.

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
witness to the grant and to the swearing of Meṛīyo Jagmāl at the temple of Mahāmāyā in Phalodhī village near Meṛto along with Rāv Mālde's son, Kuṃvar Candrasen, and other Rajpūts in Rāv Mālde's service (see Vīgat, 2:59 of the translated text for details of this swearing).

According to Bāṅkīdās, p. 162, Jhaṅjhāṇ lived at Pokaran in northern Mārvār and was killed there during an outbreak of hostilities with the Devrājot Rāṭhors.

Bāṅkīdās, p. 162; Khyāt, 1:238; Vīgat, 2:62, 249.

(no. 8) Megho Bhaīravdāsot (4-2)

Megho Bhaīravdāsot was Jhaṅjhāṇ Bhaīravdāsot's (4-1) brother. He was killed at Meṛto in 1554 fighting with Rāṭhɔr Prithirāj Jaitāvāt (no. 63) against Meṛīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107). Megho was apparently in Rāṭhɔr Prithirāj's personal service. He died along with a paternal nephew named Vīram Udāvat (5-2). Vīram Udāvat's son, Netsī Vīramot (6-1), was killed at Meṛto some eight years later in March of 1562 fighting with Rāṭhɔr Prithirāj's brother, Devidās Jaitāvāt (no. 65), against Meṛīyo Rāv Jaimal and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrza Sharaful-Dīn Ḥusayn.


---

4 Phalodhī: located nine miles northwest of Meṛto town.
Figure 6. Sācoro Cahuvāṇs

(1-1) Rāv Varjāṅg Pāṭāvat (Sācor)

(2-1) Rāv Jaisinghde Varjāṅgot

(3-2) Bhairavdās Jaisinghdevot

(4-1) Jhāñjhaṅ Bhairavdāsot
(4-2) Megho Bhairavdāsot
(4-3) Gāṅgo Bhairavdāsot
(4-4) Údo Bhairavdāsot

(5-1) Jīvo Gāṅgāvat
(5-2) Vīram Ūdāvat

(6-1) Nêtsī Vīramot
The Sonagaros Cahuvāns of Mārvār

The Sonagaros Cahuvāns of Pālī village in eastern Mārvār descend from a branch of the Cahuvāns of Nāḍūl in southern Mārvār. Their association with the Rāthors of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur dates from the time of Rāthor Rāv Rīṅmal Cūṇḍāvat (ca. 1428-38).

Rāv Rīṅmal was a sago of the Sonagaros of Nāḍūl. He had married a daughter of theirs prior to his usurpation of power at Maṇḍor ca. 1428 from his uterine brother, Rāv Sato Cūṇḍāvat (no. 54). The chronicles of Mārvār relate that the Sonagaros grew suspicious of Rāv Rīṅmal and his growing power following his assumption of rulership, and they began to plot his murder. They used their ties through marriage to gain access to the court at Maṇḍor to further their ends. Word of the Sonagaro plot reached Rāv Rīṅmal’s Sonagarī wife, however, and she informed her husband of the danger and helped him to escape unharmed. In retaliation, Rāv Rīṅmal organized a systematic campaign to rid Mārvār of all Sonagaros. This campaign culminated in an attack on Nāḍūl, during which Rāv Rīṅmal pillaged and burned the town and had all the Sonagaro men who had escaped his earlier retribution killed and their bodies thrown into the wells of the fort.

One Sonagaro who survived Rāv Rīṅmal’s revenge was Lolo Rāṇāvāt (1-1). His mother was pregnant with him at the time of Rāv Rīṅmal’s attack. She was a Bhatīyanī from the ruling family of Jaisalmer and went to her paternal home (pīhar) to live following Rāv Rīṅmal’s attack on Nāḍūl. She remained at Jaisalmer thereafter, raising Lolo at his maternal grandfather’s home (nānānī) at the Bhatī court. Rāv Rīṅmal came to Jaisalmer sometime later to marry, and one afternoon while hunting with members of the Bhatī ruling family, noticed Sonagaro Lolo, then aged twelve years. The Rav was impressed with the physical strength and prowess Lolo displayed during a fight with a lion. The Bhatīs told Rāv Rīṅmal about this Sonagaro, saying that the Rāv had killed all the Sonagaros of Nāḍūl except this one who had been spared because he had been in his mother’s belly. Rāv Rīṅmal then requested Lolo from the Raval, and brought him along when he left Jaisalmer. Upon his return to Maṇḍor, Rāv Rīṅmal married Sundarbāī, the daughter of his son Jodho Rīṅmalot, to Lolo.3

---

1 Pālī: located forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

2 Nāḍūl: located sixty-seven miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

3 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Rīṅmalot, D
The Rāv also took the village of Pālī from the Nimbāvat Sīndhāḷs then in control, and granted it to Lolo for his maintenance. Lolo Rāṇāvat later married a daughter to Rāv Rīṃmal in exchange. Sonagar attachments as military servants to the Rāthōr rulers of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur date from this time forward.

Little information is available about Lolo Rāṇāvat's immediate descendants. They maintained their position at Pālī as military servants of Jodhpur. Lolo Rāṇāvat's grandson, Khīṃḍo Satāv (3-1), married a daughter named Cāṃpābāī to Rāv Rīṃmal's son and successor, Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot (ca. 1453-1489), in exchange for the daughter of Jodho that Rāv Rīṃmal had given to Lolo. This Sonagāri's two sons, Varsāṅgh (no. 145) and Dūḍo Jodhāvāt (no. 104), established Rāthōr rule at Meṛṭo in eastern Mārvār during the early 1460s.


(no. 9) Akhairāj Rīṇḍhīrōt (5-1)

Akhairāj Rīṇḍhīrōt was fourth in line of descent from Lolo Rāṇāvat (1-1). He was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-1562), under whom he rose to considerable prominence among the thākurs of Mārvār. Following the death of his father, Rīṇḍhīr Khīṃḍāvat (4-1), he succeeded to the rule of his ancestral village of Pālī, which Rāv Mālde granted him in paṭo. While thākur of Pālī, Akhairāj became known as a warrior with few equals among the Rajpūts of Mārvār. Local chronicles honor him as a great patron (vado ḍāṭār), a great adept on the battlefield (vado ākhārsidh), and a great warrior (vado jhūṃjhār).

Akhairāj Rīṇḍhīrōt is mentioned in the texts in connection with several of Rāv Mālde's major campaigns between the years 1532 and 1544. He played a leading role in Rāv Mālde's occupation of Meṛṭo and Ajmer ca. 1535, when Meṛṭīyo Rāv Vīrāmrde Dūḍāvat (no. 105) was driven from the land. Two years later ca. 1537, he led the contingent of Rajpūts who went to the aid of the fifteen-year-old heir to the throne of Cītṛ, Sīsōḍīyo Udāisingh Śāṅgāvat (Rāṇo of Mevār, ca. 1537-72; no. 17). Udāisingh's elder uterine brother, Rāṇo Vikramāditya, had been murdered at Cītṛ ca. 1536. Udāisingh himself escaped to Kumbhāḷmar and was under threat from a pretender to the throne, Sīsōḍīyo Vāṃvīr Prithīrājot. Udāisingh's supporters called upon Sonagāri Akhairāj, offering to arrange the marriage of one of Akhairāj's daughters to Udāisingh in return for Akhairāj's support. Akhairāj demurred, saying he would be honored to marry a daughter to Udāisingh, but that there were rumors that this Udāisingh was not the real heir to the throne. Sīsōḍīyo Vāṃvīr, the pretender, had been spreading rumors of Udāisingh's death. Akhairāj said that if the Rajpūts around Udāisingh would eat Udāisingh's leavings (jūṭhā), he would accept this Udāisingh as the legitimate heir. Udāisingh's Rajpūts ate his leavings to prove

4 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Rīṃmalot, Rāṇī no. 4.
his identity, and Akhairaj brought his daughter to Kumbhalmer and married her to Kunvar Udaisingh. The *Khyât* of Naïnsî, 1:207, records that later, when Udaisingh came under attack, he had a letter sent to Akhairaj, saying: "[You] should help me." Akhairaj then rode to Kumbhalmer in concert with other powerful Rathôrs and their Rajputût including Kûmpo Mahirajôt (no. 95), who was stationed at the thânô of Madâriïyo village in Godhvár at the time, and Jeso Bhairov adasot (no. 48), who had taken service under Udaisingh a short time before and had been in close contact with Kûmpo Mahirajôt. The *Khyât* credits Akhairaj with defeating Vanvîr's forces, driving Vanvîr from Cîtor, and seating Udaisingh on the Sîsodîyo throne at Kumbhalmer.

In January of 1544 Akhairaj remained in the forefront of Râv Mâlde's army which faced Sher Shâh Sûr at Samel. He was killed there along with one of his sons, Bhojraj Akhairajôt (6-2). Bhojraj was a personal retainer of Rathôr Kûmpo Mahirajôt. Kûmpo and Kûmpo's paternal cousin, Jaito Pañcâinôt (no. 61), were the commanders of Râv Mâlde's armies at Samel.

Akhairaj married daughters to several of the most powerful rulers of Râjasthân. He gave one daughter to Râv Mâlde Gângâvat of Jodhpur. He married another, as noted above, to Sîsodîyo Râño Udaisingh Sângâvat of Mevâr (ca. 1537-72) while Udaisingh was a kunvar. This daughter's son (dohîtro) was Pratâpsîngh Udaisinghgot, who succeeded Râño Udaisingh to the throne of Cîtor and ruled 1572-97. A third daughter he married to Bîkâvat Râthôr Kalyânmal Jaitsîyot (no. 46), a son of Bikâner Râv Jaitsî Lûnpkaranôt (ca. 1526-42; no. 45). Kalyânmal succeeded Râv Jaitsî to the throne of Bikâner (ca. 1542-74), and his son, Râysîngh by Akhairaj's daughter, also succeeded to the rulership of Bikâner (ca. 1574-1612).


(no. 10) Mânsîngh Akhairajôt (6-1)

Mânsîngh Akhairajôt was a son of Sonagaro Akhairaj Riîdhirot (5-1) (no. 9) of Pâlî village in central Mârvâr. Mânsîngh succeeded his father at Pâlî following his father's death at the battle of Samel in 1544. He continued to hold this village in pato from Jodhpur for the next twenty years. He then left Mârvâr

---

5 Madâriïyo village: located thirteen miles south-southwest of Nâdûl, and thirteen miles west-northwest of Kumbhalmer.

6 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

7 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Mâlde Gângâvat, Râni no. 15.
for Mevāṛ in 1566-67, where he remained for the next ten years until his death in June of 1576.

Mānsingh was one of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's most prominent thākurs following Samel. His name is mentioned with reference to several of the Rāv's important military campaigns. He took part in Rāv Mālde's abortive attempt to re-conquer Merto from Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107) in 1554, ten years after Samel. Some eight years later in 1562, Rāv Mālde sent Mānsingh and a select number of Rajpūts with his son, Kuṃvar Candrasen Māldevot, to support Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65) in the defense of the Mālgadh at Merto against Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mirzā Sharaful-Dīn Hūsayn. Mānsingh appears to have withdrawn from Merto with Kuṃvar Candrasen prior to the battle. His association with the Kuṃvar at this time may indicate that he was in the Kuṃvar's personal service.

Mānsingh continued to serve under Rāv Mālde's son and successor, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81), following Rāv Mālde's death in 1562. Mānsingh supported Rāv Candrasen against his elder uterine brother, Udaisingh, shortly after Rāv Candrasen's accession, when the brothers met in battle at the village of Lohiyāvat in northern Mārvāṛ 8 ca. 1563. Udaisingh attempted unsuccessfully at Lohiyāvat to challenge Rāv Candrasen's authority in Mārvāṛ.

An elder half-brother of Rāv Candrasen, Rām Māldevot, took control of Sojhat in eastern Mārvāṛ with Mughal assistance in 1564. A year later in 1565, Mughal forces under Ḥusayn Qulī Khān attacked first Pāli and then Jodhpur. Mānsingh took part in the engagement at Pāli, and then joined Rāv Candrasen at the fort of Jodhpur. Rāv Candrasen's forces were able to maintain control of the fort for several months, but on December 2, 1565 the Rāv finally handed over authority to Ḥusayn Qulī Khān and proceeded first to Bhāḍrājun 9 and then to Sivāṇo 10 in southern Mārvāṛ where he sought refuge during this time of distress (vikhau).

Mānsingh remained with the Rāv for a short period after quitting Jodhpur. He then left Mārvāṛ for Mevāṛ in 1566-67, where he took service under his sister's husband (bahano), Sisodīyo Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17), and then his sister's son (bhānej), Rāṇo Pratāpsingh Udaisinghnot (1572-97). He was killed in June of 1576 at the battle of Haldighatī in northern Mevāṛ, 11 when a Mughal force of Akbar's some five thousand strong met and defeated an army of three thousand Rajpūts under Sisodīyo Rāṇo Pratāp.

---

8. Lohiyāvat: located eighteen miles southeast of Phalodhī in northern Mārvāṛ.
10. Sivāṇo: located fifty-eight miles southwest of Jodhpur.
11. Haldighatī is a narrow defile set amongst the Arāvallī hills eleven miles southwest of Nāṭhivedā village and eighteen miles northeast of Gogundo. The village of Khamñor is nearby. Nāṭhivedā lies twenty-six miles to the north of Udaipur in south-central Mevāṛ.
While thākur of Pālī, Mānsīṅgh granted the village of Rāvalvās\textsuperscript{12} to the Brahmāṇ Purohit Māhāv Rāygur.


\textsuperscript{12} Rāvalvās: located eight miles east of Pālī village in eastern Mārvār.
Figure 7. Sonagaro Cahuvāns of Mārvār

(1-1) Lolo Rāṇāvat

(2-1) Sato Lolāvat

(3-1) Khīṃvo Satāvat

(4-1) Rīṇdhīr Khīṃvāvat

(5-1) Akhairāj Rīṇdhīrot

(6-1) Mānsingh Akhairājot  (6-2) Bhojraj Akhairājot
Askaran Prithirajot, Raval of Dungarpur

Pratapsingh Jaisinghot, Raval of Vamsavalo

Askaran Prithirajot succeeded to the rulership of Dungarpur in 1549-50 and ruled for over thirty years until 1580. His accession followed a decade of division and hostility among the Aharo Gahlots of southern Rajasthan, who held control of territory directly to the south of Mevar. The Rano of Citoor, Sisodiyro Ratansingh Sangavat (ca. 1528-31), had entered into these hostilities as an arbiter, and during the rule of Raval Askaran's father, Raval Prithiraj Udaiisinghot (ca. 1527-49), this territory had been divided into the two kingdoms of Dungarpur and Vamsavalo. Raval Askaran came to the throne of Dungarpur at a time when overt hostilities had momentarily settled between the two main branches of the Aharos, and Raval Askaran could look forward to an uncontested reign.

Few details are available about Raval Askaran's period of rule. He figures in local chronicles largely because of the location of his kingdom in the hilly region of southern Mevar and the Bagar, where he provided refuge on several occasions for rulers and prominent men from nearby kingdoms. One of the first of such men was Sujat Khan, whom Sher Shahr Suri had made hakim of Malwa in 1543. Sujat Khan fell out of favor with Sher Shahr's successor, Islam Shah, following Sher Shahr's death in 1545, and declared himself the independent ruler of Malwa. Islam Shah then sent an army against Sujat Khan, forcing him to flee Malwa and seek refuge in Dungarpur with Raval Askaran. Sujat Khan remained in Dungarpur for some time, finally leaving to reassert his authority over Malwa.

Due to Dungarpur's proximity to Mevar, Sisodiyro influence was strong throughout the kingdom. Raval Askaran maintained a close but inconstant alliance with Mevar. He was one of the allies of Sisodiyro Rano Udaiisingh Sangavat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) at the ill-fated battle of Harmaro1 in January of 1557. He rode to defeat here along with a number of other local rulers who had gathered in support of the Rano against Pathan Hajl Khan and the Rajputs of Rathor Rav Malde Gangavat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Raval Askaran's support of Rano Udaiisingh appears short-lived, however, for an inscription at the Vishnu temple near Banesvar Mahadev in Dungarpur dated V.S. 1617 (1560-61) speaks of an attack from Mevar and a victory for Dungarpur against the Rano. Specific details regarding these hostilities are unavailable.

1 Harmaro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevar.
The Mughal Emperor Akbar sent an army under Ahmad Khan Kokā against Malwa in 1561. This army forced Bāz Bahādur, son and successor of Suja’āt Khān, to flee the region. Bāz Bahādur sought refuge in Dūngarpur in 1562. Later in 1564, Akbar sent ‘Abdu-llah Khān Uzbek against Dūngarpur in pursuit of Bāz Bahādur, who then fled to Mevār. Bāz Bahādur soon returned to Dūngarpur and to Rāval Āskaraṇ’s protection, however. The series of inconclusive Mughal operations against him finally ended in 1570 when he formally submitted to the Mughal throne.

Akbar sent another army under the command of Kachvāho Kumvār Mānsīṅgh Bhagvantāsot (Rājā of Amber, 1589-1614) in the direction of Dūngarpur and Mevār in the period following his crushing of the rebellion in Gujarat in 1573. Kumvār Mānsīṅgh engaged Rāval Āskaraṇ in battle and forced him to flee and to seek refuge in the hills. The Kumvār then looted Dūngarpur town and proceeded on toward Udaipur. It was not until three years later in 1576 that Rāval Āskaraṇ finally submitted to the Mughals. *Akbar Nāma*, 3:277, includes the following entry about the Rāval’s submission:

while the splendour of the august standards was casting glorious rays on the territory of Bānswārā, Rāūl Pertāp the head of that district - who was always stubborn - and Rāūl Āskaran ruler of Dūngarpur and other turbulent spirits of that country came and paid the prostration of repentance. Inasmuch as H. M. [Akbar’s] nature is to accept excuses, and to cherish the humble, he accepted the shame of their having rendered little service, at the rate of good service, and took the life, the honour and the country of this faction under the protection of his justice and kindness. They were exalted by special favours.

Rāval Āskaran offered one of his daughters to Akbar in marriage not long after his submission. Akbar sent a mission under Rājā Bīrbar to Dūngarpur to bring the Āḥāṛī to his harem.

While earning a respite from Mughal depredations into his land through these actions, Rāval Āskarān gained the ire of Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Pratāpsīṅgh Udaisīnghot of Mevār (1572-97). Rāṇo Pratāp sent an army against both Dūngarpur and Vāṃsvālō in 1578 to exact punishment. A battle took place along the Som Nāḍī, but it was inconclusive and ended only when the Rāṇo’s commander was wounded and a number of Rajpūts on both sides had been killed.

Rāval Āskaran extended help to Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Candrasen Čāldevoṭ of Jodhpur (1562-81) when the Rāv fled Mārvār in 1576 for southern Rājasthān, and spent several years in exile. The Rāv stayed in Dūngarpur for a number of months, then moved on to Vāṃsvālō with the approach of Mughal forces. Rāval Āskarān had married a daughter of Rāv Ṁālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur named Pohpāṃvatībāī, and he was Rāv Candrasen’s sister’s husband *(bahaṇo)*.2

---


Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Rāvāḷ Āskaraṇ was succeeded to the rulership of Duṅgarpur by his son, Sahasmal. Sahasmal married one of his daughters to Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaiasinghot of Jodhpur (1595-1619).\(^3\)


(no. 12) Pratāpsingh Jaiśinghot, Rāvāḷ

Few details are available about the life and rule of Rāvāḷ Pratāpsingh Jaiśinghot of Vāṃśvālo (ca. 1550-79). He was a close but inconstant ally of Mevār like his Āhāro relation, Rāvāḷ Āskaraṇ Prithirājot of Duṅgarpur (no. 11). He did participate in the ill-fated battle of Harmāro in January of 1557 with Sīsodiya Rāṇo Udaiasingh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). During Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's exile from Jodhpur and Mārvār in the years 1576-79, he gave refuge to the Rāv and granted him several villages for his maintenance. Rāvāḷ Pratāpsingh maintained his independence from Mughal rule until the mid-1570s. He finally submitted to Akbar in 1576 along with Rāvāḷ Āskaraṇ of Duṅgarpur and other local rulers.

Rāvāḷ Pratāpsingh was succeeded by his only son, Mānsingh, born of a concubine.

Māngliyo Gahlots

(no. 13) Dedo
(no. 14) Vīram Devāvat

Māngliyo Vīram Devāvat is an obscure but important figure in the Rāṭhor chronicles. He lived during the period of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's rule at Jodhpur (1532-62) and served under the Rāv in what appears to have been an administrative capacity.

Vīram's family had been associated with the house of Jodhpur for several generations. His grandfather, Māngliyo Bhādo, had initiated this contact. Bhādo was from the village of Vāvṛī in northern Mārvār. He presented several hunting dogs to Rāv Mālde one day when the Rāv was hunting in the vicinity of his village. The Rāv, in turn, accepted Bhādo's son, Devo Bhādāvat, into his military service (cākṛī). Devo must have taken part in the Rāv's conquest of Sīvāṅo from the Jaitmalot Rāṭhors in June of 1538 and distinguished himself in some capacity during this campaign, for the Rāv honored Devo afterwards by placing him in charge of Sīvāṅo fort. Devo later died at the fort.

Māngliyo Devo's son, Vīram Devāvat, followed his father into Rāv Mālde's service. Bānkīdās, p. 60, refers to Vīram as a worthy and dutiful son (vado sapūt). Vīram became a hujdār of Rāv Mālde's, responsible for the collection of revenues. His name is first mentioned in the chronicles with relation to Rāv Mālde's grant of one-half of the villages of Merṭo to Merṭīyo Jagmāl Vīramdevot (no. 124) in July of 1559. Māngliyo Vīram was present along with Rāv Mālde's son, Kuṃvar Candrasen, and other Rajpūts during Merṭīyo Jagmāl's swearing at the temple of Mahāmāyā in Phałodhī village near Merṭo before Merṭīyo Jagmāl's receipt of this grant. Rāv Mālde afterwards stationed Vīram at Merṭo and entrusted him with the management of his affairs there.

Three years later on March 20, 1562 Māngliyo Vīram was killed at Merṭo. He was stationed at the Mālgadh along with other Rajpūts under the command of Rāv Mālde's commander, Rāṭhōr Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65). He died fighting there when Merṭīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḫusayn laid siege to Merṭo in early 1562 and succeeded in taking the fort and town. Among the Rajpūts in the Mālgadh was a relation of Vīram's, Māngliyo Dedo (no. 13). Māngliyo Dedo's reason for being at Merṭo and the role he played during the siege are uncertain. His specific relation to Māngliyo Vīram is also unknown.

1 Vāvṛī village: located twenty-one miles north of Phałodhī.
2 Phałodhī village: located nine miles northwest of Merṭo.
3 Vigat, 1:63, incorrectly lists Māngliyo Vīram as "Cahuvāṅ Vīram Īḍāvat."
Bhim Amravat (Amarsinghot) was a son of Sisodlyo Rano Amarsingh Pratapsinghot (7-1) of Mevar (1597-1620), and grandson of Rano Pratapsingh Udaisinghot (6-1) (1572-97). He was a daughter's son (dohitro) of Akhairaj Kanhavat of Birpur, tentatively identified as a Solaṅkī Rajput.

The Khyāt of Nainsī, 1:30, refers to Bhim as a great warrior (vado Rajput). During the rulership of his father, Rano Amarsingh, and until 1615 when Rāno Amarsingh submitted to the Mughal Emperor Jahāṅgīr, Kumvār Bhim participated in the Sisodiyo struggles against the Mughals. Rāno Amarsingh met with Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) in 1615 at the village of Gogūndo near Udaipur. This meeting marked the culmination of a concerted Mughal campaign against Mevar led by Prince Khurram and begun over a year earlier in December of 1613. Rāno Amarsingh sent his son, Karansingh (8-2), to the Mughal court with Prince Khurram following his submission. Bhim was among the contingent of Sisodiys in accompaniment, and he remained at court and soon became a personal servant of Prince Khurram’s. Maṭhir-ul-Umrā, 2:1:572, notes that Bhim distinguished himself in the Prince’s service. He also gained the respect and affection of Emperor Jahāṅgīr. Bhim continued to serve under Prince Khurram for the remainder of his life.

Bhim became involved with operations against zamīndārs in Gujarat and against the Deccanis soon after joining the Prince’s service. He also took part in operations in Gondwana, where he proved valuable in collecting tribute, and he acquired a considerable reputation for bravery and courage. Prince Khurram granted Bhim the revenues of the ghāsmārī tax of Jālūr Pargano in 1619, which he held for approximately one year. Bhim was in Kashmir with Emperor Jahāṅgīr in 1620 when his own father, Rāno Amarsingh, died at Udaipur in Mevār. Jahāṅgīr notes in his Memoirs:

On this day came the news of the death of Rāṇā Amar Singh, who had died a natural death at Udaipur (became a traveler on the road of non-existence). Jagat Singh, his grandson, and Bhim, his son, who were in attendance on me, were presented with dresses of honor . . . (Jahāṅgīr, 2:123).

Emperor Jahāṅgīr also honored Bhim with the title of rājā during this time. Rājā Bhim served with Prince Khurram in the Deccan in 1621 during operations there.
against Mālik ‘Ambar. He was placed in charge of one of the five armies used in these operations. Then in 1622 while Khurram was sūbedār of Ajmer (including Merto), Bhim received 204 villages of Merto Pargano in Mārvār along with the town of Merto in jāgīr. Vigat, 2:73, records that Rājā Bhīm himself came to Merto at this time.

Rājā Bhīm held Merto for only a short period, for in 1623 Prince Khurram rebelled against Emperor Jahangīr. Rājā Bhīm followed the Prince into the Deccan, eastern India, and finally the Gangetic plains, and remained one of the Prince’s foremost supporters during his rebellion. In May of 1624 Khurram’s forces of some 10,000 men under Rājā Bhīm’s command met an Imperial force of 40,000 led by Prince Parviz and Mahābat Kān at the village of Dandama on the confluence of the Tons and the Ganges Rivers. Rājā Bhīm was killed during the battle that ensued.


(no. 16) Tejo Bikāvat, Rāvat (7-2)

Tejo (Tejmāl) Bikāvat, Rāvat of Devalīyo and Partābgadh (ca. 1564-93), came from a collateral line of the ruling house of Mēvār, stemming from Rānō Mokaḷ Lākhāvat (1-1), an early fifteenth century ruler of Cītor. He was the eldest son of Rāvat Bīko (also referred to as Vikramsīṅghī) Rāysiṅghot (6-2). His mother was the daughter of Chapanlyo Rathor Jaimal Jaicandot. Tejo’s father had ruled Partābgadh and founded his own capital at Devalīyo. The dates for Rāvat Bīko’s rule are obscure, and it appears from inscriptive evidence that the ruling family was divided among a number of factions during this period, with unclear and disrupted periods of rulership. Ojhā, 3:3:101, 104, gives the date of 1563-64 for Rāvat Bīko’s death, while Vīr Vīnod, 2:1056, offers the later date of 1578. Ojhā’s earlier date is preferable, but still problematic, for Bīko’s son, Tejo, is mentioned with the title of rāvat with relation to events that occurred as early as 1557.

Rāvat Tejo Bikāvat is also an obscure figure in local history. Only a few references to him appear in the texts. He is mentioned as an ally of Sisidiyo Rānō Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvat of Mēvār (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) and fought with him at the battle of Harmāro 2 on January 24, 1557 against the forces of Pathān Hāji Khān, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr’s, and Rāthor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Vīgat, 2:60, which lists him as a participant in the battle, gives him the designation "Rāvat Tejo, master of Devalīyo."


2 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer.
It is known that Rāvat Tejo was much involved with Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Pratāpśingh Udaisiṅghot of Mevār (1572-97) (6-1) during the latter's long struggle against Mughal domination of his lands. Akbar had conquered Citor in 1568. With the death of Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh in 1572, his son, Rāṇo Pratāpśingh, maintained a running battle with the Mughals for several years thereafter. Rāvat Tejo assisted the Rāṇo with men and supplies, and he sent one of his sons to fight with Rāṇo Pratāp at the battle of Haldighāṭī in northern Mevār\(^3\) in June of 1576. Tejo's son was killed in this battle. Rāvat Tejo submitted to the Mughals this same year, but he continued to assist the Rāṇo as opportunity allowed. Rāvat Tejo died in 1593-94.


(no. 17) Udaisiṅgh Sāṅgāvat, Rāṇo (5-3)

Udaisiṅgh Sāṅgāvat was a son of Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot (4-1), ruler of Citor and Mevār (1509-28). His rise to power and rulership in Mevār ca. 1537 came at the end of a decade of turbulence in Mevār following the death of his father, Rāṇo Sāṅgo, in 1528. Rāṇo Sāṅgo was poisoned by his Rajpūts following their defeat at the battle of Khanua in 1527 against the Mughal Bābur, to prevent him from organizing another force to oppose the Mughals. Ten years of political turmoil in Mevār ensued. Udaisiṅgh Sāṅgāvat, a younger son of the Rāṇo's by his wife, Hāḍī Karameti, the daughter of Hāḍo Urjan Nārbadot of Būndi, succeeded to the seat of power ca. 1537.

Events leading to Udaiśingh's accession are as follows: Rāṇo Sāṅgo's elder son, Ratansingh Sāṅgāvat (5-1), born of the daughter of Rāṭhor Vāgho Sūjāvat of Jodhpur (no. 83), succeeded to the throne of Mevār at Citor in February of 1528. Immediately after his accession, he became involved in a dispute with Hāḍo Rāv Sūrājmal Nārandaṣot of Būndi (ca. 1527-31). This dispute centered upon control of the fort of Rinthambhor, then under nominal Sīsodiyo authority but entrusted to the Hāḍos of Būndi. The fort was in the pāto of two of Rāṇo Ratansingsh's younger half-brothers, Vikramaditya (5-2) and Udaiśingh (5-3). Vikramaditya and Udaiśingh were uterine brothers, related to the ruling house of Būndi through their mother, Hāḍī Karameti, and therefore under the protection of the Hāḍos. Rāṇo Sāṅgo had given this pāto to Vikramaditya and Udaiśingh during the latter years of his rule in order to protect as well as sustain them.

Rāṇo Ratansingsh attempted to assert his authority over Rinthambhor, and issued a summons to his half-brothers and their mother to come to Citor. This summons brought immediate Hāḍo resistance which enraged Rāṇo Ratansingsh. Hāḍī Karameti then initiated negotiations with the Mughal Bābur to enlist his aid in seating one of her sons on the throne of Citor. These

---

\(^3\) Haldighāṭī is a narrow defile in the Arāvallī hills eleven miles southwest of Nāthdīvāra village and eighteen miles northeast of Gogūndo. The village of Khampor is nearby. Nāthdīvāra lies twenty-six miles to the north of Udaipur in south-central Mevār.
negotiations came to naught, but they helped to inflame an already difficult situation among the different factions around the ruling house of Mevar. In 1531 the personal hostility between Hādo Rāv Sūrajmal and Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Ratansīngh reached a peak. While hunting together near Cītoṛ, they fell to fighting and killed each other from wounds inflicted.

Both Vikramaditya and Udaisingh were summoned from Rīṅthambhor to Cītoṛ in the wake of Rāṇo Ratansīngh's death. Succession passed to Vikramaditya, the elder of the two brothers, then aged thirteen or fourteen years. His was a very short reign, lasting only five years ca. 1531-36. By all standards, Vikramaditya was incompetent to rule both because of age as well as personal idiosyncracies. He is said to have dismissed all of the regular palace servants and attendants and to have brought in a large number of wrestlers and strong men to court in order to make himself feel more secure. He also alienated many of the leading ṭhākurs of Mevar because of the frivolities of his rule. They left his attendance to remain sequestered in their own strongholds.

Cītoṛ came under attack from troops of the Sultān of Gujarat, Bahādur Shāh (1526-37) in 1533. Bahādur Shāh was expanding from Gujarat into Mālwa and southern Rājasthān in this period. Cītoṛ fell to his troops on March 8, 1535 and was held until later that same year when the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn defeated Bahādur Shāh's army in north India. As news of this defeat reached Cītoṛ, Bahādur Shāh's men abandoned the fortress, allowing Vikramaditya and his followers to reoccupy it. Sīsodiyo Vanvīr Prithirājot (5-4), a son of Rāṇo Vikramaditya's paternal uncle, Sīsodiyo Prithirāj Rāymalot (4-2) by a concubine of the Khāṭī jāṭī, had become a close companion and sycophant of the Rāṇo's during this time. In 1536 Vanvīr stabbed and killed Rāṇo Vikramaditya and made himself master of Cītoṛ.

Servants of Udaisingh's smuggled him out of Cītoṛ on the night of Rāṇo Vikramaditya's murder, taking him first to Dēvalīyo, then Dūṅgarpur to the south of Mevar, and finally to the fortress of Kumbhāḷṃer, located among the Arāvalli hills in western Mevar. Udaisingh was then fifteen years old. Rājūts around him quickly organized support for his cause against Vanvīr, pretender to the throne. The chronicles relate that one of the prominent Rājpūts they called upon to assist Udaisingh was Sonagaro Cahuvaṇ Akhairāj Rīndhīrot (no. 9), who was a military servant of Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Udaisingh's supporters arranged the marriage of one of Akhairāj's daughters to Udaisingh in turn for Akhairāj's support. Akhairāj agreed to this marriage and brought his daughter to Kumbhāḷṃer for the wedding. He later returned to Mevar with a large force of Rājpūts from Mārvār, including Kūmpo Māhirājot (no. 95), Rāṇo Akhairājot (no. 28), and Bhado Pāṅcāīnāt (no. 32). The assembled force defeated Vanvīr's army and marched on Cītoṛ. Vanvīr is reported to have either been killed or to have run away in the face of the attack.

Udaisingh's succession took place ca. 1537 at Kumbhāḷṃer. His reign as Rāṇo of Mevar spanned thirty-five years until his death in 1572 at the age of fifty. The first part of his rulership involved several confrontations with Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur. Rāv Mālde sent a force under Bāḷāvat Rāṭhōṛ Nago Bhārmalot (no. 38) against Kumbhāḷṃer in 1540-41 in an ill-fated attempt to take this fortress and the surrounding territory from the Rāṇo. The Rāṇo's marriage of a daughter of Jhalo Jaito Sajāvat, a military servant of Rāv Mālde's
holding Khairvo in *pato*, precipitated this attack. The Jhālos initially promised this daughter to Rāv Mālde, but later deceived the Rāv and gave their daughter to Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Udaisingh. Later in 1557 the Rāṇo and an allied force of Rajpūts fought at the ill-fated battle of Harmāro against Pathān Ḥāji Khān, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr’s, and Rajpūts of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur led by Rāthor Devīdās Jaitāvat (no. 65).

Rāṇo Udaisingh had the foundations for the new fort and town of Udaipur laid in the heart of the Arāvalli hills in southern Mevār in 1559-60. This construction had not been completed by the time of the Rāṇo’s death in 1572.

In late 1567 Akbar marched into Mevār and laid siege to Cītōr. Bitter fighting took place there in January and February of 1568, with Akbar’s final establishment of authority over Cītōr on February 25, 1568. The battle for Cītōr was one of the most intense and bloody in India during this period, with more than 40,000 dead. Among those killed were Mērtīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīrāṃdevot (no. 107) and his brother, Isardās Vīrāṃdevot (no. 109), both of whom were military servants of the Rāṇo’s.

For the remainder of his reign, Rāṇo Udaisingh lived in the hills of Mevār and at the fortress of Kumbhālmēr, evading Mughal troops in an attempt to remain free of Muslim domination. He died on February 28, 1572, four years after the fall of Cītōr to Akbar.

Rāṇo Udaisingh had a large family, including fifteen sons. His successor to the throne of Mevār was Pratapsingh Udaisinghot (6-1), daughter’s son of Sonagaro Cahuvaṇ Ākhaīrāj Rīṇḍhirōt of Pāli, Mārvār. Rāṇo Pratāp ruled Mevār from 1572-97. There were five other sons by Udaisingh’s wife, Rāni Bhatīyanī, a daughter of Bhatī Rāval Lunkarān Jaitāvot of Jaisaḷmer (1527-49), and nine additional sons by other wives.


(no. 18) Candrāvat Durgo Aĉāvat, Rāv of Rāmpuro

The origin of the Candrāvat branch (sākh) of the Sīsodīyo Gahlots is shrouded in obscurity. The *Khyāt* of Nainī, 3:239, 247-248, whose authority if generally accepted, records that the founder of this branch was Čandro

---

4 See *supra*, Bālīso Cahuvaṇ Sūjo Sāṃvatot (no. 4), for details regarding this marriage and its aftermath.

5 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevār.

6 Śyāmaldas, author of *Vir Vinod*, notes, 2:982, that the Barvā Bhaṭs with whom he spoke regarding the Candrāvat genealogy, stated that the founder of the Candrāvats was Candro Aṭisingṭot, second son of Arīṣṭāṅgh Lakhīnāgot and grandson of Sīsodīyo Rāṇo.
Bhavansiyot, a son of Sisodiyo Râño Bhavansî (Bhimvsi), a thirteenth century ruler of Mevâr. The following genealogy emerges from Nainsî:

**Figure 8. Candravat Sisodiyo Gahlots**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Râño Bhavansî (Bhimvsi) of Mevâr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candro Bhavansiyot (Candravat Sisodiyo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sajan Candravat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chajû Sajanot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râv Sivo Chajûot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râv Râymal Sivâvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râv Aclo Râymalot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râv Durgo Acjâvat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the time of Bhâkharsî Jhâñjhansiyot and his paternal uncle, Chajû Sajanot, the Candravats are said to have established themselves in the pargano of Āntrî in the land of Āmand in south-central Râjasthân. Following their establishment of control in Āntrî, Chajû fell out with his paternal uncle, Bhâkharsî, and left this area, settling in the land of Mânḍû to the south. His son, Sivo Chajûot, is credited with bringing this branch of the family into pre-eminence among the Candravats. According to tradition, Sivo rescued one of the wives of Hûshang Ghûrî, ruler of Mânḍû (1405-34), from drowning. In reward for this feat of bravery and for the service to his family, the ruler of Mânḍû granted Sivo the title of râv and made him one of his military servants. The Mânḍû ruler is also said to have granted Sivo title to his homeland (utan) of Āntrî. Râv Sivo and his family then returned to the pargano of Āntrî.

Râv Sivo’s son, Râv Râymal Sivâvat, became a military servant of Sisodiyo Râño Kûmbho Mokalot of Cîtoṛ (ca. 1433-68). The Candravats under Râv Râymal’s son and grandson, Râv Aclo Râymalot and Râv Durgo Acjâvat, remained based in Āntrî and continued as supporters and servants of the Sisodiyoos of Mevâr until the fall of Cîtoṛ in 1568.
The *Khyāt* of Nainsī, 3:246, describes Rāv Durgo as a *vaḍo desot* ("great ruler of the land"), a *vaḍo dātār* ("great giver"), and as a *kāraṇīk ṭhākur* ("proven and tested master"). When he succeeded to the rulership of the Candrāvats, he founded his own capital of Rāmpuro. ⑦ He named his capital in honor of Ṭhākur Śrī Rāmcandrajī, the patron deity of the Candrāvats. Rāv Durgo emerged as a powerful and influential Rajput due to his more than forty years of active and devoted service to the Mughal throne.

In the early years of his rulership, Rāv Durgo maintained an alliance with the Sisodiyo Rāṇos of Mevār, for whom he performed military service. *Khyāt*, 3:248, notes, however, that while the Candrāvats were servants of Mevār, they always maintained a measure of their own independence. As servants, the Candrāvats under Rāv Durgo participated with Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udainsīngh Sāngāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) in the ill-fated battle of Harmāro ⑧ in 1557, when the Rāṇo met defeat at the hands of Pathān Hāji Khān, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr's, and the Rajpūts of Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62).

Rāv Durgo continued in the service of the Rāṇo until after the battle of Cītōr in 1568. He then met with Akbar and swore allegiance to the Mughal throne. From this time forward until his death in 1608 at the age of eighty-two, Rāv Durgo remained a loyal servant of the Mughals. He was active in Mughal campaigns in the Deccan, Gujarāt, Malwa, and elsewhere from the 1580s onwards. In 1582 he accompanied Prince Murād on an expedition against Mīrza Muhammad Ḥakīm of Kabul. Several years later, he was attached to Mīrza Khān's troops and distinguished himself in Gujarāt. He followed Mīrza 'Aziz Kokā to the Deccan, and then again joined Prince Murād in operations in Malwa and the Deccan.

In 1586 Akbar appointed Rāv Durgo and Rājāvat Kachvāho Jagnāth Bhārmalot (no. 20) as governors of the *sūbo* of Ajmer. This joint appointment was part of Akbar's attempt to reorganize the administrative machinery of the empire, with two governors for each *sūbo*, each governor having his own *divāṁṣ* and *bakhshīs*. Rāv Durgo held this assignment for a short time only.

In 1593-1594 Rāv Durgo rose to the rank of 1,500 *zāt*, which was confirmed in 1595-1596. He reached the rank of 2,000 *zāt* in 1605, then was raised to 4,000 *zāt* in 1606 not long before his death.

Rāv Durgo died at the end of the second year of Emperor Jahāṅgīr's reign. The Emperor mentioned him in his *Memoirs*, remarking on the Rāv's many years of devoted service to his father, Akbar:

He had been in attendance for forty years and more in the position of an Amir of my revered father, until, by degrees, he had risen in rank to 4,000. Before he obtained the good fortune of waiting on my father, he was one of the trusted servants of

---

⑦ Rāmpuro is located one hundred forty-five miles south-southeast of Ajmer and one hundred ten miles east of Udaipur.

⑧ Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles north of Vadhnor in northern Mevār.
Rānā Úday Singh . . . He was a good military man . . (Jahāṅgīr, 1:134).

Figure 9. Sisodiyo Gahlots

(1-1) Rāṇo Mokaḷ Lākhāvat (Mevāṟ) (Devalīyo)
(2-1) Rāṇo Kūṁbho Mokaḷot
(3-1) Rāṇo Rāymal Kūmbhāvat
(4-1) Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot
(4-2) Prithirāj Rāymalot
(4-3) Rāvat Vāgh Sūrajmalot
(5-1) Rāṇo Ratansingh
(5-2) Rāṇo Vikramaditya (5-3) Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh
Sāṅgāvat
(5-4) Vanvīr Prithirājot
(5-5) Rāvat Rāysingh Vāghāvat
(6-1) Rāṇo Pratāpsingh Udaisīṅghot
(6-2) Rāvat Bīko Rāysīṅghot
(7-1) Rāṇo Amarsiṅgh Pratāpsīṅghot
(7-2) Rāvat Tejo Bikāvat
(8-1) Rājā Bhīm Amrāvat
(8-2) Karansīṅgh Amrāvat
Dhīrāvat Kachvāhos

(no. 19) Rāmdās Údāvat

Rāmdās Údāvat was a Rajpūt who rose from very simple beginnings to a position of great prestige and influence at the Mughal court. He served under both Emperors Akbar and Jahāṅgīr, and, except for brief periods when he was sent on special assignments, spent most of his forty-three years of service under the Mughals in personal attendance upon the person of the Emperor. His rise to high position rested upon Akbar's personal friendship and esteem. Rāmdās became an amīr under Akbar, and he was able to maintain this position under Akbar's successor, Jahāṅgīr.

Discrepancies exist among the sources regarding Rāmdās's family and ancestry. Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā, 2:2:587, and Blochman's note on Rāmdās in Ā'in-i-Akbarī, 1:539, record only that Rāmdās's father was a man named "Urdat" or "Ordat." Both names appear to be corruptions of Údāvat (lit. "son of Údo"), a man by the name of Údo being listed in the Khyāt of Naiṉsī as Rāmdās's father (see infra).

"Patal-Pota," a Rājasthānī document about Rāmdās Kachvāho,1 provides more detailed (though also problematic) information about Rāmdās's family. This source traces Rāmdās's ancestry back to Pāṭal, a son of Rājā Udaikaraṇ Junṣīyot of Āmber, who ruled during the fourteenth century. It is from this Pāṭal that the name Patal-Potā (lit. "Pāṭal's descendants") derives (see infra, Figure 10. Rāmdās's Genealogy According to "Patal-Pota").

This genealogical list stands in considerable disagreement with that found in the Khyāt of Naiṉsī. Naiṉsī's material traces Rāmdās's ancestry back to Rājā Kalyāṇe Rājadevot of Āmber, some three generations preceding Rājā Udaikaraṇ Junṣīyot. Khyāt also records that Rāmdās's father was a man named Údo Cāṇḍot, who was a descendant of Dhiro Mālakot's, from whom Rāmdās's sākh took the name of Dhīrāvat (lit. "son of Dhīro") (see infra, Figure 11. Rāmdās's Genealogy According to Naiṉsī's Khyāt).

Given the degree of divergence between these two genealogical lists, no reconciliation is possible. The material in Naiṉsī appears preferable, however. Naiṉsī's Khyāt records that the Kachvāho genealogy was copied from material that the Bhāṭī Rājpān of Udehī had collected and written down. Given the traditional role that families of Bhāṭs performed as genealogists for Rajpūts, Bhāṭ Rājpān's information may be given credence and considered material handed down over generations within Rāmdās's family. No similar credence can be given the genealogy in "Patal-Pota." Of significance is the fact that Naiṉsī's

Khyāt, 1:286-332, does not include a man by the name of Pātal in its list of sons of Rājā Udaikaran, nor do any other of the later Middle Mārvārī sources, such as Bāṅkīdās rī Khyāt. Lastly, no information is available about the dating of "Patal-Pota" or the material upon which it is based. While other information in this text agrees with and supplements material from other sources contemporary to Rāmdās, the genealogy tracing Rāmdās's descent from a Pātal Udaikarāṇot appears suspect. Final judgment must rest, of course, upon further elucidation from local sources.

Discrepancies also exist among sources regarding Rāmdās's place of birth and the village in which he lived during the early part of his life. Maāthir-ul-Umarā, 2:2:587, records that the village of Lūnī was his home, and Āvīn-i-Akbarī, 1:539, gives his home as Lūnī (or Baulī) village. Akbar Nāma, 3:91, states, however, that Akbar stopped at the village of Newata (Lucknow ed. "Hūna") in September of 1573 while enroute from Ajmer to Agra, and that Newata was Rāmdās Kachvāho's home. In this instance, "Patal-Pota," p. 77-78, provides clarifying information. It states that Rāmdās was born in the village of Baulī, but that he later left Baulī and settled in the village of Nevāta (location uncertain).

Sources generally agree that Rāmdās's father, Údo Čândot, was a man of limited means who lived in difficult circumstances, and that Rāmdās could not provide for his family from his lands at the village of Nevāta. He, therefore, left his family to seek his livelihood elsewhere. The Khyāt of Naiṇsī, 1:331, records that Rāmdās was a supporter (bālār - lit. "the main beam of a house; a son dutiful to his mother") of Rājāvāt Kachvāho Salhādī, who was a son of Rājā Bhārmal Prithirājot of Āmber (d. ca. 1573), for a period of time. Then in 1568-69 he entered the service of Sekhāvat Kachvāho Rāysal Sūjāvat, better known as Rāysal Darbārī.

Rāysal Darbārī was a trusted servant and attendant of the Mughal Emperor Akbar's. It was Rāysal who brought Rāmdās to the Mughal court and provided him with his first opportunities there. "Patal-Pota," pp. 79-80, records:

After being properly tutored in the arts of court-estiquettes [sic.], he (Ram Das) was given a horse (by Rai Sal) and was taken into the market of aḥadīs [personal servants and retainers of the Emperor's]. The emperor [Akbar] came to inspect the prospective aḥadīs. Being pleased with the manners of Ram Das, the emperor enquired [sic.] of the man who had brought Ram Das into the market. Ram Das made a Kurnish [salutation, with an inclination of the body and head; obeisance, made only before the Emperor] before the emperor, and, after making obeisance [sic.] with proper respects, he represented that it was Rai Sal who had brought him (Ram Das) into the market. . . [Rāysal] made a request that he (Ram Das) might be admitted

---

2 Baulī village: located fifty-five miles southeast of Āmber.
to the cadre of the royal ahadis. The emperor appointed Ram Das as one of the ahadis.

"Patal-Pota," p. 80, notes that Akbar was pleased with the service that Rāmdās performed and soon appointed him as one of the khās bardār aḥādīs (special attendants who carried the Emperor's arms). Rāmdās continued to rise in the Emperor's esteem, and within a short period thereafter, was again promoted, this time to the position of jamʿār ("the one in charge") of 200 khās suwār (personal horsemen of the Emperor's). Over and above his performance of exceptional service, Rāmdās gained Akbar's affection for his songs. Rāmdās's liking for heroic songs had quickly come to the Emperor's attention, and Akbar would often call Rāmdās into his presence to hear him sing.

On July 4, 1572 Akbar left Fatehpur Sikri with his army for Gujarat. Rāmdās accompanied Akbar on this campaign as one of his personal attendants, and except for a brief visit to his home at Nevāta while enroute back to north India, he remained with Akbar until June of 1573 when the Emperor returned to the capitol. Rāmdās arranged the marriage of one of his daughters, Nāgīnā Bāī, to Paṃvār Kisansīṅgh Daulatsīṅghot, a military servant of Kachvāhō Rāysal Darbārī's, while he was at Nevāta. In August of 1573 Rāmdās again accompanied Akbar to Gujarat. The Emperor traveled this time by rapid march to suppress the rebellion against his rule and to reassert Mughal authority. While returning to the capitol in early October of 1573, Akbar displayed his affection for Rāmdās by stopping at Rāmdās's village for a short time at Rāmdās's special request. Rāmdās then followed the Emperor to Agra, accompanied by his daughter's husband (jamāṭ), Paṃvār Kisansīṅgh. In return for his devoted service during the Gujarat campaign, Akbar awarded Rāmdās the mansāb rank of 500 zāṭ upon Rāmdās's arrival at the capitol.

Shortly thereafter, in August of 1574 Akbar appointed Rāmdās deputy of the revenue department under Rājā Todarmāl, whom he dispatched to Bihar to assist Khān Khānān in the reorganization of the Mughal army involved in operations there. "Patal-Pota," pp. 86-87, records that Rāmdās performed well in Bihar under Todarmāl, and that Todarmāl in turn made recommendations to the Emperor on his behalf. During this same period, Rāmdās held the position of kotvāl of the town of Sāṅgāner (near Āmbēr). Because of his capable service, the Emperor called him into his presence and awarded him with the favored position of petition-bearer (arājvegī [Persian ʿarzbegī]) in Mughal service. This position allowed Rāmdās direct access to the Emperor. Maāthir-ul-Umarā, 2:2:588, notes that Rāmdās gained Akbar's affection as petition-bearer, and that because of this affection, the Emperor accepted most of Rāmdās's petitions and representations.

Akbar sent Rāmdās and Mujāhid Kanbū to Bengal in late 1584. Their departure followed the earlier dispatch of Peshrā Khān and Khwājāgī Fath Ṭullah to assist Shāhbāz Khān with operations against the Afghans, against whom the Mughals had suffered a series of defeats. By September/October of 1584, news of these defeats and of Shāhbāz Khān's difficulties in maintaining order among his own units and among the zāmīndārs of Bengal and Bihar had reached the Mughal court. Rāmdās and Mujāhid Kanbū were "by sharp words to
produce a beneficial effect and make them [the zamindars and the Mughal officers under Shāhbāz Khān] keen for service" (Akbar Nāma, 3:660). Rāmdās performed his duties well in Bengal, and in the period between December, 1584, and January, 1585, he and Khwājāgī Fath Ullah were responsible for a Mughal victory against the Afghans. This victory entailed a dangerous crossing of the Jumna River in pursuit of the Afghans. "Patal-Pota," p. 90, notes that upon Rāmdās's return from Bengal, Akbar increased his mansab rank to 1,500 zāt.

Little information is available about Rāmdās's activities between 1585 and the time of Akbar's death in October of 1605. During most of this period, Rāmdās appears to have remained in personal attendance upon the Emperor. While he had a spacious mansion built in the fort at Agra near the Hatiapol with the wealth he had begun to amass, Maāthir-ul-Umarā, 2:2:942, records that he always lived in the guard-room (peshkhāna) of the fort and attended upon the Emperor with two hundred of his own Rajputs armed with lances.

Rāmdās's position of influence at the Mughal court attracted many to his person. "Patal-Pota," p. 91, records that numerous nobles claimed to enjoy his love and affection, and others sought alliance with him through marriage in order to consolidate their own positions of power. One such Rajpūt was Dūṅgarot Devrō Viājō Harrājōt of Sīrohī,3 who came to the Mughal court between the years 1583 and 1588 seeking Akbar's support for his pretensions to rulership in Sīrohī. Devrō Viājō approached Rāmdās in 1587–88 with a proposal for the marriage of his daughter to Rāmdās's sister's son (bhānej), Sambhusingh. Devrō Viājō's daughter was the granddaughter of Rāṭhōr Rāv Candrasen Māldevot of Jodhpur. Rāv Candrasen had married one of his daughters to Devrō Viājō at Bhādrājuṇ in Mārvār in 1569, during his period of exile from Jodhpur.4 While Rāmdās had refused other offers, he accepted this one from Devrō Viājō and helped to arrange the marriage to his sister's son. This alliance appears to have helped Devrō Viājō in his bid for power in Sīrohī, and it is probable that Rāmdās made representations on Viājō's behalf before Akbar, for in 1588 Akbar granted Devrō Viājō's petition for rulership in Sīrohī.

In May/June of 1589 Rāmdās accompanied Akbar to Kashmir during Mughal operations there. Akbar Nāma, 3:942, states that Akbar named the gardens of a mansion situated north of the Ravi River on the route to Kashmir, Rāmbārī Bāgh ("Rāmdās's garden") in honor of Rāmdās.

Rāmdās also played an important role in Rajpūt affairs under Akbar. Vigat, 2:73, records that in 1601–02 he was involved in the transfer of one-half of the villages of Mṛṭyo Pargano in Mārvār from Mṛṭyiyo Rāṭhōr Jagnāth Gopāḷdāsot (no. 116) to the ruler of Jodhpur, Rājā Sūrjasingh Udaiśinghot (1595–1619). According to Vigat, this transfer was due, at least in part, to some discord that had arisen between Rāmdās and Mṛṭyiyo Jagnāth. The nature of this discord is unspecified.

---

3 For further information about Devrō Viājō Harrājōt, see supra, "Devrō Cauvāŋṣ.

4 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Candrasen Māldevot, Raṅg no. 1, 5th Janmīntī.
The only other official duties Ramdas performed under Akbar involved the supervision of the Imperial roads. Akbar entrusted Ramdas in 1602-03 with the supervision of the routes leading from north India to the Deccan and to Malwa. Ramdas held specific responsibility for protecting travelers and merchants along these routes from the undue levying of transit duties by local zamindars.

Because of Akbar's personal friendship with and esteem for Ramdas, he involved himself in Ramdas's personal life. In 1601 Ramdas married one of his daughters to a Rajput named Syamsingh (identity uncertain). Akbar attended the wedding ceremony on this occasion, and beforehand "went to the ante-chamber (peškhdna) of the bride's father and bestowed favours, and presented five lakhs of dáms for the marriage celebration" (Akbar Náma, 3:1197). A year later, Akbar again became involved with Ramdas when Ramdas's son, Dinmindas (the Akhar Náma has "Datman Das"), was killed. Dinmindas had left the Imperial court for his home without permission from the Emperor, and once in his own territory, had begun to oppress local inhabitants. Ramdas requested that Akbar have Dinmindas brought back to court, and Akbar dispatched Sháh Quli Khán for this purpose. Dinmindas was apprehended, but he began a fight when he was returned to court and was killed in the exchange that ensued. Akbar-Náma, 3:1181, notes:

That chosen servant (Rám Dáś) was grieved on account of his child. H. M. [Akbar] went to his ante-chamber (peškhdna) and administered consolation, and applied balm to the inward wound.

Ramdas had risen to the rank of 2,000 zát, 200 suwár by the time of Akbar's death in 1605.

During the brief succession struggle that developed in Akbar's last days, Ramdas remained steadfast in his loyalty to Akbar and to Akbar's choice of successor in Prince Salim (Jahángír). In taking this position, he came into conflict with his paternal relation, Kachváho Rájá Mánsíngh Bhagvántdáso (1589-1614), who used his influence at the Mughal court to further the cause of Prince Salím's son, Súltán Khusrau. Súltán Khusrau was Rájá Mánsíngh's sister's son. With Rájá Mánsíngh was Azám Khán, who was Súltán Khusrau's wife's father. While they tried to influence Akbar's choice of successor and the opinions of other nobles of the court, Akbar remained unmoved. Ramdas himself withdrew from any involvement in the factionalism and maintained an unswerving guard with his Rajpüts over the Imperial treasury and the magazine at Agra. Jahángír later noted in his Memoirs that at the time of his accession, he promoted Ramdas, "whom my father had favoured" to the rank of 3,000 zát (Jahángír, 1:21). Under Jahángír, Ramdas's position at the Mughal court increased in stature.

Jahángír appointed Ramdas as the personal advisor (atiliq) to Kachváho Mahánsíngh Jagatsínghot in June of 1607. Kachváho Mahánsíngh was a grandson of Rájá Mánsíngh of Ámber. Jahángír sent both to help pacify the area of Bangash north of the Indus River. Following operations in Bangash, Jahángír...
ordered Rāmdās to accept jāgīr lands in the area of Swat (Sawad Bajaur) and to be enrolled among the auxiliaries of this sūbo under the command of Shāh Beg Khān daurān. Sources do not indicate how long Rāmdās remained in the area of Swat, but he appears to have returned within a short period to his duties as personal attendant upon the Emperor. Jahāngīr’s Memoirs next mention Rāmdās as being among those who accompanied the Emperor on a hunting expedition in 1610.

During the next year, Jahāngīr appointed Rāmdās, "who was one of the sincere servants of my revered father," to accompany ‘Abdu-llah Khān, the Governor of Gujarat, to the Deccan (Jahāngīr, 1:201). Jahāngīr recorded that he had sent Rāmdās with ‘Abdu-llah Khān in order that he might in every place look after ['Abdu-llah Khān], and not allow him to be too rash and hasty. For this purpose I bestowed on him great favours, as well as the title of Raja, which he had not thought of for himself. I also gave him drums and the fort of Ranthanbūr, which is one of the noted castles in Hindustan, and honouring him with a superb robe of honour and an elephant and horse I dismissed him (Jahāngīr, 1:202).

While Rāmdās sought to urge due caution and deliberation upon ‘Abdu-llah Khān during the operations in the Deccan, the Khān paid little heed. He sent no intelligence reports by runner to other sections of the Mughal army also proceeding toward Daulatabad, nor did he attempt to coordinate his movements with theirs. The result was a sharp defeat for the Mughals at Daulatabad at the hands of Mālik ‘Ambar, and a forced retreat of Mughal contingents that had survived the fighting.

Two versions of the aftermath of this defeat and its effect upon Rāmdās appear in the sources. Maāthir-ul-Umarā, 2:2:588, records that when Jahāngīr received news of the defeat, he had portraits made of all the officers who had taken part in the campaign and fled, and out of anger, made disparaging remarks about each as he viewed their portrait in the Imperial darbār. About Rāmdās he is reported to have said:

You were a servant of Rāisāl at a tankah a day, my father cherished you and made you an Āmīr. It is a disgrace for a Rājpūt to run away (from a field of battle). Alas! that you did not even have respect for the title of Rāja Karan [the name by which Rāmdās was known at the Mughal court]. I hope that you will lose faith and fortune (dīnu duniyā).

5 "Patal-Pota," pp. 111-112, records that Emperor Jahāngīr himself gave Rāmdās the name of "Karan." This occurred after Jahāngīr learned of a pious act that Rāmdās had performed. Following the death of one of his sons, Rāmdās is said to have withdrawn from the world for a time into a religious life, filling his house with both Muslim and Hindu holy men and poets. He performed many pious acts of feeding and caring for the poor, and he bathed twice daily in the Ganges River. One day during the cold season, a
Maathir-ul-Umarā, 2:2:588-589, further states that Jahāngīr refused Rāmdās an audience upon his return to the capitol from the Deccan, and that he sent Rāmdās to Bangash as a punishment. When Rāmdās died in Bangash shortly thereafter, Jahāngīr is reported to have remarked: "My prayer worked, for, according to the Hindu religion, whoever dies after crossing the river Indus, goes to hell."

Jahāngīr provides a different and more preferred version of events in his own Memoirs. He records that Rāmdās came to court "from the victorious army of the Deccan and paid his respects, and made an offering of 101 muhrs." He then states:

For the purpose of advising the Amirs of Kabul, and on account of the disagreements that had sprung up between them and Qilij Khān, I sent Rāja Rām Dās, and bestowed on him a horse and robe of honour and 30,000 rupees for expenses (Jahāngīr, 1:233).

"Patal-Pota," p. 125, provides additional details of events during this time which clarify the discrepancies between these two accounts. According to this source, Rāmdās had indeed been ineffective in his efforts to direct operations in the Deccan. Despite his good counsel, the Mughal forces met defeat. Rāmdās then fled the field with his Rajputs. He considered suicide in the face of this defeat, but dismissed suicide as a cowardly act, deciding instead to go into hiding for a time until the truth of the affair became known to the Emperor. While he remained away from court, Rāmdās learned that Kachvāhī Rājā Mānsingh blamed him publicly for the defeat. Emperor Jahāngīr was much angered and had Rāmdās's palace and jagir confiscated. "Patal-Pota" corroborates the passage from Maathir-ul-Umarā, stating that the Emperor took each of the pictures in his hand and maligned the man there. When his turn (the turn of the picture of Ram Das) came up, after being properly reprimanded, his jagir was confiscated and his palace occupied.

This source goes on to say, however, that some days later, Jahāngīr came to know that the defeat was not due to Rāmdās's actions, that Rāmdās had given good counsel on the field. The Emperor then had a change of heart, and when word of this change reached Rāmdās, he returned to court (December 17, 1612). The Emperor was pleased and conferred a robe of honor upon him along with a reward of horses, elephants, and 30,000 rupees. Rāmdās was then allowed to proceed to his palace.

bad hail storm came, and during the storm Rāmdās met an old man by the road to whom he gave his costly shawl for warmth, exposing himself to the elements. This pious act came to the Emperor's attention and led him to give Rāmdās the name of Karan.

The term "karan" means "action, act, deed; making, doing; the instrumental cause." See: Platt's Dictionary, p. 827.
Rāmdās died shortly thereafter on July 30, 1613 while on duty for the Emperor in Bangash. When news of his death arrived at the capitol, fifteen women and twenty men burned themselves in the company of his turban at the famous Hindu place of worship known as Rangta Hilalabad on the Jumna River near Agra.

Rāmdās had acquired the mansab rank of 5,000 zāt by the time of his death.

Both Persian and Middle Mārvārī sources comment on Rāmdās's generosity and on his liberal bestowal of favors on Čāran bards and others. The Khyāt of Naiṣī, 1:331, describes him as a vaḍo dāṭār ("great giver"), while Maṭhīr-ul-Umarā, 2:2:589, states:

He was unequal for his generosity and liberality. For one good story he would give a large sum of money. When he once gave a present to a chāran, a bāḍfarōsh or a musician, they every year in the same month received the same amount from his treasurer, and there was no necessity of altering the receipt.

Rāmdās was also extremely fond of the game of caupar.

The Khyāt of Naiṣī, 1:331, lists Rāmdās's name as "Rāmdās Darbārī Ûdāvat."

One of Rāmdās's granddaughters named Siṅgarde (or Raṅgāde) was married to Rājā Sūrajasīṅgh Udaisīṅghot of Jodhpur (1595-1619) in 1614, shortly after Rāmdās's death.8


---

6 See: "Patal-Pota," p. 127, n. 151. This reference has an obvious misprint of 30th July, 1630 A. D. for Rāmdās's death. The next page (p. 128) notes that Jahāṅgīr received word of Rāmdās's death on September 10, 1613.

7 A Bhāt, a musician or minstrel. See: Platts, Dictionary, p. 119.

8 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Sūrajasīṅgh Udaisīṅghot, Rājī no. 17.
Figure 10. Rāmdāś's Genealogy According to the "Patal-Pota"\(^1\)

Rājā Udaikaran Junśiyot (of Āmber)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pātal [Pātal-Potā]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅghaḷ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhoj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāmo</td>
<td>Kisansīṅgh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lākho</td>
<td>Ratan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pātar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāmdāś</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 11. Rāmdās's Genealogy According to Naiṣī's *Khyāt*.

Rājā Kalyāṇe/Kīlāṇe Rājādevot (of Āmber)

| | |
| Rājā Kuntal | Rājā Akhairāj |
| | |
| Rājā Juṇśī | Mālak |
| | |
| Rājā Udaikaran | Dhīro (Dhīrāvats) |
| | Nāpo |
| | Khān |
| | Cānd |
| | Ŭdo |
| | Rāmdās |
Rājāvat Kachvāhos

(no. 20) Jagnāth Bhārmalot, Rājā (4-2)
(no. 21) Jagrūp Jagnāthot, Kuṇvar (5-2)

Rājāvat Kachvāho Jagnāth Bhārmalot was a son of Rājā Bhārmal Prithīrajot of Āmber (1547-74) (3-1). He was born on December 10, 1552. Few details are available about his early life prior to 1562. In this year he and two of his paternal relations, Khangār Jagmālot (4-6) and Rājsingh Āskaranot (5-4), were taken hostage. Mirzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn was governor of Ajmer at this time, having received the area of Mevāt along with Ajmer and Nāgaur in jāgīr from Akbar in 1561. The Mirzā was eager to increase his holdings and had thoughts of acquiring Āmber, and he quickly became involved in the internal disputes of the Kachvāhos of Dhūṇḍhār (Āmber). Kachvāho Bhārmal Prithīrajot was then Rājā of Dhūṇḍhār. Mirzā Sharafu'd-Dīn accepted the homage of Rājā Bhārmal's elder brother's son, Sūjo Pūrāṇmalot (4-5), and then encouraged Sūjo's rivalry with Āmber. Following a series of skirmishes in which the Mirzā took part, Rājā Bhārmal was forced into the hills. The Rājā finally came to terms, and the Mirzā levied a fixed sum on the Rājā and took his son, Jagnāth, and two of his brothers' sons hostage as surety for the payment.

Akbar Nāma, 2:240-243, contains an interesting description of the events of this time, and records how Chaghata'i Khān represented Kachvāho Bhārmal to Akbar, speaking of his loyalty to the throne and of the bad treatment he and his family had received at the hands of Mirzā Sharafu'd-Dīn:

When the tale of the loyalty of this old family had been communicated to His Majesty he graciously gave permission for the introduction of the Rajah [Bhārmal]. When the cavalcade reached Deosa [near Āmber] most of the inhabitants fled from fear. His Majesty said, "We have no other intention than to do good to all mankind. What can be the reason of the flight of these people? Apparently these rustics of the valley of desolation have drawn an inference from the oppression they have undergone from Sharīfu'd-dīn Ḥusain and so have run away" . . . Next day when the village of Sāṅgānīr [seven miles southwest of Āmber] was made the camping ground Caghatai Khān introduced Rajah Bihārī Mal together with many of his relations and leading men of his clan. Rajah Bhagwant Das, the Rajah's eldest son, was excepted as he had been left in charge of the families. His Majesty with his discerning glance read devotion and sincerity in the behavior of the Rajah and his relatives. He captured his heart by kindness and exalted his rank. The Rajah from right-thinking and elevated fortune
considered that he should . . . make himself one of the distinguished ones of the Court. In order to effect this purpose he thought of a special alliance, to wit that he should by means of those who had the right of entree introduce his eldest daughter, in whose forehead shone the light of chastity and intellect . . . his petition was accepted and His Majesty sent him off from this station along with Caghatai Khan in order that he might arrange for this alliance . . . and quickly bring his daughter.

. . . When the standards were pitched at Sāmbar Shariful-d-dīn Ḥusain Mīrzā had the bliss of doing homage, and brought suitable gifts. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh demanded Jagannath, Rāj Singh and Kangār, whom the Mīrzā had taken as hostages, in order that Rajah Bihārī Mal might be entirely free from apprehension. The Mīrzā agreed to surrender them, but put off the time of doing so by subterfuges . . . A stringent order was [later] issued for the production of the hostages and . . . the Mīrzā brought before His Majesty Jagannath, Rāj Singh, and Kangār. Rajah Bihārī Mal from the sincerity of his disposition made arrangements for the marriage in the most admirable manner and brought his fortunate daughter to the station and placed her among the ladies of the harem . . .

Jagnāth entered Mughal service at this time and remained a loyal supporter of the Mughal throne for the rest of his life. He was a much favored mansabdār of both Akbar and Jahāngīr. Under Akbar, he was often in attendance at the royal stirrup. When not in the Emperor's presence, he performed much of his service alongside his paternal nephew, Kuṃṇvar Mānsingh Bhagvantāsot (5-1) (Rājā of Āmber, 1589-1614).

Jagnāth's active military career began in 1573 when he was twenty-one years old. He accompanied Akbar on his rapid march to Gujarat to suppress the rebellion that had emerged here, and he took part in the successful campaign to reassert Mughal authority. Akbar afterwards sent Jagnāth with Kuṃṇvar Mānsingh, Shāh Qulī Khān and others to Dūṅgarpur by way of Īḍar to seek the homage of the various Rajpūt rulers of this area. Jagnāth's specific role in these activities is unknown, but he did take part in actions in Mēvār against Sisodiyo Rāṇo Pratāpsingh Udaiśinghot (1572-97), who refused to come to terms with Akbar.

Later in 1575-76 Jagnāth again joined Kuṃṇvar Mānsingh, who led a Mughal force seeking to bring Rāṇo Pratāp to battle. Jagnāth was placed with the van of the Mughal army and fought well against Rāṇo Pratāp's Rajpūts at Ḥaldighāṭī in June of 1576. Local chronicles credit him with killing Meṛṭīyo

---

1 Ḥaldighāṭi is a narrow defile set amongst the Arāvalli hills eleven miles southwest of the village of Nathdwāra and eighteen miles to the northeast of Gogūndo. The village of Khamnār is nearby. Nathdwāra lies twenty-six miles to the north of Udaipur in south-central Mēvār.
Rāthor Rāmdās Jaimalot, a son of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107), who was in the Rāṇo’s service.  

Akbar sent Jagnāth and his brother, Rājā Bhagvantdās Bhārmalot of Amber (ca. 1574-89) (4-1), to the Punjab in 1578, allotting jāgīrs there to them and presenting them with horses, robes of honor, and advice regarding proper deportment with their commander, Saiyyid Khān. Jagnāth spent three years in the Punjab on military operations, some of which were directed against Mīrzā Hakīm in an attempt to prevent his re-entry into India from Kabul. Akbar allowed Jagnāth and other Kachvāhos to leave the Punjab in 1581, and Jagnāth then returned to Agra.

Akbar had sent Kachvāho Jaimal Rūpsīyot (4-3), a grandson of Rājā Prithīrāj Candrasenot of Amber (1503-28) (2-1), on an expedition to Bengal in 1583. Jaimal became ill during the expedition, and died near Causa of heat prostration and exhaustion. His wife, Dāmetībāī, was a daughter of Rāṭhor Moto Rājā Udaisīngh Mādevot of Jodhpur (1583-95).  

One of the occurrences was that the grand-daughter (nabīrā) of Mādeo obtained a new life. In the wide country of India, on account of truth-choosing, and jealous honour, when the husband dies, his wife, though she have spent her days in distress, gives herself to the fire with an expanded heart and an open brow. And if from wickedness (tārdāmanī) and love of life she refrain from doing this, her husband’s relatives (kheshaṅvandān) assemble and light the flame, whether she be willing or unwilling. They regard this as preserving their honor and reputation. . .

At this time H. M. had sent Jaimal by relays of horses to the Bengal officers. On account of immoderate expedition, and the excessive heat, the torch of his existence was extinguished in the neighborhood of Causā. His wife, the daughter of the Mota Rajah (The Fat Rajah), had not the courage to burn herself. Udai Singh her son and some bold and foolish persons set themselves to work this injustice (to make her burn). It was high dawn when the news came to H. M.’s female apartments. The just

2 The Meṛtīyo genealogy in Murārdān, no. 2, p. 487, gives the date V. S. 1632, Śrāvaṇa, vādi 7 (June 30, 1575) for Rāmdās Jaimalot’s death.

3 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Udaisīngh Mādevot, Rāṇī no. 4, D - Dāmetībāī.
sovereign fearing that if he sent others there would be delay, mounted a swift horse and went off to the spot. ... When the cavalier of fortune's arena had come near the spot, Jagannāth and Rai Sal went ahead and seized the ringleader ...

Akbar initiated a series of innovations in the administration of the empire during this same year. He appointed Jagannāth along with Qulī Khān and others to look after the care of armor and the security and condition of the roads as part of these changes.

In 1584 Akbar placed Jagannāth in command of the Mughal forces sent once again against Sisodiyo Rāṇo Pratāpsīngh of Mevār. This was the first time Akbar gave an independent command to Jagannāth. Jagannāth spent a number of months involved in inconclusive operations there. Two years later in 1586 Akbar assigned Jagannāth as governor of the sūbo of Ajmer along with Candrāvat Sisodiyo Gahlot Rāv Durgō Aclāvat (no. 18). This joint appointment reflected Akbar's attempt further to reorganize the administrative machinery of the empire, with two governors for each sūbo, each having his own divāns and bakhshīs. Jagannāth had acquired a great deal of military acumen by this time. He was also quite familiar with this area. Both of these qualities recommended his appointment to Akbar.

Jagannāth's governorship of Ajmer lasted only a short time. In 1587 he accompanied Mirzā Yusuf Khān to Kashmir. Jagannāth was soon given leave to return to Agra, which he did in the accompaniment of the former governor of Kashmir, Qasīm Khān. But Akbar then sent him again north under the command of Zain Khān Kokā to take part in military operations against the Yusufzai tribesmen of Swat. Jagannāth remained in the north until 1589, when he joined Akbar in Kashmir as one of his personal attendants. Akbar presented Jagannāth with a personal gift of the spacious mansion of Qara Beg in Kashmir at this time. This gift caused great wonder among the other officers in Akbar's attendance.

Two years later in 1591, Jagannāth was sent with Prince Murād to Malwa and the Deccan. He remained involved with Mughal operations there until 1598, and is reported to have performed distinctive military service. He then received permission from Prince Murād to return home. Jagannāth proceeded first to the fortress of Rīnthambhōr, which was in his jāgīr, and afterwards into the presence of Akbar in the Punjab. Because he came into Akbar's presence on this occasion without permission, Akbar denied him an audience. However, Akbar eventually received Jagannāth and pardoned him. During Jagannāth's absence from the Deccan, one of his sons, Jagrūp Jagannāthot (5-2) (no. 21), was killed fighting at Ahmadnagar in 1599-1600.

Jagannāth was promoted to the rank of 3,000 zāt in 1593-1594. This rank was lowered to 2,500 zāt in 1595-1596, but then raised to 5,000 zāt in 1601, a great distinction for a Rajput amīr of the empire. Following this honor, Akbar visited Jagannāth at Rīnthambhōr while enroute from the Deccan and "Jagannāth obtained auspiciousness by scattering money, and by presenting peshkash [to Akbar]" according to the custom of devoted servants (Akbar Nāma, 3:1189). Jagannāth then returned to the Deccan, where he remained until Akbar's death in 1605. Several years prior to this time, in 1602, Akbar had placed Jagannāth in
charge of Mirzâ Kâiqûbâd, the son of Mirzâ Muhammad Hakûm, entrusting Jagnâth to school Kâiqûbâd in the prison at Rînthambhôr. The Mirzâ was kept there as punishment for his drunkenness and unworthy deeds, and as a political safeguard.

Jâhângîr presented Jagnâth with a robe of honor and a jeweled waist-sword upon his succession to the Mughal throne in 1605, and sent him under the command of Prince Parvîz and Asaf Khân against Sîsodîyo Rânî Amarsingh Pratâpsînghot of Mêvâr (1597-1620). Prince Parvîz was soon recalled to Agra because of the rebellion of Prince Khursau. He left Jagnâth in command of the Mughal army in Mêvâr during his absence, taking Sîsodîyo Vâgho Amarsingh, a son of Rânî Amaarsingh’s whom the Rânî had offered in truce, with him to north India. Some months later, Jagnâth was himself sent to Nâgaur to put down the rebellion of Râthor Râjâ Râysîngh Kalyâmînalot of Bîkânâr (ca. 1574-1612) and his son, Dalpat Râysînghôt (Râjâ of Bîkânâr, 1612-14).

Jâhângîr promoted Jagnâth again in 1609 to the rank of 5,000 zât, 3,000 suwâr. Jagnâth died shortly thereafter at the garrison of Mânda in eastern Râjâstân. During his life, he held not only the fort of Rînthambhôr in jâdîgîr, but also the district of Toûd in Râjâstân along with parganos in the Punjab and elsewhere. The Khyât of Nâiûsî, 1:300-301, records that Toûd, which lies to the east of Āmer, became his capitol (râjthân). A cenotaph (châtîr) was built in his honor along the banks of a tank at Mânda village.


(no. 21) Jagrûp Jagnâthôt, Kuṃvvar (5-2)

Jagrûp Jagnâthôt was one of the eight sons of Râjâ Jagnâth Bhârmalot (3-1) (no. 20). He took part with his father in Mughal operations in the Deccan under Prince Murâd, and he remained there in 1598 when Râjâ Jagnâth received permission to return home. While the Râjâ was in north India, Jagrûp was killed outside Bîḍ city in 1599-1600, fighting in the Mughal van against the forces of Ahmadnagar. Vigat, 2:72, notes that Jagrûp’s cenotaph (châtîr) was built there.

Jagrûp had no sons. His one daughter named Rûpvatîbâî was married to Râthor Râjâ Gajî singh Sûrâjsînghot of Jodhpur (1619-38). The marriage took place at Toûd in central Râjâstân in 1605-06, some years after Jagrûp’s death.

4 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Gajî singh Sûrâjsînghot, Râjî no. 1.
Akbar Nāma, 3:1136; Khyāt, 1:1136; Vigat, 2:72.
Figure 12. Rājāvat Kachvāhos (Todo and Gwalior)

(1-1) Rājā Candrasen Uddhraṇot (Āmber)

(2-1) Rājā Prithīrāj Candrasenot

(3-1) Rājā Bhārmal Prithīrājot

(3-2) Rūpsī Prithīrājot

(3-3) Bhīmvrāj Prithīrājot

(3-4) Pūranmal Prithīrājot

(3-5) Jagmāl Prithīrājot

(4-1) Rājā Bhagvantdās Bhārmalot

(4-2) Rājā Jagnāth Bhārmalot (TODO)

(4-3) Jaimal Rūpsīyot (GWALIOR)

(4-4) Rājā Āskaraṇ Bhīmvrājot

(4-5) Sūjo Pūraṇmalot

(4-6) Khaṅgār Jagmālot

(5-1) Rājā Mānsīṅgh Bhagvantdāsot

(5-2) Jagrūp Jagnāthot

(5-3) Udaisiṅgh Jaimalot

(5-4) Rājsiṅgh Āskaraṇot
Sekhāvat Kachvāhos

(no. 22) Rāymal Sekhāvat (5-1)

The Sekhāvat Kachvāhos

The Sekhāvat Kachvāhos descend from Sekho Mokalot (4-1), a son of Mokal Bālāvat (3-1) and great-grandson of Rājā Nārsīṅgh Udaikaraṇot (1-1) of Āmber. Sekho's date of birth is placed in 1433-34. Both his birth and his name, Sekho, have important local significance. According to Sekhāvat traditions, Sekho's father, Mokal, was without sons until he received the blessing of the Muslim saint, Sheikh Burhān Chishti. One of Mokal's wives, Nirvāṅ Cahunjī, gave birth to a son following the saint's blessing, and in honor of this saint, Mokal named his son Sheikh (Middle Mārvāri "Sekho"). Sekho asserted his independence from Āmber as a young man, and with the help of his father, established his seat of rule in territory to the north and west of Āmber that became known as Sekhavatī (lit. "Sekho's share/portion"). Sekho founded his capitol of Amarsar 1 between the years 1449-60, and then in 1477, laid foundations for the town of Sikargadh.2 Some years later on April 4, 1489 Sekhoji was killed in battle defending his lands from attack by the Gaur Rajpūts of Maroṭh.3

Raymal Sekhāvat was the youngest of the twelve sons of Sekhoji (4-1). He succeeded his father to the rule of Amarsar on April 15, 1489. Kachvāho Kuṃvar Prithirāj Candrasenot (Rājā of Āmber, ca. 1503-27), a son of Rājā Candrasen Uddhraṇot of Āmber (d. ca. 1503), came to Amarsar to attend the succession ceremonies.

During the early years of his rule, Rāymal consolidated his position at Amarsar and carried out a series of raids against the Gauṛs of Maroṭh who were responsible for the death of his father, Sekhoji. The Gauṛs finally married a daughter to Rāymal and ceded a number of villages to him to end the vair.

Much of Rāymal's life until his death in 1537-38 was spent in the defense of his territory against Muslim encroachments from north India. Navāb Hindāl, a noble of Sikandar Lodī of Delhi (1489-1517), attacked Sikargadh in 1498-99. Rāymal appealed to the Kachvāhos of Āmber for aid to counter this

1 Amarsar: situated forty miles due north of Jaipur.

2 Sikargadh: located sixty miles northwest of Jaipur.

3 Maroṭh: located fifty miles west-northwest of Jaipur and thirty miles south of Sikargadh.
raid, and the combined force of Rajputs from Sekhāvaṭī and Āmber defeated the Navāb's army in battle.

Some years later in 1526, Rāymal and Rāymal's daughter's son (dohitro), Vidāvat Rāṭhor Kalyāṇmal Udaikaranot (no. 153) of Chāpar-Dronpur (southeastern Bīkāner territory), joined Rāṭhor Rāv Lūṅkarāṇ Bikāvat of Bīkāner (1505-26; no. 44) in an expedition against Sheikh Abīmīrā and the Muslims of Narnol. While Kalyāṇmal and Rāymal were, at first, willing supporters of Rāv Lūṅkarāṇ's, their loyalty altered as they moved through Chāpar-Dronpur enroute to Narnol. Kalyāṇmal overheard the Rāv speak of taking this land for himself, and suspecting deception, Kalyāṇmal and his maternal grandfather (nāno), Rāymal, withheld support during the fighting near Narnol. Rāv Lūṅkarāṇ and three of his sons were killed in battle there. Rāv Lūṅkarāṇ's son and successor, Rāv Jāitsī Lūṅkarāṇot (1526-42; no. 45), held Kalyāṇmal responsible for his father's death, and he mounted a series of expeditions against Chāpar-Dronpur, finally forcing Kalyāṇmal to flee the area. Rāv Jāitsī placed a collateral relation of Kalyāṇmal's on the seat of rule and maintained close control over these lands from Bīkāner. Rāymal Sekhāvat's specific role in the latter conflict is unknown.

A contingent of Kachvāhōs from Āmber joined the large force of Rajputs under Sīsodiyo Rāņo Sāṅgo Rāymalot of Cītor (1509-28) that traveled to north India in 1527 to meet the Mughal Bābur in battle at Khanua. It is probable that Rāymal Sekhāvat took part in this expedition. However, local sources do not specify. Later in 1533 Mīrzā Hindāl, the younger brother of Mughal Emperor Humāyūn, attacked Amarsar. Humāyūn had made Mīrzā Hindāl the jāgīrdār of Mevāt,4 and Hindāl attempted unsuccessfully to incorporate both Amarsar and Sikargadh within his territory. The Kachvāhōs of Āmber once again came to Rāymal's aid during the fighting at Amarsar.

Two years later in 1535-36 Rāymal took Mērtīyo Rāṭhor Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (no. 105) under his protection at Amarsar. Rāv Vīramde was in exile from Mērtō and Ajmer, his lands having been occupied by Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Rāv Vīramde remained at Amarsar for approximately one year before proceeding on to Rinthambhor and then Delhi, where he met with Sher Shāh Sūr (1540-1545). Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur sent armies in pursuit of Rāv Vīramde, following him north and east from Ajmer to Sāṁbhār and Dīḍvāṇo, and then south as far as Cāṭṣū (near Āmber).5 This force did not encroach on Sekhāvaṭī. The Rāṭhōrs of Jodhpur and the Sekhāvats were sagos, and it is probable that their relationship through marriage deterred the Rāv from sending his armies into Rāymal's lands.

Marriage ties between the Jodho Rāṭhōrs and the Sekhāvat Kachvāhōs of Amarsar and Sikargadh include the following:

---

4 Mevāt: the territory lying in the vicinity of modern Alvar, to the north and east of Jaipur.

5 Cāṭṣū lies thirty-five miles to the south of Jaipur.
1. Rāṭhor Vāgho Sūjāvat (no. 83), a son of Rāv Sūjō Jodhāvat of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515), married his daughter, Ratankurnvar, to Rāymal Sekhāvat’s son, Sūjo Rāymalot (6-3).

2. Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur married his daughter, Haṃsbāi, to Rāymal Sekhāvat’s grandson, Lūṅkaran Sūjāvat (7-5).  


The Khyāt of Naiṃsi, 3:98, records that the Sekhāvats were also sāgos of the Meṛtīyo Rāṭhor of Mṛto in eastern Mārvār, but provides few details. Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 473, 504, 506-507, lists several sons of Meṛtīyo Rāv Jaimāl Viramdevot (no. 107) who were born of Kachvāhi wives, but does not indicate the families from which these women came. Dunlod, p. 10, notes that a "Meṛtīyo Rāymal" of "Rāḥan" village married a daughter to Rāymal Sekhāvat’s son, Sūjo Rāymalot. This Meṛtīyo Rāymal of Rāḥīn is identified as Meṛtīyo Rāymal Dūḍāvat, a brother of Rāv Virāmde Dūḍāvat of Meṛto. Rāymal Dūḍāvat held the village of Rāḥan in paṭo from Rāv Virāmde and was killed fighting at Khanua against the Mughal Bābur in 1527.

Rāymal Sekhāvat is also known to have married daughters to Rāṭhor Rāv Lūṅkaran Bikāvat’s son, Kuṃvar Vairsī Lūṅkaranot, of Bikāner, and to Vīḍāvat Rāṭhor Udaikaran Vīḍāvat of Chāpar-Drōṇpur. Udaikaran Vīḍāvat was the father of Kalyāṃlal Udaikaranot (no. 153).

Akbar Nāma, 1:327, and Māṭhir-ul-Umārā, 2:1:564, both record that Miyaṃ Hasan Khān Sūr, the father of Sher Shāh Sūr, was a military servant of Rāymal Sekhāvat’s for a period of time.

Rāymal died in 1537-38 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sūjo Rāymalot (6-3).


6 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Mālde Gāṅgāvat, Rāṇī no. 3, D - Haṃsbāi.

7 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Mālde Gāṅgāvat, Rāṇī no. 16.

8 Khyāt, 1:320, lists only one specific marriage. A grandson of Rāymal Sekhāvat’s, Rāysal Sūjāvat (7-4), married a daughter of Meṛtīyo Rāv Viramde’s grandson, Vīṭhaldās Jaimalot (no. 117). This marriage appears removed in time, however, from the events of 1535, when Meṛtīyo Rāv Viramde took refuge with the Sekhāvats.

9 Rāḥan (or Rāḥīn) village: located ten miles north-northeast of Mṛto.
Figure 13. Sekhāvat Kachvāhos of Amarsar and Khandelo

(1-1) Rājā Narsīṅgh Udaikaraṇot (Āmber)  
   (2-1) Bālojī Narsinghot  
   (3-1) Mokal Bālāvat  
(4-1) Sekho Mokalot (Sekhāvats)  

(5-1) Rāymal Sekhāvat (Amarsar) (5-2) Ratansī Sekhāvat  

(6-1) Tejsī Rāymalot  (6-2) Sahasmal Rāymalot  (6-3) Sūjō Rāymalot  

(7-1) Mānsīṅgh Tejsīyot  (7-2) Rāmsīṅgh Tejsīyot  (7-3) Karamsī Sahasmalot  (7-4) Rāysal Sūjāvat  (7-5) Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ Sūjāvat  

(8-1) Durjaṅsāl Karamsīyot  (8-2) Girdhardās Rāysalot  (8-3) Tirmanaṛay Rāysalot  

(9-1) Rājā Dvārkadās Girdhardāsot (Khandelo)  
(10-1) Rājā Varsīṅgh Dvārkadāsot
The Pamvars of Catsu\(^\text{1}\) played an important but minor role in events discussed in the texts under consideration. Their involvement in several vairs\(^\text{2}\) with different sākh\(\text{s}\) of Mārvār Rāṭhōrs provided the context.

"Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," pp. 60-62, details a vair that developed between the Pamvars of Catsu and the Udavat Rāṭhōrs of Jaitārāṇ\(^\text{2}\) in eastern Mārvār. This vair began during the time of Pāṃvār Rāvāt Karamcand Rāghavdāsōt (4-1). According to the "Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," Rāvāt Karamcand had gone on a trip to Mēvār to visit his sāgos at the court of Cītōr. On return, he took a circuitous route across the Arāvallis into Mārvār and encamped at the village of Nimbāj,\(^\text{3}\) near Jaitārāṇ.

Karamcand noticed the prosperity of the residents of Nimbāj, and seeing that they were unprotected, proceeded to loot the village. Complaints were immediately taken to Udāvat Rāṭhōr Rāv Dūṅgārsī Īḍāvāt (no. 137) at Jaitārāṇ. Rāv Dūṅgārsī was an aged thākur at the time and did nothing to recover the stolen goods nor to punish the Pāṃvārs. The Pāṃvārs then moved against Jaitārāṇ itself and upon arrival on the outskirts of the town, sent two pradhāns to Rāv Dūṅgārsī demanding that the Rāv give Rāvāt Karamcand one of his daughters in marriage, or the Pāṃvārs would attack the town. Rāv Dūṅgārsī acceded to the Pāṃvārs' demands and gave them one of his daughters. Rāvāt Karamcand then left Mārvār and returned to Catsu.

It was left for Rāv Dūṅgārsī's son, Tejsī Dūṅgārsīyōt (no. 138), to take revenge for this insult. Tejsī was a young boy at the time Rāvāt Karamcand looted Nimbāj and extorted a daughter from his father. Even then, he vowed to avenge his family's honor. Tejsī organized a force of Rajpūts in the years after 1535 and raided Catsu, looting much wealth and killing many Pāṃvārs. One of Pāṃvār Karamcand's son's, Jagmāl Karamcandot (5-2) (no. 25), who was then rāvat at Catsu, is said to have left Catsu prior to the raid and to have gone to live near Āmber (see infra), leaving the town open to Tejsī's raid.

Tejsī Dūṅgārsīyōt attacked Catsu again sometime later. Following this raid, the Pāṃvārs sent pradhāns to Jaitārāṇ to plead for an end to the vair. They offered one of their daughters in marriage to a member of Rāv Dūṅgārsī's family. Tejsī agreed, but only if the daughter were married to the Rāv himself.

---

1 Catsu: located thirty-five miles south of Jaipur in central Rājāstān.

2 Jaitārāṇ: located fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur.

3 Nimbāj: located six miles southeast of Jaitārāṇ.
Considering the advanced age of Rāv Ḍūṅgārśī, the Paṃvārs balked, but then conceded and the vair was finally settled.

The circumstances surrounding this vair, including who specifically was murdered, are difficult to verify and are not corroborated in other sources. That a vair did exist seems entirely possible. However, Tejśi's attacks on Cātuṣū appear not to have been isolated ventures under his sole direction. Vigat, 1:44, records that Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) held Cātuṣū and had a fort built there in the years following his occupation of Ajmer ca. 1535. In this year he sent an army under his military commander, Rāṯhor Kūmpo Māhirājot (no. 95), to drive Meṛtiyo Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (no. 105) from Ajmer and then Rājasthān. Kūmpo brought a wide area of central Rājasthān under Rāv Mālde's authority, including the areas of Dīḍvāṇo, Sāṃbhar, Patehpur, Jhūṛjaṇuṃ and Cātuṣū. It is probable that there were a series of raids on Cātuṣū itself. Īḍvāṇa Tejśi Ḍūṅgārśiyot may have taken part in these raids both as a military servant of Rāv Mālde's and as a private party interested in carrying out his own personal vendetta.

* * *

Paṃvār Karamcand and his family held traditional attachments to the area of Cātuṣū in central Rājasthān. They were also associated with Ajmer and lands in its vicinity, and it was while master of Śrīnagar (near Ajmer) in the years prior to 1508, that Paṃvār Karamcand became closely involved with the Śisodiyo ruling family of Ćitor, which greatly altered his political fortunes.

Vir Vinod, 1:344, characterizes Karamcand as a luterā Rajpūt ("plunderer/robber Rajpūt") who ruled from Śrīnagar with three or four thousand warriors under his command. Several years prior to 1508, Śisodiyo Kūṃvar Sāṅgo Rāymalot (Rāṇo of Ćitor, 1509-28) came to Karamcand in disguise and entered into his service as an ordinary military retainer. Kūṃvar Sāṅgo was then in exile from Mevār, having fled and assumed anonymity during a period of conflict with elder brothers over precedence and rights to succession at Ćitor. Sāṅgo remained with Karamcand at Śrīnagar, where he was able to conceal his whereabouts from members of the Śisodiyo ruling family and protect himself.

Karamcand eventually learned of Sāṅgo's true identity, and he then pledged himself to the kūṃvar's service and married one of his daughters to the him. Kuṃvar Sāṅgo's elder brother, Prithīrāj, was then killed in battle in Sirohī ca. 1508, and his father, Rāṇo Rāymal Kumbhāvat (1473-1509), learned shortly after that Sāṅgo was alive and with Paṃvār Karamcand at Śrīnagar. The Rāṇo summoned Sāṅgo back to Mevār, and Karamcand accompanied him to Ćitor. The Rāṇo was pleased with Paṃvār Karamcand's service to his family, and he

---

4 Śrīnagar village: located ten miles due east of Ajmer.

5 Paṃvār Karamcand married several of his daughters to members of the Śisodiyo ruling family. Sources indicate that these daughters were given both to Kuṃvar Sāṅgo Rāymalot, and also to two of Rāṇo Sāṅgo sons, Udaisingh and Ratansī. See: Khyāt, 1:21, 106; Ojhā, 2:655; Vir Vinod, 1:354.
rewarded Karamcand with a grant of lands in Mevār. He also conferred on Karamcand a prominent rank among Rajputs at his court.

Sāngō Rāymalot succeeded to the throne of Cītor as rāno shortly thereafter in 1509. He in turn granted Karamcand a large pato in central Rājasthān including the parganos Ajmer, Parbatsar, Māṇḍal, Phuliyo, and Banero. Ojhā, 2:659, states that it was from Rāno Sāngō that Karamcand received the title of rāvat. Rāvat Karamcand’s son, Jagmāl Karamcandot (no. 25; see infra), joined his father in the Rāno’s service, and the Rāno is said to have given Jagmāl the title of rāv in return for his actions against Gaur Rajputs in Mevār who had “raised their heads” in rebellion.

Paṃvār rule over areas of central Rājasthān and Ajmer in particular continued through the reign of Rāno Sāngō, and following the Rāno’s death by poison in 1528 after his defeat at the battle of Khanua against the Mughal Emperor Babur, the Paṃvārs established a short-lived rule of their own at Ajmer. A prāsasti dated V.S. 1589 (1532-33), which Somāṇi, p. 17, references, records that “Śrī Jagmal [Paṃvār]” was ruling at Ajmer in that year. Then in 1533, the troops of Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt (1526-37) occupied the city, ending the Paṃvārs’ independent rule in this area.

Paṃvār association with Ajmer apparently extended back several generations. Paṃvār Vams Darpan, p. 16, records that Karamcand and Jagmāl’s ancestor, Rāvat Māhapo Sāngāvat (2-1), received Ajmer in pato. The text gives no date for the grant, nor does it indicate from whom the pato was received. In all likelihood, it came from a Sīsodiyo ruler of Cītor. Sīsodiyo influence in central Rājasthān dates from the time of Rāno Kūṁbhō Mokalot (ca. 1433-68).

***

Vigat, 2:49-50, mentions a second vair in which the Paṃvārs were involved. It records that shortly after his succession to the throne of Jodhpur in 1532, Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat sent word to Paṃvār Karamcand’s son, Rāvat Paṅcāiṇ Karamcandot of Cāṭṣū (5-1) (no. 24), to goad him into an attack against Merto. The Vigat alludes to the vair of Akho Sōdhāvat (no. 23), which the Paṃvārs had yet to settle. Akho Sōdhāvat was a Paṃvār Rajput of Pīsāṅgaṇ village6 whom Meṛṭyō Rāṭhōr Ratanṣī Dūḍāvat had murdered. Ratanṣī Dūḍāvat was a brother of Rāv Vīrāndē Dūḍāvat (no. 105). At the time he killed Paṃvār Akho, Ratanṣī was living in Kūḍī village,7 which Rāv Vīrāndē had granted him in pato. The murder would have occurred before March 17, 1527 when Ratanṣī was killed in battle. He had accompanied Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot to north India in March of 1527 to fight against the Mughal Bābūr, and he died at Khanua along with one of his brothers, Meṛṭyō Rāymal Dūḍāvat. The fact that Rāvat Paṅcāiṇ was responsible for avenging Akho’s death suggests that Akho

---

6 Pīsāṅgaṇ: located fifteen miles west-southwest of Ajmer.
7 Kūḍī: located eight miles west-northwest of Pīsāṅgaṇ village.
was under Pañcāiṇ's protection and probably a junior member of the Pañvār brotherhood, perhaps holding Piśāṅgaṇ in grant from the Rāvat himself.

Pañcāiṇ Karamcandot had succeeded his father, Rāvat Karamcand Rāghavdāsot (4-1), as rāvat of Cāṭṣū sometime after 1522-23. The Khyāṭ of Naiṅsī, 1:122, records that Sāh Parbat, a kīroṭī of the Pātśāh of Māṇḍū, came and settled the town of Parbatsar (near Ajmer)⁸ in 1522-23, "in the time of Pañvār Karamcand."⁹

Rāvat Pañcāiṇ did become involved in an attempt to settle Akho's vair. Rāv Mālde had formed an army to attack the Sindhāls of Bhāḍrājūn¹⁰ shortly after his accession in 1532, and he summoned members of the brotherhood including the Mṛṭiyōs, to participate in this campaign. Mṛṭiyō Rāv Vīramde reluctantly agreed to comply with the summons and reported with his Rajpūts, leaving Merto virtually unprotected. As the expeditionary force gathered near Jodhpur, Rāv Mālde sent word to Rāvat Pañcāiṇ, encouraging him to come and settle the vair. Rāv Mālde declared that with Rāv Vīramde involved elsewhere, the land of Merto was empty and the Pañvārs could now exact their revenge.

Goaded by Rāv Mālde, Rāvat Pañcāiṇ proceeded to attack the village of Āḷṇyāvās.¹¹ Pañcāiṇ's brother, Pañvār Jagmāl, who succeeded him as rāvat of Cāṭṣū, was with Pañcāiṇ on this raid. He likely joined him from Ajmer, where he appears to have held rule. Very little was accomplished, however, for the Pañvārs fled without a fight when Mṛṭiyō Rāysal Dūḍavat (no. 106), who had remained behind Rāv Vīramde at Merto, advanced against them with a force of Rajpūts.

Sources do not mention any other raids the Pañvārs made against Merto. The vair of Akho Soḍhāvāt appears to have remained unsettled.

***

Rāvat Pañcāiṇ was the maternal grandfather of Kachvāhā Rājā Mānsīṅgh Bhagvantdāsot of Amber (1589-1614). He was killed at Cītōr on May 25, 1533 fighting in the service of Rāṇo Vikramaditya Sāṅgāvāt of Mēvār (ca. 1531-36) against the invading troops of Sūltān Bahādūr Shāh of Gujārat.

One of Rāvat Pañcāiṇ's sons, Rājā Mālde Pañcāinot (6-1), was for a time a mansabdār under Mughal Emperor Akbār. He left imperial service, however, and went to Mēvār to serve under Sīsōdiyō Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvāt (ca. 1537-72; no. 17), under whom he held the pāto of Jājpur.¹² One of Mālde's sons, Rājā

---

⁸ Parbatsar: located thirty miles north of Ajmer, near Sāmbhār.

⁹ It is possible that Rāvat Karamcand had accompanied Rāṇo Sāṅgo to north India in 1527 and was killed at the battle of Khaṇa, but sources available provide no information about the date or circumstances of his death.

¹⁰ Bhāḍrājūn village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.

¹¹ Āḷṇyāvās village: located twenty miles southeast of Merto.
Sadul Maldevot (7-1), was also in Mughal service. **Bāṅkīdās**, p. 138, records that Jahāngir granted him the *sūbo* of Ajmer in **jāgīr**. The extent of Raja Saduś's authority at Ajmer is unknown, and this grant is not confirmed in other sources. **Bāṅkīdās** states that at the behest of Sisodiyo Raja Bhīm Amarsinghot (no. 15), Paṃvār Saduś acknowledged the authority of Prince Khurrām (Shāh Jahān) over Ajmer. Saduś was in all likelihood a military servant of the Prince's and received his authority at Ajmer from him.

It may have been at this time that Saduś became involved in a **vair** with the Rāṭhoro ruling family of Jodhpur. Kumvār Bhopsingh Udaisinghot, a son of Moṭo Raja Udaisinghot Maldevot, was killed at Māsūdo village near Ajmer by either Saduś or one of his men. Paṃvār Saduś married a daughter to Rāja Sūraisingh Udaisinghot of Jodhpur (1595-1619) to settle this **vair**. The marriage took place in 1609-10 at Burhanpur in the Deccan. Saduś's brother, Sāngo (7-2), had already married one of his daughters to Rājā Sūraisingh in 1590-91.

** ***

After Rāvat Paṅcain's death at Cītōr in May of 1533, his brother, Paṅvār Jagmāl Karamcandot, assumed authority at Cāṭṣū. As noted above, Paṅvār Jagmāl had succeeded his father, Karamcand, to rule at Ajmer, but was forced to give up authority there in 1533 when the city was taken by troops of Sūltān Bahādur Shāh's of Gujarāt under Shām Sheru'l-Mulk.

**Vigat**, 2:54, records that Meṛṭīyo Rāv Vīrāmde Dūḍāvat stopped with the Paṃvārs at Cāṭṣū during his flight from Meṛto and Ajmer in 1535. The fact that he did stop at Cāṭṣū may have been an additional pretext for Rāv Māldē's raid on this town. Sources do not clarify how Rāv Vīrāmde was able to stay at Cāṭṣū when a **vair** between the Meṛṭīyos and the Paṃvārs remained unsettled. However, Paṃvār Paṅcain was killed in 1533 at Cītōr, and his brother, Paṅvār Jagmāl, may not have wished to continue the hostilities. Sources available provide no explanation.

Jagmāl Karamcandot was **ravat** of Cāṭṣū when Úḍāvat Rāṭhoro Tejsī Dūṅgārsīyot (no. 138) attacked the town (probably in 1540-41, but perhaps as early as 1536-37). For some reason, Jagmāl left Cāṭṣū prior to this attack and

---

13 Masūdo village: located twenty-six miles south-southwest of Ajmer.

14 See *supra*, *Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur*, Sūraisingh Udaisinghot, Rāṇī no. 6 and Rāṇī no. 14.

15 The *Khyāt* of Naṁsī, 3:95, states that the Paṃvār Rajpūts were in control of Ajmer at the time Meṛṭīyo Rāv Vīrāmde asserted his authority over this city. This reference is incorrect. Ajmer came under the authority of the Sūltān of Gujarāt, Bahādur Shāh, in 1533. It was administered directly by his hākīm, Shām Sheru'l-Mulk, who was in charge of the city just prior to Rāv Vīrāmde's occupation. The hākīm vacated Ajmer upon the fall of Māṇḍū to the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn, leaving the city open to Meṛṭīyo Rāv Vīrāmde. See: **Vigat**, 2:51, n. 212, of the translated text for details.
took up residence in Khoh village near Amber. Cātsū was then left open to Tejsī's depredations.

A certain Paṃvār Jagmāl rose to the rank of 500 zāt in Mughal service and is mentioned several times in Akbar Nāma. It is unclear from sources available whether this Paṃvār Jagmāl was the same person as Paṃvār Rāvat Jagmāl Karamcandot of Cātsū.

Figure 14. Paṇvārs of Cāṭṣū

(1-1) Rāvat Sāṅgo

(2-1) Rāvat Māhapo Sāṅgāvat

(3-1) Rāvat Rāghavdās Māhapāvat

(4-1) Rāvat Karamcand Rāghavdāsot

(5-1) Rāvat Paṅcāin Karamcandot

(5-2) Rāvat Jagmāl Karamcandot

(6-1) Rājā Mālde Paṅcāinot

(6-2) Rājā Sādūḷ Māldevot

(7-1) Sāṅgo Māldevot

(7-2) Sāṅgo Māldevot
Sāṅkhlo Paṃvārs

(no. 26) Jāṅgalvo Nāpo Māṇakrāvat, Rāṇo (14-1)
(no. 27) Jāṅgalvo Tejśī Bhojāvat (15-1)

The Sāṅkhlo Paṃvārs

The Khyāt of Naiṇṣī, 1:337-339, records that the Sāṅkhlo and Soḍho sākhs of Paṃvār Rajpūts emerged from a common ancestor, a certain Bāhār, the son of Dhārṇīvarāh. Bāhār had two sons said to have been born of a fairy (apcharā) who lived in his home. One son was called Soḍho and the other Sāṅkhlo Vāgh. The Sāṅkhlos trace direct descent from this Sāṅkhlo Vāgh (1-1), who lived in the areas of Bāhārmer and Chahotān (Cohaṭān) in western Mārvār, while the Soḍhos established themselves at Ümarkoṭ. Sāṅkhlo Vāgh’s son, Vairśī Vāghāvat (2-1), is said to have migrated from western Mārvār to the vicinity of Merto, where he founded the village of Rūṇ.

From Vairśī’s descendants emerged two branches of Sāṅkhlos. Those who remained associated with the village of Rūṇ became known as Rūṅecos. A cadet line split off from this group and settled in the village of Jāṅgalū, which they took from the Dahīyo Rajpūts then in control. This group became known as Jāṅgalvo Sāṅkhlos. A memorial stone (devṭī) found at Rāyśisar village near Jāṅgalū dated May 3, 1231 establishes Sāṅkhlo occupation in this area from the early thirteenth century onwards.

These two branches of Sāṅkhlo Paṃvārs can be traced genealogically from material recorded in the Khyāt of Naiṇṣī, 1:338-354. This information appears only partially acceptable, however. Rāṇo Nāpo Māṇakrāvat (14-1) and Tejśī Bhojāvat (15-1) are listed in the fourteenth and fifteenth generations, respectively, from Sāṅkhlo Vāgh (1-1). Yet these two individuals were separated in time by more than a century. Lists from Rājasthān which trace descent of ruling or prominent families for periods prior to the mid-fifteenth century share a common failing, that of turning lists of brothers or members of collateral lines into ascendant "king lists" tracing lineal descent. Questions about generation and relationship are thereby rendered difficult to ascertain. The genealogical lists of the Sāṅkhlos appear to partake of this failing.

1 Ümarkoṭ is located in modern-day southeastern Pakistan.

2 Rūṇ village: located twenty miles northwest of Merto and fifty-nine miles northeast of Jodhpur.

3 Jāṅgalū village: located sixty-five miles northeast of Phālōdhī and forty-five miles north of Nāgaur.
Jāṅgalvo Nāpo Māṇakravat, Rāṇo (14-1)

Jāṅgalvo Sānkhlo Rāṇo Nāpo Māṇakravat played an important role as a military servant, advisor, and supporter of Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-1489) and of his son, Bīko Jodhavat (no. 42), who founded the new kingdom of Bikāner in northern Rājasthān. Nāpo succeeded his father, Rāṇo Māṇakrāva Pūnpāḷot (13-1) as master (dhaṇī) of Jāṅgalu village in the 1420s or 1430s. Shortly thereafter, he came into close contact with Jodho Rīṃmalot. Jodho Rīṃmalot’s father, Rāv Rīṃmal Cūṇḍavat (ca. 1428-38) had been murdered at Cītoṛ ca. 1438, and Jodho, who was present at Cītoṛ when his father was killed, had fled back across the Arāvallis into Māṛvāṛ, eventually seeking refuge at Jāṅgalu while the Sīsodiyoś under Rāṇo Kūṁbhō Mokāḷot (ca. 1433-68) occupied Maṇḍor and overran much of eastern Māṛvāṛ.

The Khyāṭ of Naiṇṣī, 3:8-9, records that Nāpo Sānkhlo lived for some years at the court of Cītoṛ as Jodho Rīṃmalot’s representative. This would have been between the early 1440s, when Jodho first arrived in Jāṅgalu, and ca. 1453 when Jodho placed Rāṭhōṛ authority once again over Maṇḍor. Jodho Rīṃmalot spent the fifteen years from 1438 to 1453 collecting horses and Rajputs, and raiding Sīsodiyo outposts in Māṛvāṛ as he sought to re-assert Rāṭhōṛ authority in Māṛvāṛ. It is uncertain how long Nāpo remained at Cītoṛ, but he was an important advocate of Jodho’s before Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Kūṁbhō, strongly urging the Rāṇo to work toward a reconciliation. Khyāṭ, 3:9, records:

[The Rāṇo] said to Nāpo Sānkhlo: "In what manner would there be a reconciliation?" Then Nāpo entreated: "Long live the Divāṇ. Resolution of the hostilities (vair) [with] the Rāṭhōṛs is a very difficult matter. Entwined in this matter is the hostility [caused by the murder] of Rāv Rīṃmal." Thus the Divāṇ began to grow very fearful. And Nāpo entreated: "Divāṇ! The hostilities are intense. If by giving the land [back] in some manner, [the hostilities] could be averted, then Divāṇ! [You] should give the land [back]!" These words also appealed to the Divāṇ.

Nāpo kept Jodho informed about developments at the Sīsodiyo court during these years, and he counseled Jodho about the most opportune time to reassert Rāṭhōṛ hegemony in Māṛvāṛ.

Nāpo returned to Jāṅgalu following Jodho Rīṃmalot’s conquest of Maṇḍor ca. 1453 and Jodho’s assumption of his rightful position as rāv of Māṛvāṛ. Sometime thereafter, Jāṅgalu and its neighboring areas came under heavy attack from the Baloc, who began raiding herds and looting villages, and forcing the Sānkhlos to flee. Unable to prevent these inroads, Nāpo Sānkhlo
came to Rāv Jodho's court at Jodhpur to appeal for aid. Rāv Jodho responded by sending his two sons, Biko Jodhāvat (no. 42) and Vīdo, to Jāṅgālu. *Khyāt*, 1:346, records in its genealogy of the Jāṅgāluvo Sāṅkhlos:

Nāpo Māṅakrāvat. Master at Jāṅgālu. Then the Baloc pressed upon [the lands of Jāṅgālu]; for this reason, [Nāpo] came before Rāv Jodho at Jodhpur, brought Kuṃvar Biko [Jodhāvat and his brother, Vīdo,] to Jāṅgālu, and made [Biko] master. The Sāṅkhlos became [Biko’s] military servants (*cākars*).

Biko Jodhāvat and his brother’s arrival in Jāṅgālu is placed in 1465-66. With the support of Nāpo Māṅakrāvat and the Sāṅkhlos, Biko was able to secure the area against further attacks from the Baloc. Nāpo remained in attendance upon Biko from this time forward. *Khyāt*, 3:19-20, records that Nāpo participated with Biko in the conquest of the territory that became Biko’s new kingdom of Bīkāner, and that he was responsible for advising Biko about the most appropriate site for his new capitol and fort. The foundations for these were laid in 1485. *Khyāt*, 1:353, also records that the Sāṅkhlos of Jāṅgālu became Biko’s most trusted servants. It was to Nāpo and his direct descendants that the keys to the fort of Bīkāner were entrusted.

During the period from 1464-74, Rāv Jodho and his sons, Biko and Vīdo, were also active in the conquest of the area of Chāpar-Dronpur. Rāv Jodho eventually gave this territory to Vīdo Jodhāvat to rule. While operations were being undertaken here, Rāv Jodho’s brother, Kāndhāl Rīṃmalot, was killed by Sāraṅg Khān, the Muslim governor of Hisar. News of Kāndhāl’s death came first to Biko Jodhāvat, and he sent Nāpo Sāṅkhlo to Rāv Jodho at Jodhpur to ask for the Rāv’s support in exacting revenge for this killing.

No further information is available about Nāpo Sāṅkhlo, and the date and circumstances of his death are unknown.


(no. 27) **Jāṅgāluvo Tejsī Bhojavat** (15-1)

Jāṅgāluvo Sāṅkhlo Tejsī Bhojavat was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). He was killed in 1562, fighting at Merīto under Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65) against Merītyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under the command of Mirzā Sharafrud-Dīn Ḥusayn.

No further information is known about Tejsī or his family from sources available.

5 For more information about Vīdo Jodhāvat, see *infra*, "Vīdāvat Rāṭhors."

6 Chāpar-Dronpur constitutes the area of modern-day southeastern Bīkāner territory.
"Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 56; Bānkīdās, pp. 16-17; Khyāṭ, 1:354; Vigat, 2:66.
**Figure 15. Sāṅkhlo Paṃvārs of Rūṇ and Jāṅgaḷū**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1-1) Sāṅkhlo Vāgh</th>
<th>(4-2) Chohil Rājpālōt (Rūņecos)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2-1) Vāirsī Vāghāvat (Rūṇ village)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3-1) Rājpāl Vairṣiyōt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4-1) Mahipāḷ Rājpālōt (Jāṅgāḷvos)</th>
<th></th>
<th>(5-2) Pāḷaṇsī Chohilōt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5-1) Rāṇo Rāysi Mahipāḷōt (ca. 1231)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(6-2) Mehado Pāḷaṇsīyōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6-1) Rāṇo Aṇakhśi Rāysiųyōt</td>
<td></td>
<td>(7-2) Hāṃspāḷ Mehadoț</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7-1) Rāṇo Khīṃvsī Aṇakhśiyōt</td>
<td></td>
<td>(8-2) Sōḍhal Hāṃspāḷōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8-1) Rāṇo Kuṃvsari Khīṃvāvat</td>
<td></td>
<td>(9-2) Viram Sōḍhalōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9-1) Rāṇo Rājśi Kuṃvsariyōt</td>
<td></td>
<td>(10-2) Cācag Viramoț</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10-1) Mūṇjo Rājśiyōt</td>
<td></td>
<td>(11-2) Rāṇo Sīhar Cācagot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11-1) Údo Mūṇįjāvat</td>
<td></td>
<td>(12-2) Rāṇo Māṇḍan Sīharot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12-1) Rāṇo Punpāḷ Udāvat</td>
<td></td>
<td>(contemporary of Rāv Jodho Rimnalot of Jodhpur, ca. 1453–89)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(13-1) Rāṇo Māṇakrāv Punpāḷōt</th>
<th>(13-2) Sāṇḍo Punpāḷōt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(14-1) Rāṇo Nāpo Māṇakrāvāvat (contemporary of Rāv Jodho Rimnalot of Jodhpur, ca. 1453–89)</td>
<td>(14-2) Bhojo Sāṇḍāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15-1) Tejsī Bhojāvat (d. 1562 at Merto)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Akhairajot Rathors

The Akhairajot Rathors descend from Akhairaj Rinmalot (5-1), a son of Rāv Rīnmal Cūṇḍāvāt (4-1), ruler of Maṇḍor (ca. 1428-38). In the broadest sense, all descendants of Akhairaj Rīnmalot are included among the Akhairajots. However, several powerful and important branches (sākh}s) of Rāthors emerged in later periods from among Akhairaj’s sons and grandsons. These are discussed separately under their individual sākh names and include, among others, the Jaitāvats and the Kumpavats who descend from two of Akhairaj Rīnmalot’s grandsons. Rāthors discussed here as Akhairajots are referred to in the texts by this designation, and are, for the most part, less important sons and descendants of Akhairaj Rīnmalot. In certain cases, these descendants and their families did found sākh}s in their own names. Where this occurred, mention is made in the discussion of the individuals involved.

Akhairaj Rīnmalot was Rāv Rīnmal Cūṇḍāvāt’s eldest son, and sister’s son (bhānej) of the Sonagaros Cahuvaṇs of Nādūl. He spent his early life with his father, first at the village of Dhanlo1 which was his father’s initial seat of rule, and then at the court of Maṇḍor after ca. 1428 when Rāv Rīnmal usurped power from his younger uterine brother, Rāv Sato Cūṇḍāvāt (54). Akhairaj participated in Rāv Rīnmal’s consolidation of authority at Maṇḍor, and in his extension of authority over eastern Mārvār in 1429-30. Areas brought under control included Jaitaran,2 Bagri,3 and Sojhat,4 all of which were taken from the Sihdhal Rāthors. Reu, Mārvār kā Itihās, 1:73, states specifically that Rāv

1 Dhanlo village: located twenty-seven miles due south of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.
2 Jaitaran town: located fifty-five miles east-southeast of Maṇḍor.
3 Bagri village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat and twenty-six miles north-northeast of Dhanlo village.
4 Sojhat town: located forty-eight miles southeast of Maṇḍor.
Rinmal entrusted Akhairaj with the rule of Sojhat following its conquest, but Bagri village became Akhairaj's seat of rule. Texts vary in their discussion of how Bagri was acquired, one stating that it was Rav Rinmal himself who killed Carro (Cardo) Sindha at Bagri and established authority there, while others state that it was Akhairaj who defeated and killed Carro Sindha in battle and conquered Bagri. In all likelihood, Akhairaj played a leading role in the eastward expansion of Rathor authority from Mandor and established a strong presence at Bagri early in his father's reign. Kanota, Cāmpāvatam kā Itihās, 1:8, notes that Akhairaj's younger brother, Campo Rinmalot, assisted him in the conquest of Bagri, and that afterwards, Akhairaj left Mandor and settled with his family there.

Rav Rinmal left Manḍor for Mevār in 1433-34, and spent the latter years of his rule there. His sister, Hamsbāi, had been married to Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Lākho Khetsot (ca. 1382-1420), and her son by Rāṇo Lākho, Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Mokāl Lākhāvat (ca. 1421-33), was murdered at Citoṛ ca. 1433. Hamsbāi then summoned her brother to Citoṛ to protect her young grandson, Kūmbho Mokālot (Rāṇo of Citoṛ, ca. 1433-68), then aged nine years, and ensure his succession to the throne. During his absence from Mārvār, Rav Rinmal entrusted the rule of his kingdom to his two sons, Akhairaj and Campo.

Their authority at Manḍor was short-lived, for ca. 1438 Rāṇo Kūmbho had Rāv Rinmal murdered at Citoṛ to rid Mevār of Rathor influence and control. The Sīsodiyos then proceeded to overrun eastern Mārvār and to occupy Manḍor. They maintained a hold over Mārvār for the next fifteen years. Akhairaj spent these years fighting in support of his younger half-brother, Jodho Rinmalot, who was Rāv Rinmal's chosen successor. The Rathors finally succeeded in reasserting their authority at Manḍor ca. 1453. Akhairaj was present at Manḍor to place the tiko of succession on Jodho's forehead when Jodho assumed his rightful position as rāv. This honor fell to Akhairaj as Rāv Rinmal's eldest son. During this period, Akhairaj also reestablished his own authority at Bagri.

Rāv Jodho founded his new capitol of Jodhpur five miles to the south of Manḍor in 1459. He then divided the lands of Mārvār among his brothers and sons, and confirmed Akhairaj in his possession of Bagri village. Āsopā, Āsop kā Itihās, pp. 16-17, writes that after Akhairaj established himself at Bagri, he extended his authority over Sojhat as well, and granted rule of Sojhat to his son, Mahiraj Akhairajot. This information appears incorrect. Akhairaj was
associated with rule at Sojhat for a brief period during his father Rāv Rinmalot's rule at Maṇḍor, as noted above. His authority at Sojhat extended only during the initial establishment of Rāthor authority in this area immediately after 1428. It is known that Jodho Rinmalot lived at Sojhat as a kumvar sometime between the years 1428-38, and following his succession ca. 1453, Rāv Jodho placed his son and chosen successor, Kumvar Nimbo Jodhāvat, at Sojhat. Vigat, 1:390, records that Nimbo had one of the arched gateways (praul) to the fort of Sojhat constructed while he was there. Nimbo Jodhāvat remained at Sojhat until his death in 1464 from wounds received in battle. Rāv Jodho then called his son, Sūjo Jodhāvat (Rāv of Jodhpur, ca. 1492-1515), from Phaḷodhī and placed him in charge at Sojhat.

No other information is available about Akhairāj's activities, and his date of death is uncertain.


(no. 28) Rāṇo Akhairājot  (6-1)
(no. 29) Goind Rāṇ āvat  (7-1)
(no. 30) Īsardās Rāṇāvat  (7-2)
(no. 31) Vairsī Rāṇāvat  (7-3)

Rāṇo Akhairājot was a son of Akhairāj Rīṃmalot (5-1) and grandson of Rāv Rīṃmal Cūṇḍāvat (4-1), ruler of Maṇḍor (ca. 1428-38). Little information is available about Rāṇo and his three sons, Goind, Īsardās, and Vairsī. Rāṇo himself was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Sources mention him primarily in the company of several of his close paternal relations. These included Jeso Bhairovādāsot (no. 48), Jaito Paṅcāṅgot (no. 61), and Kūmpo Mahirājot (no. 95). All of these Rāṭhōrs were stationed at the garrison of Rarod9 ca. 1535 when word came of a battle developing with Meṛtiyo Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (no. 105). Rāṇo rode to Reyāṁ village10 with the contingent from Rarod to aid Rāv Mālde's Rajpūts there. During the fierce and bloody fighting against the Meṛtiyos that followed, Rāṇo was badly wounded.

Rāṇo took part in an expedition into Meṛvār ca. 1537. He was included among the contingent of Rāṭhōrs and other Rajpūts of Rāv Mālde's who went to

9 Rarod village: located forty-four miles northeast of Jodhpur and six miles west of Āsop.

10 Reyāṁ village: located forty-nine miles east-southeast of Rarod and fifteen miles southeast of Merto.
the aid of Sisodiyo Udai Singh Sāngāvat (Rāṇo of Mevār, ca. 1437-72; no. 17), then under attack at Kumbhalmer by a pretender to the throne of Citoṛ, Sisodiyo Vanvīr Prithvīrajot. Following the defeat of Vanvīr forces, Rāṇo participated in Sisodiyo Udai Singh's accession at the fortress of Kumbhalmer where Udai Singh had established his court during his forced exile from Citoṛ. The Sonagaro Cahuvaṅ ṭhākur of Pālī village in Mārvār, Akhairāṛī Rindhirot (no. 9), who was Sisodiyo Udai Singh's wife's father, had led this campaign into Mevār and presided over Udai Singh's succession.

The texts do not mention Rāṇo Akhairāṛī with reference to events after this time. The date and circumstances of his death are also unknown. During his life, he held the village of Paḷṛī in paṭo from Rāv Mālde. A sākh of Rāṭhoṛs known as Rāṇāvāt later emerged bearing his name.

Rāṇo's three sons, Goind, Isardās, and Vairīṣī, were also military servants of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur. Vairīṣī Rāṇāvāt took part alongside his father in the battle at Reyāṁ village ca. 1535. Then in January of 1544 he was killed at the battle of Samel fighting against Mērtīyo Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvāt and Sher Shāh Sūr.

Vairīṣī's two brothers, Goind and Isardās, were both killed during the battle of Mērtō in 1562. They fought there under the command of Rāṭhoṛ Devīdās Jaitīvāt (no. 65) against Mērtīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrza Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn.

"Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭāṃ," pp. 40, 45, 55; Bānkīdās, pp. 16-17; Bhāṭī, Survēkaṇ, 3:91; Gehlot, Mārvār, p. 160; Ḫyāt, 1:22-23; Murārdān, no. 2, p. 120; Vigat, 1:57, 61, 2:52-53, 65.

(11) Bhado Paṇcāṅnot (7-4)
(12) Lakhmaṇ Bhadāvāt (8-1)

Bhado Paṇcāṅnot was a grandson of Akhairāṛī Riṇmālot's (5-2). He was a prominent ṭhākur of Mārvār during the reign of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62), under whom he served as a military retainer. References in the texts to Bhado associate him primarily with his paternal uncle, Rāṇo Akhairāṛī (6-1) (no. 28), and two other close paternal relations, Jaito Paṇcāṅnot (no. 61) and Kūmpo Mahirajot (no. 95), who were the commanders of Rāv Mālde's armies of Mārvār.

Bhado was stationed at the garrison of Rarod ca. 1535 with Rāṇo Akhairāṛī, Jaito Paṇcāṅnot and Kūmpo Mahirajot when word came of the battle developing with Mērtīyo Rāv Vīramde (no. 105) at Reyāṁ village. Bhado rode to Reyāṁ with the contingent from Rarod, and fought valiantly against Rāv Vīramde's Rajpūts. Rāv Vīramde came before him during the battle, and

11 Pālī village: located forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

12 Paḷṛī village: located eighteen miles south-southeast of Sojhat.

13 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.
"Aitihasik Bātāṃ," p. 40, records that Bhado voiced great contempt for him, calling him "black-faced" and a rāv worth only a ser of grain.

Despite these insulting remarks, Bhado did Rāv Vīramde the honor of striking his body during the fighting at Reyāṃ. Vigat, 2:53, also records that Bhado and Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahirājot were responsible for sparing Meṛtiyo Rāv Vīramde's life when he was badly wounded and the field had fallen to Rāv Mālde's Rajпутs. Rāv Vīramde was allowed to flee Mārvār and seek refuge in parts of eastern Rājāsthān.

Later, ca. 1537, Bhado was among the contingent from Mārvār that Sonagaro Akhairāj Rindhīrot (no. 9) of Pāḷī village led to Kumbhālmer to help defend Sīsodiyo Udāisingh Sāṅgāvat (no. 17) against a pretender to the throne of Cītor, Sīsodiyo Vanvīr Prithirājot.  

Bhāṭī, Sarveksan, 3:96, associates Bhado with the village of Dāntīvāro. He may have held this village in pāṭo from Rāv Mālde, though the text does not specify. The date and circumstances of his death are also unclear. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 120, records that he was killed at the battle of Samel in January of 1544, fighting against Meṛtiyo Rāv Vīramde and Sher Shāh Sūr. Bhāṭī, Sarveksan, 3:96, 113, indicates, however, that sometime after 1535, Ūhār Rāṭhor Bhān Kājāvat (no. 145) organized a plot against Bhado Paṅcāṅnot and his brother, Kāṅho Paṅcāṅnot (7-6), and had them poisoned at a feast given by Rāv Mālde. According to this source, Rāv Mālde, who had undoubtedly instigated this intrigue, gave Bhado and Kāṅho biros (betel leaves filled with spices, and folded to be eaten) that had been laced with poison at the feast of Dīvāḷi. Bhado set out afterwards for his village of Dāntīvāro, but died on the way. Kāṅho's fate is uncertain. The circumstances leading to the plot and murder are unknown.

In later generations, a Rāṭhor sākh called Bhadāvat emerged bearing Bhado's name. Bhado's son, Lakhmāṇ Bhadāvat, was also a military servant of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur. No information is available about Lakhmāṇ prior to 1557, but in this year he was one of the select warriors whom Rāṭhor Devidāś Jaitāvāt (no. 65), the commander of Rāv Mālde's forces, chose to accompany him to Mēvār to fight alongside Paṅṭhāṇ Hájī Khān, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr's, at Harmārō. This battle was fought against an allied force under Sīsodiyo Raṅo Udāisingh Sāṅgāvat of Mēvār (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). Lachmāṇ's name does not appear with reference to other local events until the late 1560s, during the rule of Raṅ Mālde's son and successor, Rāv Candrasen Māldevōt (1562-81). "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," p. 98, records that Lakhmāṇ held a place of defense (gūḍho) near the village of Jojāvar in Godhvār. A Mughal force attacked this stronghold on December 25, 1567, destroying the

14 Dāntīvāro village: located eighteen miles due east of Jodhpur.

15 Harmārō village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevār.

16 Jojāvar village: located in the Godhvār some twenty-eight miles south-southeast of Sojhat.
small fort there and looting all its goods. Lakhman and his Rajputs rode after these raiders and fought a pitched battle with them near the village of Kāndū, during which a number of Mughals were killed. Though Lakhman’s gūdho was destroyed, the text says that Lakhman was deserving of praise, for four elephants "came [to him, i.e., fell into his hands]." Another text records a slightly different version, stating that Lakhman "cut down" four elephants.

No other information is available about Lakhman. The circumstances of his death are unknown.


---

17 Kāndū village: located eight miles northwest of Jojāvar and twenty-three miles due south of Sojhat.

18 The reference to the attack on Lackman’s gūdho appears as a fragment of text set toward the end of a larger section of the "Aitihasik Bātām" entitled "The Story of the Rule of Mahārāja Sūrajsinghī." This section deals in some detail with events that occurred during the reign of Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot of Jodhpur (1595-1619), but appears to be an amalgam of material, for there is mention of fiscal matters pertaining to the reigns of Rājā Sūrajsingh and his two successors in addition to other fragments placed without seeming order and referencing events as early as 1553-54 during the latter part of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat’s reign (1532-62).

The fragment about Lakhman records that "Ismayal KulX" (Isma‘Il Qull) attacked his stronghold. It has not been possible to identify this Muslim warrior with certainty, or to understand the context for the raid. The territory of eastern Mārvār was being parceled up in this period. Rāv Candrasen’s half-brother, Rām Māldevot, had acquired Sojhat in 1564 with Mughal assistance, and Rāv Candrasen’s elder uterine brother held Phalodhī in northern Mārvār. Rāv Candrasen himself had handed over the fort of Jodhpur to a Mughal force under Ḥusayn QulT Khan in December of 1565, after a siege of several months. He was in exile from Jodhpur until November of 1570, when he met with and submitted to Akbar at Nāgaur. Lakhman’s gūdho was in the area of Sojhat, and the general unrest in this period may have provided opportunity and context for (random?) Mughal attacks against local strongholds.

This fragment of text lists several Rajputs by name who fought with Lakhman near the village of Kāndū. These men included Rāṭhoṛs Sāṃvaldās Rāmot (9-1), Sūjo Rāymalot (9-2) and Sādīl Rāymalot (9-3), all of whom appear to have been members of Lakhman’s brotherhood, Sāṃvaldās being a brother’s son, and Sūjo and Sādīl related through a collateral line descending from Akhairāj Rīṃmalot’s son, Nagraj (6-4) to Rāypāl (7-8) and then Rāymal (8-5). "Jodhpur Hukūmat rī Bahī," pp. 208-210, and Bhāṭī, Sarvekṣaṇ, 3:91-96, provide genealogical information about the Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛs. But these sources unfortunately do not specifically mention the names of the three Rāṭhoṛs who were with Lakhman. They reference only the fathers’ names, Rām Bhaḍāvat (8-2) and Rāymal Rāynālot (8-5).
(no. 34) **Tejsi Urjanot** (8-3)

Tejsi Urjanot was a great-grantson of Akhairāj Riṇmalot's (5-1). He served under Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-1562) and was killed in 1562 at the battle of Meṛto. He fought there alongside Rāthor Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65), Rāv Mālde's commander at the Mālgadh. No other information is available about Tejsi from sources at hand.


(no. 35) **Pato Kānhāvat** (8-4)

Pato Kānhāvat was a great-grandson of Akhairāj Riṇmalot's (5-1). His father, Kānho Paṅcaṅṇot (7-6), had been part of the contingent of Rajpūts from Mārvār under Sonagarō Cahuvaṅ Akhairāj Riṇḍhirot (no. 9), who went to the aid of Siṣodiyo Udaiśīṅgh Sāṅgāvat (no. 17) ca. 1537 and helped to seat him on the throne of Mevār at Kumbhalmer. It is possible that Pato was with his father at this time. However, texts available record only that Pato was a military servant of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur, and that he was killed at the battle of Samel (near Ajmer) in January of 1544.


(no. 36) **Netsī Sihāvat** (7-7)

Netsī Sihāvat was a grandson of Akhairāj Riṇmalot's (5-1). He served under Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-1562), and was killed at the battle of Meṛto in 1562. He fought there alongside Rāv Mālde's commander at the Mālgadh, Rāthor Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65), against Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Miṛzā Sharaֆu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn.

No other information is available about Netsī from sources at hand.

Figure 16. Akhairajot Rāṭhors
(continued on the following page)

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
  └ Vīram Salkhāvat
  └ Rāv Cūndo Vīramot
  └ Rāv Riṃmal Cūndāvat

(5-1) Akhairāj Riṃmalot (Akhairājots)

(6-1) Rāṇo Akhairājot
  └ Paṅcāin Akhairājot

(7-1) Goind Rāṇāvat
  (7-2) Īsardās Rāṇāvat
  (7-3) Vairsī Rāṇāvat
  (7-4) Bhado Paṅcāiṇot
  (7-5) Urjāṇ Paṅcāiṇot
  (7-6) Kānho Paṅcāiṇot

(8-1) Lakhmaṇ Bhadāvat
  (8-2) Rām Bhadāvat
  (8-3) Tejsī Urjaṇot
  (8-4) Pato Kānḥāvat

(9-1) Sāṃvaldās Rāmot (?)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-1</td>
<td>Rāv Salkho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>Yīram Salkhāvat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-1</td>
<td>Rāv Cūndo Vīramot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-1</td>
<td>Rāv Rinnal Cūndāvat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-1</td>
<td>Akhairāj Rinnalot</td>
<td>(Akhairājots)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-3</td>
<td>Sīho Akhairājot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-7</td>
<td>Nētsī Sīhāvat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-4</td>
<td>Nāgrāj Akhairājot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>Rāypāl Nagrajot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-5</td>
<td>Rāynal Rāypālōt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-3</td>
<td>Sādūl Rāynalot (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-2</td>
<td>Sūjo Rāynalot (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bālāvat Rāṭhoṛs

(no. 39) Dhano Bhārmalot (8-3)
(no. 38) Nago Bhārmalot (8-2)
(no. 37) Vīdo Bhārmalot (8-1)

The Bālāvat Rāṭhoṛs

The Bālāvat branch (sākh) of Mārvāṛ Rāṭhoṛs descends from Bālo Bhākhārhot (6-1), a grandson of Rāv Rīṃmal Cūṇḍāvat (4-1), the ruler of Māṇḍor (ca. 1428-38). Little is known from the chronicles about Bālo's father, Bhākhār Rīṃmalot (5-2). He either died or was killed prior to 1459, for when Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot (ca. 1453-89) divided the lands of Mārvāṛ among his brothers and sons following his founding of Jodhpur in this year, Rāv Jodho gave his brother Bhākhār's son, Bālo, three villages as Bhākhār's share of lands. These villages were:

1. Khāṛī: located twenty-two miles due southeast of Jodhpur,
2. Kharlo: located twenty-five miles south-southeast of Khāṛī,

Vīgat, 1:38, records the names of these villages, but does not include any explanation for Rāv Jodho's choice of them. It is possible that they afforded access to or control over an important route across central-eastern Mārvāṛ. The villages lie in a line extending to the south from Jodhpur.

No further information is available about the Bālāvat family until the time of Bālo's grandsons, Vīdo (8-1), Nago (8-2), and Dhano Bhārmalot (8-3). These three sons of Bhārmal Bālāvat's (7-1) were all military servants of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). They held positions of varying importance in Mārvāṛ and were all killed within a short time of each other in major military engagements involving the Mēṛīyo Rāṭhoṛs.


(no. 37) Vīdo Bhārmalot (8-1)

Vīdo Bhārmalot's name is associated with events that occurred earlier in the reign of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur than his two brothers, Nago and Dhano. Vīdo was among a number of important Rāṭhoṛs and other Rajpūts whom Rāv Mālde
posted at the garrison of Raṇḍō 1 ca. 1535 under the command of Rāṭhōṛs Jaito Paṇḍāṁcot (no. 61) and Kūmpo Muhīrājot (no. 95). Vīdo rode with the Rajpūṭs from this garrison to participate in the battle that developed at Reyāṁ village 2 with Merṭīyo Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (no. 105). Rāv Vīramde's forces suffered a severe defeat at this battle, and afterwards Rāv Vīramde was forced to quit Mārvār and relinquish Ajmer, which he and his Merṭīyos had only recently occupied.

A few years later in 1538-39 the Bihāri Pāṭhāṃ ruler of Jālōr, 3 Sikandar Khān, sent an appeal to Rāv Mālde for aid against the Baloc who had driven him from his capitol. The Rāv responded by sending Vīdo Bhārmaḷot with an army against Jālōr. Vigat, 1:43-44, and "Aitihasik Bātām," p. 41, record that Vīdo and his Rajpūṭs captured Jālōr fort from the Baloc, but details are lacking about the course of events and the length of time they remained in occupation.

Two years later in 1540-41 Vīdo participated in an unsuccessful attack on Kumblaṁjer, the Sisodiyo fortress that guarded the western passes through the Arāvallī hills into Mevār. Rāv Mālde launched this expedition while he was placing garrisons throughout Godhvaṁ and sending raiding parties into Mevār in an attempt to humiliate Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaiśingh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) for marrying a sister of his wife, Jhāli Sarūpdejī. The Jhālos had originally promised this daughter to Rāv Mālde, albeit under duress. 4

In January of 1544 Vīdo was among Rāv Mālde's leading warriors who assembled before Samel village 5 to do battle against the combined forces of Merṭīyo Rāv Vīramde and Sher Shāh Sūr. The Khyāt of Naṁsī, 3:99-100, speaks of the great esteem in which Vīdo Bhārmaḷot was held as a warrior, equating his prowess and strength with that of three of Sher Shāh's Pathāṃ warriors. There had been discussion in Sher Shāh's darbār prior to the battle about the best means to settle the dispute. A noble of Sher Shāh's had suggested single-handed combat between one of Sher Shāh's Pathāṃs and one of Rāv Mālde's Rajpūṭs. Merṭīyo Rāv Vīramde is said to have responded that Vīdo Bhārmaḷot would be sent from Rāv Mālde's side, and if he were to fight, he could easily defeat three of Sher Shāh's Pathāṃs in single-handed combat, take their weapons, and return to his side unharmed (see translated texts for details of this discussion).

Vīdo Bhārmaḷot was killed during the battle at Samel.

---

1 Raṇḍō village: located forty-four miles northeast of Jodhpur and six miles west of Asop.

2 Reyāṁ village: located fifteen miles southeast of Merṭo and forty-nine miles east-southeast from Raṇḍō.

3 Jālōr: located sixty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur in southern Mārvār.

4 For details about this marriage and the disruption is caused, see infra, Nago Bhārmaḷot (no. 38), and supra, Bālīso Cahuvaṅ Sujo Sāṅpvat (no. 4).

5 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

(no. 38) Nago Bhārmalot (8-2)

Vigat, 1:49, states that Nago and his brothers, Dhano (8-3) and Viṅjo (8-4), were great warriors of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur. There is no information about specific lands that Nago and the Bāḷāvats held in pāto from the Rāv. But these may have included the villages Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalot (ca. 1453-89) originally gave to his brother’s son, Bālo Bhākharot (6-1), following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459 (see supra).

Nago Bhārmalot is first mentioned in the chronicles as part of an expedition Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur sent against Bāḷīso Cahuvaṅ Sūjo Sāṃvatot (no. 4) at Nāḍūl6 in 1540-41. The Rāv launched this expedition to punish and humiliate Bāḷīso Sūjo. Sūjo had been a military servant of his holding the village of Khairvo7 in pāto, but had quit Mārvāṛ in anger. While leaving, he had allowed his Rajpūts to loot several Čāmpāvats Rāṭhors villages in the vicinity of Khairvo and kill a number of Čāmpāvats. Bāḷīso Sūjo had then gone to Mevāṛ and taken service under Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaiśingh Sāṅgāvats (ca. 1537-72; no. 17).

Bāḷīso Sūjo reappeared soon after in Mārvāṛ as a servant of the Rāṇo’s, having been given the pāto of Nāḍūl and surrounding villages for his maintenance. Vigat, 1:49, records that Rāv Mālde became very distressed upon learning of Bāḷīso Sūjo’s return. He immediately summoned Nago Bhārmalot to Jodhpur and ordered him to attack Nāḍūl and killed Bāḷīso Sūjo by any possible means. Nago send word to his Rajpūts, Rāṭhor Dāso Pāṭaḷot, Īhāṛ Rāṭhor Jaimal and others, ordering them to assemble with all due haste. He gathered a force of some 500 horsemen and a number of footmen, and set out for Nāḍūl.

The Bāḷāvats and their men rode by stealth to within a short distance of Nāḍūl, then sent 20-25 riders before the gates of the town as a ruse. They instructed these riders to cause a disturbance by breaking the pots of the women drawing water at the wells, and by stealing the herds. They thought that the Bāḷīsos would pursue these men and allow the main force of the Bāḷāvats to fall upon and kill them by surprise. The ruse failed, however, for Bāḷīso Sūjo quickly suspected a trick. He prevented his brothers and sons from riding in pursuit of the party and instead, gathered a large force from the surrounding villages. With some 2,000 men consisting primarily of his close relations by blood and marriage, he rode out to confront the Bāḷāvats. He drew near to them some ten kos from Nāḍūl.

During the battle which followed, Bāḷīso Sūjo and his Rajpūts defeated the Bāḷāvat force with great loss. Some 140 of the Bāḷāvats were killed, among

---

6 Nāḍūl: located sixty-seven miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

7 Khairvo village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.
them Viñjo Bhārmalot. Nago himself was badly wounded and his horse slain. The field fell to Balīso Sujo as Nago Bhārmalot, Dāso Pātaḷot, Uhar Jaimal and the remaining force of Bālavats fled. They finally halted before the village of Deharō. Vigat, 1:50-51, states that Nago sat on the ground there, apparently in wait for the Bālisos. One of his Rajpūts approached him with concern, saying:

You [must] go away! Why give the enemies any chance [to kill you]? One [thing is that] Viñjo . . . [has] already died in battle, and if you also die, then the ḍhākurū of the Bālavats will diminish.

Nago was very obstinate, refusing to listen to the Rajpūt. He replied:

Viñjo having been killed, where would I go? And my horse died in battle. I cannot mount a horse [in my condition].

The Rajpūt then left to catch Viñjo's horse, which had been wounded. He brought it and gave it to Nago, helping him to mount.

The Bālisos arrived at the village just as Nago turned to ride off with the other Bālavats. Several of Balīso Sūjo's men saw Nago and wanted to ride after and kill him. Sujo tried to stop them, saying:

There is no deep-seated hostility (vair) between us and them; do not follow after Nago. [He] is not such a Rajpūt that he would run away, but [his] military servants [and his] brotherhood persuaded him [and] forcefully took him away. He is an exceptional warrior (baṛī balāy); you should not speak his name.

Despite Sūjo's words, five or six horsemen rode after Nago. When Nago saw them coming, he stopped to confront them. He threw his spear at one man, striking him with such force that the spear passed out of the man's back and into the hindquarters of the man's horse, striking its testicles. Nago then gave a great shout as he pulled his lance free from the horse and rider. It is said that when he shouted, two other of the Bālisos became senseless and did not speak for six months thereafter out of fear. Having silenced his pursuers, Nago joined Dāso Pātaḷot and Uhar Jaimal to proceed home in defeat.

Rāv Mālde sent no further armies against Nādūl, and the Bālavats exacted no revenge that is recorded for their humiliation at Balīso Sūjo's hands.

Nago's activities over the next five years are uncertain. His name does not appear in the chronicles with relation to any events of this period, including the battle of Samel in January of 1544, at which Rāv Mālde's Rajpūts suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the combined forces of Meṛtīyo Rāv Vīramde

---

8 Vigat, 1:50, records that Dhano Bhārmalot also died in battle here, but other sources indicate that he died in battle later, which appears to be correct.

9 Deharō village: located twelve miles east-northeast of Nādūl.
Dūdāvat and Sher Shāh Sūr. Nago was undoubtedly recovering from his wounds during this time, but how extensive these were and how debilitating is again not known. In all probability, Nago was with Rāv Mālde in the period before the battle of Samel, withdrawing with him just prior to the main engagement and returning to Jodhpur.

"Aītīhāsik Bātām," p. 40, includes Nago among the renowned (nāmyādik) warriors that Rāv Mālde sent against the Muslim outpost at Bhāṅgesar village\textsuperscript{10} in 1545, shortly after Sher Shāh's death. This attack marked the start of the Rāv's campaign to reassert his authority in Mārvār following his defeat at Samel. Nago was again wounded during the fighting at Bhāṅgesar.

Nago then appears among the warriors Rāv Mālde led against Mēṛṭyo Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107) at Mēṛto in 1554. "Aītīhāsik Bātām," p. 48, states that Nago Bhārmalot and other of the Rāv's Rajpūts counseled against this attack. Their counsel was to no avail, however. The Rāv met in darbār with the Jaimalot Rāṭho pradhāns of Rāv Jaimal, Akhairāj Bhādāvat (no. 69) and Cāndrāj Jodhāvat (no. 74), prior to the main engagement on April 4, 1554. Nago Bhārmalot and Rāṭho Prithirāj Jaitāvat (no. 63) sat alongside the Rāv during this meeting as his leading military servants and advisors. The pradhāns had come seeking a means of accommodation with Rāv Mālde. They offered the promise of military service in return for the grant of Mēṛto in paṭo to Rāv Jaimal. Rāv Mālde would not agree to this request, however. He offered another paṭo in Mēṛto's place, unable to countenance Mēṛtiyo rule over Mēṛto. The pradhāns then challenged the Rāv's authority to take possession of Mēṛto at all, saying that the Mēṛtiyos had equal rights, that he who had given the Rāv Jodhpur, had given Mēṛto to the Mēṛtiyos. Rāv Mālde's posture remained unbending, and the talks ended in mutual recrimination and insult, with the pradhāns leaving Rāv Mālde's darbār in anger and returning to Mēṛto without accommodation (see Khyāt, 3:117-118, of the translated text for details of this meeting).

Rāv Mālde's forces were disorganized the following day and unprepared for the stout resistance they encountered from Rāv Jaimal and the Mēṛtiyos. Nago Bhārmalot rode alongside Rāv Mālde, and for part of the fighting occupied a position near Mēṛto's Jodhpur Gate. Both Nago and his brother, Dhano, were killed on this day, and by the end of the fighting, Rāv Mālde's force had been driven from the field in defeat.


(no. 39) Dhano Bhārmalot (8-3)

The chronicles mention Dhano Bhārmalot less frequently than his two brothers, Vīdo (8-1) and Nago (8-2). His name appears only twice. He was

\textsuperscript{10} Bhāṅgesar village: located sixteen miles west of Soihat in eastern Mārvār.
among the Bāḷāvats who proceeded against Bāḷīśo Čāhuvgān Sūjo Sāṃvatot (no. 4) at Nāḍūl in 1540-41, where he was probably wounded, and he is listed among those killed at the battle of Merto on April 4, 1554. But there is disagreement among sources regarding the place and date of Dhano's death. Vigat, 1:50, records that Dhano was killed during the fighting against the Bāḷīśo Čāhuvgāns near Nāḍūl in 1540-41. Other sources including "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṁ," p. 49, Bāṅkīdās, p. 13, and Vigat, 1:59, 2:59, all list Dhano among those killed at Merto on March 20, 1554. He was probably only wounded at the fighting near Nāḍūl, as was his brother, Nago.


Avenging the Bāḷāvat Defeat at Nāḍūl

Neither the Bāḷāvats nor Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur exacted any revenge for the humiliating defeat the Bāḷāvats suffered at the hands of Bāḷīśo Čāhuvgān Sūjo Sāṃvatot (no. 4) near Nāḍūl in 1540-41, or for Viṅjo Bhārmālot's (8-4) death during the fighting there. These were not avenged for seventeen years. Vīdō Bhārmālot (8-1) was killed four years later at Samel in 1544, and his two brothers, Nago (8-2) and Dhano (8-3), both died ten years later at Merto in 1554. There were apparently no opportunities in the interim to exact this revenge. It was left for Rāṭhōr Devīdās Āṭāvāt (no. 65) to end the hostility (vair). Devīdās accomplished this feat at the battle of Harmāro11 in January of 1557. During the fighting there between the combined armies of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur and Pathāṅ Hājī Khān, and an allied force under Śīsodiyo Rāṅo Udaiśingh Sāṅgāvat of Cītōṛ, Devīdās challenged Bāḷīśo Sūjo to single-handed combat. He killed him there with his spear.

Vigat, 1:52.

11 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevār.
Figure 17. Bālāvats Rāṭhorṣ

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
(2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat
(3-1) Rāv Cūṇḍo Vīramot
(4-1) Rāv Rīṇmal Cūṇḍāvat

(5-1) Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalot (5-2) Bhākhar Rīṇmalot

(6-1) Bālo Bhākharot (Bālāvats)

(7-1) Bhārmal Bālāvat

(8-1) Vīdo (8-2) Nago (8-3) Dhano (8-4) Viṅjo
Bhārmalot    Bhārmalot    Bhārmalot    Bhārmalot
Bhārmalot Rāṭhōrs

(no. 40) Prithīrāj Balūvot (11-1)

The Bhārmalot Rāṭhōrs

The Bhārmalot Rāṭhōrs descend from Bhārmal Jodhāvat (6-1), a son of Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalot (5-1), ruler of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). Bhārmal was born of Rāṇī Hulnl Jamnādeji (or Jāṇāndeji), a daughter of Hul Gahlot Vaṃvīr Bhojavat. During Rāv Jodho’s division of the lands of Mārvār among his brothers and sons following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459, the Rāv granted Bhārmal and his elder uterine brother, Jogo (6-2), the village of Koḍhno and its surrounding lands in western Mārvār.

The lands of Koḍhno were then under the control of the Uhar Rāṭhōrs. Bhārmal and Jogo proceeded to take those lands from the Uhars and settle themselves at Koḍhno proper in the early 1460s. They remained there together for some years. Jogo Jodhāvat then left upon Rāv Jodho’s death in 1489 and returned to Jodhpur, while Bhārmal remained at Koḍhno and established his line there. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 97, records that Bhārmal had a fort constructed at Koḍhno. He also eventually left, however, moving his residence to the village of Bīlāro in eastern Mārvār, where he spent the remainder of his days. The texts give no date for this resettlement nor the context under which it occurred, but it would have taken place toward the end of the fifteenth or during the early sixteenth century.

Members of this group of Rāṭhōrs display rather tenuous ties to the house of Jodhpur. The cause of this appears related to dealings over land that began during the first generation after Bhārmal Jodhāvat.

Jaisīṅghde Bhārmalot (7-1) succeeded his father, Bhārmal Jodhāvat, to rule at Koḍhno village. This succession probably took place when Bhārmal moved from Koḍhno to Bīlāro. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 403, records that while Jaisīṅghde was master of Koḍhno, he was unable to protect his lands and maintain control in the face of Bhaṭī raids from Jaisālmēr. These raids became serious enough to draw the attention of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghavat of Jodhpur (1515-32). To deal with the problem, the Rāv began summoning Uḥar Rāṭhōrs from Mahevo in southwestern Mārvār, where they had gone after losing their lands to Bhārmal and Jogo Jodhāvat in the mid-fifteenth century, and parceling out the lands of Koḍhno among them. Murārdān (ibid.) notes, for example, that Rāv

---

1 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Rīṇmalot, Rāṇī no. 5.

2 Koḍhno village: located twenty-eight miles west-southwest of Jodhpur.

3 Bīlāro village: located forty-one miles east-southeast of Jodhpur.
Gāngo gave the village of Rājvo and twelve others to the Uḥar Mokal Kharathot. The Uḥars were able to stop the Bhaṭṭi raids into this area, and thereby regained their former position of control. Koḍhṇo was lost to the Bhārmalots from this time forward.

The texts give no further information about Jaisinghde Bhārmalot or indicate what happened to him or his family when they lost Koḍhṇo. Little is known about his son, Jaitmāl Jaisinghdevot (8-1). *Murārdān*, no. 2, pp. 410-411, records only that Jaitmāl and a brother named Rām Jaisinghdevot (8-2) were both killed on order from Rāv Mālde Gāṅgavat of Jodhpur (1532-62). A number of years earlier in November of 1529 these same brothers had supported Rāṭhor Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86) at the battle of Sevakī village, when Sekho Sūjāvat and his ally from Nāgaur, Khāṇzāda Khān Daulat Khān (no. 154), had challenged Rāv Mālde's father, Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghavat (1515-32), over the rulership of Mārvār. Sekho Sūjāvat's forces were badly defeated at Sevakī and Sekho himself killed. It appears that Jaitmāl Jaisinghdevot and his brother, Rām, had joined with Sekho Sūjāvat against the house of Jodhpur because of their enmity toward Rāv Gāṅgo, who had taken Bhārmalot lands and given them to the Uḥar Rāṭhors. They gained the ire of Rāv Gāṅgo's son, Kumvār Mālde, who had them murdered after he succeeded to the Jodhpur throne in 1532.

No further information is available about members of this family until the time of Bāḷū Tejslyot (10-1) some fifty years later. Bāḷū first appears in the texts as a military servant of Moto Rājā Udainsingh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95), from whom he received the village of Bhetenaro in *pato* in 1584-85. *Murārdān*, no. 2, p. 404, states the he revolted from the Moto Rājā in 1592-93 while at Lahore, and fled to Rājasthān, where he took service under Bikāvat Rāṭhor Rājā Rāysingsh Kalyāṃmalot of Bikāner (1574-1612). Bāḷū then returned to Mārvār in 1595 upon the death of the Moto Rājā and offered his service to the Moto Rājā’s successor, Rājā Sūrajsingh Udainsinghhot (1595-1619). The Rājā accepted Bāḷū’s offer and granted him the *pato* of Āū (Āuvo) village. Bāḷū again revolted in 1598-99, this time from Ahmadabad in Gujarāṭ while on tour with the Rājā, and he fled to Mevār, where he offered his services to Sisodiyo Raṇo Amarsiṅgh Pratāpsiṅghot (1597-1620). He was killed some years thereafter along the border of northern Mevār during an outbreak of hostilities with the Soḷaṅki Rajputs.


---

4 Rājvo village: located fifteen miles northeast of Koḍhṇo and fourteen miles west of Jodhpur.

5 Sevakī village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.

6 Bhetenaro village: located twenty-three miles southeast of Jodhpur.

7 Āū village: located twenty-one miles south of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.
(no. 40) **Prithiraj Balüvot** (11-1)

Balü Tejslyot's son, Prithiraj Balüvot, had a career of military service similar to that of his father's in its erratic movements among different kingdoms and territories. Unlike his father, however, Prithiraj eventually took service under the Mughals, and he became a loyal supporter of Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) with whom he remained for much of the remainder of his life.

Prithiraj began performing military service in Mevār while his father was still living. After his father's death, he left Mevār and came to Mārvār, where he took service under Jodhpur Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaiśinghhot (1595-1619). Prithiraj received his first village in *pato* from the Rājā in 1609-10. This was Khārlo village. Shortly thereafter, he appears to have returned to Mevār, for *Mūrādān*, no. 2, p. 405, records that in 1614-15 he revolted from Udaipur where he had killed a Dahīyo Rajpūt named Mohanādās, and returned to Mārvār. Rājā Sūrajsingh re-instated Prithiraj with his former *pato* of Khārlo village in 1615-16.

Prithiraj again left Mārvār after only four months, however, this time for Ajmer where he took service under Prince Khurram. Emperor Jahāngir (1605-1627) had appointed Prince Khurram *sūbedār* of Ajmer during the period of increased Mughal operations against the Sīsodīyos of Mevār between 1613-1615. With the effective reduction of Sīsodiyo opposition by the end of 1615, Prince Khurram moved on to the Deccan, and Prithiraj followed him there.

Prithiraj appears to have remained in Khurram's service between the years 1616-1624. However, *Vigat*, 2:74, records that Prithiraj received the village of Reyām in *jāgīr* from Khurram's brother, Prince Parvīz, in 1623. Prince Parvīz was *sūbedār* of Ajmer at this time, having been appointed to this position by Emperor Jahāngir upon the revolt of Khurram from the Deccan. Emperor Jahāngir also transferred Merto Pargano from the house of Jodhpur when Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaiśinghhot died in 1619, placing it first under Prince Khurram and then under Prince Parvīz. It was not until August of 1623 that the new Jodhpur ruler, Rājā Gajsingh Sūrajsinghot (1619-38), regained authority over the area (see *Vigat*, 2:73-75, of the translated text for details).

That Prithiraj ever joined Prince Parvīz's service seems doubtful from what is known of later events of his life. It seems equally doubtful that he ever took possession of Reyām village. Prince Parvīz may simply have awarded this *jāgīr* to Prithiraj in an attempt to win his support away from his brother, Khurram.

Prithiraj's continuing support for Khurram in this period is born out by a passage from *Mūrādān*, no. 2, p. 407, which states:

---

8 Khārlo village: located thirty-two miles south-southeast of Jodhpur and nine miles southeast of Rohath.

9 Reyām village: located fifteen miles southeast of Merto.
In V.S. 1680 [1623-24], Prince [Khurram] stayed in the village of Kudano which Śrīji [Rājā Gajisingh] had given to Prithīrāj for his vasī.

A brother of Prithīrāj's named Mohandās (11-2) was living in the village of Kudano at this time. Prince Khurram's sojourn in the village probably occurred in early 1623 just prior to Khurram's flight from Rājasthān. Prithīrāj followed Khurram to eastern and northern India, and fought with him at the battle of Damdama on the confluence of the Tons and Ganges Rivers in October of 1624. He was wounded there when Imperial troops under Prince Parvīz and Mahābat Khān defeated Khurram in his bid for control of the empire.

Rājā Gajisingh of Jodhpur, who was present at Damdama with the Imperial troops, took Prithīrāj from the field and cared for him following the battle. When Prithīrāj recovered from his wounds, the Rājā retained him and gave him Gundoc and several other villages in pāto. Then in early 1628, upon Khurram's succession to the Mughal throne as Shāh Jahan, Prithīrāj once again left Mārvār and proceeded to north India along with a brother named Rāmsingh (11-3). He remained in north India for the remainder of his life. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 406, notes that "The Pātsāh gave him a mansab." Few details are available from local chronicles about Prithīrāj's life while he served under Shāh Jahan. They record only that the people of his vasī remained behind in Mārvār, living in the village of Jávli.12

Maāthir-ul-Umarā, 2:1:481-483, however, does present information about a "Prithīrāj Rāthor." This source does not indicate who Prithīrāj's father was, but it does give the names of a brother, Rāmsingh, and a son, Kesārisingh. In its genealogy of the Bhārmalot Rāṭhors, Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 404, 408, does not list any of Prithīrāj's sons, but it does record the name of Prithīrāj's brother, Rāmsingh. We can, therefore, identify this "Prithīrāj" with some certainty as Prithīrāj Balūvot.

According to Maāthir-ul-Umarā, Prithīrāj was one of Prince Khurram's household troopers or bodyguards, entrusted with the safety of the royal person. He was always in attendance during Khurram's rebellion, and "had thus assumed a position of reliance and trust." Khurram granted him the rank of 1,500 zāt, 600 suwār following his succession to the Mughal throne as Shāh Jahan in February of 1628. Local sources confirm that Prithīrāj left Mārvār when Khurram became Emperor in order to enter Mughal service. Maāthir-ul-Umarā records further that:

In the 2nd year [A. D. 1629], [Prithīrāj] in company with Khwāja Abūl Hasan Turbatī was deputed to pursue Khān Jahan Lodī who had fled from Akbarābād (Āgra). Out of his zeal he

10 Kudano village: located seven miles west of Gündoc village and some thirteen miles to the south of Pālī.

11 Gundoc village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.
did not wait for others, but went off with a few officers, who all excelled in this noble quality, and overtook him near Dholpūr. During the fight, he, following the Rajpūt tradition, dismounted, and engaged in a single combat with Khān Jahān who was on horseback. He wounded him with a spear, and himself received wounds. The Emperor graciously summoned him to the Presence, and raised his rank to 2,000 with 800 horse, and presented him with a horse and an elephant.

Prithūrāj progressed steadily in rank as he continued to serve in varying military capacities under Shāh Jahān. When Mahābat Khān became Viceroy of the Deccan (1632-33), he was appointed one of his officers and was promoted to the rank of 2,000/1,500. During the siege of Daulatabad, he again fought in single-handed combat with a Deccani horseman who challenged him. He "left the ranks [of the other troopers], and finished [the Deccani] in a sword duel."

In 1644-45 Prithūrāj was made kiledār of the fort of Daulatabad. A year later, he was promoted to the rank of 2,000/2,000, and shortly thereafter, recalled to Agra and placed in charge of the fort there along with Bāqī Khān. In following years, he served under Prince Aurangzeb and then Prince Dārā Shikoh in northern India at Qandahar, and then under Prince Aurangzeb once again, this time in the Deccan.

Prithūrāj died in 1656. He mansab rank remained at 2,000 zāt, 2,000 suwār. He would have been over seventy years of age at this time. Maāthīr-ul-Umarā records that his brother, Rāmsīngh, and his son, Kesarīsingh, had also received small mansabs.

Figure 18. Bhāramlot Rāṭhors

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
   (2-1) Vīrām Salkhāvat
   (3-1) Rāv Cūṇdo Vīramot
   (4-1) Rāv Rīṃmal Cūṇḍāvat
   (5-1) Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot
   (6-1) Bhārmal Jodhāvat  (Bhārmalots)
   (6-2) Jogo Jodhāvat
   (7-1) Jaisiṅghdev Bhārmalot
   (8-1) Jaitmāl Jaisiṅghdevot  (8-2) Rām Jaisiṅghdevot
   (9-1) Tejsī Jaitmālot
   (10-1) Baḷū Tejsīyot
   (11-1) Prithīrāj
   (11-2) Mohaṅdās  (11-3) Rāmsīṅgh
   Baḷūvot  Baḷūvot  Baḷūvot
Bhimvot Rathors

(no. 41) Varjang Bhimvot, Rav (5-2)

Varjang Bhimvot is an interesting though enigmatic figure in the Rathor chronicles. These chronicles refer to him by the title of rav and speak of him as a powerful and influential thākur and a great warrior who, along with his brothers, Vairsal (5-3) and Vijo (5-4), became "a pillar of Mārvār." Stories about his life span the reigns of several Rathor rulers of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur from the time of Rāv Rînmal Cūṇḍāvat (ca. 1428-38) (4-1) to the early years of Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515) (6-2), when Varjang would have been an elderly Rajput in his late seventies or early eighties. Some of the stories about him have gained with the telling but reflect the honor of one who was seen to have been "victorious in countless battles" and was praised as a protector who was the equal of 100,000 protectors. While a pillar of Mārvār, Varjang also had another side, for the chronicles portray him as a thākur who looked to his own self-interest and who was not above extorting favors from the house of Jodhpur. He also stirred trouble among Rāv Jodho Rînmalot's sons over issues of precedence and rights to rulership.

Varjang first appears in the chronicles alongside his father, Bhimv Cūṇḍāvat (4-2). He would have been a young man in his late teens at this time. They were together at Cītōr with Bhimv Cūṇḍāvat's brother, Rāv Rînmal. Bhimv was serving under his brother and had accompanied him to Mevār. The Rāv spent much of the latter part of his reign in the company of his sister's grandson, Sisodiyo Rāṇo Kumbho Mokalot (ca. 1433-68), whose protector he had become.¹

The Sisodiys under Rāṇo Kumbho deceived and killed Rāv Rînmal one night ca. 1438 in order to free Mevār from Rathor influence and control. Immediately following the murder, the Sisodiys attacked the Rathor camp in the valley of Cītōr in an effort to find Rāv Rînmal's son and chosen successor, Jodho Rînmalot (5-1). Jodho managed to flee with a small band of warriors. Among them was Varjang Bhimvot. But they had to leave Varjang's father, Bhimv, behind. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 69, records:

When Jodho [Rînmalot] escaped [from Cītōr, the Rathors] came to wake Bhimv and Varjang, but Bhimv would not awaken. Then Jodho took Varjang and left.

According to the chronicles, Bhimv Cūṇḍāvat was asleep in a drunken stupor at the time of the Sisodiyo attack and could not be aroused. The Rathors

¹ Rāv Rînmal's sister, Hamsbāī, was married to Sisodiyo Rāṇo Lākho Khetsot (ca. 1382-1420). Her son by Rāṇo Lākho was Rāṇo Mokal Lākhāvat (ca. 1421-33). Rāṇo Mokal was murdered at Cītōr ca. 1433 when his son, Kumbhao, was only nine years old.
fleeing the camp were forced to leave him, and he fell into the hands of the Sisodiya and was imprisoned. He managed his release, however, through the good offices of a Brāhmaṇ purohīt named Damo.

Bhīm's name does not appear in the chronicles with relation to events after this time. Murāndān, no. 2, p. 70, notes that while Bhīm was a great thākura, he did not become renowned. He did find a sākh of Mārvār Rāths and his name is associated with several villages in Mārvār which he held from Rāv Rīmim. Murāndān, no. 2, p. 6, lists seven villages. Six of these, situated in two groups of three, were located to the south and east of Māndor. The location of the seventh village is uncertain. The villages were:

1. Sālavās: a large village located sixteen miles south of Māndor
2. Nandvāno: located one-half mile due west of Sālavās
3. Mogro: located four miles due east of Sālavās
4. Bhāvī: a large village located thirty-six miles east-southeast of Māndor
5. Jhurli: located two and one-half miles east-southeast of Bhāvī village
6. Lāmbo: located three and one-half miles west-southwest of Bhāvī village
7. Guro: (location uncertain).

Varjang fled from Cito with Jodho Rīmimr and the other Rāths toward the Aravallis. Near the pass of Delvāro, the Rāths fought one of a series of pitched battles with the pursuing Sisodiya. Varjang was wounded during the battle at Delvāro and was left on the field as Jodho and the other Rāths made their escape. The Sisodiya later picked Varjang up and carried him back to Cito. Murāndān, no. 2, p. 70, records that the Sisodiya did not kill Varjang because he was their "sister's son." The specific tie by marriage is unclear, but the Rāṇa did take Varjang into custody at Cito and have his wounds cleaned and bound. A Caran and a Nāl ("barber") who were Varjang's cākars, cared for Varjang and wrapped his wounds. Unbeknownst to his captors, they used extra cloth to wrap the wounds, and when the wounds were healed, Varjang was able to make a rope from the cloth, and escape over the walls of the fortress.

Once outside, Varjang disguised himself and proceeded by bullock cart along a circuitous route back to Mārvār. His journey took him past the village of Gāgrun (Gāgūrān), where he stopped by the tank and encamped under the shade of a tree. The Khiči Cahuvān Acalās Bhojavat was the master of Gāgrun. Khiči Acalās was a renowned warrior of Mēvār and had married one of his daughters to the Sisodiya ruling family of Cito. Varjang soon met Khiči

*Bāṅkūdās*, p. 143, records that Acalās Khiči performed a sāko (lit. "event that begins an era"), or heroic defense of the fort of Gāgrun ca. 1425, when it came under attack from the Muslim ruler of Malwa. There are several celebrated literary compositions among Khiči Acalās, including Sīdūr, Acalās Khiči Kīrī Vācskā. *Sudhindrē Bhūmikā*
Acaldās and was given one of his daughters in marriage. The story of this meeting is told as follows (Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 71-74):

While Varjang was encamped near the tank at Gāgrūn, several slave girls came from the fort to fill their water pots in the wells. Varjang overheard them talking about one of Khīcī Acaldās's daughters and learned that there was much concern within the family because no suitable husband could be found for her. Varjang then stepped forward and presented himself, saying to the girls, "If you would give the sister (bāri) to us, we would marry her." The slave girls were amused by this remark, seeing only Varjang's dirty clothing, his bearded face and dark complexion, and they responded with laughter, "Why don't you marry [someone of] lower [rank more suitable to yourself]?" They returned to the fort, and one reported what had happened, saying with amusement, "Today the sister has found a good husband."

Word quickly reached Khīcī Acaldās, who became suspicious, thinking no ordinary man would ask for the hand of his daughter in marriage. He then remembered that several days prior, news had arrived from the Rāño about Varjang and his escape from Cītor. Acaldās asked his ṭhākurs and Rajpūts if they had seen Varjang. Several replied that they had seen him by the tank. He then sent them to verify that the man they had seen was indeed Varjang. These men returned saying they had found Varjang himself. Even at this young age, Varjang had already made a considerable reputation for himself as a warrior. Khīcī Acaldās sent a purohit to Varjang with a betrothal coconut and an offer of marriage for his daughter. Varjang complained to the purohit, however, that he had nothing, neither clothing nor horses nor money for expenses, and questioned how he should be able to marry. The purohit replied, "What is this you are worried about? You are a ṭhākur of royal blood (rājī ṭhākur). Everything will be provided for you." Varjang then accepted the coconut with great humility.

Varjang remained at Gāgrūn for several days during the wedding ceremony and the celebration afterwards. He then took his leave, saying he needed to go, that Jodho was alone and there was distress in the land of Mārvār. Khīcī Acaldās gave Varjang a large dowry including horses and men. Varjang left his wife at Gāgrūn with her father and rode out for Mārvār to find Jodho. Once in Mārvār, he and his followers fell on and destroyed a Sīsodiyo outpost at the village of Cokrī (near Merto), killing a number of the Rāño's men. The Sīsodiyos had overrun much of eastern Mārvār following Rāv Rīnmal's murder and had stationed men at various outposts in addition to occupying Māndor. Varjang soon joined Jodho Rīnmalot, and he spent the next fifteen years helping him gather Rajpūts and horses and raiding Sīsodiyo outposts in an attempt to dislodge Sīsodiyo control of Rāthor lands. Jodho was finally able to capture Māndor ca. 1453. He then assumed his rightful position as rāv of Mārvār.

___


---

3 Cokrī village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Merto in eastern Mārvār.
Following his accession, the Rāv granted Varjang the village of Rohath⁴ in return for his long years of devoted service.

Varjang took his family and retainers and settled at Rohath. Not long thereafter, a force of Sisodiys raided into Mārvār and attacked Rohath. Varjang and his Rajputs successfully defended the village, but Varjang was again wounded. According to Murārdān, no. 2, p. 75, he received a severe cut on the back of his neck from the blow of a sword. A bone from Varjang's neck had to be removed because of this wound, and a peg of wood from the kair tree (Acacia catechu) substituted in its place. The Bhīṃvots of Rohath have honored and performed pūja to the kair tree since this time.

Varjang and his brother, Vairsal, kept many mares at Rohath. The horses used to graze in the open fields near the village. As the story is told, they wandered off one day in the direction of Tilvārō,⁵ which lies in Mahevo some sixty miles to the west of Rohath. They were found and captured by the sons of Mahevco Rāvāl Vido of Kher.⁶ Varjang and his brother soon discovered that the horses were missing and sent military servants in search of them. These servants followed the horses' tracks to Tilvārō, and when they discovered them in the possession of the Mahevcos, they requested their return. The Rāvāl's sons were not hospitable, however. They had been drinking and were rude and abusive. They refused to give the horses back and said mockingly, "Put one hand on your head, and one hand on your ass," and go away. The military servants responded, "You have abused us, but Varjang is behind us."

They returned to Rohath and told Varjang what had happened. Varjang became filled with anger. He summoned his brothers, Vairsal and Vījo, gathered his sāth, and rode into Mahevo, looting and burning as he went. He fought a great battle against the Mahevcos at Tilvārō, killing many and capturing the town, which he also looted and burned. Varjang lost his riding horse named "Gāṅgājāl" this day, but he and his sāth returned to Rohath in triumph.

Varjang and the Bhīṃvots were among the primary supporters of the Jodhpur throne following Rav Jodho Rīṇmalot's death in 1489. Varjang himself became kiledār of the Jodhpur fort, while his brother, Vairsal, later rose to become pradhān under Rāv Süjo Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515). "The weight of rulership (ṭhākurāṭ) was upon the Bhīṃvots" (Murārdān, no. 2, p. 78).

Varjang used his position of influence to extort lands from the new rāv of Jodhpur, Sātal Jodhāvat (ca. 1489-92) (6-1). A confrontation had been developing between Rāv Sātal's half-brother, Rāv Varsingh Jodhāvat of Meṛto, and the Muslim governor of Ajmer, Malū Khān, a subordinate of the Pātsāḥ of Māṇḍū. Varsingh had sacked Sambhar and angered Malū Khān and then withheld tribute promised to him. Rāv Sātal was drawn into their dealings when Varsingh turned to him for support against the Khān. Malū Khān gathered an

⁴ Rohath village: located twenty-five miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

⁵ Tilvārō village: located sixty miles west of Rohath on the Lūṇī River.

⁶ Kher village: located five miles east of Tilvārō and sixty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur.
army and began ravaging the lands of Merto and Jodhpur, and Rāv Varsīṅgh and Rāv Sātal then joined forces to oppose him. Their armies gathered near each other in February of 1492, and Rāv Sātal called upon Rāv Varjāṅg to "decide about the battle."

Here responsibility for decision-making "was upon the head [of] Rāv Varjāṅg Bhīṃvat." But Varjāṅg displayed discontent and procrastinated in the face of the Rāv's requests for his service. He then demanded the village of Bhāvī, which his father Bhīṃv Cūṇḍāvāt had held before him. Rāv Sātal readily agreed to the grant in order to appease Varjāṅg, after which Varjāṅg became much more "enthusiastic" about taking part in the action against Malū Ḫān. While Rāv Sātal and Rāv Varsīṅgh's forces waited, Varjāṅg went to spy on the Muslim army which was encamped at the village of Kusāṇo.7 He disguised himself as a grass-bearer and stole into the enemy camp, returning to lead a daring night attack. The attack caused great panic among the ranks of the Muslims, and the Rāṯōrs were able to route Malū Ḫān's forces and take the field. Rāv Varjāṅg’s efforts on that day (March 1, 1492) were "particularly outstanding" (see Vigat, 2:43-44, of the translated text for complete details of this attack and Varjāṅg’s role in it).

Little information is available about Varjāṅg’s activities following this battle. He was by now a man of advanced age, probably in his late seventies or early eighties. He remained an influential ṭhākur in Mārvār during the early years of Rāv Sujo Jodhāvat's rule (ca. 1492-1515) and continued in his position as kiledār of the Jodhpur fort.8 He used this position to involve himself in political intrigues surrounding the rulership of Jodhpur. Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 81-82, records that when Rāv Sujo succeeded to the throne, Varjāṅg sent messages to Rāṯḥor Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat (no. 42), ruler of the newly founded kingdom of Bīkāner (ca. 1485-1504), saying, "If you come, then we will capture Jodhpur."

Rāv Bīko did bring a force against Jodhpur and lay siege to the fort. Rāv Varjāṅg had promised to open the gates of the fort to him, but this plot was discovered and foiled. Rāv Bīko then withdrew and returned to Bīkāner. Ṭhākurs at Jodhpur confronted Varjāṅg afterwards, questioning his role in this affair. He is reported to have replied, "Jodho’s puppies are growling." Varjāṅg’s brother, Vairsal, was pradhān of Jodhpur under Rāv Sujo. His role during this episode is unknown.

Mention of Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat's attack on Jodhpur is noticeably absent from the accounts of Rathor Rāv Sujo's reign in the chronicles of Mārvār. Ojha, 4:1:266, writes that it is acknowledged only in the accounts of Varjāṅg Bhīṃvot. There were issues of precedence to rulership among Rāv Jodho’s sons by his different wives. Rāv Jodho had apparently obtained an oath from Bīko that he would support his half-brother Sātal’s succession to the throne as Rāv Jodho’s chosen successor. At the same time, Rāv Jodho promised Bīko that a number of

---

7 Kusāṇo village: located thirty-eight miles east-northeast of Jodhpur and seven miles northeast of Pimpāṛ.

8 Bhāṭṭi, Sarveksan, 3:102, states that Varjāṅg was thanedār at the fort under Rāv Sujo.
the prized family heirlooms would be his. When Rav Sātal died after a reign of only three years and his uterine brother, Sūjo Jodhāvat, succeeded to the throne, Biko was no longer constrained by oath to his father and sought to assert his rights as eldest living son to precedence in questions of rulership. Rav Sūjo's mother, Rāṇī Hāḍī Jasmādeji, apparently interceded with Rav Biko when he laid siege to Jodhpur, and made arrangements for the heirlooms to be transferred to him in return for his withdrawal. These heirlooms included the image of Nāgnecci, the kuldevi of the Rāṭhōrs, a pair of kettledrums, Rāv Jodho's sword, and the sandalwood throne, all of which Rāv Biko carried back to Bikaner.

There is record among sources available of only one of Varjāṅ's wives, a daughter of Khīcī Acalaḍās, and one son, Surjan Varjāṅgot (6-3). Murārdān, no. 2, p. 91, records about this son that he fought for the Rāṇo of Mēvār and died in battle on his behalf. It is uncertain when he would have left Mēvār and under what circumstances his death occurred.

Two of Surjan's sons are listed, Kalo Surjanot (7-1) and Vīdo Surjanot (7-2). Kalo held the villages of Sālāvās and Nandvāno from the ruler of Jodhpur, which his great-grandfather, Bhīṁv Cūṇḍāvat, had originally received from his brother, Rāv Rīṁmal. Kalo's descendants also retained possession of these villages. Kalo's brother, Vīdo, was killed at the battle of Sevakī on November 2, 1529 when Rāv Gāṅgō Vāghāvat of Jodhpur (1492-1515) came to battle with his paternal uncle, Sekho Sūjāvat, over rulership in Mēvār. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 92, does not specify for which side Vīdo fought in this conflict.

Figure 19. Bhīṃvot Rāṭhors

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
(2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat
(3-1) Rāv Cūndo Vīramot

(4-1) Rāv Riṇmal Cūndāvat
(4-2) Bhīṃv Cūndāvat (Bhīṃvots)

(5-1) Rāv Jodho Riṇmalot
(5-2) Varjāṅg
(5-3) Vairsal
(5-4) Vijo

(6-1) Rāv Sātal
(6-2) Rāv Sūjo
Jodhāvat
Jodhāvat

(6-3) Surjan Varjāṅgot

(7-1) Kalo Surjanot
(7-2) Viḍo Surjanot
Bīkāvat Rāṭhors

Set out below are brief discussions of the Rāṭhor rulers of Bīkāner mentioned in the texts under review, beginning with Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat (ca. 1485-1504) (6-1) and ending with Rāv Kalyāṇmal Jaitīyot (ca. 1542-74) (9-1). References are provided at the end of this section for more detailed information about these individuals and their reigns with mention of sources readily available in published form in English.

(no. 42) Bīko Jodhāvat, Rāv (ca. 1485-1504) (6-1)

The Bikāvat Rāṭhors descend from Bīko Jodhāvat, a son of Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot (5-1), ruler of Māndor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). His mother was the Sāṅkhli Pāṃvār Nāṅgdejl, daughter of Rūṅeco Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār Māṅḍāṅ Jaitāvat.1 Bīko was born August 5, 14382 and was thirty-one years old at the time his father founded Jodhpur in 1459. The Jodhpur chronicles state that Rāv Jodho divided the lands of Mārvār among his brothers and sons following the founding of Jodhpur, and Vigat, 1:39, records that he granted Bīko and his younger uterine brother, Vīḍo Jodhāvat (6-2),3 the area of Jāṅgālū,4 located some one hundred miles to the north of Jodhpur, and the desert tract to the east and northeast of Jāṅgālū that became known as Bīkāner.

In fact, Bīko’s and Vīḍo’s association with these areas did not begin until the mid-1460s. Bikāner chronicles relate that this association emerged from a casual remark made one day in Rāv Jodho’s darbār at Jodhpur. Bīko is said to have arrived late in the darbār on this day and to have taken a seat alongside his paternal uncle (kāko), Kāṃḍhaḷ Rīṃmalot (5-2), with whom he quickly became

---

1 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Rīṅmalot, Rāṇī no. 3, for a discussion of the uncertainties surrounding the identity of this Rāṇī’s father.

2 Reu, 1:103, n. 3, gives the date of July 14, 1440 (adhika vais) or August 14, 1440 (niya vais) for Bīko’s birth.

3 For information about Vīḍo Jodhāvat, see infra, “Viḍāvat Rāṭhors.”

4 Jāṅgālū village: located twenty-four miles south of present-day Bīkāner.
involved in a whispered conversation. Rāv Jodho took note of Bīko's late arrival and his secretive discussion with Kāndhal and remarked to the side that they must be scheming about the conquest of new lands. Kāndhal Riṇmalot overheard the Rāv's aside and took it as a personal challenge. He pledged before Rāv Jodho that he would lead the conquest of new lands with Bīko at his side.

The Jāṅgalvo Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār, Nāpō Mānakrāvat (no. 26), was in the darbar at the time. He had come to Jodhpur to seek aid in the recovery of the Sāṅkhlos' lands of Jāṅgalu, which the Sāṅkhlos had abandoned in the face of attacks from the Baloc. This land now lay vacant. Sāṅkhlo Nāpō urged Bīko and his uncle, Kāndhal, to consider the conquest and occupation of Jāṅgalu, offering his support and that of the Sāṅkhlos in this enterprise.

Bīko set out from Jodhpur for Jāṅgalu with his brother, Vīdo, several of his paternal uncles, including Kāndhal Riṇmalot, and a contingent of retainers and servants on September 30, 1465. While Vīdo eventually returned to assist his father, Rāv Jodho, in the conquest of Chāpar-Droṇpur, an area lying east-southeast of Jāṅgalu, and then assumed authority there at the direction of his father, Bīko spent the next twenty years establishing his own foothold in Jāṅgalu and then in the lands further to the north. He established himself at Koṛamdesar in 1472, and several years later in 1478, began construction of a fort near the tank at Koṛamdesar. He also formed an important alliance through marriage with Bhāṭī Rāv Sekho and the Bhāṭīs of Pūgal, an area to the northwest of Koṛamdesar. Then in 1485 he had the foundations for a new fort laid some twelve miles to the east of Koṛamdesar and three years later in 1488, settled in his new capitol of Bīkāner.

Bīko's success in consolidating his authority at Bīkāner rested upon the support he received from two important sources. The first was from Cāraṇī Bhāgvaṭī Śrī Kāmpījī, who resided at the village of Desnok, nineteen miles to the south of Bīkāner. It was to her that Bīko had proceeded for blessings and advice prior to each of his campaigns. Bīko's power also rested upon an important alliance with the Godaro Jāts. Different groups of Jāts controlled areas of land around Bīkāner, and Bīko's alliance with the Godāros led to the defeat of other Jāt opposition to his rule. From this time, a Godāro Jāt has placed the tiko of succession on the forehead of the new ruler of Bīkāner.

Rāv Bīko turned his attention to the south after consolidating his power at Bīkāner. He rode to aid his uterine brother, Vīdo Jodhāvat, who had been driven from Chāpar-Droṇpur by the Mohil Cahuvāns and a Muslim force under Sāraṅg Kḥān, the sūbedār of Hisar. Rāv Bīko succeeded in driving this force from the area, and then placed Vīdo once again upon the seat of rule.

A short time thereafter, ca. 1489, Rāv Bīko's paternal uncle, Kāndhal Riṇmalot, whose support had been central to his establishment of authority at Bīkāner, was killed in battle against Sāraṅg Kḥān. Bīko vowed to avenge Kāndhal's death to settle the vair, and he called upon the aid of his father, Rāv Jodho Riṇmalot of Jodhpur, and his half-brothers from Meṛto, Varsīṅgh (no.

---

5 Chāpar village: located seventy miles east-southeast of Jāṅgalu.
6 Koṛamdesar village: located eleven miles west of present-day Bīkāner.
146) and Dúdo Jodhavat (no. 104). Their combined force met and defeated Sāraṅg Khān, and Bīko’s son, Naro Bīkavat (7-1) (no. 43), is credited with killing Sāraṅg Khān.7

Bīko halted at Droṇpur with his father, Rāv Jodho, upon returning from this battle. It is here that Rāv Jodho is said to have taken an oath from Bīko, who was then his eldest living son. Bīko now had his own kingdom of Bīkāner, and Rāv Jodho asked that he lay no claim to Jodhpur, but leave this kingdom to those of his brothers who were Rāv Jodho’s chosen successors. Bīko promised to abide by this request, but he asked in return that he be given several of the prized heirlooms of the Rāṭhor ruling family. These included the sandalwood throne, the royal umbrella and fly whisk, Rāv Jodho’s sword and shield, the kettledrums, Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār Harbhū Mehrājot’s dagger, the Hiranyagarbha idol of Lakṣminārāyanī, and the large silver idol of Nāgñeći, the kuldevī of the Rāṭhors. Rāv Jodho is said to have acceded to Bīko’s request, promising to send these prized possessions to him upon his return to Jodhpur. Rāv Jodho died soon after his return, however, and the heirlooms remained at Jodhpur.

Rāv Bīko rode to Jodhpur several years later in 1492 to aid his half-brother, Rāv Sātāl Jodhavat (ca. 1489-92), and his two half-brothers from Merto, Varsīṅgh and Dúdo Jodhavat, during a period of conflict with the Muslim sūbedār of Ajmer, Malū Khān. Soon thereafter, during the reign of Rāv Sātāl’s successor, Rāv Sūjo Jodhavat (ca. 1492-1515), Rāv Bīko marched on Jodhpur itself, claiming the prized heirlooms which Rāv Jodho had promised him. Issues of precedence to rulership among Rāv Jodho’s sons by different wives were involved here, and there is evidence of factions at the Jodhpur court around different sons. The chronicles relate that Rāṭhor Varjaṅg Bhimvot (no. 42), kiledār of the Jodhpur fort under Rāv Sūjo Jodhavat, secretly summoned Rāv Bīko to Jodhpur, saying that if he came, they could capture the town. He offered to open the gates of the fort to him. This plot was foiled, but Rāv Bīko did march on Jodhpur and lay siege to the town and fort. He finally agreed to lift his siege only after meeting with Rāv Sūjo’s mother, Rāṇī Jasmādejl Ḥāḍī, who arranged to have the prized Rāṭhor symbols of rulership and authority given to Rāv Bīko. He carried these back to Bīkāner with him.

Some years later, on June 17, 1504, Rāv Bīko died at the age of sixty-five years.

(no. 43) Naro Bīkavat, Rāv (ca. 1504-05) (7-1)

Naro Bīkavat, Rāv Bīko’s eldest son, succeeded him to the rulership of Bīkāner. Naro ruled only four months. He died on January 13, 1505. He had no sons and was succeeded by his younger brother, Lūṅkaraṇ Bīkavat (7-2).

---

7 The circumstances of Sāraṅg Khān’s death are uncertain. The date of his death is given variously in the sources as 1489 and 1490. The latter date falls after the date given for Rāv Jodho Rinnalot’s death on April 6, 1489. This date is unconfirmed by inscriptive evidence, however, further complicating issues of chronology. See: Ojha, 4:1:247-250.
Lünkaran Bikāvāt was born on January 12, 1470. His mother was Bhāṭiśyāni Rāṇī Raṅguṇvar, the daughter of Bhāṭi Rāv Sekho of Pūgal. He ascended the throne of Bikāner on January 23, 1505 at the age of thirty-five years, and ruled until June of 1526, when he was killed along with three of his sons fighting Muslims near Narnol in central-eastern Rājasthān.

Rāv Lünkaraṇ spent the twenty-one years of his reign consolidating and expanding the territories that his father, Rāv Biko Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 42), had originally settled. He attacked the Cahuvāns of Dadrevo in eastern Bikāner territory in 1509-10 and placed this land under his control, and then led a series of raids against the Kyāṅ Khānī Muslims of Fatehpur in 1512, bringing back much spoil to his capital. In 1513, he defeated the Khānزادa Khān ruler of Nāgaur; Muḥammad Khān I (ca. 1495-1520), in battle and, a year later, proceeded to Citor to marry a daughter of Sisodīyo Rāṇo Rāymāl Kūmbhāvat (ca. 1473-1509).

Then in early 1526, he became involved in a dispute with Bhāṭi Rāval Jaitṣī Devidasot of Jaisālmēr (1491-1528). This dispute is said to have arisen over a slight. Cāran Lālo of Bikāner happened to be at the Jaisālmēr court one day and overheard the Rāval mocking the Rāthors. The Cāran remarked to the Rāval that he should not speak ill of the Rāthors, whereupon Rāval Jaitṣī replied that he would give the Brāhmaṇs of his kingdom as much of his land as the Rāthors could ride over. Cāran Lālo quickly reported the Rāval’s boast to Rāv Lünkaraṇ at Bikāner, and the Rāv took up the challenge and rode with his warriors into the Bhāṭi lands. They penetrated as far as Jaisālmēr itself, laying siege to the town and fortress and capturing Rāval Jaitṣī. The Rāv lifted his siege and released the Rāval only after the Rāval agreed to marry one of his daughters to a son of Rāv Lünkaraṇ.

Rāv Lünkaraṇ rode with a force of Rājpūts from Bikāner against the Muslims of Narnol in March of 1526. With him on this expedition were three of his sons, a contingent of Bhāṭis from Pūgal, Vidāvat Rāṭhor Kalyāṇmal Udaikaraṇot (no. 153) (8-5) and his Rājpūts from Chāpār-Dronpur, and Sekhāvat Kachvāho Rāymāl Sekhāvat (no. 22) of Amarsar. They halted in Chāpār-Dronpur on their way to Narnol, and Vidāvat Kalyāṇmal is said to have overheard the Rāv speak of coveting this land for his own family. These words raised grave suspicions in Kalyāṇmal’s mind, and when Rāv Lünkaraṇ came to battle with Sheikh Abīmūrā at the village of Dhosī near Narnol, Kalyāṇmal told his close companion, Rāymal Sekhāvat, that he would not support Rāv Lünkaraṇ. Kalyāṇmal and the Vidāvats then withdrew from the field and refused to participate in the fighting. Rāymal Sekhāvat is also said to have sided with Sheikh Abīmūrā.

Rāv Lünkaraṇ was killed at Dhosī on March 30, 1526 along with his sons, Netsī (8-2), Pratāpsī (8-3) and Vāirsī (8-4).
Rāv Lūnkaraṇ's eldest son, Jaitsī Lūnkaraṇot, succeeded him to the throne of Bīkāner. Jaitsī was born on October 31, 1489 and came to the throne at the age of thirty-six years. His first actions upon succession were to protect his capitol from Vīdāvat Kalyāṇmal Udaikaraṇot, who had proceeded to Bīkāner after the fighting at Narnol, asking to be allowed into the city to mourn the Rāv's death. Rāv Jaitsī wisely forbade him entry and soon after organized an expedition against the Vīdāvats of Chāpar-Droṇpur to avenge his father's and his brothers' deaths. The Rāv was able to drive Kalyāṇmal from the area, and he afterwards placed one of Kalyāṇmal's paternal nephews, Vīdāvat Sāngo Samsārcaṇdot, on the seat of rule at Chāpar-Droṇpur.

Several years later, in 1529, Rāv Jaitsī rode to Jodhpur to aid Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat (1515-32) in his dispute with his paternal uncle (kāko), Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86), over land and authority in Mārvār. Rāv Gāṅgo was victorious at the battle of Sevaki on November 2, 1529 with Rāv Jaitsī's help. Rāv Gāṅgo and Rāv Jaitsī found Sekho Sūjāvat lying on the field after the fighting, and, before dying, Sekho is reported to have reproached Rāv Jaitsī for interfering in a dispute between a father's brother (kāko) and a brother's son (bhattī). He also stated that Rāv Jaitsī would meet the same fate that he, Sekho, had met.

Bīkāner came under attack from a Mughal army under Prince Kamran, brother to Emperor Humāyūn, some years later in 1534. The Mughals had first attacked and taken Bhatner (Hanumangarh) from Rāv Jaitsī's son, Khetsī Jaitsīyot (9-4), who was killed. They then besieged Bīkāner and eventually took the fort. Rāv Jaitsī was forced to flee, but he returned in October of 1534 to retake the fort from the Mughals in a daring night attack.

Then in late 1541 Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) sent an army under Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahirajot (no. 95) against Bīkāner. Rāv Jaitsī was killed fighting in the defense of his kingdom at Sobho village (near Bīkāner) on February 26, 1542. Rāv Mālde's forces occupied Bīkāner city and fort, and held it for the next two years. The Bīkāner Rāṭhors under Rāv Jaitsī's successor were only able to occupy the city again in December of 1543.

(n. 46) Kalyāṇmal Jaitsīyot, Rāv (ca. 1542-1574) (9-1)
(n. 47) Bhīmrāj Jaitsīyot (9-2)

Rāv Jaitsī's son, Kalyāṇmal Jaitsīyot, succeeded him to the throne of Bīkāner in 1542. Kalyāṇmal was born on January 6, 1519. His accession in 1542 took place in the village of Sirso because of the occupation of Bīkāner by Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's forces from Jodhpur. For the next several years, Kalyāṇmal moved about the countryside seeking to consolidate a foothold in the face of Rāv Mālde's superior force at the capitol. Rāv Kalyāṇmal sent his younger brother, Bhīmrāj Jaitsīyot, and a trusted court administrator, Muṇḥato Nago, to Delhi to meet with Sher Shāh Sūr (1540-45) and plead the case of

---

8 Sevaki village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.
Bikaner against Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur. Dalpat Vilās, pp. 4-5, a local chronicle of Bikaner dating from just after this period, notes that Sher Shāh had gone to Bikaner during the time of hardship prior to his assumption of authority in north India, and that he had been cared for by Rāv Kalyāṇmal’s family. Sher Shāh’s earlier association with the Bikaner ruling family undoubtedly played a role in his decision to move against Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur and assist in the recovery of their homeland.

Sher Shāh marched from north India against Mārvār in early 1544. His forces met those of Rāv Mālde’s at Samel9 in February of that year, defeating them after a long and costly battle. Rāv Kalyāṇmal came with a contingent of warriors to aid Sher Shāh in this battle, and Munhato Nago had Sher Shāh place the ḍīkā of succession on Kalyāṇmal’s forehead afterwards to confirm him as ruler of Bikaner. Rāv Kalyāṇmal then proceeded to his capitol. Rāv Mālde’s defeat at Samel effectively removed all of his authority from this area and allowed Rāv Kalyāṇmal to consolidate his position for the first time.

Rāv Kalyāṇmal once again sent forces against Rāv Mālde in 1554, this time to aid Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107) at the battle of Meṛto. Rāv Jaimal emerged victorious here, and the Bikaner chronicles record that Rāv Jaimal was much indebted to Rāv Kalyāṇmal and his warriors for their support. Three years later, in January of 1557, Rāv Kalyāṇmal again sent warriors south from Bikaner, on this occasion to aid Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaiṣingh Sāṅgāvat of Čitoṛ (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) and his allies against the forces of Hājī Khān Pathāṅ, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr, and Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur. They met in battle at Harmāṛō,10 where the Rāṇo’s army met defeat.

Rāv Kalyāṇmal went with his son, Kunvar Rāysingh Kalyāṇmalot (10-1), to meet with the Mughal Emperor Akbar at Nāgaur on November 16, 1570. The Rāv offered his service to Akbar at this time, and he gave a daughter of his brother, Kāṅho Jaisīyot (9-3), to the Emperor in marriage. His son, Rāysingh, remained in attendance upon the Emperor after his return to Bikaner. This meeting marked the beginning of the long and enduring bond of service between the Bīkāvat Rāṭhoṛs of Bikaner and the Mughal throne.

Rāv Kalyāṇmal died on January 24, 1574 and was succeeded by his son, Rāysingh Kalyāṇmalot.


9 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

10 Harmāṛō village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnr in northern Mevaṛ.
Figure 20. Bikāvat Rāṇhorṣ

(1-1) Rāv Salkho

(2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat

(3-1) Rāv Cundo Vīramot

(4-1) Rāv Riṇmal Cundo Vīramot

(5-1) Rāv Jodho Riṇmalot

(5-2) Kāndhal Riṇmalot

(6-1) Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat (Bikāvatās)

(6-2) Rāv Vīdo Jodhāvat (Vīdāvatās)

(7-1) Rāv Naro Bikāvat

(7-2) Rāv Lunkaraṇ Bikāvat

(7-3) Udaikaraṇ Vīdāvat

(8-1) Rāv Jaitsī

(8-2) Netsī

(8-3) Pratāpsī

(8-4) Vairsī

(8-5) Kalyāṇmal Udaikaraṇot

Lunkaraṇot

Lunkaraṇot

Lunkaraṇot

Lunkaraṇot

(9-1) Rāv Kalyāṇmal Jaitsīyot

(9-2) Bhīmrāj Jaitsīyot

(9-3) Kānho Jaitsīyot

(9-4) Khetsī Jaitsīyot

(10-1) Rāysiṅgh Kalyāṇmalot
Cämpávat Ráthorśs

(no. 51) Amro Rámāvat
(no. 49) Jaitmal Jesāvat
(no. 48) Jeso Bhairavdāsot
(no. 50) Rāmo Bhairavdāsot
(no. 52) Sahaiso Rámāvat

The Cämpávat Ráthorśs

The Cämpávat Ráthorśs descend from Campo Riñmalot (5-1), one of the elder sons1 of Ráv Riñmal Cāṇḍāvat (4-1), ruler of Maṇḍor (ca. 1428-38). He was born of Rāṇī Sonagarī Rāmkuṇvar of Nāḍūl. Sources give widely differing dates for Campo’s birth. The most reasonable is January 5, 1413. He would have been fifteen years of age when his father came to power at Maṇḍor ca. 1428. Campo took an active role in the affairs of the kingdom and spent much of his early life in his father’s service at Maṇḍor.

Not long after his father’s assumption of power, Campo founded a village that became his seat of rule. The site he chose for the village, it is said, was where he had captured a caravan of camels that was passing near Maṇḍor on its way from Sindh to north India. The camels were loaded with “chunks” or "large pieces" of raw sugar (gur ke kāpo2), considered an auspicious sign. In recognition of this omen, Campo established the village on this site and named it Kāparro.3

Campo’s father’s sister, Hamsbāi, had been married to Sīsoḍīyo Rāṇo Lākh Khetsot of Cītor (ca. 1382-1420). Her son by Rāṇo Lākh, Mokāl Lākhāvat, had succeeded to the throne of Mevār and ruled ca. 1421-33. When he was murdered at Cītor ca. 1433, Hamsbāi had summoned her brother, Rāv Riñmal, to Mevār to safeguard her grandson, Kūmbo Mokalot, then aged nine years, and ensure his succession to the throne. Campo initially accompanied his father to Cītor, where the Rāv was able to establish authority and seat Kūmbo Mokalot on the Sīsoḍīyo throne. The Rāv then spent much of the latter part of his reign in Mevār as the Rāṇo’s protector, while Campo returned to Mārvār, where he and his elder brother, Akhairāj, assumed management of the kingdom in their father’s absence. The Sīsoḍīyos under Rāṇo Kūmbo (ca. 1433-68) later murdered Rāv Riñmal ca. 1438 to rid Mevār of Rāṭhor influence and control and

1 Mohansimh Kanotā, Cämpāvatōm kā Itihās (Jaipur: Raṇbānkur Prakāśān, 1990-91), 1:5, states that Campo was Rāv Riñmal’s third son after Akhairāj and Kāndhal.

2 For a definition of kāpo, see: Lālas, RSK (2nd edition, 1988), 1:625.

3 Kāparro village: located twenty-eight miles east of Maṇḍor and nine miles southwest of Pīmpār.
afterwards proceeded to overrun much of eastern Mārvār and occupy Maṇḍor. Cāmpo spent the next fifteen years fighting alongside Rāv Rīṅmal’s chosen successor, Jodho Rīṅmalot, during Jodho’s attempts to reassert Rāṭhoṛ authority in Mārvār.

Jodho finally succeeded in the conquest of Maṇḍor ca. 1453. He then made Cāmpo his pradhān and delegated to him responsibility for managing the affairs of the kingdom. Cāmpo played a leading role in campaigns to drive the Sisodiyos from their remaining outposts in Mārvār. When Rāv Jodho organized a large force of Rāṭhoṛs to attack Pālī,⁴ the last of the Sisodiyo garrisons, Cāmpo conducted negotiations with Sisodiyo Rāṇo Kūmbho prior to the engagement. The Vigat of Naiṣī, 1:35, records:

One time later, Rāṇo Kūmbho assembled all the contingents (sāth) of Mēvār and came and halted at Pālī. News [of the arrival of the Sisodiyos] reached Rāv Jodho. Rāv Jodho had very few horses at this time. Then 10,000 Rāṭhoṛs [seated in] 2,000 bullock carts resolved to die. And Rāv Jodho went and encamped above Pālī. The news reached the Rāṇo, "Jodho has come sitting in a [bullock] cart."

The Rāṇo determined to quit Mārvār following negotiations rather than confront a Rāṭhoṛ army dedicated to death in battle. He agreed to marry his uterine sister to Rāv Jodho to seal the peace,⁵ and he gave Rāv Jodho the lands of Sojhat in dowry.

Cāmpo participated in the general settlement of Mārvār following the Sisodiyo withdrawal, and sources note that he attacked and subdued the Sīndhāḷ Rāṭhoṛs under Narsīṅgh Sīndhāḷ at Jaitārāṇ⁶ and made Narsīṅgh Rāv Jodho’s subordinate.

Rāv Jodho founded his new capitol of Jodhpur five miles south of Maṇḍor in 1459. During the Rāv’s subsequent division of lands in Mārvār among his brothers and sons, he confirmed Cāmpo’s possession of Kāpaṛṛo village and in addition granted him the village of Baṇāṛ⁷ as a reward for his devoted service to the throne.

Few details are available about the remainder of Cāmpo’s life. He participated with Rāv Jodho in several campaigns against the Mohil Cahuvaṅs of Chāpar-Droṇpur⁸ between the years 1464-1474. Then, on April 2, 1479

---

⁴ Pālī village: located forty-five miles south-southeast of Maṇḍor.

⁵ See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Rīṅmalot, Rāṇī no. 9.

⁶ Jaitārāṇ town: located fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur.

⁷ Baṇāṛ village: located ten miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.

⁸ Chāpar-Droṇpur: southeastern Bikāner territory.
(Caitrādi) or March 22, 1480 (Śrāvaṇādi) Cāmpō was killed fighting against the Sindhal Rāṭhors of Jaitāraṇ. Sources note that Cāmpō made an offering to the land of flesh and blood from his own hand prior to his death. He was approximately sixty-seven years of age.9

Cāmpō had between two and eight wives and five to eight sons, the most important of whom was Bhaīravdās Cāmpāvāt (6-1).

Bānkīdās, p. 54; Kānotā, Cāmpāvatoṇ kā Itihās, 1:5-38; Murārdān, no. 1, p. 655; Paṇḍit Badrī Śarmā, Dāsāpoṇ kā Itihās (Jodhpur: Seṇāsadana, V. S. 2011[A. D. 1954]), pp. 11-17; Cāmpāvāt Rāṭhaur, pp. 1-10; Vigat, 1:35, 38, "Pariśiṣṭ - 4: Īlāvi ne Jīvni Mislām ī Viṇat," 2:475; Viṅ Vinod, 2:805.

Bhaīravdās Cāmpāvāt (6-1)

Bhaīravdās Cāmpāvāt was born in 1434-35 during the last years of Rāv Rīṇmal Cūṇdāvat's (4-1) rule at Maṇḍor (ca. 1428-38). He was three or four years old when Rāv Rīṇmal was murdered and grew up during the fifteen year Rāṭhōr struggle against the Sisodiyos. No specific information is available about Bhaīravdās's activities in this period, but when he came of age, he undoubtedly served with his father, Cāmpō Rīṇmalot, in the Rāṭhōr campaigns that Jodho Rīṇmalot led to reassert his family's authority in their homeland. Bhaīravdās proved to be an ardent supporter of the Jodhpur throne and of Rāv Jodho's family. The Jodhpur chronicles speak of him as a great pillar of Mārvār.

Following Rāv Jodho's assumption of rule at Maṇḍor, the Rāv sent Bhaīravdās with an army of Rāṭhōrs to attack Rāṭhōr Nārbād Sātāvat (no. 56) at his village of Kāylānō in Godhvār.10 Nārbād Sātāvat had participated with the Sisodiyos in the occupation of Maṇḍor and eastern Mārvār, and Rāv Jodho sought to take revenge for these actions. The Rāṭhōrs under Bhaīravdās were successful in driving Nārbād Sātāvat from Kāylānō and looting his village.

Bhaīravdās was also vigilant in the protection of his family lands at the village of Kāparro. When these came under attack from Bāgho Śindhāl of Kāṃvlān11 in 1459-60 and the cattle were driven off, Bhaīravdās rode in pursuit. He brought Bāgho Śindhāl to battle near Kāṃvlān and killed him there.

Soon thereafter in 1461-62, Bhaīravdās accompanied Rāv Jodho on his pilgrimage to Mathuraṇi and other holy sites at the behest of his father, Cāmpō. Some years later in 1472-73, Rāv Jodho called upon Bhaīravdās to assist his son, Biko Jodhāvat (Rāv of Bīkāner, ca. 1485-1504; no. 42), in the consolidation of

---

9 A brother's son, Bālo Bhakharsiyot, avenged Cāmpō's death a short time later, killing Narsīṅgh Śindhāl in battle.

10 Kāylānō village: located thirty-eight miles south of Sojhat and nine miles east-northeast of Nāḍūl.

11 The identity of this village is obscure. It is perhaps Kāṃvlīyo, located seventeen miles south of Mērtō and twenty-eight miles west of Pīmpār.
his authority at Jāṅgalū and then at Koṟāmdesar against Bhāṭī inroads. Bhairavdās remained with Bīko Jodhāvat for over seven years and was with him when his father, Cāmpo, was killed in 1479. Bhairavdās returned to Kāparro following Cāmpo's death to assume his position of rule there. Rāv Jodho granted Bhairavdās the additional village of Coṭīlo at this time.

Bhairavdās was apparently busy with family affairs over the following years for the texts next speak of him with relation to events of the mid-1480s. He once again became involved with Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat when Rāv Bīko went to aid his uterine brother, Vīdo Jodhāvat, in the recovery of the lands of Chāpar-Dronpur. These had been taken from Vīdo by the Mohil Cahuvaṇs and their ally, Sārāṅg Khān, the sūbedār of Hisar. Bhairavdās was badly wounded in the fighting in Chāpar-Dronpur. He also rode with Rāv Jodho when the Rāv's son, Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat, called upon the Rāv to aid in avenging the death of Rāṭhor Kāndhal Rīnmalot ca. 1489. Kāndhal had been killed near Hisar fighting against Sārāṅg Khān. Bhairavdās was again wounded in battle here.

Bhairavdās continued his service to the house of Jodhpur following Rāv Jodho's death in 1489, under Rāv Jodho's successors, Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat (ca. 1489-92) and Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515). He fought at the battle of Kusānō on March 1, 1492, when Rāv Sātal came to the aid of his half-brothers, Rāv Varseṅgh Jodhāvat (no. 146) and Dūdu Jodhāvat (no. 104), whose lands of Meṛto were being attacked and pillaged by the sūbedār of Ajmer, Malū Khān. Rāv Varseṅgh had precipitated Malū Khān's encroachments by an earlier attack on the rich trading city of Sāmbhār to the north. The Rāṭhors were victorious at Kusānō, but Bhairavdās was again wounded, and one of his brothers, Ratansī Cāmpāvat (6-2), was killed. Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat was himself mortally wounded at Kusānō and died soon after. He was succeeded to the Jodhpur throne by his uterine brother, Sūjo Jodhāvat.

Under Rāv Sūjo, Bhairavdās participated in a campaign against the Maheveco Rāṭhors of Pokaraṇ who had attacked Phaḷodhī and besieged Rāv Sujo's son, Naro Sūjāvat. Later, in 1503-04, he and other Rāṭhors took action against the Mers of Sojhat to avenge the death of Mahirāj Akhairājot. Mahirāj was Bhairavdās's father's brother's son. Bhairavdās also joined Rāv Sūjo in the

---

12 Jāṅgalū village: located twenty-four miles south of present-day Bīkāner.

13 Koṟāmdesar village: located eleven miles west of present-day Bīkāner.

14 Coṭīlo village: located seven miles southeast of Rohaṇ in eastern Mārvār.

15 See infra, "Vīḍāvat Rāṭhors," for more information about Vīdo Jodhāvat.

16 Kusānō village: located thirty-eight miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.

17 The towns of Pokaraṇ and Phaḷodhī lie eighty-three miles northwest and seventy-two miles northeast of Jodhpur, respectively.

18 See infra, "Kūṁpāvat Rāṭhors," for more information about Mahirāj Akhairājot.
conquest of Jaitāraṇ in eastern Mārvār from the Sindhal Rāṭhors and participated in the consolidation of this area under Rāv Sūjo's son, Ûdo Sūjavat.\textsuperscript{19}

Bhairavdās and other Rāṭhor \textit{ṭhākurs} close to the throne, including Bhairavdās's father's brother's son, Paṅcāṇ Rākhairājot,\textsuperscript{20} were instrumental in securing the succession to the Jodhpur throne of Rāv Sūjo's grandson, Gāṅgo Vāghavat, over the claims of an elder half-brother, Viramde Vāghavat (no. 84), upon Rāv Sūjo's death in 1515. There is no information about Bhairavdās's activities after 1515, but he apparently remained closely involved with the affairs of Jodhpur. He was killed in battle some years later fighting in the service of the Jodhpur ruler. Sources differ regarding the date and circumstances of his death. One states that he was killed in November of 1529 at the battle of Sevakī,\textsuperscript{21} while others record that he was killed in 1521-22 during a skirmish with Rāv Viramde Vāghavat's Rajpūts near Sojhāt. He would have been ninety-five years old in 1529.

Bhairavdās had twelve wives and from eleven to seventeen sons, the most important of whom was Jeso Bhairavdāsot (no. 48) (7-1).


(no. 48) \textbf{Jeso Bhairavdāsot (7-1)}

Jeso Bhairavdāsot was a son of Bhairavdās Cāmpāvat (6-1) and grandson of Cāmpo Rīṇmalot (5-1), the founding ancestor of the Cāmpāvat Rāṭhors. He was born on January 12, 1467, as Bhairavdās's fourth son. His mother was Bhatiyanī Bhagvankumvar. Jeso's birth took place eight years after the founding of Jodhpur in 1459, and he grew up during the period of Rāṭhor consolidation and expansion in Mārvār, rising to a position of great influence and power under both Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghavat (1515-32) and his successor, Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (1532-62).

Little is known about Jeso's life prior to his father's death in 1521-22. The only recorded event is his founding of the village Rīṇṣigāṁv\textsuperscript{22} on November 3, 1502 when he was thirty-five years old. The texts offer varying reasons for Jeso's move from his father's village of Kāparṛ. The most cogent appears to be the curse of a holy man who lived in a garden at Kāparṛ. The holy man is said

\textsuperscript{19} See \textit{infra,} "Ūdāvat Rāṭhors," for more information about Ûdo Sūjavat.

\textsuperscript{20} See \textit{infra,} "Jaitāvat Rāṭhors," for more information about Paṅcāṇ Rākhairājot.

\textsuperscript{21} Sevakī village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.

\textsuperscript{22} Rīṇṣigāṁv village: located seventeen miles east-northeast of Kāparṛ and forty-three miles east of Jodhpur.
to have foretold that if Bhairavdās's descendants remained at Kāparo, they would perish.

Jeso was fifty-four years old when his father died. He maintained his father's influential position in Mārvār, and it is recorded that he lived another thirty-seven years and died in 1558-59 at the age of ninety-one at his village of Āū. 23

Jeso's first major campaign following his father's death took place in 1527. He was part of the contingent of warriors from Mārvār whom Rāv Gāngo Vaghāvat of Jodhpur sent to north India with Sisodiyo Raño Sāngo Rāymalot of Citor (1509-28) to meet the Mughal Babur in battle at Khanua. Among this force was a contingent of Merīyos under Rāv Vīrāmde Dūdāvat (no. 105) and his two brothers, Rāymāl and Rātansī, both of whom were killed at Khanua. Jeso himself was wounded there, and a large number of Rajpūts who accompanied him killed.

Jeso fought alongside Rāv Gāngo of Jodhpur on November 2, 1529 at the battle of Sevakī 24 against the Rāv's paternal uncle, Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86), and Sekho's ally from Nāgaur, Khāṇzāda Khān Daulat Khān (ca. 1526-36; no. 154). Sekho Sūjāvat, who sought broader authority and control in Mārvār, had precipitated this conflict between father's brother (kāko) and brother's son (bhatījo).

Rāv Gāngo again turned his attention to Sojhat following his victory at Sevakī. He sequestered this land from his half-brother, Rāv Vīrāmde Vaghāvat (no. 84), with whom there had been on-going conflict since his accession in 1515. Rāv Vīrāmde was given the village of Khairvo 25 in compensation, but he was not content with this offer and continued his depredations against Jodhpur, forcing Rāv Gāngo to drive him from Mārvār. Rāv Vīrāmde then went to Mevār. He gained the support of Sisodiyo Raño Vikramadityā Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1531-36) and led a small force back into Mārvār and attacked Jeso's village of Rīṇśigāṃv. Rāv Vīrāmde suffered defeat here, but he returned again for a decisive confrontation at the village of Sāran 26 on the edge of the Arāvallīs southeast of Sojhat. Here Rāv Gāngo defeated Rāv Vīrāmde and removed all of his authority from Sojhat and Mārvār. Jeso was an active participant in all of these actions and, during the latter conflict, was again wounded.

Rāv Gāngo's son, Mālde Gāngāvat, succeeded to the Jodhpur throne in 1532, and, with his succession, Jeso rose to become one of the principal thākurs of Mārvār alongside Rāv Mālde's leading military commanders, Rāthoṛs Jaito Pāṇiċāṅot (no. 61) and Kūmpo Māhirājot (no. 95). Rāv Mālde's accession took place at Sojhat, and, following ceremonies there, the Rāv proceeded first to Jeso's village of Rīṇśigāṃv to pay his respects and to accept Jeso's oath of

23 Āū village: located twenty-one miles south of Sojhat.

24 Sevakī village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.

25 Khairvo village: located twenty-two miles southwest of Sojhat.

26 Sāran village: located eighteen miles southeast of Sojhat.
loyalty and service. He made Jeso one of his pradhāns at this time. Shortly thereafter in 1534 Rāv Mālde sent Jeso with a force of Rajputās to assist Sisodiyo Rāṇo Vikramaditya in his unsuccessful defense of the fortress of Citor against Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt (1526-37).

A year later, ca. 1535, Jeso became more directly involved in the hostilities that had developed between Rāv Mālde and the Meṛtiyo Rathors. "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṃ," p. 57, records that early in Rāv Mālde's reign, Rāṭhor Jaito Paṅcaĩṇot had confronted the Rāv when he spoke of his desire to conquer Meṛto, Bīkāner, and Sīvāno and had objected to these conquests because Rathors ruled all of these kingdoms. He stated forcefully, "The offense of killing one's family members/brothers (gotrakadamb - lit. 'gotra'-destruction') will not be committed by me." Vigat, 2:48, also notes that when Rāv Mālde plotted against Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (no. 105) and the Meṛtiyos, Kūmpo Mahīrājot and Jeso Bhairavdāsot "would not get involved in this matter."

Neither Jeso nor the other leading Rajputās in Rāv Mālde's service could blunt the Rāv's enmity toward Meṛto, however, nor were they willing to challenge his commands. They participated in open battle against Meṛtiyo Rāv Vīramde at Reyāṁ village27 ca. 1535. This conflict was precipitated by Rāv Vīramde's occupation of Ajmer when the Muslim kiledār fled the city and left it open upon the fall of Māndā to the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn. Rāv Mālde demanded Ajmer from Rāv Vīramde, and when Rāv Vīramde refused to hand over the city, Rāv Mālde sent his Rajputās into the lands of Meṛto and began dividing them among his warriors. Rāv Vīramde then mounted a precipitous attack on Reyāṁ village in order to chastise Varsinghōt Meṛtiyo Sahaiso Tejśiyot (no. 151), who had been one of his Rajputās, but had sided with Rāv Mālde and received Reyāṁ from him in pāto. News of this coming attack reached the garrison at Rarod,28 where Jeso was stationed along with Jaito Paṅcaĩṇot, Kūmpo Mahīrājot, and other important thākurs of Mārvār. They rode to Reyāṁ and took part in the bloody fighting at this village, during which Meṛtiyo Rāv Vīramde was badly defeated and many of his Rajputās killed. Jeso was again wounded here (see Vigat, 2:51-54, of the translated text for details about this engagement).

"Aitiḥāsik Bātāṃ," p. 59, records that ca. 1537 Jeso was a military servant of Sisodiyo Udaisiṅgḥ Sāṅgāvāt (Rāṇo of Citor, ca. 1537-72; no. 17) at Kumbhālmēr. How Jeso came to take service under Sisodiyo Udaisiṅgh is unclear. Kumbhālmēr had come under siege in this period from the forces of a pretender to the throne, Sisodiyo Vānviṛ Prithiṅrājot, who had murdered Udaisiṅgh's uterine brother, Rāṇo Vikramaditya (ca. 1531-36) at Citor. Sisodiyo Udaisiṅgh turned to Jeso and asked how he might liberate Kumbhālmēr from Vānviṛ's threat. Jeso counseled Udaisiṅgh to summon Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahīrājot,
whom Rāv Mālde had stationed at the garrison of Madāriyo in Godhvār. Jeso stated that when Kūmpo received word, he would come and provide the assistance and protection needed. Udaisingh was unsure of how to respond, being fearful because of Rāv Mālde's forceful expansion out from Mārvār following his accession in 1532, particularly after his occupation of Ajmer ca. 1535, when he sent his armies to occupy large areas of central Rājasthān. The Rāv had also placed garrisons along the northern borders of Mevār and in Godhvār. Sisodiyo Udaisingh remarked to Jeso:

Rāv Mālde became [as it were] Rāhū and attacked our land, and Kūmpo is a military servant of Rāv Mālde's. [If we were] to summon [him in] our distress, why would [he] come? (ibid.)

Jeso responded that Kūmpo was his brother's son and that if Jeso's men came to Udaisingh's assistance, Kūmpo and his men would also come without delay. Messages were then sent to Kūmpo at Madāriyo, and Kūmpo immediately rode to Kumbralmer with five hundred warriors. The Sonagarō Cahuvaṇ, Akhairāj Rīṇḍhirot (no. 9) of Pāḷi village, who was Udaisingh's wife's father, had been much involved in supporting Udaisingh as well. He played a leading role in coordinating this effort in Udaisingh's behalf. He arrived with his own force of Rajpūts after Sisodiyo Udaisingh sent messages directly to him, requesting his aid. With their arrival, Vāṇvīr's men lifted their siege and retreated before this concerted force of Mārvār Rajpūts. Sonagarō Akhairāj was then instrumental in seating Udaisingh on the Sisodiyo throne at Kumbralmer.

Little information is available about Jeso's activities during the period between 1537 and 1544. Texts next record his presence at the battle of Samel in January of 1544. Jeso was again a military servant of Rāv Mālde and he participated in the initial phases of this conflict. He is credited with killing one of Sher Shāh's leading warriors, Jalāl Khān Jalvānī, and with stealing Jalāl Khān's horses from under the eyes of Sher Shāh himself. Jeso was apparently

---

29 Madāriyo village: located thirteen miles south-southwest of Nādūl and thirteen miles west-northwest of Kumbralmer.

30 Rāhū: the name of a Daitya or demon who is supposed to seize the sun and moon, thereby causing eclipses (Platts, Dictionary, p. 585).

31 Kūmpo Mahirājot's and Jeso Bhairavadāsot's grandfathers were brothers. These men were Akhairāj and Cāmpo Rīṇmalot, both sons of Rāv Rīṇmal Cāndāvat of Māndor.

32 Pāḷi village: located forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

33 Čampavatam kā Ithās, 1:69, notes that it was because of Jeso Bhairavadāsot's strong advice that Sonagarō Akhairāj married a daughter to Sisodiyo Udaisingh. The marriage took place some months prior to Udaisingh's succession to the throne at Kumbralmer ca. 1537.

34 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.
wounded at Samel prior to the main engagement, and he withdrew to join Rāv Mālde during his exile from Jodhpur in the hills near Sīvāño.

Rāv Mālde immediately sought to reassert his authority in Mārvār following Sher Shāh's death in May of 1545. He moved first against the important and strongly garrisoned at Bhāṅgesar, then under the charge of Hāji Ali Fateh Khān. Jeso was among the leading warriors sent against this garrison. According to "Aitihasik Bātām," p. 39, Jeso approached Rāv Mālde prior to this campaign and entreated him, saying, "I was not able to die fighting in the great battle [at Samel]." Jeso appears to have requested that he be sent against Bhāṅgesar to have another opportunity to die honorably in battle. He was seventy-eight years old. Rāv Mālde gave him a prominent role in this attack, and Jeso was wounded when the Rāv's Rajpūts overwhelmed the Muslims of the garrison and then proceeded on to Jodhpur, which they also took into their possession. Rāv Mālde paid Jeso great honor following this battle, giving him an elephant, a litter in which to ride, and costly jewels.

Jeso now emerged as Rāv Mālde's most important thākur. The Rāv's leading Rajpūts from the period before Samel, Jaito Pańcāiṇot and Kūmpo Mahirajot, were both dead. "Aitihasik Bātām," p. 46, states that "among the thākurs and important men, Rāṭhor Jeso Bhairavdāsot became [the Rāv's] foremost counselor (pučāṇai pradhān)." Jeso received the lands for the village of Āū (Āūvo) in pato at this time. Jeso is said to have founded Āū following a trip to Godhvār on a site where he had seen several lions. The sighting of lions was a most auspicious sign.

Jeso used his position of influence with Rāv Mālde during this period to have Bagrī, the ancestral village of Jaito Pańcāiṇot's family, returned to this family. The Rāv had taken Bagrī from the Jaitāvats following the failure of one of Jaito's sons, Mānsingh Jaitāvat, to perform military service after the battle of Samel. At Jeso's persistence, the Rāv relented and granted Bagrī to another of Jaito's sons, Prithiraj Jaitāvat (no. 63). Much of Jeso's persistence appears based upon his desire to ally Prithiraj Jaitāvat firmly with the house of Jodhpur. Prithiraj was himself a prominent thākur of Mārvār, and he soon thereafter gained the esteem of the Rāv and emerged as one of his leading military commanders.

Jeso was also concerned for Mārvār. Following Rāv Mālde's return to Jodhpur after Samel, Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat of Čitor began preparations to send raiding parties against him. Jeso knew that:

---

35 Bhāṅgesar village: located sixteen miles west of Sojhat.

36 Murārdān, no. 1, p. 655, states that Bhairavdās received Āū in 1545-46 after Rāv Mālde's reoccupation of Jodhpur, while Kānota, Čāmpāvatoṁ kā Īthās, 1:64, writes that Rāv Gāṅgo gave Jeso the lands of Āū some years earlier in 1529 following the battle of Sevakī.

37 Bagrī village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat.
Today Rāṇo Udaiśīṅgh [is] powerful, [and] we have just now returned from a period of distress (vikhau). The Raṭ̄pūṣ [and] all the important men died fighting in the great battle [at Samel]. The Rāvji's rulership (ṭhākurāi) will become weak [from] a confrontation today" ("Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," p. 46).

Rāv Mālde paid great deference to Jeso as his pradhān, and, on Jeso's advice, agreed to marry one of his daughters to the Sisodiyo Rāṇo and to give the Rāṇo horses, elephants, and fifty villages of Sojhat along with the whole of Goḍhvār in dowry in order to placate him and ward off his attacks.

When Prithūrāj Jaitāvat learned that these arrangements were being considered, however, he remonstrated strongly with the Rāv, urging him not to display any weakness before the Rāṇo. Rāv Mālde then took heart and determined to withhold his offer of marriage and dowry. Prithūrāj Jaitāvat was later able to turn the Sisodiyoś back when they began raiding into Māṛvār and to prevent any humiliation of Rāv Mālde.

Rāv Mālde's confidence in Jeso remained undiminished, for he gave Jeso full responsibility for the army of Jodhpur sent to conquer Pokaran38 from the Bhāṭīs of Jaīsalmer in 1550. Following Jeso's success there, Rāv Mālde sent him first against Bāharmer in far western Māṛvār and then against Jaīsaḷmer itself in 1552. Jeso besieged the fortress of Jaīsaḷmer and pillaged the villages in the surrounding countryside. When he returned to Jodhpur, the Rāv awarded him full responsibility for administration of the kingdom. Jeso was an old warrior now of some eighty-five years.

Confusion surrounds the date and circumstances of Jeso's death. Both Bhagavatsimh, Cāmpāvata Rāṭhaur, p. 31, and Śarmā, Dāsapomā kā Itihās, p. 29, indicate that Jeso was killed in battle at Merto in 1562, fighting in the defense of the Mālgadh alongside Devīdās Jaitāvat (no. 65). However, Kānōtā, Cāmpāvatomā kā Itihās, 1:83, states that Jeso died at Āū village in 1558-59 at the age of ninety-one. He notes correctly that there is no mention in contemporary sources of Jeso's death at Merto in 1562.

Jeso had eight wives and from twelve to twenty-one sons. One of his daughters was married to Ḡado Rāv Surjān Urjāṇot of Būndi (ca. 1554-68) (no. 6). Her son by Rāv Surjāṇ was Ḡado Dūḍo Surjāṇot.

38 Pokaran: located eighty-three miles northwest of Jodhpur.

209

(no. 49) **Jaitmāl Jesāvat** (8-1)

Jaitmāl Jesāvat was a son of Jeso Bhairavdāsot (7-1) (no. 48) and a great-grandson of Campo Rīṇmalot (5-1), the founding ancestor of the Cāmpāvat Rāthors. He was born on January 10, 1489 of Hulṇī Prabhākuminvar, daughter of Hul Mahesdās of Sojhat. Little is known about his life prior to the mid-1550s. He was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-1562) and was among the select group of Rajpūts from Mārvār whom Rāv Mālde sent under Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvat (no. 65) to fight at Harmāro \(^{39}\) in January of 1557. Rāv Mālde's warriors joined with those of Paṭhān Hāji Khān, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr. Together they defeated Sīsōdiyo Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) and his allied force of Rajpūts.

In 1558, with the death of his father, Jaitmāl succeeded to the rule of Āū village. His family retained possession of this village for the next several generations. As thākur of Āū, Jaitmāl assumed a position of great influence in Mārvār, particularly under Rāv Mālde’s successor, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81). Local texts indicated that Jaitmāl developed a disagreement with Rāv Candrasen early in the Rāv’s reign. This disagreement arose when Rāv Candrasen had one of his stablehands, with whom he had become angry, seized and killed in Jaitmāl’s camp where the stablehand had fled for protection. Jaitmāl afterwards proceeded to the home of Rāṭhor Prithīrāj Kūmpāvat (no. 97) and Māhes Kūmpāvat (no. 98) and wept before them. Prithīrāj then told Jaitmāl not to weep, saying:

> [If] Paramesvar bestows [his blessing on me], then I, [born] of Kūmpo’s stomach, would cause Candrasen to weep [and to regret this act]. You should not be distressed for any reason.

Jaitmāl apparently departed for his village of Āū afterwards, where he stayed for some time. But he remained involved with affairs at court, and a faction of Rāṭhors emerged in Mārvār around both Jaitmāl Jesāvat and Prithīrāj Kūmpāvat that encouraged inroads into the kingdom on the part of several of Rāv Candrasen’s brothers. These included the Rāv’s elder uterine brother, Udaisīṅgh Māldevot, who was then at Phālōdhī in northern Mārvār, a half-brother, Rām Māldevot, who was in Mēvār, and another half-brother, Rāymal Māldevot, who came north from Sīvāṇo and began raiding in the area of Dunārṇo village. \(^{40}\) Udaisīṅgh Māldevot’s advance from Phālōdhī led to the battle of Lohīyāvaṭ \(^{41}\) ca. 1563 when Rāv Candrasen defeated Udaisīṅgh’s attempt to usurp control of Jodhpur. Kānōtā, Cāmpāvaṭoṃ kā Itīhās, 3:771, notes that Jaitmāl was among those who counseled the Rāv not to pursue and drive his brother

---

\(^{39}\) Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mēvār.

\(^{40}\) Dunārṇo village: located thirty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur.

\(^{41}\) Lohīyāvaṭ village: located eighteen miles southeast of Phālōdhī in northern Mārvār.
from Phalodhi following his victory, but to allow peace between them. Rāv Candrasen had summoned Jaitmāl from Aū, for Jaitmāl is listed among Rāv Candrasen's principal thākurs at this battle. Given his enmity toward the Rāv, his specific role in the fighting is unknown.

The faction of Rāṭhōrs opposing Rāv Candrasen next approached Rām Māldevot and urged him to seek Mughal support for his cause. Rām did seek aid from the Mughals, and the Rāṭhōrs supporting his cause took part in mediations between him and Rāv Candrasen and were instrumental in Rām's acquisition of Sojhat in jāgīr in 1564.

Jaitmāl's specific role in Mārvār after this time is unclear. He seems to have retired to his village of Aū, for when the Mughals forced Rāv Candrasen into exile in the Arāvalliś in the mid-1570s, Jaitmāl was not listed among those military servants who accompanied him.42 Jaitmāl's name does not appear with relation to events after this time. No information is available about the circumstances surrounding his death.

"Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," pp. 51, 78; Bāṅkīdās, p. 56; Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhaur, pp. 29-31; Kānotā, Cāṃpāvatōn kā Iṭīhās, 3:769-774; Murārdān, no. 1, p. 655, no. 2, p. 155; Śarmā, Dāsapon kā Iṭīhās, p. 29; Vigat, 1:60, 67, 80, 2:59.

(no. 50) Rāmo Bhairavādāsot (7-2)
(no. 51) Amro Rāmāvat (8-2)
(no. 52) Sahaiso Rāmāvat (8-3)

Little information is available about Rāmo (Rāmsingh) Bhairavādāsot and his two sons, Amro and Sahaiso Rāmāvat.43 Rāmo was a son of Bhairavādās Cāṃpāvat's (6-1) and grandson of Cāṃpo Rīmalot's (5-1), the founding ancestor of the Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhōrs. He was Bhairavādās's ninth son, born in 1485-86 some eighteen years after the birth of his brother, Jēsō Bhairavādās (no. 48) (7-1). He served under Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) and held the village of Lodrāu (or Kachrau) of Jāḷor in paṭo. He and his sons, Amro and Sahaiso, were all killed in 1562 during the battle of Meṛto. They served under

42 Kānotā, Cāṃpāvatōn kā Iṭīhās, 3:772, writes that Jaitmāl did accompany Rāv Candrasen into exile and remained with him until his death in 1581. This statement appears to be in error.

43 Amro Rāmāvat and Sahaiso Rāmāvat have been identified on a name basis only as sons of Rāmo Bhairavādāsot, appearing together as they do in lists of Rāv Mālde's warriors who were killed at Meṛto in 1562. This writer has been unable to identify them more precisely from genealogical materials available for the Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhōrs, and their names do not appear in genealogical materials for other groups which would provide an alternative identification. To complicate matters, Kānotā, Cāṃpāvatōn kā Iṭīhās, 3:879, writes that Rāmo Bhairavādāsot had only one son named Chatrasingh. Without other defining material, the placement of these Rajputś genealogically remains moot.
Rāv Mālde's commander, Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitiāvat (no. 65), and were stationed at the Malgadh with Devidās when Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107) and Mirzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn laid siege to the town. Following two months of desultory fighting, Rāv Mālde's Rajputs agreed to give up the fort to Rāv Jaimal. As they left the Malgadh and made their way toward Sātalvās, the Mughals attacked, and Rāmo and his sons died alongside Rāṭhor Devidās as they fought on the open plain (see Vigat, 2:65, of the translated text for details).

"Aitiḥāsīk Bātāṁ," p. 56; Bāṅkidās, pp. 16-17; Cāmpāvat Rāṭhaur, pp. 16-17; Kānnotā, Cāmpāvatom kā Ithās, 3:877-879; Śarmā, Dāsapom kā Ithās, p. 23, n. 1; Vigat, 1:62, 2:65.

---

44 Sātalvās village: located just four miles southwest of Meṛto proper.
Figure 21. Cāmpāvat Rāṭhoṛs

| (1-1) Raṅ Salkho               | (2-1) Viṁam Salkhāvat |
| (3-1) Raṅ Ķūndo Viṁamot       | (4-1) Raṅ Rīṁmal Ķūṅdāvat |
| (5-1) Cāmpo Rīṁmalot (Cāmpāvats) |                          |
|                                 | (6-1) Bhairavdās Cāmpāvat | (6-2) Ratansī Cāmpāvat |
|                                 | (7-1) Jeso Bhairavdāsot  | (7-2) Raṁo Bhairavdāsot |
| (8-1) Jaitmāl Jesāvat          | (8-2) Amro Rāṁāvat      | (8-3) Sahaiso Rāṁāvat |

Cundavat Rathors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Āskaraṇ Satāvat</td>
<td>(5-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Īsar Ghaṛṣīyot</td>
<td>(7-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Kānho Cundavat, Rāv</td>
<td>(4-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Mahes Ghaṛṣīyot</td>
<td>(7-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Narbad Satāvat</td>
<td>(5-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Rājśiṅgh Ghaṛṣīyot</td>
<td>(7-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Sato Cundavat, Rāv</td>
<td>(4-2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rāv Cundo Viramot and the Cundavat Rathors

The Cundavat Rathors comprise a loosely structured grouping of Mārvār Rathors tracing descent from Rāv Cundo Viramot (3-1), ruler of Maṇḍor in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In the broadest sense, all descendants of Rāv Cundo’s may be included within this grouping. However, by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many branches (sākhs) of Rathors had emerged from among Rāv Cundo’s sons and grandsons that became identified by the names of more recent “founders.” The designation Cundavat came to be applied only to members from less prominent lines of descent from Rāv Cundo, for whom Rāv Cundo was himself their most important ancestor.

By way of example, "Jodhpur Hukumat rī Bahī," pp. 142-143, a manuscript whose compilation was begun during the reign of Jodhpur Rāja Jasvantsīṁgh Gajsiṅghot (1638-78), contains the names of nine Cundavat Rathors to whom the rulers of Jodhpur granted patos between the years 1623-68. The Cundavats listed are descendants of only two of Rāv Cundo’s sons, Kānho (4-1) and Ararkamal (4-4).

The Cundavats discussed in this section include Rāv Kānho Cundavat, Rāv Sato Cundavat, two of Rāv Sato’s sons, and three of Rāv Kānho’s great-grandsons. While Kānho’s line continued after him, Sato’s appears to have died out after the deaths of his two sons. The Khyāt of Nainsī, 3:38, records that neither had sons of his own. The descendants of these individuals are traced with difficulty in the texts, however, and Vīr Vinod, 2:804, notes that a branch of Rathors did emerge among Sato’s descendants bearing the name Satavat. In general, Cundavats are mentioned rarely in the chronicles dealing with events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they do not figure prominently in the later history of Jodhpur.

Much uncertainty surrounds the people and events of the early period of Rathor history in Mārvār. It is not until the time of Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot (5-5), ruler of Maṇḍor and founder of Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89), that a strict chronology begins to emerge. Of Rāv Cundo himself it is possible to say with certainty only that:
1. He was raised in the household of a paternal relation, Rāṭhōṛ Rāvaḷ Māloji (Mallināṭh) of Mahevo in western Mārvāṛ, in the mid-fourteenth century;
2. He became a Rajpūṭ of importance by the latter half of the fourteenth century, and he established his seat of rule at Maṇḍor in central Mārvāṛ;
3. He became involved in hostilities with Bhāṭī Rāv Rāṇagde of Pūṅgal, whom he killed in battle;
4. He died in the early fifteenth century and was succeeded by three of his sons in rapid succession: Kāṅho (4-1), Sato (4-2), and then Riṃmal (4-5).

In these volumes, ca. 1423 has been employed to designate the date of Rāv Cūṇḍo's death in order to establish a rough chronology for this early period. This dating is conjectural, however. Among historians of Rājāsthan and Mārvāṛ, there is wide disagreement. G. H. Ojha states in his Rājputāne kā Itihās, 4:1:231, for example, that there are only two certain dates for Rāṭhōṛ history during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries:

1. The date of Rāv Siho Sētramōt's death in 1273, noted on a memorial stone (devḷ) found at the village of Bīḷhū near Pāḷi in eastern Mārvāṛ1 (Siho Sētramōt is considered the founding ancestor of the Mārvāṛ Rāṭhōṛs);
2. The date of Rāv Riṃmal Cūṇḍāvat's death ca. 1438. This date is based upon the Ranpur Inscription of Sīsodiyo Rāṅo Kūṅbo Mokaḷot (ca. 1433-68). This inscription is dated V.S. 1496 (1439-40) and records the Sīsodiyo conquest of Maṇḍor that followed immediately upon Rāv Riṃmal's murder at Cīṭor.

Ojha, 4:1:212-213, also makes reference to two copper plate inscriptions of Rāv Cūṇḍo's from Mārvāṛ dated 1396 and 1421. But he discredits these as not being authentic.

B. N. Reu is more direct in applying dating in his Mārvāṛ kā Itihās. He states, 1:65, that Rāv Cūṇḍo died on March 15, 1423. He does not substantiate this date with any source reference, however. In addition, he notes, 1:60-61, that Rāv Cūṇḍo originally took possession of Maṇḍor in 1394, basing this dating upon an inscription found in the temple of Cāmnūḍā Deviḷḷ, the kuldevi of the Rāṭhōṛs, in the village of Cāmvḍo2 which bears this date. The inscription does not refer directly to Rāv Cūṇḍo by name and it is fragmentary. But Reu argues that Cūṇḍo would have been responsible for building this temple after his conquest. Ojha does not mention this temple inscription at all. Kavirājā Śyāmaldās, the author of Vīr Vīnōḍ, 2:803, gives the date of 1394 for Rāv

---

1 Bīḷhū village: located thirty miles south of Jodhpur and fourteen miles northwest of Pāḷi.
2 Cāmvḍo village: located fourteen miles west-northwest of Maṇḍor.
Cúndo’s conquest of Mañdor, and then offers the date of 1408 for his death. Both dates are presented without substantiation from primary source material.

These early historians of Márvar based their chronologies on the available inscriptive evidence and on secondary sources from periods much later than the events they referenced. The only local text of note to which they had access was Nainsí’s Khyát. The Vigat of Nainsí was not available to them. One short passage in Vigat, 1:38, provides some additional evidence about the date of Ráv Cúndo’s death to add to the controversy. It states that Ráv Jodho Rinmalot’s mother, a Bhátiyání, was married to Ráv Rinmal Cúndávat, “in [the settlement of] Cúndo’s vair.” Local chronicles all contain stories about Ráv Cúndo having been killed in battle fighting against the Bhájis from Jaisálmé. Jodho Rinmalot was born April 1, 1416. This date of birth would mean that Ráv Cúndo was killed some years prior, perhaps as early as 1408, a date given in several sources.

It is not our purpose here to define a more exact chronology for this early period of Ráthor history, only to note that the period as a whole requires extensive reworking from both Márvarí and other local sources.


(no. 53) Kánoch Cúndávat, Ráv (4-1)
(no. 54) Sato Cúndávat, Ráv (4-2)

Very little is known about Ráv Cúndo Víramot’s two sons, Kánoch and Sato Cúndávat, who succeeded him to the rulership of Mañdor. The length of their reigns is also uncertain. Figures given in the various texts range from eleven months to two or three years for Kánoch, and up to four years for Sato. The chronicles consider both to have been weak and ineffective rulers, and both were unseated in turn by half-brothers who turned against them. Ráv Rinmal Cúndávat (4-5) eventually emerged as the ruler of Mañdor, and it is his descendants, beginning with Jodho Riñmalot (5-5), who firmly established Ráthor rule in central Márvar from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.

Kánoch was Ráv Cúndo’s youngest son, born of Ráñi Mohilání Sonám, the daughter of Mohil Cahuván Ísárdás of Chápar-Droñpur. Ráñi Sonám was Ráv Cúndo’s favorite wife in his old age, and the chronicles relate that he designated her son to succeed him to the throne of Mañdor over older, more capable sons by other wives. The only significant event ascribed to Ráv Kánoch’s reign is his successful raid against the Sánkhlo Pánvärs of Jáŋgálu. The chronicles present varying reasons for this attack including a desire on the Ráv’s

3 Chápar-Droñpur: an area that later became part of southeastern Bíkáner territory.
4 Jáŋgálu: located one hundred miles to the north of Mañdor.
part of avenge his father, Rāv Cùndo's, death, and hostilities between the Rāṭhōrs and the Sāṅkhlos unrelated to Rāv Cùndo.

Vigat, 1:385-386, includes mention of Bhāgvatī Karnījī in its short record of Rāv Kānho's reign. Karnījī was an important Cārāṇī of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, who became integrally involved in the affairs of Jodhpur and Bīkāner.5 According to the Vigat, Karnījī visited Rāv Kānho prior to his march on Jāṅgaḷū in order to bless him and empower his kingdom with an auspicious rite. The rite consisted of placing whole grains of rice on the ruler's forehead, seen as a propitious sign. When Karnījī began the ceremony, the Rāv is said to have questioned her, asking why she was performing the rite. When the Cārāṇī replied that the kingdom would acquire merit from it, the Rāv only responded that he had no faith in such a ceremony. He relied only upon his own devotions. The Cārāṇī then became angry and cursed the Rāv, saying that the Rāv would lose his kingdom and the rice would forecast the number of days the kingdom would remain. It was not long thereafter that Rāv Kānho's half-brothers, Sato (4-2) and Rīṇmal (4-5), attacked Māṇḍor and usurped rule of the kingdom.

Sato Cùndāvāt, an older son of Rāv Cùndo's born of his wife, the Gahlot Tārādē, then assumed control of Māṇḍor as rāv. He also ruled only a short time. According to the chronicles, he gave one-half of the lands of Māṇḍor to his uterine brother, Rāvāt Rīṇḍhīr Cùndāvāt (4-3), and delegated most of his authority for managing the affairs of the kingdom to him. Rīṇḍhīr soon gained

---

5 Karnījī was a Cārāṇī of the Kiniyo sākh. She is worshipped as a tutelary deity (lokdevī, kuldevī) among Rajpūts of Rājasthān in general, and of Mārvār and Bīkāner in particular, and is considered an incarnation of Śaktī or the Divine Mother. According to local belief, such incarnations generally only occur within the Cārāṇ jāti. Karnījī and before her, Avadhī, the kuldevī of the Bhātīs of Jaiśālmer, are both seen as successive incarnations of Bhāgvatī Hīṅglāj, a former manifestation whose shrine is near Las Belas in Pakistan. Collectively, these manifestations are referred to as "Caurāśī Cārāṇ" and are worshipped widely in Rājasthān and other parts of western India by Rajpūts and Cāraṇs.

Karnījī's traditional date of birth is September 21, 1387. She was born in the village of Adhō on the border between Jaiśālmer and Mārvār. Her birth name was Rīḍhikūrṇavār, but during her life, she became known as Karnī ("the Doer"), or more affectionately, Karnal Kiniyānī. Karnījī lived much of her life in the village of Desnok, located nineteen miles south of Bīkāner, where a series of shrines grew up dedicated to her. They are still much attended today. She emerged during a formative period in the history of Rājasthān and was closely associated with the establishment of both the Rāṭhōr kingdoms of Jodhpur and Bīkāner. Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat (ca. 1485-1504; no. 42), the founder of Bīkāner, was a fervent devotee of hers. Karnījī is considered responsible for initiating a series of marriage alliances between the Rāṭhōrs of Mārvār and Bīkāner, and the Bhātīs of Jaiśālmer that helped to unify and stabilize political relationships in this area. Over and above these accomplishments, Karnījī is widely known for her many miracles performed on behalf of members of all jāttīs in western Rājasthān.

For more information about Karnījī, see: Kr. Kailash Dan S. Ujwal, Bhagwati Shri Karnjii Maharaj: A Biography (Ujjain [Marwar], n.d.).

the enmity of Rāv Sato's son, Narbad Satāvat (5-3) (no. 56), which led both to his and to Rāv Sato's downfall (see infra).

_Murārdān_, no. 2, p. 289, records that Rāv Sato married one of his sisters to the Muslim ruler of Nāgaūr, Khānzāda Khān Shams Khān I Dāndaṇī (ca. 1405-18).6


(no. 55) Āskaraṇ Satāvat (5-2)

(no. 56) Narbad Satāvat (5-3)

Narbad Satāvat was Rāv Sato Cūṇḍāvat's (4-2) eldest son. He assumes a much greater prominence in the chronicles of Mārvār than his younger brother, Āskaraṇ, who finds mention by name only in passages dealing with his death in battle. Narbad was sister's son (bhāṇej) of the Sonagarō Cahuvaṇś of Pālī village in eastern Mārvār.7 _Vigat_, 1:26, records that "Sato's son, Narbad, was a black-tailed scoundrel (kāl-pāńchāṭyo bhāṅrvrālo ḫuvo)." During Rāv Sato's rule, he played the role of spoiler at Maṇḍor. Narbad quickly came into conflict with both his father's uterine brother, Rāvat Rindhir, and with Rindhir's son, Nāpo Rīndhīrōt (5-4), over control of the lands and resources of the kingdom.

The _Khyāt_ of Naiṇśi, 3:130, states that Narbad approached his mother's brother (māmo), a Sonagarō Cahuvaṇ of Pālī, and asked him whom he favored more, Narbad or Rindhīr's son, Nāpo, who was also a relation of the Sonagaros. Narbad's mother's brother replied that they were both equal, but that Narbad was special because he (the mother's brother) was living at Narbad's home. Narbad then asked him to give Nāpo poison and kill him. The Sonagarō refused, whereupon Narbad had one of his own servants kill Nāpo with poison. Narbad then gathered an army (kaṭak bhelo kīyo) and drove Rindhīr from the kingdom.

Narbad now assumed control over the affairs of Maṇḍor, while Rindhīr joined his other uterine brother, Rīnmal Cūṇḍāvat (4-5) in Mēvār. He said to Rīnmal, "Let's go! I will have the tīkō of Maṇḍovar [Maṇḍor] given to you" (_Khyāt_, 3:132). They met with their sister's son, Sisodiyo Rāṅo Mokal Lākhāvat of Cītōr (ca. 1421-33), and asked for his aid. The Rāṅo gave them an army to attack Maṇḍor. Rindhīr and Rīnmal defeated Rāv Sato and Narbad in battle ca. 1428. The Rāṅo of Cītōr then seated Rīnmal Cūṇḍāvat on the throne at Maṇḍor, and took Sato and Narbad back to Mēvār with him. Narbad had been badly wounded during the fighting at Maṇḍor, losing one of his eyes. The Rāṅo had his wounds cleaned and bound, and cared for him.

---

6 For further information about Shams Khān, seeinfra, "Khānzaṇa Khāns."

7 Pālī village: located forty-five miles south-southeast of Maṇḍor.
Sato Cundaivat died shortly after arriving in Mevar, but Narbad lived for some years after. "The Rano showed [him] great affection (bahot pyar)" (Khyat, 3:141). He became a favorite of both Rano Mokal and of his son and successor, Rano Kumbhelo Mokalot (ca. 1433-68). Rano Mokal granted Narbad the village and lands of Kaylano in Godhvair in pafo. Narbad lived both there and at the court of Citor, and he became widely renowned in Mevar for his bravery and prowess as a warrior, and for his devotion to the throne of Citor.

While "Narbad Satavat was ruling (raij karai) at Manдор" (ibid.), the Sankhlo Parnvar, Sihar Cacagot, master of Ru village, had offered his daughter, Supiyarde, to Narbad in marriage. This offer was accepted and the betrothal completed prior to Rav Sato's loss of Mandor to his brothers, Rinmal and Rindhth. News of the Rav's defeat quickly reached Run, and the Runcoco Sankhlos then withdrew their offer of marriage to Narbad and married their daughter instead to the Sindhal Rathor, Narisinghda Khindivat (no. 131), the master of Jaitaran town in eastern Marvar.

Narbad lived with this shame in Mevar. When the Rano learned of it, he sent a camel rider (othi) to Sankhlo Sihar with the message, "Give the betrothed to Narbadj." The Runcoco Sankhlos replied that Supiyarde was already married, but they would give a younger sister of Supiyarde's to Narbad. "Come and marry her," they said. Narbad would only accept the offer if Supiyarde herself performed ārti at the wedding ceremony at Run village, and to this condition the Sankhlos agreed. "Supiyarde will perform ārti," they assured the Rano. But when Sindhul Narisinghda learned of this news, he refused to let Supiyarde attend the wedding until she vowed that she would not perform ārti. He then allowed her to proceed to her father's home (pihar), but he sent a barber (Nāī) to spy on her.

It was impossible for Supiyarde to live up to her vow in the face of threatened censure from the Sankhlos and fear of Narbad's withdrawal from the marriage. So Supiyarde performed ārti as Narbad entered her father's home, an act which Narbad had purposely initiated. It set in motion a chain of events that culminated in Supiyarde's flight from Jaitaran with Narbad, and the death of Narbad's brother, Askaran, in battle against the Sindhals. When Supiyarde returned to Jaitaran, she was confronted by her husband with the fact that she had broken her vow. Narisinghda Sindhul then beat Supiyarde, bound her hands and

---

8 Kaylano village: located thirty-eight miles south of Sojhat and nine miles east-northeast of Naqul.

9 Run village: located fifty-eight miles northeast of Mândor.

10 Jaitaran town: located fifty-six miles east of Mândor.

11 Ārti: a ceremony of adoration performed for a god or goddess by moving a platter containing a five-wicked burning lamp, flour and incense around the head of the deity in a circular motion. At weddings, this ceremony of adoration is performed before the groom as he enters the bride's home, and is usually done by the eldest female member of the bride's family. Lalas, RSK, 1:215; Platts, Dictionary, p. 39.
threw her beneath her bed in her room. He summoned another of his wives to the room and told her to sleep in Supiyärde's bed. Supiyärde protested, but Narsinghdās refused to relent. Supiyärde then "took her husband's name," and said:

Narsinghdās Sindha! You have done what you must do, but now [if I] were to come to your bed, [it would be as if I] were coming to the bed of a brother (Khyāt, 3:144).

A slave girl (chokrī) quickly reported what had happened to Supiyärde's husband's mother (sāsū), and she took Supiyärde under her protection. Supiyärde arranged to send a message to Narbad at his village of Kāylāṇo. Narbad had said at the time of the wedding in Rūn that if there were any trouble, she should send word to him and he would come for her. Narbad traveled to Jaitāraṇ as soon as her received Supiyärde's message, and arranged through a servant for Supiyärde to slip away from the village. Narbad then fled with her toward Ghōṛvār in a cart. His brother, Āskaraṇ, met them on the return and remained behind to confront the pursuing Śindhāṣ, who killed him in a pitched battle. The Śindhāṣ proceeded on into Ghōṛvār where they looted Narbad's village of Kāylāṇo and took a number of Rāṭhōr women back to Jaitāraṇ as prisoners.

Narbad did not avenge his brother's death during his lifetime. Neither he nor Āskaraṇ had sons of their own, so the vair remained unsettled for some twenty years until the time of Rāv Jodho Rīṁmalot of Māṇḍor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). In the mid-1450s, Rāv Jodho sent his son, Dūḍo Jodhāvat (no. 104), to Jaitāraṇ to kill Sindhal Narsinghdās Khīndāvat's son, Megho Narsinghdāsot (no. 132), and end the vair. Dūḍo accomplished this feat in single-handed combat with Megho on the field before Jaitāraṇ village (see "Aitihāsik Bātāṃ, pp. 38-40, of the translated text for details).

Narbad remained in the Rāṇo's service for the rest of his life. He took part in the Śīsodiyo occupation of Mārvār under Rāṇo Kūṁbh Mokālot (ca. 1433-68) in 1439-40. This occupation followed Rāṇo Kūṁbh's murder of Rāv Rīṁmal Cūndāvat at Cītōr ca. 1438 and the subsequent Śīsodiyo conquest of Māṇḍor. Rāṇo Kūṁbh stationed Narbad at Māṇḍor along with a number of his leading warriors. Vigat, 1:32, records that the Rāṇo said to Narbad:

Have Jodho [Rīṁmalot] killed quickly. [When you] have killed Jodho, I will give you Māṇḍor.

Narbad participated in operations against Rāv Rīṁmal's chosen successor, Jodho. But he was unable to capture or to kill him.

How long Narbad remained in Mārvār is unclear from the chronicles. Although the Śīsodiyoś held control of Māṇḍor until ca. 1453, Narbad appears to have returned to Mevār after only a few years for his name does not appear in connection with any later events in Mārvār. The chronicles record only one other occurrence during his life. This concerned his gift of his one remaining
eye to the Rāṇo of Cītor. This act of self-sacrifice occurred in the following manner (Khyāt, 3:149-150):

Narbad's people were heard praising Narbad one day at the court of Cītor, saying, "Today there is no Rajpūt the equal of Narbadji in [all the] land. Narbad is a great warrior." The Rāṇo asked why they were praising Narbad so, and they answered, "[When something is] asked of Narbad, [he] keeps nothing [to himself]." The Rāṇo then asked half in jest if Narbad would give whatever was demanded, and Narbad's people replied that he would. The Rāṇo thereupon sent his personal attendant (khavās) to Narbad's camp to request from Narbad his one remaining eye. Narbad immediately responded, "Very well, I will give [it]." He took up one of his daggers and cut out his eye, placing it in a cloth and handing it to the attendant who blanched white with shock. The attendant quickly returned to the Rāṇo with Narbad's eye. The Rāṇo saw the eye and was immediately filled with remorse. He went to Narbad and praised him for this selfless act. He later increased Narbad's paṭo by one and a half times.


(no. 57) Īsār Ghaṛṣīyot (7-1)
(no. 58) Mahes Ghaṛṣīyot (7-2)
(no. 59) Rājśīṅgh Ghaṛṣīyot (7-3)

Only scant information is available about Rāv Kāṅhō Cūṇḍāvat's (4-1) descendants, Īsār, Mahes and Rājśīṅgh Ghaṛṣīyot. They all served in the armies of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) alongside their father, Ghaṛṣī Bhārmalot (6-1). Both Mahes and his father rose to prominence following Rāv Mālde's occupation of Merto and Ajmer ca. 1535. Vigat, 1:43-44, records that Ghaṛṣī Bhārmalot received the paṭo of Jājpur from the Rāv, while his son, Mahes, was given Ajmer itself in paṭo.13

Mahes was forced to withdraw from Ajmer in late 1543, in the face of Sher Shāh Sūr's approach from north India. In January of 1544 Mahes participated in the initial fighting at the battle of Samel.14 But he withdrew from

12 Jājpur: modern Jahāzpūr, located seventy miles southeast of Ajmer.
13 Bhāṭī, Sarvekṣaṇ, 3:105, states that Ghaṛṣī Bhārmalot was a great thākur, and that he was stationed at the garrisons (thānos) of Kelvo, Kumbhāḷmer, and Khāṅhōl of Mēvār as a military servant under Rāv Mālde. This text also records that Ghaṛṣī held the paṭo of Tāṁvlo village, located twelve miles northwest of Ajmer and twenty-eight miles east-southeast of Merto. Regarding Ghaṛṣī's son, Mahes, this text notes that he held the village of Pīṁpāṛ in paṭo from Rāv Mālde. Pīṁpāṛ is located thirty-three miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.
14 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.
Samel along with Rāṭhor Jeso Bhairavdāsot (no. 48) and others to join the Rāv during his exile in the hills of southern Mārvār near Sīvānō. He remained with the Rāv during Sher Shāh's occupation of central Mārvār and Jodhpur.

The chronicles do not mention Mahes or his brothers, Īsār and Rājāsingh, in connection with any events between the years 1544 and 1553. But Mahes did take part in an attack on Ajmer which would have occurred prior to 1554, when Rāv Mālde again attempted the conquest of Mērto (see "Aītīhāsik Bātaṃ," pp. 56-57, of the translated text for details).

"Aītīhāsik Bātaṃ" notes that Rāv Mālde gave an army to Rāṭhor Prithirāj Jaitāvat (no. 63), one of his military commanders following Samel, and sent him against Ajmer. Mahes Ghaṛṣṭiyot, who had previously held Ajmer in pato, was with this army. Several of Mahes's military servants managed to climb the walls of the fort during the fighting, and proclaim a victory for Mahesji. The chronicle states that this action deterred the Rīṃmalots15 who did not wish to advance further, saying:

We would die [in battle], and the victory [would be the Cundāvat] Mahesji's, so for what reason [should we advance]?

This attack was withdrawn soon after because of the intervention of the Rāṇo of Cītōr on the side of the Muslims in the fort. Mahes's role following the withdrawal is unclear. But the chronicle records that Prithirāj Jaitāvat was much ashamed, and went neither to the Rāv's court nor to his home village of Bagrī.16 When Rāv Mālde sent his armies against Mērto in 1554, Prithirāj argued that he should also be allowed to attack Ajmer once again. But the Rāv disagreed, and Prithirāj then rode against Mērto and was killed there in battle.

Mahes Ghaṛṣṭiyot was one of the select thākurs of Mārvār whom Rāv Mālde's commander, Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvat (no. 65), chose to accompany him in alliance with Pathān Hājī Khān, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr's, against Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvat of Cītōr (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). These armies met at Harmāro village17 in January of 1557, and were victorious against the Rāṇo and his allies. Then, in 1562, Mahes was among Rāv Mālde's military servants stationed at the Mālgadh in Mērto under the command of Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvat. He was killed here along with his two brothers, Īsār and Rājāsingh, fighting against Mērtīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīrādevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Hūsayn.

Mahes Ghaṛṣṭiyot granted the village of Bīnjā ṛo Vās18 to the Viṭhū Cāraṇ Dūdo Vidāvat in sāṃsan. No date is recorded for this grant, but Mahes probably

----


16 Bagrī village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.

17 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevār.

18 Bīnjā ṛo Vās: located twenty-one miles east of Jodhpur and twelve miles southwest of Jāmpīr.
made it during the time he held Ajmer in *patō* from Rāv Mālde between 1535 and 1543.

Figure 22. Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhōḥs

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
    (2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat
    (3-1) Rāv Cūṇḍo Vīramot (Cūṇḍāvats)

(4-1) Rāv Kāṅho  (4-2) Rāv Sato  (4-3) Rāvat Riṇḍhīr  (4-4) Araṅkamaḷ  (4-5) Rāv Riṇmal
    Cūṇḍāvat  Cūṇḍāvat  Cūṇḍāvat  Cūṇḍāvat  Cūṇḍāvat (Riṇmalots)

(5-1) Bhārmal  (5-2) Āskaraṇ  (5-3) Narbad  (5-4) Nāpo  (5-5) Rāv Jodho
    Kāṅhāvat  Satāvat  Satāvat  Riṇḍhīrot  Riṇmalot (Jodhos)

(6-1) Ghaṛṣī Bhārmalot

(7-1) Īsar Ghaṛṣīyat  (7-2) Mahes Ghaṛṣīyat  (7-3) Rājsīṅh Ghaṛṣīyat
The Identity of the Rathors

The Idareco (or Ídariyo) Rathors descend from Sonag Sihāvat. Sonag was a son of Rāv Siho Sētramoto’s (d. 1273), who is considered the founding ancestor of the Mārvār Rāthors. Among Rāv Siho’s sons, Āsthān Sihāvat established his rule at Kher and Mahevo in western Mārvār, while Sonag established himself at Ídar. A third brother, Ajo (Ajmāl), is said to have ruled at Dhāṭ in the Umarkot-Parkar area of what is now southwestern Pakistan.

According to Rāṭhoro traditions (Vīr Vinod, 2:994-995), Sonag left Mārvār as a young man and went to Gujarāt, where he took service under Solaṅki Rāja Bhimdev of Anhilvār-Pātṭan. He received lands there in return for his service, and soon established himself in a position of power. Ídar was then under the rule of Koli Sāṃvliyo Sōr. His father, Koli Hāṭhī Sōr, had been a servant of Parihār Rāja Amarsingh’s. The Rājā entrusted Hāṭhī Sōr with the administration of Ídar when he joined Prithvirāj Cauhān in 1192 in battle against Shihāb-al-dīn Moḥammad Ghōrī (d. 1206). Rājā Amarsingh was killed in this battle, and Hāṭhī Sōr then assumed the rulership of Ídar. This rule passed to his son, Sāṃvliyo, on his death.

Sāṃvliyo was not a benevolent ruler. He is said to have gained the distrust of his pradhān, Nāgar Brahmaṇ, because he sought to force Nāgar to marry a daughter to him. Nāgar complained to Rāṭhoro Rāv Sonag. Rāv Sonag saw an opportunity and agreed to help. He gathered three hundred of his Rajpūts and came in secret to hide at Nāgar’s residence. Nāgar then called Sāṃvliyo Sōr for the marriage. Sāṃvliyo arrived with his sāth in grand procession, and Nāgar received them with suitable hospitality, supplying them with much liquor to drink. As soon as they were intoxicated, the Rāṭhors fell on them with their swords. Only Sāṃvliyo escaped, fleeing toward the fort of Ídar. Sonag’s Rajpūts found and killed him there before the gate of the fort, and they used his blood to place the tiko of succession on Sonag’s forehead, confirming him as the new ruler of Ídar.

Sonag’s assumption of rulership at Ídar is placed in 1256-57.

Little information is available about Rāv Narāyaṇḍās Pūṇjāvat. He ruled Ídar from the 1550s into the 1580s. He figures in the texts under consideration.
because he took part in the battle of Harmāro in January of 1557 as an ally of Sīsodiyō Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvāt (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh's forces suffered defeat at Harmāro against the combined armies of Paṭāhār Ḥāji Khān and Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvāt of Jodhpur (1532-62) under the command of Rāṭhōṛ Devīdās Jaitāvāt (no. 65).

Rāv Nārāyāṇḍās maintained a presence in Īḍār during this period as an ally of the Rāṇōs of Mevār. He remained outside of Mughal control into the mid-1570s. Akbar Nāmā, 3:48-49, mentions that following Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt in early 1573, Akbar sent a force to Dūṅgārāpur by way of Īḍār, and notes:

The Rānā [of Udaipur] and other zamindars of the neighborhood [including Rāv Nārāyāṇḍās of Īḍār] were to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage, and the disobedient were to be punished.

There was no recognition of Mughal suzerainty until a number of years later, however, and Rāv Nārāyāṇḍās remained ambivalent toward Mughal control. Akbar Nāmā, 3:59, mentions that in July/August of 1573, "Rai Nārājn," the zamīndār of Īḍār, joined with Ikhtīyār-īl-mulk in his revolt against Akbar, but then notes, 3:92, that in September of 1573, following Akbar's suppression of the revolt in Gujarāt:

The Zamīndār [of Īḍār], Nārājn Dās Rāṭhōṛ, recognized the arrival of the imperial officers as a great honour and went forward to welcome them. He presented suitable gifts . . .

A note to this passage records that Abu'l Fazl noted of Rāv Nārāyāṇḍās that he was such an austere Hindu he only ate the grains of corn that had been voided by a cow.

Recognition of the Mughals was short-lived, for Akbar Nāmā, 3:268, mentions that in September/October of 1576, Rāv Nārāyāṇḍās "lifted his head in sedition" with the Rāṇō of Mevār, Pratāpsīṅgh Udaisīṅghot (ca. 1572-97). Rāv Nārāyāṇḍās was Rāṇo Pratāpsīṅgh's wife's father (susro), and had joined with him in his running battle against the Mughals. Vir Vinod, 2:995, states that Akbar sequestered Īḍār at this time, but Akbar did not consolidate his control over this area until his conquest of Īḍār in 1577. This Mughal victory was a bloody, hard-fought affair, during which:

The daring Rajpūṭs made ready their spears and encountered [the Mughal force under Sher Khān]. There were wondrous hand-to-

---

2 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhno in northern Mevār.

3 Akbar Nāmā, 3:92, n. 2.
hand combats. The jewel of courage was brought to the test and acquired fresh brilliancy (Akbar Nāma, 3:281).

Rāv Narāyāndās submitted to Akbar following the conquest and agreed to send his son, Kumvar Viramde Narāyāndāsot, to the Mughal court. Akbar granted Īdar to the Rāv in return. No details are available about events following the conquest, but Rāv Narāyāndās appears to have been inconstant in his loyalty. Akbar Nāma, 3:389, notes that in early 1579:

As the government of Gujarat had been entrusted to Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad K., he (Wazīr) had been ordered to Īdar. In a short time the Rai of that country submitted and fell to supplication. The country was given to him (the Rai) and he came to do homage.

A last entry about Rāv Narāyāndās in Akbar Nāma, 3:632, indicates that the Rāv remained in Mughal service after 1579. In December of 1583 he rode as part of the left wing of the Mughal army which marched to put down Sultān Muzaffar's rebellion at Ahmadabad in Gujarat. Rāṭhōr Moṭo Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot (1583-95), who had only recently been confirmed as ruler of Jodhpur, was also part of the left wing.

No further information is available about Rāv Narāyāndās. The date and circumstances of his death are unknown. He was succeeded in Īdar by his son, Viramde Narāyāndāsot.
Jaitāvat Rāṭhoṛs

(no. 66) Bhākharsi Jaitāvat (8-3)
(no. 65) Devidās Jaitāvat (8-2)
(no. 61) Jaito Pañcāinot (7-1)
(no. 63) Prithirāj Jaitāvat (8-1)
(no. 64) Pūraṇmal Prithirājot (9-1)
(no. 62) Udaisiṅgh Jaitāvat (8-4)

(no. 61) Jaito Pañcāinot (7-1)
(no. 62) Udaisiṅgh Jaitāvat (8-4)

The Jaitāvat Rāṭhoṛs descend from Jaito Pañcāinot, a son of Pañcāin Akhairājot's (6-1) and grandson of Akhairāj Rīṇmalot's (5-1),1 whose father, Rāv Rīṇmal Cāṅḍāvat, (4-1), ruled Māṇḍor (ca. 1428-38). Among the Rāṭhoṛs of the early sixteenth century, Jaito rose to a position of great power and influence alongside his paternal cousin, Kūmpo Mahirājot (no. 95). For more than twenty years, from the early 1520s until his death in January of 1544 at the battle of Samel,2 Jaito served under the Jodhpur rulers, Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat (1515-32), and his son, Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (1532-62), as one of their foremost Rajputs. Jaito assumed a preeminent position alongside Kūmpo Mahirājot during Rāv Mālde's rule as a commander of the Rāv's armies in battle, as an administrator of his kingdom, and as his close personal advisor.

Little information is available about Jaito's family. His father, Pañcāin Akhairājot, appears to have succeeded to the rule of Bagrī village3 sometime in the latter half of the fifteenth century, following the death of his grandfather, Akhairāj Rīṇmalot (5-1). Bagrī had become Akhairāj's seat of rule in 1429-30 during his father, Rāv Rīṇmal's, consolidation of authority at Māṇḍor and extension of his rule over areas of eastern Mārvār. Texts vary in their discussion of how Bagrī came under Rāṭhoṛ rule. Some attribute its conquest from the Śīndhaḷs to Rāv Rīṇmal, while others state that is was Akhairāj himself who defeated and killed Carṇo Śīndhaḷ before Bagrī. In all likelihood, Akhairāj played a leading role in this eastward expansion of Rāṭhoṛ authority from Māṇḍor, and established a strong presence at Bagrī early in his father's reign. These lands were lost to Akhairāj and the Rāṭhoṛs ca. 1438, when Rāv Rīṇmal was murdered at Cīṭor and the Śīsdīyos overran eastern Mārvār and occupied

1 See supra, "Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛs," for more information about Akhairāj Rīṇmalot. Vigat, 1:56, refers to Jaito Pañcāinot as an "Akhairājot," which was consistent with the time in which he lived.

2 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

3 Bagrī village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.

Maṇḍor. But when Rāv Rīṃmal’s son and chosen successor, Jodho Rīṃmalot, reasserted Rāṭhōr rule at Maṇḍor ca. 1453 and then founded Jodhpur in 1459, he confirmed Akhairāj in his possession of Bagrī village.

Paṅcāiṅ Akhairājot’s activities in Mārvār are unknown save for his involvement in the promotion of Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat’s (ca. 1492-1515) successor to the Jodhpur throne in 1515. Rāv Sūjo’s chosen successor (pāṭví kumvār) was his grandson, Vīramde Vāghāvat (no. 84). Vīramde did succeed to the throne, but he was quickly deposed in favor of another of Rāv Sūjo’s grandsons, Gāṅgo Vāghāvat. According to the Khyāṭ of Naiṅsī, 3:80-81, the choice of successor lay with a faction of Rāṭhōrs who favored Gāṅgo over Vīramde. The Khyāṭ tells the following story about Gāṅgo’s selection:

Four Mārū thākurs came to Jodhpur on some occasion during the latter part of Rāv Sūjo’s rule. The rains began while they were at Jodhpur, preventing them from returning to their camps. Being in need of provisions, the thākurs sent word to Vīramde Vāghāvat’s mother, the Devrl Cahuvan Rāṅgāde, asking her to provide for them. The Rajputanī replied that the thākurs should cover themselves with their own woolen garments and proceed to their camps. She questioned, “Who will feed you here?” The thākurs then sent word to Gāṅgo Vāghāvat’s mother, the Cahuvaṅ Udabāṅ. This Rajpūṭāṅi responded in a very different manner:

Thākurs! Please be seated in the hall of audience (darīkhāno). We will perform many services [for you].

The thākurs came away very satisfied, and they sent a message to Gāṅgo’s mother as they were leaving:

"Your son, Gāṅgo, has the good fortune of [receiving] Jodhpur."

. . . Then the Rāṅī had blessings conveyed [to the thākurs]. And [she] said: "Jī, we acquired Jodhpur only because of your influence. He alone receives to whom you give."

This favoritism for Gāṅgo Vāghāvat’s family played a key role in securing Gāṅgo’s later succession to the throne. Local texts indicate that following Rāv Sūjo’s death in 1515, this faction of thākurs seated Gāṅgo on the throne in place of his elder half-brother, Vīramde. "Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 37, records that these thākurs, who included Paṅcāiṅ Akhairājot and Bhairavdās Cāṃpāvat, unseated Vīramde and placed Gāṅgo on the throne in his stead. The Khyāṭ of Naiṅsī, 3:81, notes that the thākurs:

---

4 Khyāṭ, 3:80, incorrectly identifies Vīramde’s mother as a Sīsodī. One of Vīramde’s father, Vāgho Sūjāvat’s, wives was a Rāṅgāvat Sīsodī. She was the mother of Vīramde’s half-brother, Jaitṛi Vāghāvat (no. 85).

5 For further information about Bhairavdās Cāṃpāvat, see supra, "Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhōrs."
grasped Viramde [Vāghāvat] by the arm and took him down from the fort [of Jodhpur], and [then] gave the tiko to Gānggo.

In compensation, Viramde Vāghāvat received the lands of Sojhat as his share of patrimony, a share with which he was never satisfied.

Pañcān's son, Jaito Pañcāṅnot, succeeded his father to the rule of Bagrī village. Under Jaito, this village became the homeland (utan) of the Jaitāvat Rāthors. Bagrī was located very near Sojhat and came within Viramde Vāghāvat's share of land, and Jaito quickly became involved in the conflict that emerged between Rāv Gāṅgo of Jodhpur and his elder, half-brother, Viramde, who was rāv of Sojhat.

The feeling pervaded Rāv Gāṅgo's court that as long as Jaito held Bagrī village and kept his vasī there, Rāv Gāṅgo's Rajpūts would be unable to gain an upper hand against Rāv Viramde and his pradhān, Mumhato Rāymal Khetāvat (no. 159). Jaito was seen to straddle both sides of this conflict. The Khyāt of Nainī, 3:81-82, states:


Jaito kept his vasī at Bagrī under the supervision of his dhāy-bhā (lit. "milk-brother"), Reṣo, who refused to vacate the ancestral lands. In an attempt to prevent their having to leave, Reṣo went to Sojhat to seek out Mumhato Rāymal and kill him. Mumhato Rāymal's wife discerned Reṣo's designs, however, and Mumhato Rāymal then killed Reṣo when Reṣo drew a weapon to attack him. News of Reṣo's death quickly reached Bagrī and spread fear among the people of the vasī. Only then did they make ready and depart the village for Jodhpur territory.

When Jaito's people left Bagrī, Rāv Gāṅgo ordered Jaito to recruit Rāv Viramde's leading warrior, Rāṭhor Kūmpo Maharājot (no. 95), and bring him to Jodhpur. Jaito accomplished this feat with the lure of a large grant of villages worth one lakh, to be chosen from among Jodhpur's finest. He also had Rāv Gāṅgo send word to Kūmpo stating that the conflict between Sojhat and Jodhpur was of no real consequence, for Rāv Viramde had no sons, and after his death, Sojhat would revert to Jodhpur. Kūmpo finally agreed to come to Jodhpur if Rāv Gāṅgo would not to attack Sojhat for one year. Rāv Gāṅgo readily accepted this condition, and shortly after Kūmpo's arrival at Jodhpur ca. 1529, Rāv Gāṅgo

---

6 Bilārō village: located twenty-one miles north-northwest of Bagrī in Jodhpur territory.
was able to gain the upper hand against his half-brother. He eventually drove Rāv Vīramde from Sojhat and then from Mārvār altogether.

While Jaito played an important role in Mārvār under Rāv Gāng, he rose to particular prominence under Rāv Gāng's son and successor, Rāv Mālde Gāngāvat (1532-62). Jaito became a leader of Rāv Mālde's armies and one of the closest advisors to the throne.

Local texts present a picture of Jaito during Rāv Mālde's rule as a powerful figure torn between loyalty and duty to the Rāv and concern for the lands of Mārvār and the values of brotherhood among the Rāthors, which Rāv Mālde openly violated. "Aītīhāsik Bātāṃ," p. 57, describes Jaito as:

a great thākur, one who upheld a great vow. [He] did not allow Rāv Mālde to act improperly.

Jaito fell into disagreement with the Rāv over the Rāv's desire to conquer areas of Mārvār and beyond that were under the control of Rāthors. Rāv Mālde spoke of these conquests shortly after his accession, and Jaito remarked:

"The offense of killing one's family members/brothers (gotrakadamb - lit. 'gotra-destruction') will not be committed by me" (ibid.).

Jaito's reply made the Rāv feel downhearted, so Jaito quickly responded:

"Do not be downhearted. We will perform the tasks you tell [us to do]. . . ." Then Jaíto summoned Kūmpo Mahirajot and had the Rāvjī grasp [his] arm. [And he] said to the Rāvjī, "Rāj, [you] should uphold Kūmpo's honor and prestige." And to Kūmpo, [he] said, "You should perform [whatever] tasks the Rāv tells [you to do]" (ibid., pp. 57-58).

The conflict between duty to one's master and the values of brotherhood came most sharply into focus with respect to Rāv Mālde's hostility toward the Mērtīyo Rāthors. Rāv Mālde had held enmity toward the Mērtīyos since he was a kumvar. When he became rāv of Jodhpur, he pursued this hostility at every opportunity. But Vigat, 2:48, 51, notes that Jaito, Kūmpo Mahirajot, and other of the Rāv's Rajpūts would not involve themselves in his plots and deceptions. Following one unsuccessful intrigue planned in secret from Jaito and Kūmpo, Rāv Mālde "was disgraced in Jaito and Kūmpo's presence." This intrigue involved Rāv Mālde's drawing Mērtīyo Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat (no. 105) to Jodhpur to participate in an expedition against the Sindhals of Bhādṛājun.7 At the same time, he incited Khānzāda Khān Daulat Khān of Nagaur (no. 154) to attack Merto, which had been left unprotected, and he drew Pañvār Pāncāin of Cātśū (no. 24) into the area to settle an old vair with the Mērtīyos. He also

7 Bhādṛājun village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
urged Varsinghot Mertiyo Rāv Gāngo Sihāvat (no. 149) to move against Merto and cause additional disruption. None of these ploys proved successful.

"Aitihasik Bātām," p. 58, records that when these intrigues against Merto began, Mertiyo Rāv Vīramde sent word to Jaito, asking him to entreat Rāv Mālde to allow the Mertiyoś to perform the Rāv's service. Jaito did so, but to no avail, for the Rāv would not countenance any accommodation with the Mertiyoś.

Rāv Māldeś Rajpūts finally met Rāv Vīramde in battle at the village of Reyām8 ca. 1535. This battle followed Rāv Vīramdeś occupation of Ajmer and his refusal to hand over this city to Rāv Mālde when the Rāv demanded it. Rāv Mālde then moved into Merto lands and occupied them, distributing the villages among Rajpūts in his own service, one of whom was Varsinghot Mertiyo Sahaiso Tejslyot (no. 151). Sahaiso was a former military servant of Rāv Vīramdeś, but he had left Rāv Vīramde and taken service under Rāv Mālde. Sahaiso received the village of Reyām in pato from Rāv Mālde in return for his offer of service. This action so enraged Rāv Vīramde that he launched a precipitous attack against Reyām in opposition to the advice of his own Rajpūts. Jaito rode to Reyām along with Kūmpo Mahirajot and other of Rāv Māldeś Rajpūts from the garrison of Rārōd9 where he had been stationed, and he took part in the bloody fighting there. Rāv Vīramde was badly defeated and many of his Rajpūts killed. But Jaito was among those Rāṭhors who prevented Rāv Vīramdeś death and allowed him to leave Mārvār. Several sources state that Jaito felt Rāv Vīramde should live because he was a great warrior. Bānkīdās, p. 12, records that Jaito remarked to Kūmpo Mahirajot:

Vīramde should not be killed: Vīramde is a great Rajpūt. If he remains alive, he will bring someone [to aid him against Rāv Mālde], and [thereby] shape his own death.

It was perhaps because of Jaitoś outspokenness against gotrakadamb that Rāv Mālde placed Jaito in command of his armies only when they marched against Nāgaūr, which they conquered in 1536. The Rāvś other campaigns against both Rāṭhors and other Rajpūts prior to the battle of Samel in 1544 were led by Jaitoś paternal cousin, Kūmpo Mahirajot. Jaito was stationed at the garrison of Rārōd prior to the conquest of Nāgaūr. Rārōd is located midway between Jodhpur and Nāgaūr, and one of Jaitoś brothers, Aclo Pañcānīrot (7-2), was killed when the garrison came under attack from Nāgaūr. The Rāṭhors launched a series of raids into Nāgaūr territory in retaliation, and ultimately undertook the conquest of Nāgaūr itself. To end the vaiṛ that had arisen with Acloś death, a daughter of the Tāṅk Rajpūts was married to Jaito, while Rāv Mālde received Harsolāv village10 and twenty-one others from Nāgaūr.

---

8 Reyām village: located fifteen miles southeast of Merto.

9 Rārōd village: located forty-nine miles west-northwest of Reyām, and forty-four miles northeast of Jodhpur.

10 Harsolāv village: located twenty-nine miles south of Nāgaūr and six miles east of Jodhpur.
Jaito himself received a gift of rs.15,000 from the residents of Hirāvārī village\(^{11}\) of Nāgaур. He had made his camp in this village and the residents are said to have made this gift in gratitude to Jaito for preventing the looting of their homes. Jaito had a stepwell constructed with this gift in the nearby village of Rājlaṇī.\(^{12}\)

Jaito's activities during the years between 1536 and the battle of Samel in 1544 are not recorded in the sources at hand. It is possible that he spent most of his time with Rāv Mālde, either at Jodhpur or on tour during military operations. The texts do not mention Jaito except in connection with the conquest of Bīkāner in 1542. Despite Jaito's concerns about the Rāṭhor brotherhood, there are indications that he could be both haughty and cruel in his attitudes toward both Rāṭhor and other Rajpūts whom he met in battle. Jaito's participation in the battle for Bīkāner provides an example. It was on this occasion that he accompanied Kūmpo Mahirājot and the armies of Jodhpur against Bīkāvat Rāṭhor Rāv Jaitsi Lūnkaraṇot (1526-42). They met at the village of Sohavo (near Bīkāner) in February of 1542. Rāv Jaitsi was killed there and his army routed with great loss.

Jaito and Kūmpo's actions at Sohavo are recorded in a manuscript from Bīkāner,\(^{13}\) which states that prior to the main engagement, Jaito and Kūmpo sent pradhāns to Rāv Jaitsi to order his submission to Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur. The pradhāns were directed to say to Rāv Jaitsi, "You go before [Rāv] Mālde [and] bow your nose." This manuscript indicates that while the Bīkāner Rāṭhors with Rāv Jaitsi wished to submit to Rāv Mālde, a Sāṅkhlo Pāmvār, Mahes, who was a military servant of Rāv Jaitsi's holding villages of Bīkāner in paṭo, shamed them into fighting by proclaiming that "being killed on the field is honorable."

The pradhāns reported back to Jaito and Kūmpo that they had been unable to reach a settlement with the Bīkāner Rāṭhors because of the Sāṅkhlo's words. Jaito and Kūmpo then sent for Sāṅkhlo Mahes and asked him angrily why he was trying to "ruin" the Rāṭhors. Sāṅkhlo Mahes replied that he had merely caused the Bīkāner Rāṭhors to answer the Jodhpur proposal in an appropriate manner.

---

11 Hirāvārī village: located four miles west-northwest of Harsolāv village.

12 Rājlaṇī village: located ten miles south of Hirāvārī and eight miles south-southwest of Harsolāv. An inscription to one side of the stepwell contains details about its construction. It was begun on October 23, 1537 and completed on October 29, 1540. 171 men and 221 women laborers worked along with 151 artisans and craftsmen. The construction required 15 mans of cotton for cord and string, 520 mans of iron for clamps and balls placed on the heads of hammers, 321 wagons to bring the iron from the Arāvalī hills, and 121 mans of jute. In addition, 221 mans of poppy, 721 mans of salt, 1,121 mans of ghi, 2,555 mans of wheat, 11,121 mans of other grains, and 5 mans of opium were brought to feed the laborers and craftsmen. See: Reu, 1:117, n. 1.

After their victory at Sohavo, Jaito and Kumpo walked over the field counting the fallen. They searched especially for Sānkhlo Mahes's body, and when they could not find it, they chided the Sānkhlo in his absence, saying:

It looks as if the Sānkhlo has fled. Nice indeed! After all the fine things he was saying! [Now be sure that] if the Sānkhlo is [lying] anywhere, he is lying on the field of battle in [his] women's apartments!

Soon thereafter, however, they found the Sānkhlo lying on the field, moaning. They asked him derisively if he moaned because he was in pain. He replied that he moaned because inferior men had killed Rāv Jaitsī. Jaito and Kumpo then abused the Sānkhlo, exclaiming, "Throw dust in his mouth." An augur who witnessed these happenings remarked, "This land, the Sānkhlo [now] hold it in [his] jaws."

In January of 1544 Jaito again assumed a major role in the affairs of Mārvār along with his paternal cousin, Kumpo Mahirajot. They gathered to meet Meṛtīyo Rāv Viramde Dūdāvat and Sher Shāh Sūr in battle at Samel.

Jaito’s position before Samel, like that of his cousin, Kumpo’s, was both as leader of the Rāv’s forces and as protector of the lands of Mārvār. The circumstances that brought the rupture among Rāv Mālde’s warriors and caused the Rāv to retreat from his camp at Girri14 prior to battle are unclear. It seems certain, however, that Meṛtīyo Rāv Viramde was able to instill suspicions within Rāv Mālde’s mind about the loyalty of his Rajputs. Jaito and Kumpo both spent much time in negotiations with the Rāv through intermediaries. In the end, they refused to obey his command to retreat before the Muslim army and leave the land their ancestors had conquered open to the enemy. Rāv Mālde left his camp precipitously on the night before the main engagement without informing either Jaito or Kumpo, taking a large number of Rajputs with him in retreat.

With Rāv Mālde’s departure, Jaito and Kumpo both realized that they could not defeat the opposing forces in open battle. They decided, therefore, to organize a surprise night attack. This stratagem failed, however, for the Rāthors were unable to locate Sher Shāh’s camp in the dark. The next day as the battle closed, Jaito and Kumpo dismounted from their horses in the safety of a river bank and ate opium with the water of the river, then rode off against the opposing forces. They managed to destroy an advance guard of Sher Shāh’s army, and Jaito himself is credited with knocking Jalāl Jalūko, an Afghan chief in Sher Shāh’s service, from his horse with his lance. He is said to have hurled his lance with such force that he broke both of the horse’s front legs (see "Aitiḥāsik Batam," pp. 42-44 of the translated text for details of this battle).

Jaito was killed at Samel fighting alongside two of his sons, Devidās Jaitāvat (8-2) (no. 65), who was wounded (see infra), and Udaisīṅgh Jaitāvat (8-4), who was killed. Udaisīṅgh appears to have been one of Rāv Mālde’s personal retainers. The texts mention his being posted outside the Rāv’s tent as a bodyguard prior to the battle.

---

14 Girri village: located ten miles west-southwest of Samel.
"Aitihasik Bātāṃ," p. 44, records that after the battle and the Rāthor defeat, Sher Shāh found the bodies of both Jāito and Kūmpo lying on the field. He had his men hold up Jāito’s body in order to look at him. He then said to Merṭīyo Rāv Vīramde, who was with him, that Jāito had done so much, and that if Rāv Mālde had stayed to fight, he might have lost the Empire of Delhi.

Jāito was sixty years old when he was killed at Samel.


(no. 63) Prithīrāj Jaitāvat (8-1)

Jāito Paṇcāṅgot's son, Prithīrāj Jaitāvat, was a powerful and influential Rāthor thākur in Mārvār under Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). He was born in 1524-25 during the rule of Rāv Gāngo Vāghāvat (1515-32). He rose to a position of authority equal to that of his father's at an early age. Mahēvco Rāvat Bhīṁvo of Bāharmer and Koṭp in western Mārvār, against whom Prithīrāj came in battle, spoke of him as a Rajput with a "brown mustache, [whose] body [is] of great height and stature, a thākur," and "a brother, a most excellent [one]" ("Aitihasik Bātāṃ," p. 47).

Following Prithīrāj's death at the battle of Meṛto in 1554, a local chronicle records that Rāv Mālde grew worried, for "there was no Rajpūt like [Prithīrāj]" (ibid., p. 50). Prithīrāj was both ruthless and haughty as a warrior. But he was also a man who commanded great respect on the field of battle. It was said that he had received a boon from a Jogī that prevented any weapon from striking him from the front (Khyāt, 3:120).

As early as 1540-41, when Prithīrāj was approximately sixteen years of age, he accompanied his friend, Udāvat Rāthoṛ Tejśī Dūṅgarsīyot (no. 138), on a raid against the Paṃvārs of Cāṭsū in central Rājasthān. Cāṭsū lies some thirty-five miles to the south of Āmber. It was one of the areas over which Rāv Mālde asserted his authority following his occupation of Ājmer ca. 1535. But the raid on Cāṭsū also appears to have been initiated by Tejśī Dūṅgarsīyot who desired to take revenge to settle an old vair against the Paṃvārs. He sent nine elephants to Rāv Mālde as spoils of his success there. Rāv Mālde had a small fort built at Cāṭsū as an outpost of his kingdom.

---

15 See supra, "Paṃvārs of Cāṭsū," and infra, "Udāvat Rāthoṛs." It is possible that there were a series of raids against Cāṭsū in which Udāvat Tejśī Dūṅgarsīyot participated, with the first of these coming as early as ca. 1536.
Local chronicles do not record any of Prithiraj's activities between 1541 and January of 1544, when his father, Jaito Pāṇcāṇot (7-1) (no. 61), and his brother, Udaisingh Jaitāvat (8-4) (no. 62), were killed in battle at Samel. Prithiraj was at Samel, but he accompanied Rāv Mālde into exile in the hills near Sīvāṇo. It is possible that he, like his brother, Udaisingh, had served as a personal attendant of the Rāv's, but unlike Udaisingh, he withdrew with the Rāv instead of remaining behind to fight and die.

Mānsingh Jaitāvat (8-5), another of Prithiraj's brothers, refused to follow Rāv Mālde into exile, even when summoned to do so. He remained behind in Mārvār and met with Sher Shāh's people to effect an accommodation. Mānsingh was thereby able to remain in possession of the Jaitāvat village of Bagrī. However, the Muslims later killed Mānsingh for unexplained reasons.

Rāv Mālde quickly reoccupied Jodhpur following Sher Shāh's death in 1545, and began returning villages to his Rajpūts in paṭo. But he withheld Bagrī from Prithiraj, because of his anger about Mānsingh's actions. It was not until Rāv Mālde's pradhān, Cāmpāvat Jeso Bhairavdāsot (no. 48), intervened on Prithiraj's behalf that Rāv Mālde granted Bagrī to Prithiraj. "Aitihasik Bātāṃ," p. 46, records:

Jeso Bhairavdāsot persisted very stubbornly and had Bagrī given [to Prithiraj]. Prithiraj was yet a young man.

A short time thereafter, Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat of Mevār (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) formed an army to march against Mārvār in order to seize lands that Rāv Mālde had taken from him earlier. The threat of this attack worried Rāv Mālde greatly because most of his leading warriors had been killed at Samel. He was forced to rely heavily upon his pradhān, Jeso Bhairavdāsot, to reach an accommodation with the Rāṇo. Jeso advised the Rāv to marry one of his daughters to the Rāṇo to placate him, and to give him a large dowry of horses and elephants along with fifty villages from Sojhat and Goḍhvār. The Rāv agreed to do as Jeso advised, and letters of endorsement were made ready. But Prithiraj then learned of this plan, and he strongly objected to any accommodation with the Rāṇo. He organized a concerted front of Mārvār Rāṭhors instead. There was the "sway of the Rāvī. [And] the paramount influence of Rāṭhor Prithiraj" ("Aitihasik Bātāṃ," p. 47).

In the face of this resolve, the Sisodiys withdrew from Mārvār and hostilities were averted. Rāv Mālde's grant of Bagrī to Prithiraj at Jeso Bhairavdāsot's bidding had proven beneficial.

One of Rāv Mālde's sons, Kuṃvar Rām Māldevot by his wife, Rāṇī Kachvāhī Lachapdejī, imprisoned his father at the fort of Jodhpur in 1547 in an attempt to seize power in Mārvār. Kuṃvar Rām then approached Prithiraj and asked him to join with him in the overthrow of the Rāv. Prithiraj delayed his

---

16 Bagrī village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat.

reply and informed the pradhān, Jeso Bhairavdāsot, who then formulated a plan with Prithirāj to free the Rāv and to blockade the gates of the fort at Jodhpur while Kunḍvar Rām was at a feast at Maṇḍor. Prithirāj and Jeso Bhairavdāsot put their plan successfully into action, thereby preventing Rāv Mālde’s overthrow, and Kunḍvar Rām was forced to abandon Jodhpur for Gundoc 18 along with his mother and his personal retainers.

Prithirāj participated in several campaigns in western and northwestern Mārvār between 1550 and 1552 in order to bring these areas under Rāv Mālde’s control. In 1550 Prithirāj rode against Phālōdhī and Pokaran. 19 Narāvat Rāthoṛ descendants of Naro Sūjāvat, a son of Rāv Sūjō Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515), held these forts. The Narāvats were closely allied with the Bhātīs of Jaisalmer, from whom they had received daughters in marriage. When Rāv Mālde’s force under the command of his pradhān, Jeso Bhairavdāsot, approached Phālōdhī, Narāvat Jaitmāl Goindot sent word to Jaisalmer Rāvāḷ Mālde Lūṅkaraṇot (1549-60) for aid. Rāvāḷ Mālde dispatched his son, Kunḍvar Harrāj Māldevoṭ, to Pokaran. Fighting broke out at Phālōdhī and then Pokaran, but Rāv Mālde’s Rajpūts were able to occupy both forts. The Rāv then sent his warriors against the Mahevcos Rāthoṛs of Bāharmer and Koṭro in western Mārvār. They were also victorious there and they brought Mahevcov Rāvāt Bāṁvo into Rāv Mālde’s service.

It was during these expeditions that Prithirāj’s prowess as a warrior came to Rāv Mālde’s notice. Local chronicles differ regarding detail. Vigat, 2:4-5, records that it was during the battle for Pokaran against Bhātī Kunḍvar Harrāj Māldevoṭ that Prithirāj’s prowess was first evidenced. The Vigat relates that when the fighting ended, several Rajpūts came before the presence of the Rāv carrying lances that were red with the blood of battle, while Prithirāj approached with a clean lance. The Rāv noticed this difference and questioned Jeso Bhairavdāsot, concerned that Pnthiraj had done no fighting that day. Jeso then showed the Rāv the underside of Prithirāj’s shirt, where Prithirāj had cleaned his lance, and he told the Rāv in great detail about Prithirāj’s exploits during the battle. He said, “The battle was won because of his valor.” Rāv Mālde was very pleased with Prithirāj.

"Aitiḥāsīk Bāṭāṃ," p. 47, tells that it was following the campaign against Bāharmer and Koṭro that Prithirāj came to Rāv Mālde’s notice, and that it was then that Prithirāj was promoted to be the commander of his army (senāpati). During the action against Rāvat Bāṁvo and the Mahevcos, Prithirāj is said to have struck Rāvat Bāṁvo with his lance (barcī) and then wiped the lance clean of blood stains with his shirt. There were again questions about Prithirāj’s performance because his lance was clean, while those of other Rajpūts still bore the marks of fighting. When Rāvat Bāṁvo was brought before the Rāv, however, he praised Prithirāj, saying:

---

18 Gundoc village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

19 Phālōdhī and Pokaran are located seventy-two miles north-northwest and eighty-three miles northwest of Jodhpur, respectively.
[this one with the] brown mustache, [whose] body [is] of great height and stature, a thākur . . . [he] struck me [with his] lance.

Rāvat Bhīmvo added that Prithīrāj was "a brother, a most excellent [one]." Rāv Mālde is said to have held Prithīrāj in very high esteem and to have made him the commander of his army.

Rāv Mālde sent his Rajpūts under Prithīrāj and his pradhān, Jeso Bhairavdāsot, against Jaisālmēr in September or October of 1552. Prithīrāj proceeded to Maṇḍor before his departure along with Rāv Mālde's son, Kuṃvar Rāymal Māldevot, and two purohits, Rāymal and Neto, in order to worship at the shrines there. He was then given leave to proceed against the Jaisālmēr. Upon reaching the land of the Bhatīs, he looted and burned along the way to the city of Jaisālmēr, where he encamped with his men in the city's gardens and orchards. The Rāvaḷ of Jaisālmēr remained closed within the fort during this occupation. Scattered fighting took place in the city, but the Rāṭhōrs left without capturing the fort. Prithīrāj did much damage while there, and had all of the trees in the gardens and orchards cut down with the exception of one pīpāḷ tree, alongside which he made his camp. This tree became known as "Prithīrāj's pīpāḷ."

The *Khyāt* of Naisī, 1:60, and "Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭāṃ," pp. 56-57, both record that Prithīrāj led Rāv Mālde's warriors in an attack against Ajmer. No date is given for this expedition, but the *Khyāt* states that Pathān Hājī Khān was in occupation of Ajmer at the time. This statement would be incorrect if Prithīrāj were involved in this attack. Hājī Khān did not take possession of Ajmer until 1556, shortly before the battle of Harmāro against Sisodīyo Rāṇo Udaisīṅgḥ Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17), which took place in January of 1557. These events took place two years after Prithīrāj's death at the battle of Meṛto in 1554.

If Prithīrāj did lead this attack against Ajmer, it would have taken place in 1553-54. The sources relate that Prithīrāj rode on the campaign with Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhōr Mahēs Gharṣīyot (no. 58), who had held Ajmer in *pato* from Rāv Mālde during the years 1535-43. The Rāṭhōr army is said to have raided the town and attacked the fort. Several of Mahēs's retainers managed to climb the walls of the fort and proclaim a victory for Mahēsji. "Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭāṃ," p. 57, notes that this action deterred the Rīṁmalots21 who were with Prithīrāj, dampening their enthusiasm to advance further. They said:

We would die [in battle], and the proclamation [of victory would be the Cūṇḍāvat] Mahēsji's, so for what reason [should we advance]?

The Muslims in the fort called upon the aid of Sisodīyo Rāṇo Udaisīṅgḥ, and while Prithīrāj wished to do battle with the Rāṇo, his Rajpūts resisted, saying:

---

20 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevār.

21 Rīṁmalots: the descendants of Rāv Rīṁmal Cūṇḍāvat, ruler of Maṇḍor, ca. 1428-38.
We will all die [together here]. Once before Rāv Mālde had great thākurs, so [they] were all killed in battle. And if we die, then the rulership (thākurāi) [of Rāv Mālde] will become weak (Khyāt, 1:60).

The Rajputs then brought Prithīrāj back to Mārvār.

This action shamed Prithīrāj. He stayed away from Rāv Mālde's court and would not even enter his village of Bagri. He preferred to encamp outside it. In the following days, Prithīrāj argued with the Rāv in favor of another attack on Ajmer. But the Rāv would not hear of it. He sent Prithīrāj instead against Mērtiyō Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107) at Merto in March of 1554.

Prithīrāj played a leading role in the events leading up to and during this attack on Merto. He was again in command of Rāv Mālde's forces that encamped at the village of Gāngarro22 just to the northwest of Merto proper. Prithīrāj sent out raiding parties that pillaged the lands around the town. Both he and Bālāvat Rāthor Nago Bhārmalot (no. 38) negotiated with Mērtiyō Rāv Jaimal's pradhāns, the Jaitmalots Akhairāj Bhādāvat (no. 69) and Cāndrāj Jodhāvat (no. 74), when Rāv Jaimal sent them to Rāv Mālde's camp to seek an accommodation. Local sources present differing views of Prithīrāj's role in these negotiations. "Aitihāsik Batam," p. 48, records that Prithīrāj and a number of other Rajputs entreated Rāv Mālde on behalf of the Mērtiyōs. But the Khyāt of Naṁsi, 3:116-118, portrays Prithīrāj as a haughty and prideful thākur who was himself fully committed to the subordination of Merto to Jodhpur.

During the main battle for Merto, which occurred on the day following the abortive negotiations at Rāv Mālde's camp, Prithīrāj was in personal command of a large anī ("division of the army") that came before the Jodhpur Gate at Merto proper. He divided this anī into two groups as the fighting began. Here also, Prithīrāj showed great prowess as a warrior. He is said to have killed fourteen of Mērtiyō Rāv Jaimal's Rajputs with his own hands. At some time during the battle, he met with Rāv Jaimal's young son, Surtān Jaimalot (no. 113), whom he chided for coming before him, saying that Surtān should have sent his father instead. Prithīrāj then took Surtān's sword from him and awarded it to one of his military servants, Pīpārō Gahlot Ḥiṅgolo, to whom he had promised a sword.

Prithīrāj later confronted Jaitmālot Akhairāj Bhādāvat, who had sought him out. Prithīrāj used an exceptionally demeaning tone with Akhairāj, calling him a "dwarf" and asking him why he had delayed so long in coming. Akhairāj then attacked Prithīrāj and managed to strike him from behind, knowing that this was the only way he could defeat him. Prithīrāj fell from Akhairāj's blows. As he died, he is said to have left his curse upon Akhairāj.

Prithīrāj's sister's son (bhāneñ), Hul Gahlot Rāysal Rāmāvat, who was a military servant of Mērtiyō Rāv Jaimal's, found Prithīrāj lying on the field after the battle, and he built a cover to shade Prithīrāj's body from the sun. Rāv

---

22 Gāngarro village: located seven miles west-northwest of Merto.

Jaimal learned of this action, and he became angry with Räysal. Räysal then left Merto for the lands of Räv Mälde of Jodhpur (see "Aitihäsik Bätäm," pp. 48-49, of the translated text for a complete description of this battle and the events that followed).

Prithñraj was thirty years old when he was killed at Merto.

There was much talk about Prithñraj at the court of Sisodíyo Räño Udaisîsingh at Cîto in the wake of Prithñraj's death. Prithñraj's friend, Udâvat Tejsi Ðüngarsiyot, was at Cîto at this time. The Rajpûts there all acclaimed Prithñraj and his killing of fourteen men with his own hands. They asked if there were any among them who were his equal.

"Aitihäsik Bätäm," pp. 46-50, 56-57, 60-62, 66; Akbar Nâma, 2:72; Bänkیدås, p. 13; Khyät, 1:60, 3:116-121; Ma ngaíl Vyas,
Jodhpur Räjya kâ Ithäs (Jaypur: Pañcísíl Prakásañ, 1975), pp. 157-163; Murârdân, no. 2, pp. 128-129, 459; Ojhä, 4:1:310-
312, 317-318; Vigat, 1:59, 64-65, 2:4-5, 59.

(no. 64) Pûrañmal Prithñrajot (9-1)

Pûrañmal Prithñrajot was a son of Prithñraj Jaitavat's (8-1) (no. 63) and grandson of Jaito Pañcáïot's (7-1) (no. 61), the founding ancestor of the Jaitavat Râthors. Pûrañmal received his family's village of Bagri 23 in pato from Räv Mälde following his father's death. But he held this village only three years, for in 1557 Räv Mälde took it from Pûrañmal and granted it to Pûrañmal's paternal uncle, Devídäs Jaitavat (8-2) (no. 65). The Räv granted the village to Devidäs in reward for Devidäs's success in battle at Harmåro 24 against Sisodíyo Räño Udaisîsingh Sângavat of Mevar (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). Pûrañmal received the village of Paciäk 25 and twelve others in pato from Räv Mälde in compensation.

No information is available about Pûrañmal's activities while he was a military servant of Räv Mälde's. He was killed within eight years of his father's death when he fought alongside his paternal uncle, Devidäs Jaitavat, at the battle of Merto in 1562. Räv Mälde's Rajpûts stood here against Meñíyo Räv Jaimal and the Mughal forces of Akbar under the command of Mîrzä Sharafu'd-Dîn Êhusayn.

"Aitihäsik Bätäm," pp. 50, 52, 55; Bänkیدås, pp. 16-17;

23 Bagri village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat in eastern Mârvär.

24 Harmåro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevar.

25 Paciäk village: located three miles north of Bîlâro and twenty-three miles north-northwest of Bagri.
Devidās Jaitāvat was a son of Jaito Pañcāiṇot's (7-1) (no. 61), the founding ancestor of the Jaitāvat Rāthors. Devidās appears in the chronicles of Mārvār as a valorous if somewhat foolhardy warrior who possessed great personal strength and determination. He always carried the honor of the Jaitāvars and of the Rāthors before himself. He was involved in all of the major campaigns of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) between the years 1553 and 1562, and he rose to a position of influence under Rāv Mālde that paralleled that of his elder brother, Prithrāj Jaitāvat (8-1) (no. 63), and his father, Jaito Pancāiṇot.

Devidās was approximately fifteen years old when he was wounded at Samel in January of 1544 fighting alongside his father. He was born in 1528-29 during the latter years of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat's rule at Jodhpur (1515-32), and he grew up during the years of Rāthor conquest and expansion out from Jodhpur under Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (1532-62).

Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, pp. 90-91, relates that following the battle of Samel, it was initially thought that both Devidās and his father had been killed. The women of the family heard this news at Bagrī village,26 and they shaved their heads and assumed the posture of widows in mourning as funerary rites were performed for both Devidās and Jaito. However, Devidās was in fact not killed. A wandering ascetic found him lying wounded on the battlefield and took and cared for him. When Devidās's wounds were healed, he joined the ascetic's band and became one of them, and he remained with these ascetics (atitām) for the next "five to seven years."

The band of ascetics left Mārvār not long after and traveled to Śirohī. Devidās's sister had been married to the Rāv of Śirohī (identity uncertain), and on one occasion, the Rāv invited the ascetics to come to the palace and take food. Devidās went unrecognized at the court for he had assumed the garb and posture of a holy man. But he did keep his sword and shield with him, and the Rāv saw these weapons and determined to steal them. He called seven Māiṇos and said to them, "With such and such an ascetic are a sword and shield. So [if you] take and bring [these weapons], I would give a reward."

One night at midnight shortly thereafter, the seven Māiṇos stole into the quarters where Devidās and the ascetics slept. Devidās kept the weapons at his side, and when the Māiṇos tried to take them, they inadvertently awakened him. He immediately arose, took up his sword, and killed three of the Māiṇos. The remaining four fled with Devidās in close pursuit. Nearby was a watercourse filled from the rains, across which the Māiṇos ran. But Devidās could not follow because he had been wounded and lamed by a sword blow to the foot. Unable to continue his pursuit, Devidās exclaimed, "Thākurs! I shall not allow Jaitojī's honor/reputation to depart," thereby declaring his readiness to fight and defend his and his father's honor.

26 Bagrī village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat in eastern Mārvār.
The Mainos returned to the Rāv of Sirohi and reported all that had happened to him. The Rāv then reasoned, "He brought up/mentioned Jaitoj's honor/reputation; perhaps he is Devidās." The Rāv went to the women's quarters (rāvlo) of the palace afterwards and said to his young wife (bahu), if this were her brother, she should recognize him. When the ascetics came to the rāvlo to eat the next day, Devidās's sister stood behind a curtain to view them. She immediately recognized her brother and had word conveyed to the Rāv, "He certainly is Devidās."

The ascetics ate and then rose to leave after their meal, and as they did, the Rāvji grasped Devidās. Though Devidās protested that he was only an ascetic, the Rāv said they had recognized him. The Rāv then took Devidās into his company and treated him well, feeding him and making him comfortable, and he arranged a marriage for him.

Rāv Mālde at Jodhpur learned soon after that Devidās was alive. He was overjoyed. He sent his son, Kumar Candrasen Māldevot (Rāv of Jodhpur, 1562-81), to Sirohi with a litter, horses, and camels for Devidās, and with orders to bring him back to Jodhpur.

Devidās returned to Mārvār in 1550-51. It is uncertain how he began his military career, but he appears initially to have taken service under Udāvat Rāthor Ratansi Kīhmvāvat (no. 141), from whom he held the village of Bānjhānkuri in pațo. It appears likely that he met Udāvat Ratansī through the kumvar, for Ratansī himself served under Kumar Candrasen. Devidās took part in the Rāthor occupation of Jālor in southern Mārvār in 1553 as a military servant of Ratansīs, and Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 91, records that Devidās "[helped to] establish authority [there]." A year later in 1554 Devidās participated in the battle for Merto as a member of Ratansīs sāth. Though he played a much less distinguished role here than did his brother, Prithirāj Jaitāvat, he did confront Meṯtiyo Rāv Jaimal Vīrāmdīvot (no. 107) during the fighting. He would have attempted to kill Rāv Jaimal if Ratansī Kīhmvāvat had not stopped him and told him that Rāv Jaimal's life should be spared.

Devidās left Udāvat Ratansī Kīhmvāvat's service following the battle for Merto and Rāv Mālde's defeat there, and he entered into Rāv Mālde's service. It is unclear why Devidās chose this time to join Rāv Mālde. A number of things may have influenced his decision. His brother, Prithirāj, had been killed at Merto and Devidās then sought a means to avenge his death. Ratansī Kīhmvāvat had stopped him from striking and killing Meṯtiyo Rāv Jaimal during the fighting at Merto, and this undoubtedly angered him. He also desired to acquire his ancestral village of Bagrī.

Rāv Mālde honored Devidās when he entered his service. He knew the strength that Devidās brought, and he reasoned that Devidās might be able to achieve what Prithirāj was no longer able to do, namely, to conquer and hold Merto.

Upon joining the Rāv's service, Devidās immediately asked to be sent against Merto. He wanted to avenge his brother's death. Rāv Mālde praised

---

27 Bānjhānkuri village: located five miles north of Jaitāran in eastern Mārvār.
Devidas and gave him 1,000 horses. Devidas took this sāth and besieged the village of Reyāṁ 28 near Meṛto. No significant action took place, however. Rāv Jaimal wisely remained enclosed within the fort at Meṛto, not even venturing forth to disturb Devidas’s supply carts as they moved past Meṛto. Devidas was forced to leave the area without having engaged the Meṛṭiyos.

Devidas’s activities during the next several years are unclear. There is no record of Rāv Mālde’s having granted him any villages in pāto, and it is possible that he remained in personal attendance on the Rāv at Jodhpur, living in his vās ("residence, dwelling"). Then in late 1556 and early 1557, when Paṭhān Ḥājī Khān, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr’s, occupied Ajmer and asked for Rāv Mālde’s support against Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāṅgavat of Mevāṛ (ca. 1537-72; no. 17), Devidas, who was now a seasoned warrior of some thirty years, volunteered to lead the Rāv’s Raiḥūts into battle. Rāv Mālde was again pleased. He allowed Devidas to hand-pick 1,500 warriors for his sāth, and he gave him a horse and a sirpāv, exclaiming that "the shame of Mārvāṛ" rested upon his shoulders ("Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṁ," p. 50).

Devidas and his Raiḥūts performed well at Harmāro 29 in January of 1557, when they and Ḥājī Khān’s Muslim warriors defeated the allied force under Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaisingh of Mevāṛ. "Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṁ," p. 68, records that the victory at Harmāro was due to the "paramount influence of Ṛaṭhor Devidāsī." Devidas sought out and killed the Bāḷīso Cahuvaṅ Śūjo Sāṅjvatat (no. 4) during the fighting there. Bāḷīso Śūjo was a military servant of the Rāṇo’s, and Devidas challenged him on the field, saying:


Bāḷīso Śūjo’s death settled a long-standing vair that had arisen twenty years earlier when Bāḷīso Śūjo and his brothers defeated the Bāḷāvaṭ Raiḥūts in battle near Nāḍūl 30 in southern Mārvāṛ, and killed the Bāḷāvaṭ Viṅjo Bhārmalot. 31

Rāv Mālde wished to make Devidas a large grant of villages including Khairvo 32 and eighty-four others in reward for his victory at Harmāro. But the administrative officials concerned with revenue advised the Rāv to ask Devidas what he wanted. Devidas requested his home village of Bagṛī. Rāv Mālde then granted Bagṛī village and eighty-four others in pāto to Devidās, revoking the

---

28 Reyāṁ village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto.

29 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevāṛ.

30 Nāḍūl: located sixty-seven miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

31 See supra, "Bāḷāvaṭ Raiḥūṭs" and "Bāḷīso Cahuvaṅs" for complete details about this battle and the vair that emerged from it.

32 Khairvo village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.
grant he had earlier made to Devidās's paternal nephew, Pūranmal Prithirājot (9-1) (no. 64). He granted Pūranmal the village of Pacīk and twelve others in compensation.

Meṛṭīyo Rāv Jaimal, who had been an ally of the Rāṇo's at the battle of Harmāro, was forced to vacate Merto and leave it open to Rāv Mālde's occupation after the Rāṇo's defeat. Rāv Mālde, in turn, sent Devidās to Merto to place his authority over the town. Devidās secured Merto and then assumed charge of the fort at Jodhpur, while Rāv Mālde had the old town and fort at Merto razed. Nearby he had a new town built along with a fort called the Mālgadh. Prior to beginning construction, Rāv Mālde asked Devidās about the advisability of building the Mālgadh. Devidās's response was not sanguine. He argued that such a fort would mean death for those who occupied it, for the fort would be built on the plain, open to continuing attack by the Meṛṭīyos who would not easily relinquish their land. Rāv Mālde would not listen to Devidās, however. He had the foundations for the new fort laid in March of 1558. The fort was completed two years later, in 1560.

Rāv Mālde appointed Meṛṭīyo JagmālViramdevot (no. 124), to whom he had granted one-half of the villages of Merto, as kiledār of the Mālgadh, and he placed Devidās at the fort with a large sāṯ of Rajputs. Devidās again protested to the Rāv about being stationed at Merto. He asked the Rāv to put someone else in his place, and stated that when the Meṛṭīyos attacked the fort, he would not leave even if the Rāv ordered him to do so. Rāv Mālde would not listen to Devidās's objections. He felt that this Rajput was perhaps the only one who would be able to withstand an attack and preserve his authority at Merto.

Meṛṭīyo Rāv Jaimal and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Husayn laid siege to the Mālgadh in February of 1562. This was an eventuality that Devidās had long foreseen. Rāv Mālde sent reinforcements to Devidās with his son, Kumvar Candrasen Māldevot. But Kumvar Candrasen found the situation at Merto untenable, and he withdrew with a large number of Rajputs as his father had ordered him to do. He requested that Devidās also leave. But neither the Kumvar's remonstrations nor those of Rāv Mālde would alter Devidās's position. He would not appear ignoble by leaving Merto without a fight.

Devidās proceeded to close himself within the fort with his Rajputs, among whom were thirty-eight of Meṛṭīyo Jagmāl Viramdevot's, who had elected to remain with Devidās and defend the fort. Jagmāl himself had withdrawn earlier after talking with the Mughals. In the days that followed, skirmishes occurred as Devidās's Rajputs emerged from the fort to harass their besiegers. But it was not until the Mughals exploded a mine beneath one of the towers of the fort that the situation changed. Devidās then held talks with the Mughals, agreeing to withdraw with his own belongings and not to burn the stores inside.

The withdrawal from the fort began as an orderly process, but then Devidās's Rajputs fired the stores to prevent them from falling into the Mughals'
hands. Devidās was himself injured by a kick from a horse which broke one of his legs, and Devidās killed a Muslim who tried to lay hands on one of Rāv Mālde's personal muskets, which a servant of Devidās's was carrying. Once outside the fort, the Rajpūts began moving off toward Sātalvās, which lay four miles to the southwest of Merto in the direction of Jodhpur. Meṛtyo Rāv Jaimal then urged an attack on Devidās. He said to Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn that Devidās was not the sort of Rajpūt to abandon the fort, that he would quickly bring Rāv Mālde against them ("Aitiḥāsik Bātām," p. 55).

The Mīrzā agreed, and the Mughals and Rāv Jaimal's Rajpūts attacked Devidās and his men on the open plain near Merto. Here on March 20, 1562 Devidās was killed along with one of his brothers, Bhākharśī Jaitāvī (8-3) (no. 66), and his paternal nephew, Pūraṇmāl Prithirājot (9-1) (no. 64).

Devidās was approximately thirty-five years of age at the time of his death.

There are many stories in the chronicles of this period that say Devidās did not die on this day near Merto, but was only wounded and lived to reappear some years later. Akbar Nāma, 2:250, states, for example:

Some said that Deo Dās [Devidās] came out of this battle, wounded; and some ten or twelve years afterwards a person appeared in jogi's dress and assumed this name. Some acknowledged him, and many rejected him. He lived for a while and then was killed in some adventure.

Elsewhere, Akbar Nāma, 3:224-225, relates a story about a "Debī Dās" who reappeared in Mārvār in 1575. Similar accounts appear in the Mārvārī chronicles with slight variations. They all record that Devidās was not killed at Merto, but was taken from the field of battle by a holy man who cared for his wounds and brought him back to health. Devidās became a sannyāśī and wandered about northern India with the holy man, visiting the shrines and holy places. After some years, the holy man gave him leave, and Devidās then reappeared as Devidās Rāṭhor. He is said to have taken service under the Mughals in order to make his name known. It was with the Mughals that he returned to Mārvār in the period of Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's exile from Jodhpur in the latter-1570s. He took up residence once again at Bagrī and became involved with the Mughals in their operations against Rāv Candrasen. He also became involved with Rāv Kalo Rāmōt, a paternal nephew of Rāv Candrasen's, who held Sojhat in jāgir from the Mughals. This Devidās eventually left service under the Mughals and sided with Rāv Kalo during hostilities that developed between him and the Mughals. According to Akbar Nāma, 3:225, he was killed at Sojhat after he and a number of Rajpūts with him murdered Jalāl Khān Qurchī in his tent and then attacked Shimāl Khān Chela.

---

34 See, for example: "Aitiḥāsik Bātām," pp. 82-84; Aitiḥāsik Tavārīkhwār Vārtā, MS 2443 (Caupasnl: Rajasthanī Sodh Samsthan), ff. 71-74.
Other sources relate that Devidās then fled into the hills to join Rāv Candrasen, with whom he continued to fight against the Mughal occupation of Mārvār.

Figure 23. Jaitāvat Rāṭhoṛs

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
  
(2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat
  
(3-1) Rāv Cūṅḍo Vīramot
  
(4-1) Rāv Riṅmal Cūṅḍāvat
  
(5-1) Akhairāj Riṅmalot
  
(6-1) Paṅcāṅ Akhairājot

(7-1) Jaito Paṅcāṅot (Jaitāvats) (7-2) Aclo Paṅcāṅot

(8-1) Prithīrāj
  Jaitāvat

(8-2) Devīdās
  Jaitāvat

(8-3) Bhākharsī
  Jaitāvat

(8-4) Udaiṣingh
  Jaitāvat

(8-5) Mānsingh
  Jaitāvat

(9-1) Pūranmal Prithīrājot
Of Meṛto:

(69) Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat (M8-1)
(68) Bhādā Mokalot (M7-1)
(70) Bhairavdās Bhāḍāvat (M8-2)
(76) Bhojo Gāṅgāvat, Rāvat (M7-5)
(74) Cāndrāj Jodhāvat (M8-3)
(73) Jodho Mokalot (M7-2)
(75) Narāṇḍās Cāndrājot (M9-1)
(78) Sāgto Sāṅgāvat (M9-2)
(71) Sāndo Mokalot (M7-4)
(77) Sāngo Bhojavat (M8-4)
(72) Sidho Mokalot (M7-3)
(67) Ūdo Kānhārdevot (M5-1)

Of Sīvāṇo:

(79) Moṭo Jogāvat (S9-2)

The Jaitmālot Rāṭhors

The Jaitmālot Rāṭhors descend from Jaitmāl Salkhāvat (2-1), a son of Rāṭhor Rāv Salkho (1-1), the fourteenth century ruler of Mahevo in western Mārvāṛ. Jaitmāl was a daughter's son (dohitro) of the Indo Parihārs. According to Rāṭhor traditions, Jaitmāl received the area of Sīvāṇo in southwestern Mārvāṛ from his paternal relation, Rāval Mālōjī (Mallināth), who had succeeded Rāv Salkho to the rule of Mahevo. Jaitmāl's exact relation to Rāval Mālōjī is unclear. Traditions concerning these early lines of Rāṭhors vary considerably in the texts. In some, Jaitmāl is seen as Mālōjī's uterine brother, while in others he is either a paternal nephew or a more distant paternal relation.

Jaitmāl established himself at Sīvāṇo during the latter half of the fourteenth century. Eight generations of Jaitmālots ruled there after him. Within three generations of Jaitmāl himself, however, the Jaitmālots became divided between Sīvāṇo and Meṛto branches (see infra, Figure 24 and Figure 25).


1 Mahevo town: located sixty-six miles southwest of Jodhpur.

2 Sīvāṇo town: located fifty-eight miles southwest of Jodhpur.
The Jaitmālots of Sīvāṇo

Little is known about the first five generations of Jaitmālot rulers of Sīvāṇo, descending from Jaitmāl Salkhāvat (2-1) to Rāvat Vījo Tīhāṇot (S6-1), Jaitmāl's great-great-grandson. Information becomes more plentiful for the rule of Rāvat Vījo's son, Rāno Devīdās Vījāvat (S7-1). Rāno Devīdās was a contemporary of Rāṭhōr Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot of Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). His name figures in the Mārvārī chronicles because he came into direct conflict with Rāv Jodho over control of Sīvāṇo.

This conflict emerged following Rāv Jodho's grant of Sīvāṇo to his son, Sivraj Jodhāvat, during his division of the lands of Mārvār among his brothers and sons following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459. Rāv Jodho was aware that Sīvāṇo was under the control of the Jaitmālots, and he devised a stratagem to weaken their defenses and help his son wrest control of this area. He summoned Jaitmālot Kuṃvār Devīdās Vījāvat and one of his brothers, Karaṇ Vījāvat (S7-2), to Jodhpur on some official pretext, and while they were absent, dispatched a force of Rajpūts under Sīndhāl Āpomal of Bhādṛājun village against Devidās's father, Rāvat Vījo Tīhāṇot (S6-1). Sīndhāl Āpomal succeeded in taking Sīvāṇo, and during the fighting at the fort, killed Rāvat Vījo.

Sīndhāl Āpomal sent two camel messengers to Rāv Jodho following his victory, each carrying a bag of water from a well at Sīvāṇo as a visible sign of the conquest. Jaitmālot Devidās saw these messengers approaching Jodhpur in great haste from the direction of Sīvāṇo one day following the battle, as he made his way to his camp on the outskirts of the city. He stopped them on the road to question them. He learned that they were servants of Sīndhāl Āpomal of Bhādṛājun on their way to Rāv Jodho. Seeing the bags of water, Devidās quickly discerned that Sīvāṇo had fallen. He fled Jodhpur for Jālōr and Sācōr to the southwest, where he took refuge.

Rāv Jodho proceeded to establish an outpost at Sīvāṇo fort, and he dispatched his son, Sivraj, to assume authority there. However, as Sivraj traveled to Sīvāṇo with his family and retainers to take occupation in his own name, Jaitmālot Devidās Vījāvat attacked the fort and occupied it. He assumed full authority there in his own name and adopted the title of Rāṇo. News of Rāṇo Devidās's victory quickly reached Sivraj and Rāv Jodho. The Rāv then declined further attempts to take control of the area and left the Jaitmālots in possession. Rāṇo Devidās later attacked Bhādṛājun and killed Sīndhāl Āpomal along with a number of his Rajpūts in revenge for the death of his father.

Rāṇo Devidās died several years later and was succeeded by his son, Jogo Devidāsot (S8-1). Jaitmālot rule at Sīvāṇo continued for another half

---

3 Bhādṛājun village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.

4 Jālōr is located sixty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur, with Sācōr sixty-six miles further southwest of Jālōr.
century. Then in June of 1538, Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) defeated Jaitmālot Rāṇo ăṅgārī Karamsīyot (S10-1) in battle before Sīvāṅo. From this time forward except for brief periods, Sīvāṅo remained under the authority of the house of Jodhpur.

Some Jaitmālots from the Sīvāṅo branch migrated to Merto and took service under the Meṛtīyo Rāṭhors. Moṭo Jogāvat (no. 79) (S9-2), a grandson of Rāṇo Devīdās's, was one such Rajpūt (see infra).


The Jaitmālots of Meṛto

(no. 67) Üdo Kānhardevot (M5-1)

The Jaitmālots of Merto descend from Üdo Kānhardevot, whose family appears to have established the initial Jaitmālot foothold in this area. Üdo himself apparently left Sīvāṅo sometime during the mid-fifteenth century, traveling first to Nāgaur and then on to the area of Meṛto where he finally settled. He met Rāṭhors Varsīṅgh Jodhāvat (no. 145) and Dūdo Jodhāvat (no. 104) in 1461-62. They had received Meṛto from their father, Rāv Jodho Rāṇmalot (ca. 1453-89), during his division of the lands of Mārvār among his brothers and sons following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459. Üdo took service under the brothers. It was he who introduced them to the site near two ancient tanks that later became Meṛto town. Varsīṅgh and Dūdo Jodhāvat founded Meṛto in March of 1462, and Varsīṅgh then assumed authority there and adopted the title of rāv. He made Üdo Kānhardevot his pradhān, and he placed full responsibility upon Üdo for managing the affairs of the new kingdom (see **Vigat**, 2:37-39 of the translated text for details).

Little in known about the Jaitmālots who lived at Merto and served under the Meṛtīyo Rāṭhors after Üdo Kānhardevot, except that they were important military servants of the Meṛtīyos, and at least through the period of Meṛtīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107), served as pradhāns of Meṛto. A number of Jaitmālots followed Rāv Jaimal to Citor in 1562, when the Rāv was forced to vacate Meṛto in the wake of Mīrzā Sharaflu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn's rebellion from Akbar, in which he was implicated. Many of these Jaitmālots were killed in 1568 during Akbar's bloody conquest of Citor.

(no. 68) Bhādō Mokalot (M7-1)

(no. 69) Akhairāj Bhādāvat (M8-1)

(no. 70) Bhairadvās Bhādāvat (M8-2)

(no. 71) Sāndho Mokalot (M7-4)

(no. 72) Sidhō Mokalot (M7-3)

Bhādō Mokalot served as pradhān of Meṛto under Meṛtīyo Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat (no. 105). **Vigat**, 2:48, records that Bhādō took part in a battle.
at Kusāṇo village\(^5\) ca. 1530, during the latter period of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat's rule at Jodhpur (1515-32). The battle developed when Rāv Gāṅgo's son, Kumvar Mālde Gāṅgāvat, incited the dispossessed sons of Varsiṅghot Mertiyo Rāv Siho Varsiṅghot (no. 147), Rāv Bhojo Sīhāvat (no. 148) and Rāv Gāṅgo Sīhāvat (no. 149), to attack Merto in an attempt to reassert their rights to this land. They raided the market square at Merto and then moved away. Mertiyo Rāv Viramde sent a contingent of Rajpūts under Jodho Rāṭhor Khāṅgār Jogāvat (no. 82) in pursuit. This sāṭh caught up with the raiders at the village of Kusāṇo. Bhāḍo Mokalot and his brother, Sandho Mokalot (M7-4), both took part in the fighting here. Rāv Viramde's Rajpūts emerged victorious, but both Bhāḍo Mokalot and Khāṅgār Jogāvat were badly wounded.

Bhāḍo's son, Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat (M8-1), also served under Rāv Viramde as one of his trusted warriors. He held the position of pradhān under both Rāv Viramde and his successor, Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107). It is not known when Akhairāj assumed this position, but it is possible that his father, Bhāḍo, died from wounds received at Kusāṇo and that Akhairāj became pradhān shortly thereafter. Bhāṭi, Sarvekṣaṇ, 3:109, records that Akhairāj held the six villages of Akhuvas, Dholerāv, Lāṃbīyō, Muguḍḍo Vāḍo, Netṛi, and Pāḷṛi in pāṭo.\(^6\)

Local texts portray Akhairāj as an astute and brave Rajput who had dedicated his life to the preservation of Meṛtīyo rule at Meṛto. Following Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's succession to the Jodhpur throne in 1532, Akhairāj's capacities were sorely tested, beginning immediately after the Rāv's accession. Rāv Mālde initiated an expedition against the Sīndhaḷ Rāṭhoṛs of Bhāḍāraṇ in 1532-33, and he summoned Rāv Viramde from Merto to take part in this campaign. Rāv Viramde complied with this summons for military service and rode with his warriors to Jodhpur, leaving Meṛto largely unprotected. Rāv Mālde then used this opportunity to instigate yet another attack on Meṛto, this time urging Daulat Khān (no. 154) to attack from Nāgaṛ, and Panvāṛ Paṅcain (no. 24) to come from Cāṭsū in central Rājasthān and settle an old vair with the Meṛtīyos.

Rāv Viramde suspected subterfuge on Rāv Mālde's part, but he dutifully remained in the Rāv's camp. Jaitmālot Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat returned to Meṛto, however, without Rāv Viramde's knowledge. Once at Meṛto, he prepared the fort for an attack. Scouts he sent to the countryside soon informed him of the approach of Daulat Khān's force from Nāgaṛ. Akhairāj closed himself within the fort while Daulat Khān's men pillaged the town. When they came before the

---

\(^5\) Kusāṇo village: located twenty-eight miles southwest of Meṛto.

\(^6\) These villages are located as follows:
- Akhuvas (i.e. Ākhuvas): four miles south of Reyāṃ and eighteen miles southeast of Meṛto.
- Dholerāv (i.e. Dholelav): location uncertain, but in the vicinity of Reyāṃ which lies fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto.
- Lāṃbīyō: eighteen miles southeast of Meṛto.
- Muguḍḍo Vāḍo (i.e. Mugaḍḍo): fourteen miles south-southwest of Meṛto.
- Netṛi: location uncertain, but in the vicinity of Reyāṃ.
- Pāḷṛi: nineteen miles east-northeast of Meṛto.
fort, Akhairaj led a small force of some fifteen to twenty warriors outside in a
desperate attempt to retain control, and he succeeded in routing the Khän's
forces. Akhairaj's brother, Bhairavdās Bhādāvat (M8-2), was killed during the
fighting here.

Akhairaj and his paternal uncle, Sidho Mokalot (M7-3), were with Rāv Vieamde later on, ca. 1535, when Rāv Vieamde took possession of Ajmer. They
were also among the Rapūts who attempted to prevent Rāv Vieamde from
proceeding against Varsīnghot Meṛtyo Sahaiso Tejśiyot (no. 151), a former
military servant of Rāv Vieamde's who had received Reyām village in pago from
Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur. It is not known whether Akhairaj participated in the
fighting at Reyāṃ. But his paternal uncle, Sidho Mokalot, was badly wounded
there and many Meṛtyos killed, leaving Rāv Vieamde with no choice but to flee
Meṛto and Ajmer in the face of Rāv Mālde's superior force.

Akhairaj accompanied Rāv Vieamde to eastern Rājasthān during his
exile form Meṛto. Both Akhairaj and Muṃhato Khimvo (no. 157) served as Rāv Vieamde's pradhāns at Rinthambhor in representations there before the sūbedār.
Their initial efforts failed, and Akhairaj was among those who counseled Rāv Vieamde that he should turn elsewhere to find support to regain his lands. It was
Muṃhato Khimvo who was able finally to arrange a meeting with the offer of
one of Rāv Vieamde's daughters in marriage to the sūbedār's young son.

Akhairaj's role in the affairs of Meṛto during the years 1536-54 is
unknown. The texts next mention him and his paternal cousin, Candraj Jodhavat
(M8-3), in connection with the battle of Meṛto in 1554. In March of this year,
Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur prepared an expeditionary force to attack Meṛto and came
and encamped at the village of Gāngārro. His warriors moved out from there to
raid the countryside around Meṛto proper. As news of these raids reached
Meṛtyo Rāv Jaimal, he dispatched his pradhāns, Jaitmālots Akhairaj Bhādāvat
and Candraj Jodhavat, to Rāv Mālde's camp in an attempt to reach an
accommodation. Akhairaj showed great uncertainty about the wisdom of
proceeding to Rāv Mālde's camp. He told Rāv Jaimal that even if he went, Rāv
Jaimal should prepare for battle.

Akhairaj and Candraj met in Rāv Mālde's darbār with the Rāv and his
two leading advisors, Rāthōr Prithrīn Jaitāvat (no. 63), the commander of his
armies, and Rāthōr Nago Bhārmalot (no. 38). Neither the Rāv nor his advisors
showed any desire for conciliation, and the discussions quickly dissolved into
verbal abuse and intimidation. Akhairaj and Candraj left filled with anger (see
Khyāt, 3:116-118, of the translated text for details of this meeting).

The battle joined the following day, and Akhairaj himself sought out
Rāthōr Prithrīn Jaitāvat. Prithrīn heaped abuse on Akhairaj when they met,
calling him a "dwarf" and asking him why he had delayed so long in coming.
Akhairaj then deceived Prithrīn. He knew that Prithrīn had received a boon that
prevented his being struck from the front. Akhairaj managed to strike Prithrīn
from behind, and killed him. The Khyāt of Nainsī, 3:121, records that before

7 Reyāṃ village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto.
8 Gāngārro village: located seven miles west-northwest of Meṛto.
Prithiraj died, he left his curse upon Akhairaj. Akhairaj was later killed in this battle along with his paternal cousin, Candraj Jodhavat.

(no. 73) Jodho Mokalot (M7-2)
(no. 74) Candraj Jodhavat (M8-3)
(no. 75) Naraindas Candrajot (M9-1)

Little information is available in the texts about these Jaitmaloys. Jodho Mokalot was a pradhān of Meṛto under Rāv Vīrāmde Dūdāvat (no. 105). He served in this capacity along with his brother, Bhādo Mokalot (M7-1) (no. 68). Jodho’s son, Candraj Jodhavat (M8-3), also served as pradhān of Meṛto under Rāv Vīrāmde’s successor, Rāv Jaimal Vīrāmdevot (no. 107). The texts mention Candraj only with reference to events that occurred prior to and during the battle for Meṛto in 1554. Candraj took part in the abortive negotiations at Rāv Mālde’s camp at the village of Gāṅgārro along with his paternal cousin, Akhairaj Bhādavat (M8-1) (no. 69). He was killed during the fighting at Meṛto the following day. His son, Naraindas Candrajot (M9-1), was also killed there along with his paternal cousin, Akhairaj Bhādavat.

(no. 76) Bhojo Gāṅgāvat, Rāvat (M7-5)
(no. 77) Sāngo Bhojavat (M8-4)
(no. 78) Sagto Sāṅgāvat (M9-2)

No information is available about these Jaitmaloys other than the dates of their deaths. All were military servants of the Meṛtyos. Rāvat Bhojo Gāṅgāvat was killed in the battle at Reyāṃ village ca. 1535, when Meṛtyo Rāv Vīrāmde (no. 105) unwisely led an attack on this village and was met by a superior force of Rāv Malde’s Rajpūts from the garrison at Rārod9. Rāvat Bhojo’s son, Sāngo Bhojavat, and his grandson, Sagto Sāṅgāvat, both died in battle at Meṛto twenty years later in 1554, also fighting against Rāv Malde of Jodhpur.

(no. 79) Moṭo Jogavat (S9-2)

Moṭo Jogavat was a Jaitmalo of the Sivāno branch who came to serve under the Meṛtyo Rāṭhrōrs. All that is known about him is that he was killed during the battle for Meṛto in 1554, fighting under Meṛtyo Rāv Jaimal (no. 107) against Rāv Malde’s Rajpūts from Jodhpur.

***

Bāṅkidās, p. 167, records an additional footnote about the Jaitmaloys. He writes that by the early nineteenth century, many Jaitmaloys had become Muslims and had settled in areas of Nāgaur.

---

9 Rārod village: located forty-nine miles west-northwest of Reyāṃ and forty-four miles northeast of Jodhpur.
Figure 24. Jaitmālot Rāṭhōrs of Sīvāno

(1-1) Rāv Salkho

(2-1) Jaitmāl Salkhāvat (Jaitmālots)

(S3-1) Rāvat Ḥāpo Jaitmālot

(S4-1) Rāvat Karaṇ Hāpāvat

(S5-1) Rāvat Tīhaṇo Karaṇot

(S6-1) Rāvat Vījo Tīhaṇot

(S7-1) Rāṇo Devīdās Vījāvat (S7-2) Karaṇ Vījāvat

(S8-1) Rāṇo Jogo Devīdāsot

(S9-1) Rāṇo Karamśi Jogāvat (S9-2) Moto Jogāvat

(S10-1) Rāṇo Dūṅgarsī Karamsiyot
Figure 25. Jaitmaol Rāṭhoṛs of Meṛto

(1-1) Rāv Salkho

| (2-1) Jaitmāl Salkhāvat (Jaitmālots)
| (M3-1) Vījal Jaitmālōt
| (M4-1) Kānharde Vījalot
| (M5-1) Údo Kānhardevot

| (M6-1) Mokal Udāvat
| (M6-2) Gāngo Udāvat

| (M7-1) Bhādo Mokalot
| (M7-2) Jodho Mokalot
| (M7-3) Sīdho Mokalot
| (M7-4) Sāndho Mokalot
| (M7-5) Rāvat Bhojo Gāṅgāvat

| (M8-1) Akhairāj Bhādāvat
| (M8-2) Bhairavdās Bhādāvat
| (M8-3) Cāndrāj Jodhāvat
| (M8-4) Sāṅgo Bhojavat
| (M9-1) Narāiṇḍās Cāndrājot
| (M9-2) Sagto Sāṅgāvat
The Jodho Rathors descend from Rāv Jodho Rīṁmalot (5-1), ruler of Mandor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). In the broadest sense, this branch (sākh) of Rathors includes all the descendants of Rāv Jodho. Many important cadet lines emerged from his descendants, however, and established separate identities of their own. "Jodhpur Hukūmat rī Bahī," a Middle Mārvārī text whose compilation was begun during the reign of Maharaja Javantsīṅgh Gajsiṅhot of Jodhpur (1638-78) (13-1), lists ten major branches of Rathors, for example, that originated from Rāv Jodho’s sons and grandsons. These include:

From Rāv Jodho’s sons:

- Bhārmalots - from Bhārmal Jodhāvat
- Bikāvats - from Bīkō Jodhāvat
- Karamsots - from Karamsī Jodhāvat
- Mertiyoś - from Dūdō Jodhāvat
- Rāypālots - from Rāypāl Jodhāvat
- Sūjāvats - from Sūjo Jodhāvat
- Vīdāvats - from Vido Jodhāvat

From Rāv Jodho’s grandsons:

- Khāṅgārots - from Khāṅgār Jogāvat, a son of Jogo Jodhāvat
- Narāvats - from Naro Sūjāvat, a son of Sūjo Jodhāvat
- Üdāvats - from Ūdo Sūjāvat, a son of Sūjo Jodhāvat
With the exception of the Khangārot, Narāvat, Rāypālot, and Sūjāvat sākhs, all of the branches listed above are treated in individual sections of these Biographical Notes. These four above are not treated separately because their members do not figure in the texts under concern, and only the founders of the Khangārot and Sūjāvat branches are named in the translated materials. For simplicity's sake, therefore, these founders are treated as Jodho Rāṭhoṛs, a designation which is consistent with the periods in which they lived, before groups emerged from among their descendants under separate identities.

Individuals included among the Jodhos are, then, members of the ruling house of Jodhpur and their immediate families to the third or fourth degree of removal. They do not include those individuals whose families, within one or two generations after Rāv Jodho, took on separate identities under designations other than Jodho, i.e., Meṛṭīyo, Bhārmalot, Bīkāvat, etc.

(no. 80) **Acroft Sivrājot (7-6)**

Acroft Sivrājot was a son of Sivrāj Jodhāvat’s (6-6) and grandson of Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot (5-1), ruler of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453–89). Acroft’s father, Sivrāj, received the lands of Sivāṇo in southern Mārvār from Rāv Jodho following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459. This area was then under the control of the Jaitmālot Rāṭhoṛs, who considered Sivāṇo their homeland (utan).

Rāv Jodho attempted to extend his control over Sivāṇo on behalf of his son. He planned a deception against the Jaitmālots, summoning two sons of the ruler, Jaitmālot Rāvat Vījo Tihaṃot, to Jodhpur on some pretext in order to weaken the Jaitmālot force at Sivāṇo, and then dispatched a contingent of warriors under Sindhā Ṛṃtal of Bhādrajūṃ village against Sivāṇo. Sindhā Ṛṃtal attacked Sivāṇo fort and was able to kill Rāvat Vījo and occupy the town and fort in Rāv Jodho’s name. Rāv Jodho then established an outpost at the fort, and sent his son, Sivrāj, to occupy it in his own name.

While Sivrāj was enroute to Sivāṇo with his family and retainers, however, Jaitmālot Devidās Vījāvat, a son of the former ruler, was able to retake Sivāṇo fort. He established his own authority there and declared himself rāṇo. News of this turn of events quickly reached Jodhpur, and Rāv Jodho then relinquished all plans of conquest. He gave the village of Dunāro to Sivrāj in place of Sivāṇo, and Sivrāj established his line there. Within several generations, a minor branch of the Mārvār Rāṭhoṛs emerged bearing the name “Sivrājot Jodhos.”

---

2 Sivāṇo town: located fifty-eight miles southwest of Jodhpur.

3 See supra, "Jaitmālot Rāṭhoṛs."

4 Bhādrajūṃ village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur and twenty-seven miles east of Sivāṇo.

5 Dunāro village: located thirty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur along the Lūṇī River.
Sivraj Jodhavat's son, Arjan (7-5), succeeded him as master (dhanī) of Dunāro village. Arjan's brother, Aclo Sivrajot (7-6), took service under the house of Jodhpur and is mentioned in the texts as a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's (1532-62) (9-1). He appears to have lived in Rāv Mālde's vās ("residence, dwelling"), for during much of his career, he was stationed at the fort of Jodhpur.

Aclo was killed at the Jodhpur fort in January of 1544 while defending it against attack from the Muslim forces of Sher Shāh Sūr's. Sher Shāh's army overran central and eastern Mārvār following Rāv Mālde's defeat at the battle of Sameel on January 5 of that year. Aclo is credited with killing Māmarak Khān, a noble of Sher Shāh's, during the fighting at the fort. This feat is commemorated in a sākh:

Khādho Acal Mamārakh Khān

(Acal [Aclo] ate up Mamārak Khān)

Aclo's wife, the Bālisī Cahuvān, became a satī following his death. Aclo's thumb was severed from his hand for her, and she held it in her own while she burned. This event was commemorated in a dūho:

Acal jikā akhiyāt, aṅgūtho āpe abal,
Sāyar jām lag sākh, sānjotām Sivraj ut.

(The oceans shall long bear testimony to Sivraj's son,
Of the fame Aclo easily won by sending his wife his thumb.)

A cenotaph (chatri) was built at the fort of Jodhpur in Aclo's memory. Alongside it stood two other cenotaphs for Jeso Bhāṭī Sāṅkar Sūrāvat (no. 2) and Ědavat (Baiṭhvāsīyo) Rāṭhoṛ Tiloṅskī Varjāṅgot (no. 143), who died with Aclo in the defense of the fort.


(no. 81) Bhākharsī Ḍuṅgarsiṇot (9-3)

Bhākharsī Ḍuṅgarsiṇot was a grandson of Aclo Sivrajot's (7-6) (no. 80). The only information available about him is that he was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) (9-1). He was killed at Merto in 1562 fighting under Rāṭhoṛ Devīdās Jāitāvat (no. 65), Rāv Mālde's commander at the Mālgadh, against Mertiyo Rāv Jaimal Viṃdamdevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrzā Sharafud-Dīn Ḥusayn.

6 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

Khaṅgār Jogāvat was a son of Jogo Jodhāvat's (6-4) and a grandson of Rāv Jodhō Rūṃmalot (5-1), ruler of Māṇḍor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). He spent much of his life in the service of Meṛṭyo Rāv Vīrāme Dūḍāvāt (no. 105) of Meṛṭo. He was one of Rāv Vīrāme's leading warriors entrusted with the command of the Rāv's forces in battle. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 430, records that he was a devout Rajpūt who held eleven vows regarding personal bravery and prowess in battle. He twice ventured forth to avenge the deaths of close relations.

Khaṅgār's association with Meṛṭo and the Meṛṭiyos originated with his father Jogo Jodhāvat's settlement in the village of Khāṛīyo in the early 1490s. This settlement occurred late in Jogo's life, for he was originally associated with the village of Koḍhṇo in western Māṛvār. Jogo was born of Rāṇī Hulṇi Jamnādeji, a daughter of Hul Gahlot Vanvīr Bhojāvāt. With the founding of Jodhpur in 1459, Rāv Jodhō divided the lands of Māṛvār among his brothers and sons, and he gave Jogo and his uterine brother, Bhārmal, the village of Koḍhṇo.

Jogo and Bhārmal settled at Koḍhṇo in the early 1460s. Jogo remained much involved in the affairs of Jodhpur, however, and in 1474-75 Rāv Jodhō placed him in control of the territory of Chāpar-Droṇpur to the north of Jodhpur, which he had just conquered from the Mohil Cauhūvāns. This test of Jogo's ability to rule proved his undoing. The Khyāṭ of Naṅśi, 3:164-165, records that after the conquest of Chāpar-Droṇpur:

There was a great gathering [in] the realm of the Rāṭhors. Rāv Jodhōji looked over this place [Chāpar-Droṇpur], [and he] gave [it] to Kuṃvar Jogo. Afterwards he proceeded to Māṇḍor.

This Kuṃvar Jogo was a simple thākur (bhoḷo so thakur). The land did not prosper with Jogo, and the Mohils began to despoil [it].

---

7 Khāṛīyo village: located forty-four miles northeast of Jodhpur and twenty-five miles west of Meṛṭo.

8 Koḍhṇo village: located twenty-eight miles west-southwest of Jodhpur.

9 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodhō Rūṃmalot, Rāṇī no. 5, S - Jogo.

10 See supra, "Bhārmalot Rāṭhors."
When it became clear that Jogo was not able to assert his authority and protect the land, his wife, the Jhāli, sent word to her husband's father (susro), saying:

There is no auspiciousness (lakhan) in your son. And the land you/we have conquered is being lost [to the Mohils]. It would appear [that] you should devise a remedy (ilāj kīyo) (ibid., 3:165).

Upon receipt of this news, Rāv Jodho recalled Jogo to Jodhpur, and he gave authority over Chāpar-Droṇpur to Jogo's half-brother, Vīdo Jodhāvat. Jogo's specific activities in the years following his failure in Chāpar-Droṇpur are unknown. He did emerge briefly as one of the candidates for the Jodhpur throne ca. 1489. But he was quickly passed over in favor of another of his half-brothers, Sātal Jodhāvat (6-2) (Rāv of Jodhpur, ca. 1489-92). Murārdan, no. 2, pp. 422-423, records that all at court were initially prepared to grant succession to Jogo. They made ready to place the ċīko on his forehead. But then Jogo stopped them and said, "I washed just now; allow my forehead to dry a little." The gathering then considered Jogo "unworthy of the rāj," and they gave the kingdom to Jogo's half-brother, Sātal, in his stead.

Jogo left Jodhpur afterwards and settled in the village of Khāriyo. He also appears to have quit Koḍhjo at this time, leaving it entirely to his uterine brother, Bhārmal, who established his line there. Jogo spent the remainder of his life at Khāriyo apart from the affairs of Jodhpur.

Jogo's son, Khāngār Jogāvat, grew up within the realm of the Meṛṭiyo Rāṭhors. He succeeded to the rule of Khāriyo upon Jogo's death. Meṛṭiyo Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat granted the village to him in paṭo along with twelve others. Although Khāngār rose to be a leading Rajpūt of Rāv Vīramde's at Meṛṭo, little in fact is known about his life. The chronicles record only his involvement in a few military operations in the area of Meṛṭo, and his venturing forth on two occasions to avenge the deaths of close relations.

Khāngār's activities are first mentioned when he took part in operations ca. 1530 to protect Meṛṭo from the depredations of members of a rival branch of the family. Kumvar Mālde Gāṅgavat of Jodhpur had formed a conspiracy with the Varsīnghot Meṛṭiyos, Rāv Bhjojo Sīhāvat (no. 147) and Rāv Gāṅgo Sīhāvat (no. 148), whose family had originally controlled Meṛṭo. Kumvar Mālde urged them to re-claim their rightful shares of these lands which the family of Meṛṭiyo Rāv Vīramde had taken from them. Kumvar Mālde nursed his own ill-will against the Meṛṭiyos for their failure to comply with his command to have an elephant of the Nāgauri Khān's given to him following the battle of Sevākti in November of 1529. This elephant had run amok during the battle and fled wounded toward Meṛṭo, and the Meṛṭiyos had taken and cared for it.

11 See infra, "Vidāvat Rāṭhors."

12 Sevākti village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.
Kumvar Mālde's conspiracy led to a Varsinghot Meṛtiyo raid on the market square at Meṛto. It was here that Rāthor Khangār Jogāvat became involved. He was one of the members of the pursuit party that went after the raiders. They came to battle near the village of Kusāṇo. Vigat, 2:48, records that Rāv Vīramde placed full responsibility for the command of his forces upon Rāthor Khangār Jogāvat, and the Meṛtiyo force under Khangār emerged victorious. Both Varsinghots Rāv Bhojo and Rāv Gāṅgo were wounded during the fighting at Kusāṇo, as were Khangār and a pradhān of Rāv Vīramde's, Jaitmālot Rāthor Bhādā Mokalot (no. 68).

These Varsinghot Meṛtiyos remained disruptive figures in the area for several years thereafter. Khangār met Rāv Bhojo Sīhāvat again in battle near the village of Kekidṛo. Here Khangār and his Rajputs killed Rāv Bhojo and a number of his men.

It is probable that Khangār died shortly after this time, for the chronicles do not mention his name with relation to later events. The only other information about him concerns his taking revenge for the deaths of two close relations. The first occasion was ca. 1531 when he avenged the death of his paternal uncle, Karamsī Jodhāvat, against the Muslims of Narnol. Karamsī was killed at Narnol in 1526, fighting in support of Bīkāner Rāthor Rāv Lũṅkaraṇ Ḍikāvat (1505-26; no. 44), who himself died there along with three of his sons. Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 429-430, records that Khangār took service under a Paṭhān in order to gain entry to the closely guarded fort at Narnol. In an opportune moment, he then killed several of the Muslims at the fort and fled back to his village of Khāṛīyo unharmed.

Some time later, Khangār is said to have avenged the death of a sister's son (bhānej) named Khīṁvo against the Muslims of Multan. He was again wounded during the venture and had to be carried back to Khāṛīyo.

A sākh of Rāthors emerged from among Khangār's descendants known as Khangārot Jodhos. Vigat, 2:145, lists his village by the name Khāṛīyo Khangār ro ("Khangār's Khāṛīyo").


---

13 Kusāṇo village: located twenty-eight miles southwest of Meṛto.

14 Kekidṛo village: located fifteen miles south-southeast of Meṛto.

15 See infra, "Karamsot Rāthors."
Vágho Sújávat, Kuṃvar (7-1)

Vágho Sújávat was one of the younger of Ráv Sújo Jodhávat's (6-3) eleven sons. He was born of Ráñí Bhátiyáñáí Sáráṅgdejí (pháhar name Likhmíbáí), daughter of Jaisalmer Bháti Kálíkaraṅ Keharot and sister of Bháti Jeso Kálíkaraṅot, whose descendants became the important military servants of Jodhpur known as the Jeso Bhátiś.

Vágho was born in 1457 or 1458. The chronicles agree neither upon the year nor the day, giving dates ranging from December 4, December 7, and December 16, 1457 to April 2, April 5, and April 6, 1458. Vágho was Ráv Sújo's chosen successor (páyvi kuṃvar) to the Jodhpur throne. He died during the Ráv's lifetime, however, and one of his sons, Gángho Vághhávat (8-1), succeeded to the throne following Ráv Sújo's death in 1515.

The chronicles contain few details about Vágho's life. He was born approximately two years before the founding of Jodhpur in 1459, and he grew up under the rule of his grandfather, Ráv Jodhó Rinmalot (ca. 1453-89) (5-1). When his own father, Sújo Jodhávat, ascended the throne ca. 1492 following the brief rule of his paternal uncle, Ráv Sátál Jodhávat (ca. 1489-92) (6-2), he was already thirty-five years old.

The Khyát of Náinší, 3:105, associates Vágho with the village of Bagrí and records that after Ráv Sújo's accession, "Ráv Sújo make incursions into and encompassed all of Márvár. [And he] stationed [his] son, Vágho, at Bagrí." No details are available about Vágho's activities at Bagrí, nor is Vágho's relationship with the family of Ráṭhor Akhairáj Rinmalot known, for this family was closely associated with Bagrí and considered it their homeland (utan).

Vígat, 1:392, includes mention of one tank called Vághheláv, which Vágho had constructed just to the south of Sojhat. At the time of the compilation of the Vígat in the mid-seventeenth century, this tank held water for a short period following the rains, and two stepwells Vágho built inside the tank gave sweet water for drinking. Vígat, 1:41, also records that Vágho gave one elephant in charity as an honorable and pious gesture. The text does not indicate to whom the elephant was given.

Vágho died at Jodhpur on September 3, 1514 from an illness. He was fifty-seven years of age. His death occurred just one year prior to the death of his own father, Ráv Sújo Jodhávat, on October 2, 1515. Murárdáñ, no. 1, pp. 225-226, no. 2, p. 104, records that before his death, Vághho told his father that if

---

16 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Sújo Jodhávat, Ráñí no. 1, and "Jeso Bhátiś" for a discussion of Ráñí Sáráṅgdejí's family and the uncertainties surrounding the identity of her father.


18 Bagrí village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat in eastern Márvar.
one of his own sons were chosen to succeed to the Jodhpur throne, he would rest in peace. Rav Sūjo spoke with Vāgho's elder half-brother, Sekho Sūjāvat (7-2) (no. 86), seeking his support for such a choice. Sekho agreed to comply with his father's wishes, and Rav Sūjo then promised Vāgho that he would designate Vāgho's son, Vīramde Vāghāvat (8-2) (no. 84), as his successor. This choice ushered in seventeen years of conflict within the ruling family of Jodhpur, for the Rathor thākurs close to the throne rejected Vīramde as successor in favor of his half-brother, Gango Vāghāvat (8-1) (Rāv of Jodhpur, 1515-32). Vīramde was relegated to Sojhat, where he ruled as rāv until driven from Mārvār in 1532.

Vāgho had five wives, seven sons, and eight daughters of whom there is record:

His sons listed under their mothers' names were:

1. Cauhuvaṅ Udānbāī (piحار name)
   
   S - Gāṅgo (8-1) - born May 6, 1484; succeeded Rāv Sūjo to the Jodhpur throne in 1515 at the age of thirty-one years.
   
   S - Siṅghaṅ - became an ancestral spirit (pītar).

2. Bhatiyāṅī
   
   S - Bhīṁv - had the fort of Dasorkôt constructed; sometime later, his half-brother, Gāṅgo Vāghāvat, poisoned and killed him.
   
   S - Khetsī

3. Devṛī Cauhuvaṅ Raṅgāde of Sīrohī
   She received the title of rāṅī.
   
   S - Vīramde (8-2) (no. 84).

4. Rāṅāvat Sīsodṇī
   
   S - Jaitsī (8-3) (no. 85).

5. Cauhuvaṅ Pohpāṁbāī (piحار name)
   
   S - Pratāpsī

Vāgho's daughters are not listed by mother in the texts. They were married into the following families:

D - Dhanbāī - married to Sīsodīyo Rāṅo Sāṅgo Rāymalot of Cītor (1509-28). Her son by Rāṅo Sāṅgo was Ratansī Sāṅgāvat (Rāṅo of Mevār, ca. 1528-31).
D - (name unknown) - married to Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot of Cītor.
D - (name unknown) - married to Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot of Cītor.

*Murārdān*, no. 2, p. 105, notes that Rāṇo Sāṅgo was satisfied after he had married a third daughter of the Rāṭhors of Jodhpur.

D - Khetūbāį - married to Hāḍo Cauvūṇ Rāv Narāyāṇḍās Bhāṅgāvat of Būṇḍī (d. ca. 1527). Her son by Rāv Narāyāṇḍās was Sūrajmal Narāyāṇḍāsot (Rāv of Būṇḍī, ca. 1527-31). Sūrajmal and Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Ratansī Sāṅgāvat, his mother's sister's son (see *supra*), killed each other during an outbreak of hostilities in Mevāi.20

D - Ratankumvar - married to Sekhāvat Kāvhā Sūjo Rāymalot of Amarsar in central Rājasthān. Her married name was Amadsārī. Her son by Sūjo Rāymalot was Rāysāl Sāṅgāvat, who rose to a position of great influence under Emperor Akbar, and was known at the Mughal court as "Rāysal Darbārī."

D - Lārbāį - married to Sōlaṅkī Surtāṅh Harrājot of Todo.
D - Bāį - married to Kelhaṅ Bḥāṭī Paṅcāņh Jaitsīyot of Vairasalpur.
D - Gāṅgābāį - died at the age of three years.


(no. 84) Viramde Vāghāvat, Rāv (8-2)

Viramde Vāghāvat was a son of Vāgho Sūjāvat's (7-1) (no. 83) by the Devṛī Cauvūṇ Rāṅgāde of Sīrohī, and grandson of Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (6-3), ruler of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515). Viramde became designated successor (*pātvī kunvvar*) to the Jodhpur throne upon the death of his father, Vāgho, in 1514. According to *Murārdān*, no. 1, pp. 225-226, no. 2, p. 104, Vāgho told his father when he was dying that if one of his sons were chosen successor, he would rest in peace. Rāv Sūjo conferred with an elder son and half-brother of Vāgho's, Sekho Sūjāvat (7-2) (no. 86), to gain his support for this choice, and then promised Vāgho that he would designate his son, Viramde, as successor.

Viramde did succeed briefly to the Jodhpur throne. But he and his mother had alienated the *jhākurs* of Mārvār who were close to the throne, and these *jhākurs* unseated Viramde and placed his half-brother, Gāṅgo Vāghāvat (8-1) (Rāv of Jodhpur, 1515-32), on the throne in his stead. Viramde was then

---

20 See *supra*, "Sīsodīyo Gahlots," Rāṇo Udaiśingh Sāṅgāvat (no. 17), for further details.
relegated to the lands of Sojhat. These were his *bhāvant* ("brother's share") of Mārvār, which he received along with the title of *rāv*. Once at Sojhat, Viramde became "deranged" and spent the next seventeen years fighting his half-brother, Rāv Gāṅgo, over land and authority in Mārvār. He was finally driven from Sojhat and then Mārvār itself. He died some years after his banishment in Mevār, where he had sought protection from the Sisodiyo Rāṇo of Cītōr.

Local chronicles are unanimous in their portrayal of Vīramde Vāghavat as a *kumvar* of the royal family of Jodhpur who was unfit to rule. *Murārdān*, no. 2, p. 106, states, for example:

Viramde used to make senseless statements, because of which the Rajpūts summoned Vāgho's son, Gāṅgo, and gave him the throne.

The *Khyāt* of Naiṇī, 3:80-86, relates in some detail the sequence of events that occurred prior to and following Vīramde's succession, which led to his dethronement and relegation to Sojhat. According to the *Khyāt*, four Mārū *thākurs* came to Jodhpur on some occasion during Rāv Sūjo's later years of rule. While they were in the city, the rains began, preventing them from returning to their camps. The *thākurs* were in need of provisions and sent word to Vīramde Vāghavat's mother, the Devrī Raṅgāde, asking her to provide for them. They received only a curt reply from the Devrī that they should cover themselves with their own woolen garments and proceed to their camps. The Devrī stated, "Who will feed you here?" The *thākurs* then sent word to Gāṅgo Vāghavat's mother, the Cāhuvaṅ Udānbāi, who responded deferentially, saying:

*Thākurs!* Please be seated in the hall of assembly (darīkhāno). We will perform many services [for you] (*ibid.*, 3:80).

The *thākurs* came away very satisfied with their treatment, and when they left Jodhpur, they sent a message to the Cāhuvaṅ Udānbāi with the words:

"Your son, Gāṅgo, has the good fortune of [receiving] Jodhpur."

... Then the Rāṇi had blessings conveyed [to the *thākurs*]. And [she] said, "Jī, we acquired Jodhpur only because of your influence. He alone receives to whom you give" (*ibid.*).

Later, when Vīramde succeeded to the throne, these *thākurs*, who included Rāthoṛ Paṅcāin Akhairājot 21 and Rāthoṛ Bhairavdās Cāmpāvat, 22 led a faction at court that deposed Vīramde. They then had Gāṅgo Vāghavat summoned from Īlar, where he had gone to live, and they placed Gāṅgo on the throne. Gāṅgo's accession took place on November 8, 1515. The *Khyāt* of

---

21 See *supra*, "Jaitāvat Rāthoṛs."
Naiṅśī, 3:81, records that when these thākurs took Viramde from the fort of Jodhpur, they met Munḍhato Rāymal Khetāvat (no. 159), a strong supporter of Viramde's and his family. The Munḍhato is reported to have said:

"Hey! Why are [you] taking this chosen successor (pāṭvī kumṇvar) from the fort?" Rāymal then brought Viramde back [to the fort]. Then all [the Rajpūts with Rāymal] gathered right there and said [to Rāv Gāṅgo], "Jī, [you] should give Sojhat to Viramde." [And Rāv Gāṅgo] made Viramde rāv of Sojhat.

Viramde did acquire Sojhat as his share of the lands of Mārvār due to Munḍhato Rāymal's efforts. The Khyāt of Naiṅśī, 3:81, notes, however, that once at Sojhat:


This situation, defined by Rāv Viramde's apparent bed-ridden madness following his dethronement and his unwillingness to assume a position subordinate to Rāv Gāṅgo of Jodhpur, led to the subsequent hostilities between Sojhat and Jodhpur.

Munḍhato Rāymal served as Rāv Viramde's pradhāṇ and the commander of his warriors in battle during these years. He proved himself to be a capable leader and enabled Sojhat to stand its ground before Jodhpur. Much of the history of this struggle from the Jodhpur perspective relates to Rāv Gāṅgo's attempts to control alliances among the Rajpūts involved in the fighting. Among these Rajpūts were Jaito Paṅcāṅiṅot (no. 61) and Kūmpo Mahirājot (no. 95). Jaito Paṅcāṅiṅot, son of Paṅcāṅiṅ Akhairājot, was a member of the original faction of thākurs who had seated Rāv Gāṅgo on the throne. Jaito quickly emerged as Rāv Gāṅgo's leading warrior, but Jaito maintained ties with his ancestral village of Bagrī23 which had come within Rāv Viramde's share of lands. The Khyāt of Naiṅśī, 3:81-82, records the following observation:


The people of Jaito's vasi eventually left Bagrī in compliance with Rāv Gāṅgo's orders. But their departure did not occur until Munḍhato Rāymal had killed

23 Bagrī village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat.

24 Bilārō village: located twenty-one miles north-northwest of Bagrī in Jodhpur territory.
Jaito's *dhāy-bhāī* ("milk-brother"), Reṇo, at Sojhat. When the news of his death reached Bagṛ, the people of the vasi became afraid and fled to the lands of Jodhpur.

Rāv Gāṅgo's next move was to bring one of Rāv Vīramde's leading warriors, Kūmpo Maharājot, to Jodhpur. He managed this change of allegiance through the offices of Jaito Paṇcaīnōt. Jaito offered Kūmpo a *paṭo* worth a lakh, to be selected from among the finest villages of Jodhpur, and he had Rāv Gāṅgo send a writing to Kūmpo arguing that he should leave Sojhat because the fighting between Sojhat and Jodhpur was of no import. Rāv Vīramde had no sons and after his death, the lands of Sojhat would inevitably pass to Jodhpur.

Kūmpo saw the wisdom of this reasoning and agreed to leave if Rāv Gāṅgo would not attack the villages of Sojhat for one year.25 Rāv Gāṅgo readily accepted this condition and brought Kūmpo to Jodhpur ca. 1529. With Kūmpo came all the Riṃmalots26 who were at Sojhat, and their departure further weakened Rāv Vīramde's position.

The *Khyāt* of Naiṇśi, 3:84, records that Kūmpo became Rāv Gāṅgo's army commander and established a stable of horses on the borders of Sojhat:

Then [Kūmpo Maharājot] brought [horses] to Dhaulharo [village27 near Sojhat] and established a stable. [He] stationed four thousand of Rāv Gāṅgo's household warriors (*cīndhar*)28 at [this] outpost . . . [and he] stationed [four of the Rāv's] nobles (*umrāv*) with [these men] and the horses.29

Kūmpo used this large mobile force of Rajputs to raid into Sojhat and harass Muṃhato Raymal's forces. Even then, Muṃhato Raymal was able to inflict a severe defeat upon Rāv Gāṅgo's warriors at Dhaulharo, and when he returned to Sohat after the battle, he went before Rāv Vīramde and said:

25 This timeframe seems a formality only, for in fact Kūmpo himself appears to have led raids into Sojhat within a short time after his coming to Jodhpur.

26 Riṃmalots: descendants of Rāv Riṃmal Cūṇḍāvat, ruler of Maṇḍor, ca. 1428-38.

27 Dhaulharo village: located eighteen miles west-northwest of Sojhat.

28 *Cīndhar*: this term also refers to men who were hired soldiers working for short periods of time and who sometimes held small land grants. See: Lālas, *RSK*, 2:1:920-921.

"I have brought your father's and grandfather's horses (bāp-dādaiṛa ġhorā)." The baniyo [Mumhato Rāymal] had caused so much destruction that for two years, Rāv Gāṅgo could not recover (ibid, 3:85).\(^{30}\)

Rāv Vīramde did not help his own cause during this time, however. He alienated a powerful Rāthor who sought to ally himself with Sojhat, and he became involved with his paternal uncle, Sekho Sūjāvat (7-2) (no. 86), through the ministrations of his wife, the Sīsodni. This latter involvement estranged Mumhato Rāymal and ultimately brought Rāv Vīramde's downfall.

The Rāthor who sought to ally himself with Sojhat was Ģuḥār Hardās Mokalot (no. 144). Hardās had held the lands of Koḍhno village\(^ {31}\) in paṭo from Rāv Gāṅgo, but he acquired the enmity of the Rāv's son, Kumbār Mālde Gāṅgāvat (Rāv of Jodhpur, 1532-62) (9-1), because of his failure to perform expected service. Kumbār Mālde had Hardās's paṭo revoked, and Hardās then came to Sojhat. He offered his service to Rāv Vīramde on the sole condition that the Rāv fight against Rāv Gāṅgo and the house of Jodhpur. Rāv Vīramde readily accepted this condition and settled Hardās at Sojhat.

The Khyāt of Nainsī, 3:88, notes, however, that Rāv Vīramde soon alienated Ģuḥār Hardās because of insensitive remarks he (Vīramde) made about him. Hardās rode into battle one day on a horse from Rāv Vīramde's stable. Both Hardās and the horse were wounded during the fighting, but when Hardās returned to Sojhat, Rāv Vīramde could only find fault with him for allowing his horse to be injured. Hardās rebuked Rāv Vīramde, calling him an unworthy Rajput (kurajput), and he left Sojhat in anger for Nāgaur, where he entered into the household (vās) of Sarkhel Kāhān (no. 155) for a short period before moving on to Pimpse.\(^ {32}\) At Pimpse he allied himself with Rāv Vīramde's paternal uncle, Sekho Sūjāvat.

Sekho Sūjāvat, whom the Khyāt of Nainsī, 3:86, describes as Rāv Vīramde's got-bhārī (lit. "gotra-brother"), came to Sojhat in this same period to meet with Rāv Vīramde's wife, the Sīsodni. He told her that if she would have him included on Rāv Vīramde's side in the struggle with Jodhpur, Rāv Vīramde would gain the upper hand. Sekho was well aware that Rāv Vīramde had no sons, and that any victory over Jodhpur would ultimately be to his favor. The Sīsodni turned to Mumhato Rāymal Khetāvat for advice. Mumhato Rāymal told her not to form an alliance with Sekho. But the Sīsodni did not listen and proceeded to include Sekho in the affairs of Sojhat. This alliance opened the

\(^{30}\) Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 74, records that Mumhato Rāymal attacked Dhuḷharo in February of 1532, considerably later than the time set forth in Nainsī's Khyāt, and that he did not capture any horses. This text speaks of Mumhato Rāymal's disappointing performance at Dhuḷharo as a prelude to his defeat before Sojhat shortly thereafter.

\(^{31}\) Koḍhno village: located twenty-eight miles west-southwest of Jodhpur.

\(^{32}\) Pimpse village: located thirty-three miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.
possibility that the lands of Sojhat would pass from Vāgho Sūjayat's family to another of Rāv Śujo Jodhāvat's sons. Muṃhato Rāymal reasoned:

"Now [it is] not my dharma [to remain here as Rāv Vīrāmde's pradhān]."

Then Rāymal had word sent to Rāv Gāngo, . . "I will die in battle. [And I] will give the land [of Sojhat] to you" (ibid.).

The battle for Sojhat between Rāv Gāngo and Muṃhato Rāymal was delayed for some time. The Rāv's attention was drawn first to the rebuilding of his own forces, and then to a confrontation with his father's brother (kāko), Sekho Sūjayat, which culminated in the battle of Sevaki on November 2, 1529. Both Sekho Sūjayat and Hardās Mokaloṭ were killed at Sevakī.

This conflict ended Sekho Sūjayat's involvement in the affairs of Sojhat, but it did not change Muṃhato Rāymal's position nor mitigate the hostilities that lay between Sojhat and Jodhpur. In the early months of 1532, Rāv Gāngo and his son, Kuṃṇvar Mālde, brought the army of Jodhpur before Sojhat to challenge Muṃhato Rāymal.34 Khyāt (ibid.) records that before riding out to fight against the forces of Jodhpur, Muṃhato Rāymal came before Rāv Vīrāmde and circumambulated his bed with his right side facing the Rāv in reverential salutation. He grasped the Rāv's feet in the manner of a son. He then left to gather his sāth to meet Rāv Gāngo and Kuṃṇvar Mālde. Rāymal was killed on this day by Kūmpo Mahirājot's hand.35

33 Sevakī village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.

34 Local chronicles give the following dates for the conquest of Sojhat: "Aitihāsik Bātām," p. 38, states that Sojhat was taken on March 16, 1532, while Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 110-111, gives the date of March 2, 1532 for the battle at Sojhat, and April 9, 1532 for the occupation of the fort. Bāṅkīdaś, p. 9, provides the alternate date of March 17, 1532 for the battle. Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 74, also gives the date of Sunday, March 17, 1532 for the battle with Muṃhato Rāymal.

For an alternative opinion about the dating of this event, see Ojhā, 4:1:277, n. 1. Ojhā acknowledges the dates given in the khyātis, but takes issue with them, stating that they "cannot be considered trustworthy." He feels that the conquest of Sojhat should be placed before the battle of Sevakī, which took place in November of 1529. He sites as evidence the fact that Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot (1509-28) is mentioned in several khyātis as having come to Rāv Vīrāmde's aid, but then returned to Mevār when he saw the strength of Rāv Gāngo's army before Sojhat. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 111, has such a reference to Rāṇo Sāṅgo. But it records that Rāṇo Sāṅgo attacked Rāv Gāngo after he had captured Sojhat. Adding to the confusion, mention of this event occurs following discussion of the conquest of Sojhat itself on March 2, 1532, as noted above. Rāṇo Sāṅgo was killed in 1528.

35 Bāṅkīdaś, p. 10, records that during the battle for Sojhat, Muṃhato Rāymal became a kabanḍh, a body that keeps fighting after its head has been severed in battle. It is said that when the kabanḍh's head falls off, a new eye opens in the area of its breast, by which it "sees" (see Lalās, RSK, 1:413). Bāṅkīdaś notes that during the battle at
Rāv Gāngo now forced Vīramde from Sojhat, relegating him to the village of Khairvo. But Murārdān, no. 1. p. 641, notes that Vīramde became even more deranged at Khaiervo and continued his depredations into the lands of Jodhpur. Rāv Gāngo then drove him from Mārvār altogether. Vīramde went to Mevār, where Sisodiyo Rāño Vikramaditya Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1531-36) granted him the village of Indravaṇo in Godhvār for his maintenance. Even here Rāv Vīramde continued to organize expeditions against Rāv Gāngo’s lands. On one occasion his Rajpūts attacked Cāmpāvat Rāḥor Jeso Bhairavdāsot’s (no. 48) village of Rinsīgāmv. His forces suffered a severe defeat here. Shortly thereafter, Rāv Vīramde met Rāv Gāngo’s warriors at Sāraṇ village, and he was again defeated with great loss. Vīramde then returned to Godhvār, where he remained for the rest of his life. He died at Indravaṇo some years later. A cenotaph was built in his memory above a tank at the village.

While at Sojhat, Rāv Vīramde granted the village of Pāṇcvo to the Śiva Brāhmaṇ Purohīt Narsingh Cothot in sāmsañ.


Sojhat, a lākhā lovṛī ("costly woolen") was thrown over the kabanḍh when it fell down from its horse and lay on the ground.

An informant from Jodhpur, Śrī Kailāś Dānjī Ujjval, describes the lovṛī as a woolen mantle or shawl (oḍhṛī) of light chocolate or maroon color (white and black colors are permissible among certain groups) that is worn by a widow and remarks that covering the kabanḍh with a fine, costly mantle was a respectable way for friends to silence it. Śrī Ujjval also notes that during a battle, opponents traditionally sprinkled an "impious liquid," usually indigo water (-nil ro pāṇī), on the kabanḍh’s body in order to still it and make it fall down.

See infra, Muṃhato Rāymal Khetāvat (no. 159), for further discussion about Muṃhato Rāymal’s career and death in battle before Sojhat and about kabanḍh.

36 Khairvo village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur and twenty-two miles southwest of Sojhat.

37 Indravaṇo village: located in Godhvār one mile north of Ahilāṇī village and twelve miles south of Khairvo, on the north side of the Sumerī River.

38 Rinsīgāmv village: located forty-three miles east of Jodhpur.

39 Sāraṇ village: located eighteen miles southeast of Sojhat.

40 Pāṇcvo village: located sixteen miles northwest of Sojhat.
Jaitsī Vāghāvat was a grandson of Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (6-3), ruler of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515), and a son of Vāgho Sūjāvat (7-1) (no. 83) by his wife, the Rāṇāvāt Sisodī. Little information is available about Jaitsī's life. He was a military servant of Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgāvat (9-1) of Jodhpur (1532-62). Murārdān, no. 1, p. 641, records that his "seat" was at the village of Brāṃhamī. Vigat, 1:455, observes that the village of Sidhā Vāṃśī, located just three miles to the southeast of Brāṃhamī, was settled during Jaitsī's time. It is likely that this land was incorporated within his paṭo. Vigat, 1:44, also lists Kosīthāl and Bīsalpur in Gōdhvār as areas Jaitsī held following Rāv Māḷde's seizure of this land from Mevār in the years immediately following his accession to the throne in 1532.

Jaitsī is credited with the murder of Varsīṅghot Mṛtiyo Rāv Gāṅgo Sīhāvat (no. 149) at Gāṅgo's village of Asop in 1543-44. Local sources do not specify the reason for this murder. They state only that Jaitsī surprised Rāv Gāṅgo one day while the Rāv was sitting on the porch of his home, and killed him.

One year later in 1544, Jaitsī was among the thākurs of Mārvār who rode with Rāv Māḷde to confront Mṛtiyo Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat (no. 107) and Sher Shāh Sūr at the battle of Samel. Jaitsī took part in the initial fighting at Samel on January 5. But "Aītīhāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 44, lists him as one of the great thākurs who withdrew from Samel and joined Rāv Māḷde in exile in the hills of Sīvāṇo during the Muslim occupation of eastern Mārvār and Jodhpur.

No further information is available about Jaitsī. It is possible that he was wounded at Samel and later died from these injuries. He had no sons. Murārdān, no. 1, p. 641, records that after his death, Rāv Māḷde presented all the hujārs, Brāhmaṇs, and Rajpūts of Jaitsī's vasī to his own son, Kumvār Udaisiṅgh Māldevot (Rājā of Jodhpur, 1583-95) (10-2), who kept them stationed at Brāṃhamī village.


Sekho Sūjāvat was an elder son of Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (6-3), ruler of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515). His mother was a daughter of Sācoro Cahuvaṇ

---

41 Brāṃhamī village: located fifteen miles southeast of Jodhpur on the Lūṇī River.

42 Bīsalpur village: located twenty-five miles southwest of Nāḍūl. The location of Kosīthāl is uncertain.

43 Asop village: located fifty miles northeast of Jodhpur.

44 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.
Pithamrāv Tejsiyot, whose father, Tejsī Varjāṅgot, was Rāv of Sācor in southern Mārvār.

Rāv Sūjo did not choose Sekho to succeed him to the Jodhpur throne. The Rāv conferred this honor first upon a younger son, Vāgho Sūjāvat (7-1) (no. 83) by his wife, Rāñī Bhāṭīyānī Sārāngdejī. Vāgho fell ill and died in 1514, however, at which time Rāv Sūjo promised Vāgho that his son, Viramde Vāghāvat (8-2) (no. 84), would succeed to the throne. Murārdān, no. 1, p. 226, records that before making this promise, Rāv Sūjo sought out his son, Sekho, to obtain his support for this choice. Sekho assented to Viramde's selection.

Sekho appears to have lived apart from Jodhpur during the latter part of Rāv Sūjo reign. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 302, notes that he had received the lands of Pīmpār from his father, and that he established himself there.

Rāv Sūjo died at Jodhpur on October 2, 1515 and was succeeded first by his grandson, Viramde Vāghāvat, and then by Viramde's half-brother, Gāṅgo Vāghāvat (8-1), whom a powerful faction of Rāhōṛ ḥāḵurs seated on the throne. Local chronicles relate that Sekho did not hold loyalties or obligations toward Gāṅgo Vāghāvat, and that enmity quickly emerged between father's brother (kāko) and brother's son (bhaṭiṭo) as Sekho sought wider control of lands in central Mārvār and finally, the throne of Jodhpur itself.

Murārdān, no. 2, p. 106, and Bāṅkīdās, p. 11, both include a story which speaks of the emergence of enmity between Sekho and Rāv Gāṅgo. Sekho and Rāv Gāṅgoji are said to have been bathing together one day at a spring with their Rajpūts. The Rajpūts began splashing water on each other in fun, but their play soon turned serious as the sides opposed one another in mock battle, each vowing not to retreat. Sekho is said to have set his mind against Rāv Gāṅgo at this time, while Rāv Gāṅgo sought some means of conciliation. Rāv Gāṅgo later proposed a division of lands in Mārvār, offering Sekho all the land with karar grass, while he took the land with bhurat grass. Sekho is said to have considered this proposal, but his pradhān, Ḫuṛā Hardās Mokalot (no. 144), would not hear of any accommodation with the house of Jodhpur and turned Sekho against the offer. Ḫuṛā Hardās had settled in Sekho's vās (residence, dwelling") and taken service under him solely on the condition that he fight against Jodhpur. He spent all of his time with Sekho plotting battle strategy against Rāv Gāṅgo.

Sekho also involved himself in the affairs of Sojhat during this time, where he sought an alliance with his brother's son, Rāv Viramde Vāghāvat (8-2)

45 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Sūjo Jodhāvat, Rāñī no. 2, S - Sekho.

46 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Sūjo Jodhāvat, Rāñī no. 1, S - Vāgho.

47 Pīmpār village: located thirty-three miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.

48 Karar is a tall, thin-leaved grass much used for fodder. It is more common in eastern Mārvār. Bhurat is a burr-grass more common in the sandier tracts of central Mārvār.
(no. 84). Rāv Vīramde was himself engaged in on-going hostilities with Rāv Gāngo over control of land in Mārvār, and he accepted Sekho as an ally at the behest of his wife, the Sisodī.

Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 302-303, records that following Sekho's alliance with Sojhat, Rāv Gāngo's son, Kūṃvar Mālde Gāṅgāvat (9-1), and Kūṃvar Mālde's mother's brother (māmo), Devṛo Cahuṅā Rāv Akhairāj Jagmālot of Sīrohī, stopped to visit Sekho one day at Pīmpār while hunting together on the plains of central Mārvār. Sekho showed them great hospitality, but Akhairāj quickly noted the many horses, men, and provisions at Sekho's, and he grew suspicious. He said to his sister's son (bhānej):

"Sekho is not under your control." Mālde replied, "He is not? How so?" Then Akhairāj said, "If he is, then seize one of his villages and see. If he is under your command, he will not raise his head."

Kūṃvar Mālde afterwards had one of Sekho's villages sequestered. This action enraged Sekho and led him to begin overt preparations for battle against Jodhpur.

Sekho and Hardās then met with Khānzāda Khān Muḥammad Khān II (Daulat Khān or Daulatīyo) (ca. 1526-36; no. 154) at Nāgaur to enlist his aid against Jodhpur. The Khyāt of Nāinsī, 3:90, records that Uḥār Hardās promised to marry daughters to the Muslims in return for their support. When Sekho questioned whose daughters Hardās meant, Hardās replied that if they were victorious against Jodhpur, there would be many girls from whom to choose, while if they lost, what would it matter (see Khyāt, 3:89-90, of the translated text for details). With this promise and assurances of victory over Rāv Gāngo, Daulat Khān agreed to join them. He brought eighty armored elephants and a large number of Muslim warriors from Nāgaur with him.

Rāv Gāngo summoned the aid of his paternal relation, Bīkāvat Rāṭhor Rāv Jaitsī Lūṅkaraṇot of Bīkāner (ca. 1526-42; no. 45), for this confrontation. The opposing armies met at the village of Sevakī19 on November 2, 1529. Rāv Gāngo again attempted to conciliate Sekho before battle with another proposal for the division of lands in Mārvār. But neither Sekho nor his pradhān would consider the offer. Sekho sent word back to Rāv Gāngo that he had prepared the field for battle.

When the opposing forces closed, Rāv Gāngo's warriors were able to scatter the Nāgauri Khān's elephants with a shower of arrows, and Rāv Gāngo himself is credited with wounding the Khān's lead elephant, DariyājoTs, and its mahout. The Muslims then fled the field, leaving Sekho and Hardās alone with their Rajpūts to confront Rāv Gāngo and Rāv Jaitsī. The Khyāt of Nāinsī, 3:92, records that "Sekho dismounted along with seven hundred men" to join with Rāv Gāngo in battle and that both Sekho and Hardās Uḥār died fighting along with their sons. The field fell to Rāv Gāngo of Jodhpur who took with him many of the Khān's elephants as the spoils of victory. "Aitihasik Bātāṃ," p. 37, notes

---

19 Sevakī village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.
that at Sevakī, the efforts of the Akhairājot Rāṯhorṣ, who had come with Rāv Gāℏo, were much praised for their role in achieving this victory.

Rāv Gāℏo and Rāv Jaitsī of Bīkaner found Sekho Sūjāvat after the battle. He was lying on the field where he had fallen, still alive. Rāv Jaitsī provided shade for Sekho and gave him opium to eat along with some water. Khyāḷ, 3:92, states that Sekho questioned who Jaitsī was and why he had entered hostilities between a father's brother and a brother's son, who quarreled over land. He then warned Rāv Jaitsī that Jaitsī's fate would be the same as his own had been.

Rāv Jaitsī Lūŋkaraṇot was killed on February 26, 1542 fighting against Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's army of Jodhpur that conquered Bīkaner.

"Aīṯhāṣīk Bāṯam," p. 60, records another statement Sekho made before he died. According to this text, Sekho said, "You should say to Rāṯhor Jaitsī Uḍāvat, [and you] should say to Tejsī Đuṅgarsīyat, [that] they should settle the vair."

Sekho referred to hostilities that existed between the Rāṯhorṣ of Jodhpur and the Cahuvaṇaṣ of Sūrācand. The vair had begun when the Cahuvaṇ ruler of Sūrācand murdered a servant of Sekho Sūjāvat's. Sekho was unable to avenge the death of this servant during his lifetime, and he asked these Uḍāvat Rāṯhorṣ to settle the hostilities for him. Sekho was Jaitsī Uḍāvat's (no. 139) paternal uncle and Tejsī Đuṅgarsīyat's (no. 138) great uncle. Jaitsī Uḍāvat later mounted an attack on Sūrācand in 1534-35 to end the vair.

Sekho's uterine brother, Devīḍaṣ Sūjāvat, was with him at Sevakī, but he survived the fighting. Murāḍāṇ, no. 2, pp. 431-432, notes that his Rajpūts took him from the field and would not allow him to die, telling him that Sekho himself had already retreated in order to convince him to leave. Devīḍaṣ then withdrew along with his mother's brother, Sācoro Cahuvaṇ Ajo Pithamravat (Prithlravat). Both soon quit Māvrā and took service under the Sīsodiyo Rāṇo of Citoṛ, Vikramaditya Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1531-36). They were killed at Citoṛ in 1533 when it came under attack from the forces of Sultaṇ Bahāḍur Shāḥ of Gujarāt (1526-37).

Most of Sekho's family left Māvrā following his death. Murāḍāṇ, no. 2, pp. 306-307, reports that Sekho's son, Sahasmal Sekhāvat (8-4), was driven from the land and went to Bāgā in the hills of western Mevār. One of Sahasmal's sons did hold a pato village in Sojhat Pargano many years later, but then revolted and left Māvrā. A grandson is also said to have come back to Māvrā from Būṇḍī in 1661, during the rule of Rājā Javsantsīṅgh Gajsīṅghot (1638-78) (13-1).

Some years after Sevakī, a sāḵ of Rāṯhorṣ emerged known as Sekhāvat. Both Bāṅkidās, p. 11, and Murāḍāṇ, no. 3, p. 76, note that many of Sekho's descendants became Muslims and that in Hāḍautī, the Rāṯhor master of Nāhargadẖ was called navāb.

---

50 Sūrācand: a town located 125 miles southwest of Jodhpur.

51 See infra, "Uḍāvat Rāṯhorṣ," for further details about this vair and its settlement.
(no. 87) **Kisandas Gaṅgāvat (9-2)**

Kisandas Gaṅgāvat was a son of Rāv Gaṅgo Vāghāvat (8-1), ruler of Jodhpur (1515-32). He was born of Rāṇī Bhātiyaṇī Lāḍbāi (pihar name), whose father is unidentified in local chronicles.\(^{52}\)

Only a few details are available about Kisandas's life. He appears first in the texts as a military servant of Meṛṭīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot of Meṛtō (no. 107). He fought at the battle of Meṛtō in 1554, when the Meṛṭīyos defeated Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) and his Rāṭhōṛ Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 63). "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṁ," p. 50, mentions that when Rāv Mālde began to leave his camp at the village of Gaṅgāṛro\(^{53}\) after his defeat, a military servant of Rāv Jaimal's named Sīsōḍīyo Megho drew near him and attempted to strike him with his lance. Kisandas Gaṅgāvat and another Rāṭhōṛ, Dūṅgārī Ḫūdāvāt (no. 137), saw Megho and killed him before he could harm Rāv Mālde. Meṛṭīyo Rāv Jaimal and others with him were infuriated when they learned what had happened. Kisandas then fled Meṛtō for Rāv Mālde's vāṁ ("residence, dwelling"), where he sought safety.

Kisandas remained in the service of Jodhpur for a time thereafter. **Murārdān**, no. 1, p. 632, notes that he held the paṭō of Nandvāṅ village,\(^{54}\) but provides no details about his activities. He was inconstant in his loyalty to Jodhpur, however, for when Rāv Mālde's son and successor, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81) (10-1), fled Jodhpur to live in exile in the Arāvallis and in southern Rājasthān in the mid-1570s, Kisandas remained behind in Mārvāṛ. He was unable to retain possession of his lands at Nandvāṅ, however, in the face of the Mughal occupation.

When and where Kisandas died is uncertain. **Murārdān (ibid.)** notes only that he was killed by the Thoris.


---

\(^{52}\) See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Gaṅgo Vāghāvat, Rāṇī no. 5, S - Kisandas.  

\(^{53}\) Gaṅgāṛro village: located seven miles west-northwest of Meṛtō.  

\(^{54}\) Nandvāṅ village: located twelve miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.
Isardas Kalyāṇḍāsot (12-7)

Isardas Kalyāṇḍāsot was a son of Rāṇo Kalyāṇḍās Rāymalot (11-9) of Sīvāṇo and a great-grandson of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (1532-62) (9-1). Isardas and his family played only minor roles in the affairs of Mārvār during the period under review. For the most part, they were military servants of the Mughals following the departure of Isardas's grandfather, Rāymal Māldevot (10-3), from Mārvār in the early 1560s, and they maintained only sporadic and inconstant alliances with Jodhpur.

Rāymal Māldevot (10-3)

Isardas's grandfather, Rāymal Māldevot, was born of Rāṇi Jhālī Hirādejl, a daughter of Jhālō Māno (Mansīngh) Jaiṣīyot of Hālvad. He served under his father, Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat, during the early part of his life. Rāv Mālde stationed Rāymal at the fort of Sīvāṇo in southwestern Mārvār after his conquest of this area in 1538. Rāymal was in possession of Sīvāṇo at the time of his half-brother Candrasen Māldevot's succession to the Jodhpur throne in 1562. Shortly thereafter, Rāymal joined two of his other half-brothers, Udaisīngh Māldevot (10-2) and Rām Māldevot (10-4), in attempts to seize lands in Mārvār from Rāv Candrasen and to challenge his authority to rule.

Rāv Candrasen was successful in countering these moves against him. He was able to force Rāymal from the area of Dūnārō where he had begun raiding. He halted Rām Māldevot's depredations in the area of Sōjhat and drove him back across the Arāvallīs into Mēvār. And he defeated his uterine brother, Udaisīngh Māldevot, in battle at Lohiyāvāṭ village ca. 1563.

Rāv Candrasen later took Sīvāṇo from Rāymal, forcing him to leave Mārvār for Mēvār. Local chronicles do not indicate how long Rāymal remained in Mēvār nor do they say anything about his activities there. He eventually moved on to north India, where he took service under Mughal Emperor Akbar. It is probable that Rāymal was among the contingent of troops that Akbar sent under the command of Shāh Quīlī Māhramī against Rāv Candrasen at Sīvāṇo in 1574-75, but the chronicles do not mention Rāymal's name. Murārdān, no. 1, p. 605, notes that following Sīvāṇo's conquest, however, Rāymal received Sīvāṇo in jāgīr. It is unclear from the sources how long he remained in possession.

Rāymal Māldevot died in 1581-82.

Local sources record two of Rāymal's marriages, one to a daughter of Hāḍo Rāv Surjān Urjaṇot of Būndī (ca. 1568-1607) named Ratankumvar, and a...

55 Sīvāṇo town: located fifty-eight miles southwest of Jodhpur.

56 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Mālde Gāṅgāvat, Rāṇī no. 4, S - Rāymal.

57 Dūnārō village: located thirty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur.

58 Lohiyāvāṭ village: located eighteen miles southeast of Phalodhīi in northern Mārvār.
second to a daughter of a Kachvāho Rajput also named Raymal. The identity of this Kachvāho and the name of his daughter are unknown.

One of Raymal's daughters was married to Akbar's son, Prince Dānyāl, on October 2, 1595. Akbar Nāma, 3:1040, mentions this marriage in passing, and it is unclear from the text which of Raymal's sons or grandsons took part in the marriage arrangements. It is possible that Raymal's grandson, Ḫisārdās Kalyāṇḍāsot, arranged the marriage in an attempt to create a firmer alliance with the Mughals following his father Kalyāṇḍās Rāymalot's revolt from Akbar and death in battle at Sivāṇo in January of 1589.


Kalyāṇḍās Rāymalot (11-9)

Ḫisārdās's father, Kalyāṇḍās Rāymalot, and Kalyāṇḍās's brother, Pratāpsī Rāymalot (11-11), were also Imperial servants of Mughal Emperor Akbar's. Vigat, 2:219-220, notes that, following Rāymal Māḷdevot's death in 1581-82, both Kalyāṇḍās and Pratāpsī approached the Emperor regarding Sivāṇo, and that Akbar granted it to them in jāgīr, giving the title of Rāṇo to Kalyāṇḍās. Murārdān, no. 1, pp. 610-611, records in its genealogy of this family that Pratāpsī received only a number of villages of Sivāṇo from Akbar, not Sivāṇo itself.

Little is known about Rāṇo Kalyāṇḍās's activities during the years between 1581 and 1588. Murārdān, no. 1, p. 605, mentions that Kalyāṇḍās performed military service at Lahore. He also spent time in Mārvār, for Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 629-631, records his involvement in a local dispute that included two of his brothers, Pratāpsī and Kāṅho Rāymalot (11-10), and a number of their military servants. According to Murārdān, Kalyāṇḍās's brothers quarreled over the division of villages in Sivāṇo following Kalyāṇḍās's receipt of Sivāṇo in jāgīr. A military servant of Kāṅho Rāymalot's named Javant Dāsāvāt blamed this quarrel on Muṁhato Narāyāṇād, who served under Pratāpsī Rāymalot. Javant is said to have told Kāṅho that "the cause of this enmity is that shopkeeper (bānīyo), Narāyāṇ." Muṁhato Narāyāṇād became angry when he learned of Javant's remarks. He confronted him, and they fell into an open quarrel during which weapons were drawn. But others around them intervened and stopped the fight before anyone was hurt. Murārdān notes that there was much affection between Kalyāṇḍās and his brother, Kāṅho, and that Kalyāṇḍās then gathered his sāth and attacked Muṁhato Narāyāṇād at his brother, Pratāpsī's, home. During the fighting there, a servant of Kalyāṇḍās's named Rāso Nagrajot was killed, and Muṁhato Narāyāṇād was badly wounded. Murārdān gives no further details about this skirmish, except to say that some
time later, a Rāṭhoṛ friend of Mumḥato Narāyandās stole a number of Kalyāṇdās's horses, putting Kalyāṇdās in a difficult position.

Rāṇo Kalyāṇdās revolted from Akbar in 1588. The circumstances surrounding his revolt and his death in battle at Śivāṇo in January of 1589 are of interest and are recounted here in some detail:

*Murārdān* records two different accounts of the revolt. In its section on the reign of Moṭo Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95) (10-2), *Murārdān*, no. 2, p. 188, states that, while at Lahore, Kalyāṇdās killed a Saiyyid who was an Imperial servant of Akbar during a quarrel. When Akbar learned of this murder, he ordered the Moṭo Rājā to kill Kalyāṇdās. Kalyāṇdās then fled from the Imperial camp for Mārvār, and he took refuge in the fort of Śivāṇo.

Elsewhere in its genealogy of Rāymal Māldevot's family, *Murārdān*, no. 1, p. 605, states that Rāṇo Kalyāṇdās took offense when the Moṭo Rājā married his daughter, Manāvatībāḷī (popularly known as Jodhbaī), to Akbar's son, Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) ca. 1586.  

59 Kalyāṇdās is said to have been angered by the Moṭo Rājā's actions and to have remarked:

> Why has a daughter been married to the Turks? I will kill Prince [Salīm] and the Moṭo Rājā!

When the Moṭo Rājā learned of this remark, he informed Akbar. Akbar then ordered the Moṭo Rājā to kill Kalyāṇdās, whereupon Kalyāṇdās fled the Imperial camp.

*Vigat*, 2:220, supports *Murārdān*'s latter entry, noting:

> The Moṭo Rājā married a daughter to Prince [Salīm]. Then there was a fight with Rāṭhoṛ Kalyāṇdās.

In compliance with the Emperor's orders, the Moṭo Rājā sent an expedition against Śivāṇo under Bhaṇḍārī Māṇo and two of his sons, Kuṃvar Bhopat Udaiśinghot (11-4) and Kuṃvar Jaitsingh Udaiśinghot (11-6). But Kalyāṇdās entrenched himself in the fort and proved too strong an opponent. He also led a daring night attack against the army from Jodhpur with fifty or sixty of his men, creating havoc among its ranks and forcing its flight from the area. In the face of this defeat, the Moṭo Rājā received permission from the Emperor to leave the Imperial camp. He returned to Mārvār to lead a second, stronger expedition against Śivāṇo himself. This force allowed Kalyāṇdās no quarter. Realizing that his defeat was imminent, Kalyāṇdās had his wives perform *jauhar*,  

59 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Udaiśingh Māldevot, Rāṇi no. 10, D - Manāvatībāḷī.

60 *Jauhar*: a mass ritual suicide, performed by burning on pyres or leaping to death from the walls of a fort in the face of defeat. The *jauhar* is generally performed by women before their men sally forth to fight to the death.
The texts provide different dates for the events that occurred at Sivano. *Murārdān*, no. 2, pp. 190-191, records that the *jauhar* at the fort took place on Thursday, January 2, 1589, and that Kalyāṇḍās then emerged with his Rajpūts and was killed in battle immediately thereafter. *Vigat*, 2:220, and "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṁ," p. 92, give the date of November 19, 1589 for the Moto Rājā's conquest of Sivāṇo and Kalyāṇḍās's death. The latter date appears incorrect and is unsupported in modern histories of Mārvār. Ojhā, 4:1:360, for example, following *Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt*, p. 123, gives the earlier date of Thursday, January 2, 1589 for the Moto Rājā's entry into Sivāṇo.

The Moto Rājā received Sivāṇo in *jāgīr* from Akbar following this victory.


(no. 88) Īsārdās Kalyāṇḍāsot (12-7)

No information is available about the activities of Rāṇo Kalyāṇḍās Rāymalot's son Īsārdās Kalyāṇḍāsot prior to 1599-1600. He was then a military servant of Rāṭhor Sakatsinhg Udaisinghot (11-3). Rāṭhor Sakatsingh was a son of Moto Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95), who had received the *pargano* of Sojhat in *jāgīr* from Akbar in 1599-1600. He held this *jāgīr* for one year. Īsārdās was with him at the time.

Īsārdās appears to have left service under Sakatsingh in 1601-02, following Sakatsingh's loss of Sojhat. He then went to live with his brother, Narsinghdās Kalyāṇḍāsot (12-8), at the village of Bhāũṇḍo61 of Nāgaur. Narsinghdās held Bhāũṇḍo in *pato* from Sisodiyo Rāṇo Sagar Udaisinghot, who had received Nāgaur in *jāgīr* from Emperor Jahāṅgīr upon his succession to the Mughal throne. Īsārdās became involved in a *vair* at Bhāũṇḍo with the Jeso Bhattīs of Mārvār which lasted for several years and which determined the subsequent course of his life. This *vair* emerged in the following manner:

It is uncertain when Īsārdās arrived at Bhāũṇḍo, but it was sometime between the years 1601 and 1612-13, for in the latter year Rāṇo Sagar sequestered Bhāũṇḍo village from Īsārdās's brother, Rāṭhor Narsinghdās. The Rāṇo62 then granted this village to another of his military servants, Jeso Bhāṭī

61 Bhāũṇḍo village: located fifty-three miles north-northeast of Jodhpur and twenty-five miles southwest of Nāgaur.

62 Local texts including *Khyāt*, 1: 23-24, 2:156-158, *Murārdān*, no. 2, 505-506, and *Bāṇkīdās*, p. 119, all record that Sisodiyo Rāṇo Sagar held Nāgaur at this time, and that both Rāṭhor Narsinghdās and Bhattī Surīṇ received Bhāũṇḍo village from him. A late 19th century source, "Parīṣṭā 1 (4n), Pargane Nāgor rau Hāṛi," *Vigat*, 2:422, states that Sisodiyo Rāṇo Sagar held Nāgaur for only one year from 1603-06, and that Emperor
Surtan Mänävat, who was a brother Jeso Bhätî Goyanddás Mänävat, the pradhàn of Jodhpur under Räjä Sürajsingh Udaisinghot (1595-1619). Bhätî Surtan had taken service under Räño Sagar in 1612-13, and he occupied Bhāunḍo by the end of this year.

While Räthör Narsinghdás vacated Bhāunḍo for Bhätî Surtan, he harbored resentments over the loss of this village. He then returned to Bhāunḍo in May of 1613 with his two brothers, Isardās and Mādhodās (12-9), and other Jodhos in his sāth to challenge Bhätî Surtan's rights to the village. Bhätî Surtan had constructed a small fort at Bhāunḍo, but he emerged from this fort with his Rajpūts to meet Räthör Narsinghdás before the village. In the pitched battle that followed on May 16, 1613, both Räthör Narsinghdás and Jeso Bhätî Surtan were killed.

Jodhpur pradhàn Jeso Bhätî Goyanddás mounted a punitive expedition against Bhāunḍo to avenge his brother's death when news of his brother's killing reached him. Both Isardās and Mādhodās Kalyāndāsot fled Mārvār in the face of his actions. But Bhätî Goyanddás killed one of their paternal cousins, Jodho Räthör Gopāldās Bhagvāndāsot, at Kānkarkhē village near Mēṛto, where he had pursued him, to end the vair. This murder raised the ire of other Jodhos and eventually led to Bhätî Goyanddás's own death two years later in 1615.

Isardās and Mādhodās next appeared at Burhanpur in the Deccan in 1616-17. Here they sought out Räjä Sürajsingh of Jodhpur and entreated him to end the hostilities with the Jeso Bhätîs. Murārdān, no. 1, p. 606, records that they told the Räjä:

whatever happened, we were not at fault. We are the sons of the Räj, and you should not take it badly and refuse to retain us.
You should end the vair.

The Räjä took these Rajpūts under his protection, and he prevailed upon Mahābat Khān to bring them into his service.

Jahāngīr then granted Nāgaur in jāgīr to Kachvāho Mādhosīṅgh Bhagvāntdāsot, a brother of Räjä Mānsīṅgh Bhagvāntdāsot of Amber (1589-1614). Kachvāho Mādhosīṅgh is said to have held Nāgaur from 1606-16. It has not been possible to verify Kachvāho Mādhosīṅgh's involvement with Nāgaur from other sources. In its genealogy of the Kachvāhos of Amber, Naiṅśí's Khyāt, 1:299, for example, states only that Mādhosīṅgh "was [a servant] of Emperor Akbar's [and held] the [jāgīr] of Ajmer and Mālpuro."

63 This is the date given by Ojhā, 4:1:374 and Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 150. Murārdān, no. 1, p. 608, gives the date of May 18, 1613, while Bānkīdās, p. 119, records the date of May 27, 1612.

64 Kānkarkhē village: located nine miles south-southwest of Mēṛto.

65 See infra, "Kūmpavāt Rāṭhoṛs," Kānhāsīṅgh Khāṃvāvat (no. 100), for further discussion of this matter.
Ísardás remained in Mahābat Khān's service for several years thereafter. But Vigat, 2:74, notes that Ísardás was one of four Rāthoṛs who received villages of Meṛto Pargano in jāgīṛ from Prince Parvīz. Emperor Jahāngīr had made Parvīz sūbedār of Ajmer (including Meṛto) in 1623 following Prince Khurrām's revolt. Prince Parvīz divided the villages of Meṛto among his retainers, and he granted four villages to Rāthoṛs who held service attachments either to Prince Khurrām or Mahābat Khān in an apparent attempt to influence their loyalties. Ísardás received the jāgīṛ of Rohiso village. He apparently left Mahābat Khān's service at this time, for Murdrddn, no. 2, p. 506, notes that Ísardás killed a Meṛtiyo Rāthoṛ named Govardhan Dvarkadasot "on the border." No village is named, but Meṛtiyo Govardhan's brothers held villages of Meṛto, and this incident may refer to an outbreak of hostilities that occurred when Ísardás took possession of Rohiso.

Murārdān, no. 1, pp. 606-607, also records that Ísardás left Mahābat Khān's service to become an Imperial servant of Emperor Jahāngīr's. It is possible that this change occurred in 1623 when he received the jāgīṛ of Rohiso village, or shortly thereafter. Ísardás was killed a few years later in 1628-29 during an outbreak of hostilities in the Deccan. Murārdān (ibid.) does not specify the circumstances surrounding these hostilities, but they may have been connected with Khān-i-Jahān's revolt from Shah Jahan shortly after Shah Jahan's succession to the Mughal throne in 1628.

Ísardás's brother, Mādoğdās, accompanied him to the Deccan. He became a favorite of Mahābat Khān's. But he later offended the Khān when they were in Kabul over a family matter involving Emperor Shah Jahan and his wife, Nur Mahal. A fight broke out at the Imperial camp with some of the Imperial gunners, during which Mādoğdās and a paternal cousin, Akhairāj Kānhāvāt (12-10), were both shot and killed. The specific date of this incident is uncertain.


Mahesdās Dalpatot, Rāv (12-2)

Mahesdās Dalpatot was a son of Dalpat Udaisīṅghot (11-2) and a grandson of Moṭo Rājā Udaisīṅgh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95) (10-2). His father, Dalpat, was the fourth of sixteen sons of the Moṭo Rājā, born July 18, 1568 of Rāṇī Cāhuvān Ajāyadejī (pīhar name Kaṅkābāi), a daughter of Sācoro Cāhuvān Māhkaraṇ Rāṇāvāt.

Only a few details are available from the chronicles about Dalpat Udaisīṅghot's life. He was born during the period in which his father, Udaisīṅgh Māldevot, held the lands of Phaḷoḍhī as his share of Mārvār, while Udaisīṅgh's

66 Rohīso village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto.

67 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Udaisīṅgh Māldevot, Rāṇī no. 7, S - Dalpat.
uterine brother, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81) (10-1), ruled at Jodhpur. Dalpat spent his life in his father's service. The chronicles first mention his taking part in an expedition against the Sindhals in 1586-87 along with three of his brothers, Kumvārs Bhopat (11-4), Bhagvāndās (11-5) and Jaitisingh (11-6), but the particulars of this expedition are unknown. Dalpat also spent time at Lahore, both with his father and then, after his father's death in 1595, in service to the Mughals.

Nainsī's Khyātī, 1:233-235, records the names of several Sācoro Cāhuvaṇs who were cākars of Dalpat. They included Dalpat's mother's brother (māmo), Sāṃvātsī Mahkaraṇot, a brother's son of Sāṃvātsī named Bhāṇ Rāyimalot, and a paternal cousin of his, Sūjo Rāmāvat.

The chronicles do not record whether Dalpat was with the Moto Rājā when he died at Lahore. Bānkīdās, p. 28, notes only that Dalpat was at Lahore in 1597 and that he took part in an expedition against Bundelo Ran Dhavalo along with Jeso Bhāṭī Goyandḍas Mānāvat, pradhān of Jodhpur under Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaiśinghot (1595-1619) (11-1).

Mughal Emperor Akbar granted Moto Rājā Udaiśingh sixty-five village of Jaitāraṇ Pargano in eastern Mārvār and one-half of the town of Jaitāraṇ in 1583 upon his succession to the Jodhpur throne. The other portions of Jaitāraṇ remained under the Udāvat Rāthors. When the Moto Rājā died, Akbar divided these sixty-five villages of Jaitāraṇ among five of the Moto Rājā's sons. Dalpat received the jāgir of eighteen and one-half villages; the others were shared among his brothers, Sakatsingh (11-3), Bhopat (11-4), Mādhosingh (11-7), and Mohandās (11-8). Vigat, 1:73-75, includes a list of these villages and notes of Dalpat's that fourteen were suitable for khālso (khālsā lāyak), while four and one-half were villages given either in pato to military servants or in gift (sāmsan) to Brāhmans and Cāraṇs. These villages are listed below with their locations noted in relation to Jaitāraṇ town:

14 - suitable for khālso
1 - Āgevo - four miles south-southwest of Jaitāraṇ
1 - Boghāṇī/Beghāṇī - ten miles southwest
1 - Ballāhāro - ten miles northeast
1 - Cāvriyo - six miles south
1 - Gālriyo - four miles west
1 - Koṭro - twenty-two miles east
1 - Mahelvo - (location uncertain)
1 - Murṛāho - seven miles northeast
1 - Nimbol - nine miles northwest
1 - Niboṛo - (location uncertain)
1 - Rahelro - sixteen miles east-southeast
1 - Rāmāvās Bādo - five miles northwest

68 Jaitāraṇ town: located fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur.

69 See infra, "Udāvat Rāthors."
1 - Rāmpuro - eleven miles south-southwest
1 - Rāṭṭīyo - twenty miles east-southeast
14

4 1/2 - written and given in *pato* or in *sāṃsan*
1 - Bhākhar Vāṣṇī - three miles southeast of Jaitāraṅ
1/2 - Bikarlāī - eight miles northwest
1 - Bohogun rī Vāṣṇī - ten miles northwest
1 - Khetāvās - four miles west
1 - Tejā rī Vāṣṇī - ten miles south
4 1/2

Dalpat gave the village Tejā rī Vāṣṇī in *sāṃsan* to Āsiyo Čaraṅ Tejo Karamsīyot in 1596. *Vigat*, 1:551-552, records in its description of this village that this gift consisted of some fields (*khēt*) lying along the border between the villages of Rāmpuro and Nīmbāheṛo. A new settlement (*khero*) was established there. *Vigat* states further:

Rāṭhor Dalpat formerly held 10 villages; [they] were *pato* [villages], then [he] gave [Tejā rī Vāṣṇī to Čaraṅ Tejo Karamsīyot].

The reference to *pato* villages in this passage is confusing, but it may refer to villages Dalpat originally held in *pato* from his father.

Dalpat died in 1600 at the age of thirty-one years. He had from five to nine wives, five sons, and three to four daughters. His wives and sons born of them (where known) included:

1. Kachvāhī Rāykuṁvar, a daughter of Rājāvat Kachvāho Rājā Bhagyvantdās Bhārmalot of Āmber (ca. 1574-89). Rājā Mānsingh Bhagyvantdāsot (1589-1614) was her brother.

2. Bhāṭiyāṇī Kusumkuṁvar, a daughter of Kelhan Bhāṭī Goyanddās Paṇcāṅot of Pūṅgal and Vairsalpur. Her sister was married to Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaiasinghōt of Jodhpur (1595-1619).

S - Mahesdās (12-2) (no. 89)

3. Vāghelī (of Pīṭhāpur)

---

70 Rāmpuro village: located eleven miles south-southwest of Jaitāraṅ.

71 Nīmbāheṛo village: located nine miles south of Jaitāraṅ.

72 See *supra*, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Sūrajsingh Udaiasinghōt, Rāṇī no. 2.
4. Tumvar Sāhibkumvar, a daughter of Tumvar Kesāisingh of Lākhāsār.

S - Jhūnjhārasingh (12-4)
S - Rājsingh (12-3)

S - Jasvantsingh (12-5)
S - Kanhirām (12-6)

The places of marriage of three of Dalpat's daughters are known:

D - married to Sīsōdiyō Rāṇo Karānsingh Amarsinçhot of Mevār (1620-28).
D - married to Jaisālmer Bhāṭī Khetsī Māldevot, a son of Rāvāl Māldev Lūnkāranot (1551-61).
D - married to Hāḍo Hariśingh Ratansinçhot, a son of Rāv Ratansinçh Bhojavat (ca. 1607-31).

Mahēsdās Dalpatot was born on December 27, 1596 during the period his father held the jāgīr of eighteen and one-half villages of Jaitāran Pargano from Emperor Akbar.

Little is known about Mahēsdās's early life. In his Rātamlām kā Pratham Rājya, pp. 7, 15, Raghubīrsinçh associates Mahēsdās's father, Dalpat, with the village and area of Pīsāngān near Ajmer and states that Mahēsdās, being three years old when his father died, received Pīsāngān and surrounding villages in jāgīr and that he grew up at Pīsāngān.

Murārdān, no. 2, p. 663, and Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 229, both record that Mahēsdās began his career as a military servant of Prince Khurram's (Shāh Jāhān's). He may have taken service under Prince Khurram when the Prince received Meṛtō Pargano from the Emperor on the death of Rājā Sūrāisingh Udaisinçhot in 1619. But he appears to have remained in the Prince's service only a short time, for Vīgat, 2:74, lists Mahēsdās as the recipient of Bāḍlī village of Meṛtō Pargano from Prince Parvīz in 1623. Emperor Jahāṅgīr had appointed Prince Parvīz sūbedār of Ajmer (including Meṛtō) in 1623 following the revolt of Prince Khurram from the Deccan. Upon assuming his position, Prince Parvīz divided villages among his retainers, and he gave four villages of Meṛtō to Rāṭhōṛs who held service attachments either to Prince Khurram or to Mahābat Khān. Mahēsdās received one of these villages.

Jodhpur Rājā Gajāsingh Sūrārasingh (1619-38) (11-1) soon after received Meṛtō Pargano from Prince Parvīz in jāgīr and placed his authority over this area

---


74 Pīsāngān village: located fifteen miles west-southwest of Ajmer.

75 Bāḍlī village: located twelve miles south-southeast of Meṛtō and eight miles northwest of Kurī.
in August of 1623. It was apparently during this period that Mahesdās took service under the Rājā, for he also received the village of Kurkī in pāto from Rājā Gajsingh. Because of the proximity of Kurkī to Badli, Mahesdās may have held these villages jointly in this period. However, it is unclear exactly how Mahesdās directed his loyalties and service attachments at this time.

Raghubirsiṃh, Rātīm kā Pratham Rājya, pp. 16-18, notes that Mahesdās accompanied his father’s mother (ḍāḍī), Sācorī Cahuvaṅ Ajāyabdejī, on a pilgrimage to the holy places along the banks of the Narmada River in 1627-28. Fatigued by the long journey, Ajāyabdejī fell ill and died at Sītāmaū on the return. Mahesdās had his paternal grandmother cremated along the banks of a tank at Sītāmaū and built a cenotaph (chhatrī) in her memory on this spot.

In January or February of 1628, Mahesdās and his brothers, Jhunjharsingh (12-4), Rajsingh (12-3), and Jasvantsingh (12-5), left the service of Jodhpur and became military servants of Mahābat Khān. Emperor Jahāngīr had died on October 27, 1627, and Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) then succeeded to the Mughal throne on February 4, 1628. While enroute from the Deccan to Agra, the Prince stopped at Ajmer and on January 14, 1628 appointed Mahābat Khān sībedār of Ajmer. It is then that Mahesdās and his brothers entered the Khān’s service.

Mahesdās and his brothers remained with Mahābat Khān over the next six years. During this period, Mahesdās acquired a considerable reputation for courage and valor in battle, and he was badly wounded in the Deccan during Mughal operations against Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. With him in this period were Kelhān Bhāṭīs Rughnāth Jogīdāsot and Jagnāth Jogīdāsot, who were sons of his mother’s brother, Bhāṭī Jogīdāsot’s Goyanddāsot. Jagnāth Jogīdāsot’s son, Harnāth Jagnāthot, was also with him. His Sācoro Cahuvaṅ relations including his father’s mother’s brother, Sāṃvatsī Mahkaranot, and Sāṃvatsī’s four sons, Sādūḷ, Balū, Gopaḷdās, and Acadalās, were also with Mahābat Khān’s army. During the siege of Daulatabad, Mahesdās’s Kelhān Bhāṭī relations were all killed along with his own brothers, Jhunjharsingh and Rajsingh.

When Mahābat Khān died of fistula in the Deccan on October 26, 1634 Mahesdās proceeded north to present himself before the Emperor at the Imperial darbār and to offer his services once again to the Mughal throne. His reputation preceded him, for the Emperor welcomed him into his service on January 5, 1635, and Murārdān, no. 2, p. 663, notes that Mahesdās received Jāipur for his vasī at this time. He was also awarded a mansab rank of 500 zāt, 400 suwār. The Emperor honored him at this time with a sword which he presented to Mahesdās with his own hands.

Raghubirsiṃh, Rātīm kā Pratham Rājya, pp. 33-34, notes that up until this time, Mahesdās had held Pīśāṅgan and surrounding villages, which were his...

76 Kurkī village: located twenty miles southeast of Meṛto.

77 Sītāmaū: located in Madhya Pradesh forty-eight miles north-northeast of Rātīm and one hundred miles east-southeast of Udaipur.

78 Jāipur: modern Jahāẓpur, located seventy miles southeast of Ajmer.
family jagir, along with several villages of Titrod Pargano (modern Sīāmaū). After receiving Jāipur in jagir, Mahesdās had his family moved from Piśāṅgan, and his family remained at Jāipur for the next seven years.

In September of 1635, Mahesdās accompanied Prince Aurangzeb to the East. The Prince had been placed in charge of the Imperial army sent against Jhūjhārsięṅ Bundelo, who was in revolt against the Empire. Mahesdās was with Kachvāhō Ṛājā Jaisięṅgh Mahāsięṅghōt (1621-67) and Khān Daurān during operations against Bijapur and Golkunda in 1636-37. He returned to Agra with Khān Daurān in March of 1637, and his mansab rank was increased at this time to 800/600. Mahesdās remained in close attendance upon the Emperor from this time forward. He was included among those mansabdārs who were responsible for the Imperial guard and who were in attendance at the stirrup (hāzir rakāḥ).

Mahesdās's mansab rank was again increased to 1000/600 on March 11, 1638, and in August of that year, he accompanied Shāh Jahāṅ to Lahore. He remained with the Emperor during his travels to Kabul and back to Lahore between November of 1638 and February of 1640. While at Lahore, Mahesdās granted a village of Jājpur Pargano to his rājguru in sāmsan. He had previously granted the village of Ḃābrī of Pargano Titrod to his rājguru, and he now changed the name of this village of Mahesdāspur. In addition, Mahesdās granted the village of Caurāṇo of Ratlām Pargano to his rājpurōhit in sāmsan.

Mahesdās took leave of the Emperor while the latter was in Kashmir in August of 1640 in order to travel to Prayag to bathe in the Ganges. His eldest son, Ratansięṅgh Mahesdāsōt (13-2), accompanied him on this pilgrimage. Mahesdās again joined the Emperor in November of 1640 upon the Emperor's return from Kashmir.

Raghubīrsięṅgh, Ratlām kā Pratham Rājya, pp. 50-51, records an incident involving Mahesdās's son, Ratansięṅgh, which brought the Emperor's close attention to the family and contributed to Mahesdās and his son, Ratansięṅgh's, favor at court. There was great celebration at the Imperial camp on the occasion of the Emperor's fifty-first birthday in January of 1641, and the Emperor gave the order for an elephant fight to take place as part of the festivities. One of the Emperor's favorite elephants, Kaharkop, was brought forward for the fight. Kaharkop was difficult to control, however, being in a perpetual state of rut, and, while entering the arena, broke free from his attendants and ran loose in the bazaar. He finally wandered into the vicinity of the Imperial darbār where a large crowd had gathered to watch the fight. Mahesdās and his son, Ratansięṅgh, were present there. Seeing the elephant loose and drawing near to the Imperial presence, Ratansięṅgh drew his dagger and ran forward to distract the elephant and turn it away. The elephant charged Ratansięṅgh when it saw him approach, and grabbed him with its trunk, lifting him off the ground. But Ratansięṅgh showed great presence of mind, stabbing the elephant several times. In an opportune moment, he was able to free himself from the elephant's trunk, climb on the elephant's head and seat himself behind its ears, where he continued to use his dagger to try and turn the elephant away. The elephant finally fled from the crowd, and Ratansięṅgh leaped down and escaped unharmed.
The Emperor was very pleased with Ratansingh's display of courage. He praised him and considered that he deserved to be Mahesdās's designated successor. The Emperor is said to have spoken to Mahesdās about this matter, and to have greatly influenced Mahesdās's choice of Ratansingh as his successor over another more favored son named Kalyāṇdās (13-4). The Emperor afterwards presented the elephant Kaharkop to Mahesdās, and he gave Ratansingh a cavalry sword inlaid with gold.

Mahesdās's good fortune now began to increase. In April of 1641 his mansāb was increased to 1000/800. He took leave for Jājpūr shortly after, and in October of this year, on the occasion of the eclipse of the sun, was at the holy town of Puṣkār, near Ajmer. He took this opportunity to grant lands in Jājpūr Pargano in sāmsan to the Brāhmaṇ Devo. Mahesdās then returned to Lahore to be with the Emperor, who increased his mansāb yet again on January 11, 1642 to 1000/1000.

In April of 1642 Mahesdās was at Lahore with the Imperial army during operations against the Shāh of Iran. When the army set out from Lahore, he received a robe of honor and a horse as was customary and, in addition, was given the gift of a banner. The banner was green and red in color, with gold wire embroidery and border, a gift given to a mansabdār upon attaining the rank of 1000 suwār. Mahesdās accompanied Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar at this time and then returned with him to Lahore.

Mahesdās's mansāb was again increased on August 31, 1642 to 2000/2000. He received Jālor Pargano79 in jāgīr along with the title of rāv from Emperor Shāh Jahān at this time. Jālor now became Mahesdās's place of residence. He took leave of Shāh Jahān and proceeded to Jālor in order to place his authority over the area. His son, Ratansingh, was with him, and he had his family come from Jājpūr to join him.

Among those in Mahesdās's sāth when he went to Jālor were his sons, Ratansingh, Rāysal (13-3), Kalyāṇdās (13-4), Phatehsingh (13-5) and Rāmcandro (13-6), and several of his brothers' sons. A number of Sācoro Cahuvaṇs were in Ratansingh's sāth. These Cahuvaṇs were relations of Mahesdās through his father's mother's brother.

At the time Mahesdās took control of Jālor, an incident occurred at the village of Kāksī of Sivāṇo, of which Vigat, 2:265, speaks in its description of Kāksī village. Kāksī was a deserted hamlet (khero) located twenty-five miles west of Sivāṇo town at the time of the compilation of the Vigat in the mid-seventeenth century. Farmers and herdsmen from nearby villages cut grass there, and the farmers also cultivated some of its lands. A Rāthor Rajpūt named Kīsandās Jasvantot settled this village around the time Mahesdās received Jālor in jāgīr. But Kāksī was included within Mahesdās's lands, and when Mahesdās took control at Jālor, he killed Rāthor Kīsandās during a border dispute that

---

79 Jālor town and fort: located sixty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur in southern Mārvār. Jālor had been part of Jodhpur Rājā Gajśingh Sūrājśinghot's jāgīr. Upon his death in 1638 it reverted to Imperial khālso, remaining as such until the Emperor granted it to Mahesdās in 1642.
broke out near this village. Vigat notes that the boundaries were later re-drawn, and Kākṣī was then taken from Jālor and officially included within the pargano of Sivāṇo.

Mahesdās soon returned to Agra to attend upon the Emperor, and in March of 1645 he accompanied Shāh Jahān once again to Lahore. The Emperor appointed him kiledār of Lahore at this time, a position he held for one year. On the occasion of the Emperor's birthday in January of 1646, Mahesdās's mansab was again increased to 2500/2000. In February of this year, he rode in the vanguard of the Imperial army under Prince Murād Bakhsh and Rājā Viṭhālōdās Gaur that was sent against Balkh and Badakshan.

On March 26, 1646 Mahesdās's rank was again increased to 3000/2000, and he was presented with a kettledrum. Mahesdās was now among the leading amūrs of the Empire. His rank increased further to 3000/2500 as reward for the Mughal victory when Shāh Jahān received news of it at Kabul in July of 1646.

Following this campaign, Mahesdās remained in close attendance upon the Emperor. The Emperor returned to Lahore on November 9, 1646, and Mahesdās's rank was again increased to 4000/3000 in early 1647. He died shortly thereafter on March 7, 1647 at the age of fifty-one years. He was cremated at Lahore, and a cenotaph was built for him there. His turban was sent to Jālor with news of his death, and his seventh wife, Candrāvat Sīsodnī Saraskuṇḍvar, became a sātī at Jālor.

Maṭḥir-ul-Umarā, 2:1:35, notes of Mahesdās that he was an experienced soldier upon whom Shāh Jahān placed great reliance. It states:

In the audience hall he used to stand behind the throne by the side of a bench (sandalī), which was placed at a distance of two yards from the royal sword and quiver. During riding he followed at a fair distance.

Mahesdās had seven wives, six sons and five daughters. His wives and sons born of them (where known) were:

1. Rājāvat Kachvāhī Kusumkuṇḍvarde, a daughter of Rājāvat Kachvāho Lūṅkaraṇ of Amber.
   S - Ratansīṅgh (13-2) - born on Saturday, March 6, 1619 at Balāhāro village of Jaitārāṇ Pargano in Mārvār.

2. Sonagarī Amlokdekuṇḍvar, a daughter of Sonagaro Sakatsīṅgh of Jālor.
   S - Rāysal (13-3)
   S - Kalyāṇdās (13-4)

---

80 Balāhāro village: located ten miles northeast of Jaitārāṇ town.
3. Hāḍī Sūrajkuṁvar, a daughter of Hāḍo Rajsingh of Būndī.

   S - Phatehsingh (13-5)
   S - Rāmcandro (13-6)


   S - Sūrajmal (13-7)

5. Candrāvat Sisodī Saraskuṁvar, daughter of Candrāvat Sisodīyo Harisingh of Rāmpuro.

The places of marriage of three of Mahesdās's daughters are known:

   D - married to Jaisalmer Bhatī Rāval Sabalśingh Dayāldāsot (ca. 1651-60).
   D - married to Candrāvat Sisodiyo Mohakamsingh Amarsinghot, a son of Rāv Amarsingh Harisinghot of Rāmpuro. Mohakamsingh succeeded to the Rāmpuro throne.
   D - married to Būndī Hāḍo Rāv Catrasāl Gopīnāthot (ca. 1631-58).

Mahesdās was succeeded at Jāłor by his eldest son, Ratansingh Mahesdāsot. Ratansingh held the rank of 400 zāt, 200 suwār prior to his father's death. When Shāh Jahān confirmed his jāgīr of Jāłor, he raised Ratansingh's rank to 1500/1500. This rank was later increased to 2000/2000. Ratansingh held Jāłor until 1658, in which year he accompanied Rāthor Rājā Javsantsingh Gajisinghot of Jodhpur (1638-78) to north India and was killed at the battle of Ujjain fighting against the forces of Prince Aurangzeb, who was then in rebellion against the Empire.

Figure 26. Jodho Rāṭhoṛs
(continued on the following pages)

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
    (2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat
    (3-1) Rāv Cūndo Vīramot
    (4-1) Rāv Rinmal Cūndāvat
    (5-1) Rāv Jodho Rinmalot (JODHOS)

(6-1) Nīmbo Jodhavat
    (6-2) Rāv Sātal Jodhavat
    (6-3) Rāv Sūjo Jodhavat
    (6-4) Jogo Jodhāvat
    (6-5) Sivraj Jodhāvat

(7-1) Vāgho Sūjāvat
    (7-2) Sekho Sūjāvat
    (7-3) Devidās Jogi Sūjāvat
    (7-4) Khaṅgār Jogāvat
    (7-5) Arjan Sivrājot
    (7-6) Açılo Sivrājot

(8-1) Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat
    (8-2) Rāv Vīramde Vāghāvat
    (8-3) Jaitsī Vāghāvat
    (8-4) Sahasmal Sekhāvat
    (8-5) Akhairāj Sekhāvat
    (8-6) Dūṅgarsi Aclāvat

(9-1) Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat
    (9-2) Kisansās Gāṅgāvat
    (9-3) Bhākharsī Dūṅgarsīyat
Figure 26. Jodho Rāṭhors
(continued from the previous page and onto the following pages)

(4-1) Ṛṝv Riṃmal Cūṇḍāvat

(5-1) Ṛṝv Jodho Riṃmalot (JODHOS)

(6-3) Ṛṝv Sūjo Jōdhāvat

(7-1) Vāgho Sūjāvat

(8-1) Ṛṝv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat

(9-1) Ṛṝv Mālde Gāṅgāvat

(10-1) Ṛṝv Candrasen Māldevot (10-2) Rājā Udaisīṅgh Māldevot (10-3) Rāymal Māldevot (10-4) Rām Māldevot

(11-1) Rājā Sūrajsiṅgh Dalpat Udaisīṅghot (11-2) Sakatsiṅgh Udaisīṅghot (11-3) Bhopat Udaisīṅghot (11-4) Bhagvāndās Udaisīṅghot (11-5) Jaitsiṅgh Udaisīṅghot (11-6) Mādhosīṅgh Udaisīṅghot (11-7) Mohāndās Udaisīṅghot (11-8)

(12-1) Rājā Gajsīṅgh Sūrajsiṅghot

(13-1) Rājā Javsantsiṅgh Gajsīṅghot
Figure 26. Jodho Rāthors
(continued from previous pages and onto following page)

(5-1) Rāv Jodho Rinmalot (JODHOS)

(6-3) Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat

(7-1) Vāgho Sūjāvat

(8-1) Rāv Gāngo Vāghāvat

(9-1) Rāv Mālde Gāngāvat

(10-2) Rājā Udaisiṅgh Māldevot

(11-2) Dalpat Udaisiṅghot

(12-2) Rāv Mahedsās Dalpatot

(12-3) Rājsiṅgh Dalpatot

(12-4) Jhūŋhāṛsiṅgh Dalpatot

(12-5) Javsantiṅgh Dalpatot

(12-6) Kanhirāṃ Dalpatot

(13-2) Ratansiṅgh Dalpatot

(13-3) Rāysal Dalpatot

(13-4) Kalyāṇḍās Dalpatot

(13-5) Phatehsiṅgh Dalpatot

(13-6) Rāmcandro Dalpatot

(13-7) Śūrajmal Dalpatot

Figure 26. Jodho Rāṭhos
(continued from the previous pages)

| (4-1) Rāv Rîṃmal Cûndâvat |
| (5-1) Rāv Jodho Rîṃmalot (JODHOS) |
| (6-3) Rāv Sûjo Jodhâvat |
| (7-1) Vâgho Sûjâvat |
| (8-1) Rāv Gângo Vâghâvat |
| (9-1) Rāv Mâlde Gângâvat |
| (10-3) Râymal Mâldevot |
| (11-9) Râño Kalyândo Râymalot |
| (11-10) Kânho Râymalot |
| (11-11) Pratâpsî Râymalot |
| (12-7) Isardâs Kalyândośot |
| (12-8) Narsinghdâs Kalyândośot |
| (12-9) Mâdhodâs Kalyândośot |
| (12-10) Akhairâj Kânhaâvat Kalyândośot |
Karamsot Rathors

(no. 94) **Dhanrāj Karamśiyot** (7-2)
(no. 91) **Jagmāl Udaikaranot** (8-2)
(no. 93) **Mahes Pańcāñot** (8-1)
(no. 92) **Pańcāñ Karamśiyot** (7-1)
(no. 90) **Udaikaran Karamśiyot** (7-5)

The Karamsot Rathors

The Karamsot Rathors descend from Karamsī Jodhāvat (6-1), a son of Rāv Jodho Riṃmalot (5-1), ruler of Manḍor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). His mother was Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Pūrām, a daughter of Kelhaṭ Bhāṭī Rāv Vairsal Cācāvāt, the ruler of Pūṅgāḷ and founder of Vairsalpur in northeastern Jaisalmer territory.¹

During his division of the lands of Mārvār among his brothers and sons following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459, Rāv Jodho granted Karamsī and his uterine brother, Rāypāḷ Jodhāvat (6-2), the village of Nāhadhsaro.² Both brothers initially settled there. Shortly after, their uterine sister, Bhāgāṇ, was married to Khāṅzāda Khān Salho Khān (Ṣalāḥ Khān, ca. 1467-69) of Nāgaur, and they received the two important villages of Khīṁvsar and Āsop in *sāḷā kaṭārī*³ in return for the gift of their sister. Karamsī then settled at Khīṁvsar, while Rāypāḷ occupied Āsop.

The villages of Khīṁvsar and Āsop lie sixteen miles apart along the border separating Jodhpur from Nāgaur, with Khīṁvsar situated fifty-four miles north-northeast and Āsop fifty miles northeast of Jodhpur, respectively. These villages had been separate from lands the Rathors held since the time of Rāv Cūṇḍo Viṁamat of Manḍor (d. ca. 1423) (3-1). Rāv Cūṇḍo had been killed defending these lands against an army of Bhāṭīs and Muslims from the north.

---

¹ See *supra*, *Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur*, Jodho Riṃmalot, Rāṇī no. 2, S - Karamsī.

² Nāhadhsaro village: located forty-five miles northeast of Jodhpur and eight miles south of Āsop.

³ *Sāḷā kaṭārī* (lit. "wife's brother-dagger"): the customary gifts of clothing, money and/or land a sister's husband (*bahunoi*) gives to his wife's brother (*sāḷo*) in return for the gift of his sister. The giving of *sāḷā kaṭārī* forms a special part of the wedding ceremony, taking place after the bride and groom circumambulate the sacred fire. At the appropriate time, the wife's brothers grasp either a sword or dagger, and then grab the ear of the groom, demanding his gifts. See: Lāḷas, *RSK*, 4:3:5538; *Census Report, 1891*, pp. 33-34.
They now returned to the Rathors and remained important border villages demarcating the lands of Mārvār from those of Nāgaur.

Little is known about Karamsi's life from this time forward until his death in eastern Rājasthān in 1526. Sometime after his settlement at Khīṃvsar, he joined his paternal nephew, Rāṭhor Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ Bikāvat of Bikāner (1505-26; no. 44), in an expedition against the Muslims of Narnol, then under the rule of Sheikh Abīmīrā. The Rathors fought at the village of Dhoṣī near Narnol on March 30, 1526, and Karamsi was killed there along with Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ and three of the Rāv's sons. Jodho Rāṭhor Khangār Jogāvat (no. 82), a paternal nephew of Karamsi, avenged his death against these Muslims some years later.

The texts record one marriage of Karamsi to Māṅgliyānī Dule, a daughter of Māṅgliyo Gahlot Bhoj Hamīrot. Karamsi had four sons by Māṅgliyānī Dule: Paṅcāin (7-1), Dhanrāj (7-2), Narāṅ (7-3), and Pīthūrāv (7-4). Karamsi had a fifth son, Udaikaraṇ (7-5), by a second wife whose name is not recorded.

(no. 90) **Udaikaraṇ Karamsiyot** (7-5)
(no. 91) **Jagmāl Udaikaraṇot** (8-2)
(no. 94) **Dhanrāj Karamsiyot** (7-2)

Karamsi's son, Udaikaraṇ Karamsiyot, succeeded him to the rule of Khīṃvsar in 1526. Udaikaraṇ held this village for several years while a military servant of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat of Jodhpur (1515-32). Khīṃvsar was taken from him in 1530, however, for his failure to report for military service at the time of the battle of Sevakī in November of 1529. Rāv Gāṅgo fought at Sevakī against his father's brother, Jodho Rāṭhor Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86), over the division of land and authority in Mārvār.

No other information is available about Udaikaraṇ Karamsiyot.

Udaikaraṇ's son, Jagmāl Udaikaraṇot, was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Jagmāl received Khīṃvsar in *pāto* from Rāv Mālde, but sources are unclear when this grant was made. They do not specify Jagmāl's relationship with his paternal cousin, Mahes Paṅcāinot (8-1) (no. 93), who also held Khīṃvsar in *pāto* from the Rāv in this same period. Jagmāl was killed in 1554 at Merto along with his paternal uncle, Dhanrāj Karamsiyot, fighting under Rāv Mālde's commander, Rāṭhor Prithūrāj Jaitāvat (no. 63), against Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107).

Udaikaraṇ and Dhanrāj's brother, Narāṅ Karamsiyot (7-3), also served under Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur. He held the *pāto* of Nāhaḍ̈hsaro village.

---

4 *Bāṅkīdās*, p. 67, records that Karamsi was in the service of Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ at this time.

5 Sevakī village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.
(no. 92) **Paṅcāṁ Karamsiyot** (7-1)
(no. 93) **Mahes Paṅcāṁot** (8-1)

Paṅcāṁ Karamsiyot was an important military servant of Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Rāv Mālde stationed Paṅcāṁ at the garrison of Nāḍūl after the conquest of southern Mārvār during the early years of his reign, and he apportioned a substantial income from this area to him. Paṅcāṁ was also among Rāv Mālde's Rajpūṭs who rode from the garrison at Raṛod village to Reyāṁ ca. 1535 to do battle with Meṛtīyo Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (no. 105). Following Rāv Mālde's victory there and the occupation of Meṛtā, Paṅcāṁ participated in the occupation of Ajmer that same year. He was finally killed at the battle of Samel in 1544, fighting against Meṛtīyo Rāv Vīramde and Sher Shāh Sūr.

Paṅcāṁ's son, Mahes Paṅcāṁot, held the pato of Khīṁvsar village from Rāv Mālde after his father's death and served as one of his military retainers. Sources do not indicate the year he received Khīṁvsar in pato, nor do they indicate Mahes's relationship with his paternal cousin, Jagmāl Udaikaraṇot (8-2) (no. 91), who also held Khīṁvsar in pato in this period. Mahes was killed at the battle of Meṛtā in 1562, fighting under Rāv Mālde's commander at the Mālgadh, Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65), against Meṛtīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrzā Sharafl-Dīn Ḥusayn.

Mahes granted the village of Ḑāṃvrai ṛī Vāṇī in sāmsan to the Cāraṇ Gāḍaṇ Devo.


---

6 Nāḍūl town: located sixty-seven miles south-southeast of Jodhpur in southern Mārvār.

7 Raṛod village: located forty-four miles northeast of Jodhpur and six miles west of Āsop.

8 Reyāṁ village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛtā.

9 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

10 Ḑāṃvrai ṛī Vāṇī: located thirty miles northeast of Jodhpur.
Figure 27. Karamsot Rāṭhoṛs

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
    (2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat
    (3-1) Rāv Cūṇḍo Vīramot
    (4-1) Rāv Riṃmal Cūṇḍāvat
    (5-1) Rāv Jodho Riṃmalot

(6-1) Karamsī Jodhāvat
    (Karamsots)
    (6-2) Rāypāl Jodhāvat

(7-1) Pañcāṇi Karamsīyot
(7-2) Dhanrāj Karamsīyot
(7-3) Narāṇ Karamsīyot
(7-4) Pithurāv Karamsīyot
(7-5) Udaikaraṇ Karamsīyot

(8-1) Mahes Pañcāṇiṇot

(8-2) Jagmāl Udaikaraṇot
Kumpavat Rathors

(no. 100) Kanhāsingh Khimvavat (10-1)
(no. 95) Kumpo Mahirajot (7-1)
(no. 98) Mahes Kumpavat (8-3)
(no. 99) Māndan Kumpavat (8-4)
(no. 96) Pato Kumpavat (8-1)
(no. 97) Prithiraj Kumpavat (8-2)
(no. 101) Rajsingh Khimvavat (10-2)

(no. 95) Kumpo Mahirajot (7-1)

The Kumpavat Rathors descend from Kumpo Mahirajot, a son of Mahiraj Akhairajot (6-1) and a grandson of Akhairaj Rinmalot (5-1). Akhairaj’s father, Rāv Rinmal Cundavat (4-1), was ruler of Maṇḍor (ca. 1428-38).

Kumpo’s family was originally associated with the village of Bagrī in eastern Mārvār. Vīgat, 1:38, and Bhatī, Sarveksan, 3:91, record that Rāv Jodho Rinmalot (ca. 1453-89) granted Bagrī to Akhairaj Rinmalot following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459, but it seems clear from other sources that Akhairaj’s association with Bagrī dates from as early as 1429-30. Akhairaj participated with his father in the consolidation of Rāṭhor authority at Maṇḍor ca. 1428 and in Rāv Rinmal’s extension of rule over areas of eastern Mārvār in 1429-30. Following Rāv Jodho’s reassertion of authority at Maṇḍor ca. 1453 and then the founding of Jodhpur in 1459, he confirmed Akhairaj in his possession of Bagrī village.²

Kumpo’s father, Mahiraj Akhairajot, was born in 1458-59, the year before the founding of Jodhpur. His eldest brother, Pañcāin Akhairajot (6-2), had succeeded to Bagrī village on Akhairaj’s death. Mahiraj received the village of Dhaneṛī³ and twelve others of Sojhat in patō on April 23, 1490 (Caitrādi) or April 12, 1491 (Śrāvaṇādi). He had a small fort built on a hill near the village and established his residence there. Mahiraj lived another twenty-three years and

1 Bagrī village: located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat.

² See supra, “Akhairajot Rathors,” for more specific information about Akhairaj Rinmalot.

³ Dhaneṛī (variously spelled Dhanahṛī/Dhanेṛī) village: located four miles northeast of Sojhat town. Śivnāthsinh, Kumpavat Rāṭhāurōm kā Itihās (Gārāsāni, Mārbār: Rāṭhor Bhimsinh Kumpavat, 1946), p. 115, lists the village as “Ghanerī,” which is incorrect.

---

died on January 20, 1514\(^4\) according to an inscription found at Dhanerī village commemorating the satī of one of his wives, Hulṇī Padmā Devī.

Mahirāj died as a result of wounds received while fighting against Mers who had stolen cattle from his village. The circumstances surrounding Mahirāj’s death are closely connected with the birth of his son, Kūmpo (see infra). According to ledgers of the Rāṇī Māṅgās and Bhōlavat Bhāṭs of Khagriyo village of Bīlāro Pargano,\(^5\) Mahirāj had four wives and one son:

1. Jeso Bhāṭiyāṇī Karametībāī (pihar name), daughter of Jeso Bhāṭī Bhairavdās Jesāvāt.\(^6\)

S - Kūmpo

2. Soḷāṅkaṇī Dammā Devī, daughter of Soḷāṅkī Pithal Gokuldāsot.

3. Hulṇī Padmā Devī, daughter of Hul Hemrāj.


A memorial was built for Mahirāj at Dhanerī village before the temple of Vaijnāṭ Mahādev.\(^7\)

Mahirāj’s only son, Kūmpo Mahirājot, rose to a position of preeminent power in Mārvār. His rise began during the reign of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat of Jodhpur (1515-32), whose army commander (senādhīpat) he became. It reached its zenith under Rāv Gāṅgo’s son and successor, Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (1532-62), in the years between 1532 and 1544. Kūmpo was killed at the battle of Samel\(^8\) in January of 1544.

"Aitiḥāṣik Bātaṁ," p. 58, describes Kūmpo Mahirājot as a great patron (vado dātar), a great warrior (vado jhūnjhār), and a warrior who was adept in battle (akhāṛsīdḥ rajpūt). This text also acclaims him as the avtār of Śrī Vaijnāṭ Mahādev because of his fine abilities as a leader of men and as a warrior in battle. Under Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur, Kūmpo became the most

\(^4\) Bhāṭī, Sarveksaṇ, 3:96, incorrectly gives the date of October/November, 1503, and Āsop kā Itiḥās, p. 17, records the date of October 20, 1503.

\(^5\) Śivnāthsimh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhaurom kā Itiḥās, p. 120.

\(^6\) See supra, "Jeso Bhāṭīs."

\(^7\) Śrī Vaijnāṭ Mahādev is a manifestation of the Hindu God, Śiva.

\(^8\) Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

\(^9\) Vigat, 1:56, gives Kūmpo's name as "Kūmpo Mahirājot Akhairājot" in its listing of Rajpūts killed at the battle of Samel. The designation of Kūmpo as an "Akhairājot Rāṭhōṛ" is appropriate for the period. A separate sākha bearing the name "Kūmpāvat" did not emerge until several generations after Kūmpo's death.
powerful and influential of the Rāv's thākurs alongside his paternal cousin, Jaito Pañcāniṇot (no. 61). He was Rāv Mālde's most excellent protector (sirāi cauki), and in deference to him, a cotton-stuffed gown (labāyco) of Jaito Pañcāniṇot's was provided for him to wear during the cold season. Unlike his paternal cousin, Jaito, who appears from local texts to have been a man often torn between his duty to Rāv Mālde and his concern for the values of brotherhood among the Rāthors, Kūmpo emerges as a single-minded military commander and warrior who set the example for bravery and cunning in battle, and for lavish display, with which other prominent thākurs of Rāv Mālde's often vied.

The sources give different dates for Kūmpo's birth. These include November 9, November 11, and December 26, 1502. According to Kūmpāvat traditions, his birth occurred under the following circumstances. His father, Mahirāj, was without sons and is said to have received a boon from Vaijnāth Mahādev in return for his devotions and offerings before Mahādev's temple at his village of Dhanerī. The God was pleased and manifested himself, impregnating water from a nearby well which was then given to Mahirāj's wife, Jeso Bhātiyiṇī Karametībā, to drink. She bore a son named Kūmpo, who was said to be the avtār of Mahādev. Kūmpāvat traditions related in Śivnāthsimh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhaurōm kā Itīhās, pp. 115-118, state that a condition of this birth was that Mahirāj not look at his son. If he did, he would bring his own death. Karametībā and Kūmpo were therefore sent to a nearby village to live, and is it there that Kūmpo was raised.

A number of years following Kūmpo's birth, Mers rustled cattle from Mahirāj's village. Mahirāj set out in pursuit and drew near them at the village of Sāraṇ. Kūmpo, who was a now a growing boy of some twelve years, is said to have learned of this raid and to have ridden after the Mers with a sāth from his village. Both he and his father met and defeated the Mers before Sāraṇ. Afterwards Mahirāj happened to come before his son. He did not recognize him, but someone then told him who the boy was and reminded him of the circumstances surrounding his birth. Knowing that his death was imminent, Mahirāj called Kūmpo to him and introduced himself, commending Kūmpo for his actions that day. Mahirāj then rode off with his men. Mers who had not been killed in the battle had regrouped, and they now surrounded Mahirāj, attacking and killing him.

Śivnāthsimh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhaurōm kā Itīhās, p. 120, states that following Mahirāj's death, Kūmpo's mother, Karametībā, took Kūmpo to her

10 Jaito Pañcāniṇot and Kūmpo Mahirājot were brothers' sons. Their fathers, Pañcāniṇ Akhairajot and Mahirāj Akhairajot, were both sons of Akhairaj Rīmālot. See supra, "Jaitāvat Rāṭhors," for more information about Jaito Pañcāniṇot.

11 See: Bānkīdās, p. 53; Śivnāthsimh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhaurōm kā Itīhās, p. 117; Āsop kā Itīhās, p. 19.

12 Bhāti, Sarveksan, 3:96; Sāraṇ village is located eighteen miles southeast of Sojhat. Śivnāthsimh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhaurōm kā Itīhās, p. 119, lists the village as Sirīyārī, located 10 miles north of Sojhat.
pihar at the village of Taran, where he was raised by his mother's brother (mamo), Acajdás. This information appears to be incorrect. Vigat lists no village by the name of Taran for any of the parganos of Mārvār. Jeso Bhāṭīyāṇī Karametibāī's pihar village was Dhaulharo village of Sojhat, but Karametibāī's brother, Jeso Bhāṭī Aclo Bhairavdāsot, was a prominent cākar of the Rāṇo of Cītōr (probably Rāṇo Rāymal Kūṁbhāvat, ca. 1473-1509, or his son, Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot, 1509-28), from whom he held the village of Tāṇo and 140 other in paṭo. Aclo also held the village of Copro of Sojhat, where he kept his vasi. It is perhaps this Tāṇo village which is meant, in which case, Karametibāī took Kūmpo not to her pihar, but to her brother, asking him to assume responsibility for raising Kūmpo.

When Kūmpo came of age, he proceeded to Meṛto, where he entered the household of Meṛṭīyo Rāv Viṛamde Dūdāvat (no. 105). Rāv Viṛamde granted him the village of Mugadro for his maintenance. Little information is available about Kūmpo's activities while he was a military servant at Meṛto. There is record only of his participation in an attack against the Sonagaros of Pāḷi village, who were military servants of Jodhpur. The texts give no reasons for this attack. They are also unclear about subsequent events which led to Kūmpo's departure from Meṛto.

Āsop kā Itihās, p. 20, states simply that Kūmpo fell out with Rāv Viṛamde and left Meṛto for Sojhat, while "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṇu," p. 58, records that following the raid against the Sonagaros, Kūmpo said to Rāv Viṛamde that he wished to avenge the death of his father, Mahirāj, "bare-headed" (ughārai māthai), that is, with the single-minded devotion with which one comes before a god or goddess. It then notes, cryptically, that a particular garrison (thāṇo vises), location undefined, became Kūmpo's, and that afterwards he left Rāv Viṛamde of Meṛto for Sojhat, where he took service under Jodho Rāṭhor Rāv Viṛamde Vāghāvat (no. 84) in 1515-16. Śivnāthsimh, Kūmpavat Rāṭhaurom kā Itihās, p. 122, adds that when Kūmpo arrived at Sojhat, he entered into the Rāv's household. The Rāv granted him the village of Dhanerī which his father had held before him in return. Rāv Viṛamde is also said to have made him the commander of his army (senādhyakṣ).

13 Khyāt, 2:178. Dhaulharo village is located eighteen miles west-northwest of Sojhat town.

14 Tāṇo village: located in northern Mevār near Toṛgaṛh some sixty-four miles to the northwest of Cītōr. Jeso Bhāṭī Aclo's father, Bhairavdās Jesāvat, and grandfather, Jeso Kalikaraṇot, had held this paṭo from the Rāṇo before Aclo. See supra, "Jeso Bhāṭīs," for details.

15 Copro village: located eighteen miles northwest of Sojhat.

16 Mugadro village: located fourteen miles south-southwest of Meṛto.

17 Pāḷi village: located seventy-two miles southwest of Meṛto.
Rāv Vīramde Vāghhāvat was an elder half-brother of Rāv Gāngo Vāghhāvat of Jodhpur (1515-32). Kūmpo quickly became involved in the struggles between Rāv Vīramde of Sojhat and Rāv Gāngo of Jodhpur over the division of land and authority in Mārvār. This conflict emerged following Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat’s death in 1515. His grandson, Vīramde Vāghhāvat, had succeeded him to the Jodhpur throne, only to be deposed by a faction of Mārvār Rāṭhors who favored Vīramde's younger half-brother, Gāngo Vāghhāvat. Once in power, Rāv Gāngo granted Vīramde the title of rāv and the lands of Sojhat as his share of Mārvār. Rāv Vīramde never accepted this division, and during much of Rāv Gāngo's rule, he sought to recover his lost prestige and power. Rāv Vīramde relied much on the support and leadership of his pradhān, Mumhato Rāymal Khetāvāt (no. 159), during these years. Alongside Mumhato Rāymal, Kūmpo was Rāv Vīramde's foremost warrior, and he led many successful attacks against the villages and garrisons of Jodhpur.

Unable to gain an upper hand against Sojhat, Rāv Gāngo ordered his leading warrior, Jaito Paṇcāinot, to bring Kūmpo to Jodhpur. Jaito was Kūmpo's paternal cousin, and he lured Kūmpo with an offer of a pato worth a lakh, to be selected from among Jodhpur's finest villages. He also had the Rāv send a writing to Kūmpo, stating that Rāv Vīramde had no sons and that after his death, the lands of Sojhat would pass to Jodhpur. The import of these words was that the conflict between Sojhat and Jodhpur was of no consequence and that Kūmpo should side with Rāv Gāngo. Kūmpo saw the correctness of this argument. He sent word that he would come to Jodhpur if Rāv Gāngo would agree not to attack Sojhat for one year. The Rāv readily accepted this condition, and ca. 1529 Kūmpo took his leave of Rāv Vīramde Vāghhāvat and Mumhato Rāymal. All of the Rīṇmalots in Rāv Vīramde's service left Sojhat with Kūmpo, greatly reducing Mumhato Rāymal's forces. Kūmpo became the commander of Rāv Gāngo's army (senādhīpat) at Jodhpur. The Khyāt of Nainsī, 3:84, records that he organized a council of war and proceeded to lead many attacks against Sojhat, taking many of its villages for Jodhpur. He also:

brought [horses] to Dhauḷharo [village near Sojhat] and established a stable. [He] stationed four thousand of Rāv Gāngo's household warriors (cīndhar) at [this] outpost . . .

---

18 Śivnāthsimh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhauron kā Itihās, p. 122, states that it was upon Kūmpo Mahirājot's counsel that Vīramde was given Sojhat as his share. This information is not corroborated in contemporary sources and is, perhaps, a later addition to the lore about Kūmpo.

19 Rīṇmalots: descendants of Rāv Rīṇmal Cūṇḍāvat, ruler of Māṇḍor (ca. 1428-1438).

20 Dhauḷharo (or Dhavaḷaïro) village: located eighteen miles west-northwest of Sojhat.

21 Cīndhar: this term also refers to men who were hired soldiers working for short periods of time and who sometimes held small land grants. See: Lājaś, RSK, 2:1:920-921.
[and he] stationed [four of the Rāv's] nobles (umrāv) with [these men] and the horses.22

Rāv Gango and his warriors were eventually able to defeat Mumhato Rāymal in battle before Sojhat in early 1532. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 110, credits Kūmpo himself with killing Mumhato Rāymal. Rāv Gango then assumed full authority over these lands, and he banished his elder half-brother, Vīramde, first to Khairvo village23 and then from Mārvār altogether. Kūmpo made a number of attacks against the Mers of Sojhat during this same period, looting and burning their villages and killing many of their men in revenge for the death of his father.

With the succession of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat to the throne of Jodhpur in 1532, Kūmpo quickly rose to a preeminent position of power alongside his paternal cousin, Jaito Pañcāṇot. It was to Kūmpo and to Jaito that Rāv Mālde entrusted the leadership of his armies and the administration of his kingdom. Both of these Rajputs were also his closest advisors.

Kūmpo became involved in Rāv Mālde's desire to conquer lands under the control of other Rāṭhōr brotherhoods and surrounding territories under the rule of other Rajputs very early in the Rāv's reign. "Aitihāsik Bātāṁ" records that Kūmpo's paternal cousin, Jaito, spoke out strongly against the killing of brothers (gotrakadamb - lit. "gotra-destruction") to Rāv Mālde on one occasion in his darbār, saying:

The offense of killing one's family members/brothers will not be committed by me (ibid., p. 57).

Seeing the Rāv become downhearted because of his objections, Jaito quickly attempted to soothe his feeling, however. And he said:

"Do not be downhearted. We will perform the tasks you tell [us to do]" . . . Then Jaitojī summoned Kūmpo Mahirājot and had the Rāvji grasp [his] arm. [And he] said to the Rāvji, "Rāj, [you] should uphold Kūmpo's honor and prestige." And to Kūmpo, [he] said, "You should perform [whatever] tasks the Rāv tells [you to do]" (ibid., pp. 57-58).

22 The establishment of this stable manned with household warriors was an important military innovation at this time in Mārvār. For further discussion of its significance, see: Norman P. Ziegler, "Evolution of the Rathor State of Marvar: Horses, Structural Change and Warfare," in The Idea of Rajasthan: Explorations in Regional Identity, edited by Karine Schomer et al (Columbia, Mo.: South Asia Publications by arrangement with Manohar Publishers & Distributors; New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1994), pp. 193-201.

23 Khairvo village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur and twenty-one miles southwest of Sojhat.
Rāv Mālde proceeded to plot against other Rāṭhōr brotherhoods despite Jaito's objections, especially against the Meṛṭīyos, for whom he had held great enmity since he was a kumvar. Vigat, 2:48, 51, notes that Kūmpo, Jaito and other of the Rāv's Rajpūts would not involve themselves in these plots. Following one unsuccessful intrigue against Meṛṭīyo Rāv Vīramde, planned when Rāv Vīramde was summoned to Jodhpur to participate in an expedition against the Śindhalas of Bhādrājuṇ,24 Rāv Mālde "was disgraced in Jaito and Kūmpo's presence."

Kūmpo took part in his first major battle against the Meṛṭīyos ca. 1535. Meṛṭīyo Rāv Vīramde had occupied Ajmer this year, and when he refused to hand this city over to Rāv Mālde upon demand, the Rāv sent his Rajpūts to occupy Meṛto. He then began dividing Meṛto's villages among his military servants. Rāv Mālde gave Reyāṃ village25 to Varsiṅghot Meṛṭīyo Sahaiso Tejslyot (no. 151), a former military servant of Meṛṭīyo Rāv Vīramde. Sahaiso's actions in taking service under Rāv Mālde and accepting one of Meṛto's villages from him so enragd Rāv Vīramde that he unwisely mounted an attack on Sahaiso at Reyāṃ against the better judgement of his own Rajpūts.

Word of Rāv Vīramde's advance on Reyāṃ reached the garrison at Rarod village,26 where Kūmpo was stationed along with Jaito Paṅcāṅgot, Rāṅo Akhairājot (no. 28), and other of Rāv Mālde's ṭhākurs. These Rajpūts rode to Reyāṃ and took part in the bloody fighting there, during which Rāv Vīramde and his warriors were badly defeated. Vigat, 2:53, states that Kūmpo and B harassment had saidānos played in celebration of the auspicious occasion, but that Kūmpo was among those Rajpūts who prevented Rāv Vīramde from being killed and allowed him to leave Märvār. Texts indicate, however, that Kūmpo took this position only at Jaito Paṅcāṅgot's urging.

Bāṅkīḍas, p. 12, records that on another occasion, Jaito specifically stopped Kūmpo from harming Rāv Vīramde, remarking:

Vīramde should not be killed; Vīramde is a great Rajpūt. If he remains alive, he will bring someone [to aid him against Rāv Mālde] and [thereby] shape his own death.

Rāv Mālde sent his warriors under the command of Kūmpo and Jaito against Nāgaур in January of 1536. They conquered this land from the Khānžāḍa Khāns,27 and in return for the victory, Rāv Mālde awarded Nāgaур to Kūmpo in paṭo. Shortly thereafter, ca. 1537, Kūmpo was stationed at the garrison village

---

24 Bhādrājuṇ village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.
25 Reyāṃ village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto.
26 Rarod village: located forty-nine miles west-northwest of Reyāṃ.
27 See infra, "Khānžāḍa Khāns."
of Madāriyō in Godhvar, which he also held in paṭo from the Rāv. While there, Kūmpo received a summons for aid from Sisodiyo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat (Rāṇo of Mevār, ca. 1537-72). Sisodiyo Udaisingh's elder uterine brother, Rāṇo Vikramaditya Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1531-36), had been murdered at Ĉitor earlier that year by a pretender to the throne, Sisodiyo Vanvīr Prithīrājot. Udaisingh had fled Ĉitor for Kumbhālmēr in western Mevār in the wake of this murder, but Vanvīr's forces had pursued him and besieged him there. Kūmpo was in communication with Cāṃpāvat Jeso Bhairavāsot (no. 48), who had taken service under Udaisingh in this period, and with Sonagaro Cauvān Akhairāj Čīṅdhīrōt (no. 9) regarding the situation in Mevār, and he rode to Kumbhālmēr along with these thākurs in response to Udaisingh's appeal. They succeeded in defeating Vanvīr's forces and either killing or driving Vanvīr from Mevār. Then they participated in Udaisingh's succession to the throne of Mevār at Kumbhālmēr fortress, in which Udaisingh's wife's father, Sonagaro Akhairāj, played a leading role.29

Rāv Malde ordered Kūmpo to ride in pursuit of Meṛtiyo Rāv Viramde during this same period. Rāv Viramde had fled Meṛto and Ajmer for Dīḍvāṇo and then for the home of his sāgovs, the Sekhāvat Kachvāhos of Sikargadh and Amarsar in central Rājasthān. Kūmpo proceeded first against Dīḍvāṇo, which he brought under the Rāv's authority, then moved on to Fatehpur, Jhūnjhānūṃ, Revās, Čātsū, Lālsōṭ and Malāṛṇo in central Rājasthān, all of which he incorporated within Rāv Malde's expanding domain.30

Then in late 1541 Rāv Mālde placed Kūmpo in command of the army he sent against the Bīkāvat Rāthorōs of Bīkāner. Once again, Kūmpo emerged victorious, defeating and killing Rāv Jaiti Lūṅkaraṇōt (1526-42) in battle before the village of Sohavo (near Bīkāner) on February 26, 1542. Rāv Mālde awarded Kūmpo with the additional grants of Fatehpur and Jhūnjhānūṃ when he learned of Kūmpo's victory. These were given as an increase (vadhārō) on the news of conquest. Later, when Rāv Mālde entered the occupied city of Bīkāner, he granted Bīkāner itself to Kūmpo in paṭo, and soon after the additional paṭos of

28 Madāriyō village: located thirteen miles south-southwest of Nāḍūl and thirteen miles west-northwest of Kumbhālmēr.

29 Śivnāthsimha, Kūṃpāvāt Rāṭhuropm kā Ithīhās, pp. 131-132, 150, states that Kūmpo had also married a daughter to Sisodiyo Udaisingh and that Kūmpo's position as Udaisingh's wife's father was a strong incentive for his providing support to Udaisingh at this time. This marriage is not confirmed in seventeenth century sources such as Naiṣṭī's Khīyāt, which mentions only Sonagaro Akhairāj Čīṅdhīrōt's marriage of a daughter to Udaisingh prior to Udaisingh's succession. Kūmpo's marriage of a daughter to Udaisingh appears to be another later addition to the lore about this prominent Rajpūṭ.

30 Rāv Mālde did not send Kūmpo against the Sekhāvat Kachvāhos. The reasons behind his sparing of the Sekhāvats are unclear. It is possible the Rāv avoided such a confrontation because the Sekhāvats were sāgos. See supra, Sekhāvat Kachvāho Rāymal Sekhāvat (no. 22), for details about the Sekhāvat marriages with the house of Jodhpur and with the Meṛtiyōs in this period.
Sāmbhar and Ďīdvāño. By the end of 1542, Kūmpo controlled a vast territory in central and northern Rājasthān in his capacity as commander of Rāv Mālde’s armies of Jodhpur.

Kūmpo’s dramatic rise to power and authority in Mārvār came to an abrupt end at the battle of Samel in January of 1544. Here again, Kūmpo was the leader of Rāv Mālde’s forces along with his cousin, Jaito Pañcāṅnot. Kūmpo had been at Bikāner at the time Sher Shāḥ began his march toward Mārvār, but he had quickly vacated the fort there and returned to Mārvār. Together he and Jaito assumed roles as both army commanders and protectors of the lands of Mārvār. Sources are in conflict about the circumstances that brought the rupture between Rāv Mālde and his Rajputs and caused the Rāv to retreat precipitously from his camp at Girrī on the day before the main engagement. It seems certain, however, that Meṛtiyo Rāv Vīrāmde was able to instill suspicions within Rāv Mālde about the loyalty of his warriors. Kūmpo and Jaito spent much time in negotiations with the Rāv through intermediaries. They could come to no agreement, however, and in the end, they refused to obey his command to retreat in the face of Sher Shāḥ’s army. They refused to leave the lands of their ancestors open to an invader.

Kūmpo and Jaito both realized after Rāv Mālde’s departure with a large force of Rajputs, that they could not defeat the Muslim army in open battle on the plain. They then decided on a surprise night attack. But this action failed because they could not located the Muslim camp in the dark. When the battle closed the following morning, "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 42, speaks of Kūmpo and Jaito dismounting from their horses in the safety of a river bank and eating opium with the water of the river, then riding off to fight against the Muslims. They were able to defeat an advance guard of Sher Shāḥ’s, but soon after were both killed (see "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," pp. 42-44, Khyāt, 3:98-101, and Vigat, 2:56-57, of the translated text for full details of this battle).

The Khyāt of Naiṃśī, 2:192, records that prior to this battle, Kūmpo sent one of his personal military servants, Jeso Bhāṭī Gāṅgo Varjangot, as his pradhān to negotiate with Sher Shāḥ. Sher Shāḥ imprisoned Jeso Bhāṭī Gāṅgo for some days. Gāṅgo then either managed to escape or was released, for he joined the Rāthors in the fighting at Samel and was also killed there. Gāṅgo was Kūmpo’s māvyāḷ bhāḷ, his mother’s family brother.32

Kūmpo was forty-two years old at the time of his death at Samel.33 He is said to have had twelve wives, elevens sons and three daughters.34 The most

---

31 Girrī village: located ten miles west-southwest of Samel.

32 See infra, Rājasthānī Kinship Terminology, for a more complete definition of this term. Gāṅgo was a son of Jeso Bhāṭī Varjang Bhairavdasot, whose father, Bhairavdās Jesāvāt, was the father of Kūmpo’s mother, Bhāṭīyāṇī Karametibāḷī. Gāṅgo was then Kūmpo’s mother’s brother’s son.

33 "Aitihāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 58, incorrectly states that Kūmpo was 35 years old when he was killed at Samel.
important of his sons were Prithirāj (8-2) (no. 97), Mahes (8-3) (no. 98), and Maṃḍan (8-4) (no. 99), all born of his Bhāṭīyaṇī wife, the daughter of Bhāṭī Rāypal Jaiṭṣyot.


(no. 96) **Pato (Pratāpsiṅgh) Kūmpāvat** (8-1)

Little is known from the texts about Kūmpo Mahirajot's (7-1) son, Pato Kūmpāvat. Sources under review mention him only twice: at Rāv Mālde's camp at Girri prior to the battle of Samel in January of 1544, and at the battle of Merto in 1562, when he was killed.\(^{35}\)

Pato appears to have been a personal retainer of Rāv Mālde's during the period before Samel, holding the village of Siṅlo\(^{36}\) in *pato*. "Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 42, records his being present at Rāv Mālde's camp at Girri, sleeping on the ground near the Rāv's bed. He was in the company of Rāṭhōr Udaiśīṅgh Jaiṭāvāt (no. 62), Jaito Paṅcāiṇot's (no. 61) son. Both Pato and Udaiśīṅgh served as personal bodyguards for the Rāv.

Pato apparently withdrew from Girri with Rāv Mālde before the main battle at Samel. Local texts do not mention that he took part in the fighting there. Texts next mention him as one of the Rajputs stationed with Rāṭhōr Devidās Jaiṭāvāt (no. 65) at the Mālgadh at Merto in 1562. He died there alongside Devidās Jaiṭāvāt, fighting against Meṛṭīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrzā Sharaft-Dīn Ḥusayn.


---

\(^{34}\) See: Śivnāthsiṃh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhauroṇ kā Itihās, pp. 148-150, for a complete listing.

\(^{35}\) Āsop kā Itihās, p. 44, incorrectly lists Pato as having been killed at the battle of Samel.

\(^{36}\) Śivnāthsiṃh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhauroṇ kā Itihās, p. 151, lists the name of this village as "Saṅlā." *Vigat* has no listing for a village by this name. Siṅlo is probably meant. The exact location of Siṅlo is obscure. It is not evident on modern maps, but it was an important village in 17th century Māvrā. *Vigat*, 1:463, states that it was located just near the village of Jogrāvas, which lay fourteen miles west of Sojhāt town.
These two sons of Kúmpo Mahirajot (7-1) (no. 95) rose to be important thákurs in Márvar. They had careers as military servants that followed different paths but were also much intertwined.

Prithiráj was Kúmpo's eldest son, born in 1522-23. He succeeded to the village of Dhanerí following Kúmpo's death. He was a prominent thákur during the latter part of Ráv Málde Gángavat's rule at Jodhpur (1532-62) and in the early years of Ráv Candrasen Máldevot's reign (1562-81). He then left Márvar in 1565-66 and took service under the Mughals. He remained in Mughal service thereafter until his death in 1574-75.

Prithiráj's name first appears in the texts in a list of thákurs whom Ráv Málde sent against Meṛtíyó Ráv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107) at Meṛto in 1554. Prithiráj fought there under the command of Ráṭhor Prithiráj Jaitavat (no. 63) during Ráv Málde's abortive attempt to usurp control of this land from the Meṛtíyos.

Later in January of 1557, Prithiráj was among the select warriors of Ráv Málde's whom Ráṭhor Devlás Jaitavat (no. 65) took under his command to join with Pathán Hájí Khán at the battle of Harmáro. They defeated an allied force of Rajputs there under Sísodíyó Ráño Udaiśíngh Sángávat of Mevář (ca. 1537-72; no. 17).

Prithiráj's brother, Mahes Kúmpavat, appears in the texts for the first time at the battle of Harmáro. He fought on the opposing side in this engagement. "Aitihasík Bátám," p. 51, records that Mahes was a military servant of Sísodíyó Ráño Udaiśíngh and states:


Mahes remained in Mevář for several years thereafter while Prithiráj continued to serve under Ráv Málde of Jodhpur. Prithiráj was included among the Rajputs whom Ráv Málde sent with his son, Kuṃvar Candrasen Máldevot, to reinforce Ráṭhor Devidás Jaitavat at the Málgañj at Meṛto in 1562. Meṛto had

---

37 Dhanerí village: located four miles northeast of Sojhat town.

38 Harmáro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevář.

39 Níprar village: the location of this village is uncertain.

40 Bálí village: located sixteen miles south-southwest of Nádúl in Godhvār.
come under siege from the forces of Meṛtīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot and Mīrzā Sharaufu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn. Kūṃvār Candrasen found the situation at Meṛto untenable and withdrew along with a large number of Rāv Mālde's Rajpüts stationed at the Mālgadh. Prīthīrāj left with the Kūṃvar, but one of his brothers, Pato Kūṃpāvat (8-1) (no. 96), elected to remain behind with Devidās Jaitāvat. Both Pato and Devidās were later killed in battle on the plain near Meṛto.

Prīthīrāj emerged as one of the leading thākurs of Mārvār following Rāv Mālde's death in November of 1562 and Kūṃvār Candrasen Māldevot's succession in December of this year. He quickly joined a faction of Rīṃmalots who initiated a series of intrigues to unseat Candrasen and place one of his brothers on the throne at Jodhpur. Prīthīrāj's brother, Mahes, appears to have returned to Mārvār at this time, for he was also involved in the conspiracies that surrounded the throne.

"Aitihasik Batām," p. 78, reports that these intrigues arose shortly after Rāv Candrasen's accession and were due to the Rāv's alienation of a number of his thākurs. The text relates that one day Rāv Candrasen became angry with one of his stablehands. This servant fled and sought refuge in the camp of Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhor Jaitmāl Jēsāvat (no. 49). The Rāv sent several of his Rajpüts to Jaitmāl Jēsāvat's camp upon learning that the stablehand was there, and these Rajpüts seized and killed the servant. Jaitmāl Jēsāvat later came before Prīthīrāj and Mahes Kūṃpāvat wept about this incident. Prīthīrāj tried to calm Jaitmāl and told him not to weep, saying:

[If] Paramesvār bestows [his blessing upon me], then I, [born] of Kūṃpo's stomach, would cause [Rāv] Candrasen to weep [and to regret this act]. You should not be distressed for any reason.

The Rīṃmalots then encouraged Rāv Mālde's banished son, Rām Māldevot, to make inroads into Mārvār from his base in Mēvār, and they were in communication with Rāv Candrasen's elder uterine brother, Udaisīṅgh Māldevot (Rāv of Jodhpur, 1583-95), at Phalodhī in northern Mārvār, which Udaisīṅgh had received as his share of lands of Mārvār upon Rāv Mālde's death. They also encouraged another of Rāv Candrasen's half-brothers, Rāymāl Māldevot, to come north from Śivāno and begin raiding Jodhpur lands.

Rāv Candrasen was able to drive both Rām Māldevot and Rāymāl Māldevot from Mārvār, and he defeated his brother, Udaisīṅgh, in battle at Lohīyāvat41 ca. 1563. Prīthīrāj Kūṃpāvat and another of his brothers, Tilokśī Kūṃpāvat (8-5), were among Rāv Candrasen's thākurs at Lohīyāvat, but given their enmity toward the Rāv, it is not known what role they played in the actual fighting.

Following Udaisīṅgh's defeat at Lohīyāvat, the Rīṃmalots realized that they had accomplished nothing through these intrigues. Prīthīrāj Kūṃpāvat and Jaitāvat Rāṭhor Āskāran Devīdāsot, a son of Devīdās Jaitāvat with whom Mahes Kūṃpāvat was later closely involved, then sent a large sum of money to Rām Māldevot for expenses and urged him to seek Mughal support for his cause.

---

41 Lohīyāvat village: located eighteen miles southeast of Phalodhī.
Ram Maldevot soon appeared in Marvar with an army of Mughals. Prithiraj and Askaran served as mediators in the negotiations between Rav Candrasen and his half-brother, Ram Maldevot. They were influential in having Rav Candrasen agree to grant Sojhat to Ram as his share of Marvar. Ram in turn received Sojhat in jāgir from Emperor Akbar along with the title of rav.

Mahes Kūmpāvat apparently took service under Rāv Rām Maldevot at Sojhat following this award, while his brother, Prithiraj, left Mārvār to offer his service to Akbar. By 1572 Prithiraj had assumed a position of some influence at Akbar's court as a son of Rāthoṛ Kūmpo Mahirājot, whose name and renown were well-known to the Emperor.

Prithiraj and Mahes again came into contact in 1572 during events that followed Rāthoṛ Rāv Rām Maldevot's death this year. A dispute arose between Rāv Rām's two sons, Karan and Kalo, over succession to rule at Sojhat. Mahes Kūmpāvat and Askaran Devidāsot became involved in this disputed succession as arbiters. According to Murārdān, no. 2, p. 591, Rāv Rām's eldest son, Karan, initially succeeded his father. Karan then showed favor for a Rajput named Sūrajmāl Prithirājot, which angered both Mahes Kūmpāvat and Askaran Devidāsot. They then withheld their support from Karan and met with Karan's younger brother, Kalo, offering their support to him. Within a short time, they proceeded with Kalo to Emperor Akbar's court to petition the Emperor on Kalo's behalf.

Mahes sought out his brother, Prithiraj, once at court. Prithiraj agreed to present Kalo's petition to Akbar on the condition that Mahes speak with Kalo and arrange to have the village of Khairvo given to him for his vasi. "Aitihasik Bātm," p. 82, records that when Prithiraj presented Kalo's petition, Akbar asked him for a full accounting of the situation in Mārvār, but that

[Prithiraj] invented a story, saying that the Rajput [who are] the pillars of Mārvār are [on] Kalo's side. Afterwards, the Emperor [who] had recognized the names of [Mahes's and Askaran's] fathers and grandfathers (māitrām - lit. "mothers and fathers"), also summoned [Mahes and Askaran] and questioned [them about the succession at Sojhat].

According to Murārdān, no. 1, p. 592, Akbar asked Mahes:

"Who is the eldest?" The thākur [Mahes] said, "The eldest is Karan. But we are Kalo's military servants."

The Emperor spoke with other Rāthoṛs including Sūrajmāl Prithirājot, who presented Karan's petition. But he judged in favor of Rāv Rām's younger son,

---

42 The identity of this Rajput remains obscure.

43 Khairvo village: located twenty-one miles southwest of Sojhat and included administratively within Sojhat Pargano at this time.
Kalo, and awarded Sojhat to him in *jāgīr* along with the title of *rāv*. Akbar afterwards retained Karaṇ Rāmōt and Sūraimal Prithīrāj in his own service.

Akbar gave Rāv Kalo and his party leave to return to Mārvār. Mahēś avoided meeting his brother, Prithīrāj, as they departed, and upon arrival in Sojhat, had Rāv Kalo grant the village of Khairvo to him for his own *vasī*. Prithīrāj learned of this duplicity and complained before Akbar, saying that Khairvo belonged with Jodhpur, not Sojhat. The Emperor then had Khairvo and its surrounding villages included administratively with Jodhpur Pargano. Khairvo remained attached to Jodhpur from this time forward.

Mahēś remained in the area of Sojhat for several years thereafter, serving under Rāv Kalo Rāmōt. He held several villages in *pato* including Māṇḍho and Kaṇṭāliyo. Śivnāthsinh, *Kūmpāvat Rāṭhaurōṇ ītīhās*, p. 674, states that Mahēś drove the Jhālo Rajpūts from Khairvo village and made it his seat of rule in 1573-74. Little else is known about his activities during this time.

Prithīrāj apparently remained in Mughal service in north India following this incident with his brother, except for one other occasion. Local texts mention his return to Mārvār for a brief period prior to his death in 1574-75 to help his brothers, Mahēś and Māṇḍāṇ (8-4) (no. 99), avenge the death of another brother against the Sindhāl Rāṭhōrs of Sojhat.

Within a short time after the settlement of these hostilities, Mahēś himself was killed in battle near Sojhat fighting against a contingent of Mughals under Jalāl Khān Qurchī. The Mughals had entered Sojhat in order to find Rāv Kalo Rāmōt, who had gained Emperor Akbar's disfavor. *Murārdān*, no. 1, p. 593, records that while Rāv Kalo was at the Imperial court on some occasion, one of the women from the Imperial harem had visited his camp at Fatehpur Sikri. Rāv Kalo then fled before the Emperor's displeasure and took refuge in a stronghold in the hills near Sojhat. When the Mughals arrived in Mārvār, they occupied Sojhat and many of its villages, and severe fighting broke out in several areas.

Mahēś was with Rāv Kalo during this time, but he appears to have withheld his full support. "Aītīhāṣik Bāṭāṁ," p. 83, states that the people of his *vasī* including several mahājans, cloggers, milkmen and others, came and spoke disrespectfully to him. They said if Mahēś would exert himself instead of leaving everything to Rāv Kalo and his people, the Mughals could be driven from Sojhat.

The Mughal army drew near the hills where the Rāṭhōr camps were located some days later. Fighting broke out, but the Mughals withdrew to wait for the Rajpūts to come out onto the plain to fight. Mahēś's sāṭh then began moving out from the hills. Mahēś objected strongly, but his Rajpūts disobeyed him, leaving Mahēś with no choice but to follow. Once the Rajpūts were on the plain, the Mughals advanced against them with their elephants, stampeding their...

---

44 Māṇḍho and Kaṇṭāliyo are located six miles apart from each other, some fifteen miles to the south-southeast of Sojhat proper.

45 See *infra*, Māṇḍāṇ Kūmpāvat (no. 99), for details regarding this vair and its settlement.
horses and causing many to flee. One elephant came after Mahes's horse and caused the horse to bolt and throw Mahes. The elephant then pressed forward to trample Mahes, but Mahes raised himself to a squatting position and threw his lance, lodging it deeply in the elephant's face and forcing the elephant aside. Mahes was later killed as the Mughals took the field.

Mahes Kūmpāvat died on January 9, 1576. The Mughals captured Rāv Kalo in 1577. They carried him in a bullock cart to Nāḍūl in southern Mārvār, where they killed him.

Prithīrāj Kūmpāvat granted two villages of Sojhat in sāṃsāṇ to Cāraṇs. The dates of these grants are uncertain, but the villages and the Cāraṇs to whom they were given were:

1. Reprāvās Tijo - granted to Cāraṇ Bārthaṭh Devīdās
   Bhairavdāsot.
2. Rāma rī Vāsṇi - granted to Cāraṇ Sāndu Rāmo Dharamsīyot.


(no. 99) Māṇḍan Kūmpāvat (8-4)

Among Kūmpo Mahirajot's (7-1) (no. 95) sons, Māṇḍan Kūmpāvat achieved perhaps the greatest renown as a warrior. The texts portray him as a Rajpūt who tolerated no ridicule of his family nor slight to his name. He was much feared for his prowess in battle. Māṇḍan led a migratory existence among the kingdoms of Mārvār, Mevār, and Vāṁsvālo following the death of his father, Kūmpo's, and the defeat of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's Rajpūts at the battle of Samel in January of 1544. He then took service under the Mughals like his brother, Prithīrāj Kūmpāvat (8-2) (no. 97), and finally returned to Mārvār with Moṭo Rājā

---

46 Śivnāthsīṃhī, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhaurōṁ kā Ithās, p. 674, and Murārdān, no. 1, p. 593, both give the date V. S. 1632, Māţh, sudi 8 for Mahes's death. Kūmpāvat Rāṭhaurōṁ kā Ithās converts the date to January 3, 1576, which is incorrect. The correct conversion is as given above.

47 Reprāvās Tijo village: located eleven miles northwest of Sojhat.

48 Rāma rī Vāsṇi village: located fourteen miles north of Sojhat.
Udaisingh Māldevot (1583-95). He became a prominent thākur of Mārvār who served under the Jodhpur ruler while holding the village of Āsop and surrounding lands in jāgīr directly from the Mughal Emperor. He died in 1594 from wounds received in battle.

Māndaṇ was born in 1526-27 in the village of Phuliyō of Sojhat. He was approximately eighteen years old when his father was killed at Samel. Local chronicles contain little information about Māndaṇ’s life or activities in Mārvār during the years leading up to and immediately following the battle of Samel. He appears to have served with his father in Rāv Mālde’s armies along with one of his brothers, Prithirāj Kūmpāvata. Like his other brother, Mahes Kūmpāvat (8-3) (no. 98), he left Mārvār in the late 1540s or early 1550s and proceeded to Mevār, where he sought service under the Rāṇo of Cītōr, Sisodiyo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). Sources vary in their presentation of events leading to his departure from Mārvār. Bhāṭī, Sarveksan, 3:97, records that Rāv Mālde had given Māndaṇ a village in pāto, but that he became ill/diseased and was unable to walk. He therefore could not report for military service. Rāv Mālde then revoked his pāto, and Māndaṇ left Mārvār soon after. Śivnāthsinh, Kūmpāvat Rāthaurōm kā Iīhās, p. 161, states that Māndaṇ was driven from the land by the Muslims following Samel, while Āsop kā Iīhās, p. 49, suggests that Māndaṇ quit Mārvār because of Rāv Mālde’s much reduced area of control after Samel, and his inability to provide lands for his Rajputs.

Māndaṇ arrived at Cītōr with a large contingent of warriors (sāth). For some reason, he was not well received there. People at the Rāṇo’s court insulted him and cast aspersions upon his band of retainers, saying they were only members of his brotherhood, not his personal military servants. The Rāṇo suggested that his sāth was not his at all but rather that of Sāṅkhlo Paṁvār Abho Bhojavat, a former military servant of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur who was associated with the Kūmpāvats. Māndaṇ was a young man at this time and apparently did not yet command sufficient respect among other Rajpūts despite his father Kūmpo’s stature. Angered by these insults, Māndaṇ left Mevār and proceeded to Vāṃsvāḷo, where the Rāval welcomed him and granted him lands in pāto for his maintenance. Māndaṇ remained in Vāṃsvāḷo for approximately one year. He then returned to Cītōr.

While enroute from Vāṃsvāḷo, Māndaṇ received word from one of his men who had remained behind at the Rāval’s court about a Varsīṅghot Meṛtīyo Rāthōr named Samvajdas Udaisinghōt (no. 152). This Rajpūt had come to Vāṃsvāḷo and been given lands Māndaṇ had previously held from the Rāval.
Māṇḍañ's servant reported that when the Rāvāl presented the lands to Sāṃvalḍās and told Sāṃvalḍās that he had great honor to uphold for he had received the pāto of Māṇḍañ Kūṃpāvat, a great Rajpūt of Mārvār, along with a pāto belonging to another great Rajpūt of Vāṃsvālo, that Varsīṅghot Sāṃvalḍās, who appears in the texts as a rather obtuse, thoughtless Rajpūt, replied that he had received many such pātos and did not know any Māṇḍañ, son of Kūṃpo.

This slur greatly angered Māṇḍañ, who vowed to avenge his honor before Sāṃvalḍās. Several of Māṇḍañ's Rajpūts cautioned him against involving two Rāṭhor brotherhoods in hostilities, but he would not be dissuaded despite the sanctions against such actions. Māṇḍañ then returned to Vāṃsvālo and sought out Sāṃvalḍās at his village. Māṇḍañ's sāth broke into Sāṃvalḍās's male apartment (kotri) and killed thirty of his Rajpūts there. Māṇḍañ himself then climbed up to the second floor bedroom (māṭyo) where Sāṃvalḍās was hiding with his wife, a Vāḍgūjar woman. There he confronted Sāṃvalḍās's wife, who remained behind alone while her husband fled into the neighboring house of a Brāhmaṇ. The Vāḍgūjar faced Māṇḍañ wearing her husband's garments and said, "Your brother has indeed fled; I stand [before you]" ("Bāt Māṇḍañ Kūṃpāvat rī," f. 68). Māṇḍañ then went away, but he killed Sāṃvalḍās's mother and wounded one of Sāṃvalḍās's elephants before he quit the village.52

News of this deed preceded Māṇḍañ's arrival in Mevār, and when he returned to the Rāno's court, he was summoned before the Rāno and received with great respect. The Rāno praised his actions against Sāṃvalḍās and retained him, presenting him with a sizeable grant of villages.

Māṇḍañ's activities during the ten year period from the mid-1550s to the mid-1560s are uncertain. Rāmkaraṇ Āsopa writes that Māṇḍañ went to Delhi at the time of Akbar's succession to the Mughal throne in 1556, and that he received the village of Āsop and thirteen others in jāḡir from the Emperor in 1557 (Āsop kā Ītiḥās, p. 49). Contemporary sources do not corroborate this assertion. The Mughals had no authority in Mārvār at this time. Āsopa's statement, therefore, must be disregarded. Māṇḍañ did take service under the Mughals, however, for the Khyāt of Naiṣī, 3:274, records:


The Khyāt offers no date for the grant. But based on other facts known about Māṇḍañ's life, the ten year period from 1555-65 appears the most probable time he would have held this jāḡir.

Māṇḍañ left service under the Mughals in the mid-1560s to return to Mārvār and join Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81). His reasons for leaving at this time are unclear, but Bhāṭi, Sarvekṣan, 3:97, records that "Emperor Akbar requested a daughter [from Māṇḍañ], but [Māṇḍañ] would not give [him one]." This text offers no further information, but Māṇḍañ's refusal may have provided

52 See n. 111 to "Aitiḥāsik Bāṭāṃ," p. 53, of the translated text for further discussion of this incident.

the impetus for his return to Mārvār. Rāv Candrasen had been forced to abandon Jodhpur in December of 1565 in the face of pressure from the Mughals, and had proceeded to the stronghold at Bhādṛājuṅ53 where he established his court. Few facts are available from sources, but Māṇḍan appears to have remained with Rāv Candrasen into the early 1570s, when he again left Mārvār, this time for Mevār where he took service under Śiśodīyo Rāṇo Pratāpśingh Udaiśinghor (1572-97). Māṇḍan's departure from Mārvār may have coincided with Rāv Candrasen's forced exile in the hills of Sivāṅo beginning in 1574 and his subsequent retreat across the Arāvallīs into Mevār and Vāṃśvālo.

Māṇḍan received villages in pāṭo from the Rāṇo for his maintenance, and Śivnāthśīṁṁh, Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhauroṁ kā Itihās, pp. 168-169, indicates that Māṇḍan took part with Rāṇo Pratāpśingh in his running battle with the Mughals as they sought to impose their control in Mevār. Māṇḍan was posted at the thāṅo of Gogūndo, and he fought in an important battle there against the Mughals in 1578-79.

While serving under Rāṇo Pratāp, Māṇḍan returned to Mārvār and joined his brothers, Prithīrāj Kūṃpāvat (8-2) (no. 97) and Mahēs Kūṃpāvat (8-3) (no. 98), in the settlement of an old vair with the Śindhal Rāṭhōrs of Sojḥat. This vair had begun some years earlier when Śindhal Śīho Bhāṇḍāvat and his Rajpūts had killed one of the Kūṃpāvat brothers near the village of Khairvo.54 Local sources are in conflict about which brother was killed, naming both Goinḍ (8-6) and Tejśī (8-7). There is also confusion about the reason for the murder. Its occurrence is related both to a dispute over horses and to a Śindhal raid on a Kūṃpāvat village.

The Khyāt of Naṁśī, 3:123-128, contains an interesting account of this vair and its settlement. Śīho Śindhal, the master of Kamḷāṁ-Pavā village,55 was in difficult circumstances, it is told. All of his horses had died. He remarked one day while sitting with his Rajpūts:

"Thākurs! [We have] no horses." Then Śīho asked, "[Does anyone knows] who has any horses?" [His] Rajpūts said, "Rāj! [There] are horses at Dhūlharō village."56 But Goinḍ Kūṃpāvat lives there." [Someone] said, "If [you] kill Goinḍ, the horses would come to hand." Then Śīho said, "[We] must bring the horses" (Khyāt, 3:123).

Śīho and his men then set out for Dhauḷharō village. They killed Goinḍ Kūṃpāvat there (according to this version) and took away two hundred of the Kūṃpāvats' horses.

---

53 Bhādṛājuṅ village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.

54 Khairvo village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

55 The identification and location of this village are obscure.

56 Dhaulharo or Dhavalairo village: located eighteen miles west-northwest of Sojḥat.
"Tejsī Kūmpāvat rī Bāt," f. 65, states that Siho Sindhaḷ was filled with remorse after Goind Kūmpāvat was killed. Goind's death brought back memories of a costly vair with the Cāmpāvat Rāṭhors, in the settlement of which Siho's father, Bhāndo, had been involved. Some days after the Sindhal attack on Dhaūlharo village, Siho rode to Mahes Kūmpāvat's village near Sojhat. He put his weapons aside when he arrived and seated himself before Mahes's doorway, saying:

Feed me khic. This deed was committed by me (ibid.).

A Cāraṇ named Sāndu Rāmo Dharamsiyot, to whom Mahes's brother, Prithirāj Kūmpāvat, had given the village of Rāmā rī Vāsṇī in sāṃsaṅ, was present at this time. Cāraṇ Rāmo greeted Siho Sindhaḷ and went to inform Mahes of his arrival.

Mahes was at a loss about what to do. He asked Rāmo for his advice. Rāmo said he should have khic prepared and given to Siho with the formalities appropriate for such an occasion. He also suggested that Mahes could end the vair in the same manner the Cāmpāvats had settled hostilities earlier with the Sindhaḷs. At that time, Siho's father, Bhāndo, had cut off one of his fingers as an offering to equalize the loss between the two brotherhoods. Mahes did not have Siho fed khic, but he agreed with the other part of Cāraṇ Rāmo's proposal. When Rāmo approached Siho, however, Siho took offense and left Mahes's village in anger.

Māṇḍaṇ later learned of these events and reproached his brother, Mahes, saying:

Mahes did a stupid thing (bhāndo kām kīyo). If Siho had come, then [Mahes] should have fed [him] khic. Mahes did [something] unprincipled [and destructive] (buro kīyo) (ibid.).

Siho Sindhaḷ was a powerful local Rajput. Hostilities with him could only prove costly for the Kūmpāvats.

Both Māṇḍaṇ and Siho were military servants of the Rāṇo of Cītōr during this period. They came together by chance during a feast at the Rāṇo's court. While Siho sat picking at his food (he could not eat for fear of Māṇḍaṇ), Māṇḍaṇ came and stood in a mock confrontation before Siho's shoes, which Siho had placed in the entryway to the hall. The Sindhaḷs saw Māṇḍaṇ's actions and exclaimed:

---

57 Khic, a simple preparation of boiled wheat or millet and pulses (see Glossary to Volume I), is a very ordinary subsistence food. Sākariyā, editor of the Khyāt, glosses this passage (n. 7) as meaning, "Please punish [me]." Siho was seeking a means by which the Kūmpāvats could take something from him to equalize their loss. He offered his honor/reputation. He would be lowering himself to eat khic which they served.
"Bravo! Oh, Siho! Your fate [stands there]; has Māṇḍaṇ himself begun preparations for battle?" Then Siho spoke, "Māṇḍaṇ will kill me. This act was a warning" (ibid., 1:124).

Siho left the vās ("residence, dwelling") of the Rāṇo shortly thereafter and proceeded to Jāḷor, where he entered the service of the Muslim ruler. Māṇḍaṇ perceived, "Now Siho is gone." And he also left the Rāṇo's vās and returned to Mārvār. There he began collecting a sāth. He went to the home of Rāṇaḥ Kalo Viḍāvat. He released his dagger, saying:

"Kalo! You [are] Viḍo's son. If you would have [me] tie [this] dagger on [you], then I would tie [it on]." Then [with] as many of his sāth as were [present], with that many Kalo mounted and joined [Māṇḍaṇ] (ibid.).

Māṇḍaṇ proceeded to the village of Devro Cahuvaṇ Udaisī. Udaisī was a sirdāṛ with many sāth, all good Rajpūts (bhala bhalā rajpūṭ). But Udaisī had married at the homes of both Māṇḍaṇ and Siho SīndhaL He was in a difficult position, having alliances with both brotherhoods. The Khyāt of Naiṇsī, 3:124, states that Māṇḍaṇ's daughter was first wife and, therefore, favored in her marriage (suhāgaṇ), while Siho's daughter was second wife and less favored (duhāgaṇ). Māṇḍaṇ sent a Cāraṇ to Udaisī's home with a message for his daughter. "Entreat Udaisī [on our behalf]." Māṇḍaṇ intended that Udaisī look the other way. It was not his vaīr to settle with the Sindhajī.

Māṇḍaṇ afterwards went off with his sāth to lie in wait, and he ambushed Siho, killing him along with a number of his Rajpūts. He then left with his men, fearful of what Devro Udaisī would do when he learned of Siho's death. Udaisī soon received word of the battle and grew angry. He cried out against Māṇḍaṇ:

"Fuck Māṇḍaṇ's mother! (Mā jāṛūṃ Māṇḍaṇṛ!) [Māṇḍaṇ] killed Siho [in] our valley?" Then Māṇḍaṇ's daughter grasped hold of the edge of Udaisī's shirt and said, "What must you do [now]? Do you go to take revenge? [Do not forget that you married at my father's home and that my father] has placed curds (dahī) [on] your forehead" (ibid., 3:127).

Udaisī would not be mollified. He cried out angrily that Māṇḍaṇ had made him an unworthy Rajpūt (kuraṇpūṭ).

Udaisī's Rajpūts now gathered in the male apartment of his home (koṭrī) and waited, armed and ready, for him to come and lead them. Siho SīndhaL's daughter then appeared before them. She exclaimed:

Hey, unworthy Rajpūts! . . . Māṇḍaṇ's daughter has prevented [Udaisī from coming to lead you]. Is there no one born of a Rajpūṭaṇī among you, [who is] protector of the shame of this fort (in koṭrī lajno rakhuīlo) (ibid.)?
This Rajputāṇī's words inflamed the Devrōs. One hundred and sixty armored men (jānā bagatriyā) then moved out from the village, riding double on horseback. When they reached Māṇḍan's camp, they dismounted in a group and attacked Māṇḍan and his men on foot, knocking down their shields and killing all the sāth. Kalo Vīdāvat died fighting along with fifty of his Rajpūts. Khyātī, 3:128, records that he was only fifteen years old. Māṇḍan himself was badly wounded.

According to Khyātī (ibid.), Rāv Candrasen Māldevot of Jodhpur emerged from his exile in the hills of Gūghrōt at this time and came to the Kūmpāvats' aid. He led his Rajpūts in an attack against the Devrōs, killing all of the sāth. "There was such a battle (isro māmlo huvo)." The Rāv's men also fought with the Sīndhals and inflicted a severe defeat on them. And Māṇḍan was carried from the field and his wounds were bound.58

Māṇḍan joined Rāv Candrasen during the final years of his exile from Jodhpur following the settlement of this vair, and he remained with the Rāv until the Rāv's death in 1581. Māṇḍan then returned to Mevār where he served under Sīsodiyā Rāņo Pratāpsingh Udāisinghīt for a short period. Then in 1582-83 he left Mevār for north India to join Rāv Candrasen's elder uterine brother, Udāisingh Māldevot (Mōṭo Rājā of Jodhpur, 1583-95), at Samavali (near Gwalīor). Udāisingh was a Mughal mansabdār holding Samavali in jāgīr from Emperor Akbar.

When Udāisingh Māldevot succeeded to the throne of Jodhpur in 1583, Māṇḍan accompanied him back to Mārvār. He continued to serve under the Mōṭo Rājā until his death in 1594. Bhāṭī, Sarvekṣāṇ, 3:97, states that he died in Lahore, while Āsop kā Itīhās, p. 54, notes that he was killed during operations against the Mahevco Rāṭhor of western Mārvār who refused to submit to the authority of the Jodhpur ruler.59

The dating of the settlement of this vair in the mid-1570s is conjectural. The different sources indicate that Māṇḍan and his two brothers, Prithīrāj and Mahēs, were all present in Mārvār in this period and that they all took part in the fighting against the Sīndhals. One of the sources places the start of the vair in Khairvo village ("Bāṭ Māṇḍan Kūmpāvart rā, f. 69). This village was granted to Mahēs in 1572, when Rāv Kalo Rāmōt received Sojhat in jāgīr from Akbar. Mahēs was then killed in battle in the area of Sojhat in 1576, but his brother, Prithīrāj, died in 1574-75. The events must have taken place between 1572-74.

The Khyātī of Nainīśī, 2:188-189, also records that Jeso Bhāṭī Gopāldās Merāvāt was with Māṇḍan Kūmpāvāt when he attacked and killed Siho Sīndhāl and that Bhāṭī Gopāldās died in this battle. Bhāṭī Gopāldās received a village in pafo from Mōṭo Rājā Udāisingh Māldevot (1583-95) in 1583. This date adds confusion to attempts at chronology. In addition, Bāṅkīdās, p. 53, writes that Siho Sīndhāl was killed in 1570. This date appears incorrect given other information available about Māṇḍaṇ's and his brothers' whereabouts in this period but adds to the uncertainty about chronology.59

Alternatively, Śivnāthsimh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhauros kā Itīhās, p. 172, states that Mōṭo Rājā Udāisingh sent Māṇḍan against Rāval Vīram of Jasol. Following his victory there, he proceeded toward Sojhat, where he met Mughal troops of Prince Salīm (Jahāṅgīr).
Māndan held the village of Āsop and surrounding lands in jāgīr directly from the Mughal Emperor Akbar during this period. This award may relate to services Māndan rendered while he held Jhūnjhānum in jāgīr some years earlier. Local texts are also unclear how long Māndan held Āsop separately from Jodhpur while he served under the Moṭo Rājā. Rāmkaraṇ Āsopā writes:

In one old khyāt, a description of the giving of the kingdom of Jodhpur is written in this manner: "The Emperor, Śrī Akbar, gave the tīko [of succession] and Jodhpur to Rājā Udaisinghī; [he] gave [Jodhpur] in the month jait (April/May) of 1583. He sequestered [these lands] from the Saiyyids Hāsam and Kāsam. Jodhpur came [with] a sirpāv, horses, [and a] mansab of 1,500 zāt, 700 suwār. [It came] in 12 subdivisions (taphos) . . . Among these [the Emperor] gave Bilāro [tapho] to [Jaitāvat Rāṭhor] Rāv Vāgh Prithūrājot. [And] Āsop was given to Māndanī" (Āsop kā Itihās, p. 53).

Vigat, 1:77, confirms this record. It states:

[The Emperor] gave Jodhpur [to Rājā Udaisinghī] in April/May of 1583. At this time, 2 taphos were [administratively] outside [of Jodhpur Pargano]. Āsop tapho was [given] directly to Rāṭhor [Māndan]60 Kūmpāvat. Bilāro to Rāṭhor Vāgh Prithūrājot; 2 taphos separate . . .

Elsewhere, "Aitūhāṣik Bātāṃ," p. 91, records that:

The 1 tapho of Āsop had been [given] to Rāṭhor Māndan Kūmpāvat, so [in] 1585 the tapho of Āsop became [the Moṭo Rājā’s].

This entry seems to indicate that while Māndan held Āsop in jāgīr from Akbar during the first years after Rājā Udaisinghī’s accession, this order changed in 1585 when Āsop was included within the pargano of Jodhpur and made part of the Moṭo Rājā’s jāgīr. Māndan may then have received Āsop from the Moṭo Rājā in patao while he continued to serve under him. It is also possible that he continued to hold Āsop directly from Akbar.61

Fighting broke out with these troops, during which he is said to have been mortally wounded. This text gives the date of January 27, 1594 for Māndan’s death.

60 Vigat lists the name incorrectly as "Bhān Kūmpāvat," not Māndan Kūmpāvat, probably a scribal error.

61 Śivnāthsīṁh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhaurīm kā Itihās, p. 171, gives the date of March 11, 1586 (Caitrādi) = February 28, 1587 (Śrāvaṇādi) for Māndan’s receipt of Āsop (and 11 other villages) in jāgīr directly from the Emperor. This date cannot be verified from other more contemporary sources and appears to be late. These villages are said to
An inscription on a cenotaph built near the temple of Mahādev in Dhaneri village records the date of Māndan's death along with the names of the three wives who became sātis:

Memorial (devī) [dated] January 27, 1594 - Rāj Śrī Māndanī Ėńūpāvat Rāthaur, Mahāsāti Damnā Bhāṭīyāṇī, Mahāsāti Kinkā Cauhvāṇ, Mahāsāti Jasodā Śīsodnī.

Māndan had eleven wives, nine sons, and two daughters. His son, Khīṃvo Māṇaṇot (9-1), succeeded him to the rule of Ėsop.


(no. 100) Kāṃhāśīṅgh Khīṃvāvat (10-1)
(no. 101) Rāṛśīṅgh Khīṃvāvat (10-2)

Kāṃhāśīṅgh Khīṃvāvat and his younger brother, Rāṛśīṅgh Khīṃvāvat, were sons of Khīṃvo Māṇaṇot (9-1), born of his first wife, Devīī Koṛamdevī, daughter of Devīro Jaimal Ḡarrājot, and grandsons of Māndan Ėńūpāvat (8-4) (no. 99). Both achieved prominence in Mārvār as important ṣāḥkurs, and under Rāṛśīṅgh, Ėśop village returned to this family. It now became the homeland (utan) of the Ėńūpāvat Rāṭhors following Māndan Ėńūpāvat’s establishment of his rule there. These Ėńūpāvats continued the strong tradition of Ėńūpāvat service to the Jodhpur throne which had begun with their ancestor, Kūṃpo Mahirājot (7-1) (no. 95).

Khīṃvo Māṇaṇot (9-1)

Kāṃhāśīṅgh and Rāṛśīṅgh’s father, Khīṃvo Māṇaṇot, was born in 1549-50. He remained behind in Mārvār while his father, Māndan Ėńūpāvat, traveled first to Mevār and then to north India to join Udaisīṅgh Māldevot at Samavali (near Gwalior) in 1581-1582. Khīṃvo took service under Rāṭv Candrasen Māldevot’s son, Rāṭv Rāṛśīṅgh Candrasenot, who had received Sojhat in jāgīr from Emperor Akbar in 1581. Bhāṭī, Sarvekṣaṇ, 3:97, states that he received Ėḍvō village62 of Meṛto from Rāṭv Rāṛśīṅgh for his vasi. Khīṃvo was at Sojhat have been given in reward for Māndan’s valorous performance against rebels in the East against whom he was sent 1586-1587. The other villages included in this grant were: Bāṛṇī Ḡaṛ, Bāṛṇī Khurad, Chāḷpō, Dāṛmī, Ḡiṅgōlī, Kuhbāṛo, Kūkāṛdō, Lohāṛi, Narāsṇī, Pelṛ, Rājlāṇī, Ṛaṛd, Ṛāḍsār, Ṛāṃpuro, and Surpuro.

62 Devīī: a memorial (image/effigy) to a sāti.
when Rāv Rāysiṅgh was killed in battle in Sīrohī in October of 1583,64 and he and Rāṭhor Āskarāṇ Ṛvedī, a son of Devidās Jaitāv (no. 65), were among the Rajпутs of Rāv Rāysiṅgh’s vasi who were sent from Sojhat to Jodhpur after Rāv Rāysiṅgh’s death. Moṭo Rājā Udaiṅsigh retained these Rajпутs in his own service, and he posted Khimvo to the garrison at Sojhat.

Khimvo held the village of Dhanło65 in paṭo from the Moṭo Rājā while he was stationed at Sojhat. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 183, records that the Moṭo Rājā drove Khimvo from this village, however, and gave it to Khimvo’s brother, Prayaṅgās Māṇḍañot (9-2). The date of this occurrence is not recorded, but the sequence in which the text lists this event indicates that the village was sequestered ca. 1584. Āsop kā Itihās, p. 56, states that Khimvo then succeeded his father, Māṇḍañ, to Āsop village in 1593-94. Seventeenth century sources available do not confirm that Āsop village was granted to Khimvo in paṭo, and the dating is also problematic. The Moṭo Rājā’s actions against Khimvo at Dhanło village also indicate some uncertainty about Khimvo’s position.

It is known, however, that Khimvo continued in the service of Jodhpur under the Moṭo Rājā’s successor, Rājā Sūraṅsīṅgh Udaiṅsigh (1595-1619). He spent much of his time between the years 1595-1608 on military tour with the Rājā in the Deccan. Khimvo and several other of Rājā Sūraṅsīṅgh’s Rajпутs distinguished themselves at the battle of Bīḍ city (near Ahmadnagar) in 1599-1600 by capturing the red and white flag of Ahmadnagar. Rājā Sūraṅsīṅgh adopted these colors as his own, and in reward for Khimvo’s valor in this battle, he granted Khimvo the paṭo of Íḍvo village which he had held before while serving under Rāṭhor Rāv Rāysiṅgh Candrasenot.

Sources differ regarding details of Khimvo’s death. Āsop kā Itihās, p. 57, states that Khimvo was killed in 1608-09 during an outbreak of hostilities with Hāḍo Rajпутs in Būndī, southern Rājasthān. Śivnāṭhśīṃh, Kāmpāvat Rāṭhauroṃ kā Itihās, p. 184, asserts that he was killed in November or December of 1611 during a battle near Bhāḍrāṅjūn village.66 The fighting near Bhāḍrāṅjūn is said to have taken place against Rajпутs of Sīsodiyo Rāṅo Amarsiṅgh Pratāpsīṅgh (1597-1620) who had raided into Mārvāṛ after an Imperial caravan. Alternatively, Bhāṭī, Sarvekṣaṇ, 3:97, records that Khimvo died at Burhanpur in the Deccan in 1617-18.

Khimvo had four wives and from six to nine sons.

Āsop kā Itihās, pp. 56-58; Bhāṭī, Sarvekṣaṇ, 3:97; Śivnāṭhśīṃh, Kāmpāvat Rāṭhauroṃ kā Itihās, pp. 177-185; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 182-183; Vīgaṭ, 1:89, 105.

---

64 Śivnāṭhśīṃh, Kāmpāvat Rāṭhauroṃ kā Itihās, p. 177, states that Khimvo Māṇḍañot was present in Sīrohī with Rāv Rāysiṅgh. This assertion appears to be incorrect.

65 Dhanło village: located twenty-seven miles due south of Sojhat.

66 Bhāḍrāṅjūn village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.
Kānḥāṣīṅgh Khīṃvāvat (also known as Kisansīṅgh Khīṃvāvat) was a sister's son (bhāṇej) of the Devroṣ. He was born on November 7, 1583. Little is known about his early life. He appears to have entered the service of Jodhpur as a young man and become a military servant of Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Gajsīṅgh Sūraṣīṅghhot, under whom he served while Gajsīṅgh was a kumvar and later when Gajsīṅgh succeeded to the Jodhpur throne as rājā in 1619.

Kānḥāṣīṅgh was with Kumvar Gajsīṅgh in 1614-15 during Mughal operations in Mevāṛ against Sisodiyo Rāṇo Amarsingh Pratāp Singhot (1597-1620). Emperor Jahāṅgīr had placed Prince Khurrām in charge of these operations, and the Prince established outposts at a number of different locations throughout Mevāṛ. He appointed Jodhpur Rājā Sūraṣīṅgh Udaisīṅghhot (1595-1619) to the thāṇo of Sāḍṛī in Godhvaṛ.67 It was here that Kānḥāṣīṅgh was stationed, and he is said quickly to have earned a reputation for courage and resourcefulness. Kānḥāṣīṅgh went on to attain considerable prominence in Mārvaṛ as a warrior and as an administrator.

Both Āsop kā Itīḥās, p. 58, and Śivnāthṣīṁh, Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhauroṁ kā Itīḥās, p. 185, assert that Kānḥāṣīṅgh succeeded to Āsop village when his father, Kīṃvō, died. Seventeenth century sources available do not confirm this assertion, and it is unclear if Kānḥāṣīṅgh ever received this village in pāṭo. Śivnāthṣīṁh, Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhauroṁ kā Itīḥās, p. 193, also states that Jodhpur Rājā Sūraṣīṅgh sequestered Āsop from Kānḥāṣīṅgh because Kānḥāṣīṅgh took part with Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Kisansīṅgh Udaisīṅghhot of Kīsangaḍḍhī in the actions that resulted in the death of Rājā Sūraṣīṅgh's pradhān, Jeso Bhattī Goyanddās Māṇavat, at Ajmer in 1615. Rāṭhoṛ Kisansīṅgh was a son of Moto Rājā Udaisīṅgh Māldevot (1583-95) and half-brother to Rājā Sūraṣīṅgh. He appears to have nursed several grievances against Bhattī Goyanddās. Goyanddās had driven him from Mārvaṛ in 1600-01 following a series of disputes over land holdings. He nevertheless remained involved in affairs in Mārvaṛ, and when Bhattī Goyanddās killed a paternal cousin of his in 1613 he sought to avenge his death against the pradhān. He and his Rajpūṭ attacked Bhattī Goyanddās's camp at Ajmer on May 26, 1615 and murdered him to settle the vair. The above source states that when Rājā Sūraṣīṅgh took Āsop from Kānḥāṣīṅgh, Kānḥāṣīṅgh left Mārvaṛ for Rāṭhoṛ Kisansīṅgh's kingdom of Kīsangaḍḍhī and returned to Mārvaṛ only in 1619 when Gajsīṅgh succeeded to the Jodhpur throne.

There are a number of problems with the account in Śivnāthṣīṁh, Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhauroṁ kā Itīḥās. As noted above, it seems doubtful that Kānḥāṣīṅgh ever held Āsop in pāṭo. Khyāt, 2:155, records that Jeso Bhattī Goyanddās received Āsop in 1606-07 and held it along with Lavero68 and other villages while he served as pradhān of Jodhpur under Rājā Sūraṣīṅgh. Āsop

67 Sāḍṛī village: located fifteen miles south of Nāḍūl.

68 Lavero village: located thirty-four miles north-northeast of Jodhpur.
remained in Bhāṭī Goyandās's *pato* until his death in 1615, and on his death, it passed to his two sons, Rāṃsiṅgh and Prithirāj. It appears that one reason Kāṅhāsiṅgh may have joined Rāṅ Kisansiṅgh in the hostilities at Ajmer was because Goyandās held possession of Āsop. This village did not return to Kāṅhāsiṅgh's family until 1619, when Rājā Gajsingh took it from Jeso Bhāṭī Goyandāsot and Prithirāj Goyandāsot and awarded it to Kāṅhāsiṅgh's younger brother, Rājśingh Khimvavat (see *infra*).

Kāṅhāsiṅgh may also have joined with Rāṅ Kisansiṅgh to help settle the *vair* between the Jodho Rāṭhorṣ and the Jeso Bhāṭīs which emerged when Jeso Bhāṭī Goyandās killed Jodho Rāṭhor Gopāḷdās Bhagvāṇdāsot. Rāṭhor Gopāḷdās was a son of Rāṅ Kisansiṅgh's brother, Bhagvāṇdās Udaiṁsiṅgh.69 He had been in the sāth of his paternal relation, Jodho Rāṭhor Narsinghdās Kalyāṇdāsot,70 who had held Bhāunḍo village71 of Nāgaur as a cākar of Sisodiyo Rāṇo Sagar Udaiṁsiṅgh. Rāṇo Sagar had taken this village from Narsinghdās in 1612-13 and given it to another of his cākars, Jeso Bhāṭī Surtān Mānāvat, who took service under him that year. Bhāṭī Surtān was a brother of Bhāṭī Goyandās Mānāvat. Bhāṭī Surtān took possession of Bhāunḍo in December of 1612, but hostilities broke out some months later in May of 1613, when Rāṭhor Narsinghdās and his sāth returned to Bhāunḍo and challenged Bhāṭī Surtān's rights to possession of the village. Bhāṭī Surtān emerged from the small fort at Bhāunḍo to meet them, and during the pitched battle before the village which followed, Rāṭhor Narsinghdās and Bhāṭī Surtān were both killed. Rāṭhor Gopāḷdās Bhagvāṇdāsot was wounded but managed to flee along with others of Narsinghdās's sāth, including Narsinghdās's brothers, Isardās and Mādhodās Kalyāṇdāsot. When Bhāṭī Goyandās learned what had happened, he rode from Jodhpur to avenge Surtān's death. Isardās and Mādhodās Kalyāṇdāsot managed

69 The relationships among the Jodho Rāṭhorṣ listed here is as follows:

```
Rāṅ Mālde Gaṅgāvat

Moṭo Rājā Udaiṁsiṅgh Māldevot    Rāymal Māldevot

Rāṅ Kisansiṅgh Udaiṁsiṅghot    Bhagvāṇdās Udaiṁsiṅghot
                                    Kalyāṇdās
                                    Rāymalot

Gopāḷdās Bhagvāṇdāsot    Narsinghdās
                                    Kalyāṇdāsot
```

70 See *supra,* "Jodho Rāṭhorṣ," Isardās Kalyāṇdāsot (no. 88), for more information about Narsinghdās Kalyāṇdāsot.

71 Bhāunḍo village: located fifty-three miles north-northeast of Jodhpur and twenty-five miles southwest of Nāgaur.
to escape. But Bhāṭī Goyanddās caught up with Gopālḍās at the village of Kāṅkarkhī72 near Meṛto and killed him there to settle the vair.

Gopālḍās Bhagvāṇḍaś's paternal uncle, Rāv Kisansiṅgh Udaiśinghot, sought to avenge his death in turn. Angered that his brother, Rājā Sūrajsiṅgh of Jodhpur, would take no action against his pradhān, Rāv Kisansiṅgh made a precipitous attack on Bhāṭī Goyanddās's camp at Ajmer and killed him on the night of May 26, 1615 while he was with Rājā Sūrajsiṅgh in attendance upon Emperor Jahāṅgīr.

Local sources including Khyāt, 2:155, Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 255-258, and Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, pp. 130, 145, 150-152, assert that the Emperor himself was involved in Bhāṭī Goyanddās's murder. The latter two sources openly state that Rāv Kisansiṅgh complained before the Emperor about Rathor Gopālḍās's death and that the Emperor then ordered him to kill Bhāṭī Goyanddās. That Emperor Jahāṅgīr ordered Kisansiṅgh to kill Bhāṭī Goyanddās is questionable, the best contemporary source for what happened being the Emperor's own writing:

On the night of Friday, the 15th, a strange affair occurred. By chance on that night I was at Pushkar. To be brief, Kishan, own brother to Rājā Sūraj Singh, was in great perturbation through Gobind Dās, the Vakil of the said Raja having some time ago killed his nephew, a youth of the name of Gopāl Dās. . . Kishan Singh expected that, as Gopāl Dās was also the nephew of the Raja (Sūraj Singh), the latter would kill Gobind Dās. But the Raja, on account of the experience and ability of Gobind Dās, relinquished the idea of seeking revenge for his nephew's death. When Kishan saw this neglect on the part of the Raja, he resolved to take revenge for his nephew, and not allow his blood to pass away unnoticed. For a long time he kept this matter in his mind, until on that night he assembled his brothers, friends, and servants, and told them that he would go that night to take Gobind Dās's life, whatever might happen, and that he did not care what injury might happen to the Raja. The Raja was ignorant of what was happening, and when it was near dawn Kishan came with Karan [Ugrasenot], his brother's son, and other companions. When he arrived at the gate of the Raja's dwelling he sent some of the experienced men on foot to the house of Gobind Dās, which was near the Raja's. He himself (Kishan) was on horseback, and stationed himself near the gate. The men on foot entered Gobind Dās's house, and killed some of those who were there on guard. Whilst this fight was going on Gobind Dās awoke, and seizing his sword in a state of bewilderment was coming out from one side of the house to join the outside watchmen. When the men on foot had finished killing some of the people, they came out of the tent to

---

72 Kāṅkarkhī village: located nine miles south-southwest of Meṛto.
endeavour to find out Gobind Dās, and, meeting him, they finished his affair (killed him). Before the news of the killing of Gobind Dās reached Kishan, he, unable to bear it any more, dismounted and came inside the dwelling. Although his men protested in a disturbed state that it was not right to be on foot, he would in no way listen to them. If he had remained a little longer and the news of his enemy having been killed had reached him, it is possible that he would have escaped safe and sound, mounted as he was. As the pen of destiny had gone forth after another fashion, as soon as he alighted and went in, the Raja, who was in his mahall (female apartment) awoke at the uproar among the people, and stood at the gate of his house with his sword drawn. People from all sides were aroused and came in against the men who were on foot. They saw what the number of men on foot was, and came out in great numbers and faced Kishan Singh’s men, who were about ten in number. In short, Kishan Singh and his nephew Karan, when they reached the Raja’s house, were attacked by these men and both of them killed. Kishan Singh had seven and Karan nine wounds. Altogether in this fight 66 men on the two sides were killed, on the Raja’s side 30 and on Kishan Singh’s 36. When the sun rose and illumined the world with its light, this business was revealed, and the Raja saw that his brother, his nephew, and some of his servants, whom he considered dearer than himself, were killed, and the whole of the rest had dispersed to their own places. The news reached me in Pushkar, and I ordered them to burn those who were killed, according to their rites, and inform me of the true circumstances of the affair. In the end it became clear that the affair had happened in the manner in which it has been written here, and that no further enquiry was necessary (Jahāngīr, 1:291-293).

Bhāṭī, Sarvekṣaṇ, 3:98, states that Kānhāsīṅgh became an Imperial servant in 1620-21 and that he did service in the Deccan and at Burhanpur. He is said to have received the village of Pīpāvar, where he stationed his rāvīlo. This information is difficult to reconcile with other information known about Kānhāsīṅgh, unless it is assumed that he served under Rājā Gājsīṅgh at this time. Kānhāsīṅgh did become an important military servant under Rājā Gājsīṅgh. Āsop kā ṭithās, p. 58, mentions that Rājā Gājsīṅgh granted several villages to Kānhāsīṅgh in paṭho in reward for his military services in the Deccan. These villages included Barlū, Rāktūrīyo and Khārīyo of Jodhpur Pargano, Pīmpār subdivision (tapho), and the village of Nāhadhsaro of Āsop tapho. These villages are located as follows: Barlū: twenty miles north of Pīmpār town.

73 Vigat does not list a village by this name for any of the parganos of Mārvā. Perhaps Pīmpār is meant. Pīmpār is located thirty-three miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.
Kanhāsingh was placed in charge of the internal affairs of Mārvār during the early 1620s and worked with the assistance of Paṇcōlī Rāghodās, a kämdār of Rājā Gajsingh. He also took part in the transfer of Meṛtō Pargano from Prince Parvīz to Rājā Gajsingh when the Prince granted Meṛtō to him in jāgīr. This transfer took place on August 8, 1623, and both Kanhāsingh and Bhaṇḍārī Lūṇo (no. 156), the pradhān of Jodhpur, proceeded to Meṛtō to present the orders from Prince Parvīz to Abu Kābo (Abu Muḥammad Kambu), the amīn, and to see that the transfer was made in an orderly fashion.

Āsop kā Itihās, p. 59, notes that Rājā Gajsingh sent a force under Kanhāsingh to confront Rajputs of Sisodīyo Rāṇo Karānsingh Amarsinghot of Mevār (1620-28) who were raiding and looting villages in Mārvār in the area of Nāḍūl in Godhvār. Kanhāsingh achieved a significant victory here, but this text states that as a result of this victory, Kanhāsingh "became very arrogant and stopped reporting for service." The Rājā then sequestered his paṭo of Āsop village and granted it to his younger brother, Rājsingh (see infra). The validity of this information regarding Āsop is in doubt, as noted above.

Some uncertainty also surrounds the date and circumstances of Kanhāsingh's death. Murārādān, no. 2, p. 221, records that he was killed in battle in 1624 during the conflict at Damdama on the confluence of the Tons and the Ganges Rivers (near Allahabad). It was here that Imperial troops under Mahābat Khān fought with Prince Khurrām (Shāh Jahān), then in rebellion from his father, Emperor Jahāngīr. Rājā Gajsingh was present with the Imperial troops at this battle.

Vigat, 1:114, and Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 186, indicate that Kanhāsingh was killed near Balundo village76 of Jaitārān during an outbreak of hostilities with Abu Kābo and his men. Dates given for this occurrence range from 1621-22 in the Vigat, which seems clearly wrong, to 1622-23 in Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt. Āsop kā Itihās, p. 59, notes alternatively that a history of Āsop Ṭhikāṇo asserts Kanhāsingh was killed during a battle with an army from Udaipur (no date given), while Bhāṭi, Sarveksan, 3:98, records that he died at Burhanpur in the Deccan and offers yet another date of 1630-31 for his death.

Kanhāsingh had five wives and seven sons.

Āsop kā Itihās, pp. 58-60; Bhāṭi, Sarveksan, 3:98; Mahārāj Śrī Gajsinghī kī Khyāt, MS no. 15666, Rājasthān Prācyavidya Pratiśthān, Jodhpur, pp. 23-24; Jahāngīr, 1:291-293; Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, pp. 130, 145, 150-152, 186; Khyāt, 2:155-156; Śivnāthsīṁh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhauraṃ kā Itihās, pp. 185, 192-

75 Nāḍūl vilage: located sixty-seven miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

76 Balundo village: located fifty-five miles east of Jodhpur and eight miles north of Jaitārān.
Following Kümpo Mahirajot (7-1) (no. 95) and Māṇḍan Kümpavat (8-4) (no. 99), Rājśiṅgh Khīṃpavat was perhaps the most illustrious of the Kümpavat Rāṭhōrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He held varying positions of influence in Mārvār from personal retainer to Kumṇvar Gajśiṅgh Sūrajsinghot (Rājā of Jodhpur, 1619-38) to pradhān of Jodhpur. He served as pradhān under both Rājā Gajśiṅgh Sūrajsinghot and his son and successor, Rājā Jasvantsiṅgh Gajśiṅghot (1638-78) from 1624-25 until his death in 1640. While a servant of Jodhpur, he was also a Mughal mansabdār holding the village of Āsop in pato from the Jodhpur ruler and in jāgīr from the Mughal Emperor. His life was as much involved with the affairs of Mārvār as with the Mughal court, and he performed the role of diplomat on numerous occasions.

Rājśiṅgh was born on either April 11, 1586 (Caitrādi) or March 31, 1587 (Śrāvaṇādi). He initially served in the Deccan with his father, Khīṃvo Māṇḍanot, then returned to Mārvār in 1606-07 and, at the order of Rājā Sūrajsingh, was taken into Kumṇvar Gajśiṅgh’s service as one of his personal retainers. He received the village of Bāhlo77 from the kumṇvar this same year. Vigat, 1:101, also notes that he accompanied Kumṇvar Gajśiṅgh from Plsāṅgan78 village to Mārvār in 1614-15, when Rājā Sūrajsingh was posted to the Deccan under orders from Emperor Jahāṅgīr.

Śivnāṭhsinh, Küṃpavat Rāṭhaurōṃ kā Itīhās, p. 214, indicates that Rājśiṅgh was with Rājā Sūrajsingh when the Rājā traveled to the Deccan in 1615. The Rājā received leave on June 5 of that year to return to Jodhpur and, pleased with Rājśiṅgh’s attendance upon him, awarded him the village of Īdvo of Merto79 which his father, Khīṃvo, had held before him. Emperor Jahāṅgīr granted Jālōr Pargano to Kumṇvar Gajśiṅgh in jāgīr in 1616-17, and ordered him to take authority there from the Bihārī Pathāṇs. Rājśiṅgh accompanied the kumṇvar on this campaign. They successfully took control of Jālōr fort, but they had to repeat this feat three years later in 1619 following the Pathāṇs reassertion of their rule.

Rājā Sūrajsingh of Jodhpur died in September of 1619 at the thāṇo of Mehkar in the Deccan. Upon Gajśiṅgh Sūrajsinghot’s succession to the throne as rājā at Burhanpur on October 5, 1619, he placed Rājśiṅgh in charge of the fort at Jodhpur and awarded him with the pato of Āsop village. Śivnāṭhsinh, Küṃpavat Rāṭhaurōṃ kā Itīhās, p. 217, states that Rājśiṅgh received Āsop in

---

77 Bāhlo village: located thirty-two miles east-southeast of Jodhpur.

78 Plsāṅgan village: located fifteen miles west-southwest of Ajmer.

79 Īdvo village: located eighteen miles northeast of Merto.
reward for his earlier services during the Jâlor campaign. Asop was taken from Joso Bhâti Ramsingh and Prithiráj Goyanddásat at this time. Râjsingh was later with Râja Gajisingh and Prince Khurram in the Deccan in 1621-22. He again displayed great courage and resourcefulness and was rewarded with the additional pâto of Rärod village. Rärod was taken from Joso Bhâti Venítâs Goyanddásat, a brother of Râmsingh and Prithiráj.

In 1619-20, not long after Râja Gajisingh's succession to the Jodhpur throne, military retainers of his seized the mâl and ghâsmârî revenues of Mëerto from Prince Khurram's officers there under Abu Kâbo (Abu Muhammad Kambu), the amîn. Râjsingh spent several weeks in negotiations with Abu Kâbo over this seizure. He finally agreed to a cash settlement of rs. 50,000 and he stationed Mumhato Velo (no. 160) at Mëerto to look after the Râjâ's interests. Hostilities broke out soon after between Mumhato Velo's and Abu Kâbo's servants. Mumhato Velo then asked Abu Kâbo for a written release from all obligations, and the amîn had a deed of discharge made and brought it to Velo at Mëerto.

A final settlement about Mëerto was delayed for several years. Following Prince Khurram's rebellion in 1623, Prince Parvîz was appointed sîbêdâr of Ajmer (including Mëerto), and negotiations began with him over the transfer of Mëerto Pargano to Râja Gajisingh. Râjsingh played an important role in petitioning Prince Parvîz through Navab Mahâbat Khân for this transfer. The Prince eventually agreed to the transfer, and he had the certificate of appointment (tâlliko) written and given to Râjâ Gajisingh. Râjsingh's brother, Kânghâsingh Khîmâvâvat, and Bhandârî Lûño (no. 156) brought the tâlliko to Mëerto. Hostilities broke out with Prince Parvîz's men there, but Râjâ Gajisingh was able to assume full authority on August 8, 1623.

Râjsingh continued to play a diplomatic role in the affairs of Mârvâr throughout his life. Mëerto had not been written into the dargâhi mansâb of Râja Gajisingh at the time of the original transfer to him in 1623. It had only been granted to the Râjâ in jâgîr. After Râjsingh became the new pradhân of Jodhpur upon the death of Bhanđârî Lûño in 1624, he proceeded to Lahore with Fidâî Khân to petition the Emperor himself to have Mëerto written officially into Râjâ Gajisingh's Imperial mansâb. Râjsingh accomplished this task and returned to Mârvâr in 1625-26.

---

80 *Âsop kâ Itihâs*, p. 59, states that Râjsingh received Âsop village in pâto after it was sequestered from his brother, Kânghâsingh, shortly before Kânghâsingh's death. This information appears to be incorrect (see *supra*, Kânghâsingh Khîmâvâvat). *Khyât*, 2:157, states very clearly that Râjsingh received Âsop village in 1619-20, when it was taken from Joso Bhâti Ramsingh and his brother, Prithiráj. Their father, Joso Bhâti Goyanddás Mânâvat, had received Âsop in 1606-07 in pâto from Jodhpur Râja Sûrajsingh (1595-1619) while he was pradhân of Jodhpur. He held Âsop under his death in 1615, at which time this village was granted to his two sons, Râmsingh and Prithiráj.

81 Rärod village: located forty-four miles northeast of Jodhpur and six miles west of Âsop.
Rajsingh performed other military service for Raja Gajsingh. He accompanied Kumvar Amarsingh Gajsinghot and an Imperial force sent against Mahabat Khan, who had rebelled against Emperor Jahangir and fled the Imperial camp while enroute from Lahore to north India in 1626-27. Mahabat Khan took refuge in the hills of Mevar, and then made contact with Prince Khurram in the Deccan. Rajsingh was again in Jodhpur with Raja Gajsingh at the time of Jahangir's death in October of 1627.

Emperor Shâh Jahân appointed Rajsingh pradhân of Jodhpur following Raja Gajsingh's death in early May of 1638. The Emperor made this appointment while Rajsingh was at Agra in attendance upon the Emperor and Raja Gajsingh's eleven year old son, Jasvantsingh Gajsinghot. The Emperor himself placed the tiko on Jasvantsingh's forehead, confirming his succession to the Jodhpur throne on May 29, 1638. Shâh Jahân paid specific recognition to Rajsingh at this time for his services to the throne. On August 16, 1638 Rajsingh received a sirpâv of one lakh rupees and granted Āsop village to him in jagîr along with the mansab rank of 1,000 zât, 400 suwâr. Rajsingh also received a paṭo from the Râja worth a lâkh.

Rajsingh was much involved with the affairs of Mârvâr at the Mughal court during the next several years. Much of his effort there related to settling Raja Gaj singh's accounts with the Imperial treasury and ensuring that the different parganos of Mârvâr were written correctly into Raja Jasvantsingh's dargâhi mansab. Rajsingh's mansab rank was increased in 1639-40 to 1,000 zât, 600 suwâr, which he held until his death very shortly after.

Rajsingh died suddenly at Jodhpur on Monday, November 23, 1640. The manner in which he died, as related in Āsop kâ Itihâs, pp. 62-64, is of interest and is recorded here in some detail:

It is said that young Raja Jasvantsingh slipped out of the fort of Jodhpur in disguise on the night of November 22 and went into the city with one of the koṭvâls stationed at the fort. It was a hot night, and the Râja entered into one of the tanks of the city to swim while the koṭvâl patrolled the area. The tank in which the Râja swam was considered to be the dwelling place of evil spirits (bhût), and one is said to have entered the Râja's body. When the people of the city came to the tank at first light to bathe, they found the Râja lying unconscious and feverish along its edge. They quickly raised the alarm and had him carried back to the fort.

The Râja's body was placed on a bed at the fort, and those present, who included all of the high officials of the kingdom, proceeded to bargain with the spirit possessing Jasvantsingh's body. The spirit refused to depart. The officials finally obtained a promise from the spirit that it would leave the Râja's body if someone of equal stature offered himself in the Râja's stead. Rajsingh

82 Jodhpur Râjya kî Khyât, p. 263, n. 5 gives this date. Śivnâthsîmî, Kûmpâvat Râthauroño kâ Itihâs, p. 222, records the date July 12, 1638 (Adhika Śrâvana), August 11, 1638 (Nîja Śrâvana).

83 Śivnâthsîmî, Kûmpâvar Râthauroño kâ Itihâs, p. 222, has written incorrectly that he received a mansab of 1000/4000.
immediately stepped forward. He drank water consecrated with a spell while circumambulating Rāja Javantsingh's body, and the spirit then left the Rāja's body and took possession of Rājsingh's, whereupon Rājsingh immediately died. A cenotaph was built in Rājsingh's memory at the Kāgā Bāgh in Jodhpur. Shāh Jahan himself offered two pairs of golden urns in Rājsingh's memory, one of which was placed in the fort of Jodhpur and the other in Rājsingh's home at Āsop. Rājsingh's wife, Bhāṭiyāni Rājkumṇavard, daughter of Jaisalmer Bhāṭī Vardesjī, and three khavās became satīs at Jodhpur when his body was cremated.

According to Śivnāṭhsimh, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhauroṃ kā Itihās, pp. 226-227, Rājsingh had eight wives, nine sons and three daughters. His son, Mukaṇḍās (Nāhar Khān) Rājsinghot by his wife, Sekhāvat Kachvāhī Śirekumṇavard, daughter of Sekhāvat Kachvāho Īsardās Jālamsiṅghot, succeeded him to the rule of Āsop.

Figure 28. Kūmpāvat Rāṇ̄hoṛs

(1-1) Rāv Salkho

| (2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat |

| (3-1) Rāv Cūṇḍo Vīramot |

| (4-1) Rāv Riṇmal Cūṇḍāvat |

| (5-1) Akhairāj Riṇmalot |

| (6-1) Mahirāj Akhairājot |

| (6-2) Pañcāīṇ Akhairājot |

(7-1) Kūmpo Mahirājot (Kūmpāvats)

| (8-1) Pato | (8-2) Prithirāj | (8-3) Mahes | (8-4) Māṇḍaṇ | (8-5) Tilokṣī | (8-6) Goind | (8-7) Tejsī |

| Kūmpāvat | Kūmpāvat | Kūmpāvat | Kūmpāvat | Kūmpāvat | Kūmpāvat | Kūmpāvat |

| (9-1) Khīṅvo Māṇḍaṇot | (9-2) Prayāgdās Māṇḍaṇot |

| (10-1) Kānhāśiṅgh Khīṅvāvat | (10-2) Rājiṅgh Khīṅvāvat |
Mahevco Rāṭhors

(no. 102) Hāpo Varsinghot, Rāval (9-1)
(no. 103) Meghrāj Hāpāvat, Rāval (10-1)

The Mahevco Rāṭhors

The Mahevco Rāṭhors descend from Māloji Salkhāvat (Rāval Mallināth) (2-1), a fourteenth century Rāṭhor warrior. Rāval Mallināth is said to have established Rāṭhor rule at the village of Kher1 in Mahevo,2 western Mārvār. He is a prominent figure in local traditions, much celebrated for his legendary prowess as a warrior. There is a fair held each year in March at the village of Tilvāro (near Kher) in his remembrance.

Rāval Mallināth’s son, Jagmāl Mālāvat (3-1), succeeded him to the rule of Mahevo and Kher. The area of Mahevo then became divided into four portions among Jagmāl’s sons. Māṇḍīlīk Jagmālot (4-1) succeeded to Mahevo, the most prominent of these sections. It is from Māṇḍīlīk that the Mahevco rulers known by the title of rāval descend.

(no. 102) Hāpo Varsinghot, Rāval of Mahevo (9-1)

Rāval Hāpo Varsinghot of Mahevo and his brother, Úgo Varsinghot (9-2), became involved in the fortunes of the Jodhpur throne during the period of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat’s rule (1532-62). The Mahevcos had maintained a separate and independent existence from Jodhpur prior to this time. Then in 1545 Rāval Hāpo and his brother, Úgo, joined Rāv Mālde’s warriors in an attack on the Muslim garrison at the village of Bhāngesar.3 Sher Shāh Sūr had placed an outpost at this village following his victory at the battle of Samel4 in January of 1544, in the aftermath of which he had occupied Jodhpur and much of eastern Mārvār.

The Mahevco involvement in the fortunes of Jodhpur appears linked to a series of marriage alliances between the Mahevcos and the Jeso Bhāṭīs of Mārvār, who served under Rāv Mālde and were some of the most steadfast

---

1 Kher village: located on the northern side of the Lūṅī River some sixty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur and five miles due east of Tilvāro, which is situated on the southern side of the Lūṅī River. Both villages are near the Pacpadro salt pits.

2 Mahevo (modern Mallānī): the name of an area of western Mārvār and also a village located sixty-six miles southwest of Jodhpur and five miles south of Kher.

3 Bhāngesar village: located sixteen miles west of Sojhat.

4 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.
supporters of the throne. 5 Rāvaḷ Hāpo's mother was a Jeso Bhāṭiẏāṇī, daughter of Jeso Bhāṭī Rāṇo Jodhāvat, who held the village of Vālarvo and fifteen others in pāto from Rāv Mālde. Jeso Bhāṭī Rāṇo's son, Kīsno Rāṇāvāt, had taken a wife from the Mahevcos in return. During the period of Rāv Mālde's exile from Jodhpur following his defeat at Samel, Jeso Bhāṭī Kīsno went to Mahevo to live with his sister's son (bhaṇej), Rāvaḷ Hāpo. Then upon Sher Shāh's death in 1545, Kīsno received summons from Rāv Mālde to report for military service. The Rāv was organizing an expedition against the Muslim garrison at Bhaṅgesar. Jeso Bhāṭī Kīsno brought Rāvaḷ Hāpo, Hāpo's brother, Úgo, and several hundred other Mahevcos with him. They assembled with Kīsno's father, Jeso Bhāṭī Rāṇo Jodhāvat, and the rest of Rāv Mālde's warriors under the command of Cāmpāvāt Rāṭhor Jeso Bhaṅravādāsot (no. 48).

Both Mahevcō Úgo Varsīṅghot and Jeso Bhāṭī Rāṇo Jodhāvat were killed during the fighting at Bhaṅgesar. Rāvaḷ Hāpo and his mother's brother (māmo), Jeso Bhāṭī Kīsno Rāṇāvāt, were wounded. Rāvaḷ Hāpo then returned to Mahevo and apparently died shortly thereafter, perhaps from wounds received at Bhaṅgesar. The texts do not mention his name with reference to events after this battle.

(no. 103) Meghrāj Hāpāvat, Rāval of Mahevo (10-1)

Rāvaḷ Hāpo's son, Meghāj Hāpāvat, succeeded him to rule at Mahevo. The Mahevcō involvement with Jodhpur continued under Rāvaḷ Meghrāj. His name appears first in a listing of Rāv Mālde's warriors chosen to fight under Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvāt (no. 65) at the battle of Harmāro 7 in January of 1557. Here Rāv Mālde's army joined with Paṭhāṅ Hājī Khāṅ, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr's, in battle against an allied force under Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Udaiśīṅgh Sāṅgāvat of Mēvār (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). Rāvaḷ Meghrāj returned to Mahevo following this engagement, and continued his rule there, offering nominal allegiance to Jodhpur until the time of Rāv Mālde's son and successor, Moto Rājā Udaiśīṅgh Mēldevot (1583-95), when Mahevo came officially under the Jodhpur throne.

Rāvaḷ Meghrāj participated in several military expeditions under Rāv Mālde's immediate successor, Rāv Candrasen Mīldevot (1562-81). Shortly after Rāv Candrasen's accession to the Jodhpur throne, Candrasen became involved in conflict with his elder uterine brother, Udaiśīṅgh Mēldevot, over the division of land and authority in Mērvār. Rāvaḷ Meghrāj was with Rāv Candrasen when the Rāv met Udaiśīṅgh in battle at the village of Lohīyāvat 8 in northern Mērvār ca.

5 See supra, "Jeso Bhāṭīś."

6 Vālarvo village: located eighteen miles north-northwest of Jodhpur.

7 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mērvār.

8 Lohīyāvat village: located eighteen miles southeast of Phalodhī in northern Mērvār.
1563. Ten years later in 1573, Rāval Meghrāj again fought alongside Rāv Candrasen, this time unsuccessfully against Mughal forces at Sīvāno in southwestern Mārvār.

Udaiśingh Māldevot succeeded to the throne of Jodhpur in 1583 following the death of his brother, Rāv Candrasen, in 1581 and a short interim period in rulership during continuing Mughal operations in Mārvār. At the time of the Moṭo Rājā's succession, Emperor Akbar granted the Rājā the jāgir of Mahevo along with Jodhpur and other areas of Mārvār. The Moṭo Rājā met with Rāval Meghrāj afterwards and granted Mahevo to him in pāto in return for his pledge of support and service. That same year, Rāval Meghrāj accompanied the Moṭo Rājā to Sīvāno, which they occupied. The Rāval again accompanied the Moṭo Rājā in 1585 when Akbar sent him to Gujarat on an expedition against Sultān Muzaffar III (1561-73; 1583; in revolt until 1593). The Moṭo Rājā granted the Rāval four additional villages near Mahevo in pāto in return for his services in Gujarat.

Rāval Meghrāj's son, Kalo Meghrājot (11-1), died while a young man. The Rāval designated his grandson, Viramde Kalāvat (12-1), in 1586-87 as his successor to Mahevo. He then went on pilgrimage to Mathurājī, where he is reported to have sacrificed himself in the Ganges River. He died in 1590-91.

Figure 29. Mahevco Rāthors

(1-1) Rāv Salkho

(2-1) Rāval Mallīnāth Salkhāvat (Mahevcos)

(3-1) Rāval Jagmāl Mālāvat

(4-1) Rāval Maṇḍilīk Jagmālot

(5-1) Rāval Bhojrāj Maṇḍilīkot

(6-1) Rāval Vīdo Bhojrājot

(7-1) Rāval Nisāl Vīdāvat

(8-1) Rāval Varsīṅgh Nisālot

(9-1) Rāval Hāpo Varsīṅghot

(9-2) Úgo Varsīṅghot

(10-1) Rāval Meghrāj Hāpāvat

(11-1) Kalo Meghrājot

(12-1) Rāval Vīrāmde Kalāvat

Mertiyo Rāṭhoṛs

(no. 110) Acelo Rāymalot (8-7)
(no. 111) Arjana Rāymalot (8-8)
(no. 114) Balbhadar Surtanot (10-1)
(no. 123) Cando Viramdevot (8-3)
(no. 104) Dūdo Jodhavat, Rāv (6-1)
(no. 118) Dvārkādāś Jaimalot (9-8)
(no. 128) Gopāldāś Sūndardāsot (11-3)
(no. 115) Gopālādāś Surtanot (10-2)
(no. 122) Indrābhāṅ Kānhīdāsot (11-2)
(no. 109) Īsardās Viramdevot (8-5)
(no. 124) Jagnīl Viramdevot (8-6)
(no. 116) Jagnāth Gopālādāsot (11-1)
(no. 107) Jaimal Viramdevot, Rāv (8-1)
(no. 127) Jātmāl Paṅcāinot (8-9)
(no. 126) Kalo Jagmālo (9-17)
(no. 121) Kānhīdās Kesodāsot (10-3)
(no. 119) Kesodās Jaimalot (9-3)
(no. 120) Narhardās Īsardāsot (9-15)
(no. 112) Prayāgdās Arjanaṇot (9-18)
(no. 106) Rāysal Dūdāvat (7-2)
(no. 108) Sādūl Jaimalot (9-14)
(no. 113) Surtāṅ Jaimalot (9-1)
(no. 125) Vāgh Jagmālo (9-16)
(no. 105) Vīramde Dūdāvat, Rāv (7-1)
(no. 117) Viṭhaḷdās Jaimalot (9-11)

Mertiyo and Varsinghot Mertiyo Rāṭhoṛs

The Mertiyo and Varsinghot Mertiyo Rāṭhoṛs descend from Dūdō Jodhavat (no. 104) and his elder uterine brother, Varsingh Jodhavat (no. 146), respectively. These two brothers, sons of Rāv Jodho Rinmalot (ca. 1453-89) (5-1), received the area of Merto from their father following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459.

Dūdō and Varsingh participated together in the founding of Merto and in the establishment of a strong Rāṭhoṛ presence in eastern Mārvār. But they soon became divided among themselves, and both they and their descendants proceeded along different lines of development.

Those Rāṭhoṛs treated in this section descend from Dūdō Jodhavat. They assumed authority at Merto and became known as Mertiyo. Those who descend from Dūdō's brother, Varsingh Dūdāvat, became known as Varsinghotos.
or Varsinghot Meṛṭīyoś. They are treated in a separate section entitled Varsinghot Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛs (see infra).

(no. 104) Dūḍo Jodhāvat, Rāv of Meṛto (6-1)

Dūḍo Jodhāvat was born on September 28, 1440 of Sonagārī Cāmpā, a daughter of Sonagarō Cahuṃvān Khīṃvọ Satavāt of Pāḷī village in eastern Mārvār. He grew up during a period of Sisodiyo rule in Mārvār. Rāv Jodhō's father, Rāv Cundāvat (ca. 1428-38) (4-1), was murdered at Cītōr ca. 1438. Jodhō Cundāvat fled Cītōr in the wake of his death for Mārvār and then Jāṅgālu, an area some one hundred miles to the north of Maṇḍor, while the Sisodiyoś under Rāṇo Kūṃbhọ Mokaḷọt (ca. 1433-68) overran eastern Mārvār and occupied Maṇḍor. Jodhō Cundāvat and his Rajpūṭs spent the next fifteen years re-establishing Rāṭhoṛ authority. Jodhō finally succeeded in the conquest of Maṇḍor ca. 1453, and he then assumed his rightful position as rāv of Mārvār.

Dūḍo was approximately thirteen years old when his father became rāv, and he grew to maturity at his father's court. The Khyāt of NAINŚI, 3:38-40, tells of his becoming involved in the settlement of an old vair with the Sindhāḷ Rāṭhoṛs of Jaitāraṇ while a kunvar. This vair had arisen some twenty years earlier when the Sindhāḷs killed Dūḍo's grandfather's brother's son, Cundāvat Rāṭhoṛ Āskarāṇ Satavāt (no. 55). The Khyāt records that Rāv Jodhō sent Dūḍo to Jaitāraṇ to end the hostilities. Dūḍo killed Sindhāḷ Narsinghdās's son, Megho (no. 132), in single-handed combat before the village. Rāv Jodhō gave Dūḍo a horse and a sirpāv in recognition of this feat.

Rāv Jodhō divided the lands of Mārvār among his brothers and sons following the founding of his new capitol of Jodhpur in 1459. He granted the lands of Meṛto to Dūḍo and Dūḍo's elder uterine brother, Varsinghdās Jodhāvat (no. 146). Dūḍo and Varsinghdās brought their carts to this area in 1461-62, and with guidance from Jaitmālot Rāṭhoṛ Ģudo Kāṇhārdevot (no. 67), located the site of two ancient tanks known by the names of Kūṇḍāḷ and Bejo. The chronicles record that they founded Meṛto near these tanks on March 7, 1462.

Dūḍo and Varsinghdās then proceeded to settle the land. They made Jaitmālot Ģudo Kāṇhārdevot their pradhān, and together they secured the area from the Sāṅkhło Paṃvārs who inhabited many of the villages. They brought

1 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodhō Cundāvat, Rāṇī no. 4, S - Dūḍo.
2 See supra, "Sonagarō Cahuṃvāns."
3 Pāḷī village: located forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.
4 Jaitāraṇ village: located fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur and thirty-six miles southwest of Meṛto.
5 For details about the beginning of this vair, see supra, Āskarāṇ Satavāt (no. 55) and Nārbad Satavāt (no. 56) under "Cundāvat Rāṭhoṛs."
Dāṅgo Jāṭs from the Savālakh area of Nāgaur to settle and farm the land, and they recruited Rajpūts from many different branches (sākhs) to serve under them.

Varsīṅgh, the elder brother, assumed control as rāv of Meṛto during this early period, while Dūdō lived at the village of Rāhan.⁶ Although Dūdō and Varsīṅgh worked as one, Vigat, 2:38-39, relates that an omen appeared on the site of Meṛto before its founding, foretelling the eventual emergence of Dūdō and his descendants to dominance at Meṛto. The omen assumed the form of two lions, one larger (representing Varsīṅgh) and one smaller (signifying Dūdō). The larger lion roared, but was then driven away, while the smaller one went into a nearby cave and sat down. An augur who witnessed this event forecast that Varsīṅgh's sons and grandsons would not live at Meṛto after his death, but that Dūdō's descendants would.

Discord eventually arose between the two brothers. Dūdō then left Meṛto and traveled north to join his half-brother, Bīko Jodhāvat (no. 42). Bīko was in the process of establishing his own kingdom to the north of Nāgaur in an area that became known as Bīkāner.

A famine fell across Meṛto not long after Dūdō's departure, and for want of provisions the people attached to Varsīṅgh began to leave. Rāv Varsīṅgh attacked the rich trading city of Sāṃbhar to the northeast of Meṛto and looted much wealth in an effort to provide for his people and retain them at Meṛto. The Cahuvaṇ ruler of Sāṃbhar appealed to the sūbedār of Ajmer, Malū Khān, who was a subordinate of the Pāṭsāh of Māṇḍū, to punish Varsīṅgh for this aggression. Rāv Varsīṅgh also became involved in a dispute with Rāv Sāṭal Jodhāvat of Jodhpur (ca. 1489-92) at this time over the division of land and authority in Mārvār. Malū Khān entered into this dispute as well, as an arbiter. Demanding a heavy tribute for the looting of Sāṃbhar and for a favorable settlement in Mārvār, Malū Khān drew Rāv Varsīṅgh to Ajmer and then imprisoned him. News of Varsīṅgh's capture quickly reached Dūdō, who brought Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat from Bīkāner to join forces with Rāv Sāṭal and confront Malū Khān at Ajmer. Malū Khān released Varsīṅgh in the face of this threat, but he soon after brought an army against Meṛto, looting and burning villages and taking prisoners. He was finally met and defeated in battle at the village of Kusāṇo on March 1, 1492 by the combined force of Rajpūts under Rāv Sāṭal, Dūdō and Rāv Varsīṅgh. Dūdō himself is credited with killing two of Malū Khān's leading warriors, Siriıyā Khān and Mīr Garūlā, and with the capture of Siriıyā Khān's elephants.

Rāv Varsīṅgh died within a short time thereafter. Vigat, 2:46, relates that his death resulted from a slow poison that Malū Khān had given him while he was imprisoned at Ajmer. Varsīṅgh was succeeded by his son, Sīhō Varsīṅghhot (no. 147), as rāv of Meṛto. Sīhō quickly proved incompetent, and from all sides, people began to press upon the lands of Meṛto. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 445, records that those around Rāv Sīhō struck a bargain with Rāv Sūjo

---

⁶ Rāhan village: located ten miles north-northeast of Meṛto.
⁷ Kusāṇo village: located twenty-eight miles southwest of Meṛto.

Jodhāvat of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515), giving him one-third of the villages of Meṛto in return for his protection. But the Rāv moved quickly to occupy not only those villages granted to him, but Meṛto itself. Rāv Siho's mother, the Sānkhlī Paṃvār, then called an assembly of the pañco:

Then Siho's mother said, "If you were to give the land to Rāv [Sūjo], all the land would be lost. Because of this [eventuality], if you summon Dūdo and give [him] the land, then what harm [would come]? If you were to give the land to Dūdo [and] make Dūdo master of Meṛto, then the land will pass from [those of] my womb, but it will not leave the issue of the mother of my husband (sāśū). The land will remain within this house. But if you were to give the land to [Rāv Sūjo], then the land would pass from [this] house. There is no doubt about this [eventuality]. For this reason, I say, have Dūdo summoned, place the tīko [of succession on his forehead], and having made him master, protect yourselves (Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 445-446).

The pañco heeded the Sānkhlī's words and summoned Dūdo ca. 1492 secretly from Sarvār village where he had established himself after returning from Bīkāner, taking "the best villages in all directions," and where members of his bhāibandh also settled. The pañco granted Dūdo one-half the revenues of Meṛto in return for his protection, the other half remaining with Rāv Siho Varsinghot. Dūdo quickly drove Rāv Sūjo's men from the area and established his own authority. A short time later in 1495-96, he moved Rāv Siho himself from Meṛto one night while Siho was intoxicated, and placed him in the village of Rāḥāṇ to the north of Meṛto proper. From this time forward, Dūdo asserted preeminent control over Meṛto for himself and his sons, and he assumed the title of rāv.

Rāv Dūdo died two years later in 1497-98 at the age of fifty-seven years. Rāv Dūdo established a strong tradition within his family of granting villages in sāṃsān to Brāhmaṇs and Cāraṇs in the style of a local ruler. Four of Rāv Dūdo's village grants are recorded in the texts:

1. Bāṃbhāṇ Vāṣ - granted to the Gūjargaur Brāhmaṇ Rām Tilāvat.
2. Bījōli - granted to the Roharīyo Cāraṇ bārhaṭhs, Pato and Devo Icot.

---

8 The text has incorrectly entered the name "Gāṅgo." Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat was Rāv Sūjo's successor and ruler of Jodhpur (1515-32).
9 Sarvār village: located forty-nine miles due north of Meṛto and twenty-five miles east-northeast of Nāgaur.
10 Bāṃbhāṇ Vāṣ: located nine miles north-northwest of Meṛto proper.

4. Parbat kā Khet\(^{13}\) - granted to the Ratnum Čaraṇ Palo Üdāvat.

Dūdo had two wives of whom there is record, one daughter and five sons. His wives were the Sisodī Candrakumvar, daughter of Sisodiyo Varsīṅgh of Devaljiyo, and the Čahuvān Mrigkumvar, daughter of Čahuvān Mānsingh of Bambāvdo. His daughter's name was Gulābkumvar. Her place of marriage is unknown. Dūdo's sons were:

Viramde (7-1) (no. 105)
Rāysal (7-2) (no. 106)
Ratansī (7-3)\(^{14}\)
Rāymal (7-4)
Pañcāin (7-5)


(no. 105) **Viramde Dūdāvat, Rāv of Meṛto** (7-1)

Viramde Dūdāvat was a son of Rāv Dūdo Jodḥāvat (6-1) (no. 104) and grandson of Rāv Jodho Riṃmalot, ruler of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). He was born on November 19, 1477, during the period that his father, Dūdo, lived in northern Rājasthān with his half-brother, Biko Jodḥāvat (no. 42). Little is known about Viramde's early life. He was fifteen years old when his father was summoned back to Meṛto and eighteen years old when his father assumed rulership as rāv at Meṛto in 1495-96. Two years later in 1497-98, Viramde himself succeeded his father as rāv of Meṛto.

It was perhaps in this period from 1492 to 1497 that Viramde came into conflict with Rāṭhor Üdo Sūjāvat of Jaitāraṇ village.\(^{15}\) Üdo Sūjāvat was a son of

---

\(^{12}\) Khānpur: located seventeen miles east-northeast of Meṛto.

\(^{13}\) Parbat rā Khet: a _khero_ of Rāhaṇ village, located ten miles north-northeast of Meṛto.

\(^{14}\) Ratansī Dūdāvat had no sons and only one daughter of record. Her name was Mīrāṃbāī. She was married to Sisodiyo Gahlot Bhojraj Sāṅgāvat, a son of Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot of Cītor (1509-28). Her marriage took place in 1516-17. Mīrāṃbāī achieved considerable prominence in Rājasthān as a _bhaktī_ poetess (_Khyāt_, 1:21).
Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515) who had established his seat of rule at Jaitāraṇ in the early 1480s.

According to Ėdāvat traditions, Viramde came to Jaitāraṇ on some occasion when Ūdo had fallen ill and was unable to defend the town, and he rode off with a number of Ūdo's mares. Ūdo set out in pursuit as soon as he was able and came upon Viramde and his party at a village to the south of Merto proper. Ūdo demanded the return of his horses. When Viramde refused, a battle ensued during which Ūdo is said to have emerged victorious. Ūdo then retrieved his mares and, according to Ėdāvat traditions, made Viramde lay down his dagger and promise that from that day forward, Meṛṭīyo sirdārs would not strap on daggers.

This story is not mentioned elsewhere in the Rāṭhōṛ chronicles, and the date given in the Ėdāvat material for Viramde's stealing the horses is problematic. The event is said to have taken place in 1484-85. Viramde was only seven years old at this time, and he was in all likelihood in northern Rājasthān with his father, not in the vicinity of Jaitāraṇ. While the date is incorrect, it is possible that if there was conflict between Viramde and Ūdo, it emerged at the time Dudo Jodhāvat was establishing himself at Merto following his return ca. 1492. It may have been part of a wider series of conflicts that took place with Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat and the house of Jodhpur over control of territory, with Ūdo Sūjāvāt drawn in because he was Rāv Sūjo's son.16 The Meṛṭīyo promise not to strap on daggers appears dubious, however.

Rāv Viramde's succession to rule at Merto in 1497-98 ushered in a period of turmoil, for his reign is a chronicle of conflict between the Meṛṭīyos and the rulers of Jodhpur. The beginnings of this conflict were seen during the early struggles of Rāv Varsīṅgh and Dudo Jodhāvat with their half-brothers, Rāv Sātal (ca. 1489-92) and Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515) of Jodhpur. Rāv Viramde Dūḍāvat maintained a truce with Rāv Sūjo's successor, Rāv Gāṅgo Vāḷghāvat (1515-32), based on occasional military service to Jodhpur. He accompanied Rāv Gāṅgo to Īḍār to assist the Rāṭhōṛ ruler there in the defense of his territory against encroachments from Sultan Muzaffār II (1511-1526) of Gujarāt. Rāv Viramde and his two brothers, Ratansī Dūḍāvat (7-3) and Rāymal Dūḍāvat (7-4), also came with a contingent of Meṛṭīyos to join the force Rāv Gāṅgo sent with Sisōdīyō Rāṅo Sāṅgō Rāymalōt of Cītōṛ (1509-28) to fight against the Mughal Bābūr at Khanua.17 Both Ratansī and Rāymal were killed at Khanua on March 17, 1527 during Rāṅo Sāṅgō's abortive attempt to stem the Mughal advance into north India.

15 Jaitāraṇ village: located fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur and thirty-six miles south-southwest of Merto.

16 See infra, "Ėdāvat Rāṭhōṛs," for more information about Ūdo Sūjāvāt and the traditions surrounding the conflict between Ūdo and the Meṛṭīyos.

17 Akbar Nāmā, 1:261, lists a "Dharam Deo, ruler of Mirtha," with 4,000 Rajpūts at Khanua. This Dharam Deo was Rāv Viramde Dūḍāvat of Merto.
The lines of conflict became more firmly drawn toward the end of Rāv Gāṅgo’s reign with the growing influence of Rāv Gāṅgo’s son, Kuṃvar Mālde Gāṅgāvat, at the court of Jodhpur. According to the chronicles, Kuṃvar Mālde’s enmity toward the Mertiyoś emerged following the battle of Sevaki on November 2, 1529. Rāv Gāṅgo of Jodhpur and his ally from Bīkāner, Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Jaitā Bosnia Kunkaranot (1526-42) (no. 45), met and defeated Rāv Gāṅgo’s paternal uncle (kāko), Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86), and his ally from Nāgaur, Khāṃzāda Khān Daulat Khān (no. 154), at Sevaki. A prize elephant of Daulat Khān’s named Dariyajōts ran amok during the battle and fled toward Meṛto, where it was captured and its wounds bound. Kuṃvar Mālde later demanded the elephant from the Meṛtiyoś. But they demurred, requesting that Kuṃvar Mālde first come to Meṛto and take food with them. Kuṃvar Mālde came, but he refused to eat until the elephant was delivered. The Meṛtiyoś in their turn also refused, leaving Kuṃvar Mālde with no choice but to return to Jodhpur empty-handed. Mālde carried this insult with him for the rest of his life. Despite Rāv Vīramde’s later attempts at reconciliation, Mālde would only countenance a Meṛto strictly subordinate to the rule of Jodhpur.

Kuṃvar Mālde plotted against Meṛto soon after Sevaki with the sons of Rāv Siho Varsinghot, Rāv Bhojo (no. 148) and Rāv Gāṅgo Sihāvat (no. 149). He used as a goad their desire to reassert their father’s authority. This intrigue led to their raid on the market square at Meṛto ca. 1530. They fled to the southwest in the direction of Jodhpur following the raid, only to be caught by a pursuit party from Meṛto under the command of one of Rāv Vīramde’s leading warriors, Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Khāṅgār Jogāvat (no. 82). They fought a pitched battle near Kusāṇo village, where Rāv Bhojo and Rāv Gāṅgo suffered a severe defeat and were both badly wounded.

Rāv Vīramde again attempted a reconciliation after Mālde’s succession to the Jodhpur throne in 1532. He answered Rāv Mālde’s summons for service for an expedition against the Sindhāl Rāṭhōṛs of Bhaḍrājun. But Rāv Mālde used the opportunity provided by Rāv Vīramde’s absence from Meṛto to plot further against him. Rāv Mālde sent word secretly to Daulat Khān at Nāgaur, urging him to attack and pillage Meṛto, now left unprotected, to settle the old score with the Meṛtiyoś for their taking his prize elephant after the battle of Sevaki in 1529. He prodded Paṃvāṛ Paṇcāṇi Karamcandot (no. 24) of Caṭśu in central Rājasthān to come against the Meṛtiyoś to settle a long-standing vair that had arisen some time before with the murder of Paṃvāṛ Akho Soḍhāvat (no. 23).

18 Sevaki village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.

19 Meṛtiyoś Rāv Vīramde was not the only victim of Mālde’s overweening pride. Mālde had two Bhaṛmālot Rāṭhōṛs who had fought with Sekho Sūjāvat at Sevaki, killed upon his succession to the Jodhpur throne in 1532. For further details, see supra, “Bhaṛmālot Rāṭhōṛs.”

20 Kusāṇo village: located twenty-eight miles southwest of Meṛto.

21 Bhaḍrājun village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.
And he had Varsinghot Rāv Gāṅgo Sihāvat ride into the area of Meṛto with a contingent of warriors.

While Rāv Vīramde suspected subterfuge, he remained in Rāv Mālde's camp as expected. But his pradhān, Jaitmālot Akhairāj Bhādāvat (no. 69), slipped away without leave and reached Meṛto in time to prevent Daulat Khān's force from taking the fort. He was able to drive the Muslims from Meṛto with a small but determined band of warriors. Rāv Vīramde's brother, Rāysal Dūḍāvat (7-2) (no. 106), also drove Pañvār Paṅcāṅin from Āḷṇīyāvās village preventing his attempt to exact revenge. Varsinghot Rāv Gāṅgo's depredations also came to naught.

Then all opportunities for reconciliation ended, for ca. 1535 Rāv Vīramde occupied Ajmer when the Muslims evacuated the city upon the fall of Māṇḍū to the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn. Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur in turn demanded that Rāv Vīramde hand over Ajmer to the house of Jodhpur, under whose authority Mālde felt it properly belonged. When Rāv Vīramde refused, Rāv Mālde occupied Meṛto town and began parceling out the villages of Meṛto among his military servants. Rāv Mālde gave the village of Reyāṁ to Varsinghot Meṛṭīyo Sahaiso Tejsīyot (no. 151), who had left Rāv Vīramde's service to become his military servant. This action on Sahaiso's part so enraged Rāv Vīramde that he mounted a precipitous attack on Reyāṁ against the better judgment of his Rajputs. Rāv Vīramde was handed a severe defeat by Sahaiso Tejsīyot and his men who, prior to the battle, donned saffron robes and emerged to seat themselves on blankets before the village, signifying their readiness to die in battle, and Rāv Mālde's Rajputs, who rode to Reyāṁ from their garrison at the village of Rārod. Rāv Vīramde himself narrowly escaped death that day. Only the efforts of several of Rāv Mālde's leading warriors including Jaito Paṅcāṅinot (no. 61), Kūmpo Mahirājot (no. 95), Jeso Bhairavdāsot (no. 48), and Bhado Paṅ cāṅinot (no. 32), prevented his being killed. These Rāṭhors carried reservations about Rāv Mālde's open hostility toward other Rāṭhor brotherhoods. Jaito Paṅ cāṅinot in particular considered his actions against them gotrakadamb (lit. "gotra-destruction"), against which there were severe sanctions.

Rāv Vīramde was driven from Meṛto and Ajmer following his defeat at Reyāṁ, and all of his lands were usurped by the house of Jodhpur. He fled north to Dīḍvāno and then east to Sīkar territory (near Āمبر), where he remained for some time with his sago, Kachvāho Rāymal Sekhāvat (no. 22). He eventually moved on to Rīṇṭhambhbor and then Delhi, where he met with Sher Shāh Sūr (1540-45).

Sher Shāh showed much sympathy for Vīramde's cause. He had heard similar complaints from the Rāṭhors of Bikāner, whose lands Rāv Mālde's armies occupied in 1542. Sher Shāh proceeded with a substantial force against Jodhpur.

---

22 Āḷṇīyāvās village: located twenty miles southeast of Meṛto.

23 Reyāṁ village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto.

24 Rārod village: located forty-four miles northeast of Jodhpur and forty-nine miles west-northwest of Reyāṁ.
in late 1543. The opposing armies met at Samel on January 5, 1544. Some five thousand or more of Rav Mālde's warriors died here in battle. Rāv Vīramde was with Sher Shāh's force before Samel, and the chronicles relate that he was able to divide the ranks of Jodhpur and raise enough suspicion in Rāv Mālde's mind that the Rāv retreated from the field precipitously on the night before the main engagement. Rāv Vīramde received Meṛto in jāgīr from Sher Shāh following the victory, and he returned there to rule until his death a short time thereafter in February or March of 1544. He was approximately sixty-seven years of age.

There are discrepancies in the sources regarding the number of wives Rāv Vīramde had, as well as the number of his children. *Murārdān*, no. 2, pp. 459, 549, mentions two wives, a Tāṅkaṇī who was the mother of his son, Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107), and a Soḷaṅkaṇī who was the mother of his son, Sāraṅgde (8-2). A modern source, Meṛtiyā, *Jaymalvaṅsvaprakāś*, p. 106, which draws upon the "khyaṭs of the Kulgūrūs, Bhāṭs and Rāṅmāṅgs," lists four wives. This text unfortunately does not indicate which wives bore which sons. The wives were:

1. Soḷaṅkaṇī Kalyāṅkuṇḍvar, daughter of Rāṇo Kesavādās of Nivarvāro.
2. Soḷaṅkaṇī Gaṅguntaṇṇvar, daughter of Rāv Phatehsingh of Nivarvāro and Visalpur.
4. Kachvāḷī Māṅkuṇḍvar, daughter of Rājā Kīsandās of Kālvāro (near Āmber).

This source also lists three daughters and their places of marriage:

D - Syāṅkuṇḍvar - married to Sīsodīyo Rāvat Sāṅgo of Madārīyā in Godhvar.
D - Phūlkuṇḍvar - married to Sīsodīyo Rāvat Pato Jagāvat of Kelvo.
D - Abhaykuṇḍvar - married to Cahuvaṅ Rāv Rāghavādās of Gaṅgor.

These references are of interest because they show that Rāv Vīramde married a daughter from the ruling family of Cītor and gave one of his daughters in marriage to the important Sīsodīyo Rajpūṭ, Pato Jagāvat, whom the Mughal Emperor Akbar was later to acclaim a great warrior alongside Rāv Vīramde's son, Jaimal, at the battle of Cītor in 1568.

---

25 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

26 Cūṅḍāvat Sīsodīyo Gahlot Pato Jagāvat, son of Jago Singhot. See *Khyaṭ*, 1:66-70, for a genealogy of the Cūṅḍāvat sākh of the Sīsodīyo Gahlots, which includes mention of Pato Jagāvat.
Rāv Viramde had between nine and thirteen sons. Some of these sons figure in the texts under discussion. They have been given biographical note numbers and are included on the genealogical charts. These sons were:

S - Jaimal (8-1) (no. 107)
S - Sāraṅgde (8-2)
S - Cāndo (8-3) (no. 123)
S - Māṇḍan (8-4)
S - Īsardās (8-5) (no. 109)
S - Jagmāl (8-6) (no. 124)

The names of other sons listed in the various sources are mentioned here for reference only. They include:

S - Pratāpsingh
S - Prithirāj
S - Karan (Khemkaran)
S - Aclo
S - Bīko
S - Sekho
S - Kān

Rāv Viramde granted several villages in sāṃsaṇ to Brāhmaṇs and Cāraṇs. These were:

1. Bhāṃvalī Cāraṇāṃ rī - granted to the Khīrīyo Cāraṇ Māṇḍan Khīṃvursurāvat.
2. Gohro Khurad - granted to the Ratnūm Cāraṇ Karaṇ Sukhāvat.
4. Sāṃvalīyāvās Khurad - granted to the Śrīmāḷi Brāhmaṇ Vyāś Jagde Rāmdēvot.

"Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭāṃ," pp. 42-44; Akbar Nāma, 1:261; Bāṅkīdās, pp. 12, 59-60, 62; Khyāt, 3:93-102, 115; Meṛtiyā,

---

27 For the variant lists, see: Bāṅkīdās, p. 60; Meṛtiyā, Jaymalaṃṣprakāś, pp. 107-111; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 459, 507, 520-521, 526, 549, 550, 555.

28 Bhāṃvalī Cāraṇāṃ rī: located twenty-two miles northeast of Meṛto, near Deghāno.

29 Gohro Khurad: located just near Altāvo, to the northeast of Meṛto.

30 Kherī Campo: located ten miles northeast of Meṛto, near Moḍro.

31 Sāṃvalīyāvās Khurad: located fifteen miles due north of Meṛto, near Rāhan.
(no. 106) Rāysal Dūdāvat (7-2)

Rāysal Dūdāvat was a son of Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104) and a grandson of Rāv Jodho Rinnmat (5-1), ruler of Manḍor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). The chronicles describe Rāysal as a great warrior who was skilled in battle. He was one of the influential thākurs of Merto during Rāv Vīramde's reign, and he was a strong internal force against the house of Jodhpur. Rāysal played a prominent role in the early conflicts between Merto and Jodhpur, and he appears primarily responsible for the Mērtīyo refusal to accede to Kumvār Mālde Gāṅgavāt's demand that they hand over the Nāgaurī Khān's elephant following the battle of Sevakī32 on November 2, 1529.

Rāysal was with Rāv Vīramde during the occupation of Ajmer ca. 1535, and he fought with the Mērtīyos against Rāv Mālde's Rajpūts at Reyām village33 that same year. He was badly wounded there and had to be carried back to Ajmer where he died shortly after. He was a Rajpūt whom Rāv Mālde greatly feared, and the Rāv sought specific news of Rāysal after his victory at Reyām before proceeding against Ajmer.

Bānkīdās, p. 59; Khyāt, 3:94-95, 97-98; Murārdān, no. 2, p. 571; Vigat, 2:50-52.

( no. 107) Jaimal Vīramdevot, Rāv of Meṛto (8-1)

Jaimal Vīramdevot was a son of Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat (7-1) (no. 105) by his Ṭāmkanī wife and a grandson of Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104), the founding ancestor of the Mērtīyo Rāṭhoṛs. Jaimal was born on July 8, 1508 and succeeded his father to the rulership of Merto in 1544 at the age of thirty-six years. He ruled Merto intermittently for a quarter of a century until his death in early 1568 at the battle of Citor.

Rāv Jaimal reigned in relative peace at Merto for the first ten years of his rule after the battle of Samel in 1544. Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur (1532-62) was engaged in rebuilding his armies and in the conquest of other territories in both Mārvār and surrounding areas during these years. In 1554, however, Rāv Mālde again turned his attention toward Merto, and Jaimal, like his father, then spent the remainder of his life engaged in conflict with the house of Jodhpur. Rāv Jaimal emerged victorious from the first of these encounters, a skirmish on the outskirts of Merto town near the ancient tank of Kuṇḍal. The chronicles state that Śrī Caturbhujī, the patron deity of the Mērtīyos, of whom Jaimal was a

---

32 Sevākī village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.

33 Reyām village: located fifteen miles southeast of Merto.
fervent devotee, became manifest during this battle and was responsible for the Meṛtīyo victory.

In this engagement, Rāv Mālde lost one of his most able commanders, Rāṭhōr Prithīrāj Jaitāvat (no. 63). The Hul Rājput Rāysal Rāmāvat, a military servant of Rāv Jaimal's holding Phālko village34 and twelve other in paṭo, was a sister's son (bhānej) of Prithīrāj. Rāysal found Prithīrāj lying on the ground after the battle, and he built a cover to shade his body from the sun. This action greatly angered Rāv Jaimal, and Hul Rāysal then abandoned Meṛtō and took service under Rāv Mālde.

Some desultory fighting continued after the battle for Meṛtō in 1554. Rāṭhōr Devdās Jaitāvat (no. 65), Prithīrāj Jaitāvat's brother, led a strong force of several thousand Rajputs against Reyāṁ in an attempt to avenge his brother's death. Rāv Jaimal remained enclosed within the fort at Meṛtō, however, and no significant engagements with Devdās occurred. Devdās was eventually forced to withdraw from the area.

Rāv Jaimal left Meṛtō with an army in late 1556 to join Sisodīyo Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh Sāṅgāvat of Mevār (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) during his conflict with Paṭhāṅ Hājī Khān, a former noble of Sher Shāh Sūr's. Hājī Khān had occupied Ajmer in this year. By January of 1557, both sides had assembled large forces, with Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur sending warriors under Rāṭhōr Devdās Jaitāvat to support Hājī Khān. The opposing armies finally met at Harmāro35 on January 24, 1557.

Hājī Khān's and Rāv Mālde's forces emerged victorious at Harmāro, and when Rāv Jaimal returned to Meṛtō, he found Rāv Mālde already in the process of consolidating his authority over the area. Sisodīyo Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh himself came to Meṛtō and took Rāv Jaimal back to Mevār, refusing to allow him to die in battle there. Jaimal then took up residence at the court of Cīṭōr and began a period of service under the Rāṇo.

Sometime earlier, two of Rāv Jaimal's brothers, Sārāṅgde (8-2) and Māṇḍan (8-4), had been killed during an outbreak of hostilities with some Sojāṅkī Rājputs near Toḍo in central Rājasthān. Sārāṅgde was a sister's son (bhānej) of the Sojāṅkīs, and Rāv Jaimal himself had married a Sojāṅkaṅī and was their daughter's husband (jamaī). These relationships may in some way have been related to the killings, but sources do not specify. Rāv Jaimal's brother, Cāṇḍo Viramdevot (8-3) (no. 123), killed a Sojāṅkī named Narāiṇḍās at Cīṭōr to settle this vair, but it finally ended only when the Sojāṅkīs gave Rāv Jaimal another of their daughters in marriage.

Rāv Jaimal met with the Mughal Emperor Akbar at Sāṁbhar in early 1562 while Akbar was enroute from Ajmer to north India. Akbar agreed to assist Jaimal in the recovery of his lands from Rāv Mālde. He sent Mīrzā Sharaṇu'd-

34 Phālko village: located fourteen miles south-southwest of Meṛtō.

35 Reyāṁ village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛtō.

36 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhīmor in northern Mevār.
Din Husayn and a force of some 7,000 Mughals with Rav Jaimal against Meerto. This force laid siege to the Malgadh in February of 1562 and, following several weeks of desultory fighting, were finally able to explode a mine under one of the towers of the fort. Only then did Rav Malde's commander, Ráthor Devidás Jaitávat, hold talks with Rav Jaimal and the Mughals and agree to vacate the fort. Rav Jaimal could not allow Devidás simply to leave the fort, however, for he feared later retribution. He urged the Mirzá to attack and kill Devidás and his Rajpúts as they moved off in the direction of Sátálvás, a village four miles to the southwest of Meerto, on March 20, 1562. He argued that Devidás was not the sort of Rajpút who would abandon the fort, but was only leaving in order to bring Rav Málde against them. The Mirzá and Rav Jaimal rode after Devidás and his men, killing many of them including Devidás on the plain before Meerto.

Rav Jaimal afterwards assumed full authority at Meerto in his own name and received these lands in jāgīr from Akbar. After a period of consolidation during which Rav Jaimal developed a close relationship with Mirzá Sharafu'd-Dín, Akbar's governor of Ajmer and Nágaur, he sent his son, Víthaldás (9-11) (no. 117), with the Mirzá to Agra to wait upon the Emperor at court. The Mirzá then rebelled against Akbar in October of 1562, and Rav Jaimal and his sons immediately became involved. Jaimal’s son, Víthaldás, fled Agra with the Mirzá and came to Meerto to report the turn of events to his father. Another son, Sádúl Jaimalot (9-14) (no. 108), was killed bringing the Mirzá’s family and retainers from Nágaur. Rav Jaimal himself escorted Sharafu’d-Dín to the borders of southern Márvar to ensure his safety and, afterwards, knowing that his association with the Mirzá meant certain censure from Akbar and the revocation of his jāgīr, returned to the Sísodiyo court at Cítor by way of the Arávallís. He had already sent his family to Vadhnor.37 The Ráño again accepted Jaimal into his military service and granted him a large paño of villages for his maintenance.38

Rav Jaimal remained at Cítor in the Ráño’s service for the remainder of his life. One of his brothers, Isárdás Víramdevot (8-5) (no. 109), was with him, as were a large number of Rajpúts who had accompanied them from Meerto. In February of 1568 both Jaimal and Isárdás were killed at the battle of Cítor against Emperor Akbar, along with some two hundred other Meértiyos and a large number of Jaitmólat Ráthors, who were military servants of the Meértiyos. Akbar himself shot Rav Jaimal as Jaimal directed operations to fill a breech in the wall of the fort, and Jaimal died shortly afterwards.39 His death is said to have greatly dampened resistance at the fort against the Mughal attack.

Akbar took possession of Cítor on February 24 or 25, 1568. In tribute to Rav Jaimal’s bravery, Akbar had a stone column placed before a door to the Red

37 Vadhnor village: located forty-seven miles south-southwest of Ajmer in northern Mévár.

38 See: Vigat, 2:69, of the translated text for details.

39 For a discussion of the controversy surrounding Rav Jaimal’s death at Cítor, see n. 484 to Vigat, 2:68, of the translated text.
Fort at Agra with Rāv Jaimal's likeness carved seated upon an elephant. Alongside him on a second column Akbar placed the likeness of Cūṇḍāvat Sīsodīyo Pato Jagāvat, another brave Rajpūt killed in this battle. Sīsodīyo Pato Jagāvat had married a daughter of Rāv Jaimal's father, Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat, and Jaimal was Pato's wife's brother (sālo).

Rāv Jaimal had seven wives, fourteen sons and two daughters of whom there is record. His wives and their sons were:

1. Soḷaṅkaṇī (elder)
   
   S - Surtāṅ (9-1) (no. 113)

2. Soḷaṅkaṇī (junior)
   
   S - Kesodās (9-3) (no. 119)
   S - Mādhodās (9-2)
   S - Goyanddās (9-4)

3. Kachvāḥī
   
   S - Kalyāṇdās (9-5)

   
   S - Narāṇḍās (9-6)
   S - Narsinghdās (9-7)
   S - Dvārkādās (9-8) (no. 118)

5. Kachvāḥī
   
   S - Harīdās (9-9)

6. Vāghelī

---

40 See Khyāt, 1:32, 66-70, for references to this Rajpūt and a genealogy of the Cūṇḍāvat Sīsodīyos.

41 This listing is taken from Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 462-463, 470-471, 473, 480, 487, 489, 491-493, 499, 502, 504-507. The recent history, Meṛtiyā, Jaymalvaṇśprakāś, p. 159, lists only three wives. According to this source, they were Soḷaṅkaṇī Kevalkumvar, daughter of Rāṇa Rīṇdhīrsīgh of Lūṇavāro, Nīrvāṇ Cahuvaṅ Vinaykumvar, daughter of Rājā Kesavdās of Khaṇḍelo, and Soḷaṅkaṇī Padmākuṃvar, daughter of Rājā Kesrīsīgh of Ăesūṛī. This source does not list sons by mother, and includes the names of two more sons than Murārdān: Anopsīṅgh and Acaḷdās (see pp. 160-164).
Rāv Jaimal's two daughters and their places of marriage were:

D - Gumānkumārvar - married to Cahuvaṇ Rāv Bakhtāvarsingh of Gaṅgor.
D - Gulābkumārvar - married to Sisodīyo Gahlot Rāvat Paṅcāiṇ.

Rāv Jaimal granted the following villages in sāṃsaṇ to Brāhmaṇs and Cāraṇs:

1. Dābriyāṇī Khurad - granted to the Pokaraṇo Brāhmaṇ Purohit Kelan Cutrāvat.
4. Modrīyo village - granted first by Varsinghot Mertiyo Rāv Siho Varsinghot (no. 147) to Khiṛiyo Cāraṇ Siho Candrāvat and later by Rāv Jaimal to Khiṛiyo Cāraṇ Moṭōḷ Māṇḍañot.
5. Rāliyāvṛt Khurad - granted to the Khiṛiyo Cāraṇ Moṭōḷ Māṇḍañot.


---

42 This list comes from Meṛtiyā, Jaymalvamsprakās, p. 159.
43 Dābriyāṇī Khurad: located eight miles north of Meṛto, near Rāhaṇ.
44 Harbhū rī Vāṣṇī: located three miles southwest of Meṛto, near Mokālo.
45 Jodhrāvās Khurad: located sixteen miles north-northeast of Meṛto, near Rāhaṇ.
46 Modrīyo village: located sixteen miles northeast of Meṛto, near Moḍro.
47 Rāliyāvṛt Khurad: located twenty-six miles east-northeast of Meṛto, near Deghāno.
48 Rāmā Cāraṇām rī Vāṣṇī: located just four miles from Meṛto.
351


(no. 108) Sādūl Jaimalot (9-14)

Sādūl Jaimalot was a son of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) and a great-grandson of Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104). He held the village of Kurki in paṭo from Rāv Jaimal.

Sādūl appears to have spent most of his short life in his father's service at the court of Meṛto. He became caught up in the aftermath of Mīrzā Sharaful-Dīn Ilusayn's rebellion from Akbar in October of 1562 and his flight from Agra to Rājasthān. Sādūl was sent to Nāgaūr with a small sāth to bring the Mīrzā's family and military retainers to Meṛto. They managed their escape from Nāgaūr, but the Mughal officers in pursuit caught up with them on the outskirts of Meṛto. In the pitched battle that ensued, Sādūl was killed along with forty of his men.

Bāṅkīdās, p. 61; Murārdān, no. 2, p, 470; Vigat, 2:67-68.

(no. 109) Īsārdās Vīramdevot (8-5)

Īsārdās Vīramdevot was a son of Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat (7-1) (no. 105) and grandson of Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104), the founding ancestor of the Mertiyo Rāṭhūrs. Only a few details are available about Īsārdās's life. He lived at Meṛto, holding the villages of Kekīnd and Ālīnyāvās in paṭo from Rāv Jaimal. The chronicles record that during the battle of Meṛto in 1554 against Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62), Īsārdās stole some of Rāv Mālde's horses while they were watering at a local tank. He appears to have been only a young man at this time. Īsārdās later followed Rāv Jaimal to Mevār in 1562, when Jaimal was forced to forfeit Meṛto in the wake of Mīrzā Sharaful-Dīn's rebellion against Akbar. He was killed at Cīṭor in early 1568 during the great battle against Emperor Akbar.

Bāṅkīdās, p. 60; Khyāt, 1:32, 3:118; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 507-508.

(no. 110) Aĉo Rāymalot (8-7)

49 Kurki village: located twenty miles southeast of Meṛto.

50 Kekīnd village: located fourteen miles south-southeast of Meṛto.

51 Ālīnyāvās village: located twenty miles southeast of Meṛto.
Aclo Rāymalot was a son of Rāymal Dūḍāvat (7-4) and a grandson of Rāv Dūḍo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104). Little information is available about Aclo or his family. Aclo's father, Rāymal, held the village of Rāḥaṇ in paṭo from his brother, Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (7-1) (no. 105). Rāymal accompanied Rāv Vīramde and a contingent of Meṛṭīyo to north India with Sisodīyo Rāṇo Sāṅgo Rāymalot of Cīto (1509-28) to meet the Mughal Bābur at Khanua. He was killed there in battle on March 17, 1527. Rāymal had married a daughter to Sekhāvat Kachvaho Sūjo Rāymalot, a son of Kachvaho Rāymal Sekhāvat's (no. 22).

Aclo Rāymalot succeeded his father to Rāḥaṇ village and appears to have spent much of his life there while nominally in the service of Meṛṭīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107). The chronicles present Aclo as a Meṛṭīyo who sought his own advantage and who preferred not to become involved in the series of conflicts between Meṛṭo and Jodhpur. He chose to sit at home instead of responding to Rāv Jaimal's summons for military service and did not report, for example, during the battle for Meṛṭo in 1554 against Rāv Mālede Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1552-62). He died a natural death some years later.

Aclo granted the village of Acḷā rā Khet in sāṃsaṇ to the Viṭhū Cāraṇ Ābo Tejāvat.


(no. 111) Arjan Rāymalot (8-8)

Arjan Rāymalot was a son of Rāymal Dūḍāvat (7-4) and grandson of Rāv Dūḍo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104). He served under Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (7-1) (no. 107) of Meṛṭo, holding the village of Īḍvo in paṭo from the Rāv. The chronicles portray Arjan, like his brother, Aclo Rāymalot (8-7) (no. 110), as an uncertain supporter of Rāv Jaimal in his conflicts with the house of Jodhpur. Arjan also hesitated to answer Rāv Jaimal's summons for service during the battle for Meṛṭo in 1554. But unlike Aclo, he eventually came, and he fought well during the main engagement. Then in 1562 he followed Rāv Jaimal to Mevāṛ in the wake of Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn's rebellion against Akbar. He was killed at Cīto in early 1568 in the great battle against Emperor Akbar.


52 Rāḥaṇ village: located ten miles north-northeast of Meṛṭo.

53 Acḷā rā Khet: specific location uncertain, but probably in the vicinity of Rāḥaṇ.

54 Īḍvo village: located eighteen miles northeast of Meṛṭo.
Prayágdās Arjanōt was a son of Arjan Raymalot (8-7) (no. 111) and a great-grandson of Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104). Little is known about Prayágdās’s life from sources at hand. He appears only once in the chronicles of Nainsī (Khyāt, 3:119-120) as a military servant of Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (8-1) (no. 107), who participated in the battle for Meṛto in 1554 against Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Prayágdās was a young man at this time. The Khyāt portrays him as both a loyal and enthusiastic supporter of Rāv Jaimal, and as an untried, injudicious warrior in battle. Rāv Jaimal welcomed him to the battle and exclaimed that he always forgave Prayágdās for his indiscretions because he appeared for service.

The Khyāt records that Prayágdās was killed in this battle while trying to force his bow over Rāv Mālde’s head. Other information from Murārdān, no. 2, p. 557, indicates that this was not the case. This text states that Prayágdās followed his father, Arjan Raymalot, to Cītor in 1562. He remained there with his father and other Mēṛīyas in Rāv Jaimal’s service until after the battle of Cītor in 1568, in which his father was killed. He then became a military servant of Rāv Jaimal’s son, Surtāṇ Jaimalot (9-1) (no. 113). He received the paṭo of Śīrāṣṇo village55 from Surtāṇ in 1572. Prayágdās continued his service under Surtāṇ’s son, Gopāldās Surtāṇot (10-2) (no. 115), following Surtāṇ Jaimalot’s death in Bihar in 1589-90. Murārdān records that he was killed at Bīḍ city in the Deccan with Gopāldās in 1599-1600 during Mughal operations there against Ahmadnagar.

Khyāt, 3:119-120; Murārdān, no. 2, p. 557.

Surtāṇ Jaimalot was the son and chosen successor of Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) of Meṛto. He was born of Rāv Jaimal’s elder Soḷaṇkaṇī wife. Surtāṇ’s name first appears in the texts with reference to the battle of Meṛto in 1554, at which time he was only a youth. He came before Rāv Mālde’s commander, Rāṭhōr Prithīrāj Jaitavat (no. 63), near Meṛto’s Jodhpur Gate, and he thrust his lance at Prithīrāj. Prithīrāj easily warded off this blow, and he then took Surtāṇ’s sword away from him and presented it to one of his own military servants, Piṇāpā Gahlot Ḍīṅgōlō, to whom he had promised such a weapon. Prithīrāj afterwards chided Surtāṇ that his father, Rāv Jaimal, should have come in his stead.

Surtāṇ accompanied his father to Cītor in late-1562 in the wake of Mīrzā Sharaśufu’d-Dīn’s rebellion from Akbar. Then in 1568, following Rāv Jaimal’s death in battle at Cītor, Surtāṇ took up residence at the fort of Bor56 near the village of Rūpjī in the hilly area of western Mevāṛ. The Rāṇo of Mevāṛ,

55 Śīrāṣṇo village: located twelve miles northeast of Meṛto.
56 Bor village: located twelve miles northeast of Kumbhalmer in western Mevāṛ.
Sisodiyo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17), had granted this fort to Surtān and his younger half-brother, Kesodās (9-3) (no. 119), in pāto. Surtān’s vasi remained in this village for a number of years. The Meṛtīyos constructed a temple to their patron deity, Śrī CaturbhujjT, at Bor.

Murārdān, no. 2, p. 462, records that after Rāv Jaimal’s death at Citoṛ, the Mughal Emperor Akbar sought the offices of Rājāvat Kachvāho Bhagvantās Bhārmalot (Rājā of Amber, ca. 1574-89) to call Surtān from Mevāṛ. The Emperor wished to offer Meṛtō in jagīr to Surtān in return for Surtān’s obeisance. Surtān is said to have replied that his dharma demanded he remain in the service of the Rāṇo for one year, after which he would be free to leave.

The texts disagree about events during this period of Surtān’s life. The following basic chronology emerges:

Surtān remained in Mevāṛ at Bor fort for one or two years after the battle of Citoṛ along with his half-brother, Kesodās, and other Meṛtīyos. He then proceeded to the Mughal court in 1570-71 and made obeisance to Akbar. The Emperor awarded him with the jagīr of Malārṇo in eastern Rājasthān (near Rīnthambhor). Then in 1572-73 Akbar granted Surtān the jagīr of one-half the villages of Meṛtō. Akbar had already granted the other half of Meṛtō’s villages in jagīr to Surtān’s half-brother, Kesodās. The chronicles note that there was friction between Surtān and Kesodās when Surtān returned to Meṛtō and began dividing his villages among his retainers. This disagreement caused Kesodās to leave Meṛtō to seek redress from the Emperor.

Akbar sequestered all the villages of Meṛtō from Surtān and Kesodās in 1577-78. Vigat, 2:70, records that Akbar’s action resulted from the Meṛtīyos’ mistreatment of a wet-nurse of the Imperial court who passed through Meṛtō enroute from Gujarat to north India. Akbar gave Surtān the jagīr of Sojhat Pargano in eastern Mārvar in exchange. Surtān held this jagīr until 1582-83. Surtān’s assumption of authority at Sojhat fell on the death of Rāv Kalo Ramot, a grandson of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62), who was killed by the Mughals in 1577. Akbar also granted Surtān the village of Sarvār57 where Surtān’s vasi remained for several years. Surtān’s great-grandfather, Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104), had occupied this village in the late fifteenth century.

Several years later, Rāv Candrasen Māldevot of Jodhpur (1562-81) emerged from his exile and overran the area of Sojhat. Sources are unclear whether Surtān retained Sojhat during this time. There was a great deal of disruption locally until Rāv Candrasen’s death in 1581. Akbar then granted Sojhat in jagīr to Rāv Candrasen’s son, Rāv Rāysīngh Candrasenot, in 1582-83, at which time Surtān’s involvement with this area ended.

Surtān did not hold lands in Meṛtō again until 1586. He was much involved in Imperial military service in the interim between 1582 and 1586, particularly in Gujarat with the sübedār, Khān Khānān Mīrzā ‘Abdu’r-Rahīm. Akbar Nāma, 3:632, 656, records that Surtān was in Gujarat both in December of 1583 and in September of 1586. In 1583 he had campaigned against Muzaffar

57 Sarvār village: located forty-nine miles north of Meṛtō and twenty-five miles east-northeast of Nāgar.
Khān III (1561-73; 1583; in revolt until 1593), riding as part of the Mughal army center. Moto Rājā Udaisīṅg Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95) was also present riding in the Mughal right wing. In 1586 several of Surtān's retainers were responsible for killing two Jāreco Rajpūt bandits who had plagued the city of Ahmadabad. As a reward for this service, the sūbedār used his offices to obtain the return of Surtān's (and Kesodās's) jāgīrs of Merto. Vigat, 2:70, records that Surtān's vasi came back to Merto on February 12, 1586 after an absence of nine years.

During the next few years, Surtān spent most of his time on military tour for the Mughals in eastern India. He was killed in 1589-90 in Gokul (Bihar) during Mughal operations under Kachvāḥo Rājā Mānsīṅgh Bhagvantdāsot of Amber (1589-1614) against the Afghans.

Surtān granted the following villages of Merto in sāmsan to Cārāṇs:

1. Lūṅgiyo - granted to the Ādhī Cārāṇ Durso Mehāvat.
3. Ratanavās - Ratansī Dūdāvat (7-3) had originally granted this village to the Mīsan Cārāṇ Ratno Dāhāvat. Surtān Jaimalot later took it from Ratno and granted it to the Cārāṇ Bārhaṭh Cūtro Jaimalot.

The chronicles record the following dūho about Surtān Jaimalot:

Surtān said to the Pāṭsāḥ,
"I shall enjoy my land so long as two things are not done,
Giving [you] a daughter [in marriage],
And allowing you to see [my] wife."


(no. 114) Balbhadar Surtānott (10-1)

---

58 Lūṅgiyo village: located fifteen miles southeast of Merto, near Reyām.
59 Netā rī Vāṣṇī: located seventeen miles north-northeast of Merto, near Rāhān.
60 Ratanavās village: located thirty miles northeast of Merto, near Altavo.
Balbhadar Surtāṇot was a son of Surtāṇ Jaimalot (9-1) (no. 113) and grandson of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) of Meṛto. He was a sister's son (bhāṇej) of the Bhāṭī Rajpūṭs. Following the death of his father, Surtāṇ, in Bihar in 1589-90, Balbhadar received the jāgīr of one-half of Meṛto from Akbar. His paternal uncle, Kesodās Jaimalot (9-3) (no. 119), continued to hold the other half of Meṛto from Akbar during this same period.

Little is recorded about other aspects of Balbhadar's life. He was killed in the Deccan while in Mughal service in 1596-97. Murāḍān, no. 2, pp. 464-465, records that Balbhadar became involved in a fight with a Turk one day at his camp, and died from wounds received. The text provides no explanation for the hostilities.

Balbhadar granted the village of Dāgsūrīyō in sāṃsan to the Dhadhvarlyo Cāran Moko Māṇḍaṇot.

Balbhadar achieved the rank of 300 zāt as a mansabdar in Mughal service. He died without sons and was succeeded at Meṛto by his brother, Gopāḷdās Surtāṇot (10-2) (no. 115).


(no. 115) Gopāḷdās Surtāṇot (10-2)

Gopāḷdās Surtāṇot was a son of Surtāṇ Jaimalot (9-1) (no. 113) and a grandson of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) of Meṛto. The chronicles describe Gopāḷdās as a stout, powerfully build Rajpūṭ who was very generous. Upon the death of his brother, Balbhadar Surtāṇot (10-1) (no. 114), in 1596-97 in the Deccan, Gopāḷdās received Balbhadar's share of one-half the village of Meṛto in jāgīr from Akbar. He had been in Mughal service prior to this time and he continued to serve until his death in 1599-1600 at Bīḍ city in the Deccan during Mughal operations against Ahmadnagar under the command of Sher Khwāja. He died there along with two of his paternal uncles, Kesodās Jaimalot (9-3) (no. 119), who also held one-half of Meṛto in jāgīr from Akbar, and Dvārkādās Jaimalot (9-8) (no. 118).

The Khyāt of Naiṅsī, 2:97-98, notes that Bhāṭī Surtāṇ Harrājot, a son of Bhāṭī Rāvāḷ Harrāj Māḷdevot of Jaisālmēr (1561-77), was also killed at Bīḍ city with Gopāḷdās. Gopāḷdās's brother, Balbhadar, was a sister's son (bhāṇej) of the Bhāṭīs. Bhāṭī Surtāṇ Harrājot may have been a sago of Gopāḷdās's family.

Gopāḷdās had two wives of whom there is record, a Cahuvāṇ and a Sīsodī. The Sīsodī was a daughter of Rāṇo Pratāpśīgh Udaisinghōt of Mevāṛ (1572-97) and mother of Gopāḷdās's son, Jagnāṭh Gopāḷdāsōt (11-1) (no. 116).

Akbar Nāma, 2:1136; Bāṅkidās, p. 62; Khyāt, 2:97-98; Murāḍān, no. 2, pp. 465-466; Vigat, 2:72.

---

61 Dāgsūrīyō village: located twenty-four miles west-southwest of Meṛto.
Jagnāth Gopāḷdāsot was a son of Gopāḷdās Surtāṇot (10-2) (no. 115) and great-grandson of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) of Merto. He was born of Gopāḷdās's Sisodi's wife and was daughter's son (dohtīro) of Sisodiyo Rāṇo Pratāpsīṅgh Udaisīṅghot (1572-97). Jagnāth served under the Mughals as had his father, and, following his father's death at Biṭ city in the Deccan in 1599-1600, he succeeded to Gopāḷdās's share of one-half the villages of Merto. He held this jāgīr for only a short time, however. Beginning with the spring crop (unāḷī) of 1602, Akbar granted Jagnāth's jāgīrī rights to Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh Udaisīṅghot of Jodhpur (1595-1619). In compensation, Jagnāth received the village of Rūṇ in jāgīr.

Vigat, 2:72-73, suggests that part of the reason for Jagnāth's loss of his share of Merto was discord between himself and Dhīrāvat Kachvāho Rājā Rāmdās Īdāvat (no. 19). Rājā Rāmdās was a personal favorite of Emperor Akbar's with the position of petition-bearer at the Mughal court. No details are available about the source of conflict. But it is suggested that Rājā Rāmdās petitioned the Emperor in favor of Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh. A granddaughter of Rājā Rāmdās was married to Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh following Rāmdās's death.

Jagnāth died in 1609-10 at Ahmadabad in Gujarat. He had a large number of sons and a segment of Merṭīyo Rāṭhorṣ called Jagnāṭhot later emerged bearing his name.

Bāṅkīḍās, p. 62; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 465-466; Vigat, 2:72-73.

Vīṭhaḷdās Jaimalot was a son of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) and sister's son (bhāṇej) of the Vāghelo Rajpūṭs. He spent his early years at the court of his father, Rāv Jaimal, at Merṭo. During Rāv Jaimal's forced exile from Merṭo in the period between 1557-1562, he accompanied him to Mevār. Then with the reoccupation of Merṭo in 1562 following the Mughal siege of the Mālgadh and the defeat of Rāv Mālde’s commander, Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvat (no. 65), Rāv Jaimal sent Vīṭhaḷdās to the Mughal court in the accompaniment of Mīrzā Sharaufdīn Hūsain. Vīṭhaḷdās was at court only a short time, for he was forced to flee Agra with Mīrzā Sharaufdīn when the Mīrzā rebelled against Akbar in October of 1562. He returned to Merṭo with the Mīrzā, bringing news of the events to his father.

The chronicles supply no details, but Vīṭhaḷdās undoubtedly went with Rāv Jaimal to Cīṭor this same year and lived there until his father's death during the battle of Cīṭor in 1568. Vīṭhaḷdās then apparently remained with his half-

---

62 Rūṇ village: located twenty miles northwest of Merṭo.

63 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Sūrajsīṅgh Udaisīṅghot, Rāṇī no. 17.
358

brother, Surtān Jaimalot (9-1) (no. 113), in Mevār at the Bor fort. 64 When Surtān received one-half of Meṛto in jāgīr from Akbar in 1572-73, Surtān gave Vīthaldās the two villages of Kekīnd 65 and Ānlīyāvās, 66 which his paternal uncle (kāko), Īśārdās Vīramdevot (8-5) (no. 109), had held before his death at the battle of Cītor.

Vīthaldās occupied these villages for several years. He then left Meṛto to become a military servant of Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Pratāpsīṅgh Udaisīṅghot of Cītor (1572-97). He was killed in Mevār at the battle of Haldīghāṭī 67 in June of 1576 fighting against the Mughals. Vīthaldās's uterine brother, Rāmdās Jaimalot (9-10), was also killed at Haldīghāṭī.

Vīgat, 2:71-72, states that in 1583 Vīthaldās was in Gujarat with his brother, Surtān Jaimalot, on military tour with Khān Khānān. While Vīthaldās may have accompanied Surtān to Gujarat on some occasion, the date of 1583 seems at variance with other facts known about Vīthaldās's life.

Vīthaldās married one of his daughters to the Sekhāvat Kachvāhos of Khanḍelol. Kachvāho Girdhardās Rāysalot, the ruler of Khanḍelol, was his daughter's son (doḥitro). Girdhardās's father, Rāysal Sūjāvat, was the daughter's son of Jodho Rāṭhor Vāgho Sūjāvat (no. 83).


(no. 118) Dvārkādās Jaimalot (9-8)

Dvārkādās Jaimalot was a son of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) and a sister's son (bhānej) of the Kachvāhos, born of a daughter of Rājāvat Kachvāho Rājā Āskarān Bhīṃvṛājot of Gwalior.

Little is known about Dvārkādās's life prior to 1572-73. In this year his elder half-brother, Surtān Jaimalot (9-1) (no. 113), received one-half of Meṛto in jāgīr from Akbar. Following receipt of this grant, Surtān gave Dvārkādās the village of Lāmbīyo 68 in pāṭo. At some point, perhaps on Surtān's death in 1589-90 in Bihār, Dvārkādās took service under the Mughals, and he then received Lāmbīyo in jāgīr.

Dvārkādās was killed in 1599-1600 in the Deccan during the battle at Bīḍ city near Ahmadnagar. He was part of the Meṛtiyo contingent under Sher

64 Bor village: located twelve miles northeast of Kumbhālmēr in western Mevār.
65 Kekīnd village: located fourteen miles south-southeast of Meṛto.
66 Ānlīyāvās village: located twenty miles southeast of Meṛto.
67 Haldīghāṭī: a narrow defile in the Arāvallis located some eighteen miles northeast of the fort of Gōṅindo and eleven miles southwest of Nāṭhdevāra.
68 Lāmbīyo village: located eighteen miles due south of Meṛto.
Khwāja. He died there along with his half-brother, Kesodās Jaimalot (9-3) (no. 119), and a son of Surtāṇ Jaimalot, Gopāḷdās Surtāṇot (10-2) (no. 115).


(no. 119) **Kesodās Jaimalot** (9-3)

Kesodās Jaimalot was a son of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) and a sister's son (bhabāje) of the Soḷāṅkī Rajputs, born of Rāv Jaimal's junior Soḷāṅkaṇī wife.

Some unclarity exists in the texts regarding events of Kesodās's life, particularly in the immediate aftermath of Rāv Jaimal's death at Cītor in 1568. The following basic chronology emerges:

Kesodās joined his half-brother, Surtāṇ Jaimalot (9-1) (no. 113), at the fort of Bor69 near Rūpīṇī village in the hills of western Mevār after the battle of Cītor. Sīsodīyō Rāṇa Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) had granted this fort jointly to Kesodās and Surtāṇ in paño. Kesodās appears to have left Mevār in 1570-71 and proceeded without Surtāṇ to the Mughal court, where he made obeisance to Akbar. Akbar then granted Kesodās the ḣāḡīr of one-half the villages of Meṛto.

Kesodās's primary ally at the Mughal court was his paternal uncle, Narhardās Īsardāsot (8-5) (no. 120), a son of Rāv Jaimal's brother, Īsardās Vīramdevot (8-5) (no. 109). **Murārdān**, no. 2, pp. 512-513, records that after Narhardās's father, Īsardās, and Rāv Jaimal were killed at Cītor, Narhardās broke allegiance with Surtāṇ Jaimalot, who was Rāv Jaimal's chosen successor, in favor of Kesodās. While Kesodās and Surtāṇ both remained in Mevār, Narhardās proceeded to the Mughal court and advocated Kesodās's rights to Meṛto before Akbar. **Murārdān** further states that Narhardās gave his sister, Pūrāṃbāḥi, in marriage to Akbar at this time and then joined the Imperial service. Narhardās was successful at court, for he later had an official writ from the Emperor granting ḣāḡīrī rights to one-half of Meṛto sent to Kesodās in Mevār. Kesodās then proceeded to the Mughal court and made obeisance to the Emperor in return for the confirmation of his ḣāḡīr. **Murārdān**, no. 2, p. 471, specifically records that Kesodās received one-half of Meṛto prior to Surtāṇ Jaimalot.

This chronicle is at variance with information recorded in **Vigat**, 2:69-70. The **Vigat** states that neither Kesodās nor Surtāṇ went to the Mughal court until 1571-72 and even then did not receive Meṛto in ḣāḡīr for some years thereafter. Surtāṇ Jaimalot held the ḣāḡīr of Malāṅrū (near Rīnhṃbhōr) from Akbar during this interim period, and it was only later that both brothers received shares of Meṛto. The **Vigat** gives precedence to Surtāṇ's story as Rāv Jaimal's chosen successor to rule at Meṛto, but this information appears incorrect. As noted above, **Murārdān**, no. 2, p. 471, states specifically that Kesodās received

---

69 Bor village: located twelve miles northeast of Kumbhalmer in western Mevār.


Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
his share of Meṛto prior to Surtāṅ. In addition, Kesodās did have representation at the Mughal court in the person of Meṛṭyo Narhardās Isardāsot.

There are other precedents from this period to indicate that Emperor Akbar made decisions about whom to award lands and position based upon the support those individuals received at his court. An example comes from the family of Rāṭhor Rāv Rām Māldevot. Rāv Rām was one of the sons of Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). He received Sojhat in jāgīr from Akbar. On his death in 1572, Akbar presented Sojhat in jāgīr to Rām's younger son, Kalo, along with the title of rāv, bypassing Rāv Rām's elder son, Karaṇ. Akbar appears to have made this decision based upon the strong support Kalo received at court from two influential Rāṭhoṛs from Mārvār, Prithūrāj Kūmpāvat (no. 97) and Mahes Kūmpāvat (no. 98).  

Kesodās assumed control of his villages in Meṛto in 1570-71. His half-brother, Surtāṅ, was not granted jāgīrī rights in Meṛto until 1572-73, at which time conflict broke out between the two brothers over the division of villages. Kesodās left Meṛto with his paternal uncle, Narhardās Isardāsot, and proceeded once again to the Mughal court to seek redress. Vigat, 2:70, states that Kesodās married his daughter to the Emperor at this time in return for the jāgīr of one-half of Meṛto. Murārdān does not mention this marriage at all. From the Aīn-i-Akbarī, pp. 323, 594, it is apparent that Kesodās married a daughter to Prince Salīm (Jahāṅgīr), not to Emperor Akbar. Kesodās then returned to Meṛto where he remained in possession of his village until 1577-78.

70 For more about these Rajpūts and their involvements in Sojhat, see supra, "Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛs."

71 There is some question about which "Kesodās Rāṭhor" married a daughter to Prince Salīm. The question is complicated by conflicting evidence in the texts, and by the fact that three different Kesodās Rāṭhoṛs are mentioned in the Mughal sources of the period: Meṛṭyo Rāṭhor Kesodās Jaimalot, Varsinghōt Meṛṭyo Rāṭhor Kesodās "Mārū" Bhūmvoṭ, and Bikāvāt Rāṭhor Kesodās Amarsiṅghōt.

Blochmann mentions in his notes to the Aīn-i-Akbarī, p. 232, n. 4, that a daughter of a "Rājā Keshu Dās Rāṭhor" was one of Jahāṅgīr’s wives and the mother of his daughter, Bahār Bānū Begam, born A. H. 988 (A. D. 1591).

Elsewhere in this same text, p. 563, n. 302, Blochmann lists a "Kesū Dās, son of Jai Mal," as a mansabdār of Akbar’s with the rank of 300 zāt. He confuses this Kesodās Jaimalot with "Kesū Dās Mārū," who is mentioned several times in Jahāṅgīr's Memoirs (Jahāṅgīr, 1:21, 79, 170, 296-297, 390, 410). This Kesodās Mārū was Kesodās Bhūmvoṭ, a Meṛṭyo Rāṭhor of the Varsiṅghōt sākh, descended from Rāv Varsiṅgh Jodhavat (no. 146), one of the original founders of Meṛto. Kesodās Mārū rose to a position of considerable influence under Akbar, from whom he held the jāgīr of Vadhnor in northern Mevār. Under Jahāṅgīr, Kesodās Mārū remained active in the affairs of the empire, and he reached the mansab rank of 2000/1200. Toward the end of Jahāṅgīr’s reign, he apparently went mad and frittered away his lands and wealth. He is said to have begun beating his wives and causing disturbances locally, and he was eventually shot and killed by his son, Karaṇ Kesodāsot, who was in turn poisoned by one of Kesodās’s wives (see: Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 584-585).

Lastly, Blochmann, p. 594, n. 408, refers to a "Keshū Dās, the Rāṭhor" who was a mansabdār of 200 zāt, and notes that he served in Gujarāt in early 1585.
Kesodās accompanied Rājā Rāysīṅgh Kalyāṇmalot of Bīkāner (1574-1612), Shāh Quṭb Mahram-i Bahārlū, Shimāl Khān Chela, and others during operations in Mārvār in 1574 against Rāv Candrasen Maldevot of Jodhpur (1562-81). Then in 1577-78 Akbar sequestered both Kesodās's and Surtān's jāgīrs of Meṛto because of the Meṛīyos’ mistreatment of a wet-nurse from the Imperial court who passed through Meṛto while enroute from Gujarat to north India. Akbar granted Kesodās the village of Nāgelāv in compensation. Kesodās then moved his vasi to Nāgelāv, where they were to remain for the next nine years.

Meṛto was finally returned to both Kesodās and his half-brother, Surtān, in 1586 and Kesodās then resumed residence at Meṛto. Nothing is recorded about his activities during the period from 1577-86, nor during the period following the return of Meṛto in jāgīr from 1586-99. In all probability, Kesodās spent much of his time on military tour for the Mughals. He was killed in 1599-1600 in the Deccan during Mughal operations against Ahmadnagar. He undoubtedly took part in the battle at Bīḍ city where the Mughals were hard-pressed by the troops of Sultāna Cānd Bībī until reinforcements arrived under the command of Abū'1-Fazl.

Kesodās was a mansabdār in the Imperial service with the rank of 300 zāt.

Blochmann identifies this Kesodās as a son of "Rāy Rāy Singh's brother" of Bīkāner and states that he was killed in a private quarrel in Akbar's 36th Regnal year (1592). Blochmann states that it was this Kesodās Rāṭhoṛ who married a daughter to Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr). This Kesodās was Bīkāvat Rāṭhoṛ Kesodās Amarsinghot, a son of Amarsingh Kalyāṇmalot, the brother to Rājā Rāysīṅgh Kalyāṇmalot, ruler of Bīkāner (1574-1612). Kesodās Amarsinghot was killed in 1590 as a result of hostilities which arose following his father's rebellion against Akbar in the same year (see: Ojhā, 5:1:180).

Without further evidence, it is difficult to know for certain which of these Kesodās Rāṭhoṛs married a daughter into Akbar's family. It appears that Blochmann is incorrect in his judgement that it was Kesodās Amarsinghot's daughter who was married to Prince Salīm. The fact that the Rāṭhoṛ who married a daughter to Salīm is referred to in Mughal sources as "Rājā" points rather toward Kesodās Jaimalot or to Kesodās Bhiṃvot, both of whom had greater stature than Kesodās Amarsinghot.

Vigat, 2:70, appears in error in its statement that Kesodās Jaimalot married a daughter to Akbar, but the reference to a marriage into Akbar's family would seem to point to Rāṭhoṛ Kesodās Jaimalot as the Kesodās Rāṭhoṛ who gave his daughter to the Mughals.

The date of the marriage is uncertain. According to Mughal sources, Prince Salīm's first marriage took place in February of 1585 to the daughter of Kachvāhō Rājā Bhagvantdās of Āmber (ca. 1574-89). Kesodās Jaimalot's marriage of his daughter to Prince Salīm would then have occurred sometime thereafter, ca. 1586.

(A note of thanks to Frances Taft for details regarding the Āmber marriage).

Nāgelāv village: located eighteen miles southwest of Ajmer.

See supra, Surtān Jaimalot (no. 113) for details about Meṛto's return to Surtān and
Narhardas Isardasot was a son of Isardas Viramdevot (8-5) (no. 109) and a grandson of Rav Viramde Dūdāvat (7-1) (no. 105). He is described in the texts as a very powerfully built, brave Rajput warrior. No information is available about Narhardas’s life prior to the death of his father at the battle of Citor in 1568. Isardas Viramdevot had fought and died there along with his brother, Rav Jaimal Viramdevot (8-1) (no. 107), in the great battle against the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Narhardas was apparently at Citor with his father and the other Rajpūts in Rāv Jaimal’s service. But his specific activities during the battle are unknown. Narhardas broke relations with Rāv Jaimal’s son and chosen successor to rule at Meṣṭo, Surtān Jaimalot (9-1) (no. 113), following this battle, and sided with Surtān’s younger half-brother, Kesodas Jaimalot (9-3) (no. 119). While Surtān and Kesodas remained in Mevār for some time living at the fort of Bor in the hills of western Mevār which Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) had granted them in pato, Narhardas proceeded alone to the Mughal court to petition Emperor Akbar on Kesodas’s behalf for the lands of Meṣṭo. According to Murārdān, no. 2, p 471, Narhardas’s petition was successful. Narhardas obtained an Imperial writ assigning one-half of the villages of Meṣṭo in jāgir to Kesodas and had this sent to Kesodas in Mevār, summoning him to court to perform obeisance before the Emperor.

Narhardas then joined the Imperial service and received the jāgir of Vadhnor74 in northern Mevār from Akbar. He married his sister, Purambal, to Akbar at this time. Kesodas also granted Narhardas villages in Meṣṭo in pato when he took possession of his lands there. These villages included Reyām75 and Padūkhāṁ rī Vāsnī.76

Narhardas had no sons. He spent his later years at Meṣṭo serving under Kesodas Jaimalot. No information is available about the date or circumstances of his death.

74 Vadhnor village: located forty-seven miles south-southwest of Ajmer.

75 Reyām village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṣṭo.

76 Padūkhāṁ rī Vāsnī: located four miles north-northwest of Meṣṭo.
Narhardas granted the village of Santhāno Sāraṅgvās in sāṃsaṇ to the Pārīkh Golvāḷ Brāhmaṇ Bāṇopāḷ (or Gopāḷ) Lakhāvat.


(no. 121) **Kānhīdās Kesodāsot** (10-3)

Kānhīdās Kesodāsot was a son of Kesodās Jaimalot (9-3) (no. 119) and grandson of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107). Little is known about Kānhīdās from records available. He received Kesodās's share of one-half the villages of Meṛto in jāgīr from Akbar in 1599-1600, following Kesodas's death in the Deccan. He held this jāgīr until his death a short time thereafter in 1601-02.

There is some disagreement in the chronicles about the date of Kānhīdās's death. *Vigat*, 2:77, places his death in 1604-05, while *Murārdān*, no. 2, p. 471, records that he died in the Deccan in 1601-02. He apparently served under the Mughals all of his life, and he was active in Akbar's Deccan campaign against Ahmadnagar. The date of 1601-02 for Kānhīdās's death appears appropriate, given what is known about his son, Indrabāṇ Kānhīdāsot (11-2) (no. 122) (see infra).

While holding the jāgīr for one-half of Meṛto, Kānhīdās granted the village of Ghanam in sāṃsaṇ to the Jaghaṭh Caran Khīṁvo Veṇīdāsot.


(no. 122) **Indrabāṇ Kānhīdāsot** (11-2)

Indrabāṇ Kānhīdāsot was a son of Kānhīdās Kesodāsot (10-3) (no. 121) and great-grandson of Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) of Meṛto. Indrabāṇ succeeded to his father Kānhīdās's position at Meṛto in 1601-02 but with much attenuated jāgīrī rights to villages there. According to *Murārdān*, no. 2, p. 472, Indrabāṇ received only the village of Kekīnd and twenty-two others from Akbar in jāgīr. The remainder of his father's share was given to the Rājā of Jodhpur, Sūrajsingh Udaisingh (1595-1619). Indrabāṇ's attenuated share of villages was then taken from him in 1604-05 and granted to the Jodhpur Rājā. Ojhā, 4:1:370, gives the date of May 30, 1605 for the Rājā's receipt of all of Meṛto.

No information is available about whether Rājā Sūrajsingh in turn granted Indrabāṇ his villages of Meṛto in pāṭo. *Vigat*, 2:73, records only that in 1604-05 the important thākurs of Meṛto went to the Mughal court with a contingent of some 2,000 horse to petition Akbar in favor of Indrabāṇ's rights

---

77 Santhāno Sāraṅgvās village: located eighteen miles east-southeast of Meṛto.

78 Ghanam village: located twenty-five miles northeast of Meṛto, near Altāvo.

79 Kekīnd village: located fourteen miles south-southeast of Meṛto.
to Meṛto. Their petition was denied. Akbar gave full support to the rights of the ruler of Jodhpur to authority over Meṛto, rights which the Mughals continued to recognize for the next three-quarters of a century.

No information is available about the date and circumstances of Indrabhān's death.

_Murārdān_, no. 2, p. 472; _Vigat_, 2:73.

(no. 123) **Cando Viramdevot** (8-3)

Cando Viramdevot was a son of Rāv Viramde Dūdāvat (7-1) (no. 105) and a grandson of Rāv Dūdō Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104). The chronicles describe Cando as a large, powerfully built Rajpūt. His life stands in contrast to those of most of his brothers, for Cando stood apart from Meṛto and served much of his life in the armies of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). For reasons unexplained in the texts, Cando gained the enmity of his father, Rāv Viramde, and he was driven from Meṛto during his youth. It is possible that he posed a threat to his brother, Jaimal Viramdevot (8-1) (no. 107), who was Rāv Viramde's chosen successor. No specific information is available about their mothers or the circumstances leading to Cando's banishment.

The chronicles do not specify when Cando left Meṛto and took service under Rāv Mālde. But in 1546-47 Cando received the _pāto_ of Āsop village from Rāv Mālde. Āsop is an important village in Mārvār, and Cando's receipt of this grant indicates that he held a position of some influence at Rāv Mālde's court. Cando retained Āsop until 1552-53 when he received Balundo village in _pāto_.

Cando was present with Rāv Mālde during the Rāv's abortive attack on Meṛto in 1554, and following Rāv Mālde's defeat there, Cando appears to have become disaffected, for he retired to his village of Balundo. He did not participate in Rāv Mālde's occupation of Meṛto after the battle of Harmāro in January of 1557, nor was he included in the division of Meṛto's villages among Rāv Mālde's military servants that followed.

Cando's failure to report for service gained Rāv Mālde's ire, and in 1559 the Rāv sent his _hujdār_, Māngliyo Gahlot Vīram Devāvat (no. 14), the _hākim_ of Meṛto, to Balundo with a contingent of Rajpūts to drive Cando from the village. This action occurred just prior to Rāv Mālde's grant of one-half the villages of Meṛto on July 28, 1559 to Cando's brother, Meṛṭiyō Jagmāl Vīramdevot (8-6) (no. 124). On the day Meṛṭiyō Jagmāl received his _pāto_ of villages, the Rāv had Jagmāl swear an oath (devaco) that he would not retain Cando in his service.

---

80 Āsop village: located fifty miles northeast of Jodhpur.

81 Balundo village: located fifty-five miles east of Jodhpur and eight miles due north of Jaitāraṇ.

82 Harmāro village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevār.
Cândo then quit Mērvār and joined his brother, Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) in Mevār. Rāv Jaimal was at Cītor in the service of Sīsodīyo Rāno Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17) from 1557-62. While at Cītor, Cândo became involved in the settlement of the Meṛṭīyo vair with the Soḷāṅkī Rajpūts. The Soḷāṅkīs had killed two of his brothers, Sārāṅgde (8-2) and Māṇḍan (8-4), some years earlier near Toḍo in central Rājasthān. In revenge, Cândo killed a Soḷāṅkī named Narāṇḍās at Cītor. He left Mērvār afterwards, apparently because of difficulties that arose from this killing, and returned to Mērvār. The vair with the Soḷāṅkīs was finally ended only after Rāv Jaimal was given another daughter of the Soḷāṅkīs' in marriage. Rāv Jaimal was himself a sago of the Soḷāṅkīs, having married a Soḷāṅkārī. His brother, Sārāṅgde, was also sister's son (bhānej) of the Soḷāṅkīs. These relationships may in some way have been responsible for the outbreak of hostilities which started the vair.

Cândo joined Rāv Mālde's service once again following his return to Mērvār, and in 1560-61 Rāv Mālde returned the pato of Āsop village to him. Cândo held this grant until 1562-63. He was stationed at the fort of Jodhpur as kiledār during these two years. He assumed this position following Rāṭhor Devidās Jāiāvat's (no. 65) posting at the Mālgadh at Mērtō.

With the fall of Mērtō to Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot and the Mughals under Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn in early 1562, Cândo again left Rāv Mālde's active service to sit in his village of Āsop. When Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn rebelled from Akbar in October of 1562, Ḥusayn Qulī Khān became Akbar's new governor at Nāgaūr. He summoned Cândo to Nāgaūr on some pretext in 1563-64 and had him killed there. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 527, records that the Khān had his men fall upon Cândo as Cândo ascended the ladder leading up to the platform upon which the Khān was seated. No reason is given for this murder. The Mughals may have felt that Cândo posed a threat, and was by association, implicated in the Mīrzā's rebellion.


Jagmāl Vīramdevot was a son of Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (7-1) (no. 105) and grandson of Rāv Dūḍo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104), the founding ancestor of the Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhorṣ. Like his brother, Cândo Vīramdevot (8-3) (no. 123), Jagmāl left Mērtō early in his life and became a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). He received the village of Khairvo in pato from the Rāv.

Jagmāl's name is not mentioned in the chronicles with regard to any of Rāv Mālde's important military undertakings prior to the battle of Harmārō,84

83 Khairvo village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

84 Harmārō village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnoir in northern Mērvār.
which took place on January 24, 1557. Jagmāl's name appears in a list of prominent thākurs of Mārvār who fought at Harmārō under the command of Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvāt (no. 65). Rāv Mālde's troops had joined with Paṭhān Hājī Khān against an allied force under Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvāt of Cītor (ca. 1537-72; no. 17).

Jagmāl continued in Rāv Mālde's service after Harmārō and was rewarded with the pato of one-half of the villages of Meṛto in July of 1559. This grant followed Rāv Mālde's occupation of Meṛto. Meṛṭīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) had been an ally of the Rāṇo's at Harmārō, and the Rāṇo's defeat left Meṛto forfeit to Rāv Mālde.

Rāv Mālde had Jagmāl swear an oath (devaco) on July 28 in the temple of Mahāmāyā at Phalodhī village near Meṛto before his son, Kuṃvār Candrasen, and several members of his administrative staff including Māṅgliyo Vīram Devēvāt (no. 14), Paṅcoli Neto Abhāvāt (no. 162) and Cahuṃvān Khājījhān Bhaīrvādāsot (no. 7). Jagmāl brought Meṛṭīyo Jaimal Paṅcāṇīṇot (8-9) (no. 127) and Purohit Bhaṅḍāsot to Phalodhī to witness this swearing. Jagmāl affirmed enduring loyalty to Rāv Mālde and his son, Kuṃvār Candrasen, and swore that he would neither retain his half-brother, Cāṇḍo Vīramdevot (8-3) (no. 123), nor one of his own sons, Vāgh Jagmālot (9-16) (no. 125), in his service. The texts give no reasons for the inclusion of Jagmāl's son, Vāgh, in this prohibition.

Jagmāl divided his villages among his own personal retainers, and took up residence at Meṛto proper as kiledār of the Mālgadh. Construction on this fort was completed in 1560-61. Then in early 1562 the Mughals under Mīrzā Sharaftādin Ḥusayn laid siege to the Mālgadh in league with Jagmāl's half-brother, Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot. Jagmāl was present at the Mālgadh during the initial stages of the siege. But he held negotiations with the Mughals and Rāv Jaimal, and then withdrew with a small contingent of his military servants, leaving all of his personal property behind in the fort. Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvāt (no. 65), who was posted with Jagmāl at the Mālgadh, remained inside with a large force of Rājpūtīs including thirty-eight of Jagmāl's own men who had refused to leave. Most of these men were later killed when the Mughals and Rāv Jaimal attacked Rāṭhor Devīdās and his men as they withdrew from the fort in the direction of Sātalvās, a village four miles to the southwest of Meṛto.

With the loss of Meṛto and Rāv Mālde's death in November of 1562, Jagmāl left Mārvār and proceeded to the Mughal court. He offered his service to Emperor Akbar. Within a year, Jagmāl's half-brother, Rāv Jaimal, to whom Akbar had given Meṛto in jāgīr following its conquest in 1562, had fled Meṛto for Mēvār in the wake of Mīrzā Sharaftādin's rebellion in October of that year. Akbar thereupon granted one-half of Meṛto to Jagmāl in jāgīr, reserving the other half as Imperial khālso. Jagmāl married one of his daughters to Akbar at this time. He lived for several more years at Meṛto and died a natural death in 1570-71.

---

85 Phalodhī village: located nine miles northwest of Meṛto.

86 See Vigat, 2:62, of the translated text for specific details of this swearing.
Jagmāl granted several villages in sāṃśaṅ to Brāhmaṅs. These included:

1. Cāṃvaḍīyo Ādho - half of this village was granted to the Śīvaṛ Brāhmaṅ Purohit Bhavāṇīdās Tejśiyot.
2. Jagnāthinppuro - granted to the Śrīmaḷi Brāhmaṅs Dāvo and Jagnāth Sadāphalot. This grant was made in 1559-60.


(n. 125) Vāgh Jagmālot (9-16)
(n. 126) Kalo Jagmālot (9-17)

Vāgh and Kalo Jagmālot were sons of Jagmāl Vīramdevot (8-6) (no. 124) and grandsons of Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat (7-1) (no. 105). About Vāgh we know only that Rāv Mālaṃ Gaṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) forbade his father, Jagmāl, from retaining him in his personal service while Jagmāl held the paṭo of one-half of the villages of Merto between July of 1559 and March of 1562. The circumstances behind this censure are not known.

Of Kalo Jagmālot there is more information. It was his uterine sister whom his father married to Akbar in 1562. Kalo followed his father into Mughal service at this time, and he received the jāgīr of Thāṃvlo village, near Ajmer. His activities after this time are unknown. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 524, states only that he died at Thāṃvlo village.

A paternal uncle of Kalo’s, Meṛīyo Jaitmāl Paṅcāṅnot (8-9) (no. 127), had no sons, and adopted Kalo into his family. The date of this adoption is unrecorded.

Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 447, 524; Vigat, 2:63.

(n. 127) Jaitmāl Paṅcāṅnot (8-9)

Jaitmāl Paṅcāṅnot was a son of Paṅcāṅ Dūdāvat (7-5) and a grandson of Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (6-1) (no. 104). No information is available about Jaitmāl’s father. Jaitmāl himself was a military servant of Rāv Mālaṃ Gaṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). He appears in the chronicles first in association with

87 Cāṃvaḍīyo Ādho village: located seven miles southeast of Meṛto.

88 Jagnāthinppuro village: located sixteen miles southwest of Meṛto, near Reyāṃ.

89 Thāṃvlo village: located twenty-eight miles east-southeast of Meṛto and twelve miles northwest of Ajmer.
Mertiyo Jagmal Viramdevot (8-6) (no. 124). Jaitmāl was present as a witness on behalf of Jagmal on July 28, 1559 when Jagmal swore an oath of loyalty to Rāv Mālde in the temple of Mahāmāya at Phalodhī village near Merto, prior to his receipt of one-half of the villages of Merto in *pāto* from the Rāv.

Jaitmāl is mentioned later as part of the contingent of Rajpūts under Rāṭhor Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65) who fought in defense of the Mālgadh at Merto in 1562 against Mertiyo Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (8-1) (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under the command of Mīrzā Sharaful-Dīn Ḥusayn. Jaitmāl was killed at Merto during this conflict.

Jaitmāl had no sons. He adopted Mertiyo Jagmal Viramdevot's son, Kalo Jagmālot (9-17) (no. 126), into his family. The date of this adoption is unrecorded.


(no. 128) **Gopāldās Sūndardāsot** (11-3)

Gopāldās Sūndardāsot was a son of Sūndardās Mādhdāsot (10-4) and great-grandson of Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (8-1) (no. 107). Among the Mertiyoś of the mid-seventeenth century, Gopāldās alone rose to a position of great power and influence as *pradhān* of Jodhpur under Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh Gajsīṅghot (1638-78).

Little information is available about Gopāldās's family. His grandfather, Mādhdās Jaimalot (9-2), was the uterine brother of Kesodās Jaimalot (9-3) (no. 119), born of Rāv Jaimal's junior Soḷanāṅki wife. Mādhdās apparently served under Kesodās, from whom he held the village of Reyām 90 in *pāto*. Local chronicles do not specify when the grant was received. Kesodās Jaimalot himself received his *jāgīr* of one-half the villages of Merto in 1570-71, retained it until 1577-78, then held this grant again between the years 1586-1599/1600. About Mādhdās it is known only that he held Reyām in *pāto* for a number of years and that he died prior to Kesodās's death in 1599-1600.

Gopāldās's father, Sūndardās Mādhdāsot, also held Reyām in *pāto*. But he did not immediately succeed to this village on his father's death. *Murārdān*, no. 2, pp. 493, 498, records that Sūndardās's brother's son, Jasvant Mohandāsot (11-4), received Reyām in *pāto* from Kesodās Jaimalot on Mādhdāsot Jaimalot's death. Jasvant Mohandāsot served with Kesodās in the Deccan, and he took part along with Kesodās in Mughal operations against Ahmadnagar. Both Jasvant and Kesodās were killed in 1599-1600 during the battle of Bīḍ city. Upon Jasvant's death, Sūndardās Mādhdāsot then received Reyām in *pāto* in 1600-01 from Kesodās's son and successor, Kānhdās Kesodāsot (10-3) (no. 121).

How long Sūndardās continued to hold Reyām is unclear. It appears that it was only for a short time, for in 1601-02 Kānhdās was also killed in the Deccan, and his son, Indrabhān Kānhdāsot (11-2) (no. 122), succeeded to an

---

90 Reyām village: located fifteen miles southeast of Merto.
attenuated *jāgīr* in Meṛto including Kekīnd⁹¹ and twenty-two other villages. Akbar then took these villages from Indrabhān in 1604-05 and granted them to the ruler of Jodhpur, Rājā Sūrajsīngh Udāisinghotel (1595-1619). No further information is available about Sūndardās Mādhodāsotel.

Sūndardās's son, Gopāldās Sūndardāsotel, was a military servant of Kānhīdās Kesodāsotel and of his son, Indrabhān Kānhīdāsotel. Gopāldās left Indrabhān Kānhīdāsotel in 1615-16, however, and settled in the lands of Rājā Sūrajsīngh of Jodhpur, under whom he took service. He received the *pāto* of Reyām village from the Rājā soon thereafter.

Meṛto was sequestered from Jodhpur in 1619 upon the death of Rājā Sūrajsīngh. The new ruler, Rājā Gajīnsīngh Sūrajsīnghotel (1619-38), then granted Gopāldās the village of Gūndoc⁹² in compensation for his loss of Reyām. Gopāldās again received Reyān in *pāto* in 1623-24 upon the return of Meṛto in *jāgīr* to the house of Jodhpur. Reyān remained in Gopāldās's *pāto* until his death in 1668. *Vigat*, 2:199, notes in its description of Reyān that while Gopāldās held the village, the people of his *vasī* lived on the east side of the village, the remainder of the village being inhabited by Jāṭ cultivators.

Only limited information is available about Gopāldās's life. He became involved in the transfer of authority over Meṛto to the Rājā of Jodhpur during the early years of Rājā Gajīnsīngh's rule. Prince Khurram (Šāh Jahān) had received Meṛto in *jāgīr* following Rājā Sūrajsīngh's death in September of 1619. He then sent the *āmin*, Abu Kābō, to Meṛto, and Abu in turn entrusted the two halves of Meṛto to *kīrofīs*. Abu's *hākmī* lasted two years, after which Prince Khurram divided Meṛto among his military servants and retainers. Sisodiyo Gahlot Rājā Bhīm Amrāvat (no. 15) was one of Prince Khurram's servants who held villages in Meṛto at this time. Abu's presence continued in the area, however, in the continued assessment of revenue and the collections of taxes through the *kīrofīs* and their men. Meṛṭīyo Gopāldās was wounded at Meṛto on May 9, 1622 during a disagreement over taxes with Abu Kābō's men that turned into a running battle during which a number were killed and wounded on both sides.⁹³

Gopāldās's specific activities during the next twenty years are not recorded in local texts at hand. But he remained in the service of the Jodhpur rulers, for in 1642-43, he was appointed *pradhān* of Jodhpur under Rājā Jasvantsīngh Gajīnsīghhot (1638-78). Gopāldās's appointment came upon the Rājā's dismissal of Cāmpāvat Rāṭhōr Mahesdās Sūrajmalotel from this post. Gopāldās held the position of *pradhān* for the next six years until 1648-49.

During his tenure as *pradhān*, Gopāldās took part in Mughal operations under Prince Augangzeb against the Uzbeks in Balkh and Kabul in 1646-47. Although very costly to the Mughals, this campaign was nominally successful in settling affairs in this area. Rājā Jasvantsīngh gave Gopāldās a village as a

⁹¹ Kekīnd village: located fourteen miles south-southeast of Meṛto.

⁹² Gūndoc village: located fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

⁹³ See *Vigat*, 1:113-114, for details of this confrontation and lists of dead and wounded.
bonus (vadhāro) upon news of the success. This grant was later converted to a cash payment of rs. 4,000.

Gopāldās stepped down as pradhān of Jodhpur in 1648. Two years later, in 1650-51, he took part in one of the most important military undertakings in Mārvār during this period, the conquest of the fort of Pokaran from the Bhātīs of Jaisalmer. The pargana of Pokaran had been written into the jāgīr of the Jodhpur rulers since the time of Rājā Sūrājsingh Udaiśinghot (1595-1619), but they had possessed no authority over the area from the time Rāv Candrasen Māldevot (1562-81) mortgaged Pokaran to the Bhātīs in the latter-1570s to raise money during his exile in the Arāvallīs. The Jodhpur rulers had not attempted to take possession after their award of jāgīr because the ruling family of Jaisalmer were sāgos of Jodhpur. The ruling line of Jaisalmer changed in 1650, however, and Rājā Jasvantsingh then chose to reassert Rāthor authority over Pokaran. He placed Gopāldās in command of one of the three wings of his army of 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot. The Rāthor campaign against Pokaran was Rājā Jasvantsingh's first major military undertaking and his first victory following his succession to the Jodhpur throne at the age of twelve years in 1638. Rājā Jasvantsingh awarded Gopāldās a cash bonus of rs. 4,000 following the victory at Pokaran.

Gopāldās died on July 24, 1668. He had held a pato with a valuation of rs. 35,700, including Reyām and twenty-one other villages. He had also received a monthly salary of rs. 275 while he was pradhān of Jodhpur between the years 1642-1648.

RULERSHIP AT MERTO

ca. 1462-92

Varsinghot Meṛtiyo Rāv Varsingh Jodhavat (no. 146)

ca. 1492

Varsinghot Meṛtiyo Rāv Siho Varsinghot (no. 147)

ca. 1492-95

Meṛto divided between Varsinghot Meṛtiyo Rāv Siho Varsinghot and Meṛtiyo Dūdo Jodhavat (no. 104)

ca. 1495-97

Meṛtiyo Rāv Dūdo Jodhavat (Rāv Siho Varsinghot relegated to the village of Rāhaṇ)

ca. 1497-1535

Meṛtiyo Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvah (no. 105)

ca. 1535-January, 1544

Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur

ca. 1544

Meṛtiyo Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvah

ca. 1544-January, 1557

Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107)

January, 1557-July, 1559

Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat

July, 1559-March, 1562

Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (1/2 Meṛto)

Meṛtiyo Jagmāl Vīramdevot (no. 124) (pato grant from Rāv Mālde for the other 1/2 of Meṛto)

ca. 1562

Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (Meṛto in jāgīr from Emperor Akbar)

ca. 1563-70

Meṛtiyo Jagmāl Vīramdevot (1/2 Meṛto in jāgīr from Emperor Akbar; the remainder held as Imperial khālso)
ca. 1570-77  
Meṛṭīyo Kesodās Jaimalot (no. 119) (1/2 Meṛto in jāgīr from Emperor Akbar)

ca. 1572-77  
Meṛṭīyo Surtān Jaimalot (no. 113) (1/2 Meṛto in jāgīr from Emperor Akbar)

ca. 1577-86  
Meṛto became Imperial khūlso (jāgīrs of both Kesodās and Surtān revoked in 1577-78)

**Jāgīr of 1/2 Meṛto from Emperor Akbar**

ca. 1586-89  
Meṛṭīyo Surtān Jaimalot (no. 113)

c. 1589-96  
Meṛṭīyo Balbhadar Surtānot (no. 114)

c. 1596-99  
Meṛṭīyo Gopāldās Surtānot (no. 115)

c. 1599-Spring crop, 1602  
Meṛṭīyo Jagnāth Gopāldasot (no. 116)

Spring crop, 1602-1605  
Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisiṅghot of Jodhpur

**Jāgīr of 1/2 Meṛto from Emperor Akbar**

c. 1586-99  
Meṛṭīyo Kesodās Jaimalot (no. 119)

c. 1599-1601  
Meṛṭīyo Kānhdās Kesodāsot (no. 121)

c. 1601-05  
Meṛṭīyo Indrabhāṅ Kānhdāsot (no. 122) (held only an attenuated share of villages)

c. 1601-05  
Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisiṅghot of Jodhpur (held 1/2 share of Meṛto's villages minus Indrabhāṅ's share)
May, 1605-September, 1619
Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot of Jodhpur (received all of Meṛto in jāgīr from Akbar; confirmed by Emperor Jahāngīr)

September, 1619-May/June, 1623
Prince Khurram made sūbedār of Ajmer and given Meṛto in jāgīr

May/June, 1623-August, 1623
Prince Parviz made sūbedār of Ajmer and given Meṛto in jāgīr on rebellion of Prince Khurram from the Deccan

August, 1623-1625
Rājā Gajsirīgh Sūrajsinghot of Jodhpur (jāgīr of Meṛto from Mahābat Khān)

1625-May 1638
Rājā Gajsirīgh Sūrajsinghot of Jodhpur (Emperor Jahāngīr confirmed jāgīr of Meṛto in 1625)

May, 1638-November, 1678
Rājā Jasvantsingh Gajsinghot of Jodhpur (Meṛto in jāgīr from the Mughal Emperor)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1-1</th>
<th>Šākha</th>
<th>2-1</th>
<th>Viṣṇu Śākha</th>
<th>3-1</th>
<th>Viṣṇu Śākha</th>
<th>4-1</th>
<th>Viṣṇu Śākha</th>
<th>5-1</th>
<th>Viṣṇu Śākha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6-1</td>
<td>Šākha</td>
<td>7-1</td>
<td>Viṣṇu Šākha</td>
<td>8-1</td>
<td>Viṣṇu Šākha</td>
<td>9-1</td>
<td>Viṣṇu Šākha</td>
<td>10-1</td>
<td>Viṣṇu Šākha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Figure 30. Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛs
(continued from the previous page and onto the following pages)

| (5-1) Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot |
| (6-1) Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (Meṛūyos) |
| (7-1) Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat |
| (8-1) Rāv Jaimal Vīrāmdevoṭ |

| (9-1) Surtāṇ Jaimalot |
| (9-2) Mādhodās Jaimalot |
| (9-3) Kesodās Jaimalot |
| (9-4) Goyanddās Jaimalot |
| (9-5) Kalyāṇdās Jaimalot |
| (9-6) Narāṇdās Jaimalot |
| (9-7) Narsiṅghdās Jaimalot |
| (9-8) Dvārkādās Jaimalot |
| (9-9) Harīdās Jaimalot |
| (9-10) Rāmdās Jaimalot |
| (9-11) Viṭhāldās Jaimalot |
| (9-12) Mukanddās Jaimalot |
| (9-13) Syāmdās Jaimalot |
| (9-14) Sādūl Jaimalot |

| (10-1) Balbhodār Surtāṇot |
| (10-2) Gopāldās Surtāṇot |
| (11-1) Jagnāṭh Gopāldāsot |
| (10-3) Kānhibāṇ Kesodāsot |
| (11-2) Indrabhāṇ Kānhibāṇsot |
Figure 30. Meṛtīyo Rāṭhoṛs
(continued from the previous pages and onto following page)

(5-1) Rāv Jodho Riṇmalot

(6-1) Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (Meṛtīyos)

(7-1) Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat

(7-4) Rāymal Dūḍāvat

(7-5) Paṅcāin Dūḍāvat

(7-6) Jagmāl

(7-7) Acjo

(7-8) Arjaṇ

(8-5) Īsardās

(8-6) Vīramdevot

(8-7) Vīramdevot

(8-8) Rāymalot

(8-9) Rāymalot

(8-10) Jaitmāl Paṅcāinot

(9-15) Narhardās

(9-16) Vāgh Jagmālot

(9-17) Kalo Jagmālot

(9-18) Prayāgdās Arjaṇot

Figure 30. Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛs
(continued from previous pages)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Jodho Riṅmalot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (Meṛṭīyos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8-1)</td>
<td>Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9-2)</td>
<td>Mādhodās Jaimalot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10-4)</td>
<td>Sūndardās Mādhodāsot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10-5)</td>
<td>Mohaṅḍās Mādhodāsot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11-3)</td>
<td>Gopāḷdās Sūndardāsot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11-4)</td>
<td>Jasvant Mohandāsot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rinmalot Rathors

(no. 130) Bhān Bhojrājot, Rāv (8-1)
(no. 129) Śīṅghan Khetsiyoṭ (7-1)

The Rinmalot Rathors

The Rīṃmal or Rīṃmalot Rathors descend from Rāv Rīṃmal Cūṇḍāvat (4-1), ruler of Maṇḍor (ca. 1428-38). In the broadest sense, this group includes all of Rāv Rīṃmal's sons and descendants. The texts from the period under review use the term "Rīṃmal/Rīṃmalot" to refer to those Rāṭhoṛs who were Rāv Rīṃmal's heirs to the lands of Mārvāṛ. The term is applied in this broad sense to distinguish these Rāṭhoṛs from other Rāṭhoṛs, such as the Śīṅdaḷs and the Ühaṛs, and from Rajpūts of clans different from the Rāṭhoṛs.¹

Many powerful branches (sākhṣ) of Rathors emerged from Rāv Rīṃmal's sons and their descendants. These sākhṣ include, to name but a few, the Jodho Rāṭhoṛs from Rīṃmal's son, Jodho (ruler of Maṇḍor and Jodhpur, ca. 1453-89), the Akhairaṇjot Rāṭhoṛs from Rīṃmal's son, Akhairāj, and the Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhoṛs from Rīṃmal's great-grandson, Kūṃpō Mahirājot (no. 95). By the mid-seventeenth century, lists of Rāṭhoṛ sākhṣ such as those found in "Jodhpur Hukumāt rī Bahī," do not refer to a Rīṃmal or Rīṃmalot sākh. They refer, rather, to the more particularistic groupings of Mārvāṛ Rāṭhoṛs that emerged from prominent descendants of Rāv Rīṃmal's dating from more recent periods.

The heading "Rīṃmalot" is used in this section to designate two of the less prominent descendants of Rāv Rīṃmal about whom there is limited information. Where appropriate, mention is made of Rāṭhoṛ sākhṣ that later emerged among their descendants.

(no. 129) Śīṅghan Khetsiyoṭ (7-1)

Śīṅghan Khetsiyoṭ was a great-grandson of Rāv Rīṃmal Cūṇḍāvat, descending from Rāv Rīṃmal's son, Jagmāl Rīṃmalot (5-1), and Jagmāl's son, Khetṣī Jagmālot (6-1). Jagmāl Rīṃmalot died as a young man during his father Rāv Rīṃmal's lifetime. During Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot's division of the lands of Mārvāṛ among his brothers and sons following the founding of Jodhpur, Rāv Jodho gave Jagmāl's son, Khetṣī Jagmālot, the village of Netṛāṃ² as his share. Khetṣī settled at Netṛāṃ and a sākh of Mārvāṛ Rāṭhoṛs known as Khetsiyoṭ later

¹ See: "Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭam," pp. 48, 50, 54, and Vigat, 2:66, of the translated text for examples of this usage.

² Netṛāṃ village: located twenty-one miles north-northeast of Jodhpur.
emerged bearing his name. No further information is available from texts at hand about this Rûpo Rinmalot.

Khetsî's son, Sînghaṭ Khetsîyot, appears in the chronicles as a military servant of Râv Mâlde Gângâvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). Sînghaṭ was posted at the fort of Jodhpur, and he died in the defense of the fort when it came under attack from the forces of Sher Shâh Sûr following the battle of Samel in January of 1544.

No other information is available about this Rajpût.


(no. 130) Bhàn Bhojrájot, Râv of Câdî (8-1)

Bhàn Bhojrájot was fourth in line of descent from Râv Rîṃmal Cûndâvat (4-1) through Rîṃmal's son, Rûpo Rîṃmalot (5-2), and his grandson, Sâdo Rûpâvat (6-2). It was Rûpo Rîṃmalot who received the village of Câdî from his brother, Râv Jodho Rîṃmalot, following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459. This village was the homeland (utan) of the Lahuvo Bhâtîs: Rûpo was able to take this area from the Bhâtîs and then establish himself and his family at Câdî. A sâkh of Râthôrs later emerged from among his descendants bearing the name of Rûpâvat. Câdî village became the homeland of these Rûpâvat Râthôrs.

Bhàn Bhojrájot was a contemporary of Râv Mâlde Gângâvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). The Khyât of Naiñî, 2:137-138, describes him as the master (dhanî) of Câdî and refers to him by the title of râv. He appears to have led a relatively independent existence at Câdî, a village which lay near the northern borders of Mârvâr territory. He became involved with Jodhpur in 1552 during Râv Mâlde's operations against the Kelhân Bhâtîs of Pûngâl and the Bhâtî ruling family of Jaisalîmer.

References in Naiñî's Khyât to relations between the Bhâtîs of Pûngâl and the Râthôrs of Jodhpur in this period are difficult to interpret. It appears that prior to 1552 when Râv Mâlde moved against Pûngâl and Jaisalîmer, the Kelhân Bhâtîs attacked and overran Câdî and other villages of this area. The Khyât mentions three battles that Râv Mâlde's Rajpûts fought in and around Câdî and Karnû. They were severely tested during these battles by the Kelhân Bhâtîs under Râv Jeso Varsinghot of Pûngâl. Bhàn Bhorajot's brother, Prîthîrâj Bhojrajot (8-2), was killed at the battle for Câdî, and another of Bhân's brothers, Rângade Bhojrajot (8-3), died along with seventeen of his men at a battle near the village of Lâkhâsar in the territory of Bîkâner.

3 Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

4 Câdî village: located fifty-eight miles north of Jodhpur.

5 Karnû village: located six miles east-northeast of Câdî.
Rāv Bhāṇ remained in Rāv Mālde's service following operations in the early 1550s. In 1562, he was stationed at the Mālgadh at Mērto with Rāthoṛ Devīdās Jaitāvat (no. 65). The Mālgadh came under siege this year, and Rāv Bhāṇ was killed during the fighting against Mērtīyo Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot (no. 107) and the Mughal forces of Akbar under Mīrzā Sharaft-Dīn Ḥusayn.

Figure 31. Riṇmalot Rāṭhoṛs

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
(2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat
(3-1) Rāv Cūṇḍo Vīramot
(4-1) Rāv Riṇmal Cūṇḍāvat

(5-1) Jagmāl Riṇmalot (5-2) Rūpo Riṇmalot

(6-1) Khetsī Jagmālot (6-2) Sādo Rūpāvat

(7-1) Sīṅghaṅ Khetsīyot (7-2) Bhojraj Śādāvat

(8-1) Rāv Bhaṅ Bhojrajot
(8-2) Prithīrāj Bhojrajot
(8-3) Rāṇagde Bhojrajot
The Sindhal Rathors

The Sindhal Rathors are a very old Rajput group in Mārvār. According to local chronicles, they descend from Sindhal Jopsahot, a great-grandson of Rāv Siho Setrāmnot, who is considered the founding ancestor of the Mārvār Rathors. Little is known in fact about Rāv Siho other than the date of his death: October 9, 1273. This date is recorded on a memorial stone (devli) dedicated to a Raṭhaḍā (Rathor) Siho, son of Setrām, found at the village of Bithū in central Mārvār. Siho’s son, Āsthān, is associated in the chronicles with the villages of Pālī in eastern Mārvār and with Kheṛ in western Mārvār. Āsthān is said to have founded his capitol at Kheṛ. No specific information is available regarding Āsthān’s son, Jopsāh Asthānnot, or Jopsāh’s son, Sindhal Jopsāhot.

The precise genealogical relationship of the Sindhalas to other branches of Mārvār Rathors is very conjectural given the extremely doubtful nature of this type of information prior to the time of Rāv Rinnal Cundavat of Maṇḍoč (ca. 1428-38) and his son, Rāv Jodho Rinnalot (ca. 1453-89). Richard Saran has suggested that the Sindhalas may be an old Rajput group from Mārvār that became incorporated within the Rāṭhā clan (kul) at some time during the early history of this area. Saran notes that, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Sindhalas were probably firmly established as Rāṭhā Rajputs.

Bhāṭī, Sarvekṣaṇa, 3:114, records that Sindhal was the uterine brother of Uhar, the founding ancestor of the Uhar Rāṭhors (see infra). Sindhal is said to have settled in central-western Mārvār and to have founded the village of Bhāḍrājun, while Uhar settled at Koḍhṇo. This same text, 3:114-115, presents

---

1 Bithū village: located thirty miles south of Jodhpur and fourteen miles northwest of Pālī in central Mārvār.

2 Pālī village: located forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

3 Kheṛ village: located sixty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur, just near the great bend in the Luni River.

4 Bhāḍrājun village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.

---

an abbreviated genealogy for the Sindhalas, listing thirteen generations of names in direct line of descent from Sindhal Jopsahot, beginning with his son, Åsal Sindhalot, and ending with Sädul Acjävat. No information is given about these Sindhalas, nor is there specific genealogical information about the Sindhalas mentioned in the texts under review. These Rajputs figure in the history of this period primarily because of their presence in areas of eastern Märvär that came under increasingly heavy attack from the Räthors of Jodhpur from the time of Räv Sùjo Jodhävat (ca. 1492-1515). These lands were eventually incorporated within the sphere of Jodhpur.

B. N. Reu, Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors (Jodhpur: Archaeological Department, 1943), p. x; Bhåti, Sarveksan, 3:114-115; Gehlot, Märvär, p. 72; "Jodhpur Hukûmat ri Bahi,” 146; Ojhâ, 4:1:152-160.

(no. 131) Narśni̇ghdaś Khândävat
(no. 132) Megho Narśni̇ghdaśot

Sindhal Narśni̇ghdaś Khândävat was the master (dhañi) of Jaitarån village6 in eastern Märvär during the time of Räthor Räv Sato Cündävat's rule at Måñdor (ca. 1424-28). He appears in the chronicles because of a vair that emerged between the Sindhalas of Jaitarån and the Räthors of Måñdor and Jodhpur over the death of Räv Sato's son, Åskaraṇ Satävat (no. 55).

The emergence of this vair involved a complex set of circumstances surrounding Räv Sato's son, Narbad Satävat (no. 56), the betrothal of a daughter of the Sänkhllo Pämvärs of Rûn village7 named Supiyärde to Narbad, the withdrawal of this betrothal, the marriage of Supiyärde to Sindhal Narśni̇ghdaś Khândävat of Jaitarån, and finally the flight of Supiyärde from Jaitarån with Narbad Satävat. It was during Narbad's flight from Jaitarån with Supiyärde that Åskaraṇ Satävat became involved. The Sindhalas had come in pursuit, and Åskaran was killed in a pitched battle near Narbad's village of Käyläno8 in Goḍhvär as he sought to prevent their advance. The Räño of Meväṛ became involved with both sides in this affair as arbiter. The vair was settled finally during the reign of Räthor Räv Jodho Rínmalot of Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). Räv Jodho sent his son, Dûdo Jodhävat (no. 104), to kill Sindhal Narsifighdas's son, Megho Narśni̇ghdaśot, and end the hostilities. Dûdo accomplished this feat in single-handed combat before Jaitarån.9

---

6 Jaitarån town: located fifty-six miles east-southeast of Mañdor.
7 Rûn village: located fifty-eight miles east-southeast of Mañdor.
8 Käyläno village: located thirty-eight miles south of Sojhät and nine miles east-northeast of Näädil.
9 See supra, "Cündävat Räthors," Åskaraṇ Satävat (no. 55) and Narbad Satävat (no. 56), for full details of events surrounding Åskaran’s death and "Aitihasik Bâtâm," pp. 38-40.
The Sindhaḷs maintained their hold over Jaitāraṇa into the early fifteenth century. The Rāṇo of Citoṛ, Sisodiyo Kūmbho Mokaloṭ (ca. 1433-68), asserted his authority over the area following his murder of Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Rīṃal Cūṇḍāvat at Citoṛ ca. 1438, but the Sindhaḷs remained in possession of these lands as nominal servants of the Rāṇo. Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515) and/or his son, Ūdo Sūjāvat, later attacked Jaitāraṇa and drove the Sindhaḷs away. Jaitāraṇa then came under the authority of Jodhpur. Rāv Sūjo granted this land to his son, Ūdo Sūjāvat, from whom descend the Udāvat Rāṭhoṛs of Jaitāraṇa.¹⁰

Bāṇkīdās, p. 48, records that the descendants of Narsinghdas Khindavat took up residence in Mevāṛ after they were driven from Jaitāraṇa, occupying villages the Rāṇo granted to them.


(no. 133) Ḍūṅgarsī

Ḍūṅgarsī Sindhaḷ was a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). He was killed at the battle of Merto in March of 1554, fighting under Rāv Mālde's commander, Rāṭhoṛ Prithirāj Jaitāvat (no. 63), against Meṛtiyo Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107).


(no. 134) Dedo Kojhāvat
(no. 135) Rindhir Kojhāvat

These two Sindhaḷs are mentioned in a list of Rajpūts who were killed at the battle of Harmāṛo¹¹ on January 24, 1557. They were military servants of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur and fought at Harmāṛo under Rāṭhoṛ Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65). They were among the 1,500 Rajpūts from Mārvāṛ that Devidās selected to ride under his command and join with Paṭhān Hājī Khān against an allied force of Rajpūts under Sisodiyo Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat of Mevāṛ (ca. 1537-72; no. 17).

No other information is available about these two Rajpūts.

"Aitiḥāṣik Bāṭaṃ," pp. 51-52; Bāṇkīdās, p. 15.

¹⁰ See infra, "Ūdāvat Rāṭhoṛs," for information about Ūdo Sūjāvat and a more complete discussion of the issues surrounding the conquest of Jaitāraṇa.

¹¹ Harmāṛo village: located fifty-five miles south-southwest of Ajmer and six miles south of Vadhnor in northern Mevāṛ.
(no. 136) Cámara Karamsiyot

Sīndhal Cámpo Karamsiyot was a military servant of Meṛṭīyo Surtān Jaimalot's (no. 113). His name appears in the Mārvārī chronicles because of an important service he performed for Surtān in Gujarat. Meṛṭīyo Surtān was on tour for the Mughals in Gujarat in the early 1580s. Cámpo Sīndhal and other of Surtān's military servants killed two Jāreco Rajpūt bandits who had been terrorizing the city of Ahmadabad. This action came to the attention of the sūbedār of Gujarat. In reward, the sūbedār used his office to help Surtān regain his jāgīr of one-half the villages of Meṛto from Emperor Akbar.¹²

Vigat, 2:70-72.

¹² See supra, "Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhorś," Surtān Jaimalot (no. 113), for details. Surtān's brother, Kesodās Jaimalot (no. 119), also regained his jāgīr of one-half the villages of Meṛto as a result of Surtān's actions.
Üdāvat Rāṭhoṛs

(n. 142) Bhīṃv Kīlāṇḍāsot (11-1)
(n. 137) Dūṅgartī Īdāvāt (8-1)
(n. 139) Jaitī Īdāvat (8-3)
(n. 140) Khīṃvo Īdāvat (8-2)
(n. 141) Ratansī Khīṃvāvat (9-3)
(n. 138) Tejśī Dūṅgarsiyot (9-1)

The Üdāvat Rāṭhoṛs

The Üdāvat Rāṭhoṛs descend from Údo Sūjāvat (7-1), son of Rāv Sūjō Jodhāvat (Jodhpur ruler, ca. 1492-1515) and grandson of Rāv Jodhō Rīṃmalot (ruler of Mandor, ca. 1453-89; founder of Jodhpur, 1459). Údo was born on November 16, 1462, from the womb of Rāṇī Māṅgliyāṇī. His descendants, the Üdāvats, are also called Jaitārāṇīyo Rāṭhoṛs, a name derived from Jaitārāṇ town, which he (or possibly his father) had taken from the Śīndhāḷ Rāṭhoṛs. Jaitārāṇ and its surrounding villages became the homeland (ūtan) of the Üdāvat sākh.

According to one tradition, the first settlement (ād sahar) in the Jaitārāṇ region was the village of Āgevo. Jaitārāṇ town itself is said by Naiṇḍī to have been settled in 1468-69 during the reign of Rāv Jodhō. This tradition is at variance with the information given in the story of Dūdo Jodhāvat (no. 104) and Śīndhāḷ Megho (no. 132) (Khyāt, 3:38-40), which indicates that Dūdo had not yet obtained Mēṛto when he fought Megho at Jaitārāṇ. Since Dūdo and Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat (no. 145) settled Mēṛto on March 7, 1462, Jaitārāṇ town must have been founded before this date, unless the date for the foundation of Mēṛto is incorrect. It appears, however, that the date given for the settling of Jaitārāṇ is simply wrong. Traditions concerning the lives of Čundāvat Rāṭhoṛs Āskarāṇ (no. 55) and Narbad Satāvat (no. 56) indicate that Jaitārāṇ was under the rule of the Śīndhāḷs during the reign of Rāv Rīṃmal of Maṇḍor (ca. 1428-38). The Vigat states that Rāv Jodhō took Jaitārāṇ and Sojhat from Rāṇo Kūṃbhō of Mevār (ca. 1433-68) shortly after his conquest of Maṇḍor (1453). Thus the date given by Naiṇḍī for the founding of Jaitārāṇ cannot be accepted.

Even though Rāv Jodhō had taken Jaitārāṇ from the Rāṇo, the Śīndhāḷs, who had been serving the Śīsodiyo ruler, could not be driven from the area. They continued to hold Jaitārāṇ until at least 1482. The Vigat notes that before

1 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Sūjo Jodhāvat, Rāṇī no. 3, S - Údo.

2 Jaitārāṇ town: located fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur.

3 Āgevo village: located four miles south-southwest of Jaitārāṇ.
Sūjo became ruler of Jodhpur (ca. 1492), he settled his son Ûdo in Jaitāraṇ and drove away the Sindhaḷs, but another tradition relates that Ûdo, angry with his father, had entered the service of the ruler of Jaitāraṇ, Sindhaḷ Khĩmnvo, who had given him the village Loṭaūdhṛī in grant. While living there, Ûdo plotted to take Jaitāraṇ. One day all the Sindhaḷs except Khĩmnvo left in a marriage procession. Ûdo went to Khĩmnvo’s residence and killed him. Rāmkaraṇ Āsopā and Kiṣansimhīnd Údāvat, two twentieth-century historians of the Údāvat family, have argued that this event took place in V.S. 1539 (A.D. 1482-83).

Alternatively, Māṅgilīl Vyās recently suggested that Ûdo, aided by his father, established control over Jaitāraṇ much later. He quotes as evidence a couplet giving the date of March 8, 1509, for Ûdo’s grant of the village Tālūkīyō to his purohit, Bhojraj. Bhojraj had consecrated Ûdo as ruler of Jaitāraṇ; in exchange, Ûdo gave him this village. Vyās believes that the consecration and the grant of the village must have occurred at roughly the same time; by this reasoning, Ûdo’s taking of Jaitāraṇ with Rāv Sūjo’s aid occurred around 1508 or 1509.

An anonymous local khyāt from Thikāṇo Rāypur indicates that Ûdo conquered Jaitāraṇ in 1482 and sat on the throne there on April 10, 1483. Then, between February of 1485 and December of 1486, he had a fort built in the town, at a cost of 81,000 rupees. The earlier date for the conquest of Jaitāraṇ seems more likely. Ûdo would have been about twenty years old if he took Jaitāraṇ in 1482, but nearly fifty if he accomplished this in 1508 or 1509. One of his father Sūjo’s other sons, Naro Sūjaṉavat, had already established a separate domain for himself by 1476. 1482 would not have been too soon for Ûdo to have done the same.

Some years later the Sindhaḷs, driven from Jaitāraṇ, went to Mevār and appealed to Rāṇo Rāymal (ca. 1473-May 24, 1509) for aid. The Rāṇo gave them twelve villages and military assistance for an attack on Jaitāraṇ. Ûdo was able to repel the attack, but in it the Cāraṇ Nibsī Khetsīyot was killed. Āsopā (p. 22) states that in gratitude for this sacrifice Ûdo gave Nibsī’s son the village Gīyānsī (i.e., Gehāvānsī). The defeated Sindhaḷs returned to Mevār.

Very little else is known about Ûdo’s reign at Jaitāraṇ. According to one story, he became involved in a dispute with Rāv Viṟamde Dūdāvat (no. 105), the ruler of Meṛto from 1497-1544. The circumstances of the dispute are as follows: When Khĩmnvo Sindhaḷ was killed in 1482, his Māṅgliyaṇī wife (Ûdo’s mother’s sister), before becoming a satī, cursed Ûdo, saying that his body would become leprous and his descendants would be unable to retain his kingdom.

---

4 Loṭaūdhṛī village: located eight miles northwest of Jaitāraṇ.

5 Tālūkīyō village: located five miles northeast of Jaitāraṇ.

6 The Rāypur khyāt is described in Bhāṭī, Sarveksan, 1:48-52.

7 Naiṁsī (Vigat, 1:551) indicates that Khĩmnvo Údāvat (no. 140; 8-2) gave this village to the Kaviyō Cāraṇ Nīmba Khetāvāt. Gehāvānsī village is located eight miles south-southwest of Jaitāraṇ.
And indeed, soon afterward Ûdo developed leprosy. In 1484-85, while he was very ill, Rāv Vīramde of Meṛto stole some of his mares. Too sick to take immediate action, he appealed to a holy man, Gūḍaṛ Bābā, for whom he had performed many devotions. With the blessing of Gūḍaṛ Bābā, his body was miraculously restored, and he set out after Vīramde.

Vīramde had encamped at Līlīyāṁ village about ten kos from Jaitāraṇ. He and his companions were about to eat a meal when Ûdo arrived with his retainers in pursuit of the horses. After Vīramde refused to return all of the horses, a battle occurred. Vīramde was defeated. Then Ûdo told Vīramde to put down his dagger and promise that in the future the Mertiyoos would never tie on a dagger. And in fact from that day forward the Mertiyo sirdārs never tied one on again. Thus the story ends.

The date given, 1484-85, cannot be correct, as Vīramde would have been only seven years old at that time. Nor was he Rāv of Meṛto until 1497. If there was a conflict between Vīramde and Ûdo, it must have occurred after 1497, or the representation of Vīramde as Rāv of Meṛto in this story is inaccurate. An old song quoted by Āsopā (p. 22) mentions the quarrel but does not refer to Vīramde by name. One cannot say if the "son of Dūdo" (Dūdāvat) in the git was Vīramde at all. Possibly there was enmity between Ûdo and one of Dūdo Jodhāvat's other sons. Without further evidence, a final judgment is not possible. Either the story about Vīramde and Ûdo is a complete fabrication, or the date is wrong, or someone other than Vīramde was involved.9

According to the anonymous Raypur khyāt (Bhāti, Sarvekṣaṇa, 1:49), Ûdo died on May 5, 1503. Both Āsopā and Kisansimh Udāvat have given a later date, May 12, 1511, for his death. The later date seems much more likely. Sources also differ about the number of his wives and sons. Āsopā (pp. 23-26) provides the following lists:

Four wives, all of whom became saṭīs when Ûdo died:

1. Senior wife Sīsodṇī Anopkuṃvar of Cītoṛ.
4. Sonagarī Nandkuṃvar of Mallārgadh.

Seven sons:

1. Mālamsimh (i.e, Mālde).
2. Dūṅgarsī.

---

8 Līlīyāṁ (i.e., Nīlīyāṁ) village: located eighteen miles north-northeast of Jaitāraṇ and thirteen miles south-southwest of Meṛto.

9 See supra, "Mertiyo Rāṭhoṛs," for additional discussion concerning the conflict between Ûdo Sājāvat and the Mertiyoos.
Kisansimh Udavat has examined (p. 16, n. 3) the *Udaibhāṇ Čāmpāvat rī Khyāṭ*, a seventeenth-century text containing a genealogy of the Čāmpāvats, which records that he had eleven sons:

1. Khimvkaran (i.e., Khimvo).
2. Ćūṅgarsī.
3. Mālde.
5. Jaitsī.
7. Netsī.
8. Mānsimh.
9. Lūṅkaran.

A *gūtakā*, or anthology of documents, also noticed by Kisansimh Udavat (p. 18, n. 1), provides a list of five wives, eight sons, and one daughter, as follows:

1. Sekhāvati Rāṇī Javār Kuṃvar, daughter of Dūnjāśāl Mahēśdāsot of Cokdī. She had one son, Lūṅkaran.
2. Rāṇī Hullṇī Naval Kuṃvar, daughter of Samarathaṃśū Sālamsimhōt of Pīśaṇ. She had two sons, Ćūṅgarsī and Khimvo.
3. Rāṇī Sāṅkhāli Aṇand Kuṃvar, daughter of Mānsimh Rīḍmalot of Koṭā. She had two sons, Netsī and Khetsī.
4. Rāṇī Cauhuvaṃ Chel Kuṃvar, daughter of Pāḷḥārṣimh Padamsimhōt of Čītalvāṇo. Her two sons were Vanvir and Mālde.
5. Rāṇī Rāṇāvāt Sire Kuṃvar, daughter of Mādhoṃśū Dalpatsimhōt of Rāmpur. She had one son, Jaitsī, and one daughter, Jaḍāv Kuṃvar.

During his reign at Jaitārāṇ, Ūdo gave two villages to Brāhmans: Tālūkiṇo, to Purohit Bhojraj Čūṃpāvat, a Sīvā Bṛāhmaṇ, and Bhākharvaṃṣī,10 to the Śrīmāḷī Bṛāhmaṇ Bhākhar Narharot.


---

10 Bhākharvaṃṣī village: located six miles west of Jaitārāṇ.
After Üdo Süjavat died in 1511, his eldest son, Målde (8-4), sat on the throne in Jaitaran, while Drungar held Nimbaj,11 Netsi Raypur,12 Jaitsī (no. 139; 8-3) Chimpīyō Khushyālpur,13 Khimvo (no. 140; 8-2) Gīrī,14 and Khetsī Jūňtho.15 Vanvir was living in Chimpīyō Khushyālpur, apparently under the supervision of Jaitsī. Probably several of these sons had received their lands prior to Üdo's death, just as he had obtained Jaitaran during his father's lifetime.16

Exactly how long Målde remained in control of Jaitaran is uncertain. Nainsī does not include Målde among the Ædavat rulers of Jaitaran in the list he provides in his Vigat (1:495). Perhaps this omission signifies that Målde's reign was short and unremarkable. But Asopa, in his history of Nimbaj (p. 25), suggests that Målamsīnh (i.e., Målde) adopted Ratansī Khṁvvaat (no. 141; 9-3), one of the sons of Khimvo Ædavat. Since Ratanśī was born August 18, 1520, possibly Målde was still ruling Jaitaran at this time. The anonymous khyātī from Raypur, however, contains the following story:

... Måldeji went to the Bhātī (residence), Bīkmakor, to marry a second time. At that time, his brother Rav Khimvkarajjī (i.e., Khimvo) was ruling in Gīrī. Jaitsī, who was in Chimpīyo, said to him: "Brother, the throne of Jaitaran is ours; [if] you command, we shall go [there] and establish [our] authority." Khimvkarajjī spoke: "These words are correct; the throne is ours ...." Then Khimvkarajjī rode from Gīrī with 1,000 horses. He went to Jaitaran and established [his] authority .... The people

---

11 Nimbaj village: located six miles southeast of Jaitaran.
12 Raypur village: located ten miles south-southeast of Jaitaran.
13 Chimpīyō Khushyālpur village: located seven miles south of Jaitaran.
14 Gīrī village: located thirteen miles east-southeast of Jaitaran.
15 Jūňtho village: located eleven miles south of Jaitaran.
16 Üdo's uterine brother, Prāg, had obtained Devljī village of Jaitaran (which the Vigat, 1:513, calls Devljī Pirāg ro) during Rāv Sūjo's reign. He had come with Üdo from Jodhpur and was very close to his brother. His descendants are known as Prāgdāsīt Ædavats although they do not descend from Üdo himself. Jodhpur Rājya kā Itihās, p. 67: Kīsansīṃdī Ædavat, Ædavata Rāthaurā Itihās, p. 16.
[and] Rajputs all came and paid respects [to him] (Sarvekṣaṇa, 1:49).

The khyāṭ notes that Ḍūṅgarsī Ědāvat was also involved in the taking of Jaitāraṇ. Apparently not long after deposing Mālde, Khːmvo left Jaitāraṇ under Ḍūṅgarsī’s control and concerned himself more with the affairs of Girrī and of Vadhnor, which he had received from Rāṇo Sāṅgo of Mevār (ca. 1509-28; see B.N. for Khːmvo Ědāvat, infra).17

The exact date of Ḍūṅgarsī’s acquisition of Jaitāraṇ is unknown, but it is evident that he was ruling at least as early as 1529, when Rāṭhor Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86) was killed at the battle of Sevakī. The chronicles relate that at the time of this battle the Rāṭhors had a vair involving the Cahuvaṇs of Sūrācand, a town about 125 miles southwest of Jodhpur near the mouth of the Lūṇī River. Sekho, dying on the battlefield, sent a message to Jaitṣī Ědāvat (no. 139; 8-3), Ḍūṅgarsī’s brother, and Tejṣī (9-1; no. 138), Ḍūṅgarsī’s son, telling them to retaliate against the Cahuvaṇs. Several years later, in 1534, Jaitṣī attacked Sūrācand. Tejṣī also had prepared to attack, but Jaitṣī moved first.

The tradition indicates that, at the time of Sekho Sūjāvat’s death in 1529, Tejṣī was an Ědāvat of some prominence, old enough to be considered capable of settling a vair. This fact is important for dating Ḍūṅgarsī’s period of rule in conjunction with details given in another tradition. It is recorded that when Ḍūṅgarsī was thākur of Jaitāraṇ, Paṃvār Karamcand, Rāvat of Cāṭṣū (no. 24;), a town about thirty-five miles south of Jaipur, had come to the village of Nimbaj (six miles southeast of Jaitāraṇ) and looted it. When Ḍūṅgarsī did nothing, Karamcand sent his pradhāns to Ḍūṅgarsī and forced him to marry a daughter to the Paṃvārs. At this time Tejṣī was a young boy, incapable of avenging the insult. Thus one can conclude that the sack of Nimbaj took place before Tejṣī matured and began taking an active part in the affairs of the Ědāvat sākh, beginning around 1529, and so Ḍūṅgarsī’s rule must have begun in Jaitāraṇ before this date.

Ḍūṅgarsī is described as an indolent (susto) thākur, a strongly pejorative term for a Rajpūt in a warrior society that commended heroic actions. Paṃvār Karamcand, after looting Nimbaj and observing that Ḍūṅgarsī had done nothing at all, remarked to his companions that there was an "empty field" in Jaitāraṇ, a slur demeaning Ḍūṅgarsī’s ability to protect his people. It was left to Tejṣī to settle with the Paṃvārs, which he did probably around 1540-41, but possibly before 1536 (see B.N. no. 138 for Tejṣī, infra). Tejṣī sacked and looted Cāṭṣū, took the koṭrī in the city, and captured nine elephants, which he sent back to Rāv Mālde (Jodhpur ruler, 1532-62). The Paṃvārs subsequently sent their pradhāns to Jaitāraṇ to arrange a peace. They offered a daughter in marriage to the Ědāvats. At this time Ḍūṅgarsī spoke up, suggesting that he be the one to marry the Paṃvār woman. Tejṣī agreed, but the Paṃvārs objected, saying that Ḍūṅgarsī was an eighty-year old man who required servants to tie the cord of his

17 Ḍūṅgarsī was Khːmvo’s uterine brother, a bond which may explain why Khːmvo would have entrusted him with Jaitāraṇ.
pajama bottoms. Finally they relented, but observed that they would know "a daughter died," a statement suggesting that they felt Dungarsī himself would soon die and the Pamvār woman would have to become a satī. They sent the betrothal coconut to Dungarsī. Tejśī accepted it on his behalf.

It seems that soon after the raid on Cātsū (1540-41) Dungarsī relinquished his rather feeble control of the thākurāī of Jaitāran to his more ambitious son, Tejśī. Nainśī lists Tejśī as Dungarsī's successor, and it is known that Tejśī himself left Mālde's service around 1545, when Mālde punished him for certain transgressions. Thus at some time between 1540-41 and 1545 he must have succeeded Dungarsī at Jaitāran. Probably he did so after his heroic feats against the Pamvārs.

Possibly, however, Dungarsī remained on as the nominal ruler of Jaitāran while Tejśī managed the affairs of the thākurāī. According to one story, Rāval Pratāpsingh of Vāṃśvālo (ca. 1550-70; no. 12) told Jasvant Dungarsīyot (9-2), who had entered the Rāval's service, that Rāv Mālde had done wrong in taking Jaitāran from Dungarsī while sons like Jasvant were living. In reply, Jasvant referred to Tejśī as the master (dhaṇī) of Jaitāran and suggested that Tejśī's actions in 1545 were to blame for Mālde's seizure of Jaitāran. The story might mean that Dungarsī had held Jaitāran up to 1545 though Tejśī was the effective ruler (dhaṇī).

Dungarsī, despite being very old (although undoubtedly not as old as the Pamvārs had said in what must have been a moment of exaggeration sparked by anger), lived on for many years after the loss of Jaitāran. He is mentioned as having been at the battle of Merto in 1554, where he and Rāthoṛ Kīsandās Gāṅgāvat (no. 87) killed Sīsodiyo Megho before Megho could assassinate Mālde. He was Rāv Jaimal Vīrāmdervōt's supporter at this time. At some point thereafter, he went to Mevar, where he stayed until his son, Jasvant Dungarsīyot (9-2), received Jaitāran from Rāv Mālde after the death of Rattansi Kimvävat in 1558. He accompanied Jasvant to Jaitāran and remained there with him until Mughal pressure on the area forced them both to withdraw to Borār in 1560. Dungarsī is recorded still to have been living as late as 1566, when Jasvant was killed fighting the Mughals. A Josī had told Dungarsī that his son would not come back alive from the battle with the Mughals; he had tried to stop Jasvant from leaving but to no avail.

Dungarsī had six sons:

1. Tejśī (9-1), the eldest.
2. Jasvant (9-2).
3. Vīrāmdev.
4. Sagto.
5. Pato.
6. Vairsal.

---

Borār village: located fifteen miles southeast of Jaitāran.

During his rule of Jaitāraṇ, Dūṅgarsī granted the village Jainā Vāsni\(^{19}\) to the Śrīmāḷī Vyāś Brāhmaṇ Jaino Rāmāvat and the village Jodhāvās\(^{20}\) to the Mehudu Cāraṇ Jodho Sāraṅgot.


(no. 138) *Tejsī Dūṅgarsīyot* (9-1)

The account of Tejsī’s life given in "Aitiḥāsik Bātāṃ" suggests that he was an extraordinarily rapacious and truculent Rajpūt. In the words of the author of his biography, "Tejsī was particularly outstanding in his individual actions (kām) and in the pursuit of personal gain (arath)." He is called "a great Rajpūt, victorious in innumerable battles." His career indeed was filled with heroic moments, but also with periods of poverty and years of wandering while in exile from his homeland in Mārvār.

By the time of Sekho Sūjāvat’s (no. 86) death at Sevakī in 1529, Tejsī had already become a thākur of some prominence (see B.N. no. 137 for Dūṅgarsī Īlāvāt, *supra*). Subsequently he acquired notice by avenging an old feud with the Paṃvārs of Cātsū. This event probably took place in 1540-41, when Ṛav Mālde of Jodhpur (1532-62) is said to have asserted his authority over Cātsū.\(^{21}\) It is likely that Tejsī’s attack on Cātsū was sanctioned by Mālde, who then extended his suzerainty over the looted town. Tejsī sent nine elephants captured from the Paṃvārs back to Mālde.

Possibly the raid on Cātsū took place earlier, perhaps before 1536. The biography of Tejsī states that when he had matured, he decided to take revenge for the insult the Paṃvārs had done his father years before. He summoned his friend, Rāṭhoṛ Prithirāj Jaitāvat (no. 63), and formed a sāṭh to attack Cātsū. On the way, they encountered a Paṭhāṇ, Burhān, an old friend of Prithirāj’s, who, it is said, had formerly been in the services of Ṛav Mālde but later had left and settled in the household of the ruler of Nāgaur. At first Tejsī and Prithirāj attempted to deceive Burhān, saying that the sāṭh was a wedding party and that Tejsī was going to marry a Kachvāho woman. Burhān noticed the armor and the lances, told them he knew the truth, then mounted up and joined them for the raid on Cātsū.

---

\(^{19}\) Jainā Vāsni: located four miles southeast of Jaitāraṇ.

\(^{20}\) Jodhāvās: located three miles southwest of Jaitāraṇ.

If it is true that Burhān was in the service of the ruler of Nāgaur at this time, then the raid may have taken place before Rāv Mālde took Nāgaur in 1536. However, the story is ambiguous: the chronicler may simply have been delineating events in the life of Burhān preceding his encounter with Tejsī and Prithīraj and not asserting that he was still in the service of the Nāgaur ruler.

Shortly after the Cātsū raid, Tejsī seems to have taken control of Jaitāraṇ from his father, who perhaps remained the nominal thākur (see B.N. no. 137 for Ḍūṅgarsi, supra).

In 1545, Tejsī’s actions caused the loss of Jaitāraṇ. His biography says that hard times (dūkāl) had come to the land. His hujdārs wandered around trying to get loans, but nothing was obtained. Then the hujdārs wrote a letter to Tejsī recommending that he seize half the funds in the possession of certain rich Vānīyos in his vasi, but he refused, saying that God (Paramesvar) did not wish him to torment the people of this vasi. At this time, Sher Shāh’s soldiers, stationed in Mārvār after the battle of Samel in 1544, attacked the fort at Sīvāṇo (southwestern Mārvār). Rāv Mālde, who held Sīvāṇo but at the time of the siege was elsewhere, expressed a desire that someone go there and aid the besieged soldiers. Tejsī accepted the assignment on the condition that Mālde pay him 100,000 phadiyos. An agreement was worked out: his hujdārs would remain with Mālde, who would pay them when news came of his successful entrance into the fort. He was able to get inside the besieged fort at Sīvāṇo, where he remained for several days. Then came news that the Pātśāh, Sher Shāh, had died (1545), and the Muslim soldiers immediately departed. When day broke, Tejsī and the other Rajpūts inside were astonished to see that the Muslims had given up the siege. Then Mālde sent a message explaining what had happened and summoning Tejsī into his presence. Tejsī went first to his vasi, then proceeded to Mālde. His hujdārs told him on the way that Mālde had paid them off, but he noticed that Mālde had given the hujdārs phadiyos in only fair condition (suhālā-sā). A phadiyo in excellent condition (suhālā gādhā) was worth five dugāṇīs (a dugāṇi was equal to one-fortieth rupee); one in fair condition fetched only four. He decided he had to take another 100,000 dugāṇīs from Mālde’s hujdārs.

Tejsī came to the Rāv’s darbār several days later. He was sitting outside Mālde’s chamber; Abho Paṇcoli (no. 161) attempted to pass by him and enter. He rudely told Abho to give him the 100,000 dugāṇīs and be off. Abho stalled; meanwhile someone told Mālde what happened. Irritated, Mālde called Tejsī into his chamber. He told him not to hold up his hujdārs and said that if there was anything to give, he (Mālde) would give it. Tejsī, using informal, blunt language, told Mālde to give him 100,000 dugāṇīs. The Rāv, who had been eating before Tejsī came in, became so infuriated that he threw his gold plate on the ground, whereupon Tejsī picked it up and made off with it. This serious breach of conduct cost Tejsī and his father Jaitāraṇ.

---

Prior to the episode with the plate, Tejsī had been staying in Bhādrājuṇ (a town forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur) along with many other thākurs who had left their lands during the period of distress following Sher Shāh’s great victory at Samel in 1544. While in Bhādrājuṇ, Tejsī acquired fame by killing the Sindhaḷ Śīd and Viṣaḷ. He had established a guro near the town. The Sindhaḷ Śīd and Viṣaḷ came to the guro and stole the livestock. He received word, formed a pursuit party of seven or eight horsemen, and set out after them. The Sindhaḷs were quickly apprehended and a skirmish began. Tejsī had loaned his vāgo to one of his Rajputs a few days previously; the Rajput was struck down in the fighting. The Sindhaḷs thought they had killed Tejsī. They began shouting. Tejsī himself had fallen and was lying underneath his horse. He identified himself, and then, as both Sindhaḷs came after him, rose up and struck the one in front, Śīd, a blow in the chest with his lance. The lance penetrated to the backbone. In the process of jerking out the lance, Tejsī struck Viṣaḷ, who had come up from behind to strike him, a blow in the head, fracturing Viṣaḷ’s forehead and driving pieces of bone into his brain. The two bodies, one lying in front of Tejsī, the other behind, were dragged away by the Sindhaḷs’ military servants.

Shortly afterward Tejsī was driven from Bhādrājuṇ by Mālde because of his misconduct involving the golden plate. Apparently around this time he went to Jāḷor, where in his youth he had been friends with the son of Mālik Budhaṇ Bihārī, ‘Ali Sher (d. 1525), his pagribadal bhai (“brother through the exchange of turbans”). He received in grant the village Seno, formerly a possession of the Boro Cauhvāns, along with twelve others. He came to Seno and camped. During the night, thieves came and stole a small box of gold bars lying under his bed. He continued to sleep, but when the thieves were gone his wife, who had been awakened during the theft, woke him and told him what had happened. Tejsī picked up his sword and his stick and went after the thieves. He managed to get ahead of them, then concealed himself at a narrow gap through which passed the road on which they were coming. He struck down three of the thieves with his sword, then killed the fourth, who was running away with the box, with the stick. He hit him so hard the stick wrapped completely around the thief’s body. Tejsī threw the dead thieves in the bushes and went back to camp. In the morning, the bodies were discovered along with his stick. In the words of the chronicle, "then all knew [that] Tejsī killed these men."

It is said that Rāv Mālde drove Tejsī from Seno village of Jāḷor as well. Tejsī continued his wanderings, settling finally in Lāś Muṇāḍ village and entering the service of the Rāv of Sirohī. While he was staying in Lāś Muṇāḍ, the Sultan of Gujarat, Māhmūd III (1537-54), attacked Sirohī. The Rāv fled. Tejsī, however, came to Sirohī from his village, and when the Gujaratis learned he was there, they abandoned the attack. He acquired considerable renown for

---

23 Seno village: located thirteen miles south-southeast of Jāḷor and twenty miles northwest of Sirohī.

24 Lāś Muṇāḍ village: identified as Lāś village, located sixteen miles north of Sirohī.
his part in the town's defense. The attack on Sīrohī probably took place in 1551, when Mahmūd began a series of assaults on Rajpūt principalities bordering Gujarat.

At some time thereafter, Tejū entered the service of the Sultan of Gujarat. He was serving there at the time the slave Burhān assassinated Mahmūd III (February 5, 1554). Tejū's biography mentions that he subsequently killed Burhān; another source is more specific, stating that he killed Burhān on February 16, 1554. Persian sources, however, make no mention of his involvement in Burhān's execution, which took place shortly after the Sultan's murder.

It is said that after the Sultan died, three of his umrāvs were dividing up his wealth. Tejū went to where they were and was able to persuade them to give him a quarter-portion of the Sultan's personal valuables. After receiving his quarter-share, he had the gall to take in addition a golden vessel and a silver leg of the Sultan's dholiyo. Despite this affront, the umrāvs allowed him to leave.

A few days afterward Tejū left Gujarat, went to Mevār, and settled in the service of Siśodiyo Rāṇo Udaisingh Sāngāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). He was given a pātō for the village Dhulop,25 where he kept his vasi, but he himself resided at the Rāṇo's court. In the darbār, the talk was all about Rāṭhor Prithīrāj Jaitāvat (no. 63), Tejū's old friend, who had recently died fighting at Meṛto (1554), but who, before dying, had cut down fourteen men in combat. Tejū heard the talk, but he disparaged Prithīrāj, saying "he did not kill one sirdār." The Mevār ṭhākurs began whispering among themselves: "Tejū will kill a sirdār."

A few years later, in 1557, Hājī Khān, a former noble in the service of Sher Shāh Sūr, and Rāṇo Udaisingh joined in battle at Harmārō near Ajmer. Many great ṭhākurs fought on the side of the Rāṇo (see Vigat, 2:60), and Hājī Khān was aided by Rāv Mālde, who sent Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65) with a hand-picked sāth of 1,500 Rāṭhors to Harmārō. Before the battle, Tejū recalled what he had said about Prithīrāj never killing a sirdār and announced that he personally would kill Hājī Khān and that "the palaces of the sons of Dūṅgarsī would be on the field of Harmārō." At this point Ballūsūjō (no. 4) retorted that he would "have a little hut built nearby." Tejū's statement quickly became the talk of both camps. Hājī Khān heard about it. He asked Devidās what sort of Rajpūt Tejū was. Devidās made rather a tongue-in-cheek remark, saying first that "dying and killing was in the hands of Fate," but then adding that Tejū was a great Rajpūt of Mārvār. Hājī Khān understood his meaning. At the time of the battle, he took many defensive precautions. He himself put on armor, then sat inside an armored compartment on an elephant. He had 500 foot soldiers take up clubs and surround the elephant. He also kept some horsemen nearby. Besides all this, he made the Rāṭhorṣ take up the harol ("vanguard") position ahead of the main body of his army.

---

25 Dhulop village: perhaps the modern village of Dhanop, located fifty miles south-southeast of Ajmer.
Tejśi himself was heavily armored. Even his horse was covered with armor, so much so that "there was no uncovered spot." When the battle began, he was confronted by his brother Rāthors in the harol. They lifted their lances to kill him, but he put forth an appeal, saying that he was their brother and that if they killed him, his vow would be unfulfilled and the Sisodiys would laugh at the Rāthors. They spared him. Urging on his horse, Tejśi forged ahead into the Muslim army. He was struck and wounded several times, but he fought his way to where Háji Khān was. With his customary impudence, he shouted out: "Where is the little Sindhī?" (Sindhuro, a diminutive of Sindhu, "man of Sindh," referring to Háji Khān). Háji Khān forbade his sāth to kill Tejśi. He descended from the elephant, mounted a horse, and joined weapons with him. He struck him in the head; Tejśi knocked out two of his teeth. After this brief skirmish, the Khān's nearby military servants cut down Tejśi. His death occurred on January 27, 1557.


(no. 139) Jaitsī Īḍāvāt (8-3)

After Ûdo Sūjāvāt's (7-1) death in 1511, Jaitsī became the thākur of the village Chīmpīyo-Khûṣyālpur. This village was Jaitsī's share of his father's landholdings around the town of Jaitāran. Soon Jaitsī, along with his two brothers, Dūṅgarsī (no. 8-1) and Khîmvo (8-2), connived to dethrone another brother, Mālde (8-4), Ûdo's successor at Jaitāran (see B.N. no. 137 and 140, respectively, for details).

Jaitsī was one of Rāv Mālde's (Jodhpur ruler, 1532-62) most important Rajpūts. He along with his brother, Khîmvo Īḍāvāt, are mentioned as being among the great thākurs of Mārvār who refused to enter into Mālde's plots against Mertiyo Rāṭhor Rāv Viṃrāme Dūḍāvāt (no. 105) in 1532. In 1534, he led an attack against Sūrācānd, a town 125 miles southwest of Jodhpur, to settle an old vair with the Cauhvaṇ Rajpūts there. According to one tradition, the Cauhvaṇ ruler of Sūrācānd had murdered a servant of Sekho Sūjāvāt (no. 86). Sekho, dying on the battlefield of Sevakī in 1529, had sent word to Jaitsī and Tejśī Dūṅgarsiyoṭ (no. 138; 9-1) telling them to avenge the feud with the Cauhvāṇs. On September 17, 1534, Jaitsī took revenge for the murder of Sekho's servant by killing the ruler of Sūrācānd during the attack on the town (see B.N. for Dūṅgarsiyoṭ Īḍāvāt, supra).

A second account of this vair, contained in the Jaitsī Īḍāvāt rī Vāt ("Story of Jaitsī Īḍāvāt"), provides more details and may be considered an example of how a story might grow in the telling over a period of centuries. In
this account, Rāv Gāṅgo sends Dūṅgarsī, Tejsī, Jaitsī, and a certain Jagnāth (identity unknown), to comfort a dying Sekhojī after the battle of Sevakī. As they tend to him, he reveals the origin of the vair with the Rājā of Sūrācand. It seems his servant, Rājo Sundo, had been offered by the Rājā as a sacrifice to a mother goddess in a temple there. Before the sacrifice took place, the servant had said:

Rājajī! I am a Sundo Rajpūt; I dwell in the vās of Sekho Sujavat, and I became angry with my master and brought [my] food [and] water here [to camp]. And you are killing me [now] without bloodshed [or other] offence on my part. But ṭhākur! I have a master who will not live without taking up the vair [incurred by my death] ("Jaitsī Ūdāvat," p. 159).

Sekho had never found an opportunity to avenge Rājo Sundo, but as he lay dying, he entrusted the task to Jaitsī:

Jaitsī, brother's son! You excel in being a Rajpūt. You are one who pursues old vairs. Take up that vair [of Rājo Sundo] ("Jaitsī Ūdāvat," ibid.).

Jaitsī agreed to avenge Sekho. For many days he pondered the difficulties of the task:

He constantly thought about ending that vair. Sleep did not come to him at night. He put [his] shield on [his] knees and remained seated above [his] dholīyo like the Lord of the Yogīs. He sighed all day long. In just this way lived Jaitsī ("Jaitsī Ūdāvat," p. 160).

Finally he made preparations to depart for Sūrācand. He took with him twenty-five of his Rajpūts. At every step along the way the omens were auspicious:

... The omen-readers interpreted the omens and said: "These omens [indicate that] the Rājā of Sūrācand shall come into [your] hands, and [that] we shall incur good fortune. There shall be the business of battle, [which] is the dharma of the Kṣatriya. Moreover, you will kill the Rājā of Sūrācand" ("Jaitsī Ūdāvat," p. 162).

On the seventh day, Jaitsī and his men arrived at Rājāvās, a village four or five kos from Sūrācand. Here they encountered a women drawing water from a well, whom they asked to serve them. After she had done so, she astonished them by remarking: "Who among you is Jaitsī Ūdāvat?" They had no idea how she knew he was with them. They thought she might be a goddess. As it
happened, she was Harkumvari, the daughter of a Caran from Balaharo village near Jaitaran. Her father, Karamanand, had married her to the son of Caran Aidan Khiryo of Rajavas. She knew all about Jaitsi and his obligation to avenge Sekho Sujavat. She warned him that the Raja of Surocan had taken many precautions. Hundreds of Rajputs were posted on watch around Surocan. She advised him as follows:

"Come to my father-in-law's [in Rajavas]. There you should ask for me by name. Next, my father-in-law's people (sarsriya) will ask you: "Where is [your] vāṣ? .... [Of] what sakh [are you]?" Then you should say: "I am [of] the Gaur sakh; [my] vāṣ is Tivji [village]; my name is Sarvan. I am going on to Surocan for military service." ("Jaitsi Udavat," p. 165).

Then the people would ask Jaitsi what his connection with Harkumvari was. He was to tell them that she was the sister's daughter (bhaneji) of Samdan Asiyo, his Caran, who had asked him to meet with Harkumvari when he passed through Rajavas on his way to Surocan. He was to give her some presents.

When Jaitsi went to Rajavas, everything happened as Harkumvari had said. She was asked by her in-laws to identify him, and she confirmed the false identity she had given him previously. Thus no one suspected who he actually was, and the Raja of Surocan knew nothing of his presence nearby. Soon Jaitsi was able to penetrate Surocan, where again the Raja was about to offer a man as a sacrifice in the temple of the mother goddess. Jaitsi confronted him and said:


But there was nothing from the Raja. His retainers attempted to defend him and a struggle broke out. Many men were killed, but Jaitsi prevailed. He cut off the heads of the slain and constructed a tower of skulls (Babar-kot) before the mother goddess. He told her:

"Mother! Are you satisfied, or are you not satisfied? If you are not satisfied, then once again I shall offer up [human sacrifices for you]." Then the mother goddess, pleased, said: "For so many days I would demand men [be sacrificed to me]. Now, as of today, I am satisfied." ("Jaitsi Udavat," p. 174).

---

26 Balaharo village: located ten miles northeast of Jaitaran.

27 i.e., a Rajput of the Gaur family (one of the thirty-six Rajput ruling families).

28 Babar-kot: literally, a "Babar-tower," named after the Mughal Emperor Babur (1526-30), who was believed to have constructed towers of skulls after his victories in north India.
She announced her support for Jaitsi. He left Sūrācand safely and returned to Chūmpīyo-Khusyālpur. Thus ends the story.29

Jaitsi subsequently received important positions under Rāv Mālde. He is recorded to have been made commander of two garrisons in the Godhvar region of southeastern Mārvār, Kosīthal and Bīsalpur. Here he distinguished himself by driving off the Sisodiyō Rāṇo of Mēvār, Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17), who had attacked Kosīthal. Jaitsi also held at least part of the region around Vadhnnor (located forty-seven miles south-southwest of Ajmer) in pato from Rāv Mālde. One source states that he alone held Vadhnnor; another indicates that he and his brother Khīmpo Udāvat (no. 140; 8-2) shared the grant of Vadhnnor and 700 surrounding villages. It is more probable that the grant was shared between the two, for Khīmpo had taken the town from the Vāgarīyo Cahuvaṁ (see B.N. 140 for Khīmpo Udāvat, infra) and thus would have had a claim to the area.

Jaitsi is called a great Rajput, one who caused Death (Mṛtyu) to rise up among his foes and make them cry out for protection. It is said that he settled many vairīs for the Rāthōrs as well. He died along with sixteen of his men fighting against Sher Shāh Sūr at Samel in 1544. During his lifetime, he made three village grants to Brāhmaṁs: (1) Morvī Vaḍī,30 to Purohit Rājā Cohothot Sivaut; (2) Morvī Khurad,31 to the Rājguru Brāhmaṁ Varsīṅgh Pithāvat; (3) Brampuri,32 to Dūṅgar Padmāvat, another Rājguru Brāhmaṁ.


(No. 140) Khīmpo Udāvat (8-2)

Khīmpo Udāvat was born on August 16, 1480. Before 1511, the year his father died, and while he was still a kumvar, he obtained the village of Girrī. Girrī became the center of Khīmpo's domain. Here he kept his vasī and had a

29 Reu, 1:113, n. 2, states that after the battle of Sevākī, Sekho Sūjāvat, dying on the battlefield, asked Rāv Gāṅgo to avenge his servant, offered as a sacrifice by the Cahuvaṁs of Sūrācand. Subsequently Gāṅgo sent some men, who killed fourteen of the Cahuvaṁs' men and thus avenged Sekho. Reu does not mention Jaitsi as one of those sent to Sūrācand.

30 Morvī Vaḍī village: located six miles east-southeast of Jaitāraṇ.

31 Morvī Khurad village: located one-half mile east-northeast of Morvī Vaḍī village.

32 Brampuri village: located five miles east-southeast of Jaitāraṇ.
fort built. A commemorative poem concerning his residence at Girri has survived:

Dwelling in the fort above Girri [was Khimvo], a thorn to [his] enemies.

The Kamdhaj [i.e., Rāṭhor] drove the foe [from the land];

he satisfied the demonness (ṇakṣaṇa) with offerings [of human flesh].

The sources say that Khimvo was a great ṭhākur, one who upheld a vow to destroy the enemy on the battlefield. During the reign of his grand-father, Rāv Sūjo Jodhavat (ca. 1492-1515), it is likely that Khimvo and Sūjo's other grandsons and sons were at least nominally loyal to Jodhpur, but after Rāv Gāṅgo's circuitous accession to the Jodhpur throne in 1515, Rāv Vīramde Vāghāvat (no. 84) of Sojhat, Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86) of Pīmpār, and Khimvo aligned themselves with the growing power of Rāṅo Sāṅgo of Mevār (ca. 1509-28). On January 16, 1518, Khimvo received Vadhnor from the Rāṅo. Probably shortly afterward he and his brothers Dūṅgarsi (8-1) and Jaitsī (8-3) joined together and wrested Jaitāran from the rule of his half-brother Mālde (8-4). Perhaps, if it is true that Mālde adopted Ratansī, Khimvo's son (no. 141; 9-3), the seizure of Jaitāran occurred after August 18, 1520, the date of Ratansī's birth. Khimvo evidently left Jaitāran under the rule of his uterine brother, Dūṅgarsi, while he himself returned to manage the affairs of Girri, his homeland, and Vadhnor (see B.N. no. 137, supra).

For reasons unknown, Khimvo abandoned Vadhnor in 1525. Perhaps the Rāṅo had transferred Vadhnor from Khimvo's control in that year. Khimvo apparently did not offer his allegiance to Rāv Gāṅgo at this time, nor did he involve himself in the dispute between his uncle Sekho and Gāṅgo. In 1529, following the battle of Sevaki, Khimvo was not one of the Udavat ṭhākurs addressed by Sekho with regard to the vair incurred by the murder of Sekho's retainer in Sūrācand. He seems to have had nothing to do with the politics of Mārvār during this troubled period. Possibly he remained in the service of Rāṅo Sāṅgo even after leaving Vadhnor, but the sources are silent on his activities.33

The rapid rise of Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur following his accession in 1532 and a period of tumultuous political developments in Mevār very likely persuaded Khimvo to enter the service of the young Jodhpur Rāv. Early in Mālde's reign he achieved a position of prominence among the Rāv's military servants. He is mentioned as one of the notable ṭhākurs who refused to condone Mālde's early plotting against Meṛīyṛ Rāṭhor Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (no. 105) in 1532. Subsequently he took Vadhnor from the Vāgarīyo Cahuvaṅs, who had been granted the town during the reign of Rāṅo Sāṅgo. Khimvo had taken the village of Vāgad, in the domain of Rāṅo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no.

33 With one exception: the Rāypur ṭhāṭ states that he ruled Jaitāran after leaving Vadhnor, but this is not correct. Bhāṭṭi, Sarvekṣaṇa, 1:49.
17), from the Vagariyos; then, after he followed this triumph by taking Vyāvar (thirty miles southwest of Ajmer), the Vagariyos fled to Vadhnor, which Khimvo also captured. Rāv Mälde formalized his possession of the town by granting it and 700 neighboring villages to him and his brother Jaitsi in ṭaṭo.

Little else is known of Khimvo's life. He along with three hundred and nine of his men died fighting against Sher Shāh's troops in the great battle of Samel in 1544. He and his brother Jaitsi are said to have negotiated with Jaito Pañcāṅgot (no. 61) and Kumpo Mahrājot (no. 95) and arranged Rāv Mälde's flight before the battle took place. Khimvo then set off with Mälde, the Rāv's hand on his. But Jaitsi told him that it was very far to Jodhpur (i.e., he wouldn't make it back to Samel in time for the battle), a subtle way of reminding him that his duty lay in fighting to the death against the armies of Sher Shāh and not in escorting Mälde in flight from the battlefield.

Khimvo had seven sons34 and at least one daughter by two wives:

1. Rāṇī Sekhāvatjī of Navalgarh (Mehtāp Kumvar), who had five sons:
   1. Bhānidās.
   2. Kānh.
   4. Karansimh.
   5. Mādhośimh.

2. Rāṇī Gaurjī of Rājgarh (Indrakumvar), who had two sons and one known daughter:

   Sons:
   1. Ratansi.
   2. Suratsimh.

   Daughter:
   1. Sāyar Kumvar.

Both wives became satīs after Khimvo's death in 1544.

Khimvo gave one village in grant to a Cāraṇ: Gehavasṇī,35 to Kaviyo Nimbo Khetāvat.


---

34 Āsopā, Itihās Nībāj, p. 43, only mentions three sons: Ratansi, Bhānidās, and Kānh.

35 Gehavasṇī village: located eight miles south-southwest of Jaitāran.
The two twentieth-century historians of the Udavats, Rāmkaran Āsopā and Kiśāṃsinh Īdāvat, both suggest that Khīṃvo was the ruler of Jaitāraṇ during much of his life. Āsopā states that Khīṃvo succeeded his father in 1511 and continued to rule without interruption until his death in 1544. Kiśāṃsinh Īdāvat believes that Khīṃvo entrusted his brother Dūṅgarsī with Jaitāraṇ after Rāv Mālde gave him and Jaitīī Vadhīnor in pāto. But this cannot be correct, as Dūṅgarsī was ruling Jaitāraṇ before 1529. If Dūṅgarsī received Jaitāraṇ from Khīṃvo, he most likely would have done so during Khīṃvo's period of service in Mevār (see B.N. no. 137 and 140, supra). Kiśāṃsinh Īdāvat also believes Khīṃvo was ruling Jaitāraṇ when he died in 1544, without saying how or why Dūṅgarsī might have abandoned the town. And both Āsopā and Kiśāṃsinh Īdāvat make Ratanśī Khīṃvāvat Khīṃvo's immediate successor at Jaitāraṇ. They both ignore the evidence in seventeenth-century sources which suggests that Dūṅgarsī and then his son Tejśī ruled Jaitāraṇ until 1545 (see B.N. no. 138, supra).

Ratanśī Khīṃvāvat was born on August 18, 1520. Nothing is known of his activities from his birth until his father's death in 1544. At some time between 1545, when Jaitāraṇ was lost to Tejśī Dūṅgarsīyot, and 1558, the year of Ratanśī's death, he acquired authority over Jaitāraṇ, for he is listed in the Vigat (1:495) as one of the Udavats who held the town, which Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (Jodhpur ruler, 1532-62) had given him. Possibly Surtān Jaitīsīyot, one of Jaitīsī Īdāvat's (no. 139; 8-3) sons, also controlled Jaitāraṇ for a brief period after 1545, for the Vigat (1:548) states that "when Rāthor Surtān [Jaitīsīyot] held Jaitāraṇ, half of Khināvṛī [village] was in the khalso." It is equally possible, however, that Surtān held Jaitāraṇ at some point after Ratanśī's death. The sources simply are too vague to allow a more concrete opinion.

Ratanśī, unlike his famous father, Khīṃvo, had a mostly undistinguished career. In September-October of 1550, Rāv Mālde, beginning to reassert his dominance in Mārvār, had taken Pokaraṇ town (about eighty-three miles northwest of Jodhpur) and then proceeded southwestward to seize Koṭṛo and Bāhāmer.⁶⁷ A garrison (thāṇo) was left at Bāhāmer under Ratanśī's authority. Rāvat Bhīm, the dispossessed ruler, went to Jaisāmner and obtained Bhāṭī assistance for an attack on the garrison. The Vigat (1:63-64) records that Ratanśī fled ignominiously, with the result that all the camp equipment was looted. According to this source, Bāhāmer was lost in 1551-52; another source gives April-May, 1553.

Ratanśī is also mentioned as one of the great thākurs who took part in Rāv Mālde's unsuccessful attack on Meṛtō in 1554. Prior to the attack, Rāv Mālde divided his troops into two apīs, one near the Jodhpur Gate of Meṛtō under the command of Prīthīrāj Jaitīvāt (no. 63), the other under Ratanśī near the

---

⁶⁶ Koṭṛo: located seventy miles southwest of Pokaraṇ.

⁶⁷ Bāhāmer: located eighty-four miles southwest of Pokaraṇ.
Bejpo Tank. Meṛtpyo Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107) successfully defeated Prithīraj and his men near the Jodhpur Gate, then turned around to attack the other āṇi, which was at that moment coming to the entrance of the Bejpo after looting Merto town and taking the nearby villages under control. A fierce struggle broke out; Devidās Jaitāvat (no. 65), a military servant of Ratansī's, was about to kill Jaimal when Ratansī asked that Jaimal be spared. Subsequently Devidās left Ratansī's service and became an important retainer of Rāv Mālde's.

In 1557, Rāpo Udaisingh Sāṅgāvat, Sīsodiyo ruler of Mevar (ca. 1537-72; no. 17), and Hājī Khān, a former noble of Sher Shāh's who had acquired independent control of Alvar in northeastern Rājasthān, engaged in battle at Harmārō near Ajmer. Rāv Mālde had sent a large contingent of troops under the command of Devidās Jaitāvat to aid Hājī Khān. The Khān's victory in this battle attracted the attention of the Mughals, who sent troops to put him down. Subsequently, he fled into Mārvār, where Rāv Mālde allowed him to stay in the villages of Lahoreyī and Nīmbol in Jaitāran Pargano. Shortly afterward he went to Gujarāt. The Mughal Emperor, Akbar, ordered that whoever had protected Hājī Khān was to be killed, and, as a result, a Mughal contingent under the command of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān attacked Jaitāran in 1558. On March 14 of that year Ratansī Khūṃvāvat died along with thirty-three other sirdārs defending the town. At least four other Ūdāvats, Goyandās, Kisanās, and Kānō (Kāndās), sons of Jaitsī (8-3), and Bhānīdās, a son of Khūṃvo's (8-2), died along with Ratansī. The Akbar Nāma (2:102-103) has a brief but vivid description of the capture of Jaitāran:

(The victorious heroes by the strength of their swords and the might of their courage conducted many of the stiff-necked Rajpūts to the Abyss of annihilation and took possession of the fort.) The surface of that country was cleared from the rubbish of stubborn rebels.

38 Nīmbol village is seven miles northwest of Jaitāran; Loṭaudhrī village is one mile southwest of Nīmbol.

39 Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyātī, p. 91, gives March 13, 1558 (V.S. 1614, Caitra, Vadi 9) as the date of the battle, but a contemporary inscription has March 14, 1558 (V.S. 1614, Caitra, Vadi 10). Kīsansimh Ūdāvat (Ūdāvat Rāthaup Itihās, p. 68), has read the inscription as V.S. 1615, Caitra, Vadi 10, which is correct for March 14, 1558 if the year is Caitrādi but converts to March 3, 1559 if the year is Śrāvaṇādi. This later date would place the taking of Jaitāran in Akbar's fourth regnal year, whereas the Akbar Nāma indicates that the event took place in his third. The text of the inscription is given by Āsopā, Itihās Nībāj, p. 51, n. 1.

40 Āsopā, Itihās Nībāj, pp. 49-50, indicates that three other Ūdāvats, Ṛāṛāṇḍās Sāṅgāvat, Nagrāj Gāṅgāvat, and Khetsī Parbatot, died along with Ratansī. We have not been able to trace their exact ancestry.
Vyas has suggested that Rav Mald, angered by Ratansis allowing Jaimal Virdodovot to escape death at Merlo in 1554, may have refused to send aid to Ratans in 1558. Inexplicably, Jaimal himself is said to have accompanied the Mughal contingent to Jaitara in 1558.

Ratansi had at least three wives, ten sons, and one known daughter, as follows:

1. Rani Sekhavatji Kesarkumar. She had three sons and one daughter:
   Sons:
   1. Kilandaas.
   2. Raghodas.
   Daughter:
   1. Mohankumvar (Kanakavati Bhai), who was married to Raj Munsing of Amber.

2. Rani Bhatiyani Joravarkumar. She had three sons:
   1. Ram.
   2. Narhardas.
   3. Maniram.

3. Rani Devriji. She had two sons:
   1. Gopaldas.
   2. Gokuldas.

Two other sons of Ratansis are known:
   1. Udaisingh.
   2. Bhavaniidias.

Two of Ratansis wives, Rani Sekhavatji and Rani Bhatiyani, became satis after he was killed in battle.

During his lifetime, Ratansi made three grants to Carans and Brhmanas:
(1) Dehuriyo,41 to Purohit Kandhal Bhojavat Sivar; (2) Gehavas,42 to the Caran Gei Ratnavat Kharvyo; (3) Lakhavasi,43 to the Caran Lakhoo Dasaat Kachela.

Asopa, Itihas Nibaj, pp. 43-53; A'in-i-Akbari, p. 379; "Aithisik Bataam," pp. 48-50, 99; Akbar Nama, 2:102-103; Jodhpur Raja ki Khayat, p. 91; Khayat, 1:62, 297; Kisansinh Udavat, Udavat Rathaur Itihas, pp. 50-91; Vigat, 1:59, 63-64,

---

41 Dehuriyo village: located four miles northeast of Jaitaran.
42 Gehavas village: located ten miles northeast of Jaitaran.
43 Lakhavasni village: located seven miles west-southwest of Jaitaran.
Following Ratansi Khimvavat's death defending Jaitaraṅ in 1558, the Mughals apparently abandoned the area. Rāv Mālde (Jodhpur ruler, 1532-62) was able to assert his authority over Jaitaraṅ shortly afterward. The sources indicate he gave the town to Dūngarsi Udavat's (no. 137; 8-1) son, Jasnvant (9-2), who had been until then a military servant in Gujarat employed by Rāv Pūṅjo of Īdar.44 Jasnvant came to Jaitaraṅ along with his father, whom he brought from Mēvār. He was unable to hold the town for long because of increased Mughal pressure against Mārvār. During 1560 he went to Borar, a village in the Mēr territory east of Jaitaraṅ, where he suppressed the local Mēr people and built a large fort.45 After Rāv Mālde died in 1562, Jasnvant continued in the service of Jodhpur as a supporter of Rāv Candrasen (Jodhpur ruler, 1562-81), Mālde's successor. He died fighting against the encroaching Mughals at the battle of Rāmgadh (a small hamlet located just east of Borar) on October 28, 1566, along with many others, including at least three Udavats: Ratansi, son of Jaisīt (no. 139; 8-3), and Udaisingh and Bhavaṅḍās, sons of Ratansi (9-3).

In 1571-72, four of Ratansi's surviving sons, Gopālās, Narhardās, Rām, and Kilăndās (10-1) met with the Mughal mansabdārs holding Jaitaraṅ and were allowed to bring their vasi to the village of Āsarlāṇ just east of the town. For the next few decades they held Jaitaraṅ town as military servants of the Mughal Empire. In 1583, Akbar gave Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95) sixty-five villages of Jaitaraṅ Pargano, but the sons of Ratansi continued to hold the town and the rest of the pargano's villages. When Moṭo Rājā died in 1595, his sons received sixty-five villages while Kilāndās and Gopālās Ratansīyot each were given half of Jaitaraṅ town and a share of the remaining villages. This situation lasted until December, 1604, when Akbar gave Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh Udaisinghnot (Jodhpur ruler, 1595-1619) all of the pargano. In this same year Kilāndās Ratansīyot received Rāypur, a large village near Jaitaraṅ, from Sūrajsīṅgh. Kilāndās died fighting along with fifty retainers in a skirmish with some Cahuvāṅ Rajpūts in 1617-18.

Bhimv Kilāndāsot was one of the seven46 sons of Kilāndās Ratansīyot. He first distinguished himself in 1599-1600, when Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh's troops

---

44 Āsopā, Itihās Nibāj, p. 53, states that Kilāndās Ratansīyot (10-1), one of Ratansi's sons, succeeded him at Jaitaraṅ in 1558, but Āsopā's opinion is not corroborated by any primary source; Kilāndās, who was born in 1543, would only have been fifteen in 1558, very likely too young to assume such an important post in such difficult times.

45 Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 92, notes that on June 13, 1560, one of Akbar's officers came to Meṭo Pargano, took prisoners from fifteen villages, and returned to Ajmer. Around that time, "from fear of the Mughals, Jaitaraṅ became deserted."

46 Āsopā, Itihās Nibāj, p. 56, mentions only five sons.
besieged Sojhat. Bhīṃv is listed among the sirdārs of the Rājā’s who were wounded at this time. Only scattered references to Bhīṃv’s activities in subsequent years appear in the sources available. He was one of a number of Rāṭhors who together killed a certain Dalo Sāh at Burhanpur on December 1, 1610. On May 26, 1615, he was wounded when Jodho Rāṭhār Kisansingh Udaisīṅghot attacked Rājā Surajsīṅgh’s camp at Ajmer and killed Jeso Bhāṭī Goyanddās Mānāvat.47

Bhīṃv is listed as a recipient of the village of Āṇandpur, headquarters of Tapho Āṇandpur, a subdivision of Meṛto Pargano. It would appear Shāhzhāda Parvīz granted him the village in 1623–24 while Parvīz was sūbedār of Ajmer during the rebellion of Shāhzhāda Khurram. Apparently Bhīṃv was Parvīz’s servant during this period.48 In May of 1624 an Imperial army under the command of Parvīz and Mahābat Khān met Khurram’s forces at the village of Damdama on the confluence of the Tons and Ganges Rivers. Bhīṃv was wounded in this battle. Bāṅkīdās states that Bhīṃv survived only through the exertions of Rājā Gajsīṅgh Sūrajsīṅghot (Jodhpur ruler, 1619–38), who had him picked up and removed from the battlefield. Gajsīṅgh retained Bhīṃv in his service and gave him the village Nīṃbāj of Jaitāraṇ Pargano along with several others for his maintenance.

When Shāh Jāhān became Mughal Emperor in 1628, Bhīṃv entered Imperial service once again. The Emperor gave him two large land grants in Ajmer Pargano on the Māvār border, Bāṃvāl49 village with thirty-two others, and Thāṃvlo,50 which he made his residence, with twelve. He received a mansab of 1,500 zāt, 600 sawār at this time.51 Bhīṃv continued to be an important Imperial military servant based in Thāṃvlo for the next several years. In 1638, when Rājā Gajsīṅgh died, Bhīṃv made an attempt to secure Jaitāraṇ Pargano in jāgīr from Shāh Jāhān. According to one source, the pargano had actually been transferred briefly to Bhīṃv, who had accepted the area at an assessment of 200,000 rupees (another source says 250,000 rupees), a sixty percent increase over the evaluation of the pargano under Gajsīṅgh. Such an arrangement effectively gave the Mughals a promise of more troops for their money, since Bhīṃv presumably would have to maintain forces in accordance

47 Jeso Bhāṭī Goyanddās Mānāvat was Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh Udaisīṅghot’s pradhān at this time.

48 The Vigat (2:74) is not clear on this point. Bhīṃv is listed as having received (or having held) Āṇandpur, but one does not know for certain from whom. He may have been Prince Khurram’s retainer.

49 Bāṃvāl village: located ten miles north of Ajmer and thirty miles east of Meṛto.

50 Thāṃvlo village: located twenty-eight miles east-southeast of Meṛto and twelve miles northwest of Ajmer.

51 Bhīṃv is to be identified as the "Bhūṃ Rāṭhār" or "Bhūṃ Sen (i.e., Bhūṃsvī or Bhūṃsvīmṛ) Rāṭhār" of the Mughal Persian chronicles. See Athar Ali, Apparatus, pp. 101, 133, 135, 147, 191.
with the new, higher evaluation. His motives in this case appear to have been a
desire to regain the town of Jaitāran, lost to the Īdavat sākh since 1604, and
perhaps a wish to assert himself as the dominant Īdavat Rāṭhor in Mārvār.
Whatever his aims, his plans were frustrated by Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor Rajsingh
Khīṃvāvat (no. 101), Rājā Jasvantsingh's (Jodhpur ruler, 1638-78) pradhān.
Rajsingh petitioned the Mughals, saying that Jaitāran was the source of expense
money for Jasvantsingh's army and that the new Rājā's power would be seriously
reduced if the pargano were given to someone else. After a cash sum of
200,000 rupees was given to the Mughals, Jaitāran was given to Jasvantsingh,
who agreed to hold the pargano at an evaluation of 200,000 rupees thereafter.
The story is an excellent example of how evaluations of individual parganos
were inflated by the actions of local officers attempting to improve their
positions by making deals with the Mughals.

According to the Udaibhāṇ Cāmpāvat rī Khyāt, an important
seventeenth-century document examined by Kiśansinh Īdavat, Bhīṃv
abandoned military service and went to Vṛndāvan after his unsuccessful attempt
to obtain Jaitāran Pargano. He may have died there in 1638-39. Alternatively,
Lāhorī, a Mughal historian, indicates that he remained in Imperial service and
died in 1644-45. At the time of his death, his Imperial rank was 1,500 zāt, 1,000
sawār.

"Aitihāsik Bātāṃ," pp. 68-73, 80, 86, 95, 97; Āsopā, Itīhās
Nībāj, pp. 53-56; Athar Ali, Apparatus, pp. 101, 133, 135, 147,
191; Bāṅkidiś, p. 27; Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 92;
Kiśansinh Īdavat, Īdavat Rāṭhaur Itīhās, pp. 93-94, 1-8, 10-
12 (second group); Vigat, 1:69-70, 99-100, 124, 495-496, 2:74.
Figure 32. Údāvat Rāṭhorṣ

(1-1) Rāv Salkho

(2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat

(3-1) Rāv Cūndo Vīramot

(4-1) Rāv Riṇmal Cūṇḍāvat

(5-1) Rāv Jodho Riṇmalot

(6-1) Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat

(7-1) Üdo Sūjāvat (Údāvat Rāṭhorṣ)

(8-1) Dungarsī Údāvat

(8-2) Khīṃvo Údāvat

(8-3) Jaitsī Údāvat

(8-4) Mālde Údāvat

(9-1) Tejṣī Dungarsīyot

(9-2) Jasvant Dungarsīyot

(9-3) Ratansī Khīṃvāvat

(10-1) Kilāṇḍās Ratansīyot

(11-1) Bhīṃv Kilāṇḍāsot

The Udavat (Baiṭhvāsiyo) Rāṭhors

One of the complexities of Rāṭhor family history is that for some time two distinct Rāṭhor branches in Mārvār were referred to as "Udavat Rāṭhors": the Udavats of Jaitāran, discussed in the preceding section, and the Udavats of Baiṭhvās village. By the mid-seventeenth century, the term "Udavat" was mainly used for the Udavats of Jaitāran, although they were also known as "Jaitāranīyo Rāṭhors," and the Udavats of Baiṭhvās were generally called "Baiṭhvāsiyo Rāṭhors."

The Baiṭhvāsiyo Rāṭhors are the descendants of Īdo Tribhumviṇiyo. Tribhumviṇi (or Tribhuviṇi, as he is listed in one source) was the son of Rāv Kāṅhārde Tiḍāvat, ruler of Māhevo in western Mārvār during the early fourteenth century. After Rāv Tiḍo was killed at the siege of Sīvāṇo ca. 1308, Kāṅhārde succeeded him as Rāv of Māhevo. He had two sons, Kāṅhārde and Salkho, by different wives. Kāṅhārde was the heir-apparent, his mother was Tiḍo’s favorite wife, and so Salkho was forced to wander about in his youth trying to find a livelihood. He was captured by the Muslims and imprisoned in Gujarat when Tiḍo was killed. Kāṅhārde, however, was able to succeed Tiḍo as the leader of the Mahēvo household when the Muslims withdrew. Two yogis rescued Salkho from prison and brought him back to Māhevo, where he received a one-village land grant from Kāṅhārde as his share of Tiḍo’s lands. He also inherited a small number of Tiḍo’s retainers and servants, whom he took with him to populate his village, newly renamed Salkhāvāsī (Khyāt, 2:280, 3:23-24; Vigat, 1:15, 2:216).

One day Salkho went to Māhevo for food. He impressed a laborer into service and had him carry the provisions back to his settlement. On the way, they came upon four lions seated in the road gnawing bones. As the lion is the symbol of the Rajput, Salkho immediately recognized them as an omen. He sat motionless in the road while the laborer summoned an augur. The augur perceived that the lions indicated that Salkho would have four sons, who would conquer much land, be powerful men, and possess much energy. Moreover they, not the sons of Kāṅhārde, would rule Māhevo. And indeed, soon four sons were born: two, Mālo (the eldest) and Jaitmāl, of one rāṇī; two others, Vīramde and

1 We have been unable to locate Baiṭhvās village, which is not listed in the Vigat of Naiṇsī.

2 The Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt, p. 31, indicates that Tribhumviṇi was Kāṅhārde’s brother.


Mālo is described as "a very far-sighted man, a portion of a god" (Vigat, 1:16). He was a boy when Salkho died, so he took up residence with his uncle, Kānhrāde. He became one of Kānhrāde's armed retainers. An extremely precocious and aggressive youth, Mālo shocked Kānhrāde's Rajpūts one day during a hunt by grabbing his uncle's garment and refusing to let go until given some land:

He said: "Kānhrādejeji! I demand a portion of the land. I shall not let go!" He said much, but he did not let go. [Kānhrāde's] Rajpūts remained standing apart. No one came close (Khyāt, 2:281).

Kānhrāde admired his brash act. Impressed with his nephew, he gave him one-third of the Rāṭhōr lands and made him his pradhān. The other Rajpūts observing all this remarked to themselves that "whoever appoints a kinsman pradhān is about to lose his domain" (Khyāt, 2:282).

Soon Mālo was presented with his first problem. The Sultān of Delhi had sent revenue collectors to each of the major fortresses held by the Muslims in Rājasthān with instructions to put the surrounding countryside under taxation. Kānhrāde summoned all of his Rajpūts. He asked them what should be done about the collectors coming to Mahevo. Mālo suggested taking them into the various villages around Mahevo ostensibly to realize the land revenue and then killing them one by one. His plan pleased everyone. But, on the appointed day of the executions, while the other Rajpūts were killing the Sultān's agents in the villages, Mālo took the chief collector home as his guest. He told him, "Kānhrāde has killed all of your men. But I will not kill you" (Khyāt, 2:282-283).

The collector, grateful, soon went back to Delhi. He petitioned the Sultān:

Kānhrāde has killed all of your men. And my enemy, Mālo, kept me alive. Mālo is an excellent servant of the Sultān. He is worthy. He is a man loyal to his master (Khyāt, 2:283).

The Sultān summoned Mālo to Delhi and granted him jurisdiction over Mahevo with the title of rāval. He dismissed him when they learned that Kānhrāde had died in Mahevo and had been succeeded by his son Tribhuvanśī.

Mālo returned to Mahevo with the backing of the Sultān. He fought and defeated Tribhuvanśī, who fled wounded into the Rājasthān Desert. Tribhuvanśī was saved by the Indo Rajpūts, his relatives through marriage, who sheltered him and bandaged his wounds. But Mālo perceived that his supremacy in Mahevo...
would be insecure while Tribhuvanśī lived, and so he arranged for his assassination:

Tribhuvanśī had a brother, Padamsī, whom [Mālo] deceived. He told him: "If you kill Tribhuvanśī, I shall give you the throne [of Mahevo]." Then Padamsī, being greedy, went and mixed arsenic in the nīm leaf bandages meant for Tribhuvanśī. The bandages were poisoned. Tribhuvanśī died (Khyāt, 2:283-284).  

Padamsī came to Mahevo to collect:

He said: "Give me the throne." Mālo said: "One does not obtain a throne like this!" He said: "JT, take two villages. Eat sitting [there]!" Then he gave Padamsī two villages of Mahevo and dismissed [him] (Khyāt, 2:284).

Nothing is known of Tribhuvanśī's son Ûdo except that he took up residence in Baithvās village and that he had at least two sons, Vijo and Varjāṅg Ūdāvat.

(no. 143) Tilokśī Varjāṅgot (5-2)

Tilokśī Varjāṅgot was one of Ûdo Tribhuvanśīyot's grandsons. Although little information is available concerning Tilokśī's career, it is evident that he was a Rajpūṭ of some importance among Rāv Mālde's (Jodhpur ruler, 1532-62) military servants. He held the garrison of Bījāpur, a former possession of the Bālisō Cauhāṇs situated in the Godhvar region of southeastern Mārvār. While stationed there, he had the fort and gates of Bījāpur constructed. Subsequently Rāv Mālde appointed him kileddār of Jodhpur fort, a position he held at the time of Sher Shāh's invasion of Mārvār. He was one of several Rajpūts who died in heroic fashion defending the fort in 1544, holding out as long as possible and then sallying forth to fight to the death against the besieging army. Rāv Mālde had chatrīs built for Tilokśī and the other important Rajpūts who were killed during the siege.

---

3 The date of Tribhuvanśī's death is not known. His daughter Kumarde was married to Rāvāl Kehar Devrajot of Jaisalmer (ca. 1361-97). After Rāvāl Kehar died in 1397, Kumarde became a satī. An inscription commemorates this act. Cf. Khyāt, 2:280, n. 1.

4 This sentence implies that Padamsī may enjoy the rule of two villages (literally, "eat" them) and not make further attempts to acquire the throne of Mahevo (i.e., remain "sitting").

5 The genealogical link between Ûdo Tribhuvanśīyot and Tilokśī Varjāṅgot is not certain; it is possible that Tilokśī was Ûdo's great-grandson and that Varjāṅg was in fact Ûdo's grandson, not his son.
Figure 33. Údāvat (Baiṭhvāṣīyo) Rāṭhōṛs

Rāv Tido

(1-1) Rāv Salkho Tīḍāvat
(1-2) Rāv Kānhaṛde Tīḍāvat

(2-1) Vīram (2-2) Rāval Mālo Salkḥāvat Salkḥāvat
(2-3) Jaitmāl Salkḥāvat
(2-4) Sobh Salkḥāvat
(2-5) Rāv Tribhuvaṇṣī Kānhaṛdevot
(2-6) Padamsī Kānhaṛdevot

(3-1) Rāv Cūndo Vīramot
(3-2) Údo Tribhuvaṇṣīyot (ancestor of the Údāvat [Baiṭhvāṣīyo] Rāṭhōṛs)
(?)

(4-1) Rāv Rinmāl Cūndāvat
(4-2) Varjāṅg Údāvat
(4-3) Vījo Údāvat

(5-1) Rāv Jodho Rinmālot
(5-2) Tiloksī Varjāṅgot

(6-1) Rāv Sātal (6-2) Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat Jodhāvat
(7-1) Vāgho Sūjāvat

(8-1) Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat

(9-1) Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
The \text{Uhar Rāthors} are a very old Rajput group in Mārvār. According to Mārvār traditions, they descend from Uhar Jopsahot, a great-grandson of Rāv Siho Setrāmot, who is considered the founding ancestor of the Mārvār Rāthors. Little is known in fact about Rāv Siho other than the date of his death: October 9, 1273. This date is recorded on a memorial stone (\textit{devīśī}) for a Rāthadā (Rāthor) Siho, son of Setrām, found at the village of Bīthū\footnote{Bīthū village: located thirty miles south of Jodhpur and fourteen miles northwest of Pālī in central Mārvār.} in central Mārvār. The chronicles associate Siho's son, Asthān Sīhāvat, with the villages of Pālī\footnote{Pālī village: located forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.} in eastern Mārvār and with Kher\footnote{Kher village: located sixty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur, just near the great bend in the Lūṇī River.} in western Mārvār. Asthān is said to have established his capitol at Kher village. No specific information is available about Asthān's son, Jopsāh Asthānot, or Jopsāh's son, Uhar Jopsāhot.

The genealogical relationship of the \text{Uhar} to other branches of the Mārvār Rāthors is very conjectural given the extremely doubtful nature of this type of information prior to the time of Rāv Rinmal Cundāvat of Maṇḍor (ca. 1428-38) and his son, Rāv Jodho Rinmalot (ca. 1453-89). Richard Saran has suggested of the Sīndhāl Rāthors (see \textit{supra}) that they are a Rajput group that became incorporated within the Rāthor clan (\textit{kul}) at some time during the early history of the Rāthors of Mārvār. The same may also be true of the \text{Uhar}.

Bhāṭī, \textit{Savakṣaṇ}, 3:114, records that Uhar was the uterine brother of Sīndhāl, the founding ancestor of the Sīndhāl Rāthors. Uhar is said to have settled in the area of Koḍhno\footnote{Koḍhno village: located twenty-eight miles west-southwest of Jodhpur} in western Mārvār while Sīndhāl settled in central-western Mārvār and founded the village of Bhādṛajūṁ.\footnote{Bhādṛajūm village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.}
(no. 144) **Hardās Mokalot**

Ühar Hardās Mokalot appears in the Mārvārī chronicles in association with two prominent Rāthor figures of the early sixteenth century, Rāv Vīramde Vāghāvat (no. 84), a grandson of Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515), and Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86), a son of Rāv Sūjo. Both Rāv Vīramde and Sekho Sūjāvat became involved in conflicts with Rāv Sūjo's successor to the Jodhpur throne, Rāv Gāngo Vāghāvat (1515-32), over land and authority in Mārvār. Hardās Mokalot entered into these conflicts to avenge himself against the house of Jodhpur for perceived past wrongs that he and his brotherhood had suffered at their hands.

Details are unclear, but Hardas's enmity toward Rāv Gāngo and the house of Jodhpur appears to be related to the fortunes of the Ühar Rāthors of Kodhno in western Mārvār. The Ühar Rāthors had been in possession of Kodhno and surrounding villages prior to and during the rule of Rāv Rīnmal Čundāvat of Maṇḍor (ca. 1428-38) and his son, Rāv Jodho Rīnmalot (ca. 1453-89). The Ührs considered these villages their homeland (utan). Rāv Jodho then divided the lands of Mārvār among his brothers and sons following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459, and he granted Kodhno to his two sons, Jogo and Bhārmal Jodhāvat.⁶ Jogo and Bhārmal proceeded to take possession of Kodhno in the early 1460s, and they forced the migration of the Ührs south to Mahevo.

By the time of Rāv Gāngo Vāghāvat of Jodhpur some sixty years later, the descendants of Bhārmal Jodhāvat, who had remained at Kodhno, had begun to lose control of Kodhno to the Bhāṭis from Jaisalmer. Rāv Gāngo began recalling families of Ührs from Mahevo to reoccupy the villages in order to maintain Rāthor authority there. Kodhno itself eventually came under Ühar control, and in the 1520s Ühar Hardās Mokalot, who was a military servant of Rāv Gāngo, held Kodhno in pato along with one hundred and forty other villages.

*Khyāt*, 3:87, records that Ühar Hardās was a powerful Rajpūt, much feared by other men, but that he would not perform even "the simplest service." He came to Jodhpur to pay his respects to the Jodhpur ruler and to reaffirm his vows of loyalty and service only at the time of the Dasrāho festival in the fall of the year. Hardās gained the ire of Rāv Gāngo's son, Kuṃvar Māldre Gāṅgāvat, for his lack of service, and the Kuṃvar had Hardās's pato revoked and given to another Ühar named Bhān Kājāvat (no. 145). *Khyāt* relates in rather amusing fashion that because Hardās was such a fearsome warrior, no one dared come near him to inform him that his pato had been revoked. Ühar Bhān allowed him to stay at Kodhno while he went to perform military service for the house of Jodhpur. Several years passed in this manner. Then Bhān's and Hardās's

---

⁶ See *supra*, "Jodho Rāthors" and "Bhārmalot Rāthors," respectively.
Hujdārs fell to fighting at Koḍhṇo, and Hardās finally learned the truth of his situation (see Khyāt, 3:87-88, of the translated text for details).

Hardās now left Koḍhṇo and proceeded to Sojhat. Sojhat was under the control of Rāv Gāngo's half-brother, Rāv Viramde Vāghāvat (no. 84), who was himself engaged in on-going hostilities with Jodhpur. Hardās offered his services to Rāv Viramde solely on the condition that the Rāv continue his fight against Jodhpur. Rāv Viramde readily accepted Hardās's offer of service, and Hardās quickly became involved in skirmishes with Rāv Gāngo's forces.

Khyāt, 3:88, records that Rāv Viramde soon alienated Uḥar Hardās, however, because of his lack of concern for Hardās's welfare as one of his military servants. Rāv Viramde displayed this lack of concern one day after Hardās had ridden into battle on one of the horses from the Rāv's stable. Both Hardās and the horse were wounded during the fighting. Uḥar Bhān Kajāvat was present at this conflict as one of Rāv Gāngo's warriors. His relationship with Hardās had apparently remained amicable, for Khyāt notes that Bhān "picked up Hardās" after the battle and had him sent him back to Sojhat.

When Hardās returned to Sojhat, Rāv Viramde could only find fault with him because he had allowed his horse to be injured. The Rāv showed little concern for Hardās's own wounds. Hardās then rebuked the Rāv, calling him an "unworthy Rajput" (kurajpūt), and left Sojhat in anger for Nāgaur. Hardās entered into the household (vās) of Sarkhel Kāhān (no. 155) at Nāgaur for a short period before proceeding on to Pīṃpār and the home of Sekho Sūjāvat. Sekho was the paternal uncle of Rāv Gāngo Vāghāvat of Jodhpur. He had received Pīṃpār and surrounding villages as his share of Mārvār on the death of his father, Rāv Sūjō Jodhpāvat, in 1515. He sought wider control and authority in Mārvār, however, and when Hardās offered his services under the same conditions he had specified to Rāv Viramde of Sojhat, Sekho gladly welcomed him and retained him as his pradhān. Sekho and Hardās then began to plot in earnest against the house of Jodhpur, and they drew in Khanzāda Kāhān Daulat Kāhān (no. 154) from Nāgaur as an ally. Their conspiracy culminated in the battle of Sevākī village on November 2, 1529. Rāv Gāngo's superior stance at Sevākī forced Daulat Kāhān to flee with great loss, and both Sekho Sūjāvat and Hardās Mokalot were killed along with many of their Rajpūts (see Khyāt, 3:87-92, of the translated text for details of this battle and the events which surrounded it).

Khyāt, 1:361, 3:87-92; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 97-98, 403-404, 422-423; Vigat, 1:39, 293.

---

7 Pīṃpār village: located thirty-three miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.

8 Sevākī village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.
(no. 145) Bhāṇ Kājāvat

Bhāṇ Kājāvat was the son of Īhar Kājo Kharhathot, of whom nothing is known. The exact relationship between the families of Bhāṇ and Hardās Mōkajot (no. 144), the two leading Īhars of the early sixteenth century, is also unknown.

Bhāṇ rose to a position of some prominence during the reign of Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat of Jodhpur (1515-32). Rāv Gāṅgo had given him a pāṭo for the village Bāvallā, and then after Hardās failed to perform military service, Kumvār Mālde Gāṅgāvat gave Bhāṇ all of Koḍhṇo. Shortly thereafter Bhāṇ's and Hardās's hujddrs fought in Koḍhṇo. Hardās left for Sojhāt and military service under Rāv Vīrāmede Vāghāvat (no. 84) upon finding out that Bhāṇ, and not he, held the pāṭo from Kumvār Mālde. Bhāṇ and Hardās continued to have an amicable relationship, however, for Bhāṇ had Hardās picked up and sent back to Sojhāt after Hardās and the horse he was riding were badly wounded during a skirmish with Rāv Gāṅgo's Rajputs from Jodhpur.

In 1529 at Sevakī, Hardās was killed fighting against the forces of Rāv Gāṅgo and Kumvār Mālde. Bhāṇ, still in possession of Koḍhṇo, was now the leading Īhar in Mārvār. He was included among Rāv Mālde's pradhāns. At some point after 1535 he constructed a plot against the Akhairājot Rāṭḥors Kānho and Bhado Paṃcāṇiṇot (no. 32). He had them poisoned and killed at a feast given by Rāv Mālde.10 Undoubtedly the initiative for this assassination came from Mālde himself. According to one source,

Rāv Mālde gave [them] poison in the biroṣ.11 It was the feast of Dīvālī. He stood up, gave them the biroṣ, and said: "You go home." During the night [Bhado Paṃcāṇiṇot] went to [his home], Dāntivāro.12 While going, he died. Bhāṇ Īhar organized the plot against Bhado and Kānho both.

In 1544, the Sūr Emperor, Sher Shāh, came to Mārvār to fight the battle of Samel against Rāv Mālde. Prior to the battle, Mālde had gone to Sojhāt and begun to assemble his army. Bhāṇ did not show up. Mālde was not the sort of ruler who would fail to notice this breach of service. His pradhān, Jaito Paṃcāṇiṇot (no. 61), constructed a plan, and Mālde selected Jagmāl Īhar to carry it out. Afterward Bhāṇ did come to Sojhāt; Jagmāl attacked him and killed him

9 Bāvallā village: located eleven miles southwest of Koḍhṇo proper.

10 Murārdān, no. 2, p. 120, lists Bhado as having been killed at the battle of Samel in January of 1544. See supra, "Akhairājot Rāṭḥors."

11 Biroṣ: betel leaf with lime, spices, etc., folded to be eaten and distributed at ceremonial occasions.

12 Dāntivāro village: located eighteen miles due east of Jodhpur.
as he was climbing the embankment around the town. This event occurred either late in 1543 or early 1544, just before Samel.

Bhāti, Sarvekṣan, 3:96, 113; Khyāt, 3:87-88.
Varsiṅghot Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛs

(no. 148) Bhojo Sīhāvat, Rāv (8-1)
(no. 149) Gāṅgo Sīhāvat, Rāv (8-2)
(no. 150) Jeso Sīhāvat, Rāv (8-3)
(no. 151) Sāhaiso Tejsiyot (8-4)
(no. 152) Sāṃvaldās Udaiśiṅghot (10-1)
(no. 147) Siho Varsiṅghot, Rāv (7-1)
(no. 146) Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat, Rāv (6-2)

(no. 146) Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat, Rāv of Meṛto (6-2)

Varsiṅgh Jodhāvat was a son of Rāv Jodho Ṛiṅmalot, ruler of Ṝaṇḍor and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). He was born of Sonagarī Cāmpā, daughter of Sonagaro Cahuvān Khīmvo Satāvat of Pālī village in eastern Mārvār. No information is available about Varsiṅgh's date of birth. But Varsiṅgh was the elder of Sonagarī Cāmpā's two sons, and was born prior to 1440, the year of the birth of Varsiṅgh's younger brother, Dūdo Jodhāvat's (6-1) (no. 104).

Varsiṅgh grew up during the period of Sīsodiyō rule in Mārvār following the murder of his grandfather, Rāv Ṛiṅmal Cūṇḍāvat (4-1), at Cītor ca. 1438. For fifteen years thereafter, Varsiṅgh's father, Jodho Ṛiṅmalot, fought to reassert Rāṭhoṛ authority at Ṛaṇḍor. Jodho finally succeeded in the conquest of Ṛaṇḍor ca. 1453. Six years later in 1459, he founded his new capitol of Jodhpur high on a sandstone ridge overlooking the central plain of Mārvār, five miles to the south of Ṛaṇḍor. Rāv Jodho then divided the lands of Mārvār among his brothers and sons. He gave the lands of Meṛto to his two sons, Varsiṅgh and Dūdo.

The two brothers settled in the area of Meṛto in 1461-62. They became acquainted with the Jaitmālot Rāṭhoṛ Údo Kānhādevot (no. 67), who lived in the area and offered his services. Údo showed them the site of two ancient tanks called Kundal and Bejpo. They were pleased, and they founded Meṛto town near this site on March 7, 1462.

Varsiṅgh and Dūdo proceeded to establish their authority and to settle the land. They made Jaitmālot Údo pradhān and gave him full responsibility for governing the land. The chronicles relate that they drove Sāṅkhlo Paṃvārs from several villages to secure the area and then brought Dāṅgo Jāts from the Savālakh area of Nāgaūr to populate and farm the villages. During this initial settlement process, Varsiṅgh, the elder brother, assumed

---

1 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Ṛiṅmalot, Rāṇī no. 4, S - Varsiṅgh.

2 Pālī village: located forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.


Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
control at Meṛtō proper and took the title of rāv, while Dūḍo, the younger, lived at the village of Rāhān.³

Both brothers cooperated with each other in the founding of Meṛtō and in the settlement of the land. They eventually quarreled, however, and Dūḍo then left Meṛtō to join his half-brother, Bīkō Jodhāvat (no. 42) (Rāv of Bīkāner, ca. 1485-1504), who was in the process of founding his own kingdom in the area of northern Rājasthān that became known as Bīkāner. The time of Dūḍo's departure is uncertain, but it probably occurred in the later 1480s, toward the end of the rule of his father, Rāv Jodho, at Jodhpur. Rāv Varsingh appears to have ruled Meṛtō in relative peace during the last ten years of Rāv Jodho's life. But with Rāv Jodho's death in 1489, Varsingh became involved in a series of conflicts over land and authority in Mārvār that soon brought his own death. These conflicts involved Rāv Jodho's successor to the throne of Jodhpur, Rāv Sātāl Jodhāvat (ca. 1489-92), and the sūbedār of Ajmer, Malū Khān, a subordinate of the Pātśāh of Māṇḍū.

The chronicles tell of a famine that fell across Meṛtō and other parts of Mārvār at this time. They relate that poor harvests and lack of food caused many of Rāv Varsirīgh's men, who had come with his family from Jodhpur, to leave Meṛtō. Out of desperation, Rāv Varsingh mounted an attack on Sāṃbhar, the rich trading city to the northeast of Meṛtō, which he looted of much wealth. This aggression brought him into direct conflict with Malū Khān of Ajmer, to whom the Cauhūvān ruler of Sāṃbhar appealed for redress.

Rāv Varsingh also fell out with his half-brother, Rāv Sātāl Jodhāvat of Jodhpur. Varsingh demanded additional lands and villages from Jodhpur, which he claimed were his by right of patrimony. Rāv Sātāl eventually acceded to Rāv Varsingh demands, but Malū Khān became involved in this dispute as an outside arbiter. Rāv Varsingh struck a bargain with Malū Khān, agreeing to pay a tribute of rs. 50,000 to settle his account regarding Sāṃbhar, and to enlist Malū Khān's support in acquiring Jodhpur itself.

Exact chronology of events is unclear, but it appears Malū Khān brought an army from Māṇḍū and began to ravage the lands of Meṛtō and Jodhpur when Rāv Varsingh failed to live up to his part of the bargain. The three brothers, Rāv Varsingh Jodhāvat of Meṛtō, Rāv Sātāl Jodhāvat of Jodhpur, and Sūjō Jodhāvat (Rāv of Jodhpur, ca. 1492-1515), then met and defeated Malū Khān in battle at Kusānō⁴ on March 1, 1492. Malū Khān fled from the field, but he soon brought another army from Māṇḍū and demanded concessions from Varsingh. Rāv Varsingh finally met with Malū Khān at Ajmer, where the Khān allayed his suspicions with presents and much flattery, then imprisoned him in an unsuspecting moment. Word of Rāv Varsingh's capture spread quickly both to Rāv Sūjō at Jodhpur and to Dūḍo Jodhāvat in Bīkāner. Shortly thereafter, the combined forces of Rāv Sūjō of Jodhpur, Dūḍo Jodhāvat, and Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat of Bīkāner marched on Ajmer to force Rāv Varsingh's release. Malū Khān reluctantly agreed to release Varsingh rather than confront the Rāṭhrs in

³ Rāhān village: located ten miles north-northeast of Meṛtō.
⁴ Kusānō village: located twenty-eight miles southwest of Meṛtō.
battle, and Rāv Varsīṅgh then returned to Mṛto to assume his former position of authority.

Rāv Varsīṅgh died suddenly at Mṛto several months after this confrontation. *Vigat*, 2:46, records that Malū Khān had given Varsīṅgh a slow poison when he imprisoned him at Ajmer, which killed him in six months. Rule at Mṛto then passed to Varsīṅgh's son, Siho Varsīṅghot (7-1) (no. 147).

Rāv Varsīṅgh granted the following villages in *sāṃsan* to Brāhmaṇas and Cāraṇs:

1. Kāṃvliyo⁵ - to the Khirṛyo Cāraṇ Dharmo Cāndanot.
2. Kharrī (Kharharī)⁶ - to the Khirṛyo Cāraṇ Lumbo Cāndanot.
3. Pāncḍolī rā Vās⁷ - to the Sivār Brāhmaṇ Purohit Kānho Dūdāit.
4. Sīhā rī Vāṃṭ⁸ - to the Jagḥath Cāraṇ Bākhal Cāndanot.
5. Ṭukṛ⁹ - to the Sivār Brāhmaṇ Purohit Khidō Kānhāvat in exchange for Kāṃvliyo village (see *supra*).


*(no. 147) Siho Varsīṅghot, Rāv of Mṛto (7-1)*

Siho Varsīṅghot was the son of Rāv Varsīṅgh Jodhāvat (6-2) (no. 146) and the grandson of Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot (ca. 1453-89). He succeeded Rāv Varsīṅgh to the rulership of Mṛto in 1492. The chronicles all relate that Siho's accession to rule was not auspicious. It soon led to the decline of Varsīṅgh's line and to the ascendancy of Varsīṅgh's younger uterine brother, Dūdō Jodhāvat (no. 104), and his descendants. The fall of Varsīṅgh's line from Mṛto had been foretold in an omen that appeared on the site where the new city of Mṛto was to be founded. The omen took the form of two lions, one larger (representing Varsīṅgh, the elder) and one smaller (signifying Dūdō). The larger lion had roared and had then been driven away, while the smaller had gone into a nearby cave and sat down. An augur who witnessed this event forecast that Varsīṅgh's sons and grandsons would not live at Mṛto after his death, but that Dūdō's would.

---

⁵ Kāṃvliyo village: located seventeen miles south of Mṛto, near Aṇandpur.
⁶ Kharrī village: located fifteen miles south of Mṛto, near Aṇandpur.
⁷ Pāncḍolī rā Vās: located five miles southeast of Mṛto.
⁸ Sīhā rī Vāṃṭ: located twelve miles west of Mṛto.
⁹ Ṭukṛ village: located seventeen miles west of Mṛto.
By all the chronicles, Rāv Siho was incompetent to rule. Most cast him as a drunkard who remained intoxicated much of the time. Others describe him as weak and stupid. Upon his succession, Meṛto became subject to inroads. To protect the lands, those around Rāv Siho struck a bargain with Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515), offering him one-third of the villages of Meṛto in return for his protection. The Rāv accepted this offer and sent his men to occupy villages in Meṛto, but he quickly moved to sequester Meṛto itself. Alarmed at these developments, Siho's mother, the Sānkhīlī Paṃvār, called together the paṇico. Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 445-446, records the following statement of the Sānkhīlī's to the assembly:

Then Siho's mother said, "If you were to give the land to Rāv [Sūjo], all the land would be lost. Because of this [eventuality], if you summon Dūdo and give [him] the land, then what harm [would come]? If you were to give the land to Dūdo [and] make Dūdo master of Meṛto, then the land will pass from [those of] my womb, but it will not leave the issue of the mother of my husband (sāsū). The land will remain within this house. But if you were to give the land to [Rāv Sūjo], then the land would pass from [this] house. There is no doubt about this [eventuality]. For this reason, I say, have Dūdo summoned, place the ḍikā [of succession on his forehead], and having made him master, protect yourselves" (Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 445-446).

The paṇico considered the Sānkhīlī's words prudent, and they called Dūdo Jodhāvat back to Meṛto and agreed to give him one-half of the revenues from the land in return for his protection. Dūdo returned in 1492-93. Within a short time, he was able to drive Rāv Sūjo's Rajputās from the land and secure his family's territory. He then moved Rāv Siho out of Meṛto as well in 1495-96, having him carried in a wagon to Rāhān[11] village north of Meṛto one night while he was drunk. Dūdo then asserted preeminent rights over Meṛto for himself and his family, and he assumed the title of rāv. The family of Varsiṅg Jodhāvat remained subordinate to Dūdo's from this time forward.

Rāv Siho granted the village of Moḍrīyo[12] in sāmsan to the Khiṛiyō Cāraṇ Siho Candrāvāt.


10 The text had the name "Gango" in place of Sūjo here, which is incorrect. Rāv Gāngo Vāghāvat was Rāv Sūjo's successor to the rulership of Jodhpur (1515-32).

11 Rāhān village: located ten miles north-northeast of Meṛto.

12 Moḍrīyo village: located sixteen miles northeast of Meṛto, near Modro.
Bhojo, Gango, and Jeso Sihavat were sons of Rav Siho Varsinghot (7-1) (no. 147) and grandsons of Rav Varsingh Jodhavat (6-2) (no. 146), one of the original founders of Meṛto. Vigat, 2:47, refers to them by the title of rāv and describes them as "great, fearsome warriors." They appear to have succeeded jointly to Rav Siho's land and position at Rāhan village as nominal heads of one-half of the territory and revenues of Meṛto. With the death of Rav Dudo Jodhavat (6-1) (no. 104) in 1497-98 and the succession of Rav Dudo's son, Rav Vīramde Dūdavat (no. 105), to Meṛto, any possibility of their acquiring wider influence in Meṛto, however, quickly receded.

The three brothers had different careers with varying involvements in Meṛto itself. Of Rav Jeso Sihavat we know only that he was a military servant of Sisodiyo Rāṇo Sāngo Rāymalot of Mevr (1509-28). He accompanied Rāṇo Sāngo to north India in 1527 and took part in preparations for the battle at Khanua, where an allied force of Rajpūṭs under Rāṇo Sāngo's leadership attempted to stem the Mughal Bābur's advance into India. Bānkidās, p. 58, records that Rav Jeso died of dysentery on March 16, 1527, the day prior to the battle.

Rav Jeso granted the village of Rābhllāvās in sāṃsaṇ to the Ratnūṃ Cārāṇ Bharam Rūpāvat.

Jeso's brother, Rav Bhojo Sihavat, moved away from Rāhan to his own village of Kurkī,14 which Murārdāṃ, no. 2, p. 586, says that he first settled. Rav Bhojo emerged from this village to cause a great deal of local disturbance during attempts to reassert rights to a greater share of the land and authority in Meṛto. Sometime during the early to mid-1520s, Rav Vīramde Dūdavat drove Bhojo out of Kurkī and gave this village to his own brother, Rātansī Dūdavat.

Rav Bhojo then settled in the village of Jaitavās (or Jaitgadh),15 which he found deserted. He and his brother, Rav Gango, soon became involved in an intrigue with Kūṃvar Mālde Gāṅgāvat (Rav of Jodhpur, 1532-62).16 Kūṃvar Mālde played upon the two brothers' enmity toward Rav Vīramde Dūdavat and goaded them into an attack on the market square at Meṛto ca. 1530. This attack proved a complete failure, and Rav Vīramde's Rajpūṭs under the command of Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Khaṇḍgār Jogāvat (no. 82) pursued Bhojo and Gango and their men

---

13 Rābhllāvās village: located thirteen miles southwest of Meṛto, near Mokālo.

14 Kurkī village: located twenty miles southeast of Meṛto.

15 Jaitavās village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto, just to the north of Reyāṃ.

16 Vigat, 2:48, incorrectly states that all three brothers were involved here. These events took place several years after Rav Jeso's death at Khanua in 1527.
from Meṛto, finally bringing them to battle near the village of Kusāṇo,\(^\text{17}\) where they killed many of their Rajpūts and wounded both of the brothers.

Rāv Mālde continued to plot with Rāv Bhojo and Rāv Gāngo following his accession to the Jodhpur throne in 1532. He organized a series of raids against Meṛto with the connivance of Rāv Gāngo Sīhāvat, Daulat Khān of Nāgaur (no. 154), and Paṃvār Paṅcāṁ Karamcandot of Cātsū (no. 24). Rāv Mālde instigated these actions at the time he called Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat to Jodhpur to take part in an expedition against the Śindhal Rāṭhors of Bhādrājun.\(^\text{18}\) With each of these parties, Rāv Mālde played on a different theme: With Rāv Gāngo, the possibility of reasserting Varsīghot rule at Meṛto; with Daulat Khān, the opportunity of settling an old score left unfinished from the battle of Sevākī on November 2, 1529, when the Meṛtyōs captured a prize elephant of the Khān’s; and with Paṃvār Paṅcāṁ, the chance to end a vair with the Meṛtyōs. These intrigues failed, however, due in large measure to the valiant efforts of Rāv Vīramde’s pradhān, Jaitmalot Akhairāj Bhāḍāvat (no. 69), in protecting Meṛto.

Rāv Bhojo came into conflict with Rāv Vīramde sometime later at the village of Kekīdra.\(^\text{19}\) And there, Rāv Vīramde’s commander, Khaṅgār Jogāvat (no. 82), and his Rajpūts killed Rāv Bhojo along with a number of his men.

Rāv Bhojo’s brother, Rāv Gāṅgo Sīhāvat, lived for a number of years outside Meṛto. He took service under Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur in 1532-33 and remained with the Rāv for ten years. He held the village of Āsop\(^\text{20}\) in paṭo. Then for unexplained reasons, Rāv Mālde had one of his military servants, Jaitsi Vāghāvat (no. 85), kill Rāv Gāṅgo in 1543-44. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 586, records only that Jaitśi Vāghāvat took Rāv Gāṅgo by surprise one morning and killed him while he was sitting on the porch in front of his house. This text records the following sākh regarding Rāv Gāṅgo’s death:

> Gallery seated, Gāṅgo murdered.

Bāṅkīdās, p. 58; Murārdān, no. 2, pp. 584, 586-587;  Vīgat, 2:47-50, 112, 141.

(no. 151) **Sahaiso Tejsīyot (8-4)**

Sahaiso Tejsīyot was a son of Tejsī Varsīghhot (7-2) and a grandson of Rāv Varsīghh Jodhāvat (6-2) (no. 146), one of the original founders of Meṛto. Little information is available about his family. His father, Tejsī, lived for some

---

\(^{17}\) Kusāṇo village: located twenty-eight miles southwest of Meṛto.

\(^{18}\) Bhādrājun village: located forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.

\(^{19}\) Kekīdra village: located fifteen miles south-southeast of Meṛto.

\(^{20}\) Āsop village: located fifty miles northeast of Jodhpur.
years at the village of Reyām. 21 which his grandfather, Rāv Varsīṅgh, granted to Tejśī for his maintenance. Tejśī was killed there during an outbreak of hostilities with some Kachvāhos.

Sahaiso himself was initially a military servant of Meṛtiyo Rāv Vāramde Dūdāvat (no. 105), but it is unclear from sources at hand if he held any lands. It is possible that he did not succeed his father to Reyām village, for he left Rāv Vāramde and took service under Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur when Rāv Mālde occupied Meṛto ca. 1535 and began distributing the villages of Meṛto among his military servants. The Rāv gave Sahaiso the paṭo of Reyām and five other villages in return for his service. The chronicles relate that Sahaiso's acceptance of this paṭo so enraged Rāv Vāramde that he mounted a precipitous attack against Reyām from his base at Ajmer against the better judgment of his Rajpūts.

Word reached Sahaiso of Rāv Vāramde's impending attack, and appeals for aid were dispatched to Rāv Mālde at Jodhpur and to his garrison at Rārod, 22 where the Rāv had stationed a large sāth with some of his best warriors including Kūmpo Mahīrajot (no. 95), Rāṇo Akhairajot (no. 28), and Jeso Bhairavāsot (no. 48). Sahaiso donned a saffron robe (kesāfiyo) on the morning of battle and proceeded outside the village gates along with five hundred Rajpūts, where cloths were spread upon the ground. They all took seats to wait, ready to fight and die in the defense of their village. Rāv Mālde's sāth from Rārod soon arrived to join in the bloody fighting that took place that day at Reyām.

Sahaiso survived this battle and remained in Rāv Mālde's service for a number of years after. He then fled from Mārvār. Murārdān, no. 2, p. 587, records that Sahaiso feared for his life after Rāv Mālde had Sahaiso's paternal uncle, Rāv Gāṅgo Sīhāvat (8-2) (no. 149), killed at his paṭo village of Āsop 23 in 1543-44. Sources available do not provide reasons behind Rāv Gāṅgo's murder, nor do they give details about Sahaiso's flight from Reyām.

Sahaiso's son, Veno Sahaisāvat (9-2), was killed during the battle at Reyām ca. 1535.

Sahaiso granted the village of Lūṅkaraṇ rī Vāsṇī 24 in sāṃsāṇ to the Sīvār Brāhmaṇ Purohīt Girdhar Jīyāvat.

Bāṅkidās, p. 58, 60; Khyāt, 3:95; Murārdān, no. 2, p. 586; Vigāt, 2:52-53, 112, 212.

---

21 Reyām village: located fifteen miles southeast of Meṛto.
22 Rārod village: located forty-nine miles west-northwest of Reyām village.
23 Āsop village: located thirty miles west-northwest of Meṛto.
24 Lūṅkaraṇ rī Vāsṇī: located just to the south of Reyām village.
(no. 152) **Sāṃvaldās Udaisiṅghot** (10-1)

Sāṃvaldās Udaisiṅghot was a grandson of Rāv Jeso Sihāvat's (8-3) (no. 150) and fourth in line of descent from Rāv Varṣingh Jodhāvat (6-2) (no. 146), one of the original founders of Meṛṭo. No information is available about Sāṃvaldās's family or his early life. He appears first in the texts as a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) at the battle of Sāmel\(^{25}\) in January of 1544. Sāṃvaldās survived the fighting at Sāmel, but he left Rāv Mālde's service soon afterwards in the wake of the Muslim occupation of eastern Mārvār and Jodhpur, and traveled to Mevrā where he sought service under Sisodiyō Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh Gāṅgāvat (ca. 1537-72; no. 17). Sāṃvaldās was refused patronage in Mevrā for rather curious reasons that display some interesting characteristics of this Rajpūt.

"Bāṭ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat ṛī,\(^{26}\) ff. 66-70, relates that Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh honored Sāṃvaldās when he first arrived at Cītoṛ, and sent several of his personal servants to assist Sāṃvaldās at his camp. Instead of receiving the Rāṇo's servants with appropriate regard, however, Sāṃvaldās proceeded to insult them by asking an older man among them to perform the menial task of warming water for his bath, and "putting his hands on" others when they did not respond quickly enough to his demands. This touching of the servants infuriated the Rāṇo who then refused to retain Sāṃvaldās as his military servant.

Other sources confirm that Sāṃvaldās was both crude and boastful, and that he often created problems for himself because of his loose tongue and his obtuse, insensitive manner. Incidents that occurred after his leaving Mevrā bear out these propensities.

Sāṃvaldās proceeded to Vāṃsvālo after his offer of service was refused in Mevrā. The Rāval of Vāṃsvālo welcomed him, and granted him two patoṣ. One of these had been held by Rāṭhōṛ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat (no. 95), who was in Vāṃsvālo just prior to Sāṃvaldās's arrival. The other had been the pato of an important Rajpūt of Vāṃsvālo. When presenting these patoṣ to Sāṃvaldās, the Rāval suggested that Sāṃvaldās should be honored to received lands held by Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat, a great Rajpūt of Mārvār, and lands held by a great Rajpūt of Vāṃsvālo. Sāṃvaldās could only reply in his oblique fashion that he had received many such grants, and that he did not know any Māṇḍaṇ, son of Kūmpo.

A servant of Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat's happened to be at the Rāval's court at this time. He overheard Sāṃvaldās's slight and informed Māṇḍaṇ about what had happened. Māṇḍaṇ was greatly offended, and vowed to avenge his honor before Sāṃvaldās. Several of his Rajpūts cautioned him against involving two Rāṭhōṛ brotherhoods in hostilities, but he was not dissuaded.

\(^{25}\) Samel village: located twenty-four miles southwest of Ajmer.

\(^{26}\) "Bāṭ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat ṛī," in *Aitihāsik Tavarikhvār Vārtā*, MS no. 1234, Rājasthānī Śodh Samsthan, Caupāśni, ff. 66-70.
Māṇḍaṇ then returned to Vāṁsvājō and sought out Sāṁvalḍās at his village. Sāṁvalḍās had learned of Māṇḍaṇ's vow, and he immediately became alarmed when he heard riders approaching. His wife, a Vadgūjār, tried to reassure him. But Sāṁvalḍās explained to her that Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat had come to challenge him because of his insult of Māṇḍaṇ at the Rāṇo's court.

Māṇḍaṇ and his Rajpūts broke into the male apartment (kotṛi) of the house while Sāṁvalḍās and his wife were talking, and killed thirty of Sāṁvalḍās's Rajpūts. Māṇḍaṇ himself then climbed to the second floor bedroom (māliyo) where Sāṁvalḍās was hiding. Sāṁvalḍās leaped down into the house of a neighboring Brāhmaṇ and took refuge at the last minute. In his absence, Sāṁvalḍās's Vadgūjār wife confronted Māṇḍaṇ wearing her husband's garments, and saying, "You brother has indeed fled; I stand [before you]." Māṇḍaṇ then went away. But while going, he killed Sāṁvalḍās's mother and wounded one on Sāṁvalḍās's elephants. Sāṁvalḍās's actions of fleeing and leaving his wife to face Māṇḍaṇ in his stead, and then allowing Māṇḍaṇ to kill his mother and wound one of his elephants greatly dishonored him.

Sāṁvalḍās's name disappears from the chronicles following this series of events until his re-emergence in Mārvaṇ in the early 1560s as a military servant of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur. He was at the Rāv's court prior to the battle of Merto in 1562. The Rāv sent him to Merto with his son, Kuṁvaṇ Candrasen Māldevot, and other Rajpūts to reinforce Rāthoṛ Dēvīdās Jaitāvat (no. 65) and the Rajpūts stationed with him at the Mālgadh. While Kuṁvaṇ Candrasen left Merto soon after when he realized that the situation there was untenable, Sāṁvalḍās remained behind with his men to support Rāthoṛ Dēvīdās.

The chronicles relate that one night after Sāṁvalḍās's arrival at the Mālgadh, he once again created problems for himself because of injudicious remarks he made. On this occasion, he offended Rāthoṛ Pṛithīrāj Kūmpāvat (no. 97), a brother of Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat, and Sonagaro Mānsīṅgḥ Akhairājot (no. 10), both of whom were present at Rāv Mālde's camp. He called Pṛithīrāj a vāṇīyo ("moneylender, Baniya"), and referred to Mānsīṅgḥ as a little one-eyed man, casting aspersions upon the prowess of both these warriors. Pṛithīrāj Kūmpāvat and Mānsīṅgḥ Akhairājot reciprocated in kind, making disparaging remarks about Sāṁvalḍās and his dishonorable actions before Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat in Vāṁsvājō (see "Aitiḥāsik Bhātan," pp. 53-54, of the translated text for details of this interesting exchange).

Sāṁvalḍās remained at the camp despite the ill-will he had generated, and soon after proved himself to be a brave if somewhat foolhardy warrior. He carried out a night attack against the Mughal camp, killing a number of Mughal soldiers and causing great commotion among their ranks. Several of his men were killed here, however, and Sāṁvalḍās's foot was badly wounded. His Rajpūts finally remonstrated with him and brought him from the field in order to prevent further bloodshed.

Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107) and Mīrzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn brought a force from the Mughal camp the following morning and caught
Sāṃvaldās and his Rajputs near the village of Reyāṃ,27 where they had withdrawn. There the Mughals killed Sāṃvaldās.

"Aitihāsik Bātām," pp. 53-54; Bāṅkīdās, pp. 16, 58; "Bāt Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat rī," in Aitihāsik Tavarīkhvār Vārtā, MS 1234, Rājasthānī Šodh Saṃsthān, Caupāsnī, ff. 66-70; Vigat, 2:63-64.

27 Reyāṃ village: located fifteen miles southwest of Merto.
Figure 34. *Varsinghot Meṛtiyo Rāṭhors*

(1-1) Rāv Salkho

(2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat

(3-1) Rāv Cūndo Vīramot

(4-1) Rāv Rinmal Cūṇḍāvat

(5-1) Rāv Jodho Rinmalot

(6-1) Rāv Dūdo Jodhāvat (6-2) Rāv *Varsingh Jodhāvat* (Varsinghot Meṛtiyos)

(7-1) Rāv Siho Varsinghot (7-2) Tejsī Varsinghot

(8-1) Rāv Bhojo (8-2) Rāv Gāṅgo (8-3) Rāv Jeso (8-4) Sahaiso

Sīhāvat Sīhāvat Sīhāvat Tejsīyot

(9-1) Udaisingh Jesāvat (9-2) Veno Sahaisāvat

(10-1) Sāṃvaldās Udaisinghot
Vidavat Rathors

The Vidavat Rathors descend from Vido Jodhavat (6-1), a son of Rav Jodho Rinmalot (5-1), ruler of Manдор and Jodhpur (ca. 1453-89). Vido was born of Rani Sankhlo Narangdejl, a daughter of Runeco Sankhlo Pamvar Maidan Jaitavat. Vigat, 1:39, records that Rav Jodho gave Vido and his elder uterine brother, Biko Jodhavat (no. 42), the areas of Jangaļu and an open desert tract to the north of Jangaļu. This tract was to become the new kingdom of Bikaner during his division of the lands of Marvar among his brothers and sons following the founding of Jodhpur in 1459. Vigat then states with much foreshortening of time, that "Rav Biko sat on the throne [at Bikaner]. And [Rav Jodho] gave Vido Ladnum [and] Droņpur, the lands of the Mohils, with one hundred and forty villages."

Vido’s and his brother Biko’s association with Jangaļu dates more precisely from the mid-1460s, when they first went to this area at the request of Jangaļvo Sankhlo Napo Magakravat (no. 26). Napo Sankhlo had come to Rav Jodho’s court at Jodhpur to seek aid against the Baloc, who were raiding the Sankhlos’ lands and driving the Sankhlos away. Napo Sankhlo offered Biko Jodhavat his support and that of all the Sankhlos in regaining these lands. Biko and Vido Jodhavat then rode forth with their contingents of retainers. While Biko Jodhavat made himself master (dhanī) at Jangaļu, securing this land for the Sankhlos, and proceeded upon the conquest of his own kingdom (of Bikaner) to the north, Vido and his descendants settled in the areas of Ladnum and Chāpar-Droņpur to the south and southeast of Bikaner, respectively.

Vido’s association with Ladnum and Chāpar-Droņpur followed the conquest of these areas by his father, Rav Jodho, between the years 1466-74. The Khyat of Nainsī, 3:158-166, relates the story of this conquest. It tells that Rāv Jodho had married one of his daughters, Rājāmbarī, to Ajīt Sāṅvatsiyot, the

---

1 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Rinmalot, Rāṇī no. 3, S - Vido. Uncertainties regarding the identity of this Rāṇī’s father are discussed in this section.

2 Jangaļu village: located some one hundred miles to the north of Jodhpur, and twenty-four miles due south of Bikaner.

3 For more information about Biko Jodhavat, see supra, "Bikavat Rathors."

4 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Rinmalot, Rāṇī no. 2, D - Rājāmbarī.
powerful leader of the Mohil Cauvāns of Chāpar-Droṇpur. As Rāv Jodho himself grew in stature, he began to contemplate ways to bring the land of the Mohils under his own authority.

One time when Mohil Ajīt came to Manḍor, Rāv Jodho perceived, "If Ajīt were killed, then the land would come [into my hands]" (*Khyāt*, 3:158). The Rāv then began to plot Ajīt's murder. But Ajīt's wife's mother (sāsū), Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī Pūrāṇ, learned of this plan and sent word to Ajīt's pradhāns and personal attendants (khavās):

The Rāvjī has conspired against you; if you stay, then [you] will [only] have trouble (*ibid.*, 3:159).

Ajīt's pradhāns and nobles (umrāvs) quickly devised a means to take Ajīt from Manḍor without his knowledge of Rāv Jodho's plot. They knew that if they told him of the plot, he would not leave, for he had vowed never to flee from battle. They told him instead that the Yādavs had come against Ajīt's father's brother's son, Rāṇo Bachrāj Sāṅgāvāt, and that Rāṇo Bachrāj was under siege in Chāpar-Droṇpur and had sent word asking Ajīt to come quickly to his aid.

Ajīt and his men had the drums sounded, announcing their departure, and they set out from Manḍor. When Rāv Jodho heard the drums, he immediately realized that his plot had been exposed, and he gave pursuit. The parties drew near each other in the vicinity of the towns of Chāpar and Droṇpur. It was here that Ajīt's pradhāns confessed to Ajīt that they had brought him away from Jodhpur when they received a warning from his wife's mother. Their words greatly offended Ajīt, who said, "You have caused my firm vow (sabło paṇ) to be diminished" (*ibid.*, 3:160).

A battle followed, during which Ajīt was killed along with forty-five of his men. Rājāmbāri became a satī after Rāv Jodho's return to Manḍor with news of her husband's death. A great enmity (sabło vair) then broke out between the Rāṭhors and the Mohils.

The Rāṭhors [were] strong, [and] the thākurā of the Mohils was strong, but [there was] little unity between the brotherhoods (bhāībandhe mel ghaṇo koī nahiṃ) (*ibid.*).

A year slipped by as Rāv Jodho waited patiently for an opportunity to attack. When one arose, he gathered together the whole brotherhood and came upon the Mohils. He met Ajīt's father's brother's son, Rāṇo Bachrāj Sāṅgāvāt, in battle and killed him along with two hundred and sixty-five of his men (māṇas). Rāv Jodho then assumed control over Chāpar-Droṇpur in his own name. *Khyāt*, 3:166, gives the date of 1466-67 for Rāv Jodho's victory.

Rāṇo Bachrāj's son, Kumvār Megho Bachrājot, was not killed in this battle, and Rāv Jodho was unable to settle the land in the face of his attacks. The Rāv quickly perceived that while Megho lived, he would not be able to bring the land under his control. He returned to Manḍor after only two months, leaving the land once again to the Mohils.
Rāño Megho died some years later. Dissension then broke out among the Mohils. The land became divided among the brothers (bhāyāṁ vanť hui). Khyāt, 3:161, states, "The kingdom (ṭākūrā) grew weak. There became sixteen shares." The Mohils bickered among themselves over these shares, and seeing their weakness, Rāv Jodho again mounted an expedition against Chāpar-Dronpur. The Mohils offered no resistance this time, and Rāv Jodho was able to establish his authority over the land in 1474-75.

Khyāt states that during this period, two Mohils from the former ruling family, Rāño Vairsal Meghāvat, the son and successor to Rāño Megho Bachrājot, and Vairsal's younger half-brother, Narbad Meghāvat, who was the daughter's son (dohitro) of Rāv Jodho's elder half-brother, Rāṭhōr Rāvat Kāṇḍhāl Rīṇmalot (5-2), left Mārvār in search of support for the recovery of their lands. Narbad Meghāvat eventually proceeded to Delhi to petition Bahlūl Lodi, Afghan ruler of the Sultānate (1451-89), for his support. Rāṭhōr Vāgho Kāṇḍhāloṭ (6-4), who was Narbad Meghāvat's mother's brother (māmo), was with him. Sultān Bahlūl Lodi agreed to help, and he ordered Sāṛāṅg Khān Pathān, sūbedār of Hisar, to march against Rāv Jodho with five thousand of his warriors.

Khyāt, 3:162-164, records that Rāv Jodho came with six thousand of his Rajputs to confront Sāṛāṅg Khān and the Mohils. The armies encamped on the borders of Chāpar and Fatehpur and made preparations for battle. According to Khyāt, 3:163, Rāv Jodho, knowing of Rāṭhōr Vāgho Kāṇḍhāloṭ's presence with the opposing army, summoned Vāgho in secret before the battle and reproached him, saying:

Fine! You [there], brother's son (bhatṭo)! [You] strap on a sword on behalf of the Mohils [and march] against us. Will you have [your] elder brothers' wives (bhaṭājān) and women (bairām) imprisoned?

Vāgho Kāṇḍhāloṭ then realized that what he had done was not proper. He became Rāv Jodho's ally, promising to do what the Rāv thought best. Vāgho said to the Rāv that the Mohils' horses were weak and slow of foot, and that he would, therefore, have them fight on foot, while he would inform the Pathāṅs that they should fight on horseback.

The Mohils will fight on foot; their force will be [on the] left, and the force of the Pathāṅs will be on the right. Thus, when [the armies] gather, the Mohils' sāth will be on foot; you should thrust [your] horses upon them. The sāth [will be] on foot, so [it] will run away. The Turks will be riding; [you] should attack them with your swords. Those who are to die will die; the other Turks will flee (ibid., 2:163-164).

On the day of the battle, the Rāṭhōr sāth rode upon the Mohils with their horses. The Mohils could not withstand this attack on foot and fled from the field. Rāv Jodho's warriors then fought a great battle with Sāṛāṅg Khān. Khyāt, 3:164, records that Sāṛāṅg Khān was killed and remained on the field with five
hundred and fifty-five of his men (māṇas), while the rest, being wounded, fled. The field came into Rāv Jodho's hands. He returned to Droṇpur and proceeded to consolidate his control over the land.

Rāv Jodho afterwards placed his son, Jogo Jodhāvat (6-3), in charge of the land. Jogo was a simple thākur (bhoṣo so thākur) and soon proved himself incompetent to rule. The Mohils made continuing inroads from the countryside. Kuṃvar Jogo’s wife (vahū), the Jhālī, sent word to her husband’s father (susrō), saying:

There is no auspiciousness (lakhaṇ) in your son. And the land you/we have conquered is being lost [to the Mohils]. It would appear [that] you should devise a remedy (ilāj kijyo) (ibid., 3:165).

Rāv Jodho gave Chāpār-Droṇpur to his son, Vīdo Jodhāvat, and he recalled Jogo to Jodhpur. Vīdo quickly reversed the misrule that had developed under Jogo and established a firm authority in his own name. To settle the conflict with the Mohils, he allowed them to return to their lands and granted these lands to them in pāṭo in return for their military service (cākṛī). Vīdo also married among the Mohils, taking a daughter of Mohil Jabo Śiṅgatot as his wife. Jabo Śiṅgatot was a rich and influential thākur and he presented Vīdo with a large dowry of one hundred horses, two hundred camels, and wealth the equal of a lākh of rupees. In return, Vīdo helped Jabo drive a faction of Mohils from the area with whom Jabo was in conflict. Vīdo thereby:

established firm authority. [He] again settled Droṇpur. [And he] made Droṇpur a large habitation (vaḍī vastī) (ibid., 3:166).

Vīdo now assumed the title of rāv.

There are inconsistencies in the material in Naiṇśī’s Khyaṭ regarding Rāv Jodho’s conquest of Chāpār-Droṇpur and his battle with Sāraṅg Khān. Elsewhere, Khyaṭ, 3:21-22, states that Rāv Jodho came to battle with Sāraṅg Khān when his son, Bīko Jodhāvat (6-2) (ruler of Bīkāner, ca. 1485-1504), called him to help settle the vair caused by the death of Rāṭhor Kandhal Riṃmalot (5-2). This vair is said to have arisen a number of years after Rāv Jodho’s conquest of Chāpār-Droṇpur. Kandhal Riṃmalot was instrumental in helping Bīko Jodhāvat consolidate his rule at Bīkāner, and after the foundation for the new fort at Bīkāner was laid in 1485, Kandhal went to live in the area of Hisar. There he began raiding and looting villages, and he soon came into conflict with the sābedār, Sāraṅg Khān. They met in battle ca. 1489. During the fighting, Kandhal was killed.

Rāv Jodho is then said to have ridden to join his son, Rāv Bīko, in avenging Kandhal’s death. It is told that they met Sāraṅg Khān in battle near Chāpār and Droṇpur, and during this battle, Rāv Bīko’s own son, Naro Bīkāvat,
is credited with killing Sāraṅg Khān. It appears from this material that Rāv Jodho's conflict with Sāraṅg Khān and Sāraṅg Khān's death came later, not at the time of Rāv Jodho's conquest of Chāpar-Droṇpur itself.

Ojhā, 4:1:246-248, notes that Dayāldās rī Khyāt, which gives a detailed history of Bīkāner, also presents a different version of the conquest of Chāpar-Droṇpur. Dayāldās rī Khyāt records that it was after Vīdo Jodhāvat had assumed his position of rule in Chāpar-Droṇpur that the Mohils, Rāṇo Vairsal and Narbad Meghāvat, came against him with Sāraṅg Khān. Rāṭhōr Kāṇḍhāl Rīṃmalot's son, Vāgho Kāṇḍhālot, was with the Mohils. Vīdo Jodhāvat was unable to maintain his position in the area in the face of pressure from the Mohils, and he retreated to Bīkāner where he took refuge with his uterine brother, Rāv Bīko Jodhāvat.

Rāv Bīko is said to have sent an appeal to his father, Rāv Jodho, at Jodhpur at this time, asking for help in recovering the lands of Chāpar-Droṇpur. But Rāv Jodho demurred and refused this request. The Rāv's wife, Rāṇī Hāḍī Jasmādeji, was angry with Vīdo because he had refused her the lands of Lāḍṇām, which she had requested. Vīdo thereby gained Rāv Jodho's displeasure.

Bīko Jodhāvat then gathered his own army and rode with his paternal uncle (kāko), Rāvat Kāṇḍhāl Rīṃmalot, and others against the Mohils. The Jōhiyo Rajpūts are said to have joined with Rāv Bīko on this campaign. Sometime before the battle, Rāv Bīko summoned Kāṇḍhāl's, son, Vāgho Kāṇḍhālot, in secret from the enemy camp, and reproached him, saying:

My paternal uncle, Kāṇḍhāl, became such [a great warrior] that he destroyed the kingdom of the Jāts and established authority over a new region [which became my kingdom of Bīkāner], while you [Kāṇḍhāl's son] have come against me... Doing as you have done is not proper.

Bīko's words shamed Vāgho, and he then became Bīko's ally against the Mohils. As in the story from Naiṣṭī's Khyāt, he gave his word that he would advise the Mohils to fight on foot, and that Sāraṅg Khān's army would be on the right. Bīko's force emerged victorious. Rāv Bīko then entrusted his uterine brother, Vīdo, with the rule of Chāpar-Droṇpur and returned to Bīkāner.

---

5 The dating of Kāṇḍhāl's death and the following battle against Sāraṅg Khān are conjectural. Major K. D. Erskine, ed. Rajputana Gazetteers: Volume III-A, The Western Rajputana States Residency and the Bikaner Agency (Allahabad: The Pioneer Press, 1909), p. 315, places Kāṇḍhāl's death in 1490. This date falls after Rāv Jodho's death, which according to most sources took place on April 6, 1489. This date is unconfirmed by inscriptive evidence, however, and is, therefore, also conjectural. See: Ojhā, 4:1:250, n. 2.

6 Rāṇī Hāḍī Jasmādeji was Rāv Jodho's favored wife. It was her sons who succeeded Rāv Jodho to the throne of Jodhpur. See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Rīṃmalot, Rāṇī no. 1.
There is no mention in this account of Sarangi Khat's death, which appears to have occurred only later, when the combined Rathor armies met him in battle while avenging the death of Kandhal Rinmalot. Ojha prefers Dayaldas's account of the final conquest of Chapar-Dronpur. He notes that the Vidavats had always been closely allied with Bikaner, not with Jodhpur. Vido and Biko were uterine brothers who had come to this area together, and very early developed strong ties of support. Ojha states that it appears more credible that Vido would have turned to his brother, Biko, for support, than to his father, Rav Jodho.


(no. 153) Kalyāṇmal Udaikaranot (8-1)

Kalyāṇmal Udaikaranot was a son of Udaikaran Vidavat (7-1) and grandson of Rav Vido Jodhavat (6-1), ruler of Chapar-Dronpur in the late fifteenth century. No information is available about his family, except the date of the death of his father, Udaikaran, in 1518-19. Local sources provide no details about the circumstances behind his death.

Kalyāṇmal succeeded to the rulership of Chapar-Dronpur. He was a military servant of his paternal grandfather's brother's son, Rathor Rav Lunkaran Blkavat (7-3), ruler of Bikaner (1505-26; no. 44). Kalyāṇmal was also closely associated with the Sekhavat Kachvahos of Amarsar and Sikargar (near Amber) in central Rājasthān. Kachvaho Raymal Sekhavat (no. 22) was Kalyāṇmal's maternal grandfather and close companion. He also served along with Kalyāṇmal under Rav Lunkaran of Bikaner.

Accounts about Kalyāṇmal center upon his involvement in the Blkavat Rathor campaign against the Muslims of Narnol in eastern Rājasthān in 1526. Rav Lunkaran set out on an expedition against Narnol in this year with a contingent of Vidavats in accompaniment. They passed through Chapar-Dronpur on their way to Narnol. Khyat, 3:151, records that Rav Lunkaran remarked as he viewed Kalyāṇmal's lands, "This place is such that some kunidad [of mine] should be kept [here]."

Kalyāṇmal overheard this remark and immediately became suspicious of the Rav's intentions. He and his men continued on with Rav Lunkaran to Narnol. But Kalyāṇmal withheld Vidavat support from Rav Lunkaran during the battle with the Muslims at the village of Dhosi (near Narnol). Rav Lunkaran was killed there on March 30, 1526 along with three of his sons.

Rav Lunkaran's son, Rav Jaitsi Lunkaranot (8-3), succeeded him to the throne of Bikaner (1526-42; no. 45). He brought Chapar-Dronpur under direct attack, holding Kalyāṇmal directly responsible for his father's and brothers' deaths. Kalyāṇmal was forced to flee his homeland in October of 1527, and take
refuge at Nāgaur. Rāv Jaitsī then placed Kalyāṇmal's father's brother's son, Sāṅgo Saṃśārāṃcandot (8-2), on the seat of rule at Chāpar-Droṇpur.

Kalyāṇmal's activities after this time are uncertain. The date and circumstances of his death are also unknown.7


---

7 See: *Khyāt*, 3:101-102, of the translated text for material that mentions Kalyāṇmal in association with Meṛīyo Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat in the period immediately following the battle of Samel in January of 1544. This material appears of dubious historical validity, and has, therefore, not been included in this Biographical Note (see n. 113 to *Khyāt*, 3:101, for an explanation).
Figure 35. Vīdāvat Rāṭhorś

(1-1) Rāv Salkho
   (2-1) Vīram Salkhāvat
   (3-1) Rāv Cūndo Vīramot
   (4-1) Rāv Riṃmal Cūṇḍāvat
       (5-1) Rāv Jodho Riṃmalot
          (5-2) Rāvat Kāndhal Riṃmalot
       (6-1) Vīdo (6-2) Rāv Bīko (6-3) Jogo (6-4) Vāgho Kāndhalot
          Jodhāvat Jodhāvat Jodhāvat
   (Vīdāvatś) (Bīkāvatś)

       (7-1) Udaikarāṇ (7-2) Saṃsārcand (7-3) Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ Bīkāvat
          Vīdāvat Vīdāvat
   (7-3) Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ Bīkāvat
   (8-1) Kalyāṇmal (8-2) Sāngo
       (8-3) Rāv Jāitsī Lūṅkaraṇot
       Udaikarāṇot Saṃsārcandot
Khānzāda Khāns

(no. 154) Muḥammad Daulat Khān (Daulatiyo) (8-1)
(no. 155) Sarkhel Khān

The Khānzāda Khāns of Nāgaур

Nāgaур and its surrounding areas of the Savālakh\(^1\) were under the control of a Muslim family known as "Khānzāda" or "Nāgaурī" from the beginning of the fifteenth century and into the mid-sixteenth century. This family adopted the title of khān and was related by blood to the sultāns of Gujarat.

The first ruler of this line was Shams Khān I (ca. 1405-18) (2-2). He was called "Dandānī" ("of the teeth") because of his large protruding front teeth. Shams Khān I Dandānī was a younger brother of Zafar Khān (2-1), who in 1405-06 became Sultān Muzaffar Shāh, the first independent Muslim ruler of Gujarat. Their common ancestor was a Ṭāṅk Rajput named Sadhārān from Thanesar in the Punjab, who had converted to Islam and taken service at the court of Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughluq (1325-51) at Delhi. Sadhārān found favor with the Sultān who awarded him the title of Wajīhu'l-Mulk and promoted him to the office of cupbearer (sharābdār). Sadhārān’s two sons, the elder, Zafar Khān (b. June 30, 1342), and his younger brother, Shams Khān, became cupbearers at the court of Firūz Shāh Tughluq (1351-88), and were eventually promoted to the rank of amīr.

In 1391 during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh III Tughluq (1389-92), Zafar Khān was sent to Gujarat to quell the rebellion of the local governor. Zafar Khān’s brother, Shams Khān, either went with him or followed soon after. Zafar Khān placed his authority over Nāgaур and surrounding areas on his way to Gujarat, and placed Jalāl Khān Khokhar at Nāgaур as governor, while he proceeded on to Gujarat. He was able to assert his authority in Gujarat, and over the next decade as Sultānate rule under the Tughluqs at Delhi collapsed, he proclaimed independent rule and assumed the title of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh in 1405-06 at his capitol of Patan.

Following his assumption of rule, Sultān Muzaffar sent his brother, Shams Khān Dandānī, to replace Jalāl Khān Khokhar at Nāgaур. Shams Khān I Dandānī ruled there ca. 1405-18. He and his successors up until the time of

---

Muḥammad Khān I (ca. 1495-1520) adopted the title of "Masnad-i ‘āli," which signified their independence at Nāgaūr.

Shams Khān I was succeeded by his son, Firūz Khān I (3-1), who ruled for over thirty years, ca. 1418-51. He spent the first part of his reign protecting his territory against inroads from Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Mokal Lākhāvāt of Cītōr (ca. 1421-33). Rāṇo Mokal was able to wrest control over the eastern regions of Nāgaūr territory. An inscription of Firūz Khān’s brother, Mujahīd Khān (3-2), dated May 31, 1437, records that the Rāṇo held authority over Dīḍvāṇo and Sāṃbhar, areas over which Mujahīd Khān later reasserted his own authority. The Rāṭhors of Māṇḍor also made inroads into Nāgaūr in this period under Rāv Cūṇḍo Viramot. Rāv Cūṇḍo is said to have captured Nāgaūr and then to have been killed fighting a combined army of Bhāṭīs from Jaisāḷmer and Muslims ca. 1423.²

Mujahīd Khān exercised independent rule over these eastern areas from 1435-36 through the end of Firūz Khān’s rule. Aḥmad Shāḥ, Sultān of Gujarāt, was active in the area, making an expedition against Cītōr in 1432-33 and coming to Nāgaūr. Firūz Khān offered the Sultān a large sum as booty, but the Sultān declined, an indication of the good relations that held between these two regions at this time.

With Firūz Khān’s death in 1451-52 and the succession of Firūz Khān’s son, Shams Khān II (4-1), to rulership at Nāgaūr, Mujahīd Khān quickly entered into the affairs of Nāgaūr and usurped rule from Shams Khān. Shams Khān fled to Mevār where he sought the aid of Sīsodiyo Rāṇo Kūmbho Mokalot (ca. 1433-68) in the recovery of lands. Rāṇo Kūmbho agreed to help Shams Khān on the condition that part of the fortification walls at Nāgaūr fort be destroyed when the town was recovered. Shams Khān accepted this condition and, with the Rāṇo’s help, succeeded in the recovery of Nāgaūr. Mujahīd Khān was forced to flee to Malwa where he sought the protection and aid of Sultān Māḥmūd (1436-69).

Shams Khān II soon fell out with Rāṇo Kūmbho and fled to Gujarāt where he sought the aid of Sultān Qutb-al-dīn Aḥmad Shāḥ (1451-58). Over the next several years, Shams Khān and Mujahīd Khān vied for control at Nāgaūr. The Rāṇo, who maintained his authority in this area, had to deal not only with pressures from Gujarāt and Malwa, but also with the Rāṭhor resurgence in Māṛvār under Jodho Rīṃmalot (ruler of Māṇḍor and Jodhpur, ca. 1453-89). The Rāṇo fought a decisive battle at Nāgaūr in the period before 1454-55 against an army of the Sultān of Gujarāt, during which the Sultān’s army was badly defeated. The Kīrtistumbha inscription from Cītōr commemorates the Rāṇo’s victory and proclaims that the Rāṇo stole Nāgaūr from the Sultān, demolished the fort there, captured many elephants and took many Muslim women prisoners, and then turned Nāgaūr into a pasture for grazing.

The Rāṇo was finally forced to withdraw from Nāgaūr following his defeat at Ajmer in 1454-55, when Sultān Māḥmūd Khaljī regained control of this

² See supra, "Cūṇḍavat Rāṭhors," for more information about Rāv Cūṇḍo. Some historians place Rāv Cūṇḍo’s attack against Nāgaūr and his death in battle as early as 1408, during the rule of Shams Khān I Dandānī.
town after a fierce battle lasting five days. Shortly thereafter, Sultan Qutb-al-dīn Aḥmad brought an army from Gujarat onto Mevār. He forced the Rāṇo to agree to abandon Nāgaur and never again to enter this territory. Mujāhid Khān was then able to assert his authority at Nāgaur in 1454–55, and he remained in power there for the next thirteen years until 1467–68.

Mujāhid Khān's descendants continued to rule at Nāgaur until January of 1536, but from 1495 onwards, the Khānzdā rulers ceased using the title "Majlis-i ālī." Omission of this title in inscriptions may indicate some diminished independence, but local inscriptions make no reference to Delhi or Gujarat, so their status is unclear. It is known that during the reign of Muḥammad Khān I (ca. 1495–1520) (6–1), there was acknowledgment of the Čodi Sultān in Delhi. Two of Muḥammad Khān's sons sought to overthrow and kill him (Muḥammad Khān). They fled to the court of Sikandar Lodī (1488–1517) at Delhi upon their plot being discovered, and Muḥammad Khān then sent gifts to the Čodi court and acknowledged the Sultān. He ordered the Sultān's name to be read in khutba at Nāgaur, and to be printed on coins minted at Nāgaur. This acknowledgment appeased the Sultān but appears to have been nominal, for the Khānzdā family continued to rule independently at Nāgaur. This independence was fostered by the fact that the Rāṇo of Mevār was no longer a force in the region, and relations between the Khānzdā family and the Rāṭhors of Mārvār also remained peaceful. Rāṭhor Rāv Jodho Riṃmalot's marriage of a daughter to Salho Khān (Ṣalāḥ Khān, 3 ca. 1467–69) may have contributed to these good relations. It appears that in this period the Khāns maintained control over a sizable region around Nāgaur including the towns of Didvāṇo, Lāḍṇūṃ, Khāṭū and Jāyeł.

Muḥammad Khān II (ca. 1526–36) (8–1) was the last of the Khānzdā rulers at Nāgaur. He is mentioned in Middle Mārvārī sources by the name of Daulat Khān or Daulatīyo. Information about him is limited and details about Rāv Mālde's conquest of his kingdom in January of 1536 when he sent the army of Jodhpur under his commander, Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahirājot (no. 95), are few. One document about Nāgaur notes:

The rule of the khans of Nāgaur came to an end when Maldev, the Raja of Jodhpur, took possession of Nāgaur, apparently not without fierce resistance. It still echoes in the memory of people of Nāgaur that the collapse of Islamic rule was followed by the demolition of the palaces of the khans in the fort, and most of the mosques and tombs in and around the town. The upper parts of the fort and the parts of the town wall which were also destroyed were later reconstructed by Maldev, reusing the stones of the demolished buildings, including their inscriptions. It is in

---

3 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jodho Riṃmalot, Rāṇī n. 2, D - Bhāgāṃ.

4 Jāyeł: located twenty-seven miles east of Nāgaur.
these walls that the epigraphs of the buildings of the Ghurids, the Khaljīs, and the khans themselves are to be found.\(^5\)

This same source also notes that:

The descendants of the khans continued to live as a distinguished family in Nagaur, but apparently without [any] official position. They retained the title of *khānzāda*, but their names do not appear among the nobles of the Mughal court.\(^6\)


\(^{(no. 154)}\) Muhammad Daulat Khān (Daulātiyo) (8-1)
\(^{(no. 155)}\) Sarkhel Khān

Members of the Khānzaḍa Khān family figure in the texts under review in connection with the following events:

**The Battle of Sevākī\(^7\) - November 2, 1529**

Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat of Jodhpur (1515-32) spent much of his reign immersed in conflict over territory and authority in Mārvār with his half-brother, Rāv Vīramde Vāghāvat (no. 84) of Sojhat,\(^8\) and with his paternal uncle, Sekho Sūjāvat (no. 86), thākur of Pīmpār village in central Mārvār.\(^9\) One of Rāv Gāṅgo's important military servants, Uḥār Rāthor Hardās Mokaḷot (no. 144), added to the Rāv's difficulties by shifting his allegiance first to Rāv Vīramde at Sojhat and then to Sekho Sūjāvat. Hardās also entered into the household (vās)

---


\(^{6}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{7}\) Sevākī village: located twenty-three miles northeast of Jodhpur.

\(^{8}\) Sojhat: located forty-six miles southeast of Jodhpur

\(^{9}\) Pīmpār village: located thirty-three miles east-northeast of Jodhpur.
of Sarkhel Khan at Nägar for a short time before joining Sekho Süjāvat. Hardās and Sekho's plotting led directly toward preparations for battle, with Rāv Gāṅgo summoning the aid of his paternal relation from Bikāner, Rāv Jaitī Lūṅkaraṇot (ca. 1526-42), while Sekho and Hardās approached the Khāṇzāda Khāns at Nägar. Khyāt, 3:90, records that Hardās offered to marry daughters to Sarkhel Khān and Daulat Khān in exchange for their support. The Muslims accepted this offer, and Sekho Süjāvat then brought them to the village of Beral, where they encamped in wait for the approaching army of Jodhpur.

The identity of Sarkhel Khān is uncertain. He appears to have been a member of the Khāṇzāda family with a position of importance, for he commanded the force of eighty elephants brought from Nägar to take part in the battle. The name Sarkhel is perhaps the Middle Mārvārī term for the Persian sar-khail, commander of a troop of horse or company of men (khail).11 The Rāṭhor chronicles may mistakenly have used this term as the man's personal name, when in fact it was his title as Daulat Khān's military commander.

The battle at Sevakī was a decisive victory for Rāv Gāṅgo. Daulat Khān and Sarkhel Khān fled ignominiously from the field after suffering loss of men and elephants, and both Sekho Süjāvat and Hardās Mokaļot were killed.

The attack against Meṛto, ca. 1532

Soon after becoming ruler of Jodhpur in May of 1532, Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat began plotting against Meṛtīyo Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat (no. 105). Rāv Mālde had held enmity toward the Meṛtīyos since the battle of Sevakī, when the Meṛtīyos captured one of Daulat Khān's prized elephants that had ran amok from this battle, and later refused to give this elephant to Kumṅvar Mālde when he demanded it. Rāv Mālde used the Meṛtīyos' capture of the elephant to goad Daulat Khān into attacking Meṛto while Rāv Vīramde and other Meṛtīyos were drawn from Meṛto to take part in an expedition against the Sīndhāls of Bhādṛājūn.12

Rāv Vīramde grew suspicious of Rāv Mālde's intentions while in the Rāv's camp, and he sent a Rebarī messenger to Meṛto with a warning. Jaitmālot Rāṭhor Akhairāj Bhāḍāvāt (no. 69), a pradhān of Meṛto, also suspected subterfuge. He left Rāv Vīramde's camp without requesting leave from Rāv Vīramde and reached Meṛto just as the Rāv's messenger arrived with his warning. Akhairāj took refuge in the fort at Meṛto with a small band of Raijspūṭs. Soon after, Daulat Khān entered Meṛto and began to loot the town. He then invested the fort as Akhairāj watched from a tower. Akhairāj later sallied forth from the fort with a band of dedicated Raijspūṭs and drove the Khān and his retainers from Meṛto after a bloody clash.

10 Berāi village: located five miles north of Sevakī.
12 Bhādṛājūn village: located forty-eight miles southwest of Jodhpur.
Daulat Khan retired to Nagaur after this defeat. He is not mentioned again by name in the Mārvārī sources. The only other information about Daulat Khan is that he was given a daughter of Rāv Mālde's in marriage. This marriage probably took place shortly after Rāv Mālde's accession in 1532, when he sought aid from the Khānṣādās against the Meṛṭīyos.


---

13 See supra, Marriage and Family Lists of the Rulers of Jodhpur, Mālde Gāṅgāvat, Rāṇī n. 16, D - Jasodābāī.
Figure 36. Khānzāda Khāns of Nāgaur

(1-1) Wajīhu’l-Mulk Sadhāran

(1-2) Zafar Khān
(Muzaffar Shāh)
d. 1410-11

(2-1) Shams Khān I (Dandānī)
(ca. 1405-18)

(2-2) Shams Khān II
(ca. 1451-52)

(3-1) Firūz Khān I
(Sultāns of
Gujarat)
(ca. 1418-51)

(3-2) Mujāhid Khān
(ca. 1454-67)

(4-1) Shams Khān II
(ca. 1451-52)

(4-2) Šalāh Khān
(ca. 1467-69)

(5-1) Firūz Khān II
(ca. 1469-95)

(6-1) Muḥammad Khān I
(ca. 1495-1520)

(7-1) Firūz Khān III
(ca. 1520-26)

(8-1) Muḥammad Khān II
(ca. 1526-January, 1536)
Bhanḍārīs

(no. 156) Lūṇo Gorāvat

The Bhanḍārīs

Bhanḍārī is the name of a branch of the Osvāl jāti. The members of this branch claim descent from the family of Cauvān Rāv Lākhāṇ (eleventh century) of Nāḍūl in southern Mārvār. Rāv Lākhāṇ's three sons are said to have been converted to Jainism by the Jain sage Jāshhadrasūri. Some of their descendants later took service under local Rajput rulers, and it is they who became known as "Bhanḍārī." The term itself means "one in charge of a treasury; a small treasury; one associated with the kitchen; also, a branch of the Cauvāns." Originally, Bhanḍārīs may have performed administrative functions in the local treasuries of Rajput rulers.

The Bhanḍārīs of Mārvār trace descent from a Bhanḍārī Samro, who was a military servant of Sīsodīyo Rāṇo Kūmbhō Mokalot of Cītor (ca. 1433-68), holding the village of Nāḍūl in paṇo from the Rāṇo. When Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Rīṃmal Cūṇḍāvat of Māṇḍor (ca. 1428-38) was murdered at Cītor ca. 1438, Bhanḍārī Samro was among the Rāṇo's servants stationed at the garrison at Jīlārō village, which guarded the entrance to a pass in the Arāvalli hills leading from Mēvār into Mārvār. During the fighting between the Rāṭhōṛs and the pursuing Sīsodīyos that occurred as Rāv Rīṃmal's son, Jodho Rīṃmalot, and his Rajpūts fled Mēvār, Bhanḍārī Samro was killed. Before his death, Samro is said to have entrusted his son to Jodho Rīṃmalot, who brought this son with him into Mārvār. From that time onward, Bhanḍārīs were in the service of Jodhpur. One text refers to them as "servants from the beginning" (thete cākar).


(no. 156) Lūṇo Gorāvat

Bhanḍārī Lūṇo (Lūṅkaraṇ) Gorāvat was in the line of descent from Bhanḍārī Samro of Nāḍūl. Lūṇo was an important member of the Jodhpur administrative service under both Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaiasinghot (1595-1619) and

1 Nāḍūl is sixty-seven miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

2 Lālas, RSK, 3:3:3255.
his son, Rājā Gañsiṅgh Sūrajiṅghot (1619-38). Lūṇo first came into prominence in the year 1608, when he, Jēso Bhāṭī Goyandāḷ Māṇāvāṭ, and Munsī Kesāv began the installation of the Sūraśāgar Tank in Jodhpur. In 1610-11 these same three men had the Padmanābhiji Temple in Gāṅgāṇī village3 renovated. Then, during 1612-13, Sūrajiṅghot's pāṭrāṇi, Sobhāḡde, had the Sobhāḡdeṣar Tank built in Chījār village (in Kutch). After the tank was built, the village was resettled and Bhanḍārī Lūṇo had a garden begun there. Toward the end of Sūrajiṅghot's reign, Lūṇo became more involved in the activities of Kumvār Gañsiṅgh. In 1616-17 the Mughal Emperor Jāhāṅgīr had written the pargano of Jālōr4 into Gañsiṅghot's jāgīr and ordered the Kumvār to take Jālōr from Pahāṛ Kānān and the Bihārī Muslims then in control.5 Kumvār Gañsiṅgh then organized an expedition against Jālōr and seized the fort from the Bihārīs on August 30, 1617. Bhanḍārī Lūṇo was included in this expedition. Then, in the year 1618-19, Rājā Sūrajiṅghot departed for the Deccan and ordered Lūṇo, Gañsiṅgh, Vyās Nāṭho, and Kumvāvāt Rāṭhōṛ Rājāsīṅgh Khīṃvāvāt (no. 101) to assume supervision of the Jodhpur domains.

After Rājā Sūrajiṅghot died in 1619, Bhanḍārī Lūṇo soon attained positions of high importance in the regime of the new Rājā, Gañsiṅgh. The Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt (p. 187) notes that in the year 1624 Bhanḍārī Lūṇo became Rājā Gañsiṅghot's pradhān,6 and that previously he had held the dīvāṅgī, or position of dīvān, of Jodhpur. Probably while he was dīvān, Lūṇo participated in the transfer of authority over Mēṛto Pargano from Prince Parviz to Gañsiṅgh in 1623. In this year, Kumvāvāt Rāṭhōṛ Kānā (Kāṅhāsīṅgh) Khīṃvāvāt (no. 100) brought the deed of transfer from Prince Parviz's court to Mēṛto. Bhanḍārī Lūṇo then became involved in negotiations with Prince Parviz's men at Mēṛto over the transfer, and both he and Kāṅā were entrusted with establishing Rājā Gañsiṅghot's authority there.

Very soon after Bhanḍārī Lūṇo was made pradhān in 1624, he died. He was succeeded in this office by Kumvāvāt Rāṭhōṛ Rājāsīṅgh Khīṃvāvāt. A line of Lūṇo's descendants became known as Rāvḍārai Bhanḍārīs.

Bāṅkīḍās, p. 176; "Jodhpur rā Cākṛāṁ rī Vigat," p. 479; Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, pp. 152, 154, 168, 187; Mahārāj Śrī Gañsiṅghū kī Khyāt (MS no. 15666, Rājāṣṭhān Prācyavīdyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur), pp. 24, 112; Mūṇdiyār rī Rāṭhōṛāṁ rī Khyāt (MS no. 15635, no. 2, Rājāṣṭhān Prācyavīdyā Pratiṣṭhān, p. 479, indicates that Bhanḍārī Lūṇo was made pradhān in 1617 following Rājā Gañsiṅghot's conquest of Jālōr. This statement appears incorrect and is not supported by other sources.

3 Gāṅgāṇī (or Ghāṅgāṇī) village is seventeen miles northeast of Jodhpur.

4 Jālōr town and fort are sixty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.

5 According to a ms. entitled Jālōr Parganā rī Vigat, Prince Khurram held Jālōr from Jāhāṅgīr, and Khurram gave the pargano to Rājā Sūrajiṅghot. But it was Kumvār Gañsiṅgh who took control of the town. Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt, p. 152, n. 1.

6 "Jodhpur rā Cākṛāṁ rī Vigat," p. 479, indicates that Bhanḍārī Lūṇo was made pradhān in 1617 following Rājā Gañsiṅghot's conquest of Jālōr. This statement appears incorrect and is not supported by other sources.
The Mumhatos

During the last few centuries, the term Mumhato\(^1\) has had several different meanings in Mārvār. Derived from the Sanskrit mahānt ("great"),\(^2\) it has been used to refer to the agents or officials of ruling men. Over time, since only members of certain subdivisions of the Osval jāti served in this capacity, members of these subdivisions became known as Mumhatos. A list of these "mutsaddī" Osvals, as they were called, was compiled during the reign of Rājā Ajitsingh Jasvantsinghot (1707-24) of Jodhpur based on information contained in an old register (bahi) dated V.S. 1640 (A.D. 1583-84), from the reign of Moṭo Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot (1583-95):

Bhandalsī Mumhatos. During the reign of Rāv Cūndo Vīramot (d. ca. 1423), Bhandalsī Sukno became his servant. A few decades later, when Rāv Jodho Rīnmalot (ca. 1453-68) had fled Mevār, and Mārvār was occupied by Rāṇo Kūṃbhō Mokalot’s (ca. 1433-68) troops, one of Sukno’s descendants, Surto, attacked the Sīsodiyō military outpost in Māndo. He killed Āhārō Hīngolo and Mumhato Rāiṇāyar, the commanders of the garrison, and took the town. From Surto’s time onward the Bhandalsī Mumhatos were in the service of the Jodhpur rulers.

---

\(^1\) We have preferred the spelling Mumhato, which occurs in the texts translated, to Mumhatā, given by Sākariyā in his glossary of Middle Mārvārī terms, and Muhto, the form which appears in his RHSK (2:1075). Cf. Badriprasād Sākariyā, "Khyāt meṃ Prayukt Pad, Upadhi aur Virudādi Viśīṣṭ Saṅgīyōṃ ya Šabdom kī Arth sahit Nāmāvalī," in Mumhato Naiṇśi, Mumhatā Naiṇśi viracī Musuhatā Naiṇśi Naiṇśi Khyāt, edited by Badriprasad Sākariyā, vol. 4 (Jodhpur: Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān, 1967), p. 204. Lālas, in his RSK, 3:3:3779, gives the spelling Mumhatā but defines the word under the spelling Mahtā (3:3:3612).


\(^3\) Mutsaddī (A. mutasaddī): a writer, clerk.
Samdaršiyā Mumhatos. When Rāv Śujo Jodhāvat (ca. 1492-1515) married Rāṇī Likhmī of Jaisālmer, they came with her to Jodhpur as part of her dowry (dāyyjo). Rāv Śujo gave one of them, Mumhato Gumna, a sirpāv, and from that time onward they were servants of the Jodhpur rulers.

Kocar Mumhatos. Their service also dates from the time of Rāv Śujo Jodhāvat. Rāv Śujo's wife, Rāṇī Likhmī (Bhaṭiyāṇī Sāraṇgdejī) lived part of her life in Phalodhī in northern Mārvār with her son, Naro Śūjavat. While she was there, the Kocars became her servants. Later, during the reign of Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot (1583-95), several Kocars, Belo, Phato, and Dhīro, entered his service and received sirpāvs. They remained in the service of Jodhpur thereafter.

Bachāvat Mumhatos. Their service dates from the reign of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat (1532-62).

Bāgreca Mumhatos. Service attachments of this branch date from the reign of Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot (1583-95).

Daphtari Mumhatos. During the reign of Rājā Gajṣingh Sūraisinghot (1619-38), the son of Mumhato Mālu, Kesodās, took up residence at the Jodhpur daphτar. The service of the Daphtari Mumhatos dates from this time.

Vaid Mumhatos. Originally they were Paṇvār Rajputs who became Osvāḷs. They migrated from Bīkāner to Mārvār at an unspecified time. Their name, Vaid ("physician"), comes from one of their ancestors, who successfully treated one of the Sultāns of Delhi for an eye ailment.

To this list one may add the Muhaṇṭots, the family in which Muhaṇṭot Naiṃṣī was born. Naiṃṣī himself is sometimes referred to as "Mumhato Naiṃṣī."4

By the late nineteenth century, an entire separate branch of the Osvāḷ jāṭī, the Mumhato or Mūṭo Osvāḷs, had emerged. The author of the Hindi Census Report, 1891 (p. 418) notes that

The officials of jāgīrdārs, and also those Mahājans who for protection have become part of the bassī (i.e., vasī) of jāgīrdārs, are called Mūṭos.

When a Mūṭo became wealthy enough, he could buy his freedom from the vasī. But the claims of the jāgīrdār might still imperil him, as an old saying, "a Mūṭo does not become a ruined Baniyā," suggests. The implication is that the jāgīrdār

---

4 Mumhato is not to be considered a variant of Muhaṇṭot ("descendant of Mohan") as suggested by Sākariyā, "Khyāt men Prayukt Pad, Upadhi aur Virudādi Viśīṣṭ Saṅgyāom ya Śabdom kī Arth sahit Nāmāvalī," p. 204.
would not seize the funds of someone in his *vasī*, who would be under his protection, as easily as he would the funds of an independent Baniyā. The Hindi *Census Report* of 1891 does not include the Bhāṇḍśālis, Samdāryās, or others mentioned above among the Mūtōs; they are categorized as Osvāls only. But the English version of this report considers Bhāṇḍśālis, Bāgrecās, Vaid Muṃhatos, and Kocars to be Mūtōs. The Muṇhōts are not included among the Mūtōs by either version of the report, although Muṇhōt Naiṇśi is referred to as "Mohta" or "Mūtā (Muṃhato) Naiṇśi."


(no. 157) Muṃhato Khīṃvo Lālāvat

Muṃhato Khīṃvo Lālāvat was a *kāmdār* in the service of Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat of Merto (ca. 1497-1544; no. 105). The texts mention Khīṃvo as a member of Rāv Vīramde's forces ca. 1535, when Rāv Vīramde occupied Ajmer. Later in this same year, when Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62) drove Rāv Vīramde from Mārvār and Ajmer, Muṃhato Khīṃvo accompanied him into the areas of central and eastern Rājasthān where Rāv Vīramde lived in exile. Upon reaching Rīnthambhor, Rāv Vīramde sent Muṃhato Khīṃvo and his *pradhān*, Jaitmāl Rāṭhor Akhairāj Bhādāvat (no. 69), to meet with the *navaḥ* of the fort. Muṃhato Khīṃvo is credited with devising the strategy that finally obtained an audience with the *navaḥ* and led to Rāv Vīramde's eventual meeting with Sher Shāh Sūr in Delhi ca. 1543. This strategy involved the offer of a daughter of Rāv Vīramde in marriage to the young son of the *navaḥ*.

The sources at hand provide no further information about Muṃhato Khīṃvo and his life.


(no. 158) Muṃhato Nago

Muṃhato Nago was a *kāmdār* in the service of Bīkāvat Rāṭhor Rāv Jaitṣī Lūṅkaraṇot of Bīkāner (ca. 1526-42; no. 45). The texts under review mention Nago only once, as a companion of Kuṃvar Bhīṃrāj Jaitṣīyot, who accompanied the *kuṇvar* to Delhi to meet with Sher Shāh Sūr. Kuṃvar Bhīṃrāj had been sent to Delhi following his father Rāv Jaitṣī's death in battle in 1542,

---

5 Rīnthambhor is sixty-five miles southeast of Jaipur.
fighting against the forces of Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat of Jodhpur (1532-62), which had occupied Bīkāner.

Ojha, 5:1:136-138; Reu, 1:123; Vigat, 2:56.

(no. 159) Muṇhato Rāymal Khetāvat

Muṇhato Rāymal Khetāvat belonged to the Vaid subdivision of Muṇhatos, who claim descent from Paṇḍār Rajpūts. He played a prominent role in the affairs of Sojhat and Jodhpur between the years 1515 and 1532 when he was in the service of Rāv Vīramde Vāghāvat (no. 84), grandson of Rāv Sujo Jodhavat of Jodhpur (ca. 1492-1515). Rāymal became associated with Vīramde Vāghāvat and his family while Vīramde was a kuṇvār living in his grandfather’s court at Jodhpur. According to the Khyāt of Naiṃsi, four Māru thākurs came to Jodhpur on some occasion during Rāv Sujo’s last year of rule. One of these thākurs was Rāymal,6 who went to his home in Jodhpur. The other three went to the hall of assembly (darīkhāno). Then the rains began. And then

... these thākurs sent word to Vīramde’s mother, a Sīsodī:7 “Jī, the rains have prevented us [from leaving the hall of assembly]. You should look after us.” Then the Rāṇī sent word: “Wrap [yourselves with] woolens and depart for [your] camps, thākurs. Who will feed you here?” (Khyāt, 3:80).

The thākurs were highly dissatisfied with her response, and so sent word to Gāṅgo Vāghāvat’s mother, Udanbāī Cahuva, who had them stay in the hall of assembly, supplied them with what they required, and in general treated them with great deference. In gratitude, they promised the throne of Jodhpur to her son, Gāṅgo.

Very soon thereafter, Rāv Sujo died. These thākurs, who included Rāṭhor Bhairavdās Cāmpāvat8 and Rāṭhor Paṇcāṇ Akhairajot,9 led a faction at court that deposed Vīramde. They then had Gāṅgo Vāghāvat summoned from Īdar, where he had gone to live, and they placed him on the throne. His accession took place on November 8, 1515. The Khyāt of Naiṃsi (3:81) records that when these thākurs were leading the deposed Vīramde down from the fort

6 To our knowledge, this is the only incidence in Middle Mārvārī chronicles of a non-Rajpūt being referred to as a thākur.

7 According to other sources, Vīramde’s mother was not a Sīsodī, she was Devrī Raṅgāde. See “Jaitāvat Rāṭhor,” n. 4, supra.

8 See supra, “Cāmpāvat Rāṭhors.”

9 See supra, “Jaitāvat Rāṭhors.”
of Jodhpur, they met Mumhato Rāymal Khetavat, a strong supporter of Viramde and his family. Rāymal is reported to have said:

"Hey! Why are you taking that chosen successor (pāvī kumvar) down from the fort?" Then Rāymal brought Viramde back [to the fort]. Then they all gathered and they said: "Jī, give Viramde Sojhat." They made Viramde Rāv of Sojhat.

And so, through Mumhato Rāymal's efforts, Viramde acquired Sojhat as his share of the lands of Mārvār. When Rāv Viramde went to Sojhat, Mumhato Rāymal accompanied him there.

The Khyāt of Naiśī (3:81) records that after Rāv Viramde settled at Sojhat, he became deranged from his desire to take Jodhpur from Rāv Gāngo. And in the absence of Rāv Viramde's leadership, it was Mumhato Rāymal who led Rāv Viramde's warriors in battle and organized his campaigns against Rāv Gāngo. As hostilities grew,

If [Rāv] Gāngo would plunder one village of Sojhat, then [Mumhato] Rāymal would plunder two villages of Jodhpur. They lived like this, as their battle continued.

For a period of years, Mumhato Rāymal was very successful in his campaign against Jodhpur, and his warriors won a series of victories against those of Rāv Gāngo. The Khyāt of Naiśī explains this situation by noting that one of Rāv Gāngo's leading commanders, Rāṭhor Jaito Paṅcāinot (no. 61), kept his vasi in his ancestral village of Bagṛī (located nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat), which lay within Rāv Viramde's share of lands. Jaito's position, therefore, straddled both sides of this conflict.

Rāv Gāngo eventually ordered Jaito to leave Bagṛī and bring the people of his vasi to lands that were under Jodhpur rule. Jaito sent messages to his dhāy-bhāt (lit. "milk-brother"), Reṛo, at Bagṛī, asking him to abandon the village and bring the people to Bālar. But Reṛo refused to leave, because the original order had come from Rāv Gāngo and not from Rāv Viramde. When Mumhato Rāymal then continued to defeat Rāv Gāngo's warriors in battle, Rāv Gāngo summoned Jaito and rebuked him for not vacating Bagṛī. Jaito, in turn, ordered Reṛo to leave the ancestral village immediately. This command brought Reṛo into potential direct conflict with Mumhato Rāymal. Reṛo reasoned that if he were to kill Mumhato Rāymal, he and the people of Jaito Paṅcāinot's vasi would not have to leave Bagṛī. So he proceeded to Sojhat to seek out Mumhato Rāymal, who welcomed him and took him to pay respects to Rāv Viramde's Sīsodṇī Rāṇī:

He took Reṛo and went [to pay] respects to the Rāṇī. Rāymal went and paid [his] respects. Then she said: "Jī, Sir! Who is he?" Then he said: "Jī, he is the dhāy-bhāt of Jaitojī." Then he had [him] touch [her] feet. While they were returning, she took him aside and said: "Sir! Do not trust him! I perceive he has an
inauspicious look." Then Rāymal said: "Jī, he is one of ours."
But the Śisodṇī said: "Sir! Do not trust him."

Then Mumhato Rāymal and Rero proceeded to the hall of assembly. Rero realized that if they entered the hall, there would be too many men present for him to murder Mumhato Rāymal. He decided to kill him right there. He struck at the Mumhato with his sword, but just then Rāymal bent down to pick up a stone to throw at a bird. The sword grazed his back. Rāymal turned around and with one blow of his own sword cut off Rero's head. After this fiasco, Jaito Paṅcāṅot's people fled Bagṛī in fear of the Mumhato.

Although Mumhato Rāymal was able to maintain his position in this period, he did lose one of his most capable warriors, Rāṭhor Kūmpo Mahirājot (no. 95), to Jodhpur ca. 1529. Kūmpo had been lured to Jodhpur with the offer of a large grant of villages. He agreed to this offer upon the stipulation that Rāv Gāṅgo not attack Sojhat for one year. Rāv Gāṅgo accepted this condition, and Kūmpo then proceeded to Mumhato Rāymal to request his leave. He told the Mumhato that he was leaving because Rāv Vīrāmdē had no sons and when he died, the lands of Sojhat would return to Jodhpur. He implied that there was no benefit to a continued struggle, a line of reasoning made plain to him during his prior negotiations with Jodhpur. Mumhato Rāymal was displeased and said:

Kūmpojī! [Rāv Gāṅgo] would put [his] foot on [Mumhato Rāymal] Khetavat's chest and remove Vīrāmdē's dhōliyo from Sojhat [and] you are leaving?

In other words, Kūmpo had chosen the wrong moment to abandon his allegiance to Sojhat. And worse, all of the Riṃmalots10 in Sojhat followed him to Jodhpur. Rāymal was left with only seven hundred mounted retainers.

For a period of time thereafter, Rāv Gāṅgo appeared to have the upper hand. Kūmpo advised him to seize a few villages of Sojhat each year. He had the Rāv establish an outpost in Dhōlharo village11 on the border of Sojhat, where a large number of cindhārīs12 were stationed along with a stable of horses. Four umrāvs were placed in command of the men and horses. But Rāv Gāṅgo grew careless; he left the outpost to celebrate Hoḷī in the village where his vasi resided, on the assumption that Rāymal would also be observing Hoḷī and would not attack Dhōlharo. Given an opportunity, Rāymal swept down on the outpost and put four thousand men to the sword. He brought the horses captured in the

---

10 Riṃmalots: descendants of Rāv Riṃmal Cūṇḍāvat, ruler of Maṇḍor, ca. 1428-38.

11 Dhōlharo village is eighteen miles west-northwest of Sojhat.

12 See supra, "Jodho Rāṭhors," n. 28.
battle back to Sojhat.\textsuperscript{13} The \textit{Khyāt} of Naiṁṣī (3:85) states that Rāv Gāṅgo could not recover for two years.

It was during this time that Sekho Sūjavat (no. 86), the ruler of Pīmpār, suggested to Rāv Vīramde’s Sīsodṇī wife that she join forces with him. Naiṁṣī has written:

\begin{quote}

Then Sekho Sūjavat, who was Vīramdejī’s \textit{got-bhāī},\textsuperscript{14} came [to Sojhat]. He came and met with the Sīsodṇī [Rāṇī]. He said: "You should join me, in order that the weighing pan of your [scale] be heavy. Rāv Gāṅgo would not be a match [for us]." \textit{(Khyāt, 3:86)}
\end{quote}

The Sīsodṇī agreed to join Sekho against the advice of Mumhato Raymal. She joined forces with Sekho and Rāv Vīramde’s retainers fought alongside him at the battle of Sevaki in 1529.

Rāymal, discouraged that his advice was no longer being followed, sent word to Rāv Gāṅgo. He enjoined the Rāv to come to Sojhat:

\begin{quote}

Now you come, I will fight ... I will die fighting. [And] I will give the land [of Sojhat] to you.
\end{quote}

Rāv Gāṅgo and his son, Kuṃṉvar Mālde Gāṅgāvāt, then rode to Sojhat to meet Mumhato Rāymal in battle early in 1532. Before he went out to confront them, Rāymal circumambulated Rāv Vīramde’s bed in a clockwise direction (as a worshipper would an idol) and respectfully grasped the Rāv’s feet in the manner of a loyal retainer or a son. Then he gathered his \textit{sāth} and went to face Rāv Gāṅgo. He died fighting that day. Rāv Gāṅgo took Sojhat.

The \textit{Khyāt} of Bāṅkīdās (p. 10) has an interesting description of what happened in this battle:

\begin{quote}

The Vaid Mumhato, Rāymal, [was] in Sojhat. Rāvjī Gāṅgojī [and] Kuṃṉvar Māldejī went upon Sojhat. [During the battle], when Rāymal became a \textit{kabandh}, [his] sword moved with [what had been] the intent of [his] eye [and] made pieces of a boy (\textit{beṭārā baṭaṅkā kīyā}). They wrapped the [headless] corpse with an expensive woolen when it fell from the horse to the ground.
\end{quote}

A \textit{kabandh} is a body that keeps fighting even after its head has been severed in battle.\textsuperscript{15} The word comes from Kabandha, the name of a headless

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Jodhpur Rājya ki Khyāt}, p. 74, records that Mumhato Rāymal attacked Dholharo in February of 1532, considerably later than the time set forth in Naiṁṣī’s \textit{Khyāt}, and that he did not capture any horses.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Got-bhāī}: close male relation. Vīramde was Sekho Sūjavat’s half-brother’s son.

\textsuperscript{15} Cf. B.N. no. 84 for Jodho Rathor Vīramde Vaghavat, n. 35, supra.
demon in the Aranyakanda or Forest Book of the Rāmāyaṇa who confronts Rāma and his younger brother, Laksmana:

... there, facing them, stood the giant Kabandha, a creature without head or neck, his face set in his belly. The hair on his body was bushy and wiry, he towered over them like a mountain, a savage creature like a black storm cloud and with a voice like thunder. And in his chest, darting glances, thick-lashed, tawny, prodigious, wide, and terrible, was a single eye.16

Bāṅkīdās, by saying that Rāymal had become a kaban̄dh, is indicating that he lost his head, but he also is implying that Rāymal had the evil, ugly, yet powerful demeanor of Kabandha in the Rāmāyaṇa. And just as Kabandha was struck down by Rāma and Laksmana, so too was Mumhato Rāymal struck down by their descendants, the Rāthors of Jodhpur, who, unlike Rāymal, were Rajpūts. To compare Rāymal to a rāksasa, or demonic creature, may be Bāṅkīdās’s way of explaining what was to him an anomaly: an extraordinarily powerful man in middle period Mārvār who was not a Rajpūt.

Bāṅkīdās, pp. 9-10; Khyāt, 3:80-86; Murārdān, no. 1, pp. 639-641; no. 2, pp. 109-111; Vīgat, 1:42.

(no. 160) Mumhato Velo

Mumhato Velo was a kāmdār in the service of Rājā Gajsingh Sūrajsinghot of Jodhpur (1619-38). Vīgat, 2:74, mentions Velo in connection with Rājā Gajsingh's occupation of Merto in 1619-20. Following his succession to the Jodhpur throne in 1619, Rājā Gajsingh had sent Kūmpāvat Rāthor Rājsingh Khīṃvāvat (no. 101) and Mumhato Velo along with a contingent of retainers to Merto with the order to seize the māl and ghāsmāri revenues of this pargano from the Mughal officers of Prince Khurram under the supervision of the amin, Abu Muhammad Kambu (Abu Kābo). Rājsingh Khīṃvāvat and Bhaṇḍārī Lūṇo (no. 156) spent several days in negotiations with Abu. And Mumhato Velo was then stationed in Merto with the amin, during which time a fight broke out between their servants. When a settlement was finally reached, Mumhato Velo accepted the deed of discharge which Abu Kābo had drawn up

and sent to him at Meṛto. A final settlement of affairs at Meṛto and full transfer of this *pargano* to Rājā Gajsiṅgh was delayed until 1623.

*Vigat, 2:74.*
Pañcolîs

(no. 161) Abho Jhâjhâvat
(no. 162) Neto Abhâvat
(no. 163) Ratno Abhâvat

The Pañcolîs

The Pañcolîs are a branch of the Kayasth jāti, which is widespread in north India. In Mârvâr, the Kayasths are divided into two main groups: the pardeśîs, or outsiders, and the desîs, or natives. The desî Kayasths are all Mâthurs, one of the twelve major subdivisions of this jāti, and locally are known as Pañcolîs. Some say they received their name because they originally came to Mârvâr from Pañcolpurâ, a village near Delhi. Others say they are called Pañcolîs because of their knowledge of the five (pañc) elements. Still others say that in the beginning there were four castes, the Brâhman, Kśatriya, Vaiśya, and Śûdra; the Kayasths, who were not included in this scheme, formed a fifth, hence the name Pañcolî (from pañc, "five," and olî, "line," "occupation"). And finally, there is the tradition that five Mâthur Kayasths came with Rāv Āsthân Sihâvat from Kanauj to Mârvâr in the thirteenth century; they fought in a battle with an unnamed Muslim ruler's army at Pâlî and died along with the Râv. Their descendants, who remained in Mârvâr, are called Pañcolîs.

It is believed that there are eighty-four khâmps of Pañcolîs, but in Mârvâr only seventeen are to be found, and of these only three are important: the Mânakbhândârîs, Jhâmariyâs, and Bhivanîs, each of which may be discussed in turn:

(1) The Mânakbhândârîs. They are the Pañcolîs of most ancient origin in Mârvâr; their ancestor, Kulpatray, came to Sâmbhar in the seventh century and was the first man to produce salt there, an endeavor which pleased the local ruler, Râja Mânakdev Cauhâvan, who granted Kulpatray an annuity from the salt revenues. His ancestors enjoyed the rights to this annuity as late as the beginning of the twentieth century.

(2) The Jhâmariyâs. Their ancestor, Khîmsî, received an appointment from Ghiyâsuddîn Tughluq to the position of sübedâr, or local governor, at Khâṭû, at around the time in the fourteenth century when Râthor Râv Cûndo Vîramot (d. ca. 1423) had taken the fort of Maṇḍor from its Muslim commander. Ghiyâsuddîn, angered by Cûndo's action, was about to send an army to Mârvâr,

1 Pâlî town is forty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

2 Sâmbhar town located fifty miles northeast of Ajmer and eighty miles east-northeast of Meerto.

3 Khâṭû town is thirty-five miles east of Nâgaur.
but Khîmsî negotiated a compromise by which Cûndo was allowed to retain possession of Mândor. In gratitude, Cûndo made Dhanraj, Khîmsî's son, his pradhàn. From then on, the Jhâmariyâ Pañcolîs held important posts in Mârvâr and received rich rewards, as is apparent from the magnificence of the residences they built in Jodhpur after it was founded in 1459.

(3) The Bhivanîs. Sûdâ, the father of their ancestor Bhîân, was in the service of the ruler of Delhi, but incurred his displeasure and was ordered to be put to death. Bhîân went to Mârvâr and took refuge in Khâtû, where he married Jhâmariyâ Khîmsî's daughter.

Over the centuries the Pañcolîs of Mârvâr were active in court administration and military service, as suppliers and treasurers, and as agents or pleaders (vakîl). They have held important positions under the Jodhpur rulers, including divân, pradhàn, bagsî, etc.


(no. 161) Abho Jhâjhâvat
(no. 162) Neto Abhâvat
(no. 163) Ratno Abhâvat

Pañcolî Abho Jhâjhâvat was an important kâmdâr in the administrative service of Râv Mâlke Gângâvat of Jodhpur (1532-62). He held responsibility for overseeing the fiscal affairs of the kingdom. The "Jodhpur Hukûmat rî Bahî" (pp. 116-117) records that Abho received the two villages of Nandvân and Nahndaô (or Nahërvo) in _pato_ from Râv Mâlke for his maintenance, while various important umrâvs gave him eighteen others.⁴

Pañcolî Abho served under Râv Mâlke until his death at the battle of Mêrto in 1554. He was included in the contingent of warriors under the command of Râthor Prithîrâj Jaitâvat (no. 63) that Râv Mâlke sent against Meŗtîyo Râthor Râv Jaimal Viramdevot (no. 107) in this year. Pañcolî Abho was killed here along with one of his sons, Ratno Abhâvat. Another of his sons, Neto Abhâvat, is listed as also having been killed at Mêrto in 1554. However, Neto's name appears in the _Vigat_ (2:62) under a listing of Râv Mâlke's servants who witnessed the swearing of Meŗtîyo Râthor Jagmîl Viramdevot (no. 124) at the temple of Mahâmâyâ in Phâlodhî village⁶ of Mêrto ca. 1559. Meŗtîyo Jagmîl had proceeded to the Mahâmâyâ temple for his swearing of oaths to Râv Mâlke prior to his receipt of the _pato_ for one-half the villages of Mêrto from the Râv.

---

⁴ Nandvân is twelve miles south-southwest of Jodhpur, and Nahërvo is forty-seven miles south of Jodhpur.

⁵ _Vigat_, 1:54, says nineteen other villages.

---

4 Nandvân is twelve miles south-southwest of Jodhpur, and Nahërvo is forty-seven miles south of Jodhpur.

5 _Vigat_, 1:54, says nineteen other villages.
No other information is available about these Pañcolī servants of Rāv Mālde.

**RĀJASTHĀΝĪ KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY**
(from Middle Mārvārī sources)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antevar</td>
<td>wife; woman; harem, zenana; the female apartment of a royal household.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aulād</td>
<td>family; issue, progeny, offspring; lineage, clan, dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bābo</td>
<td>father; father's elder brother; father's father or grandfather; term of respect for an elder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahan</td>
<td>sister; woman born of the same clan (vaṃś) or brotherhood (bhāibandh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahanoī</td>
<td>sister's husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahū</td>
<td>wife; newly married woman, bride; son's wife; woman, female.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāi</td>
<td>sister, daughter; girl; mother; general term of reference for a woman or female.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bair</td>
<td>woman, female; wife; faithful and devoted wife; enmity, animosity, hostility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bālak</td>
<td>infant, baby, child; one who is inexperienced, immature; one who is playful, frolicsome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāp</td>
<td>father; progenitor, procreator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beto</td>
<td>son; boy, young male relation; term of affection for one who is like a son; offspring, progeny.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhābhī</td>
<td>elder brother's wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāī</td>
<td>uterine brother, born of the same mother; brother; male of the same gotra, clan (vaṃś) or brotherhood (bhāibandh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāibandh</td>
<td>(lit. &quot;brother-bound&quot;) brotherhood, those related by ties.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of male blood to a common ancestor.

**Bhānej**
(var. Bhānejo)

sister's son.

**Bhāni**
(var. Bhāneji)

sister's daughter.

**Bhaitjo**
(f. Bhaiji)

brother's son.

**Bhāyap**
(var. Bhāipo)

brotherhood; those who share ties of male blood to a common ancestor; alliance, friendship.

**Bhojāi**

elder brother's wife.

**C**

**Chokro**
(f. Chokri)

boy, male child; son; issue, progeny; slave boy.

**Choru**

son; boy, male child; progeny, offspring; young servant, slave boy.

**D**

**Dādo**
(f. Dādi)

father's father; term of respect for an elder brother or an elder male.

**Dāvro**
(f. Dāvrī)

son; young boy; male child.

**Devar**

husband's younger brother.

**Dhanī**

husband; master, lord.

**Dhāy-bhāi**

milk-brother; male to whom one is related through sharing the nipple or milk of a wet-nurse (dhāy); son of the woman who suckles a boy.

Among Rajputs, a wet-nurse was generally a Rajputāni who raised her own son with the son of the ruler or thākur whom she nursed, as his dhāy-bhāi.

**Dikro (var. Dikro)**
(f. Dikri; var. Dikri)

son; young boy.

**Dohitro**
(f. Dohitri)

daughter's son; grandson.

Dolo\textsuperscript{29} marriage custom whereby a father sends his daughter, seated in a litter or sedan, to the groom’s house for the wedding; generally indicative of a ranked relationship, where an inferior gives a daughter to a superior.

Duhāgan\textsuperscript{30} married woman who has lost the favor of her (living) husband; wife who is disregarded and out of favor; widow.

Dumāt-bhāī\textsuperscript{31} brother born of the father’s co-wife or step-mother; half-brother.

G

Ghardhaṃ\textsuperscript{32} husband; master of the house.

Gharāṇo\textsuperscript{33} family; clan, lineage, brotherhood; offspring, progeny; those related by ties of male blood to a common ancestor.

Got-bhāī man or brother born of the same gotra.

Gotī/Gotiyo person born of the same gotra.

Gotra\textsuperscript{34} clan, lineage, family (vamsī, kul); those sharing ties of male blood to a common ancestor and the same gotra designation (usually the name of a god or sage [ṛṣī]).

Gothiyo\textsuperscript{35} friend, companion, boyhood friend; one with whom one shares food communally, as at a feast (goth).

J

Jamāi\textsuperscript{36} daughter’s husband.

Jeth\textsuperscript{37} husband’s elder brother.

K

Kabīlo\textsuperscript{38} family, clan, lineage; offspring; progeny; harem, the women who reside with the wife of a ruler (rāṇī) in the women’s quarters.

Kadūmbo\textsuperscript{39} family, clan, lineage.

Kāko\textsuperscript{40} father’s brother; paternal uncle.

Kapūt\textsuperscript{41} bad boy; unworthy, underserving son.

Khāmp\textsuperscript{42} clan, lineage (vamsī, kul), brotherhood (bhartbandh);
those sharing ties of male blood to a common ancestor; segment, part, piece.

Kuṭṭa\textsuperscript{43} clan, lineage (vamśa, gotra), brotherhood; those sharing ties of male blood to a common ancestor.

\textbf{L}

\textbf{Lark}o\textsuperscript{44} (f. Larḵā) boy; son; young male child.

\textbf{Loharo-beṭo} younger son.

\textbf{Loharo-bhāī}\textsuperscript{45} younger brother.

\textbf{M}

\textbf{Mā}\textsuperscript{46} mother; paternal grandmother.

\textbf{Mahaṭ}\textsuperscript{47} woman, female; pretty, young woman; wife; beloved favorite.

\textbf{Māṭi}\textsuperscript{48} parents, mothers and fathers; elders; elders honored as mothers and fathers; ancestors, forefathers.

\textbf{Māmāṇo}\textsuperscript{49} (var. Mūmāṇo) mother's brother's home; maternal grandfather's home.

\textbf{Māmī} mother's brother's wife.

\textbf{Māmo}\textsuperscript{50} mother's brother.

\textbf{Māṇṭī}\textsuperscript{51} husband, master, lord; man; relation; ally, friend; warrior, strong and powerful man.

\textbf{Māṣi}\textsuperscript{52} mother's sister; maternal aunt.

\textbf{Māvliyāī-bhāī}\textsuperscript{53} blood or uterine brother; brother born of the same mother; half- or step-brother; mother's family brother, that is, first cousin on the mother's side; mother's brother's son (or) mother's sister's son.

\textbf{N}

\textbf{Nānāṇo}\textsuperscript{54} mother's father's home.

\textbf{Nāno}\textsuperscript{55} (f. Nānī) mother's father; maternal grandfather.
family; dependents, relations; those who share ties of male blood to a common ancestor; those dependent on a particular person for their maintenance and nourishment.

abdomen, belly, stomach; foetus; son; offspring, progeny; those sharing ties of male blood to a common ancestor.

(lit. "generation") a genealogy.

married woman's father's home; maternal parent's home.

son's son; grandson.

elder brother; ancestor, forefather.

son; young boy.

wife's sister's husband.

betrothal; alliance; relationship, connection.

relation through marriage; one to whom one gives and/or from whom one receives a daughter in marriage (also referred to as sagpan); ally; uterine, born of one mother.

uterine brother.

uterine sister.

(lit. "branch, as of a tree") clan, lineage (vams, kul, gotra), brotherhood; those related by ties of male blood to a common ancestor.

wife's brother; term of abuse.
466

Sāmi
d69 husband; god, ruler, master.

Sapūt
70 good, dutiful son; worthy son; warrior, fighter.

Sāsro
71 home of one's husband or wife's father.

Sāsriyo
72 those of the home of one's husband or wife's father.

Sāsū
73 mother of one's husband or wife.
(var. Sāsu/Sās)

Sok
74 co-wife.
(var. Sauk)

Suhīgaṇ
75 woman whose husband is living; woman who is not a widow; woman who is favored/loved by her husband.

Susro
76 father of one's husband or wife.
(var. Sasuro/Sasro)

T

Ṭābar
77 boy (or girl) child.

V

Vaṃś
78 family, clan, lineage (gotra, kuḷ), brotherhood; offspring, descendants; those related by ties of male blood to a common ancestor.

1 Khyāṭ, 3:30-31; Lāḷas, RSK, 1:11; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 85.

2 Khyāṭ, 1:2, 14, 51, 101, 336-337, 2:16, 31; Lāḷas, RSK, 1:370, 379; Sākariyā, RHSK, pp. 184, 188.

3 Khyāṭ, 2:20, 3:116; Lāḷas, RSK, 3:2:3014; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 886; Vigat, 1:58.


5 Khyāṭ, 1:265, 2:244-245, 3:43, 65; Lāḷas, RSK, 3:2:2935; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 872.

6 Khyāṭ, 1:75, 2:211, 203, 3:66, 80, 146, 148; Lāḷas, RSK, 3:2:2949; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 874; Vigat, 1:14.

8 Khyāt, 1:7, 15, 36, 2:40, 114, 228, 299, 341, 3:139, 144, 148, 258; Lālas, RSK, 3:2:3206-3207; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 924; Vigat, 1:9, 20, 55, 72, 492, 2:46.

9 Khyāt, 1:49, 75, 2:34, 296, 3:273; Lālas, RSK, 3:2:3206-3207; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 918; Vigat, 1:2-3, 12, 29, 52, 69, 78, 111, 2:1, 11, 38.


12 Khyāt, 3:64, 66-67; Lālas, RSK, 3:2:3346.

13 Khyāt, 1:14, 2:50, 86, 290, 304, 3:63-64, 144, 244; Lālas, RSK, 3:2:3334; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 953; Vigat, 1:8, 48, 51, 2:6, 43, 66.


16 Khyāt, 3:104; Lālas, RSK, 3:3:3328-3329; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 957.


18 Khyāt, 2:301; Lālas, RSK, 3:3:3334, 3347; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 959.

19 Khyāt, 3:64-65, 67, 163, 270; Lālas, RSK, 3:3:3450; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 984.


22 Khyāt, 1:87, 93, 186, 3:85; Lālas, RSK, 2:2:1704-1705; Sākariyā, RHSK, pp. 604-605; Vigat, 2:3, 48.

23 Khyāt, 1:2, 103, 2:19, 60, 210, 287, 3:94, 103; Lālas, RSK, 2:1:1377-1378; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 513; Vigat, 1:21, 47.

24 Khyāt, 3:64, 271; Lālas, RSK, 2:2:1807; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 625.
25 Bātām ro Jhūmakho, 1:47; Khyāt, 1:1, 80, 2:12, 26, 3:3, 13, 148, 266; Lālas, RSK, 2:2:1865; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 634; Vigat, 1:1-3, 27, 29, 72, 175, 2:1, 3, 57, 215.

26 Khyāt, 1:71, 2:180, 3:82-83; Lālas, RSK, 2:2:1906; Vigat, 1:72, 76, 87, 449.


29 Lālas, RSK, 2:1:1400; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 521; Vigat, 1:3, 23, 103.

30 Khyāt, 2:210, 297; Lālas, RSK, 2:2:1788; Sākariyā, RHSK, pp. 619-620.

31 Khyāt, 1:263-264; Lālas, RSK, 2:2:1770; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 616.

32 Khyāt, 2:268; Lālas, RSK, 1:805; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 344.

33 Lālas, RSK, 1:806; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 345; Vigat, 2:55.

34 Khyāt, 1:9, 23, 111, 128, 3:86, 175; Lālas, RSK, 1:769; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 335; Vigat, 1:115.

35 Khyāt, 1:216; Lālas, RSK, 1:767; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 334.


37 Khyāt, 3:148; Lālas, RSK, 2:1:1157; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 454.

38 Khyāt, 2:29, 206; Lālas, RSK, 1:414; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 201; Vigat, 1:12-13, 102.

39 Khyāt, 2:65, 267, 3:104; Lālas, RSK, 1:392; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 194.


41 Lālas, RSK, 1:412; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 200; Vigat, 2:293.

42 Bātām ro Jhūmakho, 1:47; Lālas, RSK, 1:605; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 283.

43 Khyāt, 1:2, 3:73, 104; Lālas, RSK, 1:605; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 283.

44 Khyāt, 3:273; Lālas, RSK, 4:1:4296; Sākariyā, RHSK, p. 1191.


74 *Khyät*, 3:63, 144; Lāḷas, *RSK*, 4:3:5857; *Vigat*, 1:47.


INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

A

‘Abdu-llah Khān 32
‘Abdu-llah Khān Uzbek 114
Abhaykumvar (Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Rāv Viramde Dūdāvats daughter) 344
Abhayraj Jodhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 18
Abho Bhojavat (Sāṅkhlo Paṃvār) 313
Abho Jhajhavat (PancolT) (no. 161) 394, 458-459
Ābo Tejāvat (Vīṭhū Čāraṇ) 352
Abu Kābo 326, 328, 369, 456
Abu Muḥammad Kambu 326, 328, 456
Ābu ’l-Fazl, Shaikh 102, 225, 361
Acaldās/Aclo Bhairavdāsot (Jeso Bhāṭi) 75, 79, 301
Acaldās Bhojavat (Khīcī Cahuvān) 185-186, 189
Acaldās Jimalot (Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor) 349
Acaldās Sāṃvatsiyot (Sācoro Cahuṇān) 285
Acalṣīṅgh Gajiṣīṅghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 56
Aclo Paṅcāṇot (Jaitāvat Rāṭhor) 231, 246
Aclo Rāyimalot (Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor) (no. 110) 336, 352, 376
Aclo Rāyimalot, Rāv (Candrāvat Sisodīyō Gaḥlot) 35, 123
Aclo Sivrājot (Jodho Rāṭhor) (no. 80) 256-258, 290
Aclo Viramdevot (Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor) 345
Ādho Durso (Čāraṇ) 94
Advāl Rīṇmaḷot (Advāḷot Rāṭhor) 14
Advāḷot Rāṭhors 14
Afghan(s) 129-130, 355
Ahaṅkardeji, Rāṇī Devrī (Rāṭhor Rāv Candrasen Māldevot’s wife) 39
Āhārī (Āhārō Gaḥlot Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ Prithīrājot’s daughter) 114
Āḥāro Gaḥlot(s) 113-115
Āḥmad Khān Kokā 114
Āidān (Khīrīyo Čaṇaṇ) 399
Ajāyadeji, Rāṇī Cahuṇān (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rāṇā Udaisiṅgh Māldevot’s wife) 43-44, 281, 285
Ajit Māldevot (Hāḍo Cahuṇān) 14
Ajit Sāṃvatsiyot (Mohīl Cahuṇān) 15, 431-432
Ajitṣiṅgh Javsantsiṅghot, Rājā (Jodho Rāṭhor) 63, 449
Ajo Pithmṛāvat/Prithīrāvat (Sācoro Cahuṇān) 274
Ajo/Ajmāl Siḥāvat (Rāṭhor) 224
Akhairaj (Bhati) 35
Akhairaj Jagmalot, Rāv (Devro Cahuvaṇ) 97, 273
Akhairaj Kalyāṇdevot, Rājā (Kachvāho) 137
Akhairaj Kanhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 281, 293
Akhairaj Kanhāvat (Solāṅkī ?) 118
Akhairaj Rājsinghot, Rāv (Devro Cahuvaṇ) 62
Akhairaj Rindhirot (Sonagaro Cahuvaṇ) (no. 9) 32, 47, 81, 107-109, 112, 121-122, 165-166, 168, 206, 305
Akhairaj Rinmalot (Akhairajot Rāṭhor) 12, 162-170, 199, 206, 227, 246, 262, 298, 300, 331, 378
Akhairaj Sekhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 290
Akhairaj Udaisinghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 42
Akhairajot Rāṭhor(s) 4-5, 12, 162-170, 227, 262, 274, 298-299, 378, 418
Akho Soḍhāvat (Paṇḍvār of Cāsū) (no. 23) 150, 152-153, 342
Ālān Bhindāvat (Dūṅgarot Devro Dahuvān) 98
‘Ali Sher (Bihārī Paṭhān) 395
Amadsarī, Jodhī Rāṭhor (Sekhāvat Kachvāho Sūjo Rāymalot's wife) 264
Amar Singh (Rāṭhor) 64-65
Amar Singh, Rāṇā (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 118
Amarsingh, Rājā (Parihār) 224
Amarsingh Gajsinghot, Rāv (Jodho Rāṭhor) 57-58, 61, 64-66, 329
Amarsingh Harisinghot, Rāv (Candrāvat Sisodiyo Gahlot) 62, 289
Amarsingh Kalyāṇmalot (Bikvārot Rāṭhor) 361
Amarsingh Pratāpsinghot, Rāṇo (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 52, 62, 95, 118, 126, 142, 179, 321-322
Amarsingh Vikramādiyot, Rājā (Vāghelo Solāṅkī) 56
Amlokdekumvar, Sonagarī Cahuvaṇ (pihar name; Jodho Rāṭhor Mahesdās Dalpatot's wife) 288
Amolakhdeji, Rāṇī Bhātiyāṇī (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot's wife) 53
Amrāṁ, Rāṇī Kachvāhī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot's wife) 54
Amratdeji, Rāṇī Cahuvaṇ (Rāṭhor Rājā Gajsingh Sūrajsinghot's wife) 56
Amro Rāṁāvat (Cāmpvāt Rāṭhor) (no. 51) 199, 210-212
Anakhsī Rāysīyot (Jāṅgalvo Sāṅkhlo Paṇḍvār) 161
Ānand Jesāvat (Jesco Bhāti) 73-75, 79
Ānand Kuṃvar, Rāṇī Sāṅkhīli (pihar name; Udāvat Rāṭhor Ūdo Sūjāvat's wife) 389
Ānandkumvarbārī, Rāṇī Devṛī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rājā Javsantśingh Gajsinghot's wife) 62
Andībāi (Rāṭhor Rājā Gajsingh Sūrajsinghot's daughter) 56
Ankardeji, Rāṇī Kachvāhī (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's wife) 42
Anopkumvar, Sisodiṇī (Senior) (Udāvat Rāṭhor Ūdo Sūjāvat's wife) 388
Anopsingh Jaimalot (Mertīyo Rāṭhor) 349
Apmal (Sindhal Rathor) 248, 257
Apuravdeji, Rani Sisodhi (Rathor Moço Raja Udaisingh Maldheat's wife) 42
Ararkamal Cundavat (Cundavat Rathor) 213, 223
Ardhanbai, Rani Jhali (pihar name; Rathor Rav Mlaede Gangaوات's wife) 27
Arisingh Lakhmanot (Sisodiyoo Gahlot) 122
Arjan Rymalot (Mertiyo Rathor) (no. 111) 336, 352-353, 376
Arjan Sivrajot (Jodho Rathor) 258, 290
Arjan Vithaldasot (Gaur) 64-65
Asaf Khan 142
Asal Sindhalot (Sindhal Rathor) 383
Ashraf Khan 100
Askaran, Raul (Ahbo Gahlot) 114
Askaran Bhimvrajot, Raj (Rajavat Kachvaho) 29, 39, 45, 50, 144, 349, 358
Askaran Candrasenot (Jodho Rathor) 31, 37-38
Askaran Devidasot (Jaitavat Rathor) 309-310, 321
Askaran Maldevot (Jodho Rathor) 30
Askaran Prithirajot, Raval (Aharo Gahlot) (no. 11) 28, 113-115
Askaran Sutavat (Cundavat Rathor) (no. 55) 213, 217-219, 223, 337, 383, 386
Askumbarai (Jodho Rathor Raja Jusajsingh Udaisinghot's daughter) 52-53
Askumbarai (Jodho Rathor Rav Candrasen Maldheat's daughter) 38
Aso, Raval (Cavro) 31, 47
Asthan Sihavat, Rav (Rathor) 224, 382, 415, 458
Atisukhdeji, Rani Devri (Rathor Raja Jasvantsingh Gajsinghot's wife) 62
Atraangdeji, Rani Kachvahi (Rathor Raja Jasvantsingh Gajsinghot's wife) 61
Aurangzeb (Mughal Prince) 182, 286, 289, 369
Avadhji 216
Azam Khan 131

B

Babur (Mughal Emperor) 82, 120, 146-147, 152, 204, 341, 352, 399, 424
Bachavat Mumhato 450
Bachraj Sangavat, Rano (Mohil Cahuvan) 432
Badfarosh (Bhat) 134
Bagho (Sindhal Rathor) 201
Baghra (Rathor Rav Malde Gangavat's daughter) 35
Bagrecas Mumhato 450-451
Bagriyo Cahuvan 34
Bahar Bahu Begam (Mughal Emperor Jahangir's daughter) 360
Bahaar Dhaaroivarohot (Parvnr) 157
Bahirmer Rathor(s) 27, 29
Bahirmeri Rathor (Devro Cahuvan Rav Mansingh Dudavat's wife) 87
Bahirmeri Rathor (Devro Cahuvan Rav Surtan Bhanot's wife) 90
Bari (Jodho Rathor Vagho Sujavat's daughter) 264
Baitharsiyo Rathor(s) 410
Bakhal Candanot (Jagathh Caren) 422
Balaavat Rathor(s) 5, 13, 83-85, 171-177, 242

Bālbāi, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (pihar name; Rāṭḥor Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot's wife) 50

Balbhādār Surtāṇōt (Meṛṭīyo Rāṭḥor) (no. 114) 336, 356, 372, 375
Bālhabāi (Rāṭḥor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's daughter) 34
Bālīsī Cahuvāṇ (Jodho Rāṭḥor Acło Sivrājōt's wife) 258
Bālīsā Cahuvāṇ(s) 80-85, 173-174, 176, 242, 412
Bālo Bālkharōt (Bālāvat Rāṭḥor) 12, 171, 173, 177
Bālo Bālkharśiyōt (Rīṇmalōt Rāṭḥor) 201
Bālo Narsīṅghōt (Kachvāhō) 149
Baloc 74, 158-159, 172, 192, 431
Balū Sāṃvatsiyōt (Sācoro Cahuvāṇ) 285
Bālū Tejsiyōt (Bhārmālot Rāṭḥor) 179-180, 183
Bāṅgo Hāḍāvat (Hāḍo Cahuvāṇ) 103
Bāniyā 428, 450-451
Bāṅkīdās (Soṭho Paṁvār) 52
Bāṅopāl Lākhāvat (Paṁkī Golvāl Brāhman) 363
Bāqī Kān 182
Barvā Bhaṭs 122
Bāz Bahādūr 114
Belo (Kocar Muṁhato) 450
Bhdāvat Rāṭḥor(s) 166
Bhādō (Māṅgliyo Gahlot) 116

Bhādō Mokaḷōt (Jaitmālot Rāṭḥor) (no. 68) 247, 249-250, 252, 255, 261

Bhado Paṅcāṇōt (Akhaīrājōt Rāṭḥor) (no. 32) 121, 162, 165-166, 169, 304, 343, 418
Bhāgāṇ (Rāṭḥor Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalōt's daughter) 15, 294, 441
Bhāgvāṇḍās Udaisinghōt (Jodho Rāṭḥor) 42, 282, 291, 323
Bhāgvāṃkūṃvar, Bhaṭiyāṇī (Cāṃpāvat Rāṭḥor Bhairavdās Cāṃpāvat's wife) 203
Bhāgvantdās Bhārmālot, Rājā (Rājāvat Kachvāhō) 30, 43, 46, 140, 144, 283, 354, 361
Bhāgvatībāi, Rāṇī Sonagaṛī (pihar name; Rāṭḥor Rājā Gajsingh Sūrajsinghōt's wife) 57
Bhāgwān Dās, Rājā 100
Bhāgwant Dās, Rajah (Rājāvat Kachvāhō) 138

Bhāiravdās Bhāḍāvat (Jaitmālot Rāṭḥor) (no. 70) 247, 249, 251, 255
Bhāiravdās Cāṃpāvat (Cāṃpāvat Rāṭḥor) 201-204, 210, 212, 228, 265, 452
Bhāiravdās Jaisinghdevōt (Sācoro Cahuvāṇ) 106
Bhāiravdās Jesāvat (Jesō Bhaṭī) 73-76, 79, 299, 301, 306
Bhākhar Narharōt (Śrīmāḷī Brāhmaṇ) 389
Bhākhar Rīṇmalōt (Rīṇmalōt Rāṭḥor) 12, 171, 177

Bhākhārśi Đūṅgarsiyōt (Jodho Rāṭḥor) (no. 81) 256, 258, 290

Bhākhārśi Jaitāvāt (Jaitāvat Rāṭḥor) (no. 66) 227, 240, 244, 246
Bhākhārśi Jhānīhansiyōt (Candrāvat Sisodiyo Gahlot) 123
Bhāktāvārsingh, Rāv (Cahuvāṇ) 350
Bhāṇ Akhaīrājōt (Sonagāro Cahuvāṇ) 47

Bhāṇ Bhojrajōt, Rāv (Rīṇmalōt Rāṭḥor) (no. 130) 378-381
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhan Kajavat (Uhar Rathor)</td>
<td>166, 415-418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhan Kumpavat (Kumpavat Rathor)</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhan Maldevot (Jodho Rathor)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhan Raimalot (Sacoro Cahuwan)</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhan Rindhrot (Devro Cahuwan)</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhan Saktavat (Saktavat Sisodiyo Gahlot)</td>
<td>45, 57, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhan Udavat (Udavat Rathor)</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhandari(s)</td>
<td>446-448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhandos (Sindhal Rathor)</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhandos Vairavat (Hado Cahuwan)</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhandosali Mumhato(s)</td>
<td>449, 451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhanidasis (purohit)</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhanidasi Khimvavat (Udavat Rathor)</td>
<td>402, 404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bham Ram Rupavat (Ratnum Caran)</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharmal Balaavat (Balavat Rathor)</td>
<td>171, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharmal Jodhavat (Bharmalot Rathor)</td>
<td>17, 178, 183, 256, 259-260, 416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharmal Kanhavat (Cundavat Rathor)</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharmal Prithirajot, Raja (Rajavat Kachvahoo)</td>
<td>128, 138, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharmalot Rathor(s)</td>
<td>5, 17, 178-183, 256-257, 259, 342, 416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhario, Rav</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatriyani (Jodho Rathor Vagho Sujavat's wife)</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatriyani (Kumpavat Rathor Kumpo Maharajot's wife)</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatriyani (Rathor Rav Jodho Rimalot's mother)</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatriyani (Sonagaro Cahuwan Lolo Rangavat's mother)</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatriyani, Rani (Rathor Moto Raja Udaisingh Maldevot's wife)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatriyani, Rani (Rathor Raja Gajsingh Suraisinghot's wife)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatriyani, Rani (Sisodiyo Gahlot Rano Udaisingh Sangavat's wife)</td>
<td>92, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatriyani, Rani (Rathor Moto Raja Udaisingh Maldevot's wife)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhats</td>
<td>127, 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavanidias Ratansiyo (Udavat Rathor)</td>
<td>405-406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavanidias Tejsiyo (Sivar Brahman purolit)</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavanshi/Brinwi, Rano (Sisodiyo Gahlot)</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavisingh Chatrasalet, Ravrajaa (Hado Cahuwan)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavisingh Mansinghot, Raja (Kachvaho)</td>
<td>52, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhian Sodavat (Bhivan Paicol)</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiin/Bhimvo, Ravat (Mahevec Rathor)</td>
<td>234, 236-237, 403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiim Amravat/Amarasinghot, Raja (Sisodiyo Gahlot) (no. 15)</td>
<td>118-119, 126, 154, 369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiim Rathor (Udavat Bhimv Kilandaosot)</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiim Sen Rathor (Udavat Bhimv Kilandaosot)</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiim Udavat (Udavat Rathor)</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiimdev, Rajaa (Solaniki)</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiiraj Jaisiyo, Kumvar (Bikavat Rathor) (no. 47)</td>
<td>191, 195, 198, 451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhimv Cundavat (Bhimvot Rathor)</td>
<td>184-185, 188-190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiimv/Bhim Harrajot, Raval (Bhauti)</td>
<td>29, 57, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiimv Kilandaosot (Udavat Rathor) (no. 142)</td>
<td>386, 406-409</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bhim Vaghavat (Jodho Rathor) 263
Bhimot Rathor(s) 5, 184-190
Bhima Prithirajot (Kachvaho) 33, 144
Bhimsi/Bhimsvimh Rathor (Udavat Rathor Bhim Kilandasot) 407
Bhindo (Dungarot Devro Cahuva) 98
Bhivani Pancholis 458-459
Bhoj, Ray (Hado Cahuva) 102
Bhoj Hamirot (Mangliyo Gahlot) 295
Bhoj Kganghalot (Kachvaho) 136
Bhoj Surjanot, Rav (Hado Cahuva) 100-103
Bhojo Gangaot, Rav (Jaitmalo Rathor) (no. 76) 247, 252, 255
Bhojo Sangaot (Jangalo Sankhlo Pamvar) 161
Bhojo Sihavat, Rav (Varsinghot Mehtyo Rathi) (no. 148) 250, 260-261, 342,
420, 424-425, 430
Bhojraj Akhairjot (Sonagaro Cahuva) 109, 112
Bhojraj Jaitmalo Rathor (Bhojrajot Rathor) 14
Bhojraj Kumpavat (Siwar Brhman purohit) 387, 389
Bhojraj Maldevot (Jodho Rathi) 33
Bhojraj Mandlikot, Raval (Mahuco Rathi) 335
Bhojraj Sadavat (Rinmalot Rathi) 381
Bhojraj Sangavat (Sisodioyo Gahlot) 340
Bhojraj Udavat (Udavat Rathi) 389
Bhojrajot Rathor(s) 14
Bholavat Bhats 299
Bhopat/Bhopatsingh Udaisinghot (Jodho Rathi) 42, 53, 154, 278, 282, 291
Bhopatsingh Khimvat (Udavat Rathi) 402
Bhopatsingh (Gaur) 289
Bhupal Chatramanot, Kumvar (Jadav) 63
Bihari Mal, Rajah (Kachvaho) 138-139
Bihari Pathan(s) 89, 327, 447
Bikaner Rathor(s) 13-14, 195, 232
Bikavat Rathor(s) 5, 17, 191-198, 256-257, 305, 431, 436, 438
Biko (Vikramisingh) Rasiinghot, Raval (Sisodioyo Gahlot) 119, 126
Biko Viramdevot (Mehtyo Rathi) 345
Birbar, Raja 114
Boro Cahuva(s) 395
Brhman (purohit) 185
Brhman(s) 86, 94, 194, 282, 314, 339, 350, 367, 389, 400, 405, 422, 428, 458
Burhan (slave) 396
Burhan Pathan 393-394
C
Cacag Viramot (Runeo Sankhlo Pamvar) 161
Cacagde, Raval (Bhati) 78
Cacagde, Raval (Bhati) 18, 78
Caghatai Khan 138-139
Cāhar Māṇḍaṇot (Khiṇiyo Cāraṇ) 350
Cāhuvān (Mṛtiyo Rāṭhor Gopālḍās Surtāṇot's wife) 356
Cāhuvān, Rāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalot's wife) 18
Cāhuvānji, Rāṇī (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's wife) 47
Cāhuvānji, Rāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Sūjō Jodhāvat's wife) 21
Cāhuvān(s) 73-74, 80, 103-104, 107, 194, 274, 338, 391, 397, 400, 406, 421, 446
Cāmpābāī (Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāgḥavāt's daughter) 25
Cāmpābāī, Rāṇī Sonagarl (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajaṅsiṅgh Udaisinghot's wife) 17, 108, 337, 420
Cāmpābāī, Rāṇī Viṛampuri (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajaṅsiṅgh Udaisinghot's wife) 53
Cāmpāvat Rāṭhor(s) 5, 13, 18, 82, 163, 173, 199-212, 228, 265, 316, 452
Cāmpo Karamsiṅyot (Sīndhāl Rāṭhor) (no. 136) 382, 385
Cāmpo Rīṇmalot (Cāmpāvat Rāṭhor) 13, 163, 199-203, 206, 209-210, 212
Cāmūṇḍā Deviẓī 214
Cāṇḍā Khaṅot (Dhirāvaṭ Kachvāḥo) 137
Cāṇḍabāī, Rāṇī Sīsoḍṇī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's wife) 38
Cāṇḍo Dūrgāvaṭ (Cāndrāvaṭ Sīsoḍiyo Gahlot) 57
Cāṇḍo Viṛamdevot (Mṛtiyo Rāṭhor) (no. 123) 336, 345, 347, 364-366, 374
Cāndrabhāṇ Jaiṭsiṅyot (Naruṅko Kachvāḥo) 58
Cāṇḍrāj Jodhāvaṭ (Jaiṭmaḷot Rāṭhor) (no. 74) 175, 238, 247, 251-252, 255
Cāndrakumvavr, Sīsoḍṇī Gahlot (pihar name; Mṛtiyo Rāṭhor Rāv Dūḍo Jodhāvaṭ's wife) 340
Cāndramati (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's daughter) 42
Cāndramatiḥbāī (Rāṭhor Rājā Gajsiṅgh Sūrajaṅsiṅghot's daughter) 56
Cāndrasen Paṅcāvaṭ (Bhaṭṭi) 54, 78
Cāndrasen Paṭāvaṭ, Rāv (Sodho Paṅvār) 52
Cāndrasen Rāysiṅghot, Rāṇo (Jhālo) 29, 45
Cāndrasen Uddhraṅṇot, Rājā (Kachvāḥo) 144-145
Cāndrav Jodhāvaṭ (Jodho Rāṭhor) 15
Cāndrāvalbāī, Rāṇī Kachvāḥi (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāgḥavāt's wife) 25
Cāndrāvaṭ Sīsoḍiyo Gahlot(s) 5, 122-124
Cāndrāvaṭibāī (Rāṭhor Rājā Gajsiṅgh Sūrajaṅsiṅghot's daughter) 56
Cāndrāvaṭjī, Rāṇī Sīsoḍṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgavāṭ's wife) 35
Cāndro Arisiṅghot (Cāndrāvaṭ Sīsoḍiyo Gahlot) 122
Cāndro Bhavāsiṅyot/Bhūṃsiṅyot (Cāndrāvaṭ Sīsoḍiyo Gahlot) 122-123
Cāndro Harṇoṭ (Cāndrāvaṭ Sīsoḍiyo Gahlot) 123
Cārāṇ jati 216
Cārāṇī 216
Cāraṇ(s) 86, 94, 134, 185, 216, 282, 312, 317, 339, 350, 355, 399, 402, 405, 422
Cārmatibāi, Rāṇī Gaṇ (pihar name; Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Jasvantsingh Gajsinghot's wife) 61
Carṛo/Carḍo (Sīndhal Rāṭhoṛ) 163, 227
Catrasāl Gopināthot, Rāv (Hāḍo Cahuṇā) 60, 103, 289
Caturāṅgeḍji, Rāṇī Paṇḍvār (Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaiśinghot's wife) 51-52
Caturbhujī, Śrī 347, 354
Caurāśī Čaraṇ 216
Čavṛo(s) 31, 47
Chaghatā‘ī Khān 138
Chājū Sajanot (Candrāvat Sīšodiyo Gahlot) 123
Charan 134
Chatraman/Chatrasāl Mukandot, Rājā (Jādav) 63
Chatrasingh Rāmāvat (Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 210
Chel Kūṃvav, Rāṇī Cahuṇā (pihar name; Udāvat Rāṭhoṛ Udō Sūjāvat's wife) 389
Chirmī Khān 41
Chohīl Rājpālot, (Rūnego Sāṅkhlo Paṇḍvār) 161
Čībo Devro Cahuṇā(s) 88
Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ(s) 6, 213-223, 337, 383, 440
Cūṇḍāvat Sīšodiyo Gahlot(s) 344, 349
Cūṇḍo Viṃrmat, Rāv (Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 11, 22, 169-170, 177, 183, 190, 198, 212-216, 223, 246, 290, 294, 297, 331, 374, 381, 409, 414, 430, 438, 440, 449, 458-459
Cutro Jaimalot (Cāraṇ bārhāṭ) 355

D

Dahīyo Rājpūt(s) 157, 180
Dalo Sāh 407
Dalpat, Rāv (Cahuṇā) 30
Dalpat Rāysiṇghot, Rājā (Bīkāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 142
Dalpat Udaïśinghot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 44, 281-284, 287, 291-292
Dalthambhan Jasvantsinghot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 63
Dāmnetibāi (Rāṭhoṛ Mōto Rājā Udaiśingh Māldevot's daughter) 43, 140
Dammā Bhāṭiyāṇi (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat's wife) 320
Dammā Devi, Soḷaṇkaṇi (Akhaīrajot Rāṭhoṛ Mahīrāj Akhaīrajot's wife) 299
Dammājī, Rāṇī Sonagarī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 31
Damo (Brāhman purohit) 185
Daṅgo Jīts 338, 420
Dānyāl (Mughal Prince) 29, 277
Dapṭārī Mūṃhato(s) 450
Dārā Shīkoh, Sūltān (Mughal Prince) 64, 182, 287
Dariyājōis (elephant) 273, 342
Dāso Pātalot (Rāṭhoṛ) 173-174
Datman Das (Dhīrāvat Kachvāḥo) 131

Daulat Khan/Daulatiyo (Khānzāda Khān) (no. 154) 179, 204, 230, 250-251, 273, 342-343, 417, 425, 441, 443-444
Davo Sadāphālot (Śrīmālī Brāhmaṇa) 367
Dayādźās Sikhravat (Sācoro Cahuṇa) 60
Debī Dās (Devidās) 244
Deccani(s) 118, 182
Dedo (Māngliyo Gahlot) (no. 13) 116
Dedo Koṭhāvat (Śīndhāl Rāṭhor) (no. 134) 382, 384
Deo Dās (Devidās) 244
Devidās Bhairavdāsot (Cāraṇ bārḥaṭh) 312
Devidās Cācāvat, Rāval (Bhāṭī) 18, 78
Devidās Jaitmālot (Hāḍo Cahuṇa) 14
Devidās Sūjāvat (Jodhō Rāṭhor) 21, 274, 290
Devidās Vījāvat, Rāṇo (Jaimālot Rāṭhor) 248-249, 254, 257
Devo (Brāhmaṇa) 287
Devo (Gādana Cāraṇ) 296
Devo Bāṅgāvat (Hāḍo Cahuṇa) 14, 103
Devo Bhāḍāvat (Māngliyo Gahlot) 116
Devo Īcot (Rohāriyō Cāraṇ bārḥaṭh) 339
Devrāj Mūḷrājot (Bhāṭī) 78
Devrājot Rāṭhor(s) 105
Devṛī, Rāṇi Cahuṇa (Śisodīyo Gahlot Jagmāl Udaiśīṅghot's wife) 92
Devṛījī, Rāṇi Cahuṇa (Ūdāvat Rāṭhor Ratansī Khīṃvāvat's wife) 405
Devṛo Cahuṇa(s) 5, 62, 86-98, 130, 318, 322
Devsen (Cahuṇa) 46
Dhanbāī (Jodhō Rāṭhor Vāgho Sūjāvat's daughter) 263
Dhanbāī (Rāṭhor Moto Rājā Udaiśīṅgh Māḷdevot's daughter) 41
Dhano Bhāṃmalot (Bāḷāvat Rāṭhor) (no. 39) 83, 85, 171, 173-177, 242
Dhanrāj Karamśiyot (Karamsot Rāṭhor) (no. 94) 294-295, 297
Dhanrāj Khīṃśiyot (Jhāṃriyā Paṇcōli) 459
Dharam Deo, ruler of Mīrtha 341
Dharbāī, Rāṇi Bhāṭiyāṇī (pīṭhar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 34
Dharmo Čāndaṇot (Khīṃśiyō Cāraṇ) 422
Dhāṃvarāh (Paṃvār) 157
Dhīṅrāvat Kachvāḥo(s) 127-137
Dhīrō (Kocar Muṇhato) 450
Dhīro Māḷakot (Dhīṅrāvat Kachvāḥo) 127, 137
Dīṃnīdās Rāmdāsot (Dhīṅrāvat Kachvého) 131
Dopoḍābāī, Rāṇi Hāḍī (pīṭhar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 33
Dūḍā (Hāḍo Cahuṇa) 100
Dūḍo (Āsiyo Cāraṇ) 92
Dūḍo Akhaiarājot, Rāv (Devṛo Cahuṇa) 25, 97
Dūdo Surjanot (Hādo Cahuvaṇ) 100-103, 208
Dūdo Tejsīyot (Dūṅgarot Devṛo Cahuvaṇ) 98
Dūdo Vidāvat (Viṭhū Cāraṇ) 221
Dūjaṇsal Varsinghot, Rāv (Keḷhaṇ Bhāṭī) 34, 42-43, 47
Dūldre, Māṅgliyāṇī (Karamsot Rāṭhoṛ Karamsī Jodhavat's wife) 295
Dūṅgar (Dūṅgarot Devṛo Cahuvaṇ) 97-98
Dūṅgar Padmāvat (Rāguru Brāhmaṇ) 400
Dūṅgarot Devṛo Cahuvaṇ(s) 86-88, 97-98
Dūṅgarot Rāṭhoṛ(s) 13
Dūṅgarsī (Śindhal Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 133) 382, 384
Dūṅgarsī Aclaḷvat (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 290
Dūṅgarsī Dūjaṇsalot, Rāv (Keḷhaṇ Bhāṭī) 39-40
Dūṅgarsī Karamsīyot, Rāṇo (Jaitmāloṛ Rāṭhoṛ) 249, 254
Dūṅgarsī Māḷdevot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 35
Dūṅgarsī Rīṃmalot (Dūṅgarot Rāṭhoṛ) 13
Dūṅgarsī Udāvat, Rāv (Udāvat Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 137) 150-151, 275, 386, 388-394, 396-398, 401, 403, 406, 409
Durgāvatībāī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgaṇaṛt's daughter) 30
Durgo Acḷāvat, Rāv (Candrāvat Siṣodiyo Gahlot) (no. 18) 118, 122-125, 141
Durjansāl Karamsīyot (Sekhāvat Kachvāho) 51, 56, 149
Durjansāl Mahēṣdāsot (Sekhāvat Kachvāho) 389
Durso Mehavat (Adho Cāraṇ) 94, 355
Dvārkādās Girdhardāsot, Rājā (Sekhāvat Kachvāho) 61, 149
Dvārkādās Jaimalot (Meṛtīyo Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 118) 336, 349, 356, 358-359, 375

F

Fidāḥ Khān 328
Firūz Khān I (Khāṇḍāṇa Khān) 72, 440, 445
Firūz Khān II (Khāṇḍāṇa Khān) 445
Firūz Khān III (Khāṇḍāṇa Khān) 445
Firūz Shāh Tughluq 439

G

Gāḍaṇ Devo (Cāraṇ) 296
Gahlot(s) 102
Gajo (Dūṅgarot Devṛo Cahuvaṇ) 98
Gāṅgābāī (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Vāgho Sūjivat's daughter) 264
Gāṅgābāī (Rāṭhoṛ Mōṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māḷdevot's daughter) 46
Gāṅgābāī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgaṇaṛt's daughter) 35

Gangadeji (or Rangadeji), Rani Paṃvār (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot's wife) 53
Gangadeji, Rāṇī Sāṅkhli (Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat's wife) 24
Gangajal (horse) 187
Gangakumvar, Solaṅkaṇi (pihar name; Meṛṭiyo Rāṭhor Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat's wife) 344
Gāṅgo Bhairavādāsot (Sācoro Cahuvaṇ) 106
Gāṅgo Cāmpāvat, Rāṇo (Sodho Paṃvār) 34
Gāṅgo Siṁhāvat, Rāv (Vārsinghot Meṛṭiyo Rāṭhor) (no. 149) 230-231, 250, 260-261, 271, 342-343, 420, 424-426, 430
Gāṅgo Udāvat (Jaitmālot Rāṭhor) 255
Gāṅgo Varjāṅgōt (Jeso Bhatī) 306
Gauṛ(s) 61, 64, 66, 145, 152, 399
Gei Ratnāvat (Kharīyo Cāraṇ) 405
Ghaṛṣī Bāḥrimalot (Cūndāvat Rāṭhor) 220, 223
Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq 458
Ghiruds 442
Girdhar Jiyāvat (Sīvar Brāhmaṇ purohit) 426
Girdhardās Rāysalot (Sekhāvat Kac̤hvaḥo) 149, 358
Gobind Dās (Goyanddās Māṇāvat; Jeso Bhatī) 324-325
Godārō Jāṭ 192
Goinḍ Kūmpāvat (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor) 315-316, 331
Goinḍ Rāṇāvat (Akhairājot Rāṭhor) (no. 29) 162, 164-165, 169
Gokulḍās Ratasnīyot (Udāvat Rāṭhor) 405
Gopāl Dās (Gopāldās Bhagvāndāsot, Jodho Rāṭhor) 324
Gopāl Lākhāvat (Parīkh Golvāl Brāhmaṇ) 363
Gopāl Mahirājot (Sāṅkhlo Paṃvār) 22
Gopāldās, Rāv (Khicī Cahuvaṇ) 43
Gopālḍās Bhagvāndāsot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 280, 323-324
Gopālḍās Māldevot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 31, 47
Gopālḍās Merāvat (Jeso Bhatī) 318
Gopālḍās Ratasnīyot (Udāvat Rāṭhor) 405-406
Gopālḍās Sāṃvatsnīyot (Sācoro Cahuvaṇ) 285
Gopālḍās Śūndardāsot (Mertiyo Rāṭhor) (no. 128) 336, 368-370, 377
Gopālḍās Surtāṇot (Mertiyo Rāṭhor) (no. 115) 336, 353, 356-357, 359, 372, 375
Gopāldeji, Čavrī (Jodho Rāṭhor Āskaraṇ Candrasenot's wife) 38
Gopānāth Ratasnīyot (Hāḍo Cahuvaṇ) 103
Gordhan Āskaraṇot (Rājāvat Kac̤hvaḥo) 39
Gorjyākumvar, Sisodī (pihar name; Meṛṭiyo Rāṭhor Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat's wife) 344
Gotam Gensar, Vyās (Śrīmāḷī Brāhmaṇ) 350
Govardhan Dvārkādāsot (Mertiyo Rāṭhor) 281
Goyand Rînmalot (Rînmalot Râthôr) 12
Goyanddâs Jaimalot (Mîrtîyo Râthôr) 349, 375
Goyanddâs Jaitîsiyot (Îdâvat Râthôr) 404
Goyanddâs Mânâvat (Jeso Bhatî) 44, 54, 76, 79, 280, 282, 322-325, 328, 407, 447
Goyanddâs Pañcâînôt (Kelhân Bhatî) 50, 283
Gûdâr Bâbâ 388
Gujârâtis 395
Gûlábkuûmvar (Mîrtîyo Râthôr Râv Dûdó Jodhâvat's daughter) 340
Gûlábkuûmvar (Mîrtîyo Râthôr Râv Jaimal Vîrâmdevot's daughter) 350
Gûlábkuûmvarbâî, Rânî Bhatîyânî (pihar name; Râthôr Râjâ Sûrajîsingh Udaisînghot's wife) 50
Gûmânkuûmvar (Mîrtîyo Râthôr Râv Jaimal Vîrâmdevot's daughter) 350
Gûmno (Smandâriyâ Mûnhâto) 450

H

Hâdâ 102
Hâdî, Rânî (Râthôr Râv Candrasen Mûldevot's wife) 40
Hâdô Cahuûnâ(s) 2-3, 5, 14, 28, 33, 99-103, 120, 321
Hâdô Vîjaiâpaîot (Cahuûn) 103
Hâjî Ali Fateh Khân 207
Hamîr, Râño (Siîdîyo Gaîlôt) 123
Hamîr Narâvát (Narâvât Râthôr) 72
Hamîr Sânkarot (Jeso Bhatî) 76
Hamîr Vîkâvát (Sàcoro Cahuûn) 37
Hamno Napâvât (Hâdô Cahuûn) 103
Hâmnsbâî, Rânî Idareci (pihar name; Bhatî Rûval Mûlde Lûnkaranot's mother) 35
Hâmnsbâî (Râthôr Râv Çûndo Vîramot's daughter) 163, 184, 199
Hâmnsbâî (Râthôr Râv Mûlde Gûngâvat's daughter) 28, 147
Hâmnspâîl Mehadoît (Rûîneco Sânkhlo Paîmâr) 161
Hâpâvât Râthôr(s) 14
Hâpîo Jaitmîlot, Rûvât (Jaitmîlot Râthôr) 254
Hâpîo Rînmalot (Hâpîvât Râthôr) 14
Hâpo Varsînghot, Râvâl (Mahevco Râthôr) (no. 102) 332-335
Harakhâ Devî, Bhatîyânî (Akhaîrâjot Râthôr Mûhirâj Akhaîrâjot's wife) 299
Harakhâmûbâî, Rânî Bhatîyânî (pihar name; Râthôr Moîto Râjâ Udaisîngh Mûldevot's wife) 42-43
Harakhâmîdjeî (married name of Râthôr Râv Mûlde Gûngâvat's daughter, Saînâmûbâî) 29
Harakhâmîdjeî, Rânî Bhatîyânî (Râthôr Râv Candrasen Mûldevot's wife) 39
Harakhbî, Rânî Bhatîyânî (pihar name; Râthôr Râv Sàtal Jodhâvat's wife) 20
Harbûhî Mûhirâjot (Sânkhlo Paîmâr) 69-71, 193
Harbolâm (Râtôth Moto Rûjâ Udaisîngh Mûldevot's olgânî) 45

Haridas Mokalot (Uhar Rathor) (no. 144) 268-269, 272-273, 415-418, 442-443
Haridas Jimalot (Mertlyo Rathor) 349, 375
Harisingh (Candrawat Sisodiyo Gahlot) 289
Harisingh Ratansinghot (Hado Cahuvaň) 284
Harkumarí (Carańi) 399
Haríáth Jagnáthot (Kelhań Bháťi) 285
Haro Narańdashot (Bháťi) 78
Harraj Máladevot, Rával (Bháťi) 22, 29, 38, 78, 236, 356
Harraj Rúčávat (Ďúngarot Devró Cahuvaň) 98
Háti Sor (Koli) 224
Hemrág (Hul Gahlot) 299
Hindu(s) 132-134, 225
Híngláj, Bhagvatí 216
Híngolo (Áhańo Gahlot) 449
Híngolo (Papáro Gahlot) 238, 353
Hirádejí, Ráńi Devří (Ráthor Rájá Súraśingh Udaśiṅghot's wife) 53
Hirádejí, Ráńi Jháľí (Ráthor Ráv Máldé Gángávat's wife) 29, 276
Humáýún (Mughal Emperor) 121, 146, 154, 195, 205, 343
Húsáyn Quli Khán 101, 110, 167, 365
Húshang Ghúrí 123

I

Ídareco (Ídariyo) Ráthor(s) 80, 224-226
Íkhtińáy-il-mulk 225
Ímaratdejí, Ráńi Cahuvaň (Ráthor Rájá Gajíśingh Súraśiṅghot's wife) 56
Indáńmbái, Cahuvaň (píhar name; Ráthor Ráv Máldé Gángávat's wife) 30
Índo Parihář(s) 247, 411
Indrabhán Kánhídaśot (Mertlyo Ráthor) (no. 122) 336, 363-364, 368-369, 372, 375
Indrádejí, Ráńi Cahuvaň (Ráthor Ráv Máldé Gángávat's wife) 30
Indrakumvar (Ráthor Rájá Súraśiṅghot Udaśiṅghot's daughter) 54
Indrakumvar, Ráńi Gaurjí (píhar name; Udaśvat Ráthor Khímpvo Údávat's wife) 402
Indrávatibái (Ráthor Ráv Máldé Gángávat's daughter) 29
Ísár Gháriśiyot (Cúndávat Ráthat) (no. 57) 213, 220-221, 223
Ísárdás (Mohil Cahuvaň) 215
Ísárdás Jálmíśinghot (Sekhávat Káchváho) 330
Ísárdás Kalyáńdásot (Jodho Ráthat) (no. 88) 256, 276-277, 279-281, 293, 323
Ísárdás Máledevot (Jodho Ráthat) 35
Ísárdás Rápanávat (Akhairajot Ráthat) (no. 30) 162, 164-165, 169
Ísárdás Vírämdevot (Mertlyo Ráthat) (no. 109) 122, 336, 345, 348, 351, 358-359, 362, 374, 376
Ísám Sháh 113
Ísmá'íl Quli Khán 167
Ísmáyál Kuli 167

J

Jabo Śīngatōt (Mohil Cahuvān) 434
Jādav Kumvar (Udāvat Rāṭhor Ûdo Sūjāvat's daughter) 389
Jagannath (Jagnāth Bhārmalot, Rājāvat Kachvāho) 139, 141
Jagat Gosa’in (Emperor Jahāngīr's wife) 46
Jagat Singh (Kachvāho) 102
Jagat Singh (Sīsodiyō Gahlot) 118
Jagatsingh Jasvantsinghōt (Jodho Rāṭhor) 62
Jagatsingh Mānsinghōt (Rājāvat Kachvāho) 102
Jagde Rāmdevot, Vyās (Śrīmāḷī Brāhmaṇ) 345
Jagīsāṃbāī, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (pīhār name; Rāṭhor Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's wife) 40
Jagmāl (Paṃvār) 155
Jagmāl (Ūhār Rāṭhor) 418
Jagmāl Jodhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 18

Jagmāl Karamcandot, Rāvat (Paṃvār of Cāṭsū) (no. 25) 150, 152-156
Jagmāl Lākhāvat, Rāv (Devṛṇ Cahuvān) 24, 27, 30, 88
Jagmāl Mālāvat, Rāval (Mahevco Rāṭhor) 332, 335
Jagmāl Prithīrājot (Rājāvat Kachvāho) 144
Jagmāl Rīṃmalot (Rīṃmalot Rāṭhor) 13, 378, 381
Jagmāl Sāṅgāvat (Khīṃvo Bhāṭi) 48
Jagmāl Sūrāvat (Bālo) 31

Jagmāl Udaičaranot (Karamsoṭ Rāṭhor) (no. 91) 294-297
Jagmāl Udaisinghōt (Sīsodiyō Gahlot) 92-95
Jagmāl Udaisinghōt, Rāval (Āhāro Gahlot) 102

Jagmāl Viramdevot (Mṛṭṭiyō Rāṭhor) (no. 124) 104-105, 116, 243, 336, 345, 364-368, 371, 374, 376, 459
Jagmālot Rāṭhor(s) 13
Jagnāth 398

Jagnāth Bhārmalot, Rājā (Rājāvat Kachvāho) (no. 20) 56, 124, 138-142, 144
Jagnāth Gopāḷdāsot (Mṛṭṭiyō Rāṭhor) (no. 116) 130, 336, 356-357, 372, 375
Jagnāth Jogīdāsot (Kelhān Bhāṭi) 285
Jagnāth Sadāphālot (Śrīmāḷī Brāhmaṇ) 367
Jagnāthot Mṛṭṭiyō Rāṭhor(s) 357
Jago Śīṅghōt (Cūṇdāvat Sīsodiyō Gahlot) 344

Jagṛūp Jagnāthot, Kumvar (Rājāvat Kachvāho) (no. 21) 56, 138, 141-142, 144
Jagṛūpdeji, Rāṇī Cahuvān (Rāṭhor Rājā Javantsingh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 60
Jahāngīr (Mughal Emperor) 45-46, 51, 58, 102, 118-119, 124, 127, 131-133, 139, 142, 154, 180, 278-281, 284-285, 318, 322, 324, 326-327, 329, 360-361, 447
Jaimal (Ūhār Rāṭhor) 173-174
Jaimal, Rāv (Īdareco Rāṭhor) 35
Jaimal Devrājot (Rāṉī Bhāṭi) 48

Jaimal Harrājot (Devrō Cahuvaṇ) 320
Jaimal Jaicandot (Chapaniyo Raṭhoṛ) 119
Jaimal Kalāvat (Kelhaṇ Bhaṭi) 48
Jaimal Māldevot (Jodho Raṭhoṛ) 35
Jaimal Rūpsīyot (Kachvāhō) 43, 140, 144
Jaino Rāmāvat (Srīmaṇṭi Vyās Brāhmaṇ) 393
Jaisingh Mahāśinghot, Rājā (Kachvāhō) 53, 58, 286
Jaisinghde Bhārmalot (Bhārmalot Raṭhoṛ) 178-179, 183
Jaisinghde Varjāṅgot, Rāv (Sācoro Cahuvaṇ) 104, 106
Jaiso Varsinghot, Rāv (Kelhaṇ Bhaṭi) 39
Jaisukhdēji, Rāṇī Candrāvat Sīsodaṇi (Raṭhoṛ Rājā Javantsingh Gajsinghot's wife) 62
Jaitārāṇiyo Raṭhoṛs 386, 410
Jaitāvat Raṭhoṛ(s) 4, 6, 162-163, 203, 207, 227-246, 262, 265, 300, 452
Jaitmāl Goidont (Narāvaṭ Raṭhoṛ) 236
Jaitmāl Jaisinghdevot (Bhārmalot Raṭhoṛ) 179, 183
Jaitmāl Jesāvat (Cāmpāvat Raṭhoṛ) (no. 49) 199, 209-210, 212, 309
Jaitmāl Paṇcāiṇot (Meṛṭīyo Raṭhoṛ) (no. 127) 336, 366-368, 376
Jaitmāl Rīṇmalot (Rīṇmalot Raṭhoṛ) 14
Jaitmāl Salkhāvat (Jaitmālot Raṭhoṛ) 247-248, 254-255, 410, 414
Jaitmālots of Meṛto 6, 247, 249-253, 255
Jaitmālots of Sivāṇo 6, 116, 247-249, 254
Jaitmālot Raṭhoṛ(s) 116, 175, 247-255, 257, 348
Jaito Sajāvat (Jhālo) 29, 37, 41, 81, 121
Jaitśi Baro Tejrajvat, Rāvaḷ (Bhāṭi) 78
Jaitśi Devidāsot, Rāvaḷ (Bhāṭi) 30, 78, 194
Jaitśi Karaṇot, Rāvaḷ (Bhāṭi) 78
Jaitśi Khīṃvāvat, Rāv (Khīṃvo Bhāṭi) 34
Jaitśi Īḍāvat (Īḍāvaṭ Raṭhoṛ) (no. 139) 274, 386, 388-391, 397-403, 406, 409
Jaitśi Vāghāvat (Jodho Raṭhoṛ) (no. 85) 228, 256, 263, 271, 290, 425
Jaitśingh Udāisinghot (Jodho Raṭhoṛ) 43, 278, 282, 291
Jaivantāṇ (or Jevantābāṇi), Rāṇī Devṛī (pihar name; Raṭhoṛ Rāv Gaṅgo Vāghāvat's wife) 26
Jaivantiyeji, Rāṇī Jādam/Jādav (Raṭhoṛ Rājā Javantsingh Gajsinghot's wife) 61
Jalāl Jalūko (Afghan) 233
Jalāl Khān Jalvāṇi 206
Jalāl Khān Khokhar 439
Jalāl Khān Qurchi 244, 311

Jäm Säh (Jāreco) 58
Jämbeg 96
Jammādeji, Rānī Tānkaṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 34
Jammādeji/Jānāndeji, Rānī Hulṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot's wife) 17, 178, 259
Jamoṭībāi (Rāṭhor Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's daughter) 37, 130
Jāṅgālvo Sāṅkhlo Pāmāvār(s) 15-16, 22, 157, 159, 161, 215
Jāṅkumṇvarbāi, Rānī Kachvāhī (pihār name; Rāṭhor Rājā Jāsvantsingh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 61
Jāreco(s) 355, 385
Jasbhadrāsūrī (Jain) 446
Jashar, Rānī Bhatīyanī (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 31
Jaskumvarjī, Rānī Jadav (pihār name; Rāṭhor Rājā Jāsvantsingh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 63
Jasmādeji, Rānī Hāḍī (Rāṭhor Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot's wife) 14, 20-21, 189, 193, 435
Jasmādeji, Rānī Kachvāhī (Rāṭhor Rājā Jāsvantsingh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 61
Jasodā Sīṣodī (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat's wife) 320
Jasodābāi (Rāṭhor Moto Rājā Udaiṅsiṅgh Māldevot's daughter) 43
Jasodābāi (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's daughter) 32, 444
Jasodābāi, Rānī Ṭhārī (pihār name; Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsiṅgh Udaiṅsiṅghot's wife) 51
Jasodāji, Rānī Sonagara (Rāṭhor Moto Rājā Udaiṅsiṅgh Māldevot's wife) 47
Jasraṅgdeji, Rānī Gaur (Rāṭhor Rājā Jāsvantsingh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 61
Jasrūpdeji, Rānī Bhatīyānī (Rāṭhor Rājā Jāsvantsingh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 60
Jasrūpdeji, Rānī Sīṣodī (Rāṭhor Rājā Jāsvantsingh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 62
Jasvant Dāsāvat 277
Jasvant Dūngarsiyoṭ (Ūdāvat Rāṭhor) 392, 406, 409
Jasvant Jodhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 15
Jasvant Māṅsiṅghot (Sonagaṛo Čahuvāṅ) 57
Jasvant Mohandāsot (Mṛṭīyon Rāṭhor) 368, 377
Jasvantdeji, Rānī Bhatīyānī (Rāṭhor Moto Rājā Udaiṅsiṅgh Māldevot's wife) 42-43
Jasvantdeji, Rānī Hāḍī (Rāṭhor Rājā Jāsvantsingh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 60
Jasvantsiṅgh Dalpatot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 284-285, 292
Jasvantsiṅgh Gajsiṅghot (Rājā of Jodhpur; Jodho Rāṭhor) 1, 10-11, 57, 60-66, 213, 256, 274, 289, 291, 327, 329-330, 368-370, 373, 408
Jasvantsiṅgh Māldevot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 35
Jasvantsiṅgh Sūrajsiṅghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 51
Jasvantsiṅgh Udaiṅsiṅghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 45
Jaṭ(s) 192, 369
Javār Kūṃvar, Rānī Sekhāvāṭījī (pihār name; Ūdāvat Rāṭhor Ūdō Sūjāvat's wife) 389
Jāyatsiṅgh Bhojāvat (Kachvāho) 136
Jesāl, Rāval (Bhāṭi) 78
Jeso Bhairavādāsot (Cāṃpāvat Rāṭhor) (no. 48) 102, 109, 164, 199, 203-210, 212, 221, 235-237, 270, 305, 333, 343, 426
Jeso Bhāṭi(s) 3, 5, 21, 68-70, 262, 279-280, 299, 301, 323, 332-333
Jeso Bhāṭiyāṇi (Jeso Bhāṭī Rāṇo Jodhāvats's daughter) 333
Jeso Kalikāraṇot (Jeso Bhāṭī) 3, 21, 68-79, 262, 301
Jeso Sīhāvats, Rāv (Varsinghot Mertiyo Rāṭhor) (no. 150) 420, 424, 427, 430
Jeso Varsinghot, Rāv (Kelhaṇ Bhāṭī) 379
Jeto Khīṃvāvat (Cībo Devro Cahuvaṇ) 95
Jevantābāī /Jaivantāṃ, Rāṇī Devrī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Gaṅgō Vāghāvats's wife) 26
Jhālī (Jodho Rāṭhor Jogo Jodhāvats's wife) 260, 434
Jhālō(s) 28, 81-82, 122, 172, 311
Jhāmariya Paṅcolis 458-459
Jhānjhaṇ Bhairavādāsot (Sācoro Cahuvaṇ) (no. 7) 104-106, 366
Jhānjhaṇsī Sajanot (Candrāvat Sisodiyo Gahlot) 123
Jhānjho (Duṅgarot Devro Cahuvaṇ) 98
Jhūnjhārsīṅgh Bundelo 286
Jhūnjhārsīṅgh Dalpatot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 284-285, 292
Jītmal Devot (Hāḍo Cahuvaṇ) 14, 103
Jīvo (Sācoro Cahuvaṇ) 48
Jīvo Gaṅgāvat (Sācoro Cahuvaṇ) 48, 106
Jīvo Goyandāsot (Sācoro Cahuvaṇ) 48
Jīvo Urjanot (Bhāṭī) 21
Jodhbāī (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's daughter) 46, 278
Jodho Jēsavit (Jeso Bhāṭī) 73, 79
Jodho Mokalot (Jaitmalot Rāṭhor) (no. 73) 247, 252, 255
Jodho Rāṭhor(s) 6, 14, 17, 21, 25, 31, 62, 146, 256-293, 323, 378, 416, 454
Jodho Sāraṅgot (Mehudu Čāraṇ) 393
Jogī 234, 244
Jogī (Kachvāhō) 39
Jogī Goyandāsot (Kelhaṇ Bhāṭī) 285
Jogo Devidāsot, Rāṇo (Jaitmalot Rāṭhor) 248, 254
Jogo Jodhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 17, 178, 183, 256, 259-260, 290, 416, 434, 438
Johīyo Rajpūts 435
Jopsāḥ Āsthānot (Rāṭhor) 382, 415
Jorāvarkumvār, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (pihar name; Üdāvat Rāṭhor Ratansi Khīṃvāvat's wife) 405
Josī 392
Juṇsī Kuntalot, Rājā (Kachvāhō) 137

K

Kabandha 455-456
Kachhwāhā 102
Kachvāhī (Mertiyo Rāṭhor Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot's wife) 349

Kachvähi(s) 147
Kachväho(s) 43, 127, 138-146, 280, 358, 393, 426
Kaharkop (elephant) 286-287
Kajo Kharathot (Uhar Räthor) 417
Kalävatibäi (Räthor Räv Mälde Gängävat's daughter) 35
Kalhan, Räval (Bhäti) 78
Kalikarañ Keharot (Bhäti) 21, 68-70, 78-79
Kalo (Pañvär) 86
Kalo Jagnälot (Meṛtiyo Räthor) (no. 126) 336, 367-368, 376
Kalo Jaimalot (Rüpsi Bhäti) 48
Kalo Meghräjot (Mahevco Räthor) 334-335
Kalo Mehäjälot, Räv (Devro Càhuvän) 48, 53, 88-89, 96-97
Kalo Rämot, Räv (Jodho Räthor) 94, 244, 310-312, 318, 354, 360
Kalo Samrävat (Jaghañt Càran) 340
Kalo Surjanot (Bhämvot Räthor) 189-190
Kalo Vidävat (Räthor) 317-318
Kalyänbäi, Räñi Hädi (pihar name; Räthor Räjär Jassvantürh Gajsinghot's wife) 60
Kalyändäs Harräjot, Räval (Bhäti) 57, 69, 78
Kalyändäs Jaimalot (Meṛtiyo Räthor) 349, 375
Kalyändäs Mahesdäsoht (Jodho Räthor) 287-288, 292
Kalyändäs Mäldevot (Jodho Räthor) 35
Kalyändäs Räymalot, Räno (Jodho Räthor) 276-279, 293, 323
Kalyände Räjädevot, Räjär (Kachväho) 127, 137
Kalyändeqi, Bàri Räñi Càhuvän (Räthor Räv Candrasen Mäldevot's wife) 37
Kalyändeqi, Bàri Räñi Kachvähi (Räthor Räjär Gajsinghür Gajsinghot's wife) 56
Kalyänkümvar (Räthor Räjär Sürajsinghür Udaisinghot's daughter) 51
Kalyänkümvar, Sojañkañi (pihar name; Meṛtiyo Räthor Räv Virämde Dürävat's wife) 344
Kalyänmal Jaitsiyot, Räv (Bikävat Räthor) (no. 46) 109, 191, 195-196, 198
Kalyänmal Udaikarågot (Vidävat Räthor) (no. 153) 146-147, 194-195, 198, 431, 436-438
Kamälu'd-Dhm Häusayn Diwäna 93
Kamdhañ (Räthor) 400
Kamlävatibäi (Räthor Moto Räjär Udaïsinghür Mäldevot's daughter) 43
Kamlävatibäi (Räthor Räv Candrasen Mäldevot's daughter) 39
Kamo Goyandot (Gädälo Këlhañ Bhäti) 44
Kämrrän (Mughal Prince) 195
Kañvalävatibäi, Räñi Devri (pihar name; Räthor Räjär Sürajsinghür Udaisinghot's wife) 52
Kän Shaïkhävat 100
Kän Virämdevot (Meṛtiyo Räthor) 345
Kanakävatü Bài (Üdavat Räthor Ratansï Khämvävat's daughter) 405
Kändhal Bhôjávat (Sivar Brähman purohit) 405
Kändhal Rënmalot, Rävat (Kändhalot Räthor) 13, 159, 191-192, 198-199, 202, 433-436, 438
Kändhalot Räthor(s) 13
Kangär (Khaṅgār Jagnālot; Rājāvat Kachvāho) 139
Kāṅghal Pātālot (Kachvāho) 136
Kāṅh Khūṁvavat (Ūdāvat Rāthōr) 402
Kāṅharde Tiḍāvat, Rāv (Rāthōr) 410-411, 414
Kāṅharde Vījālot (Jaimālot Rāthōr) 255
Kāṅhāsīṁgh/Kāṅho (or Kīsānsīṁgh) Khūṁvavat (Kūmpāvat Rāthōr) (no. 100) 280, 298, 320, 322-323, 325-326, 328, 331, 447
Kāṅhīdās Kesodāsot (Meṛtīyo Rāthōr) (no. 121) 336, 363, 368-369, 372, 375
Kanhrām Dalpatot (Jodho Rāthōr) 284, 292
Kāṅho Cūṇḍāvat, Rāv (Cūṇḍāvat Rāthōr) (no. 53) 213-216, 220, 223
Kanho Dūḍāīt (Sīvar Brāhmaṇ purohīt) 422
Kanho Īgāvat (Jodho Rāthōr) 25
Kanho Jaitsiyot (Bikvāvat Rāthōr) 196, 198
Kanho Māldevot (Jodho Rāthōr) 32
Kanho Paḥcāṁot (Akhairājot Rāthōr) 166, 168-169, 418
Kanho Rāyimalot (Jodho Rāthōr) 277, 293
Kanrām Rājāvat (Bhāṭī) 299
Kanrābāī, Rāṇī Cahuvaṇ (pihar name; Rāṭhōr Moṭo Rājā Udaisīṁgh Māldevot's wife) 43, 81
Kanrāde, Rāṇī Sōlaṅkaṇī (pihar name; Rāṭhōr Moṭo Rājā Udaisīṁgh Māldevot's wife, Nachrangdejī) 41
Kanrānde, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (pihar name; Rāṭhōr Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's wife, Sobhāddevī) 38
Kanrvatībāī (Rāṭhōr Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's daughter) 28
Kāṅkumvāvar, Rāṇī Hāḍī (pihar name; Rāṭhōr Rājā Jasvantsīṁgh Gajśīṁghot's wife) 60
Kankundeabāī/Kukamdeabāī (pihar name; Rāṭhōr Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's wife) 39
Kāṅo/Kāndās Jaitsiyot (Ūdāvat Rāṭhōr) 404
Kapūrdejī, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (Rāṭhōr Moṭo Rājā Udaisīṁgh Māldevot's wife) 44
Kāramnānd (Cārān) 399
Kāramcand Rāghavādāsot, Rāvāt (Pāmvār of Cāṭṣū) 150-154, 156, 391
Kāramcand Rīmālāt (Rīmālot Rāṭhōr) 12
Kāramčetī, Rāṇī Hāḍī (Sīsodiyō Rāṅo Sāṅgo Rāyimalot's wife) 120
Kārametībāī (Rāṭhōr Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's daughter) 37-38
Kārametībāī, Jēso Bhāṭiyāṇī (pihar name; Akhairājot Rāṭhōr Māhirāj Akhairājot's wife) 74, 299-301, 306
Kārametījī, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (Rāṭhōr Rāv Gāṅgō Vāghāvat's wife) 26
Kāramṣī Jodhāvat (Kāramṣot Rāṭhōr) 15, 256, 261, 294-295, 297
Kāramṣī Jogvat, Rāṅo (Jaimālot Rāṭhōr) 254
Kāramṣī Sahasmalot (Āhāro Gahlot) 46
Kāramṣī Sahasmalot (Sekhāvat Kachvāho) 149
Kāramṣot Rāṭhōr(s) 6, 15, 256, 261, 294-297
Kāran (Ugrasenot; Jodho Rāṭhōr) 324-325
Kāran, Rājā (Rīmāsā Darbārī Ūḍāvat; Dhīrāvat Kachvāho) 132-133
Kāran Cācagdevot, Rāval (Bhāṭī) 78
Kāran Ḥāpāvat, Rāvāt (Jaimālot Rāṭhōr) 254

Karan Kesodasot (Varsiṅghot Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor) 360
Karaṇ Rāmnot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 94, 310-311, 360
Karaṇ Sukhāvat (Ratnūṃ Čaranaṇ) 345
Karaṇ Vijāvat (Jaitmālot Rāṭhor) 248, 254
Karaṇ Vīrangdevot (Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor) 345
Karaṇot Rāṭhor(s) 13
Karaṇsingh Khimvavat (Udāvat Rāṭhor) 402
Karaṇsingh Amrāvat/Amarsinghot, Rāṇo (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 118, 126, 284, 326
Karaṇsingh Sūrsinghot, Rājā (Bikāvat Rāṭhor) 65
Karaṇsingh Udaisinghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 49
Karmal Kiniyāṇī 216
Karmi ("The Doer") 216
Karmihi, Bhāgyati Śrī (Cāraṇī) 192, 216
Karṇo Rūṇmalot (Karaṇot Rāṭhor) 13
Kasūmbhābā, Rānī Soḍhilī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgavat's wife) 33
Kasūmbhedēji, Rānī Vāghele (Rāṭhor Rājā Gajisīṅgh Sūrajsīṅghot's wife) 58
Kasmīrdeji, Rāṇī Candravat Siśodṇī (Rāṭhor Rājā Gajisīṅgh Sūrajsīṅghot's wife) 57
Kathiyyāṇīji, Rāṇī Jāmvālī (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgavat's wife) 31
Kayasth jāṭi 458
Kayasth(s) 458
Kehar Devrājot, Rāvaḷ (Bhāṭṭi) 21, 68, 78-79, 412
Kēlaṇ Cūtṛāvat (Pokarano Brāhmaṇ purohīt) 350
Kēlaṇ Bhaṭṭīs) 20, 34, 48, 68-69, 78, 285, 379
Kēlaṇ Bhaṭṭiyāṇī, Rānī (Rāṭhor Rāv Candrasen Māldevōt's wife) 40
Kēlaṇ Keharot, Rāvaḷ (Bhāṭṭi) 68-69, 78
Kesardeji, Rāṇī Narūkī Kachvāhi (Rāṭhor Rājā Gajisīṅgh Sūrajsīṅghot's wife) 58-59
Kesarisīṅgh Prīṭhirājot (Bhārmalot Rāṭhor) 181-182
Kesarkūṃvar (Sisodiyo Gahlot Rāṇo Amarsingh Pratāpsīṅghot's daughter) 95
Kesarkūṃvar, Rāṇī Sekhāvatīji (pihar name; Udāvat Rāṭhor Ratansī Khimvavat's wife) 405
Kesav (Munsī) 447
Kesavdās, Rājā (Cahuvaṇ) 349
Kesavdās, Rāṇo (Ṣolaṅkī) 344
Kesavdās Ratansūryot (Udāvat Rāṭhor) 405
Keshū Dās Rāṭhor, Rājā 360
Keshū Dās, the Rāṭhor 361
Kesodās Amarsinghot (Bikāvat Rāṭhor) 360-361
Kesodās Malūvot (Daphtārī Muṃhato) 450
Kesodās "Mārū" Bhiṃvot (Varsiṅghot Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor) 57, 360-361
Kesodās Udaisinghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 45
Kesrisīṅgh (Tumvar) 284
Kesrisīṅgh, Rāy (Ṣolaṅkī) 349
Kesū Dās Mārū (Varsiṅghot Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor) 360
Kesū Dās, son of Jai Māl 360

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Kevalkumvar, Solaṅkaṇī (pihar name; Meṛtīyo Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevot's wife) 349
Khalil Ullah Khan 64
Khaljis 442
Khān Daurān 286
Khān Jahān Lodī 181-182
Khān Khānān 129, 358
Khān Nāpāvat (Dhīrāvat Kachvaho) 137
Khaṅgār (Asiyo Čārān) 92
Khaṅgār Jagmālot (Rājāvat Kachvaho) 138, 144
Khaṅgār Jogāvat (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) (no. 82) 250, 256, 259-261, 290, 295, 342, 424-425
Khaṅgārot Jodho Rāṭhōṛ(s) 256-257, 261
Khān-i-Jahān 281
Khānzāda Khān(s) 4, 6, 32, 72, 217, 304, 439-445
Khātī jātī 121
Khemkaraṅ Vīramdevot (Meṛtīyo Rāṭhōṛ) 345
Kheto Hamīrot, Rāṇo (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 123
Khetṣi Jagmālot (Rinmalot Rāṭhōṛ) 13, 378-379, 381
Khetṣi Jaiṭsiyot (Bikāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 195, 198
Khetṣi Māldevot (Bhāṭī) 41, 78, 284
Khetṣi Parbatot (Ūḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 404
Khetṣi Sāṁvatsiyot (Solaṅkī) 52
Khetṣi Ūḍāvat (Ūḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 389-390
Khetṣi Vāğhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) 263
Khetṣiyot/Khetṣot Rāṭhōṛ(s) 13, 378
Khetūbāī (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Vāgho Sūjāvat's daughter) 264
Khetūbāī (Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat's daughter) 22-23, 33
Khido Kāṅhāvat (Śīvar Brāhmaṇ puṛohit) 422
Khīṃsī (Jhāmariyā Paṅcolī) 458-459
Khīṃvkaraṅ Ūḍāvat (Ūḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 389-390
Khīṃvo (Rajpūṭ) 261
Khīṃvo (Śīndhaḷ) 387
Khīṃvo Bhāṭī(ṛ) 34
Khīṃvo Bhaṛmālot (Cibo Devṛo Cauḥvāṇ) 88
Khīṃvo Lāḷāvat (Mumhato) (no. 157) 251, 449, 451
Khīṃvo Māṇḍaṇot (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 93, 320-322, 327, 331
Khīṃvo Mokalot, Rāvāt (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 126
Khīṃvo Satāvat (Sonagar Cauḥvāṇ) 17, 108, 112, 337, 420
Khīṃvo Ūḍāvat (Ūḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ) (no. 140) 386-387, 389-391, 397, 400-404, 409
Khīṃvo Venīḍāsot (Jagḥaṭh Čārāṇ) 363
Khīṃvsī Ānakhṣīyot, Rāṇo (Jāṅgaḷo Sāṅkhlo Paṃvāṛ) 161
Khusrāu, Sultān (Mughal Prince) 131, 142
Khwāja Abūl Hasan Ṭúrbāṭī 181
Khwāja Gūr Pahlī Ullāḥ 129-130
Kiländas Ratansiyot (Üdāvat Rāṭhor) 405-406, 409
Kilände Rājādevot, Rājā (Kachvaho) 137
Kiniyo Ĉaraň 216
Kinkā Cahuvaň (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor Māṇḍaň Kūmpāvat's wife) 320
Kiratsingh Udaisinghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 43
Kisandās, Rājā (Kachvaho) 344
Kisandās Gāṅgāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) (no. 87) 25, 256, 275, 290, 392
Kisandās Jaitsiyot (Üdāvat Rāṭhor) 404
Kisandās Jasvantot (Rāṭhor) 287
Kisansingh Bhojāvat (Kachvaho) 136
Kisansingh Daulatsinghot (Paṁvār) 129
Kisansingh Khīṃvāvat (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor) 322
Kisansingh Udaisinghot, Rāv (Jodho Rāṭhor) 45, 322-325, 407
Kishan Singh (Kisansingh Udaisinghot, Rāv; Jodho Rāṭhor) 324-325
Kisnāvati bribery (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisinghot Māldevot's daughter) 44
Kisnāvati bribery, Rāṇī Kachvāhī (pīhar name; Rāṭhor Rājā Surajsingh Udaisinghot's wife, Sobhāgdejī) 51
Kisnāvati bribery, Rāṇī Kelhāṇ Bhāṭiyāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 31
Kisno Kalhāṇot (Tāṅk) 34
Kisno Rāṇāvāt (Jesō Bhāṭī) 333
Kocar Muṃhatot(s) 450-451
Kolisingh (of Dāntivārō) 93
Koṛamde, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Riṃmal Cūṇḍāvat's wife) 12, 14
Koṛamde, Rāṇī Hāḍī (Rāṭhor Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot's wife) 14
Koṛamdevī, Devṛī (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor Khīṃvō Māṇḍoṇot's wife) 320
Kṣatriya 398, 458
Kulgrūṣ 344
Kulpātrāy (Mānakbhāṇḍārī Paṇcoli) 458
Kumarde (Rāṭhor Tribhuvanvāsī Kānhardevot's daughter) 412
Kūṃbhō Mokaloṭ, Rāṇo (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 18, 70-73, 123, 126, 152, 158, 163, 184-185, 199-200, 214, 218-219, 337, 384, 386, 440-441, 446, 449
Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhor(s) 4, 6, 74, 162-163, 202, 280, 298-331, 360, 378
Kūṃpō Jodhāvāt (Jodho Rāṭhor) 15
Kūṃpo Mahīrājot (Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhor) (no. 95) 18, 70-73, 123, 126, 152, 158, 163, 166, 172, 184-185, 195, 199-200, 204-207, 209, 214, 218-219, 227, 230-234, 266-267, 269, 298-310, 312-314, 320, 327, 331, 343, 378, 402, 426-427, 441, 454
Kumvarī Khīṃvāvat, Rāṇo (Jāṅgāvo Sāṅkhlo Paṁvār) 161
Kuntal Kalyāṇdevot, Rājā (Kachvaho) 137
Kusumkuṃvar, Bhāṭiyāṇī (pīhar name; Jodho Rāṭhor Dalpat Udaisinghot's wife) 283
Kusumkuṃvarde, Rājāvāt Kachvāhī (pīhar name; Jodho Rāṭhor Mahesdās Dalpatot's wife) 288
Kyāṁ Khāṇī Muslim(s) 194
L

Lachaldeji (or Läldeji), Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (Rāṭhōṛ Rājā Gaṅśingh Sūrajsinghōṛ's wife) 57
Lāchāṃ, Rāṇī Devṛī (Bhāṭī Rāval Kehar Devrājot's wife) 69
Lāchamdeji, Bāharmeri Rāṭhōṛ (Bhāṭī Rāval Lūṇkāraṇ Jaitṣiyot's mother) 27
Lāchapdeji (or Lāchaldeji), Rāṇī Kachvāhī (Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat's wife) 32, 147, 235
Lāchbāī, Rāṇī Āhāṛī (pihār name; Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat's wife) 33
LādBāī, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (pihār name; Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Gaṅgo Vāghāvat's wife) 25, 275
LādBāī, Rāṇī Jāṛcē (pihār name; Rāṭhōṛ Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot's wife) 52
LādBāī, Rāṇī Sonagarī (pihār name; Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat's wife) 31
Lādījī, Rāṇī Devṛī (Rāṭhōṛ Moṭō Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's wife) 48
Lahuvo Bhāṭī(s) 379
Lākhan, Rāv (Cahuvān) 446
Lakhānsen Karaṇot, Rāval (Bhāṭī) 78
Lākhāvat Rāṭhōṛ(s) 13
Lakhmāṇ, Rāṇo (Sisodīyo Gahlot) 122-123
Lakhmāṇ Bhadāvāt (Akhairājot Rāṭhōṛ) (no. 33) 162, 165-167, 169
Lakhmāṇ Jodhāvāt (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) 18
Lakhmāṇ Keharot, Rāval (Bhāṭī) 78
Lākho Dāśāvāt (Kachēlā Cāraṇ) 405
Lākho Khetots, Rāṇo (Sisodīyo Gahlot) 163, 184, 199
Lākho Rāmāvāt (Kachvāhō) 136
Lākho Rīṃmalot (Lākhāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 13
Lākho Sahasmalot, Rāv (Devṛō Cahuvān) 88, 94
Lakṣmāṇa 456
Lakṣmīnārāyāṇī 193
Lālbaṇī (Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat's daughter) 31-32
Lālō (Cāraṇ) 194
Lārbāṇī (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Vāgho Sūjāvat's daughter) 264
Likhmī, Rāṇī Sisodīṇī (pihār name; Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat's wife) 35
Likhmibāṇī, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṇī (pihār name; Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvāt's wife) 21, 69, 70-73, 75, 262, 450
Likhmīdās Māldevot (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) 35
Lilāvatibāṇī (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Sakatsingh Udaisinghot's daughter) 45
Lilāvatibāṇī (Rāṭhōṛ Moṭō Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's daughter) 46
Lōḍī Sūltān 441
Loharjī, Rāṇi Sodhī (Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat's wife) 33
Lolo Rāṇāvāt (Sonagaro Cahuvān) 18, 107-108, 112
Lord of the Yogis 398
Lumbho Čāndaṇot (Khīṛyō Cāraṇ) 422
Lūṇkāraṇ (Bhāṭī) 68-69
Lūṇkāraṇ (Rājāvāt Kachvāhō) 288

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Lünkaraṇ Bīkāvat, Rāv (Bīkāvat Rāṭhor) (no. 44) 33, 69, 146-147, 191, 193-195, 198, 261, 295, 436, 438
Lünkaraṇ Jaiṭsiyot, Rāvaḷ (Bhāṭī) 24, 27, 30, 45, 78, 122
Lünkaraṇ Kāraṇot, Rāvaḷ (Bhāṭī) 78
Lünkaraṇ Keḷhaṇot (Keḷhaṇ Bhāṭī) 68
Lünkaraṇ Sūjāvat, Rāv (Sekhāvat Kachvāho) 28, 147, 149
Lünkaraṇ Údāvat (Údāvat Rāṭhor) 389
Lūṇo/Lünkaraṇ Gorāvat (Bhandārī) (no. 156) 326, 328, 446-447, 456
Lūṇo Harrājot (Ḍūṅgarot Devṛo Cahuṇā) 90, 98

M

Mādhodās Jaimalot (Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor) 349, 368, 375, 377
Mādhodās Kalyāṇdāsot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 280-281, 293, 323
Mādhosīṃh Dalpatsimhōt (Rāṇāvat Sisodīyo) 389
Mādhosīṃh Khīṃvāvat (Údāvat Rāṭhor) 402
Mādhosīṅgh Bhagvantdāsot (Kachvāho) 280
Mādhosīṅgh Udaisimghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 43, 282, 291
Madno Pāṭāvat (Rāṭhor) 91
Mahādev (Śiva) 300, 320
Mahājāns 450
Mahākumvār (Rāṭhor Rājā Jāsvantsingh Gajsiṅghot's daughter) 61
Māhāpo Sāṅgāvat, Rāvaṭ (Paṃvār of Cāṭsū) 152, 156
Māhāsingh Jagatsimghōt, Rājā (Kachvāho) 47, 131
Māhāv Rāyguṛ (Brāhmaṇ puruḥūt) 111
Mahēs (Śāṅkhlo Paṃvār) 232-233
Mahēs Ghārsiyōt (Cūndavāt Rāṭhor) (no. 58) 213, 20-221, 223, 237
Mahēs Kūmpśāvat (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor) (no. 98) 209, 298, 307-313, 315-316, 318, 331, 360
Mahēs Paṃcāinōt (Karamsot Rāṭhor) (no. 93) 294-297
Mahēsēsās (Hul Gahlot) 209
Mahēsesās Dālpatoṭ, Rāv (Jodho Rāṭhor) (no. 89) 256, 281, 283-289, 292
Mahēsesās Māldevōt (Jodho Rāṭhor) 35
Mahēsesās Sūrajmalōt (Cūmpāvat Rāṭhor) 369
Mahēvco Rāṭhor(s) 6, 80, 187, 202, 236, 318, 332-335
Mahipāḷ Rājpāḷot (Jāṅgalo Śāṅkhlo Paṃvār) 161
Mahirāj Akhairājōt (Akhairājot Rāṭhor) 163, 202, 298-300, 331
Mahirāj Gopāḷdevōt (Jāṅgalo Śāṅkhlo Paṃvār) 22
Mahirāvaṇ Jaisiṭiyot (Bhāṭī) 30, 78
Mahkaraṇ Rāṇāvāt (Śācoro Cahuṇā) 43, 56, 281
Mainō(s) 240-241
Majlis-i ʿāli 441
Mālak Akhairājōt (Kachvāho) 137
Mālamsimhūt Údāvat (Údāvat Rāṭhor) 388, 390
Mālde Gāṅgāvat (Rāv of Jodhpur; Jodho Rāṭhor) 4, 10-11, 22, 24, 27-37, 41, 43, 47-48, 72, 74-77, 80-85, 99, 104-105, 108-110, 113-114, 116, 119,
495


Mälde Lünkaraṇot, Rāvaḷ (Bhāṭī) 35, 41, 53, 78, 236, 284
Mälde Paṇcāṇiṇot, Rājā (Paṇvār of Cāṭṣū) 153, 156
Mälde Udāvat (Udāvat Rāṭhor) 388-391, 397, 401, 409
Mälde (Mälde Gāṅgāvat, Rāv; Jodho Rāṭhor) 140
Mäldev, Rāja of Jodhpur 441
Mālīn Cahuvaṇ(s) 72, 74-75
Mālik ‘Ambar 119, 132
Mālik Budhaṇ Bihārī 395
Mālik Khān-i-Jahān 89
Mallināṭṭh, Rāvaḷ (Rāṭhor) 214, 247, 332, 335
Mālo (Solaṛkī) 70
Mālo Siṅghot (Jhālo) 28
Mālo Tejāvatt (Viṭḥū Čārāṇ) 350
Mālojī Šalkhāvat, Rāvaḷ (Mahevcō Rāṭhor) 214, 247, 332, 410-412, 414
Malū (Dapḥtārī Munḍhato) 450
Malū Khān 187-188, 193, 202, 338, 421-422
Māmārak Khān 258
Mānakbhanḍārī Paṇcōli(s) 458
Mānakdeji, Rāṇī Devrī (Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat’s wife) 24, 27, 30
Manakdev, Rājā (Cahuvaṇ) 458
Mānakrāv Lünkaraṇot (Sekhāvat Kachvāho) 28
Mānakrāv Punpālot, Rāṇo (Jāṅgālyo Sāṅkhlo Paṇvār) 158, 161
Manāvatībāi/Mānībāi (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisīṅgh Māldevot’s daughter) 46, 278
Manāvatībāi (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat’s daughter) 29, 278
Manbhāvatībāi (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrāsīṅgh Udaisīṅghot’s daughter) 51
Māṇḍalo Riṃmalot (Riṃmalot Rāṭhor) 13
Māṇḍalot Rāṭhor(s) 13
Māṇḍān/Māṇḍo Jaitāvat (Rūneko Sāṅkhlo Paṇvār) 16, 191, 431
Māṇḍān Khīṃsvurāvat (Khīṛyo Čārāṇ) 345
Māṇḍān Kūṃpāvat (Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhor) (no. 99) 298, 307, 311-321, 327, 331, 427-428
Māṇḍān Riṃmalot (Māṇḍaṇot Rāṭhor) 14
Māṇḍān Rūṅāvat, Rāṇo (Rūneko Sāṅkhlo Paṇvār) 16
Māṇḍān Siharoat, Rāṇo (Rūneko Sāṅkhlo Paṇvār) 161
Māṇḍān Vīramdevot (Mṛṭīyo Rāṭhor) 345, 347, 365, 374
Māṇḍaṇot Rāṭhor(s) 14
Māṇḍlik, Rāv (Jāḍav/Jāḍam) 30, 51
Māṇḍlik Jagmālot, Rāvaḷ (Mahevcō Rāṭhor) 332, 335
Māṇḍo Jaitśiyot, Rāṇo (Rūneko Sāṅkhlo Paṇvār) 15-16
Māṇgīiyāṇi (Khīṃvo Sindhaḷ’s wife) 387
Māṇgīiyāṇi, Rāṇi (Rāṭhor Rāv Sujo Jodhāvat’s wife) 22, 386

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Mero (Devro Cahuvan) 35
Mero Sujavat (Jhαlo) 27-28
Mer(s) 202, 299-300, 303, 406
Merτiyο Rαθhο(s) 1-3, 6, 17, 80, 140, 147, 153-154, 164, 171-172, 175, 204-205, 230-231, 242-243, 249-252, 256-257, 260-261, 275, 304-305, 308, 336-377, 385, 388, 425, 443
Mīr Garula 338
Mīr Kalān 93
Mīr Khαn 64
Mīr Mālik 104
Mīr Tūzuk 64
Mīrāṁbāi (Merτiyο Rαθhο Ratαnsī Dūdāvat's daughter) 340
Mīrāṁbāi (Rαθhο Rαv Mαlde Gαngαvat's daughter) 34
Mīrzα 'Azīz Koka 124
Mīrzα Hαkim 140
Mīrzα Hindāl 146
Mīrzα Kαιqubād 142
Mīrzα Khān 124
Mīrzα Khαn Khānān 'Abdu'r-Rahīm 355
Mīrzα Muḥammad Hαkim 124, 142
Mīrzα Shαrīfu'd-dīn Hαsusain 138-139
Mīrzα Yusuf Khαn 141
Miyān Ḥasan Khān Sūr 147
Mohakamsingh Amarsinghot (Candravat Sīsodiyo Gahlot) 289
Mohanḍās (Dahīyo) 180
Mohanḍās Bαlīvot (Bhαrmalot Rαθhο) 181, 183
Mohanḍās Mādhōdāsot (Merτiyο Rαθhο) 374
Mohanḍās Udaisinghot (Jodho Rαθhο) 43, 282, 291
Mohanī (Rαθhο Rαjā Sūrαjsingh Udaisinghot's pītαr) 54-55
Mohanκumvαr (Udαvαt Rαθhο Rαtαnsī Khīmβαvαt's daughter) 405
Mohil Cahuβαn(s) 192, 200, 202, 259-260, 431-435
Mokαl Bālvαt (Kαchvαhο) 145, 149
Mokαl Kαrhαthot (Uhαr Rαθhο) 179
Mokαl Lākhαvαt, Rαnō (Sīsodiyo Gahlot) 18, 119, 126, 163, 184, 199, 217-218, 440
Mokαl Udvαt (Jaitmαlot Rαθhο) 255
Moko Mαṇḍαnот (Dhαdhvαrīyo Cαrαn) 356
Mota Rajαh (The Fαt Rajαh) 140
Mοτό Jοgαvαt (Jaitmαlot Rαθhο (no. 79)) 247, 252, 254
Mοτολ Mαṇḍαnот (Khīrιyo Cαrαn) 350
Mrιgαvatībαi (Rαθhο Rαjα Sūrαjsingh Udaisinghot's daughter) 53
Mrιgκυμvαr, Cahuβαn (pιhαr name; Merτiyο Rαθhο Dṇu Dجادvαt's wife) 340
Muḥammad Daulat Khan (Daulatiyo) (Khānzāda Khān) (no. 154) 32, 439, 442-443
Muḥammad Khān I (Khānzāda Khān) 194, 440-441, 445
Muḥammad Khān II (Khānzāda Khān) (no. 154) 32, 273, 441, 445
Muḥammad Qasim Khān 404
Muḥammad Shāh III Tughluq 439
Muḥantots (Muḥhatos) 450-451
Mujāhid Kambū 129
Mujīhīd Khān (Khānzāda Khān) 72, 440-441, 445
Mukandās (Nāhar Khān) Rāṣingshōt (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 330
Mukanddās Jaimalot (Merṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ) 350, 375
Mulak Chand 64
Mūlraj Jātsiyot, Rāval (Bhāṭi) 78
Muḥhatos(s) 449-457
Muḥhatos/Mūto Osvalds 450-451
Mūṇjo Rāṣiyot (Jāṅgaḷvo Sāṅkhlo Pamvār) 161
Murād Bakhsh (Mughal Prince) 124, 141-142, 288
Muzaffar Khān 100

N
Nabhāvatibīā, Rāṇī Candrāvat Sīsodaṇī (piḥar name; Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh Gajsiṅgḥot's wife) 62
Nachraṅgdeji, Bāṛī Rāṇī Solāṅkaṇī (Rāṭhoṛ Moṭo Rājā Udaisīṅgh Māldevot's wife) 41
Nāgar Brāhmaṇ 224
Nāgauri Khān(s) / Khānzaḍa Khān(s) 260, 273, 346, 439
Nagīṇa Bāī (Dhīrāvāt Kachvāho Rāṃdās Īdāvāt's daughter) 129
Nāṅgecījī 189, 193
Nāgo (Muṅhato) (no. 158) 195-196, 449, 451
Nāgo Bhārīmalot (Bāḷavāt Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 38) 83-85, 121, 171-177, 238, 251
Nagrāj Akhairājot (Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ) 167, 170
Nagrāj Gāṅgāvāt (Īdāvāt Rāṭhoṛ) 404
Nāhar Khān (Mukandās) Rāṣingshōt (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 330
Nāī ("barber") 185, 218
Naiṇṣī (Muḥaṇot) 450
Nandkuṃvar, Sonagara (piḥar name; Īdāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Údō Sūjāvāt's wife) 388
Nāpo Dhīrāvāt (Dhīrāvāt Kachvāho) 137
Nāpo Jītmalot (Hāḍo Cahuvaṇ) 103
Nāpo Mānakravat, Rāṇo (Jāṅgalvo Sāṅkhlo Paṁvār) (no. 26) 16, 157-159, 161, 192, 431
Nāpo Rīndhirot (Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhōr) 217, 223
Nāpo Sūjāvat (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 22
Narain Das, Rai (Īdareco Rāṭhōr) 225
Narāṇī Karamsīyot (Karamsot Rāṭhōr) 295, 297
Nāraṇīndās (Sōjaṅkī) 347, 365
Nāraṇīndās Candrājot (Jaimālot Rāṭhōr) (no. 75) 247, 252, 255
Nāraṇīndās Jaimalot (Mērtīyo Rāṭhōr) 349, 375
Nāraṇīndās/Nāraṇīndās Bhāṇḍāvat, Rāv (Hāḍo Cauvān) 22-23, 103, 264
Nāraṇīndās Patāvat (Bhāṭī) 78
Nāraṇīndās (married name of Rāṭhōr Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's daughter, Kankāvatībāī) 28
Nāraṇīndās (married name of Navraṇīndās, Rāṇī Jhālī (Rāṭhōr Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 27-29
Nāraṇīndās, Rāṇī Sāṅkhli (Rāṭhōr Rāv Jodho Riṅmalot's wife) 15-17, 191, 431
Nāraṇīndās, Rāṇī Vīrampuri (Rāṭhōr Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh Udaīṅghot's wife) 53
Nārāvat Rāṭhōr(s) 21, 236, 256-257
Nāraṇīndās (Muṁhato) 277-278
Nāraṇīndās Pūṇjāvat, Rāv (Īdareco Rāṭhōr) (no. 60) 224-226
Nāraṇīndās Sāṅgāvat (Ūḍāvat Rāṭhōr) 404
Nārbād Bhāṇḍāvat (Hāḍo Cauvān) 103
Nārbād Meṅhāvat (Mōhīl Cauvān) 433, 435
Nārbād Sāṭāvat (Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhōr) (no. 56) 201, 213, 217-220, 223, 337, 383, 386
Nārāḥdās Īsārdāsot (Mērtīyo Rāṭhōr) (no. 120) 336, 359-360, 362-363, 376
Nārāḥdās Rataṃsiyot (Ūḍāvat Rāṭhōr) 405-406
Nārāḥdās Udaīṅghot (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 41
Nārō Bikāvat, Rāv (Bīkāvat Rāṭhōr) (no. 43) 191, 193, 198, 434
Nārō Sūjāvat (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 21, 71-72, 202, 236, 256, 387, 450
Nārsīṅgh (Sīndhāl Rāṭhōr) 200-201
Nārsīṅgh Coṭhot (Sīvār Brāhmaṇ purohit) 270
Nārsīṅgh Tējsiyot (Dūṅgarot Devro Cauvān) 88, 98
Nārsīṅgh Udaīkaraṇot, Rājā (Kachvāhō) 145, 149
Nārsīṅghdās Jaimalot (Mērtīyo Rāṭhōr) 349, 375
Nārsīṅghdās Kalyāṇdāsot (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 279-280, 293, 323
Nārsīṅghdās Khīṅdāvat (Sīndhāl Rāṭhōr) (no. 131) 218-219, 337, 382-383
Nārūkījī, Rāṇī Kachvāhī (Rāṭhōr Rājā Jasvantsīṅgh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 63
Nāsīru'ī-Mulk Pīr Muḥhammad Sarvānī 84
Nāthāvat Rāṭhōr(s) 14
Nāthkumvār (Bhāṭī Rāvaḷ Harrāj Māldevot's daughter) 22, 29
Nātho, Vyās 447
Nātho Jodhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 18
Nātho Riṅmalot (Nāthāvat Rāṭhōr) 14
Nātho Sūjāvat (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 22
Nāvāḥ Hindāl 145-146
Navāl Kūṁvar, Rāṇī Hulṇī (piḥar name; Ěḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ Úḍo Sūjāvat's wife) 389

Neto (Brähman \textit{purohit}) 237
Neto (Pañcoli) 38

\textbf{Neto Abhāvat} (Pañcoli) (\textit{no. 162}) 366, 458-459
Netši Lūŋkaranot (Bīkahvat Rāṭhor) 194, 198
Netši Māldevot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 35

\textbf{Netši Sihāvat} (Akhairajot Rāṭhor) (\textit{no. 36}) 162, 168, 170
Netši Īḍāvat (Īḍāvat Rāṭhor) 389-390
Netši Vīramot (Sācoro Cahuvaṇ) 105-106

Nībā (Bhāṭi) 72
Nībštī Khetṣiyot (Cāraṇ) 387
Nīmbhāvat Śīndhaļs 108
Nīmbō Anṭandot (Jesō Bhāṭi) 72, 79
Nīmbō Jodhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 11, 14, 164, 290
Nīmbō Khetāvat (Kaviyo Cāraṇ) 387, 402

Nirvāṇ Cahuvaṇjī (Kachvāho Mokal Bāḷāvat's wife) 145
Nīsal Viḍāvat, Rāval (Mahevco Rāṭhor) 335

Noraṅgdejī, Rāṇī Jāṛecī (Rāṭhor Rājā Gaṛaṅgh Sūṛaṁśinghot's wife) 58
Noraṅgdejī, Rāṇī Kachvāḥī (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūṛaṁśingh Udaiṁśinghot's wife) 54
Nur Mahal (Mughal Emperor Shāh Jāhān's wife) 281

\textbf{O}

Ordat (Kachvāho) 127
Osvāḷ \textit{jāṭi} 446, 449-450
Osvāḷs 450-451

\textbf{P}

Padamsī Kāṅhaṛdevot (Rāṭhor) 412, 414
Pāḍkhāṅ (Jāda) 54

Padmā Devī, Hūṇī (Akhairajot Rāṭhor Mahirāj Akhairajot's wife) 299
Padmābāī, Rāṇī Devṛī (\textit{piḥar} name; Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāṅghāvat's wife) 24, 27, 30

Padmākuṁṇaṟ, Soḷaṅkaṇī (\textit{piḥar} name; Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor Jaimal Vīramdevot's wife) 349

Padmāvatiṁbāī, Rāṇī Sīsodṇī (\textit{piḥar} name; Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāṅghāvat's wife) 24

Pahāṛ Khāṇ (Bīhāṛī) 447
Pahāṛ Khāṇ (Jāda) 54

Pahāṛśinṝ Padamsıṁhoṇ (Cahuvaṇ) 389
Pāḷanśi Chohilot (Rūnc̣o Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār) 161
Palo Īḍāvat (Ratnuṁ Cāraṇ) 340
Pāṃvār(s) 391-393, 450, 452
Pāṃvār of Cāṭṣū 5, 42, 51, 53, 150-156, 234, 393
Paṅcāṁ (Pāṃvār) 86
Paṅcāṁ, Rāват (Sīsodīyo Gahlot) 350

---

Pañcain Akhairajot (Akhairajot Rāṭhoṛ) 169, 203, 227-229, 246, 265-266, 298, 300, 331, 452
Pañcain Dūḍāvat (Mērtīyo Rāṭhoṛ) 340, 367, 374, 376
Pañcain Jaitsiyot (Kelhaṅ Bhāṭī) 264
Pañcain Karamcandot, Rāvat (Paṃvār of Cāṭsū) (no. 24) 150, 152-154, 156, 230, 250, 342-343, 425
Pañcain Karamsiyot (Karamsot Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 92) 294-297
Paṅco Harāvat (Bhāṭī) 78
Paṅcoli(s) 458-460
Paṅcī Viṃdevot (Māṅgliyo Gaḥlot) 21
Paramesvar 88, 209, 309, 394
Parbat Āṇandot (Jeso Bhāṭī) 77, 79
Parvatībāi, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṅī (pihar name; Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Sūraįsiṅgh Udaiśiṅghot's wife) 53
Parvatībāi, Rāṇī Cūṇḍāvat Siṃḍoṇī (pihar name; Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 27
Parvīz (Mughal Prince) 51, 119, 142, 180-181, 281, 284, 326, 328, 373, 407, 447
Pātal Udaikaraṇot (Kachvaho) 127-128, 136
Pātar Uḍāvat (Kachvaho) 136
Pathūvat Rāṭhoṛ(s) 13
Paṭhāṇ(s) 85, 172, 261, 327, 433
Pato (Cibo Devro Caḥuvān) 88-89
Pato Dūṅgarsīyot (Uḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 392
Pato Īcot (Roharįyo Ķāraṇ bāṛḥaṭḥ) 339
Pato/Pātal Gāṅgāvat, Rāṅo (Soḍho Pāṃvār) 33
Pato Jagāvat, Rāvat (Cūṇḍāvat Siṃḍoṇyo Gaḥlot) 101, 344, 349
Pato Kāṁhāvat (Akhairājoṭ Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 35) 162, 168-169
Pato/Krāṭāpsiyṅgh Kūmpāvat (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 96) 298, 307, 309, 331
Pato Riṃmalot (Paṭāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 13
Pato Sāṃvatsiyot (Dūṅgarot Devro Caḥuvān) 95
Pato Uḍāvat (Bhāṭī) 78
Pāṭsāḥ of Māṇḍū 153, 187, 338, 421
Pāṭū Hamıroṭ (Rāṇāvat), Rāṇo (Māṅgliyo Gaḥlot) 22
Pemāvāṭbāi (Rāṭhoṛ Mōto Rājā Udaiśiṅgh Māldevot's daughter) 43
Pemkuṃvwarpāi, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṅī (pihar name; Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Javantsiṅgh Gajsiṅghot's wife) 60
Pepkwumvar, Garu (pihar name; Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Mahesdās Dalpatot's wife) 289
Pertāp, Rāul (Āḥāро Gaḥlot) 114
Peshrāw Khān 129
Pharāsrām (or Rām) Udaiśiṅghot (Sīsodiyo Gaḥlot) 42
Phatahsiṅgh Lāḍkhānāt (Narūko Kachvaho) 63
Phatehsingh, Rāv (Soḷaṅkī) 344
Phatehsingh Mahesdāsot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 287, 289, 292
Phato (Kocar Muṃhato) 450
Phūḷām, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāṅī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Sātal Jodhāvat's wife) 20

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221
Phulambai, Rani Bhatiyani (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat's wife) 24

Phulambai, Rāṇī Boṛi (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot's wife, Ratanādeji) 52

Phulkumvar (Meṛṭīyō Rāṭhor Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvat's daughter) 344

Phulkumvar, Gaur (pihar name; Īdāvat Rāṭhor Ūdo Sūjiāvat's wife) 388

Pimaikumvar (Rāṭhor Rājā Gajisingh Sūraisinghot's daughter) 56

Pirāg/Prāg Sūjiāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 22

Pithal Gokulāsot (SoḷānkJī) 299

Pithamrāv Tejśiyot (Sācoro Cahuṽān) 21, 271-272

Pitho Ąṇandot (Jeso Bhatī) (no. 1) 68, 75-77, 79

Pithurāv Karamṣiyot (Karamsot Rāṭhor) 295, 297

Pohpāṁbāi, Cahuṽān (pihar name; Jodho Rāṭhor Vāgho Sūjiāvat's wife) 263

Pohpāṁbāëi, Rāṇī Barī Jādām/Jādāv (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot's wife, Suhāgdeji) 51

Pohpāṁvatibāi (Rāṭhor Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgāvat's daughter) 28, 114

Pohpāṁvatibāi, Rāṇī Vāghelī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 30

Pohpāvatijī, Barī Rāṇī Cūṇḍāvat Sisodṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 27

Pohpāvatijī, Rāṇī Bhatiyāṇī (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māḷdevot's wife) 42, 47

Potalo Kalāvat (Jaghaṭh Cāraṇ) 340

Prabhākumvar, Hulṇī (pihar name; Cāmpāvat Rāṭhor Jeso Bhairavādāsot's wife) 209

Prabhāvatibāi (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghot's daughter) 54-55

Prāg/Pirāg Sūjiāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 22, 390

Prāṇmatibāi (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māḷdevot's daughter) 46

Pratāpdeji, Rāṇī Sisodṇī (Rāṭhor Rājā Gajisingh Sūraisinghot's wife) 57, 60

Pratāpkumvar (Rāṭhor Rājā Javantsingh Gajisinghot's daughter) 61

Pratāpṣi Lūṅkaranot (Bīkāvat Rāṭhor) 194, 198

Pratāpṣi Rāymalot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 277, 293

Pratāpṣi Vāghāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 31, 263

Pratāpsingh Jaisinghot, Rāvāl (Āhāro Gahlot) (no. 12) 113, 115, 392

Pratāpsingh Udaisinghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 50

Pratāpsingh/Pratāp Udaisinghot, Rāṇo (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 86, 88, 90-92, 95, 109-110, 114, 118, 120, 122, 126, 139, 141, 225, 315, 318, 356-358

Pratāpsingh Vīrādevot (Meṛṭīyō Rāṭhor) 345

Prayāgdās Arjanot (Meṛṭīyō Rāṭhor) (no. 112) 336, 353, 376

Prayāgdās Māṇḍanot (Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhor) 321, 331

Prayāgdāsot Īdāvat Rāṭhōrs 390

Premaldeji, Rāṇī Bhatiyāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Candrasen Māḷdevot's wife) 39

Premaldeji/Premdeji, Rāṇī Jhālī (Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat's wife) 26

Prithirāj (Bhatī) 34

Prithirāj (Cahuṽān) 224

Prithirāj Bhalīvot (Bhārimalot Rāṭhor) (no. 40) 178, 180-183

Prithirāj Bhojrajot (Rinmalot Rāṭhor) 379, 381
Prithiraj Candrasenot, Rājā (Kachvāho)  33, 43-44, 140, 144-145
Prithiraj Dujānsalot (Bhāṭṭi)  34
Prithiraj Goynaddāsot (Jeso Bhāṭṭi)  323, 328
Prithiraj Jásvantsīṅghoṭ (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ)  61
Prithiraj Kūmpāvāt (Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 97) 209, 298, 307-313, 315-316, 318, 331, 360, 428
Prithiraj Māldevot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 31-32
Prithiraj Nīṭsīyot, Rāv (Khiṃvo Bhāṭṭi)  34
Prithiraj Rāṭhoṛ  181
Prithiraj Rāyimalot (Sīsodīyo Gahlot)  121, 126, 151
Prithiraj Rāyśīṅghot (Jādav/Jādam)  61
Prithiraj Sūjāvāt (Devṛo Cahuvaṇ)  87, 94
Prithiraj Sūjāvāt (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 22
Prithiraj Udaisīṅghot (Gāṅgāvat), Rāval (Āhāro Gahlot)  33, 113
Prithiraj Vīrāṃdevot (Mṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛ)  345
Puṇjo (Rāv of Īḍar)  406
Puṇpāḷ Lakhansenot, Rāvāl (Bhāṭṭi)  78
Puṇpāḷ Uḍāvāt, Rāṇo (Jāṅgalvo Sāṅkhlo Paṇvār)  161
Puṇrāj, Rāv (Baharmer Rāṭhoṛ)  29
Pūrāṁbāi (Mṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛ Narhardas Īsardāsot's sister)  359, 362
Pūrāṁjī, Rāṇī Bhāṭīyāṇī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalot's wife)  15, 294, 432
Pūrān Māl (son of Kān Shaikhāwāt)  100
Puṇrāṃmal Prithirājaḥot (Jaitāvāt Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 64) 227, 239, 243, 244, 246
Puṇrāṃmal Prithirājaḥot (Jātāvāt Kachvāho)  144
Puṇrāṃmal Udaīsīṅghot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ)  45
Pūrbāi (Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Gajsingh Sūrāsīṅgh's daughter)  56
Pūrbāi, Rāṇī Kachvāḥi (piḥar name; Rāṭhaḥ Moṭo Rājā Udaīsīṅgh Māldevot's wife)  42
Pūrbāi/Pūrāṁbāi, Rāṇī Sonagarī (piḥar name; Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Mālde Gaṅgāvat's wife)  32
Pūrbāṅbāi, Rāṇī Cahuvaṇ (piḥar name; Rāṭhoṛ Moṭo Rājā Udaīsīṅgh Māldevot's wife)  46
Pūrbāṅjī, Rāṇī Cahuvaṇ (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's wife)  40

Q
Qasīm Khān  141
Qulīj Khān  133, 141

R
Rāghadvāḍ, Rāv (Cahuvaṇ)  344
Rāghadvāḍ Māhāpāvāt, Rāvati (Paṇvār of Cāṣṭū)  156
Rāghodās (Paṇcōli)  326
Rāghodās Ratansīyot (Uḍāvāt Rāṭhoṛ)  405

Downloaded on behalf of 35.160.27.221

Rāḥū 206
Rai of Sirohī 92
Rai Rai Singh (Rājā Rāysiṅgh Kalyāṇmalot, Bīkāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 91-92
Rai Sal/Rāīsāl (Rāysiṅsāl "Darbāri" Sūjāvat; Sekhāvat Kachvāho) 128, 132, 141
Rai Singh (Candrasenot; Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 93
Raināyar (Murphato) 449
Rāj Singh (Rāysiṅgh Āskaraṇoṛt, Rājāvat Kachvāho) 139
Rājā Kohothot Sīvaut (Brāhmaṇ purohīt) 400
Rājā of Sūrācand (Cahuvān) 398-399
Rājāmbāī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Jodho Rīmnoḷt’s daughter) 15, 431-432
Rājāvat Kachvāḥī, Rānī (Rāṭhoṛ Moṭo Rājā Udaiṅsīṅg Māldevot’s wife) 43
Rājāvat Kachvāho(s) 5, 138-144
Rājā, Rānī Jādam/Jādav (pihar name; Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat’s wife) 30
Rājkuṁvar (Rāṭhoṛ Moṭo Rājā Udaiṅsīṅg Māldevot’s daughter) 45
Rājkuṁvar/Rāykumvarbāī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat’s daughter) 24
Rājkuṁvar, Bhātiyāṇī (pihar name; Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ Rāysiṅgh Khīṃvāvat’s wife) 330
Rājkuṁvarbāī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat’s daughter) 28, 34
Rājō (Sūndo Rājpūt) 398-399
Rājō Sūjāvat (Jhālo) 30
Rājpāl Vairsīyot (Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār) 161
Rājpaṇ, Bhaṭ (of Udehl) 127
Rājpūṭaṇī 228, 317-318
Rājī Kūṃvasīyot, Rāṇo (Jāngalvo Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār) 161
Rājsīṅgh (Hāḍo Cahuṇān) 288
Rājsīṅgh Āskaraṇoṛt, Rājā (Rājiṅg Kachvāho) 41, 138, 144
Rājsīṅgh Dalpatot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 284-285, 292
Rājsīṅgh Ghasīyot (Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 59) 213, 220-221, 223
Rājsīṅgh Khīṃvāvat (Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 101) 298, 320, 323, 326-331, 408, 447, 456
Rājsīṅgh Surtāṇoṛt, Rāv (Devṛo Cahuṇān) 94-97
Rāṃ Bhadāvat (Akhairajot Rāṭhoṛ) 167, 169
Rāṃ Das (Dhīrāvat Kachvāho) 128-129, 131, 133
Rāṃ Dās, Rājā (Dhīrāvat Kachvāho) 133
Rāṃ Jaisīṅghdevot (Bhārmalot Rāṭhoṛ) 179, 183
Rāṃ Kāṃvāvat (Cahuṇān) 24
Rāṃ Māldevot, Rāv (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 27, 32, 110, 167, 209-210, 235-236, 276, 291, 309-310, 360
Rāṃ Paṭīcāṇot (Kehlan Bhaṭi) 39
Rāṃ Patāṃsīyot (Rāṭhoṛ) 93, 95
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ram Ratansiyot (Udavat Rathor)</td>
<td>405-406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ram Tilavat (Gujargaṇ Brāhmaṇ)</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām/Pharasrām Udaisinghot (Sisodiyō Gahlot)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambhāvatībāī (Rāṭhor Moto Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's daughter)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambhāvatījī, Rāṇī Hāḍī (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife)</td>
<td>33-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmcandrajī, Thākūr Śrī</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmcandro Mahesdāsot (Jodho Rāṭhor)</td>
<td>287, 289, 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmcandro Rāyarnalot (Narūko Kachvāho)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmdās &quot;Darbārī&quot; Udavat, Rājā (Dhiravat Kachvāho) (no. 19)</td>
<td>5, 54, 95,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>127-137, 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmdās Jaimalot (Mṛtiyo Rāṭhor)</td>
<td>139-140, 350, 358, 375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmdās Mālhan (Cahuvaṇ)</td>
<td>73-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmdās Pātarot (Kachvāho)</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmkumuvār, Rāṇī Bhāṭīyāṇī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife, Ěmādejī)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmkumuvār, Rāṇī Hāḍī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rājā Javantsingh Gajisinghot's wife)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmkumuvār, Rāṇī Sonagarī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Rīṇmaḷ Cūṇḍāvat's wife)</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmkumuvārbāī (Rāṭhor Moto Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's daughter)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmkumuvārbāī, Rāṇī Bhāṭīyāṇī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rājā Gajisingh Sūraissinghot's wife)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmo/Rāmsīṅgh Bahiravdāsot (Cāmpāvat Rāṭhor) (no. 50)</td>
<td>199, 210-212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmo Bhojāvat (Kachvāho)</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmo Dharamsīyot (Jaghaṭh Ėrāṇ)</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmo Dharamsīyot (Ṣāndu Ėrāṇ)</td>
<td>312, 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmo Ėnṭgāvat (Jāgarvāḷī Brāhmaṇ)</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmsīṅgh Ėnṭuvaṭ (Brāhmaṇ)</td>
<td>181-183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmsīṅgh Goyanddāsot (Jeso Bhāṭi)</td>
<td>323, 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmsīṅgh Tejśiyyot (Sekhaṭaṇ Kachvāho)</td>
<td>42-43, 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmsīṅgh Udaisinghot (Jodho Rāṭhor)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ran Dhavaṭ (Bundelo)</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇagde, Rāv (Bhāṭi)</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇagde Bhojraṇot (Rīmnalot Rāṭhor)</td>
<td>379, 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇagde Lakhamsīyot, Rāv (Pūṅgāḷ Bhāṭi)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇāvāṭ Rāṭhor(s)</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇāvāṭ Sisodī (Jodho Rāṭhor Vagho Sūjāvats wife)</td>
<td>228, 263, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṅgādev (Jodho Rāṭhor Vagho Sūjāvats wife)</td>
<td>228, 263-265, 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṅgādevī (or Gāṅgādejī), Rāṇī Paṇvār (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūraissingh Udaisinghot's wife)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṅgādevī (or Siṅgardejī), Rāṇī Kachvāhi (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūraissingh Udaisinghot's wife)</td>
<td>54, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṅkumuvār, Rāṇī Bhāṭīyāṇī (pihar name; Bīkāvat Rāṭhor Bīko Jodhāvats wife)</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṅgṛay (Hāṭi Khān's pātar)</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rāṇī Maṅgā(s) 299
Rāṇībāī, Rāṇī Devṛī (pihār name; Rāṭhoṛ Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot’s wife) 48
Rāṇīmaṅg(s) 344
Rāṇo of Citor/Mevār 25, 47, 68, 73, 80-81, 101, 186, 189, 220-221, 225, 243, 265, 383
Rāṇo Akhairājot (Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 28) 121, 162, 164-165, 169, 304, 426
Rāṇo Jodhāvat (Jeso Bhātī) 333
Rāṇo Madajētsot (Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār) 16
Rāṇo Māḍāisinghōt (Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār) 16
Rāṇo Nagrajot 277
Rātan Rāmāvat (Kachvāḥo) 136
Ratanādejī, Rāṇi Āhārī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgāvat’s wife) 33
Ratanādejī, Rāṇi Boṛī (Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisinghōt’s wife) 52
Ratanāvati (Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Javantsingh Gājsinghōt’s daughter) 62
Ratanāvatiṃbāī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgāvat’s daughter) 28
Ratanāvatiṃbāī, Rāṇi Kachvāḥī (pihār name; Rāṭhoṛ Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot’s wife) 43
Ratanbāī, Rāṇi Bhāṭiyānī (pihār name; Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Māḷde Gāṅgāvat’s wife) 30
Ratankumvār (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Vāgho Sūjāvat’s daughter) 147, 264
Ratankumvār, Hāḍī Cahuvaṅ (pihār name; Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Rāymal Māldevot’s wife) 276
Ratanśi Cāmpāvat (Cāmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 202, 212
Ratanśi Dūḍāvat (Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛ) 152, 204, 340-341, 355, 374, 424
Ratanśi Dūḍāvat, Rāv (Hāḍo Chauvaṅ) 103
Ratanśi Jaitsīyot (Ūḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 406
Ratanśi Khīṃvāvat (Ūḍāvat Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 141) 241, 386, 390, 392, 401-406, 409
Ratanśi Māḷdevot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 33
Ratanśi/Ratansingh Sāṅgāvat, Rāṇo (Sīsodiyo Gahlot) 113, 120-121, 126, 151, 263-264
Ratanśi Sekhāvat (Sekhāvat Kachvāḥo) 32, 147, 149
Ratansingh Bhojvāt, Rāv (Hāḍo Cahuvaṅ) 284
Ratansingh Bhojṛājot, Rāvṛājā (Hāḍo Cahuvaṅ) 61
Ratansingh Mahēsdāsot, Rāv (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 286-289, 292
Rāṭhoṛ (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvats daughter) 317
Ratno Abhāvāt (Paṅcolī) (no. 163) 458-459
Ratno Dāhaṭvāt (Mīsaṇ Čaṛāṇ) 355
Rāv of Siโร̄ทรī 240-241, 395

Rāval of Jaisalmer 237
Rāval of Vāṃsvālo 313, 427
Rāvat Hāṃvat (Devro Cahuvān) 89
Rāvat Rāmkrān (Cahuvān) 24
Rāvat Sēkhāvat (Dūṅgarot Devro Cahuvān) 87, 98
Rāvālīrā Bhandārīs 447
Rāy Rāy Sīnh (of Bikāner) 361
Rāykuṃvar (Rāthōṛ Moṭo Rājā Udaisiṅgh Māldevot's daughter) 41
Rāykuṃvar, Kachvāhī (piḥar name; Jodho Rāṭhoṛ Dalpat Udaisiṅghot's wife) 283
Rāykuṃvarbāī (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's daughter) 39
Rāykuṃvarbāī (or Rājkuṃvar) (Rāṭhoṛ Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat's daughter) 24
Rāykuṃvarbāī, Rāṇī Cauḥvān (piḥar name; Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Gajsingh Sūrajsiṅghot's wife) 56
Rāykuṃvarbāī, Rāṇī Cauḥvān (piḥar name; Rāṭhoṛ Rājā Jasvantsiṅgh Gajsingh'ot's wife) 60
Rāymal (Brāhmaṇ purohit) 237
Rāymal (Kachvāhō) 276
Rāymal Dūdāvat (Mēṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛ) 147, 152, 204, 340-341, 352, 374, 376
Rāymal Dujansalōt (Kelhan Bhāṭī) 42-43, 47
Rāymal Kūmbhāvat, Rāṇo (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 18, 75, 126, 151, 194, 301, 344, 387
Rāymal Khetāvat (Vaid Muṃhato) (no. 159) 229, 266-270, 302-303, 449, 452-456
Rāymal Māldevot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 29, 209, 237, 276-278, 291, 293, 309, 323
Rāymal Rāypālot (Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ) 167, 170
Rāymal Sīvāvat, Rāv (Candrāvat Sisodiyo Gahlot) 123
Rāymal Sēkhāvat (Sēkhāvat Kachvāhō) (no. 22) 145-149, 194, 305, 343, 352, 436
Rāypāl Jaitsiyot (Bhāṭī) 307
Rāypāl Jodhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 15, 256, 294, 297
Rāypāl Māldevot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 35
Rāypāl Nagrājot (Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ) 167, 170
Rāypālot Rāṭhoṛ(s) 15, 256-257
Rāysal "Darbārī" Sūjāvat (Sēkhāvat Kachvāhō) 54, 128-129, 140, 147, 149, 264, 358
Rāysal Dūdāvat (Meṛtiyo Rāṭhoṛ) (no. 106) 153, 336, 340, 343, 346, 374
Rāysal Gāṅgāvat (Sodho Paṅvār) 34
Rāysal Mahesdāsot (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 287-288, 292
Rāysal Rāmāvat (Hul Gahlot) 238-239, 347
Rāysi Mahipālot, Rāṇo (Jāṅgalvo Sāṅkhlo Paṅvār) 161
Rāysingh Akhairājot, Rāv (Devro Cauḥvān) 25, 97
Rāysingh Candrasenot, Rāv (Jodho Rāṭhoṛ) 38, 62, 93-95, 320-321, 354
Rāysingh Kalyānmalot, Rājā (Bikāvat Rāṭhoṛ) 46, 90-91, 109, 142, 179, 196, 198, 361
Rāysingh Māṅsiṅghot (Jhālo) 29
Rāysingh Vāghāvat, Rāvat (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 126
Rebāri 443
Réro (dhāy-bhāḍ of Jaitāvat Rāṯhōṛ Jaito Paṅcāṅgot) 229, 267, 453-454
Ridhikumvār (Kaṅṣijī, Caṇāṇī) 216
Rindhūr Cūṅḍāvāt, Rāvat (Cūṅḍāvāt Rāṯhōṛ) 216-218, 223
Rindhūr Khiṃvāvat (Sonagaro Cāhuṃvān) 108, 112
Rindhūr Koṭhāvāt (Sindhāl Rāṯhōṛ) (no. 135) 382, 384
Rindhūr Udāvāt (Devro Cāhuṃvān) 97
Rindhūrsingh, Rāṇo (Solāṅkt) 349
Rinmāl Salkhāvāt (Devro Cāhuṃvān) 97-98
Rinmals/Rinmalots/Rinmalot Rāṯhōṛ(s) 6, 13-14, 221, 237, 267, 302, 309, 378-381, 454
Rūḍo Tejsīyot (Dūṇgarot Devro Cāhuṃvān) 98
Rūghnāḥ Jogiḍāsot (Kelhaṅ Bhaṭī) 285
Rukhmāvātī (Rāṯhōṛ Rāv Māḍe Gaṅgāvāt’s daughter by a pāṭar) 35
Rukhmāvātībāī (Rāṯhōṛ Moṭo Rājā Udaśisṅgh Māḍe vōṭ’s daughter) 47
Rukhmāvātībāī (Rāṯhōṛ Rāv Candraṣṭaṅ Māḍe vōṭ’s daughter) 38
Rukhmāvātībāī, Rāṇī Sisodī (pihar name; Rāṯhōṛ Rājā Gajsīṅgh Sūrājsīṅghoṭ’s wife) 57
Rūņecō Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār(s) 15-16, 157, 161, 218, 383
Rūṇpāvāt Rāṭhōṛ(s) 13, 379
Rūṇkūṃvār (Kachvāhō Rājā Bhāvīṃgh Māṅsīṅghoṭ’s daughter) 52
Rūṇkūṃvārībāī (Rāṯhōṛ Rāv Jodho Rīṃmalot’s daughter) 18
Rūṇkūṃvārībāī, Rāṇī Sisodī (pihar name; Rāṯhōṛ Rājā Javsāntīṅgh Gajsīṅghoṭ’s wife) 62
Rūpo Rīṃmalot (Rūṇpāvāt Rāṭhōṛ) 13, 379, 381
Rūṇsī Bhaṭī(ī) 48, 78
Rūṇsī Lakhmaṇot (Rūṇsī Bhaṭī) 78
Rūṇsī Vairāṅī Prithṛājot (Kachvāhō) 44, 144
Rūṇsīṅgh Bhojāvāt (Kachvāhō) 136
Rūṇsīṅgh Jodhāvāt (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) 18
Rūṇsīṅgh Māḍe vōṭ (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) 35
Rūṇvāṭībāī (or Rūṇmatībāī), Bāṛi Rāṇī Kachvāhī (pihar name; Rāṭhōṛ Rājā Gajsīṅgh Sūrājsīṅghoṭ’s wife) 56, 142

S

S. Deora (Surtāṅ Bhaṅgot, Devro Cāhuṃvān) 93
Sabālsīṅgh Dayāḷdāsot, Rāval (Bhaṭī) 289
Sabālsīṅgh Māṅsīṅghoṭ (Kachvāhō) 39
Sabālsīṅgh Sūrājsīṅghoṭ (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) 51
Sabīrābāī, Rāṇī Sonagarī (pihar name; Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvāt’s wife) 25
Sacoro Cāhuṃvān(s) 5, 48, 104-106, 282, 287

510

Salhaidī Bhārmalot (Rājāvat Kachvāho) 128
Salho Khān (Khānzāda Khān) 15, 294, 441
Salim (Mughal Prince) 46, 131, 278, 318, 360-361
Salkho Tīdāvat, Rāv (Rāṭhōṛ) 3, 11, 169-170, 177, 183, 190, 198, 212, 223, 246-247, 254-255, 290, 297, 331, 335, 374, 381, 409-411, 414, 430, 438
Sambhusingh (Dhīrāvat Kachvāho Rāmdās Ṣūjāvat's sister's son) 130
Samarathsimhā Sālamsimhot (Hul Gahlot) 389
Sāmdān (Āsiyo Čāraṃ) 399
Samdāriyā Muṇṭhatos 450-451
Samro (Bhaṇḍāṛī) 446
Samro Narsīṅghot (Ḍūṅgarot Devro Cahuṃ) 87-89, 94, 98
Samsārcand Vīdāvat (Vīdāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 438
Sāṃvāldās Rāmor (Akhairāro Rāṭhōṛ) 167, 169
Sāṃvāldās Udaṁśinghōt (Vārsīṅghot Merṭṭīyo Rāṭhōṛ) (no. 152) 313-314, 420, 427-430
Sāṃvatsī Jodīḥavat (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) 17, 23
Sāṃvatsī Mabhkarāṇot (Sācoro Cahuṃ) 282, 285
Sāṃvatsī Rāyimalot (Ṣolāṅki) 41
Sāṃvīlyo Sōr (Koli) 224
Sāṇḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ(s) 14
Sāṇḍho Mokalot (Jaitmālot Rāṭhōṛ) (no. 71) 247, 249-250, 255
Sāṇḍo Pūnṫālot (Jāṅgalvo Sāṅkhlo Panṵr) 161
Sāṇḍo Rīṇimalot (Sāṇḍāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 14
Sāṅgo (Ṣolāṅki) 92
Sāṅgo (Vāghelo Sōlāṅki) 58
Sāṅgo, Rāvat (Panṵr of Cāṭṣū) 156
Sāṅgo, Rāvat (Ṣisodīyo Gahlot) 344
Sāṅgo Bhojāvāt (Jaitmālot Rāṭhōṛ) (no. 77) 247, 252, 255
Sāṅgo Māldevot (Panṵr of Cāṭṣū) 51, 53, 154, 156
Sāṅgo Rāyimalot, Rāṇo (Ṣisodīyo Gahlot) 24, 82, 120, 126, 146, 151-153, 204, 263-264, 269, 301, 340-341, 352, 391, 401, 424
Sāṅgo Sūjāvat (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) 22
Sāṅgo Śamsśārcandot (Vīdāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 195, 437-438
Sāṅkar Hīṅgolāvat (Ratnūṃ Čāraṃ) 355
Sāṅkar Sūrāvāt (Jeso Bāṭi) (no. 2) 68, 76, 79, 258
Sāṅkhli Panṵr (Vārsīṅghot Merṭṭīyo Rāṭhōṛ Vārsīṅgh Jodīḥāvat's wife) 339, 423
Sāṅkhlo Panṵr(s) 5, 15-16, 22, 157-161, 192, 215-216, 232, 337, 383, 420, 431
Sāṅkhlo Vāgh Bāhārot (Panṵr) 157, 161
Santokhdeji, Rāṇi Bāṭiyānī (Rāṭhōṛ Moṭo Rājā Udaṁśingh Māldevot's wife) 45
Sārāṅg Khān Pāṭhāṇ 159, 192-193, 202, 433-436
Sārāṅgde, Rāṇī Māṅgliyānī (Māṅgliyo Gahlot Pāṅcũ Vīramdevot's daughter) 21
Sārāṅgde Vīramdevot (Merṭṭīyo Rāṭhōṛ) 344-345, 347, 365, 374
Sārāṅgdeji, Rāṇi Bāṭiyānī (Rāṭhōṛ Rāv Sūjō Jodīḥāvat's wife) 21, 69, 262, 272, 450

Dalpatot's wife) 288-289

Sarkhel Khān (Khānāzāda Khān) (no. 155) 268, 417, 439, 442-443

Sarūpdeji, Rāṇī Jhālī (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 29-30, 37, 41, 81-82, 172

Sarvāṇ (Gaur) 399

Sarvandehi, Rāṇī Māṅgliyāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Sūjō Jodhāvat's wife) 22


Sato Cūṇḍāvat, Rāv (Cūṇḍāvat Rāṭhor) (no. 54) 107, 162, 213-218, 223

Sato Lolāvat (Sonagar Cahuvaṇ) 112

Satrasāl, Jām (Jāreco) 52

Satyabhāmānāī (Rāṭhor Moto Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's daughter) 29, 45

Sāyār Kūṇvar (Udāvat Rāṭhor Khīmvo Údāvat's daughter) 402

Sāyār Rīṇmalot (Rīṇmalot Rāṭhor) 12

Sekhāvat Kachvāho(s) 5, 145-149, 305, 358, 436

Sekhāvat Rāṭhor(s) 274

Sekho, Rāv (Bhātī) 192, 194

Sekho Mokalot (Sekhāvat Kachvāho) 145, 149

Sekho Rūḍāvat (Dūngarot Devro Cahuvaṇ) 98

Sekho Sāṅkarot (Khetslyot Rāṭhor) 38

Sekho Sūjāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) (no. 86) 21, 179, 189, 204, 256, 263-264, 268-269, 271-274, 290, 295, 342, 391, 393, 397-401, 416-417, 442-443, 455

Sekho Vīraṃdevot (Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor) 345

Shāh Beg Khān Khān-daurān 132

Shāh Jahān (Mughal Emperor) 45-46, 58, 61, 64-65, 118, 154, 180-182, 281, 284-289, 326, 329-330, 369, 407

Shāh of Īrān 287

Shāh Qulī Khān 131, 139

Shāh Qulī Maḥrām-ī Bahārlū 276, 361

Shāhbaẓ Khān 129-130

Shaikh Ābu’l-Fazl 102, 225, 361

Shaikh Bahā’ud-Dīn Majdhub Badāyūnī 100

Sham Sheru’l-Mulk 154

Shams Khān I Dāndānī (Khānāzāda Khān) 217, 439-440, 445

Shams Khān II (Khānāzāda Khān) 72, 440, 445

Shams Khān Kyām Khān 19

Sheikh (Sekho Mokalot, Sekhāvat Kachvāho) 145

Sheikh Abīmūrā 146, 194, 295

Sheikh Burhān Chishti 145

Sher Khān 225

Sher Khwāja 356, 359


Shihāb-al-dīn Muhammad Ghorī 224

Shihābu’d-dīn Ahmad Khān 226

Sidho Mokalot (Jaitmalot Rāṭhor) (no. 72) 247, 249, 251, 255
Sigardejī, Rāṇī Cāvṛi (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisiṅgh Māldevot's wife) 47
Sīhār Cācagot, Rāṇo (Rūṇeço Sāṅkhlo Pāṃvār) 161, 218
Sīhō, son of Setrām, Rāṭhāḍa (Rāṭhor) 382, 415
Sīho Akhairajot (Akhairajot Rāṭhor) 170
Sīho Bhāṇḍāvat (Sīndhāl Rāṭhor) 315-317
Sīhō Candrāvat (Khiriyo Ĉārān) 350, 423
Sīho Setrāmot, Rāv (Rāṭhor) 16, 214, 224, 382, 415
Sīhō Varsīṅghot, Rāv (Varsīṅghot Mēṛṭīyo Rāṭhor) (no. 147) 250, 338-339, 342, 350, 371, 420, 422-424, 430
Sikandar Khān (Bihārī Pāṭhān) 172
Sikandar Lodi 145, 441
Sikhro Mahkaraṇot (Ṣācoro Cāhuvān) 56
Sīndhāl (Sīndhāl Rāṭhor Sīho Bhāṇḍāvat's daughter) 317
Sīndhāl Jōpśāhot (Sīndhāl Rāṭhor) 382-383, 415
Sindhī 397
Sīndho Rimnalot (Rīmナルot Rāṭhor) 14
Sīṅgardejī (or Rāṅgādejī), Rāṇī Kachvāḥī (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrājsiṅgh Udaisiṅghot's wife) 54, 134
Sīṅghaṅ Khetsīyo (Rīmナルot Rāṭhor) (no. 129) 378-379, 381
Sīṅghaṅ Vāṅghāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 263
Sīre Kuṃvar, Rāṇī Rāṅāvat (Ūdāvat Rāṭhor Ūd Śūjāvat's wife) 389
Sīrekuṃvar, Sekhāvat Kachvāḥī (pihār name; Kūṃpāvat Rāṭhor Rājśīṅgh Khīṃvāvāt's wife) 330
Sīryā Khān 338
Sīsodiyo Gahlot(s) 2-3, 5, 71, 80-81, 86, 88, 90, 92, 113, 118-126, 151-152, 158, 163, 172, 180, 184-187, 199-201, 206, 208, 214, 219, 227, 235, 264, 337, 397, 420, 446, 449
Sīsodṇī (Jodho Rāṭhor Rāv Viramde Vāṅghāvat's wife) 268, 273, 453-455
Sīsodṇī (Jodho Rāṭhor Vāṅgho Śūjāvat's wife) 452
Sīsodṇī (Mēṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Gopāḍās Surtāṅot's wife) 356-357
Sīsodṇī, Rāṇī (Devro Cāhuvān Rāv Surtāṅ Bhāṅot's wife) 96
Sīsodṇī, Rāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Jodho Rīmナルot's wife) 18
Sītābāī, Bāḥaṃmerī Rāṭhor (pihār name; Bāḍī Rāvāl Lūṅkarāṇ Jaiṣīyoṭ's mother) 27
Sītābāī, Rāṇī Rājāvat Kachvāḥī (pihār name; Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisiṅgh Māldevot's wife) 43
Śīva 299
Śīvo Chājįot, Rāv (Candrāvat Sīsodiyo Gahlot) 123
Śivrāj Jodhāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 17, 248, 257-258, 290
Śivrājot Jodho Rāṭhor(s) 257
Sobhādejī, Rāṇī Bhātiyāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Candrasen Māldevot's wife) 38
Sobhādejī, Rāṇī Kachvāḥī (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrājsiṅgh Udaisiṅghot's wife) 51, 56, 447
Sobhāt Salkhāvat (Rāṭhor) 411, 414
Sobho (sikdār) 50, 58
Sobho Harbhāmott (Jāngalvo Sāṅkhlo Paṃvār) 50, 58
Sobho Rīṇmalott (Devro Cahuṅān) 97-98
Sodā (Bhivānī Paṅcolī) 459
Sodhal Haṃspālot (Rūnceco Sāṅkhlo Paṃvār) 161
Sodho Bāharott (Paṃvār) 157
Sodho Paṃvār(s) 40, 157
Soharadejl (or Sahodrāṃdejl), Rāṇī Sāṅkhīlī (Rāṭhor Rāv Sūjo Jodhāvat's wife) 22
Solāṅkī(s) 41, 104, 179, 347, 359, 365
Solāṅkāṇī (Baṛī) (Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevott's wife) 349, 353, 365
Solāṅkāṇī (Loṛi) (Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Rāv Jaimal Vīramdevott's wife) 349, 359, 368
Solāṅkāṇī (Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor Rāv Vīramde Dūdāvatt's wife) 344
Solāṅkāṇī, Rāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalott's wife) 17
Sonag Sīhāvat (Rāṭhor) 224
Sonagara, Rāṇī (Rāṭhor Rāv Rīṇmal Cūṇḍāvat's wife) 107
Sonagarō Cahuṅān(s) 5, 32, 47, 107-112, 162, 217, 301, 337
Sonām, Rāṇī Mohilāngī (pihar name; Rāṭhor Rāv Cūṇḍo's wife) 215
Sonbāī (Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat's daughter) 24
Śringārdevī (Rāṭhor Rāv Jodho Rīṇmalott's daughter) 18
Śūdra 458
Suhāgdejl, Rāṇī Baṛī Jāḍam/Jāḍav (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsingh Udaisīṅghott's wife) 51
Suhāgdejl, Rāṇī Cahuṅān (Rāṭhor Moṭo Rājā Udaisīṅgh Māldevott's wife) 46
Suhāgdejl, Rāṇī Narūkī Kachvāhī (Rāṭhor Rāv Candrasen Māldevott's wife) 37
Sūjā'at Khān 113-114
Sūjāvat Rāṭhor(s) 256-257
Sūjāndejl, Rāṇī Bhatiāngī (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh Udaisīṅghott's wife) 50, 52
Sūjāndejl, Rāṇī Loṛi Jāḍam/Jāḍav (Rāṭhor Rājā Sūrajsīṅgh Udaisīṅghott's wife) 54
Sūjkumārvābāī (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's daughter) 35
Sūjo Purnāmlott (Rājāvat Kachvāhō) 138, 144
Sūjo Rājāvat (Jhālo) 30
Sūjo RāmAva (Sācoro Cahuṅān) 282
Sūjo Rāymalott (Akhairājot Rāṭhor) 167, 170
Sūjo Rāymalott (Sekhāvat Kachvāhō) 147, 149, 264, 352
Sūjo Rīṇḍhīrot (Devro Cahuṅān) 87, 97
Sūjo Sāṃvatot (Baliso Cahuṅān) (no. 4) 80-85, 122, 172-174, 176, 242, 396
Sukhumvār (Sisodiyo Gahlot Rāṇo Amarsingh Pratāpsīṅghott's daughter) 95
Sukno (Bhāṃḍālī Muḥhato) 449
Sūltān of Delhi 411, 450
Sūltān Ahmād Shāh 440
Sultan Bahādur Shāh 121, 152-154, 205, 274
Sultan Bahlūl Lodī (Afghan) 73, 433
Sultan Khusrav (Mughal Prince) 131, 142
Sultan Mahmūd 440
Sultan Mahmūd III 28, 395-396
Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī 440
Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq 439
Sultan Muzaffār 226
Sultan Muzaffār II 341
Sultan Muzaffār Khān III 334-335
Sultan Muzaffār Shāh 439, 445
Sultan Qutb-al-dīn Ahmad Shāh 440-441
Sultānā Cand Bībī 361
Sundarbāī (Rāṭhōṛ Ṛav Jodho Rīṇmalot’s daughter) 18, 107
Sūndardās Māḥhodāsot (Mṛṭīyō Rāṭhōṛ) 368-369, 377
Sūndo Rajpūṭ 398
Supiyārde (Sāṅkhīlī Paṃvār; Sīndhāḷ Rāṭhōṛ Nārsīṅghdās Khīṇdvāt’s wife) 218-219, 383
Sūr (Māḷhāṇ Cahuṃvāṇ) 74-75
Sūrāj Singh, Rāja (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Rāja Sūrājśīṅgh Udāsīṅghot) 324-325
Sūrājdejī, Rāṇī Kachvāḥī (Rāṭhōṛ Rāja Gajsīṅgh Sūrājśīṅghot’s wife) 58
Sūrājdejī, Rāṇī Sīsodīṇī (Rāṭhōṛ Ṛav Candrasen Māḷdevot’s wife) 38
Sūrājkumvāv, Hāḍī Cahuṃvāṇ (puhār name; Jodho Rāṭhōṛ Mahesdās Dalpatot’s wife) 288
Sūrājmal Khīṃdvāvat, Rāvot (Sīsodīṇyo Gahlotot) 126
Sūrājmal Lūṅkaraṇot (Bhāṭī) 45, 78
Sūrājmal Mahesdāsot (Jodho Rāṭhōṛ) 289, 292
Sūrājmal Nāraṇḍāsot, Rāv (Hāḍō Cahuṃvāṇ) 22-23, 33-34, 103, 120-121, 264
Sūrājmal Prithrājot (Rāṭhōṛ) 310-311
Suratsimh Khīṃdvāvat (Ūdāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 402
Surjan Urjānōt, Ṛav (Hāḍō Cahuṃvāṇ) (no. 6) 40, 99-103, 208, 276
Surjan Varjāṅgōt (Bhīṃvot Rāṭhōṛ) 189-190
Sūrmāḷhāṇ (Cahuṃvāṇ) 74-75
Sūro Bhairavādāsot (Jeso Bhāṭī) 76, 79
Sūro Nārsīṅghot (Dūṅgarot Devro Cahuṃvāṇ) 87-88, 95, 98
Sūrsīṅgh Bhagvāntdāsot (Kachvāḥo) 43
Sūrsīṅgh Surtāṅgōt (Devro Cahuṃvāṇ) 94-97
Surtān Bhāṅgōt, Ṛav (Devro Cahuṃvāṇ) (no. 5) 62, 86-98
Surtān Harrāṅgōt (Bhāṭī) 356
Surtān Harrāṅgōt (Sōḷaṅkī) 264
Surtān Jaimalot (Mṛṭīyō Rāṭhōṛ) (no. 113) 238, 336, 349, 353-356, 358-362, 372, 375, 385
Surtān Jaisīṅgōt (Ūdāvat Rāṭhōṛ) 403
Surtān Jaisīṅgōt (Jeso Bhāṭī) 79, 107, 279-280, 323.
Surtān Sūrājmalot, Rāv (Hāḍo Cahuvaṇ) 28, 34, 99, 103
Surtāndeji, Rāṇī Ahārī (Rāṭhōr Rājā Sūrājśiṅgh Udāisinghōt's wife) 51
Surtānjī (Cahuvaṇ) 46
Surto (Bhāṇḍālī Mumḥato) 449
Syāmdās Jaimalot (Meṛtīyo Rāṭhōr) 350, 375
Syāmdās Sūjāvat (Devṛo Cahuvaṇ) 87, 97
Syāmkumvār (Meṛtīyo Rāṭhōr Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat's daughter) 344
Syāmsīṅgh (Rajpūṭ) 131

T

Tāj Bībī (Emperor Jahāṅgīr's wife) 46
Tāj Khān Jālōrī 90-91
Tāṅk Rajpūṭ(s) 231, 439
Tāṅkanī (Meṛtīyo Rāṭhōr Rāv Vīramde Dūḍāvat's wife) 344, 346
Tārāḍe, Gahlot (Rāṭhōr Rāv Cūndo's wife) 216
Tārāmatījī, Rāṇī Cahuvaṇ (Rāṭhōr Moṭo Rājā Udāisingh Māldevōt's wife) 48
Tarōn Khān 90
Tejo Karmāṣiōt (Āśyō Ĉāraṇ) 283
Tejo/Tejmāl Bīkāvat, Rāvat (Śisōdiyo Gahlot) (no. 16) 118-120, 126
Tejṛāv Čacagdevōt (Bhāṭī) 78
Tejśī Āḷanōt (Dūṅgarōt Devṛo Cahuvaṇ) 98
Tejśī Bhojāvat (Jāṅgalvo Śāṅkhalo Paṁvār) (no. 27) 157, 159, 161
Tejśī Dūṅगаrsiṇīoṭ (Uḍāvat Rāṭhōr) (no. 138) 84-85, 150-151, 154-155, 234, 239, 274, 386, 391-398, 403, 409
Tejśī Jaitmāloṭ (Bhārmalot Rāṭhōr) 183
Tejśī Kūmpāvāt (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhōr) 315, 331
Tejśī Rāymalot (Śekhāvat Kachvāho) 149
Tejśī Rīṇmālot (Tejśiyoṭ Rāṭhōr) 14
Tejśī Urjāṇoṭ (Akhairājot Rāṭhōr) (no. 34) 162, 168-169
Tejśī Varjāṅgot, Rāv (Śacoro Cahuvaṇ) 272
Tejśī Varsīṅgōt (Varsīṅgōt Meṛtīyo Rāṭhōr) 425-426, 430
Tejśiyoṭ Rāṭhōr(s) 14
Tejśiṅgh Māldevōt (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 35
Thākursi Māldevōt (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 35
Thorī(s) 275
Tīḍo, Rāv (Rāṭhōr) 410, 414
Tīḥaṇo Karanōt, Rāvāt (Jaitmālot Rāṭhōr) 254
Tīlōskī Kūmpāvāt (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhōr) 309, 331
Tīlōskī Māldevōt (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 35
Tīlōskī Pārbatōt (Jēso Bhāṭī) (no. 3) 68, 77, 79
Tīlōskī Rūṛsiyoṭ (Kachvāho) 44
Tīlōskī Sūjāvat (Jodho Rāṭhōr) 22
Tīlōskī Varjāṅgot (Uḍāvat Baithvāsiyo Rāṭhōr) (no. 143) 258, 410, 412, 414
Tīlōskībāi (Rāṭhōr Moṭo Rājā Udāisingh Māldevōt's daughter) 46
Timūride 102
Tīŋū/Tīvū Gūdi (Rāṭhōr Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's pātar) 35
Tirmanräy Räsalsalot (Sekhāvat Kachvaho) 54, 149
Todarmal, Rājā 129
Togo Sūrāvat (Dū̊ngarot Devrō Cahuvāṇ) 95, 98
Tribhuvaṇṣī (Tribhuvaṇṣī) Kāṅhardevot, Rāv (Rāθhor) 410-412, 414
Tugluqs 439
Turk(s) 94, 278, 356, 433

U

Uchaṅdeji, Rāṇī Soḍhī (Rāθhor Rājā Sūrajaśī̃gh Udaisinghot's wife) 52
Udai Singh (Jaimalot; Kachvaho) 140
Udaikaraṇ Juṇšīyot, Rājā (Kachvaho) 127-128, 136-137
Udaikaraṇ Karamsiyot (Karamsot Rāθhor) (no. 90) 294-295, 297
Udaikumvar, Cahuvān (pihar name; Jodho Rāθhor Vāgho Sūjaṇāvat's wife) 24
Udaikumvarbarāī (Rāθhor Rājā Javantinsingh Gaṇsighot's daughter) 63
Udaikumvarbarāī, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyānī (pihar name; Rāθhor Rājā Gaṇsigh Rājaśī̃gh Udaisinghot's wife) 59
Udaiś (Devrō Cahuvān) 317
Udaiśingh Jaimalot (Kachvaho) 140, 144
Udaiśingh Jaitāvat (Jaitāvat Rāθhor) (no. 62) 227, 233, 246, 235, 307
Udaiśingh Jesāvat (Varsighot Merṭiyo Rāθhor) 430
Udaiśingh Ratansīyot (Ūdāvat Rāθhor) 405-406
Udaiśingh Rāyaśinghōt, Rāv (Devrō Cahuvān) 25, 97
Udanbāī, Cahuvān (pihar name; Jodho Rāθhor Vāgho Sūjaṇāvat's wife) 24, 228, 263, 265, 452
Ūdāvat (Bahīvāsīyo) Rāθhor(s) 6, 410-414
Ūdāvat Rāθhor(s) 6, 22, 150, 203, 234, 256, 274, 282, 341, 384, 386-409, 410
Ūdāvat Rāθhors (of Bikāṇer) 14
Ūday Singh, Rānā (Sīsodiyo Gaḥlot) 125
Udhal, Vāghelī (Cāvrō Rāvāl Āso's wife) 31
Ūdo Bhairavādāsot (Sācoro Cahuvān) 106
Ūdo Cāndot (Dīhrāvat Kachvaho) 127-128, 137
Ūdo Kāṅhardevot (Jaitmālot Rāθhor) (no. 67) 247, 249, 255, 337, 420
Ūdo Lākhāvat (Devrō Cahuvān) 97
Ūdo Muṇjāvat (Jāṅgalyo Sāṅkhlo Paṃvār) 161
Ūdo Rāmāvat (Kachvaho) 136
Ūdo Rīmālot (Ūdāvat Rāθhor of Bikāṇer) 14

Üdo Sūjāvat (Ūdāvat Rāṭhor) 22, 203, 256, 340-341, 384, 386-390, 397, 409
Ūdo Trībhuvansiyot (Ūdāvat Baitvāsīyo Rāṭhor) 410, 412, 414
Ūgo Vairsiyot (Bhāṭi) 78
Ūgo Varsinghot (Mahevco Rāṭhor) 332-333, 335
Ugrascn Candrasenot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 37-38
Ūhar Jopsāhot (Ūhar Rāṭhor) 382, 415
Ūhar Rāṭhor(s) 178-179, 378, 383, 415-419
Umādeji, Rāṇī Bhāṭiyāni (Rāṭhor Rāv Mālde Gāṅgāvat's wife) 27, 32
Ūrdat (Kachvāho) 127
Urjan Bhumirajot (Vāghelo Solāṅkī) 17
Urjan Narbadot (Hāḍo Cahuvaṅ) 99, 103, 120
Urjan Paṅcāṅot (Akhairājot Rāṭhor) 169
Uttamdeji, Rāṇī Kachvāhī (Rāṭhor Moto Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot's wife) 43
Uttamdeji, Rāṇī Sisodnī (Rāṭhor Rāv Gāṅgo Vāghāvat's wife) 24
Uzbek 369

V

Vadgūjar (Varsinghot Mertiyo Rāṭhor Sāṁvaldās Udaisinghot's wife) 314, 428

Vāgh JagmAlo (Mertiyo Rāṭhor) (no. 125) 336, 366-367, 376
Vāgh Prithirajot, Rāv (Jaitāvat Rāṭhor) 319
Vāgh Sūrajmalot, Rāvat (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 126
Vāghelī (Mertiyo Rāṭhor Rāv Jaimal Vīrādevot's wife) 350
Vāghelī (Jodho Rāṭhor Dalpat Udaisinghot's wife) 283
Vāghelo(s) 35, 357
Vāgho Amarsinghot (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 142
Vāgho Kāndhalot (Kāndhalot Rāṭhor) 433, 435, 438
Vāgho Pithamravat (Sācoro Cahuvaṅ) 47

Vāgho Sūjāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) (no. 83) 11, 21, 31, 71, 120, 147, 228, 256, 262-265, 269, 271-272, 290-293, 358, 414
Vāgho Vījāvat, Rāv (Boro Cahuvaṅ) 52
Vāgariyo Cahuvaṅ(s) 400-402
Vaid Muṅhatos 450-452, 455
Vaijnāth Mahādev, Śrī 299-300
Vairāvat Rāṭhor(s) 13
Vairo Rīnmalot (Rīnmalot Rāṭhor) 13
Vairo Varsinghot (Hāḍo Cahuvaṅ) 103
Vairsal Bhīṃvot (Bhīṃvot Rāṭhor) 184, 187-188, 190
Vairsal Duṅgarsiyot (Ūdāvat Rāṭhor) 392
Vairsal Cācāvat, Rāv (Kelhaṅ Bhāṭi) 15, 294
Vairsal Gāṅgāvat (Jodho Rāṭhor) 24
Vairsal Meghāvat, Rāṇo (Mohil Cahuvaṅ) 433, 435
Vairsal Prithirajot (Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor) 95-96
Vairsal Sāṅkarot (Jeso Bhāṭi) 76
Vairsī Lakhmaṅot, Rāvaḷ (Bhāṭi) 78
Vairsī Lūṅkaraṅot (Bīkāvat Rāṭhor) 147, 194, 198

Vairsī Rāṇāvot (Akhairājot Rāṭhor) (no. 31) 162, 164-165, 169
Vairsi Vāghavat (Sāṅkhlo Pāñ𝑗vār) 157, 161

Vais Dhundhanji (Cahuvaν) 46
Vaiśya 458
Vālīsā Cahuvaνs 80
Vānīyō(s) 394, 428
Vanvīr, Rāṇo (of Vīrampur) 53
Vanvīr Bhojjāvat (Hul Gahlot) 17, 178, 259
Vanvīr Jesavat (Jeso Bhāṭī) 73, 79
Vanvīr Jōdhavat (Vanvīrot Rāṭhor) 15
Vanvīr Prithirājot (Sīsodiyō Gahlot) 81, 108-109, 121, 126, 165-166, 205-206, 305
Vanvīr Rīṇmalot (Vanvīrot Rāṭhor) 14
Vanvīr Singhavat (Sācoro Cahuvaν) 47
Vanvīr Udāvat (Ūdāvat Rāṭhor) 389-390
Vanvīrot Rāṭhor(s) 14-15
Vardeṣī (Bhāṭī) 330
Varjang Bhairavādōt (Jeso Bhāṭī) 306
Varjang Bhumvot (Bhumvot Rāṭhor) (no. 41) 184-190, 193
Varjang Pāṭāvat, Rāv (Sācoro Cahuvaν) 104, 106
Varjang Udāvat (Ūdāvat Baitväsiyō Rāṭhor) 412, 414
Varsingh (Sīsodiyō Gahlot) 340
Varsingh Dvārkādāsōt, Rājā (Sekhavat Kachvāho) 61, 149
Varsingh Hāmāvat (Hādo Cahuvaν) 103
Varsingh Nīṣālot, Rāval (Mahevco Rāṭhor) 335
Varsingh (Vairsi) Nāraṇot, Rāṇo (Sōḍho Paṅvār) 34
Varsingh Pithāvat (Rāgurū Brāhmaṇ) 400
Varsinghot Mērtiyo Rāṭhor(s) 6, 17, 260-261, 336-337, 374, 420-430
Velo (Mūṇhato) (no. 160) 328, 449, 456-457
Veṇīdās Goyanddāsōt (Jeso Bhāṭī) 328
Veno Sahaisāvot (Varsinghot Mērtiyo Rāṭhor) 426, 430
Vīḍāvat Rāṭhor(s) 6, 17, 159, 191, 194-195, 198, 202, 256, 260, 431-438
Vīḍo (Rāṭhor) 317
Vīḍo (Sindhal) 395
Vīḍo, Rāvavat (Mahevco Rāṭhor) 187
Vīḍo Bhārmalot (Bāḷāvat Rāṭhor) (no. 37) 85, 171-172, 175-177
Vīḍo Bhojrajot, Rāval (Mahevco Rāṭhor) 335
Vīḍo Jōdhavat, Rāv (Vīḍāvat Rāṭhor) 16-17, 159, 191-192, 198, 202, 256, 260, 431, 434-436, 438
Vīḍo Surjanot (Bhumvot Rāṭhor) 189-190
Vīhaṛīyōs 89
Vijal Jaitmālot (Jaitmālot Rāṭhor) 255
Vijāyōsīṅgḥ Sūraṣiṅghot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 52
Vijāirāj (Dāḥīyō) 104
Vijāisī Alaṅot (Cahuvaν) 104
Vījo Bhīmvot (Bhumvot Rāṭhor) 184, 187, 190
Vījo Harrājot (Dūṅgarot Devro Cahuvaν) 37, 86-96, 98, 130
Vījo Ulānuν (Rāvavat (Jaitmālot Rāṭhor)) 248, 254, 267
Vijoo Udavat (Udavat Baihwasiyo Rathor) 412, 414
Viko Kisnāvat (Ṭāṅk) 34
Vikramadīt Māldevot (Jodho Rathor) 34
Vikramaditya Sāṅgāvat, Rāṇo (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 24, 108, 120-121, 126, 153, 204-205, 270, 274, 305
Vināṃji, Rāṇi Vāghelī (Rāṭhor Rāv Jodho Rinmalot’s wife) 17
Vinaykumvar, Nirvāṇ Cahuvaṅ (pihar name; Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor Rāv Jaimal Viramdevot’s wife) 349
Viñjo Bhārmalot (Balavat Rathor) 83, 85, 173-174, 176-177, 242
Vīram, Rāval 318
Vīram Devāvat (Māṅgliyo Gahlot) (no. 14) 116, 364, 366
Vīram Salkhāvat (Rāṭhor) 3, 11, 169-170, 177, 183, 190, 198, 212, 223, 246, 290, 297, 331, 374, 381, 409-410, 414, 430, 438
Vīram Sodhalot (Rūṇeco Sāṅkhlo Pamvār) 161
Vīram Udāvat (Sācoro Cahuvaṅ) 105-106
Vīramde Duṅgarsiyot (Udāvat Rāṭhor) 392
Vīramde Kalāvat (Mahevclo Rāṭhor) 334-335
Vīramde Narāyāndāsot (Dāreco Rāṭhor) 226
Vīramde Sūrajmalot (Sisodiyo Gahlot) 62
Vīramde Sūrajisīṅhot (Jodho Rāṭhor) 53
Vīramde Vāghāvat, Rāv (Jodho Rāṭhor) (no. 84) 203-204, 228-230, 256, 263-270, 272-273, 290, 301, 401, 416-418, 442, 452-455
Vīrbhānan Bhojāvat (Hul Gahlot) 17
Vīrbhānradā Rāmmandaṅvat, Rāv (Vāghelo Soḷaṅkī) 29
Vīro (Nāruṅko Kachvāho) 37
Vīsaḷ (Sīndhal) 395
Vīṭhalḍās, Rājā (Gaur) 61, 64, 288
Vīṭhalḍās Jaimalot (Meṛtiyo Rāṭhor) (no. 117) 147, 336, 348, 350, 357-358, 375

W

Wajihu’l-Mulk (Sadhāran) 439, 445

Y

Yādavs 432
Yusufzai tribesmen 141

Z

Zafar Khān 439, 445
Zain Khān Kokā 141
INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

A

Abū 86, 91, 95
Abūgaṛh 91
Aclā ra Khet 352
Āgevo 282, 386
Ahilāṇī 74-75
Ahmadabad 52-53, 179, 226, 357, 385
Ahmadnagar 141-142, 285, 321, 353, 356, 359, 361, 363, 368
Akbarābād -see Agra
Akhuvas (i.e. Ākhuvās) 250
Allahabad 326
Ālṇiyāvās 153, 343, 351, 358
Altavo 345 n. 29, 355 n. 60, 363 n. 71
Ālvar (Mevāt) 84, 146 n. 4
Āmand 123
Āmarsar 5, 28, 32, 43, 145-146, 149, 194, 264, 305-306, 436
Āmratdo 99
Āṇandpur 407, 422 n. 5-6
Anhilvārō-Paṭṭan 224
Āṇtrī 123
Ārāi 52
Arāvallī (Mountain Range) 28, 73, 80 n. 1, 88, 110 n. 11, 120, n. 3, 122, 139 n. 1, 150, 158, 172, 185, 204, 210, 275-276, 315, 348, 370, 446
Āsarāi 406
Āsop 15, 164 n. 9, 172 n. 1, 205 n. 28, 231 n. 10, 271, 294, 296 n. 7, 313, 319-323, 325-330, 364, 425
Āū -see Āūvo
Aurangabad 60
Āūvo 179, 204, 207-210

B

Badakhashan 288
Bāharmer 27, 29, 87, 157, 208, 234, 236, 403
Bālō 327
Bājnāthjī 51
Bāimhgaṭī 69, 70, 71
Bāṭhvāś 410, 412
Balāhāro 282, 288, 399
Balapur 47
Bāli 80, 308
Balkh 288, 369
Bālsamand Lake 45
Balūnd 326, 364
Bambāvdo 340
Bāmbhān Vās 339
Bāṃvāl 407
Bānār 13, 200
Bāndhāvgarh 29, 56
Bānceō 152
Bangash 131, 133-134
Bāṃjhāṅkuri 241
Bāṃswāra -see Vāṃsvālo
Bārlū 325
Bārṇī Bārī 320 n. 61
Bārṇī Khurad 320 n. 61
Baulī 128
Bāvālī 418
Beghānī -see Boghānī
Bejpo (Tank) 337, 404, 420
Benares 99, 101
Bengal 43, 129-130
Bcrāī 443
Bhākhar Vāṃ 283, 389
Bhāṃvalī Cāraṅāṃ ri 345
Bhāṃgesar 175, 207, 332-333
Bhāṭnēr (Hanumāngarh) 195
Bhāuṇḍo 70, 72-75, 279-280, 323
Bhāvī 185, 188
Bheṭnaṛo 179
Bhināi 76
Bhitroṭ 94
Bhuṇ 43
Bīḍ 142, 321, 353, 356-357, 359, 361, 368
Bihar 129, 353, 355-356
Bijapur 285-286
Bijāpur (of Godhvar) 412
Bījoḷī 339
Bīkmkor 390
Bīkarlāī 283
Bīlārō 53, 60, 178, 229, 243 n. 33, 266, 299, 319
Bīṇāro Vās 221
Bīrpur 118
Bīsālpur 271, 400
Bīṭhū 214, 382, 415
Boghāṇī 282
Bohogun rī Vāṣṇī 283
Bor 354, 358-359
Borār 392, 406
Braṃhamī 271
Brampurī 400
Burhanpur 51-54, 57-58, 154, 280, 321, 325-326, 407

C

Cāḍī 13, 379
Cāṃvadīyo Āḍho 367
Cāṃvdo 214
Canadh (Cunar) 101
Caurāṇo 286
Causa 43
Cāvṛiyo 282
Chahotaṇ (Cohataṇ) 157
Chāpar 15, 146-147, 159, 192, 194-195, 200, 202, 215, 259-260, 431-437
Chāplo 320 n. 61
Chījār 447
Chimpiyo Khusyāpur 390, 397, 400
Cohatan - see Chahotan

Cokdi 389
Cokri 186
Copro 74-75, 301
Corau 61
Cotilo 202
Cunar - see Canadh

D

Dabri 286
Dabriyani Khurad 350
Dagsuriyo 356
Daharo 83
Damdama 119, 181, 326, 407
Dāṃvrai ri Vāṃśi 296
Dantivāro 93, 166, 418
Dāṃrī 320 n. 61
Datāņī 62, 93
Daulatabad 132, 182, 285
Deghano 345 n. 28, 350 n. 47
Deharo 174
Dehuriyo 405
Delhi 60-61, 70, 73, 145, 196, 234, 314, 343, 411, 433, 439, 441, 450-451, 458-459
Delvāro Pass 185
Deosa 138
Desnok 192, 216 n. 5
Desūri 41, 52, 349 n. 41
Devāliyo 118-119, 121, 126, 340
Devli Piragro 390
Dhanerī 298-301, 308, 320
Dhanlo 12, 162
Dhanop 396 n. 25
Dhāt 224
Dhauḷharo 74, 267, 268 n. 30, 301, 302 n. 20, 315 n. 56, 454
Dhavalairo - see Dhaulharo
Dholelāv - see Dholerāv
Dholerāv (i.e. Dholelāv) 250
Dholpur 182
Dhosī 194, 295, 436
Dhulop 396
Dhundhar 138
Dhīvāṇo 146, 151, 305, 343, 439 n. 1, 440-441
Dudhvar 13
Dunāro 209, 257-258, 276
Dūṅgarpur 28, 33, 46, 51, 92, 113-115, 121, 139, 225
Dvārkājī 99

F

Fatehpur 151, 305, 433
Fatehpur Sikri 129

G

Gadha-Katanga 101
Gāgruṇ (Gāgruṇa) 185-186
Gāgruṇa -see Gāgruṇ
Gaṇṇīyo 282
Gāṅgāṇī (or Gāṅgāṇī) 447
Gāṅgārro 238, 275
Ganges River 54, 119, 132, 181, 286, 326, 334, 407
Gangor 344, 350
Gehāvās 405
Gehāvāsnī 387, 402
Ghānāṁ 363
Ghāṅgāṇī -see Gāṅgāṇī
Girī 233, 306-307, 390-391, 400-401
Giyāśnī 387
Godhvar 41, 52, 57, 74, 80, 82, 83 n. 8, 109, 166, 172, 201, 206-208, 218-219, 235, 270-271, 305, 308 n. 40, 322, 326, 344, 383, 400, 412
Gogundo 110 n. 11, 118, 120 n. 3, 139 n. 1, 315, 358 n. 67
Gohro Khurad 345
Gokul 355
Golkunda 286
Gondwana 118
Gopāsar 39
Gopāsariyo 39 n. 13
Gughrot 318
Gūndoc 181, 236, 369
Guro 185
Gwalior 5, 29, 39, 45, 50, 144, 318, 320, 349, 358
H

Hädauti 274
Haldighati 110, 120, 139
Halvad 29, 45, 276
Hanumāngarh -see Bhaṭner
Harbhūrī Vāṃśi 350
Hardhāvas 313 n. 51
Harsolāv 231, 232 n. 11
Hībhavan 63
Hīngolī 320 n. 61
Hīrāvarī 232
Hisar 159, 192, 202, 433-434
Hūṃgāṃv 44

I

Īdar 31, 35, 46-47, 58, 88-89, 139, 224-226, 265, 341, 452
Īdvo 320-321, 327, 352
Indravaṃśa 75, 270
Indus River 131
Iran 287

J

Jabalpur 101
Jagnāṭhpuro 367
Jahāžpur -see Jājpūr
Jainā Vāṃśi 393
Jaipur 43 n. 11, 145 n. 2-3, 146 n. 4, 150 n. 1, 451 n. 5
Jaitāvāṃś 424
Jaitgāḍh -see Jaitvāṃś
Jājpūr 153, 220, 285-287
Jākhaniyo 65
K

Kabul 133, 281, 286, 288, 369
Kāchrāū -see Lodrāū
Kāksī 287-288
Kālā Bāgh 330
Kālandharī 89
Kālvāro 344
Kamālām-Pāvā 315
Kamvālaṁ 201
Kāṃvīliyo 201 n. 13, 422
Kanauj 458
Kāṇḍū 167
Kanhelō 220 n. 13
Kāṅkarkhī 280, 324
Kāṅkōr 63
Kantāliyo 311
Kāparro 13, 199, 200, 203
Karaulī 63
Kānu 379
Karolī 388
Kashmir 130, 286
Kaṭakhaṛo 99
Kāylāṇo 201, 218-219, 383
Kekḍro 261, 425
Kekind 351, 358, 363, 369
Kelvo 27, 32, 220 n. 13
Khagriyo 299
Khairāvad 99
Khairvo 29, 37, 41, 72-73, 74 n. 16, 81-83, 83 n. 8, 122, 173, 204, 242, 270, 365
Khamṇor 110 n. 11, 120 n. 3, 139 n. 1
Khaṇḍelo 5, 54, 61, 149, 349 n. 41
Khāṇpur 340
Khanua 82, 120, 146, 152, 153 n. 9, 204, 341, 352, 424
Kharhāṛī -see Khāṛī
Khāṛīyo 259-261, 325
Khāṛlo 12, 171, 180
Khāṛī 12, 171, 422
Khāṭū 439 n. 1, 441, 458-459
Khejarlo 56
Kher 187, 224, 332, 382, 415
Kherī Campo 345
Khetavas 283
Khīṃvsar 15, 294-296
Khoh 155
Kirāṛo 70-71
Kisangarḥ 45, 322
Kodhņo 47, 178-179, 259, 268, 382, 415-418
Koṛamdesar 68 n. 1, 192, 202
Kosithaj 271, 400
Kotā 389
Koto 99
Kotro 234, 236, 403
Kotro (of Jaitaran) 282
Kubhāṛo 320 n. 61
Kudano 181
Kūkardo 320 n. 61
Kumbhāḷmer 82, 88, 108-109, 121-122, 165-166, 168, 172, 205-206, 220 n. 13, 305, 354 n. 56, 358 n. 67, 359 n. 69
Kuṇḍal (Tank) 337, 347, 420
Kurkī 152, 284 n. 75, 285, 351, 424
Kusāṇo 188, 202, 250, 261, 338, 342, 421, 425
Kutch 447

Lāḍŋūṛ 431, 435, 439 n. 1, 441
Lahore 45, 47-48, 50-52, 57, 60, 179, 282, 286-288, 328-329
Lākhāsar 284, 379
Lākhāvāsnī 405
Lālsot 305
Lāmbiyō 250, 358
Lāmbo 185
Las Belas 216 n. 5
Lās Muṇād 395
Lavero 72, 322
Lūlyām (i.e., Nilīyām) 388
Lodrāū 210
Lohārī 320 n. 61
Lohīyānā 25
Lohīyāvāṭ 110, 209, 276, 309, 333
Loṭaudhirī 387, 404
Lūṇavāro 349 n. 41
Lūṇāvās 13
Lūṅgiyō 355
Lūṇī River 187 n. 5, 224 n. 1, 257 n. 5, 271 n. 41, 332 n. 1, 382 n. 3, 391, 415 n. 3
Lūṇī (Village) 128
Lūṅkaraṇ ī Vāṇī 426

M

Madāriyō 109, 206, 305, 344
Madhya Pradesh 285 n. 77
Mahāmāyā Temple 105, 366, 368, 459
Mahelvo 282
Mahesdāspur 286
Mahevo 80 n. 2, 178, 187, 214, 224, 247, 332-334, 410-412, 416
Mālārīnu 305, 359
Mallānī 332 n. 2
Mallārgaḍh 388
Mālpuro 280 n. 62
Malwa 73, 113-114, 121, 124, 131, 185 n. 2
Mānaklav 48
Māṇḍal 54, 142, 152
Māṇḍhō 311
Māṇḍovar -see Māṇḍor
Māṇḍū 123, 153, 154 n. 15, 187, 205, 338, 343, 421
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Matriarch Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masūdo</td>
<td>42, 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathurāji</td>
<td>30, 39, 53, 57, 62, 201, 334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mau (modern Mhow)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehagro</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehkar</td>
<td>327</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mevāt</td>
<td>138, 146 (see also Alvar)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mhow</td>
<td>-see Mau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīrīyārī</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīrtha</td>
<td>-see Mērto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moḍrīyo</td>
<td>350, 423</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moḍro</td>
<td>345 n. 30, 350 n. 46, 423 n. 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōgro</td>
<td>185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōkālo</td>
<td>350 n. 44, 424 n. 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morvī Khurad</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morvī Vāḍī</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūgaddo Vāḍo (i.e. Mūgadro)</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūgadro</td>
<td>250, 301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūkandpur</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūrrāho</td>
<td>282</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
N

Nāḍūl  80, 83, 85, 91, 107, 162, 173-174, 176, 199, 201 n. 10, 206 n. 29, 218 n. 8, 242, 271 n. 42, 296, 305 n. 28, 308 n. 40, 312, 326, 412 n. 6, 446
Nāgeḷāv  361
Nāḥaḍhsaro  294-295, 325
Nāḥargadh  274
Nahervō  459
Nahnado  -see Nahervō
Naiṅvāy  99
Nandvān  275, 459
Nandvānō  185
Narāśnī  320 n. 61
Narmada River  285
Narnol  146, 194-195, 261, 295, 436
Nāthdvāra  110 n. 11, 120 n. 3, 139 n. 1, 358 n. 67
Navalgarh  402
Nayanagar  52, 58
Netā ri Vāṃṣī  355
Netrāṃ  13, 378
Netrī  250
Nevātra  128-129
Newata  - see Nevātra
Nībōro  282
Nīlīyaṇ  -see Līlīyaṇ
Nīmbāhēro  283
Nīmbāj  150, 390-391, 407
Nīmbol  282, 404
Nīprār  308
Nītoro  95, 96 n. 17
Nīvarvāro  344

O

Orissa  102

P

Pacīāk  239, 243
Pacpadro  332 n. 1
Padmanābhi Temple  447
Padūkhām ri Vāṃṣī  362
Pakistan 157 n. 1, 216 n. 5, 224
Pāli 17, 32, 57, 107-110, 111 n. 12, 122, 165-166, 200, 206, 214, 217, 301, 337, 382, 415, 420, 458
Pālī 165, 250
Pāncḍolī rā Vās 422
Pāṇcolpurā 458
Pāṇcvo 270
Panvār 58
Parbat rā Khet 340
Parbatsar 44, 152-153
Parkar 224
Partabgarh 119
Pātañ 99
Patan (in Gujarat) 439
Pelṛī 320 n. 61
Phāgi 37
Phālko 347
Phālodī (of Merto) 105, 116 n. 2, 366, 368, 459
Phālodī (Town) 42, 44, 50-51, 69 n. 2, 70-72, 110 n. 8, 116 n. 1, 157 n. 3, 164, 167 n. 18, 202, 209-210, 236, 276 n. 58, 281, 309, 333 n. 8, 450
Phūliyo 99, 152, 313
Pimpār 199 n. 3, 201 n. 11, 220 n. 13, 221 n. 18, 268, 272-273, 325, 401, 417, 442, 455
Pipāvaṛ 325
Pīsan 389
Pīsaṅgaṇ 152, 284-286, 327
Pīthāpur 283
Pokaraṇ 105, 202, 208, 236, 370, 403
Poona 62-63
Prayag 286
Pūṅgaḷ 12, 15, 39, 50, 68 n. 1, 214, 283, 294, 379
Punjab 101, 141, 439
Pushkar -see Puṣkarjī
Puṣkar -see Puṣkarjī
Puṣkarjī 31, 54, 287, 324-325

Q

Qandahar 182, 287

R

Rābhāvās 424
Rāḍāvās 313 n. 51
Rāḍsar 320 n. 61
Rāhaṇ 58, 147, 181 n. 12, 338-339, 340 n. 13, 345 n. 31, 350 n. 43 & n. 45, 352, 355 n. 59, 371, 421, 423-424
Rahelro 282
Rāhīṃ -see Rāhan
Rājāvās 398-399
Rājgarh 388, 402
Rājlānī 232, 320 n. 61
Rājvā 179
Rājyavṛto Khurad 350
Rāmā Cāranāṃ rī Vāsṇī 350
Rāmā rī Vāsṇī 312, 316
Rāmāvās Bado 282
Rāmbārī Bāgh 130
Rāmpur 389
Rāmpuro 35, 57, 59, 62, 122, 124, 289
Rāmpuro (of Āsop) 320 n. 61
Rāmpuro (of Jaitārāṇ) 283
Rāmsen 87-89, 92
Rangta Hīlalabad 134
Ranthanbūr -see Rīntambhōr
Rārod 164-165, 172, 205, 231, 252, 296, 304, 320 n. 61, 328, 343, 426
Ratanāvās 355
Rātkūrīyo 325
Ratlām 285 n. 77, 288
Rāṭrīyo 283
Rāvalvās 111
Rāvar 58
Ravi River 130
Rāypur 387, 390, 406
Rāyāsīsar 157
Rād Fort 44, 101
Reprāvās Tījo 312
Revās 305
Reyām 31, 164-166, 172, 180, 205, 231, 241, 251-252, 296, 304, 343, 346-347, 355 n. 58, 362, 367 n. 88, 368-370, 426, 429
Rīntochrome Temple 100
Rīṅsīgaṃv 203-204, 270
Rīvām 56
Rohāth 180 n. 8, 187
Rohila 35
Rohīso 281
Rūṇ 5, 15-16, 157, 161, 218, 357, 383
Rūpī 359
Sācor 21, 104, 106, 248, 272
Sādṛī 322
Sāhlī 13, 171
Sālavās 185
Salkhāvāsī 410
Samāvalī 42, 46, 48, 318, 320
Sāmbhār 146, 151, 153 n. 8, 202, 306, 338, 348, 421, 439 n. 1, 440, 458
Sāmvaliyāvās Khurad 345
Sāṁvatkuvo 34
Sānduro 13
Sāṅganer 129, 138
Sāṅgānīn -see Sāṅganer
Sañfī 307 n. 36
Santhāno Sārangvās 363
Sāraṇ 204, 270, 300
Saraṅvāhī 97 n. 1
Saraṅvo 97 n. 1
Sarvār 339, 354 n. 57
Sarvāṛ Manoharpur 289
Sātalvās 211, 348, 366
Sathāluṇo 47
Saurashatra 99
Savālakh 338, 420, 439
Sayāṇo 52
Sekhāvaṭī 145-146
Senō 395
Sīdhā Vāṃṣī 271
Sīhā ri Vāṃṣī 422
Sīkar 343
Sīkargadh 145-146, 305, 436
Silvo 65
Sīndh 199, 397
Sīnlo 307
Sīrāṃśo 353
Sīrīyārī 52, 300 n. 12
Sīrohī 5, 24-25, 27, 30 n. 15, 41, 62, 86-93, 94 n. 14, 95-98, 104 n. 1, 130, 240-241, 263-264, 273, 321, 395-396
Sirso 195
Sītāmau 285-286

Sivrār 38
Sobhāgdesar (Tank) 447
Sobho 195
Sohavo 232-233, 305
Sojhat 32, 44 n. 15, 72, 74, 93, 94 n. 13, 95 n. 16, 110, 162-164, 165 n. 12, 166 n. 16, 167 n. 17, 175 n. 10, 179 n. 7, 200, 201 n. 10, 202-204, 207 n. 35, 208-210, 218 n. 8, 221 n. 16, 227 n. 3, 229-230, 235, 240 n. 26, 244, 262-263, 265-270, 274, 279, 298, 300 n. 12, 301-303, 307 n. 36, 308 no. 37, 310-313, 315-316, 318 n. 58, 320-321, 332 n. 3, 354, 360, 386, 401, 407, 417-418, 442, 452-455
Som Nādi 114
Śrinagar 151
Sumerī River 74 n. 16, 75 n. 17
Sūrācand 274, 391, 397-399, 401
Surpuro 320 n. 61
Sūrsāgar (Tank) 447
Swāt (Sawab Bajaur) 132

T
Tālūkīyo 387, 389
Tānāno 68 n. 1
Tānī 68 n. 1, 70, 73-75, 301
Tāran 301
Tejā rī Vānsī 283
Thānsvlo 220 n. 13, 367, 407
Thanesar 439
Tilvāro 187, 332
Titrod 286
Todgarh 73, 301 n. 14
Todo 5, 56, 142, 144, 264, 347, 365
Tons 119, 181, 326, 407
Ṭukṛī 422

U
Udaipur 54, 110 n. 11, 118, 120 n. 3, 139 n. 1, 225, 285 n. 77, 326
Udehī 127
Umarkoṭ 33-34, 40, 52, 157, 224

V
Vadhnor 81 n. 4, 99, 113 n. 1, 122 n. 5, 124 n. 8, 166 n. 16, 176 n. 11, 196 n. 10, 209 n. 39, 221 n. 17, 225 n. 2, 237 n. 20, 239 n. 24, 242, n. 29, 308
n. 38, 333 n. 7, 347 n. 36, 348, 360 n. 71, 362, 364 n. 82, 365 n. 84, 384 n. 11, 391, 400-403

Vāgad 401
Vāghāvās 47
Vāghelāv 262
Vaijnāth Mahādev (Temple) 299-300
Vairasalpur 34, 39, 48, 50, 264, 283, 294
Vālarvo 333
Vāṃsvālo 92, 102, 113-115, 312-315, 392, 427-428
Vāṛī 116
Vikūmpur 20, 34, 39-40, 42, 47-48
Vīsalpur 344
Vṛṇḍāvan 408
Vyāvar 402
END